Joss houses of colonial Bendigo and Victoria

Paul Macgregor

Published in: Mike Butcher (ed), An Angel by the Water: Essays in honour of Dennis Reginald O'Hoy, Holland House Publishing for the Bendigo Trust, Bendigo, Australia, 2015
https://www.abebooks.com/first-edition/Angel-Water-Essays-honour-Dennis-Reginald/16751017342/bd

From the 1850s to the 1890s, more than fifty Chinese joss houses, or temples, are known to have been built in Victoria. Only three are still standing, two in Melbourne, and one in Bendigo.

In 1877, the Shanghai British consulate staff member James Dundas Crawford toured Australia to inspect the condition of Chinese immigrants in the colonies. In Bendigo, he visited the Ironbark Camp of the Chinese, and reported that, 'at the north end of the village stands the temple of the god of war, Kuanti-miao, of plain exterior and plank-built', whereas 'the "Sheathed Sword" Society has erected a public building ... tripartite, a central hall, flanked by two wings, well-situated geomantically on the south side of the village - at its entrance, in fact, and overlooking a small pond.'[1]

Figure 1: Bendigo Joss House Temple, c2007.
Courtesy: The Bendigo Trust.

Crawford's account is the earliest known unambiguous reference in the historical record to what is now called the Bendigo Joss House Temple (*Figure 1*), the tripartite construction of central hall and two wings making the association with the existing building very clear. His description of where it stands—on the southern end of the Ironbark Camp—is the area that was then called Emu Point, though he does not use this name. While Crawford's report is of two Chinese temples in what he calls the Ironbark Camp, other accounts describe even more, perhaps as many as eleven.

The earliest mention of a temple in Bendigo locates it at Long Gully Chinese camp in 1856.[2] Another is described at the Chinese camp at the First White Hill in the same year.[3] George Knight, building surveyor and city valuer for the City of Sandhurst (Bendigo's then official name), reported in 1876 that there were four joss houses, and one Masonic Hall in the 'Chinese Camp (Barkly Ward)', a village of only 374 Chinese.[4]

Before he passed away in the 1940s, Louey Charles Chew drew a map of Emu Point as it was in 1910. He labeled seven buildings on his map as joss houses, including the one that still stands, as being at Emu Point (Louey 1910).[5] Dennis O'Hoy recalls being told by Vernon and Arthur Lock in 1970 that there were also two joss houses in Ironbark Camp in the early twentieth century, near where the Sandhurst Centre is located.[6]

Such a large number of places of worship for such a small community is a puzzle until one investigates who built these buildings, how large and diverse the Bendigo Chinese communities were, and what range of functions these buildings actually served.

James McCulloch Henry, an 'Anglo-Chinese Linguist', writing in the *Bendigo Advertiser* in 1860, provides a remarkably knowledgeable account of the origins and

community organisation of the Chinese gold mining communities of Australia:

> With the exception of a few scattering individuals, the entire body of Chinese emigrants has been obtained from the one province of Canton [modern Guangdong] and merely from the districts along its coast...This province is usually estimated to contain 80,000 square miles, and a population of 27,000,000; that is about the same as the British Islands...It contains fifteen departments, which are subdivided into 91 districts....
>
> The Chinese are in some respects like our old Scottish ancestry. They are divided into 400 clans, many of whom having been unfriendly at home, carry their feuds abroad. Hence the root of many of the quarrels among them.
>
> When the Chinese visit any other country in large numbers, it is their custom to have common quarters or rendezvous, which they style an *ui-koon* [my italics], that is a gathering place or club-house, which is supported wholly by voluntary contributions. Agents or superintendents are elected, who register the members and manage its concerns. Servants are employed to take care of the building, cook the food, and attend the sick. Provision is made for the interment of the dead, repair of tombs and the semi-annual worship of the spirits, and beyond all this, rules are agreed upon for the government of this club or company, and these are adopted or repealed at pleasure as the majority of the members may decide.
>
> There are five of these companies in Australia - 1. Yeung-woo Company, 12,500 members; 2. Yan-woo Company, 2,100 members; 3. Canton Company, 4,500 members; 4. Sam Yap Company, 30,000 members; [5.] San-ui or Seyup Company, 10,000 members; emigrants from the Province of Fuh-kien [modern Fujian], 2,000; probable number not united with any company, 1,000; total 62,100.
>
> The ... objects of these companies [include] that they afford a head-quarters for the members, and a place for the storage of baggage; ... accounts are sent in from any of the country, must be settled before the parties indebted can leave the country; ... disputes between miners and others can be settled without the expense, delay and trouble of a resort to our courts of law. An arbitration on such occasions is held in the club-house of the district—viz, *joss-houses* [my italics] ... offenders are handed over by them to our courts of law in cases which their counsels cannot adjust.[7]

James Henry's account of Guangdong province, its districts and counties, and of the companies' names, makes it clear—if one is aware of the meanings of those names—that each company was set up for the interests of Cantonese emigrants from particular groups of districts. The two principal district associations that are reported in Victoria are the Three Districts group (also called the Sam Yup Society, or the Num Pon Soon Society) and the Four Districts group (also called the See Yup Society).

The names of the districts in Guangdong, and of the companies formed amongst the overseas Chinese to represent their émigrés, changed somewhat over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Allegiances between district émigré companies also broke down and reformed in different groupings from time to time. Some districts, or groups of districts, in Guangdong province, spoke different dialects of Cantonese, and this sometimes led to variations in how they have been written in English, depending on which Chinese person was pronouncing the name to an English-speaking writer.

Thus, if there were a diversity of district-of-origin background in the Chinese community in a particular Chinese mining

district, then each would want to have their own club-house.

What Henry's account does not make clear is that these company headquarters—club-houses—held within them a shrine, a room or even a hall that was reserved for honouring relevant deities, and also sometimes another hall—a mortuary chapel—for tablets commemorating the dead from that district who had passed away while in the overseas colony. This is demonstrated in the interiors of the other two nineteenth century temples which remain in existence in Victoria, the Num Pon Soon building in Little Bourke Street, Melbourne (*Figure 2*), and the See Yup temple in South Melbourne (*Figure 3*).

To a nineteenth century European mind, religious and civic functions were carried out in separate buildings. However, to a nineteenth century Chinese mind, the spiritual influence and assistance of gods, ancestors and ancient heroes were, by contrast, seen as appropriate guides to the important decisions of daily life.

So if a European visitor to a Chinese company's club-house saw an altar, and statues of deities, with respect being paid to these deities in apparently devotional rituals, and if the visitor had the meanings of the displays explained in supernatural terms, then it would only be natural for the European to consider the building to be a religious one, a temple, and that the term joss house meant simply a house of worship—some may have known that the term joss is Pidgin English for a god, believed to be based on the Portuguese word for god— *deos*.

The term 'joss house' was very widely used in nineteenth century English-language accounts of such buildings in Australia, although occasionally the words 'temple', 'club-house' or 'masonic hall' are used. There has been a trend in recent years by some historians to regard 'joss house' as a derogatory term, or one of faint ridicule at least, and to prefer instead to use the word

Figure 2: Altar at Num Pon Soon huigan, Little Bourke Street, Melbourne, 2011.
Photo: Paul Macgregor.

'temple'. I think replacing 'joss house' with 'temple' is misleading. The Chinese themselves, when speaking in Cantonese, used the terms *ui-koon* (also written as *huiguan* or *wiu koon*,[8] meeting-hall), *kongsi* (company or society), *mew* (*miao*, temple), *sitong* (*citang*, ancestral hall). There is no collective term in Chinese for all of these types of buildings, but in colonial Australia, 'joss house' in fact serves that purpose in English.

