

RELUCTANT HEROES

Rickshaw Pullers in Hong Kong and Canton, 1874–1954

Fung Chi Ming

馮志明



香港大學出版社

HONG KONG UNIVERSITY PRESS

Hong Kong University Press
14/F Hing Wai Centre
7 Tin Wan Praya Road
Aberdeen
Hong Kong

© Hong Kong University Press 2005

ISBN 962 209 734 0

All rights reserved. No portion of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publisher.

Secure On-line Ordering
<http://www.hkupress.org>

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Printed and bound by Liang Yu Printing Co. Ltd., in Hong Kong, China

Contents

List of Illustrations	vii
Map of Pearl River Delta — Canton and Hong Kong, circa 1910	viii
Foreword	xi
Preface	xiii
Acknowledgements	xvii
Editorial Conventions	xix
Introduction	1
PART ONE: Across the Colonial Matrix	7
1 A City of Sojourners and Transients	9
2 The Urban Workplace and Street Politics	21
3 British Rule and Chinese Valiancy, up to 1926	37
PART TWO: Republican Canton, 1911–38	57
4 Evolution of a New Civic Paradigm	59
5 Partisan Politics and the 1927 Insurrection	77
6 Reforms on the Municipal Agenda in the 1930s	95
PART THREE: Within a Fast-Changing Context	111
7 Growing Passion for Change, up to 1941	113
8 Surviving in the Pacific War, 1937–45	129
9 Rise to the Postwar Zenith of Activism	143
10 Establishing a New Agenda, up to the 1950s	159
Conclusion	171
Abbreviations	181
Bibliography	185
Index	201

Illustrations

TABLES

2.1	Fares for public rickshaws in Hong Kong, 1882–1939	23
2.2	Rickshaw accidents in Hong Kong, 1922–39	29
3.1	Fees for Hong Kong rickshaw licences, 1901–39	40
4.1	Number of rickshaws in Canton, 1929–33	66
6.1	Hiring rates of public rickshaws in Canton, August 1935	97
7.1	Wholesale price index in Hong Kong, 1919–39	116
7.2	Number of registered vehicles in Hong Kong, 1896–1939	119
8.1	Licence fees of vehicles in Hong Kong, 1941–45	132
8.2	Retail prices of food in Hong Kong, 1941–42	135
9.1	Fees for rickshaw maintenance and repairs, 1946	146
9.2	Retail prices in Hong Kong, 1939, 1946 and 1947	149
9.3	Number of registered vehicles in Hong Kong, 1946–47	150
10.1	Retail prices of rice in Canton, 1948	161

FIGURES

2.1	Gatherings at roadside food stalls, 1952	33
7.1	Cartoon depicting downward social mobility, 1935	120
8.1	Receipt of Hong Kong and Kowloon Ricksha Syndicate, 1943	131

PHOTOS

2.1	Queen's Road, looking west from Hillier Street, 1910s	22
2.2	Waiting to offer service on Hong Kong's Praya, 1937	27
2.3	Commuters at the ferry pier of Tsimshatsui, 1937	28
2.4	Taking a break from rickshaw pulling, 1937	34
4.1	Demolishing the ancient city walls of Canton, 1918	63
4.2	Yat Tak Road, former site of the Southern Outer Wall	63
4.3	A stretch of Canton's celebrated Pearl River, 1920s	65
4.4	Recruiting men as carriers for army transport, 1920s	72
4.5	Acts of violence of the Canton Police Force, 1920s	74

Introduction

IN 1867, the first rickshaw was thrown together in Japan by an American Baptist missionary, Jonathan Goble (1827–96). A cycle transport balanced on two wheels and pulled by the strength of one person, the rickshaw found its way to Hong Kong in 1874, only several years after its invention (*Hongkong Times* January 23, 1874). In the nearby city of Canton, the rickshaw was tried out for public transport at least as far back as 1906, when a road connecting the city proper with the eastern suburb some miles away was constructed to completion (*Wah Tsz Yat Po* March 29, 1906). Since then, profound changes have taken place in the region's socio-economic landscape. Today, rickshaws have disappeared under the effect of urban sprawl, but a century ago they were everyday transport. A stroll around town at all hours of the day and night would prove their popularity, their number on the rise, reaching 3,411 in Hong Kong and 3,600 in Canton in 1924 respectively (*Hongkong Administration Report* 1924, K-9; *GZSSZGB* January 1, 1924, 8–10).

This book is an exposition and analysis of the history of those plying rickshaws for hire. It is at the same time a study of the development of the Chinese community and the relationship between people, and between society and state. Hong Kong and Canton are selected for consideration, partly because rickshaws were more densely utilized in these two cities than anywhere in the delta of the Pearl River. Also, the critical mass of pullers therein had a lot in common. They shared in a regional cultural paradigm, in particular concerning a historic pattern of native-place and speech-group alignment. Important, too, is the fact that Hong Kong and Canton were two very different, yet interwoven, metropolises in China's southern frontier. As Canton is just eighty miles northwest of Hong Kong, and it takes only an hour's travel by train to go from one place to another, the twin cities have frequent contact of various sorts. This interconnectedness makes them an ideal pair for comparison.

There existed, without being immediately apparent, a noticeable level of rickshaw activism, in ways we never thought possible. Although in many cases it was less advanced in leadership and organization, it came to the forefront of the public domain, perhaps most spectacularly in Hong Kong in 1884 and in

Canton in 1927, when the pullers clashed with the state authorities in one of the most violent insurrections ever recorded. In asserting and defending their interests in the workplace, like any other social group in the city, rickshaw pullers were capable of effective mobilization for the attainment of common goals. If it is recognized that at least a sizable number of pullers did play an active role in urban social movements, then one thing that is obviously missing is a nuanced account of the circumstances that drove them in that direction. The crucial question is not only *what* happened as such, but rather *why* and *for what*. Exactly *how* labor organization emerged, on what scale and in what forms, is unquestionably worth exploring.

In undertaking a study of this nature, the genesis of mobilization has of necessity to be dealt with. We have occasion to elucidate the subcultures of the pullers, but for the present, a few of their characteristics are worth attention. Although the pullers (most often of rural origin) met with an initial uprooting from their home, they were not cut off from the traditional safety nets that they could resort to in times of need or trouble. In the urban milieu, they pursued new goals by renewing old contacts and making new ones. This pattern of urban assimilation involved a network of kin/quasi-kin loyalties, which interacted with other factors to deal with the problems arising from the urban workplace. An illustration of this is Canton in the mid-1920s, when political activists enlisted their kin by manipulating dialect, home place, and boarding-house bases of joint action. Similarly, the Hong Kong pullers, on their own initiative, formed a union on a native-place basis in the late 1930s, in protest of an increase of vehicle rent and lodging charges.

Low skilled yet partially self-employed, the pullers relied on entrepreneurial flair and physical stamina to ply for business, thus bridging the culture of hawkers and pure physical labor. Without owning the rickshaws they drew, they were “proletarian” — let us provisionally retain this term established by usage — in the true sense of lacking possession of the means of their livelihood. It follows from this analysis that they had the objective conditions conducive to radical mass movement. Yet, as most pullers had been tenant farmers deprived of their traditional means of living because of misfortunes, land hunger, and/or banditry, they had little or no prior experience with modern wage-work and were far from being part of the progressive working class. They were therefore proletariat and yet very non-proletariat, such that neat and exact definitions and delineations are difficult and elusive. Perhaps no other occupation has such stark duality. No wonder just such enigmatic and peripheral — if that is the word — yet centrally important people need to be given much more proportionality.

If there is something exceptional about the pullers, was there anything unique and unusual about their styles of joint action and their relations with

state authorities? It will be observed that the pullers were vulnerable to the brutal acts of those in uniform and the competition of other means of conveyance, everything from cars to pedicabs. These facts remind us to think about how the workplace put the common people right in the midst of a volatile urban process, and how extensively and in what ways the shifts in the holders of political power came into play. The work presented here will, I think, lead towards a richer understanding of urban living through a comparative study of the historic pattern of adaptation into the urban workplace, the powers of the state, and the repertoire of mass activism. By glimpsing how certain “small potatoes” of the city population struggled against their adversities and became a political force to be reckoned with, this book will find much to disturb the prevailing wisdom of a familiar insurrection and the old paradigm of power relations imbedded in class or capital.

This book lets rickshaw pullers take center stage and explores the experiences of living that the pullers fell back on. As the pullers dealt with a clientele that comprised people from high to low classes, of both sexes and all ages and races, they offer an ideal locus for exploring the dynamics and politics occurring on the street. The pullers faced and felt, first-hand and very deeply, the consequence of changing customer tastes and the tyranny of the machine age that affected them financially, and the entry into their business from among the jobless. Partially self-employed or privately employed, they were subjected not just to patron-client and employer-employee problems but also to the directives and regulations of the state, and the state’s main arm, the police. This book will produce a more complex and dynamic account of the labor world than the more conventional view of alienation and class stratification would suggest. Beyond the dualism of opposing class interests, there is a need to explore the ensemble of curiously ambivalent relationships, through an analysis of the defining characteristics of the urban workplace.

The choice of the book title is not without forethought. Again and again it will be found that there would seem to be an involuntary, even unwanted, element to the pullers’ activism, as well as their position and participation in urban mass movements. Their collective shows of force were, if not a definite solution to, an authentic expression of their grievances against destitution — out of sheer economic necessity. Put differently, their preoccupation with problems of livelihood, income, and prices constituted a common dominator that led all other causes of protests by a wide margin. At various times, they were spurred into collective action that hardly escaped the eyes of the public but were simultaneously pushed into the quagmire of city politics, suffering great losses in the political storms. Possibly, they would have preferred leading quiet — almost anonymous — lives instead of undergoing the moments of cheers and tears and becoming victimized by the reshuffles of power, if they had a choice. Hence the title of this book, *Reluctant Heroes*.

Hong Kong and Canton are culturally close and yet conceptually very distinct. For all its fame (or notoriety) as a British crown colony won for mercantile interests, Hong Kong was a thriving yet comparatively stable entrepôt where colonial *laissez-faire* took root and flourished. However, the showcase image of perpetual prosperity and sustained stability reveals only half-truths. Social cohesion and material advancement were in danger of going up in flames, and the proliferation of fissures due to societal complexity could, and did, lead to civil unrest. Returning to the subject of this study, as time went by, when owners and contractors of rickshaws gradually lost their self-acclaimed legitimacy as protectors for the pullers, the pattern of strikes and boycotts of short duration was followed by the occurrence of more protracted maneuverings. To throw light on the way of life of colonial Hong Kong, one needs to examine the European ideas of law and order, racism and dogmatism, and a criminal justice system reinforced by the power of a non-native minority.

