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Hidden Dragons

The archaeology of mid to late nineteenth-century Chinese communities in southeastern New South Wales.

Lindsay Maxwell Smith

BA UNE GradDipArts(Prehistory) MA ANU

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Archaeology and Anthropology
The Australian National University, Canberra

June 2006
I certify that this thesis is my own work containing, to the best of my knowledge and belief, no material published or written by another person except as referred to in the text.

Lindsay Maxwell Smith
6 June 2006
‘For my part, I am not endowed with innate knowledge. I am simply a man who loves the past and who is diligent in investigating it.’

K’ung Fu-Tsze (Confucius)
551 – 479 BC
(Analects, Bk. vii, C. xx)
ABSTRACT

Alluvial mining for gold was from first to last the almost sole cause of attraction for Chinese immigrants in the Australian Colonies during the mid to late nineteenth-century. The primary goal that drew thousands of predominantly Cantonese speaking Chinese to the goldfields during that time was the fulfilment of group duty rather than the pursuit of individual success. Gold was a means to fulfil the social responsibilities of filial piety, to pay homage to one’s ancestors, glorify the lineage and elevate the status of the family.

Initial arrivals in Australia, and NSW, in the 1850s and 1860s were extremely well organised through group employment arrangements, usually under the direction of a ‘headman’. During those years, large groups, sometimes numbering in the hundreds, traversed the land to newly discovered goldfields. On their arrival at a new location with their limited possessions, such groups established temporary tent camps, and new arrivals were naturally attracted to existing settlements. As the Chinese population became settled their calico tents were abandoned in favour of more durable huts, usually made from local material. Those settlements functioned as homogenous and segregated communities, with many persisting as permanent villages for up to 40 years, albeit in an ever-diminishing capacity, until the end of the nineteenth-century.

Although almost ignored by history and lost to memory, these now largely hidden Chinese goldfield settlements tenaciously endure in the rural Australian landscape as evidence of the resilient community structure of the world’s longest continuous civilisation.

Archaeological investigations have allowed this structure to be seen in the physical and symbolic characteristics of several of those settlements in southeastern NSW, in their locations across the landscape, their composition and in their material culture remains.

This thesis is the first to investigate and combine all of the elements that comprised mid to late nineteenth-century overseas Chinese settlements in rural Australian locations, and to compare them with each other at regional, national and international levels. It contends that such settlements in rural southeastern NSW conformed to a highly codified hierarchical pattern of community organisation in both a physical and perceived landscape. It asserts that the physical landscape was imprinted with traditional material elements of Chinese community organisation and the perceived landscape was imbued by its occupants with the symbolic animistic elements of Chinese culture, including dragons, which were seen as integral to the welfare of such communities.

This hierarchical pattern of community organisation, it is argued, was not only repeated throughout the study area and at similar mid to late nineteenth-century Chinese settlements elsewhere in Australia and overseas, but was also distinct and separate from contemporary British-based rural settlements.

The establishment of such settlements in the 1850s and 1860s, their consolidation during the 1870s and 1880s, and their gradual demise, with the resultant movement of remnant Chinese communities into the predominant British settlement infrastructure of rural southeastern NSW towards the end of the nineteenth-century is also evident in the archaeological record.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is the culmination of several years of research and fieldwork that has taken me and, at times, my wife from many isolated areas of dense bushland and windswept peaks in rural New South Wales and Victoria, through the south island of New Zealand and the island of Oahu, Hawaii, to the concentration of the back streets of Hong Kong. It has required the continuing co-operation, support and encouragement of a core group of my colleagues, teamwork from my field assistants, and the genuine ongoing interest of a range of people from almost every walk of life. All of them deserve my gratitude and far greater recognition than is possible here.

The impetus and continuing driving force for this study was provided by staff, both past and present, and post graduate students from the School of Archaeology and Anthropology at The Australian National University (ANU), Canberra. Mike Smith, while lecturing at the ANU in 1995, first piqued my interest in this area of research, and together with Ken Heffernan and Annie Clarke provided early direction, while Ian Farrington, a senior lecturer from that School, applied his well-honed supervisory skills and acumen in the field to provide me with guidance and advice when I most needed it. Of the postgraduate students, my main thanks go to Barry McGowan and Michael and Jennifer Tracey for their assistance with my research and fieldwork.

This study also relied heavily on the archaeological knowledge and voluntary field assistance of a number of undergraduate, graduate and postgraduate students from the School of Archaeology and Anthropology at the ANU. For their teamwork and perseverance during all kinds of weather and accommodation conditions, I express my appreciation to Chris Carter, Alex Clarke, Sophie Collins, Julie Dalco, Daniel Davenport, Charlie Dearling, Gary Estcourt, Patrick Faulkner, Christine Gant-Thompson, Adrian Henham, Peter Kabaila, Michael Merrony, Oliver Macgregor, Rebecca Parkes, David Pearson, Sarah Robertson and Anique Vresk. Many of whom braved repeated exposure to the elements while undertaking one or more of my excavations.

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At a broader level, a number of staff in a range of organisations saved me many hours of fruitless searching. These include staff from the various libraries at the ANU, Sydney and Melbourne universities, the National Library of Australia, the State Library of NSW, the State Library of Victoria, the NSW Department of Mineral Resources and Energy library, the Australian Government Survey Office library, the Australian Archives and the NSW State Archives. In addition, I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of staff from several other public and private libraries, and individuals with private collections. These include the Chinese Museum in Melbourne, the Powerhouse Museum in Sydney, the Anglican Diocese of Canberra and Goulburn, Klaus Hueneke, and Nadine and Ian Lindsay.

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NOTES

Various historical and modern Australian, British and Chinese currencies, measures, weights and terms have been used in this dissertation. Where they have been taken from primary documents the original descriptions have been retained. The following is provided to assist in understanding these variants and the attraction of gold in nineteenth-century Australia.

Currency
1 penny (d) = 1 cent (Aus) \(\approx 50\) Chinese cash (in 1907)
1 shilling (s) = 12 pence (12d) = 10c (Aus) \(\approx 500\) cash
1 pound (£) = 20 shillings = $2 (Aus) \(\approx 10,000\) cash

Length
1 foot (l') = 12 inches (12") = 30.48 cm
1 yard = 3 feet = 91.44 cm = 0.91 m
1 mile = 1.61 km
1 centimetre (cm) = 0.3937"
1 metre (m) = 100 cm = 39.37" = 1.094 yards
1 kilometre (km) = 1,000 m = 0.6214 mile

Area
1 square yard = 3 x 3 feet = 9 sq. feet = 0.836 m\(^2\)
1 acre = 4,480 sq. yards = 4,046.9 m\(^2\) = 0.40469 ha
1 square mile = 640 acres = 2.59 km\(^2\) = 259 ha
1 sq. metre (m\(^2\)) = 1.1960 sq. yards
1 hectare (ha) = 100 x 100 m = 10,000 m\(^2\) = 2.4711 acres
1 sq. km (km\(^2\)) = 100 ha = 0.3861 sq. miles

Weights (avoirdupois)
1 ounce (oz) = 28.35 grams (g)
1 pound (lb) = 16 oz = 453.6 gm = 0.453 kg
1 kilogram (kg) = 2.2046 lbs = 1,000 g
1 tael (Chinese) \(\approx 1.5\) oz \(\approx 38\) g

Weights – gold (troy)
1 pennyweight = 24 grains
1 ounce (oz) = 20 pennyweights
1 pound = 12 ounces = 0.82 lbs (avoirdupois)

Terminology
Although ‘Chinaman’, ‘Chinamen’ and other terms, such as ‘Celestials’ and ‘Mongolians’, were widely used by non-Chinese in the nineteenth-century when referring to Chinese people, present day Chinese consider the terms to be derogatory. Similarly, ‘Joss’, which is eighteenth-century Pidgin English from the Portuguese word deos (from Latin deus) meaning god, and ‘Joss House’ were used to refer to Chinese religious idols and temples, respectively. Present Chinese prefer the Cantonese word miu, meaning temple. In addition, many Chinese terms, such as fengshui (pronounced phoong soyie in Cantonese), often have a much more significant meaning than is otherwise attributed to them by non-Chinese people.

Wages
In Australia, for much of the period 1850 to 1900 the weekly wage for an unskilled labourer was about 14 shillings. For an unskilled labourer in China during the same period it was the Australian equivalent of around 4s 6d. During most of that period an ounce of gold was valued at around £3 14s in Australia. Therefore, for many Australian miners at that time a yield of one ounce of gold a week was the equivalent of more than five weeks wages but for many Chinese miners in Australia the same yield represented more than four months wages.
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND AND FOCUS

The Australian rural landscape abounds with dragons. Together with their animistic counterparts, they now lie hidden from most Australians in the mountains and hills surrounding once flourishing Chinese mining communities across the continent. Today, they continue their silent vigil over those abandoned settlements as largely unseen reminders of an ancient culture that helped to unify Chinese communities in rural Australia during the mid to late nineteenth century.

During that time, ignorance of China and its people was often the cause of curiosity, mistrust and occasional intolerance by the predominantly British communities throughout Australia. Even now, many aspects of traditional Chinese culture are not widely recognised, little understood and less appreciated by most Australians, the majority of whom are of Anglo-Celtic and European descent. Beyond its primary focus, this thesis seeks to provide a better understanding and greater appreciation of that culture, and, as a consequence, of the Chinese people in Australia today who continue to maintain their ancient legacies.

Most Chinese immigrants to Australia in the latter half of the nineteenth century came from Guangdong. Historically, the southern coastal provinces of Guangdong and Fujian have dominated Chinese emigration. Guangzhou, the capital of Guangdong and previously called Canton, has long been a trading port with extensive links to overseas markets. After the opening of Hong Kong to British trade in 1842 and the legalisation of overseas emigration in the 1860s it became a major source of emigration.

Guangdong had a rapidly growing population during the nineteenth century. In less than 40 years it had a more than threefold increase, from 9 million in 1812 to 28 million in 1850, and it continued to grow. This growth together with intensive cultivation practices in the Canton delta led to tremendous pressure of overcrowding and the need to find alternative sources of income.

In addition, social unrest exacerbated this situation. For example, the Taiping rebellion (1850-1864) and Red Turban revolt (1854-1855) caused widespread devastation in central and southern China. There was constant local disorder, and banditry was rife. Inter-clan disputes erupted periodically over land and water rights, which were the bases of local power and critical for economic survival.

Consequently as different avenues of entrepreneurial opportunity arose, emigration held the promise of a better life for many. The majority of the two million people who left China in the period 1851-1900 went to South East Asia as they had done throughout history. However, the discovery of gold in California in 1849 and in New South Wales in 1851 offered alternatives (Mu Sung 2005:3-6).

As early as 1740, Chinese headmen or brokers, called k'o-t'ou, were arranging illegal emigration, known as the credit-ticket system. Those emigrating under this system were usually impoverished coolies. Under this system the broker paid the expense of emigration and held a lien on the emigrant’s services until the debt was paid off — a lien that might or might not be sold to another employer (Campbell 1971:xvii). Headmen organised migrants, collected the passage money and used small boats to take them to sea-going vessels off the coast of the southern Chinese provinces, mainly Guangdong Province.

After 1845, the contract system was established in China. Under this, foreigners engaged the services of Chinese people under written contract to work for a number of overseas countries. Most Chinese officers lost their self-confidence as a result of the Opium War (1840-1842) and, through fear of coming into conflict with foreign authorities, did not interfere in foreign contracts and let this system of emigration prevail. In 1859, more through necessity than desire, proclamations by Chinese authorities repealed emigration restrictions, which had been
imposed for over a century. Proclamations gave permission to those who were compelled by want to search for work, or those who intended to practise a trade abroad, to accept employment offered by a foreigner, provided the parties themselves consented to the arrangement (Wang 1978:20-21, 23). Thousands of predominantly male Chinese took advantage of, or were taken advantage of, by the credit-ticket and contract systems, and Australia became part of that emigration system.

As elsewhere, those who came to Australia were sojourners, or more correctly huaqiao (in Mandarin) or wah kiu (in Cantonese) – ‘Chinese who reside away from home’, with the ambition of ‘firstly to return home with honour and wealth, and secondly upon the roots of the trees rest the falling leaves’ (Yong 1977:2). Generally, wah kiu were funded by a traditional clan guild. The wives and children of married men remained in China and were either cared for by the guild or through remittances, or a combination of both. For the majority of overseas Chinese males with such obligations the idea of settling in Australia was therefore inconceivable.

A limited number of Chinese men came to Australia before the gold rushes. The first Chinese free settler, Mak Sai Ying, entered the colony of New South Wales at Sydney in 1817. A further two Chinese men, Ahlong and Ahfoo, and a boy, Ahchun, came free to Australia in 1827 to work as servants for Thomas Pitman, a merchant in Sydney (Census 1828). It was not until 1848 that Captain James Tait successfully arranged the first shipment of coolies to Australia. In that year 100 Chinese men and 21 boys arrived in Sydney to work as shepherds. Between then and December 1851, only 1,211 indentured Chinese labourers had arrived in Australia (Dwight 1975:52-54).

However, a confluence of global circumstances, not the least of which was the discovery of payable gold in New South Wales in 1851, conspired to lure thousands of Chinese labourers and entrepreneurs to Australia from then until the late nineteenth century.

The first large wave of Chinese immigration into Australia peaked in the mid-1850s and 1860s coinciding with the discoveries of gold in New South Wales and Victoria. After the gold rushes petered out, their numbers slowly declined. The second wave peaked in the late 1870s and early 1880s following the discovery of tin in northern New South Wales and the further discovery of gold in Queensland. Census figures show the high points were in 1861 with 38,258 Chinese in Australia (representing 3.3 per cent of the Australian population) and in 1881 with 38,533 (or 1.7 per cent of the population). From then until Federation in 1901 the numbers of Chinese in Australia steadily declined to below 30,000 (or under 0.8 per cent of the population).

Initial arrivals in Australia, and NSW, in the 1850s and 1860s were extremely well organised through group employment arrangements, usually under the direction of a ‘headman’. During those years, large groups, sometimes numbering in the hundreds, traversed the land to newly discovered goldfields. On their arrival at a new location with their limited possessions, such groups established temporary tent camps, sometimes immediately seeking to set up a temple, and new arrivals were naturally attracted to existing settlements. As the Chinese population became static/more permanent, their calico tents were abandoned in favour of more durable huts, usually made from local material. Those settlements functioned as homogenous and segregated communities, with many persisting as permanent villages for up to 40 years, albeit in an ever-diminishing capacity, until the end of the nineteenth century.

Where recorded, history describes the larger settlements variously contained a cohesion of tents, huts and/or stores that housed a variety of professionals (for example, doctors, merchants), tradesmen (butchers, bakers, blacksmiths) and artisans, a temple, pigsties, hen houses, small garden plots and a nearby cemetery. Generally, smaller settlements were only reported as Chinese camps without discussion of their composition. However, detailed descriptions of the physical and locational characteristics of the elements of these settlements and camps – the dwellings, stores, agricultural plots, temples and cemeteries – are entirely absent from the historical documents.
Although almost ignored by history and lost to memory, these now largely hidden Chinese goldfield settlements tenaciously endure in the rural Australian landscape as evidence of the resilient community structure of the world’s longest continuous civilisation.

Archaeological investigations have allowed this structure to be seen in the physical and symbolic characteristics of several of those settlements in southeastern NSW, in their locations across the landscape, their composition and in their material culture remains. Figures 1.1 and 1.2 show the areas of study included in this thesis.

Figure 1.1: Map of southeastern Australia showing study area.
Figure 1.2: Map of southeastern NSW showing main areas of study.
Using archaeological surveys, excavations and artefact analyses, complemented by historical documentation and oral accounts where available, this thesis investigates the elements of several nineteenth-century Chinese settlements in southeastern NSW. It is the first to investigate and combine all of the elements that comprised these settlements in rural Australian locations and to compare them at regional, national and international levels.

From the results, this thesis contends that mid to late nineteenth-century overseas Chinese settlements in rural southeastern NSW conformed to a highly codified yet unrecorded hierarchical pattern of community organisation in both a physical and perceived landscape. It asserts that the physical landscape was imprinted with traditional material elements of Chinese community organisation and the perceived landscape was imbued by its occupants with the symbolic animistic elements of that culture, including dragons, which were seen as integral to the welfare of such communities.

This hierarchical pattern of community organisation, it is argued, was not only repeated throughout the study area and in regions elsewhere in Australia and overseas, but was also distinct and separate from the British-based rural settlement network of the same period. The establishment of such settlements in the 1850s and 1860s, their consolidation during the 1870s and 1880s, and their gradual demise, with the resultant movement of remnant Chinese communities into the predominant British settlement infrastructure of rural southeastern NSW towards the end of the nineteenth century is also evident in the archaeological record.

These outcomes confirm the fundamental motivating conviction for this study that there was a significant ‘other’ ethnic Chinese community network, other than the predominantly British network, operating within rural southeastern NSW, and Australia, during the mid to late nineteenth century.

1.2 CONTEXT AND QUESTIONS

As part of her long term survey of the Chinese in Victoria, Chou (1993:1) noted, ‘prior to the 1950s there was little research into the Chinese in Australia’. Before that time historical accounts were mostly included as minor parts in more major works and there were no archaeological studies of the Chinese in Australia. Although there has been a steady but limited growth in historical literature since then, the first publication of archaeological work associated with overseas Chinese in Australia was not until 1984 (Jack, Holmes and Kerr 1984).

Historically, James Matra was the first to touch on the possibility of Chinese living in Australia when in 1783 part of his pre-Australian settlement proposal included the notion ‘that we may draw any number of useful inhabitants from China, agreeably to an invariable custom of the Dutch in forming or recruiting their Eastern settlement’ (Historical Records of NSW 1892:2). This proposal was reiterated by Wakefield almost 50 years later in 1829, when he argued, given time, the most industrious and skilful Asiatics would be able to convert the enormous wilderness of Australia into a fruitful garden (Wakefield 1833:265). But from then until the end of the nineteenth century the Chinese received relatively little attention. By way of example, for a period of over 50 years, from 1836 to 1892, there were only 17 official reports relating to Chinese activities in New South Wales laid before the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council of that Colony/State, the first 11 of which, from 1836 to 1858, related to Chinese immigration and labour. In 1868, one Victorian government report provided details on the condition of the Chinese population there.

Towards the end of the century, however, there was a spate of mostly politically driven pamphlets and articles by British born authors about the supposed deleterious effects of the Chinese on various facets of the economy and morals of Australia. Examples of those are Fitz-Roy Cole’s 1878 article on ‘John Chinaman Abroad’ and Wisker’s 1879 ‘The Coloured Man in Australia’. An exception, and by way of rebuttal, Kong Meng, Hong Cheong and Ah Muoy’s 1879 pamphlet The Chinese Question in Australia 1878-79 sought to balance the argument and
'draw together the ties of commercial amity, and live and do business together like friends and brethren' (1879:4).

Apart from sporadic newspaper articles, which consisted mainly of short editorials, mining and court reports and occasionally a small descriptive piece as part of a longer article, very few first hand accounts of European contact with Chinese during the nineteenth century survive. Two such examples are: Preshaw, 1888, *Banking Under Difficulties or Life on the Goldfields of Victoria, NSW & New Zealand*; and Shellard, 1890, 'The Great Roll Up', *Reminiscences of an old gold digger*. Only one autobiographical account of a Chinese man’s experiences in Australia during the nineteenth century, Jong Ah Siug in Victoria from 1866-1872, is known to exist (Ah Siug 2000, Yuanfang 1998, 2001).

Until 1950, the major historical literature on Chinese in Australia remained extremely limited, a large proportion of which concentrated on immigration and labour issues. From then until the 1980s there was an increasing trend in the amount of historical literature relating to the Chinese in Australia but there were still no archaeological studies of the Chinese.

The most recent historical texts, from the 1980s to early this century, have, on the whole, seen a gradual shift away from immigration, labour and racial topics towards a greater focus on the Chinese themselves at national, regional, local and sometimes individual levels. Although the earliest of this period, Cronin’s 1982 *Colonial Casualties*, mainly continues a theme of race relations, McGowan’s 2001 PhD thesis ‘Dust and Dreams: A regional history of mining and community in south east New South Wales 1850-1914’ and Yuanfang’s 2001 ‘Dragon Seed in the Antipodes: Chinese-Australian Autobiographies’, give accounts of communities and individuals, and Kok’s publications of 2002 (a, b) and 2003 (a, b) provide information on individuals through examining Chinese cemeteries in Australia.

Arguably, according to Chou (1993:16), there is now a ‘not inconsiderable’ historical literature on the Chinese in Australia. However, by comparison, archaeological interest in Australia’s overseas Chinese remains, as described in 1986, in its infancy (Jack 1986:4-7).

Bell (1996:13-18) provided an outline of archaeological studies of sites associated with the overseas Chinese in Australia from the first project in 1982 (Jack, Holmes and Kerr 1984) until 1993. He noted that of the 37 works compiled during that period only one could be described as academic, in the sense of not being commissioned for a specific purpose by cultural heritage agencies or as part of impact assessment studies of proposed mining developments. He further stated that, until 1993, no thesis had been written in Australia on a Chinese topic in the discipline of archaeology and ‘No one has yet written one word of a theoretical model relating to Chinese sites [in Australia]’ (Bell 1996:15).

Although this situation has since changed, there are still only a handful of academic works that are specifically related to the topic. They are: Svenson’s 1994 MA thesis on the archaeology and history of the Chinese at Milparinka, in northwest NSW; Lydon’s 1996 MA thesis on the historical archaeology of the Chinese in the Rocks, Sydney; Copland’s 1998 Honours thesis concerning the migration of Chinese through South Australia in the mid-nineteenth century; my own 1998 MA thesis on Chinese ethnicity in archaeology at Kiandra, NSW; Stankowski’s 2000 Honours thesis, which examines a number of Chinese archaeological sites from colonial Australia using fengshui; and Yit’s 2005 Honours thesis on the nineteenth-century Chinese settlement at Tingha and Emmaville, Northern NSW. These works were either site specific or addressed a particular element of the Chinese in Australia. Until now there has been neither any broad ranging archaeological enquiry into the overseas Chinese in Australia nor a doctoral thesis written on the topic in Australia.

But to be complete, there are two related doctoral dissertations that deserve mention. The first is an archaeological investigation of a non-Chinese mining community west of Melbourne, Victoria, by Susan Lawrence Cheney in 1995 (Lawrence 1995, 2000). Although obviously non-Chinese in focus, the work does refer to a very limited although possible archaeological presence of Chinese at Dolly’s Creek. The second is Barry McGowan’s 2001
regional history of mining and community in southeast NSW. While this study is predominantly a history of non-Chinese, it does give some attention to the physical mining remains of Chinese miners in that area.

Again for completeness, the author is also aware of two current doctoral archaeological research projects. Zvonka Stanin is conducting the first of these, into a small nineteenth-century Chinese mining settlement at Butchers Gully on the Mount Alexander goldfields in central Victoria, and Alistair Bowen, who is researching Chinese participation in the Victorian fishing industry, is undertaking the second.

This paucity of academic archaeological enquiry into the overseas Chinese in Australia has, unfortunately, been matched to some extent by a dearth of interest outside academia. Since Bell’s 1996 compilation, there has only been one book, Lydon’s 1999 ‘Many Inventions’: The Chinese in the Rocks, Sydney, 1890 – 1930, which arose from her earlier masters thesis, 21 published articles and 10 unpublished reports. Although those articles cover a wide geographical and topic range, from Gaughwin’s 1995 study of Chinese ovens in northeastern Tasmania to Mitchell’s 2005 investigation of early twentieth-century Chinese at Bynoe Harbour, Northern Territory, they remain either site specific or address a particular element of the overseas Chinese in Australia. Of the 10 unpublished reports, eight are by the author and form background research for this thesis (Smith 1997, 2001a, b, c, 2002a, b, 2003b, c).

The combined call from the inaugural conference on The Chinese in Australia held at the Chinese Museum, Melbourne, in October 1993, was for further investigations to explain some of the variations in migration and settlement patterns and for the need for comparative archaeological work across the Chinese diaspora in Australia from the mid-nineteenth century. This call was repeated at the second conference on The Chinese in Australasia and Oceania, held at the same venue in September 1996. As can be seen from the above, those calls have been largely unanswered.

In his recent article, ‘Taking stock: 20 Years of Australasian “overseas Chinese archaeology”’, Ritchie (2003:1-7) reiterates this call by noting ‘there is no sustained academic interest in overseas Chinese archaeology in either country [Australia or New Zealand], and what there has been in recent years has been fairly ad hoc’.

My 1998 MA thesis, which used archaeology to identify Chinese ethnicity at Kiandra, NSW, responded in part to those earlier calls by providing further comparative information on the Chinese diaspora in Australia and by being the first to present a theoretical model relating to Chinese sites in Australia. However, it too was site specific and primarily addressed only a limited number of elements of the overseas Chinese, namely, private dwellings and material culture.

This thesis has evolved from that earlier enquiry and does indeed represent a sustained academic interest in overseas Chinese archaeology in Australia. It has stemmed from a number of unanswered questions and a continuum of curiosity at the end of my previous enquiry.

This research has allowed me to test my earlier propositions on a much broader scale and answer many unresolved questions, particularly in relation to the roles of public buildings and burials, where no evidence for these activities was apparent at Kiandra at that time.

It has also enabled me to answer newly formulated questions about the roles of other community activities and perceptions within rural nineteenth-century Chinese settlements. These relate to physical community activities such as, procurement of supplies, worship and burials, and symbolic perceptions, for example, the community’s awareness of the landscape in which they lived, worked and died. Finally, it has allowed me to place all of these elements into a wider pattern of hierarchical community organisation of settlements throughout the rural landscape of southeastern NSW, elsewhere in Australia and ultimately within a global setting.

In addressing these elements, this thesis places greater emphasis on the structural and locational features of overseas Chinese settlements, and a lesser emphasis on the ethnic markers, such as the material culture. With regard to the latter, it has been amply demonstrated that
Chinese ethnicity can be identified in the archaeological record through the artefactual evidence (see for example, Casey and Ritchie 2003, Macgregor 1995, Ritchie 1986, Smith 1998, 2003a, Wegars 1993).

Essential prerequisites to recognising and understanding a pattern of hierarchical community organisation of settlements are not only the necessity to identify their physical attributes, including their territorial limitations, but also to recognise the socio-symbolic dimensions of those attributes. At a minimum, this has required an appreciation of the community, in this case an overseas Chinese mining community, and its collective comprehension of its landscape.

At the outset, this seems a relatively simple proposition. However, such apparent simplicity can be deceptive. First, both terms ‘community’ and ‘landscape’ are two of the most elusive and vague terms and are now largely without specific meaning. Second, as we each tend to comprehend our environment differently, to fully understand our own community’s collective perception of its landscape may also prove elusive.

As Bradley (2000:34) points out the very concept of nature may be a specific feature of Western philosophy. Many writers, from Descartes to Lévi-Strauss, have contrasted what they call ‘culture’ and ‘nature’, yet neither term seems to have a universal application. From my cultural relativism approach of describing the practices of a society from the point of view of its members, to have a complete comprehension of an overseas Chinese mining community’s perception of its rural Australian landscape may not be possible – but to appreciate that perception is not impossible.

1.3 COMMUNITY, LANDSCAPE AND HIERARCHY

Many scholars recognise that the term ‘community’ is ill defined and a contested concept with an elusive meaning. However, most agree it is a concept that invariably invokes the notion of commonality, of sharing in common, being and experiencing together, and a source of well-being and unity. It not only encapsulates the groupings of families, neighbourhoods, nations, innumerable social, religious, ethnic, workplace, and professional associations but also includes communities of place and of memory (Bell, D. 1993, Corlett 1989, Durkheim 1952, Fowler 1991, Freidman 1992, Hopkins 1993, Selznick 1992).

At a minimum community refers to a collection of people in a geographical area (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner 1988:44). Yet people do not become a community merely because they live in physical proximity. It is achieved when people are aware of and interested in common ends and regulate their activity in view of those ends (Kruckeberg and Starck 1988:56). Expanding on the minimalist definition, a community can therefore better be defined as a social group with a common territorial base and a sense of shared interests and belonging (Robertson 1987:581).

However, although the sense of shared interest and belonging remains static for a community, the common territorial base is dynamic, and settlement patterns may change over time (Haggett 1965, Higgs and Vita-Finzi 1972, Johnson 1973). Further, as Higgs and Vita-Finzi (1972:28) note, the technology that prevails will determine the range of resources that can be exploited, and will affect the shape and size of the economic catchment of territory of a settlement.

Such social groups, of varying sizes, coalesced as mining communities throughout the mid to late nineteenth-century rural Australian landscape, all with a common purpose of increasing their wealth, regardless of whether or not they were miners. Those communities predominantly consisted of men, women and children of British origin. They included single and groups of individuals, households of families, hoteliers, traders, bankers, government officials, other professionals and clerics. Such communities generally viewed the mining landscapes into which they moved as simply an economic resource to be exploited. McGowan
(2001) describes the historical confluence of people in these communities in southeastern NSW, and Lawrence (1995, 2000) provides an insightful archaeological study of community interaction at one such settlement at Dolly’s Creek on the Moorabool Gold Field west of Melbourne.

Another social group, the Chinese, also formed mining communities in the rural Australian landscape during that time. They too had common purposes of increasing their wealth. However, unlike their British counterparts, Chinese communities were overwhelmingly male and as a rule did not include households of families or official infrastructures. Although those communities also imprinted their unifying physical cultural attributes onto the landscape, their view of that landscape went beyond seeing it as merely an economic source. It also became important for its socio-symbolic status.

As with the term ‘community’, ‘landscape’ has also been a contested concept with an elusive meaning (Tuan 1979:89). It is generally taken to mean all the visible features of countryside or land, which are often considered in terms of their aesthetic appeal. This widespread understanding derives from its physical geography, its appearance or surface shape and its topography, geomorphology, hydrology and vegetation (Knight 2001:2).

However, for most writers in cultural landscape studies, the term means more than a pleasing view of scenery. It denotes the interaction of people and place: a social group and its spaces, particularly the spaces to which the group belongs and from which its members derive some part of their shared identity and meaning. Cultural landscape studies focus most on the history of how people have used everyday space – buildings, rooms, streets, fields or yards – to establish their identity, articulate their social relations, and derive cultural meaning. Geographers have traditionally used cultural landscape studies to gain a better knowledge of ordinary environments to enable a deeper understanding of the people who live in them (Groth 1997:1-2).

Since the term, cultural landscape, was originally defined by the geographer Carl Sauer in 1963, reasoning has suggested that it may be seen as the physical reflection of attempts by cultural communities to reconcile their associations, choices, requirements and ideals for economic, social and political reasons with parts of the natural landscape. More recently, interpretation of landscape has been increasingly seen as the relationship between seeing it and experiencing it (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988, Knight 2001:4-5, Riley 1997:200).

Acceptance of the cultural landscape as a cognitive entity that incorporates the complexities of human experience and perception is being progressively considered an integral component of landscape-orientated archaeological studies (Knight 2001:5). In their recent publication Archaeologies of Landscape, Knapp and Ashmore (1999:1) argue that not only do landscapes provide resources, refuge and risks that both impel and impact on human actions and situations; they are also entities that exist by virtue of them being perceived, experienced, and contextualised by people.

Today, although there are widely diverging ideas about landscape and how it can or should be studied archaeologically, there is also broad agreement that landscape is much more than an environment to be exploited. The social and symbolic dimensions of landscapes are not restricted to ‘sacred’ sites and pervade the entire landscape in all its known and unexpected aspects (van Dommelen 1999:284).

The four general approaches to the interpretation of landscapes that have been prominent in recent archaeological studies, as described by Knight (2001:8-14), are the landscape as habitat, artefact, sociofact and mentifact. In brief, the landscape as habitat is where human populations are seen to have operated primarily in accordance with economic imperatives, as artefact the landscape has undergone some level of alteration as a result of human occupation, a sociofactual interpretation involves the nature of links between individuals and groups over broad expanses of country, and as mentifact the features of a landscape are
brought under human control by assigning them ritual or mythological importance and the landscape is subsequently drawn into the spiritual life of the community.

To some extent, each of these interpretations is employed during this investigation of the physical and socio-symbolic elements that once combined to form the settlements of mid to late nineteenth-century overseas Chinese communities in the landscapes of southeastern NSW.

In combining these two equally elusive concepts – community and landscape – Jackson’s counsel to architects and town planners in the tenth anniversary issue of his magazine *Landscape* in 1960 is equally relevant to this archaeological study today. At that time he wrote: “Communities and landscapes have always been organized into patterns, but often by anonymous forces or traditions. ... The architect or planner who becomes aware of this wide ancient field of anonymous folk design will learn to see purpose where previously he had seen only disorder ... The rural landscape and the rural dwellings are not to be studied as models for imitation; but they reveal how forms and patterns come into being, and the process is by no means always rational” (Jackson 1960 in Meinig 1979:220).

Lawrence (2000:13) notes that the physical structure of community is the settlement, which is the framework that supports and sustains its social fabric. She argues that the spatial organisation, or pattern, of a settlement structures the kind of interaction possible between individuals.

This thesis contends that for the mid to late nineteenth-century overseas Chinese communities within the study area both the pattern of the physical structure of the community, the settlement, as well as the pattern of the socio-symbolic landscape are a combined construct within and between settlements designed to regulate community activity and promote a hierarchy of interaction between individuals.

Hodder and Orton (1976:60) note that such hierarchies exist because there is insufficient demand to support certain activities or services functioning at the local level. They also state these more specialised services are therefore provided by larger centres, which are spaced at greater intervals. Under Christaller's central place theory (Haggett 1965:120-25), central places fall into a hierarchy comprising discrete groups of centres. Put simply, the theory states that centres of each larger, higher order group perform all the functions of smaller, lower order centres plus a group of central functions that differentiates them from the lower, more minor, order. The spatial arrangement of that hierarchical model is divided into three main types. The first distributes the central and secondary centres according to the market, the second arranges them in relation to transport and the importance of communication lines, and the third distributes them according to administrative principles, where secondary centres are wholly within the area of larger centres (Hodder and Orton 1976:60-61).

Although many other scholars, for example Bracey (1962), Brush (1953), Johnson (1972), Lösch (1954), and Reed and Muench (1938), have proposed variations or alternatives for examining hierarchical settlement patterns, a simple truism remains. That is, ‘it is a common observation that there are fewer larger places than smaller ones in a region and that the larger centres provide a greater number and variety of goods than the smaller places do’ (Garner 1967 in Hodder and Orton 1976:60).

As Hodder and Orton (1976:62) indicate, this hypothetical hierarchy of larger central places and smaller secondary settlements can be tested by, for example, examining the relative numbers and types of material [or structures] at different sites. Under this hypothesis, it could be expected that because sites at higher levels in the hierarchy might have been important for the redistribution of materials to smaller centres then they would contain larger quantities of those materials. It might also be expected that due to their more specialised services, larger centres would contain some material types [or structures] that are not found in smaller settlements.

This thesis examines and tests the above hypothesis and also contends that such a hierarchical pattern of central and secondary settlements existed for mid to late nineteenth-century overseas Chinese communities in southeastern NSW.
1.4 UNDERSTANDING RURAL CHINESE COMMUNITIES

As Jackson noted in 1960, communities and landscapes have always been organised into patterns, but often by anonymous forces or traditions (Meinig 1979:220). As a precursor to investigating the individual elements that combine to form nineteenth-century rural Chinese communities in southeastern NSW, this section sheds light on some of the anonymous forces and traditions that helped shape those settlements.

Through a brief analysis of the principles of three aspects of rural Chinese communities — societal, physical and symbolic — a prevalent picture of uniformity is revealed in nineteenth-century rural villages, particularly those of southeastern China. A uniformity, it is argued, that is apparent in communities within the study area, and possibly elsewhere in Australia.

SOCIETY

Although China may not have gained official status as a nation until the twentieth century, as a country it has been a largely unified entity, and widely recognised as such, for well over three millennia, since the Shang Dynasty (1766-1122 BC). The long-term legacy of the Shang was primarily one of attitudes, such as, an obsessive concern with ritual, a strongly bureaucratic outlook, and a consuming interest in the family and in ancestor reverence. The subsequent Zhou Dynasty (1122-256 BC) contributed, among many other things, the unifying philosophy of Confucius (c. 551-479 BC), the central tenet of which was that the proper ordering of human relationships through instruction would lead to good behaviour by the individual and good government by the ruler (Hayes 2001:25, Smith 1994:28-30, Zo 1977:315).

The centralised monarchy, the form of government that was to characterise most of the rest of Chinese history was created by the Ch’in Dynasty (221-206 BC) and entrenched during the much longer Han Dynasty (202 BC-AD 220). It was during this period that the geographic scope of China proper — the region in which Chinese were to become the dominant ethnic group — was staked out (Ebrey 1996:60, Smith 1994:31).

Nomadic peoples of the northern frontiers overwhelmed successive regimes but China was reunified into a centralised, universal empire under the Tang (618-906). From then to the Song Dynasty (960-1279) came greater centralisation of imperial power and transformation of the aristocracy into a social-bureaucratic elite. The Chinese gentry, a term often used to refer to retired officials in the context of their home communities, essentially identified with the imperial state. With the spread of lineage organisations during the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties, Confucian social ethics grew to be recognised norms on which the Chinese community as a whole and the government of China depended (Ebrey 1996:6, Hayes 2001:25-27).

Several levels of administrative control were required to maintain a cohesive and stable centralised government over such an enormous expanse of land and people. This hierarchical administrative apparatus, reinforced at strategic points by a military presence, made it possible for single dynasties to control vast realms for considerable periods of time. Although this apparatus had undergone refinements and improvements in detail, usually in favour of increased centralisation and tighter control, by the time of the Qing Dynasty in 1644 it had changed little since the time of the first emperor of Ch’in, more than 1,800 years earlier (Hsiao 1960:3).

The elaborate administrative hierarchy consisted of the emperor at its apex and a huge officialdom below. The lower administrative levels operated through a system of local governments and were the key to the success of maintaining control and stability throughout China. This system comprised a hierarchy of provinces, prefectures and districts. A governor usually controlled the provincial administration, a prefect administered a prefecture and, in turn, a magistrate presided over a district. The magistrate, who occupied the lowest level of the regular administrative hierarchy, was often described as a ‘local official’. However, by the early nineteenth century, this local official often presided over 250,000 inhabitants, a task for which...
he usually had insufficient time or facilities to undertake, particularly in rural areas where the
majority of the people lived (Hsiao 1960:4-5).

This lack of regular officialdom in rural areas had been recognised as early as the Ch‘in
Dynasty and since then there had been groupings and divisions on a local scale and agents of the
government throughout rural China. Consistent with their predecessors, the Qing Dynasty also
drafted local inhabitants to assist in rural control. As nearly everywhere in China the more or
less compact village formed the basic unit of rural community, and local headmen were
recruited from these communities. These included headmen from the police and revenue
collection divisions, managers of rural granaries, and, particularly in southern China, the
headmen of clans (groups held together by kinship bonds) (Hsiao 1960:5-6, Stockman 2000:47).

The clan or lineage, seen by some scholars as the basic social unit dating from as early
as the Neolithic, was usually one section of a village. However, in the nineteenth century
southeastern provinces of Guangdong and Fujian, the lineage and the village tended to coincide,
so that many villages consisted of single lineages. Although this coincidence was found in other
parts of the country, particularly central provinces, it was most pronounced in the southeast

Any idea of local self-government was alien to the central system of rural control. Local
initiatives and community village life were tolerated by the central government either to
facilitate control or because interference was deemed unnecessary. Villages, clans and other
rural groups were only seen as convenient points through which sub-administrative control
might be extended into the countryside (Hsiao 1960:7). Thus, at its broadest level, it can be seen
that the everyday life of the basic unit of Chinese community, the village, was inexorably tied to
the conservative administrative, economic, political and social dictums of an all-pervasive
system of central control from ancient times until near the end of the Qing Dynasty in the late
nineteenth century.

However, where the government abstained from interfering with its affairs, usually
because the authorities were unable to completely control or supervise its activities, the village
possessed a measure of autonomy. Although the village was an organised community, such
autonomy was not democratic but was directed by the rural gentry or the clan organisation. In
addition, even though clan membership included all social levels within a village its leadership
was usually in the hands of the local gentry with ordinary village members having little
influence in village or clan affairs (Hsiao 1960:263-264).

Apart from the formally appointed officials, there were a number of people who were
also village leaders or headmen and held no official position. Such leaders included the ‘head of
town’, ‘market headman’ and ‘village headman’. Yang (1945 in Hsiao 1960:265) noted,

... Their influence in public affairs or in the community life may be much
greater than that of the official leaders, but it may not be evident. They are
known essentially as respected laymen. The most notable of these are the
village elders, those who have performed special services for the village as a
whole, and the schoolteachers. These persons comprise the village gentry, so
to speak....

A layman leader is not elected or appointed and is usually a man of a kind
entirely different from an official leader. He is a leader largely because he is
admired and respected or because he holds an important position in the social
life of the village....

The village gentry are also heads of the chief clans or families.

It was these ‘non-official’ village headmen who played the major role in local
community affairs. They usually initiated the ideas, directed the enterprises and supplied or
collected the necessary funds for such enterprises. They were typically responsible for all
economic and religious activities, maintenance of order and defence of the community.
Participation by the majority of the villagers in community undertakings rarely went beyond the
contribution of manual labour or perhaps modest sums of money (Hayes 2001:17, Hsiao
1960:275).
The religious needs of a village usually centred on one or more temples. They were places where prayers were said, votive offerings made, family deaths reported, religious festivals held, or other religious activities performed. The number and type of temples in rural villages depended on a number of factors, such as, the general prosperity of the community and/or the deity venerated. These structures varied in size from imposing structures to diminutive single roomed temples and sometimes also became centres of non-religious activities. In a well-organised rural community where the inhabitants belonged to more than one clan the temple became the headquarters of village organisation. The building of temples was more often than not the result of community cooperation, and again usually owed their existence to the leadership and direction of local village ‘headmen’ (Hsiao 1960:275-281, Liu 1959:98).

Local initiative for the maintenance of order and defence of the community also frequently came from the village gentry, who usually had more at stake than the average commoner. On the whole, these activities proved successful at a local level, particularly in the mid-nineteenth century when banditry was at its height in China. However, the central government retained, and exercised, its control as and when it was considered necessary to curtail any potential military threat by local village gentry (Hsiao 1960:294-306).

As can be seen, although conditions varied in different parts of the Chinese empire, the gentry or ‘non-official’ village headmen constituted the most active element in the community life of the Chinese village. However, in southern China, clan organisation often served to bind rural communities closer together than villages in other localities. The presence of the clan in a village introduced greater cohesion than otherwise would have been present (Hsiao 1960:316-322).

The clan was primarily a kinship group that since ancient times had its roots in some territorial location. The predominantly agricultural population of the village tended to be less mobile than city dwellers, and kinship ties were therefore better preserved in the villages than in the cities. As a result different patterns of social organisation arose in those two places. Whereas guilds and civic associations were typical in the cities, clans were characteristic of rural villages. Of the two types of clan association in such villages, single clan villages were more common in southern provinces and multi-clan villages in the north. Even so, there were many multi-clan villages in south China.

In single clan villages, where kinship group and rural community were virtually identical, village leadership was the clan leadership. In multi-clan villages, clan headmen did not necessarily serve as village heads but often exerted considerable influence on village affairs. The latter situation sometimes gave rise to inter-clan rivalry or on occasion to open conflict.

In addition to providing cohesive community leadership, beyond that provided by government appointed officials, the most common activities undertaken by all clans were the compilation and revision of genealogical records; ancestor reverence and the institution of ancestral halls, ritual land, and ancestral graveyards; material assistance to clan members; education of young members; punishment of misconduct and settlement of disputes; and self-defence. While the clan was a social group clearly distinguishable from the village as such, it was so entangled with the village that its fortunes fluctuated with those of the rural community in which it existed (Hayes 2001:17, 27, Hsiao 1960:323-370, Lamley 1990:255-278; Liu 1959, Smith 1994:90-93).

In essence, the inhabitants of rural China did not constitute a homogenous mass but were divided into two broad categories, the gentry and the common people. The former, particularly the ‘unofficial’ local headmen, were leaders who directed communities through their local control and entrepreneurship and the latter were usually only contributors of labour towards community enterprises. These two groups operated within all Chinese village communities, which, in turn, were all historically formulated from a single 2,000-year-old central template to create a single uniform type of rural community throughout China (Hsiao 1960:323-370).
The social structure of those communities usually comprised, in descending order of status, the lower ranks of ‘official’ and ‘unofficial’ gentry, peasants, artisans and merchants. Within these groups, individuals were subdivided according to specific occupation, income, life-style and prestige (Knapp 1989:141, Smith 1994:75, Wang 1995:3, Werner 1950:30).

Although ranked second on the traditional Chinese social scale, peasants – comprising at least 80 per cent of the population in the nineteenth century – were exploited and seldom well educated with many living on the margin of subsistence. At any given time, about 30 percent of peasant families were tenant farmers, 20 per cent were petty landowners who had to work rented land in addition to their own to make ends meet, and the remainder were landless. In southern China these petty landholdings were usually fragmented around villages averaging at most half to one and a half hectares, barely adequate to support a family of five. From necessity, many peasant households undertook subsidiary occupations to support themselves. Such activities in small rural workshops and homes dominated the processing of many goods, from wine, oil, sugar, and tobacco to cloth, leather products, iron utensils and other items of daily use. As well as providing essential field labour, peasant women usually played economically significant roles in this home industry. In addition, the rituals of peasant life emulated many characteristics of the gentry. There was a general willingness of peasants to indebted themselves in order to fulfil the ceremonial requirements of marriage and mourning. These latter activities firmly linked the rural peasantry to the wider national community through their imitation of provincial and capital cities (King 1911:55-57, Rawski 1988:23, Smith 1994:75-79, Watson 1988:3-4).

On the social scale, artisans or more correctly workers, ranked below peasants. Although lower in social standing, they often earned as much, if not more than most peasants. This group encompassed a variety of occupations, including carpenters, masons, potters, metalworkers and tailors as well as manufacturers of commodities, such as, silk, tea, paper, and furniture, and service persons, such as, butchers, barbers, doctors, fortune-tellers, cooks, and transport labourers (Smith 1994:79).

In theory, merchants, from simple street traders to wealthy consignment businessmen, were considered unscrupulous and parasitic and occupied the lowest position in the traditional class structure. However, in the nineteenth century, gentry families readily engaged in commercial enterprises and the line between gentry and merchants was often blurred. Government generally did not intrude on local markets and encouraged self-regulation among merchants, which allowed many ‘non-gentry’ to attain positions of responsibility and influence in the community (Fairbank and Lui 1980:416-438, Smith 1994:79-81, Wang 1995:4-10).

Other groups in the community that lacked any standing on the traditional Chinese social hierarchy and even less formal political influence included the Buddhist and Daoist clergy, most of whom were illiterate and ‘demeaned people’. These latter included slaves, indentured servants, entertainers, prostitutes, criminals, beggars and other groups, such as, the boat people of Guangdong. Although none of the six traditional women’s service positions – brokers, matchmakers, sorceresses, ‘smooth-talkers’, doctors and midwives – brought any social prestige, as mentioned above, many peasant women played essential roles in rural communities through assisting their husbands work the land and in home businesses. Others ran successful enterprises themselves and a very few played active administrative roles, but usually not in rural communities (Smith 1994:84-85).

Overall, in rural communities, as throughout China until the early twentieth century, an enveloping central system governed village activities at a broad level and the historical theme of social life was one of subordination: the individual to the group, the young to the old, and females to males. Enduring informal and formal rituals, such as, ancestor reverence, which the state encouraged elites and commoners alike to follow, reinforced this subordination. It is argued that this universal pattern of social life resulted in a largely universal physical composition of rural communities throughout China. The historical development and components of which are discussed below.

Introduction
THE PHYSICAL LANDSCAPE

Although Chinese villages had a basically similar social organisational pattern and displayed, in varying degrees, social activities of a similar nature, there were pronounced differences between the physical layout of villages of northern and southern provinces, where there are clear contrasts between geographical characteristics. Geography, together with the dominant economic function, appeared to have shaped the rural communities of those regions into two distinguishable varieties. Villages in the north were typically 'close-dwelling', generally formed by compact clusters of farmsteads, whereas those in the south were ‘loose-dwelling’ villages, made up of loosely arranged households (Hsiao 1960:14, 563).

Due to their natural growths, the physical appearance of most rural communities, the villages, differed from the uniformity of Chinese cities and towns. The following general description of a rural village by Browne in 1901 relates to the majority of such villages throughout China, which depended on an agricultural economy. He noted,

If, in certain respects, Chinese cities appear to be “laid out” with an attempt at uniformity, as much cannot be said of the villages. These are developed just as circumstances happen to make them. ... The first settler built his dwelling where he thought best; another followed his example. It was necessary to have a path to get to these and soon ... another path, or a continuation of the first, running; it may be, at sharp angles. Other houses, other paths, other streets; but no system about them (Browne 1901 in Hsiao 1960:12-13).

Although most villages depended an agricultural economy, some had a non-agricultural base, such as, herding, fishing, forestry, hunting and pomiculture. In some rural areas, non-agricultural activities played important roles in the formation of settlements, for example, the market town, which was essentially a village with a dominant farm based economy but which also had a substantial commercial sector.

Many such market towns were transitional forms between villages and designated towns, the lowest level settlement form in China’s urban hierarchy. While the functions and arrangements of markets in villages of both north and south China remained essentially the same, there were marked differences between the commodities available in the markets of many of these communities. The commodities exchanged in most small rural markets were usually locally produced and, for less prosperous localities, consisted of rice, grain, salt, fish and cloth. However, in the more prosperous areas, particularly in southern Guangdong, the goods supplied by rural community markets went far beyond the simple needs of ordinary people. An 1883 gazetteer described one such village in Nan-hai Hsien, Guangzhou (Canton), as having 26 streets and lanes with over 1,500 stores where 10,000 sorts of goods were collected and exchanged. This highly exceptional rural market was made possible by the prosperity of the ongoing ancient coastal trade of Guangdong and, more recently, following the expansion of commerce after the Opium War of 1842 (Hsiao 1960:22-23, Knapp 1992:13-14, Skinner 1965:6-7).

However, the majority of villages had agricultural based economies and the most common layout was nucleated. Within these villages, houses and other associated buildings are built close together to form a compact settlement cluster. This type of community has a general absence of green spaces and even space between buildings with populations varying from fewer than 100 residents to several thousand. As a generalisation, small villages have populations of less than 200 with 30 or so households, medium sized villages between 200 and 1,000, and large villages in excess of 1,000. Nucleated villages can be divided into three types: compact; linear; and ring villages; with the former being the most common (Knapp 1992:14, 19).

Compact villages are generally circular in shape and appear as an irregular polygon with housing clustered to take advantage of the topographical conditions. They are usually located in or near the centre of cropland where level land is easily accessible for villagers. Rural builders in China pay substantial attention to micro-climatic conditions, mindful of slope,
drainage, prevailing winds and exposure to sunlight. In southern China, such villages are typically situated at the break in slope or slightly upslope in the lower foothills, but never far from the lowland areas that are level or terraced. The advantages of this type of village are that people live close to each other, houses and roads are compactly laid out, and the space between buildings can serve community uses. Disadvantages, particularly if the village is large, include overcrowding and distance from farmland. As most compact villages grew over time without planning, their internal arrangement is often one of disorder. There are frequently problems with ventilation, sunshine and drainage, which may lead to disputes between neighbours (Knapp 1989:2-3, 13-14, 1992:15). A missionary described a village on the coast of Guangdong in 1832 in a way that could equally be applied to many such villages in southern China. He remarked,

In the afternoon we visited some villages at the entrance of the bay. Viewed from a distance, their appearance is most romantic; the houses, built of brick, rise up among the high trees, of which there area a multitude, overshadowing them. But on nearer approach the charm vanishes. Large quantities of manure, near the houses, affect the air; the houses themselves have scarcely any furniture, and are exceedingly filthy; the lanes are narrow, and the whole built without plan or convenience (Gutzlaff in Hayes 1970:161).

As the soil of some southern provinces was more fertile than that of most northern provinces, village population was often larger in the south, particularly at the mouths of rivers along the southeast coast. Some economically prosperous villages in Guangdong contained huge populations. In 1883, Williams described the villages in Nan-hai Hsien, in Guangzhou,

The people are grouped together into hamlets and villages ... In the district of Nan-hai, which forms the western part of the city of Canton, and the surrounding country for more than a hundred square miles, there are one hundred and eighty ... villages; the population of each ... varies from two hundred and upwards to one hundred thousand, but ordinarily ranges between three hundred and thirty-five hundred (Williams 1907:280-281).

In southeast China, comprising Jiangxi, Fujian, Guangdong, Taiwan, and Hainan Provinces, the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, and Hong Kong, the scale of villages differs between the coastal and inland regions. The largest villages in southeastern China are in northeast Guangdong Province, averaging in excess of 1,000 inhabitants. Villages are also densely populated in the Pearl River Delta and are relatively large (Knapp 1992:29).

For the most part, a village community is a mappable spatial domain with identifiable characteristics relating to residence and work (Knapp 1992:2-4).

With some generalisation, in nineteenth-century southeast China within the limits of the community precinct, a typical compact rural village comprised: single or multi-room household units, which were predominantly single storey buildings with or without courtyards, and associated adjacent structures, such as, stables, pigsties, vegetable and/or flower gardens, latrines and fuel storage areas; single or multi-room stores, which contained either individual specialist traders, or a combination of general trader, restaurant, teahouse, gambling place, and opium den; an open area communal market place, often flanked by stores; a communal well(s); a temple building(s) and outdoor shrines; perhaps a communal rice mill and possibly a school. Vegetable gardens often extended beyond the immediate village precinct towards surrounding crop fields, as did many of the outdoor shrines. Graves were usually not confined to a single cemetery but rather positioned around a village at auspiciously determined locations; with coffins/ funera l jars often temporarily placed in similar locations until appropriate final resting places were determined (Baker 1963:14-28, Hase and Man-Yip 1992:79-84, Osgood 1963:109-114).

Overall, the geographical environment, the dominant economic function, regulation and tradition combined to historically shape the physical landscapes and individual elements of rural communities throughout China. Given differences in geography and economic functions, it is further argued that this largely universal physical setting and composition also resulted from an overlying perception of the landscape, the history and application of which is discussed below.
THE PERCEIVED LANDSCAPE

Despite the common western perception that the internal geometry of villages in north and south China is without pattern, mazelike, with no trace of design that resulted from natural growths, a great many rural settlements do indeed have an ‘order’ derived from *fengshui*. *Feng* is ‘wind’, *shui* is ‘water’. Wind is what cannot be seen, and water what cannot be grasped (Hastings 1912: Vol. 5: 833). Many authors, from Eitel in 1873 to those of the present day, such as Hayes (2001), Webster (1997) and Wei (1992), reveal that Chinese practices of siting demonstrate an environmental awareness, a regard for recurring patterns of nature, and the imposition of order (Knapp 1992: 5).

‘Geomancy’ is an expression often incorrectly used as an alternative for *fengshui* (and ‘geomancers’ for practitioners of *fengshui*) as the word more correctly relates to an Arab form of divination of the future by figures and lines, and by dropping handfuls of earth on the ground and studying the patterns, which spread north into Europe and south into Africa at the end of the first millennium. The word ‘geomancy’ was adopted by writers of the mid-nineteenth century to translate *fengshui*, and is now almost a common substitute (Bruun 1995: 173, Lee 1986: 173, Skinner 1982: xi, Stankowski 2000: 8, Topley 1966: 12).

Many ancient cultures practised such ‘geomantic’ awareness of the environment. For example, the Japanese used the directional rules of planning based on a zodiac system called *Hogaku* (Critchlow 1977: 219-222), Hindus used a graphic reproduction of the universe called a *Mandala* (Pieper 1977: 55, Robertson 2000), and the Romans recognised the importance of the choice of a ‘healthy’ site for a town or village (Vitruvius 1914: 17). In the latter case, the site had to be located in a climate that was not misty, or frosty, or located near marshes where breezes and the mist would carry the ‘poisonous breath’ to the towns and make the site and the people unhealthy (Stankowski 2000: 21).

Although to a large extent, western civilisation has lost most of its mystical interaction between humans and their physical environment, taken as a whole the Chinese have not. Perhaps one of the last vestiges of western ‘geomancy’ and/or ‘necromancy’ is in Ben Jonson’s 1610 play, *The Alchemist*, in which he satirises the follies of his contemporaries. Act I, Scene III, is of particular relevance, where Abel Drugger, a tobacco merchant, seeks magical assistance from Subtle, the alchemist, in setting up an apothecary’s shop. The following extract not only shows Jonson’s understanding of alchemy but also the audience’s expected knowledge of the subject.

**Drugger** [to Subtle]: This, an’t please your worship; I am a young beginner, and am building/ Of a new shop, an’t like your worship, just/ At corner of a street. (Here’s the plot [plan] on’t)./ And I would know by art, sir, of your worship/ Which way I should make my door, by necromancy./ And where my shelues [shelves]. And which be for boxes./ And, which for pots. I would be glad to thrive [thrive], sir./ And, I was wish’d to your worship, by a gentleman,/ One Captaine Face, that say’s you know mens planets./ And their good angels, and their bad./...

**Subtle**: There is a ship now, coming from Ormus./ That shall yield him such a commodity/ Of drugs – This is the west, and this the south? [Pointing to the plan].

**Drugger**: Yes, sir.

**Subtle**: And those are your two sides!

**Drugger**: Ay, sir.

**Subtle**: Make me your dore, then, south; your broad side, west/And, on the east-side of your shop, aloft./ Write Mathlai, Tarmiel, and Baraborat;

Vpon the north-part, Rael, Velel, Thiel./ They are the names of those Mercurial spirits, /That do fright flies from boxes/ ... /And/ Beneath your threshold, bury me a load-stone/ To draw in gallants, that weare spurres; The rest./ They’ll seeme to follow./ ... /And, on your stall, a puppet, with a vice,/ And a court-ocus, to call city-dames./ You shall deal much, with minerals./ ...
Drugger: I would entreat/ Another favour of his worship./ But to look over,
 sir, my almanack,/ And cross out my ill-days, that I may neither/ Bargain, nor
trust upon them.

As Freedman (1968:5) notes, if the above passages were in Chinese then they would
make sense to both an ancient and modern day audience. Chinese would recognise the fengshui
expert in the character of Subtle and commend the caution of Drugger, or any other tradesman,
in wanting to orientate his shop and conduct his business on days favoured in the almanac

Even though Ernest Eitel (1873:83) of the London Missionary Society, whose view was
representative of Western Christian science of his day, described fengshui as ‘the foolish
daughter of a wise mother ... a farrago of nonsense and childish absurdities’, admitted,
... the fact remains nevertheless, that Feng-shui is at present a power in China.
It is an essential part of ancestral worship, which national religion neither
Taoism nor Buddhism managed to deprive of its all-pervading influence.
Feng-shui is, moreover, so engrafted upon Chinese social life, it has become
so firmly intertwined with every possible event of domestic life (birth,
marr iage, housebuilding, funerals, etc.) that it cannot be uprooted without a
complete overthrow and consequent re-organisation of all social forms and
habits (Eitel 1873:79).

If geographical features, particularly access to water, were primary criteria in site
selection, then directional orientation to take best advantage of the sun and wind was the next
important factor. For the Chinese, this knowledge of natural patterns found expression in a set
of practices called fengshui (Knapp 1989:20). De Groot (1897:939) remarked, ‘that even the
least educated among the people show an astounding amount of knowledge of Fung-shui’.
Nearly everyone in China recognised its basic symbolic repertoire and knew intuitively a good
geomantic location on first glance (Smith 1991:171). Fengshui still enjoys remarkable
credibility within the Chinese cultural context and is invoked widely in the selection of
settlement sites even today (Knapp 1989:20, Mong 1987:107).

Fengshui is essentially living in harmony with the environment. In 1897, J. J. M. De
Groot, in the vein of Eitel nearly a quarter of a century earlier, provided a rather disparaging
description of fengshui as follows,

Fung-shui means a quasi-scientific system, supposed to teach men where and
how to build graves, temples and dwellings, in order that the dead, the gods
and the living may be located therein exclusively, or as far as possible, under
the auspicious influences of Nature (De Groot 1897:935).

But it was Joseph Needham who encapsulated the essence of fengshui in his opening
comments on the spirit of Chinese architecture in 1971. He remarked,

In no other expression have the Chinese so faithfully incarnated their great
principles that Man cannot be thought of apart from Nature, and that man is
not to be divided from social man. Not only in the great constructions of
temples and palaces, but also in the domestic buildings scattered as farmsteads
or collected in villages and towns, there was embodiment throughout the ages
of a feeling for cosmic pattern and the symbolism of the directions, the
seasons, winds and constellations (Needham 1971:61).

Fengshui is believed to have started some 5,000 years ago when Wu of Hsia (2953-
2838 BC) found a tortoise that had a perfect ‘magic square’ in the pattern of the back of its shell.
From this chance discovery evolved the I Ching (the book of Change), Chinese astrology,

There is evidence to show that over 3,000 years ago government buildings, imperial
palaces and cities were planned and built using the principles of fengshui, as were the locations
of graves (Webster 1997:1, Wheatley 1971:411-427). Although scholars had been grappling
with various aspects of fengshui for centuries, its basic principles were not written down until
the Han Dynasty (207 BC—AD 265). Historians credit Guan Lo (AD 210-256) as the first famous
prophet of fengshui (Chung and Wegars 2005:25). While small changes were made to the
system during the following centuries, the basic ideas have remained unchanged since the time
of Emperor Hsi Tsang (AD 874-888) in the Tang Dynasty. The principles of fengshui from that time are today known as the Form School, which deals largely with the formation and contours of the landscape (Mong 1987:107, Skinner 1982:10-12, Webster 1997:1-3).

About 100 years later, scholars from the Song Dynasty (AD 960-1279) reviewed and expanded on previous literature, and fengshui, as it is known today, is based largely on their research. These scholars believed that people’s individual energy should be harmonised with the celestial energy from the land. Consequently, a second school of fengshui began that used aspects of astrology, the pakua symbol, the Lo Shu magic square, and the luo-pan (or geomancer’s) compass to work out the best locations and directions for individual people. This system became known as the Compass School (Skinner 1982:11-12, Webster 1997:3).

According to Skinner (1982:12-13), south of the Yangtze, everyone followed the Form School. The Form School utilises a greater degree of intuitive insight while the Compass School, although more complex in its theory, is more subjective and mechanical in its application. As one writer expressed it ‘In the Form School the principles are clear but the practice is difficult ... with the Compass the principles are obscure but the practice is easy’.

Ancient Chinese scholars believed that there was originally just one abstract energy in the universe known as qi (the breath of nature) - often referred to as the dragon’s breath. In fengshui, a place where qi accumulates or forms is said to be the perfect place to live a happy, prosperous and successful life. Unfortunately qi is easily scattered by strong winds, so windy sites should be avoided; but where qi is bounded by water, then it accumulates and the site has good fengshui. However all water is not necessarily beneficial, if it flows too fast, it will take the wealth away; if it flows in straight lines it will also carry away the qi energy. Ideally the water needs to be slow moving and meandering. A site surrounded by slow-moving water and rolling hills to dissipate the winds is ideal (Webster 1997:4-6).

The theories of yin and yang are also vitally important in fengshui. According to legend, the first time qi moved it created yang (the male principle), and when it rested it created yin (the female principle). Qi then went on to create the entire universe. Chinese people regard yin and yang as being the balancing, harmonising factors of the universe. They are seen as opposite energies and neither can exist without the other. Yang is active, masculine, dominating, and positive – it is full of power and energy. Yin is receptive, feminine, yielding, and negative – it supports, nurtures and sustains. Yang signifies the sunny, southern side of a hill, while yin signifies the shady, northern side. It is probable that the two terms originally meant ‘sunny’ and ‘sunless’ (Lau 1963:125). In fengshui, yang energy represents hills, mountains, and other raised areas whereas yin represents valleys, rivers, and streams. A very hilly landscape with no water has too much yang and earth that is completely flat contains too much yin. A gently rolling landscape represents a balance of yang and yin (Webster 1997:6-8).

Much of fengshui has to do with common sense and observation. The ancient Chinese recognised that life was easier on the sunny, southern slopes, surrounded by rolling hills to dissipate the harsh northerly winds. They also recognised that the hills and rocks looked like strange animals, and they saw that some of these seemed protective while others looked threatening. In the Form School of fengshui, dragons are raised landforms, and where a green or azure dragon is found, there will also be a white tiger. The dragon and the tiger usually create a horseshoe shape, and in China the dragon lies on the east side and the tiger on the west. The hills of the dragon are usually slightly higher than the hills of the tiger. The dragon is the male and provides yang, and the tiger is female and provides yin. Qi energy is at its greatest where the loins of the dragon and tiger are joined together in intercourse, but other areas between them are also considered to have good fengshui. Especially fortunate sites also have black tortoise hills to the north and red phoenix hills to the south, creating animal symbolism in all four directions (March 1968:256-258, Skinner 1982:8, Webster 1997:21-22). When combined, the above factors form an ideal fengshui site ‘one which nestles in the embrace of hills standing to its rear and on its flanks; it is then like an armchair, comfortable and protecting’ (Freedman 1966:122).
The above directional features of fengshui have been traditionally applied in China for millennia. That is, for the Chinese the south side was the side of light and life and the north was the side of darkness and death with the tradition being maintained into this century (Snodgrass 1985:309-310). From this tradition stems the general observation that all Chinese houses are sited facing south in order to gain maximum sunlight and therefore yang. However, in practice few Chinese strictly followed the comprehensive dictates of fengshui but rather used it as a rule of thumb of what must not be ignored to ensure a healthy living environment (Knapp 1989:27).

This practical application of fengshui principles led to a number of variations in house orientation within China. Werner (1950:50) notes that house entrances ‘faced south, south-west, or west’ in China. Boyd (1962:93) states, in Huichou at the southeastern extremity of Anhui Province in Central China, west of Shanghai, houses were not even planned to face south but mostly south-west, occasionally south-east; this was for various reasons, such as to avoid prevailing wind from the due south, and to gain winter sunlight, which in this latitude is rather high (Boyd 1962:93).

Knapp noticed that an examination of rural dwellings in many areas of Taiwan revealed orientation toward the south, east, and west, but rarely do they face north. On this observation he noted,

Orthodox feng shui and canonical orientation as formalised in northern China led to a southern orientation. This positioning was altered in southeastern China and carried over to Taiwan, most likely in recognition of the benefit of the winds which blew off the adjoining water in spring and summer (Knapp 1986:97).

Many scholars have provided examples of where the principles of fengshui have been applied in the siting of villages in China. For example, Shen (1974:188-189) described the fengshui woodlands as ‘modern shelter belts’ for villages, Wei (1992:35-45) detailed the siting of villages in Fujian, Anhui, and Hunan Provinces using fengshui, Hase and Man-Yip (1992:79-94) in Sheung Wo Hang Village, Hong Kong, and Aijmer (1968:74-81), Lung (1980:81-92), and Hayes (1996a, 1979, 2001) in Hong Kong. Those authors and many others have similarly demonstrated how fengshui has influenced the siting of dwellings, stores, temples and graves throughout China for thousands of years.

An intrinsic belief in the system of ancestor reverence is that the souls of the ancestors are linked with the site of their tombs. As such the art and science of fengshui is of prime importance for locating the site with the best aspect for a grave as this decision affects the fortunes of all the deceased’s children and their families (March 1968:253-268, Skinner 1982:13-14).

Overall, the universal millennia-old community perception of the physical landscape using the ancient traditional science/art of fengshui has persisted throughout China to modern times, and has largely been responsible for shaping the physical features of communities within that landscape. It has been responsible for the siting of whole villages, buildings within those villages, the components of those buildings and the siting of tombs and gravesites surrounding those villages, together with providing many other overlying parameters for the everyday lives of people, particularly in rural communities.

In summary, therefore, the history of the three aspects of rural Chinese community briefly examined above – social, physical and symbolic – combined to provide a prevalent picture of uniformity in nineteenth-century Chinese villages, particularly those of southeastern China. An enveloping central system governed community social activities at a broad level; and the environment, the dominant economic function, regulation, tradition, and a universal ancient community perception combined to historically shape the physical landscapes and individual elements of rural communities.
1.5 **RESEARCH SOURCES AND METHODS**

In seeking to reveal information from the material remains of past human behaviour, historical archaeologists are fortunate in often being able to call upon a wide range of both public and private historical records to augment their material evidence (Connah 1988:105). Where available, such records may also include contemporary photographs and oral accounts. Although such records of the Chinese in southeastern NSW are comparatively few, their limited availability served to broadly indicate possible settlement locations, the composition of those settlements, provide insights into some of the activities at those locations, allow inferences to be made about the relationships between some of the settlements and, in a number of instances, introduce a few of the main Chinese protagonists at various locations.

Although a great deal of the documentation (particularly newspapers), photographs and transcripts of oral interviews relating to southeastern NSW was concentrated in the National Library of Australia, information was also found in other public libraries and private collections in Adaminaby, Braidwood, Canberra, Cooma, Moruya and Tumut. NSW Parliamentary Papers and other official documents were also examined in Canberra at the Australian Archives and the Australian National University.

The NSW State Archives yielded information from official correspondence relating to the southern goldfields. The State Library of NSW provided official and non-official general histories and private letters. The library of the NSW Department of Mineral Resources and Energy, Sydney and the Australian Government Survey Organisation, Canberra, furnished details of mining activity and miners. The NSW Lands Department provided copies of historical and current maps, and details of land ownership were available from the NSW Land Titles Office. Documentary and photographic information was found at the University of Sydney, the offices of the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, NSW Department of Environment and Conservation, and the Powerhouse Museum in Sydney.

The regional libraries in Braidwood, Cooma, Moruya and Tumut, and the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Authority library in Cooma provided valuable local histories on southeastern NSW. The holdings of the historical societies of those four towns also contained helpful historical information. The Information Centres at Braidwood, Cooma, Jindabyne and Tumut assisted towards the research for this study through providing information on the history, geography, and flora and fauna of their respective areas. Other documentary research was carried out at the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne University, the Chinese Museum in Melbourne, and Museums at Ballarat and Bendigo, Victoria, and Booroowa, Braidwood, Canberra, Hillend, Moruya and Young, NSW, and in Hong Kong.

