

FORGOTTEN SOULS

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE
HONG KONG CEMETERY

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Introduction

The Hong Kong Cemetery, Its Position and History

In the midst of the concrete sky-scrapers that line the noisy bustling streets of Hong Kong lies an unexpected oasis of peace and quiet. This hallowed ground is arranged in a series of terraces cut into the thick, tree-clad undergrowth that scales the slopes of the hill. The Hong Kong Cemetery contains the main source material for this book. The Cemetery overlooks the Happy Valley racecourse to the front and at the back is bounded by the skyscrapers of Stubbs Road. This area contains a small ecosystem that has changed little over 150 years. It is a safe haven for birds, bats and butterflies. On one day in October, nineteen species of butterflies were recorded in just two and a half hours and on that evening, over a short three-hour period, two very rare moths were among the twenty-eight species found.¹ Its trees speak of its age and colonial past and include spectacular Australian gum trees, tall palms as well as magnificent local specimens. The elegant Norfolk Island pines used for making masts for sailing ships were brought here from Norfolk



I.1. The antique fountain found in the Hong Kong Cemetery at the junction of sections 12A, 17, 18 and 11A.



I.2. A wooded view across the Cemetery showing the Norfolk Pine trees.



Map: An aerial view of the line of cemeteries facing the Racecourse at Happy Valley, in order going from bottom left to just before the Aberdeen Tunnel (top right): 1. Muslim Cemetery 2. Roman Catholic Cemetery 3. Hong Kong Cemetery. The Parsee Cemetery and Hindu Temple are further up Shan Kwong Rd.

Island, an island not much bigger than Hong Kong, where the descendants of the *Bounty* mutineers were moved from the overcrowded Pitcairn Islands in 1856. The magnificent West Indies mahogany tree at the top of Section 11A is unique in Hong Kong and was crowned king of the trees in Wan Chai in 1997.² The oldest classical fountain in Hong Kong sits in the heart of the Cemetery.

The approximately seven thousand graves which constitute the main source material of this book have been mapped and recorded. If a visitor wants to find a particular grave, it should be possible. Wherever a deceased inhabitant of the Hong Kong Cemetery is mentioned, his or her name has been typed in bold and followed by three numbers in square brackets separated by slashes. The numbers stand for the section, row and number in the row where that particular grave may be found. Those graves mentioned as being in St. Michael's Roman Catholic Cemetery, the Parsee Cemetery or the Jewish Cemetery will have to be left to the ingenuity of the readers, if they want to locate them.

The Hong Kong Cemetery, which in the course of its history was also known as the Protestant Cemetery and the Colonial Cemetery, lies in Happy Valley opposite the oldest racecourse in Hong Kong and at the centre of a long line of cemeteries. To its right as you look up the slope are the Roman Catholic and Islamic cemeteries opened in 1848 and 1870 respectively. The Catholic cemetery provides an interesting contrast to the Hong Kong Cemetery next to it. It seems as if no-one was turned away. The more egalitarian approach of the Catholic Church is obvious. Whereas the Protestant cemetery is calm, dignified and usually deserted with plenty of space round each grave, the Catholic cemetery is so crowded that it is impossible to reach the end of a row without stepping on graves. The Portuguese, Chinese and British Catholics lie huddled side by side without distinction. That the Catholic cemetery is more deeply integrated into the present day society of Hong Kong is shown by the numbers of visitors who arrive to lay flowers on the graves of their loved ones. The visitors are numerous and generous enough in their floral offerings to keep two stalls of flower sellers in business, whereas no flower seller sits outside the Hong Kong Cemetery.

To the left of the Hong Kong Cemetery is the Parsee Cemetery opened in 1852 and beyond that the plot of land granted to the Hindus in 1880. Since the Hindus cremate their dead, it has been used as a temple. At the head of Happy Valley at 13, Shan Kwong Road, tucked in behind a Buddhist school and temple is the Jewish Cemetery which was opened in 1855.³ Near the Muslim mosque above Hollywood Road, a cemetery was opened early on to cater for the Indian

Muslim dead. This cemetery remained open until 1870 in which year the last of the Happy Valley cemeteries was formed, for the Muslim dead, to the right of the Catholic cemetery.

That the Chinese were the only people left unprovided for in the early days of Hong Kong's history was typical of the government's attitude towards the majority race. They were then in the colony uninvited, on sufferance and for limited amounts of time for money-making purposes only. It was not up to the government to cater to their needs. A letter to the *Friend of China* dated July 1850 underlines the government's attitude to the needs of the Chinese in early Hong Kong:

Romanists, Protestants, Zoroastrians and Mahometans have each their allotted places for interment; not so the Chinese who may bury their dead anywhere. On the hills immediately westward of Taipingshan burials of Chinese are of daily occurrence; indeed I am induced to draw your attention to the subject by seeing this morning such a grave being opened within a dozen yards of Queen's road.

This, Mr. Editor should not be; the locality from its healthfulness may hereafter become one of much desirability for European residences and then in desecrating the graves to erect them, the Chinese may act on precedent and strike at the head and front of the offending.⁴

This extract shows how the Chinese majority were relegated to the bottom of the pile where rights of interment were concerned. Even the reason given for the need for a Chinese cemetery assumed that the Europeans had the right to appropriate Chinese burials sites at will for their own use and it was only because the exercising of this right could lead to friction that the Chinese needs were considered. The precedent alluded to here is the occasion when, in 1849, D'Amaral, the one-armed governor of Macau, was pulled from his horse and speared to death by Chinese men. He had ordered a road to be cut through the Campo which interfered with the Chinese graves.⁵ The area referred to in the above extract was probably the popular unofficial area for Chinese burials along Fan Mo or Cemetery Street which was renamed Po Yan Street in 1869 when the Tung Wah Hospital was built there. In fact the first designated Chinese burial ground was opened in 1856.⁶

The usual reason given for the lack of a need for a Chinese cemetery was that when the Chinese became sick in a life-threatening way or died in Hong Kong,

arrangements were made for their transportation back to their clan villages. There they could be nursed back to health or buried according to the proper rites among their clansmen. But given that the Chinese population in 1850 was said to be about 32,000 and the death rate in the region of 3 percent (approximately 960 deaths in a year), if only 10 percent of those dying had made no arrangements for their repatriation to China, there would have been ninety-six corpses a year to be buried haphazardly in any suitable spot.⁷

Happy Valley

The name Happy Valley was given to the area before the Cemetery was opened. Perhaps it was so called because it was considered the most fertile and prettiest place on the north coast. Lieutenant Orlando Bridgeman, of the 98th Regiment of Foot in Hong Kong from 1842 to 1843, described it:

There is only one spot in the whole of the island that has a tree on it. It is called Happy Valley, and is certainly a pretty spot. The rest of the island is one barren rock and perfectly devoid of all vegetation.⁸

The choice of Happy Valley as the site of the cemeteries can be blamed on the mosquito. It was at first intended to be the principal business centre of



I.3. A view across Happy Valley before the racecourse was built, c. 1845. (By courtesy of Wattis Fine Arts).

Hong Kong. In a lecture given by Rev. James Legge at the City Hall in 1872, reminiscing on his long sojourn in Hong Kong, he recalled his first sight of Happy Valley in 1843:

There were to be seen only fields of rice and sweet potatoes. At the south end of it was the village of Wong-nei-ch'ung [Yellow Mud Creek] just as at the present day, and on the heights above it were rising two or three foreign houses, with an imposing one on the east side of the valley, built by a Mr Mercer of Jardine, Matheson and Co's house. All these proved homes of fever or death, and were soon abandoned.⁹

John Ambrose Mercer [11A/6/3], who abandoned his house in Happy Valley, was one of the first fifteen justices of the peace chosen by the governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, 'to represent the leading merchants of the earliest period of the colony'.¹⁰ He died of fever in August 1843 while he was preparing to build a new house on the waterfront at Wan Chai. His obituary 'bewails the loss of a truly kind-hearted man'.

The deadly fever was then attributed to poisonous vapours arising from the newly disturbed earth rather than to the bites of the swarms of mosquitoes which rose up from the swampy rice-paddy:

The prejudices of the Chinese merchants against the fungshui [geomantic aspects] of the Happy Valley and the peculiarly malignant fever which emptied every European house in that neighbourhood almost as soon as it was tenanted caused the business settlement to move gradually westwards.¹¹

And so in the words of Major-General d'Aguilar:

Happy Valley was as suddenly deserted as it was inhabited. Crumbling ruins overgrown with moss and weeds attested on every side to the vain labour of man when he contends with nature. And the Happy Valley restored to its primeval stillness has been converted into a cemetery.¹²

The Beginning of the Racecourse

The Happy Valley racecourse came into being about ten months after the Hong Kong Cemetery had opened. In 1845 'the deadly Wong Na Chung [Happy Valley] was drained and the cultivation of rice forbidden'.¹³ This left the ground free for other uses. The first references to the racecourse date from early in 1846. A

meeting was held at the house of Archibald Carter of the German firm of Hegan & Co. to consider measures for converting the valley into a riding ground. Gilbert Smith who was in the chair offered to approach the governor to ask for the grant of a lease for a term of years.

Notwithstanding the great improvements lately made in the roads of the Colony, during a great part of the year these are so hard as to be greatly prejudicial to a horse constantly exercised on them. Besides the number of foot passengers is such as to render it highly dangerous to put a horse to a quick pace: while the nature of our climate renders this not only a favourite exercise, but at many times almost the only one which can be indulged in. The undertaking therefore is one that cannot fail to be most beneficial to the health of the community as well as a source of innocent amusement, and we feel confident will be supported by the voice as well as the contributions of the public.

So work commenced on a public recreation ground subscribed to by the community for the purpose of galloping their horses so that 'next winter Hongkong will have a race course and racing and other national and manly recreations will be introduced into the youngest British colonial possession'.¹⁴ The first race meeting was held there at the end of 1846. Samuel Gurney Cresswell, a midshipman on HMS *Agincourt*, wrote in a letter to his parents:

Hongkong is very gay now. There are races on the 1st and 3rd of December and a race ball on the 4th. I have to ride a flat race on a most beautiful horse and a hurdle race on a very mere little pony.... I have a great deal of work to do getting ready for the races, exercising horses, getting jockey caps, whips, etc.¹⁵

Thus began the unusual closeness of the race track with its concomitant gambling to the row of cemeteries which over the years was to surprise so many of the visitors to Hong Kong. As one visitor, who climbed the hillside within the grounds of the Hong Kong Cemetery to better overlook the racecourse, remarked:

But truly looking down from this point, it is a strange combination to see the semicircle of cemeteries and mortuary chapels, just enfolding the race-course, and as it were, repeating the semicircle formed by the Grand Stands!¹⁶



I.4. The Cemetery and racecourse at Hong Kong. (*Illustrated London News*, 5 May 1866.)

The banning of rice cultivation in Happy Valley in 1844 and the subsequent compulsory purchase of their land deprived the Chinese of Wong Nai Chung of their livelihood, making them beggars in their own land. The once prosperous village, whose Chinese school in 1845 was the second largest in the colony with twenty-five pupils to Victoria's twenty-six, continued as a living indictment to colonial rule until the village was finally pulled down. In 1845, Captain Richard Collinson of HMS *Plover* wrote home to his father that 'the government apparently doesn't care about the Chinese at all'.¹⁷

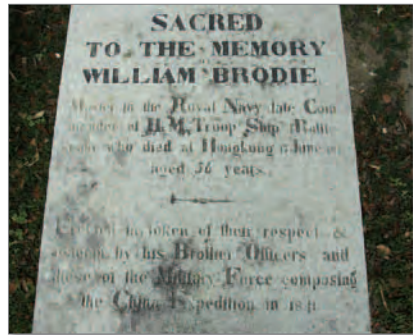
The Wan Chai and Western Cemeteries

The Hong Kong Cemetery was not the first cemetery in Hong Kong. Two older cemeteries in Wan Chai, one Protestant and the other Roman Catholic, were situated in the area now occupied by Sun, Moon and Star Streets. In August 1841, a full year before Hong Kong was formally ceded to England in the Treaty of Nanking on 24 August 1842, John Mylius of the Land Office announced in the *Canton Press*:

A piece of land to the eastward of Cantonment Hill having by Government been allotted as the ground for burial of the dead Europeans and others, Notice is hereby given that persons burying their dead in any other unauthorized place will be treated as trespassers.¹⁸

It seems that the above notice was necessary because people were burying their dead wherever they found a likely spot, such as the slopes of Happy Valley. One of those buried in an unauthorized cemetery was Commander **William Brodie** [11A/5/4] who died on 17 June 1841 aged fifty-six. He was buried 'in the new cemetery in Happy Valley, Hong Kong',¹⁹ four years before the Hong Kong Cemetery as we now know it was opened.

He must have been relocated to the old Wan Chai Cemetery, as his chest tomb was among those moved from there to be reburied in the Hong Kong Cemetery in 1889. Brodie's grave is one of the earliest monuments in the cemetery. It dates from the year before Hong Kong was officially British. Dr. Edward Cree, surgeon on HMS *Rattlesnake* in the First Opium War, described Brodie's death in his diary:



I.5. Chest tomb in memory of William Brodie, commander of HMS *Rattlesnake*, d. June 1841.



I.6. Commander Brodie's coffin being carried into Happy Valley for burial. (By Dr. Edward Cree.)

Soon after daylight James Brodie came to tell me that his father was delirious, so I crawled out of bed and into his cabin, and found the poor old Commander shouting violently and apparently shortening sail in the midst of a storm. I was too ill to do anything for him and sent for Robertson [Assistant Surgeon HMS *Hyacinth*]. Soon after he became comatose and the fine old sailor and good-hearted man breathed his last.²⁰

Due to the ravages of malaria, dysentery and other diseases little understood by the doctors of the time, the high death toll among the civilians and the garrison alike meant that the first cemeteries in Wan Chai soon filled up. Already in 1844 thoughts were turning towards a new cemetery. An article in the *Friend of China* in July 1850 summed up how the decision was taken to open the new cemetery in Happy Valley in the interests of public health, and also to use a second cemetery in an area of West Victoria already containing soldiers' graves:

At the close of 1844 and in the early part of 1845, leading members of the Council, then regaining their strength after serious attacks of summer sickness, had under serious consideration the best means of averting disease in future seasons.

Amongst other of the causes of sickness, no inconsiderable weight was attached to the burial of corpses within the town precincts. The result of the deliberations of the Council was the public announcement that it had been resolved,

1. That the burial ground of the East of Victoria should be in the Wong-nei-chung Valley.
2. That the burial ground at the West of Victoria should be the one formerly used by H.M. 55th Regiment: and consequent on the resolutions so announced, burials in the old grounds were altogether forbidden, much we believe to the annoyance of the Procurator of the Roman Catholic Mission ... who had just completed some rather expensive cuttings and the erection of a large cross on the site intended as a cemetery ...
4. That the burial ground in Victoria West shall be surrounded by a ditch and a bank and in Victoria East by stone walls.

The article continued:

The walls of the burial place have been duly built in the East; but — no ditch — no bank — mark the site of the Western Cemetery; and soon the spot,

where lie the remains of so many of the gallant 55th, will be known to but few. The appointment of a particular place for burials in the West has proved in short a nullity.²¹

As was predicted, this Western cemetery, with its many soldiers' graves, disappeared early on. The botanist and plant collector, Robert Fortune, who passed this spot in 1848 and again in 1851 on his way back to England with his collection of tea plants, described the desolate scene:

A fine road leading round the island ... passed through the place where they had been buried. Many of their coffins were exposed to the vulgar gaze, and the bones of the poor fellows lay scattered about on the public highway. No one could find fault with the road having been made there, but if it was necessary to uncover the coffins, common decency required that they should be buried again.²²

It might be suggested that the reason so little was done to maintain the Western cemetery was related to the very low status that the common soldiers, who were buried there, were accorded in the social structure of the day.

