

DICTIONARY  
*of*  
HONG KONG BIOGRAPHY

*Edited by*

MAY HOLDSWORTH *and* CHRISTOPHER MUNN



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# FOREWORD

The *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography* is cause for celebration.

Such a reference work is long overdue. It is anomalous that Hong Kong should have lagged so far behind other sophisticated localities and countries in coming up with a publication about the men and women who have brought about — for better and for worse — the remarkable place that it is.

For historians of Hong Kong who have long craved a systematic and accessible biographical database, the *Dictionary* will certainly be a boon. Despite the many publications of recent years, in some respects Hong Kong historical research remains a primitive field, much hampered by the depressing lack of research tools. For years, the only way to search for biographical information, even the most basic, was by visiting the Reverend Carl T. Smith's home and looking up the index cards he had compiled, containing data on tens of thousands of individuals gathered from government reports, newspapers, church records, tombstones and a plethora of other sources. Many of us are indebted to this extraordinary scholar who for four decades worked tirelessly to gather the data and, more importantly, shared his findings readily with others, often strangers. Many of the entries here would have been impossible without his groundwork. With this *Dictionary*, then, we celebrate Carl Smith's dedication and generosity. Not surprisingly, he himself features as an entry in the *Dictionary*.

Readers will find a full cast of players in the Hong Kong story, men and women from different parts of the world, diverse cultural traditions and all walks of life — from high life as well as low life! There are the famous and the infamous and every shade in between. The 'usual suspects' are there of course, but there are surprises too. Some, now long forgotten but movers and shakers in their day, have been dredged from obscurity. Others were ordinary folk with no claim to fame save that their experience highlights some key event or key element of Hong Kong society. In short, the *Dictionary* is a kaleidoscope through which we can discover Hong Kong's many realities.

Broad and inclusive as its coverage is, the *Dictionary* still entailed some hard choices. Even after basic criteria were set down — this was daunting enough — a major task was selecting around 500 people out of all those who might be included. Equally challenging was deciding on word counts, not to mention matching authors with so many subjects. The *Dictionary* has been a complex project. We should celebrate the effort of all who have contributed to it, as advisors, editors, and authors, but in particular, we should congratulate the two Editors for their tact, meticulousness and intellectual leadership.

The *Dictionary* will no doubt accomplish the multiple aims of informing, inspiring and entertaining readers across many divides, both locally and overseas. The earnest reader may put the lives of individuals on a larger canvas for a broader and more nuanced understanding of Hong Kong's history. Others can simply enjoy the entries as a jolly good read.

While delighted with the *Dictionary*, it is hard not to lament that so much had to be left out. It is hard not to want more. There are many more individuals whose lives warrant systematic documentation so that later generations can discover — and enjoy — the richness and complexity of Hong Kong history. From a research point of view, such a tool is infinitely desirable. Let's hope that this edition is only the first of many more to come.

Elizabeth Sinn  
Hong Kong  
October 2011

# INTRODUCTION

This *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography* contains biographies of more than 500 people from Hong Kong history. The biographies include the leading and influential figures you would expect to find in a work of this kind. Among them too are less famous people whose lives tell us something about Hong Kong's history, or who are simply interesting for what they have done or for what fate has dealt them. All fields of human endeavour are represented. The *Dictionary* has entries on successful people from politics, government, business, education, religion, sport, the professions, literature, entertainment and the arts, and the army and navy. It also includes some of the more notorious characters from Hong Kong's past: gangsters, persecutors and other scoundrels, and a few eminent failures.

Naturally, a large number of the biographies are of Chinese people, who have always formed the majority of Hong Kong's population. Some, seeking opportunities in a thriving city, or refuge from turmoil or destitution in their homeland, spent only a part of their lives in Hong Kong — sometimes barely a few years; others made the city their home. Many of the entries are about British people, who governed the city for more than 150 years, from 1841 to 1997, and for whom Hong Kong may have been just one posting in a peripatetic civil, military or commercial career. Many too are about people from other parts of the world, reflecting Hong Kong's cosmopolitan character and its function as a port-city. Some were transient visitors whose impressions of Hong Kong in words and pictures have proved more enduring than they themselves could have imagined. The entries span several centuries. The earliest is about a Buddhist who is believed to have stayed in the Hong Kong area in the fifth century. The most recent is about a politician who died in 2011. We laid down two essential conditions for inclusion: first, that the person should have had some physical presence in the territory now known as Hong Kong; secondly, that he or she should be no longer alive at the time of publication — as far as we can be sure.

No fewer than 90 contributors have written for the *Dictionary*: their names appear at the foot of the entries and in a separate list at the front of the book. Like the subjects of the *Dictionary*, they come from many walks of life; some are professional historians and writers; others are people for whom history is a part-time pursuit; all have brought knowledge, expertise and enthusiasm to this project. We asked them to write about their subjects in a way that would bring to the fore the Hong Kong connection, but also to give as complete an account as possible of their subjects' lives. Often it is the simple facts of life and death, marriage and children that have given the greatest challenges. Some dates have eluded us completely: in such cases we have given an approximation with a question mark, or, more vaguely, a rough period in which the subject flourished.

The resourcefulness of contributors in tracking down information was impressive; so was their cooperation in the face of the many demands that we have placed on them. For our editorial hand has been a heavy one. While we have encouraged contributors to be free in their opinions and judgements, even to the point of controversy, we have not hesitated to reorganise, expand, and reduce entries to ensure conformity in style and consistency in fact. In nearly all cases we have invited contributors to take a look at our changes, but we as editors must take responsibility for any errors of fact or judgement.

It may come as a surprise to many readers that this is the first biographical dictionary of Hong Kong. Several directories and biographical collections have appeared in the past, but this is the first time a dictionary of lives spanning the whole of Hong Kong history has been attempted. Of course, no work of this size can claim to be definitive, or even representative of the countless men and women who have ever lived in or passed through Hong Kong. We are conscious that, for the most part, the *Dictionary* recounts

the lives of exceptional, usually successful people, and not of those who, like most of us, lead quiet, unremarkable lives. Edmund Blunden, Professor of English at the University of Hong Kong in the 1950s, wrote of the ‘unrecorded, unrenowned’ names of the mass of humankind:

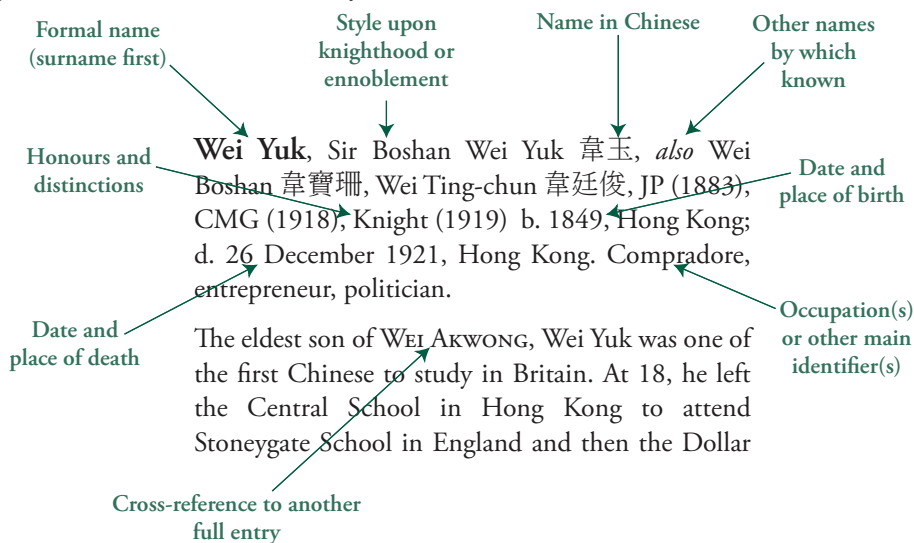
*Here I know you by your ground  
But I know you not within —  
There is silence, there survives  
Not a moment of your lives.*

He was writing about his country of birth, England, but his words apply with even greater force to Hong Kong, which lacks the extensive census and registry information that has proved so useful to historians and genealogists in other places. To try to redress the balance a little, we have included a few entries on ordinary working people. Even these, though, are ultimately unrepresentative because our knowledge of their existence usually derives from some record of a misfortune or misdeed.

We are also aware that this is a male-dominated book. Our difficulty in finding suitable women for entries reflects the pronounced gender imbalance in urban Hong Kong until after World War II and the very private lives pursued by — or imposed on — most women in Hong Kong’s past. Much has changed in the last few decades. The many women who have come to the fore in public life in recent generations, and who are still happily alive and flourishing, will surely one day be candidates for future editions of this *Dictionary*.

The organisation of the *Dictionary* is simple. The entries are arranged alphabetically by surname. Each entry begins with a short header stating the name and basic facts of the subject, including relevant honours and awards: the main elements are explained in the key below. Names in Chinese characters are given only for subjects who are of Chinese origin; the few cases where these have had to be guessed because only the romanised forms survive are indicated by the words 譯音 (‘transliteration’) in brackets.

### Organisation of a standard entry



Chinese names of people and places in Hong Kong have been romanised into Cantonese following standard modern usage; those outside Hong Kong are usually given in pinyin. Exceptions include original non-standard romanisations by which a person or place is generally known. Reflecting the historical scope of the Dictionary, ‘Canton’ and ‘Peking’ are used instead of the more recent ‘Guangzhou’ and ‘Beijing’. Money is expressed in Hong Kong dollars unless there is an indication to the contrary.

In the main text of an entry, cross-references to other entries are indicated by capitalisation of the name on first appearance. Standard honours, decorations, degrees and some other common terms are abbreviated; a key to the abbreviations can be found on pages 495–6. Less widely understood terms are spelled out in full, at least on first appearance within an entry. Illustrations, most of them chosen by the picture editor, Ko Tim Keung, accompany many of the biographies. Some of the entries come with quotations by or about the subject — a number of them as telling as the entries themselves. A handful of business dynasties and a few families, some of whose members were less prominent than others, are treated in group entries.

To save space we have not listed sources or references in individual entries, except where these help to explain quotations or other points. Our contributors have drawn on a wide range of primary and secondary materials, including some private archives or information. Central among the primary sources consulted by contributors are the huge collection of official and other documents to be found in the Colonial Office’s *Original Correspondence: Hong Kong, 1841–1951, Series 129* (usually abbreviated to *CO 129*); other official sources, such as the *Blue Books*, the *Hong Kong Government Gazette*, *Hong Kong Sessional Papers*, *Hong Kong Hansard*, and *British Parliamentary Papers on China and Hong Kong*; obituaries and other reports from the many newspapers, in Chinese and English, that have covered Hong Kong, China and the British Empire; published works, in some cases by the subjects themselves; family collections and genealogies, many of them maintained on the internet; and, for some of the more recent subjects, personal reminiscences and oral interviews. Digitisation and indexing of many of these sources by the universities and public library system in Hong Kong have made the task of research much easier than it used to be. The greatest help — the starting point, in fact, for much of the work for this book — has been the extensive Carl Smith Collection of index cards on people in Hong Kong history, which is now searchable online through the Hong Kong Public Records Office (HKPRO) and accessible in complete copies deposited at the HKPRO and Hong Kong Central Library.

Secondary sources in English include the histories of Hong Kong by E.J. Eitel, J.W. Norton-Kyshe and G.B. Endacott; more specialised works such as Endacott’s *Biographical Sketch-Book of Early Hong Kong*, Elizabeth Sinn’s *Power and Charity: A Chinese Merchant Elite in Colonial Hong Kong*, Carl Smith’s *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen and the Church in Hong Kong*, Philip Snow’s *The Fall of Hong Kong*, Russell Spurr’s *Excellency: The Governors of Hong Kong*, and Susanna Hoe’s *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong*; biographical dictionaries for other places, especially the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Arthur Hummel’s *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period* and the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*; and many company and institutional histories. The 50 volumes of the *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* have been an invaluable resource. Among the Chinese works often consulted are 吳醒濂: 《香港華人名人史略》, 馮邦彥: 《香港華資財團》, 何文翔: 《香港富豪列傳》, 何文翔: 《香港家族史》, and various editions of the *Gazetteer of Xin’an County*.

