

# **POWER AND CHARITY**

## **A Chinese Merchant Elite in Colonial Hong Kong**

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## The Origin of the Tung Wah Hospital

THERE is a tendency to write about social institutions in terms of patterns and models as though they were inevitable and merely stereotypes. To the historian this approach has only limited value. Generalizations based on a flat time-dimension only answer questions about certain abstracted factors of behaviour without enhancing historical understanding. Society is not static and human affairs happen in time. To understand them, we need to look at them in historical context. Though we may classify institutions, no two institutions are identical. Each exists in a particular place and time and, in that sense, each is a unique historical event. One needs to look at the 'objective factors' — social, economic, political, and cultural developments — as well as the subjective. The decisions and actions of individuals are often catalysts which, given the necessary objective conditions, make things happen, and make them happen in a certain way. What matters is not just the circumstances but the particular combination of circumstances, the unpredictable interaction of objective and subjective conditions, the necessary and the incidental. By looking at all the variables and contingencies, one arrives at a more complex but truer picture of the historical reality.

In the Tung Wah Hospital's case it is particularly important to scrutinize the circumstances of its emergence. For one thing, the story itself was full of drama, a vignette capturing the essence of Hong Kong society at the time. For another, these circumstances conditioned its development for many years to come, developments which were to have a great impact on the history of Hong Kong itself.

In 1869 the Tung Wah Hospital was conceived and planned. The hospital situation as far as the Chinese were concerned had remained substantially unchanged since 1851, when the I-ts'z opened. A chance did arise in 1866 for providing better hospital facilities for the Chinese, but it was an aborted effort.

*An Earlier Proposal for a Hospital*

In May that year, Fan A-wye (Fan Awei), a government interpreter, and four other Chinese government clerks and school teachers planned a Chinese hospital to provide quarters and medical attendance for the sick, and act as a soup kitchen. After forming a committee to raise a subscription they petitioned the government for a grant of land in the city. The site they requested was behind the new chapel at Tai-ping-shan,<sup>1</sup> and since the acting Registrar General, M. S. Tonnochy,<sup>2</sup> knew some of them personally and believed them to be sincere, he endorsed the petition.<sup>3</sup> Governor Richard MacDonnell (Governed 1866–72),<sup>4</sup> newly arrived in Hong Kong a month before, was also sympathetic. By nature energetic and reformist, he was to rule the colony 'without fear or favour of the Colonial Office or of local opinion'.<sup>5</sup> He went along with the idea and consulted the Surveyor General, W. Wilson, regarding the expediency of granting the land.

Wilson was discouraging. He valued the proposed site at \$10,000, and because it was adjacent to the night soil depot, he considered it unsuitable for a hospital.<sup>6</sup> Accepting this opinion without asking how such a site could be worth so much, the Governor ruled that it was too valuable to be given up for such a purpose.<sup>7</sup> This was on 26 May.

Fan and his friends soon found another site, this time directly opposite the Man Mo Temple. Again Wilson objected. Though the site had no value, the soil, he said, being of the nature of quicksand, was not safe for construction.<sup>8</sup> But MacDonnell thought otherwise. On 29 June he wrote, 'On the understanding that the intended hospital will be used for relief and cure of sick and destitute Chinese, I am unwilling to withhold my sanctions for a project which is creditable in its objects', and announced that he would grant their land if something could be done to make it safe.<sup>9</sup>

It seems that the Governor, amenable to the idea of a Chinese hospital in May, had become positively enthusiastic about it by June. What had happened in the meantime to transform him? To answer the question, let us return to the Kwong Fook I-ts'z, the common ancestral hall.

As we have seen, besides ancestral tablets, the I-ts'z also

housed coffins and dying persons, and European officers familiar with Chinese ways were complacent about it. To the uninitiated, however, the practice could be horrifying. In June 1866 an Inspector of Nuisance, responsible for overseeing the colony's general cleanliness and orderliness, was stunned to discover there coffins containing bodies, and a report was made to the acting Colonial Secretary.<sup>10</sup> In the course of enquiry, the Colonial Surgeon, Dr I. Murray, discovered a 'greater nuisance' — poor people being sent there to die — and he minuted accordingly on that report.<sup>11</sup>

Murray's discovery on 9 June might have made the Governor more appreciative of the proposal for a Chinese hospital, for it was apparent that sick Chinese needed a place to receive them. This was perhaps the cause of his unwillingness to refuse Fan's second request for a site as well. True, the land had no value but had the Governor been less accommodating, he could have sent them away to look for yet another site. Apparently, the second site was agreed upon, and in the following February Fan A-wye and company were proposed as trustees for the property.<sup>12</sup> Pleased that the project had not fallen through, MacDonnell expressed his readiness to help in every way.<sup>13</sup> The project, however, *did* eventually fall through and all that came of it was a dispensary in Wanchai and not a hospital for in-patients in Tai-ping-shan, the centre of Chinese activities, as originally planned.

We can only guess why the plan failed. It was possible that being mere government clerks and schoolteachers, Fan's group lacked the social standing to rally support and failed to raise the necessary funds. Some of the influential Chinese also obstructed their efforts,<sup>14</sup> perhaps thinking that if ever such a project were undertaken, they would like to control it. The circumstances of this early effort contrasted sharply with those of the founding of the Tung Wah Hospital a few years later.

### *The I-ts'z Scandal, 1869*

The little stir the I-ts'z created in 1866 soon died down. No positive action was taken on the reports and, with the hospital project aborted, things reverted to their old ways. In 1869 the I-ts'z attracted attention again, but this time the matter developed into a full-scale scandal that threw the government into disarray, and out of this drama rose the Tung Wah Hospital.

A man from an emigration depot died at the I-ts'z in April 1869. In the course of investigation, Alfred Lister,<sup>15</sup> the acting Registrar General, stumbled across the appalling conditions there. It was not just small, dark, and filthy; there was a complete lack of any care for the inmates. He wrote:

At my first visit there were, dead and alive, about nine or ten patients in the so-called hospital. One, apparently dying from emaciation and diarrhea [*sic*], was barricaded into a place just large enough to hold the board on which he lay, and not high enough to stand up in, another room contained a boarding on which lay two poor creatures half-dead, and one corpse, while the floor, which was of earth, was covered with pools of urine. The next room contained what the attendants asserted to be two corpses, but on examination one of them was found to be alive . . . and other rooms contained miserable and emaciated creations, unable to speak or move, whose rags had apparently never been changed since their admission, and whom the necessities of nature had reduced to an inexpressibly sickening condition.<sup>16</sup>

The testimonies of Lister and others at the Inquest so publicized the horrors of the I-ts'z that it was impossible to suppress the scandal. In Hong Kong, the press, provocatively highlighting the question of official responsibility for this state of affairs, added pressure on the Governor.<sup>17</sup> When the news reached London, the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science saw the opportunity to hit at the abuses of the so-called 'coolie trade' from Hong Kong and immediately created an uproar.<sup>18</sup>

When MacDonnell first learnt of the I-ts'z's conditions he seems genuinely disturbed that 'such heartless cruelty and filth could be found in any building in this city'.<sup>19</sup> Though Dr Murray had mentioned sick people there in 1866, he had not described the place in detail. But it would have been difficult for anyone to be unaffected by Lister's graphic description. However, as the episode gained publicity, MacDonnell became increasingly concerned with pinning the responsibility on someone, not just to meet the accusations of the local press, but also in anticipation of the Colonial Office's censure.

He first blamed the acting Registrar General, Alfred Lister. MacDonnell referred to Ordinance 8 of 1858 which authorized this officer to look after the interests of the Chinese. It was his responsibility to visit houses and tenements of every description where Chinese coolies, emigrants, and others lived, and to ensure



that they were in good order.<sup>20</sup> Lister objected, reminding the Governor that as far as supervising emigrants was concerned, there were 'depots' for them under the Harbour Master's control. He admitted that the problem of sick emigrants was a serious one; in Chapter 4 we shall look at the important problem of emigration in greater detail. Lister gave the example of a batch of 600 intending emigrants from Fujian of whom only 290 were taken on board, and he was sure that almost all the rest would be buried within a few weeks at public expense.<sup>21</sup> But this was not his business, he claimed; it was the Harbour Master's duty to oversee the medical requirements of intending emigrants and their well-being both before their departure and during their voyage.<sup>22</sup> The buck was passed in the best bureaucratic tradition.

The Governor then turned his wrath on H. G. Thomsett, the Harbour Master, who was also Emigration Officer. In defence, Thomsett sketched out his duties as Emigration Officer as laid down both by Act of Parliament and local ordinance — seeing that emigrants were not fraudulently obtained, that they understood the nature of their contracts, that the provisions for the voyage were fit and sufficient and, with the assistance of a medical man, to see that none but healthy persons embarked. It was mainly to carry out these duties that he visited the depots. He denied ever seeing any sick persons on these visits, adding that he would be surprised to find any since the recruiting agents knew very well that only the strong and healthy would be accepted. There was no special connection between the I-ts'z and emigration, he asserted, and dismissed Lister's allegation about sick emigrants as nonsense.<sup>23</sup>

The witch-hunt continued. The Colonial Surgeon, Dr I. Murray, was the next target, and MacDonnell expected that he too would 'claim similar immunity'.<sup>24</sup> And of course Murray did. 'No one could have been more surprised and shocked at the frightful revelations' than he, who had never seen a 'living sick person' there, he claimed.<sup>25</sup> He had conveniently forgotten his own minutes of 1866; the Governor, however, had not, and could see the doctor lying through his teeth.<sup>26</sup>

This inquisition yielded very little, except perhaps a fairly good picture of how bureaucracies work. It showed that despite the plethora of rules and regulations concerning emigration, health, and 'protection' of the Chinese, in reality there was only confusion, callousness, and neglect. Unable to single out any officer on

whom to lay the blame, MacDonnell told the Colonial Secretary that the Secretary of State would surely find all three responsible. Still, it would be difficult for him to avoid implicating himself. After all, he had done nothing about the I-ts'z in 1866 and, as chief executive, he would be compromised by the incompetence of his subordinates. Anticipating displeasure from London, he went about setting things right at the I-ts'z and then reported on the affair in the least damaging way he could.

### *The Idea of a Chinese Hospital*

While conducting his inquisition and striking terror into his officers' hearts, MacDonnell had the I-ts'z set right. On his instructions Lister, Murray, and the Superintendent of Police cleared out the building and sent the inmates to the Government Civil Hospital. The government resumed control of the place on the grounds that the original purpose of a temple had been violated, and forbade all further admission.<sup>27</sup>

However, closing the I-ts'z did not solve the problem — it only resurrected an old one. Immediately, dead bodies and dying persons began appearing on the streets,<sup>28</sup> making apparent the impracticality of suppressing the I-ts'z altogether. The episode did not have the quick, short ending that everyone must have hoped for. Instead, it was only the beginning of another long story. It was in these circumstances that the idea of a Chinese hospital was revived.

Apparently Fan A-wye had not abandoned his plans for a hospital and Lister, impressed with the cleanliness and order of his dispensary at Wanchai, was ready to support him. After closing the I-ts'z, he took the idea to MacDonnell,<sup>29</sup> who was now even more zealous about a Chinese hospital than he had been in 1866, for reasons which will be analysed, and proceeded to realize it with gusto. In early May, he appointed a Commission of Inquiry composed of Murray, Lister, and the Coroner to find out the Chinese community's views on a Chinese hospital and to recommend a Committee of Management for setting one up.<sup>30</sup> As it turned out, the Chinese who were eventually to establish the hospital were entirely different from Fan's group.

On 5 May MacDonnell wrote to the Colonial Secretary officially proposing the establishment of a Chinese hospital on condition that 'its regulations and general superintendence be subject to

Government control'.<sup>31</sup> He assumed that funds could come from the Chinese. For one thing, he believed that the 'better class of Chinese' were ashamed of the exposé of such questionable Chinese usage connected with the I-ts'z,<sup>32</sup> which was probably true. For another, he felt sure that they could afford it. He referred to their 'great wealth' and the large sums of money they spent on 'their puerile national processions and "shows" every year', and was confident that an appeal to them to forego some of that expenditure for a well-conducted hospital for the relief of their countrymen would probably succeed.<sup>33</sup> There should be no trouble raising \$12,000 to \$15,000 from them, while he was prepared to have the government contribute either through a fund or a grant of land. His observations of the Chinese show his perceptiveness and shrewdness, and how quickly he exploited the situation.

He put forward some preliminary ideas. The hospital was to accommodate at least 100 Chinese, 'of whom 20 might be regarded as the moribund class for whose accommodation Chinese prejudice and superstition require apparently some place like the notorious I-ts'z'. He also envisaged it as a residence for a Chinese doctor and a dispensary for native and European medicines, to be visited by a European medical man almost daily.<sup>34</sup> It is interesting to compare these initial ideas with what would actually come into being.

MacDonnell then formally presented the proposal to Lord Granville, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In a series of dispatches, he argued its necessity; no matter how well maintained the Civil Hospital might be, 'Chinese customs and prejudices' made it impossible to meet Chinese needs.<sup>35</sup> A Chinese hospital was the only way to prevent the suffering which had prevailed at the I-ts'z. He had pin-pointed the problem. However, one might well ask why he had not pursued the idea of a Chinese hospital more vigorously before the I-ts'z scandal erupted. MacDonnell's proposal for a Chinese hospital was truly a departure from the government's tradition of non-interference, and his extraordinary concern for the Chinese community cannot but arouse our suspicion.

It was all very well to be visionary and speak positively of reforms to come. Unfortunately for the Governor, he could not avoid having to explain the I-ts'z issue to the Colonial Office and this he did with considerable skill. One could almost sense that

he had brought the subject up in anticipation of inevitable questions coming upon the heels of such a grand scandal. In one of the dispatches he gave a brief history of the I-ts'z and went to great lengths to show that given Chinese objections to people dying in a house, such a repository was indispensable, implying that so long as it was kept clean — and until April there had been no indication that it was otherwise — there was no reason for government to intervene. He concluded by congratulating himself that considering reforms since introduced and reforms soon to be introduced, *'the incidents had resulted in good'* [my italics].<sup>36</sup> Thus, in one clever stroke, he side-stepped the issue of government responsibility for the abuses at the I-ts'z, and focused attention on his grand project.

### *Planning the Hospital*

Even as MacDonnell was persuading Granville of the absolute necessity for a Chinese hospital, he informed him that he had already committed the government in funds and a land grant, and that as far as funds were concerned, there was no better source than the Special Fund raised from the Gambling Licence.<sup>37</sup> To understand this Fund, we need to look briefly at its origin.

Gambling among Chinese was an endemic problem in Hong Kong. It offended Victorian evangelical sensibilities as well as being a cause of social disorder. When illegal it was a source of police corruption. The situation had led Governors John Bowring and Hercules Robinson to apply for permission to license gambling, the logic being that doing so was the only means of controlling the vice.<sup>38</sup> But their applications were turned down. Faced with the same problem, MacDonnell cunningly slipped it in through the back door, as it were, and before the Colonial Office realized what had happened, a gambling licencing system had been established in Hong Kong in 1867. Later it was changed to a monopoly bringing in huge revenue for the government,<sup>39</sup> but this soon proved to be so 'embarrassingly large' that the question of what to do with it became urgent.

The Colonial Office, inveigled by MacDonnell into accepting the system in the first place, opposed the idea of government endorsing vice. Accepting it only on a temporary basis, it insisted that at some future date the system would be abolished and gambling again banned. Consequently, the Secretary of State

instructed MacDonnell categorically to keep the Gambling Fund as a separate exchequer with its own expenditure and receipts, and not to integrate it with the regular revenue of the colony.<sup>40</sup> It was even hoped that the Fund could be eventually used, somehow, to suppress gambling altogether.

MacDonnell did not anticipate much success in suppressing gambling, but he was eager to spend the 'embarrassingly large' Fund.<sup>41</sup> Finding loopholes in London's instructions, he proceeded to spend it on building police stations, roads, and telegraph lines, and on police launches, which he claimed to be indispensable in fighting crime, arguing that to suppress gambling one must first eradicate criminal elements from Hong Kong. Unfortunately these measures were disallowed in 1869, just before the I-ts'z scandal erupted, and he was told to pay the Fund back from regular revenue.<sup>42</sup> The Gambling Fund remained as large as ever.

The I-ts'z incident showed MacDonnell an opportunity to spend the Fund which had become such a source of conflict between himself and the Colonial Office. This time he reasoned that since the Chinese were the sole contributors to the Fund, it should be spent on their physical and moral improvement. Thus on 2 June he proposed expending \$8,500 of it on the new hospital, and a further \$3,000 to prepare the site to be granted.<sup>43</sup> Three weeks later he increased the grant to \$10,000, to be paid upon the Chinese completing and paying into the bank a subscription of \$15,000.<sup>44</sup>

MacDonnell tried to shame the Colonial Office into agreement by reporting that Chinese subscription lists for the hospital amounted to over \$30,000, and he predicted that despite the current depressed state of trade, at least \$15,000 would be forthcoming.<sup>45</sup> But the fact remained that he had committed the government to support the hospital, and if the Colonial Office disapproved of his using the Special Fund, the grant would have to come from regular revenue. In his usual unorthodox way he had bulldozed the Colonial Office into an awkward position. His 'determination not to obey the Secretary of State' was noted with some resentment by Lord Granville himself.<sup>46</sup>

Before the Governor's explanations and rationalizations could reach London, the Colonial Office had already read about the I-ts'z incident in the *London and China Telegraph*. The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, concerned not only with the horrible conditions at the I-ts'z but also with the

abuses of the emigration trade from Hong Kong which it compared to slavery, protested to the Colonial Office.<sup>47</sup> As a result, the latter wrote to MacDonnell demanding answers to a series of questions: how the I-ts'z could have been unnoticed by the police, whether other such places existed, what was being done to remove the evils, whether any investigations were being carried out, and whether the emigration conducted by D. R. Caldwell, now the major emigration agent in Hong Kong, was accompanied by abuses.<sup>48</sup>

MacDonnell had anticipated these questions and had already dealt with the I-ts'z and the new Chinese hospital in dispatches which had crossed with Granville's. To a large extent, he satisfied Granville, mainly, it seems, by his argument that whatever the abuses might have been, they were now being put right. He was able to convince Granville of the need and desirability of a properly constituted Chinese hospital as a remedy.

With the customary respect for the man on the spot, and also perhaps because he saw the genuine benefit of a Chinese hospital, Lord Granville approved of the hospital, and sanctioned both the grant of land and the sum for preparing the site.<sup>49</sup> But, in line with the principle that the Special Fund was only temporary, he told MacDonnell not to commit the government to the hospital's annual maintenance.<sup>50</sup> The Governor must have been relieved that his manipulations had succeeded, as the question of maladministration regarding the I-ts'z was not pursued. Obviously his strategy of using the proposal of a Chinese hospital as a remedy — even as a smoke-screen — had worked.

### *The Chinese and the Hospital*

Meanwhile, the Commission MacDonnell had appointed to ascertain the Chinese community's views on a hospital and to recommend a Chinese Committee of Management set to work. By 1 June a Hospital Committee had been formed. It was composed of some 20 influential residents with Ho Asik,<sup>51</sup> a leading kaifong, as its chairman. Its other leader was another leading kaifong, Leung On (Liang An),<sup>52</sup> comprador of Gibb, Livingston & Co. It was obviously due to the existing kaifong organization, which had managed Chinese community affairs for several decades, that the new Hospital Committee could be established and function so quickly and efficiently. It is not known whether the official Com-

mission had approached the kaifongs or the other way around, but in any case it was this group which was officially accepted as the Committee for planning the hospital. The number soon grew to 125, and from it emerged the first Tung Wah Board of Directors.

Though the Tung Wah Hospital was rooted in an older association, the kaifongs, the difference between them was profound. The Tung Wah Committee was the first Chinese group in Hong Kong to be recognized by the government as representatives of the Chinese community. The Hospital Ordinance of 1870 gave legal sanction and official status to its existence and further enhanced its social status. This first official recognition of a group of influential Chinese community leaders made the founding of the Tung Wah Hospital a turning point in Hong Kong's history.

From the start, the earnestness of the Chinese was manifest. According to the *China Mail*, all sections of the community saw the need for a Chinese hospital, but even then, the willingness of 'influential residents' to devote their money and energy to such a project must have been beyond all expectations. Some of them had obstructed Fan A-wye's plans in 1866 and their enthusiasm now revealed their ambitions both to operate the hospital themselves and, perhaps more importantly, to form themselves into a public body to run a community project with the government's approval. They also showed their effectiveness. Almost as soon as the Committee was formed, \$10,000 to \$15,000 was promised towards the Hospital, and by early 1870 the final paid-up subscription was over \$47,000.<sup>53</sup> This ability to raise funds was an important reflection of the economic capacity, community spirit, and organizational powers of the Chinese in Hong Kong. The Tung Wah Hospital's capacity to do so would soon become legendary and internationally known.

While planning the new Hospital, the Committee also operated the I-ts'z as a temporary hospital. When it had become clear that closing the I-ts'z was impractical, MacDonnell allowed the Committee to renovate it to admit a small number of patients for the time being.<sup>54</sup> Two thousand dollars was spent on its renovation, and soon patients started arriving.

Just as things appeared to be going well, trouble erupted. The Colonial Surgeon discovered that a dying patient at the I-ts'z had been removed to a room where a corpse had been deposited.<sup>55</sup> When Lister, the Registrar General, heard about it, he put up a

stinging notice at the I-ts'z, warning that in future on no account was a dying patient to be removed from his room. Anyone who did so or who gave such an order would be punishable for manslaughter according to English law.<sup>56</sup>

The new Hospital Committee, which supervised the I-ts'z, protested strongly to the Governor. The members, led by Leung On, explained in a petition that it was Chinese practice to remove a dying man from his room. There was nothing cruel about it, and it was certainly not intended to hasten his death. They pleaded that they had no wish to risk disobeying the notice, and complained that after spending so much money and energy in giving relief to the poor, they did not deserve such treatment. They reminded MacDonnell that they had undertaken to operate the present hospital and establish the new one on the understanding that 'the general conduct of the affairs and the framing of regulations will devolve on the Chinese, in whose hands the management will be'.<sup>57</sup> According to their understanding, Chinese customs would provide the operating principle. They put forward a telling point: if the Hospital was to be run on English principles, there was really no need for them to take the trouble of building a new hospital when the Civil Hospital already existed.<sup>58</sup>

The message was clear. They were threatening to call the whole thing off unless the Governor would rescind Lister's instruction and give the Committee a free hand in the Hospital's management. They had acted so boldly only because they knew they held the trump card. They were shrewd enough to see the Governor's eagerness for a Chinese hospital and this could not be built without either *their* money or *their* participation. Besides, they were determined that the ground rules concerning the control of the future Hospital should be clarified once and for all.

MacDonnell's reaction was unexpectedly accommodating. Instead of being offended by their impertinance, he thought the petitioners reasonable; rather, it was Lister's blunder which annoyed him. Sympathetic with the Chinese prejudice against allowing a person to die in a room where there were living persons, he thought it permissible to remove him so long as it was done carefully.<sup>59</sup> He was ready to compromise his officer and yield to Chinese pressure because, as he admitted, to refuse their 'reasonable request' 'would have completely checked the movement for building a new Hospital'.<sup>60</sup> It was a small price to pay.

MacDonnell instructed Lister to publish his decision among the



Chinese. For Lister, the gesture was nothing short of a public apology. In response, the Hospital Committee thanked the Governor for his permission to conduct the Hospital on Chinese principles, and stated their intention to engrave the proclamation on stone together with an account of the proceedings connected with the Hospital as a permanent reminder of MacDonnell's and Lister's goodness.<sup>61</sup> This was obviously also designed to prevent the government from going back on its word and to pre-empt future dispute.

The Committee had reason to be pleased. Having won the first round with the government, it was disinclined to let the victory go without due fanfare. It had gambled, banking on the assumption that the Governor would go a long way to safeguard the Hospital project, and had won. The Governor's earnestness was unmistakable. Though enthusiastic about the idea of a Chinese hospital in 1866, then he had played a passive role, and when the plans were eventually dropped, he did nothing to salvage them. The site which the present Committee had received was exactly the one Fan's group had originally asked for in 1866. Not only was the Governor undeterred by its high value, now he was even prepared to pay for the site formation. His zeal became even more obvious when he compromised his own subordinate and gave in to the Chinese Committee's demand in order to preserve the Hospital project.

### *MacDonnell and the Hospital*

Why was MacDonnell so keen to bring about the Chinese hospital?

First of all, the need to atone for the abuses at the I-ts'z was obvious. By helping to bring about a new Chinese hospital, he could at least argue that some 'permanent good' was coming out of the whole fiasco and use the smoke-screen to divert attention from the real issue. He even tried to turn the situation to his advantage by claiming credit for taking 'so leading a part in extracting finally so much good from the original abuse'.<sup>62</sup>

The Chinese hospital would also provide an opportunity to reduce the 'embarrassingly large' Special Fund. This Fund, born of such unsavoury circumstances, had put MacDonnell in a most awkward position. Spending part of it, at least, would relieve some of the pressure on him, and spending it on a good cause

would reduce some of the stigma. The Fund certainly allowed him to be magnanimous.

His intention to involve the Chinese in this scheme was another consideration, though perhaps a minor one. He had been impressed with the District Watchmen's work, which showed the value of letting the Chinese co-operate with the government. It would be a 'politic' as well as a charitable move.<sup>63</sup> This reference to the political need to solicit Chinese co-operation is significant. Up to 1869 the government's management of the Chinese had not been particularly successful. Despite the Registrar General's office, it was oblivious to much that was going on among the Chinese. The I-ts'z episode was an excellent illustration. There were government policies which alarmed and repelled the Chinese community. MacDonnell must have remembered, for instance, that when he introduced the Registration Ordinance in 1866, 10,000 Chinese left the colony in protest.<sup>64</sup> The lack of communication was obvious. If the acting Registrar General, whose business was the Chinese community, did not know its customs, how much more ignorant the other government officers must be of them. At the same time, there were prominent Chinese residents who exerted influence on the community and MacDonnell might have seen them as a possible medium through which he could manage the rest. This could partly explain why he gave so much more countenance to Leung On's Committee than to Fan A-wye and his humble friends.

Throughout, MacDonnell was emphatic about the wealth of the Chinese. By the end of the 1860s, Chinese merchants in Hong Kong had indeed accumulated great wealth, and this was clearly manifested in the ease with which the Hospital subscriptions were raised — not only in 1869 but also in all the years to come. Apart from the Special Fund, which was a windfall, the government was constantly threatened by deficits. The sources of revenue of a free port were limited, and it was forced to practise very strict economy. MacDonnell saw the situation presenting an excellent opportunity for the Chinese, who he believed were embarrassed by the whole scandal, to use some of *their* money for a good cause. It would be a feather in his cap at someone else's expense.

His expectations were well founded. Initially, he had hoped that the Chinese would raise \$12,000 to \$15,000. By August the subscriptions had already exceeded \$30,000.<sup>65</sup> Eight months later the fund had grown to over \$47,000. This confirmed his observa-

tions. This is also an important indicator of the type of Chinese involved in the founding of the Tung Wah Hospital.

### *The Chinese Hospital Ordinance*

An ordinance 'for establishing a Chinese Hospital to be supported by voluntary contributions, and for erecting the same into an eleemosynary Corporation' — Ordinance 3 of 1870 — was passed. The full Ordinance is reproduced in Appendix I, but a few significant points should be noted.

According to the Ordinance, the Chinese Hospital would be a corporation, and its legal rights and liabilities as such were specified. The Schedule named the Founding Board of Directors. From the beginning, the Chineseness of the Hospital was established, for it was stipulated that all its members were to be of Chinese origin. However, this also became one of the first rules to be broken, since subsequently the register did contain, even if nominally, foreign members.<sup>66</sup>

This emphasis on Chineseness was made again when the Hospital's aim was spelt out. It was erected 'for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a public free hospital for the treatment of the indigent sick among the Chinese population'. Provisions were also made for fee-paying patients, for it was expected that emigrants returning from abroad, especially from California, would patronize it and provide a regular source of income.<sup>67</sup>

For the first two years there would be a 'Preliminary Board of Directors', which the Chinese called *Chuang jian zongli* (literally 'Founding Board of Directors'). Afterwards, a permanent Board of Directors would be formed, consisting of not less than six and not more than twelve members of the Corporation, to be elected from time to time by the members, each having one vote. The Directors would appoint a President (the term 'Chairman' was later more commonly used) among themselves and each Director would hold office for one year only, though he would be eligible for re-election. Questions arising in Board meetings would be decided by majority vote, and in case of a draw, the President had the casting vote.

