The experiences of early Hakka immigrants in Guyana –
An account of four families.

Trev Sue-A-Quan
240 E. Woodstock Ave., Vancouver, BC, Canada V5W 1N1
Website: www.rootsweb.com/~guycigtr E-mail: Canereapers@Mailcity.com

Summary

Among the more than 13,000 Chinese immigrants to arrive in Guyana between 1853 and 1879 were a significant number of Hakkas. They were taken there to work on the cane plantations replacing the freed slaves of African origin. The experiences of these Hakka immigrants are exemplified through the stories of four families, describing their recruitment, voyage and transition into settlers.

The Kong family

On 9 January 1860 the 854-ton ship Dora sailed from Hong Kong with 385 Chinese emigrants aboard. The Dora was not the first boat to take Chinese immigrants to Guyana (then called British Guiana) nor was it the first to take female Chinese emigrants, but it was the first to carry a boatload consisting entirely of Hakka families.

Prior to 1860 there had been 5 shipments of Chinese to Guyana. A total of 1,572 men were taken on board, most of them involuntarily, and 1,351 of them survived the long voyage to Georgetown, the capital of Guyana. These Chinese immigrants represented a new batch of labor recruits brought to the colony as replacements for the former slaves of African origin who had gained their freedom in 1842. Initially, after emancipation, large numbers of laborers were introduced from India and the Portuguese island of Madeira but there was a significant attrition rate caused by disease and the new immigrants were not ideal candidates for plantation labor in the opinion of the sugar estate owners. The Chinese were brought over in 1853 on a trial basis and they proved satisfactory enough that more Chinese immigrants were requested by the managers of the sugar plantations.[1]

The British authorities sought to obtain a certain proportion of Chinese women so as to form a nucleus for a Chinese laboring community in the colony. However this proved difficult to accomplish in practice because Chinese women were not accustomed to accompanying their husbands if the latter had to leave their hometown. John Gardiner Austin, the Immigration Agent-General in British Guiana, was appointed Chief Agent in China responsible for procuring Chinese for Britain’s colonies in the West Indies. Based in Guangzhou (Canton)
Austin drew up a plan that included an offer of $20 as a bonus for anyone emigrating with his wife. In some cases this resulted in the creation of ‘instant’ wives who were registered immediately before embarkation. This monetary incentive alone was not sufficiently effective or else was being abused so Austin also contacted various Christian missionaries to enlist their help in persuading families to emigrate.

One of the missionaries who thought well of the emigration scheme was Rev. William Lobschied of the Basel Mission in Hong Kong. On early 1859 he wrote to J. Gardiner Austin:

I have communicated the nature of your mission to people connected with me, and from the adjacent districts on the mainland, and I have the pleasure of holding out the prospect to you of getting at least 5,000 married families who would embark here at Hong Kong. . . . the districts from Hong Kong to the north, and north east to the provinces of Fukien, are the only places in China where females have no small feet, and where the people are most willing to emigrate to foreign lands.\(^{(2)}\)

Rev. Lobschied was referring to the people of the Hakka community who did not adopt the prevailing practice in China of binding the feet of girls, resulting in dainty deformed “lily” feet. Hakka women traditionally engaged in all sorts of work and having tiny feet was considered an impediment when toiling in the fields. Lobschied felt some confidence in his projection of obtaining large numbers of Hakka emigrants because the Hakkas had a history of migration and a reputation of being adventurous and industrious. Many of them had converted to Christianity. This readiness to accept a ‘foreign’ belief and to abide by the guidance by their religious leaders made the task easier in persuading Hakka families to go abroad.

Rev. Lobschied’s efforts paid off with the help of Yaw Un-fook, a 45-year old Christian convert and minister of the faith in Xin An who managed to acquire 385 souls for embarkation on the Dora. They consisted of 207 men, 120 women, 31 boys (less than 15 years of age), 16 girls (less than 13 years of age) and 11 infants.\(^{(1)}\) More than 2/3 of the emigrants came from three locations - Xin An, Dong Wan\(^{1}\) and Kwee Sin which is now known as Hui Yang or Fui Yong in Hakka dialect.\(^{(3)}\) The recruitment of passengers for the Dora became a subject of great interest for it held forth the promise of a continuing family emigration program on a voluntary basis. This development was welcomed by both the British and local Chinese administrators because of the widespread kidnapping of Chinese for shipment abroad, particularly to Spanish speaking territories in the New World. Under these circumstances the departure of the Dora was a cause for celebration:

\(^{1}\) Based on the Cantonese pronunciation this name has been written as Thong Kun or Tung Kun in various documents.
At two p.m., yesterday, a grand *dejeuner* was given by Mr. Austin, on board the *Dora*, to celebrate the intended dispatch of that vessel for the West Indies, with immigrants under the new system organized by that gentleman. H.E. Sir Hercules and Lady Robinson honoured the meeting.\(^4\)

The *Dora* traveled by way of the Indian and Atlantic oceans arriving at Georgetown on 3 April 1860.