Our first debt of gratitude is to our contributors. Though working from many parts of the world, they have formed a real community of colleagues and have often given support and expertise beyond the entries for which they are acknowledged. The Editorial Board has, among other things, advised on the choice of entries and the scope of the *Dictionary*. We are grateful to all members for their sensible and practical guidance, and especially to the chair, Elizabeth Sinn, for her unflagging enthusiasm and wise



counsel. We pay particular tribute to Carl T. Smith and Chan Wai Kwan, who died before this project was completed. The Hong Kong University Press, which commissioned the project, has been consistently supportive and encouraging: our special thanks go to Colin Day, who started the project, and Michael Duckworth, who saw it to fruition; to Jennifer Flint for designing the book; and to Maria Yim, Christy Leung and Liu Oi Yan for their excellent administrative support. We also thank our families and friends for their forbearance and encouragement.

The happiest feature of this project for us, as co-editors, has been the opportunity to work so closely with each other — an infinitely more fulfilling experience than if it had been done single-handed. The collaboration developed quickly into an enduring friendship, strengthened by common purpose and ready agreement even on the most intricate points of style.

Apart from its uses as a reference for students and researchers of history, we hope the *Dictionary* will be of interest to the general reader and will perhaps even be a source of enjoyment for the serendipitous browser. This first edition will, we hope, be the germ of many more expansive editions in the years to come. We welcome suggestions from readers about people who, in their view, have been unjustly omitted, especially if these suggestions come with an offer to supply information about the missing person. We also hope that readers will draw to our attention any errors of fact in the present entries so that these may be corrected in future editions. Suggestions may be sent by post to the Hong Kong University Press, for the attention of the editors of the *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography*, or by email to [dhkb@hku.hk](mailto:dhkb@hku.hk).

May Holdsworth & Christopher Munn  
Hong Kong  
October 2011

# ❧ A ❧

**Addis, Sir Charles Stewart**, Knight (1913), KCMG (1921) b. 23 November 1861, Edinburgh, Scotland; d. 14 December 1945, Frant, Sussex, England. Banker.

The youngest of 12 children of a minister of the Free Church of Scotland, Charles Addis began his working life with a grain merchant in Edinburgh in 1876 before joining The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation as a clerk in 1880. He was sent first to Singapore and then, in 1883, to Hong Kong, where he was taught Chinese by OUYANG HUI. At the time, he was unique among the non-Chinese employees of the Bank

for having studied Chinese to an advanced degree; in later years he was instrumental in setting up Chinese classes for English-speaking bank staff. During his three years in the colony he became close friends with JAMES STEWART LOCKHART, who named his only son after Addis.

In 1886 Addis became one of the first Western bankers to be based in Peking. Three years later he worked in Tianjin, where he began to write for the *China Times*, an English-language newspaper. After brief spells in Shanghai (1889–91), Calcutta (1891) and Rangoon (1892), he returned on leave to Scotland, where he met and married Elizabeth (Eba) McIsaac, who was to bear him 13 children. One of them, John Mansfield Addis, became a diplomat, served in Nanjing and Peking from 1947 to 1957, and was Britain's first ambassador to the People's Republic of China in 1970. After postings in Shanghai (1895), Hankou (1896), Calcutta (1897), and again in Shanghai (1898–1900), Charles Addis became the Bank's junior manager in London in 1905 and was appointed its senior manager in 1911 — a position he held until his retirement in 1922.

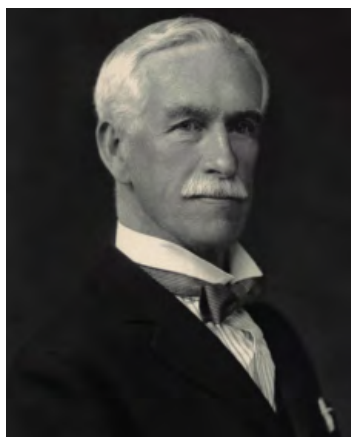
Addis played a powerful role in international banking both before and after his formal retirement.

In 1908 he had received his first government appointment as Censor of the State Bank of Morocco. In 1912 he helped to form the first China Consortium of banks, which issued a major loan to Yuan Shikai's government in 1913. The principle behind the China Consortium was cooperation rather than competition between nations bidding through their banks to finance China's infrastructure. That these foreign loans were also potentially political transactions was already apparent to Addis, who had observed in 1905 that 'an imperial policy is essentially a commercial policy'. As head of the dominant British group, he was a signatory of the final China Consortium agreement endorsed in New York in October 1920, along with representatives of the Banque de l'Indo-Chine (the French group), the Yokohama Specie Bank (the Japanese group), and J.P. Morgan & Company and other US financial institutions (the American group). He remained on the Hongkong Bank's London Consultative Committee until 1933. A director of the Bank of England from 1918, he served on several other important financial committees until the year before his death.

SHIONA M. AIRLIE

**Alabaster, Sir Chaloner Grenville**, OBE (1918), KC (1922), Knight (1942) b. 24 July 1880, ?Wuhan, China; d. 10 September 1958, Christchurch, Hampshire, England. Barrister, government official, author.

Son of Sir Chaloner Alabaster (1838–98), British Consul in China and the interpreter who accompanied YE MINGCHEN throughout most of his imprisonment and exile by the British, Chaloner Grenville Alabaster was educated at Tonbridge School and the Inner Temple. He was called to the Bar in 1904 and began his career in the legal profession on the Western Circuit before moving to practise law in Hong



*Sir Charles Addis, 1931.*

# ❧ B ❧

**Baker, John Gilbert Hyndley** b. 10 October 1910, Bromley, Kent, England; d. 29 April, 1986, Dorking, Surrey, England. Anglican Bishop of Hong Kong and Macau (1966–81).

The son of a dental surgeon, Gilbert Baker was educated at Westminster School, and Christ Church, Oxford. He received his theological training at Westcott House, Cambridge.

Baker arrived in Canton in December 1934, fresh from his work with the Student Christian Movement in London. He was ordained deacon (1935) and priest (1936) by BISHOP R.O. HALL at the Church of Our Saviour, Canton. Except for visits to London and New York, he worked and taught in Canton, Kunming and again in Canton until all missionaries departed from the Mainland in 1951. From 1951 to 1963 he served in the United States and England. He taught at Lingnan University until the Japanese occupation, after which he assisted in refugee camps in Guangdong Province. In 1966 he became the acting director of the Tao Fong Shan Christian Study Centre in Hong Kong.

Baker was surprised by his election in late 1966 as Bishop of Hong Kong and Macau, but the original candidate Joost de Blank was unable to assume his duties because of ill health. As bishop, Baker ordained the first 'authorised' women priests in the Anglican Communion (1971). He also worked for a Joint Declaration on Holy Baptism with Hong Kong Catholics (1974) and initiated the Neighbourhood Advisory Council to generate support for community initiatives. The number of Anglican parishes, schools and social welfare centres in Hong Kong increased greatly under him. The last English Bishop of Hong Kong and Macau, he was known for his pastoral concern, his involvement in society and his support for the newly emerging churches of China. His many publications include *The Changing Scene in China* (1948); *The Church on Asian Frontiers* (1963); *Bishop Speaking* (1981), a collection of sermons and address; and *Flowing Ways: Our Life in China* (1996), a posthumously published memoir.

Baker retired to England with his second wife Joan (née Rogers) in 1981. He had met his first wife, Patty Sherman, in China, where she had grown up in a well-known American missionary family. They married in 1941 and had four children. Patty died in 1976, and Baker ten years later. His ashes were laid beside hers in the churchyard of St Nicolas, Great Bookham.

PHILIP L. WICKERI

**Ball, James Dyer, JP** (1894), ISO (1908) b. 4 December 1847, Canton; d. 22 February 1919, London. Civil servant, scholar and author.

James Dyer Ball was an official in the Hong Kong civil service, a noted scholar of Chinese language and culture, and a prolific author. He was born in Canton to the Reverend Dyer Ball, an American preacher and physician, and his second wife, Isabella Robertson Ball. The Revd Dyer Ball and his first wife Lucy Mills had been sent East by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1838, going first to Singapore, where they found the tropical climate trying, then to Macau and Hong Kong. Mrs Ball died in Hong Kong in June 1844, followed by the couple's two young sons. A year later the Revd Dyer Ball and his teenage daughter Catherine Elizabeth moved to Canton, where he opened a dispensary, established a school and continued to preach. He married Isabella Robertson, a Scottish missionary, in 1846, and in December 1847 she gave birth to their son James Dyer Ball. After the death of another infant daughter in July 1850, the family spent 1854–57 travelling in Britain and the United States, finally returning to Canton in November 1858. The Revd Dyer Ball died in Canton in 1866.

James Dyer Ball was educated in Canton and then at King's College, London and University College, Liverpool. After a spell teaching at the Government Central School in Hong Kong, he joined the civil service as an assistant Chinese interpreter and clerk at the Magistracy in March 1875. He was among the handful of local Europeans engaged



**Caine, Sir Sydney**, CMG (1945), KCMG (1947) b. 27 June 1902, Hendon, England; d. 2 February 1991, England. Economist, civil servant, academic administrator; Financial Secretary of Hong Kong (1937–39).

Sydney Caine was educated at Harrow County School and at the London School of Economics, where in 1922 he obtained a first-class honours degree in economics. In 1923 he became an assistant inspector of taxes and in 1926 he joined the Colonial Office, where he sometimes commented on Hong Kong affairs. He was extensively involved in discussions about Hong Kong's currency problems before and after the removal of the Hong Kong dollar from the silver standard in December 1935. In January 1937 the Colonial Office wanted colonial governments to improve their financial management and replace the old-style colonial treasurer with someone who could advise more broadly on financial policy. Hong Kong's Governor at the time, SIR ANDREW CALDECOTT, considered that no one in Hong Kong had the necessary expertise and asked the Colonial Office to appoint someone. Caine was approached and accepted the post.

Caine brought a fresh and modern approach to managing Hong Kong's finances, showing considerable foresight and leadership. He revised the system of charging for water in the face of resistance from the Chinese community. He tackled the thorny question of the annual defence costs payment to Britain — Hong Kong's share of the cost of stationing forces in the colony. The formula agreed in 1900 assessed payment at 20 per cent of Hong Kong's revenue. Any increase in revenue, therefore, required a concomitant increase in defence contribution and had long been recognised as a deterrent to raising additional revenue for new services. Caine's proposal to change this to a fixed charge for five years was accepted by the British government.

Caine was convinced that Hong Kong had an 'enormous reserve of untapped taxable capacity'. He supported GOVERNOR NORTHCOTE in advocating

that government should spend more on social services. With the defence contribution issue resolved, he was able to push forward proposals for the implementation of an income tax. This provoked much local opposition and it was only after Caine had left Hong Kong that the new tax measures he had proposed were agreed; they were introduced, in 1940, only as a war revenue measure and were initially limited to separate taxes on salaries, profits, and property. Caine also thought that the surplus of the newly established Exchange Fund could be used to finance much-needed new housing development. However, nothing came of this because of disruptions caused by the Sino-Japanese War and the increased expenditure required, not least to house temporarily large numbers of refugees.