Great powers were given to the Directors during their term of office. The Board had 'full power and authority generally to govern, direct and decide all matters whatsoever connected with the administration of the affairs of the Corporation and

the accomplishment of the object and purposes thereof'. For the immediate supervision and management of the Hospital, the Board of Directors could also appoint a Board of Management.

To check the Board's power, the Ordinance provided for government intervention. In important matters such as the change in the term of the Directors' office, or the qualification of membership, the consent of the Governor-in-Council was required. The Board had the right to frame regulations relating to the Hospital's administration and discipline provided that copies of them were furnished to the Colonial Secretary, subject to the disallowance of the Governor-in-Council. He also had the final say over the interpretation of the Ordinance.

The Ordinance also provided for a government role in the day-to-day running of the Hospital. The Registrar General, the Colonial Surgeon, and any other person appointed by the Governor, were authorized to inspect the premises at any reasonable time. In addition, an annual statement of accounts was to be presented.

Final powers were vested in the Governor-in-Council. Section 16 provided that 'in case it shall at any time be shown to the satisfaction of the Governor-in-Council that the Corporation have ceased or neglected or failed to fulfil the conditions thereof, or that sufficient funds cannot be obtained by voluntary contributions to defray the necessary expenses of maintaining the said Hospital or that the Corporation is unable for any reason to pay its debts', the Governor would have power to repeal the ordinance and declare the incorporation void. In such an event, the Hospital's property would revert to the Crown. This particular provision was made at the Governor's request,<sup>68</sup> and may be interpreted as a sign of his caution, perhaps even his fundamental distrust, of the Chinese.

While preparing this Ordinance, the Attorney General, Julian Pauncefote,<sup>69</sup> was in constant communication with the Chinese through Lister, the Registrar General, who worked hard to meet the Committee's wishes. It appeared satisfied; the only point of disagreement which seems to have arisen was over membership fee. The Committee had originally proposed 50 cents but the government demurred. This small sum would have enabled 'grass-root' participation which the government would not encourage. As a result membership was restricted to those contributing at least \$10, making it much more exclusive.<sup>70</sup>

Otherwise, the terms were satisfactory. It provided the Corporation with ample autonomy and the Board with vast powers of governance. So long as things went smoothly, the Chinese could run the Hospital as they wished. Although nowhere was it specified that it would be run according to Chinese customs and principles, implicitly the Board could apply these principles so long as the Governor did not find them objectionable and overrule them. Pauncefote himself believed that the intention was to interfere as little as possible<sup>71</sup> and it is likely that the Chinese had been informally reassured of this. Certainly the general vagueness of the Ordinance gave the Board much leeway.

Should any extraordinary circumstances or abuses arise, however, or should any changes be desired, the government was empowered to intervene. More importantly, in the event of a *débâcle*, it would be in a position to declare the Hospital's abolition. One could say that the interests of both sides were fairly well taken care of, the Ordinance vesting ample power in the government to control and supervise, but at the same time avoiding 'vexatious interference with an institution so purely Chinese'.<sup>72</sup>

Initially, a trusteeship rather than an incorporation had been proposed for the Hospital, but the Attorney General, Pauncefote, much preferred the latter. He claimed the Chinese, being ignorant of the English language and laws, would never comprehend a deed and most probably disputes would arise among the Hospital's supporters. Another reason he gave — a more convincing one — was that land was invariably granted for a Crown Lease of 999 years, but the population was so transient that it would be necessary constantly to reappoint new trustees, and each new appointment involved much technical complication. The present Ordinance gave the land to the corporation and its successors and allowed government to control its management.<sup>73</sup> The I-ts'z had been managed by trustees and the terms of the land grant had not provided for any government control so long as it was used as a 'temple'. Thus when its original trustees lost interest in its operation, no one could be held responsible, and short of resuming the land, government could not intervene. Clearly, the Hospital Ordinance was designed to avoid a repetition of the I-ts'z fiasco.

This Ordinance is an interesting framework within which to see

the Hospital's development and relationship with the government in the years to come. In normal times, armed with the autonomy it provided, the Committee would run the Hospital as it saw fit, but when the government detected things getting out of hand, it would invoke the Ordinance to remind the Hospital authorities of the limits to its powers. The tension was inherent. Even when their relationship appeared harmonious on the surface, there was always an undercurrent of conflict. At times the undercurrent turned into a tempest and open confrontation took place. In 1896, for example, the Governor forced the Hospital Committee to toe the line by threatening to abolish the Hospital. Thus the Ordinance which gave the Hospital Committee legal status and great administrative powers also circumscribed its powers.

### *The Chinese Hospital Committee*

The 20 member Committee soon grew to 125. Out of these, the 12 most active in promoting the establishment of the Hospital and the greatest donors were elected as the Founding Board of Directors.<sup>74</sup> They included the most powerful and wealthy Chinese business men of Hong Kong, and the mechanism they soon developed for selecting the Board, which we shall see in the next chapter, ensured that this tradition should be upheld. As *kaifongs*, they were familiar with managing the Chinese community. As merchants and *compradores*,<sup>75</sup> of whom there were five on this Board, their knowledge of the international business world gave them a measure of worldliness and confidence when dealing with government. The First Chairman, Leung On, who had led the protest against Lister, was a perfect illustration of the assertive Chinese representative, ready to demand rights for the Chinese. A number of Directors had also received an English education, which might have opened their minds to an intellectual world beyond the strictly Chinese one. Many of them held Chinese official titles,<sup>76</sup> an important subject to be discussed more fully in Chapter 4. The Board not only represented wealth, dynamism, and astuteness, but also knowledge and experience in managing business and community affairs. These were important and formidable qualities and, to a large extent, they became a part of the Tung Wah tradition.

### *Conclusion*

This chapter reveals the origin of the Tung Wah Hospital, re-creating a historical situation where incidental factors played a large part. Objectively, political, social, cultural, and economic developments provided the necessary conditions. Primarily, the Chinese community had reached a stage where its leaders had the economic and organizational powers to bring a hospital into effect and, at the same time, were ambitious for government recognition of their social and political status. There were also cultural gaps which made the medical facilities offered by the government irrelevant to the Chinese, and Hong Kong's function as an emigrant port created extra medical and welfare problems. There was little communication between the government and the Chinese community, and the Registrar General's office did little to remedy the situation. Added to these objective factors were a series of incidental ones, catalysts which produced a dynamic situation.

If the death at the I-ts'z in 1869 had gone unreported, like so many others before it; if the Governor had decided to expand the Civil Hospital with special provisions for the Chinese; if he had put the Hospital project in the hands of Fan A-wye; if the Colonial Office had allowed the Governor to include the Special Fund as regular revenue; if the Hospital Committee had succumbed to Lister's interference; if Pauncefote had considered a trusteeship sufficient safeguard. . . Any of these variables would have affected the outcome, perhaps quite radically. But what *did* happen led to the establishment of the Tung Wah Hospital and to a large extent determined its character. The story shows that in studying history, even the history of a social institution, one must make allowances for contingencies.

The Tung Wah Hospital became the first hospital in Hong Kong operated by Chinese and offering Chinese medical treatment. The special circumstances not only resulted in the Hong Kong government according official recognition for the first time to a group of Chinese community leaders but, more significantly, dictated that it took the rather unusual form of a hospital committee.

The site of the new Hospital was on the west of the Tai-ping-shan district, across the street from the I-ts'z. The street originally bore the morbid name of Cemetery Street, Fan Mo (*fenmo*, lit-

erally 'grave') Street in Chinese, because to the south of the site was a burial ground where Chinese had been burying their dead rather haphazardly for many years.<sup>77</sup> After the land grant was made in 1869, it was renamed Po Yan (*puren*, 'universal benevolence') Street,<sup>78</sup> signifying the optimism of those involved with the Hospital's foundation, and it had turned out to be an accurate prophecy. From Fan Mo Street to Po Yan Street. . . The birth of the Tung Wah Hospital indeed marked a new page in Hong Kong's history.



# Notes

## *Note to Preface*

1 H J Lethbridge, 'A Chinese Association in Hong Kong the Tung Wah', *Contributions to Asian Studies* (Toronto) 1 (1971), pp 144–58, reprinted in his *Hong Kong Stability and Change, A Collection of Essays* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1978), pp 52–70, Carl T Smith, 'Visit to Tung Wah Group of Hospitals' Museum, 2nd October, 1976' (Notes and Queries), *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (hereafter *JHKBRAS*) 16 (1976), pp 262–80

## *Notes to Introduction*

1 Elliot to Palmerston, 25 March 1841 Great Britain, Foreign Office, General Correspondence China 1815–1905, Series 17 (hereafter FO 17)/48 Captain Charles Elliot, R N (1801–75) became Chief Superintendent of Trade to China in 1837 and Plenipotentiary in 1840 During the Opium War he negotiated with China for the cession of Hong Kong, and he occupied the island in January 1841, he was dismissed for going against London's instructions For a biographical sketch, see G B Endacott, *A Biographical Sketchbook of Early Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Eastern Universities Press, 1962)

2 Pottinger to Aberdeen, 29 August 1842 Great Britain, Colonial Office, Original Correspondence Hong Kong, 1841–1951, Series 129 (hereafter CO 129)/1 Sir Henry Pottinger (1789–1856) was appointed to succeed Charles Elliot as Plenipotentiary to China After administering Hong Kong for two years, he was appointed its first Governor in 1843 See Endacott, *Sketchbook*, pp 13–22

3 James Stephen to H U Addington, 3 June 1843, quoted in Gerald Graham, *The China Station, War and Diplomacy 1830–1860* (Oxford Oxford University Press, 1978), p 234 Stephen was Under-Secretary for the Colonies 1836–47

4 Stanley Lane-Poole, *Thirty Years of Colonial Government, Selections from the Despatches and Letters of the Right Honourable Sir George Ferguson Bowen G C M G*, 2 volumes (London Longmans, Green, 1887), Vol I, p 13

5 G B Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1983, first published 1958), p vi In fact J S Furnivall argues that since all colonies served economic reasons, the prime concern of all colonial powers was to maintain order as essential for deriving economic advantages See J S Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice, A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India* (New York New York University Press, 1956, first published 1948), p 8 It seems, however, that in colonies designed for settlement, this might not be absolutely correct Furnivall's view might be compared to W M Morrell, *British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1930), which claims that other principles were at work in colonial policy, for example, humanitarianism

6 Harold Ingrams, quoted by Robert Huessler, *Yesterday's Rulers, The Making of the British Colonial Service* (New York Syracuse University Press, 1963), p 6

7 Robert V Kubicek, *The Administration of Imperialism — Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office* (Durham, N C Duke University Press, 1969), p 43, John W Cell, *British Colonial Administration in the Mid-nineteenth Century*

*the Policy Making Process* (New Haven and London Yale University Press, 1970), pp 45-6

8 E J Eitel, *Europe in China* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1983, first published 1895), with an Introduction by H J Lethbridge, p 1 Having lived 35 years in Hong Kong and having been much involved with Chinese matters, Eitel ought to be a reliable judge For a biographical sketch of Eitel, see Lethbridge's Introduction, G B Endacott, 'A Hong Kong History *Europe in China* by E J Eitel The Man and the Book', *Journal of Oriental Studies* 4 (1957/58), pp 41-65

9 William H Liu, 'The Legal Person of Hong Kong Chinese in British Law', *Asian Profile* 4 3 (June 1976), pp 195-202

### Notes to Chapter 1

1 D K Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires, A Comparative Study from the Eighteenth Century* (London Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966, first published 1965), p 246 See also John W Cell, *British Colonial Administration in the Nineteenth Century the Policy Making Process* (New Haven and London Yale University Press, 1970), especially pp 3-44, 'The Colonial Office', Brian L Blakeley, *The Colonial Office 1868-1892* (Durham, N C Duke University Press, 1972), Helen Taft Manning, 'Who Ran the Empire — 1830-1850?', *Journal of British Studies* 5 (1965), pp 88-121

2 Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires*, p 247

3 Singapore, Penang, and Malacca had Chinese residents but these places did not become Crown Colonies until 1867

4 James William Norton-Kyshe, *The History of the Laws and Courts of Hong Kong*, 2 volumes (Hong Kong Vetch & Lee, 1971, first published 1898), Vol I, pp 4-6

5 Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires*, pp 278, 283

6 John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast* (Stanford Stanford University Press, 1968, first published 1953), p 128 For early negotiations see J Y Wong, 'The Cession of Hong Kong A Chapter of Imperial History', *Journal of Oriental Society of Australia* 2 (1976), pp 49-61 For a research guide to the documents on the subject, see J Y Wong, *Anglo-Chinese Relations 1839-1860* (London The British Academy, 1983)

7 F O to C O, 6 April 1843 CO 129/3

8 Pottinger to Stanley, 9 December 1843 CO 129/2

9 John Davis (1795-1890) had had long experience with China before serving as Governor of Hong Kong He had spent many years in the East India Company in South China before becoming Chief Superintendent of Trade in 1835 He was author of a two-volume work on China, *The Chinese A General Description of the Empire of China, and its Inhabitants*, published in 1836 See E J Eitel, *Europe in China* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1983), p 211, G B Endacott, *A Biographical Sketchbook of Early Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Eastern Universities Press Limited, 1962), pp 23-9

10 Qiyng (耆英) (1790-1858) was commissioned to negotiate with the British in 1842, and later with the Americans and the French See Arthur W Hummel (ed), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*, 2 volumes (Washington Government Printing Office, 1943-4), Vol I, pp 130-4, *Zhongguo shixue hui* (中國史學會) (Chinese History Society) (ed), *Yapian zhanzheng* (鴉片戰爭) (*The Opium War*), 6 volumes (Shanghai 1954), Vol VI, pp 418-24, Cai Guanlo (蔡冠洛) (ed), *Qingdai qibai mingren zhuan* (清代七百名名人傳) (*Biographies of 700*

*Prominent Qing Personalities*), 3 volumes (Hong Kong 1963, preface dated 1936), Vol III, pp 1350-6

11 Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy*, p 129

12 G B Endacott, *Government and People in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Hong Kong University Press, 1964), p 32

13 Eitel, *Europe in China*, p 134

14 See Carl T Smith, 'The Chinese Settlement of British Hong Kong', *Chung Chi Bulletin* 48 (May 1970), pp 26-32

15 *Chouban yiwu shimo* (籌辦夷務始末) (*The complete account of the management of barbarian affairs*), *juan* 52 3, quoted by Ding You (丁又), *Xianggang chuqi shihua (1841-1907)* (香港初期史話) (*Early History of Hong Kong*) (Peking 1983, first published 1958), p 76 See also Robert Montgomery Martin, 'Report on the Island of Hong Kong' in his *Reports, Minutes and Despatches on the British Position and Prospects in China* (London [1846]), pp 2-32

16 For Chinese Imperial policy towards Overseas Chinese, see Yen Ching-Hwang, 'Changing Images of the Overseas Chinese (1644-1912)', *Modern Asian Studies* (hereafter *MAS*) 15 2 (1981), pp 261-85

17 Yen, 'Changing Images', pp 267-76, *Chouban yiwu shimo*, *juan* 50 39, quoted in Ding, *Xianggang*, p 76 Article IX of the Nanking Treaty provided for amnesty to all subjects of China who might have been guilty of 'residing under, or had dealings and intercourse with, or having entered the service of Her Britannic Majesty, or Her Majesty's officers'

18 Davis to Stanley, 1 June 1844, #10 CO 129/6

19 Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol I, pp 29

20 Endacott, *Government and People*, pp 36-7, Ding, *Xianggang*, pp 87-8

21 Endacott, *Government and People*, p 36, see also Paul Knaplund, *James Stephen and the British Colonial System 1813-1847* (Madison University of Wisconsin Press, 1933)

22 Davis to Stanley, 21 January 1845, #5 CO 129/11

23 'Translations from the *Lu-li* or General Code of Laws of the Chinese Empire', *China Review* 8 (1879-1880), pp 259-61, for an analysis of its working, see Ch'u T'ung-tsu, *Local Government in China under the Ch'ing* (Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1962), pp 150-4, Hsiao Kung-chuan, *Rural China Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle University of Washington Press, 1960)

24 Davis to Stanley, 28 January 1845, #9 CO 129/11

25 Eitel, *Europe in China*, p 222, Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol I, p 338

26 Eitel, *Europe in China*, pp 222-6

27 Eitel, *Europe in China*, pp 222-6, Great Britain, Foreign Office, *Miscellaneous 1759-1935 Series 233* (hereafter FO 233)/185, Records of letters between the Plenipotentiary and High Provincial Authorities, notifications 29/1844, 32/1844

28 Eitel, *Europe in China*, p 226, Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol I, p 73

29 Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol I, p 93

30 See 'Civil Establishment', *Hong Kong Blue Book*, 1844 to 1855, Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol I, p 284

31 See especially Maurice Freedman, 'Immigrants and Associations Chinese in 19th Century Singapore', *Comparative Studies in Social History* 3 (1961), pp 25-48, G W Skinner, *Chinese Society in Thailand, An Analytical History* (Ithaca, N Y Cornell University Press, 1957) and *Leadership and Power in the Chinese Community of Thailand* (Ithaca, N Y Cornell University Press, 1958), Lawrence W Crissman, 'The Segmentary Structure of Urban Overseas Chinese

Communities', *Man* 2 2 (June 1967), pp 185-204, W E Willmott, *The Political Structure of the Chinese Community in Cambodia* (London London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, no 42, 1970), Chapter 13 There are also scholars who consider this view too limited See Donald R de Glopper, 'City on the Sands Social Structure in a Nineteenth Century Chinese City' (Ph D thesis, Cornell University, 1973)

32 Dafydd E Evans, 'Chinatown in Hong Kong The Beginnings of Taiping-shan', *JHKBRAS* 10 (1970), pp 69-78, the petitions relating to the move are 3, 5, 7, and 8 of 1844 FO 233/185

33 J Chesneau, 'Secret Societies in China's Historical Evolution' in J Chesneau (ed), *Popular Movements and Secret Societies in China, 1840-1950* (Stanford Stanford University Press, 1972), pp 1-21, for a contemporary account, see Charles Gutzlaff, 'On the Secret Triad Society of China, Chiefly from Papers Belonging to the Society found at Hong Kong', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 8 (1846), pp 361-7

34 W P Morgan, *Triad Societies in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Government Printer, 1982, first published 1960), p 60

35 Davis to Stanley, 21 January 1845, #5 and 4 March 1845, #20 CO 129/11, 11 September 1845, #127 CO 129/13

36 2/1846 FO 233/186, 20/1847 FO 233/187

37 Ch'u T'ung-tsu, *Law and Society in Traditional China* (Paris Mouton, 1965)

38 In fact the lack of understanding of the workings of Chinese guilds was a long-standing problem among foreigners in China See Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Guilds of China with an Account of the Guild Merchants or Co-hong of Canton* (New York Russell & Russell, 1967, first published 1932), Daniel Jerome McGowan, 'Chinese Guilds or Chambers of Commerce and Trade Unions', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, China Branch new (2nd) series* 21, 3 (1886), pp 133-92, Peter J Golas, 'Early Ch'ing Guilds' in G W Skinner, *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford Stanford University Press, 1977), pp 581-608, Quan Hansheng (全漢昇), *Zhongguo hanghui zhidu shi* (中國行會制度史) (*The Guild System of China*) (Taipei 1978, first published 1935)

39 Joe England and John Rear, *Chinese Labour under British Rule* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1975), pp 74, 207, Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol I, pp 437

40 Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol I, p 436

41 Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol I, pp 436-7

42 G W Skinner, 'Introduction Urban Social Structure in Ch'ing China' in Skinner, *The City in Late Imperial China*, pp 521-54, Sybille van der Sprenkel, 'Urban Social Control' in Skinner, *The City in Late Imperial China*, pp 609-32, Donald R de Glopper, 'Temple, Faction and Loan Club Voluntary Associations in a Taiwanese Town', paper prepared for 23rd Annual Meeting, Association for Asian Studies, Washington, D C, March, 1971, *Huaqiao zhi zongzuan weiyuan hui* (華僑誌總纂委員會) (ed), *Huaqiao zhi zongzhu* (華僑誌總誌) (Records of Overseas Chinese a summary) (Taipei 1964, 1st published 1956), pp 383-4 This is a compendium of information on Overseas Chinese all over the world, there are separate volumes for each country

43 For records relating to the origins of the Man Mo Temple, see 11/1846, 10, 11, 22, 23, 24/1847 FO 233/186, Carl T Smith, 'Notes on Chinese Temples in Hong Kong', *JHKBRAS* 13 (1973), pp 133-9, 'Yingyi ru Yue jilue' (英夷入粵紀略) ('A record of the British entry into Canton') in *Zhongguo shixue hui* (ed), *Yapian zhanzheng*, Vol III, pp 1-27

44 Smith, 'Notes on Chinese Temples', p 135, Carl T Smith, 'The Emergence of a Chinese Élite in Hong Kong', *JHKBRAS* 11 (1971), pp 74-115,

reprinted in his *Chinese Christians Elites, Middlemen and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1985), pp 103-38

45 'The Districts of Hong Kong and the name Kwan Tai'Lo', *China Review* 1 (1872-73), pp 333-4

46 William Tarrant, 'History of Hong Kong' in *The Friend of China*, 1860-1861, 23 November 1860, and see also Smith, *Chinese Christians*, pp 114-15, 123-4

47 'Hong Kong and Kwan Tai Lo'

48 'Hong Kong and Kwan Tai Lo'

49 See the '*He Gang Wenwu Miao jushi lu*' (聞港文武廟紀事錄) ('A record of the Man Mo Temple of the whole Hong Kong'), *Wenwu Miao zhengxinlu* (文武廟敬信錄) (*Annual report of the Man Mo Temple*) 1911, pp 1a-2a

50 Tam Achoy was from Kaiping (開平), Loo was Tanka Several people from Panyu (番禺) donated a couplet and the stone columns at the main entrance were donated by a mason surnamed Zeng (曾), probably a Hakka Ho Asik (He Axi) (何錫) was from Shunde (順德) The stone lions in the yard were given by the Pork Dealer's Guild There are still several tablets presented by various guilds, including the Shoe Makers' Guild and Washermen's Guild

51 Quoted in Smith, 'Notes on Chinese Temples', p 135

52 *The Friend of China*, quoted in Smith, *Chinese Christians*, pp 114-15

53 '*He Gang Wenwu Miao jushi lu*' For Ho Asik, see Smith, *Chinese Christians*, pp 122-3, 225-6, n 43

54 *Wenwu Miao zhengxinlu* 1911 accounts

55 'Hong Kong and Kwan Tai Lo' In 1858, for example, a meeting was held at the 'Joss House' to discuss the formation of a fire brigade, see Vincent H G Jarrett, 'Old Hong Kong', p 306 This is a series of articles on the history of Hong Kong taken from the *South China Morning Post* between 17 June 1933 and 13 April 1935 and re-organized alphabetically by subject The copy used for this book is a photographic copy of a copy typed from the original articles deposited at the Hong Kong University Library, in four volumes

56 Quoted from a post-war Hong Kong government department report by James Hayes, *The Hong Kong Region 1850-1911 Institutes and Leadership in Town and Countryside* (Hamden, Connecticut Archon Books, Dawson, 1977), p 65

57 H J Lethbridge, *Stability and Change*, pp 58-9, Aline K Wong, 'Chinese Voluntary Associations in Southeast Asian Cities and the Kaifongs in Hong Kong', *JHKBRAS* 11 (1971), pp 62-73 and her *The Kaifong Associations and the Society of Hong Kong*, Asian Folklore and Social Life Monographs, Vol 43 (Taiper Overseas Cultural Service, 1973) discusses the post-war situation

58 Smith, *Chinese Christians*, pp 90-2

59 'The Districts of Hong Kong', *China Directory 1874* (Hong Kong China Mail Office, 1874), pp 47-8

60 The couplet reads

公爾它私入斯門費無偏袒

所欲與聚到此地切莫糊塗

They can still be seen at the kung-so today A photograph of what appears to be a pre-1862 version of the kung-so is in the possession of the Stockhouse Co The kung-so was referred to as the kaifong kung-so in 'The Districts of Hong Kong', p 48

61. *Hong Kong Daily Press* (hereafter *DP*), 23 September 1870

62 Eitel, *Europe in China*, p 282

63 'Petition by Lu A-ling, Tam A-tsoi, Cheung Sau, T'ong Chiu, Wang Ho

Un, Wong Ping and 8 others, 1st October, 1851' in Hong Kong, *Report of the Commission appointed by H E Sir William Robinson K C M G to enquire into the Working and Organization of the Tung Wa Hospital, 1896*, published as a Sessional Paper (hereafter TWR), p XVII, W Caine to Surveyor General, 17 January 1851, TWR, p XVIII

64 C S Wong, *A Gallery of Chinese Kapitans* (Singapore Ministry of Culture, 1963), p 8, an examination of the *huiguan* will show that this was one of their major functions, see Quan, *Zhongguo hanghui*, p 98, Dou Jiliang' (董季良), *Tongxiang zuzhi zhu yanju* (同鄉組織之研究) (*The Study of Regional Organizations*) (Chungking 1943), pp 70-1

65 Caldwell's evidence at the I-ts'z inquest, TWR, p XXX

66 Caldwell's evidence, TWR, pp XXIV-XXXI

67 Caldwell's evidence, TWR, p XXX

68 Caldwell's evidence, TWR, p XXIV

69 Eitel, *Europe in China*, p 462

70 TWR, pp XXV-XXVI

71 TWR, p XXX

72 TWR, p XXX

73 Eitel, *Europe in China*, p 189 For a history of medicine in Hong Kong, see G H Choa, 'A History of Medicine of Hong Kong', *Medical Directory of Hong Kong 1970*, pp 12-26

74 *Blue Book 1864*, pp 350-1, MacDonnell to Granville, 21 June 1869, #726 CO 129/138

75 Harold Balme, in *China and Modern Medicine, A Study in Medical Mission Development* (London United Council for Missionary Education, 1921), pp 82-3, argues that the Chinese had no hospital. There was no Chinese institution to receive and treat the sick poor. In many of the works on the history of Chinese medicine there is no mention of hospitals except the *Yu yiyuan* (御醫院) or Imperial medical institute, which catered to the court. See Chen Bangxian (陳邦賢), *Zhongguo yixue shi* (中國醫學史) (*History of Medicine in China*) (Shanghai 1955, 1st published 1936), Yu Shenchi (俞慎初), *Zhongguo yixue jianshu* (中國醫學簡史) (*Brief History of Medicine in China*) (Fuzhou 1983), Chen Yongliang (陳永亮), *Zhongguo yixueshi gangyao* (中國醫學史綱要) (*An Outline History of Medicine in China*) (Canton 1947), Jia Dedao (賈得道), *Zhongguo yixue shilue* (中國醫學史略) (*Brief History of Medicine in China*) (Taiyuan 1979). One work, however, argues that hospitals did exist in ancient China, but the author fails to show that they were permanent or specialized institutions, and for the Qing period the author gives no example. See Ren Yingqiu (任應秋), 'Yiyuan de janli-bingfang' (醫院的建立-病房) ('The establishment of hospitals') reprinted in *Ming bao yuekan* (明報月刊) (*Ming Pao Monthly*) 57 (September 1970), p 19

76 William Lockhart, *The Medical Missionary in China* (London Hurst & Blackett, 1861), pp 23-9, describes these institutions in Shanghai, John Kerr, 'The Native Benevolent Institutions of Canton', part 1 *China Review* 2 (1873), pp 88-95, and part 2 3 (1874-5), pp 108-14. See also John Henry Gray, *China, A History of the Law, Manners and Customs of the People*, 2 volumes (London Macmillan, 1878), Vol II, Chapter XVIII, 'Benevolent Institutions and Beggars'

77 Kerr, 'The Native Benevolent Institutions of Canton', part 2, p 112, Ren, 'Bingfang'

78 For medical efforts of Westerners, see K C Wong, *The Lancet and the Cross* (Shanghai Council of Christian Medical Work, 1950), which gives biographical sketches of 50 medical missionaries in China, K C Wong and Wu Lien-teh, *History of Chinese Medicine* (Tientsin the Tientsin Press, 1932), Lockhart, *Medical Missionary*. There is a wealth of literature on the subject, especially

biographical and autobiographical works on doctors who practised in China

79 Marjorie Topley, 'Chinese Traditional Etiology and Methods of Cure in Hong Kong' in Charles Leslie (ed.), *Asian Medical Systems* (Berkeley University of California Press, 1976), pp 243-65, Wong and Wu, *History of Chinese Medicine*, Book I, S H Chuan, 'Chinese Patients and their Prejudices', *China Medical Journal*, Vol XXXI 5 (October 1917), pp 504-10, gives a good analysis of how Chinese patients insisted on using the Chinese medical system as the frame of reference even in the twentieth century

