Alien Son
A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Australian National University
Except where otherwise acknowledged
this thesis is based upon my own original research
For Denise
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omissions have occurred the author offers a sincere apology.
A Summary of the Life of Cheok Hong Cheong

Presbyterian Church of Victoria
Baptised (1866), confirmed and communicant member.
Elected ruling (lay) elder of Napier St Fitzroy congregation.
Theological Student, Presbyterian Theological Hall.
English Tutor, Chinese Missionary Institution, Fitzroy.

Anglican Church of Victoria
Communicant Member
Appointed Lay Superintending Missionary of the Church Missionary Society of Victoria, 1885 (No direct connection to CMSE).
Dismissed 1898 following amalgamation of CMSV with the Church Missionary Association of Victoria, the Victorian auxiliary of the Church Missionary Society, London (CMSE).
Formed Church Missionary Society of Victoria, Re-formed 1898 (CMSVR) now known as the Anglican Chinese Mission of the Epiphany.

The Chinese Christian Union Victoria
(A fellowship of Chinese Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Church of Christ and Baptist Churches).
China Famine Relief Appeals.
Poon Gooey Deportation Case.
Liaison with Chinese Consulate General.

The Victorian Chinese Residents Association
English language assistance to merchants.
The ASN Affair and Chinese Response 1879.
Chinese Imperial Commissioners, 1887.
The Afghan and Burrumbeet Cases, 1888.
Goot Chee Deportation Case, 1915.
Chinese Republic Newspaper Editors Case, (Ng Hung Poi; Chiu Kwok-chun).
Poon Gooey Deportation Case, 1911.

Other Commitments
Australian Chinese Residents Committee 1920.
Chinese Empire Reform Association.
Victorian Temperance Alliance (anti-opium).
Victorian Peace Society (anti-militarism) - Visiting Lecturer in China, 1906.
Anti-Sweating League (protection of workers from exploitation).
Melbourne Famine Relief Committees.
Victorian Anti-opium Committee.
British Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. Australian corresponding member of the Committee. Visiting Lecturer in Great Britain, 1892.
ABSTRACT

This thesis contributes to the ongoing discussion of modern Chinese identity by providing a case study of Cheok Hong CHEONG. It necessarily considers Australian attitudes towards the Chinese during the 19th century, not least the White Australia Policy. The emergence of that discriminatory immigration policy over the second half of the 19th century until its national implementation in 1901 provides the background to the thesis. Cheong was the leading figure among Chinese-Australian Christians and a prominent figure in the Australian Chinese community and the thesis seeks to identify a man whose contribution has largely been shadowy in other studies or, more commonly, overlooked by the parochialism of colony/state emphasis in many histories of Australia. His role in the Christian church fills a space in Victorian religious history.

Although Cheong accumulated great wealth he was not part of the Chinese merchant class of the huagong/huaquiao traditions of the overseas Chinese diaspora of the 19th and 20th centuries. His wealth was accumulated through property investments following the spectacular collapse of the Victorian banking system during the 1890s. His community leadership role arose through his position in the Christian Church rather than, as was generally the case, through business. His English language skills, resulting from his church association, were the key to his role as a Chinese community spokesman.

Cheok Hong Cheong left an archive of some 800 documents in the English language covering the major people, incidents and concerns of his life and times. His Letterbooks, together with the archives of the various Christian missions to the Chinese in Australia in the 19th and early 20th centuries, shed light on one person’s life and more broadly, through his involvements on the complex relationships of Chinese emigrants, with the often unsympathetic majority of Australians.

This is a case study of a Chinese identity formed outside China and influenced by a wider set of cultural influences than any other Chinese-Australian of his time—an identity that justifies the description of him as an ‘Alien Son’. Cheong’s story is a contribution to the urban and family history of an important ethnic sub-group within the wider immigrant history of Australia.

While Cheong remained a Chinese subject his identification with Australia cannot be questioned. All his children were born in Australia and he left just twice after his arrival in 1863. He visited England in 1891-2 and in 1906 he briefly visited China. Identity and culture issues are growing in importance as part of the revived relationship between the Chinese of the diaspora and the economic renewal of the People’s Republic...
lic of China and this thesis is offers a contribution to that discussion.
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Map A shows the three Victorian gold provinces, the Western, Central and Northeastern Goldfields. Map B shows Bendigo to Castlemaine (Central Goldfields). Map C shows Castlemaine and District. Map D shows Ballarat and vicinity. Map E shows the Western Goldfields from St Arnaud to Maryborough. Map F shows the Northeast Goldfields from Beechworth to Yackandandah. The main Chinese centres are named on each map and indicate the very widespread nature of Chinese residence in Victoria.

The early gold recoveries were from surface waterways where gold was washed down from a ‘mother lode’ in the higher country. There were also underground deposits about ten to fifty metres underground as at Ballarat where water carried (alluvial) gold was found in a dark blue clay. Deeper still were quartz reefs that required fewer and fewer workers as mechanization replaced human sweat and the capital intensive corporations replaced the individual. The working out of the alluvial gold, already obvious by 1857, was followed by the departure of the majority of the Chinese who arrived in 1854-55. By 1863, fewer than 1000 Chinese arrived in Victoria each year and the Chinese population went into a long-term decline. The decline of the rural mining populations was matched by the movement of people to the provincial towns and to Melbourne.

Mobility was a characteristic of the gold-rush societies of the 19th century world reflecting a lifestyle much less sedentary than in the older European countries or, of course, in China. There were pockets of Chinese on every goldfield with small groups of fossickers remaining at locations where the majority of European miners had long departed but small earnings could be made by reworking abandoned fields and the mullock or waste heaps left behind. The maps show the centres which had a reasonably significant Chinese population during the second half of the 19th century. Many, although not all, had a Chinese Christian fellowship or sometimes a chapel (see Appendix 9).

The diggings covered almost every likely spot for miles around the actual place names shown and, as is so often the case in Australia, a named location does not represent a major population cluster. Many of the places shown on these maps have, other than a few ruins lost in the regrowth of the eucalypt forests, disappeared to all but the most determined searchers. Many survived as small towns servicing local farmers until modern transport and a declining rural population saw them also fade.
away into history.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

The following maps are based on the Reader’s Digest Association, (1999), *Reader’s Digest, Book of the Road*, Surry Hills NSW, Reader’s Digest Association.
MAP A
The Victorian goldfields in the 19th century
MAP F
The NortheAstern Goldfields – Beechworth to Yackandandah
Introduction

This is a contextual biography of the life and times of Cheok Hong CHEONG, a leading figure in the Chinese-Australian community in the late nineteenth (19th) and early twentieth (20th) centuries.1 ‘Contextual’ refers to his role as a spokesman for the Chinese community in Victoria, Australia. Although a broad chronological structure has been adopted a balance had to be struck between a rigid chronology and discussion of the religious, social and political issues in which he participated.

Cheok Hong CHEONG was a Cheong lineage member whose place of family origin (guxiang) was the district of Taishan in Guangdong Province, South China.

![Taishan Symbol]

The majority of 19th century Chinese who migrated to the English-speaking countries of the Pacific Rim from the Four Districts of Guangdong Province known variously in English and Chinese romanisation as See Yup, Sze Yup, See Yap, pinyin Siyi.2 The sign over the wrought iron gateway to the Chinese Temple in Raglan Street, South Melbourne reads ‘See Yup’ (next page) and this form is used in this study.3

---

1 Cheong Cheok Hong changed his name order to Cheok Hong Cheong while a theological student with the Presbyterian Church of Victoria in the early 1870s. When Europeans started calling him Mr Hong he decided to adopt the European order, placing his family name last. The Weekly Times, 1, 2 September 1899, p 14.
2 The China Taishan Website (www.taishan.com) states that the district is ‘native place to about 1.3 million overseas Chinese people from over 80 countries, more than its local population of 1 million.
3 Maps 2.1 and 2.2.
Some eighty percent of See Yup natives in Victoria came from the Taishan and Xinhui districts of Guangdong Province and nine family/lineage groups accounted for half the Chinese population of the colony. The Cheong family lineage village is located at the northern end of the border where Xinhui and Taishan districts (see Map G) meet but there is no evidence that Cheong Peng-nam, father of Cheok Hong Cheong, or his family ever lived there. Cheok Hong’s wife came from the adjoining district of Hockshan.

There was much more determining Cheong’s identity than his lineage, clan or home district. The Cheongs were migrants within Guangdong Province long before they came to Australia. Cheok Hong’s father, Cheong Peng-nam explained in his testimony at the time of his employment by the Presbyterian Church that the family had left Taishan District and was living in the city of Fatshan, near Guangzhou (Canton) when Cheong Peng-nam decided to emigrate to Australia.

Cheong’s life-work was as a Chinese Christian leader in a predominantly European colonial community. There have been some studies of the attempts of the Protestant Christian Churches to evangelise the Chinese who came to Australia during the 19th century. A relatively small number of Chinese in Victoria, perhaps

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5 Re-emigration is the term commonly used to refer to internal migration in which people move from their home district to another, or from one province to another. It is a long-standing practice in China. See Chapter 2.
6 Most Aboriginal people accept the de facto political situation but deny the moral right of post-invasion settlers to be regarded as the first ‘owners’ of Australia.
2000-3000, came to see Christianity as offering life choices that were impossible under the traditional Chinese value system. Chinese Christians in Australia were always struggling to retain their Chinese identity in a delicate and not always comfortable balance with the culture of the European settlers. The choice of Christianity was made all the more difficult because most Chinese saw Europeans as the oppressors of their nation. The impact of the West on 19th century China has left many scars on Chinese identity not least, a sense of continuing humiliation.

Cheong insisted that his countrymen were driven by economic need to take advantage of the 19th century ‘unequal treaties’ that, in the Chinese view, gave them a ‘right’ to emigrate to any country that was signatory to those treaties (Chapter 4). Cheong’s writings (See Appendices) refute any suggestion that the majority of

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9 See list of Australian Chinese Christian catechists or missionaries at Appendix 9.


Ong Aithwa, (1999), *Flexible Citizenship: the Cultural Logics of Transnationality*, Durham, Duke University Press, identifies the importance of overseas Chinese investment in modern China and the role of the overseas communities as storehouses of pre-Communist values and the way in which neo-Confucianists seek to use these, in place of discredited Communist economic theory, to advance China’s economic interests.

Dikotter, Frank, (1996), ‘Culture, Race and Nation: The Formation of National Identity in Twentieth Century China,’ in *Journal of International Affairs*, Special Issue, Contemporary China, Vol 49 No 2. Dikotter argues, and the writings of Cheong confirm, that the concept of racial nationalism is as important in Chinese identity as political and cultural nationalism. Dikotter makes the point that racial humiliation is an important concept in understanding the issues of diaspora Chinese identity. The term ‘corporeal malediction’ seems to have been used by some writers of Chinese ethnic origin to describe the fact of distinctive Chinese physical appearance and to link it to subsequent disadvantage, notably in predominantly European societies.

11 See discussion in Chapter 4 on the ‘unequal treaties’ and Cheong’s interpretation of Chinese rights. Twentieth century historiography of China endorsed anti-imperialist interpretations of the treaties and ignored the weakness of China under the Manchu dominated government.
the Chinese who came to Victoria during the key gold-rush years (c 1854-1860) were 
contemplating long-term settlement. Their decisions about entering or leaving 
Australia were primarily economic. That some did stay and become settlers was a 
consequence of a number of factors, among which must be included failure to 
achieve their original economic goals.

Ozolin’s observation about the link between permanence of settlement and the 
speed with which most non-English-speaking settler/immigrants acquired English-
language skills highlights the disinterest of most 19th century Chinese in permanent 
settlement or in social and economic integration.\(^\text{12}\) There was no attempt by the 
Chinese community to arrange for English-language instruction. The Chinese 
merchant-elite preferred that the majority of their countrymen remained culturally 
and socially subordinated to their leadership (Chapters 1,2 4). Cheong, advantaged 
by his English-language education (Chapter 3), does not seem to have been an 
avocate of English-language instruction other than for Christian catechists. The 
Chinese Christian Missions used English-language instruction as a means of 
evangelism, using the Bible as the textbook. Few Chinese ever achieved real fluency 
in spoken or written English, a fact that made Cheong all the more important.

Further evidence of the temporary residence intentions of most 19th century 
Chinese is the relatively small incidence of men who sought naturalisation, perhaps 
five percent at most.\(^\text{13}\) It is assumed that men intending permanent settlement 
would have sought naturalisation for its social and economic benefits (Chapter 10).

Two other factors are relevant when considering the intentions and therefore the 
makeup of the Chinese population. The first is that only a few Chinese sought to 
establish family life in Australia (Chapter 2).\(^\text{14}\) The other is the short stay of most 
men as shown in arrivals and departures (Chapter 1). Although some 40,000 
Chinese arrived in Victoria between 1854 and 1860, the overall resident population 
during those peak years did not exceed 20,000 to 25,000 as men came and went, few 
staying longer than three to five years. By 1863, when alluvial gold recovery ended

\(^\text{12}\) Ozolin, Uldis, (1991), Interpreting, Translating and Language Policy, (Excerpts), Language and 
Society Centre, National Languages Institute of Australia, http://sunsite.anu.edu.au/language-
australia/interp-trans/history.html The provision of English language education was never an 
function of Chinese ethnic associations in Australia or North America. The major providers were 
Christian Churches.

\(^\text{13}\) There is no comprehensive national study of Chinese naturalisations in Australia.

\(^\text{14}\) The importance of this in affecting the identity of Chinese in North America is brought out 
strongly in Chen Shehong, (2002), Being Chinese, Becoming Chinese American, Lowell, 
the Chinese population began a steady decline from which it never recovered.\textsuperscript{15} Chinese residence, as discussed later, was not affected markedly by the undeniably discriminatory restrictions on Chinese immigration.

When discussing Chinese settlement in Australia it is impossible to measure the influence of anti-Chinese feeling on the decisions that the Chinese, individually, made about staying in Australia or going. It is unlikely that anti-Chinese feeling played much part as far as individual Chinese were concerned. Australia was not in the first, second or even third rung of the Chinese emigration ladder, and once alluvial gold ran out it was Chinese with an existing family and business links who sought admission. In absolute numbers, few Chinese came to Australia compared to those who went to the various colonially ruled countries of Southeast Asia. The statistical data regarding Chinese immigration to Australia is shown in the following tables.

![Introductory Table 1](image)

Introductory Table 1 becomes clearer when the nearest Southeast Asian destinations are extracted. One hundred thousand (the most generous estimate for Chinese migration to Australia) is insignificant against the more than ten million men who emigrated from China to Southeast Asia during the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, (Introductory Table 2).

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\textsuperscript{15} The Australasian colonies did not have the constitutional power to refuse entry to a Chinese immigrant who was prepared to pay the landing or poll-tax or held the status of a British subject, either by birth or naturalisation.
When the total of Southeast Asian immigration is compared to the less than fifty thousand men (again using a generous estimate) to Victoria the contrast is even greater. More than half this number came and went in the years between 1854 and 1867, this discussion of Cheong’s life in Victoria is against the background of the declining population shown in Introductory Table 3.

The Australasian colonies imposed increasingly restrictive laws on Chinese immigration that resulted in the White Australia Policy in 1901 but legislative
restrictions were of limited impact on Chinese immigration. Chinese migration patterns were governed by more important personal agendas.

The author believes that ethical considerations alone merit the strongest condemnation of a racially discriminatory immigration policy. Australia’s anti-Chinese immigration restrictions were known by 19th and 20th century policy makers and administrators to be pointless in terms of the lack of Chinese interest in Australia and were implemented for domestic political goals rather than any genuine fear of the Chinese (Chapter 8).\textsuperscript{16}

Discriminatory legislation, while pleasing to the anti-Chinese racial prejudice of many Europeans, was a political diversion of no significance other than to pander to the fear of isolation that distance imposed upon settlers who insisted they were, for the greater part, Britons linked by ties of blood and culture to their British homelands. Underlying their prejudice was the need for their isolation to be protected by the might of the British Empire and, in particular, the Royal Navy.

The White Australia Policy was a useful tool for those anxious, for economic and nationalist reasons, to achieve a single ‘Commonwealth’ out of the seven British colonies in Australasia irrespective of the long-term consequences on Australia’s relations with the Asia-Pacific region. That restrictive immigration became, and remains, an issue in Australian policy is an outcome of a series of manipulations of the ‘Chinese Problem’ that were reified in the 1880s and enshrined in the Immigration Restriction Acts of 1901 and later laws and regulations. But, to repeat, it was a political process with no basis in the presence of the Chinese community.

Cheong’s personal letterbooks were preserved by the Rev. George Thomas, one-time chaplain to the Anglican Chinese Mission of the Epiphany in Melbourne. Just before his death he gave them to the author. The original letterbooks have been deposited with the National Library of Australia.\textsuperscript{17}

Additional letters and articles by Cheong were obtained from state and federal archives, from church archives, and from secular and religious newspapers. The text of Cheong’s collected papers will be included in a database as part of the Chinese History at Australian Federation website located at Latrobe University,

\textsuperscript{16} The best evidence is the absence of official statistics on Chinese arrivals and departures in the Colony of Victoria from the early 1860s to the late 1870s.

\textsuperscript{17} The notebooks were standard small books (13x20 cms) with highly acidic paper. It is important that all similar papers be archived with a reputable library that can treat the paper to arrest the process of decay.
Cheong’s papers constitute the largest English-language archive on an individual Chinese-Australian and possibly any diaspora Chinese.\(^{19}\)

His writings and associated papers cover the period from 1879 to 1927 and comprise some 800 separate documents. His letterbooks for 1901 and 1902 were lost within two or three years of their creation but some items have been recovered from other sources. The archive includes references to missionary work, immigration, the anti-opium movement, the right to work, etc. After 1900, the letterbooks tend to focus on Cheong’s investments and family matters (Chapter 6).

Cheong’s preferred Melbourne daily newspaper, the evangelically owned Melbourne *Daily Telegraph*, is used extensively to present events within the broad context in which Cheong and the Victorian community experienced them. It has not received the notice of its contemporaries, such as *The Argus*, *The Age*, or *The Bulletin*, because it closed in the fall-out from the Victorian bank crash of the early 1890s and has not been indexed. Unfortunately, the text of letters or articles written by Cheong and published in Chinese language newspapers were not available to the author.

Information has been gathered from Anglican, Catholic, Methodist and Presbyterian Church archives in Australia and overseas. These include personal testimonies by Chinese Christians and first-hand observations of Christian missionaries, European and Chinese. The religious sources include previously unknown personal accounts of Chinese life in Australia written by Chinese catechists and others by European clergy and laity. This material will also be included in the Chinese History at Australian Federation database mentioned above. Extracts have been included in Appendices 10 and 11.

In the course of research many photographs and statistics were collected. Many of the photographs are more than illustration — they are basic documentation as important, historically, as any verbal items.\(^{20}\) The statistical tables may be exploited by other historians and deployed in other contexts.

The appendices include a selection of public papers written by Cheong (Appendices 1-7); a table showing links between Christian missions in China and those in Australia (Appendix 8), a list of people engaged in the evangelisation of the

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19 The full collection of Cheong’s papers, and other related items have been transcribed and will be available electronically on http://www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au, the website of the Chinese History at Australian Federation project.
20 See photographs in the Chinese History at Australian Federation (CHAF) website: http://www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au/. See also PictureAustralia and the picture archives of the various State and other libraries.
Chinese in Australia (Appendix 9); some examples of prebaptismal testimonies of Chinese converts (Appendix 10); extracts from the daily journals of Chinese Christian catechists (Appendix 11); and the first baptismal register of Chinese converts to Christianity (Appendix 12). There are details of Chinese lepers in Ballarat (Appendix 13), some notes about the Chinese Christian Union (Appendix 14), a petition from the Chinese Christian catechist, Chu a Luk to the Victorian Governor in 1857 (Appendix 15), and a list of Chinese deaths in mining activities (Appendix 16). The list of mining deaths is a reminder that racial violence was statistically and numerically insignificant when considering the deaths of Chinese in Victoria.21

The baptismal register, much of it the result of detailed field work by the Rev. Dr Keith Cole of Bendigo, will interest family historians and demonstrate the way in which Chinese immigrants integrated themselves into Australian society through marriage and acceptance, even if nominal, of Christianity. The baptismal list have attracted interest from researchers in China seeking to trace the connections between Christian converts in Australia and the growth of the Christian Church, particularly in the emigrant districts of South China.22

After refusing a salary for his mission work from 1898 Cheong became a very successful property investor. His ventures demonstrate that Chinese, whether naturalised or not, were not restricted, in Victoria at least, from ownership of real property.23 Cheong was always a missionary and viewed his business activities as secondary, a means to an end providing him economic security to pursue what he saw as his life purpose (Chapter 6).

The writer does not speak, write or read Chinese and consequently this study does not draw on Chinese language materials. The archives used are in English and come directly from Cheong, the catechist’s journals, and from contemporary colonial English language sources that relate to issues that were publicly discussed

21  Despite claims in Cronin and in Saunders et al, statistical evidence for anti-Chinese violence has yet to be presented and sourced.
22  The Rev. Cr Michael Poon of the Institute for the Study of Christianity in Asia is one researcher drawing on this information. The register is available at http://www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au/
23  Two myths have been promulgated in recent years without any evidence being advanced to sustain them. The first is that mentioned above regarding real property. Another is that it was illegal for persons of Chinese descent to serve in the armed forces. See Chan, Henry, (2000), “From Quong Tarts to Victor Changs: Being Chinese in Australia in the Twentieth Century” CSCSD Public Seminar at the Australian National University, 24 May 2000 where it was stated: ‘for it was difficult if not illegal for anyone not "substantially of European descent" to enlist in the Australian forces.’ As mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, more than 100 men, some of full Chinese ethnicity, enlisted in the 1st Australian Imperial Force in World War I and their names and photographs show their origins beyond argument.
at the time and in which Cheong was directly or indirectly involved. In general, the terminology in use during Cheong’s own time has been followed, except for some occasions when modern romanised terminology is more appropriate or in common use. The classic contemporary example is Canton the City (Guangzhou), and Canton the Province (Guangdong). Where Chinese characters are used, they have been taken from Yong, C F, (1977), *The New Gold Mountain*, Richmond SA, Raphael Arts. Some romanised Chinese terms have been presented as given in the relevant sources and these generally follow the older system known as Wade-Giles. The toleration of Chinese-literate persons is likely to be sorely tested but the author can only plead forebearance.

Cheong was unique and there seems to have been no other figure quite like him in Australia or elsewhere. The evangelisation of the Chinese was not a uniquely Australian issue nor was Cheong the only Chinese Christian to achieve prominence as a defender of his countrymen but he was, by any measure, an outstanding figure in the history of the Chinese diaspora in Australia.
CHAPTER 1
CLIMBING NEW GOLD MOUNTAIN
1863-1863

This chapter places the Cheong family in the context of the Colony of Victoria, Australia, and the economic, social, religious, and political development of the colony in the second half of the 19th century. In just ten years (1851-1861) a goldrush saw the population increase from 100,000 to 500,000. Within a few years Victoria was producing nearly one-third of the world’s gold output and was a mecca for the greedy and gullible. The rapid settlement of Victoria from virtually no Europeans in 1837 to half a million by 1861 is central to understanding the tension that developed between European and Chinese immigrants during the second half of the 19th century.¹

Victorian colonial institutions and values were, for the most part, drawn from 19th century Britain and included a patronising attitude to foreigners generally and hostility towards the Chinese in particular that increased as the century passed.² A Governor of Victoria, Sir Henry Barkly, made an excellent summary of overall anti-Chinese sentiment:

The Chinese, because of total dissimilarity of habits and ideas obstructed the miners, whose dislike grew with envy and jealousy; others condemned the Chinese because they were, like many others, sojourners who contributed little to the permanent settlement or prosperity of the colony; still others including the Statesman and the Christian, viewed with extreme anxiety these all-male immigrants, pagans in religion, and addicted, as was loudly asserted, to unnatural practices.³

The history of the Chinese in Victoria, and in 19th century Australia more generally, is inseparable from 19th century British imperialism and its close if not always sympathetic associate, 19th century British evangelicalism.⁴ The arrival of the Chinese in Victoria stimulated an initial ecumenical Protestant Christian evangelistic outreach (Victoria Chinese Mission 1855-1858) followed by Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian missions

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⁴ The old cliché ‘gold, gospel, glory’ is a reminder of how close the imperialist pursuit of wealth, the Christian pursuit of conversions, and the personal pursuit of status was for much of the period of European overseas expansion.
commencing in 1859-1860 and later in the century, by other Protestant churches. There was a short-lived Roman Catholic mission in Ballarat in the early 1860s looked after by a priest from Macau who attracted little enthusiasm from the Chinese population and after he was moved to Elsternwick, in southeastern Melbourne, the xenophobic Irish refused to come to church when Father Lee was officiating.⁵

Table 1.1., from census data published in the 1925 Year Book of Australia, shows that the Chinese population in Victoria was in decline from 1857 onwards. As the most significant anti-Chinese actions, in terms of legislation and the formation of public opinion, occurred during the 1880s the table suggests looking beyond the petty discrimination of colonial Victoria for explanations of the sense of injustice that permeated Cheong’s life. He could, had the burden become too great, have joined the majority of his countrymen who returned to China.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese Ethnicity</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>2,341</td>
<td></td>
<td>2341</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>25,421</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24524</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>24,724</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24732</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>17,795</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17826</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>11,795</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>11950</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>8,355</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>8489</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>6,236</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>6347</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>4,491</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>4707</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>2,918</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>3162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The decline in the Chinese population of Victoria signalled in the 1861 Census occurred independently of the anti-Chinese prejudices of European settlers or restrictive immigration legislation. The Chinese population fell by more than half in just twenty years between 1861 and 1881 at a time when the Victorian economy and the European population was expanding.⁶ The Chinese, unquestionably, experienced prejudice and discrimination but the decision to stay or go was made by hard-headed men who concluded that the benefits of living in Victoria were insufficient compared to opportunities in China or elsewhere. Equally hard-headed decisions, in the opposite

⁵ Welch, Ian, (1980), Pariahs and Outcasts, Christian Missions to the Chinese in Australia, MA (unpublished), Monash University.

direction, were made by some who, like Cheong Peng-nam, father of Cheok Hong Cheong, not only decided to stay but also to bring their wives and children to Victoria.

Cheong Peng-nam arrived in Victoria in 1854. His purpose was to send his savings home and restore the economic future that, he stated, his family lost as a result of the widespread rebellion and unrest that had affected South China. He was about twenty-seven years of age and a married man with a wife, a son and a daughter in China. A third child (a daughter) was born after a brief visit home in 1856-1857. When Peng-nam died in 1875, he was about forty-eight years old. Cheong Peng-nam explained his decision to come to Australia in his testimony given in connection with his employment with the Presbyterian Chinese Mission at Ballarat in 1860:

I am a native of the district Oye Wooey, in the department of Sew Hing [Sin Ning/Taishan], of the Kwong Tung [Guangdong Province]. I was living with my father at Fat Shan during my youth. It was to be hoped that I might make myself useful in the life of business. Years passed, I was full-grown, and I was obliged to cease my learning to go to business. It happened that the insurgents were creating confusion in all parts of the Kwong Tung Province and in consequence business was unable to be carried through from one place to another. I left off business, and returned to Canton, where I met with some of my friends returning from Australia, who told me that the state of affairs in this country was very good, and that the government here was most friendly to foreigners. I was glad of the news. I reported the matter to my parents, and instantly took my passage to Australia.

Peng-nam’s conversion and his appointment as a catechist (lay missionary) with the Presbyterian Chinese Mission at Ballarat in 1860 led to his family’s arrival at Ballarat in 1863 when his son, Cheong Cheok Hong, was twelve or thirteen years of age. Cheok Hong was born in 1851, probably in Fatshan, of a lineage from the northern end of Taishan District, in the Siyi region about 150 miles southwest of Guangzhou (Canton) in Guangdong Province.

Cheok Hong Cheong was an example of the reaction by 19th century members of the Chinese diaspora to events in China. They saw a government beset by internal troubles and weakened by the ‘unequal treaties’ imposed on China by foreign governments. Many

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7 See discussion in Chapter 3. Cheok Hong Cheong to Hon P O Fysh, Premier of Tasmania, 19 February 1891 and 24 February 1891. The Tasmanian Pioneer Index does not list Cheong Peng-nam under any formulation of the name.
9 The Colony of Victoria abolished the Chinese Residence Tax of £4 per person per year in 1862. No statistics on Chinese arrivals and departures were kept in Victoria for more than decade.
10 Appendix 12 shows that home villages disappear from the formal records quite early. Most places of origin became ‘Canton’ or ‘China’. Cheok Hong Cheong never mentions his lineage village by name in his letterbooks, nor on his marriage certificate.
Chinese, including Cheok Peng-nam and his son, Cheok Hong, felt a sense of national humiliation and with it a resentment of foreigners that became part of their identity.

Cheong Peng-nam was one of the thousands of Chinese men who came to Australia in the 1850s. Tables 1.1, 1.2 (Census data), and Table 1.3, (from Young’s 1867 Report) with Table 1.4, shows that few Chinese women came, a matter of negative comment among Europeans who interpreted the situation as showing a lack of commitment to the colony. A British-European society that knew of homosexual practices in the navy, army and prisons and tolerated a high rate of female prostitution, feared the presence of so many Chinese with no acceptable means of sexual release. Nonetheless, attempts by the Christian churches to persuade the colonial authorities to provide assisted passages to Chinese women fell on deaf ears.

Table 1.3 highlights the tiny number of Chinese women. Of the 132 in 1881, and the 259 in 1891, a majority were the daughters of mixed Chinese-European relationships. Table 1.4 is Young’s estimate 1867 estimate, i.e., 63 relationships including de facto as well as legal marriages that produced 149 children. The collective statistics do not match reflecting the variations in the ways information was originally gathered and recorded. Table 1.5 shows the growth in the number of females with Chinese ancestry in the overall Australian population.

Christian ministers in the colonies ignored ethnic origins and perhaps their personal prejudices when conducting inter-ethnic marriages. It was universally believed that marrying European girls to Chinese males, when the families and the women insisted, was preferable to no marriage at all. The Rev. John Inglis of St John’s Church, Ballarat East) wrote of the exemplary marriage of a Chinese-Scotch couple in the parish. The Rev. R S Patterson (Presbyterian) reported a happily married couple at Urana in New South Wales.

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11 Lists of nineteenth century immigrants to Victoria are available on-line Chinese names are given only in English transliterations, and usually in the form of Ah Cheong, or Ah Lee. Without the Chinese characters, it is impossible to identify individual Chinese immigrants.

12 Papers Presented to Parliament, Legislative Assembly, Victoria, ‘1867, Rev William Young, Report on the Condition of the Chinese Population of Victoria’. Census of Victoria, 1881, note 109 p 35 states: ‘In every one of the colonies Chinese females, even including the half-castes, bear a very small proportion to Chinese males. In Victoria, the former, at the Census, amounted only to a fraction over 2 percent. Of the latter, and in most of the other colonies the relative proportion of females was still smaller. In the colonies, taken as a whole, the Chinese females numbered only 362; and as the Chinese males numbered 43,344, the proportion of the former was less than 1 to every 100 of the latter.’

13 ibid.


During a visit to Deniliquin, the Rev. Edward Youngman baptised a Chinese who had been persuaded to accept Christianity by his European wife.\textsuperscript{16} The list of baptisms at Appendix I2 includes a number of child baptisms resulting from such marriages. The baptisms and records of service of Australians of Chinese ethnic descent suggests that the majority of intermarriages were Anglican and Protestant.\textsuperscript{17}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & Victoria & Other & England & Scotland & Ireland & Other & France & Germ & USA & China & Foreign & Other & TOTAL \\
\hline
M & 247528 & 19051 & 85426 & 26224 & 41226 & 2348 & 1042 & 6144 & 1645 & 11743 & 5898 & 3818 & 452083 \\
F & 261671 & 20715 & 62027 & 21929 & 45507 & 1311 & 292 & 2427 & 698 & 56 & 795 & 2856 & 410263 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Victoria: Birth Places of the Population, 1881}
\end{table}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & 1861 & 1871 & 1881 & 1891 \\
\hline
8 & 36 & 132 & 259 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Victoria: Chinese Females, Census Data 1861-1891}
\end{table}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & Chinese Males & European Wives & Children \\
\hline
Ballarat & 800 & 21 & 48 \\
Smythesdale & 1500 & 3 & 14 \\
Avoca & 250 & 4 & 9 \\
Ararat & 1000 & 4 & 10 \\
Maryborough & 1400 & 2 & 4 \\
Castlemaine & 1000 & 7 & 20 \\
Daylesford & 1021 & 4 & 9 \\
Beechworth & 7000 & 10 & 20 \\
Sandhurst (Bendigo) & 3500 & 6 & 15 \\
TOTAL & 17671 & 63 & 149 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Victoria: Marital State of the Chinese 1867}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{16} The Spectator, 2 June 1882, p 53.
\textsuperscript{17} A list of Australians of Chinese ethnic descent who served in the armed forces during WWI and the list of baptisms at Chinese History can be found at the Australian Federation website (CHAF) at Latrobe University, Victoria. http://www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au/
Table 1.5
Australia: Number of Persons of Chinese and Part Chinese Ethnicity, 1881-1921

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>MALES</th>
<th>FEMALES</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>MALES</th>
<th>FEMALES</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>38274</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>38533</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>35523</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>35821</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>29153</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>29627</td>
<td>1556</td>
<td>1534</td>
<td>3090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>21856</td>
<td>1148</td>
<td>17175</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>3019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>19011</td>
<td>1146</td>
<td>17175</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>3655</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Year Book of Australia, 1925\(^{18}\)

Cheong Peng-nam understood European prejudices about all-male Chinese immigration.\(^{19}\) To protect his son’s reputation, for reasons that related to his education and possible employment in the Presbyterian Church, Peng-nam arranged Cheok Hong’s marriage to the daughter of a Chinese family, the Ngs, who used Wong as their English name and were also settled in Ballarat. The Ngs came from Hockshan District, adjoining Taishan.

Peffer states that Australasia and North America were the only places in the countries of the Asia-Pacific Rim to which Chinese women did not emigrate and this is perhaps the best indication of the short-term intentions of most Chinese migrants.\(^{20}\) In an important statement that provides reason not to take all his earlier comments at face value, Cheok Hong Cheong declared that Chinese men did not bring their families because:

> the vast majority, if not all, of the Chinese residents here, are but sojourners having not the slightest intention of settling down which the bringing of their wives and families necessarily involves. Besides there is the yet stronger reason that though marriage is held to be an ordinance of Heaven and its duties sacred, yet filial piety which is a prominent feature in the Chinese character, and one which has secured for the nation ‘length of days in the land’ and many other blessings of this life, implies, in their view the honoring of their parents with personal service as well as

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\(^{18}\) Note from *Year Book of Australia* 1925, op cit, ‘Though many of the Chinese who came to Australia settled here permanently, the fact that so few brought their womenfolk with them indicates that the majority had intended, sooner or later, to return to China.’ According to the Census of 1911, only 801 Chinese were recorded as living with wives. Of the latter, 181 were born in China, 485 in Australia, 63 in England, 15 in Scotland, and 22 in Ireland.’

\(^{19}\) Although the generalisation holds true, a recent article demonstrates that in North America, as in Australia, some Chinese families did succeed in establishing themselves. See Ling, Huping, (2000), ‘Family and Marriage of Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Century Chinese Immigrant Women’, pp 43-63 in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol 19, No 2, Winter 2000.

with substance, and so wives and families are considered properly left behind to render the one while themselves laboring to earn the other. Such being the case and my statement is supported by the whole history of the past and the facts of the present that Chinese families are very few and very far between and that such of them as we have, I am bound to say, reflect no discredit upon the nation to which they belong.21

Cheong’s description of the Chinese as ‘sojourners having not the slightest intention of settling down,’ was unequivocal.22 He used the term ‘sojourner’ consistently when explaining why immigrants were determined to retain their ‘Chineseness’ — they did not intend to settle and so there was no point in bringing wives or in integrating too closely.23 It was not only the Chinese who were regarded as sojourners — Victorian Governor Barkly applied the term to anyone who did not intend to make the colony their permanent home but the label stuck to the Chinese rather than Europeans, most of whom could not afford the return trip to Europe and for the most part had nothing worth returning to.

Cheong advanced a somewhat different argument twelve years earlier, in 1879, when he co-authored The Chinese Question in Australia 1878-1879 (Chapter 4). In that pamphlet he said that the absence of women was due to the violence of Europeans on the goldfields (Appendix 1). Although Cheong refers to women being involved in the riots at the Buckland River in Victoria and Lambing Flat in New South Wales he did not mention that most females living with Chinese in Australia (Table 1.4) were Europeans, not Chinese.24 During the Buckland riot the only woman hurt was a European married to a Chinese.25

In contrast to his son’s claim in 1879, Cheong Peng-nam, who was in Victoria at the time of the 1857 troubles on the Buckland River, must have rated the risk of violence as minor or he would not have brought his family to Australia.26 The same judgement,

21 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Hon James Munro, Premier of Victoria, 21 June 1891. See discussion of an earlier version in Chapter 4 in which Cheong attributed the absence of Chinese women to European violence.
23 The expectation of a short time abroad was noted in New South Wales. Cole, G R Fitzroy, (1878), 'John Chinaman Abroad,' p 447 in Fraser’s Magazine, October 1878.
26 Cronin, Kathryn, (1982), Colonial Casualties, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press also assumes that violence was a reason for the shortage of Chinese women.
presumably, was made by the Ng family, Cheok Hong’s relatives by marriage.\textsuperscript{27}

A database of mining deaths in Victoria shows that Chinese were far more at risk in their mining work or from illness than from violence instigated by Europeans (Appendix 16).\textsuperscript{28} An \textit{Argus} reprint of a report from the \textit{Ovens and Murray Advertiser} stated that between 1 July and 31 August 1857 there were 87 deaths among the Chinese at the goldfields of the northeast.\textsuperscript{29} In just one week twenty men died of disease, possibly beri-beri, i.e., more deaths than all the anti-Chinese violence discussed in the daily press.\textsuperscript{30}

Pneumonia and other lung disorders caused many Chinese deaths.\textsuperscript{31} In 1857, Dr Allison of Ballarat, following a request from the Anglican evangelist, Lo Sam-yuen (Luo Shenyuan), gave health lectures at the Red Hill Chinese camp.\textsuperscript{32} He warned men to tell their friends in China not to come to Australia in the southern winter and to bring warm clothing and sufficient money for food when they did migrate. Both of these issues are discussed in Lo Sam-yuen’s journal.\textsuperscript{33} It was not only poorly dressed and impoverished Chinese who died. A Canadian digger told his family that all of the children who had been on the ship that brought his family to Australia were now dead.\textsuperscript{34} The Pennyweight Flat cemetery, near Castlemaine is one of the many goldfields graveyards where children are buried as a direct result of their parents hopes of wealth and the prevalence of child mortality on the diggings.

Meals on the diggings were basic – meat, bread and potatoes for Europeans; rice and where possible, vegetables for Chinese.\textsuperscript{35} Not surprisingly malnutrition was widespread

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{27} There is as yet no definitive study on Chinese families in Australia. A detailed study of intermarriage in New South Wales is being undertaken by Kate Bagnall (University of Sydney).
\item \textsuperscript{28} Despite the claims of continuing violence against Chinese no verified account of the injuries allegedly received by Chinese in Victoria has been published. The people best situated to collect and report such data, at least on the goldfields, were the Chinese Protectors and the police, and then the coroner’s inquests. Until such research is done the discussion of anti-Chinese violence will remain based on isolated and unconfirmed reports. Cheong, probably the best read (in English) and informed Chinese makes only a fairly superficial reference to violence in the report he co-authored in 1879 and as mentioned above, his evidence is not reliable enough to make the case. The journals of the Chinese missionaries do not mention anti-Chinese violence at all.
\item \textsuperscript{29} \textit{The Argus}, 7 September 1857.
\item \textsuperscript{31} \textit{The Mount Alexander Mail}, 9 November 1855.
\item \textsuperscript{32} Lo Sam-yuen, \textit{Journal} (Ballarat) Mss, copy held by Ian Welch. See Welch, Ian (1980), Pariahs and Outcasts, Christian Missions to the Chinese in Australia, MA, Monash University.
\item \textsuperscript{35} Rolls, Eric, (1992) \textit{Sojourners: The epic story of China’s centuries old relationship with Australia}, St Lucia, Brisbane, University of Queensland Press, p 174 discusses the prevalence of beri-beri.
\end{itemize}
and made worse by poverty. Illness was widespread and is represented by the noted goldfields artist, S T Gill, in the picture below of a sick digger. It is one of at least two paintings Gill made of sick diggers on the goldfields.

The vast majority of Chinese who lived in Australia were desperately poor. Some men were reported to be sweeping the roads at Ballarat and panning the dust to extract any gold that might have fallen from pockets or wagons. Others were given permission to melt down the iron stamping heads used to crush the gold-bearing ore, so that they could extract any gold that had merged with the iron.

The other day, whilst in conversation with Mr Jopling, of the firm of Jopling and Cunningham, the iron-founders, of Ironbark-hill, Bendigo, our attention was attracted to a Chinaman, who was busily engaged in seeping up the refuse outside the foundry door. It was not ordinary surfacing he was after, for the dirt he had scraped together was evidently a recent deposit, and from its black-looking

appearance, must have had its origin in the foundry. Having filled his buckets, he hooked one on to each end of his bamboo, and shuffled down, in true Chinese fashion, to the bottom of the hill with his treasure. Surely, we thought to ourselves, that fellow has not discovered the philosopher's stone, and so profiting by the secret, occupies himself with transmuting iron filings, charcoal, and slag into pure gold. Turning round to the person with whom we have been in conversation, we inquired what possible object could the sweeper have in taking away the rubbish, as it is the last place in the world where one would think of looking for gold, outside a founder's shop. 'That is where we break up the old worn-out stampheads, and disengage the shanks from the heads,' was the reply we received. It appears, as we learned by further interrogatories, that there is always attaching to old stampheads more or less gold, which lies concealed in the crevices, more particularly in the hollow where the shank has been inserted. Gold is also found in the honeycombs of the stamp-boxes. Not being worth the while of the founders to bother about recovering it themselves, they allow the Chinese to pay their periodical visits undisturbed, for the purpose of collecting and removing it. Our informant showed us a sample of gold (about three pennyweights) that he himself had obtained the week before upon breaking up an old head: but such a find as that is of rare occurrence. We are told that when an old stamp-box, much honeycombed, is thrown down outside, the Celestials may sometimes be observed fossicking about it for days together. It is remarkable how ready they are to turn the slightest waste of the precious metal to account. They seem to delight in infinitessimals. Europeans might with advantage take a few lessons from the Chinese, in thrift and perseverance. 

The successful men saved hard and put all their efforts into repaying their indenture and then saving for a triumphal return home. Others, for a variety of reasons, failed in both regards. Suicides were not uncommon. There were instances of men of all ethnic backgrounds dying of starvation. Disease, particularly respiratory tract infections, dysentery and even leprosy, was common. Some men, for a variety of reasons, became mentally ill. 

The Reverend John Garlick, minister of All Saints Anglican Church in Bendigo, said that the Christians associated with the Anglican Mission in the latter years of the 19th century were reduced to reworking old diggings. He wrote that many of the men he knew:


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hence as a rule they are miserably poor.\footnote{39}

It was better for everyone when a growing number of Chinese moved into the supply of fresh vegetables, initially on the diggings and later in the towns of the colony.\footnote{40} Many men, such as Cheong Peng-nam, avoided the risks of mining by finding jobs in service industries. — Peng-nam worked in a restaurant and as a carter in northeast Victoria after initially working as a miner at Castlemaine. All kinds of ‘service’ occupations flourished. Supplying the goldfields with transport, food, shelter, and equipment was highly profitable and much safer than digging. Chinese owned businesses were staffed, for the greater part, by Chinese and the specialist literary skills needed provided employment for the small but socially significant number of Chinese scholars who arrived in Australia.

Transporting men from China to Australia (and elsewhere) was a highly organised entrepreneurial business. A network of emigration recruiters in South China was reported in a Western Australian chapter of a history of Chinese life in Australia published by the Australian branch of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang/Guomintang):

At that time, there were slave traders in Singapore and Hong Kong. They went around to lure people. They pretended themselves to have come from overseas and invited their friends to teahouses and restaurants. They boasted of their wealth and related to them fairy-tales such as gold mines and silver hills in Australia and that it was easy to become rich overnight. So skillfully and cunningly did these slave traders paint a rosy picture of Australia that not even his closest friends or relatives could detect a hint of untruth in his make believe story.\footnote{41}

Chinese who went abroad by indenture or ‘credit ticket’ contracts did so as a result of the difficulties in Guangdong Province mentioned in Peng-nam’s testimony.\footnote{42} The existence of emigration entrepreneurs and schemes was a direct outcome, according to Cheong, of the ‘unequal treaties’ imposed on China by foreign powers. Chinese complained endlessly about the injustice of the treaties but they claimed they provided a legal basis for Chinese emigration to British territories.\footnote{43} The British Government always stated that the treaties did not encompass the mass arrival of Chinese labourers in Australasia although Britain

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\item 39 The Missionary, at Home and Abroad, March 1885:228.
\item 40 Email contributions on the ANZ-CH WWW discussion site in 2002, together with pictorial material accessible by PictureAustralia, provide evidence of the existence of Chinese market gardens at virtually every 19th century mining site and many other settlements across the country.
\item 42 This is more fully considered in Chapter 11.
\item 43 See Cheong’s comments in Appendices 1 and 4 as exemplars.
\end{itemize}

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did little to assist the Australasian colonies clarify the issue with the Chinese Government.\textsuperscript{44} British policy was governed more by the interests of British businesses trading with China than by the protests of the colonial governments over Chinese immigration.

The acquisition of capital was the principal motivation for Chinese immigration.\textsuperscript{45} Many Victorian immigrants identified themselves in their pre-baptismal testimonies as rural labourers motivated to emigrate by a shortage of land and rising land rents hoping to accumulate capital so that the family could buy land. The rules of the Ballarat Branch of the See Yup Society confirm that the goal of Chinese immigrants to Victoria was not permanent settlement and the mining of gold was not for reinvestment in the colony. The gold, the rules stated, ‘is for China’.\textsuperscript{46} The majority of Europeans remained and invested their earnings in the colony while the focus of the Chinese was always to return to China as quickly as possible.\textsuperscript{47}

Further evidence of the short-term emphasis of Chinese migration was the lack of interest in becoming naturalised British subjects. Chinese had the right until 1888 to become naturalised British subjects but only a small minority bothered. Among those with no interest in naturalisation were Cheong Peng-nam and Cheok Hong Cheong.\textsuperscript{48}

Greed drove the colony. An English visitor wrote:

> The one great principle of the colony is the Dutchman’s maxim: ‘Get honestly, if you can; but at all events get!’ People avow the principle. They come here, in fact, as they go to India, to make fortunes, and then – ‘go home’. That is the phrase. Everybody talks of England as home.\textsuperscript{49}

The baptismal testimony of Lew Jim, from Xinhui District, stated:

\textsuperscript{44} Price, Charles, (1974), \textit{The Great White Walls are Built}, Canberra, Australian National University Press. Price notes the inconsistency of condemning the unequal treaties on the one hand while seeking to take advantage of them on the other.


\textsuperscript{46} Papers Presented to Parliament, Legislative Assembly, Victoria, 1867, Rev William Young, \textit{Report on the Condition of the Chinese Population of Victoria}.


\textsuperscript{48} Naturalisation is a topic requiring further research especially given the ban imposed in all colonies after 1888 (Chapter 10). See the discussion in the Victorian Supreme Court, Ah Toy v. Musgrove, \textit{The Daily Telegraph}, 11-12 July 1888.

Fortunate was it that God opened up the goldfields of this country, and made my
covetous desire of gain the means of my coming hither.\textsuperscript{50}
Peng-nam said in his testimony that he met friends who had returned from Victoria and
had told him that he could make a good deal of money in a short time. Lum Khen Yang
said in his Methodist pre-baptismal testimony that:

We happily heard intelligence concerning a new goldfield in an English colony. We
were told men from all over the world were congregated there, and obtained
permission to dig for gold, and that money was easily to be made there.\textsuperscript{51}

A Presbyterian convert, Enoch Hang Pang (Ya Yang Pong) was just as direct as Peng-nam
about his purpose in coming to Australia.

After a while, hearing of the discovery of the gold-fields in Australia, and that the
English people there were very kind to the stranger from a distant land; and learning
also that those who went to Australia made fortunes, and were enabled to return to
their native land, the desire to obtain wealth all at once sprung up in my mind. I got
together the means to provide for my passage to that inviting country.\textsuperscript{52}

The opportunities were certainly there, although luck played a big part, as in the case of a
European whose ‘confidence trick’ on two Chinese proved a costly error:

Last week an unfortunate digger, who had bought a 66ft allotment at Berlin for £1
found bottom at 3 feet, and seeing no appearance of gold, pronounced it a ‘duffer’
and tried to sell out to his neighbour for 5 shillings without success. Two Chinamen,
‘new chums’ who were passing, looked at the hole and after much persuading
ventured to give 12 shillings . . . for the claim. Before sundown, they had taken 67
pounds of gold from the hole, which produced them £3296 — a pretty good profit on
their investment.\textsuperscript{53}

Missionaries in China reported hearing stories that:

The gold was taken up with pocket knives a few inches below the surface in such
profusion that one man filled a quart pot with nuggets in the course of the day.\textsuperscript{54}

On the other hand an Englishwoman wryly observed that: ‘Success at the diggings is like
drawing lottery tickets — the blanks far outnumber the prizes’.\textsuperscript{55}

Rather than draw a blank ticket on the diggings armed robbery was widespread. An
Englishman named Edward Snell, an experienced railway engineer, writer and sketcher,
left a diary of his experiences on the Victorian diggings in the early days of the gold-rush

\textsuperscript{50} The Christian Review, June 1866, p 10.  
\textsuperscript{51} The Wesleyan Chronicle, Vol II No 2, February 1859, pp 45-46.  
\textsuperscript{52} The Christian Review, July 1866, p 8.  
\textsuperscript{53} The Daily Telegraph, 15 January 1870. (At 2002 gold price their takings were $220,000).  
\textsuperscript{54} The Church Missionary Intelligencer, May 1858, p 227. See also an account from Castlemaine Vic, in
\textsuperscript{55} Clacey E., (1853), A Lady’s Visit to the Gold Diggings, republished by Lansdowne 1965, p 102.
This is a precious country for robbery and murder. I wish I had a revolver, it’s hardly safe to be about even in day time without firearms, and my rifle is rather cumbersome to me and every body here seems to be provided in that way and about 1500 shots are fired in the Golden Gully every night.

Bob brought down another load at night with the intelligence that Tom had been out at 12 o’clock on Sunday night robbing another person’s hole. If he cuts these sort of capers I hope he’ll be caught at it and then his life won’t be worth twopence at the diggings.

The Diggins (sic) look very pretty at night, thousands of fires in all directions, the flash of a gun or pistol every few seconds, two or more rows always going on, and every here and there the noise of a fiddle playing . . . make the place quite lively.

James Douglas Ferguson wrote to his parents in Northumberland describing the violence on the diggings:

Believe me for wickedness and vice this crowns the globe. We all live in tension in the diggings. I should not think there is a man on the diggings but has a brace of pistols ready for action under his head every night . . . if anyone comes round your tent at night you are justifiable in shooting them.\(^57\)

A Canadian, James Robertson, working at Bendigo in 1853, wrote to a friend in New Brunswick that:

I would not avise (sic) any friend to come here that can make a living at home for there is many hardships to encounter that are never thought of by those who rush madly from a plentiful and happy home. In the 1st place we have to live in canvass tents, which cannot protect us from the cold rain which falls here in winter, 2nd we have to sleep with loaded pistols under our pillowes and gleaming knives in our bosoms to defend us from the robber and assassin.\(^58\)

Another man wrote to his family in England that:

No one intending to turn digger should leave England without a good supply of firearms. In less than a week, more than a dozen robberies occurred between Kyneton and Forest Creek - two of which terminated in murder.\(^59\)

A journalist wrote:

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There can be scarcely conceived a greater or more apparent difference than exists between the staid and sedate inhabitants of rural districts, and the motley group of miners, professional men and merchants, thickly interspersed with sharpers, refugees, and a full selection from the dangerous classes that swagger, armed to the teeth, through the diggings and infest the roads leading to the newly discovered gulches, where lies the object of their worship – gold. Communications were appalling. There was hardly a metret of hardtop road in the colony. A British immigrant, Mary Skinner, reported that the journey to Beechworth in northeast Victoria by a respectable passenger wagon, took eight days in 1854 (it takes about three hours today).

The goldfields were a chaos of diggings, often with barely discernible tracks between claims. Mrs Skinner noted that one evening she walked from the township to her house, a bark hut, across one mile of diggings. 'In places the track was very narrow with holes on either side.' People disappeared, by accident or by design, into the many flooded and abandoned shafts that covered the diggings.

The Victorian diggings were an extraordinary meeting-place of ethnic and particularist populations. Residential separation was a matter of choice resulting from a sense of solidarity among men of like background, rather than a product of racism. Cronin states:

The various British, Russian, Danish, Italian, French, German, American and Chinese communities were segregated and often separatist. Ballarat, typically, had sizable Cornish, Irish and German towns, a thriving American quarter and several Chinese settlements. Writer James Bonwick claimed that the ‘clannish spirit’ was so strong that even the ‘Adelaide men hang together, and the Derwenters of Tasmania are strongly influenced by party feeling.’ In the countless intemperate quarrels that marred gold-field life, national and regional prejudices ran high. Italian miners were victims of digger-chauvinism and the Tipperary lads regularly featured in sectarian conflicts. In one such encounter, Ballarat Irish waged pitched battles against English,
Scots and American miners.62

It is beyond dispute that anti-Chinese violence occurred but it is surprising that, allowing for the dislike of so many Europeans for the Chinese, it was not worse than it actually was. A good example of how easily anti-Chinese sentiment could be controlled was the case of William Campbell Denovan of Bendigo. At an anti-Chinese meeting Denovan called for the Chinese to be driven off the Bendigo fields, the due date being 4 July 1857. After a meeting with Lachlan McLachlan (Bendigo Mac) the hard-headed local magistrate and ex-Tasmanian policeman, Denovan publicly reneged, citing threats of his own imprisonment if a riot occurred. It was not that McLachlan liked the Chinese but that he, and the majority of colonists, disliked criminal behaviour even more.63 Denovan underwent a change of attitude, writing in 1859:

I am as much opposed to extensive immigration of Chinese into this colony as ever I was, but it does not necessarily follow that . . . I should be in favour of maltreating those already here.64

Racism was less important in generating anti-Chinese sentiment than greed — the feeling that the Chinese were reducing opportunities for Europeans.65 Chinese and Europeans alike jumped claims whenever and wherever they could get away with it. Where the Chinese were in the majority, they threatened European miners just as they were often threatened. Cheok Hong Cheong observed:

Human nature is human nature all the world over; and the Chinaman is just as fond of money, and just as eager to earn as much as he can, as the most grasping of his competitors.66

The major anti-Chinese riots were driven by very small groups of people — Rowland suggests just forty or so precipitated the Buckland episode — whose purpose appears to have been the hope of finding hidden caches of gold, rather than racism per se.67 A mining district report of the events on the Buckland stated:

As the eviction continued down the stream, the rogues of the locality mustered to

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63 Hocking, Geoff, (2000), To The Diggings, Lothian, Port Melbourne, p 175.
64 The Bendigo Advertiser, 22 May 1859.
66 Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80, Melbourne. (Appendix 1, para 19).
gather booty and acts of brutality and robbery were numerous. . . . In place of men, the remnants of their tools, clothing and dwellings everywhere. . . . Broken shovels, cradles, picks, torn garments, ripped up bedding, half-burnt clothing, battered buildings, whole quarters of beef and mutton trodden into the mire, the earth bestrewed with rice, empty sugar bags, and broken tea-boxes, were the chief features of the late home of the Celestials.68

There were few serious injuries and no outright killings on the diggings that did not feel the full weight of the law. There were no murders of Chinese at Australia’s two most serious and widely reported goldfield riots; the Buckland or at Lambing Flat a few years later in New South Wales.69 Racial vilification was widespread but as Andrew Markus observed, miners at large opposed violence on the diggings.70 Straight forward propaganda, rather than any widespread fear of violence against Chinese, may be the best explanation of Cheong’s references to the Buckland in the 1879 paper discussed in Chapter 4. 71

The apparent passivity of the Chinese in Australia contributed to a mistaken belief among youthful Europeans that the Chinese were an ‘easy mark’. In reality Chinese reacted forcefully to European bullying as in an instance at Blackwood in 1857 when a group of Chinese decided to defy mining rules and cut a dam belonging to some European miners.72 A dozen Europeans approached the Chinese to complain. The European spokesmen was challenged to a fight by one of the Chinese but before many blows could be exchanged Chinese armed with picks and shovels attacked and dispersed the Europeans.73

Charles Ah Goon, a storekeeper and his employee, Ah Shing, were assaulted in Little

69 A fuller account of the events is given in Chapter 4.
Markus, A, (1979), Fear and Hatred, Purifying Australia and California 1850-1901, Sydney, Hale and Iremonger.
72 An original Woodblock with Chinese characters setting out Regulations governing the construction sluice water holes is held in the State Library of Victoria. Accession Numbers H27877, LTTP 81
73 The Mount Alexander Mail, 16 October 1857.
Bourke Street, and their reaction provides another example of Chinese willingness to engage in defensive violence. The two went back to Ah Goon’s shop and got a knife. Unfortunately, as all Europeans look alike, they picked the wrong people and finished up in gaol themselves but the point is that they were more than ready to do battle.74

Most instances of violence against Chinese were committed by young European males, often affected by drink and mob bravado. One early example of loutish behaviour occurred during a Chinese funeral at Ballarat in 1857. Food offerings were placed on the grave and a group of young Europeans stole the food and ate it before the ceremonies were completed.75 The rise of the ‘larrikin pushes’ or gangs of young men who terrorised inner city Australia in the later years of the 19th century was widely reported in the press and Chinese suffered along with the rest of the community.76 Much of the ‘racism’ reported from 19th century Australia has its origins not in any organised or widespread acceptance of anti-Chinese violence but in the idleness of unemployed youths, often affected by drink, who picked targets of opportunity among whom were often Chinese. One of the most common forms of assault against Chinese was either stealing from their gardens or attacking them while selling their produce door to door. A young man named James Bateman was convicted and fined for destroying a Chinese garden in Islington Street, Collingwood with a gang of friends. The paper reported in a very disapproving tone that:

It has long been the practice of a number of ill-bred youngsters to meet in the neighbourhood and destroy the substance of the patient Chinaman labouring there.77 It is important to emphasise that assaults were treated seriously by the authorities. Yee Tung was walking in Kew when he was struck by a stone thrown by either Joseph Adams or Wm Jos. Smith. When Yee protested, the two men beat him with a pick handle and a shovel. They were both fined £1 with costs or seven days imprisonment.78 A few months later two young Europeans decided to steal fruit from two Chinese hawkers in Hawthorn. When the Chinese objected they were beaten up while a crowd watched. A passing Justice of the Peace called the police and laid charges against the two louts. On another occasion, stable-boys from Connelly’s Stables in Caulfield threw stones at Ah Hing and Ah Young

74  The Daily Telegraph, 10 October 1888.
75  The Argus, 17 August 1857.
77  The Daily Telegraph, 8 June 1870.
78  The Daily Telegraph, 27 April 1888.
who were just passing by. Ah Young caught a boy named Lawson and the other youths then attacked him. Ah Young picked up a pitchfork and jabbed James White in the leg. He was beaten insensible by the gang and Ah Hing thought Ah Young was dead. The boys involved were fined £1 each and paid 42s in court costs.79

Cheok Hong Cheong used one such incident to persuade the Church Missionary Society of Victoria to obtain a mission site in Little Bourke Street.

The third great want of our mission is a central hall in Little Bourke Street . . . True, a small mission-room has hitherto been kindly lent by Canon Chase; but it is situated in Carlton—right out of the centre of Chinese population, in a part not frequented by them, and unknown to the most of them. The attendance consequently is very small, and this is made smaller still by the annoyance and danger with which the young roughs of the neighbourhood would beset them, for it is no rare thing to find them jostled and pelted whilst on their way to service. Just last Sunday afternoon a highly respectable business man had a large piece of road metal aimed at him just as he was entering the gate of St. John’s. And frequently also we have been startled in the midst of our service by stones rattling on the roof of the mission-room. With a mission hall in a central position in Little Bourke Street, . . . all this unpleasantness will be avoided.80

Because anti-Chinese prejudice was so obvious earlier studies, such as those of Price and Yarwood, focussed on restrictive legislation. Overall, most historians, such as Cronin and Rolls, have highlighted violence as a particularly anti-Chinese phenomenon while ignoring the day-to-day climate of mutual greed mentioned above in which people on the goldfields lived and worked.81 In referring to the declining Chinese population, violence and discrimination have been emphasised while there has been a pattern of ignoring stronger motivations for men to return home. First, achieving their financial goals and, more importantly, the declining availability of alluvial gold shown in Table 1.6. Economic issues, specifically the quick recovery of alluvial gold, dominated the decision of people of all ethnic backgrounds to emigrate to Victoria.

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79 The Daily Telegraph, 4 November 1889.
80 The Australasian Missionary News, 3 January 1890.
Chinese emigrants usually borrowed their fares and initial subsistence from a form of family managed credit union or bank or from entrepreneurs by 'credit ticket' arrangements. Unlike European emigration during the 19th century Chinese credit contracts often included the return fare at the end of the contract period. Although outbreaks of sickness were common, Chinese emigrants had a better chance of arriving alive at their destination. Repayment of the original immigration loan was the first priority after arriving in Victoria. Chinese debtors were supervised by the local branch of their district association until the loan was paid and this occurred, for most men, within twelve months or so of their arrival.

An English commentator said that it was rare for Chinese returning home to take more than £100 from their five years or so in Australia. Australia seems to have been a better destination than the United States. An American diplomat thought that $US30 a year was a very good effort. The Chief of Police in Sacramento, Charles P O'Neil, considered that between two hundred and three hundred US dollars (a little less than £100) over a five years would have been a very good effort. The Chief of Police in Sacramento, Charles P O'Neil, considered that between two hundred and three hundred US dollars (a little less than £100) over a five

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82 Coleman, Terry, (1992), *Passage to America: A history of emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland to America in the mid-nineteenth century*, London, Pimlico.
83 See discussion of Chinese Associations in Chapter 2.
84 *The Daily Telegraph*, 14 July 1888.
year period was a ‘pretty good stake.’ The Reverend Grainger Hargreaves commented:

I have not met with any man of wealth who has returned to China from the colonies. Sometimes perhaps a Chinaman when returning home goes to a bank and gets a draft for £300 or £400, and this impressions gets abroad that the Chinese are taking a good deal of money away, but this requires explanation. Filial piety is the strongest article in the Chinaman’s creed and when one returns a considerable number of his friends will ask him to take two, four or five pounds to their parents, and in this way the £300 or £400 will be made up.

Unfortunately, the journey home became an impossibility for a minority. Ah Hing told a typical story of dashed hopes in his pre-baptismal testimony:

When at home I was a farmer. I obeyed my parents when young. Being poor, my mother wished me to go to the goldfields, that I might make money and then return and support her. When I first came here I was always thinking about my mother, and sent money to her as often as I could. I entered into a business but did not succeed. I wished to go home but could not because I had no money. I have been in many parts of the country, and gone through much hard work.

Ah Hing’s comment that he had been in many parts of the country was similar to Peng-nam’s account of working around Victoria. Prior to his conversion and baptism at Beechworth in 1860 and his settling with the Presbyterian Mission at Ballarat in 1861, Peng-nam worked at Castlemaine, the Avoca, the Ovens, and the Buckland. All of Peng-nam’s Christian friends in northeast Victoria had been at Castlemaine and then worked elsewhere, i.e., Fan A Wye, Leong Pong Sien, and Lo Sam-yuen (Luo Shenyuan). Until the time of his conversion and baptism Peng-nam had been as rootless as any other immigrant. The endless search for gold hovered between poverty and the hope that today’s work would find a rich pocket of nuggets and allow a man to return home as a ‘man of substance’ who had contributed to an improvement in his family’s lifestyle and status.

As the Chinese population in one place declined the older camps withered and stores closed. Chinese avoided purchasing land or buildings that might be abandoned at short notice as a gold-field was abandoned. Most men held land under mining leases on payment of an annual fee. The Chinese did not normally purchase land, not because they were unable to do so (because of discrimination), but because it would have been a

85 California 1878, pp 101 and 184.
86 The Daily Telegraph, 9 April 1888.
87 The Wesleyan Chronicle, 19 December 1874, p 192.
bad business decision. When the population stabilized in the provincial towns and in Melbourne, those who could afford to buy properties did so. Cheok Hong Cheong is the archetype of a successful Chinese property speculator (See Chapter 6).

Despite his ethnic pride, Cheok Hong Cheong was unlike other Chinese Australians (Lowe Kong Meng, Louis Ah Mouy, James Lamsey, William Ah Ket of Melbourne and Mei Quong Tart, George On Lee and William Liu of Sydney, come immediately to mind) in that he never received a Chinese imperial award or ‘button’. One possible explanation is given at the close of Chapter 9. If such an offer was ever made, and there is no evidence either way, it is hard to understand why it might have been rejected. As the discussion in Chapters 4 and 9 will show Cheong’s importance as a bridge between the Europeans and the Chinese did not admit him into the innermost circle of the Chinese merchant-elite in Victoria from whom recommendations for Chinese honours originated. That exclusion may, perhaps, imply a distrust of him as a Chinese who was also Australia’s most prominent Chinese Christian.

In the next chapter Cheong’s preparation for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, and the shared plan, by family and church authorities, that he would become the Superintending Missionary of the Chinese Presbyterian Mission in Victoria, is discussed. It is this period of his life that established him in the role that he was to perform for most of his life. But more important still, it gave him the English language skills that also established him as the leading Chinese spokesman and apologist to the European population of the Colony of Victoria and, after Federation, to the population of Australia.

The story of the Cheong family needs to be taken against the background of the Chinese rush to the Victorian goldfields that is outlined in this chapter. Whatever the later career of Cheok Hong Cheong, his family was just one of many whose lives were profoundly changed by a decision of a male family member to migrate to the Australian diggings. They were driven by the hope of acquiring enough capital to enable to family to buy land in an increasingly and therefore expensive land-short Guangdong Province. Although Cheong Peng-nam remained determinedly Chinese, his decision to move his immediate family to Australia brought about an Australianising process. Although Peng-nam and Cheok Hong never became citizens of their new home, i.e., British subjects resident in Australia, and although the account of their lives that emerges in this study shows their determination to remain Chinese in culture and identity, they nevertheless
underwent a similar process of identifying more and more strongly with their place of residence rather than their place of origin. It is a remarkably simple fact of life that identity is determined as much by where we live as by who we think we are in terms of where we came from.
The Cheong family’s place inside and outside the web of relationships within the Chinese community in Victoria was an important factor not only in Cheong’s early years after his arrival in Ballarat in 1863 but also in his subsequent life after 1872 in Melbourne as he emerged as the primary English language defender of his countrymen.

The majority of Chinese immigrants were focused on maximising income and minimising expenses to enable them to send money to their families in China. Confucius said that: ‘the ignorant commoners always harbour a desire for material gain (xiaoren huai hui)’¹ while Cheong’s version was that all men are naturally greedy. Greed certainly applied to the Victorian goldrush immigrants. Making money was the universal objective. Housing was normally the cheapest obtainable and, given the growing anti-Chinese sentiment in the colony, accusations of overcrowding and accusations that Chinese residential areas were sources of disease became part of a full-scale demonizing of the Chinese (see Chapter 7).²

Housing is symbolic of family status and success in most communities. Well into the early years of the 20th century there were still Chinese (and many Europeans who lived in rough wooden huts patched with odd pieces of corrugated iron or flattened kerosene tins (next page). Successful, men like Cheong (see Chapter 6) and other Victorian community leaders built substantial houses to demonstrate their achievements (see Chapter 4) but, for the greater part, the housing of Chinese in Victoria was below the standard of their European neighbours.

The all-male nature of Chinese immigration and the pressure on men to send money home to the family in China was described in Chapter 1. Declining earnings from gold mining and a lack of marketable labour skills meant that most long-staying Chinese in

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¹ Information provided to the author by members of internet site ANZ-Ch.
² Census of Victoria 1881, para 42 reported that just under half were living in huts, some in tents and a very few camping out.
Victoria were poor and often had lost contact with their families through shame that they could no longer afford to send money home, still less save enough to return to China. Their poverty, as Mrs. Skinner mentioned in Chapter 1, led them to engage in many petty
thefts, often involving chickens.\textsuperscript{3} Although there are some letters, mostly concerned with rented land, in Cheong’s letterbooks, the poor were not high on his agenda and, worse still, as an evangelist he did not spend much time in personal conversations with them or in seeking to ameliorate their living conditions (see Chapter 5).

One of the key relationships that Cheong had to manage was the gap between the European and Chinese views of the law of the land. A summary of the gap in Chinese and European viewpoints came from a Californian Senate investigation that described the:

Existence among the Chinese population of secret tribunals unrecognised by our laws and in open defiance thereof, an \textit{imperium in imperio} that undertake and actually administer punishment, not infrequently of death. These tribunals exercise the power of levying taxes, commanding masses of men, intimidating interpreters and witnesses, enforcing perjury, punishing the refractory, removing witnesses beyond the reach of process, controlling liberty of action and preventing the return of Chinese to their homes in China.\textsuperscript{4}

Cheok Hong Cheong was criticised by European friends for failing to report opium dealers to the police and his response was that his primary calling was to the conversion of the wicked rather than to their temporal punishment (see Chapter 7). It was a less than satisfactory answer unless due account is taken of the complexity of relationships within which he lived and worked as a Chinese who was also a Christian and a missionary. Cheong’s ‘hands-off’ approach worked better than that of Mei Quong Tart, the leading Sydney Taishanese merchant:

In 1892, . . . [a] problem arose from differences over gambling which sparked off a faction war in the Goulburn-Campbell Streets Chinatown between groups known as “Dwoon goon” and “Go Yen” respectively. When Quong Tart heard of the dispute he convened a meeting of Chinese merchants who arbitrated, according to Chinese custom, and found in favour of the Go Yen party. When the other side refused to pay the amount in question court proceedings were taken. . . There were riots

\textsuperscript{3} See Cronin, Kathryn, (1982), \textit{Colonial Casualties}, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, Table 13, p 148. See also a list of convictions recorded at Ballarat in \textit{The Star}, Ballarat, 10 June 1861.

between Chinese in the city and affairs looked like taking a most serious turn when the Dwoon Goon faction held a meeting at which they condemned the way in which Quong Tart had presided over the deliberations of the arbitration committee and informed him that his services in Chinese matters would no longer be welcome.\(^5\)

Cheong Peng-nam’s careful planning for his family, before and after his conversion, provided a lesson in balancing his Chinese identity with the European dominated Victorian environment that Cheok Hong applied to his own family.\(^6\) The Cheong family in Victoria never lived in poverty and in later years, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, the family lived well above the standards of most Chinese Victorians.

Cheong Peng-nam did not spend his earnings in opium smoking, gambling, or in repatriating money to his family in China. His careful money management financed a journey to China in late 1856 or early 1857 that resulted in the birth of his youngest child. He saved enough to go home a second time in 1863 to bring his wife and children to Ballarat although those costs were reimbursed by the Presbyterian Chinese Mission Board of Management. There is an enigmatic mention in 1863 that he had trouble gathering all the children, with his youngest being held by bandits. It seems more likely that the little girl was held by relatives until Peng-nam made a payment to release him from future family obligations.\(^7\) This may explain why the Cheong archives do not mention the lineage village or any family members in Taishan District.

While housing had an important symbolic role (see Chapter 4) it was only one of several elements in Cheok Hong Cheong’s life in Australia that set him, and his family, apart from most of the Chinese in Victoria. The Cheongs were part of a small minority of Chinese-Australians who found a new sense of personal freedom away from the pressures and restraints of traditional Chinese family and village life.\(^8\)

An experienced American missionary in China said of the men who returned from the United States:

The great body of these emigrants are persons of very little position or influence in China. They go back to their homes in the city or country, and entertain their friends with the story of their adventures for a short period, and then it loses its novelty, and


\(^7\) The Age, 10 November 1864

they settle down to the quiet routine of their everyday life. The fixedness of customs . . . in China is too great to be readily affected by such slight influences.\(^9\)

The 'father' of Chinese emigration studies, Chen Ta, observed that:

The emigrant as an individual rarely enters to any very large extent into the life of a foreign community. Even when he does not join an older member of the family abroad, he almost invariably continues to live in a Chinese social environment, usually under a Chinese employer, and under circumstances requiring no great changes in his habits.\(^10\)

This was the case in Victoria where most Chinese lived in relationships that reflected the family-village customs of the district from which they had come.\(^11\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.1 Victoria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Age Distribution as percentage of total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10-19 years</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29 years</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39 years</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49 years</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-60 years</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 60 years</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Titles of respect such as ‘uncle’, and ‘nephew’ were common although few involved close relatives. The sense of extended family was reinforced by clan associations comprising men from the same administrative district in China and, men who claimed the same lineage. There were just nine lineage groupings within the Victorian See Yup community.\(^12\)

The Cheong lineage was one of the smallest and least influential. The marriage of Cheok Hong to Wong Toy Yen in 1869 may in some part have been with a view to linking Cheok

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Hong to the Wong lineage, one of the largest lineages in Victoria.

![Table 2.2](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>Taishan</th>
<th>Hoiping</th>
<th>Xinhui</th>
<th>Yanping</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wong</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louey (Lui)</td>
<td>777</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lau (Liu)</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam (Lin)</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ng (Wu)</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chin (Chan)</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leong (Liang)</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheong (Chang)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chung</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2754</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>1579</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Cheong was a family autocrat (see Chapter 6) he did not seek more than a utilitarian relationship with the relationships represented by the Victorian Chinese associations.\textsuperscript{13} In becoming an outstanding figure in the Chinese community, and its premier English-language apologist and spokesperson, he had to respect the structures of the community if he was to exercise a leadership role. This reality was influential in his handling of the opium issue (see Chapter 7) but also in his defence of the Chinese in 1879 (Chapter 4) and in the great immigration debates of 1887-1888 (Chapters 8-10).

Overseas Chinese communities were the product of chain migration, i.e., people from the same general area following each other to the destination. The ‘Rev.’ William Young commented:

> One of the Chinese teachers has found in these diggings, he tells me, some thirty or forty of his nephews (first and second cousins I think he means) and a great number of acquaintances. From these he has met with a very warm reception, and he will, I am persuaded, use the influence he seems to possess over them for the purpose of bringing them into contact with the Word of God and the ordinances of religion. The greater number of them seem to have settled at Forest Creek.\textsuperscript{14}

Chinese district associations were the local link in an overseas migration chain that started with emigration entrepreneurs in South China.\textsuperscript{15} Most Victorian Chinese came from the northern townships of Taishan District and from Xinhui, Hokshan and Hoiping Districts.


\textsuperscript{14} \textit{The Argus}, 15 November 1855.

\textsuperscript{15} Lee, Rose Hum, (1960), \textit{The Chinese in the United States of America}, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, p 143.
They were eligible for membership of the *See Yup Hui Kuan* (See Yup, Sze Yup, See Yap – Mandarin Siyi = Four Districts). As the district association (*hui kuan*) of the largest group of emigrants to the English-speaking countries of the Pacific Rim, the See Yup Association was influential throughout Australia but especially in Victoria and North Queensland. The next largest number of immigrants came from Xinhui District and were members of the *Kong Chew Hui Kuan*.

Immigrants retained their identification with their home district and village in China even after death. The Collins Collection of photographs of Chinese funerary ovens in Victoria at the State Library of Victoria provides an invaluable visual record of the maintenance of funerary traditions in Victoria. The membership fee included a nominal sickness benefit and an assurance, usually honoured, that should they die, burial would be arranged along with the eventual return of their bones to China. Ray Bradfield published this contemporary report from the Castlemaine diggings.

As a proof of the respect the Chinese have for their dead, and that they never seem to forget them, I need only mention that, on the occasion of my visit, two Chinamen came expressly from Ballarat to pray at the shrine of a friend, who died nearly six years ago. They brought with them four oranges, some cakes, tea, pork chops, brandy, wax tapers, and joss sticks. After praying they collected them together in a basket, first offering cakes and brandy to those around. Frequently, after obtaining a Coroner’s warrant, the remains would be exhumed, some time after burial, when the body, teeth, the nails, having been extracted, whole, were burned to ashes in a remote corner of the ground. The fragments were then collected, tied up in a white satin bag, and placed in a small chest. They were then despatched for China, to the deceased’s relatives.

This was yet another instance where Cheong’s views diverged from those of other Chinese and the associations. In his address to the 1889 Annual Meeting of the Church Missionary

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16 Hui Kuan is the Chinese term usually translated association
17 The original spelling of Ballarat was Ballaarat.
Society of Victoria, Cheok Hong Cheong remarked on the actions of a catechist of either the Presbyterian or the Methodist Chinese Mission.

a fortnight ago I heard that a Catechist of another church had come up to the cemetery in the neighbourhood to gather up the bones of his deceased fellow-townsmen for transportation home to China. In this case I do not know whether he did it to oblige his friends at home, or that he was identified with their superstitious belief in geomancy. To my mind, however, he should at least have allowed the dead to mind the things of the dead, his own business being simply to follow Christ.19

The objectives of the district associations were described in information from the San Francisco branch of the See Yup Association to the Rev. William Speer:

The objects to which the subscriptions to the Company have been devoted are as follows:
1. The purchase of ground and erection of the buildings used by us.
2. The salaries of agents and servants.
3. For fuel, water, candles, and oil.
4. To assist the sick to return home.
5. For the bestowment of medicines.
6. For coffins and funeral expenses of the poor.
7. For the repair of tombs.
8. Expenses of lawsuits.
9. Taxes upon our frame house at Sacramento.
10. Drayage and other outlays for passengers landing or departing by ship.20

The report from William Speer mentioned above described the outreach and authority of the See Yup Association in San Francisco:

As well as providing services to members, the associations acted as ‘hidden’ government following Chinese traditions.21 The leaders of the associations in each place, i.e., in any emigrant destination country and in each major Chinese settlement in each country, exercised magisterial powers over the local members and sought to prevent any Chinese dispute being taken into the wider community and especially into the European courts.22

The functions outlined in the American and Australian examples of See Yup rules suggest a common origin in Guangdong Province as part of the process of internal migration in China. A man who did not join risked social isolation and was to be regarded as:

19 The Australasian Missionary News, 3 January 1890.
21 American sources confirm this pattern including Chen, Jack (1982) and Chen, Yong, (2000), as well as the US Senate and Californian Senate Reports. See also http://yerkes.mit.edu/mlba/Chinatown/community.html.
an outside man. Should he get involved in any quarrel or sickness, or in the case of
death or trouble in mercantile matters, he having no ticket . . . to produce, any
member of the society who shall interpret for him shall be fined the sum of £10 . . .
There shall be no deviation from this rule.23

Every man had to be certified free of debt before he could leave Victoria. This was
enforced by shipping companies requiring the association’s certificate before issuing a
ticket or allowing a man to board a ship leaving for China:

In the matter of receiving credit, borrowing money, and repaying what the capitalist
in China has advanced to any member, all our countrymen must be careful to
observe good faith. They must not repudiate any obligation. Any person doing so
shall have his name posted up in the club-house, and he shall be compelled to pay in
full the sum he owes; after that he may be permitted to take his passage on board
ship, and return to China.24

When Ho A Low, a Victorian catechist (Victoria Chinese Mission, 1855-1857), was asked in
1856 what the See Yup building in Little Bourke Street was used for he replied that it was a
clubhouse providing short-term accommodation for men moving to and from the
goldfields and that he stayed there himself when in Melbourne.25 Francis Hsu states that a
hui-kuan in California usually had some dormitory space and offices.26 The Rev. Augustus
Loomis, a missionary to the Chinese in California, said of the San Francisco associations:

Each of the six companies owns its house and lot, and some of these company
houses have large rooms, to which the immigrants from the ship are permitted to
come and lodge until they find employment, or until they can make arrangements to
get to their work on the railroads or in the mines. Also Chinamen coming from the
country to embark for China are permitted to take their baskets and blankets to the
company houses and lodge while waiting for a ship. These buildings are, in fact, like
the caravanseries of the East.27

Not all Christian Chinese were as relaxed as Ho A Low about staying at an association
lodging house. Some Christians in San Francisco did not like to use them because of the
presence of a temple as a normal part of the facilities. Some Christians even refused to
keep up their association membership, preferring to cut themselves adrift and rely on the
Christian group as a replacement fellowship group.28

Temples also served as meeting places, administrative centres for the local members of

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23 The Christian Review, December 1869, p 20. Mr Inglis quotes and comments on the rules which had
just been published in Papers Presented to Parliament, Legislative Assembly, Victoria, 1867, Rev
24 Young, op cit, pp 18-19.  
25 The Church of England Record, April 1857, p 33.  
27 United States Senate, (1877), Report of the Special Joint Committee to Investigate Chinese
28 Ibid, p 448
the association, provided for religious observances and as court-rooms for the trials of men who broke the rules. By virtue of their lineage links with Taishan District, the Cheong family was eligible for membership of the See Yup Association but there is no evidence that Cheong ever joined although he was associated closely with several former presidents including William Wong Shi Gean and Peter Fanggeth. It was probably easier to be independent in Melbourne than in the goldfields Chinese villages.

In 1855 a small temple was opened in Castlemaine. Local people say that Castlemaine had at least three temples that remained fairly intact until just after the Second World War. Some of the decorative panels from these buildings are now in the local museum. The opening of the See Yup temple at Spring Hill near Beechworth also attracted mention in the press.

In front of this galaxy of glories [image of Kwan Ti] a seat is placed for the head man of the camp, who presides, protected from the ‘common herd’ by a railing; and around the room for the whole length [about 30 feet long with side rooms] a line of benches is arranged for the audience & jurors. the walls are adorned in places by proverbs, or trite sayings, by Confucius and other eminent philosophers, inculcating an observance of the laws, respect for old age and for property of other people — a code which cannot be too widely disseminated. The judges, whose decisions are, we believe, never impugned in cases of theft, are competent to award the criminal punishment which is administered by his own relations and personal friends. . . . The hall, by the side of low-pitched tents, presents a most imposing appearance, and has great advantages over its opposite neighbour in Beechworth in size, a liberal supply of candles, and a comfortable box for the reporters. 29

As the illustrations on the next two pages show, the See Yup Association possessed the finest Chinese temple in Australia in South Melbourne and had buildings in almost every major Chinese site in Victoria, as well as in other colonies. It was an influential body and for most of the 19th century it was part of the web of relationships within the Chinese community with which Cheong and other Christian leaders avoided disagreements. As

29 The Argus, 25 August 1857.
Other See Yup Temples in Victoria
Secretary and later Chairman of the Victorian Chinese Residents’ Association, Cheong used the Kong Chew Hall (Xin Hui Hui Kuan) for Chinese community meetings on matters such as immigration (Chapter 10) and famine relief fund-raising. Peng-nam stated that he once took Cheok Hong to the See Yup temple in Ballarat on the Emperor’s birthday as an affirmation of his loyalty to China and by implication, to his fellow countrymen in Ballarat.\(^{30}\)

In the early days of Chinese immigration Christians were active in association affairs. Chu A Luk (Victoria Chinese Mission 1855-1857) who came to Victoria in 1855, was a leader of the 1857 colony-wide See Yup protest against legislation intended to increase taxation and reduce immigration (Appendix 15).

On Monday, the streets of Castlemaine presented an unusual appearance. Hundreds of Chinese were parading, about 600. The object of their gathering was of a political nature... they had determined on holding a meeting of protest against Mr. Haines' bill relating to them, and for this purpose they had come to Castlemaine from all parts of the district... It was the first meeting of the kind held by the Chinese in this colony. During the morning many of the Chinese had visited the [Victoria Chinese Mission] chapel on the hill for the purpose, as we were informed, of signing the petition to be afterwards submitted to the meeting, and having performed this duty, they departed, but there remained on the hill between 1,200 and 1,800 to take part in the proceedings. On the arrival of Chu A Luk, the interpreter and missionary stationed there, an old box was procured, upon which Chu A Luk mounted and explained the purpose of the meeting... Chu A Luk was appointed to take charge of the petitions.\(^ {31}\)

Pon Sa, or Leong Pong Seen, who was another of the speakers at the 1857 See Yup protest meeting in Castlemaine, was later baptised by the Methodists and was one of the Christians at Beechworth who befriended Cheong Peng-nam and helped persuade him to become a Christian. At his baptism in Beechworth (Christ Church, Anglican), in 1860 Peng-nam gave his home district as Taishan and his parents as Cheong Ming Cham and

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\(^{30}\) The Christian Review, July 1865, p 11.
\(^{31}\) The Argus, 7 August 1857. See Appendix 15.
In 1856, Ho A Low resigned from the Victoria Chinese Mission and the See Yup Association helped him obtain appointment as the Chinese Interpreter at Beechworth. Chu A Luk was also offered alternative work by the Chinese leaders but he chose to continue as a missionary until he returned to China in 1857 following the collapse of the Victoria Chinese Mission. By the time Cheong became Superintending Missionary of the Anglican Chinese Mission in 1885, the influence of the district associations had waned along with the fall in the number of Chinese in Victoria.

Tension between the associations was reported. In his Fifth Report from the Victoria Chinese Mission at Castlemaine, to give one example, William Young mentioned that:

Chinese both of the Heang-shan [Zhongshan] and Su-iap [See Yup] clans met at the first service. Perhaps it is not generally known, that between these two clans, though they come from the same province in China, there exists a state of feeling not unlike that which subsisted between the Jews and Samaritans of old. I have not been able to ascertain what circumstance has given birth to this feeling of deep-rooted animosity; but I never see these two clans encamping together, or working together in any large bodies. One of the Chinese, in describing their characteristics, said that the one [See Yup] was peaceably disposed and yielding, and other pugnacious and haughty [Zhongshan]. Disputes, too, on the gold fields, which have arisen among them, have tended to widen the breach that originally existed.

In 1857 Chu A Luk spoke to some Zhongshan [Heong-shan] men at Campbell’s Creek whose comments reflected the deep distrust held by many Chinese towards Christianity:

He told them that he had come with a good object in view, and that was, to erect a chapel for the use of the Chinese. One of them replied that he was a Heong-shan Chinese, and had resided in Hong Kong about ten years, but he never saw a single instance of a Heong-shan Chinese becoming a Christian; that the people of that clan disliked Jesus because he was of foreign race. The very name of Jesus they could not bear to hear.

In the 1850s the Melbourne Argus mentioned several disputes between Chinese groups in

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32 Peng-nam’s mother was from the Ng lineage. The term ‘See’ indicates that she was a married woman.
34 The Mount Alexander Mail, 14 December 1855. Heang-shan is a variant of the more common Chungshan/Zhongshan and Su-iap is a variant of See Yup. Chungshan people were few and far between in Victoria although in Brisbane they represented more than half the Chinese population and were also significant in Sydney.
35 The Mount Alexander Mail, 15 May 1857; 16 October 1857. The same prejudice is mentioned by a German missionary, Rev C R Hager in 1886, ‘There seems as much bitterness against the Gospel as ever. A year ago we were almost hooted out of the same city; and this time the mob tried its power [but] signally failed.’ The Chinese Recorder, January 1886, p 37.
Victoria. Similar tensions occurred in North Queensland. In 1875, two Queensland societies had a confrontation in which two men were killed. In 1878, the largest clash between Chinese known in Australia occurred at Lukinville. The See Yup were said to have mustered six thousand combatants against about two thousand Chung Shan [Zhongshan] men.

There is no evidence, other than public meetings of the whole Chinese community, that Cheok Hong Cheong or any of his family ever attended a Chinese temple. The Cheong family, through Peng-nam’s and Cheok Hong’s steady employment and financial acumen and the family’s Christian church connections, did not seek the support of the Chinese associations. An actual attack on Cheong was probably regarded by his opponents as too risky. Cheok Hong Cheong had a range of contacts among church members in the European community that exceeded those of any other Victorian Chinese. His acquaintances included members of the Victorian Parliament, cabinet ministers, senior administrators, judges, and other community leaders many of whose names appear in subsequent chapters.

In addition to the district associations and lineage groups, there were also secret Chinese societies. The best-known, and still operating, are the Triads, groups that originally came together in protective associations to resist the oppression of landlords and unjust government officials. Louis Ah Mouy and Lowe Kong Meng were prominent members of the Yee Hing Society, a See Yup branch of the Triads. Yong states that the Melbourne Yee Hing Society renamed itself the Chinese Masonic Society in 1914. By 1916 there were similar Chinese Masonic Lodges [Chung Wah Ming Kuo Kung Hui] in Launceston, Tumut, Brisbane, Cairns, Atherton, Gordon Vale, Toowoomba, Mackay, Rockhampton and elsewhere. He states that these bodies eventually merged into a new national body (Chee Kung Tong). This body was in active opposition to the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintan/Guomintang). The adoption of a Masonic identity by Triad

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36 *The Argus*, 25 April 1855; 18, 21, 23 July 1856; 19 August 1856; 16, 23 September 1856; 17 September 1857; 8 October 1857; 14 December 1857; 18 February 1858.
societies is also reported in America.\textsuperscript{39}

In a lengthy exchange of letters over the opium question, Cheong said the following about the criminal element of the Chinese community in Melbourne.

They pay liberally a standing Counsel who advises them in every move they make & how they might defeat the law. . . \textsuperscript{40}

Well remembering not very long ago when in a gambling case four reputable Chinese witnesses sheeted home the offence, the gamblers were able to bring forward by the advice of their lawyers, eight of their confreres to swear to the contrary! \textsuperscript{41}

I have as a matter of fact on several occasions reported to the police when violence was threatened against the peaceful members of the Chinese Community by the banded ruffians of a certain Secret Society. \textsuperscript{42}

He also claimed that his opposition to the trade in smoking opium led to the placing of big character posters in Little Bourke Street offering a reward for anyone who killed him.\textsuperscript{43} A rare public reference to a secret society appeared in a report from the Anglican mission in Bendigo deploring forceful opposition by a ‘secret society’ to Chinese who attended the mission services.\textsuperscript{44} It mentioned the:

despite of the members of a secret society recently established here who lose no opportunity of ridiculing the new religion and publicly taunting its professors.\textsuperscript{45}

While the basis of the relationship is not known, an unusual aspect of the experience of Cheong Peng-nam and his family was the invitation to stay with the prominent merchant, Lowe Kong Meng, after their arrival in Melbourne in 1863. By taking the family in, Kong Meng signalled to the Chinese community that the Cheong family enjoyed his personal friendship and protection.\textsuperscript{46} The most significant product of the relationship was Cheong’s part in co-authoring of the 1878 pamphlet (see Chapter 4) and his later role as the English language spokesman for the Victorian Chinese Residents Association (see Chapter 8).

A further strand in the Cheong family’s relationships was the context within which Chinese Christian converts became part, admittedly on the fringes, of the colonial

\textsuperscript{40} Cheok Hong Cheong to Howat 15 April 1909
\textsuperscript{41} Cheok Hong Cheong to Howat, 22 April 1909
\textsuperscript{42} Cheok Hong Cheong to Howat, 27 April 1909
\textsuperscript{43} Cheok Hong Cheong to Howat, 20 March 1909.
\textsuperscript{44} Cronin, Kathryn, (1982), Colonial Casualties, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, p 119.
\textsuperscript{45} The Church of England Messenger, 8 January 1874:11
churches. Among the Anglican and Protestant Europeans who came to Victoria in search of wealth were products of the evangelical movement with its emphasis on personal conversion and evidence of a changed life expressed through philanthropic and missionary ventures. Between 1855 and 1860 evangelical Christians established several interdenominational missions to the Chinese in Victoria at Castlemaine, Ballarat, Melbourne and Smythesdale. Accepting Christianity created an element of doubt about the Chinese identity of converts who were viewed, by some if not all Chinese, as siding with the religion of China’s oppressors. Their connection with local European Christians may have protected many men from the unfavourable opinions of their countrymen.

A further important difference in Cheong’s framework of relationships was his education in Victoria. Other prominent Chinese Christians in Victoria, including Ho A Low, Chu A Luk, Wat A Che, O Cheong, and Fan A Wye, had attended the London Missionary Society’s Anglo-Chinese College in Hong Kong. Originally established at Malacca in 1817 the College moved to Hong Kong in 1845 where it was intended to be a seminary for the preparation of Chinese Christian ministers. The Church Missionary Society established St Paul’s College in Hong Kong in 1851 for similar reasons. The only former student of St Paul’s confirmed to have worked in Australia was Lo Sam-yuen who is mentioned elsewhere in this thesis (Chapter 5). None of these men received schooling or higher education in English language and culture, or in theology, comparable to Cheok Hong Cheong or his academically gifted son, the Rev. James Cheong, MA.

The evangelical awakenings in Britain and North America during the 18th and 19th centuries, and the amazing successes of British imperialism, brought a new enthusiasm for overseas missions to the Anglican and Protestant churches of Britain. They held firm to historic Christian doctrines of the common origins and divine destiny of humanity, rediscovering St Augustine’s teaching that:

Whoever is anywhere born a man, that is a rational, moral animal, no matter what unusual appearance he presents in colour, movement, sound, nor how peculiar he is

47 See discussion in Chapter 3.
48 A general introduction is given in Welch, Ian (1980), Pariahs and Outcasts, Christian Missions to the Chinese in Australia, MA, Monash University.
49 Cheong refused to accept a salary from the Anglican Chinese Mission after 1898 because of his concern that some Chinese alleged that he only preached Christianity for payment, reflecting his concern that his work on behalf of the Chinese community be respected as those of a ‘real’ Chinese. See Chapter 5.
in some part, or quality of his nature, no Christian can doubt he springs from one protoplast . . . if they are human, they descend from Adam.\textsuperscript{50}

Augustine, in turn, drew from Paul’s address to the sophisticates of Athens (Book of Acts Chapter 17, verse 26 —New International Version) that reads: “From one man (i.e., Adam) he made every nation of men, that they should inhabit the whole earth.’

The churches in Victoria were caught up in the pressures arising from the population explosion of the goldrush era. An entire infrastructure had to be created from nothing, demanding the maximum cooperation between clergy and people, including those who were at best nominal Christians. The need for the widest possible community support and cooperation created stresses in balancing the highest standards of Christian morality with popular opinion influenced by an all-pervasive climate of greed. Among many, and perhaps a majority of Europeans, the Chinese were perceived as taking resources that would otherwise have been earned by Europeans.

A distinction can be drawn between the struggles of the Victorian churches to defend the divinely given humanity of the Chinese against oppression and the attitudes of some Americans with experience of slavery. A former Presbyterian missionary in China, J G Kerr saw a direct link between the Chinese, as one section of the community, and the potential denial of rights to others. Kerr wrote:

He must have food and clothing for himself and family, and a roof to cover him from the cold and the storm. He and his wife and children and aged parents are as much creatures of God as the man with a white skin, and the fruits of the earth produced or earned by the sweat of his brow are just as much the gifts of our common Father to him as to men of any other race or color. God is no respecter of persons, and those who claim exclusive right to the blessings to be secured in any part of God’s earth are presuming upon a favoritism which does not exist in the Divine economy.\textsuperscript{51}

The Rev. William Boyce, a pioneer Methodist minister, returned to London to take up the post of Secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. After retirement he came back to join his children, who had remained in Australia. He wrote to friends in England that clergy costs took a higher proportion of church income than in England while few


\textsuperscript{51} ‘In this warfare against the Chinese, the rights and liberty of the white man are just as much at stake as those of the Chinaman.’ J.G. Kerr, The Chinese Question Analyzed (San Francisco, 1877), Pt 5, pp 9-10, cited in Tseng, Timothy, (1994), Ministry At Arms Length: Asian Americans in the Racial Ideology of American Mainline Protestants, 1882-1952, PhD, Union Theological Seminary, New York.
colonists were regular churchgoers. His comments on the state of the churches show the economic and social climate within which the various Australian Chinese missions operated:

If the English friends wish Australia to be thoroughly identified permanently with the foreign Missions work they must make haste slowly, taking into account the peculiar position in which the inhabitants of a new Country are placed from local claims which are of a far more pressing & necessary character than can exist in an old settled Country. A superficial glance at the circumstances of the middle and lower classes in the Australian colonies leaks the impression of the command of greater monied ability as compared with the same classes in England & this is to some extent true but it must be taken in connection with the existence of imperative local claims upon the voluntary givings which are not found to the same extent in England or any other long settled country.

The churches were constantly looking to Britain for manpower, technical advice and financial support. William Young described their circumstances to Dr Tidman, the Secretary of LMS, within six months of the opening of the first Chinese mission in June 1855:

In the infancy of almost every denomination here when each is required to provide its place of worship and is called to support a minister it is not to be wondered (that) a mission like the one in question cannot be entirely supported by funds raised on the spot.

Comments at an anti-Chinese meeting at Mount Alexander (Castlemaine) in July 1857 show the everyday prejudices of Europeans:

- Australia was discovered by European enterprise, and originally colonized by the same, we had therefore a prior right. Our religion and laws were altogether different from theirs, so much as to prevent any amalgamation of feelings and sympathies.
- An Englishman would find it impossible to obtain a living.
- Englishmen would be unable to provide for their wives and families.
- Chinese set a bad example to the rest of the community.

When the implementation of Australia-wide restrictive policies against Chinese immigration were discussed in the Methodist Conference of 1888, the Rev. Dr Watkin, led

52 In 19th century England, clergy salaries were paid by government. When this practice ceased, church endowments (chiefly the Church Commissioners) managed investments that provided for clergy costs. It has only been since the 1970s or so that Anglican parishes in England have been required to participate in funding clergy costs.
53 Boyce to Bunting, 20 February 1879, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Australian Correspondence, MSS.
54 Young to Tidman, 22 November 1855. London Missionary Society, Australian Correspondence, MSS.
55 *The Spectator*, 1 June 1888.
the way in not allowing principles to over-rule pragmatism. Watkins told the Conference that the Wesleyan Methodists:

were, as a church, not sufficiently in touch with the working classes already. The working man had no quarrel with Christianity, but with the way Christianity was represented by many of its professors.\footnote{The Daily Telegraph, 22 May 1888. See discussion of the Intercolonial Conference at Chapter 11.}

When Chinese evangelisation began in Victoria in 1855 colonial belief in European superiority was universal and Christianity, superimposed on conventional 19\textsuperscript{th} century racial ideas, became a religious explanation (and justification) for Anglo-Saxon world dominance that might, otherwise, have been attributed to the same greed that produced the Victorian goldrush.\footnote{Makdisi, Ussama, (1997), ‘Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity,’ American Historical Review, Vol 102, No. 3, p 681. The Introduction to Price, Charles, (1974), The Great White Walls are Built, Canberra, Australian National University Press places this comment in the wider context of racial thinking in 19\textsuperscript{th} century Australia.}
The Chinese accepted British influence but believed China to be a superior culture. A discussion reported by a Chinese missionary in Victoria reflected the assumption of British-Christian dominance:

On Saturday five men came to my house and I explained the Catechism to them. One or two were pleased and I gave books to them. Sunday forenoon, I went to Campbell’s Flat. In one tent there were seven men, and I preached to them how God created Heaven and Earth and all things and men in six days, so that all people ought to worship God and not worship images and sin against his law. One answered and said, ‘You say All things come from God.’ He said, ‘you say many. Some people are black some are white they live in different countries and not speak same language, they do not worship the same God. They do not come from one pair.’ I say to him, ‘Who was the God of China and who were the first parents of Chinamen?’ He say, ‘So long a time from then to now, he not know the first parents, \textbf{but the Chinese are different from all other people.}’ I said, ‘you are not a wise thought. You do not know the true God and do not know the climate of the world. If anybody live in the torrid zone, they are of black skin and complexion, if they live in the temperate zone they are white or light skinned and intelligent. If any people live in the frigid zone they are dwarfed and of little knowledge. You see the Europeans are white and so intelligent, they are living in the temperate zone, as Chinamen. \textbf{How is it that the Chinese are not so intelligent as the Europeans. Because the Europeans have the truth of God and they believe in Christ the Saviour} therefore their wisdom and intelligence comes from the true God. If you country people cast away ‘devil worship’ and images and worship the living God then they will have intelligence like those who live in other countries.\footnote{Leong A Toe, Journal, 11-17 April 1863. See also discussion in Cohen, Paul A, (1974), ‘Littoral and Hinterland in Nineteenth Century China: the “Christian Reformer”,’, pp 197-225 in Fairbank, John K, (1974), The Missionary Enterprise in China and America, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.}
Christian friends, I am very glad to meet you this evening. I beg to say a few words to you. I am employed by the Presbyterian church to preach the gospel to my country-men in Ballarat; some of them are willing to hear it, some are unwilling; others again ridicule, and show their hatred of it. And why is this? Because the Chinese value the doctrines handed down by their own wise men. From a boy I was taught that these doctrines were the true doctrines, and that they were first taught above 4000 years ago. But they say nothing about God’s creating heaven and earth in six days, and resting on the seventh—nor about Jesus coming into the world to redeem us from sin; and they do not tell us what we ought to do in this world; nor what we are to expect in the world to come. We cannot learn from them about God’s righteous judging of men at the last day; and therefore the study of the doctrines of China is not sufficient to enable us to regulate our lives. Although the ancient sages worshipped a supreme ruler, and called him the great Lord of Heaven and Earth, and also sacrificed to him; yet in after times, there being no Bible among the Chinese; the people gradually became darkened, and made all sorts of images and gods, and sacrificed to them, and to deceased ancestors, and tombs, and other objects, and thus served the devil, who in this way led them astray, until they were quite ignorant that God was the great Lord of heaven and earth, and believed that a dead man who was deified by one of the Emperors was the Supreme God; some of the Chinese also said that Buddha had power over heaven and earth; others again said, there were gods greater than Buddha who would exist when heaven and earth had passed away. Besides these errors, the Chinese believe in fortune-telling, witchcraft, and such things; and they believe to be true what they find in wicked books and novels; they believe also false doctrines, ghost stories, and other superstitions. Then there are educated men among the Chinese, who do not comprehend the importance of heavenly doctrines; but who adhere with great tenacity to the ancient doctrines of China, and argue with me, and maintain that these doctrines are the true ones; thus they stick to their errors and cannot be convinced, and Satan deceives them. They will not permit the Holy Word of God to be their guide. But by the efforts of good men who wish to spread the truth, the doctrine of salvation has penetrated China; and it is gradually removing the film that has darkened the minds of the people, and enlightening them, and bringing them out of death into life. In order to cause its universal spread it is of the first importance to get the transforming influence of the Holy Spirit, and next to obtain your assistance, Christian friends, to send laborers into the harvest—and what you sow, you shall reap—and thus the lost piece of silver will be found, and the glory of the triune God will be manifested, and your own happiness will be vastly increased. This is my heart’s wish.

Peng-nam declared that the Chinese had always believed in God but as a result of not having the Bible to guide the culture China had fallen away from that belief. Peng-nam did not suggest that China’s traditions needed to be replaced but brought back to first principles. With the availability of the Bible in Chinese China would resume its rightful place among the great nations of the world. Both Peng-nam and Leong A Toe left no doubt
that China was the cultural superior of the West. From his writings (See Appendices 1 to 5) it is obvious that Cheok Hong Cheong shared the same basic values.

Cheong spent much of his life engaged in a complex emotional and intellectual balancing act between his Christianity, his European education, and his desire for status and authority within the Chinese community. Nowhere does this show out more than in his inclusion of Confucian literature in the literature supplied by the Anglican Chinese Mission. In 1897-1898 a report on the issue by an experienced former China missionary and public servant in Hong Kong, the Rev. Dr Ernst Eitel, resulted in considerable tension with the authorities in the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne, (see Chapter 5). It is an example of the balance that Cheong had to maintain in order to deal with the fact that many Chinese saw any toleration of European religion as a betrayal of China’s cultural superiority.

Despite the difficulties of overcoming 19th century Chinese anti-foreign sentiment there were many conversions that involved men looking past the issues on which the elite Chinese, such as Cheong and his father, spoke so strongly. Conversions were due, in most instances, to close friendships between individuals, sometimes Europeans but more often, Chinese. An example of a European friendship was given by Ham Yeng Tang in his testimony:

Last year, I met with a European Christian, Mr Philip Bennett, of Campbell’s Creek, who was very friendly with me, and invited me to go to the Wesleyan Church, in Campbell’s Creek, to hear the Gospel. After the service, many of the Christian friends came and spoke to me and appeared very glad to see me at Church. This I was surprised at. I thought there must be something in this religion to induce these persons, who were strangers to me, to be so kind to me, who could neither speak nor understand English.61

Another Methodist convert, Tse Tak stated:

When we went to Church, all Christian friends loved us very much, but this blacksmith most of all. Every Sunday he taught me English, and the Truth in his house, and his wife was to me as a mother.62

Chung Ah Shaw of Maldon gave a similar story, this time involving a Chinese Christian:

Not long ago, I became a gardener. A good many English friends invited me to go to Church, but I would not go. A Christian Chinaman, James Ham King Yong, a gardener, was very kind, and asked me to go with him and hear the truth, but I did not understand much English and could not gain much information. I only knew that church did the people good, therefore I went every Sunday until now, about

four years. Some English friends loved me like a brother, therefore I thought this
truth is good.63

Leong On Tong’s conversion through friendship with Leong A Toe (described as Lean Ato
in the citation) was described by the Rev. Josiah Cox, of the English Wesleyan Methodist
Church in China, when he visited Castlemaine during a tour of Australia to advise the
Methodist Mission Committee:

He was favoured with a good Chinese education, which extended over seventeen
years. When about twenty years of age he came to the colonies, and resided, with
various success, at Ballaarat and Castlemaine for four years before he heard the
Gospel. At about this time, Lean Ato, the former catechist, invited him to the chapel,
and happily this lead to his finding the knowledge of Christ. The sincerity,
consistency and ability of Leong On Tong marked him out as successor to Lean Ato
when the latter removed to China.64

Friendship was the basis of Peng-nam’s conversion. In 1859 he was carting goods to the
Chinese camps in the northeast goldfields where he met Chinese Christians associated
with the Anglican Church Missionary Society of Victoria (CMSV):

I returned from the Buckland to the Ovens . . . I happened to meet with Fan A Wye65,
who advised me to strive to enter into the strait gate, and requested me to believe
upon Jesus Christ, whereby we shall obtain everlasting life. When I heard these
sayings, I thought it was mere advice to the world to do good, and to check evil.
Again I paid a visit to the chapel one Sunday. My attention was roused by Fan A
Wye’s sermons; this is the time to come, this is the time of repentance. When it was
over, I was asked whether I ever heard of the doctrines of the Kingdom of God. I
replied that I have heard of them, when first I landed in Melbourne but I could not
comprehend their particulars up to the present time, because I had to attend to my
business for the support of myself and my family, and had no leisure to discover the
truth.66

Cheong Peng-nam and Lui Fun-sing were baptised in Christ Church (Anglican),
Beechworth on 22nd July 1860.67 Soon afterward Peng-nam accepted the position of
Cantonese catechist with the Presbyterian Mission at Ballarat supervised by William
Young.68 Young (a Fukienese speaker) did not speak Cantonese well enough to undertake
serious religious discussions. Peng-nam’s appointment reflected the profound cultural
barrier that separated the European and Chinese colonists:

65 Fan A Wye was a former student of the London Missionary Society’s Anglo-Chinese College in Hong
Kong.
67 Christ Church Beechworth, Baptismal Register, 22 July 1860.
68 For an overview of Young’s background see Welch, Ian (1980), Pariahs and Outcasts, Christian
Missions to the Chinese in Australia, MA, (unpublished) Monash University. See also Appendix 9,
footnote.
Mr. Young having represented to the Committee that it was impossible for him single-handed to oversight the work, they appointed Pong Nam, a baptised Chinese, to act temporarily as catechist. He is a young man of considerable acquirements, and apparently honest in his profession of Christianity.  

British evangelical Christianity as practised in Victoria provided little help to Chinese converts about reconciling their traditional values and obligations with their new religious beliefs. Many, perhaps a majority, resumed their cultural traditions when they returned to China without necessarily renouncing their Christianity.

This is one of the most complex of all issues involving Christianity when, as is still the case for Christians worldwide, most people tend to practise their religion within the conventions of their community’s social, economic and cultural practices. Many Chinese, including many who remained in Australia, reflected the European norm of avowing a nominal form of Christianity but rarely attending a church. Denominational statistics suggests that less than half the Chinese who were baptised became regular communicants.

By the time of Cheong’s death in 1928 a wide gap had opened between the few 19th century immigrants and the majority of Australians of full or part Chinese ethnicity who were assimilated into the wider Australian society. This group was split between a minority, mostly of full Chinese ethnicity, who continued to identify with China as ‘home’ and a majority, often of part-Chinese ethnicity but including families such as the Cheongs, who saw only Australia as ‘home’. The growing complexity of ‘Chinese identity’ in the Australian environment meant that old ties, and particularly the web of traditional lineage and district relationships outlined in this chapter, faded away. The advent of the war with Japan followed by the Communist republic in 1949 further weakened the links between Chinese- Australia and mainland China.

In the longer term, the small minority of Chinese Christians in Victoria associated with the 19th century era of evangelisation were to experience a profound clash of cultures when, in the post 1960s, changes in China itself and changes in Australian immigration policy, saw the entry into Australia of an entirely new style of Chinese identity and with it, a more culturally affirmative version of Chinese Christianity.

Chinese Christianity in Australia has been affected by changes in China and in Australian migration patterns. In the period following the Great Proletarian Cultural

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69 *The Australian Messenger and Presbyterian Review*, October and November 1861, p 263. Cheong Peng Nam was variously referred to as Ping Nam, Pong Nam, and Pen Ang. See also *The Age*, 11 November 1863).
Revolution experiment in the crushing of dissent instigated by Mao Tse-tung the small population of Christians from European missionary churches were mostly forced into the fellow-travelling Catholic and Protestant Patriotic Churches dominated by the Communist Party. What small contacts had been maintained between Chinese churches in Australia and those in China ended.

A small number of dissident Christians formed ‘underground’ churches. As the ‘missionary’ generation passed away most leaders of the ‘underground’ churches formed their belief system through Bible reading independently of foreign contacts and, although persecuted by the regime, were free of the old accusation of being friends of China’s enemies. These churches have expanded dramatically in recent years with some estimates suggesting more than fifty million Chinese Christians. Others, notably Catholics, went ‘underground’ to preserve an apostolic succession and ministry loyal to Rome.

Australia experienced an influx of Christians from Hong Kong and Southeast Asia many of whom had a different assessment of what it meant to be Chinese and of what it meant to be a Chinese Christian. To add to the complexity, many of the new arrivals spoke Mandarin and not the rural Taishanese dialect that dominated the Victorian Chinese community. The ‘new’ Chinese Christians possessed a worldview at odds with the Christianity of the ‘old’ Australian-born Cantonese churches left over from the evangelising efforts of the mainstream churches in 19th century Australia. This was to become a major issue in the case of the Anglican Chinese Mission when attempts by the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne to instal a multicultural ministry based in the mission premises led, to a serious conflict (See Chapter 5).

In the next chapter, the scene moves from Cheong’s place in the Chinese community to his emergence as a candidate for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church and his first experiences as a leader of his countrymen.

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Peng-nam’s conversion in 1860, his employment as a Presbyterian catechist (lay evangelist), and the subsequent improvement in the family’s financial circumstances that followed call for some reflection about his motivation, i.e., did he convert from conviction or for family advancement? There is nothing in his writings or in the reports in the Presbyterian church press to suggest that anyone questioned his sincerity or that of his immediate supervisor, the ‘Rev’ William Young. The evidence is that he was a sincere Christian and one measure is that his son, Cheok Hong Cheong and Cheok Hong’s children, were to remain permanently identified with Christianity.

The few surviving extracts from Peng-nam’s journals reveal him as a willing catechist although the combined efforts of Young and Peng-nam were not marked by many baptisms.¹ Young’s early reports, with the Victoria Chinese Mission (1855-1858) and then with the Presbyterians, (1860 onwards) show a good deal of ‘pious fraud’ but this faded with the passage of the years.² Peng-nam’s reports include the evangelical call for conversion, commitment and a change in lifestyle but he was intelligent enough to realise that his employers expected such language. The following is one example of his style:

July 27. Engaged this forenoon in conversing with friends . . . about gospel truths. In the afternoon, went to a number of shops in the Main-road, and pointed out to the people the great evil of opium smoking. I urged them speedily to give up the habit. Some of them said they were aware of the injury they received from it but felt they could not give it up. Others said that their smoking of opium was not worse than the drinking of spirits indulged in by Europeans in hotels. It was in this way they entertained guests, and talked over worldly affairs. I told them of the power opium had of gradually undermining their constitutions; and that body and soul were endangered thereby. Why did they

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¹ For evangelical Christians, a conversion (turning to Christ and away from sin) occurs prior to baptism. It was the normal practice in all the Victorian Missions to the Chinese to publish pre-baptismal testimonies as evidence of the prior conversion experience.

² Pious Fraud involved three strands. First, Britain’s (and Europe/North America) imperial influence was given by God to extend Christianity to the world. Second, God would intervene to influence the pagan to believe and, third, that converting the Chinese in Australia (and elsewhere such as New Zealand and North America) would hasten the conversion of China. As an example, the founder of the Victoria Chinese Mission, the Congregational minister, Rev. John Legg Poore said in 1855: ‘China with its 300 millions of heathens is not far off. But China is sending a portion of her population to this land, and thousands of the inhabitants of that vast empire are now learning the English language on our gold-fields and will return to explain the Christian religion to their countrymen.’ The Mount Alexander Mail, 9 March 1855. The Church of England Record, January 1856, p 3.
not believe the doctrines of the gospel, and trust in the name of Jesus to deliver them from this practice of entertaining guests. They would then find peace in this world, and life everlasting in heaven. Would not this be delightful? 3

Young’s ministerial supervisor at Ballarat East, the Rev. Duncan Fraser, whose parish of Ballarat East included the Presbyterian Chinese Mission, told the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1863 that: ‘Mr. Young, from his faithful, zealous and earnest spirit, made but little noise, and consequently he was not . . . heard of as some people in the same field might be’. 4

And quiet Young and Peng-nam certainly were! From 1855 to 1864 the two men were not directly responsible for one baptism although several converts prepared by Young before the collapse of the Victoria Chinese Mission were baptised by the Methodists at Castlemaine in 1858. Not surprisingly Young, as the Superintendent, became a target for criticism of the mission’s effectiveness. He resigned in 1867 when, through the good offices of a leading Presbyterian ruling elder and businessman, James Balfour, he was appointed Chinese Interpreter-General. 5 In the two years Young held the position he produced his Report on the Condition of the Chinese Population of Victoria. 6 His effectiveness as Interpreter-General must be doubted given that, as mentioned in Chapter 1, he did not speak Taishanese/Cantonese, the dominant Chinese dialect in Victoria. He held the government appointment for about two years before he resigned and resumed his duties with the Mission until replaced by the Rev. William Matthew.

In an 1899 interview Cheok Hong described the family’s background, albeit with some hyperbole:

Mr. Cheok Hong Cheong . . . is superintendent missionary of Victoria. 7 He conducts the services, and is the principal head and front of the whole movement. He was born 23rd December 1853, 8 in Fatshan, Kwong-Tung Province, China. He received his early education in that city which he left with his parents in 1863. His grandfather, a banker of considerable standing, was ruined at the time of the Taiping rebellion, which caused a general upheaval in Chinese society, and the son, Cheong pengnam, decided to leave his native land for Australia, where he hoped, if possible, to restore the fallen fortunes of his family. 9

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4 The Age, 11 November 1863.
5 James Balfour was a Presbyterian lay elder. In September 1855 he founded the Geelong Chinese Evangelisation Society (See Welch, Ian (1980), Pariahs and Outcasts, Christian Missions to the Chinese in Australia, MA, Monash University. Although several biographies have appeared, none deal with his evangelical interests or his long-term support for Chinese evangelisation — See Harper, Andrew, (1918); Balfour, G H (1931); Lemon, Andrew, (1982).
7 In 1885 Cheong was appointed to lead the Anglican Chinese Mission, see Chapter 5.
8 1851 is suggested in some sources and is followed in this study.
9 The Weekly Times, 2 August 1899, p 14. This report was written after an interview with Cheong. The family claims of banker status are Cheong’s.
In 1892, the Rev. Dr. James Legge, a former missionary of the London Missionary Society and head of the Anglo-Chinese College in Hong Kong, met Cheong at an anti-opium meeting in London. After prompting from Cheong, Legge ‘remembered’ meeting Cheong and his family at Hong Kong in 1863 while the family was en-route to Australia. Whether Legge actually did recall them, or was just being polite, is unknown. There is no record of Legge ever having any written communication with Peng-nam or Cheok Hong. Cheok Hong later claimed that his family had a close relationship with Legge and other prominent China missionaries:

I myself have had the pleasure of being associated with men who have laboured long & devotedly in Canton Province, such as the Rev Dr Legge DD LLD, G Piercy, F Storrs Turner BA, Silvester Whitehead, T G Selby, Wm Young and Daniel Vrooman MA. . . . I have had occasion moreover to act the part of an Interpreter to the Rev Wm Young and Daniel Vrooman MA while they respectively were attempting to impart instruction to my Father’s and my own Bible Class although they have an average of over twenty years China experience.

As the statement stands, his claims to ‘being associated’ means no more than having met the men mentioned, perhaps just once or twice during his six-month visit to England in 1891-2 on behalf of the British Anti-Opium Society. Cheong indulged in ‘name-dropping’ from time to time. This character trait should be kept in mind when considering later statements, including his claims about his grandfather’s status in the 1899 interview cited above.

Cheok Hong’s claim about his family can be compared to Peng-nam’s restrained testimony in 1860 (Chapter 1). Cheok Hong claimed that his grandfather, Cheong Ming Cham, was a ‘banker of substance’ in Fatshan. Peng-nam stated that his family was ‘in business’ but makes no reference to what the business was. Peng-nam and Cheok Hong agreed that the family had fallen on bad times hence Peng-nam’s arrival in Victoria in 1854.

Whatever the Cheong’s status may have been in China there is no doubt that Cheok Hong made a significant impression on those who met him in his early years in Victoria. A report in the Presbyterian Church newspaper stated:

When Peng Nam was here at Christmas, he brought his son with him, a fine intelligent young lad, about sixteen. He is a scholar in one of our common schools in Ballarat and is quite intelligent. Could means be provided, especially for this object, he could be trained in the Scotch College, Ballarat, and afterwards

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10 *The Friend of China*, July 1892, p 137.
11 Personal communication from Dr Lauren Pfister, Baptist University of Hong Kong, an expert in Legge’s writings.
12 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Very Rev G O Vance, Dean of Melbourne, 25 November 1897.
join the University and Divinity Hall in Melbourne.\textsuperscript{13}

Had Cheok Hong remained in China he may have achieved high scholarly rank.\textsuperscript{14} Status in Imperial China was achieved through highly competitive examinations at district, provincial and national levels. Only well-off families could afford to keep a boy at school for the necessary twenty years or more.\textsuperscript{15} Village schools were taught by men who did not achieve the higher standards needed to secure government positions.\textsuperscript{16}

Cheok Hong Cheong achieved more in Victoria than he could reasonably have expected had he lived in China. In Australia he experienced a different intellectual and socio-cultural formation and had a lifestyle entirely different to that of his peers in China. Had he stayed in China he might have been just another of China’s labouring millions.

The published testimonies of Christian converts suggest that most Chinese had some village primary schooling but literacy levels were low. The Rev R M Cobbold of the CMS China Mission wrote:

\begin{quote}
Boys are at school four or five years before they can understand a single word of what they read: they only say their lessons like a parrot, without knowing a word of the meaning of what they utter.\textsuperscript{17}
\end{quote}

The majority of Victorian Chinese converts said that they had less than three years’ schooling. Lo Sam-yuen reported meeting some men at Ballarat who took fright when he produced a book:

\begin{quote}
Today I went to the Gravel Pit and had a talk with five persons in a store. They were all illiterate men, and seeing me take out a book and read it they appeared alarmed and said, we are all uneducated men, were you to read the book to us it would be of no use.\textsuperscript{18}
\end{quote}

Cheok Hong seems to have been exaggerating Chinese literacy when he stated in 1879:

\begin{quote}
Ours is a well-educated people. Indeed, it is but seldom that you could discover a Chinaman incapable of reading, writing, and ciphering. Can you assert the same of all English and Irish men?\textsuperscript{19}
\end{quote}

The following table, constructed from prebaptismal testimonies in Victoria, provides a sample of the education, age and occupations given by converts in their pre-baptismal testimonies (See Appendix 10).

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\textsuperscript{13} The Christian Review, February 1869.
\textsuperscript{14} Even today, Guangdong people are rarely found at the top of Chinese government. Only one of the nine members of the Politburo of 2002 is from Guangdong Province.
\textsuperscript{15} See Miyazaki, Ichisada, (1976), China’s Examination Hell: The Civil Service Examinations of Imperial China, London and New Haven, Yale University Press.
\textsuperscript{17} Church Missionary Intelligencer, Vol II No 5, May 1852, p 64.
\textsuperscript{18} Journal of Lo Sam-yuen, Ballarat, 16 March 1858.
\textsuperscript{19} Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong, Louis Ah Mouy 1879, p 10, (See discussion in Chapter 3).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Age at baptism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paul Wan Yuk Chau</td>
<td>Eight years</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>33 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Tam Hsi Man</td>
<td>Two years</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>54 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Lee Man Ching</td>
<td>Three years</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>30 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Ham Yeng Tang</td>
<td>Seven years</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Hun Bak Tsing</td>
<td>Three years</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>25 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos Leong Yek Foong</td>
<td>Four Years</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>47 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Ye Ling Pong</td>
<td>Four years</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>30 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lum Khen Yang</td>
<td>Eleven yrs</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Ham Yan Toi</td>
<td>Five years</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>39 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan Tsip Hing</td>
<td>Five years</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>43 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Kwaan Choi Yau</td>
<td>Five years</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>43 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Chung Ah Shaw</td>
<td>Three years</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>36 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke Quon Hoe Gee</td>
<td>Two years</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>31 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Chung Kat</td>
<td>Four years</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>30 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonah Lee Yim Sung</td>
<td>Four years</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>36 years old</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The traditional Chinese respect for educated men continued in Australia. Jacob Hung Wah Fat, a Methodist convert, had been a village schoolteacher and was described as a ‘man of substance’. He prospered and there are several references to him hosting Christians from the country districts at his home in the Melbourne suburb of Richmond.20 Leong On Tong, the Methodist catechist and later ordained minister, was described as ‘having a good Chinese education.’ Peng-nam claimed a full schooling, perhaps twelve years.

An American missionary in China described Chinese village schooling in 1875:

Every village and neighbourhood has its school, every town its academy, every county its college, every state its university, and the empire its imperial college at the imperial capital . . . The Chinese primary school . . . teacher gathers his own pupils, and derives his support from tuition fees paid by the scholars. The Celestials build no schoolhouses. The teacher obtains the loft of a . . . house, a room in a common dwelling, an apartment in the village or neighbourhood temple, and the rent, if any, is assessed upon the scholars, included in the term bills . . . In the primary school, the master has about twenty scholars, seated on bamboo stools, at wooden tables, furnished with the Sangche-king, the Three-Character-Classic, . . . containing about a thousand words, and about half that number of separate characters. The first great object is to learn the characters, by repeating them, line by line, after the teacher, as he pronounces them to the class. Both teacher and scholar use a singsong tone and a high key. Every one of the twenty scholars studies and recites at the top of his voice. A Chinese schoolroom is a bawling Babel, and at all hours of the day parents have audible evidence that the children are studying their lessons.21

China was unique in the 19th century world in having a nationwide provision of privately

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20 The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 March 1869.
funded village primary schools following a common curriculum although these fee-based schools provided only for those who could pay. At village level, roughly equivalent to Australian and American Grades 1-8, the Chinese primary school curriculum comprised just three texts — *The Thousand-Character-Classic; The Three-Character-Classic;* and *The Hundred Names.* A boy who completed village schooling would have memorised about 2000 characters in all. The curriculum shaped a common intellectual culture that was valued and respected by all Chinese and provided the common element of Chinese identity, sometimes labelled ‘Confucian culturalism’, that transcended the many ethnic and cultural differences within China.

The impact of the traditional curriculum upon the culture of China described by Chen was an almost pathological fear of disorder and in consequence a tradition, if not always a reality, of conformity and obedience. Chinese schooling conveyed no sense of individual rights or of a rule of law above family. It presented a view of China as an extended family in which the will of the Emperor was supreme in the same way as the will of the father in the family. There was no concept of civil authority that was preeminent over the Emperor’s, or the father’s, whims. Young Chinese learned that success in society:

Rested on a reward and punishment system in which all people were to obey a heaven-ordained emperor and behave according to the hierarchical order prescribed by Confucianism. In the Confucian hierarchical order, subjects should obey rulers, sons should obey fathers, and wives should obey husbands. This cultural psychology set the authoritarian tone for the political and social order of Chinese society and the Chinese family. Disobedience to or rebellion against authority was punishable at both family and state levels.

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22 Rawski, op cit. Research into the Kucheng Mission of the Church Missionary Society indicates that in that province, schools were few and far between. The CMS employed many scholars to teach in village primary schools in which the Bible, as well as the traditional Chinese classics, were taught as a means of evangelism and enculturation of the children of converts. Unlike Chinese schools, Christian primary schools for girls were also available, although less common than for boys.

23 Ibid. Literacy was a prerequisite to full participation in the higher levels of the Chinese cultural heritage. Primary schooling (i.e., 2000 characters) does not constitute real literacy in Chinese.


There is nothing in Cheong’s letterbooks about the standard of education he reached in China or its long-term impact on his way of thinking. It is only by comparing his age upon arrival in Australia against the usual conventions of village education that his Chinese primary school education can be assessed. His Chinese studies ended when he was enrolled in the colonial school system. His eldest son, the Rev. James Cheong, MA, (see Chapter 5) spent hours developing an educated hand. James’ efforts suggest that Cheok Hong did not have the background to provide a Chinese classical education to his family. Brotchie suggests that Cheong did teach some Chinese to Melbourne candidates of the China Inland Mission. No evaluation is available.

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26 The Christian Review, December 1870.
27 Brotchie, Phillip Edgar, (1999), The Importance of the Contribution of Australians to the Penetration of China by the China Inland Mission in the Period 1888-1953, with Particular Reference to the Work of Australian Women Missionaries, PhD, Deakin University, Geelong.
When he arrived in Ballarat in 1863, Cheok Hong was enrolled in the Ballarat East Common School. The Victorian education system then, as now, had two parallel school systems. The equivalent of the state or public school was the Common School, funded by the government with low fees. The churches ran a parallel system of schools, also funded by the government through the Denominational Schools Board but charging higher fees. Secondary education, other than through the church system, was not available for most children.

The Cheong family in Ballarat saw at first hand the fate of children whose parents were not able to afford school fees. Young’s opening of a mission school for Chinese, mixed ethnicity and poor European children, at Golden Point, reinforced Peng-nam’s views about the importance of a good education. The Ballarat Chinese Presbyterian Mission primary school was a ‘ragged school’ financed by a prosperous and philanthropic Presbyterian elder, James Murdoch, a bush carpenter turned successful chain grocer. The extent of Cheong’s role is unclear although he seems to have been a ‘monitor’ working with younger children while Young taught the older ages. This was a common practice at the time. Although Cheong claimed that: ‘He was . . . given the full charge of a Mission Day School when only 18 years of age’, this is not confirmed by the Mission archives.

The Victorian Education Act of 1872 provided that primary education would be secular, free and compulsory for all children although it was another generation before virtually all children finished primary school. Young made a passing reference to the introduction of universal primary schooling in 1872:

The new Education Act that has come into operation will put educational advantages still within the reach of the particular class for which our school was intended, so that they will not be left destitute of teaching; as they were before our school was established; and I am glad to see the parents of this class availing themselves of the advantages the new Act offers them. While the State, then, provides these children with secular education, I shall do my best to provide them religious instruction, combining with it lessons in singing, which, as I have already stated, the children are exceedingly fond of. By this means I hope to keep them still linked to the mission; to let them drift away entirely from us would materially lessen our influence over the Chinese population.

The legislation included all children of primary school age, irrespective of their ethnic background, a significant step at a time when North American public schools excluded Chinese.

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29 Minutes of the Chinese and Aborigines Mission Committee, 18 October 1871; 28 November 1871; 14 February 1872.
30 Cheok Hong Cheong to Rev Canon S L Chase, 20 May 1891.
31 The Christian Review, May 1873.
32 This is another of the many issues that remain un researched at the time of writing this thesis.
In July 1866 the Presbyterian *Christian Review* announced the baptism of Peng-nam’s family, by the Rev. Duncan Fraser, at St John’s Presbyterian Church, Peel Street, Ballarat East. Fraser kept a press clipping of the event in his Bible for nearly half a century until his death, when his daughter passed it on to Cheong. Those baptised were Mrs Cheong (Yeet Kwy Phang See) aged thirty-two years; Cheok Hong, thirteen years; the elder daughter, Fong-sen, twelve years of age; and Ah Chin, aged nine. The church paper reported that the baptismal responses were made by the family in Chinese (i.e., Taishanese/Cantonese) and were repeated in English by Cheong Peng-nam.

A few additional words to those in Chapter 2 are needed to place Cheong in the predominantly evangelical religious culture of 19th century Victoria and its British origins. For evangelicals, salvation is attained only by a personal acceptance of Christ’s substitutionary atonement (conversion — chongsheng dejiu jingli) that was evidenced, or proven, by a changed personal life. Cheong reflected these values in his account of one prominent (Anglican) Christian convert and catechist:

William Ching Wah, a man of humble rank and modest education, but full of zeal in the service of our Lord Jesus Christ, he was instant in season and out of season . . . among his countrymen. For a considerable period he laboured as an honorary evangelist, and while devoting his spare time to the work of preaching the Gospel he supported himself by the labours of his own hands. The 19th century test of an evangelical conversion was the changed life that was expected to show itself in ‘disinterested benevolence’, i.e., doing good to others with no expectation of anything in return. The overall view was summed up in the *Evangelical Magazine*:

When a man tells me, ‘That he knows his sins are forgiven, that Christ loved him and gave himself for him, and that his eternal life is safe in his hands, I do look for more than words: actions, that speak louder than words, in this case, are necessary for my conviction. I am not satisfied with negative righteousness, without the additional suitable deportment to glorify God.

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33 The *Christian Review*, July 1866, p 8. See also Appendix 11, Part A, p 343.
34 Cheok Hong Cheong to Miss Fraser, 7 March 1912.
35 Cheok Hong Cheong to Liang Lau Hsun, 21 February 1911.
37 Cheok Hong Cheong to Archdeacon J D Langley of Sydney in an article that appeared in The Missionary, at Home and Abroad, April 1895.
The Anglican *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion* of 1571. Article 12 - Good Works states that:

> Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins and endure the severity of God's judgement, yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

One significant outcome of ‘disinterested benevolence’ among British evangelicals following the religious revival of the late 18th century was the creation, during the 19th century, of a wide-ranging reformist strand of voluntary aid societies. ‘Disinterested benevolence’ is grounded in Jesus’ statement about loving one’s neighbours without limit in defining ‘neighbour’.40 Disinterested benevolence was held to be the Christian’s proper response to God’s unmerited love for the redeemed.41 The emphasis in 19th-century evangelical voluntary societies was on the transformation of individual lives rather than the reconstruction of society as a whole. Inevitably the structures of society itself came to be seen as factors contributing to individual suffering. Among the people most influenced by this trend was the Scottish evangelical Christian and co-founder of the British Labour Party, Keir Hardie. A similar pattern of Christian participation in everyday politics also occurred in Australia as part of a theological process labelled, the ‘social gospel.’

The benevolence cum missionary strand of evangelicalism was exemplified, in Cheong’s experience, by the Church Missionary Society of Victoria (1857) and its two successors, the Church Missionary Association of Victoria (1892) and the Church Missionary Society of Victoria, Reformed (1898).42 All three relied on the support of individual Anglican clergy and laity. They received no institutional financial support from the Anglican Church and relied on voluntary contributions from sympathetic parishes and individual church members.

Cheong’s baptism in 1866, just three years or so after his arrival in Ballarat, and in a context of a formalised family ritual where his mother and sisters were also baptised, requires some consideration of his ‘conversion’. Without a genuine experience, the ‘inner warmth’ that John Wesley famously described, acts of benevolence, while laudable enough in their own right, say nothing of the grace of God in enabling salvation or of the

believer’s duty to God. In classical British theology, good works done without faith, or works of supererogation, do not attract God’s approval but rather divine condemnation. Article 13 - Works before Justification in the Anglican Church’s Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion declares that:

Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the School authors say) deserve grace of congruity: yea, rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

Article 14 - Works of Supererogation, states clearly and unequivocally that:

Voluntary works besides, over and above, God’s commandments which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogance and impiety. For by them men do declare that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for His sake than of bounden duty is required: Whereas Christ said plainly, When you have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants.

Cheok Hong Cheong affirmed his personal faith on at least two significant occasions. He participated in a confirmation service in 1872 and made a public declaration of his faith and his acceptance of the Westminster Confession of Faith at his induction as a Presbyterian ruling elder at the Napier Street, (Fitzroy), Presbyterian Church in 1884. There is nothing in Cheong’s Letterbooks or other sources to indicate if Cheong ever had the kind of conversion experience that so changed his father’s life. When Cheok Hong was admitted to the Presbyterian Theological Hall and ten years later when he was offered, and accepted, the Superintendency of the Church Missionary Society of Victoria and the Church Missionary Association of Victoria, no doubts were ever expressed about the genuineness of his Christian commitment.

Everyone who knew the young Cheok Hong Cheong could see his promise and there was a genuine interest in advancing his education. In an address to the 1870 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, the Rev. Duncan Fraser declared that:

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44 Cheong’s initial formation was as a Presbyterian, and he received his theological education within that Christian tradition. The much longer Presbyterian ‘articles of religion’ are set out in the Westminster *Confession of Faith* of 1647. Chapter XV1-Of Good Works, presents a more tightly formed argument than the Articles but the substance is similar, i.e., ‘Good works are only such as God hath commanded in his holy word, and not such as, without the warrant thereof, are devised by men out of blind zeal, or upon any pretence of good intention. Westminster *Confession of Faith*, (1981), Edinburgh, Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland.
45 *The Christian Review*, December 1873.
He wished now to point out that, while they were looking abroad for a competent European superintendent for the work they had in hand, there was among them a young man — a full-born Chinese — nineteen or twenty years of age, a baptised Christian, a good English scholar, and capable of teaching his countrymen: why not employ him?

The Minutes of the Chinese and Aborigines Missions Committee read, 'Mr. R O McCoy, Headmaster, Ballarat College, sends bill for Cheok Hong Cheong’s education but encloses personal cheque in full payment.' He received his junior secondary schooling in 1870-1871 and was a featured speaker at the Speech Night at the close of the 1871 school year.

The few glimpses of the family style of Cheong Peng-nam show that in immediate domestic matters, he followed the Chinese custom of the senior male being the decision-maker. Peng-nam arranged Cheok Hong’s marriage, when he was about seventeen years old, to a young Chinese woman, Miss Wong Toy Yen, a daughter of one of the few Chinese families in Ballarat. The two were married on 4 October 1869 at the Ballarat mission with William Young and Peng-nam as witnesses. Toy Yen was born on 10 October 1849 in Hockshan, a district adjoining Taishan to the north and west. Her mother’s name was recorded as Young Cheong Se. Her lineage village was part of a cluster of villages at the meeting point of Xinhui, Taishan, and Hockshan that contributed many Chinese immigrants to Victoria. The bride was older than the groom and Peng-nam may have negotiated a good dowry for her marriage to a young man with prospects. Although now a married man Cheok Hong had to continue his secondary schooling if he was to enter the Presbyterian ministry. His father remained the family provider.

Entry to the Presbyterian Theological Hall, a part-time institution, required Cheok Hong to matriculate into the University of Melbourne. Matriculation classes (Year 12) were only available in Melbourne but Peng-nam had more than this on his mind. On the 19th June 1872, Mrs Cheong Peng-nam passed away at the age of forty years after what the papers described as a long and painful illness later attributed to cancer.

48 Minutes of the Chinese and Aborigines Mission Committee, 29 December 1870. Ballarat College was affiliated with the Presbyterian Church of Victoria but in 1971 came under the jurisdiction of the Victorian Synod of the Uniting Church in Australia as Ballarat and Clarendon College.

49 Victorian Pioneer Index. Mrs Cheong's name was recorded on the marriage certificate as Wong Toy Yen. Apsey 108-9 records Mrs Cheong's name from an unknown source as Choy Ying Nong.

50 Apart from this information from mission sources, attempts to identify the Wong family in Ballarat have been unsuccessful.

51 In general, Chinese wives tended to be younger than their husbands but this tradition was exaggerated in the diaspora communities. There is discussion of this issue in Ling, Huping, (2000), 'Family and Marriage of Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Century Chinese Immigrant Women', pp 43-63 in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol 19, No 2, Winter 2000.


In September the Mission Committee accepted Peng-nam’s resignation as a result of ‘scandalous’ reports but the exact nature of the scandal cannot be identified. Peng-nam’s subsequent active church participation suggests that the whole affair was ‘stage managed’ by Peng-nam to facilitate moving his family to Melbourne. Peng-nam set up business as a wholesale banana merchant in Brunswick Street, Fitzroy. It is possible that Lowe Kong Meng, a key player in the banana industry in Victoria, was again of some help to the family, as he had been in 1863. Cheok Hong worked alongside his father in the business and received his family’s full keep.

The family attended the Napier Street Presbyterian Church, Fitzroy. The Minister, the Rev. Robert Hamilton, asked Peng-nam to form a Chinese Bible Class. Hamilton was convener of the Mission Committee and his action suggests that the scandal in Ballarat was not of sufficient concern to disqualify Peng-nam from evangelistic work. Cheok Hong became Hamilton’s regular Chinese Interpreter with ‘encouraging results’.

The Mission Committee arranged Cheok Hong’s enrolment at Scotch College, during 1873 and 1874 to complete the equivalent of today’s years 11 and 12. The school was then in Victoria Parade, Melbourne. His fees were again paid by one of his teachers, Alexander Morrison, uncle of the famous Australian journalist, ‘Chinese’ Morrison. Cheong said that his preparation at Scotch College included:

A course of two years in English Literature and Elocution and prepared for my entrance examination in Logic, Natural Philosophy, Mental Philosophy, History of the British Empire and Scripture.

When Cheok Hong came to Melbourne he spoke English with a Chinese accent. The elocation classes resulted in a cultivated English dialect acceptable to all sections of colonial society. In December 1874 he passed the entrance examination to the Presbyterian Theological Hall and in March 1875 signed the Matriculation Roll of the University of Melbourne. He was twenty-three years of age. Theological education in Victoria in the 1870s was a struggle for all denominations. From its foundation, in 1853, the University of Melbourne has been a secular institution without a theological program. The courses

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54 Minutes of the Chinese and Aboriginal Missions Committee, 17 September 1872.
56 Minutes of the Chinese and Aborigines Mission Committee, September 1873.
57 Annual Report of the Chinese and Aboriginal Missions Committee, Presbyterian Church of Victoria, November 1874.
58 Cheok Hong Cheong to Archdeacon Samuel Williams, Te Aute, New Zealand, 4 February 1898
59 The Christian Review, December 1875, p 16.
60 Records of the University of Melbourne.
attended by Cheong were provided by a part-time theological hall operated by the Presbyterian Assembly of Victoria.

The key personalities in shaping Victorian Presbyterian theological education in 19th century Victoria were the Rev. Dr Adam Cairns and a short-term tutor, the Rev. J O Dykes, a young minister of the Free Church of Scotland who was in Australia briefly for medical reasons. Cairns and Dykes were earnest evangelicals. Dykes introduced the neo-Calvinist writings of the American Presbyterians, Charles and A A Hodge of Princeton University, to Victorian Presbyterianism. Dyke’s successor was the Rev. A J Campbell, a local parish minister, with a conventional evangelical outlook and a pastor rather than a theologian or biblical scholar. Campbell’s practical experience encouraged Cheok Hong towards a Christian reformist view of social, cultural and political issues.

The first session of the Theological Hall commenced in 1866 with evening lectures in the homes of the professors. In 1868 the Hall met in the vestry of Chalmers’ Church, East Melbourne where Cheok Hong Cheong attended. It later moved to the Assembly Hall in Collins St and finally to Ormond College in the University of Melbourne. There were on average five students 1865-70, ten 1870-75, rising to fifteen 1875-85, so that by 1887 about one third of the ministers of the Victorian Presbyterian Church were locally trained.

The curriculum of the Theological Hall rested on the authority of the Bible as, to use the standard Presbyterian formulation, ‘the supreme standard of faith.’ As an evangelical, Cairns stressed the necessity of personal conversion with two further elements basic to evangelical theology. First, an emphasis on the Crucifixion of Jesus rather than his Incarnation, i.e., a crucicentric theology. Second, the concept of Christ giving his life as a substitute offering to God to atone for the sins of the whole world, i.e. substitutionary atonement. A belief in Biblical authority, together with conversion, crucicentrism and substitution remains at the core of evangelical belief.

Cheok Hong’s Christian outlook was also shaped by his own life experience. Although he had only a child’s memory of China he was familiar with the everyday life of Chinese in Australia although, as mentioned in Chapter 1, he was never really experienced a

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63 The substance of their approach to Christian theology can be found in Hodge, A A, (1879), *Outlines of Theology*, reprinted many times, any edition.
Chinese-Victorian lifestyle either as a poor man or, more importantly, as a member of the merchant-elite. He accompanied his father on his visits and saw Chinese life in Ballarat at first hand. In Melbourne he was a regular, if not enthusiastic, visitor to the Chinese market garden areas and to the ‘Chinatown’ of Little Bourke Street and the surrounding streets and alleys. In the country areas of Victoria his visits to his own countrymen were, by his own admission, brief and rare (see Chapter 5). His participation in the Chinese community was as an useful elitist at the interface of European impact on the Chinese community rather than at the centre of community power, influence and status.

Peng-nam and Cheok Hong were well aware of the impact of enculturation on the attitudes of the Chinese to Christianity but they seem to have avoided any suggestion of syncretism or compromise. In Cheong’s view, a Chinese Christian had to reject elements of the Chinese culture that would impede their growth in Christian faith. He wrote:

> It is no rare thing therefore to find traces of their early up-bringing clinging still to converts and their teachers. To illustrate this and to show you their need to be more perfectly instructed in the way of God, let me give you a few instances that have come within my personal knowledge. At one mission station, in company with the Catechist, I visited a Chinese medical practitioner who professes Christianity and has been received into the visible church through the Sacrament of Baptism. In speaking of a condemned man who was about to be executed he expressed the hope that "at his next transmigration of soul the criminal might fare better than he was about to do in this life!" I waited to see if the Catechist would correct him before saying what I was about to say myself, but nothing came from his lips.

Peng-nam’s Christian faith, and biblical emphasis on conversion, was expressed at the baptismal service in the Napier Street Church for James Ah Kee on 14 September 1873:

> I am happy seeing you here tonight, so I must preach a few words of the gospel to you, from the text of John iii.5; Except a man be born of water and of spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. This is what Jesus said to Nicodemus. At that time, Jesus was in the world. Then Nicodemus knew him to be a teacher come from God. His doctrines that He taught to the people are above all human teachings; so he came to Jesus by night to receive his instruction. Alas! he does not know Jesus is a Saviour who was sent by God to the world; therefore Jesus said unto him, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God. But Nicodemus did not understand the meaning of what Jesus said, a man must be born again; so he answered and said to Jesus, How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter the second time into his mothers womb, and be born? Therefore Jesus proclaimed the meaning of a man being born again, that it is of water and of spirit, because the water could cleanse the outward things which

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66 Christians in China (Catholic and Protestant) were not encouraged, and indeed were usually forbidden, to take part in any form of ancestral worship or to attend any formal acts of respect for Confucius. This ban was revoked for Catholics by Pope Pius XII in 1938. Chinese Protestants still generally do not take part in such domestic or family rituals. See Lo Lung-kwong, (2002), ‘Identity Crisis Reflects in Romans 14:1 – 15:13 and the Implications to Chinese Christians’ Controversies in Ancestor Worship’, Vanderbilt University.

67 Cheok Hong Cheong, Address to the 1889 Annual Meeting of the Church Missionary Society of Victoria. The Australasian Missionary News, 3 January 1890.
were polluted, and spirit converts the human heart. A man must be converted in repentance, and change his old propensity; then he knows Jesus is a Saviour that would have him go into His kingdom. This friend who has been baptised tonight is just the same as a man born of water and of spirit. That is, God saved him by the washing of regeneration and renewing in the Holy Spirit, so he could enter into the Christian church. It is a great difference to his former condition; he is become a new creature now, namely, Jesus said, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God. Therefore Paul says, If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature. Dear friends, I think you have enjoyed seeing this sight here. I hope God will give His Holy spirit to fasten your faith until the end, never to change, and other friends who have not yet been baptised, that they will make haste, come to the path of truth and salvation; then will we be Christian brothers, to obtain the everlasting happiness all together in heaven.\(^{16}\)

When Cheong invited the English Baptist evangelist, Henry Varley, to preach in the Anglican Mission Church in Little Bourke Street, he asked Varley to seek conversions.\(^{68}\) He knew, from his father’s change of life circumstances, the impact of conversion on individuals.\(^{69}\) In his history of Chinese Missions in Victoria, Cheong wrote:

But some may be inclined to ask, “Are the converts you speak of genuine ‘good men & true’?” My experience extends over 62 years of Mission History in this country; I can unhesitatingly affirm that the Gospel of Jesus Christ has proved to them as it has proved to the more favoured Colonists “The power of God unto Salvation”\(^ {70}\).

That power could be seen not only in acts of benevolence but equally important when conversion motivated people to undo, where possible, any shortcomings in their pre-Christian behaviour. Cheong continued:

The first fruit of our Melbourne Mission was a gay spendthrift, distrusted and shunned by the respectable portion even of his own clansmen. For it had been his habit, not only to spend all he earned, but all he could borrow. Amid that wild career, however, he was suddenly seized with serious thoughts. He accepted my invitation to attend our Mission Services, and continued to do so most regularly for about eight months, and then applied for baptism. We, however, thought it wise to place him under further instruction for four or five months more, and then received him into the Church, through the Sacrament of Baptism. That was about two years ago. He has since proved the sincerity of his professions by his holy walk and conversation. He is now the sober and industrious man of business, respected and esteemed by those who formerly despised him. He has been very helpful to me in my work. Another was formerly a storekeeper, but had failed through indiscriminate credit. He came to Melbourne in the hope of repairing his broken fortune, but not finding anything suitable to his circumstances and business experience he fell into a lottery agency. It was there that we found him. We pointed out to him the iniquity of the traffic, not forgetting at the same time to deliver to him the Gospel of love.

\(^{16}\) There is a discussion of Varley’s contribution to Victorian life in Davison, Graeme, David Dunstan and Chris McConville, (1985), *The Outcasts of Melbourne, Essays in Social History*, Sydney, Allen and Unwin.
\(^{68}\) See conversion testimonies in Appendix 10.
\(^{69}\) Cheong Cheok Hong, (c 1898), Pamphlet, *Christian Work Among the Chinese—What it has done*, Melbourne, Church Missionary Society of Victoria, Re-formed.
He gave up the lottery agency and became a Christian. Sometime afterwards, he returned to the country whence he came, restarted in business and prospered. In a visit I paid his district last year, I heard of him and saw him. He had then repaid all his creditors, the largest of whom made this remark when he presented himself with the amount he owed him, “Well, I never expected it, and if you had not become a Christian, I suppose, you would not have troubled about paying it.” . . . Since he became a Christian he has felt himself involved in another and far heavier debt—even the debt of gratitude to his Saviour. To discharge that debt was utterly beyond his power. What then did he do? Well, he did simply this. He went and diligently sought out all those for whom Christ has left a legacy of love and endeavoured in that way to show his gratitude to his Saviour.71

Although Cheong pursued conversion, he tended to focus more on the right of the Chinese to equality and social justice, and this led him into serious conflict in his years with the Anglican Church (see Chapter 5). He saw, as many critics of evangelical individualism have observed, that conversion was not enough when the circumstances that caused men to suffer and to fall into sinful ways remained unchanged. He believed that his countrymen should enjoy equality of rights and freedom from discrimination and he demonstrated this in his various attempts to influence colonial opinion that are discussed in subsequent chapters.72 He knew that among the principal Chinese objections to Christianity was its foreignness and its attacks on Chinese traditions, especially the practice of filial piety that tied family members to their ancestors.73 He did not believe, as his father seemed to imply in his 1865 Sandhurst address already cited, in an ‘evangelical orientalism’, i.e., that conversion of individual Chinese would put everything to rights in China. He accepted, like most Chinese committed to reform, that there were problems not only in the way Chinese society operated but in the values upon which actions were based.

The Rev. Arthur Smith, an American missionary tried to explain the relationship

71 Ibid.
between Chinese culture and Christian theology. In commenting upon Smith’s best-known work, *Chinese Characteristics*, Hayford noted that:

To put the matter too baldly, Smith, on the one hand, professes an Evangelical Orientalism, a conviction that China can become Christian and transform on the basis of its ancient civilization without Europeanising itself. On the other hand, Smith argues implicitly that only by transforming its inherited cultural and social characteristics along lines that we now see are actually European can China undergo the process of what we would now class ‘modernization.’ We feel a contrast between what he consciously argues and what he clearly but indirectly demonstrates.

Cheong was always in an ambivalent position as he tried to balance his call for conversions with his equally strong commitment to achieving social, economic and political justice for the Chinese in Victoria. He was in a constant tension between his Chinese ethnic heritage and his lifestyle as a middle-class colonial Christian who dressed like a European, was European educated, lived among Europeans and pursued some of his major business interests with Europeans.

Nothing symbolized this lifestyle challenge for Cheong and other elite members of Chinese-Australian society more than their domestic circumstances (see Chapter 1). What were the vast majority of impoverished and lonely Chinese to make of a man such as Cheong who chose never to live among his countrymen and who built a European ‘gentleman’s residence’ when he moved to *Pine Lodge*, his luxurious home at Croydon (Chapter 6)? Why did he employ Europeans to renovate the property, rather than provide work for his fellow countrymen? Why do his occasional references to farm labour indicate that the employees were Europeans, rather than his own countrymen?

The barriers to conversion represented by the inherited ‘traditions and customs’ of China were described in the catechists’ weekly reports and the question arises why, given the obstacles, thousands of Chinese in Australia, and in North America, as well as in China, accepted Christianity? This is essential to understanding Peng-nam’s conversion and Cheok Hong’s life as a Chinese Christian and community leader. The question of Cheong’s identity, as a Chinese and a Christian, will be discussed more fully in Chapter 11.

The journals of the Chinese catechists (missionaries) show Sunday mornings spent encouraging Chinese to come to the afternoon church service that was usually followed by

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an evening meal. Shared meals generated a friendliness that is characteristic of many Chinese Australian churches. Saturday nights were almost always a social gathering, usually in the missionary’s house. There was often a mid-week Bible class and meal at the catechist’s house that was located among other Chinese housing. In his testimony the Methodist convert David Hun Back Sing stated:

Mr. Leong-on-Tong removed to Yapeen, where I had been residing for three years... my tent was near to his, when he had leisure during the evening, he had conversations with me, and explained to me the truths of God, and told me what it was that constituted sin—what it was to have guilt. In the morning and evening he used to pray for me that God would give me his Holy Spirit to enlighten my mind. In this way, day-by-day, month-by-month, the darkness of my mind was gradually removed.76

The Rev. Robert Hamilton could see that Cheok Hong had no possibility of independent growth while he was totally dependent upon his father. At Hamilton’s instigation, the Mission Committee appointed Cheong as the English teacher, at a salary of £2 a week, in the Presbyterian Chinese Missionary Institution established at a special Committee meeting on 17 May 1875. The Institution opened in June 1875 in King William Street, Fitzroy.77 Cheok Hong’s only obligation was to provide the trainee catechists with one hour of English lessons a week, for which his £2 was very generous payment. A full-time catechist did not receive more.

The Institution was seen, and not only by Presbyterians, as a significant step towards providing theological education and ultimately ordination for all Chinese Christians after the Anglicans agreed to send their missionary students to the Institution. The Presbyterian Church paper announced with the usual evangelical triumphalism that the mission was about to enter a new stage with men trained, for the first time, for evangelism.78 Although the Institution soon failed the concept was sound and remained a permanent strand in Cheong’s thinking for many years (See Chapter 5). Five men, all with close personal associations with the Cheong family, were enrolled.

Ah Chue had been converted in the Anglican Mission at St Arnaud. He was baptised, with a man named Ah Pack, in the Napier Street Presbyterian Church on 9 July 1876. The interpreter at the service was Cheok Hong Cheong.79 James Ah Chue later became an ordained minister and Superintendent of the Presbyterian Mission. Ah Chue brought a friend, Daniel Leong Tsi, converted in a Methodist mission in Talbot, who later served for many years as an honorary Presbyterian catechist at Talbot.

76 The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 December 1865, pp 183-186.
77 The Christian Review, December 1875, p 16.
78 Minutes of the Chinese and Aboriginal Missions Committee, 10 May 1875; 17 May 1875.
Paul Ah Chin was a convert of the Methodist Mission who had spent some time working as a Presbyterian catechist on the Otago goldfields in New Zealand. The South Island climate proved impossible for a man with a lifelong bronchial weakness and he returned to Melbourne.\(^{80}\) Ah Chin was a close friend of Peng-nam who, with the Rev. William Matthew, had been a referee for the job in Otago. After his return from New Zealand he worked with the Rev. William Matthew on a Chinese newspaper and a Chinese hymnbook based on one prepared in Amoy.\(^{81}\) Despite his frequent illnesses he became the longest serving Chinese Christian catechist spending many years working from the Brunswick Presbyterian Church.

John Young Wai was baptised at the Maryborough Anglican Church. He served as a Presbyterian catechist and subsequently became an outstandingly successful Presbyterian minister in New South Wales and an influential leader within the NSW Chinese community.\(^{82}\) Stephen Cheong was an Anglican convert. He returned to China after the Institution closed and worked with Anglican and Presbyterian missions.\(^{83}\)

The curriculum of the Presbyterian Missionary Institution was less about evangelism than it was about communication. Cheong’s appointment reflected a concern to give students enough skill in spoken English so that they could communicate with European ministers. There was general acceptance in all the Victorian Chinese missions that the lack of a good Chinese education, inadequate theological understanding and poor English created problems in supervising and managing Chinese catechists. European parochial supervisors and other church members had no real way of measuring the quality of the catechists’ work. The Methodist Mission sent some of Leong On Tong’s Chinese journal notes to the Rev. George Piercy in China for translation and evaluation. Piercy reported very favourably, noting the value of On Tong and the ‘freshness and clearness’ of the prebaptismal testimonies.\(^{84}\) The Bishop of Melbourne, in his presidential address to the 1884 Anglican Synod, summed up the concerns felt by all the Chinese mission committees:

> At present no one can thoroughly understand the reports of the Chinese missionaries, and, worse still, no one can test the real character of their labours by direct communication with those who profess to be converts.\(^{85}\)

The concept of a Chinese training centre was well grounded in the practical needs of

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81 The fonts and other items for these projects were financed by the Presbyterian elder, James Murdoch, who had earlier supported Young’s ‘ragged’ school at Ballarat. It is not known what became of the equipment.
82 Young Wai’s grandson, Dr John Yu, is the head of the New South Wales Children’s Hospital, Chancellor of Macquarie University and a one-time Australian of the Year.
85 *The Church of England Messenger*, 8 October 1874, p 11.
Chinese evangelism but the Missionary Institution was totally dependent on Hamilton. He made a number of unsuccessful attempts to secure government financial support as a primary school under the provisions of the 1872 Education Act mentioned earlier in connection with the Ballarat mission. Adding the Institution to his other roles as a busy parish minister and mission committee member affected Hamilton’s health. Upon medical advice he decided that he could no longer direct the work of the Institution and it closed after less than six months. The students were offered to any country parish that would accept them. At the beginning of 1876 the Institution re-opened and the students were recalled. The Committee was confronted with a demand for an improved curriculum and a request for full catechist rates of pay for the months they had spent working in various parts of Victoria. Hamilton and the Mission Committee were surprised and deeply disappointed to find that Cheok Hong Cheong was behind the student unrest. They had misread him, not comprehending his strong character, his deep ethnic pride, and his ambitious personal goals. His skills were grounded in his practical experience of dealing with people, initially in the context of the Ballarat mission, then in the family business, and also in his growing acceptance by the leading figures of the Chinese business community. The Committee reluctantly agreed to raise the student allowance from fifteen shillings to seventeen shillings and sixpence a week (i.e., £45 a year compared to the usual £100 for a Chinese catechist). As a money-raising venture it was agreed that other Chinese could board at the Institution and James Ah Kee, a friend of the Cheongs, was accepted as a paying boarder.

