

Multiracial Britishness

What does it mean to be British? To answer this, *Multiracial Britishness* takes us to an underexplored site of Britishness – the former British colony of Hong Kong. Vivian Kong asks how colonial hierarchies, the racial and cultural diversity of the British Empire, and global ideologies complicate the meaning of being British. Using multilingual sources and oral history, Kong traces the experiences of multiracial residents in 1910–45 Hong Kong. Guiding us through Hong Kong’s global networks, and the colony’s co-existing exclusive and cosmopolitan social spaces, this book uncovers the long history of multiracial Britishness. Kong argues that Britishness existed in the colony in multiple, hyphenated forms – as a racial category, but also as privileges, a means of survival, and a form of cultural and national belonging. This book offers us an important reminder that multiracial inhabitants of the British Empire were just as active in the making of Britishness as the British state and white Britons.

Born and raised in Hong Kong, Vivian Kong is Lecturer in Modern Chinese History and Founding Co-Director of the Hong Kong History Centre at the University of Bristol. She has published on diasporas, civil society, and press debates in interwar Hong Kong.

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Multiracial Britishness

Global Networks in Hong Kong, 1910–45

Vivian Kong

University of Bristol



Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-20294-7 — Multiracial Britishness
Vivian Kong
Frontmatter
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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment,
a department of the University of Cambridge.

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www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009202947

DOI: 10.1017/9781009202930

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First published 2024

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Kong, Vivian, 1990– author.

Title: Multiracial Britishness : global networks in Hong Kong, 1910–45 /
Vivian Kong, University of Bristol.

Other titles: Global networks in Hong Kong, 1910–45

Description: Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2023. |

Series: Modern British histories | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2023017058 | ISBN 9781009202947 (hardback) |

ISBN 9781009202930 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: British – China – Hong Kong – History – 20th century. | National
characteristics, British. | Hong Kong (China) – History – 20th century. | Hong Kong
(China) – Ethnic relations. | Great Britain – Colonies – Asia – Administration –
History – 20th century. | Great Britain – Colonies – Race relations.

Classification: LCC DS796.H757 K66 2023 | DDC 305.895104109/04–dc23/
eng/20230624

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023017058>

ISBN 978-1-009-20294-7 Hardback

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獻給我親愛的父母 — 江國有和蕭月嫦
以及我永遠懷念的爺爺 — 江永浩

*For my parents, who made everything possible,
and in the loving memory of my late grandfather*

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Acknowledgements

Much of this book was written up during the COVID-19 pandemic, especially during the lockdown days in 2020. For eight months I lived and worked by myself in my apartment in Bristol, but the solitude was made much more bearable thanks to a group of caring friends and colleagues. I am very thankful to Chiara Amoretti, Gemma O'Neill, and Pam Lock for organising regular virtual writers retreats to keep me productive and company. A million thanks to Owain Nash for his great sense of humour and daily virtual check-ins that made even the days of lockdown never dull. Jess Connett, Liu Xiao, and Emma Crowley all offered me much-needed support in Bristol. Ng Cherry, Leung Ming-yi, Nocus Yung, Chan Nga-yee, Zardas Lee, Catherine Chan, Theresa McKeon, and Chris Wemyss all sent me from afar much love, support, and even food parcels. I am, as ever, grateful to my mate James Fellows for standing by my side through my ups and downs, hurdles after hurdles. I doubt I could've finished this book without his support and generous comments and editing – thank you, James.

I also need to thank many colleagues and mentors who helped me become the historian I am today. My deepest gratitude goes to Robert Bickers and Su Lin Lewis, formerly my PhD supervisors and now my superb colleagues at Bristol. I cannot thank Robert enough for the support that he has given me along the way, and with his mentorship I became a better historian than when I first arrived in Bristol in 2015. With his passion for historical research and academic rigor, he shows me by example how to be a good historian. Likewise, Su Lin has given me numerous encouragements, advice, and insights, all of which helped make this a much better book than it'd have been otherwise. I'm thankful for the nudges she has given me to see the bigger picture and to see Hong Kong history in new light through the lens of global history. I am most grateful to John Carroll, whose classes at HKU sparked my interest in studying Hong Kong history. John has always been generous with his time and wisdom – even when I was just an undergraduate and even when I'm no longer his student. Without the time and effort, he patiently

Acknowledgements

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spent on improving my writing, I could never have written so proficiently in English. For these, I am forever in debt to him. I must also thank Xiaowei Zheng, whose class at UCSB helped me develop good primary research skills and practices from very early on. Thanks are also due to Peter Cunich for encouraging me to use oral history back in 2013 and for his kind sharing of research material that greatly benefited my understanding of HKU. I also thank Carol Tsang for being an inspirational mentor and friend. Thanks are also due to Catherine Chan, Staci Ford, Mark Hampton, Sophie Loy-Wilson, Sumita Mukherjee, Chris Munn, David Pomfret, and Elizabeth Sinn, and Jiayi Tao, for their insights and support along the way. I am also grateful to Erika Hanna, Grace Huxford, James Thompson, Will Pooley, members of the Bristol-Exeter Modern British History Network (especially Amy Edwards, Rob Skinner, and Jon Lawrence), and Bristol's Asian History Seminar group (especially Helena Lopes, Michael Sugarman, and Tom Larkin) for their comments on earlier drafts of various chapters of this book. My PhD examiners, Stuart Ward and Saima Nasar, and the two anonymous reviewers of this book manuscript all provided very insightful and constructive comments that greatly benefited this book, for which I am very thankful. Thanks are also due to Rachel Blaifeder, Lucy Rhymer, Liz Friend-Smith, and Natasha Whelan at Cambridge University Press.

