



**THE TERRITORY  
REMEMBERS  
75 YEARS**

Commemorating the Bombing of Darwin  
and defence of Northern Australia

A back lane in Chinatown (Peter Farnden Collection)

# The Territory Remembers

## Darwin's Chinatown and the Territory's Chinese

By Bob Alford

**All over the world the Chinese have made their mark in business and in developing trade centres known as Chinatowns in cities, towns and settlements, they have left an enduring legacy. These Chinatowns were havens, enclaves or in some cases disease-ridden hovels for Chinese immigrants and settlers, some of dubious character, others with a strong work ethic strange to westerners but one that saw them enjoy eventual success along with those with an entrepreneurial flair – though sometimes not entirely legal.**

Each Chinatown exuded its own oriental mystique that continues to attract people of all backgrounds. Australian cities and some towns with a history of Chinese settlement have retained, conserved and developed their Chinatowns, which draw tourists and locals alike – all except Darwin. Its own uniquely Territorian style and mystique lasted only 65 years, from the 1870s to World War II, when the military deliberately set about its destruction by vandalism, theft and fire where the authorities before them had all failed.

### Darwin's Chinatown

The story of Darwin's Chinatown goes back to April 1874 when Captain Bloomfield Douglas, an inept former Royal Navy man, public servant, 'entrepreneur' and Government Resident in the Northern Territory of South Australia was commissioned by the South Australian government to bring in 200 Singaporean Chinese for work on the Territory's goldfields and the Overland Telegraph Line.

Acclimatised to the tropics, these Chinese 'Coolies' were considered a source of cheap labour and the answer to the Territory's inability to attract European workers. The arrival of the 186 Chinese at Port Darwin was noted by the local newspaper, *The NT Times and Gazette*, which, reported that:

*"The coolies were landed here in a poor state of health, and if they had been so many cattle, instead of human beings, their low condition would have caused their employers to feed them and to strengthen them before putting them to work."*<sup>1</sup>

Following their arrival in the Territory most Chinese went to the goldfields where they established small shanty towns, always with a temple, at Yam Creek, Brocks Creek, Pine Creek, Burrundie, at the Twelve Mile and at other diggings. Other Chinese remained in Palmerston (Darwin), where they established a small enclave of shacks, narrow lanes and outbuildings on Cavenagh Street, despite the best efforts of the authorities. By 1886 the Chinese population in the Territory was 6421, three times that of Europeans. Two years later they were the largest non-Aboriginal group according to the *Government Resident's Report on Northern Territory for the Year 1908*, which stated that there were 6122 Chinese in the Territory. Their numbers told against them.

In Palmerston, as elsewhere in Australia, the Chinese faced racial discrimination and the most visible aspect of their presence became the target. In his *Government Resident's report for 1887*, JL Parsons wrote under the Town Health report that, of nine cases of small-pox, eight were Chinese who had recently arrived and a European "...from examining

the clothing of Chinese arriving here.” In addressing the health aspects of Chinatown he continued: “A good deal has been done to improve the sanitary conditions...by destroying old wooden sheds used as dwelling-places by the Chinese. All structures built of bark should be destroyed. Over-crowding is still very bad...”<sup>2</sup>

Darwin’s Chinatown continued to draw criticism and was described as: “... an unsightly slum, where cramped unhygienic (sic) living conditions endangered public health”. In 1912 Administrator John Gilruth’s secretary HE Carey was moved to write that Gilruth found: “...Darwin a slovenly township with a ‘Chinatown’ in which conditions were appalling from a public health point of view, with rubbish lying everywhere and malaria far more prevalent than was desirable”.<sup>3</sup> Such reports were further used: “... to order the demolition of several dwellings in Chinatown in 1913.”<sup>4</sup>

### Restrictions

By 1881, the anti-Chinese feeling in South Australia was enough for the government to define a boundary between the Northern Territory and South Australia extending north almost to Palmerston itself. Chinese could pass south of this imaginary border only if they paid a ten-pound entry tax. However the need for cheap labour and the entrepreneurial skills of the Chinese kept them in the Territory. By 1888, and with the Chinese population outnumbering the Europeans by three to one, racism, a fear of competition and under pressure from the other colonies, South Australia agreed to extend the operation of a Chinese Restriction Act to the Northern Territory.<sup>5</sup>