Cheok Hong further upset the Committee when he asked for payment for extra English classes that he had been giving to the students. The Committee had not authorized the classes and pointedly asked him if the extra work was affecting his theological studies. The Cheong family did not miss the hidden threats behind the formally polite exchanges. Cheok Hong knew he was risking his hopes of ordination as a Presbyterian minister.

Behind the episode was Cheong’s belief that Chinese Christians needed to control their own affairs and should not be accountable to Europeans who had no understanding of their culture or aspirations and took little interest in their day-to-day circumstances. The case of Leong On Tong at the Methodist Mission demonstrated the general European disinterest. The Chinese Methodist church at Castlemaine, a wooden building opened over

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86 The Christian Review, December 1875, p 16; January 1877, p 10; October 1877, p 15. Minutes of the Chinese and Aborigines Missions Committee, 7 June 1875; 18 January 1876.
87 Minutes of the Chinese and Aboriginal Mission Committee, 13 April 1875, 7 June 1875; 28 July 1875.
88 Minutes of the Chinese and Aborigines Missions Committee, 20 June 1876.
twenty years earlier, leaked every time it rained. It was so bad that people had to put up umbrellas while attending worship. His house was even worse. He had to build his own kitchen chimney without assistance although this was, nominally, a parish responsibility. It is a measure of his commitment that he put up with it.89

The insuperable problem for the Chinese Christians was that financial accountability was so tied up with European managerial oversight that it was impossible for the Chinese to make any decisions on their own. The best example is that of Cheong himself in his relationships with the Board of the Church Missionary Society of Victoria (see Chapter 5). Not only was there a cultural difference in the way leadership, status and authority were approached but there was always, despite the best of spiritual intentions, the influence on Europeans of anti-Chinese feelings that led Christian men to distrust the Chinese (see discussion in Chapter 7 on the shaping of European-Australian views of the Chinese).

Faced with Cheong’s apparent ingratitude, and ignoring the underlying questions his actions represented, the Presbyterian Mission Committee appointed a sub-committee comprising Hamilton and Alexander Morrison of Scotch College to talk with Cheok Hong about his future, i.e., to bring him to his senses. Cheong, at no personal expense, had successfully completed his second year at the Theological Hall.90 He told the sub-committee that when ordained, he would expect to receive the same income as a European minister. It was a fair comment and made in the knowledge that the Methodist Chinese ministers received less than Europeans working in subsidised ministries. It was not, perhaps in the circumstances, the most tactful way of negotiating but Cheong was not, as his later relationships with the Anglican Chinese Mission showed, a gifted or patient prevaricator.

While the discussions were continuing between the Mission Committee and Cheong Hong Cheong, Peng-nam went to Tasmania. There is no explanation for his choice of a holiday location other than a very vague reference to some Chinese friends who had moved from Victoria. While in Tasmania he died and was buried in the Newtown Cemetery in Hobart.91 Peng-nam was just forty years old at the time of his death. It was impossible for Cheok Hong to be a full-time theological student and at the same time manage a business and care for his family.92

Negotiations centred on the question of Cheong’s obedience to authority in the church.

89 The Spectator, 4 March 1876, p 525.
90 Minutes of the Chinese and Aborigines Missions Committee, 20 June 1876.
91 Cheok Hong Cheong to Premier of Tasmania, 19 February 1891.
92 Minutes of the Heathen Missions Committee, 15 January 1877; 13 March 1877; 12 June 1877; 1 October 1877; 14-18 December 1877.
When Cheo ng refused to yield to the committee’s authority his candidature for the ministry was cancelled and his enrolment in the Theological Hall terminated. His withdrawal from the Theological Hall was attributed to his new family responsibilities following the unexpected death of his father. The minutes of the Committee do not contain any negative comments other than disappointment that the Mission had lost a promising candidate.

There is no surviving detailed record of Cheong’s theological education. Brief handwritten notes in the Theological Hall archives held at Ormond College in the University of Melbourne suggest that his raw examination scores were above the average for his group. He later claimed to have completed:

A four years course in Moral Theology, Sacred Languages (Hebrew, Greek and Chaldee), Exegetics, Dogmatics, Homiletics, Apologetics, Natural Sciences in relation to Christianity, Church History, Historical Theology under four regular Professors and two Lecturers five of the Staff being Doctors of Divinity & the 6th an expert on the Natural Sciences. 93

The records of the Theological Hall indicate that Cheong completed just two years of study and his claim to have completed the full four year course was an exaggeration.

Cheok Hong continued as an active member of the Napier Street Presbyterian Church. The family business prospered and he purchased an unidentified property in George Street Fitzroy and later Montgomery Villa in Gore Street, Fitzroy, where the family lived until they moved to Pine Lodge at Croydon nearly twenty years later.

As if the argument with Cheong had not been enough of an annoyance for the Mission Committee the Superintendent, the Rev. William Matthew, left without giving the usual six months notice. 94 A heated exchange between Matthew and the Committee followed in which Matthew claimed that he had been appointed principal of a school in Portland. He actually returned to Stawell where members of his former congregation set up a new church that soon failed financially. When he later wrote to the Committee asking for a statement of service and a personal reference he was given the first and denied the second. The Mission Committee decided to look outside Australia for a superintending missionary with relevant experience and no local commitments.

The Committee recruited the Rev. Daniel Vrooman from Guangdong Province. Vrooman was an American Presbyterian with wide experience in Canton, including a time

93 Cheok Hong Cheong to Archdeacon Samuel Williams, Te Aute, New Zealand, 4 February 1898.
94 Welch, Ian (1980), Pariahs and Outcasts, Christian Missions to the Chinese in Australia, MA, Monash University.
as Honorary American Consul in the 1850s, and he had also worked for a time with the Presbyterian Chinese Mission in San Francisco. He was the most capable European, on paper at least, to engage in missions to the Chinese in Australia. Vrooman accepted an offer of £300 a year and accommodation and with his third wife, Anna Rosa Vrooman, he arrived in Melbourne on the 3rd April 1878. His first task was to tour the mission centres and advise on the future directions of the mission.

Vrooman arrived at a difficult moment with the colonies in the midst of a major national maritime dispute and he was unaware how deeply the Chinese felt about the anti-Chinese polemics that filled the newspapers and popular journals (See Chapter 4). Chinese resentment surfaced when Vrooman dismissed Paul Ah Chin for undefined ‘insubordination’. Ah Chin was re-employed within a few weeks but the episode damaged Vrooman’s credibility with the Chinese catechists and lessened his status in the eyes of the Committee. Vrooman in turn was infuriated by the behaviour of the catechists and the lack of support given to him by the Committee. Vrooman’s behaviour was inseparable, in the minds of the Chinese Presbyterians from the wider industrial issue which in turn was an emotive symbol of what Chinese saw as their second-rate status. Behind the scenes, and the amanuensis for the catechists’ written protests about Vrooman, was Cheok Hong Cheong.

The depth of Chinese irritation with Vrooman, and with Europeans generally, was shown by John Young Wai’s decision to use Cheong Peng-nam’s old tactic of sending his reports directly to the Committee instead of forwarding them through Vrooman. It was his way of showing his lack of confidence in Vrooman. Young Wai was widely respected by everyone who knew him and the situation became critical when the other catechists

95 Condit, Ira, (1900), The Chinaman as we see him, New York, Fleming H Revell, p 204.
96 The Presbyterian Review, April 1878, p 73; May 1878, p 96. Wylie, Alexander, (1867), Memorials of Protestant Christian Missionaries to the Chinese, Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press. Personal message from Dr Gary Tiedemann summarized: Rev. Daniel Vrooman, minister of the American Presbyterian Church. Arrived Canton, China, 15 March 1852, as missionary of American Board of Foreign Missions. First wife Elizabeth C or G, born Akron, Ohio, 14 June 1826. Died Macao, China, 17 June 1854. Vrooman returned USA February 1857. Returned China 1860 as independent missionary. Returned San Francisco USA June 1865 with 2nd wife. Maria W who died Brooklyn, CA, 29 August 1866. Mrs Maria Vrooman may have been of Chinese ethnic origin. Served with Presbyterian Chinese Mission. Married 3rd wife, Anna Rosa Vrooman c 1871. Attempts to trace Vrooman’s life and writings in the United States have proved unsuccessful. Apart from two items in a university museum in Wisconsin, no archives relating to his missionary career have been located. There is a brief mention of his work in Canton with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in: Strong, William E, (1910), The Story of the American Board, Boston, Pilgrim Press, p 257.
97 Minutes of the Heathen Missions Committee, 4 April 1878; 28 April 1878; 27 June 1878. See also Strong, William E, (1910), The Story of the American Board, Boston, Pilgrim Press
98 European maritime workers staged a ‘national’ strike over the employment of Chinese crew on Australian coastal shipping by the Australian Steam Navigation Company, see Chapter 4.
99 Minutes of the Heathen Missions Committee, 22 November 1878; 6 January 1879; 11 March 1879; 26 November 1879; March 1879, pp 427-428.
100 See Chapter 4.

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followed his example. Vrooman accused the Committee of not doing enough to maintain his authority.\textsuperscript{101} The catechists complained about Vrooman’s overbearing attitude. In an action interpreted by Vrooman and the Committee as deliberatively disruptive James Ah Chue asked for leave of absence to visit his family in China. Vrooman refused his application.\textsuperscript{102} The Committee asked John Young Wai to mediate. Ah Chue’s stipend was suspended for three months for ‘gross insubordination and disrespect’ to Vrooman. This mild slap on the wrist effectively ended Vrooman’s leadership.\textsuperscript{103} After an acrimonious exchange of views and opinions the Committee paid the Vrooman’s fares home to America.\textsuperscript{104}

With Vrooman’s departure the Committee offered to help Cheok Hong Cheong complete his theological studies. When his assistance to the catechists in resisting Vrooman’s directions was revealed it was taken as further evidence about Cheong’s unsatisfactory attitude to authority. The negotiations ended and the Committee minuted that Cheong: ‘cannot be regarded as fitly qualified for the position’.\textsuperscript{105}

There was a great deal behind the Chinese resistance to Vrooman that involved the Chinese linkage of the poor relationship between China and foreign powers at an international level and the way in which they were treated in Australia. By 1878 Cheong and other diasporic Chinese were viewing the international status of China during the nineteenth century as a cause of the contempt of colonial authorities. Immigration restrictions, applied to Chinese only, were a humiliating demonstration of the weakness of their homeland and created continuing problems of self-image for all Chinese-Australians who had no illusions about foreign claims to cultural, religious or ethnic superiority.\textsuperscript{106}

The Anglican Bishop of Hong Kong was quoted as saying:

> On hearing that I was an English missionary, . . . they exposed the inconsistency of my attacking their habit of smoking opium, while my countrymen brought them the means of indulging it.\textsuperscript{107}

In an 1865 address during an evangelistic campaign at Sandhurst (Bendigo) Peng-nam commented that Chinese civilisation went back more than four thousand years — a proud claim that Cheok Hong was to repeat throughout his life. Cheong, and other expatriate Chinese, wanted China (and therefore themselves) accepted as an equal among the nations.

\textsuperscript{101} Minutes of the Heathen Missions Committee, 3 May 1880; 4 May 1880; 11 May 1880; 17 May 1880.
\textsuperscript{102} Minutes of the Heathen Missions Committee, 21 April 1879; 13 May 1879.
\textsuperscript{103} Minutes of the Heathen Missions Committee, 22 July 1879.
\textsuperscript{104} Minutes of the Heathen Missions Committee, 21 March 1881; 2 May 1881; 23 May 1881; 14 June 1880; 17 July 1880; 15 August 1881; 14 February 1883.
\textsuperscript{105} Minutes of the Heathen Missions Committee, 27 February 1883; 16 April 1883; 29 May 1883; 29 November 1883; 26 March 1884; 16 September 1885.
\textsuperscript{106} See discussion of Chinese Identity in Chapter 11.
\textsuperscript{107} Wesleyan Missionary Notices, London, October 1868, p 101.
and given the respect due to China’s long and proud cultural history.

Cheok Hong Cheong supported leading Chinese political reformers such as Liang Chi Chao (Liang Qichao), Kang Yu-wei (Kang Youwei) and the Chinese Empire Reform Association but was always lukewarm about revolutionaries such as Sun Yat-sen. Cheong’s Letterbooks remain silent on all Chinese domestic political matters after a passing mention of the visit of Liang Chi Chao. Liang was a colleague of the leading Chinese conservative reformer, Kang Yu-wei and the key figure in the Chinese Empire Reform Association in North America and, subsequently, in Australia. Cheong provided Liang’s accommodation in his own home during Liang’s stay in Melbourne but he failed to persuade the Australian government to admit Kang Yu-wei.\footnote{Cheok Hong Cheong to the Minister for External Affairs, 18 March 1909.}

In 1906, funded by the British Anti-Opium Society, Cheong accompanied the Secretary of the Society, J G Alexander, on a visit to China to speak against opium. Alexander was anxious to speak against militarism but on the advice of Chinese Christians he finally left all public comment on the issue to Cheong who was active in the peace movement in Victoria.

Cheong’s twenty-odd years as a Presbyterian provide the background to his subsequent Anglican work that is discussed in Chapter 5. His theological studies and his view of the world profoundly influenced his involvement in the secular affairs of the Chinese community. His evangelical theology combined with the values of his Chinese heritage gave him a strong sense of duty and a sense of personal responsibility that he showed to the full in his various leadership roles. It led to an invitation to join the leading Melbourne merchants, Louis Ah Mouy and Lowe Kong Meng in preparing a defence of the Chinese against attacks made in the course of the strike by seamen protesting against the employment of Chinese on Australian coastal vessels.\footnote{Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), \textit{The Chinese Question in Australia}, 1879-80, Melbourne. (Appendix 1)} That collaborative venture is the subject of the next chapter.
Cheong’s role as a Chinese community advocate began when he joined the Melbourne Chinese Merchants’ Association in 1875-1876. The leaders in the Association were Louis Ah Mouy and Lowe Kong Meng representing See Yup (Ah Mouy) and Sam Yup (Kong Meng) businessmen. The two co-opted Cheok Hong Cheong in the publication of a response to anti-Chinese polemics following a decision by the Australian Steam Navigation Company (ASN) to replace Europeans with lower paid Chinese crew on its Australian routes. The pamphlet that resulted was *The Chinese Question in Australia, 1878-1879*. A contemporary reviewer wrote:

> The Chinese have spoken with no uncertain sound in their own behalf. Three Chinese merchants of Melbourne, Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, have issued a pamphlet, in which the case is discussed from their side with great force. They are not supposed to have written this paper, but the fact that they have been the means of giving so excellent an argument to the world does them the greatest credit.

The domination of the Victorian community by the two merchants made a response easier than in New South Wales where the Chinese community comprised a wider spread of Chinese district backgrounds with a smaller See Yup element (less than 50 percent); a vigorous Hakka community; a sizeable Sam Yup (Sanyi) population; and a strong Zhongshan community. The Co-Authors of the ‘Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80’.

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1 The Association is a shadowy body about which little is known beyond the key players mentioned in this chapter. No archives are known to exist.

2 A later list of members appeared in connection with a formal merchants reception for the Chinese Imperial Commissioners during their visit to Melbourne in 1887. See *The Daily Telegraph*, 27 May 1887 and 9 May 1888.


5 A significant study of key personalities of the Australian Chinese merchant community, primarily focussed on New South Wales, is Yong, C F, (1977), *The New Gold Mountain*, Richmond SA, Raphael Arts. brief discussion of the difference between the entrepreneurial breadth of merchants in Victoria and NSW is found in Fitzgerald, John, (n.d.) The Guo Brothers and the Yong An Company, (Cantonese: The Kwok
The Late Mr Kong Meng

The Australasian Sketcher
29 November 1888
State Library of Victoria

Family and the Wing On Company), at
The Seamen’s Union strike against the Australian Steam Navigation Company (ASN) did not seriously affect Victorian Chinese but Kong Meng and Ah Mouy believed that a public comment was needed. The literary style of the publication points to Cheok Hong Cheong being the principal writer.

Louis Ah Mouy (1826-1918) came to Victoria in 1851 from Singapore as an indentured carpenter for a trading company. He gained a fortune goldmining at Yea and invested in goldmines across Victoria and in tin mines in Malaya. At different times he owned goldmines at Yea, Ballarat, Elaine (near Ballarat), Mount Buffalo, Bright and Walhalla. His real estate speculations included the development of Armstrong Street, Middle Park. He died at his home, 16 Nimmo Street, Middle Park, on 28 April 1918. With his wife, Ung Chuck, he had eleven children including eight boys and three girls. All his children received a colonial, i.e., European style education and one of his sons became a telecommunications engineer with the Post Office. The picture below shows terrace housing in Clarendon Street, East Melbourne, where he was living around the time the pamphlet was published. The entrance to Ah Mouy’s house is at the extreme left of the picture.

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6 It may have adversely affected the banana trade although the delivery of fruit to Victoria seems to have been a problematic affair. Cronin mentions that deliveries by the ASN Coy were often unusable. Cronin, Kathryn, (1975), ‘The Yellow Agony: Racial attitudes and responses towards the Chinese in colonial Queensland,’ pp 235-340 on Evans, Raymond, Kay Saunders, and Kathryn Cronin, (1975), Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination, Race Relations in Colonial Queensland, Sydney, ANZ Book Co, p 253.


8 There is additional information about Louis Ah Mouy in Cronin, Kathryn, (1982), Colonial Casualties, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press.

9 The Herald, Melbourne, 30 April 1918.
Ah Mouy wrote to his brother in Taishan District telling him to emigrate and the letter is said to have stimulated the Taishanese-See Yup emigration stream to Victoria. In 1854 Ah Mouy was the founder of the Victorian branch of the See Yup Society\(^\text{10}\) and the principal purchaser of the land at South Melbourne for the See Yup Temple (Chapter 2).\(^\text{11}\) He was naturalised as a British subject in self-governing Victoria but Victorian naturalisation did not give him the status of a British subject in the other Australasian colonies.\(^\text{12}\) His day-to-day business interests centred on his wholesale tea business in Swanston Street, Melbourne, and his rice milling activities.\(^\text{13}\) The cartoon below appeared in 1856 and shows the See Yup site purchased by Ah Mouy (centre, behind horse and cart).

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\(^\text{12}\) M N Ah Mouy to Dr G E Morrison, 18 February 1918, *Morrison Papers*, Mitchell Library Sydney.

Housing was a symbol of economic status and authority in the Chinese diaspora and the leading Victorian merchants followed convention in occupying imposing dwellings.\textsuperscript{14} When the Reverend Josiah Cox, an English Methodist missionary in China, visited Victoria in 1871, he contrasted the living conditions of the ‘average’ Chinese workingman in Victoria with those of the richer merchants. The workers, Cox said:

\begin{quote}
are generally found in ‘camps’, which consist of one or more streets of low, ill-built brick or wood shanties, accommodating from three to eight hundred emigrants. In Sydney and Melbourne, the Chinese, with few exceptions, occupy the same street, and of course their houses are superior to the tenements of the up-country ‘camps’ . . . Both in Sydney and Melbourne are the Chinese merchants, who supply the up-country shopkeepers with Chinese produces and act as agents for the remittance of money and other interchanges of the Chinese emigrants with their native land. Among these merchants are a few men of wealth and of high commercial position. The smaller tradesmen and a good number of the hard working ‘diggers’ feed and clothe well themselves, and also make regular remittances to their relatives in China. Probably, however, one-half of the emigrants are living from hand to mouth; and instead of the
\end{quote}

speedy fortune and return home they anticipated, have now the prospect of a life of drudgery in this land of the stranger.\textsuperscript{15}

The freedom with which these Victorian community leaders moved their homes answers any proposition that Chinese, at least in Victoria, were denied the right to buy land and property.\textsuperscript{16} The fact that Kong Meng, Ah Mouy and Cheong, to name but three, bought and sold a number of properties, and lived among Europeans without adverse comment calls for caution in claiming residential discrimination in the Australian colonies. The unimpeded residential mobility of Chinese in Victoria, and their right to live among Europeans was matched, at least in New South Wales, by Mei Quong Tart, another Taishanese immigrant and successful merchant. Where Chinese and Europeans lived and the schools to which they sent their children in Victoria was determined by income. When compulsory primary schooling was introduced in 1872 children were enrolled without ethnic discrimination. Some families chose to send children to China for a traditional Chinese education but this was not forced by a denial of access to schooling. Men such as Ah Mouy, and Lowe Kong Meng (see below) took the lead in community affairs, to the point where, when the See Yup Association building in South Melbourne in 1866, they presided over the ceremonies (see Chapter 2).

\begin{quote}
Lowe Kong Meng came from a wealthy immigrant family in Malaya and attended the Penang Free School.\textsuperscript{17} His father, Lowe Ah Quee and an uncle were the owners of Ah Goon Freres of Penang, a trading company with interests in Mauritius, Calcutta and Singapore.\textsuperscript{18} He acquired British citizenship by birth in the British Crown Colony of Penang. When he was sixteen years old his family sent him to Mauritius where he added French to his English and Chinese. His first visit to Victoria was in 1853 in a ship owned by his family.\textsuperscript{19} He returned in 1854 and established himself in Little Bourke Street at the corner of Celestial
\end{quote}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{16} There appears to be a belief that ownership of property in New South Wales required naturalization. No evidence has been found to support this allegation, which would have been contrary to British law on the treatment of aliens. The only relevant text seems to be an interpretation from Appendix 1 to the Minutes of the Intercolonial Conference on the Chinese Question, 1888, in which there is a reference to naturalized persons owning property. That has apparently been interpreted to mean that Chinese who were not naturalized could not own property for which there is no supporting statement.
\textsuperscript{17} The name Lowe, is a variation of Lau, with other variations including, Liu, Low, and Liew. One version of the family history places the origins of the family in the Shanghai region, c 1200AD. http://www.for.nau.edu/~alew/personal/other/toisan/index.html
\textsuperscript{18} Enquiries about this firm through academic and library sources in Malaysia have so far only confirmed its existence in the Chinese community at Penang.
\textsuperscript{19} Rolls, Eric, (1992), Sojourners: The epic story of China's centuries old relationship with Australia, St Lucia, Brisbane, University of Queensland Press, p 105.
\end{flushleft}
Lane. His business interests extended throughout Australia and the South Pacific.

Lowe Kong Meng’s First Premises, Sun Kum Lee
Cnr Little Bourke Street and Celestial Lane

In 1860 Kong Meng was President of the Sam Yup Association. He gave the Sam Yup (now known as Num Pon Soon) Association a clubhouse in Little Bourke Street, Melbourne, remaining the trustee of the building until his death. His close friend, Chun Yet, succeeded him as Trustee. His presidency and trusteeship of the Sam Yup clubhouse suggests that his family origins were Sam Yup although Cronin suggests he was See Yup by background.

In 1860 Kong Meng married a European (Mary Ann Prussia) born in Tasmania. It was apparently for her that he built his second and far more elaborate dwelling and business premises at 112 Little Bourke Street. It was to this house that Kong Meng invited Cheong Peng-nam and his family after their arrival in Victoria in 1863. The house became a matter of open, if supercilious and envious, discussion in the Melbourne press:

Kong Meng is a Chinese citizen resident in Melbourne. He is a man of great importance, holding equal sway amongst his countrymen with that of a petty prince in India. Mr. Meng is rich and . . . highly respected. Besides being ‘a rich merchant’ Kong is a courteous and affable gentleman, well known as such to us barbarians, and esteemed accordingly. Kong Meng has long been resident in Little Bourke-street, or at all events has transacted a large business there. ‘Kong Meng, merchant’ being as

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22 There is additional information about Lowe Kong Meng in Cronin, op cit and Yong, C F, op cit.
familiar to us as the sign of Bath’s or the George Hotel to you. Highly as Signor Meng
has hitherto been held in our estimation, he yet did not altogether escape the
imputation of being fond of ‘narrow streets and dirty houses.’ His place of business
looked dingy — there is no denying that, — and it is situated in Little Bourke-street.
Suddenly Kong Meng is superior to filth, and ‘comes out strong.’ He waits upon the
architect of the Parliament houses and orders a design for a building. One is furnished,
the specification stating that the interior walls are to be of brick, and the front of stone.
And Kong orders his house to be built, when lo! There arises a beautiful edifice with a
front of elaborately carved freestone. Kong in short is soon to be master and owner of a
really handsome building but — alas for his taste, — it is built in Little Bourke-street.23

The commercial importance attached to Chinese business and the prominence of the two
merchants was highlighted when they were invited to join the board of directors of the
Commercial Bank of Australia whose banknotes already carried Chinese characters.24

Kong Meng’s growing wealth and influence that was signalled by the transfer from the
humble building of the 1850s to the elaborate house of the 1860s was recognized in other
ways. In 1863 the Emperor of China appointed him a Mandarin of the Blue Button (Civil
Order).25 He was elected a member of the Royal Society of Victoria, the premier intellectual
body of the colony.26 Ah Mouy and Kong Meng chose a public path but many more Chinese
businessmen preferred privacy. Although most men did not parade their wealth publicly,
their financial resources were known in colonial business circles. One successful British
immigrant made this observation about Victoria’s Chinese businessmen:

The import trade from China, and the homeward passenger traffic, are largely, if not
exclusively, in the hands of the Chinese merchants, whose commercial reputation is of
the highest class. They do not obtrude themselves, and when they are sought out, the
surprise of the stranger is natural when he is informed that cheques of five figures are
not infrequently honoured by bankers.27

Although Yong has identified many of the leading Chinese-Australian merchants in the early
twentieth century, especially in New South Wales, there does not appear to be a similar
account for 19th century Victoria.28 Some names appeared during a Chinese reception for the

23 The Star, Ballarat, 14 March 1861.
Studies, Vol. 10, No 37, November, p 67. In most colonies, banknotes were issued by banks in their own
name rather than by the central government as is now the case. Coinage was British.
25 A recent personal contact of the author reports that some of Kong Meng’s Chinese regalia, and other
important items including letters from his parents, are in the possession of family members in Goulburn
New South Wales.
27 Patterson, J A, (1863), The Gold Fields of Victoria, Melbourne, Wilson and McKinnon, p 132. See also
Just, P, (1859), Australia or Notes Taken During Residence in the Colonies from the Gold Discovery in
1851 until 1857, Dundee, p 209.
on links between Chinese Christian businessmen in Sydney and China is being undertaken by Mrs. Denise
Austin of Queensland Institute of Technology, Brisbane.
Imperial Chinese Commissioners in 1887 but little is known of these men.  

Fifty years later the prominent banker and colonial historian, Henry Gyles Turner, wrote:

Of the better class of Chinese merchants, the commercial community and Australian bankers can bear testimony to their honourable dealings and scrupulous regard of their obligations.

The Rev. Richard Fletcher, Secretary of the ecumenical Victoria Chinese Mission (1855-1858) and Congregational minister at St Kilda, described the wealth handled by merchants such as Kong Meng and Ah Mouy, (the price of gold at the time was £5 an ounce and in 2002 values was worth around $A300 or approx £100 an ounce].

You may have some idea of the extent of the commercial intercourse between the Chinese of Victoria and their connexion in China, when I tell you that upwards of 100,000 ounces of gold are sent by them annually, or a full half-million (pounds sterling) of the precious metal.

Lowe Kong Meng’s third house,
206 Clarendon St, corner Albert St, East Melbourne.


Rev. Richard Fletcher to Arthur Tidman, Secretary, Australian Correspondence, London Missionary Society, 1 February 1859. His information came from The Legislative Council of Victoria, Votes and Proceedings, Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on Chinese Immigration. See The Mount Alexander Mail, 20 November 1857 for the full text of the report. The equivalent value in today’s gold market would exceed $A30-$A40,000,000.
A good deal of the gold mentioned was despatched on behalf of ordinary Chinese emigrants but every ounce handled by the merchants attracted a service change and so added to their net worth. There was no aspect of communal life from which they did not acquire profit. When considering their views on Chinese immigration their self-interest must be kept in mind. With such opportunities it was not surprising that the living standards of the Kong Meng family improves year by year until his death in 1888.\(^{32}\)

The Kong Meng family’s fourth Melbourne residence, ‘Longwood’, was at the corner of Toorak Road and Elizabeth Street, Malvern. The property, of some 86 acres, extended through to Malvern Road and Gardiner’s Creek. It included a tobacco plantation and drying shed and market gardens operated by men who were essentially sharecroppers.

Cooper’s *History of Malvern* gives an amusing account of a European who tried, unsuccessfully, to embarrass Kong Meng.\(^{33}\) It demonstrates the kind of annoyance experienced by Chinese-Australians:

Kong Meng was a cultured Chinese gentleman. His manners were graced by old-time courtesy. The Kong Meng family often travelled from Malvern to Prahran in a bus run by a Prahran cab owner called ‘Red Lamp Gunn’ from Prahran along Malvern Road to Tooronga Road, the journey’s terminus. One evening a well-dressed man entered the bus at Prahran and seeing Kong Meng alone in the bus addressed him familiarly as ‘John,’ and made an attempt to start a patronising conversation with him in pigeon English.\(^{34}\) Kong Meng, the Mandarin, was silent, but the man persisted in trying to force conversation. Kong Meng at last said with a smile to his fellow traveller, who obviously considered himself ‘a very fine gentleman’: ‘Sir, I do not understand your broken English, perhaps it happens that you speak French somewhat better or — — — ’ Kong Meng paused, and eyed his fellow passenger — ‘maybe perhaps you speak Chinese? My name is Kong Meng; I am a Melbourne merchant, and a British born subject. I have not the honour of knowing you; pray, sir, who are you?’ For the rest of the journey to Malvern only the rumble of the bus disturbed the silence.

At his death in late 1888 Kong Meng left his family just £1000. The family sold ‘Longwood’ and purchased a hotel in St Kilda. A little later the boys and their sister, Alice Maud, with her husband, Arthur Tipp, purchased and worked a property near Euroa that they named ‘Longwood’.\(^{35}\) Herbert and George Kong Meng served with the Victorian Mounted Rifles

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\(^{35}\) Arthur Tipp was the son of Michael Chun Tipp (nephew of Chun Yet, Kong Meng’s business partner and Sam Yup Trustee) and Mary Benson.
(later the 8th Australian Light Horse Regiment) and Herbert served with a Light Horse Regiment in France in World War I until invalided home. Arthur Tipp, 28th Battalion, was killed in action in France on 9 November 1917.\textsuperscript{36}

Cheok Hong Cheong’s involvement with Ah Mouy and Kong Meng in the writing of \textit{The Chinese Question in Australia} occurred when he was in his mid twenties and a comparative unknown outside the Presbyterian Chinese Mission and the Chinese merchant community. Kong Meng’s kindness to Cheong’s family and Cheok Hong’s own need for recognition on non-church terms were more than enough reason for him to agree to take part in the publication of the pamphlet. Important as his role was he was always the junior partner, a position that did not change throughout the years he was associated with the two merchants.

\textit{The Chinese Question in Australia} affirmed the historic richness of Chinese culture and sought to demonstrate the falsity of the anti-Chinese movement in Australia. The pamphlet used historical and cultural references in a political/polemical context to argue a case that was, at its roots, a defence of the interests of the Chinese merchant-elite rather than the whole Chinese community.\textsuperscript{37}

The document presents the British Empire, and the Australasian colonies, as the villains in a conflict between Chinese and European ethics. The arrival of the Chinese abroad, it declares, was the direct outcome of European oppression that ‘battered down the portals of the empire’ and destroyed China’s ‘contented isolation’ (paragraph 2) assertions where the position adopted by the authors is open to question.

The three Melbourne Chinese leaders were quite right to claim that the Colony of Victoria, as part of the British Empire, had to adhere to treaty obligations entered into by the British Government even where colonists saw these as opposed to their best interests (summed up in para 29):

\begin{quote}
This, then, is the position of the Chinese in Australia, relative to British colonists. By a treaty forced upon his Imperial Majesty, our august master, your nation compelled him to throw open the gates of his empire to the people of Western Europe. In return, you bound yourselves to reciprocity. The freedom to come and go, to trade and settle, which you insisted on claiming for yourselves, you also accorded the subjects of his
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[36] Information provided by Mrs. Olwynne Fenton, of Euroa. Military details provided by Mrs. Mary Boland, Lyneham, ACT. A database is being prepared and will be entered on the Chinese Heritage at Australian Federation database (CHAF) at Latrobe University.
\item[37] The paragraph numbering system used in the text printed in Appendix 1 is that of the present writer, not the co-authors. It is used to facilitate access to this discussion of a paper that is some 8000 words long in its English version — no Chinese version is known and it is unlikely that one was prepared.
\end{footnotes}
Most colonists were aware, and not a few embarrassed by, British determination to maintain a market for the opium produced in British-controlled India. At about the same time that Cheong and his colleagues were drafting their pamphlet, Bishop Moorhouse, the second Anglican Bishop of Melbourne, referred to the Sino-British treaties as being extracted at ‘the butt-end of a musket’ in order to open trade. It was certainly true that the two sets of treaties with Britain, i.e., the Treaty of Nanking 1842 and the Treaty of Tientsin 1858, following the First and Second Opium Wars, applied to the Australasian colonies but Chinese immigration to Australia was not mentioned. A decade after the pamphlet was published, at the time of the Afghan incident in 1887-1888 (Chapter 9), William Trenwith, a prominent figure in the Victorian labour movement, spoke at an Anti-Chinese League meeting in the Melbourne Town Hall declaring that the future makeup of the Australian population should not be subject to the mercantile interests of a few British traders in China.

The pamphlet expresses the hope that the colonies will not ‘sanction an outrage’ against the Chinese over the employment of Chinese on Australian coastal shipping owned and operated by British maritime interests. The authors’ claim to the high moral ground is summed up in the final paragraph (31):

Tze-Kung, one of the disciples of Confucius, asked the latter on a certain occasion, is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one’s life? The master answered, Is not reciprocity such a word, meaning thereby what was sought by your own Great Teacher, ‘all things whatsoever ye would that men would do unto you, do you even so to them’. Upon this reciprocity we take our stand.

On this basis, the pamphlet tries to link the Seamen’s Union resistance to the employment of Chinese seamen on Australian coastal shipping as an abrogation of treaty obligations, hence the earlier comment about interpretation of the treaties and the questioning of the position

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38 Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), *The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80*, Melbourne. (Appendix 1, paragraph 29).
42 Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), *The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80*, Melbourne (Appendix 1, paragraph 31).
adopted by the authors. The implication was that the Australian colonies were legally obliged not only to allow the Chinese seamen into Australia but to dismiss the Europeans already employed as crew on ASN vessels.

There was no colonial denial of the right of Chinese to enter the Australasian colonies but there was no obligation under the treaties to provide guarantees of employment. While Chinese immigrants suffered the discrimination of a poll tax the New South Wales Supreme Court ruled that provided the poll tax was paid, a man must be allowed to enter and the same principle was applied elsewhere in the colonies.\(^\text{43}\) It was an entirely different argument to insist that the treaties assured preferential employment benefits to Chinese.

There was another strand implicit in the treaties that the co-writers chose to gloss over. Cheong and his colleagues were on sound ground in condemning foreign aggression against China but less so in ignoring the accelerating decline in Chinese governmental administration and the denial of protection to missionaries and Chinese Christians, an issue that was specifically dealt with in the Treaty of Tientsin. The China they present in the pamphlet is a peaceful, culturally united nation whose ethical, educational and cultural standards were far ahead of Europe or North America. Nineteenth century China was not quite like the picture they chose to present.

In their fulsome praise of Chinese culture the three men ignored the Confucian inspired conservatism that had inhibited China’s technological and administrative advancement and contributed to successful foreign intervention and China’s century of humiliation. They chose to place China’s troubles, along with the injustices experienced by Chinese in Australia, solely upon the evils perpetrated by foreigners, particularly the British, against China. Although the Australasian colonies were self-governing (excluding Western Australia), their relations with other countries, such as China, were controlled by the sovereign power, Great Britain, and so they shared in responsibility for Britain’s actions.\(^\text{44}\) The three co-authors’ view of a peaceful and united China skipped over the internal rebellions against the Chinese Government shown in Map 4.1 and the incompetence of Chinese government leadership in the wars against foreigners, some of which reflected earlier Chinese aggressions.

\(^{43}\) Various attempts, such as exclusion legislation in New South Wales and Queensland, and actions by the Parkes Government in New South Wales (see Chapter 8) were overturned by the courts or repudiated by the British Government in the case of the draconian legislation above.

\(^{44}\) Western Australia was a Crown Colony under the direct rule of London.
The British Government always maintained that mass immigration by Britons to China or Chinese to the British possessions was not part of the treaty agreements. The British negotiated freedom of movement for British merchants and were prepared to allow similar freedom to Chinese merchants. It is unlikely, given the Chinese ban on emigration, that a mass movement of labourers was in the mind of Chinese or foreign officials. Baron de Worms, Under Secretary at the Foreign Office, in an 1888 statement to the House of Commons said that:

No treaty existed under which China had the right to send her subjects to the British colonies and if they were so sent Great Britain was not in any way pledged to admit them.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{45} *The Daily Telegraph*, 4 June 1888.
Map 4.1
China’s Century of Humiliation
Foreign Aggression and Internal Revolt in the 19th Century

The British view matched the position taken by the Chinese Government in treaty negotiations with the United States. The Burlingame agreement (1868) agreed on the right of Chinese to live and work in the USA but in a later amendment (1880) provision was made for a ban on the immigration of labourers. This was the position, as early as 1877, of the Chinese Consolidated Benefits Association of California (The Six Companies). By 1888 Cheong was arguing that the entry of Chinese to Australia might be moderated by allowing the same number of Chinese merchants to enter Australia as the Chinese Government permitted British merchants to enter China.

The pamphleteers claimed that irrespective of treaty obligations, an oddity bearing in mind that the starting point of their argument was the colonial obligations under the ‘unequal’ treaties, there was a higher duty to provide opportunity for human improvement, reflecting a similar line of argument used by Protestant liberals in the United States but rarely heard in Australasia. The ‘unequal treaties’ had allowed Chinese to learn a good deal about the world including Australia (paragraph 3) a ‘land of promise’. Australia, they observed, was a rich and empty land and the British should be willing to share it:

When we heard . . . that there was a great continent [i.e. Australia] nearby half as large again as China, and containing only a few hundreds of thousands of civilised people thinly scattered around the coast, that is was only a few weeks sail from our own country, numbers of Chinese set out for this land of promise.

Two new propositions followed although neither had any relationship to the treaty system. The first was the call for preferential employment rights. The second was that Australia was an empty land of promise to which the Chinese had a humanitarian claim to immigration that Britain, under the treaties, had a moral duty to provide. Cheong and his co-authors were reflecting a view of the settlement of Australia that was also held by some Christians. A Wesleyan layman, Richard Gluyas, wrote a lengthy letter to the church newspaper on the issue:

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47 Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, (1877), Memorial: of the Six Chinese companies; an address to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. Testimony of California's leading citizens before the Joint Special Congressional Committee, San Francisco, CCBA. See also Pun Chi, 'A Remonstrance from the Chinese in California to the Congress of the United States,' in Speer, William, (1870), The Oldest and Newest Empire: China and the United States, Hartford: S. S. Scranton, p. 589.
48 The Daily Telegraph, 13 January 1888
50 Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80, Melbourne (Appendix 1, paragraph 3).
51 Ibid.
Sir—There are certain rights and privileges to which every man is entitled. One of these is his liberty—the liberty to go where he pleases on God's earth, always providing that he does not interfere with the rights of others. . . . God formed the continent of Australia to be inhabited and people must, as a matter of course, leave their own country for this the land of their adoption. It was God's command to men "to replenish the earth and subdue it," and this land being peopled by an industrious race, whether from China or England, must needs be in keeping with His original design. I would here ask a question: Has God given this vast Australian continent to the Anglo-Saxon race? Does the fact of their discovering this country give them an exclusive right to it? . . . Any man with common sense will not fail to perceive that this land is not given to us exclusively, if it is given to us at all. . . . I have mentioned this on account of one reverend gentleman speaking of "this land which God has given us." I fail to see where we have a Divine title to it any more than the Chinese. The right that we have to possess this country is the right of might. If this country was taken from us by the Chinese, and a Chinese Government established here, the Chinese would have quite as good a title to this country as we have at present, and as good a right to call it the country that God had given them. Now, the argument drawn from the fact that we have not an exclusive right to this country is a very clear one.  

In the early part of this chapter mention was made of the underlying assumption of the co-authors that the treaties had created an entirely new situation for China and the Chinese (see page 78). In paragraph 2, the authors insisted:

And we beg it to be particularly remembered that this outflow of our population was never sought for by us. Western powers, armed with the formidable artillery with which modern science has supplied them, battered down the portals of the empire; and, having done so, insisted on keeping them open. They said, in effect, 'We must come in, and you shall come out. We will not suffer you to shut yourselves up from the rest of the world.

This view of Chinese emigration has been examined in recent times, as in Reid’s work showing that the movement of Chinese abroad began well before the Opium Wars and well before any significant British presence in East Asia, i.e., that the treaties were marginal as far as Chinese overseas migration was concerned. The co-author’s assertion that the British were obliged to accept primary responsibility for Chinese overseas emigration ignored the overseas migration initiated and conducted by Chinese entrepreneurs long before 1842.

Trocki has commented on the long-term dominance of Southeast Asian trade by Chinese businessmen who preferred to bring in their own labour force:

The British did not initiate the process of ‘bringing in the Chinese’, and despite their best efforts to gain some control over the process of recruiting, despatching and employing - not to mention governing - populations of Chinese laborers, they were

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52 The Wesleyan Chronicle, 29 June 1888
never as successful as they wished to be. Chinese certainly came to European settlements and indeed found it possible to live in these places with greater security than in ‘native’ states, but very often places like the Straits Settlements were no more than staging areas for Chinese enterprises in the Malayan, Sumatran, Bornean and Siamese states. In fact, if we look at the actual chronology of events, we could argue that it was not the British who brought the Chinese to Malaya, but it was the Chinese and the Malays who brought the British.\textsuperscript{54} This is not quite as far-fetched as it may seem to those unfamiliar with some of the discussions forty or so years ago about the purpose of British settlement in Australia and the possibility of the British seeking to use Australia as a base for naval and economic expansion in Asia and the Pacific.\textsuperscript{55}

The British settlers of Australia, amongst whom were businessmen and officials experienced in dealing with the Chinese in East and Southeast Asia, had some grounds for concern about uncontrolled Chinese immigration with the example before them of Singapore and the Straits Settlements that transformed tiny Malay villages into Chinese merchant communities.

The Colony of Victoria, in 1879, was still only forty years beyond its settlement and less than thirty years from the first exercise of responsible self-government, i.e., its future remained uncertain. Many colonists understood the dominant role that the Chinese exercised in the economies of the British colonies of East and Southeast Asia. The vision of an Australia, settled and governed by Europeans, being dominated by Chinese business interests was not a popular image. It was a nationalistic, perhaps xenophobic concern that was reflected in similar, if opposite concerns by officials in China who were troubled by the implications of a growing foreign presence. Of course, as discussed in Chapter 1 and acknowledged in the pamphlet, much of the discussion about Chinese immigration was a smokescreen given the steady and voluntary decline in the Chinese population of Victoria that had first been noted in the early 1860s. The concern of the three merchants was primarily to protect the self-interest of those who remained.

Perhaps Cheong and his co-authors did not fully understand the leading role played by Chinese entrepreneurs in the expansion of Chinese emigration in Southeast Asia and its potential impact on a British Australia. Cheong, with no known direct contact with South China’s historic merchant entrepreneurs, might have lacked such knowledge. Mouy Ling, a former carpenter turned businessman might also be excused although his leadership in the Yee Hing, the principal Cantonese vehicle for managing Chinese overseas emigration and


the knowledge gained from his Malayan investments points to some knowledge of the issue.\footnote{56}{See discussion in Cronin, Kathryn, (1982), \textit{Colonial Casualties}, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press.}

The position of Lowe Kong Meng is another question altogether. A sophisticated businessman, from a family that had been trading in Southeast Asia since the early 1800s, Kong Meng’s family was part of the Chinese expansion into the Southeast Asian region. He demonstrated those connections through his entrepreneurial role in managing Chinese entry into the North Queensland goldfields and his business interests in the islands of the South Pacific. The family business, Ah Goon Freres, of Farquhar Street, Penang, was trading to Mauritius and Singapore well before the opening of China in 1840.\footnote{57}{The company is known to have existed from early in the 19th century.}

A further example of selective ethical principle occurs in Paragraphs 3 and 4, The authors claim that the Chinese in Victoria were astonished and hurt by the Buckland River riot in 1857, over twenty years earlier, that they label, a ‘cruel and wanton outrage’. The following statement is based on items in the \textit{Ovens and Murray Advertiser} and other contemporary reports.

Buckland riot—More than 2,000 Chinese on Buckland River, in three main camps along the river—outnumbered Europeans by at least 3:1. Forty or 50 European (Irish and American?) miners threatened the Chinese and drove them out of their camp on Lauder’s Flat and claims about the junction of the two river branches—then torched the camp (46 tents and 2 stores). Then moved down river to Stony Point camp, drove out Chinese and set fire to their 30 tents. Further downstream, past Rocky Point, burned about 20 tents on Chinese Point. Largest Chinese camp on Lower Flat—about 200 ‘tenements’, a joss house and stores—all burnt. Stores looted, Chinese knocked down and robbed, their possessions thrown in the river. ‘As the eviction proceeded down the stream, the rogues of the locality mustered to gather booty, and acts of brutality and robbery were numerous.’ A European wife of a Chinaman was attacked and ‘dreadfully cut about the head’, and a Chinaman’s finger was cut off to get the ring he wore on it. After Lower Flat, the wildest of the mob pursued the Chinese to the ford across the Buckland River, about 4 miles below Lower Flat—the Chinese were helped across a fallen log by a number of ‘manly diggers’. Official report next day of the scene of the Chinese camps: ‘In place of men, the remnants of their tools, clothing, and dwellings everywhere met our eyes. Broken shovels, cradles, picks, torn garments, ripped up bedding, half burnt clothing, battered buildings, whole quarters of beef and mutton trodden into the mire, the earth bestrewed with rice, empty sugar bags, and broken tea boxes, were the chief features of the late home of the Celestials. In the chief encampment, the charred frame of the joss-house, with emblematic flag at the door, now torn and defaced, are the only vestiges of the temple which was opened with so
much pomp and ceremony but a few days since.’ In August 1857, three men were found guilty of unlawful assembly, and one with riot.58

In the light of the above the summary presented by Cheong and his co-authors cannot be faulted:

They were set upon by other diggers, chased from their claims, cruelly beaten and maltreated, their tents plundered and then burnt down. We do not think this was doing as you would be done by.59

The authors were right to say that an attack on foreigners in China would have generated strong protests and demands for reparations.60 They misrepresented the Victorian episode by claiming that: ‘no atonement was offered to the poor Chinese diggers who were violently expelled from the Buckland, who were plundered by the stronger and more numerous race.’ It is inconceivable that the three authors would not have known that the colonial authorities paid reparations to the Chinese victims.61 Peng-nam was in Victoria at the time as were Kong Meng and Ah Mouy. It was not true that the Chinese were outnumbered on the Buckland diggings where they were the majority and continued to be when they reappeared on the diggings less than a year after the riots. The Buckland actions were, as the authors argued, ‘very disagreeable evidences’ of a lack of brotherly love on the part of Europeans, i.e., they proposed that such actions had popular support rather than being the actions of a small minority of the Europeans on the Buckland diggings at the time.62 The co-authors had to look back twenty years to find events to suit their argument of prejudice and violence. The Buckland riot, and its Lambing Flat counterpart in New South Wales a few years later, were exceptions and not the normal state of affairs (see discussion in Chapter 7).

The allegation by the co-authors that ‘no atonement’ was made ignored the dismay of the majority of Victorians to the events on the Buckland. As mentioned in Chapter 1, colonists

59 Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), *The Chinese Question in Australia*, 1879-80, Melbourne. (Appendix 1, paragraph 3).
60 Ibid, paragraph 4. They chose to ignore the role of government officials in anti-foreign riots in China.
61 The Victorian Government paid compensation for property damage of more than £7000.
The extent of similar anti-foreignism outrages in China and its effect on British (and Australian) interests has not been examined in discussions of relationships between China and Victoria in the 19th century. By the 1880s it was apparent that Europeans in China lived at risk. Only twenty years after the issue of the pamphlet two young Victorian missionaries were murdered. See discussion of the martyred Saunders Sisters in Chapter 5 and more generally, the classic study of Chinese anti-foreignism, Cohen, Paul A, (1963), *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Anti-Foreignism, 1860-1870*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
viewed breaches of the law as a threat to the stability of colonial society and to their own safety. The Victorian Governor’s report to London stated:

So deplorable, in fact, was the havoc, so disgraceful the pillage committed by some of the parties concerned, that a decided reaction in favour of the unfortunate victims was produced throughout the other goldfields; . . . the miners, on the whole, seem satisfied to leave the Legislature to deal with the question, and matters, even at the Buckland, have resumed their wonted course.64

The Mount Alexander Mail described the Buckland episode as a national disgrace. When a small group of Chinese at Golden Point was threatened a few weeks later (by Bengalis and Malays and not Europeans), the paper warned that Castlemaine had only just escaped ‘a repetition of the Buckland outrage’. The editor, Charles Saint, a long time advocate of justice for the Chinese and labelled a ‘veritable saint’ by anti-Chinese advocates, wrote:

People who hear of the Buckland outrage, who read of the unresisting Chinese being hunted from their homes, and of the suffering to which they were exposed, are at a loss to believe that the perpetrators are Englishmen, whose special pride it is to spare the weak, with whom from childhood it is a point of honor not to ‘strike a man when he is down’, or injure an unresisting foe.66

The pamphlet states in paragraph 4, falsely, as the writers must have known, that Chinese died on the Buckland diggings. It is true that three already infirm Chinese died but all sources agree that they died of hypothermia through falling into the ice-cold river while escaping the crowd of rioters rather than as the result of injuries suffered in the attack on the Chinese camp.67 Their original illness was probably beri-beri (vitamin B1 deficiency) that afflicted many Chinese on the Buckland through inadequate diet. It is wrong to say that their deaths were ‘owing to the injuries they had received’ (see also discussion in Chapter 1 of deaths in northeast Victoria).68

The pamphlet implies that fear of violence was never far from the minds of Chinese in Australia. Individual Chinese did experience unprovoked violence from time to time (see Chapters 1 and 7), but so did many Europeans. Using the Buckland as an exemplar of a

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63 The Governor was Sir Henry Barkly, an evangelical (Wesleyan Methodist) and at the time of the Buckland episode, patron of the Victoria Chinese Mission. See McCaughey, David, Naomi Perkins and Angus Trimble, (1993), Victoria’s Colonial Governors, 1939-1900, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press.
65 There is a brief summary of Saint’s career and role as a defender of the Chinese in Welch, Ian (1980), Pariahs and Outcasts, Christian Missions to the Chinese in Australia, MA, Monash University.
67 Markus, A, (1979), Fear and Hatred, Purifying Australia and California 1850-1901, Sydney, Hale and Iremonger provides a balanced account of both incidents and compares the Australian record of violence with California.
collective Chinese fear of violence may be acceptable in a polemic political context but should not accepted as indisputable historical fact. The missionary, Chu A Luk, wrote in 1857, that:

We also express our gratitude to the British people of this colony for the sacred protection given to our lives, property, and liberty; and we most humbly beseech your Excellency to sanction no law against us which is not in accordance with your glorious constitutional laws, against strangers and foreigners.

A Brisbane Chinese said in 1895 that he could only speak in praise of the way in which Chinese were treated while a friend said that Chinese enjoyed the protection of the authorities.

What must be questioned is the extent of anti-Chinese violence. As the most prolific of all Australian Chinese writers in English, references to violence are absent from Cheong’s archive of more than 800 letters and articles. The archives of the Chinese missionaries in the 1850s and afterwards do not mention assaults during the period from 1855 to 1861, the period when the Chinese population of Victoria, and potential envy over gold recovery, was at its peak (see Appendices 10 and 11).

Cheong refers only once to being touched in an unpleasant manner and that was not an attack but an inappropriate and insulting search of his clothing by a policeman at Port Melbourne. Similarly, he made just one comment about violence against Chinese Christians, and that was in the context of his sustained pressure to establish a Chinese Anglican mission hall in Little Bourke Street (Chapter 5) and that consisted of drunken larrikins throwing stones on the roof of the meeting hall. None of his children experienced any kind of violence. That Cheong, a wealthy and influential man, escaped the kind of offensive behaviour experienced by many Chinese (Chapter 7) comes as no surprise but, given his public role as a community spokesperson, it is surprising that his only major mention is in the context of this chapter and then about an episode of which he had no direct personal knowledge.

In paragraph 5, the co-authors ask, rhetorically, ‘What are we to think of the strong

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69 Ibid, p 27. The Governor mentioned in his report to London that the Chinese were believed to gloss over discrepancies and bolster up evidence, and this seems to have some justification in the arguments presented by the three authors.
70 Chu A Luk to Sir Henry Barkly, August 3rd 1857, Castlemaine.
71 The Church Chronicle, (Brisbane), 1 October 1895, p 14.
72 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Hon J B Patterson, Commissioner of Customs, 28th July 1889.
measures which are being resorted to for the purpose of excluding Chinese sailors and stokers from steamers trading to and between Australian ports?’ No examples of these measures are given although there are reports of damage to Chinese property in Brisbane and Sydney that followed anti-Chinese meetings. Cronin mentions only one incident involving violence against a Chinese seaman, in Rockhampton, but hot air seems to have been more the style of anti-Chinese protests. In paragraph 6 the co-authors declare that working class men were threatening ‘personal violence’ against Chinese market gardeners. Yong, author of the most detailed examination of Chinese market gardening, reports that ‘sporadic complaints’ were made from time to time but ‘no strong action was ever taken’ against the Chinese. It seems that the pamphlet is referring to resolutions passed at meetings of Europeans in almost every colony demanding either additional restrictions on Chinese immigration or, as in Victoria, total exclusion. As all the authors, and especially Cheong, knew of the constitutional subordination of the Australian colonies to the United Kingdom, and they would have been well aware of the refusal of the British to assist in any proposition to implement exclusion or deportation against Chinese, these comments must be viewed as political posturing.

The reference to ‘working class’ men reflects an underpinning value of the authors — that they were making an appeal to the right-minded hard-working self-improving European colonists, not the ‘working class’ for whom all three Chinese leaders felt contempt. As they put it in paragraph 11:

Nothing, we submit, can be more unreasonable, unjust, or undeserved, than the clamour which has been raised against the Chinese by a portion of the people of this colony; for we refuse to believe that that clamour expresses the opinions and feelings of the great bulk of the community.

Extracts from the Melbourne Police Court reports in the Daily Telegraph from January 1870 to July 1870 and from January 1885 to December 1885 show that anti-Chinese violence was not an everyday, every week, or even an every month event. An unexpected outcome of the review of the newspaper reports was the rarity of assaults on Chinese in Melbourne.

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74 Ibid, p 312.
77 The author used a ‘slice’ approach, selecting two periods, five years apart, to assess the extent of anti-Chinese violence that resulted in court hearings.
although it might be reasonably suggested that not all assaults were reported. As there is no way of checking unreported assaults it is reasonable to examine those cases that did result in court appearances and the punishments that followed. The Police Court reports confirm May’s statements (from separate Queensland sources) that police responded to breaches of the peace and that magistrates imposed appropriate penalties.⁷⁸

In a comparative study of California and Australia, Andrew Markus observed that the Chinese in Australia benefited from ‘the determined action of the authorities to uphold the law and from the refusal of the general body of diggers to take the law into their own hands’. He concluded that there was ‘an abiding respect for human life in the Australian mining communities for, even on the Lambing Flat, infuriated miners stopped short of taking the lives of their Chinese enemies’.⁷⁹ This restraint was exercised despite the high level of violence on the goldfields outlined in Chapter 1.

After deploring the ‘strong measures’ that Chinese experienced, the authors contrasted anti-Chinese discrimination in the colonies (paragraph 6) with the benefits that accrued to Britain from providing refuge to all comers. They launch a diversion that fits perfectly into their constant efforts to present themselves in the best possible ethical light by introducing a further new concept that irrespective of the ‘unequal treaties’ the Chinese should be regarded as refugees from the problems of China, the country that they had earlier described as living in ‘contented isolation’ (paragraph 2).

They add to their call for employment preference and the ‘dog in the manger’ theory of an empty land to claim that colonists were denying the Chinese the basic human right to obtain the means of subsistence and to bring to colony the economic benefits of an ‘open door’.⁸⁰ In paragraph 6 it is asserted that colonists were forgetting, or ignoring, what Britain had gained from foreign settlers: ‘It blessed those whom it welcomed to its shores, and it blessed its own industries by the arts and processes which these aliens communicated to their hosts.’

The claim that the Chinese would bring economic benefits would have persuaded few among their target audience of self-made European businessmen who believed that Chinese

⁷⁸ There is a lack of clarity on this issue pointing to the need for further detailed investigation. Cronin, Kathryn, (1982), Colonial Casualties, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press takes the view that the Chinese did not receive proper protection from police and suffered at the hands of the magistrates. May, Cathie R, (1984), Topsawyers, The Chinese in Cairns, Townsville, James Cook University takes the alternative view that, taken overall, Chinese were treated fairly.

⁷⁹ Markus, A, (1979), Fear and Hatred, Purifying Australia and California 1850-1901, Sydney, Hale and Iremonger.
merchants closely guarded their monopoly of trade with China. European merchants were highly critical of the lack of Chinese investment in the colony and resented even more the repatriation of capital needed by the colony to China.

The authors underscore the most important Chinese contribution to Australia by outlining the role of Chinese farmers as the major suppliers of fresh vegetables and of Chinese fishermen as significant contributors of seafood to the cities and towns of the Australian colonies. This was a worthwhile argument and a better basis for their defence of their countrymen than previous propositions. The pamphleteers wrote:

Had it not been for them, the cultivation of vegetables, so indispensable to the maintenance of health in a hot climate like this would scarcely have been attempted in the neighbourhood of some of the goldfields; and the mortality of children would have been very much greater than it really has been. Lease or sell half an acre of apparently worthless land to a small party of Chinamen, and, if there is access to any kind of water or manure, they will transform it, by their system of intensive husbandry, into a most prolific garden, and will make it yield such a rapid succession of crops as will excite the astonishment and admiration of European market-gardeners. As fishermen and itinerant fishmongers, our countrymen have been equally serviceable to the community.81

In New South Wales Chinese were nearly three-quarters of the total workforce in market gardening in 1891 and only marginally less in 1901. In Victoria, in 1901, nearly half of the market gardeners were Chinese. The 1911 Australian Census showed that of the 21,856 Chinese males in Australia one third were market gardeners, making this the most important Chinese occupation. Another 1200 were greengrocers and fruiterers.82

The Melbourne Trades Hall followed up a Royal Commission into the Victorian Factories Act, aimed at driving the Chinese out of furniture manufacturing, by presenting Premier Thomas Bent with demands including the elimination of Chinese from the fruit and vegetable business as well as from furniture manufacturing and laundries.83 Bent knew that the Chinese contribution was so important to the health of Victorians that he rejected the proposal out of hand. Other attempts by the labour movement, in both Victoria and New

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80 The ‘means of subsistence’ develops later into a call for Australia to accept the Chinese as economic refugees, a curiously modern proposition.
81 Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80, Melbourne. (Appendix 1, paragraph 6).
South Wales, to ban the Chinese from market gardening and other niche occupations were always rejected by the politicians for the same reasons given by the authors, i.e., the health of the community.

Paragraph 6 concludes with another oddly balanced appeal that it is oddly out of place when referring back to the ‘contented isolation’ described in Paragraph 2. Quite apart from its external difficulties, 19th century China was hardly a ‘contented’ place. Reference has already been made to the frequent internal rebellions. The contradiction lies in the reference in Paragraph 6 to the failure of China to feed its own people, despite having a nation-wide system of grain storage intended to prevent such disasters. In the 1870s North China experienced one of the worst famines ever with estimates that perhaps fifteen million or more people died. All three authors served on Victorian China Famine Relief Committees and for Cheong, in particular, Chinese famine relief was one of several causes that he supported throughout his life. Subscriptions from Victorians, predominantly Europeans, to China famine appeals were the highest, on a per-capita basis, in the world.84

Paragraph 7 draws attention to the fact that Chinese were singled out for discriminatory treatment. The only possible reason, the co-authors advance, is that the Chinese are regarded as unsuitable immigrants and in Paragraphs 7 to 11 they attack the widely held view of European colonists that Chinese were an ‘inferior race’. While the argument advanced has considerable merit the illustrations and arguments were less than politic when couched in the form used by the co-authors.

Few informed colonists of the day would have disagreed with the general proposition that the Chinese ‘had reached a high stage of civilisation while Britain was populated by naked savages.’ The problem was that the Chinese met by most colonists were men of peasant origins whom the local Chinese district associations had warned against wearing traditional open-bottomed Chinese trousers and squatting to defecate in public.85 In 1894, to give just one example, one of the first Australian women to serve as missionaries in China with the Church Missionary Association of Victoria wrote to her mother, you mustn’t judge

the Chinese by the specimens you see in Melbourne.\textsuperscript{86} The colonists could not equate the men they met with the upholders of China’s ‘Great Tradition.’ As the co-authors acknowledged in paragraph 17, many Chinese did offend European sensibilities and there was some justice in the complaints made that Chinese residential areas were sometimes dirty and squalid although, as the co-authors mention, this was as much the fault of greedy European landlords and incompetent municipal officers (see Chapter 7 for more on this issue).\textsuperscript{87}

In a direct challenge to colonial complacency about the superiority of British civilisation the authors used British sources to portray why the Chinese might view Britain as a ‘nation of devils’.

Let us suppose that, thirty or forty years ago, when the English nation forced us, at the point of the bayonet and the mouth of the cannon, to open our ports and harbours to British shipping, and our country to British travellers and settlers, that some of our Mandarins, who had been in the habit of reading the English newspapers forwarded to the missionaries in China, had concluded that Great Britain must be a nation of devils, because the atrocities recorded in these publications, day after day, were so horrible and revolting; and that, therefore, the British must be kept out of our country at all hazards—what would have been said? Would not those very newspapers have been loud and vehement in their condemnation of the obvious injustice of identifying the character and conduct of a whole people with those of its criminal classes? Yet this is what is being done in Australia in regard to ourselves.\textsuperscript{88}

The picture of Britain in paragraphs 11-13 is far from flattering and in paragraph 14, the authors draw parallels elevating specific incidents or events into generalizations that present a poor image of a whole nation:

Now, if the Emperor of China and his chief councillors had concluded from these undeniable facts that the English were a nation of murderers, opium-eaters, slave drivers, wife-beaters, swindlers, prostitutes and scoundrels, how cruelly they would have wronged a whole people. Yet this is precisely what is done with respect to our own countrymen, concerning whom the utmost ignorance prevails.\textsuperscript{89}

And in paragraph 15:

The ignorance thus complained of continues to this very hour; and the vilest epithets are bestowed upon our countrymen by speakers on platforms, who know nothing

\textsuperscript{86} Topsy Saunders to Mrs. Eliza Saunders, in Berry, D M (c1901), \textit{The Sister Martyrs of Kucheng, Memoirs and Letters of Eleanor and Elizabeth Saunders}, London, James Nisbet, p 141.

\textsuperscript{87} Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), \textit{The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80}, Melbourne, (Appendix 1, paragraph 17).

\textsuperscript{88} Ibid, paragraph 11.

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid, paragraph 14.
whatever about China or its people; and who condemn a whole nation on account of the vices and crimes of a small minority.\textsuperscript{90}

The authors claimed that man for man the Chinese were morally superior to Europeans and gave a list of ethical precepts that Chinese village school children learned by heart: \textsuperscript{91}

These are only a few out of thousands of wise-maxims and pious precepts, which are daily taught in every school throughout the length and breadth of China. Not only so, but the loftiest and wisest principles of government, of social polity, of political economy, of metaphysics and morals, of domestic regulation and personal conduct, are also inculcated at that period of life when the heart and the intellect are the most susceptible of such beneficial lessons. The young are instructed that ‘all things are according to heaven;’ that God, ‘confers happiness on the good, and misery on the evil;’ that ‘the doctrines of heaven are opposed to selfishness;’ that ‘of ten thousand evils, lewdness is the chief;’ and that ‘of one hundred virtues, filial piety is the first.’ And yet the people who are thus educated are stigmatized as ‘ignorant pagans’ and ‘filthy barbarians’ by persons who have never been in China: who know nothing of its moral, intellectual and social life, and who form hasty judgements and entertain violent prejudices against its people from a very slight acquaintance with immigrants.\textsuperscript{92}

Having warned against generalizations and the need for substance in allegations against Chinese settlers the co-authors fall into the error of exaggeration that they have just condemned. They argue that the risk of violent assault at the hands of infuriated ruffians demonstrated at the Buckland would cause sensible men to refuse to expose their womenfolk to ‘ignominious and contumelious treatment:\textsuperscript{93}

It is objected that they did not bring their wives and sisters with them. Can it be wondered at? We have shown what scandalous treatment they received on the Buckland; and is it to be imagined that, when the news of this atrocity went home to China, any woman of average self-respect would expose herself to be chased through the country by a band of infuriated ruffians, and to see her children burnt to death, perhaps, in her husband’s flaming tent. Treated as pariahs and outcasts by the people of this great, free country, the Chinamen in Victoria have hitherto had but scanty encouragement to invite their wives to accompany or to follow them. Subject to be insulted and assaulted by the larrikins of Australia, what Chinaman could be so destitute of consideration for the weaker sex as to render them liable to the same ignominious and contumelious treatment?\textsuperscript{94}

Chinese credit ticket emigration, intended mostly for short-term emigrants, did not provide for wives to travel overseas and quite often wives and children were given as security for the repayment of emigration loans. An important reason for women to stay at home was to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{90} Ibid, paragraph 15.
\item \textsuperscript{91} Ibid, paragraph 8.
\item \textsuperscript{92} Ibid, paragraph 10.
\item \textsuperscript{93} See discussion of this in Chapter 1.
\item \textsuperscript{94} Ibid, paragraphs 14-16.
\end{itemize}
protect the absent husband’s rights to his share in family property. Cheong acknowledged the rarity of Chinese female emigration in later correspondence:

Filial piety which is a prominent feature in the Chinese character, and one which has secured for the nation ‘length of days in the land’ and many other blessings of this life, implies, in their view the honoring of their parents with personal service as well as with substance, and so wives and families are considered properly left behind to render the one while themselves laboring to earn the other. Such being the case and my statement is supported by the whole history of the past and the facts of the present that Chinese families are very few and very far between and that such of them as we have, I am bound to say, reflect no discredit upon the nation to which they belong.

The absence of Chinese women continues to be presented, quite falsely, as a product of Australian anti-Chinese sentiment including absurd claims that intermarriage was prohibited. In materials for school children this comment appears:

Governments sought, by keeping Asian women and children out, and by restraining intermarriage, to prevent the Chinese, Indians, Japanese and others already living in Australia from multiplying.

The pamphleteers recognized that criticisms of the Chinese in Australia did not come from colonists as a whole but primarily from the larrikins of the inner cities, i.e., it was a small minority of Europeans who committed offences against Chinese. The larrikin groups comprised juveniles and young unemployed adults who were a thorough nuisance to everyone, not just the Chinese. It is to be assumed that in the minds of the authors these youths were the offspring of the ‘idle and dissolute’ European working class.

In paragraphs 18-20 the authors answer the accusation that Chinese would work for lower wages than Europeans by stating that the Chinese would prove to be as hedonistic in lifestyle as their European neighbours:

Living among people who have invented thousands of artificial wants, and thousands of means of gratifying them, the expenditure of the Asiatic will soon rise to the European level, because his habits and his mode of living will approximate to those of his neighbours; and, as it is, it cannot escape the observation of persons who have been brought much into contact with the Chinese in Victoria, that the diet of such of them as

96 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Hon James Munro, Premier of Victoria, 21 June 1891.
are tolerably prosperous becomes more generous and costly in proportion to the improvement of their circumstances, and that those who marry and settle here conform to British methods of housekeeping, and are not less liberal and hospitable than their European fellow-colonists. 100

From paragraph 21 to paragraph 27 the authors bring up the situation of the Chinese in California where European workers also objected to the Chinese. 101 The three men viewed the labour movement with animosity. They had no patience with the idea that organised labour should be able to intervene in their business affairs. As far as they were concerned, and it was a view shared by other self-made colonists, the labour movement was the main source of anti-Chinese feeling and comprised:

The idle, the dissolute, and the drunken; men who insisted upon receiving very high wages for working during three days of the week, and who devoted the other three to dissipation and debauchery. To such persons, the patient, plodding habits of the Chinamen, always at his post, never loafing about, never in liquor, and never plotting and caballing to drive his employer into a corner, and extort higher wages from him, was an intolerable offence. 102

There are few references in Australian Chinese sources linking the employment of Chinese to their principal Californian rivals for jobs, the Irish, who received starvation incomes in Ireland but did not accept lower wages in Australia. It was almost certainly the Irish who are referred to as plotters and drunkards, a view that was widely held among ‘respectable’ Protestant businessmen. 103 Analyses of the Irish role, if any, in the anti-Chinese movement in Australia have yet to be undertaken. 104

Although racism was important in terms of providing a coherent framework for many of the points presented in the pamphlet, it is not the core issue in the co-author’s analysis of anti-Chinese discrimination in Australia. When responding to the outcomes of the Intercolonial Conference on the Chinese Question in 1888 (Chapter 10), Cheong referred to a note sent to the British Government by the colonial premiers:

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100 Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80, Melbourne. (Appendix 1, paragraph 20).
101 The Bibliography includes a large number of American studies of the anti-Chinese movement in North America.
102 Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80, Melbourne. (Appendix 1, paragraph 22).
In their joint memorial to the Imperial Government, they submitted that — ‘The objection to the Chinese is not altogether one of colour or race, but is founded in a rational view of the danger to those British communities which might, in course of time, flow from a people numbering more than four hundred millions, whose language, laws, religion, and habits of life are alien to those of Her Majesty’s subjects in Australasia, and whose geographical position makes the danger more imminent.’

In paragraph 26, the authors, having already claimed to have observed a darkness of soul within the Americans and English, ask that if the evils done to the Chinese are an ‘outcome of your Christianity, let us entreat you to send us no more missionaries . . . for the purpose of converting or perverting our countrymen.’ The logic of the statement becomes clear later in the paragraph. If the basis of discrimination is their homeland’s current military weakness then: ‘If so, must we conclude that [English speaking peoples] are cowards to the strong and tyrants to the weak?’

Their bitter conclusion demonstrates the pain of personal identity and national self-image experienced by the Chinese in the English-speaking countries of the Pacific Rim as a result of the ‘century of humiliation’ mentioned earlier, i.e., the sequential failures of the Chinese Government that provoked internal rebellions and external invasions. Foreign incursions into China were seen by the authors as contributing to the lack of respect for Chinese subjects living abroad creating a record of humiliation whose effects were, in terms of personal identity and self-respect, collectively a worse offence than attacks on individuals. It demonstrates the daily experience of collective embarrassment shared by people aware of their inheritance of a great civilisation. The evil, if relatively isolated, acts of the larrikins might have affected the entire colonial population but their impact on the Chinese was far more serious because of the deeper failing of intercultural relationships between Europeans and Chinese that were magnified by the ongoing mortification of the Chinese nation.

The importance of this dimension in the ideas expressed in the pamphlet cannot be ignored. The co-authors constantly refer to the treaties and the fact that they represent negotiations between nations and hence demonstrate the equality of China, even if in a rather disadvantageous manner. During an 1888 exchange of letters with the Victorian Government about the detention of Chinese immigrants on the ship Burrumbeet Cheong wrote:

105 Cheok Hong Cheong, China and the Chinese: Being a public contribution to the better understanding of the Chinese Question, Public Address, 1888 (Appendix 4).
We cannot, of course, say that we are altogether taken by surprise, since the
Government that would strain and wrest the law to gratify some noisy clamour,
would, in strict consistency, deny us the rights which the law of the land, however
inequitable in our view, never for a moment questioned. We would, however, point
out that our nation is at the present time, and has been for many years past, happily at
peace with the great nation which your Government represents in this colony; that,
moreover, a treaty of peace and friendship exists between them which confers
reciprocal rights, and until such treaty has been abrogated the ‘surreptitious
proceedings’ of the Government are alike dishonourable and dishonest.107

He returns to the theme in the Petition of the Victorian Chinese to the 1888 Intercolonial
Conference on the Chinese Question (see Chapter 5):

Our own land has no equal on earth for fertility and resources, which by and by will
cause her to weigh heavy in the scale of nations, and therefore we assure you,
honorable Sirs, that the question whether a few stragglers should emigrate from such a
stupendous empire like China, is one of perfect indifference to her Government and
her people. But the evil treatment of the few that are here or who have been recently
turned away from these shores is a different matter altogether. We hope it may not be,
but fear it may, that a deep wound has been inflicted that will rankle and bear evil fruit
in the near future.

In 1898 Cheong told the Victorian Legislative Council that:

The Poll Tax . . . is enforced upon every one who is unfortunate enough to be born in
that weak and despised Empire of the Far East.108

The authors conceded that if power and not ethical principle was to govern relationships
between peoples Europeans would succeed in excluding the Chinese but Australia must face
‘terrible consequences’;109

If you substitute arbitrary violence, hatred, and jealousy, for justice, legality, and right;
it may be that you will succeed in carrying your point; it may be that a great wrong
will be accomplished by the exercise of sheer force, and the weight of superior
numbers; but your reputation among the nations of the earth will be irretrievably
injured.110

In paragraph 27 the co-authors take up the proposal first made by the Chinese Six
Companies in San Francisco and in so doing confirm the view expressed earlier that their
real concern was not the interests of the Chinese community as a whole but those of the

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107 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Premier of Victoria, 1 June 1888. The Daily Telegraph, 2 June 1888.
108 Cited in Yarwood, A, (1964), Asian Migration to Australia: The background to exclusion, 1896-1923,
Carlton, Vic, Melbourne University Press, p 104.
109 Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), The Chinese Question in Australia,
1879-80, Melbourne. paragraph 28. Cheong is referring to Vattel, Emer de, (1793), The Law of Nations,
London GGJ & J Robinson and Whieldon and Butterworth.
110 Ibid, (Appendix 1, paragraph 34-38).
merchants living in Australasia. They asked, ‘why not limit the number of immigrants on each steamer to a very few?’ Tonnage and passenger limitations were a long-standing practice in Australia and in accepting the legitimacy of the guiding principle of colonial anti-Chinese immigration policy since it was introduced in Victoria in 1857 the co-authors confirm that it was not restrictions as such that Chinese found objectionable but their application only to them.

The closing argument (paragraphs 28-29) challenge the conventional colonial assumption that European Christianity represented the most advanced form of human existence:

In the name of heaven, we ask, where is your justice? Where your religion? Where your morality? Where your sense of right and wrong? Where your enlightenment? Where your love of liberty? Where your respect for international law? Who are the pagans, you or we?111

Even if the Chinese position was no more than an ethical objection to anti-Chinese sentiment, the Melbourne Punch thought it superior to the viciousness of the European mob that based its objections to the Chinese on the crudest of racist denunciations:

Three Chinese merchants in Melbourne have put forth an appeal to the reason, the justice, the right feeling, and calm good sense of the British population of Australia, as against the clamour that has been raised by anti-Chinese agitators, here and elsewhere. Such an appeal is entitled to respectful hearing.112

The Anglican press praised what it described as the measured language of the Protest but failed to apply any further analysis to the statements made by the three Chinese leaders.

It is to be hoped that the manly and temperate appeal of our Chinese fellow citizens, Kong Meng, Hong Cheong and Ah Mouy, . . . will not have been made in vain. The arguments urged by these gentlemen for toleration and fair play to their countrymen in these colonies appear to be unanswerable. In effect they amount to this—We have extorted by force of arms more than one treaty from the Government at Pekin, throwing open Chinese ports to British commerce, and guaranteeing the utmost freedom of ingress and egress to English subjects in China, and in return to natives of China in all English possessions. We have freely used the rights thus secured to us, and in doing so have been upheld by the Government and police of the Celestial Empire; but Chinese immigrants, claiming under the same treaty to be admitted as colonists, have in violation of all faith and honour been refused their undoubted rights, have even been driven out with outrage from one of our goldfields, and are now, it seems, to be excluded from serving as sailors or stokers in our intercolonial steamers.113

111 Ibid, (Appendix 1, paragraph 29).
112 Melbourne Punch, 16 January 1879.
113 The Church of England Messenger, March 1879.
Perhaps their elite distrust of the labouring classes is the reason the co-authors do not at any time try to address the economic concerns of Europeans in Victoria. They do not acknowledge the attempts of colonial employers to exploit workers nor the attempts of the Chinese business elite to take advantage of Chinese labourers by paying as little as possible that was to lead to the Chinese furniture workers strike in the 1890s. This is made all the more obvious by the praise Cheong gave to ‘the better class’ of Europeans in the Victorian Chinese Residents’ Association petition to the 1888 Intercolonial Conference on the Chinese Question:

Though as yet we have had no Colonial Statesmen to protest against the injustice we have been subjected to, yet in this connection we are glad to admit that in our intercourse with the best class of Colonists we have found amongst them a feeling of repugnance at, and an utter detestation of, the treatment which our countrymen have received at the hands of the various Colonial Governments.\textsuperscript{114}

As Cheong was to do again in his arguments in the 1888 \textit{Afghan} affair (Chapter 8), the pamphlet argued that injustice not only affects the victims, it creates a cancer than can infect a whole society. It is a mark of the selective morality that underpins the entire pamphlet that the injustice that the ASN Company intended to do to the European seamen by replacing them with lower paid Chinese workers is not condemned or found ‘repugnant’ to sound ethical practice. The authors sum up:

This, then, is the position of the Chinese in Australia, relative to British colonists. By a treaty imposed upon his Imperial Majesty, our august master, your nation compelled him to throw open the gates of his Empire to the people of Western Europe. In return you bound yourselves to reciprocity. The freedom to come and go, trade and settle, which you insisted on claiming for yourselves, you also accorded the subjects of his Imperial Majesty.\textsuperscript{115}

Cheong’s first venture into public debate established him as a significant and able spokesman for the Chinese community. That was no small achievement despite the questionable selection of incidents, events and moral challenges that have been discussed. \textit{The Chinese Question} was unsuccessful in bringing about a change in colonial attitudes in relation to the short-term ASN case or in regard to the development of Australian immigration policies. It was nonetheless a well-presented response to the self-serving arguments produced by anti-Chinese polemicists among the colonists.

\textsuperscript{114} Appendix 4 of the Minutes of the Intercolonial Conference held in the Legislative Council Chamber at Sydney 12-14 June 1888 to consider ‘A Bill for the Restriction of Chinese Immigration’.

\textsuperscript{115} Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), \textit{The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80}, Melbourne. (Appendix 1, paragraph 29)
For the first time in nearly thirty years attacks on the Chinese were answered and attracted sympathy for the Chinese among some Europeans, not least the leaders of the churches. Cheong found himself being courted by the managers of the Anglican Chinese Mission. He impressed people enough that in 1885 he was appointed Superintending Missionary of the Anglican Church Missionary Society of Victoria. His contribution to the pamphlet was the first step in his subsequent career.
Chapter 5
The Anglican Years
1885-1928

After leaving the Presbyterian Theological Hall (Chapter 3), Cheok Hong Cheong worked in the family business in Brunswick Street, Fitzroy. In 1879 he was a co-author of The Chinese Question (Chapter 4), the project that started his long career as a Chinese community spokesman. In 1882 he was invited to address the Annual Meeting of the Anglican Church Missionary Society of Victoria (CMSV). His speech showed his Chinese cultural pride and reflected something of the framework of ideas and values included in The Chinese Question. He spoke of ‘the existence of China as a nation for nearly four thousand years’ and attributed this to ‘filial piety’ and ‘bonds of mutual subordination and respect’. He again addressed the CMSV Annual Meeting on 3rd December 1884. This time The Church of England Messenger praised the ‘unexpected’ quality of his presentation:

The speech of the evening, partly from its intrinsic merits, but chiefly from the fact that, good as it was in itself, it seemed so much better, because so unexpected, in the mouth of a true Chinaman, Mr. Chok [sic] Hong Cheong, a Chinese trader in Fitzroy, but a thorough master of English, and matriculated student at the University of Melbourne.

In praising Cheong’s ‘gentle, persuasive and amiable character’, the paper reported his ‘pardonable confidence in the invincibility of the Chinese nation, despite . . . all assaults’ and his equal confidence that only Christianity could provide the ‘grand motive-power’ China needed to be restored to the ranks of the world’s great powers.

The Church Missionary Society of Victoria (CMSV) began in January 1851 as the Melbourne Diocesan Board of Missions (DBM) formed to undertake the evangelisation of

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1 The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, November-December 1882, p 184.
2 The CMSV had no connection with the CMS of England (CMSE), although most of its supporters in Victoria saw the CMSV as carrying on the traditions of the British society. When the CMSE established itself in Australia in 1892, it was named the Church Missionary Association and it was not until the early 20th century that the name Church Missionary Society of Australia was adopted. By then the term Church Missionary Society of Victoria, Re-formed had no legal status and had fallen into disuse.
3 The Church of England Messenger, January 1885.
non-Europeans in Victoria and the South Pacific. It was the Victorian element of an Australian Board of Missions created at a conference of the five Australian Anglican Bishops and the Bishop of New Zealand, held in Sydney in 1850. In 1857 the Victorian DBM was reconstituted as the Church Missionary Society of the Diocese of Melbourne. In September 1859 it was replaced by a ‘voluntary’ or non-official CMSV formed to start an Anglican Chinese Mission after the 1858 collapse of the Victoria Chinese Mission (VCM).

The CMSV adopted the original 1851 objects of the DBM that were retained unaltered in 1857:

(i) To establish and maintain missions, and generally to assist in any efforts for the conversion and civilisation of the aboriginal inhabitants of this diocese.

(ii) To co-operate, as far as possible, with the Provincial Board of Missions at Sydney in the conversion and civilisation of the heathen races in all the islands of the Western Pacific.

(iii) To receive and forward any subscriptions to particular missionary societies, or special missionary objects, approved by the committee.

The first systematic attempt (see Chapter 1) to evangelise the Chinese in Victoria took place between 1855 and 1858 at the Mount Alexander diggings (Castlemaine). A financial recession forced closure of the interdenominational Victoria Chinese Mission (VCM) at the end of 1857. There were other ecumenical missions at Ballarat and Smythesdale, near Ballarat, but by the end of 1859 both had closed. After the collapse of the VCM denominational missions were established with Methodists taking Castlemaine and the Presbyterians absorbing the Ballarat mission.

The first Anglican Bishop of Melbourne, the Right Reverend Charles Perry, as a private individual, had been, with the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, a major financial supporter of the VCM, although his first choice was for an Anglican mission. Perry’s views were stated in a letter to Bishop George Smith (Anglican Bishop of Hong Kong) by the Dean and Vicar General of the Diocese of Melbourne, the Very Rev. H B Macartney, who wrote:

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4 The Church of England Record, October 1859:110. See also The Church of England Messenger for the Diocese of Melbourne, Vol II No 2:53. For convenience referred to throughout as the Church of England Messenger.
5 The Dioceses of Sydney, Melbourne, Tasmania, Adelaide and Newcastle, with New Zealand. The Church of England Record, Vol 1, No III, September 1855, pp 1-2.
6 Later the Church Missionary Society of Victoria (CMSV) after the creation of the Diocese of Ballarat in 1872. As a matter of convenience, the abbreviation CMSV is used throughout.
7 The Church of England Record, November 1859.
8 Very Rev. H B Macartney to the Lord Bishop of Victoria, 14 July 1855, Perry Letterbooks. Anglican Diocesan Archives, Melbourne.
The Bishop of Melbourne hoped before he left Victoria that your Lordship might have been able to send him a Chinese Catechist who might labor among his countrymen here. Two young men have lately arrived connected with the London Missionary Society, and we bid them welcome, but of course we would be much better pleased if we could send out churchmen.  

In 1856 the Bishop of Hong Kong sent Lo Sam-yuen, his most trusted Chinese catechist, to Victoria. When Perry ‘loaned’ Lo to the Victoria Chinese Mission he wrote to the ‘Rev’ William Young, the Superintending Missionary of the VCM, insisting that Lo Sam-yuen act in accordance with Anglican principles:

Bishopscourt, June 25 1856
Rev. Mr. Young, Missionary to the Chinese Reverend and Dear Sir
The bearer of this note is Lo Sam-Yuen the Chinese teacher sent to me by the Bishop of Victoria with the purpose of employing him on the Gold-Fields. I propose to place him at the disposal of the Committee of the Chinese Mission, and in the meanwhile I would wish you to have the goodness to take charge of him and employ him either at Castlemaine or Sandhurst (Bendigo) at your discretion. You will arrange with him respecting his stipend for which I will hold myself responsible. I would wish him, in any public service which he may undertake, to use a portion of our liturgy, to which he is accustomed, and of which he has brought a supply in the Chinese language.

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9 Very Rev. H B Macartney to the Lord Bishop of Victoria, 14 July 1855, Perry Letterbooks.
10 Despite Perry’s courteous use of the honorific ‘Reverend’ Young was not an ordained minister and had no theological education. The use of the honorific by lay ministers was accepted practice in 19th century Victoria. Cheok Hong Cheong also used the term. Young’s status as a locally recruited missionary of the London Missionary Society was that of a non-ordained lay evangelist or Bible teacher. His work as an LMS missionary was significantly affected by the continuing ill-health of his wife, Olive Amelia Vardon, the daughter of a British merchant in Batavia, whom he married in 1842. Mrs Young was born in Bow, London, in 1816. Continuously subject to ill-health during their missionary service at Amoy (Xiamen) Mrs Young suffered a serious illness during childbirth in Castlemaine in 1856, and died in 1857 at just forty years old, leaving Young with a young daughter, Catherine Stewart. There is only one reference to Catherine Stewart Young apart from a note of Young’s death in Bow, perhaps with his daughter at his side. In December 1864, aged about seven or eight years old, he took her with him on a visit to Creswick. At some stage during his residence in Victoria he apparently sent Catherine to live with his wife’s parents in London and although he resided in Jersey (Channel Islands) he was apparently visiting Catherine when he died at Bow. Young was of mixed racial origin (mother was Malay) and this might have added to his problems. A letter from the Secretary of the Victoria Chinese Mission, the Rev. Richard Fletcher, stating that Young was not employable as a minister to Europeans while a later Presbyterian minister said, when the Presbyterians were seeking to replace Young, that the mission needed a European superintendent. Fletcher to Tidman, 26 October 1855, London Missionary Society, Australian Correspondence, MSS. The Christian Review, December 1866, p 7.
11 The importance of the two points should not be missed. In paying Lo’s salary, and insisting on his use of Anglican forms in worship services, Perry was making it clear that he saw Lo as primarily an Anglican
have at my disposal a large quantity of Chinese testaments, prayer-books and tracts. Would you wish me to send any up to you? If so please write to me and tell me how they should be sent and to what address. PS, Lo Sam-Yuen cannot speak English. With two other Chinese catechists already at work in Castlemaine (Chu A Luk and Leong A Toe), Lo Sam-yuen was moved to Ballarat in 1857 where he made striking progress, holding three services every Sunday averaging about 150 worshippers. Lo raised £160 from the Chinese to build a Chinese Christian chapel at Red Hill. The opening on 24 January 1858 was a gala event.

The scene presented . . . was one of peculiar interest. . . . Outside, in front of the newly erected chapel, was assembled a mixed congregation of Christian and heathen; most of them were seated but a great many were standing. In front were seated the Europeans, both ladies and gentlemen, with here and there a Chinese among them. . . . The background was composed almost entirely of Chinese who kept looking on with interest and eagerly listening. This number must have amounted to 300, that of the Europeans to 150.

The Ballarat Mission Annual Meeting of 1859 was told that during 1858 Lo Sam-yuen made 436 separate contacts with the Chinese, distributed 669 books and spent 1263 hours on mission affairs. The driving force of the Ballarat mission was James Oddie, a prominent Wesleyan Methodist businessman and philanthropist, who was secretary and treasurer. Lo Sam-yuen formed a very close friendship with Oddie and the two men spent most Sunday mornings visiting the Chinese townships around Ballarat. Young reported:

I have frequently received most gratifying testimonials from Mr. Oddie and Mr. Booth regarding his zeal and fidelity though left entirely alone. To the gentlemen whose names I have mentioned the Mission is greatly indebted for the help and encouragement they have afforded Lo Sam-yuen by accompanying him regularly every Sabbath afternoon to the scene of his labours, and assisting to collect the Chinese to come and listen to the preaching of the Gospel. The first mentioned gentleman has often advanced the funds to pay the agent's salary when the treasury of the Mission was entirely exhausted. Had he not done so the interests of the Mission would have been materially injured.

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13 Young to Tidman, 14 April 1858, London Missionary Society, Australian Correspondence, MSS. The Argus, 23 December 1858.
14 Some of Lo Sam-yuen’s Ballarat weekly journal reports have survived. See Lo Sam-yuen, Journal (Ballarat) Mss. Photocopy held by Ian Welch.
16 Young to Tidman, March 1858 with 1857 Annual Report of the Victoria Chinese Mission, London Missionary Society, Australian Correspondence, MSS.
After their Sunday visits Lo and Oddie shared an evening meal at Oddie’s home after which they attended the evening service at Oddie’s church in Lydiard St. One evening the two men received Holy Communion side by side.\textsuperscript{17} In Perry’s judgment Lo’s participation in a Wesleyan Methodist service was a breach of the principles in his letter of 26 June 1856 to William Young (see preceding page).\textsuperscript{18} He immediately transferred Lo to establish a new Anglican mission among the large Chinese population in northeast Victoria. His action caused a major row between the Wesleyan and Anglican Church leaderships.\textsuperscript{19}

There were Chinese Christians in the Yackandandah/Beechworth district before Lo’s arrival, including Leong Pong Seen from Castlemaine who had been baptised by the Methodists in 1858 just after the VCM collapse. The Chinese Interpreter in Wodonga, and part-time evangelist, was Fan A Wye, a Christian and former student with Chu A Luk and Ho A Low at the London Missionary Society’s Anglo-Chinese College in Hong Kong.\textsuperscript{20} Lo shared a house with another Christian, Lui Fun-sing, who was baptised in the Anglican parish church in Beechworth, on 12 July 1860.\textsuperscript{21} Another man baptised at the same service was Cheong Peng-nam who shortly afterwards moved to Ballarat to join the ‘Rev’ William Young who had been appointed Superintendent of the new Presbyterian Mission (see Chapter 3).

In 1861, Lo Sam-yuen, Fan A Wye and Leong Pong Seen returned to China. Lui Fun-sing was appointed as CMSV catechist but less than a year later, citing poor results, i.e., few baptisms, the CMSV closed the mission.\textsuperscript{22} Over the next few years the CMSV opened

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Baptisms</th>
<th>Communicants</th>
<th>Adherents</th>
<th>Chinese Popln 1884</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St Arnaud</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendigo</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>1000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daylesford</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blackwood</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>130</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>202</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
<td><strong>225</strong></td>
<td><strong>2000</strong></td>
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\textsuperscript{17} The Star, Ballarat, 30 January 1860.
\textsuperscript{18} The Wesleyan Chronicle, April 1869, p 77.
\textsuperscript{19} See the Wesleyan Chronicle and also some satirical comments in Melbourne Punch in which Bishop Perry is pictured as a legalistic split personality.
\textsuperscript{20} The Wesleyan Chronicle, April 1860, p 147; February 1869, pp 45-46.
\textsuperscript{21} The relationship between the Christian colleges in China and the work of Chinese interpreters in Australia and North America is a story that is yet to be told.
\textsuperscript{22} The Church of England Gazette, 2 June 1862; 16 October 1862; 16 July 1863; 2 November 1863.
missions at St Arnaud, Percydale, and Bendigo and later at Maryborough and Blackwood. The catechists were untrained men recruited locally but despite many inadequacies the CMSV mission succeeded in making converts, as shown in Table 5.1. The importance of these statistics in terms of events in the CMSV in 1897-1898 involving Cheong’s performance as Superintending Missionary after his appointment in 1885 should be kept in mind.

The Rev. John Stair of St Arnaud, a former missionary printer with the London Missionary Society in Samoa, took up the CMSV cause with enthusiasm and St Arnaud went on to provide the majority of the men who subsequently worked as Anglican catechists. The weekly round of the Chinese catechists is shown in the surviving copies of their journals.

The CMSV was overseen by a committee that met for just one evening meeting each month. The Secretary, Rev. R B Dickinson, of South Melbourne, one of the busiest clergymen in the Diocese of Melbourne, did most of the day to day work, a pattern continued by his successor, a layman, Mr. J W Veal, who served as Secretary for the next thirty-six years. CMSV funds were distributed through the local parish clergy but often no money arrived and the men

23 See list of missions and missionaries of all denominations at Appendix 9. Extracts from missionary journals are at Appendix 11.
24 John Bettridge Stair had been an LMS printer-missionary in the Pacific. Gunson mentions him as one of the men recruited to the South Seas through a powerful missionary sermon delivered in his congregation in England. Gunson, Neil, (1976), Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797-1860, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press.
25 See extracts at Appendix 11.
had to find other work.\textsuperscript{27} Cheong referred to the work before 1885 as being essentially part-time.\textsuperscript{28} He claimed in 1897 that several catechists were alcoholics or opium-addicts.\textsuperscript{29}

The most impressive convert and evangelist to emerge from this period was Matthew Fong (Kwong) Yat-sau, who was converted at Percydale.\textsuperscript{30} He was said to have brought about a significant reduction in Chinese petty crime in the district.\textsuperscript{31} After service with the CMSV at Maryborough, Fong joined Lo Sam-yuen at St Stephen’s Church, Kowloon. Both Lo and Fong were ordained in Hong Kong and Fong succeeded Lo as priest in charge at St Stephens. The Rev. E J Barnett of the Victorian Church Missionary Association (CMAV) went to Hong Kong to study Chinese. He remained and became an Archdeacon in the Diocese of Hong Kong. Barnett said of Fong:

Our senior pastor was converted in Australia. He has preached the Gospel faithfully for more than forty years. Others who first heard the Gospel from him are now preaching it. He himself is still active in the Lord’s work, receiving no salary, though he has charge of a congregation. When the record of the life’s work of this one man comes to be known, it will be seen that he is worth all the energy which has been put into the Chinese work in Australia.\textsuperscript{32}

All the missions to the Chinese in Victoria tried for years, unsuccessfully, to recruit ordained European missionaries from China to supervise the evangelism of the Chinese in Victoria.\textsuperscript{33} The CMSV negotiated with two very experienced British missionaries in China, including the Rev. (later Bishop) A E Moule and Archdeacon J R Wolfe of Foochow. Both declined as neither spoke Cantonese.\textsuperscript{34} At the 1882 Annual Meeting of the CMSV, at which Cheong spoke, a motion put to the meeting by the Rev. S L Chase stated:

That this meeting, while recognising the large measure of success which has attended the labours of our Chinese catechists, desires to commend to the prayers of all God’s people the necessity for obtaining the services of a European agent qualified to superintend the missions.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{27} Finance was a major issue for all the missions to the Chinese as a result of inadequate income (from voluntary gifts) received by the organisations at any given time.

\textsuperscript{28} Cheok Hong Cheong to Very Rev. G O Vance, Dean of Melbourne, 8 November 1897.

\textsuperscript{29} The Church of England Record, October 1859, pp 110-111.

\textsuperscript{30} Fong is the Mandarin form of his surname, Kwong the Cantonese. The fact that his name is always given, in the archival sources, as Fong suggests that he had a good Chinese education.

\textsuperscript{31} His great-nephew, the Most Rev. Peter Kwong, is Anglican Archbishop of Hong Kong.

\textsuperscript{32} The Church of England Messenger, 29 October 1909. The Rev E ‘Joss’ Barnett became the Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Association of Victoria in 1892 and the paid Secretary after the amalgamation of the CMSV with the CMAV in 1897.

\textsuperscript{33} The Presbyterians succeeded in recruiting an experienced American Presbyterian Cantonese – speaking minister, the Rev. Daniel Vrooman. His unhappy experience is told in Chapter 3.

\textsuperscript{34} The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, January 1886.

\textsuperscript{35} The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, December 1883.
William Ching Wah was appointed acting superintendent in 1883, pending the outcome of negotiations with folk in China. Ching Wah had been a successful market gardener at Kangaroo Flat (Bendigo). After his conversion he became a part-time voluntary evangelist until appointed catechist at Daylesford.\footnote{See Appendix 9.} The CMSV Board asked a former catechist and his wife to return, at a salary of £100, to work with the mission for three years but the catechist’s wife flatly refused to leave China and the man refused to come without her.\footnote{The Daily Telegraph, 17 January 1885. A likely candidate was the Rev. Fong Yat-sau.}

In his 1884 charge to the Anglican Church Assembly, the Bishop of Melbourne had identified language and leadership as the most important challenges facing the CMSV:

> Why is it, then, that this great opportunity is being allowed to slip by unimproved, or at least, very inadequately improved? Mainly, I believe, because we cannot afford to employ a European superintendent of our Chinese missions, who can speak fluently to both Chinese and Europeans. At present no one can thoroughly understand the reports of the Chinese missionaries, and, worse still, no one can test the real character of their labours by direct communication with those who profess to be converts.\footnote{The Church of England Messenger, October 1884.}

The distrust of the Chinese that is implicit in the Board’s preference for a European superintendent was to have a lingering influence on Cheong’s relationship with the CMSV Board in the years after his appointment in 1885.

A month or so later the Rev. H B Macartney (jr.), Vicar of St Mary’s Church, Caulfield and a leading Anglican missionary enthusiast, put a series of questions before the Christian community through his journal, \textit{The Missionary, At Home and Abroad}.\footnote{Son of the first Dean of Melbourne, the Very Rev. H B Macartney.} He said that the Chinese should be accepted as part of the community and treated with proper respect:\footnote{The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, December 1884.}

> Why do we trouble ourselves about the Chinese? They are looked upon by many as a nuisance, a plague spot of which the Colony would be well rid. We will state why we do so trouble ourselves, and why we wish to interest others in our work.
> 1. We are not likely to get rid of the Chinese, but may reckon upon their continuing to form an ingredient in our population, there is the more reason for endeavouring to better their condition spiritually and morally.
> 2. The results of Missionary effort among this people, have here, as in China itself, been such as to prove that they are susceptible to Divine Truth, and can become earnest followers of Christ.
> 3. Besides the Chinese catechists now employed at Sandhurst, Maryborough, St. Arnaud, Daylesford and Blackwood, no less than six of our men have returned to
their own country, and are then engaged in Evangelising work.\textsuperscript{41} Five out of the six came to this country heathen, and then having received the Gospel, are now sowing the good seed among the millions of China.

We venture to ask why does this Mission not find more favour with the Clergy and Laity of our Church? Can any good reason be given why so little is done for it? The Mission Board now has under consideration the employment of an English Missionary from China to superintend our Catechists.

The search for a Cantonese-speaking European superintendent dominated the 1884 Annual Meeting, at which Cheong was again a guest speaker. Cheong later identified himself with the CMSV from the early 1880s. He told Isabel Willis in 1914:

Having been permitted by the grace of God to share in the work of the C.M.S. of Victoria for the last 35 years of its history, your humble servant is very thankful to join with you in erecting his Ebenezer and say - "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us," though my share in the work for the first few years was simply in being used as a medium of communication between the Society and its missionary agents, as examiner of its candidates for office, and as a speaker at its annual and other meetings, in the interests of the Mission, until early in 1885, after finding that Archdeacon Wolfe, of Foochow, whom the Board of Management had agreed to appoint as Superintendent, had not acquired, and consequently could not speak, the Cantonese dialect the dialect of the Chinese in Victoria and Australasia generally overtures were make to me through the late Dean Macartney, who did me the honour of calling upon me three successive times concerning the Society's need, and asking if I would accept appointment if offered the position of Superintendent I need scarcely say I was very much impressed by the appeals of my late venerated friend, and the generous confidence the appeal bespoke; and after giving the subject careful and prayerful consideration, accepted the responsibility of the Society's trust in June, 1885.\textsuperscript{42}

It was not surprising, after Cheong had twice spoken at CMSV Annual Meetings, that the Church of England Messenger mentioned Cheong’s name as a possible superintendent:

Mr. Cheong may be enabled in due time to be one of the evangelisers of his fellow-countrymen. Gentle, persuasive and amiable as we are sure he is, if he is equally zealous, as we believe him to be, and can finish his university course (as he would have done before this, but for straitened means and family cares), there would seem to be in this land no fitter messenger of the Gospel of truth and peace.\textsuperscript{43}

The CMSV Board appointed Cheong for twelve months from 1 July 1885 at a salary of £250 a year plus travelling expenses, i.e., a rate in the mid-range of European clerical payments. It was a salary that was unprecedented for an ethnic Chinese Christian missionary in

\textsuperscript{41} Lo Sam-yuen, Fan A Wye, Lui Fun Sing, Matthew Fong Yat-sau may be four of the six considered. Stephen Cheong may have been a fifth.

\textsuperscript{42} Cheok Hong Cheong to Miss Isabel Willis, 11 May 1912.

\textsuperscript{43} The Church of England Messenger, 9 January 1885, pp 2-3. The reference to Cheong’s university course should be noted. He was not a university student at any time.
Australia with £100 being the usual allowance and most work done on foot with no travelling expenses. Dean Macartney said that:

Mr. Cheong’s duties consist in making periodical visits to the mission districts for the purpose of examining into the work of the catechists, and encouraging them in their labours in opening up fresh fields of labour; in itinerating in Melbourne and suburbs among his fellow-countrymen, with a view of establishing a mission amongst them; in addressing meetings and Sunday Schools; and generally in aiding organisations on behalf of the mission where he can find an opportunity.  

Having made a temporary appointment, the CMSV continued to seek an ordained European missionary. Cheong later described the appointment as a ‘loan’, an exaggeration of his status in the Presbyterian Church where, although a lay or ‘ruling’ elder, he held no paid office in the Presbyterian Church of Victoria:

Before my formal appointment as Supt. took place Dean Macartney had made personal enquiries of the Rev. John Clark the then Moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly & the Rev. Andrew Hardie the then Convener of their Foreign Missions Committee as to whether they as representing the Presbyterian Church had any objection to their appointing me as Supt. of the Chinese Mission under the C.M.S. of Victoria & they had replied that they not only had no objection but were pleased with the catholicity of spirit which animated the proposed appointment which I may say was then looked upon in the light of a loan from one sister church to another.  

Despite Cheong’s description of his appointment as a ‘loan’, it is unlikely the Presbyterians took any such view. As a layman Cheong could take whatever employment he chose without the approval of the Presbyterian authorities. The Anglican request was no more than a formal courtesy.

The initial attraction of Cheong, to Chinese merchants (see Chapter 4) and European church leaders alike, was his English language aptitude. Because Cheong appeared ‘assimilated’ in language, dress, education and residence the Anglican Board believed that he was more like ‘one of us’ than ‘one of them’. What they did not appreciate was Cheong’s strong Chinese cultural identity despite two decades of integration into the Victorian Christian community. The Rev. Julius Lewis, a leading member of the CMSV Board, commented:

I am confident Mr. Cheong’s work will prove of the utmost value to the Mission, not merely in the way of organisation, for which he seems to have the faculty, but also in

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44 The Church of England Messenger, October 1885.
45 The Daily Telegraph, 22 September 1885. See also 16 December 1885.
46 Cheok Hong Cheong to Miss Isabel M Willis, 11 May 1912.
his influence on Europeans. Intercourse with a Chinese of education, such as Mr. Cheong, cannot fail to break down prejudices, and to correct false ideas in respect to the national character. This I believe has been the effect at Maryborough, for our church-people are disposed to show more interest in the evangelization of the Chinese, and I may add that our boys are inclined to treat the Chinamen with more respect since Mr. Cheong's visit to the school. 

In July 1885 Cheong travelled over 700 miles across Victoria, gave twenty-four public addresses and visited Chinese in their homes and workplaces. European churchgoers were impressed by an educated Chinese speaking perfect English and when he wore his elegant Chinese gentleman’s costume audiences were entranced. There is no record of what the Chinese thought. After paying all the costs of the tour, there was an encouraging surplus of £65. The CMSV Board had reason to believe that it had found the right man. In hindsight, the Board might have noted that Cheong undertook no evangelistic work and his report, that took up an entire meeting, made no mention of conversions.

At about the same time that he joined the Anglican Mission Cheong became the leader of the Victorian anti-opium movement, a cause to which the Board initially took no exception until some members began to think that Cheong’s Chinese community involvements were distracting him from evangelistic work The focus of the CMSV Board was always upon conversions and not the social and economic circumstances of the Chinese.

In early 1886, Cheong was instructed to spend two full afternoons a week visiting the Chinese in and around Melbourne. He accepted the direction but sent the following homily to the secretary, Mr. J Veal. It is revealing in displaying his wish to provide training for others to undertake the work of evangelism. It also contained, upon close examination and after just six months as superintending missionary, a criticism of the CMSV Board that the members would not have missed:

I am quite agreeable to the proposal to devote two afternoons a week to visitation in Melbourne and suburbs. Still I think the Board could make even a better use of my time and supply an undoubted want by forming a training class from amongst the

47 The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, November 1885, p 23.
48 See discussion in Chapter 3 about the Presbyterian requirement for Cheong to undertake English elocution lessons.
49 Cheok Hong Cheong to Archdeacon Samuel Williams, 29 January 1894.
50 The Daily Telegraph, 22 September 1885.
51 One of the most influential of the ‘independent’ Chinese leaders in China was Watchman Nee. Another influential Chinese Christian leader was the late Bishop K K Ting. Both were prolific writers. The most famous, if controversial, example of ‘Chinese’ Christianity was the ideology behind the Taiping Movement of the 19th century. Taiping theology was unorthodox, to say the least.
best of the converts. Now it seems to me that any Christian man who reflects a little will perceive that even if a Paul and an Apollos, men who were such accomplished Scholars in the O. T. Scriptures, required Christian training before being appointed to their Christian work, how much more then would a Chinese convert who had been brought up in idolatry and superstition and been accustomed to them all his lifetime, be he ever so intelligent and earnest, require to have the great fundamentals of evangelical religion instilled into his mind before he should be appointed to set forth its momentous truths. I know of course the additional expense that that would involve is a difficulty in the way of the Board but if they feel as I do the importance of such an undertaking not only for effective work here but also for the extension of that work to the millions of China the difficulty which they may now see would prove no difficulty for I know what a Board so numerously and influentially representative of the greatest section of the Christian church is able to do if they only feel called upon in duty to do it. I might say that I feel a special urgency about the matter for it will be only for a few years now at the most that I shall stay in this colony and there is no telling when you may be able to secure a qualified clergyman.\textsuperscript{52}

As instructed, he started visiting Chinese market garden areas at Little Brighton (East Brighton-Ormond), Essendon, Collingwood, Tooronga, and Richmond but without any baptisms being reported.\textsuperscript{53} Cheong claimed in 1897 that the suburban program was his idea:

In the way of organising for the Mission I began with L. [Little (East)] Brighton where I held several missionary meetings in St Mark’s & several conferences in the Parson-age with the result that the support of a Missionary student was guaranteed, but no representative of the Board was ever sent to any of its preliminary meetings . . \textsuperscript{54}

At the 1886 Annual Meeting he stated that:\textsuperscript{55}

It was a sad confession to make that after more than a quarter of a century's labour of the Church Missionary Society the Board was frequently obliged to overdraw their account, that the vacancies occurring in their staffs could not be properly filled, and that even in Melbourne no one besides himself had been appointed to do the work, and Melbourne had fully 4500 Chinese inhabitants living in widely dispersed suburbs covering more than one hundred square miles.

In July 1887 he ‘reminded’ the Board that there were four full-time catechists in the country parishes with fewer clients collectively than he was expected to care for, by himself, in Melbourne. He did not mention that they often walked twenty or more miles a day while he was able to take advantage of the excellent public transport of Melbourne at

\textsuperscript{52} Cheok Hong Cheong to J W Veal, 17 February 1886.
\textsuperscript{53} CMSV Minutes, 21 January 1886. Cheok Hong Cheong to the Very Rev. G O Vance, 8 November 1897.
\textsuperscript{54} Cheok Hong Cheong to Very Rev. G O Vance, 8 November 1897.
\textsuperscript{55} Cheok Hong Cheong to J W Veal, Hon Sec, CMSV, 17 February 1886,\textit{Church of England Messenger}, April 1888. Cheok Hong Cheong to the Very Rev. G O Vance, 8 November 1897. \textit{Church of England Messenger}, June 1887.
the time. He had briefly visited the rural missions at Blackwood, Daylesford, Maryborough and St Arnaud.

Following his visits the Board approved his recommendation that Daylesford and Blackwood should become a single district with one catechist. Cheong suggested that Paul Ah Fat of St Arnaud, ‘might be sent for to work among the market gardeners in Melbourne’. Bringing Ah Fat, the most effective of the Chinese catechists, to Melbourne was a logical step but others saw it as a gambit that would free Cheong for his Chinese community interests.\textsuperscript{56} Ah Fat’s death, attributed to exhaustion from the hundreds of miles he walked every month, ended the proposal. His public criticisms of the Board, the Ah Fat proposal, the lack of conversions and other issues discussed below gave rise a sense of unease within the CMSV Board.

After another tour in 1888 Cheong recommended changes in the staffing of the country missions. Daylesford was vacant following the death of William Ching Wah and Mark Ah Bon was moved from Blackwood to fill the vacancy. Ah Bon was still working at Daylesford in the late 1890s. Henry Ang Gook was appointed to Blackwood.\textsuperscript{57} Philip Lea Tong moved to Maryborough to replace the opium addicted Moses Ah Gon, who was dismissed.\textsuperscript{58} Another vacancy was created at Blackwood when Ang Gook decided to return to China.

1887 and 1888 were more than usually difficult years for relationships between the Chinese and Europeans in Australia. In 1887, hopes for an improvement in their acceptance in Australia were raised, and dashed, by the arrival of Chinese Imperial Commissioners charged to inspect the circumstances of Chinese life in Australia (See Chapter 7 and Appendices 2-5).

In 1887-1888 the New South Wales Government decided to further restrict Chinese immigration in the wake of the \textit{Afghan}/\textit{Burrumbeet} dispute (see Chapter 8). The populist reaction to the two ships, first in Victoria and then in New South Wales, led to an Intercolonial Conference on the Chinese Question that ended whatever small hopes the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Cheok Hong Cheong to J W Veal, 19 July 1887.
\item Extracts from catechists journals will be included in Ian Welch’s contribution to the Chinese History at Australian Federation (CHAF) site at Latrobe University, together with other journals including those of William Young, Cheong Peng-nam, Lo Sam-yuen, Leong a Toe and Leong On Tong. \textit{The Church of England Messenger}, 10 April 1888. See Cheok Hong Cheong to the Dean of Melbourne, 26 October 1897.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Chinese may have had of an easing of restrictions on immigration and free movement for businessmen between the colonies (see Chapter 10). Cheong played a leading role in all these episodes as the spokesman for the Victorian Chinese Residents Association (see Chapter 8). The extent of his public role furthered concerns within the CMSV Board that he was giving too much attention to issues outside his primary task of seeking Chinese conversions.

To add to the Mission’s problems 1887-1888 saw the beginning of another financial slump in the Victorian economy and contributions to the Mission fell dramatically. Cheong stunned the Board when he suggested that savings could be made if the St Arnaud mission was transferred to the Wesleyans. What Cheong needed to do was to provide the Board with a more productive way of evangelizing the Chinese. His only plan was to improve the training and fieldwork skills of the catechists by opening a training centre in Little Bourke Street. He had been advocating the concept since his appointment in 1885 — but the Board believed it could not be resourced from the inadequate income of the mission. In June 1889 he made a forty-three day tour of Victoria and conducted forty-six meetings. He raised more than one eyebrow when he said he visited his countrymen only ‘as time and circumstances permitted and very briefly and yet as fully as I could delivered to them the message of the Gospel.’ In the same report he chose to describe his employers as children playing at a game of missions, adding to anti-Cheong feelings in the Board. While some members now wanted to get rid of him, a report from the respected Rev. Canon Stuart Lloyd Chase of St John’s Church, Latrobe Street, praising Cheong’s evangelistic efforts averted his dismissal. Cheong outlined his proposal for a mission hall to the 1889 Annual Meeting:

A great drawback to the proper development of the Mission is the want of a central hall in which to hold our services. I have long felt that want, and I am glad to think that the board now feel as strongly as I do regarding it. I know that the Centennial Services we held in the Chinese Assembly Hall make it plain to them and to the

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59 Detailed analyses of the colonial economies of nineteenth century Australia do not appear to exist.
60 See Cheong’s comments on the attitudes of J W Veal in Cheok Hong Cheong to Very Rev. G O Vance, 8 November 1897.
61 The Daily Telegraph, 20 July 1889.
63 CMSV Minutes, 21 April 1887. The Australasian Missionary News, 3 January 1890.
64 See discussion of Chinese associations in Chapter 2. The ‘Assembly Hall’ was owned by the Kong Chew Association, the district association of men from the Xinhui District of Guangdong Province. Its use for a Christian religious purpose shows the change in attitudes on the part of the Christians but
other friends of the Mission that to secure large attendances at our services we must have a hall right in the midst of the people. I trust, therefore, that this matter will engage the earnest consideration of the Society . . .

Cheong pressed on with money-raising and in a letter to Mark Ah Bon’s European wife listed Chinese contributions for the project. No Board members were mentioned as contributors.

Table 5.2
Chinese Contributions to the Building Fund

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Amount £</th>
<th>Christians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W Shi Geen (Merchant)</td>
<td>10 -0 -0</td>
<td>James Lamsey (Doctor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toy Kei</td>
<td>5 -5 -0</td>
<td>Cheok Hong Cheong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L Tye Shing (Furn Manfr)</td>
<td>5 -5 -0</td>
<td>Mrs Cheong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chin Chack</td>
<td>5 -5 -0</td>
<td>Cornelius Poon Why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W Shi Ho</td>
<td>5 -5 -0</td>
<td>Lew Ngern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quong Kee</td>
<td>5 -5 -0</td>
<td>Daniel Wong Keat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheong Shing Chow</td>
<td>5 -5 -0</td>
<td>James Lee Wah (Catechist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoy Ling (Harry?)</td>
<td>3 -3 -0</td>
<td>Philip Lew Tong (Catechist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hang Hie</td>
<td>3 -3 -0</td>
<td>Mark Ah Bon (Catechist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quong Mow Shang</td>
<td>3 -3 -0</td>
<td>Tsam Foon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leong Lee</td>
<td>3 -3 -0</td>
<td>etc etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee New</td>
<td>3 -3 -0</td>
<td>Cheong noted: Total Chinese contributions up to the present about £240— Total contributions from European Christians in my collecting book— nearly £200.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun Wing Lee</td>
<td>3 -3 -0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leong Mow</td>
<td>3 -3 -0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwang Chong On</td>
<td>2 -2 -0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quan Hang Shing</td>
<td>2 -2 -0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choon Woh Hong</td>
<td>2 -2 -0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Chow</td>
<td>2 -2 -0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite Cheong’s enthusiasm the Board was reluctant to pursue a major new and costly initiative. In early 1890, and with considerable reservations on the part of most members, the Board finally yielded to Cheong’s repeated urging and authorised ‘a great effort’ to raise the £5000 needed:

The question of erecting a Chinese Mission Church in Little Bourke-street was again considered; and a circular drawn up by a sub-committee, and signed by the Bishop of Melbourne and the hon. Secretary; to be made use of as an appeal for funds, was submitted and adopted.

A vacant block at 110 Little Bourke Street was sold to the Mission at a price below market value by Thomas Bent, a leading Victorian politician and an extraordinarily odd mix of entrepreneur and idealist. Cheong’s persistence had won the day but it won him few friends within the Board.

more especially on the part of the district associations, now in decline.

65 The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, January 1889.
66 Cheok Hong Cheong to Mrs Bon, 13 November 1890 (From Museum of Chinese Australian History, 22 Cohen Place, Melbourne.
67 The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, January 1890.
68 The Church of England Messenger, April 1888.
69 The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, January 1890.
70 Archdeacon Samuel Williams to Cheok Hong Cheong 9 April 1891. See Glass, Margaret E, (1993), Tommy Bent: bent by name, bent by nature, Carlton, Vic, Melbourne University Press. A brief summary
A personal invitation to Cheong from the Anglican bishops of New Zealand to advise them on establishing Chinese missions boosted Cheong’s self-image but the outcomes of the visit added to the Board’s disquiet. During the visit Cheong met Archdeacon Samuel Williams, a wealthy member of a distinguished missionary family who were pillars of the Church Missionary Society’s extraordinarily successful missionary outreach to the Maori people of New Zealand. Cheong presented Williams with a grand plan for a Chinese training centre in Melbourne that could serve the entire South Pacific, a concept that the Board had never heard about. Williams offered £500 to finalise the purchase of the land and another £500 towards the cost of a mission hall and training center on condition that his offer was matched by Victorians.

In his non-mission work Cheong was meeting people of wider public influence than the members of the Board of the CMAV. He was a leader of a Victorian anti-opium alliance with prominent European supporters including William Anderson, MLA; W J S Gordon, MLA; W H Calder (later first chairman of the Victorian Country Roads Board); and Chinese leaders including William Shi Gean of the See Yup Society, and others (See Chapter 6). Chambers Weekly, a British journal widely read in Victoria, gave Cheong the same community leadership status as Lowe Kong Meng:

The cultured Chinaman is a rara avis on the great southern continent. Those of them to whom that complimentary phrase could be truthfully applied might be counted on the fingers. In the whole of Victoria there are only two Chinese residents whose figures stand out... One is Kong Meng, a wealthy Melbourne merchant, and a master of several languages, the other is Cheok Hong Cheong, the only Chinese graduate of the University of Melbourne, an excellent English speaker and a representative elder of a suburban Presbyterian Church.
Cheong’s growing prominence brought up the question of his ordination as an Anglican clergyman.76 The Rev. H B Macartney (Jr.) suggested that he should receive a full diocesan ministerial stipend to support the mission. The idea was opposed by the Very Rev. G O Vance, a leading member of the CMSV Board, who had succeeded Macartney’s father as Dean of Melbourne. Vance’s view, widely shared among evangelicals of the time, was that missionary work only flourished when it was maintained by voluntary means.77

The idea of ordaining Cheong was not new. It had been mentioned from the time of his appointment to the Mission Superintendency in 1885 but always ran into the obstacle, as it did later for James Cheong, of what to do with a Chinese clergyman in Victoria if, for any reason the Anglican Chinese Mission should fail. Cheong reviewed the issue in 1912:

As to the question of my ordination I have subsequently been informed has been a troublous one with the late Board which under the guidance of the late Canon Chase (senior examining chaplain of three successive Bishops) approached Bishop Goe upon the subject (without my knowledge) & for 3 successive times that he (Bp Goe) finally decided he would not take the responsibility of providing me with a “living” should the Chinese population so decrease by legislation or otherwise that I would have no Chinese congregation to minister to though as a matter of fact I made a pecuniary sacrifice in accepting my position under the Board.78

In a 1915 letter he linked the question of his own ordination with discussions he held with the Anglican Diocese in 1904 when his son, James (the Rev. James Cheong, MA), was returning to Melbourne from theological studies in England. James had been designated by his father and the bishop as the Missioner in the Anglican Chinese Mission, to provide clergy services under his father’s direction. James’ stipend was to be paid by the diocese in recognition of his clerical status and, it must be added, because the mission could not have employed him otherwise. If the mission were to close it might prove impossible to find a stipendiary appointment for James although his personality, of equally strong character as his father was thought, by some Chinese, to be less confrontational.79 Cheong summarized the situation in a letter to the bishop:

Your Lordship . . . desired the Representatives of the Committee to undertake James sole support as we understood you as Bishop to feel a difficulty in appointing a Chinese clergyman to an English Living should the Chinese population here be so largely reduced by legislative enactments to cause such a contingency.80
From the time of his appointment in 1885, as discussed above, Cheong had fuelled the anxieties of key members of the CMSV Board whose focus, it will be recalled, was not on the general issues affecting the Chinese but upon their conversion.\textsuperscript{81} Mention was made earlier of a pattern among 19\textsuperscript{th} century evangelicals of focusing on individual conversion and leaving the remediation of wider social injustices to ameliorative efforts by voluntary associations. Cheong had told the Board on his return from New Zealand that the mission’s lack of success came from using unskilled men, a claim that must have been a surprise to those who had been around long enough to compare his performance with untrained men such as William Ching Wah, Fong Yat-sau or Paul Ah Fat (See Table 5.1). He credited the conversion of the Maori people to a properly trained Maori ministry, pointing out there was no provision for the training of Chinese catechists in Victoria.\textsuperscript{82} He roundly condemned the Board for its neglect:

Now let us ponder the subject from another & more important viewpoint - the equipment of the men. They are drawn from the market gardens, the factory, the laundry, & the pawnshops. I mention this not to the disparagement of the men for the grace of God is not restricted by a man’s previous occupation since the first apostles were fishermen & operatives of Galilee & among them even a publican. But the question the all-important question is what has the Church or Missionary Society done for them in the way of equipment for their work? The cabinet manufacturers e.g. would not engage a hand who has not served his term of apprenticeship & so with the other industries but the Church or Missionary Society here has been notorious for its neglect in this respect.\textsuperscript{83}

During a visit to Melbourne Archdeacon Williams confirmed his offer of financial support. With his encouragement a public appeal was published in the Melbourne daily, \textit{The Argus}:

\begin{quote}
We trust that the following letter by Canon Chase, which we republish from \textit{The Argus} of the 12th ult., will elicit a liberal response from the Churchmen of Melbourne.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARGUS

SIR, — The Venerable Dean of Melbourne held a drawing room meeting at his residence on the 6th inst. for the purpose of raising funds to build a Chinese Church. The sum of £5,000 is needed for this object. The Church must be erected in the great business quarter of the Chinese, and at least £2000 will be required for the purchase of a suitable site. If the Church of England desires to carry on evangelistic work amongst the Chinese population with advantage, it must provide a building which will be easily accessible to them. The Chinese are soon discouraged by distance, and they have too much cause to fear molestation and insult when they venture forth
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{79} Cheok Hong Cheong, Address on the subject of Missions to the Chinese in Australasia. Delivered at Bishopscourt, July 21st 1896.
\textsuperscript{80} Cheong Cheok Hong, (1915), Response to a Paper submitted by Rev. A.R. Ebbs at Conference between Representatives of C.M.A. & Epiphany Mission, 24 April 1915.
from their usual haunts. A stranger was present at the meeting above referred to, the Archdeacon of Waiapu, New Zealand, and being convinced of the utility of the scheme propounded and the necessity existing for its execution, he has, since the meeting, generously offered £100 if nineteen other persons will each become subscribers of an equal amount, or the Archdeacon will contribute £50 if 39 persons will join with him making a total of £2,000. A stranger, seeing the tokens of our great wealth, may possibly be more sanguine than many a resident amongst us of a cordial response to an appeal on behalf of the Chinese. He has thought well kindly to challenge our love to our heathen neighbours, and it would be gratifying to find the love of the Christian Church warmly responsive to the call of a friendly visitor. Any kind offer to co-operate in Archdeacon Williams' generous scheme for raising funds will be gladly acknowledged.  

Despite concerns about Cheong’s performance and his pursuit of his own priorities the mission was moving, if at a snail’s pace, towards the training arrangements proposed by Cheong. A major contribution of £150 was made by Mrs. Maria Moriarty, a wealthy widow and supporter of missionary causes who lived at Inverleigh in Western Victoria with her companion, Miss Isabel Willis, and more was promised by Archdeacon Samuel Williams. 

What seemed to be a promising new wave in the progress of the Mission was about to be crossed in the form of a new awareness of foreign missions that dramatically changed the missionary attitudes of Victorian Anglicans.

The Australian Missionary Awakening of the 1890s brought about a major shift in support for overseas missions in Australia. There had always been a belief, in all the Chinese mission committees, that missions to the Chinese were part of a wider concern for the conversion of China itself. In August 1890 the Rev. Dr James Hudson Taylor, founder of the interdenominational China Inland Mission (CIM), arrived in Victoria. The CMSV Mission Board invited Hudson Taylor to be the leading speaker at the November 1890 Annual General Meeting but he was unable to accept as he intended an early return to China. During his Australian visit Hudson Taylor wrote to friends in Shanghai saying that, ‘We are having remarkable meetings here, not so specially large attendances as spiritual power and blessing and increase of missionary feeling.’ It was soon to become apparent that Taylor had introduced Victorians, and Australians, to a different approach to Chinese evangelisation. The idealism of many for the evangelisation of China was not
matched by a new enthusiasm for the conversion of the Chinese living in Australia.

Taylor’s visit resulted from a small but growing Australian interest in missionary work in China. An Australian Anglican clergyman, the Rev. C H Parsons, formerly a curate under Macartney at Caulfield, had sailed for China in March 1890 as a result of direct contact with the CIM in London. A Tasmanian woman, Mary Reed, had served with the CIM before Taylor’s Australian visit and had written an influential book. She commented on the deep anti-Chinese prejudice in Australian society that weakened interest in the evangelisation of the Chinese. She cited Cheong as a very different example of a Chinese role model:

Towards China there had been sadly little but prejudice, arising from the presence in the Colonies of so many Chinese coolies, who had introduced opium-smoking, and by their thrifty habits were competing successfully with Europeans in many lines of trade. The general impression seemed to be that the opium-smoking coolie was a fair sample of his race, while the presence of such men as Mr. Cheok Hong Cheong, Mr. Quong Tart, and other able Chinamen in our midst was quite forgotten.87

The Rev. H B Macartney (Jr.) became a member of the China Inland Mission’s Australian Council. His parish, St Mary’s, Caulfield, was closely associated with Caulfield Grammar School whose headmaster, the Rev. E J Barnett, later became first the honorary secretary and later the full-time Secretary of the CMAV and later still a CMS missionary in Hong Kong. Another member of the Australian Council of the China Inland Mission was W H Calder who was closely associated with Cheong in the Victorian anti-opium movement.

There were three factors at work that together encouraged a shift in feeling about the Anglican Chinese Mission within Anglican Church in Victoria. The first was the overall distrust of Cheong who, although theologically an evangelical, had never become identified with the evangelical movement within the diocese. The distrust reflected, in part, the lack of conversions and baptisms. The second was whether, in the growing financial difficulties of the mission at a time of severe economic recession in Victoria, the CMSV (and Cheong) were making effective use of scarce resources for missionary work.88

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87 Reed Mary, ed, (1892), Short Sketch of the China Inland Mission, Location of Australian Missionaries, The Truth About Opium, Melbourne, China Inland Mission, p 36.
88 Critics of Cheong’s work had no idea of the conversion rate in China. Their assumption seems to have been that a mission to Chinese in China would result in more conversions that were being achieved in the Anglican, (and other denominational) missions in Australia. This assumption was never tested.
The third, less clear, was the impact of the Federation Movement in Australia and with it a growing sense of national identity in which race, symbolized by the emergence of the White Australia Policy, was undoubtedly an element. A letter from the Saunders sisters of Melbourne reflected an emergent sense of a distinctive Australian outlook:

Mr. Eyton Jones, one of the Fuh Ning missionaries, told us that he got a letter . . . saying that there were two ladies coming from Australia who would not work at all unless they could do it on their own lines.89

When Taylor left for China in November 1890, eight women and four men missionary recruits went with him. Between 1890 and 1895, 58 percent of all Australasian CIM missionaries were women, the majority being Anglicans.90 70 percent of all New Zealand missionaries have been women.91

| Table 5.3 | Australian Missionaries to c 1900 |
| Society | Men | Women | Total |
| China Inland Mission | 41 | 49 | 90 |
| Church Missionary Assocn | 1 | 21 | 22 |
| London Missionary Socy | 4 | 4 | 8 |

By the end of 1891 there were thirty-five Australians working with CIM, with five more joining in 1892, three in 1893, and seven in 1894 — a total of fifty. Australia and New Zealand, after Britain and North America, became a significant major contributor to Protestant missionary work in China providing ten per cent of CIM missionaries and perhaps a similar number to Anglican and other Protestant missions.92

| Table 5.4 | China: Origins of Australian Missionaries to c 1900 |
| Victoria | 46.7% |
| New South Wales | 12.0% |
| Queensland | 7.7% |
| Tasmania | 5.1% |
| Western Australia | 2.3% |

In just four years after Taylor’s visit in 1890, the China Inland Mission in Australia received more money than all the missions to the Chinese in Australia had received in the


91 Personal communication from Hugh Morrison, New Zealand.

92 The location of late 19th century Australian CIM missionaries in China is listed in The Weekly Times, 10 August 1895.
previous forty years. Evangelical interest in the Chinese was moving away from the domestic scene towards the adventure of China itself.\textsuperscript{93}

Victoria was the heartland of the China Inland Mission in Australia (See Tables 5.4 and 5.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.5</th>
<th>China: Origins of Australian Missionaries by Societies 1890-1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China Inland Mission</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Missionary Society</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The new Australian passion for missionary outreach included the belief among 19\textsuperscript{th} century evangelicals in the imminent return of Jesus Christ to earth preceded by the ‘Rapture of the Saints’ when all Christians would be caught up to meet Christ in the sky (premillennialism) to be followed by the ‘millennium’ — a thousand year reign of Christ on earth.\textsuperscript{94} An example of this kind of thinking among Anglican evangelicals in Melbourne is found in Berry’s memoir of the Saunders Sisters. He recalled teaching them:

Christian evidences and Church history, the latter subject being treated mainly by the light of the Book of Revelation [and] the meaning of those symbolic visions . . . They had learnt to believe fervently in the near Second Coming of Christ, and that they must . . . ‘hurry up’ in order to witness . . . in the world before His Coming.\textsuperscript{95}

The next foreign missionary advocate to visit Victoria was Eugene Stock, Editorial Secretary of the Church Missionary Society of England (CMSE) and the Rev. Robert Stewart, a CMSE missionary from China. Their visit resulted in the formation of the Church Missionary Association of Victoria (CMAV) on the 9th September 1892, as the local auxiliary of the CMSE. Cheong initially hoped that there would be a boost in interest in the CMSV and domestic missions to the Chinese but later referred sadly to people

\textsuperscript{93} The Australian contribution to missionary work in China (and elsewhere) has remained outside Australian historiographical interest. It is regrettable that archival material is not readily available as it is in the UK, USA or Canada. Few archives are in public or academic ownership. No provision appears to have been made for conservation or copying. Despite the 10,000 or so Australians who served as missionaries in Australia or in many overseas places, including China, there are few collections of letters and similar records.

\textsuperscript{94} An Australian example of premillenarian thinking, issued at the time of the Australian Missionary Awakening, is Abbott, Albert J, (1892), \textit{The Return of Christ}, Melbourne, H W Miles and Co.

Premillennialism is still very influential in the United States conservative evangelical movement. Part of the belief is that God will restore Israel as a preliminary to the Coming of Christ and the Millennium, hence the support for Israel in the Palestinian issue.

\textsuperscript{95} Berry, D M (c1901), \textit{The Sister Martyrs of Kucheng, Memoirs and Letters of Eleanor and Elizabeth Saunders}, London, James Nisbet, pp 4-5.
‘responding to the: distance which lends enchantment to the view and the glamour of the . . . Regions Beyond’.

As knowledge of China grew the ‘expert’ status of ‘old’ Chinese-Australians, such as Cheok Hong Cheong, declined. Cheong had left China as a youth and only one certain visit, in 1906, is known. His knowledge came from sources available to most church members, such as the publications of missionary societies. Knowledge and authority on matters Chinese was passing into other hands.

By the turn of the twentieth century few of the more traditionally focussed Chinese were connected with the churches. In Melbourne, for example, less than one hundred Chinese remained associated with the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist Chinese Missions. While total baptisms from 1854-1900 for Victoria have not been extracted for this study, a rough calculation suggests that between 2000 and 3000 Chinese were either baptised or became associated with the Christian churches through marriage and the baptism of their children (Appendix 12).

There were also quiet but significant changes in the way Australians of Chinese ethnic descent were seeing themselves. Chinese who had married Europeans tended to link, at least nominally, with a local church and saw themselves as Australians rather than Chinese. Their children identified with the general population. No single episode reflected the changing tide of Chinese-Australian identity more than the comments of Samuel John Tong Way, son of the Chinese Presbyterian Minister at Bendigo, the Rev. John Tong Way. When Sam Tong Way enlisted in the Army in 1916, he was initially accepted and then rejected after his father asked a member of parliament to use his influence to have his enlistment cancelled. Sam explained:

My parents weren’t happy that I’d enlisted. They didn’t have my feelings for Australia. I was brought up among the young people of the time but they [his parents] didn’t think of Australia as their country. . . . Father, from the point of view of his religion, was a sort of pacifist. When Sam reenlisted, he warned his parents

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97 Loose clippings tucked into the pages of his letterbooks indicate that he received the North China Herald and The Chinese Recorder.

98 While documentation of a traditional academic kind is yet to be prepared on this trend, it is very obvious in the growing collections of images in the various State Library pictorial archives.

99 From notes prepared by Mary Boland, of Canberra, from material in the Australian War Memorial.
that he wouldn’t come home if they interfered again. Sam and his brother Hedley served in the 5th Division of the First Australian Imperial Force (1st AIF).

Well over 100 men of Chinese ethnic descent voluntarily enlisted in the First World War and some, including members of the Hoyling family, and others, served in both world wars. Private Alfred Lee, grandson of the Anglican catechist James Lee Wah, served with the 58th Battalion of the 1st AIF. All four sons of a Chinese immigrant from Port Albert, Victoria, the Langtip brothers, served with the Australian Light Horse in Palestine and took part in the capture of Damascus. Sergeant Herbert Kong Meng (son of Lowe Kong Meng), a member of the Victorian Mounted Rifles, failed in his attempt to join in the Boer War in 1900 but subsequently served with the 7th Battalion, 1st AIF, in France. These were not isolated enlistments. Even earlier William John Shying, descendant of John Pong Shying who arrived in Sydney in 1818, served with the New South Wales contingent to the Sudan War in 1885. And of course, Mei Quong Tart served in the NSW militia. While the Cheong boys were rejected for overseas service in WWI, two of the boys served in the Australian ‘home’ army, the Local Defence Volunteers, during the Second World War.101

Mention was made earlier of the predominance of women among the Australasian missionaries to China. Only a quarter of the women had any kind of higher education, and of the China Inland Mission missionaries, less than a quarter had any professional training.102 Their shortcomings would, it was believed, be made up by the Holy Spirit. Australian missionaries, including the women, tended to fall into a limited range of occupations. Men, at the time, were often ordained ministers. Women and men, in the main, were doctors, nurses, teachers and clerical workers. Some women specialized in the care of children for which no formal training was considered necessary. Nurturing children was considered to be a genetic normality for females.

The documentary and oral testimony of both suggest that a conversion experience underwrote the decision to become a missionary.104

The Saunders sisters volunteered for China after hearing the Rev. R W Stewart of the CMSE Foochow mission in Melbourne in 1892. They were accepted subject to further study that included a short period of practical nursing at Melbourne Hospital and theology lessons from the retired but evangelically energetic Canon Stuart Chase, as well as the Bible lessons with the Rev. Canon D M Berry already mentioned.

In August 1895, ‘Vegetarian’ bandits attacked Ku Cheng killing Stewart, his wife, the two Australian women and five others including another Australian, Annie Gordon, from Ipswich, Queensland. The Melbourne press reported the tragedy at length. The Weekly Times described the deaths of the two young Australian women and their colleagues in graphic language:

Miss Elizabeth (or Topsy) Saunders was stabbed through the face with a spear, her brain being penetrated. A far more dreadful death befell her sister, Miss Harriet (or Nelly) Saunders, who was tortured for some time, hacked and lacerated with knives and finally burned alive. Miss Bessie Newcombe was transfixed with spears, and her bleeding body was then thrown over a precipice. Miss Elsie Marshall was butchered with knives, her throat being cut. Mr. Herbert Stewart, son of the Rev. R W Stewart, who was burned alive, had his skull split open and his brain exposed. The children who fell victims to the ruthless cruelty of the murderers were impaled alive upon spears and borne aloft in brutal derision as a spectacle for the onlookers. Miss Gordon, an Australian lady missionary, was speared in the head.105

Mrs. Saunders never publicly showed any distress or anger about the deaths of her daughters, always stating publicly that they had been ‘privileged to die for the Lord.’ Not long afterwards she went to China, where she worked for the rest of her life. She died in Foochow and was buried in the same cemetery as her daughters.106

103 The Open Door, Melbourne, Church Missionary Society, October 1838, p 7.
105 The Weekly Times, 10 August 1895.
106 The former ‘British’ or ‘Protestant’ cemetery in Foochow has been lost. The area is now part of the Chinese Naval base. It is not known if any of the graves have been preserved.
Six of the Kucheng Martyrs

The Weekly Times  15 August 1896,
During Hudson Taylor’s 1896 visit to Melbourne, Cheong hoped for an growth in enthusiasm for China missions:

It would be a glorious day for the church if her members could be roused to such enthusiasm that she could gladly send forth a “thousand strong” to the regions beyond to battle with the forces of darkness. In such a case there would be no lack of men and means to engage the enemy at home.  

Cheong was later to express disappointment at the willingness of so many Australians to venture overseas while ignoring the Chinese at home.

The press sought his views on the deaths of the Saunders Sisters. A report of an interview with him appeared in the *Weekly Times*:

**INTERVIEW WITH THE CHINESE MISSIONARY IN MELBOURNE**

The Rev. Cheok Hong Cheong

THE SECRET SOCIETIES OF CHINA

The Rev. Cheok Hong Cheong, Chinese missionary in Melbourne, was seen on the subject of the massacres on Wednesday, with a view of ascertaining his opinion of their probable cause. He . . . has no personal knowledge of affairs in Fuh-Kien, where the outrages have taken place, but he is closely in touch with the Chinese mission work generally. Mr. Cheong is strongly of opinion that the Chinese people generally are inclined to be friendly to the missionaries, but that disturbances are caused by the acts of members of the secret societies with which China is honeycombed.  

In Brisbane fifty Chinese residents met to protest against the deaths of the missionaries and in particular, Annie Gordon, a Queenslander. Leong Sung Hing spoke about the common humanity of all people and the desire of the Chinese in Brisbane to express their sympathy for the families and friends of the martyrs. His remarks reflected the sense of embarrassment that Chinese felt about the weakness of their homeland:

I truly believe that the Government of China, if it were strong enough, would search out the defaulters . . . I cannot speak anything but in praise of the way in which we are treated in this land, and I would that the same liberty were dealt out to you Europeans when visiting our land.  

Another man, Kum Ching, said:

I have been a resident in this country for sixteen years, and though there is a special tax upon people of my race who come here, I must say that when here we have the protection of the Government and all the rights of free citizenship. . . .

107 *The Australasian Missionary News*, 3 January 1890

108 *The Weekly Times*, 10 August 1897.

109 *The Church Chronicle*, (Brisbane), 1 October 1895, p 14.

110 Ibid
The two comments provide an additional insight into the range of opinions within the Chinese community on their situation in Australia. Their similarities to the views of Cheong and others mentioned in Chapter 4 and also in Chapters 8-10 suggest that great care is needed before making assumptions about the treatment of the Chinese in 19th century Australia.

The story of the Saunders Sisters (and other Australian, European and Chinese Christian martyrs) is part of a neglected aspect of European-Chinese relationships in 19th century Australia. It is relevant in the context of Cheong’s references to discrimination and injustice and his claims that China observed its obligations (see Chapter 4 and Appendices). Cheong argued a one-sided case, stressing the rights China had acquired or as mentioned in Chapter 4 assumed, under the provisions of the treaties but ignoring the responsibilities China accepted.

There has been even less attention to the impact of events such as the Kucheng massacre, the Tientsin massacre of Catholics a decade earlier, the Boxer Rebellion at the turn of the century and many other attacks on European missionaries because of the focus on the wrongs done to China. Anti-Christian attacks were reported in the Australian press and they influenced colonial opinion especially in the lead-up to Federation. In the case of the Kucheng episode, some remarks attributed to Cheong should not be overlooked. When he mentioned the influence of secret societies, such as the ‘Vegetarians’, he acknowledged that secret societies were often involved in anti-Christian activities in defiance of treaty obligations and were often aided by Chinese officials.

These societies, he says, are semi-political, semi-freebooting, and are a frequent source of trouble... Rioting, stimulated by these people, is frequent, and is often directed against the houses and churches of the missionaries. But why should they be angry against the missionaries, who are a peaceful people, one would think, is a natural question. Because they are foreigners, is the best explanation Mr. Cheong can give. It is race hatred that is at the bottom of it, perhaps.

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112 *The Weekly Times*, 10 August 1897.
The Bulletin, republican, radical, racist and anti-religious, commented on the ‘religious hysteria’ sweeping the churches. The cartoon shows a young Christian woman walking into the mouth of a sharp-toothed Chinese whose mouth is full of symbols of death.

The terrible events at Ku Cheng occurred while a sub-committee of the CMSV Board was undertaking a review initiated in late 1894. The sub-committee’s report was issued at the 1896 Annual Meeting and stated that that only slightly more than half of the fifty-nine baptised men claimed on Cheong’s membership list could be located.\(^{113}\) No doubt members of the Board connected the sacrifices of missionaries in China and contrasted the outcomes of Cheong’s work among the Chinese in Victoria. Cheong was aware of the concerns over conversions and in an attempt to outflank his critics he wrote to Bishop Goe:

My Lord Bishop — Another of the catechumens Lew On whom I have been preparing for the Sacrament of Baptism for the past eighteen months came to me on Saturday and asked that he also might receive it on Friday next — making a total of four applications. There are six others whom I have also reported to the Board from time to time as having practically cast in their lot with us & been so regarded for a long while by their Heathen brethren but who have not yet come to talk over matters with me privately as the others have done. They are likely however to come forward ere long. They have each of them a clear knowledge of the great verities of the faith & are walking in conformity therewith. Beside these I am thankful that there are nine who might be designated enquirers. The fourth applicant is a well-known & highly respected member of the Chinese community — having occupied the Presidential chair of the See-Yup people.\(^{114}\)

It was an example of too little, too late. The sub-committee’s report was critical of Cheong’s management. Firstly, there were very few baptisms, reflecting the low rate of conversions. Secondly, Cheong seemed to spend more time on his Chinese community activities than in gaining

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\(^{113}\) The Victorian Church Missionary Gleaner, March-April 1896, p 106.

\(^{114}\) Cheok Hong Cheong to the Rt. Rev. Field Flowers Goe, 2 November 1897. The former See Yup President was almost certainly William Shi Gean, who worked closely with Cheong on the Anti-Opium Committee. Shi Gean was an immigration entrepreneur and was probably Cheong’s chief source of information on the various immigration scams within the Chinese community.
conversions. Thirdly, he displayed an inappropriate sense of self-importance. Fourthly, Cheong did not visit or encourage the catechists in rural areas. Fifthly, his financial management was unsatisfactory with not all income being reported to the Board as it was received. Sixthly, Cheong did not seem very interested in projecting an ‘Anglican’ style in mission work. The latter was not so much about looking back to his Presbyterian years but referred to the use of Confucian literature within the mission.

Cheong’s leading critics within the sub-committee were the Rev. Julius Lewis, and the Rev. G O Vance, Dean of Melbourne. Lewis had been Organiser of the Mission until 1885 and had been a supporter of Cheong. The immediate point of issue was the proposed appointment of a man named Lau, a Chinese literary graduate with experience as language advisor to the CMS in Hong Kong. Although he denied it Cheong appears to have unilaterally appointed Lau to the position of Chinese language tutor in the Mission’s catechist training centre without the Board’s approval.

The CMSV sub-committee’s report coincided with a review, by the Australian bishops, of Australian Anglican missionary activity. The agencies directly concerned were the Australian Board of Missions (ABM), established in 1850, a body under the bishop’s oversight; the Australian voluntary auxiliaries (CMAV, CMANSW) of the English Church Missionary Society (CMSE) formed 1892; and the Church Missionary Society of Victoria Chinese Mission (CMSV) formed 1859, and the Sydney missions to the Chinese and Aborigines. The bishops decided to place Chinese and Aboriginal missions under the (CMANSW and CMAV) with the ABM focusing on the Melanesian Mission in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. The bishops recommended a merger of the CMSV and CMAV.

The CMSV sub-committee’s report, and the recommendations of episcopal conference, contributed to a third and critical step in relation to the Chinese Mission and Cheong’s role as Superintendent Missionary. The Bishop of Melbourne, the Rt. Rev. Field Flowers Goe, under strong influence from the Church Missionary Association of Victoria (CMAV), appointed a Diocesan Commission of Enquiry into the CMSV. Goe wrote to the Board of the CMSV reflecting the widespread anxiety about Cheong’s expansionary views and the

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116 Rev. E J Barnett to General Secretary of CMS, London, 19 October 1898, Church Missionary Society, London, Correspondence, Folder C/Y8, Doc 111.
resources available to the diocese for all its missionary commitments:

Dear Canon Carlisle — I have given much consideration to the two questions which were discussed at the last meeting of the Council of the Mission to the Chinese in Victoria.

(1) The purchase of the land and tenement adjoining the present Mission Hall for the purpose of erecting a training college for the Colonies, and

(2) The appointment of the Chinese Christian from outside the Colony to take charge of the Mission under Mr. Cheong, and have come to the decision that these proposals are too large and important affecting as they do the whole scope and character of our diocesan mission and greatly (and it seems to me having reference to the monetary resources of the Mission dangerously) extending its objects and field, for me as Bishop and president of the Mission to sanction or allow them, until I have first fully satisfied myself as to their prudence and desirableness. It is my intention therefore to appoint a Commission into the financial position and general working of the Mission and to report to me as to the nature and cost of the steps proposed, the liability pecuniary or moral which the diocese will incur through them, the arrangements for defraying the cost, and generally as to the soundness of the reason for making a change. I request therefore that you will notify the Council that no action must be taken as to either of the above proposals until I have received and weighed the report of such Commission and have signified to you in writing my sanction to such proposals.

I am Yours Sincerely, F.F. Melbourne [Bishop Field Flowers Goe].

Dean Vance was appointed Chairman of the Bishop’s Commission. In retrospect it was an inappropriate appointment as Vance was already a critic of Cheong. The church paper later acknowledged that the Commission had attacked Cheong while ignoring the role of the Board, of which Vance had been a member, in the leadership of the mission.

On 23 November 1897 a special meeting of subscribers of the CMSV voted without dissent to merge the CMSV with the CMAV. The Secretary of the CMAV issued a statement that was published in the church paper on New Year’s Day 1898:

(To the Editor of the Church of England Messenger.)
SIR — Will you kindly allow me to bring before the notice of Churchmen through your valuable paper the following resolution, passed at a special general meeting of subscribers to the funds of the Mission to the Chinese in Victoria, held in the Chinese Mission Hall, Little Bourke-street, on November 23rd, at eight p.m., the Bishop of Melbourne presiding: —

“Since it is the mind of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese of Melbourne and the Lord Bishop-Coadjutor of Ballarat, acting as Ordinary, to place the management and control of the Mission to the Chinese of the Church Missionary Society of Victoria in the hands of the Church Missionary Association of Victoria, and the said Church Missionary Association of Victoria has expressed in writing its willingness to take
over the Mission with all its properties and responsibilities, this special meeting of
the Church Missionary Society of Victoria, regularly convened, gives its consent to
the transfer, and requests its trustees and board of management to put the aforesaid
Church Missionary Association of Victoria in possession of its properties of all kinds,
to be held and used under the same trusts and conditions as the board now holds
and uses them, and assigns to the aforesaid Church Missionary Association of
Victoria all its liabilities and responsibilities of every kind on the 1st day of
December, 1897, or as near thereto as practicable, so that when the transfer is
complete no pecuniary liability shall be against any member of the Church
Missionary Society of Victoria or its trustees or members of its board of management
in respect of any matter whatsoever.”

Among the liabilities which are being bequeathed to the Church Missionary
Association by the Chinese Mission . . . is a debit balance of £450 to date. The C.M.A.
hopes nearly next year to extend this work among the heathen at home, for which
there is great need. But before any advance is made this debt must be liquidated,
and to that end Christmas gifts will be thankfully received from those who desire to
fulfil their obligations to evangelise the heathen who have been brought to our
shores. It may be well to state that this union has been effected at the instance of the
Chinese Mission Board. — I am etc.

Cheong was originally in favour of the amalgamation that took effect on 1 December 1897
but did not appear to grasp the personal damage to his leadership and reputation implicit
in the Commission’s finding that the Mission was inefficient and ineffective.120 The *Church
of England Messenger* stated that the report made, ‘painful reading — gloom unrelieved’.
The *Messenger* concluded that:

> The position is very simple. The whole work was in a confessedly deplorable
condition . . . income fell hopelessly short of liabilities; the stipends of the catechists
were often in arrears; the work was stagnating.121

The Honorary Secretary of the CMAV, the Rev. E J Barnett, summarised the Commission’s
findings in a letter to the CMSE in London:

- The site [Little Bourke Street] then proposed for a Training House was unsuitable.
- The offers of assistance by Archdeacon Williams were not fairly conveyed by
Cheong.
- The methods adopted in connection with the work of the Mission were
disapproved.
- The results of both town and country missions were deemed unsatisfactory.
- The training given to catechists was insufficient.122

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120 Rev. E J Barnett to Teachers of the Church Missionary Society of Victoria, 2 December 1897 (with
Chinese translation by Cheong). *The Church of England Messenger*, 1 December 1897. Johnstone,
Hong Cheong to Archdeacon Samuel Williams, 26 January 1898. See also *The Church of England
Messenger*, 1 December 1898.
121 *The Church of England Messenger*, 1 December 1898.
122 Rev. E J Barnett to General Secretary of CMS 19 October 1898, Church Missionary Society, London,
Correspondence, Folder C/Y8, Doc 111.
Cheong’s reaction to the Commission’s findings was set out in a long letter to Archdeacon Williams that focussed on personalities rather than on the specific criticisms of his performance:

My dear Archdeacon, Your favours of the 19th and 26th ult are duly to hand. It is true the recommendations of the Commission is open to the CMA to follow or not but I fear it was a foregone conclusion. For I find that the sympathy and cordiality Mr. Barnett showed for my plans before the appointment of the Commission have now taken to themselves wings and closed conferences have been held between him and the Dignitaries with the result that the project which you hailed with so much gladness of heart and for which you so nobly entered into guarantees, viz. the appointment of a Christian Literary Graduate to assist me in Training and Missionary work is now practically abandoned. At least as far as I am informed nothing has been done to remove the cable to Hong Kong two months ago. And Mr. Barnett is coming to interview you. With what object he has not condescended to reveal either to Mr. Davies or myself though we are the only members of the old Board who are familiar with all the places and workings of the Chinese Mission nor have we been favoured with any invitation to join the CMA Committee. The plans of the latter therefore if they have any cannot possibly be based upon personal knowledge. Should they however be guided by the Commission then I think you know their personnel.

1st Dean Vance was chairman concerning whom I need say nothing, as you already know him.

2nd Archdn Henry A. Langley a very different man to his brother of Sydney. The amount of interest he has shown in our Mission is represented by not a single subscription known to Mr. Davies the Hon. Treasurer or myself except what the Ladies Committee got from him on one occasion, although his salary is still £575 per annum besides £100 per annum for travelling expenses. And his missionary interest generally is represented by the Collect, Prevent us etc . . . he is President of the Evangelical Association.

3rd Rev. W.G. Hindley successor to Dean Vance’s parish at Kew. He is described by Canon Carlisle as the most dangerous man in the Diocese. His one object is his own interest and he is a most accomplished Courtier.

4th Mr. W.E. Morris, the Diocesan Registrar, is a regular subscriber to the Mission. One of his daughters is a teacher in the Central Mission School.

5th Mr. R.R Godfrey is a lay Canon and Chairman of Committees of the Church Assembly. He is not a subscriber and has never shown an interest in the Mission in any shape or form. And yet Mr. Davies after his examination made this remark to Canon Carlisle in my presence, I am ashamed of the cloth the only decent men upon the Commission are the two laymen! To which the Canon replied, it is not a Commission of investigation but of accusation.

The Rev. Julius Lewis and Mr. J W Veal were very busy with it and they knew the composition long before it was announced . . . And they were moreover members of the sub-committee of investigation appointed nearly two years ago although they were responsible for the mistakes and blunders into which the Board had previously been led. Should the object of Mr. Barnett’s visit be to secure your consent to the appointment of a European Missionary instead of the Chinese assistant I shall be

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123 Langley’s brother was a clergyman in the Diocese of Sydney.
124 St Hilary’s Church, Kew, was the home parish of the Saunders Sisters, the Martyrs of Kucheng.
thankful if you could effect a compromise . . . so that they might have their European Missionary without disturbing our previous arrangement for a Christian Literary Graduate.\textsuperscript{125}

In a follow-up letter to Williams less than a week later Cheong still seems to have had no appreciation of the misgivings about him within the Diocese of Melbourne. His comments about Barnett show his inability to grasp his lack of credibility:

\begin{quote}
My Dear Archdeacon I must confess that the position taken up by the CMA Committee at present in regard to the Chinese Mission is quite a mystery to me and does not seem to indicate any independence of view & judgement. I have said in my postscript of the 7th that Mr. Barnett in his conference with me before the appointment of the Commission always spoke of an amalgamation between us with the greatest pleasure. After the Commission was appointed however the word was never once used but the words handing over of the Chinese Mission to the CMA were substituted. I then made enquiry about his promise to move for the inclusion of the lay members of our Board in the CMA Committee and his reply was a change of tone altogether. He said that they would not touch it if amalgamation were insisted on. . . . The influence of the Dignitaries, I have now found to my sorrow is greater over the CMA Committee than over the Board, and I am to learn what is the nature of the offence I have committed which has stirred up so much opposition to me & to my devisings in the interests of the Mission beyond an occasional unguarded admission of regret at the appointment of the Dignitaries. This opposition was first manifested by the Bishop which my letter to him of 16/6/98 will to some extent show.\textsuperscript{126} Also my letter to Archdn Langley to which he never condescended a reply and my reports which the Archdn disapproved of copies of which I send under separate cover.\textsuperscript{127}
\end{quote}

By November 1897, while the amalgamation was proceeding, Cheong wrote to the bishop in response to the accusation that he had ‘packed’ functions attended by the Commissioners to make it appear that the mission was more successful than it actually was:

\begin{enumerate}
\item That the children belonging to the Mission School of the Presbyterian Women’s Missionary Union have been exhibited as the fruits of our Mission. The fact is these children have been frequently accompanying the parents to our Services & Missionary & School Meetings long before their own school was established, as well as since, and as many & perhaps the majority of its Honorary Teachers are of the Church of England, I could not say nay to members of our Ladies Council who wish them present at their functions.
\item That Christian hymns and addresses are put into the mouths of Heathens which are neither understood by them nor expression of their views & feelings. So far as I know all the addresses are in the first instance written by the scholars themselves and brought to me or to one or other of the teachers to be put into correct English. If they express sentiments which are distinctly Christian who will assume
\end{enumerate}

\textsuperscript{125} Cheok Hong Cheong to Archdeacon Samuel Williams, 13 December 1897.
\textsuperscript{126} This letter has not been located.
\textsuperscript{127} Cheok Hong Cheong to Archdeacon Samuel Williams, 18 December 1897.
the functions of a judge that these sentiments are not felt. The Commissioners unhappily have no personal knowledge of the fact that nearly all of the Senior Scholars of our Mission School are either baptized converts and catechumens or inquirers & those who are more or less favourably impressed with the truth.

