

# Edge of Empires

Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong

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## *Introduction*

*T*YPICAL OF MANY visitors to the British colony of Hong Kong, Frenchman Marc Chadourne found it an intriguing place, unlike China or anywhere else in Asia. Arriving in the colony's harbor in the early 1930s, Chadourne was fascinated by how the colony defied categorizing: "I already begin to recognize all this. It is China—the howl of her starving pack, her color of spices, her stinking rags, her insolence, her voracity . . . But this city, that slowly emerges from the reeking atmosphere, piling up in a marvelous mirage its amphitheater of buildings, palaces, bungalows, rising vertically with its hanging gardens, its winding roads, its castles in the air, its double peak silhouetted against the stormy sky—this is not China. It is an English city. It is Hong Kong."<sup>1</sup> After being driven by taxi through the narrow, shop-lined streets of Central, the colony's main commercial district, Chadourne arrived at the Sincere Department Store, the first Chinese-owned department store in Hong Kong and China. "Is this," he wondered, "another crowd, another race? Gone are the gentlemen in skull-caps and blue robes; gone the house-wives in little white trousers. Here there is nothing but Young China—Asia, dressed à la Belle Jardinière."<sup>2</sup>

Orderly streets and roads named after British royalty and colonial officials, next to busy Chinese markets where many Europeans never dared to set foot; shops providing every type of traditional Chinese

medicine, along with colonial hospitals supervised by European physicians: such incongruities never failed to impress Western visitors. Mary Turnbull explains how “Hong Kong, ‘Fragrant Harbour’ of the Chinese, has always exerted a fascination for Westerners as an outpost of empire, a minute enclave enveloped by the vastness of China, an exotic entrepot pulsating with life and adventure, yet paradoxically a speck of normality on the brink of a forbidding continent . . . However dangerous Hong Kong might be for those who succumbed to its temptations, the colony represented order and safety in contrast to the troubled hinterland, which most Englishmen at the time regarded as a benighted continent of cruelty and misery, where corrupt mandarins meted out barbaric punishments, and heathens drowned girl babies at birth.”<sup>3</sup>

Local residents, whether Chinese or foreign, could also be transfixed by this curious meeting of East and West. In 1948 journalist Su Fuxiang described Hong Kong as truly a “meeting point of East and West.” But Su also explained that although Hong Kong was a cultural meeting point, its rulers remained English, their subjects Chinese. Because of this unequal balance, a new Hong Kong culture could never be born. In another article, Su argued that after a century of British colonialism, Chinese in Hong Kong still could not properly be called Hong Kong citizens because they did not have the right of representation. Although some Chinese served on the colonial Legislative Council, Executive Council, and Sanitary Board, they were appointed by the governor rather than elected.<sup>4</sup>

## Hong Kong in History

In this book, I address some of Hong Kong’s paradoxes and incongruities by examining Hong Kong as a political and cultural encounter between a declining Chinese Empire and the ascendant British Empire. I focus on the relationships between the British colonial elite and the leaders of the Chinese bourgeoisie. In the century after the Opium War (1839–1842), upper-class Chinese collaborated with their British rulers to build a place that these Chinese came to consider their own. This collaboration resulted not from colonial governance but from the initiative and endeavor of the rising Chinese bourgeoisie, whose leaders worked in the spaces opened by colonial inconsistency,

neglect, and, often, incompetence, and shaped by Hong Kong's strategic geographical, political, and cultural position at the edge of the Chinese and British empires. The relationship between the colonial government and this Chinese elite was neither domination nor resistance, but confluence of vision as well as at times conflict of interest. Although the two communities wanted a successful and stable commercial center, the Chinese elite and the British colonialists led largely separate lives and built parallel clubs and associations. Their economic and political collaboration thus coexisted with a system of social segregation.

With historians of China preferring to focus on China "proper" and scholars of British colonialism generally concentrating on Africa and India, until recently the historiography of Hong Kong was limited mainly to two approaches. British historiography usually consisted of hagiographical works stressing the roles of various British governors and civil servants, practically ignoring the Chinese population. The other approach, employed mainly by Chinese Marxist scholars, hardly shed more light on the Chinese community of the colony. It generally dismissed Chinese merchants, for example, as little more than "running dogs" of the British imperialists. For these scholars, Hong Kong had little importance beyond its significance as the spoils of British imperialism, and as a base for the Western imperialists' invasion of China.<sup>5</sup>

In the past fifteen years, however, scholars have constructed a much more nuanced history of Hong Kong. Building on the pioneering work of sociologist Henry Lethbridge and theologian-historian Carl Smith, Elizabeth Sinn and Chan Wai Kwan have shown how Chinese merchant elites achieved social and political prestige, protected Chinese interests under foreign rule, and represented the Chinese community by forming such organizations as the Tung Wah Hospital and the Po Leung Kuk.<sup>6</sup> Refuting the common view of Chinese in Hong Kong as apathetic, willing subjects of the colonial administration, Jung-fang Tsai has argued that the Chinese working classes maintained a long tradition of popular animosity toward colonial rule. The work of K. C. Fok highlights the important contributions of Hong Kong Chinese to the economic development of modern China. Chan Lau Kit-ching shows how Hong Kong was affected by the turbulent conditions in early twentieth-century China. The political turmoil of the

early republican period, argues Stephanie Chung, led Hong Kong Chinese merchants to invest in Canton politics to protect their business interests. Christopher Munn's recent study exposes the failure of the early colonial government to transform Hong Kong into the much-anticipated "Anglo-China" where Chinese and European traders would flourish under British liberalism and impartial justice.<sup>7</sup>

A central concern of these works is how the Chinese of Hong Kong adapted to colonial rule and how they survived under an alien, often repressive, colonial regime. While acknowledging the many faults of colonialism, I argue in the present book that, at least for the leaders of the Chinese bourgeoisie, colonial Hong Kong was not such a contentious or bewildering place. The making of a Chinese business elite was inseparably linked with the colonial nature of Hong Kong, and Chinese participation decisively shaped and set the parameters of British rule. Both confluence and conflict characterized Hong Kong's position at the edge of the Chinese and British empires. This combination offered certain opportunities for Chinese merchants to become an organized, self-conscious business elite. To be sure, some of these opportunities were also available to merchants in Chinese cities, such as Canton, Hankou, and Shanghai.<sup>8</sup> But the colonial government's insistence that Hong Kong's historical purpose in the British Empire should be that of a commercial center singled out those Chinese businessmen who impressed the government by helping Hong Kong achieve and maintain this historical ideal. By the end of the nineteenth century, the colonial government saw the Chinese businessmen of the colony not as profit-bound sojourners but as allies in the struggle for order and stability in Hong Kong, South China, and the British Empire.

Contrary to conventional wisdom, I approach Hong Kong as its own cultural-historical place. Although clichés abound of Hong Kong as a site for cultural interaction between East and West and of its important role in modern Chinese history, like Taiwan, Hong Kong has usually been a lens for understanding something else—most commonly "traditional," rural Chinese society as it existed before the communist revolution of 1949. If defined at all, Hong Kong has generally been delimited by its negative qualities: a sleepy colonial backwater overshadowed until 1949 by semicolonial Shanghai; a capitalist paradise without history or culture, where nothing matters but money; a

place where the only political values are pragmatism and apathy; and a haven for sojourners and refugees with only a temporary identity. Even the legendary “Hong Kong success story” depends on Hong Kong’s negative qualities: before the British arrived in the late 1830s, Hong Kong was nothing but a “barren rock”; prior to the communist revolution of 1949, when entrepreneurs from Shanghai poured into the colony, Hong Kong was just a colonial entrepot with little industry of its own—and the best-known appellation of all, “borrowed place, borrowed time,” is based on the assumption that Hong Kong has no real time or place of its own.<sup>9</sup>

Also contrary to conventional wisdom, I argue here that a sense of Hong Kong identity characterized the local Chinese bourgeoisie well before 1949, when the colony was separated from Mainland China by the establishment of the People’s Republic of China. The common reluctance to acknowledge a Hong Kong identity before 1949 is closely related to the reluctance to treat Hong Kong as its own place. Part of the reason is political. As Hong Kong has recently reverted to Chinese sovereignty, the emphasis now is often on showing the “Chineseness” of Hong Kong. Another reason is that Hong Kong’s population was often so transient. Many of the expatriates and refugees who came to Hong Kong considered it a temporary stop, regardless of how long they actually stayed. Thus, observes Ackbar Abbas, Hong Kong emerges “not so much a place as a space of transit.”<sup>10</sup> The common assumption is that a place like Hong Kong where commerce has been so prominent cannot have much of an identity, overlooking how part of what held the Hong Kong Chinese bourgeoisie together as a self-conscious group was its members’ commitment to making money. Finally, the recent emphasis on the fluidity, borderlessness, and multiple layers of contemporary Hong Kong identity often detracts from the historical, localized Hong Kong roots of this identity.

As I demonstrate in this work, as early as the late 1800s the leaders of the Hong Kong Chinese business community helped make Hong Kong its own place. The meanings of this place changed over time, but three themes remained consistent: Hong Kong’s role in China’s nation building; its position within the British Empire; and the official colonial version of Hong Kong’s history. These men actively used Hong Kong’s strategic position to stress their own identity as a special group of Chinese different from their counterparts in China. Their



role in China's nation building demonstrated both their commitment to China and their own uniqueness. Contrasting Hong Kong's development and progress with that of China enabled them to highlight this uniqueness. By participating in such activities as contributing to imperial war funds, organizing ceremonies for visiting British royalty, and attending imperial trade exhibitions, they helped make Hong Kong an active member of this global British Empire. Through dating the "real" history of Hong Kong to its founding as a British colony—as did the official, colonial version of Hong Kong's history—they linked themselves to this history. By stressing the colony's commercial growth, they stressed their own role in this process. Hong Kong's nature as its own place was thus paradoxically shaped by its role as a space of movement of goods and people, its relationship with South China, and its position within the British Empire.