The 1890s saw an economic depression and a national campaign aimed at a White Australia that forced many Chinese from the Territory. However, those who stayed on settled permanently in the Territory and set up businesses in Palmerston, Southport, Pine Creek and on the goldfields. Palmerston boasted Chinese bootmakers, tailors, bakers, laundries, hairdressers, providores and general stores, while any vacant land that could be acquired was tilled. Market gardens flourished under the Chinese, who were soon providing the town with fresh vegetables and produce, including pork and poultry. All but very few of these enterprises were run from Chinatown, which continued to grow, along with European businesses extending over Cavenagh Street from the Kwong Hai Laundry and general merchant, Fang Cheong Loong on Bennett Street overlooking the harbour to the 1880s Stone Houses of Kwong Sue Duk.

Despite these restrictions, the Chinese continued to increase and extend their commercial base, due in no small part to their willingness to work under adverse conditions, while incurring the wrath of Europeans in doing so. The “...Chinese, who are ready and willing to work night or day and seven days a week, have ousted Europeans from many branches of trade,” one 1897 description read. “... Hairdressing, tailoring and bootmaking are all done by them... the chefs are invariably Chinamen; this applies to most of the Northern Territory,” it went on.<sup>6</sup>

Australian bush poet, journalist and author ‘Banjo’ Paterson was a vocal critic of the Chinese, writing in the 31 December 1898 issue of *The Bulletin* that: “...the Territory itself is now clamouring for the introduction of the cheap and nasty

Chow, notwithstanding that it is breeding its own Chinky fast enough... The hordes of aliens that have accumulated are a menace to the rest of Australia.”

Three years later Paterson continued:

*“...our Northern Territory, practically uninhabited by whites, is just the place to suit these people...If they once get a good footing there, they will out-breed and out-multiply any European race...Whatever danger there may be from the kanaka is as nothing compared to the danger of the Oriental invasion... The fact that a few thousands of these people have settled on our coasts does not trouble us much. They can do little harm in our time. But the same was said of the first rabbits let loose in Australia...”*<sup>7</sup>

Unfortunately Paterson’s vitriol was a reflection of the times and further restrictions on the Chinese were enacted in 1901 when an Act to further restrict Chinese immigration was passed by the Commonwealth. Ten years later a ministerial direction removed Chinese people from their positions as wharf labourers and as cooks on the Overland Telegraph Line. Further restrictions excluded them from government employment, and by 1911 their numbers had dwindled to roughly that of the 1182 Europeans. By 1939 the Chinese population in the Northern Territory had fallen to 659.

By the mid-1930s, Darwin, which had been renamed from Palmerston in 1911, was described as:

*“...an odd place...the best of the houses, louvred, verandahed and built high on stilts to catch every zephyr, had charm; the worst were shacks of rusty iron and rotting timbers. At the seaward end of Cavenagh Street lay Chinatown, [a] packed mass of stores and homes, laundries and gambling dens, targeted by two generations of health officials for destruction and dispersion, triumphantly surviving them all.”*<sup>8</sup>

But an essential part of Chinatown was its people and by the early 1930s they were second and third generation Australians; the so-called ABCs – Australian Born Chinese. Alan Powell continues, writing that:

*“They owned all but one (Jolly’s) of the town’s nine general stores and dominated the service industries. Both white prejudice and their own exclusivism were slowly breaking down. European and Chinese children attended the same schools, their names appeared together in sporting results and prize lists. The first recorded marriage between a European man and a Chinese woman occurred in 1936 and five more followed by 1942. In 1938 George and Lorna Lim brought their family from Katherine and boldly set up shop in Smith Street, in the centre of the European quarter. They prospered. A generation later their son, Alec Fong Lim [became] Lord Mayor of Darwin.”*<sup>9</sup>

### World War II

With Japan’s expansionist moves in China, Manchuria and the Pacific in the late 1930s, its Tripartite pact as part of the Axis with Germany and Italy and Hitler’s rapid rise to power, Darwin saw a dramatic increase in military activity. From the mid-1920s a series of oil tanks was constructed for the Navy at Stokes Hill, while fortifications were constructed and guns installed at East and Emery Points. Larrakeyah Barracks and a RAAF Station were constructed while a town reliant on wells from its founding saw water

flow from the newly constructed Manton Dam in March 1941. Banks, offices, a new Hotel Darwin, paved streets and Burnett houses at Myilly Point erected for senior public servants overlooked the Aboriginal compound at Kahlin.