Transcripts of interviews with past residents of various locations within the study area, and held at the National Library of Australia, gave anecdotal accounts of day-to-day life at some of those locations during the twentieth century and often recalled stories of earlier times. Discussions with some of the descendants of both Chinese and non-Chinese people now living in the study area and examination of their private records and collections also yielded valuable information about the area.

Field inspections and documentary investigations at Bathurst, Booroowa, Hillend, Sofala, Uralla and Stuart Town in NSW, and Ballarat, Beechworth, Bendigo, Castlemaine in Victoria, and other NSW and Victorian towns also provided useful historical insights into the life of the Chinese in those areas in nineteenth-century Australia.

Although searches of historical records at most of the above locations for information on southeast NSW were fruitful, simultaneous searches for similar documentation on the Chinese in the area proved less rewarding. Some information on the latter came from the Parliamentary Proceedings of the NSW Legislative Assembly and NSW Department of Mines mining wardens' reports but mostly it was found in newspapers.
Although reports of gold rushes featured prominently in local, regional and capital city newspapers of both NSW and Victoria in the 1850s and 1860s, with some of that interest being sustained until the end of the nineteenth century, references to the Chinese were limited and sporadic. *The Sydney Morning Herald* (SMH) for that period was not only a leading source for information on the gold rushes but, almost by default, one of the leading sources of information on the Chinese in southeastern NSW. Local newspapers of the time, such as the short-lived *Alpine Pioneer and Kiandra Advertiser* (AP&KA) (August to December 1860) and the *Braidwood Observer and Miners’ Advocate* (BOMA) provided the only real, but limited intelligence towards any comprehension of the lives of the Chinese in the area.

Another valuable historical resource on the Chinese in the Braidwood area during the mid to late nineteenth century was also found in McGowan’s publications of 1996 (a, b) and 2000, and his PhD thesis of 2001.

In order to be able to recognise and interpret signs of the Chinese in the rural landscape, it was also necessary to acquire at least a basic understanding of the Chinese elsewhere in Australia, in NZ and the USA, and in China. This led to an examination of a number of historical texts on the Chinese who lived in those countries during the mid to late nineteenth century.

For example, both popular, Eric Rolls (1992, 1996) and more academic general histories of the Chinese in Australia, for example, Choi (1975) and Huck (1967) were examined, as were similar histories for NZ and the USA. The general historical texts on China reviewed included King’s 1911 work on forty centuries of agriculture, Needham’s 1971 opus on science and civilisation in China, Werner’s 1950 compact look at social life in ancient China, and Williams’ 1907 examination of the Middle Kingdom.

Historical documentation relating to specific aspects of traditional cultural practices in China was also researched. Literature on Chinese material culture, in particular that relating to Chinese ceramics was examined, for example, Wegars 1988, 1993, 1995 (a, b), and 1999. Boyd (1962), Freedman (1966) and Knapp (1986, 1989, 1992) provided important information on general and specific area settlement, architectural and construction practices in China. DeGroot (1897), Eitel (1873), Hayes (1966a, 1979), Mong (1987), Needham (1971), Pennick (1979), Smith (1991), Webster (1997) and others provided details of Chinese symbolism and/or examples of its physical manifestation in China.

Relevant archaeological works from Australia and overseas scrutinised for this study also proved invaluable. Paramount among these for its breadth and depth of information was Neville Ritchie’s 1986 PhD thesis ‘Archaeology and History of the Chinese in Southern New Zealand During the Nineteenth century: A Study of Acculturation, Adaptation, and Change’. Many other, more subject and/or site specific, archaeological reports, papers, publications and unpublished theses also contributed to a better understanding of the overseas Chinese. Although too numerous to list here, reference to these works appears in appropriate sections of this thesis.

Fieldwork, however, has been the essence of this study. Months of archaeological excavations at Adjungbilly, Flanagan’s Point, Jembaicumbene, Kiandra, Little Boggy Plain, Little Bombay, and Mongarlowe at mid to late nineteenth-century overseas Chinese settlement sites across rural southeastern NSW, and many more months spent analysing data from those sites, provided the essential information necessary for the thesis. Additional fieldwork, including detailed archaeological surveys at Adelong, Mudmelong, Nerrigundah, Tumut and Stuart Town in NSW, and Herons Reef in Victoria, also occupied significant amounts of time and provided equally essential information. The methods and outcomes of these excavations and surveys are given in the Appendices to this work.

Research and fieldwork undertaken in Hawaii, Hong Kong and New Zealand also provided invaluable practical comparative information for this study.
1.6 STRUCTURE

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 gives an outline of the co-operative nature and structural elements of rural overseas Chinese communities in Australia and elsewhere overseas. It presents the rationale for such settlements, contextualises their various structural components and provides a set of basic but traditional principles with which to examine in more detail and better understand the communal activities and the types, locations and individual composite elements of rural overseas Chinese communities in Australia, and particularly those in the study area of southeastern NSW.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 present the results of field investigations and historical research. They identify and examine nine major nineteenth-century Chinese community systems, each apparently with its own central settlement and smaller satellite settlements, within three broad regions across rural southeastern NSW.

Chapter 6 analyses and compares each of these systems. Through analyses of the settlement elements of each of those systems it exposes their commonalities and differences, distinguishes hierarchies and reveals their life cycles. It also reveals co-operative interconnections within and between those systems in southeastern NSW. The results of those analyses and comparisons are then applied to other nineteenth-century rural Chinese settlements elsewhere in Australia and overseas.

Chapter 7, the conclusion, draws together the threads of the evidence from the investigations and discussions of settlement types and patterns, constructional details, material culture, and religious and symbolic aspects of mid to late nineteenth-century overseas Chinese settlements in rural southeastern NSW and confirms that they conformed to a highly codified hierarchical pattern of community organisation in both a physical and perceived landscape.

The Appendices provide detailed ‘stand alone’ field reports and artefact catalogues for each of the Chinese settlements excavated as part of this research.

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2. RURAL OVERSEAS CHINESE COMMUNITIES

All the Chinese living overseas in a rural area compose a community in that they usually stand apart from the rest of the population and because the affairs of a group are likely to be of concern to all those Chinese individuals living there. However, a Chinese community is not homogenous, and it may be divided into a number of sub-communities. The primary division is usually between the five major speech groups (Hokkien, Hainanese, Cantonese, Teochiu and Hakka), and in so far as they are represented in the area, such communities will be formed and identified on the basis of language.

Except for Hakka, the speakers of which come from discontinuous areas, the languages are associated with discrete localities in China, and it is common for the ethnic distinction of language to be expressed in geographical terms, such as northern Guangdong for Teochiu (Backman 1999:211, Crissman 1967:190).

However, distinctions of provenance are by no means limited to the large areas associated with the languages, but are made with equal significance in respect to counties (which commonly align with dialect differences), market town areas, and villages, or a combination of them. These geographical distinctions provide the basis for division within communities that can result in smaller communities. They can also segment into sub-communities based on counties or groups of counties, which in turn can be divided on the basis of smaller territories down to the level of single villages. Every Chinese has a native place, the area of China where their lineage is localised and where their ancestors are buried and revered. In a foreign context one of the most important things for Chinese is their native place back in China. Within speech communities, county of origin is the significant locality. The relationship between members of locality communities is extremely strong but even at the level of speech communities, where the bond is somewhat reduced, custom and jobs are given to co-members in preference to outsiders (Crissman 1967:190).

In addition, the Chinese also use the possession of the same surname as an equally important criterion for like origin. However, surname communities are always formed on the basis of both a name and some criterion of locality, and are therefore subordinate to and contained within locality communities. It is common for most of the people in a speech community to come from a few specific counties, and for many within these areas to have the same surnames (Crissman 1967:190-191).

Community organisations, which can be formal or informal, within overseas Chinese communities can include benevolent societies, funeral associations, surname temples, provincial clubs, merchant and craft guilds, chambers of commerce and secret societies as well as a number of miscellaneous groups. The leadership of the various organisations is often heavily interlocked, so that most leaders have positions in numerous organisations at different levels.

Overseas Chinese community leaders are usually appointed on the basis of wealth or its derivatives, and it is common, therefore, for such leaders to be the heads of speech groups, clans or organisations. The only other basis is education in the language of the official government, which is an added asset for some highly placed leaders. In the absence of an official system of brokerage like that in China, the leaders of such communities act as informal brokers between the sovereign authority and the population (Crissman 1967:194-199).

Traditionally, most Chinese never considered emigrating without due thought. Apart from government regulations, there was a powerful force in Chinese culture that discouraged emigration. This was ancestor reverence and the resultant fear of death in a strange country. This practice required constant care for the spirits and graveyards, and sacrifices had to be performed by the descendants themselves, not through priestly proxies. Therefore, those who abandoned the ancestral graveyards were considered to be guilty of unfilial acts, and those who
died in a strange country would turn into homeless ghosts, and be deprived of sacrifice by the descendants. One scholar noted,

It [emigration] will take them away from the graves of their ancestors, to which, by the theory of Confucianism, they are inexorably linked. Generally speaking, no Chinese will leave his home to seek a fortune at a distance unless he is in some way driven to do so. His ideal in life is to be: Fixed like a plant on his peculiar spot, to draw nutrition, propagate, and rot (Smith in Zo 1977:315).

Nevertheless, millions of Chinese were left for overseas in search of their fortune, particularly in the nineteenth century. Most were from rural areas and most expected to be away from their birthplaces only temporarily. These were able to re-create traditional community forms wherever they went out of the common stock of Chinese culture they took with them.

The uniformity of settlement and its underlying principles, it is argued, are part of the predetermined cultural composition that the Chinese brought to rural overseas communities in southeastern NSW, and probably Australia, at least in the early stages of their immigration.

As in China, entrepreneurial ‘non-official’ headmen, salaried representatives of the appropriate family or district organisation, organised labour and administered every aspect of overseas Chinese settlements. They directed the settlements and supplied or collected the necessary funds for the operation of those settlements. They were typically responsible for the economic and religious activities, maintenance of order and, where necessary, defence (often legal defence) of the community and its members.

Again, similar to China, rural settlements in the Australian setting often comprised housing clustered to take advantage of the topographical conditions. They were usually located in or near the centre of their own mining operations, and their internal arrangement was often typically Chinese, one of apparent disorder.

In addition, although largely hidden from the casual observer, it is further contended that the pervasive persistence of fengshui accompanied the Chinese to Australia in the mid-nineteenth century and was also responsible for shaping at least some of the physical features of their rural communities in southeastern NSW.

With this set of basic but traditional principles as an unwritten template it is now possible to examine and understand the communal activities and the types, locations and individual elements of rural overseas Chinese communities in Australia.

2.1 COMMUNAL ACTIVITIES

MINING PRACTICES

Mining, particularly alluvial mining for gold was as Crawford (1877:2) notes, ‘... from first to last, the almost sole cause of attraction’ for Chinese immigrants in the Australian colonies.

The primary goal that drew large groups of predominantly Cantonese speaking Chinese to the goldfields in the mid-nineteenth century was the fulfillment of group duty rather than the pursuit of individual success. Gold was a means to fulfil the social responsibilities of filial piety; to pay homage to one’s ancestors, glorify the lineage and elevate the status of one’s family. After amassing a quick fortune on the goldfields, every Chinese immigrant desired to return home ‘to do their family proud’ (Chou 1993:49).

From the outset, when the first advance party set sail from China for the Victorian diggings in 1852, the Chinese were well informed of the rich alluvial gold fields, hailed as the ‘New Gold Mountain’, and they were well organised (Cronin 1982:16).

As early as August 1858, Chin Atek, a Sydney Chinese merchant, was asked whether there were any men who could engage 20 or 30 other men to dig, and advance money for their passage. Chin Atek replied, ‘Suppose they do, they write an agreement in a house, and the 30 men put their names to it; the man who advances the money sends a head man with them, and when they have paid back the money to him they can go back to China if they like; but if they
do not clear the money they must dig' (NSW Report from the Select Committee on the Chinese Immigration Bill 1858:19).

However, those Chinese who emigrated were rarely in a position to obtain passage for their wives, and after they had served their time and saved a competency, it was difficult to persuade their families to part with their wives, and thus break the chain that bound them and the money they may make to their ancestral homes (Crawford 1877:31).

In China, miners were outside, or beneath, the four traditional general classes of society. The majority comprised impoverished itinerants who were considered undesirable, had no real occupation or family, and who had abandoned farming to take up mining as their main occupation. Others were farmers who worked to supplement their income, a practice that was often encouraged by officials. The former were either employed by mine owners of their choice, or worked as part of a group under a leader with the necessary capital and experience. Often this type of miner worked on a profit-share basis. Miners lived in closely bound isolated communities at the mine sites, with organisation and regulation usually based on voluntary co-operation. As mining was often a high-risk enterprise, the investor-leader was not overly authoritarian and individuals usually did not have sufficient capital to be independent. Although employees were supposed to be regularly paid, occasionally they had their wages deliberately reduced through levies or by being compelled to buy goods from the ‘bosses’ store (E-Tu Zen Sun 1967:45-67, Knapp 1986:141, McGowan 2004, 2005a, Smith 1994:75).

The Chinese who came to mine in Australia and NZ from the mid-nineteenth century brought these organisational practices with them. They may have had knowledge of mining, smelting and alloying of gold, and would have been familiar with the basic principles of hydraulic engineering, including chain and water-powered wheel pumps, and dam and water race construction. It would not have required revolutionary changes to use these technologies for mining rather than irrigation. There is ample evidence in Australia and NZ that the Chinese successfully applied this knowledge and obtained significant returns from ground that had more often than not already been mined by Europeans. They were also quick to adopt western technological innovations such as hydraulic sluicing (Ritchie 1986:54, 658).

McGowan (2001:99) contends that, for the most part, Chinese and European miners used similar alluvial mining techniques and equipment. However, he notes, the former were more frequently found in large co-operative groups and worked their claims more intensely and meticulously. One early newspaper commented that the Chinese were a lesson for the unemployed to work together in co-operative and communicative bands (Sydney Empire 7 July 1858). Another noted the effect of rain was ‘particularly marked on the European portion of the population [at Jembaicumbene] who did not work on the same co-operative principle as the Chinese (BOMA 6 February 1861). Such reports of the organised and co-operative nature of Chinese mining were not uncommon throughout the Australian goldfields.

However, the only detailed account of their co-operative working arrangements comes from the Kiandra Goldfield. In 1861, a special correspondent reported,

They [the Chinese] resemble nothing more intimately than a hive of bees who, under the command of a boss (their queen), toil and strive from morning till night in many instances, too, for his exclusive benefit. These bosses are generally clever fellows in their way – are possessed of some capital, and as sine qua non have scraped together sufficient English to enable them to act as interpreters. Generally they have received a somewhat better education than their fellows, and have sufficient sabe (sic) as to use it as to work upon them both bodily and spiritually. Thus, for instance, a boss here has some 150 men under him. He buys claims with their money and his own; puts ten, twenty or thirty men into each claim, and regulates their modus operandi, usually securing a fifth or fourth share for himself. He also acts as providore (sic), charges them from twenty-three to thirty shillings a week each for board, which he takes good care to deduct from the weekly earnings. Thus, a boss in
a good way of business and on anything like a paying gold-field quickly manages to amass a very considerable amount (SMH 11 May 1861).

McGowan (2005a) also contends that the Chinese miners did not work in large co-operative groups solely for reasons of cultural preference, security or obligation, though these, he says, were important, but that it was also the most efficient means of working the claims. He maintains this was a point lost on the majority of European miners.

Although for the most part they may have used similar mining techniques and equipment, for some years it has been argued in both Australia and NZ that the archaeological remains of Chinese mining are recognisable as distinctive ethnic traits (Lambert Tracey 1997:130, McGowan 1996a:9-10, 1996b:36-37, 2001:8, 2003:11-17, Ritchie 1981:68, Smith 1998:208-225). These traits comprise a network of neat, vertically stacked, tailing mounds, stone lined tailraces and rock dams, which probably resulted from the intense and meticulous co-operative working of claims. Others, such as Comber (1995a:43) also alluded to ‘the neat stacking (stone pitching) of the unwanted stone’ in her discussion of the Chinese and alluvial mining sites on the Palmer Goldfield in Far North Queensland but made no definitive connection between this feature and the Chinese.

An important characteristic of the shape of these tailing mounds is that it was not simply a placement of stones but a part of the technology used in working the area. The mounds were arranged in such a way as to allow an area to be quickly drained of water, with that water sometimes being directed into a larger ‘outflow’ race. Using such a design avoided the digging area becoming flooded and unworkable. Such mounds could also be built or re-built any number of times in any arrangement as work progressed. They could be re-arranged to act as a dam for washing, to keep rainwater from the working areas, as a sluice or to hold sluice boxes (McGowan 1995:8, 1997:36).

If European authorities did not force the Chinese to occupy particular areas on mining fields then, more often than not, the location of mining activities also dictated the location of both Chinese and European mining settlements. During gold rushes in various areas throughout Australia, particularly in the early months, primarily for reasons of access to and security of their claims, both Chinese and Europeans lived on top of, next to or in close proximity to their alluvial gold diggings. In most instances during the early years of the gold rushes, large Chinese mining settlements and small camps were located on hillsides overlooking and within walking distance of rivers, creeks or springs, therefore having ready access to water for both mining activities and domestic necessities.

As a consequence, other features, such as water races and test pits, common to both Chinese and European alluvial gold mining practices, often could be found inside the settlements. Water races, aqueducts or artificial watercourses used for conveying water from a river or creek, spring or dam to a mining claim, often transected or surrounded Chinese mining settlements. Test pits, shallow holes approximately one metre in diameter put down to test alluvial deposits, and costeans, trenches dug into the ground to expose ore bodies, were also common within and around Chinese mining settlements in Australia (Heffernan and Smith 1996, McGowan 1996a, b, 1998, 2000, Smith and Smith 1995, Smith 1997, 1998, 2001a, b, c, 2002a, b, 2003b, c).

**DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES**

Artefactual remains of food storage and preparation, eating and drinking, and gambling and opium smoking are the main indicators of the strength of the communal lifeways of rural overseas Chinese communities.

Anderson (1988:199-200) stresses that Chinese food owes much of its sophistication and elaboration to its uniquely important place in the social scheme of things. Its use, he says, as a social lubricant, stimulus and marker is traceable to the very dawn of Chinese civilization. Chinese use food to mark ethnicity, culture change, calendric and family events, and social
transactions. No business deal or family visit is complete without sharing a meal, and no major religious event is correctly done without offering up special foods proper to the ritual context (for example, sacrificial pork).

In the past, as now, food was used to mark special events, to delineate social relationships and to provide a durable cohesive bond of social co-operation. In traditional south China, virtually every eating transaction is social, thereby reinforcing already strong social bonds. Southern Chinese cuisine – the actual lore of cooking, and its associated eating utensils provide unity in the southern Chinese culinary world. Aside from chopsticks, porcelain rice bowls, main-dish platters and tiny sauce-and-dip dishes there is little unity (Anderson and Anderson 1977:353, 364-370). It is this unity and bond of social co-operation that miners from southern China took with them when they immigrated to the overseas goldfields. The material evidence of that co-operation can be seen in the archaeological record at those places.

Similarly, evidence of their communal recreational pursuits – gambling and opium smoking – can be seen in that record. Remnants of those alleged twin evils abound in most nineteenth-century rural Chinese settlements.

With gambling, ‘it was generally held by the Chinese that there were two types of wealth: that produced by one’s own hands, which was honorable, and that gained through the misfortune of others, such as the gains from gambling’ (Sedgewick 1983 in Ritchie 1986:39). This NZ observation appears equally applicable to those in nineteenth-century Australia.

In 1892, the NSW Royal Commission on Alleged Chinese Gambling and Immorality reported ‘the Chinese as a community are very largely addicted to gambling’. It further stated, ‘in the City of Sydney and suburbs there cannot be fewer than 700 individuals practically subsisting upon the proceeds of gambling-houses’ (Royal Commission 1892:19, 21).

However, more sober scholars note most Chinese men seem to have used gambling as a means of recreation – a break from the long tedious hours of mining and something additional to do on festival days, before and after the feast (Ritchie 1986:39). The gambling games of fan tan and pak kop piu were the singular most popular forms of social recreational cohesiveness among the disparate nineteenth-century overseas Chinese goldfield settlements.

With opium smoking, rather than being an alleged immorality of the Chinese, it not merely reflected individual desires but was an important item in the culture and social structure of transplanted Chinese society. Opium was used to maintain individual and communal existence by providing medical relief, social and cultural identification, maintaining labour output, and repressing human desires which could not be met in the harsh lifestyles of the migrants (Gillett 1986:37).

Early Chinese arrivals to mining sites in the USA, Australia and NZ may have had few material possessions but, by the 1850s in the USA, there was regular trade in familiar foods, beverages, smoking material and other items from China (Wegars 1988:44). By the 1860s this was also true for Australia, with one scholar suggesting that by the latter half of the nineteenth century there were separate trade networks operating between China and Australia exclusively for the Chinese (McCarthy 1988:139-148).

Chinese artefacts recovered from nineteenth-century Chinese settlement sites in both Australia and NZ were made in China and imported by Chinese merchants for use by the resident Chinese populations. Most were ceramic and related to the packaging, transport, storage, preparation, cooking or consumption of food and beverages, as well as opium smoking. Others for drinking, medicinal purposes or gambling were glass, and some were metal and also used in gambling or opium smoking.

The Asian American Comparative Collection, which was established in 1982 as the Chinese Comparative Collection at the University of Idaho, contains an extensive collection of such intact original Chinese artefacts from across the USA (Wegars 1988:43). For NZ, in his seminal work on the Chinese in the South Island in the nineteenth century, Ritchie (1986) provides a comprehensive array of these types of artefacts found a several Chinese settlement
sites in that country. For Australia, the author (Smith 1997, 1998, 2001a, b, c, 2002a, b, 2003a, b, c) and many others (for example, Jack, Holmes and Kerr 1984:51-58, Lydon 1993, 1996, McCarthy 1986, 1988, 1989, 1995, Muir 2003:42-49, Rains 2003:30-41, Svenson 1994, to mention but a few) have provided definitive evidence of the association of these types of artefacts with nineteenth-century Chinese occupation sites.

Ceramic artefacts identified from such sites primarily consist of brown-glazed stonewares (often simply called brownwares), porcellaneous wares (including celadon ware), and ceramics associated with opium smoking. Chinese brownwares include alcoholic beverage bottles, spouted, wide-mouthed, straight-sided, globular and barrel-shaped food storage jars and their lids. Chinese porcelain and porcellaneous stoneware was primarily used for tableware with a variety of common glazes and motifs. The most common glaze is pale bluish-green, called celadon. The most common patterns are a blue-on-white one known as ‘Bamboo’ or ‘Blue Flower’, and ‘Four Flowers’ or ‘Four Seasons’. Other less common patterns include the blue-on-white ‘Double Happiness’ and the ‘Attributes of the Eight Immortals’. Opium related ceramics are opium pipe bowls, in dark grey stoneware or reddish orange earthenware. Most are plain but some bear inscriptions and may be quite ornate. More detailed descriptions of Chinese ceramics may be found in a number of publications (for example, Etter 1980:97-101, Hellman and Yang 1997:155-203, Jack Holmes and Kerr 1984:56, Lydon 1996:Appendix 1, Mong 1987:201-208, Ritchie 1986:206-280, Sando and Felton 1993:151-176, Svenson 1994:107-109, Valenstein 1975, Wegars 1988:43-48, Wylie and Fike 1993:255-306).


In addition to the archaeological evidence, historical accounts from sites within the study area confirm the presence of some of the above activities and material culture. For example, at Upper Adelong, Kitty Barnes, who as a girl visited the Chinese store there in the late nineteenth century observed,

In the rooms at the back you could sometimes catch glimpses of other Chinamen in long, straight robes and heel-less slippers, and you could not escape the smell of opium though you must pretend not to notice it. They drank pale-coloured tea out of flat, jade-green bowls without handles or saucers.

Mother had a set of these green bowls, a Christmas box from Foo Lee [the store owner]. They were in use in our household for many years. In the strange way that household goods do, they disappeared over the years. I can account for only one (Barnes 1986:131).

Another example cites two Chinese men appearing in Braidwood Court and being charged with ‘having eleven cases, fourteen baskets, and thirty bottles of spirituous liquors, known as Chinese brandy, gin, and wine’ at Jembaicumbene (BOMA 24 May 1862). In 1860, the same newspaper reported that Ti Fon was charged with having stolen 26 boxes of opium from Lin Tang at Jembaicumbene, which could be identified by a mark of a Sydney Chinese storekeeper (BOMA 26 April 1860). Another report from Kiandra stated,

... The loud ‘yabbering’ at two of the houses induced me to enter, and I found them to be gambling-houses. The Chinese did not seem to be the least disturbed by my entrance, but proceeded to play. The game was by peculiar cards, long narrow strips of paper, about four inches and three quarters of an...
inch wide... The money passed was in Chinese coin, but I believe they often played for English money (Town and Country Journal, 2 March 1872).

This suite of communal domestic activity, as evidenced by its remnant material culture at various overseas Chinese settlements, was a powerful agent for strengthening and reinforcing the bonds of co-operation in those communities.

**OTHER COMMUNAL ACTIVITIES**

Other features, such as pathways, roads, waste disposal pits, water channels and wells, are also sometimes found within and on the periphery of rural overseas Chinese settlements. Although these were part of the mundane everyday life of such settlements, they were part of the necessity of community within them. Generally, they were too uninteresting for contemporary observers and consequently they rarely, if ever, appear in historical accounts. However, the archaeological record can be rich with their remains that can provide further evidence of the co-operative nature of communities.

Remnant pathways, roads and water channels in and around settlements can provide valuable insights into the layout, organisation and operation of settlements. For example, the main water channels, or races, at the south of the Kiandra Chinese camp, and which were fed from springs, may have had dual roles. Their primary purposes may have been for alluvial mining but they also may have brought clean water to the camp. The water race at the northern end of the site may have also fulfilled similar roles, while other smaller channels on the northeastern side appear to have been constructed for drainage of water from in and around the dwellings in the camp itself.

Another feature, wells, can also assist in identifying the location of dwellings, the general layout of a settlement and provide an indication of the social arrangements within an occupation area. For example, at the Kiandra Chinese settlement larger wells tended to be clustered close to natural and engineered watercourses, generally within a few metres of hut platforms, and may have been used as water sources for a large group of people, while smaller wells tended to lie in close proximity to hut platforms and may have been used by the inhabitants for personal or small group amenities.

Although these, almost indistinguishable superficial features are ignored by historians and often overlooked by archaeologists, the same cannot be said for waste disposal pits and middens. Such features are attractants for bottle hunters and, because of their potential to provide, among other things, information about diet and a chronological record of occupation and activities within a settlement, sometimes receive detailed attention by archaeologists. However, significant faunal studies related to rural overseas Chinese sites are limited. They are by Gill (1985) and Longnecker and Stapp (1993:97-122) in the USA, Piper (1984, 1988:34-42) and Ritchie (1986) in NZ, and Rains (2003:30-41) and Smith (2001a:128-137) in Australia.

From her analysis of the faunal assemblage at Yema-po, California, Gill (1985:165-166) concluded ‘the taxa recorded bring essentially the same animal protein sources and folk medicinal items as those mentioned in centuries-old southern Chinese documents, as well as in modern writings’. She also concluded that the Chinese there used traditional Chinese butchery practices. The study of faunal remains at Pierce, Idaho, by Longnecker and Stapp (1993:140) found, among other things, it was similar to that from other overseas Chinese sites, in that it could easily be distinguished from non-Chinese faunal collections.

Resulting from his examination of faunal remains from 10 sites Ritchie (1986:645) found ‘for the most part there was a continuing reliance on traditional Chinese foods, butchering methods, and culinary practices’ in overseas Chinese settlements in southern NZ. Similarly, from his investigation of the faunal remains from a Chinese miner’s camp in southern NZ Piper (1988:40) concluded that the Chinese miners’ dietary pattern was similar to that of South China.

From excavation of a communal waste disposal pit at Kiandra, NSW, the author also found, again among other things, that the nineteenth-century Chinese there persisted in their
traditional food preparation methods (Smith 2001a:137).

Most recently, Rains (2003:30-41) extended his interpretation of the evidence of the overseas Chinese from a Cooktown (North Queensland) dumpsite beyond stereotypical ethnic boundaries to discuss the social complexity, connections and socio-cultural transformation of the Chinese in that town. That study points the way to a broader interpretive use, other than simply functional, for these and other cultural archaeological features, such as pathways, roads, water channels and wells, found in and around rural Chinese settlement sites. Those features when combined with the remains of other communal mining and domestic activities at those sites provide additional evidence for the strength of community co-operation.

2.2 COMMUNITY SUPPLIES

During the early years of the gold rushes in rural Australia when a headman administered every large Chinese settlement, his tent was usually the local merchandise store. Through pre-existing labour arrangements, he also had strong commercial links to large Chinese stores in capital cities, at least in eastern Australia, and was able to supply his countrymen with familiar commodities. According to Cronin (1982:23), his tent ‘was of superior height and size, and its red flag fluttering above signalled the association headquarters and the nucleus of the settlement’.

Over time, where such settlements became established or where Chinese from the settlement moved closer to established European towns more substantial permanent timber buildings replaced temporary calico tents. Although the Chinese built some of those buildings, in many cases, they were purchased from European storekeepers who had deserted country towns when mining, and consequently the local economy, declined. The principal reason that these local stores were able to exist, and continue trading even when the number of Chinese declined, was due to the wish of Chinese to maintain their traditional lifestyle (Langenwalter 1980:103).

As the nineteenth century progressed and the numbers and strength of the family or district organisation diminished, individual Chinese in the community assumed responsibility of guardianship for people from their district. Such individuals were usually the local storeowners, and their stores continued to be the focus for economic and social activity for Chinese in the local area (Wilton 1996:252-253).

Chinese storekeepers continued to sponsor immigration for their kinsmen, provided accommodation, hired them as agents or clerks and purchased trading goods from them. They also loaned money to their clansmen or to Chinese from their village or district (Wilton 2004:47). This cooperative network usually had no public façade. Indeed, as Cronin (1982:32) notes of Victoria, ‘because Chinese refrained from using their family name when dealing with Victorians, the colonists were quite unaware of Chinese family commitments’.

As an adjunct to obtaining merchandise from local stores, for supplies of fresh vegetables sometimes Chinese miners grew their own on small but fertile plots around their huts or along river courses. In time as their income from mining decreased a number of them expanded their gardens and took to hawking their produce around the district where they soon found another ready market among the European population (Adams 1997:20, Baker 1985:37, Wegars 2003:70-71).

This almost monopolistic trade, which flourished in Australia’s eastern colonies during the latter half of the nineteenth century, was also subject to the same cooperative arrangements. It too involved sponsorship in which a number of storeowners were involved (Barnes 1986:155-157, Gundagai Times 8 August 1879, NSW Royal Commission 1891-92:160, line 6418).

Although there have been two significant historical studies of the central social and economic roles of Chinese stores in Chinese communities in NSW (Williams 1998, Wilton
archaeological attention to them in a community context has been almost non-existent. It has been largely limited to surveys in northeast Tasmania (Vivian 1985).

Similarly, although Nunes (1994) provides a relatively comprehensive listing of Chinese market garden sites in Australia (over 200), archaeological investigations of nineteenth-century gardens in Australia have been limited to only a small number of studies. The observation by Nunes (1994:5) that ‘research into Chinese market gardens is scarce’ remains largely true today. She also remarked, ‘A small number of professional reports exist on the topic of Chinese settlements and Chinatowns, however, none are devoted solely to market gardens’. This situation has also changed little, with McGowan (2005b, 2006), the NSW Department of Infrastructure, Planning and Natural Resources (2003), Rannard (2005), Stanin (2004:15-34) and Svenson (1994) providing the only works solely dedicated to Chinese market gardening in Australia since Nunes’ study.

MERCHANTS IN THE COMMUNITY

During the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) in China there was a flourishing rural market system centred on one of 40,000 or more market towns. These comprised a myriad of permanent stores and itinerant sellers. All of these towns were linked to higher-level markets that, in turn, were linked to major commercial centres.

The merchandise exchanged in rural markets was mostly local produce. In less populated and prosperous areas items were basic, such as rice, grain, salt, fish, cotton cloth and thread. In some of the wealthiest area, particularly in southern Guangdong, the goods available went far beyond the simple needs of ordinary people. For example, in 1883 the Great Market in Guangdong comprised 26 streets with over 1,500 stores from which silk, cloth, silkworm eggs, poultry and fish could be obtained. However, it was a highly exceptional rural market that was made possible by expanding coastal trade (Hsiao 1960:22-23).

Nevertheless, in all cases standard marketing communities were the major rural focus of religious life, recreation, social interaction and conflict resolution, and contributed to the integration of local social groups (Smith 1994:93-95).

For merchants in particular, a further important means of integration and of family, community and network alliances was the practice of guanxi. In the broad, guanxi means ‘relationships’ or ‘connections’, and is a system of personal relationships, firm partnerships and networks of mutual dependence, which has its roots in the autonomous Chinese village with the democratic election of a village head. Although many forms of guanxi existed in Chinese life, all were organised around kinship and locality ties. Merchants used this system to acquire goods in short supply, of better quality, or at lower prices. In the nineteenth century guanxi, based on such ties, played an essential part of the operations of overseas Chinese merchants and store keepers (Lydon 1996:197, 222, 1999:80-85, Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1997:282, Stockman 2000:85-90, Wang 1994).

Wang (1995:15-16) noted that single overseas Chinese men could not have started in business without some degree of family backing or without belonging to a family or an adopted family business network, including artificial brotherhoods operating as members under family discipline. He further noted that ‘from all accounts down to the twentieth century, all successful overseas Chinese merchants, whether originally from a merchant family or not, started working for a relative who had a business.’

Capital cities and larger centres, such as Launceston, Tasmania, were the doorways to Australia for Chinese immigrants in the nineteenth century. It was from these hubs that Chinese commercial transactions radiated throughout the colonies. Although the numbers and locations of Chinese stores (and gardens) in Australia are far too many to cite here, the following gives a brief overview, with an emphasis on NSW, and the significant central roles they played in underpinning the cooperative efforts of rural Chinese communities.
OVERSEAS CHINESE STORES AND GARDENS

Sydney was the centre of a network of Chinese businesses and communications that stretched across rural NSW. That network progressively shrank towards the end of the century until it was restricted to inner Sydney, some Sydney suburbs and a few NSW regions. The Sydney stores of these merchants had links and shared partnerships with those in rural NSW and in Hong Kong that reached back to the home villages in China. Between them would pass goods en route to rural NSW stores and remittances from throughout NSW to villages in China. The stores also served as halls, social centres, and sometimes, opium-smoking establishments (Wegars 2003:70, Williams 1998:8-21).

The Chinese merchants in Melbourne converted Little Bourke Street and its nearby lanes into a thriving centre of commercial activity. That area became the entrepôt of trade stretching from the Asian mainland to the different goldfields of the Victorian colony (Oddie 1959:26, 1961:65-70).

In Tasmania, there were a number of small Chinese businesses established in Elizabeth Street, Launceston, as early as 1835. There were at least two grocery shops, one run by John Aquie and another by a Chinese man called Joan Wife. There is also mention of a ‘Chinamen’s Cedar Yard’ in Elizabeth Street in 1835, adjoining Wife’s store. However, by 1870 there were only about 39 Chinese in Tasmania, mainly skilled labourers and small businessmen. In that year, James Peters (of Peters, Barnard and Co.) a Launceston businessman, arranged for the immigration of the 31 Chinese men using the services of Lowe Kong Meng and Co., the most prominent Chinese business in Melbourne. These men were sought to work the Back Creek gold mines. As there was no significant Chinese presence in Tasmania at that time, the store of that business in Launceston was used as a lodging house and centre for the miners. It also contained a Chinese temple (Vivian 1985:32-34).

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, a British official reported from Shanghai on Chinese immigration in the Australian Colonies noting,

The bulk of the Chinese business in Australia, independent or vicarious, is in the hands of two or three great houses, whose representatives, under changeable names, are found at every focus of immigration. Through them immigrants forward letters to their homes, and diggers bound for Hong Kong are delegated to carry a parcel of gold dust.

The profits of the Chinese trade, apparently so large, become reduced to an ordinary Chinese business percentage by being spread over a number of agents, consignees, retailers, and brokers. The merchant buys from his hong brother rather than from a stranger in the cheapest market; and often sells at a loss when mining prospects are gloomy; a certain amount of credit has to be given to members of his district club, dependents unwilling to work, and captains of mining guilds in which he may be interested (Crawford 1877:18-19).

This system of store-based remittances became more refined by the end of the nineteenth century. In 1891, Way Kee, a Chinese storekeeper in Sydney, explained to the NSW Royal Commission on Gambling (1891-92:55, line 2126) that he ‘sent home in the same box [as his £10,000] some money from Chinamen here [NSW] who wished to send to their parents or friends in China’. Due to their currency exchange stability, English pounds were used for such remittances (Williams 1998:25).

Although the first recorded Chinese store was in Campbell Street, Sydney, in 1858, official records state there were three Chinese traders at Nundle in northwestern NSW in 1856, 68 in the Rocky River area of northern NSW in 1857, and in 1858 there were 160 around Bathurst in the central west of NSW, and two in the vicinity of Braidwood in southeastern NSW (NSW Chinese Immigration Bill 1858:2). Even at that time, it is probable that a number of those traders, if not all, were associated in some way with Chinese commercial markets in Sydney, and, in turn, to China.

Rural Overseas Chinese Communities
By the end of the nineteenth century, this network is aptly demonstrated in the Report of the NSW Royal Commission on Gambling 1891-92, where there are numerous references scattered throughout the evidence of visits by the witnesses to such NSW towns as Hay, Hillston and Tingha and their Chinese ‘camps’. Way Kee is also reported to have had four stores in Bourke, Bega, Stanthorpe and Hillston (Report of the Royal Commission 1891-92, vol. 5:47, lines 1705-1706).

One such store was owned by Wong Ah Sat at Bolong, near Crookwell, northwest of Goulburn. In 1875, Sat and his wife, Amelia (nee Hackney) moved to Bolong from Tuena and built a general store on a small sheep farm where they sold all manner of goods from ginger to coffin ornaments to the local farming families until Sat’s death in 1916. Business letters written in Chinese in the 1860s and 1870s suggest that Sat was one of the sizable minority of educated or skilled Chinese men who came to Australia during that time. Recent translations of Chinese language account books and letters revealed Sat had been well connected to Chinese merchants in Sydney from at least the 1860s. Many of the correspondents addressed Sat as ‘elder brother’ or ‘uncle’. His account books routinely refer to ‘brothers’ who borrowed money from him, all of which showed members of the Chinese communities in Sydney and Tuena held him in high regard (Hoskins 2003:12-16). Baker (1996:9) examined the account books for the Bolong store and they indicated the importance of the local merchant as a credit provider to small holders.

At the same time in that area, there were also Chinese merchants in towns such as Yass, Galong, Tuena, Booroowa, Bungendore and Young, as well as the store at Bolong. They were general traders in some cases, and market gardeners in others. The presence of Chinese merchants in many of the small towns in the region, men who came to Australia under a form of indenture without capital of their own but who were soon able to trade and provide credit to their customers, suggests that much of the gold discovered by the Chinese did not get exported or smuggled out of the colonies, but was a source of capital for local development (Baker 1996:10-11).

Wilton (1996:329-331) lists six Chinese stores established in northern NSW towns in the late nineteenth century, and many more that began in the early twentieth century. She notes, like all mining areas with a significant Chinese population, that they set up stores in the first instance to provide goods and services for their countrymen. Then, as mining booms passed, some stores adapted and were able to serve non-Chinese customers. As one Chinese man explained of his father’s store in Emmaville,

Dad used to work the tin during the day and, at night, he made his house into a little shop, selling vegetables from his garden out the back, mainly to other Chinese. From the house dad moved into a small shop and he began working in the shop full-time (Wilton 1996:251).

These are two examples of the plethora of Chinese stores that once existed in almost every nineteenth-century Chinese camp or rural town in NSW. While Wilton’s 1996 study, and to a lesser extent her 2004 publication, focused on the oral history of the latter type of stores in northern NSW mainly in the twentieth century, and Williams 1998 research primarily provided a view of the social and commercial interactions between Chinese merchants in Sydney and the owners of the same type of rural store in NSW, again mainly in the twentieth century, it is somewhat perplexing that such stores have received almost no archaeological attention in Australia.

Vivian (1985) is the only researcher who has paid any attention to such stores. As part of an historical record of Chinese sites in northeast Tasmania, she identified a number of store sites, which had been destroyed or heavily disturbed, and one extant nineteenth-century store – Wong Hee’s store in the once thriving gold country town of Mathinna. Vivian’s brief description shows it to rectangular-shaped, measuring 7.7 x 4.7 m, and constructed of weatherboard with a galvanized iron roof. Wong Hee and his Chinese partner continued to run the general store until their departure in the mid 1920s (Vivian 1985: Appendix – Site 37).
While the proportion of Chinese occupied in mining steadily declined, the proportion of those in agricultural pursuits rose, and by the turn of the twentieth century approximately 40 per cent of the total Chinese population in Australia was engaged in market gardening (Oddie 1959:22, Nunes 1994:14).

Vegetables were an important component of Chinese diet. Sometimes Chinese miners would buy pickled or salted cabbage through the stores, and often, but not always, grew their own on small but fertile plots around their huts or along river courses. In the 1870s at some locations in NSW, Chinese kept gardens of vegetables next to their residences, yet they never grew flowers (Adams 1997:20, Baker 1985:37). At the Rocky River goldfields in northern NSW, between 1851 and 1867 there are no references to market gardens. ‘Indeed, in 1861 the Chinese in the Armidale district were criticised because they did not even grow their own vegetables’. However, by 1879, the district’s Europeans were being urged to grow their own vegetables instead of paying ‘extortionate’ prices to Chinese gardeners (Mackay 1953:308). A similar monopoly situation existed at Milparinka, in northwestern NSW, in 1883 (Sve nson 1994:131).

The proficiency of the Chinese as gardeners has long been acknowledged. Australian writers, such as Adams 1997:20, Chou 1995:70, Cooper 1991:54, Crawford 1877:3, Mackay 1953:308, Price 1974:224, NSW Royal Commission on Gambling 1891-91, vol. 5:27-28, Searle 1977:332, Svenson 1994:131, and many more, have also acknowledged the patience, hard work, and skill of Chinese market gardeners and the contribution they made to the European diet and health all over Australia during the late nineteenth/early twentieth-centuries. By the late 1870s/early 1880s their reputation was also recognised by international visitors.

In 1884, as part of an official report on Chinese Camps in NSW, a government representative declared,

...as gardeners they [the Chinese] have no equals, and Europeans are indebted to them for a thorough knowledge in the raising of vegetables, &c. (Report upon Chinese Camps 1884: 1656).

However, the co-operative labour and trade arrangements to maintain these gardens towards the end of the nineteenth century and their effect on sustaining the cohesion of diminishing Chinese communities throughout Australia, particularly in rural areas, during that period is less acknowledged.

In 1892, the NSW Royal Commission on Gambling (1891-92 vol. 5:27-28) noted, ‘It is apparently their [the Chinese] custom to form themselves into syndicates for the leasing and working of suitable land [for cultivation]’. William Pow Chee affirmed this when he told the Commission Chinese immigrants were brought out by Chinese merchants under contract to work the gardens (p160, line 6418).

Market gardening required little capital to set up and within months of operation, a steady flow of income could be generated. As market gardening was highly labour-intensive, only about a half to one hectare of land per person was required. The bulk of the land used for market gardening was leased out on short terms. This type of employment sought by the Chinese was chosen for its facility for constant liquidity, and the ability to pay off debts and remit money to their families in China (Chou 1993:70-75).

An example of these continuing cooperative arrangements and their links to local Chinese storekeepers, and ultimately to China, is found at Tumut, in southeastern NSW, where Bridle (1983:1) remarked of the Chinese there in the early twentieth century.

At Tumut Plains there were possibly 20 or more farmers growing vegetables, maize but mainly they grew tobacco. H. L. Harris, the original owner of ‘Wermatong’ was very happy with them as tenants, as they were industrious, honest, and above all, because of their system of banking with their local store-keeper, their rents were always paid on time.

However, for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was their ephemeral nature, the physical evidence for Chinese gardens and their place within Chinese communities in the
nineteenth century is often elusive. Many such gardens and cultivation areas in Australia are
documented as occurring on river flats and were subject to periodic inundation and often
complete destruction through flooding.

In 1985, during her study of Chinese heritage sites in northeast Tasmania, Vivian used
historical documents to record only two market garden sites, at Mathinna and Gladstone but
ploughing and recultivation had long since destroyed the archaeological evidence of both.

Similarly, during his historical research into late nineteenth-century Chinese market
gardens at Milparinka, in northwestern NSW, Svenson (1994:131, 138) uncovered ample
documentary evidence for the presence of such gardens but due to flooding in the area, his
archaeological investigations resulted in ‘no satisfactory evidence ... for the presence of
vegetable gardens, although clearly this was the case’.

In her study of a market garden on the Loddon River, Vaughan Springs, Victoria,
Stalin (2004:14-34) investigated the remains of Yong Kit’s garden settlement (also known as
the Loddon Terraces site), which was in operation from about 1870 to at least 1909. Her
preliminary research noted, ‘a complex system of vegetation, roads, terraces and household
remains on the northern side of the river marked the location of garden infrastructure’. Although archaeological detail of that infrastructure is lacking, Stalin concludes, in part, ‘The
apparent boundlessness of the gardens, their infrastructure and architecture, reflects a focus on
internal cooperation and independence from the European network’.

In NZ, like Australia, Chinese storekeepers and merchants were also the key members
of their communities. Their premises acted as both business and social foci for the Chinese, and
as a rule they would serve mainly a county group (Ng 2003). On the southern goldfields of NZ,
the majority of Chinese stores were established in Chinese settlements. As well as Chinese
goods those stores also provided other services, such as gambling and opium smoking facilities,
a meeting place and the services of interpreters and letter writers (Ritchie 1986:34, 37).

As part of his study of the Chinese in southern NZ in the nineteenth century, Ritchie
only had the opportunity to excavate one store, Ah Lum’s store at Arrowtown. The structure
was built in 1883 for Wong Hop Lee a local market gardener, and only became a Chinese store
when leased to Ah Chung Bung in about 1893. It was a mud-mortared, split schist construction
measuring 5 x 8 m with five rooms and its design is typical of many such buildings in the
Canton delta region of China, with the two lofts either side of the entrance. Wong Hop later
took over the store before moving to Auckland and leased the building to Loo Lee in the first
instance, then to Ah Lum. It continued to serve the increasingly infirm and elderly Chinese who

The situation with regard to Chinese gardens in NZ was also much the same as in
Australia. Rev. Alexander Don reported, ‘When the surface mining was exhausted, many took
up other occupations ... [such as] ... market gardening and storekeeping, spreading over the
colony ...’ (Ng 2001). In 1871, Chinese market gardeners represented two per cent of the
Chinese population but by 1916 this rose to around 40 per cent, similar to Australia (Young
2003:3). However, again like Australia, studies of Chinese market gardens appears to be scarce,
and this research has not revealed any market gardens in NZ that have been the subject of
archaeological investigation.

In the USA, wherever groups of Chinese worked they usually had a store with
traditional provisions and, as part of contractual arrangements, a Chinese cook. Local stores
were major factors in cultural maintenance and were generally accessible to most Chinese
where there numbers were sufficient to support such businesses (Langenwalter 1980:103-104).

There have been a larger number of archaeological investigations of Chinese stores in
the USA than in either Australia or NZ, all of which provide valuable physical and historical
comparative data for such sites. The following provides only some examples of those studies.

Excavations carried out at the Lower China Store at Hidden Valley, California, which
operated from the 1860s to 1885, while showing a degree of acculturation, provided evidence
for an economic network stretching back to China. The store was originally a one-room adobe structure with later wood frame additions, including at least two additional rooms and a blacksmith shop (Langenwalter 1980:102-111).

The Chinese store in the City of Angels Camp, California, was built in 1861, probably by non-Chinese for the local Chinese merchant, Sam Choy. It operated as a Chinese store until 1892. In addition to his commercial activities, Choy also managed groups of Chinese workers contracted to mine owners, supplying them with food, drink, equipment and accommodation. The original building was built of lime-mortared stone and brick with a timber floor on joists and vertical posts. It was a single-room rectangular shaped building that measured approximately 6.5 x 3 m. Artefacts recovered from the site provided confirmation of commercial relations with China (Costello 1985).

Chinese workers built the Chew Kee store, Fiddletown, California, about 1850. It was an herbal store, office and residence, which measured 10 x 7 m with one metre thick rammed earth walls. It was described as containing a ‘cornucopia of artifacts’ from the nineteenth century, most of which provided ample evidence of significant commercial associations with larger Californian cities and reaching back to China (Costello 1989:18-27).

Investigations of the inventories of a general store operated by the Kwong Tai Wo Company in northern California during the last half of the nineteenth century found significant commercial networks existed between that store and China (Sando and Felton 1993:151-176). The report from an extensive excavation program of overseas Chinese community buildings in Sacramento, California, by Praetzellis and Praetzellis in 1997 also showed considerable artefactual evidence for such networks, and provided information on the cooperative strength of Chinese merchants and Chinese District Associations at that location in the nineteenth-century.

With Chinese gardens in the USA, Wegars (2003:71) notes ‘remnants of Chinese market gardens survive in many locations’ and that ‘place names, such as ‘China Gardens’, often provide a clue to their former presence, even where visible remains are absent’. Probably the most significant study of Chinese gardens in the USA has been in the Payette National Forest in the Salmon River Mountains of Central Idaho. Both commercial and personal gardens have been recorded at that location, which together are perhaps the most extensive Chinese terraced garden developments recorded outside Asia.

2.3 COMMUNITY SPIRIT

Another consolidating element of Chinese communities in nineteenth-century Australia was a commonality of religious and spiritual activities. Archaeology and history show these were practised consistently in capital cities and throughout rural settlements in Australia during that time. The primary physical manifestation of those activities was a temple.

During the time of the gold rushes it was common for every large Chinese settlement to contain a temple. The fact of having a temple placed outside China is not unique to Australia. However, it is a well known but little regarded and little researched phenomenon for most countries of Chinese migration (Niemeier 1995:328).

RELIGION AND SPIRITUAL ACTIVITIES

Chinese culture has been dominated by four great religious tenets. The oldest and most tenacious of these is known as classical religion. Rather than being displaced by the three later philosophical traditions of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism the earlier, animistic religion appears to have embraced them to its own ends.

It reached full development in the classical Chou Period (1122-221 BCE). It centres on the worship of anthropomorphic Heaven, followed by a hierarchy of subordinate deities, which includes ‘canonised’ mythical persons, heroes and sages. It involves ancestor reverence, incorporates the principles of yin and yang (the negative-positive, female-male, evil-good
elemental forces of the universe) and contains an animism that invests the entire natural environment with spirits who were to be supplicated or placated.

Confucian principles, which have influenced Chinese thought for well over two millennia, deal with the proper ordering of human relationships through instruction. K’ung Fu-Tsze (551-479 BCE) emphasised moral virtue and good government, and provided a concept of heaven as a Guiding Providence, whose will could be determined by the study of history and tradition, and whose wishes could be fulfilled primarily by strict observance of traditional rituals and customs.

Tao, the ‘Way’, which deals with life in harmony with nature, is an ancient Chinese term indicating the ‘absolute’ or great reality behind and pervading the universe. Lao Tze, its alleged founder and contemporary of Confucius, may have been a composite of several similar philosophers. The ‘Way’ could be achieved, not by reason and study, but by mystical inward contemplation. In general, Daoism opposed ritual and emphasised the individual, in contrast to the Confucian emphasis on human relationships in society.

Buddhism, which deals with people’s immortal world, was introduced to China during the Han Dynasty (202 B.C.E.-220 AD) and reached its zenith in the Tang Dynasty (618-906 AD). Its roots lay in ancient Indo-Aryan beliefs of Karma and transmigration of the soul. Its leader, Siddhartha, a member of the warrior caste in India of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E., after diligent search and meditation attained ‘Enlightenment’ or ‘Buddhahood’. He taught thereafter that karma could be overcome by devotion to right thoughts and actions.

Other foreign religions, such as Christianity, Judaism and Islam, have appeared in China at various periods but, unlike the four main creeds, their teachings have largely remained apart from Chinese life as a whole (Fang 1999:26, Hayes 2001:25, Wells 1962:10-11).

It was classical, or popular, religion, ‘alloyed with some Taoist and Buddhist gods and beliefs’ (Wells 1962:11), which was practised by the Chinese who came to Australia in the nineteenth century. This can be seen when, in Melbourne in 1855, Howqua, a Cantonese man who had spent 11 months in Australia at five different gold fields in Victoria, was asked whether the Chinese on those gold fields at those locations were following the religion of China and whether there was one religion all over China, he replied,

Some of them [follow the religion of China]; not a great many; and some of them have different religions. ... No [there is not one religion all over China]; different images – different gods. In England, they say, “One God, One Spirit, One Jesus Christ”. So in my country they have different images. They take a piece of wood, and make an image; and they take a large stone, and make another to put up; and so (Commission of Enquiry into the Conditions of the Gold Fields in Victoria, 1855).

The persistence of attributes of classical religion and its centrality to individuals and Chinese communities as a whole can be seen some 50 years later when an anonymous Chinese official wrote,

The unity of the family and the State, as expressed in the worship of ancestors, is the basis not merely of the professed creed, but of the actual practice of a Chinaman. To whatever other faith he may adhere – Buddhist, Taoist, Christian – this is the thing that really matters to him. To him the generations past and the generations to come form with those that are alive one single whole. All live eternally, though it is only some that happen at any moment to live upon earth. Ancestor-worship is thus the symbol of a social idea immense in its force to consolidate and bind (Anonymous 1906:50-51).

Even after China became a socialist country, the custom of respecting one’s ancestors continued to be practised, and today, ancestral reverence remains one of the most dominant customs in the lives of Chinese people (Chan Ka Yan 1991:94, Hayes 1966b:86-87, Matsunami 1998:6, Wilton 2004:96).

The principal visible indication of the strong and pervasive influence of religion in Chinese society is the temple. Such temples usually combine several functions, as well as places
of worship; they are used as secular halls and the foci for charitable and benevolent works in communities, more like European lodges than churches.

However, the primary function of a temple is a building where ancestors, famous heroes of the past or Buddhist deities are honoured, or where Taoist deities are worshipped. Unlike a church, there is no weekly meeting or congregation, and people visit the temple as needed, whether daily, weekly, or less often. A Chinese person does not belong to any particular temple. Most temples have a caretaker who watches over the temple’s gods on a daily basis, burning incense in their honour and serving them tea and liquor. Any person visiting the temple to consult the gods sounds a drum or gong to announce their presence and summon the attention of the gods, lights incense sticks, places food and drink on the altar, and perhaps leaves a monetary donation with the caretaker. The Chinese lunar calendar is the key to the religious practices in ancient China and is still followed today (Ah Ket 1999:15, Hagaman 2001:37, McLeod 1948:305, Wegars 2000:7-9).

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHINESE TEMPLES

Chinese architecture is essentially secular and the most highly developed buildings are palaces and houses. This is because early Chinese civilization was not based on or dominated by typical religious thought or institutions. The plans and layout of ancient ancestral temples (as early as 3500 BCE) were derived from ordinary dwelling houses and palaces (Ng 1975:6).

In essence, there are only three types of temple: Ancestral – for honouring ancestors or heroes of the past, Buddhist – for honouring deities of Chinese Buddhism, and Taoist – for the worship of Taoist deities. However, in practice there is no clear distinction between any two of these and it is often found that Buddhist and Taoist deities are worshipped together within the same temple (Ng 1975:6).

Size, axial planning, symmetry, orientation, location, the tilting or upturned roof system as well as the application of bright colours and ornaments were and still are considerations in the design of a Chinese temple (Lip 1953:41, Ng 1975:12-18).

Compared with the size of a Christian church, a Chinese temple is relatively small, as it is not built for worship by large bodies of people at the same time. For example, of the 61 temples of the Southern District of the New Territories and New Kowloon devoted to popular religion over half (31) consist of only one room (Hayes 1966b:86-87).

In China, it is planned along a south-facing axis that runs from the main entrance in the centre of the south wall to the Main Palace in which the principal deity is housed. All other components (the Bell Tower, the Smoke Tower) are located on this axis, while side temples, if present, are situated at both sides. The principle of symmetry and balance is faithfully followed in the construction, layout, and even decoration of temples. The early belief of ‘dualism’ is deeply rooted in Chinese minds, and emphasis is laid in the horizontal direction. However, symmetry is not so much observed in modern times, and asymmetrical plans often result from expansion (Ng 1975:12).

Chinese temples are usually located in places that are likely to be frequented by large numbers of people, such as villages, town centres, and recreation areas (Ng 1975:13).

A temple is designed for both internal and external effects. Although the temple door is always open, the interior is hidden from view by a screening door known as the Dong Chung. In ancient times, ordinary people had to pass around this screening door to enter the Main Palace. It is believed that the door is to keep evil spirits out – it blocks them because they can only travel in straight lines so cannot go around it. Traditionally, a temple consists of three halls – the Bell Tower in the front, the Smoke Tower in the middle, and the Main Palace at the rear. The intensity of light decreased rapidly from the Bell Tower to the Main Palace and the dark interior creates a mystical effect (Ng 1975:15).

Significantly, the roof is the only part of a building that can be conspicuous at a distance. Therefore, it is the most important feature in a Chinese building. Rooflines are curved
to avoid monotony and the line of intersection of the roof planes is elaborately decorated. Floors are usually hard and designed only for pattern and durability, with little consideration for comfort or noise. Windows are either rectangular or square and because originally they were not glazed they are adapted for ventilation rather than for weather exclusion. As the main entrance of a temple must be formal, it is always rectangular. Internal openings or doorways may be of varied shapes (Ng 1975:17).

A temple is very decorative externally and internally. Decorative articles fall into three categories: auspicious; narrative; and purely decorative. The first two types are found only in religious buildings while the third type is common in most Chinese buildings. Auspicious articles, common in all temples, are sculptures of dragons, carp, owl tails and Buddha Beads (Lip 1953:33-36, Ng 1975:14-18).

The building of temples has close connection with the practice of fengshui. Invariably, temple decorators, contractors and designers firmly believe in and adhere to the ‘good luck’ numbers of geomancy practice in the design of room sizes, the allocation and numbering of rooms, the colour rendering and the sequence of erection. As a rule all temples in China are fengshui orientated, situated ‘on the pulse of the dragon or in front of a dragon stretching down from a hill to water’. If no water is available then a pond or artificial lake is situated in front of the temple. This means that all temples are sited between two spurs which slope either towards the bottom of a valley or the sea. As all temples must be backed by a hill, this allows them to be located anywhere between the bottom of a valley and a point about three quarters up towards the top of the hill. For the same reason, temples are never located on flat plains or peaks (Hayes 1966a:89, Lip 1953:99, Ng 1975:13).

In 1987, Mueller examined a number of Chinatowns in nineteenth-century California and provided evidence for the use of fengshui in the layout of those settlements. Temples were located at three of the four Chinatowns he studied: Riverside, San Bernardino and Ventura. Not only did he conclude that they conformed to a north-south orientation and the principles of fengshui within the broader context of those Chinatowns but also found that at those three places the temples were located at the northern extremities of the settlement. From this he speculated, at least at Riverside where the temple was a two-storey building, that ‘symbolically, it could be construed as an artificial mound protecting the northern quarter and, to some degree the western quarter of the town’ (Mueller 1987:13).

ELEMENTS OF CHINESE TEMPLES

While the layout and planning of temples may vary considerably, they retain their basic elements, as is shown by the Tein Hau Temple in Aberdeen, Hong Kong (Figure 2.3.1). This temple was built in the first year of Hsien Feng (1851) of the Qing Dynasty, and has been renovated twice, in 1873 and 1885. However, it has not materially changed (Ng 1975:19).

A temple complex is typically divided into two parts: the primary temple lies on the main axis, and the secondary temple is on both sides of it. The primary temple comprises the Bell Tower at the front, the use of fengshui in the front of the Smoke Tower and the Main Palace. The Bell Tower contains the ceremonial drum and bell. The Smoke Tower is an assembly hall, separated from the Main Palace by a large altar, which is for public worship. Principal deities are housed in the Main Palace with a smaller altar present in front of the principal deity. Secondary deities are often placed in the ambulatory between the Smoke Tower and Main Palace. The Main Palace is used primarily for private worship. Incinerators are
usually present in all temples and may be situated in the Main Palace, internal courtyard, or in front of the temple. They are used to burn paper money and other ceremonial paper articles (Ng 1975:19).

**Figure 2.3.1:** Plan of Tein Hau Temple in Aberdeen, Hong Kong (Ng 1975:20)

**DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE TEMPLES**

In Hong Kong, the most primitive temple is the Shui Ching Pak Temple, constructed in 1901 with only a main hall. In early China, when no particular religion was practised, the first temples were not intended to be the site of any idol for worship but merely an ordinary roofed room large enough to accommodate those who ministered ceremonies on particular occasions, such as the celebration of a good harvest (Figure 2.3.2). However, due to the Chinese devotion to their ancestors, it was not long before idols of important ancestors or past heroes were placed in the temple so that they could be honoured by a larger number of people (Ng 1975:35).

**Figure 2.3.2** Example of ‘one-house’ form. Plan and elevation of the Shui Ching Pak Temple, Hong Kong (Ng 1975:35) (not to scale).
The first expansion is the ‘two house’ form (Figure 2.3.3). An additional room was added so that the idols could be housed apart from the public. A platform was also introduced to make the idols visible to the worshippers.

![Diagram of two-house form](image)

Figure 2.3.3: Example of ‘two-house’ form. Plan and elevation of the Kuan Yin Temple, Hong Kong (Ng 1975:36) (not to scale).

The use of incense in worship made the ‘two house’ form unsatisfactory. The smoke became trapped in the building and contaminated the air inside. This led to the ‘three-in-one’ and ‘four-in-one’ designs, which were the prototypes for later changes. These were formed by the insertion of an open courtyard in the middle of the building, in front of the room that housed the idols. The courtyard allowed the smoke to escape so that sufficient fresh air and light would be available for the worshippers. However, smoke was still trapped in the inner house where idols were located, giving a mysterious effect. Another feature of these forms was that a considerable amount of space was then made available for accommodating secondary deities.

The popularity of secondary deities created a greater degree of complexity. More space than merely the sides was required when these deities had large numbers of worshippers. To accommodate this, more complicated forms were constructed by combining the ‘three-in-one’ and ‘four-in-one’ designs. The result was that the temple had two courtyards, one near the entrance for secondary deities, and an inner one leading to the principal deities. A disadvantage of this form was that the site of the principal idols was pushed far into the temple away from the entrance. This was overcome by a slightly modified design that consisted of a courtyard in front of the principal idol near the entrance, with other deities situated in the extensions at the two sides. The space left in front of the courtyards at the sides was often used as living quarters for priests, or as a storage place.

The disadvantage of a central courtyard soon became apparent when it rained. To compensate, a roof was devised to shelter the central portion of the building without sacrificing the advantage of good ventilation. A roof was constructed above the courtyard, higher than the roofs covering the houses of the deities and the entrance. This structure rose higher than any other part of the temple and became known as the smoke tower.

A further alteration was made to reduce disturbance in the hall by people entering or leaving for non-religious purposes. This was achieved by adding two lanes between the main hall and the side halls (Ng 1975:35-42).

The final form of the Chinese temple emerged when the two lanes between the main hall and the side halls were incorporated into one building. Figures 2.3.4 to 2.3.7 show various stages of development, and forms, of the ‘three-in-one’ and ‘four-in-one’ temple.

In addition to the above forms, another type developed – a ‘pavilion’ design. As people often visited the tombs of heroes, a pavilion was built near the tomb for their convenience. Over time, this developed into a temple (Ng 1975:42-43).
Figure 2.3.4: Example of ‘three-in-one’ and ‘four-in-one’ designs. Plan and elevation of the Tien Hau Temple, Stanley, Hong Kong (Ng 1975:37) (not to scale).

Figure 2.3.5: Example of a ‘three-in-one’ design with open courtyards. Plan and elevation of the Pak Shing Temple, Hong Kong (Ng 1975:38) (not to scale).

Figure 2.3.6: Example of ‘three-in-one’ design with Smoke Tower and no courtyards. Plan and elevation of the San Tai Tzu Temple, Hong Kong (Ng 1975:40) (not to scale).
In addition to the ‘Joss’ located in numerous Chinese stores, from 1857, most, if not all, Chinese settlements of a significant size in Australia had one or more temples in the second half of the nineteenth century. Sometimes they were under canvas, sometimes in a timber building, and sometimes in a solid brick dwelling.

Although many more may have existed, there are reports of 84 temples throughout Australia during that period. They have been reported in New South Wales (33), Victoria (31), Queensland (eight), Tasmania (five), Western Australia (one) and the Northern Territory (six), only seven of which are extant (refer Appendices). Although such temples may have existed in South Australia, no reports of them have been found during this research.

Five of the extant temples are located in capital cities – Sydney (Alexandria and Glebe), Melbourne (Raglan Street), Brisbane (Breakfast Creek) and Darwin (Woods Street) – and two are in rural centres – at Bendigo, Victoria, and Atherton, Queensland.

Most of them have been rebuilt, renovated and/or refurbished since their original construction, of these the See Yup Temple, in Raglan Street, South Melbourne, is perhaps the oldest and largest. The temple is located only a few kilometres from the docks at Port Melbourne where the first Chinese immigrants landed. According to Cannon (1983:226), there has been a temple on the site since about 1855, and in 1859 it was described as,

... a wooden building of two stories, about seventy feet [21.3 m] long by thirty feet [9.1 m] in breadth, and is profusely decorated in the Chinese style with painting and gilding, while over the altar is a portrait of the divinity they worship (Just 1859:213).

The original building was demolished and the present imposing two-storey, brick and stone temple was built on the same site in 1865-66 (Brown and Ingleton 1966:29-33). The other extant temples similarly have been rebuilt or extensively renovated and refurbished, with the Atherton temple now operating as a cultural heritage educational centre.

Only three other temples have been reported as existing in capital cities. One, which has since been demolished, was located at Botany in Sydney, one, which was destroyed by Cyclone Tracy in 1974, was at Lameroo Beach in Darwin, and one was at Leederville in Perth (Brown and Ingleton 1966:26, Rolls 1996:280, State Library of Western Australia).

On the whole, discussion of the capital city temples is confined to historical information, including activities carried out in the temples, and a sometimes detailed description of the exterior decoration and interior fixtures, including images, with little
attention being given to their structure, layout, location or orientation. An exception being Brown and Ingleton (1966) who provide sketch plans of the temples at Raglan Street in Melbourne, Alexandria in Sydney, and at Woods Street in Darwin. Interestingly, Jones (1997:109) notes, based on the siting selected in 1887 by ‘necromancers’ who considered the location in relation to sky, water, and land (fengshui), when the Darwin temple was rebuilt in 1978 it was erected on the same site facing the same direction. Photographs of the extant Chinese temples in Australia are shown in Figure 2.3.8.

The remaining 74 Chinese temples, all of which are reported as being built in the rural centres during the second half of the nineteenth century, have disappeared. All have been victims of demolition, dereliction, fires, relocation and reuse or a combination of these factors.

As with capital city temples, discussion of these rural temples is also usually confined to activities associated with their opening or particular festivities undertaken at them rather than descriptions. Where available, photographs are often the only source of insight into these aspects (Figure 2.3.9).

However, limited information sometimes can be gleaned about their structure from early newspaper reports and oral accounts. For example, a description of one of the temples erected at Strike-A-Light Flat, south of Braidwood in southeastern New South Wales notes,

Amongst the many recent erections in the district perhaps the most singular in many respects, is the Joss House or temple constructed last week [1859] by some of the Chinese on Strike-a-Light Flat.

It is built of calico strained on poles in the usual manner of diggers’ tent and has a very neat verandah of the same material in front of it with a semi-circular shaped roof. On entering the penetralia, the fantastic taste of the celestials is apparent, a number of red pieces of calico with Chinese characters inscribed may be seen at each side over the alter, if such be the proper term to apply to the large table which is at the end of the room. Above this appears a small red niche with a lamp swinging on it.

On one side of this is a sort of square red tub full of little flags containing a smaller tub likewise full of flags. On the other side is a red box covered with Chinese characters. ... (Braidwood Dispatch 31 August 1907).

The following construction details can be found embedded in another lengthy newspaper account of the opening of the temple at Buckland, in rural Victoria, in 1858,

The temple itself was about twenty feet in length by twelve or fourteen in width, neatly framed, the cornicing of both walls and roof being of canvass or calico; the inside had a flooring of boards, which was matted and carpeted in front of the altar or table in a small space of about eight feet square. ... (Ovens and Murray Advertiser in Just 1859:214).

McWaters’ 2002 history of the Chinese camp at Beechworth, again in rural Victoria, notes,

The second camp, the Peking, (situated on the Lunatic Asylum Reserve) was fast approaching completion and had recently acquired a Joss House measuring about 15 x 30 feet. This building, which had been well braced together, and minus the paraphernalia, had been removed from its original location and carried to the new camp by a large group of Chinese who deposited it on a previously prepared site (Ovens and Murray Advertiser in McWaters 2002:15).

Some more recent heritage assessments of some of those temple sites also provide invaluable insights into such constructional aspects. For example, in describing the temple at Woboldborough, Tasmania, Vivian (1985) details the original location of the temple and notes, ‘the building was weatherboard with a corrugated iron roof and a large open sided covered area in front of the entrance’. An informant also described the temple at Branxholm to her, noting, ‘The Joss House was built upon pegs. They [the Chinese] didn’t dig a foundation out. It was built up on pegs. Just on stumps. They didn’t build anything really permanent, although a lot of them were there for a long time’. In addition, the informant stated the temple had a timber floor, weatherboard sides and an iron roof (Vivian 1985: Appendix 2).
Figure 2.3.8: Extant Chinese temples in Australia.
Figure 2.3.9: Photographs of Chinese temples that once existed in Australia.
Barnard and Sheehan (1992:69) note the exterior of the temple in Ararat, Victoria, was described in 1873 as ‘... by no means an imposing structure, being of weatherboard and of very modest dimensions’. Ibrahim (1981) provides an assessment of the Atherton temple in Queensland, and Grimwade (2003a:53) provides scaled floor plans of both the Atherton and Croydon temples, Queensland. Nevertheless such details are the exception rather than the rule.