While there are many occasions in nineteenth century print where 'joss house' was used in ridicule or denigration, it was also commonly used as just the normal term for such buildings, even by writers who were supportive of Chinese Australians. The majority of references to such buildings in Australia exist only in English language records, and most of these buildings, and their ownership context, are insufficiently described in the English accounts, so it is

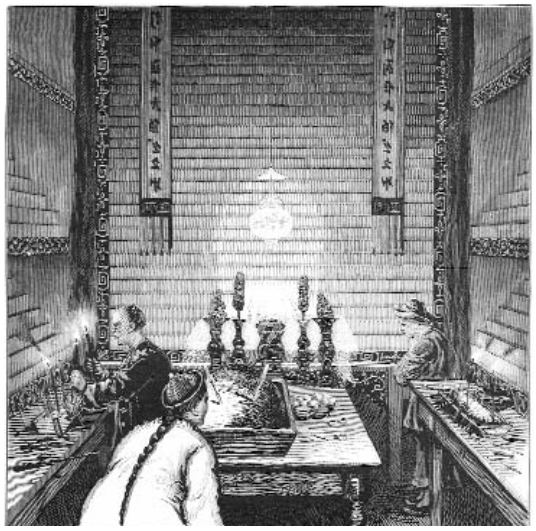


Figure 3: Mortuary chapel at See Yup Temple/huiguan, South Melbourne. *Australasian Sketcher*, 7 August 1875.
Courtesy: State Library of Victoria

often difficult to be clear whether they are temples, club-houses, clan halls or masonic halls. As a result, my preference is to continue to use 'joss house' as a more inclusive collective term than 'temple', at least when talking about such buildings in Australia.

It is important nevertheless to understand the differences in the types of buildings from the Chinese perspective.

Gongsi and Huiguan

Crawford states that the guilds of the 'yik' (邑 Cantonese: *yap* or *yup*; Mandarin: *yi*; English: district) 'assume titles of a semi-official character … Kung-so [gongsi] and Hui-kuan [huiguan]'.[9]

Gongsi (公司, also commonly romanised as kongsi), often translated as 'company' or 'society', was a generic term commonly used in the Chinese language in the nineteenth century to describe district associations. The concept of the gongsi as a form of social organisation has its roots in China. It was a partnership of equals (for example, pooling labour and/or cash) entered into for a specific common benefit, which could be formed on a large or small scale, for temporary purposes or for longer activity, and which had a traditional role in village and rural life in South China.[10] It appears that this method of communal organising took on a much greater role, and level of permanency, among Chinese émigrés moving to new countries 'in which they had to fend in all matters completely for themselves'.[11]

Huiguan (會館), literally translatable as 'meeting hall', were set up in Chinese cities by natives from another district in China who were living temporarily or permanently in those cities. Such people were usually merchants, although scholars sitting civil service examinations in provincial cities or the imperial capital would also make use of the local huiguan organisation and its facilities. The huiguan was thus both an organisation and a building. The premises included meeting rooms, accommodation, shrine rooms and ancestor halls. The organisational functions included orientation as well as accommodation, financial support, arranging employment, adjudicating disputes, organising for burial or return of bones to home villages after death and, of course, the company of people with familiar dialect and backgrounds.[12] These functions could be considered as various ways in which the huiguan facilitated exchanges of money, assistance, employment and capital between its members, and so it is worth noting that English-language press of Melbourne in the 1860s referred to the Num Pon Soon building as the 'Chinese Exchange'.[13]

Despite Crawford's use of the terms gongsi ('Kung-so') and huiguan ('Hui-kuan'), and Henry's use also of huiguan ('ui-koon'), when writing of Chinese organisations in Australia, no reference to the use of either of these Chinese terms for specific joss houses or district associations in Bendigo has yet been found. However, in Melbourne in the nineteenth century gongsi and huiguan were

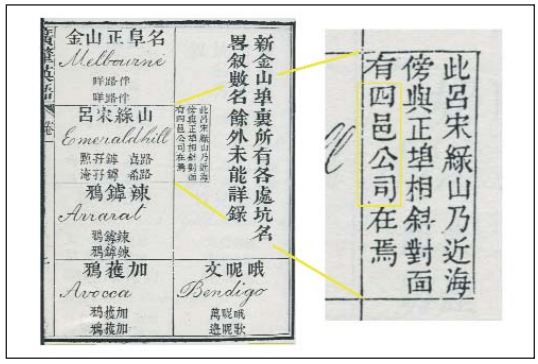


Figure 4: Page from Cantonese-English phrase-book c1857-1862, saying that the 四邑公司 Siyi gongsi (See Yup Society) building is in Emerald Hill (South Melbourne).
Courtesy: Chinese Museum, Melbourne.[119]

used as part of the official titles of both the See Yup Society (the official name for the Four Districts gongsi) and the Num Pon Soon Society (the official name for the Three Districts gongsi). *Figures 4 and 5* show the See Yup Society and the Num Pon Soon Society being referred to as 'gongsi'. Both buildings also still have nineteenth century Chinese-character sign boards on the front of their respective buildings, which name the buildings as 四邑會館 Siyi Huiguan and 南番順會館 Nanpanshun Huiguan.[14]

Miao—Temples

At least one Bendigo joss house appears to have been a *miao* (廟 Cantonese: *mew*), a temple, rather than a huiguan—that is, it was not a club-house for a district-company. The 'Kuanti-miao' temple in Bendigo's Ironbark Camp, named as such and described by Crawford in 1877, appears to have primarily been a spiritual building, used by all Chinese, of whatever district they may have come from in Guangdong province:

> The interior contains a good collection of votive tablets, with texts uniformly painted and gilt, deposited by emigrants of different 'yik' and various clans, each district bearing a distinguishing motto. The most recent additions were from natives of Swatow [汕頭Shantou] and a Suntak [順德 Shunde] gang. The majority of the Amoy [廈門 Xiamen] men, whose camp lies almost in sight on 'Jackass Flat' are not contributors. Members' red visiting cards pasted round the walls as an ornament to the wainscoting contain many influential names. The tablet designate of the village, occupying a conspicuous position in the temple, bears the legend, 'Ti-te Cwang-yun', 'brought by Imperial favour from Canton', with the duplicate meaning of 'the Imperial grace is broadly diffused'. The God of War is depicted with his son and henchman in attendance. His charger, a

Figure 5: Num Pon Soon Society huiguan, Little Bourke Street, Melbourne. The sign over the door reads 南番順公司, Nanpanshun Gongsi.
Australian news for home readers, 21 October 1863.
Courtesy: State Library of Victoria

> wooden toy horse, stands on the floor; the customary rice-filled pateras[15] are arranged both before the picture and before the horse, and joss-stick is burning ... These three heroes, Kuanti, his son, and henchman [are] together emblematic of loyal attachment ...[16]

Written in modern Chinese as Guandi (關帝), and sometimes also called Guan Gong (關公 Lord Guan) this god was a real ancient person, a hero of the Three Kingdoms period in the second-third century AD, a time of political turmoil and constant warfare. Whereas Crawford refers to Guandi's two companions as son and henchman, the companions are more likely to have been his friends Liu Bei (劉備) and Zhang Fei (張飛), famed for their mutual loyalty with Guandi.[17] The prominence of Guandi as a deity in overseas Chinese temples and club-houses is due primarily to the fact that in these overseas Chinese mining communities, men from a great variety of clans and districts were required to work and live together, in harmony not in conflict, and it was believed that appeals to the virtues of Guandi would encourage co-operation within the diverse mining communities.