By 1938 defence planners had the redevelopment of Darwin, and Chinatown in particular, firmly in their sights. With it the demise of Chinatown was mooted; "The days of Darwin's Chinatown are numbered," the *Northern Standard* of 15 April reported:

*"Its straggling lines of sun-scorched wood and iron buildings occupy an area needed for defence purposes, and already the more progressive Chinese business houses are making arrangements for new premises in different parts of the town. Replanned Darwin makes no provision for the ramshackle buildings which comprise the greater part of Cavanagh Street, behind whose corrugated iron walls a closely knit community of more than 300 Chinese maintain their entity..."*

But, Chinatown had survived numerous attempts by successive administrations to rid Darwin of its shanty town appearance, and wisely and more probably accidentally, the writer, Southwell-Keely, added a rider:

*"...its purpose has been served. Modern town planning demands its demolition, and within the next ten or more years - if the proposed defence resumption program is carried into effect - it will cease to be a familiar landmark and the Mecca of curious visitors." Chinatown survived that brief sentence, but the military ensured its demise during the war years 1942-45."* <sup>10</sup>

With the build-up of Darwin's defences came the troops, sailors and airmen from all parts of Australia. To them Darwin was a strange, hot and dusty town with a population reflecting many nationalities and all seemingly with an unquenchable thirst. The pubs overflowed during business hours and when they closed the drinking and fighting continued on the streets, notably at the Don Hotel - the 'Bloodhouse' - on Chinatown's edge. One young naval officer, Lieutenant Owen Griffiths, arrived in 1941 and described:

*"The asphalt road climbed up and entered the town at a point where a large Chinese joss house was to be seen on the right and the main street of squalid Chinatown on the left... although named Cavanagh (sic) Street, [it] was often referred to as 'Lavender' Street. In 1879 the District Council of Darwin (sic) allotted the Chinese a camp to the northeast of the town, as the wind never blew from that direction. A huge banyan tree to be seen growing in Cavanagh Street, (sic) had been a landmark for many years. It was known as the 'Tree of Knowledge', and stood in front of what was originally the Terminus Hotel..."* <sup>11</sup>

*"As wild as any [of the Darwin hotels] was the Hotel Don, on the fringe of Chinatown, where men of all creeds and colours drank and argued...Gambling houses were booming...[and] one particular school flourished in the heart of Chinatown. One had to negotiate a narrow, squalid lane, push through a hole in a tin fence, and cross two small odorous back yards, to reach the murky room. A poker-faced Chinaman sat at the gambling table and handled the money. He threw single cigarettes to customers sitting around the table to keep them interested. This house did a big trade and officers*

*rubbed shoulders with troops around the table which was seldom anything but crowded. All the atmosphere of a back room gambling den in Shanghai was there...The betting shops in Darwin, mostly Chinese, were the product of a highly organised business. The Chinese would bet up to any amount...Advance news of anything that was going to happen in Darwin - troop movements, arrivals of ships, anything of importance or unimportance - always came from Cavanagh (sic) Street...At the opening ceremony of a soldiers' recreational hut by an army general, he said in the course of his speech, that he had it 'on good Authority form (sic) Cavanagh St. that there would shortly be a big influx of troops into Darwin'. There was."* <sup>12</sup>

On 8 December 1941 the long expected attacks by the Japanese were mounted at Kota Bharu and Singora (Songkhla) in Malaya and Thailand, at Pearl Harbor, the Philippines and at points throughout the Pacific. Australia, and the Northern Territory was in no doubt that their turn would be next. On 16 December *The Northern Standard* featured an Evacuation Order advising citizens that: "The Federal War Cabinet has decided that women and children must be compulsorily evacuated from Darwin as soon as possible...Darwin citizens will greatly assist the war effort by cheerfully carrying out all requests." <sup>13</sup>

Over the next few weeks to 15 February 1942, 1414 people, mostly women and children including 206 Chinese, were evacuated by sea. The *Koolinda* took 225 on 19 December, 530 went on *Zealandia* the following day and the *President Grant* took 222 on the 23rd. The *Montoro* took 187 on 10 January, followed on the 26th by 173 persons aboard the *Koolama*. The *Koolinda* took the last 77 on 15 February, the day Singapore surrendered. Others went by road, rail and air. The last flew out aboard a Guinea Airways Lockheed 10 on the evening of 18 February, leaving just over 2000 civilians in Darwin, 63 of these women in essential services.

