

CHINESE CHRISTIANS

Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong

CARL T. SMITH

New introduction by Christopher Munn



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Introduction to the Paperback Edition

Christopher Munn

Every so often a work of history appears that radically changes our understanding of people, place and period. *Chinese Christians*, first published in 1985, is such a work. This book asked questions about Hong Kong that had never been asked before. It showed that the leaders of Chinese society had a far greater role in shaping early Hong Kong history than earlier historians had believed. It also demonstrated, for the first time, that Chinese society in early colonial Hong Kong had coherence and continuity.

Dispensing with the traditional governor-by-governor approach to Hong Kong history, *Chinese Christians* explores the lives of some 200 men and women who came into contact with Christian missionaries in early Hong Kong and who used their connections to achieve wealth and status. Its themes are the building of communities in colonial Hong Kong and the “middlemen” who linked the Chinese and colonial communities. These were the people who laid the foundations of Hong Kong society. Many of them became influential beyond Hong Kong through their connections with the colonial community and its official religion. Yet, with the exception of Sir Robert Ho Tung, Yung Wing, Sun Yat-sen and perhaps one or two others, few of the characters in this book are remembered much today. Even the important among them find little place in the standard histories of colonial Hong Kong. Many of the men and women here are representative rather than significant — people who are known simply because they happened to be recorded as members of congregations or schools. Some, like the indignant Chu Tak-leung or the déclassé Taiping royals, are utterly unimportant. They are no less interesting for that.

In rescuing these lives from obscurity, Carl Smith has shown that the history of early colonial Hong Kong is more than just a narrative of governors, opium wars, merchant houses and grand reclamation projects: it is also the experience of ordinary people — and of a few extraordinary men and women who saw the opportunities thrown up by British rule and tried to make something of them. In *Chinese Christians* these people speak clearly across the years: some of their voices are loud and impressive; others are moving; a few are angry

and accusing. By bringing them together in this book, Carl Smith made a singular contribution to Hong Kong history. Together with his other writings on people and society in Hong Kong, *Chinese Christians* has, perhaps more than any other body of work, turned the field of Hong Kong history on its head.¹

Chinese Christians was first published by the Oxford University Press in 1985 to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society: Carl Smith was a driving force in the Society then, as he is today. The chapters that make up *Chinese Christians* were, however, published even earlier as separate articles in a number of Hong Kong journals and bulletins, one as early as 1969. Most of these journals are difficult, if not impossible, to track down. *Chinese Christians* itself has also become something of a rare book. It is now difficult to obtain from libraries. It is not to be found in bookshops, new or second-hand, and whenever it appears for sale on the Internet (which is not often) large sums are demanded. No book of this kind should be so inaccessible for so long. Twenty years on, this reprint seeks to remedy the problem.

This edition of *Chinese Christians* reproduces the original in its entirety, without revision and with the pagination and original foreword by James Hayes preserved.² All that has been added is this new introduction, which has been written with Carl Smith's consent and warm co-operation. The main intention of this new introduction is to bring out some of the themes and significance of *Chinese Christians* and to examine the author's working methods.

* * *

For a book that has been assembled, without much modification, from essays and articles written over the course of over a dozen years, *Chinese Christians* achieves a remarkable coherence and consistency. Each chapter forms a discrete unit and can be read on its own, as Smith originally intended. Taken together, however, and read in sequence, the chapters add up to a book that is far more satisfying than the sum of its

1. Nineteen of Smith's other essays on Chinese élites, neighbourhoods, women and labour, missionaries and communities are collected in *A Sense of History: Studies in the Social and Urban History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Educational Publishing Co., 1995). Many more are scattered among a variety of books and journals.

2. The Wade-Giles romanization of Chinese characters is also preserved, and is used, for the sake of consistency, in this new preface.

parts. Smith has structured *Chinese Christians* so that the discussion moves progressively from the particular to the general. After a brief introduction sketching the early Protestant communities in China and Hong Kong, the book begins with studies of particular institutions, families and connections: all of these studies are enriched with thick description and a great deal of quotation. The book then turns to the formation of élites in the first half-century or so of colonial Hong Kong. Finally, the view broadens, with three concluding chapters on the complex, often contradictory, relationships between people, Church and government.

Despite holding together well as a book, *Chinese Christians* is not always an easy work to navigate. It does not have the single narrative sweep of many comparable urban or social histories (though there is chronological development within articles and, to some extent, among them). The richness of detail and the anecdotes that make the book such a pleasure to read often lead us away from the main point of each chapter: sometimes, indeed, the “point” is in the detail — in conveying an impression of the complexity and the muddle of so much of Hong Kong’s history. This is not a fault, but a product of Smith’s unusual methodology and of his reluctance to generalize. It might, however, be helpful to readers to provide a brief outline of the book and its main themes.

Chinese Christians is divided into two parts. In Part I, Smith examines the products of missionary education in a series of sketches that centre mainly on the schools and institutions in which they were taught. Chapter 1 draws on an extraordinary collection of letters and school essays to examine, mainly through the eyes of the students themselves, the effects of missionary education on a group of Chinese boys at the Morrison Education Society School in Macau and Hong Kong. This study is remarkable not just for its subjects — most of these boys grow up to be substantial figures in the modernization of China — but also for its touching vignettes of life at school, and for the cultural conflicts that it uncovers. In Chapter 2, Smith takes three of the graduates of this school, the Tong brothers, and traces their lives from humble childhood in Kwangtung Province of the 1830s and 1840s to wealth and fame in Hong Kong, Canton, Shanghai and Tientsin later in the century. This chapter illustrates one of the central arguments in *Chinese Christians*: the importance of an English-language education in launching careers in government, trade and industry. Chapter 3 enlarges on this theme, with an account of the lives of some of the translators, compradors and advisers — the

archetypal middlemen — who transmitted knowledge and mediated in transactions between Chinese and Europeans. The central part of this chapter contains Smith's well-known essay on Wei Akwong, another Morrison School student, who rose from hungry beggarboy in Macau to become one of Hong Kong's richest and most respected citizens.

In Chapter 4, Smith pauses to remind us that not all contact with missionaries led to Christian enlightenment, personal wealth and social advancement. Here he explores the part played by Christian missionaries in and around Hong Kong in the Taiping Rebellion of the mid-nineteenth century. The Taiping Rebellion devastated much of southern China over a period of 20 years and resulted in the deaths of more than 20 million people. Christianity provided some of the inspiration for the bizarre and corrupted mixture of beliefs that made up the Taiping ideology. Hong Kong was the centre of some of this inspiration and became a refuge for some of the rebels and their families. Smith's interest is not so much in ideas but in the details of the contacts between missionaries in Hong Kong and the Taiping rebels and their families. His study also traces the work of missionaries in preparing the most prominent of these rebels, Hung Jen-kan, for his vain attempt to introduce a truer version of Christianity into the Taiping capital at Nanking. The chapter concludes with a touching account of the fate of some of the remnants of the Taiping movement: the minor members and friends of the Taiping royal families who sought refuge in Hong Kong and help from missionaries to regain the life they had before the Taiping kingdom.

The final chapter in Part I (Chapter 5) examines the Hong Kong connections of a more successful revolutionary figure, Sun Yat-sen. Sun's baptism in Hong Kong by an American missionary in 1883 was an important step towards his relationships with overseas Chinese communities, which later helped him raise funds for his various revolutionary enterprises. Smith also takes up here a theme explored in his study of the businessman Tsang Lai-sun in Chapter 4, and of the Tong brothers in Chapter 2: the formation of a network of interconnected Chinese families stretching beyond Hong Kong along the China Coast.

Part II of *Chinese Christians* takes us deeper into the Chinese community of nineteenth-century Hong Kong, with two chapters that are among Carl Smith's most original — and certainly his most influential — contributions to Hong Kong history. In place of the traditional generalizations about a murky, leaderless rabble of transients and criminals, Chapter 6 offers a detailed and documented

anatomy of an organized Chinese community, with a clear leadership and sense of identity. For much of this chapter, Chinese Christians give place to generally non-Christian contractors, merchants and government employees, who organized and gave shape to Chinese society prior to the formation of the Tung Wah Hospital — the headquarters of Chinese power — in the early 1870s. Here we meet some of early Hong Kong's most colourful citizens: Loo AQUI, the sleazy head of the colony's gambling and retail drug empires, and the main reason why early British rulers were so concerned about the kind of people settling in the colony; the wealthy Tam Achoy and Kwok Acheong, who became leaders of the early Chinese community; and the newspaper editor, Chan Oi-ting, who was to become China's first Consul-General in Havana.

The final part of Chapter 6 notes the importance of Christian missions in producing leaders who could work out more effective and lasting relationships with the colonial government. This point is further brought out in Chapter 7, which explores the institutions and experiences that served as launching pads or stepping stones to success in nineteenth-century Hong Kong: the Church, western-style education, government employment, marriage or liaison with Europeans, previous experience in other colonies, professional status, community service, and — common to nearly all of these categories — proficiency in the English language. While Chapter 6 deals with a kaleidoscope of characters and situations prior to the establishment of the Tung Wah Hospital, Chapter 7 presents a more certain route to dynastic power and influence in Hong Kong — the acquisition of English — a tool which had its origins in the old Canton system and which has continued to wield importance long after the period covered by this book.

The final three chapters contain Carl Smith's reflections on the topics covered in *Chinese Christians*. These reflections take us into more abstract spheres. But they are still grounded in solid fact and gain strength from carefully chosen vignettes that sharply illustrate the conflicts and contradictions of nineteenth-century Hong Kong. The reader who wishes to know Smith's personal view of Hong Kong history should look here rather than in the largely narrative introduction. The earlier chapters deal with largely progressive events and processes: the formation of communities, for example, the growth of understanding between people of different backgrounds, and the building of careers and family fortunes. These final chapters take us into darker regions, and the observations in them are not comfortable ones.

In Chapter 8, Smith dwells on the racial and cultural barriers between European missionaries and Chinese Christians, and on the anomalies in the position of missionaries in nineteenth-century China: their reliance on imperial power and on funding from opium merchants; the contradictions between Christian values and the behaviour of Europeans in China; the layers of distrust between missionaries and their students. Like the other concluding chapters, this one is packed with telling anecdotes and quotations, including a scathing attack on Christian hypocrisy from Chu Tak-leung, a language teacher who was dismissed by his missionary employers after they found opium-smoking equipment in his room. Chapter 9 reflects on the role of the Church in what Smith refers to as “the Hong Kong situation”: the city’s complex meaning for its Chinese inhabitants as a place of refuge, freedom and opportunity, yet also as a place in which they were marginalized from both the colonial community and their own origins. The final chapter (Chapter 10) explores another awkward issue in the early Church in Hong Kong — the conflicts, and the areas of concurrence, between traditional Chinese values and Christian teaching. Out of conflict comes much confusion and frustration, but also some progress: a large part of this chapter discusses, with great sensitivity, the role of the Church in the quiet liberation of Chinese women in Hong Kong.

* * *

It should be clear even from the bald summary above that *Chinese Christians* is not a simple book. Nor is it one that can be easily categorized. It contributes substantially to practically all aspects of Hong Kong history — social, economic, political, cultural — yet it cannot be described as a conventional “general history”. The title highlights Chinese Christians and Hong Kong. But some of the most important material in the book deals with people who barely came into contact with Christianity, and its geographical scope stretches the whole length of the China Coast, down to the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, and across to California. This is a work primarily of social and cultural history, not of religious or church history: even the “Christians” are (according to ancient Hong Kong usage) exclusively Protestants, and not members of the larger community of Roman Catholics. The most seminal chapter — on the emergence of a Chinese élite in early Hong Kong — deals with men who hardly came into contact with Christianity at all. The focus of *Chinese Christians* is on social élites, yet many of its most memorable characters are those who fell by the wayside.

Most striking of all, particularly to students of Hong Kong history brought up on the works of Endacott, Eitel and Sayer, *Chinese Christians* pays almost no direct attention to the colonial side of Hong Kong society. Compare this book, for example, with G.B. Endacott's *Biographical Sketch-book of Early Hong Kong*, first published in 1962, just a year or two after Carl Smith arrived in Hong Kong (and read John Carroll's new introduction to this work for an explanation of Endacott's entirely eurocentric approach).³ *Chinese Christians* moved the discussion of Hong Kong history away from its whiggish colonial framework, and away from the small number of Europeans who ran the official side of the colony, towards an understanding of the people who lived *with* (rather than *under*) colonial rule. The colonial presence is there, but it is a shadowy presence: governors, officials and European merchants are distant shadows, while men and women prominent in the Chinese community, but unheard of in most other histories, move to centre stage. The picture that emerges is not that of a passive, faceless Chinese community thriving under British tutelage, but one of men and women using the machinery of colonialism to launch professions, gather riches, secure political influence and build dynasties. *Chinese Christians* shows continuity, development, organization and self-awareness within the Chinese community, and particularly in its élites. In doing this, it quietly demolishes one of the central tenets of the traditional colonial histories: that the Chinese in Hong Kong were a passive, fragmented, loosely organized community of sojourners, who did not begin to look on Hong Kong as home until well into the twentieth century.

