

Migrant Cross-Cultural Encounters in Asia and the Pacific

In contrast to much scholarship on cross-cultural encounters, which focuses primarily on contact between indigenous peoples and 'settlers' or 'sojourners', this book is concerned with migrant aspects of this phenomenon – whether migrant–migrant or migrant–host encounters – bringing together studies from a variety of perspectives on cross-cultural encounters, their past, and their resonances across the contemporary Asia–Pacific region. Organised thematically into sections focusing on 'imperial encounters' of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, 'identities' in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and 'contemporary citizenship' and the ways in which this is complicated by mobility and cross-cultural encounters, the volume presents studies of New Zealand, Singapore, Australia, Vanuatu, Mauritius and China to highlight key themes of mobility, intimacies, ethnicity and 'race', heritage and diaspora through rich evidence such as photographs, census data, the arts and interviews. Demonstrating the importance of multidisciplinary ways of looking at migrant cross-cultural encounters through blending historical and social science methodologies from a range of disciplinary backgrounds, *Migrant Cross-Cultural Encounters in Asia and the Pacific* will appeal to anthropologists, sociologists, cultural geographers and historians with interests in migration, mobility and cross-cultural encounters.

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Migrant Cross-Cultural Encounters in Asia and the Pacific

**Edited by Jacqueline Leckie,
Angela McCarthy and
Angela Wanhalla**

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Migration, 1921–65: 'For Spirit and Adventure' (2007) and *Irish Migrants in New Zealand, 1840–1937: 'The Desired Haven'* (2005). Edited books include *Global Migrations: The Scottish Diaspora since 1600* (2016; with John M. MacKenzie), *Ireland and the World: Comparative, Transnational, and Personal Approaches* (2015; with Catharine Coleborne), *Migration, Ethnicity, and Mental Health: International Perspectives, 1840–2010* (2012; with Lyndon Fraser), *'Far from Home': The English in New Zealand* and *A Global Clan: Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities since the Eighteenth Century* (2005). She is currently writing a biography of James Taylor, 'the father of Ceylon tea'.

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Series editor's preface

The publication of this scholarly volume is apposite, coming as it does at a time when the nouns 'migrant' and 'refugee' are becoming increasingly synonymous with the phrase 'European migration crisis'. In 2015 alone more than a million and a quarter men, women and children entered Europe in order to escape civil war, terrorism, economic hardship and religious, sexual and political persecution. As a result there has been a tendency to side-line the fact that migration is a global phenomenon, one which impacts on all continents. The Asian-Pacific focus of this book strikingly reminds the reader that it is not only in Europe that migration has come under the microscope; issues of race, identity and citizenship all have been of concern to policy makers and, whilst host-migrant and migrant-migrant encounters have had their influence on local demographic landscapes, the ripples have spread far beyond national boundaries.

The contributions to this book, representing as they do a diversity of disciplines, including anthropology, history, geography and sociology, reinforce the fact that migration studies transcend academic boundaries: the ethos of this series *Studies in Migration and Diaspora*. The multiplicity of disciplines engaged in the study of the movement of people is demonstrated throughout the chapters. For example, from a historical perspective, it is through the photographic 'encounters' of Indian indentured labour in Mauritius between 1864 and 1914 that the life experiences of imported labour are analysed. For though the actual photographic encounter between photographer, subject and camera represents a split second in time, it is by contextualising these images within the colonial practices of the times and going beyond the immediacy of the image that the author is able to see behind the camera and reveal aspects of the cross-cultural exchanges in the life of the indentured labourer.

Other of the book's historical and anthropological 'imperial encounters' throw light on the identity crises undergone by migrants within and beyond Asia-Pacific. From the 1830s until 1949 Eurasians, many originating from the Treaty Ports in China, experienced the clash between self-identity and authorities' perceptions of identity and the way in which changes in political regimes and ideologies impacted on those whose culture and background was mixed race. The marginalisation of certain areas of gender study is not overlooked in the historical survey of cross-cultural encounters. The interactions as well as non-intersections of migrant women, particularly Chinese brides and wives on the Australian goldfields, provided the author of Chapter 3 with an opportunity to examine what little historical

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data there is and produce a broader picture of the Chinese migrant workers, their families and their life experiences. The chapter on migrant religious affiliation over more than 140 years in New Zealand provides the background for a study of both the role of the church as a bridge towards migrant intersection with the host community and conversely of the way in which religion in the early twenty-first century is no longer a point of interaction of indigene and incomer but rather an interface for different migrant groups.

The more contemporary studies in this volume cover a geographic spread from Singapore through Vanuatu to Australia and New Zealand. In spite of the geographic specificity, topics and themes chosen enable readers to make analogies with other migrant issues on other continents and recognize the way in which race, religion and belonging all play their part in the contemporary cross-cultural migrant experience. Chapters 5 and 6 demonstrate the way in which freedom of movement between Vanuatu and Australasia changed from the 'White' Australian policy which was finally dismantled in 1966, which made it almost impossible for those born in Vanuatu to enter, to the cross-cultural encounters of seasonal Vanuatuan workers in New Zealand in the twenty-first century.

The final two chapters in the book present comparatives of the way in which outsiders become insiders, citizens and nationals. We learn that Uyghur migrants from China living in Australia and New Zealand are more readily accepted than they are in their place of birth and, even though missing their homeland, they recognise that their children will have a better life and future in Australasia. Interaction and bridge building between host and migrant would seem, in the twenty-first century, to be a positive element. Singapore became a nation state in 1965 and is a true 'polyglot boarding house', with a high percentage of those living and working there foreign nationals. The final chapter illustrates how separation and integration in that island-state have become markers of its complex multi-ethnic population of citizens and foreigners. Yet whilst there is clear evidence of successful cross-cultural living there are also ethnic enclaves in which lower-skilled workers carry on independent lives and maintain rather than fuse their cultural heritage.

This is a book which works at several levels. It provides an academic exposition of patterns of migration within, albeit a large, geographic region, the boundaries of which, as the editors acknowledge, vary according to the context in which it is being discussed. Asia-Pacific is home to a multiplicity of religions, cultures and ethnic groups. The chapters in this book embrace the variants, allowing readers to gain both a specific and a more general overview of the migrant-migrant and host-migrant experience of diverse peoples. At the same time there are chapters which introduce individual players with whom it is possible to empathise and from whom we gain a deeper understanding of the cultural and identity complexities that face the outsider as he/she undergoes the processes of interaction, intersection and integration. This volume earns its place on the shelves of migration studies not just under the heading of 'Asia and the Pacific' but also, equally importantly, under the more general heading of 'Migrant Cross-Cultural Encounters'.

Anne J. Kershen
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The idea for the conference at which chapters in this book were first presented was appropriately conceived in mid-2013 at Formosa, a Taiwanese restaurant in Dunedin. There, Angela McCarthy and Angela Wanhalla brainstormed a way to bring together their respective centres (Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies and Centre for Research on Colonial Culture) but also to invite on board two further research themes at the University of Otago: Asian Migrations and Comparative and Cross-Cultural Studies. Colleagues leading those themes – Jacqui Leckie and Takashi Shogimen – proved receptive to the idea, and in November 2014 the conference was held at the University of Otago. We are very grateful for the financial support of those centres in bringing about that event.

We are also grateful to the Asian Migrations Research Theme for funding to assist in the preparation of this book. In particular, we wish to acknowledge the careful and attentive editing skills of Dr Lisa Marr and the expert cartographic skills of Les O'Neill.

*Jacqueline Leckie, Angela McCarthy
and Angela Wanhalla*

3 ‘To his home at Jembaicumbene’

Women’s cross-cultural encounters on a colonial goldfield

Kate Bagnall

In January 1869 the *Sydney Morning Herald* and several other colonial newspapers reported the arrival of a Chinese woman on the Braidwood goldfields, reprinting an article that had earlier appeared in the *Braidwood Dispatch*.¹ The article told how a local Chinese storekeeper had ‘just returned from Melbourne with a Chinese lady whom his parents selected for him in his native land and sent out to him to become his wife’. They had been married then gone together ‘to his home at Jembaicumbene’, a bustling mining settlement 10 kilometres south of the town of Braidwood along the Major’s Creek road.

The arrival of a Chinese woman in New South Wales was a notable curiosity for the colonial press. With the discovery of gold, the number of Chinese men in the colony had swelled from 1,800 in 1856 to 12,986 in 1861, falling again to 7,208 in 1871.² The number of Chinese women, however, remained consistently small. The 1861 census for New South Wales recorded just two Chinese women, while the 1871 census recorded 12.³ Two of the 12 Chinese women counted in the 1871 census lived at Jembaicumbene – the storekeeper’s wife and another woman who, it seems, had arrived some years earlier. An article published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in July 1865 noted that among the Chinese at Braidwood was ‘one solitary specimen of female loveliness’, who could be found living on the Jembaicumbene goldfields.⁴ In 1871 a further 324 women and girls – born in the colonies or in Ireland, England, Scotland or Wales – also made Jembaicumbene their home.