Despite opposition to some of his new measures, Caine was widely respected for his intellect and openness to different views. Both he and his wife, Muriel Ann Maud (1902–62), whom he had married in 1925, engaged in voluntary social work, which endeared them to the local community. They left Hong Kong in December 1939 and Caine returned to the Colonial Office to set up the Economic Department. He was still often asked to comment on Hong Kong matters and kept in touch with former Hong Kong colleagues. He was knighted in 1947 and served in the Treasury before becoming Vice Chancellor of the University of Malaya in 1952 and Director of the London School of Economics from 1957 to 1967. In later years, he remembered his two years in Hong Kong as the happiest time of his life. His son, Sir Michael Caine (1927–99), who was born in Hong Kong, ran the agri-business conglomerate Booker plc, and established the Booker Prize for fiction in 1969. After the death of his first wife, Sir Sydney married Doris Winifred (d. 1973) in 1962 and Elizabeth Crane Bowyer, a widow, in 1975.

GAVIN URE

# ❧ D ❧

**D'Aguilar, Sir George Charles**, CB (1838), KCB (1852) b. January 1784, Winchester, England; d. 21 March 1855, London, England. Lieutenant Governor of Hong Kong and Major General Commanding British Forces in China (1843–48).

From a military family, George D'Aguilar joined the army as an ensign in 1799 and saw active service in campaigns in India (where he was severely wounded), Europe and the Mediterranean. He rose steadily through the ranks, and became a lieutenant colonel in 1813, serving under Lord William Bentinck, Major General William Clinton, and the Duke of Wellington. He was Deputy Adjutant General at Dublin in 1830–41, during which time he published his *Regimental and Detachment Courts Martial* (the official authority on the subject until 1878), *The Officers' Manual*, and *the Military Maxims of Napoleon*. After a two-year command in Belfast, and now a major general, he was appointed Lieutenant Governor and Major General Commanding at

Hong Kong in December 1843 and served in that position until February 1848.

D'Aguilar's only military action in China was the brief 'Davis Raid' in 1847, an expedition along the Pearl River to bombard Chinese forts as punishment for ill treatment of British subjects in Canton. His preoccupation during these years was the terrible mortality among the mainly Indian, Irish and English troops in Hong Kong, partly from the climate, but mainly from poor living conditions and disease: 'my time is literally spent between the Hospital and the Grave Yard', he recorded in June 1844. D'Aguilar paid great attention to the construction of decent barracks and a hospital for the men, which contributed to a reduction in the mortality rate from 22 per cent in 1844 to 4 per cent in 1847. For himself, he built a fine mansion (now Flagstaff House) in a colonial-classical style. A critic remarked that it surpassed in magnificence the residence of the Governor General of Canada; the expense of its rosewood paneling, marble floors and extravagant fittings led to the



*Sir George D'Aguilar's colonial-classical mansion (now Flagstaff House); painting by Murdoch Bruce.*

# Æ E Æ

**Edwards, Jack**, OBE (1997) b. 24 May 1918, Cardiff, Wales; d. 13 August 2006, Hong Kong. Campaigner and author.

Jack Edwards, a former soldier and prisoner of war, fought in peacetime Hong Kong to secure pensions for Chinese ex-servicemen and British citizenship for their widows.

A sergeant in the Royal Corps of Signals, Edwards was in Singapore when it fell to the Japanese in February 1942. He was sent to Kinkaseki (now Chingushi) prisoner-of-war camp in Formosa (now Taiwan) and arrived there in November 1942. Kinkaseki had a copper mine. Prisoners, clad in rags and cardboard hats, their skin stained yellow by the sulphurous water, toiled in tunnels to hack out the ore. Death arrived variously — rock-falls, beatings, malnourishment — but the biggest killer, Edwards knew, was ‘disinclinitis’, a loss of will. Tenacity and resourcefulness had to sustain him in the three years he spent there.

It took him 45 years to write about his experience. In *Banzai, You Bastards!* (1991), he wrote that after being ‘missing, believed killed’ for nearly five years, he felt on his return to Wales ‘that I was a ghost to many people’. There is a single reference, on page 189, to a wife. He was back in Asia within a year, giving evidence at war trials in Tokyo. In the ruins of Kinkaseki, he found Document No. 2701, an order to kill all prisoners of war if the Allies landed. After his book was translated into Japanese, with the title *Drop Dead, Jap!*, he made Japanese friends; but he always remained in favour of the nuclear deterrent.

In 1963 he moved to Hong Kong, where he worked as a government housing officer. He became involved in the Hong Kong Ex-Servicemen’s Association and the Royal British Legion (of which he later became chairman), but he was no blinkered patriot. When he discovered that Chinese war veterans and their widows were not entitled to pensions, he initially assumed that it was a mistake. That policy, and the refusal of the British government to give British citizenship to veterans’ wives and widows, disgusted

him. His dogged espousal of their cause, to which the last Governor, Chris Patten, would later lend his support, was sometimes seen as obsessive and tiresome; but pensions were granted in 1991, and passports at almost the last minute in March 1996, when the British Prime Minister, John Major, paid a visit to Hong Kong ahead of its transition to Chinese sovereignty.



*Jack Edwards, 1996.*

Edwards’ second wife, Polly Tam Pui-ling, was a former member of a People’s Liberation Army dance troupe. The couple liked to practise ballroom dancing in their Sha Tin flat, from which the Union Flag flew every Remembrance Day in honour of Edwards’ comrades, reinterred in Sai Wan Military Cemetery. ‘All those friends lying there, no passports,’ he said in a 1997 BBC documentary. ‘They will always have the right of abode.’

FIONNUALA MCHUGH

**Eitel, Ernst Johann** b. 13 February 1838, Esslingen, Württemberg; d. 10 November 1908, Adelaide, Australia. Missionary, sinologist, government official.

Ernst Johann Eitel was educated at the Theological Seminary of Schontal and at Tübingen University, where he took an MA in 1860. In the same year he

# Ƴ F Ƴ

**Fang Zhaoling** (Fang Zhaolin) 方召麐, Hon. DLitt (University of Hong Kong, 1996) b. 17 January 1914, Wuxi, Jiangsu Province; d. 20 February 2006, Hong Kong. Painter and calligrapher.

Born into a prosperous family, Fang Zhaoling began her classical education under private tutors. Her father, industrialist Fang Shouyi, was killed in a warlord clash when she was 11. ‘The times in which I grew up were very turbulent,’ she later recalled. But her talent was recognised and she was taught traditional painting by the master Qian Songyan. In 1937 she went to England to study modern European history at the University of Manchester. She married Fang Xin’gao the following year.

When World War II broke out Fang returned to China. She and her husband settled first in Shanghai, then Hong Kong. During the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong the family, which now included several children, sought refuge in inland China. For some ten years it was impossible for Fang to paint. In 1950, shortly after they returned to Hong Kong, Fang Xin’gao suddenly died, leaving his widow to bring up eight young children alone. One of their children is Anson Chan Fang On-sang, Chief Secretary of Hong Kong in 1993–2001 and a prominent political figure.

When Fang was at last able to resume painting, the fallow war period gave way to a highly creative phase. Her mentors were the artists CHAO SHAO-AN and Zhang Daqian. Chao’s method of bird-and-flower painting and Zhang’s ‘splashed-ink’ technique were influential models.

In 1954 Fang enrolled as a student in the Department of Chinese at the University of Hong Kong. Two years later she was at Oxford University, researching ancient Chinese odes. In the 1960s, under the guidance of Zhang Daqian, she continued to evolve her own style, applying the linear shapes and compositions of calligraphy to the painting of landscapes. She held solo exhibitions in Washington DC, Melbourne and Hong Kong during the 1970s.



Fang Zhaoling: ‘The Boat People’, 1979.

One of her paintings, *Tranquillity*, was collected by the British Museum in 1972.

As a result of her travels, Fang was able to draw from the influences of foreign artists. But her most extensive visits were to China, which provided a range of favourite subjects such as the peaks of Huangshan, the gorges of the Yangtze, and the boats and fishermen of Lake Tai in Wuxi, her home town. In a colophon to a painting of Stonehenge (1981), she said that she had depicted the ‘famous historic landmark in England, but the thoughts behind it lie thousands of miles away and years ago in the beautiful land of China’. Thus she remained firmly rooted in her own tradition. Like her predecessors, she believed that, while a painting might have as its subject some aspect of nature, it should not just be a representation of reality but a reflection of the artist and her mood. ‘The way of painting starts with seeing the outside world with one’s eye,’ she wrote, ‘but it is necessary to develop it from within, to reconstruct it from the heart.’ The 1980s saw a gathering momentum



**Gabriel, Sister Mary O'Mahoney**, MBE (1990) b. 21 May 1921, Kilmichael, Co. Cork, Ireland; d. 26 August 2006, Magheramore, Wicklow, Ireland. Physician.

Mary O'Mahoney was the third child in a family of eight, of whom four entered religious orders. The children grew up in the same parish as Bishop Galvin, whose ventures in China were followed with great interest. O'Mahoney felt a strong calling from an early age and, after leaving school, joined the Missionary Sisters of St Columban, taking the religious name Sister Mary Gabriel. Showing great academic aptitude, she was sent to study medicine at University College, Dublin. Afterwards, in preparation for her assignment to work with tuberculosis patients in Hong Kong, she took up internships in Boston, USA and at the Brompton Hospital, London. In Hong Kong she served on the medical staff of the Ruttonjee Sanatorium, together with SR MARY AQUINAS and other Columban Sisters, from 1950 until her retirement in 1988.

Sr Gabriel became a Fellow of the American College of Chest Physicians in 1956 and Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh in 1972. She published widely: her special research interests were asthma and allergy, childhood tuberculosis, and orthopaedic and spinal tuberculosis. Her landmark papers on the latter remain unsurpassed today. She chose to dedicate herself to the most critically ill patients, generally children: two medical writers mention her 'exemplary clinical care and compassion' and 'particular affection for the poor and disadvantaged'. Fifty years after being treated by Sr Gabriel in Hong Kong, Joseph Choa travelled half way across the world to see her in Ireland and to say 'thank you'. As a teacher she was equally inspiring: a generation of Hong Kong doctors were taught by her.

By the mid-1980s, with the epidemic of tuberculosis under control, Sr Gabriel focused on another medical need in Hong Kong — palliative care. She was elected chairman when the Society for the Promotion of Hospice Care was established in 1986, and

became the medical doctor for the Hospice Home Care Team after she retired from the Ruttonjee. She was made a Fellow of the Hong Kong College of Physicians in 1996, and in the same year Honorary Fellow of the Hong Kong Academy of Medicine. In 1997, after a decline in her own health, Sr Gabriel retired to the Columban Sisters' Motherhouse in Magheramore. She spent her last evening in Hong Kong delivering food to street sleepers in Yau Ma Tei.

LIBBY HALLIDAY PALIN

**Gimson, Sir Franklin Charles**, CMG (1945), KCMG (1946) b. 10 September 1890, Leicestershire, England; d. 13 February 1975, Yorkshire, England. Colonial administrator.

Franklin Gimson joined the Ceylon Civil Service fresh from Oxford in 1914 and remained in Ceylon for the next quarter of a century, becoming Controller of Labour in 1937. As a result he acquired an unwavering, old-school British devotion to 'the best interests of the Empire'. But he was also influenced by his long stint in this progressive, racially relaxed colony, where he identified himself with the local inhabitants.

Two years into World War II he was sent to Hong Kong as Colonial Secretary, arriving at his new post in the afternoon of 7 December 1941. The Japanese invaded the following morning. On 12 or 13 December he acted briefly as spokesman for the Hong Kong government in an abortive negotiation with representatives of the communist East River guerrillas, who were offering to cooperate with the British in exchange for arms. But his real rise to prominence came with the British surrender on Christmas Day, when the disappearance into Japanese captivity of the Governor, SIR MARK YOUNG, left him the most senior British official at large in Hong Kong. Much of his time in the next few weeks was spent with a small group of colleagues in the Prince's Building, compiling lists of Kowloon residents, casualties and prisoners of war for the Japanese conquerors. But he was also trying to assert his authority and to maintain a



# ❧ H ❧

**Haddon-Cave, Sir Charles Philip**, CMG (1973), KBE (1980) b. 6 July 1925, Australia; d. 27 September 1999, England. Colonial administrator.

