

# **Constructing the cultures of hybridity in the City of Victoria (1843-1946): Studying the archaeological artifacts excavated from Former Mountain Lodge, Central School Site (PMQ) and Central Police Station Compound (Tai Kwun) in Hong Kong**

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**Abstract:** Hong Kong was under British rule from 1841 to 1997 (Occupied by Japan from 1941 to 1945) and there are many colonial buildings built during this colonial period. Some colonial buildings built and used during late the nineteenth century to mid twentieth century were demolished. But conducted an archaeological survey was conducted and the buildings were revitalized after the Hong Kong handover. The archaeological evidence from these sites can provide a clear picture of the City of Victoria, which was an urbanized area. Hong Kong was developing during the British colonial period, during which little written records were left behind and they were underrepresented in historical records. The limited publications focusing on postcolonial archaeology in Hong Kong and many stories do not give enough credits to the local archaeological legacy. According to Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance, “antiquity” means building or site built before the year 1800. However, Former Mountain Lodge, Central School Site (PMQ) and Central Police Station Compound (Tai Kwun) as special cases which conducted the archaeological investigations into the building built on or after 1800. Therefore, this paper examines the archaeological material remains of three colonial buildings under the framework of consumption theory and processual archaeology. The rich historical resources, such as government documents and oral history records, can be interpreted together with archaeological remains, which help us understand human identity in relation to the City of Victoria in the context of postcolonial archaeology.

## **Acknowledgment**

I would like to thank Mr. Ray Ma, Curator of Archaeology Sub-unit in Antiquities and Monuments Office Leisure and Cultural Services Department, who allowed me to observe the artifacts in Hong Kong Archaeological Archives. Ms. Teresa Lo, Assistant Curator I of Archaeology Sub-unit, who helped processing the application of observing the artifacts and taking photos of artifacts, which cause led to a good process of my study.

## **Research background**

Hong Kong had been dominated by British Empire and became a colony from 1841 to 1997. Central, where is the City of Victoria was located in the early colonial period, was later developed as an administrative center of Hong Kong. Sheung Wan was the residential area of Chinese local people and the foreigners lived in a better environmental condition of Central and Mid-Levels.

After Hong Kong's handover in 1997, many colonial buildings in Central and Sheung Wan have been preserved *in-situ*. To achieve a sustainable development in Hong Kong and conserve the heritage for future generations, Hong Kong government have launched the plan of "Conserving Central" in 2009. Revitalization projects of eight buildings and places were purposed in this project, which includes Central School Site and Police Married Quarters (PMQ) and Central Police Station Compound (Tai Kwun). In 2017, Hong Kong Tourism Board has launched "Old Town Central" project, which links colonial architectures, temples, galleries, restaurants and bars in Central and Sheung Wan into five walking routes for self-guided sightseeing. Those projects have increased the passenger flow in Central and Sheung Wan and promoted revitalization scheme projects to general public.

## **Research significance**

Few people know that archaeological investigations were conducted on these three

colonial buildings and rich archaeological remains were discovered before the revitalization. Because those artifacts excavated are did not are openly displayed and lack further study at the sites.

Former Mountain Lodge Site and Former Central School Site were listed as one of the Antiquities and Monuments Office (AMO) Sites of Archaeological Interest and it means that it may have the archaeological potential or significance, where more archaeological remains or artifacts can be potentially found. The sites of archaeological interest are not equivalent to the declared monuments and archaeological sites.

Although Central Police Station Compound was not listed as one of the sites of archaeological interest, an archaeological investigation has been conducted there in 2011. Starting from 1998, the designated projects in Hong Kong have been required to complete an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) which is to avoid and control the negative impact on the environment (EPD 2018). A revitalization project of historic building is categorized as a designated project under the EIA Ordinance. To minimize the impact on the heritage, an archaeological investigation is required. According to the 2007-08 Policy Address, all new capital works projects of historic heritage sites, which were referred to as declared monuments, graded historic buildings and sites of archaeological interest, are required to undergo heritage impact assessment (HIA) to consider whether the projects will affect sites or buildings of historic or archaeological significance (AMO 2018). As the Central Police Station Compound, Former Central Magistracy and Victoria Prison Compound were listed declared monuments in 1995, an EIA report, a HIA report and an archaeological excavation are required before the revitalization project was started.

Former Mountain Lodge (FML), Central School Site (PMQ) and Central Police Station Compound (Tai Kwun) were archaeologically investigated, though they are not research-driven excavations. Those excavations could be seen as rescue archaeology and the rescue archaeology often lacks detailed planning and a clear set

of research questions for historical inquiry during the excavation work, which causes a loss of data or context during the working process and the public could not get much meaningful information from archaeological reports. So, it is important to have further structured study to examine the artifacts from the sites to contribute to a deeper understanding and more coherent interpretations of the sites.

According to Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance (1975), “antiquity” means a relic and a place, building, site or structure erected, formed or built by human agency before the year 1800. Former Mountain Lodge (FML), Central School Site (PMQ) and Central Police Station Compound (Tai Kwun) could not be defined as “antiquity” in Hong Kong. It is not necessary to conduct an archaeological excavation on colonial buildings since Hong Kong only became a colony starting from 1841. Because of historical and political reasons, FML, PMQ and Tai Kwun are exceptional cases, being the only colonial buildings with archaeological excavations conducted and the archaeological remains presented in archaeological reports. So, it is worth studying the archaeological material remains from those three colonial buildings.

However, there are limited archaeological research publications, resulting in a lack synthetic analysis and in-depth interpretation on those archaeological remains excavated from three colonial buildings. Archaeological reports from each site provide the information of the archaeological remains but these reports only offer a preliminary comparison and lack of an in-depth discussion.