It is apparent from available information that Chinese temples in capital cities and larger regional centres, such as Ballarat, Victoria, were larger and more opulent than those of rural areas, such as Pine Creek in the Northern Territory. Temples at the former locations were of more permanent construction material of stone and brick with concrete tile or galvanized iron roofing and displayed ornate exterior decoration, and as in Melbourne and Ballarat, were two-stories high. Temples at the latter locations were built of more ephemeral material, such as calico and wood, often with little, if any, exterior decoration.

From the above description of the development of Chinese temples, various temple forms are recognisable in rural Australia. For example, the Chinese temples at Atherton, Queensland, and Tambaroora, NSW, appear to be a ‘three-in-one’ type, the Pine Creek Temple appears to be a ‘three-in-one’ type with laneways, and the Forest Creek Temple in Victoria appears to be a derivation of the ‘two-house’ form. The original temple at Raglan Street, Melbourne, and at least one at Beechworth appears to have been a ‘one-house’ type, and the temple at Strike-A-Light Flat, Braidwood, with its semi-circular shaped roof may have been of the ‘pavilion’ type. It is also apparent from photographs of temples that once existed in rural Australia that, on the whole, exterior decoration (particularly roof ridge ornamentation) was largely absent.

Of all the Chinese temples in Australia, very few of their surface remains have been subject to archaeological evaluation. In 1981, Ibrahim provided the results of his study of the material culture of the temple at Atherton, which mainly focused on the larger internal fixtures with very limited discussion on artefact analysis. During an assessment of Pine Creek Chinatown, McCarthy (1986:16-17) noted that almost ‘the entire [artefact] collection from the [temple] floor area consisted of assorted waist (sic) fragments relating to ... [six] large wine jar scatters’, and added, ‘as a temple site, it is not surprising that so little domestic refuse was found’. More recently, Gordon Grimwade undertook an archaeological survey of the site of the former temple at Croydon in North Queensland. Grimwade’s floor plan of that temple shows it to be a ‘three-in-one’ form, similar to the Atherton temple only slightly longer. Grimwade also noted there was ‘a surprisingly low density of artifacts present in close proximity to the temple’ (Grimwade 2003a:53-56).

Before the research undertaken as part of this thesis, no archaeological excavations have been undertaken at a Chinese temple site in Australia and no such site has been placed in a Chinese community context in Australia using archaeology.

In NZ, research shows reference to only two Chinese temples on the south island in the second half of the nineteenth century. One was at Lawrence (1869) (Figure 2.3.10) and the other at Round Hill (1883) (Butler 1977:31, Ritchie 1986:66).

Despite his extensive and seminal research of the archaeology and history of the Chinese in southern NZ during the nineteenth century, Ritchie restricted his study to a very brief historical outline of religion and temples in that broad region. He appears to dismiss the possibility of temples in Chinese goldfield settlements in the area by noting, ‘many of the Chinese on the gold fields maintained small shrines in their huts, emulating those in the larger temples at Round Hill and Lawrence’ (Ritchie 1986:66).

As with Australia during the second half of the nineteenth century, in the USA it was noted, ‘Characteristic of the larger Chinese settlements [in California 1850-1890] was the presence of a joss house or temple’ (Rohe 1982:1).

No doubt among many others, research has shown there were at least 39 Chinese temples in California, Idaho and Oregon during that time. There were 15 temples in San
Francisco alone, 10 of which were erected in honour of Chinese heroes and the remainder was dedicated to patriarchs of their village, clans, patrons of guilds, or the sages or genii of religious sects (McLeod 1948:295, 297, Wells 1962).

Chinese temples also were located at Bakersfield, Coloma, Grass Valley (two) (c.1868 and before 1891, the former was rebuilt in 1933) (Figure 2.3.10), Hanford, Los Angeles (c.1853), Marysville (c.1854), Mendocino (before 1883), Monterey (before 1889), Nevada City (c.1869), Newcastle, Oroville (3) (1850/60s), Riverside, Sacramento (before 1873), San Bernardino, San Jose (c.1870), Ventura, and Weaverville (1874) in California, Centerville, Lewiston (before 1875) and Idaho City (c.1875) in Idaho, and Baker City, Oregon (1883) (Greenwood 1993:386, Hagaman 2001, Muellner 1987:12-23, Wegars 1995a, 1995b:20, 2000, 2003:73-76, Wells 1962: 39-44, 48-51, 64-79).

As with many temples in Australia, most of those regional/rural temples in the USA were demolished, destroyed by fire, became derelict or were relocated. Some that have suffered such a fate are those once in Coloma, Grass Valley, Newcastle, and San Jose in California, while another, the Lewiston temple, has been partially reconstructed as a cultural heritage education centre. Others, for example in Marysville, California, are extant (Wegars 2000:12-13, Wells 1962:78-80).

For comparative purposes, a number of reports of Chinese temples in California provide the most useful information about the construction and layout of such buildings. For example, as part of an 1869 newspaper report, the temple in Nevada City is described as ‘... The room is about 10 x 12 [feet], in back of which a little god, four inches in hight (sic) with a long moustache, and surrounded with tinsel work, reigns supreme’ (The Daily Transcript 14 May 1869 in Hagaman 2001:3).

In this respect, Mariann Wells’ 1962 study of Chinese temples in California provides details of the dimensions and construction of such buildings, a number of which were extant at the time. Among other things, she provides scaled floor plans of eight nineteenth-century temples in California, analysis of which shows these rectangular-shaped buildings to be from 8.5 to 13 m long and 4 to 7 m wide. For the Weaverville temple, she reports that a Chinese informant stated, ‘the temple was built exactly according to the custom and in the same way as one built in China, except that in China the temples are built of stones and tiles’ – the building at Weaverville was made of wood (Wells 1962:40).

Wells concluded the Californian temples to be of a composite type with the physical exteriors varying somewhat depending on when built, building materials available, and the nature of the neighbourhoods surrounding them but the interiors much more closely adhered to a basic pattern. She also found the procedure of worship to be likewise consistent and appeared to follow exactly that found in China, and that at least one temple in San Francisco was ‘built with good Feng-shui’ (Wells 1962:21, 80).

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Figure 2.3.10: Photographs of Chinese temples that once existed in NZ and the USA.
2.4 COMMUNAL OVENS

As well as the usually frugal cooking and dining arrangements of the everyday, the Chinese fascination with food and communal dining came from ritual and ceremony. Such practices institutionalised social codes surrounding recognition of honour and status. Respect for the old, elite individuals and the gods was expressed in communal feasts. In particular the gods, who were the collective representations of the community, required the best; they ‘tasted’ the essence of the foods sacrificed to them, and the community shared the material portion. In these cases, the best is roasted whole pig — generally referred to by the Guangdong residents as kum chu (chin chu), or golden pig (Anderson 1988:x, Osgood 1975:524).

Traditionally, the ritual and ceremonies surrounding these communal feasts required the discrete cooking facilities of a different type of oven — a large communal oven. These ovens were set apart from the household ‘stoves’, portable stoves and commercial cooking pots. In Australia, this type of oven is colloquially referred to as a ‘pig oven’. Vestiges of these are scattered across the eastern states and in the Northern Territory. They represent the only remaining physical evidence of the communal cohesion of food preparation and consumption, for both spiritual and secular purposes in Chinese communities throughout rural Australia.

ORIGINS AND FUNCTIONS

It is posited that the origin of the ritual of the communal feast, the preferred sacrificial animal, and possibly even the communal oven, may have its roots in the early Neolithic. The interment of domesticated pig skulls, mandibles and whole pigs in burials can be traced to the early Neolithic in the sixth millennium BC in north China. This practice became widespread during the middle and late Neolithic period in both north and south China. It has been theorised that those remains were regarded as displays of wealth and that pig production was important for the display of individual wealth and the rise of political elites (Li 2000:16). However, Underhill (2000:115) proposed that all families desired pork for mortuary ritual but it was more attainable by wealthier families.

Historically, the tradition of offering food to the dead has been traced to the Emperor Shun (ruling from 2255-2205 BC) when, according to Doré (1989:167 in Bjornskov 2001:125), ‘the Emperor Shun invested Chu, son of the defunct emperor Yao, with the feudal demesne of ‘Tan’, on the condition that he would offer annually a ritual sacrifice to the Manes of his (Shun’s) father’.

The ritual sacrifice of pigs was often recorded in Shang Dynasty (c.1520-c.1030 BC) oracle bone inscriptions, and pig remains have been found in sacrificial pits in the Shang Royal Cemetery in Anyang. Feasting and sacrificial foods to ancestors were recorded during the Chou Dynasty (c.1030-221 BC) and pieces of roasted pork were also recorded in a poem from that period as a favoured sacrificial food item among peasants. In Han (207 BC- AD 220) times pork was also held in high regard and it continued to be a sacrificial meat during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 AD) when the Forbidden City acquired 160 sacrificial swine and sheep annually for ritual purposes. At that time, the animals were slaughtered and cooked whole in a bronze or iron cauldron according to ancient traditions.

In some present-day rural communities of southern China, pork is one of the major components of graveside offerings to ancestors, with the pig’s head considered the most important or honorific part. In contemporary Guangdong a whole pig is roasted with a glaze to give it the golden colour associated with religion. It is therefore likely that the tradition of using pork as a ritual food has deep roots in Chinese prehistory, and that the communal oven developed as an integral part of the ritual of communal feasting (Anderson and Anderson 1977:378, Bjornskov 2001:126, Li 2000:16-19).

Since the first report of a Chinese oven in 1979 on the Jordan River in Gippsland, Victoria, there has been some discussion, at least in Australia, as to the apparent lack of
historical references to such ovens in China. This has prompted speculation that they were built and used on only a very localised scale in China or that they were a recent innovation in Australia that never became widespread before it fell into disuse. Although the latter has popular currency, the former may be more accurate.

Although speculation continues, while describing a roasting pit (oven) in Hong Kong Osgood (1975:524-525) appears to support the former theory. After witnessing the preparation and cooking of a number of ‘golden pigs’ at one of the licensed premises in Lung Shing to celebrate the birthday of Hung Shing (God of Southern Waters) he notes, Barbecued pork is roasted in four of five different pits in various parts of Lung Shing [Hong Kong]. The pits are not very obvious, or at least a person might walk the streets indefinitely without seeing one. ... Without doubt, the reason that some pits are not easy to find is that they are enclosed within the confines of residences [the courtyard], a transgression of the rules governing the commercial roasting of pigs in Hong Kong.

Roasting pits are dug about six feet into the ground and are lined with brick. Their maximum diameter is perhaps three feet but they taper inward at the top which narrows the opening. Before any pigs are put in, a fire is started by throwing in kindling, then paper, then kerosene, and finally a match into the aperture. The fire is kept roaring to preheat the pit. In due time, some charcoal is added, for the actual barbecuing is done only over red coals. On top of the pit is an iron cover with a wadding of burlap around the edge. A careful covering of the pit is said to be very important.

Osgood also describes the internal basting of the pig carcass, which took place on the ground adjacent to the pit, and consisted of a mixture of ingredients, such as sugar, wine, soy sauce, five fragrances powder, which varied but may include anise, fennel, cinnamon, nutmeg, cloves, liquorice or ginger. He also notes that before basting, the skin is always rubbed with a rag soaked in soy sauce, honey, and orange-red colouring, which gives a golden appearance.

The legs of the carcass are then tied in a position that is conceived of as being life-like, and a steel hook fastened to a steel ring is inserted into it so that when it is suspended the snout will hang down. To place the pig in the cooking pit, a steel rod is slipped through the ring, and, with a man at each end of the rod, the pig is carried over the opened top of the pit and lowered downward until the edges of the pit support the ends of the rod. The cover and burlap are then put back in place. During the last period of roasting, a bucket is suspended by hooks fastened into each side of the head of the pig so as to hang down below it and catch the drippings, with a little water put into the bucket to prevent the drippings from burning. Four or five small pig carcasses could be placed in a heated oven together and the total time involved in preparation and cooking was about two hours.

As a final comment, Osgood (1975:526) notes for that particular pit/oven the output was only one or two pigs a day except at the times of such festivals as those for the gods Hung Shing and Kuan Yin, or at New Year and Qingming.

The use of this type of oven in China was corroborated by Bell (1995:224-225) where he reports that Stephen Mar Lim, who was born in Chung Shang district in 1933, recalled when he was a child there were about three pig roasting ovens of brick and stone in his village. They were owned by wealthy families and were used for community festivals, such as Qingming. In addition, Lim stated they were used on other more private social occasions, as Osgood also infers.

In Australia, three possible functions have been attributed to communal ‘pig’ ovens or roasting pits: cooking for special occasions, everyday domestic cooking and mineral smelting. While there is considerable support for the first two functions, the latter has been discounted (Bell 1995:216-218).

There are widespread first and second-hand eyewitness accounts and oral traditions in Australia of these types of ovens being used by Chinese on ceremonial occasions and feast days. Lily Ah Toy of Darwin recalled seeing pig carcasses roasted in the ovens at festival occasions
when she was a young girl in the 1920s. She remembered the ovens being used on two festivals, at Qingming, (Chinese Easter) and at the Lantern Festival. Jack Callaghan also witnessed these ovens in use in the Northern Territory where parts of a beast were placed within the structure, which was then sealed, and the food cooked slowly (Bell 1995:220). Burdett (1992:27) indicates that the ‘roasting or offering oven’ was associated with the temple at Nerrigundah and during a celebration of the Chinese New Year 4,000 in 1891 ‘large numbers of Chinese gathered for a week of celebrations, feasting by day and letting off fireworks by night’.

The widespread reports for the use of these ovens describe in detail the same process for preparing the meat, heating the oven and doing the cooking. Independent reports from the Northern Territory and Tasmania described how the pig carcass was dressed and marinated in sauces (soy sauce with garlic and ginger) while a large fire was lit in the oven to heat the masonry. When the oven was very hot the coals were cleaned out and the whole pig was hung by the hind legs from bars across the top of the oven. An iron lid was placed on top, and the pig left for a few hours to roast. In Tasmania it was reported that the lid was insulated with wet bags to keep the heat in and in the Northern Territory one practice was to place a tray in the bottom of the oven to catch the fat (Bell 1995:220). Another similar account was reported from Gippsland’s Jordan Goldfield where the ovens there … were used on a feast day to roast whole pigs. A fire would be lit in the base of the oven and fed from the opening at the base, then large stones would be lowered and allowed to become red hot. A whole pig would be lowered onto the stones; a brass or metal cover would be placed over the aperture until the pig was thoroughly cooked (Tomlin 1979:100).

Although some eyewitnesses agree that the use of these ovens was restricted to special occasions, there are also accounts of them being used more regularly for everyday domestic cooking. Van Kempen (1987:41) reported that the ovens at Granite Creek, Queensland, ‘appear to have been used for cooking, mainly rice and vegetables and, on feast days, whole pigs and chickens’. There is also evidence for the use of the ovens for domestic as opposed to special occasion cooking at two small campsites in Tasmania (Bell 1995:221). Also in Tasmania, Helen Vivian recorded that a whole pig was roasted in such an oven, and noted that they were also used to cook poultry (Vivian 1985:23).

There is also an account of a similar type of oven being built in the backyard of a Chinese store/residence in the early twentieth century in northern New South Wales, primarily for domestic purposes. Thomas Hoy Lee of Stuart Town, New South Wales, noted that when he was a child in the 1920s,

... all the cooking my father used to do was in cast iron saucepans or cast iron boilers on an open fire with two bars of steel across to do that. ... There was no ovens in those days, there was no such thing as a stove and so, to cook his meat, like to roast a pork, roast a duck or roast anything he built a little brick oven out in the back yard. It was built out of bricks and mud and all that type of thing and those days there was tons of wooden boxes around ... Down the bottom he has a little hole where he put a brick in so you could scrape the ashes out. And to fire this oven he used to light a fire in it and put wooden boxes, you'd break the boxes up and you'd heat it and the heat would be in the oven itself. Well then you had a piece of roast pork or a duck or something like that, you had a little camp-oven-thing and you put it down the bottom, put some water in so that would catch the oil as it dripped out of the pork so it wouldn't burn and you hung the piece of pork off a bar or iron across the top and to keep the heat in the thing you had a dish over the top with a wet bag over the top.

... that oven was built and it lasted for years because it was built with bricks around the thing and then was plastered with mud or clay and it was there and the weather wouldn't wash it away … (Wilton 2001:10-11).

There is also an account from NZ, as recently as the mid twentieth century, where ramped brick ovens, standing about 2-2.5 m high, were used to roast pigs. The brickwork was plastered on the inside and outside to maximise heat retention. The pig was similarly rubbed
with salt, sugar and soy sauce, and sometimes with garlic. Kindling wood was placed in the front vent opening of the oven and larger fuel through the top. When the fire was established a corrugated iron cover was placed over the top of the oven. Wet sacks were then applied to help contain the fire. When the oven had heated to an even temperature the pig was hung from a pole into the oven (Grimwade 2003a:55-56).

**OVERSEAS CHINESE OVENS**

There are reports of 83 Chinese ovens throughout Australia during the second half of the nineteenth/early twentieth century. However, similar to Chinese temples, many more may have existed during that period. They have been reported in New South Wales (15), Victoria (two), Queensland (21), Tasmania (12), and the Northern Territory (33) (refer Appendices). Although such ovens also may have existed in South Australia and Western Australia during that time, no reports of them have been found during this research.

The ovens are invariably located on nineteenth-century mining fields with well-documented episodes of Chinese occupation and most are accompanied by unequivocal archaeological evidence of Chinese habitation (Bell 1995:223). While some have been completely destroyed most are in a ruinous state, probably the best intact example of them is at Nerrigundah, in southeastern NSW. Figure 2.4.1 gives examples of these ovens.

Normally, most ovens are located near habitations associated with mining but not immediately beside where mining activity took place. They are usually a short distance away from a group of dwellings and not associated with a single dwelling. The location is often in an open space, or close to a road. ‘They are located as though not intended for domestic use but for communal cooking’ (Bell 1995:222).

Although Bell (1995:214-215) noted some regional variation in the forms of ovens, overall they are strikingly similar. Generally, they have a circular-shaped interior, are partly sunk into the ground, and are typically over a metre in diameter at the base, and the same in depth. All are built of stone and earth.

Those in the Pine Creek district of the Northern Territory usually have a distinct taper, and are about 1.5 m in height and up to 2 m in diameter. They are mostly built from flags of flat slate with relatively little clay showing externally. The interior extends some distance below external ground level, has a hemispherical bottom, and is usually finished with clay. There is always a small opening near the base on one side, supported by a lintel of drill steel or some other metal rod. Often the ovens have one or more stone benches at a low level beside them.

The ovens on the Palmer Goldfield of Queensland are generally smaller than those of the Northern Territory, some of them less than a metre in height and base diameter. They are also generally less tapered, and more approximately cylindrical in form. They appear more roughly built with very little clay used, and in some cases they have either lost most of their clay lining, or never had it.

Tasmania’s ovens are typically much larger than those of the Queensland and the Northern Territory, sunk deep into the ground, and supported by a wide sloping bank of earth more than 3 m in diameter at the base. They are generally very well built of large, well-shaped stones fitted together with very little clay used. They also have a much bigger opening in the side. The stonework is cylindrical with no taper and their internal space is up to a metre in diameter and well over a metre in depth (Bell 1995:215-216).

In 2001, Bell’s assessment of a regional variation was partially extended by Bjornskov who created a five-part typology for 10 ovens she examined in the Northern Territory.

In NZ, research shows reference to only four Chinese ovens – at Auckland, Dunedin, the Lower Hutt and Whangerei. Some of these are of twentieth-century origin and are still in occasional use by the NZ Chinese community today. There is no record of this type of oven in southern NZ during the nineteenth century (Ritchie 1986).
Figure 2.4.1: Photographs of Chinese ovens in Australia.
A similar paucity of Chinese ovens has been recorded in the USA. While a number of ovens similar to those identified in Australia has been described as Chinese ovens, Wegars (1991:37-60) has demonstrated that these are more probably bread ovens, built and used mainly by Italian immigrants. Sisson (1993:47) examined an unidentified rock feature, which he notes is possibly a hearth, near the confluence of the Salmon and Snake Rivers in Idaho. Some locals had referred to the feature as the ‘Chinese Shrine’. It is 2.6 m wide at the base, tapers to about 0.52 m wide at the top, and is 1.6 m high. A small rock and earth ramp about 1.3 m wide, 0.57 m high at its junction with the main rock wall, and 1.63 m long leads up to the south side of the feature. Although no documentation was located to indicate its function, from its description it appears to be a Chinese oven (Figure 2.4.2).

The only other possible ovens of this type in the USA are referred to by Wegars in 2003. She notes that Mary Maniery has identified three types of Chinese cooking features. The third type is a cylindrical cooker made of brick that has been found at the Woolen Mills Chinatown site in San Jose, and Folsom, Virginiatown, and Cambria, all of which are in California (Wegars 2003:72).

Figure 2.4.2: Unidentified rock feature (possibly a hearth), Lower Salmon River, Idaho (Sisson 1993:48).

2.5 INDIVIDUALS IN THE COMMUNITY

Traditionally, the owners themselves with the assistance of neighbours and relatives built rural dwellings (Deetz 1992:93). Although this was the practice in China, the vernacular buildings of the rural countryside were also shaped at least to some extent by academic traditions, symbolic behaviour and government edicts.

Over a decade ago Ritchie (1993:335) noted of Chinese structures of nineteenth-century goldfields in NZ, ‘little energy has been expended on analysing morphology, stylistic materials, or social aspects ... [of] the humble field dwellings of the gold miners’. Except for the study at Kiandra in southeastern NSW in 1998 (Smith 1998) and to some extent Stanin’s 2004 investigation of a Chinese market garden settlement near Vaughan, Victoria, that same comment remains true for rural Australia today.
Although Ritchie (1993:368) acknowledged his study was constrained by the lack of detailed data on the construction and layout of houses in southern China, he stated, ‘the imprint of many centuries of rigid social organisation in China ... [had] ... some carryover effect on the nature of Chinese dwellings in NZ’.

This section provides detail on the attributes of such dwellings in rural southern China, synthesises the architectural and construction features of overseas nineteenth-century rural Chinese dwellings, and establishes that they have numerous practical and symbolic features in common with basic dwellings in China. The remains of those dwellings, together with their location, in rural overseas communities provide a basic, essential platform for the examination of such communities within and across southeastern NSW.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHINESE DWELLINGS

In ancient China the circular plan was more natural for the pit and the rectangular one for the hut raised on poles but it was the latter that certainly dominated throughout Chinese history (Needham 1971:122). This preference for rectangular house shapes can be seen as early as Neolithic times in China. The dwellings at the site at Banpo (approximately 4,000 BC) near the city of Xian on the Wei River tributary of the Huanghe, in northern China, are representative of the ubiquitous rural house style (Figure 2.5.1) (Knapp 1986:8).

![Figure 2.5.1: Rectangular-shaped Neolithic dwelling at Banpo, China, with overhanging eaves, a southern exposure and windowless walls (Knapp 1986:8).](image)

The typical north China rural dwelling traditionally has been a one-storey rectangle with a depth of only a single room. At its simplest, it is a small space enclosed by four walls lengthening into a substantial rectangle as circumstances permitted. Migrating pioneers brought the layout to the south and adapted it to local conditions. However, dwellings in southern China were not strictly sited facing south but rather were built in accordance with local topographic and microclimatic conditions (Knapp 1986:26, 39, 51). Many other writers have also noted the basic ubiquitous rectangular shape of the typical rural Chinese dwelling (among them Needham 1971:67-68, Ritchie 1986: 47, Sisson 1993:36-37, Smith 1998:192).

A basic characteristic of Chinese architecture has always been the addition at will of repeating units keyed to the size and scale of human beings – pillar-intervals of bays (jian) in buildings and spaces in open-air courts. This harmonious assembly of units each fixed to the human scale is deeply Chinese because it is universally practised in that civilisation. It is a working norm rather than an aesthetic theory (Needham 1971:67).
The smallest dwelling comprises a single jian – a nucleus of habitation that provides flexible use of a common space for living, cooking, sleeping, and other activities. Its width and depth not only vary from place to place in the country but also differ according to the intended grandeur of the dwelling. Throughout Zhejiang, in southeastern China, the jian's width ranges between 3 and 5 m with a proportional depth varying from 5 to 10 m (Knapp 1989:34).

In China there were recommendations to place restrictions on the size of buildings according to status as early as the seventh century BC. But it was in the Tang Dynasty (618-906) that formal sumptuary regulations fixed the external appearance of common houses by defining scale and limiting decorative embellishment and colours according to the owner's rank and status (Boyd 1962:3, Knapp 1986:34). All those who were not part of the ruling officialdom were graded as commoners, a broad group that included, in order of rank, scholars, peasants, craftsmen, and merchants. The peasants, tillers of the soil, were the most numerous and usually the poorest. During the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), the dwellings of commoners as well as officials of the sixth through ninth ranks could not exceed three jian in a row. Officials of the third, fourth and fifth ranks could have five jian, and only the first and second-rank officials were allowed to have seven jian. Odd numbers bring balance and symmetry to a dwelling and are considered lucky numbers by the Chinese. Consequently four or six-jian dwellings are rare as they represent inauspicious and asymmetrical shapes (Knapp 1986:34, 141).

Consistent with building traditions that date from at least the Shang Dynasty (roughly 1520-1030 BC) a tamped earth foundation or podium at grade level or only slightly elevated is used as a base for dwellings (Knapp 1989:68). Pounded earthen floors continue to be used in many parts of rural China today (Needham 1971:134, Werner 1950:50). When troughs and underground conduits are used to drain water, tamped foundations provide a dry footing for a dwelling. Northern Chinese carried this preference for building directly on the ground when they migrated to southern China, using it even where its appropriateness was questionable and where indigenous tradition offered an alternative (Knapp 1989:68).

To reduce the absorption of soil moisture by the walls, stone foundations and wall footings are commonly laid along the perimeter of tamped earth in southeastern China. In those dwellings the rough-cut stones are usually packed tightly below the ground, following their natural shapes and held without mortar, while mortar is used with elevated bases. The depth of the footings, sometimes nearly a metre deep, is set to support the weight of the building itself. The main function of these structural underpinnings is not to fasten the structure to the ground but to stabilise the base and separate the structure itself from the damp ground below. In most cases stone foundations are raised above ground level to protect the lower wall from water damage (Figure 2.5.2) (Knapp 1989:68).

Figure 2.5.2: A typical foundation layout in southern China (Knapp 1989:69).
Typically in China doors and windows are only situated at the front of the dwelling and do not break the other walls. Windows are usually placed high to not only block the direct rays of the sun but also reduce ground radiation and provide a degree of security. A southern orientation creates satisfactory passive solar conditions. This arrangement reflects not only environmental awareness but also the sanction of cosmological authority through the symbolic practice of *fengshui*. In Zhejiang, in southeastern China, with its much longer summer season and relatively warmer winter than in the north, builders block the sun’s penetration by using few windows and greater depth. Such a configuration helps to keep direct sunlight from reaching the interior. This has resulted in dwellings throughout Zhejiang Province generally exceeding 5 m in depth – approximately twice that of northern dwellings where the low angle of the winter sun is able to penetrate very deeply into the dwelling (Knapp 1989:26-29).

In Chinese buildings structural systems based upon timber frameworks to sustain the load of the roof independently of the walls emerged early, becoming subsequently a paramount characteristic of the architecture of palaces, temples, and residences (Knapp 1989:69). Roofing materials for rural dwellings depended on local materials but commonly consisted of grass or thatch, or even a thin layer of straw added atop layers of plastic and oiled paper (Knapp 1986, 1989).

In relation to interior features, Boyd (1962:82) noted that the general method of heating houses was always the portable charcoal brazier, usually in the form of a bowl, prepared by servants outside and brought into the rooms in a glowing condition. These were sometimes in the form of portable earthenware pots and stoves (Hommel 1937:37). There were never any chimneys in Chinese houses. The kitchen was sometimes in the open air, on a verandah or in an out-house (Boyd 1962:83). Conwell (1993:37) reported that all cooking took place at the back of the house. Knapp notes that where the kitchen was inside a dwelling the stove had neither the centrality nor the significance of the hearth in the west but care still attended its positioning and construction. Knapp (1989:144-147) states that the kitchen usually flanked the entrance and its normal location was on the eastern end of a house.

The final features of Chinese dwellings that require a brief mention are the bathroom, washing and toilet arrangements. The bathroom does not usually appear in the plan of a Chinese house at all. Boyd (1962:83) notes that all toilet arrangements in the house of a well-to-do, including bathing and washing, were usually provided for by means of basins, bathtubs, and commodes brought to private rooms by the servants. Knapp (1989:57) notes that, where running water is available, it is often brought to a separate brick sink located outdoors where it is available for washing purposes. He also notes that toilets were not inside either but often built as a separated little shed in some convenient corner, sometimes at the back of dwellings adjacent to pens for pigs and chickens. Boyd (1962:83) confirms this arrangement stating that the privy was a separate structure placed over a rectangular hole about two feet deep.

Individual dwellings were usually clustered into compact settlements, which took advantage of the topographical conditions. This type of community has a general absence of green spaces and even space between buildings, with populations varying from fewer than 100 residents to several thousand. Such settlements are usually located in or near the centre of cropland where level land is easily accessible for villagers. Rural builders pay substantial attention to micro-climatic conditions, mindful of slope, drainage, prevailing winds and exposure to sunlight. In southern China, such villages are typically situated at the break in slope or slightly upslope in the lower foothills, but never far from the lowland areas that are level or terraced.

The advantages of this type of village are that people live close to each other, houses and roads are compactly laid out, and the space between buildings can serve community uses. Disadvantages, particularly if the village is large, include overcrowding and distance from farmland. As most compact villages grew over time without planning, their internal
arrangement is often one of disorder. There are frequently problems with ventilation, sunshine and drainage (Knapp 1989:2-3, 13-14, 1992:15).

**OVERSEAS CHINESE DWELLINGS**

Although there has been a growing archaeological interest in various aspects of nineteenth-century rural Chinese settlements in Australia since the early 1980s, surprisingly, there has been only a limited number of archaeological investigations of dwellings within those settlements in Australia. Between the first report of an isolated, single rural Chinese dwelling on the Palmer Goldfield (Jack, Holmes and Kerr 1984:51-58) to the most recent dwellings as part of a larger settlement at Kiandra in southeastern NSW (Smith 1998, 2001a, 2003a), apart from this study, there have been only five other archaeological investigations of such features in Australia.

They are: Vivian (1985) in northeast Tasmania; McCarthy (1986, 1988, 1989) and Mitchell (1994) at the Pine Creek Chinese settlement in the Northern Territory; Comber (1991, 1995a, b) at the Palmer Goldfield in Queensland (overview of settlements); and Svenson (1994) at Milparinka, in northwest NSW. In addition, Jong Ah Siug, a Chinese miner who lived in the Chinese camp at Andersons Hill, on the central Victorian goldfields in 1866, also provides first hand descriptions of five huts in that camp (Moore and Tully 2000, Yuanfang 1998, 2001). Stanin (2004:28) also provides a brief description of an unspecified number of huts in her preliminary research into a market garden settlement near Vaughan, Victoria. McGowan's historical studies (1995, 1996a, b, 1998, 2000, 2001), while predominantly histories of non-Chinese; also give some attention to the physical remains of Chinese miners' dwellings around the Braidwood area of southeastern NSW.

However, the situation for NZ is quite different. Ritchie's 1986 study provided detailed information on 38 individual dwellings over a broad area of the south island (1986, 1993:335-373). Bristow (1994) also provided data on a further 19 such dwellings along the Fraser River and Potters Creek in southern NZ.

There is also valuable data on nineteenth-century rural dwellings available from the USA, for example: LaLande (1981) in the Applegate Valley, California; Sisson (1993:33-63) along the Lower Salmon River, Idaho; and Wegars' (1995a, b) investigations on Granite Creek, northeastern Oregon, and at Centerville, Idaho.

A study of 120 nineteenth-century dwellings located at identified Chinese sites in Australia, NZ and the USA undertaken in 1998 (Smith 1998:191-197) found many similarities between the majority of them and the abovementioned characteristics of dwellings in China. The results of that study found the majority were small, single storey, rectangular-shaped structures. They had their base and/or walls constructed of stone and earth, tamped earth (and gravel) floors, an entrance at the end (front) wall, and faced towards the morning sun. Many had other similarities, such as being built into a slope, a hearth/fireplace located next to the entry and faced downhill. Due to lack of information, comparison with other features, such as, framework and roofing material, and windows could not be definitively determined. The results also showed such dwellings had a mean internal area of 9.21 m². Significantly, comparable non-Chinese (European) dwellings examined in the study, which were almost 26 per cent larger, had a mean internal area of 11.6 m².

Although framework and roofing material were not definitively determined through the above study, evidence of similar framework and roofing characteristics as those used in China is available in Australia. For example, in Australia, Jack and others (1984:51) describe Chinese dwellings as being constructed of thatched grass or wood and bark, some with corrugated iron roofing, and Smith (1998) found the remains of timber frameworks, some with calico and tin attached, flattened tin cans held together with nails, and parts of timber struts with nails through them at Kiandra.

Evidence of this type of frame and roofing construction is also seen at similar sites overseas. In the USA excavations near Pierce, Idaho, indicate that the Chinese habitation there...
was constructed of framed lumber (Stapp and Longenecker 1993:54). While some of the early Chinese structures in Sacramento, California, were made of wood and canvas (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1993:55), Ritchie (1986:149) also reported timber frameworks and roofs consisting of corrugated iron, tussock thatch, timber shingles and flattened kerosene tins at Chinese miners' huts in NZ.

With regard to windows, at Kiandra there was little evidence of window glass and, given the extremes of climate and the probable very simple framework and roofing construction of the huts, it would seem unlikely to find many, if any, windows in the dwellings there (Smith 1998). This was also the case in NZ where windows do not appear to be a common feature (Ritchie 1986:149). Windowless dwellings also appear to be a common feature in the USA (Sisson 1993:56).

As a result of the separateness and ephemeral nature of washing and toilet arrangements, evidence of them is rarely reported at archaeological sites. Their absence within huts sites at Chinese camps in Australia and at other similar sites overseas bears the hallmark of them being located separately. However, there is now substantial evidence of Chinese ovens within mining settlement sites in Australia, which are separate structures (Bell 1995:213-229; Comber 1995b:46).

**2.6 COMMUNING WITH ANCESTORS**

The reverence of ancestors is essentially a means of group action in which the power of the community is given a ritual expression. Ethnographic, ethnohistoric and archaeological studies show that deification of ancestors and religious practices devoted to deified ancestors are nearly universal phenomena. In Chinese society, ancestor reverence was, and remains, of primary importance. Even after China became a socialist country, the custom of respecting one's ancestors continued to be practised (Freedman 1958:91, Li 1999:602, 2000:130, Matsunami 1988:6).

In the late nineteenth century DeGroot (1897:855) noted, 'both the body and the soul require a grave for preservation. Hence, the grave, being the chief shelter of the soul, virtually becomes the principal altar dedicated to it and to its worship'. Such rituals not only play an important part in establishing and recreating social relations between the living and the dead but they also provide strong cohesive community bonds among the living (Fung 2000:70).

This strength of family and group ritual accorded to ancestors was also a paramount unifying component for Chinese communities in nineteenth-century Australia. For example, old characters in red in the centre of a large and elaborate 1887 shrine in part of the Cooktown Cemetery, Queensland, proclaim 'qin ru zai' – 'to respect as if present' from the Confucian Analects 'He sacrificed to the dead as if they were present. He sacrificed to the spirits as if they were present' (van Kempen 1987:35-36).

Such obvious physical evidence of the cohesive vigour of ancestor reverence among nineteenth-century Chinese communities in Australia is infrequent. More often it can only be inferred from disinterred graves in Chinese sections of general cemeteries and other remnant materials (where they exist) in those sections, and the remains of largely unknown Chinese cemeteries hidden throughout rural Australia.

**ANCESTOR REVERENCE AND MORTUARY RITES**

The essential principle of ancestor reverence in China is that the soul of a departed family member consists of a yin component known as po (associated with the grave) and a yang component known as hun (associated with the ancestral tablet). These become three separate 'souls', each demanding ritual attention: one that goes to the grave with the body, one that goes to the Ten Courts of Judgement and is eventually reborn, and one that remains near the ancestral
temple. There are two universal features of ancestor reverence in traditional China: mortuary rites (sangli) and sacrificial rites (jili).

Mortuary rites involve intricate mourning practices that differ in particulars from region to region but share certain major features. As well as other common features these practices all include the transfer of food, money, and other symbolic goods from the living to the dead.

The importance of various kinds of food and drink in the mortuary rituals of both historical and modern communities has been extensively documented by, among others, Ahern (1973), DeGroot (1897) Watson, J. (1982, 1988), and Watson, R. (1988). Pork was the favoured sacrificial food and alcohol the preferred drink. The latter, it is suggested, was favoured during the Neolithic for its transformative properties, making mourners feel that they could communicate with deceased loved ones (Underhill 2000:116).

In most districts, a funeral procession for the body and spirit tablet, followed by a feast for family members, usually marked the formal end of the mourning procedure. Nevertheless, burial did not always take place immediately after death. High-status families often kept the coffin in their homes for months, or even years, as a mark of respect for the deceased, and perhaps to await an especially auspicious time and/or location for interment according to the principles of fengshui. Similarly, bodies were often temporarily buried to await a propitious time and/or location for interment according to fengshui. It is also the case in China that tombs often contain reburied bones. In all instances, whenever the funeral procession and feast took place, families sought to exhibit the proper measure of filial devotion (and community status) in their ritual display. However, because their premature death was itself considered an unfilial act, deceased children were not usually honoured in such a way (Smith 1994:179).

Sacrificial rites usually included daily or bimonthly devotions and anniversary services. Families burned incense every day on the domestic ancestral altar, which housed the family spirit tablets. Anniversary rites took place on the death date of each foremost deceased member of the family, at which time sacrificial food was offered. Sacrifices were also made to the ancestors during major festival periods and on important family occasions such as births or weddings (Smith 1994:179-180). Two of the major festivals are the days between the first and fifteenth of the third month - Qingming - for honouring ancestors, and the seventh day of the seventh month, when 'the Gates of Hell are opened', in the Lunar Calendar Year.

**FENGSHUI AND LOCATION**

In China, at least until the end of the nineteenth century, people were not bound, either by law or custom, to bury the dead in graveyards. Everyone was free to inter them wherever they chose, provided they possessed the ground or held it by some title acquired from the legal owner. The question whether a site was suitable for a burial ground was decided by the principles and theories of fengshui. ‘The building of graves, houses, villages and towns in accordance with fengshui is looked upon by the nation [China] as an absolute necessity’. The hiao, the pious reverence which every Chinese person accords their deceased parents and nearest relations, constrains them to place graves in such a way that they would consider auspicious for themselves in their own houses (De Groot 1897:936-939). This system is believed to have been first applied to graves by Kuo P’o, a student who died in AD 324, and to house building by Wang Chi, a scholar of the Sung Dynasty (AD 420-479) (Williams 1960:177).

It is believed that through ancestor reverence and the Confucian tenet of filial piety people who take good care of the graves of their parents and grandparents gain a material reward and, conversely, those who do not invite retribution involving poverty, sickness, loss of descendents, and degradation in the social scale. Through the use of fengshui the graves then become mighty instruments of blessing or punishment (De Groot 1897:937).

Similar to the location of temples and other buildings, under fengshui, a mountain slope flanked by two ridges forking out from it, and affording a rather wide view in front, is deemed
to be good ground for burying the dead, especially if those ridges form a double fence with both being visible from the grave. The utility of these ‘fences’ is not in the least reduced by distance. Even when so far off that they are hardly discernible, *fengshui* practitioners take them into account as elements of the highest importance, because theoretically they screen the winds, and, ‘in *fengshui* matters, theory and speculation are everything’ (De Groot 1897:940). In addition to the site itself, this horseshoe or omega (Ω) shape is often applied to the building of the grave (Wilson 1960-61:120).

A natural extension of the belief that auspicious influences concentrated on a grave produce blessings that the offspring reap is the dogma that things of good omen, when placed in or on a grave, will bring blessings to the descendants of the deceased. It is therefore a funeral custom to place sundry things in graves, such as iron nails, hemp, peas, wheat, millet and coins that express a numerous progeny and abundance of food and wealth (De Groot 1897:978).

**EXHUMATION AND REBURIAL (‘SECOND BURIAL’)**

At the grave the coffin is placed in a shallow trench and carefully orientated by a hired, professional *fengshui* augur, a geomancer, a man who has acquired the ‘technical’ knowledge to point out the location and orientation that best ensure the flow of *fengshui* benefits to the descendants. The coffin is then covered with a mound of earth. A few days later, some of the descendants return to see if everything is in order. After this, they do not return again until the spring grave cleaning festival (Qingming), when they tend the grave and offer food to the deceased. Thereafter the grave is visited annually for six or seven years.

After an appropriate period (usually seven to ten years), on an auspicious day, the coffin is disinterred, and, if the flesh has sufficiently rotted from the bones, they are removed and rubbed clean, or washed and dried. They are then arranged and stored in a ‘gold-peck measure’ (or golden pagoda), that is, an earthenware jar about 90 cm high and 30 cm in diameter, which is placed in the hole left by the coffin. The ‘gold’ refers to the colour of the bones, indicating that the deceased when reburied will bring blessings to the descendants.

Following an indefinite period of storage, the jar and its contents are finally buried in a spot selected as especially auspicious by a geomancer. This second burial is called the ‘lucky burial’. After this the grave is still visited every spring. Some people improve the site of the bones simply by covering the jar over with earth and erecting a carved gravestone. Others build elaborate concrete housings for the pot with a gravestone in front and a concrete platform surrounding it on three sides. These improvements may accompany a change in location for the bones or may be made while they are in their original position. The collecting and cleaning of the bones of the dead is regarded as the utmost in filial behaviour (Abraham and Wegars 2003:58-59, Ahearn 1973:175-176, 243; Li 2000:144, Watson, J. 1988:16, Watson, R. 1998:208).

The *fengshui* or geomancy of graves involves the site of both the first and second burials, first when the corpse is placed in a coffin and then after it has been disinterred and its bones arranged in an earthenware jar. Those who can afford it go to great lengths to find an auspicious site for the second burial (Ahearn 1973:175-176).

After a visit to China, in 1911 King noted ‘this common custom is responsible for the many small stone jars containing skeletons of the dead, or portions of them, standing singly or in rows in the most unexpected places least in the way in crowded fields and gardens, awaiting removal to the final resting place’ (1911:55).

However, as Freedman (1966:121) noted in Hong Kong, the dead belonging to humble families never reach a final grave, ‘their bones being left to lie in the urns which, in great numbers, can be seen to dot the New Territories landscape, at the end of their career being topped, split, and desolate’. Few attain the kind of immortality they seek. Eventually, most ancestors are lost and their graves forgotten (Watson, J. 1988:209).
Although Matsunami (1998:7-8) records the ratio of interment to cremation falling during the latter half of the twentieth century in Hong Kong, burial sites, he says, are still selected through geomancy. Curiously, he also notes, ‘a new custom has arisen of digging up the dead body after a certain amount of time, usually five years, washing the bones, and then reburying them’.

However, regardless of the mythical origins of the custom it appears to be based more on common sense and practicality, at least as far as ancestor reverence is concerned. The reason there are reburials or secondary burials is that unless the bones are placed safely in a jar then the ancestors’ bones will ‘mingle’ with the earth. Putting them in a jar ensures that the bones will exist forever, otherwise they would disintegrate and there would be nothing left. The picking up of the bones of the dead, and their reburial, is said to be an unquestioned duty owed to the dead. Without help from the living they would cease to exist altogether (Ahearn 1973:204).

OVERSEAS CHINESE CEMETERIES

In 1995, Ian Jack (1995:299-306) provided a preliminary overview of Chinese cemeteries outside China in which he noted ‘there is a surprising lack of systematic analysis of this important aspect of the overseas Chinese’. This observation remains largely true today, particularly with regard to Australia.

Due to a range of factors, such as numbers of Chinese, their times of death, their locations at death, and the predominantly European culture of Australia, there are generally two types of nineteenth-century Chinese cemetery in Australia, together with several isolated graves.

The first type is where Chinese graves occupy a specified and usually unconsecrated section of a general cemetery, or part of a general section like any standard religious denomination, or that section is in close proximity to (usually outside the boundaries of) a general cemetery. This type commonly originated in the late nineteenth century and may still be in use. It is usually well known, and cared for to more or less the same standard as the general cemetery within which it is located. Typically, it is at the rear, in low-lying flood prone areas or in overgrown areas. In addition, today there are deceased of Chinese origin buried in various other sections of a general cemetery.

The second is the separate and wholly Chinese cemetery. This type is a legacy of the early goldfields era in Australia and is usually located in rural areas. It is more often than not disused, abandoned and largely unknown, except to the landowners on whose land it is located.

To date the number of studies on the former type of Chinese cemetery in Australia remains limited, while the latter has received even less attention (for which only brief descriptions, if any, exist). Generally, these studies have focused on the cemeteries themselves in isolation from their wider connection with the Chinese community with which they were associated.

Although there are numerous historical references that refer to Chinese cemeteries in Australia (usually with extremely limited information about the cemetery itself), the first notable study of the former type was by Ryan in 1991. In her study, Ryan focused on the Chinese section of the East Perth Cemetery, Western Australia, with limited discussion as to its interrelationship with other aspects of the Chinese community in Perth. From then until now, studies of this type of cemetery have concentrated mainly on gravestones rather than on the cemeteries themselves and their role in Chinese communities.

In 1992, Brumley, Lu and Zhao and later, Brumley (1995:320-326) portrayed their endeavours to record the number of Chinese graves and gravestone inscriptions in the Chinese section of the Ballarat General Cemetery in Victoria. Kok (2000) presented a paper on Chinese gravestone inscriptions from a number of graves within Chinese sections of general cemeteries in Sydney, NSW, and Burra, South Australia. He continued this theme in subsequent years when reporting on the Chinese section of the Campbells Creek Cemetery, Castlemaine,
Victoria, and other cemeteries throughout Victoria, and on Chinese graves in six cemeteries in NSW (Kok 2002a, 2002b, 2003a, 2003b). In 2001, Jones provided a similar article on reading Chinese gravestones in the Chinese section of Rookwood Cemetery, Sydney (Golden Threads website 2001). Also in that year, in a study of the Chinese section of the general cemetery at White Hills, Bendigo, a total of 61 cemeteries with Chinese sections and two separate Chinese burial grounds were listed in Victoria. That publication noted that the list was incomplete and sought information on other examples in that State (Golden Dragon Museum 2001:69). No similar study is available for other States and Territories in Australia.

The most recent article on this first type is by Abraham and Wegars (2003:58-69). It provides a current overview and discussion of various aspects of Chinese cemeteries in Australia and elsewhere overseas, including altars or memorial shrines, burners, gates and artefacts found in some of them. It also provides valuable insights into the types and roles of the physical manifestations of ancestor reverence in some Chinese sections of general cemeteries, such as shrines and burners. An ongoing compilation of Chinese funerary burners may be found at http://www.uidaho.edu/special-collections/papers/burners.htm. That list identifies 25 Chinese funerary burners in Australia. However, as with previous studies there is little discussion as to the place of such cemeteries within a local community context.

The only other pertinent information on Chinese sections of general cemeteries in Australia is sometimes found in local historical society publications, such as those by the Tumut Family History Group (Stuckey and Archer 1989, Wilkinson and Pebesma 1999) or the Heraldry & Genealogy Society of Canberra (1998a, b, c, 1999, 2001) that only provide burial lists for local cemeteries. Figure 2.6.1 shows examples of Chinese graves within Chinese sections of general cemeteries in Australia.

There is very little literature available on the second type of cemetery – the completely separate and wholly Chinese cemetery – and isolated Chinese graves in Australia. In 1984, Jack et al (1984:53) reported two isolated graves in the Palmer River goldfield area of north Queensland. In 1986 McCarthy (1986:54-55) identified an abandoned Chinese cemetery at the nineteenth-century mining settlement of Pine Creek in the Northern Territory. Also in that year Vivian recorded a disused Chinese cemetery in northeastern Tasmania (1985). Comber (1991:21-22) reported a Chinese cemetery with graves marked by a cairn of stones the width of the grave at the late nineteenth-century Palmer Goldfield but with no other details. McGowan identified the remains of Chinese cemeteries at Jembaicumbene (1996a:109), Mongarlowe (1996a:145) and Mudmelong (2000:62) in the Braidwood area of NSW. In 1997, Smith (1997:48) reported a number of Chinese graves adjacent to the disused Kiandra General Cemetery, in the Snowy Mountains. In 1999, two disused and abandoned Chinese cemeteries were reported in the Tumut District, one each at Middle and Upper Adelong, together with isolated Chinese graves at Broken Cart, Gilmore, Nacki Nacki, and the Tumut Plains (Wilkinson and Pebesma 1999). In that year a Chinese cemetery was also reported at Vaughan, Victoria (Mount Alexander Diggings Committee 1999:51-53, see also Bradfield 1972:59). In 2001, two Chinese burial grounds, at Golden Square and Wedderburn, were reported in Victoria (Golden Dragon Museum 2001:69). Most recently, Lawrence (2005:12-13) provided information on remote sensing investigations carried out at the site of a nineteenth-century Chinese cemetery in the Buckland Valley of northeast Victoria, which identified approximately 50 features that were interpreted as likely graves.

Although probably many more general cemeteries with Chinese sections, wholly Chinese cemeteries, and isolated graves, may exist in Australia, records of them are not readily available or have been lost, as have many of the graves themselves.

Due to over a century of neglect, erosion, regrowth, and agricultural and pastoral activities, this second type is almost invisible in the landscape. Usually the only evidence of it is a number of shallow elongated depressions with an occasional limited scatter of ceramic or glass artefacts.
Figure 2.6.1: Examples of Chinese graves in Chinese sections of general cemeteries in Australia.

From the limited amount of information available on such sites it appears that although some grave markers were made from timber (Bell in Comber 1991:21), and one incidence where sheets of reused iron with characters punched on for identification was used (McCarthy 1995:199, Figure 2.6.2), stone grave markers were predominantly used in this type of cemetery. However, as a result of ‘souvenir seekers’ no grave markers usually remain. In Australia, the availability of stone grave markers from this type of cemetery is uncommon and timber markers are rare.

In NZ, although Ritchie did not include any Chinese cemeteries in his 1986 study, his historical notes indicate there were Chinese sections in the general cemeteries at Arrowtown, the Clyde and Cromwell during that period. In addition, there were at least 40 Chinese graveyards (or cemeteries that contained Chinese graves) across NZ in the nineteenth century, including at Auckland, Christchurch, Dunedin, Greymouth, Palmerston North, and Wellington (Ritchie 1986:77-81). However, details of these and their relationships to the local Chinese communities remain unrecorded.
Figure 2.6.2: Flattened corrugated iron grave marker found at Pine Creek, NT, in 1986 (McCarthy 1995:198)

For the USA, the occurrence of both types of Chinese cemetery appears to be similar to that of Australia, and probably NZ. Wegars (2003:71-72) notes ‘there are many Chinese cemeteries, or sections of larger cemeteries’, particularly in the western United States. Both Abraham and Wegars (2003:58-69) and Wegars (2003:70-83) provide examples of these, and Hagaman (2001) provides a snapshot of the latter type at Nevada City, California, (Figure 2.6.3). More recently, Archaeological Investigations Northwest, Inc. (2005) undertook an archaeological exploration of a property in Portland, Oregon, and uncovered the remains of part of the Chinese section of Lone Fir Cemetery beneath a parking lot at that location.

Figure 2.6.3: Burner and ‘horseshoe-shaped’ spirit shrine, Chinese Cemetery, Nevada, California (Hagaman 2001:11).

Such horseshoe shaped graves are also evident in the Manoa Chinese Cemetery, Oahu, Hawaii (Figure 2.6.4), as is the use of fengshui in the selection of the ‘ideal’ cemetery site (Chung and Neizman 2005:177).

In addition, it is interesting to note that Lai (1974:506-513) was able to locate a Chinese cemetery in Victoria, Canada, using a fengshui model as a locational index.
Most recently in the USA, Chung and Wegars (2005) edited a book entitled *Chinese American Death Rituals: Respecting the Ancestors*. The book provides a survey of Chinese American funerary rituals and cemeteries from the late nineteenth century to the present. It includes examples of Chinese cemeteries in a number of rural settings, which appear almost identical to those in rural southeastern Australia, together with the use of *fengshui*. The editors note the cemeteries described all indicate the use of *fengshui* in siting of graves (Chung and Wegars 2005:5).

### Exhumation and Reburial Practices Outside China

Even more so than Europeans who often expressed a desire to be buried in the 'Home country', overseas Chinese considered it essential to be buried beside their fathers’ graves in China. Those who migrated left home with the intention of returning not only to resume their filial duties but also for fear that in a foreign land no one would, in turn, tend their graves and placate their spirits. Therefore, the practice of exhumation in Australia, NZ and the USA, and reburial in China was commonplace in the nineteenth century. This practice continued, at least until World War I in Australia and until 1936 in the USA (Ah Ket 1999:58, Greenwood 2005:242, Nelson 1993:70-76, Ritchie 1986:79-81).

In Australia, a newspaper article in 1864 entitled ‘Exportation of the Remains of Dead Chinese’ described the exhumation of 188 Chinese bodies from various districts of NSW, their storage in Sydney and preparations for shipment to China. Two days later, an article appeared in the same newspaper that described the departure of a vessel containing the Chinese bodies bound for Hong Kong. The article noted the vessel’s departure was ‘attended with an extraordinary ceremony, which was understood to be a sort of religious service for the dead’ (*Sydney Empire* 4, 6 May 1864).

When giving evidence before a NSW Royal Commission in 1891, Way Kee, the treasurer of the Koon Yee Tong in Sydney, provided an account book that showed ‘all expenses paid in connection with raising dead bodies to send home to China’. He told the Commission that money was collected from Chinese all over NSW and sent to Sydney for that purpose. The account book showed an entry on 10 March 1890 for an item of £529 19s 2d, being the total expense of raising 84 dead bodies (Report of the NSW Royal Commission on Alleged Chinese Gambling, 1891-92, Vol. 5:54, 57).

Figure 2.6.4: Example of horseshoe or omega (Ω) shaped grave, Manoa Chinese Cemetery, Oahu, Hawaii (Author 2005).
From examination of Chinese burial records at Rookwood Cemetery, Sydney, Ah Ket (1999:58-63) was able to determine that the practice of removing bones for shipment to relatives in China increased a hundredfold after 1901. During the period up to World War I, the remains were frequently moved to another site, or removed from the cemetery by authorised representatives of the deceased’s family. The bones would be cleaned, catalogued, and stored at the local temples, then shipped back to China, where they would be reclaimed by close relatives, and re-buried in the village from which they originated. At that time she also found evidence of recent practices of *fengshui* in relation to graves at Rookwood Cemetery.

Even lone fossickers, such as Peter Chow Ling (or Yen), a Chinese miner who lived at Broken Cart in the Tumut District for many years, were accorded their final respect after death. Ling died in 1909 aged 88 and was buried there, but the exact location of his burial site is now unknown. Some years later it was reported,

... The Chinaman referred to [Peter Chow Ling] was a miner who lived in a hut between Broken Cart and the Goobragandra River. He was buried in that vicinity when he died and it is only a few years since his bones were removed and sent to China ...

(Reminiscences by William Kell about the death of Annie Lydia Cooper, *Tumut & Adelong Express 28 October 1955*).

During the first 20 years of Chinese settlement in NZ there were occasional reports of burials being disinterred for shipment back to China. In these instances the coffins were usually conveyed on the same ship as returning kin, who felt a responsibility to take their deceased relatives home. In 1869, a *wui koon* (mass exhumation) was conducted at Lawrence, on the south island of NZ, by an ‘exhumation association’ (Poon Yue). In 1882, a more formalised association, based in Dunedin, was established by a group of concerned merchants for the exhumation of Poon Yue *sin yan* (‘former men’) whose remains were becoming increasingly numerous in goldfield cemeteries. In their first operation the association arranged for a total of 230 *sin yan* to be exhumed and their bodies shipped to China aboard the steamer *Hoihow* in 1883. A second operation was organised in 1892, its primary concern was the repatriation of the elderly and infirm Chinese in NZ (Ritchie 1986:80).

The next major shipment in NZ was initiated in 1899, and between 474 and 489 bodies were exhumed from 40 graveyards all over the country. The ship containing the bodies left Wellington on 26 October 1902, bound for Hong Kong, but struck a submerged rock of Cape Egmont. Although it managed to steam on for a while, it eventually sank on 28 October 1902, of Hokianga Harbour with the loss of 13 lives and its cargo (Ritchie 1986:80-81).

In 1858, 521 bodies of Chinese people who had migrated to America were conveyed on a French ship to China, and were followed in 1863 by another 258. By 1875 the numbers had increased and one Chinese company, the Kwong Chow Company, was responsible for returning 1,002 sets of bones to China. In America records show that such shipments occurred on a continuing and regular basis. However, in 1936 in America the reburial custom stopped altogether following a series of international events. That year the Japanese invaded China, World War II followed, and the internal Communist-Nationalist conflict closed China’s borders to even the remains of Chinese emigrants (Nelson 1993:71-72).

On 15 August 1896, the *Spokesman-Review*, an American newspaper (Spokane, Washington), reported a visit from Fang Chung, ‘Chief scraper and gatherer of bones of dead Chinaman for the Six Companies’ [a group of commercial and benevolent companies Chinese established in America], who came to collect the bones of two Chinese men. They were just two of his list of 500 to be gathered on his tour from San Francisco, north to Washington State, including Spokane, then to Eto, Idaho, and back to California. Fang Chung then accompanied the consignment to China where the relatives of the deceased awaited their arrival (Nelson 1993:71).}

To be ready for the final journey home the bodies had to be properly buried, exhumed, and painstakingly prepared. The bodies were buried in shallow graves allowing for exposure to the air, which ensured quick decay. In 1905 the exhumation procedure was reported as,
The bones are carefully gathered, placed on a clean cloth and left to dry for a few hours, when they are taken up and the particles of earth are removed with a stiff wire brush, which is followed by another rubbing with a clean dry cloth. Although, they are by this time well cleaned, custom rules that they shall be gone over a second time with a cloth, when they are ready to be deposited in a zinc box 18 inches [45 cm] long by 4 inches [10 cm] in depth and height. They are then disinfected, sealed hermetically and are ready for shipment to China (Spokesman-Review 24 September 1905, in Nelson 1993:72).

As an interesting reversal, Greenwood (2005:241-262) describes the recent, and continuing, phenomenon of Chinese ancestors being removed from family graves in China and taken to the USA, where families settled permanently in that country can observe traditional customs of honour and respect. Greenwood (2005:248-249) notes, ‘they [Chinese Americans] take great care in selecting grave sites with good fengshui, preferring high ground, open views, an eastern or southern exposure, proximity to water, and spacious plots’.

SYNOPSIS

The above brief outline of rural overseas Chinese communities shows a consistent, pervasive tradition among those communities from the mid nineteenth to at least the mid twentieth century in Australia and overseas, in NZ and the USA.

The efficiency of large co-operative mining groups with their distinctive mining techniques is reminiscent of traditional Chinese organisational and work practices. Similarly, the artefactual remains of food storage and preparation, eating and drinking, and gambling and opium smoking are strong indicators of their traditional communal lifeways.

The role, status and organisational skills of the headman/storekeeper, who was the focus for the economic survival of the community, were paramount to the establishment and continuing well being of a settlement. Equally, his intermediary position as an agent between often illiterate miners and their families in China, together with his store being the social centre of a community, placed him in a position of settlement patriarch.

The cooperative spiritual needs of settlement inhabitants were met through the establishment of a temple and traditional ritual practices were maintained through the construction and use of communal ovens. Customary burial and reburial practices, including the use of fengshui, were also essential to the inhabitants need to pay homage to their ancestors and to glorify their lineages.

Finally, the location and composition of their settlements (villages and individual dwellings) also reinforce the use of a consistent, pervasive tradition. This is seen in their physical and symbolic attributes. They often comprised public and private buildings clustered to take advantage of the topographical conditions, located in or near the centre of mining operations, with an apparent disorder of internal arrangement but with a pervasive persistence of fengshui.

This uniformity of settlement and its underlying principles, it is argued, are part of the predetermined cultural composition that the Chinese brought to their rural overseas communities in southeastern NSW, and probably Australia, at least in the early stages of the mid-nineteenth century.

From the above, it is clear there are some community elements common to contemporary European settlements that did not feature in rural overseas Chinese settlements. Hotels, post offices and schools are the most obvious. For the largely itinerant Chinese work force the community store fulfilled the role of the former two – hotel and post office – and the absence of women and children precluded the need for the latter – a school. Although in some instances, local European Christian associations often provided religious and English instruction to male Chinese miners.

The above set of basic but traditional settlement principles and practices allows a detailed examination and better understanding of the communal activities and the types,
locations and individual elements of rural overseas Chinese communities in the study area of southeastern New South Wales.

The following chapters identify and examine nine major nineteenth-century Chinese community systems, each apparently with its own central settlement and smaller satellite settlements, within the three broad regions across southeastern NSW of Braidwood and the South Coast; Tumut; and Kiandra and the Snowy Mountains.

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3. BRAIDWOOD AND THE SOUTH COAST

3.1 BACKGROUND

THE RISE AND FALL OF GOLD TOWNS

Edward Hargraves disclosed to the NSW Government that on 12 February 1851 he had discovered payable gold on Crown Land in the districts of Bathurst and Wellington, northwest of Sydney. By 25 May 1851 there were about 1,000 miners within a distance of about one kilometre of his find (Pittman 1901:5). The ‘gold rush’ had begun in Australia.

Alexander Waddell and Henry Hicken from Moruya, on the south coast of NSW, were part of that first rush. Although they returned empty-handed, they continued to prospect along the Moruya River. In July 1851, they reported the existence of gold for about 16 km up the river. That report set off a small rush and by August there were 20 men working the river. Unfortunately, Waddell and Hicken had over-estimated the worth of the area, and more experienced prospectors moved up the river to find richer country in the Araluen Valley (Gibbney 1989:52).

In September 1851, gold was discovered on the tableland nearly 600 m above the Araluen Valley as diggers from the valley returned to their family farms at Reidsdale, approximately 10 km south of Braidwood. Climbing up the steep Bells Creek where it cascaded into the valley, they found that trial panning revealed gold in the base of the dish. Within days, the Bells Creek valley was pegged out. Later that year, the field extended even further north to Bells Paddock and Jembaicumbene Creek. By October 1852, Jembaicumbene Creek became the main gold attraction in the district (Ellis 1997:74-76).

By January 1860 the diggings on Jembaicumbene Creek extended to the Shoalhaven River, and by October large finds were being made at Jembaicumbene Swamp. A post office was established at a store next to a crossing place to service the ever-growing population. By December there were 300 to 400 people resident near the store. The route via the crossing became the main road between Braidwood and Majors Creek and the hamlet near the crossing became Jembaicumbene village. In 1871, it had 837 inhabitants, and was described as a ‘neat little township, which ... had a married and settled air about it’. A continued drought over many years had a severe effect on the gold field and in 1877 it was reported that the creek had ceased running. By the time it was officially proclaimed as a village, on 20 March 1885, mining returns had fallen and the area was past its zenith (Ellis 1997:76, McGowan 1996a:128-130, 136). By 1900, there were only 100 miners on the field and the village had all but disappeared.

The NSW Department of Mines Annual Reports for Braidwood for the period 1877 to 1901 show the maximum number of miners in the district in any given year was only 200, including European and Chinese miners, which occurred in 1880 and 1881 (NSW Department of Mines Annual Reports).

Dredging began on the Jembaicumbene Creek in 1900, devastating the already denuded landscape around the creek and persisted until it became economically unviable in 1914. At that time there were only 16 miners employed on the dredges and gold production was only 825 oz (McGowan 1996a:35-40).

The discovery of payable gold at Little River (Mongarlowe), a tributary of the Shoalhaven River about 13 km east of Braidwood, in April 1852 brought men from nearby fields at Jembaicumbene and the Araluen Valley to another small rush. Although the population was scattered along the length of the Mongarlowe River, Sergeant’s Point was a stretch of the river where it was easily crossed, and so the main village, Mongarlowe, developed naturally at that point in the same year (Russell 1994:10).

In early 1852, there were six or seven stores on the Little River Goldfields and a hotel was established later in the year. By 1853, religious services were held by the Methodists,
though there was no church building, and by mid to late 1856 there were five stores and two butcher’s shops, a small Anglican church, a Presbyterian church and four hotels.

Mongarlowe’s main claim to prominence was that it was a reasonably good mining area, although not to the same extent as nearby fields such as Araluen, Majors and Bells Creeks, and Jembaicumbene.

*The Illustrated Sydney News* of 20 January 1870 carried a report in which it stated the mining population of the Little River was about 1,000, most of whom were engaged in alluvial mining operations. The maximum number of miners in the Mongarlowe mining district in any given year from 1877 to 1901 was only 246, including European and Chinese, in 1894. Documentation of mining activity at the gold field ceased after 1901, indicating that the yields were insufficient to warrant continued recording (NSW Department of Mines *Annual Reports*).

The 1930s Depression years saw some return of miners to old gold workings across the Braidwood area as a means of survival but the returns were only sufficient for people to eke out a living and there was very little in the way of profitable mining from that time on. By the 1940s mining had ceased and the heydays of the Southern Goldfields were over (Ellis 1997:84-85, McGowan 1996a:193-200).

Today, Braidwood remains the economic and social centre for the region but is a shadow of its former glory days in the mid to late nineteenth century. During that period it was the regional hub for tens of thousands of miners, business owners, tradespeople and others. It now boasts a population of just over 1,000 and has become a small country ‘heritage’ town. The villages of Araluen and Majors Creek are even smaller – each with a population of around 50, and Mongarlowe consists of about a dozen houses with the residents usually relying on Braidwood for their provisions and services. The village of Jembaicumbene can only be seen on late nineteenth and early twentieth-century maps of the area. The remains of this once thriving town can only barely be discerned through occasional mounds of half-buried brick foundations and rocky outcrops. A few landowners, mainly undertaking small-scale farming activities, now own the land that was once a flourishing rural mining community.

Further south, John Cook and John Goodenough from Araluen were among the unsuccessful prospectors drawn to a small gold rush on Mount Dromedary in 1860. On their return to Araluen they passed through Cadgee and discovered gold in Gulph Creek in December 1860. By March 1861, there was estimated to be 200 or 300 men on this field with more arriving daily from Araluen, Moruya and Bega. The Gulph Goldfield was proclaimed on 7 June 1861, and heralded the beginning of the town of Nerrigundah (Burdett 1992:5, Ellis 1997:182, Gibbney 1989:62).

The mines of Nerrigundah and Araluen generated much of the life-blood of the Moruya district between 1850 and 1870, but by 1880 the pulse was beginning to fail. Nevertheless, Nerrigundah managed to survive and even grow a little for a time. Like most mining towns its population probably fluctuated with every optimistic or pessimistic report, and in 1889 was described as having two hotels, six stores, a dramatic society, a lawn tennis club and a new church. The trend revealed in the census figures is generally downward from 500 in 1861, compared with Araluen’s population in the mid 1860s of about 7,000, to 208 in 1891 (Gibbney 1989:67, 107). Overall, however, the maximum number of miners in the Nerrigundah mining district in any given year from 1877 to 1931 was only 315, which occurred in 1891.

Today, Nerrigundah is only a small bush village populated by less than around 50 people on a permanent basis. Although the bustle of the gold rush period has long since gone there are numerous old (and some relatively new) dwellings in the town that stand as reminders of its past. The surrounding landscape also retains many memories of its mining history.
THE CHINESE

It has been suggested that the Chinese were present on the Braidwood goldfields from the mid 1850s (Curthoys 1973:262-265). The presence of Chinese in the area corresponded with restrictive legislation enacted against them in Victoria that limited their numbers on the goldfields there. However, more importantly in the Braidwood area, it corresponded with the opening of the Clyde Road from Nelligen on the Clyde River upstream from Batemans Bay, providing a much quicker access by sea from Sydney (McGowan 1996a:4). Before the opening of the road in January 1858, those arriving by ship at Nelligen were about 50 km from their destination and had to climb a steep track over Clyde Mountain (Ellis 1997:76). The first report of large numbers of Chinese in the area, on the Mongarlowe field, appeared in the press in July 1858,

During past weeks some four or five hundred Chinese barbarians passed through out town. On Monday and Tuesday two hordes of about fifty in each, passed en route to the Little River [Mongarlowe], and the remainder during the end of the week (Sydney Empire 7 July 1858).

The first official record of Chinese in the Braidwood area appeared in August 1858. On 10 August 1858, the Under Secretary for the Department of Land and Public Works wrote to all Gold Commissioners and Assistant Gold Commissioners in NSW, including W. S. King, the Gold Commissioner for the Southern Goldfields, based at Araluen, requesting information about the Chinese in their respective areas. In his reply of 12 August 1858, Gold Commissioner King included the following table,

<p>| Return showing the number of Chinese located upon the Southern Gold Fields on 1st August 1858 |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traders</th>
<th>Diggers</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 1st 1858</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majors Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bells Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Flat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Araluen Valley</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongarlowe (sic)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>152</strong></td>
<td><strong>152</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Remarks</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There have been a larger than the present number on the Southern Goldfields, they have always been peaceable, and submissive to all rules and regulations but it is very difficult to monitor unauthorised Digging among them, the number not being sufficient to warrant the expense of an interpreter and from the impossibility of prosecuting to correction without one.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. King</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Commissioner, Araluen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(NSW Archives Office (AO) 2/2327, Ref. 2548)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In February 1859, there was a report of a considerable number of Chinese at work on the Mongarlowe River claims draining water holes (Sydney Empire 20 February 1860). By 1860, three Chinese stores had been erected at Mongarlowe (McGowan 1996a:174).