### Hong Kong and Colonialism

While many scholars, especially since Hong Kong became a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China in 1997, stress the Chineseness of this former colony, in this book I place Hong Kong within the framework of both Chinese history and British colonial history. Although Hong Kong has been arguably the most important place in China for more than 150 years, it has been such an important place because it was politically not part of China for most of those years. Sun Yatsen, the leader of the revolution that toppled the last Chinese dynasty in 1911, was educated in colonial Hong Kong. The father of modern Chinese law, Ng Choy (better known to scholars of Chinese history as Wu Tingfang), was raised and educated in Hong Kong, where he served the colonial government before moving to China. Hong Kong was the Chinese home of commercial institutions—department stores, insurance, and modern banking—that would later help transform cities like Canton and Shanghai. Until recent decades, most Chinese emigrants went through Hong Kong, while Chinese who returned to China from North America or Southeast Asia almost always passed through Hong Kong. Similarly, remittances from overseas Chinese were invariably repatriated through Hong Kong.

Much of the scholarship on Hong Kong furthermore downplays the

colonial presence. For example, a frequent explanation for the colony's remarkable political stability is that Hong Kong realities did not fit classical patterns of colonialism. One study argues that most theories of colonialism tend to emphasize the coercive power of the state or the importance of "segmentation" by race or ethnicity, none of which applies very well to Hong Kong. Because Britain took Hong Kong for trade rather than for territorial control, its acquisition cannot be explained in terms of extracting resources for the metropole. Another study rightly notes that in Hong Kong the British "had no wish, and had made no serious attempt, to spread English civilization to their conquered lands to the extent that they would turn their imperial subjects into yellow or brown or black Englishmen."<sup>11</sup>

Such explanations understate the role of colonialism in Hong Kong's historical development. As Partha Chatterjee notes, "the notion that colonial rule was not really about colonial rule but about something else was a persistent theme in the rhetoric of colonial rule itself."<sup>12</sup> It is an exaggeration to say that "Hong Kong has no pre-colonial past to speak of," but Ackbar Abbas is right to argue that "the history of Hong Kong, in terms that are relevant to what it has become today, has effectively been a history of colonialism." Although brute force was not used as extensively in Hong Kong as in other European colonies, coercion and military strength were used to wrest the island and Kowloon, the peninsula across the harbor, from China. Hong Kong lacked the resources that would have made territorial gain worthwhile, but the territory nevertheless acted as a base for market penetration and extraction in China. While the colonial government did not enforce separate residential, occupational, and legal status for Chinese and foreigners as rigidly as other colonial regimes did elsewhere, legal discrimination in Hong Kong was both tolerated and encouraged by a government that prided itself on harmony and "impartial British justice."<sup>13</sup>

By minimizing the colonial nature of Hong Kong, these explanations overlook important aspects of the colony's history and society. The Hong Kong colonial government's "positive non-intervention myth" has been discredited. This government used techniques such as modern medicine as instruments of disciplinary power. Although the British did not attempt to convert the Chinese to Christianity as actively as the Spanish did in the Philippines, both early colonial ad-

ministrators and missionaries saw their mission as promoting civilization, not just in South China but also in Britain and the empire at large. Indeed, much of the potency of the idea of empire derived from its supposed power to rejuvenate both the “backward” colony and the “advanced” metropole. By the mid-1800s, most Europeans considered Christianity, civilization, and commerce to be inseparably linked.<sup>14</sup>

Rather than downplay Hong Kong’s colonial nature, we need to ask what role colonialism played in Hong Kong’s history. In his recent study of the role of class and status in British imperialism, David Cannadine assesses the various schools of colonialism and their critics. Scholars who focus on the metropole are accused of being neocolonial; those who focus on domination versus independence, however, are accused of falling into simplistic dichotomies and binary contrasts, and of stressing coercion and conflict rather than collaboration. The post-modernists and postcolonialists are accused of writing bad prose, having a weak grasp of history, and overestimating the power of colonial rule.<sup>15</sup>

Cannadine’s summary reflects how criticism of recent trends in colonial studies has become a small industry. Much of this criticism is leveled against Edward Said’s “Orientalism,” which argues that Western representations and images of Asia and the Middle East constructed a discourse based on “the ontological and epistemological distinction between the ‘Orient’ ” and a way of “dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.” Critics contend that Orientalism was not a coherent system of power. Rather, it was as much a sign of weakness, fear, and confusion on the part of colonial rulers. The Orientalist assumption of colonial dominance and hegemony ignores the sometimes fragile, ephemeral, and limited nature of colonial rule.<sup>16</sup>

Revisionists are also critical of the work of the Subaltern Studies Collective, which focuses mainly on India, particularly on “the failure of the nation to come to its own.” Although it contests as “elitist” both colonial and bourgeois-nationalist histories, critics claim that this school exaggerates the impact of colonialism on colonial societies and fails to employ any new research materials or provide new theoretical insights.<sup>17</sup> Critics also complain that even subaltern studies no longer focuses on the subaltern, and that it has shifted from social analysis to textual analysis and from studies of underprivileged groups to critiques

of colonial power-knowledge. “By the end of the 1980s,” writes Rajnarayan Chandavarkar, “Subaltern Studies had begun to leave the subaltern out.”<sup>18</sup>

Given that the most recent approach to colonialism, postcolonialism, is inspired by both Orientalism and subaltern studies, it too has been criticized, sometimes even by theorists considered “postcolonial.” Influenced also by poststructuralist, postmodernist, and psychoanalytical theory, postcolonialism emphasizes the importance of difference, representation, and textuality. Like Orientalism and subaltern studies, it frequently assumes that colonialism mattered more than anything else in colonies, making colonialism *the* determining period in a colonial society’s history.<sup>19</sup> Like subaltern studies, postcolonialism is based mainly on the case of India, which becomes the basis for understanding colonialism everywhere else. This “loose use” of “postcolonial,” Aihwa Ong contends, “has had the bizarre effect of contributing to a Western tradition of othering the Rest.” Its emphasis on binary contrasts, argues Anne McClintock, “re-orient[s] the globe once more around a single, binary opposition: colonial/postcolonial.”<sup>20</sup>

We need more than theoretical criticisms or defenses of Orientalism, subaltern studies, and postcolonialism; we need more local histories that both engage and challenge these approaches. In my study of Hong Kong, I try to avoid grand claims about the “colonial project,” a construct that often glosses over historical and geographical differences.<sup>21</sup> Rather than making ahistorical generalizations about colonialism, this book looks at one colony over a period of some one hundred years. By considering both intentions and results, I suggest that historical narratives of colonialism must be based also on uncertainty. Like Orientalism, postcolonialism has been more successful in showing colonial intents rather than revealing their effects on colonized peoples.<sup>22</sup> From the earliest days, colonialism in Hong Kong was mired in insecurity: economic and social problems, troubled relations with Chinese authorities in Canton and Beijing, tensions between the British Foreign Office and the Colonial Office, and tumultuous conditions across the border in South China. In the present book, I show how the colonial government failed to make Hong Kong into the great “Emporium of the East” envisioned by British officials. I explore the fissures in British colonial rule that left room for local

Chinese elites. The gulf between government and governed, the government's failure to provide adequate medical facilities for its Chinese subjects, and its inability to provide a secure business environment all helped Chinese merchants obtain recognition by providing services to the local Chinese population and the government. Similarly, organizing festivities in honor of British royalty and contributing to British imperial and war funds helped the same merchants gain status from the colonial government. Colonies were not just about exploitation; they were also about how people learned to work within the cracks.

This book also acknowledges the many complexities of subalternity, which in Hong Kong was based on a complicated relationship between race and class. Whereas Orientalists and postcolonialists see colonialism as grounded in racial difference and "otherness," David Canadine argues that this emphasis on race has come at the expense of social structure: at least for the British, empire was predicated foremost on class and status. But why must colonialism be based on either race or class, rather than on both? Assessing some of the problems in applying subaltern studies to Chinese history, Gail Hershatter observes how the contrast of dominant versus subaltern overlooks the "multiple, relational degrees of subalternity": a person might be dominant at times, subaltern at others, depending on the situation and context. Like subaltern studies, postcolonialism often simplifies the relationship between dominant and subaltern.<sup>23</sup>

Hong Kong was, of course, never comprised solely of Chinese and Britons. Like the treaty ports that dotted the coast and waterways of China, and like most every other city in the British Empire, the colony was multi-ethnic. Apart from the British and the Chinese there were Eurasians (who decreased in number toward the late 1800s but became more prominent in business and political life), Indians (especially the Sikhs and Muslims who served in the police force, and the peripatetic Parsi traders whose once-powerful commercial and philanthropic presence would decrease in the early 1900s), Portuguese from old families in the colony of Macau, the Jewish Sassoon and Kadoorie families, other Europeans, Armenians, and Americans. Each of these groups interacted with others in ways that defy any rigid categorizing.

The complexities and layers of subalternity can perhaps best be seen in the Hong Kong Chinese bourgeoisie. Its leaders were subordinate to the British bourgeoisie, even though the former often had more money and controlled a larger part of the Hong Kong economy than

did the latter. Although these Chinese could buy expensive homes on the Peak, Hong Kong's exclusive hill district, they were prevented by law from living in these homes. The Chinese business elites were dominant over the local Chinese community, even though they lost much of their hegemony in the twentieth century; they saw themselves as different from—even superior to—Chinese in China. Some in China, however, considered that the Hong Kong elite were obsessed with making money and were less than fully Chinese because they live in a British colony.<sup>24</sup> Although Chinese were excluded from the highest levels of government in Hong Kong (a Chinese was not appointed to the Executive Council until 1926), and although the Europeans sometimes identified more closely with the colony's Indian traders, colonial officials realized that peace and order in the colony always depended on these "loyal Chinese." British officials often insisted that the Chinese of Hong Kong were incapable of any meaningful political representation but generally considered that such Chinese were somehow more civilized than many of the empire's other nonwhite subjects. Furthermore, these Chinese often saw themselves as members of a worldwide community of overseas Chinese who were financially and culturally superior to many other Asians. A 1947 article on the Chinese in Hong Kong showed that a self-perceived racial superiority was not just the privilege of colonizers. Reminiscent of colonial anthropology, it contrasted the "lazy, less civilized" Malays with the "astoundingly patient and hard-working" Chinese whose "blood and sweat" had built the vibrant European colonies in Southeast Asia.<sup>25</sup>

Despite their admirable intentions of overcoming elite-centered history, proponents of subaltern studies often believe in the existence of a more "authentic" native, and that the lower one's social class or the greater one's repression, the greater one's "authenticity." This often leaves out "hybrid" elites, who are seen as less authentic. Scholars of subaltern studies also assume that resistance is the most important feature of colonialism. Yet as Frederick Cooper writes, "much of the resistance literature is written as if the 'R' were capitalized." Resistance is expanded until "it denies any other kind of life to the people doing the resisting."<sup>26</sup> Proponents of subaltern studies often assume that colonized people have a moral duty to resist their oppressors and, because of this moral obligation, try to resist in various ways. In this book, however, I suggest that such a moral obligation may or may not exist.