Also, the correlation between the City of Victoria, Former Mountain Lodge, Central School and Tai Kwun have not been mentioned in any articles or exhibitions. Ho Pui Yin (2016) analyzed the history of urban planning development of Hong Kong from 1841 to twenty-first century from social, political and economic perspectives. She pointed out that the British government has built European-style architectures in the City of Victoria started from 1840, which aims to build up the image of European towns and perform administrative functions and systems in different places. Its

historical background was related to the location and the background of Mountain Lodge, Central School and Central Police Station Compound.

To summarize, there are not full records and analyses on archaeological remains excavated from Former Mountain Lodge, Central School Site (PMQ) and Central Police Station Compound (Tai Kwun). As those sites were rare exceptional cases where archaeological excavations have been carried out already, studying those archaeological remains and artifacts can develop a deeper understanding and examine significance of the buildings which was not mentioned in detail from the historical perspective. Pointing out the correlation between colonial archaeology and colonial architecture could be re-constructing the culture of hybridity in terms of human cultural practice and thought, in a more holistic approach.

### **Research questions**

1. What are the background and characteristics of artifacts and archaeological sites?
2. Comparing the artifacts of Former Mountain Lodge, Central School and Tai Kwun, how are they different and similar with each other?
3. How do the artifacts reconstruct the culture of hybridity and identity in City of Victoria?

### **Methodology**

#### ***1. Documentary research***

Rich written and non-written materials about colonial period in Hong Kong were referenced to determine the background of artifacts excavated from the archaeological sites. Written materials, such as official reports, old newspapers and records of the human activity during the colonial period were obtained through Government Records Service, Queen's College History Museum and Hong Kong Public Libraries. The publications provide hints to inform us of the origin and context of the artifacts. Also, archaeological reports, EIA reports and HIA reports of three sites were obtained

through AMO, which provide textual records, map and historical photograph presenting the context and basic description of artifacts. They help examining the correlations in between artifacts, stratigraphic layers, features and nature of the site, which can reconstruct the functions and meanings of the artifacts under specified context.

Non-written materials, such as historical photographs and catalogues provide image content from the past and help identify or analyze the type of artifacts, which did not record in the written document.

## ***2. Literature review***

The historical development, background and functions of each building have been recorded in many documents, which provide the basic knowledge to analyze the relationship between archaeological remains and human actors in the sites.

Although there is limited research paper about colonial archaeology in Hong Kong, however, reviewing the archaeological reports, research journal and dissertation about colonial archaeology or archaeological sites dated back to the 19<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries from other colonies and overseas can hint origin and function of artifacts.

## ***3. Observations of the sites and artifacts***

Observation is a major method on collecting the crucial information of typological attributes on the artifacts. Those typological attributes are not usually recorded in the archaeological reports. Most of the artifact photographs in the archaeological reports of these three sites only show the front facet of the artifact, no reverse side or incisal surface of the artifact. Because of those missing parts of the archaeological reports, it is hard to identify the artifacts thoroughly photographs and text description.

Therefore, it is necessary to observe, examine and record all aspects of the typological attributes of artifacts including the production vestiges, such as wheel throwing, jiggering, and molding methods inside the daily utensils and at the backside of

architectural ceramics, glaze and body characteristics, namely color, texture, thickness of glaze and body, and trademarks of artifacts.

Observations of the artifacts is an opportunity to record and draw the special features, traces first-hand, and capture all the missing facets of the artifacts that have missed from a cursory examination and the photography. Those features and traces suggest artifacts' functions as daily commodity or decoration. For example, color of the body provides hints to identity the origin and quality of the artifacts. All these details are essential to reconstructing the chronology or sequence of the local and foreign inhabitants in the City of Victoria and how it changed over time in an archaeological perspective.

## **Literature review**

### ***1. Postcolonial archaeology***

Postcolonial theory was created after World War II, with which we look through the telescope from the other end, stressing the local, the contingency and the agency of the colonized (Gosden 2004: 7). Postcolonial archaeology focuses on the time and place since European colonial governments ceased to rule foreign lands (Muckle 2014: 51). Postcolonial archaeology claimed that colonial situation should not be understood in binary terms, which is the colonial division between colonizers and colonized. The practice of colonialism had a pervasive and transformative impact on the cultures of all groups involved in colonial encounters (Stein 2005: 5). The mixed character of colonial populations, in which elements of settler and local culture combined to shape a new and distinct cultural entity, has suggested that hybridity and ambiguity more accurately characterize colonial relations (Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002: 7).

Hong Kong was a colony starting from 1841 until to 1997, which means a long colonial history. From historical records, the relationship between colonizers and colonized is not totally separated. Although there was a segregation between the

British Hong Kong colonial government and Chinese community, the appearance of the Chinese elites, such as wealthy merchants and contractors, blurred the boundaries between Chinese people and foreigners and started showing the agency of colonized. The interactions between colonizers and colonized existed and are reflected from archaeological material culture.

## ***2. The postcolonial concept of hybridity***

The concept of “hybridity” suggests that cultures are continuously transforming and recombining. From the perspective of postcolonial archaeology, colonial situation is made up by both colonizers and the colonized who have together created a new community. The culture in that community is often a mixture of differences and similarities that relates to many people of both colonizers and the colonized backgrounds without equating them entirely with either, which is characterized by what the postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha has termed “hybrid” meanings. In other word, there is no clear distinction between colonizers and colonized culture since a new cultural identity is constructed (Dommelen 2005: 117), meaning that there should not be beliefs in the absolute binary of a superior culture of British colonizer and an inferior culture of local Chinese.

The concepts of “hybridity” could be applied to study of the City of Victoria because there are the exoticization of other cultures in early colonial period.