The lives of women like these have long been overlooked and marginalised in historical scholarship on Australia’s colonial goldfields. As Louise Blake has noted, traditional mining histories ‘depict the Australian goldfields as a masculine Anglo-centric world in which women, if they are mentioned at all, are mostly prostitutes, abandoned wives, or single immigrant women sent to civilise the masculine world of the diggings’.⁵ Recently, *The Forgotten Rebels of Eureka*, Clare Wright’s prize-winning revisionist history of the Eureka Stockade, has brought women’s experiences on the goldfields to more popular attention, part of a growing body of work that focuses on goldfields women.⁶ An absence of women is, however, still particularly striking in discussions of the Chinese, themselves an ignored and marginalised part of goldfields history. In part this absence reflects the very small numbers of Chinese women arriving in Australia in the gold-rush

decades of the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s and the apparent difficulties in locating sources that document the lives of this tiny and historically invisible population. But it also reflects the interests, perspectives and particular topics chosen by historians.

Chinese women and white women who partnered Chinese men are, for example, largely absent from *The Forgotten Rebels of Eureka*. To be fair, this absence is not through a particular oversight on Wright's part – in the mid-1850s very few Chinese women lived in the colonies, and interracial relationships between Chinese men and white women were also quite unusual – but her plain statement that Chinese men 'did not bring their women with them at all' still serves to perpetuate the idea that Chinese families were absent from the colonial goldfields more generally.⁷ What of the familial relationships of fathers and sons, uncles and nephews, brothers and cousins? What of the many hundreds of mixed-race children born to Chinese fathers and their white or Aboriginal partners in subsequent years? Val Lovejoy and I have separately argued that small numbers of Chinese women in the colonies did not necessarily equate with an absence of Chinese family life, particularly once the tumultuous early years of the 1850s rushes were over.⁸

Specificity of time and place are important in considering the lives of women on the colonial goldfields, and in this chapter I deliberately sought out a person – the Chinese storekeeper's wife, Kim Linn – and a place – Jembaicumbene on the Braidwood goldfields – through which I could investigate the experiences of Chinese women in colonial Australia and, further, the cross-cultural interactions of women living in a Chinese settlement on the goldfields. The 'extraordinary, instant, international community of the goldfields', to quote historian Tom Griffiths, provides an exemplary site to explore migrant cross-cultural encounters.⁹ On the goldfields, diverse sets of migrant groups and cultures encountered each other and the land's original inhabitants. At Braidwood were native-born Australians of Aboriginal, British, Irish and continental European heritage; migrants from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales; and 'foreign' migrants from China, Germany, France and the United States, among other countries.

The Chinese were by far the largest non-British population on the Braidwood goldfields, outnumbering the next-largest group, the Germans, by more than six to one. Parts of Braidwood's Chinese history have been well recorded through the work of historian Barry McGowan and archaeologist Lindsay Smith and are well remembered through the ongoing activities of the Braidwood Museum and local community.¹⁰ Much of the upper floor of the Braidwood Museum is devoted to the district's Chinese story, told through material about Australia's most famous nineteenth-century Chinese, Quong Tart, who came to Braidwood from Taisan as a boy, and long-term Braidwood residents the Nomchong family, whose descendants remain in the district today. Yet there are deeper layers to this Chinese history and heritage that do not become evident until we actively look for them and reshape our expectations of what can and cannot be uncovered from the historical record. In this chapter I focus primarily on intimate and domestic aspects of migrant cross-cultural encounters on the Jembaicumbene goldfields, for it is here that the shadowy life of my female subject is recorded most clearly.

But in following the life of this one young migrant woman from Hong Kong to the goldfields of New South Wales to Sydney's Chinese quarter in the Rocks (and then perhaps back to south China), I also suggest the importance of examining the intimacies of individual and family lives to better understand the workings of goldfields communities, where racial boundaries were more permeable and cross-cultural encounters more quotidian than commonly acknowledged, both then and now.

Hong Kong, 1868. A young woman named Kim Linn is preparing for her marriage.¹¹ She is not yet 20 years old, and, with the marriage an arranged one, she has not met her husband-to-be, a man more than 15 years her senior. His name is Ah How. As brides, Cantonese women like Kim Linn prepared themselves to leave home when they married, to take themselves away from family, from friends and from familiar sites as they took on new roles within their husbands' families. For most, this separation came with a journey to a neighbouring village or town, but for Kim Linn it meant leaving China for Australia. Her betrothed, Ah How, was a *gam saan haak* (金山客), a 'Gold Mountain guest', one of the many thousands of Cantonese men who left for the goldfields of California, British Columbia and Australia in the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s.

Kim Linn set sail from Hong Kong on board an American barque, the *Sunshine*, in the middle of summer, on 20 July 1868.¹² The *Sunshine*'s hold was full of cargo, including rice, tea and clothing for various Chinese traders in Australia, but 19 passengers were also on board, 16 of whom were Chinese.¹³ Five of these Chinese passengers were female: a married woman aged 28, a 3-year-old girl (presumably her daughter) and three young women aged between 16 and 19.¹⁴ This number of Chinese women travelling together to Australia was unusual; at the time of their departure from Hong Kong, there were fewer than 50 Chinese women in the whole of the Australian colonies.¹⁵ Nineteenth-century Chinese migration was generally a male pursuit, but the proportion of Chinese women to men in Australia was even lower than in other destinations, such as California, Hawai'i and Southeast Asia.¹⁶ In 1871 there was one Chinese woman to every 600 Chinese men in New South Wales, while at a similar time the figure for the United States was one Chinese woman to every 13 Chinese men.¹⁷

There were no legal restrictions on Chinese immigration to either New South Wales or Victoria when Kim Linn and her companions travelled to Australia in 1868. The 1855 Victorian Act, which had limited the number of Chinese on any vessel to one in every 10 tons of shipping and brought in a poll tax of £10 on every Chinese arrival, was repealed in 1865.¹⁸ The New South Wales Act, which was introduced in 1861, had been repealed in 1867. It had imposed a £10 poll tax and placed tonnage restrictions on the entry of Chinese but had defined 'Chinese' as 'any male native of China' or 'any male person born of Chinese parents'.¹⁹ More than a decade would pass before New South Wales and Victoria once again introduced anti-Chinese legislation, in 1881.

From the 1850s Chinese colonists spoke openly about why Chinese women did not travel with their husbands, fathers and brothers to establish new homes in the colonies. The masculine nature of Chinese immigration was a frequent criticism

levelled against them by European colonists, and the Chinese were keen to counter the negative impressions it created.²⁰ During a New South Wales government inquiry into Chinese immigration in 1858, for example, Sydney merchant Henry Leau Appa was quizzed on the subject. He stated that wives would rather stay at home in China, that many of them never even left their houses, that they had small feet, that they were afraid of the water, that they were shy and unaccustomed to being in the company of men, and that they would be scared to be on a ship with men in such close quarters.²¹ Other reasons given by Chinese colonists related more specifically to conditions in the colonies; for example, that the roads were bad and transportation rough and that Englishmen got drunk and abused Chinese men and would likely do the same to Chinese women.²² In their eloquent treatise on the 'Chinese question' in Australia, published in 1879, Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy stressed this last point: because Chinese men in the colonies were subjected to 'ignominious and contumelious treatment', they hesitated to bring their wives out to join them.²³

Whatever may have awaited them in their new Australian home, Kim Linn and her travelling companions first had to reach it. The *Sunshine's* journey south from Hong Kong to Melbourne took 132 days, more than four months, as the barque was beset with bad weather: gales and high seas at the outset (which lasted 23 days), then the loss of several sails, then strong easterly winds mixed with long periods of calm. They landed at Guam, Ascension (Pohnpei), Pleasant Island (Nauru) and Tucopia before passing Lord Howe Island and Twofold Bay (Eden) on their way to Victoria, finally arriving in Melbourne on 29 November 1868.

In Melbourne the women were met by two Chinese men from New South Wales: a Sydney cabinetmaker and storekeeper, Hie Yeak, who may well have been the husband of the married woman and father to the little girl, and Ah How, Kim Linn's betrothed.²⁴ Kim Linn and Ah How likely married in a Chinese ceremony during their short stay in Melbourne before departing for New South Wales.²⁵ On 10 December 1868, the party, comprising 'Hie Yeak, Ah How, 5 Chinese ladies and 1 child', travelled up to Sydney on the *Hero*, landing four days later.²⁶ From there, Kim Linn and Ah How travelled on further to Jembaicumbene, 300 kilometres south of Sydney, where Ah How had his home and business.