One of the other tenets of traditional historical writing about Hong Kong has been the idea that important sources for Hong Kong history have disappeared, whether through periodic clearing-out exercises, through destruction during the Japanese occupation, or through consumption by white ants, or some other scourge. There is much truth in this idea. But often it was an excuse for assuming that the few sources that survived had been exhausted, and that there was not much that one could say about some aspects of Hong Kong history — particularly the Chinese experience — even if one wanted to. *Chinese Christians* decisively overturned this notion by showing how imagination, persistence, and careful cross-referencing could throw up all kinds of materials for producing a detailed and coherent picture

3. G.B. Endacott, *A Biographical Sketch-book of Early Hong Kong* (with an introduction by John Carroll) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005).

of Chinese life in the colony. It introduced new sources, used new methodology, and achieved a degree of accuracy that, among other things, makes it possible to reprint this work without the need of corrections, despite all of the new research that has been carried out since its original publication.

Prior to Carl Smith's research (and with the exception of the notable work done on the rural areas by James Hayes and others), the source base for Hong Kong history had been notoriously narrow. Those few, such as Endacott, who bothered to research primary materials tended to stick to the core colonial archives, and to borrow many of their observations and conclusions from governors and senior officials. Those with insight and originality, like H.J. Lethbridge, bothered little with primary research. Smith's investigations into the sources are exhaustive. They cover the colonial canon as a matter of course, though they take little from it. They extend to newspapers, missionary archives, Chinese-language materials, private letters and other sources. In a pioneering way, they also find rich material in land records, wills and other sources that had hardly been glanced at. Smith's historical research is unprecedented in Hong Kong for its depth and detail, and it set new standards for Hong Kong history.

Smith's methodology is first to ask large questions and then to answer them by distilling masses of carefully organized research material into answers. There is a hint of how this process works on page 167 of *Chinese Christians*, where, having outlined the anatomy of the English-speaking Chinese élite in nineteenth-century Hong Kong, Smith says (with customary understatement) that his purpose in writing the chapter is "to refine some of the raw material, to systematize some of the data, before any positive sociological statements ... could be made". This process of refinement can be roughly summarized as follows:

- Information is gleaned from the primary sources and added (originally by hand and later by typewriter) to 8" by 5" library index cards, which are organized in filing cabinets according to individual names. Smith has, during nearly 50 years of research, accumulated some 140,000 of these index cards. Further records are organized according to neighbourhoods, streets and landholdings.
- Big questions — Did becoming Christians make converts less Chinese and more westernized? Did their social and economic position change? — are asked, and answers are sought from the huge mass of material accumulated on the index cards.

- The information on the index cards is pieced together according to topic, family, neighbourhood or institution and then transferred into a more narrative or explanatory format.
- The text is refined and moulded into material suitable for publication.
- Broad reflections and conclusions are added.

The style of *Chinese Christians* reflects this methodology. The work contains arguments and observations that are often strikingly original and sometimes controversial. But it is not a tightly organized thesis with the usual exposition, development and recapitulation: one important reason for this is that the research comes before, rather than after, the development of hypotheses, so that almost no fragment of information, however commonplace, is left ungleamed. The first impression may be that *Chinese Christians* is simple narrative or description, and, because it is largely biographical or prosopographical, much of it is indeed storytelling, though of a concentrated kind. Every so often, however, Smith steps back to observe the significance of what he has just described: the brief but focused conclusions to each chapter reveal that all of the detailed material in it serves to answer a clear set of questions, or to demonstrate broad observations. Smith himself compares this to “looking at a tree or a shrub in a great forest, perhaps getting lost for a while, and then beginning to see what this tree or that shrub had in relation to its neighbours, and suddenly seeing the whole ecological picture”.⁴

There are three further ingredients in Smith’s methodology. His remarkably precise memory of his own research tells him where to look among these thousands of index cards and gives him a control over his sources that is not readily available to the many researchers who use his cards for casual reference. His historical imagination, which ranges across the decades and into the very streets and homes of people in nineteenth-century Hong Kong, enables him to think through the choices, experiences and preoccupations of his subjects. His judgement and common sense, combined with the soundness of the research, never fail to maintain the confidence of the reader.

* * *

4. Quoted in May Holdsworth, *Foreign Devils: Expatriates in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2002), 147.

Chinese Christians, along with works by Henry Lethbridge, James Hayes, Elizabeth Sinn, David Faure, Chan Wai-kwan and Tsai Jung-fang, is one of the key texts in what might be called the Hong Kong school of Hong Kong history. Although its practitioners have never consciously claimed to be promoting a school, they can be easily differentiated from the Colonial school and the Nationalist school by their focus on Hong Kong and its people, rather than on the problems of colonial government or on Hong Kong as a topic in diplomatic relations. The Hong Kong schools tends to place Hong Kong's inhabitants, with all their complex experience and relationships, in the foreground, and to push the governors and officials who dominate the colonial and nationalist accounts into the background. In its methodological approach, the Hong Kong school makes wide use of previously untapped sources, particularly Chinese-language sources, and deploys the traditional colonial sources in a new and more critical way. Its centre of gravity, to use Smith's words, is in the life of ordinary people "and how they adapted or did not adapt to a colonial situation and the reasons for it".⁵

More broadly, and looking beyond Hong Kong, Smith's work on élite formation and social organization in Chinese and colonial cities can be likened to the work of William Rowe and Ho Ping-ti on China, and of Christopher Bayly and David Arnold on India. These historians have, like Smith, pioneered research into structures of power and continuity that complement or compete with those laid down by governments. Smith himself makes reference to earlier writings by Max Weber and R.H. Tawney in explaining the function of Christianity (or more specifically Protestantism) in the creation of wealthy élites.⁶ Outside of a few footnotes on works by other Hong Kong historians, this is the extent of his reference to other scholars. When asked about how his work fits into a larger historiography, he says that he is just filling in the gaps left by the more official colonial historians. If asked about his influence on other scholars, he tends to talk about graduate students who have recently sparked an interest.

This is characteristic Smith understatement, and a reminder that his consuming passion is pure historical search rather than theorizing or self-reflection. Needless to say, his influence has been far greater than he would have us believe. It extends to practically all of the

5. Ibid.

6. Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 193. The works referred to are Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* and R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*.

historians who have worked on Hong Kong over the last three or four decades: there are few among them who have not drawn material and ideas from his published works, and many who would have written a very different version of events had these works not existed. This influence comes not just from the contents of these works, but in what Smith has revealed about the source base for Hong Kong history and in the exceptionally high standards he has set for accuracy. Equally important, Smith's massive card index, a copy of which is now kept at the Hong Kong Public Records Office, has been delved into by researchers into all aspects of Hong Kong's past and treated almost as a canon of primary sources on early Hong Kong society. This is no small achievement for a historian who began his research as a sideline to his vocation in the Church.

Carl Thurman Smith was born on 10 March 1918 at Dayton, Ohio: Dayton was at that time a moderately large industrial city, and the home of Orville and Wilbur Wright, the pioneers of aviation. Smith took a Bachelor of Arts degree at DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana in 1940 and graduated from the Union Theological Seminary, New York as a Master of Divinity in 1943. In the same year he was ordained as minister in the Evangelical and Reformed Church (now the United Church of Christ). After two years as Pastor of Dewey Avenue Reformed Church, Rochester, New York, he became Founding Pastor of St Stephen's United Church of Christ at Philadelphia. Then, in 1960, he decided he wanted to go into missionary work and joined the United Board for World Ministries, which sent him, after a few months of Cantonese training at Yale University, to the Hong Kong Council of the Church of Christ in China. In Hong Kong he lectured in theology first at the Church's Theological Institute in Tuen Mun, and then between 1962 and 1983 at Chung Chi Seminary and its successor, the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

While still a schoolboy, and later during his time as pastor in Philadelphia, he developed an interest in family history and genealogy — both his own and that of other people in the places in which he lived. In Hong Kong, when asked to teach a course on the history of the Protestant Church in China, he discovered that most of the books on this subject “dealt with what the missionaries did and not who the Chinese converts were”. Smith was not willing to teach the subject just from the missionary point of view.

I thought to myself — the students are young Chinese who would be working with Chinese people, and they ought to know

more about the origins of the Church as it affected Chinese lives. I thought I would try and get as much material as I could about early Chinese converts in the missions, particularly in this area of China, using the same methodology that I had employed for my genealogical research in the USA and looking at all the archives I could find.⁷

This, then, was the stimulus for the research that went into *Chinese Christians*, and the explanation of its unusual methodology: fundamental questions about the impact of Christianity on individual lives; and genealogical research transformed into historical research into communities and social networks.

In 1983 Smith formally retired from teaching, although he continued to give courses at various universities in Hong Kong. He then devoted most of his time and energy to his research into Hong Kong and China Coast history. In 2002, at the age of 84, when he might be expected to start to take life easy, he took on a full-time position with the Instituto Cultural of Macau, under whose auspices he is continuing work begun some years ago on the history of society and social élites in Macau. He now spends most of his time in Macau, returning to Hong Kong from time to time for meetings, seminars and other events. There has been no relaxation in his work routine, which begins early in the morning and stretches into the evening, although it now usually includes a generous afternoon nap.

We might expect a man who spends most of his waking hours sifting through land records and old newspapers to be a somewhat solitary, obsessive figure, with perhaps little time or inclination for socializing. Carl Smith is quite the opposite of this. He has often said that the greatest reward from his work is the large number of friends that it has introduced him to. These are friends, new and old, from all parts of the world and from all walks of life, who visit or correspond with him about all aspects of Hong Kong history. His home is rarely free of visitors, who come not just for the index cards but to find what cannot be set down in writing or tracked in footnotes: the advice, insights and guidance of a scholar with nearly half a century of research behind him. Many have gone to him to clarify facts or fill gaps, but have come away with new ideas and questions about the patterns and shapes of Hong Kong history.

7. Quoted in Holdsworth, *Foreign Devils*, 144.

Yet it would be misleading to present Carl Smith as some grand patriarchal figure, or as a solemn oracle with an answer for everything and an aversion to small talk. He has many questions of his own to ask, and (after research) his great passion is conversation. His interest is in people, and he listens as much as he speaks. Like all good conversation, talk with him tends to stray well beyond its starting point, and, given his curiosity about the foibles of historical figures (living and dead), often becomes irreverent. The welcome he gives to those who consult him, and the complete absence of any sense of proprietorship over his research have set the tone for the collegial way in which Hong Kong history is practised. The humour and the warmth have created many lasting friendships. The interest he takes in other people's research makes him the greatest single source on what other Hong Kong scholars are working on at any given time.

Chinese Christians was first published when Hong Kong's transition from British colony to Special Administrative Region of China had just begun. A year before, in 1984, Great Britain and China had made their Joint Declaration on the future of Hong Kong. Although the declaration gave many reassurances, there were concerns about whether people in Hong Kong would continue to enjoy their traditional way of life after 1997. In the spirit of the times, and in keeping with the subject matter of the book, the introduction and epilogue to *Chinese Christians* raises questions about the prospects for freedom of research and religion in the territory, and the future path of institutions such as the Royal Asiatic Society (which co-published the book) and the Christian Church. Twenty years on, many of these questions are now being answered. People still worship freely. The Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held on to its royal connections in 1997 and now has more members than it had in 1985. Stimulated by world interest in Hong Kong in the run-up to 1997, academic research is flourishing, especially in the field of Hong Kong studies. In many ways, *Chinese Christians* asks, and goes a long way towards answering, more fundamental historical questions about the nature and origins of Hong Kong society. This book is important to anyone with an interest in Hong Kong's development as a city, and particularly to those who may believe that a "Hong Kong identity" was a creation of the late twentieth century.

Introduction

THIS introductory chapter provides a framework for the more detailed studies in succeeding chapters. It sketches the introduction of Christianity into China and the organization of Chinese Protestant congregations in Hong Kong in the nineteenth century; it makes selected reference to some of the Chinese workers in these congregations, describes the missionary's attitude towards those who were not Christians and his educational philosophy, and explains the role of missionary schools in the creation of a new type of China-coast middleman.

Christianity, like Buddhism, was brought to China from the West. Buddhism was introduced into China from India. Christianity came by trade routes from Central Asia. The first certain evidence of Christianity in China is in the Tang dynasty. A stele at Hsianfu erected in AD 781 records the arrival of a Nestorian Christian, 'A-lo-pen', in AD 635. The Nestorian form of Christianity, even though it took on certain Chinese characteristics in its new environment, slowly withered into insignificance. Roman Catholic missionaries from Europe arrived in China at the end of the thirteenth century. With the collapse of the Mongol domination of China, Christianity again died out. In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese pioneered another wave of Catholic missionaries. Since then, a Christian presence has been continuously maintained in China through periods of favour and disfavour.

Protestant clergy accompanied the Dutch in their occupation of Formosa in the seventeenth century and made an attempt to convert the natives of the island. After this effort, which had no lasting results, no Protestant missionary came to China until 1807, when the Revd Robert Morrison arrived at Canton. He was not welcomed by the East India Company, which controlled British trade with China. Indeed, the attitude of the Company towards missionaries forced Morrison to arrive on an American ship and to take up residence as a guest of an American firm whose partners were eager to see Protestant mission work begin in China. Two years after his arrival, Morrison was offered the post of translator for the East India Company. His acceptance regularized his residence at Canton and Macau. Though his missionary interest

was not welcomed by the Company, his language skills were. The missionary and his students, who were educated in the English language, were used as necessary language links between foreigners and Chinese.

The first conversion of Chinese by Protestant missionaries occurred in overseas Chinese communities, principally at Malacca, Penang, Singapore, Batavia, and Bangkok. (A list of converts up to 1843 is given in the Appendix.)

