

Attachment C

**Hector Abrahams Architects - Heritage
Assessment Report - 90-100 Hay Street**

90-100 Hay Street, Haymarket

Heritage Assessment

Final Version 1.2
19 July 2024



for City of Sydney
by Hector Abrahams Architects

Acknowledgment of Country

We acknowledge the Gadigal and Wiradjuri, the original inhabitants of the land on which we work. Nos 75-77 Ultimo Road is also located on the land of the Gadigal.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have a connection to place, land, water and community, established over many thousands of years. We recognise the cultural significance inherent in these connections, that sovereignty over this land was never ceded and that it continues to be sacred to its rightful owners.

We pay respect to Elders past and present, and stand with all First Peoples in their quest for justice, truth telling, and reconciliation.

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1. Introduction

This report has been prepared in response to the Haymarket and Chinatown Revitalisation Strategy. The past few years have been challenging for Haymarket and the City heard from the community that the area needs revitalisation. The City adopted the Haymarket and Chinatown Revitalisation Strategy in December 2023 to outline actions in five priority areas to deliver on the community's vision for the area. The Strategy includes an action to strengthen recognition of cultural heritage, identifying three sites as potentially having cultural significance, linked to the Chinese Australian community. To provide a foundational understanding of the key themes from Chinatown's history the City commissioned GML Heritage in 2022 to provide a Thematic History of Chinatown.

Hector Abrahams Architects (HAA) have been asked by the City of Sydney to investigate the significance of three places identified in the strategy: 90-100 Hay Street, 75-77 Ultimo Road and 50-54 Dixon Street, Haymarket. Our first stage was to examine the history and potential significance of these places. The findings were compiled in standalone historical research reports. Following the development of the Historical Research reports, HAA was then asked to undertake a heritage assessment of 90-100 Hay Street, Haymarket. Our approach to all of these reports is to work in co-authorship with the Chinese Australian historian, Dr Juanita Kwok. Dr Kwok was asked to conduct research and provide a contextual written history for the place and to advise on the place's significance and management.

This report assesses the heritage significance of 90-100 Hay Street, Haymarket. Its purpose is to advise the City of any significance, to make a recommendation on heritage listing and provide management recommendations. This assessment will only make a recommendation on heritage listing within the Sydney Local Environmental Plan 2012.

The history of 90-100 Hay Street has been put in context by providing a brief discussion of the pioneering role of Chinese migrants in the commercial vegetable and banana industries as well as how White Australia legislation impacted on their family and business lives. It goes on to outline the development of Chinatown in the Haymarket and the establishment of the Municipal Markets and Stores. The report details the Chinese Australian firms which leased the Municipal Stores, identifying people and uses associated with the buildings at 90-100 Hay Street.

A detailed description of the place in its current condition follows the history, along with a detailed comparative analysis of other banana and produce stores owned and run by Chinese Australian firms. Our history and comparative analysis then inform the assessment of significance which is based on Heritage NSW's *Assessing Heritage Significance Guidelines* (2023) and from which a recommendation on whether or not the place should be listed. The report concludes with management recommendations to conserve significance.

This report was prepared by Hector Abrahams and Sioned Lavery of Hector Abrahams Architects, and Dr Juanita Kwok, historian. Research using Chinese language sources and Chinese-to-English translations and research were done by historical translator and consultant linguist, Ely Finch.

The authors acknowledge and sincerely thank descendants and those who lived or worked in Chinatown for sharing their family stories and memories.

1.1. Limitations

The authors were not able to gain internal access to all premises. Therefore for some premises, specifically 90-22 Hay Street, inspections were external only.

2. Description of Site

The place is located at 90-100 Hay Street in the centre of Haymarket between Harbour Street and Dixon Street with Kimber Lane traversing between nos. 94 and 96 Hay Street. Its land title reference is Lot 1 DP261942, Lot 2 DP261942, Lot 3 DP261942, Lot 4 DP261942, Lot 5 DP261942 and Lot 6 DP261942.

Designed and built as a single block in 1911, nos. 90-100 Hay Street are three-storey masonry buildings historically occupied by fruit and produce stores with residences upstairs. Today the buildings have a variety of restaurants and entertainment uses.



Figure 1 Aerial of 90-100 Hay Street indicated in red. Source Sixmaps with HAA overlay.

3. History

3.1. Preface

The history of the buildings at 90-100 Hay Street might be divided into a market period and a post market period. In the market period, from the 1910s to the 1970s, the buildings functioned as Municipal Stores, leased from the City Council, for the most part by Chinese Australian fruit and vegetable merchants. At this time, the majority of the Chinese originated from the Pearl River Delta, in the vicinity of the provincial capital of Canton, and Cantonese or district languages were the main Chinese languages spoken in Sydney. It was also a time when the Chinese Australian population was a minority population, owing to White Australia legislation which virtually prohibited the entry of new migrants from China or Hong Kong and restricted the family life, occupations and industries of resident Chinese Australians. The end of this period in the mid-late 1970s coincides with the abolition of White Australia legislation and the relocation of the Municipal Market to Flemington.

The later period dates from around the late 1970s, by which time migration was increasing with the relaxation of restrictions and Chinatown evolved as a dining destination. From this time and up to the current day, the buildings at 90-100 Hay Street, which were no longer owned by the City of Sydney, were primarily used as restaurants. As the authors of *China Unbound* write:

By the 1980s, when these Western societies had largely given up their racially discriminatory immigration policies and opened up to Asian immigration, the dominant conception of Chinatown was no longer that of an abject ethnic ghetto: rather, Chinatown was now seen as a positive expression of multicultural heritage and difference.¹

This report on 90-100 Hay Street focuses on the market period as the most historically significant period in the history of the buildings. According to Major General (retd) Darryl Low Choy, President of the Chinese Australian Historical Society, the connections of 90-100 Hay Street with the banana trade tells the story of Chinatown and demonstrates the adaptability of Chinese Australians to changing economic and political conditions in order to survive. Low Choy believes Chinese Australian migrants are misrepresented only as sojourners who eventually left Australia, but the history of 90-100 Hay Street (and also 75-77 Ultimo Road and 50-54 Dixon Street) tells a different story of the many unrecognised contributions which Chinese migrants settlers made to Australia. He argues that the buildings must be understood in their political context as businesses adapted to the changing laws and policies of Australia.²

More information on the second period of Chinatown from the 1970s can be found in *Chinatown Unbound* and in the Chinatown Gates, Haymarket Heritage Assessment Report, Prepared by GML for City of Sydney, June 2023.

In preparing this historical report, the authors acknowledge the assistance of Dr Michael Willams and Paul Macgregor and extend special thanks to Ely Finch who did all the Chinese-to-English translations and research. The authors would also like to thank descendants and those who lived or worked in Chinatown for sharing their family stories and memories.

¹ Anderson, Kay, Ien Ang, Andrea Del Bono, Donald McNeill, and Alexandra Wong. *Chinatown Unbound: Trans-Asian Urbanism in the Age of China*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2019.

² Major General Darryl Low Choy, in conversation during Chinatown Heritage Study Stakeholder Workshop held April 5, 2024 by City of Sydney.

3.2. Contextual Background

Chinese Australians in the fruit and vegetable industries

The great majority of Chinese migrants who arrived in the Australian colonies from the early 1850s came from counties in the Pearl River Delta, in the vicinity of the provincial capital of Canton. Initially they were drawn by the goldrushes, but later came to work in a variety of other occupations, including as tin miners, market gardeners, scrub clearers and cabinet makers. They maintained strong ties to their villages.³

Chinese immigrants to the goldfields brought horticultural skills with them, which not only included water management skills and age-old knowledge of growing vegetables and fruit, but capital sharing and marketing strategies.⁴ In Australia, they adapted to different climates and market needs to develop successful commercial growing and wholesale businesses. In the latter decades of the 19th century, fruit and vegetable production, distribution and sales became major occupations of Chinese people in the Australian colonies. The 1885 Sands Directory listed 54 gardens in Sydney, largely in Alexandria and Botany.⁵ The extension of rail networks enabled regional producers to send their produce to the market in Sydney. As historian C.F. Yong writes, “the extensive cultivation of vegetables by Chinese growers gave Chinese greengrocers in cities and towns a large share in the wholesale and retail vegetable trade, for Chinese market gardeners often supplied their produce to Chinese greengrocers.”⁶

Besides growing vegetables, Chinese migrants also developed fruit industries, in particular the banana industry. Chinese who had arrived in North Queensland to work on the Palmer and Hodgkinson gold fields turned to agriculture in the mid-1870s. The *Cairns Post* of 28 May 1887 declared, “The Chinese farmers and fruit growers of the North may almost be regarded as the fathers of agriculture in the Cairns district”.⁷ Chinese fruit merchant firms were involved in all aspects of the banana industry from land-clearing, cultivation, and developing the means of transport. Chinese banana growers, particularly along the Johnstone River would alter water courses to accommodate their banana laden sampans.⁸ Bananas were freighted to southern cities for sale by wholesale fruit merchant firms. One of the most successful of the Sydney-based Chinese fruit merchants was Wing Sang & Co. founded in 1890. Wing Sang & Co. invested capital gained from its banana wholesale business into ventures in Hong Kong and China, founding the Sincere Co. which opened the first department store in Hong Kong in 1900 (see Figure 2).

Another banana wholesale firm, Wing On & Co. followed suit, opening a department store in Hong Kong in 1907, then in Shanghai (see Figure 3), and diversifying into banking, insurance and textile milling. Wing Sang and Wing On developed business networks which extended throughout Asia and the Pacific and in Hong Kong and China. The decision to invest capital earned from Australian ventures into Hong Kong and China was due in no small part to colonial and Commonwealth legislations which obstructed business opportunities for Chinese people in Australia and the Pacific.

Wing Sang & Co. and other Chinese Australian firms had begun establishing these department stores and transnational business networks a decade before the Municipal markets were

³ See WILLIAMS, M. 2018. *Returning Home With Glory: Chinese Villagers around the Pacific, 1849 to 1949*, Hong Kong University Press.

⁴ Boileau, Joanna. *Chinese Market Gardening in Australia and New Zealand*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave, 2017, pp 2-7.

⁵ FITZGERALD, S. 1997, *Red tape gold scissors: The story of Sydney's Chinese*, Sydney, State Library of New South Wales Press, 95.

⁶ YONG, C. F. 1977, *The New Gold Mountain*, 36.

⁷ Johnston, Connor. "The Chinese Contribution to Agriculture in the Cairns District.

⁸ Johnston, Connor. "The Chinese Contribution to Agriculture in the Cairns District from 1870 to 1920", p. 23, https://www.academia.edu/18059032/The_Chinese_Contribution_to_Agriculture_in_the_Cairns_District_from_1870_to_1920, accessed 24 April 2024.

completed, Wing Sang & Co. and its subsidiaries leased 94 and 96 Hay Street and a Chinatown area centred on Dixon Street evolved.



Figure 2. The first Sincere Department store in Hong Kong. Source from the China-Australia Heritage Corridor Project website, <https://www.heritagecorridor.org.au/places/sincere-department-stores-hong-kong> accessed 8 March 2024.



Figure 3. Wing On in the 1920s at the corner of Nanking and Chekiang roads, Shanghai. Source: Shanghai Daily online, 6 June 2019, accessed 8 March 2024, <https://www.shine.cn/feature/art-culture/1906066204/>

White Australia legislation

Australian colonies had already introduced legislation to restrict the entry of Chinese people to Australia in the late 19th century, but the *1901 Immigration Restriction Act* introduced a dictation test designed to prevent entry of non-whites into the Commonwealth. Chinese people already resident in Australia who wished to travel could apply to be exempted from the Dictation Test. Certain categories of Chinese people had some exemptions from the restrictions, such as students and merchants. Import/export merchants with a certain business turnover were allowed to bring in assistants and special clerks to assist them in their businesses, with extensions renewable on an annual basis. As Alexandra Wong and Ien Ang write, “the system of exemptions was a complicated bureaucratic process and required the active sponsorship of a merchant or employer already in Australia, which reinforced the entry of people from the same hometowns or lineages”.⁹ The effect of these policies can be seen very much in the lives of the Yip families at 90 Hay Street and the Ma families at 94 and 96 Hay Street.

The merchant class represented 15.6 percent of the whole Chinese population in NSW in 1901.¹⁰ After 1905, only wives of well-established merchants were admitted, and for short periods only, usually six months.¹¹ No such privileges were extended to the labouring class of market gardeners, carters, packers, stall-holders and storemen associated with the markets. Chinese were prohibited from becoming naturalised between 1903 and 1957. They could not bring their wives or families to Australia, and could only apply for exemption from the dictation test to return to their villages, marry and to visit their families.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the Chinese population in the Australian colonies began to transition from a rural to an urban population. In 1880 there were 1014 Chinese people in Sydney as against 9000 others in the rest of the State, but in 1888, Sydney had 4,202 Chinese people.¹² The 1901 Census of NSW recorded 3276 males and only 56 females born in China.¹³ The gender imbalance, owing to migration preferences in the first place and then restrictive legislation, decreased with the birth of females born of Chinese or Chinese-European parents in Australia. However, NSW Census figures for women born in China remained low until naturalisation restrictions were relaxed in 1957.¹⁴

The Development of Chinatown in the Haymarket district

The Chinatown centred on Dixon Street came about as a result of the construction of the Municipal Markets, but the markets which preceded them are an important part of the history. Hay Street traces its origins to 1829, when a site was designated for cattle and corn markets. The Haymarket, as it became known, was a convenient stopping place for farmers' bullock carts before the long haul up the Brickfield Hill to the city's early market buildings, on the site of what is now the Queen Victoria Building.¹⁵

In 1869, the City Council established produce markets, known as the Belmore Markets on Campbell Street on a block to the east of the Capitol Theatre (see Figure 4).¹⁶ Chinese businesses, previously located in the Rocks area of Sydney near the overseas shipping wharves, re-located their businesses to Pitt, Campbell and Goulburn Streets and adjoining

⁹ ANG, I. & WONG, A. 2023, Zhongshan in Sydney's Chinatown, 221.

¹⁰ YONG, C. F. 1977, *The New Gold Mountain*, 45.

¹¹ CHOI, C. Y. 1975, *Chinese migration and settlement in Australia*, Sydney, Sydney University Press.

¹² YONG, C. F. 1977, *The New Gold Mountain : the Chinese in Australia, 1901-1921*, Richmond, Australia, Raphael Arts.

¹³ FITZGERALD, S. 1997, *Red tape gold scissors: The story of Sydney's Chinese*, Sydney, State Library of New South Wales Press, 93.

¹⁴ ANG, I. & WONG, A. 2023, Zhongshan in Sydney's Chinatown. In: BYRNE, D., ANG, I. & MAR, P. (eds.) *The China-Australia Migration Corridor: History and Heritage*. Hong Kong: HK University Press, 220

¹⁵ Fitzgerald, Shirley, Haymarket, Dictionary of Sydney, 2009, <https://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/haymarket>, viewed 25 Jun 2024.

¹⁶ ELLMOOS, LAILA, Capitol Theatre building, Dictionary of Sydney, 2008, https://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/capitol_theatre_building, viewed 05 Feb 2024.

laneways to be near to the Belmore Markets. The (old) Belmore Markets were replaced by the (new) Belmore Markets built on the present site of the Capitol Theatre between 1892 and 1893.¹⁷

Historian C.F. Yong writes, “In Sydney Belmore Market was the vegetable emporium. There Chinese and Australian growers sold their vegetables from the carts which were backed into stalls and the horses remained in the vehicles until the stock was sold out.” (see Figure 5).¹⁸



Figure 4. City of Sydney, Print - Old Belmore Markets Haymarket, circa 1909 (01/01/1909 - 31/12/1909), [A-00038649]. Source City of Sydney Archives, accessed 12 Jan 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/674048>

¹⁷ ELLMOOS, LAILA, Capitol Theatre building.

¹⁸ YONG, C. F. 1977, *The New Gold Mountain*, 37.



Figure 5 New Belmore Markets building, Hay Street Haymarket, 1901 (01/01/1901 - 31/12/1901), [A-00008397]. Source City of Sydney Archives, accessed 12 Jan 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/569042>

The City of Sydney Local Environment Plan 2012 has listed highly significant buildings which relate to the Chinese Australian history of the Belmore Markets era, in particular, the Wing Sang building at 20 Campbell Street - Terrace Group (Listing Number 1827) and the Chinese Masonic Hall including interiors at 18 Mary Street (Sydney LEP 2012 Item No. 11571).¹⁹

By the turn of the century, the new Belmore Markets could no longer accommodate the 350 local vegetable growers and nearly 200 fruit-growers who brought their produce into the market to sell and so a special market committee was set up to examine new sites.²⁰ The committee came up with a plan, approved by the public and the press, whereby the Wexford Street area would be resumed, cleared of slum dwellings and re-developed as a market. As City historian Shirley Fitzgerald wrote, while Wexford Street, Exeter Place, Foster, Mary, Stephen and Elizabeth Streets in Surry Hills were home to Chinese Australian families, “to the wider community this area was a slum...”²¹ Historian of the Sydney markets, Michael Christie observed, “The advantage of the scheme from the Council point of view, was that local business would be placated and the ‘Chinese problem’ dealt with”.²² The City Council was granted authority to resume land under the *Sydney Corporation Amendment Act, 1905*.²³ In 1906, Council began a process of land resumption and demolition beginning with Wexford Street which was replaced by Wentworth Avenue. Two Chinese churches were destroyed in the resumption – the Chinese Presbyterian Church in Foster Street (1893-1910) and the Chinese

¹⁹ The China-Australia Heritage Corridor website, <https://www.heritagecorridor.org.au/places/the-wing-sang-co-buildings-sydney>, accessed 24 April 2024; NSW State Heritage Inventory, Terrace Group including interiors, 12-20 Campbell St, <https://www.hms.heritage.nsw.gov.au/App/Item/ViewItem?itemId=2435698>; Chinese Masonic Hall including interior <https://www.hms.heritage.nsw.gov.au/App/Item/ViewItem?itemId=2420970>

²⁰ CHRISTIE, M. 1988, *The Sydney Markets*, Sydney, Sydney Marketing Authority, 87.