In the recent past, Canton was a base area of uprisings against the Qing Dynasty, the headquarters of the Northern Expedition, and the site of some of the largest strikes in the history of China. The warlord regimes in early Republican times were followed by the reforming and revolutionary government of Sun Yat Sen (Sun Yixian 孫逸仙, 1866–1925) which sought mass support through promised assistance to workers and peasants. Later, the Nationalist authorities tried to conciliate labor with certain compromises, proposals for reforms, and rules for interest groups. During the second half of the 1940s, the social control mechanism undermined the strength of unionism and eclipsed to some extent employer-employee conflicts. Since 1949, societal change has proceeded at a far greater rate than ever before. In this book, attention is given to how the factor of state intervention affected the situation, and I make comparisons across both space and time. As this book involves colonial Hong Kong, in contrast to national-cum-nationalistic Canton, the changing qualities of everyday life brought forth by political parameters cannot be overlooked.

Hong Kong was a British emporium gained through imperialist conquest, whereas Canton was a treaty port opened by force of arms to foreign trade and residence. An analysis of the two cities with such a marked presence of Westerners would almost immediately propel us into a reflection upon the all too familiar subject of China's intercourse with the West, which was something of a love-hate relationship.¹ In this book, an emphasis is placed on what relationships there were between imported initiatives and local circumstances, and where treaty-port colonialists and capitalists (Chinese and Western) fitted in. These are important not only if one wishes to gain a more balanced perspective of the actual influence of foreignism; they also provide food for

1. For an exploration of different perspectives, see Cohen (1984, 97–147); Ho (1991, 87–104); Scalapino (1999, 1–15).

thought on the relative influence of exogenous forces in contrast to native elements. It will be seen, on close examination, that certain foreigners — and Chinese — got involved in activities based on considerations that they believed to be beneficial to Chinese people rather than at their expense.

The format of this book combines thematic and chronological approaches. Part One (“Across the Colonial Matrix”) sets Hong Kong in its historical setting. The opening chapter plunges the reader headfirst into the immigrant and sojourning urban Chinese community in Hong Kong and the socio-economic accommodation of rural in-migrants to life in the urban workplace. Chapter 2 pieces together the multitude of environments of the workplace on the street, a contested social drama in which people from all walks of life came into play. Chapter 3 stands by itself as a historical and socio-structural analysis of the colonial way of life in the context of the European sense of mastery, the government rules and regulations placed on the residing Chinese, the administration of law and judicial penalties, racial prejudices, and stereotypes, thus bringing together many facets of the old colonial situation into a readable focus.

Part Two concerns itself with Republican Canton. Chapter 4 elucidates the mixture of new and old influences, the inhabitants and new constructions rapidly on the increase, and a new socio-political situation that meant greater opportunities for élite and mass participation in city politics. In chapter 5, we analyze the growing radicalization of rickshaw activism during the early and mid-1920s, on a scale and degree of militancy not seen in the past. This chapter explains how the pullers became politically engaged and produced the revolutionary epic of the short-lived Canton Soviet in 1927 — an experience both heroic and heart-rending for them. Chapter 6 delineates the impulses for and ultimate failure of rickshaw reforms under the auspices of the Canton administration up to 1938, an experience that impresses upon us the importance of favorable state intervention for major and rapid advance in reforms.

Part Three (“Within a Fast-Changing Context”) examines a period when clouds hung over the fate of the rickshaw. Chapter 7 dwells on the efforts to lessen the sum of human misery in inter-war Hong Kong. In so doing, we shed some light on the priorities for governmental action. Chapter 8 gives an account of the wartime when the streets were, rather awkwardly, cleared of motor vehicles to the benefit of rickshaws. Chapter 9 deliberates on the repeated negotiations between pullers and owners for a settlement on the rickshaw rent question in post-war Hong Kong. Chapter 10, focusing on Canton, discusses the increasing use of pedicabs in place of rickshaws that had led, over a period of years, to a sharp reduction in the population of pullers. This book in conclusion places the subject of study into the wider theoretical debates of the social sciences and brings out broader issues whose significance extends far beyond Canton and Hong Kong.

Conclusion

WE END, as we began, with the historic pattern of urban assimilation that provides a gateway to a deeper understanding of Chinese life. During the period under study, the heterogeneity of the Chinese in Hong Kong and Canton was evidenced by the traditional kinship-based migration pattern, the subethnic differences, competition and exclusion that prevailed in certain occupations, and the areal concentration of members of the same hometown and speech groups. These factors meant little meaningful interaction among many different social types, despite years of coexistence. The close personal touch at home and workplace locales, such as the rudimentary gatherings in roadside stalls, provided not only the conditions for the emergence of a defensive cultural repertoire among the early immigrants but, more important still, a basis on which supportive networks developed. In an analysis of collective action and identity construction, Harrison White talks of the presumptive hypothesis of “catnet” that makes rapid and low-cost mobilization possible:

Given the catnet tendencies toward focusing and alignment of relations, it becomes easier and more common to perceive indirect relations with a wider segment of the population around. One reckons relations through clique memberships and the like, that is through the latent relationships, rather than tracing out some of the usually long chains of concrete ties that would be necessary to ‘reach’ most other persons in the system. The network comes to be projected in perception into a net among the clusters or cliques, with persons in a clique treated as equivalent unless there is some short actual path to a given one. (White 1992, 64)

The “catnet” situation seems pertinent in the subject matter with which this study is primarily concerned. Having left their rural homes to lead a floating life in the city, while maintaining their separate cultural identities, the rickshaw pullers saw the city not as a home but typically a place of sojourn away from home. They were particularly illuminating of the interaction of class, kinship, and dialect loyalties, which were (as are often the case) situationally and instrumentally selected for adoption as part of a survival strategy in daily social

transactions. Parochial outlooks, both symbolic and organizational, made for a situation in which the common descent collectivities generated narrowly defined identities and banded together for protecting their in-group interests. In cases of conflict and strife, they readily answered the call for mutual assistance.

In Hong Kong and Canton, where a sizeable portion of the population was migrants or transients during the period concerned, socio-cultural affinities brought together clanspeople of different life experiences and class origins. The multifaceted social and industrial life involved the owners/contractors of means of production, not just as bosses and brokers but also fellow regionals, negotiators with police authorities, and providers of dormitory accommodation, drugs, and loans as well. Thus the lords or headmen of the coolie working people defy easy categorization and cannot be adequately represented in a holistically positive or negative image, as they were simultaneously a source of protection and exploitation. A situation was thus frequently created in which class polarity, if any, did not harden into normal practice. Similarly, as in Singapore where the hegemony of rickshaw owners over the pullers remained strong, aggressive action against archaic management practices did not occur until 1938 in response to a rent increase (Warren 1986, 123-4).

The present study furnishes significant proof of the central importance of native-place and speech-group networks on the formation of an identity of camaraderie to make mobilization for collective action. These commonalities threaded through the assimilation into city life, the mobilization of rural immigrants, and the resolution of patron-client conflicts. The kinship ties found expression in a diversity of domestic and non-domestic contexts, from labor recruitment to occupational specialization, from residential segregation to clandestine brotherhoods. If one were to relate these findings to the recent scholarship on Chinese urban and social history, for instance, the sojourning leaders and followers of the Heaven and Earth Society (Murray 1994, 178-9), and the even more marginalized people such as the sworn brothers of banditry (Billingsley 1988, 175-7), one might conclude that the sense or identity of mutual aid fraternity, based on dialect, place of origin, and kin/pseudo-kin ties, is perhaps the most important organizing factor at the grassroots level of the Chinese community, locally and in a broader context.

Right in the middle of the social milieu, the pullers took to the street in protest at different times, manifesting everything from peaceful petitions to walkouts, from anti-foreign boycotts to sympathy strikes, from acts of civil disobedience to a hopefully revolutionary insurrection. This noticeable level of activism sprang directly from the pullers' harsh realities of daily life on the street, subjected not just to client-customer and employer-employee problems but also the directives and regulations of the state. Perhaps the worst oppressors (and targets of wrath) of the pullers were not the owners but the police, the gangsters,

and the culturally mixed clientele. Thus, the tentacles of overlap and interaction with the whole become much more important to the pullers' awakening process than class itself. Instead of portraying a dichotomous characterization defined in class entities, a dynamic view of the urban grassroots that accords due attention to their particular life situations and multilayered social relations must be more rewarding for an exploration of the petty urbanites.

In much of this book, an attempt is made to examine the historical development of the Chinese community. The activity, or rather inactivity, of the pullers in the course of social and economic change shows that any descriptive generalization about their history is likely to be accurate only for a certain period. From 1883 to 1926, the Hong Kong pullers launched collective protests on their own on no less than ten occasions, just like any other group. At any given time, their protests (or the lack thereof) provided a backdrop for observing legal and administrative frameworks of the day. Indeed, following the 1925–26 general strike, a repressive attitude toward organized labor set in, as evinced in the imminent enactment of the Illegal Strikes and Lock-outs Ordinance and the stricter enforcement of the Societies Ordinance. Between Marco Polo Bridge, 1937, and Pearl Harbor, 1941, and beyond, as the bosses/brokers gradually lost their self-acclaimed legitimacy as protectors for the pullers, the pattern of strike actions of short duration was followed by the occurrence of more protracted protests.

The foreign officials governing Hong Kong held a morally superior attitude toward the residing Chinese, trying to impose and enforce their views of how the people should behave. This "civilizing" mission often found form in unwelcome laws and regulations that were seen as an intrusion and would serve as a stimulus for belligerent mass sentiments. Similarly, as in quasi-colonial Shanghai, there were rickshaw protests motivated by opposition to licensing and traffic regulations in 1897 and 1917, and foreign police abuse in 1911 (Chesneaux 1968; Shen 1991). In British-ruled Singapore, there were owner-led strikes and riots against licensing regulations, owner liability for breaches of traffic rules and court penalties, in 1897, 1901 and 1903 respectively (Warren 1986, 85, 105–12). In Hong Kong, the only explicit cases of anti-government owner action were in 1928 and 1946 about off-street parking and mandatory re-registration.¹ The colonial state, as a recipient of hostility from disparate sections of the population, inadvertently promoted a "rainbow" coalition in the form of petitions, strikes, or boycotts of a crippling kind.

1. See *Wah Tsz Yat Po*, July 20, 1928, for the owners' request for space wherein their rickshaws could be parked off-street at night and taken out in the morning. See *Hwa Shiang Pao*, September 20, 1946, for a description of the owners' request for additional rickshaw licenses.