The Ship *Dora* arrived this afternoon from Hong Kong, 84 days out, with 385 immigrants, of whom 113 are females. There were 387 shipped,\(^2\) of these two adults and an infant died, and one woman committed suicide by jumping overboard,\(^3\) but two births took place during the passage. The people are said to be . . . cheerful and healthy.\(^5\)

In a letter accompanying the vessel, J. Gardiner Austin included his strongly worded opinion “that the whole of the *Dora* people should be placed as close as possible, coming as they do from one locality.”\(^6\) Austin was probably trying to indicate that they were from one community of Hakka people. Accordingly, all of them were allotted to nearby sugar plantations in Berbice County. Because of the significant concentration of Chinese, Plantation Lot 72 in Berbice eventually became known as Chinese Town.

Minister Yaw Un-fook and his family traveled with his congregation and was appointed schoolteacher by Austin at a wage of $12 per month. Another family aboard the Dora was the Kong (Jiang in Mandarin) family headed by Kong Tai-foong and his wife Chan Shee\(^4\). One of the two children born aboard ship was their daughter Kong Kwei-kin, who arrived 3 days before the ship landed at Georgetown. Kong Tai-foong is shown to be 39 years of age and a grog seller and the migrating family included two older children, Kong Fook-chow, a girl 5 years of age, and Kong Kwei-lin, a boy of 3.\(^7\) The family was sent to Plantation Eliza & Mary in Berbice where the child born at sea was baptized with the name Jane Yui-lin Kong on 15 September 1861. She is the great-grandmother of the author. Kong Fook-chow, Jane’s elder sister, died in 1861. Jane Kong married an immigrant named Woon Sam and bore 9 children most of whom emigrated to Trinidad. Her brother Kong Kwei-lin became known as Kong Tai-len and had four children who also moved to Trinidad.

The Sue-A-Quan family

---

\(^2\) Clementi reports that 385 immigrants embarked and 383 arrived.

\(^3\) In its “Review for Home Readers” the 7 April 1860 issue of the *Royal Gazette* explained that the woman “in consequence of jealousy or an altercation with her husband, jumped overboard and was drowned.”

\(^4\) The title Shee attached to a married woman’s name is equivalent to “née.”
In 1870 and 1871 there were 29 Chinese who returned to China from Guyana. Some of them had expressed a wish to go back to Guyana and thus were given free passages between Georgetown and Calcutta as well as from Calcutta to Georgetown on the return leg. In 1873 one of the returnees, Ch’an Kun-po, was asked by Theophilus Sampson, the current Emigration Agent in China, to assist in persuading his countrymen to emigrate to Guyana. Ch’an disseminated information among the Hakka villages and by September Sampson was able to report that recruitment was going well. However, his inability to get a vessel for charter delayed their dispatch to Guyana.

On 11 December 1873 Soo A-cheong, a native of Kwee Sin signed a contract of indenture which would take him and his 37-year old wife Yau Shee邱氏 to Guyana. They took along with them a son Soo Sam-kuan who was 9 sui. The family embarked on the 1200-ton ship Corona which departed on 23 December 1873 from Whampoa, the port facility serving Guangzhou. There were 388 immigrants on the vessel – 314 men, 40 women, 26 boys, 5 girls and 3 infants. The voyage took 81 days during which time one man died and one child was born. The vessel arrived in Georgetown on 23 February 1874 after 78 days at sea.

The arrival of the Corona marked the resumption of Chinese immigration after an interruption of 8 years caused primarily by disagreements between Britain and China on the terms of indenture, but also by unfavorable economic conditions for the sugar producers that discouraged the need for additional Chinese immigrants. The new arrivals created quite a stir in Georgetown for various reasons:

Since the arrival of the Corona the immigrants she brought have been promenading the city with all the eagerness of a body of Cooke’s tourists visiting some celebrated continental city for the first time; they have travelled over it from end to end and have climbed to the top of some of the highest buildings the better to enjoy the scenery; they have pried into the stores, the churches, the Public Buildings; they have patronized the cabs to a liberal extent, as many as 10 of them airing themselves in one vehicle at the same time. . .

