

COLONIAL HONG KONG AND MODERN CHINA

Interaction and Reintegration

Edited by Lee Pui-tak



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The image shows the name 'HONG KONG UNIVERSITY PRESS' written in a highly stylized, square-format Chinese calligraphy. Each character is contained within a square frame, and the overall composition is vertical, reading from top to bottom. The characters are '新', '聞', '大', '學', '印', '書', '館'. The style is bold and expressive, with varying line thicknesses and some overlapping strokes.

Hong Kong University Press is honoured that Xu Bing, whose art explores the complex themes of language across cultures, has written the Press's name in his Square Word Calligraphy. This signals our commitment to cross-cultural thinking and the distinctive nature of our English-language books published in China.

“At first glance, Square Word Calligraphy appears to be nothing more unusual than Chinese characters, but in fact it is a new way of rendering English words in the format of a square so they resemble Chinese characters. Chinese viewers expect to be able to read Square Word Calligraphy but cannot. Western viewers, however are surprised to find they can read it. Delight erupts when meaning is unexpectedly revealed.”

— Britta Erickson, *The Art of Xu Bing*

Contents

List of Illustrations	vii
Acknowledgements	ix
About the Contributors	xi
Introduction	1
History of Hong Kong and History of Modern China: Unravelling the Relationship <i>Lee Pui-tak</i>	
Part I: History of Hong Kong	7
1. The Common People in Hong Kong History: Their Livelihood and Aspirations Until the 1930s <i>David Faure</i>	9
2. Religion in Hong Kong History <i>Bernard H. K. Luk</i>	39
3. The Sunday Rest Issue in Nineteenth Century Hong Kong <i>Louis Ha</i>	57
4. Governorships of Lugard and May: Fears of Double Allegiance and Perceived Disloyalty <i>Fung Chi Ming</i>	69
5. The Making of a Market Town in Rural Hong Kong: The Luen Wo Market <i>Chan Kwok-shing</i>	89

6. Recording a Rich Heritage: Research in Hong Kong's "New Territories" <i>Elizabeth L. Johnson</i>	103
Part II: Hong Kong and Its Relations With Modern China	115
7. The Contribution Made by Frederick Stewart (1836–1889) Through the Hong Kong Government Education System and Its Pupil, to the Modernization of China <i>Gillian Bickley</i>	117
8. The Use of Sinology in the Nineteenth Century: Two Perspectives Revealed in the History of Hong Kong <i>Wong Man-kong</i>	135
9. The Guangxi Clique and Hong Kong: Sanctuary in a Dangerous World <i>Diana Lary</i>	155
10. Business and Radicalism: Hong Kong Chinese Merchants and the Chinese Communist Movement, 1921–1934 <i>Chan Lau Kit-ching</i>	169
11. Made in China or Made in Hong Kong? National Goods and the Hong Kong Business Community <i>Chung Wai-keung</i>	185
12. Hong Kong's Economic Relations With China 1949–1955: Blockade, Embargo and Financial Controls <i>Catherine R. Schenk</i>	199
Notes	219
Chinese Glossary	265
Bibliography	273
Index	291

List of Illustrations

Figures

11.1	Hong Kong's promotion of Chinese products	189
11.2	Tin Chu in Hong Kong	190
11.3	Tin Chu and National Goods Movement	190
11.4	A <i>guohuo</i> label in Hong Kong I	195
11.5	A <i>guohuo</i> label in Hong Kong II	196
11.6	Strategy of Chinese products in Hong Kong I	197
11.7	Strategy of Chinese products in Hong Kong II	198
12.1	Tons of cargo in junks leaving Hong Kong	204
12.2	Hong Kong's trade with China 1949–55	205
12.3	Hong Kong's trade with China as a % of total trade	205