By the Treaty of Nanking, signed in 1842, five ports in China were opened for foreign residence. Though the missionary would have wished for completely free access to China, he welcomed the opportunity the treaty provided; and with the cession of Hong Kong to the British, there was an area on the edge of China where he could be free from the expected hostility and harassment of Chinese officials. It was soon recognized, however, that Hong Kong was not China and that relations between foreigners and Chinese in a colony were different from those in Chinese cities. The missionaries had ambivalent feelings about these differences.

The first Chinese to come to the new settlement of Victoria on Hong Kong Island did not represent a cross-section of Chinese society. They came for economic advantage or to escape from Chinese jurisdiction. Later, Hong Kong became a refuge for those fleeing disturbances in China.

For missionaries Hong Kong was a place to bide until the terms of the treaty between England and China had been fixed, signed, and ratified, and had become operative. Most of the missionaries who had been working in the Chinese communities in South-east Asia and those living in Macau came to Hong Kong before moving on to the treaty ports. Some, however, remained to establish the Chinese Protestant Church in Hong Kong.

Within days of the unfurling of the British flag on Possession Point on Hong Kong Island in 1841, a party of missionaries came from Macau to look over the island to see whether it would be a suitable field for their work. A year later, in February 1842, the first missionary took up permanent residence: the Revd Issachar J. Roberts, a Baptist, moved over from Macau. A month later, he was joined by the Revd J. Lewis Shuck and his wife, Henrietta. She was the first foreign lady to reside in Hong Kong. In the same year, their colleague, the Revd William Dean, and his wife arrived from Bangkok. The relationship between Roberts and Shuck was

strained and Roberts moved to the village of Stanley. For a short time he conducted a school there.

A Baptist congregation was organized in Hong Kong in May 1842, and in July a chapel was opened on Queen's Road west of its junction with Wellington Street. In April 1843, the Baptist Church had nine European and three Chinese members. A month later, Dean organized a separate Chiu Chow-speaking congregation of three members.

The Baptist mission opened a boarding-school in the spring of 1844 with fifteen pupils. Dr Thomas T. Devan arrived in October 1844 and, shortly afterwards, opened a dispensary in Kowloon City. Both the school and the dispensary were short-lived, for Devan and Shuck, along with nine Chinese assistants, the entire Cantonese-speaking congregation, moved to Canton in April 1845. Roberts also moved to Canton, taking a few converts with him.

Dean remained in Hong Kong. His work among Chiu Chow speakers was extended to Stanley, to the village of To Kwa Wan on the Kowloon peninsula, and to the island of Cheung Chau. The American Baptist Mission in Hong Kong was closed in 1860 and its work transferred to the newly opened port of Swatow. However, a small Chiu Chow-speaking congregation continued in Hong Kong. Fifteen years later, in 1875, the widow of the Revd John Johnson organized a school for girls and was active in the affairs of the congregation. The members of the congregation were gradually shifting from the Chiu Chow dialect to the Cantonese. They received occasional visits from the missionaries of the Southern Baptist Convention at Canton. A report dated 1889 states that there were sixty members on the books but only twenty were counted as faithful.

A wealthy American lady visited Hong Kong in 1896 and donated money for a building for the congregation which, through the years, had been meeting in rented premises. In 1901, the Hong Kong Chinese Baptist Church was organized as a self-supporting congregation with thirty-eight members in a newly opened building on Peel Street. This congregation is the present Caine Road Baptist Church.

The Revd James Legge of the London Missionary Society moved the station at Malacca to Hong Kong in May 1843. He brought with him a small group of nine converts, several of whom were young people. They formed the nucleus of a reorganized

Anglo-Chinese College which had originally been founded at Malacca in 1819 by the Revds William Milne and Robert Morrison. Legge closed both it and his Theological College in 1856, at the time considering them to have been failures.

In Hong Kong Legge organized a Union Church for foreigners and also gathered a Chinese congregation. A Chinese pastor, the Revd Ho Fuk-tong, was ordained in 1846. Elders and deacons were elected in 1847. At the time, the church had twenty members. In 1875, a constitution was adopted for 'The Independent Chinese Church of Hong Kong'. The congregation increasingly assumed its financial obligations. In 1863, two auxiliary chapels were opened—one to the west in Tai Ping Shan, the other to the east in Wan Chai. To build these the Chinese contributed \$1,300. A few years later they raised \$1,000 to build a chapel at Fat Shan (Fo San) in Kwangtung Province. By 1884, they were able to provide full support for their newly elected pastor, the Revd Wong Yuk-cho.

Through the years, the congregation had met on Sunday afternoons in the Union Church. In 1888, they occupied a part of their own new building on Hollywood Road near Aberdeen Street. As a fully independent congregation, they adopted the name 'To Tsai Church'. In 1926, this congregation moved to Bonham Road under a new name, Hop Yat Church.

In the 1880s, the area in which the Tai Ping Shan chapel had been built was resumed by the Government as a plague-prevention measure. The work there was transferred to Yee Wo Street at Causeway Bay. In 1919, this congregation was moved to Eastern Hospital Road, So Kon Po, as Shing Kwong Church of the Church of Christ in China.

Work was started by the London Missionary Society and To Tsai Church in Sham Shui Po in Kowloon in 1892. Out of this work the present Shum Oi Church, of the Church of Christ in China, was organized. In the same year that work was started at Sham Shui Po, a chapel was opened in a store at Yau Ma Tei. The members of Union Church and To Tsai Church organized the New Territories Evangelization Society in 1898 to send evangelists to this newly acquired area.

Although a colonial chaplain, the Revd Vincent Stanton, arrived in Hong Kong in 1843, work among the Chinese by the Anglican Church was slow in getting under way. Stanton was interested in such work but his main responsibility was the spiritual

welfare of the British community. In 1847, however, he gathered some Chinese boys into a class. In 1850, the first Bishop of Victoria, the Right Revd George Smith, brought with him to Hong Kong funds and plans to reorganize Stanton's school on a larger scale as St. Paul's College. Three of its students were baptized in June 1851. They were followed by other students from the College, the Diocesan Native Female Training School (1860) and schools conducted by Miss Magrath and Miss Baxter. The student converts worshipped with the Cathedral congregation.

The first Anglican missionary sent to Hong Kong to establish a Chinese congregation was the Revd Thomas Stringer, who arrived in 1862. Two years later, a site on Gap Street—now a part of Hollywood Road—was secured for a church. St. Stephen's was opened there in 1866. It was hoped that the new congregation would have the support of the Christian old boys from St. Paul's, but they showed little interest.

Stringer left after three years and his successor, the Revd Charles Warren, was also in Hong Kong for only three years. Their short tenures impeded the proper growth of the congregation in spite of the continuity provided by their Chinese assistant, the Revd Lo Sam-yuen. The congregation only began to show substantial growth under the pastorate of the Revd Kwong Yat-sau (Matthew Fong), who served from 1883 to 1902. In 1888, St. Stephen's was moved to Pok Fu Lam Road and today is on Bonham Road.

The Church Missionary Society worked intermittently on the Kowloon peninsula at Yau Ma Tei. Evangelical work was begun in 1890 but was soon discontinued. It was resumed from 1894 to 1898 and out of this work All Saints' Church was established at Ho Man Tin in 1903. In 1898, the Anglicans organized mission work at Ping Shan in the New Territories, not far from Yuen Long.

The Revd Charles Gutzlaff, while serving as the Chinese Secretary to the Hong Kong Government, organized the Chinese Union in 1844. This was an important means of broadcasting Christian ideas in China and planted seeds which contributed to the Christian element in the ideology of the Taiping movement. To assist him in his work, Gutzlaff recruited young men from the Basel, Rhenish and Berlin Missionary Societies. After a brief stay in Hong Kong, they were sent into the interior of Kwangtung Province. When the second Sino-British war broke out, these missionaries sought refuge in Hong Kong. While there, they gathered

a group of followers for worship. When peace came, the missionaries returned to their stations on the mainland but the Revd Rudolph Lechler of the Basel Missionary Society remained in Hong Kong. Under his direction, a church was built for a Hakka-speaking congregation in 1863 on High Street in Sai Ying Pun.

A church was built for Hakka settlers at Shau Kei Wan in 1861. Another group of Hakkas formed a congregation at Sham Shui Po in Kowloon in 1886 and yet another at Lung Yeuk Tau near Fanling in the New Territories in 1898. All of these congregations are now part of the Tsung Tsin Church in Hong Kong, the successor of the Basel Missionary Society.

The Rhenish Missionary Society established a church in 1898 for members who had moved to Hong Kong from their country churches in Kwangtung Province. They occupied a site on Bonham Road that now lies just east of the University of Hong Kong.

The mission board of the Congregational Church, in response to appeals from Chinese converts at their California mission, sent the Revd Charles Hager to Hong Kong in 1883. He organized a congregation in a building rented on Bridges Street for use as a school and residence. One of the congregation's first members was Sun Yat-sen, then a student at Queen's College. About the turn of the century, a church was built on Ladder Street for this group, called the China Congregational Church—in Chinese, Kung Lei Tong.

The Wesleyan Methodists established a congregation in Hong Kong in 1884. Like the Rhenish Church, it was formed of members who had moved to Hong Kong from Kwangtung. After worshipping at a number of sites, the congregation built a church on Hennessy Road in Wan Chai in 1936.

Congregations are made up of people. The early Churches in Hong Kong were organized by missionaries, but to have a congregation they needed followers and assistants. The influence of the Church on people's lives is the theme of this book. A brief account follows of some of the Chinese who worked with the missionaries to build the Hong Kong Church. In other chapters fuller details are given of the careers of some of those mentioned.

When the Revd I.J. Roberts, the first Protestant missionary to live in Hong Kong, came over from Macau, he was accompanied by an old, frail, and sickly follower named Chan. Before attaching himself to Roberts, Chan had been a member of a beggar group in Macau. He was baptized in the waters at Stanley village in June

1842, four months after his arrival, the first Chinese to be baptized on Hong Kong Island. Roberts moved to Canton in May 1844 and took Chan with him, but he died the following year. At that time Roberts paid him the following tribute, 'He has done me much assistance and has often made my heart glad that I came to China.'

Roberts' colleague, the Revd J.L. Shuck, took under his patronage a young man named Julian Ahone or, to give him his Chinese name, Wei Ng. Julian had brought with him from the United States in 1843 a letter of introduction to the Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong from a congregation in Baltimore, Maryland, where he had been baptized and received as a member. After a time, Shuck's assistant began to act strangely. He went about the neighbourhood claiming to be a king seeking his queen. He was arrested for theft and given a public flogging; Shuck tried to rehabilitate him but was not successful.

When the Revd William Dean joined Roberts and Shuck in Hong Kong, he was accompanied by several converts he had made in Bangkok. One of these was killed in April 1843 when he intervened as a peacemaker in a street quarrel.

The Revd Elijah Bridgman of the American Board mission came over from Macau in 1843. He opened a small building in the Lower Bazaar as a chapel, school, and dispensary, though most of his time was devoted to the editing and publishing of the *Chinese Repository*. He had two assistants, Wei Akwong, the first student taken under the patronage of the Morrison Education Society, and Liang Tsin-tih, son of the first ordained Chinese evangelist, Liang A-fa.

Of the few remaining converts of the London Missionary Society station at Malacca, James Legge brought with him to Hong Kong in 1843 Ho Fuk-tong, Ho A-sam, and Kueh A-gong (otherwise known as Wat Ngong). Ho Fuk-tong was the first Chinese pastor ordained in Hong Kong and rendered years of valuable service to the congregation organized by the London mission. Ho A-sam had a block-cutting and print shop next to the Lower Bazaar Chapel of the mission and did evangelistic work in his spare time. Kueh A-gong was assistant and evangelist at the Medical Missionary Hospital on Morrison Hill.

The first Bishop of Victoria, the Anglican Bishop who founded St. Paul's College in 1851, brought with him from England a young Chinese, Chan Tai-kwong, whom he planned to prepare for holy orders. But, after a few years, the glint of gold became too allur-

ing and Tai-kwong left the Bishop's care for a business career in the Chinese Bazaar, but he soon became bankrupt after over-extending himself as the opium monopolist.

The Bishop had the assistance of Lo Sam-yuen at St. Paul's College from 1850 to 1855. In the latter year, Lo Sam-yuen emigrated to Australia, where he served as a catechist in the gold fields under the Bishop of Melbourne. He returned to Hong Kong in 1862. The following year he was ordained a deacon. He assisted the Church Missionary Society agents in organizing and caring for St. Stephen's congregation until his retirement.

Lo Sam-yuen was succeeded at St. Stephen's by another returned Australian sojourner, Kwong Yat-sau, also known as Matthew Fong. Upon returning to Hong Kong in 1874, Kwong attached himself to the Anglicans but soon moved to assist in the work of the London Missionary Society congregation. From there, he returned to the Anglicans in 1883 when he was ordained a deacon. In the following year he became priest. He served at St. Stephen's until 1902, when he retired to Kowloon City.

The Revd Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff—Anglicized to Charles Gutzlaff—organized the Chinese Union in June 1844. It had twenty-one members, all Chinese except for Gutzlaff and Roberts. Its purpose was to train men to distribute scriptures and tracts in all parts of China and to spread the Christian faith. The Chinese Union grew rapidly and within four years reported six hundred converts. When Gutzlaff visited Europe in 1849 to raise funds, he left the Revd T. Hamberg in charge of the Union. Hamberg and other missionaries questioned the sincerity of the majority of the members of the Union. An investigation was held and many were dismissed. Hamberg reported that of two hundred members, fifty were opium-smokers and seventy to eighty had given false names and places of their work.

