

A Content Analysis of  
Advertisements in the  
Chinese Times, 1902-1914

by

David Ch'ng

(Serial No.76)

Faculty of Business  
Staff Papers



SWINBURNE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

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ISBN 0 85590 683 9

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## ABSTRACT

The Australian Chinese community of the early 1900s has been described as a **"closed"** community, isolated from the mainstream Australian society and self-sufficient. The Chinese men were seen as largely idle, lacking the means for respectable recreation. This study investigated the dual role of the Victorian Chinese community during 1902-1914, firstly as a business entity and secondly, as a consumer market segment. The findings offer a new challenge to the earlier notions of the Chinese community, particularly with respect to its **"closeness"** and ostracism from the rest of the Australian society, It also highlights some aspects of the interactions between European and Chinese business communities in Victoria,

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author thanks the staff of La Trobe Library, Melbourne for their help in the course of this research,



## 1. INTRODUCTION

Between 1902 and 1914, a locally printed Chinese-language newspaper known as The Chinese Times<sup>1</sup> circulated among the Chinese community in Victoria. A weekly which claimed to have a distribution of 1,000 copies per issue<sup>2</sup>, The Chinese Times was the only local print medium serving the interests of the Victorian Chinese community<sup>3</sup> during the period immediately post-Federation to the advent of the Great European War. The stated purpose of The Chinese Times was to convey:

... the latest news on current moral, religious, scientific, political and commercial topics culled from all sources, foreign as well as local. It circulates extensively throughout Australia, and is read by Chinese merchants, storekeepers, cabinet makers, gardeners, laundrymen, etc.

An important feature is the inclusion of topics that will guide its oriental readers to a better understanding of Western ways, thought and civilization (The Chinese Times 11/2/1905).

Not all Victorian Chinese were equally receptive to The Chinese Times because it had represented "the first flash of anti-Manchu feeling" (Yong 1977:137). This strong republican political overtone was maintained until 1911 when the Republican Revolution finally forced the last Qing Emperor to relinquish his throne, thereby terminating the last dynastic rule in China.

In spite of its political inclinations, the publication of The Chinese Times was a business venture which relied upon the local and international advertisers for its financial support. This was evident in 1905 when the

original proprietor, T. Chong Luke, sold the paper because he was unable to secure sufficient advertisements to maintain commercial viability. Financial difficulties recurred in 1907 and resulted in a temporary closure of the newspaper. Printing did not resume until 1908.

From its inception, advertisements had been a prominent and essential feature of The Chinese Times. The eighth issue of the weekly, for example, had its front-page totally taken up by 45 advertisements arranged in six columns. It is estimated that in the entire history of the newspaper which spanned 1902 to 1914, more than 600 issues of The Chinese Times had carried in excess of 52,000 advertisements<sup>4</sup>.

This large body of press advertisements, targeted at a specific segment of the population, provides a source of primary documents on the social history of the Chinese community within Victoria during the first decade of the Federation. It introduces fresh insights into the relationships between the Chinese and the Australian business communities, provides an opportunity to re-examine some of the inferences reached by earlier researchers, and enhances our understanding of the needs and social activities of a small ethnic market segment in Australia at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Until now, studies on the Chinese in Australia have drawn heavily on European sources. The validity of conclusions based upon European observations which were divorced from, or hostile towards the Chinese, has been questioned (Markus 1983). On the other hand, studies which had included Chinese language sources have also been criticized for their preoccupation with explaining

the formation of the White Australia Policy. These studies have continued to present the Chinese in the perspective of White Australia and have been "less concerned with the community on its own terms, and more with Australian attitudes towards the Chinese" (Cushman 1984:101).

The purpose of this study is to enhance our understanding of the Victorian Chinese community in its dual role as a business entity and as a consumer market segment, over the period 1902-1914. The study relied on an analysis of the advertisements which appeared in The Chinese Times during the same period.

## **2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

The overall objective of this paper is to gain an understanding of the social and business activities of the Victorian Chinese community over the period 1902 to 1914, through an analysis of the advertisements which appeared in The Chinese Times over the same period.

The specific objectives are:

Firstly, to categorize the advertisements on selected issues of The Chinese Times according to Chinese and non-Chinese (i.e. European) advertisers.

Secondly, to broadly classify these press advertisements into trade and consumer advertisements.

Thirdly, to identify the industries targeted by the trade advertisers.

Fourthly, to identify the areas of consumer activities related to the consumer advertisements.

Finally, to elicit aspects of social and business activities in the Victorian (especially Melbourne) Chinese community over the period in question.

### **3. METHODOLOGY**

This study consisted of three stages:

Stage one was a detailed analysis of the advertisements contained in 13 issues of The Chinese Times selected at 12-15 month intervals from 1902 to 1914<sup>5</sup>. Altogether these weeklies provided a sample of approximately 1,000 (N = 989) advertisements. The detailed advertisement analysis followed a framework presented as specific objectives in Section Two.

Stage two involved scanning the complete newspaper file for an overview of its progression over the period. The purpose was to extract relevant information contained in The Chinese Times which could be used to support inferences based on the detailed advertisement analysis.

Stage three involved desk research for secondary demographic data on the Victorian Chinese community during 1900-1914 (Choi 1975; Cronin 1982; Yong 1977).

#### 4. CHINESE MARKET CHARACTERISTICS

##### 4.1 Chinese in Australia, 1901-1914

It is generally acknowledged that the pre-1925 official estimates for the number of Chinese in Australia were fairly inaccurate (Choi 1975:22; Cronin 1982:134). This was partly due to the constant movement of the Chinese between goldfields; a high rate of arrivals and departures from Australia; and the difficulties associated with data collection among the Chinese. It was, however, unmistakable that the number of Chinese in Victoria had declined significantly since the boom of the gold rush. By 1901, New South Wales had the largest concentration accounting for 34.5 percent of the total Chinese population in Australia. Queensland had 25.9 percent, followed by Victoria with 21.4 percent. Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of Chinese by state in Australia (excluding Northern Territory) in 1901 and 1911. The diagram was constructed from the Chinese population figures published by The Chinese Times (4/5/1912). These figures differ considerably from those quoted by later researchers<sup>6</sup>.

A distinct characteristic of the Chinese community was the virtual absence of adult females. Figure 2 shows the 1901 age distribution of the Chinese population in New South Wales, for both sexes. The majority of Chinese females were aged 15 years or younger. The ratio of male to female became increasingly imbalanced among adults 21 years and above (see Table 1). Within the 40-49 age group, for example, there were 152 males to every female. The situation further deteriorated in the 50-59 age group with 291 males to every female. No female was recorded within the oldest age group (60 years and above).

This extreme inequality in the male to female ratio meant that the number of "normal households" within the Chinese community was very small. A "normal household" is herein defined by the writer as a family unit made up of a husband and a wife (either Chinese or European) plus offspring. The housewife is the determining factor in deciding on a wide range of household purchases. Such a household unit constituted the basic consumption unit within the post-industrial Western society. Given the scarcity of the normal household and the unusually high percentage of single males, it is expected that the purchasing and consumption pattern within the Chinese community would differ markedly from that of the Australian population in general.

#### 4.2 Chinese in Victoria, 1901-1914

Cronin (1982:139) gives the 1901 Chinese population in Victoria as 7,349, distributed throughout the state as shown in Figure 3. The highest concentration of 2,497 (34 percent) was found in Melbourne. Bendigo (9 percent), Talbot (9 percent), Grant (8 percent), Bogong (8 percent) and Melbourne had jointly accounted for 68 percent of the total Victorian Chinese population.

The Victorian Chinese community of 1901-1914 shared with the Chinese communities throughout Australia two unique characteristics: Firstly, it was a community of sojourners with an overwhelming proportion of adult males. The 1901 census counted only 474 "Chinese" females as against 29,153 Chinese males within the country. It is estimated that there were only about 250 "normal households" among 7,349 Chinese in Victoria,

Secondly, the Chinese community had a very high rate of "turnover"; in other words, arrivals and departures from Australia. Most men came for a brief period to make a fortune and return home. The average stay of the Chinese in Victoria during this period was only about five years (Oddie 1961:65). Again, the needs of such a "transient" society are expected to be significantly different from the needs of the wider Australian community of settlers.

#### 4.3 Number Entering and Departing Australia, 1905-1911

Between 1905 and 1911, the number of Chinese departed annually from Australia exceeded the number who had entered the country (see Table 2). The rate of "turnover" within the Chinese community was extremely high as nearly 21 per cent of the population had travelled internationally during this period, principally between Hong Kong and Australia<sup>7</sup>.