80 *Xunhuan ribao* (循環日報) (*Universal Circulating Herald*) (hereafter *XH*), 21 July 1874

81 For the introduction and acceptance of Jennerian vaccination, see Wong and Wu, *History of Chinese Medicine*, Book II, pp 139-65, Peter Parker's Report, *China Repository* 17 (1848), p 133

82 Dr Benjamin Hobson wrote in 1844 that dissection of the body, even *sectio cadavers*, is utterly discountenanced as a breach of filial piety See Dr Hobson's Report, June 1844, *China Repository* 13 (1844), pp 377-82

83 Eitel, *Europe in China*, p 462 Thus Dr Patrick Manson commented, 'The Civil Hospital, besides having association of a kind not pleasing or attractive to the native mind, is too rigidly foreign in its ways and discipline to suit the great majority of the sick Chinese' Inauguration speech at the College of Medicine, 1887, quoted in G H Choa, *The Life and Times of Sir Kai Ho Kai* (Hong Kong Chinese University Press, 1981), p 56

84 A R Hall, 'The Scientific Movement and its Influence on Thought and Maternal Development' in *New Cambridge Modern History*, Vol X, *The Zenith of European Power, 1830-70* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1967, first published 1960), pp 49-75, 71-3

85 Lockhart, *Medical Missionary*, pp 202-9, Hobson's Report, *China Repository* 13 (1844), pp 377-82, 18 (1847), pp 254-9, Eitel, *Europe in China*, pp 191, 281 There is some confusion over when the hospital closed Eitel claimed it did in 1850 while Lockhart wrote that work was still carried on in 1853 For Benjamin Hobson, see Wong, *The Lancet and the Cross*, pp 12-14

86 Hobson's Report, *China Repository* 13 (1844), p 377

87 Hobson's Report, *China Repository* 13 (1844), p 377

88 Eitel, *Europe in China*, p 281

89 Sergio Ticozzi, *Xianggang Tianzhujiao zhanggu* (香港天主教掌故) (*Stories of the Catholic Church in Hong Kong*) translated by You Liqing (游麗清) (Hong Kong 1983), pp 52-3, 'Diyi jian Tianzhujiao yiyuan' (第一間天主教醫院) ('The first Catholic hospital'), Hong Kong, 'Assessment of Police and Lighting Rates, 1871', p 187

90 Jervois to Newcastle, 5 December 1854, #94 CO 129/43

91 Major-General William Jervois, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander of the Forces, arrived in Hong Kong on 14 April 1851, and was sworn in as a member of the Executive Council the following day When Governor Bonham left in 1852 he took over the government and acted as British Superintendent of Trade in China until 1854

92 Jervois to Newcastle, 5 December 1854, #94 CO 129/43

93 Jervois to Newcastle, 5 December 1854, #94 For a discussion of the *di'bao*, see Hsiao, *Rural China*, pp 64-6

94 James Legge's 'Lecture on Reminiscences of a Long Residence in the East, delivered in the City Hall, 5th November, 1872', in *China Review* 1 (1872), pp 163-76, 171 The improvement in business and quality of Chinese settlers was also noted by the officiating Registrar General, C May, in his report to the Colonial Secretary, enclosed in Bowring to Russell, 4 July 1855, #99 CO 129/51

- 95 'Population', *Blue Book* 1858, 1859
- 96 Sir John Bowring (1792-1897), see Endacott, *Sketchbook*, pp 36-44, *Autobiographical Recollections of Sir John Bowring with a Memoir by Lewin B Bowring* (London 1877)
- 97 Endacott, *Government and People*, p 51
- 98 Endacott, *Government and People*, pp 51-2
- 99 Endacott, *Government and People*, p 53
- 100 John Pope Hennessy (1834-91) Born in County Kerry, Ireland, Member of Parliament 1859, the first Roman Catholic Conservative to sit in Parliament He was called to the Bar, Inner Temple, in 1861 He became Governor of Labuan in 1867, the Gold Coast in 1872, the Bahamas in 1875, Hong Kong from 1877-82, and Governor of Mauritius, 1883-89 See Endacott, *Government and People*, p 89, n 2 His biography is in James Pope-Hennessy, *Verandah Some Episodes in the Crown Colonies, 1867-1889* (London George Allen & Unwin, 1964)
- 101 Came to Labouchere, 22 November 1856, #196 CO 129/59
- 102 D R Caldwell was one of the most dramatic characters in Hong Kong history and deserves more scholarly attention As yet, only a brief account of his life is given in Endacott, *Sketchbook*, pp 95-9
- 103 Bowring to Labouchere, 9 December 1856, #198 CO 129/59
- 104 Government notification of 4 December 1856, enclosed in Bowring to Labouchere, 9 December 1856, #198
- 105 Government notification of 4 December 1856
- 106 For a narrative account of the event, see James Pope-Hennessy, *Half-Crown Colony A Hong Kong Note Book* (London Jonathan Cape, 1969), pp 55-8, 'Papers Respecting the Confinement and Trial of Chinese Prisoners in Hong Kong 1857' (155, Session 2) XLIII, Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers China* (Shannon Irish University Press, 1971- ) (hereafter *BPP*), Vol XXIV, pp 151-88, Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol I, pp 414-24
- 107 Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol I, pp 412-13
- 108 Petition 1, enclosed in Bowring to Lytton, 22 February 1859, #39 CO 129/73
- 109 'Civil Establishment', *Blue Book* 1858, p 112
- 110 See 'Civil Service Abuses', 1860 (C 161) XLVIII, *BPP*, Vol XXIV
- 111 Hercules Robinson (1824-97) left the army in 1846 for a post in the Irish government In 1854 he became President of Monserrat in the West Indies, Lieutenant-Governor of St Christopher in 1855, and Governor of Hong Kong in 1859-65 Afterwards he served as Governor of Ceylon, New South Wales, New Zealand, and the Cape In 1896 he was made Lord Rosemead See Endacott, *Government and People*, p 81, n 1, see also Endacott, *Sketchbook*, pp 45-51
- 112 Robinson to Newcastle, 23 March 1861, #39 CO 129/80 H J Lethbridge, 'Hong Kong Cadets, 1862-1941', *JHKBRAS* 10 (1970), pp 36-56, reprinted in his *Stability and Change*, pp 31-51
- 113 H J Lethbridge, *Stability and Change*, p 48, C M Turnbull, *A History of Singapore* (Kuala Lumpur Oxford University Press, 1977), pp 89-90
- 114 'Civil Establishment', *Blue Book* 1864, p 150
- 115 'Civil Establishment', *Blue Book* 1865-69
- 116 *DP*, 22 October 1869, 22 August 1870
- 117 Robinson to Newcastle, 28 March 1862, #57 CO 129/85
- 118 Robinson to Newcastle, 28 March 1862, #57
- 119 *XH*, 7 and 12 July 1880
- 120 Davis to Stanley, 1 June 1844, #10 CO 129/6, see also Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol I, pp 254-5, 279 for the constitution of the police
- 121 The Colonial Surgeon wrote in his Report for 1856, 'I regret that I can say



nothing in favour of this force', 'Colonial Surgeon's Report', *Blue Book* 1856, p 232 See also 'Colonial Surgeon's Report' in 1855, p 243

122 H J Lethbridge, 'The District Watch Committee', *JHKBRAS* 11 (1971), pp 116-41, reprinted in his *Stability and Change*, pp 104-29 See also 'Reports of the Registrar General, 1867', in *Blue Book* 1867, pp 247-9, and Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol II, p 86

123 'Report of the Registrar General', *Blue Book* 1867, p 248

124 'Report of the Registrar General', 1867, p 248

125 'Registrar General's Report for 1868', *Hong Kong Government Gazette* (hereafter *HKGG*) 1869, pp 127-9

126 Endacott, *Government and People*, p 51 In 1856 persons paying rates of £10 a year numbered 1,999 of whom 1,637 were Chinese See also Smith, *Chinese Christians*

127 See the Nam Pak Hong Association's history in *Nanbei hang gongsuo* (南北行公所) (ed), *Xunsha luocheng ji chengli bashulu zhounian junian tekan* (新厦落成暨成立八十六周年紀念特刊) (*Special Publication to Commemorate Its 86th Anniversary and the Completion of the New Building*) (Hong Kong 1954) and *Chengli yibai zhounian junian tekan* (成立壹佰周年紀念特刊) (*Centenary Publication of the Nam Pak Hong*) (Hong Kong 1968), also 'The Nam Pak Hong Commercial Association in Hong Kong' (Notes & Queries), *JHKBRAS* 19 (1979), pp 216-26

128 Compare Turnbull, *A History of Singapore*, p 50, Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur, Hong Kong, and London Oxford University Press, 1967, first published 1948), p 145

### Notes to Chapter 2

1 'Petition of U Chuk Pan, Wong Yau Ho, Wong Fun Wan, Fan Wai and Im A Chak, 23 May 1866, Hong Kong' *Report of the Commission appointed by H E Sir William Robinson, K C M G to enquire into the working and Organization of the Tung Wa [sic] Hosptial together with the Evidence taken before the Commission and other Appendices (1896)* (hereafter *TWR*), p XV Fan A-wye (Fan Awet) (范阿為) was a student at the Anglo-Chinese College and was sent to Melbourne after his studies Returning to Hong Kong, he was appointed Chinese clerk and interpreter in the office of the Colonial Secretary in 1862 In 1867 he was transferred to the Registrar General's office and stayed until 1873 See Carl T Smith, 'The English-educated Elite in 19th century Hong Kong', *Symposium Paper*, Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong Branch, November 1972, pp 65-96, reprinted in his *Chinese Christians Elites, Middlemen and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1985), pp 139-71

2 Malcolm Struan Tonnochy (1840-82) arrived in Hong Kong in 1862 as one of the first cadets See H J Lethbridge, 'Hong Kong Cadets' in his *Hong Kong Stability and Change, A Collection of Essays* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1978), pp 34-5, 46-7, n 12

3 Tonnochy's minute, 22 [sic] May 1866 on 'Petition of U Chuk Pan and others', *TWR*, p XV

4 Richard Graves MacDonnell (1814-81) Called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1838, Chief Justice of the Gambia, 1843, Governor of British Settlements on the Gambia, 1847, Governor of St Lucia, 1852, of South Australia, 1855, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, 1864, and Governor of Hong Kong, 1866-72 See G B Endacott, *Government and People in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Hong Kong University Press, 1964), p 81, n 2

- 5 E J Eitel, *Europe in China* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1983), pp 413-14
- 6 Surveyor General's minute, 25 May 1866 on 'Petition of U Chak Pan and others', *TWR*, p XVI
- 7 MacDonnell's minute, 26 May 1866 on 'Petition of U Chak Pan and others', *TWR*, p XVI
- 8 Surveyor General's minute, 7 June 1866 on 'Petition of U Chak Pan and others', *TWR*, p XVI
- 9 MacDonnell's minute, 29 June 1866 on 'Petition of U Chak Pan and others', *TWR*, p XVII
- 10 Surveyor General to acting Colonial Secretary, 8 June 1866, *TWR*, p XVIII
- 11 Minute by I Murray, Colonial Surgeon, 9 June 1866, *TWR*, p XIX
- 12 Cecil C Smith to Colonial Secretary, 19 February 1867, *TWR*, p XIV
- 13 MacDonnell's minute, 19 February 1867, *TWR*, p XIV
- 14 Report by Alfred Lister, 24 April 1869, *TWR*, pp IX-X
- 15 Alfred Lister (1843-90) See H J Lethbridge, *Stability and Change*, pp 34-5, 47, n 15
- 16 Lister to Colonial Secretary, 22 April 1869, *TWR*, pp VI-VII
- 17 MacDonnell to Granville, 21 June 1869, #726 CO 129/138
- 18 National Association for Promotion of Social Science to C O , 17 July 1869 CO 129/142
- 19 MacDonnell's minute on Mr Willcocks's memorandum, 23 April 1869, *TWR*, pp VIII-IX, p IX
- 20 *TWR*, pp VIII-IX
- 21 Report by Alfred Lister, 24 April 1869, *TWR*, pp IX-X
- 22 Report by Lister, 24 April 1869, *TWR*, pp IX-X
- 23 Report by the Harbour Master, H G Thomsett, 27 April 1869, *TWR*, pp XI-XIII
- 24 MacDonnell to Austin, 28 April, *TWR*, p XIII
- 25 Report by the Colonial Surgeon, 30 April 1869, *TWR*, p XIV
- 26 MacDonnell to Austin, 5 May 1869, *TWR*, pp V-VI
- 27 MacDonnell to Austin, 5 May 1869, *TWR*, pp V-VI, and Report by Alfred Lister, 24 April, 1869, *TWR*, pp IX-X
- 28 MacDonnell to Granville, 21 June 1869, #726 CO 129/138
- 29 Report by Alfred Lister, 24 April 1869, *TWR*, pp IX-X
- 30 MacDonnell to Austin, 5 May 1869, *TWR*, pp V-VI
- 31 MacDonnell to Austin, 5 May 1869, *TWR*, pp V-VI
- 32 MacDonnell to Granville, 21 June 1869, #726 CO 129/138
- 33 MacDonnell to Austin, 5 May 1869, *TWR*, p V
- 34 MacDonnell to Austin, 5 May 1869, *TWR*, p V
- 35 MacDonnell to Granville, 21 June 1869, #726 CO 129/138
- 36 MacDonnell to Granville, 21 June 1869, #726 CO 129/138
- 37 MacDonnell to Granville, 8 June 1869, #714 CO 129/138
- 38 G B Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1983), p 150
- 39 Endacott, *History of Hong Kong*, p 150
- 40 MacDonnell to Granville, 8 June 1869, #714 CO 129/138
- 41 MacDonnell to Granville, 8 June 1869, #714 CO 129/138
- 42 MacDonnell to Granville, 8 June 1869, #714
- 43 MacDonnell to Austin, 2 June 1869, enclosed in MacDonnell to Granville, 8 June 1869, #714
- 44 MacDonnell to Granville, 21 June 1869, #726 CO 129/138
- 45 MacDonnell to Granville, 18 August 1869, #775 CO 129/138

- 46 Granville's minute on MacDonnell to Granville, 8 June, #714 CO 129/138
- 47 National Association for the Promotion of Social Science to C O , 17 July 1869 CO 129/142
- 48 Frederick Rogers to MacDonnell, 1 July 1869, #94, *TWR*, p XXXII, Granville to MacDonnell, 30 July 1869, #112, *TWR*, p XXXVI
- 49 Granville to MacDonnell, 7 October 1869, #158 CO 129/138
- 50 Granville to MacDonnell, 7 October 1869, #158
- 51 *China Mail* (hereafter *CM*), 1 June 1869
- 52 Leung On (梁安) was one of the most aggressive of the Chinese community leaders in nineteenth-century Hong Kong He was Chairman of the Founding Committee (1869-71) and of the Board of Directors in 1877 See Carl T Smith, 'The Emergence of a Chinese Elite in Hong Kong', in *Chinese Christians Elites, Middlemen and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1985), pp 125-6
- 53 *CM*, 1 June 1869, 'Registrar General's Report, 1869', *Hong Kong Blue Book* 1969, pp 275-6
- 54 MacDonnell to Granville, 21 June 1869, #726 CO 129/138, *CM*, 1 June 1869
- 55 Petition by Leung On and others on the Committee of the 'I-ts'z' hospital, 30 July 1869, enclosed in MacDonnell to Granville, 18 August 1869, #775 CO 129/138
- 56 Petition by Leung On and others, 30 July 1869
- 57 Petition by Leung On and others, 30 July 1869
- 58 Petition by Leung On and others, 30 July 1869
- 59 MacDonnell to Granville, 18 August 1869, #775 CO 129/138
- 60 MacDonnell to Granville, 18 August 1869, #775
- 61 MacDonnell to Granville, 18 August 1869, #775
- 62 MacDonnell to Granville, 18 August 1869, #775, MacDonnell to Granville, 19 February 1872, #947 CO 129/156
- 63 MacDonnell to Granville, 21 June 1869, #726 CO 129/138
- 64 The Victoria Registration Ordinance was introduced in 1866 soon after MacDonnell arrived in Hong Kong Among other things, there was the application of the principle of vicarious responsibility making registered householders responsible for residents and lodgers See Eitel, *Europe in China*, p 429 It gave the police undue power to interfere with Chinese life See 'Report by the Registrar General', *Blue Book* 1866, p 241 and *Blue Book* 1867, p 248
- 65 MacDonnell to Granville, 18 August 1869, #775 CO 129/138
- 66 A cumulative membership list was printed in the Hospital's *Zhengxinlu* (徵信錄) (Annual Reports) until 1907 MacDonnell headed the list
- 67 Report by the Attorney General upon Ordinance no 3 of 1870, entitled 'An Ordinance enacted by the Governor of Hong Kong with the Advice of the Legislative Council thereof for establishing a Chinese Hospital to be supported by Voluntary Contributions, for erecting the same into an Eleemosynary Corporation', enclosed in MacDonnell to Granville, 9 April 1870, #903 CO 129/144
- 68 Report by the Attorney General upon Ordinance no 3 of 1870
- 69 Julian Pauncefoot (1828-1902), Attorney General, Hong Kong, 1866, Chief Justice of Leeward Islands, 1874, Assistant Under-secretary of State for the Colonies, 1874, Assistant Under-secretary of State for the Foreign Office, 1876, Permanent Under-secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1882 He later became British Ambassador to Washington
- 70 *DP*, 25 May 1872
- 71 Report by the Attorney General upon Ordinance no 3 of 1870
- 72 Report by the Attorney General upon Ordinance no 3 of 1870

- 73 Report by the Attorney General upon Ordinance no 3 of 1870
- 74 Report by the Attorney General upon Ordinance no 3 of 1870 A 13th Director was added afterwards and listed in the Committee list in the *Zhengxinlu*
- 75 See Hao Yen-p'ing, *The Comprador in Nineteenth-Century China — Bridge between East and West* (Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1970)
- 76 See the description of the Hospital's opening in Chapter 3, unfortunately the newspaper reports are not specific about which of the Directors were wearing peacock feathers See Chapter 3, note 1 The pursuit of Chinese honours is discussed in Chapter 4
- 77 'Surveyor General's Report', *Blue Book* 1856, pp 65-91
- 78 Notification of 9 October 1869, *HKGG* 1869, p 477

### Notes to Chapter 3

- 1 *CM*, 14 February 1872, *DP* and *Daily Advertiser*, 15 February 1872, *Zhongwai xinwen qiri bao* (中外新聞七日報) (*China and World News Weekly*) (hereafter *ZW*), 17 February 1872 This last journal was published and appended to the *China Mail* from March 1871 to March 1872 when the *Huazi ribao* (華字日報) (*Chinese Mail*) was published separately Unfortunately the *Huazi ribao* is only extant from 1895
- 2 K C Wong and Wu Lien-teh, *History of Chinese Medicine* (Tientsin The Tientsin Press, 1932), Book I, p 5
- 3 Governor's speech, extracted in *DP*, 15 February 1872
- 4 *Daily Advertiser*, 15 February 1872
- 5 Isabella Bird, *The Golden Chersonese* (Kuala Lumpur Oxford University Press, 1967, first published 1883), pp 87-8 Isabella Bird visited the Hospital with Sir John Pope Hennessy in January 1879
- 6 Some of the plaques will be discussed below Many can still be found at the Tung Wah Hospital, the Group's Museum at Kwong Wah Hospital, and the Man Mo Temple See Plates
- 7 *Daily Advertiser*, 15 February 1872
- 8 '*Donghua yiyuan gutiao*' (東華醫院規條) ('Regulations of the Tung Wah Hospital') (hereafter '*Gutiao*'), p 21a These are included in the *Zhengxinlu* 1874, and reprinted each year, with additional regulations in subsequent years This was confirmed by Bird, *Golden Chersonese*, p 89
- 9 Bird, *Golden Chersonese*, p 90, see rules regarding this in '*Gutiao*', pp 31a-33a
- 10 Dr John Kerr ran the Canton Medical Missionary Society Hospital See Wong and Wu, *History of Chinese Medicine*, and William Lockhart, *The Medical Missionary in China* (London Hurst & Blackett, 1861) Kerr was the author of 'Chinese Medicine', *China Review* 1, (1872), pp 176-81
- 11 John Kerr, 'Native Benevolent Institutions of Canton', part 2, *China Review* 3 (1874-5), p 112 Although Lawrence W Crissman in 'The Segmentary Structure of Overseas Chinese Communities', *Man* 22 (June, 1967), p 197, claims that Chinese Hospital Committees were common, he gives no example of any operating in the nineteenth century, in fact, his time scope is unclear This author argues that the Tung Wah Hospital was the first 'Chinese hospital', and the discussion will be taken up at the end of this chapter
- 12 Report by the Attorney General upon Ordinance no 3 of 1870 entitled 'An Ordinance enacted by the Governor of Hong Kong with the Advice of the Legislative Council thereof for establishing a Chinese Hospital to be supported by Voluntary Contributions, for erecting the same into an Eleemosynary Corporation', enclosed in MacDonnell to Granville, 9 April 1870, #903 CO 129/144

13 Guo Songdao (郭嵩壽), *Guo Songdao riji* (郭嵩壽日記) (*The Diary of Guo Songdao*), 4 volumes (Zhangsha 1981- ), Vol III [1875-1879] (1982), p 817 Guo (1818-91) became China's first Minister to London in 1877, and later also to Paris, but he served only two years before returning to China in 1879. As one of the early reformist officials he was censured by his peers, but has won acclaim in modern times. See Guo Tingyi (郭廷以), *Guo Songdao xiansheng nianpu* (郭嵩壽先生年譜) (*Chronological Biography of Guo Songdao*) (Taipei 1971). For his own works see *Yangzhi shuwu yiji* (養知書屋遺集) (*Works from the Yangzhi studio*) (Taipei photographic reprint, 1964). There are also a number of articles on his thought, for example, Wu Pangyi (吳鵬翼) 'Zhongguo xiandaihua yundong di yishi — Guo Songdao di yangwu guan' (中國現代化運動的異士—郭嵩壽的洋務觀) ('An eccentric in China's modernization Guo Songdao's concept of yangwu') in Chang Hao (張頌) and others, *Wan Qing sixiang* (晚清思想) (*Thought in the Late Qing Period*) (Taipei 1971), pp 271-88.

14 Wong and Wu, *History of Chinese Medicine*, pp 208-10, Lockhart, *Medical Missionary*

15 Report of the Attorney General upon Ordinance no 3 of 1870

16 'Guitiao', p 2b

17 TWR, p 3

18 'Guitiao', p 8a

19 'Guitiao', p 2b

20 'Guitiao', p 8b. In 1903 the number of Directors was increased to 16, with representatives from three additional guilds, the Chinese Bankers' Guild, the Insurance Guild, and the Foreign Goods Importers and Exporters' Guild. Another change took place in 1916 when opium became a government monopoly and for the first time in 54 years there was no representative from the Opium Guild. The guild-based selection largely remained until the mid-1920s when the number of *ynhu* started to grow, and in the 1930s guilds ceased to send representatives.

21 The procedure of elections is described by Sir M K Lo, Tung Wah Chairman of 1929. See Vincent H G Jarrett, 'Old Hong Kong', articles on Hong Kong history taken from the *South China Morning Post* from 17 June 1933 to 13 April 1935, Vol II, pp 534-5. Although he was speaking in the 1930s, there is reason to believe the descriptions were applicable to the nineteenth century as well. One reason is the consistency of the guild and *ynhu* representation. Secondly, a number of invitations to guilds and their nominees are found in the Tung Wah archives which testify to this procedure. (See below.) Thirdly the largely ritualistic show of hands by the *kaifongs* representing 'elections' was carried out until 1967, according to Mr Leo Lee, Chairman of 1960. See Tung Wah to Compradores' Guild, 20 November 1900 asking it to make nominations (Tung Wah Hospital, 'Fachu xinbu' (發出信簿) ('Outward Letters') 1900-1907' (hereafter 'Xinbu' I), p 253), Tung Wah to Wei Yuk, 20 November 1900, inviting him to be Director (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I), p 154, Tung Wah to Fung Wa Chuen, 31 October 1901, insisting that he accept the invitation to serve (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I), p 432, see also 'Xinbu' I, pp 270, 273 for similar letters.

22 'Registrar General's Report, 1905', *Hong Kong Sessional Papers* (hereafter *HKSP*) 1906, pp 225-54.

23 H J Lethbridge, 'A Chinese Association in Hong Kong the Tung Wah', in his *Hong Kong Stability and Change, A Collection of Essays* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1978), pp 52-70, pp 58, 60.