When Gutzlaff returned to Hong Kong in 1850, he tried to revitalize the Chinese Union, but he died the following year. Though his widow and the Revd R. Neumann, whom Gutzlaff had recruited from the Berlin Missionary Society, tried to keep the work going, when Neumann left in 1855 the Chinese Union ceased to exist.

From its members the Rhenish and Basel Missionary Societies inherited a few faithful workers. The Union did penetrate into China with the Christian message and literature. These had an influence on some of the leaders of the Taiping movement.

Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries brought with them

the idea of Christendom and its correlative attitude towards those beyond Christendom. The concept of Christendom had a triple heritage: religiously it drew upon the Hebrew-Christian faith, culturally it looked to Greece, and politically its model was the Roman Empire. Each strand contributed to the definition of the person beyond Christendom. From the religious standpoint he was the gentile infidel to be converted, culturally he was the barbarian to be civilized, and politically he was the enemy to be subdued. The imperialism of the nineteenth century added to these three objectives the economic incentive of commercial exploitation under the name of 'free trade'.

The missionary seldom freed himself from this understanding of those beyond Christendom. His primary objective was the evangelization of the heathen. He came to extend what he regarded as the civilizing benefits of Christendom. The Christian message of peace made him uneasy about excessive use of military force in the process of domination, but he rationalized its use as the wrath of God working for the salvation of souls.

The missionary brought these views to his work among the Chinese. Their religious practices were idolatrous, their customs were inferior, their morality was degrading, their intellect was stunted, and their educational system was outmoded. The missionary task was to convert, to civilize, to improve, and to educate. The relationship implicit in this task was that of superior-inferior. The missionary had something to give, his listeners and followers were expected to receive. The missionary was to set the example, the convert was to imitate. The missionary, who realized the dangers in this relationship, struggled to assist the Chinese Christians to arrive at maturity, equality, and independence.

It was a painful struggle. Once one had agreed with the criticism of old ideas and practices, become a follower, had been under instruction, and had accepted the tasks assigned, it was not easy to become creative, to assume leadership, to teach, and to direct. A reversal of roles and a transfer of power became necessary. Though such changes were difficult, they were inevitable.

The Chinese Church today is living in a different era. The concept of Christendom has lost its force; colonial imperialism is all but gone; there is a greater appreciation of values in cultural traditions other than one's own. There are no missionaries, as such, in China; in Hong Kong, they are a dying breed.

The problem of relating to another culture had to be faced in the

early schools conducted by missionaries, particularly in those which provided an English-language education. The missionaries opened such schools because there was an urgent need for Chinese who could translate and write Christian literature. In addition, they hoped that some of their students, when converted, would continue their studies to prepare themselves as catechists, evangelists, and pastors.

In the early period of Protestant missions there were few, if any, theological, homiletic, or pastoral books in Chinese. This meant that students needed to be able to read English if they were to meet the standards the missionaries regarded as necessary for workers in the Church. The missionaries had a low opinion of traditional Chinese educational methods and questioned the value of a comprehensive knowledge of the Chinese classics and the ability to write essays in the traditional style.

The missionaries wished their students to have a knowledge of world and biblical history, mathematics, natural and moral philosophy, and a scientific understanding of the world. It was hoped that they could be trained to approach these subjects with a questioning mind. In short, they wished to produce students who would have enough ability in the Chinese language to translate from it and write literature in it. Yet, at the same time, they were to be versed in the English language and have a knowledge of subjects considered necessary in a Western-style education.

The results of their educational efforts were not what they planned. They created a man who stood between two cultures, a man who was not altogether at home in either. He was not wholly in the Chinese model, nor was he altogether Western. This dual aspect of his thought and outlook enabled him to fill a needed place in the meeting of the Chinese nation with foreigners promoting trade and commerce. The foreign merchant needed a Chinese to supervise the Chinese side of his business. Chinese merchants trading with foreigners needed a Chinese who understood the foreigner and who could speak his language. The Governments of both China and Hong Kong needed translators and interpreters. In Hong Kong, the colonial Government needed a group of Chinese who could advise them about policies affecting the Chinese under their jurisdiction. Beginning with Commissioner Lin's seizure of the opium of foreign merchants at Canton and continuing through the succeeding years of the Ch'ing dynasty, Chinese officials needed the advice and assistance of Chinese who

were well acquainted with foreign practices and ways of thought. The English-educated Chinese found themselves in demand on the China coast.

This group of Chinese interpreters, compradores, advisers to officials and Government, and men in various professions created a distinct culture in the China coast cities. Their way of life was a mixture of their Chinese inheritance overlaid with an understanding of Western ways and thoughts.

The emergence and functions of this new type of middleman in China in the later part of the Ch'ing dynasty have been the subject of numerous studies. Most of these have considered the activities of these middlemen within China and their role in its industrial and commercial modernization and in the reform/revolutionary movement. This volume deals with these developments from the standpoint of Hong Kong.

Some of the earliest English-language schools on the China coast were at Hong Kong. The students trained in these schools were among the first to become middlemen within newly evolving relationships between foreigners and Chinese on the China coast. Many of these students remained in Hong Kong as interpreters, translators, compradores, and advisers to government officials. Others went to China to serve the same functions. Some went overseas. There they became links between their host country and the overseas Chinese communities. Of the several scores of students who went through the schools before 1860 not all rose to positions of leadership. For some, there are few records of their subsequent careers and they have slipped back into the mists of history.

In Hong Kong, the students of the English-language mission schools became a significant element in the emergence of a Chinese élite. Just as the students and other élites in Hong Kong adapted themselves to the ways of colonial administrators, so the Church adapted itself to the special conditions of a colony. At the same time, it made certain adjustments to Chinese cultural values and social patterns. These adjustments were a part of the struggle of the Church towards maturity and independence.

Notes

Notes to Chapter 1

1. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. X, 1841, p. 583.
2. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIII, 1844, pp. 634–8 for Brown's analysis of the Chinese language and quotations cited in the text.
3. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XI, 1842, p. 549.
4. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIII, 1844, p. 636.
5. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. X, 1841, p. 572.
6. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XI, 1842, p. 550.
7. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIII, 1844, p. 632.
8. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIII, 1844, p. 633.
9. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIII, 1844, p. 633.
10. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIV, 1845, p. 476.
11. Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength, A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850–1870* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 147.
12. Mrs Gutzlaff, the former Miss Wanstall, had conducted a girls' school at Malacca as an agent of the Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East. After marrying the Revd Charles Gutzlaff and moving to Macau, she opened a similar school there. She also accepted a few young boys into the school but soon gave up having a mixed school. The school was begun in 1836 and was discontinued when the Opium War broke out. Mrs Gutzlaff, accompanied by several blind girls she had in her care, then went to Manila.
13. Yung Wing, *My Life in China and America* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1909), pp. 2–3.
14. Yung Wing (1909), pp. 9–10.
15. *Eighth Annual Report of the Morrison Education Society for the Year ending September 30, 1846* (Hong Kong, China Mail Office, 1846), p. 33.
16. *Eighth Annual Report* (1846), p. 36.
17. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIII, 1844, p. 640.
18. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XII, 1843, p. 628.
19. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XII, 1843, p. 628.
20. *New York Observer*, 9 January 1841, 25 June 1842; W.E. Griffis, *A Maker of the New Orient, Samuel Robbins Brown* (New York, Fleming H. Revel and Co., 1902), pp. 77, 79–80; *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XI, 1842, pp. 339–40, Vol. XII, 1843, pp. 362–8, Vol. XIII, 1844, pp. 383–5; *Fourth Annual Report of the Morrison Education Society read September 28th 1842* (Macau, S. Wells Williams, 1842), pp. 27–31; and *Eighth Annual Report* (1846), pp. 33–6.
21. This is probably a misreading for Ats'euk. The apparently complete record of the students does not mention the name Aulseule.
22. *New York Observer*, 9 January 1841, p. 6.
23. *New York Observer*, 25 June 1842, p. 101.
24. *Fourth Annual Report* (1842), p. 27. The identification of the authors of the essays printed in this report is deduced from a comparison of the information given in the report concerning their age and time at the school with the published lists of students.
25. Griffis (1902), p. 77.
26. Griffis (1902), p. 80.
27. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIV, 1845, pp. 506–9.

28. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIV, 1845, p. 509. The essay proceeds to spell out the corrupt practices of the mandarins under six points:
- (a) They forcibly take money from the people;
 - (b) Opium-smugglers can buy their way out of punishment;
 - (c) They extort gifts from the rich under the pretence of borrowing;
 - (d) The customs officers and tax collectors extort excessive levies;
 - (e) They employ underlings but do not pay them, though they charge their services to the public expenses;
 - (f) A prisoner is tortured into a confession before any attempt is made to ascertain if he is innocent or guilty. If guilty, the judge will accept a ransom for his release.
29. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XI, 1842, p. 340.
 30. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XI, 1842, p. 340.
 31. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XI, 1842, p. 340.
 32. *Eighth Annual Report* (1846), p. 34.
 33. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XII, 1843, p. 364.
 34. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIII, 1844, p. 384.
 35. *Fourth Annual Report* (1842), p. 28.
 36. Lo Hsiang-lin, *Hong Kong and Western Culture* (Honolulu, East-West Center Press, 1963), pp. 57-8.
 37. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIII, 1844, pp. 383-4.
 38. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIV, 1845, pp. 516-19.
 39. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIV, 1845, pp. 515-16.
 40. *Eighth Annual Report* (1846), pp. 34-6.
 41. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIV, 1845, p. 512.
 42. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIV, 1845, pp. 304-5.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. 徐潤, 徐愚齋自敘年譜 (Hsü Jun, *Chronological Autobiography of Hsü Jun*) (1927), pp. 57-8; 劉廣京, 唐廷樞之買辦時代 (Liu Kuang-ching, 'T'ang T'ing-shu, His Compradore Years') in 清華學報 (*Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*), New Series 2, Vol. 2, 1961, pp. 143-83; 沈毓桂, 唐廷樞傳 (*Biography of T'ang T'ing-shu*), in 鮑隱塵文稿 (*Literary Notes of P'ao-yin-lu*); Albert Feuerwerker, *China's Early Industrialization* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 110-11; Yen-p'ing Hao, *The Comprador in Nineteenth Century China* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1970), see index; Chan Hok-lam, 'Four Chinese Students of the Hong Kong Morrison Memorial School', in F.S. Drake (ed.), *Historical, Archaeological and Linguistic Studies* (Hong Kong University Press, 1967), pp. 285-6; Ellsworth Carlson, *The Kaiping Mines (1877-1912)*, in Harvard University Chinese Economic and Political Science Studies, Special Series (Cambridge, 1957); and Kwang-ching Liu, 'A Chinese Entrepreneur', in Maggie Keswick (ed.), *The Thistle and the Jade* (London, Octopus Books, 1982).

Difficulties arise in research because of the complex Chinese system of naming. A Chinese may have several names and one of his names may be used in one document and another in another document. Alternatively, several aliases, as they are usually termed, may be given. Where aliases have been found, I have included them for further identification. In Chinese names, the surname comes first. This is most typically followed by a 'generation' name, which identifies the individual in terms of his descent group. Then comes the personal name. More rarely, there is no middle name, the generation being identified by the use of a particular radical attached to the phonetics of the characters for all personal names of individuals of one generation of the descent group. An individual may further have several names

which identify him as an actor in particular roles. Thus, he may have a name given by his parents, another added when he enters school, another when he marries; perhaps another when he joins an association or society; and another Western name if he is baptized a Christian. Chinese also have nicknames used by friends and close associates and it is quite common to replace the generation name by the appellation 'a' for informal use.

A confusion has arisen over the identity of Tong A-chick. Chan Hok-lam, in his article on the students of the Morrison School, identifies him as Tong King-sing. I myself had done so until Mr H. Mark Lai, President of the Chinese Historical Society of America, kindly drew my attention to the chop, Tong K. Achick, affixed to his translation into Chinese of a California law for the collection of the foreign miners' tax. The chop reads Tong Cheuk Mow Chee (唐植茂枝) (Bancroft Library, Berkeley, F862.3/C148x). When A-chick was admitted to the Morrison School in 1839 he was 11 years of age (hence born in 1828); his brother Akü was admitted in 1841, aged 10 (hence born in 1831). The sixty-first birthday celebration for Tong Mow-chee was held on 19 December 1888 (hence born in 1827); a similar celebration for Tong King-sing was reported on 3 June 1892 (hence born in 1831). *Daily Press*, 25 December 1888; *North China Herald and Supreme Court Consular Gazette*, 3 June 1892, p. 741.

2. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIV, 1845, pp. 504–19. This is one of the six essays written by pupils of the senior class. Unfortunately, the names of the writers are not given, so we are unable to relate the sentiments and interests of an essay to a particular member of the class. The titles of the other essays were 'Chinese Government', 'Labour', 'An imaginary voyage' (including a tour of the United States; this is interesting in view of the fact that all but one member of the class later travelled to America), 'Scriptures' (at least four of the class later professed Christianity), and 'Notions of the Chinese in regard to a future state'.

3. An incident in the later career of Tong King-sing illustrates this principle. While in the employ of Jardine, Matheson and Company in 1866, some question was raised regarding his honesty. He refutes this aspersion on his character by referring to his youthful education: 'Having received a thorough Anglo-Chinese education, I consider squeezing an Employer is a sinful and mean act' (Liu Kuang-ching, 1961, p. 165). When the foreign community at Tientsin organized a sixty-first birthday celebration for Tong King-sing, they did so to express 'their deep appreciation of the splendid straight-forwardness and rectitude of principle he had displayed in all his dealings with them' (*North China Herald and Supreme Court Consular Gazette*, 3 June 1892, p. 741).