Formerly, Hong Kong was a British crown colony where the foreign section of the population was accorded special privileges. Yet, the influence of homegrown forces cannot be underestimated. Indeed, the cultural and institutional influences were overwhelmingly Chinese and deeply rooted in Chinese historical reality. Taking the rickshaw trade as an example, we see that it operated for decades solely and characteristically with Chinese capital, Chinese labor, and Chinese management. At no time was there a rickshaw firm, either directly or indirectly, owned or capitalized by Westerners, either with a view to obtaining finance or a market for the trade. Presumably, foreign investors far outstripped their Chinese counterparts in areas where they could expect to secure for themselves some competitive advantages, such as access to overseas markets or technological information. In any case, even if they invested in Chinese trades, they hardly became directly involved in actual transactions and partook of profits and, rather, would have had to rely on their native intermediaries such as compradors. An editorial comment of a Hong Kong daily, as early as 1926, is worthy of our attention:

The lying charge is frequently made that foreigners exploit Chinese labour. In actual fact, the employees of foreigners enjoy conditions that are comparatively princely. The contrasts can be observed in Hong-kong. A foreigner's houseboy earns about \$25 per month, plus squeeze. His fellow in Chinese employ is lucky if he gets \$10 per month. The same contrasts are to be seen in commercial concerns, banks, etc. (*South China Morning Post* December 11, 1926)

There is no doubt an element of truth in this observation, though anything close to a conclusive statement of the full picture would have to await further research. In a city as varied as Hong Kong, where the gap between the labor aristocracy and the lowest elements of the job market could be as great as that between Chinese and Europeans, one must be circumspect when making generalizations. However, it appears justifiable to say that members of the foreign mercantile community were not the only capitalists who made money out of misfortune. If they did so, their Chinese counterparts could be just as ghoulish, taking unfair advantage of their privilege to pay themselves as much as they could get away with.

The largely missionary-led efforts intent on improving the lot of the Hong Kong pullers in the late 1920s and 1930s seemed minor compared with the mounting magnitude of the problem. Bishop Valtorta and a few clergy pumped much aid into poverty-alleviation works, finding only later that they could never mean more than a partial solution to the problems of the rickshaw trade. In Shanghai, too, the Municipal Council's attempts to produce comfortable and clean rickshaws with contented coolies were stoutly and successfully resisted

by the owners and intermediaries with Green Gang connections (Wright 1991, 76–111; Roux 1993, 86–98). And in Tianjin, existing literature reveals neither government reform initiatives nor pullers' protests against police or owner abuses, unfortunately because of powerful gangster control (Hershatter 1986, 130). From another area, but also relevant, studies of mobilization have shown that the state always makes its choices about, if not between, tolerance and repression:

Governments respond selectively to different sorts of groups, and to different sorts of actions. Sometimes the discriminations are fine indeed: the same government which smiles on church services bringing together a thousand people assembled to pray for salvation shoots without hesitation into a crowd of a thousand workers assembled to pray for justice. (Tilly 1978, 106)

Although the colonial officials in Hong Kong, and those at Home, had the resources and determination to curtail the buying and selling of *mui-tsai* (indentured girls) for prostitution and other vices, they did not as yet have the same degree of interest in applying the same policy concern to rickshaw reforms. In this way, they did not play an otherwise potentially more positive role. Thus it is not an over-statement to claim that rickshaw reform initiatives crumbled not because there was too much foreign influence but in part perhaps because there was not enough of it.

During the period in question, the form of pullers' protests taken depended very largely on the circumstance pertaining to the regional milieu, varying with time and place. Although Hong Kong was sensitive to the trammels of Chinese politics and not unproductive of community conflicts, it was in no way as politically turbulent as Canton. From the early to mid-1920s, the Canton pullers not only followed the general pattern of the civic strife but also played an active and centrally important role as the vanguard of a Communist insurgency. They reached the extreme of radical action in a frontal attack on police stations, on a scale never before seen, out of revenge for the abuses to which they were vulnerable. In contrast, in Italy, Germany, and France, the mobilization of new *émigrés* during the rebellious century of 1830–1930 was rendered extremely difficult by the absence of communication, organization, and leadership:

There is no tendency for recent migrants to Italian, German, and French cities to become exceptionally involved in movements of protest or in collective violence; on the contrary, we have some small indications of their underinvolvement. . . . Communication, organization, and leadership take a long time to build up. (Charles, Louise, and Richard Tilly 1975, 269)

In early republican Canton, the pullers who had come directly from the rural villages might be predicted, at first glance, to be the less likely to get immediately involved in any significant movement of collective protest. The initial, albeit important, work to ameliorate the pullers' misery was not started by the Communists, the Nationalists, or any other political group, but by foreign Shameenese and missionaries who made it their business to minister to the poor. Indeed, the pullers of rural origins were notably free of outside political leadership up to the May Fourth period. Shortly thereafter, however, the pullers became the mainstay and flagship segment of the urban movement and repeatedly stood up to the police and politicians of the Guomindang and warlord governments who used to push them around — actions beyond our wildest imagination. Put differently, the pullers had, during the early and mid-1920s, achieved what few thought possible. A plausible explanation of the Canton phenomenon is certainly called for.

Throughout this enquiry, one has been especially struck by the role of historic ties of dialect and clan groupings in reducing the atomizing effects of rural-urban migration and facilitating the formation of new organizational nexuses. Residential proximity, clan assistance in job search, and other aspects of urban assimilation accentuated the ease of communication and organization among the rural in-migrants who were otherwise total strangers. It was these supportive networks of kin/quasi-kin personal connections that many *déclassé émigrés* found themselves lacking. The Communists supplied the kind of leadership the pullers needed that would enhance their capability to make an impressive involvement in the political process. Blessed as they were with the right conditions for radical mass action, the South China *émigrés* skipped the stage of taking a long time to embrace collective action of a partisan and revolutionary nature. In a synthesis of mobilization models, Anthony Oberschall takes note of the possibility that a conflict group escapes the cost of starting at “zero mobilization”:

Groups may already be organized in such a way that substantial amounts of individual resources are routinely allocated through existing associations and leadership for group ends. As the opportunity arises, existing leadership and organizations can then rapidly commit mobilized resources to new group goals, and can expand the reach of their mobilizing effort at low costs by making use of existing networks among group members. (Oberschall 1993, 58)

The empirical material that I have gathered in my research bears testimony to the existing leadership and organization among the Canton pullers, whose political showing in the early to mid-1920s certainly did not begin from “zero mobilization.” Their early socialization in the metaphorical notions of kinship

and common dialect/homeplace origin, well entrenched prior to their migration to the city, served to reinforce communal cohesion so effectively. Indeed, were it not for these traditional security nets, which the Communist activists consciously utilized, the pullers' political action would probably not have had such rapid results. It is almost certain that the pullers' militant action and belligerent mood, if not given a political coherency and strategy, would have been of limited character; conversely, it could be developed into direct action breaking into open rebellion.

A bottom-up perspective leads one to remedy the interpretative imbalance arising from the top-down approaches to the study of the Canton Insurrection, which have centered on the notions of "proletarian hegemony" and "leftist putchism." In short, one must look to the fabric of everyday life for an understanding of the pullers' political involvement. It was the show of anger against buses and police, apart from the success of an organizing élite *per se*, which gave force to their dormant inclination to riot. Although street conflicts formed an indispensable precondition of revolutionary movement, the latter was not a natural outcome of the former but rather required for its emergence the impulse of labor organizers. This observation does not mean to deprecate the Party's ability to mobilize; rather the opposite. It is suggested that the pullers' heavy involvement in the Canton Insurrection was due to the Party's organizational prowess for overt protests. It is only with these considerations in mind that the political emergence of the pullers, which at first sight seems puzzling, can make sense.

Viewed from this perspective, it comes as no surprise that the pullers became an element to be reckoned with in the urban revolutionary movement before they could be included in the category of industrial proletariat. Although in most instances they were unskilled and less formally organized than many other social types, they demonstrated time and again that they, too, were capable of collective action and making the public and even the state an unwilling victim. "Still," it has been said, "the backbone of committed constituents for the revolutionary labor movement remained the more favored workers — white-collar employees and factory artisans in particular" (Perry 1993, 129). One is tempted to say, however, that this diagnostic statement reveals at most a half-truth. The Canton pullers, although predominantly illiterate and downtrodden, were by no means poor material for radical action. In South China, where modern factories were relatively few in number and various forms of heavy manual labor were a way of life in public places, others who worked on the street are certain to attract more attention in the future.

The republican rickshaw activism generally increased with the post-May Fourth enlargement of the new civic politics, and ultimately these extreme actions were in significant part a product of the new claimants to power directing

the urban masses in a manner to enhance their position and influence. In both Canton and Beijing, for instance, we see the most radical actions taking place in 1927 and 1929 respectively: a communist-led armed insurrection and a tramcar-wrecking riot premeditated by union activists (Strand 1989, 239–83). In Shanghai, in 1927 a rickshaw union was formed in conjunction with the leftist GMD liberation of the Chinese sector; yet as the rightists subsequently utilized the gangster underworld to clamp down on organized labor, the rickshaw union was quickly dissolved (Li 1997, 21–7). The irony was made even more bitter as the pullers were faced with the choice of obtaining situational gains and rendering themselves vulnerable to political repression at various intervals. And this further suggests that the title of this book is, if anything, more relevant than ever.

Post-1927 Canton experienced a different situation. Politically, the new civic leaders who had directed the masses to usurp power from the ruling elements went out the window following the Nationalist accession to state power. The more stringent labor legislation and social control within Chinese society, together with the spread of motor traffic and the endless supply of surplus labor, engendered the pullers' increased vulnerability in relation to the state, the bosses, and the brokers. Although the Canton pullers' grievances against falling income and living standards never disappeared, during the 1930s, the GMD authorities tried to co-opt or channel tensions through state-sponsored unionism and advise the rickshaw union on how it should develop. The impulse towards unionism came not from organized labor but rather from the "interference" of meddling politicians and bureaucrats who saw the need to end social unrest and gave priority to class reconciliation. In Hong Kong, where the colonial state remained true to a *laissez-faire* tradition in its social policy, such partial state accommodation simply did not occur.