The first press reports of Chinese at Jembaicumbene were in June 1859, at which time there were reports of a new rush with numbers continuing '... to be attracted to the crossing place of the Majors Creek road'. The Chinese at Bells Paddock were reported to be doing 'tolerably well' (McGowan 1996a:122).

A further report in June 1859 referred to the claim at Strike-a-Light Flat on Jembaicumbene Creek, east of Jembaicumbene, bought by A Hung and John Young Sam from Gilligan and party for £560. Forty Chinese were at work on the claim, which was being extensively and systematically worked. The 'Celestials have formed quite a village here, and appear to be happy and contented'. They were mainly employed by their own countrymen, with many of the bosses 'accumulating considerable fortunes' (McGowan 1996a:126-127). The
BOMA of 28 April 1860 reported, ‘This is a favourite spot with the Chinese, and most of those who settle down with a firm determination to be industrious invariably do well.’

By May 1860, the Chinese were described as making a good living not only from gold mining but also from their stores and butchers’ stalls scattered all around the Jembaicumbene area (McGowan 1996a:128). Newspaper reports in that month noted, ‘... Large accessions are continually being made to the mining population particularly of Chinese, bands of whom are daily passing through the town [Braidwood] en route to Jembaicumbene, Bells Paddock, Major’s Creek and other localities ...’ and, ‘... At Bells Paddock and the adjoining flat a great accession of population has taken place, and the tents are numerously scattered in every direction. The population principally consists of Mongolians who amass large quantities of gold’ (BOMA 23, 26 May 1860).

By early June 1860, it was reported, ... a large encampment of Chinese was seen at the south end of the town [Braidwood], and it may be fairly estimated that from 1,500 to 2,000 of them have arrived in the district during the past month. They not only arrive direct from Sydney but from other parts of the colony. The only conclusion that can be drawn by the advent of these knowing customers’ is that their countrymen are doing well on the Braidwood diggings’ (BOMA 6 June 1860).

Although floods in July 1860 disrupted the diggings throughout the Braidwood area, there had been a considerable increase in the Chinese population on the field as many returned disappointed from Kiandra. There was also a reported arrival of 200 Chinese at Nelligen by ship in August 1860 bound for the Braidwood diggings.

By September and October 1860 about 500 Chinese were reported to be at work on the Mongarlowe River and the prevailing view was that they were making very good wages. By late 1860, the Chinese were not only mining for gold and running their own stores at Jembaicumbene but were also working for Europeans in the town of Braidwood.

By 1861, there were between 400 and 500 Chinese on the Jembaicumbene diggings. The diggings ranged in the south from Newtown to Moreings Flat, which included Jembaicumbene Swamp, Honeysuckle Creek and Flat, Bellevue, Bells Paddock and Strike-A-Light Flat, and to Back Creek in the west (McGowan 1996a:128-129). In that year, they celebrated the opening of a temple at Strike-A-Light Flat (BOMA 6 February 1861, SMH 11 February 1861).

Early in 1861 there was a general exodus of both Chinese and Europeans for the promise of better mining prospects elsewhere. Despite this, in February there were still between 400 and 500 Chinese located on the diggings at Jembaicumbene (BOMA 6 February 1861).

In March 1861, the Chinese continued to return to the Jembaicumbene fields from other goldfields. The reports of the comings and goings of the Chinese were mixed, for in the same month Jembaicumbene was reported to be deserted, many having gone to the Nerrigionah and Lambing Flat diggings. However, the population of Chinese at Jembaicumbene continued to increase from April to July 1861.

In December 1861, there were further reports of considerable numbers of Chinese leaving for Lambing Flat. However, by April 1862, it was reported that the outlook had improved at Bells Paddock and that there was a straggling population of about 300 Europeans and Chinese located in about 120 tents, with the Chinese population showing no signs of diminution (McGowan 1996a:134).

As a result of occasional hostility against Chinese miners on goldfields, which culminated in an attack by Europeans at Burranong Goldfield (Lambing Flat) at Young, NSW, in 1861, the NSW Government introduced legislative measures in September 1861. These measures included a poll tax of £10 to be paid by each Chinese arriving in NSW, whether by ship or otherwise. To obtain exemption from this payment the Chinese already in NSW were required to register at the nearest government registration office. As part of this process, the following notice was placed in the BOMA on 15 February 1862,
The last day on which certificates of exemption could be granted to Chinese resident in NSW was 28 February 1862. By that date the total number of Chinese registered by the Clerk of Petty Sessions at Braidwood was 1,776 (BOM/A, 1 March 1862).

In July 1862, there was a considerable number of Chinese employed at the Shoalhaven River, near Jinglemoney (McGowan 1996a:6).

In 1865, there is reference to a Chinese store at Jembaicumbene, which is also shown on an 1875 Portion Plan, together with eight structures. Bushrangers, the infamous Clarke gang, robbed the store, owned by Ah How, in November 1865, followed up a few hours later by another robbery at a Chinese store at Majors Creek (McGowan 2000:83). The ‘Joss House’ and a Chinese garden are shown on a map of the area that probably dates to the 1870s. In addition, a report by ‘An Old Hand’ (Richard Kennedy) in 1907 describing the Chinese Braidwood Goldfields of southeastern NSW in the 1850s and 1860s noted ‘... They had a burying ground on Bell’s Paddock ...’ (Braidwood Dispatch 31 August 1907).

On 20 January 1870, The Illustrated Sydney News reported on Mongarlowe and included an engraving of the town showing a number of Chinese huts in the foreground. By that time there was an established Chinese community a short distance from the township, on the western bank of the Mongarlowe River, where the Chinese had erected a temple. There was also a Chinese burial ground at Mongarlowe, again on the western bank of the Mongarlowe River, on a hill overlooking the town.

As well as mining, the Chinese at Mongarlowe maintained at least two general stores belonging to the Nom Chongs and Hin Hu (Smith 2001c:9). In 1896, Chee Dock Nomchong, who owned one of the stores, moved his business to Braidwood but retained ownership of land on the western bank of the Mongarlowe River near the village.

In 1875, the NSW Department of Mines Annual Report estimated that there were about 20 Europeans and 100 Chinese on the Little River (Mongarlowe) goldfield. From the period 1877 until 1886 the Chinese represented about half the numbers of miners on that field but from 1886 to 1901 their numbers fell from 65 to 30 as many of them moved on to other fields or returned to China, or as the Mining Registrar reported in 1882 ‘several of whom had gone to the Flowery Land during the past year’ (NSW Department of Mines Annual Report 1882:67).

By the 1880s, the heyday of these fields had well passed. The continuing drought over many years had a severe effect on the gold field. In 1877, it was reported that the Jembaicumbene creek had ceased running and there were still some Europeans holding on in hope and some Chinese, who were barely getting by and living in ‘miserable huts’ (NSW Department of Mines Annual Report 1877:127).

From then there was no mention of the Jembaicumbene gold fields, or the Chinese there, until 1888, when 50 Chinese had been engaged to work a claim near Bellevue, which was
jointly owned by Quong Tart and Nomchong (McGowan 1996a:139). It has been reported the former also owned a ‘villa’ at Upper Bells Creek (Bells Paddock) about that time, which had an outdoor circular stone ‘barbeque’ where Chinese were seen to cook a pig on ceremonial or religious occasions but no trace of either remain today (McGowan 2000:17-18).

A list of Coronial Inquests held into the deaths of Chinese people in the Braidwood district 1869-1901 shows that Chinese were still in the Jembaicumbene and Mongarlowe areas until near the end of the nineteenth century. Ah Kit died from old age and exposure, aged 73, at the Post Office Hotel at Jembaicumbene in 1898, and Quong Chong died at Flanagans Point from asthmatic bronchitis on 25 September 1895, aged 62 (Bunn 2002:436, 441, 689, 731).

*The Braidwood Dispatch* of 17 January 1919 reported a bushfire at Mongarlowe on 13 January that seriously affected the town. It came from the western side of the village, destroying in its path some small houses and huts, including those belonging to the Chinese on the western side of the River near the bridge, and the ‘Joss House’ (Russell 1994:41).

Chee Dock Nomchong, the last of the Chinese from Mongarlowe, died in Goulburn, on 5 September 1941, aged 84, and was buried in the Braidwood Cemetery. His obituary, published in the *Braidwood Review*, expressed the community’s deep respect for a remarkable citizen stating that he was ‘honourable, tolerant and generous’. The Nomchong general store closed in 1980, but the corner opposite St. Bede’s Catholic Church in Braidwood is still known as Nomchong Corner (Ellis 1997:91).

The last mention of the Chinese at their Jembaicumbene Creek village comes from Geoff Morgan, the current landowner, who recalls his grandmother taking food to the few remaining aged Chinese men in their huts on the banks of the creek in the early twentieth century (pers. comm. Geoff Morgan).

Although historical indications of Chinese in the Araluen Valley to the south of the Jembaicumbene goldfields are limited, they nevertheless had a strong presence there in the mid to late nineteenth century.

The first reference to them in the valley was in August 1858 (NSW Archives Office 2/2327, Ref. 2548). By the middle of June 1859, Watts and party had sold their claim to the Chinese at Mudmealong for £300, they having also purchased water rights from the adjoining party for £15. This timing is consistent with similar reports of their arrival at other diggings in the district, for example, at Jembaicumbene and Mongarlowe (McGowan 1998:28).

By 1864, the population in the valley was 1,600 Europeans and 1,000 Chinese and in 1870 it was 3,600 Europeans and 350 Chinese (*Town and Country Journal* 5 February 1870).

While the Chinese appeared to concentrate on the diggings in the south of the valley between Crown Flat and Mudmealong during the late 1850s and 1860s, they are also reported as conducting some operations at Bells Creek falls and Deep Creek at Upper Araluen (*Bailliere’s Gazetteer* 1866: 9-10, *BOMA* 17 April 1861, Thwaites 2001:2).

The first reference to Chinese gardens in the valley was in 1870 at Araluen. Later in 1896, it was reported they had ‘cultivated little patches of ground on which they grow potatoes and other vegetables’. There are no physical remains of these gardens (McGowan 2005b:3).

By June 1873, they were reported as moving up the valley, working abandoned ground and not afraid to pay a ‘handsome figure to the few European parties yet in possession who were standing in their way’ (Goulburn Herald 4, 18 June 1873).

In 1875, there were only about 500 miners working the whole of the Araluen valley, of which about 40 per cent were Chinese (NSW Department of Mines *Annual Report* 1875: 45.)

In 1882, the Mining Registrar reported that the number of miners had decreased with some seeking work on the railway line. From this time until 1886 the area suffered a prolonged drought, a flood in 1887, and continued drought conditions in 1888. The gold production had fallen off considerably by 1889, and Araluen was described as going through lean times in 1890, which continued until 1899 when dredging began in the valley.

Further south, Chinese arrived in Nerrigundah in August 1861 and set up a tent city in an area known as the upper town at Fern Flat. By 1866 they had an established camp there
By 1870, the Chinese were allocated their own cemetery on the eastern side of Gulph Creek, situated high above the flood line on the slopes of the mountain, opposite their settlement. There were at least two Chinese stores belonging to Kee Chong and Ah Sing, and the Chinese established a community centre a short distance south of the township where they erected a temple and a ceremonial oven (Burdett 1992:25).

Archaeology suggests that within the Braidwood and the South Coast Region the Chinese established a number of 'centres', separate from their European counterparts. Although they established a number of market gardens around the major European township of Braidwood in the 1890s, they did not establish a centre there (McGowan 2005b:3, 2006:34-36). However, it appears they did establish such centres at Jembaicumbene, Mongarlowe, Mudmelong in the Araluen Valley, and Nerrigundah towards the south coast. Archaeology further suggests that each of those locations was a central hub for a network of smaller Chinese occupation sites, which stretched along the banks of nearby gold bearing rivers and creeks. While vestiges of some of these systems remain in the archaeological record, others have completely vanished.

Table 3.1.1 lists the status of the known Chinese sites in the region, Figure 3.1.1 gives a map of Braidwood and environs showing the locations of the known Chinese sites, and Figure 3.5.1 shows such sites at Nerrigundah.

The remainder of this chapter provides brief descriptions of the excavations and surveys undertaken within each of these systems at Jembaicumbene and Little Bombay; Mongarlowe, Broad Gully, Flanagan's Point, Bobs Creek, Bentleys Point and Curradux; and at Mudmelong and Nerrigundah (highlighted in Table 3.1.1), and discussion of the results of that fieldwork. Complete details of the excavations and surveys, and artefact catalogues are in the Appendices.
Table 3.1.1: Status of known 19thC Chinese sites in the Braidwood and South Coast Region.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. in Figure 3.1.1</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Historically Known</th>
<th>Archaeological Evidence</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Braidwood</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Former Nomchong store, five graves in cemetery and market gardens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jembacumbene*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement, mining and garden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Newtown</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost due to mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jembacumbene swamp</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost due to dredging.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Honeysuckle</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost due to mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bellevue</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost due to mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bells Paddock</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost due to mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Strike-A-Light Flat</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost due to dredging.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Moreings Flat</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost due to dredging.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Back Creek</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mining remains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Jinglemoney</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No remains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Little Bombay*</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement and mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 a &amp; b</td>
<td>Majors Creek</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mining and garden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Mongarlowe*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement, mining, and redeveloped area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sawpit Gully</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mining remains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>‘The Cent’</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement and mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Warrambucca Creek</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mining remains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Broad Gully*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement and mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Tantulean Creek</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mining remains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Flanagan’s Point*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement and mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Feagans Creek</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost due to mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Bobs Creek*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement, mining and garden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Georges Point</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mining remains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Sapling Yard Creek</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mining remains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Bentley’s Point*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement and mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Curradux*</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement and mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Newbury’s Point</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement and mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Horseshoe Bend</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mining remains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Limekilns</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mining remains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Deep Creek</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost due to mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Bells Creek</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mining remains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Araluen</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Gardens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Crown Flat</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Redeveloped area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Mudmelong*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement and mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Nerrigundah*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement and mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>North Creek</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Deep Creek</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Garden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Locations at which surveys and/or excavations were undertaken.
Figure 3.1.1: Map of Braidwood and environs showing known Chinese sites.
3.2 THE JEMBAICUMBENE SYSTEM

The area designated as the Jembaicumbene system centres on the Chinese settlement that was located on the western fringe of the now non-existent nineteenth-century European village of Jembaicumbene, approximately 10 km south of Braidwood. The system appears to have once encompassed Moreings Flat approximately 6.5 km to the southeast of the village, Majors Creek village about 5 km to the southwest, and stretched along the Shoalhaven River (and its tributaries) to at least Little Bombay, some 16 kms northwest of Jembaicumbene.

This broad area contained the payable nineteenth-century alluvial goldfields to the south and west of Braidwood. It is a relatively flat area on a tableland, which is physically separated by a steep escarpment from the Araluen Valley approximately 600 m lower to the southeast.

Although the archaeological evidence suggests that Jembaicumbene was the major settlement in the area, nearby Strike-A-Light Flat may have played a similar role, at least for a short period around the late 1850s/early 1860s. In addition to a temple at Jembaicumbene in 1861, historical records also indicate there was one at Strike-A-Light Flat in 1859. However, those records show the latter to be a less permanent structure and it may have been incorporated into the later Jembaicumbene temple as mining encroached on the area or moved to the more centrally placed Jembaicumbene settlement as mining extended to the west. Along with extensive tracts of Jembaicumbene Creek, the area of Strike-A-Light Flat has since been extensively dredged and there is now no archaeological evidence of any occupation at that location.

There is historical documentation of a small Chinese camp at Majors Creek village, which included a store (McGowan 2000:83), in the late 1860s and a diminishing presence in the area from then until 1900 (Bunn 2002:58, 80-81, 142, 146, 756). But there is no positive location for it and again continuous mining has removed all evidence of occupation at that vicinity. However, McGowan (2005b:3, 2006:34) identified the remains of a Chinese garden located some distance away from the main creek.

By contrast, there are no historical records of Chinese along the western section of Jembaicumbene Creek, except for Jinglemoney and Back Creek, where it runs into the Shoalhaven River, or along the Shoalhaven itself. However, the field evidence suggests that small groups of Chinese miners may have been working along the Shoalhaven in the 1860s.

Following wide-ranging fieldwork in the area, including the length of Jembaicumbene Creek and large sections of the Shoalhaven River, the only remaining archaeological evidence for a Jembaicumbene system was found at Jembaicumbene village itself and adjacent to Bombay Creek, a tributary of the Shoalhaven, at Little Bombay. The following summarises that evidence.

JEMBAICUMBENE

Today, evidence of occupation of the area in and around the old township can only barely be discerned through occasional mounds of half-buried brick foundations and rocky outcrops. Substantial areas along both banks of Jembaicumbene Creek to the east and west of the old village show evidence of dredging, and all have been given over to cattle grazing.

Several areas around the Creek were inspected for evidence of previous Chinese occupation. These included Strike-A-Light Flat, Bells Paddock and areas in and around the old township. However, a number of the historically reported occupation sites have been either partially or fully lost to dredging.

The only area along the Creek that showed surface evidence of Chinese occupation and that appeared to have largely survived the dredging was on the western fringe of Jembaicumbene village. That area, together with the remains of a Chinese cemetery approximately 1.5 km north of it, was the focus for surveys and excavations at Jembaicumbene (Figure 3.2.1).
The site covers a relatively level area on the alluvial flats of the northern bank of the Jembaicumbene Creek, sometimes called the Jembaicumbene Swamps. The land slopes gently from the north towards the creek. The remains of many alluvial mining features, including a number of water races, grassed tailing mounds and test pits are evident across the area. The landscape along Jembaicumbene Creek itself has been significantly altered through the action of gold dredges, which have destroyed part of the site closest to the Creek.

The site measures approximately 150 m south to north and 250 m east to west. There is a lagoon or pond at the northeastern end that may be part of the small Poverty Creek system, that runs through the northern part of the site and/or it may be a result of alluvial mining in the area. The southeastern part of the site contains a number of water races and a small dam. A timber post and barbed wire boundary fence, running from the northwest to southeast, almost bisects the site, with the remains of a road parallel to it. The area is covered with short grasses and some eucalyptus trees and there are a number of large poplars adjacent to Jembaicumbene Creek at the southwest of the site.

On initial inspection, the area appeared to consist of at least 3 small rectangular stone arrangements generally measuring around 2 x 3 m, and one circular stone arrangement, measuring approximately 4 m in diameter. For the most part, only single stones, or a single row of stones were visible on the surface. There were also a number of other small earth platforms and cultural features, such as several postholes immediately north of the fence at the northwestern end and also on a flat elevated area at the southwest of the site adjacent to the large poplars.

The Chinese cemetery at Jembaicumbene is on the north-facing slope of hill approximately 1.5 km north, and out of sight, of the village. It measures approximately 100 m east/west and 125 m north/south, is covered with short grasses with no trees and a number of rocky outcrops.

Figure 3.2.2 gives a general view of the village area, Figure 3.2.3 shows a general view of the cemetery, Figure 3.2.4 gives a plan of the village, and Figure 3.2.12 gives a plan of the cemetery.

At Jembaicumbene village, eight areas thought to contain structures were excavated. These excavations included areas within the store and temple complexes, an oven and five hut sites. Test pits were excavated in eight other areas, another area was identified for surface collection only, and several other features were recorded during the survey of the site. Test pitting was done to establish the extent of the site and in some cases equally dense deposits were found in some of the huts but others contained only small artefact scatters. A surface collection was undertaken at each of the sites before excavation commenced.

Relatively few artefacts were recovered from the surface. The number of surface artefacts collected, 130, represented only one per cent of the total number of artefacts recovered from the site, being 12,404. This low surface density can be attributed to the flood prone nature of the area, with at least 5 cm of alluvial deposit covering the site since its abandonment. Except for the circular stone arrangement, where artefacts were found at depths ranging from 10-30 cm, in all other areas excavated artefacts were first encountered at a depth of between 5-10 cm, and none were found beyond a depth of 10-15 cm beneath the surface. Most of the surface artefacts were located to the south of the site in and around the remains of possible structures.
Figure 3.2.1: Map of Jembaicumbene Creek showing Chinese occupation sites (with known historical dates)
Figure 3.2.2: General view of the remains of the Chinese village at Jembacumbene (facing northwest).

Figure 3.2.3: General view of the remains of the Chinese cemetery at Jembacumbene (facing downhill and north).
Figure 3.2.4: Plan of Chinese village at Jembaicumbene showing locations of huts (and possible huts), temple and store complexes, oven and other cultural features.
THE STORE

A number of historical sources show that a store run by Chinese existed at Jembaicumbene from at least 1865 until probably the turn of the nineteenth century. Bushrangers, the infamous Clarke gang, robbed a store there, owned by Ah How, in November 1865 (McGowan 2000:83), an 1875 lease map shows a block owned by Ah How and occupied by You Watt with a store marked on it at Jembaicumbene (McGowan 1996a:111, 2001:305) (Figure 3.2.5), and extracts from Parish maps of Jembaicumbene township in 1893 and 1900 show the land under investigation was owned/leased by You Watt.

Figure 3.2.5: You Watt’s lease, showing store and Chinese huts, 1875 (McGowan 2001:305).

Examination of this area revealed several postholes. At its centre, four are in a southwest/northeast alignment, and together with another two to the northwest formed the outline of a rectangular shape that measured approximately 6 m northwest/southeast by 5 m southwest/northeast. Its dimensions indicate that it was not a typical Chinese miners hut but rather a large weatherboard structure erected on timber posts (Figure 3.2.6). To the north of these central postholes the land slopes gently down towards a small lagoon. Located on its southern bank are a number of shaped stone blocks scattered in disarray. Where necessary, the stone blocks may have been placed between the posts under the perimeter of the building to assist in supporting it and to exclude animals from beneath it.

Two more postholes in the northwest of the area may form the outline of a smaller timber building, and others to the southeast, although less definite, may also have contained timber posts to support such structures.

Although relatively few artefacts (199) were recovered from the central area, the small number of excavated squares (eight) indicates that overall it may contain a considerable number, a number more reflective of a large retail premises than a small domestic one.
Ceramic, glass and metal artefacts were recovered from all excavated squares in the central area and the numbers were relatively evenly spread in each square. Miscellaneous artefacts were found in only two squares. Most of the ceramic artefacts are of Chinese origin, comprising fragments of brownwares, celadon and opium pipe bowls. Glass artefacts comprised fragments of alcohol bottles and window glass, metal artefacts were mainly nails, and miscellaneous artefacts were largely unidentifiable bone fragments. The artefactual evidence, particularly the presence of nails and Chinese ceramics, from the area showed that a structure once stood on the site and was occupied by Chinese people.

When taken together, the archaeological and historical evidence suggest that a relatively large structure, measuring approximately 6 x 3.8 m, with glass windows and possibly with a verandah on its southern side measuring 6 x 1.5 m, may have been located immediately north and adjacent to the boundary fence and the disused road. This structure was probably a weatherboard Chinese store, which may have been removed from the site.

**THE TEMPLE**

From historical records and oral accounts it is apparent that there were at least two Chinese temples in the Jembaicumbene area. In 1907, Richard Kennedy reported in the *Braidwood Dispatch* that 'They [the Chinese] had two or three places of worship built on Jembaicumbene, where the most religious of them would congregate regularly, and worship bronze images. These places were called Joss Houses.' One such structure, which has since disappeared as no field evidence exists of its location, was constructed at Strike-a-Light Flat in 1859, and another was built at Jembaicumbene in February 1861. In that month, The *SMH* reported,

> There will be great doings this evening at Jembaicumbene amongst the Celestial bodies, who are inaugurating the opening of a new Joss House. There is to be a monster feast, and the hen roosts and pigsties of the district have been put under levy for the occasion. John is paying large sums for young suckers of the exact obesity. The Celestials have extended their invitations to the outside "barbarians" (*SMH* 11 February 1861).

The latter is probably the temple referred to by Bonnie O'Brien (McGowan 1996a:111 and McGowan, pers. comm.), who indicated that the temple was located near the poplars on the northern bank of Jembaicumbene Creek.

In addition, in discussions with John Feehan (a former resident of Braidwood and whose father previously owned the land at Jembaicumbene on which the excavations were
conducted) he recalled that the ‘Joss House’ was removed by his father from Jembaicumbene and erected at his father’s residence in Wilson Street, Braidwood, sometime early in the twentieth century. According to Mr. Feehan, the building was cut into four parts and transported from Jembaicumbene Creek to Braidwood on the back of a motor lorry, which was owned and operated by a member of the Nomchong family.

Mr. Feehan stated that the timber structure was re-erected at the rear of his father’s house and, from his childhood recollections, knew it to be used as a working shed. The remains of the shed, which has long since been dismantled, are still located at the rear of the house. Mr. Feehan described the shed as being a cream-coloured weatherboard rectangular building, built from ash, with a gable roof and measuring about 20 feet (6 m) x 12 feet (3.5 m). He could not recall whether the building contained any windows or anything out of the ordinary about the roofline.

Although he could not remember where the doors were located on the shed, he recalled they were those shown in Figure 3.2.7, and noted that his mother had donated them to the Braidwood and District Historical Society (B&DHS) Museum in the 1960s. The doors were originally constructed using timber planks and Ewbanks nails (that is, patent machine cut/wrought nails with a rose-shaped head, rectangular shank and chisel point), which were available in the 1860s. Different sized timber reinforcing bars at the rear of the doors and different types of ‘T’-shaped metal hinges indicate that they had been repaired. Paint flakes on the front of the doors indicate the timber slats in the central circle were coloured with red/orange paint and the remainder of the front of the door was painted with a light to royal blue colour. Paint flakes on the reverse side show that the back of the door may have been painted green with a white base.

![Figure 3.2.7: Remains of timber doors from Jembaicumbene Chinese Temple (held at B&DHS Museum, Braidwood, acquired in 1965, Accession Nos. 94-809a and 94-809b).](image-url)
The site is located in the northwestern section of the village, 30 m south of the road and 50 m south of the store complex. Archaeological evidence revealed a number postholes, three of which are in a southwest/northeast alignment, and small earth mounds at the northeastern and southwest ends of a relatively flat area on a large elevated earth platform, in proximity to the poplar trees (to the southwest on the northern bank of Jembaicumbene Creek). The postholes and small earth mounds form the outline of a rectangular shape that measures approximately 6 x 3 m (Figure 3.2.8). Several other smaller earth platforms are located to the east of the large platform and may have also contained smaller structures. However, the lack of postholes indicates they may not have been similar constructions to that located on the large platform.

![Figure 3.2.8: Plan of possible original layout of temple (dotted line) and other earthworks.](image)

Most of the 530 artefacts recovered from excavation of the large earth platform was for domestic use. Ceramic and glass artefacts were found in 16 of the 17 squares excavated and the numbers were relatively evenly spread across these squares. Most ceramic artefacts were of Chinese origin, comprising fragments of brownwares, celadon and part of a vase. Glass artefacts comprised fragments of alcohol bottles and window glass. Metal artefacts were recovered from 13 squares and largely comprised unidentifiable fragments of tin and nails. Miscellaneous artefacts occurred in only six squares. Although these mainly consisted of unidentifiable pieces of bone and fragments of charcoal, part of an incised slate writing tablet and a decorative cut glass artefact were recovered from the site.

The artefactual evidence, particularly the presence of nails, from the area shows that a structure once stood on the site. In addition, the recovery of artefacts, such as part of an incised slate writing tablet, part of a ceramic vase and a piece of decorative cut glass, indicate the structure may have been used for more than domestic purposes. The size of the structure indicates that it too was not a typical Chinese miners hut but rather a large timber structure with glass windows partially supported on timber posts. Such a structure is indicative of a weatherboard building, which may have been used as a Chinese temple.

When taken together, the archaeological, historical and oral evidence suggest that the ‘Joss House’ was located in the Jembaicumbene Chinese village from around February 1861 until the early twentieth century, and that the majority of its remains are located at the rear of a house in Braidwood with the doors being held at the B&DHS Museum.
THE OVEN

The circular stone arrangement is located approximately 30 m north of the road and adjacent to a water race, about 65 m east of the store. The structure is supported by a circular earth mound, which measures approximately 4 m in diameter at its base. It is built up to a height of about one metre on three of its sides and sloped down to ground level on its southern side. The structure is of random rubble construction comprising large stones that appeared to have been specifically selected for their shape, and packed with earth. There is a large, almost circular opening at the top of the structure enclosed by large stones, and a smaller opening at the base on its south side supported by a stone lintel (Figure 3.2.9).

The structure is approximately 1.2 m high on its north side, the large top opening is 1.2 m in diameter from the outside of the stones and 800 mm from the inside of the stones, and the smaller opening at the base is 200 mm high and 170 mm wide. There is no paved floor, simply an earth base.

Five hundred and sixty nine artefacts were found at the site. Only seven pieces of ceramic, six of which were from Chinese brownwares, were found. The 46 glass artefacts found at the site mainly comprised fragments of alcohol bottles. Metal artefacts largely comprised unidentifiable fragments of tin and pieces of bent wire except for one large metal rod, probably used in the cooking process. The 200 miscellaneous artefacts were fragments of charcoal and unidentifiable pieces of animal bone.

Its location, structure and artefactual evidence, and an historical account (SMH 11 February 1861 – above), indicates the feature was probably an oven used for communal cooking purposes.

Figure 3.2.9: View of oven remains at Jembaicumbene village (facing north).

THE GARDEN

A Chinese garden is shown on a map of the area that probably dates to the 1870s (Figure 3.2.10). (The ‘Joss House’ is also shown on that map.) It is located approximately 220 m southeast of the temple on the northern bank of Jembaicumbene Creek. At that time it occupied an area of about 150 x 50 m.

An inspection of the area showed a significant amount of dredge mining activity but no indications of a garden. The area is also prone to flooding, which probably contributed to its destruction.
INDIVIDUAL DWELLINGS

While the majority of the extant individual dwellings are located in the southern part of the village a few encircle the store and temple. Five of these dwellings were excavated at different parts of the site: two at the northern end between the store and temple; two to the southeast of the temple site; and one towards the southern extremity of it (Huts 1-5 in Figure 3.2.4).

Four of the five dwellings are rectangular in shape, and their internal dimensions range in size from 6 to 7.5 m², with an average of 6.75 m². The dimensions could not be determined for the fifth, at the southeast of the site. Most are freestanding and erected on built-up earth platforms, and all have a tamped earth floor. Three of the five contain the same types of hearth described by Ritchie (1986) and Smith (1998), that is, a small internal hearth constructed of stones packed tightly below the ground that rise above it to form a three-sided enclosure of random rubble masonry. None contains evidence of a chimney.

The average internal dimension of the dwellings identifies them as probably having been constructed by ethnic Chinese miners. The construction attributes suggest they may have been built of temporary material, such as calico over a light timber frame. There is also less ‘concept of street’ in the settlement when compared to contemporary European mining settlements, and the huts were built in relatively haphazard patterns.

When combined, the above features show the dwellings at Jembaicumbene Creek are relatively small, designed to house from one to three people each.

The total number of artefacts recovered from the five dwellings was 10,943. Although Hut 2 contained the majority of these, 9,854 or 90 per cent of the total number of artefacts recovered from the huts, the range of artefact types was the same for each hut site. These included large numbers of fragments of Chinese ceramics, pieces of alcohol bottles, nineteenth-century nails, and a myriad of similar domestic, personal and recreational items.
Chinese ceramics comprised the majority of ceramics found in the dwellings, and all were ‘low-grade’, utilitarian wares. They included brownwares from various sized food and drink storage jars, parts of celadon rice bowls, liquor cups and spoons, and terracotta opium pipe bowl fragments. Glass artefacts included pieces from ‘black’, green and clear coloured bottles, and two clear glass Chinese tincture vials. Metal artefacts comprised parts of ‘brass’ opium cans, iron objects, pieces of lead, fragments of tin and zinc, and nails, staples, tacks and screws. Miscellaneous artefacts consisted of pieces of bone, buckles, bullet casings, buttons, fragments of charcoal, Chinese coins, parts of metal scissors, whole and part spoons, and two white glass gaming pieces.

The artefacts from the village indicate an occupation period from around the 1860s to the early 1900s, and that the site was probably initially intensively occupied in the 1860s with very few occupants remaining by the early 1900s.

In addition to the typically Chinese characteristics of the layout of the village and hut construction described above, there are several types of artefacts that indicate ethnic Chinese once occupied the site. They are: the pieces (and predominance) of Chinese brownwares, celadon and terracotta (opium pipe bowls) ceramics; two tincture vials; the remains of opium cans and a funs tray; Chinese coins; and two Chinese white gaming pieces (pak chu). Buckles and buttons found at the site were the key indicators of the gender of the occupants. The remains of 13 whole and/or part men’s trouser belt buckles were recovered from the site, and all of the 26 buttons recovered were from men’s trousers, shirts and underwear. There was no artefactual evidence to indicate occupation by females or children.

Overall, artefacts from the individual dwellings show a large Chinese male domestic settlement where everyday Chinese wares were supplemented, probably from necessity, by common European utensils. They also show that the occupants continued their traditional recreational pursuits of opium smoking and gambling.

The locations of the remains of Huts 1 to 5 and the earth platforms suggest the settlement extended along the northern bank of Jembaicumbene Creek for a distance of about 250 m with a concentration of individual dwellings at its centre, to the southeast of the temple. This is confirmed by the density of artefacts found in the test pits, where pits at the centre of the site yielded relatively dense deposits while those at the northern and southern extremities contained only small numbers of artefacts.

In addition, as a result of dredging, which has destroyed a section of the centre of the site between the temple and the concentration of huts/earth platforms, and flooding, it is probable that the settlement contained many more individual dwellings than is immediately apparent.

The size and construction of the remains of Huts 1 to 5 and the, at least, 20 earth platforms at the site also suggest a temporal sequence. The more ephemeral platforms, which predominantly occur in the centre of the site (see Figure 3.2.4), may have been for temporary tent structures that were erected at the time of initial occupation. Whereas the platforms with stone hearths/fireplaces – Huts 1, 2, 3, and 4 – may have been built or re-built later as the numbers of site occupants decreased and the village became more established. This later, more concentrated phase of hut occupation is also evident from the larger number of artefacts recovered from Huts 1 and 2 than from other hut remains. It would appear that the area of Huts 1 and 2, in close association with the temple and store areas, formed the final phase of occupation at the site.

Table 3.2.1 provides a summary of the structural and artefactual characteristics of the store, temple, oven and hut sites described above.
Table 3.2.1: Summary of structural and artefactual characteristics at Jembaicumbene village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure Characteristic</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Temple</th>
<th>Oven</th>
<th>Hut 1</th>
<th>Hut 2</th>
<th>Hut 3</th>
<th>Hut 4</th>
<th>Hut 5</th>
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<td>Construction</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Tamped earth</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Entry width (m)</td>
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<td>1.0</td>
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<td>0.8 diam.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Width (m)</td>
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<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.8 diam.</td>
<td>2.5</td>
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<td>SE</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>569</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>9,854</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>200</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The Cemetery

There is only one historical reference to a Chinese cemetery in the Jembaicumbene area. A report from the *Braidwood Dispatch* written by ‘An Old Hand’ (Richard Kennedy) in 1907 describing the Chinese Braidwood Goldfields of southeastern NSW in the 1850s and 1860s noted, in part,

A great number of the Chinamen died on those fields. They had a burying ground on Bell’s Paddock [Jembaicumbene]. There at one time there must have been hundreds of them buried. Their burial service was peculiar. Some of them would bury bottles of old tom gin and tucker with the corpse. Then once a year a great number of them would visit the grave-yard, and have a great feast over the graves. In later years the bones of the dead Chinamen were gradually exhumed and placed in fresh coffins and sent back to China by their friends, and I am told now that there is not a body left in the old grave-yard at Bell’s Paddock (*Braidwood Dispatch* Saturday, 31 August 1907).
Maddrell (1978:5) paraphrased the above report, and McGowan (1996a:109-110) noted that although ‘there is a reference in the historical account to a Chinese cemetery at Bells Paddock [above], no local recollection of any such cemetery has, however, been encountered’. Given Kennedy was recalling events from some 40-50 years earlier and it is known that many historical reports do not specifically refer to Jembaicumbene Creek by name, but made plentiful reference to diggings at Bells Paddock, Honeysuckle Creek, Strike-a-Light Flat and Moreing’s Flat – all locations in the vicinity of Jembaicumbene Creek – it is contended that the reference to the ‘old grave-yard at Bell’s Paddock’ refers to the cemetery surveyed during this study.

It is located approximately 1.5 km north of the Chinese settlement at Jembaicumbene, on the northern slope of a hill overlooking a small creek. Thirty-seven empty graves were surveyed at the cemetery (Figure 3.2.12). They are arranged broadly in sets of three rows and all are orientated downhill with a preference for a north-facing direction (Figure 3.2.11). The measurements (length x breadth x depth) of the largest gravesite at the cemetery are 11 x 1.8 x 0.25 m, and the smallest are 3.3 x 0.6 x 0.05 m, with average dimensions of 5.7 x 1.1 x 0.2 m. There were no artefacts found on the surface of the area.

The location and layout of the cemetery, the dimensions and orientations of the graves and evidence of exhumation are indications of traditional Chinese burial customs. In addition, its situation, a hill slope flanked by two small ridges affording a wide view in front and overlooking a small creek and distant hills are indicators of the practice of fengshui.

Figure 3.2.11: View across graves 1 - 12 (facing west).

In summary, the first historical record of Chinese in the Jembaicumbene area was in August 1858. The last was on 4 August 1898, when Ah Kit died from old age and exposure, aged 73, at Jembaicumbene (Bunn 2002:731). The area was the site of a nineteenth-century Chinese village, which extended at least 250 m in an east/west direction and 150 m in a north/south direction on either side of a reasonably major road on the northern bank of Jembaicumbene Creek. The village comprised: at least 25 small, tent-like huts that may have accommodated from between 50 to 75 people in total (although a greater number of people may have occupied the site in the mid to late nineteenth century and a lesser number towards the end of the nineteenth/early twentieth century); a Chinese temple; a store and associated structures; a large communal oven; a large garden, located approximately 200 m east of the main settlement; a number of water races and a dam; and remnants of alluvial and dredge mining activities. In addition, there was a Chinese cemetery, containing 37 exhumed gravesites, located approximately 1.5 km north of the main settlement. Archaeological evidence, historical records and oral accounts indicate the settlement was occupied from around the late 1850s/early 1860s to the early twentieth century; and archaeological evidence suggests the occupants were Chinese males.
Figure 3.2.12: Plan of Jembaicumbene Chinese Cemetery, showing locations of 37 possible empty graves.
LITTLE BOMBAY

Little Bombay is located on the eastern side of the Shoalhaven River approximately 9 km west of Braidwood, along the Bombay Road, and about 16 km northwest of the Jembaicumbene Chinese settlement.

Although there are limited records of the presence of Chinese along the Shoalhaven River, there is no such documentation for them being at Little Bombay. This is not surprising, for their activities were usually only reported when there was some misdemeanour, death, or unusually large find (McGowan 1996a:57).

There is some documentation of Europeans mining in the Bombay area but again none on the presence of Chinese at mining sites at Bombay. However, McGowan (1996a:57) notes the field evidence, in the form of mining remains, for the presence of Chinese there is overwhelming. The 1894 Annual Report of the NSW Department of Mines describes new diggings at Bombay about 2.4 km below Little Bombay near the confluence of Columbo Creek from 1868 to 1870, which is consistent with the location of the sites that are the subject of this section. Another report by that organisation in 1875 estimated there were 50 Chinese miners on the Shoalhaven River. Those reports, and a few other documents, refer to Europeans mining in the area from around 1868 until the turn of the twentieth century but the field evidence suggests that Chinese miners may have been working the area before 1868.

Substantial areas along both banks of the Shoalhaven River to the north and south of the sites show evidence of nineteenth-century mining, including alluvial, hydraulic sluicing and dredging, and all have returned to their natural bush state. There are no houses or towns in this area.

Two areas were investigated at Little Bombay, one was excavated and the other surveyed. The site of excavations is a small settlement approximately 3 km north of Bombay overlooking the Shoalhaven River. The area of survey lies about 450 m northeast of the excavations, again on the eastern side of the Shoalhaven River (Figure 3.2.13). Despite investigations of several areas to the north and south of these sites, along the Shoalhaven River, no other Chinese occupation sites were identified.

The excavation site measures approximately 60 m from north to south and 90 m from east to west, and has a reasonably dense cover of natural vegetation, mainly grass, eucalyptus and wattle trees. It is accessible by foot from dirt roads that were constructed for logging purposes, and is only about 100 m from the Shoalhaven River. Initial inspection showed it consisted of at least eight small stone arrangements, for which only single stones, or a single row of stones were visible on the surface. The structures were relatively closely clustered and did not appear to display any pattern to their layout in relation to each other.

The survey site measures approximately 40 m from north to south and 20 m from east to west, and also has a reasonably dense cover of natural vegetation. It too is accessible by foot from a dirt road constructed for logging purposes in the adjacent pine forest. Preliminary observations showed the site to consist of at least three small stone arrangements, for which only single stones or a single row of stones is visible on the surface.

For the area of excavations, Figure 3.2.14 is a general view of the site and Figure 3.2.16 gives a plan of it showing the locations of structures. For the survey site Figure 3.2.15 provides a general view and Figure 3.2.17 gives a plan.
Archaeological evidence but no historical record of occupation

Main mid to late 19th century alluvial gold diggings

Figure 3.2.13: Map of Bombay area showing Chinese occupation sites.
Figure 3.2.14: View of excavation site at Little Bombay, facing west.

Fig. 3.2.15: View of survey site at Little Bombay, facing west.
Figure 3.2.16: Plan of excavation area, Little Bombay.
Alluvial mining

Pine

forest

Grasses and

sclerophyll

Logging

road

Hut 1

Hut 2

Oven

Figure 3.2.17: Plan of survey area, Little Bombay.

LITTLE BOMBAY - EXCAVATION AREA

At Little Bombay, three areas thought to contain structures were excavated. These included areas containing five hut sites. Among several other features recorded during the survey of the area, another 4 hut sites and an oven site were also recorded. The area showed evidence of alluvial mining, including vertical stone packing. A surface collection was undertaken before excavation commenced.

Only 30 artefacts were observed on the surface, consisting of three Chinese ceramic shards, 23 pieces of glass and four pieces of metal. All were located on down slope areas of the site, and most were located in erosion prone areas with very few in association with a structure. No artefacts were found on the surface of any of the excavated areas. Five hundred and sixty six artefacts were recovered through excavation. They comprised only one ceramic shard, 40 glass artefacts, 391 metal pieces (including nails), and 134 miscellaneous artefacts.

The site has the characteristics of a small, and probably temporary, nineteenth-century Chinese mining settlement. Its features include the remains of stone foundations for seven small huts, earth platforms for a further two small huts, an oven, a number of small drains and evidence of a significant amount of mining activity. With respect to the site, McGowan (1996a:52) states, 'This [mining site] is typical of areas that have been identified in this [his] study as examples of Chinese diggings', that is, 'a large number of very neatly packed vertical tailing mounds and the floor of the workings is almost totally clear of debris and has the appearance of having been carefully and meticulously worked by pan and cradle. ... This view is supplemented by the almost fortress like arrangement of the hut sites, being closely grouped and surrounded by channels and diggings on all sides'.

The remains of stone wall foundations and stones embedded in the earth were identified at the eastern edge of the site, about 23 m east of the cluster of huts. This circular-shaped structure was identified as a communal oven. It measures approximately 0.8 m in diameter, and is constructed of local unworked stones with earth fill to a height of around 50 cm, although originally it may have been considerably higher. The internal floor of the structure was tamped earth. No artefacts were observed on the surface of the area. Figure 3.2.18 gives a photograph of the remains of the oven.
Of the nine huts identified six are constructed of random rubble or had stone footings, all are rectangular in shape, the average internal area for the huts was 7.2 m², the majority of them are freestanding, face downhill in a predominantly easterly direction, and none have chimneys. When combined these attributes are characteristic of a small nineteenth-century ethnic Chinese miners' camp.

A total of 596 artefacts was recovered from the site. Although three small pieces of Chinese ceramics – two pieces of celadon tableware, probably from rice bowls, and a fragment with a floral motif were reported on the surface of the site (Tracey pers. comm. November 2001) – only one fragment of European ceramic was recovered through excavation. The remainder of the artefacts included pieces of alcohol bottles, fragments of tin, nineteenth-century nails, and a limited range of miscellaneous items – mainly animal bone fragments, charcoal and buttons.

The settlement is sited on a slope, with a hill behind it and smaller hills on either side at the confluence of three watercourses – the Shoalhaven River to the east and small tributaries to the north and south. There is no 'concept of street' with huts being built in a relatively haphazard pattern.

The artefacts indicate an occupation period from around the 1860s to the late 1880s, and that the site was probably initially occupied around 1860.

In addition to the typically Chinese characteristics of the layout of the camp and hut construction described above there are two types of artefacts recovered that indicate ethnic Chinese once occupied the site. The first is the pieces of Chinese ceramics, and the second is the evidence of characteristic Chinese butchery practices on animal bones, including double cuts on long bones and the use of a cleaver to butcher meat.

Buttons found at the site were the key indicators of the gender of the occupants. All of the six buttons came from men's apparel. Three were from men's underwear, two from men's shirts and one from a man's trousers. There was no artefactual evidence to indicate any female or juvenile occupation.

Table 3.2.2 summarises the structural and artefactual characteristics of the oven and huts.
Table 3.2.2: Summary of structural and artefactual characteristics at Little Bombay excavation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure Characteristic</th>
<th>Oven</th>
<th>Hut 1</th>
<th>Hut 2</th>
<th>Hut 3</th>
<th>Hut 4</th>
<th>Hut 5</th>
<th>Hut 6</th>
<th>Hut 7</th>
<th>Hut 8</th>
<th>Hut 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall width (m)</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry width (m)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length (m)</td>
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<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
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<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
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<td>3.75</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
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<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built into slope</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible entry</td>
<td>Inside NE cnr</td>
<td>Inside SE side</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>SE side</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearth/ Fireplace</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>SE</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>E</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure (m)</td>
<td>Ceramics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artefacts from</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excavation (No.)</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, the archaeological evidence from the site indicates that people of Chinese origin occupied a number of probably temporary dwellings at that location from about 1860 to 1880, with the most intensive occupation period around 1860. The material culture shows they were male. The area comprised at least 9 huts that may have accommodated from between 10 to 20 people in total. Seven were constructed of stone footings and random rubble walls to a height of 0.5 m in some cases on at least one side of the structure, and they probably had a light timber frame and roofing of calico or some other impermanent material and no windows. Six had a tamped earth floor while one had a paved stone floor. The other two dwellings were probably only very temporary tent structures situated on raised earth platforms. All of the dwellings were rectangular-shaped, their average internal area was 7.2 m², the majority of them was freestanding, faced downhill in a predominantly easterly direction, and none had chimneys. There was also a small stone oven located approximately 23 m from the cluster of dwellings.
LITTLE BOMBAY - SURVEY AREA

The surveys revealed stonewall foundations for two small huts on raised earth platforms. The internal measurements of the huts are approximately 3.0 x 2 m and 2.0 x 1 m. The original structures were probably tents with light timber frames. It is probable that two or three persons may have lived in each hut. No artefacts were observed on the surface of the areas.

The remains of stone wall foundations and stones embedded in the earth were identified about 28 m southeast of Hut 2, and designated the oven. This circular-shaped structure measured approximately 0.4 m in diameter, and was constructed of local unworked stones that may originally have risen to a height of around 50 cm. The internal floor of the structure was tamped earth. The two artefacts observed on the surface in the vicinity of the oven, the remains of a modified metal pick head (modified to a hook-shape) and a large metal kettle, suggests the structure may have been used for cooking.

The two huts may have had random rubble or stone footings, both are rectangular in shape, the average internal area for the huts is only 5 m², they are both freestanding, face across the hill, and neither have chimneys. The circular structure is typical of a small oven, located some distance from the huts. When combined these attributes are characteristic of a nineteenth-century ethnic Chinese miners’ camp.

Historical records indicate the area may have been occupied from 1868 to the end of the nineteenth century but there may have been earlier occupation. The two artefacts observed in the area do not provide an indication of an occupation period.

Although there is no artefactual evidence to indicate the ethnicity of the occupants, the typically Chinese characteristics of the layout of the camp, its location (adjacent to alluvial mine workings), hut sizes and possibly hut construction described above are indications that the site was occupied by Chinese. There was no artefactual evidence to indicate the gender of the occupants.

In summary, the archaeological evidence from the site indicates that people of Chinese origin occupied two probably temporary dwellings at that location. The area comprises at least 2 huts that may have accommodated from between 2 to 3 people in total. Both dwellings were constructed using stone footings on at least one side of the structure, and they probably had a light timber frame and roofing of calico or some other impermanent material. They were probably only very temporary tent structures situated on raised earth platforms. There was also a small stone oven located approximately 28 m from the dwellings.

Table 3.2.3 summarises the structural and artefactual characteristics of the oven and huts.
Table 3.2.3: Summary of structural and artefactual characteristics at Little Bombay survey.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure Characteristic</th>
<th>Oven</th>
<th>Hut 1</th>
<th>Hut 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base/wall</td>
<td>Random rubble</td>
<td>Random rubble</td>
<td>Random rubble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floor</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shape</td>
<td>Circular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall width (m)</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry width (m)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length (m)</td>
<td>0.4 (diameter)</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width (m)</td>
<td>0.4 (diameter)</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal area (m²)</td>
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<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible entry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearth/Fireplace</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bearing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance from nearest structure (m)</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artefacts from excavation (No.)</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3 THE MONGARLOWE SYSTEM

The Mongarlowe system centres on the Chinese settlement that was located on the western bank of the Mongarlowe River, opposite the nineteenth-century European township of Mongarlowe, approximately 11 km east of Braidwood. The system appears to have once encompassed an area from about a kilometre to the west and southwest of the village that stretched north along the Mongarlowe River and its tributaries to Newburys Point approximately 16 km (in a straight line) to the north of the village. This more or less linear area contained the payable nineteenth-century alluvial goldfields to the east of Braidwood (Figure 3.3.1).

Although the archaeological evidence suggests that Mongarlowe was the major Chinese settlement in the area, there are limited historical records on both the eastern and western banks of the Mongarlowe River as it flowed north towards the Shoalhaven River. Those records indicate that in the nineteenth century Chinese were at Broad Gully, Flanagans Point, Feagans Creek, Bobs Creek, Bentleys Point and Newburys Point (McGowan 1996a).

Following field investigations in the area, including the length of Mongarlowe River from the township to its junction with the Shoalhaven River, the remaining archaeological evidence for Chinese occupation was found at Broad Gully, Flanagans Point, Bobs Creek, Bentleys Point and Curradux. The following summarises that evidence.

In addition to the above occupation sites, evidence of vertical stone packing associated with Chinese alluvial mining techniques has also been identified at several other areas along the River. These are: south of Mongarlowe at Sawpit Gully and on the Warrambucca Creek; between the township and Flanagans Point at the junction of Tantulean Creek and the Mongarlowe River; north of Bobs Creek at George's Point and Sapling Yard Creek; north of Bobs Creek at Curradux and Newburys Point; north of Charleyong at Horsehoe Bend; and Limekilns, west of Charleyong on the Shoalhaven River. There is also historical evidence of Chinese at Feagans Creek, south of Bobs Creek, but no archaeological evidence for their presence at that location (McGowan 1996a:58-61, 92, 101, 143, 147-148, 151, 157, 158, 160-161, 174, 186). Indications of Chinese mining and occupation have also been reported at 'The Cent', approximately 600 m south of Mongarlowe on the western bank of the Mongarlowe River (Saunders 2004). However, although field inspection of the area showed evidence of nineteenth-century Chinese mining techniques, proof of occupation was not apparent.

MONGARLOWE

On 20 January 1870, The Illustrated News reported on Mongarlowe and included an engraving of the town showing six Chinese timber huts and/or stores with bark roofs at various orientations in the foreground (Figure 3.3.2). By that time there was an established Chinese community a short distance from the township, on the western bank of the Mongarlowe River, where the Chinese erected a temple (Figure 3.3.3). The Chinese burial ground at Mongarlowe, again on the western bank of the Mongarlowe River, on a hill overlooking the town, was dedicated as a cemetery on 7 May 1886 (Smith 2001c:9).

Although historical records show there was a Chinese village, consisting of a number of huts, stores, a temple and cemetery, located on the western bank of the river in the nineteenth century, no structures now exist there. The site has been partially covered by a concrete spillway and no field evidence remains of any huts. The area where the temple once stood has also been heavily disturbed through subsequent mining but from surface earthworks and excavation of the area its remains were identified. The cemetery is discernible through a series of shallow depressions, a ditch enclosure and four large timber posts.

The location of the excavation at the Chinese temple was on the western bank of the Mongarlowe River, overlooking it and directly opposite the town of Mongarlowe. The Chinese cemetery, which was surveyed as part of this study, is located approximately 200 m east of the temple site.
Figure 3.3.1: Map of lower Mongarlowe River showing Chinese occupation sites (with known historical dates).
Figure 3.3.2: Mongarlowe village showing a number of Chinese huts and Chinese carrying baskets in the foreground, the main public houses and stores in the centre right, police station to the left, and the schoolhouse further to the right (Illustrated Sydney News 20 January 1870).

Figure 3.3.3: View of Mongarlowe township (facing south-east) showing the Chinese temple and village, dated between July 1894 (when bridge was opened) and January 1919 (when Temple burnt down) (Undated original photograph caption reads: Mongarlowe N.S.W. J. Bland Photo).
THE TEMPLE

The site is located on the northern outskirts of the original Chinese community centre. It is situated on a flat earthen platform measuring approximately 18 m east to west and 15 m north to south that has been created on its northeastern side by the construction of a rock retaining wall about 75 cm high, and contained on its northwest side by a large mound of earth, around 1.2 m high. This mound has been formed through the building of an approximately 2 m deep channel (disused water race) cut into the earth and rock, running along the northwestern side of the area, and immediately adjacent to the platform. The southwestern side of the platform is partially bounded by a similar, yet smaller, mound of earth resulting from the continuation of the channel. Its southeastern side is open and slopes downhill in the direction of the Mongarlowe Bridge, some 80 m away. From the retaining wall on the northeastern side the land slopes steeply down the river, approximately 10 m distant and 5 m lower than the platform. The town and the bridge, both to the southeast, may be seen from the site but are partially obscured by trees.

The area has a medium to heavy cover of natural vegetation, mainly eucalyptus, acacia, and wattle trees with a medium cover of grass. Blackberry bushes have invaded the area and the channel to the northwest of the site is engulfed with them, as is the area along and below the retaining wall to the northeast. On that side, those bushes have formed a dense screen between the platform and the river. In addition to the disturbance caused by a large eucalyptus tree growing almost in the centre of the site, the platform has suffered other considerable disturbance through a series of holes being dug around the area of the tree, apparently in relatively recent times. This has had the effect of creating a large depressed area across the middle of the site, in places up to 30 cm deep. Apart from some rock fall from the mound on the northwest, and to a lesser extent the southwestern side of the site, the platform is relatively stone free.

The site is accessible by foot from an access road about 10 m to the east. This road joins a larger gravel road that runs from the main Little River (Mongarlowe) Road in southwest to a property in the northeast, approximately 55 m to the northwest of the site.

To the southeast, between the site and the Mongarlowe River Bridge, bulldozers have cleared a considerable area and a large concrete spillway has been built immediately adjacent to the old causeway that was used to cross the river before bridge construction. To the southwest of the site, on the opposite side of the access road, there is evidence of considerable, yet relatively small-scale alluvial mining activity. The disused water race, which cuts across the northwest side of the site, originates from this area. Figure 3.3.4 provides a general view of the site, and Figure 3.3.5 gives a plan of the site.

The structural features evident at the site were a more or less level platform contained by a rock retaining wall on the northeastern side, five small holes (three of which were in alignment from northwest to southeast) towards the northeastern side, and a probable earthen ramp on the southeastern leading to the platform. In addition, the distribution of surface artefacts allowed some inferences to be made about the size and location of the structure.

The evidence of a retaining wall built to contain an earthen platform, thereby creating a level surface, provided the first indication that a structure once occupied the site. From the alignment of the holes on the northeastern side, it was inferred these were postholes, which provided the framework and support for one side of a structure. From their location it was determined the structure measured approximately 5.9 m on its northeastern side. On the southwestern side, the distribution of surface artefacts suggests that the building may have been around 9 m in length. In addition, the number and location of the postholes suggests that the building may have contained a verandah or covered entrance porch on its southeastern side. The alignment of the postholes also suggested the building was orientated towards the southeast.
Figure 3.3.4: View across site, facing north, with large eucalyptus tree and depression in centre (after site clearance).

Figure 3.3.5: Plan of temple site showing probable location of structure.
As well as those more obvious structural features, the distribution of nails on the surface at the northeastern end also indicated that the building was constructed of timber and contained internal timber partitioning in that area.

The occurrence of many window glass fragments at the western corner of the site implies that there might have been a window or windows on the southwestern side of the building. The predominance of Crown window glass suggests that the windows were of an inexpensive type. From the recovery of several pieces of melted glass bottles, window glass and charcoal, it is evident that there was a fire of considerable intensity and duration at the site. Such a fire would have been sufficient to destroy any timber building(s) that may have been located there.

Although from excavation there was no evidence of a tamped earth floor, the lack of a significant number of nails recovered from the site suggests two possibilities for the flooring of the building. One is that the building had a simple earth floor, and the other is that it had timber floorboards that were retrieved (along with the nails) for re-use either before or at the time of its destruction. Similarly, the lack of a significant number of nails, and no roofing nails, suggests that the building had a roof that required none or very few, or that the timber roofing material (together with the nails) was also retrieved from the site before or after the building was destroyed. On balance, as there was no evidence of any substantial footings or building foundations nor were there any signs of brick or galvanized iron construction materials at the site, and given the number of nails recovered from the site, it would seem that the building was timber framed and clad with a timber roof and it had an earth floor, and following its destruction by fire any remaining building material was retrieved from the site for re-use or the site was cleared.

The two postholes to the southeast of the site and in front of the possible location of the structure are at the head of the small earth ramp that has been constructed to lead to the earth platform. It is suggested that these may have once been the supports for a gate leading to the building on the platform.

A total of 760 artefacts were recovered. Eighty-one artefacts were found on the surface and 679 were recovered through excavation. The artefacts comprise 68 shards of ceramic, 409 glass artefacts, 179 pieces of metal (including nails), and 104 pieces of charcoal.

The ceramic artefacts comprise fragments of earthenware, pieces of stoneware and celadon artefacts, the majority of which was of Chinese origin. Glass artefacts include an amber glass bottle, fragments of both clear and green bottle glass and pieces of clear window glass. Metal artefacts included nails, small pieces and tiny fragments of unidentifiable metal, pieces of wire, parts of shovel heads, a length of metal water pipe with a screw thread, the remains of a flanged end tin can, a small wood screw, a piece of barbed wire, and part of a ‘Pepsi Diet Cola’ drink can. The only artefacts classified as miscellaneous found at the site were small pieces of charcoal.

In addition to the artefacts recovered from the archaeological investigation, the landowner on whose property the site is located has in her possession a number of other artefacts that were collected from or near the site. These include six Chinese coins, the remains of two metal clothes irons, a shovel, part of a metal stove top, parts of a large metal cooking pot, three glass bottles, two glass bottle stoppers, and a metal incense holder. All of these, except for the coins and the incense holder, which was probably used in the temple, are European in origin.

The number and types of artefacts found at the site suggests the building had been used to an extremely limited degree for domestic purposes.

Although no manufacture or usage dates could be determined from the ceramic artefacts, other diagnostic artefacts, particularly the glass and nails, provided an indicative occupation period of the mid to late nineteenth century.
The number of ceramic artefacts recovered from the site and identified as being Chinese in origin was 55, from a total of 68. This represents 80.9 per cent of the assemblage and is a clear indication that people of Chinese origin once occupied the site.

The site is located on a purpose-built level platform behind which the ground rises towards the west and northwest in the direction of the Chinese cemetery, which itself is situated on the slope of hill overlooking the town of Mongarlowe. In front of the platform the ground slopes down to the east and southeast towards the Mongarlowe River and the bridge spanning the river. The river, only a short distance from the site, therefore flows around and in front of the site. The land to the east and northeast of the site, on the opposite, east bank of the Mongarlowe River also rises upwards. Therefore, the site has rising ground on three sides of it (to the southwest, northwest and northeast) and a clear view in front of it (to the southeast) which has water flowing past it. In other words, the site can be construed as having good *fengshui*.

Historical records show that the possible layout of the building identified at the site is similar to the plan of the simplest form of a Chinese temple, a ‘one-house’ form, and it has attributes of other Chinese temples, for example, an entrance porch. In addition, the external decorations evident on the roofline of one building in a late nineteenth-century photograph of the Chinese village at Mongarlowe and not evident on other buildings in the area are similar to those usually found on Chinese temples. Finally, a newspaper account states that a fire destroyed the ‘Joss House’ in 1919. Archaeological evidence suggests that the building, which once occupied the site, was also destroyed by fire.

In short, although the evidence is far from conclusive, it is more than likely that the remains of the structure analysed through this investigation are those of the Chinese temple at Mongarlowe.

**THE CEMETERY**

A survey of the cemetery on the western side of the Mongarlowe River, overlooking the town of Mongarlowe, showed there are two boundaries at the site. Figure 3.3.6 gives a plan of the site. The first is a small earth ditch surrounding the cemetery in the form of a square, each side of which is approximately 75 m in length and containing an area of approximately 5,625 m². The ditch is approximately 10 cm deep and 30 cm wide on three sides, the northern, eastern and southern sides, and up to 30 cm deep and 30 cm wide on the western side where it has been cut into the hill on that side of the cemetery.

The second, smaller boundary, marked by 1.5 m high timber corner posts, is within the larger boundary. This also forms a square and its side measurements are: north 27.7 m, south 26.65 m, east 30.08 m, and west 27.85 m, delineating an internal area of approximately 800 m². The northwest and southwest corner posts have pieces of barbed wire attached to them, indicating that a barbed wire fence once enclosed this smaller area. On the southern side of the smaller boundary there are three postholes almost in alignment approximately in the centre of that side, that measure approximately 20 cm in diameter and 20-30 cm deep, and a relatively small, depressed area on the inside of the smaller boundary adjacent to these holes. This area was probably the entrance to the smaller enclosure.

Nineteen possible gravesites were identified within the larger boundary, 18 possible empty graves and one possible occupied grave. Of these, 12 are also within the smaller boundary, all of which appear to be empty. Those graves contained within the larger boundary but outside the smaller differ in their orientation, whereas the 12 graves within the smaller boundary have a common orientation. There are the remains of a timber marker at the head of one grave and a circular hole that measures approximately 25 cm in diameter and 30 cm deep at the foot of another.
The orientations of graves in the former area are shown in Table 3.3.1, and the orientations of graves within the smaller boundary are shown in Table 3.3.2.

From the remains of two boundaries and the orientation of the graves at the cemetery it may be inferred there were two periods of use at the site. The first period may have occurred when the earth ditch was dug to form a square, averaging about 75 m on each of its four sides, in which to delineate an area for the cemetery. The second, later period may have occurred when the cemetery may have been officially recognised and regulatory requirements made it necessary to erect a more secure boundary, averaging about 28 m on each of its four sides, with four large timber corner posts, a barbed wire fence, and a metal gate with timber posts in the centre of its southern boundary.

![Plan of Chinese cemetery, Mongarlowe, NSW.](image)

Artefacts observed at the cemetery comprised four pieces of shaped timber, several parts of large, thick, brown glaze, Chinese stoneware food storage jars, parts of three thick, green glass bases from wine bottles, and part of the metal base of a gate mechanism, which assists it to swing freely. The majority of these artefacts were observed scattered across the site but the metal gate mechanism was observed in the vicinity of the three aligned holes in the centre of the southern side of the smaller boundary line.

In addition to the artefacts observed during the survey of the cemetery, two stone grave markers were found discarded near the cemetery by local residents some time ago. These were
referred to The Australian National University in 1998/1999 in the hope that any inscriptions on the grave markers may be identified. One marker was broken, but complete, while the other comprised only the top portion. Unfortunately, no inscriptions could be discerned on either.

From the observed artefacts, the cemetery can be dated from the mid to late nineteenth century. The remains of large, brown glaze, Chinese stoneware jars similar to those found on other Chinese sites, and the manufacture dates of the green glass bottle bases indicate that it was in use from around the mid 1800s to about 1900. In addition, the remains of possible timber grave markers, together with the two extremely weathered, stone headstones, suggest a very early use in that period.

Table 3.3.1: Details of graves within the larger boundary and outside the smaller boundary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave No.</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Approx. Dimensions (length x width x depth) (m)</th>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Approx. angle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Occupied</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the east</td>
<td>102°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.8 x 0.5 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northeast</td>
<td>76°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.7 x 0.5 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southeast</td>
<td>145°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.5 x 0.5 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces north across the hill</td>
<td>0°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.5 x 0.5 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces north across the hill</td>
<td>0°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.5 x 0.5 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces north across the hill</td>
<td>0°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.7 x 0.4 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the east</td>
<td>102°</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3.2: Details of graves within the smaller boundary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave No.</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Approx. Dimensions (length x width x depth) (cm)</th>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Approx. angle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.7 x 0.4 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the east</td>
<td>111°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.7 x 0.4 x 0.5</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the east</td>
<td>110°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.7 x 0.5 x 0.5</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the east</td>
<td>110°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.7 x 0.5 x 0.5</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the east</td>
<td>110°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.7 x 0.4 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the east</td>
<td>110°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.7 x 0.4 x 0.4</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the east</td>
<td>105°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.7 x 0.4 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the east</td>
<td>105°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.7 x 0.4 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the east</td>
<td>105°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.7 x 0.4 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the east</td>
<td>105°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.7 x 0.5 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the east</td>
<td>105°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.7 x 0.4 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the east</td>
<td>105°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.7 x 0.4 x 0.4</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the east</td>
<td>105°</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the archaeological evidence the cemetery can be inferred to be for the exclusive use of the Chinese. This evidence includes the presence of large, brown slip stoneware jars, both timber and stone grave markers, the practice of exhumation with evidence of bodies having been buried in shallow graves to allow for rapid decomposition and reburial. The latter is indicated by the presence of the large earthenware jars and a hole at the foot of one grave where such a jar may have been buried. In addition, apart from alignment of some of the graves within the smaller, later section of the cemetery, there is no evidence of any traditional European burial practice.
The site is situated in a relatively open area on a hillside that predominantly slopes from west to east, towards the Mongarlowe River. It overlooks the river, the bridge, and the township. It has a large hill behind it and the land slopes upwards on both its southern and northern sides, forming a 'horseshoe' shape around the cemetery. The site, therefore, can be said to have good fengshui.

Although the Chinese burial ground was officially dedicated on 7 May 1886 (Smith 2001c:9), it may have been used as early as 1862. In December 1862, there was a fatal accident at Flanagans Point where two Chinese belonging to a party of 17 miners were killed and one seriously injured by a fall of a bank of earth. At the funeral ceremony up to 200 Chinese attended from distances of 19 km up the Mongarlowe River (BOMA 10 December 1862). It is also known that Ah Foon Nomchong died at Mongarlowe in 1889 and was buried in the Mongarlowe Cemetery, probably the Chinese cemetery (McGowan 1996a:145, 175-176).

In summary, the archaeological, historical and oral evidence indicates the site was a cemetery used exclusively by people of Chinese origin from around early 1860 to the late nineteenth century. The cemetery had two construction phases and, from its location and the orientation and state of the graves, it can be interpreted as having good fengshui and that traditional Chinese practices of exhumation and reburial were performed at the site.

**FLANAGANS POINT**

Flanagans Point is located on the western bank of the Mongarlowe River approximately 5 km north of Mongarlowe. It is a relatively flat area of land covered mainly with open sclerophyll forest and short grasses with much leaf and tree litter. The site measures approximately 100 m east/west and 140 m north/south. A large water race, known as Boland’s Race, is on its eastern boundary. This runs from Tantulean Creek in the south through Flanagans Point diggings north to Sydney Heads, about 3.5 km downriver. It was built in the 1890s to carry water to workings at Georges Point, some distance to the north (McGowan 1996a:148). A large heavily eroded gully, with evidence of substantial workings, forms the southern boundary of the site. The western side is open and gradually rises towards higher country in the west. The northern boundary of the site is marked by an earthen dam and two small tailraces, which run into the Mongarlowe River to the east. Boland’s race cuts through these. Figure 3.3.7 gives a plan of the site and Figure 3.3.8 shows a view of the site.

The site consisted of the remains of at least 13 hut sites, a communal oven and several other cultural features. Four areas were identified for excavation, two were identified for surface collection only and several other features were recorded during the survey of the site. A surface collection was undertaken across the whole of the site and within each of the excavation grids. Excavation was undertaken to a depth that varied from 10 to 20 cm.

Other features included the remains of huts with stone foundations, areas of possible hut locations – either levelled areas dug into earth banks or raised earth platforms, several possible rubbish pits, a spring to the northeast, a dam to the northwest and a number of water races.

The size and construction of the earthen platforms and stone structures suggest a temporal sequence of site occupation. The smaller, more ephemeral platforms, which predominantly occurred in the centre of the site, may have been for temporary tent structures erected at the time of initial occupation. Whereas the larger platforms with stone foundations or stone outlines, which comprise the majority of the structures, may have been built or re-built later as the numbers of site occupants decreased and the camp became more established.

The hut platforms and structures are all rectangular in shape and predominantly face across the flat area of the site. Their internal dimensions range in size from 7 to 19.25 m², with an average of 10.3 m². This average internal dimension identifies them as probably having been constructed by ethnic Chinese miners.
The orientation of the structures and platforms, as determined by their long axis, show a preference for an easterly-facing dwelling. Ten of the total 13 platforms and structures have this orientation.

The structure identified as a communal oven, which is located at a distance of about 15 m from the main, more permanent dwellings, was built into an earth bank and also faces towards the southeast.

Table 3.3.3 summarises the structural and artefactual characteristics of the oven and huts.

Figure 3.3.7: Plan of Flanagans Point Chinese camp.
Figure 3.3.8: View of the site at Flanagans Point, facing southeast.