4. As the name suggests, Tong-ka was the village of the 'Tong family'. The family had been resident in the Heung Shan District for generations and this was their family seat. In the Republican period there was an ambitious project to make the village a major port of China.

5. An uncle of Tong King-sing was a compradore to Charles G. Holdforth, Sheriff of Hong Kong from 1845 to 1849. Holdforth left Hong Kong for San Francisco and this may have influenced the uncle to follow him.

6. *Archives of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions*, Microfilm Reel 192, Vol. 6, No. 83, Macau, 26 January 1847, Vol. 2, No. 63, Macau, 24 February 1846, and Vol. 2, No. 66, Macau, 28 March 1846.

7. 'Seventh Annual Report of the Morrison Education Society', *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIV, 1845, pp. 473–4. The father quoted is not identified by name, but a detailed analysis of the student rolls of the school has led me to identify him as the father of Tong A-chick. With reference to the father, there is a baffling item in the Hong Kong Probate Calendar for 1897 in the *Government Gazette*. On 1 June 1897, an administration on the estate of one Tong A. Tow, who died on 28 November 1845 in Heung Shan District, was granted to Tong Chick, the only son. The estimated value of the estate was given as \$5,000. This may be the father of the three

boys. Tong King-sing died in 1892, the youngest brother may also have been dead by 1897, thus leaving Tong Mow-chee (Tong Chick or Tong A-chick) his only surviving son. Tong Mow-chee died at Shanghai on 6 July 1897.

8. The first five students were Aling, aged 16, from Macau, who was dismissed on 12 October 1840 for bad conduct; Atseuk, aged 14, from Shan Cheung, was driven from the school by his father on 19 August 1840, but returned on 1 June 1842; Ayun and Awai, both aged 11, from Shan Cheung, were removed by their father on 19 August 1840; and A-chick, aged 10, from Tong-ka. More students were admitted later. On 11 November 1839, Ahop, aged 12, was admitted from Tsin Shan, but after a few months' trial he was dismissed for stupidity. In March 1840, five more students were enrolled. Of these, the youngest, Alun, aged 10, could not adjust because of homesickness and was dismissed for going home repeatedly without permission. Tanyau, from Nam-ping, was also dismissed in June for bad conduct. Lee Akan, aged 14, from Ngau-hung-lai, Chau Awan (Chow Wan), aged 13, from Macau, and Wong Atu, aged 11, from Tung-nong, remained as permanent members of the first class. On 1 November 1840, Yung Wing, aged 13, from Nam-ping, was enrolled, and on 1 January 1841, Wong Ashing, aged 15, from Macau, became the last member to join the class. See student roll, *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XII, 1844, p. 263.

9. For the missionary orientation of the school, see Carl T. Smith, 'A Study of the Missionary Educational Philosophy of Samuel R. Brown from the Perspective of Inter-faith Encounter', *Ching Feng*, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1969, pp. 2-22.

10. *New York Observer*, 9 January 1841.

11. *New York Observer*, 25 June 1842.

12. A notice of the death of T'in Sau appeared in the *Hongkong Register* on 6 December 1853: 'Death of Hwang T'een Siu (commonly known as "Teen-sow") for some time in the service of the *T'aoutae* here, known as one of his linguists. Whether born in China or one of the Chinese settlements at "The Straits" does not appear. For some years he was in one of the Mission Schools at Singapore or Malacca, and came from thence to Hongkong and subsequently Shanghai. His arrival here was very soon after opening of the foreign settlement in 1842. For a time in service of foreigners, then went into service of native merchants. He professed himself a Christian and was often seen in worshipping assemblies on the Lord's day. During naval operations on the river below Chin-kiang he was sent back and forth between the fleet and the *T'aoutae*. His sympathies were with the rebels. Probably the reason his master *T'aoutae* Wu dismissed him. He applied to foreign houses for employment, but was not successful, so he joined forces with the *T'aoutae*'s foes in the city. He had not been a week in the city when he became obnoxious to his new master. He was charged with being a spy, and was "cut to pieces". The reasons for his breaking friendship with his new master, and undertaking to act as a spy, do not appear; but that he did so, his best friends admit. The circumstances of his death are too terrible to be related. At their recital Samqua (*Tao-tai* Wu) is said to have cried like a baby.'

13. See Carl T. Smith, 'Commissioner Lin and His Translators', *Chung Chi Bulletin*, No. 42, 1967, pp. 29-36.

14. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIII, 1844, p. 625. Several years after the first boys were sent, Governor Davis requested more students. This time, Mr Brown took a firmer stand and was willing to have a show-down on the issue. The Presbyterian missionary, Andrew P. Happer, reported the matter in a letter to his mission board: 'Within a week Mr. Brown writes he has had correspondence with the Governor terminated rather crabdily on the part of the Governor in relation to boys for the public service. The Governor asking for some as if he felt he had a perfect right to call for any anytime he might wish them. Mr. Brown wrote to him that the boys are engaged to stay for a certain number of years and that he had no authority from the Trustees to let any leave the school until their term of study was com-

pleted, when they were at liberty to enter upon any service that they chose. The Governor thought that this was a new interpretation of the matter and that through giving a lot free of rent and Sir Henry Pottinger having given some \$1,300 from the public fund and the civilians and military of Hong Kong contributions for its support, gave them the right to expect Interpreters from it. He closed the correspondence by saying to Mr. Brown that he was at liberty to call from Shanghai two boys that have been in the consulate there for more than a year, and Mr. Brown thinks that Governor Davis himself may order them home. All the Trustees support Mr. Brown but the Governor can set influences at work which will sooner or later result in removing Mr. Brown. Mr. Brown inquired if our Board would be willing to receive him—that he was that tired of laboring for the world that had no Christian sympathy or prayers for the great object he had in view.' *Archives of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions*, Vol. 2, No. 41, Macau, 4 August 1845.

15. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIV, 1845, p. 475.
16. *Eighth Annual Report of the Morrison Education Society for the Year ending 30 September, 1846* (Hong Kong, China Mail Office, 1846), pp. 33–6.
17. Hong Kong Land Registry Office, Memorials 943, 1098 and 1179.
18. Legge Collection, Archives of the London Missionary Society.
19. Colonial Office Records, Series 129–23, No. 15, 25 January 1848.
20. *China Mail*, 18 December 1850.
21. *Friend of China*, 17 September 1851; *Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. XLVIII, 1860, p. 174.
22. *Hongkong Register*, 16 September 1851, 7 October 1851; *China Mail*, 23 October 1851.
23. Colonial Office Records, Series 129–45, No. 24, 11 May 1854.
24. For a summary of the case, see G.B. Endacott, *A Biographical Sketch-book of Early Hong Kong* (Singapore, Eastern University Press, 1962), pp. 97–9.
25. *Queen v. Tarrant*, 7 August 1858, *Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. XLVIII, 1860.
26. Colonial Office Records, Series 131–1, 1855–6.
27. *China Mail*, 3 April 1856.
28. Mentioned in Liu Kuang-ching, 1961.
29. Bonney writes that 'one of the overseers of the company had been a teacher of our deceased brother J.G. Bridgman, and another of the emigrants was formerly my pupil in Morrison School and has been baptized'. *Archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 16.3.8, Vol. 2, No. 232, 21 January 1852.
30. The St. John's Cathedral Baptismal Register, entry Nos. 15, 16, and 17 for 29 June 1851 are blank, but written in pencil is the notation, 'Chinese—students in St. Paul's College'. This fits with the statement made in the Bishop's report for 1851: 'Three pupils were baptized during the last summer: Ching-tik, sent back to Ningpo, his native place, dangerously ill, and apparently dying, where he has, however, unexpectedly recovered, and continues under the kind care of his former friends and instructors, the missionaries of the Church Mission Society. Achick is at present unsettled, on account of an uncle wishing to take him to California, and Kum-shoo, a boy of fifteen, considerably advanced in Chinese reading and possessing a fine intellect and disposition', *Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury containing the Annual Report of St. Paul's College and Mission at Hong Kong*, George Smith, D.D., *Bishop of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 1852). Tong A-chick later stated that he had received the baptismal name 'Laying cheu'. The Revd Albert Williams of San Francisco reports this, stating that A-chick had said that this meant 'belief of the Scriptures'. It is likely, however, that if the Chinese words had been heard and transcribed correctly, the name was 來認主, meaning, 'confess the Lord'. *The Presbyterian*, Vol. XXII, No. 31, 1852, p. 82.
31. *Annual Report of the Bishop of Victoria to the Archbishop of Canterbury*, 7 April 1854, Archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London.

32. *The Presbyterian*, Vol. XXII, No. 31, 1852, p. 82.

33. 'Journal of William Speer', *Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, Vol. IV, 1853, p. 214.

34. There is little evidence that, in his later career, Tong King-sing was an active Christian. However, a newspaper correspondent, reporting from Tientsin in 1886, comments that Li Hung-chang 'prefers to promote the interests of his countrymen who have embraced the Christian religion and pushes them on to rank and high position'. As examples, he mentions Tong King-sing and his brothers. *Daily Press*, 9 March 1886.

35. Letters regarding the Chinese mission in California 1852–65, from Speer to Lowrie, No. 6, newspaper clipping of contribution list, Presbyterian Historical Society, Microfilm Records of Presbyterian Church, USA, Board of Foreign Missions, Microfilm 2, C. 441, Reel 1, No. 5, 15 September 1853, San Francisco. Along with Tong A-chick, there were two other individuals who contributed \$100, Chun Ching and Lee Kan and Co. Lee Kan is probably a former classmate of Tong A-chick's at the Morrison Education Society School in Hong Kong, who died some years later in San Francisco. Three of the five district associations contributed. The Sz Yap Company gave the largest contribution, \$200, and the Yeong Wo Company and the Ning Yeung Company each gave \$100.

36. I have followed the account of this issue as given in Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength, A History of the Chinese in the United States 1850–1870* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1964), chap. VI.

37. Reprints from a pamphlet, 'An Analysis of the Chinese Question', *Friend of China*, 2 June 1853.

38. Quoted in Barth (1964), p. 147, from a newspaper notice in the *Herald*, 7 June 1852.

39. This and subsequent quotations are from an account of the Chinese case published in *Friend of China* on 2 June 1853. Gunther Barth (1964), p. 146, doubts whether the two letters were actually written by Chinese. He says, 'it was not according to Chinese procedure'. This is true, but he overlooks the experience Tong A-chick had gained in such matters during his service as interpreter in the British Consulate. Nor was Tong A-chick a stranger to the effectiveness of a 'letter to the Editor', a popular method employed by readers of the China coast newspapers to air their grievances or special concerns.

40. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, N.J. Stone and Company, 1897), Vol. IV, p. 110.

41. Letter from the Revd W. Speer dated 30 November 1852, *Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, Vol. IV, 1853, p. 51.

42. *Annual Report of the Bishop of Victoria to the Archbishop of Canterbury* (1854).

43. *Daily Press*, 25 December 1888.

44. *Daily Press*, 17 July 1869; *Government Gazette*, 2 January 1870.

45. Hong Kong Land Registry, Memorials 11687 and 13264.

46. Feuerwerker (1958), pp. 113 and 129.

47. *O Macaense*, 9 July 1883.

48. *North China Herald and Supreme Court Consular Gazette*, 3 June 1892, p. 741.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. Arthur Waley, *The Opium War Through Chinese Eyes* (New York, Macmillan and Company, 1958), pp. 65–6.

2. Letter from T.T. Leang to Mrs Morrison dated Macau, 4 November 1841, *Evangelical Magazine*, Vol. XX, 1842, p. 295.
3. *Archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Houghton Library, Harvard University), 16.3.3, Vol. I, No. 119, 1840 (hereafter *AABCFM*).
4. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. VIII, 1840, pp. 635-6.
5. Waley (1958), pp. 95-6.
6. Bridgman's journal, 1 May 1830, *AABCFM*, 16.3.8, Vol. I, No. 26.
7. London, Kegan Paul, Trench and Company, 1885, pp. 260-5.
8. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XVIII, 1849, p. 407; *Fourth Annual Report of the Anglo-Chinese College* (1826), *Fifth Annual Report* (1827), *Report of the Eleventh Year* (1829).
9. William C. Hunter, *Bits of Old China* (London, Kegan Paul, Trench and Company, 1885), pp. 261-2, quoting from the *Canton Register* of 3 October 1829.
10. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. VIII, 1839, pp. 167-8.
11. *Missionary Herald*, Vol. XVII, 1821, p. 2.
12. *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, Vol. XI, 1940, pp. 128-39. La Fargue states (p. 137) that Lieaou Ah-see, another of the students at Cornwall, was mentioned by 'Robert Morrison and David Abeel . . . as serving as an interpreter in the yamen of Commissioner Lin'. Unfortunately, La Fargue has not documented this statement. It is questionable inasmuch as Robert Morrison died in 1834 and the Lin Commission took place in 1839-40. Perhaps Dr Morrison's son, John Robert Morrison, is meant. Abeel mentions seeing Ah-see at Canton but does not suggest any connection with Commissioner Lin. It would appear that La Fargue assigns rather arbitrarily to Ah-see the role of Lin's translator out of the five Chinese boys who studied at Cornwall. He was probably using as his source the notice in the *Chinese Repository* which does not definitely name the translators. G.W. Overdijking, in his study of Lin, *Lin T'se-hsü, een Biographische Schets* (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1938, *Sinica Leidensia*, Vol. IV), picks up this identification of Ah-see as an interpreter indirectly from La Fargue through the mention of Ah-see in George H. Danton's *The Culture Contacts of the United States and China, the Earliest Sino-American Culture Conflicts 1784-1844* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1831).
13. *AABCFM*, 16.3.8, Vol. I, No. 220, 18 May 1834.
14. *AABCFM*, 16.3.11, Vol. I, p. 25.
15. *Archives of the London Missionary Society* (London), South China, Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket C.
16. Bridgman's journal, 23 October 1830, *AABCFM*, 16.3.8, Vol. I, No. 30.
17. *AABCFM*, 16.3.8, Vol. I, No. 61.
18. Letter dated Macau, 5 December 1840, *Archives of the London Missionary Society*, South China, Box 4, Folder 1, Jacket C.
19. A letter from Bridgman dated 29 November 1840, *AABCFM*, 16.3.3, Vol. IA, No. 65.
20. Letter from Bridgman dated 11 July 1841, *AABCFM*, 16.3.3, Vol. IA, No. 71.
21. Letter from Bridgman dated 1 March 1841, *AABCFM*, 16.3.3, Vol. IA, No. 67 and note appended to the printed semi-annual letter of the missionaries at Macau dated 1 January 1841, *AABCFM*, 16.3.3, Vol. IA, No. 73.
22. Letter from Bridgman dated Victoria, 14 February 1844, *AABCFM*, 16.3.3, Vol. IA, No. 84.
23. Letter from Bridgman to Prudential Committee dated Hong Kong, 20 September 1844, *AABCFM*, 16.3.3, Vol. I, No. 56. Hong Kong Land Registry Office, Memorials 33, 34, 36 and 37.
24. Letter from Bridgman dated Hong Kong, 26 May 1845, *AABCFM*, 16.3.3, Vol. I, No. 57.