²¹ FITZGERALD, S. 1997, 90.

²² CHRISTIE, M. 1988, 87.

²³ ELLMOOS, LAILA, Capitol Theatre building, Dictionary of Sydney, 2008, https://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/capitol_theatre_building, viewed 05 Feb 2024

Mission's St Luke's Church in Wexford Street, demolished only ten years after the foundation stone was laid. An estimated 724 people had their houses demolished.²⁴ This resumption and demolition was unnecessary as the chosen market site was located west of George Street near Darling Harbour and the Railway."²⁵

In 1908, Sydney Municipal Council resumed terrace houses, mills and workshops spread over four acres bounded by Ultimo, Thomas, Hay, Quay and Engine Streets to make way for two new market buildings, including the Municipal Stores at 90-100 Hay Street, designed by the City Architect. The first market building on Hay Street opened in 1909 and the second in 1910 (see Figure 6).²⁶ These developments were reported in the *Chinese Australian Herald* in March 1909, with the comment that numerous Chinese firms were expected to move in light of the market's relocation.²⁷ From 1910, Chinese firms which had previously been centred around Campbell Street, Haymarket in proximity to the Belmore Markets began to open stores in Hay, Dixon, Quay, Harbour Streets and Ultimo Road, close to the new Municipal Markets. First amongst these was Chungshan (Zhongshan) merchant Phillip Lee Chun, who in 1909 purchased land at 82-84 Dixon Street and had a building constructed on that land for his business, Kwong War Chong, which for sixty years afterwards provided a remittance service to NSW's Loong Tu community.²⁸



Figure 6. City of Sydney, Glass Negative - Fruit and vegetable markets, Haymarket, circa 1920 (01/01/1920 - 31/12/1920), [A-01001328]. Source City of Sydney Archives, accessed 11 Jan 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/1726756>

²⁴ FITZGERALD, S. (1997) 123.

²⁵ CHRISTIE, M. 1988, 87.

²⁶ The City of Sydney Archives have a large number of photos of the demolitions and resumptions and the construction of the markets in the Demolition Series of photographs.

²⁷ 1909 '決議改建街市', *Guang yi hua bao = The Chinese Australian Herald* (Sydney, NSW: 1894 - 1923), 13 March, 2, viewed 21 Feb 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article168080171>

²⁸ HECTOR ABRAHAMS ARCHITECTS, 82-84 Dixon Street, Haymarket, Heritage Assessment Version 1.1 Final for City of Sydney Council, 4.

Occupants of prior buildings at 90-100 Hay Street

Dove's 1880 plan of Sydney (see Figure 7) shows four one to two storey masonry buildings between Harbour Street and Kimber Lane and a single two storey timber building between Kimber Lane and Dixon Street. Prior to the building of the Municipal Stores at 90-100 Hay Street, the buildings on Hay Street from Harbour Street to Kimber Lane were numbered 92-98 Hay Street and those from Kimber Lane to Dixon Street were 100-106 Hay Street.

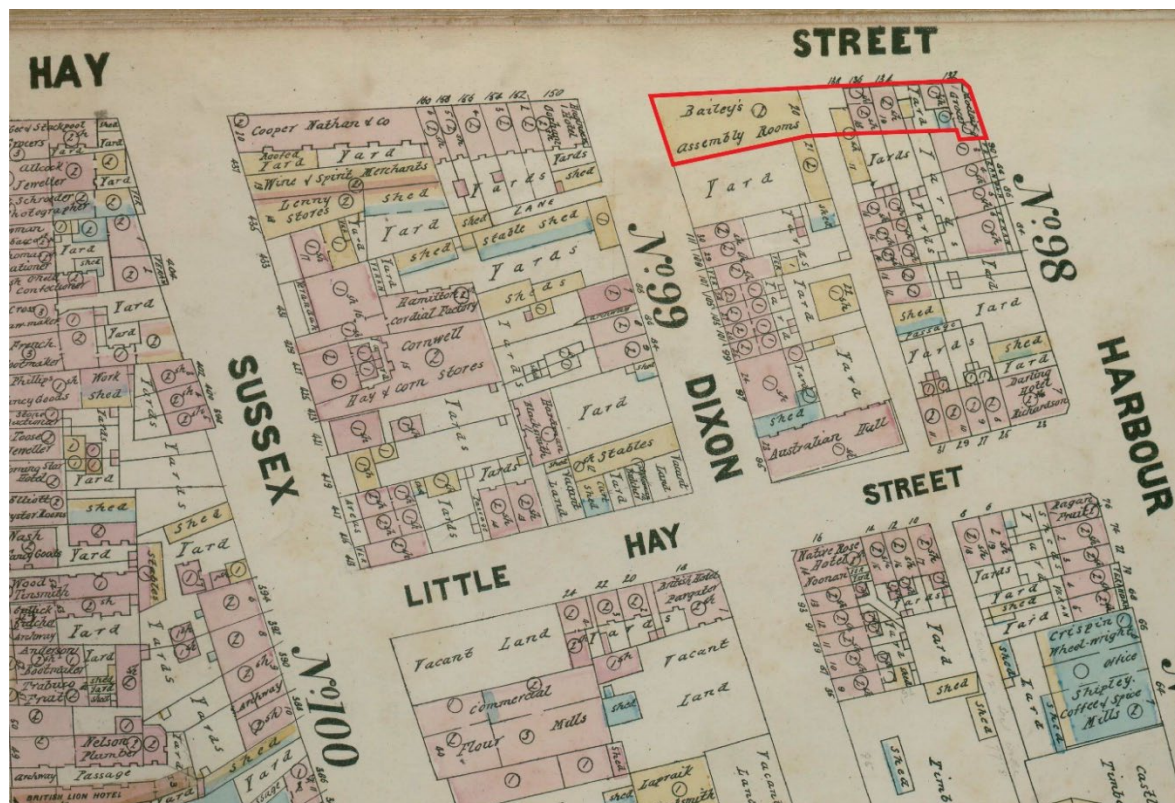


Figure 7 Dove's 1880 survey showing four buildings on what is now 90 Hay Street and one building on what is now 100 Hay Street. Source: City of Sydney Archives with HAA overlay.

The owner of 92 Hay Street in 1907 (now 90 Hay Street) was Samuel Hordern, of the successful Anthony Hordern and Sons firm. No. 92 Hay Street was used as a Hordern and Sons store and stables before the land was purchased and cleared for the construction of the Municipal Stores.²⁹ A photograph of the corner of Harbour and Hay Streets taken in 1910 (see Figure 8) shows that 92 Hay Street had been demolished by then.

The City Assessment books and Sands Directory show that occupants of 94 Hay Street prior to its demolition were Mrs Mary Doherty, fruiterer and Mr George Doherty, pattern maker from 1900 to 1904; Peter Peterson in 1905 and George Hanna hairdresser from 1906 to 1910.³⁰ Lee & Co. occupied 94 Hay Street in 1911.³¹

Businesses which occupied 96 Hay Street (now 92/94 Hay Street) were Daniel S. Ford, printer, 1903-1905; Ross Frederick William 1909-10; and Mrs Elizabeth Shea, Refreshment Rooms in 1911.³² At 98 Hay Street was Yee Sang, pork butcher.³³

Figure 9 shows a photograph of 94-98 Hay Street to the corner of Kimber Lane. S. Lee, House and Land Agent and Estate and General Agent is on the left at 94 Hay Street, The Haymarket

²⁹ Assessment Books A-01136253- A-01136244.

³⁰ Assessment Books, City of Sydney Archives 1903- 1910, (A-01136249 - A-01136256)

³¹ Assessment Books, City of Sydney Archives, 1911, (A-01136248)

³² Assessment Books, 1903 – 1911, (A-01136256 - A-01136248)

³³ Assessment Books 1911 (A-01136248).

Refreshment Room sign can be seen at 96 Hay Street and displayed in the window of 98 Hay Street is a sign which reads Yee Sang pork butcher.

From 1900 to 1910, 100-106 Hay Street, the block from Kimber Lane to Dixon Street (now 96-100 Hay Street) was occupied by West's Patent Tyre Co Ltd and by J.E. Bishop, Secretary.³⁴



Figure 8 City of Sydney, Print - Vacant block and buildings corner of Hay and Harbour Streets Haymarket, 1910 (28/09/1910), [A-00038777]. Source: City of Sydney Archives, accessed 04 Mar 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/675332>



Figure 9 Photographer: Hall and Company, Print - Streetscape commercial businesses, Hay Street Haymarket, 1910 (28/09/1910), [A-00038778]. City of Sydney Archives, accessed 25 Jun 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/675347>

³⁴ City of Sydney Archives Assessment Books, 1910 (A-01136249); 1911 (A-01136248).

3.3.90-100 Hay Street: The Municipal Stores

In 1911, the Municipal Council put out a tender for the construction of Municipal Stores at 90-100 Hay Street, opposite the new Municipal Markets. The tender stipulated that the contractor was to complete the whole of the works in six months or in default, to pay £5 per day for every day until the work was completed.³⁵ The successful tenderer was Charles C. Coleman who signed a contract with the City on 21 July 1911. (See Figures 10 and 11)

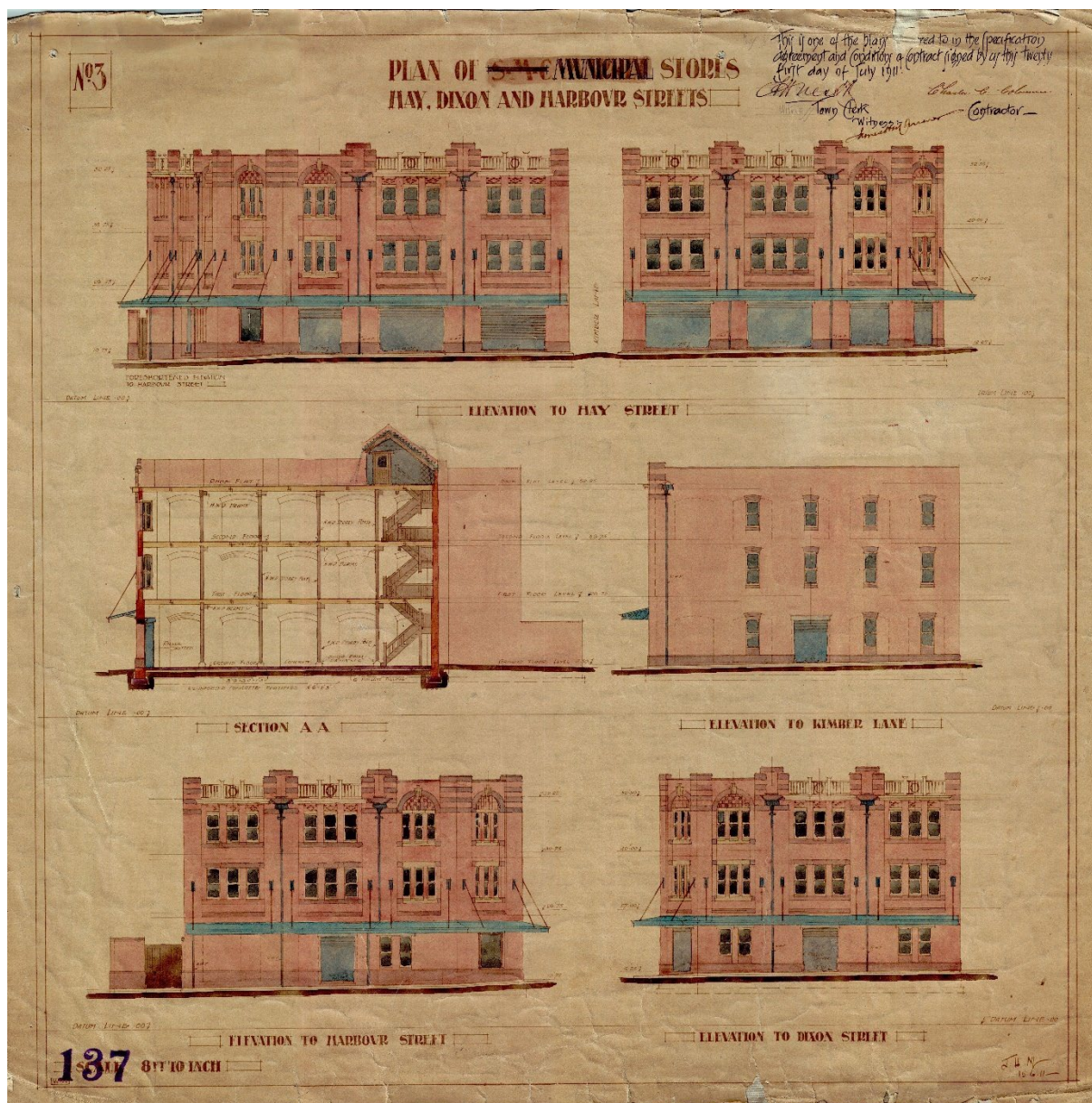


Figure 10 Plan – Elevations Municipal Stores, Hay, Dixon and Harbour Streets Haymarket, 1911 (15/06/1911 – 21/07/1911), [A-00543602]. Source City of Sydney Archives, accessed 04 Mar 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/1714326>

³⁵ *Erection and completion of market stores in Hay, Dixon and Harbour Streets Haymarket, 1911 (21/07/1911)*, [A-00455910]. City of Sydney Archives, accessed 28 Feb 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/992532>

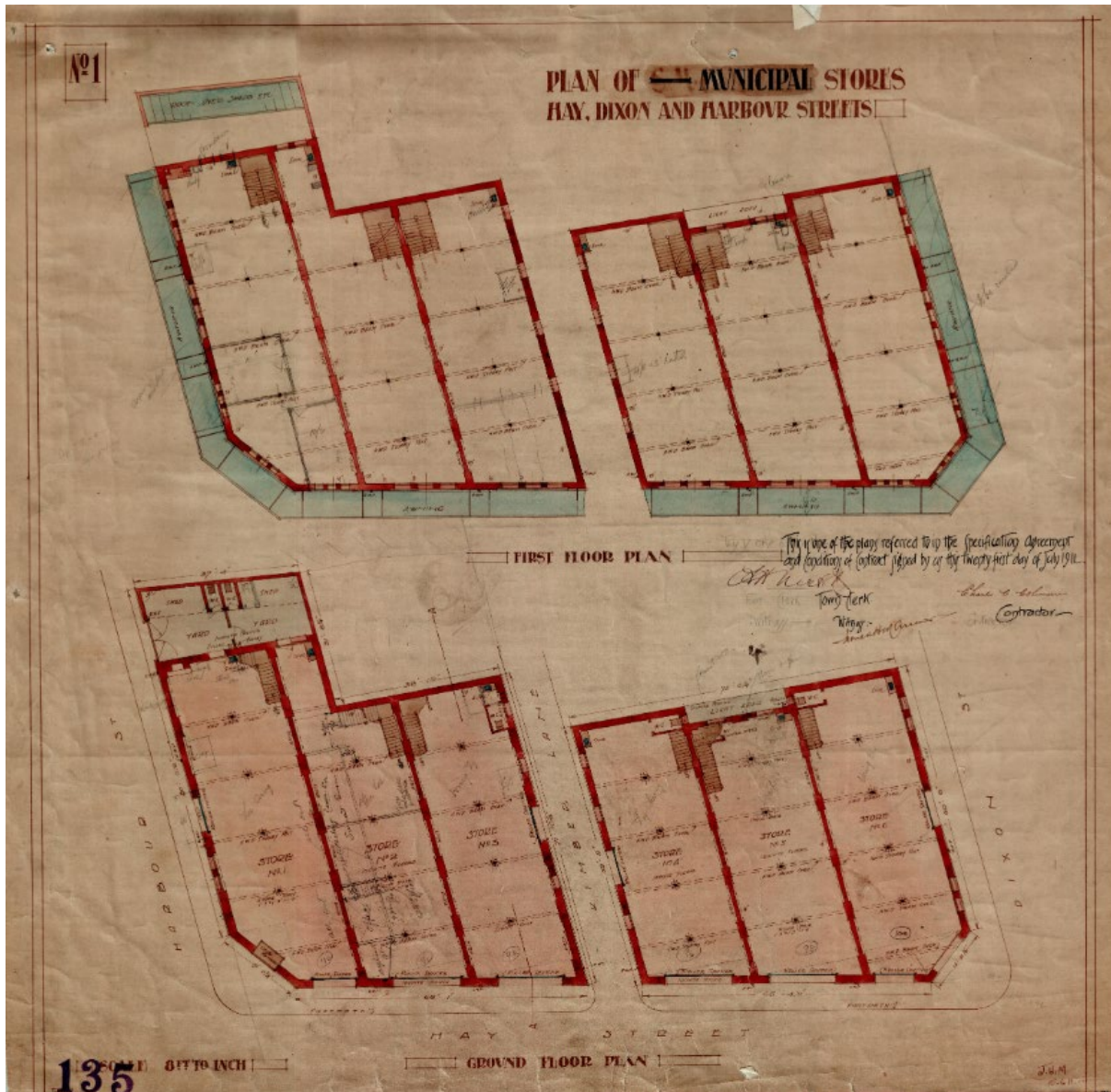


Figure 11 Plan - Municipal Stores, Hay, Dixon and Harbour Streets Haymarket, 1911 (15/06/1911 - 21/07/1911), [A-00543600]. Source City of Sydney Archives, accessed 04 Mar 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/1714324>

The buildings which had previously existed at 92–106 Hay Street were demolished in 1911 and replaced by the current three storey buildings. Buildings at 92-98 Hay Street were re-numbered as 90-94 Hay Street and buildings from 100-106 Hay Street became 96-100 Hay Street. Figure 12 shows the new Municipal Stores looking from 100 Hay Street on the corner of Dixon Street.