Jembaicumbene was one of the earliest of the Braidwood goldfields, with gold discovered there in 1851 and digging beginning the following year.²⁷ Chinese miners appeared at Jembaicumbene in 1858.²⁸ The population at Jembaicumbene fluctuated, as diggers came and went with the fortunes of the field and those at other locations like Kiandra and Lambing Flat, but there were as many as 500 Chinese at Jembaicumbene in 1861.²⁹ In 1866 the Jembaicumbene population was stated to be 400, half of whom were Chinese.³⁰ The Chinese established a village at Jembaicumbene Swamp, while a European village grew up around the river crossing on the Braidwood to Major's Creek road, about a kilometre away; other sites at Jembaicumbene with large numbers of Chinese were Strike-a-Light Flat and Bell's Paddock farther down the creek towards the Araluen road. The Chinese village – with its stores, butchers, cook-shops, communal oven, gardens, temple and nearby cemetery – served as a hub for the Chinese miners living at scattered

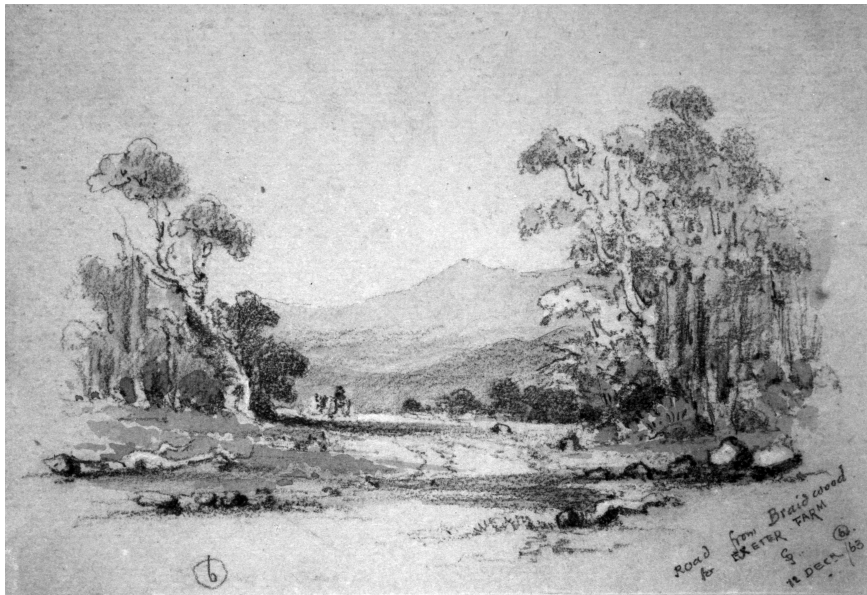


Figure 3.1 The road from Braidwood to Jembaicumbene, drawn by George Penkivil Slade, December 1863

Source: Courtesy State Library of New South Wales, Australia

sites along the surrounding gold-bearing rivers and creeks.³¹ The area had at least two Chinese temples: the temple in the Chinese village, which was erected in 1861 and whose doors are now on display in the Braidwood Museum, and one at Strike-a-Light Flat.³²

Mining reports in the colonial press suggest that Chinese miners did consistently well at Jembaicumbene, and Ah How made the smart decision to profit from his countrymen's success.³³ He arrived in Australia in 1857 as a young man in his twenties, and by the early 1860s he had a store at Jembaicumbene owned in partnership with two other Chinese.³⁴ From 1873 Ah How was also a publican, running the aptly named All Nations Hotel; the *Braidwood Monitor* noted that he was perhaps 'the first Chinaman who has applied in this colony to become a licensed victualler'.³⁵ Among Ah How's other enterprises may also have been the 'Chinese coach' that carried parcels and passengers to and from Braidwood and the neighbouring villages of Major's Creek and Araluen.³⁶ Historian Barry McGowan has noted that 'economic co-existence and interdependence between the Europeans and Chinese was an important feature of the Braidwood gold-fields', in part because of the spatial proximity of Chinese and European mining settlements at sites like Jembaicumbene.³⁷ This economic exchange and cooperation largely took place through men like Ah How, who acted as go-betweens between Chinese miners and gardeners and the wider European community. Ah

How spoke English, was known to be 'a very respectable Chinaman' and was acknowledged as a community leader by both Chinese and Europeans in the district.³⁸ In May 1872 he was naturalised as a British subject under the name Ralph Ah How so that he could purchase land.³⁹

In bringing Kim Linn to live with him, Ah How acted contrary to the sentiments of many of his fellow Chinese colonists, who, as noted, felt they could not subject their wives to the indignities, irregularities and dangers of colonial life. Race relations at Braidwood were better than those on many other colonial goldfields, with few serious incidents of racial violence, but Jembaicumbene in the 1860s was still a rough, remote and somewhat dangerous place.⁴⁰ The remaining archaeology suggests that Ah How's store was one of the more substantial buildings at Jembaicumbene, a weatherboard structure measuring about 6 × 4 metres, with a wooden floor, glass windows and possibly a verandah.⁴¹ Nearby dwellings, however, were much smaller, tent-like constructions with tamped-earth floors and small internal stone hearths, and these dwellings and their inhabitants could be swept away when Jembaicumbene Creek flooded.⁴²

Robberies and violent crime were also part of life at Jembaicumbene, both within the Chinese population and between Chinese and Europeans, and it was widely acknowledged that the area had insufficient police protection during the 1860s.⁴³ Ah How was caught up in such events on two notable occasions. Late one night in December 1864, three Chinese mugged him near his store. They beat him and stole £11.⁴⁴ Then, two years later, in November 1866, his store was held up by the Clarke gang, notorious bushrangers who terrorised both European and Chinese residents in the Braidwood district for several years in the mid-1860s.⁴⁵ From the attack on Ah How's store, the Clarkes reaped more than £30 worth of gold and goods; among their bounty was a silver watch, a Chinese sash, a purse, pipe, tea, sugar and sardines, all the property of Ah How, as well as cash, gold and jewellery belonging to two other Chinese men.⁴⁶ Ah How and Ah Wyn, one of his partners in the store, gave evidence when the case was heard in the Braidwood police court a month later; in such situations, Braidwood Chinese generally received support from the police and were provided with interpreters if needed.⁴⁷

In his study of mining communities in south-eastern New South Wales, Barry McGowan has noted that the 'gender imbalance weighed heavily on mining communities', citing Jembaicumbene as an example.⁴⁸ In 1871 the male population of the Jembaicumbene goldfield was 511, of whom 158 were Chinese.⁴⁹ Of this total male population, 111 were married, 6 were widowed, 212 were aged over 20 and unmarried and 182 were aged under 20 and unmarried. There were 326 females, including Kim Linn and the other Chinese woman whose identity is as yet unconfirmed.⁵⁰ Of this female population, 101 were married, 7 were widowed, 17 were aged over 20 and unmarried, and 201 were aged under 20 and unmarried. While there was a clear difference in the number of unmarried men (212) and women (17) at Jembaicumbene, there were still several hundred women and girls living in this small local area, as there were in other mining communities at Braidwood and across the colonies. As historian Clare Wright has stated, 'Women were there'.⁵¹ Some women may have been miners in their own right, and some would have mined

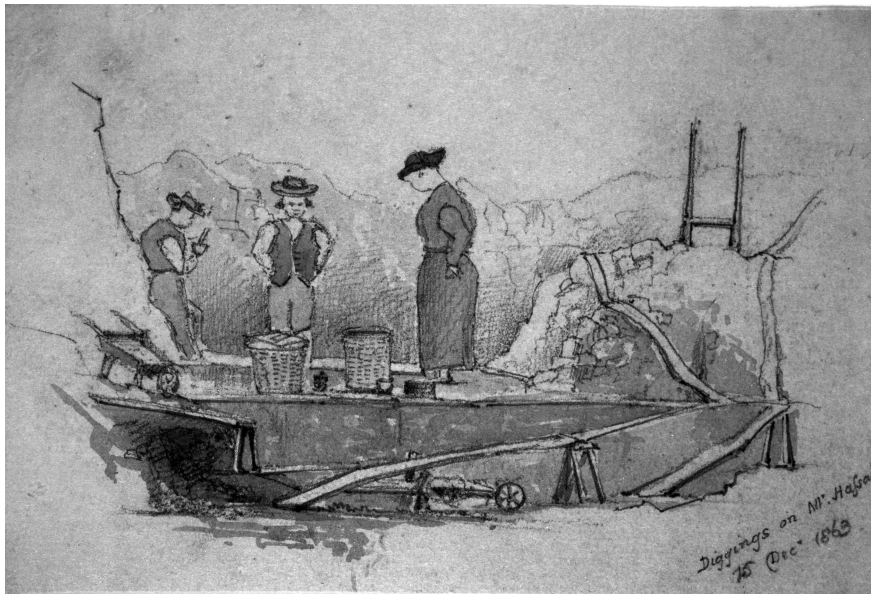


Figure 3.2 Chinese miners at Jembaicumbene, drawn by George Penkivil Slade, December 1863

Source: Courtesy State Library of New South Wales, Australia

alongside husbands (and children) or earned in other ways, such as running small businesses or selling their labour as domestic servants or seamstresses. In 1871 40 per cent of the population at Jembaicumbene was under 15 years old, and about 20 per cent of the population were said to be students.⁵² This statistic, together with the fact that a public school was opened at Jembaicumbene in 1870, with an attendance of up to 40 children a year in the early 1870s, shows that family groups made up a significant part of the Jembaicumbene population.⁵³