24 Letter signed 'A member of the Chinese community' to the *China Mail*, 13 November 1875.

25 Crissman, 'The Segmentary Structure'. For more concrete examples, see *Huaqiao zhi zongzuan weiyuan hui* (ed.), *Huaqiao zhi zongzhi* ('Records of Overseas Chinese, a Summary') (Taipei 1964), *passim*, which provides informa-

tion on the composition of various organizations Gary G Hamilton, 'Ethnicity and Regionalism Some Factors Influencing Chinese Identities in Southeast Asia', *Ethnicity* 4 (1977), pp 337-51 and 'Regional Associations and the Chinese City A Comparative Perspective', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21 (1979), pp 346-61 Eve Armentrout-Ma, 'Urban Chinese at the Sinitic Frontier Social Organization in United States's Chinatowns 1849-1898', *MAS* 17 1 (1983), pp 107-35 and 'Fellow Regional Associations in the Ch'ing Dynasty Organization in the Flux for Mobile People A Preliminary Survey', *MAS* 18 (1984), pp 307-30

26 Ho Ping-ti, *Zhongguo huiguan shilun (A Historical Survey of Landsmannschaften in China)* (Taipei 1966)

27 By studying the places of origin of guild representatives on the Tung Wah Hospital Boards, one can see that each of the guilds was represented by persons from more than one region, showing that the guilds, at least the ones represented, were cross-regional in nature See Elizabeth Sinn, 'A Preliminary History of Regional Associations in Pre-War Hong Kong', conference paper presented at the Centre of Asian Studies, December 1986, to be published by the Centre This subject deserves much more research

28 Wu Tingfang (伍廷芳) (1842-1922) was born in Singapore and graduated at the St Paul's College in Hong Kong Having studied law in England, he became the first Chinese barrister in Hong Kong, and then its first Chinese Legislative Councillor in 1880 He left in 1882 to join Li Hongzhang's staff From 1896 he was Chinese Minister to Washington, Madrid, and Lima After the 1911 revolution, he worked in the Judiciary Department of the Chinese Republic, but later joined Sun Yat-sen against the Peking government There are many works on him, the major ones being, Linda Pomerantz Shun, 'China in Transition The Role of Wu Ting-fang (1842-1922)' (Ph D thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1970), Yu Ch'i-hsing (余啓興), 'Wu Tingfang yu Xianggang zhu guanxi' (伍廷芳與香港之關係) ('Wu Tingfang and Hong Kong') in *Shou Luo Xianglin jiaoshou lunwen ji* (壽羅香林教授論文集) (*Essays in Chinese Studies presented to Professor Lo Hsiang-lin*) (Hong Kong 1970), pp 255-78, Chang Yun-chao, 'Wu Ting-fang's Contribution towards Political Reforms in late Ch'ing period' (Ph D thesis, University of Hong Kong, 1982)

29 Wang Tao (王韜) (1828-97) was a first degree holder, who during the Taiping rebellion was implicated as a collaborator and escaped to Hong Kong He helped James Legge translate the Chinese Classics, and travelled with him to Britain and parts of Europe Returning to Hong Kong, he wrote frequently in the newspapers and to Chinese officials on the need for China to reform and was considered an authority on foreign matters In 1874 he founded the *Xunhuan ribao* (循環日報) (*Universal Circulating Herald*), making him an important contributor to the development of modern Chinese journalism Many works have been written about him, the major ones being Paul A Cohen, 'Wang Tao and Incipient Chinese Nationalism', *Journal of Asian Studies* XXVI 4 (August 1967), pp 557-74 and *Between Tradition and Modernity Wang Tao and Reform in Late Ch'ing China* (Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1974), Lai Guanglin (賴光臨), 'Wang Tao yu Xunhuan ribao' (王韜與循環日報) ('Wang Tao and *Xunhuan ribao*'), *Baoxue* (報學) (*Journalism*) 3 9 (Taipei December, 1967), pp 52-64, Lee Chi-fang, 'Wang Tao His Life, Thought and Scholarship and Literary Achievement' (Ph D thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973), Henry McAleavy, *Wang Tao Life and Writings of a Displaced Person* (London China Society, 1953), Nishisato Yoshiyuki (西里喜行), 'O Tō to Junken nippo ni tsude' (王韜と循環日報について) ('Wang Tao and the *Xunhuan ribao*'), *Tōyōshi kenku* (東洋史研究) (*Chinese Historical Studies*) 43 3 (December, 1985), pp 508-47 Wang was a most prolific writer but his thoughts are best revealed in his *Taoyuan*

*wenlu waibian* (張園文錄外編) (*Additional essays of Wang Tao*), 12 juan (Peking 1959, first published Hong Kong, 1883) For the *Xunhuan ribao*, see *Xunhuan ribao lushi zhounian junian tekan* (循環日報六十周年紀念特刊) (*Special Publication to Commemorate the 60th Anniversary of the 'Xunhuan ribao'*) (Hong Kong 1932) He was an Assistant Director of the 1872 Committee

30 Chan Ayin, also known as Chen Aiting (陳霽亭), was an Assistant Director of the 1873 Committee See Smith, 'The Emergence of a Chinese Élite' in his *Chinese Christians Élites, Middlemen and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 133, Lin Youlan (林友蘭), 'Chen Aiting yu Xianggang Huazi ribao' (陳霽亭與香港華字日報) ('Chen Aiting and the Chinese Mail of Hong Kong'), *Baoxue* 5 10 (June 1978), pp. 131-3 His appointment to the Chinese mission is given in *DP*, 1 April 1878 The *Huazi ribao* was started in 1872 by Chen with Ng Choy's assistance, see *Huazi ribao qishiyi zhounian tekan* (華字日報七十一周年紀念特刊) (*Publication to commemorate the 71st Anniversary of the Huazi ribao*) (Hong Kong 1934) Though according to many sources the *Huazi ribao* was started in 1864, there is evidence that it did not begin until 1872 See *ZW*, 30 March 1872 See also Chapter 4 for his diplomatic career, Chapter 4, Note 158

31 Ho Fuk Tong (何福堂) was an Ordinary Committee member of the Founding Committee See Smith, *Chinese Christians*, pp. 129-33, G H Chao, *The Life and Times of Sir Kai Ho Kai* (Hong Kong Chinese University Press, 1981), pp. 9-13

32 Ho Kai (何啓) (1859-1914) was born in Hong Kong and educated in the United Kingdom both as a lawyer and a doctor There are a large number of works on him, especially as a reform thinker The major ones are Chiu Ling-yeong, 'The Life and Thought of Sir Kai Ho Kai' (Ph D thesis, University of Sydney, 1968), Ts'ai Jung-fang, 'Comprador Ideologists in Modern China Ho Kai (He Ch'i) (1859-1914) and Hu Li-yuan (1847-1916)' (Ph D thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1975) A more general work is Choa, *Sir Kai Ho Kai*

33 There was some confusion over the term 'Committee' Sometimes it was used to denote the Board of Directors, and sometimes the whole General Committee In Chinese, there was the same confusion over the word *zhishi* (值事) which referred to Directors, to the Ordinary Committee, and sometimes to the whole General Committee The names of the Board of Directors were published in the *HKGG* from 1880 The General Committees of previous years were listed cumulatively in the *Zhengxinlu*

34 'Guitiao', p. 4a

35 'Guitiao', p. 11a

36 Smith, *Chinese Christians*, p. 130 Smith deals with Ho Amei in great detail in 'A Sense of History', a long series of articles in the *South China Morning Post* appearing each Wednesday between January 1978 and May 1979 The first part of the series is reprinted in *JHKBRAS* 26 (1986), pp. 144-264

37 See Epilogue

38 In 1873 the members numbered 870, in 1885 1,278, and in 1896, 2,345 These figures are not precise since there were some 'double entries' It can be seen that the growth in membership was slow

39 'Guitiao', pp. 4a-5b, 8b-9a

40 Meetings were sometimes attended by hundreds of people and all present voted A clear picture of how meetings went can be seen from the '*Dongshiju huayi lu*' (董事局會議錄) ('Minutes of Board Meetings') of the Hospital which are extant from 1904, to a large extent these later meetings were similar to the nineteenth century ones

41 'Guitiao', p. 3a For a later example of notices in the newspapers, see *Huazi ribao*, 4 January 1906

- 42 'Guitiao', p 3a
- 43 'Guitiao', p 5b
- 44 'Guitiao', p 2b
- 45 Donald R de Glopper, 'Temple, Faction and Loan Club', quoted in Steven P Sangren, 'Traditional Chinese Corporations Beyond Kinship', *Journal of Asian Studies* XLIII 3 (May 1984), pp 391-415, p 406
- 46 'Guitiao', p 15b
- 47 'Colonial Surgeon's Report of 1869', *HKGG* 1870, pp 240-52, p 240
- 48 *Daily Advertizer*, 15 February 1872
- 49 'Guitiao', pp 1a-ab, 18b, 'Xuzheng gutiao', pp 38a-38b The 'Xuzheng gutiao' (續增規條) ('Additional Regulations') were added in 1872 and are found in the *Zhengxinlu* 1874, pp 26a-40a, after the 'Guitiao'
- 50 'Guitiao', p 13b
- 51 Ayres' evidence, *TWR*, pp 60-5, p 63, Lockhart, *Medical Missionary*, pp 112-13
- 52 *TWR*, p 26
- 53 Au Ki-nam's (區建南) evidence, *TWR*, pp 30-1 Au had been one of the vaccinators before he became a clerk at the Hospital
- 54 Au Ki-nam's evidence, *TWR*, pp 30-1
- 55 For example when Zheng Xinhu (曾心壺), a former doctor at the Tung Wah wrote 'Jiaoqi chuyan' (腳氣舞言) ('Notes on beri beri'), enclosed in *Changyan ji* (昌言集) (*Collection of Brilliant Statements*) (no publisher, no date), pp 307-58, he took care to include letters of recommendation from the Tung Wah Hospital's chairmen (pp 332-4) A dentist who had given free consultation at the Tung Wah also advertized the fact in the papers, showing that evidently this added to his credibility (*XH*, 11 February 1874) Later it became the practice of other hospitals to send their treatises to be assessed by Tung Wah doctors See Tung Wah to Nanhua (南華) Hospital, 6 September 1900, in Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p 219, Tung Wah to Tongji (同濟) Hospital, 6 July 1901, 'Xinbu' I, p 375
- 56 Guo, *Riji*, Vol III, p 817
- 57 *XH*, 11 February 1874, see also Note 55
- 58 Many works claim that formal medical training had existed See Chen Bangxian, *Zhongguo yixue shi* (*History of Medicine in China*) (Shanghai 1955) More recent debates centre on when medical education was revived in modern times see Lin Qianliang (林乾良), 'Wo guo jundai caoji de Zhongyi xuexiao' (我國近代早期的中醫學校) ('Early Chinese medical schools in modern times'), *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* (中華醫學雜誌) (*Chinese Journal of Medical History*) 10 2 (February 1980), pp 90-1, Jin Rihong (金日紅), 'Liji Yixuetang shimo ji jiaoxue gaikuang' (利濟醫學堂始末及教學概況) ('A brief account of the Liji medical school'), *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 12 2 (February 1982), pp 90-2, Liu Xiaobin (劉小斌), 'Guangdong jundai de Zhongyi jiaoyu — tiyao' (廣東近代的中醫教育—提要) ('Chinese medical education in modern Guangdong — abstract'), *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 12 3 (March 1982), pp 133-7, Fu Weikang (傅維康) and others, *Yiyao shuhua* (醫藥史話) (*History of Medicine*) (Shanghai 1982), pp 135-40 But it seems that the Tung Wah's was the earliest effort
- 59 'Supplement to Annual Report on Government Education' — speech by the Governor at Central School, 25 January 1878 at annual distribution of prizes, *HKGG* 1878, pp 311-21
- 60 Frederick Stewart began his career in Hong Kong as Headmaster of the Central School in 1862, and was concurrently Inspector of Schools He also acted as police magistrate and coroner He became Registrar General and Treasurer in 1883 In 1887 he became Colonial Secretary and Auditor General He died in Hong Kong in 1889 See Jarrett, 'Old Hong Kong', Vol IV, p 1011
- 61 Guo, 'Riji', Vol III, p 817, 'Simao nuan yi xiyi gutiao' (己卯年擬習醫規條)



(‘Regulations regarding medical training, 1879’) were included in subsequent *Zhengxinlu*. Here, the reference is taken from *Zhengxinlu* 1885, pp 35a–36b

62 Guo, ‘*Riji*’, Vol III, p 817, *DP*, 30 June 1880

63 *Zhengxinlu* 1885, p 36b

64 *TWR*, p 31, *XH*, 12 July 1880

65 *TWR*, p 31 The Po Leung Kuk (*baohangju*) (保良局) is discussed in Chapter 4

66 Bird, *Golden Chersonese*, pp 88–9

67 *DP*, 15 May 1873

68 ‘Colonial Surgeon’s Report for 1872’, *HKGG* 1873, pp 228–38 This compared with 4.86% for European patients and 2.39% for coloured patients and an overall average of 6.82% for all admissions

69 For the death rates of each year, see Colonial Surgeon’s Reports

70 ‘Registrar General’s Report, 1893’, *HKGG*, pp 157–83

71 ‘*Gutiao*’, pp 1b–2a

72 *DP*, 21 March 1874

73 *DP*, 21 March 1874, ‘*Gutiao*’, pp 1b–2a

74 ‘*Xuzheng gutiao*’, pp 32a–32b, 37a–37b, the death figures are taken from *Zhengxinlu* 1893, Part 6 pp 1b–15b, ‘Registrar General’s Report for 1891’ *HKGG* 1892, pp 357–487

75 ‘Registrar General’s Report, 1895’, *HKSP* 1896, pp 389–416, p 391

76 For James H Stewart Lockhart (1858–1937) see H J Lethbridge, ‘Sir James H Stewart Lockhart Colonial Civil Servant and Scholar’, in his *Stability and Change*, pp 130–62, for his career in Weihaiwei, see Pamela Atwell, *British Mandarins and Chinese Reformers the British Administration of Weihaiwei, 1898–1930 and the Territory’s Return to Chinese Rule* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1985) His personal papers are deposited at the University of Edinburgh in the custody of George Watsons College A biography is being prepared by Ms Shioma Airlie

77 ‘Registrar General’s Report, 1891’, p 362

78 ‘Colonial Surgeon’s Report, 1877’, *HKGG* 1878, pp 321–58

79 The Alice Memorial Hospital was established in 1887 in memory of Ho Kai’s English wife Alice who died in 1884 It was run by the London Missionary Society See Carl T Smith, ‘Sun Yat-sen’s School Days in Hong Kong The Establishment of the Alice Memorial Hospital’, *Chung Feng*, XXI 2 (1978), pp 78–94, Choa, *Sir Kai Ho Kai*, pp 55–7, *Alice Ho Mui Ling Nethersole Hospital 1887–1967* ([Hong Kong the Hospital, 1967]), E H Paterson, *A Hospital for Hong Kong 1887–1987* (Hong Kong the Nethersole Hospital, 1987)

80 The Nethersole Hospital was founded in 1893 for treatment of women and children It was also run by the London Missionary Society, see Paterson, *A Hospital for Hong Kong*

81 *TWR*, p 62 For instance, the number of in-patients at the Alice Memorial Hospital were 872, 722, and 614 (1892–4) compared to 2,455, 2,857, and 2,359 for the same years at the Tung Wah Statistics for the Alice Memorial Hospital for 1887 to 1891 can be found in the ‘Registrar General’s Report for 1892’, *HKGG* 1893, pp 439–66, p 464 See also Dr Thomson’s evidence, *TWR*, pp 55–9, p 57

82 See Joseph Needham, *China and the Origins of Immunology* (Hong Kong Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, 1980)

83 Wong and Wu, *History of Chinese Medicine*, Book II, Chapter III, ‘Introduction of Jennerian Vaccination against Small-pox in China and its Future Progress in the Country’

84 ‘Colonial Surgeon’s Report’, *Blue Book* 1852, pp 139–63, p 143, the merits of vaccination were extolled by Chinese in *XH*, 18 May 1874

85 'Colonial Surgeon's Report for 1882', *HKGG* 1883, pp 637-60, p 643, 'Gutiao', p 25b, 'Registrar General's Report for 1869', *HKGG* 1870, pp 127-9

86 'Statement of H E Governor Sir John Pope Hennessy, KCMG, on the Census Returns and the Progress of the Colony' in *HKGG* 1881, pp 415-30, p 421

87 'Colonial Surgeon's Report, 1892', p 594, Barker to Knutsford, 30 September 1891, #321 CO 129/251

88 'Statement of Hennessy', p 420

89 Ayres was Colonial Surgeon from 1873 to 1897 See Jarrett, 'Old Hong Kong', Vol I, p 31

90 'Colonial Surgeon's Report, 1874', *HKGG* 1875, pp 170-8, p 172

91 'Colonial Surgeon's Report, 1876', *HKGG* 1877, p 206

92 *Zhengxinlu*, 1878, p 116a for 1876 accounts, 'Statement of Hennessy', p 420 The governor claimed the Hospital's vaccination on the Mainland started in 1878, in fact the *Zhengxinlu* shows that it had started in 1876

93 George Bowen (1821-99) was born in County Donegal and was Fellow of Braesenose College, 1844, and President of the University of Corfu, 1847 He was Chief Secretary of the Government in the Ionian Islands, 1854, Governor of Queensland, 1859, New Zealand, 1867, Victoria, 1872, Mauritius, 1879, and Hong Kong, 1883-5 See Endacott, *Government and People*, p 97, n 1, Stanley Lane-Poole, *Thirty Years of Colonial Government Selections from the Despatches and Letters of the Right Honourable Sir George Ferguson Bowen*, G C M G, 2 volumes (London Longmans, Green, 1887)

94 Bowen to Derby, 25 August 1884 #298 CO 129/217, Bowen to Derby, 29 April 1885, #199 CO 129/221

95 'Colonial Surgeon's Report, 1871', *HKGG* 1872, pp 128-41, p 129

96 Arthur Kennedy (1810-83) had an army career before serving in the Irish Government He was Governor of the Gambia, 1851, Sierra Leone, 1852, Western Australia, 1854, Vancouver Island, 1863, and West African Settlements, 1867 before becoming Governor of Hong Kong, 1872-7 After that, he served as Governor of Queensland, 1878 See Endacott, *Government and People*, p 81, n 3

97 'Xuzheng gutiao', pp 38b-40a, *DP*, 12 July 1873

98 Bowen to Derby, 25 August 1884, #298 CO 129/217

99 Minute on Bowen to Derby, 25 August 1884, #298

100 'Smallpox Epidemic Report', *HKGG* 1888, pp 79-82, p 81

101 'Smallpox Epidemic Report', p 80, 'Colonial Surgeon's Report for 1888', *HKGG* 1889, pp 573-616, p 587

102 Bird, *Golden Chersonese*, p 87, compare Governor Sir G William des Voeux's impression in *My Colonial Service*, 2 volumes (London 1903), Vol II, pp 199-201

103 For Manson, see Philip H Manson-Bahr and A Alcock, *The Life and Work of Sir Patrick Manson* (London Cassell, 1927)

104 The College of Medicine was founded by the London Missionary Society in 1887 for the training of young Chinese men Classes took place at the Alice Memorial Hospital See Choa, *Sir Kai Ho Kai*, pp 57-69, Lo Hsiang-lin, *Xiang-gang yu Zhong Xi wenhua zhi jiaolu* (香港與中西文化之交流) (*Hong Kong and East-West Cultural Exchange*) (Hong Kong 1961), pp 135-77 The most recent work on the College is D M Emrys Evans, *Constancy of Purpose* (Hong Kong Hong Kong University Press, 1987) which gives an account of the College as the forerunner of the University of Hong Kong's Medical Faculty

105 Dr Patrick Manson's address to mark the inauguration of the Hong Kong College of Medicine, quoted in Choa, *Sir Kai Ho Kai*, p 56

106 F H Hineley, 'Introduction' to *New Cambridge Modern History*, Vol

XI, *Material Progress and World Wide Problems 1870-1898* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1967, first edition 1962), pp 1-48, Trevor I Williams, 'Science and Technology', *New Cambridge Modern History*, Vol XI, pp 76-100, pp 82-4, R Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism* (New York W W Norton, 1976), E Friedson (ed.), *Profession of Medicine* (New York Dodd Mead, 1970), D Hamilton, 'The Nineteenth Century Surgical Revolution — Antisepsis or Better Nutrition?', *Bulletin of History of Medicine* 56 (1982), pp 30-40

107 See Note 105 The development of hospitals can be seen in E Friedson (ed.), *The Hospital in Modern Society* (New York Free Press, 1963), I Waddington, 'The Role of the Hospital in the Development of Modern Medicine', *Sociology* 7 (1973), pp 211-24, M J Vogel, 'The Transformation of the American Hospital', in S Reverby and D Rosner (eds.), *Health Care in America* (Philadelphia Temple University Press, 1979)

108 'Colonial Surgeon's Report for 1872', p 229

109 'Colonial Surgeon's Report for 1872', p 229

110 'Colonial Surgeon's Report for 1872', p 228

111 Ayres to Lockhart, 9 June 1896, *TWR*, pp LXXV-VI

112 'Colonial Surgeon's Report for 1873', p 158

113 'Colonial Surgeon's Report, 1874', enclosed in Hennessy to Kimberley, 15 July 1880, in 'Papers on Restrictions upon Chinese in Hong Kong', (426) 1881, *BPP*, XXV, pp 641-760, p 690

114 'Colonial Surgeon's Report for 1876', p 206

115 'Colonial Surgeon's Report for 1876', p 206

116 Eitel's Report on Paupers, enclosed in Hennessy to Kimberley, 26 May 1881, #73 CO 129/193

117 Sergei Ticozzi, *Xianggang Tianzhujiào zhàngù* (香港天主教掌故) (Stories of the Catholic Church in Hong Kong (Hong Kong 1983), Liu Yuesheng (劉粵聲), *Xianggang Jidujiao huishi* (香港基督教會史) (*A History of the Protestant Church in Hong Kong*) (Hong Kong 1941), E J Eitel, *Europe in China* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1983), pp 391-3 It seems that the churches were more successful providing education than other forms of welfare

118 *Zhengxinlu* 1893, Part 6 pp 15a-20b

119 For coffin-home rules, see 'Xuzheng gutiao' pp 37a-37b, the earliest evidence of such service was in January 1874 when the Hospital issued a notice calling upon residents to take away a number of dead bodies which had been forwarded to it from Shanghai and elsewhere, to be returned to native places, *DP*, 12 January 1874, in that year it also repatriated coffins from Japan, *XH*, 8 April 1874, there were trans-shipments of human remains from Annam in 1878, *Zhengxinlu* 1878, p 56b, and 1887 (*Guangzhao gongsuo* (廣肇公所) (Regional association of the Guangzhou and Zhaoqing prefectures) of Cholon to Tung Wah, 10 May 1887, in Po Leung Kuk, 'Dinghai nian gebu laiwang xin chaoteng bu' (丁亥年各埠來往信抄騰簿) ('Copy of letters to and from abroad, 1887') (hereafter, 'Xinbu' III), from the USA, see *XH*, 21 April 1882 and 1 June 1883, from Canada, after 1883, Edgar Wickberg, *From China to Canada, A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada* (Toronto Minister of Supply and Services, Canada, 1982), p 66, from Sydney, *Zhengxinlu* 1887, Part 4 p 30b, in 1887, it also buried 95 coffins from overseas, *Zhengxinlu* 1878, pp 19b-21a Coffins from Annam and California were often buried in Hong Kong when they were unclaimed, *XH*, 1 June 1883, Liu Pei-ch'i (劉伯驥), *Meiguo Huaqiao shi* (美國華僑史) (*A History of the Chinese in the United States of America*) (Taipei 1976), p 164

120 Tung Wah to the Hall of Sustaining Love, 20 March 1899, Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p 6

121 *Zhengxinlu* 1874, Preface and p 85b

122 See Tung Wah to Lockhart, 28 July 1899 on the removal of old graves near Tokwawan (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p 58), Tung Wah to May, 11 April 1900 on the removal of graves from Aberdeen (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p 146), Tung Wah to Brewin, ? February 1901 on the removal of graves from Matauwei to make room for a church (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p 312), Tung Wah to Brewin, 28 March 1901 on the removal of graves from Mount Davis (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p 313), Tung Wah to Brewin, 18 April, 1901 (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p 324) on the removal of graves from Wongneichung, Tung Wah to Brewin, 20 May 1901 (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p 340) on the moving of graves from Mount Davis, Tung Wah to Brewin, 8 October 1901 (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p 414), asking him to clear accounts for the removing of graves each month, and on problems over the claim of ownership of land, Tung Wah to Brewin, 14 October 1901, (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p 419) on negotiation between government and owners over grave land, Tung Wah to Brewin, 31 October 1901 (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p 431) on the need to pay workers and on the above negotiation, Tung Wah to Brewin, 6 August (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p 381) the Tung Wah had been asked to remove certain graves, and it advised the government to put notices in newspapers and in street posters to allow relatives to come and claim the bones, and tell them where the new locations would be, Tung Wah to Brewin, 16 October 1901 (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p 421) on the removal of graves from Kennedy Town. These letters give us some idea of the extensive work the Tung Wah did regarding graves and the government's heavy dependence on it. Another interesting series of letters was from the Tung Wah to the Dunshantang (敦善堂) in Kobe which shows the Hospital sending workers to help exhume bones in Kobe, placing bones in the coffin-home and then advertising them and receiving coffins from Kobe (Tung Wah to Dunshantang, 18 September 1899, 'Xinbu' I, p 69, 13 October 1899, 'Xinbu' I, p 91, 14 March 1900, 'Xinbu' I, p 139, 21 April 1901, 'Xinbu' I, p 325).

123 'Registrar General's Report, 1895', *HKSP* 1896, pp 389-416, p 391

124 *Zhengxinlu* 1873, pp 30b-32b, 61a-61b, 1893, Part 4, pp 10b-12b, 28a-32a, Part 5, pp 16a-26a, also see *Zhengxinlu* 1878, p 113b for repatriation of destitutes from Annam, 'Tung Wah Hospital Report for 1877', *HKGG* 1878, pp 351-2, p 351. Unfortunately, this report was the only one of its kind. An early example of repatriation was that of the emigrants on the *Dolores Uqarte* in 1871 (see Chapter 4), it also repatriated prostitutes from America (*DP*, 20 October 1873), a case of blind men repatriated from Australia through the Tung Wah can be seen in correspondence between the Immigration Office at Perth and the Colonial Secretary in Hong Kong. Documents at C S Office, File no 183 at Battye Library, Perth, Western Australia. I am grateful to Ms Anne Atkinson for this information. See also Police Magistrate to Tung Wah, 18 June 1884, in Po Leung Kuk, 'Jiashen nian laiwan xinbu' (甲申年來往信簿) ('Records of correspondence, 1884') (hereafter, Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' I) asking the Tung Wah to allow three boys waiting for shipment to Amoy to stay at the Hospital, Tung Wah and Po Leung Kuk to Hall of Sustaining Love (see Note 161), 19 August 1884, (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' I) about sending four kidnapped men to it, Jinghu (鏡湖) Hospital, Macao to Tung Wah, 30 June 1887 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' III) on repatriating girls to Yangjiang (陽江), Hall of Sustaining Love to Tung Wah, 15 July 1887, (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' I) on repatriating kidnapped girls to Hanoi, Jinghu Hospital to Tung Wah, 22 July 1887 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' I) on repatriating Annamese women, Liang Tingcan (梁廷贊), Chinese Consul at San Francisco to Tung Wah, 19 December 1887, (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' I) on sending kidnapped women to Canton via the Tung Wah, Guangzhao gongsuo (廣肇公所) of Saigon to Tung Wah, 17 October 1888 (Po Leung Kuk, 'Wuziman gebu lawang dibu' (戊子年各埠來往信底簿) ('Copies of letters to and from abroad, 1888) (hereafter 'Xinbu' IV) on kidnapped women returned to Hong Kong for repatria-

tion, Taihe (太和) Hospital at Beihai to Tung Wah and Po Leung Kuk, 24 October 1891 (Po Leung Kuk, *'Xinmao nian gebu laiwang xinbu'* (辛卯年各埠來往信簿) ('Copies of letters to and from abroad, 1891') (hereafter *'Xinbu'* X) on a couple to be repatriated to Canton, Guanghe zhacan (廣和棧棧) (Guanghe tea house, Amoy), 18 October 1891 *'Xinbu'* X) asking help for the repatriation of a boy returning from Amoy to Canton via Hong Kong, Hall of Sustaining Love, 23 October 1891 (*'Xinbu'* X) on two kidnapped women to be repatriated on Qiongzhou (瓊州), Po Leung Kuk to Guangren (廣仁) Hospital, 17 November 1898 (Po Leung Kuk, *'Wuxu nian ji gebu xinbu'* (戊戌年寄各埠信簿) ('Letters going abroad, 1898') (hereafter *'Xinbu'* XIX) on the repatriation of women from Singapore, request made to Tung Wah from the Chinese Consul at Singapore, Liang Bingqiu (梁炳球) to Tung Wah, 23 August 1902 (Po Leung Kuk, *'Renyin nian jie gebu xinbu'* (壬寅年接各埠信簿) ('Incoming letters from abroad, 1902') (hereafter *'Xinbu'* XXVIII) requests it to repatriate a maid sold by her husband to Singapore. The Tung Wah Hospital's fight against emigration abuses is discussed in the next chapter. See also Hennessy's praise for its work in sending poor people home in Hennessy to Kimberley, 26 May 1881, #73 CO 129/193

125 *XH*, 4 August 1882, Chen Lanbin (陳蘭彬) was appointed Chinese Minister to Washington in 1875 but he did not actually leave China till 1878. See his *'Shu Mei jilue'* (使美紀略) ('A brief account of my ministry in America') in Wang Xiji (王錫祺), *Xiao fanghu cai yudi zong cao* (小方壺齋輿地叢鈔) (*Collected Texts on Geography from the Xiao fanghu cai Study*) (Shanghai preface 1877, second supplement 1897), 2nd supplement, *ji* 12. See Tan Qianchu (譚乾初), *'Guba zazhi'* (左巴雜記) ('Miscellaneous writings from Cuba'), in Wang, *Xiao fanghu cai yudi zong cao*, *ji* 12, p. 4b on the distribution of letters from Cuba by the Tung Wah. Tan was interpreter on Chen Lanbin's mission to Cuba in 1878. Hall of Sustaining Love to Tung Wah, 23 October 1891 (Po Leung Kuk *'Xinbu'* X) on the distribution of letters from Peru and San Francisco.

Later correspondence gives us some idea of the scale of its work. Each year, the Tonghui Zongju (通惠總局), a Chinese association founded in Peru in 1884 with close ties with the Tung Wah, sent letters and money for it to distribute and, in turn, the Tung Wah sent letters to the Zongju for distribution. See Tung Wah to Tonghui Zongju, 6 June 1899 (Tung Wah *'Xinbu'* I, p. 50) the Tung Wah had received a batch of 110 letters and Peruvian money which was converted to HK\$2,945 which it would distribute with the letters. In return, the Tung Wah sent 131 letters to Peru, Tung Wah to Tonghui, 11 December 1900 (Tung Wah *'Xinbu'* I, p. 271) acknowledged receipt of 141 letters and Peruvian money approximately equivalent to HK\$11,314. Unfortunately, it is impossible to collect statistics systematically. However these letters give some idea of the hundreds of letters and tens of thousands of dollars which went through the Tung Wah each year. One must also bear in mind that each letter and remittance must be individually handled to ensure safety in order to appreciate the amount of work involved.

See also Tung Wah to Guangzhao shanzhuang (廣肇山莊), 10 November 1900 (Tung Wah *'Xinbu'* I, p. 250) about money remitted, part of which was distributed, and the rest paid to the Tung Wah to offset expenses, Tung Wah to Guangdong gongsu (廣東公司) (Guangdong regional association, Rangoon), 7 October 1901 (Tung Wah *'Xinbu'* I, p. 412) on receiving money, letters, and human remains, Tung Wah to Mr [?] Choqing (焯卿仁翁) (month and day missing) 1906 (Tung Wah *'Xinbu'* I [P. 3]) on the personal belongings of a man who had died on board a ship from San Francisco to be collected, Tung Wah to Guangzhao gongsuo, Shanghai, 18 July 1906 (Tung Wah *'Xinbu'* I [P. 4]) on the personal belongings of workers who had died in South Africa. For the repatriation of bones and coffins, see Note 119.

