



澳大利亚华人总工会
Australian Chinese Workers Association
主编

澳洲排华政策的历史终结

——公祭十九世纪

排华骚乱中的死难者

The End of the History of the Anti-Chinese Policy in Australia:
In Commemoration of the Victims of the Anti-Chinese Riots in
the 19th Century



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图书在版编目(CIP)数据

澳洲排华政策的历史终结：公祭十九世纪排华骚乱中的死难者 / 澳大利亚华人总工会主编. — 哈尔滨：黑龙江人民出版社，2016.8
ISBN 978 - 7 - 207 - 10804 - 3

I. ①澳… II. ①澳… III. ①排华—对外政策—澳大利亚—文集 IV. ①D822 - 53 ②D836.110 - 53

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2016)第 213253 号

责任编辑：付秋婷

封面设计：张 涛

澳洲排华政策的历史终结

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出版发行 黑龙江人民出版社

地 址 哈尔滨市南岗区宣庆小区 1 号楼

邮 编 150008

网 址 www.longpress.com

电子邮箱 hljrmcbs@yeah.net

印 刷 哈尔滨市石桥印务有限公司

开 本 787 × 1092 1/16

印 张 26

字 数 460 千字

版 次 2016 年 8 月第 1 版 2016 年 8 月第 1 次印刷

书 号 ISBN 978 - 7 - 207 - 10804 - 3

定 价 68.00 元

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法律顾问：北京市大成律师事务所哈尔滨分所律师赵学利、赵景波

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序一

李 崑

陈青松先生给我寄来这本四十多万字的澳洲华侨史著稿,这是澳洲华人总工会联合澳洲各界于2015年3月21日在新南威尔士州举办的“澳洲淘金潮华人死难者公祭大会”之后的后续系列活动之一。这也是1847年第一批华人踏上澳洲大地以来第一次公祭死难华人的活动,由此可见此书出版所具有的历史意义。

书稿由七十多位作者从理论探索、历史记述和文学创作三个部分,围绕对当年澳洲的“排华运动”“白澳政策”和“多元文化”等政策的反思,展开一幅幅华侨华人在澳洲奋力求实现“淘金梦”的血泪史。可能由于我在广东江门(原四邑)侨乡工作过十多年,而当年来到澳洲这个“新金山”的绝大多数就是广东四邑、三邑等地的华人,所以对书里的所述所说特别能够激起我的所思所感。

本书的书名是《澳洲排华政策的历史终结——公祭十九世纪排华骚乱中的死难者》,促使这个历史得以终结的很重要原因,一是祖国的强大,二是驻在澳洲的世代华侨华人与其他各族裔人民的团结与不懈努力。讲到澳洲华侨护侨史,大家应该不会忘记澳洲华人的先贤梅光达先生。他1859年9岁随叔父到达澳洲,从杂货铺杂工到翻译员、矿场协管,……直到受聘出任新南威尔省调查会委员,以及清廷颁令任命为大清帝国驻澳大利亚首任总领事,梅光达一直把维护华侨正当权益作为己任。但凡华侨中有纠纷,梅光达必调解仲裁,华侨与澳大利亚政府之间有所交

涉,他亦出面充当代表。为此,梅光达赢得了许多澳大利亚人士的钦佩,更受到广大侨胞的拥戴。而今《澳洲排华政策的历史终结——公祭十九世纪排华骚乱中的死难者》的出版,正是如梅光达先生这样的一代代澳洲华侨华人的不懈努力的结果,也是澳洲华侨华人历史的一段真实记录。所以值得祝贺!更值得赞赏!

二〇一六年七月于广州

(作者系中华人民共和国全国政协常委、中国侨联常委、广东侨界人文学会会长)

序二

即使不将华人比欧洲人先到澳洲的美丽传说当真,华人移民从 19 世纪中叶起就已成为澳大利亚这片热土的一个重要族群,则是不争之事实。勇敢地踏破万里波涛向陌生的海外发展的华人移民或华裔澳大利亚人,在 19 世纪以来对澳大利亚经济、政治和文化发展所做出的贡献,有目共睹、可圈可点。当然,华人移民或华裔澳大利亚人在澳洲一路走来、拓出一片蓝天,其经历并不都是充满着欢歌笑语,亦曾饱尝筚路蓝缕的艰辛,特别是在实行“白澳政策”的漫长岁月中饱受欧裔澳大利亚人的歧视和虐待。在澳大利亚立国两百多年的历史中,既有过殖民者对原住民的野蛮残杀和对亚裔的歧视和排斥,也有过各个族群的壮丽和解和相互关爱。站在 21 世纪的时代高度,我们除了要铭记过去的悲剧、铭记着华人移民或华裔澳大利亚人充满艰难和苦涩的历史,我们更要放眼未来的愿景,放眼澳大利亚各族人民同力共建繁荣、尊严和互助的未来。正是本着澄清事实以领会悲剧、克服歧视以增强和解、超越仇怨以放眼未来的精神,我们编辑了这部文集,搜集理论、历史和文艺三个层面的著作,祭奠在种族主义骚乱中华人移民死难者的亡灵,回顾和反思“白澳政策”时期澳大利亚的历史悲剧,梳理澳大利亚多民族国家和文化多元主义民主的来龙去脉。