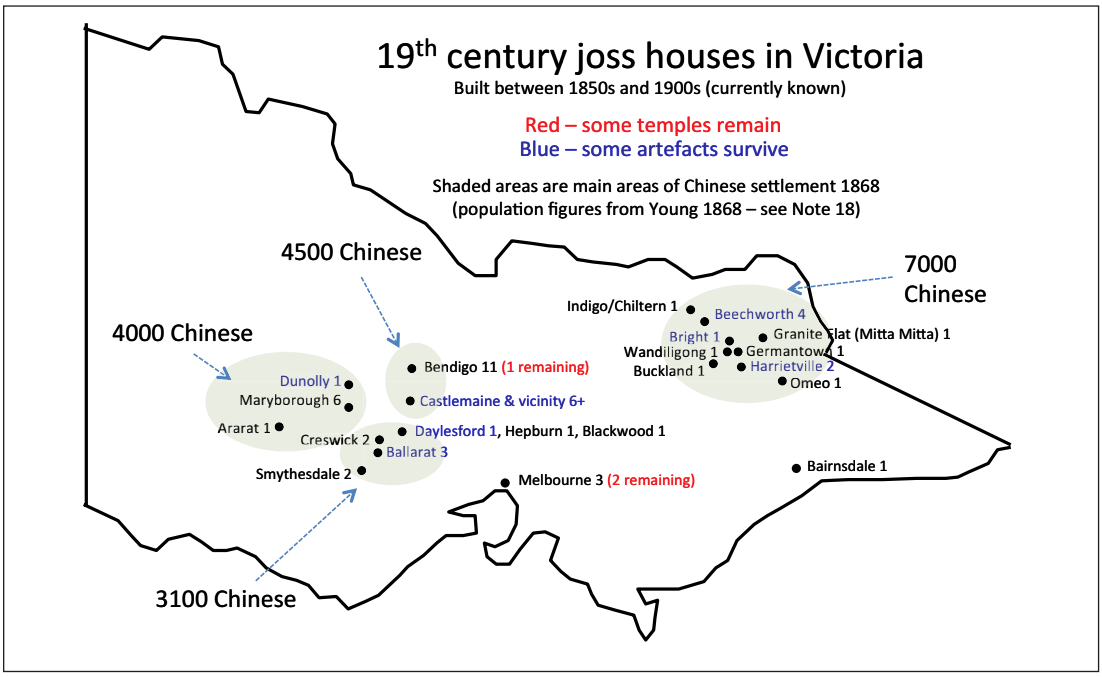
Victoria's Chinese Camps and Joss Houses

Within each goldmining district in colonial Victoria, there were many Chinese mining and rural settlements. Commonly referred to at the time as 'camps' - a term implying a European racist wish for a temporary stay by the Chinese - they were often established towns or neighbourhoods, either separate from European settlements, or in a section of an existing European town. Originally mainly comprising tent dwellings, over time many were rebuilt in timber, sometimes in brick, and many of these 'camps' lasted for decades.

The Rev William Young reported to the Victorian Parliament in 1868 on Chinese in Victoria. By this year, the Chinese in Victoria had reduced to approximately 19,000 people, down from a peak of 46,000 in May 1859.[18] His report contains a substantial section describing each Chinese camp in Victoria in turn, detailing numbers of residents, their occupations, the types of shops and buildings, the numbers of women and children, their leisure activities and so forth. Joss houses and club-houses are listed in many of these towns, some towns having more than one of these buildings.[19] It is likely that not all joss houses or club-houses that existed were mentioned by Young—other sources from the same time talk of certain towns having joss houses, but Young did not mention these joss houses.

Figure 6: Joss House, Bright, c1900-1920.
Photo: Alice Mansfield.
Courtesy: State Library of Victoria

Joss houses, club-houses and occasionally Chinese masonic halls figure from time to time in contemporary newspaper accounts. Modern day local histories (oral and written), historical illustrations and photographs, and site-remains indicate the location of yet more joss houses, some of which have not yet been corroborated by research into documentary sources. Combining Young's 1868 account, the newspaper references, the illustrations and the oral site histories, *Figures 7 and 8* provide a map and table of where joss houses, club-houses and temples are currently known



Location	Qty
Melbourne[20]	3
Ararat[21]	1
Bairnsdale[22]	1
Ballarat[23]	3
Beechworth[24]	4
Bendigo[25]	11?
Blackwood[26]	1
Bright[27]	1
Buckland[28]	1
Castlemaine[29]	5
Creswick[30]	2
Daylesford[31]	1
Dunolly[32]	1
Germantown[33]	1
Granite Flat (Mitta Mitta)[34]	1
Growlers Creek (Wandiligong)[35]	1
Guildford[36]	1+
Harrietville[37]	2
Hepburn[38]	1
Indigo[39]	1
Maryborough[40]	6
Omeo[41]	1
Smythesdale[42]	2
TOTAL	52+

Figures 7 & 8: Currently known locations of joss houses in Victoria.

to have existed in Victoria.

In the last three decades, historians and archaeologists have begun to systematically record all known locations of Australian joss houses, and to investigate their histories and material culture. The work of Grimwade (1986 to 2014)[43], Niemeier (1995)[44], Adams (1997)[45], Smith (2006)[46], Ouyang (2007)[47], Robb (2014)[48] and Talbot (2011)[49] and my own research in Victoria (Macgregor 2013, 2014)[50], has brought the total known so far to at least 132 across Australia, of which 52 or more were in Victoria.

As in Bendigo, some of the early joss houses in Victoria are reported to have been tent structures, although the Buckland Joss House of 1856 had a timber frame supporting the canvas.[51] Also as with Bendigo, some towns are reported to have had four or more joss houses in the one camp, such as Maryborough (six) and Beechworth (four).

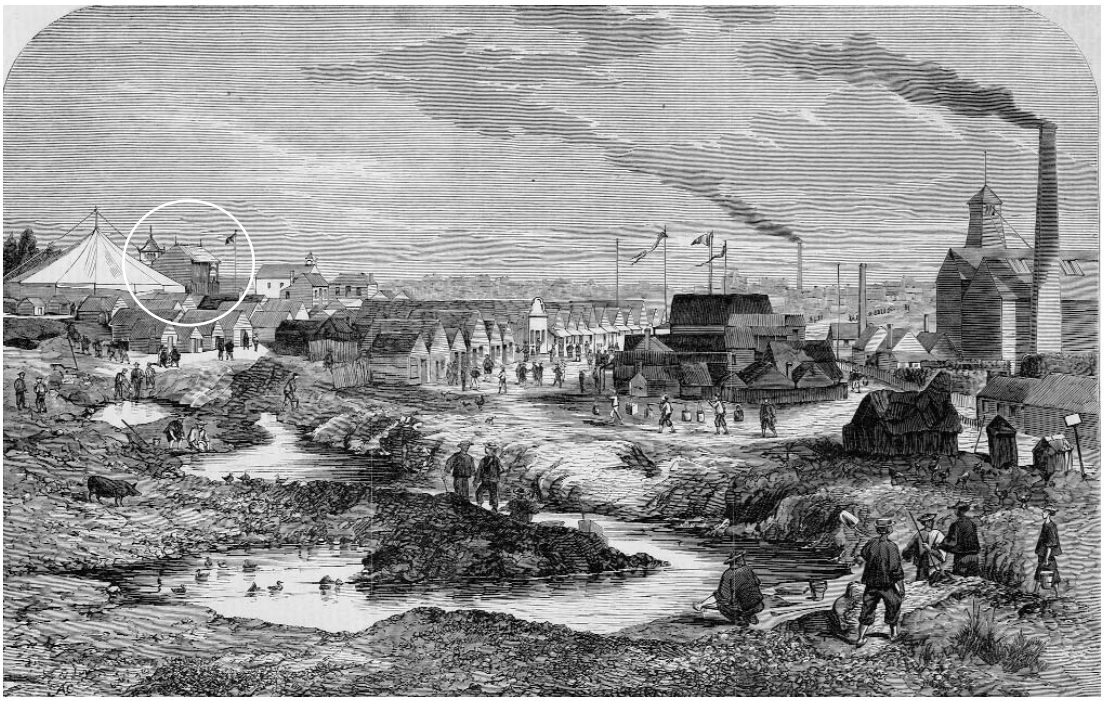


Figure 9: Chinese quarter, Ballarat (with joss house circled) probably at Golden Point. *Illustrated Australian News*, 18 July 1868. *Courtesy*: State Library of Victoria

Brick joss houses were known to have been built in Victoria in Castlemaine (two), Germantown near Bright (one) and Melbourne (three), as well as Bendigo (two). The majority of joss houses that remained after the initial gold rushes were likely built of timber.

While the Bendigo Joss House is the only surviving rural joss house in Victoria, a range of artefacts from other temples has survived in local museums.[52]

Bendigo's Chinese Camps

Research to date on the location of Chinese centres in Bendigo in the nineteenth century has only afforded snapshots of understanding. Bomford[53] listed eight Chinese camps, with a total of 5,376 residents, being established in the Bendigo area in 1855 under the colonial government's policy of resettling Victoria's Chinese miners in specific locations—for their protection, it was argued, as well as to minimise conflict with European miners.[54] Lovejoy found thirteen Chinese villages in existence by December 1856.[55] However, the Protectorate camps only lasted a few years, and from 1859 onwards, Chinese regrouped and resettled in Victoria, according to mining and other geographic-economic imperatives.

