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Chinese Graves at the General Protestant Cemetery, St. John's

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Abstract

Arriving at the turn of the 20th century, immigrant Chinese men in St. John's faced unique challenges and barriers. At the General Protestant Cemetery in St. John's, a small grouping of headstones tells a portion of their story. Using burial markers and records, as well as primary and secondary sources, this article explores the history behind these burials.

Introduction

The General Protestant Cemetery is located between Waterford Bridge Road and Old Topsail Road in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador. The cemetery has been in use since 1842, with the first burial noted to be that of John Butt on 15 May 1842. Although the cemetery is primarily used and intended for Protestant burials for those of the Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, and United Churches, it also contains plots for those of several different faiths. This includes followers of the Salvation Army, Judaism, Buddhism, and Taoism, as well as Muslims, who have maintained a section specifically devoted to those of that faith since 1991.¹

In the 1940s plots became scarce, so the main cemetery for those of Protestant faith shifted to Mount Pleasant Cemetery on Hamilton Avenue.² Although the General Protestant Cemetery is still in use today, there are very few remaining available plots, and those that remain are mainly family-owned.

Entering from the North through the main Old Topsail Road entrance, and moving down through the cemetery to the East,

observers will note that in one section the predominantly English inscriptions on the headstones shift into a mix of English and Chinese. The earliest grave is that of Lee Sop (Marker 26), who died 8 April 1922; the most recent grave is that of Jack Chong (Marker 1), who died 12 October 1942. The Chinese section of the General Protestant Cemetery is small, with only 27 graves, and is incorporated into the larger body of the cemetery without any special demarcation. It is in many ways unremarkable at first glance, but this small burying ground can provide a fascinating window into an oft-overlooked part of Newfoundland and Labrador's early 20th century history.

"Unlike most histories, graveyards record the lives of all, signify past existences, and recognize one commonality of us all. The history of rich and poor, famous and infamous alike, is recorded here," writes cemetery preservationist Lynette Strangstad.³ The Chinese graves of the General Protestant Cemetery are no exception to this: they record the lives and deaths of those who have been largely ignored by history, and those whose stories are now infamous.

Fieldwork

The grave markers examined for this study are located in Sections 22 and 23 of the General Protestant Cemetery, according to the burial records held at the Mount Pleasant Cemetery Office. Section 23 is composed of graves from the 1920s while Section 22 contains most of the later graves (from 1935-1942).

On 22 June 2016, six staff of the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador visited the General Protestant Cemetery on Waterford Bridge Road, St. John's, as part of the foundation's renewed programs to better explore and demonstrate the link between built heritage and intangible cultural heritage. This brief visit was to review the cemetery site, find the Chinese graves section, and note what supplies would be needed for the follow-up visit. Two weeks later, on 4 July 2016, Terra Barrett, Celeste Billung-Meyer, Sarah Hannon, Dale Jarvis, Michael Philpott, and Li Xingpei returned to the site to uncover further information about the Chinese graves through cemetery mapping, recording the gravestone information, and rubbing selected stones.

The group measured the location of the 27 graves in the Chinese section of the graveyard in relation to one another and to the concrete kerbs that surround several of the graves (Fig. 1). Michael then plotted this information on a map with each of the graves numbered.

Celeste and Sarah focused on recording the English information written on the graves as well as their material, religious symbols, and condition, leaving the Chinese characters for Xingpei to decipher (Appendix A).

Xingpei and Terra reviewed the stones and decided which stones needed to be rubbed in order to gather more information. They put tracing paper over the gravestones, using masking tape to keep it taut in order to have a clear rubbing of the grave. Then they used charcoal to outline the gravestone, and moved across the gravestone horizontally, keeping a steady pressure (Fig. 2). The rubbings were then photographed and kept for storage. Although rubbings are not always the answer for gravestone transcription, they often allow for the recording of different information such as the size and shape, and sometimes allow one to better decipher worn lettering.

Following the initial trip to the graveyard, both Terra and Xingpei completed follow-up trips in order to gather more information and update the records of the graves. They also made a visit to the Mount Pleasant Cemetery Office on 26 July 2016 to review the burial records for the Chinese graves. Although this information was not up-to-date or complete, there was some extra information found that did not appear on the gravestones themselves.

A total of 27 grave locations, concrete kerbs, and a number of marker fragments were identified and mapped (Fig. 3). Aside from the Chinese characters, the markers are relatively unremarkable. The majority of the graves range from 19-39" high, 12-18" wide, and 1.5-4" thick and are upright headstones.

There are three notable exceptions. The most recent marker is a memorial stone erected by the Chinese community in

memory of the friends and relatives (Fig. 4; Marker 25). This stone was erected in 1988 and is notably wider than the rest of the stones at 32." The other two exceptions are sculpture style stones which are laid flat and resemble an open book (Fig. 5; Markers 6 and 27). These stones are 2" high, 17" wide and range from 13-16" thick. Both stones use one side of the book for the English inscription and the other for the Chinese.