In leaving little space for the public sphere, the GMD authorities determined two trends of development in a way detrimental to all vestiges of civil autonomy. First, as a general rule, independent voluntary organizations and the private sector lost much of their clout in domestic politics. The rightists' attempts to eliminate dissent, made possible by the resurgence of state power, led to a downgrading of the adversarial role of the trade union and its manipulation as a tool for keeping order within the social system. The rickshaw union formed in Canton in 1936, patronized by government-picked representatives from the Labor Training Bureau and scrutinized by the Canton branch of the GMD, served as the embodiment of an official concern for social-political stability. It was designed as an obedient instrument the government needed to direct the pullers' grievances toward the "right path." It would be too much to expect this quasi-governmental union to push the state to change policies, and union activism certainly was no automatic panacea for the problems inherent in the trade.

Second, at a more general level, this study points out the need for state intervention in any type of significant social reform. In this light, we can perhaps see why the long-awaited rickshaw ownership scheme ended in failure. Financial and political limitations made impossible the implementation of reforms in any radical manner. The rickshaw union formed in Canton in 1936 was actually at best quasi-autonomous, although at times it showed an inclination towards the autonomous articulation of pullers' interests. The union was an intention of the state, its effectiveness left to the goodwill of the party and government agencies of the Nationalist authorities. Although it might be a way of giving advice to the ruling class, it was impaired as a means of mobilization antipathetic to government decision and policy. Unless the initiative and full cooperation of the bureaucratic state was assured, rickshaw reforms were doomed to failure. Eventually, the progress of reforms aimed at helping the pullers to get out of poverty was cut short by the war of resistance against Japan.

Once we accept that social reforms became enmeshed with and predicated upon the intervention, or the lack thereof, of the state machinery, the demise of the Canton rickshaw becomes more understandable. As we saw in chapter 10, the pullers were not only victimized by transport technology but also were a target of rhetorical denunciation. The imposition of state corporatism during the second half or so of the 1940s involved the replacement of rickshaws by pedicabs. This deliberately eliminated rickshaws, which otherwise could have lingered on, operating at a lower rate than pedicabs because the capital cost of manufacturing the rickshaws had already been amortized. Another turning point came with the establishment of the People's Republic, which displayed a degree of state intrusion into everyday life never before seen. Now that the rickshaw was stigmatized as an epitome of capitalist exploitation of the treaty-port era, the rickshaw rapidly passed out of existence in the 1950s, and with it a long-forgotten occupational category.

Index

- Aberdeen, 26
Agrarian crisis, 96
Alcohol, 17, 25, 44, 97n1
Amahs, 23
Anarchism and anarchists, 78, 95
Anguijin 按櫃金 (cash deposit), 19, 124, 145–8, 150, 162
Animals, cruelty to, 115
Anle 安樂, 100
Anti-Mui Tsai Society (Fandui xubihui 反對蓄婢會), 115
Anton Street, 122
Arrests
 of Communists, 85, 89, 91
 of pedicab owner, 140
 of rickshaw passenger, 25
 of rickshaw pullers, 21, 41, 45, 47, 51, 71, 75, 140
 of suspected political exiles, 113
Arsenal Street, 24
Artisans, xiv, 62, 177
Assassination, 89
Assault. *See* Intimidation; Kidnapping; Violence
Association of Ricksha Workers of Hong Kong (Xianggang renliche zonggonghui 香港人力車總工會), 18, 146–8, 151–4
Association of Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers (Gongnongbing banshichu 工農兵辦事處), 90
Automobile. *See* Motor car

Badeley, Francis Joseph, 49
Baker, Kenneth Alan, 152–3

Ball, James Dyer, 10, 37
Bang 幫 (gang), 60–1
Bank of Canton, 107
Baojia 保甲 (mutual security system), 70
Beggars
 in Canton, 64, 89
 in Hong Kong, 118
Beijing (Peking) 北京, xiv, 77–8, 95, 178
Bergère, Marie-Claire, 167
Billingsley, Phil, 172
Blackouts, 130, 133–4
Boat or sampan dwellers
 in Canton, 62, 64–5, 68–9, 76
 in Hong Kong, xiv, 10, 21, 38, 43, 54
Bonham Strand, 12, 17
Border control, 9, 130
Bowrington Canal, 24
Boycotts
 anti-American, 46–7, 54–5, 68
 anti-British, 52–3, 113–4
 anti-French, 43–4, 54, 126
 (*See also* Protests)
Brewin, Arthur Wimbolt, 48–9
Bribery. *See* Corruption
British and Foreign Bible Society, 80
British Malaya, 116
Brothels, 17, 26, 39, 75
Brotherhood, sense of, 31, 35, 172
Bubonic plague, 9, 14
Burial expenses, 16, 61, 87
Burkwall, Revd H. O. T., 79–80
Burma, 130

- Bus, 12–3, 17, 23, 62, 63p, 65–8, 73, 82, 85, 87–8, 93, 96, 105, 130–1, 133, 144, 150, 167, 177
- Butters, Henry Robert, 114, 123
- Buzhumi* 補助米 (relief rice ration), 164
- C. C. Clique, 168
- Cadet officer, 114, 124
- Cai Fangong 蔡璠恭, 101
- Caine Road, 117
- Cangue, 40
- Canton (Guangzhou) 廣州
- alleyways in, 59, 64, 106
 - ancient walls in, 62–4
 - boat or sampan dwellers in, 62, 64–5, 68–9, 76
 - comparison of Hong Kong with, 4, 37, 92, 172, 175, 178
 - mayors, 68, 72, 81, 99–100, 108, 166, 168
 - migrants from outside, 59–62, 65, 96, 129, 160
 - missionary activities in, 78–80, 176 and neighboring districts/towns, xiv, 59
 - as revolutionary base, 4, 71, 77–8
 - Sun Yat Sen in, 4, 69, 78, 84, 89
 - as treaty port, 4, 68
- Canton Bund (Zhangdi 長堤), 65n1
- Canton Chamber of Commerce (Guangzhou zongshanghui 廣州總商會), 69–70, 107
- Canton City Union Evangelistic Association, 79
- Canton-Hong Kong Strike (1925–26), 52–3, 70, 91, 113
- Canton Insurrection (1927)
- failure of, 86n2, 90–1
 - historiography of, 91, 177
 - popular character of, 90–1, 177–8
 - repression of, 90–1
 - rickshaw pullers' role in, 2, 78, 90–2
 - as watershed in Canton history, 102
- Canton-Kowloon Railway, 64
- Canton merchants, 67–70, 83–4, 165–6
- Canton Road, 12, 131
- Cantonese
- dialect of, 10, 60, 124
 - employment and occupation, 10–1, 62
 - host society, 35, 62, 75
 - movie, 123
 - rickshaw owners, 144
 - slangs, 30, 115
 - teahouses, 84–5
 - traits in character, 10–1, 18, 67, 77
- Cargo coolies, 11, 17, 37–8, 60–1
- Castaneda, Abelardo, 41
- Causeway Bay, 26
- Censorship of the press, 162
- Central Market, 24
- Chan Chi Tong (Chen Jitang) 陳濟棠, 99
- Chan Lim Pak (Chen Lianbo) 陳廉伯, 83–4
- Chan Tong (Chentang) 陳塘, 75
- Chang Fah Kwei (Zhang Fakui) 張發奎, 159
- Changsha 長沙, 90
- Chaozhou. *See* Chiuchow
- Chaozhou bayi huiguan 潮州八邑會館 (Swatow Guild Hall), 61
- Chap Yin Stevedores Union (Jixian qiluohuo gonghui 集賢起落貨工會), 61
- Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, 38
- Chau Iu Ting (Zhou Yaoting) 周耀庭, 12
- Chauvin, Hector Frederic George, 155
- Chazi* 茶資 (“tea-money”), 148, 162
- Chefu anjisuo* 車伏安集所 (rickshaw pullers' hostels), 100
- Chefu youqiche* 車伏有其車 (rickshaw ownership scheme), 101, 106, 179
- Chefuguan* 車伏館 (rickshaw pullers' lodging houses), 61
- Chen Chiung Ming (Chen Jiongming) 陳炯明, 77–8, 84

- Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀, 82, 84
- Chen Kung Po (Chen Gongbo) 陳公博, 103
- Chen Shu 陳樹, 86
- Chen Yannian 陳延年, 84–5
- Chen Yousheng 陳友生, 85
- Chen Zhuo 陳卓, 140
- Chengdu 成都, 116
- Chesneaux, Jean, 43, 173
- Chetou* 車頭 (“carriage chiefs”), 12
- Cheung Tsoh Kei (Zhang Zuoji) 張佐基, 78–80
- Cheung Yim Sze (Zhang Yanshi) 張嚴氏, 12
- Cheung Yuen Fung (Zhang Yuanfeng) 張遠烽, 99
- Chezai gonghui 車仔工會 (rickshaw union), 80
- Chezai guan* 車仔館 (rickshaw pullers' hostel), 12
- Chi dantiaofan* 吃單條飯 (eating only one meal per day), 98
- Chiang Kai Shek (Jiang Jieshi) 蔣介石, 89, 105
- Chikeng 赤坑, 60
- China Motor Bus Co. Ltd., 13
- Chinese Cargo Junk Owners' and Employees' Association, 50
- Chinese Communist Party, 78, 82–4, 89–93, 170
(*See also* Communists)
- Chinese in Hong Kong
colonial views of, 5, 37–41, 53–4, 173
community leaders, 12–3, 19, 38, 48, 148
composition of, 9–11, 21
everyday life of, xiii–xiv, 11, 14–8, 19–20, 21–36, 38–42
housing conditions of, 14–6
population, 9, 118, 139, 171
segregation from European community, 41
(*See also* Hong Kong)
- Chinese Labor Union Law (1929), 103
- Chinese Literary Renaissance, 95
- Chinese Mechanics' Union, 47
- Chinese Nationalist Party. *See* Guomindang
- Chinese Representative Council (Huamin daibiaohui 華民代表會), 136, 138
- Chinese Seamen's Union, 50, 113, 143
- Chiuchow (Chaozhou) 潮州
celebration of Yu Lan Festival, 18
dialect, 10, 18, 32–5, 60–1, 86, 98
employment and occupation, 10–1, 13–4, 17–9, 32–5
funds for relief of victims in, 18
migrants from, 10–1, 13–4, 17–9
rickshaw pullers from, 15, 17–9, 32–5, 48, 61, 86, 98n2, 145–6
secret societies, 30
- Chiuchow Hon (Chaozhou xiang) 潮州巷, 17
- Chiuon (Chao'an) 潮安, 98n2
- Chiushan (Chaoshan) 潮汕, 10
- Chiuyueung (Chaoyang) 潮陽, 18
- Choa Shi Shiang (Zhou Shuxuan) 周樹炫, 145
- Chongqing 重慶, 165
- Chop-suey, 32, 98
- Chou Shouson (Zhou Shouchen) 周壽臣, 117
- Chu Fat Yat (Zhu Huiji) 朱暉日, 90
- Chuanbo qishui* 船舶契稅 (boat deed tax), 69
- Chukiang Lane (Zhujiang Lane) 珠江里, 83
- Chung Mow Fung (Zhong Maofeng) 鍾茂豐. *See* Mowfung, Frederick Charles
- Chungshan (Zhongshan) 中山, viii, 60
- Civil Affairs Department (Minzhengbu 民政部), 131–2, 135–6, 138–9
- City landscape
cognitive mapping, 26–7, 36, 61
as contested space, 3, 5, 21, 23–36, 60–2
landmarks in, 26, 64
- City of Victoria, 16, 23, 39, 45–6
- Class
consciousness, 47–8, 52, 93