By 1871, Collins estimated that there were sixteen possible Chinese camps in and around Bendigo, for a Chinese population of 1,707.[56] Half of these, however, had no shops or businesses, only residents. Iron Bark Camp (321 Chinese) and Huntly (364 Chinese) were the two largest concentrations of Chinese in the Bendigo district, both having over double the number of residents compared with the next most populous group of Chinese neighbourhoods. However, if we consider retail outlets and hotels, Iron Bark had a far greater number (76) compared to

Huntly/Epsom (12). Looking at where all the Chinese population centres in Bendigo were, Ironbark is actually in a fairly central location, so it makes sense that it became the geographic, social, economic and religious hub of Chinese Bendigonians, and thus that the majority of joss houses were reported as being there.

But the population of Chinese that used Ironbark Camp as its community hub may have been greater during the 1860s-1900s, and included people further out from what has been defined by Collins as the Bendigo district. Young stated that the Chinese in Bendigo were mainly in Epsom—'about 1,000 ... the largest encampment'—with 400-500 in Ironbark, and a total population of 3,500 at Sandhurst.[57] Even as late as 1908, Edward Ni Gan, owner of the Emu Point Hotel, stated to the Licenses Reduction Board that there were 3,000 Chinese living in Bendigo and district.[58]

Increasingly then, during the 1860s and beyond, the communal centre of Chinese gravity became the Ironbark Camp/Emu Point precinct. This is not to be confused with another district in Bendigo, west of the town centre, which is also called Ironbark, and which retains that name today. The Ironbark Camp was often referred to as simply the 'Chinese Camp', sometimes 'Ironbark Chinese Camp', with some fluidity as to where the Ironbark Camp ended and the Emu Point area continued.

Yet for all the proliferation of Chinese camps in Bendigo in the 1850s to 1870s, only a handful of these have yet been found in the historical records to have had joss houses—viz. Long Gully, White Hills, Ironbark Camp, and Emu Point.

There may well have been more joss houses in other camps. Access to colonial newspaper accounts has vastly improved with the advent of the online *Trove* search engine of the National Library in 2007, allied with their ongoing program of digitising the newspapers themselves.[59] Yet many nineteenth century newspapers still await digitisation, or have only been digitised so far for certain years. The ability to find articles about 'joss houses' or 'temples' via Trove also depends on the search engine's ability to recognise these words in an article; the newspapers have been mainly digitised from microfilm, and as those who have trawled through microfilmed newspapers know, the text is not always clear.

Be that as it may, *Trove* as it is currently, and other sources, can provide a general outline of the development of joss houses and temples in Bendigo.

Long Gully and White Hills 1856-1859

The first time a Joss House is mentioned in Bendigo was the opening of a 'Chinese temple' at Long Gully, in a tent structure, in May 1856,[60] established by the Four Districts association.[61] A month later, a Joss House at Long Gully was described in detail, probably the same one. A tablet was described, written in Chinese characters, and translated for the author. The injunctions on the tablet read:

> 'While we are united we are strong';
> 'If we divide we will be oppressed';
> 'By our numbers we can redress wrongs';
> 'While we are in this country we must protect each other'; and
> 'To effect this we should meet frequently'.[62]

These extraordinarily direct and political statements are a far cry from the poetic allusive language of moral worthiness normally found in Chinese temples, and strongly suggest a primarily political organisation, in spite of the fact that an image of a god on canvas was imported from China for the institution.[63] Was the call to unity just to other See Yup (Four Districts) miners, or was it an attempt to unify all districts?

One of the purposes, or benefits, of the Protectorate camp system was that Chinese from particular districts in China tended to

settle in certain camps, although that did not always apply.

On the night of Saturday 13 September 1856, a riot between people of the Four Districts [See Yup people] and the Five Districts [Sam Yap people plus those from Xiangshan (Heungshan 香山) and Dongguan (Tungkun 東莞) districts] erupted in the encampment at the First White Hill, 'the only [camp in Bendigo] in which the two parties are mixed'. The Four Districts group had erected at the First White Hill a 'masonic hall' —likely a reference to a Sheathed Sword Society meeting hall—and an incursion by people from the Five Districts group led to a fight, the reasons for which are not explained, but requiring police intervention, and leading to the arrest of the two groups' leaders, Fok Sing and A'King, and several others.[64]

So by this stage the See Yup (Four Districts) people had a temple in Long Gully, and a masonic hall at the First White Hill.

Three years later, in May 1859, the 'Long Gully Joss House' was the scene of a major dispute within the Chinese community. Three delegates from Castlemaine had come, and called a meeting to get assistance to build another Joss House in Castlemaine. The Chinese at Long Gully 'refused, unless half of the proceeds were given them to rebuild their own'. A heated conflict of words ensued, with 'from four to five thousand' Chinese congregated around the Joss House. Only the police prevented a lynching from taking place.[65] It is not mentioned which district groups were associated with any of these joss houses, though probably the Long Gully Joss House is the See Yup one mentioned in 1856.

This is the last mention, found so far in the Bendigo press, of a joss house or temple at Long Gully, although a joss house is recorded there in the rates books for every year from 1866 to 1872 (except 1869).[66] It may have continued beyond 1872, but further research is required to determine this.

Ironbark Camp 1859-1860

A little earlier than the Long Gully joss house fracas, the first mention of joss houses at Ironbark Camp occurs, in March 1859, in an article reporting a health inspection led by Mr Pyke, one of the Chinese Protectors of the district. 'Ironbark Chinese Encampment ... opposite the upper White Hills', was described as 'one of the oldest, and...perhaps the most permanent in the district' with a population of one thousand, including one Chinese woman, living in 204 tents, at an average of four men to a tent. The inspection team included Dr Roche, Health Officer, A'Cheong, the interpreter, and two European constables familiar with the Camp. They inspected 'gambling houses, joss houses, eating houses and [opium] smoking shops, and private habitations.' Thus, joss houses in the plural; they also noted that a 'display of sundry joss, or religious appliances, on a sideboard...are commonly to be seen in the stores and private dwellings'.[67]

The interior of one joss house, 'a public Joss House', was visited, devoted, according to A'Cheong, to the 'worship of the goddess Koon-yem [Guanyin 觀音]'. Her statue was described in unflattering terms as:

> a not very imposing figure, about six inches in height, of dark hue, and somewhat gaudily arrayed. She was enshrined in a case adorned with much tinsel and crimson. Before her were a variety of offerings ... wine and various kinds of liquids ... eggs and cakes and fancy ornaments ...[68]

In July 1859, a lengthy article describes the opening of 'the new Joss House', located at the 'lower end of Ironbark Gully ... just over the range, beyond the works of the Tyson's Reef Company, and about a couple of hundred yards on this side of the encampment'. It was a 'substantial weatherboard building, about thirty or forty

feet by about half that size in breadth'.[69] The location is confirmed by a report in September 1859, of a fire in the wood stack of the A'Fok, Fok Sing, and Co. brick kiln, which described the kiln as being near the new Joss House.[70]

The new Joss House of July 1859 was erected by Chinese belonging to the 'Three Districts' [Sam Yup people], with A'Sam appointed as keeper.[71] So it would appear that the Five Districts group of 1856 had split into the Sam Yup—Three Districts—with the other two districts perhaps forming what James Henry described in 1860 as the Yeung-woo Company.[72] This may be the first joss house built by the Sam Yap people in Bendigo, predating by more than a year the more impressive, more durable Num Pon Soon Huiguan, built by Melbourne merchant Lowe Kong Meng in 1860-61 for the Sam Yap people—the oldest continuing huiguan building in Australia (*Figure 5*).[73]

Intriguingly, less than a year after the Ironbark Sam Yup joss house opened, A'Sam was in court, in April 1860, in dispute with Kin Loy and A Quam, who both described themselves as committee members of the Ironbark Chinese Club-house, along with A'Sam and a witness Ap Hoe.[74] Three months later, A'Sam, also called Chick-Sam, 'interpreter and storekeeper', was declared insolvent, owing [£]150 to another Chinese firm in Sandhurst[75], and his estate—the 'Sam Yup Joss House' was put up for auction on 26 July.[76] At this stage, no record has been found of the outcome of the auction, or whether it even went ahead. But this was not the last mention of a Sam Yup joss house in Bendigo.

