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Decoding historical scripts in Chinese: The Tasmanian Chungj from Xinhui*

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Xinhui ('Sun Wei' in Cantonese) is a county in the Sze Yap (Si Yi) area in Guangdong, China, a major source of Chinese migrants around the world.^[1] People from this area began to emigrate to the Americas and Australia from the middle of the nineteenth century, right after the First Opium War and the beginning of the British presence in Hong Kong. Through the efforts of these early migrant workers and later generations, lands were cultivated, resources tapped and the economy of local communities greatly boosted. These early migrant workers also played a significant role in promoting mutual understanding between Eastern and Western cultures and in enhancing the contact between China and their areas of settlement. Though most early migrant labourers came with the intention of making money and returning home, many became gradually attached to their new environments and for different reasons were naturalized or Christianised. Their descendants have become citizens of their respective countries and have contributed much to these lands.

Of special interest in studying the history of the early Xinhui people in Tasmania, Australia, are Chinese scripts left by these people.^[2] We believe such scripts are an indispensable part of the historical evidence, ones that may contain keys to understanding many events in the history of these people and the history of Tasmania. However, such scripts are hard to come by. In China, as the years pass, written correspondence has disappeared in floods, droughts, population movements, robbery and war, and the local units of the Qing and early Republican governments have not kept much in the way of records. Around the Pacific, most correspondence between the early emigrants and their folks at home were lost, and except among fellow countrymen, English was used rather than Chinese. Only a few scripts have been discovered and preserved in museums in Australia or are treasured by individual families.

It is the purpose of this paper to analyse a rare example of such Chinese scripts, one which concerns the life of a person with the surname Zhong ('Chung' in Cantonese) and his descendants in Hobart, Tasmania. Through this evidence it is

possible to trace the Chung family in Tasmania and to prove that, while the majority of early migrants returned to marry persons of their race and made frequent trips home, many also eventually came to reside in their new homeland. Issues related to the decoding and effective use of such scripts in studying the history of Chinese Australians are also discussed.

1. Brief introduction to the Chinese in colonial Tasmania

Large numbers of Chinese migrant workers first arrived in the area of Launceston, north-eastern Tasmania, going to tin mines in Weldborough, Garibaldi and Ringarooma. They also went to Derby, Branxholm, Moorina, Pioneer and Gladstone.^[3] As to the numbers of Chinese in the colonial period, it is estimated that they never exceeded 100 before 1876. With the discovery of tin, the number reached around 1,000 in 1886, then fell to about half that number in the middle 1890s.^[4] Other records give slightly different figures but similar growth trends. See Table 1 for details.

Source	Before 1871	1881			1891			1901			
		Total	of which		Total	of which		Total	of which		
			M	F		Miners	M		F	Miners	
Robson	<100				932			770			
Choi		844	84	2	939	93	8	506	48	2	
Easta	13	844		770	100			534			
					0						

Table 1: Chinese in Tasmania in the colonial period^[5]

After 1871 Chinese began to arrive in Tasmania in greater numbers, some from Victoria and New South Wales, others direct from China. As kinship and clan relations were valued at that time and were a major connection between early and later emigrants, it is likely that fellow villagers followed their clan's people to Australia. Also, as clans of the same family usually inhabited the same village or area, people of the same family name were usually closely related, either from the same village or the same county within Sze Yap. It can be assumed that people with the family name 'Zhong' (Chung) may have come from the same area. From the *Colonial Tasmanian Family Links* database on the Tasmanian Archives website^[6], we find that a total of 24 persons with that name registered in the colonial period, of whom five were married with children. Their details are given below.