Kim Linn and Ah How's domestic situation was unusual, at Jembaicumbene and in the broader context of colonial New South Wales, but Ah How was by no means the only Chinese man with female companionship at Jembaicumbene. Registrations of birth and marriage show that from the late 1850s Chinese men in the Braidwood area were becoming husbands and fathers.⁵⁴ One of the earliest babies born to a Chinese father was little John Sanling, who arrived at Major's Creek in December 1860, the son of Chinese storekeeper Simon Sanling and his Irish wife, Marcella Madigan, a family who six months later would have their home at Lambing Flat destroyed in the anti-Chinese riots.⁵⁵ At Jembaicumbene, two white women, 'wives of Mongolians', were observed attending a Chinese funeral in early 1863.⁵⁶ The following year, in March 1864, Leaw Wee Ding, a Chinese doctor, and Anne Robson married according to Presbyterian rites at Jembaicumbene.⁵⁷ One of the witnesses to their wedding was Margaret Moy Tung

née Martin, who herself had just been married to her Chinese husband.⁵⁸ Other couples met and married on other goldfields before moving to Braidwood: Cantonese James Chen Ah You and Sydney-born Catherine Annie Latham, for example, married at Tambaroora in 1866 before arriving in Jembaicumbene a year or so later.⁵⁹ Through these families a different sort of cross-cultural exchange took place, not one of commerce or business, of mining or market gardening, but one of the intimate and domestic. Interracial relationships between Chinese men and white women were the subject of much negative comment in the colonial press, yet the Braidwood papers seem to have been relatively quiet on the subject. One notable exception was in 1864, however, when the *Braidwood News* reported on the 'gross immorality' occurring at Jembaicumbene:

a number of women . . . are living in an unmarried state with the Chinese who, having more money than wit, allow these ladies . . . as much money as they like. What is the consequence? The answer is plain. The money goes in drink and rows and fights ensue, in which the most dreadful language is used to the terror and consternation of the peaceable European population.⁶⁰

By the time Kim Linn arrived in Jembaicumbene in 1869, a small number of established households in the Braidwood area comprised Chinese husbands and white wives, in either legal marriages or de facto partnerships, together with their children.⁶¹ These families included the Young Sams, Ah Yous, Wee Dings, Ah Kins, Chu Chins and a little later the Hamiltons, Dan Hawks and Moy Mows.⁶² These families were the precursors of the best-known Braidwood Chinese family, the Nomchongs, whose ties to the Braidwood area date from the 1860s. Mongarlowe storekeeper Shong Foon Nomchong married Ellen Lupton, a young Braidwood-born woman of English and Irish parentage, in 1881, and they had four children together before his death in 1889.⁶³ Shong Foon and his brother, Chee Dock, were in business together from the late 1870s, and in 1887 Chee Dock brought out his wife, Mary Boo Jung Gew, from China. Chee Dock and Mary Nomchong had 15 children together and were well-respected members of the Braidwood community until their deaths in the early 1940s.⁶⁴

Harder to decipher is whether Chinese men found partners among the local Aboriginal women.⁶⁵ Mixed Aboriginal-European families were evident at Braidwood from the 1840s, the offspring of Aboriginal women and white men, but there is no evidence for Aboriginal women taking Chinese partners in the 1860s or 1870s.⁶⁶ We do know, however, that in the 1880s one Chinese gardener, James Ahoy, who worked on the Glendaruel property at Jembaicumbene, had a family with an Aboriginal-European woman, Ellen de Mestre.⁶⁷ Ellen was born at Jembaicumbene around 1850, the ex-nuptial daughter of an Aboriginal woman named Sarah Lamb and a young Sydney-born man of French and English descent, Etienne de Mestre. With James Ahoy she had three children, Gwendoline, Ellen and Charles, all born in the 1880s; her older children, the sons of a previous relationship with Aboriginal man Alick Bond, also went by the family's Chinese surname, Ah Hie or Ahoy, at this time. One of James and Ellen's grandsons, Guboo

Ted Thomas – born at Jembaicumbene in 1909, the son of Gwendoline Ahoy and William Iberia Thomas – was the last initiated elder of the Yuin people.⁶⁸

Kim Linn gave birth to her first baby, a boy, at Jembaicumbene on 19 August 1869, attended by a neighbour, Irishwoman Mary Callaghan. The baby was premature and lived for only half an hour. He was buried without a name.⁶⁹ Within a few months Kim Linn was pregnant again, and she gave birth to her second baby, another son, on 7 June 1870, attended by Mrs Callaghan. This baby died, too, two days later. Catherine Ah You – herself a young mother with a 2-year-old and another baby on the way – was one of the witnesses to the baby's burial.⁷⁰ It is not hard to imagine the effect that the deaths of Kim Linn's babies would have had on her health and well-being, especially so soon after her arrival in Australia. In the 1860s and 1870s, the standard of medical care in the Braidwood district was poor, and births were generally attended by a local woman or neighbour rather than a medical doctor or trained midwife.⁷¹ At Jembaicumbene there was also the Chinese doctor, Leaw Wee Ding, but there is no record of him treating Kim Linn. Local European families sometimes called on the Chinese doctor's services, too; in 1859, for example, young Patrick O'Donnell, who died from heart disease, had been treated (with moxibustion) at his parents' request by the Chinese doctor after English doctor John Redhead declared that their son's condition was untreatable.⁷²

As well as a personal tragedy for Kim Linn and Ah How, their sons' deaths may well have affected the Chinese community at Jembaicumbene more broadly. The press contained reports about other 'first' Chinese babies born in the colonies (as it did the arrival of other Chinese wives like Kim Linn) and of the celebrations that followed, likely to be the *muhn yuht* (满月) or 'full month' tradition in Cantonese culture that marks a baby's first month of life. The birth of Ah Cong, or Henry Sydney, Ah Foo in Nundle in 1865, for example, was met with joy by the local Chinese community, who presented his parents, miner and storekeeper Ah Foo and his wife, Ah Fie, with a gift of £150.⁷³ The Jembaicumbene Chinese – who came together for celebrations at New Year and other festivals – may well have celebrated in a similar fashion, but instead they buried the infant sons of one of their long-standing and most respected residents and his young wife.⁷⁴

Within a year of her second son's birth and death, Kim Linn safely delivered her third baby, a girl named Lune Zee, born on 14 May 1871, attended by Mrs Callaghan.⁷⁵ Two more sons followed: One King, born on 13 August 1873, and John, born on 16 January 1876, both delivered by English-born Jane Helman, a local Jembaicumbene resident who worked as a midwife.⁷⁶ All but one of the births and deaths of Kim Linn and Ah How's children at Jembaicumbene were recorded by district registrar Ralph Clemenger, an Irishman from County Cavan who lived in the Braidwood area from 1862 to 1876 and was variously the local clerk of petty sessions, registrar of the district court and police magistrate.⁷⁷ Clemenger started his career at Lambing Flat and at Braidwood seems to have had a good relationship with the local Chinese population.⁷⁸ In 1862 it was he who issued more than 1,700 certificates to local Chinese residents exempting them from the newly imposed £10 poll tax.⁷⁹ Clemenger provided a reference for Quong Tart's

application for naturalisation in 1871 and witnessed Ah How's application in 1872; he likely also inspired Ah How to choose the Christian name 'Ralph'.⁸⁰

It was among the Chinese–European families at Jembaicumbene that Kim Linn would have found support and friendship during those early difficult years and then later as she raised her young family. One of her neighbours, Sarah Moy Mow, may well have been a particular friend. Sarah Moy Mow was born at Concord, New South Wales, in 1850, the daughter of an Irish woman from Tipperary, Margaret McGovern, and her Chinese husband, John Sheen.⁸¹ Sarah married Chinese John Moy Mow in Sydney in 1867, at age 17.⁸² They moved to Jembaicumbene around 1870 or 1871, after John Moy Mow went bankrupt, but he had business dealings with Chinese at Braidwood throughout the 1860s and was part owner of the Hap Kee store at Araluen.⁸³ John Moy Mow and Ah How were naturalised only months apart, and they seem to have known each other well; in December 1871, for example, John Moy Mow was reported to have attended a small dinner hosted by Ah How in celebration of a Chinese holiday.⁸⁴ Living in such a small settlement, their wives likely would have provided each other with companionship and mutual support. Like Kim Linn, Sarah Moy Mow had lost a baby – her second-born son William, who was born and died in Sydney in 1870 – but she was kept busy raising her young family, including two more babies born at Jembaicumbene.⁸⁵ Son Ernest (b. 1871) and daughter Ada (b. 1873) were born just months apart from Kim Linn's two older surviving children, Lune Zee and One King.⁸⁶

John Moy Mow was one of a number of men of the Moy (梅) clan from Duanfen (端芬) in Taishan county, Guangdong, who made their home at Braidwood or Sydney from the late 1850s.⁸⁷ Other clan members were Moy Ping, who arrived around 1870 with his father and by the 1880s was a merchant in Sydney; Charlie Moy Hing, interpreter on the Braidwood goldfields and then a merchant in Sydney; and John Moy Sing, who became Grandmaster of the Chinese Masonic Lodge.⁸⁸ At the centre of these Moy connections was merchant, philanthropist and community leader Quong Tart, who had left Duanfen in 1859, at age nine, to come to live at Braidwood with an uncle.⁸⁹ Evidence suggests that, while Ah How was not a Moy, he was from Taishan county and hence would have spoken the same, or similar, dialect as the Duanfen Moys. Kim Linn was likely from the same Sze Yup region of the Pearl River Delta.