25. Letter from Bridgman dated Canton, 25 December 1845, *AABCFM*, 16.3.3, Vol. I, No. 63.
26. George H. McNeur, *China's First Preacher, Liang A-fa, 1789-1855* (Shanghai, Kwan Hsueh Publishing House, 1934), p. 93.
27. Letter from Bridgman dated Canton, 18 March 1847, *AABCFM*, 16.8.3, Vol. III, No. 72.
28. Letter from Bridgman dated Shanghai, 25 August 1848, *AABCFM*, 16.8.3, Vol. III, No. 93.
29. *AABCFM*, 16.8.3, Vol. III, No. 206.
30. *Daily Press*, 14 May 1878.
31. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. VI, 1837, p. 231.
32. *Archives of the London Missionary Society*, London, South China, Box 3, special red folder.
33. For an account of the life of Liang Tsen Teh, see Carl T. Smith, 'Commissioner Lin's Translators', *Chung Chi Bulletin*, No. 42, 1967, pp. 29-36.
34. Minutes of Singapore mission dated 28 November 1837, *AABCFM*, 16.2.6, Vol. 1, No. 129.
35. Roll of American Board mission school, Singapore, 1 February 1840, *AABCFM*, 16.3.1, Vol. 2, No. 180.
36. *AABCFM*, 16.3.1, Vol. 2, No. 151.
37. *AABCFM*, 16.3.1, Vol. 2, No. 151.
38. Morrison Education Society reports for the years 1861-2, 1862-3, and 1863-4.
39. Semi-annual report by Bridgman dated Hong Kong, 20 July 1843, *AABCFM*, 16.3.8, Vol. 1A, No. 23.
40. Hong Kong Government Land Registry Records, Memorials 36-7.
41. Letter from Hirschberg dated 25 September 1852, *Archives of the London Missionary Society*, South China, Box 5, Folder 3, Jacket A. 'The Chinese have contributed \$250 to the erection of the new hospital. One Tam Ah-choy, a rich building contractor, had been several times a looker in at the hospital. Another Loo Ah-qui, who owns a number of houses in the Lower Bazaar and who obtained a button for some services to his country, received me most friendly and in a very good English said to Lee Kip Tye, a Chinese broker, who went with me to collect the money "Do not trouble that gentleman to come here again, I shall send you the money (\$15) to your house tomorrow mornings" and then turning to me said "A very good cause, Sir. A very good cause" and then took my hands and shook them most heartily according to English fashion. Another Ah-Yang, late teacher of Rev. Dean, sent me \$2 during his illness and after his death received from Dean: "Enclosed is \$5 as a small bequest for your hospital from my late Chinese teacher, who died this morning." Lee Kip Tye has taken great interest from the start and procured by his untiring zeal the greatest number of subscribers and at his own expense has undertaken to erect a stone in the hospital with the names of all subscriptions engraved, as an everlasting memorial of the first assistance given by the Chinese to Europeans for a good cause.'
42. *China Mail*, 23 September 1852.
43. Hong Kong Government Land Registry Records, Memorials 684, 685, and 737. Ho A-seck, who also bore the names Ho In-kee and Ho Fei-in, first appears in Hong Kong records in March 1849 when he purchased Inland Lot No. 239 C in Tai Ping Shan (Memorial 468). At the time, he was compradore of the opium-importing firm of Lyall, Still and Company. The firm closed in 1867. Ho A-seck engaged in his own business ventures under the firm name of Kin Nam. He was a dealer in opium and in 1871 he held the gambling house monopoly in Hong Kong. In an action brought against him in 1871, he testified that he operated with a capital of \$200,000. He was one of the leaders of the Chinese community, a member of the

Joss House Committee in 1872, a member of the Committee to Establish Tung Wah Hospital in 1870, and Vice-President of the Tung Wah Committee in 1872. He died in Pang Po (probably Ping Po (平步)), San Tuk District, on 29 April 1877. His wife, Ho Leong, obtained letters of administration, but as she was blind, she gave power of attorney to Wei Akwong.

44. Hong Kong Government Land Registry Records, Memorial 2629.

45. Cheung Achew (鄭亞朝) was a neighbour of Wei Akwong. He bought Inland Lot No. 189 from William Scott on 17 August 1855 (Memorial 876) and a month later purchased the adjoining lot No. 193 (Memorial 891). He died at his home village of Kai Choong in Heung Shan District on 7 December 1865. Probate of his estate was granted to Wong Shing, a neighbour. His widow, Cheung Chew-shi, died at Hong Kong on 16 December 1880. Probate of her estate was granted to her son, Cheung Tsun, of Macau. An adjoining lot to those of Cheung Achew, Inland Lot No. 197 (Memorial 917), was bought by Cheung Mung (鄭明), a compradore, in August 1855. He died in 1858, and his property in Hong Kong fell to his administratrix, Cheung Chew-shi. Lum Ayow is listed as a lorch owner in the *Hong Kong Government Gazette* of 26 January 1856, 'Return of Vessels Owned by Chinese Residents Holders of Land in the Colony'. 1854, No. 15, October, *Good Chance*, 149 tons, owner Lam Yow, Captain Lam Yuen, securities Amoon and Ty-sing.

46. Article from *China Review* reprinted in the *China Mail*, 23 October 1875.

47. Hong Kong Government Land Registry Records, Memorials 2447, 2977, 2978, 4312, 5237, and 5093.

48. Letter from Wong Shing to James Legge dated 20 February 1869, Hong Kong, Legge Collection, *Archives of the London Missionary Society*.

49. Arnold Wright (ed.), *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong, Shanghai and other Treaty Ports of China* (London, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Company, 1908), p. 109.

50. Wei family genealogy, 1908 (韋氏族譜, 光緒戊申). Made available to me through the courtesy of Dr David Faure.

51. Probate File 1151 of 1878 (4/368), Public Record Office of Hong Kong.

52. This is my interpretation of his remarks and may not be a completely accurate assessment.

53. See Tin-yuke Char, 'In Search of the Chinese Name for "Lai Sun"', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 16, 1976, pp. 107-111. The character for his surname appears to have been (曾). In his signature he used the romanization 'Chan'.

54. 'Brother Tsung Lai Shun in Massachusetts', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 21, 1981, pp. 179-84. Reprinted from *Chater-Cosmo Transactions*, Vol. 2, 1980.

55. *Spirit of Missions* (Journal of the American Episcopal Church), Vol. 22, 1857, p. 350.

56. Vol. 58, p. 258.

57. *South China Morning Post*, 23 January 1917.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. In an appendix to Dr Margaret M. Coughlin's unpublished doctoral thesis, 'Strangers in the House: J. Lewis Shuck and Issachar Roberts, First American Baptist Missionaries to China', University of Virginia, 1972, there is a letter from Roberts to Shuck dated 27 March 1847 giving details of Hsiu-ch'uan's spiritual development.

2. *Southern Baptist Missionary Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 10, 1848.

3. For an English-language account, see Jen Yu-wen, *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1973).

4. When my sources have not given names in Chinese characters, I have used the Romanization of the original manuscript, except for Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, Hung Jen-kan and Feng Yun-shan. There are particular difficulties in determining the proper surname for individuals who appear in the sources as Fung. This was the accepted Hakka form of the surname Hung (洪), but it was also the Cantonese spelling of the surname Fung (馮).

5. Letter from Hamberg dated May 1854, *Die Evangelischen Heidenboten*, October 1854.

6. *Die Evangelischen Heidenboten*, June 1868, p. 73.

7. Li Tsin-kau, otherwise known as Lee Sik-sam, died on 8 April 1885, aged 62. On the letters of administration issued to his widow, Ho Lai-yau, the value of his estate was estimated at \$400. His assets consisted principally of a small house beside the Basel Missionary Society's church and mission house in Sai Ying Pun, which he had purchased in 1878 for \$480. He sold a portion of the lot in 1878 for \$370.

Li Tsin-kau's wife was baptized in Hong Kong in 1861 and died there on 21 September 1888, leaving four surviving children. The family property after her death was conveyed by Li A-cheung, an interpreter, Li Shin-en, a missionary, and Li En-kyau, unmarried, to their brother, Li A-po, a trader.

The eldest son of Tsin-kau, A-lim, had died in 1864 'in trouble with the police'. A-po, the second son, was betrothed in 1865 to Kong Oi-fuk from Lilong. She was a student in the Basel Missionary Society girls' boarding-school in Hong Kong, and he was a student at their boys' school at Lilong.

The third son, A-cheung, studied at Hong Kong Central School (Queen's College) and in 1871 was given the prize for best scholar. After leaving school, he entered government service, beginning as a charge-room interpreter for the police, but in 1875 was transferred to the Magistracy as a clerk. Three years later he was promoted to second interpreter in the Magistracy. In 1882, he was offered the position of interpreter to the Kingdom of Hawaii. Like his brother, he had married one of the students at the girls' boarding-school in Hong Kong, Tshin Then-tet. She accompanied him to Hawaii.

In 1883, the Revd Frank Damon, who was in charge of Chinese Christian work in Hawaii, visited Hong Kong. In a report of his visit published in *The Friend* (New Series, Vol. 33, No. 2, 1883, p. 9) he expresses his pleasure at meeting 'the venerable and interesting father of our government interpreter in Honolulu, Mr Lee Cheong. A brother and sister are engaged in teaching here, while another brother is missionary to his countrymen'.

The fourth son, Li Shen-en (李承恩), alias Li Syong-kong (李祥光), was baptized in Hong Kong in 1859. Following in the footsteps of his father, he served as catechist in the Sai Ying Pun Hakka congregation from 1883 to 1888. He then emigrated to Sabah, North Borneo, where, under the auspices of the Basel Missionary Society, he organized a congregation of Hakkas. He married Lin Loi-kyau, a daughter of the Revd Lin Khi-len. She was a teacher at the girls' boarding-school at Sai Ying Pun from 1882 to 1894.

Li Tsin-kau had one daughter, Li En-kyau (李恩嬌), born in 1860 and baptized as an infant. She attended the Sai Ying Pun school and also taught there from 1877 to 1902; in addition, she carried out volunteer church work among the women.

The services rendered by the several generations of the Li family to the congregations and schools of the Basel Missionary Society well repaid the initial interest and attention which the young Li Tsin-kau had been given when he first turned up in Hong Kong in 1853 as one displaced because of his connection with the leader of the Taiping movement.

The details of the family of Li Tsin-kau were taken mainly from the archives of the Basel Missionary Society and from a mimeographed paper entitled 'Geschichte der Hongkonger Gemeinden' kindly lent to me by Dr James Hayes.

8. Letter from Legge dated 26 September 1853, *Archives of the London Missionary Society*, South China, Box 5, Folder 3, Jacket C, and *Yearly Report of the Hong Kong Mission* dated 25 January 1854, Jacket D. For a brief note on Keuh A-gong, see Carl T. Smith, 'A Register of Baptized Protestant Chinese 1813-42', *Chung Chi Bulletin*, No. 48, 1970, p. 24. For a note on Ng Mun-sow, see Carl T. Smith, 'Dr Legge's Theological School', *Chung Chi Bulletin*, No. 50, 1971, pp. 16-22.

9. Letter from Legge dated 28 January 1869, *Archives of the London Missionary Society*, South China, Box 6, Folder 2, Jacket C, and letter from Wong Fun dated 8 May 1857, Folder 1, Jacket A. Another missionary estimate of Hung Jen-kan is the testimonial the Revd John Chalmers sent to the Revd Rudolph Lechler, *Basel Missionary Society Archives*, Vol. IV, 1857-62, letter written from London Mission House, Hong Kong, dated 24 December 1857: 'I have great pleasure in giving my testimony to the Christian character of Hung Jin, the relative of Hung Sew Tsuen, who, since his return from Shanghai in the year 1854, has been in the employment of our mission; first as a Christian teacher, and afterwards as a preacher and assistant missionary. His general behaviour has been such as becomes the Gospel; the work which we have given him to do, he has always executed to our satisfaction and not only so, but his zeal for the promotion of the cause of Christ has been marked. He is a young man of superior abilities, and I hope he may yet be honoured to labour successfully in the preaching of the gospel to his countrymen for many years.'