No.	Family name	Given name	Date of birth	Marital status			
				Spouse's name	Time of marriage	Location of marriage	Children
84188	Chung	Ah-Wood	1842	Elizabeth Mary Mcpherson	1876	Hobart	5
83932	Chung	Jack	1860	Lingo Kemdie	1893	Hobart	1
81567	Chung	Tue	?	Helen Biggs	1889	Ringarooma	1
8405	Chung	unknow	?	Kim Wing	1892	Tasmania	2

9		n					
*	Chung -Gon	James	185 5	Mary Ying Lee	1885	Canton	5

Table 2: Married Chungs in colonial Tasmania

* 'Chung-Gon' is a variation of the family name 'Chung'.[\[7\]](#)

Of these Chungs, the only one whose 'real' Chinese name (from before he left China) is known, and whose descendants have been traced, is James Chung Gon. Thanks to his granddaughter Ai-Lin Chung Gon, we now know that his Chinese name was Zhong Run, also known as Zhong Chaokong, and that he was from Ping Gang Village, Yaxi District, Xinhui County (now City).

James Chung Gon's story has been included in many books on the history of Chinese Australians. For example, Eric Rolls has written:

James Chung Gon came from Guangzhou to Sydney in 1868 when he was sixteen years old. He did not like the atmosphere in Sydney so he moved to Melbourne, which he did not find any better. A few months later, he came across the strait to Launceston and took up an early claim when tin was discovered ... He made money quickly then went home for a wife who came back with him, a girl with true golden lilies 7.5 centimetres long (she had to make her own shoes in Australia) and a slave girl, Rose, whom they treated as an adopted daughter in Tasmania.[\[8\]](#)

Another version says that he arrived in Melbourne in 1873 and then went to Georgetown soon after: 'James returned to China and married Mary Ying Lee in 1885. It wasn't until 1892 (7 years after the marriage) that Mary, Rose and Violet arrived in Australia and lived in the house at Turners Marsh.'[\[9\]](#) In Rolls there is a photo of Chung Gon and family, the caption to which says that it was taken about 1878 (before he returned to China in 1885).[\[10\]](#) James Chung Gon is also mentioned in Lloyd Robson's *A History of Tasmania* : 'In 1904, J. Chung Gon employed, in addition to Chinese, ten Europeans, mainly Irish, at Turner's Marsh, at £1/15s a week.' Robson says he was still gardening at 84, and died in Launceston in 1952.[\[11\]](#)

There would have been more of James Chung Gon's compatriots living in Tasmania at that time, but as many of them were illiterate, died young, or eventually returned to China, very few records about them can be found. However, the authors came upon a Chinese script in Hobart written by Zhong Cheng Lang (in Xinhui dialect pronounced 'Chung Sing Long'), known as Willie Chung Sing, who came to Tasmania in the 1880s. Through this account we know that Zhong Cheng Lang was a fellow villager of James Chung Gon and that he actually followed James to Tasmania. Today, his descendants are still living in Hobart, as well as in other parts of Australia.[\[12\]](#)

2. Decoding the Chinese script to study the Chungs

Although the specific name 'Willie Chung Sing' does not appear in any books on the history of Chinese Australia published so far, we can find reference to Willie in two publications. 'The leading Chinese could nearly always read and write English and he got a bigger share. Before becoming a partner of Ah Ham, Willie Ah Chung went to a private tutor of English in Hobart', wrote Rolls.[\[13\]](#) 'The leading partner tended to be the man who could read and

write English. Willie Ah Chang, senior partner in Ah Ham's business, learnt by private tuition', wrote Robson.[\[14\]](#) The two quotes are about the same person, except in one, 'Chang' must be a typographical error. Peter Chung, Willie's grandson now living in Hobart, confirmed that both cases referred to his grandfather.[\[15\]](#)

Willie Chung Sing's account (referred to as Chung's account hereafter) draws a sketch of the journey to Australia in the late 1880s and the life of the settler afterwards. It also provides clues to his family history and may serve as evidence for history written by Australian scholars.