As to the statement that they do not understand what they sing, I have to say that one Hymn is translated to them every school night by myself word for word, sentence for sentence with the lesson it teaches emphasized & in the concluding prayer in Chinese it forms one of the petitions at the Throne of Grace.¹²⁸

In a letter written to Dean Vance Cheong did not accept responsibility for any of the shortcomings of the mission.¹²⁹ He told Vance that ‘my duty was done when I pointed out where the responsibility lay for the condition of things I had revealed to members of the Board who recently joined it.’ He went on to criticise the Rev. Julius Lewis, the Secretary, Mr J W Veal, and the Rev. J B Stair of St Arnaud.¹³⁰ As far as Lewis was concerned, Cheong asserted that Lewis had baptised four Chinese without reference to Cheong and that all four were ‘opium debauchees’. He told Vance that Veal had appointed Lew Tong as catechist at Maryborough without reference to Cheong.¹³¹ Cheong claimed that he had been overruled when he disapproved of three nominations to vacant catechetical positions: those of Tim Foon, a ‘known opium smoker’; James Ah Ha, ‘a man who had been notorious for all the vices of the Camp including drunkenness’; and Kwok Wai Thong whom Cheong claimed was a thief.¹³² It is apparent from this and later citations involving relationships between the two men that Veal had chosen to take Stair’s advice.

Cheong’s implied suggestion that Veal, Lewis and Stair, three highly respected men, were wrong and only he was right did not help his case. Stair had been responsible for the conversion and selection of the majority of men who worked as catechists with the CMAV yet, despite this, Cheong had earlier recommended handing over St Arnaud, the most successful of all the Anglican country missions, to the Wesleyans. Nothing sums up Cheong’s negative attitudes towards J W Veal more than the following comments:

When I found upon my return from England that nothing was done to awaken interest in the Building Fund of the Mission Church and Training Home I set myself to the task, got Canon Chase to go with me to solicit Mrs. Goe’s powerful assistance which was very kindly given; a Ladies Committee was organised & the members

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¹²⁸ Cheok Hong Cheong to Rt. Rev. Field Flowers Goe, Bishop of Melbourne, 12 November 1897.
¹²⁹ Cheok Hong Cheong to the Very Rev. G O Vance, 8 November 1897.
¹³⁰ Cheok Hong Cheong to Archdeacon Samuel Williams, 13 December 1897. It is clear whom Cheong blamed for the negative appraisal of his work. He singled out Vance, Veal and Lewis: ‘they had been members of the CMSV sub-committee of investigation appointed nearly two years ago although they shared responsible for the mistakes and blunders of the CMSV Board.
¹³¹ Cheok Hong Cheong to the Very Rev. G O Vance, 8 November 1897.
¹³² Ibid.
thereof worked zealously under her direction; but somehow or another there was a feeling that the dislike for the Chinese in certain quarters might militate against the Sale of Gifts the Ladies were getting up; so in order to assure our friends that the Chinese were not so unpopular as some supposed I took the Town Hall for a lecture on ‘China’s Early Ages’ the proceeds of which I announced would be devoted to the Building Fund. The Hon. Secy Mr. Veal thought that I was off my head. He ran thither and hither to tell members of the Board how absurd it was for me to think that people nowadays would attend a lecture on "Ancient China". ‘He might have some 300 people’, he said to Canon Chase on the morning of the lecture, ‘who would be lost in that big Hall’. The result more than justified my expectations for the Hall was densely packed with 4000 inside while some 2000 outside could find no entrance.

The stimulating influence of such a sight induced Mrs. Goe to forego the £5 deposit on the Athenaeum & take the Town Hall instead for her ‘Sale’ or Bazaar with proceeds of which we were able to claim Archdeacon Williams further offer of £400.

When plans were being prepared for the building as originally intended, viz. a Mission Church and Training Home combined, the Hon. Sec Mr. Veal objected to the second and got it altered to a Mission Church alone. Canon Chase & I felt it was breaking faith . . . as the action involved the doing away with an essential part of the Mission — a part without which no Mission could be properly conducted.

Archdn Williams also wrote most strongly upon the subject urging that without the provision for the raising up of a native ministry the Mission could not be efficiently carried on. Mr. Veal however did not see the necessity and would not have it; and though prostrated by sickness, as soon as he heard of Archdeacon Williams letter he said to a member of the Board in a strong voice, ‘it will never be’, which was repeated but in more courteous tones when Canon Chase & I called to see how he was. The Canon however was equal to the occasion & very promptly said, "We did not call to discuss any business with you but simply to see how you are getting on".133

As far as the Board of the CMSV was concerned, Cheong’s protestations came too late and showed too little understanding of the situation in which he now found himself. Although the processes by which Cheong had been judged were far from fair and open, it must be added in passing that Veal and the CMSV Board were not the only people with whom Cheong collided during his missionary career.

He had, as discussed in Chapter 3, had a falling out with the Board of the Presbyterian Mission Board. Later in this chapter it will be seen that he fell out with the Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society of Victoria, Re-formed, Marston Bridger and the Treasurer of the Board, the Rev. Ernest Hughes, the parish priest of St Peter’s Church Eastern Hill. Mention will also be made of the strong words between Cheong and his close friend and associate in the Victorian Anti-Opium Movement, William Howat (see Chapter 7). As will also be shown later, businessmen and tradesmen alike experienced the

133 Cheok Hong Cheong to Very Rev. G O Vance, 8 November 1897
downside of Cheong’s strong character (Chapter 6).

Behind a long history of personal conflicts was, as has been shown already, a complex identity. Cheong was well aware that attitudes to him as an individual were caught up with and inseparable from a wider negativity towards the Chinese and their homeland. It was difficult for him, as indeed for anyone, to separate criticism of his behaviour from his broader emotional feeling that he, and his countrymen, did not enjoy full equality and acceptance.

Unfortunately for Cheong some of the most damaging criticisms of his leadership of the Anglican mission were made by a man whom Cheong himself recommended as an expert on matters Chinese; the Rev. Dr. Ernest Eitel of Adelaide.\textsuperscript{134} When Cheong heard of a forthcoming CMAV invitation to Eitel to review the work of the Mission, he moved promptly to ask him to visit the Mission at his, Cheong’s, expense. His letter of invitation mentioned his family’s connection with some of the most famous names in British missionary involvement in China, exemplified by his reference to James Legge as an ‘old friend of his family’:

Dear Dr Eitel — Although we have never yet met your name has been a familiar one to me ever since you succeeded the old friend of our family — Dr Legge [Dr James Legge - LMS Missionary to S China] at the London Mission Compound in Hong Kong.

I have recently heard from my son James [Rev. James Cheong MA] that you are now in Adelaide settled over a German congregation and it has occurred to me in view of our approaching Missionary Conference on New Year’s Day whether we could induce you to spend a little holiday here & at the same time give our Mission workers the benefit of your long wide and varied experience in Chinese work.

I need not say how delighted Mrs Cheong and I will be to have the honour of entertaining a veteran missionary from our Native Province should you find it possible to favour us with a visit.

I enclose a brief statement about our Mission written more than two years ago together with a view of the Buildings in which the Conference will be held. Of course we will gladly pay your travelling expenses if you can so favour us.\textsuperscript{135}

\textsuperscript{134} Ernest J Eitel. Born January 1837, Esslingen, Germany. Attended Pedgogium Esslingen for 6 years. Theological Seminary, Schoenthal, for 4 years Tubingen University, Phil D 1860, (aged 22). Assistant Pastor, Wurtemburg Lutheran Church, 1861. Missionary in China with Basel Mission. Superintendent of Mission Schools for 16 years. Published Chinese-Sanskrit book on Buddhism, 1870. Head of Hong Kong Education Department 1878 and introduced program of religious education. Private Secretary to Governor of Hong Kong (Sir John Pope Hennessy) 1895-7. Editor of the “China Review” for 18 years. Pastor of St Stephen’s Lutheran Church, Wakefield Street, Adelaide 1897-1906. Lecturer in German Language and Literature, University of Adelaide. Died 1908. Information provided by: Rev. J Stolz, Archivist, Board of Archives and Research, Lutheran Church of Australia, 17 Wellington St, N Adelaide.

\textsuperscript{135} Cheok Hong Cheong to Rev. Dr. Ernst Eitel, 20 December 1897.
It appears an innocuous letter but not against his knowledge of an impending CMAV invitation to Eitel. Eitel did not accept Cheong’s invitation and in March or April 1898 he carried out the formal investigation requested by the CMAV Board. Barnett described Eitel’s observations in an article published after Cheong’s dismissal in late 1898:

The C.M.A. committee asked for advice as to certain of their future plans from Dr. Eitel, who was the best expert in the Chinese available. As a Lutheran himself, the criticisms he passes are the more remarkable. He comments strongly on the need of more definite organisation of the Mission on our Church's own lines, calling to the fact that no good work can be done on a vague ‘interdenominational’ system. He is amazed that the books provided in our Melbourne Church of England Mission seemed to be ‘a heterogeneous growth of Presbyterian, Methodist, Lutheran and especially Confucian literature.’ None of the converts he met ‘appeared to possess any of the several existing Chinese versions of the Book of Common Prayer.’ He came across no Cantonese colloquial version of the N.T., but only an ‘elegant classical version quite above the understanding of the ordinary Chinese here.’ The only student he found in the Training Home, ‘though under training as a Churchman, spoke as a Dissenter,’ and his favourite text-book of theology was a Lutheran Catechism! ‘Broadly undenominational’ was the impression Dr. Eitel received from all he could see in converts, books, or institutions.  

Rather than interpreting Eitel’s comments as reflecting an evangelical flexibility on Cheong’s part, the CMAV saw his leadership as thoroughly un-Anglican.

Cheong continued to ignore the CMSV sub-committee’s report, the Diocesan Commission’s findings and the post-amalgamation experience of the CMAV in dealing with him. Instead he claimed to be the equal of the some of the greatest names in 19th century Chinese evangelisation. He declared that the language skills of missionaries never equalled those of a learned Chinese — a view also expressed in private letter from Ernst Eitel to James Cheong. He neglected to add that his own Chinese literary skills were far behind those of the men he mentions.

One point where Cheong showed greater vision than his critics was his belief that the

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136 The Church of England Messenger, 1 December 1898.
137 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Very Rev. G O Vance, 25 November 1897.
138 Allowing for the quite different circumstances it is still worth noting that the Missions to the Chinese in Australia, for all their conspicuous problems, achieved a Chinese conversion rate of perhaps 10 percent overall. The Protestant conversion rate in China of less than 70,000 converts in an overall population of some 400 million does not stand comparison.
139 Rev. Dr Ernst Eitel to James Cheong, 1 March 1898. Eitel, widely regarded as a Chinese language expert, told James: ‘As to selecting typical Chinese passages for your classical studies I cannot help you. I never had more than a smattering knowledge of Chinese and I gave away all my Chinese books before leaving Hong Kong. European Sinologues are all quacks with the exception perhaps of Dr Chalmers; I would not even except Dr Legge — blessed be his memory — from the above category. What is a European Sinologue without his teacher? What is Dr Legge in the way of Sinology after parting with his old teachers, wretch as he was in everything outside Chinese classical lore.’
successful evangelisation of the Chinese, in Australia and China, would only succeed when Chinese, not Europeans, became the missionaries — although it is not clear where that placed him. In the context of late 19th century Victoria it seemed that he was putting a self-serving argument that had no chance of acceptance.

Dear Mr. Dean—I append herewith a few extracts from the Reports of the Chinese Mission showing the efforts that have been made for the last quarter of a century to secure that which your last letter so much desiderates.

From the Reports of the CMS first issued the present total of European clergy belonging to Kwan—Tung Province are: ‘Rev. Charles Bennetts MA Dur 1891, Rev. E.B. Beauchamp Lond Coll Div 1889.’ The former stationed at Hong Kong & acts as Secretary — Treasurer for the CMS in South China, is stated to be at home in England to consult on the successor to the Bishopric of Hong Kong & the latter is at Pakhoi some hundreds of miles to the extreme South West of the province where the dialect is materially different to that spoken by the Chinese in Australasia. ‘The Rev. John Grundy,’ the same reports say, ‘has retired from the Mission.’

The only other clergyman — Rev. Fong Yat Sau — was formerly our own Catechist at Maryborough and he succeeded the Rev. Lo Sam Yuen the first catechist that was employed by the CMS of Victoria in 1859, so that we are about as near the consummation of our desires as we have been for the last twenty-five years.

My only fear is that in returning to the pursuit of the shadow we are losing the very substantial progress that has been made in the raising up of a trained native ministry from the point where the most earnest efforts of the Board only realised £13 for that purpose (vide extract of Report for 1875). No other sum having ever been received until the felt need was pressed home upon the Superintending Missionary & his consequent appeals met with a ready & liberal response from seven different sources together with liberal promises of support from five different Dioceses in N.Z, & N.S.W, but which following long hesitation & delay has not reached fulfillment.

Besides valuable and desirable as they undoubtedly are in other respects no European missionary can perform the duties which we proposed should fall to the share of the Assistant or Colleague. Not even in the days of the Jesuit Missions when some of the most distinguished young Professors of the Universities were enlisted in the Chinese work, was there any literary, scientific or theological product of the missionaries which had not to be submitted to the native scholars to be thoroughly overhauled & done into Chinese. Certainly nothing has appeared from the pens of the present staff of Protestant missions which has not been similarly treated.

Such also is the oft-repeated confession of leading missionaries. The Rev. E.T. Williams MA in a paper read before the Nanking Missionary Association and published in the ‘Chinese Recorder’ of Sept. 1895 says: ‘We labour at best under a serious disadvantage in preaching in the Chinese tongue. Even the most ready speakers have a foreign accent. All are more or less limited in their vocabulary. Many employ foreign idioms.’ The Rev. Wm H. Lacy MA BD Principal of the Methodist Episcopal Training College Foochow in a paper before a similar conference & published by request in the ‘Chinese Recorder’ of Nov. 1895 says: ‘Successful preachers to heathen audiences are very rare in the ranks of missionaries.

140 Cheong was apparently unaware that Lo Sam-yuen had been an Anglican convert in China and a catechist from the time of his arrival in Victoria in 1856.
This not due to any neglect or fault on their part but to the insurmountable difficulties of the language & the very contrarieties of human nature as we find them in the Chinese and foreigners. Few, very few foreigners understanding the Chinese nature & and in an average crowd of heathen listeners very few understand much of what the foreigner says to them. Did I speak from my own experience you would not doubt my words, but this is the testimony of men who give years to this kind of work. The late Dr Nevins after over thirty years of labor said: ‘We soon find that the natives throng around us not so much to hear as to stare at us. We soon learn that the crowd we have been addressing have in reality understood but a small part of what we have said.’ The Rev. Arthur Smith out of a varied and extensive experience gives his testimony to the same fact. Both of these workers also bear testimony to the disadvantage the foreigner meets with because of the language. The former says, ‘The difficulty which the Chinese have in understanding our preaching is further increased by their entire ignorance of Christian ideas and terminology.’ The latter says he finds in the language a ‘lack of capacity for conveying Christian truth owing to it being full to the saturation point of heathen associations’.

I myself have had the pleasure of being associated with men who have laboured long & devotedly in Canton Province, such as the Rev. Dr Legge DD LLD, G Piercy, F Storrs Turner BA, Silvester Whitehead, T G Selby, Wm Young and Daniel Vrooman MA and I can corroborate the testimony of the authorities above quoted. I have had occasion moreover to act the part of an Interpreter to the Rev. Wm Young and Daniel Vrooman MA while they respectively attempting to impart instruction to my Father’s and my own Bible Class although they have an average of over twenty years China experience. Need I add in conclusion that my only wish in writing thus long and fully is that the progress of the training work might not be thrown back any further by any change or delay in carrying out the resolution regarding the Assistant. As the work develops and a suitable European Missionary is available I can assure you no one will give him a heartier welcome than myself.

Apart from a possible passing encounter with Legge in Hong Kong when Cheong was sixteen years old, he could only have met the others briefly during his visit to Britain and Ireland in 1891-2 as a visiting deputationist for the Anti-Opium Society. He knew William Young well as a child and young adult but Young was never regarded as a successful missionary in Victoria.141 His only meaningful contact with Vrooman was to assist an anti-Vrooman thrust by the Presbyterian catechists that resulted in Vrooman’s abrupt resignation and return to the United States (Chapter Three). The training Cheong provided for the catechists was almost identical to the Presbyterian course he had criticized two decades earlier, (Chapter 3) and was a long way from ‘the raising up of a trained native ministry’.

In a conciliatory step the CMAV appointed Cheong on 3 December 1897 to the post of Organiser and Deputationist. The appointment recognised his commitment to the mission

141 Welch, Ian (1980), Pariahs and Outcasts, Christian Missions to the Chinese in Australia, MA, Monash University
over more than a decade, his public relations skills and his successful record of raising money. Unfortunately, the appointment involved his removal from the role that was the source of his self-image — that of Superintending Missionary and Principal of the ‘Training College’. When his cousin, William Ah Ket, referred to him some years later as an ‘ex-missionary’ Cheong took umbrage.\textsuperscript{142} For more than forty years Cheong’s first sense of himself was that he was a ‘superintending’ missionary — a man of substance.

The appointment of Daniel Wong, a relative of Mrs. Cheong, as the evangelist cum missionary leader of the CMAV thoroughly angered Cheong.\textsuperscript{143} Wong was a young man with a limited knowledge of English, subordinate in every Chinese sense to Cheong and inexperienced. Wong’s nomination was culturally insensitive and weakened Chinese confidence in the CMAV’s understanding of Chinese culture. On the other hand, Cheong nominated Wong for the post of Anglican catechist in Wellington, New Zealand but that may have had a strong element of family support in it.

The Rev. E J Barnett had resigned from the Headmastership of Caulfield Grammar School in 1897 to become the full-time Secretary of the CMAV. In an attempt at peacemaking Barnett suggested that, irrespective of specific issues, Cheong should view the new arrangements as a long overdue reduction in his workload, an issue related to Cheong’s own comments that the problems of the mission were due in part to the unrealistic expectations of Cheong by the Board. Cheong replied that he was prepared to do the deputational work but could not accept his replacement as an evangelist by a young man of limited abilities. Barnett’s conciliatory letter failed to plumb the depth of the frustration and humiliation that was revealed in Cheong’s response:

Dear Mr. Barnett — I have to thank you for your consideration to myself personally in seeking to give me some relief from the strain of the work which has of later years grown heavily upon me though I regret to say the direction in which you proposed to do it has caused me more pain and sorrow than the severest trials I have yet endured for the Gospel’s sake.

I am not at all averse to doing the Deputation work whenever the necessity arises as I have already assured you that to withdraw if not altogether at least for the most part from the position of a Missionary to which by the Grace of God I have devoted my life & from the Training work to which I have set both my hand & heart is what I cannot reconcile my conscience to.

Notwithstanding the many & sometimes distracting cares connected with the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{142} Cheok Hong Cheong to William Ah Ket, 25 September 1907
\item \textsuperscript{143} Cheok Hong Cheong to Archdeacon Samuel Williams, 4 December 1897.
\end{itemize}
Mission under the Divine Blessing I have succeeded on the one hand in building up the nucleus of a Chinese Congregation which promises to become in the course of a few years largely self-supporting, while on the other by continuously & persistently urging the importance of the work of raising up a trained Native Ministry & bearing the subject before the Throne of Grace many of the Lord’s people have rallied around the cause & contributed more funds than the management have been prepared to utilize with promises of far larger amounts for maintenance & building purposes.  

It is a time moreover when the arrows of conviction has struck deeply in many of my congregation & prayerful attention is needed to bring them to the new birth that I feel it very inopportune at this juncture to take on Deputation work and I have no one with the requisite experience to stand by the work of the Mission.

Mr. Daniel Wong, one of the first fruits of my Melbourne labours is too young in the faith and has not himself prepared catechumens for baptism. Even the Bible Class I had established for that purpose in North Rd [Murton Hall, Ormond] during the latter half of 1892 he would not continue nor could be prevailed upon to open one since. Close application of mind is just what he lacks. He seems destined for an itinerant evangelist rather than a Pastor. The best use we can make of him therefore is to let him be ever on the move — like that which he has been doing recently in the North East.

In regards to Essendon if you have already arranged with Mr. Good for Sunday Evening next would you please ask him kindly to send a trap for me at the Mission Church any time after the afternoon Service? If however a Thursday evening will suit equally well I would much prefer it and perhaps a larger number might be got together then . . .

I will come down and talk over matters with you tomorrow afternoon. I enclose under separate cover the list required.

The public image was that Cheong had accepted the changes but behind the outward conformity he offered passive resistance to the requests of the CMAV. On occasion, he offered outright obstruction such as his letter to the CMAV Treasurer refusing to hand over money sent by Archdeacon Williams to purchase a new site for the Training College.

In regard to Archdn Samuel Williams’ cheque for £500 which he was good enough to entrust to me as a Deposit for a Training College I am now awaiting his instructions for its disposal. This may come any day & I shall be glad to do as he directs me.

Cheong’s behaviour forced the CMAV to request Williams to direct Cheong to release the funds to the Committee. Cheong wrote to Williams:

144 Cheong knew that there was no possibility of the Anglican Chinese Mission ever becoming fully self-supporting when the number of members was so few. All the Anglican Missions relied on the support of sympathetic European Christians for financial support. Cheong also knew that there was little likelihood of the Anglican Chinese Christian community ever producing its own candidates for the ministry or, more importantly, of providing them with an income. The proof of that was his own son whose income as Missioner from 1904 until 1910 was provided by the diocese on Cheong’s own advice that the mission could not afford a salary, even after Cheong himself has ceased, from 1898, to accept any payment for his work as superintending missionary.

145 Cheok Hong Cheong to Rev. E J Barnett, 12 February 1898.

146 Cheok Hong Cheong to H Maddock, Hon Treasurer, CMAV, 22 March 1898.
My Dear Archdn—The CMA Committee have at last fixed upon a site. The first
information I had regarding it was conveyed to me in Mr. Maddock’s letter enclosed.
I feel a difficulty however in meeting the demand so abruptly made in view of your
instructions to me & in as much as I have received no reply from you to my enquiry
dated 25th Feby as to what I was to do with the amounts you so kindly entrusted me
with so I asked him in Mr. Barnett’s presence ’Would you mind waiting till I
received Archdn William’s letter promised in a cable of the 15th inst?’ Mr. Barnett
appeared very indignant & said he would cable to you that I had declined to hand
over the cheque. I said, ‘Don’t say ‘declined’ but that I desired the Archdeacon
directions or will you let me cable to him for instructions?’ I asked ‘No’, said Mr.
Barnett, ‘I’ll cable myself.’ Your cable directions having been forwarded to me I lost
no time in carrying it out and now enclose you Mr. Barnett’s receipt. Our mutual
friend Mr. Wm Davies . . . called this evening & informed me that the site chosen is
down the Avenue not very far from Balaclava Railway Station. The name of the
house is ‘Hiawatha’ . . . & stands upon an acre of land. The distance of Balaclava
from the Mission Church & centre of the Chinese population is close upon five miles.
Some four miles further land can be brought for about £25 per acre with the
advantage besides of a Chinese population of about 150 amongst whom we have
been labouring for several years past . . . I cannot help concluding with an
observation which our Wellington student was overheard to make. ’As a Chinese
Training College it is quite a white elephant. It won’t be long before it will be
appropriated for an English college.’

When Cheong was asked if he would carry out Barnett’s instructions he answered in
terms that were offensive to Barnett and politically impossible for the CMAV to accept:

Personally no; since he is my younger in years, with no qualification for his
commanding position, and with absolutely no experience in Chinese work; but
officially, when conveying to me the deliberate judgement of the Committee, Yes.

If Cheong was not always tactful the Board of the CMAV showed little awareness of the
cultural impact of their decisions. In May 1898 the CMAV appointed a Principal to the
Training College with nothing more to recommend him, if James Cheong’s comments and
those added by Cheong are to be believed, than his evangelical party credentials. Once
Williams advised the CMAV of the contents of the following letter the CMAV realized that
Cheong had to be dismissed. Cheong wrote:

My Dear Archdeacon — Fidelity to the cause requires me to write fully to you whose
large-hearted sympathy has devised & supported so enlightened a project as the

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147 Cheok Hong Cheong to Archdeacon Samuel Williams, 25 March 1898. The closing comment was
prophetic. In due course, the capital reserves from the sale of the Balaclava property and the mission
curch at 110 Little Bourke Street provided resources for the purchase of the CMS national training
centre, St Andrew’s House, Parkville.

148 Cheong, Cheok Hong, (1898), Chinese Mission Crisis, Superintending Missionary’s Address to the
Converts, In Reply to the CMA Committee’s Printed Statement, Melbourne, Provisional Committee, 7
November 1898, p 4.

149 The error of the Balaclava decision was acknowledged in a review of the merger and the outcomes
published in The Church of England Messenger, 1 December 1898, that refers to: ‘the somewhat
hastily-made arrangements in connection with the Balaclava Training Home.’
Training of a Native Ministry for the Chinese. My son James writing from Geelong to one of his brothers said, “Tell Papa this piece of news. I am writing this in the shop of a Mr. Pearson — a cousin of Rev. W H Brett who tells me that Mr. Brett has been appointed Head of the Training House at Balaclava and will proceed to Hong Kong for a year’s study of the language. Precious little he will learn in that time. He is 32 years of age & married.

He subsequently wrote to me to say that from what he knew of Mr. Brett, “he is not a scholar, not a theologian, not even well-read in English.”

Seeing that James formally excluded himself from the work of a Training Institution because he felt it required the finest scholarship and experience I went over by steamer to see him at Geelong & asked if Archdn Williams who was so particularly interested in him & his future would ask him to head the Training & superintendence work would he accept it? He replied readily that if he is thought worthy he would. I then went & saw Canon Goodman the Senior Examining Chaplain to the Bishop . . . In regard to Mr. Brett he said he knew him well and had examined him for ordination. “He is a man”, he continued,” with no mental equipment. He doesn’t know a word of Greek & is a poor scholar in English. Besides he is a sickly man and will break down if he attempts Chinese.”

Having ascertained from James his willingness to help me in my work I had a long private talk with Mrs Adams his hostess. She is a widow of the Late Captain Adams of the Royal Navy & was matron of Trinity College during James five years residence there. . . . I enclose therefore her letter & the letters of two other intimate friends Canon Carlisle & Mr. Wm Howat. The former was chaplain to Trinity College as well as Hon. Sec to the Chinese Mission. I might add he has a special partiality for the Chinese people & has spent some time in learning their language & held for many years constant social intercourse with them. The latter is the solicitor of the Hon. Sir Rupert Clarke Bart, MLC, one of Melbourne’s millionaires. He is warmly interested in Christian education & in missionary work & has given largely to both objects . . .

Cheong’s anxiety can be seen in the thought that James, still in his early twenties, a Taishanese/Cantonese speaker with no more knowledge of scholarly written Chinese and spoken Mandarin than Brett, might be appointed Principal.

In a belated gesture of solidarity with Cheong the students, including Daniel Wong, withdrew from their training program, the college closed and the property was sold. The CMAV management had reduced the Chinese staff of five catechists and five missionary students to one catechist and no students in less than a year following the amalgamation.

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150 In 1888 James had just finished his MA in classics, i.e. Greek and Roman civilisations, at Melbourne University. James had, at that stage, no theological training at all and no knowledge whatever of written Chinese. He was no better suited for the Training College than Brett but just as Brett was a loyal evangelical, so Cheong assumed that James was loyal to his father.

151 Canon Carlisle was a strong supporter of Cheong. See Cheong’s comments in Cheok Hong Cheong to Archdeacon Williams, 13 December 1897. Howat was associated with Cheong in the Victorian Anti-opium Movement, yet, despite being an ‘intimate’ friend, as Cheong describes him in this letter, he and Cheong had a serious falling out that is discussed in Chapter 7.

152 Cheok Hong Cheong to Archdeacon Samuel Williams, 10 May 1898.

153 James Cheong’s personal papers held by St Peter’s Anglican Church, East Melbourne contain his notes of his studies in classical Chinese.
The Chinese Mission income of the CMAV fell from £1000 a year to £62 in 1897. Cheong may have been ineffective but the policies and management of the CMAV seemed, to him, incoherent and incompetent.

The CMAV dismissed Cheong with effect from 1 November 1898. Cheong’s treatment reinforced Chinese community views that Europeans would never understand the Chinese world. Christian and non-Christian Chinese, together with a small group of Europeans united around Cheong. Anglican converts, led by Andrew Chung, wrote to the CMAV asking for an explanation of Cheong’s dismissal. As Cheong remarked they were, ‘not school children that might be influenced or even coerced but men of business ability & capacity who want to know all the reasons for such a change.’ They were told, dismissively but accurately, that Cheong would not do what he was told. It was not just the Chinese Anglicans who expressed concern. Many long-time European supporters were also disturbed by Cheong’s dismissal. He was Victoria’s most prominent Chinese citizen and inseparably identified with the Anglican Chinese Mission, and it must be added, the mission with him. In August 1898 the majority of Chinese Anglicans, a large number of Chinese sympathisers and Cheong met in the Temperance Hall, Russell Street marking a formal break with the CMAV. The church paper defended the CMAV:

THE CHINESE MISSION

The Church Missionary Association have not deserved the trouble they have had with the mission to the Chinese residents in Victoria, or the obloquy which has been cast upon them in connection with it. When about a year ago the proposal was made to them by the committee managing that mission, that they should take it into their hands with all its assets and obligations, they consented to the transfer, chiefly out of the praiseworthy desire that instead of spending all their energies and funds on foreign missions they might have the privilege of carrying on missionary work nearer home. The request to take over the Chinese mission came to them by a nearly unanimous recommendation — Archdeacon Williams, the mission’s greatest benefactor, supported by the report of the commission appointed by the Bishop to inquire into the condition of the mission, and with the full consent and approval of the then superintendent of the mission, Mr. Cheong. They knew that they were undertaking no light responsibility for they had before them in that report sufficient

154 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Archbishop of Melbourne, 29 May 1916.
155 Cheok Hong Cheong to M C Bridger, 5 June 1912.
156 The Church Missionary Gleaner, September 1898, p 66.
proof of the unsatisfactory state into which the mission had fallen, and a financial statement showing that in spite of extraordinary efforts that been made, the revenue of the mission had for some years fallen below the expenditure by something like £200. Every step that they have taken since they assumed the charge of the mission has had the approval of persons experienced in the conduct of such institutions. Had their efforts been seconded as they ought to have been by the superintendent whom they employed, instead of being thwarted and defied by him, very different results would have been obtained from what, unhappily, are now to be seen. We would advise our readers to obtain copies of the printed statement of their case put forward by the C.M.A Committee, and signed by Archdeacon Langley, that they may understand something of the difficulties with which they have to contend, and may judge with what propriety and loyalty Mr. Cheong can come forward to a public meeting and take part with his friends in attempting to organise another so-called “Church of England” Chinese Mission, in opposition to that to which the Church of England in this colony twelve months ago, in the most formal and public manner, with consent of the Bishops of both dioceses, transferred without reserve all its interests and rights.  

The CMAV informed the CMS in London:

You are aware that the Mission to the Chinese in Victoria was entrusted to the CMA last year by the Bishops and the Board of Missions. We have had considerable difficulty and opposition in the endeavour to reorganize the same which had drifted into a very bad state. The chief salaried officer [i.e. Cheong] has continually neglected and refused to carry out the directions of the Committee, until, finally, he was asked to resign. As he took no notice of this request, the Committee was obliged to dismiss him . . . The old Board made Cheong Superintendent . . . and were completely at his mercy. We felt that . . . we must have a Chinese-speaking European to superintend this work . . . [we are] desirous of putting the whole Mission on a more satisfactory basis and working it by means of one whom we can trust and from whom we can find out what is transpiring.

On the 7th November 1898 Cheong issued a formal statement acknowledging that the ‘old’ mission had not been producing converts in any significant numbers but his explanation was that he had been overworked. His most telling remark reflected the marginalisation of the Chinese Christians and his reference to a lack of social intercourse between Chinese and Europeans would seem to be an indirect accusation of racial prejudice that needs to be weighed against the wider context of his own behaviour. He stated:

It is not the number [of] men you employ which counts in Christian work but whether they have the essentials of character gifts & graces & the equipment of special training & above all the endowment of the Holy Spirit. And you are unable to administer the tests because of the language difficulty. And when that difficulty did not exist you do not mix with them in private & social life to secure an insight.

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158 The Church of England Messenger, 1 November 1898.
159 E J Barnett to General Secretary of CMS 19 October 1898, Church Missionary Society, London, Correspondence, Folder C/Y8, Doc 111.
into all these things. Hence the deplorable results.\footnote{Cheong Cheok Hong, (1915), Response to a Paper submitted by Rev. A.R. Ebbs at Conference between Representatives of C.M.A. & Epiphany Mission. 24 April 1915.}

On 12 December 1898, Cheong’s supporters formally adopted the title ‘Church Missionary Society of Victoria Re-formed’ (CMSVR). The CMSV’s 1859 constitution, unchanged, was adopted as the constitution of the CMSVR, the meeting affirming the intention of the ‘Cheong’ Mission to retain its identity as an Anglican enterprise:

The principle enunciated by Mr Cheong in 1898 when in his appeal to the Chinese converts he said it behooves us more than ever to seek light and guidance from above so that nothing may be done for strife or vainglory; nor leave room for the conjecture that you are separating yourself from the Church of England that Branch of the Catholic Apostolic Church which has been used by God for your ingathering into the fold of the Great Shepherd. And also demonstrated at that great meeting held in the Temperance Hall just after the breach with the C.M.A. in 1898 when (to quote the circular letter issued in March 1899) it was decided in order to preserve the Mission and to keep it in the Church of England that it be reorganised under its former title (Ch Missionary Society of Victoria).\footnote{Ebbs, Rev. A R, (1915), Paper submitted by Rev. A.R. Ebbs at Conference between Representatives of C.M.A. & Epiphany Mission, 24 April 1915.}

For the next twenty years there were two competing Anglican missions to the Chinese until the CMAV closed its Chinese Mission at 110 Little Bourke Street in 1918. The building was leased to the Presbyterian Chinese Mission and sold in 1953.\footnote{Bridger, Marston, (1913), Hon. Secretary’s Report to the Annual Meeting, 28th August 1913.} In 1900 or 1901 Cheong went to Sydney to lecture on China on behalf of the Chinese Empire Reform Association (see Chapter 7). He was taken aback when the New South Wales Church Missionary Association (CMANSW) sought to have the City Council deny the CERA and Cheong the use of the Sydney Town Hall to deliver his lectures.\footnote{Johnstone, S M, (1925), A History of the Church Missionary Society in Australia and New Zealand, Sydney, Church Missionary Society, p 291.}

In 1902 the CMSVR purchased land at 121-123 Little Bourke Street for a new mission building almost directly opposite the ‘lost’ premises at 110 Little Bourke St. Isabel Willis, the companion of Mrs. Maria Moriarty of Inverleigh who was the largest single contributor to the new enterprise, William Davies and Cheong were appointed Trustees.\footnote{Cheok Hong Cheong to Miss Isabel Willis, 28 May 1912.} A significant change was made to the old CMSV Trust Document giving the CMSVR Trustees the power to appoint new Trustees (i.e., a self-perpetuating trust). The practical effect was to give Cheong, as Chairman of the Trustees, control of the mission’s physical
assets. The foundation stone of the building was laid by Miss Willis on 17 July 1902 and
the building was opened in 1904.\textsuperscript{166} Cheong’s plan included facilities on the second level
for training and meeting purposes with accommodation for student catechists on the third
level. The third floor became a Cheong family apartment or as Cheong referred to it from
time to time, his ‘city office’. A shop was included on the ground level to provide the
Trustees with revenue to maintain the property.

Cheong wasted no time in promoting the continuity of the CMSVR with the earlier
CMSV. A major report about the CMSVR appeared in the widely circulating \textit{Weekly Times}
newspaper accompanied by the illustration on the following page. Cheong maintained
that the CMSVR was a continuation of the original mission, i.e., the CMSV unmerged. It
was true of a majority of the congregation, the superintending missionary, and some key
European supporters including Maria Moriarty, Isabel Willis, Matthew Davies and
Marston Bridger but in a legal or diocesan sense, or in the minds of evangelical Anglicans,
it was quite untrue.\textsuperscript{167}

The CMSVR needed a formal association with the Anglican Church to maintain
financial support and to sustain Cheong’s status as a ‘mainstream’ Christian leader. That
support had traditionally come from the evangelicals in the diocese but their focus was
now on the CMAV. The CMSVR was outside the evangelical mainstream in Victoria.

The Rev. James Cheong had long been ‘ear-marked’ by his father to succeed him as the
leader of the Anglican Chinese Mission. After his return in 1904 from his theological
studies in England, James Cheong was ordained priest and licensed to St Peter’s Church,
Eastern Hill, reflecting his adoption of ‘high church’ or ‘Anglo-Catholic’ beliefs and
practices. Cheong’s alliance with the ABM and Hughes was always one of convenience
rather than a meeting of minds and values. Cheong’s view of his son’s future had never
been a matter of negotiation and an initial test of wills occurred when James’ decided to
live at St Peter’s. Cheong wanted him to live in the apartment on the top floor of 121-123
Little Bourke Street. James preferred the company of like-minded priests at St Peter’s

\textsuperscript{166} Apsey, Rev. Gordon, (unpublished nd) ‘The Relationship of the Church of England (Anglican) to the
Church of England Chinese Mission of the Epiphany’ from unpublished Mss Early Missions to the
Victorian Chinese and the Church of England Chinese Mission of the Epiphany, 123-125 Little Bourke
Street, Melbourne, p 154.
\textsuperscript{167} \textit{The Church of England Messenger}, 1 November 1898.
The Church Missionary Society of Victoria, Reformed

C H Cheong
Superintendent

Marston Bridger
Hon Secretary

William Davies
Hon Treasurer

Chinese Catechists

School Children in Chinese Dress

Cheong and Converts in Chinese Dress

Chinese Bible Study and English Class

Converts in European Dress

The Weekly Times, 4 September 1899
Clergy House. Residence was not, however, the issue that finally destroyed Cheong’s dream of placing James under his life-long supervision as Missioner (see Chapter 6).

A serious and long-lasting break between father and son centred on the introduction, by Hughes and James, without consultation with Cheong, of altar candles and private confession in the mission church. Cheong sent a strong letter of protest to the Archbishop who replied:

Dear Mr Cheong — I have seen both Mr Hughes and your son on the subject of your letter. With regard to the candlesticks placed by your son on the Communion Table at the Mission, I heard of it for the first time from you. I do not think your son will remove them but the chapel is not one of the churches of my diocese and I can only leave you to urge further your wishes. Your son is licensed as Curate of St Peter’s and I cannot withdraw this license so long as your son gives no occasion to do so. I deeply regret the difference of opinion between you and him but it ought to be capable of adjustment between you.  

Cheong removed the candlesticks and hid them in the mission building. His public reason was that candles on the altar paralleled elements of traditional family worship that Chinese Christians had given up. He rejected confession on theological grounds but it is not unreasonable to suppose that he also saw his own role as the principal confidant and guide of the Chinese Christians being superseded by the clergymen. In July (1911) Hughes withdrew all clergy services from the mission, i.e., James Cheong no longer carried out the duties of Missioner including the administration of the sacraments. This was an intolerable affront to Cheong whose view on the importance of filial piety — the duty of obedience of son to father — was an indelible part of his character (see Chapter 6 and the opening pages of this chapter). He did not or would not see, or perhaps did not care, that a layman intervening in the priestly functions of the two clergymen was, to them, an affront to their self-image and sense of authority.

The CMSVR, or Anglican Chinese Mission of the Epiphany, as it was now known, was in legal terms, an independent voluntary body operating in association with, but not formally part of, the Anglican Church. The CMSVR was located within the boundaries of the Anglican parish of Eastern Hill. In Anglican practice, Hughes, as the incumbent, had

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169 Most Rev. H R L Clark, Archbishop of Melbourne to Cheok Hong Cheong, 14 June 1911.
170 During the 1980s and 1980s the mission moved into more formal connection with the Anglican Diocese and is now, in effect, an ethnic parish with rights to attend the Diocesan Synod.
responsibility for all Anglican matters within his parish. At that time no Anglican 
clergyman, evangelical or otherwise, irrespective of any differences of theological views 
would administer the sacraments anywhere within the Eastern Hill parish without 
Hughes’ permission.

Cheong’s strong Anglican commitment was shown that he did not, faced with this 
situation, decide to invite a clergyman of another denomination to provide ministerial 
services. Although his denominational identity, and that of the Mission, with the Anglican 
Church was questioned, notably during the dispute with the CMAV and later by Ernest 
Hughes, and although, as Eitel had observed, he did not always conformed to 
conventional Anglican ideas, he was always aware of his Anglican connections. One 
eexample of his unconventional outlook was that he did not take Holy Communion on a 
weekly or even monthly basis as was the convention with most Anglicans. Hughes’ ban 
did not affect Sunday worship services as these were normally conducted by lay readers 
nominated by the Board of the CMSVR and licensed, through Hughes, by the Bishop. 
Hughes did not seek to have their licences revoked. Cheong told Miss Willis:

You are aware that our Mission Church has been under a sort of interdict by which 
no administration of the Sacraments could take place by any clergyman of the 
Church of England since the Rev. E.S. Hughes has chosen to forsake us.  

James took no further part in the Mission and concentrated on his role at St Peter’s and in 
the wider Anglican Church for the rest of his life (see Chapter 6). With Hughes’ 
agreement, the Archbishop eventually resolved the contretemps by appointing the Rev. A 
W a de facto extra-parochial situation on the principle that the mission constituted a 
private chapel outside the jurisdiction of the Parish of Eastern Hill. The Archbishop had 
made the appointment conditional on a diocesan representative being appointed to the 
Trust but when the Board demurred, the diocese did not pursue the issue. Cheong had 
explained the Archbishop’s decision in a letter to Isabel Willis.

Croydon 29/8/11
Dear Miss Willis — I am duly in receipt of your favor with enclosures a few days 
ago & would have acknowledged the same ere this if not for the influenza epidemic 
which thoroughly prostrated me.

Mr. E.S.H. [Rev. Ernest Hughes] will not any longer trouble the internal 
management of the Mission. He has opposed us very strongly before the

171 Cheok Hong Cheong to Miss Isabel Willis, 11 May 1912.
172 Cheok Hong Cheong to Miss Isabel Willis, 13 February 1912.
173 Registrar, Diocese of Melbourne to M C Bridger, 6 May 1912.
Archbishop & would have wiped us out of existence if he had the power but the Archbishop is not with him and though the Mission for the most part is situated within the boundary of St Peter’s parish & for that reason E.S.H. has asserted his claims of jurisdiction. The Archbishop in reply to our representatives the Rev. A. Cresswell MA & Mr. Bridger said, “You can dismiss from your minds the idea that your Chinese Mission is an appendage of St Peter’s. I look upon it as a Diocesan Mission.”

With minor exceptions the CMSVR (the Anglican Chinese Mission of the Epiphany) from 1904, like the CMSV from 1859 to 1897, operated under the pastoral supervision of an Anglican clergyman licensed by the Anglican Archbishop of Melbourne. There has been some individual and temporary non-Anglican clergy assistance but no clergyman of another denomination has ever been officially appointed to the Mission of the Epiphany.

The Archbishop had, as noted above, asked the mission to strengthen its link to the diocese by the appointment of a diocesan nominee to the Trust and the Board, with Cheong’s agreement, agreed that R J Alcock, the diocesan nominee, should be appointed. The Board, and especially Marston Bridger, felt betrayed when shortly afterwards Cheong repudiated the agreement as an improper interference with the autonomy of the Trustees who, under the Trust Deed, had the sole role and authority to nominate and appoint Trustees. The Board then suggested that Bridger, having been a Trustee of the CMSV at the time of the amalgamation in 1897, could be appointed to the CMSVR Trustees but Cheong refused. Cheong’s refusal was well-grounded. Bridger had written to the Registrar of the Diocese during discussions over the status of the mission and expressed the view that:

I may say that the Mission has from first to last been thorough in its adherence to the Church of England. I also venture to express the opinion that the property of the mission is Church property; that is it can belong to no other Church or denomination; and that as a place of worship in connection with the Mission’s work the property may be regarded as coming within the scope of the Acts of Synod with respect to Trusts.

Cheong was Chairman of Trustees and as Honorary Superintendent, an ex-officio member of the Board of Management. While both roles were important, his status among the Chinese gave him unmatched authority in what Hughes had angrily, but correctly, once

174 Cheok Hong Cheong to Miss Isabel Willis, 28 August 1911.
175 Registrar of the Diocese of Melbourne to M C Bridger, Hon Sec, Chinese Mission, 6 May 1912, 26 May 1912.
176 M C Bridger to the Registrar of the Diocese of Melbourne, 29 February 1912.
177 CMSVR Minutes, 3 February 1913.
178 M C Bridger to the Registrar, Diocese of Melbourne, 29 February 1912.
described as ‘Cheong’s Mission’. Bridger’s letter, apart from being incorrect in law, was a
direct, if long-term, challenge to the autonomy of the Trustees and hence to Cheong’s
status. In the background of Bridger’s mind was the fear, and it probably seemed real at
the time, that Cheong and the Chinese might, as they had done in August 1898, simply
walk away from the diocese as they had then walked away from the CMAV and this time
Cheong had the numbers on the CMSVR Property Trust to keep control of the buildings.¹⁷⁹

Cheong needed the full cooperation of the other Trustee, Miss Willis to appoint a new
Trustee. Her letter to him might, had Cheong been less committed to the Anglican Church,
have resulted in the Mission becoming either non-denominational or linked to another
denomination. Although Willis was a practising Anglican she saw little benefit in the
mission’s link to the Anglican Church:

Dear Mr. Cheong, Yours of the 10th reached me safely. I am sorry to say that I cannot
agree to the election of any nominee of the Bishop in Council as our co-Trustee. I
think our experiences have shown that it is time we declared ourselves as a simple
effort to win the Chinese for Christ & to have nothing to do with denominationalism
at all. Our Committee may be adherents of the Church of England as we ourselves
are & naturally would like to work with the Diocesan authorities provided they are
sympathetic. But you have wooed them too long & what have you gained by your
effort to be recognised as a Church of England Mission? Nothing. What have the
Chinese gained? Nothing & worse confusion. What has our Saviour gained?
Nothing but sorrow. As to H.C. do not let that trouble you, invite a Godly minister
to lead the feast of love, someone who will preserve the deepest spiritual aspect of
the Lord’s Table & you will bring joy to the Master by recognising Him as the Head.
Your long connection with the Church of England will doubtless make such a course
hard for you but you must be content to suffer if need be, in thus declaring Christ
Jesus to be your Master & Lord. The Diocesan folk know well your longing to keep
in touch with them. And their only hold on you is refusal to administer Holy
Communion but take no notice. And let the remaining years of your life be spent for
Christ alone to bring your brethren to Him.¹⁸⁰

Although attempts to bridge the gap went on, Hughes imposed unacceptable conditions
by insisting on the use of candles and observance of the arrangements that existed prior to
July 1911 that were unacceptable to the Board.¹⁸¹ The Precentor of St Paul’s Cathedral, the
closest Anglican church to the mission chapel, tried to intercede by agreeing that if
Cheong could find a Chinese-speaking clergyman to conduct the services, the Cathedral

¹⁷⁹  Cheong mentioned Bridger’s concern over the non-denominational possibility in Cheok Hong Cheong to
Miss Isabel Willis, 28 May 1912.
¹⁸⁰  Isabel Willis to Cheong, 19 February 1912.
¹⁸¹  M C Bridger to Registrar, Diocese of Melbourne, 20 April 1912.
would appoint him as a part-time member of the Cathedral clergy. No such priest was available but in any case the appointment of Cresswell ended the difficulty.\textsuperscript{182}

The appointment of a diocesan trustee involved adding a fourth trustee to Cheong, Willis and William Davies, the mission’s treasurer. Irrespective of any additional trustee the Chinese congregation wanted a Chinese majority on the Property Trust and were pressing for the appointment of David Ching Hin to the existing three member Trust. Their demand became more pressing following the death of William Davies. Cheong’s vacillation over the trusteeship is a complicated issue in which personality and cultural issues were involved. Cheong had long maintained his own authority and status by keeping other Chinese at a distance from the decision making processes of the mission. Another Chinese appointment meant sharing his authority. Another European appointment, especially a diocesan representative, to the Trust risked alienating some, if not all, the Chinese members of the congregation.

Bridger’s irritation with Cheong resulted in an extraordinary step of moving the Board’s meetings to his office without informing Cheong of the time of meetings or the new location. It was improper behaviour, and to add to the situation Board meetings were often cancelled because, Bridger said, there was no business to discuss. Even Annual Meetings were ignored.\textsuperscript{183} In his report to the Annual Meeting in August 1913 Bridger accused Cheong of ignoring the Board and using the powers of the Trusteeship to run the mission on his own terms.\textsuperscript{184} Bridger’s report was received but not adopted by the Board in a desire to avoid a public split. At one point, in sheer frustration, the European members decided to resign en masse with Bridger declaring that the mission was not Cheong’s private preserve. Bridger conveyed the Board’s concerns to the archbishop who urged patience and the crisis was briefly averted.

In 1916, Cheong told the Archbishop that he had been prepared to have Alcock as a fourth member of the Trust but not if it meant losing the financial support of Mrs Moriarty on whose behalf Miss Willis acted, or if it involved alienating the Chinese members of the

\textsuperscript{182} Cheok Hong Cheong to Miss Isabel Willis, 29 April 1912
\textsuperscript{183} CMSVR Minutes, February, March, April 1913.
\textsuperscript{184} CMSVR Minutes, 28 August 1913.
congregation. Cheong drew attention to Chinese concerns over property issues in a note to the Archbishop:

As I told your Grace when the Rev. A. W. Cresswell introduced the proposal I voted for it, being assured of Mr Alcock’s breadth of view and liberality of sentiment, and wrote to that effect to my co-trustee (Miss Willis) telling her that the proposal was carried by vote of the Board, including one of the Trustees, but that her consent was necessary to make the vote effective. She did not, however, and would not give her consent. Meanwhile, the Chinese members of the Board, who had voted as I did, realizing the full meaning of the proposal, reproached me with having misled them by my vote. You have lost one church already. Would you lose another? That in face of the facts and experiences of the Mission how was it possible for you to vote as you did? I told them, in reply, that we were under a new regime, that the present Archbishop is not likely to hand us over to a private Society. But, they asked, what about his successor? And these Chinese members are levelheaded businessmen, several of them with large business undertakings of their own and cling to the view as laid down by Lord Bacon that ‘history is prophecy’.  

The loss of the original CMSV property to the CMAV remained a sensitive issue to the end of Cheong’s life. It was the Chinese, Christian and non-Christian who, encouraged by Cheong, had been the major contributors to both mission buildings. Retaining Chinese confidence in the CMSVR Trust was vital to Cheong’s leadership. The trustee issue might have been easier had not events in Sydney increased the alienation of the Chinese Christians. Cheong described the circumstances:

The case of the Sydney converts is that when the C.M.A. received compensation for their Chinese Mission Church on a/c of Sydney’s Street widening policy they simply kept the money while the Presbyterians with the money paid them have secured another site & erected their new Mission Church. The Church of England converts have no place of worship & no say in the matter . . .

The awkward relationship that was developing between the Trustees and the Board of Management was a signal of more battles in the years ahead. At the heart of the difficulty was the ultimate ownership and use of the mission property. In the later part of the twentieth century, this long-standing problem resulted in a legal tussle between the Trustees, the Board of Management, the majority of the small congregation and subscribers to the mission, and the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne. It centred on the extent to which the Trust could intervene in the day-to-day management, including the appointment of clergy, the use of buildings, and other issues that the Board had

185 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Archbishop of Melbourne, 29 May 1916.
186 Cheok Hong Cheong to Isabel Willis, 6 June 1912; CHC to the Archbishop of Melbourne, 29 May also refers to the Wexford Street Church.
controlled. It arose from the creation of the successor trust of 1902 coupled with a lack of clear constitutional procedures defining the relative roles and responsibilities of the two bodies. Although the old CMSV constitution was adopted by the CMSVR it was honoured as much in the breach as the observance. A redrafted constitution was prepared in the early 1930s and although it was followed for the next sixty years, the Supreme Court of Victoria ruled in 1991 that it had not been properly adopted and therefore the ‘1898’ constitution remained nominally in place.

The dispute between Cheong and Bridger and the ongoing impact of differing cultural perceptions were not dissimilar to those that had occurred in the CMAV in 1897-1898:

Dear Mr Bridger Re the Vacancy on the Trusteeship.
I have had a long conference with Miss Willis on the subject & she tells me that her Aunt (Mrs Moriarty) during her remaining days charged her to accord the Chinese brethren their proper representation. Originally you may be aware the proposal was that I should be the sole Trustee as all the contributions for the Building Fund came through my hands, but I declined the honor of being sole Trustee & so the largest subscriber thereto [Miss Willis/Mrs Moriarty] with the next largest who was also a most devoted worker in the Mission [William Davies] were associated with me. And though I had expressed the wish for a wider representation & actually proposed that there should be five the resolution was carried limiting the number to three about whose qualifications there had been no question.  

The next step in Cheong’s conflict with Bridger was over the management of a Chinese mission hall in Ormond. The ‘Murton Hall’ (non-denominational) was an independent Trust funded by a Miss Murton of Hawksburn (also a supporter of the China Inland Mission) and the Millar family of East Brighton. Miss Murton and the Millars were Anglicans and had arranged with Cheong for the hall, as property, to be managed by an independent Trust comprising Cheong, Mr Millar and his daughter but to be otherwise at the disposal of the CMSVR under the direction of the Board of Management. The CMSVR Board of Management had no right to intervene in any matters concerning the property but Bridger had not fully grasped the details of the trusteeship. Following the deaths of the Millars Cheong was the sole Trustee. Cheong wrote to Bridger:

Mr M.C. Bridger, Dear Sir, Your letter enclosing copy letter to the Secretary to the Education Department duly reached me. And in reply thereto will you allow me to point out that the Board of Management has apparently overlooked the fact that while it may have certain authorities regarding the conduct of the Mission the control of the Building; The Murton Hall; is absolutely in the hands of the Trustees and I have therefore to request that you will be good enough to withdraw your letter

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187 Cheok Hong Cheong to M C Bridger, 6 January 1913.
188 With decline in Chinese Christian activity in Ormond, the building had been leased to the Victorian Education Department to supplement the classroom facilities of the Ormond Primary School.
of the 11th inst sent to the Education Department.

[There is a pencil footnote, apparently by Mr Bridger: — Secty to view Trust Deed at Union Bank].

Bridger received legal advice that confirmed Cheong’s position on the separation of authority between the Board and the Murton Hall Trust. Cheong retaliated by demanding a personal apology from Bridger and declared that Bridger had acted improperly by moving the location of Board meetings without informing all members and, most serious of all, had not called Annual Meetings for two years.

Cheong sent Bridger another letter intended to secure an unequivocal acknowledgement of Bridger’s error over the Murton Hall matter. It is important, in the light of the events, to see Cheong’s understanding of the relative roles of the Board and the Trustees and, most important of all in the light of the Supreme Court’s ruling in 1991 about the need for the Board to be elected annually by a properly constituted general meeting of subscribers. That implied the existence of a list of subscribers to the Mission as distinct from the congregation which had no voting powers at all:

Mr. M.C. Bridger, Dear Sir, Re the Murton Hall. Surely your good sense if not the luminous exposition of the law by Mr. Rigby (re the Little Bourke St property) should have informed you that Trustees have been invested with certain powers for the due exercise of which they alone are responsible & that no others share or can share the responsibilities unless & until . . . they appoint them their fellow-trustees. And the same principle applies to the Murton Hall Trust. I had thought you were sufficiently informed to know the separate powers & functions of the Trustees & the Committee that while the former are permanent office-bearers entrusted with all the properties of the Mission the latter have their limitations & are subject to annual election to make their position legal. Notwithstanding these facts of law however the Trustees have always been & always are ready to talk over matters & consult with the Committee & other friends & supporters of the Mission on all-important questions affecting its interests. But on the present occasion when the question of the extension of the lease of the Murton Hall was raised no opportunity was afforded the Trustees to discuss matters with the Committee by the action of the Secretary who without any consultation with the Committee had dropped out three consecutive monthly meetings thereof in precisely the same way as he had previously dropped out two Annual Meetings of the Society (1911 & 1912) at which the Committee according to both the rules & customs was wont to be elected. . . . the Secretary had shifted the meetings of Committee from the Headquarters of the Mission where they have always been held since their erection to his own private office. And yet want of consultation is the grievance against the Trustees who are by no means under the Committee as the Secretary certainly is.

189 Cheok Hong Cheong to M C Bridger, 14 February 1913.
190 Cheok Hong Cheong to M C Bridger, 5 April 1913 and 18 April 1913.
191 Cheok Hong Cheong to M C Bridger, 18 April 1913.
After the break with Cheong and the formation of the CMSVR in 1898, the CMAV Mission had achieved some early success by opening English language night classes at St Hilary’s, Kew; St Columb’s, Hawthorn; St Thomas’, Essendon; St Clement’s, Elsternwick; and at Bendigo and Echuca. The schools closed one after another as enrolments fell and European supporters became preoccupied with the domestic effects of World War I. Few Chinese attended CMAV services in Little Bourke Street. In 1915 the CMAV, with the complete failure of its Chinese mission work looming, appointed a sub-committee to try to end the pointless and wasteful two mission division of Anglican work among the Chinese. The CMAV offered to leave Chinese evangelisation in Victoria entirely in the hands of the CMSVR. It might have seemed a victory for Cheong had it not been for the refusal of the CMAV to make any financial contribution or to return the property in Little Bourke Street.

Cheong demanded, as a starting point, the transfer of 110-112 Lt Bourke St to the CMSVR Property Trust in return for which he was prepared to have CMAV representation on the CMSVR Board of Management, but not on the Trust. Cheong’s response to the 1915 proposals of the CMAV was direct and appropriate:

This joint or equal control suggested with those who have the longest acquaintance with & consequently the widest knowledge of & largest experience in the work of the local Chinese Mission will I fear prove in the end a divided control. We are not like two Societies which had developed their work separately and independently in the same field & when comparing notes find that their views & sympathies are in thorough accord. They can thus easily amalgamate as one. But the circumstances in connection with this Mission are such as to make a variation both desirable and necessary.

1st The Chinese Mission with all its properties (some £5000 worth) the C.M.A. [CMAV] received 17 years ago from the C.M.S. of Victoria [CMSV].

2nd All the Metropolitan and one of the country properties I know personally were subscribed for a specific purpose as the contributions came through my hands—no diversion therefore could well be made while the needs of the Mission here are as stated above so dominant.

3rd The C.M.A. has been unable apparently by reason of the absorbing vastness of the Regions Beyond to give the local Chinese Mission adequate attention. As a matter of fact although it had the run of the Churches & Sunday Schools in all the Dioceses of the State its income therefrom has fallen to less than one-tenth & its staff to a like proportion!

While welcoming always a representation of the C.M.A. on our Board of Management & any suggestions from its Committee will carry due weight with our Management I am prepared subject to the approval of His Grace the Archbp if the C.M.A. in the heartiest good will offer to hand back its trust in its entirety to the old

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Society, to recommend its acceptance of the same.\textsuperscript{193}

The discussions failed and in 1918 the CMAV mission closed and the premises were leased to the Presbyterian Chinese Mission. In 1953 the premises were sold for £10,320 and the proceeds invested for the benefit of the CMS but not, as the original Trust Deed had required, used either for Chinese evangelisation in Victoria or for Christian work in China. Cheong’s rejection of the CMAV approach resulted in Bridger’s resignation. A year later Cheong gave this picture of the state of Anglican missions to the Chinese in Victoria that had followed the 1898 creation of two Anglican Missions:

First [the original Chinese Mission] has been treated as a shuttlecock. . . and brought to its present deplorable condition spiritually and temporarily . . . And, though after the failure of their negotiations for a re-amalgamation by reason of their unfair and one-sided proposals, nevertheless I offered to help them to revive the work at Bendigo by guaranteeing one-third of the expenses of the Mission for a term of 3 years if they would guarantee a like proportion and local churchmen the remainder. The Bishop of Bendigo I learnt was willing to bear his share of the responsibility but the Association, which accepted the trust when they took over the Mission’s income and the Mission’s properties, was unable to see their way to do so, thus practically repudiating the trust reposed in them by Bishop Goe and yet retaining the Mission’s properties.\textsuperscript{194}

Whatever remained of the 1850s Anglican dream of the evangelisation of Chinese in Victoria and the subsequent conversion of China was submerged in the new reality that confronted the Anglican Chinese Mission of the Epiphany — that of being a fringe body serving a shrinking group of bilingual Cantonese/English-speaking Australians. In Melbourne, as in other parts of the Chinese diaspora, a cultural gap was to open between Australians of Cantonese ethnic descent and postwar non-Cantonese arrivals from China and elsewhere.

By 1918 Cheong’s health was beginning to fail and family strains were accumulating. Economic conditions had deteriorated. Mrs. Cheong was increasingly concerned the family would lose everything if Cheong’s judgement stumbled. Cheong wrote to Miss Willis:

Dear Miss Willis, At the last meeting of our Mission Committee on the 26\textsuperscript{th} ult Archdn Hayman our Chaplain desired me to bring up for discussion ‘Our plans for the Future’ at the next meeting on Thursday week the 31\textsuperscript{st} inst. It will be an important meeting & I trust that you can make it convenient to be present. The question arose from the fact that with my advancing years the need of a younger

\textsuperscript{193} Cheong Hong Cheong, Response to a Paper Submitted by Rev. A R Ebbs at Conference between Representatives of CMA and Epiphany Mission, 24 April 1915.
\textsuperscript{194} Cheok Hong Cheong to the Archbishop of Melbourne, 29 May 1916.
man to share in the work has been felt & our inability so far of securing one though I have been continually in harness for 32 years without the break of even a months holiday except when ill-health has enforced it & I am feeling the effects of the drain [of physical energy].

In late 1914, following the death of Cresswell, the Rev. R J E Hayman was appointed Acting Chaplain. By putting his emphasis on providing pastoral care Hayman avoided any confrontations with Cheong. Over the next two years, members of the congregation including Samuel Goon, David Chung Hin (Trustee) and Timothy Ng Yat Yee (Cheong’s nephew) assisted in the conduct of services in the Mission chapel. The day-to-day management of the Mission was firmly in the hands of Cheong but evangelism, once the cornerstone of his self-image, had faded into a distant background. The Chinese living in Victoria had made up their minds about Christianity one way or another many years before.

Li Shui Kwai, a missionary from Samoa, was appointed as lay Missioner, under Cheong’s supervision. Li had attended a Bible College in China and was highly recommended by the Bishop of Hong Kong and other clergymen. They described him as, ‘energetic and vigorous and has in him the right spirit. He has had fair educational advantages and preached here with efficiency and general acceptance.’ Cheong said of him, ‘Having laboured in Melbourne for nearly 18 months the Hon. Supt. testifies that he is a workman that needeth not to be ashamed rightly dividing the Word of Truth.’ Li struggled to find a footing in an environment in striking contrast to Cheong’s claim twenty years earlier that he had established a financially viable and outward looking congregation.

The majority of people associated with the congregation were born in Australia. Their worldview was different to those of people born during the 19th century in a China that no longer existed. Cheong had to ask the Archbishop for diocesan financial assistance stating that without it the mission would have to close. The Archbishop agreed to appoint Li as a Stipendiary Lay Reader with a diocesan allowance of £75, commencing an arrangement that continued for many years. In mid 1923, shortly after the mission paid for his family to

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195 Cheong Hong Cheong to Isabel Willis, 22 May 1917.
196 CMSVR Minutes, 28 January 1915.
197 In addition to missions in Australia, there were Chinese missions in New Zealand and in the Pacific Islands. While NZ Presbyterian Missions have been documented there is no general account of Chinese missions in the Pacific.
come to Australia, Li asked to be released from his contract.\textsuperscript{200}

In a remarkable gesture, given their past difficulties, Hughes invited Cheong to join the inaugural Victorian Council of the Australian Board of Missions.\textsuperscript{201} With characteristic energy Hughes had guided a restructure of the ABM in 1917 that resulted in a marked expansion in its work in Melanesia. The invitation to Cheong probably had little other purpose than to prevent any rapprochement with the CMS. Cheong took a seat on the ABM Victorian Council in 1921.

Cheong’s business partner, Peter Ng Hong Nam, made a business visit to China and at Cheong’s request made enquiries about a Chinese Missioner to fill the vacancy left by Li.\textsuperscript{202} Hong Nam recommended the Rev. Paul Tso See-fong. Tso met with a grilling by immigration officials upon his arrival in Australia despite assurances that the provisions of the 1901 Act covering clergymen would be observed.\textsuperscript{203} Tso bought with him a letter of introduction from Archdeacon E J Barnett. Barnett’s letter was a form of apology for past events:

\begin{center}
\begin{quote}
Canton, China, 2\textsuperscript{nd} June 1923

Dear Mr Cheong,

I have every confidence in commending my brother beloved, Rev. Paul S.F. Tao to your paternal sympathy and guidance. Personally I shall miss him greatly for he has been profitable to me in many ways. I trust that in his new sphere of service he will not only receive benefit himself, but that he will become a channel of blessing to many others.

Much water has flowed under the bridge of time since we last saw one another, and it may be we shall yet have opportunity of another talk in this life. If this is not to be, we can look forward with confidence to a meeting in the mansions prepared for those who love the Lord Jesus Christ, by whose grace we have been allowed to serve him for these many years past—a service marred by mistakes here and there, but mistakes which have all been forgiven and forgotten by you, I am sure, for His name’s sake. With fraternal greetings, (sgd) E. Joss Barnett.\textsuperscript{204}
\end{quote}
\end{center}

Cheong sent a copy to Hughes with a dismissive comment. He had not forgotten the events of 1897 and 1898 and was unable to forgive or forget the indignities that he had experienced from the Secretary of the CMAV even though Barnett had been the messenger rather than the source of the message itself.

\begin{flushright}
199 Cheok Hong Cheong to Rev. E S Hughes, 16 October 1920.
200 CMSVR Minutes, 2 June 1922.
201 Cheok Hong Cheong to Rev. E S Hughes, 15 October 1919.
202 CMSVR Minutes, 26 April 1923. Tso's name is also given as Tao and Tsao.
203 Cheok Hong Cheong to Collector of Customs, 28 July 1923.
204 E J Barnett to Cheok Hong Cheong, 2 June 1923.
\end{flushright}
The Rev. Paul Tso’s 1925 Missioner’s Report gave the communicant membership as less than twenty and he admitted he had no idea what to do to make the mission more effective: ‘It is nearly two years since I first took up the work of the Mission, and I find that apart from the usual routine work, there is nothing else that I can include in my report.’ He resigned in early 1927.

Cheong’s last surviving letter book records negotiations with the Diocese of Hong Kong for two men to come to Australia, one to go to Bendigo in a joint CMSVR-diocesan venture and the other to replace Paul Tso in Melbourne. A cabled invitation was sent to the Rev. Lee Kau Yan to become Missioner. Lee declined and suggested Wong Tye Joy, a graduate of St Paul’s College, Hong Kong, the institution that had trained Lo Sam-yuen in the early 1850s. The Archbishop of Melbourne was not prepared to ordain Wong, probably for the old reasons of not knowing what to do with him if the mission finally closed, as seemed more and more likely. Lee then suggested the Rev. Kong Chi Wing for Melbourne. Kong Chi Wing arrived and conducted his first service in June 1928. He resigned in 1933 and returned to Hong Kong. For the next four years the services were conducted by lay members with occasional visits from Melbourne clergymen to provide the sacraments.

The Rev. E C Thompson, a hospital chaplain, assisted the mission from 1937 to 1939. Mission services were conducted by lay people until the appointment of the Rev. W George Thomas in 1946. He retired in 1963.

The Rev. Stephen Wong from the Diocese of Hong Kong became part-time Missioner in 1964, combining his appointment with the Mission to Seamen. He returned to Hong Kong in 1968 and was succeeded by the Rev. Geoff Glassock who combined Mission duties with his primary task of Anglican Chaplain to the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology.

In 1971, the Rev. Luther Ling Leung Lo was appointed as the first full-time Chinese Missioner in fifty years. Tragically, he died in September 1972. He was succeeded by the Rev. Michael Chin in 1972. Chin made the first steps from an inward looking Cantonese-
speaking congregation towards a commitment to the evangelisation of newly arrived Chinese. The overall result was a deepening of the gap between the old Cantonese families and the newcomers, who had a different sense of Chinese identity.

The Rev. S V Dodson succeeded Chin in 1978 as Honorary Missioner and was in turn succeeded by the Rev. Gordon Apsey in 1979. There was a vacancy for the next two years when the Rev. Eddie Millar briefly acted as Missioner. In 1986 the Rev. Michael Chin returned and served until 1990 when he took a post in England following conflict with the Trust. The Trustees, troubled by diocesan pressure for the Mission and its property to be absorbed by a multicultural ministry, began to intervene directly in the management of the mission. Their tactics were misplaced, especially a decision to remove the Mission from its traditional Anglican links. This resulted in the 1991 Supreme Court action mentioned earlier.

The Rev. Rick C M Cheung became Missioner in 1992 and for some years combined his responsibilities with the Mission with ministry to a separate Chinese suburban congregation at Glen Waverley. More recently, the Rev. Michael Chin was reappointed Missioner. Other Chinese Anglican congregations, unconnected with the old Mission, have emerged and the Anglican Chinese Mission is no longer central to Anglican ministry to the Chinese. Despite various limited efforts to establish a niche market among newly arrived Chinese, particularly students from the People’s Republic of China and refugees from Vietnam, the Anglican Chinese Mission of the Epiphany has not found, in the seventy odd years since Cheong’s death, a vision to restore it to a leading position in the Chinese Christian community.

Members of Cheong’s family served as Trustees for many years after his death. Christine Cheong served until the 1940s when Benjamin Cheong became a Trustee. Benjamin died in December 1970, at 82 years, ending the direct connection of the mission to Cheok Hong Cheong.

Cheok Hong Cheong’s main role in the Anglican Mission after the formation of the CMSVR in 1898 was as the public officer, principal money raiser and as it emerged, determined guardian of Chinese ownership. His status outside the Anglican Chinese Mission rested on his leadership in community affairs, including the anti-opium
movement, endless representations to the immigration bureaucracy on behalf of Chinese-Australians and his determined struggles to protect the employment rights of Chinese.

Cheong’s concept of mission management was focused on processes and buildings, and with that, on money raising. He was not particularly creative and took many of his most earnestly pursued objectives from others, such as the Presbyterian idea of a training institution for Chinese catechists and from the Methodists the importance of a Mission Church in Little Bourke Street. His education and language skills set him apart from all his Chinese contemporaries. His ethnic pride was double-barrelled in its effect on his relationships with others. It is undeniable that a downside of his personality was the constant conflicts with European clergy and lay leaders in the Presbyterian and Anglican churches. His tactics, and his playing of an ethnic card were, even when fully justified, tainted by personal attacks, an unforgiving bitterness and avoidance of his own shortcomings. But the other side of his personality, shared with many of his countrymen in Australia who were well aware of the White Australia Policy, was a constant unease about the genuineness of his acceptance as a social, intellectual and spiritual equal. He experienced difficulties with interpersonal relationships throughout his life. His love for his children was adversely affected by his determination to direct their lives generated at least in part, it may be suggested, by his wish to smooth their path. Unfortunately this behaviour generated deep conflicts within the family, first with James and later with Caleb (Chapter 12). A strand of self-righteousness, seen most clearly in a series of letters with William Howat over the opium issue in Victoria, and his dispute with Anderson over paper-hanging work at Pine Lodge, reflected an almost obsessive anxiety to control anything in which he became involved. The deeper roots lay, as mentioned above, in the issues of status and insecurity implicit in his perception of his ethnic identity (See Chapter 11).

Cheong’s passing in 1928 was a symbol of the fading away of the old 19th century Cantonese-See Yup-Chinese community of Victoria. At the time of his death there were under six hundred overseas-born Chinese in the State of Victoria. Although the Anglican mission retained nominal evangelistic goals and conducted its regular Sunday activities, albeit with smaller and smaller attendances, the fire had gone out of Cheong as age, serious ill-health and finally the death of his wife, saw him in a terminal decline.
Whatever Cheong’s personality defects may have been they should not be seen as fatal flaws or used to justify any downplaying of the value of the man and his work. He was little different to most people in having multiple identities and qualities, some positive and others not so. His life showed the qualities of hard work, ethnic pride, pride in education and struggle for status that were inseparable from his sense of a well-formed Chinese identity.

Without Cheong, the life of the Chinese in Victoria might have been as unpleasant as it was, from time to time, in New South Wales or Queensland. There is not a single event in Melbourne or provincial Victoria to compare with the mass anti-Chinese meetings held in Sydney and Brisbane in the 1880s and the anti-Chinese events that followed. That was, in some part, due to Cheong’s influence within the wider colonial community. It was almost entirely through Cheong’s efforts, and the support he engendered from Chinese generally, that the two major Anglican Chinese building projects in Little Bourke Street were initiated and completed, providing Chinese Anglicans with a permanent home and creating a Chinese ethnic congregation that has endured for more than a hundred years. His wider efforts on behalf of Chinese-Victorians surpassed those of any other individual and he was rightly honoured by his contemporaries. He did more for the Chinese-Australian community, in his life-time, than any other single member of that community but remains an almost unknown figure in Australia’s Chinese and multicultural history.
Cheong’s place and identity in Victoria have been discussed initially against the background of the Victorian goldrush (Chapter 1), then against the colonial network of relationships of the Chinese community (Chapters 2 and 4), and then within his association with the Presbyterian and Anglican Churches (Chapters 3 and 5). Although these chapters are not in strict chronological order, it seemed preferable to start the chapter dealing specifically with his family and business dealings with his own marriage arrangements rather than away from the working out of his family commitments and, with them, the investment program that provided the family income from 1898 onwards, following the events described in the previous chapter.

Within five or six years of his arrival in Victoria in 1863 Cheok Hong Cheong became, at around sixteen or seventeen years of age, a married man. He was still a secondary school student at the time. Cheok Hong Cheong and Wong Toy Chen were married for nearly sixty years. Mrs Cheong died at the family home, Pine Lodge, Croydon, on 14 February 1927, just eighteen months before Cheok Hong Cheong’s death in 1928. She delivered nine children. James was born in Ballarat in 1871 and died in Melbourne on 3 October 1941. The other children were born in Melbourne. Joshua (1873-1928); Caleb (1876-1943); Oi Chan died at birth (1877 or 1878); Grace Mary (1879-1898); Nehemiah (1881-1884); Christina (1883-1936); Nathaniel (1886-1956) and Benjamin (1888-1970).

Cheong Peng-nam’s Australian family history reflected Chinese society of the period. Colonel Tcheng-Ki-Tong, the Chinese Military Attaché in Paris in 1884, wrote a small booklet, *China Speaks for Itself*, in which he offered several comments on the status of the family in 19th century China and the purpose of marriage.

The family is the corner stone of the Chinese Empire. Chinese society may be defined as the totality of its families, and the Chinese family may be compared to

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1 Attempts to identify Mrs Cheong’s family in Ballarat have not been successful.
an organised society. It attains the dignity of a religious order with a settled rule; its income constitutes a common fund, from which provision is made for the education of children, for (dowries), for an allowance to young men beginning their career, for pensions to the sick, the aged, or those who are out of employment.

The eldest of a family is the head; every important action is decided by him, and he signs legal papers in the name of all the other members . . .

It is usual for all the generations of one line to live in one house, so that the seven ages may sometimes be found under the same roof . . .

The obligations of children to parents are held as so solemn that the distinction of the former redounds to the advantage of the latter, and honors are transmitted backwards: if a public functionary is ennobled, his parents are ennobled with him, and his rank, if sufficiently high, ascends to more remote progenitors.

The idea of succouring the ills of the stranger, of humanity, in short what we term philanthropy or general benevolence, is incomprehensible to them; they have the charity that begins at home in its widest sense, but the Christian relation of the 'neighbor' is unknown to them, and by inference the Good Samaritan would have been set down as a fool, in China.2

The Victorian colonial environment in which Cheong Peng-nam sought to retain his Chinese cultural and social heritage was very different from China but he made every effort to retain the core family values mentioned by Tcheng in the extract above. Peng-nam’s Chineseness shaped Cheok Hong Cheong and, despite his children’s much closer involvement with colonial life, were important in Cheok Hong’s handling of his family.

The presence of ‘Confucian’ literature in the Anglican Chinese Mission that was reported by the Rev. Dr Ernst Eitel (see Chapter 5) was part of Cheong’s sincere commitment to the land of his fathers:

The C.M.A. committee asked for advice as to certain of their future plans from Dr. Eitel, who was the best expert in the Chinese available. . . . He is amazed that the books provided in our Melbourne Church of England Mission seemed to be

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'a heterogeneous growth of Presbyterian, Methodist, Lutheran and especially Confucian literature.'

It is not known what the ‘Confucian’ materials comprised but, based on Cheong’s own writings, it is possible that works of Confucius, such as the *Analects*, and other Chinese writings on ethical and moral traditions that did not directly confront Christianity, were included. Cheok Hong’s upbringing was different from his father’s but it included much of the traditions and practices of the old country. Whether from Chinese or Christian values, and probably a mix of both, he sought filial obedience in all things. In 1909 he told the daughter of a family friend that:

I am Chrissie’s & the boys Banker. I make all the investments for them & receive all the rents & dividends on their a/c.

The few references to the issues raised by Tscheng that are contained in Cheong’s letterbooks, such as that above, indicate that, responding to colonial legal and taxation practices, he did not hold all the family assets in his own name taking care to distribute his holdings among his children during his later years.

The discussion of Cheong’s family life in this chapter comes from his letterbooks and relates only to the three older boys — James, Joshua and Caleb. Cheong’s letters were in a very formal style but occasionally, as in his references to Grace, his elder daughter; in his efforts to protect James from the humiliations of the White Australia Policy; and most explicitly, in his fury with Caleb; he revealed the passionate nature discussed in Chapter 5 that always lay behind his calm, patrician exterior. His public persona was cultivated carefully towards what, in Chinese terms, was the style of the *shen shih*, the educated man. A contemporary described him as, 'short and rotund and his speaking voice showed no sign of an [Chinese] accent. His hands were soft and white, with long nails on his little fingers indicating, in the Chinese tradition, that he was a scholar.'

Cheok Hong Cheong followed his father’s example by giving his children access to the best European education possible. James attended Melbourne Grammar School.

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3 The Church of England Messenger, 1 December 1898.
4 See comments by Sam Tong Way in Chapter 5.
5 Cheok Hong Cheong to May Poon Why, 7 May 1909.
while the other boys attended Scotch College, Victoria Parade, and. The girls attended the Methodist Ladies College.

James Cheong, MA.

Cheok Hong supported his elder son financially, at least until he returned from England in 1904. James was the most distinguished, academically, of the Cheong family. His school and university record was outstanding and his achievements were a matter of great pride to his father.
Cheong always added the MA after his son’s name. The degree was awarded without further examination on the basis of his undergraduate degree results. James’ only ‘competition’ within the family might have come from his sister Grace, had she not died prematurely. It is possible that some of the difficulties that Cheong had with the other members of the family arose from resentment of the privileges granted to James. This is particularly relevant in the case of Caleb, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

1889  Head Boy of Melbourne Grammar School  
Ayers Prize for Head of School  
Speakers Prize for Classics  
English Essay Prize  
Original Greek Essay Prize  
Midwinter Form Prize  
Bishop Perry’s Scripture Prize  
Critical Prize for Latin and Greek  
1889  Matriculated with 1st Class honours in classics  
1890 Second year with 1st in classics, Trinity College, University of Melbourne  
1896  B.A. Hons - Trinity College, University of Melbourne  
1898 M.A. classics without further examination, University of Melbourne.

James’ university record was distinguished although taken at a leisurely pace. Eight years of living in Trinity College imposed a heavy financial burden upon his father as outlined in the following letter to Archdeacon Samuel Williams of New Zealand (see Chapter 5):

My Dear Archdeacon, James has been much affected by the demise of a dear sister [Grace] the flower of the family as he calls her & longs to fulfil her desire & that of his own to become a Medical Missionary (ordained), the layman’s idea, he said, was an alternative if the way be not clear for him to carry out his original purpose. I have already done my best for him in supporting him in a long-expensive course until he had graduated with first honours in the School of Classics & Comparative Philology which entitled him to the higher degree without further examination . . . He admits that he is disposed towards a different school of thought to that of his father and would rather not study under Principal Monk. But he is young and if his father can give him a little time to direct him in his studies, aided by a dear sister’s memory & the illumination of the Holy Spirit, I have strong hopes of his recovery from a point which before he entered Trinity College he has characterized as Popish . . . Of course it may only be a father’s fond wish but having gone over a wider field of theological
literature side by side with some of the most distinguished University Dons I feel that some impression might be made on his young mind.  

The uncertainty about what James was to do after completing his eight years at Melbourne University is the major strand in Cheong’s comments to Williams. Grace's untimely death in 1898 removed an important influence from his life. He enrolled, briefly, as a theological student at St John's College, East St Kilda — a short-lived diocesan college staffed by part-time lecturers — in 1898 but does not seem to have undertaken any courses. In early 1899 James left Australia for Hong Kong. He had been writing to an English Anglican priest enquiring about the pronunciation of Chinese, a mark of James’ concern to speak and write Chinese as a Chinese scholar might do. The Cheong family’s knowledge of spoken Mandarin, the official language of China, was poor or non-existent. James' letterbooks show how hard he practised written Chinese by copying many of the Chinese classics. The family identity might, in other circumstances than those created for his children by Cheok Hong Cheong, have been described as simply Chinese, if it were not for the fact that their Australianness was inseparable from their total identity.

Archdeacon Samuel Williams met James when father and son visited New Zealand shortly after the amalgamation of the CMSV with the Church Missionary Association of Victoria in 1897 (See Chapter 5). Williams was very impressed by James' striking intelligence and attractive personality. Williams offered, with missionary service in mind, to help James by financing his theological studies in England and/or a medical course at the University of Melbourne. Cheong later wrote to the Archdeacon to inform him of the costs involved in the medical course:

My dear Archdeacon — When James and I were under your hospitable roof you were good enough to enquire when the boy would be ready to proceed to England for his theological course. I replied that I thought this year. But since in the letter he wrote me when I first visited you he expressed his desire to become an ordained medical missionary. That is to go through a medical course &
thereafter seek ordination. And he retains the same desire if anything more strongly developed and feels that he could be of the most use in that position. Although my own view and that of a personal friend of the family is that he would be of the most use if after a good sound Theological course he took up Training work. However in view of his strongly expressed desire I can only bid him God speed in an equally Divine calling to heal bodies and souls of men. If therefore you approve he can begin at once. If it be at the University here the fees for the First Term have to be paid on or before the 25th Feb.

According to a friend of ours (Dr Macgibbon) who went through his course here the cost per annum if economically managed is as follows:

- University fees, books and instruments £50
- Hospital Fees 5
- Clothing, keep and personal expenses £105

I will however enquire of Professor Allen, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine to verify the correctness of Dr Macgibbon’s estimates.

Yours Very Faithfully, CHC

PS If James studied here he will have the opportunity of improving his Chinese knowledge. If in England he will have more eminent instructors. Kindly let me know your pleasure. 10

James’ interest in medicine ceased when the University of Melbourne ruled that he lacked the necessary prerequisites to enter the medical course.

Differences of personality, religious outlook, worldview, life experience and personal ambition had emerged between father and son. 11 The differences had their origins in the difference between the somewhat haphazard style of worship that James experienced as a youth in the mission chapel and the far more dignified and intellectually satisfying rituals of his eight years worshipping in the Trinity College

10 Cheok Hong Cheong to Archdeacon Samuel Williams, 28 January 1898.
11 Ridley College opened in 1911. It did not become an affiliated college of the University of Melbourne until 1965. Cheong believed the influence of Trinity College staff was the starting point of James move towards the Anglo-Catholic tradition, what might have been the outcome had Ridley College, an evangelical college, existed when James attended the University of Melbourne.
chapel. While in Hong Kong (1899-1902) and later as a student at Cuddesdon Theological College (Oxford University) in England in 1902-1903, James found that he preferred a highly formalised style of public worship alongside a life of personal devotion and contemplative prayer.

Cheong’s attempts to direct his children’s lives affected them differently. The indecision that marked James’ choice of a career affected all Cheong’s children. James’ followed his father into full-time Christian service reflected his acceptance of the underlying value of Christianity and Christian ministry. Christine and Benjamin retained links with the Mission as Trustees. Cheong’s letters show that he thought his other boys lacked a work ethic.

The Rev. Dr Ernst Eitel (see Chapter 5) wrote to James with an enquiry about a young Chinese from Hong Kong. In his reply James sought Eitel’s advice on his future. Eitel suggested that James go to China and improve his Chinese language skills. Eitel warned James not to be taken in by attitudes and values in Hong Kong where commercial and not scholarly or Christian values predominated. He referred James to Sir Kai Ho Kai, a leading Chinese Christian, with a warning to listen carefully to what Ho Kai said and then make his own assessments and draw his own conclusions. He suggested that James consider a career with the Chinese Foreign Office.

Cheong conveyed Eitel’s views in a letter to Williams. He felt that his original plan for James to be ordained and become a medical missionary was much to be preferred to the well-paid job of a diplomat:

My Dear Archdn My son James had a letter from the Rev. Dr Eitel some time ago asking him to make enquiries concerning a young man named Wong Ko-

12 Eitel, E J, (1895), Europe in China, Hong Kong, Kelly and Walsh. Eitel’s letter is known from Cheong’s note to Archdeacon Williams (see footnote 15). Upon his retirement in Hong Kong Eitel had accepted a call to a Lutheran Church in Adelaide and was also lecturing part-time at the University. In replying, James sought Eitel’s advice about his future, especially in regard to his poor Chinese language skills.

13 Smith, Carl T, (1985), Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen and the Church in Hong Kong, Hong Kong, Oxford University Press.

14 Choa, G H, (1981), The life and times of Sir Kai Ho Kai: a prominent figure in nineteenth-century Hong Kong, Hong Kong, Chinese University Press. Ho Kai was a relative of the catechist Ho A Low who served with the Victoria Chinese Mission from 1855-1857 and later as a Government Interpreter in the Colony of Victoria and in New Zealand.
tong formerly a student under Bishop Burdon but one in whom the Bps hopes have been blasted. In sending Dr Eitel the results of his enquiries James sought the advice of the veteran from China upon several matters & received the enclosed reply. I might say that Dr Eitel himself left the service of the London Missionary Society ten or fifteen years ago to enter government employ as Inspector-General of Schools in Hong Kong & did retain his interest in but his inspectorial duties gave him but little time to devote the work of the Mission . . . I shall be very glad and thankful to know if you approved the suggestion contained in my letter of the 28th Jany re a medical course. As when we were with you were kind enough to tell James that you were willing your generous promise should go either towards a theological or medical course. The other part of Dr Eitel's letter is a candid confession though he is reckoned with Dr Chalmers the two most distinguished Chinese scholars amongst the missionaries of Kwan-tung Province he has but a smattering knowledge of Chinese. In that he corroborates the statements of other missionaries some of whom I have quoted.\textsuperscript{15}

James decided to follow Eitel's advice and go to Hong Kong. On the way, he stopped briefly in Sri Lanka and later, during his time in Hong Kong, visited Shanghai and Japan.\textsuperscript{16}

James was never physically strong, suffering endless lung infections that may, in part at least, explain his rather leisurely progress through university. While studying at the University of Melbourne he had to take a rest with the family of the Rev. J C Love, Vicar of St Paul’s Church, Geelong.\textsuperscript{17} In England, he had to take time off from theological studies to recuperate from illness. A three-week trip to Tasmania, after his return from England, turned into a three-month recuperative holiday.

Prior to James departure for Hong Kong in 1899, his father obtained a number of personal references and had them printed up as a booklet.\textsuperscript{18} The Warden of Trinity College outlined James’ academic successes and paid tribute to his 'high character and

\textsuperscript{15} Cheok Hong Cheong to Archdeacon Samuel Williams, 4 March 1898.  
\textsuperscript{17} Love was a pioneer clergyman in Victoria. See Love, J C, (nd), \textit{Seventy Years of Church Life in the Diocese of Melbourne}, Melbourne.  
\textsuperscript{18} A copy is held in the National Archives of Australia.
blameless life\textsuperscript{19}. A former teacher of classics at Scotch College, and later Melbourne Grammar School, wrote that James was ‘a thoroughly educated and refined English gentleman.’\textsuperscript{20} In his reference the Archbishop of Melbourne endorsed James and, perhaps out of recognition of past events, described Cheok Hong Cheong as ‘an able man.’\textsuperscript{21} Another of James’ referees was the Chief Justice and Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria, Sir John Madden, who had been retained by the Victorian Chinese Residents Committee in 1888 to argue the case for the Chinese in the Victorian Supreme Court hearing into the \textit{Afghan} case (see Chapter 8).\textsuperscript{22} The Rev. J C Love (see above) raised the possibility of James’ ordination in the Anglican Church in China.\textsuperscript{23} Dr H Wollaston, the Colonial Secretary for Trade and Customs, described James as a ‘young man of great capacity and most excellent character’, and added that he recommended him for employment in the diplomatic service or the Imperial Customs Service.\textsuperscript{24} Eitel provided James with letters of introduction to Ho Kai and Wei Yuk (Hong Kong Legislative Council members); to the Anglican Bishop of Hong Kong; the Headmaster of Queen’s College, Hong Kong; and a former London Missionary Society minister, the Rev. T W Pearce, who had been an Inspector of Government Schools during Eitel’s period as Director of Hong Education.

On the basis of his references and university qualifications James secured a teaching appointment at Queen’s College, Hong Kong and became an active lay reader in the Diocese of Hong Kong. The headmaster said in his reference:

\begin{quote}
Mr James Cheong, graduate in Classics of Melbourne University has been acting as Assistant Master in this college during the last three years and a half [April 1899-31 August 1902]. It is with the greatest pleasure that I bear testimony to the
\end{quote}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{19} Dr Alec Leeper, Warden of Trinity College, 8 October 1898. (James Cheong Letters, Trinity College Archives, University of Melbourne).
\textsuperscript{20} From Lancing College, Sussex, 15 January 1899. (James Cheong Letters, Trinity College Archives, University of Melbourne).
\textsuperscript{22} Sir John Madden, 10 May 1900. (James Cheong Letters, Trinity College Archives, University of Melbourne).
\textsuperscript{23} Rev. J C Love, Vicar, St Paul’s Geelong, 9 November 1898.
\textsuperscript{24} H Wollaston, 10 February 1899. (James Cheong Letters, Trinity College Archives, University of Melbourne.)
\end{flushleft}
character and attainments of Mr James Cheong. He is a good disciplinarian, a
kind and sympathetic teacher, with a natural aptitude for imparting knowledge.
His classes passed well at the Annual and Midsummer Examinations. Mr
Cheong takes with him the best wishes of the whole staff for success and
happiness in his future career. It is a matter of regret to myself, that it was
impossible to secure the advantage of his services on the permanent staff.25

Despite his success at Queen’s, James did not consider a career as a teacher. A year
after his arrival in Hong Kong, he wrote to Sir John Madden outlining his activities
after leaving Melbourne in March 1899. As far as employment with the Chinese
Government was concerned, James told Madden:

They one and all, particularly the Chinese members of the Legislative Council,
dissuaded me from original intention of entering the Chinese Imperial
Service, on the ground that Chinese politics were in a hopeless mess as the
result of Chinese official conservatism, incapacity and corruption.26

James asked Madden’s help in securing a cadetship with the British Foreign Service
that was open to him as a British subject. He now spoke some Mandarin and saw work
involving China as a ‘natural sphere’ for a person with his ethnic background although
he later seems to have reconsidered his ideas. James asked Madden to provide him
with a certificate using a format he found in the Hong Kong archives by which
Madden, as Administrator of the Colony of Victoria, could nominate him to the British
Foreign Office:

I have read in the columns of the Hongkong Government Gazette (1862 p 291 ff)
the correspondence which passed between the then Secretary of State and the
Hongkong Government in re the status of British-born children of foreign
parents, wherein their birth rights and privileges were duly acknowledged . . . I
herewith enclose my formal application together with my testimonials.27

25 Geo H Watson Wright DD Oxon (Headmaster), 1 September 1902.
26 James Cheong to Sir John Madden 20 March 1900, (James Cheong Letters, Trinity College
Archives, University of Melbourne).
27 Ibid.
James asked Madden to forward the papers direct to London with his personal recommendation which Madden did on May 10th, 1900. James also discussed his future with the Bishop of Hong Kong who told him that he was an ideal candidate for the ordained ministry:

Mr James Cheong has been intimately known to me for three years during two of which he has been a licensed lay reader; and I can heartily recommend him as an earnest, faithful, God-fearing man of first class European education. He himself is desirous of taking Holy Orders, and if a thoroughly educated Christian Chinaman is wanted for work amongst Chinese, or indeed amongst Europeans, I shall have no hesitation in recommending him as a candidate for Holy Orders; nor should I hesitate to accept him as such myself, should he be called to offer himself for work in this Diocese.

James Cheong, Assistant Master, Queen's College, Hong Kong, 1902

Cheong Collection
Trinity College, University of Melbourne

28 Ibid.
29 Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, 20 March 1902.
There may have been another factor at play in James’ decision not to proceed further with his application to join the British Foreign Service. Eitel’s earlier warning about Hong Kong had proved correct, as James was to reflect after enrolling, in February 1903, at Cuddesdon College, a theological college affiliated with Oxford University. It probably explains, at least in part, why he did not take up the bishop’s offer of ordination and service in the Diocese of Victoria, Hong Kong. James wrote to his mother after his arrival at Oxford:

The life here is so different from that in Hong Kong. There the racial feeling is so strong that unconsciously I began to suspect even friends of not being sincere in their friendship. I used to feel there, rightly or wrongly, that their manifestations of friendship to me were forced.  

James found that although a ‘High Church’ centre, the college had ‘next to nothing of ritual’. Services, including the Holy Communion, were conducted in traditional Anglican ‘Surplice, Cassock & Hood and Stole’ rather than the mediaeval style of eucharistic vestments that was reappearing in Anglican worship. James joined the Society of the Sacred Mission, an Anglo-Catholic monastic order following Franciscan traditions. James took the traditional vows of ‘chastity, poverty, and obedience’ that shaped the rest of his life. Quite apart from the fundamentally different religious values that now divided father and son it would have been a great sadness for Cheok Hong that his son had rejected his filial duty as the oldest male child, i.e., to marry, establish a family and undertake family-wide leadership responsibilities.

James was made deacon in London in 1904, at Southwark Cathedral, on Letters Dimissory from the Archbishop of Melbourne, and returned to Australia. His father’s paternalistic intervention was seen in a series of letters to the immigration authorities seeking to have James avoid the usual interrogation given to Chinese entering Australia, whether carrying a British passport or not (See Appendix 17).

30 James Cheong to Mrs Cheong, 3 March 1903. (James Cheong Letters, Trinity College Archives, University of Melbourne).

31 James Cheong to Mrs Cheong, 3 March 1903.

32 The only member of the family to have children was Caleb, whose wife was a European-Australian. There are descendants from the marriage.

33 The original documents relating his ordination to the diaconate and the priesthood are held at the Museum of Chinese Australian History, Cohen Place, Melbourne.
After meeting the Rev. Ernest S Hughes in England, James made up his mind to seek to work with Hughes at St Peter’s Church, Eastern Hill, the parish within which the Anglican Chinese Mission was located. St Peter’s was the leading Anglo-Catholic parish in the Melbourne diocese (Chapter 5). Hughes wrote to Cheong about James’ future and received the following reply, amply illustrating what was said earlier about Cheong’s determination to direct his son’s future:

Dear Mr Hughes — I am much obliged to you for your favour of the 5th. ult. and for your kind consideration in urging James’ speedy return to Melbourne to give his Father the absolute rest he has been ordered by his medical attendant to take and for which he has for many years past felt severely the need.

It is exceedingly kind of the Bishop and yourself to suggest the possibility of James’ promotion in the Diocese but that need not I hope take him away altogether from the direct work of the Mission nor involve his residence with the other clergy at S. Peters’, at all events not at present.

As to the future so far as I’m personally concerned James can please himself as to where he lives and what preferment he accepts which the Bishop may be good enough to offer him after his Father has rested to recruit his strength and if he will while his Father labours thereafter for the liquidation of the debt on the Mission. But while he thus acts for his Father James must in accordance with our Established Custom and usage live with his people, be thoroughly at home with them and accessible at all times to them.

For that reason, we declined a previous offer of the late Mr. T. M. Millar to board and lodge our Catechist at Brighton gratuitously as we felt that its acceptance would make the Catechist inaccessible to his people and thus lose that influence for good which we desire our Missioner to exercise.

James must therefore in the interests of the Mission and as a filial duty wait patiently until his Father’s health has been reestablished before he could think of living elsewhere and accepting preferment outside of the Mission. Although I am of opinion there is no preferment in the Church to be compared with that of a Missionary especially when the work is amongst the sojourners from the land of Sinim whose vitality and importance as a people is not only written in history but also indelibly inscribed in Holy Prophecy.
I am persuaded therefore James can have no higher vocation or more ennobling work than that of sharing in the ingathering of these from the land of Sinim into the fold of the Christian Church.

With the kindest regards and best wishes for your new estate of wedded bliss.  

While James was en route to Australia in 1904, Cheong continued with his own construction of James’ reality. In Cheong’s thinking James would undertake the everyday pastoral work of the mission while leaving policies and priorities to his father. He was to live in the Missioner’s apartment on the top floor of the mission building with the certain knowledge that his father would stay with him when in the city, i.e., every weekend and most Fridays and Mondays.

James was prepared to be appointed Missioner but as an ordained priest he was determined not be subservient to his lay father. Anglo-Catholic tradition views ordination as a sacrament that endures for life and forever distinguishes a priest from all other people. Although the evangelical view is, theologically, somewhat different, conventions were much the same. When Cheong fell out with the CMAV, and the Secretary, the Rev. E J Barnett, in 1897-8, the CMAV sought to weaken his position by declaring that: ‘Mr Barnett is Executive Secretary, and his being a clergyman in priest’s orders settles finally the question of relative authority.’ Cheong's response was that he was as well educated theologically as most clergymen which, considered against the overall standard of Victorian Anglican clergymen of the time, was probably true. Unfortunately for Cheong, it was an issue on which ordained clergymen, irrespective of the finer points of theology, held common views about the relative status of ordained and non-ordained people.

As the disagreement between James and his father deepened, Cheong astounded everyone when he said in 1909 that it was against Chinese custom for him, as head of

34 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Rev. Ernest Hughes, 20 September 1904.
35 See Chapter 5, Part D, for copies of Cheong’s letters to the immigration authorities seeking James unimpeded admission to Australia.
36 Cheong to Secretary, External Affairs, 15 April 1904.
37 The Church of England Messenger, 1 December 1898, p 178.
the family, to kneel before his son to receive the communion elements.\textsuperscript{38} It was all the more extraordinary because, although never an enthusiastic communicant, Cheong had previously received the communion from James without comment. Cheong sought to explain his change of attitude in terms of Chinese filial piety. He set out his views to the Honorary Chaplain, Archdeacon Cresswell:

Dear Mr Cresswell, I have been seeking an opportunity to talk over the subject of your very kind letter but have been hindered hitherto.

Public opinion & sentiment among the Chinese is very different to what it is among Europeans. For example, it is not only possible but a fairly common practice among English people for a parent to show his affection for a son by carrying his luggage for him. The following is an instance given me. The parent of an Oxford student thought it very becoming not only to accompany his son to the Railway Station but also carry his luggage for him & thus free him from all impediment but being only of the peasantry class the son to cover the shame as he thought it of his lowly origin & to have the honour among his fellow students at the station dismissed him with no other ceremony than taking the luggage from him & handing him a shilling as if he were a hireling cabman.\textsuperscript{39}

This latter part of the son's conduct I know is not approved but I have known many instances of a prosperous son hiring his father or mother to work for him for wages. Such action passes not only unrebuked but also unremarked.

Among the Chinese however the son has to honor his parents not only with his substance but with his personal service e.g. if a servant brings in a cup of tea to refresh his father or mother it is the proper filial thing for the son to take the cup from the servant & hand it personally to the parent. Moreover his means & belongings & indeed his whole fortune are at the disposal of his sire the only limitations are the limitations of righteousness & humanity.

Thus the family is strictly under patriarchal government, the state is only the larger patriarchy.

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\textsuperscript{38} His rich life as the perpetual curate at St Peter's is discussed in Holden, Colin, (1995), \textit{From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass}, St Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne, 1846-1990, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press.

\textsuperscript{39} This was a Christian humility story that was widespread in evangelical circles for many years. It is in the same category of tale as what is known today as an 'urban myth'.
And further the father is always the officiating priest at the family altar & the Emperor the High Priest of the nation. So profound is the respect held to be due to one's parents in China that the Jesuit missionaries allowed ancestral worship of their converts indeed advocated it as a species of Saint worship hence the ecclesiastical strife which raged between the Franciscans & Dominicans in China which the Pope settled by deciding in favor of the latter while the Emperor Kienlung the most illustrious and cultured of the Sovereigns of the present dynasty rejected the Pope's decision & insisted that ancestral worship was the duty of every son of Han.40

You will see from this the strength of the filial feeling amongst my people. If the father is present on any occasion he always takes precedence of his son. I have thought it wise to therefore not to grate upon the feelings of my people by taking a position which is contrary to their views of propriety. Hence my absence.41

It was a curiously unconvincing and flagrantly self-centred argument from a theologically literate man with an evangelical formation, and even more unconvincing for those, like Marston Bridger, who found Cheong’s attitude to the Holy Communion to be casual, at best (see Chapter 5).42


41  Cheok Hong Cheong to Archdeacon Creswell, Melb 14 June 1909.

42  The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Church deal specifically with the relationship between the human person of a clergyman and his role as an officiating minister. Although Article XXVI is more about the moral worthiness of ministers, the principle underlying it applies. The full text is and the relevant principle is highlighted:

\[
\text{Article XXVI. Of the unworthiness of the Ministers, which hinders not the effect of the Sacraments.}
\]

ALTHOUGH in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometime the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the word and sacraments; yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ’s, and do minister by His commission and authority, we may use their ministry both in hearing the word of God and in the receiving of the sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ’s ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God’s gifts diminished from such as by faith and rightly do receive the sacraments ministered unto them, which be effectual because of Christ’s institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men.
Some two years later Cheong complained to the Archbishop about ‘innovations’ in the mission chapel introduced by James with Hughes’ support. The innovations centred on the placing of candles on the altar and the introduction of auricular confession prior to the Eucharist. Nothing could have been more insulting and provocative to the evangelical, low church Christian and neo-Confucian father than what he construed as flagrant disrespect by his son. Cheong removed and hid the candlesticks and refused to replace them despite a direction from Hughes in his role as the parish priest.

Normal Anglican practice required Hughes to discuss the proposal with the parish council although it had no jurisdiction over the Mission Chapel. Hughes should have consulted the Mission Trust and the Board and only then sought a ‘faculty’ or approval from the diocesan bishop before introducing ‘ornaments’ (i.e., the candlesticks) to the building. Hughes appears to have ignored all the usual rules and conventions. It was arrogant and presumptuous behaviour by the two clergymen. Cheong fired off a letter of protest to the Archbishop who was not prepared to take sides in what he probably saw as a matter over which he no authority to intervene:

Dear Mr. Cheong, I have seen both Mr. Hughes & your son upon the subject of your letter. With regard [to] the candlesticks placed by your son on the Communion Table at the Mission I heard of it for the first time from you. I do not think your son will consent to remove them but the chapel is not one of the churches of my diocese & I can only leave you to urge further your wishes.

Your son is licensed as Curate of St Peters & I cannot withdraw this license so long as your son gives no occasion to do so. I deeply regret the difference of opinion between you & him but it ought to be capable of adjustment between

Nevertheless it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church that inquiry be made of evil ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally, being found guilty by just judgement, be deposed.

Anglican evangelicals tended to avoid placing candles on the Communion Table (or altar) because of a rejection of all things associated with the Catholic tradition in worship. Under the evangelical traditions of Bishop Perry there were few altar candles in the Diocese of Melbourne for many years. Among the churches in which they were unknown in the early years of the diocese was St Peter’s, Eastern Hill. A photograph in 1877 shows a small wooden altar without candles.
you. I learnt from with surprise that you feel as his father some difficulty in
accepting ministrations at his hands. 44

Hughes had shown strong moral leadership in finding James a place in his parish
when most other clergymen would have yielded to fears of congregational bias.
Hughes was a member of the Bishop-in-Council, the principal administrative pillar of
the diocese where he had performed well. James also had the Archbishop’s support
as the following letter makes clear:

My dear Mr Cheong. I have for sometime wished to offer you something which
will mark my sense of the services you have rendered to the Church in this
diocese. When I have proposed you for one or two parishes the racial objection
has been raised. With this I have no sympathy and now I am able to put before
you a proposal which I hope will be acceptable to you. Your work as Chaplain in
the Hospital is generally highly valued. I want you therefore to accept a full
Chaplaincy at £250 a year. Whilst you will have to give your whole time to the
work, you can choose your own place of residence. 45

James became a popular radio broadcaster with the Australian Broadcasting
Commission and enjoyed a steady exchange of letters with listeners. His personal
notebooks include examples of appreciative letters written to him by listeners. He
remained at St Peter's until his death in 1943, from cancer at the good age of 72 years. 46
Despite the reluctance of at least two parishes to accept his nomination as parish priest,
there is no suggestion that he personally experienced racial prejudice during his long
ministry at Eastern Hill. His gentle personality (when not reacting to his father) and a
well-earned reputation for wise counsel attracted a strong following among clergy and
laypeople. He was widely valued within the Anglican Church as a gifted counsellor
and spiritual director. A report on the 1910 Melbourne diocesan clergy retreat ended:

In 1993, fifty years after his death, a commemorative service of Holy Communion was
held in St Peter’s. The service was conducted using the 1928 revised order for the Holy
Communion from the same book that James had used to conduct his last service before

44 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Archbishop of Melbourne, 28 June 1911.
38 Holden, Colin, (1995), From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass, St Peter’s Eastern Hill,
Melbourne, 1846-1990, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press. This book contains a chapter
outlining James Cheong’s life and achievements.
his death. The church was packed and among the many wanting to honour him were bishops and clergy from every part of Australia, members of the parish who remembered his care for parents and friends, and friends. At a dinner in the parish hall after the service people told their memories of James Cheong.
Joshua Cheong

Both James and Joshua worked as casual shop assistants in Coles Great Book Arcade while they were secondary school students. Their employer, the prominent Melbourne bookseller, E W Cole, visited the family and later referred to Joshua as a thoroughly Australian young man. In 1904, Joshua worked in Sydney with a Chinese firm (On Cheong and Co). In 1906, he made a business visit to Fiji on behalf of his employer. Upon his return to Sydney he experienced the humiliation of being identified as a person (i.e., a Chinese) required for interview by the customs officers.

One letter from Cheong to Joshua suggests the high expectations he set for his family and seems to imply a rebuke to Joshua’s outlook on life:

My Dear Joshua, I am enclosing herewith a cutting from the Argus in which is contained Sir Albert Spicer’s views & suggestions as to how to obtain success in life. He is President of the British Chamber of Commerce & has himself build up a great business And whilst working hard at the same to attain the dimensions to which it has reached he has devoted no little time to the cause of Christian philanthropy & is a pillar of the London Missionary Society & other good objects. Thus though engaged in doing the best for himself he has not been unmindful of his duty to his fellow-men & has done his best also for them.

All of Cheong’s surviving letters to Joshua are about business matters. In the instance above, he discussed his real estate investments and a disastrous court case over a loss on an export of apples to Europe. He wrote one extraordinary letter to Joshua urging him to consult business contacts (including the On Cheong Co) in Sydney about the possibility of leasing Melville Island to harvest buffalo meat to sell to Asian buyers.

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48 Cheok Hong Cheong to Joshua Cheong, 3 September 1909.
49 Cheong had consigned a cargo of apples to Germany. The cargo was off-loaded in Bombay where the fruit rotted and was lost. It is the only occasion where Cheong actively undertook a court action. He lost the action, and the fruit and the cost of shipping it. He tried to avoid paying his lawyer’s fees and it was nearly three years before he finally settled the matter. He never again resorted to legal means of securing his ‘rights’.
50 Cheok Hong Cheong to Joshua Cheong, 4 October 1909.
Joshua later worked as an advertising representative for *The Chinese Times*. After resigning he worked in the Croydon orchard. In 1912 when a fire broke out on the Cheong property. Cheong handled the matter, telling neighbours and the Victorian Railways that a spark from a passing railway engine was the cause and he subsequently claimed and received compensation from the Victorian Railways.

**Caleb Cheong**

To Cheong’s long-term irritation Caleb had developed a ‘happy-go-lucky’ approach to work. While on his way to London in 1891, Cheong wrote his fifteen-year-old son a ‘concerned father’ letter in the formal style he used even when writing to his children. The second paragraph provides the best insight into his concern over Caleb’s work ethics, or perhaps lack of them:

RMS Carthage, Mediterranean, 13 November 1891

My Dear Caleb

During the last few days I have seen a wonderful piece of human industry – the Suez Canal – and what a perfect revolution it has achieved for commerce! Why Bombay one of the cities of India has risen to the proud position of being next to London the greatest commercial city of the British Empire. The trade of that City alone is now nearly £200,000,000 a year, chiefly through the opening of the Suez Canal.

I had for my fellow passengers a very large number of Indian Officials both in the Civil and Military Service of that Empire and these officials nearly all of them young men who have risen to their positions by earnest application to their studies and have therefore become a credit to themselves and the families to which they belong. They are now going home to enjoy a well-earned though brief holiday. I hope and trust that you will also prove a credit to yourself and the family to which you belong by an earnest application of mind to your studies and acquit yourself well at the examinations.

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51 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Mt Lyell Mining and Railway Company, 1 December 1909.

52 Cheok Hong Cheong to Mr Charles Wedge, Mountain View, Croydon, 20 February 1912. See also Cheok Hong Cheong to Commissioners, Victorian Railways, 30 January 1905; 17 February 1905; 23 March 1905.
The way to secure this is never to waste time — by this I do not mean that you
are not to take recreation, but never idle or fritter away your time which ought to
be devoted to study, or in your duty to your mother and family.

Above all things, remember, in all that you do ask God's blessing upon it, as
devout men always do. "Establish Thou the work of our hands O Lord, the work
of our hands establish thou it."

Yours very affectionately, Cheok Hong Cheong.

The relationship between Caleb and his father never recovered from a disastrous
episode in 1917 when Caleb, then in his early forties, visited China on behalf of a
consortium of Melbourne Chinese businessmen among whom was his father.53 The
purpose of the visit to China is explained in a letter to a business acquaintance in
which Cheong shows parental pride in the responsibility entrusted to his son:

Dear Miss Brenan . . . My son Caleb has just been sent to China per SS Tango
Maru by the Anglo-China Traders Coy to develop Trade between China and
Australia & among its imports silks will figure prominently as they already have
substantial orders from leading firms here & in Sydney. 54

The Anglo-China Traders Coy was offering Australian agency for Chinese businesses
seeking export trade opportunities. Cheong wrote to the Chinese Consul-General
indicating that his own family company was a leading member of the consortium:

Dear Mr. Tseng, I am in receipt of your favor of the 23rd Inst & in reply beg to
say that Caleb's name in Chinese is . . . & his age is 41 having been born on
26/1/76. I am sending this by my son Joshua who will pay the usual fee for the
passport. I feel quite confident that with your valued assistance the commercial
venture of Cheong & Co Proprietary Ltd will prove a great success. The
members of the company are not only men of substance but also men of probity
& honor & will not fail to recognise your assistance in this connection but will
hope that when your way is clear to have you associated with them in a
prominent position.55

53 Cheok Hong Cheong to The Secretary, Mutual Life and Citizens Insurance Company, 24 April
1917.

54 Cheok Hong Cheong to Miss I Brenan, 4 June 1917.

55 Cheok Hong Cheong to Chinese Consul-General T K Tseng, 25 April 1917.
In a letter, on company letterhead, to Liang Lau Hsun and others in China Cheong further outlined the purpose of Caleb's visit. Hopes of a profitable orchard business had failed and Cheong was hoping that this venture would strengthen the family's economic future:

My Dear Mr Liang, as you see from the above heading my family are interested in the Commercial venture which the said heading bespeaks. My son Caleb has taken his passage in the Tango Maru which sails from Sydney at noon today & if he should be able to visit Canton I have asked him to call & pay his respects to you. He & his brother Joshua at the suggestion & with the support of several well-known firms in this city who are shareholders & directors in this Coy are interested in opening up Commercial relations between Australia & China and anything you can do in your official capacity to facilitate their object will be esteemed a great favor.  

Caleb was entrusted with the hopes of investors, including the family in general, his brother Joshua and his father's friends in Melbourne, whom Cheong claimed were willing to invest £100,000. Cheong’s own integrity was the bond for Caleb's participation. He was heartbroken to hear from Liang that Caleb had not kept his appointments and had spent most of his time in the bright lights of Hong Kong with a cousin.

Cheong was humiliated by his son's behaviour and ordered Caleb to return home immediately. Once home Caleb asked for unpaid salary and expenses because his trip had been cut short. Not surprisingly the company rejected his demands and Caleb grandiloquently threatened to sue. Cheong wrote to Caleb labelling him a fool and a week later followed up with another note:

Dear Caleb, It saddens me to note that the attitude you have assumed is an amazing one & is comparable only to that which Shakespeare’s characters had taken up. ‘By my soul I swear there is no power in tongue of man to alter me. I stay here on my bond.’

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56 Cheok Hong Cheong to Liang Lau Hsun, Director, Customs, Canton; Tang Shao-yi, President Venus Ins Co, Shanghai; Wong Yung-Liang, Director, Foreign Bureau, Tientsin; Lo Hong, Director, Foreign Bureau, Amoy; Liang Chi-Chow, Address unknown. 27 April 1917.
57 Cheok Hong Cheong to Callaway, 1 May 1917.
58 Cheok Hong Cheong to Langford, 21 November 1917.

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That infamous Jew had a design on the life of the merchant. And from all I hear you also have a design on the life of the Coy which employed you & which sent you on a Mission full of promise of the brightest future for you & for the Coy, but you started it in a manner which blighted all hopes of success by telegraphing to one whose career here you knew should have proved a warning & not an example & judging by the a/c of expenses you claimed you have followed him very closely in a course of the wildest extravagance & thought very little of the interests of the Coy & did less visiting only two places on business out of the thousands of centres of industry in that vast empire & was impatient to return to your jollification with your kindred spirit. And though you still had over £90 of the Company's money in hand according to your own showing when you returned to Hong Kong you were unconscionable enough to cable for £25 more & claimed $15 for cabling expenses.

Are you yet awakened to the fact that serious trouble is awaiting you unless you very promptly turn over a new leaf?59

Relationships between father and son went from bad to worse:

Dear Caleb, I found before coming yesterday that you have made no effort in settling Swallow & Ariels account though it is many weeks since I requested you to do so. An account now two years old but which you treat as of no consequence. And last evening another a/c addressed to me from T. Crawford for £4/5/- which has been due since Apl last or 8 months ago it seems also no more notice has been taken of it by you than the other.

I do not know how many more such a/cs are owing by you. And yet you always talk in that grandiose style which indicates a serious moral lapse or want of character. And this too not without a reminder from your father & mother but you seem now devoid of all filial feelings of respect for same without any hope of amendment. And that that being so I must ask you to at once leave the property here so that we may not be further annoyed by the appearance of such a/cs of your lapses & delinquencies,60

59 Cheok Hong Cheong to Caleb Cheong, 27 November 1917.
60 Cheok Hong Cheong to Caleb Cheong, 11 December 1917. Swallow and Ariel were a major biscuit manufacturer. The firm continued to trade into the late twentieth century.
Caleb remained a shareholder in the family company, Cheong and Co, but Cheong made separate and lesser provision for Caleb and his children in his will. It is indicative of Cheong’s feelings towards Caleb that the family photograph early in this chapter, probably taken just after Mrs Cheong’s death, did not include Caleb.61

**Grace Cheong**

There is not a great deal in Cheong’s letterbooks about his two daughters, Grace and Christine. Grace died at just eighteen years from complications following a bout of influenza. A brilliant student, she had been unable to go to school for nearly two years. She was hoping to resume her studies at the Methodist Ladies College when she died. Cheong described her long illness in a letter to Archdeacon Samuel Williams:

> This I am very sorry to say was owing to the influenza epidemic among several members of my congregation and the serious illness of my Eldest Daughter Grace which added to my ordinary duties deprived me of the opportunity of seeing the Prof. Indeed Grace's condition was pronounced to be so serious during the last visit of Dr Snowball (our family doctor) & the small hopes he entertained of her recovery that considering the Doctor's eminence in his profession his words threw quite a shadow over the family though I never for a moment doubted that there is a Divine purpose in her present illness as well as for the future. His visit today however reassured us that the danger at first apprehended he finds does not exist after a more thorough examination, and that she is suffering simply from Anaemia or a poor condition of the blood. The fact is that seeing she had been kept home for two years she felt she ought to apply her mind to study and study she did. She took up no less than ten subjects with such avidity that though at the beginning of he year she was well below the class average in nearly every subject, at the Christmas exams she reversed the order and got considerably above the class average in nearly every subject & ran very close to their respective prize-takers. The effort however has overtaxed her strength and the Doctor has just ordered her away for a change to recruit. She is

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61 From the internal evidence of Cheong’s appearance, and the impression of the respective ages of the family members this photograph would appear to have been was taken when the family gathered at Croydon following the death of Mrs Cheong in early 1928, and not the earlier date suggested by the Trinity College website.
18-1/2 years of age & should have had at least a years work at the University had not other circumstances interfered.62

Grace’s academic achievements and strong personality gave her great influence within the family. She was as intellectually able as James and Cheong told Williams he had decided that she would go to university. Her influence on James was considerable and it may have been her death that contributed to his final shift, while at Trinity College, towards what was for him a more emotionally satisfying form of Christian belief and practice.63

Christine Cheong

There are few references to Christine in Cheong’s letterbooks. She seems to have been disinterested in academic or business matters and remained at home with her parents during their lifetime. When her mother died Christine became housekeeper for her father and unmarried brothers and continued in that role after her father’s death. There is a passing comment from Cheong that points to this conclusion:

We are also I hope only temporarily without a regular servant other than a young girl of 13 (whose father had been employed by me at orchard work) so that all the cooking and much of the other household duties fall on our Chrissie.64

After Cheong’s death, Christine took his place on the Trustees and throughout her life was an active participant in the life of the Anglican Chinese Mission. She never married.

The Family Provider

Towards the end of his life Cheong began to bring his various business interests into a form that would ensure financial security for his family after his death. Despite their

62 Cheok Hong Cheong to The Ven. Samuel Williams, 25 February 1898. It is interesting to note that Cheong refers to ‘my congregation’ signaling his claim to status as a ‘minister of the Gospel’ a claim he used elsewhere. While theologically correct, and reflecting late 20th century references to lay ministry, it was not a claim that was used in the late 19th century. It is symbolic of Cheong’s lifelong search for a recognized status within the leadership of the Christian Church as part of his wider search for identity that is reviewed in the closing chapter.


differences Cheong continued to regard James as the future head of the family. In a letter to James about family matters Cheong mentioned that Mrs. Cheong was always anxious over the family’s economic future. Although he died a wealthy man, he always had a high debt to asset ratio that undoubtedly lessened the balance of his estate received by the family members. He told James:

I want you to look carefully into the whole matter of the family estate as I am feeling at times thoroughly exhausted and heart failure may call me home at any moment. And your mother who as mother is properly executrix but she has had no business training and but little knowledge of the world. As evidenced by the fact that she wept bitterly when I sold the Little Bourke St property (Cnr Market Lane) and bought with it the two shops in Brunswick Street (Cnr Moor St) but by this Exchange I netted £950 and likewise Gwalter Terrace she was inconsolable for more than a week fearing I might become insolvent and yet Gwalter Terrace gave me a nett profit of £650.

Mrs Cheong was always the mediator between father and children. Throughout the disagreements between James and his father it was Mrs Cheong who conveyed messages when they were not on speaking terms. While James was studying in Hong Kong and later in England, he wrote to his mother about his life but there are no similar letters to or from his father in James’ letterbooks. The same was true of Joshua and Caleb. To judge by the outcomes, Cheong’s maintenance of authority over his children was, overall, counter-productive.

Cheong saw his primary role within the family as being a good provider and example for his family culminating in the move to Croydon in 1902 and enlarging a small cottage into what he referred to as a gentleman’s residence. In a letter to the Shire of Lillydale concerning the value of the property for rating purposes he described it as consisting of:

82 acres of bush paddocks (including 58 acres I bought from Wiseman Bros at £4.15/- per acre), 40 acres of scrubby ground with stumps unremoved, 42 acres grazing and cultivation paddocks and 36 acres Orchard about half of which consists of newly planted trees.

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65 Cheok Hong Cheok to Secretary, Shire of Lillydale, 24 September 1904.
The original house was a cottage with three bedrooms, a family kitchen, a sitting room and a small bathroom. In 1905 he recorded the building of a new kitchen and the conversion of the old kitchen into a dining room. By the time his renovations were completed Pine Lodge was a substantial house of 10 main rooms, 2 smaller ones together with bathroom, pantry, storeroom and dairy. The house was pulled down around the 1950s when the property was subdivided for housing. The section of the old property south of the railway is known as Cheong Park, and is the only public memorial to an important early Chinese family in the district.
Cheong and the Poon Why Family

One of Cheong’s closest friends was Cornelius Poon Why. No details of Poon Why’s Christian conversion are known but appears to have been fairly long-standing.\(^{67}\) He was a co-founder with Cheong and others of the Chinese Christian Union, an interdenominational Chinese organisation initiated by Cheok Hong Cheong (See Appendix 14). The Poon Why family is mentioned in a letter from Cheong to the wife of the catechist, Mark Ah Bon written in late 1890. Cheong refers to just three Chinese Christian women in Melbourne, including his wife, Mrs Mouy Ling, the wife of the Methodist missionary, and Mrs Poon Why.\(^{68}\) The earlier mention of Cheong’s scrupulous honesty and his paternalistic and controlling personality is reinforced by his dealings with Poon Why and his children by his first wife.

When Poon Why decided to return to China after the death of his first wife, he gave power of attorney over his Australian assets to Cheong, asking him to manage his affairs on behalf of his two Australian born children, May (daughter) and Ming (son). Cheong’s letterbooks contain letters covering his handling of Poon Why’s affairs during the years from 1906 to 1912. The first reference is a payment of legal costs to Cheong’s solicitor on 13 February 1906.\(^{69}\) In April, Cheong reports having received two letters from Poon Why. Cheong’s reference to the second of the letters suggests that Poon Why was barely literate in English and relied on his daughter, May Poon Why, to conduct his correspondence for him:

Re letters from Cornelius Poon Why. I have had two letters in Chinese from him. The first one was written by some friend for him, the second which I enclose herewith was written by himself & must have cost him at least a day in the composition. This second letter dated 6th of the 1st Moon in the 32nd year of Kwong-Sii corresponding to 30th January 1906 in English date, made request among other things, for a remittance of £50 in sovereigns per gold box of Chinese firm he named but instead of sending the money in the way he desired I thought it wiser to forward it to him direct per Bank Draft enclosed in registered letter bearing date 5th February last & received acknowledgement of same in

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\(^{67}\) The name Cornelius Poon Why does not appear in Appendix 12.

\(^{54}\) Cheok Hong Cheong to Mrs Bon, 13 November 1890 (Original in Museum of Chinese Australian History, 22 Cohen Place, Melbourne.

\(^{69}\) Cheok Hong Cheong to D Herald, Solicitor, 13 February 1905.

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letter dated 7th ult by his daughter May Poon Why who is his Amanuensis in his ordinary correspondence on account of his own defective education. I shall thank you to take care of the enclosures & to return them to me together with C. Poon Why’s Statutory Declaration as soon as you have done with them.70

In May, Cheong’s nephew, Tim Young, reported that Poon Why was dead.71 Young had hoped to marry May Poon Why but Cornelius had forbidden the marriage because Young was thirty-six years old at the time and May was just sixteen.72 They kept in touch down the years until Tim married a young woman from Warrnambool.

In his next note, Cheong reminds May that he and a solicitor, a Mr Webster, a friend of her father, were the executors of Poon Why’s will. From this letter it emerges that Poon Why had purchased two separate properties in Cobden Street. The frontages of the two wooden houses were just thirteen feet each and Cheong decided that they should be sold and the money invested in better property. His main point was that once the existing houses were removed, the blocks of land were too small to give any worthwhile return.73

**Cheong’s Property Investments**

Cheok Hong Cheong’s property investments show that he experienced no restrictions on buying and selling real estate. Australia was indeed the ‘Lucky Country’ and ‘New Gold Mountain’ for a boy who arrived in Ballarat aged twelve years in 1863 and whose father had earned just £100 a year as a Presbyterian missionary to the local Chinese community.

As Superintendent of the Church Missionary Society of Victoria Chinese Mission from 1885, Cheong received a salary of £300 to £400 a year, plus £100 a year for housing. Before taking on that position he had made enough from the family fruit business to purchase a free-standing, double fronted, solid brick house, *Montgomery Villa*, in Gore Street, Fitzroy.

After the creation of the Church Missionary Society of Victoria, Re-formed (CMSVR) in 1898, he refused a salary. He was motivated by ‘occasional taunts from my heathen

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70 Cheok Hong Cheong to W E Wells & Sons, 23 April 1906.
71 Timothy Young was the son of Cheong’s sister, Fong Sen.
72 Cheok Hong Cheong to W E Wells & Sons, 6 May 1905.
73 Cheok Hong Cheong to May Poon Why, 25 May 1906.
brethren that I preached because I was paid to.’ 74 He was well aware of the Chinese belief that people became Christians only because they acquired a temporal benefit, i.e., they were ‘rice Christians’.75

His property investment program began when he mortgaged *Montgomery Villa*, the first family home in Gore Street, Fitzroy, to purchase *Gwalter Terrace*, in Park Street, Brunswick. *Gwalter Terrace* in turn was used, with the *Villa*, as collateral for a series of bank loans to purchase deceased estates, including the *Pine Lodge* property at Croydon in 1904. His annual capital debt liability, allowing for variations in any given year, was around £10,000 on which he paid interest at around 4 percent or some £400-£500 a year. Cheong claimed that living expenses, including school fees, etc, did not exceed £1000 a year for a family of seven including five young adults, suggesting an income in excess of £1500 a year (2001 = approx $A100,000). It was a very comfortable lifestyle at a time when most workers were lucky to earn £100 (2001 = approx $A 7000) a year.

From 1904 onwards the family enjoyed free lodgings at the mission at 121-123 Little Bourke Street. Cheong spent most weekends there, arriving Thursday evening or Friday morning and usually returning to Pine Lodge late Monday, or if he had business, late Tuesday. His church and business letters often begin with the address of the Mission that he referred to as his ‘city offices.’

His decision to live from investments was possible because of the major economic recession in Victoria in the wake of the 1890s financial crisis marked by a disastrous bank crash.76 Property prices remained depressed for many years.77 Cheong became a specialist in buying deceased estates and paid, as an example, just one-sixth of the price that Philip Kitchen had paid for *Pine Lodge*.78 The purchase of inner city properties from the estate of a suicide, T P Fallon, a leading merchant and tramway speculator bankrupted in the crash of the 1890s, was also made on exceptionally

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74 Cheok Hong Cheong to Acting Commissioner of Taxation. 12 May 1917.
75 There is a relevant discussion in *The Church Missionary Intelligencer*, Vol III No 3, March 1852, pp 67-68 about economic motives for conversion. Also Vol III, No 11, November 1852, p 255.
77 Cheok Hong Cheong to Mr J. O’Callaghan, 26 Park St, W. Brunswick, 1 March 1909.
78 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Manager, Bank of Australasia, Collingwood, 11 March 1908.
favourable terms.\textsuperscript{79} Other examples included land in Brunswick. He wrote to a real estate agent acting on his behalf:

\begin{quote}
The land I reckon is worth between £400 and £500. But without making him any offer you can get to know if he will come down to about my mark as land has just been sold on the opposite side at £12 per foot. At the figure it would be worth some £400.\textsuperscript{80}
\end{quote}

As his note to Swan cited above shows, Cheong kept a close watch on price movements in the vicinity of his properties, as in this reference to his interests in Smith Street, Collingwood:

\begin{quote}
Then the singular fact re Smith St. values. Whereas Paterson & Kiernan had to pay £4650 to secure 15’ X 187’ from Mrs Treadway in July 1912 the same lady offered me in Mar. 1914 the adjoining block (52’ 2” X 187’) at £12,500 with much more valuable buildings in proportion and at the corner of Stanley St. The abnormal price paid as the Bank Managers will tell you was in consequence of pressure of space by Paterson & Co for their time payment furniture business. Mrs Treadway knew of the fact & charged accordingly. And as Paterson & Co had besides the 15’ 1” freehold, a leasehold they were obliged to secure the adjoining property (40’ X 187’) at £160 per foot including brick buildings on long & easy terms.\textsuperscript{81}
\end{quote}

In 1909, he valued his property holdings at a total of £16,344/10/0 or in today’s values about $A1,200,000 but he also had considerable liabilities, mostly in the form of outstanding loans from the banks.

Cheong honesty was tested in his exchanges with the taxation authorities and other governmental agencies, such as the Victorian Railways, the Lillydale (sic) Shire, and the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (water supply). The letters show a man trying to pay what the law required and no more. It would have been


\textsuperscript{80} Cheok Hong Cheong to Thomas Swan, 14 December 1904.

\textsuperscript{81} Cheok Hong Cheong to Mr R Ewing, Acting Commissioner of Taxation, 27 May 1917. Cheok Hong Cheong to Erville, Manager, English, Scottish and Australian Bank, Ascot Vale, 31 March 1905. Note reference to his China visit in 1906.
inconceivable to Cheong to evade taxes but he certainly did his utmost to minimize them.

He was precise to the point of obsession about propriety in business dealings. In 1904 he hired a Fitzroy plasterer to undertake some work for him. The contract resulted in the following exchanges, which need no commentary:

Pine Lodge 1/3/05 dear Sir — Would you be so good as to explain the item of £3 for plastering? Your engagement was to do it at the usual rate of 2/6 per yard. I have waiting some days in Town to see you after the message you sent by my son but you have evidently not called so soon.

Croydon 9/3/05 Dear Sir — You are not correct in saying you gave no understanding to do the plastering at 2/6 per yard. You will remember that I would not go on with it until you said to me that the matter was a simple one — the usual rate for such work being 2/6 per yard. To which I replied, “Oh then go on with it?” I must say I was surprised when I saw the amount of the a/c for what was done and after the understanding that was come to. Your present statement about the difference between patching and new work was never mentioned when you undertook to do the work. I shall be glad to know therefore the number of yards of plastering that was done if there was anything extra that you did not foresee in such work.

Croydon 16/3/05 Dear Sir — Your letter of the 11th has not replied to mine of the 9th in respect of the number of yards of plastering that was done. Please let me have your reply upon that point.

Croydon 20/3/05 Dear Sir — I am sorry you should now be so wide of the mark after agreeing upon a definite rate and mentioning the same as 2/6 per yard. You know very well that even in your own trade I required a definite sum stated before I gave you the work and that it was only when you suggested that there might be more plastering to do after the old paper had been stripped off that I agreed to the rate instead of the definite sum. You are however seeking now to charge me about twice as much as you are entitled to or is ordinarily charged for similar work. In regard to your suggestion about the 3 months I cannot accept as a compliment that which I am not in need of. You yourself delayed sending in the a/c and when it came there was the serious discrepancy. You know very
well that when everything was clear you have never been kept waiting for what was your due and you have had many a cheque from me before this.

His ‘nit-picking’ in business matters is shown after the purchase of a horse-drawn vehicle. His comment in the second letter, (highlighted) is worth noting: 82

Dear Sirs — I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th in reply to mine of the 15th in which the writer says “the buggy mentioned by you has since been sold” & beg to say that the **new** vehicle which was one of those I negotiated for was not called ‘buggy’ but that Mr Coffey designated it a “Physician’s Phaeton” . . . it was after we had driven down to my city offices 83 that I noticed the oil cloth cover & lining of the Phaeton needed a few stitches. And the alternative of asking you to make good your guarantee to keep the Phaeton in repair for 12 months was to immediately change it for the new Physician’s Phaeton by paying you the difference of £12.10/- . I thought that would be satisfactory to you & to us. Besides a new vehicle is a better means of advertising than an old one. Please refer the matter to Mr Coffey the elder & oblige.

Dear Sirs — I am sorry you should fall into another mistake. £45 was Mr Coffey’s quotation for the Physician’s Phaeton. My offer was £40 with Harness which after a while he said he would get his brother to accept. I then noted it down on the card (that he had on the Monday previous written down his offer of the vehicle with the extension top) Physician’s Phaeton & Harness £40, Phaeton & Harness £27 & showed him the prices. His only objection was against the Phaeton & Harness being set down at £27 he wanted 10/- more. I then added 10/- to the latter’s price & showed him again what was noted down: 1 Buggy Phaeton with extension top £26 (written by Mr Coffey himself) 2 Physician’s Phaeton & Harness £40, 3 Phaeton & Harness £27.10/- to which he gave his assent as correct. In matters of business I never take anything for granted [author’s emphasis] but had it noted down in black & white for the reason that tho’ I have a retentive memory myself the person I am dealing with may forget. Hence I noted down the particulars, read it out to Mr Coffey & then showed it to him. You are not therefore justified in assuming I was under a ‘wrong impression’ as my memory is as clear as the facts & figures that have been noted

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82 Cheok Hong Cheong to Messrs Coffey Bros, Carriage Builders, 18 and 23 November 1909.
83 Note the little touch of hyperbole.
down. We are exceedingly sorry that in the first place Mr Coffey should have assured my wife & myself that the Phaeton was in ‘splendid condition’ & secondly when we found that it is not as stated to write & say that the new vehicle ‘had since been sold’ & 3rdly when I urged that that was impossible to question the correctness of the price agreed upon.

Cheong’s Property Portfolio

ORIGINAL FAMILY HOME AND BUSINESS

Retail shop, 189 Brunswick Street,
Brunswick. Purchased 1872

Cheong Peng-nam brought his family to a shop at 189 Brunswick Road after leaving the Ballarat Presbyterian Mission in 1872, following the death of his wife. Peng-nam started a fruit business with the assistance of Lowe Kong Meng.

FAMILY HOME 1894-1903

Montgomery Villa, 269 Gore Street, Fitzroy

Montgomery Villa was the second Cheong family home, purchased in 1894. It was demolished after the Second World War. The term villa is used in Melbourne to describe a single story house with a central front door and hallway and rooms opening on either side. Cheong used Montgomery Villa as collateral for loans. He later rented the house to a Mrs Smith who subsequently purchased it.84 Cheong held other property in Gore Street, including vacant land sold to Mrs Smith’s son.85 He sold four cottages and two terrace houses (274 and 276).86 He also owned 283 and 285 Gore Street.

84 Cheok Hong Cheong to Mrs Smith 10 February 1905.
85 Cheok Hong Cheong to A. Mackintosh, 15 May 1906.
86 Cheok Hong Cheong to Swan, 16 December 1905 re cottages. Cheok Hong Cheong to Messrs G D Langridge, 21 May 1906 re sale of Terraces to W A Fowler.
FAMILY RESIDENCE

Croydon

3 Houses and Orchard Property 240 acres

Purchased 1899

‘Pine Lodge’, 12-room house
‘Pine Cottage’ 5 room house
‘Dell Cottage’ 6 room house

Approx 30 acres orchard The remainder mostly uncleared timberland

Cheong purchased Pine Lodge in 1899. It was a small cottage with 3 bedrooms, sitting room and a kitchen. In 1904 he extended the house to ten main rooms, two smaller rooms, a bathroom, pantry, storeroom and dairy.

‘Gwalter Terrace’,
10-20 Park St, Brunswick

Purchased c 1900 for £3250

The terrace, with Montgomery Villa, was the financial basis or collateral for Cheong’s subsequent property portfolio. The houses were leased and provided a steady flow of rental income (£249.12/ p.a.).

27-29 Market Lane,
Off Little Bourke St, Melbourne

Purchased 1905

A restaurant and an electricity sub-station now occupy the site. The original property extended to the corner of Little Bourke Street. Sold to purchase two shops in Brunswick.

Two shops, corner Brunswick Street and Moor St, Brunswick

317-325 Exhibition St, Melbourne

Horp Hing, a furniture manufacturer, negotiated to buy Cheong’s properties purchased from Allan’s estate at 317-323 Exhibition St, Melbourne.87 In 1916 the

87 Cheok Hong Cheong to The General Manager, Colonial Bank, 6 November 1911.
Melbourne City Council’s Health Officer ruled that the properties were unfit for habitation.\textsuperscript{88} The site is now a major telephone installation.

42-46 and 54-56 Latrobe St, Melbourne
Cheong leased the premises to Horp Hing furniture factory but after difficulty over rentals sold the properties to the tenants.

Cnr Little Lonsdale St and Davidson Lane, Melbourne
There is one reference to this property, that enables the general location to be identified but not the specific property.\textsuperscript{89}

259 Rathdown St, Melbourne
The only reference is a letter to the tenant offering to sell the premises for £1500.\textsuperscript{90}

Cnr Mackenzie St and Latrobe St, Melbourne
Purchased 1906
A dispute with the Melbourne City Council about the cost of sealing a laneway at the rear of the property is the only mention of this investment.\textsuperscript{91}

Vacant land (8 acres) bounded by
Van berg, McPherson, Albino & Tennyson Sts, Essendon
First offer to buy in 1904 was refused.\textsuperscript{92} Subsequently purchased 1905 for £120 and sold progressively to 1916.

Cheong had the property subdivided that increased the value.\textsuperscript{93} He recovered his original purchase price by the sale of just one housing block. By 1911, the area of some six acres remaining was valued at £250.\textsuperscript{94}

\textsuperscript{88} Cheok Hong Cheong to E. I. Horton, 13 October 1916. Miss M.A. Brenan, Estate Agent, 2 December 1916.
\textsuperscript{89} Cheok Hong Cheong to D. H. Herald, Solicitor, 13 February 1906
\textsuperscript{90} Cheok Hong Cheong to C.H. Middleton, 62 Rathdown St, Carlton, 6 September 1917.
\textsuperscript{91} Cheok Hong Cheong to The Town Clerk, Melbourne February 1908.
\textsuperscript{92} Mr. E.L. Oakley, Estate Agent, Collins St, 18 August 1904, 13 August 1904.
\textsuperscript{93} Cheok Hong Cheong to Messrs Watts & Cross, Estate Agents, Moonee Ponds, 25 December 1909.
\textsuperscript{94} Cheok Hong Cheong to The General Manager, Colonial Bank, 17 April 1911.
Another deceased estate (Fallon Estate) The owner suicided following the 1891 financial crash. Part of the property was occupied by an institution for homeless boys known as the Ragged Boys Home, one of many evangelical voluntary agencies mentioned in earlier chapters. To finance this purchase, Cheong planned to sell two cottages in Rivers Street, South Yarra.

226-8 Smith St, Collingwood

(Corner Stanley and Little Oxford Sts.)

Purchased 2 March 1914 from the ‘Hall Estate’ 2 storied brick building on basement of massive masonry 52’ X 187’; 3 storied attached same material; s yard paved with stone pitchers. Bluestone shop 57’ X 17’ 6” cr Stanley & L Oxford Sts 2 brick cottages L Oxford St Cottage & Iron sheds. The 1914 State Land Tax value was £110 per foot of frontage to Smith Street. In 1916 it was valued at £170 a foot.

Two cottages

‘Tamar’ and ‘Derwent’,

River St, South Yarra

Purchased 1907. Sold 1908 for £725

River Street runs parallel to Chapel Street. Very few houses are now left in a street that is now very mixed with industrial and residential properties mixed together.

Six brick shops,

Burwood Road, Hawthorn,

Purchased 1917

These properties were near the corner of Glenferrie Road. They cannot be identified with certainty.

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95 Cheok Hong Cheong to Messrs C T Ham and Estate Agents, 11 March 1908, l.
96 Cheok Hong Cheong to Manager, Bank of Australasia, Collingwood, 28 April 1908.
97 Cheok Hong Cheong to Mr. R. Ewing, Acting Commissioner of Taxn, 14 November 1916.
98 Cheok Hong Cheong to McQuie, Bank of Australasia, Collingwood, 18 September 1916.
99 Cheok Hong Cheong to The Manager, Bank of Australasia, Collingwood, 28 April 1908; 11 May 1908.
107-109 Little Bourke Street

Purchased for Peter Ng Hong Nam to whom it was transferred the same year.\textsuperscript{100}

154-156 Swanston St, Melbourne

**Purchased £15,000**

An unidentified press clipping in James’ Cheong’s Letterbooks reported:

“Mr Cheok Hong Cheong, a leading Chinese merchant, who died the other day at Croydon, was a strong prohibitionist. Some years ago he made a big financial sacrifice for the sake of his principles. For a large sum he purchased a hotel in Swanston Street, a transaction which brought criticism from certain people, who wondered why a prohibitionist should dabble in hotel property. He quietened his critics by announcing that he had purchased the hotel for the purpose of having it delicensed. After the purchase Mr Cheong could have resold the property as an hotel at an advance of £25,000 or alternatively for a bonus of about £10,000 in addition to a high rental for five years. Both offers were declined and the hotel was delicensed.”

Two villas, Winter St, Malvern

Purchased 1907. Value £3000

The Winter Street properties were purchased in September 1907 for a price below the valuation above.\textsuperscript{101} From a subsequent offer to sell, it appears that Cheong probably purchased these houses for around £2500.\textsuperscript{102}

Villa, 4 Seymour Ave, Armadale

**Purchased 1907 from Hoarey’s Estate**

This property has been defaced through unsympathetic renovations but is still occupied.

1,3,5 Lambeth St, Armadale

**These houses are still in good condition.**

\textsuperscript{100} Cheok Hong Cheong to Mr Wm I. Fookes, 414 Lt Collins St, 7 April 1905.

\textsuperscript{101} Cheok Hong Cheong to Messrs Duncan & Weller, 25 September 1907.

\textsuperscript{102} Cheok Hong Cheong to Mr B I Parkinson, Solicitor, 29 March 1917.
111-117 Bridport St, Albert Park

Four two-story brick shops,

Purchased 1909 for £2050.103

Part of an island of shops in Bridport Street. The four shops are still in use.

The properties listed above are those mentioned by Cheong in his letterbooks. Items held at the Chinese-Australian Museum, Cohen Place, Melbourne show other business interests. Cheong and his boys were shareholders in Walter Burley Griffin’s Castlencrag Estate, a subdivision of land in Sydney. Another shareholder was ‘Red Ted’ Theobald, Treasurer in the Federal Labor Government of the depression years.104 In 2002 the National Library of Australia purchased a painting of a house described as being owned by the Rev. Cheok Hong Cheong on the Castlencrag subdivisions. Walter Burley Griffin designed the subdivision of the ‘Pine Lodge’ estate, as mentioned earlier.

Cheong’s participation in the Anglo-China Trading Company was probably ended through Caleb’s misbehaviour. The existence of such a company, and Cheong’s involvement with it, may point to other investments in Victoria and interstate that are not mentioned in his surviving papers.

Apart from his support for his sister’s children there is no reference to other family highlighting the complete separation of the Cheong family in Australia from relatives in China. The large estate described in his will is in striking contrast to his mentor Lowe Kong Meng, who left just £1000 to his Australian wife and children.

When Cheong died in 1928, his estate was valued for probate at £78,000. Over several years he had carefully divested himself of a number of properties through gifts to family members, e.g., ‘Pine Lodge’ and the Smith Street shops. It is probably no exaggeration to say that the value of his personal investments had exceeded £150,000. Using data provided by the House of Commons Research Office, which suggests an inflation factor of 35 times between 1930 and 1999, this would have given Cheong a gross worth around $A10 million at year 2002 values although all such comparisons are unreliable. It is probably enough to say that he died a wealthy man.

103 Cheok Hong Cheong to The General Manager, Colonial Bank, 20 November 1909.
Cheong’s reputation for integrity is confirmed by the thoroughly decent manner in which he looked after his tenants. He purchased a rental property in Lawes Street, Hawthorn on behalf of his friend, Cornelius Poon Why and instructed that renovations be undertaken promptly and was annoyed when the tenants told him the work had not been done.105 When the tenants of a property he owned in Little Bourke Street property complained about smoking chimneys he ordered immediate repairs. Similarly, when the tenants of the property in Winter St Armadale drew attention to leaks in the roofing it was immediately fixed. His treatment of the former tenant who purchased Montgomery Villa revealed a gentle and courteous style that he did not always display publicly, especially when he thought he was being unjustly dealt with.

There is no comprehensive study of the property holdings of Chinese business people in Australia although Yong provides some starting points for New South Wales. This, along with the issue of naturalization, is a worthwhile field for further study particularly in relation to the exploration of the human and civil rights of Chinese, both aliens and naturalized British subjects, in 19th century Australasia.

105 Cheok Hong Cheong to H D Westley, & September 1906.
When Cheok Hong Cheong began his twenty year campaign against the importation of smoking opium into Victoria in 1885 he was faced with the negative stereotypes of the Chinese that began with the gold-rushes. Anti-Chinese sentiment, grounded in racism, worsened during and after the 1880s as colonial and later federal politicians chose to emphasise a culturally homogeneous Australian society.¹

From 1854 onwards media artists had been presenting a variety of images — initially highlighting ‘humorous’ ethnic differences that became, in later years, increasingly malicious — but all racist in portraying the Chinese as ‘different’ by expanding a negative image from an individual to an entire ethnic group in a process of racial/cultural stereotyping.² Almost anything was grist to the mill of the demonisers and some prime examples are discussed in this chapter. In his first published work (Chapter 4, Appendix 1) Cheong posed this question:

> Are we an inferior race? No one can say so who knows anything of our history, our language, our literature, our government, or our public and private life.³

The cartoon following appeared in the Melbourne *Punch*, an antipodean child of the now defunct English journal. It symbolises the confusion of colonial attitudes. Two artists are painting portraits of a Chinese — one sees a saint, the other a sinner. The drawing was published in 1857 as the Victorian Parliament debated anti-Chinese immigration restrictions that became the model for all the colonies. The legislation imposed a poll-tax of £10 upon arrival together with a limit of one immigrant for every ten tons of the ships

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² See Goode, Erica, (2002), ‘With Video Games, Researchers Link Guns to Stereotypes’, *New York Times*, 10 December 2002. Goode notes, in the context of contemporary white/black stereotypes in the United States that ‘that unconscious biases, possibly instilled by the news media, advertising or other cultural influences, can shape behavior, even when people do not consciously endorse such biases.’

³ Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), *The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80*, Melbourne. (Appendix 1, para 7).
The Chinese Immigration Bill, Victoria, 1857

Melbourne Punch, 22 January 1857

National Library of Australia
burthen. The Act set the pattern of discriminatory practice against Chinese and other non-Europeans that became infamous as the White Australia Policy.

Cheong was angered by the way in which Europeans presented an image of the Chinese as collectively inferior to Europeans. There were many and varied criticisms of the Chinese that ultimately hinged on the issue of social absorption (assimilation) and the colonial understanding of morality defined in puritanical European Christian terms. A morality was expected of the Chinese that, as Cheong pointed out in *The Chinese Question*, Europeans could not, and did not, claim for themselves.4

Australian racism, viewed historically, rests on a three-step framework, i.e, vilification by word and image; discriminatory legislation and socio-cultural separation; and ultimately, acts of violence. Vilification relies on ‘demonising’ a particular group as a basis for various forms of discrimination that often leads to violence.5 The second step,

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4 Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), *The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80*, Melbourne. (Appendix 1)
discriminatory legislation and socio-cultural separation, involves attempts to prevent new arrivals while doing nothing to actively integrate those already in Australia. No effort was made to teach English to Chinese, for example, other than the voluntary efforts of the churches. The separation did not, at least officially, include residential segregation although for a variety of reasons, Chinese often chose to live in distinctive residential areas or ‘Chinatowns’ — a practice common to many immigrant groups.

Chinese in Australia, unlike those in North America, were not denied access to community facilities, including schools, hospitals, or benevolent homes nor were they denied access to social security provisions such as pensions. They were not subjected to the kind of residential segregation practiced in North America or, for that matter, in the European settlements in China itself. In day to day living, however, and it must be said partly by choice, Chinese did not mix with Europeans on any kind of equal ‘playing field’. The net impact of Australia on most immigrant Chinese was a feeling of living in a constant haze of suspicion and dislike with, even if citizens or wealthy businessmen, a sense of being second-rate people. This sense of inferiority was heightened by the humiliation of China’s problems during the 19th century discussed earlier. The influential Encyclopedia Britannica reflected the ‘wisdom’ common among English-speaking peoples of the day.

A Chinaman is cold, cunning and distrustful; always ready to take advantage of those he had to deal with; is extremely covetous and deceitful, quarrelsome, vindictive, but timid and dastardly. A Chinaman in office is a strange compound of insolence and meanness... (with) a total disregard for the truth.6

Although there has been a tendency to emphasise the third aspect of racism, i.e., violence, there is little reference to it in contemporary Chinese sources. Unlike contemporary Chinese attitudes to foreigners, violence was never a policy endorsed, covertly or openly, by Australian colonial governments.

The issues that most irritated the Chinese were vilification and its companion — social discrimination. They were not the sole victims of prejudice. Aboriginal people suffered far more and other ethnic minorities, including southern Europeans, were also affected from time to time. What made the Chinese situation particularly offensive, as Cheong pointed out whenever he could, was that only the Chinese, as immigrants, had specific legislative and financial obstructions to their entry into Australia.

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refers to the International Covenant on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and specifically, Article Four.

In their 1879 paper (Chapter 4), Cheong and his co-authors used reverse ‘demonisation’ to illustrate the stupidity of the anti-Chinese arguments being advanced in Victoria. By applying a ‘demonising’ approach to British (and by implication, Australian) society they sought to turn the argument by a rational or educative response:

[We] are stigmatized as ‘ignorant pagans’ and ‘filthy barbarians’ by persons who have never been in China: who know nothing of its moral, intellectual and social life, and who form hasty judgements and entertain violent prejudices against its people from a very slight acquaintance with immigrants. Although we deplore as much as any fellow-colonist that immorality does exist amongst Chinese residents, at the same time we would unhesitatingly assert that it does not exist to a greater extent than amongst the European population.7

A 19th century letter from a missionary with the China Inland Mission stated that views about the Chinese expressed by an Australian were:

utterly misleading as regards the Chinese nation. I fear it is written under a strong bias against them, and it is written in evident ignorance of the Chinese as a nation . . . that ‘the 50,000 Chinese at present in Australia’ are like ‘lepers’ or ‘vipers’ in the bosoms of the Australians is an utter untruth.8

The letter was a reminder that anti-Chinese vilification in Australia was reported in China among Chinese and European. It demonstrates an enduring element of 19th century racial vilification in Australia that, in addition to vilifying ‘strange ways’ identified the Chinese as ‘the’ source of various diseases of which smallpox and leprosy were the most commonly mentioned.9 Susan Craddock sums up attitudes in San Francisco but her remarks apply equally to Australia:

Disease has been one significant factor utilized throughout history by various political and social institutions to define bodies, control their movements, and solidify culturally-produced definitions of gender, race, or sexuality. . .10

The image opposite appeared in a Queensland journal and is one of the ugliest anti-Chinese images published in the English-speaking world.11 The Chinese skeleton, symbol

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7 Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80, Melbourne. (Appendix 1)
8 Robertson, D M in The Spectator, 8 February 1889.
10 Craddock, Susan, (1999), City of Plagues: Disease, Poverty and Deviance in San Francisco, University of Minnesota Press.
of death, is heating the fire of immorality, want, and disease to spread sickness and diseases among the European population. As in the cartoon illustrating the horrors awaiting missionaries (Chapter 5) this and other cartoons provided powerful emotional triggers to anti-Chinese vilification, adding sexual envy or fear to the other ‘demons’ being aroused by the anti-Chinese advocates. The use of virginal young European women as symbols of Chinese concupiscence added to the deliberate ugliness of the imagery and the denigration of the Chinese as a community.

Victoria makes a similar argument. Both are reflective of revisionist writing in the United States that argues that labour and capital should share in responsibility for racial policies against the Chinese. It is probably time to assert that anti-Chinese sentiment was not limited to any section of society. See Lyman, Stanford M, (2000), The "Chinese Question" and American Labor Historians, *New Politics*, Vol 7, No 4 (new series).
Accusations about Chinese attitudes to European women were common in colonial newspapers. If the conventional view of Australian racism illustrated in some of the cartoons in this chapter was to be accepted at face value, an assault on a European woman should have brought out a lynch gang. That was certainly the outcome facing Ah Yea when a mob accused him of assaulting, with intent to rape, a thirteen year old girl at Hell’s Hole, near Mansfield. He was saved from a lynching when two mounted constables arrived.12

In a case near Glenluce in Victoria, a nine year old girl, Annie Hunt, was missed after

12 The Daily Telegraph, 12 April 1870.
school. Suspicion fell on a man named Ah Pew. Evidence was given by his hut-mate Ah How that the girl had come to their hut about 4 o'clock but had left. Ah Pew had left soon after and returned after about an hour, telling Ah How that he had been to Sheng Yem's to buy nails. Ah How afterwards saw him hiding his boots under an outside fireplace. Later, the Chinese detective, Fook Sing, questioned Ah Pew about the ownership of a broken pipe found near the girl’s body. Ah Pew was finally executed in Castlemaine Gaol, protesting his innocence to the end.

When a European woman was murdered in Stephen Street, Castlemaine, it was general knowledge that a man named Hing Tzan was implicated. He was captured by a group of Chinese while trying to conceal himself in bushes near the Chinese camp at Eaglehawk White Gully. He admitted he was part of a group who had watched her, knew she had money, and had broken into her house to rob her but insisted he had not killed her. He was subsequently taken to Melbourne for trial where three other men were named as being accessories. These two incidents, and the reliance on the law that both demonstrate, suggest that the imagery of Chinese lust and pursuit of European women was just that, an image, created largely by vilification at all levels of society.

Allegations about the Chinese and sexual matters need to be kept in context. Newspapers carried endless reports of vile crimes committed by Europeans against children. Sexual assault on females was an almost everyday offence, and it was frequently against young girls as in the instance above. Some parents put girls as young as eight onto the streets and children were found to have contracted venereal disease. At least one new-born baby was found dead each week often as a result of a young woman trying to ‘conceal her shame’. Child abandonment was common.

In 1885, an English magazine, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, ran an expose of the prostitution rackets involving women in London, claiming that tens of thousands of women were being drawn into prostitution. The paper went on to claim that most contracted venereal disease and more than 26,000 were treated for sickness in a six year period. The magazine established, beyond reasonable doubt, that among those who exploited young women were some of the most important men in England, including four members of

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13 *The Daily Telegraph*, 14 March 1870.
14 *The Daily Telegraph*, 23 May 1870.
parliament who had threatened to sue the magazine.\(^\text{17}\)

Powerful as the previous cartoon is in portraying the vicious ‘pathology’ of the Chinese, it has not remained in the Australian historical memory. Probably the best known of all the Australasian ‘pathology’ examples of racial vilification against the Chinese is a Phil May drawing for the Bulletin, of The Mongolian Octopus, shown below.

![](image)

The tentacles identify opium smoking, disease, corruption, sexual immorality and cheap labour as peculiarly Chinese vices. It is important, in context, to observe that similar accusations were widespread in North America and the accusations are not uniquely Australian. And, as mentioned earlier, young European women are prominently

displayed.