- ethnicity and, 19–20, 47–8, 93, 144, 156, 172
 power relations and, 3, 104, 178
 problem of traditional approaches to, 4, 173
 (See also Identity; Proletariat)
- Clay, Nikolai, 44
- Clay Pigeon Shooting Club, 13n2
- Coble, Parks M., Jr., 68n2
- Collective action. See Mobilization; Protests
- Colonial Office, 115, 127
- Commander of the British Empire (CBE), 13
- Communists
 activities in Hong Kong, 53, 86n2, 113, 143–5, 155, 157
 persecution of, 89–90, 113–4, 143–4, 155, 157
 post-1949 urban reforms, 168–70, 179
 rickshaw pullers and, 53, 82–93, 168–70, 175–9
 (See also Chinese Communist Party; Guomindang)
- Compradors, 14, 83, 174
- Connaught Road, 27p, 34p
- Conquered Territory of Hongkong (Xianggang zhanlingdi 香港佔領地), 130
- Conscription, 71–3, 107–8
- Corruption
 in Canton, 75, 167–8
 in Hong Kong, 30
- Craigengower Cricket Club, 13n2
- Credit-ticket system, 13
- Criminal justice. See Magistracy; Punishments
- Crow, Carl, 26
- Cumshaw (“grateful thanks”), 25
- Dangzhengjun lianxi huiyi* 黨政軍聯席會議 (joint meeting of civilian-party-military government), 107
- Dapaidang* 大牌檔 (cooked food stalls), 32
- De Yi Tang 德義堂 (“Union of Virtue and Righteousness”), 80
- Deane, Walter Meredith, 42
- Department of Workers and Peasants (Nonggongting 農工廳), 83, 88–9
- Der A Wing & Co., 13n2
- Des Vœux Road, 17, 31, 47
- Dialect. See Cantonese; Chiuchow; Hakka; Hoklo
- Dichotomous model of society, 173
- Difang zhuyi* 地方主義 (localism), 86
- Dingshoufei* 頂手費 (“carrying-on fee”), 155
- Dipi* 地痞 (“local roughs”), 163
- District Bureaux, 137–8
- Dock laborers, 21, 43, 60
- East Bund (Dongdi 東堤), 61, 83, 99, 164
- East Parade Grounds, 79
- East River area, 60, 84, 122, 155
- East River Guerrilla Force (Dongjiang zongdui 東江縱隊), 155
- Eitel, Ernest John, 41
- Elgin Street, 26
- Emergency Regulations Ordinance (1927), 114
- Emigration, through Hong Kong, 12
- Erliguan* 二厘館, 85
- Erlu tongjia* 二路東家 (“sub-hosts”), 12
- Ethnicity. See Class; Dialect; Identity; Native place
- Executive Council, 13
- Fandong fenzi* 反動份子 (“reactionary elements”), 87
- Fang Shou 方壽, 122
- Fantan* 番攤, 31
- Fatshan (Foshan) 佛山, viii, 60, 166
- Feng Nan 馮南, 86
- Feng Zhuoxuan 馮灼宣, 167–8
- Fewsmith, Joseph, 167
- Finance Bureau (Caizhengju 財政局), 64, 68, 88, 96, 109
- Fire Brigade Station, 24
- First Street, 145
- Fokis* 伙記 (employees), 21

- Fong Tai Yeung (Fang Taiyang)
方太陽, 152
- Food
costs of, 47, 115–6, 121–3, 132,
135–8, 141, 149, 161–2, 164
income spent on, 16, 47
rationing, 134–5, 137, 164
of rickshaw pullers and their
preparation, 14, 32–3, 98
supplies, 129, 134–8, 141, 160,
164
- Forster, Lancelot, 96,
France, 118, 175
French, 43–4, 54, 78, 118, 126, 175
Fu'an 福安, 100
Fujian. *See* Hokkien
Fuli xiezuoshe 福利協作社 (“mutual-
aid welfare society”), 83
Fumu 伏目 (head coolies), 12, 104
Fung Cheuk Man (Feng Zhuwan)
馮祝萬, 89
Fuyi 伏役 (coolie carriers), 71, 72p
- Gambling
disputes over, 31
a failure of character, 117
in rickshaw pullers' hostels, 88
on the street, 31
- Gangjiu renliche gongtuan weiyuanhui
港九人力車工團委員會
(Committee of Rickshaw Labor
in Hong Kong and Kowloon),
152–3, 156
- Gao Jilai 高基來, 163
Gao Xin 高信, 168
Gendarmerie Headquarters
(Xianbingdui benbu 憲兵隊本
部), 131, 137, 139–40
- General Labour Association of Hong
Kong (Kiu Kong Kung Tun
Tsung Ui 僑港工團總會), 113
General Post Office, 27p
Germany, 175
Goble, Jonathan, 1
Government
permissive, 4, 78, 80–1, 103–4,
156–7
repressive, 70, 71–3, 89–90, 102,
113–4, 143–4 155–7, 178
Government Civil Hospital, 31
Grassroots of society, xiii–xiv, 91,
172–3
(*See also* Petty urbanites)
Green Gang, in Shanghai, 175
Gresson Street, 145
Guangdong. *See* Kwangtung
Guangdong Academy of Law and
Political Science (廣東公立法政
專門學校), 82
Guangdongsheng canyihui 廣東省參議
會 (Kwangtung Provincial
Assembly), 101
Guangdongsheng hezuo shiye
weiyuanhui 廣東省合作事業委
員會 (Kwangtung Provincial
Commission for the Promotion
of Cooperative Affairs), 101
Guangdongsheng zhengzhi yanjiuhui
jingjizu 廣東省政治研究會經濟
組 (Economic Branch of the
Kwangtung Research Institute
for Political Studies), 101, 105
Guangzhou. *See* Canton
Guangzhou shifu canshishi 廣州市府
參事室 (Canton Municipal
Advisory Council), 101
Guangzhou shizheng weiyuanhui 廣州
市政委員會 (Canton Municipal
Administrative Council), 101
Guangzhou shouchefu gonghui 廣州
手車伕工會 (Canton Rickshaw
Pullers' Union), 85–8, 92
Guangzhoushi canyihui 廣州市參議會
(Canton Municipal Affairs
Council), 100, 106, 166
Guangzhoushi renli shoucheye zhiye
gonghui 廣州市人力手車業職業
工會 (Canton Hand-Rickshaw
Trade Union), 162–6, 169
Guangzhoushi shouchu zhiye gonghui
廣州市手車職業工會 (Canton
Rickshaw Trade Union), 102–9,
178–9

- Guangzhoushi zonggonghui 廣州市總工會 (Federation of Canton Laborers), 162
- Guilds
 absence of, 43n3
 anti-Christian and Bolshevik, 117
 composition of, 59
 labor strikes and, 47, 49–51, 54
 membership of, 114
 opposition to taxes by, 69
- Guomindang 國民黨 (Chinese Nationalist Party)
 alliance with CCP, 78, 83–4
 break with CCP, 89, 178
 Canton branch of, 103–5, 162, 168, 178
 factionalism within, 89, 168
 labor movement and, 4, 78, 83–4, 89–91, 102–4, 161–3, 178–9
- Haifeng gonghui 海豐公會 (Hoifung Hometown Association), 61
- Hailiushe 海流社 (Sea Current Society), 155
- Haiphong (Haifang) 海防, 13, 35
- Haiphong Road, 18
- Hakka (Kejia) 客家, 10
- Haozai wu dangchai* 好仔唔當差 (good boys do not wear police uniforms), 73
- Happy Valley, 26, 45, 134
- Harlech Road, 25
- Hawkers, 2, 23, 36–7, 42, 75, 127n4
- Hawkins, Brian Charles Keith, 124, 153
- He Yang 何養, 86
- Heaven and Earth Society, 172
- Hee Wong Terrace (Hei Wong Toi), 86n2
- Heigou 黑狗 (“black dogs”), 75
- Hennessy Road, 30, 43, 140
- Hershatter, Gail, 175
- High Street, 130, 144
- Hill District Reservation Ordinance (1904), 41
- Hillier Street, 22p
- Ho Hong Bank, 25
- Ho Kai (He Qi) 何啟, 48
- Hoifung (Haifeng) 海豐. *See* Hoi-Luk-Fung
- Hokkien (Fujian) 福建, 10, 43, 60
- Hoi Luk Fung School (Hailufeng xuexiao 海陸豐學校), 145
- Hoi-Luk-Fung (Hailufeng) 海陸豐
 emigration pressures of, 10
 peasant movements in, 53, 83, 90
 rickshaw pullers from, 32–5, 48, 53, 61, 83, 86, 92, 122, 155
 sedan chair bearers from, 35
- Hoklo (Fulao) 福佬
 dialect and origins, 10
 employment and occupation, 34–5 (*See also* Hoi-Luk-Fung)
- Hometown visits, 9, 121, 152
- Honam (Henan) 河南, viii, 65p, 66, 71–2, 84, 90
- Honghuagang 紅花崗 (Red Flower Hill), 89
- Hong Kong
 as asylum for political exiles, 86n2, 113
 census and registration, 9, 25, 35, 37–8, 40–1
 colonial situation of, 4–5, 37–52, 173
 Communist activities in, 53, 86n2, 113, 143–5, 155, 157
 comparison of Canton with, 4, 37, 92, 172, 175, 178
 as entrepôt, 4, 17, 113
 migrants from outside, 9–11, 13–5, 40–1, 86n2, 113, 121, 126, 172
 missionary activities in, 115, 117–8, 127, 174
 (*See also* Chinese in Hong Kong)
- Hong Kong and Kowloon Ricksha Pullers' Union (Xianggang Jiulong shouche gonghui 香港九龍手車工會), 145–7, 149–54, 157
- Hong Kong and Kowloon Waichow and Chiuchow Ricksha Pullers' Union (Gangjiu Huichao shouche gonghui 港九惠潮手車工會), 145, 154–5, 157