According to Charles Chung (Willie's youngest son, now 84, living in Hobart),[\[16\]](#) Chung's account was written at the request of a work team during the Land Reform Movement in China in 1950.[\[17\]](#) They wanted to know about life abroad for overseas Chinese and most importantly, where and how they made their fortune, in order to assess their social and class status. By that time, Willie had returned to Xinhui for four years, living in the house he bought in town and managing three small stores he owned. His stores were taken over by the local government, and his house was pulled down years later to make way for a new Overseas Chinese Building.[\[18\]](#)

From Chung's account we know that Willie was born into a poor peasant family. His father died when he was three, and he had been struggling to make a living while receiving basic education before he left home for Australia in 1887, aged 23. He then recorded his journey and life afterwards, with memories of intermittent home-comings. The account appears to be incomplete (over four and a half pages, with discontinuous section numbers), written in fluent Chinese in his hometown vernacular, with some names of places in English and some characters that are hard to recognize. But this does not affect our understanding of the whole passage.[\[19\]](#)

Most Chinese people from the Sze Yap area left their home villages for economic reasons - to seek their fortune and to return wealthy men. This was especially true for young peasants from poor families like Willie's. There is reason to suggest that Willie's departure was strongly influenced by James Chung Gon. First, James returned to get married in 1885, so Willie and other young men probably talked to and got information about the destination from James. Secondly, the six of them departed the village together and after arriving in Melbourne, they headed directly to Launceston where they stayed in James' garden for the first night. From Chung's account:

At 23, I left the village for the New Gold Mountain with 5 other young men of the same family name. It was Feb. 13, the 13 th year of Emperor Guangxu (1887). We walked to Huangchong in the morning, took a boat from there to Shuanshui, then boarded another boat to Macao, and took a steam-ship to Hong Kong. We stayed at Hexing Hotel, boarded the ship *Changsha* to Australia on Feb. 17. We arrived at Sydney port on March 8, but for two days the passengers were not allowed to disembark. At that time, the Sydney authority restricted the number of Chinese to enter, so each passenger had to pay a poll tax of 100 pounds before he is allowed to get off. The ship *Changsha* stayed for

a couple of days and returned to Hong Kong, for it had been scheduled to ship tea next time. We got on another ship and arrived at Melbourne port on March 11, and the six of us got off the ship and stayed in the garden run by my brother for several days. We boarded another ship on March 21 and arrived at Launceston on March 22. That night we stayed at Zhong Run's garden.^[20]

It can be understood from this account that people from Xinhui left their villages on foot, probably carrying their luggage with a bamboo pole, as was the case in the countryside in China for hundreds of years before modern times. There were water routes, so they could sail all the way to Hong Kong. From there they embarked on steamers to Australia, a journey that usually lasted about 20 days.

Willie also recorded that there was a poll tax of £100 at the port of Sydney. Robson mentions that a group of 100 Chinese arrived in Launceston in 1887, so Willie and his fellow villagers must be counted in this number. Choi said that the colony of Victoria passed a law to levy a poll tax of £10 on arriving Chinese in June 1855, and NSW followed suit in 1861 but increased the amount to £100 in 1888. Here, Willie must have been confused with what happened one year later. However, the year 1887 was marked not only by a widespread outbreak of smallpox in Launceston but typhoid as well at the beginning of the year. The Chinese were wrongly blamed for the outbreak, so Tasmania passed similar laws to restrict the number of Chinese immigrants at one to every 100 tons and imposed a fee of £10 in 1887.

It was hard for the early Chinese migrants to survive in Tasmania, as most of them were working in tin mines under horrible conditions and at low wages. The price of tin in the London market had fallen from a high of £114 in 1874 to £74/10s in 1877, and one company brought fourteen Chinese from Ballarat to work at four to five shillings a day instead of seven or eight. Chung's account relates, 'At that time the pay for labour was 8 shillings per week, and still no employers would hire you.' As many Chinese were willing to accept lower pay in desperate situations for the same work, some Europeans were resentful and they stoned the Chinese at Billycock.