## ***3. The City of Victoria and three sites***





Figure 1. A map of City of Victoria of 1933 and the sites location of FML, Central School and CPS (Tai Kwun). Map from Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc.

### 3.1 The City of Victoria (Central, Sheung Wan and the Peak)



Figure 2. Plan of the City of Victoria, Hong Kong. Map from The National Archives.

In 1843, Hong Kong's first governor Pottinger appointed the engineer Alexander T. Gordon as the Land Officer, Surveyor and Inspector of Roads of Hong Kong, responsible for planning the city's public facilities such as government buildings, roads and seawalls to formulate a blueprint for building the City of Victoria on Hong Kong Island (Ho 2018: 10).

In the plans of the City of Victoria, Sheung Wan and Tai Pung Shan areas were developed into a Chinese residential-cum-commercial district (Ting and Wong 1999: 47). The land to the west of Aberdeen Street at Central were already designated as residential areas for Europeans at that time (Ting and Wong 1999: 47).

The Peak was a symbol of the privileged since the first-generation Mountain Lodge was converted from a sanatorium in 1867 and only resided by the British. Chinese style buildings were not allowed and only the foreigners with high social status could live in area.

Central was developed as the centre of commercial activities and government administrative institutions (Ho 2018: 12). Therefore, Central Police Station, Victoria Prison and the Central Magistracy built in the 1840s eventually and became the landmark buildings in Central, they stood out due to the imitation of European building style at the time (Ho 2018: 15). In 1843, a new city on the northern coast of Hong Kong Island was built by using the model of European city and named the City of Victoria, which covered Central, Sheung Wan and Wan Chai (Ho 2018: 6).

*Site 1: Former Mountain Lodge (FML)*

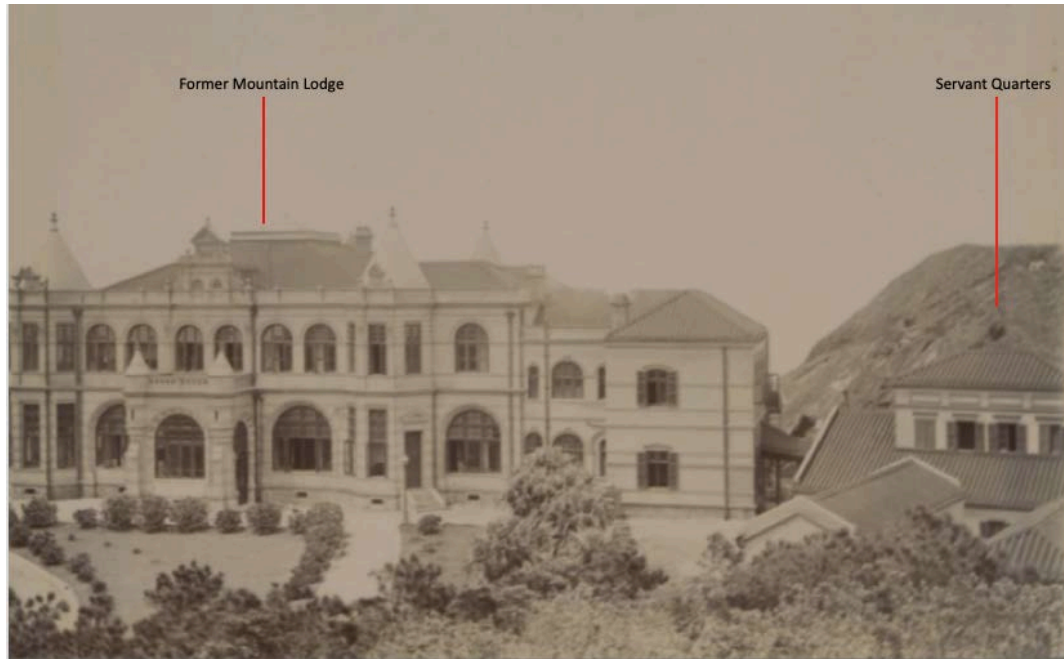


Figure 3. Picture of Former Mountain Lodge and Servant Quarters. Photo from *Hong Kong 30*.

Former Mountain Lodge (FML) was the summer residence for the governor in Hong Kong, which is located on the Peak. The FML was originally the Army Sanatorium, a small hill hospital for the troops built in 1862. In 1867, Governor Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell (1862-1872) bought the sanatorium and transformed it into Mountain Lodge.

In 1899, Governor Sir Henry Arthur Blake (1898-1903) proposed to rebuild Mountain Lodge. The new Mountain Lodge designed by Palmer and Turner, and was built by Sang Lee Construction between 1900 and 1902 (AMO 2008: 4). Mountain Lodge became “the largest and handsomest building at the Peak” (Mattock and Cheshire 1994: 73).

In 1908, Mountain Lodge became not as important for governors. The further repair works of Mountain Lodge became a serious financial burden to Hong Kong Government and Fanling Lodge was built, Mountain Lodge was demolished in 1946.

### Site 2: Central School



Figure 4. Picture of Central School at Hollywood Road. Photo from Hong Kong Public Library.

Central School was the first government school in the City of Victoria, which provided western education for boys only. Most of the students were Chinese but still included non-Chinese, when the school started to recruit foreign students from Britain, India and other European countries since 1866. The Central School was originally established at Gough Street in 1862. Because there were so many students, the Central School moved to the new campus on Hollywood Road, where PMQ is located at now, and renamed as Victoria College in 1889. In 1894, The Government Gazette announced that Victoria College was changed to Queen's College (AMO 2007). Many alumni of Central School became the elite of Hong Kong and China, such as Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Sir Robert Ho Tung and Sir Chow Shou-son who studied in campus at Gough Street (Architectural Services Department 2011: 48). And Dr. Fok Ying Tung, Mr. Lee Hysan and Sir Tang Shiu Kin who had studied at the campus on Hollywood Road (Architectural Services Department 2011: 57). After World War II,

the school building was severely damaged and was rebuilt as the first Police Married Quarters for Chinese married rank and file police officers and their families until 2000.