- Hong Kong and Kowloon Wharf, 13, 17–8
- Hong Kong Chiuchow Chamber of Commerce, 148, 153
- Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions, 143, 146n2, 155
- Hong Kong Ngan Clanspeople's Association (Xianggang Yanshi zongqin zonghui 香港顏氏宗親總會), 18–9
- Hong Kong Ricksha Coolies' Mutual Assistance Union (Qiaogang shouche gongren huzhushu 僑港手車工人互助社), 145, 151–2, 154
- Hong Kong Ricksha Trade Employers (On-Hang) Association (Xianggang renliche anheng shanghui 香港人力車安行商會), 125, 144–56
- Hong Kong Seamen's Union, 143
- Hong Kong Shrine (Xianggang shenshe 香港神社), 134
- Hong Kong Trade Unions Council, 143, 145, 146n2
- Hong Kong Travel Association, 116
- Hongkong Club, 42
- Hongkong Tramway Company, 46, 49, 55
- Horse carriages, 46, 132–3
- Horse racing, 26, 134
- Housing
income spent on, 2, 14, 47, 97–8, 121, 162
(*See also* Tenement house)
- Hu Hanchi 胡翰池, 80
- Hu Shi 胡適, 95
- Huang Zhou 黃洲, 86
- Hufa 護法 (protect the constitution), 77, 89
- Human beasts of burden, 29
- Hunan, 69
- Identity
class and, 3–4, 19–20, 47–8, 52, 93, 104, 144, 156, 172–3, 178
ethnicity and, 9–20, 30–6, 60–2, 86, 171–3
expressions of, 2, 14–5, 53, 60, 83, 86, 93, 122, 143, 144–5, 171, 176
multifaceted, 15, 20, 172
as strategy, 33, 171
at workplace, 10–1, 13–4, 17–8, 32–6, 48, 60–1, 98, 171–2, 176
- Illegal Strikes and Lock-outs Ordinance (1927), 114, 173
- Imperial Gendarmerie Police Force (Huangjun jingbeidui 皇軍警備隊), 134
- Imperialism
impact of, 43–4, 52–3, 107–8, 174–5
indigeneous forces and, 4–5, 174
nature of, 4n1, 5
- International Labor Day, 78, 86, 114
- International Settlement, 39, 52
- Intimidation, 30, 45, 114, 163
(*See also* Kidnapping; Violence)
- Ip Ting Fun (Ye Tingfen) 葉庭芬, 12
- Isogai, Rensuke, 138
- Italy, 175
- J. Gibbs & Co., Importers, Exporters and Commission Merchants, 12
- Japan, 1, 99, 108, 121
- Japanese
invasion of Canton, 107–9, 126, 129
occupation of Hong Kong, 130–41, 153
military yen, 131, 134–8, 141, 144, 153
use of rickshaws by, 132
- Jardine, Matheson & Co., 27n2
- Jardine's Sugar Refinery, 13
- Jardine's Wharf, 49
- Ji Yi Tang 集益堂 (Mutual Benefits Guild), 104
- Jiang Jieshi. *See* Chiang Kai Shek
- Jiaoyuhui 教育會 (educational associations), 100
- Jingjuan 警捐 (“police tax”), 68
- Jingwuting 警務廳 (Police Headquarters), 70–1
- Jordan Road, 140, 152

- Jubilee Road, 26
 Jubilee Street, 24
 Judiciary. *See* Magistrary; Punishments
Julebu 俱樂部 (“recreation club”), 83
 Justices of the Peace, 12–3
- Kam Hing Knitting & Weaving
 Factory (金興織造廠), 12
 Kangdi tongzhihui 抗敵同志會 (War
 Comrades Association), 108
 Kennedy Town, 17, 46, 134
 Ki Ling Lane, 12
 Kidnapping, 71–3, 115, 160
 (*See also* Intimidation; Violence)
 King’s Building, 27p
 Kiu Kong Sau Che Kung Yan Wu Cho
 She 僑港手車工人互助社
 (Mutual Aid Club of Sojourning
 Hong Kong Ricksha Coolies)
 origins and activities in 1939–41,
 121–7
 reregistered in 1946, 145
 Kotewall, Robert, 117
 Kowkong (Jiujiang) 九江, viii
 Kowloon City, 27, 118
 Kowloon Godown Co., 16–9
 Kowloon Residents’ Association, 29
 Ku Li Kun 咕哩館 (coolie houses), 15
 Kuli budaohui 苦力佈道會 (Coolie
 Laborers’ Mission), 78–80
 Kung Hui 工會 (labor union), 121
 Kung Yee Medical College and
 Hospital (Gongyi xuexiao 公醫
 學校), 79
 Kwangsi (Guangxi) 廣西, 67–8, 77
 Kwangtung (Guangdong) 廣東
 emigration from, 59
 floods in, 18, 96, 146, 160
 military, 69, 71–3, 77–8, 84, 89,
 105–6
 Kwong Hon Terrace (Kwong Hon Toi),
 26
 Kwong Wai Road 廣衛路, 85
 Kwongmoon (Jiangmen) 江門, viii,
 166
- Lache peiyuk* 拉車被辱 (“Humiliation
 of Rickshaw Pulling”), 123
- Lachewei* 拉車尾 (“pull the tail of a
 rickshaw”), 97
 Lai Im Sze (Li Yanshi) 黎嚴氏, 12
Laissez-faire, 4, 178
 Lam Chu Heung (Lin Zhuxiang)
 林珠享, 155
 Land Communication Department
 (Jiaotongbu 交通部), 133, 135,
 137–8
 Lao She 老舍, 123
 Laogong xunlianbu 勞工訓練部
 (Labor Training Bureau), 104,
 108, 178
 Laogong zhanshi gongzuotuan 勞工戰
 時工作團 (Wartime Labor
 Corps), 108
Laozong 老宗 (“old folks”), 19
Lashiche 拉實車 (“truly pull a
 rickshaw”), 97
 Lee Kau Yan (Li Qiu’en) 李求恩, 115
 Legislative Council, 13, 38, 48, 114,
 117
 Legros, Louis, 44
 Lei Fuk Lam (Li Fulin) 李福林, 90
 Lenin, Vladimir, 92
 Li Chai Sum (Li Jishen) 李濟深, 89
 Li Chor Chi, 25
 Li Heling 李鶴齡, 108
 Li Huiquan 李恢權, 140
 Li Jiezhi 李潔之, 108
 Li Kwai, 32
 Li Laogong 李勞工, 83–4, 86
 Li Peiqun 李沛群, 86
 Li Po Lung Path, 86n2
 Li Shouzhu 李守株, 86
 Li Zhongzhen 李仲振, 101
 Lianfa Pullers’ Hostel (聯發人力車仔
 館), 91
 Liang Jingquan 梁敬泉, 80
 Licensing Ordinance (1887), 39
 Lin Chang 林昌, 165
 Lin Musheng 林沐盛, 121
 Lin Qilun 林期倫, 125
 Lin Wunong 林務農, 84
 Lin Yee Min (Lin Yimin) 林逸民, 106
 Liu Chen Huan (Liu Zhenhuan)
 劉震寰, 84

- Liu Chi Wen (Liu Jiwen) 劉紀文, 99–100, 108
- Liu Chung Hoi (Liao Zhongkai) 廖仲愷, 83
- Liu Shifu 劉師復, 95
- Lodging house. *See* Tenement house
- Lower Albert Road, 131
- Lu Dengying 呂登瀛, 165
- Lu Hanchao, xiv
- Lukfung (Lufeng) 陸豐. *See* Hoi-Luk-Fung
- Lung Chai Kwong (Long Jiguang) 龍濟光, 77
- Lyons, Frederick William, 48
- Ma Chak Man (Ma Zemin) 馬澤民, 148
- Macao, 32, 146, 152
- MacEwen & Frickel's Store, 24
- Magazine Gap, 116
- Magistrary
 - cases before, 25, 27, 30, 38, 40, 44, 48–9
 - criticism of, 50
 - (*See also* Punishments)
- Maichetou 買車頭 (“buy the head of a rickshaw”), 97
- Man Fook Road 萬福路, 61, 82
- Mann, Susan, 68n2
- Mao Tse Tung (Mao Zedong) 毛澤東, 169–70
- Marco Polo Incident, 107, 129, 173
- Mark Kent Chun (Mai Jianzeng) 麥健增, 106
- May Day. *See* International Labor Day
- May Fourth Movement, 59, 78, 92, 95, 176–7
- May Road, 116
- McDouall, John Crichton, 144–5
- Mechanics, xiv, 47, 50, 143
- Memorial Garden to the Martyrs, 89
- Merchant Delegates Congress, 70
- Merchant Volunteer Corps, 83–4
- Messrs. Andrew Harper & Co., 129–30
- Messrs. Siemssen & Co., 14
- Mid-Levels, 39
- Migration
 - effects on receiving community, 9–11, 59–60, 76, 96–7, 121, 160, 172
 - employment and, 10–1, 13–5, 17–9, 60–1, 171–2
 - increases in, 9, 59–60, 96, 121, 160
 - kin networks and, 2, 11–2, 13–4, 17–8, 60–1
 - reasons for, 9–10, 59–60, 86n2, 96, 121, 160
 - rural-urban, 59–60, 75, 96, 171, 176
- Militarists. *See* Warlords
- Military expenses and supplies, 69, 71–3, 78, 84, 106, 140
- Minsheng 民生 (People's Livelihood), 100
- Mission to Ricksha and Chair-men, 117–8
- Missionaries, 1, 78–80, 115, 117–8, 127, 174, 176
- Mobilization, 2, 16, 32–3, 76, 78, 83–9, 104–5, 113, 162–4, 171–9
- (*See also* Protests)
- Mongkok, 131
- Moscow, 84
- Motor car (in Canton)
 - competition with rickshaw, 65–7, 150
 - seized by the Japanese, 130
- Motor car (in Hong Kong)
 - accidents, 28–9, 140
 - advent of, 28, 46
 - competition with rickshaw, 3, 28, 52, 118, 150
 - competition with sedan chair, 115–6
- Mowfung, Edward, 13n2
- Mowfung, Frederick Charles, 12–3
- Mui-tsai 妹仔 (indentured girls), 115, 127, 175
- Municipal Council
 - in Canton, 62, 68, 79–81
 - in Shanghai, 99, 174
- Murphy, James, 44
- Murray, Dian H., 172