在理论部分,作者们从历史和现实两个角度深入探讨了澳大利亚多民族国家的形成和文化多元主义民主政治的发展,以及华人移民或华裔澳大利亚人在这种历史进程中所扮演的角色。人类同源,在远古起源于非洲而向全球流布。流布在全球的人类在漫长的历史中形成了丰富多彩的不同文化,更在近代形成不同的民

族国家。在形成不同历史及不同民族国家的过程中,人类曾经受种族主义和民族主义的长期荼毒和折磨。但是,人类在这一过程中也不断激荡着人类一体、大同世界的情怀和理想,以及为落实这一情怀和理想而做出的种种努力。从20世纪下半叶起,特别是1948年《世界人权宣言》发表之后,人类勇敢地告别殖民主义和种族主义,世人越来越多地共同拥抱民主、法治、人权、宪政以及种族平等、族群平等普世价值。华人移民或华裔澳大利亚人作为一支重要力量,积极参加了澳大利亚多民族国家的构建和文化多元主义民主政治的发展,并且与澳大利亚其他族群一起试图超越种族偏见、民族偏见、阶级偏见而成为具有多重身份认同的、地地道道的“世界公民”或“地球人”,突破民族或阶级的樊篱而向共享人道、休戚与共的人类共同体升华。

在历史部分,作者们从宏观和微观两个角度,将华人移民澳大利亚的历史放在澳大利亚整体历史的框架中进行叙述和分析。其中,对澳大利亚华人移民史的叙事最为详尽,旁及澳大利亚建国史和澳洲排华运动史,特别是重点剖析“白澳政策”的起源、演变及其终结。

文艺部分以回忆录、游记、小说、诗词、散文、绘画等丰富多彩的体裁,再现斑驳陆离的历史画面,抒发幽思、悲情与激情。理论探索和历史叙事有助于世人的理性认知和智慧的提升,文学艺术的直观展现及感性描述则更能给世人带来震撼和反思。

附录部分所收录的阐发本书主题的致辞、发言和评述,介于文史之间,有为本书助兴增色之效。

此书能够顺利编辑出版,得益于编委会同仁们集思广益、共襄盛举。Be100地产集团创始人及总裁 James Zhu(朱树森)先生慷慨解囊,玉成之功,编者充满敬意、不胜感激。还应感谢李杰小姐在百忙中抽空救急,帮忙录入两篇文章。黑龙江人民出版社在关键时刻为出版此书助一臂之力,在此也一并致谢。

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第一部分

理论探索

澳洲排华政策的历史终结
——公祭十九世纪排华骚乱中的死难者

The End of the History of the Anti-Chinese Policy in Australia:
In Commemoration of the Victims of the Anti-Chinese Riots in the 19th Century



Being Chinese – Australian in White Australia

John Fitzgerald^①

The Gock family which founded the Wing On Department Store chain lived out the Second World War in Japanese – occupied territories in China mainland and Hong Kong. When the war was over Philip Gockchin reaffirmed his control over the Wing On businesses in Hong Kong but bade farewell to the company's assets in China mainland and paid his first visit to Australia after many years away. The country he found on his return in 1951 was clearly prospering but the Chinese community seemed, to his eyes, to have dwindled to insignificance. At a time of considerable growth in Australia the resident Chinese population had fallen to around 10 000 souls, a mere fraction, Gockchin reflected, of the 50 000 who could have been found clearing the land, working in mines, building railroads or growing and marketing fruit and vegetables across Australia at the close of the goldrush era. Their numbers had declined not of their own design but in consequence of the White Australia Policy.

Gockchin derived little consolation from observing that the fate of the Chinese in Australia reflected the situation facing Overseas Chinese (*huaqiao*) everywhere in the world at that time. He observed that:

The Overseas Chinese hired themselves out as labourers, opened up wastelands with their sweat and blood, and built the foundations for future prosperity. In the

① John Fitzgerald is Truby and Florence Charitable Trust Chair in Social Investment and Philanthropy at Swinburne University of Technology and President of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. An earlier version of this chapter was published in John Fitzgerald (费约翰), *Big White Lie: Chinese Australians in White Australia* (《谎言止于智者: 白澳时代的华裔澳大利亚人》), Sydney: UNSW press, 2007.

end, however, it is others who profited from their efforts.

He might as well have been speaking of China, where the people's government had seized the fruits of his family's labour and investment over the preceding 50 years.

What especially concerned him in Australia was the startling contrast between the growth and prosperity of one group of Australians and the absolute decline of another. People of Chinese descent were left with little choice but to leave Australia as he had done, he concluded, if their families were to prosper. Rather than urge his children and grandchildren to settle in Australia, Philip Gockchin advised them to study in the United States, which had begun to open its doors to Chinese immigrants immediately after the Pacific war. Few of the Gock family settled back in Australia.