A total of 1,187 artefacts was recovered from the site. Surface collections yielded 158 artefacts and 1,029 artefacts were recovered through excavation. The artefacts comprised 104 shards of ceramic, 279 glass artefacts, 588 pieces of metal (including nails) and 216 miscellaneous artefacts.

Of the 104 ceramic shards, 57 were identified as Chinese and all were brown glazed stoneware. Their buff coloured bodies have gritty inclusions that suggest a cheaper quality of wares. They come from various sized food and drink storage jars. Some of the vessels were glazed both inside and out indicating they contained liquid while others were only glazed on the outside suggesting they were for dry goods. The remainder of the artefacts were either European (11) or unidentifiable (36).

Glass artefacts consist of pieces of amber, ‘black’ and clear bottle glass pieces. No window glass was recovered from the site. Metal artefacts consist of fragments of iron and tin, nails and tacks, metal (wire) hooks, pieces of wire, the remains of a small metal alcohol hip flask, the base of a ‘hole-in-cap’ can, three small door/cabinet hinges, an opium can, a shovel head and one small metal washer. Miscellaneous artefacts consist of fragments of bone, pieces of bakelite (possibly parts of a tobacco pipe), belt buckles, buttons, charcoal, a piece of lead (a flattened lead bottle cap with a floral ‘grape’ design), a small peach seed and part of a Chinese coin.

The artefacts indicate an occupation period from around the 1860s to the late 1880s, which may have extended into the early 1890s, when there were very few occupants.

The overall settlement was sited on sloping land, with a hill behind it at the confluence of two creeks – the Mongarlowe River and a small tributary to the south. There is no ‘concept of street’ with huts being built in relatively haphazard patterns.

In addition to the typically Chinese characteristics of the layout of the camp and hut construction there are four types of artefacts recovered that indicate ethnic Chinese once occupied the site. They are the pieces of Chinese brownware ceramics, the remains of an opium can, a Chinese button and part of a Chinese coin.

Buttons at the site are the key indicators of the gender of the occupants. The two buttons come from men’s trousers. In addition, four belt buckles were from men’s clothing. There was no artefactual evidence to indicate occupation by females or children.
Table 3.3.3: Summary of structural and artefactual characteristics of structures at Flanagans Point.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure Characteristic</th>
<th>Oven</th>
<th>Hut 1</th>
<th>Hut 2</th>
<th>Hut 3</th>
<th>Hut 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Construction Base/wall</td>
<td>Random rubble</td>
<td>Random rubble</td>
<td>Random rubble</td>
<td>Random rubble</td>
<td>Random rubble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floor</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shape</td>
<td>Circular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall width (m)</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry width (m)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length (m)</td>
<td>1.0 diameter</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width (m)</td>
<td>1.0 diameter</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal area (m²)</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>19.25</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built into slope</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible entry</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearth/Fireplace</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Inside SE corner</td>
<td>Inside NW corner</td>
<td>Inside SE corner</td>
<td>Inside S corner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bearing</td>
<td>Southeast</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>Southeast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>348</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, the main findings of the investigation showed that although at least one European (Owen Flanagan) had been mining for gold at Flanagans Point since around 1857 (BOMA 27 July 1862), the first historical record of Chinese there was in July 1862 (BOMA 27 July 1862). The last record of a Chinese presence at Flanagans Point was in 1895, when Quong Chong died there from asthmatic bronchitis on 25 September, aged 62 (Bunn 2002:441, 689).

The settlement comprises at least 13 huts that may have accommodated from between 20 to 30 people in total, although a greater or lesser number may have occupied the site at any one time. A number of the dwellings are constructed of stone footings and random rubble walls to a height of 0.3 m in some cases on at least one side of the structure, and they probably had a light timber frame and roofing of calico or some other impermanent material. All of the dwellings have a tamped earth floor and two (Huts 1 and 2) have substantial stone fireplaces. The others were probably only very temporary tent structures situated on raised earthen platforms. All are rectangular in shape and their average internal area is 10.3 m². Most are freestanding, facing across the hill in a predominantly easterly direction. There is also a small, probably communal oven located approximately 20 m from the main settlement area.
There is no 'concept of street' in the layout of the settlement and the structures are not erected in straight lines, and there are elements of fengshui in the location and layout of the site and in the orientation of a number of the dwellings.

Archaeological evidence indicates the settlement was occupied from around the 1860s to the late 1870s, which may have extended into the 1890s. The evidence suggests the occupants were Chinese males.

**BROAD GULLY**

Broad Gully is located approximately 2 km north of Mongarlowe, on the eastern bank of the Mongarlowe River. The area closest to the River in the west shows the remains of extensive alluvial mining. It is heavily wooded, steeply undulating and there are several water races, tailing mounds, and shafts across the area. The area closest to Half Moon Road in the east is relatively flat but still heavily wooded. Both areas have a heavy ground cover of leaf and tree litter.

Although McGowan (1996a:145) notes that nothing remains of a European township that once existed at Broad Gully, to the west of Half Moon Road, there is a surface scatter of Chinese ceramic artefacts including brownwares and pieces of celadon rice bowls on a flat area that measures about 30 x 10 m, close to a subsequently dug water race, approximately 800 m west of Half Moon Road. There are also rows of stone in the ground that formed three sides of a rectangle, which are the remains of a small dwelling, about 500 m northwest of that site. The structure measures approximately 2 x 3 m and faced east. No artefacts were observed at the latter site (Figure 3.3.9).

![Sketch plan of Broad Gully showing locations of Chinese sites.](image)

The dwelling is constructed of random rubble stone footings, it is rectangular in shape, and has an internal area of 6 m², it is freestanding, and does not have a chimney. When combined these attributes are characteristic of a nineteenth-century ethnic Chinese miner's hut. It is on sloping ground, close to nearby alluvial mine workings, and close to the Mongarlowe River to the west. Similarly, the artefact scatter is close to nearby alluvial mine workings, and immediately to the south of a tributary of the Mongarlowe River. There are no artefacts at the dwelling to indicate an occupation period but the artefact scatter indicates an occupation period.
from the mid to late nineteenth century. In addition, Chinese were known to regularly frequent European stores at Broad Gully before 1900 (McGowan 1996a:145). The artefactual evidence does not indicate the gender of the occupants.

**BOBS CREEK**

Bobs Creek is located approximately 7.5 km northeast of Mongarlowe, on the eastern bank of the Mongarlowe River. The area identified as ‘occupied by Chinamen’ shown on the 1900 mining lease map (Figure 3.3.10) has been subjected to heavy alluvial mining activity. There is evidence of a number of water races, mining drift tunnels, shallow shafts or dams and a possible well. The well is located approximately 10 m east of three small, closely grouped, stone arrangements, which are probably hut sites (Figures 3.3.11 and 3.3.12).

The area has a heavy cover of natural bush, including eucalyptus trees, ferns and Lomandra, and a relatively heavy ground cover of leaf and tree litter. Several artefacts were observed scattered across an area of approximately 50 m. They included the remains of a number of rusted iron cooking pots and pans, part of a shovelhead, and part of a nineteenth-century green glass bottle.

---

![Figure 3.3.10: Mining lease map of 1900 showing area occupied by Chinese at Bobs Creek, Mongarlowe River (McGowan 2001:306).](image)

Surveys showed the remains of three small dwellings. The first consists of rows of stone in the ground that formed three sides of a rectangle, which measure approximately 3.5 x 2.5 m. The levelled rectangular-shaped area may have formed the base for a temporary shelter, such as a calico tent. Based on the long axis, it faces downhill with a northern orientation. The remains of the second structure are similar to the first in its shape, size and construction. It faces downhill with a western orientation. The remains of the third were also similar to the others in its shape, size and construction. However, it faces across the hill with a southeastern orientation. These structures may have housed one or two people. Table 3.3.4 gives a summary of the structural characteristics of each of the huts.
Figure 3.3.11: Sketch plan of Bobs Creek hut sites.

Figure 3.3.12: View of part of Hut 1 at Bobs Creek (facing south).
Table 3.3.4: Summary of structural characteristics at Bobs Creek.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Hut 1</th>
<th>Hut 2</th>
<th>Hut 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Construction</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base/wall</td>
<td>Random rubble Earth</td>
<td>Random rubble Earth</td>
<td>Random rubble Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floor</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shape</strong></td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dimensions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall width (m)</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry width (m)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length (m)</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width (m)</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal area (m²)</td>
<td>8.75</td>
<td>8.75</td>
<td>8.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built into slope</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible entry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearth/Fireplace</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Orientation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction</td>
<td>Downhill</td>
<td>Downhill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bearing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Distance from nearest structure (m)</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three dwellings have stone footings, all are rectangular in shape, the average internal area for the huts is 8.75 m², they are freestanding, and none have chimneys. When combined these attributes are characteristic of a nineteenth-century ethnic Chinese miners’ camp. The settlement is sited on a slope in the middle of alluvial mine workings, not far from the Mongarlowe River to the west. There is no ‘concept of street’ with huts being built in a cluster in a relatively haphazard pattern. Both the layout of the camp and hut construction described above indicates ethnic Chinese once occupied the site.

The artefacts indicate an occupation period of the mid to late nineteenth century but there is no evidence to indicate the gender of the occupants. Historical records show that You Chung accidentally drowned at Bobs Creek and was buried there in 1891 (Bunn 2002:572, 595), and the above lease map identifies the area as being occupied by Chinese around 1900.

**BENTLEYS POINT**

Bentleys Point is located approximately 13.5 km northeast of Mongarlowe, on the western bank of the River. There is evidence of alluvial mining extending uninterrupted along the length of the western bank of the Mongarlowe River at Bentleys Point for a distance of about 750 m. There is also evidence of such mining across Bentleys Point itself (McGowan 1996a:159).

There is an arrangement of stones, probably the remains of a small dwelling, near the southern end of the diggings at Bentleys Point. Approximately 120 m north is the remains of a larger residence with a stone chimney, and stone footings. The central area of Bentleys Point is relatively open with extensive grassed areas and little tree cover, but there is a stand of small trees surrounding and invading the area of the larger residence (Tracey pers. comm. 2001).

The location of the remains of structures recorded during a survey of the area accord with those shown on the 1899 mining lease map, which illustrates the location of the Chinese huts of Ah Yin, Ken You and Ah Kit (Figure 3.3.13).
Figure 3.3.14 shows the remains of a large stone structure in the centre of Bentleys Point, which is believed to be European in origin. Figure 3.3.15 shows the outline of a rectangular-shaped structure, which measured approximately 3 x 2 m, on an earthen platform at the southeastern end of Bentleys Point, which is believed to be the remains of a Chinese hut (M. Tracey pers. comm.). The structure is orientated towards the south.

Figure 3.3.13 Mining lease map of 1899 showing Chinese (Ah Yin, Ken You and Ah Kit) huts and Ken You’s claim at Bentleys Point, Upper Mongarlowe (McGowan 2001:308).

Figure 3.3.14: Remains of European residence at Bentleys Point (courtesy M. Tracey).
The remains of the dwelling shown in Figure 3.3.15 is constructed of stone footings, rectangular in shape, has an internal area of 6 m², is freestanding, and does not have a chimney. When combined these attributes are characteristic of a nineteenth-century ethnic Chinese miner’s hut. The sit is on flat ground, close to nearby alluvial mine workings, and close to the Mongarlowe River to the east. There are no surface artefacts to indicate an occupation period or gender of the inhabitants but historical records show Chinese were at Bentleys Point in the 1870s and 1899 (McGowan 1996a: 160, 2001:308), and Ah Yin committed suicide there in 1899 (Bunn 2002:743).

**CURRADUX**

Curradux is located approximately 14.5 km northeast of Mongarlowe, on the eastern bank of the Mongarlowe River. The area consists of continuous tailing mounds, which measure about 150 x 150 m with a vertical face up to about 3 m high, and shallow surface workings extending over an area of about 100 x 70 m. There is one area of vertical stone packing, two stone packed embankments facing the Mongarlowe River to the west, and two clearly defined barrow ways, one stone lined and the other directly adjoining one of the stone embankments. A water race fed from a small gully dam enters the southern part of the diggings (McGowan 1996a:161). The area has a medium cover of natural bush, including eucalyptus trees and *Lomandra longifolia* (basket grass), and a relatively heavy ground cover of leaf and tree litter. There is the remains of one large dwelling with an extant stone wall on its southern end and two smaller arrangements of stones (probably hut sites) located on a flat area about 10 m to the west of the stone wall (Figure 3.3.16). No artefacts were observed at the site.

Surveys showed the remains of three dwellings. The first consists of rows of stone in the ground that form three sides of a rectangle, which measure approximately 3.5 x 2.5 m. The levelled rectangular-shaped area may have formed the base for a temporary shelter, such as a calico tent. Based on the long axis, it faces uphill with an eastern orientation. Remains of the second are similar to the first in its shape, size and construction. However, it faces downhill with a western orientation. The third, although also similar to the others in its size, has a large (2.5 m high and wide) rear (southern), ‘U’-shaped, random rubble stonewall, which is approximately 0.3 m thick. This dwelling faces across the hill in a northerly direction. There are no surface artefacts and they each may have housed one or two people.
The three dwellings are constructed of random rubble or have stone footings, all are rectangular in shape, the average internal area for the huts is 8.75 m², they are freestanding, and none have chimneys. When combined these attributes are characteristic of a nineteenth-century ethnic Chinese miners’ camp.

The settlement is sited on a slope, with a hill behind it and in the middle of alluvial mine workings, not far from the Mongarlowe River to the west. There is no ‘concept of street’ with huts being built in a cluster in a relatively haphazard pattern.

There are no artefacts to indicate an occupation period and there is no historical record of either European or Chinese miners at Curradux but there is evidence of vertical stone packing associated with Chinese alluvial mining techniques at the site. It is known from other similar sites along the Mongarlowe River that such miners were in the vicinity from the mid to late nineteenth century. In addition, both the layout of the camp and hut construction indicates ethnic Chinese once occupied the site.

Figure 3.3.17 gives a view of Hut 3 and Table 3.3.5 gives a summary of the structural characteristics of each of the dwellings.
Figure 3.3.17: View of the rear wall of Hut No. 3 at Curradux.

Table 3.3.5: Summary of structural characteristics at Curradux.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Hut 1</th>
<th>Hut 2</th>
<th>Hut 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Construction</strong></td>
<td>Random rubble</td>
<td>Random rubble</td>
<td>Random rubble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base/wall</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floor</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shape</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall width (m)</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry width (m)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Length (m)</td>
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<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width (m)</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal area (m²)</td>
<td>8.75</td>
<td>8.75</td>
<td>8.75</td>
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<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible entry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearth/Fireplace</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Orientation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction</td>
<td>Downhill</td>
<td>Uphill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bearing</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Distance from nearest structure (m)</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4 THE ARALUEN VALLEY SYSTEM

The area designated as the Araluen Valley system centres on a Chinese settlement that was located on the eastern side of Araluen Creek, on the western fringe of the now non-existent nineteenth-century European village of Mudmelong. Mudmelong is approximately 32 km south of Braidwood, 23 km southeast of Jembaicumbene and 5 km south of the small village of Araluen. It is also 56 km inland from Moruya on the south coast. The system appears to have once encompassed Bells Creek approximately 13 km to the northwest of Mudmelong and more than 6 km south of Mudmelong along the banks of Araluen Creek.

Araluen Valley, encompassing Araluen Creek and its tributaries, is separated by a steep escarpment from Majors Creek and Jembaicumbene, which are located on a tableland some 600 m higher at the northern head of the valley. The valley consists of fertile soils washed down from the tablelands to the north and contained the payable nineteenth-century alluvial goldfields to the south of Braidwood.

Limited historical references record a Chinese presence in the valley. For example, Thwaites (2001:21) notes they were situated mainly in the vicinity of Mudmelong and Bells Creek. Thwaites (2001:2) also notes, ‘In the vicinity of the large Chinese sector [at Mudmelong] is Charcoal Gully, named after a Chinaman and Hoon’s Gully likewise named for a Chinese digger’. Although the settlement at Mudmelong was located, neither ‘locally-named’ gully has been found. They are also reported as conducting some operations at Deep Creek at Upper Araluen (Bailliere’s Gazetteer 1866: 9-10, BOMA 17 April 1861, Thwaites 2001:2).

In contrast, although the Chinese appeared to concentrate on the diggings in the south of the Araluen Valley between Crown Flat and Mudmelong during the late 1850s and 1860s (McGowan 2000:69), other historical scraps indicate they worked the length of the Valley. They were mining at North Araluen in 1867, had gardens somewhere in the valley in 1870, were mining on the western bank of Araluen Creek to the west of the old town of Mudmelong, and there is evidence of a burial ground approximately 1.5 km south of Mudmelong (McGowan 1998:28, 2000:54, 62, 74, 2006:35). In addition, Thwaites (2001:23) states, rather tantalisingly, ‘Opposite Blundell’s stood a Chinese Joss House’.

They were also reported as being at Apple Tree Flat in the Upper Araluen Valley (McGowan 2000:26-27), however, excavation of the reported site at that location showed it to be an early twentieth-century European occupation site (Smith 2002c).

Although it is reported there were 1,000 Chinese in the valley in 1864, 350 there in 1870 and about 200 in 1875 (McGowan 2000:74, 90), subsequent dredging and land development in the valley has obliterated the majority of evidence of their occupation. There are now no Chinese people at Mudmelong or in the Araluen Valley.

While McGowan (2000:16, 57-59) identified evidence of vertical stone packing associated with Chinese alluvial mining techniques at Deep and Bells Creek, wide-ranging fieldwork in the area, including the length of Araluen Creek and its tributaries, the only remaining archaeological evidence of occupation in the Araluen Valley system was found at the western fringe of the old Mudmelong village itself and 1.5 km south of the village, on the eastern side of Araluen Creek. The following summarises that evidence.

Figure 3.4.1 shows the locations of Chinese occupation sites in the Araluen Valley.
Figure 3.4.1: Map of Araluen valley showing Chinese occupation sites (with known historical dates).
MUDMELONG

Mudmelong, a once thriving nineteenth-century rural settlement, is now only known as a locality. There is no town or village at that location. Only one house, once a European hotel, remains in what was the centre of the town.

Following an inspection of several areas in and around Mudmelong, two areas showing evidence of previous Chinese occupation were identified. The first was identified using Thwaites' (2001:23) reference to a ‘Chinese Joss House opposite Blundell’s’. That information was correlated with sketch maps and Parish maps of the area, and land ownership details for Mudmelong village. That analysis showed the location ‘opposite Blundell’s’ to be a block of land in the old township of Mudmelong, Lot No. 238, owned by Ah Chin in 1904. The land is on the western fringe of the old town, on the eastern bank and overlooking Araluen Creek. Field inspection of that area identified the probable location of the Chinese temple.

The second area, approximately 1.5 km south of old Mudmelong on the western side of Araluen Creek, in a gully locally known as Jews Gully, showed evidence of a Chinese burial ground.

THE TEMPLE

The location of the survey was on the southern side of Blundell’s cottage (hotel) on the Araluen to Moruya Road. Figure 3.4.2 gives a view of the temple site and Figure 3.4.3 is a plan of the site.

The area lies to the southeast of the crest of a small treeless, grassy hill, which slopes in a westerly direction down towards Araluen Creek. A cutting has been made to a depth of approximately 1.25 m to form a level area, which measures approximately 25 x 15 m, which encloses this area on its northeastern and northwestern sides. A number of ephemeral postholes were identified in the levelled platform. No artefacts were observed on the surface of the site.

Figure 3.4.2: View of Mudmelong Chinese temple site (facing NNW).
The structural features evident at the site are a more or less level platform enclosed by a cutting and a number of small holes. One set of postholes in the southern section form a rectangular shape that measures approximately 7.9 x 5 m. A second set in the northern part form a rectangular shape that measures approximately 5 x 3.7 m. The remains of a drainage channel runs from northeast to southwest between the cutting and the set of first postholes. There are also the remains of a probable pathway made into the cutting between the first and second set of postholes. A survey of the broader area surrounding the site did not reveal any other features or artefacts.

The combination of field evidence, historical information and knowledge of nineteenth-century construction techniques used in rural Chinese temples allowed a number of inferences to be made about the site. It was on land that was owned by Chinese in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and a Chinese temple was known to exist at that location. The area had been culturally altered to form a large level platform on which buildings could be erected or placed. It is therefore probable that two timber buildings once existed on the site. Given the size of the larger, more southerly of the two buildings, it was probably used as a Chinese temple during the mid to late nineteenth century. In addition, the smaller building may possibly have housed a temple attendant.
Other features of the buildings’ locations support the probability that they formed the temple complex. The buildings were arranged so that they had a hill behind them, enhanced by the creation of the cutting, and faced downhill towards the Araluen Creek. The site can therefore be said to have good fengshui.

THE CEMETERY

The Chinese cemetery is in a tributary valley, locally known as Jews Gully, approximately 1.5 km south of Mudmelong, on the eastern side of Araluen Creek. The site measures approximately 160 m in a northeast-southwest direction by about 45 m in a northwest-southeast direction, and the graves are situated on either side of a small creek. The creek has flat areas on either side of it that rise relatively steeply on either side of the gully, to the northwest and southeast and steadily towards the head of the creek, to the southwest. The area is sclerophyll woodland consisting mainly of eucalyptus, acacia and tee trees with a relatively medium cover of grass, and forest and leaf litter. Apart from the graves, the area is undisturbed.

Figure 3.4.4 gives a general view of the area and Figure 3.4.5 gives a plan of the cemetery.

Figure 3.4.4: View of Chinese burial ground, Jews Gully, Mudmelong.

Fifteen exhumed graves were identified but no structural features or artefacts were observed at the site. The measurements (length x breadth x depth) of the largest gravesite are 2.6 x 1.6 x 0.4 m, and the smallest is 2.1 x 1.2 x 0.2 m, with average measurements of 2.3 x 1.25 x 0.3 m. The graves are arranged in three clusters.

The first is located on the northeastern side of the creek and contains nine graves, approximately 1-1.5 m apart, in alignment from northeast to southwest. They are oval in shape and measure, on average, 2.4 m long x 1.3 m wide x 0.3 m deep. Each of these is orientated downhill, towards Jews Gully creek.

The second cluster, consisting of two graves, lies on the southwestern side of the creek towards the head of the gully, approximately 60 m southwest of the first. These graves have similar dimensions as those in the first cluster and they are also orientated downhill, towards the creek.

The third group comprises four graves on the southeastern side of the creek towards the head of the gully approximately 40 m southeast of the first cluster. Its graves have similar dimensions to those in both other clusters. Each is also orientated downhill, towards the creek.
Probably for privacy and sanitary reasons, the site is distant from all nineteenth-century occupation sites and mine workings in the area in an isolated gully. Although the graves are located in clusters on either side of a creek and display orientations of either northwest or southeast respectively, each group can be seen to exhibit some aspects of fengshui. Each faces downhill with water flowing in front of them, and each has, regardless of their orientation, a hill flanking them, a hill in front of them and a hill to one side of them. The location and layout of the cemetery, the dimensions and orientations of the graves and evidence of exhumation are indications of traditional Chinese burial customs, including the practice of fengshui.

There is no record of any burials (or exhumations) at this cemetery. It does not appear as a separate portion on the Parish map. However, as there was a Chinese presence at Mudmelong from at least 1858 until at least the 1870s, the cemetery may have been in operation from about 1860.

Although there are no surface artefacts, it has been reported that many coins, believed to be Chinese cash coins, were removed from the graves and are held in private collections (Tracey 2001 pers. comm.). There is no evidence at the site to indicate the gender of those who used the cemetery.

Figure 3.4.6 shows one of the graves and Table 3.4.6 gives details of them.
Figure 3.4.6: Grave No. 6 at Jews Gully Chinese burial ground.

Table 3.4.1: Details of graves at Jews Gully, Mudmelong

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave No.</th>
<th>Possible Status</th>
<th>Approx. Dimensions (len. x width x depth) (m)</th>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Approx. angle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Cluster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.4 x 1.1 x 0.05</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>315°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.2 x 1.0 x 0.05</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>315°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.4 x 1.4 x 0.35</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>315°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.7 x 1.3 x 0.6</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>315°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.6 x 1.0 x 0.05</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>315°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.6 x 1.6 x 0.4</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>315°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.5 x 1.6 x 0.4</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>315°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.1 x 1.5 x 0.6</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>315°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.1 x 1.4 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>315°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Cluster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.2 x 1.3 x 0.4</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southeast</td>
<td>135°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.1 x 1.2 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southeast</td>
<td>135°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Cluster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.3 x 0.9 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>315°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.2 x 1.1 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>315°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.2 x 1.2 x 0.25</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>315°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.3 x 1.1 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>315°</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, historical records indicate the Chinese were at Mudmelong from at least 1858 until at least 1904, and in the Araluen Valley until at least 1913, suggesting the temple and the cemetery may have been in operation from around the 1860s. Archaeological evidence indicates there was probably a Chinese village on the western fringe of the village of Mudmelong, perhaps near Crown Flat, which contained a Chinese temple, in the mid to late nineteenth century, and those Chinese who died in the Araluen Valley during that time were buried close to that settlement, about 1.5 km away in Jews Gully. The bodies in that cemetery were subsequently exhumed, and most likely returned to China.
3.5 THE NERRIGUNDAH SYSTEM

The village of Nerrigundah is located on Gulph Creek, a tributary of the Tuross River, about 18 km inland from Bodalla on the NSW south coast, approximately 50 km southwest of Moruya and about 50 km southeast of Mudmelong. The area identified as the Nerrigundah system centres on the Chinese settlement that was located approximately 0.5 km south of Nerrigundah, on the southern bank of Gulph Creek at ‘Joss House’ Crossing. The system appears to have stretched north and south of Nerrigundah along Gulph Creek and encompassed Fern Flat, some 3 km north of ‘Joss House’ Crossing and 2.5 km north of the village, and Deep Creek Crossing, about 2 km south of ‘Joss House’ Crossing and 2.5 km south of Mudmelong (Figure 3.5.1). There are now no Chinese people at Nerrigundah or in the vicinity of Gulph Creek.

This more or less confined area along Gulph Creek and its tributaries comprised the Gulph Creek Goldfield. It contained the major payable nineteenth-century alluvial goldfield on the NSW south coast from 1861 to the early twentieth century and initially attracted significant numbers of diggers from the Braidwood goldfields and the south coast.

By the time of the gold rush to Nerrigundah in 1861 Chinese miners knew the region well. They had been at Braidwood and Mongarlowe for at least two years and at Majors Creek since 1859 (Goulburn Herald 21 April 1858, Sydney Empire 7 July 1858; 2, 18, 24 June 1859). The first contingent of Chinese miners to arrive in Nerrigundah from the Araluen Valley in 1861 were initially repulsed by European miners on the field but undaunted soon set up a tent city in an area known as the upper town at Fern Flat (Burdett 1992: 19). By around 1870, the Chinese were allocated their own cemetery on the eastern side of Gulph Creek, situated high above the flood line on the slopes of the mountain, opposite their tent city at Fern Flat.

They established a community centre a short distance south of the European township where they erected a temple and a ceremonial oven, known locally as the ‘pig oven’, at a place that became known as ‘Joss House’ Crossing. As well as mining the Chinese at Nerrigundah were engaged in general storekeeping, there were at least two Chinese stores belonging to Kee Chong and Ah Sing in Nerrigundah village. Market gardens owned by Ah Loo and Mum Wah also appear on an 1884 Portion Plan of areas immediately to the north of Nerrigundah on the banks of Gulph Creek. In 1891, a New Year’s festival was held at the ‘Joss House’ and large numbers of Chinese gathered for a week of celebrations, feasting by day and letting off fireworks by night (Burdett 1992:27).

Subsequent alluvial mining, dredging, flooding and land re-use along Gulph Creek has obliterated evidence of the camp at Fern Flat and the gardens and removed much of the evidence of the Chinese at ‘Joss House’ Crossing. There is no historical record of the exact location of the Chinese cemetery and despite several attempts to locate it in the field, it remains hidden. Anecdotally, however, Burdett stated that she remembers as a child playing there and there were Chinese brownwares scattered over the ground. Nevertheless, repeated excursions to the area identified the only remaining archaeological evidence for the Nerrigundah system at ‘Joss House’ Crossing. The following summarises that evidence.

The location of a Chinese temple and oven site at ‘Joss House’ Crossing is approximately 0.5 km south of Nerrigundah, on the southern bank of Gulph Creek on River Road. Figure 3.5.2 gives a plan of the site and Figure 3.5.3 provides a view of it.
Figure 3.5.1: Map of Nerrigundah showing Chinese occupation sites (with known historical dates).
Figure 3.5.2: Plan showing location of Chinese temple, Chinese oven and alluvial mining remains at 'Joss House' Crossing.

Figure 3.5.3: View of temple and oven site (facing northeast). River Road and 'Joss House' crossing shown at centre left.
THE TEMPLE

Although long grasses covered the area and visibility was poor, a survey revealed four large postholes on a flat, elevated grassed area approximately 6 m southeast of the oven and 7.5 m east of River Road.

Three of the postholes, those at the north, south and west, measure approximately 30 cm in diameter and ranged in depth from 10 to 15 cm. The fourth, to the east, measures approximately 40 cm in diameter and was 15 cm deep. They form a rectangular shape, which measures 5.95 m in a northeast/southwest direction and 4.25 m in a northwest/southeast direction. Using the long axis as the determinant, the feature is orientated in a northeast/southwest direction. No other structural features are evident at the site and no artefacts are visible on the surface.

Although there is historical evidence of a temple being ‘in conjunction’ with the oven (Burdett 1992:27), there is no record of its exact location. The four postholes are in conjunction with the oven, and are only about 5 m southeast of it on the eastern bank of Gulph River.

The rectangular shape formed by the postholes and the dimensions of a possible structure at the site are similar to other Chinese temples surveyed at other locations, for example Jembaicumbene and Mongarlowe and the layout of the possible building identified at the site is similar to the plan of the simplest form of a Chinese temple, a ‘one-house’ form.

Burdett (1992:27) states, ‘The building that once stood at the site was bought and converted to outhouses (toilets) on the property known as ‘Tyrone’ at Eurobodalla’, indicating that it was a weatherboard structure. A search of that property did not reveal any such structure.

Overall, again there is considerable comparative archaeological and historical evidence to support the inference that the structure investigated during the survey is the remains of a timber temple built and operated by Chinese people, probably from around the 1870s until at least 1891.

THE OVEN

The structure is supported by a wide sloping bank of earth measuring approximately 3.5 m in diameter at its base. The earthen bank is built up to a height of about 1.5 m on its north side and slopes down to ground level on its south side (Figure 3.5.4). A number of eucalyptus trees have taken root in the earth mound and are now mature trees of about 15 m high.

The structure is of random rubble construction comprising large stones that appear to have been specifically selected for their shape, and packed with earth. There is a large, almost circular opening at the top enclosed by large stones, and a smaller opening at the base on its northern side supported by a stone lintel. The structure is approximately 1.2 m high on its northern side, the large top opening is 1.32 m wide from the outside of the stones and 0.8 m in diameter from the inside of the stones, and the smaller opening at the base of the structure is 0.26 m high and wide.

The interior of the structure is of stone construction packed with earth and covered with a layer of clay. It is cylindrical and measures approximately 0.8 m in diameter and 1.48 m deep, and its internal clay render is 2.3 cm thick. At the bottom of the inside of the structure there are a number of stones that have fallen from its top and sides together with an amount of clay render that has also fallen from the sides. There does not appear to be a stone or paved floor to the structure but rather an earth base.

Only one artefact was observed, a large metal hook measuring 10.5 cm (4½ inches) long. This was sighted on the surface on the earthen mound near the large top opening. There was no evidence of fire on the interior of the structure, that is, no charcoal was observed and there was no discolouration of the stones at the base of the interior or on the internal clay render.

Historical records for the function of the oven at Nerrigundah compare favourably with those noted by Bell (1995:213-229) in his article on Chinese ovens on mining settlement sites in...
Australia. Similar to the functions mentioned by Bell, the structure was used as a ceremonial oven on Chinese New Year and festival days. As Burdett (1992:27) notes, ‘Each new year a pig would be roasted as an offering. It was lowered vertically down the chimney before being cooked by a fire lit below.’ In addition, as in Tasmania and elsewhere in Australia, the oven at Nerrigundah is locally known as the ‘pig oven.’

The location and construction of the structure has many similar features to those described by Bell (1995:213-229). With regard to its location, the structure is in close proximity to a modern track and it is at the site of a substantial but relatively short-lived Chinese mining settlement. In addition, it is not immediately beside mining remains but near the habitations associated with them, in this case the temple, and not associated with an individual dwelling.

Overall, there is considerable comparative archaeological and historical evidence to support the fact that the structure investigated during this survey is indeed an oven built and operated by Chinese people, probably from around the 1870s until about 1900.

In summary, the main findings of the investigations of the Nerrigundah system showed that in all probability the main Chinese community (village) was located at ‘Joss House’ Crossing during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The community would have centred on the temple and oven, and may have consisted of other dwellings, all of which have since been destroyed. As part of that system the Chinese had a dedicated cemetery, about 2 km north of ‘Joss House’ Crossing on sloping land on the eastern bank of and overlooking Gulph Creek, and were present in smaller numbers at various locations both north and south of their main village along the banks of that creek. In addition, they maintained at least one Chinese store on the eastern outskirts of Nerrigundah itself.

Figure 3.5.4: View of the front of the oven after vegetation clearance (facing south).
4. THE TUMUT REGION

4.1 BACKGROUND

THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD

The first major alluvial gold discovery in the region was at Adelong, approximately 13 km west of Tumut, in 1852. Payable gold was found on the opposite side of Adelong Creek from the original location of 'Adelong Station', a sheep run established in the 1830s (Ritchie 1987:6).

In 1853, on his return to Sydney from a tour of the Ovens goldfields in Victoria, a Special Reporter stated,

As we advanced from stage to stage we heard that gold had been found in considerable quantity in a creek of the Murrumbidgee known as Adelong Creek. In the town of Gundagai ... considerable numbers of diggers on their way to the Ovens [from Sydney] had stopped on the road, to inform themselves as to the actual state of what were somewhat prematurely called the New Diggings. The place where the gold was first discovered on the Adelong Creek, and where the main body of those now working is located, is about 24 to 25 miles up the creek from Gundagai. Here about 160 people were assembled, many of whom had come up on a visit of observation only. There were, however, some cradles and a long-tom at work, and the washers at the latter were certainly making wages (SMH 27 January 1853).

By the end of 1853 there were 2,000 people engaged in alluvial mining along Adelong Creek. In the latter part of that year William Williams arrived in Adelong with his family and, after years of working as a wheelwright and blacksmith, and fossicking, in May 1857 he discovered reef gold. This discovery caused a great gold rush to the district. At least 10 main gold-bearing reefs had been discovered in and around the town of Adelong by the end of 1857. Ten years later a syndicate started mining the Gibraltar Reef and after four years it found rich ore. This mine outlived the others at Adelong and continued to be active until 1914.

Approximately 25 tonnes of gold were taken from the Adelong Gold Fields between 1857 and 1941. More than half of the gold won was alluvial and the rest was through reef mining. Although most of it came from within an area of three-square kilometres around the town, both Europeans and Chinese miners also worked the upper reaches of Adelong Creek, from at least 1856 to the early twentieth century (Ritchie 1987:8-18).

In the early 1850s, as miners fossicked along the rivers and creeks in the Tumut region they also discovered gold along Adjungbilly Creek, about 24 kms northeast of Tumut. The first report of gold mining at Adjungbilly Creek appears in a letter written at Tumut on 5 May 1854. It stated in part,

So many enquiries being made to me regarding the locality and the probable value of the gold field on the Adjungbilly Creek or Shaking Bog, I shall feel thankful by your informing the public that the field appears to be of very great extent, and that it promises to become a very rich diggings. So far as is known it commences about three miles above the Shaking Bog station on the Adjungbilly Creek, and extends up the creek for about ten miles to the Toomurrama Mountain. There are a few parties scattered along the creek. Other parties are digging on the falls into the Little Tumut or Goberangandera, and others again at the Micalago or Coodradigbee Falls. This discovery and the recent ones about Adelong, show that we are only in our infancy as regards gold diggings (Goulburn Herald 10 March 1855).

The enthusiasm felt by many in the population during the 1850s attracted a number of prospectors and miners to Adjungbilly Creek and the Shaking Bog and this continued well into the 1860s. A report in the Sydney Mail 4 May 1861 stated,

RUSH TO ADJUNGBILLY CREEK – A considerable amount of interest has been gathering in Tumut throughout the last few days, relative to the value of the alleged gold discovery on the Adjungbilly Creek. This interest, stimulated by the flattering reports of the few who had visited the place and returned on Sunday, culminated, the other day, into a rush. From fifteen to twenty four of our residents [from Tumut] started in the morning, well prepared to endure all the difficulties of camping out.
The Adjenbilly Creek has been long known to be auriferous in its character, and should the prediction of the sanguine prove true, it will hasten very considerably the time when Tumut will find herself in reality, as her geological formation would suggest, the centre of rich gold-fields.

Further newspaper reports in 1861 suggested that the diggings at Adjungbilly were 'going to astonish the migratory miner of the southern gold-field' (Wynyard Times 11 October 1861). However, there is no evidence that a great rush occurred; a short-lived flurry of activity might be a better way to describe the response.

A report of 1861 stated that 200 or so miners were working the alluvium along 8 miles (12.5 km) of Adjungbilly Creek (Sydney Mail 4 October 1861). That article also reports there were two inns in the vicinity of the field along with a number of grog shanties. There is no mention of other services becoming established in the area.

NSW Department of Mines Annual Reports indicates that the original rush was short lived. However, small groups continued to work the area with some larger ventures operating from time to time. The Town and Country Journal reported on 31 August 1872 that a party had good alluvial ground at Adjungbilly but later reports indicate that from 1877-80 mining in the area was at a 'low ebb' or in a 'depressed state'.

By 1890 extensive alluvial works were again in progress along Adjungbilly Creek (NSW Department of Mines Annual Report 1890:94). In 1899 good prospects, improved technology and available investment capital resulted in W. Barker and D. Reid applying to lease 100 acres along the creek (Register of Leases of Gold and Mineral Dredging Act 1899, GL 4, Adjungbilly, 2 August 1899). A dredge valued at £3,000 was to be brought in and seven men were employed to run it. As with the early years, floods caused problems with the dredges and one was nearly lost during the floods of July 1900 when a number of miners' huts were washed away. That flood left the men stranded on the dredge and fighting to save it from being washed downstream (Tumut and Adelong Times 13 July 1900).

Records show that despite poor returns on some ventures and gold rushes occurring elsewhere, mining along Adjungbilly Creek continued, albeit sporadically, from the first reported finds in 1855 into the twentieth century. During the major period of activity between 1855 and 1861, mining was carried out along 12 km of the creek. While the historical records are able to inform us of some of the mining activities along the Adjungbilly Creek there is no documentary evidence to indicate exactly where any of the work took place, how extensive the workings were or where and how the miners lived.

**The Chinese**

By 1856, 'Middle Adelong was in full swing' (Turner 1998:13), and by 1858, there were at least 250 Chinese at the Upper Adelong Gold Field (NSW Department of Land & Public Works, Sydney, 23rd March 1858, AO 4/6854).

In the 1870s there was at least one Chinese store at Middle Adelong and a settlement at Upper Adelong. Lee Loong had a store at Middle Adelong from 1870 for about 25 or 30 years. At the settlement at Upper Adelong it was reported, '... There were fully a thousand of the Celestials in the camp, which exactly resembled camps existing at Sofala, Hill End, Tambaroora, and Lambing Flat. There were a couple of general stores, the usual Joss House, cook shops, with a large room for the accommodation of opium smoking patrons, while ample provision was made for gambling' (Barnes 1986:155-157, Turner 1998:27-41).

The Upper Adelong Cemetery was gazetted on 15 July 1875, and the Middle Adelong one was notified on 11 October 1880 and revoked on 20 August 1926. Thirteen Chinese burials are recorded for the Upper Adelong Cemetery and 11 burials are recorded for Middle Adelong, comprising seven Chinese and four European burials.

By 1860 Adelong was a thriving gold town. One reference suggests the population was 20,000, with a 'Chinatown' of 3,000 people (Graham and Watson 1974:29). Among the latter
were a number of storekeepers, including Kum Hang Long, Wah Ah Nam Quong and Dang Ah Chee. Ah Nam sold his store to a European in 1880, and Ah Chee moved his operations to Tumut (Bird 1976:56).

Although Adelong is now a small country town, both Middle and Upper Adelong are now only of historic interest, both are now on private land and, apart from some remnants, nothing exists of the once thriving mining towns at either location. There are no Chinese people, or their descendants, at any of those locations.

As for Adjungbilly, the only reference to Chinese there was in 1862 when a newspaper report stated,

A gentleman who visited it [Adjungbilly] a few days since informs us that there are about fifty Chinamen and between thirty and forty Europeans at work there, and they are all apparently doing well. The Chinamen had taken up ground which had been abandoned by the 'barbarians', and were doing well by their indomitable perseverance (SMH 10 May 1862).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Dang Ah Chee, a successful gold miner from Upper Adelong and storekeeper at Adelong, established a general store in Tumut, and another at Gundagai. His Business Letter Books for 1898-1904 show that he employed a number of Chinese men in both of his stores and corresponded with Quong Tart, a well-known Chinese merchant in Sydney. He was also a member of the first Tumut Cottage Hospital Committee in 1900. Around that time there were also other Chinese storekeepers in Tumut and, by 1940, there was a ‘Chinese community house – a sort of old people’s home – where the Chinese used to meet and some of the older men lived’ (Business Letter Books, 1898-1904, NLA, MS3112, Tumut Centenary Celebrations 1924:34, Tumut Plains Reunion Committee 1993:14).

Other Chinese fossicked on the Nacki Nacki Creek or further afield, typified by the lone fossicker, Peter Chow Ling, at Broken Cart. Ling (or Yen), a Chinese miner who lived at Broken Cart for many years, died on 23 February 1909 aged 88 and was buried there. As with another Chinese grave in the area, that of Ah Sheer who died in 1879, the exact location of his burial site is unknown (Wilkinson and Pebesma 1999:132). Broken Cart, a locality in the mountain ranges south east of Tumut, was the site of alluvial and reef gold mining from the mid 1860s. It was also an overnight camping place on the Broken Cart Stock Route between Argalong and the High Country. On 26 February 1909, The Adelong & Tumut Express reported his death on 28 October 1955,

... The Chinaman referred to [Peter Chow Ling] was a miner who lived in a hut between Broken Cart and the Goobragandra River. He was buried in that vicinity when he died and it is only a few years since his bones were removed and sent to China ... (Reminiscences by William Kell about the death of Annie Lydia Cooper, Tumut & Adelong Express).

Similar to other individual Chinese burials in the area, the location of his grave is also unknown (Wilkinson and Pebesma 1999:17).

Other unknown graves are those of Ah Wong who died and was buried at Hillas Creek in 1895, Ah Fan who died and was buried at Nacka Nacka Creek in 1879, Ah Gee Lung and Ah Tong who died and were buried at Gilmore Creek in 1868 and 1895, respectively, Ah Quong who died at Sharps Creek in 1872 and was buried at Upper Adelong in the same year, Long Shee who died and was buried at Tumut Plains in 1873, and Sney (or Shey) Hoy and Wing Row (or Bow) who died and were buried at Springfield, near Tumut, in 1899 and 1894, respectively (Wilkinson and Pebesma 1999:1, 40, 132, 157).

As mining in the region waned, many Chinese either worked independently or were employed by Europeans to grow vegetables, maize and tobacco. By the 1920s, at Lacmalac on the Tumut Plains, there were 20 or more Chinese farmers growing tobacco and maize on the river flats. The European owner of one of the properties on the Tumut Plains 'was very happy with them as tenants as they were industrious, honest and, above all, because of their system of
banking with their local storekeeper – their rents were always paid on time’ (Tumut Plains Reunion Committee 1993:12-13).

In summary, historical records show that at the height of their occupation, which probably occurred around 1860, there may have been over 3,000 Chinese in the Tumut region. That region stretched from Upper Adelong to the south of Tumut, Nacki Nacki Creek to the west of Adelong, Adjungbilly and Shaking Bog to the northwest of Tumut, and Broken Cart to the east. In all probability it may have also included large tracts of other rivers and creeks in the area. The last of the Chinese centred on the now thriving regional town of Tumut around the 1940s.

Similar to the Braidwood region, archaeology suggests within this broad region the Chinese established a number of ‘centres’, separate from their European counterparts. Although they did not establish themselves in the European town of Tumut until towards the end of the nineteenth century, (as with the town of Braidwood) they established centres at Upper Adelong, Adelong and Adjungbilly. Those locations may also have been hubs for a network of smaller Chinese occupation sites, which may have stretched along the banks of nearby gold bearing rivers and creeks. While vestiges of some of these systems remain in the archaeological record, evidence of other parts of them have been lost.

Table 4.1.1 lists the status of the known Chinese sites in the region and Figure 4.1.1 gives a map of the Tumut region showing the locations of those sites.

The remainder of this section provides brief descriptions of the excavations and surveys undertaken within each of these Chinese systems at Tumut, Adelong, Middle and Upper Adelong, and Adjungbilly (highlighted in Table 4.1.1), and discussion of the results of that fieldwork. Complete details of the excavations and surveys, and artefact catalogues are in the Appendices.

Table 4.1.1: Status of known nineteenth-century Chinese sites in the Tumut Region.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. in Location</th>
<th>Historically Known</th>
<th>Archaeological Evidence</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tumut*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Graves and burner in Chinese Section of Tumut General Cemetery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Adelong*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost due to mining and redevelopment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Nacki Nacki Creek</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Hillas Creek</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sharps Creek</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Middle Adelong*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Remains partially lost due to mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Upper Adelong*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Remains partially lost due to site destruction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Gilmore Creek</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Lacmalac</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost due to redevelopement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Springfield</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Broken Cart</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Adjungbilly*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Remains partially lost due to site destruction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Shaking Bog</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost due to mining and erosion.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Locations at which surveys and/or excavations were undertaken.
Figure 4.1.1: Map of Tumut area showing Chinese occupation sites (with known historical dates).
4.2 THE ADELONG CREEK SYSTEM

The area designated as the Adelong Creek system centres on the Chinese settlement that was located at Upper Adelong, approximately 20 km southeast of Adelong and 22 km southwest of Tumut. The system appears to have once encompassed the upper reaches of Adelong Creek and its tributaries, and included Middle Adelong, approximately 5 km to the north of the Upper Adelong.

This area contained the payable nineteenth-century alluvial goldfields to the south of Tumut. It is a relatively hilly area at the base of a number of mountain ranges, which lead to Australia’s ‘high country’ towards the southeast.

Archaeological and historical evidence suggests Upper Adelong was the major Chinese settlement in the area, containing a store with a ‘Joss’, miners’ huts and a large Chinese cemetery. Nearby Middle Adelong appears to have played a subsidiary role, with a store and a smaller cemetery, which appear to have been established some years after Upper Adelong. Parts of both areas have since been dredged with the result that some of the archaeological evidence of occupation at those locations has been lost.

Following wide-ranging fieldwork in the area, including extensive tracts of Adelong Creek and its tributaries, archaeological evidence for a settlement system was found at both Upper and Middle Adelong, each of which was located adjacent to Adelong Creek. The following summarises that evidence.

UPPER ADELONG

In addition to the Europeans attracted to Upper Adelong by the gold discovered in the 1850s, there was a large number of Chinese distributed along Adelong Creek but they mainly congregated at Honeysuckle Creek at Upper Adelong, which was often spoken of as the ‘Chinese Camp’. According to Turner (1998:32), there were, ‘fully 1,000 of the Celestials in the camp’.

In June 1874, the Police Magistrate of Tumut applied to the Lands Department on behalf of the Chinese residents of Upper Adelong to request an acre of land for a cemetery. He noted, ‘... there have already been about a dozen or more of their Countrymen buried on the spot asked for and the Chinese residents are anxious to secure it from intrusion’. Licensed Surveyor D. M. Maitland Jnr. replied for the Lands Department in June 1875,

From your instructions I am not quite certain whether it was intended that I should survey a General Cemetery or not, I have, however, simply measured an acre for the Chinese, a plan of which I enclose.
1. A General Cemetery has already been granted and surveyed within about 1½ miles of this portion, and has been used for the burial of members of the Church of England and Roman Catholics.
2. The ground just measured is not a suitable site for a General Cemetery, but at time of survey, 45 Chinamen had been interred in it (Wilkinson and Pebesma 1999:159).

The gazetted cemetery was approved on 15 July 1875, and listed as Portion No. 30, Parish of Hindmarsh, County of Wynyard.

It was adjacent to and about 100 m northeast of the Chinese camp and a block of land granted to Kum Hang Long where a store, including an opium smoking room, was built. The store was operated by a succession of Chinese, Foo Lee being the last one. No doubt Portion 30 was formalised as a cemetery because of concern that the existing burial site might have been disturbed by nearby miners searching for gold. A long-time Batlow resident, Mrs. Merle Ironside, remembers seeing some headstones when she was a small girl, but ‘they were removed when the remains were dug up and sent back to China’ (Wilkinson and Pebesma 1999:159).
Will Carter gave another account of the Chinese cemetery in 1938, in which he noted,
At the rear of the [Chinese] camp, at a little distance, was the Chinese Cemetery four acres in extent, in which all the Chinese dead of the surrounding district were buried. At intervals the bones were taken up, scraped and brushed clean, and dispatched to China in boxes. It was a common thing to see a bone-hunt, and where a deceased compatriot had been committed to an obscure grave in the bush it took some time and trouble to locate his remains. When Hop Lee, or Shun Ching, passed in his checks, his mates lost little time in burying him. Suspicious of the deceased’s ghost returning to haunt them, they dropped narrow punctured paper slips as they bore his body to the grave, where they placed plenty of cooked meat, poultry, rice and other food in, and upon the grave for the immediate benefit of the spirit departing to its final destination (The Daily Advertiser (Wagga) 17 October 1938 in Wilkinson and Pебesa 199:159).

Constance Sullivan, who was a small girl living at Upper Adelong in 1884/85, later recalled,

Before you crossed the little stream in the gully there [at Honeysuckle Hill], you had to pass the Chinese camp. A walk along the creek would discover Chinamen, most living alone in humpies that had been deserted by earlier diggers. They grew Chinese cabbage and a few potatoes. They washed out some gold – no one could know how much or how little, or where they sold it – but few of them worked claims, like other miners. Honeysuckle Creek ran not so much down it as across its lower slopes, and met the Little Adelong near Foo Lee’s [store]. The road I have mentioned climbed the hill, and except for an occasional camper, and the few lingering Chinese, the area was desolate (Barnes 1986:9-11, 129-133).

Turner (1998:39-41) notes that Dang Ah Chee, who gained about £5,000 from gold mining at Upper Adelong, saw business possibilities ahead of him and applied his earnings to the establishment of a general store at the Chinese camp. He sold out after some years to Ah Hack, a Gundagai man, who, in time, sold to Ah Tie, a local Chinese digger. Years went by and with them most of the gold and many of the miners, causing business to slump. Ah Tie sold to Foo Lee. But by the time he took over the store the best of the gold was gone. ‘As time went on, the place and its people became poorer, while Foo Lee’s book debts developed into bad debts, and the old storekeeper had to shut up shop’.

Foo Lee told Constance Sullivan that, according to newspapers sent to him by Chinese friends in Sydney,

... all his countrymen in that cemetery [Upper Adelong] and in other cemeteries all over this land would be dug up and taken home to China, where all Chinese longed to be after death! ... And, sure enough, at a later date emissaries from their homeland did come and the dead Chinese were taken up from their graves. Their bones went to China in coffins lined with lead... (Barnes 1986:133)

Sullivan (Barnes 1986:129-133) also described Chinese worshipping in Foo Lee’s store, Within the shop, over a facing doorway, a large picture of his joss was smiling down on a gathering of Chinese of all ages. Tall thin papers were set around the Joss, and they burned with a smell of incense. The Chinese all had their pigtailed hair hanging long and thin and black, and their length helped out with dangling pieces of the narrow red tape that tied them. The Chinese, young and old, were bowing low.

THE SETTLEMENT

The site of the Chinese settlement at Upper Adelong is situated in a lightly wooded area on a north-facing spur that slopes downhill from south to north, towards a tributary of Hindmarsh Creek, which itself is a tributary of Adelong Creek. There is a steep hill behind, on either side of it and has eroded mining gullies on its eastern, northern and western sides towards the creek. It could be said to have good fengshui.

A survey revealed the remains of at least four huts, a possible store, measuring approximately 6 x 3 m, adjacent to an old road/track way, two pits, possibly wells, and a number of disused water races as well as artefact scatters. Alluvial mining had destroyed areas to the west and south of the site, where it is possible other archaeological features may have
been located. Figures 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 show photographs of the site, Figure 4.2.3 gives a plan of
the site, and Table 4.2.1 gives the main characteristics of the structures at the site.

A total of 172 artefacts was observed on the surface of the site. Most were observed in a
deflated area just to the north of structures 2 to 4 and could not be associated with any particular
structure. The artefacts comprise 134 shards of ceramic, 33 glass artefacts, 3 pieces of metal,
and 2 miscellaneous artefacts. The majority (60 per cent) was identified as Chinese in origin and
included pieces of celadon, other Chinese ceramics and brownwares, and part of an opium can.

Figure 4.2.1: View of possible store (facing south).

Figure 4.2.2: View of Hut 1 (facing southeast).
Figure 4.2.3: Plan of Upper Adelong Chinese settlement.
Table 4.2.1: Summary of structural characteristics at Upper Adelong.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Hut 1</th>
<th>Hut 2</th>
<th>Hut 3</th>
<th>Hut 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base/wall</td>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>Tent</td>
<td>Tent</td>
<td>Tent</td>
<td>Tent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floor</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shape</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall width (m)</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry width (m)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length (m)</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width (m)</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int. area (m²)</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built into slope</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible entry</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>NW</td>
<td>NW</td>
<td>NW</td>
<td>NW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearth/Flareplace</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction</td>
<td>Uphill</td>
<td>Downhill</td>
<td>Downhill</td>
<td>Downhill</td>
<td>Downhill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bearing</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>NW</td>
<td>NW</td>
<td>NW</td>
<td>NW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance from nearest structure (m)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THE CEMETERY

The Upper Adelong Chinese Cemetery is situated in a heavily wooded area on a west-facing hillside that slopes from east to west, towards the confluence of two tributaries of Hindmarsh Creek. It has a hill behind, and on either side of it, and is approximately 100 m northeast of the settlement. It too could be said to have good fengshui.

A survey revealed 18 exhumed graves, which were more or less arranged in three rows, in an area of approximately 800 m² (40 x 20 m). In addition, there was an earthen platform, which measured approximately 6 x 4.5 m dug into the side of the hill approximately 8 m to the southeast of the graves, a nearby pit and water race.

A general view of the cemetery is at Figure 4.2.4, a plan of the site is at Figure 4.2.5, and Table 4.2.2 gives details of the graves.

Surface artefacts consist of the remains of a green glass alcohol bottle with embossing on its base 'AG M / S 10' indicating it was manufactured between 1922 and 1929, the remains of a clear glass sauce bottle with embossing on its side that indicated it was manufactured in the early to mid twentieth century, several large pieces of tin (some with nail holes) and an old car battery. All artefacts were observed in association with the earthen platform at the site. There are no artefacts observed in the area of the graves.
Figure 4.2.4: View of the Chinese cemetery at Upper Adelong (facing uphill and northeast). Range pole (arrow) shows location of earthen platform.

Figure 4.2.5: Plan of Upper Adelong Chinese Cemetery.
Table 4.2.2: Details of graves at Upper Adelong Chinese Cemetery.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave No.</th>
<th>Possible Status</th>
<th>Approx. Dimensions (length x width x depth) (m)</th>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Approx. angle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.0 x 0.8 x 0.1</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>231°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.9 x 1.0 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>226°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.1 x 0.8 x 0.1</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>230°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.5 x 0.8 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>241°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.75 x 1.2 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>238°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.0 x 0.8 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>223°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.0 x 0.8 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>243°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.6 x 1.0 x 0.5</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>240°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.0 x 0.8 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>219°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.8 x 0.9 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>240°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.0 x 0.8 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>263°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.0 x 0.6 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>254°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.1 x 0.8 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>247°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.0 x 0.8 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>232°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.6 x 1.0 x 0.5</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>263°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.4 x 0.8 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>246°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.5 x 0.8 x 0.25</td>
<td>Faces across hill towards the northwest</td>
<td>326°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.0 x 0.8 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the southwest</td>
<td>238°</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Archaeological investigation revealed the settlement comprises at least four huts that may have accommodated from between eight to 12 people in total, although a greater number of people may have occupied the site at any one time, and a store. The dwellings were probably constructed of stone footings and random rubble walls to a height of 0.3 m in some cases on at least one side of the structure, and they probably had a light timber frame and roofing of calico or some other impermanent material. All of the dwellings appear to have had a tamped earth floor, all are rectangular in shape, their average internal area was 7 m², they are freestanding, and faced down hill in a northeasterly direction. The store is rectangular shape and measures approximately 6 m east/west by 4 m north/south. It is adjacent to a disused road that leads to a major rural road, Hindmarsh Road, to the west. The size of the structure indicates that it is not a typical Chinese miner’s hut but probably a large timber structure, more indicative of a store.

There is no ‘concept of street’ in the layout of the camp and the structures are not erected in straight lines. However, there are elements of fengshui in the location and layout of the site and in the orientation of a number of the dwellings. Artefactual evidence indicates that it was occupied from around the 1860s until at least the late 1870s and the occupants were Chinese.

The cemetery contained 18 empty graves. They were arranged in more or less three rows with a preference for a downhill orientation and northwest-facing direction. The location and layout of the cemetery, the orientation of the graves and evidence of exhumation indicates the practice of traditional Chinese burial customs, including the practice of fengshui.
MIDDLE ADELONG

Middle Adelong is a historic locality, no longer recognised, near the junction of Hindmarsh and Adelong Creeks in the Parish of Hindmarsh, County of Wynyard. It is a significant area for its early alluvial gold mining activities. There were never any streets at Middle Adelong; habitation followed the trend of gold and the creek. According to Turner, a man or family either lived ‘up the creek’ or ‘down the creek’ in those days (Turner 1998:12, Wilkinson and Pebesma 1999:115).

As well as European residences and stores, there was a Chinese store at Middle Adelong, owned by a Chinese man named Lee Leong. The following excerpts give indications of the store’s activities and its owner,

No one, resident along the Adelong creek from 1870 onwards for 25 or 30 years, was unacquainted with Lee Loong, locally known as ‘Porky’, ‘Deafy’ or ‘Ruggy’, deriving these nick-names from the fact that he was a pork butcher, deaf as a post and small-pox pitted of countenance. His little store stood close to the Adelong creek, whence he drew his water supply for an acre or two of tobacco cultivation. He killed a couple of pigs each week-end, chiefly for the supply of his fellow countrymen, the fossickers, who usually came along in strings, with their poles and baskets, or sacks, for their weekly supplies disposing of most of it on Sunday afternoons, when a score of Chinese men would congregate in his shop to sell their gold and do some shopping (Turner 1998:27-28).

At the rear of Deafy’s shop a large open shed had been built and fitted up with rows of sapling bars, high up near a roof made of bushy branches of tea-tree. Deafy signed to a young worker to show us the tobacco that, in close order, hung from the poles. The tobacco was sent to Adelong and thence to Sydney.

Deafy was a wealthy man, they said, after years of buying and selling on the creek. He liked trying out money-making schemes, and helped his younger countrymen to come out to Australia and work for him. There was a group of them working in the flat stretch of ground behind the store near the creek. Wearing straight, loose coats, short, roomy trousers, heelless slippers and shady, drooping straw hats with pointed crowns, they bent over the crop, cutting off heads of tobacco with strong, sharp knives.

When most of his countrymen returned home, or moved on to other fields, Deafy, like Foo Lee, chose to stay on the Adelong. He lived for many years alone in his old, old store. One day Fred missed him from his doorway, where he loved to sit and watch the old coach road, and found him dying on his bed. Fred went back home for his mother; and together they put him on Old Pone’s successor and took him home and tended him. They wrote to Chinese people in Sydney and arranged for Deafy to be taken home to China when he died (Barnes 1986:155-157).

A Reserve (No. 2595) of eight acres was reserved from sale for Middle Adelong Cemetery. It was notified on 11 October 1880 and revoked on 20 August 1926. Eleven burials are recorded for the Middle Adelong Cemetery. They comprise seven Chinese and four European burials, all of which were children. The first of the Chinese burials is recorded in January 1867 and the last in June 1903 (Wilkinson and Pebesma 1999:116).

Fieldwork revealed that there are now no remnants of any probable Chinese buildings at Middle Adelong but the remains of the cemetery were found at that location. It is situated in an open area on a northeast-facing hillside that slopes from west to east, towards Hindmarsh Creek. It overlooks the creek, some distance to the east, and has a hill behind, and on either side of it. A survey revealed seven exhumed graves in a square-shaped area of approximately 225 m² (15 x 15 m) that once had a large timber post at each corner. In addition to the graves within that boundary, there is a single, smaller grave approximately 5 m north of the northern boundary. Apart from a single post and three postholes, no artefacts were found at the site. Figure 4.2.6 shows a photograph of the cemetery, Table 4.2.3 gives details of the graves, and Figure 4.2.7 provides a plan of the site.
Figure 4.2.6: View of the Chinese cemetery at Middle Adelong (facing east and downhill).

### Table 4.2.3: Details of graves at Middle Adelong Cemetery.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave No.</th>
<th>Possible Status</th>
<th>Approx. Dimensions (length x width x depth) (m)</th>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Approx. angle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chinese graves</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.3 x 1.1 x 0.15</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northeast</td>
<td>79°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.75 x 1.0 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northeast</td>
<td>78°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.4 x 1.3 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northeast</td>
<td>78°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.3 x 1.3 x 0.6</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northeast</td>
<td>77°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.75 x 1.2 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northeast</td>
<td>70°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.6 x 1.0 x 0.5</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northeast</td>
<td>77°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.75 x 1.1 x 0.4</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northeast</td>
<td>75°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>European grave</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1.1 x 1.0 x ?</td>
<td>Faces across hill towards the east</td>
<td>90°</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In summary, seven empty graves are located in a square-shaped enclosure, 225 m² in area (15 x 15 m) that once had a large timber post at each corner. They are arranged in a single row and all are orientated downhill in a northeast-facing direction. The measurements (length x breadth x depth) of the largest gravesite are 2.75 x 1.2 x 0.3 m, and the smallest 1.3 x 1.1 x 0.15 m, with average measurements of 2.0 x 1.1 x 0.3 m.

In addition to these, there was a single, smaller grave approximately 5 m north of the northern boundary, which may originally have been surrounded by a 2 x 2 m fence. This latter site may have been the grave of a child, possibly one of the four European children recorded as being buried there (Wilkinson and Pebesma 1999:116-117). The other three European graves could not be identified.

The Chinese cemetery is located in an open area on a northeast-facing hillside that slopes from west to east, towards Hindmarsh Creek. It overlooks the creek, some distance to the east, and has a steep hill behind, and a ridge on either side of it, forming a ‘horseshoe’ shape around it. All the Chinese graves are orientated towards the northeast. The site, therefore, can be said to be typically Chinese and have good fengshui.
4.3 THE ADELONG SYSTEM

The area categorised as the Adelong system centres on a possible Chinese settlement approximately 1.5 km north of Adelong, and on the town itself. It appears to have once comprised the area in and around the town itself and as well as sections of Nacki Nacki Creek, which stretches about 20 kms north to the Murrumbidgee River and the same distance south to its headwaters. It passes approximately 6.5 km west of the town. That area contained the payable nineteenth-century alluvial goldfields to the west of Tumut, which were concentrated within an area of three-square kilometres around Adelong.

As noted above, there is a suggestion by Graham and Watson (1974:29) that Adelong contained a Chinatown of 3,000 people by 1860. History records a number of storekeepers, including Kum Hang Long, Wah Ah Nam Quong and Dang Ah Chee at Adelong. The first, Kum Hang Long arrived in NSW in 1861 from Canton at the age of 16. He established a business in Adelong in the late 1860s and at the time of his Australian Naturalisation in 1874 he was listed as a storekeeper in Adelong (McCormack 1997). He owned a large weatherboard shop opposite the old Star Hotel, which later became the Court House Hotel and then a stationery store. It was eventually destroyed by fire (Turner 1998:81-82). His wedding was the social highlight of Adelong. The Tumut & Adelong Times reported,

The lady of his choice came out from China, and the ceremony took place in Sydney. Her arrival in Adelong created a furore, for she was a lady of the highest quality and, according to all accounts, possessed of the tiniest feet and longest fingernails ever seen on the field. She dressed exclusively in the most beautiful of silks and, despite the fact that she could not speak a word of English, became one of the most popular chatelaines on the field. Her lack of English was only a temporary handicap, for she learned quickly and proved a wonderful asset to her husband both in business and social worlds (Article by Noel Burkinshaw, c 1944-45 in Turner 1998).

The second, Wah Ah Nam Quong, arrived in NSW in 1856 from Canton aged 15. At the time of his Australian Naturalisation in 1884 he also was listed as a storekeeper in Adelong (McCormack 1997). He carried on a sideline as a tobacco buyer, doing most of his business in this line in and around the Tumut district. He successfully grew tobacco on the Adelong Creek flats, and devoted most of his time to this end of his business, leaving the actual storekeeping to his white assistant. He was still a storekeeper there in 1886 but later sold his store to Albert Merryfull who built a two storey brick building on the site (Gundagai Times 10 July, 10 September 1886, Tumut & Adelong Times c1944-45 in Turner 1998).

The third, Dang Ah Chee, arrived in NSW from Canton in 1857 at the age of 17. At the time of his Australian Naturalisation in 1882 he was listed as a storekeeper in Tumut and Gundagai (McCormack 1997). He was initially a miner at Upper Adelong, and then had a store there before opening one in Adelong itself. He later moved to Tumut, where he became the most successful Chinese businessman in the district until the early twentieth century.

Today, there is no evidence of any Chinese stores in or around Adelong, or any archaeological evidence of Chinese occupation in the town, or of any Chinese in the town cemetery.

However, in 2002 during a mining survey of the area around Adelong Falls, near the junction of Adelong and Sawyers Creeks, about 1.5 km north of Adelong, Michael and Jennifer Tracey, consultant archaeologists, recovered a nineteenth-century Chinese artefact from the surface at that location (Tracey and Tracey 2003:22). The artefact, probably a decorative metal point from a ceremonial staff, is shown in Figure 4.3.1. It is clearly not associated with everyday Chinese domestic life but rather with ceremonial activities, such as those undertaken at a Chinese temple. Ibrahim (1981) noted a similar artefact in his study of the material culture of How Wang Mitu, the Chinese Temple at Atherton, Queensland. That artefact was a complete richly carved staff, symbolising wisdom and learning, with a similar point (Ibrahim 1981: frontispiece).
The area in which the artefact was recovered was part of the Adelong Gold Field that had been the focus of intensive reef mining in the nineteenth century. In addition, more recently, in the 1980s and 1990s, reef mining resumed at that location and continues there today. Consequently, the area is heavily disturbed.

Subsequent extensive investigation of the area, including the location of the artefact on the eastern bank of Sawyers Creek above Adelong Falls, did not reveal any further artefacts or provide evidence of any structures.

Nevertheless, despite the lack of further archaeological evidence of Chinese occupation at Adelong, there is adequate historical documentation for a significant Chinese presence there in the nineteenth century. In all probability, and given the limited archaeological evidence, it can be inferred there had been a Chinese settlement (or ‘Chinatown’) at or near Adelong, possibly 1.5 km north of the town at Sawyers Creek, which may have contained a Chinese temple, probably in the 1860s. However, it appears that time and subsequent mining activities in the area may have obliterated all signs of that settlement.
4.4 THE ADJUNGBILLY SYSTEM

The area designated as the Adjungbilly system centres on a Chinese settlement that was located on the northern side of Adjungbilly Creek, approximately 2.5 km to the southeast of the current day village of Adjungbilly. Today, the village consists of a school, community hall, cemetery and a limited number of private houses. Several small-scale farms now occupy the length of the creek. There are now no Chinese people at Adjungbilly or its immediate surrounds.

While historical records report there were European shops, grog shanties and 200 miners living along the creek from 1855 onwards, there is only one reference to the presence of Chinese. That report, from 1862, states ‘there were about fifty Chinamen’ at Adjungbilly and that ‘they are all apparently doing well’ (SMH 10 May 1862). A later reference places them also at an unknown location at Shaking Bog in 1879, which is approximately 3 km northeast of Adjungbilly Creek (NSW Department of Mines Annual Report 1879:125).

Following wide-ranging fieldwork in the area, including investigation of extensive sections of Adjungbilly Creek and its tributaries, the only remaining archaeological evidence for a settlement system was found on the northern side of Adjungbilly Creek, approximately 2.5 km to the southeast of the village. The following summarises that evidence.

**ADJUNGBILLY**

Adjungbilly Creek has its source at Shaking Bog near Mount Tumorrama. It flows northwest for approximately 25 km to join the Tumut River near its confluence with the Murrumbidgee River. The village of Adjungbilly is situated on the Creek, about 20 km east of Gundagai. Alluvial mining took place along much of the creek, from Shaking Bog to the vicinity of Mount Tumorrama. Surveys and excavations took place approximately 2.5 km southeast of Adjungbilly overlooking Adjungbilly Creek.

Adjungbilly Creek is permanent and spring fed from a large aquifer covering much of the area around Shaking Bog. It rises in moderately steep country and winds for about 10 km through granite ranges that are now predominantly planted with *Pinus radiata*. Blackberry bushes are common and have covered a large area flanking the banks, concealing much of the evidence of workings along the creek.

The main site area measures approximately 130 m north-south and 120 m east-west, and has a reasonably light cover of natural vegetation, mainly grass, eucalyptus and some blackberry bushes where the ground has been disturbed. It is located on a spur overlooking Adjungbilly Creek that is about 50 m to the west and south of the site. Initial inspection showed the area to contain at least 10 small rectangular stone arrangements measuring around 2 m x 3 m. For the most part, only single stones, or single rows of stones were visible on the surface. There were also a number of other small earth platforms and cultural features at the site, such as pits and a water race, which was fed from a spring to the northwest.