Affable, articulate and ambitious, Philip Haddon-Cave left academic economics to start a colonial career as a statistician in East Africa in 1952. He transferred to Hong Kong's Commerce and Industry Department in 1963, becoming close friends with leading manufacturers. As Financial Secretary (1971–81), he gave priority to industrialists' interests. In 1972 he introduced a scheme of subsidised loans for small industry, but it was ill-conceived and soon failed. He espoused an industrial diversification policy in 1979. Widely applauded, it too failed because it focused on potential exploitation of South China Sea oilfields, which did not materialise.

Haddon-Cave's lack of previous financial experience was a handicap when the stock market boomed and bust in 1971–74 and again in 1978–81. He responded to the corporate failures and financial scandals that followed with reluctant and limited regulatory reforms, and did not provide resources to enforce them. He did not foresee the effects on Hong Kong of the global switch from fixed to floating exchange rates, and inflation soared as the government lost control of the money supply after 1974. Banking and currency crises followed in the 1980s.

Haddon-Cave had a better grasp of politics than of economics. He recognised the importance to the community of a cheap and comfortable public transport system and astutely backed a property-led model in 1975 to finance the Mass Transit Railway Corporation after Japanese contractors abandoned the project following a world oil crisis. Challenged by rising social and political activism, he recognised



*Sir Philip Haddon-Cave, 1985.*

the need to market his annual budgets to the community. Despite his budgets' inordinate length, and their dubious rules for the conduct of public finance, corporate executives and the business media devoured their detailed analyses of the economy. He successfully repackaged colonial *laissez faire* as 'positive non-interventionism'. This won wide public approval as defining the proper balance between legitimate business needs and the community's aspirations for decent housing and social services.

Haddon-Cave showed political courage in dealing with Whitehall. In 1968 he established the right of Hong Kong's trade negotiators to operate independently of British diplomats. He resisted severe pressures from the Labour government in 1974–79 to accelerate spending on social development, which

Hong Kong's businessmen regarded as a British plot to raise taxes and labour costs to make Hong Kong exports uncompetitive. As Chief Secretary (1981–85) during the 1982–84 Sino-British negotiations on the future of Hong Kong, he again infuriated British diplomats by opposing their demands for concessions to Peking. Belatedly, he argued for greater scope for Hong Kong people to manage their own affairs (while nevertheless claiming that expatriates were superior administrators).

A chief secretary's agenda was set by the Governor, and, overshadowed by the more talented SIR EDWARD YOUDE, Haddon-Cave felt frustrated in the post. His reputation rose after retirement because, unlike several senior officials, he declined directorships and other opportunities to exploit past Hong Kong connections.

He was proud of his wife Elizabeth's considerable artistic skills and the careers of his four children.

LEO F. GOODSTADT

# III

**Isogai Rensuke**, Order of Merit (Second Class) b. 1882, Aichi Prefecture, Japan; d. 1967, Japan. First Japanese Governor General of Hong Kong (1942–45).

Lieutenant General Isogai Rensuke came from a background typical of the Japanese military leaders of World War II. Graduating from the Imperial Military Academy in 1904, he was subsequently employed as an executive officer at the Army Staff College. For 15 years he served as Japanese military attaché at several centres in China including Canton (1927) and Shanghai (1935), and acquired a reputation as an expert on southern Chinese affairs. Together with Tojo Hideki and other wartime chiefs he joined the *Isseki-kai*, an army clique formed in May 1929 to press for expansion in China. On the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 he was given command of the Tenth Division of the Second Army in North China, but in March–April 1938 was severely defeated by Chinese Nationalist forces at the Battle of Tai'erzhuang. Named Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army in Manchuria, he suffered further defeat by the Soviet Army at Nomonhan (August 1939). He was transferred to the Reserve List but in January 1942, after the Pacific War started, was unexpectedly summoned by Tojo to serve as the first Governor General of newly captured Hong Kong.

Isogai's appointment was a compromise measure intended to resolve a tussle developing over Hong Kong's future between a 'China faction' and a 'Southern faction' in the Imperial Army. The China faction wished to use Hong Kong for political schemes designed to undermine the resistance of Chiang Kai-shek on the Chinese mainland, while the Southern faction hoped to make

it a logistical base for the Army's advance into South-East Asia. The selection of Isogai as a 'China hand' was in part a sop to the China faction. The new Governor tried to persuade both mainland politicians and local community leaders to make peace overtures to Chongqing. Under the slogan of 'using Chinese to govern Chinese' he mobilised local leaders into two advisory bodies, the Chinese Representative and Cooperative Councils, and employed local people extensively in both the central and district administrations. He courted the local elite through a range of anti-colonial gestures, including the introduction in March 1942 of an Opium Suppression Policy, and proclaimed that Hong Kong was a 'model district' serving to promote a 'better understanding between Japan and China'.

Essentially, however, the installation of Isogai was a Southern faction victory. Rather than being made answerable to Japan's China Expeditionary Force he was placed for most purposes under the direct orders of imperial headquarters in Tokyo. As the main thrust of his policy was to turn Hong Kong into a self-sufficient military base, the interests of the local



*Isogai Rensuke, 1942.*

**Jackson, Sir Thomas**, KCMG (1899), Baronet (1902) b. 4 June 1841, Ireland; d. 21 December 1915, London. Banker.

The son of a schoolteacher, Thomas Jackson started work as a clerk in the Bank of Ireland's Belfast branch when he was 19. After four years learning the basics, he signed a contract with the Hong Kong branch of the Agra and Masterman's Bank. A banking crisis in Bombay caused the suspension of this bank, leaving Jackson free to join The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Company (later The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation or HSBC), an institution barely two years old and hungrily looking for able staff. Jackson was recruited as a clerk on 2 August 1866. His skills, particularly in silver trading, were soon recognised. The following year saw two promotions and a posting to China — as agent in Hankou, then accountant in Shanghai. In 1870 he was sent to Yokohama as manager. It was whilst in Yokohama that he married Lydia Dare of Singapore; they were to have nine children.

In 1872 Jackson was offered the post of manager in Shanghai, but he chose instead to develop the expanding Yokohama business, this being the early period of the Meiji Restoration. The next promotion offer in 1875 could not be refused — acting chief manager in Hong Kong, confirmed as full chief manager in 1876 at the young age of 35.

Despite his short experience Jackson rose capably to the challenge of coping with the depression that had hit both China and England. Affectionately known as 'T.J.', he was universally liked and respected. One of his early successes as chief manager was to mend the Bank's relationship with Jardine, Matheson & Co.; the two were to become partners in the development of railways in China. Another important achievement at this time was his ability to keep the Bank 'on an even keel', ensuring that it weathered the storm of the silver crisis, which claimed many of its competitors and customers. He steered the Bank on its course of becoming the leading and most formidable financial institution in Asia:



*Sir Thomas Jackson*

though nicknamed 'Lucky Jackson', in fact he did this by cautious and skilful management. A prominent figure in public life, he was elected in 1884 as the first representative of the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce to SIR GEORGE BOWEN'S reformed Legislative Council.

Jackson's first administration as chief manager ended in 1888, when, intending to retire from the East, he became the Bank's manager in London. He was recalled to Hong Kong to take over again in 1889, as he was on two further occasions. During his time as chief manager the Bank's assets and profits grew six times and its deposits almost tenfold. The Bank had 'come of age' under his stewardship. Following his final departure from Hong Kong in 1902 he was appointed chairman of the Bank's London Committee, a position he maintained until his peaceful death, at his desk, in 1915. In London he was also a director of the London County and Westminster Bank and of Royal Exchange Assurance, and chairman of the Imperial Bank of Persia (later the British Bank of the Middle East).

When Jackson left Hong Kong, a bronze statue of him was erected in front of the Bank's headquarters in Central, where it still stands.

ROBERT NIELD

# ❧ K ❧

**Kadoorie, Sir Elly**, *also* Eleazar Silas Kadoorie, KBE (1926), Commandeur de la Légion d'honneur b. 13 June 1865, Baghdad; d. 8 February 1944, Shanghai. Businessman and philanthropist.

**Kadoorie, Sir Ellis**, KBE (1917) b. 7 December 1866, Baghdad; d. 24 February 1922, Hong Kong. Businessman and philanthropist.

**Kadoorie, Lawrence**, Baron Kadoorie of Kowloon and of the City of Westminster, JP (1936), Hon. LLD (University of Hong Kong, 1961), CBE (1969), KBE (1974), Commandeur de la Légion d'honneur (1982) b. 2 June 1899, Hong Kong; d. 25 August 1993, Hong Kong. Businessman and philanthropist.

**Kadoorie, Sir Horace**, CBE (1976), Hon. DSS (University of Hong Kong, 1981), KBE (1989), Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur b. 28 September 1902, London; d. 22 April 1995, Hong Kong. Businessman and philanthropist.

Elly Kadoorie, one of seven sons of Salih Kadoorie, a well-known Sephardi Jewish philanthropist from Baghdad, arrived in Hong Kong via Bombay on 20 May 1880 to join the firm of E.D. Sassoon. His brother, Ellis, joined him three years later and together they set up as brokers — Ellis on his own account, and Elly in partnership with Sassoon Benjamin and George Potts as Benjamin, Kelly & Potts. Both brothers used the name 'Kelly' in the early years

of their business careers, but resumed their rightful surname in 1901. They demonstrated a singular flair for business and soon prospered.

Ellis was to remain a bachelor all his life but in 1897 Elly married Laura Mocatta in the West London Synagogue, bringing her back to live in Hong Kong. Two sons were born in Hong Kong: Lawrence, and Victor, who died as an infant in 1900; Horace was born in London in 1902. Lawrence and Horace were educated in England at Clifton College, Bristol, and in Shanghai.

In 1911 the family moved to Shanghai, where Elly made a fortune trading in Malayan rubber, later focusing on business and industrial ventures. Ellis concentrated his efforts in Hong Kong, and, following the example set by their father, both brothers vigorously pursued their charitable endeavours, building schools and hospitals in Iraq, Persia, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, India, China and Hong Kong — always with the proviso that they be operated without discrimination on racial or religious grounds. Both Ellis and Elly Kadoorie were awarded knighthoods for their philanthropy.

Lawrence left Shanghai to study law in London but was recalled before he could qualify, becoming instead an assistant to his father in what was now Sir Elly Kadoorie & Sons. This position would stand him in good stead in the future as, tragically in 1919, their mother Laura died in a fire at their home in Shanghai; it was after this that Lawrence and Horace began to take an active part in the responsibilities of the family.

In 1922 Sir Ellis died and in 1937 Lawrence returned to Hong Kong to reopen the office and assume the chairmanship of Hong Kong & Shanghai Hotel Company Ltd, with its flagship property, the Peninsula Hotel. In 1914 Sir Ellis had made a major purchase of shares in the hotel company and in 1918 he had also invested in China Light & Power Company (CLP), the sole provider of electricity to Kowloon and the New Territories. In 1938 Lawrence married Muriel, the daughter of David and Sally Gubbay; their two children, Rita and Michael,



*Sir Elly Kadoorie, 1936.*

# ❧ L ❧

**Ladany, Laszlo** *also* Lazlo Ladanyi, Lazlo La Dany b. 14 January 1914, Diosgyor, Hungary; d. 23 September 1990, Hong Kong. Jesuit priest, scholar, publisher.