*Site 3: Central Police Station Compound (Tai Kwun)*

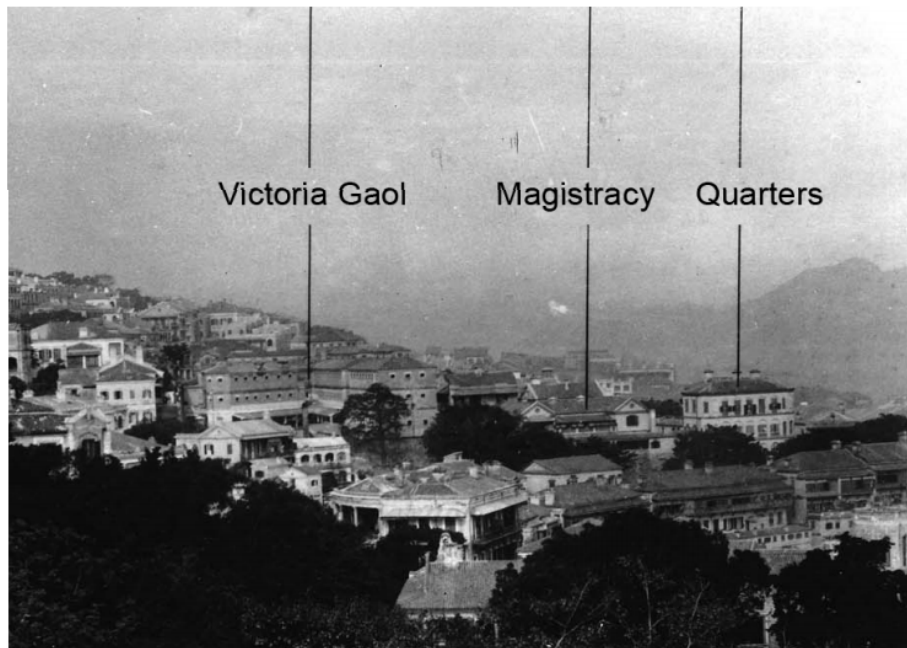


Figure 5. View of the Mid-Levels from the slopes above Lower Albert Road, showing Victoria Goal and Magistracy and the quarters of the Superintendent of Police in 1895. Photo from *Central Police Station Conservation and Revitalisation Project EIA Report*, 2011, pp.3-6.

Central Police Station Compound (CPS) is an integrated facility encompassing a police station, magistracy and prison and provided an enclosed network of law enforcement, judicial and prison service in Central.

In August 1841, Victoria Goal was built as the first prison and western-styled building constructed with granite and bricks in the City of Victoria with the Magistrate's House (The Jockey Club CPS Limited 2018: 18). During the early 20th century, the site was expanded and new prison cells, magistracy, police station, quarters were

built, which formed the police station, magistracy and prison complex all concentrated in one site. After World War II, some parts of the building were severely damaged. Its functioned as police station, courthouse and prison in CPS ended since 1984 to 2006.

CPS Compound was graded as a declared monument in 1995. In 2018, CPS was renamed as Tai Kwun, as a Centre for Heritage and Arts, which was revitalized into a stage for promoting performing arts, visual arts while presenting the history to the community.

### **Comparing the artifacts between FML, PMQ and Tai Kwun**

After studying the artifacts excavated from Former Mountain Lodge (FML), Central School Site (PMQ) and Central Police Station Compound (Tai Kwun), the proportion of local and foreign products reflect the culture of hybridity and social hierarchy of three colonial sites.

### ***Proportion of local and foreign products and the culture of hybridity***

Comparing the proportion of local and foreign products found in these three sites, the number of foreign products was greater than local products. It is because most of the tiles and transfer-printed wares excavated were from England.



Figure 6. Transfer-printed wares excavated from PMQ (a-d) and Tai Kwun (e-n). Photo a-d from *Former Hollywood Road Police Married Quarters 2007 Site Investigation Report, 2007*. Photo e-n from Hong Kong Archaeological Archive System.

The phenomena of hybridity were reflecting on the number of origins of artifacts. The artifacts found in the City of Victoria were probably imported from five areas, such as England, the Netherlands, America, Japan and Guangdong. Comparatively, other related colonial sites in Hong Kong, such as the layer dating from late Qing Dynasty to the 20th century in Sacred Hill Area in Kowloon and Yim Tin Tsai in Sai Kung, New Territories, the proportion of foreign products was not high. For example, Minton floor tiles from England were absent in Kowloon and Sai Kung. Transfer-printed wares were absent in Sacred Hill Area and a small amount of transfer-printed wares were found in Yim Tin Tsai, where early missionary areas of Catholic located and St. Joseph's Chapel was established by foreign missionaries in Hong Kong since 1841. Therefore, the City of Victoria was the most hybrid place during early colonial period until World War II.

In the context of the City of Victoria, Minton floor tiles were absent in Tai Kwun but found in FML and PMQ. And transfer-printed wares were absent in FML but were found in PMQ and Tai Kwun. (See in Appendix I) The differences and similarities of the artifacts in between three colonial buildings reflected the social hierarchy of the people and the social status of colonial buildings in the City of Victoria.

### ***Correlations between nature, users and social hierarchy of three colonial sites***

The nature and normal users of FML, Central School site and Tai Kwun reflect different social classes in the City of Victoria.

FML was placed for governors and located at the Peak, which is the symbol of prestige. Only the higher rank European officers or merchants, who belong to the upper class in society, was allowed to reside at the Peak.