Eight areas thought to contain structures were excavated. These include an oven, six hut sites (one excavation area contained two huts), a pit and a section of a water race, which crosses the site. A surface collection was undertaken at each of the areas before excavation. Several other features were also recorded during site survey. These include the remains of huts with stone foundations, areas of possible hut locations – either levelled areas dug into earth banks or raised earth platforms, several possible rubbish pits, a spring to the northwest of the site, a number of tracks, fences, and an exotic tree (*Ailanthus altissima*, the “Tree of Heaven”) on the banks of the Adjungbilly Creek to the south of the site.

A total of 1,312 artefacts was recovered from the site. Of those, 32 artefacts were found on the surface. Most artefacts were located in Hut 3 and no artefacts were found in the oven. However, it is interesting to note that the only artefact recovered from the surface associated with cooking was part of an iron cooking pot (with handle) that was found near the oven at the southern extremity of the site.
Artefacts comprised 148 ceramic shards, 604 glass artefacts, 309 pieces of metal (including nails), and 251 miscellaneous artefacts. Of the ceramics, 133 shards were identified as European in origin and 15 as Chinese. The Chinese ceramic artefacts included pieces of celadon rice bowls, brown glazed stonewares and terracotta opium pipe bowls. Glass artefacts included pieces of 'black', green, clear and blue bottle glass and fragments of window glass. Metal artefacts comprised small pieces of iron and tin, pieces of fencing, nails and tacks, pieces of zinc, a large metal staple, the remains of a bucket and an iron cooking pot, a drill bit, a hinge, a horse shoe, part of a horse trace and part of a shovel. Miscellaneous artefacts consisted of pieces of bone, charcoal and wood, a wooden pipe stem, the remains of six items of clothing, and a bottle cap.

Figures 4.4.1 and 4.4.2 provide general views of the site, Figure 4.4.3 gives a location plan and Figure 4.4.4 gives a plan of the site showing the locations of structures.

Figure 4.4.1: View of the site at Adjungbilly, facing southwest.

Figure 4.4.2: View of the site at Adjungbilly, facing north.
Figure 4.4.3: Map of Adjungbilly showing Chinese occupation site.
Figure 4.4.4: Plan of Adjungbilly Chinese settlement
THE OVEN

The oven was located approximately 75 m north of Adjungbilly Creek and about 30 m from the main, more permanent dwellings. It is partially cut by a water race fed from a natural spring to the northwest of the site, which is considered to post-date original site occupation.

The structure is constructed into and supported by an earthen bank, which was built up on three sides, at the west, north and south. Although the structure had collapsed or been destroyed, evidence shows it was of random rubble construction comprising large stones that appeared to have been specifically selected for their shape, and packed with earth. The structure has a large, circular-shaped earth base, which is partially enclosed by large stones. Some stones have also fallen from the sides onto the earth base.

The structure is approximately 0.75 m high on its north side, but originally was probably higher, the wall width is about 0.5 m, and the circular base measures approximately 0.8 m in diameter. Except for charcoal and ash, no artefacts were found in or around the structure (Figure 4.4.5). Its location and structure indicates the feature was probably used for communal cooking purposes.

View during excavation (facing northeast)

Close-up of interior of oven

Figure 4.4.5: Views of the oven at Adjungbilly
**Dwellings**

The site contains a number of natural terraces, particularly on the north-eastern side, which in some areas have been dug into to create a protective back wall and a raised flat rectangular platform for use as a base for structures, for example, huts 1, 10, 11 and 14. In other areas on these terraces earth appears to have been simply levelled to form a flat platform for a structure, for example, huts 12, 13 and 16.

The size and construction of the platforms and stone structures suggest a temporal sequence of site occupation. The smaller, more ephemeral, platforms, which predominantly occur on the southwestern, down slope side of the spur, may have been for temporary tent structures that were erected at the time of initial occupation. Whereas, the larger platforms with stone foundations or stone outlines, which predominate on the higher slope of the spur, may have been built or re-built later as the numbers of site occupants decreased and the camp became more established.

All of the hut platforms and structures are rectangular in shape and predominantly face downhill. Their internal dimensions range in size from 5 to 12 m², with an average of 8.6 m². This average internal dimension identifies them as probably having been constructed by ethnic Chinese miners. The frequency of sizes found at the Adjungbilly Chinese camp accords with Smith’s 1998 findings and establishes that the majority of platforms and structures fall within the range of sizes identified as being hut sites for nineteenth-century Chinese miners.

The orientation of the structures and platforms, as determined by their long axis, showed a clear preference for a southerly-facing dwelling with the bearings for 14 of the total 19 facing that direction. Of the 19 structures, the majority faced downhill and only five across the contour. The latter were usually on a slight downhill slope. The communal oven also faced south.

These features show the majority of the dwellings were relatively small, probably housing from one to three people each, rectangular in shape, facing downhill, probably for drainage purposes, towards water (either Adjungbilly Creek or the small tributary to the west of the site or both), and were constructed to gain maximum light and warmth from the afternoon sun. It is suggested that the more permanent structures were located on the down slope western side of the spur to gain the greatest protective advantage against the winds in the area.

These features further suggest that the more permanent dwellings, and possibly some of the temporary dwellings, may have been sited to accord with the principles of *fengshui*.

Table 4.4.1 gives a comparison of the major characteristics of the seven excavated structures – six huts and the oven.

**Pits**

A number of pits are also present at the site adjacent to Huts 2, 14, 15 and 17. Excavation of one near Hut 2 revealed a substantial amount of waste material, such as, broken bottles, nails and bones. It is suggested that these pits, located at the rear of hut sites, were individual waste disposal areas.

Other cultural features at the site include a water race, a number of tracks, fences, and an exotic tree (*Ailanthus altissima*, the ‘Tree of Heaven’). As the tracks and fences cut through the main settlement and, in the case of one, through a hut (No. 11) they clearly post-date the occupation period. Similarly, the water race that cuts through the oven to the southeast of the site is also considered to post-date original site occupation.

The exotic tree (*Ailanthus altissima*, the ‘Tree of Heaven’) located on the bank of Adjungbilly Creek about 50 m south of the occupation area is traditionally associated with Chinese occupied sites. It has both medicinal and food uses in China and is native to northern China (Wegars 1997:3). Its common name, ‘Tree of Heaven’, is derived from its height, which can reach 50 to 70 feet (15-21 m) (Bean 1970:265-266).
### Table 4.4.1: Summary of characteristics of excavated structures at Adjungbilly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Oven</th>
<th>Hut 1</th>
<th>Hut 2</th>
<th>Hut 3</th>
<th>Hut 4</th>
<th>Hut 5</th>
<th>Hut 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Construction</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floor</td>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dimensions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall width (m)</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry width (m)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length (m)</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width (m)</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal area (m²)</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>8.75</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built into slope</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible entry</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Inside</td>
<td>NW</td>
<td>NW</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearth/Fireplace</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>NE cnr</td>
<td>SE side</td>
<td>Outside</td>
<td>Inside</td>
<td>SW cnr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Orientation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bearing</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx. distance from nearest structure (m)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Artefacts (No.)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, the settlement was sited on a slope, with a hill behind it at the confluence of two creeks – Adjungbilly Creek in front and a small tributary to the west – and it was terraced. There is no ‘concept of street’ with huts being built in relatively haphazard patterns.

The artefacts indicate an occupation period from around the late 1860s to the late 1870s, which may have extended into the early 1880s, and that the site was probably initially occupied in the late 1860s.

In addition to the typically Chinese characteristics of the layout of the camp and hut construction described above there are three types of ceramic artefact recovered that indicate ethnic Chinese once occupied the site. They are pieces of Chinese celadon tableware, probably from rice bowls, fragments of stoneware and the remains of opium pipe bowls.

All of the three buttons came from men’s apparel, one was from men’s underwear and two from men’s trousers. In addition, the two belt buckles and the remains of the braces adjuster are from men’s clothing. No artefactual evidence indicates occupation by females or children.
4.5 THE TUMUT CONNECTION

Tumut was settled in the late 1820s/early 1830s and by 1841 the first burial was recorded in the (now) Tumut Pioneer Cemetery. In 1848, Tumut was laid out by government surveyor Townsend and gazetted as a town. By 1856, it was described as ‘merely a collection of slab and bark huts of a most primitive description, the three public houses are of slab walls and shingle roofs’ (Graham and Watson 1974:23-24, 50, Stuckey and Archer 1989:2).

The Tumut Valley with its fertile river flats became an area of smaller farms. This closer settlement meant the town was within reach of most inhabitants, so more tended to come to town for business and social activities including worship. Although there were no major gold finds at Tumut, the gold rushes to Adelong in the 1850s and to Kiandra in 1860 had the effect that it became the foremost business centre for the region. The General (now Pioneer) cemetery was consecrated on 23 September 1861.

By 1872, Tumut was described as having a population of about 500 with, four places of worship, two schools, eight public houses, three stores, one steam flour mill and two water powered flour mills, a few fine private residences, a post and telegraph office, a bank and 101 children on the roll at the public school (The Town and Country Journal in Graham and Watson 1974:24).

It was one of the centres that retained a Chinese community after the gold rushes had finished, many of them ex-miners from Kiandra and elsewhere. There were Chinese shopkeepers in the town for over a century. They were instrumental in the start of tobacco growing in the 1870s and were tenants on river flats well into the twentieth century growing tobacco and vegetables (Stuckey and Archer 1989:12).

The first record of Chinese at Tumut is the burial of Ah Long (aged 35) in the cemetery in 1870. From then until 1961, a total of 62 Chinese were buried there, the majority (42) before 1900 (Stuckey and Archer 1989:11, 64-78, Kok 2003b:85).

In 1888, there were at least 105 Chinese at Tumut or its environs. By the 1890s, they were learning English at Sunday school and one, Dang Ah Chee, a respected businessman, was a foundation member of the Tumut Hospital.

Ah Chee struck it rich at Upper Adelong in the 1850s and opened a store there, later moving to Adelong and subsequently Tumut, probably in the 1870s/1880s. He was largely interested in local tobacco cultivation, backing many of his countrymen, and helping others on the land. He married a European lady dressmaker from Batlow and they had two sons and a daughter. By 1903, one of his sons, Tang Chee, had a ‘very good commercial business in Hong Kong’. Dang Ah Chee eventually returned to China permanently sometime after 1904 (Turner 1998:41, Tumut and Adelong Times 17 February 1903).

Other Chinese storekeepers in Tumut around that time were Sun Kum Lee, in Merrivale Street, and Dang Loon and Quong Wing, in Russell Street. In the early twentieth century there were also a number of Chinese market gardeners around Tumut, at Blowering and on the Tumut Plains, to the southeast of Tumut (Tumut Plains Reunion Committee 1993:13-14).

Most of Tumut’s Chinese residents came from Canton Province, some having left wives and families in China. While a large number of Chinese were buried in the Pioneer Cemetery, it is unknown how many were exhumed for removal to China. The Tumut & Adelong Times in May 1917 gives an account of one incidence,

Chinese Ceremony – a permit was issued by Public Health Department to Mr. Dang Loo of Tumut entitling him to exhume remains of the late

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Given Names</th>
<th>Surname</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ching Hung</td>
<td>Woo Wun</td>
<td>Ah Pon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Yen</td>
<td>Ching Ah Mon</td>
<td>John Fong Yee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Hung</td>
<td>Teng Tung</td>
<td>Ah Pow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gee Quong Hing</td>
<td>Ah Tom</td>
<td>Ah Ling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Which laid in the Chinese Burial Ground at Tumut ... The remains so exhumed were buried 12 to 15 years ago (Stuckey and Archer 1989:12).

The early decades of the twentieth century were also the hey-day of the Chinese tenant farmers on Tumut Plains, with tobacco being the major crop. By the 1930s, the Chinese had a
'community house', known as the ‘Chinese camp’ in the centre of Tumut, in Fitzroy Street, back a little from the roadway, and just beyond Doon’s skin store (French 1965:1, Tumut Plains Reunion Group 1993:12-13). Oral evidence also indicates there was a Chinese temple in Fitzroy Street around that time but it was demolished in the 1980s or earlier (pers. comm. Pam Archer 2000).

Many descendants of those early Chinese gold miners, who moved to Tumut probably in the 1870s, may be found in and around the town today. However, the only archaeological evidence of those in the nineteenth century is found in the Chinese Section of the Tumut Pioneer Cemetery on the outskirts of the town. The following provides the results of a survey of that cemetery.

**TUMUT PIONEER CEMETERY**

The Tumut Pioneer Cemetery is located on the northwestern outskirts of the town. The Chinese Section is at its southeastern corner of the cemetery. It measures approximately 25 m from east to west and 20 m from north to south. It is a flat, grassed area with only a few small perimeter eucalyptus trees and one large conifer. It contains 5 marked graves, at least 17 unmarked, exhumed gravesites and a Chinese brick and concrete burning tower.

Figure 4.5.1 shows the Chinese section of the cemetery, Figure 4.5.2 shows the burning tower, Figure 4.5.3 gives a plan of it and Table 4.5.1 gives details of the graves recorded in that section.

The graves appear to be arranged in at least five or six rows, aligned from north to south, and where closely clustered are approximately 1-1.5 m apart. It is apparent there were more graves located in the cemetery that are now no longer visible. The five marked graves, identified as numbers 13 to 16 and 20 in Figure 4.5.3, have stone and/or concrete headstones. Four of the five have legible Chinese inscriptions, while the fifth, although Chinese was illegible. All of the graves are oval in shape and measure on average, 2.2 m long x 1.2 m wide x 0.3 m deep. All of the graves face east at an angle of 90°.

The burning tower is located approximately 9 m from the nearest grave, although it may have been closer to graves that are no longer visible, at the rear (west) of the Chinese section. It is constructed of brick and concrete and measures 1.36 m square by 2.9 m high.
Figure 4.5.2: View of Chinese Burning Tower (facing northwest).

Figure 4.5.3: Plan of Chinese section of Tumut Pioneer Cemetery
The location and layout conform to the pattern of a traditional NSW General Cemetery. It is segregated along denominational lines with Church of England burials in the northwest corner, Roman Catholic in the northeast corner, Presbyterian in the southwest corner, Methodist to the east, and General in the southeast. In accordance with accepted European religious practices, all of the graves, including those of the Chinese, are orientated towards the east.

Although there is no evidence of the practice of fengshui in the Chinese section, the field and historical evidence for exhumation, and the presence of the Chinese burning tower, are indications of some traditional Chinese burial customs.

The five graves with marked headstones are obviously Chinese, and from the inscriptions on the headstones three of the interred came from Guangdong Province, in southeast China. In addition, the dimensions of the 17 exhumed graves display typical characteristics of being Chinese, that is, they are all very shallow. The presence of the burning tower also indicates Chinese ethnicity.

Table 4.5.1: Details of graves in the Chinese section of Tumut Pioneer Cemetery.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave No.</th>
<th>Possible Status</th>
<th>Approx. Dimensions (length x width x depth) (m)</th>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Approx. angle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.2 x 1.0 x 0.5</td>
<td>Faces east</td>
<td>90°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.1 x 1.4 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces east</td>
<td>90°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.1 x 1.2 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces east</td>
<td>90°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.5 x 1.3 x 0.6</td>
<td>Faces east</td>
<td>90°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.3 x 1.1 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces east</td>
<td>90°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.8 x 0.9 x 0.4</td>
<td>Faces east</td>
<td>90°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.0 x 1.6 x 0.4</td>
<td>Faces east</td>
<td>90°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.1 x 1.5 x 0.5</td>
<td>Faces east</td>
<td>90°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.1 x 1.4 x 0.4</td>
<td>Faces east</td>
<td>90°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.2 x 1.3 x 0.4</td>
<td>Faces east</td>
<td>90°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.1 x 1.2 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces east</td>
<td>90°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.3 x 0.9 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces east</td>
<td>90°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Occupied – with headstone</td>
<td>2.2 x 1.1 x 0.1</td>
<td>Faces east</td>
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<td>90°</td>
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</table>
5. KIANDRA AND THE SNOWY MOUNTAINS

5.1 BACKGROUND

GOLD IN THE MOUNTAINS

In 1859, two of the local workers in the Snowy Mountains, David and Joseph Pollock, reported payable alluvial gold in Bullock Head Creek, about a half a kilometre west of the present Kiandra (Stegemann 1988:1). This began the gold rush to the Snowy Mountains, and the town of Kiandra was born in early 1860.

However, although the area abounded with gold in February 1860 by the end of the year there was very little left. Official gold production figures show that the happy prospect in 1860 of Kiandra solving the economic woes of the colony had soon evaporated by 1861, and by 1862 had all but disappeared. Although there were two periods when gold production increased slightly – one in the early 1880s when hydraulic sluicing was introduced and another around 1900 when dredging began, Kiandra never again reached the heights of 1860 of gold production.

Although thousands of people left during the winter of 1860, many also stayed. Andrews (1901:7) stated that ‘in February and March [1860] it was estimated that 15,000 men were on the field’. However, the long-term population of Kiandra followed the declining pattern of gold production.

Despite extensive government planning, by 1863 the population of Kiandra was reported as ‘being not very large’ (SMH 10 March 1863) and the maximum number of people in the town for that year is estimated to be about 650. By 1872, it is estimated that the population of the town and its surrounding area had fallen to around 350. A report from a special correspondent that appeared in The Town and Country Journal in 1872 provided a dismal picture of Kiandra in January of that year,

There are about three stores, three hotels, two or three fruit shops, a school, a post and telegraphic office, a police station, and a court-house at Kiandra. The ‘court-house’ is at present used as a barn or stable, judging by the trusses of hay on the floor of the miserable little structure. The provisional school has an average attendance of twenty pupils. This building is simply disgraceful. The sides are broken in, the windows are smashed, and the doors are without locks or hasps (Town and Country Journal 8 March 1872).

With the coming of better communications and transport links a greater number of people from Sydney, and other distant areas of NSW, began to appreciate the Snowy Mountains for reasons other than for its gold. Kiandra changed its focus from an exclusively mining town to one that began to cater for tourists. By 1870 skiing carnivals were regular events (Ryman 1970:12). Australia’s first ski club was formed at Kiandra, probably in the 1870s (Hueneke 1987:20; Mitchell 1937:9-14). In 1906, Kiandra was the ‘recognised centre of the sport’ in NSW (Smith 1996:18). However, the construction of a large hotel at nearby Perisher in 1909 diverted popular attention from Kiandra as a skiing venue. By the 1920s the centre of skiing had moved to Perisher and later to Thredbo. However, skiers continued to visit Kiandra and several ski lodges were established, either building new premises or converting existing buildings. But by the 1960s skiing had more or less permanently moved away from Kiandra.

Despite its low fortunes at the end of the nineteenth century a number of public and private buildings were erected in Kiandra during that period. In 1885, the first substantial schoolhouse was built, which replaced the ramshackle building erected in 1868. A substantial basalt courthouse was built in 1890, and additions were made to it in 1903. The courthouse was used as a police station until 1937 and then re-modelled to become a ski chalet in 1943. That chalet was the last commercial business in Kiandra, closing its doors in the early 1970s. The building, with parts of the original courthouse hidden inside it, still stands at Kiandra.
Kiandra was incorporated into the Kosciuszko National Park in 1966. By 1970, a number of the buildings remaining in the town were derelict and unsafe and were either removed or demolished by the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS). George Yan's store was among these. It was removed in 1986 (Feary 1994:36). However, its two stone fireplaces remain as a reminder of better times.

After Kiandra, Nine Mile was the most important diggings in the area and at times it was the leading gold producer. The Nine Mile alluvial deposits were discovered in March 1860 and by April an estimated 800 – 1,000 miners were at work there (SMH 15 March and 10 April 1860). This declined to 400 in September and ground sluicing and tunnelling had begun. A small village sprang up, which had a lockup and guardhouse, six stores, two bakers, three butchers, four public houses and a blacksmith (Moye 1959:27, Andrews 1901:7).

In 1879, only 12 miners were working the Nine Mile and by 1884, hydraulic sluicing had begun, and continued until the mid 1890s. However, at the end of the century there were still only 20 men working there (NSW Department of Mines Annual Reports 1884-1886, 1898-1902). Mining was sporadic from then until early in the twentieth century. There was a new tunnel there in 1921 but returns in the final years came from sluicing. Although it produced very little to 1926, the last year in which returns are recorded from Nine Mile (NSW Department of Mines Annual Reports 1915-1926). Except for the scars of mining, the bush has since reclaimed the area.

In addition to Nine Mile, miners discovered gold at Thredbo Creek, a tributary of the Crackenback River, in November 1860. ‘From authentic and reliable sources, this is really a good gold-field. Through the bush it is about forty miles [south from Kiandra], and sixty for drays’ (AP&KA 23 November 1860). This discovery sparked a minor rush to the area from Kiandra. But by mid-December, although miners were still leaving daily from Kiandra for ‘Crack-em-back’, its future was uncertain. By the end of December, its future was declared to be unfavourable (AP&KA 4, 11, 18 and 28 December 1860).

Nevertheless, the Crackenback Gold Field was proclaimed in June 1861, and a subsequent extension proclaimed in March 1884. There is no other historical record of miners or gold mining in the area until 1896. The lack of such information probably reflects the low yields from the area, its inaccessibility and the limited number of miners who may have worked there.

In 1896, John Jacquet, a government surveyor, reported on the ‘Jinderbayne’ Mining District. That report contains the only reference in the NSW Department of Mines Annual Reports from 1877 until 1900 that mentions the goldfields in the area. At that time he found between 30 and 40 European miners at work on the Bark Huts and Boggy Plains Gold Fields. By then, he noted, ‘all the workings were abandoned’ at nearby fields (NSW Department of Mines Annual Report 1896:133-134).

THE CHINESE

The Chinese first arrived at Kiandra in the middle of winter in 1860. George Preshaw, the Bank of NSW agent at Kiandra, noted in his diary on 4 June 1860 ‘Eighty Chinamen arrived; I was talking to their head man, who told me he expected there would be 20,000 of his countrymen here in less than six months’ (Preshaw 1888:55). During his 14 months there, Preshaw would have seen the Chinese population at Kiandra increase from the original 80 first arrivals to a peak of around 700, or about twenty per cent of the total population of the area, during July and August 1860. Although this figure is well short of the predicted 20,000, it nevertheless represents a significant presence of Chinese people in and around Kiandra during the height of the gold rush.

That diary entry reveals that this vanguard of Chinese was subject to the credit ticket system of employment under the control of a headman. Although this group employment arrangement was well organised and successful for the Chinese at Kiandra, numbers of
individual Chinese also came to the area. These included storekeepers, butchers, bakers, tailors and doctors. These men plied their trades and professions throughout the district from 1860 until 1916. They lived in small groups around the town, and, as elsewhere in Australia, established a number of camps on the field. At different times, they established small camps at ‘Chinaman’s Flat’, Jackass Flat and Pollocks Gully (Gregors 1979:12, Perkins Papers Vol. 3: 684, Tait 1977:83).

However, their main settlement was about one kilometre east of the township, and existed from mid-1860 until around the turn of the century. These men came mainly from the goldfields in northern Victorian, around Omeo and Beechworth, and from the goldfields in southeastern NSW, on the Shoalhaven. Those from NSW made their way to the Snowy Mountains through such places as Braidwood and Cooma.

The first group of Chinese at Kiandra came from Victoria. Within a few weeks of the vanguard, at least 200 Chinese miners arrived from there, and began setting up a camp town, as the following shows,

Two companies of Chinese have arrived [at Kiandra] from the Omeo. About 100 have camped near Mr. Scully’s, and have made him an offer for his house, to convert it into a Joss House. 100 more are preparing a Chinese town, as from 500 to 600 are to arrive from Victoria this week. Some of these men carried upwards of 100lbs (BOMA 27 June 1860).

In his description of the town at the end of June 1860, the Kiandra correspondent of SMH noted the location of the Chinese settlement,

The Chinese Camp is a little to the east of the township, pretty comfortably sheltered under the brow of a small rising piece of ground. The Commissioner has requested them to remove under the shelter of another hill-side, a small distance to the right, which a number of them have done, and thereby opened another settlement apart from all Europeans. There are supposed to be some three or four hundred Chinamen here (SMH 30 June 1860).

In early July 1860, a further 200 arrived from Beechworth, and there were reports of several hundreds more on the way. This new influx drew a number of complaints from the European diggers. In order to avoid any conflict between the Europeans and Chinese in the town, the resident Gold Commissioner found it necessary to move the two Chinese camps that had already formed, apparently too near the township, to a more distant location. On 9 July 1860, SMH reported,

... to-day long files of them [Chinese] were seen bending under huge packages, wending their way towards the allocated ground, about half-a-mile down the river. This will, it is hoped, effectually (sic) separate them from the Europeans, whose jealousy or distaste of John Chinaman is often carried to unnecessary lengths.

Mid-July saw Chinese miners starting to arrive from the Shoalhaven and about 100 passed through Cooma during that time on their way towards Kiandra (Perkins Papers Vol. 3:619). There were at least 700 Chinese miners at Kiandra by then located in a camp to themselves with their interpreter continuing to say that many hundreds more were expected daily. However, 700 proved to be the highest number of Chinese that was ever at Kiandra at one time.

Although there were newspaper reports of numbers of ‘Celestials’ passing through Braidwood on their way to Kiandra in August 1860, by the end of that month the rush was starting to fade and they began to disperse. Some returned to Beechworth, The Adelong Mining Journal noted on 31 August 1860 that a large band of Chinese ‘about 100 men passed through Adelong, en route to Beechworth’. While others went to the recently discovered gold field at Burranong, or Lambing Flat, about 300 km north of Kiandra, at Young in NSW (Carrington 1959:146).

By the end of December 1860, together with the Europeans, most had left Kiandra in search of their fortunes or to ply their trades at other fields in NSW and Victoria.
Fuelled by riots at Lambing Flat, the anti-Chinese sentiment spilled over into Kiandra in August 1861. As a result, the remaining Chinese were forbidden to camp on or near the township and were required to live and work within the confines of their own camp (Tait 1977:89).

Restrictive legislation in NSW saw the number of Chinese in that colony fall by over 5,500, and similar measures in Victoria saw the number there decline by nearly 7,000 from 1861 to 1871. Kiandra’s Chinese population fell commensurately, declining from around 450 in 1861 to about 150 in 1872. Accounts of Chinese at Kiandra and even of Kiandra itself, during this period are rare, but it appears that the relationship between the Chinese and Europeans stabilised.

This period saw a great number returning to China, leaving behind their dreams of striking it rich in Australia. Those who remained continued to work patiently on goldfields as miners and in and around country towns as gardeners and at other trades. Those who remained at Kiandra continued to eke out a living re-working old ground, and little is heard of them until the 1870s.

In early 1872, a special correspondent for The Town and Country Journal undertook a tour of the south that ranged from Cooma to Kiandra. His report of 2 March 1872 noted, in part, Mr. Horsburgh then accompanied me to the Chinese quarters, where active preparations were being made for celebrating the Chinese new year. Large supplies were being laid in of groceries. The bakers and butchers were also busy, as were also the Chinese tailors, making flags for their Joss Houses. The loud ‘yabbering’ at two of the houses induced me to enter, and I found them to be gambling-houses. The Chinese did not seem to be the least disturbed by my entrance, but proceeded with the play. The game was by peculiar cards, long narrow strips of paper, about four inches and three quarters of an inch wide. The excitement was fearfully intense. I have seen nothing like it among Europeans. The money passed was in Chinese coin, but I believe they often play for English money. The rooms were crowded to suffocation. At the end of the game their pent-up feelings find vent in a storm of noise that a word would hardly be possible to be understood, I should think even in their own language.

It was the nucleus of these remaining men from the Chinese camp who moved into buildings located on the southern outskirts of the Kiandra in the latter part of the nineteenth century. From there a few became prominent businessmen in the Kiandra community, such as Tom Ah Yan. In 1882, he bought an allotment there that contained a number of weatherboard buildings, including a store.

The years following saw gold production at Kiandra continue to drop and, by the end of the 1880s the Chinese remaining at the camp about one kilometre east of the town began to abandon it, and in 1891, it contained only nine men.

The Chinese Question is solving itself in this district [of Kiandra]. They have extracted all the gold out of the ground which had been opened, prospected, and left by Europeans, and the number working in the neighbourhood shows a very noticeable falling off during the last two or three years, which is amply confirmed by the fact that the Chinese storekeeper in their wretched and tumble down camp is gradually selling off his stock with the intention of returning to his native land (Sydney Mail 3 March 1888).

By 1895, Tom Ah Yan and George Ah Chee were operating stores in buildings on the southern outskirts of the town,

The town is composed of a short straggling narrow street or road with a few dilapidated buildings huddled together and chiefly inhabited by Chinamen. A bottle of milk and bread from a Chinese baker was obtained and after a few snow yarns were told for our benefit, we pushed on (Balbour 1895 in Gregors 1979:23).

In 1902, George Ah Chee sold his store to Harry Ping Kee, a carrier from Tumut. Harry raised his family in Kiandra while working at his store in conjunction with Tom Ah Yan for a number of years until 1916. He moved to Tumut sometime after 1916.
Those stores and the other buildings on allotments on the southern fringe of the town formed the social and economic centre for the remaining Chinese at Kiandra until 1916. Bill Hughes, a long time Kiandra resident, recalled that Ping Kee’s store was the town residence of the Nine Mile men. These were Chinese miners who worked at the gold diggings at Nine Mile Creek who would walk in for a holiday or supplies (Hueneke 1987:53).

The date of 1916 is significant as it was then that both of those stores were destroyed by fire (Cooma Express 19 May 1916).

Tom Yan stayed in Kiandra with his family and continued to live and work there until his death in 1925, aged 80. He was buried in the Church of England section of the Kiandra Cemetery but the location of the grave is unknown. He was the last of the native-born Chinese at Kiandra.

The only reference to a ‘garden’ in the vicinity of Kiandra is known through a photograph taken around 1890, which depicts Chinese in traditional dress (Figure 5.1.1). The location of the photograph is unknown.

As for the rest of the Snowy Mountains, there are only two references to Chinese at Nine Mile and none for them being at Crackenback, Thredbo, Little Boggy Plain or any other gold diggings in the area.

For Nine Mile, there is a reference in 1879, which noted two large Chinese parties were doing very well (NSW Department of Mines Annual Report 1881:71), and Bill Hughes later recalled,

In addition to the Kiandra Chinese, a party lived in a multi-roomed house on the Nine Mile Creek around 1910 or even later. Ah Young, Ah War and Charcoal were some of their names. They were well-liked, knowledgeable people and when they eventually passed on, the house was taken over by Sancho Smith. He probably bought it for a few pounds from the Government Administrator of their estates. The Kiandra Police handled this kind of thing.

Smith did not bother to look after or to shift much of the building or its contents. He just took out the gear, which appealed to him. Like the old Ping Kee store in Kiandra (which, incidentally, was the town residence of the Nine Mile men when they walked in for a holiday or supplies) it was crammed with antiques, a double- and single-barrelled muzzle-loading gun, sundry powder horns and shot flasks, beaten brass ladles and papers inscribed with Chinese characters. Amongst the books
was a copy of Homer's *Iliad* translated by Pope, wine stained and of venerable age (Hughes in Hueneke 1987:55).

In summary, historical and oral records show that at the height of their occupation there were 700 Chinese, and possibly many more, in the Snowy Mountains region. That region appears to stretch from around Thredbo to the south of Kiandra, to ‘Chinaman’s Flat’, several miles to the north of the town. In addition, it encompassed sections of Eucumbene Rivers and its tributaries, including Pollocks and Tabletop Creeks.

Archaeology suggests the Chinese established a single ‘centre’ in the region, at Kiandra, approximately one kilometre east of the main township. It further suggests that Kiandra was the central hub for a network of smaller Chinese occupation sites, which stretched along the banks of the Eucumbene and other rivers and gold bearing creeks in the region. While vestiges of some of this system remain in the archaeological record, others have succumbed to subsequent mining activity or occupation.

Table 5.1.1 lists the status of the known Chinese sites in the region and Figure 5.1.2 gives a map of Kiandra and environs showing the locations of Chinese occupation sites in the region.

The remainder of this section provides brief descriptions of the excavations and surveys undertaken within this system at Kiandra, Nungar Creek, Eucumbene Crossing, Nine Mile Diggings and Little Boggy Plain to the southeast of Thredbo (highlighted in Table 5.1.1), and discussion of the results of that fieldwork. Details of the excavations and surveys, and artefact catalogues are in the Appendices.

Table 5.1.1: Status of known nineteenth-century Chinese sites in the Snowy Mountains Region.

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<th>No. in Location</th>
<th>Figure Known</th>
<th>Archaeological Evidence</th>
<th>Comments</th>
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</thead>
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<td><strong>Kiandra</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement and mining remains.</td>
</tr>
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<td>2. Nungar Creek*</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Eucumbene Crossing*</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement and mining remains.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Pollocks Gully</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mining remains.</td>
</tr>
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<td>5. Sawyers Hill*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement remains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Jackass Flat</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost due to subsequent mining activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Three Mile Diggings</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost due to subsequent mining activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ‘Chinaman’s Flat’ (Six Mile Diggings)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Remains lost due to subsequent mining activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Nine Mile Diggings*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement and mining remains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Little Boggy Plain*</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Settlement.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

* Locations at which surveys and/or excavations were undertaken.
Figure 5.1.2: Map of Kiandra and Snowy Mountains area showing Chinese occupation sites (with known historical dates).
5.2 THE KIANDRA SYSTEM

The area designated as the Kiandra system centres on the Chinese settlement that was located one kilometre east of the now non-existent nineteenth-century European village of Kiandra, approximately 80 km northwest of Cooma and 90 km southeast of Tumut. The system appears to have once encompassed camps in the immediate vicinity of Kiandra at Nungar Creek, Eucumbene Crossing, Pollocks Gully and Jackass Flat, areas further afield at Three Mile, Six Mile ('Chinaman’s Flat') and Nine Mile, and at its southern extremity, Little Boggy Plain, southeast of Thredbo, some 60 kms south of Kiandra.

This broad area contained the payable nineteenth-century alluvial goldfields in the Snowy Mountains.

The archaeological evidence suggests Kiandra was the major settlement in the area, from 1860 to the early twentieth century, and the other locations in the mountains were smaller, less permanent camps.

Following wide-ranging fieldwork in the area, which included the various locations of Three and Six Mile diggings, and sections of Thredbo River, to mention just a few, the remaining archaeological evidence for a Kiandra system was found around the town of Kiandra itself, at Nine Mile diggings and at Little Boggy Plain, south of Thredbo. This evidence is outlined below.

KIANDRA AND ENVIRONS

THE MAIN SETTLEMENT

The main Chinese settlement at Kiandra is on a spur overlooking and immediately to the west of the Eucumbene River (Figure 5.2.1). It is on a low, treeless spur overlooking the Eucumbene River and the confluence of Pollocks Creek and the river. As with the rest of the Kiandra valley, it is a sub-alpine landscape with relatively barren terrain covered with short alpine grass and occasional areas of thicker tussocks. The spur is dominated at its northwestern end by a large basalt outcrop, and smaller ones occur along its crest. The spur itself is heavily eroded in places, as are the banks of the Eucumbene River to its east. A survey of the spur revealed the remains of a network of watercourses, roads, tracks, terraces, possible hut platforms, stone foundations for small structures, pits and evidence of alluvial mining and dredging. Figures 5.2.2 and 5.2.3 give general views of the area Figure 5.2.4 gives a plan of the site.

The primary water channels are located to the south of the site where the hill rises at the southeastern end of the spur. They continue through the main occupation area on the northeastern side of the spur to a swampy depression on the northwestern side. In addition, there is a number of smaller drainage channels located throughout the main occupation area on the northern and northeastern slopes. There is evidence of the remains of a road entering the site from the southeast that culminates on the southern crest of the spur. A number of possible small tracks are also evident throughout the occupation areas on the northeastern and northwestern sides of the spur.

Surveys and excavations were conducted between 1996 and 1998 at the Chinese village, leading to the publication of a report: The Chinese of Kiandra, New South Wales (Smith 1997); and a Masters’ Thesis: Cold Hard Cash: A study of Chinese ethnicity in archaeology at Kiandra, New South Wales (Smith 1998). The results of those investigations prompted further research questions and additional field work in 2001 and 2003 in order to resolve some of them. The following combines the evidence from all previous investigations.
Figure 5.2.1: Map of Kiandra showing Chinese occupation sites (with known historical dates).
Figure 5.2.2: Photograph of the main settlement site (circled) (facing west) showing Kiandra in background and the Eucumbene River in foreground.

Figure 5.2.3: Photograph of the main settlement site (circled) (facing west) showing Kiandra in background and the Eucumbene River in foreground.
Figure 5.2.4: Map and contour plan of Chinese village, Kiandra, NSW.
From the remains of the stone foundations and platforms on the spur it was determined there were probably at least 72 dwelling locations, as well as a temple and an oven in the main area of settlement. The dwelling locations comprised 67 possible platforms/huts and five archaeologically proven huts. The majority (52) of the huts and possible huts is located on earthen terraces on the northeastern side of the spur, overlooking the Eucumbene River. Several pits were interspersed among these remains and on the downslope perimeters of the spur, particularly on the northwestern side.

There is also considerable evidence of alluvial and dredge mining at the site. A number of the pits along the lower edges of the spur, at the borders of the settlement area, show evidence of mining test pitting, and at the northwestern extremity of the spur there are the remains of paddocking with vertically stacked tailing mounds. Dredging along the northeastern side of the spur has significantly eroded the natural slope of the spur, destroying a number of huts and substantially altering others. It has also created additional water channels in the river and left large tailing mounds along the river flats in that area.

Other cultural features at the site include a group of postholes at the southeastern, upslope end of the spur that were probably the foundation remains of a small structure, lines of fallen ring lock fencing wire along the southwestern side of the spur, and a number of possible wells, test and waste disposal pits, including a large depression to the southeast of the main settlement area that contained the remains of a significant number of animal bones. There are also fragments of thousands of artefacts scattered across the site.

In total, 13 areas were excavated. These excavations included six huts, a temple, an ancillary temple structure, an oven, a well, the animal bone pit, and two trenches in the main occupation area. Several other features were recorded during the survey of the site. A surface collection was undertaken at each of the sites before excavation commenced.

In total, 34,895 artefacts were recovered from the site. The number of surface artefacts was 16,202 and 18,693 were found during excavation. This total includes 7,342 (3,061 from the surface and 4,281 from excavations) recovered during fieldwork conducted between 1996 and 1998 (Smith 1998:262-285). This high artefact density can be attributed to the longevity of the site and, except for mining activity and erosion, its relatively undisturbed nature. The majority of artefacts was fragmentary and were found from the surface to the basal layer of all excavated areas.

**The Temple and Ancillary Building**

This area comprised two levelled areas, an upper and lower terrace, at the northern end of the settlement.

Investigation of the upper terrace indicated it had been levelled by spreading fill across the area. Stone was placed along parts of the edge of the terrace to help retain the fill material and it is likely that a natural break of slope between the upper and lower terraces was also reinforced or improved by placing stone along the slope, thereby stabilising the slope and reinforcing the upper terrace. Infill for the upper terrace was likely to have been taken from parts of the lower terrace area. The dimensions of the upper terrace are approximately 8 x 5 m.

The nature of the fill, which consisted almost entirely of fine rather than coarse material, further supports the need to have rocks or stones along the boundaries of the area for reinforcement. Part of the fill in the lower, deeper contexts contained fine brick fragments and a higher density of artefacts than those closer to the surface. The use of such material is consistent with the contention that the upper strata of the lower terrace were used as fill for the upper terrace, leading to fine brick fragments and richer artefact levels being buried deeper on the upper terrace as successive loads were spread across the area. Although the dispersal of artefacts through successive stratigraphic layers of the upper terrace made identification of an occupation...
signature difficult, it further supports the suggestion that the area was levelled with imported material.

Four postholes in the upper terrace suggest a small rectangular-shaped building, measuring 3.6 x 1.8 m, possibly of weatherboard construction, with a raised and suspended floor once stood on the site. Each was dug to hold a post approximately 10 cm in diameter and was placed 45-60 cm in the ground. Stone fillers were used to stabilise each post. Unlike other structures in the main area of the settlement, the postholes indicate the building was levelled using posts rather than through the construction of a level surface alone. The building is different from other structures in the camp, implying that its purpose and function were different from the norm. Again unlike other structures in the camp, the building had no hearth, which indicates that it may not have been built for human habitation. Figure 5.2.5 gives a cross section of two of the four postholes in the upper terrace and shows the fine grained friable soil in the upper layer of the stratigraphy.

![Figure 5.2.5: Cross section of two western most postholes in upper terrace (facing northwest).](image)

In addition, the surface collection from the upper terrace produced few artefacts (25) whereas collections from other areas of the village yielded relatively large numbers (15,396). Although this indicates the structure may have been the site of different activity than the main occupation area of the camp, the artefacts recovered from it consisted of fragments of everyday domestic related ceramics, and metal and miscellaneous items. No glass was recovered from the surface of the site.

It is suggested that such a building with its raised floor, which may have assisted in protection from damp and possibly vermin, was used as a small storage area. Figure 5.2.6 gives a photograph of the site.
Figure 5.2.6: Photograph of upper terrace during excavation with range poles indicating location of postholes (facing west).

The lower terrace is separated from the upper terrace by an embankment approximately 70 cm high. Although a relatively flat surface, this area is more heavily eroded than the upper level and, as a consequence, contained a number of small ephemeral depressions. It is a cleared area that measures approximately 12 x 8 m.

As a result of turf removal, a number of these erosion depressions were no longer visible. However, some other small depressions remained reasonably clear and were thought to be the remains of postholes. Following investigation of these depressions it was posited that they might indeed have been shallow postholes, particularly in the northeastern and northwestern corners. Using a number of these depressions this terrace was pegged out suggesting the possible location of a large rectangular weatherboard building measuring approximately 5.1 m on its short axis and 8.75 m on its long axis (Figure 5.2.7). This possible structure lies almost parallel to both the embankment and the smaller structure on the upper terrace. Figure 5.2.8 gives a plan of the site for both the upper and lower terraces.

Figure 5.2.7: Photograph of lower terrace during excavation with range poles indicating location of structure (facing north). Excavation is shown continuing in upper terrace (centre right).
The construction and nature of the building on the lower terrace is also different from other structures in the settlement, implying that its purpose and function were also different from the norm. Again unlike other structures, the building had no hearth, indicating that it may not have been built for human habitation.

As with the upper terrace, the surface artefact collection from the lower terrace also produced relatively few artefacts (171) compared to collections from other areas of the village (15,250). This indicates the lower terrace may also have been an area of different activity than
the main occupation area of the village, probably a large public space rather than a small private one. Similar to the upper terrace, the artefacts consisted of fragments of everyday domestic related Chinese and European ceramics, glassware, and metal and miscellaneous items with no unusual artefacts to indicate other than low-level domestic activity.

The lack of significant numbers of surface artefacts on both the upper and lower terraces also indicates they might have been cleared of other dwellings, and their associated artefacts, when both platforms were constructed and the embankment was built, probably in preparation for accommodating the two weatherboard buildings. The limited number of fragmentary surface artefacts remaining at both sites also may be the result of that clearance rather than being related to the buildings themselves. As Grimwade (2003b:53–56) notes in relation to the Chinese temple at Croydon in North Queensland, there was ‘a surprisingly low density of artefacts present in close proximity to the temple’, and ‘as a temple site, it is not surprising that so little domestic refuse was found’.

From the evidence, it is suggested that there was a rectangular-shaped weatherboard building on timber posts with an earth floor, at the northeastern end of the Chinese village at Kiandra from around the 1860s until the late nineteenth century. The building was the site of low-level domestic activity, orientated northeast and the location can be interpreted as having good fengshui. The possible layout of the building identified at the site is similar to the plan of the simplest form of a Chinese temple, a ‘one-house’ form and it is probable that the remains of the structure analysed through this investigation are those of a Chinese temple.

**The Oven**

A rocky mound located to the south of the upper and lower terraces and north of the majority of individual dwellings in the settlement was identified as a possible oven (Figure 5.2.9).

Excavation revealed a large number of rocks of varying sizes that appeared to have come from a collapsed structure as well as a few *in situ* structural features. Many of the rocks removed during excavation had artefacts beneath them, indicating that they had fallen into a space containing artefactual materials. The structural evidence clearly suggested that this was of human fabrication. Excavation also revealed two large stones at the base of the structure, adjacent to each other and located on their sides, which were set in the ground. These had formed part of the base foundations of the structure. Unlike other structures in the village in its shape, size and orientation, this was identified as a possible communal oven, hearth or fireplace in the main settlement area on the northeastern side of the spur.

![Figure 5.2.9: View of the oven during excavation (facing north).](image-url)
A number of artefacts recovered during excavation from within the structure may be the result of discard over time. The majority of terracotta shards were found in this area, which may indicate it was a preferred communal recreational area where opium pipe bowls may have been discarded after breakage. The presence of a large number of nails found during excavation may have resulted from burning of other structural timbers from the camp as occupation declined, reinforcing the suggestion the structure may have been an oven, hearth or fireplace.

In addition, an archaeometallurgical study by Myles (2004:86-87) of two metal artefacts from the structure, a hook obtained from a sulky and a length of bar, showed that both had been re-forged, further strengthening support for its use as a fireplace.

Table 5.2.1 gives a comparison of the characteristics of the structures on the upper and lower terraces, and the oven.

Table 5.2.1: Summary of characteristics of structures on the upper and lower terraces and the oven at Kiandra.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Structure on Upper Terrace</th>
<th>Temple on Lower Terrace</th>
<th>Oven</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base/wall</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shape</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>Circular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall width (m)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry width (m)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length (m)</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>8.75</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width (m)</td>
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<td>5.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal area (m²)</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>44.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built into slope</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible entry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearth/Fireplace</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bearing</td>
<td>NW/SE</td>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx. distance from nearest structure (m)</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artefacts (No.)</td>
<td>(Surface)</td>
<td>(Surface)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramics</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
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<td>16</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>2,252</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dwellings

The site contains a number of natural terraces, particularly on the northeastern and to a lesser extent on the southeastern sides of the spur, which in some places have been dug into to create a protective back wall and a raised flat, square or rectangular platform for use as a base for structures. Elsewhere on these terraces earth appears to have been simply levelled to form a flat platform.

Such hut platforms and structures are predominantly rectangular in plan and face downhill. Their internal dimensions identify them as probably having been constructed by ethnic Chinese miners. The orientation of the platforms and structures show a clear preference for a north-facing dwelling. However, although some of the smaller platforms may not have been dwelling sites and, similarly, a few of the very large platforms may have served as centres for communal activity, it is clear that the majority of the platforms and structures fall within the range of sizes identified as being hut sites for nineteenth-century Chinese miners. Figure 5.2.10 and 5.2.11 show examples of the dwellings excavated in the main village area and Table 5.2.2 gives the characteristics of all dwellings excavated at the site.

Figure 5.2.10: View of excavation of dwelling No. 3 (facing west).

Figure 5.2.11: View of excavation of dwelling No. 8 showing entrance (facing northeast) (Smith 1998:71).
Table 5.2.2: Summary of characteristics of dwellings excavated at Kiandra.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Construction</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base/wall</td>
<td>Random</td>
<td>Random</td>
<td>Random</td>
<td>Random</td>
<td>Random</td>
<td>Random</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rubble/</td>
<td>Rubble/</td>
<td>Rubble</td>
<td>Rubble/</td>
<td>Rubble/</td>
<td>Rubble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tent structure</td>
<td>Tent structure</td>
<td>Tent structure</td>
<td>Tent structure</td>
<td>Tent structure</td>
<td>Tent structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floor</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
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<td>Tamped earth</td>
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<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>6.5</td>
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<td>10.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built into slope</td>
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<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
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<tr>
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<td>NE</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>NE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearth/Fireplace</td>
<td>Inside NE corner</td>
<td>Inside NE corner</td>
<td>Inside NE corner</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Inside NE corner</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Orientation</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction</td>
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<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>NE</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>NE</td>
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<td>NE</td>
</tr>
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<td>Adjoining</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>from nearest</td>
<td>structure (m)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Artefacts (No.)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramics</td>
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<td>72</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
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<td>1,100</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
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<td>259</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,493</td>
<td>1,788</td>
<td>1,446</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>606</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The size and construction of the platforms and stone structures suggest a temporal sequence of site occupation. The smaller, more ephemeral, platforms, which predominantly occur on the northwestern side, may have been for temporary tent structures that were erected at the time of initial occupation. Whereas, the larger platforms with stone foundations or stone outlines, which predominate on the northeastern side, may have been built or re-built later as the numbers of site occupants decreased and the camp became more established.

When combined, the above features show the majority of the dwellings are relatively small, probably housing from one to three people each, rectangular in shape, face downhill (probably for satisfactory drainage purposes), face towards water (either the Eucumbene River or Pollocks Creek, or in some cases both), and were constructed to gain maximum light and warmth from either the morning or afternoon sun. In addition, it is suggested that the majority of the more permanent structures were located on the eastern side of the spur to gain the greatest...
protective advantage against the predominant westerly winds in the area. Some of these common features further suggest that the more permanent dwellings, and possibly some of the temporary dwellings, may have been sited to accord with the principles of *fengshui*.

The microtopography of the main settlement area on the northeastern side of the slope showed there was a locational pattern of huts at the site, where structures were situated at breaks of slope and nestled into contours in preference to open and flat terrain. This produced a haphazard arrangement, with huts being 2-3 m apart, resulting in a relatively densely populated area. A detailed examination of the surface features in that area confirmed there were two occupational phases, the latter phase resulting in the abandonment of the upper terrace in preference for the lower terrace. There was further evidence of characteristics associated with Chinese cultural traditions in that main settlement area with the principles of *fengshui* being used to not only locate the site but also to orientate the huts.

The remains of dwellings in the main settlement area were found to be indicative of relatively small Chinese miners’ huts constructed of random rubble stone footing and walls with an earth bond, light timber frames and roofing probably consisting of some impermanent material, such as calico and/or galvanized iron or the remains of large metal containers.

In addition to these remains, another larger stone structure almost in the centre of the settlement on the northeastern side of the spur was identified as a possible headman’s dwelling and/or a store. For safety reasons, this structure was not excavated. The remains of this feature formed a rectangular shape built into a hillside (Figure 5.2.12). The approximate dimensions are 3.5 x 2.75 m, giving an internal area of 9.6 m², with an average wall width of 0.7 to 1 m. The feature faced towards the Eucumbene River in an easterly direction. As with other dwellings, there was no evidence of worked stone or stone bonding material in the structure but the larger stones in the structure were similarly sized. The interior floor of the hut appeared to be tamped earth and gravel. A large flat stone could be seen embedded into the earth on the eastern side of the structure, and may have functioned as a doorstep or entrance platform. The remains of a large padlock were found on the surface in the vicinity of the probable entrance of the structure, indicating it may have had a substantial timber door, further reinforcing the contention that it may have been a possible headman’s dwelling and/or a store.

![Figure 5.2.12: View of the Central Feature (facing west).](image)

The overall numbers and distribution of artefacts in the main settlement area confirm the location of the structures identified through the surveys of the site. These aspects also show some locations (for example, Trench 1 and the Well) may have been temporary occupation areas, or areas of discard, and that there was a butchery waste discard pit to the south of the
village, which had probably been intentionally sited there for reasons of hygiene.

Ceramic artefacts found at the site are all utilitarian wares, consisting mainly of Chinese stoneware (brownware) jars and pots for food and liquid storage, and, to a lesser extent, European earthenware tableware. The manufacture and usage dates of these artefacts indicate the site was probably occupied from the mid to late nineteenth century and that the occupants of the site were probably ethnically Chinese who maintained traditional dietary patterns of rice and vegetables with the addition of more meat than was customary, and they used cheap, available storage and tableware ceramics to preserve and consume their food and drink. Similarly, the glass artefacts from the site consist of common, inexpensive, utilitarian glass containers, such as alcohol bottles, and, to a lesser extent, clear glass carbonated water, salad oil, sauce, and vinegar bottles. Their manufacture dates also confirm an occupation date from 1860 to 1900.

Food containers recovered are conservatively dated from 1820 to the present. However, a significant proportion of artefacts is identified as being produced during the middle of the nineteenth century. The presence of earlier can types support an initial occupation date of 1860 and the presence of later can types suggest that it continued until around 1900. Dry foods and tinned sardines were included in the diet, which suggest some divergence from the traditional diet. The presence of a Chinese-styled cooking bowl (wok) and European camp ovens support this proposition. As food containers were found in association with all huts as well as the oven, it is thought that the camp’s occupants adopted new dietary practices over time.

The recovery of parts of opium cans from all structural features in the main settlement showed a well-established use of opium across the site, further supporting the proposition that it was a Chinese-occupied camp. As opium was only imported and distributed from China, the presence of opium can artefacts supports the proposition that an independent economic network operated within Australia to supply both the material and social needs of the expatriate community. Such a network created a device that worked to maintain the social boundaries of an autonomous community that only gradually assimilated, probably through necessity, into the dominant European cultural group at Kiandra.

The sizes of the majority of recovered nails further confirm the construction of light framed structures, either for dwellings or possibly for mining activities. However, the presence of clouts and the historical records of shingles being brought into the area, together with known climatic conditions, suggest the initial roofing material may have been calico covered by shingles, which were later replaced by sheets of galvanized iron or the remains of large metal containers. The availability and common use dates of the nails imply that the main construction period occurred between 1860 and about 1890, with very little occurring after that time.

Myles’ (2004:90-91) study of other, modified metal artefacts from the site revealed the presence of a blacksmith or at least men who were capable of attempting reforge using heat treatment for repairing a plate from a piece of machinery. From her study, she concluded that the majority of such artefacts collected from the site mostly reflected structural, domestic and alluvial mining equipment.

The majority of clothing, footwear and personal items found at the site was inexpensive, machine-made European miners’ work wear, such as European style buckles from men’s belts and braces, and buttons from men’s shirts, trousers and underwear. These identify the site as a singularly male domain. The manufacture date of those artefacts also confirms the occupation period.

Faunal remains show meat consumption played an important role in the foodways of the occupants, and that beef and pork were the major meats consumed, in similar quantities. Neither appears to be of prime quality, and although the quality of beef consumed was reasonably good there was a tendency towards lower quality, less expensive pork. The majority of cut marks on bones indicate European butchery practices but there are also indications of an ethnic Chinese presence at the site through evidence of cleaver marks on some bones and the recovery of a Chinese meat cleaver from the site. This evidence suggests a degree of assimilation by the
Chinese at the site but secondary butchering practices show that they persisted in their traditional food preparation methods. The miscellaneous artefacts indicate it was once primarily an area of domestic activity and, to a lesser extent, light industrial activity, probably mining.

In addition to the above artefacts, part of a quern has been reported from the surface of the village sometime before archaeological investigation of the site began in 1996 (Collins 2003 pers. comm.). It had been removed before those investigations began.

In summary, the primary findings of investigations at the main Chinese village at Kiandra show it to be a typical community centre, which extended at least 150 m in a north/south direction and 100 m in an east/west direction on either side of a spur at the confluence of the Eucumbene River and Pollocks Creek. It comprises: at least 72 small, tent-like huts that may have accommodated from between 150 to 300 people or more (although a greater number of people may have occupied the site in the mid to late nineteenth century and a lesser number towards the end of the nineteenth/early twentieth century); a weatherboard temple; a small weatherboard ancillary structure; a large oven; a network of watercourses, roads and tracks; terraces; wells; and waste disposal pits; as well as mining test pits and nearby remnants of typical Chinese mining practices.

**Nungar Creek**

This site is located about 500 m north of the Chinese village on a low, treeless spur overlooking the Eucumbene River to the west. At an altitude of approximately 1363 m, it is relatively barren terrain covered with short alpine grass and occasional areas of thicker tussocks. It also overlooks a swampy area to its immediate north, which contains the remains of alluvial workings, including vertical packing of tailings, and dredging. The spur itself is heavily eroded in places, as are the banks of the Eucumbene River to its west. Figure 5.2.13 gives a general view of the area and Figure 5.2.14 gives a plan of the site.

![Figure 5.2.13: View of Nungar Creek Chinese camp site (facing west)](image)

A survey of the site revealed three small hut structures. They are rectangular in shape and predominantly face downhill in a northerly direction. Their internal dimensions range in size from 8.25 to 10.5 m², with an average of 9.2 m² (Table 5.2.3). This identifies them as probably having been constructed by ethnic Chinese miners.

The dwellings are relatively small, probably housing from one to three people each, and face towards water (either the Eucumbene River or the swampy area immediately to the north of the site). They were constructed to gain maximum light and warmth from the morning sun. Some of these common features further suggest that they may have been sited to accord with the principles of fengshui.
Figure 5.2.14: Sketch plan showing remains of small Chinese camp at Nungar Creek.

Table 5.2.3: Summary of characteristics of structures at Nungar Creek.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Hut 1</th>
<th>Hut 2</th>
<th>Hut 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Construction</strong></td>
<td><strong>Base/wall</strong></td>
<td><strong>Random rubble</strong></td>
<td><strong>Random rubble</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Floor</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tamped earth</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tamped earth</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tamped earth</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shape</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rectangular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rectangular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rectangular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dimensions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall width (m)</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry width (m)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length (m)</td>
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<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width (m)</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal area (m²)</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>8.25</td>
<td>8.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built into slope</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible entry</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>NW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearth/ Fireplace</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Orientation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Direction</strong></td>
<td><strong>Down hill</strong></td>
<td><strong>Down hill</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bearing</strong></td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>NW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx. distance from nearest structure (m)</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The artefacts observed at the site include fragments of Chinese stonewares and opium cans, European ‘black’ glass bottle bases, nails, part of a clay tobacco pipe stem and part of the sole of a shoe. They indicate an occupation period from around the 1860s to the late 1870s and are therefore contemporary with the nearby Chinese village. The nails observed at the site were Ewbanks, which were in popular use in Australia from around 1837 to the 1860s. The ‘Black’ Glass bottle bases have metal-capped wooden cone pontil marks, indicating they were made from about 1820 to 1870.

In addition to the typically Chinese characteristics of the layout of the small camp and hut construction, there are two types of artefacts that indicate ethnic Chinese occupied the site. These are pieces of Chinese brownware ceramics and the remains of an opium can. There is no artefactual evidence to indicate the gender of the occupants.

**Eucumbene Crossing**

The remains of two small Chinese camps are located approximately 1.75 km east of Kiandra, and 1.3 km and 1.4 km, respectively, southeast of the Chinese village, on the northern side of the Snowy Mountains Highway. The camps are about 250 m northwest and 200 m west, respectively, of the Eucumbene River Bridge on the Snowy Mountains Highway. The more northerly of the two camps — camp A, identified as huts 1 and 2 in Figure 5.2.15, is approximately 225 m from the southern camp - B, shown as huts 3-5 in Figure 5.2.15.

![Figure 5.2.15: Plan showing remains of Chinese huts at Eucumbene Crossing.](image)

Both sites are on the mid slopes of a treeless hill overlooking the Eucumbene River to the east. As with the rest of the Kiandra valley, it is a sub-alpine landscape and is relatively barren terrain covered with short alpine grass with occasional areas of thicker tussocks. The area
between the basal slopes of the hill and the River has been heavily eroded through both alluvial and dredge mining activity.

The northernmost site, comprising the remains of the scattered rock bases of two possible huts, is on a flat area on the edge of a steeply eroded gravel and earth slope. It overlooks abandoned gold diggings immediately to the east and downslope of the huts. There is a disused water race some 10-15 m north of the huts, which drains into the abandoned workings below the site. Hut 1 is a rectangular-shaped feature measuring approximately 2.5 x 4.5 m. It consists of a small mound of rocks at its southeastern end with a line of rocks at its northwestern end. Hut 2, located about 2 m south of Hut 1, is less distinct. It comprises only a small mound of rocks, and its boundaries and size could not be determined. There was a surface scatter of artefacts within and surrounding the huts, as well as immediately downslope from them.

Surface artefacts include a range of Chinese ceramics, both celadon and brownwares, parts of green, 'black' and clear coloured bottle glass, Ewbanks nails, animal bones (*Bos taurus*), and large and small fragments of flattened tin.

The southern site consists of the remains of three possible hut sites on the western edge of a heavily worked area. Parts of the site appear to have been re-worked after the huts were abandoned. The most eastern of which (Hut 3) is a mound of rocks about 2 m square, bisected by a water race, although its structural boundaries and size could not be determined. The remains of the northern hut (Hut 4), which was about 10 m north of Hut 3, is a rectangular-shaped feature measuring approximately 2.25 x 5 m. It comprises a small mound of rocks at its southern end with a line of rocks at its northern end. The third possible hut (Hut 5) is an earthen platform immediately adjacent to the east wall of Hut 4. Its rectangular-shaped platform appears to measure about 2.5 x 5 m.

Surface artefacts also comprise a range of Chinese ceramics, including celadon, brownwares and a fragment of a terracotta opium pipe bowl, parts of green and clear coloured bottle glass, Ewbanks nails, animal bones (*Bos taurus*), large and small fragments of tin, and a small metal (cast iron) hook.

A general view of the area is shown in Figure 5.2.16, and Table 5.2.4 gives a summary of the main structural characteristics of the huts.

![Figure 5.2.16: General view of area. Taken from Camp A (Huts 1 and 2) facing south towards Camp B (Huts 3, 4 and 5) and the Snowy Mountains Highway, with the Eucumbene River in the centre left.](image-url)
Table 5.2.4: Summary of main structural characteristics of huts at Eucumbene Crossing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Hut 1</th>
<th>Hut 2</th>
<th>Hut 3</th>
<th>Hut 4</th>
<th>Hut 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Construction</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base/wall</td>
<td>Random rubble</td>
<td>Random rubble</td>
<td>Random rubble</td>
<td>Random rubble</td>
<td>Random rubble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floor</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shape</strong></td>
<td>Rect.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Rect.</td>
<td>Rect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dimensions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall width (m)</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry width (m)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length (m)</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width (m)</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal area (m²)</td>
<td>11.25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11.25</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built into slope</td>
<td>Freestanding</td>
<td>Freestanding</td>
<td>Freestanding</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Freestanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible entry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearth/Fireplace</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Orientation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bearing</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx. distance from nearest structure (m)</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the structures are located in close association with heavily worked areas of alluvial and/or dredge mining. Both areas also exhibit significant mining and natural erosion, which may have destroyed other huts in those areas. In addition, in the case of Hut 3, which was bisected by a water race, it was apparent that further alluvial mining activity was undertaken after the hut was abandoned.

Three of the hut structures are rectangular in shape, all face across the hill and the majority have a southeasterly orientation. Where it was able to be determined, their internal dimensions range in size from 10.0 to 11.25 m², with an average of 10.8 m², a result that identifies them as probably having been constructed by ethnic Chinese miners.

These features show the dwellings were relatively small, probably housing from one to three people each, rectangular in shape, facing both across the hill and towards water thereby suggesting that they may have been sited to accord with the principles of *fengshui*.

The siting, in close association with alluvial mining, and layout indicate that both were small miners’ working camps.

A ‘black’ glass bottle base found at Hut 1 has a metal-capped wooden cone pontil mark, indicating it was made between 1820 and 1870. A green glass ‘champagne’ bottle base was manufactured between around 1840 and 1870, and a clear glass bottle base was made between about 1845 and 1870. The nails are ‘Ewbanks’, which were in popular use in Australia from around 1837 to the 1860s. Taken together, the artefacts indicate an occupation period from around the 1860s to the 1870s suggesting that both small camps were contemporary with the nearby Chinese village and were probably settled from it.
SAWYERS HILL

The remains of a camp is located approximately 2 km southeast of Kiandra, and 2.5 km southeast of the Chinese village, on the southern side of the Snowy Mountains Highway. The camp is about 450 m south of the Eucumbene River Bridge on the Snowy Mountains Highway, and 100 m west of the Eucumbene River at the base of Sawyers Hill (Figure 5.2.17).

There is only one historical reference to the site being a Chinese camp. On 9 October 1860, J. Reed advertised in the AP&KA newspaper that he, ‘will sell by auction at the Australian Auction Mart, Broadway, Kiandra, to-morrow at 2 o’clock a substantial built store containing 8 rooms situated near the Sawyers Hill and the Chinese Camp’. The site is on a terraced area on the basal slope of a treeless hill overlooking the Eucumbene River to the southeast. It is enclosed on three sides by small hills and is open where it faces towards the river. It measures approximately 30 m north/south and 20 m east/west and comprises the remains of a large rectilinear structure and at least 10 almost indistinguishable small earth platforms. The former is located at the south of the site, measures about 3.5 x 6.8 m, has 20 cm high stone foundations on its southern, western and northern sides, and a probable chimney base and entrance at its east. The latter measure from about 2 x 3 m to 2 x 4 m and are in a haphazard manner across the terraced area. There is evidence of a water race and alluvial mine workings immediately to the south of the site, and the area closest to the river has been heavily eroded through dredge mining (Figure 5.2.18).

There is a small surface scatter of artefacts within and surrounding the platforms at the centre of the site, as well as immediately downslope from them. They include fragments of Chinese brownwares, parts of ‘black’ and green coloured bottle glass, a fragment of a terracotta opium pipe bowl, Ewbanks nails, parts of cans, including opium cans, and large and small fragments of flattened tin.
Figure 5.2.18: Plan showing remains of Chinese camp at Sawyers Hill.

From the structural and artefactual evidence it appears that the area consisted of an original ephemeral settlement with a later larger rectilinear structure being built over the southern part of it sometime after its abandonment. The dimensions and characteristics of the small earth platforms, their layout in relation to each other and their associated artefacts suggest they were of Chinese origin. The siting, in close association with alluvial mining, indicates that it was miners’ working camp, which may have accommodated around 20 people at its height. In addition, the location of the original settlement with its good *fengshui* aspect also indicates it was occupied by Chinese. Whereas the dimension, characteristics and location of the larger rectangular structure infer it was built sometime later by Europeans.

A ‘black’ glass bottle base found at the site has a metal-capped wooden cone pontil mark, indicating it was made between 1820 and 1870, a green glass ‘champagne’ bottle neck was manufactured between around 1840 and 1870, and the ‘Ewbank’ nails were in popular use in Australia from around 1837 to the 1860s. Taken together, the artefacts indicate an occupation period from around the 1860s to the 1870s suggesting that the camp was contemporary with the nearby Chinese village. However, the ephemeral nature of the site suggests that it may have been a very early settlement, close to 1860, and the occupants may have moved or been moved to the larger village some 2.5 km to the northwest.
CHINESE IN THE TOWNSHIP

Tom Ah Yan was the first recorded Chinese person to buy land in the town precinct of Kiandra. He purchased Allotment No. 3 in Town Section 14 on the southern outskirts of the town in 1882. In 1895, George Ah Chee purchased the adjacent lot, subsequently selling it to Henry Ping Kee in 1902. From the late nineteenth century, the stores and residences located on these adjoining allotments replaced the Chinese village as the centre of social life for the remaining Chinese at Kiandra until 1916 (Figure 5.2.19). In May of that year a fire started in one of the stores/residences and, probably due to the closeness of the buildings, quickly spread to engulf the entire group that comprised the Chinese quarters. Despite this, Tom Ah Yan and a few other Chinese men continued to live and work in and around Kiandra for some years afterwards. Tom, the last native-born Chinese man to live at Kiandra, died there in 1925.

Figure 5.2.19: Kiandra Town Section 14 around 1903. The complex of buildings in the foreground (enclosed) is the Chinese quarters (Plumb Collection, NLA).

The remaining surface features at the site have created some speculation as to the exact location of the various buildings within the notified boundaries of the allotments of Town Section 14. A detailed archaeological examination undertaken in 1996 (Smith 1998:198-207) showed that there is no doubt that buildings, most probably combined stores/residences and sheds, once existed in that area of the town. Although few obvious features remain on the site today, close inspection has revealed that there are a number of areas that record past human habitation.

The most easily recognisable remains include two wells, three chimney mounds, two of which are next to each other, a rubbish dumping area, a dilapidated boundary fence and evidence of a number of footings and/or platforms for buildings. Although the site is heavily eroded, a surface collection of artefacts undertaken in early 1996 also yielded evidence of significant building activity over time. Soil analysis was also able to provide evidence of the decomposition of building material, such as mortar, and possible evidence of a fire on the site (Heffernan and Smith 1996:99). Figure 5.2.20 gives a sketch plan of the area and shows the probable locations of the buildings on the site around 1903.

A total of 1,062 ceramic shards, were recovered from the surface collection and excavations at the site. Of these, 620 artefacts are identified as being Chinese in origin. Overall, ceramic analysis suggests a low level of occupation by Europeans but a high level of Chinese occupation from the late nineteenth century until the early 1900s, and the probable abandonment of the southern part of Town Section 14 after that time.
Results of analysis of the diagnostic glass artefacts indicate it was occupied from the mid-nineteenth century until about 1920, and that part of the Town Section appears to have been used as a dump until around early 1960. Some of the glass artefacts are fused, indicating that a fire had occurred in the area. From the analysis of glass artefacts, there is no evidence of occupation beyond about 1920. The miscellaneous artefacts and remains of ceramics add to the probability of domestic activity, with possibly some trading in small goods, occurring at the site.

Overall, the evidence indicates that a number of tightly clustered buildings, primarily of timber construction with galvanized roofs, glass windows and brick or stone chimneys, were on Town Section 14 over a period from the mid to late 1800s to the early twentieth century. It also shows that a fire had destroyed a number of the buildings on the southern part of the Town Section after which the site was abandoned. The results of artefact analysis also indicate that there was a high level of occupation of the site by Chinese and a low level of European occupation.

Figure 5.2.20: Sketch plan of Kiandra Town Section 14 showing probable location of buildings (Trueangel 1996:29).
Although an ethnic Chinese presence at Town Section 14 can be confidently identified from the remains of the ceramic food containers and tableware recovered from the site, the same cannot be inferred from the attributes of location, architecture or construction found at the site.

Locational indicators of Chinese ethnicity at the site are elusive. The location of the buildings, close to Pollocks Creek, suggests some practical placement in relation to permanent water, as does the evidence of a number of wells on the site. Their location on the outskirts of the central urban precinct hints at marginalisation but this may have arisen through availability of land or buildings rather than as a result of intentional or forced selection. The apparent clustering of the buildings on the site may be indicative of a close-knit community, but again this may also have been a consequence of availability of land rather than through intent. Finally, as a number of the buildings faced the main street, they had a western orientation. From this, and the site topography, it is not possible to infer an ethnic Chinese presence on the basis of any symbolic nature of the site, in other words, the site and the orientation of the buildings do not display attributes of fengshui.