Also according to Chung's account, Willie began to work at Shui Sheng Garden for five months without cash payment, only board and accommodation. Later he was to take over the land of a senior uncle from his village who planned to go back. However, someone advised him not to, so he went to Launceston with his elder brother Cheng Zheng and combined shares with two more fellow villagers to operate a garden for two years: 'Each made about 20-30 pounds each year, we had to send money home, so how can we have savings?'^[21]

At that time, it was reasonable to make several tens of pounds of income per year by working on a garden and Willie could usually work with his fellow countrymen, which means that there must have been quite a number of Chungs in Tasmania at that time. Rolls states that gardening was often very profitable for the Chinese, despite trouble on occasions. James worked together with 11 partners at York Street, Launceston and cleared £150 a year for himself during the 1880s. But after Willie's arrival, the situation worsened for

the Chinese.

For the early Chinese immigrants, their purpose in enduring hardship in coming to Australia was to save enough money to remit home and then pay their own passages back in due course. Rolls also says, 'When a man had made enough money, £100 or so, he would return to China to buy land and marry and a clansman would come out to take his place.' In 1872, three unnamed Chinese took the money, which they had been unable to make in Victoria over ten years but finally made in Tasmania in 18 months, and went back to China. In 1874, two gold miners at Spring made £400 and returned home. From these accounts and the amount of poll tax that had to be paid (the value of 100 pounds at that time being more than \$15,000 today), the potential gain was high.

Willie, too, planned his return four years after he arrived. He wrote, 'So far I had some savings of about 40 pounds and wanted to return home, but Australia had passed a new law to forbid the Chinese to enter. It was the 16 th year of Guangxu.' Here he must be referring to the various laws aimed at limiting the number of Chinese at that time. So his first plan to go back failed to materialize and he later went to New Zealand with other people. They worked on more gardens, and 'the three of us worked there for 3 years continuously and each made about 200 pounds. In May of the 28 th year of Guangxu, I returned to Hongkong.' This was the year 1902 and Willie was 38 when he first returned home to get married. He took about 200 pounds with him.

As to the number of Chungs from Ping Gang, Xinhui, Willie's description is like this:

There were about 100 Chinese in Launceston, of them 60 were from my village and were farming on gardens. There were three laundries, two grocery stores owned by Taishan people that sold goods at tin mines. Because there was no store run by us Xinhui people, we decided to collect 20 pounds from each and set up a store of our own.^[22]

From Chung's account, he was put in charge of running the store for ten months. Because of the closure of some tin mines and the departure of some Chinese, it was not making a profit so they sold it to Zhong Yaying, a fellow villager who came over from Melbourne. Willie didn't work with Yaying, because his men told him that he was dishonest. So Willie went to New Zealand.

The reason why the Chungs wanted to have their own store is because of the important functions that it performed. It usually served as bank, post office, ticket agent, and even as a receiving depot for newcomers from their home village. Chin Kitt and Sue Catt ran such a store in Launceston. Another reason was that conflict between clans in China was common in the late Qing years, and could even extend to their people overseas. The Chungs in Hobart, for example, had not been on good terms with Gen Chung Henry, from Taishan, in the first decades of the 20th century.^[23]

Chung's account also mentions the use of a 'return paper' (document used for re-entry, like a visa) and 'citizen paper' (naturalization certificate). Rolls points out that the Chinese 'usually adjusted their years in Tasmania in order to get a naturalization certificate before leaving, a period of three to

five years according to the state of the law.' People like Willie, who wanted to return home, get married and have children, usually preferred to stay in China for more than a year and so had to prepare for their re-entry into Australia. While they stayed in the village, their relatives or friends may ask them to bring cousins out when they were ready to leave home again. Willie said in his account that he had asked for a 'return paper' to New Zealand and hadn't got one to Australia when he left Hobart. When he was to return to New Zealand after staying in China for two years, his cousin asked him to go to Hobart with him. Willie wrote: He managed to obtain some false naturalization certificates with other names for me. I paid 30 Hong Kong dollars for that and ventured to go. When the ship arrived in Melbourne, six persons who were all from Yamen, Xinhui and three persons from Taishan who used false documents were refused entry. Because I had entered Hobart before and had experience and knew a little English, I managed to answer the questions of the customs officer and was allowed to disembark.