#### 4.4 Employment in Victoria, 1901-1914

The number of Chinese in the goldfields had gradually declined as most of the alluvial gold deposit was exhausted. By 1901, there were only 1,296 Chinese miners remaining in Victoria, representing 21 percent of all Chinese in the State.

Market gardening had replaced mining as the most important occupation. Thirty-three percent of all working Chinese males were market gardeners (see Table 3). Yong (1977:262) estimated that in 1901, Chinese market gardeners had constituted 43.4 percent of all market gardeners in Victoria.

Cabinet making had become the second most important occupation among the Chinese, accounting for 10 percent of total employment. Chinese furniture factories concentrated in the Melbourne metropolitan areas and competed directly with the European cabinet makers.

The remaining occupations which had offered substantial employment opportunities to the Chinese were store-keeping (4.7 percent), laundry (4.4 percent) and green-grocer (4.1 percent). These were urban occupations which had the effect of attracting more Chinese to Melbourne in the early 1900s.

In contrast to these "working class" occupations, there was also an increase in the number of merchant "elite" in Melbourne, although their number had remained relatively small (0.9 percent). Cronin (1982:26) describes them as powerful businessmen who "dealt in sums totalling £10,000 or £20,000."

#### 4.4.1 The Furniture Trade

The number of Chinese and European furniture factories and workers in Victoria from 1902-1914 is shown in Table 4. The number of European factories and workers had increased significantly after 1910 while both the Chinese factories and workers had stagnated (see Figure 4). There were on the average, 158 Chinese furniture factories operating at any one year throughout this period. Each Chinese factory employed 4.4 workers, In contrast, there were on the average 313 European factories operating at any one year throughout this period,

#### 4.4.2 The Laundry Trade

Between 1902 and 1914, Victoria had almost twice as many registered Chinese laundries as European. The number of European workers in the laundry trade, however, far exceeded their Chinese counterparts (see Figure 5). The European laundry employed on the average, 9.6 workers per factory compared to 1.7 workers per Chinese laundry. In any one year during this period, there were 180 Chinese laundries competing with roughly 75 European operations in Victoria (see Table 5).

### 5. CHARACTERISTICS OF ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE CHINESE TIMES

The majority of advertisers employing the press medium during the turn of the century had to rely on nothing more elaborate than the printed characters to capture the attention of their intended readers and deliver their sales pitch. However, the press was the most powerful advertising medium during the first two decades of the twentieth century and its usage could not be ignored by advertisers of that era. Regarded as a form of "printed salesmanship", the basic objective of press advertisements was to build goodwill in order to make sales (Rittenberg and Raffety 1912:196).

The basic format for advertising space in The Chinese Times took the form of multiple columns with different advertisements "stacked" on top of one another without due regard for product groups or services. Advertisements which were larger than one columnar space were more common after 1905. The advertisements usually consisted of an English title containing the name and address of the advertiser, followed by the promotional messages in Chinese.

A smaller proportion of advertisements included a small illustration of the products being advertised. Common among those which utilized "pictorial" advertisements were the tailors, sewing machine retailers, watch makers, undertakers, biscuit manufacturers, shipping lines, bicycle works, coach and buggy manufacturers, wine merchants, opticians, seed merchants, gramophone parlours, laundry stove manufacturers and surprisingly, weapon (hand guns and machine guns) vendors.

On the whole, the advertisements in The Chinese Times can be classified into two major categories: Trade and consumer advertisements.

Trade advertisements were specifically aimed at members of a particular trade or industry such as cabinet making, market gardening or laundry. Generally the advertisers were suppliers to the specific industry, in the form of raw materials, equipments and services. For example, trade advertisements intended for the furniture industry were placed by timber merchants, mirror manufacturers, saw-makers, ironmongers, and paint and varnish manufacturers. The market gardeners, on the other hand, were targets for seed merchants, fertilizers and hardware suppliers, The laundry trade was in turn, the selected market segment for starch and detergent manufacturers, and laundry stove makers.

Consumer advertisements were directed at the final users of the products or services. These can be further divided into consumer non-durables such as biscuits, patent medicines, wine and fresh food; consumer durables such as sewing machine, phonographs, clothing, shoes, jewellery, bicycles and books; and a large variety of services offered by medical practitioners, dentists, chemists, opticians,

undertakers, banks, insurance agents, shipping lines, herbalists, educational institutions and entertainment centres.

### 5.1 Number of Advertisements, 1904-1914

The number of advertisements per issue of The Chinese Times apparently reached a peak during the third year of publication when 132 advertisements were carried by a single issue. This level of advertising activities was not sustained, however, and the situation deteriorated in subsequent years. The lowest ebb was recorded in 3 March 1910 when the newspaper only managed a total of 46 advertisements. The last four years of operations saw the newspaper making a recovery, but it never regained the level achieved at its peak year (see Figure 6).

Between 1902 and 1914, it is estimated that more than 600 issues of The Chinese Times carried more than 52,000 advertisements. Many of the advertisers were long term patrons and had been associated with the weekly since its inception.

### 5.2 Composition of Advertisements

Throughout its history, The Chinese Times had consistently carried more consumer than trade advertisements (see Figure 6). The ratio of consumer to trade advertisements was roughly 60:40 during 1904-1910, and further increased in consumers' favour to 70:30 from 1911-1914 (see Table 6).

### 5.3 Percentage of Chinese Advertisements

The majority of advertisers in The Chinese Times were European. This was the case for both consumer as well as trade advertisements. For the first twelve years of publication, the percentage of advertisements placed by Chinese advertisers never exceeded 13 percent. It had increased to 18 percent in 1914 (see Figure 7). Chinese advertisers included grocery shops, fruit merchants and wholesalers, Chinese medical halls, traditional doctors, Chinese entertainers and after 1910, Chinese restaurants (see Table 7).

### 5.4 Trade Advertisements

Trade advertisements in The Chinese Times were primarily aimed at Victorian readers who were members of three industries: Cabinet making, market gardening and laundry (see Figure 8). The intended readership were often specified in the promotional messages.

A fourth category, business services, was directed at the Chinese business community in general. Advertisers belonging to the last category included insurance companies, solicitors, accountants, patent attorneys, real estate agents, sign writers, custom agents, auctioneers, rubber stamp makers, printers, warehouse space vendors and engineering services (see Table 8).

### 5.5 Consumer Advertisements

Seven main categories of consumer advertisements have been identified and these were, in their order of importance:

- (a). Clothing and personal adornments
- (b). Health and safety
- (c). Transport
- (d). Food
- (e). Entertainment and leisure
- (f). Household, and
- (g). Education (see Table 9).

Health services promoted by Chinese and European medical practitioners, herbalists, chemists, Chinese medical halls, dentists, opticians, peddlers of patent medicines and undertakers made up the largest proportion of consumer advertisements from 1903-1907.

The number of clothing and personal adornments advertisements had overtaken health services by 1908 (see Figure 9). Tailors, onfitters, clothing stores, footwear manufacturers, hatters, watch makers and jewellers constituted one of the largest body of advertisers in The Chinese Times. Their advertisements often incorporated an illustration of the products being promoted.

At about the turn of the century, some clothing retailers such as David Jones (established in 18381, had progressed from its original specialization in men's and women's clothing to a complete department store. Large retail emporiums were common in major Australian cities (Bryden-Brown 1981:22). The Leviathan, for instance, had continued to advertise itself as a leading Melbourne tailoring house in The Chinese Times. George's announced its official opening to the Victorian Chinese community with two half-page advertisements in the weekly on 29 August 1908; a practice which was novel to the newspaper (see Figure 10).

Transport advertisements can be divided into domestic and international categories. Domestic transport advertisements comprised bicycle works, coach and buggy builders, and saddle and harness manufacturers for residents of Australia's pre-car cities. A major carriage and buggy manufacturer which advertised widely in both English and Chinese press media was T. Craine (Carroll 1975:85).

International transport services were promoted by four major shipping lines which operated passenger service between Hong Kong and Australia. These were China Navigation Company, Japan Mail Steamship Company, E.& A. Steamship Company and Australia Oriental Line. These shipping lines were the most avid supporters of The Chinese Times, consistently occupying the front-page of the newspaper throughout the most part of its existence. They also sponsored near-full page calendar advertisements during the Chinese new year issues.

Food advertisements were the only category in which the Chinese advertisers had a reasonable representation. Major Chinese advertisers were the Chinese grocers. European food advertisers were biscuit and cake manufacturers, bread factories, ham and bacon suppliers, and butchers.