The Hong Kong Cemetery

Before the Hong Kong Cemetery opened, Governor Sir John Davis authorized the fees payable for burial there. Five shillings and sixpence or three rupees went to the sexton for digging a grave of not less than five feet in depth. A \$15 ground fee was levied from all those who died possessed of \$15. Those who did not possess this sum were buried as paupers 'in a separate nook'. Only the armed forces were exempted. On top of this, a charge of \$50 was made for a monument though, according to an editorial in August 1851, upright headstones were not taxed.²³ The sum collected for 1851 amounted to 91 pounds, 13 shillings, nearly enough to pay the total educational outgoings for the same year which amounted to a mere 103 pounds, 6 shillings and 8 pence.²⁴ The above article regarded the ground fee as a payment for the privilege of dying a Protestant, since the Roman Catholics, having bought possession of their ground, never levied charges unless the deceased family wanted to erect a monument, when fees were paid according to the size of the plot desired.

The new tax aroused anti-government sarcasm. Boy Jones wrote in a letter to the *Friend of China* about how he was under the council table when the taxes were decided on.

I am able to inform that the 'Death Tax' was inflicted, not so much for the direct purpose of raising revenue, as to deter people from dying without just cause, which has been found during the past years of the Colony to have depreciated considerably the value of Crown lands.... Council had reason to believe that many parties died on purpose to have virtues they never possessed in life transmitted for posterity on hewn granite; it was further stated that others die for no other purpose than to fill up the present ground and put the government to the expense of opening up another place of sepulture.²⁵

A Very Sick Man wrote in asking the cost of a funeral in Hong Kong as compared to Macau. The editor replied:

We have a dim remembrance of a tax upon the grave itself, another upon the tomb, another upon a hearse — ordered from England, we believe on Government account — another upon the stones of which the tomb is built, and some other trifling exactions for the use of a mort-cloth etc. We should say that the charges paid directly or indirectly to government for a gentlemanly funeral would be about \$100; as the hearse has not yet arrived probably a little less.²⁶

The work for a new cemetery was carried out and the carriage road round Happy Valley necessary for funeral processions completed by March 1845. The Hong Kong Cemetery opened soon after.²⁷ A mortuary chapel was erected in the same year and the Cemetery was placed under the charge of the colonial chaplain who kept a register of burials.²⁸ The maintenance costs for the Cemetery were borne by the government as part of the ecclesiastical establishment. The first burial record book to survive dates from 1853, with the first grave number given being 807. Nine of the earliest headstones, not counting those removed in 1889 from the Wan Chai



I.7. Headstone in memory of Thomas Doherty, mate of the P. & O.'s steamer *Pekin*.

Cemetery, date from the first year of operation, 1845. The earliest found is **Thomas Doherty [9/17/7]**, a mate of the SS *Pekin*, one of the first of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigator Company (P. & O.) steamers to visit Hong Kong. He died at sea on 16 March. He was followed in April by **David Davidson [9/14/2]**, the assistant surgeon on the hospital ship, HMS *Alligator*, and **Henry Cropper [9/12/12]**, a commission agent.

Those graves that have survived from the nineteenth century are predominantly from the middle and lower middle classes. The rich merchants aimed to retire in good time to enjoy their wealth back in 'the old country' and the top civil servants had their passages home paid by the government, so could leave the colony when they fell sick or grew old. Thus fewer merchants and top government officials are found buried in the Cemetery in proportion to the number of people who can be ascribed to the middle class. For example, no governor died in office. The only death of a close relative to a governor was that of **Felicia Robinson [18/10/3]**, the wife of Sir William Robinson, who died of undiagnosed sprue soon after giving birth to her baby son in 1894.²⁹ In the same way, no heads of the major mercantile houses, none of the Matheson family or Dent & Co., are buried there and the Jardine house is represented by just one nineteen-month-old baby, who died in May 1852. Almost the only well-known merchant buried there from the early years is **William Forsyth Gray [9/18/20]**, who was thrown from his horse in January 1850 while practising for the races. The merchants could afford a healthier lifestyle and when illness threatened they could leave by the next available boat.

The poor Europeans, who included the soldiers of the garrison, sailors from the merchant navies of a number of different countries, policemen and paupers were buried in nameless graves only distinguished by small numbered granite markers.

In the surveyor general's report of 1855, for instance, among the 152 burials for the past year, it was noted that 31 paupers, 4 destitutes and 3 Russians (perhaps prisoners of war) were buried, none of whose graves now exist.³⁰ By 1865, the Cemetery was thought



I.8. Numbered marker stones, Section 20.

to be approaching capacity. The *China Mail* declared: 'The time must come for the existing cemetery to be closed and the dead taken elsewhere for burial. The Protestant Cemetery is now nearly full and every little corner is being made use of.'³¹ In the mid-1860s, a bandsman in the 20th Foot Regiment writing home confirmed this. He wrote that Happy Valley was:

crammed with the graves of Europeans who have succumbed to the diseases of the unhealthiest country in the world. The graves of the soldiers are numbered. And, when the last one was buried, on his grave was 5373, showing the number who have died here since the city was garrisoned by the British.³²

Yet not one grave exists for any soldier below the rank of sergeant before the mid-1860s. The first headstone of a soldier, of the 2nd Battalion, 9th Regiment, dates from 17 March 1865. It appears that, when the Cemetery seemed to be filling up, the graves unmarked by headstones were dug up and their remains disposed of, leaving fresh ground for new burials. Charles St. George Cleverly, the surveyor general, admitted as much when he reported in 1861 that there were difficulties in expanding the area of the Cemetery, the soil in the new areas being 'excessively rocky and hard to excavate', making it very difficult to dig graves. He continued:

I will however take such measures as may be necessary to provide sufficient accommodation and in the course of a few years, it may be possible to work the old areas unprotected by gravestones over again, as is done, I understand in other tropical climes.³³

The number of soldiers dying in Hong Kong was of considerable embarrassment to the government who disliked the bad publicity on the subject in the British press. Perhaps they welcomed the opportunity to dislocate the numbering system which made it clear to anyone visiting the Cemetery exactly how many had died, not while fighting, but of common diseases in Hong Kong. Thus, the men and women from the earlier periods now represented by grey granite headstones consist almost entirely of the various layers of the Protestant and Non-Conformist middle class.

The Monuments in the Hong Kong Cemetery and Their Imagery

1845–1859

The Protestant ethos is clearly shown particularly in the design of the earlier gravestones and it makes this cemetery very different from St. Michael's Roman Catholic Cemetery next to it. In short, and much oversimplified, the Protestants believed that God had got lost among the ritual, symbolism and imagery of the Roman Catholic Church. They wanted a simpler religion that spoke to its people directly through the Word of God in the Bible and not through the intervention of pictures, statues, vestments and priests. The lower the church, the simpler were its symbols, decorations and rituals. This cemetery was the burying ground for all shades of Protestantism, including the lower church Lutherans, Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists who were brought together in the Union Church, founded in 1843 by Rev. James Legge, whose wife, **Mary Isabella Legge [9/17/9]** and baby daughter, **Anne Murray [9/17/10]**, are buried in the Cemetery.

The design of the headstones changed dramatically over the years charting changes in religious practices, fashion, wealth and the way death was viewed. From 1842 up to the mid-1860s, beside a handful of monuments raised by particular ships or regiments or to commemorate well-loved doctors, two main types of monuments remain: granite chest tombs, for those who wanted to make a statement and who could afford the extra \$50 tax to the government, and headstones.



I.9. Early headstones, Section 9.



I.10. Early chest tombs, Section 11A.

The great majority of headstones are starkly simple with either rounded or sharply triangular tops cut from the local granite. In this period of seventeen years, only four graves have been found whose headstones were not cut from granite. Two much revered missionary wives, Mary Isabella Legge and **Anna Johnson** [9/16/12], and two Americans, one a merchant, **Samuel H. Rich** [9/14/15] and the other a sea captain, Captain **Elias Elwell** [9/14/14], have marble headstones brought in from elsewhere. Anna Johnson's headstone is decorated with a book to emphasize the importance of the sacred scriptures. Where headstones have carvings, the motifs seem to have been carved without much thought having been given to their significance. Some of these motifs almost look as if they were left to be decided by the Chinese craftsmen, who altered Chinese motifs, such as the bat, to suit the tastes of their Christian clients. Even the symbol of the cross was rare in early days. The first crosses in the Cemetery seem to be that on the tomb of Bishop Joseph Smith's son, **Andrew Brandrum Smith** [7/28/6], who died in 1854, and one commemorating the death of **Odiarne Tremayne Lane** [13/4/3]. A handful of headstones have a simple Latin cross carved in the top quadrant like that of **John Smithers** [40/4/7]. The plain simple headstones seem to say that death was too frequent, the deceased are colleagues rather than beloved relatives, and that the decency of a proper Protestant burial was more important than remembrance in a place like Hong Kong where few wanted to stay for any length of time. This conclusion is also borne out by the comparative rarity of epitaphs and the number of stones on which it is stated that they were erected by friends or colleagues of the deceased rather than relatives.

In the early years of the Cemetery, the frequency of death was something no-one wanted to think about. A sergeant in the 59th Regiment, James Bodell, who attended the races in Happy Valley, perhaps summed up the general feeling about the Cemetery in his memoirs: 'I always considered the Race Course was in the wrong Place, as the Sight of the Grave Yard generally dampened my Spirits and took all Pleasure away at these Races'.³⁴ Equally, the attitude to the Cemetery seems fairly cavalier. Men could joke about such places without it being considered in bad taste. For example, a quirky notice appeared in February 1844, in the ads column of the newspaper, the *Friend of China*:

A gentleman having purchased a lot of land, unsuitable for building purposes is anxious to form a Joint Stock company for the formation of a Cemetery [*sic*]. It must be evident to the weakest men that the contemplated project

will prove a safe investment, as the Grave Stones are already in a plentiful supply upon the lot and only require engraving and should it not succeed, there is every reason to suppose, that only 15% will have to be paid on its abandonment. For particulars, enquire at the office of Messrs. Quirk, Gammon and Snap, Saffron Hill where a Map of the lot may be seen and the largest stones (suitable of course only for Mandarins) are given on the plan.... Having enumerated the advantages, we have only one drawback to mention: that no Gentleman can be buried here until he makes a Road up to it, and brings his own Earth to cover him.³⁵

The cemeteries in early days appear to have been regarded more as functional spaces reserved for the decent and healthy observance of the rites of burial, whether the dead were Protestant, Catholic, Christian, Jewish, Muslim or Parsee. The mystique of sacredness which was connected to wealth, nationalism and empire seems to have been a later Victorian development. A letter to the *Friend of China* from the sexton F. Drake in April 1849 shows the lack of respect paid to the European dead when he wrote that he had 'long been desirous to suppress an evil'. He asked the readers to pardon his 'humble intrusion' and related the following:

On the morning of Friday last, when performing my usual duties in the Burying Ground, I unexpectedly discovered that the feet of horses had left many impressions on that part of the ground where it is scarcely possible for an animal to expand a limb without resting on a grave! I hastened to learn the cause and by whom the unpardonable trespass had been committed, but the unintelligible coolies, therein employed, and who are perpetually cautioned to prevent cattle, dogs etc. (as also are two printed notices on each side of the entrance door, sufficiently conspicuous and respectful to attract the organs of the most indistinct observer) could only inform me that some 'Mandarins' had been guilty of the offence.³⁶

The path between the Cemetery and the racecourse was narrow and men out exercising on horseback in the early mornings had no compunction about taking their horses into the Cemetery grounds and over the graves when they wanted to pass the slower members of the fraternity. As late as the mid-1860s, it was reported that until recently the colonial chaplain was in the habit of turning in his ponies to graze there.

Furthermore cemeteries were often neglected. A letter in March 1857 to the *China Mail* complained of the state of the Roman Catholic Cemetery. The editor, after visiting the site, was clearly scandalized:

In one open grave were the coffin and the winding sheet though the human remains which they had contained were gone. The bottom of the coffin was barely three feet from the surface of the earth.... The ground is apparently just as it was when granted to the Catholics nine or ten years ago for burial purposes and the rude huts at the entrance are without doors or windows, every vestige of woodwork, if there ever was any there, having been removed.... A few cartloads of soil from the neighbourhood, with a sprinkling of grass-seed would quite change the aspect of the spot and at least give it a semblance of a Christian burial-place.³⁷

Then in May 1857, the *China Mail* reported on the state of the Wan Chai Cemetery:

The condition of the Old Protestant Burial Ground ... is said to be in a shameful state — the tombstones capsized, some broken, and others carried away by the Chinese for building purposes; while the ground is strewn with filth and with skulls and other relics of mortality.³⁸

In an article on the Protestant Cemetery in 1865, the editor complained that the south end of the Cemetery, where the soldiers were buried, was still unvalled twenty years after the decision that it should be enclosed had been taken. The author noted that few in the colony took an interest in preserving or beautifying the cemeteries of Happy Valley. He made a rather unconvincing plea for a better level of care on the grounds that the Valley may become 'our final abode, and our relatives may possibly come to shed a tear over our graves, recall the memory of what we were and grieve over our loss'. Neither this article nor respect for the dead galvanized the authorities into taking action. The Western Cemetery disappeared, and in the old Protestant Cemetery at Wan Chai only forty-eight monuments of those buried between 1842 and 1845 still remained in good enough condition to be moved to Section 11A of the Hong Kong Cemetery in 1889.³⁹

1860–1880

The majority of headstones in the 1860s and on into the 1870s followed the earlier Protestant guidelines. They are easily distinguished from the earlier headstones by their larger size and the more complicated patterns for their tops, as is shown by the one commemorating **Sarah Barton** [4/8/8], wife of Zephaniah Barton, opium inspector for Dent & Co.

The headstones displayed greater skill on the part of the carvers. Many were now edged and a number, particularly to lost wives, had heart-shaped inscription panels with side pillars. A new design had a fleur-de-lis at the centre of the top and curled side edges, as is seen in the headstone of **Jane Bonnett** [5/3/20]. More examples of crosses are found, both in the form of crosses carved into the top quadrant of headstones and of standing crosses such as that to **Eliza Dalziel** [5/3/29], the wife of the agent for the P. & O. shipping line, who died in 1866. A very impressive cross was raised in 1866 over the tomb of the Basel missionary, **Anna Reiniger** [5/3/17]. As the century progressed into the 1870s, a number of different kinds of crosses can be seen, including the Celtic cross, the Latin cross and the Armenian cross which is found over the grave of **Avietick Lazar Agabeg** [8/19/4], the first Armenian to be buried in the Cemetery, in 1876. A new model of tombstone, a low cruciform type, became increasingly popular in the 1870s with more than ten examples. A number of grave plots, such as that of **R.S.R. Fussell** [5/3/1], were now enclosed with granite surrounds and metal railings. Although granite was still the most common stone, the late seventies saw a small number of larger and more expensive monuments built of red or black marble.



I.11. Headstone in memory of Sarah Barton, d. 1867, wife of Zephaniah Barton of Swatow, merchant for Dent's and opium inspector at Hong Kong. A typical headstone of the type used in the 1860s.

1880–1920

By 1909, the governor Sir Henry Blake could describe Happy Valley as ‘A flat oval, around which the hill-sides are devoted to a series of the most beautifully kept cemeteries in the world. Here Christian and Mohammedan, Eastern and Western, rest from their labours while below them ... every sport and game of England is in full swing’.⁴⁰ Some time before the turn of the century, the grounds of the Cemetery were remodelled on a garden design in the latest European fashion. This remodelling made the Hong Kong Cemetery very different from the other cemeteries in Hong Kong. It featured flowering trees, winding paths, spaciousness and a fountain in the classical style.

This new style of burial ground had earlier become popular in England, where there had been an awakening to the importance of public health issues. The crowded old churchyards in the large new towns had become unsanitary. People were aware as they walked to church of horrid smells that emanated from the burial plots. This led to the formation of a National Funeral and Mourning Reform Society with the aims of making burial sanitary and encouraging moderation and simplicity. The first of the new kind of garden cemetery was the Père Lachaise Cemetery founded on the outskirts of Paris in 1803. This cemetery inspired the huge garden cemeteries established outside big towns in England, among the first being All Soul’s Cemetery, which was founded in 1832 at Kensal Rise in North-West London.