By the mid-1870s, Jembaicumbene's mining heyday was over, and life there became increasingly precarious because of drought and falling yields.⁹⁰ Barry McGowan has noted that 'there was still a sizeable Chinese population on the field as late as 1871, but numbers were much reduced by the mid-to-late 1870s, with the creek drying up in 1877'.⁹¹ In such circumstances Ah How's store was likely no longer profitable, so he, Kim Linn and their three children left Jembaicumbene in 1878, moving up to Sydney where they took up residence at 55 Cambridge Street, in Sydney's old Chinese quarter in the Rocks. Other families moved away from Jembaicumbene, too: the Moy Mows returned to Sydney (where they lived at the Rocks, close to Kim Linn and her family); the Ah You family moved into the town of Braidwood; while Annie Wee Ding, wife of the Chinese doctor, met

a more terrible fate.⁹² Her body, naked except for her stockings, was found face down in a shallow water hole near her home at the Chinese camp in July 1877. Marks on her body suggested that she had been forced under the water ‘until death had stopped all struggles’; the perpetrator of this crime was never identified.⁹³ With time, Jembaicumbene turned from a mining settlement into a farming one, with some remaining Chinese–European families – such as housekeeper Martha Hamilton and her gardener husband, Ah Yott, who lived at the Exeter Farm crossing on the creek to the west of Jembaicumbene village – still turning to fossicking to supplement their income in the 1880s.⁹⁴

After moving to Sydney, on 30 September 1878 Kim Linn gave birth to her sixth baby, at home in Cambridge Street, attended by a Dr Wright and a Mrs Hong. It was another boy, named Albert. Somewhere along the way Kim Linn acquired a new name, too: she was named on Albert’s birth certificate as Elizabeth Gum Lin, and documents from the following year name her as Mary Elizabeth Ah How.⁹⁵ Just over a year after Albert’s birth, tragedy hit Kim Linn and her family again: Ah How died, on 24 October 1879 at the age of 48, after suffering from hydatid disease of the lungs for five months.⁹⁶ The informant on his death certificate was his old Jembaicumbene friend John Moy Mow. Ah How was buried in the Chinese section of Rookwood Cemetery, and then, in 1887, his remains were exhumed and sent to China.⁹⁷

What, then, of Kim Linn? Widowed before the age of 30, with four young children to care for, Kim Linn inherited Ah How’s estate and then most likely took her young family back to China; I have found no further mention of her in Australia after 1879.⁹⁸ We know that other Chinese wives in New South Wales in the 1870s and 1880s returned to Hong Kong and China after a period living in the colonies. For example, Sam Kue, wife of storekeeper John Ah See, lived in Sydney, Tingha and Grafton from 1870 to 1887, raising six New South Wales–born children before returning with her family to Hong Kong.⁹⁹ And Ah Wah, wife of storekeeper On Hing (a naturalised British subject like Ah How), lived at Gulgong between 1880 and 1889, where she had three children before the family returned to China because On Hing was ill.¹⁰⁰

One further document suggests more certainly that Kim Linn and her children left New South Wales for China after Ah How’s death in 1879. In 1925, a man named Johnnie Ah Howe died at Lower Campbell Street in the heart of Sydney’s Chinatown.¹⁰¹ The informant was Moy Ping, another friend of the Ah How family from their Jembaicumbene days. Moy Ping reported that Johnnie Ah Howe, the son of Ralph Ah Howe and Mary, had been born at Braidwood and was aged 50 at the time of his death, details that correlate with Kim Linn’s second-youngest son, John, who was born at Jembaicumbene in January 1876. The death certificate further states that Johnnie Ah Howe had married in China at the age of 30 and that he had three children there. Johnnie Ah Howe was buried in the Chinese section of Rookwood Cemetery, like his father had been, and the inscription on his headstone provides some final tantalising details of his and his family’s identity: it records his Chinese name – 趙還達, pronounced *jiuh wàahn daaht* in Cantonese and perhaps written in English as Chiu Wan Tat – and his village of origin – 台山車萌里和豐村, Chelang lane in Hefeng village, Taishan county, Guangdong.¹⁰²

Kim Linn was one of 12 Chinese women recorded as living in New South Wales in 1871. As well as her fellow Jembaicumbene resident, two other Chinese women lived on goldfields: one at Nerrigundah further down towards the coast and one on the Peel River near Nundle in the north of the colony. Of the other women, one lived in a Chinese fishing village on Port Stephens; two lived in rural locations, at Orange and Warren; one lived in the Sydney suburb of Paddington; and four lived in Sydney proper.

Research into the lives of these and other Chinese women in southern Australia during the nineteenth century is still in its infancy, yet evidence suggests that women in the city and women on the goldfields or in the bush may have had markedly different experiences of colonial life. Newspaper accounts of Chinese women in Sydney suggest that they lived relatively cloistered lives as wives and daughters of wealthy merchants or as lady's maids in Chinese households. One report from 'a lady correspondent' published in 1873, for example, noted that the two Chinese women she visited in Lower George Street 'had been in Sydney for some two years, and had left their home only twice during that period', once to attend a Chinese theatre performance and once to visit friends in the suburbs.¹⁰³ Yet from the evidence I have assembled of Kim Linn's life at Jembaicumbene, it is hard to imagine that she lived sequestered behind the walls of her little weathervaned hut as village life bustled around her.

The intimacies of everyday, domestic life in Jembaicumbene necessarily brought Kim Linn, Ah How and their neighbours together: from a Chinese woman giving birth with the help of an English midwife, to an Irish family calling in the Chinese doctor to treat their dying son, to white wives of Chinese men being witnesses at each others' weddings. As historian Alan Mayne has noted, positioning Chinese residents as active participants in goldfields communities does not deny the occurrence of 'ambivalence and friction' between Chinese and Europeans. 'Community life', he writes, 'was as much about competition and mutual antagonism as it was about co-operation and consensus. Neighbourliness was as much about bickering and ostracism as it was about sharing milk and having a friendly chat'.¹⁰⁴

Goldfields communities were overwhelmingly dominated by men, but they were not, as Clare Wright and others have reminded us, devoid of women. Despite a growing interest in women on the goldfields, family and goldfields are still not often analysed together. In this chapter I have shown, however, how the colonial goldfields were places where cross-cultural families and communities were forged through physical proximity, geographic isolation and economic and social co-dependence. This chapter therefore offers a way forward for the study of the Chinese on the goldfields and goldfields history more generally, arguing that, despite the challenges of a patchy historical record, it is possible to uncover who goldfields women were and what their experiences of colonial life were like, as long as we take family seriously. Methodologically, this means making use of family records, such as birth and marriage registers, for they sometimes provide the clearest evidential basis for tracking the pathways of female migration across the Pacific in the nineteenth century.

Notes

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- 1 'The Progress of Mongolian Colonisation', *Sydney Morning Herald* (hereafter *SMH*) (8 January 1896), p. 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13187496> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 2 *Official Yearbook for the Commonwealth of Australia 1925* (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1925), p. 952; C.Y. Choi, *Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1975), pp. 21–3. Choi notes that there was a major undercount of Chinese in the colonial census and that other estimates put the number of Chinese in New South Wales in 1861 at 21,000.
- 3 *Official Yearbook for the Commonwealth of Australia 1925*, p. 952.
- 4 'Random Notes by a Wandering Reporter, no. VI', *SMH* (19 July 1865), p. 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31124787> (accessed 18 April 2016); *New South Wales Census of 1871* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1873), p. 400, http://hccda.ada.edu.au/pages/NSW-1871-census-03_400 (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 5 L. Blake, 'Chasing Eliza Mills: An Archive Story', *Lilith: A Feminist History Journal*, 21 (2015), p. 81.
- 6 C. Wright, *The Forgotten Rebels of Eureka* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2013). For recent scholarship on women on the goldfields, see 'Part Three: Gold-rush Women', in L. Carpenter and L. Fraser (eds), *Rushing for Gold: Life and Commerce on the Goldfields of New Zealand and Australia* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2016); Blake, 'Chasing Eliza Mills'; C. Fahey and A. Mayne (eds), *Gold Tailings: Forgotten History of Family and Community on the Central Victorian Goldfields* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2010); D. Wickham, 'Silent Screams: The Hidden Agenda', in K. Reeves and D. Nichols (eds), *Deeper Leads: New Approaches to Victorian Goldfields History* (Ballarat, Victoria: Ballarat Heritage Services, 2007), pp. 85–110; M. Anderson, 'Mrs Charles Clacy, Lola Montez and Poll the Grog-seller: Glimpses of Women on the Early Victorian Goldfields', in I. McCalman, A. Cook and A. Reeves (eds), *Gold: Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 225–49; S. Lawrence, 'Gender and Community Structure on Australian Colonial Goldfields', in E.W. Herbert, A.B. Knapp and V.C. Pigott (eds), *Social Approaches to an Industrial Past: The Archaeology and Anthropology of Mining* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- 7 Wright, *Forgotten Rebels of Eureka*, p. 185.
- 8 See K. Bagnall, 'Rewriting the History of Chinese Families in Nineteenth-Century Australia', *Australian Historical Studies*, 42:1 (March 2011), pp. 62–77; V. Lovejoy, 'Falling Leaves: Chinese Family and Community in Nineteenth-Century Bendigo', in Fahey and Mayne (eds), *Gold Tailings*, pp. 91–113.
- 9 T. Griffiths, 'History under the Southern Cross: Reflections on the Future of Australian History' (Collaborative Research Centre in Australian History, Federation University Australia, Ballarat, 9 May 2014), http://web.archive.org/web/20160411042823/https://federation.edu.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0003/182073/History-under-the-Southern-Cross-Federation-University-Lecture-2014-Tom-Griffiths.pdf (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 10 For an excellent summary, see B. McGowan and C. Wright, 'Braidwood's Enduring Chinese Heritage', *Historic Environment*, 23:3 (2011), pp. 34–9. See also B. McGowan, 'From Fraternities to Families: The Evolution of Chinese Life in the Braidwood District of New South Wales, 1850s–1890s', *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies*, 2 (2008), pp. 4–33; B. McGowan, *Bungonia to Braidwood: An Historical*