I also show that Chinese in Hong Kong were partly responsible for

creating the colonial discourse that justified and celebrated British rule in Hong Kong. Orientalism, subaltern studies, and postcolonialism often tend to homogenize and essentialize not only colonial rule, but even the West itself, often producing a form of monolithic “Occidentalism” that ignores the ways indigenous peoples helped create Orientalist, colonial discourse.<sup>27</sup> The present book reveals how Hong Kong Chinese contributed to the “Hong Kong legend” of a colony running smoothly under British free trade and impartial justice. The strike-boycott of 1925–1926 demonstrates how the Chinese bourgeoisie stressed the differences between chaotic Canton and orderly Hong Kong, and between “loyal” permanent residents and the rest of Hong Kong’s Chinese population. Hong Kong Chinese also helped construct the official, colonial view of Hong Kong history as beginning with the British occupation.

Colonialism is based on the perverse notion that some races or nations are naturally suited—indeed, chosen—to rule others. But colonialism itself was a “phenomenon of colossal vagueness.” It meant different things to different people, in different places, and at different times. For many Chinese in Hong Kong, colonialism was more of a liberating force than an oppressive one. Eager to escape the economic depravity and political turmoil of nineteenth- and twentieth-century China, most Chinese came to Hong Kong because of its economic opportunities and political stability, a fact that both colonial officials and Chinese residents in Hong Kong constantly emphasized. But reassessing the role of colonialism should not be confused with defending colonialism, European or otherwise, in Asia or elsewhere. As historical anthropologist Nicholas Thomas writes, the goal of reexamining colonialism is “not to rehabilitate imperial efforts, but to understand how far and why they were (and are) supported by various classes and interest groups.” When looking at the relationship between the colonial state and Chinese society, we must take into careful account the choices and alternatives that the colonial setting offered and China did not.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, and perhaps most important, emphasizing binary contrasts and insurmountable cultural differences ignores the possibility of any dialogue between East and West. Colonies were not always places of tension and failed communication. Viewing colonial histories primarily as cultural clashes obscures patterns of collaboration and ac-

commodation, and it assumes that colonial encounters were always fraught with overwhelming unfamiliarity, bewilderment, or incompatibility—"the most complex and traumatic relationships in human history." Focusing on the "fatal impact" of colonialism, with its emphasis on the shortcomings of an uncaring yet intrusive colonial state often overshadows gaps between intentions and results, and between projection and performance. As Thomas puts it, "the dynamics of colonialism cannot be understood if it is assumed that some unitary representation is extended from the metropole and cast across passive spaces, unmediated by perceptions or encounters."<sup>29</sup>

Colonialism in Hong Kong was based as much on similarities and affinities as on "otherness" and difference. Despite the distance between the Chinese and European communities, their leaders quickly learned how to cooperate on issues of mutual concern. In February 1848, for example, more than twenty Chinese merchants joined a group of European traders in a protest against ground rents.<sup>30</sup> Chinese merchants, British merchants, and colonial officials were all interested in the expansion of capitalism in Hong Kong and China. All agreed that the cure for an ailing China in the late nineteenth century was commerce and political liberalism. All were concerned about order and stability, not just in Hong Kong, but also in China (especially in South China during the turbulent republican era after the 1911 revolution). Although exclusive social clubs and associations kept Chinese and British in Hong Kong apart, they were nevertheless a mutually understandable form of social status.

### The Hong Kong Chinese Bourgeoisie

The term "bourgeoisie" is used loosely in this book. Like the Shanghai bourgeoisie studied by Marie-Claire Bergère in her now-classic book on the Golden Age of the Chinese bourgeoisie, the term here refers to "an urban elite connected with modern business."<sup>31</sup> It includes entrepreneurs, compradors, bankers, industrialists, and professionals such as lawyers and physicians—all members of the new business class emerging from the colony's commercial growth and from Chinese and international trade in the late nineteenth century. "Bourgeoisie" denotes both a process and a fluid category with no legal boundaries. Being a member of the bourgeoisie was as much a matter of self-



consciousness and self-perceptions, social institutions, and participation in the public sector as it was of economic status. Thus this book focuses less on the business networks of the bourgeoisie than on the multifaceted process of “embourgeoisement”: the creation of an up-standing civic status in the colonial setting; a commitment to the social, cultural, and economic development of the colony, especially through the establishment of voluntary associations; and an obligation to maintaining peace and order in Hong Kong.

The Hong Kong Chinese bourgeoisie shared a common bourgeois culture and identity. Like the bourgeoisie in Europe, the bourgeoisie of Hong Kong constituted a “social stratum bound by common values, a shared culture, and a degree of prosperity based on property and earned income.”<sup>32</sup> The leaders of the Hong Kong bourgeoisie claimed to represent the interests of their colony. They were conscious, indeed proud, of their contributions to economic development in Hong Kong and China. They were careful about the people with whom they associated, how they conducted their professional and social lives, and how they presented themselves to the rest of society. As elsewhere, the bourgeoisie was united by a strong sense of itself in regard to other classes. In Hong Kong, this bourgeoisie identified itself against a wide array of “others,” including the Chinese bourgeoisie in China, the local European bourgeoisie, and the Chinese lower classes of the colony.

As Hong Kong has recently returned to Chinese sovereignty, this study has both historical and contemporary implications. Apart from deepening our understanding of a crucial period in Hong Kong, Chinese, and British colonial history, it challenges standard assumptions about Chinese nationalism and so-called Chineseness, both inextricably linked with the colonial nature of this Chinese city outside of China “proper.” It also questions the common assumption that nationalism inevitably pits colonized peoples against their colonizers. Indeed, rather than driving the Chinese bourgeoisie and the colonial government apart, the idea of a powerful, modern China united them. The leaders of both the Chinese bourgeoisie and the government believed that what was good for China was good for Hong Kong (though in the 1920s they were at odds with what leading political forces just across the border thought was good for China). This book may also help explain why the relationship between state and society was so

much better in colonial Hong Kong than in the Republic of China (both on the Mainland before 1949 and then on Taiwan), not to mention in the People's Republic of China.

The title of the book, *Edge of Empires*, takes into account both the similarities and the differences between the Chinese and British empires. Although historians have generally been reluctant to acknowledge China as a colonial power, several recent studies have exposed the remarkable parallels between China during the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) and the early modern European empires. Laura Hostetler shows that, like imperial France and Russia, the early Qing state used cartography and ethnographic representation for empire building, while its settlers colonized parts of the empire by displacing indigenous peoples.<sup>33</sup> James Millward argues that even though China suffered from European imperialism in the nineteenth century, the Qing was also an expansionist empire that helped establish the boundaries of present-day China.<sup>34</sup> And James Hevia reveals some of the similarities between the imperial discourses of the Qing Empire and the British Empire.<sup>35</sup> The gap between the Qing and European empires, argues Hevia, lay not in the “methods of organizing and ruling empires,” but in differences in “military and commercial technologies.”<sup>36</sup> In the end, however, it was precisely because China and Britain were not the same types of empire that Hong Kong became the place that it did: when the British arrived on the scene in the late 1700s as part of an expanding empire, the Qing Empire was already in decline.

## *Conclusion*

ON 8 DECEMBER 1941, Hong Kong time, Japanese bombers attacked Hong Kong, Malaya, Pearl Harbor, and the Philippines. As Japanese troops moved south across the New Territories and into Kowloon, propaganda leaflets called on Chinese and Indians in the colony to rise up and drive out their British overlords. With their outdated and insufficient artillery and ammunition, poor planning, and persistently weak intelligence, the British defenses crumbled quickly. On Christmas Day, one week after the Japanese launched a three-pronged attack on Hong Kong Island, Governor Mark Young, in the colony only since September, surrendered unconditionally to Japanese commander Lieutenant General Sakai Takashi. By February 1942, after the fall of Singapore (declared a holiday in Hong Kong and commemorated with lion dances, processions, and extra rations of rice), the sun had set on Britain's empire in East Asia.<sup>1</sup>

Thus began the three-and-a-half-year history of "The Captured Territory of Hong Kong," which although touted as part of Japan's "Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" was little more than Japanese colonialism. As elsewhere in their new empire, the Japanese in Hong Kong quickly showed that they could be far more brutal than the British had ever been. Systematic rape, mutilation, and executions, compounded by starvation and efforts to repatriate refugees who had come from China in the years leading up to war, reduced the popu-

lation from over 1.5 million to about 500,000. Free to do as it pleased, the Kempeitai, the notorious military police, created an “empire unmatched by the Kempeitai branches in any other Japanese-occupied zone.”<sup>22</sup>

The new rulers also tried to de-Anglicize Hong Kong as quickly as possible. Statues of British royalty and colonial officials were removed, while street and place names were replaced with Japanese names; even the racehorses at Happy Valley received Japanese names. The Gregorian calendar was replaced by the Japanese calendar based on the contemporary emperor’s reign. The Japanese also introduced their own holidays, including the Yasukuni Festival for Japanese war dead, Empire Day, and the emperor’s birthday—though they let the Chinese celebrate the Double Tenth holiday, commemorating the republican revolution of 1911, to show they were anti-British but not anti-Chinese.

As the Japanese consolidated their rule, they recruited many of the same local leaders who had worked with the British. Two councils consisting of leading Chinese and Eurasian businessmen were established for disseminating policy and managing the Chinese population. On the Chinese Representative Council were Robert Kotewall, the chair; Lau Tit-shing, manager of the Communications Bank and chairman of the Chinese Bankers’ Association; Li Tse-fong, manager of the Bank of East Asia and former unofficial member of the Legislative Council; and Chan Lim-pak, who had once been comprador to the Hong Kong Shanghai Bank in Canton. The Chinese Cooperative Council, whose 22 members were selected by the Chinese Representative Council from the leading professionals, was chaired by Chow Shouson; other members included Lo Man Kam and Ip Lan Chuen.