Tables

5.1	The subscription of shares in 1948	95
5.2	Names of the managing directors in the company	97
5.3	Names of the chairmen of the board of directors	97
7.1	Influence of Frederick Stewart (1836–1889) on Hong Kong education	118
7.2	A comparison of Hong Kong Chinese students studying western knowledge, and learning a western language (usually, English) in 1893 and March 1997	120
7.3	Hong Kong government Central School enrolments 1862–1905	121
7.4	Pupils in the Hong Kong government education system 1862–1889	129
7.5	Frederick Stewart and the Hong Kong government education system's direct influence on educational institutions in Hong Kong and China, 1862–	133

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INTRODUCTION

History of Hong Kong and History of Modern China: Unravelling the Relationship

Lee Pui-tak

The handover of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty in 1997 marked a new phase in Hong Kong's history. Politically, the new Special Administrative Region government was set up, and the quasi constitution Basic Law decreed that Hong Kong should be ruled under the principle of One Country Two Systems. Implicit was that China should keep its hands off Hong Kong's autonomous affairs. How have these political changes affected the analytical perspectives of historians? Many will say they have not seen many changes. To me, a student of modern Chinese history, it is clear we are at a crossroads of colonialism and nationalism, not knowing very clearly which direction to take. We cannot cut off the history of Hong Kong from modern China. The colonial history of Hong Kong can be viewed as important to the nationalistic history of China, and likewise, the nationalistic history of China can be viewed as important to the colonial history of Hong Kong. The histories of Hong Kong and modern China have been interwoven since Britain began the colonization of Hong Kong during the Opium War (1839–1842).

Hong Kong was a British colony for more than 150 years. An interesting question is how a small number of the British could successfully rule over the predominant majority of Chinese in Hong Kong? Apparently, Chinese collaboration played an important role. Hong Kong history

textbooks usually state that Britain used Hong Kong as a stepping-stone to the much bigger market in China. However, no historians have taken a close look at how Chinese merchants in Hong Kong followed the trail of the British. They had mutual benefits on the issue of China trade. We are accustomed to the idea that Hong Kong was a British colony, but actually it was a colony for China.¹ Not only British and Chinese merchants, but also the Chinese government was inclined to maintain the status of Hong Kong as a British colony from the birth of the Chinese Republic in 1912, through the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949, and even to the 1970s.

It is interesting to know how the Chinese elites in this colony responded to China politically, socially, culturally and economically. Many of them were trained in colonial Hong Kong but tapped by Chinese regimes at different times. For example, Tang Tingshu worked for Li Hongzhang in the Self-Strengthening Movement's programme on economic affairs in the late Qing period. Wu Tingfang and Wang Chonghui helped the new Chinese Republic in the 1910s to set up the diplomatic system, whereas Fu Bingchang and Chen Jintao helped in legal and finance systems, respectively. During the Sino-Japanese War and Civil War, a number of communist organizations like the Yuehua Company, the Eighth Route Army Hong Kong Office, and Dade College were set up in Hong Kong to organize underground activities against the Japanese as well as against the Guomindang in the colony. Comrades such as Liao Chengzhi, Lian Guan, Pan Hannian and Xu Dixin were sent to Hong Kong during that time.² Hong Kong helped every political party or regime in China. Even at present, finance and legal talents like Anthony Neoh (Liang Dingbang) continue to help China modernize its market and formulate its national monetary policy.³ So, history shows that the role of Hong Kong in modernizing China has been persistent.⁴

This book is divided into two main sections: the history of Hong Kong, and the history of Hong Kong with modern China. Each section consists of six substantial chapters.

The first two chapters, contributed by David Faure and Bernard Luk, deal with the topic of social and religious history, by looking at details of a neglected aspect of Hong Kong's society. They attempt to give a macro-view of the characteristics of Hong Kong history: the close connection with China (particularly South China) and the unique society of accommodating multi-cultures (also religion), by taking a micro perspective. Faure describes the formative influences, which created a pattern of living for working emigrants from China during the period 1880s–1930s. He gives detailed information on their housing, sanitation, employment, and wages, and

assesses the contribution made by this common people to Hong Kong's development and prosperity. It is noteworthy that the identity and defining characteristics of "common people" emerged in the process. Luk provides an historical overview of the relationship between religion and Hong Kong society, focusing on Christianity, Buddhism and Daoism during the three key periods: the beginnings of the city, the mid-twentieth century, and the 1970s. Luk highlights major religious activities in Hong Kong history, including liturgical worship, spiritual guidance, community service and social action.