Gockchin's account of Chinese hard work, thrift, and industry, profiting others more than themselves, bears little likeness to White Australian stories of Chinese sojourners tearing riches from the earth and squandering them on opium or smuggling them back to China. Still, his account confirms the general impression that no more than a few Chinese stragglers were left behind in the postwar era to live out their lives without hope or prospects in White Australia. The English - language archive of Chinese Australia amounts to little more than a record of absence and exclusion: indexes to petitions seeking redress for unequal treatment, filing boxes of old departure records, thumbprints and photographs pasted onto immigration files, and black-and-white images of sunburnt market gardeners, pinned up in local museums over captions identifying 'the last known Chinaman in the district'. Chinese - language sources are rarely consulted. In consequence, although the Chinese chapter in the history of Australia is recounted with a variety of inflections, it invariably ends as the story of a vanishing people.

The response of White Australia to the apparent disappearance of the men from China, even when notably triumphant, was often tinged with nostalgia. At the time Gockchin visited Sydney, whites had already taken to collecting discarded opium tins, dirt - encrusted medicine bottles and shards of broken pottery from hundreds of sites of Chinese settlement across the continent, in some cases razing the site with a back hoe once the exotic artefacts had been extracted to ensure its erasure. Today these artefacts adorn mantelpieces and glass cabinets across the country. Some of the finer pieces are



preserved in local museums to demonstrate this or that district's historical or cultural links with China. As a rule they commemorate not the Chinese heritage of Australia, but White Australia's exotic links with a remote civilisation in China. The names of the men who bought, sold and used these artefacts while breathing the sweet, chill air of the typical Australian morn-as Vivian Chow once put it – are generally omitted from public displays. ①

At times White Australian nostalgia turned bizarre. In the late 1930s a party of Freemasons gathered in Melbourne to redress what they saw as the lamentable decline of Chinese traditions throughout the world. By this time the local heritage of fraternal connections linking Anglo – Celtic Freemasonry to the Chinese Yee Hing was largely forgotten. The men who gathered in Melbourne were keen, in the absence of men from China, to preserve Chinese traditions in Australia and under the false impression that the quasi-Masonic lodges of the Yee Hing network were on the verge of extinction.

At the initiative of Clive Loch Hughes-Hallett, an Englishman resident in Melbourne, a white Australian version of the Triad Society was founded 'as it might have been centuries ago' to keep Chinese traditions alive on Australian soil. As Hughes-Hallett later recalled:

So in 1937 a lodge was constituted, carefully following the native traditions of the society. There were Five Founders corresponding to the Five Monks, each styled Provincial Grand Master, one for each continent, again according to the tradition. A sixth Founder was admitted, who was to stand aside and apart in the mysterious role of Wan Yun Long, the Commander-in-Chief, to co-ordinate the work of the other Founders and to warrant new lodges.

With his fellow Founders, Hughes Hallett undertook a systematic investigation of the 'history, teachings and rituals of the Chinese Triad Society' by consulting Sinological experts on the ceremonial procedures of the Hung League, including Gustave Schlegel's *The Hung League* (Batavia 1866), and *The Hung Society* (London 1925), au-

① On local discoveries of links with China, see J Fitzgerald(2001).

thored by JSM Ward and WG Stirling. These definitive works, as noted in an earlier chapter, were widely believed to provide a reputable scholarly foundation for the claim that the Hung League was a Chinese equivalent of European Freemasonry.

Members of the Melbourne-based triad lodge undertook their responsibilities with a missionary zeal in the belief that Australian Freemasons bore a special burden of responsibility to preserve authentic Chinese heritage by virtue of their close proximity to Asia. 'Even under the best conditions', their leaders conceded, 'their work may not bear fruit for 50 years'. Still, it is both significant and fitting that the initiative in setting up such a research organisation should have been undertaken by Australian rather than by the United Kingdom or American freemasons.

At their formal meetings the white triads dressed up in elaborate Chinese robes and practised the rites set out in the colonial canon on Chinese ritual practice. Initiates were dressed in straw sandals and invited to pass through the Red Flower Pavilion-represented as a model set upon on an altar in the City of Willows-before arriving at the Hung Gate where they swore blood oaths of fealty and gained admission to the Hung League. In time these initiation ceremonies were held for 21 initiates in Melbourne, 22 in Sydney, and one based in Brisbane. Registered members received a standard certificate written in Chinese and English, headed by the triangular symbol of the Hung League, signalling the lodge's association with the Chinese triads.

The Founders' investigation of Chinese ritual practices picked up apace with the recruitment of a certain Captain Albert Francis Warrington, who claimed to be a retired sea skipper, and who was inducted into a Chinese lodge of the Hung League while stationed in Burma. Warrington certified that the ceremonies adopted by the Victorian lodge were 'alike in many points' to those practiced in the triad lodges he had known in Southeast Asia (Chinese triad leaders in Melbourne, Sydney and Cairns were not consulted). The Chinese history that Captain Warrington affirmed was duly appropriated for Australian history, or at least for the history of the Freemason's Triad Lodge of Melbourne:

The opening words of our Traditional History place the foundation of the Triad Society in the reign of the Emperor Khang Hsi. It is with the object of try-