Two headstones are missing (Markers 7 and 22), two more are cracked off from the base and laid down over the grave (Markers 15 and 16), and three have been cracked off near the bottom (Markers 13, 18, and 20). Two of the stones that have cracked near the bottom show signs of concrete or some other fixative which seems to have been used as an adhesive (Fig. 6). A third stone which is cracked and laid flat on the plot also has signs of an attempted repair to the bottom. The bottom left-hand side of the cemetery map records six fragment pieces. These appear to be at least three or four stones in varying condition. All of them are cracked - either in half or at the base (Fig. 7). The other misplaced headstone is one of the book sculptures. This is Marker 27 on the map, and it has been placed behind Markers 9 and 10. It is unclear where this stone was originally meant to lie. The measurements suggest it could fit in Marker 7, right next to the other open book sculpture (Marker 6).

There are concrete kerbs surrounding most of the Chinese part of Section 22. Two of the four-sided kerbs on Markers 1 and 11 are cracked, and the kerbs are shifting out of place. The graves of Markers 2, 6, and 7 have four-sided kerbs for the individual graves. Markers 3, 4, and 5 are located in a group kerb. In Section 23, Markers 13 through 19 have both a head kerb and a foot kerb, while Markers 20 to 24 only have a head kerb. The oldest grave among the Chinese stones is Marker 26 (Fig. 8), which is to the bottom left of the two lines of graves found in Sections 22 and 23. This grave has a kerb around all four sides.

There is only one tree amongst the Chinese graves; a maple tree found in Marker 11. Whether or not the tree was planted intentionally, it has become quite large and the roots have cracked the concrete kerb surrounding the grave. There is also a smaller maple tree found in the grave behind Markers 1 to 3, while Markers 15 to 17 are shaded by a large maple in the plot beyond their own.

Language and Names

"Dead men may tell no tales, but their tombstones do," writes Douglas Keister.⁴ True to this, the Chinese tombstones of the General Protestant Cemetery have many tales to tell: from stories of kinship, settlement, and community building, to tales of hardship, prejudice, and even murder.

While text is sparse on the tombstones, the information they contain offers up intriguing clues to the history of Chinese settlement in Newfoundland. Inscriptions reveal that those interred in the cemetery were from Guangdong (Kwangtung or Canton), a southern province in China, where the mother tongue is Cantonese. This language has a very different system of pronunciation in comparison to Standard Chinese (Modern Standard Mandarin or simply Mandarin), the official language of People's Republic of China. More specifically, those buried in the graveyard spoke a type of Cantonese called the Siyi 四邑 dialect. Thus, the romanization of their Chinese names is different from Pinyin, the official romanization system for Standard Chinese.

Heritage Foundation of NL field researcher Li Xingpei notes:

As a northern Chinese, I can only speak Mandarin and the dialect in my hometown, so it is very difficult for me to recognize the romanized names on the headstones. Fortunately, the writing system of Chinese is shared by almost all the Chinese dialects, so I can read the Chinese words in the inscriptions.

The Chinese characters used on the headstones are traditional Chinese characters, which are different from the simplified ones promoted in the 1950s and used today. Those buried were born between 1878 (Marker 21) and 1921 (Marker 3), and would not have known or used simplified Chinese characters.