Why did these Chinese and Eurasians collaborate with the Japanese? Were they happy to be rid of their British overlords and to be working with fellow Asians? On 10 January 1942, Lieutenant General Sakai invited some 130 of the leading Chinese and Eurasians to lunch at the Peninsula Hotel; Robert Kotewall (now referred to by his Chinese name) and Chow Shouson were the main guests of honor. After thanking the Japanese for not “harming the people of Hong Kong or destroying the city”—and declaring that because the goal of the Japanese was to “release the races of East Asia,” he and other leaders would cooperate with them—Kotewall wished the emperor “banzai”;

Chow agreed “heartily.” Kotewall, Chow, and Li Tse-fong all expressed hope that China and Japan would soon end their war, which to Kotewall was “more like a family quarrel between two brothers due to a momentary loss of temper.”<sup>3</sup>

Impressed by Japan’s rhetoric of “Asia for Asians,” some Chinese were more enthusiastic than others about working with the Japanese. Lau Tit-shing was president of the Chinese-Japanese Returned-Students Association and, according to Henry Lethbridge, “very pro-Japanese” having been “thoroughly brainwashed by his early education in Japan.”<sup>4</sup> When Lau died in April 1945 he was honored by the Japanese governor. Chan Lim-pak had been arrested by the British during the Japanese invasion on charges of aiding the enemy. He was killed in 1944 by an American bomber while en route to Japan. Others perhaps had their own grudges against the British: Ho Kam Tong, the affable comprador and philanthropist who now became the first Chinese chairman of the Jockey Club, was said to have sworn that because he had been unable to serve on the committee under the British he would ensure that no Briton was ever admitted to the club.

Although life under the Japanese could be excruciatingly harsh, we should beware of portraying the occupation as little more than a tragic farce rather than considering what it offered to Chinese collaborators. Philip Snow argues that the Japanese brought more Chinese into the “central administration of the colony than the British had ever done.”<sup>5</sup> The practice of delegating tasks gave Chinese a larger role than under the British, while the Japanese also created a network of district bureaus—another step the British had never taken. Unlike the British, the Japanese went to great lengths to publicize and explain their policies to the Chinese. The Japanese also made some positive changes in public health, education, and agriculture. With “something close to a mania” for preserving public health, they kept outbreaks of smallpox and cholera minor compared with the prewar years.<sup>6</sup>

But most Chinese and Eurasian leaders probably collaborated with the Japanese in the same way the majority of Hong Kong’s population did: “with reluctance and misgiving, and as a matter of physical survival.”<sup>7</sup> No one knew how the war would turn out, especially with the Japanese successes in China and their spectacular early victories in Southeast Asia. Fear and pragmatism were no doubt strong reasons for collaborating, as were preserving one’s own class interests. Many

people collaborated with the Japanese to help the local community. Several colonial officials, including former acting governor R. A. C. North, later testified that they had asked Chow and Kotewall to cooperate with the Japanese to protect the interests of the Chinese community.<sup>8</sup> Finally, some Britons also worked with the Japanese—for example, high-level bankers, who could have refused and been interned along with their compatriots in Stanley, on the south side of Hong Kong Island; instead, they chose to collaborate to ensure some level of financial stability. P. S. Selwyn-Clarke, the former director of medical services, collaborated with the Japanese for the sake of the Chinese community and the interned Europeans and prisoners of war. That there was so little Chinese resentment toward the two Chinese councils during or after the occupation suggests that most Chinese understood that the Chinese and Eurasian leaders had to cooperate.

Nor did the Chinese and Eurasian leaders, with the exception of Chan Lim-pak and Lau Tit-shing, ever collaborate as actively with the Japanese as they had with the British. By mid-1943 many in Hong Kong realized that the war was no longer in Japan's favor. By then "it was clear that in many ways Japanese colonialism was far more despotic, bureaucratic and corrupt, and less rational and efficient than the British variety."<sup>9</sup> On Christmas day 1943, Kotewall gave the radio broadcast in honor of the second anniversary of the Japanese occupation. Although he praised the progress under the governorship of General Isogai Rensuke, Kotewall showed nothing of the enthusiasm that he had for the 1941 centenary. Instead, he compared 1942 to the first weeks of chaos after the invasion, rather than to the years of British rule.<sup>10</sup> By 1944 the local leaders began to avoid their duties on the two Chinese councils, while Kotewall and Li Tse-fong withdrew from public life for health reasons.

As British officials began to plan in late 1943 for recovering Hong Kong after the war, the problem arose of what to do with the old business and professional elite. The British needed a local support base, but some interned Europeans had criticized Kotewall and Chow for being too compliant with the Japanese. Where were Chinese helpers to be found if not among the old guard? Furthermore, there was the problem of convincing the local Chinese population that Britain, rather than Nationalist China, deserved to rule Hong Kong after the war. The British "needed Hong Kong Chinese, Chinese loyal

to the concept of a separate status for Hong Kong, even if some among this group had worked seemingly for the establishment of a Japanese 'New Order' in Hong Kong."<sup>11</sup> By working with the Japanese instead of fleeing to "Free China," these "loyal Chinese" had "proved that their loyalty was, in the last resort, to Hong Kong exclusively. For the sake of Hong Kong they would strike an accommodation with whoever happened to rule it. They were thus, paradoxically, the segment of society on whom the returning British could now best rely in the face of the intensified threat from the mainland."<sup>12</sup> This rationale explains both why the British, who could not afford to lose the people they had depended on for so long, decided to keep the old leaders, and why these leaders worked so hard to restore British rule. The Colonial Office eventually decided that Chow and Kotewall had been acting in the colony's best interest. Shortly after Japan surrendered to the United States in August 1945, Kotewall and Chow began to work with the Japanese, who now encouraged the local elite's pro-British attitude, for a smooth transition back to the British.

Thus when on 30 August 1945 British ships under Rear Admiral Cecil Harcourt entered the harbor to accept the Japanese surrender, the British again relied on their "loyal Chinese." But the situation was not as neat as it had been after the strike-boycott of 1925–1926, when the British lavished honors on their Chinese and Eurasian helpers. In October 1945, Kotewall was asked to withdraw from public life until his wartime record could be fully cleared. When the colonial civil government was restored the following May, Kotewall had to resign his seat on the Executive Council. Kotewall was never allowed to return to public life, Chow never completely returned, and Li Tse-fong did not win reappointment to the Legislative Council. But Lo Man Kam, the loudest critic of the colonial regime before the war, was able to return to public life because the British believed he had worked with the Japanese only with great reluctance. Lo was later appointed to the Legislative and Executive councils. Chau Tsun-nin, who had avoided collaborating by taking refuge in neutral Macau, was also appointed to the Legislative and Executive councils. Chau was later made Commander of the British Empire, while Lo was knighted for helping to rebuild Hong Kong.

## Hong Kong, Colonialism, and Collaboration

What can Hong Kong's experience teach us about colonialism? Jürgen Osterhammel has noted that from 1500 to 1920 most of the world was, at least at some point, a colony of Europe. But this remarkable phenomenon must not, cautions Osterhammel, obscure the fact that colonial reality was "multifaceted and often failed to conform to arrogant imperial strategies. It was shaped by particular local features overseas, and by broader tendencies in the international system."<sup>13</sup>

Osterhammel notes that not "every domination by foreigners has been perceived by its subjects as *illegitimate* foreign domination."<sup>14</sup> This observation fits the case of Hong Kong. Although British military might was used to secure the island from China, colonial expansion in Hong Kong was made possible with Chinese cooperation throughout the early history of the colony. Many of the prominent Chinese businessmen in early Hong Kong came from a long tradition of cooperating with foreigners. Loo Aqoi and Kwok Acheong had helped the British during the Opium War, while contractors such as Tam Achoy who were instrumental in the building of the infant colony had worked with the British in other colonies. For Ho Kai, British domination had made Hong Kong into a vibrant commercial center. During the strike-boycott of 1925–1926, both the colonial government and the Chinese bourgeoisie saw the strike as an illegitimate attack by authorities in Canton. And in the 1941 centenary of Hong Kong as a British colony, local Chinese supported the official, colonial history of Hong Kong that began with Britain's occupation.

Osterhammel wisely cautions that it is "problematic to interpret 'collaboration' and 'resistance' as positions that can be assessed *on principle*, or even morally. Conduct in a given set of circumstances arose from the type of contact situation and the way it was interpreted." Collaboration is thus an "unfortunate choice of term that inevitably recalls the treacherous cooperation of individuals and small cliques with a military occupation regime hated by the remainder of the subjugated population during World War II, causing untold damage to their compatriots."<sup>15</sup> Osterhammel's analysis is particularly appropriate for the case of Hong Kong. Collaboration between Chinese and the colonial government occurred from the earliest days of the colony. Indeed, all Chinese who came to British Hong Kong were collabo-



rators of a sort, not the least because, apart from the small population on the island before the British occupation, most of these Chinese subjects were self-selected, having come to the island willingly. Such was the case with Loo Aqai, Kwok Acheong, and Tam Achoy. Later, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Ho Kai genuinely felt that Hong Kong, because of its Britishness, had an important role to play in the development of a new, strong China. When Chow Shouson, Robert Kotewall, and other leaders of the Chinese bourgeoisie collaborated with the colonial government during the 1925–1926 strike, they were acting not simply out of economic interest but out of a need to preserve *their* Hong Kong in a turbulent era.

Nor did collaboration with the British in Hong Kong necessarily come at the expense of the local Chinese population or at the expense of China. Connections to the colonial government and to European commerce enabled Chinese merchants to amass large fortunes, which enabled them to establish charitable and philanthropic organizations. Although they served to preserve elite status, these organizations offered invaluable services to Chinese of lesser means. They also provided equally important services to China: funds for famine relief, the construction of hospitals, and informal diplomatic functions for the Qing government. Indeed, when the Qing government began to change its official image of overseas Chinese from that of “Chinese traitors” to “overseas Chinese,” it did so not simply because it needed their help but because they had shown their commitment to helping China.