By the closing years of the nineteenth century, the old Protestant guidelines that stressed simplicity and lack of symbolism seem to have disappeared. The headstones had become typically high Victorian with a number of new motifs.



I.12. A photograph taken in the 1890s showing that the Hong Kong Cemetery has been remodelled in the style of a garden. (By courtesy of Ko Tim-keung.)

Motifs More Commonly Found on Late Victorian Graves in the Hong Kong Cemetery and Their Meanings

Motif	Symbol of
Acanthus leaf	Peace in the Garden of Eden; the plant was thought to grow in paradise.
Anchor or Capstan	Hope anchored in Christian belief which death cannot change.
Caliper and set-square	Freemasonry.
Cherub	A soul soaring heavenwards.
Clover	The Holy Trinity, also of Ireland.
Conch shell	Baptism and pilgrims.
Columns: Broken	A person who died in the prime of life (the age being indicated by the length of the column)
Columns: With urn and shroud	The person was buried in that place.
Grapes	The Last Supper and Christ's blood.
One hand	God's helping hand stretched to guide us to him.
Two hands	Matrimony and the couple's hope that they will meet in the next world.
Ivy	The evergreen nature of ivy symbolizes immortality and victory over death won by the Redeemer. Clinging ivy symbolizes fidelity and friendship.
Lily	Purity.
Palm	The peace of resurrection and life eternal.
Urn	Death. ⁴¹

Innovations in the use of symbolism were generally first used on the tombs of dearly beloved wives or deeply mourned children. For example, by the late Victorian times, angels and cherubs were beginning to appear. Other than a very small apology for an angel on the headstone of **Sophia C. Boxer** [9/18/15], wife of the chief storekeeper of the naval yard victualling department in 1860/66? (old, worn inscription), the first cherub that has been found dates to 1873, and is seen on the headstone commemorating the death of two infants, **Helen and Mabel Speechly** [7/16/13]. The first full-sized angel must have seemed daringly papist to contemporaries. It adorned the grave of **Andrew Millar** [23/9/1], plumber



I.13a and b. Two very contrasting angels: the first is from the monument in memory of Sophia C. Boxer, d. 1866?, wife of William Boxer, the chief storeman of the Navy Victualling Department. The later angel stands over the grave of **Elsie Abraham** [16B/4/6], d. 1916.

to the government as well as gas fitter and general contractor who died in 1890. Although cherubs became more usual as memorials to much loved children, angels remained uncommon.

The presence of a picture of the deceased on the headstone first appeared in 1876 adorning the headstone of **Peter Petersen** [8/21/1], a Swedish tavern keeper with a Chinese wife. This artist's impression on porcelain of **J.A. Straube** [12A/3/9], who died in 1928, is an interesting example. It indicated that the person responsible for erecting the headstone was almost certainly Chinese and was following the Chinese custom.

The wealthier and more settled population wanted to remember and honour their dead in a way the earlier generations in Hong Kong had had neither the inclination nor the money for. An explosion in the number of types and the size of monuments seems



I.14. A porcelain plaque with the portrait of J.A. Straube, d. 1928. The plaque is embedded in his headstone.

to date from the 1880s, a time when the size of the population and the wealth of the colony were increasing. Large imposing crosses became common like the one over **Theophilus Gee Linstead's** [8/12/1] grave. A number of pedestal tombs can be seen, such as the one to mark the grave of Captain **Paul Kupfer** [8/13/5] of the Imperial German Navy, which is topped by a magnificent eagle poised for flight. Scrolls unrolled over flowery boulders. Relatives of the deceased seem freer to use their own initiative to create new designs for their memorials. For example, when **William Dolan** [5/2/8], the doughty, old timer who had been making sails at Whampoa and Hong Kong for forty years or more, died in 1885, his rugged indestructibility was remembered in a large solid block of granite. The amount and intricacy of the carving also increased.

Epitaphs were more frequent and longer. Hong Kong was now more firmly embedded in the wider embrace of the British Empire, both administratively and culturally. It seemed that those burying their loved ones, besides having more money, now also had faith in both the continuity of Hong Kong as a small part of the empire and of the Cemetery in which they had buried their loved ones. The old, rather cavalier view of death had now given away to a more patriotic and nationalistic view of a piece of 'sacred' ground that symbolized the sacrifice and suffering of those who had assisted in the building of the empire and died far from home. Intrepid lady travellers stopped off at Hong Kong to report back to the homebound in Britain on the wonders of Britain's outposts. Mrs. Gordon Cumming writing in 1879 described the Cemetery as: 'This silent God's acre'.⁴² Major Henry Knollys praised it as 'the saddest and most beautiful acre in the British Empire, the so-called Happy Valley'.⁴³



I.15. Monument in memory of Harold E.W. Carson, 2nd Officer of SS *Wakool* from Sydney, Australia, d. 1913. Note the skilled carving of the anchor chain.

Yet, at a time when its name was changed from Protestant to Colonial Cemetery and its 'sacred nature' was being stressed, the Chinese and Japanese were building for themselves positions of economic strength in the colony from which they could wield their power and they were demanding to bury their dead in the Public Cemetery. When the question of the burial of non-Christians in the Hong Kong Cemetery arose in 1909, some members of the European community objected to their funeral services, citing in particular the custom of lighting joss sticks and firing of crackers at the graveside as disturbing to the peace of the place. Although nominally the land had been put aside for Protestant burials and placed under the care of the colonial chaplain, the Cemetery grounds were not consecrated until 1910. They were maintained at public cost and were therefore public property and open to all tax payers. There was nothing in the ordinances to stop the burial of non-Christians. Over the turn of the century some Chinese and a larger number of Japanese non-Christians found their way into the Cemetery. The controversy burst out into the open when Chan Yui Tong applied to the sanitary board to purchase four new grave sites so that he could set up a family grave to include the two wives and son of his father, Tsai Kwong, chief interpreter of the Supreme Court.⁴⁴ The new Christian Cemetery Ordinance of 1909 proposed that the Cemetery should be enlarged and that a certain portion of the Cemetery should be set aside for Christian interment. Lau Chu Pak, part-owner of the *Hong Kong Telegraph* and member of the sanitary board, objected to the racial overtones of the proposed ordinance, and the *Telegraph* took up the case:

The fact of the matter is that this sort of petty municipal legislation is all of a piece with the policy of the Government in reserving special lands for the bon ton of the Colony. First, they decree that in life the Chinese should not live in the vicinity of the Peak and now in death the Chinese are not deemed fitting occupants of lairs in the public cemetery.... The Colonial or Protestant — or whatever fancy name anybody might wish to call it — the public cemetery of Hong Kong is maintained out of the rates and taxes provided by the residents in the Colony. It is no more a private institution than the public gardens. No sect or body has a right to say that it has any particular claim on the domain, as far as we can make out, all have an equal right to interment.

The *Telegraph* continued in the same editorial asking:

Are the Chinese and Japanese to be relegated to the slums of paradise while the 'hupper suckles' [upper circles] loll and lounge on the grassy swards of the golden river, secure against the intrusion of the vulgar rabble.... It is incredible to believe that all this pushing for precedence and squabbling for place will follow us to the next world.⁴⁵

The final passing of the ordinance was followed by a dedication service held at the Cemetery in March 1910 by the Anglican bishop, assisted by the clergy of other denominations, of that portion of land set aside for Christian burials. Most of the later Japanese graves are now found high up the hill in the more isolated sections 34, 35 and 36, and the majority of the Chinese graves in the equally distant sections 1 and 2.

By the twentieth century, the style of monuments was being influenced by the art deco movement. Concrete was taking the place of granite. Many White Russian refugees, fleeing the Bolshevik revolution down through Siberia to the port of Harbin, continued their journey south to end their days in Hong Kong. The cross of the Russian Orthodox Church can be found in all parts of the Cemetery. There also exists a rare example of the Nazi swastika on the headstone of **Paul Kurt Brohmann [16F/15/2]** who may have been serving on one of the German naval vessels when he died in 1934.

The above paragraphs greatly oversimplify the huge diversity in the styles and the architecture of the tombstones and monuments found in the Hong Kong Cemetery.



I.16. Monument in memory of Paul Kurt Brohmann. Note the small Nazi swastika in the top of the picture.

Source Material

The Hong Kong Cemetery will be used as an important source material and is supplemented by some significant names from the Catholic, Parsee and Jewish Cemeteries, in order to bring to life the differing kinds of people who made up Hong Kong's society over the decades and to show what shaped their thoughts, hopes and fears. By fleshing out the names found on the tombstones, by using the newspapers of the day together with material from the cards that make up Carl Smith's collection at the Hong Kong Public Records Office and contemporary travellers' tales, one can begin to recreate the way of life of these people in the hope that this will bring new insights. The Hong Kong Cemetery is at first sight an amazing repository of history, since in theory all the early Protestants and Nonconformists were buried there. In fact the Cemetery has certain drawbacks from the point of view of the historian. Firstly, it could be hoped that the headstones would show a representational proportion of the various classes that lived in Hong Kong in any particular decade. But, as has been shown, the Cemetery is predominantly a middle-class enclave in which the very poor and very rich are under-represented. Thus, the emphasis will of necessity be on the middle class, who make up the bulk of the burials.

Secondly, when the Aberdeen Tunnel was built in 1976, cemetery ground was appropriated and more than three thousand graves were moved or consigned to the ossuary. It seems that, when this was done, the graves of the officers in the armed services and those serving on merchant navy ships were relocated to different sections, whereas the graves of little known civilians were sent to the ossuary, thus upsetting the balance between army, merchant navy and civilians. Those in the ossuary have their names and dates inscribed on their pigeon-holes, but they lack all the extra information that is found in the inscriptions on headstones, so it is difficult to allocate to them an occupation and a place in society. This means that the information from the Cemetery is less representative than it might have been.

With these two provisos, the Cemetery remains an invaluable source of Hong Kong history. It enables us to build up an idea of the makeup of those people, mainly from the middle classes, who settled, if only for a time, married and raised children there. From these threads, it is hoped that a picture will emerge of how Hong Kong changed direction, grew and branched out from the

blustery little seaport, dealing mainly in opium in its early years, to an important international city.

For lack of much other material, the newspapers of the day constitute an important and much used source. However a caution is necessary in interpreting what they show about society. Firstly, certain newspapers catered to particular readers and showed certain biases. For example, the *Friend of China* while under the editorship of William Tarrant was clearly biased against the establishment. Tarrant had lost his job in the government when he exposed the alleged corruption of Major William Caine and his comprador. He continued for a number of years to carry on a personal vendetta against the establishment in the pages of his newspaper. Even before Tarrant assumed ownership of the paper in 1850, the perceived biased outlook of the *Friend of China* had led to the founding of a second newspaper, the *China Mail*, which was backed by money from the merchant elite and was therefore more sympathetic towards their point of view. Secondly, the newspapers were written and published for profit and sensational stories, especially if they involved well-known people in the community, sold more copies. This aspect was compounded by the court reports which inevitably portrayed men in a negative light, since they were being accused of some misdemeanour or loss of control which perhaps, had we more facts on which to judge them, was out of character for those individuals. As these reports are now often the only remaining source of information on certain individuals, they may paint a rather bleaker picture of the people and the period than is warranted.

Chapter 3

How Early Hong Kong Society Arranged Itself

So as to make sense of the society as it manifests itself in the Hong Kong Cemetery, it is necessary to have a clear idea of how the men and women who made up the early society judged themselves and others and allotted ranks and degrees. The ordering of society in early Hong Kong proceeded on two levels, the formal and informal. The two levels proceeded side by side, categorizing and fixing the inhabitants' position in 'That appointed chain, / Which when in cohesion it unites, order to order, rank to rank, / In mutual benefit, / So binding heart to heart'.¹ When this English ideal of hierarchical structure was translated to Hong Kong society, the community there lacked both the numbers needed to interact and the backing of landed wealth and culture that bolstered the rankings back in Britain. The result was a lack of acceptance of people's rankings, which turned 'the cohesion that unites order to order' on its head. The society the colony generated seems by any standards to have been peculiarly fractured and fractious. A Petty Juror in a letter to the *Friend of China* posed the questions concerning the formal and informal ranking system that will be addressed in this book:

Can you tell me, Sir, how is it that some persons are addressed Esquire and others plain Mister? Can you tell me the necessary qualifications for a special juror and also for a common juror? Can you tell me the qualification for a Justice of the Peace? Can you tell me what constitutes the gentleman-ship of an enterer or a rider at the Hong Kong races?²

The Formal Level

The formal level followed rules which already existed. A known and promulgated system for ruling the colonies had grown up over more or less a century of British rule in the West Indies, Canada, Australia, India and Ireland. According to David Cannadine, 'The regime established in Dublin in 1800 provided a pro-

consular prototype for what was to evolve on the imperial periphery, in India, in the dominions of settlement and eventually in the dependent empire'.³ At a formal level, the hierarchy of government in colonies like Hong Kong had the governor at its apex representing Queen Victoria. He was bolstered by all the pomp and ceremony that went with the position of the representative of the monarch, Queen's birthdays, Queen's pardons, birthday honours' lists, processions, special dress and so on. For example, on the Queen's birthday on the 26 May 1859:

The ships in the harbour were all dressed out in colours.... At twelve to the minute the larger British men-of-war gave a salute of twenty-one guns in thundering style.... In the evening there was a grand review on the Parade-ground of the troops in the garrison.... The troops, European and Indian drawn up in a long red line with their colours decorated with garlands ... presenting a front which the Chinese will not easily forget.⁴

The governor had the sole authority on the formal side to say who should or should not be given any particular rank. Under the governor were the justices of the peace who were always addressed as the 'Honourable' and were chosen from the ranks of the elite merchants and civil servants by the governor. In Hong Kong, this appointment was almost entirely honorary, the holders being only in the early years occasionally required to sit on the bench. Sir Henry Pottinger had set the precedent when, in June 1843, hoping to gain the support of the merchants, he had appointed almost the entire merchant class to the rank, in a list which included forty-three names. A further division was introduced when 'unofficials' were elected or chosen from the ranks of the justices to sit on the Legislative Council. As a small sop to those paying taxes and therefore demanding representation, Sir George Bonham allowed the justices to elect two of their members. The subsequent choice of justices in November 1849 by the governor did not improve the cohesion of the community:

When Sir George selected fifteen of the unofficial Justices of the Peace, summoned them to a conference, and thenceforth frequently consulted them collectively or individually, he virtually created ... an untitled commercial aristocracy. Unfortunately this select company had no natural basis of demarcation. Merchants, formerly of equal standing with some of the chosen fifteen, resented their exclusion from the charmed circle. Hence, particularly in summer 1850, the epithets of flunkeyism and toadyism were freely applied

to the attitude of the Governor's commercial friends. Even among the latter, there arose occasionally acrimonious questions of precedence at the gubernatorial dinner table. Moreover the gradation of social rank thus originated in the upper circles reproduced themselves in the middle and lower strata of local society, which accordingly became subdivided into mutually exclusive cliques and sets.⁵

At the time of this division, about nine leading storekeepers who styled themselves citizen householders as distinct from the merchants and professional men were piqued at being excluded and questioned why their views should be entirely overlooked when they considered that they had the time and the will to attend to public business. They addressed a memorial to the governor:

Your memorialists have no intention to question your Excellency's right to select the magistrates of the colony.... Of the ten individuals whose names appear on the Circular, one is a government official, two at least are non-residents and three are merchants' clerks; and however personally respectable each may be, we take leave to say that the magistrates of the Colony ought not to be made up of either of these classes, so long at least as there are inhabitants equally respected and well-qualified who have long been permanent residents in the Colony and are necessarily interested in its welfare.⁶

This memorial did nothing to check the steady decrease in the power and influence of the citizen householder class in Hong Kong.⁷