Lazlo Ladany gained a doctorate in law at Budapest University and studied music (he played the violin) at the Budapest Conservatory before joining the Society of Jesus in 1936. After learning Mandarin in Peking, he was assigned to the Hungarian Mission of Taming, Hebei Province, in 1940. He also spent time in Tianjin and Shanghai on theological studies. When the communists reached Taming in 1946, Ladany relocated to Canton, where he continued his ministry among university students. He was ordained on 8 June 1946.

On 22 June 1949 Ladany came to Hong Kong and was attached to Ricci Hall, the University of Hong Kong. To keep the Church abreast of what was happening on the Chinese mainland, he began writing for the *China Missionary* under the pen name 'A. Road'. In 1953 he started a newsletter, *China News Analysis*, which was to run to 1,250 issues and to become a highly respected source of information for China-watchers around the world. To gather his material, Ladany used every possible means, which included interviewing people who had visited the Mainland and extending his radio antenna to pick up whatever broadcasts he could. He was insightful, indefatigable and idiosyncratic in his research. From 1969 to the mid-1970s he also published in Chinese *Hainei haiwai*, which discussed problems of Chinese culture, and *Letters from Asia*, which provided commentaries on current Asian affairs. With the cessation of *China News Analysis* in 1982, Ladany focused on completing *The Communist Party of China and Marxism, 1921–1985: A Self-Portrait*, a seminal work published in 1988. He also published *The Catholic Church in China* to warn against collaboration with China's Catholic Patriotic Association, which he saw as an instrument of state intent on destroying the Church in China. Over a 30-year period, Ladany provided his readers with extensive, reliable and

meticulous analyses of the political, social, economic and cultural issues of contemporary China. He was among the few China-watchers who predicted the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution.

At his death Ladany left a completed manuscript, *Law and Legality in China: The Testament of a China-watcher*, which was edited and published in 1992. His dream to translate the best Christian literature into Chinese and make it accessible to Chinese intellectuals remained unfulfilled. Ladany, who spoke fluent Mandarin, several Chinese dialects including Cantonese and Shanghaiese, and five European languages, had a razor-sharp mind and enjoyed good conversation on many subjects. He was the inspiration for the 'tall handsome Jesuit' character, Father Low, in Han Suyin's *A Many Splendored Thing*.

CHRISTINE LOH

**Lai Afong** 黎華芳, *also* Wah Fong 華芳 fl. 1859–1900. Photographer.

On a visit to a Chinese studio in Hong Kong, JOHN THOMSON saw a number of painters 'at work producing large coloured pictures from small imperfect photographs'. While some artists copied from



(Left): Lai Afong proclaims his appointment to the Governor, Sir Arthur Kennedy, and to the Grand Duke Alexis on the back of the photograph mount.  
(Right): Photograph from Lai Afong's studio.

# ❧ M ❧

**Ma Sze-tsang** 馬師曾, *original name* Ma Po-lo 馬伯魯, *also* Kwan Chi-cheung 關始昌, Fung Wah Chi 風華子 b. 2 April 1900, Canton; d. 21 April 1964, Peking. Cantonese opera star and film actor.

One of the great modernisers of Cantonese opera, Ma Sze-tsang introduced innovations to the genre which had a huge influence on Hong Kong's stage and screen in the 1930s–40s, an influence that was magnified by his numerous protégés, who went on to achieve stardom themselves.

His family's financial worries and displacement by the 1911 Revolution overshadowed Ma's early youth, but a measure of stability eventually returned and, by the time he was a middle-school student, he was able to develop an interest in theatre and Cantonese opera. In 1918 he moved to Singapore and became an apprentice in an opera troupe. By the time he returned to Hong Kong in the early 1920s he had a vocal style all his own. He co-founded his first opera troupe and became famous for his unique tone (dubbed '*Ma qiang*' or the Ma pitch). His fame spread with lengthy tours to South-East Asia and the United States.

Perhaps Ma's greatest innovation was to put both female and male performers together on the stage. There were all-male troupes and all-female troupes, but his Tai Ping Opera Company, established with female opera star Tam Lan-hing in 1933, was the first in Hong Kong in modern times to mount acts in which men and women shared the stage. In friendly rivalry with SIT KOK-SEEN, he revitalised the art form by introducing Western musical instruments, plot features borrowed from Hollywood, and an updated sense of aesthetics in props, scenery and lighting effects.

The founding of Tai Ping coincided with the birth of Cantonese talking pictures, and Ma was quick to make the transition from stage to screen. He made his film debut opposite Tam in *Mistresses Are Better Than Wives* (released for Chinese New Year 1935), a contemporary melodrama loosely based on Josef von Sternberg's *The Blue Angel* (1930), with

opera-style tunes incorporated into the narrative. It was the first of some 18 films he completed before the Japanese invasion of 1941. Ma left Hong Kong to organise the War of Resistance Opera Troupe (later renamed Victory Opera Troupe) and tour the battle front. His new protégé, performing partner and wife was Hung Sin Nui. In 1947 he resumed his movie career and during the next eight years appeared in over 30 features, many of them adaptations of his theatrical successes, such as *The Judge Goes to Pieces* (1948) (remade with Stephen Chow as *Justice My Foot!* in 1992).

Ma Sze-tsang's *oeuvre* embraced a wide range of non-operatic genres. Among his last Hong Kong roles was that of the father of the teenage BRUCE LEE in the contemporary drama *Love* (1955). Later that year, Ma and Hung Sin Nui became the era's last celebrity couple to relocate to the People's Republic. Assigned a leadership position in the Guangdong Cantonese Opera Troupe, Ma devoted himself to promoting the art as well as making a handful of movies, beginning with the Shanghai Film Studio's classic opera production *Search the Academy* (1956). He was widely venerated and received many official honours. He died from illness two years before the start of the Cultural Revolution and the condemnation of his stage and film work as reactionary.

PAUL FONOROFF

**Ma Ying-piu** 馬應彪 b. 21 December 1860, Xiangshan County, Guangdong Province; d. 15 July 1944, Hong Kong. Retailer and businessman.

**Fok Hing-tong** 霍慶棠 b. 24 February 1872, Hong Kong; d. Hong Kong, 12 December 1957. Social worker and campaigner.

Ma Ying-piu was a native of Shayong village in Xiangshan County. Following in the footsteps of his father, who had emigrated to Australia two decades before, he went to New South Wales at the age of 19 to work in a gold mine. At the time, many Chinese immigrants in Australia were also involved in the commercial cultivation of bananas, which had

# ❧ N ❧

**Naorojee, Dorabjee**, *see* **Mithaiwala, Dorabjee Naorojee**

**Nathan, Sir Matthew**, CMG (1899), KCMG (1902), GCMG (1908) b. 3 January 1862, London; d. 18 April 1939, West Coker, Somerset, England. Army officer, colonial administrator and 13th Governor of Hong Kong (1904–07).

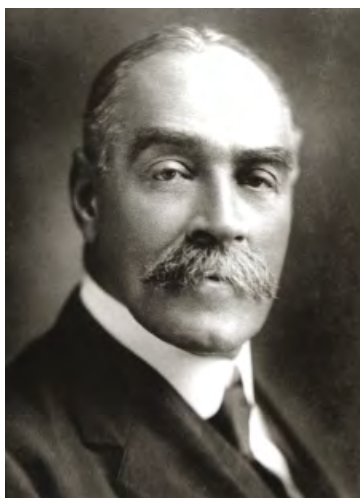
The second son of Jonah Nathan, a descendant of Jewish immigrants from Germany, and his second wife Miriam Jacobs, Matthew Nathan was educated by private tutors and from 1878 at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. He graduated first in his class and was awarded the Pollock Medal as the most distinguished cadet of his year. In 1880 he was commissioned as a subaltern at the School of Military Engineering, Chatham, passing out as a lieutenant of the Royal Engineers.

He did not have to wait long for his first posting: in 1883 the War Office sent him on a tour of Sierra Leone to prepare fortification schemes. He then served in the Nile Expedition for the relief of General Charles Gordon in 1884–85. This was followed by postings as a fortifications specialist to India and Burma. He took part in the Lushai Expedition, India, in 1889. Promoted to captain in 1889 and major three years later, he was appointed secretary to the Colonial Defence Committee in 1895. A soldier and an engineer, Nathan had the practical qualifications necessary for colonial service. He was proud of the imperial mission and convinced of the justice of Britain's right to rule.

In 1898 he was able to put those qualifications to the test in his first posting as a colonial servant, when he was sent to restore law and order in Sierra Leone following a period of civil unrest. He acquitted himself well, earning praise from the Colonial

Office for the 'ability and discretion with which he carried on the government ... at a difficult time'.

Back in the War Office in 1899, and with the reputation of being a sound and decisive administrator, Nathan was offered the governorship of the Gold Coast, at the time the most prestigious of the West African governorships. He was the first Jew to hold such an office and, at 38, the youngest governor in the Colonial Service.



*Sir Matthew Nathan*

Arriving in Accra in December 1900, Nathan was confronted with several problems resulting from a rebellion in the north of this vast territory. Once he had stabilised the administration, he turned his attention to improving communications with roads, railway and telegraph. He introduced a registration system for gold-mining concessions and encouraged the growing of cocoa, which would later become the colony's staple product. He was knighted in 1902 and left the Gold Coast in high standing, with the Secretary of State for the Colonies commending him for his sense and dedication.

In 1904 Nathan was appointed to the first-class governorship of Hong Kong. Although he had inherited a stable economy from his predecessor, SIR HENRY BLAKE, one of Nathan's first tasks was to deal with the problem of a glut of silver coins in the region, which was dragging down the value of the Hong Kong subsidiary coinage. He handled this by progressively withdrawing small silver Hong Kong coins from circulation. Anxious to make his mark, he found an outlet for his talents by promoting the construction of a railway between Kowloon and Canton, a project which the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce had been vigorously urging for some time. This proved to be far more complicated than he had expected: he was inadequately prepared for the delicate diplomatic negotiations required with the Chinese government,



**Odell, Harry Oscar**, *born* Harry Obadofsky, MBE (1969) b. 1896, Cairo, Egypt; d. 19 December 1975, Hong Kong. Soldier, businessman, impresario.

Harry Obadofsky, the son of Russian Jewish parents, was educated at St Francis Xavier school in Shanghai. He ran away from home at 16 and supported himself as a tap dancer in Nagasaki, Japan, before emigrating to the USA where he enlisted and served with the American armed forces in France in the First World War.

In 1921 Obadofsky arrived in Hong Kong, changed his name to 'Odell' and married Sophie Weill, whose family owned the prestigious Hong Kong jewellers Sennet Frères. They had three sons. Odell worked in an import-export firm, then as a stockbroker, and was a volunteer with the Naval Reserve in Hong Kong, joining as a warrant officer in 1939. He fought in the defence of Hong Kong in 1941, was wounded, and was made prisoner of war by the Japanese.

An affable gentleman, never without a large Cuban cigar, Odell started a film distribution business after the war. By persuading internationally acclaimed artists to perform in the colony he effectively became Hong Kong's first impresario. Since suitable venues for the performing arts were scarce, he tirelessly lobbied the government for a permanent auditorium. As a result, the Hong Kong City Hall theatre complex was built. Odell's MBE was awarded in recognition of his contribution to the cultural life of Hong Kong.

JUDITH GREEN

**Ong Guan Bee** 王源美, OBE (1966), Panglima Setia Mahkota (Malaysia, 1979), Hon. DSc (University of Hong Kong, 1980) b. 29 September 1921, Kuching, Sarawak, Borneo; d. 10 January 2004, Hong Kong. General surgeon and Professor of Surgery, University of Hong Kong (1964–82).