Not all the characteristics of Osterhammel’s redefinition of colonialism, however, apply very well to the case of Hong Kong. Colonialism, according to Osterhammel, is “not just any relationship between masters and servants, but one in which an entire society is robbed of its historical line of development, *externally manipulated* and transformed according to the needs and interests of the colonial rulers.”<sup>16</sup> Far from robbing Hong Kong of its historical line of development, colonialism gave Hong Kong a new historical line of development—but only with help from events in China and across the globe. Although colonialism in Hong Kong was built on cooperation, this was not sufficient to develop the island into anything more than a minor port and colonial outpost, and to create a group of small merchants, landowners, and compradors. The colonial government could not control piracy in the waters surrounding the colony, and it did little to

control crime within Hong Kong itself. Nor was the government able to assure Chinese merchants that it was committed to keeping the island. It required the combination of Western capitalism and imperialism and Chinese domestic turmoil to attract enough men like Li Sing and his brothers, their wealth, and their business connections to make Hong Kong a great commercial center. These events saw the meeting of two world systems that were related but distinct, changing the island's basic reason for being and allowing the realization of this new historical line of development.

How did the leaders of the Chinese business community view their own position in colonial Hong Kong? In *Black Skin, White Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth*, two works that once galvanized anticolonial sentiment across the globe, Frantz Fanon argued that colonialism dislocated and distorted the psyche of colonized peoples by reducing the non-white subject to nothingness.<sup>17</sup> But as Frederick Cooper has argued, Fanon was “denying colonized people any history but that of oppression, any ambiguity to the ways they might confront and appropriate the intrusions of colonizers.”<sup>18</sup> Like Fanon, Osterhammel argues that a “feeling of inadequacy inheres in the basic mental outlook of every colonized people.”<sup>19</sup> If this is true, then the Chinese bourgeoisie of Hong Kong did a remarkable job of either disguising or overcoming this feeling of inadequacy. Loo Aqoi and Tam Achoy wasted no time in adapting to their new home. When Li Sing sent money for relief projects in China, was he doing so out of guilt for having left China for a British colony? Ho Kai was proud of being part of Hong Kong, and he was not afraid to express this pride. In Ho's own era, the founders of the Chinese Club and the Chinese Recreation Club did not simply accept their exclusion from the social world of the European bourgeoisie. They created a new, equally exclusive social world in which they were the undisputed masters. Nor did they try to overcompensate by trying to become more British than the British. Instead, they created a social world that was neither fully British nor Chinese, but Hong Kong Chinese. When the leaders of the Chinese bourgeoisie helped preserve order during the strike of 1925–1926, they showed no tolerance for the radical developments in China and urged the colonial government to take a tough stance against the strike. These do not seem like the actions of men suffering from feelings of inadequacy.

Was Hong Kong *sui generis*, a cultural, economic, and political

anomaly? Although recent work on colonialism has opened up new horizons, it has led to generalized pronouncements about “the colonial project” and “the colonial encounter.” But as Nicholas Thomas reminds us, “colonialism can only be traced through its plural and particularized expressions.”<sup>20</sup> If Hong Kong was unique, its uniqueness lay not in the reasons the Hong Kong government traditionally enjoyed citing: British impartial justice, humane government, and free trade coupled with Chinese entrepreneurship. Rather, it lay more in Hong Kong’s geographic position. A very small tail on a very large Chinese elephant, Hong Kong provided Chinese merchants a vantage point from which they could compare and contrast conditions there with those on the mainland.

### Hong Kong and Chinese Outside of China

The prevailing view of Hong Kong’s position in modern Chinese history stresses Hong Kong’s contributions to nation building: the graduates of local schools who served in the Chinese Civil Service and the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs during the Qing and in the various governments of the republican era; the part played by the colony in the 1911 revolution; its role as a haven for Chinese refugees; its philanthropic and relief works; and the commercial and industrial activities by Hong Kong entrepreneurs in South China.<sup>21</sup> These themes were strongly accentuated especially in Mainland Chinese scholarship during the decade leading up to Hong Kong’s transfer to Chinese rule in 1997, one of many strategic moves designed to wean local Chinese away from Britain and back to the “motherland.”<sup>22</sup> But this emphasis on contributions oversimplifies the picture. It overlooks how Hong Kong Chinese residents could use their role in modern Chinese history to emphasize their own distinctiveness. Similarly, scholarship on Chinese outside China overwhelmingly emphasizes the selfless patriotism of Chinese emigrants and their commitment to China’s nation building. But the ability of these overseas Chinese to send remittances, provide relief funds, and open village schools and hospitals depended on their being *outside* China.

Finally, rather than focus on the “Chineseness” of Chinese society outside China, we might consider some of the similarities to non-Chinese colonial or settler societies.<sup>23</sup> The Chinese business commu-

nity in Hong Kong greatly resembled the British business community in colonial Hong Kong, as well as that of the British “Shanghaianders” in semicolonial Shanghai.<sup>24</sup> Both British and Chinese were dedicated to opening markets in China, to the point where Hong Kong Chinese were in a sense both colonized and colonizers. Both benefited from their connections in the British Empire and both were dependent on the power wielded by that empire. Members of both societies saw themselves as either long-term or permanent residents, rather than as expatriates or sojourners. Yet they continued to send money home to support philanthropic causes and, when necessary, to assist the national war effort. Both British and Chinese could have a number of identities: British or Chinese, imperial or national, and local. Both communities based their local identities on self-images of industriousness, entrepreneurship, and public spirit. As the commemoration of the 1941 centenary shows, both saw themselves as having transformed *their* Hong Kong from a barren rock into a thriving metropolis.

## Hong Kong and Chinese History

What can Hong Kong’s experience teach us about Chinese history? Chinese business elites in Hong Kong played an active role in civic affairs—no doubt for their own purposes but nonetheless affecting the nature of the colony profoundly. Was this possible only under *British* auspices, and only through the participation of *Chinese* business elites? Or were these Chinese conditioned to collaboration by the nature of the Chinese political economy? In many ways, the secret to Hong Kong’s success was China’s failure: its inability to provide a secure business environment in the late nineteenth century, its failure to control factionalism and regionalism in the early twentieth century, and its unwillingness to grant merchants any more political power than they might achieve in European colonies. This made collaboration with the British an attractive option.

Yet Hong Kong was perhaps the most important place in China for more than 150 years, precisely because it was politically not part of China. And although Hong Kong was not part of China “proper,” there were many cities like Hong Kong all along the Chinese coast: Canton and Shanghai, for example—treaty ports opened to foreign

trade at gunpoint, both figuratively and literally. Although these “informal colonies,” as they have often been called, were opened at gunpoint, Chinese moved there in large numbers, not despite but because of this foreign domination. These treaty ports led to new, multiple, and often overlapping, communities, identities, and loyalties that have only recently begun to be studied.<sup>25</sup> The case of Hong Kong also suggests that we need to consider the types and shades of Chinese nationalism. Recent works have tended to focus on how and by whom Chinese nationalism was created, but we also need to look at how ideas of nationalism may have differed—among different classes, in different locations, and at different times.

### Colonialism in Hong Kong: Past and Present

What does a new understanding of colonialism tell us about Hong Kong today, as its people enter a critical new phase in their history? No one knows for sure how Hong Kong will fare under its new rulers, but we might consider what Hong Kong’s past has to say about its future. Although Hong Kong has returned to China, it has not been de-colonized. Rather, it has been re-colonized, with the metropole simply shifting from London to Beijing.<sup>26</sup> The new cadres coming down from Beijing are reminiscent of the early British administrators in the 1800s, with their own language, their own clubs, and their own condescending attitudes toward their new subjects. But Hong Kong also finds itself both colonial and colonized, once again complicating the notion of subaltern: although the former colony is politically subordinate, it is economically and politically more advanced than Mainland China.

The impending transfer to Chinese rule added urgency to some of the issues we have seen. In June 1989, for example, hundreds of thousands of Chinese in Hong Kong took to the streets to protest the massacre at Tiananmen Square. Many observers saw this as the birth of a new Hong Kong identity. Lynn White and Li Cheng rightly argue that the Tiananmen tragedy forced many Hong Kong Chinese “consciously to reevaluate their identities and their options for the future.”<sup>27</sup> But Tiananmen and its aftermath simply highlighted the complex relationships between Chinese nationalism and Hong Kong identity. When Hong Kong Chinese protested the killings at Tian-

anmen, they did so as Chinese nationalists and as Hong Kong Chinese. Tiananmen alienated many Hong Kong Chinese from the Chinese Communist Party, but it also “intensified their Chinese patriotism.”<sup>28</sup> As White and Li put it, “Hong Kong people became more fully Chinese in that year, even while their disaffection with the Chinese government soared and while they looked for safe havens they might later need.”<sup>29</sup> As in the periods of history examined in this book, the relationship between Chinese nationalism and Hong Kong identity was shaped by developments on both sides of the Hong Kong-Chinese border. Similarly, the recent Right of Abode case was ostensibly about the autonomy of the Hong Kong judicial system under a new government. But it was also about who qualified as Hong Kong Chinese.

For many Hong Kong Chinese, rule by China is far more repellent and worrisome than rule by Britain. Although it has promised the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) a “high degree of autonomy” for fifty years, Beijing has interfered regularly in the SAR’s political affairs from its inception, determining to prove that it, not Hong Kong people, will determine the SAR’s future. It has, for example, already taken several measures to limit the growth of democracy in Hong Kong. Surveys regularly find that public dissatisfaction with the Hong Kong government’s handling of relations with the central authorities in Beijing is very high, while public satisfaction with the SAR government is usually very low.

But rarely do we read or hear questions about how Hong Kong’s colonial past has prepared its people to deal with their new colonial future. Academics and journalists frequently (and justifiably) lament the recent erosion of political liberties in Hong Kong. But less often do they pay attention to the new attempts in Hong Kong to make sure this former colony does not become just another part of China—from parents who fight the government’s directives to emphasize Chinese rather than English in schools because they fear their children will be less competitive in the international market, to artists and journalists who encourage the use of more Cantonese in their work. Even the new government is trying to find ways to keep Hong Kong alive as a distinct entity, from a Disney theme park on one of the last undeveloped areas of the region, to failed proposals for a new “cyberport,” to various names and symbols designed to give the place a new image: “City of Life” and “Asia’s World City.”

Finally, just as British colonization was made possible by help from local Chinese, so Chinese re-colonization is being made possible by local Hong Kong Chinese. Although the appointment of prominent local people to run the region since 1997 certainly does not mean that Beijing has yielded to local demands for representation, it is an admission that Hong Kong is so different from anywhere else in China that it cannot be run without local help. More than 150 years of colonial rule may have prepared Chinese in Hong Kong to cope with the changes they now face. Chinese in Hong Kong may not have seriously challenged colonialism and all its trappings, but neither did they simply accept it. They worked around it and borrowed what they wanted. They did so in the nineteenth century and the twentieth century, and I suspect they will do so in the twenty-first.