The second formal distinction in the ranks of Hong Kong society was in the choice of jurors, whose names were promulgated in the general jury list which up to 1855 was nailed to the door of the Supreme Court. All men over twenty-one and under sixty who earned more than \$500 a year, understood English and were not mentally deranged or criminals were eligible.⁸ This list was notoriously inaccurate and controversial. For instance, the *China Mail* complained of inappropriate choice in October 1848, when a tavern barman was called as juror to sit on the jury in a trial of an Englishman for piracy and murder. This barman had previously been brought before the magistrate for disorderly conduct at the Central Police Station. The magistrate had on that occasion decided that he should be sent to the Seamen's Hospital, since the prisoner appeared to be temporarily insane from the effects of drink.⁹

The list of jurors was further subdivided when a number considered of higher rank were picked out by the governor as 'special jurors' to serve in the High Court of the Admiralty. By 1851, this court had been abolished but the distinction remained. In the same year, a new jury ordinance was brought in, dropping the property qualifications and widening the list of eligible jurors to include, 'Every male person who in the opinion of the Sheriff and the Governor may be classed as "one of the principal inhabitants of the colony"'.¹⁰ This vaguely worded classification left the final decision as to who were the principal inhabitants very much in the hands of the civil service and governor. Those eligible for jury service were listed alphabetically with their occupation and place of residence. The male European population fell in this way into five formal categories, members of the Legislative Council, justices of the peace, special jurors, jurors and those not listed who were not considered respectable enough or whose knowledge of English was not considered good enough to be called for jury service. After the new jury ordinance of 1852 had been introduced, the *Friend of China* still criticized the jury lists:

Of the one hundred and forty-four names of persons written down as eligible for service a full one sixth ... are not so; some being dead, others for years absent from the colony, two or three under age, and incapacitated by reason of ignorance of the English language not so small a number.¹¹

In the jury list of 1855, thirty special jurors were named of whom three were German, one Jewish and one Portuguese, as against 103 ordinary jurors. The first Chinese to be included in 1858 was Wong Shing, listed as a printer at the London Missionary Society. He had been educated at the Morrison Education Society School and was to become one of the great pioneers in Chinese journalism. By 1859, a new jury ordinance was introduced into the Legislative Council which provided that special jurors should be exempt from serving as common jurors. The *China Mail* commented: 'It was well enough for old clerks when turned into youthful partners to get their names placed on the Special Jury List, just as the weaker of them assume black hats in order to bolster up their new dignity'. He continued that the ordinance for the first time conveyed a tangible benefit: 'Hence it is of importance that some intelligible principle should be followed in making the division'.¹² He went on to show the anomalies that existed, that for example Mr. Costerton, the manager of the Mercantile Bank, was a common juror while Mr. Reid, the sub-manager, was a special. It can be seen that in the years of the

first period, the principles on which the division of society should proceed were being worked out and principles and systems of division becoming clearer and firmer among the expatriate community

The Informal Level

The informal system of stratifying society was part of the 'baggage' that was ingrained in the minds of the settlers long before they arrived on these shores. In Hong Kong as in England, the upper and middle classes were drawing apart from those below them under the guise of gentility or respectability. The same kind of delineation between the various strata and definition of where individuals and groups stood in the fledgling class structure was taking place in Hong Kong. The existence of innumerable cliques dividing the inhabitants from one another is very well documented. H.T. Ellis wrote in 1855:

The English residents of Hong Kong, like many other small communities, are divided by exclusive feelings which rendered society far less agreeable than it might have been had better understanding existed among them. As each little coterie was headed by its own particular lady patroness, it was a difficult matter to find any half-dozen who would meet any other half-dozen, without their evincing mutual marks of contempt or dislike.¹³

Alfred Weatherhead, in a lecture on Hong Kong delivered in 1859 after two and a half years working for the Hong Kong government as acting deputy registrar and later as a clerk of the Supreme Court, summed up his view of the prevailing class distinctions:

One would naturally be inclined to suppose that sojourners in a foreign country far removed from the endearing associations of home, away from their kindred and old connexions would cling more closely together — that the absence of family ties and early intimate associations would lead them instinctively to combine more readily for mutual interest and social enjoyment — that petty class distinctions prevailing to such an absurd extent among ourselves, so destructive to real happiness and freedom would in great measure be obliterated abroad and that kindly feelings and genial social impulses would rule.... Unfortunately the very reverse of all this obtains.

The exclusiveness, jealousy and pride of 'caste' that have been so long and so justly attributed to our English brethren and sisters in our Indian possessions attain even more luxurious growth in China. The little community far from being a band of brothers is split up into numerous petty cliques or sets, the members of whom never think of associating with those out of their own immediate circle. All sorts of fanciful, yet rigidly defined distinctions exist and scandal, detraction and calumny under the slang term of 'gup' (*gossip*) prevail to a frightful extent.¹⁴

Significantly, some of the founders of Hong Kong society, among them old and respected members, were in the process of being excluded from the ranks of the elite on the grounds that they belonged to the category of traders or professionals rather than that of merchants. They included John Cairns, owner and editor of the *Friend of China* and Thomas Ash Lane, one of the founders of Lane Crawford's store. Problems arose from the difficulty of separating merchants from retailers. As Ellis said: 'Though some were called merchants and others storekeepers, such was the undercurrent of retail speculation that it was hard to define where one batch ended and the other began'.¹⁵ Some attempts were made to reverse the trend. A drama society was proposed as early as December 1844. Dramaticus in a letter to the *Friend of China* asserted that:

Society is cooped up in small knots of clans and cliques, unknown and uncared for by each other. There is an evident apprehension of contamination in any attempt at concentration or gregariousness.... I have been a resident of Hong Kong from its birth and the conviction is strong upon my mind that much of the sickness and mortality has been ascribed to the climate which might more properly be imputed to 'ennui' and the thousand natural results of dissipation and disgust.¹⁶

The Victoria Theatre was leased for the showing of plays. The society was not without its critics who feared that drama would have a corrupting influence on the minds of the young. The editor of the *Friend of China* counteracted:

The habit of indulging in scandal, malice and hatred is not to be acquired from the works of Shakespeare or Sheridan — where, if such vices are brought forward, it is only to expose them — and we uphold that a true lover of legitimate drama will never be uncharitable towards his neighbour.¹⁷

Not much had changed seven years later when it was suggested that dancing might promote social harmony. After a particularly successful fancy dress ball, the commentator on the function reflected:

A nice little meeting every third or fourth week for dancing and music, such as are common in continental countries, would be a source of pleasure and enjoyment and would tend much to bring forth out of all the little cliques and patches of society which now exist, a better feeling among all parties; and would further bring out and foster those little amenities of social life in which the society of this island is wanting.¹⁸

Where on this social ladder each settler belonged was obviously of crucial importance to the social wellbeing and prospects of those involved in, what seems to us, an unedifying scramble for position. For this reason it is important to examine the process of allotting each arrival a position in the community. The informal method of examining, judging and slotting the newcomer into the existing social order occurred soon after his arrival and depended on a number of factors which themselves gave rise to hurt feelings and bitterness. First there were introductions. It was important to arrive bearing as many introductions as one could:

I would strongly impress on auditors thinking of going (to Hong Kong) the ALL-IMPORTANCE of good introductions — the more the better and if possible couched in terms warranting personal and domestic intimacy. You must not expect to win your way upwards in society as at home or imagine that good breeding and external qualifications will secure you good standing or favourable reception.... You take up a certain position at the outset in which you will be fixed for years.... It is not unreasonably taken for granted that you had some cogent reason for leaving home not likely to recommend you if known.¹⁹

The fact that Hong Kong was known to be an unhealthy 'hole' lent a suspicion that colonists, choosing to make it their destination, had probably left England under a cloud or had been paid off by their families to seek their fortunes abroad for reasons that were seldom flattering to themselves. A doctor, for instance, leaving England to save himself from 'utter ruin', in a letter to his father, confessed that he had got into debt and had besides felt obliged to marry a girl who was bearing his child:

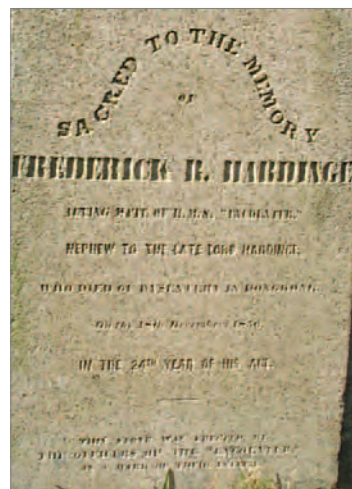
There is one alternative left and I must embrace it at all hazards though you must admit it is a dreadful one for me; but I hope that by making such a sacrifice you will believe my determination ... to receive your forgiveness.²⁰

Letters of introduction, which demonstrated the bona fide of the person carrying them, were an open sesame to the upper echelons of society.

On his arrival in Hong Kong, this same doctor wrote that he has not yet met the general to whom he had an introduction: 'It is necessary here to enclose your introductory note with your card and residence and then wait until he calls upon you or sends you an invitation'.²¹ It took time to get organized. Having arrived with letters of introduction, the first social duty was to get calling cards printed using the socially acceptable engraved plates brought from England: 'Ladies and gentlemen having Engraved Plates can have them printed neatly and expeditiously at the Office of the paper'.²² Then those people who were reckoned to be within one's particular social circle were called on. If the newcomer considered himself a gentleman, the first port of call would be the governor where he would leave his card and inscribe his name in the special book. This made him eligible for invitations to dinners or garden parties or other social events organized by the governor. After that, he would call on those he had introductions to and on the wives of his colleagues at work. His card would be conveyed to the lady of the



3.1. The importance of connections, Lieutenant **Frederick R. Hardinge** [9/6/1], d. 18.12.1856 of dysentery, proclaims his credentials on his headstone.



3.2. Close-up of same, showing the important of connections.

house by a servant. After looking at the card, she would decide whether she was 'at home' to the caller or not. If his standing was exalted enough, he would be encouraged to put his name forward to be balloted on by members of the Hong Kong Club, membership of which would settle his place among the elite of Hong Kong. The importance placed on the ritual of calling was remarked on by a disapproving visiting American:

These little communities, nevertheless, are subject to iron laws of etiquette, any infraction whereof, either purposely or through ignorance, makes society tremble to its foundations. A custom, which refers particularly to strangers, has been transplanted here from India, and is now in full force. The newly-arrived, unless he wishes to avoid all society, must go the rounds of the resident families and make his calls. The calls are returned, an invitation to dinner follows in due course of time, and everything is 'en train' for a footing of familiar intercourse.²³

It is necessary to ask next on what criteria the caller would be judged as worthy of the particular level of society to which he aspired by those he called on. He would be rigorously examined for signs of his background and breeding and here it would be useful to mention names within his home circle to give provenance to his being from a good family. Then he would be scrutinized as to his dress and education. Did he come from one of the accepted public schools and have a proper acquaintance with Latin and Greek? Was he attired as a gentleman should be? A visiting American doctor, when noting that, as a small concession to climate, white jackets with simple ribbons were allowed to be worn at balls, made a pertinent comment on the subject of British dress in the tropics:

It requires a great struggle in John Bull to throw down those starched barricades which flank his chin and protect his whiskers. In Calcutta, even in the dog-days nothing less than a collar, rigid as a plank, and a black cloth dress-coat is tolerated. Verily, the Saxon clings to his idols with a pertinacity which we cannot sufficiently admire. Make a certain costume the type of respectability with him, and he carries the idea all over the world.²⁴

Besides dress and education, the type and level of the position filled by the caller or, if from the armed forces, his rank would need to be considered. A doctor in a letter home described in very disapproving terms how rank could be a significant factor:

Only last week a first lieutenant of H.M.S. 'Melampus' called upon one of the merchants but his card was returned and a message sent down to him by a servant that Mr. — did not receive anyone below the rank of Commander.²⁵

This system of discrimination, used to weed out 'undesirable' newcomers or would-be members of the Hong Kong Club without the proper qualifications, gave rise to hurtful opportunities to administer snubs which would cause long-rankling divisions and the formation of opposing cliques.

Typical of the process was the way in which John Fortunatus Evelyn Wright arrived and settled into Hong Kong society.²⁶ Having had to retire early from the Royal Navy after a bout of African yellow fever left him with one leg shorter than the other, he obtained a post of fourth clerk in the post office through the influence of a family friend, the Marquis of Clanricade. He arrived in June 1849. Not feeling confident enough of his position, he waited until the following April to leave his card on 'His Lordship, the Bishop and his Lady'. His cards must have been acknowledged, because, in September 1850, he recorded: 'Paid calls. Mrs Staveley [the wife of the general in command of the garrison] like Mrs Smith [the bishop's wife] is a perfect lady, what a treat to converse with such people in a place like Hong Kong. Finished my calls by seeing Mesdames Gaskell, [Solicitor's wife] Jamieson [wife of Captain Charles Jamieson of the opium-receiving ship] and the Johns [sea captain and his wife].'²⁷ In May 1850 he sent his letter of introduction to the new commanding general and received an invitation to dine and subsequently an invitation to a ball. It was not until he had been in Hong Kong for eighteen months that he met the chief magistrate, Major William Caine, an event he thought worthy of recording as the sole entry for the day in his diary.²⁸ He never mentions coming into contact socially with any of the merchant class. Wright's place in the community seems to have been fixed among the middle-class group that included the lesser civil service clerks, the professionals, ships' captains, commissariat storekeepers and the upper ranks of the tradesmen. Wright made friends, found lodgings, dined and went on hiking, shooting or boating trips with groups from among these men.

A clear illustration of the layering of society in Hong Kong and its origins in British society was given in the following accounts of the ball for 280 people organized by the officers of HMS *Agincourt* in February 1845, which followed a regatta. The naval surgeon, Dr. Edward Cree, described the occasion:



3.3. A watercolour of the regatta organized by officers of HMS *Agincourt* by naval surgeon Dr. Edward Cree.

All the beauty and fashion of Hong Kong on board the 'Agincourt'; about forty ladies and four times as many men.... At six dinner, but only half, about 140, could sit down at one time, although the table extended the whole length of the main deck. After dinner dancing commenced on the quarterdeck, which was prettily decorated with flags of all nations, chandeliers of bayonets, variegated lamps, transparencies and flowers. On the poop were card-tables Altogether the affair gave great satisfaction and will serve to bring Hong Kong people together. Everyone was asked, but one or two stuck-up ladies imagined they were too good for the company, and stayed away, but they were not missed, as they are old and ugly. The belles of the party were Miss Hickson and Miss Bowra.²⁹

The officers had obviously cast their nets wide to find enough of that rare commodity in Hong Kong, ladies, to make a good party. Miss Hickson was one of the three daughters of a naval sub-storekeeper working under the chief storekeeper Mr. MacKnight, and Miss Bowra was the daughter of a ship's chandler. Neither of these pretty girls would have merited an invitation if the ball had been held in England. When the different strata that made up the community did meet, as at the *Agincourt* ball, it was a matter for comment. Thus, in its reporting, the *Friend of China* felt obliged to apologize for the breakdown of the usual social barriers at the ball. The reporter noted:

their readiness to drop, for the happiness of all, those vain and petty distinctions that make society cramp its usefulness and engenders nothing but prejudices and dislikes. Living on an island, where no house existed four years previously, it would have been melancholy, where they are so nearly equal in position, to have witnessed the assumptions of fastidious claims, that are so constantly and necessarily thrown aside by the noblest in Europe from the motive that all might be contented and happy in their relative ranks of life. At county race and regatta balls, horticultural meetings and assemblies for charitable and humane purposes, the Duchess sits beside the citizen's wife and feels no descent from her proud and honoured place and confers by so small a sacrifice a boon on her gratified companion.³⁰

Flunkeyism and toadyism were the names given to the overly deferent behaviour to those above them of underlings who strove for position and advancement in this layered society. There was a jockeying for preferment in the everyday life in the colony that shows how far removed life in Hong Kong was from the ideals of the Victorian utopia, which envisaged a hierarchical society whose ordering was accepted by its members. An editorial headed 'Flunkeyism' stated that this jockeying was:

inseparable from Colonial society; the smaller the community, the more remarkable is the habit.... The observer has a beautiful field for observation in Hong Kong. There is this excuse for official Flunkeyism; it is too often essential to the prosperity of those who indulge in it. A deference to their superiors in office either promotes or retains them.... Besides Flunkeyism has created an artificial rank which is dear to the official. It places him in a position to which he has no other claim; at Government House he takes precedence over those who are far above him in intrinsic rank.