Drawing upon the cultural differences, political standpoints, and different economic interests between the British and Chinese in the nineteenth century, Louis Ha and Fung Chi Ming provide full and interesting accounts of the debate at different levels of Sunday rest and double allegiance of the Chinese elites. Ha's chapter reviews arguments adduced by the opposing factions, against the background of Chinese religious and cultural difference, and the colonial government's need to balance Christian objections against local realities and the principal requirements of the growing port-city to secure its steady development. It is noteworthy that Hong Kong had an awareness in the 1870s of the potential competition from Shanghai in the shipping and harbour businesses. Fung's chapter describes the conflicting allegiances of the Chinese elites in the process of Sino-British diplomatic negotiations. He highlights the crisis, which occurred during 1911–1914 and describes how the two governors, Lugard and May, had different views over the issue.

Two chapters in this book touch on one specific region, the New Territories. Chan Kwok-shing's chapter demonstrates how the formation of Luen Wo Market was closely related to changes in agricultural land use in Hong Kong and to the government's agricultural policy which was made in response to the potential unrest in China in the late 1940s. The chapter also shows the dynamic process of creating and maintaining elite power on the local level in rural Hong Kong. Elizabeth Johnson's chapter provides a thoughtful survey of the historical, anthropological, cultural and religious studies of the New Territories' inhabitants, society and institutions, which have been conducted since the Second World War. Johnson emphasizes how research was naturally shaped by the political and economic development of the colony, and her chapter coincidentally complements well the one by Chan on Luen Wo Market.

Based upon archival and other relevant materials, Gillian Bickley provides a detailed account of the biography of Frederick Stewart (1836–1889), whose students contributed to the modernization of China during and

after his term as headmaster at Central School. Wong Man-kong discusses the different orientations and perspectives on the study of sinology by two prominent figures, James Legge (1815–1897) and Ernest John Eitel (1838–1908), both of whom conducted research and developed careers in the colony of Hong Kong. This paper successfully draws our attention to how these two sinologists, who had exceptional Chinese language skills, promoted the missionary cause and assisted the colonial government. Most likely, Stewart, Legge, and Eitel shared the same view that understanding China is the first step to helping China, as they put effort into translating Chinese classics, compiling dictionaries, and promoting Chinese education in Hong Kong.

In the twentieth century, the relationship of Hong Kong with China entered a new phase as political chaos and social unrest persistently occurred in China. Different political parties or regimes in China competed to establish their networks in Hong Kong. Diana Lary's chapter demonstrates that Hong Kong was a most useful refuge for China's southern warlords, an important channel for collecting and sharing information, for intrigue, and for the acquisition of money and armed supplies. These warlords, as Lary points out, "... had very little to do with Hong Kong's own history. They showed little interest in what was going on there ... Their only interest in the place was a stable, comfortable refuge." Lary shows that Hong Kong had not only played a positive role in the process of China's nation-building, but also played a negative role in bringing local chaos and civil war. Based upon different sources of information, Chan Lau Kit-ching's chapter provides a concise and convenient summary of the story of Hong Kong Chinese merchants' perceptions of, and responses to, the Chinese communist movement during 1921–1934. Chan persuasively demonstrates that the colony's Chinese merchants and populace dreaded Chinese communism, and more importantly, that the anti-communist sentiment during this period transcended social class division.