Central School was the first government school in Hong Kong. The construction of the Central School campus at Hollywood Road was a big construction project in the City of Victoria, which costed \$250,000 and was built in 5 years (1884-1889).

Comparing the construction projects in the same period, Central School for Girls near the campus of Central School only costed \$25,000 and was built in 2 years (1890-1892) (QCOBA Newsletter 2009; 4). It showed the campus of Central School at Hollywood Road was constructed to be the landmark in the City of Victoria. The social status of this colonial building would be of middle class.

Also, the students who studied in Central School were the bilingual, who can act as middlemen between English speakers and local Chinese, local elite in the society because Central School is a bilingual education school. The students graduated from Central School were fluent in English and Chinese, which qualified them to be the officers in Hong Kong colonial government or businessmen. During 1911 to 1941, Hong Kong colonial government purposed elite education in Hong Kong, it therefore raised the admission standard of Central School and the school became the place of nurturing bilingual students and local elites. For example, many leaders and talents in



Hong Kong were the alumni of Central School, such as Dr. Fok Ying Tung, Mr. Lee Hysan and Sir Tang Shiu Kin. The social status of students from Central School should be of middle class in society who would work as Hong Kong colonial government officers during colonial period.

According to archaeological investigation report of Tai Kwun, most of the foundation remains found in Tai Kwun belonged to the prison, such as Gaol C, radial plan prison, Gaolers House in 1856, Offices of Assistant superintendent, Chief Inspector building and more (The Jockey Club CPS Limited 2011: 38-39). Apart from the building of Chief Inspector, most of the features found in Tai Kwun reflected the lower class in society or in colonial government. The main users of Gaol C, radial plan prison, Gaolers House should be the prisoners, who received their punishments in Gaols. During the 19th century, there were many punishments allowed in Victoria Gaol, such as wearing fetters, flogging in public, the crank punishment and hanging, which was treating in torment. Moreover, assistant superintendent was the lower rank of officer in government administration system or organization structure of Hong Kong Police Force. Overallly speaking, most of the users in Tai Kwun were the lower class in the society and colonial government.

The social hierarchy of three colonial buildings clearly showed the nature and users of the sites: there were the upper class in FML, middle class in Central School (PMQ) and lower class in Tai Kwun. And it also reflects the use of materials, such as architectural ceramics and daily utensils.

### ***Architectural ceramics***

#### ***England-produced ceramic floor tiles***

The floor tiles found in FML and PMQ were made by Minton Hollins & Co. and were completely absent in Tai Kwun. That reflects the different social hierarchies of three colonial buildings and their users.

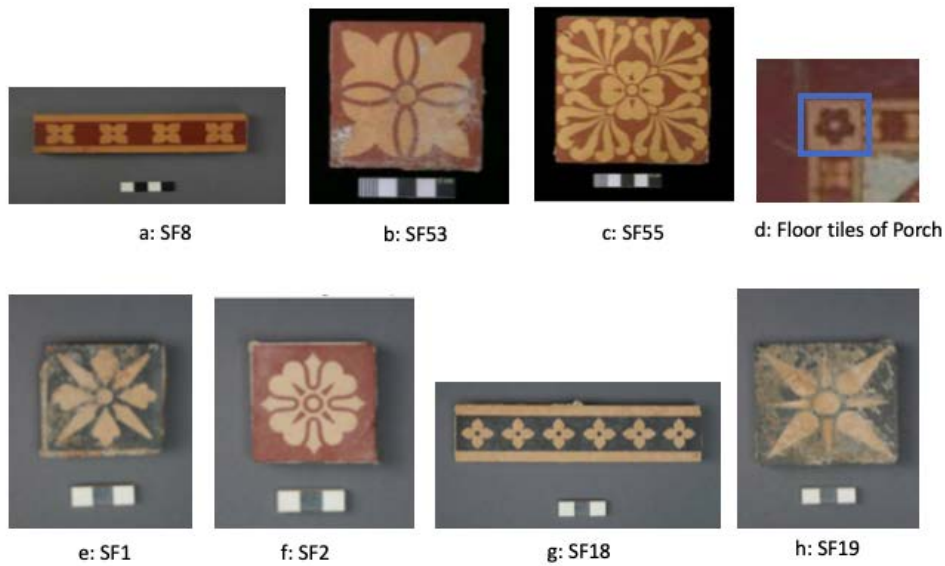


Figure 7. Encaustic tiles found in FML (a-d) and PMQ (e-h). Photos from *Former Hollywood Road Police Married Quarters 2007 Site Investigation Report, 2007* and *Working Report of the Archaeological Works at Former Mountain Lodge, 2012*.

Encaustic tiles were strategically and generally used during the 1850s because their advantages of being hygienic and fire-resistant, which helped build up a more hygienic environment in England. The pattern of the Encaustic tiles could be seen and used as an aesthetic decoration in the buildings and raise the aesthetic value of the buildings. Therefore, Encaustic tiles made by Minton Hollins & Co. were used in public utilities, such as town halls, hospitals, schools, museums and were installed at outside porches, hallways and lavatories in private houses (Barnard 1972: 7).

According to the catalogue of Minton Hollins & Co. in 1881, they carried out the tiling works of the Royal Palaces of Windsor, the Royal residence of Prince Dhuleep Singh, government buildings, churches and public institutions of England and colonies (Barnard 1972: 33). The list showed that the customer of Minton Hollins & Co., were royalties, churches, government and colonies, which were the higher and middle class in the society. Since encaustic tiles that have been used in residence of Royal family, which would definitely not appear in Goals, the residence of prisoners.