The *Figaro* image earlier and May’s cartoon above moved well beyond the kind of petty argument shown in the 1857 Victorian ‘saints and sinners’ illustration earlier in the chapter. May’s drawing was reproduced, with amendments, in New Zealand. It was reused more than a century later by the cartoonist Geoff Pryor in *The Canberra Times* in 2001 to highlight concern over the treatment being accorded to Afghan and other unauthorised, i.e. ‘illegal’ (Middle Eastern) immigrants. In reproducing Prior’s image, as in the May original above, the captions have been overprinted by the author to assist the reader.

A Sydney cartoon on the following page is, at first glance, a straightforward Like most of the images in this chapter, the cartoon is far more sophisticated than at first appears. To the accusation of smallpox it links the threat of unemployment, the great and enduring economic fear of low income earners and tagged by May, in the *Mongolian Octopus* under the drawing of the workingman and child, labelled ‘Cheap Labour’. The woman’s

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occupation is symbolized by the clothes-line — a reminder that European widows were among the supposed victims of the Chinese move into laundry work. In a society in which social security for widows and single mothers was unknown, it extended the threat of Chinese labour to the one of the most vulnerable sections of European community. The Chinese being driven away is a hawker of vegetables (See Cheong’s comments in Appendix 4) and reflects the unsuccessful campaign to drive the Chinese out of the fresh fruit and vegetables industries. The ‘Out You Go’ heading integrates visual and verbal vilification to justify discrimination.

The drawing was prompted by an outbreak of smallpox in the Rocks area (city end of the Harbour Bridge) of Sydney that had nothing to do with the Chinese but reflected the location of the district at a major maritime cross-roads in which disease could enter from many sources. The aim of such racist imagery was to divide society by focussing ‘blame’ on an unpopular minority of society and, perhaps, to avert the righteous outrage against the neglect of municipal and government authorities.

As early as 1857 in Victoria smallpox was claimed to be a disease to which the Chinese
were particularly prone:

The existence of smallpox in Melbourne had caused a stir to be made with regard to the vaccination of the Chinese, who are thought to be especially susceptible of the ravages of that baneful disease. In the Legislative Council, on Tuesday last, Mr. Mitchell, in answer to a question from Dr Tierney, stated that the Government had communicated with the Chinese Protectors on the goldfields, on the subject of vaccination. From the result of enquiries made among the Chinese in this district, by Mr Drummond, the Chinese Protector, and Dr. Dempster, the Public Vaccinator, it would seem that either vaccination or inoculation is practised and is very general among them. In some cases, the lymph is applied by blowing it up the nostrils, in others, the process appears to be similar to that in vogue among Europeans.¹⁹

Fear of smallpox was a widely used device in vilifying and promoting discrimination. The disease was present long before the arrival of the Chinese and was never the threat to the colonists that was offered by a polluted water supply and atrocious sewage handling.²⁰ Water-borne diseases such as typhoid, the result of inadequate sanitary engineering, caused many deaths, but, as with smallpox, any outbreak of disease was an excuse for vilifying the Chinese rather than the authorities. Even poetry was used to add to the public fear of smallpox and the Chinese.

**What do you bring, John Chinaman?**

What brings you here, John Chinaman?
Why come to New South Wales?
Why do you sail when breezes fan
The north side of your sails.

‘Our native country scarce can hold
The increase of the year;
So we, allured by love of gold,
Will try our fortunes here.’

What do you bring, John Chinaman,
As offering of your heart,
To use who feed, protect your clan,
And let you rich depart?

‘We bring you small-pox from our land,
Nay, do not raise your ire,
We opium bring — a noble band,

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¹⁹ The Herald, Melbourne, 6 November 1857, reprinted from The Ovens Constitution.
And to your wealth aspire.
(From Sydney Punch, July 1881).

In the letter from the Rev. Mr. Robertson, the British CIM missionary already mentioned, the falsity of disease in the demonisation of the Chinese was raised and roundly condemned:

The poorer [Chinese] classes are filthily dirty; but what of the poorer [European] classes at home? There is a fearful amount of immorality; but who can speak plainly of the condition of our towns, and the more covert sin in country districts? The Chinese quarters in Sydney and Melbourne may baffle description; but do the police ‘make raids’ upon similar places at home? Not until compelled. The writer speaks of ‘loathsome diseases which emanate from the Chinese settlements, and seize upon the whites,’ etc. In inland China many of our members live for months at a time in Chinese homes, and the C.I.M. as a body, get into close contact with the natives. I have experienced more disagreeable sensations in some lodgings at home than ever I have done in China. 21

Underspending on health infrastructure in Australia continued for more than a hundred years after the goldrushes began in the 1850s. 22 Cheong observed that the premises occupied by Chinese in inner Melbourne or Sydney were almost always owned by European landlords who charged high rents and spent nothing on their properties. Rental properties were subject to inspection by municipal health inspectors. The inadequacy of the health inspection system is illustrated by this report from a Sydney inspector:

Mr. Dansey gave evidence on behalf of himself and Mr. Palmer, as follows: ‘Met at Town Hall on Tuesday, December 7, 1875, and went first to Park St., where we inspected several boarding houses, all clean and in orderly condition. In the same street is a wooden house containing eight rooms, occupied Wah Lu Ong, a Chinaman carpenter, employing a number of men. Seventeen people sleep in the house, all countrymen of the Proprietor. In one room 14 feet by 12 feet, were eight beds, the room being petitioned off into bunks like the steerage of a ship; bedding of a very varied kind. In some bunks were mattresses, in others only rags and clothing, mosquito curtains black with dirt. In another room over the shop, were five beds of a similar description. We looked into the kitchen downstairs, which was dirty and smoky. The whole place stinks aloud, the horrible and sickening opium smell pervading all through it. 23

It might be wondered why such a dangerous threat to the public health was not

21 Robertson, D M in The Spectator, 8 February 1889.
immediately closed. The chief source of disease in 19th century Australia was not the Chinese but inadequate sewage disposal and a polluted water-supply. Melbourne drew its drinking water from the Yarra River. As late as the 1890s raw sewage and industrial pollutants were dumped into the river as a matter of course. The ‘night waste’ of the inner city was dumped into huge pits in Royal Park and eventually found its way through the ground water flow to the river. Public outrage led to the foundation of Melbourne’s first urban water and sewerage authority, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works in 1892, and the construction by the MMBW of the Yan Yean Reservoir and urban water supply system, and the great outfall sewer to Werribee via the technologically advanced Spotswood Pumping Station.

Yet another way of vilifying the Chinese was to stimulate a fear of being swamped by the millions of Chinese eager to immigrate. The threat was primarily economic, i.e., the fear of low wage competition from Chinese, but political and social concerns were sometimes heard. A Victorian Minister for Education wrote that China’s vast population ‘could swamp us with a single year’s surplus of population.’ If there was any single theme that has endured as a permanent part of the Australian identity, it is the fear of being ‘swamped’ by unrestricted immigration and cheap labour. As late as 1923 one of Australia’s most loved poets, Banjo Patterson penned:

A Job for McGuinness
Oh, it's dreadful to think in a country like this
With its chances for work, and enjoyment
That a man like McGuinness was certain to miss
Whenever he tried for employment.

He wrote to employers from Bondi to Bourke,
From Woolloomooloo to Glen Innes,
But he found - though his wife could get plenty of work -
There was never a job for McGuinness.

But perhaps - later on - when the Chow and the Jap
Begin to drift down from the tropics,
When a big yellow stain spreading over the map
Provides some disquieting topics,

Oh, it's then when they're wanting a man that will stand
In the trench where his own kith and kin is,
With a frown on his face and a gun in his hand -
Then there might be a job for McGuinness!

(‘Banjo’ Paterson. 1923).

As the images on the previous page shows, fear of competition from cheap labour sources was part of the process of vilification and discrimination but, as recent discussions of the role of labour in American anti-Chinese sentiment has shown, it was only one of the issues involved in the systematic demonisation of the Chinese in Australia. Among the first enactments of the Federal Parliament when it met in 1901, was the passage of anti-Chinese immigration restrictions.

The evil of the trade in opium grown in India was accepted but efforts to ban the trade were strongly resisted by successive British governments. Opium production financed government in British India and the opium trade was, therefore, ‘necessarily a discussion of the dynamics of empire.’

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25 See an American observer’s assessment in Holcombe, Hon Chester, and B Broomhall, (c1904) China’s Past and Present: Britain’s Sin and Folly, London, Morgan and Scott. (Holcombe’s work originally published as The Real Chinese Question).

26 Some of the references consulted in this chapter include:
Reed Mary, ed, (1892), Short Sketch of the China Inland Mission, Location of Australian Missionaries, The Truth About Opium, Melbourne, China Inland Mission.
Quong Tart, (1887), A Plea for the Abolition of the importation of opium, Sydney, John Sands & Co.
Owen, David E, (1968), British Opium Policy in China and India, Archon Books.
Hopkins, F R C, (1909), The Opium Runners, Sydney, Websdale Shoesmith Ltd.

The need to protect the income of the government of India stimulated a ‘public relations’ shift from the 17th and 18th century European admiration for Chinese civilisation to the 19th century belief that the Chinese were an ‘inferior’ people.\textsuperscript{28} One writer linked demonisation to the need to keep the profits from selling the narcotic in China:

\begin{quote}
If you are going to sell opium to people —— and especially if you know that opium is not a particularly healthy substance (if, in fact, you have outlawed it in your own country), it becomes psychologically necessary to change your opinion about the people to whom you sell it.\textsuperscript{29}
\end{quote}

This shift in British opinion was reflected in the British colonies in Australasia. But opium, of itself, was not seen as a problem for Europeans. The tendency of colonial politicians and police was to leave them alone unless forced to respond to pressure groups, notably moral reformers.\textsuperscript{30}

The testimonies of Christians, such as T’am Hoi Man, a Methodist convert, tended to confirm the image of the drug as a Chinese issue:

\begin{quote}
After coming to these gold-fields, I also vainly followed my former practices, hardly observing any duty; thus I associated with evil men, gamblers, and opium smokers, and dissipated my substance.\textsuperscript{31}
\end{quote}

Sum Frit stated that he had come to Australia in an unsuccessful search for gold and was forced to remain through his addiction to opium:

\begin{quote}
To drown my disappointment I took opium. I neither cared for eating or drinking, nor yet for clothing if I could only get opium. But I was often very miserable, and my body was too enervated to work.\textsuperscript{32}
\end{quote}

Kwaan Chan Yan, described his addiction in his prebaptismal statement:

\begin{quote}
I opened a store and made a good deal of money; but my heart was still dark, and I was a smoker of opium. Sometimes I used to smoke one or two pounds a week; and thus my money melted away. I soon lost £500; for this habit made me neglect my business. I was like a man asleep, or walking in darkness, and I could not awake.\textsuperscript{33}
\end{quote}

Cheong’s attitude to smoking opium reflected the health issues but also contained a Chinese nationalist response to the British role in the opium trade in China. He said that Christianity was rejected by the Chinese because it was being sold by people whose

\textsuperscript{28} Note the caution about unduly extending this in terms of a ‘conspiracy’ of domination in Milligan, op cit.


\textsuperscript{30} Australians used the terms ‘wowser’ for individual moralisers and ‘wowserism’ is the Australian equivalent of the American term ‘bluestocking laws’.

\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Wesleyan Missionary Notices}, London, September 1867, p 3.

\textsuperscript{32} \textit{The Mount Alexander Mail}, 21 May 1888.

\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Wesleyan Missionary Notices}, London, July 1868, p 95; September 1868, p 167; October 1868, p 100.
countrymen were profiting from the sale of opium. This view was almost universal

Images of Opium

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among 19th century evangelicals. A British Anglican (CMSE) missionary in Central China declared that there was: ‘One great obstacle in the prosecution of Missionary work among the Chinese, namely, the connection of our country and countrymen with the opium
Opium played a major role in prebaptismal testimonies. Along with gambling it was one of the ‘pathologies’ of the Chinese that could be changed by the grace of God, through conversion and the coming of the Holy Spirit into man’s life. There are many references but fewer statistics. Cheong’s evidence about the opium addiction of a number of converts who were considered for catechetical posts with the Anglican Chinese Mission suggest that not all those called were delivered from ‘the curse’ (Chapter 5).

Cheong described the import of opium tins as shown above left in the preceding illustration in a letter to the Victorian Commissioner for Customs in 1889:

On the other hand the prepared opium, a black treacly stuff, which comes from Hong Kong in small tins of about 1/2 lb each is the kind to which victims of the opium smoking habit is addicted and which causes so much misery and vice. The church press, not surprisingly, gave prominence to the testimonies of former opium smokers whose lives had been transformed by their conversion. Quon Fong, in a classic of the genre, said:

I had hard work to give up smoking opium, for I had smoked it for many years, and. . . I could not live without it. I wanted to be baptised, but Ah Ling [James Mouy Ling] told me that I must give up smoking opium altogether before I could be baptised. At last, through God’s help, I gave it up, but giving it up nearly killed me. I was very ill, but I thank God, because through His help I have given it up altogether.

A Methodist convert, Ham Sin Way, described the impact of seeing his friends converted:

First I was a miner, then I became a gardener. . . I smoked opium and spent every day all I gained and did what my wicked heart prompted me to do. I never sent any money to my wife and children; and was a complete slave to opium. My face was as yellow and shrivelled as a dead leaf; my body was like dry wood. I was not like a man, yet I knew no shame. I often tried to escape from this bondage of opium but could not. About ten months ago, I noticed two men pass my door at Moonlight Flat, to go to the Chinese Church at Castlemaine; I knew they were once as great smokers as I was and that they could never give it up till they became Christians. Their appearance was quite changed, and they looked like other men; and I heard people say that, their actions and tempers were quite changed.

Opium (and gambling) provided anti-Chinese Europeans with a rich source for racial vilification especially when opium was linked to sexuality. It was often presented as the

35 The Church Missionary Intelligencer, Vol VI, No 5, May 1855, p 264. See also Vol II, No 4, April 1851, p 86.
36 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Hon. J B Patterson, Commissioner of Customs, 5 August 1898.
37 The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 May 1871, p 76.
means by which innocent European girls were lured into and kept in prostitution. As Manderson put it:

Opium was . . . the ideal metaphor through which to express those fears which Chinese immigration raised and which the spectre of miscegenation epitomised. It was a common 19th century male belief, grounded in a distortion of the Genesis story of the ‘fall’ of humanity that resulted from the ‘apple’ eating of ‘Eve’ and then ‘Adam.’ ‘Eve’s’ successful tempting of ‘Adam’ gave women a particular burden of responsibility for human sin. Opium became an explanation for the not inconsiderable number of European women who entered into liaisons with Chinese males:

Time and time again opium was portrayed as the active agent by the use of which the ‘sensual’ Chinaman corrupted ‘innocent’ [white] girls. Here is one of many examples from the pages of the Bulletin. One day he put a new pipe before me, and made it ready, and after the first whiff from it he or any other man . . . I was a good girl before that.

The Sin Fat cartoon below comes from the Bulletin. It is centred on the seduction of a young European woman with the deadly opium pipe. In the doorway, in deshabille symbolic of her descent into prostitution, stands an earlier victim.

The illustration below is another powerful image vilifying the Chinese as a threat to the physical, moral and spiritual well being of a Christian community through the seduction of women. The use of the serpent image from the tempting of Eve in the Garden of Eden, reflects the earlier comment about 19th century views of women as a morally inferior sex.
The name ‘Sin Fat’, like the labels ‘Heathen Chinee’ and ‘John Chinaman’, were in popular use in English-speaking countries during the 19th century. ‘Sin Fat’ and ‘Heathen Chinee’ were used, for example, by Bret Harte, the American writer in his 1870 poem shown, with some relevant images, on the following page: The three accompanying drawings show the transpacific transfer of concepts and imagery.
The heathen Chinee is peculiar,
Which the same I would rise to explain.
Ah Sin was his name;
And I shall not deny, In regard to the same,
What that name might imply;
But his smile it was pensive and childlike,
As I frequent remarked to Bill Nye.

It was August the third,
And quite soft was the skies;
Which it might be inferred,
That Ah Sin was likewise;
Yet he played it that day upon William
And me in a way I despise.

Which we had a small game, And Ah Sin took a hand:
It was Euchre. The same He did not understand;
But he smiled as he sat by the table,
With the smile that was childlike and bland.

Yet the cards they were stocked. In a way that I grieve,
And my feelings were shocked,
At the state of Nye's sleeve,
Which was stuffed full of aces and bowers,
And the same with intent to deceive.

But the hands that were played,
By that heathen Chinee,
And the points that he made,
Were quite frightful to see,—
Till at last he put down a right bower,
Which the same Nye had dealt unto me.
Then I looked up at Nye, And he gazed upon me;
And he rose with a sigh, And said, "Can this be?
We are ruined by Chinese cheap labor,—"
And he went for that heathen Chinee.

In the scene that ensued I did not take a hand,
But the floor it was strewed,
Like the leaves on the strand
With the cards that Ah Sin had been hiding,
In the game "he did not understand."
In his sleeves, which were long,
He had twenty-four jacks,—
Which was coming it strong. I state but the facts;

And we found on his nails, which were taper,
What is frequent in tapers,—that's wax.
Which is why I remark,
And my language is plain, That for ways that are dark
The heathen Chinee is peculiar,—
Which the same I am free to maintain.
(1912). Yale Book of American Verse)
European women cohabiting with Chinese in 19th century Australia were a mixed group. There were many legitimate marriages (Appendix 12) and probably as many de facto liaisons. It was widely believed, and wrongly, that all women who associated with Chinese were prostitutes — as in the case of Victor Daley’s ‘Chinese Mary’, in which Mary Allen, ‘tired of being treated as a social leper’, is happy to consort with a ‘hideous Chinaman’.

It was central to the demonising process that opium, although almost unknown to Europeans, was a destroyer of homes and families and a convenient explanation for the widespread prevalence of prostitution. By introducing European women to opium the Chinese were destroying the foundations of society by threatening the Christian moral foundations upon which Australian society was based. The vilifiers avoided mentioning the official sanctioning of the opium trade by the British Government and the refusal, for many years, by colonial and later federal Australian governments to ban opium imports.

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Novels and short stories were another means of vilifying the Chinese. In a comprehensive examination of Chinese and women in Australian writing Ouyang Yu cites Francis Hopkins’ short story, ‘Heathens of the Bush’, in which, Mrs. Long Foo, a European married to a market gardener, is labelled a ‘heathen Chinee’, whose irreligious practices caused much disgust.42 A census collector refers to her as ‘what is vulgarly called ‘a hard case’’ and the author added the following derogatory comment:

Mrs Long Foo — Oh! the irony of Fate! — had no children to her first consort...; but of her second marriage — I shall dignify it by the term, though I have reason to believe no actual ceremony took place (she was bitterly opposed to ceremonials) — she had a numerous brood. 43

Mrs Long Foo’s degradation fits into the female dimension of anti-Chinese propaganda. But the situation is made worse by her adoption of Chinese religion at the expense of her original belief in Christmas, of which she says, ‘there never was no such thing — no time whatsoever... Them’s old fairy tales, buried for ever and a day.’44

Hopkin’s attack is unsupported by the facts. Almost all women who married or cohabited with Chinese were careful to have a church wedding whenever possible and to have their children baptised. It must be kept in mind it is a novel and is not referenced to reality. The author drives his didactic point home at the end of the story with this rhetorical question, ‘Do you wonder, as I write this last page, that I am in favour of a very White Australia?’45

Moral reformers bewailed immorality among or related to the Chinese.46 Margaret and Emma Wylie provided one example of many press stories:

Two young girls, apparently about seventeen and fifteen years of age respectively, were noticed in the streets by two of the constables on duty in Little Bourke-street on

43 Hopkins, op cit, pp 163-164..
44 Ibid, p 168.
46 The immigrant English Baptist preacher, Henry Varley, was a prominent evangelical social reformer in Melbourne, and an acquaintance of Cheong. A list of his published pamphlets is in the reference list. He was well known for his night-time visits, often with the Salvation Army, in rescue missions to save lost girls in the inner city slums of Melbourne. There is a discussion of Varley in Davison, Graeme, David Dunstan and Chris McConville, (1985), The Outcasts of Melbourne, Essays in Social History, Sydney, Allen and Unwin. See also Paproth, Darrell, Henry Varley and the Melbourne Evangelicals, Journal of Religious History, Vol 25 No 2, June 2001.
Tuesday evening. As the girls had seemingly no good object in hanging about, the constables kept an eye upon them, and noticed that they entered the Chinese quarter. After some little search, the elder girl was found in a Chinaman’s house in one of the back lanes, and being there the only female among some five or six Chinamen, was arrested on a charge of vagrancy and brought next morning before the City Court.47

There was (and still is) a tendency to blame the victim rather than the causes created by society itself, i.e., the lack of social security or support for the disadvantaged coupled with, as Henry Varley’s comment below reveals, a lack of social conscience by leading Melbourne landlords:

A SCANDAL AND A DISGRACE TO MELBOURNE
In company with Colonel Barker and Captain Burfoot, I this day paid some visits to the opium dens and immoral houses which abound off Little Bourke-street. I desire to give a resume of the scenes witnessed and the facts which came to our knowledge. Passing from Little Bourke street up a narrow passage we came upon some miserable hovels, erected at the side of the wall of the Alexandra Theatre, measuring about 6ft. in width and in height, by 8ft. in length. Their object is only too clearly disclosed. In the first, upon a wretched bed, just a bundle of rags, lies a poor, degraded woman in the last stage of consumption. Filth and abject poverty meet the eye; there is not a chair or article of furniture in the place; left to perish, the poor creature who only a short time since was one of the flash women of a neighbouring brothel, lies racked with the fatal cough, and is rapidly sinking and passing away.

We tried to speak to her of eternal things, but every few moments showed only too palpably that her mind was unhinged and wandering. Colonel Barker had arranged to send some members of the Salvation Army to clean out the wretched hovel, and, now mark! As soon as the Chinese landlord knew it he threatened to turn the dying woman out. These miserable huts (there are four) are built close to the wall of the theatre. Next comes the Chinamans dwelling at the front, where opium dens and couches abound. To an old man, a pensioner, reading in one of the shanties I said, What rent do you pay for this hovel? 4s per week was his reply. And who owns the property? I enquired. Mr B. a gentleman who lives at Wellington parade, Richmond. Property indeed! Is there no law in Melbourne to deal with such cases as these? They are literally haunts of filth, vice and sin. We step across the passage and enter a house where another Chinaman lives. There he sits, stolid and silent as a sphinx. A young woman about twenty-four years of age lies on the opium couch. She has just been smoking, and is half-dazed and stupid. Another young girl reclines at the end of the opium couch apparently waiting her turn: she is not more than eighteen. We speak to her, and she tells us that her father is a resident at Portarlington, and that she has only been six months given to this life of shame, six months of degrading experience which she hates but where can she go?...

Into the same room now come two other fine-looking women, both of them daughters of shame. They are hardened by years of degraded experience, but one tells of a mere child of fifteen whom she wishes Colonel Barker to go at once to and

47 The Daily Telegraph, 14 May 1870.
rescue. . . In one brief hour we had seen and conversed with seventeen of these fallen women, and all of them save one were in Chinese opium dens as well as brothels.\textsuperscript{48}

In the early days of the goldrushes, women were a minority on the goldfields.\textsuperscript{49} In 1857, there were 43 women for every 100 men. By 1861, the ratio improved to 56:100 and by 1871 it was 83:100. By 1855 there were 17,000 Chinese men in Victoria but three years later only three Chinese women had arrived although there was no prohibition on Chinese female immigration then or at any time in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{50} Only one Chinese woman was ever mentioned in connection with prostitution in Melbourne and she was deported, at Chinese behest, before entering the business.\textsuperscript{51} One report suggested that there were 700 European women engaged in full-time prostitution in Melbourne as well as an unknown number of casual workers.\textsuperscript{52}

European women living in Chinese camps in New South Wales were described by Quong Tart and Police Inspector Brennan as hardened prostitutes no longer able to attract European clients.\textsuperscript{53} After talking with the women, Quong Tart and Brennan rejected the prostitution-opium connection.\textsuperscript{54} For every woman addicted to opium, another was an alcoholic and alcoholism was, for the most part, a European disorder.\textsuperscript{55} A visiting British Methodist missionary from China, the Rev. Grainger Hargreaves, probably came closer to the mark when he observed that:

The unmarried European women in Chinese camps have reached the last stage of their career, the first stage of which was initiated apart from the Chinese. This remark is not based on personal observation but upon the remarks made by public men I have met in travelling through Victoria and other colonies.\textsuperscript{56}

The New South Wales Royal Commission on Alleged Chinese Immorality, of 1892, despite repeatedly leading women to attribute their ‘immoral’ lifestyle to being trapped by opium supplied by the Chinese, reported that the proposition was rejected, out of hand, by most

\begin{footnotes}
\item[48] The Daily Telegraph, 10 April 1889.
\item[52] The Daily Telegraph, 14 May 1870.
\item[55] The Daily Telegraph, 8 February 1870.
\item[56] The Daily Telegraph, 9 April 1888.
\end{footnotes}
of the women interviewed.57

Only a few of the thousands of prostitutes across Australia lived with Chinese but one it would have been enough for the purveyors of racial prejudice. Bizarre accusations were made, and probably believed by some, such as a story that European ‘madams’ had established a business recruiting innocent European country girls to work in Chinese brothels. There was no supporting evidence but it was widely accepted as true and illustrated as part of the anti-Chinese pathology of the times.

Cheong always refused to publicly name members of the Chinese community who engaged in activities that contravened colonial law, such as opium smuggling.58 In an

57 New South Wales, Report of the Royal Commission on Alleged Chinese Gambling and Immorality and Charges of Bribery against members of the Police Force, together with Minutes of Evidence to the Committee, 1891-2, pp 387, 399.
58 In addition to refusing to name Victorian opium traders, Cheong also refused to provide information
acrimonious exchange of notes in 1909 he reproved his former friend, William Howat, a Melbourne lawyer and evangelical Anglican layman who was the office manager for the Clarke family of the *Rupertswood* estate at Sunbury, of being fooled by people in the Chinese community who had continued to trade in smuggled opium after the banning of imports in 1906:

You are supporting . . . people who by their devices & efforts are defeating the most salutary of recent enactments, viz the laws against the gambling and opium evils. One of them since the said legislation has devised and the rest have adopted the names of Shanghai Club, Chinese Progress Association etc for their gaming houses & by also distributing palm oil [bribes] liberally to certain officers they have enjoyed an immunity from police raids to which Chinese gamblers of Sydney & Adelaide are constantly subjected and the party who are the greatest gamblers are also the greatest & cleverest of opium smugglers. And further strange as it may appear to you, he whom you look upon as a highly respectable merchant is the greatest adept of them all & his henchman is the thin small man you shook hands with at the Kong Chew Hall on Saturday afternoon. A quiet candid talk with old trusted friend Shi Gean will give you an insight into the men and things Chinese of which you can only have at present but a superficial knowledge & will enable you to open a juster estimate.59

Although he knew the criminal element among the Chinese Cheong was not prepared to inform on his countrymen, even when they were engaged in something he hated as much as the opium trade. His defence was that as a Christian minister his duty was to lead a sinner to repentance, conversion and a changed life even if, as he said, it might place him at physical risk:

You mistake my calling when you say ‘I am quite at a loss to understand why you as a minister have neglected to lay before the Police the information which appears to be so well within your knowledge’. . . . I have in my public discourses & in private dealings reasoned with the gamblers & opium smugglers concerning the iniquity of their ways & I am thankful to note that by God’s grace the Word of Truth has not been altogether lost but never in my life have I turned informer upon them & caused their arrest by the Police for the weapons I have been taught to use by my Master are not carnal but spiritual even the gentle suasion of God’s own Word. When my own personal safety was said to have been imperilled by my efforts for the suppression of the opium trade & the local agent to the opium farmer of Hong Kong had placarded L Bourke St offering rewards for violence to my person just as the Patterson opium suppression bill was reaching its final stages I was urged by my friends to seek Police protection. My reply was God was my Protector of my allotted span & so long as I was in the way of duty no one could shorten it before its appointed time.60

Cheong told Howat that he and William Wong Shi Geen were in danger following

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59 Cheok Hong Cheong to W Howat, 16 March 1909.
60 Cheok Hong Cheong to W Howat, 20 March 1909.
Howat’s release of Cheong’s earlier letter.61 A month later Cheong wrote:

Dear Mr Howat . . . as regards the vices of gambling & opium smoking against which the State legislature has of late & very wisely enacted laws of prohibition towards the securing of which I have contributed no little time & thought & effort I have, not being a judge or magistrate but a Minister of the Gospel, confined myself to public & private exhortation & warning believing that to be clearly my duty. If however I were to do as you urged me I feel that my influence for good with the gambling & opium smokers would be gone. Even this writing to you as a stranger to their nation since the substance has been communicated to them they have treated as an act of hostility to their persons though I meant it against their vices. I trust I have now fully explained to you my position & the guiding principles of my conduct.62

In 1884, Cheong, as the leader of the Victorian Chinese Anti-Opium League, had petitioned the Victorian Government to ban the importation of opium.63 Among the then members of the League, and still active twenty years later, was William Wong She Gean (or Geen) an immigration agent and a former president of the See Yup Association.

In 1885 the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Chinese Missions, organised by Cheong, sent one of several joint petitions to the Victorian Parliament seeking a ban on the importation of smoking opium. It was signed by over six hundred Chinese, but it failed to generate a government response. Although the tariff on smoking opium (i.e., the specially prepared form of opium prepared in Hong Kong was small (see page 205) the Victorian Government told Cheong that it could not afford to lose any revenue, no matter how trivial the amount might be.

It was not Cheong’s first assault on the opium question. In 1879, he wrote that opium was not a Chinese problem alone (Chapter4). It affected people in England, as well as China. His point was that the lack of social sensitivity and compassion shown by tolerance of the trade in opium was hurting the people of Britain just as the British Indian Government was doing in maintaining the trade in opium into China. The co-authors wrote:

Now, let us see what the English newspapers of 1841-2 told us about the state of society there. . . . The abjuration of intoxicating drinks was little more than a set-off against the increased consumption of opium . . . In the large manufacturing towns, the druggists now employed their spare minutes throughout the week in making up penny or twopenny packets of opium for sale on Saturdays, when hundreds of poor creatures would come to receive from the long rows on the counter the packets which were to give them stupor until the miserable Monday morning. At this time,

61 Cheok Hong Cheong to W Howat, 30 March 1909.
62 Cheok Hong Cheong to W Howat, 27 April 1909.
63 CMSV Minutes, 19 June; 17 July; 21 August 1974.
thousands of infants were being drugged to death in the manufacturing districts by women in whose charge they had been placed by their mothers, who were at work in factories. At Ashton, the weekly sale of opiates for this purpose, by fifteen dealers, averaged six gallons, two quarts, and one and a half pints. In Preston, twenty-one chemists sold, in a single week, £66 worth of Godfrey’s cordial, child’s preserver, syrup of poppies, and similar compounds. Children were insured in burial clubs, with a view to their being slowly poisoned, so that their parents might draw the money; until it became a common thing for women among the lower classes to say, when speaking of a neighbour’s child, Oh! you may be sure that child won’t live; it belongs to a death club.64

Cheong explained his participation in the anti-opium movement to a the Rev. Dr Steele, an Anglican minister in Sydney, closely associated in the New South Wales opium movement with Mei Quong Tart:

At the Conference of representatives of the Victorian [Temperance] Alliance . . . with the promoters of the prohibition of opium movement in Melbourne held on Wednesday last, the Hon W Anderson informed us that you and Mr Quong Tart are working zealously in the cause in Sydney. We were very pleased to learn the fact, and it has just occurred to me that it may perhaps be helpful to you if I briefly indicated to you what has been done in Melbourne. In August of last year a few friends (Hon W Anderson MLA; W J S Gordon MLA, Mr W Calder, W Shi Geen and myself) met in the office of Mr Calder to deliberate as to what should be done to remove the terrible curse from our midst. It was then suggested we should see the Hon J B Patterson, Commissioner for Customs, which was accordingly done. The Commissioner expressed his entire sympathy with us and said that the matter of £17000 or £18000 duty should not be considered for a moment in face of so great and terrible an evil and intimated that he would do all that lies in his power to secure the object we sought. At the same time, as it involves a question of finance, he desired us to see the Premier also upon the subject. Mr Gillies however was so busy with his Budget and other matters that he made no arrangements for an interview until April of this year.65

Cheong soon realised that prohibition on opium imports needed the colonies to act in concert. He took advantage of a Federation Conference in Melbourne to speak to Henry Parkes, Premier of New South Wales, Dr Cockburn of Western Australia and Thomas Playford of South Australia. He outlined the wish of the Chinese to end the importation of opium other than for medicinal purposes hoping, without success, for common legislation.66 Although he received a courteous hearing, nothing came of the meeting.

Cheong’s reference to the Temperance Alliance and in particular to J B Patterson explains some of the support he received from Europeans. As he mentioned in the note

64 Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-88, Melbourne. [A footnote credits this information to Miss Martineau’s History of the Thirty Years Peace. Book v].
65 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Rev. Dr Steele, 8 September 1890.
66 The caveat ‘for medicinal purposes’ was taken from the literature of the British Anti-Opium Society.
above, temperance supporters included William Anderson and William Gordon, members of the Victorian Parliament, who had arranged the meeting on 18 July 1889 with J B Patterson who was, at the time, the minister responsible for customs and therefore for the importation of opium. Like many leading Victorian politicians James Patterson was a self-made man who had worked as a miner, then as the underground manager of a goldmine. He became a butcher at Castlemaine, entered politics and became a leading Victorian parliamentarian, cabinet minister and, very briefly, premier. In 1891 he decided, like many successful immigrants before him, to visit family to Britain and then to tour the United States. Cheong asked him to make forceful representations to the ‘powers that be’ in England to end the opium trade. He recommended Patterson to the leaders of the Anglo-Chinese Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade.

Montgomery Villa, Gore St, Fitzroy, Melbourne, 22/12/90

Dear Mr Patterson — My Chinese Friends who are working with me to secure the removal of the Opium curse desire me to take this opportunity of wishing you a “fair wind and favourable tide” both on your voyage to the Land of your Fathers and on your return to this the Land of your Adoption; and to thank you very cordially for the warm sympathy wise counsels and powerful assistance you have rendered the cause of our suffering countrymen ever since the commencement of the Movement for the prohibition of the opium traffic in this and adjacent Colonies.

But much as we know you have done we feel sure that you will be only too glad to do much more for forward the cause of the poor victims wherever and whenever opportunity offers you.

We thought therefore that as you are proceeding to the United Kingdom which still holds the key to the whole situation we would be failing in our duty if we did not entrust you with the prayers and tears of the thousands of victims in this Colony alone who are held spell-bound by this fell-destroyer. You yourself have seen its terrible havocs in your midnight visits and therefore make far more forceful representations to “the powers that be” than any description of mine.

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67 The Daily Telegraph, 19 July 1889.
68 The use of marxist analysis to identify colonial politicians and business leaders in an inappropriate context of a European style ruling elite, notably argued by Burgmann, Verity, (1978), ‘Capital and Labour: Responses to Immigration in the Nineteenth Century,’ pp 20-34 in Curthoys, Ann and Andrew Markus, [eds], (1974), Who Are Our Enemies, Racism and the Australian Working Class, Sydney, Hale and Ironmonger, requires great caution. Colonial politicians representing lower house electorates were, by British standards, remarkably democratic in spirit and practice with shifting alliances bringing about short-lived administrations usually free of any recognisable political ideology. Patterson, who held Castlemaine for years, relied heavily on the votes of working people, as did most other Victorian politicians of the time. Vested interests existed but tended to focus on the Upper Houses of the colonial legislatures where a property (and education) restriction applied to the electoral roll. Even here, most members were self-made men and property did not have the same inherited mantle of power and authority associated with the term in, for example, the United Kingdom. The gap between ‘radical’ lower houses and ‘conservative’ upper houses that was a feature of Victorian legislative history was really a conflict over attracting votes in a skewed electoral system.

Butlin, N G, (1964), Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press provides the best insights into the mixed economy (colonial socialism) of the Australian colonies that suggests that the transfer of Marxist analysis to Australia is, as Marx foresaw, inappropriate.
I enclose herewith clippings from some of the Melbourne papers.
Yours Most Sincerely

The Anglo-Chinese Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade — the Anti-Opium Society — was an evangelically based voluntary society drawing its inspiration from the earlier success of the Quaker-led Anti-Slavery movement. Prominent Quakers also led the Anti-Opium Society. They included Sir Joseph Pease MP, President, and J G Alexander, a London solicitor, who served as Secretary for many years. Patterson met Pease who wrote to Anderson and Calder asking for information about Cheong. Calder replied that Cheong would make an excellent deputationist and offered to pay £50 towards the costs of a visit. The Society accepted Calder’s offer.

It is announced that arrangements have been made for a visit to Great Britain by the eloquent Chinaman, Cheok Hong-cheong (sic) Superintendent of Church Missions to the Chinese at Melbourne, Victoria, who will make a tour of the leading towns in the United Kingdom to address the British public on behalf of his countrymen in China.

We are told that Mr Cheook (sic) is a forcible platform speaker, quite at home in the English language, and is thoroughly acquainted with the history of the question he is to address. Cheong addressed 150 meetings held in every major town in Britain and Ireland and each gathering attracted large audiences. As a result of Cheong’s success the Society sponsored the Rev. Yen Yung-king, an American educated and ordained Anglican priest from

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69 Lodwick, Kathleen L, (1996), Crusaders Against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China, 1874-1917, Lexington, University of Kentucky, p 34.
70 China Inland Mission, Friend of China, October 1891, p 230.
Shanghai, to make a similar tour in 1894. A Chinese woman, Mrs. Ahok, from Foochow, is believed to have been the first Chinese to speak publicly in Britain, on behalf of the Church Missionary Society in Fukien Province.

For a time in the 1890s hopes arose, following a series of favourable votes in the House of Commons sponsored by the Society, that a ban on opium in Australia and Britain might not be much further delayed but the British Government refused to accept the views of the House. In 1893, Patterson formed a short-lived government in Victoria and introduced a bill to prohibit the importation of opium. A petition was sent to the Victorian Legislative Council signed by Cheong and 138 members of the Chinese community urging passage of the bill. Unfortunately the Patterson ministry proved short-lived and the legislation lapsed.

The Society’s struggle to secure a ban on the production of opium in India continued year after year, progressively gaining support in the House of Commons. A large majority vote in the House of Commons supported an anti-opium resolution and forced the British Government to establish a formal enquiry. The Anti-Opium Society and its Australian supporters, including Cheong, felt constrained to wait until the Opium Royal Commission submitted its report. They waited throughout 1894 while hearings proceeded in England, India, Southeast Asia and Hong Kong. When the final report was issued, Joshua Rowntree, of the Quaker chocolate manufacturing family, an executive member of the Anti-Opium Society, produced an overview of the 2000 pages of evidence given by 900 people. After receiving a copy from Alexander, Cheong wrote a note of thanks to Rowntree mentioning that the Chairman of the Royal Commission, Lord Brassey, had been rewarded with the Governorship of Victoria. The Royal Commission had recommended against changes to the trade in Indian Opium and had stressed the importance of the revenue to British rule in India. Cheong and his associates felt that it was impossible, out of vice-regal courtesy, to attack the findings of the Royal Commission, i.e., to attack the Queen’s representative in Victoria.

In 1898 Cheong accepted the Anti-Opium Society’s invitation to become a

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73 Mss in Cheok Hong Cheong’s notebook for 1893.
74 The Daily Telegraph, 10 April 1889.
75 Rowntree, Joshua, (1895), The Opium Habit in the East: A Study of the Evidence Given to the Royal Commission on Opium, 1893-4, Westminster, P S King and Son. See also Friend of China, May 1895, pp 132-144.
76 Cheok Hong Cheong to J G Alexander, 19 June 1895. Canon Wilberforce was the son of the great evangelical reformer, William Wilberforce.
Corresponding Member of the Executive Committee. This was a singular honour for him although he expressed worries about the membership of one of the Mathieson family (of the opium trading company Jardine Mathieson) on the Committee.\textsuperscript{77} It was only after he was assured that Mathieson had cut all links with the family business that he accepted. Given that Cheong was never likely to return to the United Kingdom or to meet Mathieson, his concerns may seem a little excessive but, as has been mentioned before, he was never one to allow his principles to be compromised.

The Federation of the Australian Colonies in 1901 transferred customs and immigration from the individual colonies to the new Commonwealth Government. Cheong’s national leadership among Chinese-Australians was helped by the location of the new Federal Parliament in Melbourne. He found active support for the anti-opium cause within the governing party in Senator William Maloney and the Hon Samuel Mauger, Postmaster-General in Alfred Deakin’s government.\textsuperscript{78} Cheong wrote to the Society in London to report that the Federal House of Representatives had unanimously passed a resolution calling for prohibition of the importation of opium other than for medicinal purposes.\textsuperscript{79} A Sydney Christian delegation led by Elliott Johnson, a member of the House of Representatives (later Speaker), had earlier met with Prime Minister Deakin and the successful vote followed. There was no immediate response from the Deakin ministry.

The Victorian Premier, Thomas Bent (see Chapter 5), provided a significant boost to the anti-opium movement when he introduced a bill, under the residual health powers of the state, into the Victorian Parliament in late 1905 to prohibit the sale of opium in Victoria and imposing heavy penalties upon all sellers of opium.\textsuperscript{80} The Victorian Act came into effect on the 1\textsuperscript{st} May 1906.

On the 29 June 1905, the Rev. John Young Wai, Minister of the Chinese Presbyterian Church, Crown Street, Sydney, brought together, under the auspices of the NSW branch of the Chinese Empire Reform Association (CERA), the leading Chinese merchants of Sydney. They agreed to support a mass meeting in Sydney to gain support for a national ban on opium imports.\textsuperscript{81} Cheok Hong Cheong came from Melbourne to participate in the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{77} J G Alexander to Cheok Hong Cheong, 27 April 1894.
  \item \textsuperscript{78} Cheok Hong Cheong to Dr Moloney, MP, 17 August 1905.
  \item \textsuperscript{79} Cheok Hong Cheong to J G Alexander, 25 October 1905.
  \item \textsuperscript{80} Cheok Hong Cheong to Premier Thomas Bent, 12 October 1907.
  \item \textsuperscript{81} China Inland Mission, \textit{Friend of China}, October 1905, p 41.
\end{itemize}
meeting and also gave some public addresses on behalf of the CERA. The subsequent vote in the Federal House of Representatives was part of the outcome of this movement.

A national petition organised by the CERA was signed by over 200,000 people supporting a ban on the importation of smoking opium. On August 25th, Cheong and a Chinese delegation presented Prime Minister Alfred Deakin with the petition. The Prime Minister was sympathetic but was still not prepared to make a firm commitment stating that some among the Chinese had shown great skill in avoiding restrictions on immigration and he was concerned that they would continue the opium trade by adding to the existing smuggling of the drug. The Prime Minister dismissed the argument put by the Chinese delegation that Europeans were at risk. He saw opium as a Chinese problem that would be solved as the Chinese community disappeared through immigration restrictions. Cheong gave this account, in a number of letters, of the meeting with the Prime Minister:

Our Prime Minister’s (Mr. Alfred Deakin) reply to the Chinese Deputation noted in my letter of the 25th Oct last was of the same unsatisfactory nature as that which he gave our first Deputation some 16 years ago & so when we came out of the Ministers room I told Sam. Mauger M.P. a very potent member of the Deakin party but a very warm supporter of our cause that the reply was exactly like that which he gave us many years ago & that after sifting the word sympathy which he bestowed so liberally upon us could find not a grain of comfort & that I had the profoundest distrust in the man. My words had evidently stung Mauger to the quick for he went home with the Prime Minister that evening & had him closely closeted until he wrung from him a definite promise of action so that when we followed up the matter by interviewing the State Premiers & securing their cooperation & by a Resolution in the Federal House of Representatives the Prime Minister was left no option but to issue the Proclamation prohibiting the importation of opium except for medicinal purposes.

A summary of the steps that led to the ban by the Deakin Government appeared in the *Sydney Star* of 1 October 1906 and was reprinted in London by the Anti-Opium Society. The Chinese were the principal cause of the federal prohibition of the importation and sale of smoking opium into Australia.

Cheong’s work on behalf of the Chinese community depended on the support of Chinese businessmen. When support was not forthcoming he relied on their reluctance to confront him. His refusal to inform on drug smugglers, mentioned earlier, was a mixture

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83 Cheok Hong Cheong to Joshua Rowntree, 6 January 1906. See also *Friend of China*, October 1905, pp 42-43. While no figures are available there were continuing efforts by Chinese to smuggle opium into Victoria, even when it was a legal import.
84 Cheok Hong Cheong to J G Alexander, 19 March 1906.
of the spiritual and the secular. In everyday practice he had to balance his Christian ministry against the social and cultural costs of betraying his countrymen. There was also, it may be surmised, a nationalist reason for his silence. To have informed against members of the Chinese community would have been an encouragement to critics of the Chinese and Cheong had no reason to assist in the demonising his countrymen. Cheong’s struggle against opium was only one of several areas in which he took an active leading role on behalf of his countrymen. Several of these matters are examined in the succeeding chapters, with the focus chiefly on his constant struggle to defend the Chinese in various matters relating to immigration and employment. Cheong was dedicated to defending the Chinese and fighting against prejudice wherever it occurred. His greatest triumph was undoubtedly his role in achieving the national ban on the importation of smoking opium.

This chapter has sought to address the major areas in which the Chinese were ‘demonised’ or vilified in 19th and early 20th century Australia. Tan has written about the Chinese in Southeast Asia and his comments apply with equal force to the way in which anti-Chinese interests in Australia sought to make the Chinese a marginalised community in Australia:

Ethnic conflict is very often driven by fear — real or imagined — of a community’s future in the realms of physical security, political, economic and cultural. Where states are unable to or do not provide adequate protection for the ethnic group under siege, fear drives an ethnic group into developing a sense of exclusiveness and taking their own unilateral measures to ensure their security.\footnote{Tan, Eugene, (1999), ‘The Self-Reconceptualising Dilemma of the Citizen-Chinese in Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore, Conference, Reconceptualising the Southern Chinese: From Community to Diaspora, Australian National University, 27 February 1999.}

The Chinese, especially in Victoria, were fortunate to have a man whose language skills and intellectual abilities allowed him to be a forceful defender of their rights against the determined efforts of some sections of Australian society to condemn a whole group of people without a proper respect for their common humanity.
By 1863 the decline in alluvial gold recovery had so reduced the number of Chinese arriving in Victoria that the immigration issue had almost disappeared from the public agenda. Restrictions on Chinese immigration had been removed (Table 8.1). There was so little concern that statistics were not bothered with until anxieties raised by special interest groups, notably a small section of the labour movement, saw the question of Chinese immigration return to the public agenda. As late as 1885, for example, the SS *Taiwan* arrived in Melbourne with 150 Chinese most of whom presented naturalisation certificates and landed without causing community unrest.¹

Chinese immigration reappeared as a minor political issue in the late 1870s as short but continuing recessions in the Victorian economy raised fears of unemployment. From the 1860s onwards Victorians had enjoyed living conditions said to be well above those of employees in the rest of the world.² As Victorian industry became more specialised and urbanised trades unions were formed the leadership of the labour movement used, among other recruiting devices, the fear of an imminent Chinese threat to the employment of workers. The anti-Chinese sentiment of some unions and their leaders relied on the wider sense of unease in the community resulting from the ‘demonising’ mentioned in the previous chapter. Had anti-Chinese sentiment been driven only by a minority element in the labour movement it would not have captured support in the wider community.

In a European settler community, with many divisions along ethnic, cultural and religious lines, the unions found immigration useful as a rallying point for trade union membership.³ This led to a resurgence of anti-Chinese statements as well as active steps to

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¹ *The Daily Telegraph*, 7 July 1885.
³ In 1885, a special force of police was sent to Kyneton to prevent trouble between Orangemen (Irish Protestants) and (Irish) Catholics when the Orangemen proposed to march in commemoration of the Battle of the Boyne. *The Daily Telegraph*, 16 July 1885. The ‘marching season’ by Protestants in Northern Ireland remains a violently divisive issue in Northern Ireland.
reduce immigration from the United Kingdom. The overall objective of the Victorian labour movement was to improve working conditions and maintain the generally high standard of living of Victorian workers.

The statistical evidence shows the underlying fallacy of the anti-Chinese rhetoric. By the early 1870s the decline in Chinese immigration and in the Victorian Chinese population was obvious.

![Table 8.1](image)

The Chinese population of the Colony fell from 9.6 per cent of the male population in 1857 to 2.8 percent in 1881 due to the continuing decline in new Chinese arrivals— around 40% every decade or so (Table 8.1). Even when there were no restrictions against Chinese immigration, i.e., 1864-1871, the rate of decline continued. One interpretation of this, mentioned previously, is that the Chinese decision to enter or leave Australia was not the result of immigration laws but of economic judgement on the best interests of the individual and his family.

With the decline in alluvial gold recovery (Chapter 2) Victoria’s economy underwent wide-ranging change as more and more men moved off the diggings and into the urban areas in search of paid employment. The trend is shown in Table 8.2. The need to find jobs

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4 In 1886-1887 an Australian trade union representative was sent to Britain to encourage British unionists not to emigrate to Australia. *The Australian Times and Anglo-New Zealander*, London, 2 February 1887.

produced anxieties that were fertile ground for sectional interests in the labour movement seeking to use fear of unemployment as a recruiting ground for membership and continuing support. Although not sympathetic to the labour movement, the Victorian banker and historian, Henry Gyles Turner, referred to the growth of unions and their influence that he implies, was unparalleled in the English-speaking world at that time. The labour movement had a vested interest in expanding its influence in the makeup of colonial governments and their legislative programs. Underpinning the anxieties of labour was the fear of low-wage competition from Chinese immigrants arisen in the several attempts by employers, during the late 1870s to replace workers with lower paid European Chinese.

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The concerns of the labour movement were sharpened by the Seamen’s Strike of 1878-1879 (see Chapter 4). Before that there was the Clunes affair (1873) in Victoria and other minor incidents creating concerns about employer attitudes to labour. In 1879 an Intercolonial Trade Union Congress called for a heavy poll-tax on Chinese immigrants. Press reports of large arrivals (by individual ships rather than an overall increase) in Chinese immigrants in Victoria and New South Wales in the early 1880s gave the polemists of the labour movement a new causus belli. An Intercolonial (Government) Conference held in December 1880-January 1881 reported to the British Government that:

In all six Colonies a strong feeling prevails in opposition to the unrestricted introduction of Chinese, this opposition arising principally from a desire to preserve and perpetuate the British type in the various populations.

The language appears racist but it reflects a deeper concern — the total reliance of the colonies on the economic, political, naval and military protection of the British Government. One proposal raised at the Conference caught the imagination of Victorian delegates and bore fruit in 1887 (Chapter Eight). Henry Parkes suggested the use of the quarantine power and a denial of the right for naturalised Chinese to own freehold property. The Victorian authorities reimposed the £10 poll-tax and a ship-passenger limit of one Chinese for every 100 tons of the ships burthen. A Western Australian pattern of importing Chinese indentured labour aroused fears in the eastern colonies and in turn their reaction incensed the Western Australians.

As Table 8.3 shows, the proportion of Chinese working as miners in Victoria fell steadily. The Chinese population was divided between those who moved into the category of ‘farmers’ (mostly market gardeners) or ‘other’ who found work as domestics, furniture workers, laundry workers, etc. There was no evidence that European workers were being

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10 Premier Duncan Gillies to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, The Daily Telegraph, 17 April 1888.
displaced by the Chinese.\footnote{11}

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{Chinese Working Population 1861-1891}
\begin{tabular}{c|c|c|c|c|c}
\hline
\textbf{Year} & \textbf{Miners} & \textbf{Farmers} & \textbf{Other} & \textbf{Miners} & \textbf{Farmers} & \textbf{Other} \\
\hline
1861 & 100 & 0 & 0 & 100 & 0 & 0 \\
1871 & 50 & 30 & 20 & 50 & 30 & 20 \\
1881 & 25 & 50 & 25 & 25 & 50 & 25 \\
1891 & 10 & 70 & 20 & 10 & 70 & 20 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption*{From Census of Victoria, 1861-1891}
\end{table}

An anti-Chinese movement was led by the Victorian furnishing trades unions soon to amalgamate as the United Furnishing Trades Union. The movement avoided evidentiary argument and centred their polemics on the kind of demonising mentioned in the previous chapter.\footnote{12}, The union stated over and over that Chinese competition offered a serious and continuing threat to union members.

The reports of the factory inspectors appointed under the \textit{Victorian Shops and Factories Act, 1896} show that at no time did the Chinese ever constitute more than a third of the total number of furniture employees and Chinese furniture manufacturing was concentrated in the manufacture of the cheapest lines that did not offer serious competition to European tradesmen. In the laundry industry, leaving aside the uncounted number of individuals, usually widows, who took in washing, the average number of Chinese workers was always less than half the number of European laundry employees.\footnote{13} The statistics used to create Table 8.3 show the major categories of employees in the four 1861-1891 Victorian Censuses. The overall shift from mining into other occupations is striking.

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{11}{Price, Charles, (1974), \textit{The Great White Walls are Built}, Canberra, Australian National University Press, p 171.}
\item \footnote{12}{Ibid.}
\item \footnote{13}{Papers Presented to Parliament, Victoria Parliamentary Papers 1904, Vol 2, \textit{Report of Inspectors under the Factories and Shops Acts}.}
\end{itemize}}

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Table 8.4
Major Categories of Chinese Employment
1861-1891

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shops/Services</td>
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<tr>
<td>Market Gardeners</td>
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<tr>
<td>Farm Employees</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Housing/Furniture</td>
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<tr>
<td>Domestic Work</td>
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<tr>
<td>Food Sales</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Construct from Table 9 pp 144-145 in Cronin 1982.

None of the objections to the Chinese were new or true. The anti-Chinese attitudes of the furniture unions in particular, and more generally the labour movement, were declared in the lead-up to the Melbourne Exhibition of 1880 prompting this comment by Cheong and his co-authors of the 1879 Chinese Question:

Chinamen are told:— You must not work in Australian ships or in Australian factories; you must not earn a livelihood by hawking or by handicrafts in these colonies. You must leave off cultivating gardens, and fabricating furniture, and following the industrial employments you have adopted; and you must either starve, beg, steal, or vanish.14

Chinese furniture manufacturers dominated the Victorian market for cheap furniture including some government contracts but this mattered little while there was enough work for all. Europeans were generally qualified tradesmen while the unskilled Chinese used piece-work to produce a small range of low cost chairs and tables.15 Non-Chinese

14 Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80, Melbourne. (See Appendix 1, para 29).
15 The Daily Telegraph, 16 September 1885 reported that ‘by far the greater proportion of household effects have been manufactured in Chinese workshops’. A later protest letter claimed that the Chinese had three-quarters of the market. The Daily Telegraph, 18 March 1887. These statements were not consistent with the reports of people familiar with the furniture industry, including the inspectors and the
manufacturers produced better quality furniture with highly polished finishes and it was this area that felt the pressure of technological change. The increasing use of mechanisation on the one hand, and a shift to cheaper but high quality imports, presented a challenge to manufacturers that had nothing to do with the Chinese competition.

There were dozens of attempts to portray the fate of European workers if Chinese were allowed to compete for work. The power of visual images, and the fears they raised, even when many were only in union publications not seen by most people, should not be underestimated in trying to understand the otherwise irrational anti-Chinese feeling of so many 19th and 20th century Australians. They were part of a wider process of demonisation of the Chinese discussed in the previous chapter and were pursued despite the clear evidence of a declining Chinese population.

By the 1880s the impact of mechanisation, the introduction of youth wages, and in particular the rise in imports, were contributing to a fear of unemployment among adult European cabinet makers. Instead of seeking to adjust to the changing reality, the union leadership mounted ever more heated attacks on the Chinese, a method that could do nothing to affect the long-term interests of Victorian furniture makers or their employees.

From 1881 onwards the United Furnishing Trades Union was the major sponsor of Anti-Chinese Leagues in Victoria. The UFTU adopted a ‘united front’ tactic by organising ‘ratepayer’ protest meetings. The tenor and outcomes of the meetings can be gained from reports in the press:

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17 Unemployed carpenters delegation to the Minister for Public Works, *The Daily Telegraph*, 31 May 1887.
18 There were many who had reservations about placing all the blame for problems in employment upon the Chinese. The Anti-Chinese League passed resolutions opposing assaults upon Chinese. *The Daily Telegraph*, 12 January 1888.
That this meeting of ratepayers of Geelong, having noticed the steady influx of
Chinese. . . desires to record its disapproval of the present inadequate restrictive measures and considers that the Government should introduce early next session a Bill increasing the poll-tax to £100, authorising a residential tax of £20 each per annum, and abolishing the issue or acceptance of naturalisation papers in the case of Chinese.19

A meeting at Hawthorn passed an equally strong resolution although some present offered a strong defence of the Chinese. The resolution stated:

That this meeting of the ratepayers of Hawthorn, having noticed the steady increase of the Chinese in the colony and the subsequent displacement of European workmen, considers that the Government should without further loss of time raise the poll-tax to £100, and impose a residential tax of £20 per annum upon all Chinese so that they may bear a fair proportion of the taxation of the colony. 20

From 1881 to 1888 the Victorian UFTU was the sponsor of all the anti-Chinese resolutions passed by successive intercolonial trade union congresses.21 The short bouts of economic recession and unemployment contrasted with an underlying optimism that the colony had a great economic and social future.22 Almost uniquely, in world terms, the Australian colonies had the highest home ownership in the world financed through cooperative building societies. The indebtedness of most working people for their house payments made the fear of unemployment a powerful union tool. The colonies had no social security system for most of the 19th century and unemployment meant not only immediate poverty but the loss of savings represented by worker’s investment in housing. In the Australasian colonies any threat of unemployment, real or imagined, went to the very heart of people’s identity.23

On the 8th March 1888, as early signs were emerging of another economic recession, the Intercolonial Trade Union Congress passed a unanimous resolution, drafted and moved by the Victorian United Furnishing Trades Union, calling for Australia-wide limits on Chinese immigration and employment:

That in the opinion of this Congress it is desirable that stringent and identical legislation be enforced . . . with a view of preventing the influx of Chinese and coolie emigrants to these colonies, and that (i) a poll tax of £100 be imposed . . . (ii) that an annual residence tax of not less than £10 be levied; (iii) that a clause be inserted in all Government contracts prohibiting the employment of Chinese and coloured

19 The Daily Telegraph, 21 March 1888.
20 The Daily Telegraph, 12 April 1888.
21 See Chapter 10.
23 ibid.
The labour movement was successful in raising alarm over Chinese arrivals, conveniently ignoring departures (see Tables 8.1 and 8.2). In May 1887, a newspaper report headed ‘Influx of Chinese’ stated that 875 Chinese had arrived direct from China, and noted that while some with doubtful papers were ‘set aside’ for further examination, most had landed without challenge on offering the poll-tax.25

The colonial governments were subordinate to Britain on the immigration issue and colonial politicians knew that the British Government would oppose restrictions for fear of disturbing British trade interests with China. The Chinese Government instructed the Chinese Minister in London, Lew Ta Jen, to advise the British Government that it had serious concerns about the attitude of the Australian colonies.26

The arrival of the SS *Afghan* in Melbourne on 27 April 1888 threw Victoria into a ‘ferment of anxiety’.27 Of the 67 Chinese seeking to land in Melbourne, 52 presented naturalisation papers while a further 12 offered to pay the poll-tax. The press report indicates a very high level of political intervention:

> On Mr Ford, tide surveyor of the Customs Department, becoming aware of the state of things, he communicated with Mr T D Hammond, immigration officer, who in turn telephoned Mr Musgrave, collector, acquainting him of the influx. The Cabinet was in session at the time, and Mr Musgrove laid the facts before the Ministry. Dr H R M’Lean, the health officer, received instructions to place the *Afghan* in quarantine, and by his order the yellow flag was raised.28

The naturalisation papers presented by the Chinese were declared bogus and the Victorian Government ordered that the men should not land.29 Colonial officials believed that a market in certificates had developed as Chinese sought to avoid colonial restrictions. Under the restrictions imposed by the *Chinese Act 1881* the quota of Chinese allowed to land from the *Afghan*, taking into account the size of the vessel, was fourteen men. The large number of men on the vessel was, of itself, a direct challenge to the legislation. An editorial in the *Daily Telegraph* warned:

> Let no one pretend that the risk of a great Chinese immigration is imaginary. The

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24 The *Daily Telegraph*, 8 March 1888.
25 The *Daily Telegraph*, 20 May 1887.
26 The *Daily Telegraph*, 4 April 1888.
27 The *Daily Telegraph*, 30 April 1888.
28 The *Daily Telegraph*, 28 April 1888. A yellow flag was the internationally recognised signal of infectious diseases on shipping and its appearance immediately prevented all crew and passengers from landing or having contact with the shore.
29 The *Daily Telegraph*, 11 and 12 July, 1888.
Afghan’s human cargo is a significant danger signal.\textsuperscript{30}
The previously liberal Victorian approach to Chinese immigration could not withstand the public reaction to the nearly 300 (later reduced to 252\textsuperscript{31}) Chinese immigrants on the Afghan of whom 67 were seeking to land, 53 more than the 1881 legislation would have permitted.\textsuperscript{32} A few days later, the \textit{Daily Telegraph} reported the official view:

The bulk of the 300 are duly provided with naturalisation papers and try to look as much as possible like old Australian citizens returning to the familiar scenes of their youth. Yet these naturalisation papers . . . in nearly every case, are demonstrable frauds.\textsuperscript{33}

The labour movement sought to stimulate two sets of colonial fears. First, that the Chinese were engaged in a trade in ‘second-hand’ or forged papers to avoid paying the poll-tax remposed in 1881 and, second, that the Chinese would undercut wages and create widespread unemployment among Europeans. It did not take much, given the fear of unemployment, to persuade people that Chinese were cheating their way into jobs that would otherwise go to European working people.

Any Chinese immigrant seeking to land in Victoria had to produce a naturalisation certificate or pay the poll-tax. Any man who presented a valid certificate or offered to pay the poll-tax could not be denied the right to land.\textsuperscript{34} The only reason for offering a naturalisation certificate was to dodge paying the tax. When the tax was first introduced in Victoria in 1857, more than fifteen thousand Chinese, or nearly half of all arrivals in 1857 and 1858, sought to sidestep the landing tax by walking overland from South Australia, a colony that for a time did not impose a poll-tax.

During the exchange of correspondence between London and the Australasian colonial governments Gillies had informed the British Government that:

In 1885 a very large increase in the number of letters of naturalisation taken out by Chinese was noticed, and shortly afterwards a corresponding increase in the number of Chinese arrivals was observed. There is no doubt that a traffic in these documents has sprung up, and that they were being obtained by Chinese here, and then remitted to China to be presented by other Chinese subsequently arriving here. . .

\textsuperscript{30} \textit{The Daily Telegraph}, 30 April 1888.
\textsuperscript{31} \textit{The Daily Telegraph}, 30 April 1888.
\textsuperscript{32} Report of a meeting of the Anti-Chinese League at the Trades Hall on 10 April had roundly condemned the ‘undecided position’ taken by Gillies. \textit{The Daily Telegraph}, 10 April 1888. See also \textit{The Daily Telegraph} 28 April 1888.
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{The Daily Telegraph}, 30 April 1888.
\textsuperscript{34} The concept of an entry tax on Chinese, like so much else of Australian goldfield practice, was adopted from California where a landing tax on Chinese immigrants was first imposed in 1852, Victoria first imposed a £10 tax in 1855, NSW 1861, Queensland 1877 and the other colonies by 1887
This abuse . . . which probably in 1882, caused a revival in Chinese immigration. . . In 1885, when the fraud was discovered, additional precautions were adopted . . . and the large immigration in the year 1886 was, doubtless, owing to a desire to avail of the papers already held before the door was closed.35

Table 8.5 shows the naturalisations reported in Victoria from 1861 when just ninety men out of nearly 25,000 Chinese residents were granted the status of British subjects within the Colony of Victoria. The doubling of naturalisations in 1883-1884, and the further doubling in 1886, pointed to either a change in Chinese attitudes to naturalisation that was not carried through in the pattern of departures. It seemed clear to the Victorian authorities that the Chinese had identified the market value of the certificates to those Chinese wishing to enter the colony without paying the poll-tax.

Victorian (or other colonial) naturalisation certificates did not give British subject status in any other Australasian colony or elsewhere in the British Empire. Perhaps in consequence, although thousands of Chinese were eligible to apply, few bothered until the post 1881 restrictions were introduced. In 1881 91 applications were granted and increased to more than 1100 in just five years.

Popular feelings among European colonists were running high and little was needed to produce protesting crowds. When a Chinese named Ki Noon carrying legitimate South Australian naturalisation papers arrived from China a fortnight later a crowd reputedly numbering 12,000 gathered at the wharf to prevent him landing in Victoria. The crowd was assembled by a rumour that the ship on which he arrived, the *Albany*, was carrying a large number of Chinese immigrants. Another vessel carrying Chinese, the *Menmuir*, was refused permission to dock and had to recoal from a passing coastal collier at sea. A letter in the press commented on the decision to allow Ki Noon to land in Melbourne and to transit through Victoria to South Australia:

We were told yesterday that Ki Noon held papers issued in Adelaide; that being so, he was entitled to certain rights and privileges of a British subject within South Australian territory, but not elsewhere. The Aliens Act, both of Victoria and South Australia, expressly stipulates this and provides that letters of naturalisation are of force only in the colony in which they were issued; and so important did Her Majesty’s Imperial Ministers consider this provision, that the Act was referred back to the colony for revision on that one point prior to receiving Her Majesty’s assent. I do not write this, Sir, to support the Government’s action regarding the Chinese, which I think has been highly injudicious, to say the least, but merely to point out that in the case of the *Albany*, the Victorian Government were at least acting within their strict legal rights, which I fear can hardly be said of the *Afghan* and *Burrumbeet* episodes. And I, at the same time, wished to remove the erroneous impression, . . . that the possession of naturalisation papers issued in any one colony entitles the possessor to the rights of a British subject in any part of Her Majesty’s dominions.

36 *The Daily Telegraph*, 2 June 1888.
37 *The Daily Telegraph*, 14 May 1888
38 *The Daily Telegraph*, 19 May 1888. A further confirmation of the limits of colonial naturalisation was given in the case of Low You Fat who sought to sue the NSW Government over unlawful detention on
Victorian officials announced that more Chinese had obtained naturalisation papers between 1882 and 1886 than in all the years since 1854.39 A press report stated:

Up to the passing of the Chinese Act of 1881, which came into operation on 1\textsuperscript{st} April, 1882, the entry of Chinese into the Colony was unrestricted and very little opportunity was taken of obtaining naturalisation papers. But after the passing of the Act which by Sec 2 restricted the number of Chinese immigrants . . . naturalisation became popular because Sec 5 of the above Act exempted Chinese immigrants who were British subjects.40 The Anti-Chinese League in Victoria, sponsored chiefly by the furnishing trade unions and supported by the Australian Natives Association, took the opportunity to call a meeting attended by (press estimates) between thirty and forty thousand people. The Age editorialised that never before had anti-Chinese sentiment been more forcibly expressed.41 The Government was forced to rethink the traditionally liberal position of Victoria and to recognise that electoral realities were changing. The government decided not to allow the Afghan passengers to land in Victoria.42

When all the new arrivals claimed to have been miners at Sandhurst (Bendigo) their statements stretched credulity.43 The Victorian Government was in:

No doubt that a traffic in these documents had sprung up, and that they were being obtained by Chinese here, and then remitted to China, to be presented by other Chinese subsequently arriving here. . . It was almost impossible for Customs to detect the imposture. This abuse of letters of naturalization, which probably commenced in 1882, caused a revival in (Chinese) immigration. During the eleven years ending with 1881, 91 only of such letters were issued to Chinese. . . In 1885, when the fraud was discovered, additional precautions were adopted in connection with the issue of naturalisation papers, and the large immigration in the year 1886 was, doubtless, owing to a desire to take avail of the papers already held before the door was closed.44

Premier Gillies remarks above were based, at least in part, on a minute from the Customs Department sent to him on 30 November 1887 well before the furore over the Afghan. The department advised that:

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39 The Daily Telegraph referred to court cases involving illegal dealings in naturalisation applications. The Daily Telegraph, 2 March 1885, 25 April 1885.
40 National Archives of Australia, AA1911/14641.
41 The Age, 2 May 1888.
42 The Daily Telegraph, 28 April 1888.
43 The Daily Telegraph, 30 April 1888. As Willard points out in Chapter 3 of her pioneering study, all the colonies shared the view that the solution to the Chinese Question in Australia was the renegotiation of the Treaties between Britain and China. Willard, M, (1923), History of the White Australia Policy to 1920, Carlton, Vic, Melbourne University Press. (Reprinted 1967).
44 The Daily Telegraph, 17 April 1888,
It appears that the great bulk of Chinamen who land here do so by virtue of naturalisation papers. Section 2 of Act 773 prevents many coming in any other way. The officers of the Customs Department are satisfied that the naturalisation papers are used in a fraudulent way in, say, many cases, if not in all. There appears to be no way of proving that the person presenting the naturalisation paper is identical with the person to whom it was issued, and that even if the officer is satisfied as to the genuine character of the paper, he may not be satisfied that the person presenting it is the person to whom it was issued . . . The great bulk are our own Victorian papers . . . I have instructed the Collector that unless he is perfectly satisfied as to the identity of the person presenting the paper with the person to whom it was issued, he must absolutely refuse, under Section 5 [of Act 773] to allow them to land. The Collector informs me that it is practically impossible that he can be so satisfied, and therefore this instruction will have the effect of confining the number of those allowed by Section 2 [i.e. application of the tonnage limit of one Chinese for every 100 tons of the ships burthen].

The immigration ‘debate’ initially centred on press reports about; ‘One man . . . a resident of Castlemaine, having a wife and family there, besides freehold property that entitles him to a vote for both Houses of Legislature’. An unnamed source stated that the man was married and had taken his European wife’s last name and was known as Sandy Williams rather than his Chinese name, Sun Sing Long. Sun Sing Long claimed to have lived in Victoria for twenty-five years. Alfred Deakin, the Victorian Chief Secretary, announced the findings of an official investigation into the man’s real name and origins stating that Sandy Williams never existed and that Sun Sing Long had presented a forged certificate. The only truth in the whole affair, Deakin said, was that Sun Sing Long had been a miner at Fryerstown, near Castlemaine. The story ended with a report in mid-May that Sun Sing Long’s papers had originally been issued to a Slin Layong on 3 September 1883. While one man was not an ‘invasion’ the story of the forgery was proof enough for most colonists that the Chinese could not be trusted. When colonists tied this one case into the general framework of racial vilification described in the previous chapter it was inevitable that racially discriminatory actions would follow.

46 The Daily Telegraph, 3 May 1888.
47 Xinhua News Agency, 23 May 1998 reports that forged papers are still being produced.
48 The Daily Telegraph, 1; 3; 8; 9; 10 May 1888.
49 The Daily Telegraph, 18 May 1888.
50 As stated earlier, this was a genuine fear that the essential qualities needed to stabilise colonial life, establish the rule of law, and sustain overall social harmony might be at risk. The particular fear was the creation of something akin to the divided society of North America with an underclass equivalent to the slave system being created by Chinese immigrants. See discussion in Griffiths, Phil, (2002). Towards White Australia: The shadow of Mill and the spectre of slavery in the 1880s debates on Chinese immigration, Paper presented to the 11th Biennial National Conference of the Australian Historical
told the British Government that:

The Chinese, from all points of view, are so entirely dissimilar as to render a blending of the two peoples out of the question. They are not only of an alien race but they remain aliens. Thus, we have not a colonisation in any true sense of the word, but practically a sort of peaceful invasion of our land by Chinese. . . In the infancy of a nation, the question of race is of paramount importance, and the issue is, therefore, raised, whether in the occupation of this great continent, with all its possibilities of progress, and its opportunities of outlet for the surplus populations of Europe, we are to admit hordes of the Mongolian race; or, on the other hand, to reserve it for those peoples — our own, or kindred to our own — that have led the van of the world’s civilisation.51

No colonial politician could risk ignoring the strength of popular feeling. Gillies continued:

The Chinese Minister . . . admits how widespread is the sentiment . . . His letter shows that not only in Australia, but in Canada, and British Columbia, restrictive measures towards Chinese immigration have been adopted, while the Government of the United States of America is said to have just concluded negotiations in the same direction with the Court of Pekin . . . The Chinese Minister appeals to treaty obligations . . . [The Premier] feels assured that any such treaty as may have been referred to was never contemplated to operate injuriously against the . . . Australian communities by requiring them to receive the population of a foreign state, either in such numbers as might prove a menace to their peace and stability, or under circumstances as would bring about serious disarrangements in the occupations of the people.52

Gillies comments about the widespread anti-Chinese feeling in the European settler countries of the Pacific Rim showed that while Australian immigration policies were increasingly discriminatory it was not a unique attitude.

The departure from China of so many unskilled labourers arose from the exploitation of Chinese emigration entrepreneurs of the provisions of the unequal treaties that was discussed in Chapter 4. The controversy over Chinese immigration was not a simple issue of racism. Governments around the Pacific Rim were confronting entrepreneurs determined to exploit loopholes in immigration policies. Their concerns were matched, it must be recalled, by the desire of the Chinese authorities to control the entry of foreigners to China. The 1840 Treaty of Nanking had restricted Europeans to five coastal treaty ports and had forbidden foreigners to move outside these ports. Cheong’s claim (Chapter 4) that the treaties allowed freedom of movement reflected the changes of 1860 when foreigners

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51 The Daily Telegraph, 17 April 1888.
52 The Daily Telegraph, 17 April 1888.
were granted the freedom to live anywhere in China. The Treaty of Tientsin 1860 stimulated the rapid expansion of foreign missionary work in China discussed in Chapter 5. The Chinese shared with the people of Victoria, the belief that, to use Premier Gillies words to the British Government, they were ‘the van of the world’s civilisation’. Even after the 1860 liberalisation of travel and residence in China foreigners were still required to secure an internal passport, at considerable cost. Moving from one province, and often from one district to another in the same province, required authorisation and incurred additional charges. The hostility felt by many officials to all foreigners did not guarantee the safety of foreigners and attacks, and murders, of foreigners began to mount until the horrors of the Boxer Rebellion brought matters to a head.

In the midst of the storm surrounding the Afghan, a small, coastal collier, the SS Burrumbeet, had just fourteen Chinese immigrants aboard when it arrived in Melbourne. On 30 April, six of the fourteen men on the Burrumbeet offered their £10 poll-tax to enter Victoria and eight presented Victorian naturalisation certificates. They were not allowed to land. The constitutional barrier that prevented the colonies from banning Chinese immigrants had been side-stepped in the case of the Afghan by invoking quarantine regulations. The same regulations were now applied to the Burrumbeet.

Quarantine was undeniably within the constitutional authority of the colonies but the Governor, Sir Henry Loch, was reluctant to sign the necessary order because of his concern about the effect on Imperial relations with China. He eventually yielded, accepting that he was constitutionally obliged to take the advice of his ministers. Placing a ship in quarantine meant that none of the passengers or crew should have landed until the ship was cleared by health officers but in an act of administrative discrimination the Chinese were detained while European passengers and crew were allowed to land.

The following day a delegation from the Trades Hall visited Premier Duncan Gillies

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53 The Daily Telegraph, 17 April 1888.
54 Rolls gives this account of the men presenting naturalisation papers. Unfortunately, it can only be offered with the understanding that Rolls did not footnote his sources.

‘Wang Gay had lived in Victoria for thirteen years, ten of them as a market gardener at Malvern then as a storekeeper in Elizabeth Street. He had gone home to see his father. He spoke fluent English, as did Ah Hay, six years a miner at Sandhurst. Wong Hung mined for eight years at Ballarat. Won Kay was another miner. Le Hong had been a storekeeper at Malvern, Maryborough and elsewhere, Sin Din was a gardener at Richmond. Lee Shun had been a labourer in Melbourne, Gee Sing, eight years in Victoria, a labourer in several colonies. How could these established Victorian citizens be kept out?’ Rolls, Eric, (1992) Sojourners: The epic story of China’s centuries old relationship with Australia, St Lucia, Brisbane, University of Queensland Press, p 465.

55 The Daily Telegraph, 16 April 1888.
demanding that Victoria turn away all the Chinese on the *Afghan* and the *Burrumbeet*. A report from Sydney announced that the Anti-Chinese League there had held a mass meeting, fifty thousand strong, to protest Chinese immigration. The meeting resolved that when the *Afghan* came on to Sydney the Chinese would be kept on the ship by force if needed to prevent them landing. Protest meetings were reported from as far afield as
Adelaide and Wellington. The Afghan/Burrumbeet affair, in both its Victorian and New South Wales forms, illustrated the three step stage of racism discussed at the beginning of Chapter 7 — vilification, discrimination and the threat of violence although the latter did not eventuate other than minor incidents in Brisbane.

The Victorian Government was facing electoral disaster. The Government unilaterally declared all Asian ports, including Hong Kong and Singapore, infected under quarantine regulations. The administrative impropriety involved in the use of the quarantine power aroused critical comment. An editorial commented that:

At best ministers can only claim that, while they have confessedly employed the law to accomplish ends never dreamed of before, they have yet kept ingeniously within the bare letter of the law.

A public meeting in the Melbourne Town Hall endorsed tighter restrictions but rejected a call to make controls retrospective. The meeting showed signs of an independent pursuit of Australian interests and hostility towards Great Britain declaring that the Victorian community would not tolerate British interference on Chinese immigration. Gillies, alarmed at what the British Government might do, warned the colonial premiers that:

We cannot enjoy the shelter of the Empire, and then, at our own convenience, ignore its honour. What we have a right to demand, however, is that England shall revise its treaty relations with China in the light of our interests and wishes. We are the best judges of the perils of a Chinese invasion, and of the methods which, in self-defence, we must adopt against these perils.

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57 The Daily Telegraph, 8 May 1888. See also Papers Presented to Parliament, Legislative Assembly, Victoria, 1888, 'Chinese Immigration'.
58 The Daily Telegraph, 3 May 1888.
59 The Daily Telegraph, 11 May 1888.
60 The Daily Telegraph, 2 May 1888. The Age, 2 May 1888.
61 The Daily Telegraph, 4 April 1888.
His observations were cited by the Chinese Minister in London, Lew Ta-Jen. Gillies and the other colonial premiers understood the risk of pushing British concerns to the point where the British would be forced to act in some decisive, if unknown and immeasurable way, to bring the Australian colonies to heel, perhaps by revoking the colonial constitutions and imposing direct rule from London. Gillies observed that:

Legislative measures of sufficient stringency to effect our purpose might engender an international bitterness which sooner or later might find means to express itself. From a purely utilitarian point of view this is to be deprecated.

Businessmen in Hong Kong warned London that reports of anti-Chinese attitudes in the Australasian colonies were affecting British commercial interests. A similar report in the London newspaper, the *Evening Standard*, was cited in the Wesleyan Methodist Conference. The paper said that the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce believed that the policy being pursued in Australia represented a great danger to European residents in China. An English Methodist missionary visiting Australia from China, the Rev. Grainger Hargreaves, told reporters that although there was little sympathy for emigrants in South China the poll-tax was viewed as shortsighted and offensive.

Gillies had told the British Government that the colonies wanted restrictions on Chinese immigration along the same lines as those proposed by the United States in 1880, i.e., a ban on unskilled Chinese labourers. Such action by the British Government, would he wrote, ‘be welcomed with an outburst of delight.’ Gillies’ views were endorsed by the Premier of New South Wales, Sir Henry Parkes, although Parkes was already planning a far more vigorous challenge to the constitutional authority of Great Britain over its Australasian colonies.

The churches, as a whole, were extremely careful not to become too identified with the Chinese point of view. In a pattern that has been repeated many times down the years politicians that the churches should stick to their spiritual concerns. A Methodist minister wrote to the papers saying:

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62 *The Daily Telegraph*, 4 April 1888.
63 *The Daily Telegraph*, 31 March 1888.
64 *The Daily Telegraph*, 15 May 1888.
65 *The Daily Telegraph*, 22 May 1888.
68 *The Daily Telegraph*, 4 April 1888.
69 *The Daily Telegraph*, 11 April 1888.
It is the height of absurdity to expect that the Great Church shall stand, blind, dumb and passive, when such subjects . . . are being legislated upon. The demand that religious bodies should ‘leave politics alone’ is a piece of very one-sided cant; for politics will not — and cannot if they would — leave religious subjects alone.\textsuperscript{70}

The churches were also concerned about the Chinese but even more with public opinion. The official position of the Presbyterian Church was that the \textit{Burrumbeet} passengers were being illegally detained but the church was careful not to adopt a pro-Chinese stance. The Commission [Standing Committee] of the General Assembly later noted that as the numbers of Chinese were declining, the ‘present agitation’ was ‘wholly unreasonable’, that the government had acted in an ‘arbitrary and high-handed’ way and advised the Premier by letter that no distinction should be drawn between races.\textsuperscript{71}

The Wesleyan Methodist Conference stated that anti-Chinese actions were against ‘the law of Christ’ and not in Australia’s best interests but in a carefully worded statement conceded that some restrictions on Chinese immigration were probably needed.\textsuperscript{72} The comments of the Rev. Dr Watkin made it clear that he, for one, had a healthy eye for popular attitudes when he reminded the Conference:

\begin{quote}
They were, as a church, not sufficiently in touch with the working classes already. The working man had no quarrel with Christianity, but with the way Christianity was represented by many of its professors.\textsuperscript{73}
\end{quote}

In the midst of the ongoing furore, Lowe Kong Meng, Louis Ah Mouy and Cheok Hong Cheong, as spokesmen for the Chinese Residents Association, requested an interview with \textit{The Daily Telegraph} in which they said that the use of quarantine created a precedent for the other colonies and warned that imports would cease if Hong Kong and Singapore remained declared health risks.

The \textit{Afghan} and its Chinese passengers left for Sydney where in due course the Parkes Government also refused to allow the Chinese to disembark. The \textit{Burrumbeet} immigrants were moved to the quarantine station at Portsea on 6 May 1888 in a move to make communication between the detainees and the Residents Committee and its legal advisers extremely difficult.\textsuperscript{74} A Chinese Residents Association statement, prepared by Cheong, was issued to the Press:

\textsuperscript{70} \textit{The Daily Telegraph}, 18 January 1888.
\textsuperscript{71} Papers Presented to Parliament, Legislative Assembly, Victoria, 1888, ‘\textit{Chinese Immigration}’. P 75
\textsuperscript{72} \textit{The Daily Telegraph}, 16 May 1888.
\textsuperscript{73} \textit{The Daily Telegraph}, 22 May 1888.
\textsuperscript{74} \textit{The Daily Telegraph}, 9 May 1888.
WHAT THE CHINESE RESIDENTS THINK

As could only be expected, the action of the Government in refusing to allow the passengers by the SS Afghan to land is viewed very unfavourably by the Chinese residents, who consider that more notice should have been given previously that no more Chinese would be admitted into the colony. Mr Ah Mouy, the well-known merchant, points out that the majority of the men have in all probability sold what little property they had in China in order to raise sufficient money to come out here, and it would, therefore, be a great injustice to send them back again. He thinks that those who have sailed for Australia previous to this date should be allowed to land under the old conditions and that notice should be sent to China warning others from coming. As there are several men on the Afghan Mr Ah Mouy knows are old residents of the colony, he waited upon Mr Walker, the Commissioner of Customs, yesterday in order to try and obtain permission for these men to go ashore. . . . The situation was discussed by a number of Chinese merchants yesterday, and it is expected that a deputation will wait on the Premier today.  

One of the Afghan’s passengers, Chung Teong Toy, returned overland to Melbourne after the passengers, as discussed later in this chapter, were finally allowed to land in Sydney. The Chinese Residents Association retained Dr John Madden, later Chief Justice, to argue the case for the Chinese immigrants in the Victorian Supreme Court. Madden’s argument centred on the unlawful detention of Chun Teong Toy on the grounds that the colonial government, being a subordinate body to the British Parliament, could not exercise the prerogative power of the Crown. Although the Victorian Supreme Court ruled in Chun Teong Toy’s favour, the decision was overturned upon appeal, by the Victorian Government, to the Privy Council.

Kong Meng angrily rejected requests from the Chinese community that he should fund, at his expense, legal action for the Burrumbeet men. On 19 May the press reported:

‘A definite proposal has,’ says Mr Kong Meng, ‘been laid before the Government, and it is simply that the men shall be allowed to come to Melbourne. I have pressed this from the first, and I mean to until the end. Now see it is stated that some of my countrymen are taking objection to me, and saying that I am working for the Government; in fact, arranging for the men to be sent back to China. I tell you what it is. I am determined that they shall be allowed admission to Victoria. Short of that I will have nothing. It is all very well to talk about litigation, but that means money, and who is going to pay it? If I tell a lawyer to take action he, of course, looks to me for his fees, and will perhaps want £100 before he starts. Well, it can scarcely be

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75  The Daily Telegraph, 2 May 1888.
79  The Daily Telegraph, 7 May 1888.
expected that I should pay such a sum out of my own pocket for the sake of men I do not know. I prefer to settle the matter quietly, if it can be done. Today I had a talk with Mr Walker, and subsequently I waited at a meeting of the Cabinet, but in the end got no satisfactory answer, though I have every reason to hope that something in the way we want will be done in a day or two. But if in the end the Government declines to let the men come to Melbourne then we will take every course the law allows.’ Mr Kong Meng . . . compared himself to Mr Gillies in this way. ‘You see, I am just like Mr Gillies. If he does one thing, the Trades-hall Council is down upon him; if he does another, some-one else takes him to task; so he simply steers a course for himself, and acts what he thinks is the best, without undue haste. That is my policy. I believe the whole matter can be settled amicably and without going to law.’

The Chinese Residents Committee sought a writ of habeas corpus to force the release of the *Burrumbeet* detainees. The Victorian government abruptly accepted the poll-tax and let the men land. The immigrants arrived in Melbourne on 24 May 1888 to a huge welcome from the Chinese community in Little Bourke Street. Cheong wrote to the Premier:

Sir, On behalf of the committee of Chinese residents of Melbourne charged with the duty of looking after the interests of their countrymen, I have to request now that the fourteen men who came by the Burrumbeet have, after an illegal incarceration of five days on the vessel and nineteen days at the Quarantine station, been brought to Melbourne at Government expense, the poll-tax having on their behalf been previously tendered three times, and by the Government illegally declined, that your attention be directed to the position of the twelve men on the Afghan on whose behalf the poll-tax was also tendered and declined by the Government. These men are, we contend, just as illegally kept out of the colony and carried off from their destination as were the Burrumbeet men, and the latter having now been admitted we call upon the Government to bring back the twelve men in the Afghan who are now confined to that ship in Sydney Harbour. The poll-tax will be paid on their arrival. With regard to the other men on board the Afghan who hold naturalisation papers, we submit that each of these papers should have been dealt with on its merits, but we are in a position to state that the larger proportion of them were undoubtedly correct and in order, and the men holding them had the right to land, being British subjects, made such by the Victorian Government, who issued them these certificates. As to any of the men whose certificates were irregular, or otherwise inadmissible, the practice of the Government has hitherto been to admit them on payment of the poll-tax, and we submit that any alteration of the previous practice should have in fairness been publicly notified. We however say nothing for any men who may have held such papers, but on behalf of those for whom poll-tax was tendered, and those who hold correct certificates, we request that the legal course shall be adopted by bringing them back and admitting them.

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80 The Daily Telegraph, 19 May 1888.
81 The Daily Telegraph, 18 May 1888.
82 The Daily Telegraph, 23 May 1888.
83 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Hon Duncan Gillies, May 26, 1888.
The Victorian Government’s shift of attitude may have been influenced by the many Victorians, among them Thomas Bent and Cheok Hong Cheong, who expressed misgivings that the foundations of the rule of law in the colonies were under threat. Bent stated:

There was one subject which he could not allow to pass. The action of the Government in connection with the Chinese was a disgrace to us. While we had a friendly treaty with China it was not right that laws should be administered by the Cabinet. If the Chinese came according to law, they should be admitted. 84

The Trades Hall Council issued a public censure of Bent:

That this Council views with alarm and indignation the position taken up by Mr Thomas Bent, the leader of the Opposition, in reference to the Chinese Question, and desires to draw the attention of the working classes to the statement ‘that the action of the Government was a disgrace to us.’ 85

The Premier of South Australia, Thomas Playford, proposed an intercolonial conference to forge a common policy within the constitutional powers of the colonies. 86 The suggestion was immediately accepted by Gillies who was now anxious for combined colonial action, even at the risk of offending the British Government. 87 When it was informed of the Conference proposal, the Chinese Government said that any measures taken would be acceptable if they applied to all nationalities, not just the Chinese. 88 The Chinese Government could hardly have argued otherwise, given negotiations with the United States to limit the number of Chinese labourers emigrating to the USA. 89

84 The Daily Telegraph, 11 May 1888.
85 The Daily Telegraph, 12 May 1888
86 The Daily Telegraph, 10 May 1888
87 The Daily Telegraph, 22 May 1888 and 24 May 1888.
88 The Daily Telegraph, 30 May 1888.
89 The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Knutsford, told the House of Lords that it was ‘probable’ that Britain would seek to renegotiate the treaty along similar lines to those concluded between China and the United States. The Daily Telegraph, 11 June 1888.
Making vilification of the Chinese and discriminatory immigration the focal point of a form of Australian nationalism had value to colonial politicians. Anti-Chinese attacks did not offend the self-interest of European colonists. Chinese immigration became a front runner of a distinctive ‘white’ Australian identity and a cause célèbre for those seeking to achieve Australasian Federation.  

As always, the colonial press was quick to produce a biting visual comment.

The British Government was not enthusiastic about intercolonial consultations especially on matters outside the delegated constitutional powers of the Australasian colonies. The colonies had not been supportive of intercolonial cooperation even on issues as important as defence or customs. Intercolonial consultations were held regularly but rarely achieved much. It was almost impossible to reach a ‘national’ consensus on anything including the federation issue.  

An exchange of letters between J C Firth, a New Zealander and member of the

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91 The Daily Telegraph, 13 January 1888.
Auckland City Council, and Duncan Gillies, the Premier of Victoria, was published in the *Daily Telegraph*. Firth said that poll-taxes and loading restrictions on Chinese immigrants were palliatives, not solutions. He believed that the only way to overcome the constitutional powers of the British Parliament was for the colonies to become fully self-governing. Firth remarked echoed the common colonial theme that the Chinese were not settlers but aliens by choice and culture. ‘They are’, he said, ‘among us but not of us’.  

This is a simple statement that did sum up a good deal of public opinion in the colonies that, as noted earlier, was increasingly interested in the ethnic and cultural makeup of the population of Australasia. It was a precursor of later decisions by the High Court of Australia that even people born in Australia had to meet the test of being ‘a member of the Australian community’ which was essentially a cultural test of identity.  

During the debate on the Immigration Restriction Bill in the Commonwealth Parliament in 1901, Alfred Deakin had invoked:

> The profoundest instinct of individual or nation — the instinct of self-preservation — for it is nothing less than the national manhood, the national character, and the national future that are at stake.

Although dominated by Britain, the religious, cultural and ethnic makeup of the colonies was different to the home islands. A British academic writer, Philip Payton, has made an analysis of the colonial population:

> In 1901: In the British Isles themselves, 75 per cent of the population lived in England, 5 per cent in Wales, and 10 per cent apiece in Scotland and Ireland. Overseas, however, the picture was different. People from England made up not three-quarters, but just over half of the British-born in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, while the Welsh were rarities everywhere. On the other hand, Scots formed 15 per cent of the British-born in Australia, 21 per cent in Canada, and 23 per cent in New Zealand. The Irish score was 27 per cent in Australia, and 21 per cent in Canada and New Zealand.

The importance of this diverse ‘British’ ethnic background in relation to the Irish is well covered in Australian historiography. While it is commonplace, even today, to regard most Irish as anti-English and anti-Protestant (most Irish emigrants preferred the United

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92 *The Daily Telegraph*, 31 March 1888.
States to the British colonies\textsuperscript{96}, there were many Scots with no love for the Catholic Irish or the English, and Welshmen had a long history of resistance to English cultural and economic domination, as did Cornishmen and other provincials. In short, there were many British-born colonists whose interests were not, and had never been, those of Britain’s economic, political and social elite. There was even less reason, given their decision to leave Britain, to accept continuing subordination to the Imperial Government.

The idea of a distinctive Australian identity was a powerful, and in the hands of Australian cartoonists, an ennobling image. Apart from its contribution to Federation in the context of ‘White Australia’ the idea of Australian distinctiveness provided the soil in which the plant of Anzac was to flourish.

Differences in outlook between Britain and Victoria were observable just ten years after self-government. The Victorian correspondent of the \textit{Illustrated London News} wrote in 1865:

\begin{quote}
Melbourne, Feb 24, 1865 . . . Neither this nor any of the other Australian colonies wish, directly or indirectly, to sever their allegiance to the mother land. But, if not disloyal in spirit, a very large section of the community — the most numerous and the most noisy, but anything but the most respectful and influential — are vehemently urging a measure which has all the practical effects of a financial separation. . . The experience of the last month has shown that in Victoria we have a Parliament so alien to British common-sense and British spirit, and so alien to the teachings and policy of England's profoundest writers and wisest statesmen, as to pass a measure embodying all the pernicious elements of the long-exploited system of protection.\textsuperscript{97}
\end{quote}

Vilification of the Chinese was a useful tactic for colonial politicians, business and union leaders wanting to create unity of focus among a diverse colonial population whose only common interest was securing a higher standard of living than they would have had in the United Kingdom.

While majority opinion was opposed to any break with Britain some were prepared to push British opinion to the edge if it served their own local interests. The most notable was Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, who persuaded the NSW Parliament

\textsuperscript{96} Extract from \textit{the Illustrated London News}, 22 April 1865, p 382.
\textsuperscript{97} \textit{The Illustrated London News}, 15 April 1865, p 343.
to pass legislation imposing a higher poll-tax of £100, to limit Chinese immigrants to one person for every 500 tons of a ship’s burthen, imposed an annual residence tax of £100 and, to top off the most draconian of all colonial legislation, sought to impose residential segregation on all Chinese living in Sydney and Newcastle.98 If Parkes’ had been allowed to succeed with his anti-Chinese legislation it would have amounted to a declaration of constitutional independence by New South Wales.99

At the same time there were outbreaks of mob violence in Queensland and New South Wales. Attacks on individual Chinese in the northern colonies increased. In Brisbane, much of the inner-city Chinese quarter was pillaged by a small but violent crowd estimated at about 200 individuals. There were mass meetings in Victoria but no violence.

Gillies predicted that the New South Wales Governor would reserve the bill for the Queen’s approval which was, in all probability, the result Parkes wanted.100 The British Government had not previously intervened, even when Victoria abused the quarantine power, and the rejected law was a prima facie extension of an existing discriminatory colonial strategy that the British had previously endorsed but Parkes had pushed a step further than Britain could accept.

Parkes, predictably, declared that Britain was denying the colonies the right to determine their own population policies. The British rejection of Parkes’ attempt to ban Chinese immigration meant that the colonies had to pursue legislative measures within the existing constitutional frameworks and conventions or else remove sovereign political authority from Her Majesty’s Government in London to Her Majesty’s Governments in Australasia.101 In the meantime, Parkes decided to deny landing rights to Chinese in New South Wales including the vessels that had previously been delayed in Victoria.

By the end of May there were four Chinese immigrant ships detained in Sydney Harbour: Afghan; Tsinan; Guthrie; and Menmuir. Many of the Chinese had certificates of exemption (including naturalisation papers) and the rest offered to pay the poll-tax. Mei Quong Tart, George On Lee and other Chinese community leaders took the matter to the NSW Supreme Court. Justice Windeyer ruled that only the Imperial Parliament had

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98 The Daily Telegraph, 17 May 1888.
100 The Daily Telegraph, 17 May 1888.
101 The Daily Telegraph, 19 May 1888.
sovereign power and if New South Wales wanted to reject the Chinese, it would need to gain the relevant authority from the British Parliament.

Parkes’ refusal to allow the Chinese to land aroused concern about a threat to the rule of law in New South Wales.102 The next day, after expressions of concern from officials that they were defying a Supreme Court ruling, Parkes told them that he had no further instructions, i.e., the officials could act as they thought best. The Deputy Inspector-General of Customs stated that he was allowing the men to land in accordance with the order of the Supreme Court. An appeal by the Parkes Government to the Full Bench of the New South Wales Supreme Court confirmed Justice Windeyer’s ruling that Chinese who offered to pay the poll-tax had a legal right to land.103 The Full Bench described the Premier’s actions as illegal.104

Cheong had been playing a prominent public role throughout the Afghan/Burrumbeet crisis in Victoria. He had told the Victorian Chinese Residents Committee that when naturalisation papers had been identified as fraudulent in the past, immigrants landed upon payment of the poll-tax. That right had now been confirmed by the Victorian and the New South Wales Supreme Courts. A day after the Victorian Government’s decision to allow the Chinese detained at Portsea to officially ‘land’ in Victoria, Cheong issued a triumphant letter to the press. He received a dismissive response from the Premier’s Office:

Sir, I am directed by the Premier to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th inst. relative to the cases of the Chinese immigrants who arrived in this port on board the SS Afghan and Burrumbeet. Mr Gillies directs me to say that your letter contains statements which are not accurate, and assertions hazarded without knowledge. He must therefore be excused from acknowledging the force of the suggestions which you make.105

Cheong’s response was equally blunt:

Sir, I reply to yours of yesterday’s date. I beg to state that at any time, under any circumstances, I should be sorry indeed to ‘hazard assertions without knowledge’ or make ‘statements which are not accurate,’ but particularly so in the present grave emergency, when so much so very much depends upon accuracy of knowledge. I feel myself under no small obligation, therefore, if you would be good enough to

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102  *The Daily Telegraph*, 19 May 1888.
103  *The Daily Telegraph*, 24 May 1888.
104  *The Daily Telegraph*, 6 June 1888.
105  Premiers Official Secretary to Cheok Hong Cheong, 28 May 1888, reprinted in *The Daily Telegraph*, 30 May 1888.
inform me and my committee wherein I had made ‘statements which are not accurate’ and hazarded assertion without knowledge.106

On 31 May 1888 the Premier’s Office informed Cheong that ‘Mr Gillies does not intend to enter into any discussion with you or the Committee’ although an editorial stated that Gillies was studying ‘the polite letter’ written by Cheong which, The Daily Telegraph said, ‘recites the facts of the case very temperately.’107

On June 1st, following a meeting of the Chinese Residents Committee, Cheong asserted the moral superiority of the Chinese Government and its scrupulous observance of international agreements. He reminded Victorians of their ‘British’ duty to observe the terms of the Anglo-Chinese Treaties. He denounced the illegality of the actions of the Victorian government, using the term coup d’etat to emphasise the point, and declaring that the whole thing was an unworthy attempt to placate the European mob element by which, given his values, he meant the labour movement. Cheong was revelling in his leadership and the increasing respect he was receiving, not only from the Chinese, but also from the European community.

Cheong again wrote to Premier Gillies, making a brief restatement of the arguments made in 1879 (see Chapter 4 and Appendix 1):

Sir,—I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 30th ult. in which you intimated that you declined to enter into any discussion with me, or the committee of Chinese residents which I represent, regarding the Burrumbeet and Afghan passengers. It was very far from my intention to create any discussion whatever, but you perhaps will not be surprised, if I now say, on behalf of my committee, that your present letter but adds an additional sting to the injustice we feel we have suffered at the hands of the Government. In my letter of the 26th May I preferred what even you, sir, must admit to be a moderate claim, that my countrymen arriving by certain steamers should be treated in an equitable manner, in accordance with the laws of the country, to which you replied on the 28th idem, that I had made ‘statements which are not accurate, and hazarded assertions without knowledge.’ These serious defects alleged to have been made by me I wished pointed out, but you have met my request with a refusal. Be the laws just or unjust, no request was made that these should be relaxed or even generously construed in our favour. What we sought was that since the coup d’etat of the 28th April on the part of your Government, by which all the Chinese passengers of the steamship Afghan were forcibly prevented from landing at the ports of their destination, your Government have availed themselves of the ample time at their disposal for calm reflection. At least we thought we were justified in that view by the release by the Government of the whole of the passengers per Burrumbeet, after a forcible detention of three weeks and three days, that our request that the passengers of the Afghan be similarly dealt with will not be

106 Cheok Hong Cheong to W Sewell, 29 May 1888, reprinted in The Daily Telegraph, 30 May 1888.
107 The Daily Telegraph, 30 May 1888.
refused. We cannot, of course, say that we are altogether taken by surprise, since the Government that would strain and wrest the law to gratify some noisy clamour, would, in strict consistency, deny us the rights which the law of the land, however inequitable in our view, never for a moment questioned. We would, however, point out that our nation is at the present time, and has been for many years past, happily at peace with the great nation which your Government represents in this colony; that, moreover, a treaty of peace and friendship exists between them which confers reciprocal rights, and until such treaty has been abrogated the ‘surreptitious proceedings’ of the Government are alike dishonourable and dishonest.\[108\]

Gillies did not respond. He was now focussed on an Intercolonial Conference on the Chinese Question to be held in Sydney in December 1888 to decide on joint colonial action to impose stronger anti-Chinese restrictions. They were ploughing in a well tilled field of colonial prejudices. The ASN dispute of 1879, the popular reaction to the visit of the Chinese Imperial Commissioners in 1887, and the Afghan/Burrumbeet events in 1888 all contributed to Australian demands for full constitutional power over immigration that required a greater degree of constitutional independence from Great Britain. The challenge now facing colonial politicians was how to control public opinion to support independence without a fundamental American-style break with Great Britain.

The accumulation of the events described above added to Cheong’s prominence as the English-language defender of Chinese rights. His letters attracted some sympathy for the Chinese but not sufficient to force a change in government policy or influence an increasingly negative public opinion. He was a publicist rather than a negotiator. He did not attend any of the meetings between Kong Meng, Ah Mouy and the Victorian Government. He had no real influence on the decision-making processes of the merchant-elite despite chairing an occasional Chinese public meeting.

He was part of what would have seemed, to the ordinary Chinese living in Victoria, a victory securing Chinese the unquestioned legal right to land upon payment of the poll-tax. At the time few Chinese, outside the inner elite, understood that the 1888 defeat of Parkes’ and Gillies’ draconian colonial restrictions was only a temporary tactical victory. In the longer term, it stimulated colonial opinion to support a federation movement that resulted, symbolically and to some extent practically, in the exclusion of new Chinese immigration.

From Cheong’s point of view it contributed to a progression by which he came to be regarded, and to regard himself, as a person qualified to negotiate, on equal terms, with

108  The Daily Telegraph, 2 June 1888.
the upper echelons of colonial leadership. He had come a long way from the non-English speaking youth who had arrived in Ballarat in 1863. He was now, in public opinion and as events were to prove, in his own mind, a man of substance.
Chapter 9

The Chinese Imperial Commissioners

1887

In 1887 the Australian colonies learned that an official Chinese delegation would shortly arrive in Sydney. It was described as ‘a commission of inquiry into the circumstances, commerce, and condition of [Chinese] resident in the islands of the Malayan archipelago and Australia’.

The mission was a Chinese government response to an appeal for official protection originally made by Chinese merchants in the Philippines. The sponsor of the delegation was the Governor-General of Guangdong and Kwangsi Provinces, Chang Chih-tung, with approval from the senior official in Beijing, Li Hung-chang. The delegation left Guangzhou on 26 August 1866 and returned to China in late 1887.

Details of contacts with Australia’s Chinese leaders in the planning of the visit to Australia are limited to Australian reports that the Sydney Chinese doctor, George On Lee, was involved with Mei Quong Tart in the pre-visit organisation. On Lee, who acted as the interpreter for the Commissioners throughout their Australian visit, asked Sir Henry Parkes to receive the Commissioners with dignity, and to waive charges on members of the delegation when entering Australia through Sydney. Parkes replied that they would be received with ‘every possible attention’ and given ‘every possible facility . . . to carry out the objects of their mission.’

The New South Wales (and Victorian) poll-tax was waived and they were accorded full diplomatic honours in New South Wales and subsequently in Victoria and South Australia although Queensland was less welcoming.

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1 The Daily Telegraph, June 1887. See Willard, M, (1923), History of the White Australia Policy to 1920, Carlton, Vic, Melbourne University Press. (Reprinted 1967), pp 75. No detailed study of the visit has been identified.


3 Ibid, p 156.

4 The Sydney Morning Herald, 6 May 1887 In the Melbourne Chinese Petition to the Commissioners, written by Cheong, he uses the form: ‘mission of inquiry into circumstances, commerce, and condition of our countrymen resident in the islands of the Malayan archipelago and Australia,’ that probably is a direct quote from the Commissioners Letters of Credence to the colonial authorities.

5 The Australian Times and Anglo-New Zealander, London, 16 September, 1887, p 287, reported that the Commissioners were ‘feasted and complimented in South Australia’.
They were welcomed to Sydney by the Mayor and the Premier, Sir Henry Parkes. The NSW Governor, Lord Carrington, gave a reception at Government House. Similar vice-regal receptions were given in Victoria and South Australia but not in Queensland.

In Victoria Lowe Kong Meng was involved and probably Louis Ah Mouy. In all, the Commissioners spent twelve weeks travelling in mainland eastern Australia. There is no indication in Cheok Hong Cheong’s letterbooks or other archives of any involvement by Cheong in the planning or management of the Imperial Commissioners visit to Australia or Victoria. His favourite newspaper, *The Daily Telegraph*, reported:

> There will arrive in Melbourne about the end of this month two Chinese gentlemen, General Wong and E Tsing, who have been on a tour of inspection through the principal cities where Chinese settlements have been established. They have already visited Batavia, Java, the Philippine Islands, and the Straits Settlements and they are now on their way to Sydney, and after completing inquiries they will in turn visit Melbourne and the other chief cities in the Australian colonies. They have been commissioned by the Chinese Government to make the journey and report on the condition of the Chinese in the various places where they have settled.

The Melbourne press stated that the leader of the delegation, General Wong Yung-ho (Wang Ronghe), held British citizenship from Penang where he had attended the Free School with Lowe Kong Meng. He went to China where he became interpreter to General Charles ‘Chinese’ Gordon who assisted in the defeat of the Taiping rebels by Chinese Imperial forces.

E Tsing (Yu Qiong or Yu Chun-hsien was scheduled to become the Chinese Consul-General in San Francisco after the Australian visit. Chinese-Australian hopes for a consulate in Australia had to wait another thirty years. The arrival of the delegation in Sydney was announced on 9 May 1887. *The Daily Telegraph*, quoting *The Sydney Morning Herald*, repeated the common colonial view that the purpose behind the Commissioners were ‘feasted and complimented in South Australia’.

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6 *The Daily Telegraph*, 10 May 1887 
7 *The Daily Telegraph*, 3 May 1887. 
8 *The Times*, London, 27 September 1887. 
9 *The Daily Telegraph*, 2 May 1887. 
10 *The Daily Telegraph*, 30 May 1887. Among others who participated in the wars in China was the Governor of Victoria, Sir Henry Loch (see previous chapter). No study has been made of the number of Britons who served or worked in China and subsequently moved to Australia. An investigation might shed new light on some of the approaches adopted towards Chinese emigration to the Australian colonies. 
11 *The Daily Telegraph*, 3 May 1887; 27 May 1887. Yen Ching-Hwang, (1985), *Coolies and Mandarins: China’s Protection of Overseas Chinese during the Late Ch’ing Period, (1851-1911)*, Singapore, Singapore University Press, p 157, states that Wang’s family was from Fukien and that Yu Chun was from Taishan District.
12 *The Daily Telegraph*, 27 May 1887.
visit was to prepare the way for increased Chinese immigration. The closure of the United States to the immigration of unskilled Chinese labour in 1882 was recalled to whip up fear that the Chinese were about to turn their full and undivided attention to Australia.

A letter in *The Daily Telegraph* reflected the feeling that the delegation aroused among members of the labour movement. The writer admitted to being a cabinet maker:

> It is amazing to me that a horde of Asiatics should be allowed to settle down and destroy the cabinet trade of this city. This Colony was never founded for their benefit surely... It is a nice thing that an Englishman should lose his time learning a trade to compete with a lot of slaves, for they are nothing better... What chance has a white man, who pays rates and taxes, and keeps a wife and family with them? ... I am, Victim, March 16.14

Cheong followed reports of the Sydney visit in the Melbourne press, especially his daily paper, the Christian owned and managed *Daily Telegraph*. He knew Mei Quong Tart from their common interest in the Chinese anti-opium movement although he never shared a public platform with him.

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13 *The Daily Telegraph*, 9 May 1887. See final report on the visit in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 August 1887.
14 *The Daily Telegraph*, 18 March 1887.
Quong Tart tried to blunt anti-Chinese attacks in Sydney by arranging a meeting between officials of the Anti-Chinese League in Sydney and the Commissioners. He issued a statement after the meeting:

Upon certain firm and positive facts I declare that their Excellencies General Wong Yung Ho and Consul-General U Tsing did not, as this league (Anti-Chinese League) supposes, visit these shores to spy out the land, and encourage immigration, for it is quite against the high authorities rules to look after a mere sprinkling of their flock like there is in Australia. They were sent through so many complaints about the poll-tax, and other things reaching the ears of His Imperial Majesty, to inquire into and learn for themselves the true state of affairs concerning the treatment in general of all Chinese here before communicating with His Majesty.\(^{15}\)

The Chinese business community in Sydney did its best to add to the status and impact of the first official Chinese delegation to visit Australia. A substantial residence was leased in Macquarie Street and refurnished in Chinese style to accommodate the Commissioners and their servants. A busy schedule of meetings allowed the delegation to meet the leading politicians and businessmen who took enthusiastically, if mistakenly, to the prospect of developing trade with China. The Commissioners visited the Chinese quarter of Sydney for meetings with Chinese business and community groups. They visited the Chinese Anglican Church at Botany, where the Rev. George Soo Hoo Ten was their host.\(^{16}\)

General Wong Yang Ho attempted to establish from the outset that their sole purpose was not furthering Chinese immigration but to look into the condition of the Chinese population.\(^{17}\) But at a picnic in Sydney General Wong let fall an unfortunate remark that journalists present seized upon to show that he and his colleague were scouting Australia as a field for Chinese emigration. A writer in *The Daily Telegraph* editorialised:

> It is well that he should be made acquainted with the fixed determination of Australians to preserve this country for men of their own race... The objection to Chinese immigration is not confined to what some superficial critics may describe as the fears and prejudices of the working classes.\(^{18}\)

Although the labour movement did take a prominent role in the anti-Chinese movement, and actively sought wider community support, the concept of ‘White Australia’ was shared across colonial society. Wong’s slip was seized upon by the anti-Chinese pressure groups as a direct Chinese challenge to British ownership of Australia. In the editorial cited above, the paper continued that it was not just an issue for workers but, ‘beyond this

\(^{15}\) Tart, Margaret, (1911), *The Life of Quong Tart*, Sydney, W M McCardy, p 35.
\(^{16}\) *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 December 1887.
\(^{17}\) *The Daily Telegraph*, 27 May 1887.
\(^{18}\) *The Daily Telegraph*, 27 May 1887.
is the imperative duty which rests upon us to preserve the purity of our of our European nationality.19

The paper did not call for a complete ban on Chinese immigration. By 1887 it was generally understood that this was beyond the constitutional powers of colonial governments although as the previous chapter noted, that did not prevent Victoria or New South Wales from testing the extent to which they could challenge residual British constitutional authority, stopping short only at the point where the colonies might have triggered a crisis with Britain.

The Commissioners arrived in Melbourne on 26 May 1887. The Daily Telegraph was welcoming, noting that the visit was a long-overdue step by the government of China:

We have been so accustomed to regard ‘John Chinaman’, as the inoffensive alien who supplies us with fresh vegetables and cheap furniture is familiarly termed, with a good-humoured toleration, largely intermingled with contempt and dislike, that it requires some effort of imagination to recognise in him a member of a great and powerful empire, which is slowly awakening to a sense of the responsibility of protection which it owes to those of its people who have gone forth into foreign lands.20

This comment went to the heart of the frustration that Cheong and his merchant colleagues had tried to convey in 1879 (See Chapter 4). How could able men deal with disparaging terms like, ‘inoffensive’, ‘toleration’, ‘contempt’ and ‘dislike’ and retain their self-respect. Chinese leaders resented being subjected to a second-rank status because their homeland was regarded internationally as weak and ineffective (see Chapter 4).

The Commissioners were honoured guests of the leading Melbourne clubs. The most prestigious, the Melbourne Club, excluded Jews, Catholics and Chinese from membership, but saw nothing inconsistent in making the Commissioners honorary members.21 Victorian businessmen were anxious to show the Commissioners the resources and wealth of the colony and were not about to allow principles to become obstacles.

Few Australians had any comprehension of the network of relationships, the concepts of family and mutual trust and obligations that are, with some exaggerations and

19 The Daily Telegraph, 27 May 1887
20 The Daily Telegraph, 15 May 1887.
21 The Daily Telegraph, 28 May 1887.
stereotyping basic to Chinese business dealings.\textsuperscript{22} The treatment to which Chinese were exposed had done nothing to encourage Chinese merchants to enter into significant business dealings with Europeans.

The Victorian Chinese Residents Association comprised a small group of men who dominated the Chinese community in Victoria. It included the leading members of the Chinese business community, most of whom were unknown to the colony at large but whose influence was considerable not only within the Chinese merchant network but also through men like Lowe Keng Meng and Louis Ah Mouy, whose connections extended into the wider colonial economy.\textsuperscript{23} Similar bodies existed throughout the Chinese diaspora of which the best known was in California, the Chinese Six Companies.\textsuperscript{24}


\textsuperscript{24} Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, (1877), Memorials: six Chinese companies; an address to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. Testimony of California’s leading citizens before the Joint Special Congressional Committee, San Francisco, CCBA.
The Victorian Chinese Residents Association comprised a small group of men who dominated the Chinese community in Victoria (Chapters 2 and 4). It included the leading
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The list of the men who attended a reception for the Commissioners on the 28 May identifies the most important men in the Melbourne Chinese community. Those present included Leong Mow, Yee Shew, Sun Goon Shing, Mee Chin, Moon Mee, Fee Yick, Ti Shing (Tye Shing was a leading furniture manufacturer), Ti Kew, Ah Meng (probably Lowe Kong Meng), Soe Kee, Oh Hong, Chin Lung Ho, Li Mac, Lung Hung But, Kwan Chew, Lung Gee, Kung Hock, Way Yin, Keng Chung, Yen Chung, Hock Li, Wah Ye, and Lee Leong Fung. Cheok Hong Cheong was a notable absentee as were the other Chinese Christian leaders. After the meeting the Commissioners were received by the Governor, Sir Henry Loch. The following day they met the Premier and the Cabinet. A few days later they attended a luncheon at Government House as the guests of the Governor. Cheong and the Christian leaders were not invited to any of these functions either.

Cheong’s exclusion from the inner circles of the Chinese business leadership reflects the complex identity that he had created for himself. Ah Mouy and Kong Meng presented the Commissioners with a petition written by Cheong in his role as the amanuensis for the two merchant leaders. Although useful for his written English skills he was not included in the Chinese merchant delegations that met the Commissioners and/or attended the official receptions. The relationship between Cheong and the Chinese business community from 1879 to the time of Kong Meng’s death in 1888 seems to have been one of practical need rather than close friendship or shared interests.

Little is known about the Victorian Chinese Residents Committee nor is there much information about the role of the merchant-elite in the management of Victorian Chinese

26 Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, (1877), Memorial: six Chinese companies; an address to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. Testimony of California’s leading citizens before the Joint Special Congressional Committee, San Francisco, CCBA.
27 The Daily Telegraph, 27 May 1887. In addition to these men, the names On Sue and Hing Long are also associated with the Melbourne Chinese merchant leadership — The Daily Telegraph, 9 May 1888.
28 Jupp, James, [General Editor], (1988), The Australian People, Encyclopaedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins, Sydney, Angus and Robertson for the Office of Multicultural Affairs.
Cheong served as the secretary and later as chairman of the Association for some years but only in its public interactions with the colonial community. There are, for example, no Residents Association letters in his notebooks addressed to Chinese businessmen in Victoria although there are indications of business dealings with, for example, the On Cheong Company in Sydney and an awkward relationship with some Melbourne businessmen (see Chapter 6) in the Melbourne-based Anglo-Chinese Trading Company. Over the years, especially after the death of Lowe Kong Meng in 1888 and the retirement of Louis Ah Mouy, the leadership of the Committee widened to include not only merchants but also Christian leaders such as Cheong and a Chinese Methodist clergyman, the Rev. James Lee Mouy Ling. The underlying public purpose of the organisation and its overseas equivalents was to minimise dissension within the Chinese community over business, employment and legal matters and to coordinate responses to European criticisms. It was in this latter aspect that Cheong was able to exercise a significant role.

As Cheong assumed greater influence within the broader Chinese community he arranged occasional meetings in the name of the Residents Association to discuss matters of general concern. These meetings took place after the death of Lowe Kong Meng (1888) and with the tacit consent of Louis Ah Mouy (died 1917). The Association was briefly reinvigorated during the furniture and laundry trades disputes of the later nineteenth and early twentieth century but was progressively superseded by other groups such as the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Young China League (linked to the Chinese Masonic Lodge — The Yee Hing), the Chinese Empire Reform Association and the local branch of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang).

Cheong claimed to have met the Commissioners on at least two occasions although

there is only his record. Given his prominence in the Chinese and Christian community there is no reason to doubt that the meetings occurred. In 1898 he recalled the Commissioner’s visit to his home in Gore Street, Fitzroy:

Had I thought well of it myself I would have accepted the advice of the Chinese Imperial Commissioners who 11 years ago did me the honour of a personal visit to my home & spending the evening with me when they delicately pointed out that there were some 30 vacancies in the Foreign Office at salaries of 1200 to 1500 dollars per month (or £1,500 to £2,000 a year) for men with similar attainments to mine. I did not however choose to accept the advice well meant as it was, not only because I had put my hand to the plough and could not therefore turn back, but knowing as I did the temptation and dangers of such service to one’s spiritual life & well-being I felt constrained to avoid the issue. And what I felt constrained to avoid I cannot in conscience advise my son to follow.32

There is equally little reason to doubt his statement about being offered a position with the Chinese Foreign Office (Tsungli Yamen). There was an ongoing search by the Chinese authorities to find Chinese with the necessary language and education skills for overseas diplomatic postings.33 The subsequent interest of James Cheong in a Chinese diplomatic career, and the willingness of senior Victorian officials, such as Sir John Madden, to assist him points to the matter having been discussed within the family and beyond. (See Chapter 6). Although it seems unusual, in today’s highly professionalised diplomatic context, overseas staff of the Tsungli Yamen had to be recruited where they could be found. It was difficult to find staff and this explains why men like Cheong could be asked if they would be willing to serve in China’s emerging foreign service.

Cheong’s only identifiable public task during the Commissioners’ visit was as the writer of the Petition to the Commissioners on behalf of the Victorian Chinese Residents Association.34 He ensured a copy went to the newspapers on the same day the Petition was sent to the Commissioners. The Petition repeated the complaints made in his 1879 paper about treaty obligations, unfair taxes and restrictions on the movement of Chinese within Australia and the niggling nature of the discrimination experienced by Chinese.35

In an address at a dinner of welcome at Menzies Hotel, attended by the colony’s political, social and business elite, the Commissioners were urged to recommend that

32 Cheok Hong Cheong to Archdeacon Samuel Williams, 4 March 1898.
34 *The Daily Telegraph*, 31 May 1887.
China participate in the 1888 Great Melbourne Exhibition. Wong had been told by the Residents Committee of the restrictions placed upon Chinese wanting to tender for the supply of cheap chairs for the 1880 Exhibition and their fears they would be excluded from tendering for the 1888 Exhibition. He carefully avoided that discordant issue and said that he intended advising his government to take part in the Exhibition. Most of his address was about trade matters. He made only a passing reference to the poll-tax criticising the discriminatory nature of requiring it only from Chinese. He expressed the opinion that it was contrary to the Anglo-Chinese treaties. He said that the Chinese Government had drawn attention to the poll-tax in discussions with the British Government. The Commissioners told the Premier that, apart from the tax issue, they thought the Chinese in Australia were well-treated.

Premier Gillies responded that the poll-tax underwrote the cost of supervising the Chinese and that it would be kept in place. Cheong’s response to this assertion was set out in the Melbourne Chinese Petition to the Commissioners:

We beg to call your Excellencies’ attention to the report in The Daily Telegraph of the 31st ult. of your Excellencies’ interview with the Hon. D. Gillies, Premier of this colony, in which the hon. the Premier is reported as having said that the Chinese cost this country a considerable sum of money in many ways, their protection was a matter of expense, and the poll-tax was imposed for a compensation.

If that report be correct, we venture to declare that the excuse seems to us as extra-ordinary as the imposition itself is, in its departure from all the principles of international right and equity.

But, without questioning the correctness of his premises, or the justice of his conclusion, your Excellencies will please note what the Chinese contribute towards the expenses of Government.

Mr Hayter’s Year Book shows that the Chinese contribution is greatly in excess of the average contributed by all other nationalities, as the following fact alone sufficiently proves.

From two out of numberless articles of Chinese consumption, the Customs department levies a duty equal to £3 3s. 11d. per head, whereas no article of European consumption is taxed more than at the rate of 10s. a head, whilst the next highest on the list scarcely reaches 2s. a head.

Your Excellencies will see from this that the Victorian Government has taxed us

36 The Daily Telegraph, 11 June 1887. It was the established position that China would object to any discriminatory practices but not to restrictions applied equally to all countries. See, for example, the remarks of a Chinese diplomat who served in the United States early in the 20th century. Wu Ting-fang, (1914), America: Through the Spectacles of a Chinese Diplomat, New York, Frederick A Stokes.
38 The Daily Telegraph, 11 June 1887. This comment seems to have been ignored. It seems to have been a popular view among Chinese, see Chang Toy Len, (1988), Sailing for the Sun. The Chinese in Hawaii, 1788-1989, Honolulu, The East-West Center.
‘liberally’ enough through the Customs and otherwise, without singling us out for such a yoke of national ignominy and dishonour, which, even in the darker days of the Roman Empire, was only reserved for the vanquished, never for the subjects of a friendly power, to say nothing of one in actual alliance.

Then, in regard to ‘cost’ for our ‘protection’, the same undoubted authority in his criminal statistics shows the population of arrests per 1,000 of the population to be — Chinese, 15.73: all other nationalities, 42.516. Of committals for trial — Chinese 0.15; all other nationalities, 0.97.

The excuse of the ‘Chinese cost’, therefore, your Excellencies will see, has no foundation in fact, and it is quite possible — and, indeed, probable — from the tone of the reply to your Excellencies’ request, that we shall have to entreat your Excellencies’ good offices to lay the matter before the Imperial authorities at home, for the speedy adjustment of this international wrong.39

The Petition was consistent with all of Cheong’s other public defences of the Chinese in Victoria and, indeed, with the attitudes of Chinese communities around Australia and in English-speaking North America. At the heart of Chinese concerns internationally was the obvious fact of discrimination. No other ethnic group was confronted by a poll-tax (or arrival tax in modern usage), by restrictive and/or exclusive laws on intercolonial movement, and no other group had its imports taxed at the rate applied to Chinese goods.

The Chinese Residents Committee highlighted the fact that the poll-tax was levied each and every time a Chinese wanted to move between the Australasian colonies in the ordinary conduct of their business although European businessmen and naturalised British subjects, and some Chinese granted exemptions on apparently uncertain grounds, were spared this injustice. Cheong made a special mention of this issue in the Petition he wrote for the Residents Committee to present to the Commissioners:

Secondly, — With the result of further harassing and humiliating our people, the laws have been so made that we cannot go outside of the colony on any business without being re-taxed on our return — unless, indeed, we should choose to expatriate ourselves by becoming naturalised British subjects; or else are so initiated into the mysteries of the law as to know that the Customs department will grant ‘tickets-of-leave’ to those who would beg it of them.40

In the documents he prepared between 1879 and 1888 Cheong demonstrated his capacity to organise ideas and present them in a persuasive manner. He read widely and this is reflected in the many references in his writings. His general line of argument paralleled views advanced by Chinese in California in submissions to an enquiry conducted by the

39 Victorian Chinese Resident’s Committee, Petition to the Chinese Imperial Commissioners to Melbourne, 3 June 1887. The full text is at Appendix 2.
40 Ibid.
United States and California Senates.\(^{41}\) He was also familiar with the views of a former US Secretary of State, George F Seward, on the Chinese in America.\(^{42}\)

In the extract quoted above Cheong repeats the Victorian Government’s own crime statistics that showed that the Chinese were a law-abiding community who, notwithstanding their low incomes, contributed more to Victorian finances than other immigrant groups not required to pay a poll-tax or higher tariffs.\(^{43}\) He highlighted the subordinate constitutional status of the Australasian colonies by saying that it might prove necessary for the Chinese to appeal to Britain to use its authority to overrule any discriminatory colonial laws or regulations. This intervention did happen in Queensland and New South Wales when legislation was passed that the British Government vetoed because it had the potential to damage British relations with China.\(^{44}\)

Cheong acknowledged that the Chinese received adequate protection from government. He referred to the anti-Chinese movement as a minority and stated that anti-Chinese violence was not characteristic of the community as a whole. These denials should not obscure the humiliations experienced by individual Chinese from time to time nor the contempt in which, through various means and not least discriminatory legislation, the Chinese were held by the majority of colonists.

In his summary of the mission, drawing upon the Chinese text of the Commissioner’s reports, Yen Ching-Hwang reported that the Commissioners included a favourable reference to the condition of the Chinese in the British colonies in Southeast Asia when compared to the administrations of the Dutch in Indonesia or the Spanish in the Philippines.\(^ {45}\)


\(^{42}\) See Appendix 4. He refers to Seward, George F, (1881), Chinese immigration in its social and economical aspects, New York, C. Scribner’s sons. The general issue of shared experience and restrictive practices between California and Australia needs detailed examination at official and cultural levels. Willard, M, (1923), History of the White Australia Policy to 1920, Carlton, Vic, Melbourne University Press. (Reprinted 1967), p 4 mentions that the Queensland Government was ‘closely watching’ the North American situation. The pioneering work of Markus, A, (1979), Fear and Hatred, Purifying Australia and California 1850-1901, Sydney, Hale and Iremonger discusses the parallels between North America and Australia.

\(^{43}\) See discussion in Willard, op cit, pp 41-47.

\(^{44}\) See discussion in Willard, op cit, pp 41-47.

\(^{45}\) Yen Ching-Hwang, (1985), Coolies and Mandarins: China’s Protection of Overseas Chinese during the Late Ch’ing Period, (1851-1911), Singapore, Singapore University Press, pp 160-163. The Commissioners evidently gave this opinion while still in Victoria. At a reception given by the Chief Justice, Sir Geroge Verdon remarked that ‘it gave him the greatest satisfaction to hear that the Chinese Commissioners found their people here do not complain of the treatment they received.’ This is a
After their Melbourne visit the Commissioners travelled to all the main Chinese communities around the colony. With few exceptions: ‘They were welcomed, feted, and made much of, both in Melbourne and Sydney, they listened to complimentary speeches, and spoke in return out of the fullness of their hearts.’

Cheong prepared all the English language material issued by the Victorian Chinese Residents Committee including a request to the government to receive a delegation to present the Chinese view on issues raised during the visit and set out in the Petition. As he wrote to the Premier, that request did not receive the courtesy of an acknowledgement.

Observing that Deputation after Deputation has waited upon you from the Anti-Chinese League, and made such gross misrepresentations against us as a people, would you kindly receive a Deputation from the Chinese and other citizens of Melbourne, who deprecate the unreasonable and unjust spirit of the Anti-Chinese agitation? And please fix a day and hour at your earliest convenience to receive the same. I have the honour to be, Your humble, obedient servant. Signed at the request and on behalf of a committee of Chinese and other Residents. Footnote in Cheong’s handwriting: (N.B. No reply has ever been received to the above).

At the end of the visit to Victoria, The Age, at this time a champion of the working man, highlighted the immigration question in its review of the delegation’s visit to Victoria. ‘As we expected, the tour of the Chinese Commissioners meant mischief.’ Immigration, in a Chinese community context, was also a key element in the report of the visit in the London Times that said: ‘Wherever the Commissioners went they received the most hearty and enthusiastic reception from their countrymen, who prayed that measures for their protection might be speedily adopted.’

The Commissioners recommended to Peking that a consul be appointed to Sydney. When Chinese consular representatives finally arrived in Australia more than two decades later, in 1911, the Consulate was located in Melbourne, the temporary seat of the new Federal Government. The purpose of the Consulate-General was to assist Chinese businessmen in their activities, to promote trade, and to provide administrative support for travellers. It is not irrelevant to note that the early appointees to the post were

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46 The Sydney Morning Herald, 4 August 1887.
47 Cheok Hong Cheong to Premier Duncan Gillies, 22 December 1887.
49 The Times (London), 7 May 1888.
Christians and several became close friends of Cheong.\textsuperscript{50} Had a consulate been established in Sydney in the 1880s or early 1890s, as recommended by the Commissioners, Cheong might have secured the appointment and his future role in Australian society might have been very different. This was not a far-fetched possibility. The first Chinese lawyer in Australia, William Ah Ket (Cheong Mar Shem), a relative by marriage, did act as Consul-General for a time.

General Wong’s remark in Sydney about Chinese emigration to Australia fuelled anti-Chinese polemics but these needed little extra stimulation. Wong made even stronger remarks at his departure from Townsville following a series of difficult receptions in Queensland. Unlike NSW and Victoria, where the two officials and their entourage were welcome, the Commissioner’s reception in Queensland was unpleasant. The Premier of the Colony refused to meet them. \textit{The Sydney Morning Herald} reported:

> In Queensland the Commissioners have encountered nothing but hostility. An official reception was denied them. The Premier went out of his way to tell them that Chinese were not wanted in that colony, and deputation after deputation presented itself with the object of pointing out that Chinese immigration must be stopped so far as Queensland is concerned, or things will be made unpleasant for the immigrants. Anti-Chinese meetings were held at Brisbane, in the Town Hall and in the open air, at which resolutions of a strong character were passed and an Anti-Chinese League was formed, branches of which are to be established in all the colonies.\textsuperscript{51}

\textit{The Times} of London carried the following report:

> As the Commission was about to leave Australia, the anti-Chinese leagues at Townsville and elsewhere sought interviews with the Commissioners in order to urge them to prevent any more Chinese from coming to that colony. At one place General Wong told a deputation that, in his opinion, the Chinese were better off at home than in Queensland, and as for the complaint that they reduced the wages of Europeans that would be easily remedied if the Chinese had their way, for they would be only too glad to get even bigger wages than Europeans. At Townsville the anti-Chinese deputation stated in their address “that Europeans could not descend to the level of Chinese, or raise the Chinese to their level,” and that if Chinese immigration were not stopped Queensland would become an undesirable place of residence for the Chinese. General Wong appeared annoyed at these observations, and put an end to the interview by remarking that when he got back to China something would be done for better or worse that would be fit for Queensland. After this enigmatical utterance the Commission left for Hongkong, whence it will

\textsuperscript{50} As the providers of almost all of the Western education in China it is not surprising that so many of the early officials of the Tsungli Yamen, the Chinese Foreign Office, as well as a not insignificant number of those later counted as revolutionaries, were graduates of missionary institutions.

\textsuperscript{51} \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}, 4 August 1887.
proceed to Pekin to report to the Emperor. 52

The circumstances surrounding the employment of non-Europeans in Queensland created a different set of dynamics to the southern colonies. The fear of non-European labour in Queensland was grounded initially in a widely held but mistaken view that Europeans were not able to withstand the demands of heavy physical labour in the tropics. It was, as Griffiths has recently observed, a fear within the labour movement that the interests of capitalists would create a slave-based economy in Northern Australia. Within that concern was the fear of the kind of social division that had generated civil war in the United States.53

The only significant complaint the Commissioners made about Australia was that it was discriminatory to levy a landing tax only on Chinese with the rider that Australia had a right to restrict immigration provided it was not discriminatory. The Report was published in *The Chinese Times* and summarised in *The Daily Telegraph*. Given Cheong’s skill in arguing the Chinese case in the press, he made no public comments about the visit after the departure of the Commissioners, perhaps regarding press statements as lacking material on which to further criticise colonial discrimination against the Chinese.

Although Cheong played a secondary role in the visit of the Imperial Commissioners his participation points to another juxtaposition in his identity. Although he regarded himself, and was widely regarded by European colonists, as a authoritative spokesman on matters relating to China and the Chinese, his minor role in the visit of the delegation to Victoria suggests that he was kept at a distance from the highest level of Chinese internal leadership in Victoria. He was not called upon to interpret, or participate in, the private meetings between the Commissioners and the Chinese merchant-elite. Nor did he take part in the meetings between the Commissioners, the merchant-elite, and the senior ranks of the Victorian government. His only private meeting with the Commissioners had, and appropriately given his place in the Chinese community, taken place at his Fitzroy home where his letterbooks suggest that he was offered a job in the Chinese diplomatic service.

In the closing paragraphs of Chapter 5 a suggestion was made that he was always caught in a gap between his European education and language skills on the one hand, and

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52 *The Times* (London), 27 September 1887.
his Chinese-ness on the other. His involvement with the Imperial Commissioners suggest that Cheong, like Quong Tart in Sydney, may have been regarded by leading Chinese as being too close to European ways and views. There was, it seems, some question in the minds of leading members of the Chinese community about where his loyalties and interests really lay.
In June 1888 Duncan Gillies and Alfred Deakin went to Sydney as the Victorian delegates to the Intercolonial Conference on the Chinese Question that laid the foundations for what was to become, following Federation in 1901, the foundation of a national White Australia Policy.¹ The conference met from 12-15 June 1888. It concluded with the resolution below, drafted by Victoria’s Alfred Deakin and reflecting the restrictions proposed in the abortive NSW legislation introduced by Parkes and rejected by London:

1. That in the opinion of this Conference the further restriction of Chinese immigration is essential to the welfare of the people of Australasia.
2. That this Conference is of opinion that the necessary restriction can best be secured through the diplomatic action of the Imperial Government, and by uniform Australasian legislation.
3. That this Conference resolves to consider a joint representation to the Imperial Government for the purpose of obtaining the desired diplomatic action.
4. That this Conference is of opinion that the desired Australasian legislation should contain the following provisions:
   1. That it shall apply to all Chinese, with specified exceptions.
   2. That the restriction should be limitation of the number of Chinese which any vessel may bring into any Australasian port to one passenger for every 500 tons of the ship’s burthen.
   3. That the passage of Chinese from one Colony to another without consent of the Colony which they enter be made a misdemeanour.

In 1888 Chinese-Australians reflected the general parochial colonialism of the period. The Chinese had no national consultative process and three uncoordinated Chinese petitions were presented to the conference. The Chinese merchants of Sydney echoed the questionable claim, rejected by the British Government, that Chinese rights in Australia were secured by the treaties signed by Britain and China and gave their self-interested objections to the new restrictions. Quong Tart, Sydney’s (and perhaps Australia’s) most

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¹ Among the matters raised at Intercolonial Conferences were: uniform tariffs and trade 1863, 1870; Uniform postal services 1867), Exclusion of Chinese immigrants 1881, 1888); Establishment of a Federal Council 1883.
individualistic Chinese, submitted a separate petition, reflecting his increasing isolation from the Chinese majority and his own self-conceit. The Victorian Chinese Residents Committee sent a petition drafted by Cheong. Unlike the arguments advanced by the Sydney merchants, including Quong Tart, Cheong characteristically focused on longer-term principles, not only for relations between China and Australia but also for the future of Australian democracy. It is a short document of extraordinary political insight and vision and worthy of inclusion among the most important Australian historical documents (see Appendix 3) not because of its relevance to immigration policy but rather its insights into the foundations of democratic government. Cheong began with a simple reminder that:

The question whether a few stragglers should emigrate from such a stupendous empire like China is one of perfect indifference to her Government and her people. It might be noted, incidentally, that in that one sentence he undermined everything that he, and other Chinese and their European sympathisers, had threatened about the future of Sino-Australian relations. If the fate of the Chinese in Australia was a matter of perfect indifference to the authorities in China the many statements about the risks of invoking the potential wrath of China were empty threats. Similarly, he weakened the earlier arguments about treaty rights and the comity of nations by declaring that, irrespective of restrictive and discriminatory laws, the Chinese had little interest in migrating to Australia. Later in the petition he wrote:

The stringency of the laws at present regulating immigration from China effectually preclude many being added to the population even if it were much desired. We, however, do not hesitate to confidently affirm that were the ports open and free, the Chinese population of Australia would always remain an insignificant portion of the whole.

Cheong had made the point in the 1879 paper with Lowe Kong Meng and Louis Ah Mouy, that Australia was never a favoured destination for Chinese emigration. While immigration restrictions might have had some discouraging effect successive anti-Chinese legislation was largely a wasted effort. The reality was that disinterest provided all the protection Australia needed against an influx of Chinese labourers. Poor men, dependent on the credit ticket system of emigration, needed more than Australia could offer once the chance of easy gold had been exhausted.

Despite Chinese official and popular disinterest in Australia Cheong did point, and

rightly, to the offence that anti-Chinese sentiments gave at a family and district level when Chinese-Australians wrote home about the discriminatory laws applied to them in Australia:

But the evil treatment of the few that are here or who have been recently turned away from these shores is a different matter altogether. We hope it may not be, but fear it may, that a deep wound has been inflicted that will rankle and bear evil fruit in the near future. Our late Ambassador in London spoke wise words when he said before a British audience, “we look to you and the representatives of your Colonial possessions now in London, to see that these returning Chinese bring nothing home with them but what will promote peace and good will between the two countries — no memories of suffering, injustice, or exceptional treatment.” And we commend these words to the thoughtful consideration of the Conference.3

Cheong prophesied, correctly, that in time Australians would be heartily ashamed of their treatment of the Chinese.4 He said that the American Revolution was the result of a failure by political leaders to negotiate honestly and effectively and as a result, a permanent split resulted:

We draw the moral from the American incident just referred to, that it is much easier to plant a thorn in the national feeling than to withdraw it, or heal the wound.5

He continued, as he did in all his comments on the immigration issue, to insist on the duty of Australia, as a British colony, to honour the treaties forced upon China by Britain. The fundamental difference of opinion between the British interpretation of the rights of Chinese immigrants and the views expressed by Cheong, and to a lesser extent, the Chinese Government, has already been mentioned.

Cheong made his contempt even clearer, and his comments all the more relevant, when he asserted that colonial pride in the British-based justice system was not justified when people reflected on the anti-Chinese discrimination enshrined in 19th century Australia colonial legislation and administrative practices. Cheong’s position now rested on what he had learned from Madden’s arguments in Ah Toy v Musgrave (Chapter 8). He was arguing the matter as an issue within a wider framework of international law and the comity of nations:

Finally, it is our belief that the matter your honorable Conference has in hand is weighty — no mere family quarrel, but one that touches most intimately international rights and obligations — dealing as it does with the stranger within your gates. It cannot be decided by a wave of the hand, nor by heated public

3 Petition, op cit.
4 He made an almost identical remark in Cheong Cheok Hong, (1888), Chinese Remonstrance to the Parliament and People of Victoria, Melbourne, Wm Marshall and Co. See Appendix 4.
5 Petition, op cit.
Cheong was not alone in identifying the international dimension. The same issue was raised in the British House of Commons, where the Member for Canterbury, Kent, Henniker Heaton, a former Australian resident, warned the House that the Chinese Question was seriously straining relationships between Britain and Australia, let alone British relations with China.\(^6\)

The treatment of the Chinese in Australia was not only a matter affecting international relations — it was a reflection of a deeper problem that the colonies would face in the future. The Anti-Chinese Leagues and their misleading public orations were feeding the uninformed prejudices of many European Australians and encouraging the larrikins in their anti-social behaviour. The substitution of vilification for reasoned, principled public policy risked surrendering good government to the rule of the mob. ‘Heated public orations’ did little to confirm that the colonists were committed to justice in their relationships one with another.

Cheong’s summary statement of the annoyance caused to the Chinese by colonial restrictions rested on three key points:

1. That the laws have been strained and tortured to oppress them.
2. That the laws have been broken to inflict harsh treatment and injustice.
3. That the conduct of various Colonial Governments has incited sections of the European population to show contempt and hatred towards the Chinese.\(^8\)

Point 1 was a reference to the abuse of the quarantine laws by the Victorian Government in the *Afghan/Burrumbeet* matter (Chapter 4). Point 2 referred to the illegality pursued by Henry Parkes in trying to ignore a NSW Supreme Court decision that acknowledged the legal right of the Afghan passengers to disembark in Sydney (Chapter 8). Point 3 was a reference to the Anti-Chinese Leagues that were formed, at the instigation of a small minority of unions, in the eastern Australian colonies.

As Cheong had told the Imperial Commissioners, the anti-Chinese movement had never represented more than a small minority of the population of the colonies. It was not the labour movement that had produced the injustices done to the Chinese but the failure of those who exercised leadership in colonial society. Cheong placed the responsibility for anti-Chinese legislation with colonial politicians and the unthinking acquiescence of the

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overwhelming majority of European colonists. The colonial majority had disregarded the consequences of injustice against a small minority of the population and had failed to understand the wider social and political impact of laws that legitimated injustice. Statesmen, rather than politicians, were needed. He wrote:

Men actuated by statesmenlike views, and superior to the desire of snatching a fleeting popularity at the expense of a few strangers, would have sought for and obtained sound information . . . and the result would have allayed their fears (if they really had any) regarding a great influx of Chinese population.⁹

As Cheong stated, injustice to the Chinese set a precedent for other bad laws and unjust administration that threatened everyone.¹⁰ Adopting an editorial in The Daily Telegraph, he said that a citizenry that tolerated government illegality was risking the loss of its freedoms.¹¹

Under the new Australia-wide arrangements adopted by the Intercolonial Conference the colonies agreed that ships bringing Chinese immigrant were to be restricted to one Chinese for every 500 tons of a ship’s tonnage — a long step backwards from the one man for every five tons of 1854-1855 or the ten tons of 1857. Taken on the average of shipping tonnage of vessels trading between China and Australia it amounted to less than five Chinese per ship, an effective ban. The parallels between this legislation and that drafted by Parkes (Chapter 9) is an indication of the influence that Parkes exercised but at least the Conference did not embark on social segregation or the denial of other legal rights enjoyed by aliens. By agreeing to the resolutions given at the start of this chapter, colonial politicians had made it clear to the British Government that the colonies were determined to have their way over the Chinese Question.¹²

The Conference was dealing with more than relations between Europeans and Chinese in Australia, obvious as that was in providing the focus for the Conference. Underlying the 1888 Conference was the a recognition of the economic and other common interests of the colonies. If Australia was to control its own destiny it would need constitutional independence from the United Kingdom. In retrospect, it was as Cheong had warned, to

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⁹ Remonstrance, op cit.
¹¹ The Daily Telegraph, 6 June 1888.
be an enduring shame that Federation institutionalised racial discrimination in Australia’s national identity.

Within a week of the issue of the Intercolonial Conference Report the Victorian Chinese Residents Committee, (i.e., Cheong) called a Chinese community meeting. The press report stated:

The following resolutions were passed at a meeting of the Chinese Residents Committee held on 28th June, 1888:

1. Having examined the proceedings of the Conference in Sydney called to consider the relations that exist between our people and the various Governments of the Australian colonies, we solemnly protest against its decisions as being inconsistent with treaty rights, harsh and arbitrary in their nature, and if carried out will oppress many of our countrymen at present in Australia.

2. That in view of a Bill being introduced into the Victorian Parliament to give effect to the decisions of the Conference, this meeting is of opinion that the circumstances are of such importance that the Chinese Ambassador at London, and the Imperial Government at Pekin, should be advised of them by cable and by letter.

3. That the views and feelings of the Chinese residents be embodied in a “Remonstrance” addressed to the Parliament and people of Victoria.

4. That a copy of the foregoing resolution be forwarded to the Government of Victoria.13

The Victorian Chinese Residents Committee published the Remonstrance (Appendix 4), written by Cheong, as part of a pamphlet including the Committee’s letters to the Victorian Government and a public address by Cheong in defence of Chinese culture and civilisation.14 It is not known how many copies were printed or how widely the pamphlet circulated.

The opening statement of the Remonstrance provides another of Cheong’s warnings to Victorians grounded partly upon his Christian beliefs and indirectly, upon the Chinese tradition of bad governments collapsing through the withdrawal of divine approval (the Mandate of Heaven).15 People familiar with China and the theory of the Mandate of Heaven would have understood his accusation that the Victorian Government lacked

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13 The Daily Telegraph, 28 June 1888.
15 This theory emerged about 1100BC at the beginning of the Chou Dynasty. ‘Heaven they said, elected or commanded certain men to be rulers over the tribes of the world, and their heirs might continue to exercise the Heaven-sanctioned power for as long they carried out their religious and administrative duties with piety, wisdom and justice. But if the worth of the ruling family decline, if the rulers . . . abandoned the virtuous ways that originally marked them as worthy of the mandate to rule, then Heaven might discard them and elect a new family or tribe to be the destined rulers of the world.’ de Bary, W T, Wing-Tsit Chan and Burton Watson, (1967), Sources of Chinese Tradition, Vol I, New York, Columbia University Press, p 4.
moral authority, and with it the right to govern, because of its handling of the 
*Afghan/Burrumbeet* matter:

> It cannot be the desire of the majority of the people of this colony to outrage the 
> common feelings of humanity by giving countenance to harshness and injustice 
> towards us.\(^{16}\)

Cheong said that the government had listened to ‘the speeches and actions of agitators’ 
but had, in denial of an elementary principle of justice, refused to receive a delegation 
from the Chinese community. Cheong acknowledged that his countrymen were well 
aware of the limited effect of their protests, especially when the authorities would not 
deign to give a hearing to the representatives of the Chinese community:

> That from what has since transpired, we are not so sanguine as to suppose that 
> anything we could have urged would have been forcible enough to have stayed the 
> recent outbreak of fanaticism.\(^{17}\)

Cheong tried to deal with the accusations of immorality that were directed at the Chinese 
(See Chapter 7). He acknowledged some of these criticisms but added that the insanitary 
nature of many parts of inner Melbourne and the social problems of prostitution, 
gambling and drugs, were not created by or restricted to, the Chinese:

> The reflection forced upon us at this point is that the same complex social problems 
> that baffle and pain all good men are met with, not surely amongst the Chinese 
> alone, but in all races, European and others.\(^{18}\)

By denying basic civil rights to the Chinese the Gillies Government isolated Victoria’s 
executive from the parliament and so from the people. Cheong’s was not an isolated 
opinion. The Leader of the Opposition in the Victorian Parliament, Thomas Bent, had 
expressed similar concerns (Chapter 8). Cheong deserves praise for recognising, when 
others allowed prejudice to blind them, that the struggle of the Chinese for social justice 
was inseparable from the framework of future colonial, and Australian, democracy, i.e., 
acceptance of discrimination against one section of society created a precedent for the 
oppression of others.

Victorian colonial politicians and officials were well aware of the unjust nature of the 
legislation required to implement the decisions of the Intercolonial Conference and knew, 
from Cheong’s letters to the newspapers, that the Chinese were still smarting from the 
knew that the Chinese, a community lacking any voting power, represented no threat to

\(^{16}\) *Remonstrance*, op cit.  
\(^{17}\) *Remonstrance*, op cit.  
\(^{18}\) *Remonstrance*, op cit.
the colony or its government. Gillies and his colleagues, as Deakin was to later, looked to the ethnic makeup of the Australian population ignoring their discourtesy to the Chinese. The Tasmanian Government simply ignored the recommendations of the Conference and did nothing.\textsuperscript{19}

Perhaps conscience was at work. Inaction reigned for more than six months after the Sydney Conference. It was not until December that the Victorian Parliament approved a bill to put the recommendations of the intercolonial meeting into effect. Cheong wrote:

> When, from the speeches and actions of agitators, we saw that the passions and prejudices of the unthinking might be aroused, we, as early as December last, thought it advisable to request . . . that the Government would afford us the courtesy of receiving a deputation . . . To this request, after a second application, a reply was tardily given, but some reason, as yet not explained, the request itself was never granted.\textsuperscript{20}

Cheong denounced the legislation as unworthy of the higher aspirations of colonial democracy. He described it as ‘barbarous’, pointing out, and not for the first time, that other immigrants who were just as alien as the Chinese were not penalised, a point that was not lost in 1901 when the Federal immigration restrictions were enacted without reference to any specific ethnic group.\textsuperscript{21} In a telling final thrust he stated that restrictions were not forced by any failing of the Chinese but by domestic political opportunism:

> There is a sentence in the cablegram sent from the Sydney conference to the Secretary of State, London, which is so unctuous we cannot forbear quoting it. It reads as follows:—“In conclusion, the conference would call attention to the fact that the treatment of the Chinese in the Australasian colonies has been invariably humane and considerate.” Well, we are sometimes perplexed by words in the English language, and there is one word called ‘hypocrisy’, the full meaning of which we may not understand, but if we do, then we care not to search either the pages of history or elsewhere for a better example than this.

The Chinese Residents Committee called another public meeting in December 1888 to discuss the Chinese Restriction Bill that had finally been introduced into the Victorian Parliament. Cheong sent a report to the newspapers outlining the bill and the feelings of the Chinese: \textsuperscript{22}

\begin{center}
\textbf{THE CHINESE QUESTION}\\
\textbf{A CHINESE INDIGNATION MEETING}
\end{center}

The following report is supplied to us by Mr. C H Cheong.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{19} Price, Charles, (1974), \textit{The Great White Walls are Built}, Canberra, Australian National University Press, pp 167 ff
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{20} Remonstrance, op cit.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{21} See Appendix 5 for Cheong’s defence of the culture and civilisation of China.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{22} The Daily Telegraph, 14 December 1888.
\end{flushright}
At a meeting of the committee of Chinese residents held yesterday in the King Chow [Kong Chew] assembly-hall, Little Bourke-street, the position of the Chinese question was keenly discussed. The taunt of the Government that we had shown apathy was bitterly resented. An interview with the Government had been requested as far back as December 1887, and then in May 1888; but though a promise was made to enable the Chinese residents to lay their views before it, the promise was broken, at any rate unfulfilled. It was further expressed, as they had been badly treated over the Afghan and Burrumbeet affairs, that it was almost hopeless to apply to such a cruel and unjust Government for relief, and such being the case, the charge of apathy made by Mr Cuthbert only adds a sting to the contumely being heaped upon us. The following resolutions were passed unanimously:

1. That Clause 6 of the Bill for the Further Restriction of Chinese Immigration, which provides that no vessel shall enter any port or place in Victoria having a greater number of Chinese than one for every 500 tons of the tonnage of such vessel, is harsh and unjust, and is a virtual prohibition not only against Chinese immigration as a whole, but against us who are residents from returning, if, in the pursuit of our legitimate business, we should require to visit China or adjacent colonies.

2. That Clause 9 of the Bill, which provides that should any Chinese enter Victoria, by land without a permit, (i.e. a ticket of leave), he shall be liable to a fine of £50 or imprisonment for 6 months, is degrading, and in our opinion quite unworthy of a civilised community, and though we feel ourselves too weak to arrest its progress, yet we protest with all our might against it, and also against the whole spirit of the Bill as an outrage to our feelings and interests.

3. That having come to Australia under existing laws, we challenge comparison with the other inhabitants, either as contributors to the revenue or in obedience to law and order, and therefore on these grounds and as subjects of a great and friendly power, we have the right to demand protection and fair treatment.

The new ‘national’ tonnage limit was seen by the Victorian Chinese Residents Committee, correctly, as closing the door to future Chinese immigration by dishonest legal means that had, when used in the Parkes legislation in 1887, been disallowed by the British Government. By adopting an already discredited principle it was encouraging the Chinese to disobey what was by any Christian, democratic and egalitarian standard, a thoroughly unjust law.

Table 10.1 below sums up the limited effect on Chinese arrivals and departures of the new and previous Victorian restrictions. The essential point of the table is that arrivals and departures were not significantly affected by racially discriminatory legislation. Following the decline in the recovery of alluvial gold already mentioned earlier in this thesis Victoria ceased to be a favoured destination for people other than those, mostly engaged in commerce, who were already established in the Colony and whose interests, it must be said, were those chiefly represented by Cheong’s efforts as a spokesman for the Chinese
community in Victoria.

The close correlation between the decline in the Chinese population and the decline in the recovery of alluvial gold, discussed in Chapter 1 and elsewhere, is shown after the peaks in the early part of Table 10.1. Although nearly 25,000 Chinese came to the Colony between 1854 and 1859-1860, the rate of new arrivals dropped markedly to average around 1500 across the years from 1863 to 1890.

Table 10.1, (from Victorian Government statistics), shows the continuing decline in new arrivals and the balancing rate of departures, leaving a net decline in the Chinese population across the second half of the century. The one exception is 1887 when, anticipating the harsher restrictions introduced in December 1888, there was a small increase in new arrivals as people sought to avoid whatever harsher restrictions the new law would inevitably include.

The major impact of the post 1888 situation was the requirement that all Chinese in Victoria had to have in their possession a naturalisation certificate or a poll-tax certificate or as Cheong labelled it, a ticket-of-leave, a reference to the certificates that had to be carried by convicts released on parole in Australia during the transportation era. Victoria continued to recognise naturalisation certificates issued prior to 1888 but from then...
onward no further certificates were issued. Chinese arrivals and departures 1901 to 1939 can be seen in Table 10.2.23

Table 10.2 shows that Chinese resident in Australia, and possessing relevant papers, such as naturalisation papers, British citizenship by birth, or Certificates of Exemption, were able to come and go with reasonable ease provided they paid whatever charges were imposed.

In the absence of research, other than that of C F Yong, into Chinese business operations in Australia, it is impossible to quantify the numbers of businesses affected or the extent of the financial costs involved. The majority of resident Chinese, as Cheong said repeatedly, had come voluntarily, had committed no crimes, yet were expected, uniquely, to pay a tax every time they entered or left a colony.24 The only solution for the Chinese, and there is no doubt that Cheong tended to turn a blind eye to the practice, was to subvert the rules when possible.25 From the New South Wales perspective, it seems that

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23 See Cheong’s comment on this matter in the Petition to the Chinese Imperial Commissioners, Appendix 1 and the discussion in Chapter 9.
24 Considerable ingenuity was demonstrated in using every opportunity offered by the restrictive legislation. See Wilton, Janis, (1997), ‘Chinese whispers in New South Wales. (how Chinese
few Chinese were actually affected by such charges. When naturalisation ended in 1888, as a result of the Intercolonial Conference, just under 1000 Chinese had taken out naturalisation. In Victoria, the total was 1178.26

Another insight into Cheong’s personal feelings about the treatment of the Chinese can be seen in his protest about the treatment he, and others, received at the Melbourne docks when farewelling friends leaving for China. It reveals the racist nature of some officials of the Australasian colonies at the time. Cheong described his feelings to the Commissioner for Customs:

Sir, I am sorry to have to report the gross insult which an officer of the Customs subjected me and several of the leading merchants and other Chinese residents of Melbourne.

In company with some of my merchant friends I went on Board the SS Airlie at No 3 South Wharf this evening to bid two members of my congregation good-bye and God-bye, but on returning therefrom a man without intimating who he was seized one of my friends, unbuttoned his coat and felt all over his person, besides inserting his hands into his coat-pockets and trouser pockets. I, thinking that he might be some drunken scoundrel tried to push him off but he caught hold on another friend and repeated the process and then came on to me. I said to him, “You dare to insult me in that way!” and demanded his name and authority, which on his declining to give, I applied to Constable No 3699 who was on duty there to know what the man’s name was. The constable however replied that he did not know but that he knew he was a customs officer. After repeated requests he gave his name as M Murphy. And though I pushed him off two or three times he succeeded in unbuttoning my coat and feeling all over me, notwithstanding my protests at the gross indignity and my threat to report him. My friends are all thoroughly incensed at his conduct still they believe that under the administration of one so just and honorable as yourself such barbarity has neither sanction nor encouragement.27

Exemption certificates were a diabolical device. It was mentioned earlier that a certificate was required each time a Chinese wished to visit another colony, or to leave Australia and intending to return. A separate certificate was needed from each colony they wished to enter, a process that could take weeks or months or be refused altogether.28 New South Wales was charging £100 for ‘transit’ certificates or around $A6000-7000 in today’s prices.29 The practice was thoroughly discriminatory and unjust and, as Cheong had counselled in 1888, became a national shame and an international embarrassment.