Many friends kindly lent me their insights in Hong Kong history and gave me much help in collecting primary sources too. These include Amelia Allsop, Catherine Chan, Vaudine England, Nathan Kwan, Adonis Li, and Yuki Tam. I also wish to thank Stuart Braga, the University Archives of HKU, and the Hong Kong Heritage Project (especially Amelia and Sing Ping Lee) for the assistance that they have kindly offered me. I am grateful to Jessica Kwok and Stuart Braga for giving me permission to include in the book images from their collection, as well as Antonio M. Pacheco Jorge da Silva, who has also kindly allowed me to use a map of Kowloon that he created. Special thanks are also due to Chris Munn, Garfield Lam, and Weldon Kong for their kind assistance in helping me obtain an image that captures an advertisement placed in the *South China Morning Post* in 1989. I am very grateful to Garfield and the HKU University Archives, for allowing me to use the brilliant photo of students and staff of the HKU Arts Faculty in 1926 for the book cover.

Part of Chapter 6 was published previously in my article “‘Hong Kong Is My Home’: The 1940 Evacuation and Hong Kong-Britons” (issue 3 of volume 47 of *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*), and sections of Chapter 2 in ‘Whiteness, Imperial Anxiety, and the “Global 1930s”: The White British League Debate in Hong Kong’ (issue 2 of volume 59 of *Journal of British Studies*). An earlier version of Chapter 5

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appears in 'Exclusivity and Cosmopolitanism: Multi-ethnic Civil Society in Interwar Hong Kong' (issue 5 of volume 63 of *The Historical Journal*). I am grateful that the publishers, Taylor & Francis and Cambridge University Press, allowed me to reuse the material from these earlier works in this book.

I also want to thank all my oral history interviewees who have generously shared with me their personal stories to help me understand Hong Kong's past better. I'm constantly reminded of the kindness each of my interviewees has shown me and their generosity of sharing with me their life stories. I know I don't only owe it to myself but to them all to get this book written.

This research couldn't have been possible without the generous support of the Hong Kong History Project (and now the Hong Kong History Centre), the Australian Historical Association, the Worldwide University Networks, and the Chiang Ching Kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange. I am particularly thankful to Dr Ron Zimmern, the Doris Zimmern Charitable Trust, and the Hatton Trust for their generous support on my PhD studentship and on my career. I'd also like to thank all donors for the University of Bristol and the University of Hong Kong, as well as the staff in the development offices of the two universities who have worked so hard to make higher education more accessible for students like myself.

Last but not least, I must thank my family. I thank Adam for being my best friend, for his honest food reviews, and for making me smile and laugh every day. I thank my siblings, Kitty and Thomas 'Bobo', for their love and for giving me much assistance with getting sources in Hong Kong. I thank my grandma 嫲嫲 and my late grandpa 爺爺, my aunt 姐姐 Sally, and my late 叔叔 江國能, for their support and love. I thank my parents, 爸爸媽咪, for giving me the privilege to have called Hong Kong my home. In the course of my researching and writing this book, Hong Kong underwent many changes, but for better or worse, to steal the words of a Hong Kong resident who wrote to Winston Churchill in 1941 under very different circumstances: 'Hong Kong is my home'. It always has been and always will be.

Note on Terminology

It is necessary to clarify some of the terms used in this book before proceeding further – including those referring to different communities in colonial Hong Kong. I should make it clear that I am aware that ‘race’ and the perceived difference between races are constructions. Terms used at the time describing race, such as ‘Chinese’, ‘British’, and ‘Eurasian’, are problematic, and some of them are contested. Nonetheless, these social constructs had important implications for issues such as belonging, identification, and nationality. I therefore employ these terms only to understand the particular experiences of different communities in colonial Hong Kong.

Hong Kong was inhabited not only by the Chinese but also by many other races. These included those of the ‘British race’, a term that colonial officials used to describe those with unquestioned family origins in the British Isles, sometimes including Australians and Canadians. They were generally known as ‘British’ and held a distinctive social status in Hong Kong. Throughout this book, I will call them ‘white Britons’ to distinguish them from the people of colour in the colony who also identified themselves as Britons. My use of the term should not be taken as an indicator that I believe this whiteness was anything more than a discursive category.