Despite the government expecting citizens to assist the process by "...cheerfully carrying out all requests", the voyages were anything but cheerful, particularly for the Chinese. While some had friends and relatives elsewhere in Australia, Alan Powell writes that:

*"Others were not so lucky and suffered cold, isolation and poverty...Ninety-three of Zealandia's passengers were Chinese women and children [and the] ...welfare officer [on the Zealandia], AF Xuereb...did not find it a matter for concern that the Chinese were excluded from the cabins, crowded together on the starboard deck where some slept and others had hammocks...some Europeans resented the loss of the deck space occupied by the Chinese...One hundred and ten Chinese women and children were amongst the 187 passengers who boarded Montoro on 10 January 1942 and sailed in her to the east coast - a 'luxury cruise' according to one Chinese passenger...Few Chinese left by air; but over sixty women, children and elderly men took the train to Pine Creek and Katherine before the end of 1941."* <sup>14</sup>

### Duty bound

Many of the younger Chinese men remained in Darwin. It was their home and many assisted in defence and other works, while maintaining the family businesses in Chinatown and in the town itself. Most wanted to join the military,

despite discrimination, and from 1939 when Australia went to war some did. However, the restrictions were such that in 1940 the enlistment of British subjects of non-European descent and Aliens was referred to a Committee for consideration. In both the army and



A Chinatown cafe interior (Peter Farnden Collection)

navy the enlistment of persons so classified was arrogantly declared as being “neither necessary nor desirable”. The RAAF was more relaxed and could admit non-Europeans at its discretion, but only as ground crew and confined to service in Australia. By mid-1941, however, these regulations were increasingly ignored, as “the threat to Australia had become too great”.<sup>15</sup>

Tom Cheong, the son of Darwin businessman Chin Cheong, was one who enlisted, recalling that during: “...1939 a lot of the Darwin boys, school friends, joined the AIF...They used to march along the streets, the bands playing...and you’d get all excited, and you’d feel that you should be part of it. You didn’t care what nationality or colour you were – you were just friends – all Australians. And I’d always wanted to fly.”<sup>16</sup>

And fly he did. Joining the RAAF on 22 July 1942, Thomas Cheong went on to fly with No. 43 Squadron in Catalina flying boats from Karumba and later Darwin on missions against the Japanese in the Netherlands East Indies. Others also joined the military during the period 1941 to war’s end: Kum Tim Yuen; the Chan brothers, Albert, Alfred and Harry; the Lees – Albert, Harry, Isabel, Jack, Mitchell, Philip, Wellington and William; the Fongs – Charlie, Ernest, Harry and Harry; the Moos – Arthur, Clarence, Harry, Frank, Mavis and Peter; and the Chins – Albert, Alfred, Aubrey, Harold, Ronald, Sydney and Raymond. Some, including the Yuen brothers, joined elsewhere and all joined either the RAAF or the army. Many served in the Territory and overseas.<sup>17</sup>

Another, Roy Goon, was born in Darwin on 22 September 1913 and later moved to Ballarat in Victoria before becoming the Chief Flying Instructor at the Victorian Aero Club in the 1930s. Despite a 1940 RAAF publication decreeing that “...all candidates [for the Empire Air Training Scheme] must be British subjects of pure European descent and also sons of parents both of whom are... British subjects”, Roy overcame the obstacles with a little help from a fellow club member and then Minister for Air Hon. James Fairbairn, and became a highly respected pilot

and leader. Commanding No. 83 Squadron RAAF and its Boomerang fighters at Gove and Mililingimbi, he was awarded a Mention In Dispatches, the citation for which read: “... these shipping patrols were particularly arduous. They necessitated long flights over the sea

in single-engined aircraft in all weathers.” As squadron CO he was responsible for 24 aircraft and 350 squadron personnel along with the Gove Fighter Sector, the chain of radar stations on the north coast and a communications and control centre, the construction of which he supervised. In between these duties he also managed to fly.<sup>18</sup>

Others served with distinction and many went on to become successful in business and civic affairs following the war. Harry Chan, born Hen Fook on 14 June 1918, enlisted in the army on 28 July 1941 and served in the Darwin area. He went on to become a successful businessman and accountant, a member of the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly and was twice elected as Darwin’s Lord Mayor.