Focus of Joss Houses on Ironbark Camp

As far as the Bendigo press is concerned, all joss houses in Bendigo after 1859 are recorded as being at Ironbark Camp (or Emu Point on the southern edge of the Camp), and these buildings became increasingly, from the European point of view, a focus of 'cultural tourism' at the Camp by Europeans—sometimes in a prurient manner or one of disdain, sometimes with more an air of respect and curiosity.

Figure 10: Altar in central hall, Bendigo Joss House Temple, Emu Point, c1914. The altar still remains - see Figure 15. *Photo*: Bartlett Bros *Courtesy:* DR O'Hoy Collection.

The NSW Solicitor General was shown into 'the joss house' in August 1866, in a tour of 'the Temperance Hall ... the Wardens' Court, the Hospital, Supreme Courts House, Gaol, and the Chinese Camp'.[77]

In June 1867, a visit by a journalist to the 'Ironbark ... joss house' compared it most unfavourably to the Emerald Hill Joss House [See Yup temple in South Melbourne], noted that the divinities at the altar are 'Pak Hai' and 'Hi Wing' and a 'staid virgin' (perhaps Guanyin?), and then provided a lengthy,

Figure 11: Bendigo Joss House Temple, Emu Point, c1914. *Photo*: Bartlett Bros
Courtesy: DR O'Hoy Collection

sarcastic account of divination philosophy.[78]

In December 1870, a new Joss House was reported as being built at Ironbark, which took about five months to build, and 'a vast improvement on their old plainly constructed one of wood, which was erected about ten years ago'. This description implies a brick build, and the date of its timber predecessor indicates that it was the one originally built for the Sam Yup club in 1859.[79] As the 1859 Sam Yup club-house was very close to the site of the Emu Point joss house still standing, then it is highly likely that this new joss house is the one we have still today.

In March 1874, a detailed description is provided of a visit to a joss house which is also likely to be of the one still standing. The joss house's location is provided as 'situated at the extremity of the encampment and ... fenced in with a neat railing...' Moreover, 'on quitting the precincts of the domain sacred to Joss' the visiting party 'turned our steps toward the upper part of the Camp once more.' The railing fence and the location at the extreme 'lower' end of the camp, seem a pretty convincing match with the current joss house.[80]

In September 1875, the warden and police magistrate, Mr Cogdon, accompanied by the Mayor, two police and interpreter Chin Kit, toured the Chinese Camp, and visited 'the Joss House', built of brick, likely to be the one built in 1870, and the one still standing. Even the description of the lamp, 'a small feeble flame, protected by glass', matches the original hanging lamp still in the current joss house. After having the dieties and pious observances explained, and the hanging inscriptions interpreted, they were taken into 'a "committee room", a small and scantily furnished place ajoining the Joss House, where a board of nine celestials hold court, and adjudicate after the manner of the worthy police magistrate himself', an indication that this building had at least some of the function

of a huiguan.[81]

By 1877, we have James Dundas Crawford's most detailed account, which also accords with the location of the current joss house.[82]

During the 1870s, there are several sources that record a plurality of joss houses at the Ironbark Camp. Chinese New Year celebrations are announced in the *Bendigo Advertiser* in February 1875, stating that the '*joss houses* [my italics] will be crowded'.[83] As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Knight's report to the City of Sandhurst in 1876 details four joss houses and a masonic hall; unfortunately the report as described in the *Bendigo Advertiser* does not supply any location data for specific buildings, so it is not clear whether the joss house at the southern extremity of the camp is included in this tally,[84] although the masonic hall may well be the Emu Point Joss House, as explained later in this chapter.

The city rate books provide some corroboration for Knight's number of joss houses. In 1873, four 'joss houses' are recorded at 'Ironbark Camp'.[85] No joss houses are recorded in the rate books for 1874-1877 inclusive, but that may be because, as Lewis et al argue, the joss houses, if categorised as religious buildings, would have been exempt from rates, and thus not recorded.[86]

Two joss houses were recorded in the 1862 rate books at Emu Point. This was perhaps two adjoining buildings that may have been part of one joss house facility. As the Emu Point Joss House today is made up of three adjoining buildings linked structurally only at the facade, it is possible that a structure like this, with a main hall and only one side building, would be recorded as two joss houses.

Two joss houses at Emu Point are also recorded in 1868 and 1870, then one in 1871. Following the argument of Lewis et al, this all may be the same joss house facility, from 1862 to 1871. From 1866 to 1873 inclusive, a number of joss houses are also recorded at Ironbark Camp each year. It is possible that in some years the Emu Point joss house(s) are recorded as being in Ironbark Camp, but in the two years which list the highest number of joss houses, 1868 and 1870, there are three in Ironbark Camp and two in Emu Point.[87]

After the absence of joss houses from the rate books for 1874 to 1877, one probable joss house returns, with a name that indicates ownership—the 'Nam Poon Shun King Shaw', with 'King Shaw' probably being a Cantonese dialect transliteration into English of 'Gong Si' (gongsi). It is listed sporadically from 1878 onwards until 1886, sometimes alternating in other years with just 'joss house'.[88] It appears then, that the Sam Yup people maintained an organisational presence in Bendigo after A'Sam's ownership of their 1859 joss house was put up for auction in 1860.

The rate books are, in short, erratic, vague and unreliable; more useful if correlated with other sources. The report by Knight, for instance, records four joss houses and a masonic hall for 1876,[89] a year for which the rate books are silent about joss houses.

Because of the uncertainty about what area was designated Emu Point and what was Ironbark Camp, and the fact that this may have changed over the years, the rate books are not easy to correlate with Louey Charles Chew's map showing seven joss houses in the Emu Point area. Nor are the rate books easy to correlate with Vernon and Arthur Lock's account of two joss houses in the Ironbark Camp in the early twentieth century.[90]

It is possible that Louey Charles Chew's seven joss houses, Vernon and Arthur's two joss houses, as well as the earlier records of a temple at Long Gully, and a masonic hall at the First White Hill, both in 1856, together add up to eleven separate joss houses of one type or another. However, further research is required to pinpoint the locations of each, determine when they were built and how

long they existed, and also rule out any duplication.

Kuanti Temple and All Nations Temple

Many joss houses were destroyed by a fire in 1887 which ravaged the Ironbark Camp.[91] A report about the fire stated that most of these joss houses had been 'not open to visitors', which may have been due to them being district society club-houses, only for the use of society members.[92] Other twentieth century reports state that some joss houses were for particular clans, for instance the Louey clan,[93] and the Sue Goon Hong clan.[94]

One temple in Bendigo had a reputation for being open to all. Vernon and Arthur Lock recounted to Dennis O'Hoy in 1970 that one of the joss houses in the Ironbark Camp, a brick one, was called the All Nations Temple, so named because all Chinese, regardless of their district of origin, were allowed to worship in it. They identified it as the one shown in *Figure 12*.[95]

The surviving photographic record shows only two brick joss houses in the Ironbark Camp/Emu Point area by the turn of the century. One was the Emu Point Joss House, likely built in 1870. The photograph of it taken around 1914 by the Bartlett Bros studio shows that it is the same as the currently standing Emu Point Joss House (*Figures 1, 10, 11, 15*). The other brick joss house, the All Nations Temple (*Figures 12, 13, 14*), is of similar construction to the Emu Point Joss House—both had white-pointed or tuck-pointed brickwork as the chief structural feature, and they both followed traditional village temple architecture layout from Guangdong province. The key external differences are that the All Nations Temple had only one side building, it had iron lace in its verandah decorations, a different suite of stuccoed brick patterns on its roof ridge, and it had stucco figures lining the roof just above the verandah, one of which was a dolphin or fish. The Emu Point Joss House now has no figures on the roof just above the verandah, nor did it in the 1914 photograph.