Figure 12 City of Sydney, Glass Negative - Hay Street Haymarket, circa 1919 (01/01/1919 - 31/12/1919), [A-01001358]. Source City of Sydney Archives, accessed 09 Mar 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/1726786>

The City Council owned, leased and managed the Municipal Stores until 1969, when the newly established Sydney Farm Produce Market Authority took over running of the stores on 1 January, 1969.³⁶ The new Sydney Markets at Flemington were opened in 1975 and trading ceased at the Municipal Markets in the Haymarket.

After the markets moved to Flemington, the Municipal Stores were vacant for some time before investors such as Alan Seeto, Bernard Chan and Stanley Wong and family bought up real estate in Chinatown. Alan Seeto, who came to Australia in 1973 from Papua New Guinea owned a building with three restaurants on the corner of Hay and Harbour Streets.³⁷ Nos. 90-100 Hay Street was the site of a number of restaurants, but the evolution of Chinatown's restaurant culture is better demonstrated by earlier restaurants such as the Eastern Restaurant and Lean Sun Low at 50-54 Dixon Street. An exception to this is the standout example of longevity of the restaurants owned and operated by the family of Stanley Yee at 96-100 Hay Street since 1979.

³⁶ 1968 'SYDNEY FARM PRODUCE MARKET AUTHORITY ACT, 1968.—PROCLAMATION', *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales (Sydney, NSW : 1901 - 2001)*, 20 December, p. 5000. , viewed 09 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article220039190>

³⁷ 1986 'THE LORDS OF CHINATOWN', *The Canberra Times (ACT : 1926 - 1995)*, 2 February, p. 50. , viewed 30 Apr 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article118202202>

3.4.No. 90 Hay St



Figure 13 90 Hay Street, on the corner of Harbour Street Haymarket, Source: Juanita Kwok, January 2024.

Lee Sang & Co. and Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy

The first tenant in the newly constructed building at 90 Hay Street was Lee Sang & Co. Produce Merchants and Importers, who leased the building from 1919.³⁸ In June 1920 Lee Sang & Co. advertised a new shipment of fireworks to celebrate the visit of the Prince of Wales.³⁹ Lee Sang & Co. was a well-established produce business, registered in 1903 at 28A Campbell Street. The firm may have existed earlier, as the Registration of Firms Act, No. 100 only came into being in 1902. Lee Sang & Co. was registered by Won Chum, Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy and Ah Sing. Additional people in the business were listed as Cecil Gilbert Quoy [the son of Edith and Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy, born in 1900], Sydney Lee, See Wah and Hoon Wing.⁴⁰ Lee Sang & Co. replaced Hop War and Co. as representative of Tung Koon natives in the Lin Yik Tong (Chinese Commercial Association, 1892-1903).⁴¹ Hop War had previously replaced influential Tung Koon merchant Way Kee.

To ensure a steady supply of vegetables, Ting Quoy and other partners established stores and market gardens in the NSW country towns such as Bathurst in 1909 and Aberdeen in 1919, trading as Tong Sing & Co.⁴² Produce would be transported by rail to Sydney and delivered to the store where it was sorted before being sold by at the markets across the road. An advertisement from 1925 stated that the Lee Sang & Co. at 90 Hay Street sold potatoes, horse

³⁸ Assessment Books, A-01136240.

³⁹ 1920 'Advertising', *The Sun* (Sydney, NSW : 1910 - 1954), 5 June, 6, viewed 04 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article222409306>

⁴⁰ Register of Firms Index, State Archives New South Wales: NRS 12961, Index No.48, Item No. [2/8526] 497 <https://search.records.nsw.gov.au/permalink/f/1e5kcg1/INDEX1809797>

⁴¹ KUO, M. F. 2013, *Making Chinese Australia : Urban elites, newspapers and the formation of Chinese Australian Identity*, Melbourne, Monash University Publishing, 120.

⁴² Tong Sing & Co. Bathurst, NRS 12961, Index No. 48, Item No. [2/8541], File No. 18272; Tong Sing & Co. Aberdeen, Index No. 48, Item No. [2/8548], File No. 32521.

feed, Chinese groceries, fruit and vegetables, bone ash, tobacco, peanuts, cigarettes, matches, and Chinese and Western fireworks, forwarded remittances and acted as a selling agent for local produce. It also named two other Lee Sang & Co. stores in Hong Kong and Thursday Island.⁴³

Through the 1920s and 1930s, Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy's name was on the lease for 90 Hay Street. Born circa 1874 in Tung Koon, China, Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy arrived in Australia in 1885, and by 1903, when he obtained a Certificate of Domicile to travel to China, he was 29 years old.⁴⁴ He married Australian-born Edith Ginn and the couple had at least ten children.⁴⁵

By the time Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy and partners registered Lee Sang & Co. at 90 Hay Street, Ting Quoy was already a successful, well-established merchant. He had registered Ting Quoy & Co. Produce Merchants at 43 Lane Cove Road North Sydney in 1903.⁴⁶ Quoy was a conservative political leader in the Chinese community, an office bearer of the China Empire Reform Association (CERA) The CERA was a political organisation which advocated political reform in China through a system of modernisation while maintaining the Emperor system. They would later advocate for a constitutional monarchy. Other well-known merchants in the Sydney Chinese community who were members of the CERA included Thomas Yee Hing, Ping Nam, C. Leanfore, Henry Fine Cheong, Goon Ick, W.R.G. Lee and George Bew.⁴⁷

Quoy was also a member of the NSW Chinese Chamber of Commerce and its President in 1924.⁴⁸ Formed in 1913, the NSW Chinese Chamber of Commerce was an organisation which defended the trade and commercial interest of Chinese Australians from anti-Chinese movements and organisations and promoted the Sino-Australian import and export trade. Quoy was amongst Sydney Chinese merchants who launched a campaign through the *Tung Wah Times* newspaper in 1908 and 1909 advocating the need to establish Chinese schools. Along with Ping Nam, Leong Cheong, Lee Chun, John Hoe and Lean Fore, Quoy taught at the Sydney Chinese School at the Loong Yee Tong clubhouse at 50-54 Dixon Street.⁴⁹

Quoy was one of the founders of the first Chinese Australian owned shipping line, the China-Australia Steamship Line in 1917, and was on the Advisory Board of the Line.⁵⁰ C.F. Yong argues this shipping line, established to break up the Japanese shipping monopoly and extend the Sino-Australian import and export trade, "expressed the unity and co-operation achieved for the first time by Chinese in Australia over a single issue of common interest."⁵¹ When the shipping line collapsed in 1924, Quoy came under criticism by other factions for poor administration and undue influence, as William Liu, the appointed proprietor of the China-Australia Mail Steamship Line, was married to Quoy's daughter Mabel.⁵²

Family sponsored by Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy

Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy actively sponsored the entry of relatives and clan members to Australia. Amongst those he sponsored was his nephew, Henry Won Yeh Lum (later known as Henry Lum Yip), who arrived in 1922 as a student and lived with the Quoy family.⁵³ In 1924, the Chinese Consul applied on behalf of Henry Won Yeh Lum [sic] for an extension of stay and to be transferred to the firm of Lee Sang & Co. Permission was granted for transfer to Lee Sang on

⁴³ 1925 'Advertising', *Tung Wah Times* (Sydney, NSW : 1901 - 1936), 21 November, 4, viewed 09 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article227458718>

⁴⁴ NAA: ST 84/1, 1903/1-10, 26.

⁴⁵ FITZGERALD, S. 1997, *Red tape gold scissors*, 26.

⁴⁶ Ting Quoy & Co. NRS 12961 Index No. 48, Item No [2/8530], File No. 5857, 529.

⁴⁷ YONG, C. F. 1977, *The New Gold Mountain*, 120-121.

⁴⁸ YONG, C. F. 1977, *The New Gold Mountain*, 121; Henry Lum YIP, National Archives of Australia, NAA:SP1122/1, N1961/3364, 330.

⁴⁹ YONG, C. F. 1977, *The New Gold Mountain*, 214; KUO, *Making Chinese Australia*, 229.

⁵⁰ Yong, C.F., 264.

⁵¹ YONG, C.F., 97.

⁵² YONG, C. F. 1977, *The New Gold Mountain*, 101; NSW BDM Marriage Cert 41597/1907.

⁵³ Henry Lum YIP, National Archives of Australia, NAA:SP1122/1, N1961/3364, 345.

payment of a bond, and Henry was engaged in a clerical capacity in the firm of Lee Sang & Co. at 90 Hay Street.⁵⁴

As early as 1926, the 90 Hay Street building had a lift. City of Sydney historian Shirley Fitzgerald cites a letter Mabel Quoy wrote to Henry Lum Yip, who took a return visit to China in 1926. Mabel wrote:

*“Dear Lum ... I have been to Lee Sangs twice since you left. Bo and Winsom said hullo as we passed up the lift. Choong was in the peanut room...”*⁵⁵

Another relative sponsored by Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy was Harry Hornung Yip, who arrived in July 1926.⁵⁶ In 1930, the Chinese Consul General F.T. Sung applied successfully for extension for Henry Won Lep Yum and Harry Hornung Yip, both in the service of Lee Sang & Co., 90 Hay St. “Hornung Yeh is the export clerk and Won Yep Lum is studying business there”, he wrote.⁵⁷ Harry Yip went on to become a partner in Yep Lum & Co., was President of the NSW Chinese Chamber of Commerce for about six years from 1958, and had a family of whom there are many descendants still working in the produce industry.

Henry Lum Yip and family

In 1932, the Department of the Interior approved an application made by Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy for Henry Won Yep Lum’s wife, Yee Yip Sue, to be admitted to Australia for a visit.⁵⁸ Throughout the 1930s, applications were made to extend her stay and by 1940, five children had been born to the couple.⁵⁹ According to the family of Henry Lum Yip, “six of his children were born above his Haymarket store”.⁶⁰



Figure 14. Henry Lum Yip. Source courtesy of the Yip family

⁵⁴ NAA:SP1122/1, N1961/3364, 323-330.

⁵⁵ FITZGERALD, S. 1997, *Red tape gold scissors*, 170.

⁵⁶ NAA:SP11/2, Chinese/Yip Harry Hornung.

⁵⁷ NAA:SP1122/1, N1961/3364, 256.

⁵⁸ NAA:SP1122/1, N1961/3364, 235.

⁵⁹ NAA:SP1122/1, N1961/3364, 145.

⁶⁰ SBS News online, 30 August 2020.

Yip See Syndicate

In 1936, Lee Sang & Co. were unable to pay their creditors, but eventually an arrangement was made with creditors who accepted five shillings in the pound in full discharge of their debts. A new company, Sino Australian Pty Ltd was formed with Gilbert Quoy as General Manager, sons Cecil and Alwyn Quoy as Assistant Manager and Secretary and Henry Won Yep Lum as Director and Buyer.⁶¹ In 1940 a partnership comprised of Mr E. L. Quoy, Mrs E. B. Quoy, Henry Yep Lum, Walter Don Hoy, Harry Yip and W.H. Lo, all equal partners and all domiciled in Australia, bought the business of Chien Sang & Co and established Yep Lum & Co. (10 Hay Street).⁶²

In the 1940s, 90 Hay Street was alternately leased by the Sydney Banana Company, “Licensed Farm Produce Agents, Wholesale Fruit, Produce and Vegetable Merchants” and the Yip See syndicate.⁶³ The Sydney Banana Company may have been a part of the Yip See syndicate as the business was managed by Charles Liu, the brother-in-law of Mabel Liu, Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy’s daughter. In 1941, the Sydney Banana Company advertised for banana growers on the North Coast of NSW to consign their bananas to the firm, boasting a store “equipped with the most modern scientific banana ripening plant” (see Figure 15).⁶⁴ The Sydney Banana Company also leased 90 Hay Street in 1948.⁶⁵

The Yip See syndicate made application to the City Council erect an additional banana ripening room on the first floor of 90 Hay Street in 1943.⁶⁶ In 1948, the Yip See syndicate made an application to erect a banana elevator at 90 Hay Street.⁶⁷ A building survey of 90 Hay Street in 1949 recorded a shop and office on the ground floor, a banana storage room on the first floor, additional storage on the second and five rooms for residence on the third floor.⁶⁸

Such banana ripening rooms were not unique to Chinese Australian fruit merchants. Documents in the collection of the City of Sydney Archives show that in the late 1950s, many banana commission agents with stores in the markets and in Hay, Quay and Thomas Streets and Ultimo Road applied to install banana ripening rooms, however, the Chinese fruit merchants appear to have been the first to do so.

⁶¹ NAA: SP1122/1, N1961/3364, 182.

⁶² NAA: SP1122/1, N1961/3364, 182.

⁶³ Assessment Book -Phillip Ward, 1945 (01/01/1945 -31/12/1945), [A-01089048]

⁶⁴ 1941 'Advertising', *Tweed Daily (Murwillumbah, NSW : 1914 - 1949)*, 23 August, 6. , viewed 05 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article192794046>

⁶⁵ City of Sydney Assessment Book -Phillip Ward, 1948 (01/01/1948 -31/12/1948), [A-01089047]

⁶⁶ *Building Inspectors Card: 90 Hay Street. Application to erect additional banana ripening rooms 1st* (23/08/1943 - 05/10/1943), [A-00338781]. City of Sydney Archives, accessed 02 May 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/1568535>

⁶⁷ 1948 'TENDERS ACCEPTED OR RECEIVED', *Construction (Sydney, NSW : 1938 - 1954)*, 22 September, 15, viewed 05 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article222880549>

⁶⁸ *Building Survey Card. 90-94 Hay St. Commercial and residence. Plan attached, Kimber lane on one* (01/10/1949), [A-00508810]. City of Sydney Archives, accessed 05 Mar 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/961319>



Figure 15. Advertisement in the Tweed Daily (Murwillumbah, NSW : 1914 - 1949), 23 August 1941, p. 6.
Source <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/192794046>

Like Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy, before him, Henry Won Yep Lum sponsored the entry of members of the Yip clan to Australia. According to his family, over the years, he continued to reunite families, sponsoring around 70 Chinese migrants. Many arrived as students from China and Hong Kong after World War II.⁶⁹ Henry's immigration file shows that in 1961, Yep Lum & Co. was owned by six equal partners – Harry H. Yip, Walter Donhoy Yip, Henry Lum Yip, Wellington Hong Lo, Mrs C. G. Quoy and Mrs G.Y. T. Quoy.⁷⁰

In 1948, Henry Lum Yip applied for permanent residence but his application was refused by Arthur Calwell, the then Minister for Immigration, though he was granted approval to remain in Australia without applying for extensions.⁷¹ It was not until 1957 that Chinese-born people were allowed to apply for naturalisation and citizenship could be granted to anyone who had been 15 years in the country.⁷² In 1961, Henry applied for naturalisation and on 7 December 1961, he was granted Australian citizenship.⁷³

90 Hay Street not only serves as a tangible reminder of the activities of the Yip clan produce merchants, but also of the labouring class of packers and carters who packed and transported the produce and to the market gardeners who grew the vegetables. In an interview with Mavis Gock Yen, Leung Pui (1914-1996) spoke about his father, who worked at the Haymarket produce markets. His family had remained in the village of Lung Hooey in Lungdu. On a return visit to see them Leung Pui recalled:

The first thing Dad took out was a leather apron. This leather apron had a hole in the chest. Dad said the money he earned came from packing tomatoes for the vegetable market in Sydney in Haymarket. He had to get up before dawn every morning and start carrying cases and cases of tomatoes, repack them and then carry them into the

⁶⁹ SBS News online, 30 August 2020.

⁷⁰ NAA:SP1122/1, N1961/3364, 46

⁷¹ NAA:SP1122/1, N1961/3364, 99.

⁷² ANG, I. & WONG, A. 2023, Zhongshan in Sydney's Chinatown, 220.

⁷³ NAA:SP1122/1, N1961/3364, 23, 13.

*storeroom. He was doing that every day. That's why he and the other partners wore leather aprons... He told us the market gardeners had to get up in the dark and carry hundreds of loads of water on their shoulder poles every day... 'There's no gold!' he said. 'It's all muscle power.'*⁷⁴

The post-market period

After the markets closed, this area of Hay Street was deserted. Douglas Lam, who migrated to Sydney from Hong Kong in the early 1960s and spent much of his spare time in Haymarket, recalls the stores were empty in 1975.⁷⁵ In the late 1970s, real estate was bought up by investors such as Alan Seeto who had come to Australia from Papua New Guinea. Seeto owned three restaurants on the corner of Hay and Harbour Streets.⁷⁶ Entrepreneur and investor Dominic Choy who emigrated to Australia in 1962 refitted the building and in 1981 opened a restaurant called Choy's AD 1000 at 90-92 Hay Street.(See Figure 16).



Figure 16 Commercial buildings, Hay Street Haymarket, 1979 (01/01/1979 - 31/12/1979), [A-00008121]. City of Sydney Archives, accessed 25 Jun 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/568766>

By the 1980s Dominic Choy had established the Howin Group of companies and a chain of six Choy's restaurants. In 1990 the Howin Group took a 49 percent interest in Rockvale Pty Ltd and partnered with Japan's Kajima Construction Group to develop Market City as a \$600 million major commercial and residential development on the old Paddy's Market Site adjacent to Sydney's Chinatown.⁷⁷

No. 90 Hay Street has been tenanted by a number of restaurants since then and as of January 2024, was occupied by a Japanese restaurant called Sushi Rio.