If conclusions were to be drawn about the ethnicity of the site that only relied on the archaeological evidence of construction and contemporary photographs, then it could be inferred that the site was typically European. Initially, that is for the 1860s and into the 1870s, this inference is correct. Land title records and newspaper accounts show that Europeans originally owned the land and buildings on Town Section 14. It was not until the 1870s or 1880s that Chinese began to acquire the land and buildings on the site. The movement of the Chinese into European-built stores/residences in the town accounts for the lack of evidence of any distinctive Chinese architectural characteristics or construction methods at the site.

Nevertheless, the evidence indicates that Chinese people once occupied part of Town Section 14 at Kiandra. Those occupants of the store/residence complex on the outskirts of the central precinct of Kiandra can be identified as ethnic Chinese with some confidence based on a significant, but diminished, presence of Chinese ceramic artefacts found at the site.

Given the number and size of Chinese occupied structures on the site and knowing that Ping Kee’s store was the town residence of the Chinese from Nine Mile (Hueneke 1987:53), it is probable that the complex also contained a boarding house/dormitory, a gambling den and a temple in addition to the stores.

**THE CHINESE CEMETERY**

The Chinese cemetery at Kiandra is adjacent to the northern boundary of the general town cemetery and is predominantly outside it. It lies approximately 1 km southeast of Kiandra and 1 km south of the Chinese village. It is situated on the down slope side of a northwest-facing hill overlooking Permanent or Cemetery Creek.

Although the location of the Kiandra Town Cemetery, which was gazetted on 6 May 1864, is clearly visible through the remains of a number of extant European headstones, gravesites and timber boundary posts, the whereabouts of the Chinese cemetery was unknown until located in 2002, when a preliminary survey was undertaken.

A further, more detailed survey of the Chinese cemetery was undertaken in 2003. The information from that survey resulted in a site plan, shown at Figure 5.2.21. Photographs of some of the gravesites are shown in Figures 5.2.22 to 5.2.24, and Table 5.2.5 gives details of the graves.

Twenty empty graves were surveyed at the cemetery. They were arranged in a single row and all were orientated downhill with a preference for a northeast-facing direction towards Cemetery Creek. For those graves where the dimensions could be determined, the measurements (length x breadth x width) of the largest gravesite were 3.4 x 1.15 x 0.3 m and the smallest were 1.7 x 1.1 x 0.25 m, with average measurements of 2.4 x 1.2 x 0.26 m. The remains of four stone grave markers with rounded tops were observed in association with four of the graves.
Figure 5.2.21: Plan of Chinese graves at Kiandra Cemetery.
Figure 5.2.22: Views of Chinese Grave No. 1.

Figure 5.2.23: Top - Graves 6 and 7 and dislocated grave marker (February 2003).

Figure 5.2.24: Graves 14 (left) and 15 (right) (January 2002).
### Table 5.2.5: Details of Chinese graves at Kiandra Cemetery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave No.</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Approx. Dimensions (length x width x depth) (m)</th>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Approx. angle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.3 x 0.9 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>312°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.7 x 1.1 x 0.25</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>317°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.9 x 0.7 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>311°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>1.9 x 0.9 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>320°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.2 x 1.05 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>328°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.3 x 1.0 x 0.25</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>309°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.3 x 1.0 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>315°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>326°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>326°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>326°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>326°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>3.0 x 2.2 x 0.4</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>335°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>3.0 x 2.2 x 0.4</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>335°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>3.4 x 1.15 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>323°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>3.05 x 1.4 x 0.3</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>333°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>325°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>2.0 x 1.1 x 0.2</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>328°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>335°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>327°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Faces downhill towards the northwest</td>
<td>323°</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The site overlooks Cemetery Creek, has a large hill on its southeastern, rear side and the land slopes upwards on both its southwestern and northeastern sides, forming a 'horseshoe' shape around the cemetery. Therefore, it can be said to have good fengshui. The location and layout of the cemetery, the orientation of the graves and evidence of exhumation are indications of traditional Chinese burial customs, including the practice of fengshui.

Historical records suggest the site was used for Chinese burials from at least 1865, when Ah Yung was buried at Kiandra on 31 December, until at least 1916, when Ah Yen was buried at Kiandra on 16 August. The surface artefacts indicate it was used during the late nineteenth century.

In addition to the typically Chinese characteristics of the cemetery layout, there are three types of artefact that indicate ethnic Chinese once used the site. These are two pieces of Chinese celadon rice bowls, part of the neck of a ng ka py brown ceramic Chinese alcohol bottle and part of the base of a brown Chinese ceramic jar.

Another artefact, an inscribed timber grave marker, which is currently held by the Seahorse Inn Museum, Ben Boyd National Park, on the southeast coast of NSW, reportedly came from the Chinese cemetery at Kiandra (Figure 5.2.25).
This timber marker once identified the gravesite of 
Mr. Yan Fang, who was born in southern Canton, 
China, and died in Australia in 1900.

It is reported to have been originally located in or near 
the Kiandra cemetery, in the Snowy Mountains of 
southern N.S.W.

( Possibly the grave marker of Mr. Gin Pan, who is 
recorded as having died at Kiandra on 10 August 
1899, aged 44, and was buried at Kiandra on 21 
August 1899).

It is currently housed in the Seahorse Inn Museum, 
Ben Boyd National Park, southeast coast, NSW.

( Dimensions: 1 m high, 27 cm wide, 2.5 cm thick. )

Figure 5.2.25: Timber grave marker possibly from the Chinese cemetery at Kiandra 
(inscriptions have been enhanced by the author).

NINE MILE DIGGINGS

The Chinese settlement at Nine Mile Diggings, located at the heads of Nine Mile Creek and 
Scotch Gully, is situated in a heavily wooded area in the middle of an area of alluvial workings 
and of water races. The area contains at least five possible huts and a small stone oven.

The only historical record of Chinese residing in the area comes from Bill Hughes, who 
was born at the Nine Mile Diggings in 1903. He noted, ‘... a party [of Chinese] lived in a multi­ 
roomed house on the Nine Mile Creek around 1910 or even later. Ah Young, Ah War and Charcoal were some of their names’ (Hueneke, 1987:55). However, the construction of the huts 
and their location suggest that Chinese miners were present some time before the early twentieth 
century.

A survey of these remains was undertaken and a plan of the site was drawn (Figure 
5.2.26). Photographs of one of the huts and the oven are shown in Figures 5.2.27 and 5.2.28, 
and Table 5.2.6 gives the main structural characteristics of the structures at that location.

Surface artefacts are a shovelhead, a pick head, a horseshoe and a number of nineteenth/ 
early twentieth century bottles. However, no artefacts were observed in direct association with 
any of the huts or the oven.

All of the hut structures are rectangular in shape and predominantly face across the flat 
area of the site. Their internal dimensions range in size from 8.25 to 11.25 m², with an average 
of 9.15 m², which identifies them as probably having been constructed by ethnic Chinese 
miners. Their orientation, as determined by their long axes, showed a preference for an easterly­ 
facing dwelling. The structure identified as a communal oven, is located at a distance of about 
7.5 m from the dwellings, and is a freestanding, circular, random rubble stone structure of less 
than one metre in diameter. It is about 200 cm high but originally may have been higher and 
appears to have a large opening at the top and a smaller opening at its south.

The above features show the dwellings were relatively small, rectangular in shape, 
predominantly facing across the hill and towards water. This small settlement exhibits no 
‘concept of street’ with huts being built in relatively haphazard patterns.

The artefacts indicate an occupation period probably from the late nineteenth to the 
early twentieth century and therefore an occupation may have been contemporary with the 
Chinese village at Kiandra, some 14 km to the north.
Figure 5.2.26: Sketch plan showing remains of Chinese camp at Nine Mile, Kiandra.

Figure 5.2.27: View of Hut 3 at Nine Mile settlement (facing east).
Figure 5.2.28: View of the oven at Nine Mile settlement (facing north).

Table 5.2.6: Summary of main structural characteristics of huts and the oven at Nine Mile.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Oven</th>
<th>Hut 1</th>
<th>Hut 2</th>
<th>Hut 3</th>
<th>Hut 4</th>
<th>Hut 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Construction</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floor</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dimensions</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall width (m)</td>
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<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry width (m)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3.0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2.75</td>
<td>2.5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal area (m$^2$)</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>8.75</td>
<td>8.25</td>
<td>11.25</td>
<td>8.75</td>
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<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible entry</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearth/Fireplace</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Orientation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bearing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx. distance from nearest structure (m)</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3 LITTLE BOGGY PLAIN, THREDBO

The discovery of gold at Kiandra in 1859 and later at Crackenback in 1860 gave an impetus to coach travel to the Snowy Mountains and was one reason for the growth of a village at Jindabyne, where a hotel and store was built in 1861 by Charles Solomon, one of Cooma’s earliest businessmen. Jindabyne grew with the discovery of gold and in 1866 was described as a ‘small postal hamlet on the Snowy River’. William Wallace, who later took up considerable land there in 1867, then a boy of 15, carried the mail between the gold diggings at Kiandra and Crackenback on horseback for a fee of 6d for a paper, and 1/- for a letter (Cooma-Monaro Express Supplement, 21 April 1967:1-3).

Not long after, the Delegate district to the southeast of Jindabyne was also gazetted as a gold field in 1866. Gold had been found to the east and west of Little Plains River before 1860 but enterprise was slow and the only people interested seemed to be some Chinese fossickers who worked in the river valleys. In 1883 the Delegate Gold Field was extended north but due to small returns it was not until 1897 that the Delegate Division appeared separately from the Bombala Division in the NSW Department of Mines Annual Reports. Gold continued to be important to Delegate and most of the gold found along the border and into Victoria came into that town. The drought of 1902 interrupted work and there was little activity until 1907, when interest revived until 1909. By 1915 operations had ceased except for fossicking in the river valleys (The Delegate Public School Centenary Committee 1971:14).

Although there is no historical documentation that places Chinese at Little Boggy Plain, those records indicate that they had a presence at both of the two nearest major gold fields, Bombala (encompassing both Delegate and Little Plains River) approximately 60 km to the southeast, and Kiandra about the same distance to the north, during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Manaro Mercury of 7 August 1875 describes the town of Delegate as ‘a Chinese stronghold’ and there are a number of passing references in the NSW Department of Mines Annual Reports relating to Chinese in the Bombala/Delegate area from 1879 to 1899.

However, unlike Kiandra, field investigations at Delegate and the surrounding district have produced no archaeological evidence of nineteenth-century Chinese occupation in the area. Whether this is due to less intensive mining activity in the district or the loss of sites through subsequent mining or agricultural activity is unknown.

Nevertheless, on balance it is considered that the Chinese occupation site identified through this study at Little Boggy Plain, approximately 10 km southeast of Thredbo and near to the original Crackenback diggings of 1860, forms part of an extended ‘Kiandra system’ rather than being associated with the Delegate diggings to the southeast.

This contention appears to be substantiated by an 1896 ‘Report on the Jinderbayne District’ by John Jaquet, a government geological surveyor, of the various small gold diggings in the Thredbo area. Although it does not refer to the Chinese, it is the only reference in the NSW Department of Mines Annual Reports from 1877 until 1900 that mentions Boggy Plains Gold Fields and aligns that field with the Thredbo diggings, which in turn are associated with the Kiandra Gold Fields. That report states, in part,

... Piper’s Creek Diggings are situated high up on the Snowy Mountains, about 11 miles in a direct line from Mount Kosciusko. The gold occurs in drift deposits consisting of black loam with subangular pebbles of granite and quartz. It is found in patches and not defined ‘runs’. At the time of my inspection there were only two men mining upon the field, and I have reason to believe that they were making fair wages. ...

From Piper’s Creek I proceeded via Kosciusko and the Crackenback River to the Thredbo Diggings. ... Thredbo Diggings are situated upon the Crackenback River, about 12 miles from Jinderbayne in a westerly direction. They consist of a wide alluvial flat which is covered with drift material to a depth of from 6 to 20 feet. The gold occurs in patches. At one time the field supported a number of miners, but there are now only one or two fossickers upon it.
Bark Huts and Boggy Plains Gold-fields are situated upon a granite formation near the head of the Mowambah River. Here I found between thirty and forty miners at work making from 10s. to £1 per week. The deposits closely resemble those which I have described occurring at Piper's Creek. The gold is found in patches. It is for the most part rough and would not appear to have travelled very far. One nugget over half an ounce in weight has been obtained (NSW Department of Mines Annual Report 1896:133-134).

The Chinese occupation site at Little Boggy Plain is located approximately 15 km southeast of Thredbo overlooking the confluence of Little Boggy and Rendezvous Creeks. The site measures approximately 25 m square on a river terrace in an area of sub-alpine/sclerophyll woodland/forest. It has a reasonably dense cover of natural vegetation, mainly alpine grasses and some basket grass (*Lomandra longifolia*), eucalyptus trees (primarily *E. paucifora*, *E. rubida* and some *E. stellulata*) and tea trees, with a relatively thick cover of leaf litter and fallen trees/branches on the ground. The terrace is located at the downslope, northern end of a spur, which rises to a height of 1600 m at its peak. The terrace on which the site is located is a relatively flat area encompassed to the northwest, southwest and southeast by moderately steep slopes. The northeastern edge of the terrace slopes steeply to the valley floor through which Little Boggy Creek flows in a northerly direction to join Rendezvous Creek to the north.

Initial inspection showed the site to consist of at least eight small stone arrangements. Three of these consist of mounds of stones while the remainder have only single stones or a single course of stones on the surface. The structures are relatively closely clustered and do not appear to have a pattern to their layout in relation to each other.

Figure 5.3.1 provides general views of the site, Figure 5.3.2 gives a plan of the area and Figure 5.3.3 gives a plan of the site showing the locations of huts and main features.

![View of the site facing southwest (uphill).](image1)

![View facing northeast (downhill) towards Little Boggy and Rendezvous Creeks.](image2)

Figure 5.3.1: Views of the site at Little Boggy Plain.

Seven of the eight structures at the site were excavated. These were six huts (Nos. 1 to 6) and the oven. A surface collection was undertaken at each of the sites before excavation.

A total of 406 artefacts was recovered from the site. Seven artefacts were found on the surface and 399 artefacts were recovered through excavation. They comprise four shards of ceramic, all of which are Chinese in origin, 116 glass fragments, 128 pieces of metal, including nails, and 158 miscellaneous artefacts, including the remains of an opium can.

The surface finds consist of five pieces of glass, one piece of tin and part of a bone. All were located in and around the remains of structures. The concentration of artefacts for excavations in huts 1, 2 and 6 was in the hearth areas, while none were recovered through
excavation in huts 3, 4 or 5 or the oven. None were found in the vicinity of the unexcavated hut 7.

This site has all the characteristics of a small, and probably temporary, nineteenth-century Chinese mining settlement, including the remains of stone foundations for six small huts and an oven, and an area for probably one or more tent structures. There is also evidence of a significant amount of mining activity along Little Boggy Creek, in the valley immediately to the north and northeast of the site. This observation is supported by the results of surface surveys and excavations at the site.

Figure 5.3.2: Map of Little Boggy Plain showing Chinese occupation site.
Of the six dwellings, all were constructed of random rubble or have some form of stone footings, all are rectangular in shape, the average internal area for the huts was 8.67 m², all are freestanding, all except one (Hut 2) face downhill in a north-easterly direction, three have internal hearths and none have chimneys. When combined these attributes are characteristic of a nineteenth-century ethnic Chinese miners' camp.

In addition to the clearly defined structures, there is a relatively flat area approximately 4.5 m southwest of Hut 1 and 3 m southeast of Hut 3 that could have contained one or more temporary dwellings similar to Huts 3 to 6. Although no artefacts were observed on the surface of that area, following a detailed examination it was considered that at least one temporary dwelling (Hut 7) may have been located there.

The features of the majority of the dwellings show they are relatively small, rectangular in shape, face downhill and towards water, and were constructed to gain maximum light and warmth from the sun. It is suggested that the more permanent structures were located on the

*Kiandra and the Snowy Mountains*
down slope northern side of the spur to gain the greatest protective advantage against the winds in the area. The location of the site as a whole and some of the common features of the dwellings further suggest both the site and the dwellings may have been selected and orientated to accord with the principles of *fengshui*.

**THE OVEN**

The structure is of random rubble construction comprising large stones that in some cases appear to have been specifically selected for their shape, and packed with earth. There is a large, almost circular opening at the top of the structure enclosed by large stones, and a smaller opening at the base on its northeastern side supported by a stone lintel. The dimensions of the structure are: height – external - North 65 cm, South 39 cm, East 60 cm, West 41 cm; internal - North 60 cm, South 90 cm, East 64 cm, West 84 cm (it should be noted that these measurements represent the minimum heights as the structure may originally have been higher); average external diameter 1.8 m; average internal diameter 85.5 cm; and the smaller opening at the base is 20 cm high and 35 cm wide.

The structure is built into the slope and earth was mounded at the back (southwestern side). At the bottom of the inside of the structure there are a number of stones that had fallen from its top and sides together with an amount of earth that had also fallen from the sides. There is a partial stone paved floor on the inside northeastern side of the structure that continues through the opening at the base, which is supported by a stone lintel. The remainder of the interior floor has an earth base. Two artefacts, both pieces of a clear glass bottle, were found on the surface of this site but none were recovered during excavation.

Figure 5.3.4 gives a photograph of the oven and Table 5.2.1 gives a comparison of the major characteristics of the seven excavated structures – six huts and the oven.

![Figure 5.3.4: View of oven before excavation (facing south).](image)

The settlement is sited on a natural terrace, with a hill behind it and smaller hills on either side at the confluence of two creeks, a good *fengshui* location. There is no ‘concept of street’ with huts being built in a relatively haphazard pattern.

The artefacts that provide evidence for an occupation period include the remains of glass bottles, nails, cans, and buttons. From the glass bottle remains it is reasonable to assume that the site was first occupied around mid-1870. From the nails it can be inferred that building activity at the site occurred before the late 1880s/early 1890s. Therefore, the probable
Occupation period is from around mid-1870 to mid-1880. In addition, evidence provided from the remainder of the diagnostic artefacts appears to support this proposition.

Although a 10-15 year period would be considered far from temporary, evidence from the structures indicates that the majority of the dwellings (Huts 3 to 7+) were only ephemeral tent-like structures, the foundations of which may have been removed to provide material for the two larger and probably more permanent structures (Huts 1 and 2). At its peak, probably around 1875-1880, the site may have accommodated about 20 people – a sufficient number to warrant construction of a substantial communal oven – but by 1880-1885 there may have been only about half as many, or less, miners occupying it.

In addition to the typically Chinese characteristics of the layout and location of the camp and hut and oven construction there are two types of artefacts, Chinese ceramics and the remains of an opium can, that indicate ethnic Chinese once occupied the site. Both of the buttons and the brass stud recovered through excavation came from men’s apparel.

Table 5.3.1 Summary of characteristics of excavated structures at Little Boggy Plain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Oven</th>
<th>Hut 1</th>
<th>Hut 2</th>
<th>Hut 3</th>
<th>Hut 4</th>
<th>Hut 5</th>
<th>Hut 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base/wall</td>
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<td>Partial stone</td>
<td>Partial stone</td>
<td>Partial stone</td>
<td>Partial stone</td>
<td>Partial stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floor</td>
<td>Earth/Stone</td>
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<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
<td>Tamped earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>0.8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
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<td>2.0</td>
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<td>8.4</td>
<td>9.9</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built into slope</td>
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<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
<td>Free standing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>NE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>NE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearth/Fireplace</td>
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<td>Inside</td>
<td>Inside</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Inside</td>
<td>Inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Orientation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Across hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
<td>Down hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bearing</td>
<td>East</td>
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<td>SE</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>North</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
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<td>0</td>
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</tr>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>241</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Based on the previously identified set of basic but traditional settlement principles the preceding three chapters have allowed a detailed examination and better understanding of the communal activities and the types, locations and individual elements of nine major nineteenth-century Chinese community systems within the three broad regions across southeastern NSW of Braidwood and the South Coast, Tumut, and Kiandra and the Snowy Mountains.

The following chapter compares the settlements within each of these systems and regions and determines the connections between them. The results of those comparisons are then applied to other nineteenth-century Chinese settlements elsewhere in Australia and overseas.

~ o0o ~
6. COMMUNITIES AND CONNECTIONS

Archaeological remains and, in some cases, historical and oral information have identified nine major nineteenth-century Chinese community systems, each apparently with its own central place and smaller satellite settlements, within three broad regions across southeastern NSW. These individual systems present a social, economic and settlement macro-system, parallel to that of the European, that is founded on particular Chinese economic networks as well as cultural requirements and obligations imposed by both their desire to remain separate in work and settlement and by Australian governmental imperatives placed on their migration, employment and presence in NSW. By comparing each of these systems the challenges are now to unearth a pattern, both within and across those communities and to draw lines of connection between them.

Through analyses of settlement elements, the following exposes their commonalities and differences that serve to distinguish settlement hierarchies and reveals their life cycles. The initial analysis and discussion centres on the settlement elements of the communities within the three broad study regions: Braidwood and the South Coast; Tumut; and Kiandra and the Snowy Mountains. It examines the characteristics of the major community central places and considers the satellite mining settlements associated with them. It also determines co-operative interconnections within and between those systems in southeastern NSW and beyond, towards Bathurst and Sydney, and Beechworth and Melbourne. The results are then tested against data from other nineteenth-century rural Chinese settlement systems elsewhere in Australia and overseas.

6.1 SOUTHEASTERN NSW

The three identified regions within southeastern NSW comprise nine systems of which each has a single central community focus that is larger than its subsidiary settlements and/or contains more ‘community elements’ than its subordinates.

Table 6.1.1 compares the archaeologically and historically identified elements of the community centres and their associated settlements within each region and system examined as part of this study.

This reveals that there are a number of archaeological knowledge lacunae in several of the locations within the systems. Although some of these can be filled by historical records or oral accounts, for others where that evidence is non-existent or as with most locations, lacking, then comparative inferences are required to address deficiencies.

With this in mind, this section compares and discusses the settlement elements of each community centre and, in turn, those of each of their subsidiary settlements. In addition, other settlement components and influences are considered as part of this analysis. These include the practical characteristics of artefact assemblages, the symbolic aspects of the settlement planning and the impact on settlement structures of the changing (diminishing) economic and social circumstances of rural Chinese throughout the district from the mid to late nineteenth century.

Analysis of these attributes and influences also seeks to establish the underlying co-operative nature of such settlements throughout southeastern NSW during the period under investigation, and concomitantly the apparent desire of the Chinese to retain their separateness from their European counterparts in the same vicinity.
### Table 6.1.1: Comparison of identified community elements in regions and systems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region/System/Location</th>
<th>Stores</th>
<th>Temples</th>
<th>Ovens</th>
<th>Cemeteries (graves)</th>
<th>Dwellings</th>
<th>Gardens</th>
<th>Other*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Braidwood &amp; South Coast Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Jembaicumbene System</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jembaicumbene</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1^a</td>
<td>1 (37)</td>
<td>&gt;23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Newtown</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<th>Ovens</th>
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<th>Dwellings</th>
<th>Gardens</th>
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Notes
1. Blue text indicates major community centres of systems within regions.
2. Bold numbers indicate archaeologically identified, other numbers indicate historically known.
3. * Indicates ancillary buildings/storehouses.
4. # Indicates some ovens are larger structures than others.
5. + Kiandra stores – two of the three stores at Kiandra (in the town) were archaeologically identified, and one store (in the Chinese village) is historically known.

Communities and Connections
COMMUNITY HIERARCHY

When combined, analyses of the archaeologically identified community and settlement elements, in association with available historical records reveal a similar pattern of co-operative nineteenth-century Chinese settlement within each system within each region in southeastern NSW.

As suggested by Hodder and Orton (1976:62), this hierarchy of larger central places and smaller secondary settlements is tested by examining relative numbers and types of structures and cultural material at different sites. As predicted under this model, it is evident that sites at higher levels in the hierarchy contain larger numbers and different types of structures and material culture as well as larger populations than found in smaller settlements. They are also larger in area and provide services to the smaller settlements that cannot sustain such functions independently.

Archaeological assessment of the nature of ‘importance’ in such a hierarchy can be based therefore on the array of community functions at a location, simple population size, as measured by number of individual dwellings and/or the areal extent of a site.

The two-tier pattern of nineteenth-century Chinese settlement in rural southeastern NSW comprises:

- a wholly self-contained and self-sufficient major Chinese settlement centre, or village, on a major goldfield, in proximity to but separate from its contemporary European counterpart. It contains the essential practical, social, religious and symbolic elements of a traditional Chinese community that are vital for the maintenance of Chinese identity. These include a store(s) (selling Chinese crockery, foodstuffs and opium paraphernalia), a temple for religious and ancestral devotion as well as serving as a social or community hall, a communal/ceremonial oven, a cemetery, as well as individual vernacular dwellings and garden(s), the location of many of which display attributes of fengshui. These features are the ones that require a large investment that can come only from many people, acting collectively or under a headman, even such things as the use of a quern (as at Kiandra), rituals, feasting and funerals require a critical mass for them to be successful at a community level; and

- an associated number of smaller, satellite, wholly self-contained but far from self-sufficient Chinese settlements, or work camps, also separate from their European counterparts, located on river/creek banks within about a 16 km radius of their parent settlement, with only the rudimentary necessities of community life (individual vernacular dwellings and a communal oven) and dependent on their parent settlement for supplies, social and economic interaction and spiritual needs.

It is necessary first to consider the nature and similarities of the separate elements within the two types of settlement, major centres (villages) and minor settlements (camps).

MAJOR CENTRES (VILLAGES)

This section compares and contrasts the characteristics of each of the nine major settlements of Adelong, Adjungbilly, Jembaicumbene, Kiandra, Mongarlowe, Mudmelong, Nerrigundah, Tumut and Upper Adelong, and considers them to be the main Chinese community centres in their districts. The important characteristic is that they include the major community services required to maintain a separate cultural identity and economy. For various reasons, such as site destruction, erosion, land reuse, re-vegetation, building removal, vandalism or even excavation bias, not all of the settlement elements of stores, gardens, temples, cemeteries, ovens, huts and other structures and features remain or can be identified in each centre.
STORES

Although there were probably more, a total of 19 nineteenth-century Chinese stores have been identified in southeastern NSW, none of which is extant. They were located at Braidwood, Jembaicumbene, Majors Creek, Mongarlowe (two), Nerrigundah (two), Upper Adelong, Middle Adelong, Adelong (three), Tumut (four), and Kiandra (three). Documentary records exist for all of them but there is archaeological evidence for only four, one each at Jembaicumbene and Upper Adelong and two in the township of Kiandra. The rest have been destroyed or relocated, cannot be separately identified in the field and no evidence of their presence remains.

Historical records for some of the stores provide insights into the co-operative nature of the businesses and their role in the subject Chinese settlements. For example, at Kiandra Chinese miners who worked at the gold diggings at Nine Mile Creek walked to the two stores belonging to Tom Yan and George Ah Chee/Harry Ping Kee in the township for a holiday and/or supplies, and Ping Kee’s store was the town residence for those men. Those stores formed the social and economic centre for the remaining Chinese at Kiandra from the late nineteenth century until 1916 (Hueneke 1987:53).

At Middle Adelong, Lee Long grew tobacco at the rear of his store, and dried it in a large open shed. He employed a number of Chinese men for this purpose, and ‘helped his countrymen to come to Australia to work for him’ (Barnes 1986:155-157).

At Mongarlowe, Shong Foon Nom Chong ran a successful store and in 1877 sent for his brother Chee Dock, who was then resident in California and the two men formed a business partnership, which included opening the Oriental Bank, in Braidwood. Chee Dock Nomchong went back to China in 1886 and returned with his wife, Mary (Boo Jung). During the 1890s he moved premises several times, eventually establishing in Braidwood (McGowan 1996a:145).

At Nerrigundah, Paul Kee Chong brought his family to the Gulph diggings from the Ballarat-Bendigo goldfields, probably in the late 1860s or early 1870s, and established a general store at the eastern end of Gulph Street in the town. In 1879 he sent his daughter, Anne, to China as part of a pre-arranged marriage to the middle son of a Canton merchant with whom the Kee Chongs had dealings. Anne (Kee Chong) and Thomas Dion were married in Nerrigundah and took over the family business. However, with the peak days of the gold rush over, the Dions left Nerrigundah for business elsewhere (Burdett 1992:21-24).

At Upper Adelong, Kum Hang Long’s store in the Chinese camp included an opium smoking room and a ‘Joss’. Foo Lee, a subsequent and last owner of that store, had Chinese newspapers sent to him by Chinese friends in Sydney (Barnes 1986:129-133).

These historical morsels indicate such stores played an integral role in continuing millennia old Chinese traditions of kinship and locality ties, stretching from China to the remote areas of rural southeastern Australia in the mid to late nineteenth century. Even with decreasing numbers of Chinese in those areas, these few references also show the importance of Chinese stores as focal points for maintaining cohesive communities in those localities. At the end of the nineteenth century they remained as they began almost five decades before – the headquarters and nuclei of settlements.

As part of this research, surveys and excavations were undertaken at the remains of two of the four stores that were identified through archaeology, at Jembaicumbene and Upper Adelong. With regard to the other two, at Kiandra (in the township), the author participated in the excavation of their remains as part of an ANU archaeological field school in 1996 (Heffernan and Smith 1996, Smith 1998:198-207).

The key common characteristics of the archaeological remains of the stores at Jembaicumbene and Upper Adelong are that both are:

- contemporary (the Jembaicumbene store is known to have operated from at least 1865 to at least 1875, and the Upper Adelong store is known to have existed around 1870/1880);
larger in size than typical Chinese miners’ huts;
- rectangular in shape;
- similarly sized – the Jembaicumbene store measured approximately 6 x 3.8 m, and the one at Upper Adelong was about 6 x 4 m;
- similarly orientated (the orientation of the long axis of the Jembaicumbene store was northwest/southeast and that of the Upper Adelong store was east/west), although this may have been the result of practical necessity rather than by design;
- located at a distance from other structures in those settlements at 15 m and 11 m, respectively, from the nearest domestic structure, unlike the closer clustering of individual dwellings in those settlements;
- located immediately adjacent to a major nineteenth-century roadway within a goldfield;
- probably timber structures, of weatherboard as distinct from the calico tent structures of miners’ huts;
- devoid of large numbers of artefacts. The store at Jembaicumbene contained only 1.6 per cent of the total number of artefacts recovered through excavation and investigations of the remains of the Upper Adelong store did not reveal any surface artefacts. Nevertheless, those at the Jembaicumbene store comprised the full range of domestic artefact types, including ceramics, glass, metal and miscellaneous; and
- located within large, wholly Chinese settlements.

The remains of the two stores differed where structural and artefactual evidence at Jembaicumbene showed it might have had a verandah on its southern side, and glass windows. Although these features were not apparent during the survey of the Upper Adelong site, excavation at that location may or may not have revealed similar attributes.

For the remaining two stores, in the township of Kiandra, although the results of excavation of the site undertaken in 1996 showed the probable locations of the stores operated by Tom Ah Yan and George Ah Chee, structural details were not revealed. Nevertheless, from that information it was apparent the two stores at that site were also located immediately adjacent to a major nineteenth-century roadway and were probably timber structures with galvanised iron roofs (weatherboard as distinct from calico tent structures of miners’ huts).

Unlike the stores at Jembaicumbene and Upper Adelong, the two stores at Kiandra were not located within wholly Chinese settlements but rather formed part of the European settlement in the town before their occupation by Chinese in the 1870s. Those stores were built by Europeans who subsequently sold them to the Chinese following the decline of the gold fields, and the town, at Kiandra. This was also the case for other historically known Chinese stores in the European towns of Adelong, Braidwood, Nerrigundah and Tumut.

Gardens

At least 13 Chinese gardens operated in the study area at Braidwood (two), Jembaicumbene, Majors Creek, Bobs Creek, Araluen (at least one), Nerrigundah (three), Middle Adelong, Tumut (at least one each at Lacmalac and Broken Cart) and in the Kiandra district.

Those at Jembaicumbene, Araluen, Middle Adelong and Kiandra appear to have operated in the 1870s, and those in the Braidwood area and at Bobs Creek, Nerrigundah and Tumut from the 1890s until the early twentieth century. There is no recorded date for the garden at Majors Creek.

Although limited documentation is available for each of these sites and field inspections show that flooding, subsequent mining and other land-use changes have destroyed most of them, McGowan (2005b:3, 2006:34-36) identified the remains of those at Majors Creek and
Mona Station, outside Braidwood. Both are located in association with their respective European towns and not Chinese settlements. They both appear to have been operated by individuals or a small number of individuals and may have operated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries.

From the evidence, it appears that the earliest of these larger gardens at Jembaicumbene and possibly at Araluen and Kiandra served the needs of large Chinese settlements at those localities or were commercial enterprises, such as at Middle Adelong, whereas the later smaller ones at Bobs Creek and Nerrigundah supplied individual Chinese needs. Other later market gardens, such as at Braidwood, Tumut and possibly Majors Creek appear to have operated exclusively to supply a European market once the majority of Chinese had left those areas.

TEMPLES

Of the 30 Chinese temples that are historically recorded for rural NSW, documents show that eight were in southeastern NSW, that is, one each at Adelong, Jembaicumbene, Mongarlowe, Mudmelong, Nerrigundah, Strike-A-Light Flat and Tumut, and a ‘Joss’ inside the Chinese store at Upper Adelong. Although there is a reference in an 1860 newspaper to the prospect of a ninth, at Kiandra, there is no account stating that one actually had been established there. That newspaper reported, in part,

Two companies of Chinese have arrived [at Kiandra] from Omeo. About 100 have camped near Mr. Scully’s, and have made him an offer for his house, to convert it into a Joss House. ... (BOMA 27 June 1860).

Nevertheless, the remains of a temple within the main Chinese settlement at Kiandra have been revealed through excavation.

Of the nine identified in the study area, there is no archaeological trace of three of them, at Adelong (with the possible exception of the decorative metal point from a ceremonial staff mentioned above), Strike-A-Light Flat and Tumut, and for Upper Adelong there was no indication of a temple or ‘Joss’ inside the store there during this investigation. Excavations and surveys were undertaken at the remains of the other five, at Jembaicumbene, Kiandra, Mongarlowe, Mudmelong and Nerrigundah.

There is limited historical evidence for the temple at Jembaicumbene. On 11 February 1861, SMH reported, ‘the opening of a new Joss House’ at that location. This was probably the one referred to by Bonnie O’Brien, who indicated it was located near a stand of poplars on the northern bank of Jembaicumbene Creek (McGowan 1996a:111). It was probably also the one that John Feehan (a former Braidwood resident) noted had been moved to the rear of his father’s house in Braidwood around the turn of the twentieth century.

As mentioned above, there is only one historical reference to the prospect of a temple at Kiandra but no references to a temple having been built there.

Similar to Jembaicumbene, there is only limited historical evidence for the Chinese temple at Mongarlowe, east of Braidwood. The Braidwood Dispatch of 17 January 1919 reported a bushfire that occurred at Mongarlowe earlier that month, which seriously affected the town. The fire came from the Braidwood side of the village, destroying some small houses, huts and the Chinese ‘Joss House’ on the western side of the Mongarlowe River near the bridge (Russell 1994:41). Figure 6.1.1 gives an enlargement from a photograph of Mongarlowe, dated between 1894 and 1919, showing the probable Chinese temple at that location. That building appears to be the simplest form of a Chinese temple, a ‘one-house’ type. In addition, the external decorations evident on the roofline of the building, which are not evident on other buildings in the photograph, are similar to those found on Chinese temples.

The only historical reference to a Chinese temple at Mudmelong is from Thwaites (2001:23) where he states, ‘Opposite Blundell’s stood a Chinese Joss House’. From this imprecise reference, fieldwork confirmed a series of postholes, large enough to support corner posts, forming a rectangular plan on the outskirts of the old Mudmelong township.
Figure 6.1.1: Enlargement from photograph of view of Mongarlowe township, dated between July 1894 (when bridge was opened) and January 1919 (when temple burnt down) showing probable Chinese temple (Photo caption reads: Mongarlowe N.S.W. J. Bland Photo).

For Nerrigundah, the only reference to a Chinese temple is in a local history of the area written by Maureen Burdett. She notes that the Chinese erected a temple on the banks of Gulph Creek at 'Joss House' Crossing, probably in the 1870s. It is located approximately half a kilometre south of the town, along the River Road towards Bodalla. Burdett also notes that when Bo Shin, the last Chinese priest of the diggings, died the temple was bought, dismantled and converted to outhouses on the property known as ‘Tyrone’ at Eurobodalla (Burdett 1992:25-28). Although there are no historical records of its layout or construction material or its exact location, as with Mudmelong, fieldwork confirmed a series of postholes, large enough to support corner posts, forming a rectangular plan at the crossing.

The key common characteristics of the remains of the five Chinese temples at Jembaicumbene, Kiandra, Mongarlowe, Mudmelong and Nerrigundah are that all were:

- contemporary – Jembaicumbene (1859-late nineteenth century), Kiandra (1860s?-late nineteenth century), Mongarlowe (before 1870-early twentieth century), Mudmelong (1860s?-late nineteenth century), and Nerrigundah (1870s to at least 1891);
- established soon after the arrival of Chinese on each of the goldfields and fell into disrepair, were dismantled and removed and/or were destroyed by fire as the Chinese population in each of those settlements diminished;
- larger in size than typical Chinese miners’ huts;
- rectangular in shape;
- similarly sized and proportioned, and exhibited attributes of the plan of the simplest form of a Chinese temple, a ‘one-house’ form – Jembaicumbene 6 x 3.5 m, Kiandra 8.75 x 5.1 m, Mongarlowe 9 x 6 m, Mudmelong 7.9 x 5 m and Nerrigundah 5.95 x 4.25 m;
- similarly orientated with the long axis of each from northeast to southwest;
- probably timber structures made of weatherboard, as distinct from the calico tent structures of miners’ huts, with either timber or earth floors;
• located at a distance from other structures in those settlements unlike the closer clustering of individual dwellings in those settlements;
• located on large, level platform areas (in the case of Jembaicumbene, Kiandra, Mongarlowe and Mudmelong there was evidence of extensive site preparation prior to erection of the temple building, at Nerrigundah it appeared the area was naturally level);
• located in an area a short distance from a river or creek, which flows around or in front of the site, and which overlooks water, where the land sloped upwards behind the structure. In the case of Kiandra, Mongarlowe and Mudmelong it sloped upwards on both sides and behind the structure thereby giving the site good fengshui; and
• located within large, wholly Chinese settlements.

Other similar features of some of the five temple sites investigated are their locations in relation to other structures within their respective settlements and the presence of some unusual types of artefact, which were not in evidence at other structures within the settlements:
• the temple structures at Kiandra, Jembaicumbene and Mongarlowe are all located at the northern end of their respective settlements, and apparently slightly ‘set apart’ from other domestic dwellings in those settlements. As far as could be ascertained, this situation also appeared to be the case at the Mudmelong and Nerrigundah settlements; and
• although the artefacts recovered from the temple sites at Jembaicumbene and Mongarlowe comprise the full range of domestic artefact types, such as ceramics, glass, metal and miscellaneous, they also include part of a ceramic vase, a decorative cut glass artefact and, of course, the remains of the elaborate temple doors at Jembaicumbene and a metal incense holder at Mongarlowe. These particular artefact types were not recovered from any other sites, including stores, ovens, cemeteries, huts or other areas investigated as part of this research. Excavation of the Kiandra temple site also revealed the full range of domestic artefact types, in similar numbers to other areas of the settlement, but no unusual artefact types. No artefacts were recovered from the Mudmelong and Nerrigundah sites where only surveys were undertaken.

In addition, at two of the temple locations, Kiandra and Mudmelong, the remains of separate ancillary buildings are located in close proximity to them. Both are small rectangular-shaped buildings, possibly of weatherboard construction with raised and suspended floors. The construction and nature of the buildings differed from other structures in Chinese settlements implying their purposes and functions were different from the norm. Those buildings may have been erected either as storage areas or perhaps for occupation by temple attendants. Similarly, one of the several rectangular-shaped, structural platforms in close proximity to the Jembaicumbene temple, which were not excavated, may also have been an ancillary temple building.

Overall, the characteristics of each of the five temple sites at widely spread locations across southeastern NSW are strikingly similar and far outweigh their dissimilarities, which may have been a result of excavation and/or survey bias at different locations.
OVENS

Of the 15 Chinese ovens that are known to have existed in rural NSW, two are in the north (at Emmaville and Tingha), three are in the centre (at Stuart Town and Windeyer (two)), and ten in the southeast.

Before this research, there were only written references and known locations for three of those 10 – at Bells Paddock, Jemmaicumbene; at Nerrigundah, on the south coast of NSW; and at Little Boggy Plain, in the Snowy Mountains. The remaining seven ovens were located and investigated during these field investigations. They are at Adjungbilly, Flanagan Point, Jemmaicumbene, Kiandra, Little Bombay (2) and Nine Mile. Of these, four are located within the large, wholly Chinese settlement centres of Adjungbilly, Jemmaicumbene, Kiandra and Nerrigundah. These four are the subject of this section.

The Nerrigundah oven is the only one that is directly mentioned historically. By 1870, the Chinese had established a community centre a short distance south of the township where they erected a temple and a ceremonial oven. The oven was built into the creek bank near the temple. Each New Year a pig would be roasted as an offering. The ceremonial oven is still standing, almost intact, today (Burdett 1992:25-28).

Although there are no historical records for the other three ovens, tantalising clues are sometimes found as to their existence in early newspaper records. For example, in the Jemmaicumbene area, two newspaper accounts state,

CHINESE NEW YEAR – Saturday next will be a season of jollification amongst the Chinese population of New South Wales, as it is the opening of the Chinese New Year ... We believe it is customary for the Chinese to suspend working for a week, and with a view of making every preparation they are investing largely in porkers, and means have been taken for a supply of fowls (BOMA 6 January 1861).

CHINESE FESTIVITIES – On Sunday last the European residents of Jemmaicumbene were somewhat startled by the discharge of Chinese artillery, in the shape of popguns, crackers and miscellaneous fireworks, the occasion being preliminary to the commencement of a series of festivities on Tuesday last, to be continued at intervals of ten days, preparatory to the inauguration of the Chinese New Year. The “bosses” have made extensive purchases in the grown pig, sucker, and poultry line, for this series of feasts, and their agents have been canvassing Braidwood and its neighbourhood for some time making purchases. In one case we heard that a Mongolian traveller was successful in purchasing 19 suckers. A monster porker, which had been roasted whole, and from its tempting appearance is a most creditable specimen of Celestial cookery, was carried past Mr Summers’ store to the Chinese camp on Monday last (BOMA 24 December 1862).

Such rare snippets only serve to discuss some aspects of the ‘strange’ festivals of the Chinese on the early goldfields with no mention ever made as to how and where the animals garnered for the feasts were cooked. However, they do provide invaluable insights into the importance of the community activity associated with the festivals.

The key common characteristics of the four Chinese ovens at the Chinese settlement centres of Adjungbilly, Jemmaicumbene, Kiandra and Nerrigundah are that all were:

- contemporary – Adjungbilly (1860s?), Jemmaicumbene (1859-late nineteenth century), Kiandra (1860s- late nineteenth century) and Nerrigundah (1870s to at least 1891);
- apparently built soon after the arrival of Chinese on each of the goldfields and fell into disrepair and/or were dismantled, or in the case of Kiandra, remodeled as the Chinese population in each of those settlements diminished;
- large random rubble structures comprising large stones that appear to have been specifically selected for their shape, and packed with earth;
- built into and/or supported by an earthen bank;
- circular in shape on a circular-shaped earthen base;
- similarly sized – Adjungbilly (at least 0.75 m high, with an internal diameter of 0.8 m), Jembaicumbene (1.2 m high, with an internal diameter of 0.8 m), Kiandra (at least 1 m high, with an internal diameter of 1.0 m) and Nerrigundah (1.2 m high, with an internal diameter of 0.8 m). In addition, two of the four ovens, at Jembaicumbene and Nerrigundah, had a small opening at their base supported by a stone lintel, the openings measured about 0.2 m high and wide. The state of the other two, at Adjungbilly and Kiandra, was such that no base opening was discernible;
- similarly orientated in relation to the settlement (that is, they all faced downhill with their openings facing towards a river or creek);
- somewhat isolated from individual dwellings and not associated with any particular dwelling; and
- located within large, wholly Chinese settlements.

A few dissimilar features of some of the four ovens are: their locations in relation to other structures within their respective settlements; the types and numbers of artefacts recovered; and a particular construction characteristic of one of them, as follows:
- the ovens at Adjungbilly, Jembaicumbene and Nerrigundah are located at some distance from the nearest structure, being 30, 65 and 6 m, respectively, from other structures in the settlements. Whereas the one at Kiandra is only 1 m from the remains of the nearest structure in that settlement, there is also evidence that it had been reconstructed to form a larger open-faced fireplace, a remodeling that may have occurred as the settlement contracted;
- there were no artefacts recovered from the oven at Adjungbilly, and only one, a large metal hook, was found at the Nerrigundah oven. In contrast the other two had abundant material culture with 566 artefacts recovered at Jembaicumbene and 2,252 at Kiandra
  - the oven at Adjungbilly was in a complete state of disrepair and from its partial remains it appears that the majority of the stones comprising the front of the oven had been removed, probably for use elsewhere, with the result that artefacts may also have been intentionally or unintentionally removed or subsequently through erosion;
  - by contrast, the oven at Nerrigundah appears to be almost in its complete, original state. Except for the metal hook, the area within and around the oven was devoid of artefacts. The absence of artefacts, such as charcoal and small pieces of bone can be attributed to the effects of erosion on the open site and fossicking by visitors. As for the absence of other artefacts, it appears as though the oven had been intentionally cleaned, or kept clean, for its intended purpose of cooking;
  - the 566 artefacts from the oven at Jembaicumbene comprise fragments of charcoal, bone and tin (over 500) and pieces of alcohol bottles and ceramics. The oven appears to have collapsed through erosion and animal disturbance without being ‘cleaned out’ or having been intentionally destroyed or rebuilt;
  - at Kiandra, the re-use of the oven as an open fireplace may be the reason for the large number of artefacts, 2,252. Of these, the large number of metal artefacts, 1,414 including nails and fragments of tin, found in it suggest that the firewood burnt in the open fireplace may have come from timber from disused or derelict structures at the settlement. The majority of the remainder of the artefacts was fragmented, suggesting the fireplace had been used as a disposal area subsequent to its use as a communal oven.
A particular construction characteristic of one of the ovens, at Nerrigundah, which was not found in the other three, is that the stones on the interior of the structure were covered with a layer of clay. The Nerrigundah oven is the most intact of the ovens investigated and appears to have suffered the least from erosion or intentional or unintentional destruction. Given other construction similarities, it is therefore possible that the other three ovens, at Adjungbilly, Jembaicumbene and Kiandra, may also originally have had an internal lining of clay.

Overall, as with the temple sites, the characteristics of each of the four ovens at widely spread locations across southeastern NSW are strikingly similar and far outweigh their dissimilarities, which may have resulted from the differential impact of erosion, disturbance and/or re-construction and re-use at different locations.

**cemeteries**

Eight nineteenth-century Chinese burial grounds are known in southeastern NSW. Six are located at the major Chinese settlement centres of Jembaicumbene, Kiandra, Mongarlowe, Mudmelong, Nerrigundah and Upper Adelong, one is located at a secondary settlement centre, at Middle Adelong, and one is within a European settlement, at Tumut. In addition, a few Chinese are buried alongside other nationalities in the General Cemetery at Braidwood. Other Chinese are buried in isolated graves, such as that of Peter Chow Ling, at Broken Cart, in the Tumut district.

Of the cemeteries located at the six major settlement centres, there were separate, and subsequently, officially gazetted Chinese cemeteries at Mongarlowe and Upper Adelong, and separate, ‘unofficial’ ones at Jembaicumbene, Kiandra, Mudmelong and Nerrigundah. At Kiandra, originally Chinese were buried in a portion of the same general area as Europeans but when a cemetery was officially gazetted at that location most of their graves fell outside its boundaries, where they continued to be buried in a separate enclosure. At Middle Adelong and Tumut, Chinese were buried in a Chinese section of a general cemetery.

There are no historical records for the Chinese cemeteries at Mongarlowe or Mudmelong but there are some such references to the cemeteries at Jembaicumbene, Nerrigundah and Upper Adelong, and there is a list of some of those Chinese buried at Kiandra and Upper Adelong.

A report from the *Braidwood Dispatch* written by ‘An Old Hand’ in 1907 describing the Braidwood Goldfields of southeastern NSW in the 1850s and 1860s noted,...

... A great number of the Chinamen died on those fields. They had a burying ground on Bell’s Paddock [Jembaicumbene]. There at one time there must have been hundreds of them buried. ... In later years the bones of the dead Chinamen were gradually exhumed and placed in fresh coffins and sent back to China by their friends, and I am told now that there is not a body left in the old grave-yard at Bell’s Paddock (31 August 1907).

In the 1880s, Foo Lee, the storekeeper at Upper Adelong, stated that according to newspapers sent to him by Chinese friends in Sydney all his countrymen in the cemetery there would ‘be dug up and taken to China’, and subsequently they were (Barnes 1986:133).

Burdett (1992:19-20) reported that by 1870 the Chinese in Nerrigundah were allocated their own cemetery on the eastern side of Gulph Creek, situated high above the flood line on the slopes of the mountain, opposite their tent city at Fern Flat. However, its location is unknown.

For Kiandra and Upper Adelong, Wilkinson and Pabesma (1999:70-96, 159-162) provide some details of the cemeteries and a list of some of the Chinese buried in them. At Kiandra, the General Cemetery was abandoned in the early twentieth century and only bushfires, which ravaged the area in 2003, allowed identification of its exhumed Chinese graves.
Although there are only four Chinese headstones and a funerary burner now in the Tumut Pioneer Cemetery, there is archaeological and historical evidence of many more Chinese burials there. Documentary evidence also indicates that many were exhumed and the remains sent home to China.

Shallow, elongated depressions of exhumed graves provide the only physical evidence of the Chinese cemeteries at Jembaicumbene, Kiandra, Mongarlowe, Mudmelong, and Middle and Upper Adelong. Similarly, apart from the four headstones and burner at the Tumut Cemetery, shallow, elongated depressions of exhumed graves provide the only other physical evidence for additional Chinese burials there. At Nerrigundah, although historical records identify the general location of the cemetery, its exact location has not been determined.

The key common characteristics of the remains of the Chinese cemeteries located at the five major Chinese settlement centres of Jembaicumbene, Kiandra, Mongarlowe, Mudmelong and Upper Adelong are that they:

- were contemporary – Jembaicumbene (late 1850s/early 1860s?-late nineteenth century), Kiandra (1865-1925), Mongarlowe (mid-late nineteenth century?), Mudmelong (mid-late nineteenth century), and Upper Adelong (1861-1901);
- utilised soon after the arrival of Chinese on each of the goldfields and fell into disuse as the population diminished;
- were orientated downhill;
- contained shallow graves with similar dimensions;
- except for one possible instance at Mongarlowe, consisted of exhumed graves;
- were intentionally sited at a distance from the settlement (Jembaicumbene 1.5 km, Kiandra 1 km, Mongarlowe 200 m, Mudmelong 1.5 km, Nerrigundah 300-500 m and Upper Adelong 100 m) to take advantage of the topographical attributes associated with fengshui; and
- were located near or adjacent to large, wholly Chinese settlements.

The only dissimilar feature between the cemeteries is the presence of artefacts at only two of them, Kiandra and Mongarlowe. At both, there was evidence of parts of broken stone and timber grave markers, and relatively few fragments of nineteenth-century Chinese ceramics, whereas no artefacts were observed at the other three cemeteries. The most likely reasons for such absence is that ‘collectors’ may have illegally removed the stone and wooden headstones and other portable attractive items, such as stoneware jars, celadon bowls and ng ka py Chinese alcohol bottles, or that the thick vegetation cover at the sites conceals them from view. However, it is considered that in all probability the former – fossicking – is more likely to be the reason for the lack of artefacts at the Jembaicumbene, Mudmelong and Upper Araluen cemeteries.

Although not located at a large, wholly Chinese settlement, the Chinese cemetery at Middle Adelong also exhibits many of the above characteristics. It too was contemporary (1867-1903), and it is orientated downhill with shallow exhumed grave sites of similar dimensions and displaying attributes of fengshui.

The Chinese section of the Tumut Pioneer Cemetery, on the other hand, is located in a predominantly European settlement. It contains both shallow exhumed grave sites and extant graves. It existed for a longer period than those above (1870-1961), and conforms to European burial practices with no evidence of fengshui at the site.

Again, as with the temple and oven sites, the characteristics of each of the five cemeteries at the major Chinese settlements of Jembaicumbene, Kiandra, Mongarlowe, Mudmelong and Upper Adelong (six if the Middle Adelong burial ground is included) at widely dispersed locations across southeastern NSW are strikingly similar.

However, the Chinese section of the Tumut Pioneer Cemetery as well as the Chinese graves in the Braidwood Cemetery is largely different from those of the major nineteenth-century wholly Chinese settlements.
INDIVIDUAL DWELLINGS

Archaeological investigations as part of this research identified the remains of more than 180 individual nineteenth-century Chinese dwellings in southeastern NSW. The majority of those (118) were identified at four of the large central Chinese settlements at Adjungbilly (19), Jembaicumbene (23), Kiandra (72), and Upper Adelong (4). Despite extensive fieldwork, no individual dwellings were identified at the other major Chinese centres of Adelong, Mongarlowe, Mudmelong or Nerrigundah.

Of the 118 dwellings identified at those four community centres, 15 were excavated for this research and two others had been excavated previously (Smith 1998, 2003a:18-29), and the rest (101) were surveyed. Those excavated at the central Chinese settlements during this study were located at Adjungbilly (6), Jembaicumbene (5) and Kiandra (6).

There are no historical records that provide information on details, such as, shape, size, construction materials, orientation or exact locations, of any of the dwellings, for any of the sites in the study area. The closest description of any such Chinese dwelling in the study area comes from the BOMA newspaper on 17 December 1862, which noted as part of a court report at Braidwood that three Chinese were residing together in a tent at Jembaicumbene for at least a fortnight. Although not particularly helpful with regard to rural dwellings, the article does indicate not only were the Chinese living in tents at Jembaicumbene, at least in November 1862, but also that they shared their individual dwellings with other Chinese.

The key common characteristics of the remains of the individual Chinese dwellings located at the four major Chinese settlement centres of Adjungbilly, Jembaicumbene, Kiandra and Upper Adelong are that for the most part they:

- were contemporary: Adjungbilly (mid-late nineteenth century?); Jembaicumbene (late 1850s/early 1860s?-late nineteenth/early twentieth century); Kiandra (1860-late nineteenth century); and Upper Adelong (1850s/60s-early nineteenth century);
- are usually clustered together with no concept of street;
- are for the most part rectangular in shape;
- have similar internal living spaces: Adjungbilly (6.75 m²); Jembaicumbene (8.6 m²); Kiandra (8.6 m²); and Upper Adelong (7.0 m²), which are smaller than their European counterparts;
- have an internal living space within the range of similar dwellings in China;
- have tamped earth (and gravel) floors;
- have stones packed tightly below the ground that rise above the ground to form a base-wall with 'random rubble' masonry, or were tent structures placed on levelled platforms;
- consisted of a light timber internal/external frame;
- had roofing of impermanent material;
- have an internal hearth adjacent to the doorway;
- have no chimneys;
- have no internal bathroom, washing or toilet facilities;
- all contain domestic and/or functional artefacts: cheap, available Chinese and European storage and tableware ceramics; common, inexpensive, utilitarian glass containers; inexpensive, machine-made European miners' work wear trappings (belt buckles, buttons, etc.); and where found, inexpensive European clay tobacco pipes and Chinese manufactured opium pipe bowls, with no unusual objects, such as ornamental or ceremonial paraphernalia; and
- where excavation of dwellings was undertaken at Adjungbilly, Jembaicumbene and Kiandra, contain on average proportionately more metal artefacts than glass,
miscellaneous or ceramics. This may be due to the construction type where nails and tin roofing predominated. The proportions by number are, on average, metal 44.8 per cent, glass 22.2 per cent, miscellaneous 19.0 per cent and ceramics 13.9 per cent.

The significant differences between some of the dwellings are construction techniques of either random rubble masonry base-walls or simple tent structures on earth platforms, and the variability in the numbers of artefacts recovered from them:

- the construction of the remains of some of the huts with more substantial random rubble masonry base-walls when compared to those constructed on earth platforms may be the result of a temporal sequence of site occupation. This appears to be the case at each of the four settlements. The more ephemeral platforms at those sites may have been for temporary tent structures that were erected at the time of initial occupation. Whereas the platforms with substantial random rubble masonry base-walls and stone hearths/fireplaces may have been built or re-built later as the numbers of site occupants decreased and the settlement contracted and became more established. In addition, it may also have been that one of the larger, more substantial structures in each settlement was the ‘headman’s’ residence; and
- this later, more concentrated phase of occupation is also evident from the larger number of artefacts recovered from those huts that were of more substantial random rubble masonry construction rather than from other less substantial hut structures. It would also appear that these huts with the largest numbers of artefacts were in closer association with the temple and/or store areas or were in the centre of the settlement and, as such, may have formed the final phase of occupation at the site. For instance:
  - Hut 3 at the Adjungbilly settlement, which lies at the centre of the settlement, contains 78.2 per cent of the artefacts from excavation of the six huts there;
  - Hut 2 at Jembaicumbene, which was in close association with the temple and store areas, contained 90.0 per cent of the artefacts from excavation of the five huts at that site;
  - Hut 1 at Kiandra, which lies near the centre of the settlement, contained 34.4 per cent of the artefacts from excavation of the six huts there; and
  - Hut 1 at Upper Adelong, which was in close association with the store at that settlement, contained 46.2 per cent of the artefacts recovered from the four huts at that site.

Again, similar to the temple, oven and cemetery sites at major Chinese settlement centres, the characteristics of the individual dwellings at each of the four settlements of Adjungbilly, Jembaicumbene, Kiandra, and Upper Adelong are strikingly similar. In addition, particular construction techniques and artefactual signatures at those settlements also suggest similar temporal sequences of occupation at those sites.

**OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES**

In addition to the structural features, a number of other similar cultural features also appear in four of the major Chinese community settlements. These are at:

- Adjungbilly, which contains a number of small probably individual refuse pits adjacent to four dwellings and a large water race, which almost bisects the site;
- Jembaicumbene, which includes the remains of a small dam and a network of disused water races;
- Kiandra, which shows evidence of a number of possible wells, mining test pits and waste disposal pits, including a large depression to the southeast of the main
settlement area that contained the remains of a significant number of animal bones, as well as a network of paths and disused water races; and

- Upper Adelong, which includes two waste disposal pits adjacent to structures and a number of disused water races.

No archaeological evidence for individual dwellings, and hence no main residential area, was identified at the centres at Adelong, Mongarlowe, Mudmelong or Nerrigundah. Similarly, Tumut, although considered a major Chinese centre, was (and is) a European town and there are now no vestiges of any nineteenth-century Chinese occupation at that location.

In this respect, the town of Braidwood, although a significant administrative, economic and social mid to late nineteenth-century European settlement and situated between two major Chinese settlement centres in the region, Jembaicumbene and Mongarlowe, was never a Chinese stronghold during that period. It was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that a single Chinese family, the Nomchongs, established their private and business interests there that a permanent Chinese presence existed in the town.

In summary, each of the nine major Chinese settlement centres or villages within the three regions contain many common community elements. In addition, archaeology suggests that the attributes of each of the same type of element are strikingly similar at widely spread locations across southeastern NSW.

As can be seen from Table 6.1.2, not all of these major settlement centres contain all of the community elements. However, although history is silent about those missing elements and archaeological investigation did not locate them, it is probable that each centre once contained all of them. Several factors, such as destruction by fire, flooding and relocation as well as subsequent mining and land-use activities, may have conspired to remove all traces of them.

Table 6.1.2: Common community elements in major settlement centres.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Settlement Centre</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Temple</th>
<th>Oven</th>
<th>Cemetery</th>
<th>Dwellings</th>
<th>Garden</th>
<th>Other*</th>
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<td>x</td>
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* Ancillary building/storehouse, well, refuse pit, watercourse. # Historically known.
LOCATION AND LAYOUT

As well as the above community elements, there are two other aspects of those settlements as whole entities, their locations and layouts, which also exhibit similarities.

In this regard, Knapp (1989:2-3, 13-14) noted settlement sites in southern China might be located at the break in slope or slightly upslope in the lower foothills but never very far from areas that are level or terraced. He further stated that rural builders in China pay substantial attention to micro-climatic conditions, mindful of slope, drainage, prevailing winds and exposure to sunlight. If, he continued, locations exist in China where environmental conditions are found to be optimal then the resulting settlement may be described as compact, with housing clustered to take advantage of the topographical conditions.

Ritchie, in his 1986 study of the Chinese in southern NZ, noted that the Chinese generally avoided settling on flat, waterless areas and appeared to prefer locations that backed onto terrace risers or sloping ground that overlooked rivers and streams. He also mentioned that many Chinese miners established their huts at the confluence of rivers and streams and that there was ‘less concept of street’ in the Chinese settlements with huts arranged in relatively haphazard patterns (1986:153-154).

The only other reference to the above practical locational considerations is found in Comber’s study of Chinese on the Palmer Goldfield in Far North Queensland. She stated, The majority of the [Chinese] domestic sites recorded to date [on the Palmer Goldfield] are sited at the base of a spur (i.e. on a slope, with a mountain or hill behind and the confluence of two creeks in front) and are often terraced (Comber 1995a:44).

Although both Ritchie and Comber alluded to the symbolic Chinese practice of fengshui as a consideration for site location, neither made any definitive conclusions about it.

Except for Adelong and Tumut, the locations of each of the other seven major rural settlement centres in the study area are known and therefore comparisons can be made between them. The significant common attributes of their locations are that in the main they are:

- separate from contemporary major rural European townships, although in relatively close proximity to them, sometimes being located on the fringes of those townships, as was the case with Jembaicumbene and Mudmelong;
- located near alluvial mine workings;
- compact, self-contained settlements;
- located either at the break in slope or slightly upslope in the lower foothills;
- located such that they overlooked rivers or creeks;
- located to take advantage of the topographical conditions; and therefore
- apparently located to accord with the principles of fengshui. This is particularly evident at Adjungbilly, Jembaicumbene, Kiandra, Mongarlowe and Upper Adelong, and may also have been the case at Adelong and Mudmelong.

As not all the community elements discussed in this thesis were found in all settlements, comparisons of layout can only be made between settlements that contained most of them, but inferences can be made about the layout of others. Of the nine major centres, five have sufficient element types to enable such a comparison. They are Jembaicumbene, Mongarlowe, Upper Adelong, Adjungbilly and Kiandra. For the remainder, Mudmelong, Nerrigundah, Adelong and Tumut, there is insufficient archaeological and historical evidence to provide meaningful assessments of their overall arrangements.

The significant common attributes of the layouts of those five settlements are that essentially:

- they are arranged in haphazard patterns with little concept of street;
- individual dwellings are clustered together;
- where known, the stores are situated adjacent to a roadway;
where identified, the temples and communal/ceremonial ovens are set apart from individual dwellings within the settlements; and
where known, the cemeteries are situated at a further distance from the settlements; and
their settings appear to have been intentionally selected for their fengshui attributes.

From the above analysis it is apparent that those settlement centres provided all the needs of nineteenth-century overseas Chinese communities. They not only supplied the essential functional necessities of those communities through the establishment of co-operative stores and gardens and individual dwellings – but also offered the social and spiritual requirements through their temples, ceremonial ovens and cemeteries.

In addition, it is apparent that those centres reinforced common traditional Chinese practices, including co-operative work practices and social activities, worship and burial customs and the omnipresent use of fengshui. They also allowed the Chinese to retain their separateness from their European counterparts and provided focal points for smaller satellite settlements in their respective regions.

MINOR SETTLEMENTS (CAMPS)

As shown in Table 6.1.1, each of the nine major Chinese community centres within the three regions appear to comprise a number of smaller, satellite settlements. This section examines each of those camps, explores the commonalities and differences within each one and compares them to the major settlement centres analysed above.

Unlike the villages, the camps contain only two of the main community elements under investigation, individual dwellings and ovens. Except for a historically known store at Majors Creek, neither archaeology nor history has shown them to contain stores, temples, gardens or cemeteries. In addition, archaeology has shown where ovens were located in these smaller settlements they were of different construction, and probably served different functions, to those in larger centres.

Unfortunately, probably due to their smaller sizes and their location on land that may have been subsequently mined or re-used not all of these smaller settlements have survived. History records more of them than archaeology has revealed. Nevertheless, those that have survived and were subject to archaeological investigation as part of this research were at:

- Little Bombay (two locations) within the Jembaicumbene system of the Braidwood Region;
- Bentleys Point, Bobs Creek, Broad Gully, Curradux and Flanagans Point within the Mongarlowe system of the Braidwood Region; and
- Eucumbene Crossing (two locations), Little Boggy Plain, Nine Mile, Nungar Creek and Sawyers Hill within the Kiandra system of the Kiandra and Snowy Mountains Region.

INDIVIDUAL DWELLINGS

Of the remains of more than 180 individual dwellings examined in southeastern NSW, 62 were identified in minor settlements. They are at Bentleys Point (one), Bobs Creek (three), Broad Gully (one), Curradux (three), Eucumbene Crossing (five), Flanagans Point (13), Little Boggy Plain (seven), Little Bombay (11), Nine Mile Diggings (five), Nungar Creek (three) and Sawyers Hill (up to 10). Of those, 14 were excavated at Flanagans Point (four), Little Boggy Plain (six) and Little Bombay (four), and the remainder (48) was surveyed as part of this research.

As with the dwellings in the villages, there are no historical records that provide information on details, such as, shape, size, construction materials, orientation or exact...
locations, of any of the dwellings, for any of these sites. Although there are disparate historical references for Chinese being at Bentleys Point, Bobs Creek, Broad Gully, Flanagans Point and Nine Mile, there are none for Eucumbene Crossing, Curradux, Little Boggy Plain, Little Bombay, Nungar Creek or Sawyers Hill. This information is generally in the form of official records (Parish and lease maps, and death/burial records), newspaper accounts or anecdotal.

For example, at Bentleys Point, Mary Bentley referred to the Chinese being there in the early 1870s (McGowan 1996a:190), a mining lease map shows the location of three Chinese huts there in 1899 (McGowan 2001:308) and Ah Yin, a miner who lived in one of the huts is recorded as committing suicide by hanging there on 27 September 1899, aged 60 (Bunn 2002:743). For Bobs Creek, You Chung accidentally drowned there in 1891 (Bunn 2002:572, 595), and Ah Hak lived there until the 1920s when he was befriended by the Nomchongs who took him into Braidwood. At that time he was in his nineties (McGowan 1996a:155-56). At Broad Gully, Chinese are reported as mining in the area from 1859 (McGowan 1996a:143-145, 173-174).

For Flanagans Point, the first historical record of Chinese there was in July 1862, while the last was in 1895, when Quong Chong died there from asthmatic bronchitis on 25 September, aged 62 (BOMA 27 July 1862, Bunn 2002:441, 689). However, one newspaper report on Flanagans Point is noteworthy, it stated that in December 1862 there was a fatal accident there and two Chinese belonging to a party of 17 miners were killed and one seriously injured by a fall of a bank of earth. At the funeral ceremony up to 200 Chinese attended [at Mongarlowe] from distances of 12 miles (19 km) down the Mongarlowe River (BOMA 10 December 1862).

For Nine Mile, in 1879 two large Chinese parties were reported as doing very well (NSW Department of Mines Annual Report, 1881:71), and Hughes recalled, 'a party [of Chinese] lived in a multi-roomed house on the Nine Mile Creek around 1910 or even later' (Hueneke, 1987:55). That house was probably a European store or hotel that they re-occupied.

The key common characteristics of the remains of the individual Chinese dwellings located at the 12 minor settlement centres are that for the most part they:

- were contemporary: Bentleys Point (1870s-1899); Bobs Creek (late nineteenth/early twentieth-centuries); Broad Gully (1859 onwards); Eucumbene Crossing (1860s-1870s); Flanagans Point (1862-1895); Little Boggy Plain (1870s-1880s); Little Bombay (1860-1880); Nine Mile (1870s-1910) and Nungar Creek (1860s-1870s); and therefore contemporary with their respective larger settlement centres;
- are usually clustered together with no concept of street;
- are rectangular in shape;
- have similar internal living spaces: Bentleys Point (6 m²); Bobs Creek (average 8.75 m²); Broad Gully (6 m²); Curradux; (average 8.75 m²); Eucumbene Crossing (average 10.8 m²); Flanagans Point (average 10.3 m²); Little Boggy Plain (average 8.3 m²); Little Bombay (average 7.1 m²); Nine Mile (average 9.15 m²) and Nungar Creek (average 11.0 m²); which are mostly smaller than their European counterparts;
- have an internal living space within the range of similar dwellings in China;
- have tamped earth (and gravel) floors;
- have stones packed tightly below the ground that rise above the ground to form a base-wall with 'random rubble' masonry;
- consisted of a light timber internal/external frame;
- had roofing of impermanent material;
- have an internal hearth adjacent to the doorway;
- have no chimneys;
- have no internal bathroom, washing or toilet facilities; and
where excavation of dwellings was undertaken at Flanagans Point, Little Boggy Plain and Little Bombay, contain on average proportionately more metal artefacts than miscellaneous, glass or ceramics — the same as larger villages. Again, as with larger villages, this may be due to the construction type where nails and tin roofing predominated. The proportions by number being, on average, metal 58.5 per cent, miscellaneous 23.5 per cent, glass 16.1 per cent and ceramics 1.9 per cent; and

contain similar numbers of artefacts and artefact types: cheap, available Chinese and European storage and tableware ceramics; common, inexpensive, utilitarian glass containers; inexpensive, machine-made European miners' work wear trappings (belt buckles, buttons, etc.); and where found, inexpensive European clay tobacco pipes and Chinese manufactured opium pipe bowls, with no unusual objects, such as ornamental or ceremonial paraphernalia.