However, a close inspection of three surviving photographs of the All Nations Temple shows another name for it, written above its main entrance in Chinese characters: 關帝廟 (Mandarin: Guandi Miao). This is the same name, but differently spelt in English, as the Kuanti-miao, the timber temple described by Crawford in 1877.[96] Another version of the same name is the Gon Hi Mew, likely a Cantonese dialect transliteration of Guan Di Miao.[97] The man who took the photograph of it in 1933, Fred Smith, said that Louey Charles Chew told him that the building was called the Guan Gong (i.e. Guandi) Temple.[98] It is not certain when the brick Guandi Miao was built, although it was certainly in existence by the time photographs of it appeared in *The Bendigonian* in 1900 (*Figure 13*).[99] In 1893 a 'new joss house' was opened at the Ironbark Camp, but the news report gives no details of the building.[100] It may well have been the successor to the 1877 timber Kuanti-miao, perhaps after it had been destroyed in the 1887 fire, or perhaps because a decision had been made to replace an old timber building with a new, grander, brick one.

Crawford's 1877 account of the Kuanti-miao, provided at the beginning of this chapter, states that it had plaques decorating its walls from all the various districts from Guangdong Province which had residents living in Bendigo. This is similar to the philosophy behind the All Nations Temple concept, so it is possible that the All Nations Temple title was a name used to express the inclusiveness of the Guandi temple, by comparison with the exclusive district or clan joss houses.

Whatever the origins of the All Nations Temple title, it is noteworthy that there was an All Nations Hotel (owned by George Ah Young) in the Ironbark Camp[101]—admittedly not an unusual name for a hotel in Victoria—

and also an All Nations Bazaar as part of the Easter Fair in 1886.[102] Perhaps there was a concerted community move towards working together amongst Bendigo's Chinese, and of working with the European community. This is also the period of the early development of the Chinese procession, and displays, as part of the Easter Fair—another indication of Chinese community unity. Several newspaper accounts of the Easter Fair in the 1880s to 1900s state that there were one or more buildings in the Ironbark Camp that were used not only to store the dragon, and the processional regalia, between each year's Fair, but also as buildings in which the dragon and processional regalia were prepared in the days before each Fair.[103] One of these buildings is likely to have been the Guandi Miao, and photographs taken at two different dates, show dragons, lions, and costumed people—all ready for the procession—posing outside the front of this building (*Figure 13*).

Sheathed Sword, Gee Hing and Chinese Masonic Society

The Emu Point Joss House, as photographed around 1914, has the words 致公堂 (Cantonese: Chee Goon Tong, Mandarin: Zhigongtang) above its entrance, usually translated in English as Chinese Masonic Society.

The Chinese Masonic Society is the twentieth century heir to the tradition of the sworn brotherhood type of organisation, which flourished in Qing dynasty times in China and in the Chinese diaspora. In the nineteenth century, the sworn brotherhood most widely operative in Australia was usually called the Yee Hing Society or Gee Hing Society (written in Chinese as either 義興會 Yixinghui or 義興公司 Yixinggongsi), although it is sometimes referred to as the Hong Men (洪門), and it was in fact this organisation which officially changed its name in the early twentieth century to become the Chinese Masonic Society.[104]

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the Sheathed Sword Society was named by Crawford in 1877 as the builder of the Emu Point Joss House.[105] The term 'masonic hall' was used at least three times in nineteenth century Bendigo accounts in

Figure 12: Guandi Temple (All Nations Temple), Ironbark, 1933. *Photo*: Fred Smith *Courtesy*: James Lerk Collection.

English, to describe premises built by the Chinese: once in 1856 in the account of the fight between the Four Districts and Five Districts associations, over the opening of a 'masonic hall' by the Four Districts association in the First White Hill camp;[106] once in a report of the death of Chick Young, resident of the 'masonic hall' at Ironbark;[107] and once by valuer Knight in 1876.[108]

Crawford describes the Sheathed Sword Society as a type of triad organisation, saying that the Society used the figure 'Triad of Union' to denote its presence,[109] so it also may have been part of the same grouping out of which the Gee Hing/Hong Men/Chinese Masonic Society lineage arose. It is possible that what he called the Sheathed Sword Society was in fact another name for the Gee Hing, and that it was seen even as early as the 1850s as similar in its use of secrecy, ritual and careful membership recruitment to the

Figure 13: Moon-faced dragon for the Easter Fair procession, outside the Guandi Miao (All Nations Temple), Ironbark. *Bendigonian*, 17 April 1900, p. 17. *Courtesy*: State Library of Victoria

Figure 14: Interior, Guandi Temple (All Nations Temple), Ironbark, undated.
Courtesy: Darren Wright Collection.

European freemasonry tradition. Knight in his inventory of the Chinese Camp not only includes a Masonic Hall, but also states that there were 250 'Chinese that are Freemasons in the City of Sandhurst'.[110] It is unlikely that so many Chinese would have been in a European Freemasons branch; so it is likely he meant those who are members of the Sheathed Sword Society, and probably the Masonic Hall is the current Emu Point Joss House, which, after all, Crawford never calls a temple or joss house, but a 'public building'.

Mountford and Reeves propose that Fok Sing, one of the leaders in the 1856 conflict at White Hills, also known as Fook Shing, was a leader of the Sheathed Sword Society, based on Oldis' research into Fook Shing's career.[111] However, whether this is the same society that established the building in 1870 that Crawford describes in 1877 is uncertain. Neither is it clear that there is a direct lineage between the Sheathed Sword of 1877 and the Chee Goon Tong who were running the Emu Point Joss House at least by 1914. In the 1890s and 1900s there were newspaper accounts of the Gee Hing Society being active in Bendigo,[112] but not clearly in relation to the Emu Point Joss House—Guandi is mentioned as a god at the 'Gee Hing temple', but where that temple was is not stated. Rasmussen states that the Gee Hing had been active in Bendigo since the 1870s; this is based on an article in 1876 which refers to a Chinese having a 'Masonic body and a Masonic "Hall"', but this article does not mention the

Figure 15: The restored interior of the Emu Point Joss House Temple, 2014. *Photo*: Paul Macgregor

Gee Hing by name.[113] In 1908 the Gee Hing are mentioned as occupying a building in the Emu Point Chinese camp,[114] likely the Emu Point Joss House, as it is only a few years before the 1914 photograph of the building with their new name on it.

Wilton states that the Chinese Masonic Society took over community temples in NSW rural areas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as the number of rural Chinese declined.[115] A similar situation may have prevailed in Victoria. Joss houses numbers were already in decline in Victoria by the 1880s. The 1891 Victorian census, for instance, records twelve men employed as 'joss house keepers' that year, a steep decline from forty-three in the same occupation in 1881.[116] As it is likely that there was only one joss house keeper per joss house, this indicates a decline in joss house usage, perhaps even destruction, as early as the 1880s. So the Gee Hing Society may have taken over the Emu Point Joss House from a declining Sheathed Sword Society; rather than the Sheathed Sword Society renaming itself the Gee Hing, then later again renaming itself the Chinese Masonic Society. More research is required to resolve this uncertainty.

Heritage lost, heritage saved

The years before the First World War saw the Emu Point Joss House and the rebuilt Guandi Temple (All Saints Temple) both having strong roles in the Bendigo Chinese community, centred around the Chinese Masonic Society and the Easter Fair respectively.

Yet by the late 1930s, both buildings were derelict, with the Guandi Temple gone by the end of that decade. They were not alone in this. Throughout Victoria, joss houses were either lost in fire and not replaced, left to decay and fall down, or deliberately demolished. The loss of so much Chinese community heritage over the first half of the twentieth century is only partly explained as a result of the restrictive immigration policies of the post-federation White Australia Policy.

The reasons why dozens of Victorian rural towns—and also in NSW and Queensland—turned their back on the remarkable built heritage of the nation's Chinese pioneers, with only a few items of furniture or plaques being saved in some local museums, speaks to the heart of the deep undercurrent of racism in white Australia in the twentieth century.