10. Letter from Chalmers dated 5 June 1858, *Archives of the London Missionary Society*, South China, Box 6, Folder 1, Jacket B.

11. Letter from Legge and Chalmers dated 11 January 1859, *Archives of the London Missionary Society*, South China, Box 6, Folder 1, Jacket C, enclosing a translation of a letter from Hung Jan: 'Translation of Hung Jan's last letter, sent from Shanghai by Mr. Muirhead, who received it from a Chinaman who had been with Lord Elgin's expedition up the Yangtze. He wrote in [*sic*] 170 or 180 miles on that river below Hakow.' Letters from 'Shau Kwan, Nan Gan [both on the northern boundary of Kwangtung], one from the capital of Keangse, one from imperialist camp at Yaou Chow [north of Keangse]' are mentioned as having been written by Hung Jen-kan.

12. Letter from Legge dated 24 August 1860, *Archives of the London Missionary Society*, South China, Box 6, Folder 2, Jacket C, and letter from Legge dated 14 January 1861, Folder 3, Jacket B.

13. Letter from Legge and Chalmers, 14 January 1857, *Archives of the London Missionary Society*, South China, Box 6, Folder 1, Jacket A.

14. Legge family papers, letters dated 28 March 1861 and 24 March 1871, *Archives of the London Missionary Society*.

15. For identification of Hung K'uei-hsiu, see Jen (Chien) Yu-wan, '太平天國洪氏遺裔訪問記', (Record of Visit with Descendants of the Taiping Hung Family), *太平天國雜記* (Taiping Kingdom Miscellany), No. 4, 1935, and 羅香林 Lo Hsiang-lin, *客家史料匯編* (Historical Sources for the Study of the Hakkas), (Hong Kong, Institute of Chinese Culture, 1965), p. 409.

16. Hong Kong school report, 14 February 1875, 'Teacher Schui Thin will shortly change places with Fung Khui-syu in Tschong Hang Kang, because the last as a son of a Tai Ping Rebellion King, cannot stay anymore in the mainland without danger to the life of himself and family', *Basel Missionary Society Archives*.

17. Hong Kong school report, 16 April 1873, *Basel Missionary Society Archives*, and letter from Lechler dated 2 October 1865, *Die Evangelischen Heidenboten*, January 1866.

18. Chinese Mission Yearly Report, 1885, *Basel Missionary Society Archives*.

The ship *Dartmouth* left Hong Kong on 25 December 1878 and arrived at Georgetown, British Guiana, on 17 March 1879. Among its five hundred and sixteen emigrants were seventy Christians.

19. Kuo Ting-i (郭廷以), *Daily Record of Historical Events of the Tai Ping Kingdom* (Chungking and Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1946), appendix, p. 24.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. 'Sun Yat-sen as Middle School Student in Hong Kong', *Ching Feng*, Vol. XX, No. 3, 1977, pp. 154-6. In the register of the China Congregational Church (Kung Lei Tong (公理堂)), the three young men are registered as follows: No. 2 孫日新 (Sun Yat-sen), No. 4 陸忠桂 (Luk Chung-kwei), and No. 5 唐宏桂 (Tong Wang-kwai).

2. *Missionary Herald*, 12 April 1912.

3. The American Board mission opened three day-schools, which were listed as grant-in-aid schools in 1884. These were Bridges Street, teacher, Sung Yuk-lam, with an assistant, ninety-three boys; East Street, teacher, Chau Cheung-tai, twenty-eight boys; and Station Street, teacher, Chau Tsing-tsun, forty-one boys. The school on East Street had been taken over from its former patron, the Revd Ho Kau, of the London Missionary Society congregation. It was closed in 1887, and its teacher, Chau Cheung-tai, replaced Tsing-tsun at the Station Street school. The same year, the American Board mission took over the management of two schools from the Presbyterians. One was the school on Queen's Road West, where Hager had opened a Sunday school on 1 September 1883, the other was a school in Hing Lung Lane.

4. The biography of Jee Gam and the careers of his children illustrate the rise of a poor immigrant boy to a position where he could provide university education for his children. They, for their part, returned to China to contribute to the new China of Sun Yat-sen.

Jee Gam accompanied an uncle to San Francisco. He first found a situation as a house-boy. Dissatisfied with his wages, he went to work in a factory. One Sunday, he found his way to a Chinese Sunday school. The superintendent of the school was attracted by the boy's appearance and manners and introduced him to the family of the pastor of the church, the Revd George Mooar. He was taken into the family as a servant, but was soon considered part of the family circle. In 1870, with two other Chinese, he joined the Oakland Congregational Church. He soon became a leader in Christian work among the Chinese. In 1871, he returned to China to marry a bride who had been chosen for him. A son was born, but died. To console the bereaved mother another boy was adopted. Jee Gam returned to California, leaving his wife in China. Later, he sent for her to join him, but his father suggested that it would be better for him to take a second wife in California. Jee Gam replied that this was against his principles as a Christian. He persisted and his wife was allowed to join him.

He returned to China in 1876 to take his wife back with him to California. She was not a Christian, but when Jee Gam transferred his membership from the First Congregational Church, Oakland, to the Bethany Congregational Church, in 1884, she was baptized and received into membership with him.

In 1895, the Congregational Association of Chinese Christians requested that Jee Gam should be ordained. He had been doing the work of a pastor for twenty-five years. The date of the ordination, 19 September, was the anniversary of the date on which he had begun his Christian work in California.

In addition to the son adopted in China, Jee Gam had nine children; all were baptized. One of his sons, Jee Shin Fwe Pong Mooar, having received a medical

degree from the University of California, went to Tientsin, where he practised as an eye surgeon. Another son, Jee Shin Yien Luther MacLean, received an MA from Harvard University and later joined the Ministry of Finance of the Chinese Republic. All the other children who grew to maturity received a good education in one way or another and all except one returned to China.

Jee Gam was planning to spend his old age on Chinese soil but died on his way home within a day's journey to Honolulu. His body was returned to China for burial.

5. *The Pacific*, Vol. 32, No. 8, 21 February 1883.

6. *The Pacific*, Vol. 32, No. 9, 28 February 1883.

7. Lo Hsian-lim, 'The Spread of Christian Faith and Its Influence on the Course of Modern China, as seen in the Chinese Genealogical Records' (中國族譜所記基督教之傳播與近代中國之關係), *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. VII, No. 1, 1969.

8. See the following articles by Carl T. Smith, 'A Study of the Missionary Educational Philosophy of Samuel R. Brown from the Perspective of Inter-faith Encounter', *Ching Feng*, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1969, pp. 2-19, 'The Chinese Church in a Colonial Setting: Hong Kong', *Ching Feng*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 2 and 3, 1974, pp. 75-89, and 'The Early Hong Kong Church and Traditional Chinese Family Patterns', *Ching Feng*, Vol. XX, No. 1, 1977, pp. 56-60.

9. *American Missionary*, Vol. XXII, No. 9, 1878, p. 281.

10. Fung Foo (1849-1934) was another of those Chinese boys in the United States who came under church influence and received an English-language education.

Fung Foo (馮扶), alias Chung-ling (鍾靈) or Pat Sun (拔臣), an orphan, was shipped out as a coolie to Cuba at the age of 15. Instead of working in the sugar-fields as a labourer, he became a house-servant. After completing his service, he drifted up to New York City. There he came under the patronage of the superintendent of the Five Points mission and was sent with two other Chinese boys to study at Howard University at Washington, DC. The Hong Kong obituary of Fung Foo states that he was educated at Harvard, but this is an error. Howard was a school founded for the education of blacks and was associated with the American Missionary Association.

After completing his studies, Fung Foo went to San Francisco, where he became a helper in the Congregational Chinese Mission sponsored by the same society. His services were of considerable value and he helped to draft the constitution for the Chinese Young Men's Christian Association.

While at Howard, he had written to the Secretary of the American Missionary Association, which was financing his studies, stating, 'I am preparing myself to be a teacher, and will go back to my country to teach my people of this language'. His youthful resolve was realized, for after returning to Hong Kong in 1881, he became a teacher at the Government Vernacular School at Sai Ying Pun. Its successor is King's College, Bonham Road. Later, he was appointed as Headmaster. He served in the Hong Kong government school system until his retirement.

He married Kwan Uet-ming (關月明), the eldest daughter of Kwan Yuen-fat, an elder in the London Missionary Society congregation. Fung Foo was therefore related by marriage to Wan Ping-chung, whose wife was a cousin of Uet-ming. Fung Foo was a deacon in the To Tsai Church (formerly the London Missionary Society congregation and subsequently the Hop Yat Church) and was later ordained and became an elder. In the later years of his life, he assisted in the organization of Ying Wah College and established a free school at Castle Peak, New Territories, for poor boys.

11. Lee Sam was a convert of the California mission which had sent the Revd

C. Hager to Hong Kong. He accompanied Hager to Hong Kong and assisted him in establishing the mission there. He also sold and distributed literature on behalf of the American Bible Society.

12. This was the Central Government School, later Queen's College, in which Sun Yat-sen was enrolled in March 1884.

13. Either this is a misprint or Hager did not hear the name clearly. Miss Harriet Noyes founded True Light College in Canton in 1872. Its successors are the Hong Kong True Light School, Tai Hang Road, Hong Kong; the Kowloon Chan Kwong (True Light) Girls' School, Kowloon Tong; and the True Light English School, Waterloo Road, Kowloon.

14. Emily Hahn, *The Soong Sisters* (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1941), p. 5.

15. The account given by Miss Hahn of the young runaway stowing away on the cutter *SS Schuyler Colfax* and being befriended by Captain Charles Jones does not agree with the facts uncovered by Ensign A. Tourtellot and published in an article 'C.J. Soong and the US Coast Guard', *US Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 75, 1949, pp. 201–3. This states that he was shipped aboard the American revenue cutter *Albert Gallatin* and was enrolled in the coastguard by its captain, Eric Gabrielson, in January 1879. See the article on Soong, Charles Jones, in the *Biographical Dictionary of Republic China*, editor Howard L. Boorman (New York, Columbia University Press, 1970), Vol. 3, p. 141.

16. Cambridge, Heffer and Sons, 1949, p. 277.

Notes to Chapter 6

1. It is difficult to know what date to give to the origin of the Tung Wah Hospital. In 1869, an organizing committee of concerned Chinese was formed. In 1870 (the usual date given for the foundation of the hospital), the Tung Wah Hospital Ordinance was passed and the foundation stone was laid by the Governor. The hospital was formally opened by the Governor on 14 February 1872.

2. Colonial Office Records, Series 129–23, 19 February 1848.

3. Colonial Office Records, Series 131–3, 4 November 1856.

4. See the studies by Chung-Li Chang, *The Income of the Chinese Gentry* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1962) and *The Chinese Gentry: Studies in their Role in Nineteenth Century Chinese Society* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1955), and by Ping-ti Ho, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1964).

5. See the column 'Old Hong Kong', in the *South China Morning Post* of 12 July 1933.

6. Colonial Office Records, Series 129–12, 24 June 1845.

7. *Friend of China*, 6 November 1861.

8. George Smith, *The Consular Cities of China* (London, Seeley, Burnside and Seeley, 1847), p. 82.

9. Yen-p'ing Hao, *The Compradore in Nineteenth Century China* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 195. I have not been able to check the sources he cites.

10. These were Loo King (盧景), owner of Inland Lots 99, 102, and 103; Lo Lye or Alloy (盧熾), owner of Marine Lots 16C and 19; Loo Foon (盧寬), owner of Marine Lot 16D; Loo Sing (盧成), owner of Marine Lot 17C; Loo Chuen, alias Loo Chew, alias Young Aqiu, alias Loo Choo-tung (盧昭), owner of Marine Lots 16A, 28A, and 35A. The family lived in Aqiu's Lane, or, as it is now known, Kwai Wa Lane (貴華里), running from Hillier Street to Cleverly Street and lying between

Queen's Road and Jervois Street. Here, in 1872, lived Loo Wan-kew, Loo Yum-shing, compradore of David Sassoon, Sons and Company, and Loo Achew.

11. See 'The Districts of Hong Kong and the Name Kwan-Tai-Lo', *China Review*, Vol. 1, 1872, p. 333. This source also confirms the deleterious effect of Aqi's activities in Hong Kong: 'In 1843, when there were but few merchants or shop keepers, one Sz-man-king, unto whom those who were in distress, in debt, or discontented, resorted, opened a place for gambling along Chung Wan to which all among the fishing-boat people, who loved gambling, came.'

12. Quoted by R.M. Martin in his report dated 24 July 1844, in G.B. Endacott, *An Eastern Entrepot* (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1964), p. 97.

13. E.J. Eitel, *Europe in China* (Hong Kong, Kelly and Walsh, 1895), pp. 168–9.

14. G.B. Endacott, *An Eastern Entrepot* (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1964), pp. 96–8.

15. G.B. Endacott (1964), p. 107.

16. G.B. Endacott (1964), p. 96.

17. A Singapore house was a pre-cut timber house ready for assembly, imported from Singapore. At the time of the gold-rush in California, a similar type of house was shipped from Hong Kong to San Francisco in large numbers. The trade brought considerable profit to a number of Hong Kong carpenters.