There are no significant differences between the dwellings within the minor settlements and the characteristics of them at each of these camps are strikingly similar.

In addition, it is also apparent that the majority of the attributes of individual dwellings in the camps is conspicuously similar to those in the villages. For those that were excavated, the exceptions are the numbers of artefacts and the proportions of types found in each:

- individual dwellings in the villages contain on average 1,137 artefacts each, whereas those in the camps contain on average only 167; and
- whereas the proportions of glass and miscellaneous artefacts found in individual dwellings within villages and camps are more or less the same, the proportion of ceramic artefacts recovered from those dwellings in the villages is 13.9 per cent compared to only 1.9 per cent in the camps and, conversely, the proportion of metal artefacts found in those dwellings in the camps is 58.5 per cent and 44.8 per cent in villages.

Although various factors, such as population size, settlement type longevity, artefact fragmentation, disturbance patterns and excavation bias may account for these disparities, not surprisingly it appears that even though individuals in larger villages used the same types of domestic cultural materials as those in the smaller camps they had greater access to them. In addition, they were probably also able to more readily obtain and utilise ceramic wares, such as large storage jars, and rely less on metal containers than individuals in the smaller work camps. These artefactual disparities imply that individual dwellings in minor settlements were part of a temporary camp from a main site.

**OVENS**

Ovens were identified at five of the 13 camps. They are located in the settlements at Flanagans Point, Little Boggy Plain, Little Bombay (two occupation areas with an oven) and Nine Mile Diggings. Even though none were identified at Broad Gully, Bobs Creek, Bentleys Point or Curradux, on the Mongarlowe River, these areas show evidence of considerable degradation through subsequent mining activity and it is probable that any small ovens, together with additional individual dwellings at these sites, have been destroyed. In addition, none was identified at the Eucumbene Crossing, Nungar Creek or Sawyers Hill camps at Kiandra. This can be attributed to the proximity of two of the sites to the main Kiandra settlement, which was located only 500 m to the south of Nungar Creek and just over one kilometre from the two Eucumbene Crossing sites. Probably due to its ephemeral nature no oven was identified at the Sawyers Hill camp. The other small settlements are relatively undisturbed and are located at considerable distances from their respective centres: Flanagans Point is 5 km north of Mongarlowe; Little Boggy Plain is 60 km south of Kiandra; the Little Bombay sites are about 16 km northwest of Jembaicumbene; and Nine Mile is about 14 km south of Kiandra.
There are no historical references for any of these ovens and, before this research, only the location of one at Little Boggy Plain was known (Egloff 1988:7).

The key common characteristics of the remains of these five ovens are that they are:

- contemporary with each other: Little Bombay (1860-1880), Flanagans Point (1862-1895), Nungar Creek (1860s-1870s), Nine Mile (1870s-1910) and Little Boggy Plain (1870s-1880s);
- contemporary with their respective settlements, and probably built soon after the arrival of Chinese at each of the sites. They appear to have fallen into disrepair as the population diminished or left;
- small random rubble structures comprising stones of various sizes;
- circular in shape on a circular-shaped earthen base;
- similarly sized: Little Bombay (approximately 0.5 m high, with an internal diameter of 0.7 m, and approximately 0.5 m high, with an internal diameter of 0.4 m), Flanagans Point (around 0.6 m high, with an internal diameter of 0.75 m), Nine Mile (approximately 0.4 m high, with an internal diameter of about 0.4 m) and Little Boggy Plain (about 0.7 m high, with an internal diameter of 0.8 m). In addition, the example at Little Boggy Plain has a small opening at its base supported by a stone lintel, the opening measures 20 cm high and 35 cm wide. The state of the other four ovens is such that no base opening is discernible;
- located at a considerable distance from individual dwellings in each settlement (ranging from 7 to 28 m away from the nearest hut);
- not associated with a particular dwelling;
- devoid of artefacts – although two were found in the vicinity of one of the ovens at Little Bombay, namely, a modified metal pick head shaped to form a hook and the remains of a large metal kettle, and 69 domestic and functional artefacts were recovered in association with the Flanagans Point oven, none were found inside these ovens; and
- located within small, wholly Chinese settlements.

As can be seen from the above, there are no significant differences between the ovens within each of the minor settlements.

Overall, the characteristics of the ovens at each of these five camps are also markedly similar. However, although they all have a number of similarities with the ovens located within the larger settlement centres, such as contemporaneity, construction techniques, circular shape and spatially set apart from individual dwellings, they do differ in their size to those in the larger centres. The dimensions of ovens in the camps are, on average, only about 0.5 m high, whereas those in the villages stand, on average, over 1 m. Those in the camps also have smaller internal diameters than those in the larger centres, approximately 0.6 m compared to 0.85 m, on average. In addition, ovens in the smaller settlements are of less robust construction than the considerably superior creations in the major settlements.

Although both types of ovens in both types of settlement may have performed a similar basic function, that of providing communal cooking facilities for the settlement’s occupants, it is contended that those ovens in the villages also played a central role in ceremonial activities in those settlements. Where known, ovens in the villages were located in association with the temples and/or stores in those communities and were of a sufficient size to cook large animals, such as whole pigs, which featured prominently at traditional Chinese ceremonial feasts. It is considered unlikely that the smaller ovens in the camps were large enough for cooking such animals, and, in addition, those settlements lacked the social and spiritual component of the temple, which was probably required to undertake correct ceremonial and ritual activities.
OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

As well as the above two structural features, the only other cultural characteristics that appear common to each of these minor Chinese settlements is their proximity to mining activity. At each there was evidence of alluvial mining activity in the form of water races, tailing mounds with vertical stone packings, and/or creek diversions adjacent to, or in the near vicinity of the sites. Apart from a small refuse pit adjacent to an individual dwelling at the Flanagans Point settlement, the remaining five sites did not display any other cultural features.

In summary, all of the 13 camps investigated within the three regions contain only two common community elements: individual dwellings; and evidence of alluvial mining activity; and five contain an additional element, a small communal oven. As with the villages, archaeology suggests the attributes of each of the same type of element within the camps are markedly similar at widely spread locations across southeastern NSW.

As shown in Table 6.1.3, all of the camps examined contain two or three community elements but do not contain the other elements of stores, temples, cemeteries or gardens that were evidenced at the larger settlements. Those camps that do not contain an oven show evidence of considerable disturbance or in the case of Sawyers Hill was too ephemeral and it is conjectured that they may once have contained such structures.

Table 6.1.3: Common community elements in minor settlement centres.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Cemetery</th>
<th>Dwellings</th>
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</table>

* Evidence of mining activity, watercourse, and/or refuse pit.
In addition, the characteristics of individual dwellings and ovens at the small camps are similar, and most of the dwelling and oven attributes are also similar to individual dwellings and ovens in the larger villages. However, the ovens within the two types of settlement differ in size and robustness of construction, with those in the villages probably being used for an additional ceremonial function, which was probably not the case in the camps.

LOCATION AND LAYOUT

As with the major settlement centres, there are location and layout similarities within each of the minor ones. The noteworthy common traits of the location of the 13 minor settlement centres are that on the whole they are:

- remote and/or isolated, with all (except for Little Boggy Plain) being located within approximately a 16 km radius of a major Chinese settlement;
- located on the banks of rivers and/or creeks;
- located adjacent to alluvial mine workings (in a number of cases amid those workings); and
- compact settlements.

The significant common attributes of the layouts of those settlements are that:

- they are arranged in haphazard patterns with little concept of a street;
- individual dwellings are clustered together; and
- where identified, the communal ovens are set apart from individual dwellings within the settlements.

From the above, it is evident the minor settlements were not complete and wholly self-sufficient communities. Rather, they appear to have provided the basic necessities of small work camps, that is, shelter and cooking facilities, while retaining aspects of traditional Chinese practices, such as co-operative work practices and the preference for communal meal preparation. It is equally apparent that the occupants of small camps relied on the larger Chinese community centres for their provisions, social and economic interaction and spiritual needs.

COMMUNITY CATCHMENTS

In examining distance as a factor of settlement Higgs and Vita-Finzi (1972:30) noted that in 1875, based on his observations of movements in Mecklenberg, Germany, in the nineteenth century, von Thünen proposed an important concentric ring model for agricultural activity.

That model, Chisholm’s (1968) more modern work on subsistence agriculture and Lee’s (1969) studies of the !Kung Bushmen of Africa are useful guides to settlement hierarchies and the radius that limits the range of mobile and sedentary economies (Higgs and Vita-Finzi 1972:30-31, Hodder and Orton 1976:229).

Von Thünen (1875) suggested that concentric rings of land use would occur around a city or market square so that more intensive and profitable land use was nearer the centre. He presented relative distances as a function of land use within zones that radiated out from a central place. Chisholm (1968) examined land use around hamlets and farms and similarly concluded that distance affected the type of land use in concentric rings around a farmhouse, noting a decline in net return becomes significant at a distance of 1 km and oppressive at 3-4 km (Hodder and Orton 1976:229-230).

Lee’s (1969) input-output analysis of the !Kung Bushmen showed that the threshold was reached at a distance of about 10 km from a settlement site, and Higgs and Vita-Finzi (1972:30-31) adopted a radius of 5 km for the analysis of prehistoric sedentary exploitation territories and of 10 km for mobile prehistoric economies.

Von Thünen and Chisholm as well as Lee for the !Kung were of the opinion that the resources were exploited only within a limited distance around a centre and that travel to and from them were daily out and back journeys. Such a pattern of behaviour would leave very little
settlement evidence at the destination except that of the activity undertaken in gaining the resource. Consequently, everything would focus back in on the settlement.

Higgs and Vita-Finzi's (1972:30) statement, 'at a given technological level some resources will lie at too great a distance from a site to be exploited from that site', is equally applicable to the nineteenth-century mining settlement sites of southeastern NSW as it is to prehistoric economies, which were the subject of their study. For alluvial gold mining in nineteenth-century NSW, this means that daily journeys to and from work would take place over very short distances to maximise the amount of time at work. This is the equivalent of von Thünen or Chisholm’s intensive farming zone. In addition, given the nature of gold claims and the need to protect them, it could be argued that there is an imperative to be close to the workings. Camps would be moved when the distance to work gets too far and the time taken to travel to and from work becomes uneconomic, and protection is more difficult.

A further aspect of settlement patterns is the distance that people will travel in a day to acquire services or supplies and participate in communal social, religious and cultural interactions. This is, in essence, Christaller’s central place theory which describes a model of equivalent spacing between centres of equal importance and that there would be a hierarchy of settlements, each responding to the model with different spacings. Studies in various cultures have suggested that central places of equal status in a region tend to be spaced, all things being equal, at distances of between 25 and 40 km, given basic forms of transport (walking/horse riding). This would mean that a person on the edge of a catchment would have to travel between 12.5 and 20 km in to such a central place. When these hypotheses are applied to the study area, it is apparent that such Chinese community catchment areas existed in nineteenth-century southeastern NSW.

Due to their co-operative organisational arrangements, as new gold fields opened up across southeastern NSW Chinese ‘emissaries’ were sent to them and, if reports were positive then contingents of miners descended on the field, establishing a community centre and exploiting the resources in the immediate area. Even though sometimes subject to European regulation, they were located close to those resources, such that they overlooked rivers or creeks and near alluvial mine workings, thereby allowing for maximum economic gain and protection of them. Once established, these centres, which contained the functional, social and spiritual needs of the miners, acted as hubs for further, more distant resource exploitation and provided focal points for smaller satellite camps.

With their low level of technology and an aversion to investing large capital sums to improve that technology, miners were required to position their rudimentary work camps at specific resource rich locales, and were limited to exploiting the resources in those immediate areas. Similar to larger centres, the camps were therefore located on the banks of rivers and/or creeks adjacent to alluvial mine workings and often amid those workings, which again allowed for maximum economic gain and protection. Resource availability, which was governed by the terrain, meant that such camps were located at irregular intervals along major rivers or creeks.

As distances between these camps and the centre became too great, and therefore uneconomic, a new centre would be established, and the pattern repeated. This is apparent throughout the study area during the height of the gold era in southeastern NSW, from the late 1850s to the early 1860s. Beyond that time, as alluvial gold deposits were exhausted and, consequently, population numbers decreased the pattern began to unravel.

In this knowledge and based on the finding that the smaller satellite work camps were, on the whole, located within about a 16 km radius of their parent settlements, illustrative representations of the catchment areas and thus the hierarchical networks within the study area were developed using von Thünen’s concentric ring methodology and Christaller’s central place theory. These representations, shown in Figures 6.1.2 to 6.1.4 for the three regions of Braidwood, Tumut, and Kiandra and the Snowy Mountains, respectively, depict the probable catchment areas during their zenith.
Figure 6.1.2: Map of Braidwood region depicting late 1850s/early 1860s Chinese settlement foci and spheres. Large green circles are approximately 16 km in radius; small green circles are approximately 1.6 km in radius.
Figure 6.1.3: Map of Tumut region depicting late 1850s/early 1860s Chinese settlement foci and spheres. Large green circles are approximately 16 km in radius; small green circles are approximately 1.6 km in radius.
Figure 6.1.4: Map of Kiandra and Snowy Mountains region depicting early 1860s Chinese settlement foci and spheres. Large green circle is about 16 km in radius; small green circle is about 1.6 km in radius.
As can be seen in the above illustrations, the small green circles of approximately 1.6 km in radius represent the central settlements of each system and together with individual dwellings contain, to a greater or lesser extent, the elements of such centres – stores, temples, ovens and cemeteries. The larger circles, with a radius of 16 km, encompass most of the minor settlements in each system and, except for Flanagans Point and Little Bombay in the Braidwood region, which both contained ovens during the late 1850s/early 1860s, comprise individual dwellings only but do not contain the other elements of the major settlements of that period.

On the whole, the numbers in each of the diagrams represent either residential and/or mining sites during that time, with some, such as Nine Mile and Little Boggy Plain in the Kiandra and Snowy Mountains region, probably being established later, around the 1870s. It is apparent from the locations of these sites that, as shown in the illustrations and from field evidence, subsequent mining has removed all trace of many original settlements along the rivers and creeks in each system or that other factors, such as vegetation cover has obscured evidence of them. For example, at Kiandra one newspaper reports, ‘there are a great number of Chinamen at work in several parts of the [Eucumbene] river ...’ (AP&KA 18 December 1860) but despite relatively intense field inspections only very few of those ‘several parts’ have been found.

For the Braidwood region, in addition to a Christaller pattern being evident with respect to the central Chinese settlements at Mongarlowe, Jembacumbene and Mudmelong, a classic pattern is clear between those centres and the European town of Braidwood, where the Chinese were required to obtain exemption certificates from the NSW poll tax of 1861, acquire mining licences and, among other things, attend court. Again using von Thünen’s concentric ring methodology, this pattern and the hierarchical networks within this region are emphasised in Figure 6.1.5. This more detailed illustration portrays the three major centres of this region with the same large green circles and highlights with small blue circles the spread of smaller settlements along the rivers and creeks in each system as Chinese miners sought out specific resource rich locales, and their limitations in exploiting those areas.

For the Tumut region, again there is this dimension. Tumut is the administrative centre between the large mining villages of the district with little mining within it. However, probably due to the lack of historical and archaeological evidence for many of them, the hierarchical spread of small, intermediate settlements is not as readily apparent. In this respect, toponym information, for example, ‘Chinamans’ Creek near Middle Adelong may be a guide to such sites. Nevertheless, on available information the model is sustainable.

The Kiandra and Snowy Mountains region is similar but anomalous. It has a single focus in and around Kiandra itself. Although the pattern, a major centre with most of minor mining and occupation sites occurring within a 16 km radius, is repeated, it has an outlying minor site at Little Boggy Plain, some 60 km south of Kiandra. This anomaly is probably a result of either a lack of information on small intermediate sites or a function of time. Although mining and occupation within the immediate environs of Kiandra are relatively well documented and have been subject to comparatively intense archaeological scrutiny, more distant sites, such as the corridor along the Thredbo River leading to Little Boggy Plain have received little attention. It may also be that as the Kiandra gold rush was short-lived, being concentrated in 1860 and fading quickly beyond then, remnant Chinese parties from that initial rush established more distant settlements at a later date to known earlier rush locations where the returns were more lucrative, such as in the 1870s at Little Boggy Plain.

However, overall it is clear that during the early gold rush years of the late 1850s/early 1860s the Chinese established their central settlements in the main part of the goldfields in each of the above regions. From those bases they exploited those regions in a more or less linear hierarchical pattern that followed the alluvial gold resources along major rivers and creeks until, for the majority at least, it became uneconomic.
Figure 6.1.5: Map of Braidwood region depicting late 1850s/early 1860s Chinese settlement foci and spheres. Large green circles are approximately 16 km in radius; small blue circles are approximately 1.6 km in radius.
COMMUNITY LIFE CYCLES

The final aspect that can be revealed through analysis of the archaeology and available histories of the above settlement systems is their life cycles. The networks portrayed to this point are described as they may have operated largely at their peak. The following traces the establishment of each system and analyses the decline, contraction and ultimate disappearance of each one, and of the vast majority of Chinese in southeastern NSW.

BRAIDWOOD AND THE SOUTH COAST

For the Braidwood and South Coast region archaeology, history and oral accounts show four major Chinese settlement centres at Jembaicumbene, Mongarlowe, Araluen Valley, and Nerrigundah. Each of those villages comprises a number of smaller, satellite work camps. An analysis of the artefactual evidence, layout and construction attributes of some of the structural elements within those occupation sites, together with historical and oral descriptions enable the life cycle of some of the villages and camps to be determined.

The Jembaicumbene System

Within this system, artefactual evidence shows Chinese were at the smaller satellite camps at Little Bombay from around the 1860s to the late 1880s. Historical records also indicate the area may have been occupied from 1868 until towards the end of the nineteenth century. These dates indicate the camps were established after the main settlement at Jembaicumbene, which was occupied by at least the late 1850s, and fell into disuse before the main settlement, which existed until at least the early twentieth century, when the temple at Jembaicumbene was dismantled and moved into the European town of Braidwood.

For the Jembaicumbene village itself, the size and construction of the remains of the huts and earth platforms also suggest a temporal sequence of occupation at that location. The more ephemeral platforms appear to have been for temporary tent structures that were erected at the time of initial occupation, around the late 1850s/early 1860s. Whereas the platforms with stone hearths/fireplaces appear to have been built or re-built later as the numbers of site occupants decreased and the village became more established. This later, more concentrated phase of occupation is also evident from the larger number of artefacts recovered from two of the huts at the centre of the site (particularly Hut 2 where 80.3 per cent of artefacts were found) than from other hut remains. It would appear that the area of those two huts, in close association with the temple and store areas, formed the final phase of occupation at the site, probably in the early twentieth century.

The combination of this evidence suggests the main village at Jembaicumbene was therefore established first with its outlier camps being occupied after the village, and those camps being abandoned before the main village was deserted.

The Mongarlowe System

For the main village at Mongarlowe, history places Chinese there as early as 1858, and they were there until at least 1919, at which time it was reported that the Chinese ‘Joss House’ at that location was destroyed by fire.

However for the smaller, satellite camp at Flanagan’s Point, artefactual evidence indicates an occupation period from around the 1860s to the late 1880s, which may have extended into the early 1890s, and that the site was probably initially occupied in the 1860s with very few occupants in the 1890s. In addition, the first historical record of Chinese there was in July 1862 and the last was in 1895.

Historical records show for some of the other camps in this system Chinese were at Bentleys Point from the early 1870s until 1899, at Bobs Creek in 1891 until the 1920s, and at
Broad Gully from 1859. This implies that the exploitation of the resources was a progressive and dynamic process carried out from several small camps occupied for relatively short periods of time.

Similar to the Jembaicumbene system, the combination of the evidence at Mongarlowe suggests the main village was therefore also established first with its outpost camps being occupied after the village, and that the camps were probably also abandoned before the main village.

The Araluen Valley System

Although the archaeological evidence is less clear for this system, historical records indicate the Chinese were at Mudmelong from at least 1858 until at least 1904, and in the Araluen Valley until at least 1913. In all probability a similar pattern of occupation to that of Jembaicumbene and Mongarlowe also occurred in the Araluen Valley. It may have been that although the Chinese worked and lived in small camps along the length of the valley, at places such as Bells Creek in the north of the valley, the main focus was the village at Mudmelong in the south, which probably existed before and after the smaller camps in the valley.

Braidwood

As mentioned above, although Braidwood was a significant European settlement and situated between the two major Chinese settlement centres of Jembaicumbene and Mongarlowe, and a major ‘transitional’ centre for those Chinese in the Araluen Valley, it was never a Chinese dominated location during the mid to late nineteenth century. It was not until the latter part of that century when a single Chinese family, the Nomchongs, established their private and business interests there that a permanent Chinese presence existed in the town.

However, even though the archaeological evidence is lacking, there is ample historical documentation to show that Shong Foon Nom Chong ran a successful store in Mongarlowe. In 1877, he sent for his brother, Chee Dock, to assist him in running the store (McGowan 1996a:145). After Shong Foon’s death, Chee Dock moved his business to Braidwood. During the early twentieth century he and his family had business interests that stretched from Goulburn to Nelligen (on the south coast of NSW). In 1941, Chee Dock died at Goulburn, aged 84. The Nomchong general store closed in 1980, but one of Chee Dock’s descendants still operates a small electrical/general goods store in the main street of Braidwood today.

From the above, it appears each of the three major Chinese villages of the Braidwood region – Jembaicumbene, Mongarlowe and the Araluen Valley – were established before their respective smaller outpost camps. As the gold and the Chinese population within each system declined in the 1880s or so, those smaller camps were abandoned and the remaining population moved to the larger, central Chinese settlements.

It also appears that as the Chinese population further declined, those larger villages contracted to form a central core of a store, temple and a few, possibly re-built, individual dwellings – all in close proximity to each other at each location.

Later still, in the 1890s and/or during the early twentieth century as the majority of those remaining Chinese either returned to China or died, those three main villages were also abandoned. It was during this last phase of a small, scattered Chinese presence in the Braidwood region that the most prosperous Chinese migrant in the region, Chee Dock Nomchong and his Chinese wife, became accepted by the predominantly European population of the area and moved into the town of Braidwood. Chee Dock and his wife Mary were the last of the native born Chinese in the Braidwood Region. They died in 1941 and 1942, respectively, and both were buried in the Braidwood General Cemetery.
The Nerrigundah System

As in the Araluen Valley the archaeological evidence for the decline of the Nerrigundah system is unclear. However, history is able to complete the picture.

It is known the first contingent of Chinese miners to arrive in Nerrigundah from the Araluen Valley in 1861 set up a tent camp to the north of the European town, in an area known as the 'upper town' at Fern Flat. By around 1870, they were allocated their own cemetery on the eastern side of Gulph Creek, opposite their tent camp at Fern Flat. They established a community a short distance south of the township where they erected a temple and a ceremonial oven. In 1891, a New Year's festival was held at the temple and large numbers of Chinese gathered for a week of celebrations.

In all probability a similar pattern of occupation to that of Jembaicumbene and Mongarlowe also occurred at Nerrigundah. Although the Chinese worked and lived in small camps along the length of Gulph Creek, at places such as Fern Flat to the north of the town and Deep Creek to its south, the main focus was the village at 'Joss House' Crossing, which appears to have existed after other occupation sites in the area, until at least the end of the nineteenth century.

In addition, similar to the Braidwood Region, it was during the later phase of Chinese occupation at Nerrigundah that the most successful Chinese man in the region, Paul Kee Chong, was accepted by the predominantly European population and moved into the town proper. Kee Chong established a general store on the fringes of the European dominated town, at the eastern end of Gulph Street, sometime around 1875. In 1879, he sent his daughter to China as part of a pre-arranged marriage to the middle son of a Canton merchant. Anne Kee Chong and Thomas Dion were married in Nerrigundah and took over the family business. However, as the town declined, the Dions left Nerrigundah towards the end of the nineteenth century.

By 1915, there were no Chinese miners on the Nerrigundah Gold Field. However, a number of individual Chinese miners/itinerant workers remained at Nerrigundah. For example, one such person known as ‘Kangaroo Jack’, who was among the first group to arrive at Nerrigundah, died there on 31 August 1931. He was the last Chinese person in Nerrigundah.

The Tumut Region

For this region, little historical documentation or archaeology exists for the location and composition of smaller, satellite Chinese work camps but the life cycle of the overall regional system can be gauged by reference to the larger centres in the area, at Adjungbilly, Adelong and Upper Adelong.

For Adjungbilly, the artefacts from the Chinese village indicate an occupation period from around the late 1860s to the late 1870s, which may have extended into the early 1880s. In addition, history records Chinese being there in 1862, and at nearby Shaking Bog in 1879.

At Adelong there is an historical suggestion that it contained a Chinatown of 3,000 people by 1860. History also records a number of storekeepers, including Kum Hang Long, Wah Ah Nam Quong and Dang Ah Chee at Adelong. Kum Hang Long was the first of these in Adelong in the late 1860s and Wah Ah Nam Quong was the last in 1886.

Of those storekeepers, both Kum Hang Long and Dang Ah Chee began at Upper Adelong, and both moved from there as the Chinese population began to decline at that location. Artefactual evidence indicates the Upper Adelong village was occupied from around the 1860s until at least the late 1870s. The former of those two storekeepers, Kum Hang Long, apparently began as a storekeeper in the Chinese village at Upper Adelong and the latter, Dang Ah Chee, began as a miner who ‘struck it rich’ on the Upper Adelong goldfield in the 1850s.

Later still, similar to Braidwood and Nerrigundah, the most prosperous Chinese man in the area, Dang Ah Chee, opened a store at Tumut, and a second in Gundagai on the Hume Highway, probably in the late 1870s/1880s. He was largely interested in local tobacco
cultivation, backing many of his countrymen, and helping other Chinese on the land. His Business Letter Books for 1898-1904 show he employed a number of Chinese men in both of his stores and corresponded with Quong Tart, a well-known Chinese merchant in Sydney, who was also prominent in the Jembacumbene and Braidwood areas. Ah Chee married a European lady dressmaker from Batlow, and they had two sons and a daughter. By 1903, one of his sons, Tang Chee, had a 'very good commercial business in Hong Kong'. Dang Ah Chee eventually returned to China permanently sometime after 1904.

The only historical indications of the establishment and longevity of smaller camps in the region come from burial records and occasional newspaper reports. From these it is known that Ah Wong died and was buried at Hillas Creek in 1895, Ah Fan died and was buried at Nacka Nacka Creek in 1879, Ah Gee Lung and Ah Tong died and were buried at Gilmore Creek in 1868 and 1895, respectively, Ah Quong died at Sharps Creek in 1872 and was buried at Upper Adelong in the same year, Long Shee died and was buried at Tumut Plains in 1873, and Sney (or Shey) Hoy and Wing Row (or Bow) died and were buried at Springfield, near Tumut, in 1899 and 1894, respectively. In addition, Peter Chow Ling who lived and flossicked at Broken Cart for many years, died on 23 February 1909 aged 88 and was buried there, as was another of his countrymen, Ah Sheer, in 1879 (Wilkinson and Pebesma 1999).

By 1940, long after the small camps and the settlements at Adelong, Upper and Middle Adelong and Adjungbilly had ceased to exist, there remained a 'Chinese community house – a sort of old people's home – where the Chinese used to meet and some of the older men lived' in Tumut. Today, there are several descendants of the original Chinese goldfield immigrants living and working in the Tumut region.

From the above, although the archaeological evidence is lacking for smaller camps, it is apparent that each of the major Chinese villages in the region, at Adelong, Upper Adelong and Adjungbilly, were established at least two decades before the Chinese moved into the European dominated town of Tumut. Similar to the other systems above, as the gold and the Chinese population within each system declined around the 1880s, those villages were abandoned and the remaining, scattered Chinese population in the area naturally drifted towards and was accepted into the larger European town. Like the Braidwood and South Coast Region, it was during this period that the most successful Chinese migrant in the region, Dang Ah Chee, prospered amongst his European counterparts by providing a range of traditional goods and services for his countrymen. He continued in this role until, probably due to lack of a sizeable Chinese population, it became unprofitable or unworkable. He then returned to China, leaving other smaller storekeepers to cater for the needs of an ever-decreasing native Chinese community, which existed until around the 1940s.

KIAandra AND THE SNOWY MOUNTAINS

While archaeology shows there were five smaller outpost Chinese work camps associated with the main village at Kiandra, located at Eucumbene Crossing, Little Boggy Plain, Nine Mile and Nungar Creek and Sawyers Hill, history records another four. Comprehensive archaeological evidence and limited historical references indicate the main village at Kiandra was established in June 1860, and there were still nine Chinese living there in 1891. Again, similar to other regions in this study, as the gold and Chinese population declined in the area, it was an individual Chinese man from the Chinese village who moved into the predominantly European township of Kiandra. In 1882, Tom Ah Yan, a prosperous miner turned storekeeper, bought an allotment on the southern outskirts of the town. That allotment contained a number of weatherboard buildings, including a store. Most of the remaining men from the Chinese village moved into those buildings in the latter part of the nineteenth century. That complex existed until 1916, when it was destroyed by fire.
The three small work camps at Eucumbene Crossing, Nungar Creek and Sawyers Hill were relatively close to the main village. Although there are no historical records for the sites, artefactual evidence from them indicates they were occupied for a shorter period than the Chinese village at Kiandra, from around the 1860s to the late 1870s – long before the demise of the village.

Similarly, the Nine Mile camp, although some 14 km south of Kiandra appears to have been established after the Chinese village there, probably in the 1870s but possibly earlier. However, it persisted until around 1910, about a decade or so after the village had fallen into disuse, but not before the Chinese store complex in the town was destroyed, in 1916. During their time at Nine Mile, it was reported those Chinese miners who worked at the gold diggings there walked into the stores, and the other buildings on the southern fringe of the town for a holiday or supplies.

As for the farthest Kiandra outpost, Little Boggy Plain, 60 km south of Kiandra, again there are no historical references for the work camp. However, artefacts recovered from the site provide evidence for a probable occupation period from around mid-1870 to mid-1880.

Overall, similar to other regions in the study area, at Kiandra it appears the main Chinese village was established before its respective smaller outpost camps. As the gold and the Chinese population within the system declined in the 1880s or so, the majority of those smaller camps appear to have been abandoned and the remaining population moved to the larger, central Chinese settlement, one kilometre east of the township. Again, like other Chinese villages in the area, it also appears that as the population further declined, the village contracted to form a central core of a temple, a re-built ceremonial oven and a few, possibly re-built, individual dwellings, all in relatively close proximity. Later, around the end of the nineteenth century, the main village was also abandoned.

Also like other regions, it was during the declining phase of a small, scattered Chinese presence in the Kiandra and Snowy Mountains region in the 1880s that the most successful Chinese migrant in the region, Tom Ah Yan, was accepted by the predominantly European population and moved into Kiandra township proper, albeit on the fringes of the town. He stayed in Kiandra with his family and continued to live and work there until his death in 1925, aged 80. He was the last of the native born Chinese at Kiandra.

COMMUNITY CONNECTIONS

Archaeologically, each of these nine major nineteenth-century Chinese community systems is connected by their sameness. They all exhibit similar co-operative organisation, similar community elements, locations, construction and layout in their main and satellite settlements, the same attributes of fengshui in their main settlements, the same hierarchical pattern of co-operative settlement, and similar patterns of establishment and subsequent demise.

In addition, there is also their artefactual similarity. The presence, and in most cases predominant presence, of Chinese ceramics and other Chinese artefacts, such as coins and the remains of opium paraphernalia, at most of the sites is an indication of the co-operative network of Chinese connections throughout the area. A prominent example of this, and of broader connections to a wider network, is the remains of opium cans recovered from both the Jembaicumbene and Kiandra villages. These exhibit the same brand of opium, ‘Abundant Luck’, identified from the lid inscriptions. This brand of opium was prepared and distributed by companies in Hong Kong that operated between 1867 and 1884 (Sando and Felton 1993:171). Such tins would, no doubt, have arrived at those locations through importers in Sydney.

Historically, several newspaper references and occasional personal recollections, for example, Preshaw in 1888 and Shellard in 1890, attest to the connections of different communities through the movement of Chinese within southeastern NSW and northeastern Victoria during the latter half of the nineteenth, particularly during the late 1850s and early
1860s. Groups of Chinese were reported as moving between Adelong, Braidwood, Beechworth, Cooma, Gundagai, Jembaicumbene, Kiandra, Majors Creek, Mongarlowe, Nelligen, Nerrigundah, Omeo, Sydney, Tumut, Lambing Flat (Young) and more during that period. There are also reports of Chinese doctors and other professionals independently moving through and between these centres.

For the most part, at least in the late 1850s and early 1860s, these were not casual migrations but highly organised dynamic group movements to potentially resource rich goldfields and between and from them as they became exhausted or if, rarely, the Chinese were forced off them.

From the first report of the arrival of Chinese on the Braidwood goldfields from Sydney by the *Goulburn Herald* on 27 March 1858, newspapers began recounting some of their large scale organised movements.

Shortly after, a Braidwood newspaper reported renewed activity at Mongarlowe as a consequence of their arrival on the field and praised their community co-operation, stating,

During the past week some four or five hundred Chinese barbarians passed through our town [Braidwood]. On Monday and Tuesday two hordes, of about fifty in each, passed en route to the Little River [Mongarlowe], and the remainder during the end of the week. Most of them came from Long Flat [Majors Creek], and some of them were direct overlanders from the Victorian side. Why do not our unemployed learn a lesson of wisdom from them, that is, hang together in co-operative and communitive (sic) bands, and work at the gold fields for a common subsistence and advantage (*Braidwood Dispatch* 3 July 1858).

Having determined the excellent prospects of the Braidwood area, the Chinese there almost immediately sought to inform their countrymen on the western goldfields (around Bathurst) of its potential, as the *Goulburn Herald* reported on 21 April 1858, Good News for the Braidwood Diggers – By last Saturday’s mail, a delegate or missionary (a native of Canton) was despatched by the Chinese residents on our diggings, for the purpose of representing to their brethren on the Turon and other western gold fields the many advantages held out by the Braidwood diggings. During a long conversation with him, he boldly asserted that not less than one thousand of his countrymen would leave the western gold fields for Braidwood, so soon as they could make the necessary preparations.

In 1860, the Chinese were still arriving on the Braidwood goldfields in large, well organised groups from Sydney. In August of that year a steamer was chartered in Sydney by a ‘Celestial boss’ to bring 200 of his countrymen to the gold fields, via Nelligen (Batemans Bay) (*Braidwood Dispatch* 18 August 1860).

Following the discovery of gold at Kiandra, in 1860 local newspapers reported the movement of companies of Chinese travelling there en-masse from various locations, such as from Jembaicumbene and Mongarlowe via Braidwood, Queanbeyan and Cooma, and from Beechworth and Omeo via Adelong and Tumut or via Delegate. An eyewitness account to their first arrival there attests to their organisational capabilities when in June 1860 he notes, ‘Eighty Chinamen arrived; I was talking to their head man, who told me he expected there would be 20,000 of his countrymen here in less than six months’ (Preshaw 1888:55).

By the end of 1860, as the Kiandra prospects dwindled, groups of Chinese began leaving. For example, in August 1860, a large band ‘about 100 men passed through Adelong, en route to Beechworth’ (*Adelong Mining Journal* 31 August 1860). They also went to Lambing Flat where it was reported, ‘Chinese on other fields had been told by their countrymen at Burranong [Lambing Flat] of the superiority of the field, and were flocking to the field in their thousands’ (Selth 1971:7).

However, Europeans already mining at Lambing Flat reacted unkindly to these arrivals and, in February 1861, forced them from the goldfield (McGregor and McGregor 1999:38-42). An eyewitness, Frank Shellard (1890:1), later recalled, ‘The Chinese mustered pretty strong and as they never prospect for themselves soon became a nuisance to the diggers so that it often led
to disputes and fights ... After a while the diggers held meetings and resolved to Roll Up and drive all the Chinese off the Field'. This resulted in a mass attack on the Chinese there and in its wake, according to Shellard (1890:3), 'what was left of the buildings were (sic) set on fire and nothing was left but ashes and ruin of the Chinese camp'.

The riots at Lambing Flat initially forced groups of Chinese to return to the goldfields around Braidwood and Tumut and at Kiandra. March 1861 saw a report of 200 returning to Kiandra via Tumut within eight days (Yass Courier 16 March 1861) and it was speculated that Jembaicumbene, 'will again become the favourite resort of the Chinese now returning from the Snowy [Kiandra] and Lambing Flat' (ROMA 28 August 1860). Nevertheless, undaunted, Chinese returned to Lambing Flat later that year from various locations, such as Jembaicumbene where drays were chartered to take hundreds of them there (Sydney Empire 9 September 1861).

In the meantime, Chinese continued to migrate between various centres in southeastern NSW. In April 1861, 'upwards of 100 Chinamen, on their way to Kiandra, camped on the reserve at the west end of the town [Cooma]' (Golden Age 18 April 1861). In the same month it was reported that, 'a mob of Chinamen [who were camped at Cooma] were going to try their luck at the Delegate diggings near Bombala' (SMH 27 April 1861).

While en route between the large centres and as a continuum of seeking better prospects, history records groups of Chinese at a number of small, temporary, intermediate locations in southeastern NSW in the 1860s and early 1870s. During that time there are records of them at Big Badja River (1860), Colyers Creek (1862 and 1868) and Numeralla (1868 to 1871) near Cooma; at Brooks Creek (1862) near Gundaroo, where a temple was erected; at Cunninghams Creek (1862-1872), McMahons Reef (1862, 1871, 1872) and the Nanima Creek and Yass River junction (1861) near Yass; Jerrawa Creek (1862) at Howarths Crossing; and at Bolong (before 1875) and Tuena (1860s) on the way to Bathurst from Queanbeyan and Young (Baker 1996:9, Hoskins 2003:12-16, McGowan 1996b:13, 20, 107, 128, 145-149, 175).

Whereas there is limited field evidence to confirm a Chinese presence at most of these sites, McGowan (1996b:10, 20, 126, 146-149) has indicated that there is a race revetment at Big Badja River that is thought to be Chinese in construction at the entrance to the workings as well as evidence of Chinese mining techniques, anecdotal evidence of a small settlement and artefact scatter at Colyers Creek near its junction with the Murrumbidgee, an area of paddocking at Cunninghams Creek, and an area of Chinese alluvial mining at the Nanima Creek and Yass River confluence.

These accounts provide evidence of both the organisational strength and the dynamism of Chinese community connections in the study area, particularly during the late 1850s and 1860s. They reveal that, under the direction of a headman, large scale group movements within the area were common and usually premeditated with intelligence being acquired about new goldfields before companies departed for them. In addition, they also show that although such opportunistic group movements occurred and populations in some areas were substantially reduced or those areas deserted, major community centres within the network continued to function, and were intensively worked to provide a consistent return on investments.

Based on the above, Figure 6.1.6 gives a map of the settlements in southeastern NSW and northeastern Victoria and depicts the indicative routes taken between them by the Chinese in the late 1850s and 1860s. The map portrays the probable relationships between each of the three macro-regions in southeastern NSW that are the subject of this study with other such regions in NSW, Delegate and Lambing Flat (Young), and those of Beechworth and Omeo in northeastern Victoria. It also shows the several known small intermediate settlements, which were essential to the continuity of the network, and broader connections to other gold fields, such as those around Bathurst, and ultimately to the Sydney entrepot.

As well as emphasising the importance of the three macro-regions and their associated internal systems to the successful operation of the late 1850s and 1860s Chinese network in southeastern NSW, the map also highlights some knowledge gaps with regard to Chinese
settlements and movements in the area during that period. In particular, there is a deficiency of such information about the Delegate/Bombala region. While official mining records indicate a substantial Chinese presence there in the mid to late nineteenth century, archaeological evidence is unknown. Although there is also little known about access to that region some possible routes have been indicated in Figure 6.1.6.

In addition, no doubt they were also many other small intermediate settlements along the major network pathways throughout southeastern NSW during that time, which have either been destroyed or remain hidden.

Figure 6.1.6: Late 1850s and 1860s Chinese settlements in southeastern NSW and northeastern Victoria showing indicative routes taken between them by the Chinese.
As well as accounts of group migration, a number of disparate newspaper reports over a period of more than a decade relate to the activities, and consequently movements, of a particular individual Chinese man within the area during the 1860s and early 1870s. When connected they provide an additional rare insight into the well-organised co-operative and mobile connections of nineteenth-century Chinese communities throughout southeastern NSW. That individual was Lung Swe, also known as ‘John Johnson’ or ‘Jemmy Johnson’, who was described as ‘a bad man’ (BOMA 17 December 1862). The following provides a view of part of his life and character:

• Johnson first appears at Braidwood in April 1860 as a court interpreter in a case of alleged opium stealing at Jembaicumbene,

  John Johnson, a Chinese convert to Christianity, officiated as Interpreter, having been despatched to Braidwood for that purpose by the Inspector-General of Police [at Sydney], to whom a report of the case had been made (BOMA 28 April 1860).

• In December 1862, as a result of a police case, Johnson and another Chinese man were found guilty of aggravated assault on a third Chinese man at Braidwood,

  John Johnson, otherwise Lung Swe, and Ah Fat, were charged with having at Braidwood, on the 15th November last, assaulted Quung Loch, ... The prisoners had entrusted their defence to Mr. Fell, who called Johnny Own, a Chinese resident of Jembaicumbene, who stated that Jemmy Johnson had been living in his tent for a month, and Ah Fat for a fortnight. ... By the testimony of Senior Constable Lenthall, it appeared that Ah Fat had been in the Braidwood lock-up during a portion of the period which Johnny Owen swore the prisoner had never left his tent, and the prisoners had separately stated to Serjeant Latimer upon apprehension at Queanbeyan that they had not been in Braidwood for three years. ... The jury found both prisoners guilty.

  The Chairman after some enquiry from the Police, whose reports were anything but favourable to the character of Jemmy Johnson, ... stated that he had heard a very bad character of Jemmy Johnson from his fellow countrymen at Cooma, and particularly in reference to some opium transaction in which Jemmy Johnson failed to prosecute, and when it was stated that he had run away from Lambing Flat after committing a murder there. Jemmy Johnson was a bad man, and would be punished for several years, and Ah Fat would be punished for some years too. The sentence of the Court was that Jemmy Johnson should be worked at hard labour on the roads for five years, on Ah Fat, that he should be kept to hard labour in like manner for the term of three years (BOMA 17 December 1862).

• In December 1870, there was a ‘Serious Fracas Among Chinese’ at Kiandra, which ultimately led to Johnson’s death in April 1871,

  A mining dispute connected with the Chinese was determined at Court; and on their return to the camp [at Kiandra] the losing party attacked the other side in a most savage manner. During the fracas one of the wounded Chinamen was robbed of £20. A search warrant was issued to search the premises of Charlie Ah Chee, for the lost money. Sr. Constable Breen, whilst searching this fellow’s bed, came across several little documents which were stolen from Mr. Horsburg’s house at Nine Mile, together with a quantity of gold dust, on 12th Nov. last; thus connecting him with the robbery. Charlie Ah Chee has since been committed on this charge, and also for robbing the Chinaman (Monaro Mercury 22 December 1870).

  Information was received in Cooma early on Thursday morning [30th March 1871] to the effect that a brutal murder had been committed in Kiandra on the previous evening. The victim’s name is Jemmy Johnson, the Chinese Interpreter at Kiandra, who died within an hour of the attack being made on him. The alleged murderer is also a Chinaman, who, it may be remembered by our readers, acted as interpreter in the case of stealing preferred at the last Cooma Quarter Sessions against Charlie Ah Chee, the latter having been committed from Kiandra. The murderer has only recently arrived from Sydney, he having been engaged by wealthy Chinese merchants there to watch the late case against Chinese (SMH 14 April 1871).

  In short, this limited view of the latter part of Jemmy Johnson’s life reveals that during an 11-year period from 1860 to 1871, as well as spending five of those years in gaol, he was...
with his countrymen at Braidwood, Cooma, Jembaicumbene, Kiandra, Queanbeyan, Sydney and Young (Lambing Flat).

Initially, Johnson was a trusted Christian interpreter engaged by the most senior policeman in Sydney, a position that was no doubt sanctioned by influential Chinese community members there. Although he maintains that role until his death in 1871, his activities in the intervening years suggest that he may have misused his position of trust or perhaps he was acting as an enforcer for a system of Chinese governance, which seems to have existed throughout southeastern NSW. Apparently, when his actions could no longer be tolerated by the influential community members, wealthy Chinese merchants in Sydney, the Chinese arm of justice reached out from there to correct the unsatisfactory situation in faraway Kiandra. Whatever his real role, it is evident that he was not part of a migratory group but rather an individual who was required to move to different locations as his employment or other circumstances required.

Johnson is only one example of probably many such individuals who worked within the mid to late nineteenth-century Chinese network in NSW. The accounts of the latter part of his life reinforce the intricate interconnections between communities and individuals of that era, the subtleties of which even now can never be fully understood.

At the other end of the social scale, and possibly the head of the Chinese network in NSW, at least towards the end of the nineteenth century, is Quong Tart. He was well educated and 'a well-born Chinese', the second son of a merchant in a Cantonese town. He accompanied his uncle, 'who was going to Australia to take charge of a lot of Chinese', to the NSW gold fields in 1859 to act as an interpreter. He was then aged nine. Although he acquired a NSW certificate of naturalisation in 1871, in 1887 the Chinese Emperor conferred upon him the honour of a Fifth-class Mandarin, which was advanced three years later to a Mandarin of the Fourth-class. By 1897, he was a wealthy tea and silk merchant and restaurateur in Sydney with connections through Hong Kong to China, accorded the same attentions as the Governor of NSW and compared to royalty (Tart 1911:8-9, Travers 1981:9-10).

When Tart arrived in NSW his guardian became Mr Percy Simpson, brother of the NSW Supreme Court Judge, Sir G. B. Simpson. Percy leased 'the great alluvial area on the Braidwood goldfields known as Bell's Paddock, where he employed many hundred miners, principally Chinese'. Tart, then still nine years old, accompanied Simpson among the miners as an interpreter. He spent his formative years on that gold field and when Simpson left he gave Tart a 'big interest in an important gold claim'. Tart employed about 200 Chinese and Europeans on the claim and in the course of a few years became comparatively wealthy. He built 'a beautiful villa residence at Bell's Creek', which had an outdoor circular stone 'barbeque', and became the most notable resident of the Braidwood Gold Fields (Tart 1911:5).

In 1874, Tart left Braidwood and returned to China with the intention of establishing himself as a merchant when he came back to Sydney. He did so on his return and also opened various restaurants in the centre of Sydney 'on a scale of splendour never before seen in Australia'. In 1883, Tart was appointed to a NSW Government Commission of Inquiry into the Chinese camps in the Riverina district of southern NSW, and in 1891 served on the NSW Royal Commission on Alleged Chinese Gambling and Immorality. In 1886, he married Margaret Scarlett in Sydney and subsequently fathered six children. During a 'Chinese difficulty' in Hong Kong in 1888, he was appointed as a mediator to assist the British Government there. He died in Sydney in 1903 (Tart 1911:8).

From around 1875, Tart had extensive business interests throughout NSW, as evidenced by the correspondence from Dang Ah Chee, the prominent store owner in Tumut, in 1898 (Business Letter Books, 1898-1904, NLA, MS3112). He clearly could be considered 'Chinese gentry' and was obviously an influential member of the Chinese community in NSW. He undoubtedly would also have known the wealthy Chinese merchants in Sydney who were apparently involved with the Jemmy Johnson 'matter' a few years earlier.
6.2 SIMILARITIES WITHIN AUSTRALIA/TESTING THE MODEL

Although there have been a number of archaeological and historical studies of various aspects of nineteenth-century overseas Chinese rural settlements in Australia that could lend themselves to such testing, only two have been examined in any breadth yet neither provides the depth or scope of this study. Nevertheless, through a re-assessment of those two, in northern NSW and Tasmania, it has been possible to construct a sense of the pattern of those settlements.

ROCKY RIVER, NORTHERN NSW

The first to be assessed with a view to determining a settlement pattern is an historical examination of the Rocky River Goldfield (1851-1867), a Masters thesis by Mackay in 1953. As he stated, 'this thesis pretends to be nothing more than a case-history of a relatively minor Australian goldfield during its most productive years'. Although its focus was on Europeans on the field, Mackay devoted a chapter to the Chinese there whom he concluded, were, ‘an important group at the Rocky’ (Mackay 1953:iii).

While his discussion centres on 'their origins, their earnings and living conditions, and especially their relations with the other [European] miners' (Mackay 1953:302), he also mentions, in passing, the broad locations and types of their camps. However, there is no detailed description of any of the settlements or their exact locations, and a field inspection of the sites proved unsuccessful due to land rehabilitation in the area.

Even so, from such limited historical information it has been possible to compile a map of the Chinese settlement on the goldfield during the period of his study. The map appears in Figure 6.2.1. From this information, it has also been possible to locate the main Chinese village (and some of its elements) and its smaller satellite camps in the area.

According to Mackay (1953:304), the first Chinese arrived at the goldfield in April 1856, and 'were followed in the next few months by hundreds of others'. He states, "Chinese apparently owned several buildings - a store and a butcher's shop on Mount Welsh in 1858, similar establishments on Mount Jones in 1863, and a joss house on Mount Jones between 1862 (or earlier) and 1866 - but there was no mention of houses for Chinese minors (sic). They were highly nomadic in the 'fifties and 'sixties and probably lived in tents. Nor were there any reference to market gardens in our period (Mackay 1953:307-308)."

Elsewhere in his thesis, Mackay locates several hut sites within a radius of about one and a half kilometres of Mount Jones (Jones Hill), and two stores at Maitland Point, some eight kilometres north of Mount Jones. Mackay also provides possible dates for these sites.

As can be seen from Figure 6.2.1, the hierarchical pattern of a main, central settlement with smaller, satellite camps identified in southeastern NSW Chinese communities is replicated on the Rocky River Goldfield for the period 1851 to 1867. The main village contains the similar community elements of a Chinese temple, stores and individual dwellings, which are not recorded together elsewhere on the field. The smaller settlements are recorded as containing only huts, without stores or a temple, similar to those in southeastern Australia. In addition, the two stores documented at Maitland Point are located at the periphery of the possible sphere of influence of the main settlement at Mount Jones/Mount Welsh, similar to the locations of other settlement components in southeastern NSW.

However, the possible sphere of influence or catchment for the Rocky River central place is considerably less than that noted in southeastern NSW. A radius of only eight kilometres from the centre defines the whole of the Chinese occupied settlements at the former rather than the 16 km radius that was determined for the latter. Such a difference may be due to a number of possible factors, such as topography, numbers of Chinese, closeness of connections and/or the locations and extent of the alluvial gold diggings, which are not identified by Mackay.
Figure 6.2.1: Map of (the locality of) Rocky River, Uralla, NSW, showing Chinese settlement focus and sphere (with known historical dates). Large green circle is approximately 8 km in radius (derived from Mackay 1953:302-327).
From the limited information available, another similarity between this area and those of southeastern NSW appears to be within the life cycle of the system. Using Mackay’s dates, where they are available, it appears that similar to their southern counterparts, the main village outlasted its smaller, outlying camps. It was established before 1862 and lasted until at least 1867, whereas the majority of the smaller camps had a much shorter existence. This may also indicate a similar temporal sequence of contraction towards a central community focus as the gold and/or Chinese population declined in the system.

NORTHEASTERN TASMANIA

The second comparative test of the model is derived from four separate studies. They are: Easteal’s historical study of the Chinese in Tasmania from 1870-1900, an Honours thesis in 1966; Gaughwin’s 1995 archaeological view of Chinese settlement sites in northeastern Tasmania; Vivian’s 1985 historical report of Chinese sites in northeast Tasmania; and Walden’s 1995 historical review of the tin fields of northeast Tasmania.

As with the information from the Rocky River goldfield, these four studies do not provide the breadth, depth or scope of this study. However, in combination analyses of those studies give a good depiction of the location and composition of Chinese communities in that area.

Nevertheless, from this limited historical and archaeological information it has been possible to map the distribution of Chinese settlement in northeast Tasmania (Figure 6.2.2). It has also been possible to identify the main Chinese villages, including some of their elements, and, to a much lesser extent, their smaller satellite camps.

Chinese went late to Tasmania. Walden (1995:177) notes, ‘in 1870, there were only an estimated 13 Chinese in the whole of Tasmania’. Vivian (1985:1) observes the main period of Chinese immigration to Tasmania was 1875-1890, but the number of Chinese there was never great, reaching a peak of approximately 1,000-1,500 in 1887-1888. Many went to Tasmania from the goldfields of Victoria. After the introduction of restrictive immigration laws in 1887 and a recession in tin mining in 1888 the number of Chinese gradually declined due to the lack of immigration, old age and death (Vivian 1985:1).

Of the 16 locations of Chinese occupation identified in northeast Tasmania, four (Nos 1, 2, 5 and 14 Figure 6.2.2) have been determined to be main community centres, containing various settlement elements of a village with the primary criterion being a temple. A fifth (No. 16), the Community Club in Launceston, could be regarded as a main community centre as it was probably the last bastion of a significant Chinese presence in that area of northeastern Tasmania.

Other locations, such as the goldmining town of Mathinna with a large Chinese population (169 in 1901), may also have been main community centres. However, as there are no records of the settlement elements at those locations, they have not been included as focal hubs. In addition, although most such centres are identified in those studies, with the possible exception of Branxholm, the studies are silent on the locations of smaller, satellite settlements associated with the larger centres.

Unfortunately, the four studies on the area also lack detail as to the dates of establishment and demise of the Chinese settlements across the region. However, in general, it appears that most settlements were in full operation around 1880 and most, like Garibaldi, lingered in a derelict state until the early twentieth century.

Regardless of the paucity of information for the purposes of this comparative exercise, from Figure 6.2.2, a limited hierarchical pattern of main, central settlements with associated smaller, satellite settlements can be discerned. The spheres of influence of the centres of the systems identified in northeast Tasmania also appear to fall within similar distances to those
identified in southeastern NSW. In particular, those three centres in the extreme northwest were within about 16 km radius of each other.

However, a temporal sequence for each of the systems cannot be determined from the available information.

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**Figure 6.2.2:** Map of northeast Tasmania, showing Chinese settlement foci and spheres (1870s to early 1900s). Large green circles are approximately 16 km in radius (derived from Easteal 1966, Gaughwin 1995, Vivian 1985, Walden 1995).
6.3 OVERSEAS RESEMBLANCES

The most comparable investigation of overseas rural Chinese settlements outside Australia has been Ritchie’s 1986 study of the Chinese in southern NZ. It is this that has been re-evaluated to provide the necessary information for analysis in this research.

This work focused on the upper Clutha and Wakatipu basins and centred on the town of Cromwell. It was ‘a social history of the Chinese in NZ in the nineteenth century’ and ‘utilises archaeological information – field evidence and studies of material culture’ to provide a new perspective on the lifestyle of the Chinese miners and addresses their acculturation, adaptation, or change (Ritchie 1986:i).

Although the archaeological component provided comprehensive documentation of the types and uses of Chinese artefacts, and an equally detailed examination of individual dwellings and to a lesser extent stores, it did not address the other elements of Chinese settlements, such as temples, ovens, cemeteries or gardens. With the possible exception of ovens, which may have been an Australian phenomenon, it seems unlikely that some of the large communities in his study area, such as at Alexandra, Arrowtown, and Cromwell with their relatively large populations and significant number of stores and dwellings were devoid of those elements. It is only the social history component that provides brief discussions on temples and cemeteries, with no detailed analysis of either. However, Chinese gardens are not addressed at all. In addition, this work does not extend to identifying the community settlement patterns, life cycles and connections.

Notwithstanding, as was done for settlement systems in Australia, from a review of Ritchie’s thesis, a map has been assembled of the Chinese settlement within his research area (Figure 6.3.1). It has also been possible to locate the main Chinese villages, including some of their elements, together with historical occupation dates where they are available and a number of smaller satellite camps in the area.

As is apparent from Figure 6.3.1, and similar to nineteenth-century Chinese settlements in southeastern and Tasmania, there is a hierarchical pattern of a main, central Chinese community at Cromwell surrounded by a network of smaller, satellite camps within a radius of 16 km of the main settlement. The main community comprises a village of six stores and 20 huts and it was in existence from 1869 to 1884. The majority of the smaller camps comprise from one to five individual huts, but their occupation dates are unknown, and one, Bannockburn, had two stores.

With regard to the other three centres, and possible settlement systems, shown in Figure 6.3.1, at Arrowtown, Cardrona and Alexandra, it is also possible that each had a number of smaller camps radiating from them – particularly Arrowtown, which had a Chinese village of 10 stores and 10 huts. Ritchie focused on Arrowtown as part of his research but no further afield than the main settlement at that location.

It also seems equally likely that each, or at least one, of the four main community centres identified in the region contained a temple, cemetery and possibly an oven. For example, with regard to temples and ovens, Ritchie (1986:67) notes that during the Chinese New Year celebration ‘big feasts were held at each of the Chinese settlements, pigs would be killed and eaten and Chinese delicacies consumed in abundance’. During that time at Arrowtown he observes, ‘[it] has been the centre of attraction for about 200 Chinese (that is, at least 10 times the town’s normal Chinese population)’. For cemeteries, as part of his discussion on the historical aspects of exhumation in NZ, Ritchie (1986:80) states that the bodies of 489 Chinese were exhumed in 1902 from 40 graveyards all over the country, ‘including Auckland, Wellington, Palmerston North, Greymouth, Christchurch, Dunedin and other towns’. Some of those ‘other towns’ might well have been the large Chinese settlements at Arrowtown, Cardrona, Cromwell or Alexandra.
Figure 6.3.1: Map of Central Otago, New Zealand, showing Chinese foci and spheres (with known historical dates). Large green circles are approximately 16 km in radius (derived from Ritchie 1986, 1993).
Turning to occupation dates within Ritchie’s study area, history records the first Chinese arriving in 1866 with little positive archaeological evidence of pre-1870 occupation in any of his study sites. He (1986:139-141) observes the smaller sites at upper Clutha of the Cromwell system were not occupied until around 1880 and appear to have been abandoned between 1900 and 1910. Whereas, he notes, the main settlements at Cromwell (occupied from before 1869 to around 1920) and Arrowtown (1869 to 1925) had the greatest longevity.

This temporal sequence also resembles the pattern of establishment and decline of the southeastern NSW systems. From his study, it appears that the main community centres at Arrowtown and Cromwell were established around the same time, and that those smaller, satellite camps of the Cromwell system established later. The latter then appear to have been deserted, probably due to the decline of gold and/or Chinese population, and the settlement contracted to the main centre at Cromwell. Later still, it also appears that Cromwell declined and the focus for the remaining Chinese was Arrowtown, with its settlement on the outskirts of the predominantly European town at that location, and a Chinese store with a prominent Chinese storekeeper, Ah Lum, providing the necessities for an ageing and diminishing Chinese population.

At a broader level, a map entitled: ‘Our Chinese Mission’, sketched by the Reverend Alexander in 1888 (Ritchie 1986:18) for an extensive area of southeastern NZ (Figure 6.3.2) provides a unique snapshot of Chinese settlements, and their populations, in that region. It also provides an opportunity to consider possible settlement patterns across that broad area.

Although the map presents only population figures with no indication of the structural elements or, of course, temporal sequences at any of the settlements, Ritchie provides some limited additional information in this regard from Reverend Don’s records compiled between 1880 and 1911. For instance, Ritchie (1986:66) states there were two major Chinese temples on the southern goldfields. The first was established at Lawrence in 1869 and the second was at Round Hill in 1883. At its height, as well as individual dwellings, the Lawrence Chinese settlement contained two temples, five stores, a hotel, a gambling house and a boarding house with a maximum population of 500. It is currently undergoing archaeological investigation prior to planning for an authentic ‘theme-park’ re-creation. Ritchie also notes there was a Chinese graveyard in the area, at Dunedin, a major European city on the southeast coast (Ritchie 1986:80). However, apart from his immediate research area, there is no other information in his study as to the structural elements or chronology of the other communities identified by Don.

The possible settlement foci and spheres illustrated in Figure 6.3.2 are based on Don’s population figures, and locations of around 20 or more Chinese can be considered to be community centres, together with the additional information provided by Ritchie. They also use the same radius (16 km) as those shown for southeastern NSW.

The map indicates that, as well as the city of Dunedin, there were two concentrations of rural Chinese occupation, one centred on the town of Cromwell in the north and the other on Lawrence in the south. In addition, there appear to be two smaller rural settlement areas around Macraes, Oamaru and Upper Kyeburn in the northeast, and Round Hill in the southeast.

In addition, each of those rural concentrations shows, in terms of population, several settlement systems. Each identified system also comprises a large central community and, in many cases, several associated smaller satellite settlements. Even the smallest of these, the Round Hill system with a Chinese temple at its centre has its smaller outpost at Riverton, some 16 km distant.

In summary, from both Ritchie’s study and Don’s broader area map, it is evident there were a number of overseas Chinese rural settlement systems operating in southern NZ during the mid to late nineteenth/early twentieth century. Most, if not all, of those systems also displayed an hierarchical settlement pattern similar to that of southeastern NSW. Additionally, with regard to the life cycles of those systems, for the Cromwell system at least, there was also a striking resemblance to similar nineteenth-century Chinese settlements in southeastern NSW.
Figure 6.3.2: Sketch map of Presbyterian ‘Chinese Mission area’ Otago, New Zealand, 1888, showing Chinese occupation sites with population numbers and possible settlement foci and spheres. Large green circles are approximately 16 km in radius. (Derived from map drawn by the Reverend Alexander Don, 17 February 1888, in Ritchie 1986:18).
7. CONCLUSION

This thesis has revealed a hierarchical pattern of nineteenth-century overseas Chinese settlements in rural southeastern NSW, in both a physical and perceived landscape. It has shown the physical landscape was imprinted with traditional material elements of Chinese co-operative community organisation and the perceived landscape was imbued with the symbolic animistic elements of Chinese culture.

In addition, it has shown this hierarchical pattern of community organisation was not only repeated throughout the study area and at similar mid to late nineteenth-century Chinese settlements elsewhere in Australia (in northern NSW and Tasmania) and overseas (in NZ), but was also distinct and separate from contemporary British-based rural settlements.

As well as their material culture, early Chinese gold-seekers in Australia, and NSW, brought with them the intellectual blueprint for their settlements, including preferred locations, layouts, structural elements and much more. They were extremely well organised through group employment arrangements, usually under the direction of a 'headman'. During those years, large groups, sometimes numbering in the hundreds, traversed the land to newly discovered goldfields. On their arrival at a new location with their limited possessions, such groups established temporary tent camps, sometimes immediately seeking to set up a temple within the camp, and new arrivals were naturally attracted to existing settlements. As the Chinese population became settled their calico tents were abandoned in favour of more durable huts, usually made from local material. Those settlements functioned as homogenous and segregated and generally all male communities, with many persisting as permanent villages for up to 40 years, albeit in an ever-diminishing capacity, until the end of the nineteenth century.

The establishment of such settlements and settlement systems in the 1850s and 1860s, their consolidation during the 1870s and 1880s, and their gradual demise, with the resultant movement of remnant Chinese communities into the predominant British settlement infrastructure of rural southeastern NSW towards the end of the nineteenth century is evident in the archaeological record.

That record, in association with available historical records, showed the same hierarchical pattern of co-operative nineteenth Chinese settlement within nine designated settlement systems within three regions of Braidwood and the South Coast, Tumut and Kiandra and the Snowy Mountains of southeastern NSW. That pattern comprised a two-tier extended community with interconnecting links, and links to many more rural locations in NSW, as well as to Sydney and to China.

The first tier of the pattern comprised a wholly self-contained and self-sufficient major Chinese settlement centre, or village, on a major goldfield, in proximity to, but separate from, its contemporary European counterpart. It contained the essential practical, social, religious and symbolic elements of a traditional Chinese community (a store(s), temple (social/community hall), communal/ceremonial oven, cemetery, individual vernacular dwellings and garden(s), and contained attributes of fengshui).

The second tier comprised an associated number of smaller, satellite, wholly self-contained, but far from self-sufficient settlements, or work camps, also separate from their European counterparts. These camps exploited the alluvial gold resources along major rivers and creeks in a more or less linear trajectory, contained only the rudimentary necessities of community life (individual vernacular dwellings and a communal oven) and were dependent on their parent settlement for supplies, social and economic interaction and spiritual needs.

When tested against Christaller's central place theory and using von Thünen's concentric ring methodology, this pattern provided a model for the community catchment areas of the three macro-regions of southeastern NSW. The model showed that the focus for the core villages in each system was about 1.6 km in radius and that the sphere of influence of each
system, which encompassed most of the smaller satellite work camps in it, was approximately
16 km in radius. In addition, when applied to comparable settlements elsewhere in Australia and
NZ, the model revealed similar spatial relationships.

Within each village of the three regions there was a conspicuous similarity between
each of the community elements, including their artefactual signatures. In addition, the
characteristics of individual dwellings, again including their artefactual signatures, and ovens at
each of the small camps were similar, and most attributes were also similar to individual
dwellings and ovens in the larger villages. However, the ovens within the two types of
settlement were found to differ in size and robustness of construction, with those in the villages
probably being used for an additional ceremonial function, which was probably not the case in
the smaller camps.

The locations and plans of the majority of the villages were also found to be similar. For
the locations, they were separate from contemporary major rural European townships, although
in relatively close proximity to them, sometimes being located on the fringes of those
townships, but near alluvial mine workings, compact, self-contained settlements, always sited
either at the break in slope or slightly upslope in the lower foothills, so that they overlooked
rivers or creeks, taking advantage of the topographical conditions, and therefore located
propitiously to accord with the principles of fengshui.

With regard to their layouts they were arranged in haphazard patterns with little concept
of street, individual dwellings were clustered together, the stores were situated adjacent to a
roadway, the temples and communal/ceremonial ovens were set apart from individual dwellings
within the settlements, and the cemeteries were situated at a distance from the settlements with
their settings intentionally selected for their fengshui attributes.

As with the villages, there were location and layout similarities within each of the
camps. On the whole they were remote and/or isolated, located on the banks of rivers and/or
creeks, located adjacent to alluvial mine workings (in a number of cases amid those workings),
and compact settlements. Their layouts showed they were arranged in haphazard patterns with
little concept of street, individual dwellings were clustered together, and communal ovens were
set apart from individual dwellings within the settlements.

Examination of the life cycles of each of the settlement systems also revealed noticeable
likenesses. Overall, the main villages were established before their respective smaller outpost
camps. As the gold and the Chinese population within each system declined in the 1880s or so,
the majority of those smaller camps were abandoned and the remaining population moved to the
larger, central Chinese settlements. As the Chinese population further declined, the villages
contracted to form a central core of a temple, a store, a ceremonial oven and a few, possibly re-
built, individual dwellings – all in close proximity to each other at each location. Later, around
the end of the nineteenth century, the main villages were also abandoned.

It was during the declining phase of a small, scattered Chinese presence in each region
in the late nineteenth century that the most successful Chinese migrant in each region was
accepted by the predominantly European population of the area and moved into the local
European township. It was also apparent that these successful men were storekeepers who
employed their countrymen in their stores, helped others on the land, provided for the needs of
diminishing Chinese populations and maintained strong ties, often through marriage, to China.
In essence, with the breakdown of traditional organisational links to China those storekeepers
became the ‘headmen’ for their settlements. They supplied both the economic and spiritual
requirements of the remaining Chinese in their regions.

This research also revealed that in addition to artefactual similarity providing evidence
of the co-operative network of Chinese connections throughout the area, with links through
Sydney to China, newspaper references, and occasional personal recollections attested to such
connections. Those references and recollections showed the connections of different
communities through the movement of Chinese within broad areas of southeastern NSW and
northeaster Victoria from the mid to late nineteenth/early twentieth century. This movement was particularly dynamic during the first years of the gold rushes in the late 1850s and 1860s. In this regard, and to personalise the otherwise unkindly labelled ‘hordes of Chinese’, it was seen that one individual, Jemmy Johnson, during an 11-year period from 1860 to 1871, as well as spending five of those years in gaol, was with his countrymen at Braidwood, Cooma, Jembaicumbene, Kiandra, Queanbeyan, Sydney and Young (Lambing Flat).

Another Chinese man, Quang Tart, at the pinnacle of Chinese social, business and politics in NSW during the mid to late nineteenth century, had extensive connections throughout the State and to China. He was the only ‘Australian’ Chinese Mandarin and could be considered Chinese gentry. With his status and connections, he may well have been the head of the entire Chinese network in NSW, at least towards the end of the nineteenth century.

The above findings were then applied to two other nineteenth-century overseas Chinese rural settlements in Australia, at Rocky River in northern NSW and northeastern Tasmania, and to such settlements in the South Island of NZ. For each of those settlement areas it was evident most, if not all, of the systems not only displayed an hierarchical settlement pattern similar to that of southeastern NSW but also exhibited other striking resemblances, including similar spatial relationships and life cycles.

In closing, it is evident that the nineteenth-century overseas Chinese in southeastern NSW sought to maintain their traditional material, religious and community structure with as few changes as possible. In this regard they transplanted most of the physical and symbolic attributes of their culture onto the southeastern NSW landscape, as they also appear to have done elsewhere in Australia and NZ. This included the need for a hierarchical settlement structure and an extended organisational network, one that served them even beyond death. Where these attributes could not be relocated, they improvised, as in the case of ‘pig ovens’ – which appear to be unique to Australia. Where these attributes were not required, for example, schools, they did not appear in communities.

Through their successes on the gold fields, most Chinese returned to China. They had achieved their goals of fulfilling their social responsibilities of filial piety, paying homage to their ancestors, glorifying their lineage and elevating the status of their family. For those who remained, the hidden dragons in the Australian landscape maintain a silent vigil over their last resting places and continue to influence many of their descendants.

Finally, as stated at the outset, beyond its primary focus of revealing some of those hidden dragons of rural southeastern NSW, and secondly, confirming that there was a significant ‘other’ ethnic Chinese community network, other than the predominantly British network, operating within rural southeastern NSW during the mid to late nineteenth century, this thesis has sought to provide a better understanding and greater appreciation of a millennia-old culture and of the Chinese in Australia today, who continue to maintain their ancient legacies. I trust it has.
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