This may be a good case to illustrate the use of fake documents as discussed in Williams.[\[24\]](#)

In addition to these aspects, Willie also talked about how he contacted and persuaded his fellow villagers in Australia to donate money for some public causes. The practice of making donations to their home villages for construction of clan buildings, schools, roads and other infrastructure has always been a virtue of the overseas Chinese.[\[25\]](#)

Unlike James Chung Gon, Willie Chung Sing never brought his spouse to Australia or New Zealand. His children were all born in China. In his account, he mentioned that they had a daughter first. Then they had a boy, but the boy died an infant. Five years after this he returned home again, and his wife gave birth to twin boys, but neither survived. Influenced by the traditional idea of having male descendants to inherit the family name, he adopted a boy and in his later years, two boys were finally born to him, though he didn't mention them in his account. His sons, and even his grandsons, all came to Australia as teenagers and their children are now living in Australia.[\[26\]](#)



Figure 1. Willie Chung Sing (man sitting) and family in c. 1910s. The young boy is Chung Sim, Peter's father. Photo taken in Xinhui , China [Peter Chung]



Figure 2. Willie Chung Sing (man sitting in front) and family c.1938. The boy in front is young Peter. Photo taken in Xinhui , China [Peter Chung]

Chung's account provides us with rich information for understanding the journey and subsequent life of early Chinese migrant workers from Sze Yap. It also touches on the psyche of those people. At the beginning, they were motivated by the prospect of gold and fortune, as their family lives and the bleak countryside of 19th century China made them so think. Once they arrived in Australia, they were confronted by a strange landscape and people, but they were highly adaptive. The first generation was bound by a deep nostalgia for home, as shown in James Chung Gon and

Willie Chung Sing's stories. They kept moving between two points and sending remittances back to support their families, while at the same time trying to save enough money to return home for retirement. This mentality was caused partly by the strong influence of Confucianism and their filial duties, and partly by the reality confronting them: they had debts at home to pay back, they had to find someone to marry and they were expected to bring fortunes home.

However, once settled, like James or Willie, who brought a spouse out or kept them in their hometown, they made fewer trips home; not to mention those who married a non-Chinese woman. Willie's case is special but not unique, among first generation migrants and there were many who had similar experiences. Although he finally returned home, his descendants managed to leave China in adolescence and came to settle down in Australia to become real 'Aussies'. The reason for this is complicated and might need another study, but family influence and social changes in China are two major factors. Like Peter Chung, many descendants of the early migrant workers actually left their home town in 1949, to run away from the Communist revolution.

3. The importance of Chinese scripts

From section 2 of this paper it is clear that much information can be obtained from scripts in Chinese, especially those written by people who experienced the events themselves or were directly involved in them. However, it seems that not many such scripts have survived and been collected, and the few that have been do not receive due attention. The authors would like to argue that, in studying the history of Chinese Australians, Chinese scripts should be seen as an important source of information and should be properly decoded, then translated, so that they may serve as proof of and provide clue to historical events.

Chinese scripts (as opposed to official records and published books) may fall into several categories. There are memoirs (personal accounts), personal or family correspondence, short notes, signatures on paintings, scrolls and investigation minutes. Chung's account belongs to the first category. Examples of the second category exist in some archival collections in Australia. One example is a letter from a father, asking his two sons to send money back to build a watch tower in the village. The date is clear, but the year is expressed according to Chinese calculations, which is probably around 1910s or 1920s. No information can be abstracted about the village where the father was living, but the mention of a 'watch tower' and 'permanent security' may lead to a village in Kaiping, where plenty of such towers were built from the turn of the 20 th century to the 1940s (and where many still stand neglected today). Such a letter demonstrates the strong ties between immigrants and their families and serves to prove that the watch towers were built with funds raised from fellow villagers living abroad. (The father mentions that other countrymen in North America had promised to send money). The letter is archived under the title 'Letter confiscated from an illegal immigrant when arrested'. Alas, the young men mentioned in it had no more money to send then because they were in gaol. And what were the thoughts of the policeman who took the small piece of paper with unintelligible words on it?[\[27\]](#)