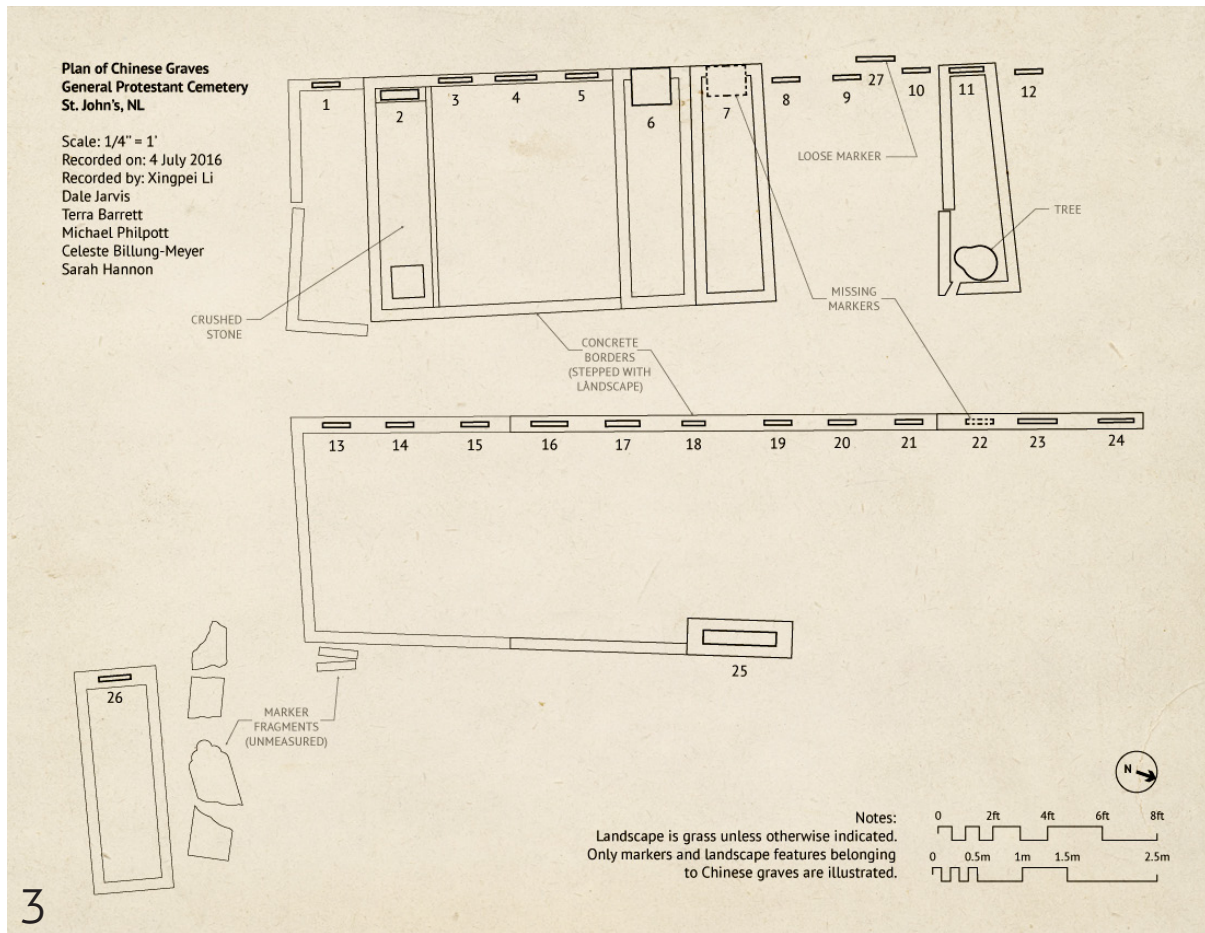


Fig 1 Celeste Billing-Meyer and Dale Jarvis measure the location of the Chinese graves in the General Protestant Cemetery while Michael Philpott draws the map (photo by Terra Barrett, 2016). • **Fig 2** Terra Barrett demonstrating how to rub gravestones with charcoal (photo by Michael Philpott, 2016). • **Fig 3** Plan of Chinese Graves, General Protestant Cemetery, St. John's, NL (Map by Michael Philpott, 2016). • **Fig 4** Memorial marker erected by the Chinese community in memory of all those friends and relatives who have come before, 1988 (photo by Terra Barrett, 2016). • **Fig 5** Open book headstone or marker 6 (photo by Terra Barrett, 2016). • **Fig 6** Signs of fixative found on marker 13 (photo by Terra Barrett, 2016). • **Fig 7** Cracked fragments of Chinese graves (photo by Terra Barrett, 2016). • **Fig 8** Marker 26 the oldest grave in the Chinese section (photo by Terra Barrett, 2016). • **Fig 9** Hong King's headstone, marker 11. VA 15b-55.5 (Photographs by Marshall Studio, Newfoundland Tourist Development Board photograph collection, The Rooms Archives). • **Fig 10** Markers 1 through 5. Marker 1 is the grave of Jack Chong. Name noted as Jack Chinese on his burial record. VA 15b-55.6. (Photographs by Marshall Studio, Newfoundland Tourist Development Board photograph collection, The Rooms Archives).



One of the most difficult pieces of information to interpret is the romanized names of those buried. Generally, romanized names should literally match the Chinese names in terms of both pronunciation and order. In China, the family name (or surname) is stated before an individual's given name. For example, Marker 2 records the name 熊華章, or in English, Hong Wah Chong. This also applies to Markers 3, 5, 12, and 17. However, there are other cases in which the Chinese and romanized names do not match. It is unknown how these individuals got these romanized names, and sometimes it is impossible to discern the correct name order. It can be inferred that the selection of Anglicized names was to make their names more recognizable and pronounceable to the primarily English-speaking population of St. John's. In some cases, it appears they used English nicknames, such as Jim, Jack, or Charlie.

There are some mistakes and omissions in the burial records when compared to the inscriptions on the headstones. For example, in the case of Hong King 熊奕渠 (Fig. 9; Marker 11), the burial record indicates that King is his surname, which is incorrect. A similar mistake can be found with Hong Yuen 熊寅 (Marker 19), where Hong should be listed as his surname. Instead, in the official burial record, Hong is recorded as his given name. These mistakes are likely due to the cultural differences in the placement of surnames and first names in Chinese and English. One burial is simply noted as being that of "Jack Chinese" - likely that of the person with the name "Jack Chong" inscribed on his headstone (Fig 10; Marker 1). It should be noted that this is not the actual name of the buried.