- and *Archaeological Account of the Shoalhaven and Mongarlowe Goldfields* (Canberra: self-published, 1996); B. McGowan, 'The Making of a Legend: Quong Tart on the Braidwood Goldfields', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, 9 (2007), pp. 69–98; Lindsay Smith, 'Hidden Dragons: The Archaeology of Mid to Late Nineteenth-Century Chinese Communities in Southeastern New South Wales' (PhD dissertation, Australian National University, 2006). My thanks to Barry McGowan for his gracious assistance as I have trampled upon his earlier, substantial work on Jembaicumbene and the Braidwood Chinese.
- 11 Kim Linn's Chinese name was written as 'Gim Leon', 'Kim Linn' and 'Gum Lin' in the records I have located. Without the Chinese characters it is impossible to know which spelling most accurately reflects how her name was pronounced.
 - 12 'Departures', *Hong Kong Daily Press* (21 July 1868), p. 1, <http://mmis.hkpl.gov.hk> (accessed 18 April 2016).
 - 13 'Shipping Intelligence', *Argus* (30 November 1868), p. 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5833585> (accessed 18 April 2016).
 - 14 The name 'Kim Linn' or similar is not among those listed on the passenger manifest of the *Sunshine*; however, the overall evidence suggests strongly that Kim Linn was among these women. Chinese personal names were notoriously rubbery when written down in colonial records, particularly on shipping lists. Public Records Office Victoria, VPRS 7667, Inwards Overseas Passenger Lists (Foreign Ports) October–December 1868, microfiche 120. My thanks to Pauline Rule for this reference.
 - 15 Choi, *Chinese Migration and Settlement*, p. 22.
 - 16 G.A. Pfeffer, *If They Don't Bring Their Women Here: Chinese Female Immigration before Exclusion* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), pp. 22–4; Choi, *Chinese Migration and Settlement*, p. 22.
 - 17 Pfeffer, *If They Don't Bring Their Women Here*, p. 24.
 - 18 Choi, *Chinese Migration and Settlement*, pp. 20–21.
 - 19 Chinese Immigrants Regulation and Restriction Act of 1861 (NSW), 25 Vic. No. 3; Chinese Immigration Act Repeal Act of 1867 (NSW), 31 Vic. No. 8.
 - 20 See Bagnall, 'Rewriting the History of Chinese Families in Nineteenth-Century Australia', pp. 62–77.
 - 21 'The Chinese Question', *SMH* (5 July 1858), p. 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13016865> (accessed 18 April 2016).
 - 22 'A Chinese Demonstration', *Argus* (7 August 1857), p. 6, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7136666> (accessed 18 April 2016).
 - 23 L. Kong Meng, C.H. Cheong and L. Ah Mouy, *The Chinese Question in Australia, 1878–79* (Melbourne: F.F. Bailliere, 1879), p. 19.
 - 24 I have found no record of Ah How travelling to Melbourne, but it seems likely that he and Hie Yeak had made some arrangement regarding the women's arrival. Registered letter receipts held by the Braidwood Museum show that Hie Yeak had dealings with the Chinese at Braidwood, suggesting the likelihood of personal or business connections between the two men. On Hie Yeak travelling to Melbourne, see 'Clearances', *SMH* (2 December 1868), p. 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13176660> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Shipping Intelligence', *Argus* (4 December 1868), p. 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5833955> (accessed 18 April 2016). On Hie Yeak's business, see 'Preserved Ginger', *SMH* (27 July 1867), p. 9, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13154184> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Chinese Illumination Lamps', *SMH* (18 January 1868), p. 9, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13155363> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Every Description of Furniture', *SMH* (12 September 1868), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13172761> (accessed 18 April 2016).
 - 25 The newspaper reports of Kim Linn's arrival in Jembaicumbene in January 1869 suggest that she and Ah How married in Melbourne, but where and how the pair actually wed is not certain, as I can find no marriage registration in either Victoria or New

- South Wales. The birth registrations of their children are contradictory on the matter, saying they married in Canton in 1866 or 1869, Sydney in 1866, Jembaicumbene in 1869 or Braidwood in 1867.
- 26 'Shipping', *SMH* (14 December 1868), p. 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13177346> (accessed 18 April 2016). See also 'Steamship Hero', *Argus* (9 December 1868), p. 1, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5834342> (accessed 18 April 2016); *New South Wales, Australia, Unassisted Immigrant Passenger Lists, 1826–1922*, passenger list for the *Hero*, 13 December 1868, Ancestry.com (accessed 18 April 2016).
 - 27 N. Ellis, *Braidwood, Dear Braidwood: A History of Braidwood and District* (Braidwood, NSW: self-published, 1989), p. 74; McGowan, *Bungonia to Braidwood*, p. 113. For a fuller description of the development of the mining settlement at Jembaicumbene, see B. McGowan, 'Dust and Dreams: A Regional History of Mining and Community in South East New South Wales, 1850–1914' (PhD dissertation, Australian National University, 2001), pp. 124–26.
 - 28 Smith, 'Hidden Dragons', pp. 73–4. Newspaper reports of the Chinese at Jembaicumbene date from mid-1859.
 - 29 'Our Goldfields', *SMH* (19 February 1861), p. 8, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13052975> (accessed 18 April 2016).
 - 30 *Bailliere's New South Wales Gazetteer and Road Guide* (Sydney: F.F. Bailliere, 1866), p. 281.
 - 31 Smith, 'Hidden Dragons', pp. 77, 93.
 - 32 'Country News', *SMH* (11 February 1861), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13052448> (accessed 18 April 2016); McGowan, 'From Fraternities to Families', p. 15.
 - 33 McGowan, 'From Fraternities to Families', p. 13.
 - 34 On Ah How's arrival, see *New South Wales, Australia, Certificates of Naturalization, 1849–1903*, naturalisation certificate for Ralph Ah How, 1872, Ancestry.com (accessed 18 April 2016). On Ah How's store, see 'Assisting Bushrangers', *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle* (22 December 1866), p. 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article100874092> (accessed 18 April 2016).
 - 35 *Supplement to the NSW Government Gazette*, 212 (9 September 1873), p. 2461; *Supplement to the NSW Government Gazette*, 209 (2 September 1874), p. 2639; 'The "Braidwood Monitor" Says', *Armidale Express and New England General Advertiser* (9 November 1872), p. 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article188988472> (accessed 18 April 2016).
 - 36 The statement that Ah How ran a passenger coach and delivery vans comes from a newspaper article published in 1909. See 'Looking Backward over Fifty Years', *Freeman's Journal* (9 September 1909), p. 41, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article108180226> (accessed 18 April 2016). However, contemporary articles from the early 1860s name John Young Sam as running the coach service. See 'New Race of Coach Proprietor', *Goulburn Herald* (10 August 1861), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article105778772> (accessed 18 April 2016). It may be that Ah How took over the business from John Young Sam, that they were competitors, or that their names were confused in the 1909 article, written half a century later.
 - 37 McGowan, 'From Fraternities to Families', pp. 16–17. For an example of the physical proximity of Chinese and European miners and of their interactions at Jembaicumbene, see 'Horrible Death of a Chinaman in the Braidwood District', *Empire* (25 December 1868), <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60830423> (accessed 18 April 2016).
 - 38 On Ah How's reputation and activities, see 'Assisting Bushrangers', p. 4; 'Chinese Bushrangers', *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser* (29 December 1864), p. 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18710094> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Colonial Extracts', *Queanbeyan Age* (22 July 1874), p. 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30596365> (accessed 18 April 2016).
 - 39 Naturalisation certificate for Ralph Ah How.