Examining the existing buildings in Tai Kwun, floor tiles from England were found in Police Headquarters Block, which is the most prominent landmark of CPS compound and was built in 1919, and Central Magistracy built in 1912 to 1914. The Central Halls and corridors in the Police Headquarters Block and verandahs in Central Magistracy are decorated with red quarry tile floor with mosaic Greek key border of cream, tan and olive tiles (The Jockey Club CPS Limited 2011: 5, 146). As both buildings were served as the headquarters of Hong Kong Police Force and Magistracy, both social statuses are higher than other buildings in Tai Kwun, such as jails.

Moreover, the usage of floor tiles is related to the space of buildings, which was commonly at entrances, in halls, corridors and verandahs. As the jails were constructed with simple plan structure, those elements would not be found. Therefore, Minton floor tiles were completely absent in archaeological remains excavated from Tai Kwun.

### *Daily utensils*

#### *Blue-and-white porcelain*

Blue-and-white porcelain were found in three colonial buildings, but the provenances and quality were different based on the users of the buildings.

The provenances of blue-and-white porcelain, such as porcelain dish with Chinese character “福” (fu) and double happiness rice bowl were probably produced in Wun Yiu, Tai Po in Hong Kong, Shiwan, Tai Po in Guangdong, which all were folk kilns in China and good at imitating ceramics or motifs manufactured in Jingdezhen kiln and other famous Chinese kilns, to meet the demand of markets inland and overseas (Guangdong Provincial Museum 1979: 184-185). On the other hand, the similar design of those blue-and-white porcelain, such as bamboo rice bowl and double happiness rice bowl were commonly found in Kowloon, Guangdong and California. Moreover, these kilns were manufactured other ceramics for daily use, such as oil

lamp stand, rice bowl, dish and herbal pot, which could be found in PMQ and Tai Kwun (Zhang 1979: 199-200).



Figure 8. Comparison of porcelain dish found in Tai Kwun (a) and Wun Yin, Tai Po, Hong Kong (b). Photo a from Hong Kong Archaeological Archive System. Photo b from *The Guangdong Provincial Museum and the Art Gallery, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1989*.

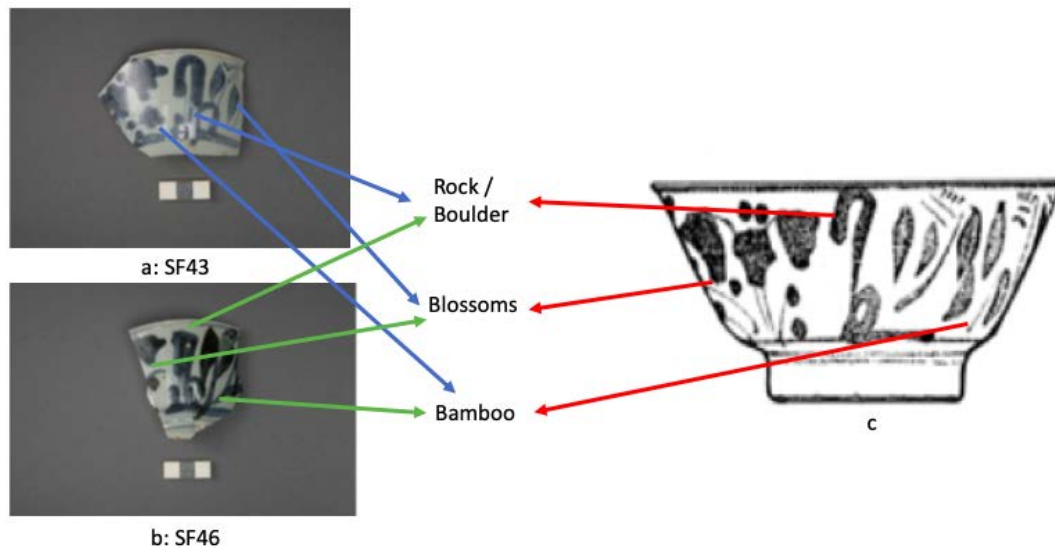


Figure 9. Comparison of sherds of bamboo rice bowl excavated from PMQ (a, b) and

IMACS<sup>1</sup> Site in America (c).

Photo a, b from *Former Hollywood Road Police Married Quarters 2007 Site Investigation Report, 2007*. Photo c from Intermountain Antiquities Computer System (IMACS) Guide.

There is a lack of Chinese-produced blue-and-white porcelain found in FML. The blue-and-white porcelain flowerpots were manufactured in Japan. This type of Japanese porcelain flowerpots was usually displayed in palace, which reflects the social hierarchy of the porcelain flowerpots represents in FML.