⁷⁴ Gock Yen, Mavis (author) Yen Siaoman, Horsburgh, Richard (eds), *South Flows the Pearl: Chinese Australian Voices*, Sydney University Press, 2022, 137

⁷⁵ Pers. comm. Douglas Lam, 24 April 2024.

⁷⁶ 1986 'THE LORDS OF CHINATOWN', *The Canberra Times (ACT : 1926 - 1995)*, 2 February, p. 50. , viewed 01 May 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article118202202>

⁷⁷ Translation from *Guangdong-Hong Kong Information Daily*, 29 August 1993, on website Dominic Choy.com, <https://www.dominicchoy.com/forbes>, accessed 30 April 2024.

3.5. No. 92 Hay St



Figure 17 92 Hay Street, (centre building). Source Juanita Kwok, 2024.

Hie Lee & Co.

The first tenant in the new Municipal building at 92 Hay Street was the firm of Hie Lee & Co. which occupied the building from 1912. The Hie Lee & Co firm had previously registered as wholesale fruit merchants at 28 Campbell Street in 1903. In the *Tung Wah Times* of 14 December 1912, the firm advertised themselves as fruit and produce merchants, and the head office as 92 Hay Street.⁷⁸ More specifically, Hie Lee & Co. were banana commission agents, advertising “best prices for growers” in the *Tweed Daily* in May 1920.⁷⁹

When Hie Lee & Co. registered their business at the 92 Hay Street address on 2 January 1919, those carrying on business were Ah Loy, Ah Hue Loong, Hing Loong, Yick Man, Willie Hee, George Low, Tee Wing and Ah Sum.⁸⁰ In May 1919, a notice in the *Chinese Republic News* announced the withdrawal of four of the partners from the firm.⁸¹ In October 1921, the firm advertised in the *Tung Wah Times*, under the name of Tie Lee & Co.⁸² The "Hie Lee" romanisation reflects See Yip pronunciation whilst the romanisation "Tie Lee" reflects

⁷⁸ 1912 'Advertising', *Tung Wah Times* (Sydney, NSW : 1901 - 1936), 14 December, 4, viewed 05 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article227970741>

⁷⁹ 1920 'Advertising', *Tweed Daily* (Murwillumbah, NSW : 1914 - 1949), 15 May, 2, viewed 05 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article191373534>

⁸⁰ Register of Firms Index, State Archives New South Wales: NRS 12961: Index no. 48. File No 31883, Item No.[2/8548].

⁸¹ 1919 '生意聲明', *Chinese Republic News* (Sydney, NSW : 1914 - 1937), 31 May, 6, , viewed 06 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article226018680>

⁸² 1921 'Advertising', *Tung Wah Times* (Sydney, NSW : 1901 - 1936), 1 October, 4, , viewed 06 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article227658363>

Cantonese pronunciation. The Cantonese romanisation in this advertisement might reflect a change in joint ownership from See Yip speakers to Cantonese speakers, or merely the language of the person who was tasked with listing or designing the advertisement.⁸³

Quong Wing Chong

On 29 August 1922, Hie Lee & Co. was purchased by the firm of Quong Wing Chong.⁸⁴ In 1902, William Quing was listed as an owner of Quong Wing Chong. Quing was associated with the Tsang Shing district.⁸⁵ In 1923, the Tsang Shing firm of Quong Wing Chong & Co. (92 Hay Street), the Tung Koon firm of Lee Sang & Co. (90 Hay Street) and the Chungshan firm of Kwong War Chong (84 Dixon Street) were amongst the founders of a new organisation that represented Chinese Christians from three different Christian denominations. Called the "Neutral Alliance", the organisation aimed to quell tensions in the community following months of written warfare between Sydney's three Chinese newspapers.⁸⁶ This is but one initiative that sought to rise above district loyalties and political differences to seek cohesiveness in the community.

By 1932, Quong Wing Chong firm appears to have come under the ownership of people from the Sam Yap district, as a Sam Yap organisation called the "Sam Yap Hang Shin Tong" advertised that it would be holding a meeting upstairs at Quong Wing Chong, Hay Street.⁸⁷ In 1910 the same organisation conducted a Sam Yap bone repatriation drive in 1910 with addresses for correspondence given as Kwong Wing Chong and Y. C. Hong On Jang.⁸⁸

In 1924 Quong Wing Chong & Co. moved into the building at 92 Hay Street and shared the premises with Hie Lee & Co. with the former supplying fruit and vegetables while Quong Wing Chong sold Chinese goods and offered a remittance service.

Besides growing and selling bananas, Hie Lee & Co. were exporters of Australian produce. In February 1934, for example, Hie Lee & Co. exported 1021 bags of flour (22 tons) to Hong Kong.⁸⁹ This volume of exports is likely to have earned the management of Hie Lee & Co. (as merchants with a certain export turnover), privileges of allowing the entry of wives and employees for the company. In 1936, Hie Lee & Co. along with ten other Chinese banana agents including Sun Lee & Co. and Wing Sang & Co. (96 Hay Street), were amongst 27 agents appointed to join the Banana Marketing Board, a newly created Australian authority.⁹⁰ The lease alternated between Hie Lee & Co. and Quong Wing Chong between 1913 and 1948.⁹¹

A building survey of 92 Hay Street in 1949 recorded a shop and office on the ground floor, a banana storage room on the first floor and storage on the second. No use was recorded for the

⁸³ Ely Finch, pers. comm. 10 January 2024.

⁸⁴ 1922 '承買生意聲明', *Chinese Republic News (Sydney, NSW : 1914 - 1937)*, 19 August, 6. , viewed 06 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article225212493>

⁸⁵ 1902 '判審華人案情', *Guang yi hua bao = The Chinese Australian Herald (Sydney, NSW : 1894 -1923)*, 21 June, 5. , viewed 06 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article170084032>; 1907 '修橋捐款', *Tung Wah Times (Sydney, NSW : 1901 - 1936)*, 2 March, 7. , viewed 06 Mar 2024. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article246933577>

⁸⁶ 1923 '聯合會啓事', *Chinese Republic News (Sydney, NSW : 1914 - 1937)*, 14 April, 8 , viewed 06 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article226001286>

⁸⁷ 1932 '三邑恒善堂啓事', *Tung Wah Times (Sydney, NSW : 1901 - 1936)*, 27 February, 8 , viewed 06 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article227426967>

⁸⁸ 1910 'Advertising', *Guang yi hua bao = The Chinese Australian Herald (Sydney, NSW : 1894 - 1923)*, 21 May, 6. , viewed 06 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article168079659>

⁸⁹ 1934 'NEW SOUTH WALES EXPORT MANIFESTS.', *Daily Commercial News and Shipping List (Sydney, NSW : 1891 - 1954)*, 7 February, 6. , viewed 06 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article161062193>

⁹⁰ 1936 'PUBLIC WILL SLIP ON BANANA BOARD', *Truth (Sydney, NSW : 1894 - 1954)*, 22 March, 12. , viewed 06 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article169580768>

⁹¹ *Sands Directory*, 1913-1933; *Assessment Book Phillip Ward*, 1934-1948.

third floor.⁹² In 1950, an application was made to the City Council for construction of a banana ripening room on the ground floor of 92 Hay Street.⁹³



Figure 18 Paddy's Fruit and Vegetable Markets, Quay Street Haymarket, circa 1930 (01/01/1930 - 31/12/1930), [A-00018781]. Source City of Sydney Archives, accessed 06 Mar 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/578000>

⁹² *Building Survey Card. 90-94 Hay St. Commercial and residence. Plan attached, Kimber lane on one* (01/10/1949), [A-00508810]. City of Sydney Archives, accessed 05 Mar 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/961319>

⁹³ 1950 'TENDERS CALLED', *Construction (Sydney, NSW : 1938 - 1954)*, 13 December, 15. , viewed 06 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article222891270>

3.6. No. 94 Hay Street



Figure 19 Nos. 90-94 Hay Street with Harbour Street on the left and Kimber Lane on the right. Source Juanita Kwok 2024.

Wing Tiy & Co.

From 1913 to at least 1948, Wing Tiy & Co. occupied 94 Hay Street.⁹⁴ Wing Tiy & Co. relocated from 34 Campbell Street where the firm registered as fruit merchants and commission agents in 1903. Persons carrying on the business were listed as Mark Kew, Char Rin, Lee Loy and Wing Sang.⁹⁵ Wing Tiy & Co. was one of the biggest and longest-lasting banana merchants in Australia. In 1902, Wing Tiy & Co. had amalgamated with Wing Sang and Wing On to form Sang On Tiy & Company to expand its operations into Fiji. This firm had 350 acres under cultivation in Fiji and in the first season, were bringing 10,000 bunches of bananas a fortnight into Sydney.⁹⁶

In 1913, when Wing Qui [sic] & Co. was registered at 94 Hay Street, the persons carrying on the business were Chan York, Loy Leong, Fay Chang, Wing Chan, Qui Chong, Chan Boo and Yin Leong.⁹⁷ Wing Chan, also known as Mark Joe, was one of the founders of the Wing Sang Co. In the photo of the Wing Sang founders at Figure 20, Mark Joe (Ma Wing Chan) is on the left, next to him are George Kwok Bew, Ma Ying Piu and Choy Hing. Wing Tiy & Co. was a Ma family subsidiary of Wing Sang & Co.

⁹⁴ *Sands Directory*, 1913-1933; *Assessment Book Phillip Ward*, 1934-1948.

⁹⁵ Register of Firms Index, State Archives New South Wales: NRS 12961, File 521, Item [2/8526].

⁹⁶ ALI, B. N. K. 2005. Quong Tart and early Chinese businesses in Fiji. *Journal of Pacific Studies*, 84, citing Eric Rolls, *Sojourners*, 438-9.

⁹⁷ NRS: 12961, Index No. 48, File No. 22803, Item No [2/8543].



Figure 20. Founders of Wing Sang & Co Ltd, 1890 (01/01/1890 - 31/12/1890), [A-00025392]. Source City of Sydney Archives, accessed 10 Mar 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/586037>

Around 1933, Charles and Thomas Ma came to Australia from Hong Kong to work in the Ma family firm of Wing Sang & Co. Charles was born in Sydney, but had been sent back to China for his education before returning to Australia. In 1938, Charles, then Manager of Wing Tiy & Co., gave evidence before the Fruit Industry Commission in Sydney about the working hours of the men handling the bananas at the City Markets. Ma said:

*the men handling bananas start at 6.30am. In winter they might finish at 5 o'clock, except on Mondays and Thursdays when they finish at 6 o'clock. In the summer there is no criterion as to when we finish. We start at 6.30am and go round the clock, probably finishing at 11 o'clock at night.*⁹⁸

A building survey of 94 Hay Street in 1949, recorded a shop and office on the ground floor, a banana storage room and office on the first floor, residence and storage on the second floor and a roof house residence on the third floor.⁹⁹ The families or employees that occupied these

⁹⁸ 1938 'FRUIT MARKETING', *The Albury Banner and Wodonga Express (NSW : 1860 - 1927; 1929 - 1931; 1933 - 1938)*, 10 June, p. 9. , viewed 10 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article102341405>

⁹⁹ *Building Survey Card. 90-94 Hay St. Commercial and residence. Plan attached, Kimber lane on one (01/10/1949)*, [A-00508810]. City of Sydney Archives, accessed 05 Mar 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/961319>

rooms have not so far been identified. A building inspection carried out by the City Building Inspector in 1959, recorded two banana ripening rooms at 94 Hay Street.¹⁰⁰

Charles' brother Thomas, born in Hong Kong in 1916, also worked at Wing Tiy & Co.¹⁰¹ Thomas, his wife Lily and their children had a home in Strathfield, but Thomas spent much of his life working at 94 Hay Street.



Figure 21. Lily and Thomas Ma in the early 1940s. Source Denise Ma.

Thomas Ma bought Wing Tiy & Co. in 1963, and managed the firm until the mid-70s. After selling up at the time the markets re-located to Flemington, he went to help the ageing Mar Leong Wah at the Wing Sang headquarters at 58 Hay Street. Thomas Ma's daughter Denise Ma recalls of 94 Hay Street:

Each school holidays we would go for our trip to the city from Strathfield. We would go to pick up Dad and I remember going to the office on the mezzanine floor. I also remember visiting Uncle Charles and Aunty Edith at 96 Hay Street until they moved out in late 1956. It is a significant part of my life.

¹⁰⁰ *Building Inspectors Card: 94 Hay St, Sydney. Banana reopening rooms (2), development application (22/06/1959 - 30/10/1959), [A-00364720].* City of Sydney Archives, accessed 06 Mar 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/1572834>

¹⁰¹ Author's telephone conversation with Denise Ma, daughter of Thomas Ma, 10 March 2024.



Figure 22. Denise Ma, daughter of Thomas Ma, owner of Wing Tiy & Co, from 1963. She is next to her Wing Tiy & Co. banana packing crate stencilled with the firm's number, 115. The bananas in the crate were consigned to Wing Tiy & Co. by Sikh grower, Booja Singh in Woolgoolga. Source Denise Ma, 2024.

3.7.No. 96 Hay St

From 1913 to 1919, Tiy Chung & Co. Produce Merchants occupied the new building at 96 Hay Street. Tiy Chung & Co. had registered the business, then located at 445 Pitt Street in 1903.¹⁰² In 1919, Hook Yick & Co., a company with its headquarters in Melbourne, took out an advertisement in the *Tweed Daily* to announce the opening of a branch at 96 Hay Street and to solicit growers to consign their bananas and “pines” [pineapples] to the Sydney branch.

A similar advertisement taken out in the *Tung Wah Times* indicated that the firm was dedicated to the sale of Fiji and Queensland fruit and bananas, and produce from Queensland and other states.¹⁰³



Figure 23. Nos 96-100 Hay Street, 96 Hay Street is to the right of Kimber Lane. Source Juanita Kwok, 2024.

¹⁰² Register of Firms Index, State Archives New South Wales: NRS 12961, File No. 4740, Item No [2/8529], 570.

¹⁰³ 1919 'Advertising', *Tung Wah Times* (Sydney, NSW : 1901 - 1936), 14 June, 7. , viewed 07 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article227012797>

BANANAS. BANANAS.

We have opened a Branch at 96 Hay Street, Haymarket, and having secured an efficient staff, will give the utmost attention to all BANANAS, PINES, &c., consigned to us.

Prompt Returns immediately Goods are Sold.

Stencils supplied to consignees.

Our Cheques to Growers are Free of Exchange.

HOOK YICK & COMPANY,
HEAD OFFICE: WESTERN MARKET, MELBOURNE.
G.P.O. BOX 729.
BRANCH: 96 HAY STREET, HAYMARKET.
P.O. BOX 8.

MELBOURNE: Shipping No. 44, Brand H Y
Mlb.

SYDNEY: Shipping No. 44, Brand H Y
S

Figure 24. 1919 'Advertising', *Tweed Daily* (Murwillumbah, NSW : 1914 - 1949), 8 November, p. 2. , viewed 07 Mar 2024. Source . <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article191065900>

Wing Sang & Co.

In 1920, an advertisement gave notice that Wing Sang & Co. had purchased Hook Yick's 96 Hay Street shop on the 27th of March 1920, and had started trading there under the name Wing Sang & Co. from that date on.¹⁰⁴ Wing Sang & Co. was one of the largest and best-established firms in Australia, with banana wholesale as the cornerstone of its business, but also engaged in the remittance business. Though Wing Sang had established Hong Kong as its headquarters by 1921, Wing Sang & Co. and subsidiaries maintained its banana wholesale business and import-export trade in Australia into the latter decades of the 20th century.

Wing Sang & Co. had offices and warehouses at various addresses in the Haymarket area before establishing the store at 96 Hay Street in 1921. Whilst some of their buildings, such as the warehouse at 450 Sussex Street and the headquarters at 58 Hay Street have been demolished, others are still standing, for example the Wing Sang & Co. store at 20 Campbell Street.

A detailed history of Wing Sang & Co. buildings in Sydney, Hong Kong and China was undertaken by the China-Australia Heritage Corridor project.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ 1920 '承受生意聲明', *Chinese Republic News* (Sydney, NSW : 1914 - 1937), 24 April, p. 7. , viewed 10 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article225207694>

¹⁰⁵ The China-Australia Heritage Corridor Project, online, *The Wing Sang & Co buildings, Sydney | China-Australia Heritage Corridor*, accessed 9 March 2024.



Figure 25. Three storey brick warehouse, head office for Wing Sang and Company, Produce Merchants at 450 Sussex Street was demolished circa 1919. City of Sydney, Print - Wing Sang and Company in Sussex Street Haymarket, circa 1909 (01/01/1909 - 31/12/1913), [A-00036648]. Source City of Sydney Archives, accessed 09 Mar 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/663015>

Mar See Poy

The Managing Director of Wing Sang & Co. at 96 Hay Street was Mar See Poy (called Mar Sha Poi in his immigration file). Mar See Poy was the grandfather of Glenn and Phillip Mar, who wrote about the sad end to his career at 96 Hay Street.¹⁰⁶ Mar See Poy came to Australia in 1914 at the age of twenty-two, as a substitute manager for Wing Sang & Co. At the time, the senior managers were heading back to China following Ma Ying Piu who had set up the Sincere store in Hong Kong.¹⁰⁷ The Police report on Mar's file states that "the firm of Wing Sang is held in the highest repute and is financially sound."¹⁰⁸

The application for Mar See Poy's was granted, renewable on application if the company met with certain conditions, including a high business turnover. For almost a decade Mar See Poy was able to extend his stay, during which time he married, fathered a daughter, lost his first wife, remarried and had two Sydney-born sons, Arthur and Raymond Mar.¹⁰⁹

On applying for an extension in 1924, he was observed by a Senior Boarding officer, who reported:

I have observed this man on at least ten occasions and R.W. Wilson on four occasions working at a branch store of the firm at 96 Hay Street, Sydney where the business is

¹⁰⁶ MAR, G. & MAR, P. 2023. Making Heritage: The Mar family and Sha Chong. In: BYRNE, D., ANG, I. & MAR, P. (eds.) *The China-Australia Migration Corridor: History and Heritage*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

¹⁰⁷ MAR, G. & MAR, P. 2023. Making Heritage: The Mar family and Sha Chong.