Paradoxically, the lone survival of one of these buildings in rural Victoria, the Emu Point Joss House, out of fifty-two or more built in Victoria, is a testament to a series of individuals and organisations over the twentieth century who bucked the tide of anti-Chinese racism, and made decisions at crucial moments to preserve and restore the building, rather than destroy it. People and organisations such as Sir John Jensen, Assistant Secretary for the Department of Supply, who ordered its preservation when the Emu Point area became an ordnance factory, Professor Brian Lewis and others of the National Trust of Victoria, who recognised the need to restore the joss house;[117] Cr Alec Craig, Chairman of the newly formed local branch of the National Trust, who invited Dennis O'Hoy to undertake the planning and restoration works; the Bendigo Chinese Association who supported the joss house's renewal; John Ball and Ron Lee who sourced furnishings and temple artefacts from Hong Kong; and now The Bendigo Trust, the current stewards. That remarkable story of preservation and restoration deserves a whole chapter to itself.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful for the assistance I have received in researching this chapter from Dennis O'Hoy, Mike Butcher, Darren Wright at the Bendigo Joss House, Leigh McKinnon at the Golden Dragon Museum, Diann Talbot, Michael Williams, Gordon Grimwade, Sandi Robb, Benjamin Mountford and James Lerk. This chapter also builds upon the valuable earlier research into the Joss House's history undertaken for the National Trust in the 1990s.[118]

Endnotes

Full citations for newspaper references can be found at: www.paulmacgregor.com.au.

1. Dundas J Crawford, 'Notes by Mr Crawford on Chinese Immigration in the Australian Colonies', 1877. Great Britain Foreign Office Confidential Print 3742. National Library of Australia. https://arrow.latrobe.edu.au/store/3/4/5/5/1/public_old/FMPro3135.html, p. 10.
As well as Crawford's report itself, see Michael Williams' assessment of the value of Crawford's report to Chinese-Australian historiography 'Observations of a China Consul', *Locality* (Centre for Community History, University of New South Wales), 2001, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 24-31) and O'Brien's background account of Crawford's career (Bob O'Brien, *What Ho, Crawford, Old Chap: An Anglo-Scot Chinese Interpreter (1850-1903)*, Dorset Enterprises, Wellington, New Zealand, 2004).
2. *Bendigo Advertiser,* 19 May 1856, p. 3.
3. *Bendigo Advertiser,* 15 September 1856, p. 2.
4. *Bendigo Advertiser,* 19 February 1876, p. 3.
5. Louey Charles Chew, 'Emu Point 1910'. Sketch map by Louey Charles Chew (b. c 1861, m. 1908, d. 1944) showing the layout of the Emu Point area c 1910. Given by his grandson to the Golden Dragon Museum, Bendigo.
6. Dennis O'Hoy, personal communication, 3 February 2015.
7. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 22 March 1860, p. 3.
8. For example, 'The See Yup Wiu Koon

(四邑會館)' [Siyi huiguan] and 'The Kong Chau Wiu Koon (岡州會館)' [Gangzhou huiguan], in AW Brewin, 'List of subscriptions to the endowment fund.' Regustrar General, University of Hong Kong, 1911 (citation courtesy of Michael Williams).

9. Crawford, Notes, p. 8.

10. Bien Chiang, 'The Kongsi's Past as a Foreign Country'. Paper presented at New Perspectives on the Study of Chinese Culture and Society workshop organised by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange, Princeton, 24–26 March 2003. http://www.cckf.org/PrincetonWorkshop/papers.htm

11. Barbara Ward, 'A Hakka Kongsi in Borneo', *Journal of Oriental Studies,* 1954, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 358-70.

12. Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2001, pp. 598–621; Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853–1937*, University of California Press, Berkeley; Kwang-Ching Liu, 'Chinese Merchant Guilds: An Historical Inquiry', *Pacific Historical Review,* 1988, Vol. 57, No. 1, pp. 1-23.

13. *Weekly Herald*, 14 August 1863, p. 1; *Australian News for Home Readers*, 21 October 1863, p. 4.

14. For a more detailed account of the role of gongsi and huiguan in Victoria, see Paul Macgregor,'Chinese Political Values in Colonial Victoria: Lowe Kong Meng and the Legacy of the July 1880 Election', in Sophie Couchman and Kate Bagnall (eds), *Chinese Australians: Politics, Engagement and Resistance*, Brill, 2015, pp. 71-75.

15. An earthernware or metal saucer used by ancient Romans for drinking and libations at sacrifices.

16. Crawford, Notes, p. 9.

17. Martin Palmer (ed), with Mak Hin Chung, Kwok Man Ho and Angela Smith, *T'ung Shu: The Ancient Chinese Almanac*, Vinpress, Kuala Lumpur, 1990, p. 207.

18. William Young, 'Report on the Condition of the Chinese Population in Victoria, Presented to Both Houses of Parliament', 1868; reprinted in Ian F McLaren (ed), 1985. *The Chinese in Victoria: Official Reports and Documents*, Red Rooster Press, Melbourne, pp. 33-58; Macgregor, 'Chinese Political Values', p. 65.

19. Young, Report, 1868.

20. Num Pon Soon Society Huiguan, Little Bourke Street (Fig 5); See Yup Society Temple, Raglan Street, South Melbourne; Kong Chew Society Huiguan, Little Bourke Street.

21. Young, Report, p. 36.

22. Albie Adams, *The Chinese Ingredient: A History of the Chinese at Omeo,* Albie Adams, Toongabbie, 1997, pp. 15-17.

23. Young, Report, p. 33.

24. Vivienne McWaters, *Beechworth's Little Canton*, Viv. McWaters, Beechworth, 2002, pp. 15, 87.

25. See text of this chapter for details.

26. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 1 August 1908, p. 10.

27. Diann Talbot, Unpublished report on Chinese sites in the Upper Ovens Valley and Buckland Valley, 2011.

28. Diann Talbot, *The Buckland Valley Goldfield*, Diann Talbot, Victoria, 2004, p. 111.

29. Ray Bradfield, *Castlemaine: A Golden Harvest*, Castlemaine Main, Castlemaine, Victoria, 1972.

30. Lionel Lindsay, *Comedy of Life: An Autobiography 1874-1961*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1967, p. 3.

31. Hu Jin Kok, *Chinese Lodges in Australia,* Golden Dragon Museum, Bendigo, Victoria, 2005, pp. 57-63.

32. Two temple plaques from Dunolly in Bendigo Joss House Temple.

33. Talbot, Unpublished Report, 2011.

34. Adams, *The Chinese Ingredient*, pp. 15-17.

35. *Ibid.*

36. JA Patterson, *The Gold Fields of Victoria in 1862,* Melbourne, 1863, pp. 132-134.

37. Adams, *The Chinese Ingredient*, pp. 15-17.

38. *Bendigo Advertiser,* 25 January 1906.

39. McWaters, *Beechworth's Little Canton*, p. 26.

40. *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser*, 27 February 1918.

41. Adams, *The Chinese Ingredient*, pp. 45-47.

42. Young, Report, p. 34.

43. Gordon Grimwade, 'Artefacts of Hou Wang Temple', in BGR Reynolds, *Report on Atherton Chinatown, North Queensland, Vol II*, Material Culture Unit, James Cook University of North Queensland, Townsville, 1986.

——— , 'Lit Sung Goong: Cairns Chinese

Temple', *Records of Cairns Museum No. 2*, Cairns Museum, Cairns, 1987.

——— , 'Of Gods, Timber, and Maize', in Paul Macgregor (ed), *Histories of the Chinese in Australasia and the South Pacific*, Museum of Chinese Australian History, Melbourne, 1995, pp. 307-319.

——— , 'Gold, gardens, temples and feasts: Croydon's Chinese Temple', *Australasian Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 21, 2003, pp. 50-57.

——— , 'Temple artefacts as a source of history', in Kevin Wong Hoy (ed), *Rediscovered past: China in North Queensland*, Chinese Heritage in North Queensland Inc, North Melbourne, 2007, pp. 48-55.