Chung Wai-keung discusses how Hong Kong presented itself to China and elsewhere in the world in terms of "guohuo" (Chinese national product), showing how problematic the notion of being "Chinese" could be in the colony. In this chapter, Chung describes the adverse effects on Chinese industrialists of producing manufactured goods in the British colony at a time of intense nationalist feeling among China's people and government, whereby their goods were not allowed free entry into the Chinese market. An ongoing campaign to publicize Hong Kong products as "national goods" failed in China but succeeded in Southeast Asia. This issue is quite meaningful when today Hong Kong industrialists are encouraged by the

newly launched “CEPA” programme (Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement) to boost the sale of Hong Kong products in China’s domestic market. Catherine Schenk addresses the impact of three shocks to the economic relations between Hong Kong and China during the period of 1949–1955, namely as trade embargoes, the Guomindang blockade of 1949–1950, and the freezing of Chinese-owned US trade balances in 1950. Schenk argues that the Guomindang naval blockade and financial controls were the important factors affecting the relationship between Hong Kong and China, balancing attention paid previously to the US / UN embargoes on trade with China in the 1950s. In this chapter, Schenk also examines and assesses the impact of smuggling between Hong Kong / Macau and China, which is a common issue today when the integration of the economies of Hong Kong, Macau, and Guangdong province is considered.

Index

- 1911 Revolution 84, 169
Abeel, David 138
Aplichau 21
Artisan Masons' Guild 25
Ashton, Samuel 62
- Bai Chongxi 157
Bank of China 215
Bank of England 199, 217
Barnes, W.D. 74
Basic Law 1, 88
Bell-Irving, J. 71
Birch, Alan 153
Blodget, Henry 147
Bombay 123
Bremer, Gordon 71
Bricklayers' Guild 25–26
Bridgman, Elijah Coleman 138
Britain (England, United Kingdom) 1, 45, 52, 53, 59–60, 62, 70, 71, 82, 87, 93, 107, 112, 117, 122, 153, 207, 211, 217
bubonic plague 132
Butterfly and Swire 176, 200–201
Butters, H.R. 32
- Canada 57
Canton (Guangzhou) 13, 16, 21, 24, 28, 42, 75, 78, 123, 162, 171, 173, 183, 188, 203, 209
Carpenters' Guild 25–26
Causeway Bay 31
Central School (Queen's College) 4, 44, 118–119, 121, 124, 127, 132, 154
Chadwick, Osbert 10, 12, 14
Chadwick Report 1882 10, 32
Chan Kai-ming 76
Chang Ming-chi 74
Chater, C.P. 71
Chau Siu-ki 76, 80
Chen Jintao 2
Chen Jiongming 156, 159, 163
Chen Jitang 162
Chen Lianbo 174
Cheng Siyuan 158
Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) 155, 159, 177
China (Mainland China) 1, 20, 31, 43–44, 48–49, 53, 57, 70, 73, 76, 82, 87, 90, 93, 103, 108, 117, 119, 121, 137, 145, 147, 167, 189, 201, 209, 213
China Mail 66, 123
China Products Company 193
Chinese Club 175
Chinese Language Movement 50
Chinese Manufacturers' Union of Hong Kong 188
Choa, G.H. 12
Chow Shou-son (Zhou Shouchen) 28–30, 165, 171
City Hall 18, 145, 147, 176
Civil War 166

- Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement (CPEA) 5
 Cohen, Maurice Two-Gun 164
 Colonial Office 12, 14, 17–19, 71, 73, 78, 208, 212
 Colonial Secretary 74, 83
 Colonial Surgeon 12–15, 17, 19, 21
 Communism 170, 174, 177, 182
- Dade College 2
 Daily Press 67
 Dalian 158, 164
 Deane, Walter Meredith 150
 Deng Xiaoping 161
 Deng Zhongxia 175
 Des Voesus, G W 61
 Des Voesus, William 122
 Diaoyutai Movement 50
 District Watch Force 44, 170, 180
 Dyer, Samuel 138
- East Asia 145, 197
 East India Company 137
 Edge, J C 60
 Eighth Route Army Hong Kong Office 2
 Eitel, E J 18–19, 138
 Elliott, Charles 72
 Endacott, G B 82, 152
 ethnic identity 9
 Eurasian 129
 Europe 54, 74, 108, 186
 Executive Council 14, 71, 170
- Fanling 90–91
 Fanling Rural Committee 98
 Fatshan 16
 Feng Yuxiang 158, 160, 165
 Fleming, Francis 62
 Foochow (Fuzhou) 123, 188
 Foreign Office 208, 212, 217
 Friend of China 58, 66
 Fu Bingchang 2
 Fujian 138
- Germany 77
 Gockchun, Philip (Guo Quan) 192
 Goldsmith, A G 61
 Guangdong (Kwangtung) 5, 28, 32, 34–35, 46, 48–49, 54, 92, 114, 138, 144, 153, 156, 158, 162, 170–171, 172, 177, 180, 194
 Guangzhou-Hong Kong-Strike Boycott 1925–26 175, 182
 Guangxi 46, 144, 155, 162
 Gutzalff, Karl 119, 138
- Hakka 113, 144
 Halifax, E R 74
 Hankou 188
 Hennessy, John Pope 12–13, 18, 23, 60, 125, 151
 Heung Yee Kuk 90–91, 98, 107
 Ho Fook 76
 Ho Kai 12, 17, 44, 70, 76, 78, 80, 84–85, 125–126
 Ho Tung 119, 125–126, 171, 181
 Hong Kong Buddhist Association 40–41
 Hong Kong Chinese Chamber of Commerce 30, 174, 192
 Hong Kong Civil Service 83
 Hong Kong College of Medicine 122
 Hong Kong culture 57
 Hong Kong education system 131
 Hong Kong Federation of Catholic Students 50
 Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce 61, 71, 148,
 Hong Kong government 40, 44, 47, 53, 55, 92–93, 117, 119, 135, 138, 149, 153
 Hong Kong Island 49
 Hong Kong Overseas Chinese National Goods Manufacturers' Union 186–187
 Hong Kong people 57, 73, 198
 Hong Kong police 177, 181

- Hong Kong products 191, 198
 Hong Kong Protestant Cemetery 119
 Hong Kong Taoist Association 41
 Hong Kong Tramway Company 84
 Hong Kong Seamen's Strike 1922 171
 Hong Kong Seamen's Union 171
 Hong Kong society 40, 47, 55, 69
 Hong Kong University 53, 80, 106, 181
 Hongkong Bank (HSBC) 199, 201, 203, 211, 215
 Hu Hanmin 75
 Huang Shaoxiong 157
- India 210
 Indonesia 188
 Ip Lan Chuen 191, 193
- Japan 77, 123, 208
 Japanese invasion (occupation) 55, 166, 186
 Jardine Matheson & Co. 71, 200, 215–216
 Justice of Peace 170
- Kennedy, Arthur 121, 124, 150
 Kennedy Town 31
 Korean War 156, 211
 Kotewall, Robert (Lo Xuhe) 165, 176, 181, 191
 Kowloon 36, 48–49, 109, 213
 Kowloon Walled City 48
 Kowloon-Canton Railway 77
 Kuo Sung Tao 124
- Lau Chu-pak 30, 76, 78, 80, 171, 181
 Lechler, Rudolf 144
 Legge, James 45, 120, 138
 Legislative Council 12, 20, 61, 63, 71, 75, 79–80, 81, 84–85, 148, 149, 170–171, 176
 Li Hongzhang 2
 Li Jishen 156
- Li Lisan 178
 Li Zongren 155, 165
 Lian Guan 2
 Liao Chengzhi 2
 Lo Pan Temple 24
 Lobscheid, William 138
 London 18, 62, 63, 147, 166, 208
 London Missionary Society 120, 135
 Luen Wo Land Investment Company Limited 91, 94
 Luen Wo Market 89, 94, 100
 Lugard, Frederick 70, 73
- Macau (Macao) 5, 13, 199, 203–204, 207, 212–213
 Malacca 13, 136, 137, 153
 Man Mo Temple 23, 43, 48
 Manila 207
 Mass Transit Railway 48
 Master Masons' Guild 24
 May, Francis Henry 70, 81, 83
 Merchant Corps Incident 1924 172, 174, 182
 Mongkok Workers' Children's School 55
 Morrison, Robert 136
 Mui-tsai problem 151
- Nam Pak Hong 20, 23–24, 180
 Nam Tau (Nantou) 21, 23, 42
 Nanjing 156, 159, 162, 188
 Neoh, Anthony (Liang Dingbang) 2
 Netherlands 93
 New Guangxi Clique 155
 New Territories 3, 20, 28, 42, 84, 89–90, 92–93, 103, 105, 107, 113, 134
 Ng Choy (Wu Tingfang) 2, 12, 44
 Ng Hon-tsz 76, 80
 Nicoll, J.F. 211
 North, Alfred 138
 Northern Expedition 155, 160, 167