Based on the information provided by these burial records and inscriptions, names can be roughly divided into two groups:

1. Romanized Chinese names, which are exactly translated according to their pronunciations, and which appear in the same surname/given name order as Chinese names.
2. Anglicized Chinese names, which use a combination of English nicknames or mismatched spellings, such as Cong, Lim, or Pa, and which follow the order of English given name/surname.

THE CLAN OF OUE

Marker #	Family name	Full name	Hometown
4	區	區庭照 / Tong Lee	廣東開平東湖里
8	區	區德?/	廣東開平東湖
10	區	區連?	廣東開平東湖
17	區	區鶴寿 / Oue Hick Chew	廣東開邑東湖
21	區	區?	
23	區	區淮霖 / Cong Lim	廣東開平
24	區	區換照 / Jim Lee	廣東開平東湖里

Hometown

The hometowns of these individuals are only recorded in the Chinese inscriptions on their headstones. Hometowns are a necessary part of the biographical information recorded on Chinese graves, regardless where one was from or where one lived. For Chinese immigrants, sharing a hometown was one of the most important ways for them to connect with one another. In particular, Chinese immigrants during the first wave of immigration (from the late 19th century to 1949) arrived alone and without family members. A shared hometown might be the only relationship to others in the Chinese community, and could sometimes indicate a shared kinship. Some villages and towns in China were constituted of people with surnames of the same clan, and so were related biologically to each other by different degrees.

Based upon the 21 hometowns indicated in the gravestone inscriptions, those buried are from three counties in the Guangdong province: Kaiping 開平 (eleven graves), Taishan 台山 (nine graves), and Enping 恩平 (one grave). To be specific, in the group of Kaiping, five inscriptions indicate that these men are even from the same neighborhood of Donghu 東湖. Moreover, of the eleven men from Kaiping 開平, seven of them have the same family name of Oue 區. Of the nine men from Taishan 台山, five have the same family name of Hong 熊。

The region of Siyi 四邑 (which means four counties) in Guangdong province includes Kaiping 開平, Taishan 台山, Enping 恩平, and Xinhui 新會, and is known as the hometown region of many overseas Chinese around the world. The town of Chikan 赤坎 in Kaiping 開平 has a population of 46,000, but there are 90,000 overseas Chinese who are from this town⁵. There is even a village in this town called Canada Village, because buildings in this village were mainly constructed by Chinese Canadians in the 1920s and 1930s.⁶

The “Registration of Persons of Chinese Race Admitted into The Colony of Newfoundland under the Provisions of The Chinese Immigration Act” notes that between 4 June 1910 and 26 March 1949,⁷ all Chinese immigrants were from Guangdong, and about 90% of them from the area of Siyi 四邑^{8,9}.

One of the reasons behind this phenomenon is the mode of immigration known as “chain immigration” in which those living overseas would sponsor their family members, relatives or fellow countrymen for immigration. Most of those who arrived in the first wave of immigration were working in Chinese laundries, which needed a lot of labour. It would be rare for someone to sponsor a stranger to come work for them, and therefore almost all the Chinese in the early stage of immigration were linked by region of origin or kinship.¹⁰

Fig. 11 5 Bates Hill location of the Tai Mei Club in St. John's, NL (photo # 26-01-181. A2003-010, Planning Department Collection, City of St. John's Archives).
Fig. 12 Four police officers outside Jim Lee Laundry on Carter's Hill, St. John's, NL (photo # 01-13-004. A1993-022, Magone Collection, City of St. John's Archives).



Probably due to both the large group of fellow countrymen and the absence of family members, especially their wives, overseas Chinese established some groups for themselves to help each other, mainly based on the region of origin. In St. John's, there were two Chinese clan associations¹¹ founded in the 1920s and 1930s.¹² Both had their own locations for gatherings and other social and leisure purposes. One was the Tai Mei Club (自治会) located at 5 Bates Hill in St. John's, for those from Kaiping 開平 with the surname of Oue (Fig. 11). The other was the Hong Hang Society (同乡会) for people from Taishan 台山. These clan associations may have played an important role in the erection of some of the headstones of their community members. An example of this can be found in the burial record for the grave of Hong King 熊奕渠 (Marker 11), whose headstone was erected by the Hong Hang Society 同乡会.