At the back of the Immigration Dept. is a fish pond which is, or rather was, stocked with excellent fish, kept principally for the supply of Government House table; a preserve of this tempting kind did not long escape the notice of these Chinese of “superior intelligence,” and by the simple act of opening the sluice

---

5 In Mandarin Soo A-cheong and Yau Shee become Su Ya-chang and Qiu Shi.
6 The age of a Chinese person is counted by the term ‘sui’ and at the time of birth the child is considered one sui old. A person of 9 sui would correspond to 8 years of age by Western traditional counting of birthdays. In Mandarin the boy’s name would be Su San-qun.
7 Another newspaper had declared that the newly arrived immigrants on the Corona were persons with superior intelligence.
gate and draining off the water, the Chinese to the number upwards of 200, were
enabled to wade in and enjoy the fun of catching the fine fat lively fish – an
enjoyment all the keener that it was provoking an appetite which these same fish
were soon to appease. The Immigration Agent General, we understand has not
quite recovered from the shock which the news of the robbery gave him, and he
has hardly ceased “blessing his soul” yet, but *cui bono*, these pious “ejaculations”
won’t restore the fish. . . .

Soo A-cheong and his family, along with 4 others, were allotted to Plantation La
Grange located on the West Bank of the Demerara River. The 388 new
immigrants were sent to 48 different sugar estates all across the country in an
attempt to satisfy, if even to a minor extent, the great demand from the
plantation managers for Chinese workers. In 1880 an official list was published
of 84 immigrants who had arrived on the *Corona* but who were not entitled to
the prescribed bonus of $50 because of early termination of the contract of
indenture.\(^{(10)}\) By this time it was permitted for an immigrant to quit with three
months notice, or in a shorter time if mutually agreed between the plantation
manager and the immigrant. There were a few who left the plantations in May
1874, meaning that they did very little, if any, work in the fields. Others
terminated their agreements in 1879 with only a few months remaining to be
served. Soo A-cheong was on this list, having left the estate on 4 June 1874
after working there for just four months. His age - 60 years - may have been a
significant factor influencing his early departure. Archival records also show
that he and his wife Yau Shee were soon to become parents of a second son,
born in October 1874, and this impending event could also have affected their
decision to terminate the contract of indenture.

The contract required that the immigrant serve for a period of five years
commencing from the first day of work or, in the event of illness, from the
eighth day after recovery.\(^{(11)}\) During each workday he had to put in 9½ hours of
labor. Sundays were free from work except for those who were employed as
domestic servants or tended cattle. The rate of pay was $4 per month plus
housing, medical care and food, the food allowance being 8 oz. salt meat and
2½ pounds of other articles per day. One suit and one blanket would be
provided each year. At the end of the 5-year period of indenture the immigrant
was entitled to a bonus of $50 in lieu of a return passage to China but he could
retain the bonus for himself if he chose to remain in the colony.

A significant number of the early immigrants signed on for a second or
subsequent term of indenture. After accumulating sufficient funds most of the
Chinese immigrants opened small shops and some became traders and
merchants of significant standing in the colony. By the mid-1880s there were
Chinatown districts established in Georgetown and New Amsterdam (the
second largest city in the colony, located in Berbice). Soo A-cheong’s son Soo
Sam-kuan became the owner of a shop in Vergenoegen, West Coast Demerara,
which sold a range of foodstuffs, dry goods, liquor and general merchandise.
The story of Soo A-cheong and his family is a good example illustrating the formation of new Chinese names as a result of cross-cultural influences. The Chinese immigrants were provided with English names that frequently had biblical association – John, Mary, Josiah, Rachel, etc. Others took on the names of their plantation owners, managers or religious leaders. A person assigned the name Mark Wong would typically be addressed as Mr. Mark as a form of respect. This then became transformed into the surname Marks and in similar fashion surnames such as Aaron, Benjamin, James and Joseph have arisen for Chinese families. Soo Sam-kuan was baptized by a pastor named Henry May who imparted his own name onto the Chinese fellow and the result was that Soo Sam-kuan became known as “Old May” within the Chinese community. This meant that the family name could have become May. However, in this case, the original Chinese surname prevailed in a modified form: Soo Sam-kuan would have been addressed in a familiar or informal way as A-kuan which comes from the custom in the Chinese language of adding the prefix “A-” to a person’s given name. In English this is equivalent to adding the suffix “-y” or “-ie” thereby producing auntie, daddy, Jenny, Freddie, and the like. Thus he became known as Henry Soo A-kuan and this became the source of the unique surname Sue-A-Quan. All persons with the surname Sue-A-Quan are descended from Henry Soo A-kuan, including the author, his grandson. This evolution of double-hyphenated Chinese surnames, particularly with“A-” as the middle portion, has been a common occurrence in Guyana. A few other examples are Chan-A-Shing, Fung-Kee-Fung, Ho-Ten-Pow, Low-A-Chee, Man-Son-Hing, Wong-A-Wing, Young-A-Pat. Outside of Guyana these unusual surnames have produced bewilderment and curiosity from Chinese and English speakers alike, both groups being equally confused by the complex surnames.