18. Colonial Office Records, Series 129–12, No. 97, 10 July 1845.

19. Colonial Office Records, Series 129–7, 23 July 1844.

20. Colonial Office Records, Series 129–3, Treasurer's Report, 1847.

21. *Friend of China*, 5 January 1856.

22. Colonial Office Records, Series 129–78, No. 113, 24 August 1860.

23. Tam Achoy was survived by five sons: Tam Kung-ping, alias Tam Ping-kai, who died at Canton in 1887, Tam Mo-seen, Tam Yun-yeen, Tam Kee-chun, and Tam Lin-tai. The latter had been adopted by Achoy's fourth wife in 1865.

24. Tang Aluk was survived by a daughter, the wife of Hu Yu-chan; a son, Tang Tung-shang, alias Tang Pak-shan, died in 1899; and a grandson, Tang Yeung-mau, the only son of Tang Shau-shan, alias Tang Kau-chun. Some of the court suits revolved around whether the deceased son, Tang Shau-shan, was a natural or an adopted son of Tang Aluk. The family has retained many of its real estate holdings up to the present.

25. Colonial Office Records, Series 131–2, 14 January 1851.

26. *China Review*, Vol. 1, 1872, p. 171.

27. K.G. Tregonning, *Under Chartered Company Rule (Borneo 1881–1946)* (Singapore, University of Malaya, 1958), Chap. 1.

28. *China Mail*, 23 July 1891.

29. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1970.

30. *China Mail*, 17 October 1861.

31. For details on the Chiu (Hsu) family, see Hsu Jun, Chronological Autobiography of Hsu Jun, (徐潤, 徐愚齋自叙年譜) (1910). Republished in the series *Chung-Kuo ching chi shih liao ts'ing pien* (Taipei, Ching Tai Pien (食貨史學叢書), 1977).

32. See Carl T. Smith, 'The Chinese Settlement of British Hong Kong', *Chung Chi Bulletin*, No. 48, 1970, pp. 30–1.

33. For a note on Cheung Achew, see *Chung Chi Bulletin*, No. 45, 1968, p. 11.

34. *China Mail*, 9 December 1858.

35. *China Mail*, 19 December 1871; 7 February 1872.

36. *Daily Press*, 4 November 1868.

37. Li Chin-wei (ed.), *Centenary History of Hong Kong* (香港百年史) (Hong Kong, Nan Chung Printing House, circa 1947), p. 271.

38. *Daily Press*, 23 April 1880.

39. *Daily Press*, 23 April 1880.

40. *Archives of the London Missionary Society*, South China, Box 8, 23 September 1876.

41. Report of Charles St. George Cleverly, Surveyor-General, for the year 1848, Colonial Office Records, Series 133–5.

42. The name of Ho Tsun-shin does appear on a list of contributors to the Berlin Missionary Society Chinese Vernacular School Fund in 1868 and 1869.

43. For reference to these various aspects of the career of Ho Shan-chee, see *Daily Press*, 24 July 1868, 20 September 1878; *China Mail*, 28 February 1882.

44. For details of the career of Ho Kwan-shan, see *Daily Press*, 4 October 1871.

45. *China Mail*, 28 August 1891.

46. A biographical sketch of Ho Kai can be found in G.H. Choa, *The Life and Times of Sir Kai Ho Kai* (Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press, 1981).

47. *Hong Kong Telegraph*, 3 September 1891.

48. The information on the family of Wu Ting-fang is taken from the Archives of the Presbyterian Missionary Society, New York. The exact relationship is deduced from evidence rather than having been directly stated in the sources. At the marriage of Ng Achoy and Ho Amooy on 14 January 1864, at St. John's Cathedral, Hong Kong, there were two Chinese witnesses, Ho Tsun-shin (father of Ho Mooy) and Ng Akwong (presumed brother of Ng Achoy and former student of the Presbyterian Mission School).

49. See the biographical notice written by Wu Ting-fang, *Daily Press*, 28 August 1905.

50. Lo Hsiang-lin, *Hong Kong and Western Cultures* (Tokyo, Sobunsha, 1963), pp. 49–50.

51. *Daily Press*, 2 February 1874. A biographical notice of Wang T'ao appears in A. W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington, DC, United States Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 836.

52. *Daily Press*, 20 February 1864.

53. *Wah Tsz Yat Po*, 7 August 1902. Details of the life of Wong Shing are from various references to his activities in reports of missionaries in the Archives of the London Missionary Society.

54. For a biographical account of Leung Tsun-tak, see Carl T. Smith, 'Commissioner Lin's Translators', *Chung Chi Bulletin*, No. 42, 1967, pp. 32–5.

55. For a more extended biographical account of Wei Akwong, see chapter 3 above and Carl T. Smith, 'An Early Hong Kong Success Story: Wei Akwong, the Beggar Boy', *Chung Chi Bulletin*, No. 45, 1968, pp. 9–14.

Notes to Chapter 7

1. Ho, Ping-ti, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1962).

2. Samuel W. Williams, *The Chinese Commercial Guide* (Hong Kong, A. Shortrede, 1863), p. 162.

3. Letter from S.W. Williams dated 18 May 1834, *Archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 16.3.8, Vol. 1.

4. Williams (1863), p. 162.

5. George Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong* (London, Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 127.

6. *Daily Press*, 30 January 1883, 19 February 1883, 16 January 1890.

7. Carl T. Smith, 'An Early Hong Kong Success Story: Wei Akwong, the Beggar Boy', *Chung Chi Bulletin*, No. 45, 1968, pp. 9–14.

8. Carl T. Smith, 'The Formative Years of the Tong Brothers, Pioneers in the Modernization of China's Commerce and Industry', *Chung Chi Bulletin*, No. 10, 1971, pp. 81–95.

9. Carl T. Smith, 'The Emergence of a Chinese Élite in Hong Kong', *Journal of*

the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 11, 1971, pp. 74–115; and *Hua-tze Jih-pao*, obituary notice (in Chinese), 7 August 1902.

10. Smith, 'Chinese Élite', 1971, p. 108.

11. Reference to service in the Chinese customs is based principally on lists of Chinese clerks of 1876 and 1880 appearing in circulars from the Inspector-General, China Imperial Customs. For a fuller account of Ng Mun-sow, see Carl T. Smith, 'Dr Legge's Theological School', *Chung Chi Bulletin*, No. 50, 1971, pp. 16–20.

12. Smith, 'Chinese Elite', 1971, p. 103 ff.

13. A copy of the report on the preparatory school and theological seminary in Hong Kong is held in the library of the Archives of the London Missionary Society in London.

14. Colonial Office Records, Series 129–82, No. 106, 30 October 1861.

15. *Daily Press*, 3 October 1866. See also Marriage Record Book, St. John's Cathedral, Hong Kong.

16. Smith, 'Chinese Elite', 1971, p. 107.

17. James W. Norton-Kyshe, *The History of the Laws and Courts of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, Noronha and Company, 1898), Vol. 2, pp. 237–40; *China Mail*, 28 November 1874, 2 January 1875.

18. Knighthood was the ultimate badge of élite status. Knighthoods were not given to the Chinese until the early twentieth century.

19. *Hong Kong Telegraph*, 14 July 1881.

20. *Hong Kong Telegraph*, 23 June 1881.

21. *Hong Kong Telegraph*, 20 September 1881.

22. W. C. Hunter, *The Fan-kwae at Canton* (London, Kegan, Paul, Trench and Company, 1882), pp. 50–4.

23. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. 14, 1845, p. 297.

24. James W. Norton-Kyshe, *The History of the Laws and Courts of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, Kegan, Paul, Trench and Company, 1882), Vol. 1, p. 288.

25. Norton-Kyshe (1882), pp. xiii–xviii.

26. Norton-Kyshe (1882), pp. xix–xxvi.

27. Smith, 'Chinese Élite', 1971, pp. 110 and 104 ff.

28. Norton-Kyshe (1882), p. 545.

29. Smith, 'Chinese Élite', 1971, pp. 101–2.

30. The biographical data for Wong Fun were gathered mainly from the Archives of the London Missionary Society.

31. A list of the graduates of the College of Medicine for Chinese, together with comments, appears in Hsiang-lin Lo, *Kuo fu chih ta hsüeh* (Sun Yat-sen's College Life) (Taipei, *Shang wu yin shu kuan*, 1959).

32. See Henry J. Lethbridge, 'The District Watch Committee, the Chinese Executive Council of Hong Kong', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 11, 1971, pp. 116–41.

33. See Henry J. Lethbridge, 'The Evolution of a Chinese Voluntary Association in Hong Kong: the Po Leung Kuk', *Journal of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 10, 1972, pp. 33–50.

34. Henry J. Lethbridge, 'A Chinese Association in Hong Kong: the Tung Wah', *Contributions to Asian Studies*, Vol. 1, 1972, pp. 144–58.

35. See Sing-Lim Woo, *The Prominent Chinese in Hong Kong* (香港華人史略) (Hong Kong, 版影印, 1937).

36. Carl T. Smith, 'Compradores of the Hong Kong Bank', in Frank H. J. King (ed.), *Eastern Banking: Essays in the History of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation* (London, The Athlone Press, 1983), pp. 93–111.

37. Lethbridge, 'The Tung Wah,' 1972, pp. 144–58.

38. Carl T. Smith, 'Ng Akew, One of Hong Kong's Protected Women,' *Chung Chi Bulletin*, Vol. 46, 1969, pp. 13–27.

Notes to Chapter 8

1. The relationship between missionaries and indigenous people and culture is a well-travelled area and nothing new is presented on the subject here. It is, however, useful to look at the question as it worked itself out in a particular place.
2. The status of the Bishop was changed in 1875. The Cathedral was disestablished and disendowed in 1892. The Anglican Bishop is still fifth in precedence in the protocol list of the Government. He follows the Chief Secretary and precedes the Roman Catholic Bishop and the members of the Executive Council.
3. General report of missionaries dated Macau, 22 March 1841, *Archives of the London Missionary Society*, South China, Box 4, Folder 2, Jacket A.
4. Letter from the Revd S.W. Bonney dated 29 January 1847, *Archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 16.3.8, Vol. 2, No. 188.
5. George Smith, *A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to Each of the Consular Cities of China, and the Islands of Hong Kong and Chusan, in Behalf of the Church Missionary Society, in the Years 1844, 1845, 1846* (London, Seeley, Burnside and Seeley, 1847).
6. Letter dated Hong Kong, 10 August 1867, *Archives of the London Missionary Society*, South China, Box 6, Folder 5, Jacket A.
7. London Missionary Society, Yearly Reports, Box 1, 6 February 1868.
8. His picture is the frontispiece of W.H. Medhurst's *China: Its State and Prospects* (London, Snow, 1838). A brief notice of Choo Tih-lang appears in A. Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese* (Shanghai, The American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867), p. 40. Reprinted by Ch'eng Wen Publishing Co., Taipei, in 1967.
9. Letter from Mr Gillespie dated Hong Kong, 27 February 1847, *Archives of the London Missionary Society*, South China, Box 4, Folder 5, Jacket E.
10. Letter from Wong Fun dated Hong Kong, 8 May 1857, *Archives of the London Missionary Society*, South China, Box 5, Folder 4, Jacket C.
11. The merchants of Canton involved in the opium trade were generous contributors to the Morrison Education Society, the Medical Missionary Society, and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. All these were organs for the missionary effort.
12. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. V, 1837, p. 546.
13. Letter from E.C. Bridgman dated 11 February 1837, *Archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 16.3.3, Vol. 1A, No. 33.
14. *Friend of China*, 25 August 1842.
15. *Friend of China*, 25 August 1842.
16. See Stuart Creighton Miller, 'Ends and Means: Missionary Justification of Force in Nineteenth Century China', in *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, edited by John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 249-82.
17. *Missionary Magazine*, Vol. 10, 1847, p. 164.
18. *Missionary Magazine*, Vol. 15, 1852, p.5.
19. Letter from the Revd S.W. Bonney dated Canton, 10 March 1847, *Archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 16.3.8, Vol. 2, No. 191.
20. *Archives of the London Missionary Society*, Box 5, Folder 4 (special folder).
21. The Revd Robert Morrison arrived at Macau on 4 September 1807. On the day he was married, 20 February 1809, he accepted the position of translator to the East India Company. Officially, the Company did not import opium on their ships, but they did not prohibit its growth in India and derived income from its

sale to 'free merchants' who brought it to China. Thus, indirectly, Morrison was allied with the trade.

22. *Christian Advocate*, 13 July 1832.

23. Letter from the Revd S.W. Bonney dated Canton, 4 January 1847, *Archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 16.3.8, Vol. 2, No. 187.

24. Letter from the Revd S.W. Bonney dated 7 February 1847, *Archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 16.3.8, Vol. 2, No. 191.

Notes to Chapter 9

1. George Smith, *A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to Each of the Consular Cities of China, and the Islands of Hong Kong and Chusan, in Behalf of the Church Missionary Society, in the years 1844, 1845, 1846* (London, Seeley, Burnside and Seeley, 1847), pp. 508–9.

2. Loren E. Noren, 'Urban Church Growth in Hong Kong 1958–1962, Third Hong Kong Study', Hong Kong, mimeographed, undated.

3. Church Missionary Society Archives, China, CH/O–44.

4. Yen-p'ing Hao, *The Compradore in Nineteenth-century China* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1970).

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