126 For the development of Chinese newspapers in Hong Kong, see *Huazi*

*ribao qishiyi zhounian jnian kan*, especially see Mai Siyuan (麥思源), 'Qishinian lai zhi Xianggang baoye' (七十年来之香港報業) ('The development of journalism in Hong Kong in the last 70 years') in it, *Xunhuan ribao lushi zhounian jnian tekan*, Go Gongzhen (戈公振), *Zhongguo baoye shi* (中國報業史) (*The History of Chinese Journalism*) (Hong Kong 1964), Zeng Xubai (曾虛白), *Zhongguo xinwen shi* (中國新聞史) (*History of Chinese Journalism*) (Taipei 1967), Yuan Changchao (袁昶超), *Zhongguo baoye xiaoshi* (中國報業小史) (*A Brief history of Chinese Journalism*) (Hong Kong [1957]), and Lin Youlan, 'Xianggang baoye fazhan shilue' (香港報業發展史略) ('A brief history of the development of journalism in Hong Kong'), *Baoxue* 2 10 (August 1962), pp 100-115

Expenses for advertisement were entered into the *Zhengxinlu* under miscellaneous items, for example, in 1878, it paid for advertisements about coffins returning to Hong Kong from Annam (*Zhengxinlu* 1878, p 56b) and about human remains from Sydney (*Zhengxinlu* 1887, Part 4 30b)

127 'Registrar General's Report for 1892', *HKGG* 1893, p 440

128 'Colonial Surgeon's Report, 1876', p 206

129 For instance, in 1873, 17 women were married off, three girls were adopted (*Zhengxinlu* 1873, pp 61a-61b), in 1887, 49 were married off and nine adopted (*Zhengxinlu* 1887, p 85a) See *XH*, 25 September 1882 for advertisement putting up two girls and one boy for adoption and two women for marriage offers. Thereafter, these responsibilities were devolved on the Po Leung Kuk, leaving only the repatriation work to the Tung Wah

130 Hugh McCallum, 'Memorandum having reference to certain matters in connection with the Tung Wah Hospital', *TWR*, pp LXI-LXII, p LXI

131 'Colonial Surgeon's Report for 1877', p 323

132 Bird, *Golden Chersonese*, p 87

133 *Hong Kong Telegraph*, quoted in *TWR*, p LXXVIII 'Colonial Surgeon's Report for 1891', *HKGG* 1892, pp 909-60, p 914

134 The Hospital's accounts were published in the *Zhengxinlu* in great detail, from 1880 a summary appeared in the *HKGG*

135 MacDonnell to Kimberley, 19 February 1872, #947 CO 129/156

136 *Zhengxinlu* 1873, pp 6a-6b

137 *DP*, 1 May 1872

138 Phineas Ryrie of Turner & Co arrived in the colony in 1854 and resided until his death in 1892. He was a member of the Legislative Council for some 25 years (1867-92) and was chairman of the General Chamber of Commerce 1867-68, 1871-76, 1886-89. See Endacott, *Government and People*, p 88

139 *DP*, 1 May 1872

140 *DP*, 9 May 1872

141 W S K Waung, *The Controversy Opium and Sino-British Relations 1858-1887* (Hong Kong Lungmen Press, [1977]) In this work Dr Waung gives a very detailed description of the smuggling of opium, the customs blockade, and the subsequent Opium Convention of 1887 aimed at solving the situation

142 'The Piece Goods Tax', *North China Daily News*, reprinted in *DP*, 25 May 1872

143 *DP*, 9 May 1872

144 The *North China Daily News*, Shanghai, 1864-1911, was often extracted in the *Hong Kong Daily Press*

145 'The Piece Good Tax', *DP*, 25 May 1872

146 Quan, *Zhongguo hanghui*, pp 116, 156

147 *XH*, 7 December 1885, 15 January 1886

148 *Zhengxinlu* 1873, pp 81-12a, *Zhengxinlu* 1887, Part 3 32b

149 *Zhengxinlu* 1877, pp 22a-23a

150 *Zhengxinlu* 1886, Part 3 23a, *Zhengxinlu* 1895, Part 3 43a-47b

151 *Zhengxinlu* 1873, pp 12b, 46a The 1870 Ordinance had not empowered the Hospital to purchase or own property This was not discovered until 1899 when one of the tenants refused to pay rent This urged the Directors to take steps to safeguard their interests, and in 1904, 'An Ordinance for enabling the Tung Wah Hospital to acquire, hold, mortgage and sell land and hereditaments, in the colony of Hong Kong' was passed In 1908 the 'Man Mo Temple Ordinance' also transferred the management of the Temple and all its property to the Tung Wah under separate books of account (Tung Wah, Board of Directors, 1970-1971, *One Hundred Years of the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, 1870-1970*, I, [Hong Kong The Hospital, (1970)] pp 209-15 ) For a complete list of the Tung Wah's own properties, see *One Hundred Years of the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals*, pp 258-268

152 Particulars relating to Tung Wah Hospital Property, *TWR*, p LXXXVI

153 *DP*, 23 October 1875

154 Letters in 1899-1900 on these subjects can be found in Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, which give some idea of the burden of the work

155 'Statement of the Receipts — Disbursements of the Tung Wah Hospital, for the Kap Ng (*juwu* 甲午) year (1894)', *TWR*, p LXXII

156 'In a medical point of view, it is almost a mere nothing', *DP*, 13 April 1874

157 Dr Clark's evidence, *TWR*, pp 50-4, Dr Thomson's evidence *TWR*, pp 55-9

158 According to Au Ki-nam, there were accommodations for 112 patients in 1896, but there were sometimes as many as 160 people (*TWR*, p 31), Lowson's evidence, *TWR*, pp 38-48, pp 38-9, according to Dr Clark, verandahs were used as sleeping places (*TWR*, p 52 )

159 The lunatic ward was added in early 1879 See Bird, *Golden Chersonese*, p 87

160 Dr Ayres's evidence, *TWR*, pp 60-5, p 65

161 Kerr, 'Benevolent Institutions of Canton', part 2, describes its establishment and operations, *Nanhai xianzhu* (南海縣志) (*Nanhai gazetteer*) (1901) *juan* 6 10b

162 *Jinghu Yiyuan jushu zhoubi juman tekan* (鏡湖醫院九十周年紀念特刊), (*Special 90th anniversary memorial magazine of the Jinghu Hospital*) (Macao [1961]), p 17, Wang Tao, 'Changjian Aomen Jinghu yiyuan xu' (倡建澳門鏡湖醫院) ('On the proposed establishment of the Jinghu Hospital in Macao') in his *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, pp 241-2, according to the *Zhongwai xinwen qiri bao*, the Jinghu Hospital had been planned for two years before it was finished in May 1871, that is, 1870 See *ZW*, 27 May 1871

163 *Chengxi Fangbian yiyuan zhengxinlu* (城西方便醫院徵信錄) (*Annual Report of the Fangbian Hospital, Western Canton*) 1916, shows the Tung Wah Hospital heading the list of founding directors The Fangbian (方便) and Guangji (廣濟) Hospitals were among the nine benevolent institutions in Canton in the late nineteenth century See Edward J Rhoads, 'Merchant Associations in Canton, 1895-1911' in Mark Elvin and G W Skinner (eds), *The Chinese City Between Two Worlds* (Stanford Stanford University Press, 1974), pp 97-118, p 104

164 There is some dispute concerning the date of its origin In its Centenary Commemorative publication, it claimed to have started in 1867, but then it was only a dispensary See *Tongji yiyuan yibai zhounian juman tekan* (同濟醫院壹佰周年紀念特刊) (*Centenary publication of the Thong Chai Medical Institution*) (Singapore [1968]), in 1885 the promoters petitioned the government to build a Chinese hospital and it was completed in 1892 See *Thong Chai Medical Institution Opening Ceremony Souvenir Magazine* (同濟醫院大廈落成紀念特刊) (bilingual) (Singapore [1979]), pp 95-102 It had 12 directors, six of Fujian origin and six of

Guangdong origin Strangely enough, the Principal Civil Medical Officer of Singapore reported in 1895 that there was no Chinese Hospital using native treatment and that although there had been a scheme for one for some years, it had come to nothing See J A Swettenham, Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements to the Colonial Secretary, Hong Kong, 17 September 1895, TWR, pp LXVI-LXVII

165 *A History of the Sam Yup Benevolent Association in the United States 1850-1975* (旅美三邑總會館簡史) (bilingual) (San Francisco Sam Yup Benevolent Association, 1975), pp 132-5 It was an aborted effort because the American government would not accept the medical qualification of Chinese doctors

166 The Tianhua (天華) Hospital was organized between 1904-06, representing all five speech groups At first it used Chinese medicine, but changed to Western medicine in the 1930s See G W Skinner, *Chinese Society in Thailand*, (Ithaca, New York Cornell University Press, 1957) pp 170, 257-8

167 There were the Zhonghua (中華) Hospital in Pnom Penh, and the Nanhua (南華) at Penang

168 In Hawaii there was also an attempt in 1886 to build a hospital modelled on the Tung Wah, but it failed See Zhang Yinhuan (張蘊桓), *Sanzhou riji* (三洲日記) (*Diary of Three Continents*) 8 juan, (no publisher, no date), juan 2 24a

169 This is clearly shown in the Fangbian Hospital's *Zhengxinlu* This was specifically stated in the petition for the establishment of the Thong Chai See petition printed in facsimile in *Thong Chai Medical Institution Opening Ceremony Souvenir Magazine*, p 96 There is a letter in the Tung Wah Archives addressed to a Tongji (同濟) Hospital, place unknown, 25 November 1900 (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p 257) showing that when this Tongji was established, it had written to the Tung Wah for its *Zhengxinlu* and the 1870 Ordinance for reference It would be interesting to know if this was the Singapore hospital In any case, it shows that the Tung Wah had become the model of 'Chinese hospitals' See also XH, 11 and 26 May, 8 December 1885

170 Crissman, 'The Segmentary Structure', p 197

#### Notes to Chapter 4

1 John King Fairbank, *The United States and China* (Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1971, 1st edition 1949), pp 29, 103, Ch'u T'ung-tsu, *Local Government in China under the Ch'ing* (Cambridge Mass Harvard University Press, 1962), p 168

2 Ch'u, *Local Government*, p 175

3 Ch'u, *Local Government*, p 168, Hsiao Kung-Chuan, *Rural China Imperial Control in the Nineteenth-Century* (Seattle University of Washington Press, 1960), pp 316-17, 321, Chang Chungli, *The Chinese Gentry, Studies in Their Role in Nineteenth-century Chinese Society* (Seattle and London University of Washington Press, 1955), Chapter 1, compare Ho Ping-ti, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368-1911* (New York Columbia University Press, 1962) There is a debate on the definition of *shen* among scholars, see below

4 James Hayes, *The Hong Kong Region 1850-1911 Institutions and Leadership in Town and Countryside* (Hamden, Conn Archon Books, Dawson, 1977), describes life in traditional China under local leadership without the gentry, Donald Robert de Glopper, 'City on the Sands Social Structure in a Nineteenth-century Chinese City' (Ph D thesis, Cornell University, 1973), pp 14-15

5 de Glopper, 'City on the Sands', p 15

6 Ch'u, *Local Government*, p 170

7 ZW, 17 February 1872, see also XH, 1 May 1874, Wang Tao, 'Chuangjuan



*Donghua yiyuan xu* (創建東華醫院序) ('On the establishment of the Tung Wah Hospital'), in his *Taoyuan wenlu waibian* (*Additional Essays of Wang Tao*) 12 *juan* (Peking 1959), pp 239–40 It was written at Leung On's request, and might have been exaggerated But his other writings also reveal that he did consider the establishment of the Tung Wah to be a momentous event transforming the nature of the Chinese community in Hong Kong, and marking a turning point in Hong Kong's history

8 For the purchase of official titles, see Yen Ching-Hwang, 'Ch'ing's Sale of Honours and the Chinese Leadership in Singapore and Malaya, 1877–1912', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 1 2 (September 1970), pp 20–32

9 *DP*, 7 October 1871

10 *ZW*, 14 October 1871

11 G W Skinner, 'Overseas Chinese Leadership Paradigm for a Paradox' in Gehan Wijeyewardene, *Leadership and Authority A Symposium* (Singapore University of Malaya Press, 1968), pp 191–207, and his *Leadership and Power in the Chinese Community of Thailand* (Ithaca, New York Cornell University Press, 1958), pp 80–3, Yen, 'Ch'ing's Sale of Honours', C M Turnbull, *A History of Singapore* (Kuala Lumpur Oxford University Press, 1977), p 55

12 G B Endacott, *Government and People in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Hong Kong University Press, 1964), pp 90–1

13 Hennessy to Carnavon, 27 September 1877, #123 CO 129/179

14 'Statement of Hennessy', *HKGG* 1881, p 82 Hennessy further elaborated on the rate-payers in Hennessy to Kimberley, 31 August 1881, #140 CO 129/194

15 Chinese petition for a Chinese Legislative Councillor enclosed in Hennessy to Hicks-Beach, 19 January 1880, 4 CO 129/187

16 Yen, 'Ch'ing's Sale of Honours', p 26

17 Yen Ching-Hwang, 'Changing Images of the Overseas Chinese (1644–1912)', *MAS* 15 2 (1981), pp 261–85

18 Successive Governors and Governors-General at Canton had complained about this See *Zhouban Yiwu shumo* (籌辦夷務始末) (*The Complete Account of the Management of Barbarian Affairs*) 260 *juan* (Peiping 1930), *juan* 41 36a, Guo Songdao, 'Fuchen Guangdong dagai qingxing shu' (覆陳廣東大概情形疏) ('Memorial on conditions in Guangdong') in his *Yangzhi shuwu yiyi* (*Works from the Yangzhi Studio*), *juan* 4 53a–59b, Liu Kunyi (劉坤一), 'Fuchen banli du'an qingxing zhe' (覆陳辦理盜案情形摺) ('Reply on situation regarding robbery cases') in *Liu Kunyi yiyi* (劉坤一遺集) (*Works of Liu Kunyi*), 6 volumes (Shanghai 1959) (hereafter *LYJ*), Vol I, pp 432–6, Zhang Zhidong (張之洞) 'Qing cuishe Xianggang lingshi zhe' (請催設香港領事摺) ('Memorial urging the establishment of a Consul at Hong Kong'), 30 March 1886 in *Zhang Wenxiang Gong quanji* (張文襄公全集) (*Complete Works of Zhang Zhidong*) 228 *juan*, 6 volumes, photographic reprint (Taipei 1963) (hereafter *ZQJ*), *juan* 15 14a–17b See also Wang Tao, 'Chuangjian Donghua yiyuan xu'

19 Guo Songdao, 'Na huo panyu Xianggang zhaohuo jizei nishou shen ming zhengfa shu' (拿獲盤據香港招夥濟賊逆首審明正法疏) ('Memorial on capturing bandit leader who had recruited men and aided robbers in Hong Kong, to investigate and punish him accordingly') in *Yangzhi shuwu yiyi*, *juan* 6 49a–51b

20 Liu Kunyi, 'Fuchen Yuesheng shiyi chazhuo banli zhe' (覆陳粵省事宜查酌辦理摺) ('Reply on Guangdong investigations'), *LYJ*, Vol I pp 389–94

21 One was Gao Shunjin (高舜琴) who won a *jurem* degree in 1888 and became a Director in 1882 and Chairman in 1892, see Gao Zhenbai (高貞白), 'Xianggang Donghua yiyuan yu Gao Manhe' (香港東華醫院高滿和) ('The Tung Wah Hospital of Hong Kong and Gao Manhe'), *Da Hua* (大華) 1 4 (October 1970), pp

2-6, p 5 See also Note 21 Another was Liu Jinhua (劉金華), also a *ju ren*, who was Chairman in 1899 His porcelain photograph listing all his degrees and titles is in the Tung Wah Hospital

22 Wang Tao, *Manyu sulu* (漫遊隨錄) (*A record of travels*) (Zhangsha, 1982, first published 1887), p 60

23 *XH*, 28 July 1874

24 Yen, 'Ch'ing's Sale of Honours', pp 22-4, Li Hongzhang, '*Waisheng juanju biantong zhengdun zhe*' (外省捐局變通整頓摺) ('Memorial on the reorganization of fund-raising bureaus in outer provinces'), 21 August 1878, in *Li Wenzhong Gong Quanju* (李文忠公全集) (*Complete Works of Li Hongzhang*), 7 volumes (Hong Kong 1965) (hereafter *LQJ*), Vol II, *zougao* (奏稿) (memorials), *juan* 32 17a-19a, '*Jin zhen jiangzhang zhe*' (晉賑獎章摺) ('Awards for raising funds for Shanxi relief'), *LQJ*, *zougao*, *juan* 30 48a-49a, Chang Chungli, *The Chinese Gentry*, Chapter 2

25 *CM*, 23 March 1878, full price list is given in Li Hongzhang, '*Haifang juanshu biantong zhangzheng zhe*' (海防捐輸變通章程摺) ('Regulations on reorganization of coastal defence fund'), *LQJ*, Vol II, *zougao*, *juan* 60 13a-15a, in Hong Kong, the advertisement can be seen in *XH*, 30 September 1884 and on the subscription list in December that year, see also Yen, 'Ch'ing Sale of Honours' A detailed description of the dress and insignia for each rank of office is given in John Henry Gray, *China, A History of the Law, Manners and Customs of the People* (London Macmillan, 1878), Vol 1, Chapter XIV

26 Li Hongzhang, '*Chaozhou quanjuan Jin zhen pian*' (潮州勸捐晉賑片) ('Memorial on raising funds for Shanxi at Chaozhou'), 18 December 1877 in *LQJ*, Vol II, *zougao*, *juan* 30 28a-b, see Michael Godley, 'The Late Ch'ing's Courtship of the Chinese in Southeast Asia', *Journal of Asian Studies* XXXIV 2 (February 1975), pp 311-85

27 Wellington K K Chan, *Merchants, Mandarins and Modern Enterprise in Late Ch'ing China* (Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1977), Chapter 3, Ho Ping-ti, *The Ladder of Success*, Chapter 1, Section 3

28 Chan, *Merchants*, Chapter 3, see also Michael Godley, *The Mandarinn-Capitalists from Nanyang Overseas Chinese Enterprise in the Modernization of China 1893-1911* (Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1981)

29 Examples can be found in *ZW*, 18 March 1871, 15 April 1871, *HKGG* 1880, p 187, *HKGG* 1881, pp 426, 654, 656

30 Chan, *Merchants*, p 58, Marianne Bastid, 'The Social Context of Reform', in Paul A Cohen and John E Schrecker (eds), *Reforms in Nineteenth-Century China* (Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1976), pp 117-27, p 118

31 Examples can be found in *ZW*, 27 May 1871, 17 February 1872, *XH*, 8, 9, 13 April 1874, *HKGG* 1880, p 515, Wang Tao, '*Dai shang Guangzhou taishou Feng Zhi douzhuanyuan*' (代上廣州太守馮子立都轉) dated about 1874 ('Letter to the Prefect of Guangzhou on behalf of —') in his *Taoyuan zhudu* (弢園尺牘) (*Letters of Wang Tao*), 12 *juan* (Shanghai no date, 1st published 1893), *juan* 9 1a-8b See *HKGG* 1880, p 187

32 Evidence of Sin Tak Fan (Xian Tefen) (先德芬), Hong Kong, *Report of the Special Committee to Investigate and Report on Certain Points Connected with the Bill for the Inauguration of the Po Leung Kuk or Society for the Protection of Women and Girls* (Hong Kong Noronha, Government Printer, 1893), pp 113-30, p 116 Sin was a Eurasian solicitor's clerk who became one of the few professionals who sat on the Tung Wah Board He was a Committee member of the Tung Wah in 1878 and Chairman in 1908 See Arnold Wright (ed), *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong, Shanghai and Other Treaty Ports* (London Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing, 1908), p 187, W Feldwick, *Present Day*

*Impressions of the Far East and Prominent and Progressive Chinese at Home and Abroad The History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources of China, Hong Kong and Indo-China, Malaya and Netherlands Indies* (London 1917), p 580

33 The plaque, containing the words 'Jianyi yongwei' (見義勇爲) was presented to the 'Xianggang Donghua Yiyuan xiezhen shendong' (香港東華醫院協賑紳董) ('Fund-raising gentry-Directors of the Tung Wah Hospital of Hong Kong') by the Governor-General of Zhili, Li Hongzhang, and the Governor of Shandong, the Minister of the Board of Rites, and the acting Senior Vice-President of Board of Punishment, in 1884 (See Plate 7) For Li, see Note 74

34 The Treasurer's letter is discussed in Chapter 5

35 *CM*, 8 November 1875

36 *London and China Express*, reprinted in *DP*, 15 February 1873

37 See Additional List to Commission of the Peace, *HKGG* 1878, p 599, Endacott, *Government and People*, pp 92-8, Hennessy to Kimberley, 19 January 1880, #4 CO 129/187

38 E J Eitel, *Europe in China* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1983), p 510 Also see *Daily Advertizer*, 22 August 1872

39 Eitel, *Europe in China*, p 543, *HKGG* 1879, pp 229-33

40 *CM*, 1 May 1879

41 Tung Wah, 'Dongshuju huiyi lu', extant from 1904-41, give some idea of the form and content of the meetings

42 *DP*, 2 June 1873 In fact, even before the Hospital building was officially opened, meetings were already being held under the Committee's auspices See *ZW*, 25 March 1871 It does not say, however, where the meetings took place

43 Minute by the Acting Colonial Secretary on the Secretary of State's Despatch #105 of 29 May 1882, dated 19 July 1882, enclosed in Marsh to Kimberley, 20 July 1882, #136 CO 129/202

44 *DP*, 26 June 1872

45 *DP*, 15 May, 12 July, 31 October 1873, 10 August 1874, *XH*, 8 April 1874, Bowen to Carnarvon, 6 August 1883, #175 CO 129/211, Marsh to Kimberley, 22 September 1882, #205 CO 129/202

46 *DP*, 9 January, 15 February 1873

47 *DP*, 18 May 1873

48 *DP*, 18 May 1873

49 Bowen to Kimberley, 6 August 1883, #175 CO 129/211

50 Bowen to Kimberley, 6 August 1883, #175

51 Letter from 'The Chinese', *CM*, 1 September 1870

52 *DP*, 15 May 1873, See also James William Norton-Kyshe, *The History of the Laws and Courts of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Vetch & Lee, 1971), Vol II, p 473, Whitfield to Kimberley, 10 January 1871, #9 CO 129/149

53 'Memorandum on the Registration of Chinese Partners by J H Stewart Lockhart, CMG, Colonial Secretary', *HKGG* 1901, pp 1883-1901

54 'Minutes of a meeting held at the Tung Wah Hospital on 16th August, 1874', Appendix I, to 'Memorandum on the Registration of Chinese Partners', pp 1889-90

55 'Minutes of a meeting held at the Tung Wah Hospital'

56 'Memorandum on the Registration of Chinese Partners'

57 *DP*, 7 October 1878

58 *DP*, 7 October 1878

59 *DP*, 7 October 1878

60 *DP*, 9 October 1878, this episode is also described in Pope-Hennessy, *Verandah*, pp 203-5 Hennessy defended himself in Hennessy to Hicks-Beach, 10 October 1878, #98 CO 129/98, and 31 May 1878, #77 CO 129/184

- 61 *DP*, 9 October 1878
- 62 *DP*, 15 November 1878
- 63 *CM*, 29 September 1881
- 64 Registrar General's Reports, 5 June and 7 June 1882, enclosed in Marsh to Kimberley, 20 June 1882, confidential CO 129/201
- 65 For the *mu-tsai* (*meizai*) (妹仔) system, see Wei Qingyuan (韋慶遠) and others, *Qingdai nubi zhidu* (清代奴婢制度) (*The Slavery System in Qing*) (Peking 1984, first published 1982), Maria H. Jaschok, 'A Social History of the Mooi Jai Institution in Hong Kong, 1843–1939' (Ph. D. thesis, London University, 1981) and her *Concubines and Bondservants* (London: Zed Books, 1988)
- 66 For instance, Zhang Zhendong (張震東) to Tung Wah, 17 September 1889 (Po Leung Kuk, 'Jichou nian gebu laiwang xin di bu (1)' (己丑年各埠來往信底簿(-)) ('Copies of letters to and from abroad, 1889') (hereafter 'Xinbu' VI)
- 67 *DP*, 15 October 1873
- 68 *DP*, 15 October 1873
- 69 *DP*, 23 October 1875
- 70 Registrar General to acting Colonial Secretary, 2 August 1882, enclosed in Marsh to Kimberley, 14 August 1882, #161 Co 129/202
- 71 Registrar General's Report, 5 June 1882, enclosed in Marsh to Kimberley, 20 June 1882, confidential CO 129/201
- 72 Registrar General to acting Colonial Secretary, 2 August 1882, enclosed in Marsh to Kimberley, 14 August 1882, #161 Co 129/202
- 73 *DP*, 6 January 1876, see also 23 October 1875
- 74 Li Hongzhang (李鴻章) (1823–1901) was one of the most powerful officials of late Qing, having initially made his name fighting the Taipings. From 1870, he was Governor-General of Zhili and Superintendent of Trade for the Northern Ports in charge of diplomatic, military, and economic affairs. He was the leader of the so-called self-strengthening movement. For biographical accounts, see Wei Xiyu (韋自予), *Li Hongzhang* (李鴻章) (Shanghai 1931), Lei Luqing (雷祿慶), *Li Hongzhang nianpu* (李鴻章年譜) (*Chronological Biography of Li Hongzhang*) (Taipei 1977) and his *Li Hongzhang xinzhuan* (李鴻章新傳) (*New Biography of Li Hongzhang*) (Taipei 1983), Li Shoukang (李守孔), *Li Hongzhang zhuan* (李鴻章傳) (Li Hongzhang) (Taipei 1978), Stanley Spector, *Li Hung-chang and the Hua Army: A Study of 19th Century Chinese Regionalism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964)
- 75 Ding Richang (丁日昌) (1823–82), long an associate of Li Hongzhang in the self-strengthening movement, was a native of Chaozhou Prefecture which explains his familiarity with South China affairs and Overseas Chinese, many of whom had gone from that prefecture. See Lu Shiqiang (呂實強), *Ding Richang yu ziqiang yundong* (丁日昌與自強運動) (*Ding Richang and the Self-Strengthening Movement*) (Taipei 1972), Arthur W. Hummel (ed.), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)* (Washington: Government Printing Office 1943–4), Vol II, pp. 721–3
- 76 Gao Zhenbai, 'Xianggang Donghua Yiyuan yu Gao Manhe', Lin Xi (林熙) (Gao Zhenbai), 'Cong Xianggang de Yuan Fa Hang tan qi' (從香港的元發行談起) (Yuan Fa Hang of Hong Kong), *Da cheng* (大成) 117 (August 1983) pp. 47–52, 118 (September 1983), pp. 45–51, 119, (October 1983), pp. 34–9, 120, (November 1983) pp. 46–54. Gao Manhe (or Manhua), after making his fortunes in Hong Kong and Siam, returned to China around 1856 and found himself arrested for collaborating with barbarians. He subsequently bought a 5th rank official title to protect himself. The author is Gao Manhe's grandson.
- 77 Li Hongzhang, 'Chaozhou quanjuan Jin zhen pian'
- 78 The Xin'an (新安) Magistrate to the Tung Wah Hospital, (no date),

sub-enclosure in Marsh to O'Connor, 20 January 1886, enclosed in Marsh to Granville, 25 January 1886, confidential CO 129/225 This dispatch also appears in Great Britain, Foreign Office, Embassy and Consular Archives China Correspondence 1834-1930, series 228 (hereafter FO 228), Vol 842, and the original Chinese documents appear here

79 The plaque reads 'ke guang te xin' (克廣德心), and is deposited in the Tung Wah Hospital at Po Yan Street See Plate 8

80 Xin'an Magistrate to the Tung Wah Hospital (no date)

81 Acknowledgement of receipt of the dispatch of instructions and the tablet scroll, extracted from the minutes of the Tung Wah Hospital of 1879, sub-enclosed in Marsh to O'Connor, 20 January 1886, enclosed in Marsh to Granville, 25 January 1886, confidential CO 129/225

82 The 'shen wei pu you' (神威普佑) plaque is kept at the Man Mo Temple The term 'by the imperial brush' is not literal — this only meant the Emperor personally instructed Hanlin scholars to write the characters