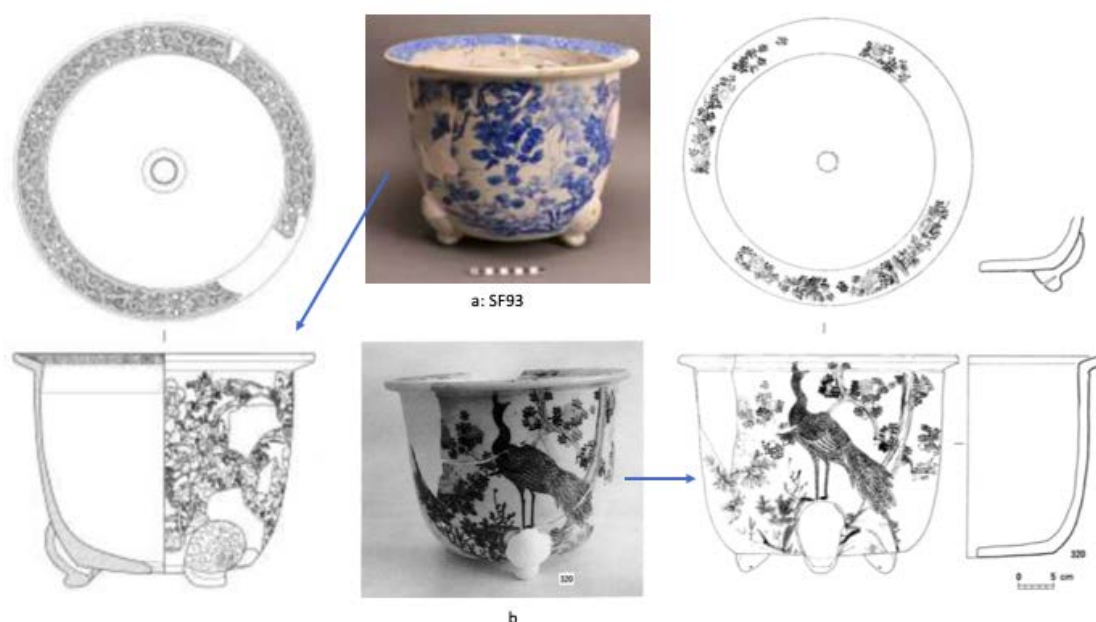


Figure 10. Comparison of Japanese porcelain flowerpots excavated from FML (a) and Kagoshima Prefecture (b).

Photo a from *Working Report of the Archaeological Works at Former Mountain Lodge, 2012*. Photo b from *Research paper of Kagoshima Castle, 1992*, pp. 129, 49.

Also, the quality of Japanese blue-and-white porcelain flowerpots found in FML were better than the blue-and-white porcelain tableware produced in China found in two

<sup>1</sup> IMACS stands for Utah, Idaho, Nevada, Wyoming and California in America.

other sites, which the latter had unadorned motifs and thin body. The differences between those blue-and-white porcelain show the users came from different social classes. Governors used the Japanese blue-and-white porcelain flowerpots, which were displayed in palace, in the room of Mountain Lodge. Chinese-produced blue-and-white porcelain tableware, which were inexpensive, were used by students at Central School and prisoners in Tai Kwun.

### England-produced ceramics

A lot of fragments of transfer-painted wares produced in the Staffordshire were found in PMQ and Tai Kwun, but the ceramic plate produced by Aynsley China was not found. And it reflects the social hierarchy of the users on using the ceramic objects.



Figure 11. Comparison on bone china plate found in FML and catalogue of Aynsley in 2014.

Photo a from *Aynsley China 2014*, 2014. Photos b, c from Hong Kong Archaeological Archive System.

Aynsley China was famous of producing gold and platinum etched tableware, and they supplied tableware to royalty, governments and companies (Aynsley China Limited 2014: 89). Comparing the decorative techniques of both English ceramics, the motifs of transfer-painted wares were printed on tissue paper and transferred to the vessel form quickly through mass-production, such as Rhine and Willow, they were the popular and were found in many archaeological sites in a variety of colors with standardized patterns. However, the motif of Aynsley China plate was handcrafted (Aynsley China Limited 2014: 1) and the Crown motif as the trademark printed on the bottom shows that social status of this plate's user is higher than those of transfer-painted wares. Because the Crown usually presents the British colonial government and could not be used casually. Moreover, the prices of both ceramics differed during the 19th century, when the transfer-painted wares were cheaper than Aynsley China plates, which the latter was claimed as "luxury" until now (Samford 1997: 3).

The differences between two types of England-produced ceramics show the social hierarchy and identity of people in the three colonial sites. Governors and his family or the honorable guests in Mountain Lodge used the expensive and high-quality English tableware with a crown mark, which represents their identity or social class as colonizer and the upper class in the City of Victoria.

Although the students in Central School were the bilingual middlemen and local elite in the City of Victoria, they used the same affordable English tableware as prisoners in Tai Kwun did. That reflects identities of bilingual middlemen and prisoners were colonized.

### ***Conclusion***

Most of the artifacts excavated in FML were associated with the higher class. For example, Minton floor tiles were only used at the Royal residence and palace, Japanese blue-and-white porcelain flowerpots were found in palace and Bone china plate produced by Aynsley China, a luxury tableware. Also, the production vestiges of

Japanese porcelain flowerpots Bone china plate show the motifs on both ceramics were handcrafted and were not mass production products. Those characteristics informed the social status of governors whose families and themselves being the upper class in the City of Victoria during colonial period. Because the products that they used were could not be found in another colonial sites or buildings in Hong Kong or overseas, such as PMQ, Tai Kwun and California.

However, the artifacts excavated in PMQ and Tai Kwun could be found in Kowloon and overseas Chinese diaspora settlements in North America during the 19th century, such as double happiness rice bowl and transfer-printed wares.

These artifacts sharing the same feature were also excavated in PMQ and Tai Kwun, they were all traded, machine-made and inexpensive products. Tobacco pipes, salt glazed gin bottles and toothbrushes were widely exported to overseas during the 19th century. Also, most of the provenances of artifacts were near the sea or rivers, such as Amsterdam, Saga Prefecture and Aichi Prefecture. Some of them was trading centres with a long history. For example, Guangzhou in Guangdong was an important port during the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368). Therefore, many Shiwan ceramics were exported to South-east Asia and North America.

At that time period, trade was mainly conducted by barges and sailing boats in the City of Victoria, at the northern coast of Hong Kong Island, with the deeply sheltered water harbor that could be developed as ports (Ho 2018: 9-10). Because of that, Hong Kong British colonial government decided to start building the city from the northern coast of Hong Kong Island, where the City of Victoria was. That would be the main reason why many foreign products were excavated on Hong Kong Island rather than in Kowloon or the New Territories during early colonial period. Also, British government controlled the Kowloon Peninsula and the New Territories starting from 1860 and 1898. But the City of Victoria remained as the first development area and the heart of Hong Kong.