The category comprising entertainment and leisure grew in importance from 1909-1914 (see Figure 11). Advertisements on Western entertainment were placed in the newspaper columns by Taits, Star, Hoyt's, Spencers Picture, Melbourne Wax Works and Melba Theatre; all promoted regularly to the Chinese audience. Overseas live entertainers which included Chinese and American magicians, commanded a wide appeal to the Victorian Chinese community. Other forms of popular amusements included displays of various kinds such as dioramas, cycloramas, and the Luna Park in St. Kilda.

Chinese restaurant advertisements were a relatively late comer; they only became a regular feature in The Chinese Times after 1910.

Home entertainment with sound machines were gaining popularity and these were advertised by phonograph and gramophone parlours. Allan's, for example, introduced wax cylinders with classical Chinese opera singing as part of the sales strategy to entice more Chinese purchasers<sup>8</sup>.

Reading appeared to be a favourite pastime among the Chinese as Coles Book Arcade was able to sustain its advertisement in most of the newspaper issues.

Advertisements for household goods occupied only a minor percentage of the total advertising activity in The Chinese Times. This was probably due to the small number of "normal households" among the Chinese in Victoria. Household items promoted included beds, sewing machines and plumbing services.

The last category of consumer advertisements has been labelled education. This was not a regular feature in the newspaper. Its appearance in a couple of issues were sponsored by Bradshaw's Business College for commercial studies, and the Central Business College for English Language tuition.

## 6. DISCUSSION

The Australian Chinese community of the early 1900s has been described as a "closed" community, isolated from the mainstream Australian society and tending to be self-sufficient. Within the community, the Chinese men have been portrayed as largely idle, indulging in smoking opium or gambling, with no respectable recreation other than those which were connected to the church and Bible study groups.<sup>9</sup>

The validity and reliability of such a negative view has recently been questioned by historians. The question raised was whether European sources, which were largely divorced from, or were hostile towards the Chinese, can be relied upon to construct a realistic description of the Chinese community? Studies which have consulted Chinese sources have also been criticized for their preoccupation with the White Australian Policy. As a result, the findings tended to emphasize Australian attitudes towards the Chinese, rather than a study of the Chinese in their own right.

This study examines the Victorian Chinese community during 1902-1914 in its dual role firstly as a business entity within the wider Australian business community, and secondly, as a consumer market segment. It uses the advertisements in The Chinese Times during this period as a primary source of information. The premise for this study is that press advertisements tend to reflect the everyday lives of ordinary people, as well as ordinary business transactions between different **commercial** entities.

The analysis confirms some of the findings of earlier studies:

Firstly, the results from categorization of the trade advertisements in The Chinese Times have found that from 1903-1914, the majority of trade advertisements were targeted at three specific industries. These were market gardening, cabinet making and the laundry trade. They were the three major occupations within the Chinese community identified in a demographic study by Choi (1975).

Secondly, the transitory nature of the Chinese population - where the averaged length of stay of the Chinese sojourners was only about five years (Oddie 1961), was supported by the dominance of shipping lines advertisements offering passenger services between Australia and Hong Kong.

Thirdly, the scarcity of "normal households" in the Chinese community due to the drastic inequality in the proportion of male and female, was indicated by the small percentage of advertisements for household products and services,

Fourthly, the drive towards Westernization of Chinese in Victoria during this period, especially with regard to the adoption of Western ideas, customs and fashions (Yong 1977:128), was reflected in the importance of tailoring, clothing and fashion advertisements in The Chinese Times,

On the other hand, some of the findings from this study are contradictory to the inferences drawn by previous researchers:

The concept of a "closed" Chinese community isolated from the Australian society at large has been challenged. The majority of advertisers in The Chinese Times, either consumer or trade, were in fact European. This finding suggests that the Chinese business community was not self-sufficient and had maintained a cordial relationship with its European counterpart right through this period.

The Chinese community, in its role as a consumer market segment, was not confined behind the high walls of buildings in Chinatown. The consumer advertisements placed by European advertisers indicate that the Chinese were considered valuable customers, alongside the rest of the Australian society, by the European retailers.

The "idleness" claimed by some researchers to have prevailed amongst the Chinese men was not substantiated by the findings of this study. It does not, for example, explain the advertisements placed by European entertainment centres, European retailers of home entertainment products, bookshop and educational institutions.

Overall, a major conclusion is that the Victorian Chinese community of the early 1900s had its own unique characteristics and can only be realistically portrayed if these distinctive features of the population are taken into account. This study shows that the European business community did not appear to have ostracized the Chinese community, either as trading partners or as consumers.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 The original Chinese name for The Chinese Times was "Ai Kuo Pao", later changed to "Chin Tung Sin Pao" in 1905. The English name had remained the same.  
The first issue of The Chinese Times made its appearance in Melbourne on 5 February 1902.
- 2 See Yong (1977:137).
- 3 The New South Wales Chinese community had its own Chinese language newspaper, the Tung Wah News, which circulated during the period 1898 to 1925.
- 4 The averaged number of advertisements per issue from 1903 -1914 was 83 (see Table 1). By 16 May 1914, 622 issues of The Chinese Times had been printed and circulated.
- 5 The issues selected were dated:

11/3/1903	7/9/1904	25/3/1905
19/5/1906	12/1/1907	2/3/1907
7/3/1908	6/3/1909	5/3/1910
11/3/1911	27/7/1912	10/5/1913
16/5/1914		

- 6 Cronin (1982:139) gives the 1901 census figure of Chinese in Victoria as 7,349. This is significantly higher than the 6,956 printed in The Chinese Times on 4 May 1912.
- 7 The estimates were made as follows:

Estimation of Population Decline Rate = 3% P.A.

YEAR	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
POP.	30,000	29,100	28,227	27,380	26,559
YEAR	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
POP.	25,762	24,989	24,239	23,512	22,807
YEAR	1911				
POP.	22,123				

Cumulative Chinese population in Australia, from 1905-  
1911 = 169,991

Cumulative departures and arrivals in Australia, 1905 -  
1911 = 35,511

Percentage of Chinese who had travelled internationally  
between 1905-1911 =  $(35,511 \div 169,991) \times 100$   
= 21%

- 8 See The Chinese Times, 10 May 1913, p.11.
- 9 Cronin (1982), for instance, cites the declining conditions among the Chinese during the period post-1880 as follows:

"Chinese circuses and playhouses closed down and Chinese men spent their leisure hours smoking opium or gambling. Church attendance, Bible picnics and socials figured as the only regular, and respectable, Chinese recreation" (p.126).

TABLE 1  
Age of Chinese in New South Wales  
1901 Census

Age Group	Total No,	Male No,	Female No,	Ratio Male to Female
Under 10	527	281	246	1.1 to 1
10-15	282	131	151	0.9 to 1
16-21	276	177	99	1.8 to 1
22-29	1,035	956	79	12.0 to 1
30-39	3,301	3,226	75	43.0 to 1
40-49	2,753	2,735	18	152.0 to 1
50-59	1,459	1,454	5	291.0 to 1
60 and above	1,507	1,507	0	-

Source: New South Wales Statistical Register, 1904

TABLE 2  
Number of Chinese Entering  
and Departing Australia  
1905-1911

Year	Number Entering	Number Departing
1905	1,710	2,523
1906	1,563	2,599
1907	1,894	2,777
1908	2,425	3,441
1909	2,199	2,877
1910	2,373	2,870
1911	3,023	3,237

Source: The Chinese Times 15/6/1912

Table 3

Employment of Chinese in Victoria  
1901 Census

Occupations	Number	%
Miners	1,296	21.2
Market Gardeners	2,022	33.0
Pastoral Workers	27	0.4
Other Agriculture	515	8.4
General Labourers	89	1.4
Domestic Servants	100	1.6
Hotel, Boarding House Workers	121	2.0
Merchants	55	0.9
Greengrocers	252	4.1
Storekeepers	290	4.7
Hawkers	156	2.5
Commercial Clerks	50	0.8
Cabinet Makers	620	10.1
Laundry	270	4.4
 Total 14 Occupations	 5,863	 95.8

Source: Choi (1975: 30)

Table 4  
 Chinese and European Furniture  
 Trade in Victoria  
 1902-1914

Year	Chinese		European	
	No* of Factories	No* of Workers	No. of Factories	No. of Workers
1902	125	614	253	1,210
1903	142	590	270	1,127
1904	145	672	264	1,068
1905	173	708	273	1,044
1906	170	698	273	1,151
1907	166	736	293	1,392
1908	168	734	302	1,427
1909	165	689	318	1,518
1910	150	683	313	1,523
1911	165	790	336	1,793
1912	168	818	378	2,108
1913	165	735	391	2,177
1914	156	699	408	2,274