- Nam Pak Hong Kung Shuk
(Nanbeiheng gongsuo 南北行公所), 17–8
- Namhoi (Nanhai) 南海, viii
- Namtau (Nantou) 南頭, viii
- Nanchang 南昌, 90
- Nanjing 南京, 103, 165
- Nanyang 南洋 (South Sea), 96
- Nathan Road, 32
- Native place
as determinant of union formation,
2, 53, 83, 86, 93, 122, 143,
144–5
nostalgia for, 121
recruitment and, 13–4, 18–20, 53,
60–1, 83, 86, 122, 143, 145–6,
155, 172
remittance of money to, 9
social organization and, 10–1, 13–
20, 30–6, 48, 60–2, 98, 171–2,
176
(See also Migration)
- Neijie 內街 (inner alleys), 106
- Ng A Lok, 40
- Ng A Tong, 13
- Ng Choy (Wu Cai) 伍才, 44
- Ng Siu Ting (Wu Shaoting) 吳少庭,
146
- Ngan Chim Shi, 12
- Ngan Luk (Yan Liu) 顏六, 12
- Ngan Shing Kwan (Yan Chengkun)
顏成坤, 12–3, 19, 144
- Ngan Wing Chi, 12–3, 17
- Nightsoil carriers, 21–2
- Nijie 泥街 (“mud street”), 26
- Nonghui 農會 (farmers’ associations),
100
- North Point, 13n2
- Northern Expedition, 4, 73, 84, 89
- Oberschall, Anthony, 176
- Old Bailey Street, 140
- Opium
addiction, 97n1, 103
dens, 17, 88
trade in, 16, 25, 98
- Order of the British Empire (OBE), 13
- Outworkers, xiv
- Ouyang Ju 歐陽駒, 168
- Palembang, 116
- Paoan (Bao’an) 寶安, ix
- Pawning, 98
- Peak households, 15, 21, 41, 51, 53
- Peak Tram, 25
- Pearl River, viii, 37, 59, 64–5, 89
- Pearl River Bridge, 66
- Peasant Movement Institute, 83
- Peasants
activism of, 53, 83, 90
emigration to cities, 96
view of urban life, 29–30
- Pedicab (tricycle-rickshaw), 133, 165–
70
- Peking Students Social Service Club,
95
- Penang, 116
- Peng Pai 彭湃, 53, 83
- Peng Shi 彭世, 89
- Perry, Elizabeth, 177
- Petty urbanites, xiv
(See also Grassroots of society)
- Philanthropic acts, 79, 162
- Pholant, Hugene, 44
- Plague. See Bubonic plague
- Po Leung Kuk, 13
- Police (in Canton)
abuses of, 71–6, 85, 87
budget and revenue base of, 68, 70
call for more policing, 102
compared with police in the West,
73
negative image of, 71–5
origins and early growth of, 70
- Police (in Hong Kong)
abuses of, 28, 30, 32, 39–40
arrests by, 25, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47,
51, 71, 75, 89, 113–4, 140
corruption of, 30
origins of, 39
responses to need for help, 30
- Poling (Puning) 普寧, 146
- Political Science Clique (*zhengxuexi*
政學系), 168
- Pong-paan (*bangban*) 幫辦, 125
- Porters, 23, 127n4
- Portuguese, 40
- Praya, 16–7, 27p, 43

- Prince Edward Road, 131
- Private Coolies Ordinance (1902), 37
- Proletariat, Marx's definition of, 2
- Prostitutes, 25–6
- Protector of Juvenile Labour, 114
- Protests
- changing character of, 4, 52, 127, 144, 173
 - effectiveness of, 1–2, 32, 52, 54, 76, 177
 - forms of, 32, 38, 42–53, 67–70, 85, 87–8, 90–1, 105, 121–6, 139, 161, 163–4, 168
- Provisional Criminal Code, limits on union power, 78
- Public Security Bureau (Gong'anju 公安局), 70, 81, 101, 107, 109, 161, 164
- Public Utilities Bureau (Gongyongju 公用局), 100–1, 164, 166–8
- Public Works Bureau (Gongwujū 工務局), 105–6, 167
- Public Works Department, 116
- Punishments
- cangue, 40
 - fine, 6, 27, 40, 42–5, 47–8, 50, 74, 140, 150
 - hard labor, 40
 - imprisonment, 6, 25, 27, 40–3, 47, 140
- Punti (Bendi) 本地
- dialect, 10, 35, 86
 - employment and occupation, 10, 62
 - relations with other dialect groups, 10–1, 62, 86
 - as rickshaw pullers, 33, 86
(See also Cantonese)
- Punyū (Panyū) 番禺, viii, 82
- Qing Ming 清明 (“Tomb-Sweeping Day”), 152
- Queen Victoria Street, 24
- Queen's College, 19
- Queen's Pier, 121
- Queen's Road, 12, 22p, 24,
- Quyisuo 區役所 (District Bureaux), 137–8
- Racial prejudice, 5, 37–41, 44, 53–5, 139, 173
- Rankin, Mary Backus, 68n2
- Refugees, 9, 59–60, 76, 96, 113, 117, 121, 126, 129, 160
- Rehabilitation Committee (Shanhou chuli weiyuanhui 善後處理委員會), 136
- Remittances, 9
- René, Gus, 25
- Renli shouche gonghui 人力手車工會, 86
- Rents
- of housing, 2, 14, 47, 97–8, 121, 162
 - of rickshaw, 2, 47–8, 97, 100–1, 107–8, 121–6, 135–8, 144–56, 163
- Revenue (of Canton government)
- insufficiency of, 106, 109
 - sources of, 68–9, 106
- Richter, Auguste, 25
- Rickshaw
- abolition of, xiii, 116–7, 165–70, 179
 - as everyday transport, 1, 22–3, 65
 - inspection of, 12, 39, 71, 131, 164
 - introduced to Canton, 1
 - introduced to Hong Kong, xiii, 1
 - invention of, 1
 - as symbol of capitalist exploitation, xiii
 - as symbol of imperialism, xiii, 165, 169
- Rickshaw owners
- associations of, 125, 130–1, 144
 - background of, 12–3, 19
 - negotiations with rickshaw pullers, 47–8, 121–5, 144–56, 164
 - paternalistic role of, 19, 122, 144
 - presence of women among, 12
- Rickshaw pullers
- accidents at work, 29, 73, 134, 140
 - alliance with sedan chair bearers, 48–9, 51–2, 54
 - beriberi among, 98
 - Communists and, 53, 82–93, 168–70, 175–9

- competition among, xiii, 31, 33, 55, 98-9
 concern for rickshaw rents, 2, 47-8, 121-6, 136-8, 163
déclassé character of, 75, 176
 defining characteristics of, 2-3, 11-2, 16, 29-30
 income and living standards of, 23, 67, 88, 96-9, 118-21, 133-8, 145, 149, 160-2
 kin/quasi-kin networks of, 2, 13-9, 21-36, 48, 83, 86, 93, 145, 148, 156, 171-2, 175-7
 linked to crime, 25-8, 30, 38
 nicknames of, 31
 pastimes of, 31, 97n1, 117
 previous occupations of, 2, 13, 30, 60, 96
 relations with passengers, 3, 21, 23-7, 32, 41, 172-3
 residence of, 14-7, 61
 self-image of, 29-30
 suicide of, 121
 traffic rules and, 6, 23-4, 38-9, 42-3, 45-6, 48-52
 tuberculosis among, 98
 union activities of, 2, 18, 49, 53, 67, 81-91, 102-5, 121-6, 145-56, 162-5
 use of opium by, 97-8
 use of violence by, xiii, 24, 31-3, 49, 86, 89-91, 98-9, 155
 venereal disease among, 98
 vulnerability to heat stroke, 100
 (See also Mobilization; Protests)
- Rickshaw reforms**
 attempts to devise or implementation of (in Canton), 95-109, 168-70, 179
 campaigns for implementation of (in Hong Kong), 117-8, 121-6, 149-55, 174-5
 government officials' attitudes toward, 99-102, 106-9, 124, 127, 175
 obstacles to implementing, 106-9, 124, 127, 178-9
- Rickshaw subcontracting, 11-2, 16, 97, 107, 162
 rickshaw pullers' resentment toward, 83, 121-5
- Rickshaw unions**
 affiliation of, 82, 85-6, 146n2
 factionalism within, 86, 126, 153
 formation of, 2, 53, 80-2, 85, 102-3, 121, 145, 155, 162
 functions of, 80, 82, 103-4, 145-6, 178-9
 fund-raising activities of, 18, 122
 funds of, 105
 leadership of, 49, 67, 104-5, 122, 125, 145, 163
 membership of, 18, 122, 146
 repression of, 53, 89, 102
- Ricsha Committee, in Shanghai, 99
- Roper, Myra, 169
- Roux, Alain, 175
- Royal Naval Canteen ("blue building"), 26
- Sai Ho Hau (Xihao kou) 西壕口, 96
- Sai Wah Road 西華路, 164
- Saikwan (Xiguan) 西關, 84, 96, 99, 164
- Saiyingpun, 15, 33, 145
- Sajian 卅間 ("thirty houses"), 26
- Sakai, Takashi, 131
- Samshui (Sanshui) 三水, viii
- Sands Street, 86n2
- Sanitary Board, 12, 46
- Sanjiao matou 三角碼頭 (Three-Cornered Wharf), 34
- Sanzitou 三字頭 ("three-worded head"), 31
- Sau-shui* 收水 ("solicit bribes"), 30
 (See also Corruption)
- Sayer, Geoffrey Robley, 46
- Scavengers, 22
- Schoppa, R. Keith, 68n2
- Scott, J. Gray, 46
- Seamen, xiv, 25, 44, 50-1, 89-90, 96, 113, 143
- Second Street, 24