¹⁰⁸ Mar Sha Poi (Lung Yan Soo) - Exemption certificate', NAA: A1, 1925/11716, 112.

¹⁰⁹ MAR, G. & MAR, P. 2023. Making Heritage: The Mar family and Sha Chong.

mainly fruit dealing. On every visit we have seen Mar Sha Poi [sic] with his shirt sleeves rolled back, with a leather apron, without coat or vest, loading and unloading goods from carts, packing and stacking fruit and performing other ordinary store duties. The premises 96 Hay Street open right onto the roadway and this man can be observed at any time employed in the same manner as other Chinese and European fruit store assistants in the same street.¹¹⁰

As a manager, Mar See Poy was not expected to partake in the manual work of fruit handling, and with this doubt cast on the nature of his employment, the extension was refused. Glenn Mar writes, “Mar See Poy left Australia in April 1926 with his family... and settled in his home village of Sha Chong ...he died in 1928.”¹¹¹



Figure 26. Employees of Wing Sang & Co Ltd, 1924 (01/01/1924 - 31/12/1924), [A-00025390]. Source City of Sydney Archives, accessed 10 Mar 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/586035>. Mar See Poy is seated, centre.

By 1930, bananas imported from Fiji were subject to crippling import duty and Chinese growers were excluded from the industry in Queensland and northern NSW. As the years wore on, immigration restrictions had the desired effect of draining Chinese enterprises of labour. Chinese firms adapted to the circumstances and like Wing Chong and Hie Lee, Wing Sang & Co., turned to advertising in the newspapers for white and Italian growers to consign their bananas to the firm. In 1930, the firm was promoted as “Licensed farm produce agents, Oldest established banana specialists, Head Office 58 Hay Street, branches Fruit Exchange, City Markets, 96 Hay Street.”¹¹²

¹¹⁰ NAA: A1, 1925/11716, 23.

¹¹¹ MAR, G. & MAR, P. 2023. Making Heritage: The Mar family and Sha Chong, 136-7.

¹¹² 1930 'Advertising', *Tweed Daily (Murwillumbah, NSW : 1914 - 1949)*, 12 July, p. 8. , viewed 10 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article192687398>

Sun Lee & Co.

In 1933, Sun Lee & Co. took over the lease at 96 Hay Street. Sun Lee & Co. advertised in the Italian newspaper, *Il Giornale Italiano*, that the firm had a local agent in Lismore.¹¹³ S. Watts at Stokers Siding in the Brunswick Valley of the North Coast of NSW acted as an agent for Wing Sang & Co.¹¹⁴ In 1934, an application made to alter the stairs and banana room was approved at 96 Hay Street.¹¹⁵ This would have been around the time that Charles Ma arrived in Sydney with his wife Edith nee Yee. Both Charles and Edith were born in Australia but raised in Hong Kong. Charles and Edith had twin daughters Audrey and June, born in Sydney in 1934 and a son Daniel, born in Sydney in 1944.



Figure 27. Edith and Charles Ma, Sydney, circa 1934. Source courtesy of the Ma family

Until about 1956, Charles, Edith and children lived on the top floor of 96 Hay Street. Their son Daniel Ma recalls:

96 Hay Street was called Sun Lee in my childhood. It was where my family lived from the mid-1930s to around 1956. We had the top floor. The building was one of a group of six connected buildings located on Hay Street... All six buildings were similar in their internal layout. Ours comprised of an open-plan shop with ripening rooms at street level, a half-floor mezzanine office space, two full floors of residential accommodation

¹¹³ 1933 'Advertising', *Il Giornale Italiano* (Sydney, NSW : 1932 - 1940), 3 June, p. 3. , viewed 10 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83031411>

¹¹⁴ 1942 'Advertising', *Tweed Daily* (Murwillumbah, NSW : 1914 - 1949), 7 November, p. 4. , viewed 10 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article192947195>

¹¹⁵ 1934 'Buildings and Works Approved', *Construction and Real Estate Journal* (Sydney, NSW : 1930 - 1938), 19 September, p. 4. , viewed 10 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article222914536>

*and an open rooftop “terrace”... For the most part the building was fairly basic. The rooms were divided using thin masonite partitions that were only head height...*¹¹⁶

Every day, Charles Ma would go to work at Wing Tiy & Co. at 94 Hay Street, and in later years at the main Wing Sang building at 58 Hay Street.¹¹⁷

Daniel Ma describes the markets:

Bananas were delivered in wooden boxes which were all marked with their place of origin and destination stencilled on the box. They were offloaded off the flat-top trucks and wheel-barrowed to the ripening rooms almost every weekday morning. Most of the men handling the boxes wore thick brown aprons which were almost like a uniform at the markets.

A scene very much like the one described by Daniel Ma can be seen in the photograph at Figure 28.



Figure 28. Photographer, Leslie John Jenkins, Municipal Markets, Quay Street Haymarket, circa 1935 (01/01/1935 - 31/12/1935), [A-01182468]. Source City of Sydney Archives, accessed 10 Mar 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/1947019>

Wing Sang & Co. appear to have ceased trading at 96 Hay Street sometime in the 1940s. From 1948 until at least 1952, Russell & Sons were advertising fruit and vegetables at wholesale prices at 96 Hay Street. By the time Daniel grew up at 96 Hay Street, European and Italian vegetable merchants were replacing the previously Chinese-dominated industry. According to Daniel:

¹¹⁶ Daniel Ma, “Chinatown Memories”, pers. comm. 6 May 2024.

¹¹⁷ Telephone conversation with Daniel Ma, 10 March 2024.

Every weekday there would be a siren at 7am to announce the opening of the markets and that would be the signal for the buildings to raise their street front roller shutters...The whole market area would turn into this hive of activity. Hustle and bustle, people jostling to park their trucks and often lots of swearing!! English profanities. Cantonese profanities. Italian profanities. Greek profanities. It was rough but very exciting!!¹¹⁸

Daniel Ma recalls in his childhood:

the ground floor of Sun Lee was sublet to some Italian fruit suppliers. The shop incorporated several banana ripening rooms. Bananas were delivered by rail from "faraway places" like Coffs Harbour and were ripened by gas before being sold to fruit shop owners from all over Sydney.¹¹⁹

The Ma family moved out around 1956 but 96 Hay Street remained in use as a banana ripening room until at least 1961.¹²⁰

Post-market period

From the late 1970s to the late 1980s, 96 Hay Street was owned by Tensons Pty Ltd.¹²¹ It was developed for use as a succession of restaurants including Lotus World Vegetarian Restaurant in 1977 and the Mandalay Nay Pe Daw restaurant in the early 1980s, before Stanley Yee bought the building and established a restaurant in 1979, which was the forerunner of the long-running Emperors Garden, which is still owned and operated by the Yee family to this day. See 100 Hay Street for further detail.

¹¹⁸ Daniel Ma, "Chinatown Memories", pers. comm. 6 May 2024.

¹¹⁹ 1948 'Advertising', *Northern Star (Lismore, NSW: 1876 - 1954)*, 6 October, p. 7. , viewed 10 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article99031397>

¹²⁰ *Building Inspectors Card: 96 Hay St Haymarket. Banana ripening room. 1 Card.* (15/09/1960 - 26/04/1961), [A-00368413]. City of Sydney Archives, accessed 02 May 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/1576757>

¹²¹ *DEVELOPMENT & BUILDING - BUILDING APPLICATIONS (NEW) 96 HAY ST HAYMARKET DECORATIVE FACADE TENSONS PROPERTIES PTY LTD* (19/03/1979 - 31/12/1987), [A-00680286]. City of Sydney Archives, accessed 02 May 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/1498093>

3.8. No. 98 Hay St



Figure 29. Nos 96-100 Hay Street. 98 Hay Street is the centre building. Source Juanita Kwok, 2024.

War Loong & Co.

Between 1913 and 1932, 98 Hay Street was tenanted by War Loong & Co.¹²² War Loong & Co. Produce Merchants registered a store at 449-451 Pitt Street in 1903.¹²³ In 1911, War Loong & Co. at 185 Hay Street, was listed as a contact by a Sydney Loong Tu (Longdu) district association with respect to a bone-repatriation drive, indicating that War Loong & Co. was a Loong Tu firm, i.e. a firm connected with this subdistrict of Heung Shan, and language community.¹²⁴

Amongst the names of those who had registered the firm of War Loong & Co. in 1903, was Dong Sing. In 1913, War Loong & Co. at 98 Hay Street, applied for a tobacco licence.¹²⁵ This might have been the Doon Sing who in 1913 raised a “fine crop” of tobacco on W.P. Brook’s nine acres of riverfront land in Bathurst.¹²⁶ From the late 19th century to the mid-1920s, Bathurst was a centre of Chinese market gardening and tobacco growing in NSW. The railway enabled produce from Bathurst to be transported to the Haymarket, and merchants, such as Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy of Lee Sang & Co. (90 Hay Street), established stores and market gardens in Bathurst early in the 20th century. Due to obstacles placed in the way of Chinese growers, incentives offered to white growers, and a series of unexplained fires, Chinese growers effectively gave up growing tobacco in Bathurst in the mid-1920s.¹²⁷

¹²² *Sands Directory*, 1913-1932.

¹²³ Register of Firms Index, State Archives New South Wales: NRS 12961, File No. 4743 [2/8529], 572.

¹²⁴ 1911 'Advertising', *Tung Wah Times (Sydney, NSW : 1901 - 1936)*, 11 November, p. 7. , viewed 10 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article227976468>

¹²⁵ 1913 'TOBACCO, CIGAR, AND CIGARETTE LICENSES.', *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales (Sydney, NSW : 1901 - 2001)*, 11 June, p. 3574. , viewed 10 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article221595839>

¹²⁶ 1913 'Tobacco Growing in Bathurst.', *The Bathurst Times (NSW : 1909 - 1925)*, 18 March, p. 2. , viewed 10 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article111206367>

¹²⁷ KWOK, J. 2019. *The Chinese in Bathurst: Recovering Forgotten Histories*. Doctor of Philosophy PhD thesis, Charles Sturt University, 252.

In 1928, War Loong & Co. advertised an expansion of the business, stating that they dealt in potatoes, onions, horse feed, ox-bone ash, etc., as well as the procurement of fruit and vegetables from country towns.¹²⁸ However, in November 1932, the firm advised their shareholders that they had resolved to close the business down.¹²⁹

Wing Chong & Co.

The Sands Directory lists Wing Chong & Co. at 98 Hay Street in 1933. Wing Chong & Co. were banana agents. The importation of bananas from Fiji had limped on under the weight of heavy import tariffs until 1933, when an article in the *Tung Wah Times* complained that the tax on selling Fiji bananas in Australia was so heavy—1s. 3d. per crate—that the last two shipments resulted in over 50 percent losses.¹³⁰ By 1933, when Italian growers had moved into banana growing on the north coast, Chinese Australian banana commission agents including Wing Chong & Co. advertised for consignees in *Il Giornale Italiano*.¹³¹ In 1935, Wing Chong & Co. was appointed, along with ten other Chinese banana agents including Sun Lee & Co. and Wing Sang & Co. (96 and 98 Hay Street), to join the Banana Marketing Board, a newly created Australian authority.¹³² In the 1940s, Wing Chong & Co. at 98 Hay Street placed advertisements in the *Tweed Daily*, seeking growers to consign their bananas to the firm. Wing Chong & Co. banana agents continued advertising for consignees until at least 1951.¹³³



Figure 30. 1940 'Advertising', *Tweed Daily* (Murwillumbah, NSW : 1914 - 1949), 18 October, p. 7. , viewed 10 Mar 2024. Source <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article192934515>

¹²⁸ 1928, *Tung Wah Times* (Sydney, NSW : 1901 - 1936), 3 March, p. 3. , viewed 10 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page24098711>

¹²⁹ 1932 '雪梨', *Tung Wah Times* (Sydney, NSW : 1901 - 1936), 26 November, p. 5. , viewed 10 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article227434574>

¹³⁰ 1933 '飛枝蕉來路將絕', *Tung Wah Times* (Sydney, NSW : 1901 - 1936), 29 April, p. 8. , viewed 10 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article227427842>

¹³¹ 1933 'Advertising', *Il Giornale Italiano* (Sydney, NSW : 1932 - 1940), 6 May, p. 5. , viewed 10 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83031183>

¹³² 1936 'PUBLIC WILL SLIP ON BANANA BOARD', *Truth* (Sydney, NSW : 1894 - 1954), 22 March, 12. , viewed 06 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article169580768>

¹³³ 1951 'Advertising', *Northern Star* (Lismore, NSW : 1876 - 1954), 25 June, p. 7. , viewed 10 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article96540062>

3.9. No. 100 Hay St

In 1912, the new building at 100 Hay Street was briefly tenanted by United Fruit Co. before Gee Ick & Co. General Merchants occupied 100 Hay Street in 1913, remaining there until 1920.¹³⁴



Figure 31. No. 100 Hay St. Source Juanita Kwok, 2024.

Gee Ick & Co.

George Goon Ick took out a tobacco licence for Gee Ick & Co. in 1913.¹³⁵ George Goon Ick was the son of the well-established and influential merchant, Den War, known by his trading name of Gee Ick. Gee Ick was exporting gold from 1865 and operating a gold remittance service for Heung Shan (Chungshan) natives on the Western Goldfields of NSW.¹³⁶ Gee Ick was a member of the NSW Chinese Empire Reform Association, the Lin Yik Tong (Chinese Commercial Association 1892-1903) and the NSW Chinese Merchants Society, the latter two being predecessor organisations to the NSW Chinese Chamber of Commerce.¹³⁷ Gee Ick & Co. had a store at 185 George Street in the Rocks, before establishing stores at 374 Pitt Street and 62-64 Wexford Street. The latter two stores were demolished in the City resumptions of 1906-1913.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ City of Sydney Archives Assessment Books 1912 (A-01136247); 1913 (A-01136246); 1915 (A-01136244); 1919 (A-01136240); 1920 (A-01136239).

¹³⁵ 1913 'TOBACCO, CIGAR, AND CIGARETTE LICENSES.', *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales (Sydney, NSW : 1901 - 2001)*, 19 November, p. 6953. , viewed 09 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article228060555>

¹³⁶ 1865 'Shipping Gazette', *Sydney Mail (NSW : 1860 - 1871)*, 23 December, p. 7. , viewed 09 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article166662339>

¹³⁷ 1897 'THE SOUTH POLAR EXPEDITION.', *The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, NSW : 1883 - 1930)*, 7 September, p. 4. , viewed 09 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article238430107>; 1900 'CHINESE EMPIRE ASSOCIATION.', *The Sydney Morning Herald (NSW : 1842 - 1954)*, 11 August, p. 9. , viewed 09 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article14329715>

KUO, M. F. 2013, 85, 120.

¹³⁸ City of Sydney, *Print - Wexford Street Resumption Surry Hills, circa 1909 (01/01/1909 - 31/12/1909)*, [A-00038580]. City of Sydney Archives, accessed 09 Mar 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/673376>; City of Sydney, *Print - Commercial premises in Pitt Street Sydney, circa 1909 (01/01/1909 - 31/12/1913)*, [A-00036545]. City of Sydney Archives, accessed 09 Mar 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/662912>

When the Pitt Street store was registered in 1903, firstly as importers and merchants and then as general merchants, the registration record showed a number of partners in the business.¹³⁹

Advertisements in the Chinese newspapers show Gee Ick & Co. sold Chinese goods including tea, rice, cooking oil, dried seafood, fireworks, candied ginger, chinaware, Chinese proprietary medicines and Chinese and Western groceries at 100 Hay Street and also provided a remittance service.¹⁴⁰ This remittance service likely operated in a similar manner to the service provided by Chungshan firm, Kwong War Chong at 82-84 Dixon Street. Kwong War Chong sent individual remittances together with a letter to the family written by the company's clerk as a consolidated bank draft to a networked bank in Hong Kong. The draft was converted into Hong Kong dollars and the store's branch in Shekki (China) delivered the remittance to the family in the village.¹⁴¹ Families left behind in the villages were dependent on remittances, which played a crucial part in the local economy.

Hop Chong & Co.