# Notes

## Introduction

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4. Su Fuxiang, “‘Zhongxi hebi’ de xianggang wenhua” [Hong Kong culture: the “junction of East and West”], in Li Jinwei, ed., *Xianggang bainianshi* [Centenary history of Hong Kong] (Hong Kong: Nanzhong chubanshe, 1948), pp. 168–169; Su Fuxiang, “Mantan ‘Xianggangren’ ” [A chat about ‘Hong Kong people’], in Li, *Xianggang bainianshi*, p. 133.
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11. Lau Siu-kai, *Utilitarianistic Familism: An Inquiry into the Basis of Political Stability in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Social Research Centre, 1977), pp. 21–24, and *Society and Politics in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1982), pp. 7–9; for the quote on Britain's goals in Hong Kong, Steve Tsang, ed., *Government and Politics: A Documentary History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1995), p. 4.

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13. Abbas, *Hong Kong*, p. 2.

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17. Ranajit Guha, "On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India," in Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 43. On lack of new theoretical insights, see, for example, the essays in Chaturvedi, *Mapping Subaltern Studies*. In his contribution to the volume, "Rallying Around the Subaltern," pp. 117–118, C. A. Bayly argues that "Subaltern authors generally use theory as the elite historians used it, as a piquant garnish for footnotes, though in the process, Foucault, Gramsci and Derrida have been stirred in with Weber, Marx or Pareto."

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20. Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 34; McClintock, "Angel of Progress," pp. 292–294.

21. McClintock ("Angel of Progress," p. 293; original emphasis) notes how often the term "postcolonial" refers to singularity rather than to multiplicity and variance: terms such as "the post-colonial condition," "post-coloniality," and "the post-colonial Other" tend to reduce history to a "single issue." For other criticism of the ahistorical nature of Orientalism and postcolonialism, see MacKenzie, *Orientalism*, p. 11; Dennis Porter, "Orientalism and Its Problems," in Williams and Chrisman, *Colonial Discourse*, p. 152; Dane Kennedy, "Imperial History and Post-Colonial Theory," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 24.3 (September 1996): 350–351; Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 17.

22. Pier M. Larson, "'Capacities and Modes of Thinking': Intellectual Engagements and Subaltern Hegemony in the Early History of Malagasy Christianity," *American Historical Review* 102.4 (October 1997): 1000.

23. "We should never forget that the British Empire was first and foremost a class act, where individual social ordering often took precedence over collective racial ordering" (Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 10); Gail Hershatter, "The Sub-

altern Talks Back: Reflections on Subaltern Theory and Chinese History,” *positions* 1.1 (Spring 1993): 110–111.

24. This attitude persisted in both China and Taiwan after 1949: for example, a study of Chinese education in Hong Kong published in Taiwan in 1958 explained that “Hong Kong’s Chinese society is purely a commercial one. These permanent residents are almost all merchants or the sons and grandsons of merchants. Their main goal is accumulating capital, generating commerce, and amassing personal or family fortunes—to the point where they usually do not have the time for scientific or cultural development.” Ma Hongshu and Chen Zhenming, *Xianggang Huaqiao jiaoyu* [Chinese education in Hong Kong] (Taipei: Haiwai chubanshe, 1958), p. 5.

25. He Jian, “Huaqiao yu Xianggang jianshe” [Overseas Chinese and the building of Hong Kong], in Chen Datong, et al., *Xianggang Huaqiao tuanti zonglan* [Chinese organizations in Hong Kong] (Hong Kong: Guoji xinwenshe, 1947), p. 7.

26. On the problem of hybridity and authenticity, see Nicholas Thomas, *In Oceania: Visions, Artifacts, Histories* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 11; Frederick Cooper, “Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History,” *American Historical Review* 99.5 (December 1994): 1532.

27. Arif Dirlik, “Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism,” *History and Theory* 35.4 (December 1995): 96–120; MacKenzie, *Orientalism*, p. 11; Sarkar, “Orientalism Revisited,” p. 242.

28. On the “vagueness” of colonialism, Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, trans. Shelley L. Frisch (Princeton: Marcus Wiener, 1997), p. 4; Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism’s Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 17.

29. For dialogue in the colonies, see, for example, the essays in Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); “traumatic relationships,” Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, p. 2; and “unitary representation,” Thomas, *Colonialism’s Culture*, p. 60.

30. Great Britain, Colonial Office, Original Correspondence: Hong Kong, 1841–1951, Series 129 (CO129), Public Record Office, London, CO 129/23, Feb. 26, 1848, “Memorial from the European and Chinese Inhabitants in Hong Kong relative to the Payment of Ground Rents,” pp. 222–226.

31. Bergère, p. 191.

32. David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans, eds., *The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German Middle Class from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. xiv.

33. Laura Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

34. James A. Millward, *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia, 1759–1864* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

35. James L. Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Mission of 1793* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 26.

36. James L. Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 166.

### 1. Colonialism and Collaboration

1. Great Britain, Colonial Office, Original Correspondence: Hong Kong, 1841–1951, Series 129 (CO129), Public Record Office, London, CO129/73, March 29, 1859, Bowring to Lytton, pp. 296–297.

2. E. J. Eitel, *Europe in China: The History of Hong Kong from the Beginning to the Year 1882* (1895; repr., Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 569–570; on “policy of conciliation,” Lennox A. Mills, *British Rule in Eastern Asia: A Study of Contemporary Government and Economic Development in British Malaya and Hong Kong* (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 413; for an example of free-market economist view, see Alvin Rabushka, *Hong Kong: A Study in Economic Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979); on social noninterventionism, Lau Siu-kai and Kuan Hsin-chi, *The Ethos of the Hong Kong Chinese* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1988); on apathy, Norman Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1975); on fair government, Steve Tsang, ed., *Government and Politics: A Documentary History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1995), p. 5. For critiques of the notion of political stability, see Stephen W. K. Chiu and Ho-fung Hung, “State Building and Rural Stability,” and Tai-lok Lui and Stephen W. K. Chiu, “Social Movements and Public Discourse on Politics,” both in Tak-Wing Ngo, ed., *Hong Kong’s History: State and Society under Colonial Rule* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 74–100, 101–118; and Fred Y. L. Chiu, “Politics and the Body Social in Colonial Hong Kong,” in Tani E. Barlow, ed., *Formation of Colonial Modernity in East Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), pp. 295–322.

3. Ronald Robinson, “Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration,” in Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe, eds., *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism* (London: Longman, 1972), pp. 117–142, and “European Imperialism and Indigenous Reactions in British West Africa,” in H. L. Wesseling, ed., *Expansion and Reaction: Essays in European Expansion and Reactions in Asia and Africa* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1978), pp. 141–163 (Robinson’s argument is applied to the case of Indonesian and Chinese collaborators in Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* [Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Foris, 1986], especially chapter 4); Frederick Cooper, “The Dialectics of Decolonization: Nationalism and Labor Movements in Postwar French Africa,” in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 409.

4. Carter J. Eckert, *Offspring of Empire: The Koch’ang Kims and the Colonial Origins of Korean Capitalism, 1876–1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), especially chapter 2.

5. Fearon’s report on the first six months of the Census and Registration Office, CO 129/12, June 24, 1845, pp. 305–306; Cheng Zhi, “Xianggang jianshi” [Brief history of Hong Kong], and Yu Lou, “Xianggang chuqi haidaoshi [Piracy in early Hong Kong],” both in Li Jinwei, ed., *Xianggang bainianshi* [Centenary history of Hong Kong] (Hong Kong: Nanzhong chubanshe, 1948), pp. 7–14; Great Britain, Foreign Office, Records of Letters between the Plenipotentiary and the High Provincial Authorities, and Proclamations by H. E. the Governor and Chief Magistrate, 1844–1849, Series 233 (FO 233), Public Record Office,

London, FO 233/185, Jan. 6, 1845; Lu Yan, *Xianggang zhanggu* [Hong Kong stories], vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Guangjiaojing chubanshe, 1977), pp. 111–114; Zhang Yueai, “Xianggang, 1841–1980” [Hong Kong, 1841–1980], in Lu Yan et al., *Xianggang zhanggu* [Hong Kong stories], vol. 4 (Hong Kong: Guangjiaojing chubanshe, 1981), pp. 2–4.

6. On the region’s tradition of trade, Luo Xianglin, *Yiba siyinian yiqian zhi Xianggang ji qi duiwai jiaotong* [Hong Kong’s overseas relations before 1841] (Hong Kong: Zhongguo xueshe, 1963), chapter 1; Jiang Zulu and Fang Zhiqian, eds., *Jianming Guangdongshi* [Concise history of Guangdong] (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1993), pp. 6–8; Macau as emporium: Jonathan Porter, *Macau: The Imaginary City* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), p. 3.

7. Peter Y. C. Ng and Hugh D. R. Baker, *New Peace County: A Chinese Gazetteer of Hong Kong Region* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1983), p. 77.

8. William C. Hunter, *The “Fan Kwae” at Canton before Treaty Days, 1825–1844* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1882), p. 26; Colin Crisswell, *The Taipans: Hong Kong’s Merchant Princes* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 4–5, 11, 27. On the early foreign trading houses, see Solomon Bard, *Traders of Hong Kong: Some Foreign Merchant Houses, 1841–1899* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1993), and Feng Bangyan, *Xianggang Yingzi caituan, 1841–1996* [British financial organizations in Hong Kong, 1841–1996] (Hong Kong: Sanlian, 1996), chapter 1. The Parsis were Zoroastrians who had left Persia for India to escape religious persecution. As in India, many Parsis in Hong Kong became successful merchants and prominent philanthropists.

9. Eitel, *Europe in China*, pp. 53–57; John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842–1854*, 2 vols. (1953; repr. 2 vols. in 1, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 123; quote from *Canton Register* cited in Eitel, *Europe in China*, p. 60.

10. For example, Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *Strangers at the Gate: Social Disorder in South China, 1839–1861* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966); Chang Hsin-pao, *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964); Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China, 1800–1842* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951); Arthur Waley, *The Opium War through Chinese Eyes* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1958); Gregory Blue, “Opium for China: The British Connection,” in Timothy Brook and Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, eds., *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839–1952* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 31–54.

11. Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy*, p. 123. Palmerston’s successor, Lord Aberdeen, thought the island would be too costly to maintain and that acquisition would only cause further trouble with China.

12. Dafydd M. E. Evans, “The Foundation of Hong Kong: A Chapter of Accidents,” in Marjorie Topley, ed., *Hong Kong: The Interaction of Traditions and Life in the Towns* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1975), p. 12–13.

13. Frederic Wakeman, Jr., “*Hanjian* (Traitor)!: Collaboration and Retribution in Wartime Shanghai,” in Wen-hsin Yeh, ed., *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p. 299; on Britain’s “use of Chinese ‘traitors,’” Ding Xinbao [Ting Sun Pao, Joseph], “Xiang-

gang zaoqi zhi Huaren shehui, 1841–1870” [Early Chinese Community in Hong Kong, 1841–1870] (Ph.D. diss., University of Hong Kong, 1989), pp. 146–148; Christopher Munn, “The Chusan Episode: Britain’s Occupation of a Chinese Island, 1840–46,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 25.1 (January 1997): 89; CO 129/1, June 21, 1841, Elliot to Auckland, p. 3.

14. Dian Murray, *Pirates of the South China Coast, 1790–1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), p. 16; Hunter, *Fan Kwae*, p. 84; CO 129/25, August 10, 1848, Inglis to Caine, pp. 144–146; Dafydd Emrys Evans, “Chinatown in Hong Kong: The Beginnings of Taipingshan,” *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 10 (1970): 70; Carl T. Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 110.

15. CO 129/12, June 24, 1845, p. 306; “Caine’s Observations on the Replies of Witnesses Before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Commercial Relations with China,” CO 129/27, Feb. 25, 1848, pp. 286–287; *Canton Press*, March 19, 1842; *Friend of China*, May 6, 1846; *Qingdai chouban yiwu shimo, Daoguang* [Complete account of our management of barbarian affairs, Daoguang reign], vol. 58, pp. 39b–42b, cited in Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy*, p. 88; Carl Smith, *Chinese Christians*, p. 109; Rev. George Smith, *A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to Each of the Consular Cities of China and to the Islands of Hong Kong and Chusan, In Behalf of the Church Missionary Society in the Years 1844, 1845, 1846* (London: Seely, Burnside and Seeley, 1847), p. 82; *Yingyi ru-Yue jilue* [The English barbarians’ invasion of Guangdong], Yazheng [Opium War] section, vol. 3, pp. 25–26, cited in Ding, “Xianggang zaoqi zhi Huaren shehui,” p. 204–209.

16. “. . . influx of natives,” Edward H. Cree, *The Cree Journals: The Voyages of Edward H. Cree, Surgeon R. N., as Related in His Private Journals, 1837–1856*, ed. Michael Levien (Exeter, Eng.: Webb and Bower, 1981), p. 78; on makeshift godowns, William Fred Mayers, N. B. Dennys, and Charles King, *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan: A Complete Guide to the Open Ports of those Countries, Together with Peking, Yedo, Hongkong and Macao* (Hong Kong: A. Shortrede, 1867), p. 3, and George Smith, *Narrative*, p. 68; engineer’s quote, John Ouchterlony, *The Chinese War: An Account of All the Operations of the British Forces from the Commencement to the Treaty of Nanking* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1844), pp. 216–217.

17. *The Hong Kong Almanack and Directory for 1846* (Hong Kong: China Mail, 1846).

18. French officer’s observation, *Friend of China*, June 8, 1843; *Canton Press*, Dec. 4, 1841; Great Britain, Foreign Office, General Correspondence: China, 1815–1905, Series 17 (FO 17), Public Record Office, London, FO 17/56, Feb. 8, 1842, Pottinger to Aberdeen, pp. 111–112; *Canton Press*, Feb. 19, 1842.

19. Arthur Cunynghame, *The Opium War; Being Recollections of Service in China* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1844), p. 216.

20. Robert Fortune, *Three Years’ Wanderings in the Northern Provinces of China, including a Visit to the Tea, Silk, and Cotton Countries: With an Account of Agriculture and Horticulture of the Chinese, New Plants, etc.* (London: J. Murray, 1847), p. 14, and, on a later visit to Hong Kong, Fortune, *Wanderings*, pp. 14–15. Not everyone shared Fortune’s enthusiasm for these “noble buildings.” A critical article in the *Canton Press* on Feb. 19, 1842, asked rhetorically, “How fitly express the utter disgust we feel at such monstrosities?”

21. Osmond Tiffany, Jr., *The Canton Chinese or The American's Sojourn in the Celestial Empire* (1849; repr. in Barbara-Sue White, ed., *Hong Kong: Somewhere Between Heaven and Earth* [Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1996]), p. 39.

22. *Canton Press*, July 24, 1841.

23. CO 129/16, April 15, 1846, Davis to Gladstone, p. 224.

24. On contractors fleeing the island, CO 129/2, July 6, 1843, Gordon to Malcolm, pp. 139–140; *Friend of China*, Jan. 18, 1845.

25. Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; Berkeley: University of California, 1991), p. xii; Gwendolyn Wright, "Tradition in the Service of Modernity: Architecture and Urbanism in French Colonial Policy," in Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire* pp. 322–325, and *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Brenda S. A. Yeoh, *Contesting Space: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment in Colonial Singapore* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 243.

26. *China Mail*, Sept. 23, 1852; Eitel, *Europe in China*, p. 220; *Friend of China*, Jan. 5, 1856; Carl Smith, *Chinese Christians*, p. 114.

27. Cree, *Journals*, p. 30; *Canton Press*, Feb. 19, 1842.

28. *Friend of China*, June 8, 1843.

29. On the "vagabondage population," CO 129/20, July 1, 1847, Davis to Grey, p. 121; on Chinese initiative, CO 129/10, Oct. 30, 1843, Woosnam to Caine, p. 529.

30. *Friend of China*, Oct. 12, 1843.

31. Public Records Office of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Record Series (HKRS), HKRS 100, Williams to Tarrant, enclosed in Pope to Caine, Dec. 31, 1844, pp. 112–113; *Friend of China*, July 18, 1857.

32. *Friend of China*, July 22, 1846.

33. Great Britain, Colonial Office, Executive and Legislative Council Minutes: Hong Kong (from 1844), Series 131 (CO 131), Public Record Office, London, CO 131/2, Dec. 9, 1851, pp. 154, 170–171.

34. *Canton Press*, Feb. 19, 1842.

35. Robinson, "Foundations," pp. 120–121.

36. George Smith, *Narrative*, p. 82; Fearon's report, CO 129/11, June 24, 1845, p. 306.

37. *The China Directory for 1867* (Hong Kong: A. Shortrede, 1867), p. 39A.

38. Carl Smith, *Chinese Christians*, pp. 114–115, 123–124; William Tarrant, "History of Hong Kong," *Friend of China*, Nov. 23, 1860. Originally the term for an Indian governor under the Mughals, the term "nabob" later came to refer more generally to a man of great wealth and influence.

39. Cited in Carl T. Smith, "The Chinese Settlement of British Hong Kong," *Chung Chi Bulletin* 48 (May 1970): 29.

40. Christopher Munn, "The Hong Kong Opium Revenue, 1845–1885," in Timothy Brook and Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, eds., *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839–1952* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 111–112.

41. Munn, "Opium Revenue," p. 107; on Loo's opium acquisition, CO 129/11, June 13, 1845, Davis to Stanley, pp. 182–183 and *Hong Kong Register*, Jan. 27 and March 31, 1846; on sedar chairs and the ropewalk, FO 233/185, March 17 and June 16, 1845.

42. CO 129/2, July 6, 1843, Gordon to Malcolm, pp. 142–148.
43. When the government realized the temple was being used for purposes other than a Chinese school, it decided to charge rent on the land. HKRS 58.1.16–12, 1848 and 1900, correspondence regarding the Man Mo Temple.
44. “The Districts of Hong Kong and the Name Kwan Tai Lo,” *China Review* 1 (1872): 333, cited in Smith, *Chinese Christians*, p. 109.
45. *Hong Kong Register*, July 27, 1847.
46. *China Mail*, Sept. 23, 1852.
47. London Missionary Society Archives, LMS/CWM, 1843–1872, South China and Ultra Ganges, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, box 5, folder 3, Sept. 5 1853, Hirschberg to Tidman. Thanks to Christopher Munn for sharing his notes on this document.
48. *Friend of China*, Feb. 27 and July 25, 1856, and April 8, 1857; *China Mail*, April 8, 1857; on harbor master’s retirement fund, from Carl T. Smith’s unpublished list of philanthropy in Hong Kong.
49. Helping the distressed, “The Districts of Hong Kong and the Name Kwan Tai Lo,” pp. 333–334, cited in Smith, *Chinese Christians*, p. 203; London Missionary Society Archives, Sept. 5, 1853, Hirschberg to Tidman; *China Mail*, Sept. 23, 1852.
50. Guang Shinan, “Xianggang de ‘maiban’ zhidu” [The comprador system in Hong Kong], in Li, *Xianggang bainianshi*, p. 130.
51. Yen-p’ing Hao, *The Comprador in Nineteenth Century China: Bridge between East and West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970); p. 1; Huang Yifeng, “Diguo zhuyi qinlue Zhongguo diyige zhongyao zhizhu: maiban jieji” [One important pillar of the imperialist invasion of China: the comprador class] *Lishi yanjiu* 91 (1965): 55–56 and “Guanyu jiu Zhongguo maiban jieji de yanjiu” [Research on the comprador class in old China] *Lishi yanjiu* 87 (1964): 89; Hunter, *Fan Kwae*, pp. 53–56; Ma Yinchu, “Zhongguo zhi maiban zhidu” [The comprador system in China], *Dongfang zazhi* 20.6 (March 1923): 129–132; Nie Baozhang, *Zhongguo maiban zichan jieji de fasheng* [The emergence of the Chinese comprador class] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1979), pp. 2–5; Sha Weikai, *Zhongguo zhi maiban zhidu* [The comprador system in China] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1927), pp. 1–5; G. C. Allen and Audrey G. Donnithorne, *Western Enterprise in Far Eastern Economic Development: China and Japan* (New York: Macmillan, 1954), p. 47; Feng Bangyan, *Xianggang Huazi caituan, 1841–1997* [Chinese financial organizations in Hong Kong, 1841–1997] (Hong Kong: Sanlian, 1997), pp. 29–37; and Zhang Xiaohui, *Xianggang Huashangshi* [History of Hong Kong Chinese merchants] (Hong Kong: Mingbao, 1996), pp. 4–5.
52. Sherman Cochran, *Big Business in China: Sino-Foreign Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry, 1890–1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 28–30, 39.
53. Marie-Claire Bergère, *The Golden Age of the Chinese Bourgeoisie, 1911–1937*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 39; Hao, *Comprador*, p. 99.
54. *China Mail*, April 22, 1880; *Hong Kong Daily Press*, April 23, 1880.
55. *Daily Press*, April 23, 1880.
56. Xu Ribiao, “Xianggang de shehui jiegou” [The structure of Hong Kong society], in Yu Shengwu and Liu Cunkuan, eds., *Shijiu shiji de Xianggang* [Nineteenth century Hong Kong] (Hong Kong: Qilin shuye, 1994), p. 339.