- 40 On race relations and violence at Braidwood, see B. McGowan, *Dust and Dreams: Mining Communities in South-East New South Wales* (Sydney: University of NSW Press, 2010), pp. 236–41.
- 41 See Smith, 'Hidden Dragons', pp. 80–103.
- 42 'Jembaicumbene Swamp', *Empire* (20 February 1860), p. 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article64097585> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Floods in the Braidwood District', *SMH* (22 November 1860), p. 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13049172> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 43 See, for example, 'Robbery under Arms', *Empire* (26 March 1864), p. 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60581139> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Braidwood', *Empire* (18 October 1866), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60601199> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Robbery under Arms', *Empire* (16 August 1867), p. 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60843730> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Reported Murder of a Chinaman', *Empire* (16 January 1862), p. 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60507621> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Robbery and Murder Near Braidwood', *Goulburn Herald* (16 August 1862), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article102587847> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Braidwood', *Empire* (23 February 1864), p. 8, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60581363> (accessed 18 April 2016); *Bailliere's New South Wales Gazetteer*, p. 281.
- 44 'Braidwood', *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle* (24 December 1864), p. 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article104608328> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 45 See P.C. Smith, *The Clarke Gang: Outlawed, Outcast and Forgotten* (Dural, NSW: Rosenberg, 2015).
- 46 *New South Wales Police Gazette* (28 November 1866), p. 418; 'Clarke's Gang Again', *Queanbeyan Age and General Advertiser* (29 November 1866), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30637235> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Assisting Bushrangers', p. 4.
- 47 McGowan, 'From Fraternities to Families', p. 18.
- 48 McGowan, *Dust and Dreams*, p. 235.
- 49 Population figures taken from *New South Wales Census of 1871* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1873), pp. 400, 798–9, http://hccda.ada.edu.au/pages/NSW-1871-census-03_400, http://hccda.ada.edu.au/pages/NSW-1871-census-03_798 (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 50 The other Chinese woman may have been a woman known as Mrs Chin Lin or Mrs How Ling, whose arrival in Cooma in 1878 and death there in 1880 were reported in the press. She was said to have arrived in New South Wales in 1868 at the age of 16 and had lived with her husband and three children at Braidwood or Major's Creek until 1878. See 'Chinese Lady in Cooma', *Manaro Mercury* (29 June 1878), p. 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article114517798> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Death of a Chinese Lady at Cooma', *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle* (11 February 1880), p. 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article101449492> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 51 Wright, *Forgotten Rebels of Eureka*, p. 15.
- 52 For occupations of the Jembaicumbene population, see *New South Wales Census of 1871*, pp. 998–1003, http://hccda.ada.edu.au/pages/NSW-1871-census-03_998 (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 53 *New South Wales Census of 1871*, p. 798; McGowan, 'Dust and Dreams', Appendix 7: Public School Statistics, Jembaicumbene, p. 354.
- 54 The family of Le Ah Kin and Sarah Laidley is possibly the earliest Chinese–European family in Jembaicumbene. Their eldest daughter, Lucy, was born in the mid-1850s, and birth registrations for later children can be found from 1860. See 'Lucy Ah Kin', Newcastle Industrial Schools website, <http://nis.wikidot.com/ah-kin> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'We Learn from the Braidwood Dispatch', *Empire* (6 May 1868), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60852948> (accessed 18 April 2016); birth registration for Samuel Le Akin, Braidwood, NSW BDM 1860/5662; birth registration for Maria Ah Kin, Braidwood, NSW BDM 1862/6035; birth registration for Hannah

- Le Ah Kin, Braidwood, NSW BDM 1864/6726; birth registration for Luppit Ah Kin, Braidwood, NSW BDM 1866/6608.
- 55 Birth registration for John San Lin, 23 December 1860, Major's Creek, NSW BDM 1861/5788.
- 56 'Death of a Chinaman under Suspicious Circumstances', *SMH* (7 February 1863), p. 7, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13073782> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 57 Marriage registration for Leaw Wee Hing and Anne Helen Robson, 1 March 1864, Jembaicumbene, NSW BDM 1864/1678.
- 58 Marriage registration for Moy Thun and Margaret J. Martin, Braidwood, NSW BDM 1864/1677. Margaret and Moy Wa Tung had a daughter, Mary Elizabeth, born at Braidwood in 1864. By 1869 Moy Tung was apparently in California, and Margaret placed Mary Elizabeth, aged 5, into state care. See birth registration for Mary Elizabeth Moy Wa Tung, 1864, Braidwood, NSW BDM 1864/6441; *New South Wales, Australia, Registers for the Randwick Asylum for Destitute Children, 1852–1915*, index record for Mary Elizabeth Moythung, Ancestry.com (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 59 Their first Braidwood-born child was Lilian, born in 1868. Birth registration for Lilian M. Ah Yow, Braidwood, NSW BDM 1868/7221; birth registration for William Cecil Ah You, 9 October 1875, Braidwood, NSW BDM 1875/8675. See also McGowan, 'From Fraternities to Families', p. 30.
- 60 'Nuisances upon the Diggings', *Braidwood News and Southern Gold-fields' Advertiser* (25 June 1864), p. 2.
- 61 Based on his archaeological study of individual dwellings at Jembaicumbene, Lindsay Smith concluded that 'there was no artefactual evidence to indicate occupation by females or children'. See Smith, 'Hidden Dragons', p. 91. However, when Virginia Esposito re-examined the ceramic artefacts uncovered by Smith at Jembaicumbene, she found that items, such as children's china, egg cups, a glass bead and 'genteel' flatware, in four excavated hut sites suggest the presence of women and children. Two of these huts were located between the temple site and the store site, believed to be Ah How's. See V. Esposito, *Rice Bowls and Dinner Plates: Ceramic Artefacts from Chinese Gold Mining Sites in Southeast New South Wales, Mid 19th to Early 20th Century* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014), pp. 56, 63–76.
- 62 Names taken from an analysis of births and marriages registered at Braidwood between 1860 and 1880 and from the 1891 and 1901 Census collectors books: *1891 New South Wales, Australia Census and 1901 New South Wales, Australia Census*, Ancestry.com (accessed 18 April 2016). On the Nomchong, Chuchin and Ah You families, see also B. McGowan, 'From Fraternities to Families', pp. 29–30.
- 63 Marriage registration for Shong Feon and Ellen Lupton, 17 February 1881, Monga Little River, NSW BDM 1881/3332; birth registration for William James Nom Chong, Braidwood, 1881/12308; birth registration for Walter Nom Chong, Braidwood, NSW BDM 1883/13610; birth registration for Frederick Nom Chong, Braidwood, 1885/15879; birth registration for Elsie Nom Chong, Braidwood, 1887/16951; 'Attempt to Rob a Grave', *SMH* (11 December 1889), p. 7, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13752832> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 64 National Archives of Australia, Canberra, A1, 1926/9963; 'Obituary', *Braidwood Review and District Advocate* (9 September 1941), p. 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article119342980> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Obituary', *Braidwood Dispatch and Mining Journal* (7 August 1942), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article119255114> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 65 On relations between Aboriginals and Chinese on the Victorian goldfields, see F. Cahir and I. Clark, "'John and Jackey': An Exploration of Aboriginal and Chinese People's Associations on the Victorian Goldfields", *Journal of Australasian Mining History*, 13 (October 2015), pp. 23–41.
- 66 B. Egloff, N. Peterson and S. Wesson, *Biamanga and Gulaga: Aboriginal Cultural Association with Biamanga and Gulaga National Parks* (Surry Hills, NSW: Office of the Registrar, Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983 (NSW), 2005), pp. 46–9.