Source: Yong (1977:235)

Table 5  
 Chinese and European Laundry  
 Trade in Victoria  
 1902-1914

Year	Chinese		European	
	No. of Factories	No. of Workers	No. of Factories	No. of Workers
1902	152	268	71	568
1903	159	265	66	565
1904	162	269	64	594
1905	171	287	65	628
1906	187	289	68	650
1907	196	318	71	681
1908	188	311	78	755
1909	190	315	82	778
1910	185	313	84	781
1911	179	320	80	775
1912	198	362	78	835
1913	190	376	80	838
1914	185	328	86	876

Source: Yong (1977: 239)

Table 6  
 Composition of Advertisements in  
 The Chinese Times  
 1903-1914

Year	Total Ads No.	Consumer Ads	Trade Ads
1903	88	54	46
1904	132	58	42
1905	109	60	40
1906	80	57	43
1907	65	59	41
1908	69	64	36
1909	53	55	45
1910	46	59	41
1911	82	68	32
1912	95	68	32
1913	96	68	32
1914	82	71	29

Source: Selected issues of  
 The Chinese Times, see  
 endnote no.5

Table 7

Percentage Chinese Ads and Chinese Advertisers  
The Chinese Times, 1903-1914

Year	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
Total number of Ads	88	132	109	80	65	69	53	46	82	95	96	82
Chinese Ads (no.)	9	7	5	9	8	6	4	6	8	9	11	15
( % )	10.2	5.3	4.6	11.2	12.3	8.7	7.5	13.0	9.7	9.5	11.5	18.3

Advertisers:	No.											
Grocer	6	5	2	1	1	2	-	3	3	2	3	5
Fruit merchant	2	2	2	3	4	1	1	1	2	3	4	2
Herbalist	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Doctor	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	2
Medical hall	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Patent medicine	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tailor	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Entertainment	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Restaurant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	4

Source: The Chinese Times, selected issues (see endnote 5)

Table 8  
Categories of Trade Advertisements  
The Chinese Times, 1903-1914

Year	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
Total number of trade advertisements (no.)	40	55	44	34	27	25	24	19	26	30	31	24
<u>Industry intended:</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Furniture making	40.0	27.3	31.8	26.5	29.6	24.0	29.2	42.1	26.9	33.3	35.5	45.8
Market gardening	27.5	32.7	29.5	23.5	29.6	24.0	33.3	26.3	19.2	23.3	22.6	20.8
Laundry	5.0	10.9	4.5	5.9	7.4	12.0	12.5	15.8	15.4	6.7	9.7	8.3
Business services	22.5	27.3	31.8	41.2	29.6	36.0	16.7	10.5	26.9	30.0	25.8	20.8
Others	5.0	1.8	2.3	2.9	3.7	4.0	8.3	5.3	11.5	6.7	6.4	4.2

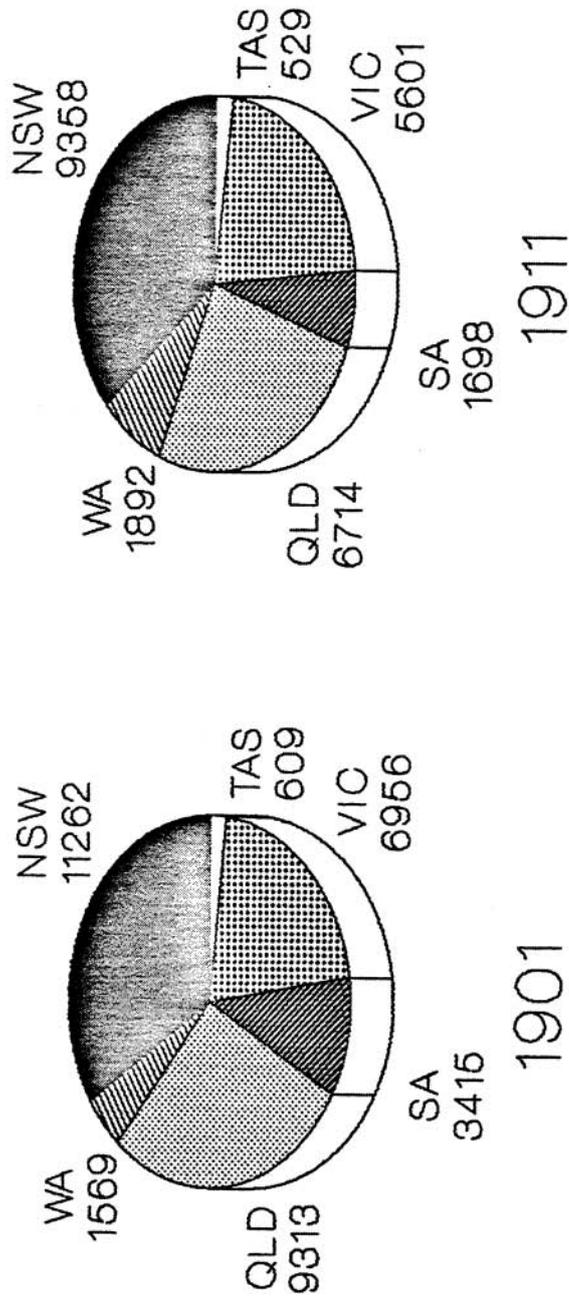
Source: The Chinese Times, selected issues (see endnote 5)

Table 9  
Categories of Consumer Advertisements  
The Chinese Times, 1903-1914

Year	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
Total number of consumer Advertisements (no.)	48	77	65	46	38	44	29	24	56	65	65	58
<u>Categories:</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Transport	16.6	15.6	18.5	17.4	21.0	15.9	13.8	18.5	14.3	12.3	10.7	13.8
Health and safety	27.1	31.2	27.7	22.1	26.3	20.4	17.2	14.8	8.9	13.8	15.4	17.2
Food	18.7	14.3	10.8	10.9	10.5	13.6	3.4	25.9	26.8	16.9	15.4	13.8
Clothing and personal adornments	18.4	24.7	24.6	21.7	26.3	25.0	31.0	25.9	21.4	27.7	26.1	31.0
Entertainment and leisure	10.4	9.1	9.2	10.9	5.3	15.9	20.7	7.4	21.2	23.1	24.6	20.7
Household	4.2	2.6	6.1	6.7	5.3	2.3	6.9	7.4	3.4	4.6	6.1	3.4
Education	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.4	-	-	-	1.5	-
Others	-	2.6	3.1	4.3	5.3	6.8	3.4	-	-	1.5	-	-

Source: The Chinese Times, selected issues (see endnote 5)