The Ho-A-Shoo Family

Ho Shau was also an immigrant aboard the Corona. He came from Xin Hui in Guangdong Province and was about 21 years of age when he emigrated to Guyana. He was sent to Plantation Bel Air, East Coast Demerara, and there he became a Christian of the Plymouth Brethren sect. After serving his term of indenture John Ho-A-Shoo, as he became to be known, became a shop assistant and a few years later was able to acquire a shop of his own. By 1884 he opened a business at Plantation Dunoon on the Demerara River and then purchased a sugar estate. In 1894 he was persuaded to open a shop in the interior district near the border with Venezuela where there was considerable activity in gold mining. This was a courageous step because of the remoteness of the region and difficulties associated with transportation. The shop provided foods and general goods to the miners and became such a success that Ho-A-Shoo opened more outlets in other interior areas. In 1897 he bought a
residence in Georgetown and was a man of considerable wealth and a well-respected leader in the Chinese community. He died in February 1906.

The entrepreneurial spirit displayed by John Ho-A-Shoo was also evident in many of the Chinese immigrants. After completing their service to the sugar estates the free Chinese ventured into a variety of trades and occupations depending on their skill and financial means. Some used their manual dexterity as cooks, carpenters, tailors, barbers, tinsmiths, and jewel makers. Others called on their physical strength as boatmen, porters, fishermen and herders. A significant number went into sales and marketing. Initially they sold products raised on the plots that they were allowed to have on the sugar estates – vegetables, eggs, poultry, and pigs – as well as produce that was more readily available in the countryside and in demand in the cities such as fruits, nuts and fish. Eventually a significant number of Chinese became restaurateurs, bakers, shopkeepers, merchants and traders or were associated with these businesses as sales assistants, suppliers and distributors. As their financial ability and business acumen grew the entrepreneurs tried their hand at different enterprises including lumber, hardware, liquor, dry goods, sugar and coffee plantations, advertisement, pawn broking, photography, cinemas, transportation and financing.

One particular project that involved many Chinese in a group effort was the production of charcoal. For many years Portuguese families controlled the charcoal making business. They utilized a traditional method where the wood was burned in pits dug into the sand. The Chinese built a new type of burner which was more efficient and economical. A visitor to Dunoon, where John Ho-A-Shoo had opened a shop, described the operations as follows:

A short distance up the creek we found some Chinese burning coal of the estate in an oven, – a most peculiar contrivance, and one that I saw for the first time. It was circular in shape, built of clay, the top rising in the shape of a dome. The logs of wood are brought in at a large opening left on one side, and are closely packed on end. Another opening serves as a furnace, and four small holes in the roof answer for chimneys. When the oven has been well packed the large hole is blocked up, and the fire made in the quasi-furnace – the smoke and steam escaping through the apertures in the roof. The wood is thus literally baked into coal, the waste being trifling.\(^{12}\)