On Guan Bee, or 'G.B.', as he was known worldwide, was diminutive in physical size but dominant

in personality. He attended school in Singapore and eventually followed the advice of his father, who said, 'no good working for someone else. Better do medicine'. Rejected by Singapore Medical College, he entered the University of Hong Kong, but his studies were soon interrupted by the Japanese occupation. He escaped to China and resumed his training at the Shanghai Medical College (then in Chongqing). In post-war Hong Kong he completed an internship at the Queen Mary Hospital and obtained his MBBS. He then proceeded to Britain, where he gained fellowships of the Royal Colleges of Surgeons in England and Edinburgh. Back in Hong Kong after a training interlude in the US, he joined the government medical service in 1953 and worked as a consultant surgeon at the Kwong Wah Hospital and subsequently as surgeon-in-charge of Kowloon Hospital.

In 1964 Ong accepted the chair of surgery at the University of Hong Kong, the first Chinese to hold this post. Here, he took responsibility for 800 beds in four hospitals. During the next 18 years, he earned a reputation as a perfectionist, a disciplinarian and a master surgeon who pioneered several innovative techniques. He performed Hong Kong's first open-heart surgery. By the time he retired, he had published over 250 articles and ten books, performed over 10,000 major operations, and was a member of nearly 30 medical societies. He received many awards including the Malaysian honorific title 'Tan Sri'. After retirement, he conducted an active private practice until he was diagnosed with liver cancer in 1999. Liver resection did not prevent metastasis and he eventually succumbed to his illness in January 2004. He was twice married: first to Christina, with whom he had six children, and then to Paula, with whom he had a son and a daughter.

ANTHONY SWEETING

**Osouf, Pierre-Marie** b. 26 March 1829, Cérisy-la-Salle, France; d. 27 June 1906, Tokyo. Roman Catholic priest.



# ❧ P ❧

**Pak Yin** 白燕, *original name* Chan Yuk-ping 陳玉屏  
b. 1920, Canton; d. 6 May 1987, Hong Kong. Film  
actress.

Known as the ‘Movie Queen of South China’, Pak Yin was among the first generation of performers to gain prominence when Cantonese talking pictures were launched in the 1930s. Her initial attempt at stardom was made when she was still a middle-school student in Canton, but her would-be debut film, *Two Lotuses on One Stalk* (1936), was shut down because of financial problems. In the following year Pak moved to Hong Kong and won success in *The Magnificent Country* (1937) and *Shanghai Under Fire* (1938), a critically acclaimed anti-Japanese war drama. In 1938 she married producer-actor Leung Wai-man, but the marriage did not last.

Hailed for her subtle acting technique and distinctive voice, Pak had made nearly 40 features before the Japanese invasion in December 1941. Her position as top ingénue of Cantonese pictures was assured when her rival Nancy Chan moved to Hsin Hwa studio in Shanghai in 1939. Pak was also sought after by Shanghai film moguls but chose to stay in Hong Kong.

After a five-year hiatus during World War II, Pak’s career resumed in 1946. Cast almost exclusively in sympathetic roles, Pak became the pre-eminent Cantonese dramatic actress of her time and one of the most prolific. Many of her films were set in contemporary times or the early Republican period. During her busiest decade (1947–56), she made 170 features, including such classics as *Between Tears and Laughter* (1952), *The Red Chamber’s New Dream* (1952), *The Prodigal Son* (1952), *Spring* (1953) and *Wilderness* (1956). The last three were produced by Union Studio, founded in 1952 by a group of socially committed Cantonese artistes, with Pak initially serving as vice-chairman and then chairman in 1961. Her most frequent collaborators during this period were actor CHEUNG WOOD-YAU and director Ng Wui, with whom she established San Luen Film Company, one of Union’s satellite studios, in



*Film poster: Pak Yin (left) and Shi Hui in The Lost Pearl, 1965.*

1954. Two of San Luen’s most notable productions were *Madame Wan* (1954), which broke box-office records in Singapore, and *The Great Devotion* (1960), a memorable tear jerker directed by Chor Yuen.

The last eight years of Pak’s film career resulted in around 70 features and some of her most outstanding work. She had a special ability to bring depth and nuance to characterisations that in other hands might appear as maudlin or melodramatic. Her memorable roles include the suffering matriarch in an adaptation of Cao Yu’s play, *Thunderstorm* (1957), and *The Orphan* (1960), in which she portrayed a reform school teacher trying to set rebellious teenager BRUCE LEE on the right path.

Pak closed her film career with *A Mad Woman* (1964) and *The Lost Pearl* (1965), both box-office successes. In the latter, the only film she made for a Mandarin studio, the scriptwriters contrived for her to deliver her dialogue in Cantonese. After her retirement, Pak shunned public activities and severed virtually all contact with the movie community. She had lived apart from her second husband, businessman Lo Yu-lam, for many years. Suffering from bone cancer, she spent her final years under the care of her granddaughter and maidservant; she died of heart disease at 64.

PAUL FONOROFF

**Qiao Guanhua** 喬冠華 b. 8 March 1913, Yancheng, Jiangsu Province; d. 22 September 1983, Peking. Journalist and diplomat.

Best known as the ‘red diplomat’ who headed the first Chinese delegation to New York upon the People’s Republic’s admission to the United Nations General Assembly in 1971, Qiao Guanhua had a distinguished career in foreign service. With Henry Kissinger, he laid the groundwork for President Nixon’s visit to China in 1972 and paved the way for the ‘normalization’ of Sino–US diplomatic relations in 1979. He was China’s Foreign Minister from 1974 to 1976.

Qiao was born to a large family; his father was a modestly prosperous landlord. He acquired his interest in international affairs early, helped by postgraduate studies in Japan (1934) and Germany (1935–37) after gaining his degree from Tsinghua University (1933). But like many of his peers studying abroad at the time, he was too appalled by Japanese encroachments in China to stay on in the West. He returned to China, intent on playing a part in the war of resistance. Going first to Canton, he joined the army and began writing commentaries on military affairs and on the looming threat of war in Europe. When Canton fell to the Japanese in late 1938, Qiao was sent to continue his work on a Chinese newspaper in Hong Kong. This paper was one of several publications set up by mainland Chinese groups as their mouthpiece against Japanese aggression in China.

*Shishi wanbao* (‘Current Affairs Evening News’) became the forum for Qiao’s daily editorials on the widening war and the international situation. His informed and fluently written articles made a deep impression on a readership spread among Chinese in Hong Kong and across South-East Asia. After six months (March–September 1939), however, the paper folded through lack of funds. Qiao nevertheless continued to publish, writing prolifically for such Hong Kong journals as *Shijie zhishi* (‘World Knowledge’), *Ta Kung Pao* and *Huashang bao* (‘China



*Qiao Guanhua and his first wife, Gong Peng.*

Commercial Daily’). He used the pen name ‘Qiao Mu’ for much of his journalism.

Supported by LIAO CHENGZHI, Qiao applied to join the Communist Party in 1939. It was with Liao that he escaped from Hong Kong when Japan attacked in 1941, but not before an attempt was made to mount a defence jointly with the British. In early December 1941 Qiao, Liao Chengzhi and a left-wing journalist, Xia Yan, met FRANKLIN GIMSON to discuss defensive measures, but the talks foundered, possibly because the colonial government was unwilling to supply arms to the communists.

Qiao returned to Hong Kong at the end of the war, this time as bureau chief of Xinhua, the New China News Agency. With the tacit acquiescence of the colonial authorities, Xinhua’s Hong Kong branch — its first outside China — became the *de facto* external affairs office of the Chinese Communist Party. Qiao later recalled that during his three years (1946–49) in the colony he held a dual role and was sometimes called upon to engage in political negotiations with the Hong Kong government. In 1949 he returned to China and to increasingly more important positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Qiao married Gong Peng in 1943; she died in 1970. His second marriage in 1973 was to Zhang Hanzhi, a former interpreter for the Chinese delegation at the United Nations.

MAY HOLDSWORTH

# ❧ R ❧

**Raimondi, John Timoleon** b. 5 May 1827, Milan; d. 27 September 1894, Hong Kong. First Vicar Apostolic of the Catholic Church in Hong Kong (1875–94).

Timoleon Raimondi was born into a devout Catholic Milanese family at a time when northern Italy had become in practice a province of the Austrian empire. As a student he shared the aspirations of the *Risorgimento* movement for Italian independence and participated in activities that opposed Austrian rule. Following philosophical and theological studies in the Milan diocesan seminaries, he was ordained in May 1850. In October 1850 Fr Raimondi joined the newly established Lombardy Seminary for Foreign Missions (later Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions). Two years later he was sent as one of five members of an expedition to present-day Papua New Guinea and worked on Woodlark Island. This unsuccessful mission resulted in the martyrdom of one of its members (1855) and the assignment of Raimondi and his confrères to the Hong Kong Mission. After

stops in the Philippines and in Borneo, the four missionaries arrived in the colony in May 1858.

Raimondi first assisted and then succeeded Fr Louis Ambrosi (1829–67) as Prefect Apostolic of Hong Kong and as Procurator of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of Faith in Rome (now Sacred Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples). In these posts he was responsible for directing and developing the Hong Kong Prefecture, and for maintaining good relations between the Catholic missions in China and the Roman Congregation. He canvassed for the building of St Joseph's Church, mainly for the Irish Catholic soldiers serving in the colony, and it was opened in November 1872. In November 1874, when the Hong Kong Prefecture was enlarged beyond the boundaries of the British colony and raised to a vicariate, Mgr Raimondi was appointed its first Vicar Apostolic. He was ordained bishop in Rome and installed in Hong Kong on 19 January 1875. He divided the vicariate into districts and provided them with the necessary organisational structures. These measures were not always greeted



*Father Raimondi, probably on his way to Sai Kung, in the foothills of Kowloon Peak; Lion Rock can be seen in the background; engraving, 1882.*

# ❧ S ❧

**Sakai Takashi** b. c.1887, Hiroshima Prefecture, Japan; d. 13 September 1946, Nanjing, Jiangsu Province. Soldier.

Lieutenant General Sakai Takashi took part in the invasion of Hong Kong in December 1941 and was head of Japan's Military Government Office here from 29 December 1941 to 20 February 1942.

A graduate of the Imperial Military Academy (1908) and the Army Staff College (1916), Sakai was dispatched to China, where from the late 1920s onwards he played a major role in the Japanese drive for expansion. As military attaché to the Japanese consulate in Jinan he is said to have instigated the assault on that city by the Sixth Division of the Imperial Army in May 1928, and in 1931–34 he organised subversive operations in Peking and Tianjin. In August 1934, promoted to major general, he was appointed chief of staff of the Japanese garrison in Tianjin, where he masterminded the 1935 He-Umezu agreement legitimising Japan's territorial gains in Hebei Province; and two years later he helped manufacture the Lugouqiao Incident that triggered the Sino-Japanese War. His name was also associated with successive atrocities: the storming of Jinan was accompanied by the mutilation and killing of Chinese Nationalist diplomats and the slaughter of Chinese civilians; and as a brigade commander Sakai took part in the Rape of Nanjing in December 1937.

On 6 November 1941, after a series of postings in north China, Sakai was assigned the command of the newly organised 23rd Army in Canton, with a brief to prepare an invasion of British Hong Kong. His role in directing the campaign of December 1941 appears to have been fairly minor and guided by the advice of his staff. He did however issue the demands for surrender that were conveyed to the Governor, SIR MARK YOUNG, on December 13 and 17, and he emerged in the latter part of Christmas Day to

accept the British surrender documents from Young at Queen's Pier and to receive Young's signature of the surrender at the Peninsula Hotel. There are signs that he wished to impress the defeated British with an exhibition of chivalry. Initially cocksure, he is said to have ended by treating Young with 'the greatest courtesy and kindness'. In response to protests from MAJOR GENERAL CHRISTOPHER MALTBY about the rape of British nurses and the bayoneting of wounded prisoners of war he promised that any culprits would be caught and shot; the early days of the conquest did indeed see the execution of some Japanese soldiers and a cessation of outrages against Europeans. The same restraint was not however imposed on the Army's handling of Chinese civilians. Despite a 'reassurance proclamation' asserting that Japan's quarrel was only with the British, Sakai once again allowed his troops to rape, plunder and slaughter the Chinese population during the three-day sack of Hong Kong.