- Secret societies. *See* Triads and Triad Society
- Sedan chair
as a means of transport, 13, 45n4, 115–6, 166
- Sedan chair bearers
competition among, 115–6
geographic origins of, 35
images of, 37, 115–6
strikes of, 38, 48–9, 51–2, 54
squabbled over gambling, 31
- Segregation
occupational, 10–1, 13–4, 62, 171
residential, 14–7, 41, 172
- Shakee Road 沙基路, 75
- Shameen (Shamian) 沙面, 52, 66, 73, 79, 113, 176
- Shanghai 上海, xiv, 39, 46, 50, 52, 78, 85, 107, 113, 174
- Shanghai Street, 130
- Shanghai 商會 (merchants' associations), 100
- Shanxi 山西, 60
- Shaukiwan, 27, 46
- Shejizu 設計組 (Design Board), 107
- Shekki (Shiqi) 石岐, viii
- Sheklung (Shilong) 石龍, ix
- Shektongsui 石塘咀, 26
- Shen Houkun 沈厚堃, 82
- Shen Houpei 沈厚培, 82
- Shen Qing 沈清, 82–3, 85, 87
- Shen Xuewen 沈學文, 82
- Shen Xuexiu 沈學修, 82
- Shephard, Anthony John, 127n4
- Sheung Wan, 34
- Shi Xi 石喜, 86
- Shihu 市虎 (“city tigers”), 29
- Shipbuilding workers, 134
- Shiziban 識字班 (“literacy classes”), 163
- Shiuhing (Zhaoxing) 肇興, 98
- Shiukwan (Shaoguan) 韶關, 166
- Shoeshine boys, 23
- Shop workers, xiv
- Shophouse, 22p
(*See also* Tenement house)
- Shouche gonghui 手車工會 (“rickshaw union”), 82–3
- Shouchefu fuli hezuoshe 手車伙福利合作社 (Pullers' Welfare Cooperative), 106
- Shouchefu gonghui 手車伙工會, 86
- Shouchexiang 手車餉 (rickshaw tax), 100
- Shouting kouxie 手停口歇 (living from hand to mouth), 98
- Shumchun (Shenzhen) 深圳, ix, 133
- Shumshuipo, 122, 148
- Shuntak (Shunde) 順德, viii
- Sichuan 四川, 60, 116
- Singapore, 116, 172–3
- Sino-French War, 43
- Siulam (Xiaolan) 小欖, viii
- Smith, Carl, 14
- Social Affairs Bureau (Shehuiju 社會局), 98n2, 99, 106, 109, 161, 166
- Socialist Youth League (Shehui zhuyi qingnian tuan 社會主義青年團), 82
- Societies Ordinance (1911), 113–4, 173
- Soldiers, 41, 71–3, 76, 84, 89–91, 159–60
- South Bund (Nandi 南堤), 83
- South Gate (Nanguan 南關), 91
- Southeast Asia, 96
(*See also* British Malaya; Palembang; Penang; Singapore)
- Southern Min 閩南, 10
- Soviet Consulate in Canton, 89
- Spring Garden Lane, 155
- St. John's University, in Shanghai, 19
- St. Vincent De Paul's Society, 117
- Stanley, 131
- Star Ferry, 17, 28, 32
- Stevadores, 21, 32–4, 50, 60–1, 114
- Straits Settlement, 50
- Strand, David, xiv, 178
- Student protest, abroad, 118
- Sun Fo (Sun Ke) 孫科, 72
- Sun Yat Sen (Sun Yixian) 孫逸仙, 4, 69, 78, 84, 89, 170
- Sun Yat Sen University of Medical Sciences (Zhongshan yike daxue 中山醫科大學), 79

- Sun Yee On (Xin Yi'an) 新義安, 30
 Sunwui (Xinhui) 新會, viii
 Surname commonality, 11, 18–9
 Swatow (Shantou) 汕頭, 17, 30, 84
 Swires' Taikoo Dock, 47
 Sz Ka Che 私家車 (“brothel rickshaws”), 39–40
 Szeyap (Siyi) 四邑, 48n4
- Tai Hon Road 泰康路, 61, 82
 Tai Pak Terrace, 86n2
 Tai Tak Road 大德路, 86
 Taihang, 25
 Taipans (big business bosses), 14
 Taiping 太平, ix
 Taipingshan, 15
 Taiwan 台灣, 168
 Tak Suen Road Central 德宣中路, 85–6
 Tan Zhishan 譚志山, 162
 Tanka (Danjia) 蛋家, 10
 (See also Boat or sampan dwellers)
 Taxicab, 28, 36, 52, 73, 150
 Tenement house
 as headquarters of a leftist group, 155
 neighborly relations in, 14–6, 60–1
 opium dens in, 88
 as recruitment ground, 15, 60, 86
 as refuge for Communist hideouts, 86n2
 rents for, 2, 14, 97–8, 121, 162
 Teng Chen Te (Deng Zhende) 鄧真德, 99
 Teochiu. See Chiuchow
 Thomas, S. Bernard, 91
 Tianjin 天津, 175
 Tilly, Charles, 175
 Tin Lok Lane, 140
 To Kwai Ting, 25
 Toishan (Taishan) 台山, viii
 Tokyo Nogyo Daigaku, 99
 Tong Wan Ting (Tang Yunting) 湯雲亭, 12
 Tong Yan Po (Tang Yinpo) 湯隱波, 144
 Tong Ying Ching (Tang Yingzhen) 湯應楨, 31
 Tongxiang 同鄉 (“hometown acquaintances”), 32
 Topping, Seymour, 169
 Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance (1948), 143
 Trade Unions Regulations (1924), 78
 Tramway Strike (1950), Hong Kong, 144
 Triads and Triad Society, 30, 43
 Triangle Street, 12
 Trotsky, Leon, 89
 Tseng Yang Fu (Zeng Yangfu) 曾養甫, 108
 Tsimshatsui, 17–8, 28
 Tsoi Po (Cai Bao) 蔡保, 148
 Tsuen Wan 荃灣, 28
 Tsz Yong Che 自用車 (“rickshaws for self-use”), 39–40
 Tung Hing Fong (Tongqingfang) 同慶坊, 91
 Tung Kun Street, 35
 Tung Shan (Dongshan) 東山, 64, 79, 96
 Tung Tak Coolies' Union (Tongde fuli gonghui 同德伏力工會), 61
 Tung Wah Hospital, 13, 42
 Tungchuen maloo 東川馬路, 79
 Tungkun (Dongguan) 東莞, ix, 35, 48n4, 60–1
- Unemployment, 3, 16, 62, 83, 102–3, 117, 121, 160, 162
 Union Building, 27p
 United States, 64
- Vagabonds, 59
 Valtorta, Bishop Henry Paschal, 117–8, 174
 Vehicles and Traffic Regulation Ordinance (1912), 39
 Victoria Peak, 21, 42, 45, 51, 116
 Victoria Theatre, 31
 Violence
 competition for jobs led to, xiii, 11, 31, 33–4, 60–1, 98–9
 disputes over gambling led to, 31
 gangsters' use of, 25, 30, 125, 155, 163

- in Lantern Festival 1894, 48n4
policemen's use of, 32, 40, 71–6,
85, 87
rickshaw passengers' use of, 24–5,
41, 44, 125
rickshaw pullers' use of, xiii, 24,
31–3, 49, 86, 89–91, 98–9, 155
struggles against, 32, 47, 87–8, 93,
113, 155, 163
(*See also* Assassination;
Kidnapping)
- Wai Oi Road West 惠愛西路, 90
Wai Sun Road South 維新南路, 163
Wailoy (Huilai) 惠來, 146
Waiyeung (Huiyang) 惠陽, 84, 98n2
Wanchai, 24–5, 30, 122, 124
Wang Ching Wei (Wang Jingwei)
汪精衛, 89
Wang Mingxuan 王明選, 165
Wang Shiwen 王世文, 89
War Memorial Tower (Zhonglingta)
忠靈塔, 134
Warlords, 4, 71–2, 75–8, 99, 106
Warren, James, xiv, 172–3
Wei Yuk (Wei Yu) 韋玉, 48
Western District, 17–9
Whampoa (Huangpu) Military
Academy 黃埔軍校, 84
White, Harrison, 171
Whitehead, Thomas Henderson, 38
Wing Lok Street, 17
Wing Lok Wharf, 34
Wing On Chan (Yong'anzhan) 永安棧,
12
Wolfe, Edward Dudley Cascarden,
117n2
Wong Im (Huang Yan) 黃炎, 12
Wong Kam Fook (Huang Jinfu)
黃金福, 12
Wong Kar Chun (Huang Jiazhen)
黃家珍, 145
Wong Leung Sze (Huang Liangshi)
黃梁氏, 12
Wong Yick Mui (Huang Yimei)
黃亦梅, 12
Wongsha (Huangsha) 黃沙, 71
Woolf, Bella Sidney, 31
Woosung Street, 146
Wright, Tim, xiv, 175
Wu Te Chen (Wu Tiecheng) 吳鐵城,
72
Wu Tingfang. *See* Ng Choy
Wyndham Street, 116
- Xiandai zhiye tuanti* 現代職業團體
(professional associations), 100
Xiangdu ling 香督令 (Governor's
Order), 131
Xiangjiu renliche zuhe 香九人力車
業組合 (Hong Kong and
Kowloon Ricksha Syndicate),
130–1, 133, 136–40
Xiangyi guanxi 鄉誼關係 (hometown
and interpersonal networks), 61
Xianqiandui 先遣隊 (“leading troops”),
84
Xiaobeimen 小北門 (Little North
Gate), 70
Xiaoxue 小學 (school for primary
education), 164
Xie'an 協安, 88
Xiejin 鞋金 (“shoe-money”), 97
- Yan'an 延安, 165
Yang Hsi Min (Yang Ximin) 楊希閔,
84
Yang Siji 楊四吉, 86
Yanping (Enping) 恩平, 35
Yat Tak Road 一德路, 63p
Yaumatei, 35, 146
Yee On Employees' and Employers'
Association (Yi'an gongshang
zonghui 義安工商總會), 30
Yinhui 銀會 (“rotating-credit
associations”), 61–2
Yixue 義學 (“free school for the
poor”), 61
YMCA, in Chengdu, 116
Yu Han Mou (Yu Hanmou) 余漢謀,
105
Yu Lan 孟蘭 (Hungry Ghosts Festival),
18
Yuan Shikai 袁世凱, 77
Yubeiying 豫備營 (Police Training
School), 70
Yunnan, 69, 77

- Zeng Yan 曾炎, 86
 Zhang Ming 張明, 86
 Zhejiang 浙江, 60
 Zheng Qinan 鄭其南, 86
 Zhigong juluobu 職工俱樂部 (Staff Recreation Club), 88
 Zhong Xiushan 鍾秀山, 126
 Zhongguo geming ceyuandi 中國革命策源地 (“the cradle of the Chinese revolution”), 77
 Zhongshan liulu 中山六路, 90
 Zhou Zhaolin 周兆麟, 165
 Ziyongche 自用車 (self-use vehicles), 66
 Ziyou zhiye tuanti 自由職業團體 (trade associations), 100
 Zongdubu 總督部 (Governor’s Office), 132
 Zongwuzu 總務組 (General Affairs Board), 107