Because of the more effective production method the Chinese charcoal makers were able to compete favorably with the Portuguese businessmen and cornered a significant portion of the market. The charcoal making industry provided employment to other supporting businesses including transportation, marketing and distribution. Charcoal making was a profitable enterprise and the product even became a commodity for export to islands in the Caribbean.
Dunoon was located not far from Hopetown, the Chinese Christian settlement established mainly through the efforts of O Tye Kim 胡大金 who arrived in Georgetown in 1864. O Tye Kim was born in the Straits of Malacca and was trained as a missionary in Singapore. He had been employed as a surveyor in Singapore and after visiting several locations in Guyana put forward a proposal that a Chinese settlement be established on Crown-owned property at Camoonie Creek some 25 miles upriver from Georgetown. It was projected that the settlement would allow the free Chinese to have a place that would promote their economic and social development. Such a settlement would also help to reduce the number of Chinese who were seeking to emigrate to other countries in the Caribbean region. The government granted approval in 1865 and Hopetown became a location that attracted several hundred Chinese who were free from indenture. The settlement’s main product was charcoal but the families also planted rice, ginger, sweet potatoes, plantains and other vegetables for both their own needs and for delivery to the markets in Georgetown. They also raised pigs and poultry and supplemented their diet with fish and fruits.

The settlement got off to a shaky start because of unfavorable weather but in the following few years it began to show signs of prosperity. There was an unexpected turn of events in 1867 when O Tye Kim made a hasty and secretive departure from the colony after word went around that he was involved in an affair with a local woman who was about to bear his child. The settlement continued to manage without its spiritual leader but the location was not as ideal as the surveyor had thought because it was subject to flooding. John Ho-A-Shoo proposed a canal network to drain the land and felt that half of the projected costs of $10,000 could be raised among the Chinese themselves. The plan did not come to fruition but Ho-A-Shoo contributed to the construction of a dam to enclose about 523 acres, completed in 1902. However, Hopetown had lost its appeal. The market for charcoal had diminished, the supply of easily available wood was consumed, the residents felt less confident about pooling their money and resources in joint projects and there was no attempt to grow long term crops such as cocoa and coffee. In addition the young people of the later generations were less inclined to involve themselves in manual work and felt that prospects would be better if they went to the capital Georgetown.

John Ho-A-Shoo married the daughter of a business partner and had nine children, seven of whom survived to adulthood. In 1905 his eldest daughter A-sin enrolled as a student at Cambridge. After her father died in the following year she decided to pursue a career in medicine and went to Edinburgh for further studies. She then set up her practice in Singapore. Another of John Ho-A-Shoo’s daughters graduated as a doctor from Edinburgh, later going to Penang, while his son studied agriculture, also at Edinburgh, and returned to

---

8 Named after Admiral Sir James Hope, KCB, who visited the settlement in February 1865.
Guyana. In this respect the Ho-A-Shoo family was able to realize the ambition held by most of the Chinese immigrants, which is for a child to become a scholar. This was reflective of the traditional Chinese attitude that regarded the scholar as a person of honor and high esteem. In Ho-A-Shoo’s case the wealth he was able to accumulate enabled the scholastic goal to be reached by several children of the second generation, whereas for most other families it was deferred as an accomplishment for those of the third and fourth generation. Careers based on higher education were also considered to be more rewarding and of higher status than shopkeeping and many families put great effort in trying to get at least one of the family achieve academic honors. For many of these families the siblings had to work (usually in the family’s shop) in order that sufficient funds could be gathered to enable the chosen candidate to achieve the family’s ambition.

The Fung family

From the 1850s to the mid-1860s the Taiping Rebellion created a tremendous upheaval in China. The Taiping 太平 movement was started by Hong Xiuquan (Hung Hsiu-chuan) 洪秀全, a Hakka born in 1814 in Hua Xian 花县 in a village some 40 miles north of Guangzhou. He became convinced that he was the younger brother of Jesus Christ and led a Christian-based uprising supported mainly by Hakkas that was aimed at overthrowing the Qing dynasty 清朝. By 1853 the Taiping armies were in control of several provinces in south China and the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was proclaimed. Nanjing was declared the Heavenly Capital and Hong Xiuquan became the Heavenly King. The Taiping Kingdom, based on Hong’s interpretation of Christian principles, became a serious threat to the Qing government in Beijing but internecine strife, faulty strategy and lack of support from the European powers contributed greatly to its eventual collapse in 1866.