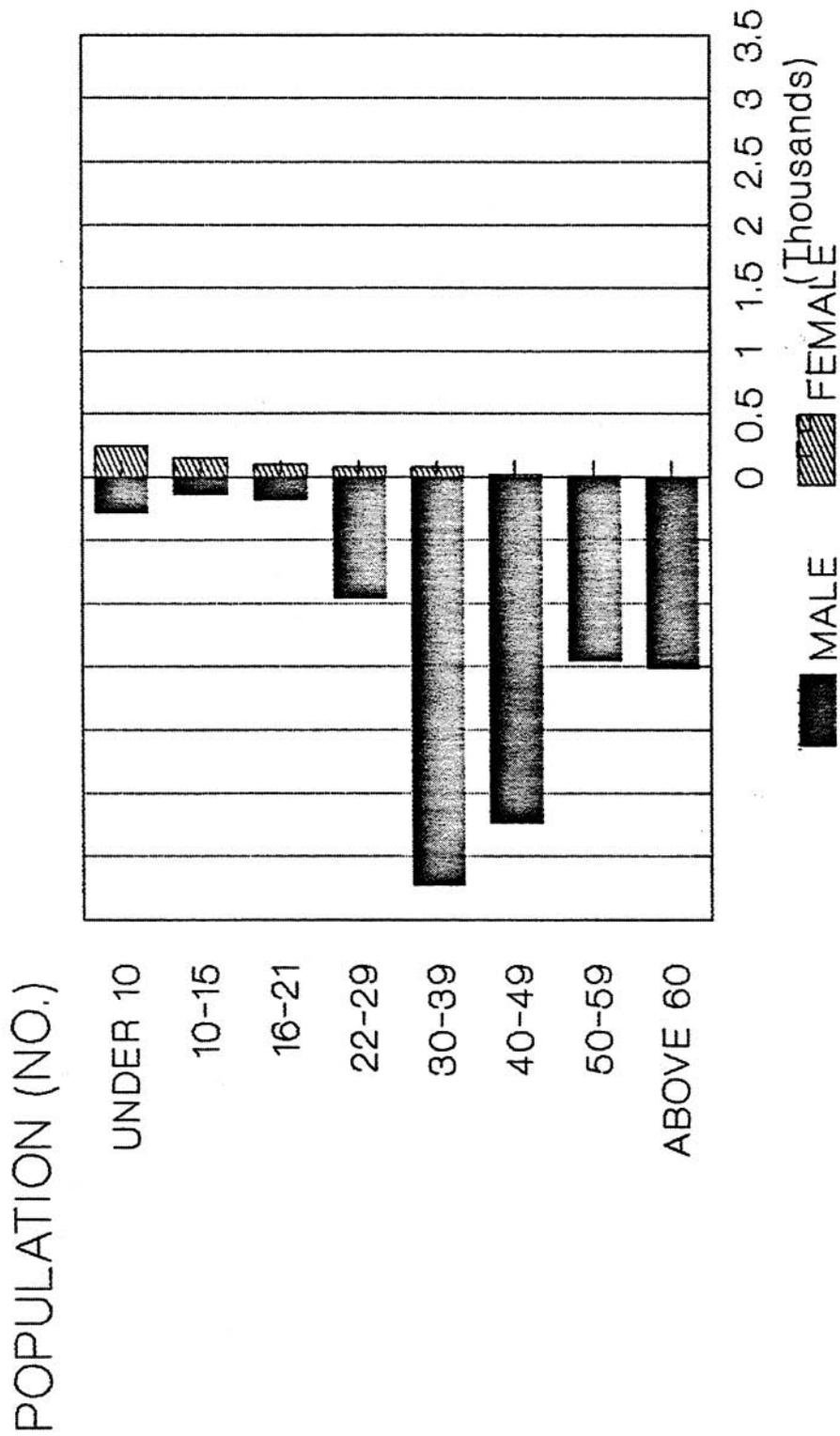
# CHINESE IN AUSTRALIA, 1901 & 1911



SOURCE: THE CHINESE TIMES 4/5/1912

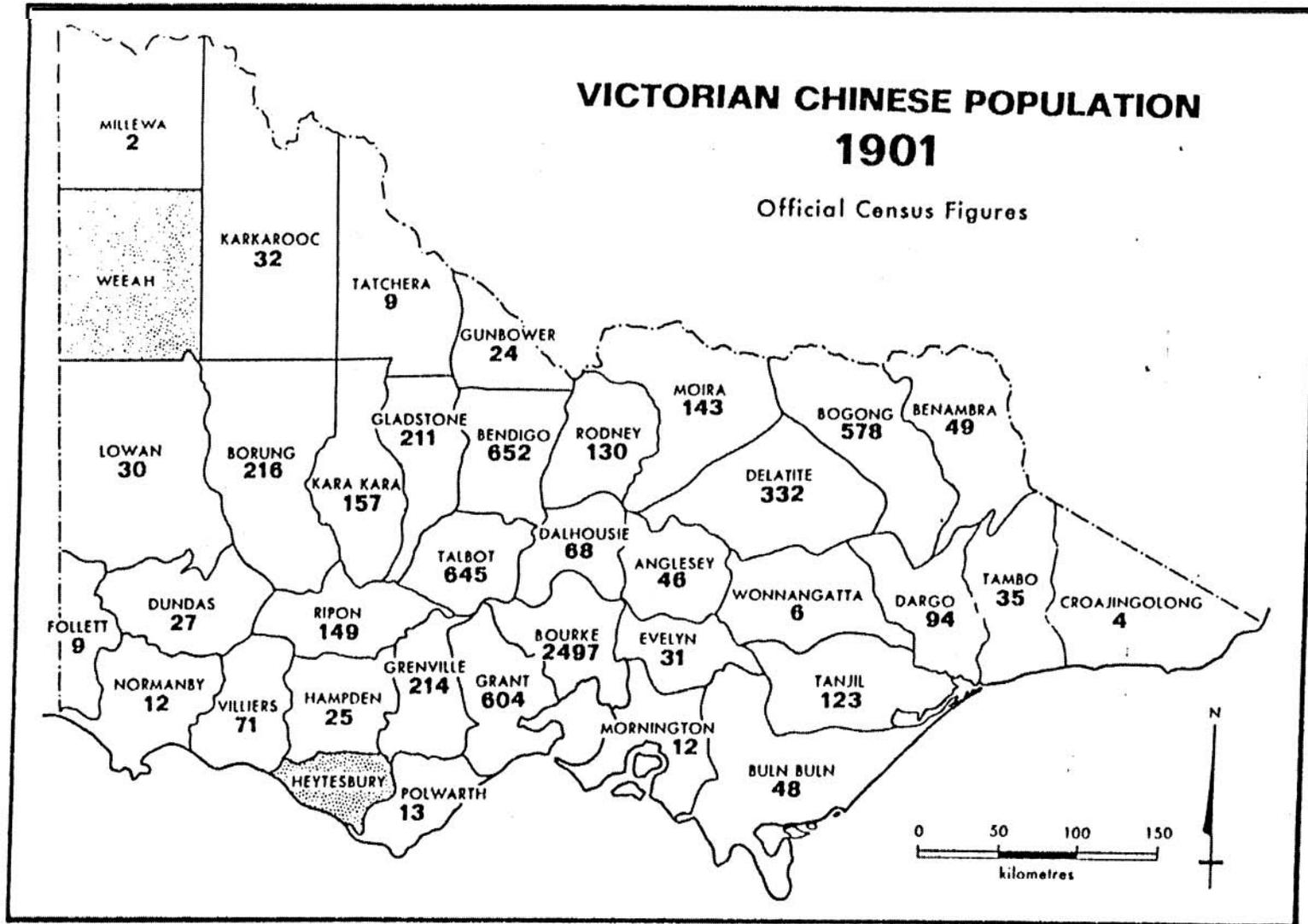
FIGURE 1

# AGE DISTRIBUTION, 1901 NSW CHINESE



NSW STATISTICAL REGISTER, 1904

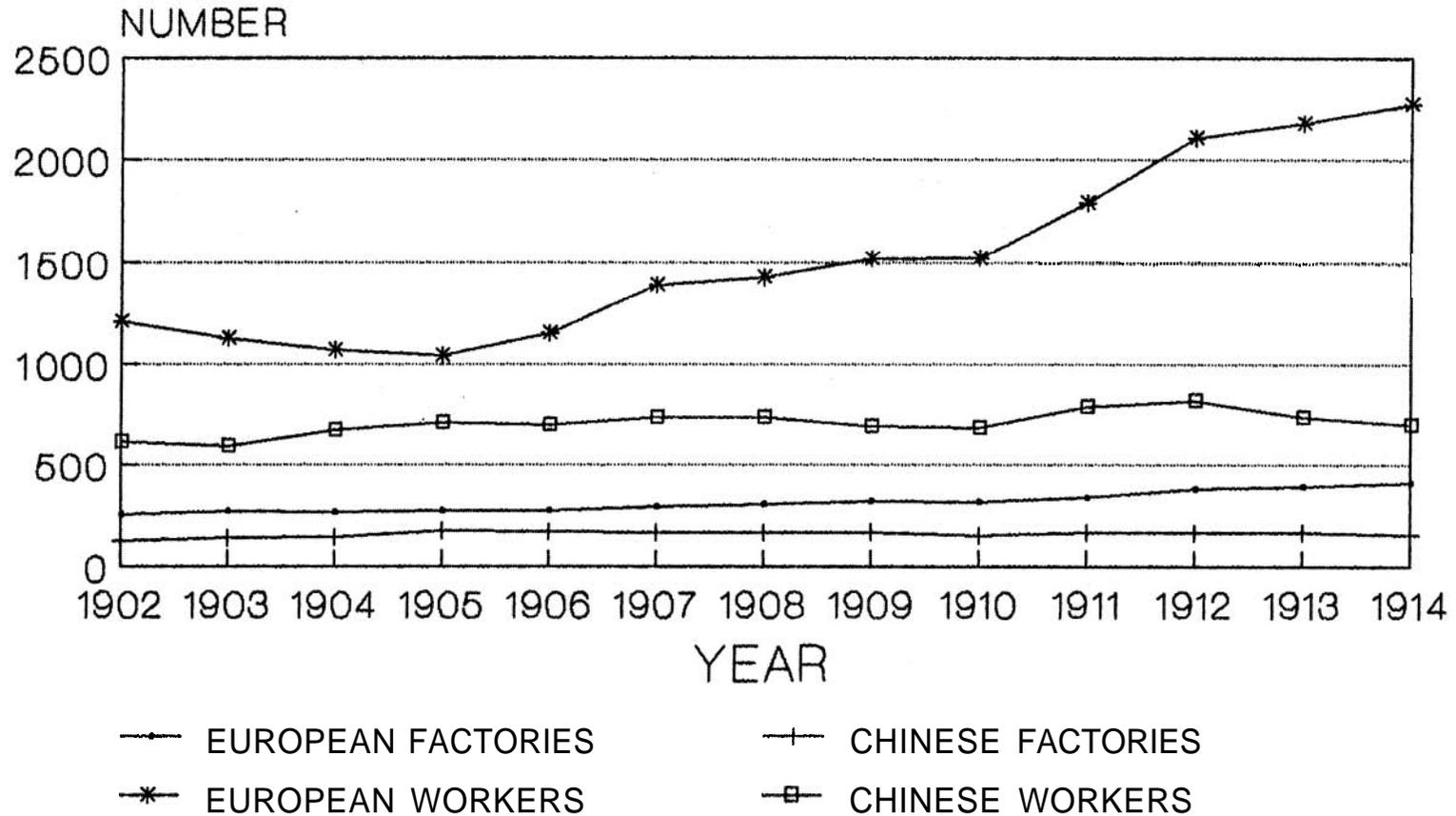