83 Major fund-raising took place in 1885-6, see below, also in 1890, see Li Hongzhang, 'Ge sheng juanzhu Zhu zhen shumu zhe' (各省捐助直賑數目摺) ('Memorial on relief funds for Zhili from other provinces'), 28 January 1891 in *LQJ*, Vol II, *zougao*, *juan* 70 30a-32b See Tung Wah Hospital, Board of Directors, 1960-1961, *Development of the Tung Wah Hospitals (1870-1960)*, Part 4, pp 1-16, which gives a very interesting account of the Hospital's efforts to raise funds up to the 1950s

84 Persia Crawford Campbell's *Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire* (New York Negro University Press, 1969, first published 1923) remains the classic work on Chinese emigration More recently, there are Wang Sing-wu, *The Organization of Chinese Emigration, 1848-1888, with Special Reference to Chinese Emigration in Australia* (San Francisco Chinese Materials Centre, Inc., 1978) and his 'The Attitude of the Ch'ing Court towards Chinese Emigration', *Chinese Culture* 9 4 (December 1968), pp 62-76, Elliott C Arensmeyer, 'British Merchant Enterprise and the Chinese Coolie Labour Trade, 1850-1874' (Ph D thesis, University of Hawaii, 1979) The most refreshing work is Robert Lee Irick, *Ch'ing Policy towards the Coolie Trade, 1847-1878* (Taipei Chinese Materials Centre, 1980) Hiroaki Kani's (可兒明弘) *Kindai Chugoku no kuri to choka* (近代中國の苦力と「豬花」) (*The Coolies and 'Slave Girls of Modern China*) (Tokyo 1979) also throws interesting light on the subject by using archival materials from the Po Leung Kuk Useful material is also provided by Chen Hansheng (陳翰笙) (ed.), *Huagong chuguo shiliao hubian* (華工出國史料彙編) (*A Compilation of historical materials on the emigration of Chinese labourers*) volume 1 (Peking 1980-) So far 10 volumes have been published An older compilation is Zhu Shijia (朱士嘉), *Meiguo pohai Huagong shiliao* (美國迫害華工史料) (*Materials on American Persecution of Chinese Labour*) (Shanghai 1958) which concentrates more on the abuses of the coolie trade See also Wang Gungwu, *A Short History of the Chinese in Nanyang* (Singapore Eastern Universities Press, 1959), 'Report accompanying the Blue Book', *Hong Kong Blue Book* 1852, pp 130-9, 136-7

85 See Irick, *Coolie Trade*, Chapter 2, 'Memorandum of the Coolie Ships on Board which Mutinies have occurred, or in Which the Vessels or Passengers have met with Disasters from the Year 1845 up to the Year 1872', enclosed in Sir B Robertson to Lord Tenterden, 31 March 1874, in 'Correspondence respecting the Macao Coolie Trade 1874-75' [C-1212] *BPP* IV, pp 379-408, pp 386-7 gives some idea of the hazards of emigrating See also 'Harbour Master's Report for 1888', *HKGG* 1889, pp 635-61 and 'Harbour Master's Report for 1889', *HKGG* 1890, pp 491-518 for emigration abuses See Note 101

86 Campbell, *Coolie Emigration*, pp 100-3

- 87 Campbell, *Coolie Emigration*, p 150
- 88 For the Chinese Passengers Act, 1855 and other emigration-related local ordinances up to 1876, see *HKGG* 1875, pp 399–401
- 89 'Harbour Master's Report for 1870', *HKGG* 1871, pp 97–110, p 98 This was suggested by the Emigration Board to Frederick Rogers at the Colonial Office, 29 July 1869 CO 129/140, because there had been too many cases of abuse
- 90 Rutherford Alcock (1809–97) became Consul at Fuzhou, 1844 and Shanghai in 1846 After serving as Britain's first Consul-General in Japan 1858–65, he became Minister-Plenipotentiary at Peking, 1865–71 See Alexander Michie, *The Englishman in China*, 2 volumes (Edinburgh Blackwood, 1900)
- 91 MacDonnell to Alcock, 3 August 1869, enclosed in MacDonnell to Granville, 4 August 1869, #767 CO 129/139
- 92 'Report accompanying the Blue Book', *Blue Book* 1852, pp 136–7
- 93 MacDonnell to Alcock, 3 August 1869, enclosed in MacDonnell to Granville, 4 August 1869 #767 CO 129/139
- 94 Irick, *Coolie Trade*, pp 257–63, for Rulin's attitude, see Campbell, *Coolie Emigration*, pp 148–9
- 95 *Report of the Commission sent by China to Ascertain the Conditions of Chinese Coolies in Cuba* (Taipei 1970, 1st published Shanghai Imperial Maritimes Customs Press, 1876) gives the most heart-rending accounts of the hardship suffered there See also Campbell, *Coolie Emigration*, p 135
- 96 This is the main thesis of Robert Irick's book
- 97 Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol II, pp 186–7, 210
- 98 John Jackson Smale, a well-known reporter in Chancery, arrived in Hong Kong as Attorney General in 1861 and became Chief Justice in 1866 He retired in 1881 His career as Chief Justice was colourful, and his opposition to both the emigration business and slavery, which he equated, provides insight to the nature of Hong Kong society and the struggle between Chinese customary law and cultural attitudes and English law See Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*
- 99 Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol II, p 186
- 100 *DP*, 9 September 1871
- 101 *DP*, 13 May 1871, for an account of the mutiny on the *Dolores Uqarte*, see extract from the *Globe*, 30 December 1870, enclosed in Granville to Sir C Murray, 17 January 1871, in 'Correspondence respecting Emigration of Chinese Coolies from Macao' 1871, [C-403] *BPP* IV, pp 256–7
- 102 *DP*, 20 May 1871, *ZW*, 27 May 1871
- 103 *ZW*, 27 May 1871
- 104 *XH*, 9 June 1874
- 105 *DP*, 7 October 1871
- 106 'A Correct Statement of the Wicked Practice of Decoying and Kidnapping, Respectfully laid before His Excellency' enclosed in Kennedy to Kimberley, 7 June 1872, in 'Papers relative to the Measures taken to Prevent the Fitting out of Ships at Hong Kong for the Macao Coolie Trade' [C-829] presented July 1873, *BPP*, Vol IV, pp 309–62 (hereafter Papers on Macao Coolie Trade, July 1873), pp 313–16
- 107 Campbell, *Coolie Emigration*, p 157, Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol II, p 207
- 108 *DP*, 15 May 1873 In his '*Dai shang Guangzhou taishou Feng Zhi dou-zhuan*', Wang Tao also mentioned that the Tung Wah Directors had employed detectives to investigate kidnapping with a special subscription before they asked the Governor to pay for it Unfortunately he did not say when the practice started

109 DP, 22, 24 May 1873

110 DP, 15 May 1873

111 DP, 12 July 1873

112 Campbell, *Coolie Emigration*, p 152, 'Police Reports' for 1868, 1870, 1873, and 1877, HKGG 1869, pp 209-12, HKGG 1871, pp 281-87, HKGG 1874, pp 84-90, HKGG 1878, pp 125-30, and 'Harbour Master's Report for 1888', p 636, all emphasize the difficulty of detecting kidnapping cases which were often falsely reported and difficult to prove. It was strongly felt that Chinese officials should fight their own crimes.

113 See Tung Wah to Lockhart, 4 October 1899 in Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p 81, in which it informed him that 200 workers recruited for Manila were supposedly kidnapped, and offered to send them home. The information had come from the China Association in San Francisco and from gentlemen of the Siyi counties.

114 Cases of kidnapping decreased because of cessation of contract emigration from Macao in late 1874, see 'Police Report for 1874', HKGG 1875, pp 45-50, p 46, Hennessy's Reply to Chinese Deputation, HKGG 1880, pp 185-92, p 190, for the Protector of Chinese, see Eunice Thio, 'The Singapore Chinese Protectorate: Events and Conditions Leading to its Establishment, 1823-1877', *Journal of the South Seas Society* XVI (1970), pp 40-80, and R N Jackson, *Pickering Protector of Chinese* (Kuala Lumpur 1965).

115 See Guangxing tang (廣行堂) of Dongguan city, 26 March 1884 to Po Leung Kuk and Tung Wah (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' I) informing it that a woman would come to Hong Kong for a girl saved by the Po Leung Kuk and their reply that the girl had been sent home, instructing the Guangxing tang to ensure that her husband would provide for her, Guangxing tang to Po Leung Kuk and Tung Wah, 7 April 1884 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' I) asking it to find a supposedly kidnapped girl, Guangzhao gongsuo, Cholon, to Tung Wah, 11 April 1887 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' I) thanking it for work with kidnapped girls, — to Tung Wah, (April-May?) 1884 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' I), the writer had been sold as a 'pig' but had escaped, and was writing to ask the Tung Wah to find him a job, and to plead with the Registrar General, Chenjia Gongsuo (陳家公所) of San Francisco, to the Tung Wah, 18 December 1887 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' III) on women kidnapped from Hong Kong to San Francisco and asking the Tung Wah to make sure that kidnapers got their due, Yu Hu youshizi (寓處憂時子) to Tung Wah, 12 August 1888 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' IV) reporting a man dealing with the human trade and hoping that it would detain girls on a ship to Singapore travelling through Hong Kong who might have been kidnapped, Zhang Zhendong to Tung Wah, 17 September, 1889 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' VI) informing it that since it had found his maid, who had been decoyed to Hong Kong, it could try to marry her off to a suitable man, Xiqiao Chongzheng shantang (西樵崇正善堂), 13 March 1890 (Po Leung Kuk, 'Jichou nian gebu lawangxin di bu' (2) (己丑年各埠來往信底簿) ('Copies of letters to and from abroad for 1889-1890') (hereafter 'Xinbu' VIII) requesting help for people believed to be kidnapped for Borneo, Zheng Jizhong (鄭繼宗), General in Command of the Marine Forces, to the Tung Wah, 31 May 1890 (Po Leung Kuk, 'Gengyin nian gebu lawangxin bu' (庚寅年各埠來往信簿) ('Copies of letters to and from abroad for 1890') (hereafter 'Xinbu' IX) informing it of a woman decoyed to Hong Kong and detained next to the Man Mo Temple, and asking it to take her husband there to find her and let the yamen runners coming from China take her back, Haifeng Bao'anju (海豐保安局) to the Tung Wah, 10 June 1890 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' VIII) informing it of a child suspected to have been kidnapped from Hong Kong and requesting information, Po Leung Kuk to Zhang Peilin (張沛霖) of Annam, 9 August 1890, for Tung Wah (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' IX) on the sale of girls from

Annam, Provincial Commander-in-Chief Feng to Tung Wah and Po Leung Kuk, 3 June 1891 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' X) reporting on a Chinese officer implicated in robbery and kidnapping, Qiongtai Hui'ai yiyuan (瓊台惠愛醫院) to Tung Wah, 6 October 1891 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' X) asking it to send up two women guilty of kidnapping, Danshui Bao'an gongju (淡水保安公局) to Tung Wah, 25 October 1891 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' X) asking it to investigate an alleged case of decoying, Shanghai Guangzhao gongsuo to Tung Wah, 31 October, 1891 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' X) asking it to find and repatriate a woman and her son decoyed from Shanghai, sought by grandmother, a lawyer in Singapore to Tung Wah, 7 October 1895 (Po Leung Kuk, 'Yiwei nian gebu laixin bu' (乙未年各埠來信簿) ('Letters from abroad, 1895-96') (hereafter 'Xinbu' XVI) asking it to help release a girl detained by the Protector of Chinese in Singapore, Qingyuan Lianhe gongju (清遠聯合公局) to Tung Wah and Po Leung Kuk, 25 February, 1896 (Po Leung Kuk, 'Bingshen nian jie gebu laixin bu' (丙申年接各埠來信簿) ('Letters from abroad, 1896') (hereafter 'Xinbu' XVIII) informing them of women kidnapped to Annam but not being helped by the Guangzhao gongsuo there, Guangzhao gongsuo (廣肇公所) of Cholon to Tung Wah, 2 April 1896 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' XVIII) asking them to arrest kidnapers who would be travelling through Hong Kong and to send them on to Qingyuan, Simiao zengyiju (四廟贈醫局) of Canton to Po Leung Kuk and Tung Wah, 11 October 1899 (Po Leung Kuk, 'Jihai nian jie gebu xinbu' (己亥年接各埠信簿) ('Incoming letters from abroad, 1899') (hereafter 'Xinbu' XXII) asking them to locate a kidnapped friend, Guangzhou huiguan (廣州會館), 6 July 1899 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' XXII) on kidnapped persons, Tung Wah to Guangji Hospital, 15 November 1899 (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p. 98) on two kidnapped men to be fetched, Tung Wah to Lockhart, 4 October 1899 (see Note 142), Tung Wah to Guangren shantang (廣仁善堂), 26 March 1900 (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p. 139) on returning kidnapped destitutes, Sheng Mou Hao (生茂號) to Tung Wah, 31 January 1901 (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p. 285) asking it to investigate the family for which a boy kidnapped to Hong Kong from Canton had worked because his testimony was suspect, also Tung Wah to Sheng Mou Hao, 4 February 1901 (Tung Wah 'Xinbu' I, p. 286) on the same subject, Hall of Sustaining Love to Tung Wah and Po Leung Kuk, 5 September 1888 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' IV), asking them to help a father find a boy lost in Canton, Guangxing tang to Tung Wah, 17 October 1890 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' IX) on a stray boy to be collected by the uncle. See also Chapter 3, Note 125.

116 Governor's speech on his visit to the Tung Wah Hospital, 8 February 1878, *HKGG* 1878, pp. 47-9, p. 48, for correspondence regarding emigration to Hawaii, see *HKGG* 1880, pp. 958-60.

117 'Harbour Master's Report for 1881', *HKGG* 1882, pp. 387-409, p. 389, *DP*, 27 September and 14 December 1880.

118 *DP*, 22 and 23 October 1875.

119 *CM*, 5 November 1875, see letter from the Consul of the Netherlands at Hong Kong to Kennedy, 20 August 1875 on his intention to recruit labour from Hong Kong for Acheen for the government there, *HKGG* 1875, pp. 501-2, a similar case occurred in 1889 when mutiny broke out when emigrants discovered that they were going to Deli instead of Singapore, 'Harbour Master's Report for 1889', p. 492.

120 *CM*, 8 November 1875.

121 *CM*, 8 November 1875.

122 *DP*, 23 October 1875.

123 Lucie Cheng Hirata, 'Free, Indentured, Enslaved Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America', *Signs* 5 1 (Autumn 1979), pp. 3-29, 12.

124 'Memorandum on Subject of slavery in Hong Kong on the State of the



Law as Applicable to such Slavery' by J J Francis, and Further Report by E J Eitel, sub-enclosed in 'Correspondence respecting the Alleged Existence of Chinese Slavery in Hong Kong' [C-3185] LIX, March 1882, *BPP* XXVI, pp 213-21 (hereafter Correspondence Chinese Slavery, March 1882)

125 'Report of the Commissions appointed by His Excellency John Pope Hennessy to inquire into the Working of the Contagious Diseases Ordinance, 1867' [C-118] XLIX in *BPP* XXV, 508-70, p 562

126 Hirata, 'Chinese Prostitutes', pp 26-7 analyses the complex reasons behind the attempt by Chinese merchants to curb emigration of Chinese prostitutes, offering explanations in the conflicts between the tongs and the allied forces of the Chinese consulate and Six Companies and to minimize the target of anti-Chinese antagonism But it is also possible that respectable Chinese were genuinely ashamed of the degradation of Chinese women abroad, see Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association of Victoria, B C to Tung Wah, 8 September 1887 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' III) The Association was founded in 1884 See Edgor Wickberg (ed.), *From China to Canada A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada* (Toronto: Minister of Supply and Services, 1982), pp 24-26, 37-40

127 Kennedy to Kimberley, 7 June 1872, #24 CO 129/158

128 'Harbour Master's Report 1874', *HKGG*, pp 120-39, p 122

129 Harbour Master's Report 1874, p 123

130 For the Act of U S Congress Supplementary to Acts in relation to Immigration, 1875, See *HKGG* 1875, pp 306-7

131 C C Smith to D H Bailey, 12 August 1875, enclosed in Bailey to Cadwalader, 38 August 1875, #307 United States National Archives, Despatches from U S Consuls in Hong Kong 1844-1906 (M 108), 'Harbour Master's Report 1875', *HKGG* 1876, pp 124-40, p 126 also expresses the opinion that female emigration should not be prohibited

132 Bailey to Cadwalader, 28 August 1875, #307

133 *DP*, 10 August 1875, *CM*, 11 August 1875 Letter from Leong On and the 'Enquiry Committee' to Bailey, dated [?] August 1875, enclosed Bailey to Cadwalader, 28 August 1875, #307

134 Rules of the Procedure, see Bailey to Cadwalader, 28 August 1875 #307, and Appendix V

135 *CM*, 3 December 1875

136 Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, Victoria, B C to Tung Wah, 9 September 1887

137 *DP*, 20 October 1873, Zhang Yinhan, *Riji*, juan 5 7b, 5 20

138 'Yangcheng Ping'antang ge shanshu changjuan Shanghai laiwang huochuan yuzhu taipingguan xiaoyin' (羊城平安堂各善士倡捐上海來往火船預置太平棺小引) ('A note on the proposal by benevolent persons at Canton to raise funds for coffins to be placed on ships going to Shanghai'), 1877 This is accompanied by a cumulative list of accounts in the Tung Wah's *Zhengxinlu* each year after 1877

139 Zhang Zhidong (張之洞) (1837-1909) was one of the most important officials of the late Qing period In 1884 he became Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi, taking a very strong stand against the French during Sino-French hostilities 1884-86 He was also famous as a modernizer, and advocate of sending students abroad See Li Guoqi (李國祁), *Zhang Zhidong de waijiao zhengze* (張之洞的外交政策) (*Zhang Zhidong's Foreign Policy*) (Taipei 1970), William Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung and Education Reform in China* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971), Daniel H Bays, *China Enters the 20th Century Chang Chih-tung and the Issues of a New Age, 1895-1909* (Ann Arbor, Michigan University of Michigan Press, 1978)

140 See Taiping guan accounts in *Zhengxinlu* 1885

141 Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, Victoria, B C to Tung Wah, 9 September 1887

142 The Great Northern Telegraph Co opened a branch in Hong Kong in 1869 after completing the cable from Shanghai to Hong Kong The Shanghai-Amoy line opened for traffic in 1870 It was linked to Singapore via Saigon in 1871, to Manila in 1880, and to Canton in 1882 See Wright, *Impressions*, p 134

143 Wright, *Impressions*, p 134

144 For the development of English-language newspapers in Hong Kong and the China Coast, see Frank H H King and Prescott Clarke, *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers 1822-1911* (Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1965)

145 DP, 30 May, 5th June 1873, 6 April, 2 May, 25 May 1876, 20 February 1880, 6 March 1882, XH, 6 March 1882, 18, 22 January 1886, *Zhengxinlu* 1877, 55b, *Zhengxinlu* 1885, Part 4 27b, *Zhengxinlu* 1886, Part 4 30a Telegram from 'Chinese Guild or Club' and from the Chinese Consul-General in San Francisco, to the Tung Wah Hospital, 21 February 1886, enclosed in Seymour to Porter, 3 March 1886 #97 United States National Archives, Despatches from U S Consuls in Canton, 1790-1906 (M 101) In fact the matter was complicated by the Exclusion Act which banned Chinese labourers but allowed non-labourers and others who had a special claim for entering the United States, for example, those who had been there before 1882 and their relatives The result was much imper-sonating, leading to abuse, corruption, and suffering

146 The Six Companies (*lu gongxi*) (六公司) were the six most powerful *huiguan* in San Francisco See Gunther Barth, *Butter Strength A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870* (Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1965), Chapter IV, 'Chinese California', S Y Wu, *One Hundred Years of Chinese in the United States and Canada* (美國華僑百年紀實) (bilingual) (Hong Kong 1954), pp 14-16

147 U S Senate, *Chinese Exclusion* (Washington, D C Government Printing Office, 1902), Chang Tsun-wu (張存武), *Zhong Mei Gongyue fengchao* (中美工約風潮) (*The Chinese Boycott of American Goods, Exclusion Movement 1905-1906*) (Taipei 1982) Chapter One gives the background to the Movement Aying, *Fan Mei Huagong jinyue wenxue ji* (*Literature on the Movement against the United States' Exclusion Act*) (Peking 1960), *Zhengxinlu* 1885, Part 4 27b, *Zhengxinlu* 1887, Part 4 30b

148 Zhang Yinhan, *Riji*, *juan* 4 99, 6 67, 8 55, Liu Fuqian (劉福謙), Chinese Consul at Lima to Tung Wah, 21 October 1889 (Po Leung Kuk 'Xinbu' VI) asking it to prevent Chinese from proceeding to Peru

149 Clarence E Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers Chinese Migrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu University of Hawaii Press, 1980), p 12

150 DP, 21 October 1875

151 DP, 14 December 1880

152 DP, 14 December 1880

153 Liu Kunyi, 'Fu Li Zhongtang' (覆李中堂) ('Reply to Li Hongzhang'), 16 June 1879 in *LYJ*, Vol V, p 2459

154 Liu Kunyi, 'Fu Li Zhongtang'

155 Liu Kunyi, (劉坤一) (1830-1902) made a name by fighting the Taipings He served in many provincial governorships before becoming Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi from 1875-79 See Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, Vol I, p 523

156 Liu Kunyi, 'Fu Chen Liqiu' (覆陳荔秋) ('Reply to Chen Lanbin'), 18 October 1881, *LYJ*, Vol V, p 2521 Hawaii introduced the passport system to restrict the number of arrivals from China, see *Zhengxinlu* 1885, Part 4 27b, for

evidence of Tung Wah warning people not to proceed to Hawaii, Steven B Zuckermann, 'Pake in Paradise, A Synthetic Study of Chinese Immigration to Hawaii', *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* 45 (Spring 1978) pp 39-80

157 Hance to Tenterdon, 5 November 1878 enclosed in F O to C O , 30 December 1878 CO 129/183

158 See 'Statement of Hennessy', *HKGG* 1881, pp 421 and 426 Also see *DP*, 28 February 1877, Chinese Deputation to Kennedy Chan was also interpreter of the Commission to investigate the work of the Contagious Diseases Ordinance, and was appreciated as 'an interpreter of the highest value' and for his 'intimate and thorough knowledge of his countrymen and of their modes of thought and feelings', without which the Commission would not have reached them (*BPP XXV*, p 523) See Chapter 3, Note 30

159 'Zhu Riben Li shi laidian' (駐日本黎使來電) ('Telegram from Minister in Japan, Li Shuchang'), 11 May 1882 (*LQJ*, Vol VI, p 1 6b), 'Fu Li shi' (覆黎使) ('Reply to Minister Li'), 13 May 1882 (*LQJ*, Vol VI, 1 7a), Registrar General to acting Colonial Secretary, 17 June 1882, enclosed in Marsh to Kimberley, 20 June 1882, confidential CO 129/201

160 James Russell (1843-93) started as a cadet and became a Police Magistrate in 1870, acting Registrar General in 1874, and Registrar General, 1881 He became acting Chief Justice in 1884 and Chief Justice in 1888 See H J Lethbridge, *Hong Kong Stability and Change* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1978), p 47, n 16

161 Registrar General to acting Colonial Secretary, 17 June 1882

162 Char Tin-yuke, *The Sandalwood Mountains* (Honolulu University Press of Hawaii, 1975), p 320, n 43 Chun Fong was appointed commercial agent and not Consul in 1879 because China had no treaty relation with Hawaii

163 MacDonnell to Granville, 13 May 1869, #701 CO 129/137 The problem of establishing a Chinese Consul in Hong Kong is treated in my paper 'A Chinese Consul for Hong Kong China-Hong Kong relations in the Late Qing Period', presented at the International Conference on the History of the Ming-Ch'ing Periods, 12-15 December 1985, University of Hong Kong, to be published by the University

164 Zhang Yinhuan (1837-1900) became Minister to the United States in 1885, and to Britain, France, Germany, and Russia in 1897 His diary *Sanzhou riji*, written during his ministership, is one of the most valuable sources of information on the history of Overseas Chinese and Chinese emigration as well as Chinese diplomacy See Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, Vol I, pp 60-4

165 Memorial of Chinese Merchants Praying to be allowed to form an Association for suppressing Kidnapping and Traffic in Human Beings, 9 November 1878 in 'Correspondence Chinese Slavery, March, 1882', pp 190-2 For a history of the Po Leung Kuk, see Po Leung Kuk, Board of Directors 1977-1978, *Centenary History of the Po Leung Kuk, Hong Kong 1878-1978* (香港保良局百年史略) (bilingual) (Hong Kong The Board, 1978), for an analytical account, see J H Lethbridge, 'The Evolution of a Chinese Voluntary Association the Po Leung Kuk', *Journal of Oriental Studies* 10 (1972), pp 33-50, reprinted in his *Stability and Change*, pp 71-103

166 Po Leung Kuk, 'Yishibu' (議事簿) ('Minutes of meetings' from 1880-1885) reveals much about the Po Leung Kuk's operations and planning at the early stage, especially the intimate involvement of the Tung Wah Hospital The meetings related to the founding of the Kuk are recorded in *XH*, 14, 16 and 20 August 1880

167 Memorial of Chinese Merchants, 9 November 1878

168 J J Francis, 'Memorandum on the subject of Slavery' See also Smale's

exposition on the sale of human beings in Chief Justice to acting Colonial Secretary, 26 August 1880 and 24 November 1880, enclosed in Hennessy to Kimberley, 28 July 1881, enclosed in 'Correspondence Chinese Slavery, March 1882', pp 258-60, 261-4

169 Merchant's Petition and Statement, 25 October 1879 enclosed in Hennessy to Kimberley, 23 January 1880 in 'Correspondence Chinese Slavery, March 1882', pp 208-213, p 212

170 'Correspondence Chinese Slavery, March 1882', pp 208-213

171 'Correspondence Chinese Slavery, March 1882', p 209

172 Report by the acting Police Magistrate and acting Police Superintendent of Police, 28 June 1880, enclosed in Hennessy to Kimberley, 3 September 1880 in 'Correspondence Chinese Slavery, March 1882', pp 84-5

173 Some cases are enclosed in 'Correspondence Chinese Slavery, March 1882', pp 170-90, 198-9, 200-8

174 Merchants' Petition and Statement, 25 October 1879

175 Chief Justice to acting Colonial Secretary, sub-enclosed in 'Correspondence Chinese Slavery, March 1882', pp 251-2

176 Notes of Suggested Amendment [to the proposed rules of the Society] by the Attorney General, Edward O'Malley, enclosed in Hennessy to Kimberley, 31 August 1881, in 'Correspondence Chinese Slavery, March 1882', pp 282-3

177 Kimberley to Hennessy, 3 November 1881 in 'Correspondence Chinese Slavery, March 1882', p 284 Minutes of a meeting held at the Magistracy, 28 November 1878 in 'Correspondence Chinese Slavery, March 1882', pp 195-6

178 Hennessy to Hicks-Beach, 23 January 1880, #8 CO 129/187, for his belief in the freedom of women, see his reply to Chinese Deputation, *HKGG* 1880, pp 185-92, p 190

179 For the *mutsai* question, see Lethbridge, *Stability and Change*, pp 93-6, *Fan xubi hui* (反蓄婢會) (Anti-Mutsai Society), *Xianggang xubi wenti* (香港蓄婢問題) (The Problem of mutsai) (Hong Kong The Society, 1923), Great Britain Colonial Office, *Hong Kong Papers relative to the Mutsai Question* (London H M S O , 1929), Hugh Lyttleton Hastelwood, *Child Slavery in Hong Kong and the Mutsai System* (London Sheldon Press, 1930), British Commission on Mutsai in Hong Kong and Malaya, *Mutsai in Hong Kong and Malaya*, [London, 1936], I, pp 73-300, Hong Kong, Mutsai Committee, *Mutsai in Hong Kong Report of the Committee* (London H M S O , 1936) Norman Miners, *Hong Kong Under Imperial Rule, 1912-1945* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1987), especially Chapters 8 and 9, Carl Smith, 'The Chinese Church, Labour and Elites and the Mui Tsai Question in the 1920s', *JHKBRAS* 21 (1981), pp 91-113

180 'Civil Establishment', *Blue Book* 1872, pp 64, 66, 76

181 'Civil Establishment', *Blue Book* 1876, pp 67, 88, 90, 109

182 Hennessy to Hicks-Beach, 2 August 1878, confidential CO 129/181

183 C C Smith to Hennessy, enclosed in Hennessy to Hicks-Beach, 24 September 1878, #89 CO 129/182, see also the minute on it

184 'Minute by the acting Colonial Secretary on the Secretary of State's Despatch no 105 of 29th May, 1882, dated 19th July, 1882,' enclosed in Marsh to Kimberley, 20 July 1882, #136 CO 129/202

185 'Minute by the acting Colonial Secretary'

186 Hennessy to Kimberley, 7 March 1882, #56 CO 129/198, Hennessy to Hicks-Beach, 16 November 1878, #116 CO 129/182

187 Hennessy to Hicks-Beach, 16 November 1878, #116

188 Minute on Hennessy to Hicks-Beach, 2 August 1878, confidential CO 129/181

189. Minute on Hennessy to Hicks-Beach, 16 November 1878, #116: CO 129/182.

190. Minute on Hennessy to Hicks-Beach, 16 November 1878, #116. John Bramston was Attorney General at Hong Kong, 1873–76 and became Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1876. See Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol. II, p. 229n; Brian L. Blakeley, *The Colonial Office 1886–1892* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1972), p. 80.