Among the mercantile portion of the community and among those who care little for little-greatness there is less Flunkeyism.... Unfortunately it is so often wedded to insolence that it provokes observation. It is remarked of real gentlemen that, while they despise toadyism, they are never insolent... the smiles of colonial greatness can neither run them into insolence to their inferiors nor into unbecoming humility of demeanour towards their nominal superiors.

The distinctions which have been created at Government House — the attempt to establish a Court — are too ridiculous to give serious offence....

Let him inspect the scale of precedence which is established at the Court of Samuel the First, [Governor Sir George Bonham] and ask could Mr. So-and-So feel angry because he was seated nearer the Aide de Camp than Mr. Who-is-He.... It is because merchants have no fixed rank, but the head of a department in this Barrataria has; the merchant gives way although the official, possibly, would be very glad to exchange his colonial appointment for a desk in the merchant's office. It is because merchants have no fixed rank that they frequently take such high rank among the genuine aristocracy. Theirs is the rank of character, of wealth, of integrity. In a free country like England scarcely a year passes that does not see a new title — the formation of a new house. The house of a Peel or of an Ashburton is the result of successful commerce — of commerce allied to great moral integrity and various qualities which, at the bar, in the army, or in the senate would ensure its possessor of an honourable distinction.³¹

This extract seems to suggest that a number of the officials in the civil service were not considered worthy of the place to which they aspired among the ranks of merchants. They lacked the necessary qualities that would put them on par with the merchant aristocracy in the eyes of Hong Kong society.

This ordering of the society of early Hong Kong extended into the realms of the Anglican Church where there existed a system of pew allocation in the newly built St. John's Cathedral according to which seats were carefully allotted from front to back depending on status and wealth until well into the twentieth century. The church depended for its income on the subscriptions that were paid by worshippers for their seats which were allocated by a church seating committee:

The Church it appears regulates precedency in this little community. The Governor and Lieutenant Governor face the altar in the front row; behind the first sit the Civil establishment according to their supposed rank — then a few merchants; behind them are ranged some military of the high degree — then a few more merchants and other persons. The transepts [*sic*] and wings, we presume, are so regulated by some canonical standard known only to the spiritually enlightened. It must be understood, however, that while the members of the government are provided with prominent seats without any reference to price (in the shape of a subscription) the other sitters are accommodated according to the amount contributed. One firm (three or four partners of which are Members of Parliament), has subscribed two or three

hundred pounds to the building — it ranks below heads of departments in the Colonial service; other firms and individuals are ‘planted’ according to the sum that they could be prevailed upon to ‘stump up’.... Some absurd and funny enough stories are current of the jealous struggle for front seats and the rival claims to precedence; and if they were all related to boxes in the theatre we would possibly make room for them.³²

The position of each person’s seat in church demonstrated clearly for all to see the wealth or standing of each member of the congregation. Everyone knew exactly who gave precedence to whom and who could with impunity look down on whom. The carefully chosen members of the Cathedral Seating Committee met once a year to sort out disputes and slot newcomers into an appropriate seat.³³ The Chinese members of the Church of England took their place at the back or more likely attended native churches.

The Church of England contrasted sharply in this matter with the more democratic and cosmopolitan approach of the Roman Catholic Church where a lower-ranking congregation joined together in no particular order as for instance at the consecration of the first Catholic church in 1843:

Here were men of every colour, the jet black negro, the deep brown Bengali, the light brown Madrassi, the tawny Chinese etc. robed in every variety of oriental costume. Two small knots of British, who with their fair complexions, high cheek bones, blue eyes and light hair, formed a strong contrast. Round the pillars stood or knelt groups of soldiers of the 55th Regiment from the wilds of Connemara and the mountains of Scotland; sepoys and native artillerymen from India mixed among Portuguese, Italians and other foreign seamen. Nor must the ladies be forgotten for in European costume there were seven or eight present.³⁴

Further clues to the ordering of society in nineteenth-century Hong Kong can be found in the way people are addressed in the Cemetery, in the pages of the *Blue Books* and in the local newspapers. Those from the upper ranks of the merchant houses and the civil service, who were considered as belonging to the top tier of Hong Kong society, merited the appendage ‘esquire’, and so were eligible, like the landed gentry back in Britain, to be chosen as justices of the peace. Officers in the army and Royal Navy, who considered themselves on par with, or perhaps even above, the merchants and civil servants by virtue of their ancestry back in

England, relied on their background, regiment and rank to give them status. The regiments were clearly ranked in terms of prestige, those of the foot coming for instance above the Royal Artillery which ranked above the Royal Marines and, below all these, came the officers of the Indian Army. Officers or their parents had paid a sum of money for their ranks which accorded with the prestige of the chosen regiment. The Indian Army regiments like the Ceylon regiment were free and attracted for example the sons of impecunious clergymen.

Coming next in the social scale were those who had come from the non-commissioned officer ranks. They were addressed by the title 'Mister'. The warrant officers from the army and navy who ran the various military stores and successful self-made men, old China hands and auctioneers, were considered worthy of this title. Next down in the scales were the tradesmen and then the skilled workmen such as plumbers and carpenters and such who were nominated by Christian name plus surname. At the bottom of the pile were the less than respectable, the common soldiers and sailors, the police who were largely recruited from the ranks of the armed forces and the ex-merchant seamen and drifters who washed up on the shores of Hong Kong and were known as beachcombers. These unfortunates were usually addressed by surname only. In an account of the findings of the Supreme Court, for example, under the heading of 'Extortion': 'Two European policemen, Patterson and Swimmer and a Chinaman also in the police force were arraigned on the above charge'.³⁵

This ordering of society was echoed to a certain extent in the inscriptions engraved on the headstones in the Hong Kong Cemetery. Merchants and high-ranking civil servants had the letters *esquire* or *esq.* after their names. Examples include **Alexander Scott** [11A/6/5] and **John Ambrose Mercer** [11A/6/3], who both died in 1843, the same year that they were appointed justices of peace by Sir Henry Pottinger. The title 'Mister' was more rarely used on the headstones and often signified a non-commissioned officer connection. **Mr. W. Ball** [10/5/1] was conductor of the Madras commissariat establishment and **Mr. James F. Norman** [9/2/6], commissariat assistant storekeeper. **Mr. P.H. Spry** [9/17/15] was paymaster to HMS *Wolverine* and **Mr. Mansoon T. Sturgess** [9/16/3] master of HMS *Espiegle*. **Mr. James Brown** [10/8/3] was a solicitor in William Gaskell's office. **Mr. William Sword Ash** [9/16/11] was a young merchant's clerk from Pennsylvania. The majority of the headstones however are more egalitarian in death, giving the person's Christian name and surnames minus any title. The size and elaborateness of the memorial and the carving on it seldom give a clue to the

person's status. Many of the imposing early chest tombs that one would expect to house merchants, civil servants or officers from the armed forces, in fact provided room for the bones of those from a much lower degree in the community. Chest tombs have been recorded that belong for instance to the chief gaoler, a Polish hotelier, an assistant at Lane Crawford, a sergeant in the army and an ex-soldier who ran a livery stable. It must have given great pleasure to the relatives of such people, many of whom came from the humblest backgrounds, to be able to afford such ostentation in death.

Hong Kong could not have been an easy or relaxing place to live in. Perhaps two verses from a long anonymous poem entitled 'Ye Band Playeth' and published in the *Friend of China* in August 1860 will give the authentic flavour of the time. It describes the parading in carriages and sedan chairs that took place each evening along Queen's Road and around the parade ground near St. John's Cathedral:

Tis five by the clock;
 The Parade at Hong Kong
 Is dotted with groups,
 Of undoubted 'bon ton'.
 ...
 A stiff looking race,
 Who seem out of place;
 And whose pedigree one would have trouble to trace.
 How it alters one's grade,
 When a million one's made,
 By spec in a mine or the opium trade.

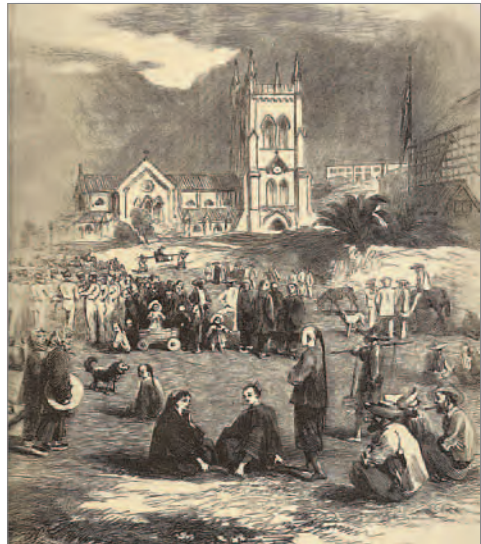
If you've no objection, we'll make quick dispatch
 Of this curious assemblage, this tropical batch,
 Of creatures who come from all parts of the globe.
 What for? What to do? If their feelings we probe,
 We should find that it is not for Glory or Fame,
 But for want of the dollars that most of them came.



3.4. Headstone in memory of Mansoon T. Sturgess.

Of course we'll except the fair dames, who no doubt,
 Were tempted by love not by gold to 'come out'.
 They know nothing of Malwa, of Patna and teas,
 But are simply contented to live at their ease:
 A hard thing to do in a place like Hong Kong,
 Where few can remain at their ease very long.
 And now in a word,
 We'll sum up the herd,
 Of Chinese,
 Portuguese
 And respectable, staid and long coated Parsees.
 And I'll finish by saying to those in the trade
 Steer clear of Hong Kong, you'll not miss its Parade.
 There's many a place in a more favoured land
 Where, without being broiled, you may list to a band.
 Rest contented with little: for gaining much wealth
 Will not compensate you for losing your health.
 So if you'd improve both your health and your race,
 Bolt as soon as you can from this feverish place.³⁶

Few were happy to accept their assigned place, which was largely anyway determined by money, and there seems to have been a jockeying for status and advancement on the part of those determined to rise, and an equal determination on the part of those at the top to guard their privileges and keep their group select.



3.5. The military band playing on the parade ground. (*Illustrated London News*, 15 August 1857).

Notes

Introduction

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13. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 245.
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16. C.F. Gordon Cumming, *Wanderings in China*, Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1886, p. 114.
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20. Michael Levien, op. cit., p. 90.
21. F. of C., 10.7.1850.
22. Robert Fortune, *Three Years Wanderings in the Northern Provinces of China*, Shanghai: University Press, 1945, p. 22, footnote.
23. F. of C., 16.8.1851.
24. Blue Book, 1851.
25. F. of C., 1.2.1845.
26. F. of C., 10.10.1845.
27. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., pp. 246–47.
28. Blue Book, 1845, p. 40.
29. Sprue is a tropical disease involving ulceration of the mucous membrane of the mouth and chronic enteritis.
30. Blue Book, 1855.
31. C.M., 23.11.1865.
32. From the personal correspondence of Bandsman F. Davis, 2nd Battalion 20th Foot who was posted to Hong Kong between December 1863–January 1864 and May 1866–March 1867, quoted in Ko Tim-keung, op. cit., p. 245.

33. Blue Book, 1861, p. 78.
34. Keith Sinclair (editor), *A Soldier's View of Empire: The Reminiscences of James Bodell 1831–1892*, London: Bodley Head, 1982, p. 66.
35. F. of C., 10.2.1844.
36. F. of C., 30.4.1849.
37. C.M., 19.3.1857.
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39. List of Tombstones from the Old Colonial Cemetery, *Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 2.11.1889.
40. Mortimer Menpes, *China*, with text by Sir Henry Arthur Blake, London: Adam & Charles Black, 1909, p. 112.
41. These definitions are taken from J.C.J. Metford, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1883.
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43. Major Henry Knollys, *English Life in China*, London: Smith & Elder & Co., 1885, p. 18.
44. Grave No. 4953. This grave has not been found by the author.
45. H.K.T., 10.11.1909.

Chapter 1

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2. It was amended on 13 November 1844.
3. F. of C., 9.11.1844.
4. Blue Book, 1845.
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6. Blue Book, 1845.
7. Rev. J. Collinson, Letter, op. cit.
8. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., pp. 186 and 246–47.
9. Peter Ward Fay, *The Opium War: 1840–1842*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1975, p. 324. Fay writes that during the winter of 1842, according to Pedder's (the harbourmaster) lists, every fourth vessel that touched Hong Kong carried opium.
10. Letter to F. of C., 16.10.1852.
11. F. of C., 4.4.1849.
12. As I write, still in the same place that it was in 1845, but soon to be pulled down and replaced with new developments.
13. F. of C., 4.4.1849.
14. F. of C., 4.4.1849, letter from Job.
15. Letter to F. of C., 14.8.1851.
16. C.M., 9.10.1856.
17. F. of C., 1849.
18. F. of C., 18.6.1845.
19. C.M., 31.2.1849.
20. C.M., 7.9.1848.
21. C.M., 31.1.1852.
22. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 277.
23. W.D. Bernard, *Narrative of the Voyages and Services of the Nemesis*, London: Henry Colburn, 1844, p. 83.
24. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 35.

25. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 91. Also see Maurice Collis, *Foreign Mud*, London: Faber & Faber, 1946, p. 219.
26. The merchants had already paid what had been demanded in the way of import dues to the Cantonese Customs authorities and felt that it was reasonable to demand compensation for their losses.
27. Jack Beeching, *The Chinese Opium Wars*, London: Hutchinson, 1975, p. 98.
28. Michael Levien (editor), op. cit., p. 83.
29. W.D. Bernard, op. cit., p. 399. He is most likely the same man as on the monument whose name is spelt C. Hewet.
30. W.D. Bernard, op. cit., p. 429.
31. Michael Levien (editor), op. cit., p. 97.
32. Michael Levien (editor), op. cit., p. 105.
33. Michael Levien (editor), op. cit., pp. 100–102.
34. Solomon Bard, *Garrison Memorials at Happy Valley*, Hong Kong: Antiquities and Monuments, Occasional Paper, No. 4, 1987.
35. F. of C., 7.9.1843.
36. Solomon Bard, op. cit., p. 58.
37. W.D. Bernard, op. cit., p. 238. He states that: 'For gallantry and steadiness of the single company cut off near San-yuan-li in May the 37th Regiment of the Madras Native Infantry were appointed a grenadier regiment'.
38. Jack Beeching, op. cit., p. 116, quotation from the *Indian Gazette*.
39. Jack Beeching, op. cit., pp. 59–160.
40. F. of C., 17.3.1842.
41. F. of C., 24.7.1850.
42. F. of C., 18.7.1846.
43. F. of C., 3.2.1847.
44. G.B. Endacott, *An Eastern Entrepot — A Collection of Documents Illustrating the History of Hong Kong*, London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1964, p. 132.
45. F. of C., 4.8.1844.
46. F. of C., 31.8.1844.
47. F. of C., 10.7.1848.
48. F. of C., 6.2.1850.
49. David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, London: Penguin, 2000, p. xix.
50. David Cannadine, op. cit., p. 9.
51. C.M., 11.1849. Taken from the periodical *The Constitutional*.
52. David Cannadine, op. cit., p. 4.
53. F. of C., 20.4.1848.
54. David Cannadine, op. cit., p. 28.
55. Edward Barrington de Fonblanque, *Nippon and Pe-che-li; or Two Years in Japan and Northern China*, London: Saunders, Otley and Co., 1863, p. 2.
56. F. of C., 17.3.1842.
57. F. of C., 17.3.1842.
58. Henry T. Ellis R.N., *Hong Kong to Manilla and the Lakes of Luzon*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1859.
59. David Cannadine, op. cit., p. 59.
60. A.N. Wilson, *The Victorians*, London: Arrow Books, 2002, p. 120.
61. A.N. Wilson, op. cit., p. 28.
62. F. of C., 6.4.1850.
63. F. of C., 23.2.1853.
64. **William Graham [11A/3/3]**, staff assistant surgeon, Bengal Establishment, died of fever 1843; **Jane Fitzgerald [9/18/7]**, d. 1846, wife of Major Fitzgerald, 42nd Madras Native Light Infantry; Lieutenant

George Dixon [9/14/7], d. 1847, Bengal Rifles; Lieutenant **Kelson** [9/14/11], d. 1847, Ceylon Rifles; Lieutenant **C.E. Kingsmill** [9/1/10], d. 1848, Ceylon Rifles; **Jane Mylius** [7/10/16], d. 1848 of cholera, wife of Captain Rodney Mylius, Ceylon Rifles; Lieutenant **Alfred Millar and two sons, Alfred and Frederick** [9/17/2], d. 1849, Ceylon Rifles; Lieutenant **F.T.F.A. MacDonnell** [9/16/4], d. 1849, Ceylon Rifles; Lieutenant **Gorege and Maria Dawson** [16cii/6/25], d. 1851; **Elizabeth Mitchell** [9/9/13], d. 1852, niece of John Williams formerly assistant surgeon of the Madras Sappers and Miners and later hospital clerk of the hospital ship, HMS *Minden*; **Elizabeth Johnston** [9/1/4], d. 1858, 'the last surviving daughter of Lieutenant W. Johnston, Commissariat Department, Madras Army'.