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26 The Daily Telegraph, 17 April 1888. National Archives of Australia, !!1911/14641, Ext Affairs 1911 6947: C&E 1911 070
27 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Hon J B Patterson, Commissioner of Customs, 28th July 1889.
28 This is a topic requiring further research.
Chinese Exemption Certificates (CEDT)

National Archives of Australia, Melbourne
The exemption process affected Cheong personally. In 1891 he sought permission to visit his father’s grave in Hobart although he had never previously shown any interest in such a visit. The real purpose of the journey was to address a missionary meeting in Hobart. The Tasmanian Government insisted he pay the poll-tax, unchanged from the old pre-1888 Tasmanian regulations, but, in a gesture of compromise, offered to refund the £10 fee when he left: 

30 Cheok Hong Cheong to Hon P O Fysh, Premier of Tasmania, 19 February 1891 and 24 February 1891. Cheong Peng-nam is believed to be buried in the Newtown cemetery in Hobart but this has not been confirmed. It is somewhat odd, given Cheong’s almost obsessive insistence on filial piety from his own children that he allowed his father to be buried without any family attendance and there is no record of his ever visiting Tasmania. His son, the Rev. James Cheong, did spend some time in Tasmania in the early 1900s and it is possible that he visited his grandfather’s grave.

The reason for his visit to Tasmania is unknown but he would have had See Yup and Christian contacts from Victoria.

32 Cheok Hong Cheong to Sir George Dibbs, Premier of New South Wales, 29 June 1893.

Hon. P.O. Fysh. Premier of Tasmania Sir . . .

I have been needing a holiday to recruit my strength and give rest to my wearied brains and I fixed upon Tasmania not only on account of its far-famed beauty and verdure but also because it is the place of my Father’s sepulchre.31

May I then crave the favor of an Order of the Governor-in-Council to enable me to visit Tasmania at any time. . .

(Cablegram in reply) 23/2/91 Come and welcome, Captain responsible for ten pounds but upon your returning it will be refunded. P.O. Fysh, Premier

Cheong refused to pay the poll-tax, repeated his request for exemption without charge but was refused. Two years later he asked the NSW Premier, Sir George Dibbs, for permission to visit Sydney to address an anti-opium meeting, with a similar result.32

Dear Sir, Many thanks for your cable message of yesterday conveying invitation and welcome. One condition however which it contains that of depositing £10 in lieu of poll-tax although only for the space of my temporary sojourn I feel it to be such a sore reproach to my Sovereign the Emperor of China, that as a loyal subject of the same and one moreover who is a Minister of the Gospel I cannot well comply.

May I again crave the favor of an Order of the Governor-in-Council which shall

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32
exempt me from the said obnoxious condition. Cheong was always able to distinguish between political posturing and pragmatic reality. As a Chinese Subject it was a matter of principle to refuse to pay a discriminatory tax. His reference to being a ‘Minister of the Gospel’ was based on the convention of granting exemptions to Chinese Christian clergy. In the capitalised form he chose, ‘Minister of the Gospel’ he was implying that he was an ordained clergyman of the Church of England, a status he did not have. He refused to pay colonial poll-taxes but took advantage of the Victorian Chinese Act 1891 to secure a permanent exemption for himself and his family from the Victorian restrictions. He was planning to go to England to lecture for the British Anti-Opium Society and took this precautionary step just in case changes to Victorian immigration law might prevent him from re-entering Australia.

Cheong was in regular contact with the immigration authorities on behalf of members of his own family as well as friends. An exchange of letters on behalf of the Rev. James Cheong is important for the insights they show into the treatment of Chinese by the new federal authorities, and highlights the kind of experiences Chinese had when they arrived in an Australian port. While James Cheong was unquestionably a British subject by birth and his legal rights were acknowledged he was still forced to undergo interrogation that was not required of Europeans.

Joshua Cheong also experienced the visual judgement exercised by Customs officials. When Joshua returned to Sydney after making a business visit to Fiji and New Zealand on behalf of the On Cheong Company, the Customs official who reported Joshua’s return stated that he knew him by sight and also knew that he was Cheong’s Australian born son. Nonetheless, he was interviewed in the same inappropriate way as all Chinese arrivals.

The continuing discrimination experienced by Chinese is shown in official documents in the National Archives in Melbourne relating to visits made to China by Caleb and Benjamin Cheong in the 1930s. In the first document (A—next page) an immigration officer recorded Benjamin’s arrival in Melbourne and noted him as being an Australian-Chinese. He was appraised by his appearance, not his status as revealed by his passport, i.e., a British subject. The certificate recorded his date and place of birth and his Australian

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33 See reports in The Age, 1 October 1891 and The Daily Telegraph, 1 October 1891.
34 See Cheong’s Letterbook for 1904.
35 See Appendix 17.
36 National Archives of Australia, Melbourne.
passport number. In the second document (B—next page) Caleb was incorrectly identified as a Chinese national despite his passport. In the third (C—next page) he is identified, correctly, as being of British nationality. The documents all recorded that thumb prints were not required. The Cheongs had good reason for feeling offended. As Australian-born British subjects, presenting British passports issued by the Australian authorities, there was no reason for any of the Cheong family to be treated in any way different to other British subjects resident in Australia. It could have been worse. Applicants of Chinese ethnicity lacking a British passport who wished to leave Australia temporarily had to provide references and endure an investigation into their bona fides. Regulations under the 1901 federal legislation required them to provide photographs and have their left hand inked and a print taken on the back of the exemption certificate.

37 National Archives of Australia, Melbourne
Any official had authority to check the handprint that required the person presenting the certificate to the indignity of being inked again if the official was not satisfied. It is not surprising that Chinese objected to a procedure imposed on no other travellers and in Australian usage, was used only for criminal suspects.

Cheong wrote many letters to the immigration authorities on behalf of Chinese residents. The letter following is one of many in his letterbooks. It was written in 1909 for a merchant friend in which he indicates that the authorities could and did vary the requirements:

Melb 19/2/09
The Secretary, External Affairs
Dear Sir, Mr Yee Chack, Managing Partner in the firm of Fook On Cheong & Co Importers and General Merchants 131 L Bourke St purposes paying China a visit with wife & family per S.S. Eastern and wishes me to apply for a letter enabling him & family to do so.

I need hardly add he is a well known merchant in our community & has during the 22 years of his residence & trade at this Port paid some £70 000 in Customs duty as Managing Partner in the firms successively of Quan Hang Shing & Fook On Cheong & Co.

His eldest son William Yen Gum (in Registrars books as William Kum Hing) has
been educated successively at the Model School St Peters & during the last 3 years at
the Church of England Grammar School. The 2nd boy at St Peters and the daughters
at the Mission School of the Presbyterian Women’s Missionary Union.

Though revisiting his native land with wife & family for a couple of years or so he
leaves behind him business interests of the value of some £2000.

He has very strong objections to the indignity of giving an imprint of his hand &
desires me to apply on his behalf for a letter similar to that which a few years ago
you gave to Mr. David O’Young a Chinese merchant of Sydney. I enclose under
separate cover a few letters (6) from some of his European friends & a photo group
of himself, wife & family 8 children with the names & ages of the latter as taken from
the Registrar of Births Certificate.

All of Cheong’s surviving letters on immigration issues, apart from those involving his
family, were on behalf of merchants correlating with Yarwood’s analysis of the exemption
process that it mostly affected businessmen engaged in overseas trade.\textsuperscript{38} Yarwood stated
that the Chinese were,

By far the most persistent and resourceful evaders of the law. They were, after all,
Coloured Persons of Superior Standing whose intellectual gifts were as good, if not
considerably better, than those normally enforcing bureaucratic rules against them.
\textsuperscript{39}

His conclusion is supported by Wilton’s report on the use of exemption by Chinese
merchants in the New England region of New South Wales.\textsuperscript{40}

The case of a leading Melbourne furniture manufacturer, Lew Tye Shing, illustrates the
unpleasantness imposed on reputable people. Tye Shing applied for permission to bring
his son to assist him in the management of his furniture manufacturing business. His
application failed after investigation by Inspector Gleeson.\textsuperscript{41}

19 Punch Lane, Melbourne, 12\textsuperscript{th} March 1924
The Secretary, Home and Territories Department
Dear Sir
I beg to apply for permission to bring my son, Chun Din, of San Woy (Xinhui)
Canton, from China, to take charge of my business during my absence in China.
There is no one in Australia to whom I could trust to carry on my business during
my projected absence.
I am a manufacturer carrying on business at the above address. My assets are of
the value of between £2000 and £3000 and I constantly employ ten men in my
factory.

Trusting to have your early approval,

\textsuperscript{38} Yarwood, A, (1964), \textit{Asian Migration to Australia: The background to exclusion, 1896-1923}, Carlton,
administrative problems 1901-1920, \textit{The Australian Journal of Politics and History}, Vol VII, No 2,
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid, 121.
\textsuperscript{40} Wilton, Janis, (1997), 'Chinese whispers in New South Wales. (how Chinese immigrants to Australia
expanded through sponsorship and economic activity)'; \textit{History Today}; January 1997.
\textsuperscript{41} National Archives of Australia, Melbourne, File 1924/6066.
Yours Faithfully
Tye Shing

Applications were investigated for men whose only ‘fault’ was their ethnic background and were universally recognised as being of ‘good character and standing’.

INSPECTOR GLEESON’S REPORT

I have to report that Tye Shing is a man of good character and standing. He carries on a cabinet-making business in Punch Lane, off Little Bourke St. He states that he has been in Victoria 40 years. He employs 10 Chinese workmen in his shop. He states that his stock is worth £5000, and his turnover about £2000 per annum and his outstanding debts amount to £1200.

2. Tye Shing has a son named Chin Man, aged 38 years in the business. He suffers from asthma and is frequently absent. At present he is recuperating in the country.

3. Chun Din is 23 years of age and is present employed by Yet Wah Quong, Chinese merchants, Hong Kong. If permission be granted Tye Shing would like him to remain here for 2 or 3 years.

4. Tye Shing informs me that he does not intend going to China as he thinks he is too old; therefore, the question of a substitute falls flat.

Det Insp Gleeson 7/4/24

The injustice does not lie simply in Gleeson’s dismissive remark, although that is lacking in courtesy — there was no freedom of information legislation in those days to expose bias by public officials. It is the contemptuous disregard implicit in the comment that justifies the indignation that the Chinese felt when subjected to this kind of intrusive investigation. Having acknowledged that the administrative process was flawed the permanent and unchanging objection lies in the existence of an unjust law that required such an inquiry in the first place.

Secret instructions that were issued in 1901 reveal the highly discriminatory administrative processes and show the racist purpose of the Immigration Restriction Acts. The instructions included the following paragraph:

It may be taken that, unless otherwise exempted, all aboriginal inhabitants of Africa, Asia and Polynesia will be subjected to the [dictation] test. In the case of white races, it will be applied only under some special circumstances.

In 1890 Cheong was the owner of ‘Montgomery Villa’, 269 Gore Street, Fitzroy. As a property owner and ratepayer, he had secured the right to vote for the Legislative Council under Victorian colonial law despite the clauses of the Victorian Chinese Act 1881 that denied Chinese the right to vote at municipal and colonial elections — perhaps another example of the selective enforcement of the laws mentioned earlier in relation to

42 National Archives of Australia, CRSA8 02/52 (Part 3).
exemption certificates.\textsuperscript{43} By sharing subsequent property titles with the Australian-born members of his family he secured municipal voting rights for Caleb and Joshua and later the other children who reached voting age but would, although Australian-born, have been refused, before post World War II reforms, municipal voting rights unless property-owners. Apart from the property restriction, a person could obtain the right to vote under an education provision that granted the franchise for the Upper House of the Victorian Parliament to Matriculants of the University of Melbourne. His colonial rights secured Cheong the right to vote at Federal elections after 1901 under Section 41 of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia.\textsuperscript{44} In practice Cheong enjoyed all the rights and privileges of a British subject, at least in Victoria, other than the right to a British passport but even that, as mentioned in the cases of Benjamin and Caleb, would not have excused him from interrogation by Customs Officers.\textsuperscript{45} Cheong’s 1904 letters on behalf of James, seeking to have him exempted from interrogation, show that Chinese could be excused but it took a lot of effort. When James arrived in Fremantle, before instructions arrived from Melbourne, he was interviewed by two Customs officials one before the other after breakfast neither of whom seemed to know anything of the instructions you have sent and while very courteous in their manners made reference to the new laws in such a way as to make him feel quite hurt. ‘I felt hurt’, he said, ‘that I hadn’t free ingress into the land of my birth and education and training, where I had hoped to spend the best years of my life. I have a feeling now that I am a sort of exile from my native land and that it would take very little to cause one to turn my back upon it for elsewhere.’ \textsuperscript{46}

James was travelling on a British passport, issued by the Victorian colonial authorities. To secure it he had to follow the usual conventions and produce his birth certificate and other relevant documents. It seems that was not enough, at least initially, for the new federal officers (most of whom in Melbourne were former colonial officials). Cheok Hong Cheong was asked to ‘furnish some particulars respecting your son, eg as to age, where he was born etc’.\textsuperscript{47} Cheong’s responded:

\begin{quote}
I subjoin particulars which you ask for in regard to my son.
He was born in Ballarat in the State of Victoria in 1871. After graduating with honours at the Melbourne University and taken his Master’s degree he proceeded to
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{43} This is a complex issue discussed in Price, Charles, (1974), \textit{The Great White Walls are Built}, Canberra, Australian National University Press pp 174-180. The \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 3 August 1888, contains a specific statement that a person holding freehold property was entitled, in Victoria, to vote for both Houses of Parliament.

\textsuperscript{44} Cheok Hong Cheong to the Shire Secretary, Shire of Lillydale, 12/5/09.

\textsuperscript{45} Price, Charles, (1974), \textit{The Great White Walls are Built}, Canberra, Australian National University Press.

\textsuperscript{46} Cheok Hong Cheong to the Secretary, External Affairs, 26 September 1904.

\textsuperscript{47} Collector of Customs, Melbourne, to Cheok Hong Cheong, 12 September 1904.
China with the view of applying for admission to the diplomatic service of his Fatherland . . . he refrained from sending in his application and accepted an educational appointment under the British government at Hong Kong whence after about four years service he proceeded to Oxford to take his theological course. He was ordained to the Ministry in June of the present year and immediately thereafter was offered Curacies by the Rectors of Southampton, Leeds and Nugent St. George and likewise a Chaplaincy on the voyage out . . .

I enclose herewith copy of his testimonials printed prior to his leaving Australia. I may add in conclusion that by an Order of the Governor-in-Council issued in 1891 and signed by Lord Hopetoun and Sir George Turner I and my wife and family have been exempted from the operation of the Chinese Immigration Restriction Act for all time and that the Governments of N.S.W. and New Zealand, notwithstanding their drastic measures have before the Commonwealth was instituted give me and my son freedom of ingress and egress and to respectfully remind you that the Commonwealth government itself has shown its courtesy to Missionaries of admitting them without question.  

It is interesting to read Atlee Hunt’s response to Cheong’s letter and in particular, to his claim for exemption under the Victorian colonial Chinese Act 1891.

Sir — I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th September forwarding particulars respecting you son who is expected to return to Australia per the “Oldenburg” about the 28th inst., and to inform you that the necessary instructions have been issued to the authorities to permit his landing without restriction.

The Department was not aware of any such exemptions as that mentioned by you having been issued in your favour, but, as the privilege was granted, it will be honoured under the Commonwealth, and there will be no necessity for you to obtain a Certificate of Domicile.

As a person who met the Federal definition of a ‘domiciled’ person, there is no doubt that a ‘domiciled’ Chinese with Cheong’s colonial exemptions would have been re-admitted to Australia after an overseas journey, i.e., there was no intention to exclude resident Chinese from Australia (See Table 10.2, p 254). A Victorian customs officer’s enquiry seeking clarity on the re-admission of Chinese, received this reply from ‘head office’:

*Question;*
Chinese formerly domiciled in Victoria and exempted from operation of Victorian Chinese Acts, may they be re-admitted?

*Answer;*
Yes. I direct your attention however to the importance of the word ‘domiciled’ . . . As applied to persons of foreign birth the following may be regarded as a definition—“A man is domiciled in that place in which he had voluntarily fixed the habitation of himself and his family, not for a mere special and temporary purpose, but with the intention of making it his permanent home.”

The presentation by an in-coming Chinese of permits issued by the Victorian

48 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Secretary, External Affairs, 15 September 1904.
49 Atlee Hunt, Secretary, Department of External Affairs to Cheok Hong Cheong, 16 September 1904.
Government will be evidence on which to exempt him from the operation of the Immigration Restriction Act, if he is clearly identified as being the person to whom the permit was issued.

The following are among the tests which may be usefully employed to ascertain the bona fides of the intention of making a permanent home:

- The presence of wife and family, possession of land, fixed place of business, amount of debts due to such persons.

The racially discriminatory policies implemented in Australia to control the non-existent threat of mass Chinese immigration reflects the prejudice generated during the 19th century by fear of invasion from the north and maintained by the kind of demonising outlined in Chapter 7. As Cheong had commented more than once: ‘there is but little disposition on the part of my countrymen to emigrate.’ There is not a single reference in the testimonies or the journals of the Chinese missionaries that indicates any widespread interest in China in permanent settlement in Australia. Indeed, the opposite is clear — the goal was to gain capital and return home. The See Yup rules reported by William Young were specific — the objective of emigration to Australia was to ‘gather gold for China’. In short, no gold, no Chinese.

Jennifer Cushman observed twenty years ago that Australia’s Chinese community was essentially a goldrush phenomenon. Cheong was never in doubt that the small proportion of Chinese who stayed in Australia, apart from merchants, did so because they could not save enough to go home. He invariably used the term sojourner to describe the Chinese in Australia:

The vast majority, if not all, of the Chinese residents here, are but sojourners having not the slightest intention of settling down which the bringing of their wives and families necessarily involves.

It is an interesting contrast with his 1879 claim that the reason that the Chinese did not settle in Australia was fear for the safety of themselves and their families (Chapter 4).

The naturalisation and exemption certificates insisted upon by colonial governments

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50 National Archives of Australia, CRSA8 02/52 (Part 1).
51 A good example of the kind of racist novel in circulation in the early years of Federation is: Kirmess, C H, (1909), The Australian Crisis, Melbourne, George Robertson and Co. (A novel outlining a Japanese conquest of Northern Australia).
52 See Appendix 4 for full text of a Public Address given by Cheong in 1888.
55 Cheok Hong Cheong to Mrs R of Rokewood 17 June 1889; Sir James Munro, Premier of Victoria 21 June 1891; the Dean of Melbourne 8 November 1897; the Bishop of Melbourne 9 November 1904; Moriarty, 28 November 1907.
56 Cheok Hong Cheong to Sir James Munro, Premier of Victoria, 21 June 1891.
even before 1888 had proved a two-edged sword. Certificates became valuable items for
sale.\textsuperscript{57} Borrowed, tampered, and forged papers presented by Chinese immigrants plagued
colonial (see Chapter 8) and federal immigration officers. In the confidential instructions
issued to federal immigration officers in 1902 it was stated: ‘It will be within the
knowledge of all Officers of Customs that amongst certain foreign races a considerable
trade has been done in the sale and transfer of exemption papers.’ \textsuperscript{58}

A leading Sydney merchant, James Yinson Lee, wrote to the famous Australian
journalist and political adviser to the Chinese Government, George ‘Chinese’ Morrison,
asking him to intercede with the Australian Government in relation to the immigration
issue.\textsuperscript{59} Lee admitted that the Chinese evaded the law but justified it on the grounds that
their actions were provoked by the difficulties of family reunion and the offensive
requirement for a hand print.\textsuperscript{60} There is no evidence that Morrison took any action to assist
the Sydney merchants.\textsuperscript{61}

Letters written by Cheong on behalf of Peter Ng Hong Nam illustrate the difficulties for
a naturalised Chinese businessman wishing to travel between Australia and New Zealand.
Despite Hong Nam’s naturalisation in Victoria and its recognition as valid for the
Commonwealth of Australia after 1901 he still faced difficulties in trying to enter New
Zealand which had not joined the Australian Federation and did not accept Hong Nam’s
status as a British subject. Cheong wrote a string of letters to the Chinese Consul-General
in Melbourne, to the Chinese Consul in Wellington and to the Australian immigration
authorities. In the exchange of letters Cheong identified Hong Nam as the President of the
Victorian branch of the Chinese Empire Reform Association.

Australian Archives File 18/3053 incorporating Foreign Affairs file 10/1737 includes
the extraordinary information that immigration officers were to check on Chinese who
returned to Australia in less than six months with the suggestion that as most Chinese

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{57} This was not unique to Australia—Ng Sheryl Wudunn, a Chinese-American, visited her grandparents’
  village in Taishan District. She was aware that her grandfather had purchased an American certificate
to enter the US. Kristof, Nicholas and Sheryl Wudunn, (1994), 'Title: China Wakes: The Struggle for the
Soul of a Rising Power'. Copyright © 1997 National Cable Satellite Corp.
  \item \textsuperscript{58} National Archives of Australia, CRS A8, 02/52 (Part 3).
  \item \textsuperscript{59} Yinson Lee was a leader in the Chinese Masonic Society or Yee Hing, the dominant Chinese
  community organisation. Yong, Ching-fatt (1977), \textit{The New Gold Mountain}, Richmond SA, Raphael
  Arts, pp 157-168.
  \item \textsuperscript{60} William Yinson Lee to Dr Morrison, 13 December 1917. \textit{G E Morrison Correspondence}, Vol 96, Item
  287, Mitchell Library, New South Wales. William Yinson Lee was the President (1912) of the Australian
  Chinese Association. He was also a founding member of the Australian branch of the Chinese
  Nationalist Party (Kuomintang). See Yong op cit.
  \item \textsuperscript{61} Morrison, G E., (1895). \textit{An Australian in China: being the narrative of a quiet journey across China to
  Burma, London, Horace Cox.}
\end{itemize}
went for much longer, the people who stayed away for only a short time must have been up to no good. The report specifically mentioned Hong Nam’s visit to New Zealand.

Reverend Cheok Hong Cheong wrote stating Hong Nam wished to visit New Zealand on business and expected to be absent from the Commonwealth for about a month or six weeks. A reply was sent stating that it would be necessary for Hong Nam to obtain a Certificate exempting from the Dictation Test. An application was submitted by Hong Nam in which he stated his desire to visit New Zealand for 3 years. He first arrived in Melbourne in 1881. Certificate for 3 years was issued.62 Landed in Sydney on return.

An additional hand written note adds to the above — About one month [absent from Australia].

Cheong’s mention of Hong Nam’s role in the Victorian branch of the Chinese Empire Reform Association was not just a passing matter. Cheong was a supporter of the Association and spoke on its behalf in Melbourne and Sydney. His usual vehicle was the lectures he had originally prepared for mission deputation work but as shown in the following reproduction of a Sydney CERA promotional leaflet, he was prepared to put the material to a broader Chinese community purpose.

In 1899, Cheong was invited to lecture on behalf of the Sydney branch of the CERA. This was the presentation mentioned in Chapter 5 that the New South Wales branch of the Church Missionary Association tried to prevent.

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62 Hong Nam sought the right to enter and leave New Zealand without restriction for the period stated. This is a distinct improvement on the 1888 arrangements discussed earlier and suggests that the New Zealand Government was more liberal than the Australians. Note the letter of 7 August 1909 above that required Hong Nam to pay the poll-tax upon his return to Australia with the implication that each time he went to New Zealand he would have had to pay the tax.
Cheong was a member of the Victorian CERA but the two distinct organisations had fallen out and there was little contact. This breach prevented the presentation of a united Chinese position in relation to immigration and the other discriminatory issues that affected all Chinese residents in Australia. Cheong had maintained a link with the NSW body through his old Presbyterian friend, the Rev. John Young Wai. He was subsequently presented with an illuminated address by the NSW CERA. An appreciative, even fulsome, item also appeared in the local Chinese newspaper.

A noble character Zhang Zhuoxiong [Cheong Cheok Hong]

Mr Zhang Zhuoxiong, a native from Sihui [Siyi-See Yup] of Canton, studied in Nanyang when he was young. He was a genius and got better school performance than his Western schoolmates. More importantly Mr Zhang hated to be a
businessman. He wanted to save the world with his noble aspirations and his profound knowledge. An Anglican Church in Melbourne invited him to be Chinese missionary supervisor. Fourteen years have passed. He was followed by several hundred Chinese natives. Among them, some had become missionary workers teaching the Gospel in the Chinese community. Mr Wang Jiesheng from Foshan is one of the most outstanding, whose aunt is Mr Zhang Zhuoxiong's wife.

Mr Zhang has five sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Jinchao, another genius, was studying hard like his father and more polite to others. He passed the imperial examination held in Melbourne last autumn and sailed for China earlier this February from Sydney. The second and third sons have also secured their professions already.

Mr Zhang loves to do charitable deeds. For example, in 1875, Shanxi, Henan and other North China provinces saw serious drought. The people there had to eat grass roots and barks. Cannibalism was found in many places. Chinese charitable institutions in Australia called for donations. Mr Zhang organised quite a few functions in Melbourne for such donations. He had wide connections with the Westerners, collected a huge amount of money and sent to China. In 1892, he went to London to lobby the British government to stop opium trade with China. The result was, however, not satisfactory. From time to time he published articles criticising the Australian local governments for the poll tax imposed upon arriving Chinese nationals. He persuaded his Chinese fellows here to learn modern Western knowledge. Sometimes there were Chinese arrived but were detained or arrested due to failure of paying landing tax. He would go to mediate. In most cases the Chinese would be released.

Last month Mr Zhang came to Sydney for the construction of a church in Melbourne. Many Chinese merchants were very generous to donate for such a charitable work. This is actually blessing for the whole Chinese community here.

In 1909 Cheong was involved in an unsuccessful attempt to persuade the Australian Government to allow the Chinese nationalist reformer, Kang Yu-wei, to visit Australia. By this stage, the Chinese movement for reform within the historic Imperial system was losing ground to a growing sentiment for a republican China. There is no indication in any of his surviving correspondence that Cheong had any sympathy with the revolutionary republican movement (Guomintang) led by Sun Yat-sen.

The Honorable the Minister for External Affairs
Dear Sir, Allow me to bring before you the application of the Chinese Empire Reform Association of Sydney for permission to Kang Yu-wei the great Leader of Reform in China to visit Australia and to say that since I wrote the Prime Minister on the 29th Oct last & the Secretary for External Affairs on the 15th Jany of the present year I have found nothing in the newspapers, missionary periodicals & correspondence from China & among others a letter received a fortnight ago from Dr Timothy Richard (a Mandarin of the highest rank) reflecting on the moral character

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63 The emphasis is made as an indication of the much gentler style of James that was mentioned in Chapter 6.

64 *Tung Wah Times*, 29 March 1899, p. 3. Translation courtesy Dr Paul Jones and the Chinese History at Australian Federation Project, Latrobe University, Bundoora, Victoria.
of the said Reform Leader. On the contrary every mention made of his name has
been a favorable one. Indeed as I have said to your Chief Clerk in the course of
conversation 2 months ago the recall of the Reformers is a matter of certainty in the
immediate future.

Already the question has been submitted to the Great Council by the Prince
Regent and in a note on Peking affairs in the North China Herald of the 2nd ult it is
recorded Grand Cr. Chang Chi-tung strenuously recommends that the question of a
pardon to the Reformers should be deferred as the granting of it too hastily would
be tantamount to exposing the errors of the Empress Hsiao Chin at once & with
greater emphasis. Commenting on this the same paper in a leading article on the
following morning observed: The Manchus however were biding their time while
undermining Prince Yuan’s influence & his refusal, in which he was supported by
Prince Ching, to sign an edict for the recall of Kang Yu-wei gave them the handle for
action. (i.e. Yuan’s dismissal).

Our Sydney friends are anxiously longing to have a visit from their illustrious
leader ere the pressure of State affairs make it impossible for him to do so. May I
crave your consideration of this matter as one of special urgency.\(^{65}\)

The letter and the other representations indicate that Cheong was an active supporter of
the Chinese Empire Reform Association. His knowledge of the internal affairs of the
Chinese community was mentioned earlier in relation to opium smuggling. In another
context he knew of the activities of a group of Chinese Christians, associated with the
Melbourne CERA and the Chinese Christian Union,\(^ {66}\) who were accused of being co-
conspirators in a scheme to provide Chinese with forged papers.

The accused included Lew Goot Chee, a Christian, and the editor of the *Chinese Times*
newspaper.\(^ {67}\) The others were the Methodist missionary, David Soong, and Harry
Hoyling, a member of the Churches of Christ whose grandfather had arrived at the Mount
Alexander diggings in 1854. The scheme was uncovered during a visit to Hong Kong by
Inspector F M Gabriel, described as the ‘shock trooper’ of the investigative branch.\(^ {68}\)
Gabriel named the three men as the ringleaders in Victoria.\(^ {69}\) The upper floor of the
building at 189 Russell Street, from which the scheme was managed, contained the offices
of the Chinese Empire Reform Association and Goot Chee’s newspaper.

Customs Inspector Gabriel described Cheong’s unhelpful attitude to the authorities on
immigration matters: ‘From my own personal experience of the latter I know that he
cannot be relied upon.’ Before the case went to court, David Soong committed suicide by

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\(^ {65}\) Cheok Hong Cheong to the Minister for External Affairs, 18 March 1909.
\(^ {66}\) See note about the Chinese Christian Union at Appendix 16.
\(^ {67}\) *The Weekly Times*, 2 September 1899, pp 14-15.
\(^ {68}\) Yarwood, A., (1961), 'The "White Australia" Policy, Some administrative problems 1901-1920', *The
\(^ {69}\) Inspector F W Gabriel to Secretary, Department of Customs, 11 February 1915. National Archives of
Australia CRS A8 15/13159 (15/2392).
hanging himself in the Methodist Chinese Church in Little Bourke Street. Gabriel wrote:

Mr Goot Chee was well aware of the frauds that were being carried on by his
country people by introducing Chinese into the Commonwealth illicitly, also by
false papers, and that Bribery was rife amongst them, this is confirmed by his
publication of the case of the Chinese Parson David Soong who committed suicide
after I had discovered that he was deeply connected in the Illicit traffic of
introducing Chinese on false papers. He was summonsed by me for Bribery but
hanged himself in his Church before the hearing of the case, had he lived he would
have been charged as one of the Conspirators. 70

Although he avoided conviction, Goot Chee was deported to the United States on 6 June
1914. Soong’s death, and Goot Chee’s deportation, points to a failure in the prosecution’s
case rather than being evidence of innocence. Cheong later opposed the employment of
Harry Hoyling as an interpreter and accused him of charging excessive amounts for his
services and promising outcomes that he could not guarantee. 71

Cheong’s knowledge of the activities of David Soong and his colleagues was shown in a
letter to the Assistant Secretary of the Church Missionary Association in Sydney.

David Soong’s was a very sad end. I little thought he would have come to that
though I knew he was too intent upon things material & temporal & too little time
given to those which are spiritual and eternal. On a/c of his connections with the
Customs the Presby Foreign Missions Committee wanted to shift him to Beechworth
some years ago but he refused and came to me to ask for employment in our Mission
but I advised him to obey the Committee’s orders which I said was really for his
own good as well as that of the Mission. Finding that I would not take him over he
moved his friends to petition the Comtee for his extension at Brunswick and
succeeded. Then when Moy Ling died he so won himself into the good graces of the
Methodist Mission Secretary that he got himself appointed to succeed Moy Ling to
the intense grief and chagrin of practically the whole body of the Chinese converts
who petitioned the Mission authorities in Sydney against the appointment. 72

Harry Hoyling attempted, unsuccessfully, to resume his role as an interpreter. He later
went to Queensland where he successfully organised Chinese labourers clearing the
Atherton Tablelands. 73

Cheong was subsequently involved with the editors of the Chinese Republic News. Two
men, Ng Hung-pui and Chiu Kwok-chun, both Christians, came to Australia in 1908
under provisions in the 1901 immigration restriction law that allowed short term entry to
clergy, journalists, doctors and others who serviced particular needs in the Chinese

70  F M Gabriel to Secretary, External Affairs, 15 January 1914.
71  Cheok Hong Cheong to Chinese Consul-General Wang, 1 August 1911.
72  Cheok Hong Cheong to Mrs Mickleburgh, Sydney, 30 November 1912. Cheok Hong Cheong to Miss
    Isabel Willis, 6 June 1912.
73  Private communication from Mr John Kehrer, a descendant of Harry Hoyling. Kehrer is possibly the best
    informed Australian on the genealogy of Taishan immigrants to Australia.
community. Ann Pang\textsuperscript{74} and C F Yong\textsuperscript{75} agree that the two were known Cantonese revolutionaries who came to Australia to escape arrest and imprisonment in China. Cheong’s first letter to the Minister for External Affairs asked for exemption for Ng because he was showing interest in becoming a missionary to the Chinese.\textsuperscript{76} It was a stratagem he apparently used more than once when trying to help men avoid deportation. Inspector Gabriel had no time for Cheong’s representation and commented:

Ng Hung Poi was recently in Melbourne endeavouring to work up sympathetic countrymen to make representations on his behalf, hence Mr Cheok Hong Cheong’s letter.\textsuperscript{77}

Sir Robert Best, a leading Victorian barrister and future senator, was retained to represent the two men.\textsuperscript{78} The Chinese community declared that if the two were sent back to China they would be executed as political agitators. Cheong and other members of the Chinese Christian Union asked the Rev. Dr E J Keely, parish priest at St Brigid’s Catholic Church, North Fitzroy, to write to his parishioner, the Minister for Internal Affairs, Hugh Mahan, to plead the case of the two young men. He was persuaded, wrote Dr Keely to Mahan, that the men were innocent of any wrongdoing.\textsuperscript{79} Cheong also enlisted the Chinese Consul-General, T K Tseng, who sought a review of the minister’s ruling but later wrote indicating that the men had decided not to stay in Australia.

In another instance, Cheong took what seems to have been a somewhat reluctant role in relation to a government decision to deport a woman who had overstayed her residence permit.\textsuperscript{80} Hop oon Gooey was a successful fruiterer at Geelong and popular with all sections of the community. He left Victoria in June 1910 as a ‘single man.’ His China-born wife aged 28 years and pregnant, arrived with him on 21 November 1910 for a ‘temporary

\textsuperscript{75} Yong, C F, (1977), \textit{The New Gold Mountain}, Richmond SA, Raphael Arts.
\textsuperscript{76} Cheok Hong Cheong to the Minister for External Affairs, 18 February 1915. National Archives of Australia, CRS A8 15/13159. See also the Melbourne \textit{Herald}, 17 and 20 February 1915.
\textsuperscript{77} National Archives of Australia 15/13159.
\textsuperscript{78} Cheok Hong Cheong to the Minister for External Affairs, 18 February, 1915. File note 10 July 1914. National Archives of AustraliaCRS A8 13/17950. Cheok Hong Cheong to the Minister for External Affairs, 27 May 1915. CRS A8 No 15/13159 (15/08941).
\textsuperscript{79} Rev Dr E J Keely to the Minister for Internal Affairs, 29 May 1915. National Archives of AustraliaCRS A8 15/13159 (15/9130).
\textsuperscript{80} Cheong’s reluctance was grounded in the attempt by Poon whose account of the child’s procreation and marriage arrangements were untrue and were presented as part of a scheme to gain his wife permanent residence. Yarwood, A, (1961), ‘The “White Australia” Policy, Some administrative problems 1901-1920’, \textit{The Australian Journal of Politics and History}, Vol VII, No 2, November 1961, p 250 ff.
conjugal’ visit. She received permission to stay in Australia for six months. Mrs Poon stayed in Australia for more than three years and became a national *cause-celebre*. In 1911, with her first six months extension expired, a petition signed by 34 European citizens of Horsham requested that she be given permission to remain permanently in Australia. They were reminded that the Poon’s had given solemn undertakings that she would leave after six months. An additional extension of time for her departure was sought and granted after the birth of a daughter at 268 Moorabool Street, Geelong, on 5th June 1910. Yarwood states that women were invariably allowed to stay in excess of the initial six months.

By the time his wife’s deportation was ordered in mid-1911, Poon had obtained 754 signatures on a petition requesting that his wife and daughter be allowed to stay. Cheong, as the President of the Chinese Christian Union, organised a mass meeting on 7th August 1911 in the Anglican Mission Church to protest the Government’s determination to deport her. The Secretary of the Union, Samuel Wong, a Baptist layman and member of the Chinese Residents Association, wrote to the Minister requesting that the deportation order be revoked. Yarwood gives the following outcomes of the meeting:

1. Protested against the cruelty of the acting Minister in refusing to allow Poon Gooey’s wife to live with him. They pointed to the ill-feeling that would be created between two friendly powers, and to the hindrance that would result ‘to our missionary enterprise here and in China’;

2. Argued that the refusal of the federal government to permit ‘law-abiding Chinese citizens to bring their wives out to Australia is subversive to the maintenance of racial purity for which the ‘White Australia’ party contend.’

3. Decided to send copies of the resolutions to the acting Minister, the Chinese Consul-General (who took little part in the controversy) the President of the Council of Churches, and other religious bodies.

On the 14th, at Cheong’s request, the Anglican Archbishop and the Presbyterian Missions Committee appealed for clemency. On the 5th September Hop Poon Gooey was given a further three months extension and on 2 July 1912 a further six months. On the 3rd July, the Department wrote to Poon saying that the entire family was required to leave Australia within six months. On the same day, a Methodist minister, the Rev. Robert Kelly, wrote in outrage against an unethical order that required Poon, a hardworking and respectable man, to choose between his family and his business. The Mayor of Geelong also wrote in

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78 Yarwood, op cit, p 249. Yarwood notes that the people of Horsham made a distinction between the Poons as individuals and ordinary Chinese.

82 Ibid, p 248.

support of the Poons. *The Argus* revealed that Poon had business interests in Melbourne, Brisbane and Sydney, as well as Geelong and Horsham, all of which were at risk. The Hon James Balfour, now in his declining years, joined the battle to help the Poons. On 13 August 1912, the Victorian Council of Churches called on the federal government to rescind the deportation order. Women electors from the Riverina area of New South Wales expressed support for a woman suffering at the hands of uncaring male oppressors. At the request of the far-distant Queensland Chinese community the Mayor of Brisbane wrote to support the Poons. Chinese business leaders in Sydney wrote to the newspapers. The Sydney *Daily Telegraph* carried the following report outlining an interview with Ping Nam, a leading businessman and the president of the Sydney branch of the Chinese Empire Reform Association. Ping Nam spoke out strongly and like Cheong, preferred to ground his remarks in the immorality of a policy of discrimination being practiced by a democratic government and people.84

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**Racial Purity.**

**Hop Gooey's Chinese Wife.**

**What if China Retaliated?**

The refusal of the Acting-Minister for External Affairs to allow the wife of Hop Poon Gooey, a Chinese resident of Geelong, a further extension of time in the Commonwealth (as reported in yesterday's *Daily Telegraph*) has aroused indignation among the Chinese of this State.

Mr. Ping Nam, president of the Chinese Empire Reform Association, speaking yesterday on behalf of the Chinese community, said: - The arguments adduced by Senator Findley are evidently based on prejudice so strong that it seems to have wrecked his discretionary powers as a Minister. The Minister admits that Mr. Gooey is a reputable citizen, and having satisfied himself on this point what better guarantee could Gooey give in support of his claim to have his wife with him. The attitude Senator Findley takes of the 'White Australia' policy is mere moonshine. He fears that if the Chinese are allowed to bring their wives to this country it would imperil this policy. The 'White Australia' policy is based, according to the party which the Minister represents on racial purity. This should strengthen our argument in favor of allowing respectable Chinese to have wives of their own nationality with them in this country. The legislation of Australia, may I say it, leads to immorality. Statesmen of the Commonwealth are incurring a serious responsibility in penalising and harassing respectable Chinese out here, as it will have the effect of jeopardising British trade in China. Probably some Australians argue, What has British trade to do with Australia? I answer that it has much to do with Australia. The protection they now get, as the people of this country know, is British, and the amount of trade that China gives to Great Britain annually enables the United Kingdom to maintain to a certain extent her proud position as mistress of the seas. The destiny of this country to-day is committed to men whose chief card is 'humanity,' and it is of great interest to the Chinese now studying the western systems of government to observe

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84 *The Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 4 September 1911.
the principles of a Government which is supposed to be based on humanitarian ideals. Our people have been promised a National Parliament in 1913. Should we copy, for arguments sake, the ideals of humanity as administered by the Commonwealth Government and deal out the same to Britishers and Australians who may then be residing in China? In such case would the politicians of this country say we were conforming to the principles of humanity? I feel confident that the fair and generous minded people of this country have no desire that those in power should harass and oppress any Chinese who have conformed to Australian ideas, and who have proved by their daily lives that they are capable of taking upon themselves the responsibility of having women of their own nationality as wives.  

Cheong’s letter to a business friend mentions the efforts of the Chinese Christian Union to assist the Poon Gooey family:

Dear Mr. Shelley, I owe you an apology for not acknowledging sooner your kindly courtesy in sending not one cup but very many cups of that beverage which cheers but does not inebriate. It was simply pressure of business arising out of the decision of the External Affairs Department re the case of Mrs Poon Gooey of Geelong. Our Chinese Christian Union of which I am President has taken the matter very much to heart that added on to my ordinary duties causes the apparent tardiness of acknowledgement. I enclose under separate cover a pamphlet published years ago embodying the principles upon which we act in matters political & another setting forth the views and principles in matters ecclesiastical.  

The Poon Gooeys left for China in January 1914 with Poon vowsing never to return. He was back by 15 July 1914 although the rest of the family remained in China. This Poon Gooey case, more than almost any other event in Cheong’s long life, was symbolic of the racism that permeated Australian immigration policy for so many years. The widespread support offered to the Poon Gooeys by a wide cross-section of the European-Australian community as well as the defence offered by the Chinese shows that some Australians saw individual rights as being as important as upholding a law that allowed such an injustice to occur to a family group.

The White Australia Policy is central to any discussion of Cheong’s involvement in immigration matters. Cheong was a social and political conservative, and any form of radical or illegal action would, in most circumstances, have been unacceptable to him. He was also unwilling to back anything that might have placed at risk all that he had achieved in terms of his family’s well-being and his own place in Victorian society.

Twenty years earlier Cheong had told Victorians that the Chinese were aware of the limitations on protest by a marginalised minority. The Chinese were a small community most of whom lived in poverty. Few were able, or prepared to put their personal security

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85 Cheok Hong Cheong to Shelley, 13 September 1911.
at risk or to accept financial responsibilities on behalf of strangers, as Kong Meng had shown in relation to the *Burrumbeet* detainees (Chapter 8).

Cheong did not avoid all confrontation with the authorities, as he showed in his strongly worded exchange of letters with Premier Duncan Gillies over the *Afghan/Burrumbeet* affair. His comment to Howat about his duty to lead men to repentance may have been evasive but it reflected the reality of his situation. Inspector Gabriel confirmed that Cheong was not an informer against his own countrymen. Cheong understood very clearly that any society that tolerates injustice to one or two runs the risk of injustice to all. It was a very Christian position and reflects, yet again, his position as a genuinely Christian man who followed his principles wherever they might lead him.
Chapter 11

The Cultural Fabrication of Identity
1851-1928

Words such as ‘race’, ‘ethnicity’, ‘culture’, ‘religion’ and ‘identity’ are caught up, in 19th and 20th century usage, with concepts such as ‘citizenship’ and ‘nationality’. In earlier times, in Europe, the words ‘Christian’ and ‘Christendom’ might also have been added in trying to define an individual. In China, for more than a thousand years, ‘Confucian’ and perhaps ‘Buddhist’ and ‘Daoist’ probably performed a function not unlike that of ‘Christian’ in Europe.

Cheong’s life is a case study of an ethnic Chinese whose adult identity was shaped outside China by a different set of cultural influences to those that would have applied if he had lived out his life in Guangdong Province, or in the other centres of the Chinese Diaspora. He differed from most diaspora Chinese in that his family, as a result of his father’s conversion to Christianity in 1860, and his subsequent work as a Presbyterian catechist, provided educational and other opportunities that were rare among his ethnic contemporaries in Australia.

It is a commonplace to observe that migration brings about more than just a generational change in the children of immigrants. Few Chinese families, and fewer Chinese children, migrated to Australia during the 19th century. Although evidence is scanty, it is a reasonable estimate that less than twenty families emigrated from China to Victoria and the number is probably less than that. The majority of ‘Chinese’ children identified in the various Victorian census collections were of mixed origins, usually with a Chinese father and a Chinese mother. For the greater part, their lifestyle differed little from the European majority.

Most of the Chinese who chose to emigrate to Australia in the 19th century were single men whose vision of themselves was framed around their place of origin in South China and their intention to return in the shortest possible time. For the Cheong family, China was no longer ‘home’ in that sense. Yet Cheok Hong never lost sight of his Chineseness.
To be ‘Chinese’ in a sense that reflects his life involves a complex set of interactions, values, and attitudes. Reid pointed out in 1999 that the word ‘Chinese’ is:

Another contested word . . . is ‘Chinese’ . . . , which we somehow use to include some purely English-speaking Australians, purely Indonesian-speaking Indonesians, purely Thai-speaking Thais, and a range of multilingual others speaking a variety of languages deriving from south China, north China, south east Asia and England. The one thing virtually unknown in this 'Chinese' diaspora category is a monolingual Chinese-speaker. What gives the unsatisfactory everyday term some analytical usefulness is the tensions it creates in all those of Chinese or partly Chinese descent outside China, between heritage and environment.¹

Kidd has made this comment about the emergence of the modern idea of identity in a North Atlantic context:

One of the major implications of the modernist consensus has been to stimulate an awareness that national and ethnic identities are unstable over the longue durée. Historians are becoming more vigilant in their avoidance of the fallacy . . . that nations enjoy ‘an entirely objective existence’. Within modern historiography and the social sciences most approaches to national and ethnic identity nowadays emphasise their fictive dimensions. Historians and social scientists have become increasingly aware that ethnicity is not a straightforward reflection of common biological descent: rather, ethnic identities are now recognised as cultural fabrications, which can be imagined, appropriated or chosen, as well as transmitted directly to descendants . . . [thus] all ethnic and national identities are, of necessity, artificial constructs though none the less authentic facets of the human experience . . . there is a keen awareness throughout the field that ethnic identities are not timeless, but provisional and pliable, with an elasticity permitting a considerable degree of invention and reinvention. . . . Ethnicity is now a question of processes and relationships rather than of ethnic and cultural essences.²

Cheong’s first-hand experience of China, including his birth and his Chinese primary schooling, totalled less than thirteen years. He spent fifty-five years in Australia (see Chapter 3), travelling overseas for less than a year in 1891-2 to the United Kingdom and for a few months in China in 1906. His letterbooks show no correspondence or references to family in China The same absence of contact or correspondence with family and homeplace in China is found in the letterbooks of James Cheong who, despite nearly three years residence in Hong Kong from 1900-1903, does not mention any family contacts.

Cheong’s few business letters to friends in China are to people whom he met in Victoria, such as the successive Chinese Consul-Generals. His relationships with other

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¹ Reid, Anthony (1999), Opening Remarks, Conference, Reconceptualising the Southern Chinese: From Community to Diaspora, Australian National University, 27 February 1999.
Chinese were essentially businesslike, either in terms of his role as a Christian lay minister and church leader, or in relation to his various business activities. There is little information about his home life but Toylaan Ah Ket, daughter of William Ah Ket, recalls spending holidays at the Cheong home in Croydon and there are some passing references in his letterbooks that suggest he was equally hospitable to Europeans, provided they met his social standards. He does not seem to have had much to do with the run of the mill Chinese labourers who made up most of the Chinese community, other than as an authority figure providing advice in time of need.

Cheok Hong Cheong was never part of the rural farming tradition or the world of the small businessmen of Guangdong Province with which his father had identified the family (Chapter 3). He understood enough about status in China to encourage people to view him as a scholar-gentleman (Chapters 6 and 9) although his education was overwhelmingly European. In short, from his earliest years in Australia Cheong was involved in fabricating an identity that was functional in achieving status and wealth.

Cheong saw himself, and was seen by others, as a Chinese, but he was shaped as much, if not more, by Europe as by China. All immigrants adopt multiple responses to the circumstances of their new environment the only difference being the extent to which, in cases such as that of Cheok Hong Cheong, they choose to retain or emphasise their Chineseness in terms of their response to Australianness.

Cheong achieved a social and economic position exceeding most Australians of his era. His contact with the leading members of the Chinese merchant-elite created a pressure to excel among his fellow countrymen. His demand for salary equivalence with European ministers demonstrated his appreciation of his worth. He may have been driven by the fact of discrimination to prove himself superior to the critics of the Chinese.

In Chapters 1, 2 and 7 it was shown that many Chinese immigrants succumbed to the

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5 Perhaps there is a link to what has been described as ‘imagined communities’ as discussed in Sinclair, John, (1996), op cit.

6 Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80, Melbourne. (Appendix 1, para 22).
difficulties of immigrant life and were poverty stricken and socially isolated. Some became gamblers or sought escape through narcotics (Chapter 7). Cheong turned the challenges facing him into energizing forces revealing him as a man of exceptional strength of character and rare determination.

When Cheok Hong Cheong arrived in Victoria in 1863, less than one hundred years had passed since James Cook claimed the eastern coast of Australia for Great Britain. The first permanent European settlement at Sydney had been made just seventy-five years earlier. The ‘official’ settlement of Victoria took place in 1837, just fifteen years before the Victorian gold-rush of 1854. The gold-rush occurred just three years after the ‘Separation’ of the Port Phillip District from the Colony of New South Wales and only a year before self-government in 1855. In discussing 19th century Victoria and relationships between European and Chinese immigrants, it is important to describe the colony as a ‘work in progress’ — a place in which everyone was a ‘new chum’ in a ‘frontier’ situation far removed from the settled civil society of contemporary China or Great Britain. Against that framework the life of Cheong can also be viewed as a ‘work in progress.’

Looking back over the experiences outlined from the first chapter onwards a picture emerges of a man constantly adapting to the rapidly changing world around him. The difficulties in relationships described in Chapters 3 and 5 were inseparable from the issues being addressed by all immigrants seeking to establish a place in an unstable and unsettled society, at least in comparison to the long history of China. It is not surprising that he could be a difficult, even infuriating, person or that he was not always consistent in his presentations.

Cheong’s life paralleled the emergence of anti-Chinese sentiment in Australia. The majority of the colonial population had no background in being responsible citizens of a democratic society. Most had not enjoyed voting or civic rights in their homelands. They had little experience of participatory politics or responsive elected governments. Although grounded in English political traditions, Victoria, despite its self-governing status, was not at any time a monocultural community or an established nation-state.

Victoria inherited divisive elements from the British Isles that influenced domestic

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7 There were earlier settlements in what is now Victoria but none provided the frameworks upon which the Colony of Victoria was to emerge after 1837 and the foundation of Melbourne.
8 See commentary on Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80, Melbourne in Chapter 4
affairs well into the 20th century. European colonists had little to guide them about relationships with a non-European, non-Christian minority other than the unhappy history of slavery or the longer-standing and horrible history of anti-Semitism. The English state had a long and unhappy history in Ireland but the high proportion of Irish immigrants and their voting power changed relationships in the Australian colonies. The conflicts between the Irish and Chinese that occasionally emerged in Cheong’s letterbooks has not been explored in Australia as it has in the USA.

The Colony of Victoria had a European identity against which the Chinese were seen to cast an alien shadow (see Chapter 7) that loomed somewhat larger than the shadows from Great Britain and to a lesser degree, from the unrest of the pre1850s experience of Europe. Wealth was the measure of colonial success and survival and the Chinese were viewed as an economic threat. As the colonial population exploded with the goldrush the promise of a 'golden' future encouraged a determination, in so far as individuals could, to secure that future by a mixture of private effort and publicly funded support mechanisms. Pragmatism, problem-solving and practicality loomed larger than abstract ideas and principles.

The overall social thinking of 19th century Australians included a repudiation of aristocracy, serfdom, slavery and indentured labour, partly for ethical reasons but more importantly because any of the above represented a threat to the living standards of European working families whose economic security depended, as in the promotional image below, on becoming successful immigrant settlers.

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The idea of the ‘Rights of Man’ and other radical views from Europe were heard and seen as in the Victorian example overleaf from 1858 but the old arguments, in the constantly changing colonial environment, were far removed from everyday life. As the drawing implies colonial politics were framed more by the concept of rewarding hard work than by imported abstract ideals symbolised by the revolutionary cap. It is no accident that the lyrics of ‘Advance, Australia Fair’ first played publicly in 1878 include the words, ‘and wealth for toil’. While egalitarian talk was common, it took the practical form of ‘a fair go’, i.e., the removal of barriers to achievement by personal effort and the provision of an economic and social ‘safety net’ for difficult times.

Here and There, or Emigration a Remedy

On the goldfields wealth was as much a matter of luck as of effort and no amount of radicalism could help as the Eureka uprising showed. The colonists shared collectivist values from the old countries, had a Christian-based ethical system and most had experienced or glimpsed poverty. The primary goal of the entire society was to survive and prosper. A spirit of collectivism dictated that government should have an active role in securing the individual and common good.

Their collectivism took the form, over time, of publicly funded infrastructure in roads, railways, water supply, universal free education, publicly funded health services, and state resourced pensions for the sick, disabled and unemployed. The colonial vision of people prospering by their own efforts, free of the ties of extended family, and without the impositions of a ruling elite was something with which Cheong Peng-nam and Cheok Hong Cheong could readily identify.

In Cheong’s identity, private and public, there was, apart from the values inherited from his father of filial piety and his vision of the family as a collective economic unit, an enduring respect for Chinese social morality. But, even as he was defending the virtues of China and defending the rights of the Chinese in Victoria Cheong offered no fundamental defence of China’s polity. His developing identity is apparent in his contribution to the 1879 pamphlet discussed in Chapter 4 and in his other writings (Appendices 1-5). The best example of his acceptance of the principles of liberal representative democracy and the primacy of the constitutionally based principles of the rule of law can be seen in his exchanges with Premier Gillies during the Afghan/Burrumbeet episode (Chapter 8).
In 1863 when Victoria abandoned anti-Chinese restrictions, the colony had just eight years’ experience with constitutional self-government. British-European values dominated the colony and the colonists were British subjects, a legal identity embracing multiple cultures that developed alongside British imperialism in the 19th century.\textsuperscript{14} Sovereignty remained with the British government in London until the creation of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901 and some matters, such as legal appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and a distinct Australian citizenship, remained until the passage of the \textit{Australia Act} in 1986.\textsuperscript{15}

Cheong obtained the 19th century Victorian equivalent of permanent residence under the \textit{Chinese Act}, 1891.\textsuperscript{16}

\begin{verbatim}
VICTORIA,
GOVERNMENT GAZETTE
NO 122, Friday, October 2, 1891, (page 4052)
Chinese Act 1890, Exemptions
By His Excellency the Right Honorable John Adrian Louis, Earl of Hopetoun, etc etc.
Whereas by Part 1 of the \textit{Chinese Act 1890} (54 Vict. No 1073) it is amongst other things enacted that it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council from time to time by Proclamation to be published in the \textit{Government Gazette}, to exempt any person or class of persons from the provisions of the said Part of the said Act, and to declare that such provisions shall not at any time, or for any specified period, apply to a person or class of persons mentioned in such Proclamation: Now therefore I, the Governor of Victoria, by and with the advice of the Executive Council thereof, do by this Proclamation exempt the persons named hereunder from the provisions of Part 1 of the \textit{Chinese Act 1890} aforesaid, and do declare that such provisions shall not at any time apply to the said persons, viz.:-
Revd Cheok Hong Cheong, Superintendent Church Missions to the Chinese in Victoria
Mrs Cheong, James Cheong, Joshua Cheong, Caleb Cheong, Grace Cheong, Christine Cheong, Nathaniel Cheong, Benjamin Cheong.
Given under my Hand and the seal of the Colony, at Melbourne, this twenty-eighth day of September in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and ninety-one.

The inclusion of the children was a defensive step that was unnecessary, on the face of it, because they were all colonial British subjects by birth. As the Federation movement gathered pace during the 1890s Cheong may have thought that their rights under colonial law could be abrogated in the final form of the new Federal Constitution (Chapter 10). There is evidence that the issue of the status of the Chinese was one of the reasons why
\end{verbatim}

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{15}] For further information on the \textit{Australia Act} see http://www.foundingdocs.gov.au/places/cth/cth17.htm
\item[\textsuperscript{16}] \textit{The Daily Telegraph}, 1 October 1891. The Age, 1 October 1891.
\end{itemize}
citizenship was not dealt with in greater clarity in the final Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act 1901.\textsuperscript{17}

Cheong chose not to seek naturalisation as a British subject even though that option was open to him for twenty-five years after his arrival in Victoria in 1863. His reasons are unclear. By 1888, when Victorian legislation closed the option (Chapter 10), he had all the rights that naturalisation offered except a British passport. He may have exercised caution in his desire to maintain a leading position in the Chinese community. As Chapters 8 and 9 discussed he was excluded from the inner circles of the colonial Chinese leadership and may have thought that his Christian commitments represented a sufficient barrier. On the other hand leading merchants such as Kong Meng and Ah Mouy found no contradiction between their Chineseness and their status as British subjects and nominal Christians (Chapter 2).

There is a letter in his correspondence that suggests that after Federation, and well after naturalisation was withdrawn under colonial law in 1888, Cheong explored the possibility of naturalisation under federal law.\textsuperscript{18} The description is, or appears to be, of himself:

13th Dec 1904
The Right Honorable the Prime Minister
Dear Sir — A Chinese Resident who has been domiciled in the Commonwealth for over 40 years wishes me to enquire whether he may be admitted to the full rights of citizenship by naturalization.

He is married and has a family and both personal and real estate of the estimated value of close on £10,000.

The majority of his family who have attained to manhood and womanhood have and do exercise the rights of citizenship as likewise all his European tenants.

I need only add that he is a man of high character and repute as he shall be able to show from the testimonies of men of position and influence.

An answer at your earliest convenience will greatly oblige him.

Among the rights normally thought of as restricted to British subjects was participation in the colonial electoral system but Cheong had secured that through the colonial property franchise. He set out his claim in a letter to the Shire of Lillydale (sic) in 1909:\textsuperscript{19}

Croydon 12/5/09
The Shire Secretary, Lillydale


\textsuperscript{18} National Archives of Australia – AA1911/14641 records show the following statistics for colonial naturalisations of Chinese. Victoria, post 1887, nil.; NSW, none between 1862 & 1867, none after 1888; South Australia, none after 1887; Western Australia, none after 1891; Queensland, granted up to 1 January 1904; Tasmania, granted up to 1 January 1904.

\textsuperscript{19} See Daily Telegraph, 3 May 1888 for a supporting remarks about the property franchise.
Dear Sir — As my son Joshua, on your roll as a ratepayer is leaving the State for New South Wales would you please substitute my name for his? There will then be as before three names to represent this property — my own & my sons Nathaniel & Benjamin. My name has been on the roll of Ratepayers for Fitzroy for some 30 years & likewise other suburbs of Melbourne. My right to vote for parliamentary elections is secured under section 41 of the Federal Constitution.

With Federation in 1901, Cheong’s right to vote in Victoria gave him the right to vote in Federal elections under Section 41 of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia (see letter above). It was an unusual transitional outcome resulting from the compromises needed to obtain the federation of the six Australian colonies. As so often in his life, Cheong proved the exception rather than the rule.

Nineteenth century immigrants in Australia were not a homogeneous group. Although the majority were from ‘British’ backgrounds that label, in identity terms, was about as useful as the label ‘Chinese’. ‘British’ immigrants were not a homogeneous group ethnically, socially, religiously or economically (Chapter 4). Although most colonists identified with Britian as a ‘national’ entity their core identities were centred on family and outside Australia on localised cultural and religious entities.

The English-speaking population did not constitute a monoculture and the same is broadly true of the Chinese at a national level although people of Cantonese origin were the predominant linguistic and cultural group. In Victoria, moreover, the Siyi (Chapters 1 and 2) were the predominant group but, within the Four Districts, there were very wide variations, not least the belief of urbanised (Sam Yap) Cantonese that the people from Taishan, the largest single group of Cantonese-Victorians, were little better than crude country bumpkins. Christine Inglis has drawn attention to the diversity of identities within the Chinese communities of 19th century Australia:

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20 Section 41 reads: — 41. No adult person who has or acquires a right to vote at elections for the more numerous House of the Parliament of a State shall, while the right continues, be prevented by any law of the Commonwealth from voting at elections for either House of the Parliament of the Commonwealth.

21 Wang Gungwu suggested two decades ago that ‘Chinese ethnicity derives from cultural identity’, i.e., that it is a subjective judgement made by an individual and the existence of an entity — China — and some sense of national identification with that entity is not the central issue. See Wang Gungwu, (1999), ‘Chineseness: the Dilemmas of Place and Practice’. Chapter 3, In Hamilton, Gary G, (1999), Cosmopolitan Capitalists; Hong Kong and the Chinese Diaspora at the end of the twentieth century, Seattle, University of Washington Press.


It is extremely difficult, I would argue, to characterise the Chinese population in Australia in the 19th century as constituting a ‘community’ with all the implications which actually follow from this of being settled and with permanence and the emergence of their own locally developed institutions and sense of identity. True, there were many of the material attributes that go with a ‘community’ in a spatial sense:— shops, temples. But their presence often concealed the movement through them of a predominantly itinerant population — certainly one which, in the concept of a diaspora as a group with strong ties to a homeland to which they planned to return, was a more accurate description.22

It was almost universally believed, in China and in the English-speaking countries of the Pacific Rim, that the Chinese were not permanent settlers (Chapter 4). At the very beginning of the goldrush, in 1853, the Rt. Rev. George Smith, Bishop of Hong Kong23 (see Chapter 5) said of the goldrush emigrant rush:

Our age has witnessed the discovery of goldfields . . . Who will venture to calculate the probable consequences to the human race, and especially the empire of China, of the tens of thousands of her sons who are hastening across the broad Pacific or to the shores of Australia to supply the increased demands of labour and to bring back thence the fruit of their toil.24

An article in a British journal noted that Britain had:

Not only opened the Canton river for ourselves, but for the Chinese. [We] have delivered the people from the bondage of the ages; and like all other nations, the Chinese are consciously mingling in the march of the world towards unknown and unlooked-for destinies.25

The large-scale arrival of Chinese in 1854-1855 presented the European colonists with a challenge about the long-term makeup of the colony’s population. The majority of European colonists could not accept that the Chinese had any legitimate claim to share in Australia’s wealth (Chapter 4). Few European colonists paused to reflect on the way in which their claims to ownership of Australia was established. Europeans and Chinese were caught up in a process few understood, i.e., the birth of a new nation — nationalism itself was a word that only entered dictionaries at the end of the 19th century. They were living in a circumstance in which the identity brought from their old world would be replaced by another identity, itself constantly evolving.26

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22 Inglis, Christine, (1999), Remarks at Conference, Reconceptualising the Southern Chinese: From Community to Diaspora, Australian National University, Centre for the Study of the Chinese Southern Diaspora, (CSCSD), 27 February 1999.
23 The correct title was Bishop of Victoria, Victoria was the town built as the centrepiece of the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong. To avoid confusion, as the title Bishop of Victoria was initially used in Australia, the terms Bishop of Hong Kong and Bishop of Melbourne are used.
24 Church Missionary Intelligencer, Vol 1, No 1, p 74.
Reid’s comments at the beginning of this chapter recall a similar comment by Ien Ang, an Australian of Chinese-Indonesian background who remarked in 1994 that:

Chineseness should not be seen as a fixed racial and ethnic category, but as an open and indeterminate signifier whose meanings are constantly renegotiated and rearticulated in different sections of the Chinese diaspora. That is to say, what it means to be Chinese varies from place to place, moulded by the local circumstances in which peoples of Chinese ancestry have settled and constructed new ways of living. There are, in other words, many different Chinese identities, not one.27

Chineseness today may reflect what one Chinese-Australian has referred to as a ‘corporeal malediction’ — the biological fact of ‘Chinese’ appearance.28 Appearance, as Chan and others have mentioned, is a ‘blind historical force’. ‘Call it fate or destiny, the Chinese — wherever they may reside — can never escape China for the simple reason that they look ‘Chinese’.29 This view is in contrast to 19th century reports from Foochow in which missionaries reported that people in one district were quite prepared to accept them as Chinese from another district, an indication that appearance is not the only determinant of identity. People were inclined to excuse their oddities as those of people from ‘out of town’.30

Reliance on appearance assumes that there is a distinctive Chinese appearance, a proposition that begs the question about other peoples of Asia.31 As the three Australian images below suggest, appearance is a very variable measure of identity. The first image is

30 See letters in the Church Missionary Intelligencer: An example is found in Vol VI, No 12, December 1855, where missionaries were accused of being Taiping rebels. One soldier said to a missionary, ‘You are no foreigner.’
a stereotype; the second shows a successful Chinese Anglican business man, a friend of Cheong; the third shows a poor, apparently elderly unskilled Chinese rural worker from eastern Victoria. Each image is an authentic representation of Chinese identity.

Although biology and heredity predetermine physiognomy the three images demonstrate that perception and environment play an equally important role, as in the case of Samuel and Hedley Tong Way, the Australian-born sons of the Rev. John Tong Way, a long-serving Presbyterian minister. When their father refused to approve their enlistment in the Australian Army in World War I, the boys had to point out to their Chinese-born but naturalised father that they saw themselves as Australians, not as Chinese.

Appearance is only a negative when, as James Cheong said, the ‘prestige’ of the ethnic group with which an individual is identified is low (Chapter 6). In general terms the starting point for the low status experienced by Chinese living in colonial Victoria (see Chapters 4 and 7-10) was more than the totality of their appearance, i.e., biology plus environment (especially clothing), a situation recognised by the rules of the See Yup Association forbidding the wearing of Chinese split trousers (See Chapter 2). The fact that their homeland was viewed as a weak member of the world community was an important as physical appearance.

The next page provides several different views of the prominent Sydney businessman, Mei Quong Tart. It would be difficult, simply by biological appearance, to place Quong Tart in the same category as ‘Miley’ on page 284.

Cheong chose to ignore biology and to view the status of Chinese in Victoria as inseparable from China’s ‘national’ humiliation. He expressed this by by asserting an idealised Chinese ethnic and cultural superiority as superior to British culture (See Appendices 1-5). Advancing the concept of ‘corporeal malediction’ reflects the continuing disappointment of people whose chosen identification with China as the

32 The Rev. James Cheong to Dr W Embling MLC, 7 December 1905. The issue of prestige and identity among immigrant Asians, including Chinese, is discussed in Broinowski, Alison, (2001), About Face: Asian Representations of Australia, PhD, Australian National University.
34 This kind of cultural reconstructionism is characteristic of many immigrant cultures.
principal source of their identity has to cope with two nation-wide revolutions and several regime changes that have not delivered the international prestige and ethnic pride that

Chinese nationalists believe existed prior to the 19th century.
The impact of the ethnic homeland’s low status on an Australian of Chinese ethnic heritage is revealed in the experience of William Wang who described being teased at primary school and going home to ask his mother if he was Chinese.

As a child it never occurred to me that I was a Chinese and of a different race from other Australians. Someone at school called me ‘Ching Chong Chinaman’. It bewildered me because I didn’t know what he meant, but I knew from his expression that he was being horrible to me. I was about six at the time. I went home seeking assurance. I said to my mother, ‘he said I was Chinese, I’m not, am I?’ My mother replied, with great severity, ‘You are.’ . . . My elder brother . . . chimed in with the authority of someone who was four years older and so much more experienced in the world, ‘Yes, you are Chinese, and you’d better get used to it.’ Wang added:

It was her tone that shocked me. I understood immediately that being Chinese was some terrible curse. . . my first feelings about being Chinese were entirely negative and they remained that way for over thirty years. There wasn’t a single advantage to it.35

In contrast to the negative self-image of Wang’s family the Cheongs chose to emphasise their Chinese identity with the kind of self-perception referred to by the contemporary Chinese writer, Wang Meng, as ‘cultural patriotism’.36

Wang Meng relates cultural patriotism to people living in a setting where China provides the historical underpinnings of the dominant culture, as in China, Taiwan or perhaps Singapore but it is a concept that can be readily extended to Chinese living in other cultures. In his determination to change the perception held of China and the Chinese in Victoria, Cheong highlighted the grandeur of China’s culture (Appendices 1-5) and his educative work in the Anglican Mission incorporated some of the great ethical teachings of Confucius (Chapter 5).

William Wang’s discovery that his Chinese appearance was not an advantage underwent a significant change when he later experienced something like the cultural patriotism described by Wang Meng:

Once I found out about China and the Chinese culture, it became obvious that the Chinese had a great civilisation. The culture was rich and refined. There was a deep spiritual core to their existence. Compassion and warmth were at the centre of their customs. This was nothing to be ashamed of. This was something to be proud of . . . my general impression and experience of China was positive . . . I felt I had been

See also Wang, William, (1994), Family Pictures, Sydney, Angus and Robertson
admitted back into my lost family . . . I had returned to the motherland. I had come back to my second home.37

Cheong’s identity was a mix of apparent contradictions. His writings denounce the injustices experienced by Chinese but the concept of ‘justice’ to which he appeals, with its reliance on the rule of law, is Anglo-European. His father’s Christianity provided the English language skills upon which his adult utility to the Chinese community depended (see Chapters 8-10). His European education had the effect that he was unable to provide the Chinese merchant leadership with the skills associated with a classical Chinese education although he was careful not to acknowledge his limitations publicly. The Cheongs never claimed a traditional Chinese scholarly/literati background and their model of a gentleman was probably a mixture of observation in Victoria together with accounts of the village and district level elites of China.38 Almost uniquely among the leaders of the Australian Chinese community, Cheong never wore traditional Chinese costume nor did he ever accept honours or distinctions from the Chinese Government. His affectation of the long fingernail shows that he was fully conscious of the status accruing to a Chinese scholar and its privileges in a Chinese context. Cheong’s ambivalent position as a Chinese leader is reflected in a continuing strand of modern Chinese identity:

The cultural problem of preserving the best of Chinese tradition while adopting modern Western culture was mirrored in intellectuals’ desires to maintain their traditional involvement in national affairs (and their elite status) while adopting the Western theories and concepts that formed the basis for their position of cultural authority . . . Defining a modern identity involved accepting Western knowledge as superior to Chinese, but maintaining the position of elite leadership meant identifying with a traditional role of ‘taking all under heaven as one’s responsibility.’ 39 Chineseness, and in particular the scholarly status issue, was vital to Cheong’s identity and was influential in his problems with the Presbyterian Church (Chapter 3) and later with the Anglicans (Chapter 5). His desire to be the learned teacher training others for the work of evangelism obscured the lack of interest he seems to have had for the work of evangelism for which, in the Anglican context, he had been employed.

For Chinese traditionalists Christianity was a symbol of his alliance with the enemies of

37 Wang, William, op cit.
38 A simple overview of the Chinese social system and relative positions within it, from governmental and traditional Confucian models will be found at http://ww2.lafayette.edu/~barclayp/248/shf04.html
China whereas his Chineseness and his Christianity were highly valued by the Boards of the Presbyterian and Anglican Chinese Missions.

Although Cheong threatened that he might return to China, James’ university education and the church school education of his children is indicative of the family’s acceptance of Western values. Unlike many other Chinese Australians Cheong never sought a Chinese education for any of his children nor did he finance a period of residence in China to assure their familiarity with Chinese culture.

James’ residence in Hong Kong (1900-1903) when he explored employment with the Chinese Government points to ‘patriotic’ ties to his ethnic ‘great tradition’ culture. In the photograph below, James unconsciously reveals by his dress his identity as a cultivated ‘European’ gentleman and this is reinforced by the traditional young scholar dress of the student at his side.

James found life in colonial Hong Kong, with its Chinese majority, less comfortable than his life at Oxford that echoed his eight happy years at the University of Melbourne (Chapter 6). After settling in at Cuddesdon College he wrote to his mother:

The life here is so different from that in Hong Kong. There the racial feeling is so strong that unconsciously I began to suspect even friends of not being sincere in
their friendship. I used to feel there, rightly or wrongly, that their manifestations of friendship to me were forced.  

James experience in Hong Kong was a mirror image of the life story of the Cheongs and other Chinese-Australians who chose the complex path of integration and accommodation without totally abandoning a sense of cultural patriotism. They had to work through a balance between a more generalised sense of Chineseness, and their Australianness. James Cheong reflected their distinctive if ‘anomalous’ identity in a letter to Sir John Madden, written from Hong Kong in 1900:

I am in the peculiar [he originally wrote anomalous but crossed it out for peculiar] position as an Australian of pure Chinese descent, of undoubted British status, and of Western (English) education.

The unique problem with Australianness was that the Chinese, alone, were faced with restrictions on their freedom of movement into and out of Australia, and across colonial borders. They alone faced special taxes. They alone, after the 1880s, were denied the right to naturalisation. Even when born in Australia, and possessing a British passport, they alone were interrogated by immigration officers because of their physical appearance. It is undeniable that under federal immigration law, and some other residual discriminatory legislation from the colonial era, Chinese were the subject of bureaucratic discrimination. It is not difficult to understand why a term such as ‘corporeal malediction’ might arise.

Cheong’s writings are proof of the strength of the Chinese reaction to discrimination. He knew the everyday problems of discrimination although he and his family seem to have been freer from day to day prejudice than most of his countrymen. Cheong had personal experience of the barriers to intercolonial travel when he was unable to visit his ‘father’s sepulchre’ in Hobart or to speak at public meetings in Sydney without first paying the poll-tax, even though the Tasmanians promised an instant refund as he left the colony. He complained only once of a discriminatory affront to him personally when a bumptious policeman subjected him to a body-search at Port Melbourne while he was farewelling friends travelling to China (Chapter 10).

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40 James Cheong to Mrs Cheong, 3 March 1903, James Cheong Letters, Trinity College Archives, University of Melbourne).
41 James Cheong to Sir John Madden, 20 March 1900, (James Cheong Letters, Trinity College Archives, University of Melbourne).
42 Cheok Hong Cheong to Hon P O Fysh, Premier of Tasmania, 19 February 1891.
43 Cheok Hong Cheong to Sir George Dibb, Premier of New South Wales, 29 June 1893.
Cheok Hong Cheong to Miss Ackerman, 29 January 1894.
Cheok Hong Cheong to Governor of New South Wales, 1 July 1895.
44 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Hon J B Patterson, Commissioner of Customs, 28th July 1889.
Cheong’s distinctive contribution to the defence of the Chinese community was exercised through the press, publications, public lectures and newspaper correspondence. Other Chinese operated differently as was shown in the private interactions between the merchant elite and the Victorian Government during the Afghan/Burrumbeet negotiations (Chapter 8), and between the elite, the Imperial Commissioners and the European leaders of the Australian colonies (Chapter 9).

Cheong’s letterbooks demonstrate his concern with propriety in his personal dealings but when Chinese sought to overcome disadvantages created by unjust laws he accepted their contempt for discriminatory law and its administrators and ignored their attempt to subvert injustice (Chapters 8-10). He knew a good deal about crime within the Chinese community and was aware of immigration avoidance schemes (Chapter 7). He chose to keep his information to himself and not to risk his reputation and broader community status by becoming an informer to those who in the minds and experience of many Chinese constituted an enemy.

Although cultural patriotism is a useful concept Cheong’s life was probably closer to Wang Gungwu’s sense of Chineseness as psychological identification that was mentioned earlier in regard to James Cheong’s three years in Hong Kong:

The only reliable test of a person’s identity is a person’s self-identity as a Chinese, and other people agreeing that the person is Chinese, even to the point of insisting on it whether the person likes it or not. The former centers on aspects of psychology and the latter largely on physical attributes.

James Cheong, the Tong Way brothers and Quong Tart are exemplars of the kind of multiple identities implicit in Wang’s observation. In a letter to a Victorian parliamentarian during the debates over proposed anti-Chinese amendments to the Victorian Factories and Shops legislation in 1905 James, perhaps unconsciously, noted the way in which his identity reflected multiple responses to his circumstances whether it was as a British subject, an Australian and a person of Chinese psychological identification:

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45 St Augustine’s statement that ‘an unjust law is no law at all’ was widely repeated by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King in his non-violent resistance movement in the United States. As a former theological student Cheong would also have known of Christian teaching on the issue of obedience to unjust laws.


We have the elements of a great nation in this Commonwealth of ours with her glorious heritage & her venerable traditions from the Motherland, but woe be to her if for vanity or selfishness or love or ease she miss her God-given opportunity — It would indeed be national suicide. Now speaking as a Chinese I cannot withhold my humble quota of gratitude to you for the way you spoke in [our] defence.  

James Cheong’s scholarship was in European ‘classics’, rather than the classical lore of China. He was an Anglican Christian by religion; a British subject by birth and Chinese by appearance and self-identification. James was the only member of the Cheong family to make a serious effort to master the Mandarin dialect by studying the classic Confucian texts and learning to write Chinese in a scholarly style. It is possible that Joshua also took some studies in Chinese when he was working with the On Cheong Company in Sydney and later with the *Chinese Times* newspaper in Melbourne but there is no information available. Perhaps because he was confident in his status as a British subject and an Australian James was prepared to be a little ‘more’ a Chinese, in an educated sense, than his father. He shared his father’s outrage at the denial of justice to Chinese in Australia that was personalized by his humiliating experience of interrogation by immigration officers when he arrived at Fremantle in 1904 on his way home from Oxford. (Chapter 10, Appendix 17).

Appearance is obviously an important strand in the issue of identity but identity may also involve a person in a self-registering way that reflects either ‘cultural patriotism’ or psychological factors. The issue of language assumes especial importance in today’s world because of the war of cultural legitimacy between Taiwan and the People’s Republic of China (PRC). Neither political entity places much importance on the identity of Chinese who do not speak Mandarin but the fact of Chinese dialects is inseparable from Cheong’s experience and that of almost all Chinese in 19th century Victoria. Important as Mandarin obviously is in terms of the cultural patriotism of competing Chinese states it is Cantonese/Taishanese and English that is at the heart of the study of the 19th and early 20th century Chinese-Australian heritage. Cheong spoke Cantonese/Taishanese and

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48 Rev. James Cheong to Dr W Embling MLC, 7 December 1905.
49 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Secretary, External Affairs, 26 September 1904.
perhaps other Cantonese dialects but had little or no knowledge of Mandarin.

Stress is also, I think, unnecessarily laid on ‘ideas’ about the dialect which I speak — I say unnecessarily because 99% of the Chinese in Australia are from the province of Canton in whose provincial capital I was born and brought up and whose dialect, ‘the English of the province’ which I naturally speak is the one which is familiar to the vast majority of Colonial Chinese. And mixing with them as I do for the last 27 years and identified with their every interest it would have been difficult for me, even if I had chosen it, to remain ignorant of the little provincialism of the small minority. But I did not so choose and flatter myself with being to speak as many Cantonese dialects as some of the most accomplished linguists among them.33

Cheong’s language skills underpinned his resistance to anti-Chinese prejudice, not least the pathologising process surveyed in Chapter 7. He was comfortable with the Cantonese dialects spoken in Victoria. He could communicate in English on equal, if not superior, terms to most Europeans. He subscribed to English language journals and to evangelical missionary publications from China and was an avid reader of the Victorian daily papers.54 There is no record that he subscribed to any Chinese language papers from China although he did contribute to the local Chinese paper in Melbourne.55 There is no information about his contributions in terms of whether Cheong wrote them in Chinese or English. There are few Chinese language items in his letterbooks but the actual writer of the Chinese characters is unknown.

English was the official and common language of all the Australian colonies. By the last twenty years of the 19th century when a majority of Victorians were locally born and educated, the regional Anglo-Celtic dialects of English that accompanied the mass

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52 Cheok Hong Cheong to Rev. S L Chase, 20 May 1891. It is difficult to know what Cheong was claiming about his place of birth. According to most records, the Cheong family living at Fatshan (Foshan) a major provincial trading centre on the Pearl River at the time of Cheong Peng-nam’s departure for Australia. Fatshan is on the opposite bank from Guangzhou, the provincial capital of Guangdong Province. It may be that this reference is a shorthand version that he thought would be more readily understood by the European to whom he was writing. Alternatively, Peng-nam may have moved from his parents to Guangzhou.

53 Cheok Hong Cheong to Rev. Canon S L Chase, 20 May 1891.

54 It is unfortunate that his personal library has not been identified. The letters referred to in this work were preserved by the Rev. George Thomas, one-time Missioner, who gave them to the writer on his death-bed.

55 Cheong read and contributed to the Chinese Times. Joshua Cheong worked briefly for the paper as an advertising salesman.
immigration of settlers was transforming into a near uniform Australian-English dialect.\textsuperscript{56} This helped to reduce the kind of social division that was associated with dialects in the United Kingdom — indeed, it proved increasingly impossible to stereotype Australians by their speech. One effect of the standardising of the Victorian-Australian dialect of English, in the case of the Cheong family, was an encounter between Joshua and E W Cole, a prominent bookseller in Melbourne:

\begin{quote}
A few months ago I had a rather curious experience with respect to the similarity of the Chinese character and our own. Mr. Cheong had invited Mrs Cole and myself to come and visit his homestead. We accordingly went, and remained all day until after dark, when some of the family got the buggy ready to drive us to Croydon station. The driver and my wife got up on to the front seat and I got up on the back one. One young man, whom I thought to be one of the Cheongs, got up beside me. We drove on, but as it was quite dark I could not see his face, and as he went on talking about various things just like an Englishman, I thought I must have been mistaken. ‘This cannot be a Chinaman; probably it is some Englishman that they have to help them to pick fruit or work on the farm.’ I put several questions to him, and these were answered just as an Englishman would answer them, and I positively believed I was talking to an Englishman until we came to a lamp on the station, and then I saw the Chinese features of Joshua Cheong. What he said, the way he said it, and the tone of his voice were exactly English . . . \textsuperscript{57}
\end{quote}

Anti-Chinese prejudice made pragmatic, if not ethical sense, when seen through the filter of the economic fear of most European colonists. Although most people grasped that the resident Chinese offered no threat to them it was a different matter when demagogues played on the threat of invasion by hordes from the north (see theatre poster next page) or pictured an Australia dominated by non-Europeans. Australians, themselves invaders and conquerors of a small indigenous population, were well aware that a small population occupying the coastal fringes of a huge land mass, with more than half the continent uninhabited, presented a case for invasion by a land hungry world.

The institutions of the Colony of Victoria were modelled along British lines. There was a bi-cameral legislature, with a democratic (males only) system of elections for the Lower House, the Legislative Assembly. There was a restricted franchise based on property and/or education for the Upper House but at least the Victorian Legislative Council was elected and not, as in other colonies, appointed. As in Britain, an independent judiciary interpreted the law, not always to the comfort of the elected governments as the Victorian and New South Wales Governments learned at different times, most notably in relation to

\textsuperscript{56} There is a useful introduction to Australian English in the Macquarie Dictionary.
\textsuperscript{57} Cole, E W, (c1904), The Better Side of the Chinese Character, Melbourne, Coles Book Arcade, p 21.
the Afghan issue.

Colonial institutions helped in Cheong’s career as a property investor. He accumulated a property portfolio bringing in an annual income that he reported to be in excess of £1500 a year (Chapter 6).\textsuperscript{58} His property investments were so successful that, at his death in 1928, he left assets of some £A100,000, worth in today’s values, perhaps $A10 million (Chapter 6).\textsuperscript{59} He undoubtedly took risks in investments to the point where, as mentioned in Chapter 6, his wife expressed grave doubts about their financial security as his health began the decline that resulted in his death in 1928. He described his success to one of his strongest supporters, Mrs Maria Moriarty, in 1906:

You are aware that for the last 7 years I have been working in the Mission without any charge to it, the Lord whom I serve having blessed all my investments so that I have near a rental income equal to the salary I used to derive from the Mission which besides providing a living for self and family has solved the question of a retiring allowance and provision for the family.\textsuperscript{60}

Colonial law placed a strong emphasis on property rights. Cheong’s choice of property investments was facilitated by a colonial innovation, since copied around the world, simplifying the recording of land ownership by the Torrens

\textsuperscript{58} In 1904 he estimated his assets as being £10,000. Cheok Hong Cheong to the Prime Minister of Australia, 13 December 1904.

\textsuperscript{59} The actual value of his estate in 1928 was approx £A100,000. It is difficult to know how to translate that into 2002 values. For want of anything more accurate, the only reasonably authoritative sources appear to be: House of Commons, \textit{Inflation: the value of the Pound 1750-1998}, Research Paper 99/20, 23 February 1999. The reservations in the Introduction to that paper demonstrate the difficulty of making too confident an assertion. This index would suggest an estate valued at close to $A10 million. Another calculation is at http://www.globalfindata.com/ which suggests a British consumer price index increase of approx 28 times between 1928 and 2001. Assuming a rough parity between the British and Australian pounds, this would value Cheong’s estate at perhaps £3 million or perhaps $A7 million. See also John J. McCusker, "Comparing the Purchasing Power of Money in Great Britain from 1264 to Any Other Year Including the Present" Economic History Services, 2001. http://www.eh.net/hmit/ppowerbp/

\textsuperscript{60} Cheok Hong Cheong to Mrs Maria Moriarty, 2 May 1906.
Title system of registration.\textsuperscript{61} This favoured Cheong whose investments included buying up deceased estates at mere pence on the pound of their original value (Chapter 6) as in this instance where he mentions buying a property valued at approximately £14000 but sought a loan of less than half the amount. Even allowing for possible finance from other sources, it is significant that he sought the maximum overdraft limit:

Pine Lodge 29/2/08  
The Sub-Manager, Union Bank, Melbourne

... if you are agreeable to accommodate me to the limit of £6250 on the securities of which I have given you a list & whose value I have set down roughly at £14000 I shall be glad to at once open an account with your Bank.

Once ownership was registered, the title certificate became an instrument against which loans could be financed by the lender holding the deed as security until the loan was paid — all mortgages etc were registered on the certificate preventing a borrower from selling the property until each loan was discharged. Cheong’s letterbooks contain dozens of letters dealing with real estate agents, owners and the banks from which he borrowed (Chapter 6). The following letter is just one of many examples of his close attention to property matters:

14th Dec 1904  
Dear Mr Swan — Re Brunswick St land I have your favour of the 7th. since receiving which I have heard that young Ted has remarked to Mr Griffith of Langridge and Son that the land was no good to them (the Apps) and that he was for selling it at any price. Mr Griffith then enquired whether he may negotiate for me. I replied ‘Thank you, but I have already asked Mr Swan to enquire for me.’ The land I reckon is worth between £400 and £500. But without making him any offer you can get to know if he will come down to about my mark as land as just been sold on the opposite side at £12 per foot. At the figure it would be worth some £400.

Yours Truly, CHC  
Mr Thos Swan

Butlin concluded that the real genius of colonial Victoria was to create a system of government that was reasonably efficient and broadly democratic. Despite colonial boom and bust economic cycles Victorian governments facilitated a high standard of living for most people, including what was reputedly the highest family income and the highest incidence of family home ownership in the world.\textsuperscript{62} Beneath the self-confident facade there

\textsuperscript{61} First introduced in South Australia in 1858, Torrens Title transferred ownership in real estate, usually including all ‘improvements’ added to the land, such as a house, by the simple act of registering the transfer with a government property registry and paying appropriate stamp duties. Ownership by registration replaced the old English system of land ownership derived from medieval times. For an introduction and online discussions of Torrens Title, see http://www.femail.com.au/torrenstitle.htm

\textsuperscript{62} Australian home ownership rates have traditionally been around the 50-70\% mark or higher. See Commonwealth Year Book 2002.
were real and enduring social problems sufficiently widespread to engender fears of ill-health, unemployment and poverty. Although Cheong left a number of letters dealing with federal land tax matters, and local municipal charges, nothing is known of the income of the Chinese community as a whole although the evidence advanced earlier indicates that most were poor by the usual standards of their time.

Demagogues can always find a platform but the general community seemed well able to distinguish between threats of invasion by the legendary hordes from the north and the individual Chinese they met day by day. At the height of the ‘ratepayer’ meetings sponsored by the anti-Chinese movement people defended the Chinese and rejected extremism. Arguments against mass Chinese immigration were generally supported but few colonists felt personally threatened and this helps to explain the wide support given to the Poon Gooey family (Chapter 10 and Appendix 14).

The discrimination experienced by the Chinese has been acknowledged but overall, the impact of restrictive legislation was felt by a relatively small number of affluent members of the Chinese community, rather than the community as a whole. The poll-tax on arrival was, for almost everyone, a one-time cost that was, for most men, repaid as part of their credit ticket debt, usually within twelve months or so of their arrival. Poll-taxes on intercolonial movements and special tariff charges mostly affected merchants but the net effect was small. Wilton’s studies of a merchant community in the New England region of New South Wales shows how sophisticated management overcame these difficulties. The clearest expression of the economic well-being of the Chinese is in the Petition written by Cheong to the Chinese Commissioners (Appendix 2) and the Commissioners report of their findings following their return to China (Chapter 9). The Commissioners reported that the injustice done to the Chinese was not in levying taxes but in singling out the Chinese.

In terms of his ignorance of the Chinese ‘Great Tradition’ Cheong was better off than most of his countrymen few of whom could read any kind of book, and least of all

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Confucius, Mencius or other Chinese philosophers (Chapter 2). Cheong could read and cite their works in English translations. James’ search for information about employment opportunities in China showed that Cheok Hong Cheong was not familiar enough with China to guide his son. James sought advice from experienced Europeans, such as the Rev. Dr. Ernest Eitel, and later sought the advice of Chinese leaders in Hong Kong (Chapter 6). There is little doubt that once away from his father’s control, James experienced a sense of personal freedom that, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, he was never inclined to surrender.

The Rev. Dr. Arthur Smith remarked that in his experience the Chinese did not readily adopt anything new but this was untrue about the Chinese of the diaspora and the Chinese who frequented the Treaty Ports. Chinese Australians whose families had been farmers for generations became miners and when that failed, they became, in no particular order: fencing contractors, laundrymen, furniture manufacturers, shearers, farm labourers, land clearing specialists, cooks, and anything else that paid. Market gardening was especially popular. Immigrant Chinese were engulfed by the need to constantly adapt and change if they were to survive. Cheong is a symbol of a Chinese identity marked by innovation and enterprise that emerged as immigrants responded to their new and constantly evolving situations.

After parting with the Presbyterian Theological Hall in 1875 Cheong spent the next ten years managing the fruit business established by his father in Brunswick Street, Fitzroy after the family moved from Ballarat in 1872. (Chapter 3). He did well enough to purchase a separate dwelling, ‘Montgomery Villa’, in Gore Street, Fitzroy, to replace the combined shop and residence in which the family had lived in Brunswick Street and also purchased a property in George Street, Fitzroy, although nothing more is known about that purchase.

The Cheongs were among the small number of ethnic Chinese families who lived in the general community, i.e., outside the security of the Chinatowns. Apart from the merchant-elite such as Lowe Kong Meng or Louis Ah Mouy (Chapter 4) there were others, including Chinese medical practitioners such as James Lamsey or ministers of religion such as the Methodist ministers, the Rev. James Moy (Mouy) Ling and the Rev. Leong On Tong and

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67 Cheong mentioned his income several times as being between £300-£400 a year. Cheok Hong Cheong to Mr R Ewing, Acting Commissioner of Taxation, 30 November 1917.
the Presbyterian minister, the Rev. John Tong Way.\textsuperscript{68} The Chinese lawyer, William Ah Ket (Cheong Mar Shem), who lived in Caulfield-Malvern, had an enormous range of contacts through his legal work and also through his support of horse-racing and regularly entertained Europeans at his home. Cheong also provided accommodation and entertainment at Pine Lodge for Europeans and others.

Men who were married to European women were a very small group within the total Chinese population of Victoria. Their wives usually wanted their children to be integrated into the dominant culture and almost always chose to live among their European neighbours and send their children to local churches, schools and other community facilities. Economic resources and willingness to conform in outward lifestyle were the keys to residential location even if not, as William Wang’s story indicates, to peace of mind.

The Cheong family did not share the precarious economic existence of so many of their hard-working countrymen. Cheong Peng-nam’s children, and grandchildren, never experienced the social isolation of many, and perhaps most, Chinese immigrants. Whereas poverty and loneliness kept many men looking inward to their memories of home the Cheong family was constantly looking outward.

At any point in his career Cheong might have become a nominal Christian or reverted to Chinese traditional beliefs as his sister did after accompanying her nominally Christian husband, Dr Ng Wing Fat, back to China.\textsuperscript{69} Cheong maintained his, and his family’s, active participation in the Napier Street Presbyterian Church in Fitzroy until he became the lay superintendent of the Anglican Chinese Mission in 1885. His wife remained active in the women’s work of the Chinese Presbyterian Mission for many years. His sincerity as a Christian was recognized by members of the Napier Street congregation in 1882 when he was elected a ruling elder by an all-European Session and was authorised as a lay preacher.\textsuperscript{70} His election to the eldership had no connection with any role in the

\textsuperscript{68} As late as 1890 Cheong mentioned that there were only three Chinese Christian women in Melbourne. The three were Mrs Cheong, Mrs Cornelius Poon Why (Anglican), and Mrs James Lee Mouy Ling, wife of the Methodist minister. Cheok Hong Cheong to Mrs Ah Bon, the European wife of Mark Ah Bon, Anglican catechist at Daylesford, 13 November 1890.

\textsuperscript{69} Cheong Peng-nam had made baptism a prerequisite for Wing Fat’s marriage to Fong-sen.

\textsuperscript{70} *The Australian Times and Anglo-New Zealander*, 4 February 1882. A Presbyterian Session comprises spiritually minded ‘ruling’ lay elders who share the religious government of the congregation with the minister who is sometimes referred to as the ‘teaching’ elder. The Session decides, for example, who is to be admitted to the Holy Communion and who, for spiritual reasons, is to be excluded. The business affairs of the congregation are handled separately by the Board of Management.
Presbyterian Chinese Mission — he had none. After the events of 1898 described in Chapter 5, he spent most weekends attending the Mission of the Epiphany in Little Bourke Street, travelling in and out by train and the family maintained a connection with the local Anglican church in Croydon.

His participation in the publication of *The Chinese Question* in 1878-1879 (Chapter 4 and Appendices) established him as the English-language apologist for the Chinese community of Victoria. He became the English language ‘secretary’ (and later chairman) of the Victorian Chinese Residents’ Association (Chapter 8). He established an advisory connection with the Church Missionary Society of Victoria in 1882 that led to his appointment as Superintendent of the Anglican Chinese Mission in 1885 (Chapter 5). His investments became vital after his problems with the Anglican Church Missionary Association described in Chapter 5 but he always insisted that business was secondary to his work as a missionary. He remained an active Anglican until his death and was buried in the Anglican section of the Box Hill Cemetery.

Cheong’s public life was grounded in two strands. The first was his belief, as an evangelical Christian, that conversion and a lively involvement in society was inseparable from the duty of Christians to serve their neighbours. His Christian involvement in society was tied up with the second strand, his Chineseness in two ways — as a missionary and an advocate.

From the First Opium War onwards China’s history became a litany of foreign wars and internal rebellion that, taken together, produced the low esteem in which China and Chinese were held internationally. A list of China’s nineteenth century experiences is essential if there is to be any understanding of the underlying sense of personal and national humiliation that is revealed in Cheong’s references to his homeland and in his written papers it is given as the primary cause of the discriminatory treatment of Chinese in Australia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treaty Type</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Years</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First ‘unequal’ Treaty</td>
<td>First Opium War</td>
<td>1839-1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taiping Rebellion</td>
<td>1850-1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second ‘unequal’ Treaty</td>
<td>Second Opium War</td>
<td>1859-1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miao Rebellion</td>
<td>1865-1872</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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71 See entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and the references in Yong 1977 and Cronin 1982.
72 Cheok Hong Cheong to William Ah Ket, 25 September 1907. Cheong asked Ah Ket to tell him who was responsible for describing him as an ex-missionary.
73 Now the Anglican Chinese Mission of the Epiphany and still in the premises he established at 121-123 Little Bourke Street, Melbourne in 1904.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Date</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xinjiang Rebellion</td>
<td>1877</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nien Rebellion</td>
<td>1883</td>
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<tr>
<td>War with France over Indo-China</td>
<td>1882-1883</td>
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<tr>
<td>Panthay Museum Uprising</td>
<td>1889-1891</td>
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<tr>
<td>Korean Rebellion</td>
<td>1894-1895</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canton Uprising (Sun Yat-sen)</td>
<td>1896</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boxer Uprising</td>
<td>1899-1901</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican Revolution</td>
<td>1911</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sun Yat Sen’s revolt</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Imperial Restoration Revolt</td>
<td>1915-1916</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 4th Movement</td>
<td>1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warlord Period</td>
<td>1920-1936</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anti-Japanese War</td>
<td>1936-1945</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil War</td>
<td>1945-1949</td>
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<tr>
<td>Communist Government</td>
<td>1949&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cheong died in 1928</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The most widespread domestic conflict of the 19th century, especially for South China, was the Taiping Rebellion during the 1850s and 1860s. The Taiping use of Christian terminology identified the movement with the foreign threat to China. There were smaller associated uprisings including the Red Turban revolt in Guangdong led by Triads, a society of people united in resistance to the demands of landlords and officials. The insurgents captured the towns of Fatshan and Shunte which they held for a short time but were soon driven out. The memory of these events lingered. After a discussion in Ballarat in 1873, the Presbyterian catechist, Paul Ng Chan Quong, recorded:

July 23. To-day went to several places on the Main-road, and ultimately entered Kwong-Fat’s shop; there were four men there with whom I entered into conversation of the subject of the worship of idols by the Chinese, which was a thing contrary to the dictates of reasons, and also a sin against God. They said, from ancient times it has been asserted ‘that men depend on the power of the gods, and herbs looked to the spring for life;’ but you insist, they said, that we are not to believe in the gods; is that in accordance with reason? At the time that the red-turbaned rebels created insurrection, and invested Sin-woey (Xinhui), the Imperialist forces within the city were not able to hold their position. At this critical juncture, Kwan-tai [the patron ‘saint’ of the dynasty] all of a sudden manifested his divine power, and routed the rebels, and restored peace to the inhabitants. Now in this case, did not help come from the power of the gods? There is no doubt that most Chinese in Victoria saw Christianity as inseparable from

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74 The nominal President of Sun’s first attempt at a Chinese Republic was a man named See, born and educated in Bathurst, New South Wales.
European imperialism and privately saw the work of European missionaries as a device designed to weaken China’s cultural strength and unity. Understanding the values and cultural perspectives of the 19th century Victorian Chinese community requires an appreciation that emigration was a direct consequence of the spread of social, economic and family difficulties, resulting in part from the growth of foreign influence in South China, especially in Guangdong and Fukien Provinces but also further north.

The distrust of Europeans and Christianity was so widespread among Chinese that it motivated Cheong’s decision in 1898 to earn his own income although the decision was also related to the fact that the income of the newly formed, or in Cheong’s words, reformed Anglican Chinese Mission, would not have provided the salary and other benefits he had previously received (Chapter 5). This was linked to the decline in the income of the Missions to the Chinese in Australia following the overseas missionary awakening described in Chapter 5.

Cheong’s action was something of a double-edged sword. On the one hand it freed him from dependence upon foreigners and the constraints of being seen as their hired man. In 1917 he referred to this in a letter to the Federal Land Tax Office:

[I was] a salaried official in receipt of £400 a year but which I gave up 18 years ago because of occasional taunts from my heathen brethren that I preached because I was paid to do so.78

On the other hand, he had to balance his business and missionary activities. The purchase of Pine Lodge at Croydon, in 1899-1900, and the improvements and enlargements that took nearly two years to complete, suggest that he already had substantial savings from the sale of the family business and his mission income prior to 1898.

Despite anti-foreignism many Chinese entrepreneurs insisted that, under the unequal treaties, Chinese were guaranteed the right of free entry to British possessions. Cheong’s approach was simplistic to the point where at times he seems to have thought that all China’s problems could be solved by an Australian ‘open door’ to unrestricted Chinese immigration (Chapter 4). Cheong was deeply offended by the ill-informed rhetoric of those who opposed Chinese immigration and labelled the Chinese an inferior people:

The ignorance which prevails regarding the mental and moral character of the Chinese nation induces me to add a few statements of facts on Chinese Civilization and Attainments especially as epithets such as “semi-civilized” and “barbarians” are

78 Cheok Hong Cheong to Mr R Ewing, Acting Commissioner of Taxation, 30 November 1917.
so frequently levelled at us by the “intelligent” Press and platform, and not infrequently, also, by many of the law-makers themselves.\textsuperscript{79}

The search for a workable identity among immigrants is important when trying to understand Cheong’s approach to the problems facing the Chinese in 19th century Australia. The Chinese were the major non-European immigrant group to take part in the ongoing British invasion of Australia and they represented the same potential threat to colonial European self-image as foreigners did to China. Although modern Australian history recognises the ‘invasion’ concept underpinning European sovereignty in Australia it was not used by European settlers in Victoria or, for that matter, in any of the British overseas colonies of settlement where indigenous populations were forced aside.\textsuperscript{80} Few Chinese have chosen to place themselves alongside Europeans in the category of invaders of Australia and dispossession of the Aboriginal people. The Chinese-Aboriginal nexus has tended to view the relationship as a fellowship of the oppressed.\textsuperscript{81} Docker illustrates the ease with which Europeans seized the lands of others and promptly ‘nativised’ their conquest:

The experiences of diaspora have complex relations with the history of colonialism. Since the tumultuous events of 1492, European colonists have exhibited a curious contract with history, that wherever they go in the world, and despite the little time they may have been in a new place, and despite themselves having often been victims of colonial contempt and violence, they are not aliens or outsiders from distant continents but the immediate rightful settlers at home in this their new home with the confidence to do immediate injury to those already there or not from Europe or not from the right part of Europe: people who can be immediately designated by the new settlers as aliens or outsiders or not belonging. In these terms diasporic communities can experience racist hostility, disdain and contempt from a majority society. But in the history of settler-colonies diasporic communities — whether European or Asian — are migrants in a more general sense just like the migrants of the majority society; that is, they are colonizers in relation to the colonised and they can be perceived by the colonised as another set of invaders, not brothers and sisters on the margins, not the fellow oppressed and dispossessed. Yet they can also be perceived as fellow subjects of racism, creating commonalities, the attraction of outsiders to fellow outsiders.\textsuperscript{82}

The Chinese were the only group that represented a significant presence against whom the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{79} See Appendix 5.
\item \textsuperscript{80} That is not to say that the issue was not understood and discussed. See The Meeting for Sufferings, (1840), \textit{Tracts Relative to the Aborigines}, London, Edward (A seminal work describing British injustices to indigenous populations in British territories including Australia. Evidence from Australian residents was included).
\item \textsuperscript{81} Edwards, Penny, (2001). Colloquium Report, \textit{Lost in the Whitewash, Aboriginal-Chinese Encounters From Federation to Reconciliation}, 1 December 2000, Australian National University
\item \textsuperscript{82} Docker, John, (1999), ‘Opening remarks’, at Conference, Reconceptualising the Southern Chinese: From Community to Diaspora, Australian National University, 27 February 1999.
\end{itemize}
‘nativist’ insecurity of European-Australians could be directed. There was no equivalent fear of the Aboriginal people whose long-term survival was considered doubtful. The ‘nativist’ myth so beloved of 19th century Australians (exemplified by the formation of the Australian Natives’ Association in 1871) saw a policy of racial exclusion emerge to deter potential challengers to Anglo-European control of Australia.\(^{83}\) It happened to take an anti-Chinese form but was also applied to Pacific Islanders and more broadly to all non-Europeans, people from the Arab-Mediterranean region, and to some southern Europeans.

Just as British settlers insisted on maintaining their values and institutions, Cheong and his closest friends did not resile from their Chineseness although the identity that formed in Victoria was moving further and further from China. Cheong’s sense of law, religion, lifestyle and business dealings were closer to those of a British-European colonist than to those of China.

The images on the next page provide a visual record of multiple identity although not this time in terms of the ‘malediction’ alone. The earliest known image of Cheong, at left, was taken within ten years of his arrival in Australia (i.e. c 1870), shows that he had already abandoned, assuming he had one as a teenager, his Chinese queue (pig-tail). He is wearing a simple Chinese costume. The photograph at right was taken in 1928, just before his death, at the same time as the family group shown at page 156. He is wearing a Chinese costume and the passage of the years is plainly visible. On the basis of the costume in both pictures, right down to the velvet collars, this was his usual practice in private. In public Cheong never wore Chinese costume and, if the image of the family at page 164 is any indication, neither did his family. The portrait of Cheong as a successful businessman in the middle was a commissioned work revealing Cheong’s chosen public image. In the 1901 Federation parade he walked with other Chinese leaders but, while everyone else, including his Methodist colleague, the Rev. James Mouy Ling, wore traditional Chinese costume, he wore conventional European dress.

\(^{83}\) The changing nature of British citizenship during the nineteenth century is discussed in Hall, Catherine Keith McClelland and Jane Rendall. (2000), *Defining the Victorian nation: Class, Race, Gender and the British Reform Act of 1867*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
It often came as a surprise for the children of Chinese immigrants to find their ‘Chinese’ identity challenged when they visited China. Accustomed to thinking of discrimination and prejudice as European failings, they were taken aback to find that, although they were ethnic Chinese, they were a source of amusement. Despite their biological Chineseness, the local people saw them as foreigners, an experience still reported by families visiting China. The Fay family reported:

Members of the Fay family from the Hong Yuen store in Inverell visited Hong Kong and China in the early 1930s. Joyce Sue Fong (nee Fay) recalled her visit to the family’s ancestral village: Well [Dau Tau] was strange at first. All little Chinese children running around with no shoes on and just playclothes. And when we first went there, they all followed us and called us -- you know, how we call people ‘Ching Chong Chinaman’ here. They called us the opposite when we went over there. Because we looked different ... we had English clothes on and they had Chinese clothes on, pants and that. Joyce Sue Fong’s sister, Eileen Cum, added: I can also remember the Chinese kids used to throw stones at us and call us ‘white girl’ -- Ton Yang.\(^8^4\)

An example of the pressure to conform to cultural norms that occurred when emigrants returned to China was described by a 19\(^{th}\) century American missionary:

A young man, a member of the church, came home from California and found that his mother had betrothed him to a heathen woman. The ceremonies were gone through, he utterly refusing to worship the idols and ancestors. He was awakened

one night and found a rope around his neck and his wife trying to strangle him! As she failed in that purpose, she went home to her own family; and now his friends are angry at him because he has driven his wife away, and they are urging and commanding him that he shall worship the idols and ancestors in order to get her back. Another way of getting control over those that return is this; the father or uncles get hold of his money. He, with the filial confidence which the gospel teaches, is ready to trust his friends, and when they get hold of his money, they will only give it to him on condition of his complying with their wishes. I have known an instance where an uncle refused to let a young man have any of his own money to come out from the country to the city to visit the Christians.\textsuperscript{85}

Within the Chinese-Australian identity spectrum others accommodated the dominant culture only when necessary. Cantonese was spoken at home and in business. Men who were outwardly highly conformist and always appeared in European dress showed a different facet of their identity within their families. In many homes traditional dress, traditional furnishings, and wives from China were the normal state of domestic life. Some families were very Australian in public life but sometimes chose to send their Australian-born children to China for their education and on occasion to marry a Chinese to preserve the ethnic heritage of the next generation.\textsuperscript{86} Janis Wilton wrote about some of her contacts with Chinese business people in northern New South Wales:

Within the family circle they adhered to traditional Chinese views and behaviours while in business they adapted to servicing, very effectively, the needs of their overwhelmingly European customers. Behind the scenes, however, storeowners worked through their network of associates which stretched through Sydney and Hong Kong to home villages in Chungan to negotiate the immigration of family members, and to further their business interests. It was here that the cultural and social needs of Chinese employees were looked after. It was here that the mainly young men brought out from China contemplated the strangeness of their new environment and sought to put down foundations for some sort of life. Recollections of the routines involved in working in the stores provided a sense of the specifically Chinese community and traditions which underpinned business and employment practices. Overseas and Australian-born, young Chinese men were provided with jobs, accommodation and food, and worked in an atmosphere permeated by paternalism and a Chinese work ethic.\textsuperscript{87}

An account of families of Chinese ethnic heritage in the northeast of Victoria from the first to the fifth generation reveals a continuing attachment to Chinese food although in almost

\textsuperscript{85} Rev. Dr Andrew Happer, American Presbyterian Mission, Guangzhou to Rev. Robert Hamilton, Convenor, Presbyterian Mission to the Chinese, Melbourne in The Christian Review, October 1877. This comment can be related to the kidnapping of Peng-nam’s youngest child, discussed in Chapter 3.

\textsuperscript{86} Images held by the State Library of Victoria (James Lamsey of Bendigo) and the State Library of New South Wales (Mei Quong Tart) which show both men in European and traditional Chinese dress. One of Ah Mouy’s sons married a Chinese girl in St Peter’s Church, Eastern Hill. Unfortunately she was on a visitor’s exemption certificate and was refused permission to remain in Australia.

all other respects the family appears European. In a delightful article Janet Wu, an American had this to say about Chinese food in China:

The food made us sick. I was depressed to learn that most of what I thought to be Chinese food was actually a kind of Western bastardization. That summer in China, I remember eating mostly entrails and fungus. One gourmet meal left me traumatized. My smiling uncle proudly pointed to the turtles and eels splashing about in the family bathtub. They would be our dinner that night.

Integration should be a two way street with settlers and immigrants accepting each other as equals. Ideals and realities are not always congruent, even in the most sincere and motivated circumstances. Accounts from China show that some missionary families kept themselves apart from the people they were trying to evangelise. Chinese observed that many ‘conversions’ occurred when servants adopted the religion of their employers generating the belief in China that people became Christians not out of real faith but in a desire to keep their job and the income that went with it, hence the expression ‘rice Christians’, a concept that Cheong almost certainly had in mind when he decided to make his own way financially in 1898.

Cheong drew attention to the lack of acceptance of Chinese among Victorian Christians when he mentioned that the catechists were rarely invited into the homes of the European members of the congregations in which they served and were also virtual strangers to the ministers who were their nominal supervisors (Chapter 5).

The picture collections of Australia’s libraries show that Chinese followed other immigrant groups in forming their own ethnically based sporting teams, engaging in in-house entertainments, and pursuing inter-marriage. The separation between Catholics and non-Catholic Christians in sport and entertainment demonstrates that the desire to mix with people of a like mind is not necessarily evidence of racism although it may point to discriminatory practices.

89 A ‘Western bastardisation’ is something of a misnomer. The transformation of food presentations was not limited to Asian cuisine. The most famous such transformation generated the term, the ‘pizza effect’, rusty, old bread topped with a little tomato sauce to make it palatable and softer provided a hearty and inexpensive meal. With growing economic prosperity, many of these émigrés began to put meats, vegetables, and cheeses on their fresh-baked bread and sauce; pizza became a food of a wealthy class of Italian Americans. This Americanized product was now introduced back into Italy; gone was the working-class lunch of stale bread and tomato sauce: the true pizza — a pizza that had always been Italian—had been realized by a slight detour.’ http://litmuse.maconstate.edu/~glucas/archives/000044.shtml
The Cheongs were an ethnic Chinese family with a heritage from which James and his siblings gained psychological strength, exemplified in their retention of their spoken dialect and James’ efforts to master classical written Chinese. Their experience stands in contrast to the upbringing of the Australian photographer, William Wang some of whose reminiscences were cited earlier:

My grandparents on both sides migrated from China to Australia. I call myself a third generation Chinese Australian. I would describe my mother as an assimilated Chinese-Australian because she chose the values of the Australian society by which to bring us up. I can understand why she did this — the Australian way of life had more to offer. It was the dominant culture, there were more possibilities. (Any migrant culture, just by living in an Australian environment, will become Australian sooner or later, to a greater or lesser degree.) The drawback in our case was the Chinese side was denied. As a child it never occurred to me that I was Chinese and of a different race from other Australians.91

If Cheong’s children found their life experience somewhat better than Wang did, a good deal of the credit lies with their parents’ efforts to provide them with the competencies to balance their Chinese heritage with the skills needed to pursue success in mainstream Australia. It is interesting that after Cheong’s death the boys maintained their involvement with China. As shown in Chapter 10 there were visits to China and in the 1940s Caleb was involved in the purchase of furniture from China.

Another of the complexities of identity in a society formed through continuing immigration is the extent to which each newly arrived immigrant group is a time capsule preserving lifestyles, values, etc., that have changed or even disappeared in the old country, i.e., older forms of cultural competency. In the case of the Anglican Chinese Mission the original ethnic Cantonese membership, overwhelmingly Australian-born, found it difficult, in the 1980s and later, to adjust to the introduction of Mandarin for new arrivals from China. When the Missioner (priest-in-charge) urged the introduction of Mandarin language services, the Australians felt resentful of what they saw as a potential denial of their Chineseness.

The same issue has arisen in American Chinese Christian churches.92 The solution in Australia and North America has been the growing use of English-language services,

especially for the younger members. English is, for the Chinese and other non English-speaking immigrant groups in Australia, the inevitable common language.\(^{93}\) Speaking a Chinese dialect, as Reid pointed out, is no longer the vital evidence of Chinese identity. It can be added to appearance as another variable in what constitutes Chinese-ness.\(^{94}\)

Cheong’s sense of Chinese identity and his support of Chinese reform movements was as much about, and in practice inseparable from, his own status and self-identity in Victoria.\(^{95}\) He had, after all, no intention of ever becoming a resident of China or of subjecting himself or his Australian family to a lifestyle dominated by traditional Chinese values. As Ien Ang put it: ‘There are . . . many Chinese identities, not just one.’\(^{96}\) Cheong’s choice was to create his own Chinese Australian identity, to pursue his own career choices and to make his own independent lifestyle decisions.

The Chinese, like the other Australian immigrant communities, have developed multiple responses to the demands of Australianness as they have to what constitutes continuing Chinese-ness. It is not difficult, as noted earlier, to comprehend why some would want to argue that it is biological appearance that constitutes the irreducible minimum of a Chinese identity although what that actually means, all else being equal, is impossible to interpret other than through Docker’s concept of multiple consciousness. Docker uses, instead of identities, the term ‘consciousness’ or a ‘state of inbetweenness’: \(^{97}\)

Diasporas constitute themselves in double or multiple consciousness, of being both here and there, now and then, a state of inbetweenness in relation to a perhaps distant mythological origin and an eschatological or messianic future.\(^{97}\) A person may, therefore, continue to describe themselves, when it suits them, as a Chinese while living a life that is in all respects identical to another person who chooses to identity as an Australian or whatever identity is selected. A similar point has been made by Trocki in discussing his work on the Chinese in Southeast Asia:


\(^{95}\) In her story of the life of the Rev. Ng Pong Chew, of San Francisco, Hoester makes the same analysis, i.e., that Chew rejected the revolutionary approach to reform in China and, like Cheong, avoided any overt support for Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang. Both Chew and Cheong supported the peace movement in China in the hope, unsuccessful as it was to prove, of limiting militarism and warlordism. Hoexter, Corinne K, (1976), From Canton to California: The Epic of Chinese Immigration, New York, Four Winds Press.


It has struck me that many of the old clichés about the Chinese in Southeast Asia, long ago dismissed as ‘orientalist’, ‘colonialist’ and simply as racist by scholars, have re-emerged as elements of the culturist or essentialist explanations for the economic success of the overseas Chinese. I went to a conference on Chinese business history last year in Kuala Lumpur and we spent the entire morning of the first day of the conference debunking a laundry list of stereotypes and clichés such as: Chinese never assimilate and are therefore unreliable as citizens of other states; Chinese are secretive, devious and stubborn; Chinese are good at making money and are natural-born businessmen and traders; Chinese naturally form organizations and combinations; Chinese are loyal to their families and always build their businesses and enterprises around the family; Chinese have a natural tendency to create networks; Chinese are motivated by personal relationships and guanxi and not by ‘objective’ criteria. To this list we added some colonial perceptions from the nineteenth century: Chinese are physical cowards; Chinese are addicted to gambling and opium-smoking; Chinese are hard-working; and Chinese are unfit for governmental positions because they are inherently corrupt. It was refreshing to see these issues systematically killed off at the beginning of the session. It was, however, quite disappointing to hear some of our colleagues who had sat through that session immediately fall back upon those stereotypes when they read their papers. Clearly these people had not read the things written by the historians and anthropologists over the past two decades.

Cheong seems to have demonstrated ‘multiple consciousness’ throughout his life. His business correspondence provides examples. When writing to Christians, he used a different discourse to that used in his business letters. In the business letters there are differences between those to business ‘equals’ and those to tradesmen. His letters to ‘English’ friends show a more culturally critical content than those to strangers. His letters on controversial issues are quite different in tone to his general correspondence. His exchange with Premier Gillies in 1887-1888 showed open sarcasm and exasperation with the Premier’s position or, perhaps more closely, contempt for the evasions and ‘spin’ of a politician (Chapter 8).

The fulcrum of modern Australian identity seems now, as it was in Cheong’s time, to be at the intricate meeting point of globalisation and familialism. The possibility of the overall 19th century Victorian Chinese community maintaining purely Chinese values and a separate lifestyle was unlikely in the diversity of cultures present in the colony and the process of integration as the different ethnic and cultural groups continuously adapted to the local situation.

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The myth of what constituted Chineseness in China gave way to the myth of Chinese-Australianness. Australianness was not the only product of a remaking of identity and its associated reappraisal of myths and legends, or reconstruction of reality. This returns the discussion to the comment by the Rev. Andrew Happer regarding the changed outlook of Stephen Cheong, a Chinese Christian from Victoria, upon his return home. Whatever his Chineseness was before he left, and during much of his life in Australia, he was deeply troubled and resentful when his relatives expected him to slot back into a situation in which they had remained unchanged. If that was true of Stephen Cheong, how much greater were the lifestyle adaptations made by Cheok Hong Cheong, not least his decision to make Australia, or more particularly, the Colony and later State of Victoria, his home.

Great care has been taken throughout this thesis to avoid placing Cheok Hong Cheong on a pedestal, as a kind of superstar in the Chinese community or, on the other hand, to suggest that his life was unexceptional. There are obvious dangers in moving from the particular to the general, i.e., assuming Cheong’s experiences to be characteristic of all members of the Chinese community or, on the other hand, assuming that he shared all the disadvantages of his countrymen.

The thesis has emphasised that his English language education, combined with the elocution lessons he undertook at Scotch College, Melbourne, during 1873 and 1874, was fundamental to the role he created for himself. He showed his awareness of this personal asset as he showed in a letter to the Victorian Premier on the opium issue in 1889.

Sir, In the course of my duties as Superintendent of the Church Missions to the Chinese in Victoria I have been implored on all hands by victims of the opium habit to use my English tongue on their behalf in an endeavour to persuade the government to prevent the introduction of that noxious Drug except for medicinal purposes. His eloquence in public speaking was attested to by many contemporaries, European and Chinese. No other Chinese could compare with his ability to present apologetic lectures to sell-out audiences in Melbourne and Sydney. As the many letters cited in the thesis have shown, he had a retentive memory and a capacity to attend to details that made him a formidable tactician in his public affairs, whether in challenging governments, confronting church leaders or dealing with business matters.

100 Not related to Cheok Hong Cheong.
102 Cheok Hong Cheong to the Hon. Duncan Gillies, Premier of Victoria, 23 July 1889.
His intellectual gifts did not always result in tolerance with those with whom he disagreed. He had a tendency to self-righteousness, showed an equally strong tendency to resent any slight, however trivial, and could be unforgiving as evidenced by his rejection of the long delayed peace-making letter from the Rev. E J Barnett quoted in towards the end of Chapter 5.

On the other hand, as mentioned in Chapter 6, he could display great generosity of spirit, especially in business dealings. It cannot be said that he ever displayed much of a sense of humour. He was intense, focussed, and perhaps borrowed some of the legendary dourness of Scots Presbyterianism.

While he seems to have escaped the worst kinds of discrimination, beneath the surface appearance to reveal the deep passion that drove him and that arose, in very large part, from his analysis, and understandable resentment, of the injustice of the circumstances in which the Chinese were placed in Victorian and after 1901, Australian community life.

While being cautious about overstating the contribution of individuals in history, it is impossible not to see Cheong as a unique figure who did far more as a community leader than almost any of his contemporaries. He was a witness of key developments in Australian history and although his contribution has been seen, as it were from a distance, this thesis seeks to bring him into the mainstream.

The structure of the thesis has sought to place Cheong, as stated in the Introduction, in the context of the emergence of Victoria as a goldrush driven and dynamic British colony of settlement. Chapter 1 outlined the importance of the goldrush in transforming a thinly populated southern grazing district of New South Wales into a self-governing British colony with an energetic modern industrial economy that was to influence Australian business for more than a century and played an important part in the growth of the organised labour movement. Chapter 2 provided insights into the immigration of Chinese and the circumstances, from personal accounts, that encouraged more than 40,000 Chinese to come to Victoria in the course of the second half of the 19th century. In terms of European settlement Chapters 1 and 2 cover familiar ground but the two chapters present new insights from the Chinese perspective, including personal accounts, that have not previously been examined. It is against that background that the story of Cheong is then considered through his participation in the major events affecting the Chinese in Victoria and in the broader Australian context after 1901. It should not be forgotten that he was a
member, and often the leader, of almost every national Chinese delegation to the Federal Government between 1900 and the time of his death.

The thesis has tried to emphasise his distinctive contribution while still placing him firmly within the community with which he was so strongly identified, not only in his leadership activities but in his everyday life. It is also, perhaps, important to add that this is an account of an individual who spent almost all his life, from 1872 onwards, in the inner metropolitan area of Melbourne. It is primarily a history centred in the experiences of Chinese in that city, in the Colony and then the State of Victoria and that can be seen most clearly in Chapters 3-10. While Cheong did visit Sydney and was a welcome speaker there, his interstate visits were rare occurrences and peripheral to his overall lifestyle and achievements. Although he exercised a national role, it was not a major part of his life and should not be interpreted as placing him in the forefront of a non-existent Australian-Chinese movement. It was more an outcome of his leading role in Victoria and the simple fact that until the Federal Parliament moved to Canberra in 1927, Melbourne was the seat of government for Australia.

It will be apparent in reading the successive chapters that Cheong was part of the wider historical issues involved in the emergence of Australia’s distinctive approach to immigration policy. Unusually among the nations of the world, Australia has actively recruited immigrants for nearly one and a half centuries. In the process, at least two strands stand out. The first was the preference for most of the past 150 years for British immigrants and, when that source started to decline, for European immigrants generally. The second has been the White Australia Policy (WAP), designed as a consequence of the British/European preference but applying a racist strand that has become, as Cheong prophesied, a national source of shame and an international source of embarrassment. That embarrassment resulted in the progressive dismantling of the WAP after the 1960s and its total disappearance by the 1980s. Although the WAP affected all non-European immigrants the reality was that as only the Chinese ever sought to come to Australia in any numbers, it was seen by them as being primarily an anti-Chinese policy and that, in turn, led the Chinese to the not unreasonable conclusion that Anglo-Celtic-Australians viewed them as second-rate human beings. It is against the anti-Chinese position generally, and the concept of lesser humanity in particular, that Cheong’s efforts were primarily directed.
The Board of Management of the Chinese Mission of the Epiphany reported the passing of Cheok Hong Cheong on 20 June 1928 at the age of 75 years. The Minutes of 30 June 1928 record,

We owe so much to Mr Cheong. Undeterred by adverse circumstances he persevered in his work for his fellow countrymen and it is to him that we chiefly owe the splendid position of the Mission, both from the spiritual side and from the financial standpoint.

Under Cheong’s leadership the Anglican Chinese Mission was one of a number of institutions that helped to sustain a form of Chinese cultural identity in Victoria. Perhaps the best assessment of Cheong’s contribution was made in a letter to the Rev. James Cheong by the Dean of Melbourne in 1928 shortly after Cheong’s death:

My dear Mr. Cheong
I was deeply grieved that I was far away when your note arrived at the Cathedral this morning and that at the hour of the funeral I was bound by an engagement in the City. Your father was much in my wife’s thoughts and my own at home. We cannot regret that the period of his suffering has mercifully been curtailed. Pain and anguish were written so visibly on his face when I last saw him that it was impossible to pray for his long continuance in life under such conditions of physical discipline. There are few men in Melbourne who have served not only their own people, but the community at large, who will leave behind them a memory of so affectionate regard as your father. His wonderful mastery of our tongue, his measured speech and balanced judgement, his fatherly kindness, deeply impressed me from the first day that I met him. A veritable patriarch to his own people is taken from them in him. To me he always seemed to be a stately embodiment of the dignities of an ancient Empire at its best. East and West can meet and do meet. He was the equivalent to some of the truly fine old gentlemen whom I know on ancient estates near Windsor at Home in the early years of my ministry. He will live in my memory as a perfect Christian gentleman, whose gifts and character transcended all national distinctions, while at the same time he devotedly laboured for his own people from the such perils as the opium curse and also for their whole material and spiritual uplift. Please convey the affectionate sympathies of my wife and yourself to all in your home.

What makes Cheong’s story particularly important, in the broad sweep of Australian history, is the role that he played in resisting anti-Chinese feeling in years from the 1880s onward, in his representations to colonial politicians during the lead-up to, and achievement of, the federation of the Australian colonies in 1901. He was not the only Chinese in the immediate pre- and post-Federation efforts to bring about some

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103 One example is his paper on Chinese Civilisation and Attainments first published in The Age, 6 May 1893 although it was originally drafted in 1888. A letter to William Anderson, a Member of the Victorian Legislative Assembly mentions an interview with Premiers during the 1890 Federation Conference in Melbourne. Cheok Hong Cheong to W Anderson MLA, 25 February 1890. See also mention of Cheong in Yong, C F, (1977), The New Gold Mountain, Richmond SA, Raphael Arts, pp 29-31.
amelioration of the injustices perceived by the Chinese community but he was undeniably a leading figure.

Federation, in the form of the White Australia Policy, was an ethical issue, involving attitudes that continue to exert a profound influence on the immigration policies of Australia. As an issue in the shaping of Australian foreign and defence policies, the racism implicit in the White Australia Policy and its unfair discrimination against non-Europeans in general but especially the Chinese contributed to a long-term, and continuing, dilemma in Australia’s relations with its neighbours in Asia that is far from being resolved as Australia moves into the 21st century.

The Chinese-European interface may be only a small part of the overall history of Australia after the European invasion in 1788 but its influence is certainly disproportionately more important than numbers might suggest. Its significance lies in the demonstration of the point that Cheong himself made, that a society that tolerates injustice to any of its people risks exposing all of society to injustice in due course. It also reminds Australians that it is impossible to ignore its place in a neighbourhood in which China is an omnipresent political, economic and cultural element.

But there is more than a discussion of Australia-China relations implicit in Cheong’s endeavours. His focus on issues affecting Chinese in Australia points to Australia’s geographic location. It directs the attention of Australians to the necessity of recognising and accommodating the values and aspirations of all the countries and cultures in this part of the globe. In recognising and arguing that Australia’s location is not European and needs to be capable of multiple and diverse responses Cheong merits recognition.

Cheong built his personal identity and his place in Victorian society around familialism and measured integration. His objective, as he told Maria Moriarty, was to secure financial security and solve ‘the question of a retiring allowance and provision for the family’. To the end of his days he was accepted by the Chinese community, and by Europeans, as someone who was Chinese although his Chineseness was not the kind of identity that was usually identified with Victoria’s Chinese community. Yet whatever his cultural patriotism or psychological identification in relation to China itself it did not extend to leaving Australia or rejecting its central institutions, i.e., his Australianness was as pronounced a part of his identity as his Chineseness even though he may not have

104 Cheok Hong Cheong to Mrs Maria Moriarty, 2 May 1906.
recognised that in himself.

In terms of domestic identity Cheong’s life should encourage Australians to refrain from seeking to impose any specific model of identity on individuals but to allow them to come to terms with society in their own way. This implies, incidentally, more than is encompassed by cliches such as unity in diversity, or multiculturalism, or simple tolerance. It demands a fundamental agreement about what constitutes the fundamental and non-negotiable rights of individuals in Australia to be different to their neighbours. It also implies, as a corollary, the individual’s need to appreciate the need for balancing rights with other individuals who together make up modern Australia.
Appendices
Appendix 1

THE CHINESE QUESTION
IN AUSTRALIA
1878-9

Edited by
L. KONG MENG
CHEOK HONG CHEONG
LOUIS AH MOUY
Melbourne, F.F. Bailliere
1879

1. In the present grave emergency, we appeal, as natives of China and as citizens of Victoria, to the reason, the justice, the right feeling and the calm good sense of the British population of Australia, not to sanction an outrage upon the law of nations and not to violate the treaty engagements entered into between the Government of Great Britain and the Emperor of China.

2. Let us remind the people of these colonies of the circumstances under which emigration from China commenced. Up to the year 1842, we lived in contented isolation from the rest of the world. The nations of Western Europe—England more particularly—said, ‘This shall not be.’ By force of arms, a treaty was extorted from the Government at Pekin, in virtue of which a certain number of Chinese ports were thrown open to British commerce. In 1844, the United States demanded and obtained similar privileges. In 1860, the English and French Governments, acting in concert, overcame the resistance which his Imperial Majesty and the chief Mandarins of the country offered to an extension of these extorted rights, and they dictated a second treaty at Pekin, which guaranteed to the people of both nations the utmost freedom of ingress and egress, and which reciprocally bestowed upon the Chinese a similar freedom as regards the territories of France and the British Empire. In 1868, the Government of the United States concluded with the Emperor of China what is known as the ‘Burlingame Treaty,’ which assured to Americans the same access to our country which was already enjoyed by the English and French, and which—as was only just and equitable—opened the United States to Chinese immigration. And we beg it to be particularly remembered that this outflow of our population was never sought for by us. Western powers, armed with the formidable artillery with which modern science has supplied them, battered down the portals of the empire; and, having done so, insisted on keeping them open. They said, in effect, ‘We must come in, and you shall come out. We will not suffer you to shut yourselves up from the rest of the world. We want to inoculate you with our enterprise, and to bring you inside the great family of nations. We wish you to read our Scriptures, which say, ‘God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth.’ We are all his children. Let us draw together the ties of commercial amity, and live and do business together like friends and brethren. Throw down the barriers which have separated you for so many ages from the Aryan race; adopt our example.’
3. Well, we did so. We learned that there were vast portions of the earth’s surface which were almost destitute of inhabitants, and which were capable of supporting the redundant millions of Europe and Asia. Your missionaries came among us, and read from your Scriptures beautiful precepts like those of Confucius and Mencius. They spoke to us of the brotherhood of man, and told us that the foundation principle of the social religion of Englishmen was this—‘Ye shall do unto others as ye would that they would do unto you.’ And this, also, is the sentiment of our own Great Teacher. Therefore, when we heard, about five and twenty years ago, that there was a great continent nearly half as large again as China, and containing only a few hundreds of thousands of civilized people thinly scattered around the coast; that it was rich in the precious metals and very fertile; and that it was only a few weeks’ sail from our own country, numbers of Chinese immigrants set out for this land of promise. They come to work, not to beg or to steal. They relied upon the friendliness and the protection of the Government of the British empire, because the convention signed at Tien-Tsín by their Excellencies Lord Elgin and Prince Kung solemnly guaranteed our countrymen free admission to all parts of the territory of Her Britannic Majesty. But the new comers relied also on the Christian principles of European settlers in Australia. We feel sure that such an enlightened people as the English, after having made war upon us for the purpose of opening China to Western enterprise, and of spreading European civilization in Eastern Asia, would eagerly welcome the arrival of some thousands of frugal, laborious, patient, docile, and persevering immigrants from the oldest empire in the world. Judge, then, of our painful disappointment, our astonishment, and our sorrow at what followed. An encampment of Chinese was formed on a newly-found goldfield in the Ovens district, known as the Buckland. They were laborious and inoffensive men, who wished to live at peace with their British neighbours, and to pursue their avocation as gold miners quietly and orderly, like good citizens and law-fearing colonists. But what followed? They were set upon by other diggers, chased from their claims, cruelly beaten and maltreated, their tents plundered and then burnt down. We do no think this was doing as you would be done by.

4. If such a thing had happened in China—if a number of English miners had been subjected to such a cruel and wanton outrage, every newspaper in Great Britain would have been aflame with indignation; your envoy at Pekin would have demanded prompt reparation and adequate compensation; and if this had not been acceded to, some men of war would have been ordered up to the mouth of the Pei-Ho. Our Emperor and his Mandarins would have been reminded of the solemn obligation they were under to be faithful to their treaty engagements, and they would probably have been lectured on the barbarous and scandalous conduct of those who had insulted, despoiled, and maltreated peaceful and industrious foreigners. Yet no atonement was offered to the poor Chinese diggers who were violently expelled from the Buckland, who were plundered by the stronger and more numerous race; and who, in some instances, lost their lives owing to the injuries they received. We cannot help saying that proceedings of this kind are very disagreeable evidences of that brotherly love which is inculcated by your teachers of religion and your moralists, and which is also taught by our own Confucius.

5. Then, again, what are we to think of the strong measures which are being resorted to for the purpose of excluding Chinese sailors and stokers from steamers trading to and between Australian ports? What would be said of our own countrymen at home were they to have recourse to such acts of violence and injustice? A great part of the
coasting trade of China is transacted by English vessels.
The freights they earn are obtained from Chinese shippers; but none of these have ever proposed that these vessels be manned by Chinese sailors. Might they not do so as reasonably, or as unreasonably, as Australians combine to prevent the latter from being employed in the intercolonial trade? Surely, justice is justice, right is right, and fair play is fair play, all the world over. The laws of morality do not vary with the variation in the degrees of latitude; and if it be lawful for the Englishman, with his skill, his experience, and his scientific inventions, to compete with our countrymen in china, it must be equally lawful for the Chinaman, with his inferior knowledge of western arts and inventions, to compete with Englishmen in Australia.

6. It cannot be denied that our countrymen have been good colonists. Had it not been for them, the cultivation of vegetables, so indispensable to the maintenance of health in a hot climate like this would scarcely have been attempted in the neighbourhood of some of the goldfields; and the mortality of children would have been very much greater than it really has been. Lease or sell half an acre of apparently worthless land to a small party of Chinamen, and, if there is access to any kind of water or manure, they will transform it, by their system of intensive husbandry, into a most prolific garden, and will make it yield such a rapid succession of crops as will excite the astonishment and admiration of European market-gardeners. As fishermen and itinerant fishmongers, our countrymen have been equally serviceable to the community; and as hawkers of all kinds of useful wares, they are indefatigable, cheerful, obliging, and patient. Unhappily for themselves, this class of dealers is now subjected to severe rebuffs, to angry vituperation, and to threats of personal violence from many members of the working-classes, who forbid their wives to deal with them, and endeavour to wreak upon the inoffensive Chinese hawkers the animosity which is entertained against the A.S.N. Company. Surely such conduct as this is unworthy of a great, free people, and especially one which owes so much of the prosperity of its mother country to the fact that it has been, for many centuries past, the refuge and the asylum of foreigners flying from religious persecution and political oppression in their own countries. In this way, its woollen, crape, and silk manufactures were established by fugitives from the Netherlands and from France; and thus its hospitality to strangers has been twice blessed. It blessed those whom it welcomed to its shores, and it blessed its own industries by the arts and processes which these aliens communicated to their hosts. And if an island as small as the United Kingdom made no demur about opening its arms to all comers, and was not afraid of the competition of these exiles, but greeted them as fellow-workers, surely there is room enough in this large continent—many portions of which can never be cultivated by European labour—for some, at least, of the redundant population of China. That country is estimated to contain not much less than 2,000,000 square miles of territory, and 400,000,000 of people. Australian comprises an area of close upon 3,000,000 square miles, and it contains no more than 2,100,000 white people, and a few thousand blacks. In our own land, millions of men, women, and children—yes, millions—think of the horror and pity of it!—have died of starvation during the last year; and, in the face of these facts, would you seek to debar us from participating in the abundance with which a bountiful Providence—or, as our Master Confucius says, the most great and sovereign God—rewards the industrious and the prudent in this country? Did man create it, or did God? And if it be His work, then can it be disputed that it is open to all who cannot obtain the means of subsistence in their own country, and who will faithfully conform to the laws of this? You do not endeavour to exclude Germans, or Frenchmen,
or Italians, or Danes, or Swedes. There are men of all these nationalities here. Then why are Chinese colonists to be placed under a ban?
7. Are we an inferior race? No one can say so who knows anything of our history, our language, our literature, our government, or our public and private life. China had reached a very high stage of civilization when Britain was populated by naked savages. The art of printing, the use of gunpowder, and the mariner’s compass were known to us centuries before they were re-invented by Europeans. We had instituted so excellent a system of government that it continued for 2,000 years without a revolution, and without occasioning the discontent which begets rebellion. Our administrative machinery is admitted to be the most complete and efficient ever organized, and all appointments to the public service are made after competitive examinations; so that merit and ability are the indispensable qualifications for office. In fact, if you will read what one of your own countrymen (Mr. Meadows) has said about the causes of the wonderful duration of the Chinese empire, the historical records of which go back 4,000 years, you will find them to be these:—
1. The universal acceptance of the principle that the nation must be governed by moral agency, in preference to physical force.
2. The no less universal conviction that the services of the wisest and ablest men in the nation are essential to its good government. And,
3. The system of civil service examinations by which this result is arrived at. Can as much be said on behalf of communities which do not hesitate to look down upon us as pagans and barbarians?

8. In the next place, ours is a well-educated people. Indeed, it is but seldom that you could discover a Chinaman incapable of reading, writing, and ciphering. Can you assert the same of all English and Irish men? Let it be remembered, also, that our people are not educated at the expense of the State, or the municipality. Parents pay for the education of their own children; and the poorest person in the land would be ashamed to bring up his offspring in ignorance. All education is based on religion and morality. Pupils have to commit to memory the sublime precepts of Confucius and Mencius; and the duty of carrying them into practice is earnestly impressed on their minds. Some of these precepts are subjoined:—

‘What you do not like, when done to yourself, do not do to others.’

‘Benevolence is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great exercise of it is in loving relatives. Righteousness is the accordance of actions with what is right, and the great exercise of it is in honouring the worthy.’

‘Happy union with wife and children is like the music of lutes and harps. When there is concord among brethren, and harmony is delightful and enduring.’

‘Respect the old and be kind to the young. Be not forgetful of strangers and travellers.’

‘Honour the worthy, maintain the talented, and give distinction to the virtuous.’

‘If men of virtue and ability be not confided in, a State will become empty and void.’

‘Benevolence is the tranquil habitation of man, and righteousness is her straight path.’

‘The root of the empire is in the State; the root of the State is in the family; the root of the family is in the person of its head. There are many sources, but the source of the parents is the root of all others. There are many charges, but the charge of one’s self is the root of all others.’
'If a man himself do not walk in the right path, it will not be walked in by his wife and children.'

9. These are only a few out of thousands of wise-maxims and pious precepts which are daily taught in every school throughout the length and breadth of China. Not only so, but the loftiest and wisest principles of government, of social polity, of political economy, of metaphysics and morals, of domestic regulation and personal conduct, are also inculcated at that period of life when the heart and the intellect are the most susceptible of such beneficial lessons. The young are instructed that ‘all things are according to heaven;’ that God, ‘confers happiness on the good, and misery on the evil;’ that ‘the doctrines of heaven are opposed to selfishness;’ that ‘of ten thousand evils, lewdness is the chief;’ and that ‘of one hundred virtues, filial piety is the first.’

10. And yet the people who are thus educated are stigmatized as ‘ignorant pagans’ and ‘filthy barbarians’ by persons who have never been in China: who know nothing of its moral, intellectual and social life, and who form hasty judgements and entertain violent prejudices against its people from a very slight acquaintance with immigrants. Although we deplore as much as any fellow-colonist that immorality does exist amongst Chinese residents, at the same time we would unhesitatingly assert that it does not exist to a greater extent than amongst the European population. In fact, Mr. Hayter, the Government statist, assures us that, on an average, criminality is less prevalent among the Chinese than among the European population here.

11. Nothing, we submit, can be more unreasonable, unjust, or undeserved, than the clamour which has been raised against the Chinese by a portion of the people of this colony; for we refuse to believe that that clamour expresses the opinions and feelings of the great bulk of the community. Let us put forward a parallel case. Let us suppose that, thirty or forty years ago, when the English nation forced us, at the point of the bayonet and the mouth of the cannon, to open our ports and harbours to British shipping, and our country to British travellers and settlers, that some of our Mandarins, who had been in the habit of reading the English newspapers forwarded to the missionaries in China, had concluded that Great Britain must be a nation of devils, because the atrocities recorded in these publications, day after day, were so horrible and revolting; and that, therefore, the British must be kept out of our country at all hazards—what would have been said? Would not those very newspapers have been loud and vehement in their condemnation of the obvious injustice of identifying the character and conduct of a whole people with those of its criminal classes? Yet this is what is being done in Australia in regard to ourselves.

12. Now, let us see what the English newspapers of 1841-2 told us about the state of society there:— ‘A thousand operatives were employed on the roads in one place, and 5,000, 10,000, 14,000 seemed to be merely waiting for alms or death in others. As usual, crime began to abound. The murders came in batches: horrible poisonings, combination murders, murders for purposes of theft—from the nobleman in his bed, to the sawyer in his pit—abound in the chronicles of the period. New crimes arose, not bearing an immediate relation to the distress, as a vitiated atmosphere produces not only frightful epidemic, but new or aggravated disease of other kinds. Ships were cast away, one after another, from wretches boring holes to sink them in order to obtain the insurance...The abjuration of intoxicating drinks was little more than a set-off against the increased consumption of opium...In the large manufacturing towns, the druggists now employed their spare minutes throughout the week in making up penny or twopenny
packets of opium for sale on Saturdays, when hundreds of poor creatures would come to receive from the long rows on the counter the packets which were to give them stupor until the miserable Monday morning. [footnote credits this information to Miss Martineau’s ‘History of the Thirty Years Peace’ Book V. ]
At this time, thousands of infants were being drugged to death in the manufacturing districts by women in whose charge they had been placed by their mothers, who were at work in factories. At Ashton, the weekly sale of opiates for this purpose, by fifteen dealers, averaged six gallons, two quarts, and one and a half pints. In Preston, twenty-one chemists sold, in a single week, £66 worth of Godfrey’s cordial, child’s preserver, syrup of poppies, and similar compounds. Children were insured in burial clubs, with a view to their being slowly poisoned, so that their parents might draw the money; until it became a common thing for women among the lower classes to say, when speaking of a neighbour’s child, ‘Oh! you may be sure that child won’t live; it belongs to a death club.’ Incendiaryism raged in Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; and in the first-named county there were eighty-nine farm houses and stack-yards given to the flames in two years. Wages there were as low as six shillings per week. Only a few years before, and until the practice was put a stop to by special legislation, boys and girls, from eight to ten years of age, were working in coal mines for ten hours a day. They were naked down to their waists; and around these were fixed an iron chain, with which they drew truck loads of coal along the dark, unwholesome drives and galleries. Children equally young, half-starved, and untaught, were slaving for as many hours every day in factories and work-shops; and in Lincolnshire, and other counties, they were formed into agricultural gangs, sent out to work before daylight in bleak winter mornings, and collected together at night into a barn, under the direction of a white slave-driver.

13. The English papers of that period would also have informed our countrymen that the people of Great Britain were in the habit of knocking down their wives, and of jumping upon them with heavy iron-shod boots upon their feet; that women were sometimes sold in the open market place for a few shillings and a pint of beer; that every article of food and wearing apparel capable of sophistication was adulterated to such an extent, that very stringent laws had to be passed for the protection of the public health; that the streets of every large town and city in the United Kingdom swarmed with women who subsisted on the wages of infamy; that the population of Great Britain was the most drunken population in the world; that the proceedings of its divorce courts denoted the prevalence of great depravity among all classes of society, not excepting the highest; and that the ruffianism of the toughs in the manufacturing and colliery districts was something appalling.

14. Now, if the Emperor of China and his chief councillors had concluded from these undeniable facts that the English were a nation of murderers, opium-eaters, slave drivers, wife-beaters, swindlers, prostitutes and scoundrels, how cruelly they would have wronged a whole people. Yet this is precisely what is done with respect to our own countrymen, concerning whom the utmost ignorance prevails. Read what one of your own historians, Miss Martineau—says concerning it, in 1841:—‘The general notion of China was, and is, of a country dreadfully over-peopled, so that multitudes are compelled to live in boats floating about to pick up dead dogs for food; that they are tyrannized over by a Tartar government, which they would fain be rid of, and by an aristocracy which will permit no middle class; that the government is, on the whole, favourable to the industry and comfort of the people; that the people are easy and
contented; that the rights of property are respected, and that there is a large and wealthy middle class; that literature is the highest pursuit; that the Chinese possess a greater body of literature than Europe can show; and that nothing is known among us of its quality, as it remains wholly unexplored; and that the notion of insulting epithets being applied to our agents, in lieu of their own names, is an utter delusion, arising from ignorance of the fact that the Chinese, having no alphabet, are obliged to express new names by words in their language which approach nearest in sound.’

15. The ignorance thus complained of continues to this very hour; and the vilest epithets are bestowed upon our countrymen by speakers on platforms, who nothing whatever about China or its people; and who condemn a whole nation on account of the vices and crimes of a small minority. Can any language be too strong to employ in protesting against such an outrageous act of injustice? Man for man, we unhesitatingly assert that our countrymen will compare favourably with any European people in morals and manners; in proof whereof refer to Hayter’s statistics on crime, etc.; and that they are superior to the average Englishman in filial affection, in respect for the aged, in honesty, in cheerfulness, and in patient, plodding industry. They are free from moroseness and discontent, very good tempered, grateful for kindness, faithful to their employers, quick to learn, clever to imitate, peaceful, orderly, sober, and methodical.

16. Sir Walter Medhurst, who is well acquainted both with our country and with its language, denounces as false and unmanly the language made use of by those who, in order to fan the evil passions of the crowd, brand us with such epithets as ‘dishonest, treacherous, cowardly, cruel, and degraded.’ He says:— ‘As a matter of fact, and making due allowance for the proportion of evil which must exist in every community, the Chinese regard the writings of their sages with all the reverence which we give to Bibles and liturgies in the West, and, in the main, carry out the excellent principles therein laid down most strictly in their personal relations. How, otherwise, could vast communities exist, as they do in China’s thousand cities—persons and properties secure, peace, happiness, and plenty universal education encouraged, local and general trade flourishing, business contracts sacred, poverty exceptional, and vice only to be found, if sought out, in its own special haunts?’ Then, after enumerating the ‘blots and blisters’ upon society in China, he goes on to remark that there, as elsewhere, these are ‘exceptions, not the rule,’ and that they are apt to attract ‘the observation of the superficial traveller or bookmaker, while he shuts his eyes to, or purposely ignores, the background of the picture, where may be seen the Chinaman as he is at home—an intelligent, patient, hard-working, frugal, temperate, domestic, peace-loving, and law-abiding creature.’ [footnote to Nineteenth Century, for September, 1878.] Are these not the very qualities which are most desirable in a colonist, and in the citizens of a free country? And they are those by which, according to the testimony of a distinguished Englishman, an Oriental scholar, and a gentleman conversant with the subject under discussion, our countrymen are distinguished. He, at least, is an impartial witness to call into court, and the above is his voluntary testimony. No people could desire a better character than Sir Walter Medhurst gives to the Chinese.

17. It is objected that they do not bring their wives and sisters with them. Can it wondered at? We have shown what scandalous treatment they received on the Buckland; and is it to be imagined that, when the news of this atrocity went home to China, any woman of average self-respect would expose herself to be chased through the country by a band of infuriated ruffians, and to see her children burnt to death, perhaps, in
her husband’s flaming tent? Treated as pariahs and outcasts by the people of this great, ‘free’ country, the Chinamen in Victoria have hitherto had but scanty encouragement to invite their wives to accompany or to follow them. Subject to be insulted and assaulted by the ‘larrikins’ of Australia, what Chinaman could be so destitute of consideration for the weaker sex as to render them liable to the same ignominious and contumelious treatment? Do unto us as you would we should do unto you under precisely similar circumstances. We only require, as Sir Walter Medhurst says, to be ‘properly understood and discreetly dealt with, in order to become permanent settlers and valuable allies in the work of developing the resources of this vast territory. As to the dirt and squalor which are to be found in the Chinese quarters of Melbourne and other large towns, we may venture to quote the words of the writer previously referred to, and to assert that the remedy for such evils is a mere question of time and effort. ‘It is not so very long,’ he observes, ‘since Western people were content to exist amidst surroundings fully as wretched, filthy, and obnoxious as anything now observable in Chinese cities; and the reformation which has since proved possible in their case, gives reason to hope that the Chinese are not incapable of a similar regeneration, could similar inducements and opportunities be afforded them. A proof of what is practicable in this respect may, at this moment, be quoted in the Chinese quarter of the foreign settlement of Shanghai, where the arrangements for the public welfare, supported and aided to a great extent by the Chinese population, would do credit to many a European town.’

18. There remains to notice one very influential cause of prejudice against our countrymen in Australia. It seems to be imagined that they will bring down the rate of wages in these colonies, to the detriment of European workmen. Is this a real or a sentimental grievance? Let us look at it all round.

19. That the earnings of the Chinese labourer in his native land are quite inconsiderable by comparison with the rate of wages current in Australia is undeniable. But human nature is human nature all the world over; and the Chinaman is just as fond of money, and just as eager to earn as much as he can, as the most grasping of his competitors. There are Irishmen in this colony who have known what it was to work for four or five shillings a week in the island they came from; but when they emigrate to Victoria, they are not content to put up with lesser wages than they find other farm hands earning.

20. And so it will be, after a very little time, with our own countrymen here. Living among people who have invented thousands of artificial wants, and thousands of means of gratifying them, the expenditure of the Asiatic will soon rise to the European level, because his habits and his mode of living will approximate to those of his neighbours; and, as it is, it cannot escape the observation of persons who have been brought much into contact with the Chinese in Victoria, that the diet of such of them as are tolerably prosperous becomes more generous and costly in proportion to the improvement of their circumstances, and that those who marry and settle here conform to British methods of housekeeping, and are not less liberal and hospitable than their European fellow-colonists.

21. Now, in this broad territory there is ample room and scope for all; and there are numberless industries for which our countrymen are peculiarly fitted, and in the pursuit of which they would contribute to the prosperity and advantage of the whole community. In spite of the prejudices entertained against them in California, the evidence taken before a committee appointed by Congress to inquire into the question,
proved incontestably that they had been of immense service to the country. Without Chinese labour it would have been impossible to construct the Union Pacific Railway, to carry on many of the manufactories established in that State, or to obtain anything like an adequate supply of domestic servants.

22. In the farm, the factory, the kitchen, the workshop, and the laundry, they have proved invaluable. They have been found to be sober, assiduous, apt, docile and praiseworthy. Their greatest enemies and calumniators were the idle, the dissolute, and the drunken; men who insisted upon receiving very high wages for working during three days of the week, and who devoted the other three to dissipation and debauchery. To such persons, the patient, plodding habits of the Chinamen, always at his post, never loafing about, never in liquor, and never plotting and caballing to drive his employer into a corner, and extort higher wages from him, were an intolerable offence. And thus our countrymen in San Francisco were cordially detested and cruelly maltreated by the ‘bummer,’ the ‘hoodlum,’ and the stump-orator. These have raised a violent outcry against the industrious and inoffensive Asiatic, and have been foremost in demanding his immediate expulsion from the country; no matter at what cost to some of its leading industries. For, exposed, as many of the Californian manufacturers are, to a severe and unqualified competition with those of the Eastern States, where pauper labour is employed, numbers of factories on the Pacific Coast must have been closed had it not been that their owners were able, by engaging American labour for the superior, and Chinese for the inferior processes, to hold their own against their rivals in the Atlantic States, who were glutting the Western market with their own unsaleable stocks.

23. In Mr. Hepworth Dixon’s ‘White Conquest,’ he tells us how boys at play in the streets of Sacramento desert from their sports to hurl stones at our unoffending countrymen as they proceed to and from work. He says:— ‘The habit of looking on a yellow face as scum and filth has grown up with these lads from their cradles, just as the habit of looking on a black face used to grow up with Georgian and Virginian lads. Born in the Golden State, these boys have seen, since they could see at all, their yellow neighbours treated like dogs—pushed, shouldered, cuffed, and kicked by every white. At home they see their Chinese servant treated like a slave. At church they hear him branded as a pagan. Never since their birth have they known a Chinese resent an insult and return a blow. Where, then, is the risk of pelting such a weak and helpless butt? The boy’s father seems to take his view of the affair. Banter and argument are equally thrown away on him. John is a drudge, a waif and stray, without a public right. The child, he rather thinks, pays John a compliment by trying to crack his skull.’

24. Such is the statement of a writer who entertains strong prejudices against our countrymen; but, nevertheless, cannot close his eyes to the fact that they are the victims of base, brutal, and cowardly usage at the hands of a great and powerful people, who prefaced their Declaration of Independence with the following impressive words:— ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that, among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. What an instructive commentary on these high-sounding phrases is the practical conduct of these preachers of the doctrine of equality! Our countrymen are treated by them as slaves and outcasts, and are expected to regard it as an honour when their heads are broken by the Christian American. In ‘pursuit of happiness,’ Chinese emigrate to the comparatively unpeopled regions of the Western States, hoping to enjoy ‘life and liberty’ in what professes to be a land of freedom, and they find
themselves subject to every kind of insult and outrage. What are they to think of your religion, your morality, and your legal enactments, which, if they do not sanction, do not, at any rate, prevent such barbarous proceedings in a civilized country?

25. Let us see what one of our countrymen thought of them, as indicated by a little incident recorded by Mr. Hepworth Dixon in the work previously quoted from. A gentleman in San Francisco related to him the following anecdote:—‘Only the other day, in our rainy season, when the road was fifteen inches deep in Montgomery-street, a yellow chap, in fur tippet and purple satin gown, was crossing over the road by a plank, when one of our worth citizens, seeing how nicely he was dressed—more like a lady than a tradesman, rank on the plank to meet him, and, when the fellow stopped and stared, just gave him a little jerk, and whisked him with waggish laugh into the bed of slush. Ha! Ha! You should have seen the crowd of people mocking the impudent (!) heathen Chinese as he picked himself up in his soiled tippet and satin gown!... No white man can conceive of the impudence of these Chinese. Moon-face picked himself up, shook off a little of the mire, and, looking mildly at our worthy citizen, curtseyed [sic] like a girl, saying to him in a voice that every one standing around could hear, ‘You Christian; me Heathen. Good-bye.’

26. Now, the Americans and the English base their religion, we believe, on the New Testament; and will anyone be good enough to tell us which acted most in accordance with the precepts of your sacred book—the Christian who perpetrated such a wanton and unprovoked outrage upon a respectable stranger, or the poor ‘heathen’ who, when he was reviled, reviled not again, and the calmness of whose well-governed temper could not be roused to passion by this dastardly and malicious assault? If acts like these are an outcome of your Christianity, let us entreat you to send no more missionaries to China for the purpose of converting or perverting our countrymen. They have their fair share of faults, but a native of Pekin or of Hang-choo would be quite incapable of such shameful conduct to a well-dressed foreigner as that which is recounted above. The Rev. W. A. Loomis, in a book entitled ‘Confucius and the Chinese Classics,’ after quoting many maxims from them relating to morals and manners, makes the following just remarks:—‘No people, who, from childhood to old age are constantly drilled in the study and practice of such rules of etiquette as we have cited, can fail to possess many of the elements of gentlemen; and as we desire not to forfeit a right to that distinction ourselves, we should be careful not to countenance any rude or improper behaviour towards others, whatever may be the language they speak or the garments they wear.’ How this excellent admonition is carried out, will be seen by such incidents as the one just referred to; by the outrageous scene upon the Buckland, previously described; and by the ordinary demeanour and conduct of Europeans towards Chinese, both in America and Australia. We venture to affirm that neither Englishmen nor Americans would dare to behave in this way towards Russian immigrants. And yet these are of the same race as ourselves; only, while our people reached a high stage of civilization many centuries ago, the nomadic Tartars of the steppes have scarcely emerged from barbarism. Shy is the Asiatic Mongol treated so evilly, while the European Mongol meets with courtesy and respect? Is it because the Czar of Russia can set a million of men in the field, and has a powerful navy at his hand; and because the Emperor of China, our august master, is supposed to be feeble and unwarlike? If so, must we conclude that the great Anglo-American and Anglo-Australian peoples are ‘cowards to the strong and tyrants to the weak?’