- One Country Two Systems 1, 2, 88
 Owen, W.H. 31
- Pakistan 210, 214
 Pan Hannian 2
 Pang Fu-wah 96-97
 Peking (Beijing) 125, 160
 Penang 13
 Peng Pai 179
 Philippines 188
 Phillippo, George 121
 Po Leung Kuk 23, 43-44, 151-152,
 170, 172
- Regional Council 105
 Registrar General 14, 23, 27, 74
 Robinson, Hercules 149
 Robinson, William 131
 Rules and Regulations with respect to
 Chinese graves 19
- Saigon 13, 123
 Saiyingpun (Syngpun) 13, 24
 Sanitary Board 12, 17, 78, 80
 Sha Tau Kok 28, 91, 101, 111
 Shanghai 60, 78, 123, 138, 148, 158,
 164, 188, 192, 199-202, 204, 209,
 216
 Shantou 203
 Shatin 111
 Shek Wo Market 90
 Shektongtsui 24
 Sheung Shui 92-93
 Sheung Wan 73
 Singapore 123, 188, 202, 208
 Sino-British Joint Declaration 88
 Smith, Cecil Clementi 150
 South China 3, 46, 156, 166, 186
 Southeast Asia 136, 186, 188-189,
 194, 197
 Soviet Union (Russia) 158, 183, 207
 Star Ferry riots 49
 Stubbs, Reginald 171, 175
- Sun Chuanfang 163
 Sun Yat-sen 44, 77, 126, 129, 158,
 166, 172-173, 182-183
 Supreme Court 60, 152
 Surveyor General 12-14, 16-19
- Tai Po 107
 Taikoo Dockyard 34
 Taipingshan 10-11, 16, 22, 24, 43
 Taiwan 166
 Tang Tingshu 2
 Tarrant, William 148
 Thomson, Ross 28-30
 Tian Chu 189
 Tientsin (Tianjin) 123, 158, 160, 164,
 200-202, 204
 Tonnochy, Malcolm Struan 150
 Treaty of Nanking 71
 Tso Seen-wan 176
 Tsun Wan Daily News 45
 Tuen Mun 111
 Tung Wah Hospital 13, 23, 42-43,
 170, 172, 174, 176
- United Nations 199, 211, 213
 United States (America) 107, 166,
 186, 199, 202, 207, 209
 Urban Council 78
 urbanization 9
- Vietnam 188
- Wah Tsz Yat Po (Huazi ribao) 174,
 186
 Wanchai 18, 24, 34
 Wang Chonghui 2
 Wang Jingwei 159, 163
 Wang Ming 178
 Wang Tao 45
 War Office 14
 Wei Yuk 75-76, 78, 125
*What Hong Kong Chinese People Must
 Know* 36

Whyte, John Charles 59
Williams, Samuel Wells 148
Wilson, David 133
Wong Tai Sin Temple 48
Wright, George Bateson 119

Xiamen 188, 203
Xu Dixin 2

Yan Xishan 160
Yaumati 31
Young, G.M. 176
Yuan Shikai 182
Yuehua Company 2

Zhang Zongchang 163
Zhou Enlai 178