In 1919, the firm of Hop Chong & Co. "Importers and Exporters and Fruit and Produce Merchants and General Commission Agents", was registered at 100 Hay Street by family relatives of Gee Ick and other partners.¹⁴²

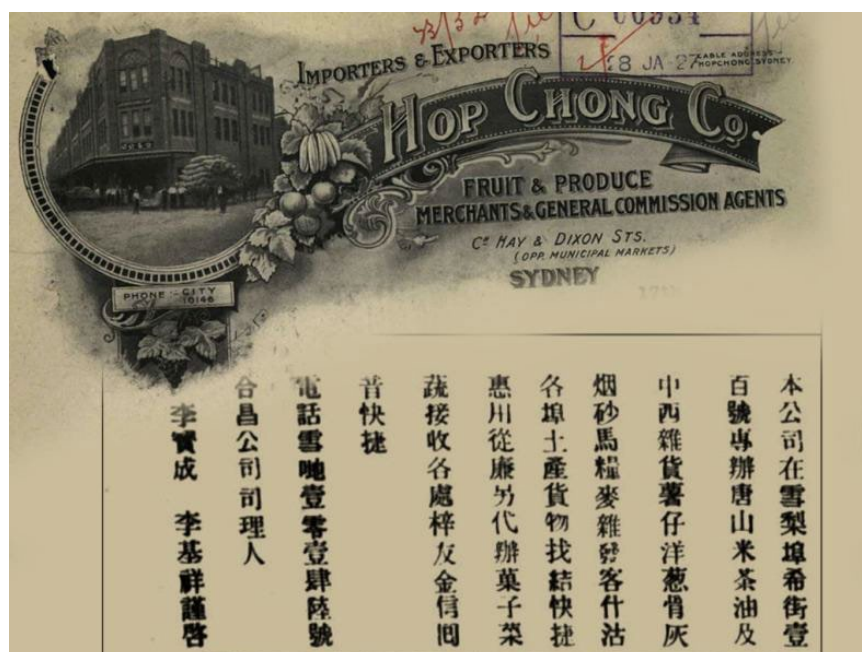


Figure 32. Hop Chong & Co. letterhead showing the building at 100 Hay St. Source Chen Quin Jack History website.

In 1920, the managing partner of Hop Chong & Co. was Lee Kee Chong, another of Gee Ick's sons. Kira Brown, the great-great granddaughter of Lee Kee Chong, has researched the lives of Lee Kee Chong and his family and shared her findings on her website, *Chen Quin Jack History*.¹⁴³

According to Brown's research, Lee Kee Chong, born 1864 in Hang Mei, Heung Shan (Chungshan) arrived in NSW in 1880, where he became known as Kee Chong. He worked in the Haymarket in Sydney for a few years before moving to the tin mining town of Tingha in 1885,

¹³⁹ SANSW:NRS 12961 File No. 12160, [2/8536] , 80; 3179, [2/8528], 390.

¹⁴⁰ Pers. comm with Ely Finch, 9 March 2024.

¹⁴¹ Williams, Michael. *Chinese Settlement in NSW: A Thematic History*. (NSW Heritage Office of NSW: 1996), p. 22, <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/resources/heritagebranch/heritage/chinesehistory.pdf>.

¹⁴² SANSW:NRS 12961, File No 34665, [2/8549].

¹⁴³ BROWN, K. 2020. *Lee Kee Chong — 李基祥* [Online]. Orange: Brown, Kira. Available: <https://chenquinjackhistory.com/2020/01/26/lee-kee-chong-%E6%9D%8E-%E5%9F%BA-%E7%A5%A5/comment-page-1/> accessed 9 March 2024

where he married Agnes Yauphang in 1892. On marrying Kee Chong, Agnes was recorded as “Australian born, but lost nationality through marriage with Chinese”, and was declared an alien. Her Australian citizenship was not restored until 1940 when she made an application after the death of her husband.¹⁴⁴



Figure 33. Lee Kee Chong and Agnes Yauphang at the time of their wedding in Tingha, 1892. Source Chen Quin Jack History website.

The Kee Chong family moved to Moree, where Kee Chong began a business called Sam Lee & Co. in partnership with Gee Ick and Den War. In 1903, the family went to China, where Kee Chong took a Chinese wife, to the chagrin of his Australian wife and family. Kee Chong returned to Moree in 1905, followed by Agnes and children. In 1911, Kee Chong applied for a certificate of naturalisation. Though he had been living and working in Australia for more than 30 years and was married with seven children, his application was rejected.¹⁴⁵

In 1920, Kee Chong advertised in the *Chinese Republic News*, calling on fellow Lee clan members in NSW to raise funds towards the cost of furniture and couplet inscriptions for a Lee family ancestral hall in Hang Mei in Chungshan.¹⁴⁶ Hop Chong & Co. also made a £2 donation towards an appeal in support of China and its resistance against Japan, after the latter’s annexation of Manchuria.¹⁴⁷ Though Lee Kee Chong died in 1939, the Hop Chong & Co. business continued at 100 Hay Street until at least 1948.¹⁴⁸ In 1959, H. Ming Lai applied to install two banana ripening rooms on the ground floor of 100 Hay Street.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ BROWN, K. 2020. *Lee Kee Chong — 李基祥* [Online].

¹⁴⁵ ‘Lee Kee Chong’.

¹⁴⁶ ‘Lee Kee Chong’; 1920 ‘Chinese Republic News (Sydney, NSW : 1914 - 1937), 3 July, p. 6. , viewed 09 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article225205690>

¹⁴⁷ 1932 *Chinese Republic News (Sydney, NSW : 1914 - 1937)*, 21 May, p. 8. , viewed 09 Mar 2024, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article226546460>

¹⁴⁸ ‘Lee Kee Chong’; *Assessment Book Phillip Ward, 1939-1948*.

¹⁴⁹ *Building Inspectors Card: 100 Hay St, Sydney. Banana ripening rooms (2) grd floor, development (12/06/1959 - 04/02/1960)*, [A-00364659]. City of Sydney Archives, accessed 09 Mar 2024, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/1572457>

Stanley Yee and Emperor's Garden Restaurant

At the Chinatown Heritage Study Stakeholder Workshop, the change in use of 100 Hay Street from its early industrial use and connection with Hong Kong and Shanghai, to its later use primarily for restaurants was noted. This shift in economic purpose is reflective of Chinatown's changing economy and role.

Though other restaurants have occupied premises at 90-100 Hay Street, none have lasted as long as Emperor's Garden opened by Stanley Yee in 1979.¹⁵⁰ Born in Chuen Luk Village in Chungshan, Yee came to Sydney as a high school student in the early 1960s. While studying he worked at one of the banana wholesale companies in the Haymarket and at Lean Sun Low café. Over the years Yee expanded Emperor's Garden, and established a number of other businesses in the Chinatown areas including a Chinese bakery, a butchery and a tofu factory.¹⁵¹



Figure 34. Corner of Dixon Street and Hay Street, Haymarket (01/05/1991), [A-00011724]. City of Sydney Archives, accessed 09 Mar 2024. Source <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/views/572369>

Stanley Yee was a member of the Dixon Street Beautification Committee, which in the early 1970s pushed for the regeneration of Dixon Street as a centrepiece to the broader Chinatown area.¹⁵²

Like Kee Chong from Hop Chong & Co. before him, Stanley Yee has continued the tradition of philanthropic contributions, donating generously for a school, a community centre and a kindergarten in his ancestral village in Chungshan. His contributions to his hometown and county of Chungshan have been recognised both in China and Australia. His son Jonathan Yee, who took over the business on Stanley's retirement is also active in the Chungshan Society of Australia, having served as its president for several years.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ The China-Australia Heritage Corridor Project, online, [China-Australia Heritage Corridor](#) accessed 9 March 2024.

¹⁵¹ ANG, I. & WONG, A. 2023, *Zhongshan in Sydney's Chinatown*.

¹⁵² GML Heritage, *Chinatown Gates, Haymarket Heritage Assessment Report, Prepared by GML for City of Sydney, June 2023*.

¹⁵³ ANG & WONG, 234-6.

4. Physical Analysis

External

The buildings at 90-100 Hay Street are of a late Federation architectural style. The place is two buildings located at the end of a block and has always operated as six premises. Today the eastern premises are owned under a single title while the western premises are held under three separate titles. Although detached, the two buildings are symmetrical and therefore read as one building through consistency in scale and form (figure 35). The buildings are three to four storey masonry constructions with a mostly internal timber post and beam structure. Though originally face brick they have since been painted cream (nos. 90, 96, 98 and 100), blue (no. 92) and grey-green (no. 94). There is also some graffiti on the upper levels of nos. 98-100. Awnings are suspended above the ground floor with a single awning spanning nos. 96-100 and three individual awnings to nos. 90-94. Air-conditioning units are located above the awnings and downpipes of various colours run down the facades between the buildings but are symmetrically positioned. Windows openings on the first floors have segmented arches with the upper floors being rectangular openings but the window frames and glazing are a mix double hung, single pane and multi-paned sashes.



Figure 35 Nos. 90-100 Hay Street with Kimber Lane traversing between nos. 94 and 96.

Nos. 90 and 100

The two end premises (nos. 90 and 100) address Harbour Street to the west and Dixon Street to the east. They are defined by their chamfered corners and masonry piers, some with recessed detailing which divide the premises into five bays (figures 36 and 37). The three bays which address the street corner have six vertical window openings under a key stone arch and basket weave bond inset panel of brick.

The northern and middle bay to the Harbour Street elevations are four storied and have gabled parapets and nine vertical windows. The nine windows in the central bay are comprised of glass bricks (figure 36).

The central and middle bay on the Dixon Street elevation is three stories and there is no parapet, instead there are pipe and wire mesh balustrades (figure 37). There are also six windows in each bay.



Figure 36 No. 90 Hay Street with its chamfered corner, arches and pointed parapet.



Figure 37 No. 100 Hay Street with its chamfered corner and arches and balustrades to the central and north bay to Dixon Street.

Nos. 92-98

Premises 92-98 are delineated by masonry piers, some of which are stepped and have recessed detailing. These premises each have six vertical windows to the first and second floors. Balustrades on the roof are of various materials, they are pipe and wire mesh to 96-98 Hay Street, glass to no. 94 and timber to no. 92. There is also an illuminated art installation, titled *In Between Two Worlds* by Jason Wing, between nos. 94 and 96 in Kimber Lane.



Figure 38 No. 92 is to the left of the image, no. 94 is centre left, no 96 centre right and no. 98 is to the right of the image. Kimber Lane is between nos. 94 and 96.

Interiors

No. 94

No. 94 is used as a karaoke bar and its interiors have been significantly altered with a modern fit-out to accommodate a life, fire stairs, bar, industrial kitchen and karaoke rooms with mirrored partitions (figures 39-41). There is some original detailing, namely recessed brock arches, evident in the stairwell (figure 42).



Figure 39 Ground floor of 94 Hay Street.



Figure 40 Industrial kitchen at 94 Hay Street.

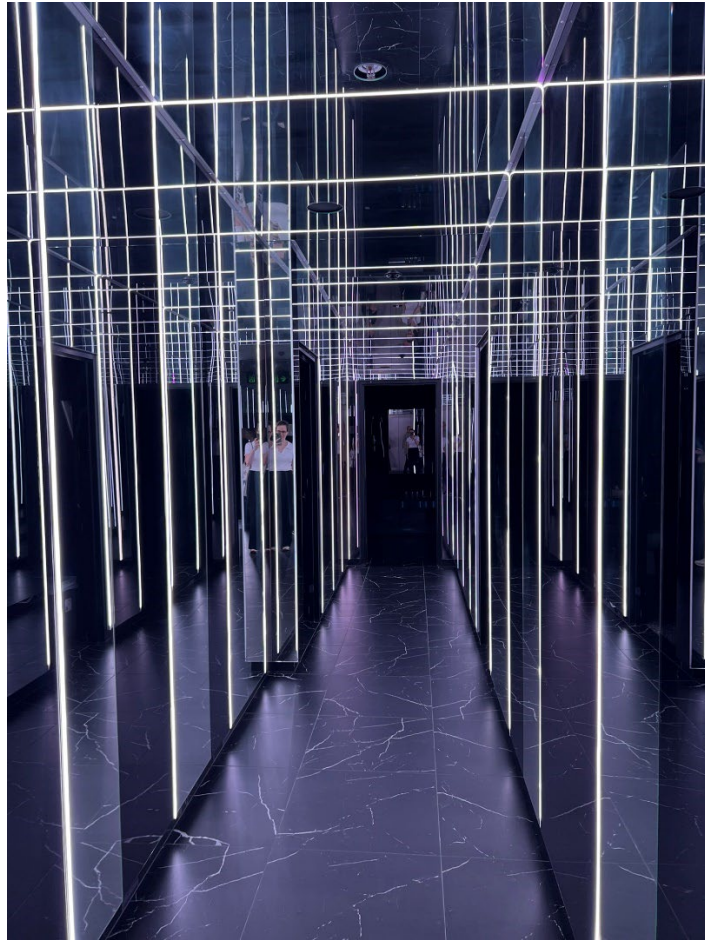


Figure 41 Mirrored partitions for karaoke rooms at 94 Hay Street.

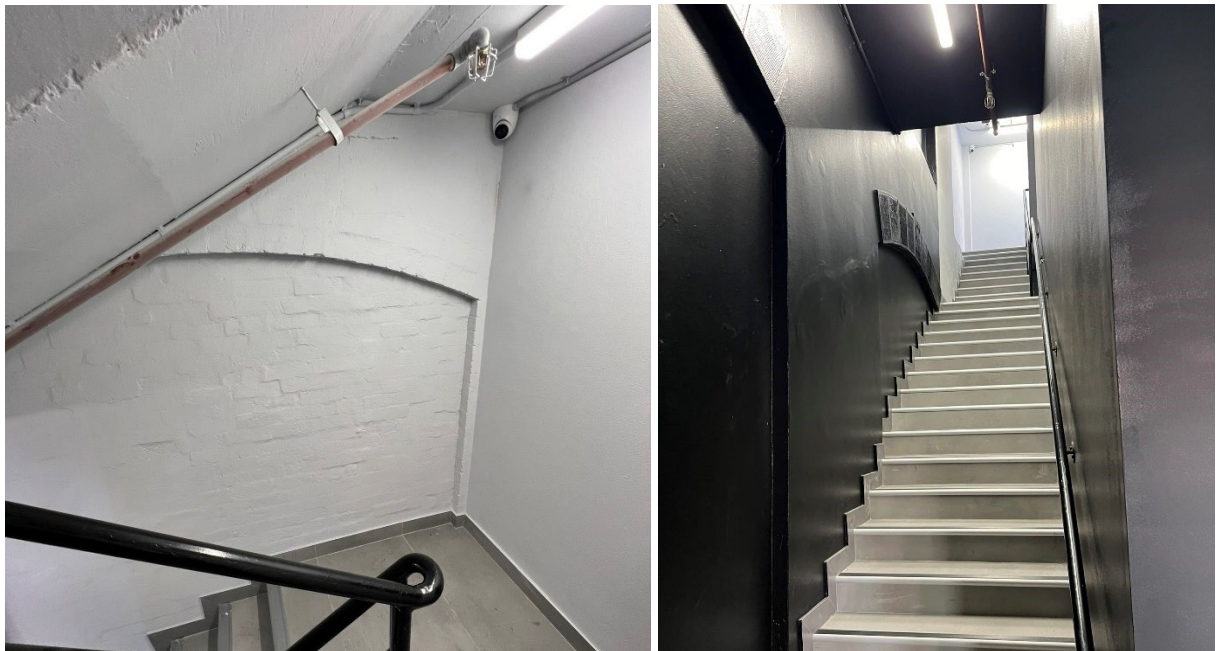


Figure 42 Recessed brick arch in modern stairwell.

Nos. 96-100

Although historically divided the ground floors of 96-98 Hay Street are now a single restaurant space with an industrial kitchen for the Emperors Garden. The first floor of no. 100 is also used as a dining space (figure 43). The dining spaces are carpeted and the walls are either painted or wall papered, some walls also have tiles.

There are original and modified stairs and the first floor of 98-100 are connected internally through an opening in the wall and contain an industrial kitchen (figure 44). The brick work and recessed arches remain exposed. The second floor of no. 100 contains rooms with original joinery including columns, doors leaves, architraves and transom windows. There are also false ceilings and modern timber floors (figure 46).

Nos. 90, 92 and 96

The interiors of nos. 90 and 92 and the upper floors of 96 have not been assessed. The ground floors of nos. 90 and 92 have been altered and fitted out with modern food retail outlets.



Figure 43 First floor restaurant fit out at 100 Hay Street.



Figure 44 Industrial kitchen fit out on first floors of 98 and 100 Hay Street with its exposed beams and supporting post. The original timber staircase is in the background.

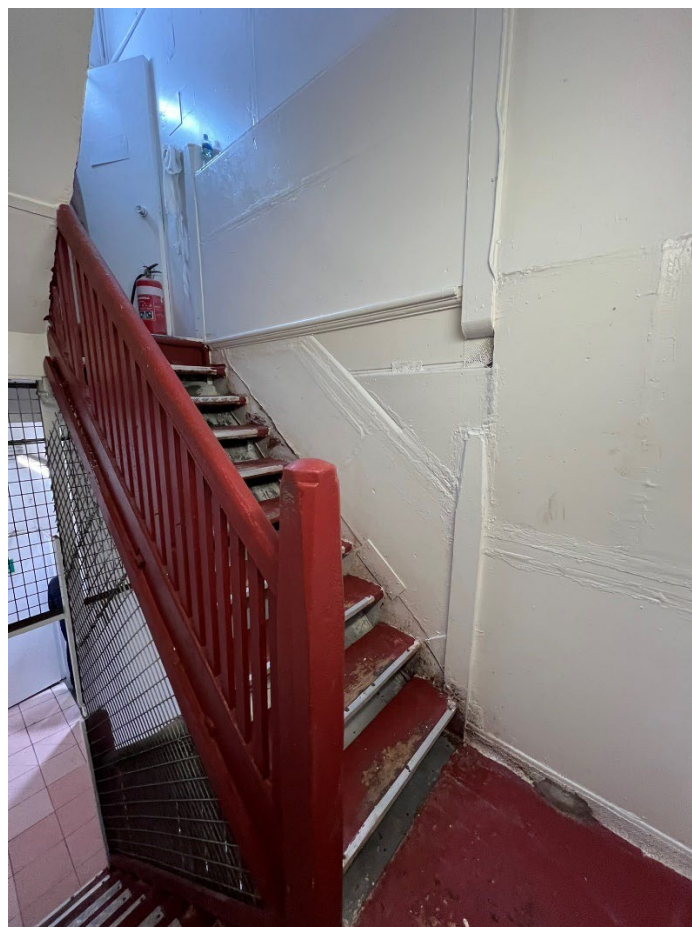


Figure 45 Original timber staircase at 100 Hay Street.