Following a ceremonial entry into Victoria on 28 December Sakai set about organising a 'strong military government' based on the 23rd Army bureaucracy. What ensued was eight weeks of near-anarchy fuelled by local gangsterism and the competing rapacities of the Japanese Army, Navy and Kempeitai, while members of the new Military Government Office (Gunseicho) devoted themselves



*Sakai Takashi leading the Japanese victory parade through Wan Chai, 1941.*

# ❧ T ❧

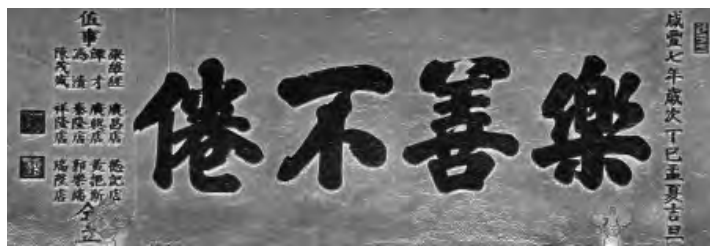
**Tam Achoy** 譚亞才, also Tam Sam-tshoy 譚三才, Tam Shek-tsun 譚錫珍 b. c.1810, Kaiping, Guangdong Province; d. January 1870, Hong Kong. Contractor, landowner, community leader.

Tam Achoy was a foreman in the government dockyard at Singapore before coming to Hong Kong in 1841. He was granted land in the Lower Bazaar, one of the centres of Chinese business, and bought up the interests of the adjacent property-owners until he had acquired an extensive sea frontage. He built some of Hong Kong's grandest early buildings, including the P & O Building and the Exchange Building, which was bought by the government and used for many years as the Supreme Court. He obtained a licence in 1847 to build a market, which he operated under his firm's name, Kwong Yuen, and rebuilt it on a much larger scale after the great fire of December 1851. From the late 1840s, when Hong Kong became a port of embarkation for emigrants to the New World, Tam was one of the leading brokers and charterers of emigrant ships. He also leased a wharf to the Hongkong, Canton and Macao Steamboat Company after its formation in 1865.

In 1847, together with Lo AQUI, Tam built the Man Mo Temple, which soon became the centre of Chinese community life. A patron of other temples, he also donated money for school building and book purchases, and to the London Missionary Society's medical work. In 1851 he was prominent among a group of Chinese community leaders who successfully petitioned the government for a grant of land on which to build a common ancestral hall — or I-ts'z (Yici). The colonial community, having initially taken notice of him for his ability to recover stolen watches, came to regard Tam as the main spokesman for the Chinese. In the mid-1850s he led a campaign for erecting public lighting and, using an American-built engine, organised a fire brigade, known as the 'Tam Achoy Engine Company No. 1'. During the emergency of 1856 he cooperated

with the authorities in constructing watchtowers and other defences. He led petitions to the government on cases involving miscarriages of justice, and on the treatment of CHEONG ALUM after Cheong's acquittal on a poisoning charge. WILLIAM TARRANT, in his early history of Hong Kong (1860), referred to Tam as the 'Nabob of Hong Kong'. One newspaper at this time described him as 'no doubt the most creditable Chinese in the colony'.

His credibility with the authorities received a blow in 1860 after what became known as the 'Tam Achoy filibuster case'. Together with a number of English and American seamen whose services he had employed, Tam appeared before the Supreme Court in Hong Kong charged with 'having been engaged in fitting out and equipping, in the harbour of Hongkong, a hostile expedition against subjects of the Emperor of China'. Tam (who was the treasurer and manager of a subscription for the purpose) had chartered the ship *Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy* from KWOK ACHEONG to attack Hakka villages in Kaiping, his native place, in response to a request from the local mandarin for assistance in putting down Hakka bandits. He pleaded guilty, arguing in mitigation, with the support of an affidavit from DANIEL CALDWELL, that he had not realised that he had violated the law. The court took a lenient view and bound him and the others over without punishment. At the instigation of THOMAS ANSTEY, the matter was raised in petitions to the Secretary of State and House of Lords from the residents of Sheffield and the Newcastle Foreign Affairs Association as an example of the lawlessness then prevailing in Hong Kong.



*A plaque donated in 1857 by Tam Achoy and others to the I-ts'z (Yici), or temple for the reception of tablets of deceased persons.*

# U

**Uttley, Kenneth Harrison**, ISO (1963) b. 24 January 1901, Leighton Buzzard, England; d. 22 May 1972, Pyrton, Oxfordshire, England. Physician.

Kenneth Uttley was the son of missionary parents, and spent his childhood in Brazil, speaking fluent Portuguese. He returned to England for school and won an exhibition to read divinity at Caius College, Cambridge. Despite switching to medicine, Uttley maintained a strong religious conviction, which remained with him throughout his life. On qualifying, he joined the Government Medical Service and in 1929 was posted as district medical officer to Hong Kong, where he quickly learnt to speak Cantonese. His studious, rather shy personality was well recognised by the Chinese hospital staff, who referred to him as ‘the Englishman who never loses his temper’. He continued his interest in scholarship by contributing valuable papers on plague and tuberculosis in Hong Kong.

In 1933 Uttley married Helen Mahy, a nursing sister in Hong Kong, and they had two sons and a daughter. He gained his Doctor of Medicine degree in 1934. When war became inevitable, his family left for Australia, while he stayed at his post and was duly interned by the Japanese in Stanley camp. Once inside he helped establish a prison hospital, and began to write a diary in microscopic hand on lavatory paper, which was hidden daily, often buried, to avoid detection. Daily life was recorded in every detail, from the paucity of food and ensuing medical problems to camp conditions, as well as the pleasures of reading, shared listening to classical music, and learned talks from fellow prisoners. Both his observations and candour were remarkable. ‘The complete lack of trust in your neighbour is a sad reflection on our so-called moral standards. It shows how thin the veneer of our civilization is as soon as one’s stomach gets hungry,’ he noted. Local wildlife was also closely observed: ‘I watch a mason bee build her mud nest in the ear hole of my stethoscope’, and ‘I saw a shark swimming about 100 yards away ... as it went lazily along’. The diary remains an extraordinary



*Kenneth Uttley and his family, 1938.*

record of the emotional and psychological effects of internment.

On release Uttley returned to his former life in Hong Kong and became Deputy Director of Medical Services. His family returned and weekends were often spent with another former internee, GEOFFREY HERKLOTS, exploring and photographing Hong Kong’s wildlife. In 1954 Uttley was ordained priest by his lifelong friend BISHOP R.O. HALL. On retiring from Hong Kong in 1955 he accepted a medical post in Antigua, before finally returning to England, where he was appointed vicar of Pyrton in Oxfordshire. His sensitivity to the human condition and his religious conviction sustained him to the end.

LIBBY HALLIDAY PALIN

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*There is a very strong anti-Government feeling in the camp ... The people feel that they have been let down by the extremely bad leadership we have had here since the war began. They harbour a resentment against the Government for this and there is also a desire for a butt against which they can fling their invective. I, as a Government Doctor, have come in for more than my share of it today!*

*Hunger makes people very quarrelsome over trifles, and things get very difficult in every way. I have made a number of mistakes recently in connection with the hospital.*

Uttley’s diary entries, 24 January 1942 and 5 April 1943

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# ❧ V ❧

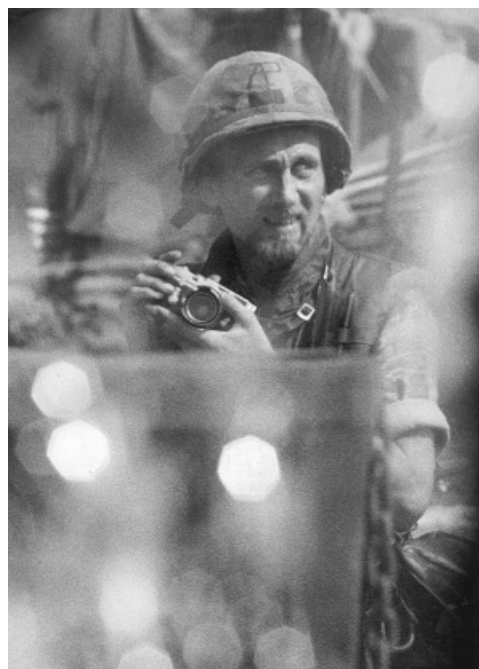
**Van Es, Hubert** ('Hugh') b. 6 July 1941, Hilversum, the Netherlands; d. 15 May 2009, Hong Kong. Photographer.

Hubert Van Es became defined by one photograph — of a line of people trying to board a helicopter on the roof of a building in Saigon, south Vietnam. The date was 30 April 1975, and the image symbolised America's loss of the war. After seven years covering the Vietnam War, Van Es had built up a body of work, including powerful images of the battle at Hamburger Hill. But it was the helicopter picture that was endlessly reproduced across the world's media. He never earned more for it than his day-rate and a one-off bonus from the United Press International wire agency. He was later to tell young photographers never to relinquish their copyright.

Born into a comfortable family in the Netherlands, Van Es first worked for the Netherlands Foto Persbureau in Amsterdam (1959) before doing Dutch military service as a cryptographer (1960–62). He returned to press photography in Hilversum and Amsterdam (1962–64), joined the *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, a newspaper (1965), and was based in London for the Dutch music magazine, *Muziek Parade* (1966).

He made his home in Hong Kong from 1967. He freelanced for the Associated Press during the 1967 riots, then joined the *South China Morning Post* as chief photographer. From 1968 he began travelling regularly to Vietnam where he worked for NBC News (1968), Associated Press (1969–72) and United Press International (1972–75). He later covered conflicts in Afghanistan, the Philippines and elsewhere, and worked as the stills photographer on movies sets in Hong Kong. He maintained a regular job shooting the Macau Grand Prix until his death.

With his American soldier-influenced English, his comfort in propping up the bars of Asia, and his image of hardened war photographer, Van Es was the focal point of a large crowd of Asian 'hacks' who had survived Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and much more. He cared deeply about the friends and colleagues lost



*Hugh Van Es*

through the war, and actively nurtured a community of journalists. He kept people in contact, helped to make books about them, and was generous to young aspiring journalists and photographers. He met his future wife, Annie Cheng, at the Foreign Correspondents' Club in Hong Kong. Their almost 40-year marriage (from 1969) set a rare record among journalists for its longevity and genuine closeness.

VAUDINE ENGLAND

**Vetch, Henri**, *also* George Henry Archibald Campbell Vetch b. 2 December 1898, La Celle Saint-Cloud, France; d. 3 June 1978, Hong Kong. Bookseller and publisher.

Henri Vetch was born to a family with French, British, Slav and colonial connections. His grandfather owned a sugar plantation on the island of La Réunion at one time. From 1900 to 1906 Henri and his three older brothers lived with their parents in Fuzhou, where their father, Francis Vetch — an entrepreneur whose money-making schemes were



**Wade, Sir Thomas Francis**, KCB (1875), GCMG (1889) b. 25 August 1818, London; d. 31 July 1895, Cambridge, England. Diplomat and sinologist.