Neither of these associations exists today. Instead, the Chinese Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, founded in 1976, hosts community events such as the Chinese New Year dinner and dance and an annual family fun day.¹³

Gender and Age

Judging by the names on the gravestones, it seems that none of those buried here are female. As Mu Li notes, "during the fifty-odd years between the first arrival of Chinese to Newfoundland in 1895 and Confederation with Canada in 1949, there was only one Chinese woman who lived in the colony."¹⁴ Most of the Chinese immigrants arriving in Canada during this time were men working to support their families back home. Regardless if they had wives in China, they lived as bachelors in their new communities. Female family members usually remained in China, and did not begin to immigrate until much later.

There are twenty individuals whose ages are legible on their headstones. The average age of death is 37.5 years old. The oldest man, Tong Lee (Marker 4), was born in 1873 and died at the age of 67. The youngest men were Oue Hick Chew (born in 1903) and Kung Yuen Shing (born in 1921) (Markers 17 and 3). Both were 19 years old when they died. According to the document "Registration of Persons of Chinese Race Admitted into The Colony of Newfoundland under the Provisions of The Chinese Immigration Act" the average age of those entering the province was 24 years old. The age range was between 10 and 52 years old.¹⁵

In the 1910s and 1920s there were a number of children between the ages of 11 to 18 who entered Newfoundland to work as laundrymen. In the years that followed, most of the children in this age group were registered as scholars.

Life for Chinese Immigrants in St. John's

Immigrants from various backgrounds began arriving in Newfoundland and Labrador in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The largest communities were Chinese, Lebanese, and Jewish. Although their influence may not be as visible today, each left their mark on the community and the culture. Walking through St. John's, you can still find the locations of former immigrant-owned laundries, shops, and photography studios.¹⁶

Immigration in Newfoundland during the early 20th century was steady until Confederation in 1949.¹⁷ Unlike Canada, Newfoundland did not have a tax for Chinese immigrants, making it an appealing location. Immigrants would land in Vancouver and travel across the country, accompanied by police officers, until they boarded a boat destined for the island.¹⁸

This all changed in 1906 with the passing of two acts: "An Act to regulate the Law with regard to Aliens" and "An Act respecting the Immigration of Chinese Persons." These acts ended the "open door" attitude towards immigration, and included a description of undesirable immigrants. This included those who were suffering from financial, physical, mental, or criminal debility. Any individuals who met this criteria could be excluded entry or deported from the country.

These acts also introduced a Head Tax of \$300 per Chinese individual immigrating to Newfoundland.^{19, 20} The decision to introduce the tax stemmed from a fear of differing cultures, and the fear of job loss for local Newfoundlanders. From 1906 to 1949, over 300 individuals were forced to pay the tax. It was abolished following Confederation.

The first known Chinese immigrant to the St. John's area was Choy Fong in 1894. Choy Fong opened a laundry in the city, and after a time wrote to his relatives in China to join him. Shortly after their arrival, they opened laundry businesses of their own. In fact, a majority of the Chinese immigrants to Newfoundland in this pre-Confederation period opened hand laundries.²¹

Doing laundry during this time period was a physically intensive process, done predominantly by women in their homes. Their reasonable prices and ability to handle higher volumes of laundry meant the Chinese hand laundries were quite popular from 1895 until well into the 1960s.²² Laundry owners were often successful enough that they were able to pay the Head Tax, allowing them to sponsor family members and other relatives to immigrate to Newfoundland. Sponsored individuals would then work for a couple of years, for free, in their sponsor's laundry until the debt was paid.

These hand laundries were often dangerous places to work. The work was grueling, and there were a number of fires in the businesses. Both Hong Wah Chong (Marker 2) and Kung Yuen Shing (Marker 3) died on 31 December 1940 in a laundry fire.





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Fig. 13 Wo Fen Game (A 2-115, Department of Justice and Defence Fonds, The Rooms Archives). • **Fig. 14** View of the corner of Barron Street and Casey Street with the Chinese laundry, Hop Wah and Company Laundry, to the left (photo # 01-12-003. A1993-021, Kenney Collection, City of St. John's Archives). • **Fig. 15** Eng Wing Kit in his coffin (photo # 01-21-003. A2002-030, Jack Fitzgerald Collection, City of St. John's Archives).

Many Chinese immigrants died young, both in fires and under mysterious circumstances. One example is the murder of three Chinese immigrants which took place in the Jim Lee Laundry on Carter's Hill (formerly Murray Street), St. John's on 3 May 1922 (Fig. 12). Hong Kim Hi (Marker 14), Hong Leon (Marker 15), and So Ho Ki were shot and killed by Wo Fen Game, who also wounded Hong Wing before trying to kill himself (Fig. 13). Wo Fen Game was a former employee of the laundry. The murders were committed as a result of wage and employment issues, and a family feud stretching back to their families in China.²³ After a trial, Wo Fen Game was convicted of murder and hanged on 16 December 1922.