FIGURE 2



Source: Cronin (1982:139)

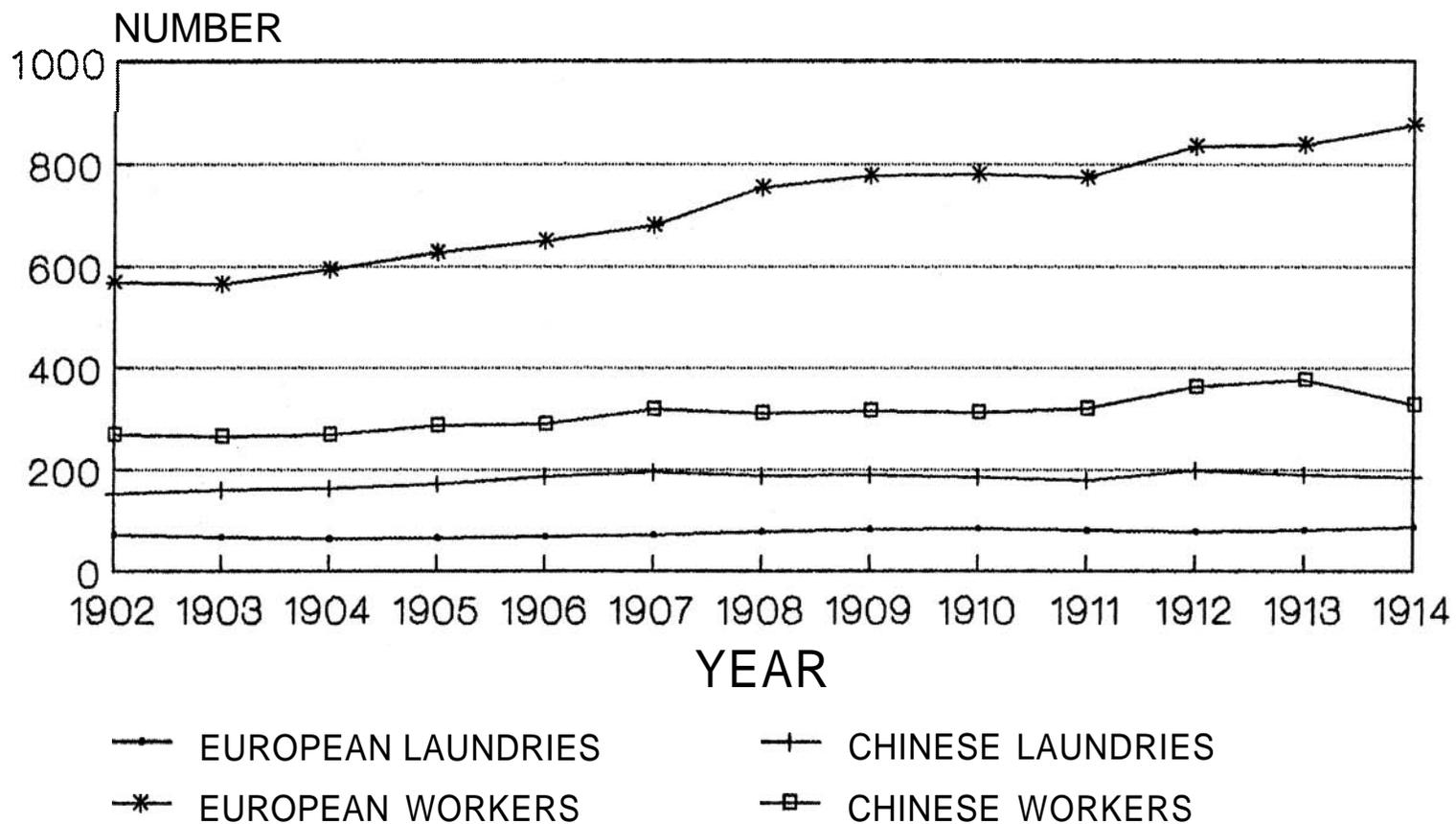
FIGURE 3

# VICTORIAN FURNITURE TRADE CHINESE AND EUROPEAN FACTORIES



YONG (1977: 235)

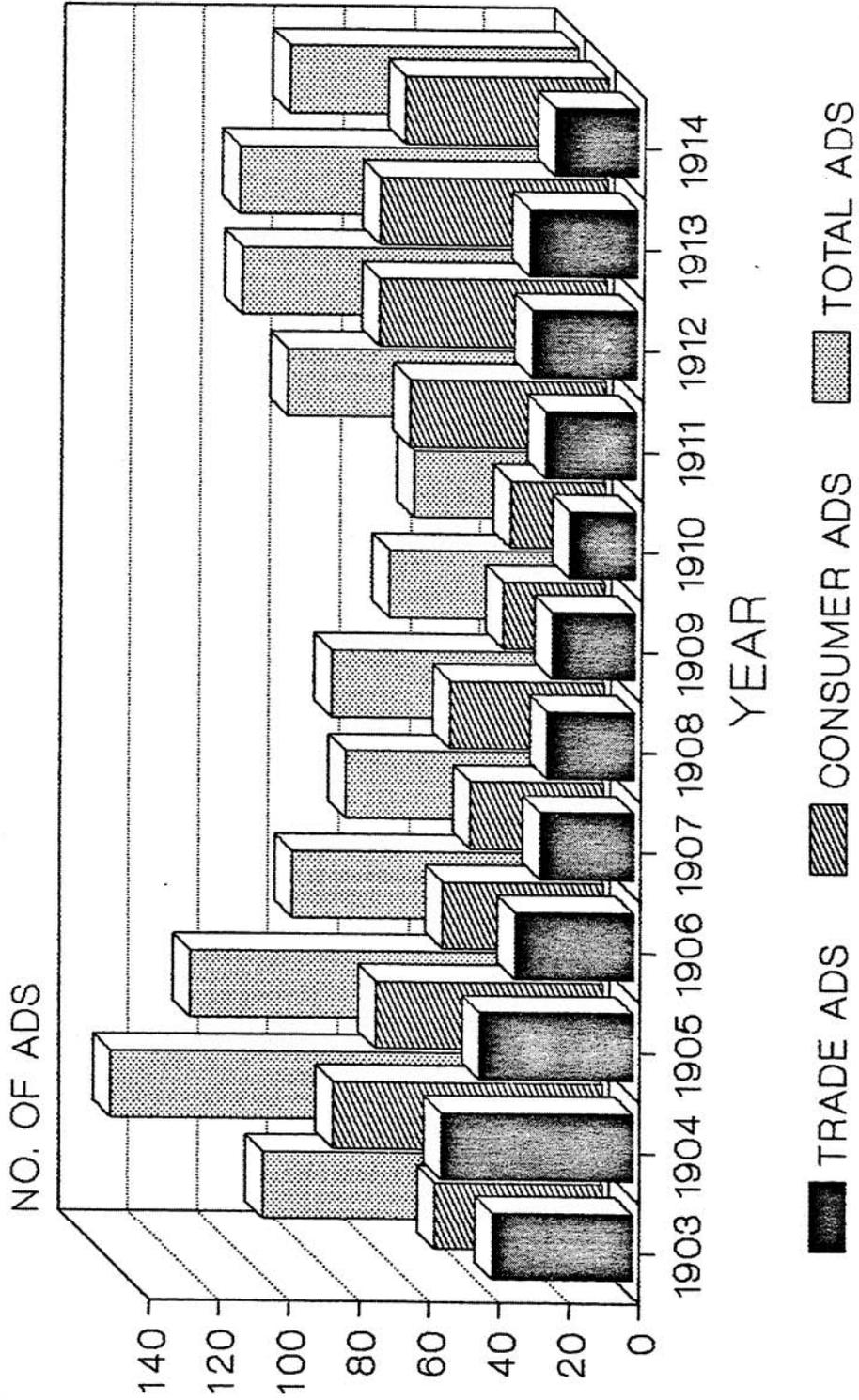
# VICTORIAN LAUNDRY TRADE EUROPEAN AND CHINESE LAUNDRIES



YONG (1977:239)