Some clarifications should also be made about my use of the terms ‘Eurasian’ and ‘Portuguese’ in reference to two communities of ‘mixed’ ancestry in Hong Kong. The term ‘Eurasian’, originating in British India, referred to children born there to European fathers and Asian mothers. Its usage soon spread to the rest of the British Empire and later across the globe to refer to individuals of ‘mixed’ European and Asian ancestry.¹ On the China coast and in Hong Kong, the term was used to describe individuals of mixed ancestry – mostly of European and

¹ More on the history and meaning of the term in other parts of the British Empire, China, and the North America, see Emma Jinhua Teng, *Eurasian: Mixed Identities in the United States, China, and Hong Kong, 1842–1943* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), pp. 5–7.

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Chinese (and sometimes Parsee, Middle-eastern, or Japanese) ancestry.² Historically speaking, many first generation Eurasians were illegitimate children and grew up with little connection with their European fathers. Nevertheless, there is a distinct, prominent community that originates from such circumstances, which, in the minds of those within and outside the community, occupies an intermediary place in Hong Kong's colonial society.

While also of 'mixed' ancestry, the 'Portuguese' were known as a population distinct from the Eurasian community. Also known as 'local Portuguese' and 'Macanese', most were descendants of Portuguese who, since the sixteenth century, had come from Portugal to Asia and had relations – mostly within matrimony – with the native populations. These Portuguese migrated from other Portuguese enclaves in Asia – such as Goa – to Macau as it became a Portuguese holding in China. Hong Kong's economic opportunities lured many to migrate from Macau to the colony from the 1840s onwards. Because of their cultural and religious practices and link with Portugal (albeit tenuous)³, the 'Portuguese' experienced sociopolitical circumstances distinct from the Eurasian community.

² See Vicky Lee, *Being Eurasian: Memories across Racial Divides* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), pp. 2–3.

³ See Felicia Yap, 'Portuguese Communities in East and Southeast Asia during the Japanese Occupation', in *Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511–2011, Vol. 1: The Making of the Luso-Asian World: Intricacies of Engagement*, edited by Laura Jarnagin (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011), pp. 205–28.

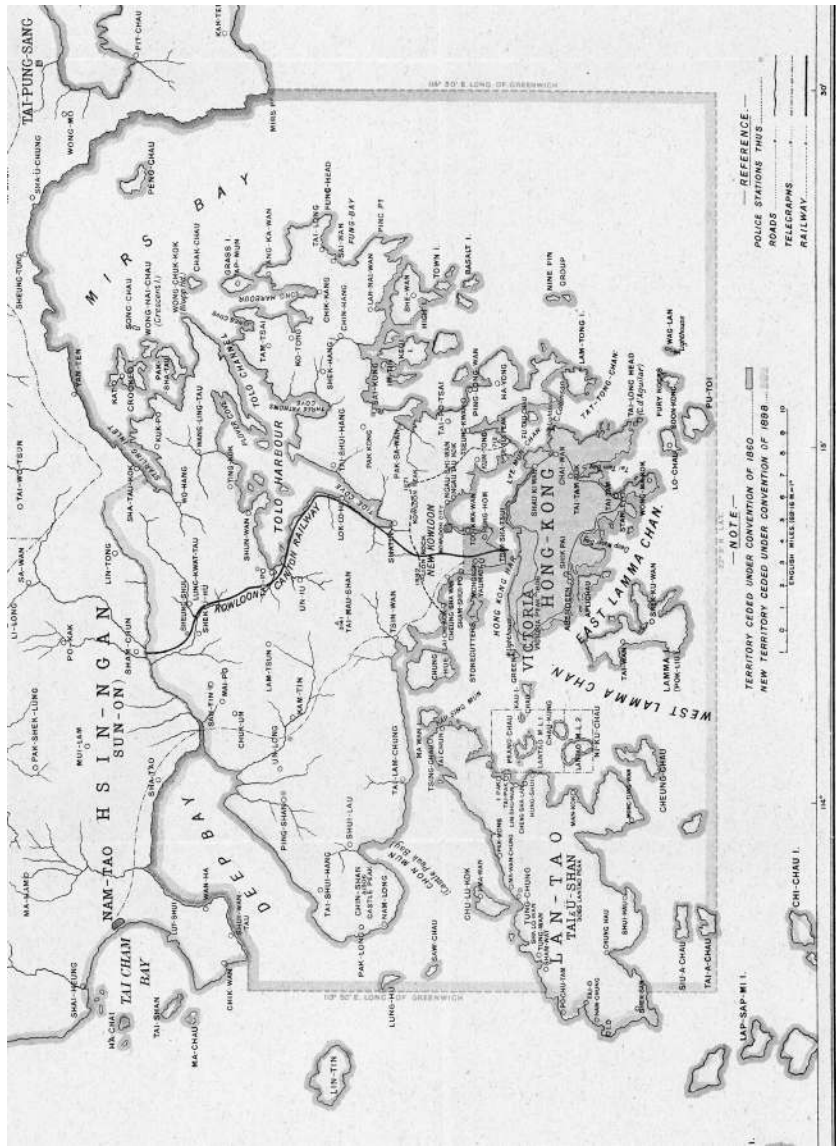


Figure 0.1 Map of the colony of Hong Kong