Born to a military family and educated at Harrow and Cambridge (though he left before taking his degree), Thomas Wade was bought a commission by his father in 1838. In 1841, sent with his regiment to engage in the Opium War (1839–42), he occupied himself on board the troopship to Hong Kong by studying Chinese. Although he went on to have a distinguished diplomatic career, it was as a scholar of Chinese linguistics that he found his true vocation. He is best remembered for the Mandarin romanisation system that he devised in the 1870s; modified later by Herbert Giles, another diplomat, what came to be known as the ‘Wade-Giles system’ served generations of Chinese-language students until it was superseded by *Hanyu pinyin* from the 1960s.

While taking part in campaigns along the Yangtze in 1842, Wade fell ill with malaria and was invalided back to Hong Kong. There, taught Cantonese by KARL GÜTZLAFF, he served for a time as interpreter to the Hong Kong garrison (1843). In 1845 the Governor, SIR JOHN DAVIS, offered him a position as student interpreter and later made him supernumerary Chinese interpreter to the Supreme Court. This promotion was decisive for Wade, and he sold out his commission the following year. Under Davis’s successor, SIR SAMUEL GEORGE BONHAM, Wade became a regular interpreter and was also appointed acting Chinese Secretary. By this time he was beginning to formulate his ideas on the future of Anglo-Chinese relations. His pamphlet, *A Note on the Condition of the Chinese and the Government of the Chinese Empire* (1849), published at his own expense, argued against gunboat diplomacy and in favour of a more accommodating approach to China’s conduct of foreign affairs

based on deeper knowledge about Chinese culture. Thereafter, on the strength as much of his linguistic as of his administrative skills, he progressed steadily up the China Service ladder: vice-consul in Shanghai (1852), with a year out as the first British inspector of the Imperial Maritime Customs, which he had helped to establish; Chinese Secretary in Hong Kong (1855–57); interpreter to Lord Elgin during the Second Opium War and in the Treaty of Tientsin (Tianjin) negotiations (1858); chargé d’affaires at the British Legation in Peking (1864–65 and 1869–71); and Minister to Peking (1871–82).



*Sir Thomas Wade*

The second posting to Hong Kong was not exactly a promotion, but it did give Wade a chance to pursue his linguistic interests. After an inconclusive trade mission ordered by SIR JOHN BOWRING to Cochin China, he devoted himself to writing a report on the training of interpreters. Highly critical of the competence of student interpreters sent out from England, he blamed the situation on a lack of textbooks, ill-qualified teachers, and the lowly position that interpreters held.

He maintained that the British interpreter was a key figure when all contact with Qing officials was conducted in Chinese. His suggestions for improving the training included adequate Foreign Office funding to pay for experienced native teachers and the provision of intensive classes in Hong Kong in the first year. His own facility in Chinese was fully tested in 1857 on translation work thrown up by a poisoned bread case involving a baker, CHEONG ALUM, and by anti-British disturbances in China. He did find time, however, to write and later to publish two further books on Chinese studies, *Xun jin lu* (1859) and the *Peking Syllabary* (1859).

Wade’s diplomacy was anchored on his conviction that China had to understand its own weaknesses if it was to modernise. He cast himself in the role of instructor — an occasionally didactic and hectoring one, according to some accounts. His preference for



# ❧ X ❧

**Xu Dishan** (Hsu Ti-shan) 許地山, *also* Xu Zankun 許贊堃, Luohuasheng 落華生 b. 1 February 1893, Tainan, Taiwan; d. 4 August 1941, Hong Kong. Scholar, first Professor of Chinese at the University of Hong Kong.

Xu Dishan, one of the most prominent Chinese scholar-writers in modern times, made a lasting contribution to the development of Chinese education in Hong Kong.

The son of an imperial official, Xu was sent to school in Guangdong Province when he was four. In 1912 he became a teacher in a school in Fujian, followed in 1913 by a two-year spell teaching at a Chinese school in Rangoon. In 1917 Xu enrolled in Yenching University, Peking, and it was while he was there that he became a participant in the May Fourth Movement, along with other intellectuals, writers and activists such as Zheng Zhenduo, Qu Qiubai and Hu Shi. He founded a periodical called *Xin shehui* ('New Society') with Zheng and Qu, and also helped to set up the Literature Study Society (Wenxue yanjiu hui). During 1923–27 he furthered his growing interest in religion by completing a master's degree in philosophy at Columbia University and additional postgraduate studies in the history of religions at Oxford University.

Xu returned to China in 1927 and joined the faculty at Yenching University. Besides authoring several important works on literature, history and religions such as *Kong shan ling yu* ('Raining in the Mountain'), *Dao jiao shi* ('A History of Daoism') and *Yindu wen xue* ('Indian Literature'), Xu served on the Preparatory Committee of the Unification of Chinese Dialects (Guoyu tongyi choubai weiyuanhui) in the Nationalist government's Board of Education, and was also a member of the Peiping (Peking) Postgraduate Institute (Peiping yanjiu yuan).

Recommended by Hu Shi, Xu was appointed by the University of Hong Kong in 1935 as its first professor of Chinese. He lost no time in introducing an expanded curriculum, based on curricula then prevailing in universities in China, which



*Xu Dishan*

encompassed lectures on history and philosophy as well as the conventional courses on language and literature. He chaired or actively participated in various cultural and patriotic organisations, including the Hong Kong Branch of the All-China Association of Literary Resistance Against the Enemy (Zhonghua quanguo wenyijie kangdi xiehui), the Sino-Anglo Cultural Association (Zhongying wenhua xiehui), the Association for the Advancement of Chinese Culture (Zhongguo wenhua xiejinhui) and the Hong Kong New Writing Society (Xianggang xin wenzi xiehui). Before his death, he wrote a series of essays on the history of Hong Kong: these essays were some of the earliest studies of the subject by a major Chinese scholar.

Xu married Li Yuesen in 1915; she died in 1920. In 1929 he married Zhou Sisong. Xu died of a heart attack shortly before the Japanese invasion and was buried in the Pok Fu Lam Chinese Christian Cemetery. He was survived by two daughters and one son.

KO TIM KEUNG

# Y

**Yam Kim-fai** 任劍輝, also Yam Lai-chor 任麗初 and Yam Yuen-yee 任婉儀 b. 29 December 1912, Guangdong Province; d. 29 November 1989, Hong Kong. Cantonese opera singer and film actress.

Popularly known as the ‘Opera Fans’ Sweetheart’ — a nickname won in the 1940s — Yam Kim-fai is arguably the most famous male impersonator in Cantonese opera and film. Her performances on stage and screen captivated numerous women, in Hong Kong and South-East Asia, who revered her as their ideal romantic hero.

Yam’s career, spanning more than 40 years, was set against the backdrop of three cities — Canton, Macau and Hong Kong. Her opera training began in her teens, and by the late 1920s she was performing in an all-female troupe led by her mentor Wong Lui-hap. Besides staging productions in the rooftop amusement parks of Canton, the troupe also toured nearby towns and villages. Female troupes were often considered peripheral to the all-male troupes, but cross-dressing was an established tradition in Chinese theatre, and by 1932 Yam had already attained the status of a *wen wu sheng*, the scholar-warrior and principal male role in traditional opera.

At the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War Yam moved her base to Macau, where she performed with the reorganised King Fa Yim Ying Troupe. Her fame spread rapidly in unoccupied Macau, particularly after she joined the Sun Shing Troupe, a company comprising such notable opera players as Chan Yim-nung, Pak Suet-sin and Leng Chi-pak. By this time Yam had proved herself an accomplished actress in trouser roles who could compete with, if not outshine, any of the principal male actors in the profession. It was in Macau that her personal and professional relationship with Pak Suet-sin began: they were to appear together in some 60 films over the next decade and a half.

Yam Kim-fai moved to Hong Kong after the War. During the 1950s she performed for various leading companies, including the Sun Yim Yeung Troupe organised by the celebrated actress Fong



Yam Kim-fai (left) and Pak Suet-sin in the film *Tragedy of the Poet King* (Li Houzhu).

Yim-fun. Setting their sights on improving the standard of Cantonese opera, Yam Kim-fai and Pak Suet-sin established the Sin Fung Ming Troupe. This marked another milestone in their theatrical achievements. Working closely with the librettist TONG TIK-SANG, Yam and Pak produced several high-quality operas, considered classics of Hong Kong Cantonese opera today, such as *The Dream in the Peony Pavilion* (1956), *Princess Changping* (1957), *The Purple Hairpin* (1957), and *Reincarnation of Lady Plum Blossom* (1959). The Troupe was dissolved in 1961, two years after Tong’s sudden death.

Yam would not be so well remembered today if her singing career had been confined to the opera stage: gramophone records, radio broadcasts, and particularly films also perpetuated her dominance in the collective memory of generations of fans. Yam made her first screen appearances in two Cantonese films, *The Crack* (1933) and *A Mysterious Night* (1937). Between 1951 and 1964, whether dressed in historical costume or clad in contemporary trousers, jacket and tie, she starred in over 300 movies of both traditional operas and modern dramas and comedies.

# Z

**Zeng Sheng** 曾生, also Zeng Zhensheng 曾振聲  
b. December 1910, Pingshan, Guangdong Province;  
d. 20 November 1995, Canton. Guerrilla leader.

The son of a seaman working on an ocean-going liner sailing between Hong Kong and Australia, Zeng Sheng went to primary school in Hong Kong but left the colony for Sydney in 1923 to join his father, who had started a grocery store there. He attended the Fort Street Secondary School in Sydney until 1928, when he returned to Pingshan with his father. In 1933 he was admitted to the Faculty of Education at Sun Yat-sen University in Canton. Elected to a number of student bodies, he came under the influence of Chinese Communist Party members and began to involve himself in anti-Japanese demonstrations and the National Salvation movement.

These dissident activities caught the attention of the Guangdong warlords and he was suspended from university. In 1936 he narrowly evaded arrest by the Kuomintang authorities and fled to Hong Kong. Finding employment as a seaman on board the *SS Empress of Japan*, he was before long appointed head of the organisation department of the Hong Kong Seamen's Union. When China and Japan started a full-scale war in July 1937, Zeng returned to his hometown to launch the Huiyang Bao'an People's Anti-Japanese Guerrillas, drawing the bulk of combatants from Hong Kong-based seamen, students, peasants and workers. At around the same time, Wang Zuorao, a carpentry apprentice, organised a separate guerrilla group in Dongguan, Guangdong: the Dongguan Able-bodied Young Men Guerrilla Squad. The two groups amalgamated to form the Guangdong People's Anti-Japanese East River Column in 1940. By the time of the Japanese attack on Hong Kong in December 1941, the East River Column had grown from a nucleus of fewer than 200 men to a force of some 5,000. Its field of operation was the Huizhou and

Dongguan areas and the area east of the Kowloon-Canton Railway.

The East River Column guerrillas were to remain a threat to the Japanese military authorities throughout the occupation. They executed many of the collaborators who were relied upon by the Japanese as interpreters and civilian staff, and they significantly furthered the Allied cause by collecting intelligence and passing it to American and British intelligence units based in China. They rescued members of the US air force who were shot down and helped many prisoners of war to escape, notably LINDSAY RIDE, DOUGLAS CLAGUE, and LIAO CHENGZHI and other Chinese communists working in Hong Kong. In 1944 and 1945, with the weakening of Japan's military position in the Pacific region and in Hong Kong, Zeng's soldiers mounted increasingly more daring raids and acts of sabotage, making armed attacks on police stations and once bombing the railway bridge in Argyle Street, Kowloon.

Zeng and some of his soldiers were sent to Yantai, Shandong in June 1946 but remained active, forming the Guangdong and Guangxi Column to help the communists to liberate the two provinces from the Kuomintang. Many of the veterans were honoured by the People's Republic after 1949. In 1951 Zeng was promoted to the rank of major general and



*A group of Guangdong East River guerrillas, 1941.*

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