191. Minute on Hennessy to Hicks-Beach, 16 November 1878, #116: CO 129/182.

192. *DP*, 12 July 1873.

193. Irish Distress Fund Committee and Subscription Lists, enclosed in Hennessy to Kimberley, 9 July 1880, #98: CO 129/189. The European contribution was \$12,000 while the Chinese contribution was \$118,000.

194. *CM*, 29 September 1881.

195. *DP*, February 1882.

196. Marsh to Kimberley, 14 April 1882, #21: CO 129/199. This subject will be discussed more fully in Chapter 5.

197. *DP*, 28 February 1882.

198. Wang Tao, 'Chuangjian Donghua Yiyuan xu'.

### Notes to Chapter 5

1. *DP*, 19 May 1873.

2. *DP*, 2 June, 20 October 1873.

3. *CM*, 29 September 1881.

4. *DP*, 5 June 1873

5. *DP*, 21 May, 1 July, 25 July, 1873; 25 July 1875; *CM*, 13 November 1875 and May 1879.

6. *DP*, 23 May, 9 September 1871.

7. *CM*, 13 November 1875.

8. *CM*, 8 November 1875.

9. *CM*, 13 November 1875.

10. *ZW*, 14 October 1871.

11. *ZW*, 13 April 1874.

12. *CM*, 15 November 1875

13. *CM*, 16 November 1875, reports on notices in Chinese newspapers.

14. *CM*, 15 November 1875.

15. *CM*, 15 November 1875.

16. Marsh to Kimberley, 14 April 1882, #21: CO 129/199.

17. Wei will be discussed below; Woo Sing Lim (吳醒廉), *Prominent Chinese in Hong Kong* (香港華人名人史略) (bilingual) (Hong Kong: 1937), p. 4; see also Arnold Wright (ed.), *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong, Shanghai and Other Treaty Ports* (London: Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing, 1908), p. 109.

18. Marsh to Kimberley, 14 April 1882, #21: CO 129/199: See petition from 'the Chinese Mercantile Community of Hong Kong', presented to Hennessy on 19 February 1880, *HKGG* 1880, pp. 185–92.

19. Marsh to Kimberley, 14 April 1882, #21: CO 129/199.

20. William Marsh (1827–1906) served in Mauritius 1848–79 and became Auditor General in 1876; Colonial Secretary and Attorney General of Hong Kong 1879–87. Administered the government of Hong Kong 1882–83, September to October 1883, and 1885–87. He retired in 1887 and was knighted. See G. B.

Endacott, *Government and People in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Hong Kong University Press, 1964), p 97, n 2

21 Marsh to Kimberley, 14 April 1882, #21

22 Osbert Chadwick was the son of Edwin Chadwick, whose Report on sanitation had persuaded the British government to introduce the first Public Health Act in 1848. Osbert was sent out to Hong Kong in 1881 to investigate the sanitary conditions, and his *Report on the Sanitary Condition of Hong Kong with Appendices and Plans* (London H M S O , 1882) is one of the most important sources of information on the colony's housing and social conditions

23 Marsh to Kimberley, 14 April 1882, #21 CO 129/199

24 One of the best indicators of this is the number of letters addressed jointly to the Tung Wah and Po Leung Kuk in the latter's archives. Some were addressed to the Tung Wah, but forwarded to the Po Leung Kuk

25 Minute on Hicks-Beach to Hennessy, 20 February 1879, confidential CO 129/183

26 DP, 12 July 1873

27 HKGG 1876, p 30

28 Hance to Foreign Office, 5 November 1878, #37, enclosed in F O to C O , 30 December 1878 CO 129/183

29 Hicks-Beach to Hennessy, 20 February 1879, confidential CO 129/183

30 Marsh to Kimberley, 20 June 1882, confidential CO 129/201

31 Eitel's Report on Paupers, enclosed in Hennessy to Kimberley, 26 May 1881, #73 CO 129/193

32 Hennessy to Kimberley, 9 April 1881, telegram CO 129/192

33 Minute on Hennessy to Kimberley, 9 April 1881, telegram

34 Kimberley to Marsh, 29 May 1882, #105 CO 129/198

35 Hennessy to Kimberley, 7 March 1882, #56 CO 129/198

36 Kimberley to Marsh, 29 May 1882, #105 CO129/198. He crossed out this phrase in the draft

37 Marsh to Kimberley, 20 June 1882, confidential CO 129/201

38 Registrar General's Report, 5 June 1882, enclosed in Marsh to Kimberley, 20 June 1882, confidential

39 Registrar General's Report, 7 June 1882, enclosed in Marsh to Kimberley, 20 June 1882, confidential

40 Attorney General's minute on Registrar General's report, 5 June 1882

41 Marsh to Kimberley, 20 June 1882, confidential CO 129/201

42 Marsh to Kimberley, 20 June 1882, confidential

43 Kimberley to Marsh, 29 May 1882, #105 CO 129/198, Kimberley to Marsh, 4 September 1882, confidential CO 129/201

44 Marsh to Kimberley, 14 August 1882, #161 CO 129/202

45 Registrar General to acting Colonial Secretary, 2 August 1882, enclosed in Marsh to Kimberley, 14 August 1882, #161

46 Registrar General to acting Colonial Secretary, 2 August 1882

47 Acting Colonial Secretary to Chairman of the Tung Wah Hospital Committee, enclosed in Marsh to Kimberley, 14 August 1882, #161

48 Marsh to Kimberley, 20 July 1882, #136 CO 129/202

49 Minute by the acting Colonial Secretary on Secretary of State's Despatch #105 on 29 May 1882, dated 19 July 1882, enclosed in Marsh to Kimberley, 20 July 1882, #136

50 Fung Ming-shan (Feng Mingshan) (馮明珊) was compradore of A H Hogg & Co , and later Chartered Mercantile Bank. He was educated at St Paul's College. A member of the Tung Wah's Founding Committee, Director in 1872, and Chairman of 1879, he was the chief promoter of the Po Leung Kuk

51 Marsh to Kimberley, 20 July 1882, #136 CO 129/202

- 52 Minute by the acting Colonial Secretary, enclosed in Marsh to Kimberley, 20 July 1882, #136
- 53 Marsh to Kimberley, 17 August 1882, #166 CO 129/202
- 54 Marsh to Kimberley, 28 August 1882, #174 CO 129/202
- 55 Minute on Marsh to Kimberley, 28 August 1882, #174
- 56 Marsh to Bowen, enclosed in Bowen to Derby, 9 April 1883, #17 CO 129/208
- 57 Minute on Bowen to Derby, 11 April 1883, telegram CO 129/208
- 58 Derby to Bowen, 30 April 1883, #75 CO 129/208
- 59 Registrar General's memorandum enclosed in Bowen to Derby, 18 April 1884, #126 CO 129/215
- 60 Bowen to Derby, 18 July 1884, #263 CO 129/217
- 61 Lin Youlan, 'Jindai Zhongwen baoye xianqu — Huang Sheng' (現代中文報業先驅—黃勝) ('Huang Sheng, pioneer in modern Chinese journalism'), *Baoxue* 4 3 (December 1969), pp 108-11, Smith, 'The Emergence of a Chinese Elite', in his *Chinese Christians Elite, Middlemen and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1985), pp 122-3, 134-5
- 62 Bowen to Derby, 28 December 1883, #355 CO 129/213
- 63 *HKGG* 1878, p 599
- 64 Bowen to Derby, 3 December 1883, #324 CO 129/213
- 65 Bowen to Derby, 3 December 1883, #324 There were 20 English, one American, six Germans and other Continental Europeans, two Chinese, three Jews, and two Parsees and Armenians
- 66 For naturalizations, see lists in *HKGG* for respective years
- 67 Marsh to Derby, 22 January 1883, #13 CO 129/207
- 68 Bramston's minute on Bowen to Derby, 4 April 1883, #4 CO 129/208
- 69 Derby to Bowen, 9 March 1883, #57 CO 129/207
- 70 The Contagious Diseases Ordinance was introduced in 1867 to protect British troops, see 'Report of the Commission to enquire into the working of the Contagious Diseases Ordinance', *BPP XXV*
- 71 Registrar General to acting Colonial Secretary, 19 September 1882, enclosed in Marsh to Kimberley, 27 September 1882, #209 CO 129/202
- 72 Marsh to Derby, 21 September 1883, #240 CO 129/211
- 73 Bowen to Derby, 25 August 1884, #298 CO 129/217
- 74 For the 1884 strike-riot, see Fang Hanqi (方漢奇) 'Yiba basì nian Xianggang renmin de fan di douzheng' (一八八四年香港人民的反帝鬥爭) ('The anti-imperialist struggle of the Hong Kong people in 1884'), *Jindaishi ziliao* 近代史資料 (*Sources on Modern China*) 57 6 (December 1957), pp 20-30, Li Mingren (李明仁), 'Yiba basì nian Xianggang bagong yundong' (一八八四年香港罷工運動) ('The strike in Hong Kong, 1884'), *Lishi yanjiu* (歷史研究) (*Historical Studies*) 1958 3 (March 1958), pp 89-90, Lewis M Chere, 'The Hong Kong Riots of October, 1884 Evidence for Chinese Nationalism', *JHKBRAS* 20 (1980), pp 54-65, Elizabeth Sinn, 'The Strike and Riot of 1884 — A Hong Kong Perspective', *JHKBRAS* 22 (1982), pp 65-98, Ts'ai Jung-fang, 'The 1884 Hong Kong Insurrection Anti-Imperialist Popular Protest during the Sino-French War', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 16 1 (January-March 1984), pp 2-14
- 75 A translated version of the proclamation is enclosed in Marsh to Derby, 25 September 1884 #336 CO 129/217, another is in *DP*, October 1884 The original is in Hu Quanzhao (胡傳釗), *Tunmo lufen* (盾墨留芬) (*Notes on the [Sino-French] War*), 2 volumes, 8 juan (Taipei 1973, photographic reprint, original preface dated 1898), juan 2 28b-29b
- 76 *DP*, 19 September 1884
- 77 *CM*, 2 October 1884
- 78 Sinn, 'The Strike and Riot of 1884', pp 77-80

- 79 Minute by Robert Herbert on *Standard* to C O , 16 October 1884 CO 129/218
- 80 Marsh to Derby, 25 September 1884, #336 CO 129/217
- 81 *DP*, 4 October 1884
- 82 Marsh to Derby, 6 October 1884, #340 CO 129/217
- 83 *CM*, 29 September 1 and 2 October 1884, *DP*, 9 October 1884
- 84 *CM*, 5 October 1884
- 85 Marsh to Derby, 6 October 1884, #340 CO 129/217
- 86 Minute by the acting Colonial Secretary of a conference held with certain members of the native community regarding the strike and riot, enclosed in Marsh to Derby, 6 October 1884, #340
- 87 Marsh to Derby, 6 October 1884, #340
- 88 Memorandum by the Colonial Secretary, 5 December 1884, enclosed in Bowen to Derby 5 December 1884, #399 CO 129/218
- 89 T Jackson's speech at Legislative Council, 9 October 1884, reported in *DP*, 10 October 1884
- 90 Zhang Zhidong, 'Zhi Zongshu' (致總署) ('To the Tsungli Yamen'), 9 October 1884, telegram in *ZQJ* *juan* 73 7a-7b
- 91 Sir Thomas Jackson, Bt , was appointed chief manager of the Hong Kong & Shanghai Banking Corporation in 1876, retired in 1902, and served on the London Committee of the Bank until his death in 1915 Knighted in 1899, he became a baronet in 1902 He was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1884 and resigned 1887 See Endacott, *Government and People*, p 101, n 1 See also Frank H H King, *The Hong Kong Bank in Late Imperial China 1864-1902* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1987)
- 92 T Jackson's speech at the Legislative Council, 9 October 1884
- 93 T Jackson's speech at the Legislative Council, 9 October 1884
- 94 P Ryrie's speech at the Legislative Council, 9 October 1884, reported in *DP*, 10 October 1884
- 95 Zhang Zhidong, 'Huichou baohu qaoshang shiyi zhe' (會籌保護僑商事宜摺) ('Joint memorial for the protection of Chinese traders overseas'), 30 March 1886, in *ZQJ*, *juan* 15 7b-14a
- 96 Hu, *Tunmo lufen*, (Notes on the [Sino-French] war), *juan* 2 16b
- 97 See Chapter 3, Note 36
- 98 Marsh to Parkes, 4 October 1884, enclosed in F O to C O , 2 February 1885 CO 129/224, *DP*, 4 October 1884
- 99 Zhang Zhidong, 'Zhi Zongshu' (致總署) ('To Tsungli Yamen'), 9 October 1884, *ZQJ* pp 7a-7b The term 'shu ke ji zhi' (適可即止) is more commonly expressed as 'shu ke er zhi' (適可而止)
- 100 Zhang Zhidong, 'Zhi Zongshu', 9 October 1884
- 101 *CM*, 14 October 1884
- 102 Marsh to O'Connor, 20 January 1886, #13/G enclosed in Marsh to Stanley, 25 January 1886, confidential CO 129/225
- 103 *Weixin ribao* (維新日報), 31 December 1885, the clipping is enclosed in Marsh to O'Connor, 20 January 1886, FO 228/842, and a translated version is in CO 129/225
- 104 Zhang Zhidong, 'Huichou baohu qaoshang shiyi zhe', Michael Godley, *The Mandarin-Capitalists from Nanyang Overseas Chinese Enterprise in the Modernization of China 1893-1911* (Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1981), p 72
- 105 The Chinese telegram from the 'Chinese Guild or Club' and from the Chinese Consul-General in San Francisco to the Tung Wah Hospital Committee, 21 February 1886, enclosed in Seymour to Porter, 3 March 1886, #97, United



States, National Archives, Despatches from U S Consuls in Canton 1790–1906 (M101)

106 Seymour to Porter, 3 March 1886, #97

107 Zhang Zhidong, 'Lichen Huaqiao bi hai Yueheng banli qingxing bing chuci cheng ban zhe' (歷陳華僑被害粵省辦理情形並勸催懲辦摺) ('Memorial reporting on the victimization of Overseas Chinese and Canton conditions, and urging immediate action'), 19 May 1886, *ZQJ*, *juan* 16 18a–25a

108 Lin Xiaosheng (林孝勝), 'Qingchao zhu Xing lingshu yu Haixia zhimindi zhengfu de jufen (1877–1894)' (清朝駐星領事與海峽殖民地政府的糾紛) ('The controversy between the Chinese Consul at Singapore and the Straits Settlements Government') in Ke Mulin (柯木林) and others, *Xingjiaopo Huazu shu lunji* (星加坡華族史論集) (*Collection of Essays on the History of the Chinese People in Singapore*) (Singapore 1972), pp 13–47

109 Hicks-Beach to Hennessy, 20 February 1879, confidential CO 129/183

110 Kimberley to Marsh, 4 September 1882, confidential CO 129/201

111 Report by the acting Registrar General enclosed in Marsh to Stanley, 25th January, 1886, confidential CO 129/225, *XH*, 6 June, 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12, 13, July 1885

112 Zhang Yinluan, *Riji*, *juan* 4 33a

113 Zhang Zhidong, undated letter to Jiang daren (蔣大人) in *Zhang Wenxiang shuhan mobao* (張文襄書翰墨寶) (*Calligraphy of Zhang Zhidong*) (Shanghai 1924), pp 1–6

114 Report by the acting Registrar General enclosed in Marsh to O'Conor, 20 January 1886

115 'Petition from Kwan Hoi-chun', Chairman of the Tung Wah Hospital, enclosed in Marsh to Granville, 24 March 1886, #91 CO 129/225

116 This idea is suggested by Michael Godley and though there is no evidence, it is highly plausible See his *The Mandarin-Capitalists from Nanyang*, p 72

117 'Petition from Mr Kwan Hoi-chun'

118 Report by the acting Registrar General enclosed in Marsh to O'Conor, 20 January 1886, Provincial Treasurer's original dispatch, dated 8 December is in FO 228/842 See Appendix VI

119 Marsh to O'Conor, 20 January 1886, enclosed in Marsh to Stanley, 25 January 1886, confidential CO 129/225

120 Report by the acting Registrar General, enclosed in Marsh to Stanley, 25 January 1886, *XH*, 2 January 1886

121 Report by the acting Registrar General

122 Report by the acting Registrar General Ho Amer's note to Kwan informing him of the arrival of the tablet is enclosed in Marsh to O'Conor, 20 January 1886 FO 228/842 The dispatch accompanying the tablet scroll was addressed to the Tung Wah Hospital Committee but was apparently sent in care of Ho This is also enclosed in Marsh to O'Conor, 20 January 1886

123 Report by the acting Registrar General, sub-enclosed in Marsh to Stanley, 25 January 1886, confidential CO 129/225

124 Report by the acting Registrar General

125 Marsh to O'Conor, 20 March 1886, #47/G, enclosed in Marsh to Granville, 24 March 1886, #91 CO 129/225

126 Report by the Registrar General, sub-enclosed in Marsh to Stanley, 25 January 1886, confidential CO 129/225

127 Ho Amer's article in *Huazi ribao*, sub-enclosed in Marsh to O'Conor, 20 January 1886 FO 228/842

128 Ho Amer's article in *Huazi ribao*

129 This is the 'shen wei pu you' plaque, see Chapter 4

- 130 Marsh to O'Connor, 20 January 1886, #13/G, enclosed in Marsh to Stanley, 25 January 1886, confidential CO 129/225, the original documents are enclosed in Marsh to O'Connor, 20 January 1886 FO 228/842
- 131 Minute on Marsh to Stanley, 25 January 1886, confidential CO 129/225
- 132 Minute on Marsh to Granville, 24 March 1886, #91 CO 129/225
- 133 'Petition from Mr Kwan Hoi-chun'
- 134 The *shan hou ju* (善後局) (Board of Reorganization) was a committee established after rebellions, warfare, or physical calamities to pacify or to restore order. It comprised of the Governor-General, the Governor, Treasurer, the Judicial Commission, the Salt Controller, and Grain Intendant
- 135 'Petition from Mr Kwan Hoi-chun'
- 136 'Petition from Mr Kwan Hoi-chun'
- 137 Marsh to O'Connor, 20 March 1886, #47/G enclosed in Marsh to Granville, 24 March 1886, #91 CO 129/225
- 138 Board of Reorganization to the Tung Wah Directors, 5 February 1886, authenticated copy enclosed in Marsh to O'Connor, 20 March 1886, #47/G FO 228/842 See Appendix VII
- 139 Board of Reorganization to the Tung Wah Directors, 5 February 1886
- 140 Marsh to Granville, 24 March 1886, #91 CO 129/225
- 141 Marsh to Granville, 24 March 1886
- 142 Zhang Yinhan, *Riji*, *juan* 4 33a
- 143 Zhang Yinhan, *Riji*, *juan* 4 33a
- 144 O'Connor to Ministers of the Tsungli Yamen, 5 April 1886, enclosed in F O to C O, 3 June 1886 CO 129/230
- 145 Minute on Marsh to Granville, 1 May 1886, #138 CO 129/226
- 146 Marsh to Stanley, 25 January 1886, confidential CO 129/225
- 147 F O to C O, 26 April 1886 CO 129/230, F O to O'Connor, 8 November 1886, #294 FO 228/822
- 148 Tsungli Yamen to O'Connor, 8 April 1886, enclosed in O'Connor to Marsh, 8 April 1886, enclosed in Marsh to Granville, 1 May 1886, #138 CO 129/226
- 149 Marsh to Granville, 1 May 1886, #138
- 150 Minute on Marsh to Granville, 1 May 1886, #138
- 151 F O to C O, 26 October 1886 CO 129/230
- 152 Preface to *Zhengxinlu* 1886
- 153 Zhang Zhidong, '*Qing cushe Xianggang lingshu zhe*' (請催設香港領事摺) ('Memorial urging the establishment of a Consul at Hong Kong') of 20 March 1886, in *ZQJ*, *juan* 15 14a-15b Compare '*Yuedong Zhang Zhidong zouqing cushe Xianggang lingshu yi qi annei yuwai zhe*' (粵東張之何奏請催設香港領事以期安內馭外摺) ('Zhang Zhidong's memorial urging the establishment of a Consul at Hong Kong in order to bring internal and external order'), submitted to the Tsungli Yamen on 26 April 1886, in *Qingji waijiao shuliao* (清季外交史料) (*Historical Materials Relating to Late Qing Diplomacy*), 164 *juan* (Peking 1935), *juan* 69 9b-12a
- 154 Ho Kar's 'Memorandum on the Hong Kong Chinese Chamber of Commerce', 30 May 1888, enclosed in Stewart to Knutsford, 11 December 1888, #360 CO 129/239
- 155 Stewart to Knutsford, 11 December 1888, #360
- 156 Ho Kar's 'Memorandum on the Hong Kong Chinese Chamber of Commerce'
- 157 Ho Kar's 'Memorandum on the Hong Kong Chinese Chamber of Commerce'
- 158 Ho Kar's 'Memorandum on the Hong Kong Chinese Chamber of Commerce'

159 Rule no 4, in Rules and Regulations, sub-enclosed in Stewart to Knutsford, 11 December 1888, #360

160 Lockhart to Stewart, 5 June 1888, enclosed in Stewart to Knutsford, 11 December 1888, #360

161 Lockhart to Stewart, 5 June 1888

162 Stewart to Knutsford, 11 December 1888, #360 CO 129/239

163 See Sinn, 'A Chinese Consul for Hong Kong China-Hong Kong Relations in the Late Qing Period'

164 Bowen to Derby, 28 December 1883, #355 CO 129/213

165 Dr Ho Kai's Protest against the Public Health Bill, submitted to the government by the Sanitary Board, and the Board's Rejoinder thereto, *HKSP* 30/1887, pp 403-12

166 Dr Ho kai's Protest Ho wrote in English, but his friend Hu Liyuan (see Note 177) translated many of his works into Chinese to give them wider circulation Several of the most important of Ho's reformist writings are translated and compiled into *Xinzheng zhenchuan* (新政真詮) (*The True Meaning of the New Politics*) in *Hu Yunnan xiansheng quanji* (胡翼南先生全集) (*The Collected Works of Hu Liyuan*) 60 juan (Hong Kong 1920) One of Ho's first works is a review of Zeng Jize's 'China the Sleep and the Awakening', which first appeared in the *China Mail* in 1887 and is appended in Chiu Ling Yeong, 'Sir Kai Ho Kai', pp 314-38 To Ho, the real weakness of China lay in her loose morality and evil habits, both social and political, but his concepts of reform were inspired by Britain

167 Bowen to Derby, 22 January 1883, #13, CO 129/207

168 'Registrar General's Report, 1891', p 365

169 'Registrar General's Report, 1892', pp 442-3

170 Ho Fuk (He Fu) was the brother of Ho Tung (see Chapter 7) He was educated at the Central School in Hong Kong and worked as interpreter for the government before succeeding Ho Tung as compradore of Jardine's in 1900

171 Thomas Henderson Whitehead of Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China, was unofficial Legislative Councillor, 1890-1902

172 See Hong Kong, *Report of the Po Leung Kuk*

173 Hong Kong, *Report of the Po Leung Kuk*, pp V-X

174 Ng Lun Ngai-ha, *Interactions of East and West Development of Public Education in Early Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Chinese University Press, 1984), pp 165-6, See also her 'The Role of Hong Kong Educated Chinese in the Shaping of Modern China', *MAS* 17 (1983), pp 137-63 For the Central School/Queen's College, see Gwenneth Stokes, *Queen's College* (Hong Kong Queen's College, 1987, 1st published 1962) and Yan Woon Yin, 'Hong Kong and the Modernization of China (1862-1911) The Contributions of Central School Graduates' (B A thesis, University of Hong Kong, 1980)

175 For Wang Tao, see his 'Xianggang luelun' (香港略論) ('Brief discussion on Hong Kong'), *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, pp 177-81, for Guo Songdao, see *Riji*, III, pp 108-9, for Kang Youwei, see Kang Tongbi (康同璧) (ed), *Nanhai Kang xiansheng zibian nianpu* (南海康先生自編年譜) (*Chronological Autobiography of Kang Youwei*) (Peking 1958), p 5a, for Sun Yat-sen, see Ng Lun Ngai-ha, 'The Hong Kong Origins of Dr Sun Yat-sen's Address to Li Hung-chang', *JHKBRAS* 21 (1981), pp 168-78

176 (See Note 166) Satisfaction with the British political system and the opportunities offered by Hong Kong's are manifest throughout Ho Kai and Hu Liyuan's writings, and particularly in 'Xinzheng lunyi' (新政論議) ('Discourse on new politics') (1895) and 'Kang shuo shu hou' (康說書後) ('Review of Kang

Youwer's speech'), (*Hu Yinan xiansheng quanji*, *juan* 4–6, 13–14, see especially *juan* 13 16a–19a)

177 Hu Liyuan (胡禮垣) (1847–1916) was a student of the Central School and later taught Chinese there. After working at the *Xunhuan ribao* as translator, he entered business, but retained academic interests, translating many of Ho Kai's works into English. See Ts'ai, 'Comprador Ideologists'

178 This theme is developed throughout Joseph Levenson, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970, first published 1953)

179 Wang Xingrui (王興瑞), 'Qingchao Furen Wenshe yu geming yundong de guanxi' (清朝輔仁文社與革命運動的關係) ('The Furen literary society and the revolutionary movement in the Qing period'), *Shixue zaji* (史學雜誌) (*Historical Journal*), (*Chungking*) 1 1 (December 1945), *The Chinese Republic — the Secret History of the Chinese Revolution* (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post, 1924) by Tse Tsan Tai, one of its founders, gives some interesting insights into the thinking of the members, for Tse, see Chapter 6

180 See reports of the Registrar General after 1891, in both the *HKGG* and *HKSP*. In 1892, for instance, there were 37 petitions related to the disappearance of wives, 13 to the disappearance of children and young girls, 33 to domestic disputes, and 15 to business disputes (*HKGG* 1893, p. 465)

181 H. J. Lethbridge, 'Sir James Haldane Stewart Lockhart' in his *Hong Kong Stability and Change, A Collection of Essays* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 133–4

182 Ch'u T'ung-tsu, *Local Government in China under the Ch'ing* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962)

### Notes to Chapter 6

1 Robinson to Ripon, 17 May 1894, #115 CO 129/263, a report by Dr Alex Rennie of Canton on the epidemic is given in *Hong Kong Telegraph* (hereafter *HKT*), 10 May 1894. For the Plague in Hong Kong, see *Blue Books 1894–1904, Regarding the Bubonic Plague in Hong Kong*, collection bound together for the Government Secretariat's Library, 'Colonial Surgeon's Report, 1894', *HKSP* 1895, pp. 473–520, Wilfred William Pearce, *Plague in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Government Printers, 1905), Charles J. H. Halcombe, *The Mystic Flowery Land* (London 1896), Chapter XXVIII, 'The Great Plague of Hong Kong', James Dalziel, *Chronicles of a Crown Colony* (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post, 1907), pp. 1–15, 'The Case of John Dyer Hero,' is a touching fictional account of the plague, E. G. Pryor, 'The Great Plague of Hong Kong', *JHKBRAS* 15 (1975), pp. 61–70, William McNeil, *Plagues and Peoples* (Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1976)

2 James A. Lowson, 'The Epidemic of Bubonic Plague in Hong Kong, 1894' (hereafter Lowson's Plague Report, 1894) enclosed in *HKSP* 16, 1895, pp. 178–236, p. 179