A cousin of the Heavenly King, Hong Rengan (Hung Jen-kan), arrived at the Heavenly Captial in 1859 and was elevated to the position of Shield King. One of his sons, Hong Kuiyuan 洪葵元 went back to Guangdong before Nanjing was captured by Qing forces in 1864. Hong Kuiyuan took the alias Hong Kuixiu (Hung Qui-hsiu) and was employed by the Basel Missionary Society as a religious teacher. Because of his close association to the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom he became a much-sought-after person by the vengeful Qing troops. It became too dangerous for him to continue preaching in Guangdong and he was given refuge in Hong Kong. In 1873 he married Tsen A-lin, an orphan from Shanghai, who was sold by her mother to work in a Hong Kong brothel but rescued from this fate by Basel missionaries. Hong Kuixiu emigrated with his wife and three children to Guyana aboard the Dartmouth which landed in Georgetown on 17 March 1879. There were 516 passengers aboard the
Dartmouth including a batch of 70 Christians who came from the same congregation. Several other Hakkas emigrated to Guyana in order to escape persecution from Qing imperial forces that were seeking to exterminate all remnants of the Taiping Kingdom.

Hong became known as Fung Khui-siu because the Hakka pronunciation for Hong is Fung (or Foong). He and his family were allotted to Plantation Great Diamond, East Bank Demerara, where he became a driver (overseer) of the Chinese workers. He later became pastor at St. Saviour’s Church in Georgetown, fathered three more children and later emigrated to Trinidad with his family.

Fung Khui-siu was welcomed by the Chinese Christians both as a respected religious leader and because the rites and ceremonies of the church could be performed in their own language. It was the need for such a service in Chinese that had led to the establishment of a church specifically for the Chinese community – St. Saviour’s Church. It was achieved through the initiative of the Chinese Christians who contributed financially and physically to its construction. The opening of St. Saviour’s in late November 1875 was an event that attracted numerous Chinese, even from the countryside:

At an early hour of the day the Chinese from the suburban villages and neighbouring estates came into town, some walking, others – whole families – seated in their donkey carts.

In the portion of the work of building their Church the Chinese have evinced a most praiseworthy earnestness of purpose, intelligence and perseverance. The painting of the building was mainly their own work. A pleasing peculiarity is seen in the groups of flowers and fruits painted by the Chinese artist on scrolls, and attached to the panels between the windows. On the panel facing the entrance the scroll contains in Chinese characters the name of the Church – S. Saviour – and over the doorway a sentence of which the literal translation is “Amen. Come, worship.”

The Chinese assisted in the building or operation of several other churches in the country districts, particularly at Plantation Peter’s Hall, East Bank Demerara, where a chapel for the Plymouth Christian Brethren sect was established for the large community of Chinese Christians in the area. For a number of the Hakkas their dedication to the Church predated their arrival in the colony:

A confirmation Service was held in St. Augustine’s Church, Friendship, East Coast, on Sunday afternoon, 27th ult when 24 Chinese and 11 Coolies,\(^9\) were duly admitted to the full privileges of the Church. . . . One of the Chinese, a married woman, who along with her husband, arrived a few weeks ago on the Dartmouth,

\(^9\) Immigrants from India.
is a person of some education. She rendered valuable assistance to the Clergyman in Charge of the Non Pareil Mission by writing phonetically in the English character a translation of the Confirmation Service into Chinese whereby he was enabled to read the Service to the immigrants in their own tongue. The same woman has knowledge of music and says that she can play the harmonica. Amongst the Chinese who were confirmed are several who came on the Dartmouth.(15)

In general the Chinese who were not Christians before arrival were willing to accept Christianity after they became settled in the new land. For some the embracing of a Western deity and religion was taken with grace. For others it was because it was the proper thing to do in order to gain acceptability in a Christian-based society although their children were more accepting of the faith from a sincere belief in it. In either case it was the Hakkas who took the lead in the conversion of their compatriots to Christianity and who worked to keep the faith going. The lessons propagated by Fung Khui-siu, as well as the legends of the Taipings, were not lost in the New World.

References

2. Letter from Rev. William Lobschied to J. Gardiner Austin, 18 February 1859.
3. Lau Chunfat, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, private correspondence, 5 September 2000.
4. Hong Kong Register, 7 January 1860.
5. Royal Gazette, 3 April 1860.
6. Letter from J. Gardiner Austin to Governor Wodehouse, 7 January 1860.
7. Register of Chinese Immigrants Introduced into the Colony of British Guiana, The National Archives, Georgetown, Guyana.
8. Royal Gazette, 5 March 1874.
9. Royal Gazette, 10 March 1874.
12. Royal Gazette, 28 February 1884.
14. Royal Gazette, 4 December 1875.
15. Royal Gazette, 6 May 1879.