65. C.M., 9.11.1854.
66. F. of C., 2.11.1850.
67. George Pottinger, *Sir Henry Pottinger: First Governor of Hong Kong*, U.K.: Sutton Publishing, 1997, p. 79.
68. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 207.
69. George Pottinger, op. cit., pp. 50, 127–28.
70. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 207.
71. Maggie Keswick, *The Thistle and the Jade*, London: Octopus Books, 1982, p. 17.
72. The inscription is very faded and difficult to read and his name may be wrongly spelled.
73. Fred Dagenais, 'John Fryer's Early Years in China: First Impressions of Hong Kong and the Chinese People', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 30, 1990, p. 155.
74. Dennys, Mayer et al., *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan*, London: Trubner & Co., 1867, p. 36.

Chapter 2

1. A.D. Blue, 'Chinese Emigration and the Deck Passenger Trade', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 10, 1970, p. 81.
2. John Evelyn Fortunatus Wright, Diary. Unpublished original manuscript held at the P.R.O., Hong Kong, No. HMMS 143/1/2. Date 27.9.1850.
3. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 273.
4. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 387.
5. James Hayes, 'The Nam Pak Hong: Commercial Association of Hong Kong 1868–1968', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 19, 1979, p. 216.
6. B.L. Ball, *Rambles in Eastern Asia Including China and Manilla during Several Years Residence*, Boston: James French & Co., 1856, p. 204.
7. W. Harland, from *The Letters of William Harland M.D. and William Aurelius Harland M.D.*, Unpublished manuscript held at the Hong Kong Library, No. R.A.S. 826 Har., Letter dated 20.3.1849.
8. Wright Diary, op. cit., 23.12.1852.
9. C.M., 10.7.1856.
10. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, *The History of the Laws and Courts of Hong Kong*, Vol. I, Hong Kong: Vetch & Co., 1898, p. 423 (quoting from a passage in the journal of T. Raikes Esq.).
11. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, op. cit., p. 258.
12. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, op. cit., p. 295.
13. E.J. Eitel, op. cit. pp. 261–62. These words are said by Eitel as having been quoted verbatim by Sir John Bowring.
14. G.B. Endacott, op. cit., p. 99.
15. C.M., 15.7.1858. The previous quote attempting to analyze the problem is from the same editorial.
16. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 383.
17. *The Times*, 15.3.1859.

18. C.M., 23.6.1859.
19. William Maxwell Wood, *Fankwei or the 'San Jacinto' in the Seas of India, China and Japan*, New York: Harper Bros., 1859, p. 478.
20. William Maxwell Wood, op. cit., p. 491.
21. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 311.
22. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 424. (He is quoting a letter written by Sir J. Bowring to the *Liverpool Courier*.)
23. Rev. James Legge, op. cit., p. 185.
24. Richard Brooks, *The Long Arm of the Empire: Naval Brigades from the Crimea to the Boxer Rebellion*, London: Constable, 1999, p. 87.
25. George Wingrove Cooke, *China: Being the 'Times' Special Correspondence from China in the Years 1857–1858*, London: G. Routledge & Co., 1858, pp. 330–31.
26. Dominick Harrod, op. cit., p. 60.
27. D. Bonner-Smith and E.W.R. Lumby, *The Second China War, 1856–1860*, Naval Records Society, 1954, p. 360.

Chapter 3

1. David Cannadine, op. cit., p. 63, quotation of a poem by Robert Southey.
2. F. of C., 4.12.1850.
3. David Cannadine, op. cit., p. 14.
4. C.M., 26.5.1859.
5. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., pp. 282–83.
6. C.M., 18.3.1852.
7. The names of the memorialists included Messrs. C.W. Bowra, G. Duddell, J.W. Brimelow, C. Markwich, J.A. Brooks and T.A. Lane who were all ship's chandlers and auctioneers, and A.H. Fryer, W. Emeny and H. Marsh who were shopkeepers.
8. Trial by Jury Enactment, No. 7 of 1845, also E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 220.
9. C.M., 12.10.1848.
10. C.M., 12.10.1848.
11. F. of C., 10.1.1852.
12. C.M., 13.3.1859.
13. Henry T. Ellis, op. cit., p. 6.
14. Alfred Weatherhead, *Life in Hong Kong, 1856–1859*, transcript of talk given in London. Donated by the family to the Hong Kong government and held by P.R.O., Hong Kong, No. HMMS 143/1/2.
15. Henry T. Ellis, op. cit., p. 6.
16. F. of C., 11.12.1844.
17. F. of C., 18.12.1844.
18. F. of C., 18.1.1851.
19. Alfred Weatherhead, op. cit.
20. W. Harland, op. cit., letter dated 24.12.1845.
21. W. Harland, op. cit. p. 58.
22. Advert., F. of C., 1.8.1852.
23. Bayard Taylor, *A Visit to India, China and Japan*, Vol. 2, London: Ganesha Publishing, 2002, p. 217.
24. Bayard Taylor, op. cit., p. 219.
25. W. Harland, op. cit., p. 80.
26. Wright, Diary, op. cit., P.R.O.

27. Wright Diary, 18.9.1850.
28. Wright Diary, 24.10.1850.
29. Michael Levien (editor), op. cit., p. 143.
30. F. of C., 14.2.1845.
31. F. of C., 18.5.1850, quoted again in the paper, 29.5.1851.
32. F. of C., 26.9.1849.
33. G.B. Endacott and Dorothy She, *The Diocese of Victoria, Hong Kong: A Hundred Years of Church History*, Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, 1949, p. 35.
34. F. of C., 22.6.1843.
35. F. of C. 10.11.1846.
36. C.M., 2.8.1860.

Chapter 4

1. F. of C., 1.12.1851.
2. F. of C., 18.9.1852.
3. Osmond Tiffaney Jr., *The Cantonese Chinese*, Boston: James Munroe & Co., 1849, p. 212.
4. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 370.
5. F. of C., 9.1.1850.
6. Henry T. Ellis, op. cit., p. 6.
7. Solomon Bard, *Traders of Hong Kong: Some Foreign Merchant Houses*, Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1993, p. 82.
8. C.M., 10.1.1850.
9. W. Harland, op. cit., p. 80.
10. Carl Smith, Card Index.
11. F. of C., 22.10.1851.
12. Sword Family Papers, Pennsylvania Historical Society Manuscript Collection.
13. Albert Smith, *To China and Back*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1974, pp. 32–33.
14. Albert Smith, op. cit., p. 56.
15. F. of C., 25.10.1851.
16. F. of C., 10.10.1851.
17. Maggie Keswick, op. cit., p. 26.
18. F. of C., 9.11.1844.
19. F. of C., 8.1.1847 and 3.2.1847.
20. F. of C., 14.10.48.
21. F. of C., 30.1.1850.
22. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 330.
23. Osmond Tiffaney Jr., op. cit., p. 213.
24. C.M., 13.7.1848.
25. Frank Welsh, *A History of Hong Kong*, London: Harper Collins, 1997, p. 178.
26. Fred Dagenais, op. cit., p. 155.
27. Bayard Taylor, op. cit., p. 217.
28. Alfred Weatherhead, op. cit.
29. The merchant, N. Duus, advertised for sale, 'A patent Water Closet for an upper story complete' as early as 5 August, 1845, and some of the grander merchants' houses were advertised as 'with water closets'.
30. C.M., 24.1.1850.
31. C.M., 14.10.1858.

32. All the details in this and the previous two paragraphs have been taken from advertisements put by tradesmen on the front page of the *Friend of China*.
33. B.L. Ball, op. cit., pp. 84–85 and 87.
34. Bayard Taylor, op. cit., p. 217.
35. Osmond Tiffaney Jr., op. cit., p. 215.
36. Judith Balmer (editor), *Thompson's China: Travels and Adventures of a Nineteenth-Century Photographer*, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 5.
37. Blue Book, 1852.
38. Ivan Alexandrovich Goncharov, 'Hong Kong, translation from a book chapter written by Ivan Alexandrovich Goncharov in 1853', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 38, 1998, p. 143. Goshkevitch was a Russian naval officer who was interned with his crew for a short time during the Crimean War.

Chapter 5

1. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 233.
2. F. of C., 24.5.1848.
3. F. of C., 22.7.1844.
4. According to the inscription on his chest tomb.
5. F. of C., 5.1.1847.
6. F. of C., 2.5.1846.
7. F. of C., 29.8.1850.
8. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 378.
9. F. of C., 6.12.1856.
10. Wright Diary, 31.5.1850.
11. Albert Smith, op. cit., p. 63.
12. Lindsay and May Ride, *An East Indian Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1996, p. 90.
13. Wright Diary, 29.11.1851. Unpublished manuscript held at Public Records Office, Hong Kong.
14. Carl Smith, Card Index.
15. C.M. 21.11.1855 and C.M. 1.11.1855 for example. Both letters from Cerberus on the subject on Charles May's brothels, the second one beginning: 'Take the brothels in May's Row for instance'.
16. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 337.
17. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 504.
18. P.D. Coates, *The China Consuls*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 90.
19. P.D. Coates, op. cit., pp. 97–99.
20. P.D. Coates, op. cit., p. 58.
21. P.D. Coates, op. cit., p. 92.
22. C.M., 13.8.1853.
23. F. of C., 2.5.1849.
24. Wright Diary, 14.9.1850.
25. Carl Smith, Card Index.
26. Wright Diary, 14.5.1850.
27. Wright Diary, 4.5.1850.
28. *Memoirs of Hong Kong Natural History Society*, No. 23, June 2000.
29. Wright Diary, 25.8.1850.
30. Wright Diary, 30.4.1850.

31. Wright Diary, 25.6.1850.
32. Wright Diary, 12 to 16.10.1850.
33. Wright Diary, 29.7.1849.
34. Wright Diary, 16.10.1850.
35. Wright Diary, 29.5.1852.
36. Wright Diary, 28.4.1851.
37. Wright Diary, 6.8.1852.
38. Wright Diary, 29.11.1851.
39. Wright Diary, 15.2.1852.
40. Wright Diary, 23.5.1852.
41. F. of C., 8.6.1849, Obituary.
42. Carl Smith, Card Index.
43. F. of C., 15.7.1850.
44. F. of C., 19.11.1851.
45. Probate file of 9.12.1851, Carl Smith, Card Index.
46. Fred Dagenais, op. cit., p. 156.
47. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 249.
48. C.M., 24.8.1868.
49. Carl Smith, Card Index.
50. A. Kerrigan, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Hong Kong, 1991, quoted in Paul Lau, 'Paramilitarism and the Use of Force in the Royal Hong Kong Police Force' (Masters Dissertation, University of Hong Kong, 1994).
51. C.M., 24.2.1847.
52. Blue Book, 1847.
53. C. M., 27.3.1850, a letter signed by Idler headed *Constitution of the Police Force*. As the wording is identical, it must be the source of the remarks quoted by Norton-Kyshe.
54. C.M., 31.8.1848.
55. Carl Smith, Card Index, Probate File No. 246 of 1851.
56. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 126.
57. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 496, quoted from the *Straits Times*.
58. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 401–2.
59. F. of C., 10.1.1849.
60. F. of C., 9.5.1848.
61. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 289.
62. Keith Sinclair (editor), op. cit., p. 58. In 1850 James Bodell reckoned that the total strength was 1,200 including the 59th regiment, the sappers and miners, three companies of the Ceylon Regiment, two companies of Royal Artillery and two companies of Lascar Artillery.
63. F. of C., 18.9.1845.
64. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 238.
65. Maggie Keswick, op. cit., p. 26.
66. F. of C., 16.1.1850.
67. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 278.
68. C.M., 30.10.1851.
69. G.B. Endacott, op. cit., pp. 118–19.
70. F. of C., 17.2.1849.
71. Dolly, *Tales of Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Kelly and Walsh, 1902, p. 151.
72. F. of C., 17.2.1847.
73. C.M., 6.3.1855.

Chapter 6

1. C.M., 9.10.1856.
2. C.M., 23.9.1858.
3. *Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 3.5.1860.
4. F. of C., 9.2.1850.
5. Wright Diary, 30.8.1850.
6. William Maxwell Wood, op. cit., p. 490.
7. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 341.
8. F. of C., 9.10.1852.
9. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 350.
10. E. Morrison, *Memoirs of the Life of Robert Morrison*, London: Ormei, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1839, p. 117.
11. F. of C., 15.7.1846.
12. F. of C., 11.8.1849.
13. Lindsay and May Ride, op. cit., p. 244.
14. W.D. Bernard, op. cit., p. 7.
15. W.D. Bernard, op. cit., p. 242.
16. Barbara-Sue White, *Hong Kong: Somewhere between Earth and Heaven*, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 48.
17. B.L. Ball, Diary for 1.4.1849, op. cit.
18. F. of C., 11.3.1848.
19. Wright Diary, 21.11.1850.
20. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 350.
21. C.M., 16.9.1858.
22. According to Carl Smith's Card Index, Harland's will is filed under C.O.129/43 No. 81, 20 October 1853.
23. Iosif Antonovich Goshkevich, op. cit., p. 235.
24. His headstone is difficult to make out.
25. C.M., 19.3.1855.
26. C.M., 10.3.1859.
27. F. of C., 4.11.1848.
28. F. of C., 25.9.1850.
29. Mortality rates for the civil population: 1845, 5.5%; 1846, 7.5%; 1847, 3.9%; 1848, 12.9%; 1850, 10%; 1852, 8.4%; 1853, 9.4%. As given in the Blue Books.
30. C.M., 19.12.1846, quoting from *A Statistical Comparison of Hong Kong and Chusan*.
31. B.L. Ball, op. cit., p. 84.
32. F. of C., 23.9.1848.
33. F. of C., 1.11.1849.
34. Keith Sinclair (editor), op. cit., p. 60.
35. C.M., 10.12.1857.
36. F. of C., 26.6.1850.
37. Wright Diary, 6.6.1852.
38. C.M., April 1848.
39. F. of C., 31.7.1844.
40. F. of C., 9.8.1845.
41. F. of C., 9.3.1844.
42. F. of C., 18.11.1845.
43. Wright Diary, 24.6.1849.