Figure 46 Second floor with 100 Hay Street with original joinery and recessed brick arches, false ceiling and modern floor boards.

5. Comparative analysis

The following table presents other stores occupied by the same business as at 90-100 Hay Street as well as other Chinese Australian stores across Sydney and NSW.









Image	Address	Discussion
Demolished markets and Chinese Australian stores		
 <p data-bbox="204 907 703 965">Figure 47 Wing Sang & Co. at 58 Hay Street in 1937. Source CoS Archives A-01001513</p>	<p data-bbox="743 533 922 633">58 Campbell Street, Sydney</p>	<p data-bbox="954 533 1394 730">Established in 1890, 58 Hay Street was the headquarters of banana merchants Wing Sang & Co. It was demolished in circa 1980s to make way for the Entertainment Centre.</p>
 <p data-bbox="204 1395 703 1476">Figure 48 Wing Sang & Co. stores on Sussex Street, Sydney in c.1909. Source CoS Archives A-00036648</p>	<p data-bbox="743 999 922 1099">450 Sussex Street, Sydney</p>	<p data-bbox="954 999 1394 1167">The banana merchants Wing Sang & Co. had stores in the early 20th century at 450 Sussex Street. The building was demolished between 1911-1912.</p>
 <p data-bbox="204 1865 703 1924">Figure 49 Wing Sang & Co. at 435 Sussex Street in 1910. Source CoS Archives A-00038782</p>	<p data-bbox="743 1512 922 1612">435 Sussex Street, Sydney</p>	<p data-bbox="954 1512 1394 1680">The banana merchants Wing Sang & Co had another store on Sussex Street at no. 435. The building has since been demolished</p>




Image	Address	Discussion
 <p>Figure 50 Gee Ick & Co. on Wexford Street c. 1909. Source: City of Sydney Archives A-00038580</p>	<p>Corner of Campbell and Wexford Street, Sydney</p>	<p>Gee Ick and Co. had premises on Wexford Street until the street was resumed in 1906-1908. The current day Wentworth Avenue is on a similar alignment.</p>
 <p>Figure 51 Old Belmore Markets in 1909.</p>	<p>Campbell Street</p>	<p>The old Belmore Markets opened in 1969 and named after the then Governor. They were replaced by the New Belmore Markets in 1893a and demolished in 1910.¹⁵⁴</p>
<p>Extant former markets and Chinese Australian stores in Sydney</p>		
 <p>Figure 52 Former premises of Wing Sang and Co. at current day 20-22 Campbell Street. Source State Heritage Inventory.</p>	<p>20-22 Campbell Street, Haymarket</p>	<p>Wing Sang & Co. occupied this building between 1890 and 1909 when it moved to larger premises on the corner of Sussex and Hay Street. A number of other Chinese Australian fruit and produce businesses including Hie Lee & Co., Lee Sang & Co., and Wing Tiy & Co. occupied this building or neighbouring buildings.</p> <p>The place is currently listed on the Sydney LEP 2012 as part of a group listing of terraces (item no. 1827).</p>

¹⁵⁴ "Print – Old Belmore Product Markers, corner of Campbell and Pitt Street Haymarket, 1909," City of Sydney Archives and History Resources, <https://archives.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/nodes/view/674048>

Image	Address	Discussion
 <p data-bbox="204 936 678 987">Figure 53 Former Kwong War Chong building. Source State Heritage Inventory.</p>	<p data-bbox="740 309 922 405">82-84 Dixon Street, Haymarket</p>	<p data-bbox="954 309 1394 801">Kwong War Chong building at 82-84 Dixon Street is a highly significant building that “formed part of an extensive network of business, industrial and social relations among Chinese Australians” during the 20th century. The buildings functions included but were not limited to accommodation for market gardeners, remittance agency, and a retail site with a Chinese Australian owned business operating here between 1909 and 2017.¹⁵⁵</p> <p data-bbox="954 824 1394 920">It is listed on the Sydney LEP 2012 (item no. I2293) and the State Heritage Register No. 02089.</p>
 <p data-bbox="204 1442 715 1525">Figure 54 Former market stores which were occupied by a number of Chinese Australian businesses. Source: Google Street View.</p>	<p data-bbox="740 1032 922 1128">35-39 Ultimo Road, Haymarket</p>	<p data-bbox="954 1032 1394 1429">Chinese Australian firms such as Wing On & Co. and fruit and vegetable firm formerly occupied these market stores buildings which were constructed in 1911-1913 adjacent the Municipal markets. The market stores were predominantly occupied by fruit and produce merchants and butcheries. Wing On & Co. was the longest occupant, leasing the premises from 1914-1974.¹⁵⁶</p> <p data-bbox="954 1451 1394 1509">It is listed on the Sydney LEP 2012 (item no. I867).</p>

¹⁵⁵ “Former Kwong War Chong & Co building, including interiors and contents of 84 Dixon Street,” State Heritage Inventory, <https://www.hms.heritage.nsw.gov.au/App/Item/ViewItem?itemId=5067050>

¹⁵⁶ “Former Markets Stores Including Part Interior,” State Heritage Inventory, <https://www.hms.heritage.nsw.gov.au/App/Item/ViewItem?itemId=2424281>

Image	Address	Discussion
 <p>Figure 55 Former Municipal Markets are now the Paddy's market. Source Wikipedia</p>	<p>Hay Street, Haymarket</p>	<p>The former Municipal Markets are adjacent and contemporary to 90-100 Hay Street. Both designed by the City Architect, they had an operational relationship with produce delivered and repacked at 90-100 Hay Street and then sold at the markets.</p> <p>The former Municipal Markets have been developed and are now known as Market City, which contain a shopping centre and Paddy's Markets.</p>
 <p>Figure 56 The former 'New Belmore Markets' now houses the Capitol Theatre.</p>	<p>13 Campbell Street, Haymarket</p>	<p>Constructed to replace the old Belmore Markets, the New Belmore Markets opened in 1893. They were later replaced by the Municipal Markets in 1909.</p> <p>It has been used for entertainment purposes since 1916 when it reopened as the Hippodrome and then later as a 'atmospheric theatre' (designed to give the illusion of a courtyard under a night sky). Today it houses the Capitol Theatre.¹⁵⁷</p>
<p>Extant/former Chinese Australian stores in NSW</p>		
 <p>Figure 57 Kwong Sing & Co. Emporium on Grey St. Glen Innes. Source: Google Street View.</p>	<p>196-204 Grey Street, Glen Innes</p>	<p>The former Kwong Sing & Co. Emporium is representative of once common country town Department Stores and is evidence of the contribution of Chinese Australia's to the development of regional NSW. The business was run by the Young family since its establishment in 1886 with the current building being constructed in 1915.¹⁵⁸</p>

¹⁵⁷ "Capitol Theatre including interior," *State Heritage Inventory*, <https://www.hms.heritage.nsw.gov.au/App/Item/ViewItem?itemId=2424088>

¹⁵⁸ "Shop - "Kwong Sing & Co Emporium," *State Heritage Inventory*, <https://www.hms.heritage.nsw.gov.au/App/Item/ViewItem?itemId=1600071>

Image	Address	Discussion
		It is listed on the Glen Innes Severn LEP 2012 (item no. 5924).
 <p data-bbox="204 763 651 815">Figure 58 Wing Hing Long Store in Tingha. Source: State Heritage Inventory.</p>	10 Ruby Street, Tingha	<p data-bbox="954 394 1394 891">The former Wing Hing Long store, built in the 1880s, is one of the oldest retail buildings in Tingha and now operates as a museum. It has a long history with Chinese Australians who built the store and operated business out of the premises from 1881 until 1998.¹⁵⁹ The place is evidence of the contributions of Chinese Australians to the development of regional NSW. Much moveable heritage has survived including signage, fittings, furnishing and the cashier's box and pulley.¹⁶⁰</p> <p data-bbox="954 904 1331 972">It listed on the State Heritage Register (no. 01307).</p>
 <p data-bbox="204 1406 660 1458">Figure 59 Former Yee Lee General Store in Stuart Town. Source: Google Street view.</p>	38 Alexander Street, Stuart Town	<p data-bbox="954 1005 1394 1402">It is unclear when this modest general store was constructed but a store has existed on the site since 1878. Yee Lee bought the site in 1901, opening a general store and following his death in the mid-1930s his sons continued to run the store. The date that the business stopped operating is unclear though the family played an important role in the development of the area.¹⁶¹</p> <p data-bbox="954 1415 1385 1482">It is locally listed on the Dubbo Regional LEP 2022 (item no. I312).</p>

Conclusion from the Comparative Analysis

Many of the buildings associated with Chinese Australian business enterprises in Sydney have been lost by neglect or demolished. In Sydney, stores and warehouses and neighbourhoods, such as the area around Wexford Street, where Chinese Australians worked and lived were demolished in the resumptions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Other buildings associated with Chinese Australians have been demolished in more recent redevelopments. For example, the Wing Sang headquarters at 58 Hay Street was demolished in around 1980 for the construction of the Sydney Entertainment Centre.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Kira Brown, "Chen Quin Jack," <https://chenquinjackhistory.com/>

¹⁶⁰ "Store - Wing Hing Long & Co. Store," State Heritage Inventory, <https://www.hms.heritage.nsw.gov.au/App/Item/ViewItem?itemId=1710061>

¹⁶¹ "Yee Lee's Store (former)," State Heritage Inventory, <https://www.hms.heritage.nsw.gov.au/App/Item/ViewItem?itemId=2640233>

¹⁶² *The China-Australia Heritage Corridor Project*, online, [The Wing Sang & Co buildings, Sydney | China-Australia Heritage Corridor](#), accessed 24 April 2024.

The few surviving buildings scattered across NSW are a mix of modest timber weatherboard stores and more substantial two to three storey buildings. The intactness of these places varies with some retaining historical signage and ephemera demonstrating their historical connections to Chinese Australian firms. The buildings at 35-39 Ultimo Road are near contemporary to and most similar to 90-100 Hay Street. These market stores were also built opposite the municipal markets and were occupied by major Chinese Australian businesses such as Wing On & Co.

The Municipal Stores at 90-100 Hay Street are amongst the largest of the surviving buildings occupied by Chinese Australian stores and are one of few surviving places in Sydney associated with multiple major Chinese Australian firms.

6. Assessment of Significance

6.1. Ability to demonstrate

Guidelines from the NSW Heritage Office emphasise the role of history in the heritage assessment process. A list of state historical themes has been developed by the NSW Heritage Council, in *New South Wales Historical Themes Table showing correlation of national, state and local themes, with annotations Dated 4 October 2001*.

The table below identifies fabric, spaces and visual relationships that demonstrate the relevant historic themes in evidence at 90-100 Hay Street.

Australian Theme	NSW Theme	Notes	Discussion
2 Peopling Australia	Migration	Activities and processes associated with the resettling of people from one place to another (international, interstate, intrastate) and the impacts of such movements	<p>The occupation of Chinese run businesses at 90-100 Hay Street is evidence of the important transition in NSW of the Chinese Australian population from a primarily rural to an urban population. It is also a prime marker of the development of Sydney's Chinatown.</p> <p>The histories of families who lived and worked at 90-100 Hay Street bear witness to the effects that racially discriminatory legislation had on Chinese Australian businesses and families by restricting immigration to, and the mobility of people in Australia during the White Australia years.</p> <p>Merchants such as Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy and the extended Ma clan, who leased stores at 90-100 Hay Street were able to sponsor some family and clan members to enter Australia.</p> <p>Nos. 90-100 Hay Street are directly associated with the migration of Chinese Australians within Australia and the impact of legislation on their entrance to Australia.</p>

Australian Theme	NSW Theme	Notes	Discussion
3 Developing local, regional and national economies	Agriculture	Activities relating to the cultivation and rearing of plant and animal species, usually for commercial purposes, can include aquaculture	In Australia both the banana and commercial vegetable industries were pioneered by Chinese Australians. The bananas and vegetables grown by Chinese Australians across NSW, Queensland and in Fiji were sold by Chinese Australian wholesale and commission agents based in the Haymarket area, including those firms which leased buildings at 90-100 Hay Street. This is a key site in the trade routes of these agricultural industries.
3 Developing local, regional and national economies	Commerce	Activities relating to buying, selling and exchanging goods and services	The firms which leased the stores at 90-100 Hay Street were closely associated with the produce markets. Produce grown on banana plantations and market gardens run by the firms was sold at the markets. As legislation restricted Chinese Australians from growing bananas and selling them wholesale, and as the number of Chinese market gardeners dwindled, merchants adapted and became commission agents selling bananas from the north coast of NSW and vegetable produce grown in Sydney and in regional NSW. The place was a central element in the operation of the Sydney fruit and vegetable municipal markets.

Australian Theme	NSW Theme	Notes	Discussion
3 Developing local, regional and national economies	Transport	Activities associated with the moving of people and goods from one place to another, and systems for the provision of such movements	Bananas and vegetables grown across NSW, Queensland and Fiji were transported by rail and ship to Sydney for sale at the markets. This movement and sale of fruit and vegetable produce was co-ordinated by the firms which leased premises in the Municipal Stores at 90-100 Hay Street, opposite the markets.
4 Building settlements, towns and cities	Accommodation	Activities associated with the provision of accommodation, and particular types of accommodation – does not include architectural styles – use the theme of Creative Endeavour for such activities.	The upper floors of the 90-100 Hay Street provided accommodation for the merchants and their families and employees of the firms.
8 Developing Australia's cultural life	Domestic life	Activities associated with creating, maintaining, living in and working around houses and institutions	Families who managed the firms or employees of the firms which leased premises at 90-100 Hay Street lived on the floors above the businesses. Some evidence of this remains on the upper floor of 100 Hay Street. Oral testimonies of former residents support an understanding of domestic life in Chinatown.
9 Marking the phases of life	Birth and Death	Activities associated with the initial stages of human life and the bearing of children, and with the final stages of human life and disposal of the dead.	As the residences of merchant's and employees families, a number of children including those of Mar See Poy were born and raised in the upper floors of the buildings at 90-100 Hay Street.

6.2. Assessment against NSW heritage assessment criteria

Criterion A Historic Significance

An item is important in the course, or pattern, of NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area).

The banana industry was a major industry developed by Chinese Australian entrepreneurs in Australia and Fiji in the 1880s and 1890s, and firms such as Wing Sang based their headquarters in Sydney's Haymarket area. When the new Municipal markets opened at Haymarket in 1912, firms such as Wing Sang and its subsidiaries, leased stores at 90-100 Hay Street. Their businesses and premises are distinct places in NSW for understanding the banana industry and key destinations on this trade route. They provide a cultural history of the role of Chinese Australians in the fruit and vegetable industries, and their adaptation over time, particularly in the face of challenges posed under White Australia legislation.

Profits from this industry were invested in commercial enterprises in China. Before Wing Sang and its subsidiaries leased 90-100 Hay Street, they established the first department stores in Shanghai, Canton and Hong Kong. These investments demonstrated the success of the Chinese diaspora in Australia and their continued connections to their native places. Although these department stores were established prior to the leasing of 90-100 Hay Street by Chinese Australian businesses, the stores serve as a marker of the achievements of Chinese Australian businesses recognised abroad by the Chinese diaspora.

The Municipal Stores at 90-100 Hay Street are also a location marker of the role of Chinese market gardeners in the vegetable industry in New South Wales. In particular, Lee Sang & Co. were agents for produce grown not only in Sydney but in the market gardens of regional New South Wales, brought to Sydney by rail and delivered to the stores where they were repacked and then sold at the Municipal Markets across the road. The importance of the Markets to the commercial interests of Chinese Australians is evident in the relocation of their businesses to be close to the new market buildings, which then facilitated the evolution of the Haymarket Chinatown. Family histories connected to the stores at 90-100 Hay Street demonstrate how the White Australia legislation restricted entry to Australia and impacted Chinese Australian commercial interests, affecting the lives of those employed by firms leasing premises at 90-100 Hay Street. Merchants with status and business turnover, such as Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy and Henry Won Yep Lum, were able to sponsor family and clan members to enter Australia, but they were the exception during the White Australia years. The histories associated with the stores demonstrate some of the difficulties faced by Chinese Australians in the early to mid 20th century.

The buildings at 90-100 Hay Street are part of the historical market landscape of the last operational fruit and vegetable markets in the city. The markets were relocated to Flemington in 1975. Markets were an important aspect of city life and 90-100 Hay Street together with the market buildings are demonstrative of this period when produce markets were prominent in Sydney.