——— , 'Chinese Temples in Australasia—an update', unpublished paper for CHINA Inc Conference, Cairns, Qld, February 2014.

44. Jutta Niemeier, 'The changing role of the See Yup temple in Melbourne, 1866-1993', in Paul Macgregor (ed), *Histories of the Chinese in Australasia*, pp. 327-337.

45. Adams, *The Chinese Ingredient*.

46. Lindsay Smith, 'Hidden dragons: the archaeology of mid to late nineteenth-century Chinese communities in southeastern New South Wales', PhD thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 2006, pp. 284-285.

47. Yanhang Ouyang, 'The importance of translating inscriptions on temple artefacts', in Wong Hoy, *Rediscovered past: China in North Queensland*, Chinese Heritage in North Queensland Inc, North Melbourne, 2007, pp. 56-64.

48. Sandi Robb, Unpublished report listing 26 temples built in Queensland prior to 1910, 2014.

49. Talbot, Unpublished Report, 2011.

50. Paul Macgregor 'Promoting temple heritage in Australasia', paper presented at the Third Dragon Tails conference, University of Wollongong, July 2013; Paul Macgregor, 'Chinese temples of colonial Victoria', paper presented at the (Australian Archaeological Association/ Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology) conference: Culture, Climate, Change: Archaeology in the Tropics, Cairns, December 2014.

51. Talbot, *The Buckland Valley Goldfield,* p. 111.

52. Macgregor, Chinese temples of colonial Victoria.

53. J Bomford, 'The Chinese in the Bendigo Goldfields 1854-1860', Hons thesis, University of Melbourne, 1974, p. 13; drawing on 'Fortnightly Reports', 'Inwards Correspondence', 30 Sept 1855.

54. Kathryn Cronin, *Colonial Casualties: Chinese in Early Victoria*, Melbourne University Press, 1982, pp. 80-102.

55. Valerie Lovejoy, 'The fortune seekers of Dai Gum San: First generation Chinese on the Bendigo Goldfield, 1854-1882', PhD thesis, La Trobe University, 2009: drawing on Sandhurst 1856 Townsend GF37: Collection of the Department of Primary Industries, Victoria.

56. Yolande MJ Collins, 'Chinese communal arrangements in Bendigo, Victoria, c. 1870s-1905, and Health Officer surveillance', in Macgregor, (ed), *Histories of the Chinese in Australasia*, 1995, pp. 400-401, drawing on *Bendigo Advertiser,* 29 August 1873, p. 2.

57. Young, Report, p. 43.

58. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 13 June 1908, p. 7.

59. 'Trove: Digitised newspapers and more', National Library of Australia, http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper; 'Trove: mapping Australia's culture where Google fears to tread', APC on-line magazine, 2010, http://apcmag.com/trove-mapping-australias-culture-where-google-fears-to-tread.htm

60. *Bendigo Advertiser,* 19 May 1856, p. 3.

61. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 15 September 1856, p. 2.

62. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 23 June 1856, p. 3.

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 15 September 1856, p. 2.

65. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 30 May1859, p. 3.

66. Nigel Lewis, Richard Aitken Pty Ltd, Clare Perry, and Heritage Assets Branch (Department of Infrastructure—Victoria), Bendigo Joss House Emu Point: Conservation Plan, for the National Trust of Australia (Victoria), 1998.

67. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 26 March 1859, pp. 2-3.

68. *Ibid*.

69. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 23 July 1859, p. 2.

70. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 19 September 1859, p. 2. An archaeological excavation of the kiln site was undertaken in 2005 (see: Heritage Victoria, Victorian Heritage Register Report: Chinese Kiln and Market Garden, 2008; Culture Victoria, http://www.cv.vic.gov.au/stories/built-environment/unearthing-a-19th-century-chinese-kiln/) For a discussion on whether Fok Sing is the same as Fook Shing, see Benjamin Mountford

& Keir Reeves, 'Reworking the tailings: new gold histories and the cultural landscape', in Jane Carey and Claire McLisky (eds) *Creating White Australia*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 2009, pp. 25-43.
71. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 23 July 1859, p. 2.
72. Michael Williams, 'Destination qiaoxiang: Pearl River Delta Villages and Pacific ports, 1849-1949', PhD thesis, Hong Kong University, 2002. http://hdl.handle.net/10722/31596 195-196)
73. Macgregor, Chinese Political Values, p. 71.
74. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 26 April 1860, p. 2.
75. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 4 May 1860, p. 2.
76. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 19 July 1860, p. 4.
77. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 7 August 1866, p. 2.
78. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 1 June 1867, p. 2.
79. *Bendigo Advertiser,* 13 December 1870, p. 2.
80. *Bendigo Independent*, 19 March 1874.
81. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 28 September 1875, p. 2.
82. Crawford, Notes, p. 10.
83. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 6 February 1875, p. 2.
84. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 19 February 1876, p. 3.
85. Lewis et al, Bendigo Joss House.
86. *Ibid*, pp. 17-18.
87. Lewis et al, Bendigo Joss House.
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 19 February 1876, p. 3.
90. Dennis O'Hoy, personal communication, 3 February 2015.
91. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 24 September 1887, p. 4.
92. *Bendigo Advertiser*, January 1951.
93. Dennis O'Hoy, personal communication, 3 February 2015.
94. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 15 August 1935, p. 3.
95. Dennis O'Hoy, personal communication, 3 February 2015. However the *Bendigo Advertiser,* 15 August 1935, p. 3, reported this temple as being owned by the Sue Goon Hong clan.
96. Crawford, Notes, p. 9.
97. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 15 August 1935, p. 3.
98. James Lerk, personal communication, 5 February 2015.
99. *The Bendigonian*, 17 April 1900, p. 17.
100. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 20 March 1893, p. 2.
101. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 24 December 1878, p. 3.
102. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 30 April 1886, p. 3.
103. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 18 April 1882, p. 2; 12 April 1898, pp. 2-3; 4 April 1904, p. 4.
104. For more on the sworn brotherhoods and secret societies in Australia, see Macgregor, Chinese Political Values, pp. 76-79, which also includes a discussion of other historians' work on this topic.
105. Crawford, Notes, p. 10.
106. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 15 September 1856, p. 2.
107. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 28 January 1876, p. 2.
108. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 19 February 1876, p. 2.
109. Crawford, Notes, p. 9.
110. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 19 February 1876, p. 1.
111. Benjamin Mountford, 'In Search of Fook Shing: Detective Stories from Colonial Victoria', Hons thesis, University of Melbourne, 2007, pp. 14-20; Mountford and Reeves, Reworking the Tailings, p. 33; Ken Oldis, *The Chinawoman*, Arcadia, North Melbourne, 2008, with the State Library of Victoria, Epilogue II, p. 14.
112. Amanda Rasmussen, 'The Chinese in Nation and Community, Bendigo, 1870s-1920s', PhD thesis, La Trobe University, 2009, pp. 143-144; 177-182, 195-202.
113. *Ibid*., p. 180, footnote 710; *Bendigo Advertiser* 28 January 1876, p. 2.
114. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 13 June 1908, p. 7.
115. Janis Wilton, *Golden Threads: The Chinese in Regional New South Wales, 1850–1950*, New England Regional Art Museum in association with Powerhouse Publishing, Armidale and Haymarket, NSW, 2004, pp. 96-97.
116. Victoria. Office of the Government Statist, & HH Hayter, General report on the census of Victoria, taken on the 5 April 1891: Containing also references to the results of censuses taken at the same date in the other Australasian colonies, with summary tables, diagrams, and maps, 1893. Melbourne: Robt S Brain, Government Printer. www.parliament.vic.gov.au/vufind/Record/63191, p. 223.
117. Lewis et al, Bendigo Joss House, App. 1, p. 5.
118. Lewis et al, Bendigo Joss House.
119. Ruisheng Zhu, 朱瑞生 *Guangzhao yingyu* 廣肇英語 (*English Through the Vernaculars of the Canton and Shiuhin Prefectures*), publisher unknown, c.1857-c.1862. Collection of the Chinese Museum, Melbourne. Accession no. 1985.14.01.