44. F. of C., 6.3.1853.
45. Wright Diary, 31.5.1851.
46. F. of C., 25.7.1850.

Chapter 7

1. Judith Balmer (editor), op. cit., p. 2.
2. B. Lubbock, *The China Clippers*, Boston: Charles E. Lauriat, 1914, Appendix iii. (The names of both the above mentioned clippers appear on the same page).
3. B. Lubbock, op. cit., p. 163.
4. B. Lubbock, op. cit., p. 6.
5. F. of C., 4.8.1845.
6. A. Marshall (editor), *The Singapore Letters of Benjamin Cook*, Landmark Books, Singapore, 2004, p. 16.
7. F. of C., 8.1.1845.
8. Lieutenant Collinson, Letter to his father, op. cit.
9. F. of C., 6.8.1853 and 10.8.1853.
10. F. of C., 12.4.1851.
11. C.M., 5.4.1855.
12. Keith Sinclair (editor), op. cit., pp. 56–80 for an account of James Bodell's time with the 59th Regiment in Hong Kong.
13. C.M., 13.8.1855.
14. Lindsay and May Ride, op. cit., pp. 111 and 263–64.
15. Rear Admiral George Preble, *The Opening of Japan*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962, p. 307.
16. Rear Admiral George Preble, op. cit., p. 316.
17. F. of C., 4.6.1851.
18. C.M., 5.3.1857.
19. F. of C., 8.1.1851.
20. Carl Smith, Card Index.
21. F. of C., 13.2.1850.
22. F. of C., 21.8.1851.
23. C.M., 30.9.1854.
24. Albert Smith, op. cit., p. 44.
25. C.M., 15.1.1857.
26. F. of C., 30.5.1849.
27. F. of C., 4.8.1851.
28. F. of C., 3.8.1850.
29. Carl Smith, Card Index.
30. F. of C., 23.11.1853.
31. Carl Smith, Card Index.
32. Wright Diary, 20.10.1851.
33. B. Lubbock, op. cit., Appendix iii.
34. Albert Smith, op. cit., p. 40.
35. C.M., 11.6.1857.
36. Osmond Tiffany Jr., quoted by Barbara-Sue White, *Hong Kong*, op. cit., 1996, pp. 38–39.
37. F. of C., 8.3.1854.
38. C.M., 2.2.1854.

39. F. of C., 21.11.1852.
40. F. of C., 13.12.1851.
41. F. of C., 24.6.1854.

Chapter 8

1. F. of C., 29.9.1849.
2. C.M., 19.5.1859.
3. *The Hong Kong Almanac and Directory of 1848* also included the following names as belonging to this category, none of whom are represented in the Cemetery: Charles Buckton, Mrs. Innes, McEwen & Co., Mackay & Co. and Robert Rutherford.
4. C.M., 10.7.1850.
5. B.L. Ball, op. cit., p. 208.
6. F. of C., 7.6.1845.
7. Wright Diary for 1.1.1858.
8. Wright Diary for 3.11.1851.
9. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 337.
10. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 347.
11. G.B. Endacott, *An Eastern Entrepot*, op. cit., p. 62.
12. Carl Smith, *A Sense of History: Studies in the Social and Urban History of Hong Kong*, Hong Kong Educational Publishing Co., 1995, pp. 92–93.
13. Carl Smith, 'Notes on the So Kon Po Valley and Village', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 23, 1983, pp. 14–15.
14. F. of C., 17.12.1845.
15. G.B. Endacott, *An Eastern Entrepot*, op. cit., p. 154.
16. This was situated on the corner where Ice House Street meets Queen's Road. Ships could unload their ice at the quay alongside Queen's Road which fronted the sea and the ice dragged across the road to the Ice House.
17. F. of C., 6.4.1850.
18. F. of C., 20.4.1849.
19. G.B. Endacott, *An Eastern Entrepot*, op. cit., p. 153.
20. F. of C., 6.4.1850.
21. F. of C., 16.1.1851.
22. Carl Smith, Card Index.
23. Carl Smith, Card Index.
24. F. of C., 2.7.1851.
25. C.M., 1.6.1851.
26. F. of C., Advert, 20.1.1851.
27. F. of C., Advert, 15.7.1846.
28. F. of C., Advert, 28.4.1848.
29. F. of C., 27.5.1848.
30. C.M., 31.7.1845.
31. C.M., 6.4.1854.
32. F. of C., 14.4.1846.
33. F. of C., 13.2.1850.

34. F. of C., 11.10.1849, Programme of the Victoria Regatta Club's First Meet.
35. F. of C., 18.1.1851.
36. Henry T. Ellis, op. cit., p. 6.
37. F. of C., 11.6.1851.
38. F. of C., 18.6.1851.
39. Peter Ward Fay, op. cit., pp. 124–25.
40. F. of C., 4.10.1851.
41. A.G.M., 24.7.1851.
42. Carl Smith, Card Index.
43. In 1854, when the Crimean War was being fought in Europe, the settlers in Hong Kong had thought themselves under threat from the Russian Navy, particularly when the British fleet was engaged elsewhere. The authorities had raised the first Volunteer service to train settlers as soldiers. In the first call, ninety-nine men volunteered from all walks of life and it was one of the few occasions the different classes met on equal footing. At the end of the Crimean War it was allowed to disintegrate, to be re-established in 1862.
44. F. of C., 4.7.1850.
45. Osmond Tiffany Jr., op. cit., quoted in Barbara-Sue White, *Hong Kong*, op. cit., pp. 39–40.
46. B.L. Ball, op. cit., p. 81.
47. C.M., 23.9.1858.
48. Carl Smith, Card Index.
49. C.M., 10.12.1846.
50. F. of C., 3.1.1849.
51. Judith Balmer (editor), op. cit., p. 10.
52. F. of C., 4.12.1850.
53. F. of C., 23.11.1853.
54. Letter to the editor of F. of C. dated 11.10.1857.
55. F. of C., 25.1.1851.
56. The yearly salaries of Chief Gaoler Robert Goodings and Inspector of the Police James Jarman were \$125 at that date.
57. F. of C., 2.8.1852.
58. Wright Diary, 22.6.1849.
59. Public Records Office, Kew, London, C.O.129/6.
60. Carl Smith, Card Index.
61. Carl Smith, Card Index.

Chapter 9

1. F. of C., 27.6.1846.
2. C.M., 18.3.1847.
3. C.M., 20.3.1847.
4. F. of C., 28.7.1847.
5. C.M., 24.7.1851.
6. C.M., 8.6.1848.
7. F. of C., 7.5.1851.
8. F. of C., 7.5.1851.

Chapter 10

1. Inscription on his headstone.
2. Lindsay and May Ride, op. cit, pp. 231–33.
3. F. of C., 30.10.1845.
4. F. of C., 3.12.1843. (It announced the death at the house of the Morrison Educational Society of the son of Charles Paulet Harris Esq. of Manchester.)
5. William Tarrant, *The Early History of Hong Kong to the Close of 1844 — A Series of Articles Reproduced from the 'Friend of China'*, Canton, Friend of China Office, 1862, p. 77.
6. Susanna Hoe, op. cit., pp. 50–51.
7. Anthony Sweeting, 'Re-evaluating James Legge's Contributions to Education in Hong Kong', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 45, 2005, pp. 5–25.
8. Anthony Sweeting, op. cit., p. 9
9. Cited in Helen Legge, *James Legge: Missionary and Scholar*, p. 37 and quoted in Anthony Sweeting, op. cit.
10. Susanna Hoe, op. cit., p. 93.
11. F. of C., 20.10.1852.
12. Letter by Rev. James Legge published as part of the Report of the Morrison Education Society and reprinted in the editorial of the *China Mail*, 1.5.1867, also quoted in Anthony Sweeting, op. cit.
13. Peter Hamilton, 'An American Family's Mission in East Asia, 1838–1936', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 49, 2009.
14. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 190.
15. J.B. Jeter, *An American Woman in China and Her Missionary Work There*, Boston: D. Lothrop & Co, 1874, p. 182.
16. J.B. Jeter, *A Memoir of Henrietta Shuck: The First American Female Missionary to China*, Boston: Gould Kendall & Lincoln, 1846, p. 188.
17. FES/AMI Minute 727, 14.7.1839, quoted in Susanna Hoe, op. cit., p. 109.
18. F. of C., Letter from *Alpha* dated 26.9.1844.
19. J.B. Jeter, op. cit., pp. 198–99.
20. J.B. Jeter, *A Memoir of Henrietta Shuck*, op. cit., p. 189.
21. *Hong Kong Register*, 2.10.1849.
22. K. Gutzlaff, *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832, & 1833*, Ch'eng-Wen Publishing Company, Taipei, 1968, p. 9.
23. *Hong Kong Register*, 2.10.1849.
24. Jessie Lutz and Ray Rolland, *Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity, 1850–1900*, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998, pp. 14–15.
25. Arthur Waley, *The Opium War through Chinese Eyes*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1958, p. 233.
26. F. of C., 10.12.1853.
27. F. of C., 29.7.1854.
28. C.M., 13.11.1856, as told in a letter signed Observer.
29. Susanna Hoe, op. cit., p. 96.
30. C.M., 7.3.1861.
31. F. of C., 25.9.1850.
32. F. of C., 22.2.51.
33. Rev. George Smith, *A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to Each of the Consular Cities of China*, London: Seeley, Burnside, & Seeley, 1847, p. 507.
34. Rev. George Smith, op. cit., p. 512.
35. Rev. George Smith, op. cit., p. 513.

36. Rev. George Smith, op. cit., p. 508.
37. Rev. George Smith, op. cit., p. 511.
38. F. of C., 2.1.1853.
39. F. of C., 18.6.1853.
40. C.M., 10.6.1847.
41. F. of C., 30.1.1850.
42. F. of C., 26.9.1849, Letter from James Legge and H.F. Hirschberg.
43. Nora M. Clarke, *The Governor's Daughter Takes the Veil*, Hong Kong: Cannossian Missions, 1980, p. 91.

Chapter 11

1. Inscription on monument.
2. Rear Admiral George Preble, op. cit., p. 270.
3. Bayard Taylor, op. cit., pp. 214–15.
4. B.L. Ball, op. cit., p. 93.
5. B.L. Ball, op. cit. Diary extract for 10.9.1848, taken from Barbara-Sue White, *Hong Kong*, op. cit., p. 48.
6. F. of C., 24.9.1853.

Chapter 12

1. Keith Sinclair (editor), op. cit., p. 61.
2. F. of C., 17.7.1850.
3. F. of C., 29.11.1845.
4. F. of C., 17.9.1845.
5. F. of C., 6.6.1846.
6. Robin McLachlan, op. cit., p. 80.
7. F. of C., 7.3.1849.
8. F. of C., 27.11.1850.
9. T.H. McGuffie (editor), *Rank and File: The Common Soldier at Peace and War: 1642–1914*, London: Hutchison, 1964, p. 23.
10. F. of C., 23.8.1850.
11. Peter Quennell (editor), *Henry Mayhew's London Underworld*, London: Spring Books, London, 1950, p. 71.
12. F. of C., 9.8.1845.
13. Wright Diary, op. cit., 24.2.1850.
14. F. of C., 24.2.1850.
15. Michael Levien (editor), op. cit., p. 123.
16. F. of C., 31.10.1846.
17. F. of C., September 1845.
18. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 323.
19. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 376.
20. Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World*, London: Penguin Books, London, 2003, p. 165.
21. B. Lubbock, op. cit., p. 20.
22. Michael Levien (editor), op. cit., pp. 166–67.
23. F. of C., 25.9.1849.

24. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 270.
25. F. of C., 12.11.1853.
26. F. of C., 13.5.1854.
27. C.M., 4.3.1854, quoted from *The Times*.
28. F. of C., 24.3.1853, quoted from the *Friend of India*.
29. Owen Rutter, *The Pirate Wind*, Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986, p. 252.
30. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 339.
31. Solomon Bard, *Garrison Memorials in Hong Kong*, op. cit., p. 59.
32. Headstones or monuments to individual officers of the Royal Navy. 1) Commanders and masters: Captain **William Thornton Bate** [13/8/7] of the *Royalist*, Captain **Troubridge** [13/6/2] of the *Amazon*, Commander **F. Woolcombe** [13/7/3] of *Nina*, Commander **John Ince** [9/17/12] of the *Pilot*; Masters: **John Cater** [9/11/7] of the *Vulture*, **Mansoon T. Sturgess** [9/16/3] of the *Espiegle*, **John Perry** [20/11/1] of the *Forester*, **John Hanter** [13/9/1] of *Prince Arthur* of the Indian Navy; 2) Chief officers, lieutenants and mates: **Francis Hourse** [9/9/11] of *Rob Roy*, **Frederick R. Hardinge** [9/6/1] of the *Encounter*, **J. Warre** [9/12/3] and **J.J. Dornford** [9/14/5] of the *Scout*, Lieutenant **K. Steart** [10/6/1], commander of the *Plover*, **F. Cuffnell** [10/7/3], mate of the *Otter*, Lieutenant **H. Bacon** [10/2/2] of the *Inflexible*; 3) Paymasters and pursers: **Peter Harrison Spry** [9/17/15] of the *Wolverine*, **Robert T. Raynes** [9/1/3] of the *Adventure*, **J. Cole** [9/14/4]; Clerks: **F. Boulter** [9/11/8] of Stoke Deverel, Devon of the *Vulture*, **M. Seymour Crouch** [9/17/13] of the *Hastings*; 4) Surgeons: **Robert Austin Bankier** [13/1/1] of the *Minden*, **Henry French** [13/8/1] of the *Winchester*, **David Davidson** [9/14/2] of the *Alligator*; 5) Chaplains: Rev. **K.L. Halke** [9/16/8] of the *Cumbrian*; 6) Midshipmen: **Henry L. Barker** [10/5/4] of the *Tribune*, **E.C. Bryan** [10/6/1], **Vincent Edward Eyre** [20/16/5] of the *Calcutta*.
33. F. of C., 26.8.1849.
34. F. of C., 28.8.1849.
35. Iosif Antonovich Goshkevich, op. cit., p. 231.
36. F. of C., 12.12.1849.
37. F. of C., 22.9.1844.
38. F. of C., 3.8.1843.
39. F. of C., 5.9.1843.
40. F. of C., 8.9.1843.
41. Dominick Harrod (editor), op. cit., p. 36.
42. Michael Levien (editor), op. cit., p. 121.
43. F. of C., 12.12.1849.

Chapter 13

1. Wright Diary, 28.1.1852.
2. No grave has been found for Sarah Markwick.
3. Inscription on her headstone.
4. C.M., 22.7.1857.
5. Susanna Hoe, op. cit., p. 81.
6. F. of C., 12.9.1854.
7. F. of C., 26.6.1856.
8. C.M., 5.11.1857, copied from the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.
9. F. of C., Advert., 25.10.1854.
10. C.M., 28.1.1857.
11. Duncan Crow, *Victorian Women*, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1871, pp. 146–47.

12. F. of C., 19.12.1851.
13. Alfred Weatherhead, op. cit.
14. B.L. Ball, op. cit., quoted in Barbara-Sue White, *Hong Kong*, op. cit., p. 48.
15. Vyvyen Brendon, *Children of the Raj*, London: Weidenfield & Nicholson, 2005, p. 40.
16. C.M., 23.9.1859.
17. Wright Diary, 20.8.1852.
18. Wright Diary, 14.10.1851.
19. C.M., 24.5.1855.
20. C.M., 7.5.1855.
21. F. of C., 11.6.1855.
22. C.M., 23.4.1856.
23. Blue Book, 1853.
24. Blue Book, 1853.
25. Maggie Keswick, op. cit., p. 39.
26. F. of C., 20.1.1844.
27. F. of C., 10.12.1851.
28. C.M., 30.6.1859.
29. F. of C., 10.12.1851.
30. Albert Smith, op. cit., p. 36.
31. C.M., 14.6.1860.
32. F. of C., 13.10.1849.
33. F. of C., 10.10.1849.
34. Carl Smith, *A Sense of History*, op. cit., pp. 266–75.
35. Carl Smith, Card Index.
36. Carl Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen and the Church in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005, pp. 199–201.
37. F. of C., 12.11.1851.