- 67 'The Koori Connection: Helen de Mestre and Charlie Ahoy', De Mestre Family History website, <http://belindacohen.tripod.com/demestrefamily/helendemestre.html> (accessed 18 April 2016); McGowan, 'From Fraternities to Families', pp. 23–4; E. Morgan, *The Calling of the Spirits* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1994), pp. 1–2; P. Mayberry, *Braidwood Gaol Admissions Register 1856–1899* (online database), entries for Ah Hie and Ah Hir; 'Assault', *Braidwood Dispatch* (15 March 1890), p. 2; 'Braidwood', *Goulburn Evening Penny Post* (15 February 1898), p. 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article98677503> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Braidwood Police Court', *Braidwood Dispatch and Mining Journal* (4 November 1911), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article100632471> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Outrage at Braidwood', *Goulburn Evening Penny Post* (14 February 1893), p. 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article98528045> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 68 A. Newstead, 'Guboo, a Man with a Dream', *SMH* (8 June 2002), <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2002/06/07/1022982767671.html> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 69 Birth registration for unnamed child of Ah How, 19 August 1869, Jembaicumbene, NSW BDM 1869/7837; death registration for unnamed child of Ah How, 19 August 1869, Jembaicumbene, NSW BDM 1869/3222.
- 70 Birth registration for unnamed child of Ah How, 7 June 1870, Jembaicumbene, NSW BDM 1870/7591; death registration for unnamed child of Ah How, 9 June 1870, Jembaicumbene, NSW BDM, 1870/3050; birth registration for Lilian Ah Yow, 1 April 1868, Jembaicumbene, NSW BDM 1868/7221; birth registration for Charles Ah Yew, 1870, Jembaicumbene, NSW BDM 1870/7676.
- 71 The situation at Braidwood was similar to that in other rural districts in New South Wales. See G. Strachan, 'Present at the Birth: Midwives, "Handywomen" and Neighbours in Rural New South Wales, 1850–1900', *Labour History* 81 (November 2001), pp. 13–28. On life for women at Braidwood, see Ellis, *Braidwood, Dear Braidwood*, pp. 129–41.
- 72 'A Celestial Doctor', *SMH* (22 October 1859), p. 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13032130> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Local Intelligence', *Goulburn Herald* (29 October 1859), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article118247232> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 73 'Birth of a Chinese in the Colony', *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser* (18 July 1865), p. 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18696236> (accessed 18 April 2016); birth registration for Ah Cong Ah Foo, 14 April 1865, Nundle, NSW BDM 1865/15489.
- 74 'Braidwood', *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle* (4 February 1865), p. 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article100826157> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Chinese New Year's Day Races at Jembaicumbene', *SMH* (7 February 1873), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13319984> (accessed 18 April 2016); R. Kennedy, 'The Braidwood Goldfields in the 50's and 60's', *Braidwood Dispatch and Mining Journal* (30 January 1942), p. 1, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article119253158> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 75 Birth registration for Lune Zee Ah How, 14 May 1871, Jembaicumbene, NSW BDM 1871/8035.
- 76 Birth registration for One King Ah How, 13 August 1873, Jembaicumbene, NSW BDM 1873/8183; birth registration for John Ah How, 16 January 1876, Jembaicumbene, NSW BDM 1876/8747; 'Miss Lucy W. Helman', *Braidwood Dispatch and Mining Journal* (4 September 1942), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article119253488> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 77 'Telegrams This Day', *Evening News* (8 June 1876), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article107183244> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Braidwood', *Sydney Mail* (17 June 1876), p. 780, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article162648959> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 78 Similarly, mining warden and police magistrate Charles de Boos, resident in the Braidwood district from 1875 to 1880, enjoyed excellent relations with the local Chinese community. See P. Crabb, 'A Unique Event: Charles de Boos and the Braidwood Chinese Gold Miners', *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies*, 7 (2015), pp. 142–48.

- 79 'The Chinese', *Freeman's Journal* (26 February 1862), p. 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article115761095> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Chinese Registration', *SMH* (1 March 1862), p. 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13225146> (accessed 18 April 2016); Smith, 'Hidden Dragons', p. 75; B. Powe, 'A Certificate in Accordance with the Act', *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies*, 6 (2013), pp. 114–22, https://chl-old.anu.edu.au/publications/csds/csds2013/csds2013_11.pdf (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 80 R. Travers, *Australian Mandarin: The Life and Times of Quong Tart* (Kenthurst, NSW: Rosenberg, 2004), p. 44; State Records NSW, CGS 905, Main series of letters received, 'Memorial or Application for a Certificate of Naturalization' for Ralph Ah How, letter no. 72/3730, 1872.
- 81 'Descendants of McGovern', Spalding Family of Homebush, New South Wales, Australia Genealogy website, <http://www.members.optusnet.com.au/spalding1/MCGg03.htm#3441> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 82 Marriage registration for John Moy and Sarah Sheen, 1867, Sydney, NSW BDM 1867/1059.
- 83 Registered letter receipts held by the Braidwood Museum show Braidwood Chinese corresponding with John Moy Mow's George Street store, known variously as Kung Wah or Sun Kung Wor, in 1866. See also 'Notice is Hereby Given', *SMH* (20 March 1869), p. 9, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13189487> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 84 'Attempted Mail Robbery', *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle* (8 July 1871), p. 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article101094770> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 85 'Descendants of McGovern', n.p.; 'Funerals', *SMH* (12 July 1870), p. 8, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13208138> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 86 Birth registration for Ernest Moy Mow, 1871, Braidwood, NSW BDM 1871/8040; birth registration for Ada Moy Mow, 1873, Braidwood, NSW BDM 1873/8083; National Archives of Australia, SP115/1, TAIYUAN - 04/01/1915 [BOX 13A]. Sarah and John Moy Mow had 10 children together between 1868 and 1886, when John Moy Mow died.
- 87 On the history of the Moy clan, see W. Mei, *Taishan Duanfen Mei shi* 台山端芬梅氏 [Mei Clan of Duanfen, Taishan] (Taishan: Guangdong Sheng Taishan wen shi yan jiu hui, 2000).
- 88 'An Emeute amongst the Chinese', *SMH* (8 November 1862), p. 6, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13236810> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'A Tea at Quong Tart's', *Evening News* (4 June 1892), p. 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article112939846> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Moy Ping', *Ulladulla and Milton Times* (29 March 1907), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article161473891> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Law Report', *SMH* (27 July 1914), p. 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article15525508> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Chinese Masons', *Evening News* (19 June 1919), p. 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article120842666> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 89 On Quong Tart, see McGowan, 'The Making of a Legend'; Travers, *Australian Mandarin*; S. Couchman, "'And then in the distance Quong Tart did we see": Quong Tart, Celebrity and Photography', *Journal of Colonial Australian History*, 8 (2006), pp. 159–82.
- 90 Note that Jembaicumbene was not listed separately in Edmund Fosbery's 1878 report on Chinese resident in New South Wales, which was compiled from local police reports. The only Braidwood localities listed were Braidwood, Mongarlowe, Major's Creek and Araluen. E. Fosbery, *Information Respecting Chinese Resident in the Colony* (Sydney: NSW Legislative Assembly Votes & Proceedings, 1878).
- 91 McGowan, 'From Fraternities to Families', p. 20.
- 92 'Deaths', *Evening News* (22 December 1875), p. 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article130496972> (accessed 18 April 2016); death registration for Annie Wee Ding, 1877, Braidwood, NSW BDM 4276/1877.
- 93 'Shocking Murder at Braidwood', *Evening News* (9 July 1877), p. 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article108188257> (accessed 18 April 2016).

- 94 Chinese–European families were present at Jembaicumbene until at least the late 1880s. See 'An Infant Burnt to Death near Braidwood', *Goulburn Evening Penny Post* (28 July 1887), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article98464934> (accessed 18 April 2016). On Martha Hamilton and Ah Yott, see marriage registration for Martha Hamilton and Ah Yot, 29 November 1881, Upper Jembaicumbene, NSW BDM 1881/3352; death registration for Martha Ah Yott, Back Creek, Braidwood, NSW BDM 1904/785; 'Suspected Murder at Jembaicumbene', *Southern Argus* (19 August 1881), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article102059352> (accessed 18 April 2016); 'Sydney', *Singleton Argus* (20 August 1881), p. 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article82631804> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 95 Birth certificate for Albert Ah How, 30 September 1878, 55 Cambridge Street, Sydney, NSW BDM 1878/2756; State Records NSW, Series 13660, Probate packets, Item no. Series 3–4027, 'Ralph Ah How Date of Death 24 October 1879 Granted on 30 December 1879'.
- 96 Death registration for Ralph Ah How, 24 October 1879, 10 Queen's Street, Sydney, NSW BDM 1879/1804.
- 97 H.J. Kok, *Rookwood Cemetery, Sydney: Chinese Section 1: 1868–1920* (Bendigo, Victoria: Golden Dragon Museum, 2004), p. 189.
- 98 The last mention of Kim Linn that I can locate, as Mary Elizabeth Ah How, is in the probate papers relating to her husband's estate. 'Ralph Ah How Date of Death 24 October 1879'.
- 99 R. Noonan, 'Grafton to Guangzhou: The Revolutionary Journey of Tse Tsan Tai', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 27:1–2 (February–May 2006), pp. 101–115; J. Fitzgerald, 'Revolution and Respectability: Chinese Masons in Australian History', in A. Curthoys and M. Lake (eds), *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2006), pp. 100–103.
- 100 'Brief Notes', *Freeman's Journal* (10 April 1880), p. 19, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article133486880> (accessed 18 April 2016); National Archives of Australia, Canberra, A433, 1949/2/8026; A10071, 1924/28; SP42/1, C1926/7861.
- 101 Death certificate for Johnnie Ah Howe, 23 November 1925, Lower Campbell Street, Sydney, NSW BDM, 1925/15860.
- 102 D. Jones, *Remembering the Forgotten: Chinese Gravestones in Rookwood Cemetery, 1917–1949* (Pymble, NSW: Invenet, 2003), p. 41; H.J. Kok, *Chinese Cemeteries in Australia: Rookwood Cemetery, Sydney, Chinese Section III, 1917–1945* (Bendigo, Victoria: Golden Dragon Museum, 2005), p. 138.
- 103 'Chinese Ladies Interviewed', *Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser* (15 February 1873), p. 219, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article162658804> (accessed 18 April 2016).
- 104 A. Mayne, "'What about you John?'" Chinese–European Interactions on the Lower Turon Goldfields', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, 6 (2004), pp. 4, 7–8.