Hong Yeun (Marker 19) is also mentioned in the trial for Wo Fen Game. He was a partner in the Hop Wah Laundry on Casey Street (Fig. 14), one of the locations of the Wo Fen Game murder case.²⁴

Jim Lee (Marker 24), who owned the laundry where the murder took place, seems to have been the victim of racism and robberies in the early 1900s. His laundry was robbed at least twice, including an incident in 1908 where he was severely beaten by two boys, who then stole the money in his till. The boys claimed they reacted in self defence when Lee attacked them with a knife, and they denied stealing the money.

Just a year earlier, in 1907, a nine-year-old boy was charged (and found guilty) with stealing cash and a watch from Jim Lee's laundry. The newspaper of the day included notice of the case, and the following bit of doggerel:

"Three Chinamen appeared at court,
Amongst the motly throng,
And the following names did sport,
Jim Lee, Kim Lee, and Lee Fong."²⁵

This type of crime against Chinese immigrants was not unusual. Tong Lee (Marker 4) ran a laundry on Prescott Street.

In 1904, the windows of his establishment were smashed with stones, thrown by several local boys:

TEASING THE CHINAMAN - The bad boys of Prescott Street are beginning to tease Mr. Tong Lee, the Chinese laundry man lately established there. Saturday night they broke his windows with stones. The police were notified to-day. Tong's cousin arrived by the *Bruce* yesterday.²⁶

There are several other descriptions in local newspapers of the time of robberies, physical attacks, and verbal assaults on Chinese immigrants, as well as instances of Chinese men being arrested for robbery, and assault.

Additionally, there were reports of influenza and several deaths associated with the disease in the community. A city Medical Health Officer, Inspector O'Brien, wrote a report in 1906 documenting the living conditions of Chinese immigrants. The report discussed open sewers, a lack of water, and festering garbage found in Chinese laundries.²⁷ A second newspaper article, written about Kim Lee and Tom Lee and a New Gower Street laundry, stated their protest against the Health Inspector's report. They said that they did not live in crowded rooms, were well ordered, clean, and had well sanitized living conditions.²⁸ In 1920, a private citizen wrote in the *Evening Herald* that he opposed the opening of Chinese laundries in his area, due to the frequency of fires and the danger they posed to the buildings around them.²⁹

Being unable to speak English would certainly have caused a great deal of confusion for new immigrants, leading to misunderstandings with local officials. There are several instances where a Chinese community member acted as a translator for a friend or family member during legal proceedings. For example, when Jim Lee was robbed in 1907, he took Tong Lee with him to the police station, to act as a translator.³⁰

While not all of the names of those buried in the Chinese section of the graveyard appear in the newspapers, those that do are often not in a positive light. These men dealt with poor living conditions, racism, robberies, assault, and murder, and were charged with various crimes. Overall, the early 20th century seems to have been a very difficult time for Chinese immigrants in St. John's.

There was a second mysterious murder in the Chinese community in July 1938. Eng Wing Kit (Fig. 15; Marker 6), also known as Charlie Wing Kit or Check Yen, died on the night of 3 July 1938. He was found the next morning in the kitchen of his restaurant, the Regal Café, in St. John's. He was hanging from a rope that had been tied to an iron bar, suspended between the stove and a counter. His face and forehead showed signs of abrasions, and there was a cut across his throat.³¹ The police investigation resulted in a mass questioning of the entire Chinese community, but due to the belief that Eng Wing Kit had been killed by a Chinese secret society, or "tong," many members of the community were uncooperative.³² Finally, leaders in the community banded together and encouraged anyone who had information to come forward, promising them protection if they did so.³³ This eventually led to the arrest of one suspect, Quang John Shang, but weak witness testimony resulted in a verdict of "not guilty," and he was released.³⁴ To date, the case is considered unsolved.

Conclusion

Strangstad notes cemeteries are open museums, and individual tombstones are irreplaceable historical documents. She writes, "The ready accessibility of these museums allows all of us, not only historians, to view, to appreciate, to study these documents, to enjoy their artwork, to learn of our own history. They are invaluable educational tools through which we can teach our history to new generations, through which we can impart a sense of our historic past."³⁵

The Chinese graves of the General Protestant Cemetery are a perfect example of this. They stand today as a tangible part of our cultural landscape and remind us of the lives of the Newfoundland Chinese immigrant community in the early 20th century. While they speak of family, of clan associations and hard work, they are also reminders of hardship, racism, and the challenges encountered by new immigrants.

These echos from Newfoundland's past continue to have resonance today. In our contemporary society, issues around immigration and race are often at the forefront of daily conversation and political discourse. A better understanding of the complexities of our past may, hopefully, allow us to have more meaningful discussions about how we got to where we are today, and where we aim to be tomorrow.