Chapter 14

1. As reported in C.M., 1.3.1859.
2. Rev. John Nevius, *China and the Chinese*, London: Sampson Low, Son and Marston, 1869, p. 283.
3. Rev. John Nevius, op. cit., p. 275.
4. A.B. Freeman-Mitford, *The Attaché at Peking*, London: Macmillan & Co, 1900, p. 5.
5. George Wingrove Cooke, op. cit., p. 60.
6. Henry T. Ellis, op. cit., pp. 4–5.
7. Blue Books, 1845 and 1855.
8. C.M., 14.1.1847.
9. C.M., 14.1.1847.
10. F. of C., Overland Mail, 29.10.1849.
11. F. of C., 29.9.1849.
12. F. of C., 14.1.1847.
13. For a detailed analysis of the problems in this field, see Christopher Munn's excellent book, *Anglo-China: Chinese People and British Rule in Hong Kong, 1841–1880*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009.
14. F. of C., 30.1.1850.

15. F. of C., 17.7.1850.
16. Alfred Weatherhead, op. cit.
17. C.M., 27.1.1847.
18. C.M., 17.1.1847.
19. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 237.
20. F. of C., 22.10.1851.
21. C.M., 11.9.1854.
22. C.M., 13.8.1857.
23. F. of C., 5.11.1851.
24. E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 282.
25. Yung Wing, *My Life in China and America*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1909, pp. 59–62.

Chapter 15

1. C.M., 21.5.1867.
2. E.J. Eitel, *The Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 2.4.1880, p. 468, *Report on the Treatment of Paupers in Hong Kong*.
3. C.M., 28.1.1864.
4. C.M., 3.7.1862.
5. C.M., 18.9.1862.
6. C.M., 18.9.1862: All three quotes are taken from the same article.
7. C.M., 19.12.1861.
8. C.M., 9.5.1861.
9. C.M., 9.5.1861.
10. C.M., 22.11.1866.
11. D.P., 30.7.1868.
12. Dennys, Mayer et al., op. cit., p. 24.
13. C.M., 8.3.1866.
14. C.M., 28.11.1870.
15. C.M., 8.3.1866.
16. C.M., 15.3.1866.
17. D.P., 26.8.1870.
18. C.M., 22.3.1866.
19. D.P., 28.4.1870.
20. C.M., 8.12.1870.
21. C.M., 11.8.1859.
22. C.M., 22.11.1866.
23. Rev. James Legge, 'The Colony of Hong Kong', op. cit.
24. A.B. Freeman-Mitford, op. cit., p. 5.
25. Joyce Stevens Smith, *Matilda: Her Life and Legacy*, Hong Kong: Matilda & War Memorial Hospital, 1988, p. 53.
26. C.M., 24.5.1869.
27. D.P., 4.54.64.
28. C.M., 13.5.1869.
29. C.M., 25.1.1866.
30. C.M., 26.9.1868.

31. A law had been passed allowing those criminals who chose to be branded with an arrow on the ear and deported to the mainland and thus escape punishment in Hong Kong so long as they were not caught returning to the Island.
32. C.M., 6.3.1869.
33. C.M., 2.8.1867.
34. C.M., 24.4.1862.
35. *Illustrated London News*, 24.1.1867.
36. C.M., 27.9.1866.
37. C.M., 30.10.1862.
38. Isabella Bird, *The Golden Cheronese and the Way Thither*, London: John Murray, 1883, p. 42.
39. C.M., 10.5.1866, quoted from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13.3.1866.
40. Joyce Stevens Smith, op. cit., p. 33.
41. Inscription on headstone.
42. Joyce Stevens Smith, op. cit., p. 54.
43. D.P., 2.3.1864.
44. C.M., 9.1.1871.
45. C.M., 1.10.1867.
46. D.P., 29.8.1870.
47. A.B. Freeman-Mitford, op. cit., pp. 5–6.
48. Rev. James Legge, 'The Colony of Hong Kong', op. cit., p. 191.
49. C.M., 31.5.1866, copied from the *Evening Mail*.
50. C.M., 1.3.1866.
51. The letter is addressed to the C.M., and dated 21.9.1870.
52. D.P., 22.10.1870.
53. D.P., 11.7.1871.
54. Dolly, op. cit., p. 99.
55. C.M., 29.10.1867.
56. C.M., 24.7.1869.
57. C.M., 24.8.1868.
58. C.M., 7.8.1869.
59. C.M., 20.4.1869.
60. D.P., 5.2.1868.

Chapter 16

1. D.P., 19.3.1870.
2. D.P., 13.1.1868.
3. D.P., 17.6.1866.
4. C.M., 26.11.1863.
5. D.P., 19.4.1870.
6. Dolly, op. cit., p. 21.
7. C.M., 4.12.1868.
8. Joyce Stevens Smith, op. cit., p. 62.
9. Joyce Stevens Smith, op. cit., p. 25.
10. D.P., 7.3.1870.
11. D.P., 6.8.1867.

12. Joyce Stevens Smith, op. cit., p. 55.
13. G.B. Endacott and Dorothy She, op. cit., pp. 35–37.
14. Charles Drage, *The Dragon Throne: Being the Lives of Edward and Cecil Bowra*, London: Peter Dawnay Ltd, 1966, p. 65.
15. W.K. Chan, *The Making of Hong Kong's Society: Three Studies of Class Formation in Early Hong Kong*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, pp. 44–46.
16. C.M., 24.9.1870.
17. C.M., 30.4.1867.
18. Isabella Bird, op. cit, pp. 38–39.
19. C.M., 30.4.1867.
20. *The Hong Kong Punch*, 28.5.1867.
21. C.M., 29.5.1862.
22. C.M., 31.3.1864.
23. C.M., 24.10.1861.
24. C.M., 6.2.1862.
25. D.P., 2.6.1871.
26. C.M., 19.1.1869.
27. C.M., 6.6.1861.
28. C.M., 9.6.1861.
29. D.P., 10.3.1870.
30. C.M., 24.10.61.
31. C.M., 24.4.1862.
32. C.M., 19.6.1862.
33. C.M., 22.9.1864.
34. C.M., 22.9.1864.
35. Joyce Stevens Smith, op. cit., p. 71.
36. D.P., 31.3.1882.
37. D.P., 10.1.1868.
38. C.M., 26.3.1863.
39. C.M., 26.3.1863.
40. C.M., 29.8.1861.
41. C.M., 26.3.1863.
42. C.M., 19.5.1864.
43. C.M., 9.4.1863.
44. Dennys, Mayer et al., op. cit., p. 31.
45. D.P., 7.1.1868.
46. D.P., 1.10.1868.
47. Maurice Collis, *Wayfoong: The Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation*, London: Faber and Faber, 1965, pp. 22–25.
48. Advertisement inserted into *China Mail* on 18.12.1873.
49. *Hong Kong Punch*, 27.8.1867.
50. D.P., 3.11.1870.
51. C.M., 19.7.1866.
52. C.M., 20.2.1867.
53. Judith Balmer (editor), op. cit., p. 19.
54. C.M., 2.1.1856.

Chapter 17

1. Frank Welsh, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
2. I have counted by name where obvious and by company, for instance assigning to the Jewish list those with Jewish-sounding names working for Oxford & Co. or Sassoons. Some, particularly Jews, may not have been recognized as such or may have been consigned to the German list.
3. C.M., 8.3.1866.
4. Nadia H. Wright, *Respected Citizens: The History of Armenians in Singapore and Malaysia*, Australia: Amassia Publishing, 2003, pp. 284–85.
5. Barbara-Sue White, *Turbans & Traders: Hong Kong's Indian Communities*, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 21–22.
6. Barbara-Sue White, *Turbans & Traders*, *op. cit.* pp. 28–29.
7. C.M., 19.2.1869.
8. Brian Harrison (editor), *The University of Hong Kong: The First Fifty Years*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1962, p. 17.
9. Judith Balmer (editor), *op. cit.*, pp. 18–19.
10. Bert Becker, 'German Business in Hong Kong before 1914', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 44, 2005, p. 105.
11. Carl Smith, 'The German-Speaking Community in Hong Kong, 1846–1918', *JRASHKB*, Vol. 34, 1994, p. 56, and Bert Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 91–114.
12. Carl Smith, Card Index.
13. P.D. Coates, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
14. P.D. Coates, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
15. P.D. Coates, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
16. *Encyclopedia Sinica*, Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1917 under Hance.

Chapter 18

1. D.P., 13.1.1864.
2. D.P., 31.3.1870.
3. C.M., 22.5.1868.
4. D.P., 2.3.1870.
5. C.M., 11.2.1867.
6. Nigel Cameron, *The Milky Way*, Hong Kong: The Dairy Farm Company Ltd., 1986, pp. 16–17.
7. C.M., 24.10.1861.
8. C.M., 9.4.1863.
9. H.J. Lethbridge, *Hong Kong: Stability and Change*, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1978, notes 12 and 15, pp. 46–47. The facts about both Tonnochy and Lister are taken from this page.
10. P. Kevin MacKeown, 'The Hong Kong Mint: The History of an Early Engineering Experiment', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 47, 2007, pp. 41–75.
11. C.M. 13.7.1865. Obituary Notice.
12. An interesting and more detailed account of the setting up, operation and failure of the mint can be found in P. Kevin MacKeown, *op. cit.* Some of the details used in my brief account have come from this article.
13. C.M., 9.3.1869.
14. See Gillian Bickley, *The Golden Needle: The Biography of Frederick Stewart 1836–1889*, Hong Kong: Institute for East-West Studies, The Baptist College, 1997, for a much fuller picture of his life.

15. Susanna Hoe, op. cit. p. 121, quoted from W.T. Featherstone, *The Diocesan Boys School and Orphanage, Hong Kong: The History and Records 1869–1929*, Hong Kong: Ye Olde Printerie Ltd, 1930, p. 95.
16. C.M., 2.8.1867.
17. C.M., 4.2.1869.
18. Susanna Hoe, op. cit., p. 113, quoted from E.J. Eitel, *The Protestant Missions of Hong Kong*, 1875, p. 26.
19. Susanna Hoe, op. cit., p. 199, quoted from *Female Missionary Intelligencer*, Vol. 7–9, 1.11.1865.
20. Joyce Stevens Smith, op. cit., p. 54.
21. H.K.T., 14.2.1876.
22. C.M., 28.8.1867. Advertisement for St. Saviour's School on its reopening for the second year of operation.
23. C.M. 25.7.1867.
24. Frank Welsh, op. cit., p. 239.
25. Rev. James Legge, 'The Colony of Hong Kong', op. cit., p. 179.
26. D.P., 12.7.1871.
27. C.M., 25.7.1867.
28. C.M., 21.2.1867.
29. C.M., 30.5.1867.
30. C.M., 22.11.1870.
31. D.P., 11.5.1871.
32. C.M., 18.7.1861.
33. C.M., 29.3.1867.
34. C.M., 30.3.1865.
35. C.M., 2.2.1869.
36. C.M. Police Report, 26.1.1867.
37. C.M., 4.11.1867.
38. C.M., 15.7.1869.
39. *Hong Kong Punch*, 27.8.1867.
40. D.P., 17.9.1868.
41. C.M., 3.6.1867.
42. C.M., 22.5.1868.
43. Document at Public Records Office.
44. Rev. James Legge, op. cit., p. 179.
45. C.H. Crisswell and G. Watson, *The Royal Hong Kong Police, 1841–1945*, London: Macmillan, 1982, p. 42.
46. C.M., 20.6.1860.
47. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 47.
48. C.M., 18.6.1874. (According to the obituary.)
49. C.M., 16.5.1868.
50. D.P., 22.9.1868.
51. C.M., 2.2.1867.
52. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 234.

Chapter 19

1. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, op. cit., Vol. I. Table at front giving the arrival dates of solicitors.
2. C.M., 3.2.1857.
3. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 186.
4. C.M., 21.1.1871 for his obituary.

5. *Who's Who in the Far East (June) 1906–1907.*
6. Walter Greenwood, 'John Joseph Francis, Citizen of Hong Kong, A Biographical Note', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 26, 1986, p. 33.
7. C.M., 27.1.1871.
8. Austin Coates, *Whampoa: Ships on the Shore*, Hong Kong: South China Morning Post, 1980, p. 107.
9. Dennys, Mayer et al., op. cit. p. 16.
10. Isabella Bird, op. cit., p. 39.
11. C.M., 4.12.1867.
12. C.M., 28.6.1867.
13. C.M., 8.6.1868.
14. C.M., 16.7.1869.
15. D.P., 3.10.1868.
16. C.M., 2.2.1871.
17. C.M., 21.10.1870.
18. D.P., 8.2.1868.
19. D.P., 27.6.1871.
20. C.M., 17.12.1868.
21. C.M., 13.9.1866.
22. C.M., 1.2.1871.
23. *Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 9.6.1880, p. 466.
24. Saul David, *Victoria's Wars: The Rise of Empire*, London: Penguin Books, 2007, pp. 378–79.
25. C.M., 26.3.1863.
26. C.M., 14.5.1863.
27. C.M., 14.5.1863.
28. C.M., 2.11.1865.
29. C.M., 26.2.1867.
30. C.M., 25.3.1869.
31. C.M., 20.2.1862.
32. C.M., 7.5.1862.
33. Dennys, Mayer et al., op. cit., p. 38.
34. C.M., 23.1.1874.
35. D.P., 27.7.1870.
36. D.P., 4.4.1870.
37. C.M., 22.7.1857.
38. C.M., 18.7.1868.
39. C.M., 2.21.1868.
40. C.M., 12.11.1868.
41. C.M. 2.6.1868.
42. C.M., 28.5.1868.
43. C.M., 19.5.1869.
44. C.M., 27.4.1870.

Chapter 20

1. Major Henry Knollys, op. cit., p. 1.
2. Mortimer Menpes, op. cit., p. 117.
3. John Stuart Thomson, *The Chinese*, London: T. Werner Laurie, 1909, p. 20.

4. Mortimer Menpes, op. cit., pp. 112–13.
5. Captain Gordon Casserly, *The Land of the Boxers*, London: Longmans & Green & Co, 1903, p. 54.
6. John Stuart Thomson, op. cit., p. 8.
7. John Stuart Thomson, op. cit. The above quotations all come from this book, Chapter 1.
8. Susannah Hoe, op. cit., p. 119.
9. Major Henry Knollys, op. cit., p. 4.
10. H.K.T., 2.12.1881.
11. Arnold Wright and H.A. Cartwright (editors), *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong*, Singapore: Graham Brash, 1990, p. 341.
12. Rudyard Kipling, *From Sea to Sea*, quoted in Barbara-Sue White, *Hong Kong*, op. cit., p. 105.
13. All the unattributed above quotations come from Major Henry Knollys, op. cit., Ch. 1.
14. Mortimer Menpes, op. cit., pp. 134–35.
15. John Stuart Thomson, op. cit., p. 36.
16. Alistair Macmillan, *Seaports of the Far East*, United Kingdom: W.H. & L. Collingridge, 1923.
17. Mortimer Menpes, op. cit., p. 117.
18. J.W. Norton-Kyshe, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 366.
19. H.K.T., 16.6.1881.
20. This information comes from a headstone erected in memory of the five children.
21. H.J. Lethbridge, *Hard Graft in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 32.
22. H.K.T., 8.7.1881.
23. Spencer Robinson, *Festina Lente: A History of the Royal Hong Kong Golf Club*, Hong Kong: The Royal Hong Kong Golf Club, 1986, pp. 6–8.
24. Dolly, op. cit., p. 95.
25. Betty, *Intercepted Letters*, as quoted in Barbara-Sue White, *Hong Kong*, op. cit., pp. 147–48.
26. Capt. Gordon Casserly, op. cit., pp. 190–91.
27. Major Henry Knollys, op. cit., p. 29.
28. Dolly, op. cit., p. 98.
29. Major Henry Knollys, op. cit., p. 28.
30. Major Henry Knollys, op. cit., p. 31.
31. H.K.T., 3.2.1883.
32. Susanna Hoe, op. cit., pp. 141–53.
33. D.P., 7.9.1886.
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