3 Lowson's Plague Report, 1894, p. 178

4 'Report of the Colonial Surgeon on his Inspection of the Town of Victoria and on the Pig Licensing System, Hong Kong, April, 1874, in 'Correspondence relating to the Working of the Contagious Diseases Ordinance of the Colony of Hong Kong' [C -3093] LXV, 1881, *BPP* XXV, pp. 573–639, pp. 621–624, G. B. Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 183–5

5 The Chadwick Report, see Chapter 5, Note 22

- 6 James William Norton-Kyshe, *The History of the Laws and Courts of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, Vetch & Lee, 1971), Vol I, pp 408-10
- 7 Dr Ho Kai's Protest against the Public Health Bill, *HKSP* 30, 1887, pp 403-12
- 8 Endacott, *History*, pp 200-1
- 9 *HKT*, 10 May 1894
- 10 Lau Wai Chuen (劉渭川) was a Director of the Tung Wah Hospital in 1884, Chairman of the Po Leung Kuk in 1887, and appointed to the District Watch Committee in 1892. He was compradore of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank from 1892, but had his own Australia and California trade. He went bankrupt in 1907.
- 11 *HKT*, 10 May 1894
- 12 James Alfred Lawson, M B C M, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, arrived in 1889 to become the Assistant Surgeon in the government.
- 13 Lawson's Report, 16 May 1894, enclosed in Robinson to Ripon, 17 May 1894, #115 CO 129/263
- 14 Lawson's Report, 16 May 1894
- 15 Ayres and Lawson to Lockhart, Secretary of the Sanitary Board, enclosed in Lawson's Report, 16 May 1894
- 16 *HKT*, 10 May 1894
- 17 Lawson's Report, 16 May 1894
- 18 J J Francis was admitted as an attorney in the Hong Kong court in 1869, after being articulated to Mr William Gaskell. In 1886 he was appointed Q C for Hong Kong and was elected to the Sanitary Board in 1888, when elections were first held. See Norton-Kyshe, *Laws and Courts*, Vol II, G B Endacott, *Government and People in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press), pp 152-3. For Francis, see Walter Greenwood, 'John Joseph Francis, Citizen of Hong Kong: A Biographical Note', *JHKBRAS* 26 (1986), pp 17-45.
- 19 Lawson's Report, 16 May 1894
- 20 C Fraser Brockington, *A Short History of Public Health* (London: J & A Churchill Ltd, 1966), p 38
- 21 *CM*, 11 May 1894
- 22 *HKT*, 12 May 1894
- 23 *CM*, 13 June 1894
- 24 Lawson's Plague Report, 1894, p 203
- 25 *HKT*, 12 May 1894
- 26 Report on interview with Lawson, *HKT*, 22 May 1894
- 27 Letter of 'Heathen Chinese' in *HKT*, 12 May 1894
- 28 *HKT*, 12 May 1894
- 29 *DP*, 21 May 1894
- 30 *DP*, 15 May 1894
- 31 Letter of 'Heathen Chinese', *HKT*, 23 May 1894
- 32 Interview with Lawson, *HKT*, 22 May 1894
- 33 Robinson to Ripon, 23 May 1894, #122 CO 129/263, Consul Brenan to O'Connor, 11 June 1894, enclosed in O'Connor to Kimberley, 22 June 1894, in FO 17/1227 China Riots, confidential 40, section 1 (hereafter 'China Riots'), p 2
- 34 Lawson's Evidence, *TWR*, pp 38-48, p 42
- 35 *CM*, 14 May 1894
- 36 Jean Cantlie Stewart, *The Quality of Mercy: The Lives of Sir James and Lady Canthe* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983), p 67
- 37 *HKT*, 18 May 1894
- 38 *DP*, 21 May 1894
- 39 Jeanne L. Brand, *Doctors and the State: The British Medical Profession*

and *Government Action in Public Health, 1870-1912* (Baltimore Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), p 7

40 Letter from 'A Chinaman' to DP, 13 June 1894, Robinson to Ripon, 20 June 1894, #21, HKSP 1894, pp 283-292, p 284

41 Compare India, 1897, when plague broke out in Poona The Plague Committee President, on whose instructions and authority the sanitary operations were carried out, was murdered See R C Majumdar and others, *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance* (Bombay 1963-65), pp 591-2 I am grateful to Mrs Coonoor Kripalani-Thadani for this information HKT, 28 June 1894, compares the situation to Glasgow where owners of houses declared uninhabitable had a chance to challenge orders to close them whereas in Hong Kong there was no recourse

42 DP, 19 May 1894

43 Francis Henry May (1860-1922), cadet officer in Hong Kong in 1881 and Colonial Secretary 1902-10, he was Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner of Western Pacific 1910, and Governor of Hong Kong 1912-19 See Endacott, *Government and People*, p 137

44 *Hong Kong Weekly Press* (hereafter HKWP), 24 May 1894, p 403, enclosed in Robinson to Ripon, 23 May 1894, #122 CO 129/263

45 HKWP, 24 May 1894, p 403

46 HKWP, 24 May 1894, p 403

47 DP, 22 May 1894

48 K C Wong and Wu Lien-teh, *History of Chinese Medicine* (Tientsin The Tientsin Press, 1932), p 357

49 DP, 22 May 1894

50 William Robinson (1836-1912) joined the Colonial Office as a clerk in 1854 In 1874 he became Lieutenant-Governor of the Bahamas and Governor in 1875, he was Governor of the Windward Islands from 1880, of Trinidad from 1885, and of Hong Kong 1891-98 See Endacott, *Government and People*, p 109, n 21

51 HKWP, 24 May 1894, pp 404-5

52 HKWP, 24 May 1894, p 404

53 HKWP, 24 May 1894, p 404

54 Robinson to Ripon, 20 June 1894, #21, HKSP 1894, p 284

55 Robinson to Ripon, 20 June 1894, #21, p 284

56 Robinson to Ripon, 20 June 1894, #21, p 284

57 Robinson to Ripon, 20 June 1894, #21, p 284

58 Tse Tsan Tai (Xie Zuantai) (謝纘泰) (1872-1938) began his career as a government clerk and later became a compradore, first of the Boyd Kaye & Co, exports and imports merchants, then of the Shewan Tomes & Co, and, in 1902, the South China Morning Post His other activities were far more interesting A social reformer and revolutionary, he was also the inventor of what he claimed to be the first airship, an art appreciator, and artist He wrote prolifically on many subjects See his *The Chinese Republic - the Secret History of the Chinese Revolution* (Hong Kong South China Morning Post, 1924), W Feldwick, *Present Day Impressions of the Far East* (London 1917), pp 583-5, Huang Jiaren (黃嘉仁), 'Cai Xianggang gao gemung de Xie Zuantai' (在香港搞革命的謝纘泰), ('Revolutionary in Hong Kong, Tse Tsai Tai'), *Da Hua* 1 3 (1970), pp 13-15, Vincent H G Jarrett, 'Old Hong Kong', Vol I, p 23, SCMP, 5, 6 April 1938

59 In 1890 he advocated the abolition of the evil practice of *fengshui* in the Chinese Empire in order to prepare the way for building railways and mines He opposed opium smoking (see his letter to DP, 18 May 1894, signed 'A Chinaman') In 1898 he took a leading part in the formation of the Anti-Opium Society of South China, he also advocated forming a society for the suppression

of footbinding in China (See chronology presumably compiled by himself, located among the Lockhart Papers at University of Edinburgh ) He had compiled various such autobiographical works and was obviously a self-advertiser

60 Tse's letter to *DP*, 30 May 1894 He was reprimanded by the Colonial Secretary for 'dabbling in politics' for this See Tse, *The Chinese Republic*, p 8

61 Tse's letter to *DP*, 30 May 1894

62 'A Chinaman's' letter to *HKT*, 23 May 1894, see also letter from 'Heathen Chinese', *HKT*, 23 May 1894

63 'A Chinaman's' letter, *HKT*, 23 May 1894, compare Chinese defence of the Hospital Committee in Chapter 5

64 *CM*, 23 May 1894

65 *HKT*, 23 May 1894

66 *HKT*, 23 May 1894

67 Robnson to Ripon, 20 June 1894, #21, *HKSP* 1894, p 285

68 Robnson to Ripon, 20 June 1894, #21, Brenan to O'Connor, 11 June 1894 'China Riots', p 2, *DP*, 25 May 1894

69 See Note 33

70 *HKT*, 24 May 1894

71 Robnson to Ripon, 20 June 1894, #21, p 284

72 Robnson to Brenan, 24 May 1894, telegram, and Robnson to Brenan, 24 May 1894, #95, enclosed in Robnson to Ripon, 29 May 1894, #128 CO 129/263

73 Li Hanzhang (李翰章), brother of Li Hongzhang Before becoming Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi (1889–95) he had served as Governor of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Sichuan See Cai Guanlo (ed ), *Qundai qibai mungren zhuan (Biographies of 700 Prominent Qing Personalities)* (Hong Kong 1963), Vol I, pp 402–5

74 Brenan to O'Connor, 11 June 1894 'China Riots', p 2

75 Brenan to O'Connor, 11 June 1894

76 Brenan to O'Connor, 11 June 1894, confidential 'China Riots', p 7

77 Li Hanzhang to Tsungh Yamen, 18 June 1894, enclosed in O'Connor to Kimberley, 22 June 1894 'China Riots', pp 1–2 In the letter, the Tung Wah Directors were referred to as 'Directors of the Benevolent Society at Hong Kong'

78 Proclamation by Nanhai and Panyu magistrates, dated [?] May 1894, enclosed in O'Connor to Kimberley, 22 June 1894 'China Riots', p 3

79 Brenan to O'Connor, 11 June 1894, confidential 'China Riots', p 7

80 Brenan to O'Connor, 11 June 1894, confidential

81 Lockhart to Brenan, 4 June 1894, enclosed in O'Connor to Kimberley, 22 June 1894 'China Riots' pp 4–5

82 O'Connor to Kimberley, 22 June 1894

83 O'Connor to Kimberley, 22 June 1894, p 5

84 Lowson's Plague Report, 1894, p 204

85 *CM*, 28 May 1894

86 Ho Amei to Sanitary Board, 2 June 1894, enclosed in his letter to *HKT*, 7 June 1894

87 Ho's letter to Sanitary Board, 2 June 1894

88 Ho's letter to Sanitary Board, 2 June 1894

89 Robnson to Ripon, 20 June 1894, #21, *HKSP* 1894, p 286

90 Robnson to Ripon, 20 June 1894, #21, p 288

91 G R Sayer, *Hong Kong 1862–1919* (Hong Kong Hong Kong University Press, 1975), p 73 The population in 1894 was 240,000 Robnson reported that 80,000 had left while Sayer claimed that there might have been as many as 100,000 See Robnson to Ripon, 20 June 1894, p 288

92 *DP*, 2 July 1894

93 *CM*, 9 June 1894

- 94 *CM*, 11 June 1894  
 95 *HKT*, 13 June 1894  
 96 *DP*, 13 June 1894, *CM*, 13 June 1894  
 97 *HKT*, 13 June 1894  
 98 Robinson to Ripon, 20 June 1894, #21, p 286  
 99 Government notification #208, 1894, enclosed in 'Correspondence relative to the Outbreak of Bubonic Plague at Hong Kong' [C -7461] *BPP* XXVI, pp 383-405, pp 404-5  
 100 Robinson to Ripon, 20 June 1894, #21, p 288  
 101 Report on riot in Honam, *CM*, 12 June 1894, *DP*, 14 June 1894  
 102 *DP*, 14 June 1894  
 103 Li Hanzhang to Tsungli Yamen, 18 June 1894 'China Riots', pp 1-2  
 104 Tsungli Yamen to O'Connor, 19 June 1894, enclosed in O'Connor to Robinson, no date, enclosed in O'Connor to Kimberley, 11 July 1894, #182, enclosed in F O to C O , 11 September 1894 CO 129/265  
 105 O'Connor to Robinson, 20 June 1894, telegram, enclosed in Robinson to Ripon, 21 June 1894, #152 CO 129/263  
 106 Robinson to Ripon, 21 June 1894, #152  
 107 Robinson to Ripon, 21 June 1894, #152  
 108 Proclamation enclosed in Robinson to Ripon, 21 June 1894, #152  
 109 Lawson's Plague Report, 1894, pp 203-6  
 110 *HKT*, 26 June 1894, *DP*, 27 June 1894  
 111 Robinson to Ripon, 11 July 1894, #168 CO 129/263  
 112 Minute by G W Johnson on F O to C O , 20 September 1894 CO 129/265  
 113 *HKT*, 30 June 1894  
 114 *DP*, 2 July 1894  
 115 *DP*, 2 July 1894  
 116 *DP*, 2 July 1894  
 117 *DP*, 2 July 1894  
 118 *CM*, 2 July 1894  
 119 *DP*, 3 July 1894  
 120 *CM*, 3 July 1894, the 'Battle' was reported in *CM*, 5 July 1894, the English papers took sides *DP*, 7 July 1894, *CM*, 7 July 1894, and *HKT*, 7 July 1894  
 121 *DP*, July 1894  
 122 *DP*, 5 July 1894  
 123 *HKT*, 10 July 1894  
 124 *HKT*, 12 July 1894  
 125 *CM*, 17 July 1894  
 126 *HKT*, 12 July 1894  
 127 Robinson to Ripon, 4 September 1894, #203 CO 129/264, *DP*, 4 September 1894  
 128 Robinson to Ripon, telegram, received 29 August 1894 in 'Further Correspondence relative to the Bubonic Plague at Hong Kong', [C -7545] 1894, *BPP* XXVI, pp 407-426, p 407 For an analysis of the death statistics in relation to race and age, see G H Choa, *The Life and Times of Sir Kai Ho Kai* (Hong Kong Chinese University Press, 1981), pp 201-2  
 129 Sayer, *Hong Kong*, p 75  
 130 *HKT*, 22 May 1894  
 131 Robinson's speech at the Legislative Council, 11 June 1894, in *Hong Kong Hansard*, 1893-94, p 47  
 132 Quoted by Brenan in Brenan to O'Connor, 28 June 1894, enclosed in O'Connor to Kimberley, 11 July 1894, enclosed in F O to C O , 11 September 1894 CO 129/265



- 133 Choa, *Sir Kai Ho Kai*, p 201
- 134 *DP*, 25 May 1894
- 135 *HKT*, 11 June, 1894
- 136 *HKT*, 24 May 1894
- 137 *DP*, 18 June 1894
- 138 *HKT*, 21 June 1894
- 139 Robinson to Ripon, 4 September 1894, #203 CO 129/264 Ironically, Francis refused to accept his reward — an inkstand — considering it too slight See Greenwood, 'J J Francis', pp 38-42

### *Notes to Chapter 7*

- 1 Jeanne L Brand, *Doctors and the State The British Medical Profession and Government Action in Public Health, 1870-1912* (Baltimore Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), p 15
- 2 Brand, *Doctors and the State*, p 2
- 3 *DP*, 11 May 1894, Lowson's Report, 16 May 1894
- 4 U I-kai (Hu Erjie) (胡爾楷) (1865-1898) was for many years senior native apothecary at the Government Civil Hospital While doing his work there he attended lectures at the Hong Kong College of Medicine, and passed in 1893 as a native doctor He was the father of Drs Arthur and Kitty Woo, two prominent Hong Kong residents (*TWR*, p 55, 'Colonial Surgeon's Report for 1894', *HKSP* 1895, pp 473-530, p 477, Timothy David Woo, *To Spread the Glory* (Honolulu Transcultural Press of the East and West, 1977), p 16 )
- 5 The evidence of Lo Chi-t'in (盧芝田), *TWR*, pp 48-9, p 48 In 1893 the Colonial Surgeon had proposed a scheme to secure more reliable returns of the 'real causes' of death — in other words, to use Western pathological standards, but it appears not to have been carried out For the problem of death registration, see 'Registrar General's Report, 1891', *HKGG* 1892, p 362 See 'Report on the subject of securing more reliable returns of the real causes of death and furnishing medical aid to the poorer classes of the colony', 'Registrar General's Report, 1892', *HKGG* 1893, Table IX
- 6 Lowson's Report on the Plague, 17 May 1894, reproduced in *TWR*, pp 40-3, p 40 Lowson included this report in his 1895 Report on Bubonic Plague, but this and other sections on the Tung Wah Hospital were omitted before the report was published and forwarded to London This section was reproduced for the Tung Wah Commission
- 7 Lowson's Plague Report, 1894, p 204
- 8 Li Hanzhang to Tsungli Yamen, 18 June, 1894, enclosed in O'Conor to Kimberley, 22 June 1894 'China Riots', pp 1-2
- 9 Lowson's Plague Report, 1894, p 204, *DP*, 15 June 1894
- 10 Lowson's Plague Report, 1894, p 204
- 11 Lowson's Plague Report, 1894, p 204, p 212
- 12 Lowson's Report on the Plague, *TWR*, p 41
- 13 Lowson's Report on the Plague, *TWR*, p 41
- 14 *HKT*, 7 June 1894
- 15 Lowson to Ayres, 1 May 1895, covering letter to his Plague Report, 1894, *HKSP*, p 177
- 16 Lowson to Ayres, 1 May 1895
- 17 Lowson's Report on the Plague, *TWR*, p 42
- 18 Lowson to Ayres, 1 May 1895
- 19 Lowson's evidence, *TWR*, p 48
- 20 Ripon to Robinson, 31 May 1895 CO 129/267

- 21 Hugh McCallum's evidence, *TWR*, p 22
- 22 Report of the Secretary of the Sanitary Board, 8 April 1895, Appendix VI, *TWR*, pp LIX-LX
- 23 Report of the Secretary of the Sanitary Board, 8 April 1895
- 24 Lowson to Lockhart, 8 August 1895, *TWR*, p LIII, Atkinson's evidence, *TWR*, pp 8-18, p 14
- 25 John Mitford Atkinson (1856-1917) became Superintendent of the Government Civil Hospital, Hong Kong in 1887 and acting Colonial Surgeon in 1895. In 1897 he became Colonial Surgeon and President of the Sanitary Board. See Arnold Wright (ed.), *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong, Shanghai and Other Treaty Ports* (London: Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co., 1908), p 107, *Hong Kong Hansard*, 1917B, p 45
- 26 *TWR*, p 17
- 27 *TWR*, p 17
- 28 *TWR*, p 15
- 29 *TWR*, p 13
- 30 *TWR*, p 13
- 31 *TWR*, p 14
- 32 *TWR*, p 9
- 33 *TWR*, p 9
- 34 *TWR*, p 9
- 35 Ku Fai-shan's evidence, *TWR*, pp 25-30, p 30
- 36 Deacon to Colonial Surgeon, 6 November 1895, *TWR*, p LII
- 37 Wei Yuk's evidence, *TWR*, pp 32-5, p 35, Dr Thomson's evidence, *TWR*, pp 55-9, p 56
- 38 *TWR*, p 11
- 39 *TWR*, p 10
- 40 *TWR*, p 12
- 41 *TWR*, p 12
- 42 *TWR*, p 33
- 43 *TWR*, p 33
- 44 *TWR*, p 29
- 45 *TWR*, p 65
- 46 *TWR*, p 49
- 47 *Huazi ribao*, 17, 18 January 1896, *DP*, 20, 28, 29 January 1896. A brief history of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce is given in Lu Yan (魯言) 'Xianggang Huaren shetuan de fazhan shu — san yi qi mung de Xianggang Zhonghua zong shang hui' (香港華人社團發展史 — 三易其名的香港中華總商會) ('The history of the development of Chinese social organization in Hong Kong — the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce which changed its name three times'), *Xianggang Zhangu*, Vol V (September 1982), pp 35-58, Elizabeth Sinn, 'A Preliminary History of Regional Associations in Pre-War Hong Kong', conference paper presented at the Centre of Asian Studies, December, 1986, to be published by the Centre
- 48 *DP*, 24 December 1895
- 49 *DP*, 24 December 1895, *Huazi ribao*, 24, 25 December 1895
- 50 *Huazi ribao*, 24, 25 December 1895
- 51 *Huazi ribao*, 24 December 1895
- 52 *Huazi ribao*, 24 December 1895
- 53 *Huazi ribao*, 25 December 1895, *DP*, 24 December 1895
- 54 James William Norton-Kyshe, *The History of the Laws and Courts of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Vetch & Lee, 1971), Vol II, pp 456-7, *Huazi ribao*, 2, 7, 9, 16 December 1895
- 55 Ho Amer's speech, *DP* 23 December 1895
- 56 For Ho Tung (He Dong) (何東), see Woo Sing Lim, *Prominent Chinese in*

*Hong Kong* (Hong Kong 1937), pp 1–3, and his daughter, Irene Cheng's *Clara Ho Tung A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times* (Hong Kong Chinese University Press, 1976)

57 Record of the meeting is in *DP*, 23 December 1895 and *Huazi ribao*, 24 December 1895

58 *DP*, 23 December 1895

59 *DP*, 23 December 1895

60 *DP*, 24 December 1895

61 Ho Tung's Letter to the *Daily Press*, 28 December 1895

62 *Huazi ribao*, 24 December 1895

63 *Huazi ribao*, 4 January 1896

64 *Huazi ribao*, 4 January 1896

65 *Huazi ribao*, 7 January 1896, *DP*, 7 January 1896

66 Robinson to Chamberlain, 24 January 1896, confidential CO 129/271

67 The Commission, *TWR*, Appendix I, p III The Commission was dated 5 February, but Robinson had already mentioned appointing one in his letter to Chamberlain, 24 January 1896, confidential CO 129/271

68 Paul Chater (1846–1926) was of Armentian extraction from Calcutta He came to Hong Kong in 1864 as assistant in the Bank of Hindustan, China, and Japan He resigned in 1866 to become an exchange and bullion broker, was unanimously elected to the Legislative Council 1887, and again in 1893 and 1899, retiring at the end of the third term in 1906 He was a member of the Executive Council 1896–1926, and was one of Hong Kong's most successful business men See G B Endacott, *Government and People in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Hong Kong University Press, 1964), p 103, n 1, see also Wright, *Impressions*, pp 107–8

69 *TWR*, pp 17, 43

70 *TWR*, p 45

71 *TWR*, p 42

72 *TWR*, p 36

73 *TWR*, pp 36–7

74 Ku Fai-shan (Gu Huishan) (古輝山) was a California Trade merchant, Chairman of the Tung Wah 1895, Director of the Po Leung Kuk in 1894 and 1905, and its Chairman in 1901

75 *TWR*, p 28

76 *TWR*, p 28

77 *TWR*, p 64

78 *TWR*, p 48

79 Report by J H Stewart Lockhart, A M Thomson, and Ho Kai, *TWR*, pp v–xiii

80 *TWR*, pp ix–xiii

81 Report by C P Chater, *TWR*, p xv

82 Report by T H Whitehead, *TWR*, pp xvii–xxxii, pp xxviii–xxxix

83 *TWR*, p xxx

84 *TWR*, p xxviii

85 H J Lethbridge, 'The Evolution of a Chinese Voluntary Association The Po Leung Kuk' in *Hong Kong Stability and Change, A Collection of Essays* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1978), pp 71–103, p 86

86 *TWR*, pp xxx–xxxii

87 Robinson to Chamberlain, 6 May 1896, 117 CO 129/272

88 Robinson to Chamberlain, 16 August 1895, confidential CO 129/268,

G B Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1983), p 225

89 See Chapter 5, Note 17

90 *CM*, 2 December 1896

91 *CM*, 2 December 1896

92 Robinson to Chamberlain, 29 December 1896, #294 CO 129/273, for Dr John C Thomson, see K C Wong and Wu Lien-teh, *History of Chinese Medicine* (Tientsin The Tientsin Press, 1932), Book II, pp 320-2

93 *CM*, 14 December 1896

94 For the post-war development and decline of kaifongs, see Lau Siu-kai, *Society and Politics in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Chinese University Press, 1982), pp 131-5

95 Fung Wa Chuen (Feng Huachuan) (馮華川) was compradore of China National Bank, and later of the Shewan Tomes & Co See Smith, *Chinese Christians Elites, Middlemen and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1985), p 166 Also see William Meigh Goodman, 'Reminiscences of a Colonial Judge' (printed for private circulation by the Kingsgate Press, no date, preface dated 1907), p 260

96 *CM*, 14 December 1896

97 Robinson to Chamberlain, 29 December 1896, #294 CO 129/273

98 *CM*, 21 December 1896

99 *CM*, 21 December 1896

100 Dr Chung Boon-chor (Zhong Penchu) (鍾本初) was appointed Resident Surgeon at the Tung Wah at \$150 a month without private practice See Robinson to Chamberlain, 29 December 1896, #294 CO 129/273

101 'Report by Dr Thomson on the Tung Wa Hospital', 8 April 1897, enclosed in Robinson to Chamberlain, 21 April 1897, #83 CO 129/275

102 'Report by Dr Thomson on the Tung Wa Hospital', 8 April 1897

103 Thomson, 'Quarterly report of the Tung Wa Hospital', 1 October to 31 December 1897, enclosed in Black to Chamberlain, 18 February 1898, #47 CO 129/281

104 Thomson, 'Quarterly report of the Tung Wa Hospital', 1 October to 31 December 1897

105 'Report by Dr Thomson on the Tung Wa Hospital', 8 April 1897

106 Dr Chung performed an amputation on a thigh in 1899, the first major operation performed in the Tung Wah Hospital See minutes for 28 March 1899, 'Hong Kong Medical Society Minutes, 1886-1891' (photographic copy of manuscript, at the University of Hong Kong Library) Dr Chung also attended other meetings at the Society and showed cases of interest from the Tung Wah Hospital

107 Dr Thomson to Dr Atkinson, 13 July 1898, enclosed in Robinson to Chamberlain, 21 July 1898, #201 CO 129/284

108 'Report by acting Registrar General, A W Brewin', enclosed in Black to Chamberlain, 20 May 1898, #147 CO 129/283 He reported very active canvassing against Fung who represented the 'progressive party', and the conservatives managed to prevent his appointment as one of the three Principal Directors because in 1896 he had recommended engaging a Chinese trained in Western medicine for the Hospital

109 H J Lethbridge, 'The District Watch Committee', in his *Hong Kong Stability and Change*, pp 104-29, p 113

110 'Report by acting Registrar General A W Brewin' in Black to Chamberlain, 20 May 1898, #147 CO 129/283

*Notes to Epilogue*

1 C A Middleton Smith, *The British in China and the Far Eastern Trade* (London 1926) quoted by H J Lethbridge, 'The Tung Wah', in *Hong Kong Stability and Change, A Collection of Essays* (Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 1978), p 63 For its fund-raising work, see Tung Wah Board of Directors, 1960-1961, *Development of the Tung Wah Hospitals (1870-1960)*, Part 3, pp 1-32

2 Alistair MacMillan, *Seaports of the Far East* (London 1923), p 218

3 Lo Man Kam's speech recorded in Vincent H G Jarrett, 'Old Hong Kong', Vol, II, 534

4 'Registrar General's Report, 1903', *HKSP* 1904, pp 355-82

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6 'Registrar General's Report for 1906', p 337, membership of the Advisory Board can be seen in the Civil List of subsequent years

7 For Chinese nationalism as a form of anti-imperialism, see Li Enhan (李恩涵), 'Zhongguo jindai zhi shou hui tielu liquan yundong' (中國近代之收回鐵路利權運動) ('The movement of retrieving railway rights in modern China'), *Zhongguo jindaishi zhuanqi yanjiu baogao* (中國近代史專題研究報告) (*Report at Seminar on Modern Chinese history*) (Taipei August, 1972), pp 1-33, his 'Lun Qingji Zhongguo de minzu chuyi' (論清季中國的民族主義) ('Chinese nationalism in late Qing') in his *Jindai Zhongguo shishi yanjiu lunji* (近代中國史事研究論集) (*Essays on Modern Chinese History*) (Taipei 1982), pp 45-67, Liao Kuang-sheng, *Anti-foreignism and Modernization in China 1860-1980* (Hong Kong Chinese University Press, 1984), Mary Backus Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries Radical Intellectuals in Shanghai and Chekiang 1902-1911* (Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1971), Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement* (Stanford Stanford University Press, 1967, 1st published 1960), Ernest P Young, 'Nationalism, Reform and Republican Revolution China in the Early Twentieth Century' in James B Crowley (ed), *Modern East Asia Essays in Interpretation* (New York 1970) pp 151-179 For the development of the Chinese labour movement, see Nym Wales (pseudonym), *The Chinese Labour Movement* (New York The John Day Co., 1945), S K Sheldon Tso, *The Labour Movement in China* (Shanghai 1928), Deng Zhongxia (鄧中夏), *Zhongguo zhigong yundong jianshu* (中國職工運動簡史) (*A Brief History of the Chinese Labour Movement*) (Tientsin 1949)

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