On the website of the Public Record Office Victoria, there is another interesting Chinese script that belongs to a third category. [28] It is a notice written by a Chinese named Zhong Jinrui, who was involved in a lawsuit with a man called Wu Huangcong. When adequately decoded, the short notice contains quite a lot of information about the early gold diggers in Victoria and may shed light on understanding the cultural conflict they faced. The notice was written with a Chinese brush, in the horizontal style from right to left, but the sentences are colloquial, so it was most probably written in the late nineteenth century. The sentences are coherent, yet the handwriting shows mistakes which indicate that the writer must be a labourer with basic literacy. Zhong said that he was wronged in the lawsuit with Wu, hence he warned those who would be witnesses to the case that they must take an oath by killing a chicken and drinking its blood on the spot to tell the truth. This had been a practice among Chinese peasants for centuries, but when it is applied to the western legal system, it sounds ridiculous. Though this Zhong might appear ignorant or funny in the eyes of Europeans, he was intimidating to his countrymen and must have held authority in the community of the local Chinese gold diggers.

To decode or even decipher Chinese scripts involves several difficulties. First, it may be difficult to identify the source of the script, especially when it is incomplete. The circumstances under which it was written are usually non-linguistic, i.e., not directly expressed in the scripts, except for some direct correspondence. The Chung account was written at the request of the work team for assessing his wealth during the Land Reform, hence Willie described his life abroad as really difficult - money was hard to make, he said. Second, the context of the script is also important. A letter or note serves the purpose of linguistic communication, so to whom, from whom, when and about what, are all necessary questions to be answered before starting translation. Thirdly, Chinese scripts, especially those in the 19th century, were written in brush pen and the calligraphy of different personal styles, or some carelessness, makes some characters illegible. Fourthly, the style of classical Chinese must be interpreted into modern Chinese (or *bai hua wen*) before it can be rendered into English. The last two problems exist in decoding for example a letter to Quong Tart, in which not only are some characters illegible, but also the combination of the vernacular with classic wording makes some sentences hard to interpret. [29] Finally, the narrative or events mentioned in the scripts must be compared with related records, a file, a document, newspaper clips, or books, in order to gain a deeper understanding of the events.

Despite the difficulties in decoding Chinese scripts of historical significance, more Chinese scripts have been found and incorporated in studies both in Australia and China. Willie Chung Sing was just one of the thousands of early migrant workers from Sze Yap, yet the account from his script helps us further understand all their lives. If more accounts can be generated from scripts yet to be found, our study of the Chinese Australians will be enriched and enlivened.

[Glossary of Chinese characters](#) used in article.

Willie Chung's account - original [Chinese script](#) and [English translation](#).

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Notes

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[1] The Sze Yap (Si Yi or 'Four Counties') area consists of four counties, namely Xinhui, Taishan, Kaiping and Enping, which lie to the west of the Pearl River Estuary. Maps of this area can be found on books or websites of history of the overseas Chinese, e.g. <http://www.apex.net.au/~jgk/taishan/menu.html>. After the 1980s, the government added the city of Jiangmen and made it 'Wu Yi' ('Five Counties'). Being closest to the estuary, Xinhui has always been the richest county. See [map illustrating the route](#) of James Chung Gon and other from their village to Hong Kong.

[2] The term 'scripts' here is used to mean 'handwriting as distinct from print, manuscripts' (Oxford Talking Dictionary). They include personal correspondence, accounts, notes, receipts and signatures that are handwritten in Chinese.

[3] Lloyd Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, vol. II, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1991, p.133.

[4] Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, p.132.