### Chinatown’s demise

On 19 February 1942 the wait was over. Many of those who had remained after the earlier evacuations chose to leave Darwin and went south, some of them never to return. Many, including Chinese men, went as far as Adelaide River and enlisted there. Others, mostly women, weren’t so fortunate. Lee Ying lost her husband, a casual waterside worker, in the first raid and moved to Mossman with seven children, three with her name and four with her husband’s name, Cardona. She had only the £5 her husband had given her and no means of support.

As noted by Alan Powell in *The Shadow’s Edge*:

*“She heard no more of Cardona. His name was not on the list of dead...compiled by the Commonwealth Railways – but they knew only the names of the permanent men...not those of the ‘casuals’. In June 1942 the NT Administration abandoned the search for information. The later fate of Mrs Lee Ying and her seven children is unknown.”*<sup>19</sup>

The town was abandoned except for the military and a handful of essential personnel and while some buildings were used for accommodation others, including Chinatown, weren’t so fortunate. Materials for use in building defences, camps and airstrips along the north-south road were desperately needed and, with no one to claim ownership,

the destruction began. Syd James, a Leading Aircraftsman with the RAAF's 1 Mobile Works Squadron, was engaged on construction work at the roadside airstrips and recalled: "...one of our jobs...was to erect protection bays for the fighters. To make one of these bays, lots of sheets of galvanized iron were required."

Whenever time permitted they went into Darwin where:

*"Along with other crews we went collecting the iron off buildings that had been bombed...Any timber we could collect, was very useful for the frame to nail the iron onto... We also dug up an underground petrol tank along with the pipe need to make an oil spray unit...[to] oil the strip and keep the dust down. Many a night I've stood on the running board of the old truck (no idea where the truck came from) as it idled along [and] the oil sprayed out."*<sup>20</sup>

Long-time Territorian Reg Weston recalled similar foraging trips into Darwin: "My job was to build inserts for dispersal bays [at the airfields]...We got galvanized iron from abandoned buildings in Darwin, especially in the Chinatown area."<sup>21</sup>

Darwin also provided some comforts for those units at the remote camps and airstrips, where recreational material, furniture and the essentials to maintain squadron operations were in short supply. Most items were acquired via a 'Looting Chit' available from the Town Major stationed initially at Parap and later in the town. As a young Private with the USAAF, Ralph Boyce found out on his only trip to the town: "...after lengthy red tape [we] are given a slip permitting us to enter the city and to loot a certain abandoned furniture store of two desks..." Others merely walked in and stole what they wanted before vandalising the buildings.<sup>22</sup>

Boyce later walked through the town expressing dismay at the destruction, not all of which was the handiwork of the Japanese. Of all the attacks mounted by the Japanese against Darwin town only one, that of 26 October 1942, details damage to the Don Hotel and nearby buildings, although near misses with 60kg incendiary bombs were recorded, one narrowly missing the Tree of Knowledge.

In May 1942 Administrator Abbott, then based in Alice Springs, reported: "the citizens who...had to leave Darwin have lost everything, not through enemy action, but through the acts of Australian soldiers and civilians..." The Government Secretary, LHA Giles, added: "...the greater part of damage to buildings in Darwin has been caused by Army Units taking the iron off the roofs."<sup>23</sup> Fire caused most of the damage. On 11 March 1942 it was reported: "Down in the town a portion of Chinatown was ablaze but fortunately only one store was lost. The fire crews worked hard to prevent the fire from spreading to other tinder-dry shops..."<sup>24</sup>

A month later on 15 April, the Darwin Provost's War Diary reported that "Fire destroys Chinese Tailor's shop" and on 9 May the Yam Yan Co. premises were burnt out. In June the Fortress Commander reported a number of fires that may have been lit to cover up looting, and the vandalism and destruction of the remainder of Chinatown and parts of the European commercial area followed.