FIGURE 5

# COMPOSITION OF ADVERTISEMENTS THE CHINESE TIMES, 1903-1914



# PERCENTAGE CHINESE ADS THE CHINESE TIMES, 1903-1914

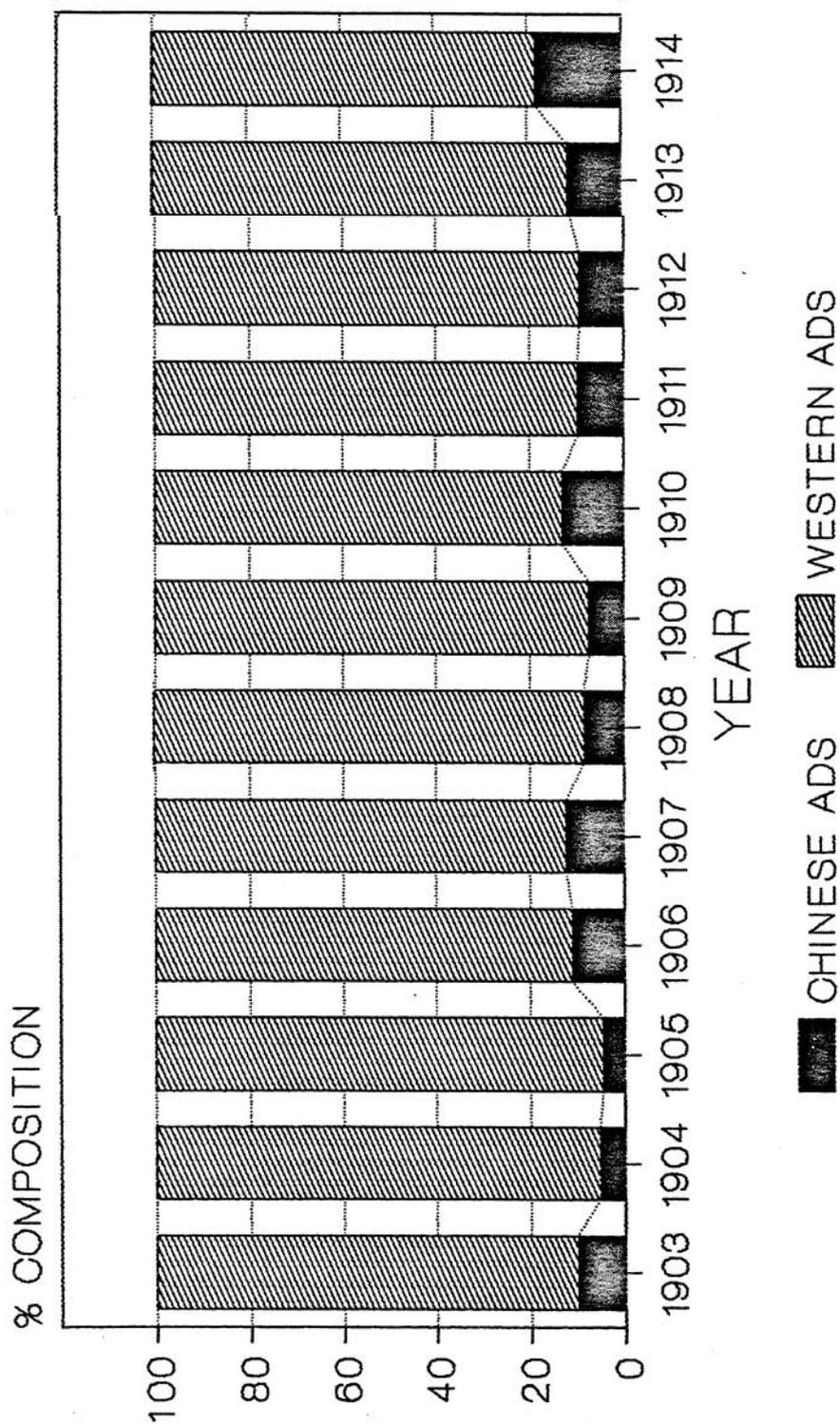
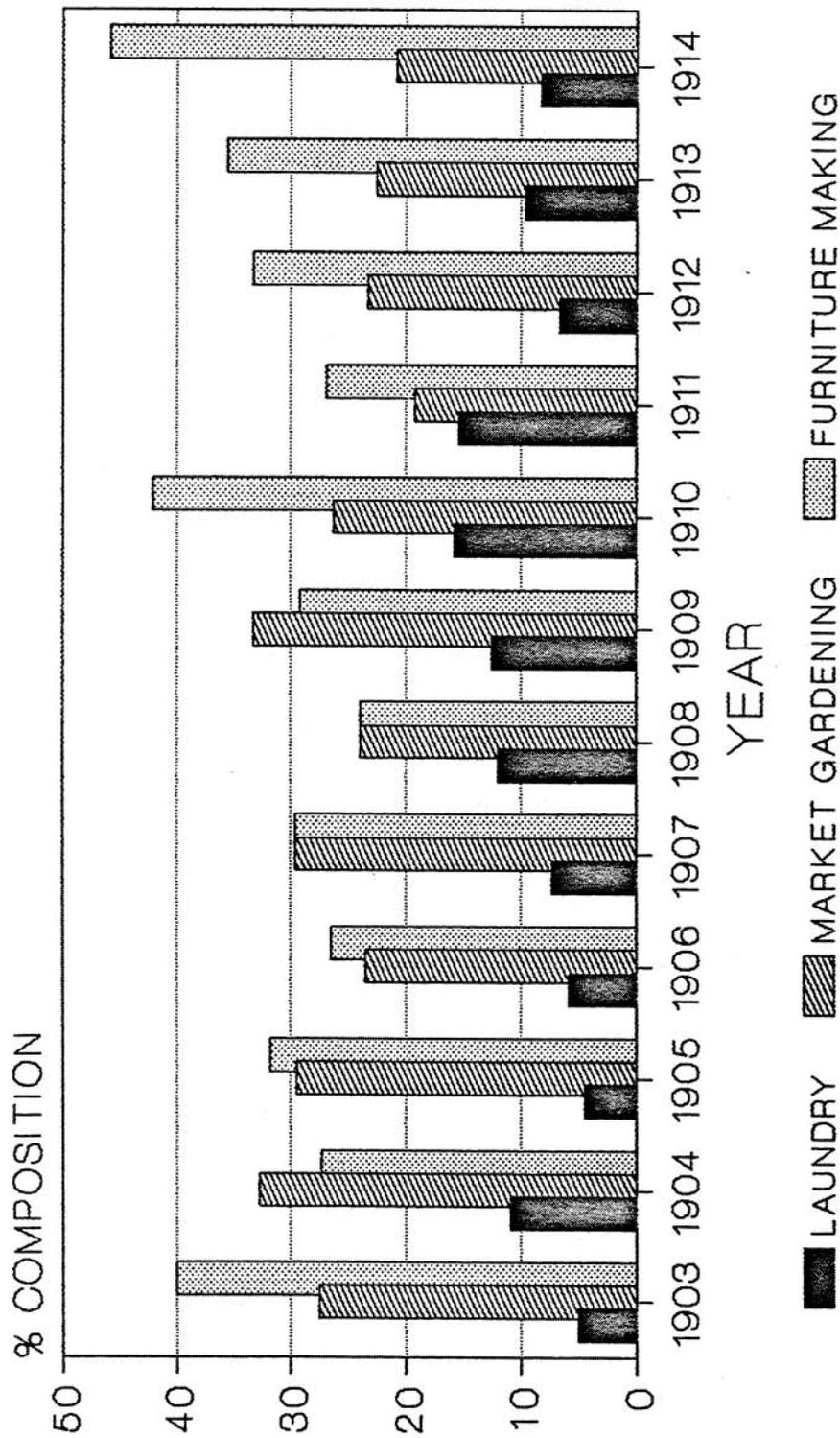