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Endnotes

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8. Li, Mu. *Wanderers between Cultural Boundaries: Exploring the Individual Expressions of Chineseness in Newfoundland*. 2014. <http://research.library.mun.ca/8192/1/thesis.pdf>. (St. John's, NL) 51.
9. This document also indicates that more than 90% of Chinese immigrants were working as laundrymen. In 1910s, there were only three exceptions: 1 student, 2 cooks.
10. Li 50.
11. Clan association 同乡会 is a group organization for Chinese who work or study out of their hometowns. It does not only happen among overseas Chinese, but also in China. In Beijing, the capital of China, or other big cities, there used to be many groups like this. The properties of these groups are often called XX (the name of the provinces, cities, towns, etc.) guild hall (XX会馆).
12. Li 86.
13. Chinese Association of Newfoundland and Labrador. www.canl.ca/index.php
14. Li 59.
15. "Registration of Persons of Chinese Race Admitted into The Colony of Newfoundland under the Provisions of The Chinese Immigration Act 6 EDW. VII CAP 2, June 4, 1910 to March 26, 1949." St. John's, Newfoundland. <http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/compoundobject/collection/chinese/id/396/rec/1>
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31. Fitzgerald 83.
32. Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador 270.
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35. Strangstad 12.

Our Mission

HFNL was established in 1984 to promote, preserve and protect the built heritage of the province. In 2008, HFNL was chosen to be the agency that would implement the province's ICH Strategy. Our mission is to safeguard and sustain the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Newfoundland and Labrador for present and future generations everywhere, as a vital part of the identities of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, and as a valuable collection of unique knowledge and customs.