"Long before the end of the war," Alan Powell writes, "it became apparent that the army and the vandals vied for first place in the destruction of Darwin town; the Japanese came a distant third...in October 1945 there were only 171 habitable private homes [in Darwin]. The rest, including the whole of Chinatown, was gone."<sup>25</sup>

### Picking up the pieces

Following war's end many of the evacuees returned to pick up where they had left off – except for the Chinese. In the immediate postwar years, only some 75 per cent of those Chinese evacuated returned to Darwin, while most of the remainder had returned by the mid-1950s. But even when they returned they found the Commonwealth had resumed the town in 1946. There was nothing left of their previous lives, of Chinatown or their business premises and "...their old lifestyle was never resumed..." Chinatown was not rebuilt and only its ruins and the Don Hotel remained.<sup>26</sup>

The returning Europeans and Chinese pressed claims for compensation and many settlements went well into the 1950s, although many of the claims for lots in the former Chinatown appear to have been settled earlier. Lee Bing Kin on Lot 303 settled for £752.19.10 on 5 May 1947, while Chin Gong on Lot 304 accepted £2183.18.3 of his £3,500 claim on 13 August 1948. The estate of Lee Lim claimed £31,000 but settled for a quarter of that, £7,664.13.7. Chin Nam, Chin Ack Han and Wing Cheong Sing & Co. settled for £3,680.13.8 over Lot 307, Albert Fong Goon accepted 6,557.3.0 plus £650.0.0 insurance over Lot 401 on 30 November 1949, while a later settlement was recorded on 12 April 1951 when Chin Toy settled for £3,503.17.7 over Lot 402. Others dragged on, delayed by bureaucracy and the Commonwealth's plans for a modern Darwin.<sup>27</sup>

In 2016, 75 years following the first attack on Darwin and the start of Chinatown's destruction, all that remains of the old Chinatown are the 1880s stone houses constructed for Kwong Sue Duk, the Tree of Knowledge – now a part of the forecourt to the Darwin City Council Chambers – and the foundations to the original Sue Wah Chin building on the corner of Bennett and Cavenagh Streets. Scant remains of a once thriving enclave of Chinese who made Darwin their home and who contributed so much over generations.

## Notes

1. Northern Territory Times and Gazette. 10 October 1874.
2. Parsons, J. L. Government Resident's Report on Northern Territory for Year 1887. Report No. 95/98.
3. Correspondence, H. E. Carey to Mrs. Gilruth 18 May 1937. In Alcorta, Frank. Australia's Frontline. The Northern Territory's War. NT Government. 1991. (p. 5)
4. Ganter, Regina, with contribution by Martínez, Julia and Lee, Gary. Mixed relations: narratives of Asian/Aboriginal contact in North Australia. University of Western Australia Press. 2006.
5. <http://www.chungwahnt.asn.au/index.php?page=short-history> (accessed 14 December 2015)
6. <http://www.chungwahnt.asn.au/index.php?page=short-history> (accessed 16 December 2015)
7. Paterson, A. B. In the Sydney Morning Herald, 31 August 1901.
8. Powell, Alan. The Shadow's Edge Australia's Northern War. Melbourne University Press. 1988. (p. 9)
9. Ibid. (p. 10)
10. Southwell-Keely, T. Adelaide Advertiser. In the Northern Standard. 15 April 1938. (p. 5) Reproduced in full as Annexure.
11. Griffiths, Owen. Darwin Drama. Bloxham & Chambers. 1943. (pp. 28)
12. Ibid. (pp. 32-33)
13. Proclamation - Evacuation Order in The Northern Standard, 16 December 1941.
14. Powell. The Shadow's Edge. Op cit. (pp. 216-218)
15. Giese, Diana. Courage and Service. Chinese Australians and World War II. 1999. (p. 2)
16. Giese. Courage and Service. Op cit. (p. 2)
17. Australian War Memorial. Find a Person. WWII Nominal Roll.
18. See Loh, Morag and Winternitz, Judith (Ed.). Dinky-Di. The contributions of Chinese immigrants and Australians of Chinese descent to Australia's defence forces and war efforts 1899-1988. AGPS. 1989. (pp. 57-65) See also, Alford, Bob. Darwin's Air War. AHSNT. 2011. (p. 150)
19. Powell. The Shadow's Edge. Op cit. (p. 219)
20. Bower, Coleen. No. 1 Mobile Works Squadron. February 26th - October 6th 1942. An Oral History as Recalled by Frank Beale and Syd James. 1993. See also Alford. Darwin's Air War. 2011. Op cit. (pp. 44-45)
21. Alcorta. Australia's Frontline. Op cit. (p. 42)
22. Boyce, Ralph. Visit to Darwin - A Ghost Town. Extract from his diary. Copy held by the author.