Significance indicator	Assessment
<p>Association with an event, or series of events, of historical, cultural or natural significance</p>	<p>The leasing of the Municipal stores at 90-100 Hay Street by Chinese Australian produce merchants facilitated the development of Sydney's Chinatown.</p>
<p>Demonstration of important periods or phases in history</p>	<p>Vegetables grown in market gardens run by Lee Sang & Co. in Bathurst, Wellington and Scone were sent by rail to be sold by the firms at the markets. The firms also sold fruit and vegetable produce on a commission basis.</p> <p>The occupation of the stores by successful Chinese Australian firms such as Wing Sang & Co. and their subsidiaries coincided with the peak period of activity of the Municipal Markets. When the markets relocated to Flemington, Wing Sang ceased trading in bananas and the use of the buildings changed from produce merchants to restaurants.</p>
<p>Association with important cultural phases or movements</p>	<p>The occupation of 90-100 Hay Street by Chinese Australian firms is demonstrative of the Chinese population changing from a rural to an urban population. As the years of White Australia wore on, the Chinese born population declined, except for a small number who were able to enter Australia under the sponsorship of merchants. When immigration restrictions were lifted the numbers of people migrating from China increased. The late twentieth century saw an increase in migration from South East Asia and mainland China.</p>
<p>Demonstration of important historical, natural or cultural processes or activities</p>	<p>The municipal stores at 90-100 Hay Street are key parts of trade routes, stretching from NSW, Queensland and Fiji, for the cultivation and sale of bananas and vegetables. These industries were pioneered by Chinese Australians.</p>

	<p>Chinese Australian firms established banana ripening rooms in the buildings at 90-100 Hay Street to ensure their produce was ready for market. Other non-Chinese banana dealers later set up ripening rooms, but it appears this was a Chinese Australian innovation.</p>
<p>Symbolism and influence of place for its association with an important historical, natural or cultural event, period, phase or movement</p>	<p>The stores at 90-100 Hay Street stand as historic evidence of the fruit and vegetable industries pioneered by Chinese Australians and the wealth these generated which enabled the firms to expand into establishing department stores and banking and insurance businesses in China and Hong Kong, where the successes of these firms are recognised and their material heritage is preserved and celebrated.</p> <p>The relocation of Chinese Australian business to stores, such as 90-100 Hay Street, with its proximity to the municipal markets, influenced the development of Chinatown in Haymarket.</p> <p>The firms at 90-100 Hay Street were involved in all aspects of the fruit and vegetable industries from cultivation, packing, transportation and sales. In the early years bananas came from company plantations in Queensland and Fiji. In later years the bananas were bought on commission from growers on the north coast of NSW while vegetables were bought from growers in Sydney and regional NSW.</p>

Criterion B Historical Association

An item has strong or special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area).

Nos. 90-100 Hay Street are associated with the Chinese merchant community who leased the buildings and operated out of them successful businesses such as Wing Sang & Co., Lee Sang & Co., Wing Tiy & Co., and Gee Ick & Co. These businesses were significant in development of the banana and vegetable produce industries of NSW and Australia.

Nos. 90-100 Hay Street are associated with a number of notable individuals including Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy, the Lee family and Stanley Yee who were influential figures amongst the Chinese Australian community and fruit and produce industries.

- Ting Quoy was a prominent and influential member of the Chinese Australian community. A successful merchant, his business Lee Sang & Co., occupied 90 Hay Street for up to 20 years with his family continuing to have businesses there until after the war. He was a leader of the China Emperor Reform Association (CERA), President of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and founding member of China-Australia Mail Steamship Line. He also campaigned to establish a Chinese school at which he taught, and he sponsored the entry of family and clan members to Australia.
- The Lee family - Lee Gee Ick was a successful merchant whose business Gee Ick & Co., occupied 100 Hay Street from 1913-1919. His son, Lee Kee Chong, continued to occupy the address with his business, Hop Chong Co., until 1948. Gee Ick was a member of CERA, the NSW Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the Lin Yik Tong (the Chinese Commercial Association).
- Stanley Yee, born in Chuen Luk Village in Chungshan, came to Sydney as a high school student in the early 1960s and worked at one of the banana wholesale companies in the Haymarket and at Lean Sun Low café. In the late 1970s Yee bought property at 96-100 Hay Street where he established the now landmark Emperor's Garden Restaurant. Yee also established a number of other businesses in the Chinatown areas including a Chinese bakery, a butchery and a tofu factory. Yee was a member of the Dixon Street Beautification Committee, which in the early 1970s pushed for the regeneration of Dixon Street as a centrepiece to the broader Chinatown area. His philanthropic contributions are recognised in both his hometown in China and in Australia.

Significance indicator	Assessment
A key phase(s) in the establishment or subsequent development at the place or object was undertaken by, or directly influenced by, the important person(s) or organisation	<p>Successful Chinese Australian firms, such as Wing Sang & Co., Lee Sang & Co., Wing Tiy & Co., and Gee Ick & Co. operated stores out of 90-100 Hay Street influencing the development of the Haymarket Chinatown.</p> <p>The businesses and merchants, such as Gilbert Yet Ting Quoy and Gee Ick, made considerable contributions to the development of the banana and produce industries of NSW and beyond.</p> <p>The Emperors Garden restaurant which has been located at 96-100 Hay Street since</p>

	1979 is a landmark restaurant in Chinatown and the Yee family's contributions to Chinatown are recognised.
An event or series of events of historical importance occurring at the place or object were undertaken by, or directly influenced by, the important person(s) or organisation	Not applicable
One or more achievements for which the person(s) or organisation are considered important are directly linked to the place or object	Not applicable

Criterion C Aesthetic /Creative/technical achievement

An item is important in demonstrating aesthetic characteristics and/or a high degree of creative or technical achievement in NSW (or the local area).

The municipal stores at 90-100 Hay Street contribute to the townscape of Haymarket, particularly along Hay Street and the southern entrance to Dixon Street which is marked by its chamfered corner. Its unified design defines the end of the city block on which it is located.

The former Municipal Markets are located opposite and were once both part of the market's daily operation. Now the buildings, both of which are contemporaries of each other and designed by the City Architect, form a contextual relationship that defines the areas market character.

Significance indicator	Assessment
Recognition as a landmark or distinctive aesthetic natural environment	Nos. 90-100 Hay Street makes a key contribution to the market townscape on Haymarket particularly along Hay Street where it addresses the adjacent former Municipal Market building. Its unified design creates a distinctive termination to the city block and its chamfered corner is a distinctive marker for the southern entrance to Dixon Street.
Recognition of artistic or design excellence	Not applicable
Represents a breakthrough or innovation in design, fabrication or construction technique, including design/technological responses to changing social conditions	Not applicable
Distinctiveness as a design solution, treatment or use of technology	Not applicable
Adapts technology in a creative manner or extends the limits of available technology	Not applicable

Criterion D Social, cultural and spiritual

An item has strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group in NSW (or the local area) for social, cultural, or spiritual reasons.

Members of the Chinese Australian community who were born and grew up in 90-100 Hay Street, whose parents, grandparents or great-grandparents worked in the stores hold deep connections to the buildings. For this community, the buildings are well remembered as stores which are symbolic of the hard work of the producers and the adaptability, resilience and achievements of the Chinese Australian firms.

The Emperors Garden Restaurant is also a place with a strong and special association to the Chinese Australian community as it is celebrated as one of the oldest, family-run Chinese restaurants in Chinatown and continues to operate.

Significance indicator	Assessment
Highly regarded by a community as a key landmark (built feature, landscape or streetscape) within the physical environment	Not applicable
Important to the community as a landmark within social and political history	Not applicable
Important as a place of symbolic meaning and community identity	The municipal stores at 90-100 Hay Street are symbolic of the banana and produce industries that were a catalyst for the development of the Haymarket Chinatown. They also represent the hard work, adaptability and achievements of Chinese Australians.
Important as a place of public socialisation	Not applicable
Important as a place of community service (including health, education, worship, pastoral care, communications, emergency services, museums)	Not applicable
Important in linking the past affectionately to the present	Emperors Garden is celebrated as one of the oldest, family-run Chinese restaurants in Chinatown, which has been serving continuously since 1979.

Criterion E Research potential

An item has potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area).

There is some potential for evidence of the processes and operations of the banana and produce stores. Nos. 90 and 92 have not been inspected and therefore it is unknown if there is any evidence of these operations. There is some potential for evidence of the operations of these stores under false ceilings and floors in nos. 94-100 but these were not inspected and cannot be confirmed.

Significance indicator	Assessment
Comparative analysis	Not applicable
Potential to improve knowledge of a little-recorded aspect of an area's past or to fill gaps in our existing knowledge of the past	Not applicable.
Potential to inform/confirm unproven historical concepts or research questions relevant to our past	Not applicable
Potential to provide information about single or multiple periods of occupation or use	There is some potential for evidence of the operations of the banana and produce stores, such as fixings, in nos. 90 and 92 and under false ceilings and floors in nos. 94-100. but these cannot be confirmed due to limitations in inspections.
Potential to yield site-specific information that would contribute to an understanding of significance against other criteria	There is some archaeological potential in relation to the former buildings on the site.

Criterion F Rare

An item possesses uncommon, rare, or endangered aspects of NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area).

The place is a rare surviving example of stores occupied by multiple major Chinese Australian firms including Wing Sang & Co., Lee Sang & Co., Wing Tiy & Co., and Gee Ick & Co. Though some stores formerly occupied Chinese Australian firms survive, such as 20-22 Campbell Street and 35-39 Ultimo Road, many of the earlier stores occupied by firms such as Gee Ick & Co. and Wing Sang & Co. were demolished in resumptions that destroyed earlier Chinatown areas in the Rocks, around Belmore Markets in the Haymarket and in land resumed for the building of Darling Harbour. Within this context rarity is a valuable criterion

Significance indicator	Assessment
Rare surviving evidence of an event, phase, period, process, function, movement, custom or way of life in an area's history that continues to be practised or is no longer practised	Few buildings have survived in Sydney or NSW that were occupied by multiple major Chinese Australian businesses. The banana and produce stores which operated out 90-100 Hay Street are of a particular interest to the Chinese Australian community and more broadly the people of NSW for demonstrating the contributions of Chinese Australians to these industries and their resilience throughout the early 20th century as White Australia legislation was implemented in NSW and Australia.
Evidence of a rare historical activity that was considered distinctive, uncommon or unusual at the time it occurred	Not applicable
Distinctiveness in demonstrating an unusual historical, natural, architectural, archaeological, scientific, social or technical attribute(s) that is of special interest.	Not applicable
Demonstrates an unusual composition of historical, natural, architectural, archaeological, scientific, social or technical attributes that are of greater importance or interest as a composition/collection	Not applicable

S

Criterion G Representative

An item is important in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of NSW's cultural or natural places; or cultural or natural environments (or a class of the local area's cultural or natural places; or cultural or natural environments).

The place does not meet the threshold for criterion G.

Significance indicator	Assessment
A class of places or objects that demonstrate an aesthetic composition, design, architectural style, applied finish or decoration of historical importance	Not applicable
Representative of a class of places that demonstrate a construction method, engineering design, technology, or use of materials, of historical importance	Not applicable
Representative of a class of places that demonstrate an historical land use, environment, function, or process, of historical importance	Not applicable
Representative of a class of places that demonstrates an ideology, custom or way of life of historical importance	Not applicable

6.3. Statement of Significance

The group of buildings at 90-100 Hay Street are important in the history of the Chinese in NSW. Located opposite the Municipal Markets and built in direct association with the markets, the stores at 90-100 Hay Street were occupied by Chinese Australian fruit and vegetable produce firms between the 1910s and the 1970s. It is also important in the history of the city as the relocation of the City markets from the Belmore Markets in Haymarket to the Municipal Markets was a catalyst for the development of a new Chinatown in Haymarket, as firms opened stores to be near the markets.

These stores are location markers in Sydney of the processes of the banana and commercial vegetable growing industries which were pioneered by Chinese Australians. The place is a key destination on a trade route with a supply network of vegetables and bananas coming from Chinese Australian communities across New South Wales, Queensland and Fiji. Lee Sang & Co. at 90 Hay Street dealt primarily in vegetable produce supplied by a network of stores and market gardens in regional NSW and firms at 92-100 Hay Street dealing primarily in bananas were supplied by plantations in northern NSW, Queensland and Fiji.

The buildings at 90-100 Hay Street are associated with major Chinese Australian businesses such as Wing Sang & Co., Wing Tiy & Co., Gee Ick & Co., and Lee Sang & Co. and is a rare example of stores occupied by multiple major Chinese Australian businesses. Histories of the firms which occupied the stores evidence the achievements of Chinese Australians in the fruit and vegetable industries despite the impacts of immigration restrictions on Chinese Australian businesses and families.

Nos. 96-100 are also associated with the significant and popular restaurant, Emperor Gardens which has occupied the place since 1979.

There are many family and community stories and memories attached to 90-100 Hay Street, particularly for those whose families lived or worked in the buildings, or grew the produce sold through the stores, and for those in China who were reliant on remittances sent through these stores. These stories testify to the resilience of the Chinese Australians in the face of social and economic discrimination imposed by White Australia legislation.

The authors and editors of the book, *The China-Australia Migration Corridor: History and Heritage*, use the metaphor of a “transnational heritage corridor” to describe the circulation of people, money, goods and ideas between Zhongshan and Australia.¹⁶³ Alexandra Wong and Ien Ang argue that the businesses which merchants operated at the Sydney end of the corridor, have significance not only at a local, but at a transnational level.¹⁶⁴ The same can be said of the Chinese businesses which rented the Municipal stores at 90-100 Hay Street. .

¹⁶³ BYRNE, D., ANG, I. & MAR, P. (eds.), *The China-Australia Migration Corridor: History and Heritage*. Hong Kong: HK University Press, 2023.

¹⁶⁴ ANG, I. & WONG, A. 2023, Zhongshan in Sydney's Chinatown. In: BYRNE, D., ANG, I. & MAR, P. (eds.) *The China-Australia Migration Corridor: History and Heritage*, 222.

7. Listing Recommendations

Under its Local Environmental Plan (2012), the City of Sydney is required under 5.10(a) to “conserve the environmental heritage of the City of Sydney”. For a place to be heritage listed, it needs to substantially meet at least one of NSW Heritage’s criteria (2023) for assessing significance. The significance assessment of 90-100 Hay Street, Haymarket has found that the place meets five criteria at least at a local level, and therefore warrants protection under the Local Environmental Plan. The significance assessment has demonstrated that the place has importance to Sydney with its distinct history in the Haymarket precinct, its representing of the significant role of Chinese in Australia, and the current regard held for the buildings by the community. Therefore, the place should be listed under Schedule 5, Part 1 of the City of Sydney LEP 2012.

8. Management Recommendations

The following recommendations are drawn solely from a consideration of the significance of the place and good heritage practice.

Since the historical and social significance of the place is especially important, these recommendations are framed with an understanding that heritage conservation is a social contract, requiring responsibility to be shared by the owners and consent authorities for the mutual benefit of all stakeholders, including the Chinese community.

As such, these recommendations are written with consideration of possible future ambitions of the owners, while striving to achieve the best heritage outcome for the place, and with an expectation that the consent authority, in representing the community's interest, will assist/support the owners in managing and conserving the significance of the place, where possible.

8.1. Obligations arising from significance

The high cultural significance of the place identified in the statement of significance obliges its conservation and good management (Burra Charter Article 2).

In the Burra Charter, significance is embodied in the place, where place means site, area, land, landscape, building or other work, group of buildings or other works, and may include components, contents, spaces and views. Place also includes fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places, and related objects. (Burra Charter Article 1).

The place as an important reference site for major Chinese Australian businesses which pioneered the banana and commercial vegetable growing industries in Australia should be recognised and interpreted at the place.

Its uniform design makes a significant contribution to the streetscape and it is contemporary with the adjacent former municipal market building (now Market City). Together these form part of a significant market townscape which must be conserved.

8.2. Tolerance for change to fabric, form and layout

Forming part of a market townscape and as a reference point for the businesses which occupied these historical stores, there is a low tolerance for change to the external form and detailing of 90-100 Hay Street. The façade form and detailing should remain symmetrical so that the place continues to read as one building with a shared history.

Historically the stores were primarily open plan and would have had limited internal architectural elements or detailing. Little evidence of the historical banana and produce stores survive and therefore there is a greater tolerance for change internally. Note it is unknown if evidence of the functions and operations of these stores exists in nos. 90 and 92 as they were not assessed internally.

8.3. Future development

Additions and alterations to 90-100 Hay Street are appropriate but must ensure retention of the whole form and original detailing of the exterior of the principal building.

Any future development is to be of a sympathetic design. The setback and scale of any vertical additions to the place must be sufficient to maintain the readability of the existing form and scale of the principal building as a building and not just a façade.

All proposed future development is subject to the City of Sydney's processes such as a Heritage Impact Statement and Conservation Management Plan.

8.4. Interpretation

To aid interpretation of the place as having a shared history the building should read as one. Therefore, consider repainting the exterior of the place in a single colour or restoring the face brick. Similarly, consider balustrades and awnings of a common design.

The significance of the place is best understood as part of the history and development of Chinatown in the Haymarket area, and as such, interpretive strategies for 90-100 Hay Street should be considered within an overall interpretation strategy for Chinatown.

We recommend that the City of Sydney and the owners work together in considering additional interpretive strategies for the place such as:

- Setting up a plaque(s) identifying the history and significance of the place.
- Creation of digital archives/ websites showcasing the history and significance of Chinatown, identifying 90-100 Hay Street as a place of significance in the area.

A heritage interpretation plan must be provided in the event of major alterations to the building and should be developed in consultation Chinese Australian community, particularly descendants of the families who lived and worked in these buildings.

Further research into the places is also encouraged. There is also high potential for further research into the businesses which operated out 90-100 Hay Street. This research would likely yield a greater understanding of the processes and activities of these businesses and thereby their contributions to the development of the fruit and vegetable industry in Australia. For example, further research could be undertaken into the export of New South Wales produce by Chinese Australian firms such as Wing Sang & Co., of which 90-100 Hay Street is a location marker of this activity. Similarly, research could be undertaken into moveable heritage items that exist off site and contribute to the understanding of the operations and activities of the place.

8.5. Future use

The existing uses of the place are of value because they are business run by Chinese Australians and therefore encouraged. If change of use occurs, appropriate uses include but may not necessarily be limited to: food retail stores, restaurants, offices and accommodation. In the event of a change of use, there is a need to maintain or give opportunity for ongoing connections to the Chinese Australian community.

Because of the heritage significance of this place, prior to any proposed major development including change of use, respectful and purposeful engagement with Chinese Australian community, particularly descendants of the families who lived and worked in these buildings, is recommended.