27. When the anti-Chinese agitation began to assume formidable
proportions in California, the Six Chinese companies, represented by
Yung Wo, Ming Yung, Kong Chow, Hop Wo, Yin Wo and Sam Yap
respectively, issued an address to the American public, to which we
beg to call attention here, for the purpose of showing the excellent
sentiments entertained by our compatriots in America. That document
comments on the fact that there is a constant demand for more and
cheaper labour in California, and then proceeds to say:— ‘The white
labouring men of this country are very angry because the Chinese
obtain employment which they claim belongs to white men alone, and
so they hate the Chinamen, sometimes throw stones at them,
sometimes strike them on the street, and constantly curse them. The
Chinese people cannot return such treatment in the same kind, lest
other nations hearing of such things should ridicule the laws of this
honourable country as of no use.

To prohibit the Chinese from coming to this country is not a difficult
task. Formerly His Imperial Majesty, our august Emperor,, made a
treaty of amity and friendship with the Government of this honourable
country, opening up commercial relations and permitting free
intercommunication between the people of the two countries. This
treaty is in accordance with the law of all nations. And now, if the
Americans do not desire the Chinese to come here, why not go to the
Emperor and ask a repeal of the treaty, or why not limit the number of
immigrants on each steamer to a very few? Then more would return
and fewer would come, and not ten years would elapse before not a
trace of the Chinamen would be left in this great and honourable
country. Would not that be well indeed? But let there be counsel and
consideration. It cannot be said that Chinese labour impoverishes this
country, and are not the customs paid by the Chinese a benefit to this
country? Now, let the Government of the United States propose to the
Government of China a repeal or change of the treaty prohibiting the
people of either country from crossing the ocean, then shall we
Chinese for ever remain at home and enjoy the happiness of fathers,
mothers, wives, and children, and no longer remain strangers in a
strange land. Then the white labourers of this country shall no longer
be troubled by the competition of the Chinese, and our Chinese people
no longer be subjected to the abuses and indignities now daily heaped
upon them in the open streets of this so-called Christian land. If this
can be accomplished, we Chinese will continually offer to the virtue of
this honourable country our deepest gratitude and thanks.’

28. We echo the language of this manifesto, and we say: ‘Let there be
counsel and consideration.’ If you wish to shut out the Chinese from
this part of the British empire, you are bound, by every obligation of
law and justice, to do so in a just and legal manner; that is to say, by
the British Government going to the Emperor of China and asking for
a repeal of the existing treaty. You cannot say to him, ‘You must admit
British subjects to trade and settle in any part of China; but we will not
suffer Chinese subjects to trade and settle in any part of the British
empire.’ If you do this, you step down from your high place among the
nations of the earth, and stoop to conduct of which barbarians would
be scarcely guilty. For what say your great authorities upon
international law? Does not one of them declare that ‘the obligation of
a State to render justice to all others is a perfect obligation, of strictly
binding force, at all times, and under all circumstances. NO state can
relieve itself from this obligation, under any pretext whatsoever. It is
equally binding upon all its rulers, officers, and citizens—in fine, upon
each and every individual member composing the State or body
politic.’ And this obligation, the illustrious Vattel asserts, ‘is more
necessary still between nations than between individuals, because
injustice has more terrible consequences in the quarrels of those
powerful bodies politic, and it is more difficult to obtain redress.’ Now, as the same great writer remarks, ‘It is a settled point in natural law, that he who has made a promise to anyone has conferred upon him a real right to acquire the thing promised—and, consequently, that the breach of a perfect promise is a violation of another person’s rights, and as evidently an act of injustice as it would be to rob a man of his property. The tranquillity, the happiness, the security of the human race wholly depend on justice—on the obligation of paying a regard to the rights of others.’ He follows up the affirmation of these self-evident truths by observing that, ‘as the engagements of a treaty impose, on the one hand, a perfect obligation, they produce, on the other, a perfect right. The breach of a treaty is therefore a violation of the perfect right of the party with whom we have contracted; and this is an act of injustice against him.’

29. This, then, is the position of the Chinese in Australia, relative to British colonists. By a treaty forced upon his Imperial Majesty, our august master, your nation compelled him to throw open the gates of his empire to the people of Western Europe. In return, you bound yourselves to reciprocity. The freedom to come and go, to trade and settle, which you insisted on claiming for yourselves, you also accorded the subjects of his Imperial Majesty. He has fulfilled the first part of the compact, and the trade of Great Britain with China has trebled during the past fourteen years, to say nothing of the indirect commerce transacted with that country via Singapore and Hong Kong. Well, our countrymen begin to emigrate to these colonies, and to seek employment on board of Australian vessels, in the fullest confidence that the second portion of the compact will be carried out, and they are astounded to find that its fulfilment is resisted by the subjects of Her Majesty Queen Victoria in Australia, and that we are routed and hunted down as if we were so many wild beasts. Chinamen are told:—‘You must not work in Australian ships or in Australian factories; you must not earn a livelihood by hawking or by handicrafts in these colonies. You must leave off cultivating gardens, and fabricating furniture, and following the industrial employments you have adopted; and you must either starve, beg, steal, or vanish.

30. In the name of heaven, we ask, where is your justice? Where your religion? Where your morality? Where your sense of right and wrong? Where your enlightenment? Where your love of liberty? Where your respect for international law? Which are the ‘pagans’—you or we? And what has become of those sublime and lofty sentiments of human brotherhood and cosmopolitan friendship and sympathy which are so often on your lips, and are proclaimed so wisely from pulpit, press, and platform?

31. Tze-Kung, one of the disciples of Confucius, asked the latter on a certain occasion, ‘Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one’s life?’ The master answered, ‘Is not reciprocity such a word,’ meaning thereby what was sought by your own Great Teacher, ‘all things whatsoever ye would that men would do unto you, do you even so to them.’ Upon this reciprocity we take our stand. If you renounce it; if you say, ‘might is right, and treaties are not worth the parchment they are written on;’ if you assert that this large and comparatively unoccupied portion of the earth’s surface is to be fenced off from a race of people who are geographically so near to it, and who are so well adapted by nature and temperament for the cultivation of extensive regions of it, from which Europeans will gradually wither away; if you substitute arbitrary violence, hatred, and jealousy, for justice, legality, and right; it may be that you will succeed in carrying your point; it may be that a great wrong will be accomplished by the exercise of sheer force, and the weight of superior numbers; but your
reputation among the nations of the earth will be irretrievably injured
and debased, and the flag of which you are so justly proud will no
longer be the standard of freedom and the hope of the oppressed, but
it will be associated with deeds of falsehood and treachery, with
broken faith, with a violated treaty, with the pitiful triumph of strength
over weakness, of European guile and selfishness over Asiatic sincerity
and confidence, and with conduct which no sophistry can reconcile
with the precepts of your religion, with the canons of your morality,
with the spirit of your laws, with the policy of your wisest statesmen,
with the voice of conscience, and with the character and traditions of
the people of Great Britain.
Appendix 2

Petition to the Chinese Imperial Commissioners to Melbourne
(From The Daily Telegraph, June 1887)

Melbourne 3rd June 1887.

To their Excellencies General Wong Yung Ho and U. Tsing, Chinese Imperial Commissioners.

May if please your Excellencies — We, the undersigned Chinese residents of Melbourne, would avail ourselves of the opportunity of your Excellencies visit to assure you of our loyalty and devotion to the throne and person of our most gracious Sovereign, the Emperor of China, and the great gratification which dictated the policy of His Majesty’s Government in your Excellencies’ mission of inquiry into circumstances, commerce, and condition of our countrymen resident in the islands of the Malayan archipelago and Australia.

And, further, to formally bring under your notice the penalties and disabilities inflicted upon our nation by the law of the land, in the earnest hope that your Excellencies may be pleased to make such representations to the Governments of Victoria and the other Australasian colonies as would lead to the removal thereof.

First, the Poll-Tax. — This, your Excellencies are aware, is a special tax of £10 a-head imposed by the Governments of Victoria and the adjoining colonies, and upon none other than subjects of the Chinese Empire.

We beg to call your Excellencies’ attention to the report in The Daily Telegraph of the 31st ult. of your Excellencies’ interview with the Hon. D. Gillies, Premier of this colony, in which the hon. the Premier is reported as having said that “the Chinese cost this country a considerable sum of money in many ways, their protection was a matter of expense, and the poll-tax was imposed for a compensation.

If that report be correct, we venture to declare that the excuse seems to us as extraordinary as the imposition itself is, in its departure from all the principles of international right and equity.

But, without questioning the correctness of his premises, or the justice of his conclusion, your Excellencies will please note what the Chinese contribute towards the expenses of Government.

Mr Hayter's Year Book shows that the Chinese contribution is greatly in excess of the average contributed by all other nationalities, as the following fact alone sufficiently proves.

From two out of numberless articles of Chinese consumption, the Customs department levies a duty equal to £3 3s. 11d. per head, whereas no article of European consumption is taxed more than at the rate of 10s. a head, whilst the next
highest on the list scarcely reaches 2s. a head.

Your Excellencies’ will see from this that the Victorian Government has taxed us ‘liberally’ enough through the Customs and otherwise, without singling us out for such a yoke of national ignominy and dishonour, which, even in the darker days of the Roman Empire, was only reserved for the vanquished, never for the subjects of a friendly power, to say nothing of one in actual alliance.

Then, in regard to ‘cost’ for our ‘protection’, the same undoubted authority in his criminal statistics shows the population of arrests per 1,000 of the population to be — Chinese, 15.73; all other nationalities, 42.516. Of committals for trial — Chinese 0.15; all other nationalities, 0.97.

The excuse of the ‘Chinese cost’, therefore, your Excellencies will see, has no foundation in fact, and it is quite possible — and, indeed, probable — from the tone of the reply to your Excellencies’ request, that we shall have to entreat your Excellencies’ good offices to lay the matter before the Imperial authorities at home, for the speedy adjustment of this international wrong.

Secondly, — With the result of further harassing and humiliating our people, the laws have been so made that we cannot go outside of the colony on any business without being re-taxed on our return — unless, indeed, we should choose to expatriate ourselves by becoming naturalised British subjects; or else are so initiated into the mysteries of the law as to know that the Customs department will grant ‘tickets-of-leave’ to those who would beg it of them.

And, further, there is such a concert between the adjoining colonies that we cannot cross the borders, on the north and west without being seized upon, as if we were so much contraband goods, and detained in custody until such times as we can find the duty levied upon us.

Your Excellencies can well imagine what an outcry would be raised against Chinese perfidy if a Briton were thus treated in China, and yet such is precisely the treatment meted out to us by the dependencies of the British Crown, in direct violation of all international law and usage, and in contravention of the treaty engagements entered into by the Governments of the two empires.

Thirdly, we complain, not your Excellencies, of the administrators of the law, who, on the whole, deal out justice to us, with becoming, and even praiseworthy impartiality; but it is of the law itself, and some of the authors of it, who, by their objectionable language, have so far incited the ill-feelings of the young and the simple that our tea and vegetable vendors, in the plying of their peaceful avocations, have frequently been subjected to unprovoked and cowardly assaults, so much so that the righteous indignation of the magistrates themselves have oftentimes manifested itself by their expressions of regret that the law does not allow corporal punishment to be inflicted for such bodily injury, and by their desire for such an amendment of the law as would admit of the use of the lash. And it is our earnest conviction, also, that the amendment so much desired would prove a deterrent to that class of offenders.

And we trust that your Excellencies will lend the weight of your official influence to bring it about.
Appendix 3


(From Legislative Council of New South Wales, Vol 4, Minutes of Proceedings of the Conference on the Chinese Question, 1888)

To the Representatives of the Australian Governments in Conference assembled.
Honorable Sirs,

The Chinese residents of Victoria, through this Committee, beg respectfully to approach your honorable Conference in the hope that under the deep sense of responsibility attaching to your present deliberations you may see clearly that there are two sides to this important question. Locally, we have had scant courtesy shown to us subjects of a great and friendly power, and this is probably the experience of our brethren at many Australian ports, but of this we do not speak at present.

We consider the “Cry” of a great influx of Chinese as one of those poor hollow things that time and reflection will cause the generous British mind to feel heartily ashamed of, but at the same time the cruel injustice inflicts under it may be far reaching. “Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth.”

Our own land has no equal on earth for fertility and resources, which bye and bye will cause her to weigh heavy in the scale of nations, and therefore we assure you, honorable Sirs, that the question whether a few stragglers should emigrate from such a stupendous empire like China, is one of perfect indifference to her Government and her people. But the evil treatment of the few that are here or who have been recently turned away from these shores is a different matter altogether. We hope it may not be, but fear it may, that a deep wound has been inflicted that will rankle and bear evil fruit in the near future. Our late Ambassador in London spoke wise words when he said before a British audience, “we look to you and the representatives of your Colonial possessions now in London, to see that these returning Chinese bring nothing home with them but what will promote peace and good will between the two countries — no memories of suffering, injustice, or exceptional treatment.” And we commend these words to the thoughtful consideration of the Conference.

In a vivid speech in the history of your own great country, it was not so much the severance of the political tie which bound the American colonies to the Mother Country, as the cruel heritage of strife that was left to rankle, causing sore grief to the wide men of both lands. But for this heritage it is possible that today they might have been so united by common feeling as to stand out to view as the common arbitrators of the world. Notwithstanding the impassioned protests of a few splendid men the strife was entered on with a light heart by the ruling statesmen of the day, and though as yet we have had no Colonial Statesmen to
protest against the injustice we have been subjected to, yet in this connection we are glad to admit that in our intercourse with the best class of Colonists we have found amongst them a feeling of repugnance at, and an utter detestation of, the treatment which our countrymen have received at the hands of the various Colonial Governments.

We affirm that the Chinese are a peaceable, industrious, and a law-abiding people, and that they are not insensible of, nor ungrateful for, the protection of wise laws justly administered. What they do complain of is —
1. That the laws have been strained and tortured to oppress them.
2. That the laws have even been broken to inflict harsh treatment and injustice.
3. That by the hasty and violent conduct of various Colonial Governments which should have held the scales of justice evenly balanced, the more ignorant portion of the population have been incited and encouraged to outrage the feelings and show contempt and hatred to our countrymen.

We think all this is bad and foolish for these reasons.

That a time may come, nay probably, will come sooner than is supposed, when the presence and power of China as a great nation will be felt in these seas, and it lies with you to say, as wise men or otherwise, if this is to be for good or evil. That injustice, inhumanity, and violence afford a poor foundation to build up the life of a young nation, and however popular in the meantime it may be with the unthinking multitude, yet we are most sure which weapons mean disaster in the future to the users.

The stringency of the laws at present regulating immigration from China effectually preclude many being added to the population even if it were much desired. We, however, do not hesitate to confidently affirm that were the ports open and free, the Chinese population of Australia would always remain an insignificant portion of the whole.

Finally, it is our belief that the matter your honorable Conference has in hand is weighty — no mere family quarrel, but one that touches most intimately international rights and obligations — dealing as it does with the stranger within your gates. It cannot be decided by a wave of the hand, nor by heated public orations.

The Supreme Court of one Colony has declared, “it is not aware that a course of conduct as has been pursued in regard to the Chinese has ever been adopted at any period of our history.” Imperial Statesmen have counselled you that friendship with China was well worth purchasing at the cost of a little sacrifice. We trust, therefore, that for the sake of the two great countries whose interests are involved that the dictates of humanity and justice may rule your deliberations, and that you will be guided to remember that it is righteousness alone which exalteth a nation, but that sin is the reproach of any people.

We have the honor to remain your most obedient servants, For and on behalf of the Committee of Chinese residents, Melbourne
Cheok Hong Cheong, Chairman, Li Ah Mong, W Shi Gun, James Moy Ling, Sun Suey Shing
TO THE PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE OF VICTORIA.
The committee of Chinese residents¹, on behalf of themselves and fellow countrymen, in placing before you the correspondence with the Government and kindred matters, do so by way of inviting the fullest investigation of the Chinese Question, and having the assurance and right to conclude, that it cannot be the desire of the majority of the people of this colony to outrage the common feelings of humanity by giving countenance to harshness and injustice towards us.

When from the speeches and actions of agitators we saw that the passions and prejudices of the unthinking might be aroused, we as early as December last thought it advisable to request in an orderly and respectful manner that the Government would afford us the courtesy of receiving a deputation by which means we might place our views and convictions before the people of this colony. To this request after a second application, a reply was tardily given, but for some reason, as yet not explained, the request itself was never granted. From what has since transpired, we are not so sanguine as to suppose that anything we could have urged would have been forcible enough to have stayed the recent outbreak of fanaticism, but at all events we should have had the consciousness of having done what we could in that direction.

Be it understood we do not, in addressing you; take the place of "Supplicants," for that would be unworthy of the great nation to which we belong. No, we take our stand as human beings entitled to fair treatment, and also under the existing treaty obligations between Great Britain and the Chinese Empire, which we maintain have been grossly violated by the Government in its recent proceedings. We do not deny that grave evils exist in connection with the settlement of our countrymen, and

¹ The Victorian Chinese Residents Committee. (See Chapter 4 and Chapter 8).
which we greatly deplore, but these we think could be much mitigated by the firm application of municipal and sanitary laws.

That similar evils exist amongst the European population we are aware, which are also much deplored by the best of your own citizens, but we are not so unfair or ungenerous as to urge this as a reason why punishment should not overtake evildoers of our own nation. By no means. We see rather that it would be our duty as well as our privilege to assist all we could to remove these evils that afflict both races alike. The reflection forced upon us at this point is, that the same complex social problems that baffle and pain all good men, are met with, not surely amongst the Chinese alone, but in all races, European and others.

We affirm that our countrymen as a whole are amenable to just laws, and we have shown by the public records that they bear not unfavorable comparison with Europeans in regard to criminal statistics. What reason, then, is there, for this outburst of fanatical fury and impending inhuman legislation? We know it is alleged in justification of past and further proposed measures, that Australia is threatened with "hordes" of Chinese, to use the polite language in use. This may suit as a cry, the mere politician for the present, and under this cry he may gain the temporary success he desires; but, when in the light of a fuller experience, cleansed by trial, it may be from its present uncharitable frame of mind, governed by nobler men, able to take larger and humaner views of their obligations to other races, Australia will look back with regret and shame, noting carefully that the only residuum that was left, when the froth had subsided, consisted of the selfishness, the prejudices, and the shams, which form the warp and woof of the present agitation.

Men actuated by statesmanlike views, and superior to the desire of snatching a fleeting popularity at the expense of a few strangers, would have sought for and obtained sound information either from the British authorities at Hong Kong, or from the Imperial Government at Peking, and the result would have allayed their fears (if they really had any) regarding a great influx of Chinese population.

In the course of this agitation we have learned that it does not "take two or more to make a quarrel," for truly it has been made manifest before the sight of all men that the quarrel has been wholly one-sided; and further, our education has been improved to this extent, that now we dimly begin to understand the difference between a statesman and a mere politician.

There is shortly to be erected in the City of Melbourne a memorial to a real king of men—General Gordon—and in the language of some of its advocates, this memorial was to point the youth of Victoria for all time, to a life of simple greatness, combined with rare unselfishness and benevolence. This was the man who endured privations, and laid down his life rather than sacrifice or desert uncivilized people. We knew him well, for he loved and served our nation, and was beloved and trusted in return. We can conceive of his noble scorn of the language and proceedings of the past few months, and if it were possible for those silent lips of bronze to speak when the statue is erected, we believe they would utter a mighty protest against being
placed in the midst of a people capable of enacting what some of its public men have proposed.

The legislation set forth in the "Bill" agreed to at the conference in Sydney we regard as barbarous, and therefore unworthy of a civilized community. If this bill is passed, it will mark a relapse so distinct as to fix an indelible stain on the Australian name. The terms are cunningly devised, but we ask, is it possible the Parliaments of Victoria and of the other colonies can enact, that even a British subject, if of the Chinese race, and just because he differs from the European in the color of his skin, is therefore to be treated almost as a felon? Then again, is it possible that common human rights, accorded to other civilized peoples, are to be denied to us? That it is to be a crime, punishable by imprisonment with hard labor, if man or woman of the Chinese race travels over the line separating any of the colonies without a permit, which might not be obtainable? If such is to be, then we protest in the sight of Heaven that this is a crime, not as committed against us only, but against the great Creator of all "who made of one blood all nations of men."

There is a sentence in the cablegram sent from the Sydney Conference to the Secretary of State, London, which is so unctuous we cannot forbear quoting it. It reads as follows: —"In conclusion the Conference would call attention to the fact that the treatment of Chinese in the Australasian Colonies has been invariably humane and considerate." Well, we are sometimes perplexed by words in the English language, and there is one word called "hypocrisy," the full meaning of which we may not understand, but if we do, then we care not to search either the pages of history or elsewhere for a better example of it than this. The Sydney Conference was evidently saturated by passion and prejudice, and in its haste and under these malign influences it has placed upon record what may well cause the cars of Australians to tingle for very shame. However, it is our earnest hope that the Parliament and people of Victoria may not descend to its level, but rather will show to the world that they belong to a race whose boast it is that it deals fairly with all peoples, oppresses none, and affords an asylum to all.

Commending the correspondence. &c., to your dispassionate consideration,
We are, yours in all sincerity,

Cheok Hong Cheong, Chairman of Committee.
L Tye Shing (Furniture Manufacturer)
W Shi Geen (Merchant and President, See Yup Association)
Louey Wah (Merchant)
Sun Suey Shing (Merchant)
Hang Hi (Merchant)
James Moy Ling (Methodist Minister)
Ng Hock Seong (Merchant)
Kong Kee (Merchant).
Appendix 5

Cheok Hong Cheong.

Chinese Civilisation and Attainments
Public Address 1888

(Addendum to Appendix 4)

The ignorance which prevails regarding the mental and moral character of the Chinese nation induces me to add a few statements of facts on Chinese Civilization and Attainments especially as epithets such as “semi-civilized” and “barbarians” are so frequently levelled at us by the “intelligent” Press and platform, and not infrequently, also, by many of the law-makers themselves. And these latter “gentlemen” be it noted, not only when upon the hustings, but also from their lofty chambers in the “Assembly of the Wise’ where one very naturally expects a ‘calmer and serener’ atmosphere.

That the Chinese are neither “semi-civilized” nor “barbarians” is evident from the following facts:—

1. That they live under a settled form of government, whose foundation principle is virtue, and whose established rule of practice is the selection of the “wise and talented” for offices of responsibility and government.

2. That education is well diffused among the people without any aid of government “compulsion” or the intervention of a “free” Education Act.

3. That the sum and substance, the object and aim of education in all grades of school throughout the empire is to make men better, and thus more worthily fill their position as citizens of a great state, and is founded on the maxim laid down by one of the sage Emperors in the year 2.435 B.C. that “there is no virtue higher than to love all men, and there is no loftier aim in government than to profit all men.”

4. That their extensive literature, embracing books of all descriptions, full dynastic histories from the earliest times, works on natural history, astronomy, botany, medicine, geography, mathematics, morals, political economy, agriculture, arts, biography, military tactics, belle-lettres, and other departments of literature bespeak their intellectual activity.

To illustrate this, one fact alone will suffice. In his desire to summarize knowledge in the form of an encyclopedia the Emperor, who reigned at the close of the fourteenth century, appointed a commission of 2,194 learned men to compile a work, which should contain dissertations on all known subjects. They sat for several years and produced, as the result of their labours, a work of 22,937 volumes, by far the most gigantic literary achievement in that or any other age.
And further, to this, it was afterwards added, an appendix of 10,000 volumes, beautifully illustrated.

5. That some of the most important discoveries, such as silk, porcelain, paper, printing, the mariner’s compass, gunpowder, etc., having been made by them is evidence of their inventive genius.

6. That their education as indicated above is not only intellectual but moral, for in all the schools of the empire boys are taught:—

“That learning is to be valued above wealth, and virtue above nobility.”

“That the mind is the man, and that in proportion as the mind is cultivated and garnished by virtue, will the man truly rise above his fellows.”

“That there is a nobility of heaven and a nobility of man. Benevolence, righteousness, self-consecration and an unwearied joy in what is good, these constitute the nobility of heaven. To be a duke a marquis, a great officer, these constitute the nobility of man.”

7. That the principle, “howe’er it be, it seems to me ‘tis only noble to be good.” has been inculcated in China for the last four thousand years, is proof of the national nobleness of purpose, and accounts for her supremacy of place among the nations of the East.

8. That the teachings of our sages contains political and moral wisdom fitted, not only to instruct the Chinese and to secure to them “long-continuance” in the land, which the Providence of God has vouchsafed, but will also afford instruction to the statesmen and peoples of other countries and climes, as the following brief synopses of the writings of two of them will show:—

I. That of Laou-tsze, the Old Philosopher. he taught that “a nation is a growth not a manufacture;” that “prohibitory enactments and constant intermeddling in political and social matters, merely tend to produce the evils they are intended to avert;” and that “to interfere with the freedom of the people is to deny the existence of a sense of rectitude in their midst, and to make them the slaves of rules rather than freemen of principles.” He would recall men from the sway of their fierce passions, not by the imposition of laws and prohibitory enactments, but by “gentle suasion.” “When the world.” he observed, “has many prohibitory enactments the people become more and more poor. When the people has many warlike weapons the Government gets more and more into trouble. The more craft and ingenuity the greater the number of fantastic things that come out. And as works of cunning art are displayed thieves multiply.” “for my own part,” he said, “I have three precious things, which I hold fast and prize. They are compassion, economy, humility. Being compassionate, I can be brave; being economical, I can be liberal; being humble, I can become the chief of men. But in the present day men give up compassion and cultivate only courage, they give up economy and aim only at liberality. They give up the last place, and seek only the first. It is their death. Compassion it is which is victorious in the attack, and secure in the defence. When Heaven would save a man, it encircles him with compassion.”

Again, he says, “A truly good man loves all men and rejects none. He associates with good men and interchanges instruction with them; but bad men
are the materials on which he works, and to bring such back to right principles is
the great object of his life. And, again, “Recompense evil with good.”

II That of Kung-foo-tsze (Latinized Confucius). His system of teaching is
comprehended under the four following heads:—

i. The rectification of the heart.

ii. The cultivation of the person.

iii. The regulation of the family.

iv. The government of the state.

Thus Confucianism recognizes that the heart is “prone to err” and that “its
affinity for the right way is small,’ and urges the same lesson as the Sacred Book
of the Jews and Christian urges, viz., “Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of
it are the issues of life.” The next step in the progress of the Confucianist is
enjoined to be the cultivation of the person, and after that he is to seek to
influence for good all who are immediately around him, and gradually and
ultimately the whole empire. He is to begin his task by a searching self-
examination. He is to carefully guard his words and watch his conduct. He is to
avoid all that is base and disquieting, and to take to himself benevolence as his
dwelling-place, righteousness as his road, propriety as his garment, wisdom as
his lamp, and faithfulness as his charm.

“Is there one word,” asked a disciple of Confucius, “which may serve a rule of
practice for all one’s life?” To which the Master at once replied, “Is not
reciprocity such a word?” What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to
others.”

This negative form of the golden rule is practically changed into the positive in
the following candid confession: “In the ways of a superior man there are four
things, to not one of which have I yet attained. To serve my father as I would
have my son to serve me. To serve my prince as I would have my minister to
serve me. To serve my elder brother as I would have my younger brother to
serve me. To offer first to friends what one requires of them.”

Such in brief outlines are the teachings of two of China’s greatest sages. They
have largely contributing to the moulding of the national character and the firing
of the national enthusiasm in the direction of virtue and mental
accomplishments. They have secured to China her length of days, and all that’s
noblest and best and most enduring in her institutions.
Appendix 6

Cheok Hong Cheong

1904 Chinese Petition
`The Factories and Shops Act Amendment Bill
and the Chinese

To the President and Members of the Legislative Council —
Now that the above Bill which was so hastily passed by the Legislative Assembly on Thursday last has come before your Honorable House we beg to submit the following facts for your consideration:

1. Though the measure bears the simple and innocent title of “the Factories and Shops Act Amendment Bill” it is aimed against the Chinese Residents and Chinese only.

2. Though professedly directed the Furniture and Laundry Trades its terms are wide enough to embrace every Trade or handicraft.

3. Every Chinese person whether employer or employee is debarred by it from earning his livelihood if not actually in his workshop or office during the month of Oct. last or through insufficient knowledge of the English language has not applied for a licence “So to work or be employed within 14 days from the passing of this Act.”

4. It is undiscriminating in that all who have hitherto admittedly obeyed the law are made to suffer though they are under strong temptations to break it in that they have always and invariably been denied the right to work overtime however the pressure of orders may require it, while Europeans are easily accorded the privilege.

5. It has been averred that the Chinese compete unfairly by underselling their labor. This we deny and challenge the strictest inquiry into. Gross misstatements have been circulated regarding the increase in recent years of the Chinese employed in the Furniture Trade. The following official figures represent the true state of affairs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Employers</th>
<th>Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>1903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>590</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So that instead of increase, it will be seen that there has been a small decrease since 1902.

6. Most of the present Factories which are two and three stories high, will require to be closed, and both the employer and employees will be thrown permanently out of work as it will be impossible to induce property owners to construct single storied buildings to comply with the proposed requirements from which all other nationalities are exempt.
7. Especially is it hard upon the Laundries which are mostly worked by two or three men who utilise their back rooms as such their front rooms for ironing and their upper story for residences. They will almost without exception have to be closed, though the said premises have complied with every condition approved of for all other nationalities.

For these reasons if the Bill is persisted with, we would crave the indulgence of your Honorable House to give the Chinese residents an equal chance in earning a livelihood by eliminating the word “Chinese” from the Bill, or appointing a Select Committee of your Honorable House to investigate such as was done some seven years ago, on the initiation of the late Hon Sir Frederick Sargood and under the Presidency of the Hon Sir Henry Cuthbert so that what ever is done may be in that spirit of fairness which has hitherto been the boast of every British Legislature.

For and on behalf of the Chinese community. Cheok Hong Cheong 24th Nov 1904
William Ah Ket

Petition to
THE HONOURABLE THE SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF
THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE PARLIAMENT OF VICTORIA.
(Presented on behalf of Chinese Residents by Mr. McCutcheon, M.L.A., on
15th August, 1906)

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH

1. We desire, as Representatives of the Strangers within your gates, affected by the Measure entitled "A Bill Relating to the Employment of Chinese in Factories or Work Rooms," now before your Honourable House, to have the privilege of drawing your attention to the effect of some of its provisions.

2. China, as one of the Eastern Powers, is in close and friendly relations with Great Britain; yet, notwithstanding this, the Chinese people are specially singled out by this Bill for national obloquy and oppression.

3. We would point out that those who happened to be ill, or off, or out of work, or temporarily absent from the State during the month of August, 1906, would be absolutely denied the right to earn their living, in callings for which they had qualified themselves by years of toil—surely a cruel and inhuman provision, which we do not think it possible your Honourable House will confirm.

4. The children of those engaged in their respective callings, even though they be born in the State, and are, according to British law, subjects of the King, educated according to English customs, living honest, upright lives, and taking their share of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, will be debarred from being employed in a factory or workroom, unless they happened to have so worked during the month of August, 1906. And, be it noted, that the word "employed" includes clerical and other descriptions of work; so that the sons and daughters would be debarred from assisting their fathers with accounts or in the management of business.

5. We would urge that the Factories Laws now in force are sufficiently stringent. By Section 42 of the "Factories and Shops Act, 1905" (the principal Act), it is provided that the registration of a factory or workroom, the occupier of which is convicted under this Section of a third offence, shall be cancelled. Recent prosecutions against Chinese for breaches of the Factories Laws have proved successful, and we believe that a greater percentage of prosecutions against Chinese have been fruitful of success than is the case with similar prosecutions against Europeans.

6. We believe that the Government of Victoria was wise in appointing Commercial Agents for the East, with a view of throwing the great markets of China and Japan open to Australian products, and hope that mutually advantageous business relations will result therefrom; but we fear that any harsh measures will, if carried, tend to severely hamper the prospects of trade with our country.
7. We would respectfully remind your Honourable House that we emigrated to your shores under reciprocal treaties between Great Britain and China, and under your own statutes, and while British subjects in China enjoy not only equal privileges with Chinese, but certain special advantages in addition, we who remain here respectfully claim to be at least fairly treated during the remainder of our sojourn among your people. We ask for an equality of opportunity in life, and beg respectfully to be dealt with in the spirit of British law, which (to use the words of Mr. Curran) "makes liberty commensurate with and inseparable from British soil; which proclaims even to "the stranger and sojourner the moment he sets foot upon British earth "that the ground on which he treads is holy."

8. If the Bill is persisted with we would crave the indulgence of your Honourable House to give the Chinese residents an equal chance of earning a livelihood by eliminating [the word " Chinese " from the Bill; or appointing a Select Committee of your Honourable House to investigate, as was done some years ago in another place on the initiative of the late Sir Frederick Sargood, and under the presidency of Sir Henry Cuthbert, so that whatever is done may be in that spirit of fairness which has hitherto been the boast of every British Legislature.

E.A. Honan, President, Chinese Empire Reform Assoc.
Loc Wing, For Cabinet Manufacturers
E. L. Shing, For Employee's Union
Melbourne 21st Nov 1905
COPY OF BILL

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.
FIRST READ 25th JULY, 1906.
(Brought in by Sir Samuel Gillott and Mr. Murray.)

RELATING TO THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHINESE IN FACTORIES OR WORKROOMS.
(Rejected by Legislative Council)

BE it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly of Victoria in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows (that is to say):

1. This Act may be called the Chinese Employment Act 1906 and shall be read and construed as one with the Factories and Shops Act 1905 (hereinafter called the Principal Act) which Act and any Act amending the same and this Act may be cited together as the Factories and Shops Acts.

2. (1) No Chinese person whether an employer or employee shall after the first day of January One thousand nine hundred and seven work or be employed in any factory or work-room unless such Chinese person holds a licence authorising him so to work or be employed; and no Chinese person so licensed shall transfer or lend his licence to any other person.
   (2) The Chief Inspector shall issue such a licence to any Chinese person who at any time during the month of August One thousand nine hundred and six worked in a factory or work-room or was employed in or was the occupier of a factory or work-room in the State of Victoria and who applies for such a licence within one month from the commencement of this Act. The onus of proof that any Chinese person worked or was employed in or was the occupier of a factory or work-room at any time during the said month shall be on the person applying for such licence.
   (3) In the event of the Chief Inspector refusing to issue such a licence to any Chinese person so applying for a licence such Chinese person may appeal to the Minister against such refusal and the Minister may grant such a licence if satisfied that such Chinese person worked or was employed in or was the occupier of a factory or work-room at any time during the said month in the State of Victoria.
   (4) A licence to a Chinese person shall state clearly the full name and the address of such person and such other particulars which may be deemed necessary or as may be prescribed.
   (5) No licence to a Chinese person shall have any force or effect for a longer period than twelve months. Such period shall be expressly stated in each such licence. A fee of Two shillings and sixpence shall be paid for every licence.
   (6) Every licence shall expire on the thirty-first day of December in each year, but shall be renewed if application is made for renewal at any time before expiry.
(7) On satisfactory proof of the loss or destruction of a licence issued under this section and on payment of a fee of Ten shillings the Chief Inspector shall issue a new licence which shall expire on the same day as the licence which is replaced.

(8) A Chinese person whether an employer or employee when working or employed in a factory or work-room shall produce his licence whenever demanded by an inspector of factories or a member of the police force. The onus of proof that a Chinese person is licensed under this section shall be on such person.

(9) No Chinese person who is an employer shall receive or keep as a boarder or lodger any Chinese person who is employed by him in any factory or work-room.

(10) No Chinese person who is an employee in a factory or work-room shall receive or keep as a boarder or lodger any Chinese person who employs him in a factory or work-room.

(11) No Chinese person shall be registered by the Chief Inspector as the occupier of a factory or work-room unless he is the holder of a licence under this section.

(12) The occupier of a factory or work-room shall not employ therein a Chinese person who has not a licence as herein before provided.

(13) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Principal Act this section shall have full force and effect within every part of Victoria.

(14) In any proceedings against a Chinese person for a breach of any of the provisions of the Factories and Shops Acts the onus of proof that the person named in the summons is not a Chinese person shall in all cases be on the defendant.

(15) If any Chinese person whether an employer or employee is guilty of a contravention of this section he shall for a first offence be liable on conviction to a penalty of not more than Ten pounds and for any subsequent offence to a penalty of not less than Five pounds or more than Twenty pounds. On conviction for a third or any subsequent offence the Court by which any Chinese person is convicted may order him to deliver up his licence to the Court and the Court may thereupon cancel the same and thereafter it shall have no force or effect and shall not be renewable.
Appendix 7

Cheok Hong Cheong

To the Chinese Ambassador, London

His Excellency Lord Le Ching Fong, Chinese Ambassador, London

May it please your Excellency, We beg to enclose herewith a Bill entitled "Chinese Employment Act 1907" & to draw your Excellency's attention to the discriminatory nature of the proposed legislation in the earnest hope that your Excellency will use the weight of your official influence with the British Government to veto the measures should it pass both Houses of the local Legislature. We urge the following reasons for our request.

1st Because it is an unfriendly act against a friendly people to single them out for national obloquy & oppression;

2ndly Tho professedly aimed at against the Chinese Furniture & Laundry Trades its terms are wide enough to embrace every Trade or Handicraft;

3rdly Because "No Chinese person, whither an employer or employee shall after 1st Nov 1907 work or be employed in any factory or workroom unless such Chinese person holds a licence authorising him so to work or be employed." and "who at any time during the month of September 1907 worked in a Factory or work room in the State of Victoria & who applies for such licence within the month from the commencement of this Act."

By these limitations all other Chinese persons are denied the right to earn their living in callings for which they have qualified themselves by years of toil—surely a cruel & inhuman provision which we do not think possible for the British Crown to confirm.

4thly Because the children of those engaged in their respective callings, if born in China or in any other State of the Commonwealth of Australia will be debarred from being employed in a factory or work room unless they happened to have worked during the month of September 1907. And further the word 'employed' includes clerical & other descriptions of work so that sons would be debarred from assisting their fathers with accounts or in the management of their business.

5thly And it is made especially hard on the Chinese as the proposed measure according to Section I "shall be read and construed as one with the 'Factories and Shops Act 1905' which constitutes any one Chinese a 'Factory' so that it he works after 5 pm on week days or after 2 pm on Saturdays he is proceeded against & fined whereas the same Act (except in the cabinet making trade) allows 4 Europeans or Asiatics to constitute a factory. The effect of which is that Europeans & other nationalities in threes or twos as well as individuals have the fullest liberty to work after
the prescribed hours and do so as any one may see for himself on any evening in any of the suburbs of Melbourne.

Thus what others have the right & liberty to do is made an offence against the Chinese & visited upon them with pains and penalties by a vigilant officialdom.

6thly Because, as it is, the officers administering the principal act (Factories and Shops Act 1905) have always been discriminating against our people in as much as all who have admittedly obeyed the law are also made to suffer in that they have always and invariably been denied their right to work overtime however the pressure of orders may require it, while the Europeans are readily accorded the privilege.

7thly Because though we have appealed three successive times in three successive years (1904-6) for the fullest investigation by an impartial Tribunal or a Select Committee of the legislature none has been appointed for the purpose. And for the fourth time the government have re-introduced the measure in a modified form expecting thereby & and through an increase in the number of labour members & the demise of some of our friends in the Upper House that Chamber which has thrice set it aside will now pass it without demur.

For these reasons we would crave your Excellency's consideration in behalf of the Chinese residents of this State to secure to them that fair & equitable treatment which other nationalities receive but is denied to us the subjects of the Emperor of China.

For and on behalf of the Chinese Community
Cheok Hong Cheong Superintendent, Church Missions to the Chinese in Victoria.
### Appendix 8

**Links Between British Christian Missions in China and Missions to the Chinese in the Colony of Victoria**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Missions to the Chinese</th>
<th>British Evangelical Missionary Societies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LMS Australian Auxiliary</td>
<td>Baptist Missionary Society, 1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VICTORIA CHINESE MISSION</td>
<td>London Missionary Society, 1795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Church Missionary Society, 1799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Religious Tract Society, 1799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1814</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Anglican Chinese Mission
- Church Missionary Society of Victoria, 1851-1898
  - Lo Sam-yuen NE Victoria 1898-1899
  - Cheong Peng-nam Baptised, Beechworth 1860
  - Parish-Based Missions 110-112 Lt Bourke St Melbourne
  - Cheok Hong Cheong Lay Superintendent 1885-1898

#### Presbyterian Chinese Mission
- Ballarat
  - ORev William Young
  - Superintendent 1860-1868
  - Chin Inter-Genl 1868-9
  - Cheong Peng-nam
  - Catechist 1860-1872
  - Cheok Hong Cheong
  - Baptised 1866
  - trained for ministry, 1872-5
  - Businessman, 1875-885
  - Rev William Matthew
  - Superintendent 1868-1869
  - Rev Daniel Vrooman (USA)
  - Superintendent 1878
  - Rev John A Chue
  - Rev John Tongwai

#### Wesleyan Methodist Chinese Mission
- Castlemaine
  - Long A Toe 1859-1865
  - Rev Leong on Tong 1866-1874
  - Rev James Mouy Ling 1862-1899
  - Rev Joseph Lee Tear Tack
  - Rev Edward Youngman
  - Superintendenting Missionary
  - Missions throughout Victoria
  - Paul Soong to West Aust 1899
  - Tear Tack to Tingha NSW, Darwin and Cairns

### Victorian Denominational Missions to the Chinese, 1858 to present

#### Anglican Chinese Mission
- Church Missionary Society of Victoria, Re-formed 1898 to present
  - (Anglican Chinese Mission of the Epiphany) 121-123 Lt Bourke St Melbourne

#### Presbyterian Chinese Mission
- Church Missionary Society of Victoria, Re-formed 1898 to present
  - (Anglican Chinese Mission of the Epiphany) 121-123 Lt Bourke St Melbourne

#### Wesleyan Methodist Chinese Mission
- Castlemaine
  - Long A Toe 1859-1865
  - Rev Leong on Tong 1866-1874
  - Rev James Mouy Ling 1862-1899
  - Rev Joseph Lee Tear Tack
  - Rev Edward Youngman
  - Superintendenting Missionary
  - Missions throughout Victoria
  - Paul Soong to West Aust 1899
  - Tear Tack to Tingha NSW, Darwin and Cairns

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**Cheok Hong Cheong’s Other Activities**

- Secretary, Victorian Chinese Residents Committee, 1870-1900s
- Chinese Anti-Opium Society, Victoria 1885-1906
- Deputationist, British Anti-Opium Society, London, 1901-1902
- Australian Corresponding Member, British Anti-Opium Society
- Deputationist, Quaker Anti-Militarist Delegation, China, 1906
- First Chairman, Victorian Chinese Christian Union, 1909s
- Victorian Anti-Sweating League
- Chairman, Australian Chinese National Conventions
- Chinese Committee Opposing amendments to Victorian Shops and Factories Acts 1895-1906
Appendix 9

Protestant Christian Missions to the Chinese in Victoria in the Nineteenth Century

List of Missionaries and Catechists
Protestant Christian Missions to the Chinese in Victoria in the Nineteenth Century
List of Missionaries and Catechists

ECUMENICAL PROTESTANT

VICTORIA CHINESE MISSION
CASTLEMAINE

O Cheong
Rev William Young
Chu A Luk
Ho A Low
Leong A Toe
Lo Sam-yuen

Anglo-Chinese College HK
London Missionary Society
AngloChinese College HK
AngloChinese College HK
Anglo-Chinese College HK
St Paul's Anglican College HK

1855
1855-1858
1855-1857
1855-1856
1856-1858
1856-1857

Voluntary. Local government interpreter
Recruited LMS Batavia by Medhurst
Also leader in SeeYup Society
Nephew of Rev Ho Fuk-tong LMS pastor HK

GEELONG AND WESTERN DISTRICT CHINESE EVANGELISATION SOCIETY,
BALLARAT

Lo Sam-yuen

St Paul's Anglican College HK

1857-1859
Returned to China

SMYTHESDALE CHINESE MISSION

Smythesdale

? Roberts
Lui Fun-sing

Self-taught Cantonese
Victorian convert

1857
1862

Primary School Teacher, Later itinerant evangelist
Methodist Convert Castlemaine, Returned to China-CMS HK
### ANGLICAN CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF VICTORIA (Anglican)

#### NORTHEAST VICTORIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Missionary</th>
<th>Location Type</th>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yackandandah</td>
<td>Lo Sam-yuen</td>
<td>St Paul's Anglican College HK</td>
<td>1860-1861</td>
<td>Ordained Hong Kong 1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beechworth</td>
<td>Fan A Wye</td>
<td>Anglo-Chinese College HK</td>
<td>1860-1861</td>
<td>Already a Christian in China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring Creek</td>
<td>Leong Pong Sien</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1860-1861</td>
<td>Baptised Wesleyan C'maine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigo (Old Camp)</td>
<td>Lui Fun-sing</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1863-5</td>
<td>mission closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woolshed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiltem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandy Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt Pleasanr (New Indigo Camp)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine Mile Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancashire Lead</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST ARNAUD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Bendigo</td>
<td>James Lee Wah</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1868-1869</td>
<td>to Sandhurst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter's Diggings</td>
<td>Ah Hem</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoca Forest</td>
<td>Paul Ah Fat</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1871-1881</td>
<td>died 1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synnots</td>
<td>Henry Ang Gook</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1881-1886</td>
<td>Dismissed Oct 1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barkly</td>
<td>Gee Chew</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1886-1888</td>
<td>Dismissed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four Mile Gully</td>
<td>Tim Foon</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>c1890</td>
<td>Died opium poisoning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moliagul</td>
<td>James Ah Ha</td>
<td></td>
<td>c1890</td>
<td>Dismissed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>visited from Bendigo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAYLESFORD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hepburn Springs</td>
<td>Timothy Ah Chee</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1874-1879</td>
<td>ex St Amaud - To Brisbane 1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailor's Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring Creek</td>
<td>A A Herbert</td>
<td>Shangah, China</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Superintendent (See Melbourne)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stony Creek</td>
<td>William Ching Wah</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1879-1887</td>
<td>1882-85 Acting Superintendent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basin</td>
<td>Paul Ah You</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep Creek</td>
<td>Mark Ah Bon</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1886-c1900</td>
<td>1898 to CMAV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanket Flat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yankee Gully</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherman Reef</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidd's Gully</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table Hill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor's Gully</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BLACKWOOD
Golden Point Peter Bacsso Victorian convert (St Amaud) 1874-1879 Became opium addict
Red Hill Henry Ang Gook Victorian convert (St Amaud) 1879-1881
Barry's Reef Matthew Leong Tong Victorian convert 1882-1883 died 1883
Simmon's Mark Ah Bon Victorian convert 1885-1886
Bacchus Marsh Paul Ah You Victorian convert 1886

SANDHURST (Bendigo)
Eaglehawk James Lee Wah Victorian convert (St Amaud) 1870- c1900 1898 to 1909 with CMAV
Kangaroo Flat (St Stephens) William Ching Wah Victorian convert (Bendigo) 1869-1879 See Daylesford
James Ah Shin Victorian convert 1882-1885 dismissed. Church closed 1918
Ironbark Camp (St Bamabas) Philip Lew Tong Victorian convert, 1887-1912
Fung Gay Victorian convert 1901
Huntly Philip Lew Tong Victorian convert 1907- Diocese of Bendigo. Retired 1912
Inglewood visited
Epsom visited
Long Gully visited 1898-1901
All Saints 1901-c1910 CMAV
St Paul's 1901-c1910 CMAV
CMAVEchuca (Christ Church) 1901-c1904 CMAV

MARYBOROUGH
Percydale Matthew Ah Get Victorian convert 1876-1880 Ordained Hong Kong (Fong-[Kwong] Yat-sau)
Talbot visited
Avoca visited
Matthew Mok Doong Victorian convert 1876-1888 (also Mok Toon)
Moses Wong Ah Gon Victorian convert 1888
Philip Lea Tong Victorian convert 1888-1894 Convert Bendigo. died 1894
James Lee Wah Victorian convert 1887-1900, 1901 Honorary from 1907
David Ng Victorian convert 1909-1918
### MELBOURNE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role or Position</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inner City</td>
<td>Rev S L Chase Rev J Darling</td>
<td>missionary in Shanghai??</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>rented room, Lt Bke St.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner City</td>
<td>A A Herbert</td>
<td>Lay Superintendent, Dismissed.</td>
<td>1877-1878</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St John’s Mission Hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensberry St</td>
<td>Cheok Hong Cheong</td>
<td>Presbyterian Theol Hall, Melb</td>
<td>1885-1896</td>
<td>CMSV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110 Lt Bourke St</td>
<td>Cheok Hong Cheong</td>
<td>Presbyterian Theol Hall, Melb</td>
<td>1896-1898</td>
<td>CMSV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kwok Wai Shang</td>
<td>CHC in London re Opium Society</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Temporary appointment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ormond</td>
<td>Cheok Hong Cheong</td>
<td></td>
<td>1885-8</td>
<td>Murton Hall and Anglican.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essendon</td>
<td>Daniel Wong</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>CMSVR, Cousin of CHC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Brighton</td>
<td>Daniel Wong</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geelong</td>
<td>visited</td>
<td>C H Cheong-James Mouy Ling</td>
<td>1891-?</td>
<td>interdenominational mission (CofE; Meth)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TASMANIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role or Position</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Woo Poo</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td></td>
<td>From Bendigo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHURCH MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION OF VICTORIA 1897-1918

### MELBOURNE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role or Position</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>110 Lt Bourke St</td>
<td>David Ng</td>
<td>Principal Caulfield Gramm Sch</td>
<td>1892-1898</td>
<td>To Hong Kong 1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rev E J Barnett</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caulfield (St Catherine's)</td>
<td>T W Barke</td>
<td>Layman Parttime</td>
<td>1902-1909</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsternwick (St Clement's)</td>
<td>E Lee Neil</td>
<td>Layman Parttime</td>
<td>1909-1914</td>
<td>War Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rev J A Ball</td>
<td></td>
<td>1914-1918</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essendon (Christ Church)</td>
<td>visited</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawthorn (St Columbs)</td>
<td>visited</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kew (St Hilary's)</td>
<td>visited</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandringham (All Souls)</td>
<td>visited</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COUNTRY</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>visited</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St Paul's (Mission School)</td>
<td>visited</td>
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</table>
**CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF VICTORIA, REFORMED 1898 to present**

**ANGLICAN CHINESE MISSION OF THE EPIPHANY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Details</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MELBOURNE</td>
<td>Lay Superintendent</td>
<td>Cheok Hong Cheong</td>
<td>1898-1928</td>
<td>Building opened 1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rev.</td>
<td>James Cheong</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ordained deacon London 1903. Resigned 1910 Afterwards curate St Peter's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Eastern Hill. d. 1941.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Priested</td>
<td>Melbourne, 1904.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheok Hong Cheong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1898-1928</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121-123 Lt Bourke St</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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**ANGLICAN MISSIONS TO THE CHINESE, NEW SOUTH WALES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SYDNEY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wexford St</td>
<td>1870s- ?</td>
<td>Church pulled down c 1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rev George Soo Hoo Ten</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botany</td>
<td>King Tem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>To Brisbane 1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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**ANGLICAN MISSIONS TO THE CHINESE, QUEENSLAND**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BRISBANE</td>
<td></td>
<td>Timothy Ah Chee</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Dismissed 1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>(Vic)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelvin Grove</td>
<td>King Tem</td>
<td></td>
<td>1889</td>
<td></td>
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378
WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH
WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF AUSTRALIA
Victoria

CASTLEM AINE
Took over VCM and Staff 1859
Leong A Toe Anglo-Chinese College HK 1858-1863 To China 1860, Returned 1861-3
Leong On Tong Victorian convert 1864-1886 Ordained. To China 1886
Peter Lee Wan Victorian convert
James Tong Wai Victorian convert 1888 Joined Pres, Ordained 1889
James Lee Chung Victorian convert 1889-1897 To Bendigo
Thomas Mak Quong Victorian convert 1897 From Castlemaine

SANDHURST
(Bendigo)
Peter Lee Wan Victorian convert 1888-1893
White Hills James Lee Chung Victorian convert 1897 From Castlemaine
Thomas Mak Quong Victorian convert 1893-1897 To Castlemaine

Echuca visited 1903

MELBOURNE
Rev Edward Youngman
Superintendent. To NSW From Goulburn, NSW.
(Lt Bourke St) Leong On Tong Victorian convert 1886. Ordained. To China 1886.
James Lee Moy Ling Victorian convert ordained. Retired 1902
East Brighton Paul Ng Soong Quong Victorian convert 1891 To Perth 1897
(McKinnon Rd) Peter Lee Wan Victorian convert 1895-1897
Middle Brighton Paul Ng Soong Quong Victorian convert 1893
Brunswick visited 1893
Coburg visited 1890
Oakleigh visited 1890
Richmond visited 1893
Fitzroy North visited 1898
South Yarra visited 1898
Northcote visited 1899
Geelong Cheok Hong Cheong (Anglican) 1891? interdenominational mission
Rev James Moy Ling (Methodist)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Additional Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CRESWICK</td>
<td>James Tong Wai</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1887-1888</td>
<td>Ordained. Superintendent 1902-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peter Lee Wan</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1889-1895</td>
<td>To Perth 1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paul Ng Soong Quong</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>To Perth 1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballarat</td>
<td>Visited</td>
<td></td>
<td>1891</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarsdale</td>
<td>Visited</td>
<td></td>
<td>1891</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Haddon</td>
<td>James Lee Chung</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>&gt;1887</td>
<td>Closed 1888-9. Church reopened, 1891</td>
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<tr>
<td>Talbot</td>
<td>David Chin Ghin</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1888-9</td>
<td>To China 1889. Reopended 1891</td>
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<tr>
<td>DUNOLLY</td>
<td>Thomas Mak Quong</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>&gt;1893</td>
<td>Closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peter Lee Wan</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1895</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bendigo</td>
<td>Visited</td>
<td></td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tamagulla</td>
<td>Visited</td>
<td></td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Amaud</td>
<td>Visited</td>
<td></td>
<td>1891</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt Moliagal</td>
<td>Visited</td>
<td></td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Avoca</td>
<td>Visited</td>
<td></td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>Visited</td>
<td></td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>WANGARRATTA</td>
<td>Miss Ah Ket</td>
<td>Layperson, part-time</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Sister of William Ah Ket</td>
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<tr>
<td>Benalla</td>
<td>Visited</td>
<td></td>
<td>1899</td>
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<tr>
<td>New South Wales</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tingha/Emmanville</td>
<td>James Lee Tear Tack</td>
<td>Victorian convert (Vic) 1893</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ordained.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lock King</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deniliquin</td>
<td>Visited</td>
<td></td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Appraisal visit, No action.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northern Territory</td>
<td>Rev Edward Youngman</td>
<td>Ordained minister (NSW, Vic) 1890</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Timothy Loi Foi</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rev Joseph Lee Tear Tack</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1894-1899</td>
<td>To Caimns,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Missionary</td>
<td>Service</td>
<td>Comment</td>
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<td>-----------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>Paul Ng Soong Quong</td>
<td>Victorian Convert</td>
<td>1897</td>
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<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>Rev James Lee Tear Tack</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1899 Died 1900</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rev E J Piper</td>
<td>Retired missionary</td>
<td>1902 Ex Bible Christian Missionary, China</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Willie Lin Foy</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
<td>1902-1904 Retired to Kelvin Grv, Brisb.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Townsville</td>
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<td>training</td>
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<td>Geraldtown</td>
<td>visited</td>
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<td>Herberton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Atherton</td>
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<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>James Yee Keet</td>
<td>Victorian convert (Vic)</td>
<td>1903</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canterbury Prov</td>
<td>Daniel Lem Sheok Kee</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Details</td>
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<td>-------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>MELBOURNE</td>
<td>Rev James Ah Chue</td>
<td>Anglican convert</td>
<td>9 July 1876</td>
<td>Baptised Napier Street Pres Ch Minister and Superintendent</td>
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<td></td>
<td>John Young Wai,</td>
<td>Anglican convert</td>
<td></td>
<td>Presbyterian minister NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Stephen (Choong, Ah Chung)</td>
<td>Anglican convert</td>
<td></td>
<td>Returned to China worked CMS</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Talbot,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daniel Leong Tsi,</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warnambool</td>
<td>visited</td>
<td>1894</td>
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<td>PRESBYTERIAN MISSION TO THE CHINESE, New South Wales</td>
<td>Philip Lee Hyung</td>
<td>Convert, Victoria</td>
<td>1879</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONS TO THE CHINESE, New Zealand</td>
<td>Paul Ah Chin</td>
<td>Victorian convert</td>
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<tr>
<td>Otago Province</td>
<td>Rev Alexander Don</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Lawrence</td>
<td>Rev George McNeur</td>
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<td>Otago Province</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1894</td>
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</table>
ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION TO THE CHINESE
Ballarat, Vic

Ballarat  Rev Joseph Lee  Chinese College Naples
and Elsternwick. To China.  1860s  From Macau. Served at Castl;lemaie

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

In addition to the above, there were Baptist Missions in Adelaide and Melbourne, as well as Salvation Army and Church of Christ missions. For New Zealand, the Hocken Library, PO Box 56, Dunedin, New Zealand, holds a considerable amount of relevant material under the title of *Influences of the Chinese.*
Appendix 10

Protestant Christian Missions to the Chinese in Nineteenth Century Victoria, Australia

Selected Testimonies of Chinese Christian Converts, Victoria
THE CHINESE MISSION IN CASTLEMAINE AND
THE GATHERING IN OF THE FIRST FRUITS

Probably all of your readers are aware that the various Protestant churches of
Victoria have for a lengthened period made a united effort to spread the gospel
amongst the Chinese idolaters who throng our shores in such thousands. A short
time ago this union was dissolved, at least so far as the goldfields were concerned.
Several members of the Wesleyan church felt that the mission in this locality was in such an
interesting state that they could not, dare not, permit it to be given up on this account; and,
accordingly, they presented a request that it might be made a part of the mission in immediate
connexion with our church.

Their missionary Leong A Toe, is now one of the recognised agents of the Wesleyan
church. He has laboured for the conversion of his countrymen with great faithfulness and
assiduity, and God has graciously fulfilled in him this promise. He that goeth forth weeping,
bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with
him. Many have listened with some interest to the preaching of God’s Word, which we trust
will prove ‘seed sown in good ground’, which shall produce an abundant harvest. Three,
whose names are Leong Pong Seen, Hong Ah Kay, and Lum Khen Yang have renounced
their superstitions and openly acknowledged their faith in Christ Jesus as the only and all
sufficient Saviour of mankind.

After living for several months consistently with a profession of the gospel, and having
repeatedly requested to be baptized, they were brought by their missionary to the Rev.
Thomas Raston on Saturday, the 8th instant, that he might ascertain how far their knowledge
of Divine truth would justify his administering to them this solemn ordinance. The writer
listened with deep interest to this examination, and was equally surprised and pleased with
the extent of their scriptural knowledge and the strong expression of their faith in the atoning
sacrifice of Christ.

On Wednesday, the 12th instant, a large congregation assembled from all parts of the
circuit to witness the interesting ceremony of their reception into the Christian church. In the
presence of this assembly, the following questions were proposed to and answered by them
Why do you believe in Jesus ~

Ans. Because I am a wicked sinner and a helpless creature, and cannot save
myself, and Jesus’ blood can wash away all my sin.

Since you have believed in Him, how do you spend your time ?

Ans. Since I have believed in Jesus, I love Him, and long to keep His
commandments, and do my duty faithfully towards every one and pray to God
morning and evening that I may be kept from changing to the end.

When you go home to China, will you not go back to idolatry again?

Ans No. We will worship the true God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and
trust that the Holy Spirit may be given us to convince our friends of the folly of
worshipping ancestors, Buddha idols, etc., and that through us they may be
taught to know and love the true God.

After this, they were addressed by their native teacher with great earnestness. And then
the Rev Thomas Raston poured water upon them, baptising them in the name of the Father,
of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Lum Khen Yang furnished the following account of himself, which was translated into
English by Fan O [A Wye], a Chinese gentleman, whose consistent piety has won for him the esteem of all who know him.1

Lum Khen Yang, a native of the village of the San, in the district of Hok San, in Canton Province, respectfully requests to be baptised. I give seriatim the circumstances connected with my case to a knowledge of the Gospel.

From my youth I have studied books, and made myself acquainted with the instructions of Confucius and Mencius. For eleven years I made strenuous efforts in school, but never succeeded in distinguishing myself. This circumstance induced me to give up study and betake myself to trade, in order that I might provide for my family.

All of a sudden, disturbances occurred in Canton. The mandarins and people arrayed themselves in battle against the Hak Sha [Hakka] rebels. No place was exempt from trouble, but my native village suffered more from the injuries inflicted by these rebels than any other place. Property was plundered, houses burned and destroyed. The strong fled to different parts of the country and sought a subsistence, while the weak fell victims to the weapons of the rebels. In their progress of murder and slaughter, dead bodies might be seen strewing the woods, and blood might be observed flooding the ground. No one could look on such scenes without feeling his heart saddened, nor could any hear of them without shedding tears.

The cruel rebels were permitted to act thus because, from ancient time to the present, our people have been ignorant of Him who preserved them, and worshipped idols, and have been guilty of many wicked practices, and have heaped to themselves divine wrath, and even the infliction of these just temporal punishments.

It was a fortunate circumstance, however, that none of my family were personally injured. They have been able, though with difficulty, to maintain themselves to this day. At the time our money and property were plundered, we had not the means of purchasing a morsel to put into our mouths, and there appeared no way by which we could extricate ourselves from poverty.

We happily heard intelligence regarding a new goldfield in an English colony. We were told that men from all parts of the world were congregated there, and obtained permission to dig for gold, and that money was easily to be made there: and that the people were peaceably disposed, and that the country abounded in everything. The idea of going to such country was delightful. I told my friends of my intention, they were delighted, and commended my plan. I then made an effort to get as much money as would pay my passage to this productive country.

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1 Fan A Wye came to Australia in 1855 with Ho A Low and Chu A Luk. All three were students of the Rev Dr James Legge at the Anglo-Chinese College at Hong Kong. See Welch, Ian (1980), Pariahs and Outcasts, Christian Missions to the Chinese in Australia, MA, Monash University
I was in this land a whole year without hearing about the doctrines of the gospel. I unexpectedly met with my friend, who was engaged in making known these doctrines to people collected together in large numbers to hear him. I felt glad in my heart, knowing in some measure the tendency of these doctrines, which inculcated upon man the practice of virtue, and the reforming of their wicked ways; they taught man also the worship of God, and the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ who died for man’s salvation.

At this time I was not successful in gold digging, and yet I had to make great efforts to provide for my family, so I eventually left Mopoke and removed to the Ovens. I was there about a year, and was not in the slightest successful. I then went to Ballarat, seeking a livelihood east and west like a cock. I was never in any fixed spot, and lived just from hand to mouth. From Ballarat I wended my way back to Castlemaine; and again met my friend A Toe, who consoled me with the word of Divine truth, and took me with him to the chapel, that I might hear the preaching of God’s Word. On that occasion he discoursed about a good man of ancient times who lived in the East, whose name was Job; a man who obeyed God’s commandments and practised righteousness. Through God’s blessing he became the richest man in the East; but one day Satan devised an artful scheme, destroyed Job’s son and daughters, and all that he had, hoping thereby to overturn the piety of Job, and make him rebel against God. But notwithstanding these trials, Job remained faithful to God, exclaiming, ‘Naked came I into the world, and naked shall I return into the earth’. It is God who gives us all things, and it is God who takes them back again. As usual Job praised God without ceasing. When I heard these statements I was much affected. I then began to understand how that all I had enjoyed during my lifetime was the gift of God; and all the injuries I had endured at the hands of Hak Ka [Hakka], a Chinese who robbed me of all my property, were permitted to befall me by God’s appointment. Before I heard the word of God I considered these trials as great misfortunes. But who would have thought that God would have made use of misfortunes to try the faith of believers, and the unbelief of unbelievers? Job notwithstanding his trials, was patient, and in the end greatly rewarded. I in like manner, in consequence of the Hak Ka rebels, was forced to flee to these goldfields, and have thereby obtained a knowledge of the Saviour, and have become a believer in the earth. At one time I was disposed to consider my reverses as a calamity, now I regard them as a happiness, inasmuch as by them I have been brought to hear God’s holy doctrines. Had I not experienced the cruelties of the rebels I should never have come to these goldfields, nor entered the gate of divine truth, nor should I have been provided with the daily instructions and prayers of A Toe, who prayed that I might obtain the renewing influence of the Holy Spirit. Having received enlightenment I perceived the error of my former ways, and the worthlessness of the worship of spirits, Buddha and ancestors.

I wish to amend my ways, and to place my dependence on the Saviour; to keep his commandments; to worship God, and make these things the rule of my life all my days. My sins are great and aggravated, I am afraid I cannot escape; but happy it is for me that the Saviour gave up his life on the cross for me, in order to restore me; that I believing in him might not perish, but have eternal life! That he can enable me to do his will, to receive his grace, to praise his power, to confide in his name, and to cherish the hope of the life to come.

I desire to be baptised, and wash away my sins; and to show that I receive the truth in sincerity and joy, to the end of my life I shall not repent. May the Divine God have mercy upon me, and grant that I may enjoy the inheritance that fades not away. I hope the Ministers of the Gospel will take into their favourable consideration the request I now present.
The following account has been furnished of the death of Ho Ti, who was baptised in September, and who died in March last.

He was born in the province of Canton in the village of Hoiping. Leong a Toe visited him the day before he died, and in reply to his question, he said he prayed to God, and trusted his soul in the hands of Jesus Christ felt very happy, and hoped in Jesus Christ to save him up to heaven. One of the European members who attended him, gives the following account: A few moments before he died, I asked him if he still felt bad, he made a slight motion with his head, to signify yes, I then asked him if he loved OOD, he again made a motion with his bead, but a much more decided one, Do you love Jesus Christ? Again he made a motion with his head. He then said in a strong voice, ‘I am very happy, happy, very happy’, I said, ‘Charlie you will soon be in heaven’. He made no answer to this, but lifting his hand slowly, he pointed to heaven, a few minutes after this he died.
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<td><strong>Provenance:</strong></td>
<td>Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Reports, 1863.</td>
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<td><strong>Location:</strong></td>
<td>Uniting Church (New South Wales Synod) Church Records and Historical Society, Archives and Research Centre, 3 Blackwood Place, North Parramatta 2151</td>
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<td><strong>Missionary:</strong></td>
<td>Leong A Toe</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Name of Convert:</strong></td>
<td>Hong Ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Education:</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Village:</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Occupation:</strong></td>
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</table>

Hong Ha, born in the province of Canton, in the village of Sun Ding. Three years ago I came to this country digging gold, but I always followed the wicked custom of crime. Morning and evening offered gilt paper to my Gods and Buddha in my tent. Nobody worship more earnest than me. I always go and sacrificed fowls, and burned gilt paper for incense. In three years I spend £25 to pay for the gilt paper. In my mind, I hoped the Gods would help me to get more gold, and I worshipped them so much, that sometimes I had not enough money left for my living. In course of last year, Mr. Leong A Toe came up to Wattle Flat, came into my tent, and saw my images, and asked me, ‘Do you worship those images’? I said, ‘Yes all my life. I very much like to worship images’. He said, ‘You worship them so much what profit have you got?’ I said, ‘Well I only hope for good health and more gold.’ Then he said, ‘just now I saw two images, they have mouths but speak not, eyes but see not, ears but hear not, how can they keep you in health, and give you gold?’ I said, ‘though only carved wood, yet when I go to worship him the spirit comes out and helps me.’ He said, ‘How do you know the spirit comes out from the wood, do you say the spirit in the wood of itself, or some one send the spirit in? I think the wood has no spirit in at all and cannot protect you at all, you protect the wood, for if you don’t take care of the wood, you will throw it away or burn it up, it cannot do anything for you. I hope you after this time throw them away, and worship the living God, for He can give you health and food.’

When I go to bed at night I think again over his words, but my mind would not submit to what he said to me, for my country from the uppermost Emperor to the people all worship images the same way, and nobody says that it is wrong and must throw them away. Now only Mr. Leong A Toe himself calls me to throw them away, I think he is not right to us Chinese. Then I go and worship my images again. Another week he comes to our place and preached about Jesus Christ, an Advocate: if one believes in Him, He will get him reconciled to God.

After that he came to my tent again, and looked at my images still standing there, and he felt very sorry to see them, and also told me it was no good to worship them, nor to sacrifice to them. He stayed with me one hour. Another time he preached about Christ died on the cross, and I was near him, and he invited me to go to his place, and pray for the Congregation.

He was very different to my praying to our Gods, for he prayed to God to forgive sins, but I only prayed to the images to get gold. I felt that to pray for forgiveness of sins was very right, and therefore I followed him from Sabbath to Sabbath, for now about six months, and I pray to God to forgive my sins, and ask His Holy Spirit to convert me, and I feel very sinful before Him, because I worshipped the enemies of God, and did very wrong. Now I burned the images all up, and worshipped the living God, and believe in Jesus Christ. May he save me to everlasting life.
I want to be baptised. May your Minister receive me into the Church of Christ. After this I pray to God, may His Holy Spirit help me to keep His commandment, love His people, and do good in this world, and when I die may Jesus Christ save me forever in heaven.

Denomination: Wesleyan Methodist
Place: Castlemaine
Location: State Library of Victoria.
Missionary: Leong A Toe
Name of Convert: Leong On Tong
Age: not known
Education: at least 12 years
District: not known
Years in Victoria: not known
Locations in Victoria: Castlemaine and District
Occupation: miner, missionary

Mr. Leong-on-Tong, the Christian Chinaman who has been instrumental in bringing six of his countrymen to a knowledge of the truth, is a man of superior parts and devoted zeal. He is the fruit of the ministry of the former catechist, Mr Leong-ah-Toe, and since the return of the latter to China, has been singularly active in his endeavours to do good and the result has been highly encouraging. The following is the statement made by Leong-on Tong at the meeting.

I feel very glad on account of the men who have been converted; and I therefore direct a short statement in order that all kind friends may fully know the details in this evening. I was born and grew up in China, and from youth to manhood only acquired the literature of China, and simply held the teachings of Chau and Chew, the ancient philosophy and religion of China and I did not know God's commands, but was only accustomed to the classics of Confucius and Mencius, and did not know the Bible. That this was not otherwise was because my knowledge and experience were limited in that I had neither heard the preaching of the gospel nor read the Bible. When I happily heard of the prosperity of this place, and embraced the opportunity of coming to it; formerly heard Mr. Leong-ah-Toe preach the Gospel; and was grateful to him for guiding me into the right way, and for giving me the Bible for examination, for then I knew the gospel truly to have proceeded from heaven, and to be the true words of salvation. All the philosophy of Chau and Chew, Confucius and Mencius, is not as one to ten thousand in comparison with the Lord's doctrines. In the Lord's doctrines nothing is unprovided, nothing is unexplained, nothing is obscure, nothing can go beyond it, its depths cannot be sounded, its excellencies cannot be exhausted. To realise to one's own soul to obtain the glory of the kingdom of heaven; to spread the gospel throughout the world; to obtain the happiness of peace! Thus I therefore boldly went, not dreading the narrow way and strait gate; but relying on the Lord, and keeping his commandments, and thereby entering into a new heaven and a new earth. Although I have been converted more than a year, my strength is little, and my understanding narrow, but the Scripture has these words, 'Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, and it giveth light unto all that are n the house.' And again; 'Therefore, every scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven is like a man that is a householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasures things new and old.' Wherefore, every time I meet Chinamen, I must embrace the opportunity to preach the doctrines of the kingdom of heaven; that God is the Lord who has created and who preserves all things in heaven and earth, and that Jesus descended into the world to be a man, willingly to receive the punishment of God by dying on the cross, that he
might redeem the world (including the Chinese) from their errors in worshipping evil spirits and devils, by his merits. Some of them have heard the discourse, and called it good; others, foreign teachings, some were disorderly, and laughed at it, others heard it, declaring it to be a bad omen, or something calculated to bring them bad luck, and add discontent and railed at it. All defiled themselves with obscene language, but I did not mind them; I only pitied them leaving the light for darkness, 'As sheep having no shepherd.' I was sorry, and in every prayer asked God 'to send more Labourers into his harvest,' and to give his Holy Spirit to convert their obdurate and stony hearts. We Chinese are grateful to all Christian friends, gentlemen and ladies of this country, who have unitedly exerted themselves to show in a substantial manner the love of God that is in them by forming societies for sending forth teachers to diffuse the truth; and this they have done for many years past, so that the Lord's doctrine has reached the mind of eighteen men, and this year, happily, God gave his Holy Spirit to convert to a belief in Jesus, and to enter the Christian church seven men. This is not the work of human reason, but it is God's will. All we who first believed are glad for them, as the woman was over the piece of silver, and as the owner was over the lost sheep. We praise and give glory to the Triune God; and we pray that God in his mercy may cause that the gospel may soon penetrate into China, and be diffused throughout the whole world, to convert the hearts of the hearers, that they may come to embrace the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ. This is my heart's prayer.

Denomination: Wesleyan Methodist
Place: Castlemaine
Location: State Library of Victoria.
Missionary: Leong on Tong
Name of Convert: Mark Bu A Cow
Age: 29
Education: 5 years
District: Sin-Ning (Taishan)
Years in Victoria: 9 years.
Locations in Victoria: Castlemaine and District;
Occupation: miner

This is a grateful statement of Mark Bu Ah Cow, an applicant for baptism, aged twenty-nine years, and born in the village of On-Wo, in the district of Sin-Ning, in Canton province. During my youth I went to school and studied five years. Although I am not possessed of wisdom, yet, when I grew up, then I knew that the idols were made by the hand of man. As they were false Gods, I would not worship them, but, alas! I am an uneducated man, and my dwelling is among those who follow evil customs, and who worship idols, so that I cannot find the true God anywhere. Therefore my mind was altogether unsettled, just like duckweed that floats on the water. At that time I had not heard of gospel preaching. I had been in this country nine years, and yet did not know what we were to expect in the world to come. I lived as in the dark, not seeing the bright sky. All that I did was unrighteousness and opposed to God's commands. I am a great sinner, and my sins cannot be numbered.

I happened to be at Guildford, in the third month of last year, digging for gold. Thence I went to Yapeen to see my friends. In the course of their conversation they spoke of a Mr. Leong-on-Tong, whose words they said were very strange, and that
he advised them not to worship idols, and not to sacrifice to their ancestors, but only to serve the true God and worship him. That Mr. Leong-on-Tong had said what he preached was from the true God, who had given to the world the true doctrines of the Bible.

Hearing my friends say this thing, I desire in person to go and hear what the true God's doctrines were. I felt grateful to my friends for taking me to see Mr. Leong-on-Tong. He explained to me that the true God was our Heavenly Father, who created and preserved all things. This true God was not only the God of one kingdom, but he was the King of kings, Lord of lords; that men of every country must follow his doctrines and keep his commands, and with one mind and one heart worship him; and that is what every man ought to do. And as respects the Gods, and sacrificing to devils, he said that these were errors that no benefit could be got from them, but on the contrary they would bring misery upon men's souls by bringing upon them the punishment of the true God. After Mr. Leong-on-Tong had done, he gave me two tracts, and told me to come every Sunday and Saturday. I then left, and I went home.

Thus I came to know that God was the true Lord. I punctually went to his place on the following Sunday. He spoke about Jesus being crucified on the cross to redeem us from sin, and that whosoever believed in him, and confessed his faults in prayer, would obtain forgiveness from him. After he had done, he asked me to bow down, and he prayed for me to God, he might save me for the sake of Jesus Christ; and he prayed to God for His Holy Spirit to convert my heart, and to give me the knowledge of the true God who is our Abba, Father, and of Jesus, who is our Saviour.

Week after week I went to Mr. Leong-on-Tong's residence every Sunday. He repeatedly admonished me, and led me to believe the truths of God. I am thankful to God for his goodness for the opportunity of meeting with Mr. Leong-on-Tong on the diggings. He constantly explained to me the truths of the gospel So I resolved in humility to confess my sins; and every morning and evening he showed me how to pray to God that I might obtain the Holy Spirit to comfort my mind. Before I knew the true God, I knew that my sin was great, and that I could not escape punishment; now that I have a knowledge of the Saviour who died upon the cross to appease God's wrath, I have obtained great happiness to my soul. Therefore I constantly trust in the name of Jesus, and feel thankful for his succours, and praise him for his perfections without ceasing. I have studied these doctrines now, day and night, more than a year. They have been the means of converting my mind. I take the ten commandments of God for my rule, and the Lord's will for my guidance. I strive to enter in at the strait gate, and desire to obtain everlasting life.

Therefore I humbly beg to be baptized, and with all my heart I wish to be subject to the true God, and to worship him only until the end of life, and look to Jesus the Saviour to deliver my soul in the next life, and to obtain the everlasting reward of heaven. Amen.
I, Joseph Leong-a-Ping, was born in the village of Hap Leang, in the district of Sin-hui [Xinhui], in the province of Canton, and am thirty-two years of age. I respectfully beg to be baptized.

The following is a statement of the manner in which I came to believe the truth:

My family was poor, so I could not study much; I had to look about for some business to earn a living by. I not only did not know divine truth, but did not understand much even of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. But I gave myself up to the worship of demons and spirits, and looked to them for giving me happiness and delivering me from misery.' My thoughts and desires were all unlawful and covetous.

So when I heard of the discovery of goldfields in Australia, I immediately prayed to the Gods to grant me success, that I might obtain riches whenever I should reach the goldfields. Who would believe, when I came to these goldfields, even after a great many years, none of my prayers were answered. And yet my darkened heart was as usual. If I heard any one tell me that here was an idol possessed of divinity, no matter how far he resided, I went thither to worship him and seek his blessing.

Although I had heard Mr. Leong-ah-Toe preach the Gospel once or twice, I did not retain it in my mind, because I heard that he taught men not to worship idols or tombs, and I felt displeased at that, and told him I was a Chinese, and why should I follow a foreign religion. I therefore felt disinclined to do what he said. I was engaged by a European for more than a year as miner.

All at once, in the second month of last year, I threw up my employment. I was ambitious to make more money in some other occupation, and went to a place called Yapeen, where I met with Mr. Leong-on-Tong, who had a short conversation with me. He said it was his intention to mine at Yapeen, I rejoined that I intended to do the same. So I stayed there, residing next to Mr. Leong-on-Tong, and mined several months; but I lost money, and did not make enough to buy food with. Mr. Leong-on-Tong constantly taught the doctrines of God's word to the Chinese and exhorted them not to worship idols, but to worship God only.

When I heard of this, I began to argue with him. He said that what he spoke was true. I said it was certainly untrue. And again when he said a thing was untrue, I said it was true. At that time my soul was deeply steeped in idolatry and ignorance. After several days, Mr. Leong-On-Tong had a quiet interview with me, and made use of many similes to explain the truth to me. He spared no pains, but whenever he had leisure he taught the people. One night as Mr. Leong on-Tong was thus engaged, I was present. He said to me, 'the idols you worship are dumb, and you seek happiness from them; but I tell you that not only will you not get happiness but misery by so doing.' I asked him how? He said, 'suppose you had a son, and you had a fortune bequeathed to him, if that son proved disobedient to you, and bestowed that fortune upon an enemy of yours, would you be displeased with that son, or would you love him?' I replied, 'In such a case I should not only be displeased, but should inflict a heavy punishment on him.' Mr. Leong-on-Tong then said, 'Your conduct in worshipping idols and not worshipping God is precisely the same with the disobedient son's conduct. God will certainly be displeased with you and punish
you, and you will find it difficult to escape from hell.'

When I heard this I felt greatly alarmed. I was silent, and felt I had nothing to say. I began inwardly to reflect. I felt that I had sinned against God, but did not know in what way my sins were to be removed. Mr. Leong-on-Tong told me there was a way by which it could be done. God was a merciful Father; he could not endure our entire destruction, and therefore he sent his only son Jesus into the world to die for sins of men; and whoever believes in him shall not perish, but have everlasting life. 'If you truly believe in the Saviour, then God will look to the merits of his Son, and forgive your sins. My heart immediately felt glad because a sinner could hope for salvation. Mr. Leong-on-Tong told me to kneel down with him, and prayed to God to forgive me my sins. On this I felt the more glad, and became more resolved day and night to pray to God, to confess my sins and seek forgiveness. It is now more than a year that I have reformed from my former ways.

People say that I am an unfortunate man because I left my former employer, and lost money when I undertook business on my own account; but I consider all this as fortunate. Why so? Because, when I threw up my employment, it was the means of bringing me into contact with Leong-on-Tong, receiving his instructions, ultimately submitting to Jesus. If things had not turned out so, how could I have got the precious treasure of the gospel? Henceforth I shall no longer worship senseless and dead objects but worship alone the Triune God. I shall pray to God to give me his Holy Spirit, to aid my understanding, to strengthen me to do what is good, to keep the commandments to the end and not deviate from them. And in the world to come, I look to Jesus to save my soul, and to give me the unending happiness of heaven. Amen.

Denomination: Wesleyan Methodist
Place: Castlemaine
Location: State Library of Victoria.
Missionary: Leong A Toe
Name of Convert: James Ham Yen Tang
Age: 30.
Education: 7 years
District: Sin Ning (Taishan)
Years in Victoria: 9 years
Locations in Victoria: Castlemaine and District
Occupation: not known

The following is the statement of James Ham Yen Tang, on his public profession of Christianity:

I am a native of the village of Park Showy, in the district of Sin Ning, in the province of Canton. My age is thirty years. During my youth I went to school and studied the classics of Confucius and Mencius for seven years. Although I am not deeply learned or possessed of much talent, still I have some little acquaintance with the philosophy of China. At this time my circumstances were such that I was obliged to leave school and go into business, where I continued for three years, but without any great success.
On hearing of the gold discoveries in Australia, and the ease and speed with which persons obtained wealth, I resolved to leave my native land and come to this country, hoping to improve my circumstances.

I arrived here about nine years ago, and have been digging for gold ever since. I constantly examined most of the interesting works and novels of my own country, not sparing my strength, so that I might enlarge my understanding. Sometime after my arrival in this colony I heard Mr. Leong-ah-Toe, Chinese missionary, preach, and received from him some religious tracts. To his preaching I did not pay any attention, holding tenaciously to the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The religious tracts I threw away, and I thought that is useless to me, preferring to read novels and stories about China, and constantly to boast these were true once. Alas! so I was a stony heart at that time, would not receive the truths of the gospel.

Shortly after this, Mr. Lee-Wye-Jong (my relative,) a Christian, joined me in digging. He invited me to go with him to the Chinese Church, in Castlemaine, where I heard Mr. Leong-ah-Toe preach the gospel. In his discourse then, I knew that he advised men to do good, and forsake the evil; but the truths of the gospel I could not understand.

Last year I met with a European Christian, Mr. Phillip Bennett, of Campbell's Creek, who was very friendly with me, and invited me to go to the Wesleyan Church, in Campbell's Creek, to hear the Gospel. After the service, many of the Christian friends came and spoke to me, and appeared very glad to see me at church.

This I was surprised at. I thought there must be something in this religion to induce those persons, who were strangers to me, to be so kind to one, who could neither speak nor understand English. It made a great impression on my mind: and I resolved to go home immediately and with humility examine the New Testament concerning this religion, but I could not comprehend it.

One day, Mr. Leong-on-Tong came to see my relative, and while there endeavoured to instruct me in the truths of the gospel. He pointed out the way to come unto and believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Saviour of the world. He told me not mind being ridiculed by my countrymen because I had embraced the gospel of Jesus Christ, but to love and fear God, and to give up practising the superstition and idolatries of my heathen countrymen. He also endeavoured to encourage by assuring me that if I lived according to the teachings of the Word of God in this life, I should, after death, be for ever with the Lord. He urged me to pray to God to enlighten my mind, and to enable me to see that he was the living and true God and Jesus Christ his only Son who died for our sins on the cross.

After this, Mr. Leong-on-Tong came to my tent every Sunday to instruct me in the truths of the gospel, and to pray with me. My mind now became more enlightened, and I began to be very much concerned about my soul; so much so that on leaving work I asked my relative (Mr. Lee-Wye-Jong) to pray with me, and to ask God to forgive my sins. After doing so I felt much comfort in my mind. I now became more anxious than ever to search the Scriptures, and did so morning and evening. I felt very thankful to God for giving me his Holy Spirit to enlighten my mind. I now saw that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were altogether insufficient, that novels and Chinese stories were idle tales, and that the worshipping of idols was a sin against the great God. Having seen the wickedness of my past life, I resolved to repent of my sins and to trust only in the Lord Jesus Christ for mercy, and to beg of the minister of God to admit me by baptism into the Christian church. I beg you to
pray to God for me, that I may be enabled by his grace to serve him, and to remain steadfast unto death. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

Denomination: Wesleyan Methodist
Place: Castlemaine
Location: State Library of Victoria.
Missionary: Leong on Tong
Name of Convert: David Hun-Bak-Sing
Age: 25.
Education: 3 years
District: Sin Ning (Taishan)
Years in Victoria: 98-9 years
Locations in Victoria: Castlemaine and District
Occupation: miner

I, David Hun-Bak-Tsing, of the village of Chong-ha, of Sin-neng [Taishan] district, in the province of Canton, am twenty-five years of age, beg respectfully to be baptized. I here give an account of the origin of my belief.

I, when a boy, went to school for only three years, being of a poor family, and therefore am not much acquainted with letters. I had to resort to manual labour for the support of the family. After hearing of the discovery of the goldfields, I, by various means, got provided with funds to pay for my passage to Australia. For eight years I followed the occupation of a miner, seeking to obtain riches and the happiness that is temporal utterly ignorant of the doctrines of the gospel I always looked upon the wicked customs and traditions of China as things that were true, to be reverently maintained and not to be altered. I used constantly to walk in dangerous ways, without feeling the least dread, and imagining all the time that what I was doing was right. I knew not that I was guilty and sinful, and so was foolish and obstinate, which was really shameful; and this was owing to my not having as yet received the light of the Gospel.

All at once, in the second month of the last year, Mr, Leong-on-Tong removed to Yapeen, where I had been residing for three years. I became acquainted with him, and personally heard him teach the doctrines of the Gospel. He exhorted the people not to worship the demons of this world and not to believe in depraved doctrines but to worship God alone, and believe in Jesus. He told them clearly that God was the great Creator of all, and Jesus was the great Redeemer and Lord, and all men ought to adore and worship him, and praise him for his grace. I therefore was reluctant to believe his words to be true. But as my tent was near to his, when he had leisure during the evening, he had conversations with me, and explained to me the truths of God, and told me what it was that constituted sin, what it was to have guilt. In the morning and evening he used to pray for me that God would give me his Holy Spirit to enlighten my mind.

In this way, day by day, month by month, the darkness of my mind was gradually removed. He told me to pray to God both morning and evening, diligently to seek the pardon of my sins. I did as I was instructed, and thus obtained the illumination of the Spirit; and then I came to know that my former words, practices
and thoughts were all the sources of sin. Were it not there was a Saviour to atone for the sins of men then my sins (being such a heavy load) would merit I know not how heavy a punishment but blessed it is, that there is a Saviour who gave himself up to die on the cross as a ransom for sin. Moreover, Mr. Leong-on-Tong made efforts by the preaching of the gospel to make us partakers of happiness in this life and the life to come, and must we not repent of our former sins, and exert ourselves to do what is right, and abandon altogether dumb idols; give up the worship of deceased ancestors, and worship alone the Triune God?

From the time that I first heard the Gospel until the present time it is rather more than a year, and I pray that the Holy Spirit may make me steadfast, so that I may be able to keep the ten commandments ó believe in the Saviour, even to the end, without any deviation. And in the world to come I hope in the Lord Jesus, that he will save my soul, and give me to enjoy the happiness that is unbounded. This is the earnest wish of my heart.

Denomination: Wesleyan Methodist
Place: Castlemaine
Location: State Library of Victoria
Missionary: Leong on Tong
Name of Convert: Thomas Leong-yek-Foong
Age: 47.
Education: 4 years
District: Sin Ning (Taishan)
Years in Victoria: 9 years
Locations in Victoria: Castlemaine and District
Occupation: Miner

A statement of the profession of Thomas Leong-yek-Foong, forty-seven years of age of the village of Hap Leang, in the district of Sin Ning [Taishan], in the province of Canton, a candidate for baptism:

When a youth I attended school for four years, and then became a common labourer to obtain a livelihood. Upon hearing of the opening of the goldfields at this advantageously situated country, I became unsurpassedly delighted, and having provided my passage, arrived at this place, when, happily having obtained a little success, I returned home to China, but I came again to this country.

For a while, being ignorant that the happiness of the life to come is the greatest happiness, and not knowing to honour and worship the Creator, uniformly kept in my mind the pursuit of profit, and only sought the comforts of the present life. I therefore gave an unrestrained license to my desires; continually worship evil spirits and sacrificing to idols, in order to supplicate them to protect me and make very rich, not calculating the future day of everlasting misery and eternal punishment; but blindly acting and wasting the time, and breaking God's commandments. Ignorant, how much!

Happily, last year, my relation, Mr. Leong-ah-Peng, who first believed the Lord's doctrines, and exceedingly desired me to walk in the same road, and I was thus specially induced to see Mr. Leong-on-Tong, and to receive his teachings; very
different to my native customs, leading me to feel that my former thoughts and actions had been very wrong. Speaking to me, he said all men had invaluable souls, and if we only expected to obtain the pleasures of this world, then we did not know our own souls, 'for what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?' and 'We brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out.' That man is a stranger residing in the world. Your black hair is become white. Now you are aged, not young and strong, delay not to make haste to believe the Saviour and to serve the true God. 'Therefore be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of man cometh.' Do not delay, but early repent. The time is passing, the Judge is at hand. desire to do good, and do not wait.

Upon hearing these words, I returned home, and kept in mind man's original great sin and evil, and that his life is not of the greater importance because I almost approach old age If I should not confess my sins, and pray for forgiveness, then would my soul not know what to rely on.

Whereupon, having some idle hour and on Sundays I went to Mr. Leong-on-Tong's place to hear explanation of the doctrines of the gospel, grateful for his prayers for me that I might obtain the Holy Spirit, and be converted. I resolved to worship God, and believe and rely on the Saviour.

I was sorry that I came to know these doctrines late. My future time is little. My past is much. It is therefore important for me to seek baptism and wash away the dirt. I have believed these doctrines about one year. Mr. Leong-on-Tong, who always advised me to watch the time and prepare for death, that the Saviour died upon the cross, and to keep in mind to serve and fear God, I humbly praying God for his Holy Spirit to establish my heart, to hold the ten commandments unchanged, and to hope that God would receive my soul for the sake of Jesus Christ, that I might obtain everlasting happiness. Amen.

Denomination: Wesleyan Methodist
Place: Castlemaine
Location: State Library of Victoria.
Name: James Gin-Kung

We append to these interesting particulars a letter received from Rev. Dr. Evans, superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission in British Columbia, speaking in the highest terms of a Chinese, JAMES GIN-KUNG a convert of Leong-A-Toe and now a resident of Vancouver's island, The Doctor having kindly acted as amanuensis to his Chinese acquaintance adds his own pleasing testimony . . . to his integrity and Christian character. Victoria V.I., July 13, 1865..
Mr. Chapman, Vaughan Australia.
Dear Sir,-Since I left you at Vaughan, I have made a pleasant voyage to Hong Kong, I remained there six months. Leong-a-Toe went with me. He removed to Canton where he is doing some Mission work.
I arrived here on the 7th of April with a cargo. I am trying to improve my English, and to get instruction in religious truth. I attend the Wesleyan Church and the Sabbath School.
I wish you to read this to Charles Baker, and John H. Waite (your brother-in-law,) and
Matthew and Mr. Radcliffe and John Grey, and John William and all my friends. Also to (Rev) Mr. Hill, of Castlemaine.
I hope you all pray for me, as I wish to be good by tho help of God.
In about six months, I expect to be in Hong if Kong. I shall be glad to got a letter from Mr. Baker. I wrote to him from Hong Kong but did not get an answer.
I pray often for you all. If we never meet again on earth, I hope we shall meet in Heaven
I am taking lessons two evenings in the week from Rev. Dr. Evans, superintendent of Wesleyan missions in Vancouver Island and British Columbia. There are many Chinese here, and I hope they may get some religious benefit.
I am, dear sir, your dear friend,
JAMES GIN-KUNG.

Dear Sir, I have had pleasure in being the amanuensis of your Chinese friend and former pupil. My acquaintance with him is of recent date, but it has been very gratifying He seems to be in earnest in the pursuit of religious knowledge and I think has some enjoyment of the Divine favour. I am hoping to get a good class of his countrymen within the range of instruction, and pray that light may be carried by them into their own land.” He speaks very kindly of you, and appreciates your aid when under your instruction. May God bless you and your fellow-labourers. Yours truly,    EPHM. EVANS.

Denomination: Wesleyan Methodist
Place: Castlemaine
Location: State Library of Victoria.
Missionary: Cheong Peng-nam. James Moy Ling
Name of Convert: Lay Wong-Heng
Age: 47.
Education: 10 years
District: Sin Ning (Taishan)
Years in Victoria: 9 years
Locations in Victoria: Castlemaine and District
Occupation: miner and storekeeper

I, LAY WONG HENG was born in the province of Sun King and am now forty-seven years old. I was at school for five years, came to this colony in 1856, and went to the diggings for several years since which time I have kept a store.

When in China I worshipped idols, and observed the other idolatrous customs of paying homage to ancestors, and many heathen practices, and was a diligent student of the heathen writings commonly read in the country. At that time I had heard nothing about the true God, and knew not that he had given His Son to die for the world. On my way to this country I staid (sic) in Hong Kong for a few days, and heard a Missionary preach. He said that people must give up idols, and worship the true God, but I did not believe what I heard.

About three years ago I met Low Hoey, a Christian Chinese, who talked to me about the religion of Jesus; and I was impressed with what I heard, although I still doubted. After this I heard another Chinese, Kong Hee, explain the way of salvation. Kong Hee frequently prayed with me. I began to feel that I was a sinner. I also heard after that Peng Nam [Presbyterian Catechist, Ballarat] preach, from whom I received
I. Enoch Hang-Pang, aged 31 years, a native of the village of E, in the district of Sun-Neng, in Canton Province, respectfully make application for baptism.

I was sent to school when I was a boy of five years of age. Having but dull capacities, I never dared to aspire after literary fame, and, therefore, betook myself to ordinary occupations.

Not being successful in trade for a series of years, through the kind exercise of a friend I enlisted as a soldier in the Chinese army.

At that time, I heard there were Christians in Canton, who had the good object in view of teaching men to abandon vice and follow virtue, to give up worldly ways and the worship of evil spirits and idols. I was then immersed in these sinful practices, and felt in no hurry to give them up. I was, moreover, prevented by my duties as soldier from applying my mind to the study of Christian doctrines, and hence had not the opportunity of learning by experience the happiness to be derived from this source.

After a while, hearing of the discovery of the goldfields in Australia, and that the English people there were very kind to the stranger from a distant land; and learning also that those who went to Australia made fortunes, and were enabled to return to their native land, the desire to obtain wealth all at once sprung up in my mind. I got together the means to provide for my passage to that inviting country.

For the space of nine years I have been engaged in this country in gold-digging. Occasionally I have embarked in small trading speculations, but all these have ended in fruitless results.

In the third month of last year, when I came to Ballarat from Mount Misery to dig
for gold, I happened one Sunday to go to the Chinese Chapel, where I heard the
doctrine of salvation by Jesus Christ proclaimed. There, too, I learned there was but
one true and living God, that He had forbidden the worship of all kinds of idols, and
that those who broke His laws would be liable to punishment.

I also met with Cheong-Peng-Nam, who often came to my house, and expounded
the sacred Scriptures to me. He told me that in these Scriptures God had clearly
made known to men heavenly truths; that Jesus would come again to judge the
world, and then the righteous would be received into heaven, while the wicked
would be consigned to hell. I began to think these were words I had never heard
before, and hitherto I had been wrong in worshipping evil spirits and graven
images, and besides I had been guilty of a great many improper actions, and my sins
were innumerable.

One Sunday I heard Cheong-Peng-Nam discoursing on the subject of Jesus
feeding five thousand persons with five loaves and two little fishes, and after they
had eaten, twelve baskets were filled with the fragments. Has not he who can do
such a thing, thought I, power divine? I also heard him say that Jesus was God’s
beloved Son; and that God sent Him from heaven to earth that he might make
atonement upon the cross for man’s sin, that whosoever believeth in Him might not
perish, but have eternal life; and we sinners had all previous souls, and this day we
had the privilege of hearing the news of salvation, and were invited to put our trust
in Christ, so that we might obtain the forgiveness of sins, and in the world to come
attain bliss everlasting. Was not the blessing offered us, he said, great?

Upon this I determined to embrace these doctrines. From that time till now,
between eight and nine months, every Lord’s Day I have gone to chapel to listen to
what was preached. Cheong-Peng-Nam used also to give me tracts and prayer-
books, which I read and recited every day. Although there are wicked people who
slander me, I care but little for that.

At times I go to Peng-Nam’s house, and receive Christian instruction from him,
and prays to God for me that my sins may be forgiven.

At times I go to Mr. Young’s house, and there examine God’s Word. In this way
the Spirit renews my heart, and I experience joy in my soul. I greatly value the
doctrine of salvation by Jesus.

I desire now to renounce the world, and to give up the worship of dumb idols
and deceased ancestors, and to honour the only one Ruler of heaven and earth, who
is the Eternal Supreme. I crave baptism and desire to be washed from my sins. And I
pray to God to bestow upon me His Holy Spirit, to strengthen my faith, and to
increase my knowledge, that I understand the deep things of the Bible, and keep
God’s holy commandments, and remain steadfast to the end. And I hope that in the
life to come, Jesus may grant unto my soul the enjoyment of heavenly felicity. This is
my heart’s wish.

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2 The ‘Rev’ William Young. See Welch, Ian (1980), Pariahs and Outcasts, Christian Missions to
the Chinese in Australia, MA, Monash University.
I, LEW-JIM, 34 years of age, a native of Ho-Chiun, in the district of Sun-woey, [Xinhui] in Canton Province, respectfully apply for baptism.

I here give a short account of the way in which I first came to believe the truth. I was born of poor parents, and have studied but little. My occupation in China was that of a common labourer. I used to seek profit in petty trading, in order to obtain a living; but it was gain alone I sought in this way. I worshipped evil spirits, in order to obtain happiness from them; I praised demons, with the view of getting assistance from them; and was led astray by worldly customs. I knew nothing of the true God; how, then, could I know of the Saviour Jesus, of whom I had never heard while I was in China?

Thus I lived in darkness, and indulged in unrestrained immoral practices, and all the while ignorant that I was transgressing the commandments of God. The sins I committed I can hardly describe. Fortunate was it that God opened up the goldfields of this country, and made my covetous desire of gain the means of my coming hither.

I have been engaged in gold-digging for these ten years past; but with all my running hither and thither, and my hundred plans, I have not make anything. If, perchance, at times I had a little surplus money, it was spent in extravagance; thus what was wickedly hoarded up became a cause of misery.

My detention in this country for so many years, until I was brought to hear the sound of the Gospel, is owing to God’s providence. although I was once before in Ballarat, and had heard Mr. Young and Cheong-Peng-Nam teach the Gospel, yet at that time my mind was so full of anxieties and so unsettled that I felt no disposition to believe implicitly what they taught.

It was fortunate that I was not in a position speedily to return to China, and that I have been till now detained in this country. From Mount Misery I came to Ballarat a second time, and again heard the two above-mentioned teachers declare the truths of the God’s Word. It is owing to their diligent instructions that I have become enlightened as to the true road; they, moreover, prayed with me. Thus my mind has become daily more settled; and through the secret operations of the Holy Spirit, I sincerely believe the truth. During these eight or nine months past I have come to know that what I have been doing in days gone by has been altogether wrong, and to understand that there is nothing superior to God’s truth.
Therefore I desire to give up the worship of Buddha and dumb idols, and never more to sacrifice to the spirits of departed ancestors, but only to honour the triune God. Moreover, I entreat God to confer upon me in rich measure the help of His Holy Spirit, to establish my heart in the truth, so that I may mourn bitterly over my past sins, believe in the Saviour, keep the ten commandments, and be steadfast to the last. Thus may I expect that God will, in this life, comfort my heart by His Holy Spirit, and in the world to come admit my soul, through the merits of the Saviour, to the everlasting enjoyment of the happiness that fades not away. This is what I earnestly desire.

Denomination: Wesleyan Methodist  
Place: Castlemaine  
Location: Uniting Church (New South Wales Synod) Church Records and Historical Society, Archives and Research Centre, 3 Blackwood Place, North Parramatta 2151.  
Name of Convert: Lee Man Ching  
Age: not known  
Education: 3 years  
District: Sun-woe y (Xinhui)  
Years in Victoria: 9 years  
Locations in Victoria: Castlemaine and District. Ballarat and District  
Occupation: miner

LEE MAN CHING. When a boy, I was at school nearly three years, and learned a few characters; but from poverty, I was obliged to give up the idea of an education, and betake myself to farming.

I was always desiring riches, and prayed to the Gods and to Buddha for secret help to enter the path of wealth; so, when once I heard of the goldfields, I vowed to these false Gods that, if I was successful, I would speedily return to my native land, and present offerings to them. I came to the goldfields, and have been a digger nine years, and sometimes I got hold of money, but I was never satisfied; so I did not return to China.

Formerly, although I had heard Leung-on-Tung preach the Gospel, yet I did not know the truth and beauty of this doctrine. I only gathered that I was not to worship idols; so I despised his words, for I was always bent on worshipping them. On recalling my disposition to worship idols, I now see that it arose out of my covetous desires, as I only asked them to help me to wealth and profit by directing me to the right ticket in the lottery. Once I had a few pounds in my purse, but soon lost them and being without resources I went to Ma-lat (Ballaarat). Yet still I gambled. I had heard the Teacher Yeung [Reverend William Young] and Cheung Pingnam preach, but my covetousness shut out the Gospel. I became poorer still; so I returned to Castlemaine, where happily I had a partner who was a believer, and he led me to the chapel to hear the Gospel, and to Leung-on-Tung’s house. As he knew me, he explained the word of God, and exhorted me, showing that the ‘love of money is the root of all evil’, and that covetousness was equally with idolatry sinful in God’s
sight. He showed me the falseness of idolatry, its sinfulness and rebellion against God, and that God must punish all idolators.
I, QUON FONG was born in Sen Foy [Xinhui] district. I went to school when I was a big boy, but was not at school very long. After that I worked with my father on the farm, and at other businesses, for some years. I followed the example of my parents, and worshipped Gods made by men’s hands out of wood and stone. We also worshipped large trees that grew on the mountains and in the fields, because we believed that great spirits lived in them. I believed in fortune-telling, and spent a great deal of time and money in worshipping at the graves of my ancestors, because we believed their spirits were able to help and guide us.

I was more than forty years old when I heard of the gold-diggings in Australia. I came here seventeen years ago, and went on to the diggings, and continued to worship idols. I often heard Chinamen speak about the religion of Jesus, and they spoke against it, but I did not think much about it, for I thought from what learned Chinamen told me that our nation was older than any other nation, and our religion was the oldest and the best, and that our Gods were better than the Gods of other people.

I got on very badly on the goldfields and about two years ago I came down to Melbourne to go back to China; for a friend of mine in Melbourne owed me a little money that would have been enough to pay my passage home; but when I came down he could not pay me, because he had done badly in business.

So I stayed in Melbourne, and sold fish and gathered rags to get my living. James Ah Ling and other Christians came to the house where I lived, and asked me to go to the service in Little Bourke-street, but I said to them, ‘I don’t want your religion.’ They kept asking me to go, and to get rid of them I said, ‘Oh yes, I will come.’ But I did not go. But Daniel Si Fae, a friend of mine who came from my district in China, became a Christian and was baptized in Wesley Church. He talked with me about the new religion he had found, and told me how happy it made him, and said that I must go to the service, and see James Ah Ling. I did not go for some time, but Si Fae went to Ballarat, and left a message for me that the next time Ah Ling asked me I must go to the service. Next Sunday I went.

I heard things that I had never heard before, and they were very interesting, and I have attended the services ever since. As I listened to the preaching, I heard things that I had done spoken against, such as worshipping idols, and ancestors, and smoking opium; but I did not feel that I was a sinner. But on Easter Sunday, twelve months ago, Ah Ling preached about Christ on the cross, and about our sins causing Christ’s sufferings, and I felt very sorry. I could not stop the tears from rolling down my cheeks, and I saw many others there crying too. I went home, but all that night I could not sleep, thinking about what Christ had suffered, and I saw that I was a sinner, and that my soul was in danger. Next afternoon, Ah Ling came to see me, and I said to him, ‘I am so glad to see you, I want you to pray for me.’ He prayed
with me, and told me that Christ would save me, for He had died for me. But I was still troubled, and was in trouble for some weeks. I could not sleep. My mind was not at rest.

But one evening I went to a prayer meeting at Ah Ling’s house. I was in great trouble. I knelt down by a form, and when the others got up to sing, I could not. I kept kneeling, and while they were praying, and Ah Ling was talking to me, a change came over my heart; I felt my sins were pardoned. Before that I feared God, but ever since that I have had joy when I think of God. I felt like a man brought out of a dark room into the open light. I saw how ignorant I had been. God had made me and kept me in life, and I had not known him. I had sinned against Him, and had worshipped idols of wood and stone instead of Him; and I thanked God that I had not gone back to China, for if I had gone home I might have worshipped idols all my life.

Since that I have had great pleasure, I have attended all the services, I get more light and happiness. Two or three months after this some of my relations came down from the country to go home to China, and offered to pay my passage if I would go with them, but I would not go, because I wanted to stay here to get more light, to get stronger. So that if ever I do go back I might be better able to stand myself, and to do good for others. **I had hard work to give up smoking opium, for I had smoked it for many years, and it seemed as if I could not live without it. I wanted to be baptised, but Ah Ling told me that I must give up smoking opium altogether before I could be baptised. At last, through God’s help, I gave it up, but giving it up nearly killed me. I was very ill, but I thank God, because through His help I have given it up altogether.** And now I wish to be baptised.

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**Denomination:** Wesleyan Methodist  
**Place:** Castlemaine  
**Provenance:** *Wesleyan Missionary Notices London*, October 1868, p 100.  
**Location:** State Library of Victoria.  
**Missionary:** Cheong Peng-nam.  
**Name of Convert:** Ham Lin Tip  
**Age:** not known.  
**Education:** 2 years  
**District:** Sun Ming (Sin Ning ñ Taishan)  
**Years in Victoria:** 13 years  
**Locations in Victoria:** Castlemaine and District  
**Occupation:** Miner, cook, butcher.

HAM LIN TIP from the village Bark Tshoe, district Sun Ming, province of Canton, states his reasons for believing these doctrines: I was very poor and was scarcely two years at school. I only knew a few Chinese characters. I was ignorant, and did not know that there was a God in heaven, who governed this world. I only through the spirits of images were in the sky, and came to shelter and bless men in this world, therefore I devoutly worshipped before them hoping that they would give me happiness.

I came to this country about thirteen years ago, still keeping to Chinese customs. I was a gold digger, and having made a little money, went into business. First, I kept a cook’s shop. Not getting much profit I became a butcher, but in this business lost all
my money. I through of a hundred ways of becoming rich. I did not know that God had arranged my life, and that images were false. I now hope that God’s blessing has made me rich.

The year before last I lived at Vaughan, and was again a digger. I heard Leong-On-Tong preach there in a Wesleyan chapel. I thought what he said was good. Afterwards I came to the Chinese church at Castlemaine, and heard him preach with pleasure. It was like as if a cloud had removed before the sun, and the light shone out. I believed that God is the Father of this world, and that Jesus is his only begotten Son, and came from heaven to save sinners, and I was very glad to learn His truth.

But as my mates were unbelievers I felt it very inconvenient to remain with them, and therefore joined some Christian friends at Barker’s Creek. And now I found myself very free and happy. But being unable to get a living, I went back to Vaughan to work in an old paddock, and for a time I remembered God and prayed to Him, though my mates were unbelievers. They however abhorred me and cursed me. At length I was tempted by my mate to give up, and forsake God, and deny the truth.

An accident happened to me about this time. I fell down in a steep place and dislocated my leg. My mate tempted me to make a vow to images till my leg should get better; that is to make an offering of pork and fowls to the image, and to fall down before him. My mind was not comfortable. If I sat down, not happy - if I slept, not happy. I ate and drank less each day, and I could not work. I was sick, and yet not sick, I was mad, and yet not mad ó I had no spirit left. I now thought God is rebuking me for returning to the images. I will again seek the true God. But I found I could not; the devil had got hold of me. But Leong-on-Tong came to preach at Vaughan again; he called on me, and asked me come and hear him preach. He exhorted me, and very much comforted me; my heart was a little more happy; therefore I went home and thought it over. If I don’t believe in Jesus, I cannot be happy; my soul will be lost. Then my heart believed in the truth.

Denomination: Wesleyan Methodist
Place: Castlemaine
Location: State Library of Victoria.
Missionary: Leong On Tong
Name of Convert: Hoa Pang
Age: not known.
Education: not known
District: not known
Years in Victoria: not known
Locations in Victoria: Castlemaine and District
Occupation: Chinese temple keeper

Address by Leong on Tong at Baptismal Service in Castlemaine Wesleyan Methodist Church, 6 December 1868 at baptism of HOA PANG

I am very glad to present to you tonight four brothers who have been turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; and I beg to be allowed to say a few words. My countrymen arc very superstitious, and worship images. It is very difficult to enlighten them. It would be impossible with man's strength; but
with God's strength it is possible. In ordinary cases it is difficult to give up images
but how much more difficult for a joss-house keeper to abandon his Gods and serve
the true God. But God exerted his great power to move our brother's heart, and
causeth him to see his sinfulness and tremble for fear of God's anger. He led him to
give up the dark way, and brought him into marvellous light. Who could do such a
thing as this but God? When I was converted I straightway knew that God was
Almighty. I pray Him still to exert his power, and cause all the images to be
destroyed and convert all the idol temples into Christian churches. I have long been
praying that God will do these mighty things; and I praise I Him for what little we
now see at this present. May all the idols of China, like these on this table, be in
captivity in Christian temples like that at the Moonlight Flat; and all joss-house
keepers, like Hoa Pang, become Christians. May this Gospel spread everywhere! As
God is a very merciful God, I trust He will grant the desire of my heart. Amen.

Denomination: Presbyterian
Place: Ballarat East, (St. John’s Presbyterian Church, Peel Street)
Provenance: The Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of
Victoria, October 1873, p 7.
Location: State Library of Victoria.
Missionary: Cheong Peng-nam.
Name of Convert: James Ah Kee
Age: 28.
Education: not known
District: Sun-woe y (Xinhui)
Years in Victoria: 13 years
Locations in Victoria: Ballarat and District
Occupation: miner

I, JAMES (AH) KEE, a tea-dealer by trade, was born in Ha Loo, of the district of Sun Wooy,
of Canton Province, aged 28 years, respectfully ask for baptism. I beg to say some things how
I got in the way of truth and salvation.
I came to this country in 1860, and was occupied for some time in the gold digging; but at
that time I knew nothing beyond the system of religion prevalent in China, and as to the
salvation and redemption of mankind by Jesus, my ears were never blessed with the hearing
of it.

On a Sabbath, about four years ago, a gentleman took me to church to hear the
preaching in English. I thought that the preaching was somewhat like the system of
Chinese moral philosophy, namely, that it taught people to do what is good, and to
reject that which is evil; so I continued going to church every Sabbath regularly.
Although I understood but little English yet, I was of opinion that it would lead me
towards the good path, and to avoid evil company.

Sometimes I heard the words of Jesus taking away the sins of men. I felt
delighted, but did not know how the sins of men originated. Happily, a friend called
upon me and gave me a Chinese book, which was called New Testament. I opened it
for to read what it speaks of. I only knew the characters which represented God and
Jesus, but as to what it speaks about them I was altogether ignorant without some
one to instruct me. It happened that Mr. Peng Nam Cheong came to reside in
Melbourne, near my place. He constantly came to call on me, and explained to me
the mystery of that book, namely, of the Saviour, who came to the world to redeem
us from sin, and of the great mercy of God, the Creator and Preserver of all things,
and who especially pointed out to me from the test of Romans v.12, and John iii, 17-
18, ‘Therefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so
death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned.’ ‘For God sent not His son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved. He that believeth on Him is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God.’ And always with me offer prayer to God for His Holy Spirit to enlighten my darkness heart.

Thus I felt my sins came with my birth, and the great mercy of God, who sent his only-begotten Son, that the world through Him might be saved. Then should I not ardently to study the sacred Scripture morning and evening, sorely to repent of my sins, and rely on Jesus for the salvation of my soul. Therefore I regularly attended Rev. Mr. Hamilton’s Chinese Bible class, in order that I might derive benefit from his instruction. So I now wished to beg to be baptised, to put away my evil thoughts, to repent of all my former evil works, like the water wash away my pollution. I hope God will forgive my sins, and give his Holy Spirit to help me, and I will not go into temptation. May be present life be proper for entering into the Christian Church; my soul will obtain the happiness in heaven. Amen.
Appendix 11

Victorian Protestant Christian Missions to the Chinese
in 19th Century Victoria

Reports and Journals
of Missionaries and Catechists
INTRODUCTION

The documents following are some examples, from a very much longer set, of the reports prepared by the mission boards and missionaries engaged in the evangelisation of the Chinese in Victoria in the 19th century.

A fuller set will be found in due course on the site of the same name on the Chinese History at Australian Federation (CHAF) website at:
http://www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au/

The documents show the kind of concerns raised in the regular round of meetings in the workplaces and homes of the Chinese. There is a marked shift in from the early days of hopeful expectation (triumphalism and pious fraud) to the more mature reflections of later years when it was accepted that the missionary interests of the churches did not match the cultural imperatives of the Chinese in Victoria.

Some important and enduring themes will be found in careful reading. The most important is the Chinese fear of Christianity as part of the process of Western domination of China and with that, the resentment of the ‘invasion’ of China associated with the opium trade. The reports of the Chinese differ significantly from those of the Europeans and the reader should be aware of these differences that emerge from a careful reading of the documents.

Each document is introduced with the name of the author; the category (usually their missionary society); the main geographic focus of the report and, most important of all for those wishing to pursue these documents for further research, the source from which they were extracted.

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The following people are cited:

Ballarat Chinese Mission. (Ecumenical).
Presbyterian Chinese Mission.

Lo Sam-yuen
Anglican catechist from Diocese of Hong Kong.
Victoria Chinese Mission, Castlemaine. (Ecumenical).
Ballarat Chinese Mission. (Ecumenical).
Anglican Chinese Mission, Yackandandah and northeast Victoria.

Rev. Richard Fletcher
Minister, St Kilda Congregational Church.
Secretary and Treasurer, Victoria Chinese Mission, Castlemaine (Ecumenical).
Alien Son

Cheong Peng-nam
Anglican convert, Beechworth NE Victoria, 1859.  
Chinese Bible Class, Presbyterian Church, Napier St Fitzroy.  
1872-1875.

Rev. William Hill
Methodist Minister, Superintendent of Castlemaine and Sandhurst (Bendigo) District.

Rev. William Matthew
Presbyterian Minister, Pleasant Creek (Stawell), Victoria.  
Superintendent, Presbyterian Chinese Mission.

Leong A Toe
Convert, London Missionary Society, Hong Kong.  
Student at LMS Anglo-Chinese College, Hong Kong.  
Catechist, Victoria Chinese Mission, Castlemaine  
Catechist, Methodist Chinese Mission, Castlemaine

Leong On Tong
Convert, Methodist Chinese Mission, Castlemaine  
Catechist, Methodist Chinese Mission, Castlemaine.  
Ordained Minister, Methodist Chinese Mission, Victoria.

Rev. George Mackie
Presbyterian Minister, St Kilda Pres. Church.  
Secretary, Presbyterian Chinese Mission.

Phillip Lee Hyung
Convert, Presbyterian Chinese Mission, Victoria.  
Catechist, Presbyterian Chinese Mission, Araluen Valley, New South Wales.

James Lee Mouy Ling
Convert, Methodist Chinese Mission, Victoria  
Ordained Minister, Methodist Chinese Mission, Victoria.

Paul Ng Chan Quong
Convert, Presbyterian Church, Pleasant Creek (Stawell), Victoria.  
Catechist, Presbyterian Chinese Mission, Ballarat.
Report of the proceedings in connection with the Chinese Mission established at Castlemaine, commencing 10th and ending 31st July 1855, and presented to the local committee, August 16th.

The field is an entirely new one and consequently has first to be surveyed for the purpose of enabling us to find out where the densest mass of Chinese might be met with, and thus arrange us to the localities where it would be most advisable to hold religious services for their benefit both on Sabbath and week days.¹

Commencing with the diggings nearest Castlemaine, the two Chinese teachers and myself extended our excursions to more distant localities and introduced ourselves among the Chinese as individuals who had come with the specific object of making known to them the truths of Divine revelation. We took the opportunity also of our first interviews with them of asking them whether if we opened a place of public worship for them, they would be willing to attend. The answer to this was, I may say, almost universally in the affirmative, and there were some few who remarked that they were accustomed, while at Hong Kong, to attend Christian worship, and mentioned the name of Jesus to show that they were no strangers to such worship . . .

At nine o’clock, therefore, on the morning of [15 July] some of our number went to the Chinese tents and invited the inmates to come and hear the public reading and explanation of God's Word.² Between forty and forty-five attended; and in the afternoon, as far as I can recollect, about the same number were present. [Ho A Low took the morning service, Chu A Luk the afternoon]

The following two Sabbaths, the 22nd and 29th July, the number of Chinese present at our morning services was much smaller than that of the first Sabbath. This as I afterwards perceived, arose from the circumstances of the Chinese being in the habit of devoting the greater part of the forenoon if not all of it, to washing themselves, shaving their heads, plaiting their tails, and attending to various little matters connected with their domestic arrangements . . . In the afternoon they generally do not require so much pressure to turn out in larger numbers.

In addition to the public services on the Sabbath, I must mention that the two young teachers,³ with myself, have been in the habit of going out every morning, except Saturday which is set apart for Sabbath preparation, to the different creeks and flats, for the purpose of distributing tracts, or reading them, and portions of the

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¹ It was a common practice in many evangelical denominations in the 19th century to refer to Sunday as the Sabbath, i.e., God’s day of rest. The Old Testament Sabbath, observed by Jews, is Saturday.

² This was the standard practice of all the Victorian Missions to the Chinese.

³ Two young ex-students of the Anglo-Chinese College operated by the London Missionary Society in Hong Kong, Ho A Low and Chu A Luk, arrived in Melbourne in June 1855 with a third man, Wat A Che. They had references from the Principal of the College, Rev Dr James Legge, and reported themselves to the Rev John Legg Poore, the senior Congregational minister in Victoria. Ho and Chu were employed by the newly formed interdenominational Victoria Chinese Mission. See Welch, Ian (1980), Pariahs and Outcasts, Christian Missions to the Chinese in Australia, MA, Monash University
Scriptures to the Chinese, and conversing with them on religious topics, either in their tents, or at the scene of their daily work . . .

One of the Chinese teachers [Chu A Luk] has found on these diggings, he tells me, some thirty or forty of his nephews (first and second cousins I think he means) and a great number of acquaintances. From these he has met with a very warm reception, and he will, I am persuaded, use the influence he seems to possess over them for the purpose of bringing them into contact with the word of God and the ordinances of religion. The greater number of them seem to have settled at Forest Creek.

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4 See Chapters 1 and 2.
FIFTH REPORT, read at the United Monthly Prayer-meeting, held at the Congregational Chapel on the evening of Dec 3, 1855:

During the month of November, the attendance of the Chinese at our stated Sabbath services has maintained almost as high an average has that of the previous month. 576 persons have been present at the four services in November, giving 144 hearers to each Sabbath day. The distribution of New Testaments has been exceedingly limited, not more than two or three copies having been given away. The more intelligent and reading portion of those with whom we come into contact having been already supplied with them, will account for the small number given away during the month.

The Chinese Chapel on Clinkers Hill, which was in course of erection at the time the last report was presented to you, was completed on Friday, the 9th of November, and was to have been opened on the following sabbath. Its external appearance and internal accommodation seemed to make a reasonable impression on the Chinese. Many of them, on returning to their tents, stopped for a good while to survey the chapel, which they all admired, and pronounced it with great glee to be wally goot (very good), the highest praise they felt able to bestow upon it in the English language. On the evening of the day that the building was completed, the wind rose remarkably high, and before midnight it blew a hurricane. The violence and duration of the storm made me feel apprehensive that the little chapel would succumb beneath its shock. Next morning early I started to the spot to see whether or not my fears were realised. On my way thither I saw the ravages committed by the storm on two or three buildings of solid structure in and near the square of Castlemaine. I was prepared therefore to see a good deal of damage done to the newly erected chapel. When I arrived at the spot, I saw nearly the whole a mass of wreck. Almost the whole of the wooden frame (which the Chinese carpenter, I am sorry to say, put up rather slightly) was shattered, and the calico a good deal rent by the falling of the rafters and ridgepole: the seats, however, remained uninjured. While surveying with regret the ruins of what had been completed with much painstaking, I saw the Chinese, who also were sufferers from the storm, trying to repair the injuries their tents had sustained; and as misery, it is said, loves company all the sympathy I got from them was a hoarse and loud laugh, accompanies with some joking expressions. For a few days I was in doubt whether it would be advisable to reconstruct the building: I was half inclined to abandon it as a hopeless undertaking, until some kind friends encouraged me to have it rebuilt. I obtained therefore an estimate of the cost of doing so from Mr Blackwell, and finding it would not amount to more than £6, I set about the work of collecting the required sum. Half of it has already been raised, and I hope the other half will be soon obtained. The Chapel is now reared again, and is far more substantially built than before. We had the pleasure of opening it last sabbath, the 25th instant, for divine service. 33 Chinese were present: including ourselves, there were altogether 36 persons. The teacher Chu-a-luk offered the introductory prayer, and the teacher Ho-a-low read and explained the 5th chapter of the 1st Kings, and made remarks appropriate to the occasion. This chapter I got him previously to translate in his own language, as we have not a single copy of the Old Testament with us. The service concluded with prayer. Chinese both of the Heang-shan [Zhongshan] and Su-iap [See Yup]5 clans met at the first service. Perhaps it is not generally known, that between these two clans, though they

5 See Chapters 1 and 2.
come from the same province in China, there exists a state of feeling not unlike that which subsisted between the Jews and Samaritans of old. I have not been able to ascertain what circumstance has given birth to this feeling of deep-rooted animosity; but I never see these two clans encamping together, or working together in any large bodies. One of the Chinese, in describing their characteristics, said that the one was peaceably disposed and yielding, and other pugnacious and haughty. Disputes, too, on the gold fields, which have arisen among them, have tended to widen the breach that originally existed, and which will never be healed until the influence of the Gospel on their hearts terminates the hostile feeling and destroys the wall of partition which now socially separates them. Such being the state of feeling between the two clans, it was pleasing to see Chinese belonging to both of them coming to the opening of the first Chinese Christian place of worship built on the gold field.

On the 1st of November, I went with Chu-a-luk to Campbells Creek. We entered a tent, where five Chinese were sitting, evidently at leisure. As we were acquainted with them, we were welcomed to a seat in the tent. I requested their attention to a chapter which I selected for Chu-a-luk to read to them; it was the 23rd chapter of Matthew. The parable of the marriage supper made by the kind for his son having been read, and its primary references to the Jews illustrated, Chu-a-luk made some very pertinent remarks, by way of application of the subject of the parable to the hearts of his listeners. He told the Chinese how God's invitation of mercy had come to them, but it was rejected in various ways by frivolous excuses, such as I must go and dig for gold; by hollow promises, I will come presently to the chapel, and yet never coming; and by indulging in carnal enjoyments, staying at home to smoke opium. They were all told plainly of their duty to repent and believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. After the remarks in connection with the parable were concluded, a general conversation ensured.

One of the Chinese began to compare the people of different nations, and his remarks on their peculiarities showed that he was a keen observer. He eulogised the Americans and ranked the English as next to them. Describing the Malays, he said they were vindictive and bloodthirsty, and could be persuaded to take away the life of a fellow creature for the sum of two or three pence; and the Irish he described as exceedingly irascible. I took occasion from the remarks he made to tell how excellent the Gospel of Christ was, inasmuch as wherever it was received, it altered men's corrupt dispositions, did away with anger, railing, and murder, and taught men to love and respect each other.

While I have been often cheered at witnessing the readiness with which the Chinese have listened to the reading of God's Word, I have also, from time to time, been pained at the apathy they have manifested. Sometimes not the slightest indication is given that the subject brought under their consideration possess the least possible interest to their minds so wholly do matters connected with their worldly pursuits absorb their thoughts, and so unattractive are topics connected with things spiritual. On other occasions, again, while the Gospel is listened to, and the principles it inculcates are enforced, the enmity of the carnal mind which cannot receive the things of the spirit, is most strongly developed.

On the 15th of the month, the teacher Ho-a-low and myself went to Clinkers Hill, where a part of the 5th chapter of the Ephesians was read to a party of four Chinese in a Chinese store. Great attention was paid to what was read. As that passage was read, let his that stole, steal no more, but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth, one man said, We have in China, many that give to the needy. When the last verse was read, and Ho-a-low was dwelling on the subject of forgiving those who had offended us, on the ground that God forgave us our sins for Christ's sake, an animated scene followed. An elderly Chinese, who was seated next to me all the time chapter was read, and, who was looking over my book, exclaimed, as he heard the sentence Forgive another's faults! Forgive indeed! I looked at him, and so did the others, in order to learn what it was that called forth the vehement exclamation. On seeing all eyes turned towards him, he gave vent to his indignation in most bitter invectives against a countryman of his, name Achhe, who he said, had treated him, on his arrival in this colony, in a most shameful manner.
He said he had several relatives then residing under Achhes roof, and none of them would Achhe permit to show him common hospitality, though he was a newcomer; he went so far as to prohibit them from receiving from him the sum of one pound which he had offered to pay them in order to provide him board and lodging. Nor did Achhe stop there, but had taken from him his pick and spade, alleging that they were his. Forgive such a man! He said, why if ever if met him again, I would beat him to death. I endeavoured to calm him down, and asked him to read over the 26th verse, out of the New Testament I still held open in my hand. I read the verse out loud, and he followed me. As that verse is rendered in Chinese, it reads thus, Let not your anger be excessive. I wanted to impress upon him the sinfulness of cherishing malignant feelings so long in his bosom. I said, now do forgive the wrong Achhe has committed against you? No, he said, if I were to meet him again, I would beat him to death. But, I said, remember that great sin that Achhe has committed against you, that you have committed against God, and he forgives you for Christ’s sake. Ah, he said, there are offences one can forgive, and there are offences one cannot forgive, and Achhes offence cannot be forgiven. Whatever was said to him, instead of allaying, seemed to excite his indignant feelings. At length I said, Aged father (a respectful term the Chinese use in addressing those that are elderly) you hairs are gray, act not thus, try to forgive. He still maintained that the offender could not be forgiven, but at the same time he appeared to be somewhat softened down. He had now left his seat from excitement and walked out of the store, but yet was near enough to hear everything that was said, and, as we were still talking on the same subject he was frequently heard to mutter aloud the word forgive. Once more I said, Will you forgive? Very well, he said, and then left the place. After he was gone, I requested Ho-a-low to expatiate on that beautiful feature of the Christian character, a forgiving spirit, and on the blessed amplification of it by our Lord when his enemies were nailing him to the cross. He did so, and was listened to very attentively.

On the 20th instant, the two teachers and myself went to the Adelaide Hill, in order to visit a sick Chinese. On arriving at the place, and entering the sick mans tent, I was shocked to seem his truly pitiable and miserable condition. He seemed like a living skeleton. Nothing whatever in the shape of comfort was to be seen in the tent. A loaf of bread, partly broken, hard as a brick, and black with mould, was lying on the lid of a box that stood beside his miserable bed, which was composed of a few strips of bark, while a jacket or some garment rolled up served for his pillow. On this his head rested about two or three inches above the bare ground; near his pillow were placed a plate and cup, but both were empty.

I asked his mate why something of a nourishing kind was not put near him, in case he wanted it? He said the man had no appetite whatever for food. I put several questions to the sick man, Niw, his mate, and Chu-a-luk, but owing to the poor mans deafness, he could not return any satisfactory answer. After a while, three or four English diggers came up to us, and gave us some information about the poor mans circumstances. They told us that he was a half-witted person, shunned by his countrymen; was (when able to go about) in the habit of begging in the English tents; and used to make known his wants by signs, and pointing to his stomach. Some kind persons had frequently relieved his necessities by giving him bread and butter, coffee and tea, and from time to time a sixpence to a shilling, but our informants thought the money was always taken away from him by his countrymen. The best step, I thought, was to get medical aid for him, and to have a subscription raised among his countrymen at Adelaide Hill for the purpose of getting him a few comforts. Chu-a-luk went to Dr Montgomery, stated the poor mans case, and requested the doctor to pay him a visit. He kindly did so, but the man was then beyond the reach of human skill. He did not long survive our visit.

I have often thought, on witnessing cases of sickness among the Chinese, how great a blessing a hospital would be to them. Many of their sick die from want of proper care and nourishment, as well as exposure to the damp.

On the afternoon of the 27th, Chu-a-luk and myself went to Campbells Flat, for the
purpose of raising a sum of money to enable us to purchase the Wesleyan chapel there. Mr Simson accompanied us to let us know what quantity of calico would be required for covering the chapel anew, the original covering having been much damaged by the storm mentioned before. Chu-a-luk went round to the Chinese tents with the subscription-list in his hand. After he had got some five or six individuals to put down their names, a friend of his took the subscription-list from him, and set about the work of collecting, in such a spirited manner, and such a business style, that in the course of a little more than two hours the sum of £9/10/- was subscribed. An English friend gave us 10/-, which made the total amount collected that afternoon exactly £10. We were much gratified by the manner our appeal was responded to by the Chinese. Each man, as he put down his name, handed us the amount he subscribed; and there is no unpaid subscription in this list, as is the case with the Clinkers Hill subscription-list but Chu-a-luk told them in a humorous manner that he would give them no credit. The Chinese will thus soon have two chapels of their own on this goldfield, wherein, as the Lord permit, Christian worship will be regularly conducted from sabbath to sabbath. May these small beginnings prove the harbingers of great and glorious things, and result at length in the spiritual enlightenment and conversion of these people.

I have been desired by the Chinese at Clinkers Hill to convey their thanks to those kind friends who have contributed their aid in the erection of the chapel at that place, both by their money and the work they have given; a duty which I embrace the present opportunity of discharging, with feelings of very great satisfaction.
Last evening a meeting was held at the United Presbyterian Church, Collins Street, for the purpose of making arrangements for the support of the mission at the goldfields for the Evangelisation of the Chinese. Some time since, the services of the Rev. Mr Young, who had for thirty years been a missionary in China, but had been compelled on account of ill-health to abandon that sphere of usefulness, were engaged to superintend the operations of the two young Chinese missionaries, who arrived here with high testimonials from Dr Legge, they having been brought up in the Theological College at Hong Kong.  

The operations of these young men, and of the Rev. Mr Young, at Castlemaine, appear to have been remarkably successful, large numbers of Chinese being constant in their attendance at the meetings for reading and expounding the Scriptures in the Chinese language, and having contributed liberally towards the erection of a place of Worship. The residents of Castlemaine guaranteed £100 per annum towards the support of the mission and this sum has been paid, but unfortunately so little has been obtained from Melbourne, that the mission was in danger of being abandoned for want of funds, and fears were expressed by some of the speakers last evening, that if the efforts for the conversion of the Chinese to Christianity were permitted to languish, the Roman Catholics would step in and avail themselves of the opening. The Rev. Dr M’Kay remarked that considering China contained one-third the population of the universe, he felt the small efforts which had been made to evangelise so large a portion of the human family a reproach to those who whilst they enjoyed each morning and evening the produce of the labours of the Chinese in the cup which cheers but not inebriates had given them nothing but poison in return, and had done little or nothing for their souls. The Revd. Mr Morrison denied that the Chinese were idolaters, or that there was anything in the Chinese mind which presented a barrier to the acceptance of Christianity. When gold was discovered in California the Chinese rushed to that country, as they had since done to this, and in California they had actually sent for Christian teachers. The following resolutions were adopted:

Moved by the Rev. Mr M’Kay, and seconded by the Rev. Mr Chase
That, as appears from the report already published by this society’s committee, and from the statement submitted to this meeting by Mr Poore, much prospect of success is seen to attend the efforts of the society towards the evangelisation of the Chinese on the goldfields in the colony, this society is called upon and is encouraged to prosecute that important work with increased vigour and liberality.

Moved by the Rev. Mr Morrison, and seconded by the Rev. Mr Fletcher
That this meeting desires to acknowledge the hand of God in sending suitable agents to instruct the Chinamen in their own language in this country, at this particular time, and thence to feel the obligation laid upon the Christian community to support them in their work.

It was intimated at the termination of the meeting that on February 10th, collections of behalf of the mission would be made at the places of worship of the following ministers of the Gospel: Messrs Morrison, Cairns, Miller, Odell, MKay, Hetherington, Fletcher, Chase, Ramsay, Thomas.

Author: Staff Reporter

Refers to the London Missionary Society’s Anglo-Chinese College, see Appendix 8.
CHINESE MISSION  The celebration of the anniversary of the Chinese Mission in this district was held last evening [10 June] in the Church of England Schoolroom, the Bishop of Melbourne, Dr Cairns, and the Revs Low, Poore, Cheyne, Day, Calvert, Wells and Young attending. The room was very will filled and Mr Andrews took the chair. Mr Cheyne, at the opening, gave out a hymn, and the Bishop offered up a prayer, after which Mr Andres opened the business of the meeting by calling upon Mr Young to read an abstract of the results of the mission during the past year. The latter gentleman then came forward, and proceeded to state that during the past year 15,000 hearers had attended his labours. One chapel had been erected, and the materials for the completion of another were in hand. Tracts had been distributed on the various goldfields and every opportunity had been taken advantage of to converse with the Chinese on religious subjects. He estimated the total number of Chinese on the goldfields at 30,000, and said they were principally from Canton and some other unpronounceable district. He concluded by expressing his conviction that in time these people would be converted, as he stated in every instance the greatest facilities had been afforded to the cause, but regretted the number of intelligent Chinese only amounted to one in ten, thereby rendering oral instruction necessary for nine-tenths.

Mr Wells then read the report, showing that on the years operations a debt of £35/13/- existed, at the same time expressing his confidence that the amounts collected this evening would easily discharge it.

The Bishop of Melbourne then moved the first resolution:

This meeting, convinced of the perfect fitness of the Gospel to meet the deep and urgent moral wants of humanity, and its power to cure the spiritual disorders of our race, rejoices in the efforts which are put forth by the Christian Church to extend its beneficent reign, and offers fervent prayer for its universal diffusion and triumph.

He would not weary the meeting with dilating on this text; he wished merely to point out that there existed amongst Christians no distinction or difference of age, class, colour, or sex, instancing several scriptural examples, proceeding to show that the spirit of Christ equally enlightened the Jew and the Gentile. He said the evangelisation of India, though eventually successful, was ridiculed at first, as also of the savages of Africa. The Greenlanders, the stupid Greenlanders, were also brought under the influence of Christianity; and with respect to China, remarkable for its peculiar civilisation, and its restrictive character that too would be Christianised, as an indication of which two native converted Chinese were now present at this meeting. He trusted that the Chinese had been brought here in order that they might have the Gospel preached to them, that we might be able to proclaim to them salvation through Christ, and that it was not presumption to expect such a result. He then detailed his exertions in endeavouring to procure suitable missionaries from the Bishop of Victoria (Hong Kong), as also the means adopted to keep them from being exposed to temptations on arrival. He described his failure in obtaining all he wished, and pleasure on returning from England at finding people here adapted for the object in view. He the proceeded to state the pleasure he felt in meeting the clergy of other denominations in fulfilling this object of Christian love, and fervently hoped that Mr Young and those associated with him would be successful in their efforts to bring converts over to Protestant Christianity, no matter what branch or denomination of it. He trusted that sufficient funds would be raised to found an independent
Victorian mission, entirely distinct from any one branch of the Protestant Church, but common to all, and he hoped that all Christian denominations would unite in this praiseworthy object, thereby extending the church of Christ, in spirit and in power; and in conclusion trusted that this mission would be extended to every gold-field, and that all would unite in showing a true missionary spirit.

The Rev. Mr Poore, in seconding the resolution, expressed his thankfulness at the statements he had heard made, and said that he felt great anxiety for, and interest in, the Chinese. Mr Young was about to relinquish his labours in China, when he (Mr Poore) took upon himself to engage him for the mission here, without even the sanction of his directors, who, however, cordially approved of what he had done, and granted Mr Young £200 per annum. He stated that another missionary [Lo Sam-yuen] had recently arrived, sent by Dr Smith, the Bishop of Victoria, and he should be glad to see five or six more. He anticipated next year to be able to speak of the Ballarat, the Bendigo and the Beechworth missions; he also hoped soon to get Dr Miles son, who was now in England, who was eminently calculated to fulfill the duties required.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Rev. Mr Beecher then moved the next resolution

The Providence of God having placed us in intimate relation to the Chinese in this colony, this meeting recognizes their claim upon the Christian community of this land for evangelical instruction, and therefore sympathise most cordially in the efforts which are being made to teach the knowledge of the true God, and his son the Lord Jesus Christ.

He was rejoiced to find the present missionary spirit in Victoria, and showed how, during the present century, it had sprung up, enumerating the various societies in existence, adding, that among those most lately converted it was found most strongly.

Dr Cairns and Mr Poore also addressed the meeting previous to the collection, after which a vote of thanks to the Chairman was moved by the Rev. Mr Low and seconded by the Rev. Mr Calvert. Mr Andrews returned thanks, and the meeting separated. The collections amounted to £16/10/- and the subscriptions to £29/18/-; total £46/8/-.
March 8th 1857 Today I visited some of the Chinese claims. I went into three tents in succession and had an interview with 26 individuals. They were all at the time unoccupied. In two of the tents the men were pleased when I spoke to them about the doctrine of the Gospel. In the third one, I met a man who said the doctrines of foreigners were better than those of China. On Sabbath days everyone went to hear the Word of God. Government Officers were just in their deciding of cases and were not in the habit of receiving bribes which was not the case with the officials in China. In these two particulars, he said, Europeans excelled. Others of them were silent. I answered; Europeans had good customs because they had the doctrines of Jesus. If our country was to follow these doctrines we should have the same good customs.

The reason I came amongst them, I said, was to teach them the doctrines of Jesus, to persuade them with their heart to serve one Lord. And they must not allege that each country has its doctrines to which it must adhere. For Jesus is Lord of heaven and earth, and he has constituted the whole human race but one family with no distinction between this race and that. As you praise Europeans you ought to follow them even as I do, and you be able hereafter to teach others also, and increase the number of believers in Jesus. Just as you plant rice. You first sow a single grain, that one grain afterwards multiplies, until every part of the field becomes covered with corn. He then sighed and said, Ah, if all believed these doctrines it would be a good thing.

From this tent I went to another. The inmates, however, were not at all disposed to listen and made excuses saying, some of us are going out, some are sleeping and some are preparing their meals. I told them I should be but a short time occupying their attention, it was not a whole day I required of them. Why then not be willing to listen. I conversed with eight of the men about the importance of the doctrines of Jesus. They made no remarks. I then read to them a portion of the 22nd Chapter of Matthew, and told them to follow the example of the men spoken of in the verses read. No comment was elicited from them, but they evidently disliked what was said neither answering or arguing.

March 9th. This day I went to Red Hill, met some men near some shops. In the course of conversation one man said, what you tell us of Jesus is very good but if we do not worship the tombs of our deceased parents we will not be compatible with the dictates of right reason. We derive our life from them and while they live we cannot adequately repay them. It is only when they are dead we may offer them worship . . . choice between heaven and hell. Either in the one or the other men will be rewarded or punished so then it was wrong to worship the dead. He not believe what I said and left me. I then conversed with other persons for some time but none of them appeared disposed to argue. So I returned home.

March 10th Today I went to the shop of a person named Cheong. There were four persons there. When they saw me knowing that I was in the work of teaching the people the doctrines of Jesus, they enquired, are you come to talk about Jesus? I answered, I eat his rice, and his
work I ought to do. They answered the gods in this locality are truly possessed of divinity. There is nothing we enquire of them that does not tally with subsequent facts. Then, I said, you may regard me too as possessed with the same attribute, for I can tell you whether you will go a good or bad business. Do not say that your gods alone are infallible oracles. This is altogether a deception. The first worshippers of our gods appear to depend altogether on our wishes. They predict good and evil just as it suits the enquirer. The men were not at all pleased but did not say a word in reply. I again asked them, are the gods the gods of all men, or of worshippers alone. They replied, of all men. I said, then you must not be angry if your gods cannot be angry. I said before that your gods had no knowledge. I do not say that you have no knowledge. Do not be offended.

I went further on to another place where I met eight newcomers, who told me they had no means of subsistence since they came to this place, had neither sustenance nor friends and had met no one to give them employment. In their distress they did not know whom to look to for assistance.

I then spoke to them about the Gospel of Jesus which had power to console men, and told them not to be cast down, that from today’s circumstances they could not judge what tomorrows will be. I recommended them to go to the shopkeeper and borrow something for their present relief, and to repay him afterwards when they are able. I exerted myself on their behalf, and got the shopkeeper to assist them to some tent. I then spoke to them of the love of Jesus to the world, and told them that we each, according to our ability, to engage in doing good. Having spoke to them... I bent my steps homeward.

March 11th Today at 11 oclock a.m. I sent to a store and had an interview with eight persons. One of them had heard me previously at Golden Point. He asked, how is it that amongst Christians there is no regard paid to divination. I answered that the system of divination is altogether of human invention, that amongst the ancients, there were no books on that subject. Works on that subject were the production of modern times, and intended only to extract money from the people who were great sufferers from divination.

Pray explain yourself, he said. I told him that before the system of divination came into vogue, a man who was about to start an enterprise, or build a house, did just as he liked in the matter; no one meddled with him, and he had no unpleasant consequences to bear. But since diviners have sprung up, obstacles appeared in every direction, creating ill-will in one party towards another. If a man wishes to erect a house in a certain spot, the diviners make it appear that though it may be advantageous to himself, it will occasion bad luck to his opposite neighbour. When the neighbour comes to know that his good luck is in danger of being interfered with by the extending building, a feeling of enmity springs up in his heart towards the prospect, and the consequence of a serious and unpleasant nature are sure to follow. Is it not clear then that divination is highly detrimental to the interests of the people.

Another man in the company remarked that of doctrines of China were pretty good, and inculcated upon men the practice of goodness. I replied, do not say they are pretty good, they are altogether good. Jesus says, he who does not believe them will be condemned and he is Lord of heaven and earth. Think of these words, as they are of solemn import.

Another man then asked, what proof can you afford us those who don’t believe will become demented. I told them that there is a book from which the proof could be adduced. Look into that book, and you will have the required testimony.

March 16th. Today I went to the Gravel Pit and had a talk with five persons in a store. They were all illiterate men, and seeing me take out a book and read it they appeared alarmed and said, we are all uneducated men, were to read the book to us it would be of no use.

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7 It was common belief in China that people only became Christians for some personal gain. Most early converts were employees of missionaries. Their subsequent baptisms were assumed to reflect their hope of keeping their job, rather than sincere conversion. This refers to a common term of abuse of such self-interested conversions, that the ‘converts’ were ‘rice christians’.
I replied, every verse I read I shall explain, that you may be able to understand. They
answered, we are labourers and do not care about these matters, you had better go to some
other place. I said I only want you to become acquainted with the doctrines of Jesus that you
may escape the miseries of hell. The men felt more annoyed at this.

Then left them and went to Golden Point. I went into a shop and found four men inside.
They began conversation by asking me how it was that amongst Europeans, males and
females may be together in society, and this showed a want of modesty and why I came to tell
them to believe in Jesus and adopt their customs, this surely is impracticable.

I replied, you all ask me why is there such a want of modesty, as it appears to you to exist
among Europeans in consequence of the free mingling of males and females on all occasions.
It is because it is not proper to introduce into society a thorough separation of the sexes. And
when both mingle in European Society it is not a lawless mingling. And in regard to the
document of Jesus, both men and women who believe them become united as brothers and
sisters. They pay the greatest regard to the propriety of believers, nor do they permit any
impure word to escape their lips so that although they mingle freely in society, there is
nothing of lawlessness and the principles they hold prevent such a result. When they heard
these remarks they merely smiled but made no reply.

April 1 Today went to Red Hill. Had an interview with the headman who, seeing me
from his tent door, asked me to walk in and have a chat. There were nine persons inside, all
disengaged.

One of the number remarked that at the present time hostilities were going on between
Englishmen and Chinese. Another person observed that the English people were in the right.
A third party remarked that they were in the wrong. And all asked me whether I knew the
result of the present war would be. I replied that it was not within my province to tell them
that, they would know it by the victory or defeat of the parties engaged in contest. No reply
was made.

I told them my business was to seek opportunity to communicate to them the knowledge
of Christ’s doctrines, and for this work I would always be ready. Those of them who felt
inclined to hear me requested me to talk to them about Scriptural subjects.

I then spoke to them about the exceeding sinfulness of the human race. Do you know it?
No reply was given. I told them why it was that Jesus came down from heaven. Do you know
this truth? They all answered, we do not know. I then spoke for a long while about the
Saviour’s Mission. After they had listened, some appeared pleased, some displeased. The
latter said, these things do not concern us Chinese. If they do not concern you, I said, why
should I be coming to tell you about them?

One man asked, is it because the English people wish to believe in Jesus that they have
engaged you to come and exhort us? I answered, if they did not wish you to believe in Jesus
of what use is my coming amongst you? I moreover said that all nations have but one Lord.
Do not say that China and other countries have different Lords. By saying such things you
offend against God.

May 7 Today I went to Red Hill. Had a conversation with some men I met in a shop
who appeared disposed to listen to what I told them about the Gospel. After a while I went to
another shop where I met six men who were exceedingly low-spirited. I enquired why it was
they were so downcast. Their answer was that they had come to this goldfield without any
means, they had no relations of whom they might borrow some money to provide themselves
with necessaries. Situated thus they could not see how they could live from one day to another
was not this sufficient to make them sad? I then explained to them what is contained in the
Gospel of Matthew regarding God providing the birds of the air with food, and told them not
to fear, that God was able to provide for them too. I told them to believe in Him and he would
take care of them.

I afterwards went to another tent where there were three persons to whom I had on a
former occasion spoken about the doctrines of Jesus and they then appeared glad to receive
me. On this occasion I again had some talk with them and then went home.

May 12. Today after breakfast I went to the Eureka and had an opportunity of conversation with several newcomers about men and sin. They were not pleased. I still however keep talking on to them when two of them who were acquainted with the doctrines of the Gospel to some extent remarked that while they were in Hong Kong they used to go to a Chapel to hear the doctrines that were preached there but they could not understand them thoroughly. For example, it was said that Jesus was God; again that he was the Son of God. Can Father and Son be of the same essence. I told them the doctrine was a mysterious one and by means of mere human thought it could not be comprehended. But inasmuch as they had expressed a desire to know something of the subject, I would, according to my ability, explain it to them. I spoke to them for some time on this topic and having satisfied them, I returned home.

May 20 Today I went to the Eureka, was engaged talking to four individuals when five others joined us. As usual I spoke to them about the doctrines of Jesus. One of my hearers said, You are always talking about Jesus and never talk about other ancient doctrines, what is the reason? We Chinese wish to hear about the ancients of China and do not wish you to talk about any of the doctrines of Jesus.

In reply I said it is important to obey the command of God to preach the Gospel. The stories you wish to hear about the ancients are mere legend and have no beneficial tendency whereas the doctrines of Jesus both benefit and extend the mind. I then spoke to them a good while longer. None of them again uttered a word. I cannot tell whether they were pleased or not.

May 25 Sunday Went to the Eureka and addressed the people on two occasions. More than 40 persons were present. In the afternoon three Europeans accompanied me. I spoke to the people, a hymn was sung, and a prayer offered according to the usual custom. There were above 50 hearers. It was not long before the wind and rain dispersed the congregation. We also made our way home. Before starting, Mr Oddie seeing two Chinese without shoes proposed to the company present that a subscription should be raised to supply these people with shoes. Eight shillings was collected and given to them. The sum was received thankfully. All present highly applauded what was done and returned home.

June 9 Today I went to Golden Point. I have an acquaintance there named . . . I have generally observed him pleased when hearing about the Gospel. I have consequently been induced frequently to pay him a visit. His is however, on account of his profession as a doctor, often absent from his shop visiting the sick. On this day I met him. He told me that he was intending to return to China for his parents were old and he dared not linger in this country. I told them that his motive for returning was a very good one, that filial piety was considered a preeminent virtue among the Ancients. I told him that the Gospel of Jesus also inculcated obedience to parents. It was enjoined in the Ten Commandments. He was delighted to hear this. I spent some time talking to him about the doctrines of Christianity. I said I do not know whether I shall see you again. If I don't let me exhort you to bear in mind what I have told you about the doctrines of Jesus do not forget them. For if you hold these doctrines you expect to obtain the happiness of heaven. Do not fail to believe in God. Continually pray to him. Seek of Jesus the pardon of your sins and attend to the duties of your station. These are my parting instructions. After a conversation of two hours, I took leave of him and went home.

June 18. Went this day to Golden Point. Embraced the opportunity that presented itself to communicate the Gospel to six individuals who appeared to be a leisure in the club-house. I went in amongst them. Knowing that I was a teacher of the doctrines of Jesus, they some not very polite remarks, saying, you are not like us, you follow foreigners and teach people not to

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8 James Oddie. Methodist philanthropist and leading figure in Ballarat society. See Withers, William Bramwell, (c1877), The History of Ballarat, Carlton, Queensberry Hill Press (Reprint).
worship idols or deceased ancestors. The doctrine of filial piety you utterly disregard. When alive, our parents take care of us, when they are dead, who is to take care of them if we do not?

I replied, they are then under the care of God alone, men cannot take care of them. I asked them, do you think the parents and children can be of mutual assistance to each other both in this present and the future world? No! If a man were to offer worship to his parents after their decease, his parents could not know of it. If he were to call aloud to them, they could not perceive it. Our parents too, after death, receive their recompense. If they have been God receives them into heaven. If they have been wicked, they are condemned to hell. And what son is able to deliver them from thence, and parents can from thence send assistance to their sons. Do not believe any of these absurdities they are the invention of priests who make a living by practising these frauds upon the people.

I invited them to believe in Jesus, Serve God and you obtain the happiness of heaven. Do not worship idols or become the servant of the devil and slaves of Satan, thus exposing yourselves to the displeasure of God and shutting yourselves out from everlasting life.

They one and all said, we will not believe in the foreigners Jesus. In China, from antiquity, the traditions that have been handed down to us regarding the gods have been one and the same. The system of religion of foreigners is dissimilar. How can ever get people to believe it?

I told them not to harden their hearts. I for a great many years could not believe in Jesus nor did I know his excellence. But I now know that all that is on earth is under his government and care, and he is Lord of all. They appeared determined not to believe so I left them and went home.

It is with no small degree of pleasure that I submit this report of the proceedings of the agents of the Chinese mission, to its friends and supporters. Although on account of my now having to superintend the mission on Ballarat, it is necessary for me to leave from time to time the native agents by themselves, that circumstance, I am happy to say, has not operated to the detriment of the mission. Indeed, judging from what has been effected by the spontaneous efforts of the agents, I should infer that it was rather beneficial than otherwise, occasionally to leave them by themselves, as it makes them more self-reliant, and allows them more scope for the development of the abilities they possess. During my recent absence, not only have the ordinary duties in connection with the mission been attended to, but the native agents have made two important extra efforts which will have a happy tendency, not only to increase the efficiency of the mission, but to impart to its operations a character of fixity, which all along has been greatly desired. The extra efforts to which I allude are: first, the establishment of two regular weekly evening services in the chapel at Clinkers Hill; second, the raising of a fund from among the Chinese, by subscription, for the erection of a new chapel at Forest Creek. Already the Chinese towards this object, and £26 more has been promised has paid the sum of £33. It is intended to raise altogether some about £150, so as to enable us to erect a commodious and respectable looking place of worship. Besides the sum above mentioned, the native teachers have collected £6/17s for the repair of Clinkers Hill Chapel. The sides of the chapel which were of calico before are now boarded; it is also supplied with a pulpit covered with green baize, and the necessary apparatus has been furnished for lighting the Chapel on those evenings that divine service is performed there. The Chinese have paid for the candles that have been required for lighting; no debt rests on the Chapel on account of any item whatever. I was cheered on my return to Castlemaine to see these evening services commenced, and the repairs and improvements the chapel needed all affected. Not a word regarding these movements was uttered by the teachers, when I came back they left their works to speak for them. It is needless to add that what I saw greatly rejoiced me. The attempt to raise the sum we want for the new chapel, will, I hope, be attended with success. The encampments about Forest Creek partake of a sufficiently permanent character to authorise the construction of a substantial building as a place of worship for the Chinese. When we get such a building we shall be able to conduct our religious services in a regular and systematic manner. Under present circumstances (except at Clinkers Hill) it is impossible to do so at any of the encampments. While the teachers have been indefatigable in their efforts to procure subscriptions for the objects above mentioned, they have not neglected the more important duties of teaching the people the word of God, visiting the sick in the hospital, and giving away tracts and copies of the New Testament when suitable opportunities for doing so have been presented.

The difficulties they have to contend against are manifold; many of them peculiar, and cannot be experienced or appreciated fully by those who preach the Gospel to a professedly Christian community. The vices peculiar to the Chinese, their strong attachment to the idolatrous system of their forefathers, their Confucian pride, the profound ignorance of nine-tenths of the people of their own character, added to the natural hostility of the human heart to the things of the Spirit, are obstacles which those would do well seriously to weigh, who think
it is now high time to look for numerous conversions from among the Chinese. Notwithstanding these difficulties, we have two individuals who are seriously enquiring after the truth, and to whom religious instruction is regularly imparted by the native agents. I have reason to believe, from personal interviews with these enquirers, that they are sincere in their search after truth, and I entertain the hope that they will eventually, be able, by God's help, to shake off the shackles of their system of error, and take upon them the yoke of Jesus Christ.

The journals of the native teachers contain accounts of a great many interesting discussions with their countrymen, in which the peculiar doctrines of Christianity have been explained and enforced, and, at the same time, the errors of heathenism have been exposed. The limits of this report will not admit of more than three or four extracts being made.