FIGURE 7

# TRADE ADS COMPOSITION THE CHINESE TIMES, 1903-1914



# COMPOSITION OF CONSUMER ADS THE CHINESE TIMES, 1903-1914

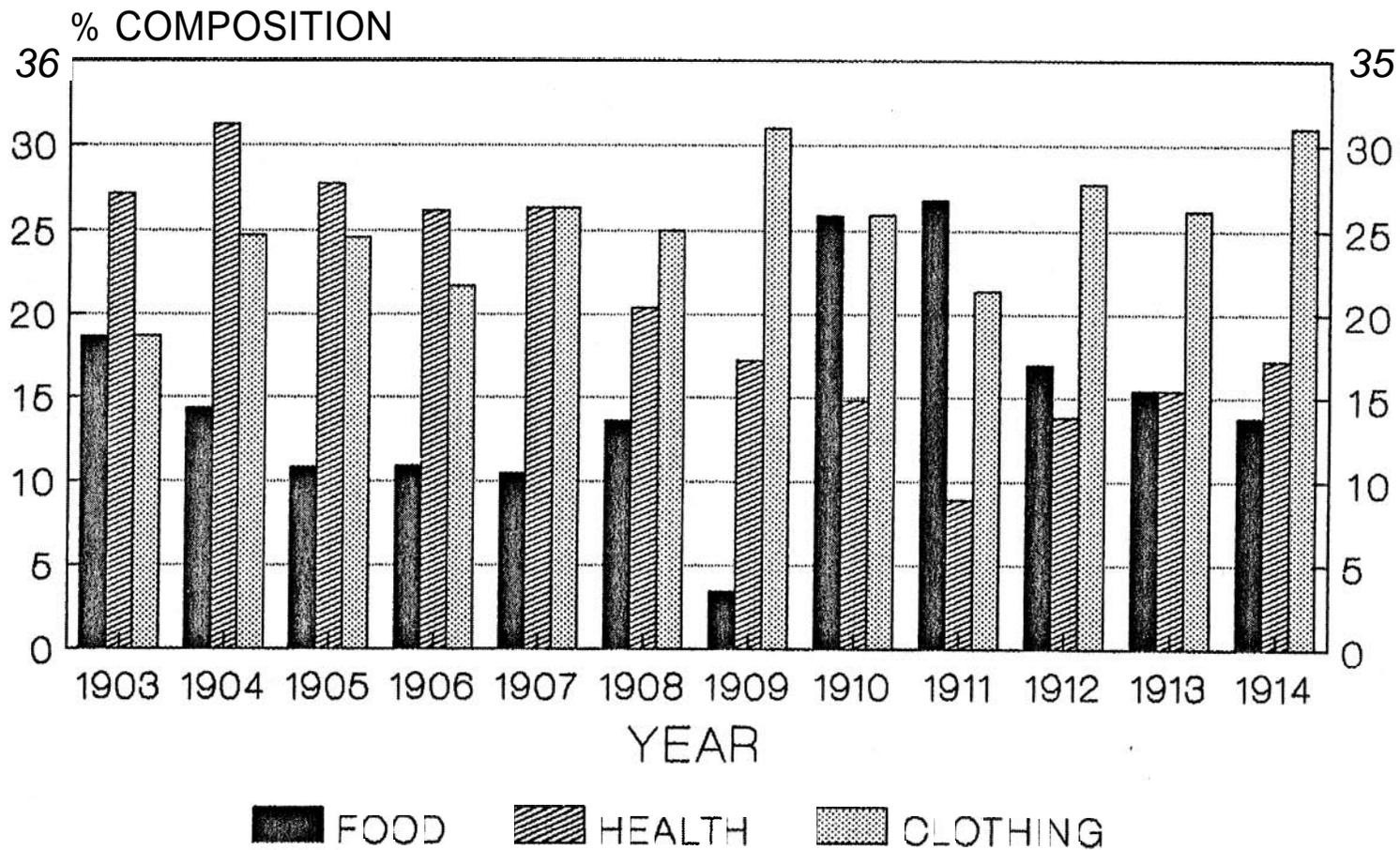


FIGURE 9



# COMPOSITION OF CONSUMER ADS II THE CHINESE TIMES, 1903-1914

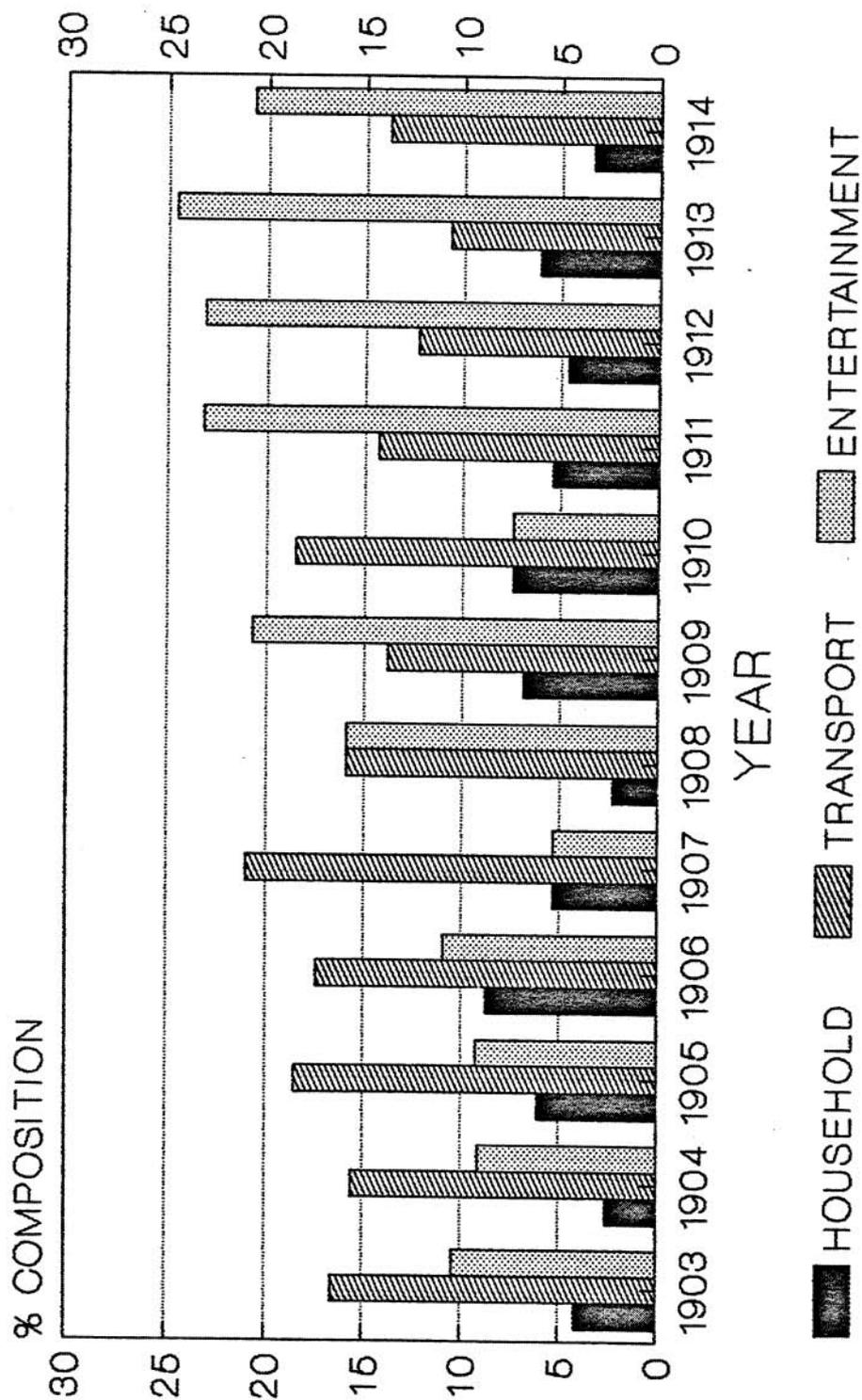


FIGURE 11

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