[5] Figures from Robson, *A History of Tasmania*; B.V. Easteal, *The Chinese in Tasmania 1870–1900*, BA thesis, University of Tasmania, 1966; CY Choi, *Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1975.

[6] See <http://www.archives.tas.gov.au>.

[7] In the *Colonial Tasmanian Family Links* database at the Tasmanian archives, if you put in 'Chung Gon', you will get no result. You need to put in 'Chung-Gon' to find the record of James Chung-Gon, which also says he married in 1886. His children are listed under the surname 'Chung'.

See <http://resources.archives.tas.gov.au/Pioneers/taslink3.asp?ID=83804>, last accessed 20 August 2005. Ai-lin Chung Gon explains that his given name in Cantonese was 'Chu Kong', which gradually became 'Chung-Gon', with a hyphen in between, a standard practice in spelling Chinese names still adopted in Southeast Asia. For speakers of English 'Chung-gon' is much easier to say than 'Chu Kong' and that was probably why the name changed as it did. Following the standard convention of the modern Chinese pinyin system we use 'Chung Gon' in this paper.

[8] Eric Rolls, *Citizens*, University of Queensland Press, Australia, 1996, p.260.

[9]

[10] See illustrations in Rolls, *Citizens*, p.xx.

[11] Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, p.134.

[12] A photocopy of the script was given to Mobo Gao by Willie's grandson, Peter Chung (now 69 and living in Hobart), who wanted to know what it actually said as Peter Chung could not read much Chinese. Since the text was written in 1950 in China, when and how it was brought to Australia is unknown. Peter Chung had no idea. He only knows that his father, Chung Sim kept it until his death in 1998. The possible explanation is that Chung Sim must have returned to China some time after his own father died, collected the text and brought it to Hobart.

[13] Rolls, *Citizens*, p.76.

[14] Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, p.134

[15] Interview with Peter Chung at his house on 6 August,

2005, by Wu Qianlong.

[16] Interview with Charles Chung at a coffee shop in Sandy Bay, Hobart, on 12 August 2005 by Wu Qianlong.

[17] The Land Reform Movement (1950-53) was the first major reform carried out by the government of the People's Republic of China founded in 1949. In Guangdong, where there were many families with overseas Chinese connections, the land reform took somewhat milder measures and those families generally received better treatment, though many had their properties confiscated. The work teams consisted of local officers and former soldiers from the north who had not heard about overseas Chinese before.

[18] Interview with Peter Chung.

[19] See [Chinese script](#) of Willie Chung's account and [Wu Qianlong's translation](#) of it.

[20] Chung's account, [Chinese script p.1](#), Wu Qianlong's translation.

[21] Chung's account, [Chinese script p.2](#), Wu Qianlong's translation.

[22] Chung's account, [Chinese script p.2](#), Wu Qianlong's translation.

[23] Helene Chung Martin, 'One village – two names: A Tasmanian Chinese on a wild dragon chase', a paper presented at the [Chinese Heritage of Australia Federation Conference](#), Museum of Chinese Australian History, Melbourne, 1-2 July 2000.

[24] Michael Williams, 'Chinese people and the Immigration Restriction Act', *Chinese Settlement in New South Wales* 1999, URL: <http://www.heritage.nsw.gov.au>, accessed 20 August 2005.

[25] See [Chinese script](#) of Willie Chung's account and [Wu Qianlong's translation](#) of it.

[26] See appendix for [Willie Chung Gon's family tree](#).

[27] National Archives of Australia (ACT), A1/15, 1935/7020, 'Ah Lee, Ah Kim, Ah Woong & Lee Goon absconded during tranship at Sydney' in Digital documents database, Chinese Heritage of Australian Federation website, '[Letter confiscated from an illegal immigrant when arrested](#)'.

[28] See

URL: <http://www.prov.vic.gov.au/forgottenfaces/writing.asp>

[29] See URL: <http://image.sl.nsw.gov.au/cgi-bin/ebindshow.pl?doc=mss5094/a565;seq=5>

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