On the 18th of March, the teacher Leong-a-toe makes this entry in his journal: I went to Cheng-suy-eng, and spoke to the people about the origin of the Creation. There were about ten persons listening. Some of them were disposed to pay attention; others cavilled, saying, We admit that it is proper to worship God, but we contend at the same time that idols are not to be despised. The idols may be compared to the Emperors mandarins. It is impossible for us in person to honor the Emperor; we must do so through the mandarins. This is in accordance with the laws of propriety. So God and the idols are equally to be honored. Now, if you, sir come and tell us that the Bible forbids us to worship idols, the Chinese will be displeased, and feel disgusted with your teaching. I answered the statements that you have advanced do not accord at all with what God's word teaches. Allow me to ask you, when God created the heavens and the earth, did the idols assist him in that work? I should think not. for God is omnipotent: with a word he commanded heaven and earth into existence; and he made men with equal ease. The spirits of heaven are also the creatures of his power. Thus may easily see that no earthly emperor can be compared with God. The Emperor is but a mortal; and being invested with limited power, requires the assistance of his ministers; but God is a Being of uncontrollable power and infinite wisdom, and cannot need assistance from any, whether idols or men. Besides, the idols are made by mens hands, are without life or sense, and they have no power whatever. To assert, as you do, that we ought to reverence idols just as we would reverence God, is greatly to detract from the glory of Him who is the maker and preserver of all things. Pray to not talk any more in this foolish style, and thus dishonour God. Seriously reflect on this subject.

The teacher Chu-a-luk in his journal mentions, that on the 16th May he went to Campbells Creek, chiefly with the view of collecting subscriptions for the erection of a new chapel. He says when he came to the Chinese encampment, he saw only one man in a tent, and informed him of the object for which he had come, and asked him whether he felt disposed to give anything towards it. The man said he could not give a definite answer until he had consulted the Chinese of his clan. Chu-a-luk then went to another tent, where he fell in with ten Heong-shan [Zhongshan] Chinese. He told them he had come with a good object in view, and that was, to erect a chapel for the use of the Chinese. One of them replied that he was a Heong-shan Chinese, and had resided in Hong Kong about ten years, but he never saw a single instance of a Heong-shan Chinese becoming a Christian: that the people of that clan disliked Jesus because he was of a foreign race. If Chu-a-luk wished to build an idol temple, he would willingly give something towards it, but if he wished to erect a chapel for the purpose of preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ in, he would not subscribe a single penny. The Heong-shan (or Macao) people, he said, felt no inclination to build such a chapel; and moreover, the very name of Jesus they could not bear to hear. Chu-a-luk told him that the money that was applied for was not to put into his own pocket, but it was to go to the erection of a chapel for the Chinese. It may not go into your pocket, he said, But still, for all that, none of us will subscribe towards it. Chu-a-luk after this attempted to communicate to him some particulars concerning the character and history of Jesus Christ, but the man showed no disposition whatever to listen to what was said, so he took leave of him, and went to another encampment.

Leong-a-toe on the 8th of April writes I went to Diamond Gully, and spoke to the Chinese
about the great power of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, to whom was entrusted all power in heaven and on earth, but my hearers had dark hearts, and did not appear disposed to receive instruction; I therefore went to another tent, where I found several persons. On looking around I observed an image of Buddha. I asked the people whether the idol they worshipped could take care of them, and whether they knew its history. They answered, No, we do not know its history, but we have set the idol up in order to sacrifice to it, and we expect it to protect us, and to give us peace and riches. I then undertook to give them an outline of the history of the god. I told them that the worship of Buddha commenced in China, in the time of the Han dynasty (about the begging of the Christian era) when the Emperor Ming was on the throne. One night the Emperor dreamt, that he saw a golden personage, ten and a half feet high, coming down from above and standing in his presence. The individual said, I am a person from the regions of the west. When morning dawned, the Emperor called all of his ministers, and demanded of them an explanation of the dream. His ministers replied, we have heard that a sage has made his appearance in the western regions; if your majesty could become acquainted with him, you might obtain the doctrine of immortality. The ministers all congratulated the Emperor because of the dream. This pleased his Majesty exceedingly, so much so, that he felt inclined to go in quest of this personage. But his ministers dissuaded him from undertaking the enterprise, saying, the empire must not be without its ruler even for a single day, and this search after the sage is an affair that has no immediate connection with the business of the state. They urged the Emperor to send some of the ministers instead, and to instruct them then they fell in with the god, and had learned the prayers proper to offer to it, to return to his Majesty. The Emperor Ming acted upon their suggestion, and sent two of his ministers to the western regions. When they arrived in India, they heard of an idol called the holy Buddha an idol unknown in China; and they immediately took a sketch of it, and translated the prayers that were offered to it, which formed a volume of 42 sections. One of these sections describes what a priest ought to do and believe. He must believe the doctrine of the heaven and hell of the western regions, the doctrine of the metempsychosis of life and death; he must not deprive anything of existence, but must suffer all living things to enjoy life; he must fast, must put away licentiousness, and cleanse himself from pollutions; he must believe that Buddha is so excellent a personage, that even his father and mother called upon to worship him it would be lawful for them to do so, and so forth. When the Emperor Ming heard that his two ministers had returned, he went in person to meet them, and to receive from their hands the image of Buddha and the sacred book. With these he made a solemn entry into the capital. By his public honoring of the idol he declared his conviction of its great preciousness. He commanded all the rulers and people in his realm to pay the same homage to Buddha that he did. They were, however, slow to believe in Buddha, though they saw the Emperor profess his faith in him. The Emperor having acknowledged the sacred book of Buddha as his standard of faith, and as in that book the taking away of life was forbidden, proceeded to release all the criminals condemned to death that were immured in the various prisons. He granted them full pardons, gave them food to eat, and placed them in monasteries where they might honor Buddha by the burning of incense and the lighting of candles. However, after a while, some of these released prisoners preferred running away to their homes to remaining in the monasteries to serve Buddha, for they felt unable to comply with the requirements of a monastic life. The Emperor had them arrested and brought back to the monasteries, and ordered their heads to be shaved perfectly clean, so as to make them easily distinguishable from other people. After this circumstance, whenever a vagabond who had no means of subsistence, and was indisposed to turn his hand to the plough or the loom, wished to earn his bread in an easy manner, he took advantage of the Emperors great regard for Buddhism, shaved off all the hair of his head, went and mixed himself up with the rest of the shaven heads in the monasteries, and thus obtained his livelihood. These observances have been perpetuated through such a long course of time, that the worship of Buddha has come to be one of the established religions of China. Our people have not taken pains to investigate
into its origin, but take for granted that everything that is said about Buddhism is true and look to Buddha for help. Is this not very deplorable? After giving them this account of the introduction of Buddhism into China, I again distinctly told them that God was the ruler of heaven and earth, and that men must pray to him alone for the obtaining of happiness and the escaping of misery; that we must with reverential feelings worship God, acknowledge Jesus, and seek to obtain the inward teaching of the Holy Spirit, lead godly lives in this present world, and by so doing we shall eventually obtain true happiness.

Fully one-half of the Chinese population on these goldfields are worshippers of Buddha. How painful the thought that to this miserable deity so many thousands of our fellow immortals are daily looking for present protection and future blessedness. And the other half confide in Kwan-ty and Confucius, equally miserable and impotent to save. How easily has Satan persuaded them to believe a lie. How willingly they permit themselves to be duped by the grossest absurdities. They often admit that theirs is a system of error, and yet they cling to it, cling to it because so congenial to their depraved hearts. The Gospel of Salvation, which we urge them to receive, aims a blow at their darling lusts, and at the hoary fabric of their error and superstition; calls upon them to repent and believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and to do works meet for repentance. This demand their unrenewed hearts are unwilling to accede to; and as it involves a surrender of all their depraved nature holds dear, we need not wonder at the enmity that is sometimes, in a most undisguised manner, evinced towards the preaching of the Cross. He only who has the Spirit to bestow can so soften, so enlighten the heathen mind, as to make it willing to submit to the claims of the Saviour of world. May he pour down the influences of his blessed Spirit, and convert the wilderness into a fruitful field.

Since the last report was presented to the friends and supporters of the Chinese Mission, the agents have been engaged, as usual, in diffusing scriptural knowledge among their countrymen by daily visiting them for the purpose of religious conversation and reading the word of God. The stated services of the sabbath have been kept up, as well as the weekly services, of which there are two. These latter services have been attended by a large number of hearers, averaging from 30 to 50, filling the little chapel on Clinkers Hill.

The chapel, which it was intended should be erected at Forest Creek, has not been commenced with yet, on account of the difficulty experienced in obtaining a suitable site; as soon as that difficulty is got over the work will be begun. As the amount of money that has been collected for the object, both among the Chinese in Castlemaine and Christian friends in Melbourne, is not very large, the building will be smaller in size, and of a less costly description than was at first contemplated.

Mention was made in the last report of two Chinese, who had expressed a desire to receive Christian baptism; one of these; finding it difficult to earn a livelihood for himself and family, has returned to Adelaide, whence he originally came. The other man, a silversmith, resides on Clinkers Hill, and continues to receive religious instruction. He is regular in his attendance on the means of grace, and as far as we can judge is consistent in his outward deportment.

The hospital has also been visited, and the sick Chinese there have had religious instruction imparted to them from time to time, and it is hoped not without some good effect. The agents have extended the range of their visits to more distant encampments; in addition to the encampments in the vicinity of this township, they visit also those at the Junction and Fryers Creek. They have distributed tracts and copies of the New Testament on suitable occasions; they never adopt the plan of indiscriminate distribution, as they fear the effect would be to lessen the value of religious publications in the estimation of their countrymen, many of who, unable to read them would tear them up, and make use of the paper for wrapping up parcels. I have, since my return, gone round with the native teachers, and inspected their operations, and am glad to say that I have not had occasion to find fault with the manner in which they have conducted them. I have only found it necessary here and there to suggest to them a few hints for the more effective discharge of their duties. I believe they act under the conviction that they serve the Lord and not man, while they endeavour to make the gospel known to their countrymen.

From their journals, extracts from which I shall shortly give, a specimen will be afforded to the friends of the mission, of the able and faithful manner in which they bring the truths of scripture home to the hearts of their hearers; expose the folly and sinfulness of their idolatrous practices, and endeavour to teach them to improve the lessons which the dispensations of divine Providence are now addressing to them and to the nation generally. One excellent feature in their teaching will be noticed, viz., the prominence given to the doctrine of salvation by the sacrifice of Christ. Ridicule and sarcasm they have met with in the prosecution of their work, but have not on that account shrunk from their duty. They still make known the truth to their countrymen, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear.

The teacher, Leong-a-toe, under date May 31st, writes in his journal. Today I went to the
Chapel in the forenoon, and in the afternoon to Diamond Gully. After my hearers had listened to my statements they expressed their admiration of the doctrines of Scripture. They had never heard them before. Some of them remarked that though the doctrines of Christians were good, it would nevertheless, be a difficult thing to get men to follow them, for the generality of them were inclined to tread in the path of adulterers, drunkards, gamblers and opium-smokers in which they found their pleasure. Where was the man that would renounce his former evil practices, and believe and follow Jesus? I answered that the men of the world were just like sheep that had lost the right way, and did not know how to get back to it: hence they regarded the pleasures of this world as their supreme happiness. It was in consequence of their ignorance of the truth that they fell into inconsistent and highly improper practices. When their minds became enlightened by the truth, and when with sincere hearts they listened to it, and prayed for the assistance of God's holy spirit, they would then be able to give up sinful pleasures. When they heard this they were much pleased, and had not a word to say in the way of objection.

June 11th, he writes, I went with three others to Forest Creek, addressed the people at two different places. First spoke about the miracle performed by Christ, recorded in the 6th Chapter of John, and then about the entrance of sin into the world, and death by sin that as all man had sinned, so all men were exposed to death that our first parents having offended against God, their fall affected the whole race. When I uttered these truths one of my hearers replied, these are the doctrines of foreigners, they are not worth the talking about. They are constantly dignified by the name of doctrines, but they mislead peoples minds, and call upon men to renounce the worship of ancestors and parental tablets, hence they clash with our Chinese doctrines. Well did Confucius inculcate put away from you everything foreign. That your doctrines do not harmonize with those of China, no man can doubt. You talk about Europeans practising virtue, how is it that we so often hear of their invading and attacking our country and slaughtering our people. You must admit that they cannot be sincere when they profess to love the people of other countries as brethren. In answer to his remarks, I said, the doctrines of Jesus are not the doctrines of sages born in western lands; not did they emanate from their wisdom. These doctrines were handed down from olden times, and teach us clearly of Christ’s coming into the world in order to atone for our sins.

In former ages Europeans, like ourselves, were worshippers of idols; but when the Gospel reached their country, then the people were awakened to a sense of their sinfulness of worshipping idols, and cast them away as so much dung; they were cleansed from their wicked practices, and walked according to the holy doctrines they received, and thus they obtained the favor of God. Their country became prosperous, and the people tranquil. Families needed not to close their doors for fear; nor was any article dropped in the streets lost. High and low mutually sympathised. No traveller in the desert perished of hunger. Happiness and peace filled the land. How can you say these doctrines are adapted to foreigners alone. You say so imply because you have not examined them thoroughly. In regard to the raising of armies, and the use of hostile weapons wherewith our country has been invaded and injured. You must not attribute these things to the good men and believing women found among Europeans. Slaughtering our people is not the thing their hearts desire. You may, however, regard them as instruments employment by God to chastise our people, and to prepare for the Gospel a speedy entrance into our land, to subvert idolatry, to unite all in one body and form one brotherhood. When these results are attained, we shall know no more the calamities hostile weapons inflict. It is because our country has not from ancient times to the present served God, but has been adding to her guilt, thereby increasing Gods displeasure, that state rises against state, kingdom against kingdom, that there are earthquakes, pestilences, and calamities. They are certainly occurring, and God sends them in order to chastise our people, and yet our people have not repented, but on the contrary have been proud of their own power, and treat lightly Gods truth. It is greatly to be feared that they will not escape Gods righteous indignation. But after their chastisement they will be otherwise; they will cleanse their hearts
and wash away their sins, and in humility serve God, and thus attain to the happiness that is eternal, and which is to be found in heaven. This I most earnestly desire. This evening I went to the chapel, and explained part of the 7th chapter of Matthew. There were altogether 21 hearers.

June 29I went to Pennyweight Flat. Seven men stood around me, listening while I told them that Jesus was the Saviour from heaven, and that he died upon the cross, in order to redeem men from their sins, and whosoever believed in him would not perish, but have everlasting life. I told them that mankind were exposed to the punishment of death, and had no way by which they could escape, and their souls must inevitably be lost in the dark regions. But God in his mercy deeply pitied the impotency of man, and unable to endure the sight of his misery, willingly sent his Son Jesus into the world. While he was here below, he endured constant privations, was often reviled by men, and finally nailed to the cross, where he endured great agony. Truly this event has no parallel. After I had thus spoken, one of my hearers said:—You tell us that God sent Jesus from heaven to save men; how is it that men slew him upon the cross? I replied, your words are precisely like the words with which those who crucified Jesus taunted him. Many then derided him and said, he saved others, but he is not able to save himself; if you are able to come down from the cross we will believe you. I told him that Jesus was the Lord of wisdom and knowledge, and knew everything; that man could form no scheme for hurting him without his previously knowing it; that God; from the beginning of the world, when our first parents had fell into sin, had predetermined that Jesus should thus suffer, and become the Redeemer of the world; hence it was that he was afflicted by men, and led like a lamb to the slaughter. It was not because he did not know what sufferings awaited him. He knew that the time for atoning for mans sin had arrived, and hence he submitted to mockings, scorings, and the death of the cross. Had he been unwilling to atone for mans sin, not all the armies of ten thousand countries under the heavens could have compelled him. Why? Because he, from the beginning, was one with God. All derive life from him; he holds the life of every one in his hands. Had he not loved us, we should all have perished. Has not Jesus sufficient compassion and pity to save and redeem us? Let none of you foolishly argue against and deride the name of Jesus. Rather cleanse your hearts and purify your thoughts, diligently read the Holy Scriptures, and pray to God. Then at the last day you will not be condemned by Christ, or fall into the miseries of hell; but you will be received into heaven and obtain everlasting felicity. After this I presented them with two tracts.

August 7. I went to Diamond Gully, and spoke to the people about Noahs being saved from the deluge. They seemed to comprehend how God loves the righteous and hates the wicked; that he is just in his rewards and in his judgements. They expressed a desire to worship God, and do what was right, but said they did not know how to pray to God, and asked me to write out a prayer for them, that they might be able morning and evening, to pray by that form. I gladly complied with their request.

August 23. In the afternoon I went to Diamond Gully, to a shop, where I found several Heong-shan Chinese. These people I have always found to be very proud, and hostile to the doctrines of Jesus. I addressed them from the words contained in the 3rd chapter of the epistle to the Colossians, from the 5th to the 10th verse, with the view of awakening them; but they were very indignant, and made use of opprobrious epithets and said, We Heong-shan men don’t care about the doctrines of Christ, go to other places and diffuse your doctrines. Seeing their folly, obduracy, and unwillingness to listen to instruction, I said, it rests entirely with yourselves, to hear or not to hear the gospel. I cannot compel you. But if you will listen, I shall use my endeavours to impart instruction to you, and peace may come upon you. If you oppose, and will not hearken, then the result will be, as when Christ sent forth his disciples, he said, Into whatever house ye enter, say to it, Peace; if they receive you, let your peace dwell there; if they do not receive you, go away, and wipe the dust off your feet against them. Now, the gospel comes to you, you oppose it, and will not receive it; when I go away from you the peace I desired for you will come back to me; and this, not because Jesus does not love you,
but because you do not know how to love yourselves. Let me exhort you not to be proud in heart, but rather be humble. Believe in and submit to the Saviour; examine his doctrines, and pray to God for the forgiveness of your sins. Christ will redeem you from your iniquities. If you do not act in this way, it will be impossible for you to escape God's righteous indignation. After these words I took leave of them and went away.

The impotence of idols, and their utter inability to help their worshippers in times of trouble, is often exposed, and the heathen have been directed to look alone to Him who is the maker of heaven and earth. Chu-a-luk, on the 30th June, writes that he read a portion of attract to some of his countrymen, and dwelt on the power of God as manifested in the works of creation, and the propriety of serving the Being from whom we derive our existence. We Chinese, said he, do not know how to revere God, but, on the contrary, serve idols. Supposing that, instead of following the wishes of our parents, we followed the example of wicked people, would not such conduct be like forsaking God, and worshipping base idols? Why do you worship such things? They have mouths, but speak not; they have eyes but see not; they have hands, but they handle not; feet have they, but they walk not. If they happen to fall into the fire, there they remain helpless; if you put them into the fire, they will get burnt; if they cannot protect themselves, how can they protect you? Did you ever see any idol able to deliver itself from fire or water? for instance, when a ship is sinking, or an idol-temple is in flames? They answered, never. Do think, I again asked, that the idols can protect China in her present convulsed state? They replied, no. I then told them I am sure there cannot be any intelligent spirit in the idols; it is useless to worship them. Why do you not worship God the only God, who is in heaven. They made no reply, but simply laughed at me.

The visits the agents have paid to the Hospital seem to have produced a beneficial effect. Those Chinese who have once been inmates of the Institution, after being discharged, appear to recollect with grateful feelings the lessons from the Holy Scriptures there communicated to them by the native teachers. One man has declared, since he left the Hospital, that he will no longer serve the gods made with hands, but the God of the scriptures. On the 8th August, Chu-a-luk makes this entry into his journal: I went with Leong-a-toe to the Hospital, and read and prayed with the Chinese. They were very glad to hear what we told them. We exhorted them not to worship idols, but to worship God, who could restore their health. They said the idols could not help them in their sickness, and should they ever get out of the Hospital, it was their intention not to serve them any more.

On the fifteenth evening of the Chinese eighth month, we found the Chinese paying their adorations to the moon, then at its full. It is their custom on this occasion to feast themselves on fowls and pork, to spread out a table in front of their dwellings, and cover it with cakes and fruit, as a thank-offering to that luminary, and to make prostrations before her. Crackers are also let off in token of their rejoicing. We went that evening to Clinkers Hill, and found an unusual bustle among the Chinese. Many of them were busy eating their bowls of rice and meat, of which they politely invited us to partake, and many, having finished their feast, were chatting loudly, whilst others were firing off crackers. They were asked to attend divine service, which was about to be held in the chapel: a very large number came. After singing a hymn and offering a prayer, Chu-a-luk read and explained the 2nd chapter of the Gospel of Matthew. After commenting upon the verses, he adverted to that practice, the observance of which had caused so much rejoicing among them. He told them the moon, while giving to us light which was most agreeable and useful, was yet a created thing, and it was wrong to worship the creature instead of the Creator. God created the moon; and to him it was their duty to offer worship. He showed the propriety of this by a simple illustration. None of you, he said, who wished to show his respect for a friend who might be a carpenter, would, on entering his shop, walk up to a cradle and bow to it, instead of bowing to the carpenter. As with the cradle so with the moon. Man made the cradle, God made the moon. Its light is exceedingly useful to us, but we ought to praise God for it, and thank him for his blessings. Much interest and attention was manifested during the whole of the service, and the audience
admitted the force and justness of the speaker’s remarks.

The following is an account of a dialogue that took place between Leong-a-toe and a Frenchman on the 22nd September: The Frenchman (he writes) came to my house. On seeing him, I requested him to take a seat. I do not know his name. We talked together about the customs and the learned men of China. My visitor then asked me what my trade was, and how I maintained myself. I told him I was not engaged in trade, but was occupied in diffusing religious instruction among the Chinese. He then suddenly inquired where I had come from? I answered, from Hongkong. Do you know, he asked, the priest who resides in Hongkong? I said, I saw several, but did not know their names. They taught the doctrines of Rome, which are not like the doctrines of Jesus. In their churches, I saw an image set up which they called Ma-le-a (Mary) the mother of Jesus, she was called Holy Mother, and they seemed to revere her even more than Jesus. They burned incense and bowed before her. In their rites they seemed to hold traditions which ought not to be regarded. The ten commandments God has handed down to us by Moses, he had commanded all men to observe and not forget them; but the instructions of the Romanists are at variance with these. They expunge the second commandment and do not keep it. Out of nine commandments they make ten, because the second commandment teaches us that we must not grave to ourself any image, nor bow down to it and worship it. The teachers of this religion tell men to worship images, and thus oppose Gods will. The idol-worship of the Chinese is just like theirs. My visitor said, the holy mother is not a mortal: she existed before heaven and earth were made, and was then the mother of the holy child Jesus. I answered, that cannot be. If she were the holy mother before heaven and earth were made, how could God promise when our first parents sinned against him, that he would raise up a saviour from the seed of the woman, to save the myriads of the human race. And in the time of Mary we read, the Holy Ghost came upon her, and the power of the Almighty overshadowed her that she should bear a son and call him Jesus; by which we may know that Mary did not exist before heaven and earth were made and that she was just like any other mortal; and hence we must not bow down to her and worship her, but worship the triune God. My visitor then remarked, the doctrines of Jesus are not of recent date, those of the Church of Rome come down from great antiquity, we must therefore not reject the old in order to follow the new. I replied, if her doctrines coincide with the doctrines of the New and Old Testaments, then we certainly ought to follow them. But many of her doctrines do not agree with the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures; hence, a great many years ago, Luther made a clear exposure of her errors. My visitor said, your religion teaches that there are only two states after death, heaven and hell; our religion teachers that there are three, heaven, purgatory and hell. Every one who dies must pass through these three. I answered, there can be but two states, just as in this world there are only two descriptions of persons, and these, after death, must dwell in the one or other state. Where is the necessity of having a third state? He then asked me, How can you know that there is a God? I replied, God from nothing made all things: everything that my eye sees teaches me there is a God. The heaven and earth that I behold tell me there is a God. After this he asked me no more questions; we talked about other subjects, and then he took leave of me and went home.

Such an amount of scriptural instruction as is bought before you in the extracts I have made, and conveyed in a faithful and intelligible manner, and I trust, in humble dependence on Gods holy spirit, cannot but be productive of good. It must produce a feeling of satisfaction in the minds of all interested in the evangelization of the Chinese to know that those truths which are proclaimed from pulpits in Christian churches are, on Sabbath days and week days, resounding in the ears of the heathen population in their humble chapel and still humbler tents. Let us strengthen and encourage the hands and hearts of the native teachers in every possible way, and pray God to bestow upon them the aid of his holy spirit, that they may be steadfast, unmoving, always abounding in the work of the Lord.

Wm Young
Castlemaine, Oct 7, 1857.
Alien Son

During my absence at Ballarat for the purpose of establishing a Chinese Branch Mission, the operations of the Castlemaine Mission have been carried on by the native agents, Chu-a-luk and Leong a Toe in a manner with which I have every reason to be satisfied. The Sabbath services have been regularly conducted, daily visits to the people have been kept up, tracts and Bibles have been distributed as usual, and their united efforts are, in my opinion, beginning to tell favourably on some, at least, of the multitudes with whom they come into daily contact. Since my return to Castlemaine, I have gone out in company with these agents, and have had, with them, interesting interviews with the Chinese, both during the day and in the early part of several nights. The interviews at night, (when the claims of business no longer distract the attention) promise to be exceedingly beneficial to our hearers; they elicit much argument, and many important enquiries concerning the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, which did fair to result in the awakening of the people out of their state of spiritual lethargy, and in the stirring of them up to seek and feel after God. These interviews have always been closed with prayer.

I have found much interesting matter in the journals kept by the two Christian teachers during my absence, a portion of which I shall present to the friends of this mission in the extracts which follow. These will serve to show with what faithfulness they expose the errors of the Chinese system of belief, the prominence they give to the doctrine of the atonement, and pre-eminence they claim for Christ over the sage Confucius and every heathen deity. At the same time they will exhibit the tenacity with which the heathen cling to their own system, and the great need there exists for praying for the influence of the Holy Spirit to wean them from the system of delusion to which they are so wedded, and incline them to embrace the truth as it is in Jesus. Some good impression, it would appear, has been made upon the minds of some few by the conversation of the agents, which I sincerely hope may not prove like the morning cloud and early dew, but result in genuine conversion to God.

The teacher Chu-a-luk makes the following entry in his journal on December 9th, 1856: I went to Campbells Flat this day, to visit a storekeeper, to whom I gave a couple of tracts, which he received with apparent satisfaction. I told him, Though you now appear glad to take these tracts, yet I fear you will soon despise them. Why? he asked me. I said, because these books teach you not to worship idols, nor the spirits of the dead. And I must teach you the same doctrines contained in these books, though you may not like to hear them. But whether you like it or dislike it, I feel it is my duty to tell you what I myself know, otherwise I shall incur the divine displeasure. For every one who knows the Gospel must endeavour, according to the best of his ability, to make others acquainted with it. And, do not suppose, when I come to teach you and those that are with you, that it is because I want your money, or anything else that belongs to you. I only wish you to seek that eternal happiness which God has, from old, promised. If you earnestly seek that happiness, you will obtain it: if you do not thus seek it, you will fail to get it. Ponder now what I have said, is it true or not? My hearer replied, All that you say is quite true, but to observe it we find to be a matter too difficult.

Leong-a-toe, on the 26th of December, writes: - I went to some tents about half a mile distant, and spoke to the people about Christ’s dying on the cross to atone for the sins of the

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9 Refers to opening of Ballarat Chinese Mission. See Appendix 8.
whole world, and told them that all who believed in him would obtain salvation, but those who did not believe would be condemned. After speaking to them these things, one of the men cavilled, and said, we ought to believe in God, but it is not necessary to believe in Jesus Christ. I answered, If you do not believe in Jesus, then you do not believe in God, for Jesus Christ came from God. He in reply said, If we do not act up to the doctrines of the sages of our own country, but follow those of a foreign country, how will it be possible for us to practice virtue? Foreigners have their doctrines, and we Chinese have ours. Foreigners honor Jesus, and we honor Confucius; and this is perfectly agreeable to the dictates of sound reason. In answer to these observations I said, Jesus Christ was God manifest in the flesh, and come into the world. He taught heavenly doctrines to the world in a clear manner. He offers happiness to all who honor him, but he will assuredly condemn those who reject them. Can Confucius save your precious soul? It matters not whether a man be a Chinese or a foreigner, it is his duty to honor Christ and serve God. Pray reflect on these things, and ponder them in your hearts.

On January 2nd 1857, he writes: I went with Chu-a-luk to Diamond Valley. We took different routes. I visited two tents, and had as many as 18 persons to listen to what I had to say: I told them that the gods worshipped in China were mere nonentities, such as Geok-hong, Kwan-tay, and other divinities; that the worship of them was only a scheme of the Buddhist and Taoist priests, by which they fraudulently extorted money from the people. To reverence such objects would bring no advantage, but, on the contrary, would enhance men’s guilt. When the people heard these remarks, they expressed themselves astonished at the imposition practiced. I then placed before them the great blessings that resulted from faith in Christ; and also spoke to them about the manner in which God was to be worshipped. There was one man in particular, who was so delighted that he requested I would, on my next visit, bring with me a book of prayer, that he might learn how to frame his petitions. I gladly assented to his proposal, and availed myself of the present opportunity to present him with a copy of The Two Friends, and a catechism.

On the 23rd, while addressing a group of 20 persons, he says, amongst them was a man named Chu-a-sun, a native of Sin-why [Xinhui] in Canton Province; he is by trade a carpenter, and has resided chiefly in Melbourne. About the middle of January he came from Melbourne to Castlemaine. I happened to meet him one day as he was going to his work, and embraced the opportunity to explain to him some of our holy doctrines. When I had done, he exclaimed, Excellent doctrines! I never heard them before, hence my ignorance regarding those subjects you have been communicating to me. I feel obliged to you for telling me about the doctrines of Jesus, and the gracious goodness of God. In further reference to this man, Leong-a-toe further adds, The individual appeared to me unassuming and sincere, and I am in hopes he will be brought to repentance. I have since frequently had quiet interviews with him, when the truth has been the topic of our conversation; these interviews, I trust, will result in his awakening.

On the 30th January, he makes this entry in his journal: I went to Forest Creek, met with a man surnamed Chun, who is exceedingly desirous of becoming a Christian. He no longer worships idols. Having, however, from his youth, never been taught to read, he is ignorant of the Chinese characters. I put questions to him, in order to ascertain his motive. I have great hopes of him, and doubt not, but ere long, he will be considered a fit subject for baptism.

The condemned criminal in his cell, and the sick in the hospital have been alike visited by the agents of the mission, for the purpose of ministering to them those blessed truths of Gods Word which their respective pitiable and painful situations urgently demanded.

The case of Choy-a-luk, not Chu-a-luk, as the name is spelled in the public papers) who was not long ago executed for the murder of one of his countrymen is well known to the

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10 One of the most widely used Christian Chinese tracts in China and Australia.
public in Castlemaine. Although it is stated in some of the public journals that Choy-a-luk exhibited the utmost apathy when about to undergo the sentence of death, yet it would appear from interviews that Chu-a-luk had with him while he was confined in the jail at Castlemaine, that his mind was considerably affected in view of what awaited him. Chu-a-luk endeavoured to direct the unfortunate man to look to God for His mercy, and to pray to Him to forgive his sins for Christ’s sake, ere he was hurried from time to eternity. He read to him portions of the Holy Scriptures which he thought were appropriate to his situation, and called his attention particularly to the case of the thief on the cross, who, while suffering the agonies of crucifixion, applied to Jesus Christ for salvation and was saved in the hour of his extremity. He was urged to act like-wise, and to pray earnestly for the forgiveness of his past sins. One occasion he remarked to Chu-a-luk, If you had not taught me how to pray to God, I should not have known how to do it. I now constantly pray to God for his mercy. Chu-a-luk at different times both read and prayed with him. He was considerably affected when speaking to Chu-a-luk about his wife and family, to whom he wished to remit some money. He wept long and bitterly when he reflected that it would soon be out of his power to do any thing more for them in this world. He was told to refrain from grieving on their account, and to make use of the time that was still left to him to seek preparation for the eternal world. He told him to repent of his sins, and believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. Chu-a-luk then gave him a new testament, and marked several verses for him especially to meditate on during his confinement.

Towards the last week in March, hearing that several sick Chinese, afflicted with a species of elephantiasis had been received into the Castlemaine hospital, the two native agents and myself paid them a visit. The resident surgeon kindly led us to the ward occupied by them, and after putting several questions to them through Chu-a-luk, about their state of health, food, effects of medicine, etc., he withdrew, and left us with them. After some little conversation with the invalids, I called upon Chu-a-luk to read to them a portion of the eighth chapter of the Gospel of St Matthew. This was probably the first time the name of Jesus Christ sounded in their ears. The healing of the leper, mentioned in that chapter, produced a thrilling sensation, which shewed itself in loud exclamations of delight, uttered by the invalids. That Saviour who shewed himself so willing and powerful to save the wretched applicant who came to him for cleansing, we told them, was able to help them also. We directed them to seek of him the pardon of their sins, and the restoration of their bodies to health; also, to pray for submission for whatever might be the will of God concerning them. We took occasion, also, to point out to them some of the blessed effects of the Christian religion; how it taught those who believed in it to extend their sympathies to all men; to care for their brethren suffering from disease, of whatever clime or nation, and to devise means for alleviating or removing the maladies that affected our race. The Hospital wherein they were so comfortably accommodated and cared for, we told them, was a fruit that sprang from the influence of Christianity. They seemed to feel that they themselves exhibited proof of the truth of the remarks we made, and most cordially accorded to the Christian religion the palm of superiority over their own, which (as they experienced in their own cases), when the sufferer most needs help, leaves him lonely and destitute and wretched. After the portion of scripture was read and explained, the patients rose from their beds to join in prayer. We had a little further conversation with them and then bade them good bye. They expressed themselves extremely grateful for the visit we paid them. We left a copy of the New Testament with one of the patients who could read. There were four of them; three of the number were uneducated men.

The friends of the mission will perceive from what has been presented to them in this report that the Word of God is producing some impression on the heathen mind, and will feel encouraged in their efforts to sustain this holy enterprise. The Word of God has already, I trust, taken roots in the hearts of some of the Chinese, and ere long we shall have first one, and then another coming forward and declaring himself a disciple of Christ, and a worshipper
of the living and true God. May the Lord quickly bring about this happy event.
The Committee presenting their report, have generally to state that the cause they have in hand has not been suffered to languish, though they can hardly say that it has been taken up and prosecuted with that vigour which its importance demands.

At the date of the last report there were employed at Castlemaine and the surrounding gold fields, two native Chinese agents, Ho-a-low and Chu-a-luk, and, as their European superintendent, the Rev. Wm Young, for many years a missionary in China. Shortly after this Ho-a-Low resigned his connexion with the society and occupied himself in secular pursuits: he is now filling the situation of Chinese interpreter at the Ovens gold fields.

Providentially, a little before this time, another Christian Chinaman, Lo-Sam-Yuen arrived, recommended by the Bishop of Victoria, at Hong Kong, to the Bishop of Melbourne. As he appeared to be well qualified for the work, he was engaged at once, and was sent up to Castlemaine, where he for some time laboured in conjunction with Chu-a-luk, and under Mr. Young.

In October another Christian Chinaman, brought up in the missionary seminary at Hong Kong, by name Leong-A-Toe, arrived in Melbourne. As he was well recommended and seemed suitably qualified, the committee, trusting to their public support, engaged him on the mission, and he also was sent up to Castlemaine until some further distribution of the services of the agents could be determined on.

Considerable anxiety had been felt for some time by many friends at Geelong and Ballarat, for the commencement of missionary operations on behalf of the Chinese on the Western gold fields, and various letters passed between them and your committee on the subject. The arrival of the third native agent rendering it possible for the committee to meet their wishes, the Rev. Mr. Young and Lo-Sam-Yuen were sent over to Geelong, and proceeded thence to Ballarat, to survey the field of operations, and, if possible, make a commencement.

Considerable sympathy with the movement was found to exist among Christians of various denominations. Meetings were held, the Chinese were visited in their encampments, and services conducted among them. Propositions were received from the Geelong committee, containing a sketch of plans for future proceeding; a conference between the two committees was held; and ultimately an arrangement was agreed upon, which was to be regarded as of a temporary and experimental character. Lo-Sam-Yuen was to labour on the Ballarat gold field under the direction of the committee there; the other two agents, Chu-a-Luk and Leong-a-Toe, remaining as heretofore at Castlemaine, and Mr. Young was to divide his time between the two districts. The committees at Geelong and Ballarat undertook to raise £200 for the support of their agent, and £200 extra to meet the additional expenses which Mr. Young would have to incur in travelling to and fro, and in providing another place of lodging at Ballarat. This is the plan at present in operation, but it being found inconvenient, the committee has resolved upon a change.

The mode of carrying on the work at Castlemaine is very simple and primitive. The agents visit their countrymen in their tents day by day; enter into conversation with them where they find opportunity; conduct religious services when allowed; and distribute Chinese tracts and New Testaments. On Sabbath-days, besides casual visits and short services, public worship is conducted in a tent appropriated for the purpose, and something like a regular congregation.
assembles. The progress and organisation and consolidation is greatly checked by the migratory habits of the Chinese miners. Scarcely are favourable impressions made on any of their minds before they remove to another gold-field and for the most part are not seen again. Nevertheless, some are more permanent in their location storekeepers and others and upon these continued good influences can be brought to bear.

That the services are to some extent valued, and interest felt in them, may be gathered by the fact that steps are now being taken for the erection of a better place of worship, one built of stone, and towards the expenses of which the Chinamen have themselves subscribed £60. In Melbourne, several gentlemen have subscribed upwards of £30 so that there is contributed towards the object nearly £100 of the £250 the structure is estimated to cost. It is believed that when they shall have a church of their own, built expressly for the worship of the True God, and paid for chiefly by their own money, many more will acquire the habit of regular attendance, some we hope will there find the precious Gospel the power of god unto their salvation.

In the conversations that so frequently take place the Chinamen generally concede to the advocates of Christianity the better side of the argument, the folly of their idolatry, and the uselessness of their ceremonies on the one hand; and the superior glory and excellency of the divine religion of Jesus recommended to them on the other. Their reason is convinced, but their hearts are wedded to a system which allows them to retain their sins. Still it is to be hoped some spiritual good is done; as proof of which it may be mentioned that two have recently expressed the desire for baptism and have passed through a satisfactory probation. Mr. Young has been accustomed to meet the Committee at Castlemaine at their monthly convention and prayer, and to read a report of the proceedings of himself and the agents. These reports have regularly appeared in the Mt. Alexander Mail, through the kindness of the editor; and form altogether an interesting and useful collection.\(^\text{11}\)

Since the division of Mr. Young’s time with Ballarat they appear at longer intervals.\(^\text{12}\)

The work at Ballarat is conducted in much the same way as at Castlemaine. All testify to the superior efficiency of Lo-Sam-Yuen as an agent; and his sphere of labour is so large and inviting, but what is one solitary labourer in so wide a field?

In passing through Melbourne in his journeys to and from Ballarat, Mr. Young has had many opportunities of visiting the Chinese located in Little Bourke-street. These are for the most part more permanent residents than their countrymen at the goldfields, many of them being storekeepers.

There are some Christians among them, who have been brought up in the mission-schools of Hong Kong, Canton and elsewhere, in China. Several religious meetings have been held in the Church of the Rev. A. Morrison, [Scots Church] Collins-street, which have been addressed by Mr. Young, and in some cases by some of the Christian Chinamen. There is reason to believe that if a European missionary who thoroughly understands the Chinese language were resident in Melbourne, with a view to act on the Chinamen there, or those passing through, great good might be done.

This method is adopted by the Board of [Commissioners of Foreign] Missions at New York, who have a missionary with his family settled at San Francisco, where the mission-house premises have been erected at a cost of 20,000 dollars (£4000), all raised by the people of San Francisco themselves; a printing press is established; a periodical issued; and other methods adopted likely to operate upon these heathen strangers, who all pass through that

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\(^{11}\) Charles Saint was the editor of the Mount Alexander Mail and a notable defender of the Chinese.

\(^{12}\) The Ballarat Chinese Mission was managed by a local Ballarat interdenominational committee. It was initiated by The Geelong and Western District Chinese Evangelisation Society, established in Geelong September 1855 by James Balfour. The Geelong Society was effectively defunct by 1857 when Balfour left Geelong. See Welch, Ian (1980), Pariahs and Outcasts, Christian Missions to the Chinese in Australia, MA, Monash University.
What has hitherto been done by the Christians of Victoria to impart our holy religion to the numerous Chinese who have come thither in search of gold is very little compared with the necessities of the case. To work the districts of Castlemaine and Ballarat effectually would require a European missionary resident in each of those localities, with several Chinese assistants under them, so as to be enabled to extend their operations to the numerous diggings which branch out from those centres. The nothing whatever has been done at Sandhurst, and the extensive Bendigo gold-field; nothing for the Ovens district not to mention the Omeo and other outlying fields.

To overtake the work it would require at least four European missionaries, one at Melbourne, another at Ballarat, a third at Mount Alexander [diggings, including Castlemaine and Bendigo, and another at Beechworth, for the district of the Ovens, with Chinese Christian agents under them.

The men could doubtless be found, if the money were forthcoming, and the money would surely not be wanting if the Christian Church were fully awakened to its responsibilities in regard to these heathens, who are thrown in the midst of us. Our operations, small as they are, have been provided with great difficulty. Often have the Committee been under great anxiety to know where the next months payments were to come from. The expenses have indeed been met; the Treasurer is not in advance; but the money has been obtained by casual, rather than regular and organized efforts, and frequently the committee has been in arrears to its agents for the sums due to them . . .

We have simply to do with the fact of their actually being here. While they are, they surely have a claim upon Christians to do what they can to convey to their benighted minds the glorious and saving truths of the everlasting Gospel.

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13 An important reference indicating that the Australian Chinese Missions were aware, if not in regular contact, with the Chinese Missions established in North America.
During the mission year that is now concluded, your agent [Lo Sam Yuen] has assiduously & faithfully prosecuted his labours among his heathen countrymen. Often has he encountered opposition and ridicule in the discharge of his duties, but he has not shrunk from declaring to them the counsel of God. Laboring almost entirely alone, and separated from his wife and family in China, it has surprised many that he has not at times, given way to a melancholy mood. But he has always appeared cheerful and contented, and I believe he is in his element in his work.

He displays peculiar tact in answering the objections of his opponents and exposing the folly and sinfulness of idolatry, as will be perceived by referring to the extracts from his journals which have been translated from time to time and inserted in one of the local papers. The views he holds of the fundamental truths of Christianity as far as I have been able to learn from his public ministrations and private journals, as also from personal interview with him, are sound and scriptural.

Doubts were entertained by some, at one time, as to his fitness for occupying the post of a Christian teacher in consequence, it was said, of his not being sufficiently educated in his own language, but I think, he has long ago proved that he is equal, if not superior to any Chinese on the diggings in point of intellectual attainments.

During the first half year of the Mission, I was able to visit Ballarat at regular intervals to inspect Lo Sam-yuen's operations, but I have not been able to do so during the latter half, in consequence of the transfer of the headquarters of the Mission from Castlemaine to Melbourne and my efforts being confined principally to the metropolis where a large number of influential and intelligent Chinese are settled. But although I have not been able to visit Ballarat as often as I could have wished, I am happy to state your native agent has not, in consequence of that circumstance, neglected his work.

I have recently received most gratifying testimonies from Mr. Oddie and Mr. Booth, regarding his zeal and fidelity though left entirely alone. To the gentlemen whose names I have mentioned the Mission is greatly indebted for the help and encouragement they have afforded Lo Sam-yuen, by accompanying him regularly every Sabbath afternoon to the scene of his labours, and assisting to collect the Chinese to come and listen to the preaching of the Gospel. The first-mentioned gentleman has often advanced the funds to pay the agent's salary when the Treasury of the Mission was entirely exhausted. Had he not done so the interests of the Mission would have been materially injured.

The mode in which the agent [is] prosecuting his work is very simple. He goes round to his countrymen at different times of the day, and reads to and converses with those he finds at home and who are at leisure to hear him. He always carries his New Testament with him, and from this treasury of heavenly knowledge imparts instruction to his erring brethren. The numbers that gather around him on Sabbath days varies from 50 to 150 persons. While multitudes oppose, and not a few are utterly indifferent to what he communicates, there are a few who listen with interest to his statements of divine truth and at the present there are no fewer than six Chinese who have expressed a desire to receive the ordinance of baptism. It will be necessary, however, to subject them to a course of probation in order to test their sincerity and to instruct them more thoroughly in the doctrines of Christianity, ere the rite can be administered. Those who expressed such a wish are principally Chinese married to European women.

While I was at Ballarat in July last year, I had some conversation with Lo Sam-yuen about
building a convenient place of worship for the Chinese. I mentioned the subject to two of the Chinese headmen who promised to use their influence in forwarding the contemplated object. [transcription incomplete]
Religious Intelligence, Castlemaine Circuit

On Sunday 28 November 1858, missionary services were held, Leong a toe spoke. 'The speech of Leong a toe excited deep interest and it is hoped that effort will be made to maintain him as missionary to his own countrymen.'

Mission to the Chinese in Victoria (Victoria Chinese Mission)

We deeply regret — we blush for the Christian character of Victoria — to record that this mission has had to be relinquished for want of adequate support. A public meeting was held in the Mechanics Institute on Tuesday, November 30, to hear the report, when not more than a dozen gentlemen were present. We are thankful, however, to add that it is very likely that this work would be resumed by the Wesleyan and other churches in their denominational character.
The interest manifested by the Chinese themselves in the preaching labour of Leong A Toe is not only unabated but delightfully increasing. Interest on the part of European Christians towards that peculiar race is also on the increase. It is now resolved to erect a church for the special use of the Chinese. A piece of land, in an eligible position, has been purchased, and the money is now wanted for the building. Methodists, Christians of every name, and throughout the colony come and help us send your donations to any of our ministers in Melbourne, or to the Rev T Raston, Castlemaine. There appears to be promise of much good amongst the Chinese.
TO THE BRETHREN ASSEMBLED TOGETHER IN THE DISTRICT' MEETING

It would greatly delight me to see you all, that I might speak to you concerning the Chinese Mission. I have no time to go down to the meeting, but will speak to you through Mr. Ralston.14

I beg to inform you that it is my practice to visit the Chinaman's tents every day, and I preach to them the great truths of the Bible—that God is the Creator and preserver of men, and that Jesus Christ is the only Saviour of sinners.

The Chinamen worship ancestors and idols. Some of my countrymen receive the Gospel with gladness; others reject it, calling it the doctrine of other nations—rejecting it because it is opposed to the worship of idols and ancestors; others again refuse the Gospel on such grounds as these: they say that Jesus Christ is the sage of other lands, not of ours—That Englishmen want us to have their religion that they may get our hearts and then take our country—that the Gospel is not good, or the English would not compel us to pay £4 a year, and if we are poor, put us in gaol—such religion is not good. If the religion you preach is good, why do you not get all our countrymen out of gaol?

Thus the Gospel is preached, and that it does not greatly affect the minds of the people, I am truly grieved and troubled. However, four persons have been baptised; another man was deeply sorry for his sins, and prayed much to God. He is now earnestly acquiring a knowledge of the Gospel, and delights in learning. This man removed on the 10th October to Back Creek, on account of poverty. There are two men now in course of instruction; they come to my house every day for that purpose; they appear sincere and earnest in prayer to God; but I want to see more fruit before I am satisfied. May God pour out his Holy Spirit and convert their hearts that they may be added to his Church.

Every Sabbath Day I preach in one of the chapels in the neighbourhood. There is great difficulty. Chinamen do not know the blessedness of the Gospel, and we have to go everywhere and invite them to come to church. During this year, three young men (English) have greatly helped me in inviting the people to come and hear the Gospel. For this I am glad. I have been teaching the Chinese language to them for near seven months. They are getting on well and can converse a little in the language. They go with me every Sunday and to every place. With their help I thus get my congregations varying from eighty to 180. Thus do they greatly help me, and but for them I should not be able to do half so much on the Sabbath Day; they are sincere and faithful young men; they fear no toil nor danger—greatly loving my countrymen, and anxious that they should learn Christ's doctrine. I should like two or these young men to go to China, for they could learn the language much better there. Should they be sent there, it would be good for the Church. May God in his

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14 Rev. William Ralston.
mercy soon spread the Gospel in China and everywhere — is the sincere prayer of my heart.
July 29 Went to Little Bendigo; collected a small congregation of Tokeen [Fukien] Chinese, to whom I expounded a good portion of Matthew ii. Great attention and much interest were exhibited by the hearers, and many expressed their satisfaction at my coming back to Ballarat. One of the number seeing me give away a few tracts, produced one which he had brought with him and asked me what it was. I perceived it was part of a volume entitled Village Sermons [i.e. The Two Friends]. He said the volume had been given him by some Europeans who saw him in an English place of worship. I told him and others that I hoped they would exert themselves to bring out more of their countrymen to hear the Word of God, which they promised to do.

Editors Note: Of that man Mr Young speaks afterward, mentioning that he was no longer a worshipper of idols, and seemed animated by a sincere desire to know the way of truth.

August 1 Met a man who told me he had seen me at Singapore. He had been in a missionary school there. All the religious instruction, however, which he has received, does not seem to have raised him above his countrymen. Opium smoking, the bane of hundreds and thousands of these people, stands in his way. It has evidently made him very poor; his sullen countenance indicates a long addiction to the baneful luxury.

August 10 On my way home met a Tokeen Chinese, who after nine years residence here is anxious to return home. He told me that he was a relative of Tu (a servant I had in China, and a convert). He had been acquainted with the missionaries in Amoy, and been in their services. I remarked then he must have heard of Jesus Christ? Yes! Who was Jesus Christ? He pointed to the sky and said, He is God. The Son of God, I said. Who became man to save us. Some little of what missionaries in China teach these heathen people is thus retained upon their memories; and who knows but the bread cast upon the waters long ago may yet be found after many days. This man has been since a frequent attender on our Sabbath services at Little Bendigo.

August 22 Visited the [Ballarat] Hospital; saw a sick Chinese afflicted with leprosy. He was in a detached house. I asked him if he had ever heard of the doctrines of Jesus Christ. He replied he had, but did not remember them. I gave him a tract. Perceiving A to be in the Chinese character, he eagerly caught it up and began to read it. He appeared well pleased with my visit.

August 28. Visited the jail, where I addressed about seven prisoners. They appeared August 23 Stopped at a small Chinese temple, and witnessed a Chinese there making inquiries at an idol, through a lay priest, as to the result of an application to a European doctor in the case of a sick friend; also as to his own future good luck. The officiating priest having gone through the forms observed on such occasions, presented the enquirer with a couple of divining sticks, which the latter took to an adjoining house, occupied by a fortune teller, and obtained from him the answer that corresponded to the numbers marked on the sticks. These answers were explained to the enquirer. I had not the opportunity of ascertaining the answers nor the fee paid for them. Gave the fortune-teller a tract, and hope, on a future occasion, to have a conversation with him.

They blamed the foreigners for selling them opium. Heard of a poor woman, a European,

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15 See Appendix 13.
who, with a child, were in great destitution. Her husband (a Chinese) had been arrested at Bendigo on suspicion of selling spurious gold, but she had heard nothing from him for several weeks.

Editors Note: Mr Young interested himself in this poor woman’s case, and through the Government Interpreter, traced her husband, who had been discharged for want of evidence, and induced him to remit her some money. He was also instrumental in getting a disabled Chinese some relief from the [Ballarat] Benevolent Society, and afterwards of getting him sent home to his friends in China.

August 29 Was hailed by a Chinese from inside a tent. I found that he was one of my hearers last Sabbath afternoon. He told me that he was a doctor, but that he had given up his calling on account of being summoned before the authorities for the ill results of his treatment of a Chinese patient. He thought it very hard that such a step should be taken because he was not successful; nor did he think their mode of treating cases was proper, for they seemed to be guided more by their stethoscopes than by the pulses of their patients (and every man has six different kinds of pulses). He could invariably tell whether they were laboring under curable or incurable diseases. He wished me to give him £10 to set him up in business, etc.

September 2 At a fortune-tellers, where I met half a dozen Chinese, some strange questions were asked me. Was it necessary, asked the fortune-teller, if a man wished to become a Christian to pay a sum of money? Was it necessary to cut off his tail? And would becoming a Christian exempt a Chinese from the payment of the residence fee? I told him that Christ did not require a man to part with his tail, nor was it necessary to pay a sum of money. What was required was, true faith in Jesus Christ; and, as to taxes imposed by the State, Christianity taught us to pay them. Then it is of no use to become Christians some of them exclaimed.

September 25 Rev Mr Raston, Wesleyan Minister, called on me this day with Leong a Toe, the Chinese Catechist at Castlemaine. The latter told me of the resolution he had come to, to leave this country for China, which I told him I very much regretted, as there would be no Christian Chinese to take his place; he had laboured successfully at Castlemaine, and had been the means of bringing several of his countrymen to the knowledge of the truth. But quite as strong and stronger claims are drawing him back to China. Two Chinese who had been baptised at Castlemaine are going back to China with him. The idea is indeed pleasing, that of Christianised heathen, converted by God’s grace in this country, having here obtained, along with the gold that perisheth, the imperishable treasure of the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. Leong looked at my stock of books, and took several copies of those he considered most suitable for distribution on board the ship among his Chinese fellow passengers.

Editors Note: Mr Young has been urging upon the Committee the importance of having a School opened where the Chinese might be instructed in the knowledge of English; and still more earnestly has been representing the necessity of his labors being sustained and extended by the appointment of one or more Native Catechists.

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16 This refers to the general belief that becoming a Christian had a mercenary value or required a Chinese to abandon Chinese customs.
June 16, 1864. Today I visited the temple of the Sam-Yap clan at Golden Point. There were a great number of people in front of it, all in commotion, letting off crackers, and congratulating the deified hero Kwan [kuan Gong, Kwan Ti], it being his birthday. The assemblage of people was very large. The interpreters were present, managing the ceremonies of the occasion. I went in and out of the temple, and saw numbers of the Chinese bowing down before the idol, and making obeisance. Seeing me in the temple, many of them appeared displeased, knowing full well that I was constantly in the habit of telling the people that God forbade our worshipping of idols; and those who offended in this matter would certainly not escape punishment. On this occasion, the interior of the temple was furnished in an imposing manner with all manner of sacrificial offerings, such as gold, pork, fruits, wine, gilt paper, incense, candles, etc; and prayers and praise were offered to a dead man. Alas! such conduct as this must arouse the righteous indignation of God. Their folly in this matter is extreme, and their sin exceedingly great. Seeing them look indignantly at me, as I went in and out of the temple, I felt it useless to say anything to them; as there was such a great confusion of voices, it would have been impossible to make oneself heard. In the afternoon, I visited the Hospital and the Benevolent Asylum.

July 12. Early to-day friends came and sat with me. In the course of our conversation, one of them remarked how great the reverence was that the Chinese showed to printed paper. Learned men constantly showed this extreme reverence by making little presents of sweetmeats and fruit to young boys who picked up bits of printed paper and brought them to them. These bits of paper are subsequently thrown into the fire to be consumed, so as to prevent their being trodden under foot, which is considered extremely disrespectful to literature; hence, properly educated Chinese never suffer any paper that has writing upon it to lie upon the ground, but pick it up and consign it to the flames.

July 17. Spoke to the people in the chapel from the 8th Chapter of John, 30th to 36th verses. I had above 30 hearers.

July 18. Fell in with several new arrivals from China to-day. I began immediately to speak to them about God, the Maker of heaven and earth and all things, and the duty of all men to worship Him and seek His protection. As the new-comers had just arrived in this country, I told them that they ought to pray to God to give them success in their mining matters, so that they might earn enough money to enable them to return to their native villages, and rejoin their parents, wives, and families. I told them that I hoped they would all believe in Jesus, the Saviour of the world, and seek the pardon of their sins in His name; so would their souls at length ascend to heaven, and enjoy eternal happiness, which would be ten thousand times better than the getting of gold. After this I visited other places, and got home in the afternoon.

July 21. From early morning until midday, occupied conversing with visitors at my house. I spoke to them about the truths of Gods word, praying with them, and imploring God to forgive their sins and grant them happiness. In the afternoon, went to the different claims about Golden Point, to converse with the miners; but I found them all fully occupied, and one at leisure to listen to any conversation. In the evening returned home.

July 27. Engaged this forenoon in conversing with friends, who called at my house, about gospel truths. In the afternoon, went to a number of shops in the Main-road [Ballarat East], and pointed out to the people the great evil of opium smoking. I urged them speedily to give up the habit. Some of them said they were aware of the injury they received from it but felt they could not give it up. Others said that the their smoking of opium was not worse than the
drinking of spirits indulged in by Europeans in hotels. It was in this way they entertained
guests, and talked over worldly affairs. I told them of the power opium had of gradually
undermining their constitutions; and as body and soul were endangered thereby, why did they
not believe the doctrines of the gospel, and trust in the name of Jesus to deliver them from this
practice of entertaining guests. They would then find peace in this world, and life everlasting
in heaven. Would not this be delightful?

July 20. Went to see some sick folks at one of the market gardens on Little Bendigo. Spoke to
them of Jesus coming into the world to deliver us from sin and misery. Sick people had their
sins too, and ought to believe in Him, and to worship the one living and true God. Spoke to
them for about two hours and then went to other market gardens and tents. At dusk returned
home.

August 8. This afternoon went out into the streets to distribute tracts. Told the people
about Jesus raising the dead, and giving sight to the blind; told them that those who believed
in Jesus would live though they were dead, and be enlightened by Him though they were
blind. On the contrary, those who did not believe in Him were dead, although they were
living, and were blind although they could see.

August 27. Went to the Main-road. In one of the opium shops there, I fell in with several
people, who were engaged in friendly chat. I remarked that the thing most valued under the
heavens by men was gold; but there was something ten thousand times more precious than
gold; did they know what that thing was? They all replied, We know nothing that is of more
value than that. I told them that it was the soul they had in them; and that which the soul had
for its support was the work of Jesus Christ. Resting upon that, it would come to the
enjoyment of everlasting bliss in heaven. I then told them about Christs coming into the
world. After I had told them these things, I proceeded to other places.

August 31. Two or three men came to my house from a distance; hearing that I had
recently returned from China, they wished to know the latest news from that country. I told
them the latest news I had to give them was, that God had opened the door for proclaiming the
Gospel in all parts of the land. At Canton and many other places, the Chinese were embracing
Christianity. This, I remarked, constituted the happiness of China. I then gave them tracts, On
Heaven, Earth and Man, and Dialogues between Two Friends, telling them of Gods love to
men in sending Jesus to die for their sins.

October 6. Went this day to some of the shops in China-street, Fiery Creek, to
distribute tracts and teach the truth. I also visited some of the opium shops, where I
found a number of people, and to whom I spoke about our Saviours coming into the
world and assuming the nature of man, that He might in that nature make an
atonement for mans sin. While thus engaged, all of sudden a fortune-teller came up,
the same man who last year had a discussion with me at Golden Point. On this
occasion, he commenced by alluding to case of gross immorality among some
Europeans. What kind of religion must theirs be? said he. True believers, said I, are
not guilty of the immorality you allude to; you are just talking at random. Assuredly
not, said he, and then related particulars. I replied, On this wide earth we have
everywhere good and bad people. What you relate may or may not be true. If true, it
is a very scandalous affair, and one which, among those who believe in Jesus, would
be condemned. I closed what I had to say to him with some observations on the
sinfulness of worshipping idols. He replied, God himself was but an idol; if one
worshipped God, then God was invested with divinity; if one worshipped an idol,
then the idol was invested with divinity; if a man even sincerely worshipped a stone,
the stone would become divine, and would be able to acquaint him about what was
good and evil. Then you admit, said I, that you Buddhas and idols are equally
senseless with stone. How stupid, then, is it for a living mortal to bow down to a
stone! According to your own statement, a stone is possessed of greater intelligence
than a man, yet our wise men of China have said that man is the intelligent soul of the universe; but you seem to suppose that he is inferior to a stone in intelligence. Do you think yourself more stupid than a stone? As I was leaving, I heard him say behind my back, I cannot refute his arguments; but when he wants us to give up the worship of idols, his statements must be combated.

October 9. LORDS Day. Went in the forenoon to a shop on the Main-road, the master of which had prepared a roasted pig, which he was about to convey to the temple of Pok-te. One of the persons present in the shop said, We are going today to worship the good Shang-te, who is supremely majestic and divine. In life he was a true hero, and had the posthumous title of Pok-te conferred upon him by one of the emperors; he is also called Shang-te. I felt inclined to open my mouth and argue with him; but seeing the master of the shop thoroughly bent on doing honor to the god Pok-te, and seeing him eye me with indignation, I refrained doing so, and went off to another place, where I fell in with a number of Chinese, to whom I gave away several tracts, telling them at the same time about God, the Maker of heaven and earth, and of Jesus, the Saviour of the world. In the afternoon, I addressed a congregation of thirty persons, in our chapel, from the 14th, 15th and 16th verses of the 3rd chapter of the Gospel of John.

October 21. Went about Golden Point, and spoke to the people about Gods great mercy and grace in saving those that believe in Jesus Christ; told them that those who led wicked lives hindered the progress of the truth, and incurred Gods displeasure. Paul had said that the wrath of God was manifested from heaven against ungodly and unrighteous men who opposed the truth. In the afternoon several visitors came to my house. I spoke to them of God as the God of peace. In whatever country the Gospel prevailed, there peace was sure to be enjoyed. In the Gospel of Matthew it is said, Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.

October 24. On the Main-road, as I was distributing tracts, I met a man in one of the shops who was buying idol-candles, to whom I presented a tract on idolatry. I took occasion to tell him that an idol was but an inanimate thing; and when a living mortal fell on the ground before such a senseless object, and worshipped, he was not unlike the object itself. I exhort all who hear me to believe in Jesus, and to bow before the one true and living God. I then went further on, and discoursed about Gods method of saving the world.

November 1. This day, had visitors at my house. Conversation with them on general topics led to the discussion of religious subjects. The doctrines of the Gospel, I said, had a tendency to produce harmony amongst men. Those who ruled were enabled thereby, through Gods help, to advance the interests of the kingdom they governed; those who administered justice, to do so impartially; fathers became compassionate, and sons filial; elder and younger brethren attached and respectful; husbands and wives became amiable and yielding, princes condescending, and ministers faithful all these effects the Gospel produced; without it, they could not be produced. After I had spoken to them, they took leave and went away. I then proceeded to the Hospital and the Benevolent Asylum.

November 2. Went to the Main-road, and thence proceeded to the Canadian, where I distributed tracts, and spoke to the people on the subject of the second coming of our Lord, when the dead shall be called forth from their graves, in order to receive, every one, according to the deeds done in the body, whether good or bad. The awards of that day, whether happiness or misery, will be irrevocable and eternal. I visited between seven and eight shops.

November 21. Visited the Hospital and Benevolent Asylum, and spoke to the inmates about the duty of praying without ceasing. Thence went to the Main-road, and dwelt on the importance of knowing ones own sins. I visited between seven and eight shops.

November 28. I remained at home, conversing with some visitors. The subject was idolatry and God had forbidden it. In the afternoon, I visited a barbers shop; two or three men were in it; I began to tell them about the Maker of all things, that He had
sent Jesus to save our world, and to redeem us from sin. One of the number said, I suppose the God you speak of is Yuk-Wong. No, I replied, Yuk-Wong was a mere man. Well, I dont know who he was. he said, but he is now enthroned in heaven. You say he is in heaven do you know the history of this personage? I asked. No, I do not know. he rejoined. I then told him that he was certain person called Cheong-E, who was posthumously advanced to that honor by a Chinese emperor at the request of one of his ministers; and this affair is nothing more than a cheat, invented by Satan to deceive men. Where is the earthly monarch, I asked, Who can elevate a dead subject of his to heavenly dignity? Let me ask you which is the greater the Being who is heavens Supreme, or the mortal who governs an earthly kingdom? Certainly, he replied, the Being in heaven. We never hear, I added, of the inferior exalting a superior. There are emperors who promote inferior officers; but we never hear of inferior officers promoting emperors.

December 1. To-day distributed several tracts at Golden Point, and spoke to the receivers of the tracts about the prevailing power of truth over error, using as an illustration the history of Elijah and the false prophets of Baal.

December 17. In the forenoon, engaged with Mr Young till half-past twelve o’clock, after which I went home. At two o’clock in the afternoon I went to the Main-road and distributed tracts. Gave also to the lepers their weekly allowance of money from the Benevolent Asylum.

I spoke to them of the love of God in sending His Son to suffer for the sins of men, in order that their souls might be saved. Now, although you are afflicted with an incurable disease, still you may entertain a hope of salvation for your souls by faith in Jesus.

December 29. To-day visitors came to my house, with whom I engaged in conversation concerning the truths of Christianity. I told them that they would assuredly spread throughout the world; every one who received the Saviour’s doctrines would obtain eternal life, but those who rejected them would be condemned. In the afternoon had a long conversation with the keeper of a Chinese temple, a firm believer in idol worship. At the close of our conversation, I told him that a Chinese holding a similar position with himself had some years ago become a believer in Jesus. If Christianity were not true, it could not supplant what was false; but it is indeed true there cannot be the least doubt of that.
THE CHINESE MISSION. THE CHINESE AT CRESWICK

On the 22nd of December last [1864], I proceeded to Creswick to visit the Chinese residents in that district. I remained there a whole week, and was, with my little daughter, hospitably entertained by the Rev J B Steel, who also kindly undertook to defray our travelling expenses to and from Creswick. The principal encampments of the Chinese having been pointed out to me by Mr. Steel, I embraced the earliest opportunity of visiting these people. According to their own estimate, the Chinese number about 1000 souls in this district. The largest number congregated together is to be met with in Black Lead encampment, called by some China Town. If purchases are to be made by Chinese residing the flats and gullies, they wend their way to this little town of theirs to make them. It looks clean.

Their main street is not unlike the main street of the Chinese encampment on Golden Point [Ballarat], lined on each side with shops and dwelling-houses, among which are conspicuous those nurseries of vice; opium and gambling houses. The first visit paid to this town, which was on the afternoon after my arrival, was simply for the purpose of a reconnoitre; I wanted more to inspect the place than anything else; but here and there I spoke to a few; and told them the purpose of my visit to the district. On my second visit I took tracts along with me, which I distributed among the people from house to house, conversing also with them on the momentous subject of Christianity, testifying against the vices so common among the Chinese, and shewing them the necessity of repentance and faith in Christ. Some few showed a disposition to ridicule, and to turn to jest expressions that fell from my lips; but they soon gave this up upon being gently reprimanded, and when they came to know who I was. Two or three Chinese who had known me in Ballarat, and who now gave me a hearty welcome, soon blazoned about the place what my profession was, and the position I occupied, and the consequence was a very respectful demeanour towards me by the generality.

The next visit paid the town was in company with the Rev. Mr. Pollard, a Church of England minister who takes a very lively interest in the welfare of the Chinese.

We took some tracts with us, and a few copies of the New Testament. The first shop we encountered was a gambling shop; a good many people were in at the time. On seating ourselves, I made some introductory remarks, and then proceeded to read them a discourse in the colloquial on the depravity of man’s nature, founded on the text, there is none good, no, not one. Very deep attention was paid to me while thus engaged, by the large group assembled; and some parts of the discourse they appeared evidently to feel very appropriate to their own state. At the conclusion we gave them a few tracts, and a copy or two of the New Testament.

My reverend companion was highly delighted with what he saw and noticed on this occasion. He told me that he had often tried to get into conversation with the Chinese when he met them, but could never go beyond the length of saying to them, How do you do? The weather is hot. or The weather is cold. Beyond that, whatever was said in English was not understood by them, and consequently conversation soon came to a deadlock.

In the afternoon Mr. Pollard kindly accompanied me to the hospital. There was one Chinese patient only in the institution, all the rest were Europeans. While my friend was engaged in seeing and conversing with the latter, I was engaged in conversation with the former. When this man entered the hospital, his case was considered almost hopeless. he was a miner; and while engaged one day at his occupation, a large quantity of earth fell in upon
him, fracturing one of his legs.\textsuperscript{17}

A Chinese doctor was called to attend him; but instead of doing any good to the sufferer, did an immense deal of harm and was paid for it the sum of £10. Gangrene had now set in; and in the state, as a last resort, his friends applied for his admission into the hospital. With the blessing of God on the skilful treatment of the resident surgeon, who amputated the mortifying limb, the patient whose life seemed to by hanging on a thread gradually recovered; and when I saw him he looked stout and well, and was able to use his crutches. I spoke to him of the goodness of God in thus mercifully preserving his life, and bringing him into an institution where he was so well cared for; and perceiving him to be a man of some education, presented him with a few tracts and a copy of the New Testament, reading also portions here and there to him. He seemed most gratified with my visit, and thanked me for the books I gave him. He told me that his friends had purposed raising a sufficient sum of money among themselves to enable him to return to his relatives in China. Should he return I think he will have much to tell them of Christian kindness shown him in the institution of which he has been for a long time an inmate. He spoke in high terms of the resident surgeons skill and kindness, but inveighed with much warmth against the Chinese doctors incompetency and extravagant charges.

The other encampment, called the Portuguese Flat encampment, I also visited. It is a very small one. The reception given me by the inmates of the several dwellings visited was very cordial. There was nothing of the bustle and hurry here that one witnesses in China Town; so I had a better opportunity of conversing with and reading to the people, who were very attentive; nothing occurred to interrupt their hearing or my speaking. Several tracts were given away, which were well received. One dwelling, on this flat, I could not help being struck with. As I entered, the air of neatness and cleanliness that presented itself within formed a very agreeable contrast to what is usually seen in Chinese dwellings. The occupant politely offered me a chair; and my proposing to read a discourse to him, reached a chair for himself, and, drawing it near to the table, he sat beside me, listening with the greatest interest and attention. After I had read, a conversation ensured on general subjects, when he related to me several circumstances in connection with his own history, which it would be too lengthy to narrate here. He is married to a European woman; and I understood him to say he had also a wife in China; that having been a good many years in this country, and having no prospects of being able to return to China, he thought he would form a matrimonial alliance in this country also; a thing not unfrequently done by Chinese who migrate from their native land to this and other colonies and settlements. On leaving his house I visited some others, in all which I had reason to be satisfied, both with my reception and the attention paid to the truth.

On the afternoon of the Lords day, I again visited the China Town, and addressed a large group of Chinese. In the absence of a suitable place to convene the people in, I seated myself under the verandah of a shop, where I was well screened from the burning rays of the sun, and began to deliver my discourse. In a little time 40 or 50 persons were attracted to the spot, and listened, on the whole, with a good deal of decorum. After I had done, I gave the few tracts I had with me to those who appeared willing to receive them. One of the Chinese wags began to jest at what was said, but he was quickly silenced by a bystander, who inflicted on him a salutary rebuke. May the Lord bless his own truth, which has been sown amidst much imperfection and weakness on the soil of the heathen mind, and cause it to produce some good fruit. In the evening, at the request of Mr Steel, I preached in English to the Presbyterian Church in the township, giving the congregation assembled on the occasion an account of the Chinese Mission in Ballarat, and advocating its claims. The attendance was pretty numerous, and much interest was manifested in the Mission.

\textbf{Note:} Pollard was active in the Victoria Chinese Mission and had known Mr Young since 1855. The two had been associated in a short-lived Anglican Chinese mission in Little

\textsuperscript{17} See Appendix 16.
Alien Son

Bourke Street in 1857
DIFFICULTIES OF THE WORK
Since the date of the last report of Mission operations among the Chinese, submitted by me, the usual religious services every Sabbath-day in the Chinese chapel have been uninterrupted kept up, both by the catechist and myself; the attendance at these services however, has not come up to the former average, notwithstanding the Chinese have been urged and invited to come to them.

Several causes have operated to produce this thinness of attendance. The natural dislike of the carnal mind to whatever is spiritual and divine is doubtless the principal. A religion that is constantly inculcating repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus, as their basis of hope and ground of happiness in this world and the world to come, cannot be supposed will possess much attraction in the eyes of heathen men, who emphatically mind earthly things only; and the preachers of such a religion will not, unless God renews the hearts of the heathen, draw many of them to them.

The Lords-day, is, in fact, in very great measure, employed by the Chinese in ordinary trading. Some shop-people do business on this day just as openly as on week days; others, whose shops are contiguous to European dwellings, do so stealthily. Business with them on this day is often brisker than on the other days of the week. Numbers of them also allege that the Lords-day is the only day on which they can attend to their various domestic arrangements, and as we go round inviting them to come to the chapel, we invariably find them occupied in mending their shoes, repairing their mining implements, chopping wood, or plaiting their hair, and on the ground of their being so engaged, excuse their non-attendance at our chapel. Some few, however, of these contrive to be in time to attend at least part of our services. But the attractions of the gambling and opium shops keep away by far the greatest number. It is here that the greatest throngs of the Chinese are met with, whether on Sundays or week days.

Under these circumstances it is scarcely to be wondered at that our chapel is often thinly attended. On this account, the plan is adopted of visiting the Chinese in the forenoon of every Lords-day in their tents and shops; and in the afternoon (after the services in the chapel are over) at the gaol, the [benevolent] asylum, and the hospital. In this way a goodly number are brought under the sound of the Gospel on the day of rest.

Amongst the poor and diseased I have found, generally, the most attentive listeners to the preached word; softened down by affliction, they are much more disposed to listen to the truth than those that are hale and strong; and some of them show great gratitude for the visits that are paid them. A kind friend promptly responded to an appeal made to him on behalf of the poor lepers in the hospital reserve, and sent me not long ago a large bundle containing useful second-hand wearing apparel, which I distributed among these unfortunate sufferers, whose eyes glistened with pleasure on the receipt of the welcome articles. Clad in the recently obtained garments, they look much more comfortable and tidy; and when I complimented them on their improved appearance, faces that had worn no smile for many a long day, were now lit up with joy, and for the first time I heard them give vent to loud laughs of gladness.

Perhaps I may be allowed to mention also the kindness of another friend, who, as regularly as the Lords day comes round, visits these poor lepers in the afternoon, speaks some kind words to them in English, and presents them each with a small bouquet of flowers, and oftentimes with something more substantial even than these. Acts like these speak forcibly to the hearts of these sufferers; and more than once I have heard them lauding the disinterested
kindness of their benefactor. The number of Chinese lepers in this township is seven, and all standing in need of help. To one-half at least of these cases, weekly pecuniary relief is afforded by the Benevolent Asylum.

Latterly I have received several visits from the Amoy Chinese. Having been instrumental, through the aid of a former colleague, in opening up communication between them and their relatives and friends in China, from whom they had had no tidings for many a long year, whenever they have letters to send to their country they come to me to get them forwarded, readily paying all expenses incurred in posting them. The correspondence that has now sprung up between them and their friends in China has already had one good effect. It has made some of them more careful of the money they earn. Instead of spending it recklessly, they lay it by, in the hope of ultimately accumulating a sufficient sum to enable them to return to Amoy. Their frequent visits to my house afford me frequent opportunity of communicating religious instruction to them, and giving them tracts and copies of the New Testament, which are always thankfully received.

The Chinese prisoners have also been regularly visited in the gaol. Their numbers, I am sorry to state, are on the increase; and the increase is not to be wondered at while the two prolific sources of crime (gambling and opium smoking) continue so universally to prevail. They are attentive to what is said to them from the Word of God, and occasionally tracts are given to them to read. There are at present about twenty-three prisoners in the gaol; the greater number of them are undergoing shorter or longer sentences for theft and vagrancy.
MISSIONARY VISIT TO THE CHINESE AT PLEASANT CREEK [Stawell] AND ARARAT

On the 26th October last I started for Ararat, and immediately on my arrival called on the Chinese interpreter and told him the object which had brought me to Ararat. He kindly offered his services to pilot me to the different Chinese encampments whenever his official duties were over, provided he got the Warden’s permission.

On the 27th I visited the hospital, but found only one Chinese patient there, all the rest being Europeans. The patient was an Amoy Chinese. He was suffering from a severe attack of dysentery, which came upon him while he was shearing sheep on one of the stations. He seemed to know me, but it was only from report. He began to tell the wardsman what I had been doing for the Chinese generally, and especially for one who came from the same part of China as himself, and who to this day is residing on my premises. I felt surprised at the minuteness with which he related particulars. If our teachings at Ballarat are reported in the interior as minutely as some of our doings appear to be, then great hopes may be entertained of a rapid spread of the knowledge of God’s truth among this people. I endeavoured to impart to this man some knowledge of the leading truths of the Bible.

On the 28th I left Ararat for Pleasant Creek. The following day (Lords Day) I went with Mr. Matthew to his Chinese Sabbath-school at the Deep Lead. After the Chinese received their usual lessons in the English language, I gave them an address in their own tongue, which was listened to with a great degree of interest and attention. The number of hearers, which was, I understand, much larger than on ordinary occasions, might be about 35 persons. The advancement made by the regular attendants at this school, in English spelling and reading, was very creditable. If they persevere in their attendance, Mr. Matthew and his coadjutors in this work may be able to do them some good by conveying religious instruction to them through the medium of the English language.

On the following day Mr. Matthew kindly drove me to several places where small knots of Chinese were to be met with. I read some of the tracts which I had with me to them, which interested them very much. To those who appeared able to read, a few copies were given, which were received with eagerness. The number of Chinese at Pleasant Creek is very small, and they live scattered. At the Deep Lead there are about 70 persons, and at Seventy Foot about 60. The population is composed of Sam-Yap, Heang-Yap and Su-Yap Chinese; the latter are the most numerous. They are mostly miners; whatever their clan may be; four of the Chinese have followed the occupation of shopkeepers, and five that of market-gardeners.

After but a brief stay at Pleasant Creek I returned to Ararat.

The time I spent at Ararat was over a week, visiting the principal encampment a good many times, as well as the gaol, the hospital, and the scattered groups of Chinese. One public service on Lords Day, according to previous announcement made to the Chinese, I held in the Chinese camp, Port Fairy-road. On that occasion, through the kind assistance of the Chinese interpreter, I got the use of an unoccupied Chinese club-house, to which the interpreter invited a number of his countrymen that they might hear the discourse I intended to give them. Between 30 and 40 persons came. They listened with apparent interest, and the major portion remained until the offering of the prayer, which concluded the religious service. It was raining

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18 The Rev. William Matthew see Chapter 3.
heavily at the time, otherwise the audience would have been larger. I proceeded to the gaol. Here I had eight Chinese prisoners for my audience. They listened very respectfully, and with a good degree of interest.

One of the prisoners I addressed in the Malay language, that being better understood by him than the Chinese. He seemed very much impressed with what I said to him. He acknowledged that he was a sinner, and declared that he looked to God for the pardon of his sins. I told him we must seek for pardon only in the name of Jesus, the Son of God. I had a long and interesting conversation with him, and must say I have not yet met one among the Chinese who seemed so ready to acknowledge his sins and the justice of God in his dealings with him.

Saturday, the 4th Nov. I paid a visit to Opossum Gully. A Chinese storekeeper in the township very kindly let me have the use of his horse and spring-cart, and the Chinese interpreter obligingly drove me to the Gully. On arriving there, we left the cart under a tree, and entered into a Chinese shop. I was introduced to the shopkeeper by the interpreter, who explained to him and other Chinese who were present the special object of my visit.

The Chinese who reside here are Amoy men, numbering about 30 persons. Most of them were at this time engaged in sheep-shearing, in which occupation one or two of them, I have been told, excel in a good degree. At the time of my arrival there were eight or ten Chinese; the rest were engaged as above stated, and I was told they would not be back until sundown. I gave those who were at the time in the gully about half an hour or more to collect themselves together.

During that interval I set myself to visit the residents on the spot, of whom there were altogether twelve persons. One of them six months ago lost his wife (a European woman) who died of consumption in the Ararat Hospital. She has left three children, two boys and one girl. I began to speak to this Malay in his own language. He listened willingly, and betrayed no symptoms of impatience at hearing Jesus called the Son of God, and superiority claimed for him above Mahomet.

On leaving this man, I proceeded to the residence of another Malay, a married man. His wife is Malay, too, the first Malay woman I have seen on the goldfields. There were two other Malays also in the house, which, from the apparatus for opium-smoking I saw there, I took to be an opium-shop. I spoke to the inmates here about the fall of man, and the advent of the Saviour to save us from sin. One of them spoke of Mahomet as being his prophet. I told him Mahomet was a sinner too, and needed salvation. This he could not deny. Salvation, I said, was to be obtained in Christ alone. I was listened to during the whole interview with great attention; and the Malay woman appeared interested too, and interjected a good many remarks as I was speaking. I told them I regretted I had not some good book to give them to read. Ah! Is it the Koran you mean? said one of them. No. I replied, but some book that will teach you of Jesus.

After leaving this house I returned to the Chinese shopkeepers. On my way, I met another Malay, an intelligent looking man. I told him the purport of my visit, which was to teach men to believe in Jesus Christ, that they might attain to real happiness. Well, he said, I don’t care what Padrees (ministers) say, or what anyone else may say; this I am certain of, that whoever does Gods will is sure to be happy. Very true, I replied, And this is Gods will, that men should repent and believe in Christ; and in this way they will most assuredly become happy. Are you very sure of that? said he, eyeing me in a keen and scrutinising manner. He was plainly not inclined to look for happiness to Jesus, but to Mahomet. I told him I regretted to see his countrymen here in such reduced circumstances. He said his countrymen had not been looking forward to the future in their money-making days, but had given themselves up to gambling and other indulgences; and in this he did not seem inclined to blame them, for he thought when men made money they might spend it as they liked. God, he said, sent fortunes, and he also sent misery. I told him misery was of mans own making; he must not blame God for the misery a man brought upon himself by squandering his wealth in gambling, opium-smoking,
and immorality. God was not the author of such misery, and when he gave us wealth it was to do and get good with it. to all this he readily assented; but still he seemed to think a little indulgence given to sensual appetites was not wrong; and he acknowledged that he himself had given way to such gratifications. This man was altogether as staunch a Mahometan as ever I have met, exceedingly shrewd, self-justifying, and self-confident.

As a group of Chinese had already assembled at the storekeepers, and were waiting for me, I took leave of the Malay, and went to address them. By the time I got to the store there were about eight of them collected together [no more than originally present]. The greater part of them were seated under the verandah, and two or three were inside the store. I gave them a few tracts, and then addressed them. I reminded them of the day of retribution, when every man would be judged according to his works. Several of them paid marked attention.

At the Chinese store just mentioned two European young men were present. In the course of conversation with them, I asked them to what denomination of Christians they belonged whether to the Wesleyan or the Presbyterian. To neither of them, they said, for they were Protestants. I very much fear that not a few who live in these secluded spots, though professedly Christian, are raised very little above the heathen, either in Christian knowledge or in Christian practice. After my visits were finished, I was driven back to Ararat. I was gratified at having met with these people, speaking different languages, and being able to tell them something of the truths of Gods Word, which may the Holy Spirit bless to them.

A day or two after, I hired a vehicle, in order to visit the Chinese residing at Armstrong and the different gullies, distant six or seven miles from Ararat. The groups of Chinese I found to be very much scattered. Their dwellings are little huts of bark, enclosed by a fence of gum-tree saplings, about five or six feet high, to protect them from the strong and sudden winds that blow here. In these enclosures I found the Chinese mostly disengaged, giving me an excellent opportunity for engaging in conversation with them on Scriptural subjects, and reading them some of my sermons, which were listened to with great interest, and I hope some profit. Tracts were given them, which were well received. Conversations, too, were held with straggling parties, going from one place to another, who were not a little delighted with what was communicated to them of Christian teaching. I gave a book to one such straggler, who thanked me most heartily for the gift. He was one of those who had received Christian instruction in Hong Kong, and who, I was glad to perceive, had not forgotten what was taught him there. He told me he had renounced the worship of idols. There is a small sprinkling of such persons among the Chinese population in this country, who, if brought under more regular Christian instruction, would not be long, I think, before they were won to embrace publicly the Christian faith.

According to the statistics I was able to procure of the Chinese population at Pleasant Creek and Ararat, it would appear that there are at the former place about 200 Chinese, and at the latter place 900. The bulk of these people are miners; the rest are storekeepers, carters, butchers, restaurant-keepers, shoemakers, carpenters, candle-makers, doctors, opium-dealers and barbers.

Wm Young.
LEPERS AT CLAYTONS HILL, BALLARAT

See notes at Appendix 16.
During the past year Leong on Tong has been very assiduous in his labours among his countrymen. He has regularly conducted Divine worship on the Sabbath at the Mission Chapel in Castlemaine, and during the week has visited the various Chinese encampments to impart instruction in the principles of Christianity. Visits have also been made to Daylesford and Ballarat for the purpose of holding religious service. We rejoice to state that this mission is still fruitful in results. Six converts from heathenism were baptised into the Christian faith by the Rev. E. King, on Sunday 31st March. The experience of these candidates was translated into English by the Rev. Mr. Piercy of Canton. Mr. Piercy says: "I am greatly impressed with the importance of this work among the Chinese in Australia. The papers now sent will shew you more and more, I think, the value of your Native Agency. I am particularly struck with the freshness and clearness of your converts’ statements, and their general apparent sincerity. When will you, (Mr. P. esquires) "have a young Englishman or Australian superintending this work, and speaking to these Chinamen with the freedom of a native's tongue? O that you had such a man! What a noble work he might do for the people with you, and for this land! He might train men, who, on their return to China, would be of great service to these masses."

In the Sandhurst District, James Ah Ling has laboured amongst the Chinese, with great acceptance and some success. One convert has been baptised during the year, and another now seeks admission into the Church. The result of another year's experience has been, more than ever to confirm our faith in the value and importance of evangelistic efforts among the Chinese residents of Victoria. In view of the growing importance of this Mission the grant for the current year is £200.
Sunday 29 November 1867. In the afternoon went to the Chinese camp, which is a large one, there being about 1200 Chinese in the immediate neighbourhood of Maryborough. A Chinese blacksmith kindly gave us the use of his place for the meeting. It was crowded and with few exceptions the countenances of those present bore witness to the interest they felt in the proceedings.

The doctor of the camp, who, judging from his intelligent look and gentlemanly bearing, was well entitled to the respect universally accorded him by his countrymen, was present at the service. At the conclusion of it he came forward and shook me warmly by the hand. I subsequently called upon his at his house.

The blacksmith and a few others who remained after the service expressed themselves as desirous of knowing more about our doctrines, and of acquiring, if possible, an acquaintance with English letters. The former produced from his box, where he had them carefully preserved, Dr. Devan’s Vocabulary and Rev W. Chalmer’s Dictionary of the Canton Dialect. He was keeping them so carefully, he said, in the hope that they would one day be of service to him in his study of the English language. They all seemed pleased to hear that the object of my visit was to see about the settlement of a catechist among them.

In sad contrast to this was the sight of several young men and boys (Europeans) mingling and associating with the lowest in the camp. I was so struck by what I saw that I made enquiries, and found, notwithstanding the evident reluctance of the Chinese to give the information, that the oldest of these young men were the brothers-in-law to the local interpreter, and that, taking advantage of this relationship to him, they hand about the camp, on the alert to entrap visitors and allure them into the gambling-houses. Of the truth of this statement, we had the best of evidence in our visit to the camp. One of the young men, seeing Paul [Paul Ng Chan Quong] to be a stranger and respectably dressed, came up to him and said to him coaxingly, Ni loi tu pok ah? (Will you come and have a game with me?)

Receiving a rather unexpected rebuff, he went away muttering his curses in broken Chinese.
Sunday June 7 1868 afternoon. Preached in the Chinese church, twenty-four present. Text Romans X.11-13. Evening. Rev Edward King baptised six Chinese, after the service they all assembled at my house, with six others. I explained to them Ephesians ii:19-22. 'Now then ye are no more strangers and foreigners.' I comforted them and prayed with them and all went home with thankful hearts.

Leong On Tong’s address (at baptism).
I am very glad to meet you here tonight for I have found some sheep which had gone astray, and I wish you to rejoice with me and the angels in heaven.
I had been long toiling, and had caught nothing; but at the word of my Master I still let down the net, and now I present to you six brothers who come here to-night to ask for Christian baptism. Their hearts were once dark and hard; but God has shined into their hearts. They have sorrowed for their sins and believe in Jesus; and now they are forgiven. I do not take the glory of this great change. The omnipotent God has done it. He can raise up stones unto Abraham can alone do it. But I am greatly encouraged to go on labouring for Him, trusting that he will still send His Holy Spirit with His preached word.

It is very hard to change old-established opinions. My countrymen have been accustomed all their lives to worship idols and dead men; and they think it is a hard saying when I tell them to turn from these vanities to service the living God and that God will punish them everlastingly if they continue in their evil ways. As it was in the days of our Lord so it is now. Some seed falls by the ways-side, some on stony ground, and some on the good soil. May the Lord prepare the hearts of my countrymen to receive the Word, and may multitudes hear and receive and bring forth fruit abundantly, to the glory of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Amen.
It was my privilege last Lords Day, 14th inst. to take part in the public baptism of one of our Chinese colonists at Maryborough, a short account of our mission work among the Chinese might not be unacceptable to the readers of the Messenger.

1. Friday last I set out for Maryborough by way of Ballarat. Arrived at Ballarat, in company with Rev D [Duncan] Fraser and [Cheong] Peng Nam I visited the Chinese camp and the lepers. The work of evangelisation is steadily progressing. Between public teaching from the Scriptures on Sabbath and weekdays in the chapel, the hospital, and the gaol, and visitations from house to house, our missionary's time is well filled up. He keeps a daily account of his work in Chinese and English, and Mr. Fraser regularly inspects this journal. It is gratifying to know that one of the most important and influential men on the camp is a candidate for baptism.

2. The lepers, though somewhat better attended to than last year in regard to food and clothing, are still living in the same miserable habitations, if they can be called such, which are a disgrace to the country, and especially to the community near which they dwell. The Government more than a year ago voted money to put up a house in which all afflicted with leprosy should dwell, and the Christian friends in Ballarat interested in these poor perishing outcasts did all they could to second the efforts of Government in this matter. But the Municipal Council of Ballarat East, for reasons a stranger cannot understand, refuse a site for the building. At present, the miserable huts, patched up with pieces of timber and old tins, are scattered over an area of about an acre of ground, and in the immediate vicinity of many European families. To put them in better circumstances, and bring them all into one house, it is proposed to move them further off, about a quarter of a mile, and almost out of view from the rest of the community; and yet to this it is objected, as if it were to spread contagion all around. But surely, if leprosy be contagious, the present circumstances of these poor creatures should long ere now have spread disease all around them. Policemen visit their huts occasionally; children play out and in among them; the missionary is with them once or twice every week; and Mr. Fraser, myself, and others have gone to speak to them, stood beside them in close contiguity to their persons, and yet no bad result has ever followed. On the part of somebody whoever it may be it is cruel wrong, and a shocking disgrace that these poor creatures should be treated so . . .

3. On Saturday I passed on through Burrumbeet, Learmonth, and Coghills Creek, to Clunes, one of our most promising goldfields. The town has rapidly increased during the last two years, and promises to compete with Ballarat at no distant day. The main drawback connected with Clunes is, that while through most parts of the colony are roads are good, those in its immediate vicinity are frightfully bad almost impassable, and reminding one of the olden times some fifteen years ago. In company with the Rev. George Graham I drove to Maryborough, passing through Talbot about midway. Everywhere the country gives token of great progress during recent years; everywhere the Grant Land Act has increased the area of cultivation, and brought peace and plenty to the homes of multitudes.

Arrived at Maryborough, Paul [Ng Chan] Quong and [George] Ah Lyn [Lin], the candidates for baptism, met us. In the course of the evening Mr. Graham and I examined Ah Lyn as to his knowledge of divine truth. Very correctly, as I took occasion to test it, intelligently, he could repeat any of the first forty questions in the Shorter Catechism, besides between two and three hundred questions in the catechism used among the young. He also
read a portion of Scripture correctly, and with understanding. He is about thirty years of age, and among his countrymen and all who know him is esteemed a most worthy and consistent man. He is not in needy or destitute circumstances, and so not under any temptation from that source to play the hypocrite. When the Sabbath came, and the hour for public worship, the church was well filled, every available sitting being occupied. Among the audience might be from twenty to thirty Chinese. Their manner during service was very decorous. Several of them are regular attendants upon Mr. Graham’s ministry, and can join in all the services intelligently . . .

At the close of the service, Mr. Graham publicly examined Ah Lyn, and in the presence of the large congregation he answered discreetly and modestly. I then proceeded with the baptism, Ah Lyn publicly declaring that he believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, and wished henceforth to serve Him. After the baptism Mr. Graham, Paul [Ng Chan Quon] and myself gave the right hand of fellowship to this brother, who from among the heathen has received the Lord Jesus, and believed in Him as well as we. His desire, before I had seen him, was to be called after Mr. Graham and myself. His desire was gratified, and henceforth he will be known under the Christian name of George.

Mr. Matthew, [Rev. William Matthew] from Pleasant Creek, could not be present. To make up for his absence as far as possible, he sent an address in Chinese for Paul to read to his countrymen, and also to Ah Lyn at baptism. In addition to George Ah Lyn there are several others seeking an acquaintance with the Saviour, who, it is expected, will be soon received into the fellowship of the Church. The building recently erected, and that holds some fifty, is already too small, and will need to be enlarged immediately. It will be remembered that our Mission in Maryborough began in February last, and the God of missions is evidently shining upon our brother there. It will further interest our people and give them confidence that Mr Matthew has been officially requested to take the oversight of our Chinese mission. The committee are hopeful that he will cordially respond to their call . . .
August 11th, 1868

Mr Dear Mr Mackie I beg to forward you the following report on my visits to the mission stations at Maryborough and Ballarat during the last week of July.

On reaching Maryborough I was sorry to find Paul very ill and confined to bed. The Chinese doctor, who deserves our warmest thanks for his kind attentions, assured me, however, that in a few days he would be able to resume his duties. Since my return I may state that Mr. Graham has written me to say that he is getting better.

I was gratified to find he had fully realised the hopes I had formed of his devotedness and usefulness. He has been indefatigable in his labours in Maryborough and the neighbouring district, and the result of his earnest and persevering effort is to be seen in the wide-spread interest in divine things in the religious awakening, as I may designate it that at present exists among his countrymen there. The little chapel that was built shortly after his settlement in Maryborough cannot contain the numbers that sometimes assemble at the Sunday service, a large proportion of them being regular in their attendance. About twelve of these I regard as seriously inquiring after the truth, and five of them expressed to me their desire to be received by baptism into the Church of Christ.

I had some interesting conversations with these at Paul’s house, and much pleased with the clearness of their views and with the good report I received as to the consistency of their conduct. One of them, Ah Chee [Paul Ah Kee], told me he had just returned from the Sunday-school. I handed him an English New Testament, and asked him to read. He did so, and I was surprised to hear him read the greater portion of a chapter (Matthew xx.) with remarkable distinctness and appreciation of its meaning. Another, who only commenced his letters a few months ago under Paul’s instructions, I found able to read pretty fluently in any part of the First Book of Lessons.

On Sunday (27th) I visited the chapel at the camp, and found a congregation of about thirty. There would have been more had it not been supposed by many that owing to Paul’s illness there would be no service that day. I assured them of the pleasure it gave me to see so many of them assembled to hear about the doctrines of Jesus, and hoped that they would soon come to believe in Him and to love Him. We read a portion of Scripture together, after which they listened with marked attention to a colloquial discourse on the Divinity of the Saviour.

On returning from the chapel I had the pleasure of meeting with Ah Lin, or George Graham Mackie [full name after baptism was George Graham Mackie Ah Lin], who was recently baptised as the first-fruits of Paul’s labours in Maryborough. He is a superior man, and will prove no small acquisition. In point of scholarship he occupies an advanced position among his countrymen.

In the evening I preached for Mr. Graham. There were present six or seven Chinese, who for some time past have been regular in their attendance at the English services. Their presence suggested to me as an appropriate lesson for the even the request preferred to Philip by the Greeks, Sir, we would see Jesus, and added force to the reference made to the claims of the mission, by which we seek to point such inquirers as those to the Saviour they wish to see.

On Tuesday I visited Ballarat, and was pleased with the promising appearance of the mission. I had an interview with Dr. [Ng] Wing Fat, who is receiving special instruction from
The doctor is a man much respected, and deservedly so. His baptism would add much to the influence of the mission in Ballarat, and might prove, by the divine Blessing, the means of leading many others to take an interest in the teachings of the missionary, and ultimately to cast in their lot with the followers of Jesus.

From the foregoing statements you will be gratified to see that the prospects of the mission are at present of a most interesting and encouraging character. The Lord is honouring and blessing our humble instrumentality, and showing us that He is not slack concerning his promises.

I have returned with the conviction deeply impressed upon me that it would be unwise to leave the mission in its present condition and prospects for any length of time. I am satisfied that the interests of the cause will be best served by postponing the proposed visit to China for the present, and by an immediate application to the task of fostering and consolidating the work of the mission. Should the committee agree with me in this view, I shall at once set about organising operations in Melbourne and suburbs, and arranging periodical visits to the other stations. Should the committee, on the other hand, deem it preferable that the previous arrangement should be carried out at once, I shall willingly accept their decision.

I expect Ah Lin in Melbourne in a few days, and hope to have the pleasure of introducing him to the committee. With a little more instruction and training, he will prove a most suitable, and I doubt not successful, labourer. The subject of his employment as such had been mooted to him at his baptism, and he wrote to me at Pleasant Creek a letter embodying his views of the proposal. He was then personally unknown to me, but judging from the spirit and style of the letter, I was led to form a very favourable opinion of him. My acquaintance with him since has but confirmed that impression. The following is a translation of that letter:

Testimony of George Graham Mackie Ah Lin

To the Rev. Mr. Matthew, greeting.

Although at a distance from you, you are ever present in my thoughts. Accept my salutations. Your desire is that the true doctrines should overspread the world, until quite like the sun in heaven it shine upon and illuminate the four seas. Thanks to the Saviour's favour, you lot is in the midst of no ordinary blessings. Your happiness will increase as your days multiply, until your virtue becomes glorious as the sun. How admirable! How enviable! But as for me, your younger brother, I was naturally ignorant and foolish, and have all through the past been guilty of countless sins. Verily, I had reason to fear as to how after death I should face the Heavenly Father in the eternal world. Therefore, pricked to the heart, I repented of my sins and received baptism in accordance with the Saviour's commandment. I trusted in the Saviour's mercy to cancel the guilt recorded against me in the presence of the Heavenly Father, to enable me day by day to advance heavenward ever nearer and nearer, and to save me finally from the merited punishment of my ten thousand transgressions. Only this trust can satisfy the desires of a lifetime. I have to thank the ministers for the proposal they have made to entrust me with the preaching of the gospel in some locality. I have been thinking over the great responsibility and the heavy burden of such a task, on the one hand; and my own unworthiness, which is of no ordinary kind, on the other. I am afraid were I, with my limited qualification (which is as worthless as the wood of the ChooLeih trees) to undertake this responsible duty, I might by so doing offend the Saviour, and bring discredit on those that appointed me. Sir, what counsel can you give me on this matter?

I have to thank you for the books you sent. As I listened to brother Chan Quong's (i.e. Paul) preaching, I felt exactly as if I had been awakened in the middle of a dream. Ah, yes; twas so.

Sir, our souls being now knit in closest sympathy, we must each be desirous of knowing

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19 Ng Wing Fat was engaged to Peng-nam's daughter Fong Sen. They subsequently married and returned to China. See discussion in Chapter 6.
when we shall have an opportunity of seeing the other face to face. Should it be long till we thus meet, it will seem to me as I were anxiously waiting for the morning cloud or the tree in spring to give place to a beauty still in prospect, until at last we have our desires satisfied. I should like to know, sir, when your esteemed footstep will come to me with its brightness, giving me an opportunity of paying you my respects, and receiving from you a word as precious to me as the gold or the gem, because able to dispel my ignorance as the sun dissolves or dissipates the mist. I should thus be qualified to serve the Saviour without needing to be ashamed, and without bringing shame on the ministers or the brethren of the Church. To sit, sir, continually beside you, amid the vernal breezes of your presence, that would be happiness to me.

Such a letter speaks for itself. I am, my dear brother, yours very truly.

William Matthew

Note: A further similar list of journals and reports continues. The full list, including those above, will be available on the Chinese History of Australian Federation website at Latrobe University.
In Richmond and Collingwood are numerous market-gardens, employing a considerable number of Chinese. Among these Ah Lin and myself have visited on several Sabbaths. In all cases we have been kindly received, and our exhortations attentively listened to . . .

On Sabbath, 6th September, we visited the Chinese fishermen who live along the shore of the [Port Phillip] Bay. We had a walk of ten miles, in the midst of the dust-storm then raging. We found about twenty Chinamen located in the bush, in one place, we found them engaged at their favourite pastime gambling; but in this instance apparently for amusement. They at once stopped the game, and expressed a readiness for hear the doctrine of Jesus, and this afforded the opportunity of speaking to them of His divinity, incarnation and the atonement.

George Mackie adds:
Mr Matthew expects very soon to be able to rent an apartment in Little Bourke-street, and open classes for the weeknights, and commence regular services for Sabbath. He and Ah Lin are interesting themselves in reference to the poor creatures who have been subjected to all the horrors of a slave-ship in the vessel recently arrived from China. Among the immigrants by this ship Mr Matthew found one who was well acquainted with the doctrines of our common faith, and who may be of good service among his countrymen. It is sincerely to be hoped that the owners of this Chinese plague ship will be made an example of, that others may not dare to do as they very manifestly have done. The entire mercantiles and shipping community should lift up an indignant protest against this inhuman selfishness. From a case of this kind a stumbling block is put in the way of doing good among the Chinese. They can point the finger of scorn and say, This is your Christianity!
REV. WILLIAM MATTHEW: ADDRESS TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF VICTORIA, NOVEMBER 1868.

The Rev W. Matthew rose to address the meeting on the subject of the mission to the Chinese.

He had no desire to exalt that mission at the expense of any other, because he believed they were all necessary to secure vigorous action and promote vital Christian godliness, for there could be no life in the extremities while the parts near the heart were cold and still. If there was no vigorous foreign mission work, he said, alas for the Home Mission and the state of their own hearts and souls!

In addressing themselves to the mission field there was the large empire of China to deal with, and in God's singular providence they had been given a part of this work to do. The results of their labours might seem at the best but small, and their activity might not have been what it ought to be, yet God had condescended to bless and honour them. What an inviting field they had in dealing with China and the Chinese.

They were not, as had been asserted in the Legislature, dealing with a race of Tartars of the most degraded sort. He was told the other day, by one who had been in China, that the people they were endeavouring to christianise were the real representatives of that time-honoured nation.

These aliens were entitled to claim every consideration from the hands of the other nations of the earth, and especially from a nation as young as our Queen.

In dealing with these men, who had a claim upon their consideration of no ordinary kind, they were dealing with a nation which had the favourable ground-work of a belief in the one living and true God.

This statement might startle some who ran away with the impression that these men were idolaters of the lowest grade. It was true that idols had been found in China, but before that time the worship of the one living and true God had been preserved. Not only may this be recognised in the service of the Emperor, but throughout the entire land was the knowledge of the one living and true God.

Superstitions were no doubt introduced, but they knew how prone the Jews were, notwithstanding the hand of God was upon them, to rush not only into superstition but into idolatry itself. Need they wonder, then, that idolatrous notions were mingled with spirit of ancient China, and that by-and-bye, when a great teacher appeared, and enunciated truths which exalted all nations, he should have been exalted to the position of a deity. Let them look forward to the time when the man Christ Jesus should occupy the place in the worship of the Chinese which Confucius had so long filled.

It was a singular fact that in that past age, when a presentiment was spread abroad that there would shortly appear some great teacher, prince, or personage, who was to confer lasting blessings upon his race, that feeling took such a hold on the empire of China that the Emperor sent an embassy towards the west to seek this new teacher. The embassy set out making enquiries, and went as far as India, where they met with the priests of Buddha. Thus it was that idols were introduced into China. However, they were looked upon as altogether extraneous, and thus the Christian minister had a favourable ground to go upon.

It occurred to him that the best way to get at the Chinese would be teach them the English language, and he was so far emboldened as to recommend a special clause on the subject in

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the Education bill proposed to be introduced. The idea was pooh-poohed in certain quarters, but those parties had admitted now that this was the most effectual way of bringing the Christian influence to bear upon these men.

Some seventeen or eighteen years ago, when looking forward to the mission field, he had acquired some little acquaintance with the literature and language of China, as taught in Europe; but what was taught in Europe was the mandarin dialect, and that was no more use to him among the Chinese here than French would have been.

The plan he adopted was this. He wrote out a Chinese placard, asking the Chinese to recommend him one who would be willing to give him the Canton sounds, and receive English instruction in return. The moment this application was presented, he was introduced to a young man whose appearance struck him, and he engaged him to transfer the mandarin words into the Canton sounds.

They read the Scriptures together, and by-and-bye the light began to dawn on this young man. He did not attempt to proselytise: it was Gods work. The young man besought him to give him more and more instruction, and at last he passed for baptism.

That man was the Paul Ng Chan Quong who had been referred to, and was admired and revered by his own countrymen, and respected by all who knew him. It was Gods choice. he could not have found a better man though he had searched the colony over from camp to camp. The Lord found him to his hand. (Cheers.)

A class had been opened in Little Bourke-street, and he should like all present to come in and see the interest that was taken in it. There were old men trying to master the sounds of the letters, and there were young men who were anxious to know something more than that. There was one anxious for baptism, and they had just put into his hand a Chinese catechism that they had been preparing.

In connection with the Chinese in this colony, there was one great thing to be done. Their camps must be broken up, and how was it to be accomplished?

He had recommended one thing which he thought would go a great way towards it. Mr Young, in his report to the Government, recommended the establishment of evening schools throughout the diggings, point out, as he (Mr. Matthew) did in his report to the commission, that from these schools reliable and qualified interpreters could be selected. Then with a little straining of the regulations training-schools might be established. If the Government urged the matter upon the Education Board, no doubt the point would be conceded.

Another plan was to assist the Chinese in the co-operative system so largely established among them. The men who worked in gardens were not employees, but partners, often eight or twelve, all sharing equally in the common fund. Let them assist a number of industrious men willing to enter into this work of gardening, and something would be done towards abolishing the camp system. He had never heard a storekeeper complain that a Chinaman had gone away without paying him, and if people would assist them to a few acres of ground, in the course of twelve months or so the little money advanced would be fully repaid. They would then have a gathering of Chinese of the more respectable character in various localities, who would exercise a very good effect upon their countrymen, and also tell upon the mission work, as they would have the support of these men in the advocacy of their cause.

There were great prejudices, he knew, against them and far be it from him to palliate any excesses that might be found amongst them, but the British community could ill afford to cast stones at them.

They gambled. Europeans did the same; they smoked opium Europeans had their gin-palaces. he believed that the best way to deal with opium-smoking would be, not to prohibit the introduction of the article into the country, but to treat opium-smokers as guilty of a crime against the country in which their lot as cast, for nine-tenths of the Chinese in gaol had found their way there through opium-smoking. They would have it, and if they could not get it honestly they would have it dishonestly. But after three months in gaol the craving would be allayed, and the victim might go forth a wiser and a better man.
Yesterday forenoon he visited the Hospital with a catechist, and there saw one of these wretched, emaciated beings, like a skeleton hanging over the grave. They spoke to him and tried to direct his attention to the most trivial subjects, and the most noble of all the love of Jesus Christ. But it was useless. His cry was nothing but Give me opium, give me opium! and if you have not that, get me the ashes of the opium pipes; and when they left him there was the bony arm beckoning them to go back to him.

The Lord had given His gracious promise that their labour should not be in vain, and with the 300,000,000 souls of China looking to the Saviour, what might they not expect, as far as human influence and activity were concerned. The Chinese were inferior to none in point of intelligence, activity and affection. their intellect had been cramped through their running in the narrow groove of their forefathers traditions, and their feelings had long flowed in the narrow channel of Confucianism; but once their eyes be lifted to Christ, and they would be a power which would exert a mightier influence upon the evangelisation and spiritual progress of the world than had been exerted by nation of past history.

The new Chinese paper was to be had of Mr. Whitehead, in Collins-street, and he would suggest that their friends should buy copies to circulate among the Chinese. Although the bantling was but three weeks old, it was already able to walk, and soon it would be quite self-supporting.
REPORT FOR DECEMBER 1868.
In Melbourne the work has been going on steadily, and with promise of success. In the Kong Chew Assembly-room classes for instruction in English are held four or five nights a week. The Scriptures are also read in the evenings, as also during the day, when visitors, as often happens, come in for an hour or so.

A large number of Chinese have during the last few weeks come to Melbourne, either to go home themselves by the passenger ship at present on the berth, or to see their friends off. A good number of these have visited the Assembly-room on week days, and whenever practicable the Scriptures were read with them and explained. Among the passengers by this ship is a convert, who will read and preach to his countrymen on the voyage.

During the past week as many as five converts have met at our rooms for reading the Scriptures and prayer. We read a verse each, and explain it in the colloquial. It is deeply interesting to listen to their gropings after the truth, and to their earnest prayers for the enlightenment and salvation of their countrymen here, and for the progress of the Redeemers kingdom in their native land.

The training of Philip [Lee Hyung] for the work in new South Wales is daily carried on. He is at present studying Old Testament history, and preparing suitable discourses on prescribed passages.

There are three anxious for baptism; one of them has been daily in attendance for some time reading the Scriptures in Chinese, and a catechism in English.

On Christmas Day I started with George Ah Lin to Beechworth, to settle him as catechist in that district. In the absence of the Rev. Mr. Macmillan I was cordially assisted in this task by the elders and deacons of the Beechworth congregation. They kindly met with me, and favoured me with their suggestions as to the arrangement of his labours.

The scheme which they recommended, and which I beg to submit for approval, is as follows: Beechworth to be the centre of operations. The catechist to reside there, and as soon as possible a place of worship to be built there. The gaol and hospital to be visited, and the several Chinese camps in the immediate vicinity of Beechworth to be visited by the catechist on foot, or if by conveyance at his own expense. The expenses of visitation to the more distant Chinese settlements to be paid by the Mission Committee.

They recommended a visit one month to Yackandandah, and a visit the following month to Chiltern, and so on alternately; the expense of these visits to and fro would 12s a month. I leave it to the committee to authorise the visits or not, should the funds permit. The also recommend a visit once a quarter to bright and Buckland, the fare and fro being £2 10s.

I received a letter yesterday from George [Ah Lin], in which he states that the visits all the localities around Beechworth, reading and expounding the Scriptures; that he is everywhere kindly received; that several are anxious to meet with him for reading in English and Chinese, but he has not yet found any suitable room; that he is still living at Hang Ons store, but finds it inconvenient, and is anxious to secure a room as soon as possible.

I have received [Cheong] Peng Nam’s journal for December, and shall furnish you with a translation of it immediately. Besides a monthly visit to Smythesdale, he visits weekly the [Ballarat] Benevolent Asylum, and the gaol; in the latter there are at present upward of 20 Chinese. The services on Sunday afternoon in the chapel at Golden Point are well-attended from forty to fifty. He is also assiduous in his visitations from house to house. During the last week of the month he was in Melbourne, and on Sunday, 27th, in my absence at Beechworth,
conducted the services in Little Bourke-street.

By this mail I have received a letter from missionary brother in China, to whom I had written on the subject of my proposed visit to China. He does not think it likely that even a personal visit would secure more suitable agents than those available in the colonies.

He says: As to finding suitable assistants in China, I fear you would have been disappointed. As far as I understand, the work at Canton and among those speaking that dialect (from among whom the choice would have to be made) is not so far forward as at such places as Amoy, Fah Chan, Ning Po. I dont suppose you would have got assistants from the Wesleyans or Baptists, but would have been limited in your selection to the London Missionary Society or the American Presbyterians. When I heard last, the latter body had an exceedingly limited number of converts. As to your future, assistants, it seems to me that you had better work the vein that you have had pointed out to you in Providence. The Lord has already inaugurated your beginning by giving you some converted and trained on the spot. Hold on as you have begun, and the Lord multiply your labours a hundred-fold. Here, in Tie Chew [China], all our assistants are of native growth. We have now thirteen stations, and about 150 adult members, of whom about one-third have been added this year. It seems to me that the best men for the colonies are those who, amid all the snares and temptations of life on the goldfields, have given clear and undoubted evidence of having sought and found the pearl of great price. The difficulty of getting converts is insuperable by human agency, and after they are got, it is very difficult to train them for Gods work below and for His kingdom above; but his grace is all-sufficient, and His promises never fail, and this the ground of our hope and joy.

I know of no more powerful auxiliary to missionary work than the special, importunate, fervent, and united prayers of Gods people. Get prayer-meetings specially for the Chinese and China started throughout the borders of your young and rising Presbyterian Church, and you will realise the blessing descending upon you and all your work like refreshing showers or the morning dew.

Pauls journal is also to hand, setting forth regular visits to the various localities within his reach from Maryborough. During the four Sabbaths of the past month the attendance at public worship was 28, 18, 23, 20. In all respects the work is progressing healthfully.

Wm Matthew.
Sunday June 7 1868 afternoon. Preached in the Chinese church, twenty-four present. Text Romans X.11-13. Evening. Rev Edward Kind baptised six Chinese, after the service they all assembled at my house, with six others. I explained to them Ephesians ii:19-22. ‘Now then ye are no more strangers and foreigners.’ I comforted them and prayed with them and all went home with thankful hearts.

Leong On Tong’s address (at baptism).
I am very glad to meet you here tonight for I have found some sheep which had gone astray, and I wish you to rejoice with me and the angels in heaven.

    I had been long toiling, and had caught nothing; but at the word of my Master I still let down the net, and now I present to you six brothers who come here to-night to ask for Christian baptism. Their hearts were once dark and hard; but God has shined into their hearts. They have sorrowed for their sins and believe in Jesus; and now they are forgiven. I do not take the glory of this great change. The omnipotent God has done it. He can raise up stones unto Abraham can alone do it. But I am greatly encouraged to go on labouring for Him, trusting that he will still send His Holy Spirit with His preached word.

    It is very hard to change old-established opinions. My countrymen have been accustomed all their lives to worship idols and dead men; and they think it is a hard saying when I tell them to turn from these vanities to service the living God and that God will punish them everlastingly if they continue in their evil ways. As it was in the days of our Lord so it is now. Some seed falls by the ways-side, some on stony ground, and some on the good soil. May the Lord prepare the hearts of my countrymen to receive the Word, and may multitudes hear and receive and bring forth fruit abundantly, to the glory of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.
Amen.
Letter to Rev William Matthew
It is now fully ten weeks since, shaking hands, we parted, and you returned home. In
the interval I sent you a letter enquiring after your welfare; but have not yet received
a reply. I do not know why. Again I write to you, and hope that immediately on
receiving this you will forward me an answer, and so relieve my mind of anxiety.

Besides, I am desirous of knowing how the Lord is prospering you and your family, and
am anxious to hear of the dissemination of gospel truth among the ten thousand nations of the
earth, like the planting of seed in rich and fertile soil. As the Apostle Peter says (1Pet.i.25):
The grass withereth and the flower thereof falleth away; but the word of the Lord endureth for
ever. And this is the word by which the gospel is preached unto you.

In writing this note permit me to assure you of my grateful remembrance of the interest
you took in me, and of your constant cherishing of the Saviours spirit.

At present I have a house that I purchased for a residence, and have got it furnished with
every requisite. I have also a horse on which to travel to the various diggings to preach.

Those to whom I preach are very glad to receive my visits. Sometimes I go a long
distance, but wherever I go my countrymen invariably show me the utmost courtesy and
respect.

When I stay in any of their houses overnight, they gladly assemble together there in the
evenings to converse with pleased teachings of Jesus, and the doctrines of Scripture. All seem
pleased with the interview.

In my visits I met with a number of opium smokers; these I urged to desist from their
pernicious habit; several of them abstained and have now got rid of the craving for opium.

There is also generally a marked change in the conduct of those who hear the preaching of the
doctrine. The objectionable language and improper conduct in which they formerly indulged
have, for the most part, been laid aside; and I have heard them say that in their hearts they are
glad of the change. As St. Paul says (2Cor.i.12) For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our
conscience that in simplicity and godly sincerity . . . we have our conversation in the world.

Let us hope that these may at no distant day be brought to a saving knowledge of the Lord
Jesus, and at last receive and enjoy with us everlasting bliss. Such is my hope. Our Lord once
said that we should know by this whether we are his disciples if we have love one to another.

My appointment to this position here, as a servant of Christ, shows that you and your
brethren in the ministry have this spirit. This is graven on my grateful heart, and cannot be
forgotten. I trust that, in all the details of my duties here, you will kindly give me your
supervision and sympathy; and should I have to ask your assistance in any difficult matter, I
hope, sir, you will give me the benefit of your advice and instruction. Pray for me, that God
may bless me, enabling me to teach very clearly the true doctrines of the gospel. Such is my
own prayer. God bless you. On the 2nd day of the 5th month, Ki-Ki year. From Araluen
diggings, in Sydney district, your pupil, Philip Lee Hyung, writes this respectfully.

Along with the original of the above is a letter from the Rev. Mr. Macready, the
Presbyterian minister of Braidwood, giving a satisfactory account of the missionarys labours.

Author: Leong A Toe
Category: (i) Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
(ii) Victoria Chinese Mission
CHINESE MISSION
Letter from Leong A Toe in China to Mr J Chapman of Vaughan, 28 July 1870
We have been favoured with the following extract from a letter addressed to Mr. J.
Chapman, of Vaughan, from Leong-a-Toe, formerly Chinese missionary at
Castlemaine. It affords us great pleasure to print, and we are sure it will give our
readers great pleasure and thankfulness to read this interesting communication. Ed.
W.C.

I now beg to thank you for your energetic and zealous assistance rendered to the Chinese
evangelist in your district. With your assistance a great many difficulties have been overcome,
and much success has been attained in the propagation of our Christian faith among the
heathen Chinese.

I hear that the Chinese preacher, Leong-on-Tong, is coming back to China to get married.
During his absence, I trust that your best endeavours will be used to promote the interests of
the Chinese mission, for his successor may be a new member of the Church; he might
experience difficulties through his want of general knowledge.

You will be anxious to learn something of the mission in which I am employed. I will
therefore give you a brief account. The Canton mission is getting on as well as can be desired;
they receive the gospel with better grace and attention that they did some years ago. During
the early part of last year, the Chinese Christians raised a subscription towards the support of
an evangelist, under my supervision, who was sent to Foo Shan, a sea town about twenty
miles from Canton, to preach the Gospel to the Chinese. Since the establishment of this
mission no less than sixty adults have become converts to the Christian faith. It has been
thought necessary, from the progress we have made, that a permanent place of worship should
be instituted. As this mission is entirely supported by the Chinese, it is considered well that
the expenses towards the building of a chapel should be borne only by Chinese also. A
subscription was accordingly made, and I am glad to say that some three hundred pounds have
been raised, and the chapel is nearly finished now, and may be opened in the early part of next
month.

A very sad and horrible affair occurred in Tien Tsin - no less than the massacre of the
French missionaries, French Consul, and others. Nineteen persons were butchered, among
them were several Sisters of Charity and three Russians. The cause of this outrage arose from
false reports circulated, that the French missionaries took out the eyes of native children for
the use of medicine, and administration of a kind of powder to the women by the priests for
licentious purposes. Though with how little truth these reports ought to be credited, the
Chinese evidently believe them. The affair gave cause for great excitement and indignation
towards the foreign population in China. Vague rumours are flying about every day. The
French Minister, who was in Peking after the massacre took place, at once communicated the
matter to the Emperor by telegraph, and awaited his instructions how to act. Of course, I am
not at present able to say what will be the result, or how this case will be terminated. Several
French gunboats have arrived in Chinese waters, and show attitude of war and revenge. Some
terms the Chinese government will have to accede to, otherwise war seems inevitable. I must
say that the Chinese and their rulers are greatly to blame in this present case, but the French
missionaries are not entirely blameless. To the enlightened minds of Western people, the ways
and manners of the Roman Catholics are mysterious enough. How much will these appear in
the eyes of the ignorant Chinese in China.

This matter involves the interests of our Protestant religion, and checks our influence and
progress; for the Chinese have not as yet clearly seen the great distinction between the two
religions-Catholic and Protestant.
Alien Son

Remember me kindly to you aged father and mother-in-law, and give my kind regards to Mrs. Chapman. May the grace of the Lord be always with you all. I shall be very happy to hear news of you, and of the news of Australia.

I am, Dear Sir, yours most sincerely, LEONG A TOE Canton, 25th July, 1870
Friday, January 27. Attended the usual preacher's meeting at Rev. J. Bickford's. Visited a few Chinese brethren in Little Bourke-street. Spent half an hour with two of them who have attended the services during the last few months; but they still love the world better than their souls.

    At home in the afternoon, read the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' Two countrymen called, one of them had never heard the truth before. Spoke to them about the creation of the world; they were interested, and said they had never heard such things. They said they would try and attend the service.

Saturday, January 28. Four Chinese friends called in the afternoon; one of them found peace with God a few weeks ago, he is still very happy in Christ Jesus. One of the others had never attended the preaching service, but I had visited him in his house, and had talked to him about the Gospel. I spent an hour with him talking about Christianity, and what they must do to be saved. One of them got angry, and went out; the others paid attention. Afterwards, I visited in Melbourne, and in the evening some of my Chinese Christian friends called at my house, and we held a prayer-meeting to ask for God's blessing on the services of the coming Sunday.

Sunday, January 29. A few brethren called, we held a short prayer-meeting, and then went to Wesley Church. Went to Little Bourke-street at half-past 1, and visited some there. Held in the usual service in the Temperance Hall, in Russell street, at half-past 2 o'clock, which was pretty well attended. I preached from Luke xiii 6-9. Went home with some Chinese friends from Richmond, attended Richmond Wesleyan Church in the evening.

Monday, January 30. Went to Emerald Hill in the morning, and visited some countrymen there. Returned to Melbourne. Spent three hours visiting in Little Bourke-street. Met six Chinese in a house, spoke to them about their sins against God, and of God's love to us in sending His Son to die for us. One of them said he was taught by his parents not to do anything evil, and he did not think God would punish him for doing evil out here, because he came from China.

    I asked them, 'Was it right for the government to punish those who came from other countries, if they disobeyed the laws of this land, or the laws of Queen Victoria?' Some of them said, 'Yes, of course.' I asked them, 'Why?' They said, 'Because this country belonged to the Queen.' Then I told them that all the world was made by God and ruled over by Him, that in Him we live, and move and have our being, that all men had broken God's laws and were sinners, but God had sent His only Son to die for sinners, and had given His holy Word to teach all nations to obey His law through the Lord Jesus, and that all people must be judged by God. 'For we must all appear before the judgement seat of Christ.' Some of them were silent, others said, 'Well, it may be true.' Held a Bible-class at my house in the evening.

Tuesday, January 31. Read in the morning in a book called, 'The Footsteps of St Paul.' Visited in Collingwood and Fitzroy, and distributed some Chinese tracts. At home in the afternoon. Two called at my house who have heard a little of the Gospel; one of them has attended the Sunday services, and now he begins to feel that he is a sinner. I pointed him to Jesus and the other one seemed to be troubled about his sins. I thank God for his goodness in teaching them that they are sinners. Again visited in town. In the evening, some Chinese brethren called at my house; we read the Bible, sang and prayed.

Wednesday, February 11. Went to Melbourne Gaol to hold service with the Chinese prisoners there, but on account of the Sessions no service could be held. Visited two countrymen in Little Lonsdale-street. After dinner three countrymen called at my house, one
of them has read a great many tracts, but he is still careless. Held a service in my house in the evening; held a society class afterwards for those who are not able to attend the class at Richmond. There were eight present.

Thursday, February 20. Went to Richmond, visited twenty Chinese there in five gardens, met with two of them whom I have often spoken to, they seem to be taking more interest in the truth, gave them some tracts. Held the usual class in the garden of one of the Chinese brethren.
REPORT FOR JANUARY-APRIL 1873.

Having already acquainted the convener how it has happened that monthly reports have not, as formerly, been forwarded to the committee for the space of three months, I beg, without deeming further explanation necessary (at the same time expressing my regret that such a thing has happened), to submit a detailed account of the labour of the three months in question.

I begin, then, with the stated religious services. These are Sabbath day services and week-day services. Sabbath Services The first service held on the Sabbath is for the benefit of the Chinese prisoners in Her Majesty’s gaol. It is conducted by our catechist, and sometimes by Chet Quong, an excellent and intelligent Chinese convert, at eleven o'clock in the morning. The service is very simple, and consists, first of prayer, then reading a chapter out of the Bible, illustrating and enforcing the truths it contains, and lastly closing with prayer. The prisoners sit ranged on a form in front of the speaker, in the spacious corridor, and listen attentively to what is spoken. I am glad to report that the Chinese congregation in the gaol, for some time back, has been small, scarcely numbering half-a-dozen, indicating unmistakably diminution of crime among the Chinese population. I remember the time when I used to address as many as 25 of these prisoners.

The second service on the Sabbath is held at our Chinese chapel at Golden Point. This service commences at a quarter to two o’clock pm. It is conducted by myself and Paul; occasionally Chet Quong, whose name I have already mentioned, has given me assistance. Three hymns are usually sung at this service, all of them set to English tunes. The tunes chiefly sung are Evans, Old Hundred, French and Bedford. Three prayers are offered; and two addresses given, but not unnecessarily long. On those occasions when the Chinese school children were present, a short address in English was given them also.

At the conclusion of my address to the Chinese adults in the chapel, our catechist [Paul Ng Chan Quong] occupies the pulpit. When he is away at Maryborough, Chet Quong does duty. From the chapel I go to the hospital, sometimes to the leper camp, inquire into the wants and circumstances of these afflicted ones, and at the same time impart to them some religious instruction. Our catechist continues the chapel service while I am on my way to the hospital; and when it is over, he returns to his quarters at the mission house, and is almost invariably followed thither by some of his hearers, who thus give him further opportunities, of which he has always availed himself, of pressing Bible truths upon their consideration. I am well satisfied with the manner in which Paul addresses his countrymen, and find in him an excellent co-worker.

Week-Day Services During the period embraced in this report a week-day service has been regularly held at the Benevolent Asylum. It is held at three o’clock pm., every Wednesday. Nowhere, perhaps, are we so heartily welcomed by the Chinese at this institution. These halt, blind and disabled folk seem always pleased to see us, and are ready and glad to hear the Word of God. One blind man especially attracts our notice, and evinces great intelligence and inquisitiveness. He seems to store up carefully in his memory what he learns at this service, which is conducted either by Paul, Chet Quong or myself. He has frequently asked me the meaning of English words that he happens to catch hold of when listening to English discourses, that are delivered at the institution for the benefit of the European inmates, and I am always too glad to give him the explanation.

From the asylum it has been our practice to go to the hospital. Here words of comfort and
instruction are spoken to the sick, and tracts and Testaments given to them when needed. As at the asylum, so here, our visits have always been well appreciated by the Chinese.

Bible-class and Singing Meeting Every Thursday evening we have had a Bible-class, which is held at the mission house, at eight o'clock. The progress of this class in Scriptural knowledge is very satisfactory. It numbers from five to eight Chinese. We have every now and then Christian Chinese from other districts, present with us. After a chapter has been read and explained, three of our number offer up a prayer in rotation. Then follows the practice of psalmody although in this the progress of the class is slow, which is not to be wondered at, considering how very different our style of singing is from their own, it is yet encouraging.

Visits. While I have been occupied in the Chinese school, Paul has been engaged during the day visiting his countrymen at Sebastopol, Little Bendigo, in the Main Road, Golden Point, Sailors Gully, White Flat and other places. Since the closing of the school I have been able to accompany him occasionally. We have commenced numbering the Chinese to whom we preach the Word, agreeably to the plan recommended to, and approved by the Assembly. We may expect some little difficulty in carrying out this plan; but as far as feasible it will be acted upon. It must be done in a way that shall neither excite suspicion of the Chinese nor give them offence, or we shall be frustrating the good we are attempting to do them. Will the committee kindly supply us with registry books?

According to arrangements that were made when Paul was transferred from Maryborough to Ballarat, he has regularly visited Maryborough and Talbot once a month, remaining a week away. During his stay in Maryborough he preaches in the Sabbath afternoon, in the Chinese Chapel there, to such of the Chinese who feel disposed to attend, and who average from 20 to 25 persons; and during the other days of the week he visits the Chinese in the hospital, and in the town and neighbourhood. On his way back to Ballarat he makes a short stay at Talbot, where, he reports, there is only one Chinese store. This store he visits, and preaches to the Chinese who may be met with there. There are at present in Maryborough three Chinese Christians connected with the Presbyterian Church, and two connected with the Church of England. These brethren, during those Sabbaths that Paul is in Ballarat, take their turn in conducting divine service in the Chinese Chapel there. The attendance of Chinese is small; but the fact itself, that they are voluntarily keeping up the service, is very encouraging. May their fraternal co-operation long continue.

Perhaps I may not be wrong in mentioning that the Rev. Mr. Nicoll, of Talbot, and some excellent members of his church, have for length of time been imparting religious instruction to some five or six Chinese through the medium of the English language. All these Chinese, except one, have been obliged to go elsewhere, so Paul reports, to seek a living. It is to be hoped, however, that they will take with them the knowledge of the truth they have acquired from our excellent friends wherever they go.

Tracts. These have been given to the Chinese in the charitable institutions, when they have been visited in their dwellings, in our chapel, and to Chinese going from Ballarat to other diggings, for distribution.

It is our intention to pay Creswick and Smythesdale also stated visits, whenever we are put in a position to pay travelling expenses. Without pecuniary means extension of mission work cannot be expected.

Two years travelling expenses are still due to Paul. On one occasion, when it was time for him to start for Maryborough he distinctly declined to go if funds were not forthcoming. Fortunately, previous to the starting time part of his arrears of salary came up from Melbourne. He was then able to pay his coach fare, and started off contentedly to Maryborough.

Paul has requested to state that, by the month of July next, he wishes to leave Australia and revisit his native land. Having been in this country some seventeen years, he feels anxious to see this aged mother and wife and family. For the last four years he has had no tidings from them; but lately a communication has been received from China, conveying unfavourable
tidings touching their state of heath. He, therefore, purposes returning, and requests this preliminary notice to be respectfully laid before the committee.

The Chinese School. This school has been in existence for about a year. It was established with a view of providing secular and religious instruction for those Chinese children whose parents are mostly too poor to send them to the common schools. It was, to all intents and purposes, a ragged school.

To have such a school attached to our mission appeared exceedingly desirable; for it would not only benefit the children by rescuing them from idleness, vice, and degradation, and bring them under wholesome influence, but it would have the effect of bringing about us a good many of the Chinese adults, whom we could persuade to attend our religious services, both in the chapel and at the mission house. It would also serve to give our mission a local habitation and a name among the Chinese population.

For while the Chinese do not seem to appreciate efforts put forth by Christians for the evangelisation of the adult population, they do value what is done for the benefit of their children. For the last three months of 1872, I engaged the services of a European assistant, as I found that teaching the children, both in the forenoon and afternoon of five days a week, was too fatiguing, combined with other mission duties. While my assistant taught in the forenoon, I undertook the tuition of the children in the afternoon. Both English and Chinese were taught.

No department of mission work gave me more pleasure than this. I felt it, indeed, a delightful task to rear the tender thought of these neglected ones, and looked forward with pleasure to the time when they should form a regular portion of our Sabbath congregation. The highest number of names recorded on our roll-book was 30. Eight or ten of these, however, were Europeans, who, in consequence of the poverty of their parents, were admitted into the school.

The advancement of the pupils was fluctuating from different causes. One very frequent reason for non-attendance was want of shoes and want of clothes. This want I endeavoured to occasionally to supply, by giving the needy ones cast-off clothing and half-worn out shoes; but I scarcely need to state that it was only to a very limited extent such help could be rendered.

Visitors occasionally came to see the school, and were pleased with the progress made by the children, both in their English studies and the Chinese colloquial; especially in singing, for which the children always showed a great predilection.

The low state of my finances, which made it difficult for me any longer to continue the services of my assistant (who was a capable teacher), and also the gradual diminution of my strength, made me resolve, but most unwillingly, to close the school by the end of the year. Single-handed and alone, I found it hard to continue this important work. If the committee had not had to content against financial difficulties, and been able to remit my salary regularly, the school would have been kept on still. However, as matters have turned out, the closing of the school need not cause me the deep regret that at first I felt.

The new Education Act that has come into operation will put educational advantages still within the reach of the particular class for which our school was intended, so that they will not be left destitute of teaching; as they were before our school was established; and I am glad to see the parents of this class availing themselves of the advantages the new Act offers them. While the State, then, provides these children with secular education, I shall do my best to provide them religious instruction, combining with it lessons in singing, which, as I have already stated, the children are exceedingly fond of. By this means I hope to keep them still linked to the mission; to let them drift away entirely from us would materially lessen our influence over the Chinese population.

Lepers. Of these there are two on Clayton Hill, and one in the China camp. Their wants,
bodily and spiritual, are well attended to by the police and ourselves. There have been no fresh cases of leprosy for a long time, so it is evident the disease is not of a spreading kind.

Catechumens. Of these there are two. They attend regularly at our chapel on the Sabbath, and occasionally (on account of the distance they have to come) attend our prayer meeting. Three other Chinese have expressed a desire to be baptised, but have not yet placed themselves under our instruction.

Chinese Christians. Six Chinese Christians connected with the Presbyterian Church, exclusive of Paul, our catechist, are at present residing in Ballarat, a seventh resides at Smythesdale. This brother called upon us on Christmas Day, thinking that day was religiously observed by Presbyterians; he told us he had come purposely to attend our service. It was not our intention to hold any service at all, but to gratify this brother we opened our chapel doors, and held a service, at which about nine persons were present.

Our Smythesdale visitor was observed to be extremely attentive during the delivery of the discourse, which was given by Paul, and we all got good by being present. He called on me before returning to Smythesdale. I was pleased to see the warmth he exhibited in relation to religious subjects when we conversed upon them. I hope some day to have the pleasure of an interview with him at Smythesdale. His occupation is that of gardener.

On the 12th January, four of the Chinese Christians, together with Paul, sat at the communion-table, and partook of the ordinance of the Lords supper, in St Johns Presbyterian Church, at which Rev. J.W. Inglis is pastor. Previous to their partaking of the supper they attended a preparatory service in Chinese, held at the mission-house.

In regard to our Chinese members, I am glad to be able to report that they are diligent in their various worldly callings, and they do not eat the bread of idleness. So far as I have observed, they live consistent lives. One of these Christians deserves honourable mention. He has often of his own accord, when he has had occasion to go from place to place on business matters, disseminated the knowledge of Christian truths among his countrymen, and given them religious tracts. Should the Committee need another agent, I should not hesitate to recommend this man, provided he is willing to give up his present business.

This document is not only a sketch of mission work that is done regularly in the mission field, but it is also a report of what has been done all those three months of which reports have been in arrears.

During the month of January I found it necessary, on account of indisposition, to keep very quiet. I beg here to ask the committee to grant me furlough for a couple of weeks, or a longer period if necessary, to recruit my bodily and mental powers.

During my absence Paul will take charge of the mission. Should he need advice at any time while I am away, I am sure the Rev. Mr. Inglis will give him every assistance. I beg also to state that the reason I present my report in the present form is, that I believe very few gentlemen in the committee really know the extent and variety of the work that has to be done by the agents of the mission; and the churches generally are ignorant of what is going on.

I have not mentioned all that has been done, and that is still to do, because this report is sufficiently lengthy. The difficulties we have all along encountered have been great, and our encouragements are few. We have in a manner engaged in a warfare at our own charges. If much progress has not been made, the blame will not rest with us. I hope this mission will be remembered more in the prayers of the churches, and that it may emerge from its present difficulties more vigorous than ever, and become a mighty power for good to the heathen population, that so Christ may be glorified, and immortal souls saved.

William Young
February 4, 1873. Today I went to Clayton Hill, and preached the Gospel to the lepers. After that, I went to the market gardens, and spoke to four of the market-gardeners; and then went to Quong-loy-Goons, and two other Chinese stores, and, after speaking to the inmates on general subjects, I remarked that all affairs are under God's control, and were beyond man's strength to accomplish. Coming back to the Chinese camp on Golden Point, I met Quong Him and Tak-lun, who had come on a visit to see me. I remarked, men know that it is a sin not to honour ones parents, but they do not know that it is a greater sin not to honour God. Our parents are the authors of our natural life; but God is the fountain of all life. I then gave them a tract on the subject of God. They assented to what I said, and went home.

February 7. Today I visited Wong-Quong-Hin and three other Chinese (in the Chinese Temple). In the course of conversation, the first-named said that the usages of the Chinese were not as good as those of Europeans. In reply, I said that the reason of this was because the Europeans followed the true doctrines of God. I then proceeded to the Eureka, to Chen-Cheongs claim, where there were ten of his partners. I asked them why they did not come to church? They replied, they had hard work to do, both day and night, to bale the water out of their claim; besides, they were very poor; hence they felt no inclination to go. I told them that man's life and death, his poverty and wealth, were all of God's appointment, and not under his own control. I exceedingly desire that you all would sincerely and earnestly pray to God to help you to amend your former wrong-doings, and so you may look to God for help.

February 9th. In the forenoon I preached in the gaol. There were four prisoners. In the afternoon I preached in the chapel, from the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. There were twenty-five hearers.

February 12th. I went to Cheong-Kees house today. Talking about different things, suddenly a clap of thunder was heard. He said he had often heard Europeans say that when the hot vapours arise from the earth, the cold air from the heavens comes down, and then the cold and hot air cause a concussion. I said, Yes; but I have not any great knowledge of these matters, and am not prepared to argue about them. He again remarked that there was a prognosticactor in China who had a seal, and when he stamped a single sheet with that seal, it left its impress upon a thousand sheets; that seal had also power to drive away evil spirits. I said, that could not be. Look at China; how often have epidemics gone through the country? If the prognosticactor had any feelings of compassion for the people, he ought to have used this seal, and driven away the from cities and villages all the mischief caused by evil spirits. One of the Chinese books says, He who has not a sympathising heart, has no benevolence. From the fact that he did not use this seal to help others you may see that the story about it (the seal) is not true.

February 18th. In the forenoon it was raining, and I did not go out. I went in the afternoon to Cheong-Kees house, where there were several Chinese. They were talking about a prime minister, named Ngai-Cheong, who killed, it is said, the dragon-king of the eastern seas. They said that Ngai-Cheng was prime minister in Heaven, Earth and Hades. I said, If he was prime minister on Earth, we should all see him and hear him; but if he is also prime minister in Heaven and Hades, who shall afford us proof? Our Lord Jesus says, No man has ascended up to Heaven but the Son of Man, who has come down from Heaven. What He has heard He speaks of, and what He has seen that He testifies. Furthermore, Heaven is a holy place, and is under the holy government of God; and do you think that a sinful mortal would be asked to
March 3rd. To-day I went to Little Bendigo, to Mong-Choongs hut, where there were ten men. I spoke to them about the devils leading me astray and deceiving them; that there was but one true God, and men do not believe in Him, but they believe in false doctrines geomancy and such things. The first teacher of geomancy was Quock-Phock, of the Tsin dynasty (AD. 1609), but before that time there was no such doctrine taught.

Wm. Young adds: It is necessary to note here that the Chinese generally believe in the geomantic principle of good fortune that is, in the exact location of their dwellings and graves with respect to localities that are considered lucky. For on this adjustment or non-adjustment they hold all good luck and bad luck depends.

And do you think that before Quock-Phock there was no luck as regards distinction, wealth, posterity, and emoluments? You make everything depend on Fung-suy [Feng Shui] or the geomantic principle; but it is, I say, all dependent upon God. If God wishes to make a man rich, then, without the geomantic principle, that man becomes rich; and if God wills that a man shall be poor, then, with the geomantic principle, he is still poor. And one of the Chinese books says, If riches and honour are to be obtained from Fung-suy, even of Quock-Phock was raised to life, be would find it impossible to obtain such a result. I then gave him a copy of a tract entitled Conversation on Geomancy. After this, I went to Low-Seng’s hut, where were also ten men, to whom I gave a copy of the Repenting Prodigal [tract]. This evening six persons were present at the prayer-meeting.

Sunday, March 9th. In the forenoon went to the gaol and preached; there were six prisoners. In the afternoon preached in the Chinese chapel, from the 3rd chapter of John; there were twenty-four hearers.

March 13th. This forenoon a Chinese friend, from Creswick, called on me. He is an accomplished scholar. I had a conversation with him on the history of the Bible, and read with him a tract on the Authenticity of the Holy Scriptures. He told me that he had often looked into the Bible, but he could not understand its deep doctrines, but now he had got this tract, which threw light upon them; this, he said, was very fortunate. I gave him several other tracts. In the afternoon I went to the asylum and preached; there were six hearers.

March 14th. To-day I went to Keang-Hocks house. There was a man there by the name of Leong-ha. I invited him to come to our chapel; he said, yes, he would. I then went to Quock-tins dwelling, and invited him likewise. He said he had a long while felt inclined to attend, but that he was not personally acquainted with me, and he did not know what kind of doctrines were preached; but now, he said, he was glad he had met me, and he promised to come to our chapel the next Sabbath. From this place I proceeded to Moey-Quais house, and advised him to give up opium-smoking, and follow the teachings of the Saviour. After this I went over to Cheong-Kees house, where I saw a young European woman smoking opium. I told her that the injury opium produces upon people was very great; why do you not break off the habit of smoking? The young woman replied that she had often heard that doctors say that opium ruins the constitution. I replied, it did. Look, I said, at Chinese opium smokers; they are thin as a stick, and their faces are yellow as clay. I sincerely hope you will give up this habit. She said she would do so.

March 18th. Today I visited the lepers. Then I went to the Eureka, to a Chinese claim; there were ten men. I said to them, Why is it you do not come to our chapel to hear the preaching of the truth? They replied that their work was very heavy that on Sundays they had to keep the water out of their claim, wash their clothes, and do other things, and so they had no time. I told them the idols the Chinese worshipped were dumb things and useless, and, moreover, they were sources of misery. I olden times there were no idols worshipped, but only the Supreme Ruler was worshipped. (The Supreme Ruler is the term employed for the true God in our Bible.) In those days the whole country of China enjoyed great tranquillity, and men lived to a good
old age. But now ignorant people have made images, and induced men to worship them; and the more these images are worshipped, the worse men become. There is no end to wars and revolutions, and the people become deteriorated. All this arises from sinning against God. They all assented to what I said, and expressed a wish that I would go often to their claim and speak to them.
Appendix 12

Protestant Christian Missions to the Chinese in Nineteenth Century Victoria, Australia

Baptisms
with some marriage and death information
(from the church press and church registers)

Prepared by Ian Welch and the Rev Dr Keith Cole

© 2001, Ian Welch and Keith Cole
ADDITIONS and CORRECTIONS (with sources) WOULD BE APPRECIATED. PLEASE FORWARD TO Ian Welch Department of Pacific and Asian History Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies Australian National University, C/- PO Box 7034, Farrer, ACT 2706
Protestant Christian Missions to the Chinese in Nineteenth Century Victoria, Australia

Baptisms
with some marriage and death information
(from the church press and church registers)

Prepared by Ian Welch and the Rev Dr Keith Cole

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<td>493</td>
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<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev Dr Karl Gutzlaff/Bp G Smith</td>
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493 All names are as given in the sources except in some cases surnames have been added or transliterated. Chinese characters are not available. The Anglican data comes from church press or the research of the Rev. Dr Keith Cole of Bendigo who has given permission for his researches to be included in this summary.

Chu and Lo were graduates of the London Missionary Society’s AngloChinese School in Hong Kong (founded in Malacca 1817, moved to HK 1843) and came to Australia with letters from the Rev Dr James Legge. They worked with the Victoria Chinese Mission (1855-58), a voluntary and ecumenical body representing all the Protestant Churches of Victoria.

494 Leong A Toe transferred to the Methodist Mission which took over the work at Castlemaine.

495 Fan A Wye was the interpreter at the first Methodist baptismal service in Castlemaine in 1859. He was described by the Methodists as "a Chinese gentleman, whose consistent piety won for him the esteem of all who knew him." *The Wesleyan Chronicle*, February 1859, p 45. He seems to have been a Christian before coming to Australia. He was probably a graduate of the AngloChinese College.

496 The Chinese Interpreter at Castlemaine and later in Bendigo. He was a graduate of the AngloChinese College.

497 A graduate of St Paul’s Anglican College, Hong Kong. Protege of Bishop George Smith of Hong Kong and Bishop Charles Perry of Melbourne.
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<tr>
<td>Charles Sing Song, Age 26, Bachelor, born Macao, Guangdong Prov, Chinese Interpreter, of Hepburn son of John Sing Song and A Chaz Fung, merchant AND Mary Rainor, Age 24, widowed 1857, born Galway, Ireland, 2 living children, two dead children, daughter of Michael Bogle and Margaret Matthews, wine merchant.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Kim Howqua, aged 29 years, Chinese Interpreter, AND )Eleanor (Ellen) Derrick, aged 19 years, (b Bath England) daughter of Joseph Derrick, tradesman and Harriet Parsons. Witnesses: John McKenzie and Elizabeth Soon. Three known children. Clara, baptised Maryborough 17/9/1868 (see also marriage entry 7/4/1887; Ellen - ee marriage entry 16/4/1890 and Henry, see marriage entry 1887.</td>
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<td>Charles Sing Song, aged 69</td>
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498 All Saints Anglican Church, Bendigo, Baptism Register # 870, (this form of entry indicates Rev Dr K Cole research), son of William Ah Qui, butcher, and Jane Ah Qui.


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**1860**

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<td>22/7/60</td>
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<td>Lo Samyuen</td>
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<td>Fan A Wye</td>
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</table>

501 The Wesleyan Chronicle, February 1859, p 45-47. Fan A Wye was the interpreter at the service. Pong Sien later went with Fan A Wye to the Ovens District where he was instrumental in the conversion of Lui Fun Sing.


503 The Wesleyan Chronicle, February 1859, p 45-47.

504 The Wesleyan Chronicle, February 1859, p 45-47.

505 Christ Church (Anglican) Beechworth, Victoria, Baptism Register. Became Presbyterian Catechist at Ballarat 1860 or 1861. Father of Cheok Hong Cheong.

506 Lui Fun Sing 1875.

507 Leong On Tong was a convert of Leong A Toe at Castlemaine. His baptismal date is unknown.

508 A friend of Cheok Hong Cheong. Missionary to the Chinese in Otago, New Zealand in 1870 — see The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 April 1871. Later served as Presbyterian catechist in Melbourne for many years.

509 Lui Fun Sing 1875. Two men were followed by six more.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>OCCUPN</th>
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<th>DATE</th>
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<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<tr>
<td>Kong Meng</td>
<td>2 mths</td>
<td>Agnes</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td>St Thomas' Essendon</td>
<td>27/3/61</td>
<td>CofE</td>
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510  St Thomas' Essendon, Baptismal Register #128, daughter of Lowe and Maryanne (Prussia) Kong Meng, Emerald Hill, father merchant Lt Collins (?) St
<table>
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<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
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<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
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<td>1/3/62</td>
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<td>Meth</td>
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<td>Hong Ha (Hung Ha) 514</td>
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<td>55</td>
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<td>Meth</td>
<td>Leong A Toe</td>
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<td>Ho Ti 516</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Charley Hoiping</td>
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<td>Ah (Lee MoySing) Ling 517</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>James Daylesford</td>
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<td>Daylesford</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Meth</td>
<td>Rev John Mewson</td>
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</table>

Marriage
James married Mary Mowbray BLACK from Dumferline, Scotland in 1862 in Victoria and there 3 children Harriet (Hettie) b 1866, Margaret Mowbray b 1864.498, James Henry b 1868 all around The Lodden Valley. Margaret Black/Oseenn married Samuel CROSSLEY in 1872 and had more children to him [http://archiver.rootsweb.com/th/read/AUS-VIC-GOLDFIELDS/2001-07/0995494688, anorton@bigpond.net.au]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xn NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
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516 Charley Ho Ti was the first Chinese given a Christian burial at Vaughan. Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Report 1852, p 12.
517 Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Notices, London, 25 November 1865, p 203. This was a report intended to publicly legitimise James Moy Ling as a catechist. The report noted that other 'disciples' of Moy Ling were present at the service.
Church of England Gazette, 6 July 1863.

Lui Fun-sing states that Ah Hoy was already a Christian. CoF E Gazette, 6 July 1863.

Lui Fun-sing reports that Ah Hoy and Tan King were learning to read the Chinese Bible. CoF E Gazette, 8 July 1863.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
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<td>4 mths</td>
<td>Elizabeth INFANT</td>
<td>Mosquito Flat</td>
<td>Carisbrook</td>
<td>5/1/64</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev J D Brennan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low Sap</td>
<td>39</td>
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<td>3/4/64</td>
<td>Meth</td>
<td>Leong A Toe</td>
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<td>Lung Ah Tou</td>
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<td>Tan Tou Chet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pong</td>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>George</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Daylesford</td>
<td>4/12/64</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev E G Pryce</td>
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521 Carisbrook Anglican Parish, Baptism Register # 302, daughter of James and Catherine A'long, storekeeper. Only Chinese baptism recorded in the Carisbrook Register.

522 *The Wesleyan Chronicle*, 24 May 1864, p 96-97. At this service, Leong A Toe claimed that since 1856, he had been instrumental in the conversion of 35 men. Low Sap had operated a private temple and Leong A Toe displayed a Kwan Yin image and the I Ching sticks from his temple.

523 The problem of names and identifying of individuals recurs. This is the only name that links to Leong on Tong, who succeeded Leong A Toe as the Methodist catechist at Castlemaine. *The Wesleyan Chronicle*, 24 May 1864, p 96.


527 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 373, son of William Chandler and Margaret Pong, cordial manufacturer.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
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<td>Gin Kung</td>
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<td>William</td>
<td>Vaughan</td>
<td>Meth Leong A Toe</td>
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<td>Ah Look</td>
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<td>James</td>
<td>Daylesford</td>
<td>25/9/65 Meth Leong A Toe</td>
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<td>Ah Chow</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>Vaughan</td>
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<td>Ah Nun</td>
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<td>William</td>
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<td>Bu Ah Cow</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>V On Wo D Taishan</td>
<td>Castlemaine</td>
<td>3/12/65 Meth Leong A Toe</td>
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<td>V Hap Leang DXinhui</td>
<td>Castlemaine</td>
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<td>V Park Showay D Taishan</td>
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<td>V Chongha D Taishan</td>
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<td>Thomas</td>
<td>V Hap Leang DXinhui</td>
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<td>V Ye Toon D Taishan</td>
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528 The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 December 1865 contains the details of baptisms of 3/12/65 at Castlemaine. The article also mentions James Gin Kung, described as a convert of Leong A Toe, formerly a miner at Vaughan, near Castlemaine, and now living in Vancouver Island. A letter from Gin Kung to European friends at Vaughan was endorsed by the Rev Dr Ephraim Evans, the Superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission in British Columbia.

52936 The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 December 1865.

530 The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 December 1865.

531 The Wesleyan Chronicle, Vol V, 1865, p 157. William Henry Ah Nun was described as a leader of the Chinese community in Beechworth. His baptism was sponsored by the Mayor of Beechworth, W Witt Esq.

532 The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 January 1869. The convert Hoa Pang mentions that he met Bu Ah Cow who was living at Maldon in December 1868.

533 The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 January 1869.

534 The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 January 1869.


536 The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 January 1869. This was Leong's second time in Australia.

537 The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 January 1869.
Lee Wye Jong 538
Tam Chein Keng 539


<table>
<thead>
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<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
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<td>Ah Kew</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>Harriet</td>
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<td>Maryborough</td>
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<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev John D Brennan</td>
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<td>Lay Wong Heng</td>
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<td>Taishan</td>
<td>-7/66</td>
<td>Meth</td>
<td>Meth</td>
<td>James Moy Ling</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low Hoey</td>
<td>542</td>
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<td>Bendigo</td>
<td>-6/66</td>
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<td>William Young</td>
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<td>Pres</td>
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<td>Ballarat</td>
<td>8/7/66</td>
<td>Pres</td>
<td>Pres</td>
<td>Cheong Peng Nam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

540 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 370, daughter of Ah Kew, Chinese Interpreter.

541 *The Wesleyan Chronicle*, 20 June 1866, p 93. Lay Wong Heng names Low Hoey and Kong Hee as Christians.

542 *The Wesleyan Chronicle*, 20 June 1866, p 93.

543 *The Wesleyan Chronicle*, 20 March 1869. Le Ah Won mentions Kong Ke as assisting James Mouy Ling in the Sandhurst mission.

544 *The Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, June 1866, p 10.

545 *The Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, June 1866, p 10.

546 *The Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, June 1866, p 10.

547 *The Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, June 1866, p 10.

548 Also recorded as E Hang Pang *The Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, June 1866, p 10.

549 *The Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, June 1866, p 10.

550 *The Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, June 1866, p 10.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
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<th>District</th>
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<td>Pres</td>
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<td>Fong Yat-sau</td>
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<td>See Yup</td>
<td>26/8/66</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev John D Brennan</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

551 *The Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, June 1866, p 10.*

552 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 403, son of Ach Shu and Chin She. Fong Yatsau aka Matthew Ah Get. Cantonese version of Fong is Kwong. *CofE Messenger,* 29 January 1872 reports that his ministry at Percyda resulted in twenty-four baptisms. *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad,* March 1882 credits him with 42 converts of whom 2 or 3 later worked with CMS in China. Fuller details are in the *Church Missionary Gleaner,* December 1883.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>1/2 NAME</th>
<th>OCCUPN</th>
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<td>Paul</td>
<td>V Totung D Taishan Castlemaine</td>
<td>31/3/67 Meth</td>
<td>Leong On Tong</td>
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<td>Tam Hoi Man</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Lee Wah</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>miner/gardr</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov/New Bendigo</td>
<td>St Arnaud22/9/67</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev John B Stair</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Member of Chinese Bible Class at Napier Street Presbyterian Church.

The catechist responsible for these baptisms was Philip Lee Hyung from Victoria.


The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 June 1867.

Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register #148, son of Ghit Geap and Goot She although other sources state that his father was Nip Kit Lee and his mother Jee Shee. See also Church of England (CoE) Messenger, 1 July 1875. The Rev John B Stair wrote following the opening of a new church, paid for by the Chinese, at New Bendigo. 'I looked on with great thankfulness (to) that time eight years ago, when Lee Wah, now catechist at Sandhurst, came to me as an absolute stranger, and unable to speak a word of his language, asking, in broken English, to be baptised...' Lee Wah married twice. First to Isabella, a European from whom he separated. Isabella Lee Wah died in Creswick Hospital in October 1874. (CMSV Minutes 13 December 1877. Second marriage to Mary Hubber, St Paul's Bendigo, 22 May 1878. Mary was the daughter of John Hubber and Blanche Migrove aged 23.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
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<td>11/5/68</td>
<td>Pres</td>
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<td>Jacob</td>
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<td>7/6/68</td>
<td>Meth</td>
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<td>Leong On Tong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kwaan Chan Yan</td>
<td>566</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Dze Bie D Hoiping</td>
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<td>Meth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ham Lin Tip</td>
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<td>Matthew</td>
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<td>Meth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ham King Yong</td>
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<td>James</td>
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<td>Meth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Howqua</td>
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<td>CoE</td>
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<td>Rev John D Brennan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ng Wing Fat</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>Clara</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Avoca</td>
<td>17/9/68</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cheong Peng Nam</td>
</tr>
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</table>

562 Presbyterian Catechist in the AraluenBraidwood goldfields in New South Wales (near Canberra).
563 Presbyterian Catechist in Victoria and New South Wales.
564 Presbyterian Catechist in Victoria.
567 Wesleyan Missionary Notices London July 1868, p 96. Kwaan Chan Yan says that his housemate was a Christian who took him to the chapel. The man’s name was not given.
570 Mentioned Ham King Yong as a Christian working as a gardener.
571 Mentioned Ham King Yong as a Christian working as a gardener.
572 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 659, daughter of Ah Kin and Ellen Howqua, Chinese Interpreter. Parents married Avoca1858.
573 Dr Ng was a traditional, and successful, Chinese medical practitioner. He accepted baptism in order to marry Cheong Fong Sew, elder daughter of Cheong Peng Nam. The Ng family later
574 Davey Quon Jun Gun persuaded V to give up his temple and return to digging. The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 October 1868, p 149 publishes the Reverend Edward King's account of the conversion of Hoa Pang.

575 The Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Notices 1874, p xiii. David Jing Geng was a local preacher in the Melbourne Chinese Methodist Church. He was appointed Methodist catechist at Dunolly in 1882. Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Notices 1882, p xvi. A Mr and Mrs Brideston of Tarnagulla helped the Chinese. David Chin Ghin returned to China in 1883.


577 Mentions David Back Ling as a Christian. Job Sun Way died 1 February 1875. A special memorial service was held in the Little Bourke Street Church. The service was conducted to emphasise that becoming a Christian did not lessen respect for those who had died, although Christians did not worship them as deities or believe that they could affect people's lives. The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 March 1875.