57. *Daily Press*, April 23, 1880.

58. Ming K. Chan, "All in the Family: The Hong Kong-Guangdong Link in Historical Perspective," in Reginald Yin-Wang Kwok and Alvin Y. So, eds., *The Hong Kong-Guangdong Link: Partnership in Flux* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1995), pp. 32–34, 42.

59. Munn, "Opium Revenue," p. 105.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

61. Nicholas B. Dirks, "Colonialism and Culture," in Nicholas B. Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), p. 7.

## 2. *A Better Class of Chinese*

1. *Canton Press*, July 2, 1842.

2. Alijaz Ahmad, "The Politics of Literary Postcoloniality," in Padmini Mongia, ed., *Contemporary Postcolonial Theory* (London: Arnold, 1996), pp. 280–281; Arif Dirlik, "The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism," in Mongia, *Postcolonial Theory*, p. 95.

3. On colonialism as "midwife," Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 4; on trial and error in colonialism and capitalism, Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Re-thinking a Research Agenda," in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 29 (original emphasis).

4. Robert Montgomery Martin's comments, "Report on the Island of Hong Kong," July 24, 1844, enclosed in Davis to Stanley, Aug. 20, 1844, Papers of the House of Commons, 1857, session 1, vol. 12, reprinted in R. L. Jarman, ed., *Hong Kong Annual Administration Reports, 1841–1941*, vol. 1: 1841–1886 (Oxford: Archive Editions, 1996), pp. 8–15.

5. Frank H. H. King, *Survey our Empire! Robert Montgomery Martin (1801?–1868): A Bio-Bibliography* (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, 1979), pp. 233–256; Davis to Stanley, April 25, 1845, in "Copy of Correspondence of Mr. Montgomery Martin with the Secretary for the Colonies, relating to his resignation of the Office of Treasurer of Hong Kong," reprinted in Irish University Press Area Studies Series, *British Parliamentary Papers, China, 24: Correspondence, Dispatches, Reports, Ordinances, Memoranda and Other Papers Relating to the Affairs of Hong Kong, 1846–60* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971), p. 33; on the "finest harbour," Great Britain, Colonial Office, Original Correspondence: Hong Kong, 1841–1951, Series 129 (CO129), Public Record Office, London, CO 129/11, April 25, 1845, Davis to Stanley, p. 125; comparing Hong Kong and Singapore, CO 129/19, March 13, 1847, Davis to Grey, p. 221; Martin as "false prophet," Arnold Wright and H. A. Cartwright, eds., *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hongkong, Shanghai, and other Treaty Ports of China: Their History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources* (London: Lloyds, 1908), p. 149.

6. *China Mail*, Aug. 27, 1846; Robert Fortune, *Three Years' Wanderings in the Northern Provinces of China, Including a Visit to the Tea, Silk, and Cotton Countries: With an Account of Agriculture and Horticulture of the Chinese, New Plants, etc.* (London: J. Murray, 1847), p. 28; Rev. George Smith, *A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to Each of the Consular Cities of China and to the Islands of Hong Kong and*

*Chusan, In Behalf of the Church Missionary Society in the Years 1844, 1845, 1846* (London: Seeley, Burnside and Seeley, 1847), p. 513;

7. Lin Youlan, *Xianggang shibua, zengding ben* [Stories of Hong Kong, revised edition] (Hong Kong: Shanghai shudian, 1985), p. 24; P. S. Cassidy, “Commercial History of Hong Kong: A Century of Trade,” in *Hong Kong Centenary Commemorative Talks, 1841–1941* (Hong Kong: World News Service, 1941), p. 39.

8. In 1857 Governor John Bowring wrote that there had never been any attempt by either the Chinese or the British to enforce the articles of the treaty. CO 129/63, May 15, 1857, Bowring to Labouchere, p. 118. Local European residents, however, were less convinced: the *Friend of China* (Nov. 16, 1844) once warned that colonial officials were “strangling the young commerce of Hongkong, by seizing any inoffensive junk that should enter the harbour without a pass and handing [it] over to the Mandarins at Cowloon, who if they could not purchase their acquittal, would torture them after the cruel custom of China.”

9. On “celestial” influence, *Friend of China*, Oct. 12, 1843; Canton rather than Hong Kong, Julius Berncastle, *A Voyage to China: Including a Visit to the Bombay Presidency; the Mabratra Country; the Cave Temples of Western India, Singapore, the Straits of Malacca and Sunda, and the Cape of Good Hope* (London: William Shoberl, 1850), vol. 1, pp. 2–48; CO 129/11, April 25, 1845, Davis to Stanley, pp. 283–285; “Remarks upon the Native Trade of Hongkong from 1st April 1844–1st April 1845,” enclosed in CO 129/11, May 3, 1845, Davis to Stanley, pp. 38–43; *Friend of China*, Nov. 16, 1844; George Smith, *Narrative*, p. 510.

10. “Remarks upon the Native Trade of Hongkong,” p. 42. Karl Gützlaff was one of the many “old coasters” or “old Cantons”—European missionaries, traders, and adventurers who sailed the waters of South China in the early 1800s. He served as an interpreter for opium traders, in exchange for using their boats to spread the Christian scriptures and distribute religious tracts. See Jessie G. Lutz, “Karl F. A. Gützlaff: Missionary Entrepreneur,” in Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John King Fairbank, eds., *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Council on East Asian Studies, 1985), pp. 61–87; and Arthur Waley, *The Opium War through Chinese Eyes* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1958), chapter 5. Gützlaff’s memoirs are compiled in his *Journal of Three Voyages Along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832, and 1833, with Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-choo Islands* (London: F. Westley and A. H. Davis, 1834).

11. “Remarks upon the present state of Native Trade with the Colony of Hong Kong,” enclosed in CO 129/16, April 15, 1846, Davis to Gladstone, p. 151.

12. “Report on the Island of Hong Kong,” p. 9.

13. “Remarks upon the present state of Native Trade with the Colony of Hong Kong,” p. 151.

14. Negative comments by Martin and others, “Report on the Island of Hong Kong,” pp. 8–9. Gützlaff appears to have had an amicable relationship with the Chinese mercantile community of the colony. When he left for England in October 1849, he received praise from 167 Chinese shopkeepers who offered the following address: “Since he came to this place his official character has been spotless as water, and not a cash even has he received as a bribe. We bear in grateful remembrance the influence he has exercised in turning men to virtue . . . he was truly ‘a courteous, princelike man treating others as himself’ ” (*Hong Kong Register*; Oct. 2, 1849).

15. "Report on the Island of Hong Kong," p. 15.
16. George Smith, *Narrative*, p. 508; Fortune, *Wanderings*, p. 27.
17. Cited in E. J. Eitel, *Europe in China: The History of Hong Kong from the Beginning to the Year 1882* (1895; repr., Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 242.
18. Fortune, *Wanderings*, p. 28; Osmond Tiffany, Jr., *The Canton Chinese or The American's Sojourn in the Celestial Empire* 1849; repr. in Barbara-Sue White, ed., *Hong Kong: Somewhere Between Heaven and Earth* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 38–39.
19. Population statistics, China Mail, *Hong Kong Almanack and Directory for 1846* (Hong Kong: China Mail, 1846); Tiffany, *Canton Chinese*, in White, *Hong Kong*, p. 39; lists of lots granted by Johnston and Pottinger, CO 129/2, 1843, pp. 152–175, and list of land sold by public auction on Jan. 22, 1844, CO 129/5, Feb. 13, 1844, pp. 148–151; CO 129/33, Aug. 1850, p. 424.
20. *Canton Press*, Dec. 4, 1841; Tiffany, *Canton Chinese*, in White, *Hong Kong*, p. 36.
21. On spies, "Remarks upon the Native Trade with the Colony of Hong Kong," p. 234; Berncastle, *Voyage*, p. 42; John M. Tronson, *Personal Narrative of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtschatka, Siberia, Tartary, and Various Parts of the Coast of China; in H. M. S. Barracouta, 1854–1856* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1859), p. 55.
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24. Petition from Wong Aalong and other vessel masters, CO 129/47, Oct. 1854, pp. 212–213; petition from headman and shopkeepers of Lower Bazaar, CO 129/43, Oct. 1854, pp. 214–215.
25. Caine to Grey: CO 129/47, Oct. 17, 1854, pp. 197–199; Bowring to Russell: CO 129/51, April 9, 1855, p. 255.
26. For example, FO 17/98, Jan. 25, 1845, Davis to Cochrane.
27. CO 129/42, June 13, 1853, Bonham to Newcastle, p. 321; Martin's report, "Report on the Island of Hong Kong," p. 9; Tronson, *Personal Narrative*, p. 55.
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61. Kotewall, “Anglo-Chinese Co-operation,” p. 46.

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### Conclusion

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2. Snow, *Fall of Hong Kong*, p. 161.

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4. Lethbridge, “Japanese Occupation,” pp. 110–111.

5. Snow, *Fall of Hong Kong*, p. 130.

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8. North’s account of the meeting with Chow and Kotewall is in *South China Morning Post*, Oct. 2, 1945.

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25. See, for example, Robert Bickers and Christian Henriot, eds., *New Frontiers: Imperialism’s New Communities in East Asia, 1842–1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

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