*Raised in rural Victoria Bob Alford's interest in aviation stems from his father's involvement in early aviation and membership of the Victorian Aero Club in the 1930s, and the proximity of an active aerodrome near the family property, where Bob took gliding lessons and cadged flights in various aircraft types.*

*Bob served in the army briefly before joining the RAAF as an Armourer, serving 20 years in a variety of postings, including SE Asia. Following retirement in 1986 Bob and his family settled in Darwin where he undertook the location and documentation of aircraft crash sites and military sites throughout the Northern Territory. He wrote Darwin's Air War in 1991, followed it with an expanded version in 2010 and wrote Japanese Air Forces in the NWA 1942-1945 in 2011. He has also written many papers and has provided detailed historical information to a range of authors and organisations.*

23. Powell. The Shadow's Edge. Op cit. (p. 241)
24. Rayner, Robert. The Army and the Defence of Darwin Fortress. Rudder Press. 1995. (p. 250). See also Powell. Op cit. (pp. 236-241)
25. Ibid. Powell. (p. 241)
26. Powell. The Shadow's Edge. Op cit. (p. 241)
27. Wilson, Helen. The Historic Heart of Darwin. The Tin Bank, Chinatown, The Terminus Hotel and The Civic Centre. For NT History Awards Committee. 1994.

## References

### Published works

- Alcorta, Frank. Australia's Frontline. The Northern Territory's War. NT Government. 1991.
- Alford, Bob. Darwin's Air War. AHSNT. 2011.
- Bower, Coleen. No. 1 Mobile Works Squadron. February 26th - October 6th 1942. An Oral History as Recalled by Frank Beale and Syd James. 1993.
- Ganter, Regina, with contribution by Martínez, Julia and Lee, Gary. Mixed relations: narratives of Asian/Aboriginal contact in North Australia. University of Western Australia Press. 2006.
- Giese, Diana. Courage and Service. Chinese Australians and World War II. 1999.
- Giese, Diana. Beyond Chinatown. National Library of Australia. 1995.
- Griffiths, Owen. Darwin Drama. Bloxham & Chambers. 1943.
- Jones, Timothy, G. The Chinese in the Northern Territory. CDU Press. 2005.
- Loh, Morag and Winternitz, Judith (Ed.). Dinky-Di. The contributions of Chinese immigrants and Australians of Chinese descent to Australia's defence forces and war efforts 1899-1988. AGPS. 1989.
- Parsons, J. L. Government Resident's Report on Northern Territory for Year 1887. Report No. 95/98.
- Powell, Alan. The Shadow's Edge Australia's Northern War. Melbourne University Press. 1988.
- Powell, Alan. Far Country. A Short History of the Northern Territory. Melbourne University Press. 1982.
- Rayner, Robert. The Army and the Defence of Darwin Fortress. Rudder Press. 1995.
- See-Kee, Charles. Chinese Contribution to Early Darwin. Occasional Papers No 3. Northern Territory Library Service. 1987.

### Unpublished works

- Alford, Bob. The Japanese In Northern Australia. 1942-1944. 2011.
- Eddy, Nancy. Darwin town 1936-41. Annotated plan. 1989.
- Wilson, Helen. The Historic Heart of Darwin. The Tin Bank, Chinatown, The Terminus Hotel and The Civic Centre. For NT History Awards Committee. 1994.
- Newspapers, Magazines and Diaries
- Boyce, Ralph. Visit to Darwin - A Ghost Town. Extract from his diary. Northern Standard. Proclamation - Evacuation Order. 16 December 1941.

- Northern Territory Times and Gazette. 10 October 1874.
- Paterson, A. B. 'Banjo'. The Sydney Morning Herald, 31 August 1901.
- Southwell-Keely, T. Adelaide Advertiser. In the Northern Standard. 15 April 1938.

### Internet sites

- Australian War Memorial. Find a Person. WWII Nominal Roll.
- <http://www.chungwahnt.asn.au/index.php?page=short-history> (accessed 14 December 2015)
- <http://www.chungwahnt.asn.au/index.php?page=short-history> (accessed 16 December 2015)