578 The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 March 1875.

579 Australasian Wesleyan Missionary Notices April 1869, p142-144.

580 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 264 son of Lee Ghin Long and long Shee. Stair noted: The above ... native of Chinawiwas baptised by me at this date, after 10 months probation - and after I had used every precaution to satisfy myself as to his sincerity. James Lee Wah - a baptised Chinese and myself being sponsors. He was baptised during Evening Service. See also CofE Messenger, 22 April 1869.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hung Wah Ah Fat</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>VDi Leon DTaishan Bendigo</td>
<td>28/2/69</td>
<td>Meth</td>
<td>James Moy Ling</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lee Ah Won</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>VGow Kok Sin DTaishan Bendigo</td>
<td>28/2/69</td>
<td>Meth</td>
<td>James Moy Ling</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quong Ting Me</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Elias</td>
<td>VTongS(L)ong DHoiping Castlemaine</td>
<td>7/3/69</td>
<td>Meth</td>
<td>Leong On Tong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sum Frit (or Fut)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>VNam On DTaishanCastlemaine</td>
<td>7/3/69</td>
<td>Meth</td>
<td>Leong On Tong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lee (See)Yim Sung</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Jonah</td>
<td>VS(L)aw Toong DTaishan Castlemaine</td>
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<td>Meth</td>
<td>Leong On Tong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ching Wah (WAR)</td>
<td></td>
<td>William gardener Guangdong (See Yup)</td>
<td>Bendigo, (All Saints)</td>
<td>22/8/69</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev W R Croxton</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

582 *The Wesleyan Chronicle*, 20 March 1869, p 41.

583 A schoolteacher in China, a term usually taken to mean that the individual passed the first (district) level of the Imperial Examination system but failed at the second (provincial) level.

584 Mentioned in an earlier footnote as being a Christian but his place of baptism is unknown.

585 *The Wesleyan Chronicle*, 20 April 1869, p 57. Quong Ting Me was instrumental in the conversion of Loo Chan Yin, *The Wesleyan Chronicle*, 20 November 1872.

586 *The Wesleyan Chronicle*, 20 April 1869, p 57.

587 Lee Yim Sung also mentions Mark Bu Ah Cow as persuading him to become a Christian. Named as See Yim Sung in *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, London, October 1869, p176.

588 All Saint's, Baptism Register # 5350, son of Beng Ti and Cheng Shee. Very successful market gardener at Kangaroo Flat, Bendigo. Later catechist at Maryborough. An account of his conversion is in *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad* July 1878. From 1871 to 1879 he was appointed stipendiary catechist at Maryborough.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
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<td>Peter</td>
<td>Bendigo</td>
<td>12/1/70</td>
<td>Pres Peng-nam, Rev George Mackie</td>
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<td>3 men</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Henry</td>
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<td>O Hong</td>
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<td>6/3/70</td>
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<td>Rev G P Despard</td>
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<td>Rev G P Despard</td>
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589 The Daily Telegraph, 12 January 1870.
590 St Paul’s Bendigo, CofE Messenger, 14 July 1870.
591 St Paul’s Bendigo, CofE Messenger, 14 July 1870.
592 St Paul’s Bendigo, CofE Messenger, 14 July 1870.
593 St Paul’s Bendigo, CofE Messenger, 14 July 1870.
596 St Pauls’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 19, son of Sen Ah Love and Toi Shee.
597 St Pauls’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 20, son of Choon Yant and Chen She.
598 St Pauls’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 21, son of Hen Yee Yauan and Ng She.
599 St Pauls’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 22, son of Lee Quong Chan Lee and Ng She.
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<tr>
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<th>Date</th>
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<th>Rev.</th>
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<td>Quak</td>
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<td>Isaiah</td>
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</table>

600 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 23, son of Kee Fung Look and Quak She.
601 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 24, son of Choren Jeong and Mah She.
602 The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 April 1870, p57. Mentioned by Quon Fong at his baptism.
603 Che Loon names Hoa Pang as a relative.
604 Reverend W P Wells to Reverend Stephen Rabone, 15 September 1870 in Wesleyan Missionary Notices London October 1870, p216-220. All the men listed in this group as being from Sandhurst lived at Eaglehawk.
605 Reverend W P Wells to Reverend Stephen Rabone, 15 September 1870 in Wesleyan Missionary Notices London October 1870, p216-220. All the men listed in this group as being from Sandhurst lived at Eaglehawk.
606 Reverend W P Wells to Reverend Stephen Rabone, 15 September 1870 in Wesleyan Missionary Notices London October 1870, p216-220. All the men listed in this group as Sandhurst residents lived at Eaglehawk.
610 Mentioned by Wong Ah Yew as a Christian.

611 Mentioned by Tse Tak as a Christian.

612 Mentioned by Fong Chun Kwung as a Christian.

613 Mentioned by Fong Chun Kwung as a Christian.

614 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register #28, son of Shore Cook? and Woo She.

615 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register #29, son of En and Chee-E Shee.

616 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register #30, son of She-c Mook and Ang She.

617 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register #31, son of Nam Fook and Chao She. Later a catechist.

618 St Paul's White Hills, Baptism Register #161, son of Mah Ah Fatick and Elizabeth, gardener.

619 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register #352, son of Che Sang and Yep Lee.

620 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register #353, son of Mah Ten and Tin Mao. CoE Messenger, 7 January 1873. He died in October 1882, The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, Nov & Dec 1882. Paul Mah Ah Fat died 17/10/81 aged 58 years. and was buried in St Arnaud Cemetery 17/10/81 Plot # 474 CoE Section.

621 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register #1007. The Very Rev H B Macartney was the Dean of Melbourne.

622 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register #1008.
Fung Ah Loy 624  43  William coachman  Percydale 16/10/70  CoE  Fong Yat-sau: Very Rev H B Macartney
Ah Lee 625  43  Paul miner  Percydale 16/10/70  CoE  Fong Yat-sau: Very Rev H B Macartney
Ah Pan 626  23  Peter miner  Percydale 16/10/70  CoE  Fong Yat-sau: Very Rev H B Macartney
Ah Fok 627  33  Mark miner  Percydale 16/10/70  CoE  Fong Yat-sau: Very Rev H B Macartney
Ah Gate 628  31  Luke miner  Percydale 16/10/70  CoE  Fong Yat-sau: Very Rev H B Macartney
Ah Sing 629  33  Joseph miner  Percydale 16/10/70  CoE  Fong Yat-sau: Very Rev H B Macartney
Ah Wee 630  24  John miner  Percydale 16/10/70  CoE  Fong Yat-sau: Very Rev H B Macartney
Ah Hop 631  19  James miner  Percydale 16/10/70  CoE  Fong Yat-sau: Very Rev H B Macartney
Ah Goon  James  Beechworth  10/70  Pres
Ah Kap  Tom  Beechworth  10/70  Pres
Ah Kee  Henry  Beechworth  10/70  Pres
Ah Yen  William  Beechworth  10/70  Pres
Ah Young  Thomas  Beechworth  10/70  Pres
Chen Sing  Thomas  Beechworth  10/70  Pres
Ah Lee  Paul  Beechworth  10/70  Pres
Ah Poo 632  1 mth  Samuel INFANT Ironbark Camp  Bendigo (St Lukes)  14/11/70  CoE  Rev E G Pryce

623  Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1009.
624  Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1010.
625  Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1011.
626  Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1012.
627  Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1013.
628  Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1014.
629  Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1015.
630  Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1016.
631  Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1017.
632  St Paul's White Hills, Baptism Register # 203, son of James and Elizabeth Ah Poo, Chinese Interpreter.
MARRIAGE  St John's Parsonage Avoca  8/10/70  CofE  Register # 10/288
Ing Sew Pew, aged 32 years, storekeeper, of Percydale, son of Ing Mau Ling and Louisa Lee AND. Annie Pope, aged 16 years, of Avoca, b Bay of Biscay, daughter of John Pope and Sarah Sophia Wells.
Witnesses: Ah Kim Howqua and Ellen Howqua.


634  Mentions influence of European Christians at Creswick and mentions James Ah Chow from Daylesford as a Christian friend. Bickford 1890, p 245.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xn NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
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<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chun Yut 635</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>merchant Sam Yup</td>
<td>Beechworth</td>
<td>4/1/1871</td>
<td></td>
<td>Meth</td>
<td>James Moy Ling</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Chow 636</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>miner</td>
<td>Bendigo</td>
<td>8/1/1871</td>
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<td>Job</td>
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<td>639</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sennae 644</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>D Sin Ning/New Bendigo</td>
<td>9/5/1871</td>
<td></td>
<td>Meth</td>
<td>James Moy Ling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


636  All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 5648, son of Jin Quee and Gen Shea.

637  The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 December 1870, p 192. Ah Chow is named as a Wesleyan Christian in the testimony of Ah Foo.


640  Mentioned by Quon Fong as a Christian. The Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Notices 1874, p xiii states that Wha Fat was a local preacher in the Melbourne Chinese Methodist Church. Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Report 1895, p xxvi records his death and noted, p ‘One of the oldest members and paid agents of the Church passed away during the year. Having been trained as a schoolteacher in his own land, he was able to exercise considerable influence among his countrymen; and for many years, in the early days of the Mission, did good service. Of late he had become very feeble...’.

641  Later the Reverend Joseph Lee Tear Tack, who served as an catechist in Victoria and later as an ordained missionary to the Chinese in the New England region of Northern New South Wales (Tingha) and at Darwin in the Northern Territory and Cairns, Queensland. His appointment to Cairns is in Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Notices 1897, p xxviii. Died 9 August 1901 in Cairns. He was born in 1847 and came to Bendigo as a young man. A Brisbane (Kelvin Grove) convert named Willie Linfoy was appointed to replace him

642  All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 5776, son of Cheung Goon and Leow Shee.

643  All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 5777, son of Chew Cheong and Ching Shee.

644  All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 5778, son of L? How and Chin Shee.
Octiss 646 48  Luke miner  D Sin Ning/New Bendigo  St Arnaud 8/10/71  CofE  Rev John B Stair Beechworth  
Tsoi Sooey Poon 647  Stephen Castlemaine 26/11/71  Meth James Moy Ling  
Cheong Choon 648  Stephen Maryborough 1871  CofE  
Young Wai 649  John Maryborough 1871  CofE  
Mok Doong (Mok Toon) 649  Matthew Maryborough 1871  CofE  
Low Ah Mong 650  Chinese Interpreter, Percydale 1871  CoE  Fong Yatsau  
Ah Young 653  31  George Guangdong Percydale 1871  CoE  Fong Yatsau  
Ah Chung 652  33  Stephen Sin Ning Percydale 1871  CoE  Fong Yatsau  
Ah Toy (Tong) 653  27  David Sin Ning Percydale 1871  CoE  Fong Yatsau  
Ah Hee 654  31  Philip Fukien Percydale 1871  CoE  Fong Yatsau  

MARRIAGE  
Chun Tipp (Ah Tipp) 655  Michael Circus Prop Sam Yup, Guangdong Prov Spring Creek 4/1/71  CoE  

645  Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 402, son of En Lau and Chin Shee. CofE Messenger, 8 January 1874 mentions Sinnae as leading worship at New Bendigo in St Arnaud parish.  
646  Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 403, son of Qu Hand and Gu Shee. Stair notes: The abovenamed Chinese were baptised by me during Ev Service at Christ Church, St Arnaud on Oct 8/1870 after a long probation and giving me many evidences of their sincerity. Both were present at the first Scripture Readings by Le Wah at New Bendigo some 4 years since, and have been very regular at the Readings ever since. In addition to 2 members of our Church I requested Louis Pensing, a Christian Chinese and baptised some years since in the Beechworth District, in connection with the Church of England, and subsequently confirmed at Beechworth, to join Paul Mah Ah Fat, the Reader at New Bendigo - as sponsor. See entry in 1860. Luke died 3 march 1883, aged 69. Christ Church St Arnaud, Burial Register # 6.  
647  Wesleyan Missionary Notices London December 1875, p 287289. He was the first Chinese to receive a Christian burial in the Campbell's Creek Cemetery.  
648  Later the Reverend John Young Wai, who was to become the longserving and very able pastor of the Sydney (Crown Street) Chinese Presbyterian Church.  
649  CofE Messenger, 11 November 1875 reports that Mok Toon made a visit to Clunes with the objective of opening a mission but nothing eventuated.  
650  Later employed as Government Interpreter at Daylesford. CofE Messenger, 14 July 1871.  
651  St John's Avoca, Baptism Register #1226, son of Foo Song and Chin Shee.  
652  St John's Avoca, Baptism Register #1227, son of Gon Shim and Lee Shee.  
653  St John's Avoca, Baptism Register #1228, son of Ho Hock and Loi Shee.  
654  St John's Avoca, Baptism Register #1229, son of Ty Wan and Young Shin.  
Benson, Jane
17 yrs
Gisborne
1857
<table>
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<tr>
<th>HINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xn NAME</th>
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<td>(Mah) Fatick</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>3 mths</td>
<td>Charlotte INFANT</td>
<td>White Hills</td>
<td>St Luke's WH</td>
<td>1/7/72</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev E G Pryce</td>
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<td>Gong Oong</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Nathanel</td>
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<td>Ah Fi</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Andrew</td>
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<td>Melbourne</td>
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<tr>
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<td>38</td>
<td>Ebenezer</td>
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<td>Ah Hung</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loo Chan Yin</td>
<td>662</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>VTai Yan Chan, DHoiping</td>
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<td>Castlemaine</td>
<td>3/11/72</td>
<td>Meth</td>
<td>Leong On Tong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leong Yean</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>VHin Tang, DXinhui Castlemaine</td>
<td>Castlemaine</td>
<td>Castlemaine</td>
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<td>Leong On Tong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chin Kit</td>
<td>664</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>James Henry</td>
<td>Chin Interp</td>
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<td>Lee Wah: Rev W R Croxton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wong Poo</td>
<td>665</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Bartholomew miner</td>
<td>Iron Bark Camp</td>
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<td>22/12/72</td>
<td>CoE</td>
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<td>Wat Haw</td>
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<td>22/12/72</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev W R Croxton</td>
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</table>

656 St Luke's White Hills, Baptism Register # 285, daughter of Mah Ah Fatick and Elizabeth, gardener.

657 The Wesleyan Chronicle, 20 September 1872, p 141-2. Gong Oong had apparently been offered a paid position with a Chinese association if he did not pursue baptism.


661 Mentioned by Ah Look as a Christian. He could be one of the ‘Hung’s’ mentioned in the Methodist list.


664 Son of the Rev and Mrs Leong On Tong.

665 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 6144. All the men were from Iron Bark Camp. See also CoE Messenger, 8 January 1874. Croxton mentions anti-Christian attacks by members of secret society. Also worried about prostitution in Chinese camps. See also the Rev J C M'Cullagh, CoE Messenger, 1 October 1874.

666 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 6144.
George Ho Wing, aged 33 years, butcher, of Percydale (b Tinhow) son of Poy Yen and Loo Shee AND Frances Ann Williamson, aged 16 years, of Kimberly, (B Melbourne) daughter of John Williamson (butcher) and Harriette Williamson (nee Felton). Witnesses: Harriet Williamson and Matthew Ah Get (Fong Yat-sau Chinese Catechist).

**1873**

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<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
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<th>Xh NAME</th>
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<td>Ah Loy 674</td>
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<td>William John</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
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<td>Ah Loy 675</td>
<td>8 mths</td>
<td>Rosanna</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>White Hills Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>2/3/73</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev W R Croxton</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Elizabeth Ann</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
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<td>5/5/73</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev E G Pryce</td>
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</table>
677 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1276, daughter of William Thomas and Lily Quay Le, master mariner. The surname Henty is significant in Victorian history and suggests a link with a distinguished pioneer family.

678 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1277.

679 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1277, son of Ti Chuch and Lin Shi.

680 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1323, son of Moy Yun and Tan Shi.

681 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1324, son of Yu Ku? and Lu Shi.

682 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1325, son of Wah Yu and Ching Shi.

683 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 464. son of Mah Yung Kee and Fong See.

684 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 465, son of Mah Yung Kee and Fong See. (brothers).

685 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 466, son of Too Hong and Lem Toy. Rev John B Stair reports confirmation of Hi Ye in February 1876 (see CofE Messenger 11 May 1976. He died at 5 am the following morning while still singing hymns, Burial costs provided by friends, CofE Messenger 11 May 1876.

686 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 467, son of Fon Sit and Goon She. Despite an age discrepancy, MathewAh Tie aged ‘94’ years, died 4/4/1907, St Arnaud Cemetery, CoE Section, #41E, Section 6, plot 9. Headstone reads; ‘A Respected Citizen of St Arnaud’.

687 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 468, son of Wah Foo and Ham See. Later CMSV catechist at Blackwood.

688 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 510, son of Sin Kim and Wong. Catechist at Daylesford. CoE Messenger, 1 October 1874. Later worked in Anglican Diocese of Brisbane until dismissed. Friend of Paul Mah Ah Fat, CoE Messenger, 1 October 1874. Returned to China c1882 where he became a layreader at St Stephen’s Hong Kong, under Rev Fong
Yatsau. He later moved to Kowloon. The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, March 1884.

689 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 511, son of Sic Cheak and Wong. See also Report of Rev John B Stair to 20th Annual Meeting of the CMSV, CoE Messenger, 7 January 1875.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
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<td>45</td>
<td>Mathew</td>
<td>Synott's Diggings</td>
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<td>CofE</td>
<td>Mah Ah Fat: Rev John B Stair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Le Wong</td>
<td>692</td>
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<td>James</td>
<td>New Bendigo</td>
<td>St Arnaud</td>
<td>30/11/73</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Mah Ah Fat: Rev John B Stair</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DEATH**

Ah Kin Howqua  44 Thomas Avoca 1873 CofE Rev J B Stair

**MARRIAGE**

Lee Wong, aged 34, miner, son of He Pan and Quam Se, Sin Yoy, AND Bridget Mary Snapby, aged 26, widow (former husband died 13/6/60), daughter of Michael O’loughlan and Bridget Hare, b Innis, County Clare, Ireland. 3 children living, 1 dead. Witnesses Paul Mah Ah Fat and Edward John Hyman.

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690 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 512, son of King Cheong and Toai See. See also Report of Rev John B Stair to 20th Annual Meeting of the CMSV, CofE Messenger, 7 January 1875.

691 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 513, son of Ah Hary and Tu. Report of Rev John B Stair to 20th Annual Meeting of the CMSV, CofE Messenger, 7 January 1875.

692 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 514, son of Ah Nee and Quan See. Report of Rev John B Stair to 20th Annual Meeting of the CMSV, CofE Messenger, 7 January 1875.
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<td>Ah Hain</td>
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<td>Interpreter</td>
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<td>Bendigo</td>
<td>Blackwood</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Peter Barksao</td>
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<td>Chin Kit</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>4 yrs</td>
<td>Lucy Caroline</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>6/3/74</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev G P Despard</td>
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<td>Lee Tin Choong</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>James Ebenezer</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adelaide</td>
<td>Pres?</td>
<td>15/6/74</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Very Rev H B Macartney</td>
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<td>Ah Hore</td>
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<td>4 yrs</td>
<td>William</td>
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<td>18/6/74</td>
<td>Pres</td>
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<td>Charles</td>
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<td>29/9/74</td>
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<td>15/11/74</td>
<td>CoE</td>
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</table>

693 Ah Hain (Wong Len Hem?) was the Chinese Interpreter. This date may be incorrect. Cole (1994, p 77) states that Ah Hain was not baptised until much later.

694 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 360, daughter of Henry Chin Kit, Chinese Interpreter and Matilda Jane Chin Kit.

695 Named by Pres catechist Ng Chan Quong as having been baptised in Adelaide but since lapsed. *The Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, September 1873.

696 *The Missionary At Home, And Abroad*, July 1874, p 99. Name also given as Louis

697 *The Wesleyan Chronicle*, 19 December 1874, p 191-192. Mentioned a Christian Chinese who had been a teacher in China—this may have been Hung Wha Fat.

698 Worked as a gardener for Peter Ah Wan (Perhaps Peter Wong Yen). Later worked for David Gin Gain who also owned a garden. Lived with Wha Fat at the time of his baptism. The Anglican Catechist, Fong Yat Sau, was also staying with Wha Fat prior to returning to China. Fong offered prayers at Chung's baptism.

699 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 6542. Father given as Hotel Keeper of Iron Bark.

700 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 553, son of Woe See and Ye Shee. Appointment as catechist announced *CofE Messenger*, 7 February 1882. He succeeded Paul Mah Ah Fat who died in October 1882. After serving at Blackwood and St Arnaud Ang Gook returned to China in 1888, *CofE Messenger*, 10 April 1888.

701 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 554, son of Ah Saam and Woo She.

523
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<tr>
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<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Place of Residence</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>зарегистриro</th>
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<th>Minister</th>
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<td>Gee Sing</td>
<td>702</td>
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<td>Bendigo</td>
<td>Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>27/11/74</td>
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<td>St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 509, son of George M Gee Sing and Lydia, Hotel Keeper.</td>
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<td>703</td>
<td>Gardener</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
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<td>All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 6583, son of Chung Chem How.</td>
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<td>1875</td>
<td>Ah Yet</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>Daylesford</td>
<td>24/1/75</td>
<td>CoE</td>
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<td>VPing Kang</td>
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707 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 1373, miner. Confirmed and admitted to Holy Communion by Bishop of Ballarat 13/12/75.
708 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 1373, miner. Confirmed and admitted to Holy Communion by Bishop of Ballarat 13/12/75.
709 Mentioned as Christian in Church of England Messenger 10 February 1976. Resident through blindness of Benevolent Asylum. Confirmed 14/1/76.
710 Mentioned as catechumen by Rev Frederick Smith, CoE Messenger, 8 April 1875.
711 The Spectator (Replaced the Chronicle) May 1875, p 7.
712 The Spectator (Replaced the Chronicle) May 1875, p 7. Worked for David Gin Jeng as a gardener.
713 The Spectator (Replaced the Chronicle) May 1875, p 7.
714 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 1414, storekeeper.
715 Mentioned by 'Revd' William Young as taking services at Golden Point Presbyterian Mission. The Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, May 1873.

525
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>VVoee Yoon DTaishan Bendigo</td>
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716 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1515.

717 *The Spectator*, 1875, p 271. Befriended by Thomas Mak Quong and Peter Wong Yen.

718 *The Spectator*, 1875, p 271.

719 Befriended by Peter Wong Yen, Thomas Mak Quong, and in Melbourne by Jacob Wha Fat and Joseph Tse Tak.

720 St Paul’s Bendigo, Baptism Register # 701, son of Tin Yip and Hom She.

721 St Paul’s Bendigo, Baptism Register # 702, son of Hen You and Haw She.

722 St Paul’s Bendigo, Baptism Register # 703, son of Nei Quon and Leuo? She.

723 *The Wesleyan Chronicle*, 20 November 1874, p 178-179. Mentions attending the chapel at Moonlight Flat which had originally been a private temple at Castlemaine owned by the convert, Hoa Pang. See Chapter on Methodist Mission.

724 Mentions the Chinese Presbyterian Mission at Ballarat (Golden Point) as his first contact with Christianity.

725 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 1426. Confirmed and admitted to Holy Communion by Bishop of Ballarat 13/12/75.

726 *The Spectator*, 27 November 1875, p 355.


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<td>CofE</td>
<td>Lee Wah; Rev JC MacCullagh</td>
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<td>Sin Ning/Syott's</td>
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<td>James Moy Ling</td>
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</table>

729  The only identified convert from Zhongshan. This district was very resistant to Christian missionaries.

730  St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 730. No other details. The poor information for # 730-734 suggests that MacCullagh did not have the services of an interpreter.

731239 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 731, son of Won Too Leon.

732  St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 732. No other details.

733  St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 733. No other details.

734  St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 734. No other details. See Report of Rev J C M'Cullagh, CofE Messenger, 10 February 1876.

735  Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 646, son of Vin Yap and Cheung.

736  Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 647, son of Wing Quong and Ham See.

737  Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 648, son of King Oon and Wong See.

738  Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 649, son of Leu Fon and Fong See.

739  St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 745, son of Yin Lau and Margaret, gardener.

740  The Spectator, 4 December 1875, p 367.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>V Young Hin D Taishan</td>
<td>Talbot</td>
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741249 *The Spectator*, 4 December 1875, p 367.

742 *The Spectator*, 4 December 1875, p 367.

743 *The Spectator*, 4 December 1875, p 367. The Anglican catechist Fong Yat-au and this man are the only convert who worked with the Chinese theatre.

744 *The Spectator*, 4 December 1875, p 367. See also reference in *The Spectator*, 30 September 1887.

745 *The Spectator*, 4 December 1875, p 367. A relative of Thomas Ah Foo.


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*The Spectator*, 5 January 1883, p 428. Lee Chung's baptism is not recorded in the sources. It is likely that he was baptised outside the formal mission structures or is listed as one of the 'James' under another name. He was the Methodist catechist at Haddon in 1883.

St Luke's White Hills, Baptism Register # 448, son of Arthur and Elizabeth Fatick, woodcarter.

*The Spectator*, 6 April 1876.

Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1556.

Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1557.

All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 6834, son of Wah Kow and Isa To Shee.

St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 860, son of Yui Kova and Gin Shee.

St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 861, son of Den Avon Quong and Kam Shee, father a miner.

Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register #1574.

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<td>Gee Ah Kee</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>miner</td>
<td>Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>10/9/76</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev J C MacCullagh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lee Lebbens</td>
<td>37</td>
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<td>10/9/76</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Lui) Quock Sam</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cheong Yu Quin</td>
<td>8 mths</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
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<td>10/9/76</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kee Cheang</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td></td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td></td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Matt Mok Doong: Rev G Innes</td>
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758 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register #1575.
759 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register #1576.
760 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register #1577.
761 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 889, son of Ung Ching Won.
762 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 890, son of Wah Sing and Toc Shee.
763 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 891, son of Tong King and Lee Shee.
764 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 892, son of Jing On and Gee Shee.
765 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 893, son of Lee Gin and Gee Shee.
766 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 934 , son of Louey and On Shee.
767 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 935, daughter of James Lue Sam Lock and Charlotte Sam Lock.
768 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 936, son of James Lue Sam Lock and Charlotte Sam Lock.
769 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 958, son of Cheong Sun and Louey Shee. See Annual Report of J C MacCullagh in CoE Messenger, 12 October 1876.
770 CoE Messenger, 11 May 1876. Rev G Innes reports this and following baptism.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father Name</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Minister</th>
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<td>Quong Louey</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Fong</td>
<td>Mark</td>
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<td>CoE</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Yenk</td>
<td>Paul</td>
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<td>1876</td>
<td>CoE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Hew</td>
<td>Philip</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yau Due</td>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>Blackwood</td>
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<td>CoE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doe Tum</td>
<td>John</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Hoe</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
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<td>1876</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Foi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jacob</td>
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<td>Bendigo (All Saint’s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joseph</td>
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<td>7/5/76</td>
<td>CoE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
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<td>Bendigo (All Saint’s)</td>
<td>7/5/76</td>
<td>CoE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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771 CofE Messenger, 11 May 1876.
772 CofE Messenger, 11 May 1876.
773 CofE Messenger, 11 May 1876.
774 CofE Messenger, 11 May 1876.
775 CofE Messenger, 11 May 1876.
776 CofE Messenger, 11 May 1876.
777 CofE Messenger, 11 May 1876.
778 CofE Messenger, 11 May 1876.
779 All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 6835, son of Fou? Jee and Leung Shee.
780 All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 6836, son of Tooky Wah and Gem? Shee.
781 All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 6837, son of Win and Leuy Shee.
MARRIAGE
James Roger George AND Ellen Howqua (see earlier marriage 1858) Avoca 26 July 1876

782  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 6838, son of Chong Loon and Wong Shee.

783  Reverend Benjamin Chapman to Reverend G T Perks, from Sydney, 10 January 1877, *Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society London Australian Correspondence*, Mss 193D.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
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<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Gem</td>
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<td>Philip</td>
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<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev G I Armstrong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen Let</td>
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<td>18/2/77</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev G I Armstrong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Wah</td>
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<td>miner</td>
<td>Daylesford</td>
<td>18/2/77</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev G I Armstrong</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sue Kow</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Abel</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>23/3/77</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh</td>
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<tr>
<td>How</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>gardener</td>
<td>Kangaroo Flat</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>22/7/77</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Ching Wah: Rev W R Croxton</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Phillip</td>
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<tr>
<td>—</td>
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<td>Caleb</td>
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<td>22/7/77</td>
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<tr>
<td>—</td>
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<td>Ching Wah: Rev W R Croxton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hoo</td>
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<td>Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
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<td>CoE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lee</td>
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<td>James</td>
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<td>Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seun Ghin</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>storekeeper</td>
<td>New Bendigo</td>
<td>St Arnaud</td>
<td>22/7/77</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Mah Ah Fat: Rev John B Stair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Po Sang</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>druggist</td>
<td>New Bendigo</td>
<td>St Arnaud</td>
<td>22/7/77</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Mah Ah Fat: Rev John B Stair</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

784  Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 1523.
785  Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 1524. Confirmed and admitted to Holy Communion by Bishop of Melbourne (Moorehouse) 15/7/79.
786  Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 1525.
787  St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1020, son of Sue Tick and Wong Shee.
788  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 7025, son of How Quot Yung? and Chin Shee.
789  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 7025a.
791  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 7026a, son of Cheng? and Ling Shee.
792  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 7027a, son of Cheng? Tsin.
793  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 7028, son of ? Hoo Ching and Leuy Shee.
794  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 7029, son of Hoo Ching Wah and Leuy? Shee. Could be related to William Ching Wah.
795  Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register #766, son of Then Pan and Woo See.
796  Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register #767, son of Won Peng and Quan See.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Chinese Name</th>
<th>OCCUPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
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<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pong Sing</td>
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<td>Lottie Frances Mary</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Devonshire Gully Bendigo (St Peters)</td>
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<td>Rev Joseph Carlisle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lee Mou Fook</td>
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<td>Isaiah gardener Guangdong Prov Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>10/2.78</td>
<td>CoE Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chin Wah Soon</td>
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<td>Noah miner Guangdong Prov Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
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<td>CoE Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh</td>
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<td>Tang Loy</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Jonah miner Guangdong Prov Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>10/2.78</td>
<td>CoE Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh</td>
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</table>

797 Mentioned in Glick 1980, p 98 as being in Australia prior to 1878 as a missionary. Probably Hakka, given the links between the Basel Mission and the Hakka. See references under Lutz in bibliography.

798 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1135.

799 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1136.

800 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1137.

801 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 807, daughter of Wong Hee and Sarah, market gardener.

802 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1851, daughter of George and Ellen Loh, miner.

803 St Peter's Eaglehawk, Baptism Register # 1028, daughter of Matthew Long and Harriet Elizabeth Pong Sing, cabinet maker.

804 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1243, son of Lee Que Gip and Lam She Sun Nang. Two last names may be her home village.

805 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1244, son of Chin Gee Quo and Chung She Sung Nang. Two last names may be her home village.

806 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1245, son of Tang Wah Sin and Lee She.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
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<th>Place of Birth</th>
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<tr>
<td>Can Too Soon</td>
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<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
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<td>St Pauls Bendigo (St Peters)</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh</td>
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<td>Hore Kong Chip</td>
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<td>Gee Ah Teak (or Leak)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chaing Mon Quong</td>
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<td>South Yarra</td>
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<td>Meth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Po (Ah Poo)</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Herbert Heroult</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rev Joseph Carlisle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Sin</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>James miner</td>
<td>Blackers Reef</td>
<td>4/8/78</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>Rev James Pitfield</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yeh Tong</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Paul miner</td>
<td>Nuggety Valley</td>
<td>4/8/78</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>Rev James Pitfield</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goon Kee</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Joseph miner</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>29/11/78</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev James Pitfield</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foo Tic</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Thomas miner</td>
<td>Daylesford</td>
<td>29/12/78</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev G I Armstrong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gee Chew</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>James miner</td>
<td>Hepburn Springs</td>
<td>29/12/78</td>
<td>Daylesford</td>
<td>CofE</td>
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807 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1272, son of Can Tehu Yung and Cheong She.
808 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1287, son of Law Yun Fun and He Shee.
809 To Mr Kilner, 21 March 1879, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London, Australian Correspondence.
810 To Mr Kilner, 21 March 1879, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London, Australian Correspondence.
811 To Mr Kilner, 21 March 1879, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London, Australian Correspondence.
812 St Peter's Eaglehawk, Baptism Register # 1056, son of James and Elizabeth Ah Poo, Chinese Interpreter.
813 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1868.
814 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1869.
815 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 1913.
816 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register #1629. Confirmed and admitted to Holy Communion by Bishop of Melbourne (Moorehouse) 15/7/79.
817 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register #1630. Confirmed and admitted to Holy Communion by Bishop of Melbourne (Moorehouse) 15/7/79.
818 Date and Place of baptism unknown. Confirmed in Christ Church Daylesford and admitted to Holy Communion by Bishop of Melbourne (Moorehouse) 15/7/79.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>OCCUPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT DATE</th>
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<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<tr>
<td>Lee (Wah) 822</td>
<td>10 mths</td>
<td>Samuel Robert</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Bendigo Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>2/1/79</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chin Que 823</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Charlie</td>
<td>storekeeper</td>
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<td>7/1/79</td>
<td>CoE</td>
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<td>Lee Tin 824</td>
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<td>Daniel</td>
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<td>Louey Kow 825</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>Ezekiel</td>
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<td>Wong Ye 826</td>
<td>1 mth</td>
<td>Jeremiah</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Inglewood Rd St Arnaud</td>
<td>2/3/79</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Cheung 827</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>labourer</td>
<td>Carapooee St Arnaud</td>
<td>20/4/79</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Mah Ah Fat: Rev John B Stair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hock Sam 828</td>
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<td>Matthew</td>
<td>miner</td>
<td>New Township St Arnaud</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Sow 829</td>
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<td>James</td>
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<td>St Arnaud</td>
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820 CofE Messenger, 13 April 1878; The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, March 1878, p 4041. (See entries above)
821 The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, March 1879.
822 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1434, son of James Lee Wah and Mary Lee Wah, Chinese Catechist.
823 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1439, son of Chin Gun and Lo Shee.
824 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1488, son of Lee Nip Suey and Yee Shee.
825 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1489, son of Louey Sen Non and Un'g Shee.
826 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1490, son of Won Young and Shim Shee.
827 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 912, daughter of Wong Hee and Sarah, market gardener. Reference to INFANT baptisms in The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, October 1879.
828 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 913, son of Yeng Len and Ah Kan.
829 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 913, son of Hock Sam and Chin See.
830 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 913, son of Ah Sow and Leong See.
Chin Ah King  831  9 mths  Rosa Anna June INFANT  b Echuca 11/9/78  Bendigo (All Saints) 9/5/79  CofE  Rev John E F May
Lee On  832  Charles grocer  Bendigo (St Pauls) 22/5/79  CofE  Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh
Chin  833  4 mths  Mary Anne INFANT  Elysian Flat  Bendigo (St Peters) 15/10/79  CofE  Rev Joseph Carlisle
Sam Gun  834  James gardener  Bridgewater  Bendigo (St Pauls) 19/10/79  CofE  Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh

MARRIAGE  Christ Church St Arnaud  2/7/79  Cof E  Rev John B Stair
Samuel Ah Tin, aged 43, farmer, of Sin ning, China, son of King Won and Wong See AND Louisa Stralgor, aged 18, home duties, b Kingower, daughter of Jacob Strolger (miner) and Caroline Mason.1880

831 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 8283, daughter of Henry and Mary Anne Wy Fook of Echuca; adopted by Henry and Mary Lawrence Chin Ah King of Ironbark Camp, Bendigo, storekeeper.

832 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1557, son of Lee Ni Tan and Yip Shee.

833 St Peter's Eaglehawk, Baptism Register # 1173, daughter of Ah You and Mary Ann(e) Chin, carpenter.

834 See reference in CofE Messenger, 2 June 1879; October 1879.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
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<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
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<td>Louey Dop Sen</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Lazarus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Way</td>
<td>3 mths</td>
<td>Annita</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
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<td>Charles Ernest</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loh 836</td>
<td>8 yrs</td>
<td>William Jacob</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
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<tr>
<td>Len Ah Coon</td>
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<td>23/5/80</td>
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<td>Rev G I Armstrong</td>
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<td>Wong Ah Tune</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>storekeeper</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>25/5/80</td>
<td>CofE</td>
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<td>Albert</td>
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<td>Tuaggra St Maryborough</td>
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<td>schoolmaster</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sick Foo</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Isaac</td>
<td>farmer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chu Ye</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Jacob</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>1/8/80</td>
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<td>Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh</td>
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835  
St Paul’s Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1759, son of Louey Ye Hen and Ahu Shee.

836  
Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2052, daughter of Ah Way and Mary Janes, butcher.

837  
Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2054, daughter of George and Ellen Loh, miner.

838  
Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2055, son of George and Ellen Loh, miner.

839  
Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 1691.

840  
Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 1692. Acting catechist 1886.

841  
Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 1693.

842  
St Paul’s Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1849, son of Yin Hong and Wong Chung.

843  
Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2072, son of Edward and Louisa Wong Ming Kam, doctor.

844  
St Paul’s Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1902, son of Ah Meng and Chin She.

845  
St Paul’s Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1903, son of Lip Kin and Ye She.

846  
St Paul’s Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1904, son of She Nyip and Yung She.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xn NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
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<th>MENTOR/ OFFICIANT</th>
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<td>Mooey Shan</td>
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<td>Lazarus</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
<td>Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>5 mths</td>
<td>Jane INFANT</td>
<td>Synott's St Arnaud</td>
<td>18/9/80</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev John B Stair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Loy</td>
<td>1 mth</td>
<td>Samuel Arthur INFANT</td>
<td>White Hills</td>
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<td>Goon</td>
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<td>Emily INFANT</td>
<td>White Hills</td>
<td>Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wong Ah Gong</td>
<td>6 mths</td>
<td>Moses</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>c1879-80</td>
<td>CofE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Poo</td>
<td>1 mth</td>
<td>Ernest Joel INFANT</td>
<td>Bendigo</td>
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<td>25/2/81</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lee (Wah)</td>
<td>1 mth</td>
<td>Maud Christine Amy INFANT</td>
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<td>Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>8/7/81</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chan Mow Toon</td>
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<td>Matthew miner</td>
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<td>17/7/81</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev G I Armstrong</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

847 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1905, son of Yen Foo and Gin She.
848 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1906, son of Jon Auv? and Lee Shee.
849 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register #1013, daughter of Samuel and Louisa Ah Tiu, miner.
850 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1968, son of Ah Loy and Elizabeth Loy, miner.
851 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1982, daughter of James Goon and Elizabeth Goon, tea merchant.
852 Appointment announced CofE Messenger, 6 April 1880.
853 The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, November 1882 mentions Dr Wing Ing Goon in connection with renovation of Chinese Church in Maryborough, noting that he had been a Christian for many years although his denominational affiliation is unstated. William Ching Wah and James Lee Wah were also present and the three catechists visited the local Chinese camps.
854 Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Report 1880, p xv. For the next four or five years, the usual Methodist testimonies were not published. This is the period during which the Reverend Edward Youngman was the Superintendent of the Methodist Mission.
855 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 2044, son of James and Elizabeth Ah Poo, Chinese Interpreter.
856 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 2150, daughter of James and Mary Victoria Lee Wah, Anglican Catechist.
857 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 1761.
Chin 858 4 mths Sarah Jane INFANT Elysian Flat Bendigo (St Peters) 9/9/81 CoE Rev Joseph Carlisle
Ah Young 859 61 Thomas miner Guangdong Prov Bendigo (St Pauls) 11/9/81 CoE Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh
Louey Tong Paw 860 61 James interpreter Guangdong Prov Bendigo (St Pauls) 11/9/81 CoE Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh
Goon Wing 861 44 Arthur bookkeeper Guangdong Prov Bendigo (St Pauls) 11/9/81 CoE Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh
Lim Kee 862 53 James cook Guangdong Prov Bendigo (St Pauls) 18/12/81 CoE Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh
How Lock 863 65 Peter gardener Guangdong Prov Bendigo (St Pauls) 23/12/81 CoE Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh
Matthew Blackwood c1881 CoE

Twenty— men 864

858 St Peter's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1312, daughter of Ah You and Mary Ann(e) Chin, carpenter.
859 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 2216, son of Loh Ah Yot and Quan She.
860 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 2217, son of Looey Ow Short and Lee She.
861 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 2218, son of Goon Gin Cow and Ah Theoo.
862 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 2278, son of Lim Men Shock and Gee She.
863 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 2283, son of Thew Bon and Looey She.
864 Appointments announced in The Missionary, At Home and Abroad February 1882. There is no previous mention of Henry Ang Gook (St Arnaud convert), or Matthew Leong Tong. They were nominated by the clergyman in the respective parishes.
865 Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Report 1881, p xii.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
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<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Shin</td>
<td>866</td>
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<td>CoE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Toy</td>
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<td>31/7/87</td>
<td>Kangaroo Flat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wah Shen</td>
<td>868</td>
<td>54</td>
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<td>19/3/82</td>
<td>CoE</td>
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<td>Rev JC MacCullagh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yong Ah Chew</td>
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<td>Daylesford</td>
<td>9/4/82</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev G I Armstrong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fong Ah Ho</td>
<td>870</td>
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<td>Philip gardener</td>
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<td>CoE</td>
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<td>Rev G I Armstrong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Won Ooy Yim</td>
<td>871</td>
<td>6 yrs</td>
<td>Joanna CHILD</td>
<td>Ballarat Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>14/4/82</td>
<td>CoE</td>
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<td>Rev JC MacCullagh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ow Shee</td>
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<td>James tea dealer</td>
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<td>66</td>
<td>John miner</td>
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<td>Gung Ah Gow</td>
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<td>Show Leong Yot</td>
<td>875</td>
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<td>Peter gardener</td>
<td>Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>3/9/82</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev JC MacCullagh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Tiu</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>4 mths</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Synnots St Arnaud</td>
<td>30/9/82</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev John B Stair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twenty-six — men</td>
<td>877</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Meth</td>
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</table>

Centre originally opened by William Ching Wah at his own expense. This appointment announced in The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, May 1882. No previous mention of James Ah Shin. His employment was terminated in March 1885 on the recommendation of the Rev John Garlick. The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, March 1885.
INFANT Bendigo 8/82 Meth


878 The Spectator, 29 September 1882, p 256-257.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xn NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
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<tr>
<td>Toy Ah Sen</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>carter</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>7/1/83</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev E C DuBois</td>
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<tr>
<td>Han Chung Ge</td>
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<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>7/1/83</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev E C DuBois</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sweho Nen</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Jacob</td>
<td>gardener</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>7/1/83</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev E C DuBois</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thlet Tue</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Timothy</td>
<td>miner</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>7/1/83</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev E C DuBois</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ham Chung Ack</td>
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<td>Simon</td>
<td>miner</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
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<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev E C DuBois</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Yen</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>hawker</td>
<td>New Bendigo</td>
<td>St Arnaud 4/3/83</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Henry Ang Gook: Rev John B Stair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Ha</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td>labourer</td>
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<td>St Arnaud 4/3/83</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Henry Ang Gook: Rev John B Stair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hein Iaak</td>
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<td>Mark</td>
<td>wood carter</td>
<td>New Bendigo</td>
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<td>CofE</td>
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<td>Ah Hung</td>
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<td>CofE</td>
<td>Henry Ang Gook: Rev John B Stair</td>
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</table>

879 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2455.
880 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2456.
881 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2457.
882 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2458.
883 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2459.
884 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2460.
885 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1119, son of Ghin Yeang and Quock See. The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, April 1883. The Rev John B Stair reports that the total number of Chinese baptised at St Arnaud during the period 1867 to March 1883 was thirtyfive 'some of whom are dead, others still residing at Old Township, while some have returned to China...'  
886 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1119, son of Teang Aap and Leon See. Died aged 68 years. Buried St Arnaud Cemetery, 24/4/1901, Cof E Section, No 8B, Section 39 Plot 7.  
887 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1120, son of Ghin Yeang and Quock See.  
888 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1121, son of Leon Cheng and Loo See. Buried St Arnaud Cemetery 15/2/1900, aged 63 years. CofE Section, No 943A, Chinese Ground, Section 14, Plot 7
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An Naang 890</th>
<th>28</th>
<th>Harry</th>
<th>miner</th>
<th>New Bendigo</th>
<th>St Arnaud</th>
<th>4/3/83</th>
<th>CoF</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Young 891</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
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<td>CoF</td>
<td>Rev E H DuBois</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Ping 892</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>gardener</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>4/4/83</td>
<td>CoF</td>
<td>Rev E H DuBois</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lamsey 893</td>
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<td>James</td>
<td>doctor</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
<td>Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>27/4/83</td>
<td>CoF</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kee Lock 894</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>miner</td>
<td>New Bendigo</td>
<td>St Arnaud</td>
<td>29/4/83</td>
<td>CoF</td>
<td>Henry Ang Gook: Rev John B Stair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loh 895</td>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>Arthur Henry</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>Timor Victoria</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>1/5/83</td>
<td>CoF</td>
<td>Rev J C Atkinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Ahn Gow 896</td>
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<td>David</td>
<td>miner</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
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<td>CoF</td>
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<td>Toy Lin Get 897</td>
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<td>CoF</td>
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<td>Goong Ah Chung 898</td>
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<td>Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>6/5/83</td>
<td>CoF</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6/5/83</td>
<td>CoF</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev JC MacCullagh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yep Mum Sin 900</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Jacob</td>
<td>labourer</td>
<td>Golden Square</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>29/5/83</td>
<td>CoF</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

889 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1122, son of Kooc Chooe and Lee See.
890 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1123, son of Ah Tack and Taarp See.
891 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2498.
892 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2499.
893 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 2701. James Lamsey was Bendigo's most prominent Chinese citizen and was honoured by the Emperor of China.
894 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1217, son of Yek Tone and Loo See.
895 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2514, son of George and Ellen Loh, miner.
896 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 2702, son of Lee Quong Hooey and Gee Shee.
897 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 2703, son of toy Thooey Shim and Wong Shee.
898 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 2704, son of Mock Way thung and Chin Shee.
899 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 2705, son of Goong Ow Mow and Chin Shee.
900 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 2706, son of Looey Shoots and Shen Ung Shee.
901 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 8794, son of Yep Reing Fung and Lee Shee.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<td>Ruby Alison</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Eliz Maud Louise</td>
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<td>#1439</td>
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<td>Rev John B Stair</td>
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<td>Mark</td>
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<td>4/11/83</td>
<td>#1938</td>
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<td>914</td>
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<td>Alice Priscilla Lavinia</td>
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<td>Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick</td>
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</table>

902  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 8795, son of Gee Ying Rin and Isoun Shee.
903  St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 2722, daughter of James and Elizabeth Ah Poo, Chinese Interpreter.
904  St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 2792, daughter of James and Elizabeth Goon, tea merchant.
905  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 8832, son of Gee Fung and Eun Chee. Chou Lee Kee. Philip is the son of Lee Quon and Loue (Lui?) Shee.
906  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 8833, son of Loo W? and Eun Chee.
907  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 8834, son of Lee Kee.
908  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 8835, son of Lee Quon and Loue Shee.
909  St Peter's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1439, daughter of Ah You and Mary Ann(e) Chin, carpenter.
910  Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1242, daughter of William and Sarah Wong Hee, farmer.
911  Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 1936, son of Wong Hm Cheek.
912  Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 1937, son of Chan Tai Wong.
913  Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 1938, son of Chan Tso Hok.
Thun 915
Willie CHILD Ironbark Camp Bendigo (All Saints) 23/12/83 CoE Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick

Thun  Frank CHILD Ironbark Camp Bendigo (All Saints) 23/12/83 CoE Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick

Thun  George CHILD Ironbark Camp Bendigo (All Saints) 23/12/83 CoE Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick

Six men 916

1883 Meth

914 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 8857, daughter of the catechist, James Lee Wah and Mary Victoria Lee Wah.

915 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 8863-8865, children of Eun (Yuen?) Thun and Louisa Wilkinson.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<td>3 nths</td>
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<td>INFANT</td>
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<td>King</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>Elia CHILD</td>
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<td>Ah Fun CHILD</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Rev G I Armstrong</td>
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</table>

917 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1258, son of Samuel and Louise Ah Teu, farmer.
918 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1415, son of Samuel and Louise Ah Teu, farmer.
919 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1414, son of Ah meng and Mary Jane Mercer.
920 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9016-9020. Children of James and Annie Chin Chock,
921 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 3048, son of James and Ada Ah Sing, gardener.
922 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9069. The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, March 1985. In both references Garlick noted that Ah Chew was from Echuca.
923 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2639, son of You Ak and Lee.
924 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2640.
925 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2641.
926 St Thomas' Essendon, Baptism Register, p 53, daughter of William Joseph and Maria Adelaide Toy, Confectioner.
927 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 2031, son of Wong Him Shi and Yong Shee.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
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928  Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 2032, son of Lehu Tan Shew and Wong Shee.
929  Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 2033, son of Chuong Tos and Arm Shee.
930  Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 2034, son of Lau Choon Youey and Chem Shee. Note entry under marriage.
931  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9131, son of Chou Wah Li and She Goon
932  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9132, son of Shin Poo Toi and Loui Shee.
933  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9133, son of Leong Kar pok and Chuk See.
934  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9134, son of Cheon (Cheong?) Tow How and Chuk See.
935  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9135, son of Loui (Lui?) Pon How and Un See.
936  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9136, son of Gee Joch Yong and Chin See.
937  The Spectator, 22 August 1884.
938  The Spectator, 22 August 1884.
939  The Spectator, 22 August 1884. In the report, it was stated that Dunolly had been a very successful mission, with between sixteen and twenty baptisms. A number of the — baptisms during the 18811885 period should be credited to Dunolly.
MARRIAGE
Matthew Chong Heng, aged 40, labourer, living at Laen, born Hong Kong, son of Fook Jang and Loo See AND Annie Honor, aged 23, domestic, born Wagga Wagga, daughter of James Honor (carpenter) and Elizabeth Smith.

CHINESE NAME   AGE  Xn NAME OCCPN BIRTHPLACE/ Residence BAPTISED AT DATE DENOM MENTOR/OFFICIANT

Matthew Chong Heng, aged 40, labourer, living at Laen, born Hong Kong, son of Fook Jang and Loo See AND Annie Honor, aged 23, domestic, born Wagga Wagga, daughter of James Honor (carpenter) and Elizabeth Smith.

DEATH
James Ah Tiu aged 59 years Hoe Seng, Guangdong ProvSt Arnaud Cemetery 3/3/1884, CoE Section # 637B, Section 11, Plot 17.

940 The Spectator, 1 December 1883. The service was the farewell for the Reverend Leong On Tong. The CHILD was from a convert's family.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/Residence</th>
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<th>DATE</th>
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<td>John</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>4/2/85</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev Julius Lewis</td>
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<td>CoE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ye Cheong</td>
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<td>DTaishan Melbourne</td>
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<td>Wong Ying</td>
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<td>Joshua</td>
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941 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2667.
942 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2668.
943 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2669.
944 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 3273, son of William and Elizabeth Ah Toy, miner.
945 The Spectator, 5 June 1885.
946 Mentioned as a Christian by Wong Ying.
947 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9176, son of Chin Gin and Ham See.
948 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9203, son of Kim Lee and Ellen Plowright.
949 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9204, son of Lee Chen Yun and Chin Chu.
950 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9205, son of Gon Wah Yong and Hen See.
951 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9206, son of Hooe Chin Chow and Chin See.
952 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9207, son of Chin Wah You and Tan See.
Ah Whay (Way) 953 1 mth Georgina Maud INFANT Maryborough 11/11/85 CoE Rev Julius Lewis
Eighteen men 1885 Meth

**MARRIAGE**
Tong You, aged 42, labourer of Laen, born Chung Woon, Guangdong Prov, son of Ken Jan (butcher) and E Shee AND Sarah Warren, aged 24, domestic, b Sandridge, Melbourne, daughter of William Warren (shoemaker) and Elizabeth Bates. Witness: James Ah Ha.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
<th>OCCUPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
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Seyan Ah Tso, bachelor, aged 36, miner, of China, son of Seyan Gam Shing and Ing Shue, farmer, AND Ann Mary Harris, spinster, aged 23 years, no occupation, born Burnt Creek, Dunolly, Victoria, daughter of Robert Harris and Julia Harris, butcher. Witnesses: William Ching War (Catechist) and John Webster.

**DEATH**
Jemmy Ah Sie of pleurisy, in Ballarat Hospital. gardener, Ballarat 29/10/85 CoE Ven Theodore Stretch Glenfine Station. Buried in family grave of Rowe family on Naringale Station.

---

953 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2734 daughter of William and Mary Jane Ah Whay, gardener.

954 Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Report 1885, p xiv. This number probably includes the four previous entries.

955 The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, January 1886.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xn NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
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<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<td>Daylesford</td>
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<td>19/2/86</td>
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<tr>
<td>See Toy 963</td>
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<td>INFANT</td>
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<td>5/5/86</td>
<td>CoE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chick Chin 964</td>
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<td>Joseph</td>
<td>James INFANT</td>
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<td>Ah Tung 965</td>
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<td>Lee On 966</td>
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<td>Charlie</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hum Hen He 968</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Mathew</td>
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<td>12/9/86</td>
<td>CoE</td>
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956  Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 2107, son of Lee You Ha and Pong Shue.
957  Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 2108, son of Lee You Tsen and Young Shue.
958  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9243, son of Ham Sam Thoo and Wang See.
959  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9244, son of Qock Him ThooHoo and Wang See.
960  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9245, son of Loui Ah Fong and Wang See.
961  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9246, son of Kun Un Thoon and Un See.
962  St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 3569. sonof James and Elizabeth Ah Poo. Chinese Interpreter.
963  Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2761, son of Jonas and Mary Ann See Toy, gardener.
964  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9296, son of James and Annie Chick Chin.
965  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9302, son of Leong Chin Lung and Un See.
966  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9303, son of Lee Yen Yeon and Wang See.
967  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9304, son of Yet Ahung Toi and Wang See.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tr>
<td>Matthew INFANT Burkes Flat St Arnaud</td>
<td>29/4/86</td>
<td>George INFANT New Bendigo St Arnaud</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev J B Stair</td>
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968 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9319, son of Yet Thun Hum and Wang She.

969 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9320, son of Gee Ten Hum and Lee Shee.

970 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9331, son of Leong Nang You and Lee Shee.

971 Christ Church, St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1414, son of Ah Meng, and Mary Jane Mercer.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
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<td>Loui (Lui) Yen Yee</td>
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<td>Ah Gin</td>
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<td>Avoca</td>
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<td>22/1/8</td>
<td>George Herbert</td>
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<td>St Thomas' Essendon 16/10/87 CoE</td>
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<td>Rev Julius Lewis</td>
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<td>Ah Que</td>
<td>982</td>
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<td>John interpreter</td>
<td>New Bendigo</td>
<td>St Arnaud28/8/87 CoE</td>
<td>Rev John B Stair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lam Poon</td>
<td>983</td>
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<td>John doctor</td>
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<td>St Arnaud28/8/87 CoE</td>
<td>Rev John B Stair</td>
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</table>

972 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9379, son of Leong Mem tong and Ham See.
973 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9380, son of Loui (Lui) Ship Hock and Wang See.
974 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9381, son of Toi Yet You and Loui (Lui) See.
975 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9382, son of Lee Thu Gap and Hon See.
976 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2895.
977 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2896.
978 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2897.
979 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2898.
980 St Thomas' Essendon, Baptism Register, son of Gilradio and Maria Soy.
981 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 2917.
982 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1485, son of Chung Lak. Buried aged 9 years, St Arnaud Cemetery, CoE Section #3B, Section 19, Plot 5, also Christina Ah Que, buried in same plot, aged 69 years, 8/8/1904.
983 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1486, son of Kew Pong and Loo She.
Ah Chun 48 Robert miner New Bendigo St Arnaud 28/8/87 Co/E Rev John B Stair
Chee Nuey 35 Thomas gardener New Bendigo St Arnaud 28/8/87 Co/E Rev John B Stair
Poo Kem 53 Paul miner New Bendigo St Arnaud 28/8/87 Co/E Rev John B Stair
Lee 3  Frederick CHILD Golden Square Bendigo (All Saints) 20/9/87 Co/E Rev John Garlick
Lee 7 mths Selina Louisa INFANT Golden Square Bendigo (All Saints) 20/9/87 Co/E Rev John Garlick
Hen Yee 51 James schoolmaster Ballarat Bendigo (All Saints) 20/9/87 Co/E Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick
Lee 990 3 mths Albert John Henry INFANT Ironbark Camp Bendigo (All Saints) 14/10/87 Co/E Rev John Garlick
Wang Harp 57 James farmer/miner Guangdong Prov Bendigo (All Saints) 23/10/87 Co/E Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick
Goon Pow 51 Philip farmer/carpenter Guangdong Prov Bendigo (All Saints) 23/10/87 Co/E Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick
Wang Gep 39 Thomas shopman Guangdong Prov Bendigo (All Saints) 23/10/87 Co/E Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick
Lee Back Leon 55 James doctor Guangdong Prov Bendigo (All Saints) 23/10/87 Co/E Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick
King Ling 70 Charlie market gardener Guangdong Prov St Arnaud 27/10/87 Co/E Rev John B Stair

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984 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1487, Sing Leon and Qwan Shee.
985 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1488, son of Foo Wing and Wong She.
986 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1489, son of Quon Wah and Goon Shee.
987 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9431-2, children of Charles and Louisa Lee of Bullock Creek Road, Golden Square. Father a gardener.
988 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9433, son of Gum Hong Hugh and Fung She.
989 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9434, son of Lee Men Chi and Lem See.
990 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9441, son of James and Mary Victoria Lee Wah, catechist.
991 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9444, son of Wang Gen Get and Chin Shee.
992 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9445, son of Goon Hahow Hoi and Chin Shee.
993 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9446, son of Wang Cheng Fow.
994 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9447, son of Lee Gaang Who and Siin Shee. Occupation given as gentleman and medical practitioner.
995 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1513, son of Yen Man and Sooho
<table>
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<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<td>Lee Wah; Rev John Garlick</td>
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<tr>
<td>997</td>
<td>Lea Tong</td>
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<td>Philip</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>CoE</td>
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<tr>
<td>998</td>
<td>Ah Bon</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>Blackwood</td>
<td>0Melb, (St John's Latribe St)</td>
<td>CoE</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>men</td>
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<td>c 8/87</td>
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<td>Cheok Hong Cheong</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Mark Ah Bon</td>
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<td>1887</td>
<td>men</td>
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**MARRIAGES**

William Hughes AND Clara Howqua, 7/4/87. (See mother's first marriage 1858 and second marriage 1876)

Henry Howqua married Ellen Hodge. (See mother's first marriage 1858 and second marriage 1876)

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996 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9469, son of Lee Sun Fou and Leon Shee

997 Philip Lea Tong was one of the — men baptised at Sandhurst under James Lee Wah. He replaced Moses Wong at Maryborough, after Wong was dismissed by CHC. CoE Messenger, 10 April 1888. CHC later wrote of Lea Tong: "In the selection of a successor at Maryborough Mr. J W Veal wrote asking whether I knew Philip Lew Tong a convert at Sandhurst who had been recommissioned by the Archdn & Rural Dean. I returned the reply that although I had visited Sandhurst several times & each time spent a week in visiting extensively in Company with the Catechist but that I had never met him to my knowledge nor had his name be mentioned to me by the Catechist in our conversations about the converts & that if had been a "workman that needeth not to be ashamed" even from a temporal if not from a spiritual point of view I should have known him. However, the Hon. Secretary was evidently satisfied with what references he had, for no enquiry was desired into his character nor any examination ordered to ascertain his qualifications for the position at Maryborough but was forthwith appointed. For several years after his appointment he was suffering from those aching pains in his extremities and languor throughout his whole frame which were the result of giving up an inveterate habit of opium smoking. It subsequently transpired that he only began to break off the opium habit after his appointment. Cheok Hong Cheong to Very Rev G O Vance, 8 November 1897. Lea Tong's is reported in 1898 to have replaced Lee Wah as the catechist in Sandhurst. CoE Messenger, 1 July 1898.

998 Mark Ah Bon was catechist at Blackwood in early 1888. There is no record of his baptism or appointment. In April 1888 he replaced the late William Ching Wah at Daylesford-Hepburn with a monthly visit to Blackwood where the numbers of Chinese had declined. CoE Messenger 10 April 1888.

999 CoE Messenger, 13 October 1887 (Bp's Charge to Church Assembly). CHC had commenced a round of visits to Chinese in metropolitan area, including Caulfield, Brighton, North Fitzroy, Brunswick and Coburg—market gardening areas. The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, March 1886. During the first three years of his leadership he visited all the missions and also Koroi, Seymour, Ballarat, Belfast, Omeo, Winchelsea. CoE Messenger, 10 April 1888.

1000 The Spectator, 4 November 1887.

1001 The Spectator, 18 November 1887.

1002 Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Report 1887, p xv. 15 of these baptisms were at Dunolly. 11 of the men were baptised at a single service. The oldest was 76 years.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<tr>
<td>Goon (Lui)</td>
<td>1004</td>
<td>3 yrs</td>
<td>Florence Amelia</td>
<td>INFANT Sandhurst</td>
<td>Benigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>20/4/88</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev John Garlick</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goon (Lui)</td>
<td>1005</td>
<td>1 mth</td>
<td>Horace Edward</td>
<td>INFANT Grassy Flat</td>
<td>Benigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>13/5/88</td>
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<td>Ah Yet</td>
<td>1007</td>
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<td>13/5/88</td>
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<td>Lee Fook</td>
<td>1008</td>
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<td>Paul</td>
<td>mason/miner Guangdong Prov</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1003 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9476, son of Lee Sun Chick and How She (no birth date given).

1004 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9509-10. Children of Louie (Lui) Fun Goon and Elizabeth Goon, High St, Sandhurst.

1005 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9515, son of Peter and Ellen Lee Kim, father's occupation given as gardener.

1006 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9516, son of Leong Hy (/) Wong and Toi See.

1007 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9517, son of Sin You En and Leong Shee.

1008 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9518, son of Lee Chow Kim and Loo See.

1009 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9565, son of James Chin and Annie Chick. Father gardener.

1010 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9566, daughter of Cheong Ah Gook and Annie Cheong. Father gardener.

1011 CoE Messenger, 10 April 1888, Report of Rev John B Stair. (total of 45 adults and 7 infants since 1867).

1012 Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Report 1888, p xviii. This number includes those in the three previous entries.

1013 Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Report 1889, p xx. The reference is to the number of 'new members' rather than specifically to baptisms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cheong Ah You</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>shopkeeper</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>10/2/89</td>
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<td>Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lui Leong Gip</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Philip</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lui Young</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Daniel</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Matthias</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lui Leong</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>tea merchant</td>
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<td>71</td>
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<td>farmer</td>
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<td>Lee Kow Sen</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Isaiah</td>
<td>house builder</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Poo</td>
<td>9 mths</td>
<td>Archibald</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Bendigo Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>2/6/89</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev J C MacCullagh</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>On Gee</td>
<td>9 mths</td>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>miner</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>30/7/89</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rt Rev F F Goe (Bp of Melb)</td>
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1014 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9598, son of Cheong Fook San and Wang See.
1015 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9599, son of Lui Wee Cam and Un She.
1016 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9600, son of Kong War Then and Un She.
1017 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9601, son of Lee Fan Chou and Chin She.
1018 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9602, son of Loue Tan Sen and Cheong She.
1019 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9603, son of James Lung and Louisa Maher Loue. Carpenter.
1020 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9663, son of Cheong Pu Gee and Chin She.
1021 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9664, son of Chin Lew Kim and Lee She.
1022 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9665, son of Lee Moo Bon and En She.
1023 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 4552, son of James and Elizabeth Ah Poo. Chinese Interpreter.
1024 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3066. The Daily Telegraph, 31/7/89. CHC interpreter for Bp Goe.
Ah Shay, James 60 James publican China died Moliagul 1889 - - Disappeared while searching for oldest son, James, sledger cutter. Ch missionary at Moliagul marks spot of last footprint. Marry to Mary, Epen girl from Ballarat aged 16 at time of marriage. Couple had 10 children.

1025 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3067. The Daily Telegraph, 31/7/89. CHC interpreter for Bp Goe.

1026 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3068. The Daily Telegraph, 31/7/89. CHC interpreter for Bp Goe.

1027 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1631-2, children of Samuel and Louisa Ah Lue, farmer.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xn NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lee</td>
<td>1028</td>
<td>2 mths</td>
<td>James Emmanuel Victor</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Ironbark Camp</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>31/1/90</td>
<td>CofE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loong</td>
<td>1029</td>
<td>5 mths</td>
<td>Florence Louise</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Ironbark Camp</td>
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<td>31/1/90</td>
<td>CofE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Kum</td>
<td>1030</td>
<td>3 yrs</td>
<td>Percy</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>26/2/90</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev Charles Harris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Kum</td>
<td>1031</td>
<td>2 mths</td>
<td>Florence Beatrice</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>26/2/90</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev Charles Harris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tong Lim</td>
<td>1033</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>19/8/90</td>
<td>CofE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toi Lim</td>
<td>1034</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>19/8/90</td>
<td>CofE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chin Qun Koo</td>
<td>1035</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>14/9/90</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lee Mun Pin</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td>Philip</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chen Ti</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>George</td>
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<td>1038</td>
<td>7 mths</td>
<td>Herbert</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loue (Lui? Lau?)</td>
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<td>farmer</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>10/10/90</td>
<td>CofE</td>
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</table>

1028 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9710, son of James Lee Wah (Catechist) and Mary Victoria.
1029 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9711, son of James Loue Loong and Louisa. Father carpenter.
1030 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register 3105, son of Ah Kum and Minnie, gardener.
1031 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register 3105, daughter of Ah Kum and Minnie, gardener.
1032 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register 3105, son of See Toy and Mary Ann, farmer.
1033 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9748, son of Lim Lip Chee and Wang Chu.
1034 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9749, son of Lim Theon Kew and Wang Chu.
1035 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9768, son of Chin Hang Lee and Loo See.
1036 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9769, son of Lee Git Get and Wang See.
1037 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9778, son of Chen Yen and Wang See.
1038 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9787, son of James Chin Chick and Annie. Father gardener.
Eleven — men 1040

Two — men

Twenty-five — men 1041

1890 Meth

Tingha NSW 1890 Meth Joseph Tear Tack

Melbourne (11) Cres’k (6) C’maine (5) Maldon (3) 1891 Meth

MARRIAGE

Daniel Davies AND Ellen Howqua (See mother’s first marriage 1858 and second marriage 1876)

At Avoca 16/4/90

DEATH

Ah Ping, 6 hours. Buried St Arnaud Cemetery, 20/8/90, CofE Section #166A, Section 25, Plot 14.

1039 All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9813, son of Lui Yet Hock and Ah Foo [the ‘surname’ given at baptism].


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ah Foon</td>
<td>1042</td>
<td>8 mths</td>
<td>Elizabeth Ann</td>
<td>Kangaroo Flat</td>
<td>Bendigo</td>
<td>18/1/91</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev John Garlick</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lee Lock</td>
<td>1043</td>
<td>2 mths</td>
<td>Elizabeth Rose</td>
<td>Grassy Flat</td>
<td>Bendigo</td>
<td>13/3/91</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev William Hancock</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chi Loy</td>
<td>1044</td>
<td>4 mths</td>
<td>George</td>
<td>Infant Devonshire Gully</td>
<td>Bendigo</td>
<td>17/4/91</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toy</td>
<td>1046</td>
<td>7/2/91</td>
<td>Kathleen Emily</td>
<td>Infant Moonee Ponds</td>
<td>St Thomas'</td>
<td>2/5/91</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goo</td>
<td>1044</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Thomas Pau</td>
<td>Storekeeper</td>
<td>Bendigo</td>
<td>17/5/91</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev John Garlick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lui (Loue)</td>
<td>1047</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>James Dong</td>
<td>Farmer Guangdong Prov</td>
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<td>17/5/91</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev John Garlick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>56</td>
<td>James Quee</td>
<td>Farmer Guangdong Prov</td>
<td>Bendigo</td>
<td>17/5/91</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>Philip Foo</td>
<td>Farmer Guangdong Prov</td>
<td>Bendigo</td>
<td>17/5/91</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick</td>
</tr>
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<td>James</td>
<td>Miner Hepburn</td>
<td>Daylesford</td>
<td>19/8/91</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev G I Armstrong</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Rev G I Armstrong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hoe</td>
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<td>Harold</td>
<td>Infant Primrose St Moonee Ponds</td>
<td>St Thomas'</td>
<td>19/8/91</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wong</td>
<td>1053</td>
<td></td>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>East Brighton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, March 1893. Daniel Wong was trained by CHC.</td>
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1042 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register, # 9817, daughter of Ah Foon and Eliza Jane Stephenson, gardener.
1043 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 5041, daughter of Joseph and Ros Anna Lee Lock, Storekeeper.
1044 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register, # 9844, son of Mark and Mary Anna Quinn, Father market gardener.
1045 St Thomas' Essendon, Baptism Register p 66, daughter of John Dempster and Elizabeth Jane Toy, master mariner.
1046 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9858, son of Goon Gee Wat and Toi She.
1047 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9859, son of Loue Hock Toon and Un See.
1048 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9860, son of Lee Thin Nen and Chen See.
1049 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9861, son of Un Men Yee and Leong She.
1050 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 2119, son of Tsing Wah.
1051 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 2120, son of Tsong.
1052 St Thomas' Essendon, Baptism Register p 69, son of Richard Charles and May Isabel, Engineer.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Given Name</th>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Date of Baptism</th>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Minister</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>Maryborough</td>
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<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rt Rev Samuel Thornton (Bp of Ballarat)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1055</td>
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<td>Timor Victoria</td>
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<td>Rt Rev Samuel Thornton (Bp of Ballarat)</td>
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<td>1056</td>
<td>Quan Tew</td>
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<tr>
<td>1057</td>
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<td>Rt Rev Samuel Thornton (Bp of Ballarat)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>54</td>
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1054 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3248.
1055 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3249.
1056 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3250.
1057 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3251.
1058 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3252.
1059 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3253.
<table>
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<th>AGE</th>
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<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<tr>
<td>Lee</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Violet</td>
<td>Victoria INFANT</td>
<td>Sandhurst North</td>
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<td>CoE</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goon/Wing</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>Francis</td>
<td>labourer</td>
<td>Ironbark Camp</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>13/3/92</td>
<td>CoE</td>
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<td>Lui/Lung/Loue</td>
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<td>Stella</td>
<td>May Victoria</td>
<td>Back Creek</td>
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<td>CoE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Appoo (Ah Poo)</td>
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<td>Goon</td>
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<td>13/7/92</td>
<td>CoE</td>
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<td>(Wang) Ah Ling</td>
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<td>CoE</td>
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<td>Lui/Loue/Loue</td>
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<td>Maud</td>
<td>Priscilla</td>
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<td>Ling</td>
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<td>Horace</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Myers Flat</td>
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<td>CoE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Whay</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Archibald James</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>27/7/92</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev Charles Harris</td>
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<td>Un Fong</td>
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<td>George</td>
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<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
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<td>Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick</td>
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<tr>
<td>Woon Poi Hem</td>
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<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
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<td>11/12/92</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1060  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9942, daughter of James Lee Wah and Mary Victoria Lee.
1061  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9954, son of Arthur and Emily Goon.
1062  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9975, daughter of James and Louia Loue/Lung.
1063  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9988, son of Kee Loue and Kew Chee.
1064  St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 5425, daughter of Alexander James and Alice Lavinia Appoo (formerly Ah Poo, of Melbourne, Chinese Interpreter.
1065  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9999, son of Quing Leong Wang and Lew See.
1066  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10003, daughter of Lui Chin Shue and Kit Chu and adoptive mother of # 10001.
1067  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10001. Adopted daughter of Lui Wang and Ruth Lowe.
1068  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10002, son of James Wang and Hannah Anastasia Ling.
1069  Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3306, son of William Henry and Mary Jane Ah Whay, gardener.
1070  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10030, son of Un Yee and Nun She.
1071  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10031, son of Woon How Tam and Gee See Hem.
During 1891-1892 Cheok Hong Cheong travelled to Britain on deputation for the British AntiOpium Society. During his absence, the Melbourne work was carried on by Kwok Wai Shang. CHC presented a report on the mission. CoE Messenger, 9 December 1892

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
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<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
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<th>DATE</th>
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<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<tr>
<td>(Leung) Pang</td>
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<td>Maryborough</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Young</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td>miner</td>
<td>Kidd's Gully</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Kee</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>shipping agent</td>
<td>Xin hui</td>
<td>St Arnaud29/993</td>
<td>CoE</td>
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<td>Rev John B Stair</td>
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</table>

1074 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3366, son of Sam and Leung She Pang.
1075 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3366, son of Sam and Leung She Pang.
1076 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10089, son of Ah Foon and Eliza Jane Stephenson.
1077 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10090, son of Wong Ak Gem and Lee Shee.
1078 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10091, son of How Hen Nen and Lem See.
1079 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10092, son of Chee Moon Wah and Ham Shee.
1080 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10093, son of Mar Sie Cooe and Ham Shee.
1081 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10094, son of Mar Sie Cooe and Ham Shee.
1082 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 2188, son of Hawk Chin.
1083 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 2189, son of Yen Shun.
1084 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 2190, son of Shai Hain.
1085 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1870, son of Chin Yeng and Haam Chee. Confirmed same service by Bp of Ballarat.
Six — adults

1086  Ah Soon 52  Peter  storekeeper  Sinning  St Arnaud 29/9/93  CofE  Rev John B Stair

1087  Meng Ye 73  John  farmer  Xin hui  St Arnaud 29/9/93  CofE  Rev John B Stair

1088  Cheong Eng 59  Thomas  farmer  Guangdong Prov  Bendigo (All Saints) 24/12/93  CofE  Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick

1089  Wong Song 66  Philip  farmer  Guangdong Prov  Bendigo (All Saints) 24/12/93  CofE  Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick

1893  Meth


1086  Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1871, son of Choon Quong and Chin Shee. Confirmed same service by Bp of Ballarat.

1087  Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1871, son of Choon Quong and Chin Shee. Confirmed same service by Bp of Ballarat.

1088  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10154, son of Cheong Houng Yep and Loo See.

1089  All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10155, son of Wong Wee How and Loe See.
<table>
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<th>Xn NAME</th>
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<td>Soong Quong</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>Paul</td>
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<td>CofE</td>
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<td>101</td>
<td>Ada Irene</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Cheong Bod Tow</td>
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<td>Bill</td>
<td>miner</td>
<td>Homebush</td>
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<td>CofE</td>
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<td>hawker</td>
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<td>CofE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Toi Ah Ling</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>Philip</td>
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<td>8/7/94</td>
<td>CofE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Ping</td>
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<td>Henry</td>
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<td>Ch Camp, St Arn North</td>
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<td>Rev Edwin Allanson</td>
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<td>Pawn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Lock</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Matthias</td>
<td>Shepherd Flat</td>
<td></td>
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1091 Named as Catechist at Brighton in 1892. Appointed to the Chinese Mission in Perth in 1897. Wrote to Prime Minister to protest against 1901 Immigration Restriction Act. Returned to China 1904.

1092 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3411, daughter of William Henry and Mary Jane Ah Whay.

1093 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3419, son of Lee Cum Lun and Shew Shee.

1094 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3420, son of W Cheong and Sair Shee.

1095 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3421, son of Loon Tong.

1096 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10193, son of Toi Yam Yet and Louie (Lui) See.

1097 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 1926, son of William & Jane Ah Ping, miner. Buried St Arnaud Cemetery 13/8/94, CofE Section #422A Section 26, Plot 38.

1098 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10194, son of Pawn Di Yet and Lee See.

1099 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10195, son of Leong Too Chin and Lee See.

1100 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10196, son of Chin Ye Chach and Lee See.

1101 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 2230, son of Pugh Ning.
<table>
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<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
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<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
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<td>1102</td>
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<td>Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Report 1895, p xxvi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1103 Alfred John Edward INFANT</td>
<td>2 mths</td>
<td>Ironbark Camp Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>8/3/95</td>
<td>Meth</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1104 Henry Charles Thomas INFANT</td>
<td>1 mth</td>
<td>Grassy Flat Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>8/3/95</td>
<td>Meth</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev John Garlick</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Ting</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>William barber Guangdong Prov Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1106 Lui (Loue) Hin Kim</td>
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<td>4 mths</td>
<td>Albert INFANT Guangdong Prov Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
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<td>1110 Chin Ah Way</td>
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<td>Meth</td>
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<tr>
<td>1111 Young Low Me (father)</td>
<td>James</td>
<td></td>
<td>East Brighton</td>
<td>30/9/95</td>
<td>Meth</td>
<td>Cheek Hong Cheong</td>
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<td>1112 Young Low Me (mother)</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td></td>
<td>East Brighton</td>
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<td>1113 William Burns INFANT</td>
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<td>1114 Samuel INFANT</td>
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<td>71</td>
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1102 All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10264, son of James and Mary Victoria Lee.
1103 All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10265, son of William Lee and Ellen Kim.
1104 All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10266, son of Ah Toi and Dan See.
1105 All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10267, son of Loue Goek Hen and Leong See.
1106 All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10276, son of Wong Li and Hor See.
1107 All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10277, son of Cheong Quong Wong and Chin See.
1108 All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10278, son of Wong Li and Hor See.
1109 All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10296, son of Lee Yin Teck and Chin See.
1110 All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10295, son of Chin Yen Hi and Fan Shi.
1111 Names recorded in CHC correspondence and in history of St Luke’s East Brighton.
1112 All Saints’ Bendigo, Baptism Register, # 10345, son of Thu Chu Hung and Fan Shi.
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<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<td>Elsie Evelyn Pear</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
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<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>15/4/96</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev Charles Harris</td>
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<td>Suipi</td>
<td>1117</td>
<td>Arthur Serje</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Thomas St, Moonee Ponds</td>
<td>15/11/96</td>
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<tr>
<td>— adult</td>
<td>—</td>
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**Death**

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Buried St Arnaud Cemetery, 18/2/96. CofE Section #545A, Section 15, Plot 36.

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1113 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10346, son of Hang Wen Un and Chou See.

1114 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10347, son of Chung Thooi(?)

1115 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10348.

1116 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3568, daughter of William Henry and Mary Jane Ah Whay, gardener.

1117 St Thomas' Essendon, Baptism Register, son of Alexander Serig and Charlotte Harriet, clerk.

1118 Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Report 1896, p xv. The Methodists had Chinese Churches at Little Bourke Street, East Brighton, Castlemaine, Maldon, Yandoit, Bendigo, Creswick, Dunolly, Tamagulla, St. Arnaud, Talbot, Haddon (abandoned 1901), Ballarat and Geelong.
<table>
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<td>Lem Sheok Kee 1119  Ah You 1120  Poo Ye 1121  Ting Kim 1122  Leong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lee-Shee 1123  Lim Wong 1124  Melbourne 1897  Meth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel 9 mths  INFANT  Cherry Tree Ironbark (St Barnabas) 14/3/97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meth  Lee Wah: Rev R C Nugent Kelly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah You 80  Abraham miner Daylesford 25/6/97  CofE  Rev S Sandiford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ting Kim 70  Simeon miner Daylesford 25/6/97  CofE  Rev S Sandiford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leong Lee-Shee 34  James laundrymen Maryborough 14/1/97  CofE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lim Wong 74  Peter  miner Maryborough 14/11/97  CofE  Rt Rev H E Cooper, Bp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty—  adults 1124  Melbourne 1897  Meth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cresswick (2)  Castlemaine (4)  Bendigo (9)  Brighton (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEATH Peter Ah Sun, 63  Buried St Arnaud Cemetery 10/8/1897,</td>
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<td>CofE Section # 674A, Section 21, Plot 6.</td>
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1119 Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Report 1897, p xxvii. Lem Sheok Kee was appointed to work with Chinese in New Zealand.

1120 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10467. Baptism recorded at All Saints' but actual service held in St Barnabas Chinese Church, Ironbark Camp, Bendigo.

1121 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 2369, son of Louey.

1122 Christ Church Daylesford, Baptism Register # 2370, son of Yong.

1123 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3667, son of Kit-you. Bp Cooper does not appear on the list of Australian bishops.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
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<tr>
<td>Lew Hai Chew</td>
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<td>Wong Joy Chew</td>
<td>1128</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Timothy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lew On</td>
<td>1129</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Paul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lee Kim</td>
<td>1130</td>
<td>1 yr</td>
<td>George Vincent</td>
<td>CHILD Grassy Flat</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints') 31/1/98</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Lee Wah: Rev R C Nugent Kelly</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chung,</td>
<td>1131</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>Titus</td>
<td>Melbourne CMSV 110 Lt Bke St</td>
<td>May 98</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Cheok Hong Cheong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chung,</td>
<td>1132</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>Andrew Charles</td>
<td>Melbourne CMSV 110 Lt Bourke St</td>
<td>May 98</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Cheok Hong Cheong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wong</td>
<td>1133</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>Melbourne CMSV 110 Lt Bourke St</td>
<td>May 98</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Cheok Hong Cheong</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Whay</td>
<td>1134</td>
<td>2 mths</td>
<td>Leslie Roy</td>
<td>INFANT Maryborough</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints') 13/8/98</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev Charles Harris</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Quan Shing Fu</td>
<td>1135</td>
<td>3 mths</td>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>Benevolent Home</td>
<td>Maryborough 3/8/98</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rt Rev Field Flowers Goe, Bp of Melb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hin Coe</td>
<td>1136</td>
<td>3 mths</td>
<td>Peter</td>
<td>INFANT Maryborough</td>
<td>Maryborough 12/11/98</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev Charles Harris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1125 Cheok Hong Cheong to Rev E J Barnett, Secretary, Church Missionary Association of Victoria, 14 January 1898.

1126 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10566, son of William and Ellen Lee Kim, gardener.

1127 Victorian Church Missionary Gleaner, May 1898, p 32. Daniel Wong was working as a catechist at Brighton/Ormond. Incorrectly named as David in report.

1128 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register #3712, son of William Henry and Mary Jane Ah Whay, gardener.

1129 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10607. This was probably a death-bed service.

1130 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10608. No other details in register.

1131 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register #3729, son of Hin Coe and Hilda Barnes Hin Coe, storekeeper.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
<th>OCCUPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sum Si 1132</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Silas</td>
<td>digger</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
<td>St Arnaud</td>
<td>7/5/99</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev Robert Thwaites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jo Wing 1133</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>Philip</td>
<td>gardener</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
<td>St Arnaud</td>
<td>7/5/99</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev Robert Thwaites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gook Sue 1134</td>
<td>4 mths</td>
<td>Laura</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Back Creek Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>7/5/99</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev JC MacCullagh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Len Hoy 1135</td>
<td>5 mths</td>
<td>Irene</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Bullock Creek Bendigo (St Pauls)</td>
<td>7/5/99</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev JC MacCullagh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cho Qu'iew 1136</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>Chinese Camp Ironbark</td>
<td>Ironbark (St Barnabas)</td>
<td>9/8/99</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev R C Nugent Kelly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah T'ung 1137</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>Chinese Camp Ironbark</td>
<td>Ironbark (St Barnabas)</td>
<td>9/8/99</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev R C Nugent Kelly</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah King 1138</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>Chinese Camp Ironbark</td>
<td>Ironbark (St Barnabas)</td>
<td>9/8/99</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev R C Nugent Kelly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Foon 1140</td>
<td>18 mths</td>
<td>Gertrude</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>Chin Camp, Ironbark</td>
<td>Ironbark (St Barnabas)</td>
<td>31/12/99</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev R C Nugent Kelly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DEATHS
Ah Lung, 52, St Arnaud Cemetery, 28/4/99, CoE Section # 875A, Section 20, Plot 4.
Henry Ah Ping, 6 weeks, St Arnaud Cemetery, CoE Section # 896A, Section 21, Plot 50.

1132 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 2145.
1133 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 2146.
1134 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 7442, daughter of George and Annie May Chin Chick Leui Jew, gardener.
1135 St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 7443, daughter of Thomas and Gertrude Jane Quong Wali.
1136 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10690.
1137 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10691.
1138 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10692.
1139 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3786, daughter of George and Henrietta Chung Way, miner.
1140 All Saints' Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10720, daughter of Ah Foon and Annie, father gardener.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>OCCUPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ RESIDENCE</th>
<th>BAPTED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fung Gay</td>
<td>1141</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Cheok Hong Cheong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lim Chew</td>
<td>1142</td>
<td>Violet Blanche</td>
<td>Infant</td>
<td>Back Creek</td>
<td>Ironbark (St Barnabas)</td>
<td>13/5/1900</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev R C Nugent Kelly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Loong</td>
<td>1143</td>
<td>Norman Francis</td>
<td>Infant</td>
<td>Myers Flat</td>
<td>Ironbark (St Barnabas)</td>
<td>13/5/1900</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev R C Nugent Kelly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Kim</td>
<td>1144</td>
<td>Peter</td>
<td>Laundryman</td>
<td>Barnard St, Bendigo</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>27/5/1900</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev R C Nugent Kelly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Sun</td>
<td>1145</td>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>Storekeeper</td>
<td>Barnard St, Bendigo</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints)</td>
<td>27/5/1900</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev R C Nugent Kelly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Sun</td>
<td>1146</td>
<td>Rosina Florence</td>
<td>Infant</td>
<td>Myers Flat</td>
<td>Ironbark (St Barnabas)</td>
<td>30/9/1900</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev R C Nugent Kelly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lou Goon</td>
<td>1147</td>
<td>Charles Henry James</td>
<td>Infant</td>
<td>Grassy Flat</td>
<td>Ironbark (St Barnabas)</td>
<td>30/9/1900</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev R C Nugent Kelly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>1148</td>
<td>Sarah Ann</td>
<td>Infant</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>28/11/1900</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev Charles Harris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Twenty-five — adults**

---

1141 Johnstone 1925, p 290. Thomas Fung Gay and Thomas Ng worked as catechists under the Reverend George Soo Hoo Ten in the CoE Chinese Mission conducted by the Church Missionary Association in Melbourne after the CMA took over the Church Missionary Society of Victoria in 189. A separate mission, led by Cheok Hong Cheong, took most of the CMSV converts and took the name of CMSV (Reformed).

1142 All Saints’s Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10740, daughter of George and Annie Lim Chew.

1143 All Saints’s Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10741, son of James and Louisa Ah Loong.

1144 All Saints’s Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10745.

1145 All Saints’s Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10746. Later confirmed at CoE Chinese Mission, 110 Lt Bourke St, Melbourne 26 September 1901.

1146 All Saints’s Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10766.

1147 All Saints’s Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10767.

1148 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3830, daughter of Philip and Lois Florence Nightingale, Chinese catechist.

1149 Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Report 1900, p xxxviii. There were no baptisms reported for 1899. Churches and preaching places were Little Bourke Street, Bendigo, Castlemaine, East Brighton, North Fitzroy, Northcote, Creswick, Haddon, Talbot, Wangaratta, Benalla ‘and elsewhere’. The missionary movement had produced 170 volunteer teachers of English to the Chinese, or one for every Chinese Methodist Christian.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rowe 1150</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>William John Clifford</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>Ironbark Camp</td>
<td>Ironbark (St Barnabas)</td>
<td>30/1/1901</td>
<td>Cof E</td>
<td>Rev A R Ebbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowe 1151</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Amy</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>Ironbark Camp</td>
<td>Ironbark (St Barnabas)</td>
<td>30/1/1901</td>
<td>Cof E</td>
<td>Rev A R Ebbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quong Wah</td>
<td>2 mths</td>
<td>Ethel May INFANT</td>
<td>Kangaroo Flat</td>
<td>Ironbark (St Barnabas)</td>
<td>30/1/1901</td>
<td>Cof E</td>
<td>Rev A R Ebbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Whay 1153</td>
<td>6 mths</td>
<td>Florence Beatrice INFANT</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>12/6/1901</td>
<td>Cof E</td>
<td>Rev Charles Harris</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gee 1154</td>
<td></td>
<td>Samuel</td>
<td>Lt Bke St</td>
<td>26/9/1901</td>
<td>Cof E</td>
<td>Bp of Melbourne</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10813. It is not clear if this is a Chinese family or Europeans living in the Chinese Camp. The Rev A R Ebbs later became Secretary of the Church Missionary Association — See Cheong papers for 1914 negotiations on merging "Cheong's Mission" with the now faltering CMA Mission.

1151 All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10815.
1152 All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10814.
1153 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register, 3854, daughter of William Henry and Mary Jane Ah Whay, gardener.
1154 Church of England Messenger for the Diocese of Melbourne, 4 October 1901, p 139. *Church Missionary Gleaner* 1 September 1901.
1155 Church of England Messenger for the Diocese of Melbourne, 4 October 1901, p 139. *Church Missionary Gleaner* 1 September 1901.
1156 All Saints’s Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10831, son of Yung Cheong and Dang Che.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Death</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Cause of Death</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ng David</td>
<td></td>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Ket William</td>
<td></td>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fanggeth Peter</td>
<td></td>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing Song  69</td>
<td>Hospital Patient</td>
<td>Daylesford</td>
<td>12/8/91</td>
<td>CofE</td>
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All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10832, son of Mun Boo and Leong Che.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
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<th>Xh' NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
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<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1902 Ah Dore</td>
<td>1158</td>
<td>4/12/1901</td>
<td>Samuel</td>
<td>Bendigo (Munday St?)</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev G Wade Watson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902 Lim Jew</td>
<td>1159</td>
<td>9 mths</td>
<td>Clarence</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>4/5/1902</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev S J Barnett</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902 Yip Ti</td>
<td>1160</td>
<td>2 mths</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>Retreat Road, Back Creek</td>
<td>23/12/1902</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev D Wade Watson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1161 Lim Jew</td>
<td>1159</td>
<td>9 mths</td>
<td>Clarence</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>4/5/1902</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev S J Barnett</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1162 Lim Jew</td>
<td>1159</td>
<td>2 mths</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>Retreat Road, Back Creek</td>
<td>23/12/1902</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev D Wade Watson</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1164 Lim Jew</td>
<td>1159</td>
<td>9 mths</td>
<td>Clarence</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>4/5/1902</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev S J Barnett</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1158 All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10842, son of Samuel and Mabel Ah Dore. Father a storekeeper.

1159 All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10866, son of George and Annie Lim Jew, father a gardener. Service conducted by Rev S J Barnett Secretary of the CMA.

1160 All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10907.

1161 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3944, son of George and Annato Sing, gardener.

1162 Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Report 1903, p xxvii. A Melbourne convert, he was appointed catechist at Launceston, Tasmania, in 1901, and started English classes in Launceston and Burnie.

1163 Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Report 1904, p xxi. He was 19 years of age and intended to China. The only recorded outcome of the Cairns mission.


579
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xn NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mow Kow 1166</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>labourer</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>6/2/1903</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev Charles Harris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Loong 1167</td>
<td>9 mths</td>
<td>Reuben Edward</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Myers Flat</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>24/5/1903</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev G Wade Watson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Loong 1168</td>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>Rita Giadys</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>Myers Flat</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>24/5/1903</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev G Wade Watson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quong Wah 1169</td>
<td>2 mths</td>
<td>Phyllis Myrtle</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Kangaroo Flat</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>24/5/1903</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev G Wade Watson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See 1170</td>
<td>9 mths</td>
<td>Ivy Eileen</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>Myers Flat</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>24/5/1903</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev G Wade Watson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Way (Whay) 1171</td>
<td>1 mth</td>
<td>Gladys Sylvia</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>16/9/1903</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev Charles Harris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lou Goon 1172</td>
<td>3 mths</td>
<td>Gladys Myrtle</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Bullock Creek Road Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>29/10/1903</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev G Wade Watson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DEATHS

Ah Ough 76 died at Daylesford Hospital 16/8/1903, CoE, No record of baptism or confirmation.

Gee Lock buried St Arnaud Cemetery 25/5/1903, CoE, Section, #161B, Section 27, Plot 20.

1166 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3954, son of Lock Houey and Thung She.

1167 All Saint's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10938, son of James and Louisa Ah Loong, gardener.

1168 All Saint's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10939, daughter of James and Louisa Ah Loong, gardener.

1169 All Saint's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10940, daughter of Thomas and Gertrude Jane Quong Wah, gardener.

1170 All Saint's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10941, daughter of Charles and Minnie See, miner.

1171 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3973, daughter of William Henry and Mary Jane Ah Way, gardener.

1172 All Saint's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10973, daughter of Samuel and Mabel Ah Dore, gardener.

1173 All Saint's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 10974, daughter of Samuel and Mary Ellen Lou Goon, gardener.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xth NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>1 mth</td>
<td>Annato Mary</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>2/3/1904</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev Charles Harris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goon Wing</td>
<td>8 yrs</td>
<td>Doris Lillian Victoria</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>Emu Point</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>10/6/1904</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev G Wade Watson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goon Wing</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bertie Edward John</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>Emu Point</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>10/6/1904</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev G Wade Watson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DEATH**

Thomas Ah Young, baptised Daylesford 1893, died at Kidd's Gully, 21/4/1904, CofE, Rev A S Taylor

1174  Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 3998, daughter of George and Annato Sing, gardener.

1175  All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 11006, daughter of Arthur and Emily Goon Wing, miner.

1176  All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 11007, son of Arthur and Emily Goon Wing, miner.
CHINESE NAME | AGE | Xh NAME | OCCPN | BIRTHPLACE/Residence | BAPTISED AT | DATE | DENOM | MENTOR/OFFICIANT
---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---
1905
Ah Loong 1177 | INFANT | Myers Flat | Bendigo (All Saints)'28/1/1905CofE | Rev H B Hewett
Lu Yet 1178 | 1177 | INFANT | Myers Flat | Bendigo (All Saints)'28/1/1905CofE | Rev H B Hewett
Ah Fung 1179 | INFANT | Sylvia May Pearl | Northwestern Road | St Arnaud'15/3/1905CofE | Rev William Dalton
Chung Way 1180 | INFANT | Herbert Thomas | Diamond Hill | Bendigo (St Pauls) | 7/7/1905 | CofE | Rev C Hughesdon
Lew Tai 1181 | INFANT | John | Guangdong Prov | Bendigo | 29/10/1905 | CofE | Rev G Wade Watson
Moi Wee 1182 | INFANT | Peter | Guangdong Prov | Bendigo (All Saints')29/10/1905 | CofE | Rev G Wade Watson
Lee Hin 1183 | INFANT | James | Guangdong Prov | Bendigo (All Saints')29/10/1905 | CofE | Rev G Wade Watson
Quong Wah 1184 | INFANT | Thomas Vernon | Bullock Creek Rd | Bendigo (All Saints') | 8/12/1905 | CofE | Rev H B Hewett

DEATH
James Ah Louis, 69, Deep Creek, Daylesford, Daylesford Hospital 16/5/95. CofE Buried 17/5/1905

1177  All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 11039, son of James and Louisa Ah Goon, gardener. Name, age etc not recorded.
1178  Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 2410, daughter of Robert Lu Yet and Ada Jung, gardener.
1179  St Paul's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 9035, son of Charles and Victoria Margaret Ah Fund, labourer.
1180  Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 4073, son of George and Henrietta Chung Way, miner.
1181  All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 11086, son of Shem Woo and Luisia She.
1182  All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 11087, son of Nai Toi and Jan She.
1183  All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 11088, son of Wae Tai and Jan She.
1184  All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 11090, son of Thomas and Gertrude Jane Quong Wah, gardener.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>X' NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cheong</td>
<td>6 mths</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>19/5/1906 CoE</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev Edward Schweiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gong</td>
<td>6 mths</td>
<td>Ethel</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>124 Lily St, Bendigo Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>25/5/1906 CoE</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev H B Hewett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gong</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>Edward</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>124 Lily St, Bendigo Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>25/5/1906 CoE</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev H B Hewett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Singh</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Reuben Willie</td>
<td>doctor</td>
<td>Northwestern Road St Arnaud</td>
<td>18/6/1906 CoE</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev William Dalton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gong</td>
<td>15 mths</td>
<td>Edith Emily</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>124 Lily St, Bendigo Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>25/5/1906 CoE</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev H B Hewett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whay</td>
<td>2 mths</td>
<td>Leslie Ruben</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>6/11/1906 CoE</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev H V Rogers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Loy</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Luke</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Church St Arnaud N</td>
<td>16/12/1906 CoE</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev William Dalton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Dore</td>
<td>4 mths</td>
<td>Nellie Agnes</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Golden Square Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>30/12/1906 CoE</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev G Wade Watson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goon Wing</td>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>Henry Frederick</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>Emu Point Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>30/12/1906 CoE</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev G Wade Watson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1185 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 4109, son of Saint and Joe She Cheong.

1186 All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 11108, daughter of Thomas and Gertrude Jane Quong Wah, gardener.

1187 All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 11110, son of Thomas and Gertrude Jane Quong Wah, gardener.

1188 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 2480. Sponsors were James Lee Wah and Samuel Gee Goon.

1189 All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 11110, daughter of Thomas and Gertrude Jane Quong Wah, gardener.

1190 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register 4126, daughter of William Henry and Mary Jane Whay, gardener.

1191 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register 4126, son of George and Annato Sing, miner.

1192 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 2516. Sponsors was James Lee Wah.

1193 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 2517. Sponsor was James Lee Wah.

1194 All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 11142, son of Smuel and Mabel Ah Dore.

1195 All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 11143, son of Frederick and Catherine Goon Wing.
MARRIAGE
Christ Church St Arnaud 15/8/1906 CoE Rev William Dalton
Reuben Willie Lee Sing, aged 40, Chinese herbalist, born Guangdong Prov, son of Lee Sue Ting (dec) and Lue She AND Jessie Elizabeth Gah Foon, aged 14 years, born Mackay, Queensland, daughter of Joseph Gah Foon and Annie Chin See. Witnesses: James Lee Wah and Annie Wong Hee.

DEATH
Ah King, Daylesford Hospital, b 24/3/06 CoE Several Ah Kings in list of baptisms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jung Yet 1196</td>
<td>12 months</td>
<td>Coral Dorothy</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Northwestern Road St Arnaud</td>
<td>10/4/1907</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev William Dalton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DEATH

Silas Ah Sye, 74

St Arnaud Cemetery, 25/1/1907, Chinese ground #359B, Section 13, Plot 36.

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Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 2532, daughter of Robert and Ada Jung Yet, gardener.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lee Wah</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Sam</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>4/3/1908</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev R J E Hayman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Won Kin We</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>businessman</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>4/3/1908</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev R J E Hayman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Tai</td>
<td>8 yrs</td>
<td>Joy</td>
<td>Irene CHILD</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>1/7/1908</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev F E Lewin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>5 mths</td>
<td>Stanley Cyril Clarence</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>St Arnaud</td>
<td>17/8/1908</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev William Dalton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jung Yet</td>
<td>7 mths</td>
<td>Violet</td>
<td>Ellen</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>25/11/1908</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev William Dalton</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MARRIAGE

Christ Church St Arnaud 1/5/1908 CoE Rev William Dalton

Tommy Sing Gow, aged 56, miner, born Hong Kong, son of Ah Yee and Jong See (dec), AND Elizabeth Maher, aged 25, barmaid, born Linton, daughter of Michael Maher,(Miner, dec) and Catherine Curton.

DEATH

Liu Ah Yeeborn 65 Guangdong Province Colac Hospital 17/12/1908

Emigrated Australia (date unknown) with brothers Ah Hang and Ah Yeung. Known to have worked at Ballarat. Under the Gold Fields Licence Land Act 1862 the three brothers obtained three acres which they developed as market gardens. Upon the return of Ah Hang and Ah Yeung to China, Ah Yee kept the nine acres which were legally purchased on 29/6/1885 - Irrewillipe Rd Parish of Elliminyt Map E35, Crown Lots 34-35. Married Elizabeth Powell in the Methodist Church, Elliminyt on 13/5/78. The couple had 11 children. Naturalised Victorian British subject 18/10/1886/ (Records of Naturalisations Book 34, p 25. (Information from great granddaughter, Ms Elizabeth Leckie, Carrum Downs, Vic)

---

1197  Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 4225, son of Mon Bal Lee and She Won.
1198  Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 4226, son of Ba Su Won and She Lee.
1199  Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 2615, daughter of William and Annie Wong Hee, farmer.
1200  Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 4237, daughter of Lee and Clara Wah Tai, gardener.
1201  Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 2624, son of Reuben Willie Lee Sing and Jessie Elizabeth.
1202  Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 2540, daughter of Robert and Ada Jung Yet, gardener.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xth NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ah Dore</td>
<td>1203</td>
<td>Florence Rose</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Bullock Creek Rd Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>28/2/1909</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev W E H Percival</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chin Ack Hing</td>
<td>1204</td>
<td>Philip</td>
<td>doctor</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>28/3/1909</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev R J E Hayman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DEATH
Louisa Ah Chee, 50 St Arnaud Cemetery, 9/8/1909 CoE Section, 5548 Sec 28 Plot 36.

1203 All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1291, daughter of Samuel and Mabel Ah Dore, market gardener.

1204 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 4295, son Chin Fan Teung.

1205 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 4296.

1206 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 4297, son of Joseph and Henrietta Lee Hing, miner.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xn NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chew</td>
<td>6 mths</td>
<td>Sylvia</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev F E Lewin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chew</td>
<td>3 mths</td>
<td>Archibald</td>
<td>Ronald</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Bendigo</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev W E H Percival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hon</td>
<td>1 mth</td>
<td>Avenel</td>
<td>Golder</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>St Arnaud</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev William Dalton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>1 mth</td>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>Illawarra, Stawell</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev R J E Hayman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>2 mths</td>
<td>Harold</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Bet</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev F E Lewin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MARRIAGE

Herbert Kew King, aged 16, hawker, born Ballarat, son of Kew Ming (gardener) and Louisa Cum Moon, AND Florence Moore, aged 17, born Ballarat, daughter of William James Moore (miner) and Eleanor Maude Donnelly. Witnesses: Louisa Kew Ming and Eleanor Maud Moore.

1207 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 4338, daughter of Godfrey and Violet Chew, doctor.

1208 All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1323, son of Charles and Henrietta Chew, cook.

1209 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 2540, daughter of Robert and Ada Jung Yet, gardener. Esther Isme Jung Yet (#3231) b 28/7/15 and Valerie Jean Jung Yet (#3230) b 21/2/1917 were baptised on 31 May 1917.

1210 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 2540, daughter of Joseph (dec) and Mary Hon, gardener.

1211 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 4387, son of George and Annao Sing, miner.

1212 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 4411, son of George and Annao Sing, contractor.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xn NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIANT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wong Hee Ah Fat</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Ying</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>St Arnaud</td>
<td>23/11/1912</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev J W Davison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Fat</td>
<td>Ying</td>
<td>3 mths</td>
<td>Dorothea</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Majorca</td>
<td>St James' Majorca</td>
<td>21/7/1912</td>
<td>CoE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>1 mth</td>
<td>Beatrice Rose</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Bet Bet</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>12/2/1913</td>
<td>CoE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louie Choon</td>
<td>1213</td>
<td>Charles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td>17/12/1913</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev E H Davies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louey Ngong</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>16/11/1914</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev W E H Percival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choy Wee</td>
<td>1213</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>16/11/1914</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev W E H Percival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louey Cheong</td>
<td>1213</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>Guangdong Prov</td>
<td>Bendigo (All Saints')</td>
<td>16/11/1914</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev W E H Percival</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1213 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 2847, son Ah Fat and Won.

1214 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 4480, daughter of George and Annato Sing, contractor.

1215 Christ Church Maryborough, Baptism Register # 4509, son of Charles Louie and Frances Choon, herbalist.

1216 All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1476, son of Ah Kit and Cheong Chee.

1217 All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1477, son of Wee Bonne and Wong Chee.
All Saints's Bendigo, Baptism Register # 1478, son of Hock Wong and Ng Chee.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Xh NAME</th>
<th>OCCPN</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ Residence</th>
<th>BAPTISED AT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DENOM</th>
<th>MENTOR/OFFICIAN</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jung Yet</td>
<td>1219</td>
<td>3 mths</td>
<td>Valerie Jean</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>St Arnaud/St Arnaud</td>
<td>3/1/17</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev F Bogling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hung Yet</td>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>Esther Esme</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>St Arnaud/St Arnaud</td>
<td>3/1/17</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev F Bogling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loy</td>
<td>2 wks</td>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>Catharina May</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Grassy Flat/St Luke’s White Hills</td>
<td>13/1/17</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev H G Mathews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loy</td>
<td>11 yrs</td>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>Albert Samuel</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>Grassy Flat/St Luke’s White Hills</td>
<td>13/1/17</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Rev H G Mathews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loy</td>
<td>11 yrs</td>
<td>1 mth</td>
<td>William Edmond</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>Majorca/St James’ Majorca</td>
<td>25/4/1920</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td>Archdeacon James</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ying</td>
<td>1 mth</td>
<td>8/9/20</td>
<td>Ernest Worsley</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>12 Taylor St Moonee Ponds/St Thomas’ Essendon</td>
<td>7/11/1920</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suiuie</td>
<td>16/7/20</td>
<td>Roy William</td>
<td>INFANT</td>
<td>25 Bangalore St, Kensington/St Thomas’ Essendon</td>
<td>5/12/1920</td>
<td>CofE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1219 Christ Church St Arnaud, Baptism Register # 3230, 3231, daughters of Robert and Ada Jung Yet, gardener.

1220 St Luke’s White Hills, Baptism Register.

1221 Children of James and Mary Loy, labourer.

1222 St Thomas’ Essendon, Baptism Register, son of Ernest and Alice-Maude, ironmonger.

1223 St Thomas’ Essendon, Baptism Register, son of William James and Constance, carpenter.
BAPTISMS AT ST MARY’S CofE CHURCH, NORTH MELBOURNE, VIC

1948

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Birth Year</th>
<th>Father Name</th>
<th>Mother Name</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Place of Baptism</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Minister</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wing</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Kevin</td>
<td></td>
<td>North Melbourne</td>
<td>St Mary's</td>
<td>5/9/48</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev G Sambell</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wong</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Lee</td>
<td></td>
<td>North Melbourne</td>
<td>St Mary's</td>
<td>12/10/56</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev K Seymour</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yap</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Brian</td>
<td></td>
<td>Strathmore Vic</td>
<td>St Mary’s</td>
<td>10/6/62</td>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Rev Peter Hollingsworth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF VICTORIA

Baptisms at Percydale. The following (23) are as listed by the Avoca and District Historical Society, the date and place of baptism not being listed. The style suggests that they are CoE baptisms and as Percydale was an CoE Mission, they have been noted under the CMSV.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Birth Year</th>
<th>Father Name</th>
<th>Mother Name</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Minister</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ah Young</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>George</td>
<td>Foo Song</td>
<td>Chin Shee</td>
<td>Perceyesdale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Chung</td>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Stephen</td>
<td>Gon Shim</td>
<td>Lee Shee</td>
<td>Perceyesdale</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Tong</td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>Ho Hock</td>
<td>Loi Shee</td>
<td>Perceyesdale</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Hee</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Philip</td>
<td>Ty Wan</td>
<td>Young Shin</td>
<td>Fruiterer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Won Mow Tong</td>
<td>1822/23</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>Hock Won</td>
<td>Luce Shee</td>
<td>Perceyesdale</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Tip</td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>Samuel</td>
<td>Koon Hoi</td>
<td>Leah Lee</td>
<td>Chan Tsin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tchid Hock</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>On Tip</td>
<td>Tio Shee</td>
<td>Sinen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loi Fook</td>
<td>1821</td>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>You Tschin</td>
<td>Wong Shee</td>
<td>Chan Tsin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mau Gey</td>
<td>1821</td>
<td>Joshua</td>
<td>Wew Foo</td>
<td>Lee Shee</td>
<td>Sinen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Kau</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>Jonathan</td>
<td>Ye Quai</td>
<td>Wong Shee</td>
<td>Tchenin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Quat</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Silas</td>
<td>En Gep</td>
<td>Way Shee</td>
<td>Sinen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lee Hep Shing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Abel</td>
<td>Ah Quong</td>
<td>Lin Shee</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kim Wen</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>Fring Yong</td>
<td>Yee Shee</td>
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CHINESE NAME   AGE  Xn NAME OCCPN BIRTHPLACE/ Residence BAPTISED AT DATE  DENOM MENTOR/OFFICIANT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Birth Year</th>
<th>Father Name</th>
<th>Mother Name</th>
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<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Kow</td>
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<td>James</td>
<td>You Lo</td>
<td>Lee Shee</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah Fat</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>Wow Poo</td>
<td>Yan Shee</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>You Gen</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>Ah Kah</td>
<td>Lee Shee</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>1837</td>
<td>Jacob</td>
<td>Ah Law</td>
<td>Lim Shee</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho Wing</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>George</td>
<td>Poi lan</td>
<td>Loo Shee</td>
<td>doctor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen Lue</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>Mun Hali</td>
<td>Su Shee</td>
<td>miner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ack Shew</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>Ah Goo</td>
<td>Shin Lee</td>
<td>farmer</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lin How</td>
<td>1822</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>Tsao Men</td>
<td>Li Shee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yong Shen</td>
<td>1821</td>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>Cook Wey</td>
<td>En Shee</td>
<td>storekeeper</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wee Kip</td>
<td>1823</td>
<td>Philip</td>
<td>Hai Eah</td>
<td>Un Shee</td>
<td>storekeeper</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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1224 All details on this page are from the parish register by courtesy of the Vicar, Rev F H Brady

1225 Son of Robert and Clarice Wing (Fruiterers)

1226 Research by Avoca and District Historical Society, recorded by Rev Dr Keith Cole.
WESTERN AUSTRALIAN METHODOIST CHINESE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father</th>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
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<tr>
<td>Young Quong (Kwong)</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>Fremantle WA</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Meth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tong Goon</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>Perth WA</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Meth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chew Kue (Cooey)</td>
<td>Joshua</td>
<td>Perth WA</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Meth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bow Wing</td>
<td>Stephen</td>
<td>Perth WA</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Meth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tong Goon</td>
<td>Timothy</td>
<td>Perth WA</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Meth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fangelt</td>
<td></td>
<td>Perth WA</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Meth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chew Sick</td>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>Perth WA</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Meth</td>
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<td>Kum Chew</td>
<td>David</td>
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<td>Yee Kee</td>
<td>Phillip</td>
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<td>John</td>
<td>Perth WA</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Meth</td>
</tr>
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<td>Lou Ying</td>
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<td>1918</td>
<td>Meth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chew Chee</td>
<td>Daniel</td>
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<td>1918</td>
<td>Meth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chow Hop</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
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<td>1918</td>
<td>Meth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chun Sing</td>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>Bunbury WA</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Meth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yee You</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>Brome WA</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Meth</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ah Chew</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>Perth WA</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Meth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lem Wah</td>
<td>Samuel</td>
<td>Perth WA</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Meth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon Key</td>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>Perth WA</td>
<td>1918</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jun Tong</td>
<td>Simon</td>
<td>Perth WA</td>
<td>1918</td>
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<td>Benjamin</td>
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WESTERN AUSTRALIAN PRESBYTERIAN CHINESE

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<tr>
<td>Fong</td>
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<td>Sydney</td>
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<tr>
<td>Morris</td>
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<td>Geraldton</td>
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Minutes of Quarterly Meetings, Wesley Church, Perth, WA. Microfilms 1672A, 1672B, 16734A, Battye Library, Perth, WA. The Reverend James Moy Ling was invited to advise the Wesley Church and nominated Paul Soong Quong as catechist. There were also Methodist missions at Kalgoorlie and Fremantle. There is mention of CoE and Church of Christ missions as well. All the names listed under the WA Methodist Mission come from a list prepared in 1917 and dated 5 February 1918. Ah Chew, Lem Wah and Mon Key were recorded as having returned to China. Jun Tong and Wing Gee were dead.

Morris 1955. Fong Long, Sydney’s uncle, started the business about 1895. He moved to Geraldton from from Sydney and returned there. Sydney Fong stayed in Geraldton. Like many Chinese, Sydney Fong had a wife in China but married a Chinese in Australia and had twelve children. Irene Fong was born in Australia and married a Chinese merchant marine officer. She was subsequently refused entry by Arthur Calwell when Minister for Immigration after the war.
Leprosy was handled in Australia in much the same way as in China, that is, the lepers were required to live in their own village outside the main town. But at the point, Australian ‘quarantine’ went a step further. In China, lepers were allowed to enter the neighbouring town during the day to see friends and purchase supplies being required only to leave by nightfall. In Australia, as illustrated by the case of the lepers at Ballarat, they were forbidden to leave their encampment, in the cases reported below.

At the Cheong family baptismal service (Chapter 3), the Rev. A J Campbell highlighted Young’s pastoral diligence:

Mr Campbell . . . spoke commendingly of the quiet, unobtrusive diligence and patience with which the Rev. William Young, the missionary, assisted by Cheong Peng-nam, the catechist, had been pursuing. . . . Mention was made of the humane attention which sick, distressed, or even criminal Chinese regularly received from the missionary in the hospital, benevolent asylum, and the gaol. The poor outcast Chinese lepers were also visited and received ministrations of kindness in their misery. Mr. Young was the almoner of the benevolent towards these abject fellow creatures.

In 1867, Young advised that there were 27 or 28 known lepers in the Chinese community. They were located at: Ballarat—10; Avoca—2; Ararat—3 or 4; Castlemaine—5; Daylesford—1; Beechworth (2 dead)—5; Sandhurst (10 dead)—3. Young wrote:

Imagine a wretch in the last stage of emaciation, whose sinews are shrunk and his limbs covered with open sores. . . The first of these creatures who came to his curtain door when we called, though worn and bitten and livid, could still stand almost erect, and has probably years of suffering before him. But the next hobbled painfully out, with his knees bent into a sitting posture; and his cracked voice pled like a child

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1 Church Missionary Intelligencer, Vol VIII No 7, July 1857, p 192.
3 The Mount Alexander Mail, 10 April 1857. This is probably the vitamin deficiency beri-beri that was the cause of many Chinese deaths on the Buckland River diggings.
for some covering to his legs, in which leprosy had worked raw wounds, and over which he wore no better garment than a pair of loose blue cotton drawers, reaching to the knee. It was pitiful. But indignation strove with pity. These poor, dying fellow-men, abandoned by their heathen countrymen. . .in sight of the richest goldfields in the world, we let them drag their broken, wasted bodies through every stage of revolting emaciation, into the grave, and the most we can do for them is to thrust into their lonely kennels from week to week some few shillings’ worth of food.²

Peng-nam and other missions delivered clothing and money to the Chinese lepers in Ballarat. Financial assistance was provided by the Ballarat Benevolent Society through its Treasurer, the Methodist layman and philanthropist, James Oddie.

Anyone who enters Ballarat. . . by the main road from the south may observe on the right hand. . . some dreary gravel rises quite bare of timber and rather bare even of grass. On the rise nearest the town are nothing but some half-dozen hovels scarcely to be distinguished from the ground they stand on. These hovels are the lazarettes of Ballarat. On this spot there was a Chinese settlement, but the healthy Chinese have now withdrawn to another quarter, leaving behind a handful of miserable lepers. . . We found the other day that of the ten leper patients known to exist in Ballarat, eight are housed in the hovels above referred to, and kept there alive by the charity of a benevolent society, but they are little more than kept alive.⁴

The local medical officer of health for Ballarat was Dr Clendinning who summarised the condition of the men at Clayton's Hill.

REPORT ON THE CONDITION OF THE CHINESE LEPERS
ON CLAYTON HILL, BALLARAT EAST,
GIVEN PROFESSIONALLY BY DR. CLENDENNING.

NO 1. KONG KAY SUE. Aged 48 years; in colony, 12 years; unable to work, 10 years. Hut: Very bad; constructed of old sheets of tin and iron. Disease: Half of both legs ulcerated anteriorly; rest of legs and thighs leprous; several fingers of both hands swelled and ulcerated; small portion of each nates uncerated. General Health: Very bad.

No 2. WONG AH LING. Age, 40 years; in colony, 12 years; unable to work, 11 years. House: Of wood; not lined; roomy. Disease: Left eye blind, cornea opaque; right eye weak, conjunctiva and lids much congested; several; fingers of left hand wasted and joints gone; those of right hand swollen; left foot and ankle much swollen and almost useless. General Health: Bad, with great debility.

No 3. UNG TING KAH. Age, 34 years; in colony, 11 years; unable to work, 5 years. House: Good and roomy; not lined. Disease: Eyelids and conjunctiva much congested; fingers of both hands much wasted, some joints gone; left foot much swollen and apparently useless. General Health: Apparently good.

No 4. LOCK AH HOEY. Age, 35 years; in colony, 12 years; unable to work, 4 years. Hut: Resides with No 3. Disease: Three ulcers on joints of three fingers of right hand, hands and fingers otherwise normal; left foot greatly wasted, and toes nearly all gone; right foot, ankle, and lower part of leg greatly swollen, with ulcers on both ankles; toes wasted and partially gone. General Health: Delicate.

No 5. LEE SAM TACK. Age, 31 years; in colony 13 years; unable to work, 5 years. Hut: Of palings and old tin, very small and low; clean. Disease: Fingers of right hand almost gone (second and third joints), first joints much flexed on palm of hand; fingers of left hand in nearly the same condition; both insteps much swollen, and partially ulcerated; toes of right foot swollen. General Health: Apparently good.

No 6. LEW YEE SUR. Aged 47 years; in colony, 13 years. unable to work, 6 years. House: Of wood; roomy. Disease. Feet much swollen; toes wasted and some joints gone; some fingers of both hands swollen; face and lobe of right ear much swollen. General Health: Bad.

No 7. LUM AH FAN. Age, 31 years; in colony 13 years; unable to work, 6 years. Hut: Of palings and old tin, very small and low. Disease: Conjunctiva of both eyes and muc. memb. of lids much congested; skin of face and legs leprous; can walk and use both hands. General Health: Good.

No 8. YU KE HIN. Age 34 years; in colony 10 years; unable to work, 5 years. Hut: Sides of old tin, with bark roof; very small. Disease: Both feet slightly swollen, with sides of same partially ulcerated; skin of face leprous, with some tubercules; skin of fingers, leprous. General Health: Delicate.

No 9. WONG AH GOCK. Age, 32 years; in colony, 12 years; unable to work, 8 years. Hut: Sides of paling, roof of bark; very small and low. Disease: Both legs and feet leprous; with tubercles; fingers of both hands much contracted; face partially tuberculoseus. General Health: Delicate.

No 10. WONG AH HIN. I did not see this leper, but the Chinese Interpreter informed me as follows:— Age, 43 years; in colony 14 years; unable to work, 14 years. House: Not seen. Disease: Blind of one eye, the other eye bad; fingers of both hands contracted; both feet partially leprous; mouth drawn to one side.
Appendix 14

The Chinese Christian Union

Little is known about the Victorian Chinese Christian Union, other than passing references in newspapers and an article in the Melbourne Weekly Times.¹ The main source is an item in The Weekly Times on 25 April 1903. In the early 1900s a Chinese pastor, the Rev. Cheng Jingyi called for an end to denominational divisions among Chinese Protestants but it is not known if this was the stimulus for the Union Cheong's Presidential Address of 1912 described the CCU.

The Union is formed of the Chinese members of the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist & Church of Christ Communions joined together for the spreading of the Gospel amongst our people here or in China where we have men & women evangelists supported by us.²

The primary purpose of the Union was to support evangelism in China. In an article in the Tung Wah Time praising Cheong named one evangelist as: ‘Mr Wang Jiesheng from Foshan is one of the most outstanding, whose aunt is Mr Zhang Zhuoxiong’s wife’.³ There is a reference to evangelists supported by the Union in Guangdong Province, one of whom was killed during the revolutionary troubles in the Province in 1911. Whether this was Wang Jiesheng is unknown. There is a mention of funding being provided for a church in Shanghai but the particular congregation is not identified. The CCU supported colporteurs, i.e., Chinese prepared to sell Christian literature to anyone who would buy.

As well as the evangelistic role, Cheong felt that the Union should focus on matters in China and Australia that were or could be of concern to Chinese Christians such as the 1911 revolution and its significance. CCU members actively supported the reform and republican movements.

Cheong mentions the Union's role in raising money to assist in the 1911 Famine relief effort. Part of the difficulty in dealing with that specific famine was the

¹ The Weekly Times, 25 April 1903.
² Cheok Hong Cheong to Sir Henry Weedon, 5 May 1911.
³ Tung Wah Times, 29 March 1899, p. 3. Translation courtesy Dr Paul Jones and the Chinese History at Australian Federation Project, Latrobe University, Bundoora, Victoria.

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revolutionary disorder affecting China; the collapse of public administration following the overthrow of the old imperial order; and the difficulties inevitable in the creation of a new republican system of government.

The Union participated in a Victorian protest in 1906 opposing anti-Chinese amendments to the Victorian Factories Act aimed at ending the employment opportunities of Chinese in the furniture and laundry trades. Samuel Wong (Baptist), the Secretary, told the meeting of the action taken by the CCU in the same matter in 1905 when the Union had approached the Evangelical Council of NSW and secured strong support. He mentioned the importance of active Christian participation in secular matters as contributing to greater acceptance of Christianity among the Chinese community.

We who are engaged in Christian work here find a great difficulty when we try to tell our countrymen here that there is no difference between one race and another, for you must remember that our people are as keen as other people; they see things that are agitating against them as a nation, and they ask us the question why the Christian Churches did not do their duty.4

The meeting was also addressed by Cheong’s friend, Harry Pang, a furniture manufacturer and a co-founder of the Union. William Liu, a well known Sydney Chinese-Australian, identified Christians such as Cheong, Samuel Wong, Harry Louey Pang, Pang Goon, Louey Yee Jack, William Ah Ket and Willie Fong as members of the Chinese Empire Reform Association.5 In Sydney, The CCU might be regarded as a Christian sub-committee of the CERA.

The formation of the CCU and its commitment to assisting Chinese in secular as well as religious issues changed the way in which Cheong approached disasters in China. Prior to the formation of the CCU money-raising for famine relief in China was conducted as a public appeal involving Europeans and the whole colonial community. In 1878, 1889, 1892-3, and again in 1911, there was widespread famine in North and Central China.6 The Chinese effort in 1878, 1889, and 1892-3 was organised through the Victorian Chinese Residents Committee, chaired by Lowe Kong Meng with support from Louis Ah Mouy. Cheong was the secretary and the

4 Cheok Hong Cheong to Sir Henry Weedon, 5 May 1911.
main collector from the Chinese. In 1887 the three Chinese leaders were members of a Civic Committee established by the Mayor of Melbourne to raise money for famine relief. The committee contributed to the Central Chinese Relief Committee:

A Committee of Merchants, Missionaries (of all denominations) and other Gentlemen of position in Shanghai and Hong Kong has been formed in order to supplement the efforts of the Chinese Government. To this Committee (Central China Relief Committee) any money subscribed in Victoria will be remitted through the Oriental Bank.7

The Civic Committee of 1878 included a cross-section of the Protestant Christian community including the Rev Dr Charles Strong, former Minister of Scots Church, Collins Street, and the founder of the Australian Church; John Pigdon, Mayor of Melbourne; James MacBain; and Robert Harper, an interesting example of a religious man with tough industrial relations policies. Lowe Kong Meng and Cheok Hong Cheong represented the Chinese community. The Chinese contributed £257/3/6d. The largest contribution was £40 from the See Yup Society. Cheong was in the top ten individual contributors with £3/3/-.

In 1889, Cheong again used a civic committee with the assistance of Louis Ah Mouy and Wong Shi Gean. The key speaker at a public meeting in the Melbourne Town Hall on 10 April 1889 was the Hon J C Balfour, a member of the Legislative Council and a man widely known to be sympathetic to the Chinese. Balfour founded the Geelong and Western District Chinese Evangelisation Society that initiated the ecumenical Chinese mission at Ballarat (1856-59). Balfour described the situation in China as a famine of enormous extent and one of the greatest famines in living memory.8

By 1889 a shift was already discernible as sections of the labour movement supported anti-Chinese pressure within the general community with a deliberate effort by some trade unionists to disrupt the public meeting. The final meeting of the Committee reported that a total in excess of £700 had been forwarded to China. In its published report, the Central China Famine Relief Fund issued a world table of contributions.

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8 Victoria, Public Record Office (PRO) VPRS3182 Unit 11. I am grateful to Ms Ros Shennan of Monash University for bringing this item to my notice. Published in *Ancestor*, Vol 22, #1, Autumn 1994.
Table 14.1

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<th>COUNTRY</th>
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</tr>
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<td>India</td>
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<td>3,766</td>
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<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>27,207</td>
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<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>3,833</td>
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</table>

The per capita giving in Melbourne was by far the most supportive of the diaspora communities. The extraordinary British contribution reflects the influence of the supporters of British missions in China. The generous response of foreign Christians to famine relief in China, and the lesser contribution of the Chinese Diaspora, is fully discussed in Bohr.

When Cheong called on the Victorian Chinese community in 1911 to support famine relief, he used the CCU as his vehicle for collecting and despatching funds. He remarked that anti-Chinese sentiment in Australia now made it much harder to gain European support and he was not intending to form the kind of civic committees that had worked so well in the past. He focused his efforts on encouraging the CCU to influence their congregations to do their Christian duty, i.e., to pursue disinterested benevolence.

In a letter to Liang Lau Hsiang, the former Consul-General in Melbourne and a fellow Christian who had been associated with the CCU, Cheong referred to the hostility of the labour movement that gave rise to a concern that, as in 1889, unionists or Labourites, would disrupt the relief effort in Victoria: Cheong was also worried about the transfer of money from Australia to the famine relief agency

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9 The Daily Telegraph, 11 April 1889.
11 Cheong Hong Cheong to Liang Lau Ham, 9 March 1911.
through official Chinese channels.\footnote{Cheok Hong Cheong to His Excellency Shen Tun-ho, Chairman, Central China Famine Relief Committee, Shanghai, 9 June 1911.} He later decided to use the network of the China Inland Mission to convey famine relief funds to China.

The CCU cooperated with other Chinese community organisations on the immigration issue by lobbying governments and supporting individuals such as Mrs Poon Gooey (Chapter 10).

It also took a role, although information is sparse, in organising Christian opinion to support the Chinese in the Laundry and Furniture trades against a long, unfair and unjustified attempt to drive out the Chinese working in these industries.

The story of the Victorian Chinese Christian Union, and the probability of a similar body in New South Wales is another of the many areas for further research.
Appendix 15

Chinese Petition against 1857 Victorian Immigration Restrictions

To His Excellency Sir H Barkly, Bart. Governor of Victoria

We the Chinese miners, storekeepers and mechanics located in the various gold-fields of this colony, beg most humbly to approach your Excellency with our most sincere and humble thanks as the representative of your most gracious and inestimable Queen Victoria.

We also express our gratitude to the British people of this colony for the sacred protection given to our lives, property, and liberty; and we most humbly beseech your Excellency to sanction no law against us which is not in accordance with your glorious constitutional laws, against strangers and foreigners.

We humbly assure your Excellency of our desire to keep inviolate your sacred laws; and we have no sympathy with those who wilfully break them. We regret some of our countrymen have been led by wicked and designing men of other nations to land in an adjacent colony and evade the laws of this land. Your Excellency, we trust, will pity the dupes, as they lost in time and expenses what they had been told they would save.

And now, we most humbly pray the Great Creator of the Universe to bless your beloved Queen Victoria, her family, and the British people. May he also bless your Excellency, the Government, the Judges, and both Houses of Parliament in this colony.

May peace and prosperity attend your illustrious flag of honor and liberty throughout the world.

Signed on behalf of the Chinese at present meeting.

Chu A Luk, Chinese Missionary

August 3rd 1857, Castlemaine
Appendix 16

Colony of Victoria
Chinese Miners Accident List

Extracted from
"Victorian Mining Accident Index" by - Dave Evans

Welcome to the Victorian Mining Accident Index compiled by Dave Evans and presented by the Ballarat & District Genealogical Society. This Victorian Index includes ~5600 miners who were killed or injured from the early 1850's to the 1940's. The list below provides only the details of Chinese miners.

The Index provides details of Miner's Name - Date - Status - Children - Location of Accident - Source (where you can get more information).

The index is not complete & if you know of any miners not listed, please contact Dave Evans (email below) with any details.
Index Updated : 18 January 2001
(Reproduced with approval Dave Evans and the Ballarat & District Genealogical Society)

Mining Accident queries to Dave Evans, email : devans@giant.net.au or visit his Mining Records Page.

See also
Ballarat Cemetery Records
And Victorian Inquest Records
http://www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au/
<table>
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Chin Ching 1857 Killed Fall of earth Castlemaine
Chin Hock 1858 Killed Fall down shaft Ballarat
Chin Hoo 1876 Killed 39 Y. O. Fall of earth Ballarat Morrisons
Chin Hoo 1876/12/01 Killed Single Ballarat Buninyong
Chin Loon 1873/09/25 Killed Ballarat Hero Extended
Chin Mon 1865 Killed 41 Y. O Fall of earth Ballarat Smythesdale
Chin Sing 1865 Killed 50 Y. O Fall of earth Beechworth
Chin Soon 1873 Killed Fall of earth Ballarat Bungaree
Chin Tin 1859 Killed Fall of earth Spring Creek
Chinaman 1859/06/03 Killed Date reported Ballarat Tavistock Gully
Chinaman 1862/01/07 Killed Ararat White Patch
Chinaman 1869/08/23 Injured Ballarat Scarsdale
Chinaman 1869/11/23 Killed 2 Chinamen killed Castlemaine Campbell's Creek
Chinaman 1873/07/12 Killed Maryborough Dunolly
Chinaman 1874/06/16 Killed Not Stated Beechworth Yackandandah
Chinaman Jemmy 1869/10/11 Injured Ballarat Rokewood
Ching Ah 1875 Killed Fall of earth Beechworth Buckland
Ching Chin 1857 Killed 26 Y. O. Fall of earth Castlemaine
Ching Ling Coon 1858 Killed Fall of earth Castlemaine
Ching Teong 1862 Killed Fall of earth Beechworth Indigo
Ching Wong Ah 18861 Killed 32 Y. O. (see Fall into shaft Beechworth Indigo
Wong Ah Ching)
Chiong Ah 1857 Killed Fall of earth Sandhurst
Chong Ah 1856 Killed Fall of earth Sandhurst
Chong Ah 1857 Killed Fall of earth Ballarat
Chong Ah 1859 Killed Fall of earth Beechworth Buckland
Chong Ah 1860 Killed 30 Y. O. Fall of earth Ballarat Creswick
Chong Ah 1875 Killed Fall of earth Ballarat Haddon
Chong Fow (Chang)1870/10/12 Killed Ballarat White Flat
Chong Hock 1860 Killed Fall of earth Beechworth Stanley
Chong Hui 1875 Killed 44 Y. O. Fall of earth Ararat Beaufort
Chong Man 1865 Killed 31 Y. O. Fall of earth Ararat Pleasant Ck.
Chong Sing 1858 Killed Fall of earth Ararat
Chong Tow 1870 Killed Fall of earth Ballarat
Chonge Ah 1858 Killed Fall of earth Beechworth
Choon Ah 1881 Killed Fall of earth Caledonia
Chou Owen 1858 Killed Fall of earth Ararat
Chow Hung 1876/05/04 Injured Compo Ballarat Ballarat
Chow Ah 1861 Killed Fall of earth Gippsland Omeo
Chow Lee Tin 1882/05/02 Killed Single Gippsland Omeo
Choy Gee 1863 Killed Fall of earth Beechworth Buckland
Chu Chung 1882 Killed 64 Y. O. Fall of earth Ballarat Staffordshire Reef
Chum Ah 1881/06/16 Killed Married 2 children Castlemaine St Andrews
Chun Yin 1875 Killed Fall of earth Ararat Stawell
Chung Ah 1860 Killed 30 Y. O. Fall of earth Ballarat Creswick
Chung Ah 1868 Killed 32 Y. O. Fall of earth Ballarat Staffordshire Reef
Chung Ah 1875/07/15 Killed Not Known Approx Date Beechworth Buckland
Chung Ah Chung 1869 Killed Date Not Known Ballarat Little Bendigo
Chung Ah Tong 1870 Killed Fall of earth Ballarat Durham Lead
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| Quee Ah | 1864    | Killed              | 29  | Ballarat Buninyong         |
| Quee Man| 1872    | Killed              | 53  | Castlemaine Vaughan        |
| Quin Nan| 1856    | Killed              |     | Sandhurst Bendigo          |
| Quin Tie| 1861    | Killed              | 38  | Castlemaine Strangeways    |
| Quock Tan| 1869   | Killed              |     | Castlemaine Campbells Creek |
| Quon Ah | 1879    | Killed              |     | Ballarat                  |

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<td>(see Tin Shu)</td>
<td>Fall into shaft</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Sigh Hung</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>44 Y.O.</td>
<td>Fall of earth</td>
<td>Ballarat Creswick</td>
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</table>
Sihil Tchsin 1860  Killed  37 Y. O.  Fall of earth  Ballarat  Smythesdale
Sim Ah Wee 1871/07/08  Killed  or Lin./Sim  Ballarat  Rose Hill MC
Sin Ah 1879/09/18  Killed  Single  Castlemaine  Tarrangower
Sin Moy Kai 1876/11/03  Killed  Single  Ballarat  Ballarat
Sing Ah 1857  Killed  Fall of earth  Beechworth
Sing Ah 1858  Killed  Foul air  Ballarat
Sing Ah 1864  Killed  Fall of earth  Maryborough  Inglewood
Sing Ah 1885/03/06  Killed  Single 51 Y. O.  Ballarat  Smythesdale
Sing Bun 1875/05/17  Killed  Married Wife in China  Castlemaine  Fryer's Creek
Sing Chin 1865  Killed  50 Y. O.  Fall of earth  Beechworth
Sing Chong 1858  Killed  Fall of earth  Ararat
Sing Ghe 1882/02/13  Killed  Married No Dependent  Maryborough  Amherst
Sing Gook 1872  Killed  Fall of earth  Sandhurst
Sing Key 1861  Killed  36 Y. O.  Fall of earth  Ballarat  Cres/k Hard Hills
Sing Knee 1859  Killed  33 Y. O.  Fall of earth  Ballarat  Smythesdale
Sing Moo 1876/11/21  Killed  Single  Castlemaine  Tarrangower
Sing Moon Lee 1882  Killed  Fall of earth  Ararat
Sing Tai 1862  Killed  Fall of earth  Sandhurst  Heathcote
Sing Tak 1859  Killed  Fall of earth  Beechworth
Sing Wen 1873  Killed  Fall of earth  Ballarat  Creswick
Sing Ye 1869  Killed  Fall down shaft  Maryborough  Fiddlers creek
Sitt Ah 1887/12/22  Killed  Married 51 Y. O.  Ballarat  Nerrina
Six Shy 1861  Killed  68 Y. O.  Foul air  Ararat  Pleasant Ck.
Soo Can 1880  Killed  Fall of earth  Beechworth
SooLop 1855  Killed  Fall of earth  Ballarat  Surface Hill
Soon Ah 1867  Killed  22 Y. O. (see Ah Soon)  Fall down shaft  Ballarat  Smythesdale
Soon Chin 1873  Killed  Fall of earth  Ballarat  Bungaree
Soon Dat 1866  Killed  46 Y. O.  Fall of earth  Castlemaine  Chewton
Soon Too 1879/11/04  Killed  Single  Ballarat  Blackwood
Souee Wy 1859  Killed  Fall of earth  Maryborough  Avoca
Sow Lum 1859  Killed  24 Y. O.  Fall of earth  Castlemaine
Soy Ah 1859  Killed  Fall of earth  Castlemaine
Sue Ah 1864  Killed  51 Y. O.  Fall of earth  Ararat  Beaufort
Sue Ah 1885/03/11  Killed  Single 43 Y.O.  Ballarat  Smythesdale
Sue Can 1879/12/31  Killed  Single  Beechworth  Beechworth
Sue You 1868  Killed  Fall of earth  Caledonia
Sum Fun 1858  Killed  28 Y. O.  Fall of earth  Spring Gully
Sun Ah 1864  Killed  Fall of earth  Sandhurst
Sun Ah 1872  Killed  Fall of earth  Beechworth  Bright
Sun Gip 1884  Killed  Ballarat  Trunk Lead
Sun Hi 1861  Killed  Ballarat
Sunn Ah 1857  Killed  Smothered in claim  Maryborough  St Arnaud

T
Tack Ah 1859  Killed  29 Y. O  Fall of earth  Ballarat
Tack Ah 1863  Killed  35 Y. O.  Accident  Maryborough  Talbot
Tack Ah 1863  Killed  35 Y. O.  Mining Accident  Maryborough  Talbot
Tack Ah 1874  Killed  38 Y. O.  Fall of earth  Castlemaine  Vaughan
Tack Ah 1881  Killed  Fall of earth  Ararat  Stawell
Tack Ah 1881/10/25  Killed  Single  Ararat  Pleasant Ck.
Tack Clue 1882  Killed  Fall of earth  Ballarat  Staffordshire Reef
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<td>1862</td>
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<td>Sandhurst</td>
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<td>Tai Youck</td>
<td>1855</td>
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<td>Sandhurst?</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Killed 44 Y. O.</td>
<td>Fall of earth</td>
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<td>Beechworth</td>
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<td>1860</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Bacchus Marsh</td>
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<td>1860</td>
<td>Fall of stone</td>
<td>Bacchus Marsh</td>
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<td>Ballarat</td>
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<td>Tans Quock</td>
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<td>Tchick A</td>
<td>1858</td>
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<td>Fall of earth</td>
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<td>1876</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>43 Y. O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Status</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye Ah Ging</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fall of earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye Hen Ge</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fall of earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye Sing</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fall down shaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yean Gin</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fall of earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yee Ahn</td>
<td>1884/07/31</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Single 52 Y. O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeen Ah</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Suffocated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yen Ah</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fall of earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yen Ah</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>(see Ah Yen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yen Ah</td>
<td>1891/08/22</td>
<td>Killed</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yen Chung Ah</td>
<td>1883/09/20</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yen Gee</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fall of earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yen Gun</td>
<td>1889/04/02</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Single 40 Y. O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yen Si</td>
<td>1879/04/17</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Married 51 Y. O. Wife &amp; Child in China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yen Tip</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fall of earth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yen Tuck</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fall of earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yet Ah</td>
<td>876/04/06</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Not known if Married</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yeung Ah</td>
<td>1866/09/07</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>30 Y. O.</td>
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<td>Yin Ah</td>
<td>1876/09/25</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Married Wife in China</td>
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<td>1875</td>
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<td>Fall of earth</td>
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<td>1885</td>
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<td>Yon Ah</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yon Ar</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fall of earth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yon Hoy</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Killed</td>
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<td>Yon Sie</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fall of earth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yong George</td>
<td>1877/08/28</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Married 49 Y. O.</td>
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<td>Yoon Chun</td>
<td>1875/08/26</td>
<td>Killed</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Ah</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>35 Y. O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Ah</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fall of earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Foung</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>33 Y. O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Lim Ah</td>
<td>1884/03/01</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Ling</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>70 Y. O.</td>
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<tr>
<td>You Shue</td>
<td>1877/09/05</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Single</td>
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<tr>
<td>You Sing</td>
<td>1884/02/11</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Widower</td>
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<tr>
<td>You Sue</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fall of earth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Youl Henry Hung</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fall of earth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Youll Ah</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fall of earth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Youn Ah</td>
<td>1879/10/01</td>
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<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>1896/08/24</td>
<td>Injured</td>
<td>Burst boiler tube</td>
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<td>Fall of earth</td>
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<td>Young Ah</td>
<td>1883/10/19</td>
<td>Killed</td>
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<td>Yow Chun</td>
<td>1875/08/26</td>
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<td>Single</td>
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<td>Yow Chung</td>
<td>1860</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ytzan Lane</td>
<td>1864</td>
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<td>23 Y. O.</td>
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<td>Yuck Wing</td>
<td>1860</td>
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<td>Yuk Pin</td>
<td>1876</td>
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<td>1859</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yune Hock</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yung Ah</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Killed</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yung Lun</td>
<td>1863</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
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<td>------</td>
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<td>--------</td>
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<td>Yung Shy</td>
<td>1865</td>
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<td>39 Y.O.</td>
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<td>Yuon Ah</td>
<td>1856</td>
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<td>1866</td>
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<td>Yuon Ah</td>
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<td>Yuon Kee</td>
<td>1877</td>
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<td>Yuon Lun</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Killed</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zing Lea</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zue Pee</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 17

Cheok Hong Cheong’s Letters regarding
Landing of the Rev. James Cheong, MA
upon his return from the United Kingdom, 1904.

10/9/04
Dear Sir — My eldest son (Rev. James Cheong M.A.) having completed his theological course at Oxford and been ordained to the ministry has written to say that he sailed from Southampton on the 15th ult by the N.D.L. Steamer “Oldenburg” which is timed to arrive in Melbourne on the 28th inst. and requests that you will be good enough to instruct your officers at Fremantle so that he may land without let or hindrance during the vessel’s stay at that Port and likewise Adelaide where he has some thoughts of coming overland.

Soon after my son has entered upon the duties and responsibilities of my work I purpose in accordance with medical advice to take a prolonged holiday across the seas and shall thank you for letters which upon my return I may land at any Port of the Commonwealth.

Yours Faithfully, CHC
The Secretary, External Affairs, Melbourne

Melbourne 12th Septr 1904
Rev: Cheok Hong Cheong

Sir — I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst., requesting that instructions may be issued for an exemption for your son who is expected to arrive by the “Oldenburg” on the 28th September.

2. I shall be pleased if you will be so good as to furnish some particulars respecting your son, eg as to age, where he was born etc when the matter will have consideration.

3. With reference to your request to be furnished with letters exempting you from the operation of the Immigration Restriction Act on your return from the journey that you are contemplating, I should be glad if you will make application for a Certificate of Domicile on the accompanying form which should be forwarded when completed to the Collector of Customs, Melbourne.

15th Sept 1904

Sir — I am in receipt of your favour of the 12th inst on my return to Town this morning.

I subjoin particulars which you ask for in regard to my son.

He was born in Ballarat in the State of Victoria in 1871. After graduating with honours at the Melbourne University and taken his Master's degree he proceeded to China with the view of applying for admission to the diplomatic service of his Fatherland but finding that under the term diplomacy so much is employed which is not in strict accordance with Faith he refrained from sending in his application and accepted an educational appointment under the British government at Hong Kong whence after about four years service he proceeded to Oxford to take his theological course. He was ordained to the Ministry in June of the present year and immediately thereafter was offered Curacies by the Rectors of Southampton, Leeds and Nugent St. George and likewise a Chaplaincy on the voyage out by the S.P.C.K. All of which he respectfully declined preferring to return hither to assist his Father in Missionary work among his people.

I enclose herewith copy of his testimonials printed prior to his leaving Australia.
I may add in conclusion that by an Order of the Governor-in-Council issued in 1891 and signed by Lord Hopetoun and Sir George Turner I and my wife and family have been exempted from the operation of the Chinese Immigration Restriction Act for all time and that the Governments of N.S.W. and New Zealand, notwithstanding their drastic measures have before the Commonwealth was instituted give me and my son freedom of ingress and egress and to respectfully remind you that the Commonwealth government itself has shown its courtesy to Missionaries of admitting them without question.

Yours Truly, CHC

The Secretary, External Affairs

Atlee Hunt, Secretary, Department of External Affairs. Melbourne, 16th September 1904

04/8056

Sir — I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th September forwarding particulars respecting you son who is expected to return to Australia per the “Oldenburg” about the 28th inst., and to inform you that the necessary instructions have been issued to the authorities to permit his landing without restriction.

2. The Department was not aware of any such exemptions as that mentioned by you having been issued in your favour, but, as the privilege was granted, it will be honoured under the Commonwealth, and there will be no necessity for you to obtain a Certificate of Domicile.

Rev Cheok Hong Cheong

Atlee Hunt, Secretary, Department of External Affairs. Melbourne, 16th September 1904

04/8056

The Collector of Customs, Fremantle, Port Adelaide and Melbourne.

Sir, I have the honour to inform you that the Rev. James Cheong, M.A., is expected to arrive in Australia by the I.G.M.S. “Oldenburg” this month. I shall be glad if you will be so good as to issue instructions that this gentleman is to be permitted to land without restriction.

Fremantle Sept 21st 1904

The Collector of Customs, Fremantle

Sir, I have to report that the I.G.M.S. “Oldenburg” arrived here from Colombo and departed again for Adelaide yesterday.

On making an examination of the passengers, I found the Rev James Cheong, of Melbourne, and P’ Nathaniel Silva (Cingalese) servant to His Excellency E.F. Im Thurm, Governor of Fiji, in transit to Fiji.

With reference to the Singalese the ship’s papers were endorsed.

No restrictions were placed on the Rev. James Cheong.

Martin, Tide Surveyor

26/9/04

Dear Sir — Your favour of the 16th inst intimating that you have sent the necessary instructions to the authorities to permit of my son’s (Rev James Cheong M.A.) landing without restriction has reached me in due course but as he has written to say that on his arrival at Fremantle he was interviewed by two Customs officials one before the other after breakfast neither of whom seemed to know anything of the instructions you have sent and while very courteous in their manners made reference to the new laws in such a way as to make him feel quite hurt.

“I felt hurt”, he said, “that I hadn’t free ingress into the land of my birth and education and training, where I had hoped to spend the best years of my life. I have a feeling now that I am a sort of exile from my native land and that it would take very little to cause one to turn my back upon it for elsewhere... You will I hope make it all right with the Customs people so that I may land at Melbourne without
any fuss or annoyance."

Would you kindly therefore give the necessary directions and oblige.
Yours Truly, CHC
The Secretary, External Affairs

Atlee Hunt, Secretary, Department of External Affairs. Melbourne, 27th September 1904
04/8281
The Collector of Customs, Fremantle
Sir, I have the honour to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of your letter of the 21st September forwarding a report by Mr Tide Surveyor Martin with reference to his examination of passengers per I.G.M.S. “Oldenburg” which arrived at your port on the 20th instant. It is observed that the Rev. James Cheong was permitted to land without restriction.

Atlee Hunt, Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Melbourne, 28 September 1904
04/8037
Rev Cheok Hong Cheong, 123-5 L Bourke St, Melbourne
I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 26th September informing me of your son’s arrival at Fremantle. It is regretted that the instructions sent from this office did not reach the Port before the arrival of the “Oldenburg”. Under any circumstances, however, the officers would have had to put certain questions to your son, in order to satisfy themselves as to his identity.

Customs and Excise Office Melbourne, 1st October 1904
04/8413
Sir, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 04.8056 of the 16th ult intimating that the Rev: James Cheong M.A., was expected to arrive in Australia by I.G.M.S. “Oldenburg” and that instructions should be given that he should be permitted to land without restriction, and in reply to inform you that the gentleman mentioned arrived at this Port on the 28th Ult. and was permitted to land without hindrance.
I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
A.H.W. Mason, Sub-Collector of Customs.
Secretary for External Affairs, Melbourne

Atlee Hunt, Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Melbourne, 3rd October 1904
04/8413
I have the honour to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of your letter of the 1st October, No. 04.8181 informing me that the Rev. James Cheong arrived per the I.G.M.S. “Oldenburg” on the 28th September and was permitted to land without hindrance.
Introductory Note

1. A Table of Contents is on the next page.

2. Items of which the author may hold the only copies are marked Ian Welch after the entry.

3. The National Library of Australia and the State Library of Victoria are the pre-eminent source of archival material in this thesis. Both are a treasure trove of nineteenth century material including missionary writings. Other items are held in the Chifley and Menzies Libraries of the Australian National University.

4. The Church Missionary Society of Victoria holds its archives at its Blackburn office in Melbourne.

5. The Archives of the China Inland Mission, Victoria, are held at the Bible College of Victoria, Croydon.

6. The Archives of the Anglican Chinese Mission of the Epiphany are held by the Mission.

7. Microform copies of the nineteenth century Australian press are widely available throughout Australia's library system.

8. The Archives of the Church Missionary Society of England are held in the University of Birmingham Library, England.

9. The Australian Joint Copying Project provided microformed copies of many key British holdings. Unfortunately, the emphasis in missionary archives was on the Australian Correspondence and other sections were not copied. There is no full set of CMS, LMS, or other archives in Australia although parts are held as indicated in the next page.

10. The United States Library of Congress, the Library of the University of Michigan, and the Library of Cornell University, have cooperated in the digital history project, Making Of America. This provides WWW access to the mss of nineteenth century books and journals. The value of this archive, and the quality of the material and the recovery programs, is an example of a new age in historical research and the changing nature of information recovery through technology. A similar project with monographs is Project Gutenberg.
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1. **MANUSCRIPTS AND REPORTS**

1.1 **Victoria Chinese Mission**

- Church Missionary Society, Australian Correspondence. (National Library of Australia, Canberra, microfilm).
- London Missionary Society, Indian Correspondence, (includes minutes of the LMS Eastern Committee 1827-1840) (Australian National University, microfilm).
- Lo Sam-yuen, Journal (Ballarat) Mss. (Ian Welch, See Appendix 11)

1.2 **Anglican Chinese Mission**

- Ah Bon, Mark, Journals, (Daylesford), 1887-1889. (Ian Welch).
- Bridger, Marston C, [Hon Sec], (1899), *Church Missions to the Chinese in Victoria*. (Ian Welch)
- Cheong Cheok Hong, Letterbooks, (National Library of Australia, Canberra).
- Cheong Cheok Hong, Other Correspondence. (Ian Welch).
- Cheong Cheok Hong, for Victorian Chinese Resident's Committee, *Petition to the Chinese Imperial Commissioners to Melbourne*, 3 June 1887, (Appendix 2).
- Cheong Cheok Hong, (1888), *China and the Chinese*. Being a public contribution to the better understanding of the Chinese Question. (Appendix 5)
- Cheong Cheok Hong, , (1896), *Address on the subject of Missions to the Chinese in Australasia*, Delivered at Bishopscourt, Melbourne, July 21st 1896. (Ian Welch).
- Cheong Cheok Hong, (c 1898), Pamphlet, *Christian Work Among the Chinese: What it has done*. Melbourne, Church Missionary Society of Victoria, Re-formed. (Ian Welch).
- Cheong, Cheok Hong, (1898), CHINESE MISSION CRISIS, Superintendenting Missionary's Address to the Converts, *In Reply to the CMA Committee's Printed Statement*, Melbourne, Provisional Committee, 7 November 1898. (Ian Welch).
- Cheong Cheok Hong, (n.d), Promotional Pamphlet, 'A Pictorial Tour through China, and ' The Valley of the Yang-tse. Descriptive Lecture by Cheong, Rev James, Letters, James Cheong Collection, St Peter's Anglican Church, East Melbourne, (Ian Welch). Some of this is on a website at Trinity College, University of Melbourne.
- Christ Church, Beechworth, Victoria, Baptismal Register, 1860-1900. (Parish Records).
- Church Missionary Society of Victoria, Reformed, *Sixth Annual Report of the CMSV (Reformed) for the Year 1904*. (Ian Welch).


Cole, Revd Dr Keith, Baptismal List from the Diocese of Bendigo in the Nineteenth Century, personal Mss (Included in Appendix 10). (Ian Welch).


Houison, Rev Dr A, Old Sydney Town and the Chinese Mission. (Mitchell Library, Sydney, Mss and clippings).

Perry, Bishop Charles, Letterbooks. (Anglican Diocesan Registry, Melbourne).


1.3 Presbyterian Chinese Mission

Cheong Peng Nam, Journals 1861, 1864, Mss. (See Appendix 11).


Presbyterian Church of Victoria, Minutes of the Chinese and Aborigines Missions Committee, 1870-1876. (Uniting Church Archives, Melbourne).

Presbyterian Church of Victoria, Minutes of the Heathen Missions Committee, 1876-1888, (Uniting Church Archives, Melbourne).

Presbyterian Church of Victoria, (1870), Report of the Chinese and Aborigines Missions Committee to the General Assembly, November 1870. (Uniting Church Archives, Melbourne).

Tongway Family Papers, Chinese-Australian Museum, Cohen Place, Melbourne.

Young, Rev William, Journals, Mss. (Appendix 11).

1.4 Wesleyan Methodist Chinese Mission

Butters, Rev John, Letter from Melbourne, 4 February 1856. (Ian Welch).


Leong On Tong, Journals, 1866, (Uniting Church Archives, Melbourne: Extracts at Appendix 11).

Methodist Church of Australia, (1927), New South Wales Conference, Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Conference, Sydney, (Uniting Church Archives, Sydney).


Wesley Church, Perth, Minutes of Quarterly Meetings, 1894-1898. (Battye Library, Perth).


1.5 Roman Catholic Chinese Mission


Lee, Rev Fr Joseph (graduate of the Naples College) the first and only Catholic Chinese missionary to the Chinese in Australia in the nineteenth century. (Catholic Historical Society, Melbourne).

Sullivan, Fr F is revealing about the attitudes of Irish Catholic immigrants to Fr Lee. Catholic Historical Society, Melbourne. (Catholic Historical Society, Melbourne)

1.6 Other

2. THE RELIGIOUS PRESS

2.1 Anglican Church, Australia


*The Church Chronicle*, Brisbane. (State Library of Queensland).


*The Missionary at Home and Abroad*. State Library of Victoria and Mollison Library, Trinity College, University of Melbourne.


*The Victorian Church Missionary Gleaner*, Extracts relating to the Anglican Chinese Mission including dismissal of Cheok Hong Cheong. (Ian Welch).

2.2 Anglican Church, United Kingdom


Church Missionary Society, London, Australian Correspondence, Microform, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

*The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Record*, Mollison Library, Trinity College, University of Melbourne.

*The Ecclesiastical Gazette*, London Mollison Library, Trinity College, University of Melbourne.


2.3 Presbyterian Church, Australia


*Missionary Chronicle of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*. State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.


2.4 Presbyterian Church of England


2.5 **Wesleyan Methodist Church, Australia**

The Spectator, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.
The Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record, NSW. Mitchell Library Sydney.

2.6 **Wesleyan Methodist Church, England**


2.7 **United States of America**

The American Missionary, 1878-1901 (Congregational) Cornell University Library, CD Rom.

2.8 **Other**

The London Missionary Society, Australian Correspondence, Microfilm, National Library of Australia, Canberra.
Ching Feng. St Mark's Library, Canberra.
Christian History. St Mark's Library, Canberra.
The Journal of Religious History. St Mark's Library, Canberra
The Evangelical Magazine. British Library London
International Review of Missions. St Mark's Library, Canberra.
Friend of China, Anti-opium Society, London, Australian National University, Canberra.
The North China Herald, Monash University Library, Melbourne.
China's Missions, China Inland Mission Archives, Bible College of Victoria, Croydon, Victoria.

3. **THE SECULAR PRESS**

3.1 **Newspapers**

The Age, Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne
The Australian Once A Week. State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.
The Bendigo Advertiser. State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.
The Brighton Southern Cross (1895), Ian Welch.
The Geelong Advertiser, National Library of Australia, Canberra.
3.2 Periodicals

3.2.1 Australia

Ancestor, (Australian Society of Genealogists)
The Australian (1879) State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.
The Australian Once A Week. State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.
Boomerang. Illustrations, PictureAustralia, National Library of Australia, Canberra.
Goanna. Illustrations, PictureAustralia, National Library of Australia, Canberra.
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The Illustrated Sydney News. State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.
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Sydney Mail. State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.
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The Sydney Punch. State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.
Touchstone. Illustrations, PictureAustralia, National Library of Australia, Canberra.
The Worker. Illustrations, PictureAustralia, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

3.3.2 United States of America


4. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS

4.1 Victoria
Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 1856-7, Vols II and III.

Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly
Petition forwarded to the Legislative Assembly of Victoria, Session 1856-57, 'Influx of the Chinese', 15 September 1857.
Papers Presented to Parliament, Legislative Assembly, Victoria, 1858, 'Chinese Immigration'.

Other Parliamentary Papers, Victoria
Papers Presented to Parliament, Legislative Assembly, Victoria, 1888, 'Chinese Immigration'.
Petition to the Honourable the Speaker and Members of the Legislative Assembly of the Parliament of Victoria re Chinese Employment Bill.

4.2 New South Wales

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