APPENDIX

MARKER #	INSCRIBED ENGLISH NAME	CHINESE NAME	HOMETOWN	DATE OF DEATH	AGE	INSCRIPTION / TRANSLATION
1	Jack Chong	鄭長業	廣東台山海晏佑村	12 October 1942	46	JACK CHONG /鄭長業墳，廣東台山海晏佑村，终于民國卅一年十月十二日巳時，享寿四十六歲。 [The grave of Jack Chong, who was from Haiyanyou, Taishan, Guangdong and died in the morning of 12 Oct.1942,at the age of 46.]
2	Hong Wah Chong	熊華章	廣東台山縣聯安市	31 December 1940	24	HONG WAH CHONG AGED 24 YEARS DIED DEC. 31 1940/熊華章君墓，生于廣東台山縣聯安市，终于一年四零年十二月卅一日。 [The grave of Hong Wah Chong, who was born in Lianan, Taishan, Guangdong and died in 31 Dec.1940.]
3	KUNG YUEN SHING	龔遠勝	廣東恩平縣	31 December 1940	19	KUNG YUEN SHING AGED 19 YEARS DIED DEC. 31 1940/龔公遠勝墓，廣東恩平縣人，享寿拾九歲，终于民國廿九年十二月卅一日。 [The grave of Kung Yuen Shing, who was from Enping,Guangdong and died at the age of 19, in 31 Dec.1940.]
4	Tong Lee	區庭照	廣東開平東湖里	16 July 1940	67	TONG LEE DIED JULY 16th 1940 AGED 67 YEARS/區公庭照之墓，廣東開平東湖里人，终于民國二十九年七月十六日，享寿六十七歲。 [The grave of Tong Lee,who was from Donghuli,Kaiping, Guangdong and died in 16 July 1940, at the age of 67.]
5	Wong Yee Fung	黃義逢	廣東開平縣	21 November 1939	45	WONG YEE FUNG AGED 45 YEARS DIED NOV. 21 - 1939/黃公義逢墓，廣東開平縣人，享寿四十歲，终于民國廿八年十一月廿一日。 [The grave of Wong Yee Fung, who was from Kaiping, Guangdong and died at the age of 49 in 21 Nov.1939.]
6	ENG WING KIT	吳榮傑	廣東開平縣第六區大迳？洞	3 July 1938	35	ENG WING KIT DIED JULY 3 1938 AGED 35 YEARS/吳君榮傑之墓，廣東開平縣第六區大迳？洞。 [The grave of Eng Wing Kit, who was from Da?dong,6th district, Kaiping, Guangdong.]
7	MISSING					
8	Pa Chew	區德照	廣東開平東湖	4 February 1937	39	PA CHEW DIED FEB. 4th 1937 AGED 39 YEARS/區德照君墓，廣東開平東湖人，终于一九三七年二月四日，享寿三十九歲。 [The grave of Pa Chew, who was from Donghu,Kaiping,Guangdong and died in 4 Feb.1937 at the age of 39.]
9	Charlie Yee	余發和	廣東台山	29 October 1935	40	IN MEMORY OF CHARLIE YEE DIED OCT 29th 1935 AGED 40 YEARS/余發和君墳墓，廣東台山人，终于一九三五年十月二十九日，享寿四十。 [The grave of Charlie Yee, who was from Taishan, Guangdong and died in 29 Oct.1935 at the age of 40.]
10	Tie Lee	區連齊？	廣東開平東湖	21 October 1935	37	TIE LEE DIED OCT 21ST 1935 AGED 37 YEARS/區連齊？君墓，廣東開平東湖人，终于一九三五年十月廿一日，享寿三十七歲。 [The grave of Tie Lee, who was from Donghu, Kaiping, Guangdong and died in 21 Oct.1935 at the age of 37.]
11	Hong King	熊奕渠	廣東台山大光里	28 February 1935	30	IN MEMORY OF HONG KING DIED FEB 28TH 1935 AGED 30 YEARS/熊奕渠之墓，廣東台山大光里，终于民國廿四年二月廿五日，享寿三十歲（同鄉會立）。 [The grave of Hong King, who was from Daguangli, Taishan and died in 25 Feb. 1935 at the age of 30.(Erected by the Association of Townsmen)]
12	Hong Dean Shing	熊進盛		27 October 1935	40	HONG DEAN SHING DIED OCT 27TH 1935/進盛熊公墓，享寿四十歲，终于民國二十四年十二月廿七日。 [The grave of Hong Dean Shing, who died at the age of 40 in 27 Oct.1935]
13			County of Hoi Ping/ 開平縣			BORN IN COUNTY OF HOI PING CHINA
14	Hong Kim		County of Sin Ing	May 3 1922	36	IN LOVING MEMORYHONG KIMDIED MAY 3 1922 AGED 36 YEARSBORN IN COUNTY OF SIN ING CHINA
15	Hong Leon		County of Sin Ing	May 3 1922	34	IN LOVINGMEMORY OFHONG LEONDIED MAY 3, 1922 AGED 34 YEARS BORN IN COUNTY OF SIN ING CHINA
16	Lee Lournd	李柒	廣東台山	15 May 1922	34	LEE LOURND DIED MAY 15TH 1922 AGED 34 YEARS/李柒君之墓，终于民國十一年五月十五日，享寿？歲。 [The grave of Lee Lournd,who died in 15 May 1922 at the age of ?]
17	Oue Hick Chew	區鶴壽	廣東開邑東湖里	20 July 1922	19	IN LOVING MEMORY OF OUE HICK CHEW DIED JULY 20TH 1922 AGED 19 YEARS/廣東省開邑僑民名鶴壽區公坟，终于民國十一年七月二十，享寿十九歲，東湖里人。 [The grave of Oue Hick Chew,an immigrant from Donghuli,Kaiyi,Guangdong province, who died in20 July 1922 at the age of 19.]
18	MISSING					
19	Hong Yuen	熊寅奕？	廣東台山	27 November 1924	45	IN MEMORY OF HONG YUEN DIED NOV. 27 1924 AGED 45 YEARS/廣東台山僑民？名寅熊公墓，享寿四十五歲，终于？年十一月廿柒。 [The grave of Hong Yuen,an immigrant from Taishan, Guangdong, who died at the age of 45 in ?27 Nov.1927]
20						
21	Lin Sun	區？	廣東開平	16 May 1925	47	IN MEMORY OF LIN SUN DIED MAY 16 1925 AGED 47 YEARS/廣東開平僑民？區公墓，终于？年五月十六？
22	MISSING					
23	Cong Lim	區淮霖	廣東開平	10 July 1929	22	CONG LIM DIED JULY 10 1929 AGED 22 YEARS CANTON CHINA/廣東開平淮霖區公坟，享寿二十二歲，终于民國十八年七月十日。 [The grave of Cong Lim,who was from Kaiping, Guangdong and died at the age of 22 in 10 July 1929.]
24	Jim Lee	區煥照	廣東開平東湖里	1 June 1933	51	JIM LEE DIED JUNE 1ST 1939 AGED 51 YEARS/區公？照之墓，廣東開平東湖里人，终于民國廿二年六月一日，享寿五十一歲。 [The grave of Jim Lee,who was from Donghuli, Kaiping, Guangdong and died in 1 June 1939 at the age of 51.]
25						ERECTED BY THE CHINESE COMMUNITY IN MEMORY OF ALL THOSE FRIENDS AND RELATIVES WHO HAVE GONE BEFORE 1988/華僑公墓，華協會立。
26	Lee Sop		廣東省台山	8 April 1922		IN LOVING MEMORY OF LEE SOP DIED APRIL 8TH 1922 AGED/廣東省台山僑民？公坟？。 [The grave of ?, who is from Taishan, Guangdong.]
27	Lee Dep	李洽	廣東省開平第六區龍頭	30 July 1937	33	IN MEMORY OF LEE DEP DIED JULY 30 1930 AGED 33 YEARS/廣東開平李洽先生 第六區龍頭。 [The grave of Lee Dep, who is from 6th District,Kaiping, Guangdong.]

THREE FRAGMENTED STONES

CHIN CHEW			14 August 1922	42
GONG KEE				
TOM YEE SING	譚如星		15 May 1929	35