As the piers at the harbor exported and imported the products from overseas, the



people in the City of Victoria could easily buy them with affordable prices and use those foreign products in daily life via agents or foreign firms, such as Swire, Jardine Matheson & Co and more. So, the culture of hybridity was constructed in the City of Victoria, which referred to people using foreign and local products together. From the archaeological evidence, the fragments of transfer-printed wares and Chinese-produced blue-and-white porcelain were excavated in the same test trench in PMQ and Tai Kwun. It would reflect the culture of hybridity in human behaviors level.

### **Reconstructing Minton floor tiles in FML and PMQ**

Adding up the number of artifacts excavated from three archaeological sites, the type of artifacts that appeared the most was Minton floor tiles. Minton floor tiles could be found in colonial buildings in Hong Kong and Taiwan, where they were still in existence. For examples, St John's Cathedral and Hong Kong Museum of Medical Sciences in Hong Kong, The British consular residence in New Taipei City, Taiwan that built in 1891.

Minton floor tiles are the most important architectural feature of colonial buildings. However, this was completely omitted in the past discussion. As those floor tiles were not preserve in-situ and lacked support from historical photography, the revitalization of those patterns of floor tiles in FML and PMQ was a difficult task.

I would reconstruct history of Minton floor tiles in Hong Kong colonial buildings adopting chaîne opératoire approach, which emphasizes the sequence of manufacturing, the process of transforming raw materials into finished product (Guo 2013: 96). Also, chaîne opératoire considers the relationship in between each process and technological, economic, social, political and ideological aspects, which helps to answer the questions of 'how and why' the floor tiles were found in FML and PMQ or commonly seen in colonial buildings in the City of Victoria.

#### ***1. Background of Minton Hollins & Co. (Minton)***

Minton Hollins & Co. (Minton) was established in 1793 by Thomas Minton and produced tableware. In 1835, Minton bought a patent for the manufacture of encaustic tiles, which was a medieval art of made by hand (Durbin 2005: 38). Though encaustic tiles were not the main production line of Minton, they did many experiments on clay mixture and firing until 1843. As appreciated by the Royal family, Minton encaustic tiles became popular (Barnard 1972: 16).

## ***2. Manufacturing encaustic tiles***

The technology of manufacturing tiles was changed in the 1860s, when the method of wet clay pressing was replaced by dust pressing. This transformation on impressing tiles made mass production of floor tiles possible. The production vestige on the reverse side of tiles reveals the method of impressing, which helps the chronological studies on Minton floor tiles.

## ***3. Exporting floor tiles***

The improvement of production helped Minton floor tiles became commodity and were exported to more oversea markets. The most important factor enabling extensive exports and to be found in Hong Kong was because Minton was the member of Crown Agents for the Colonies, which played a business role in the colonial era colonialism (Financial Times 1936). Crown Agents for the Colonies acted as agents for the British colonies, which supplied all non-locally manufactured material to colonies. Since Minton was a member of Crown Agents, it means that they could supply floor tiles to British colonies. The purpose of Crown Agents was to encourage the colonies to purchase British goods through one single supplier, which bind all the colonies together (Sunderland 1999: 284,288). Minton could send the catalogues and price lists to the Hong Kong Governors and they could order the floor tiles through the Crown Agents (Sunderland 1999: 302).

The purpose of using Minton floor tiles in colonies was to reconstruct and practice the

social lifestyle in England. This reflects that building materials of colonial buildings were controlled by British through importing from the assigned supplies and not only built in colonial styled buildings to express the colonizer's identity.

#### ***4. Design of the floor tiles***

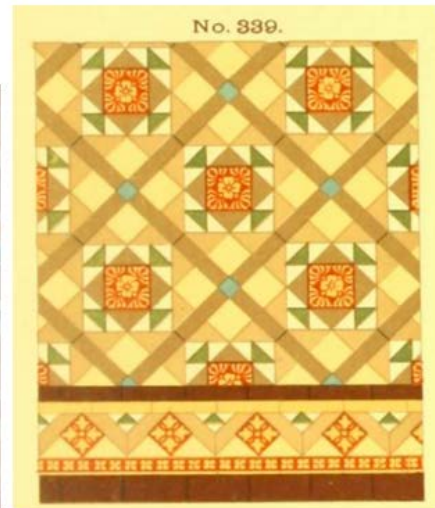
Before the tiles were laying in the buildings, there were some discussions between Minton and customers. Customers chose the suggested designs pattern of floor tiles in the catalogues, which were designed and published by Minton. The number of the pattern chosen should be clearly stated to Minton with accurate dimensions of space, where was to be decorated by tiles, when the customers were ordering the Minton tiles. After then, Minton prepared a working drawing, which recorded the pattern chosen to arrange at the space in the most approved form to customers. The Working Drawing was used to count and supply the correct quantities of tiles for completing the place. Actually, customers could choose another encaustic tile represented in the catalogue and replace the original one in design pattern, which does not follow the original combination of tiles in the design pattern (Minton Hollins & Co 1905). Therefore, the design of floor tile was designed by Minton with the correct color and quantities of tiles before laying them. The catalogue was the model and it does not mean they completely copy the design from catalogue to actual spaces in buildings.

#### ***5. Floor tiles design in FML***

Comparing the catalogue of Minton published in 1905, design of porch and verandah in FML was found, the No. 339.



a: Floor tiles of porch in FML

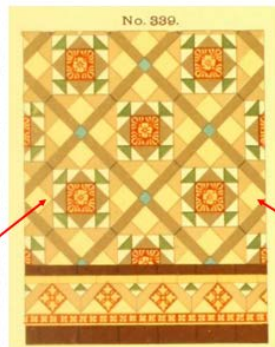


b: Design of No. 339  
Catalogue of Minton Hollins & Co.  
published in 1905

Figure 12. Comparison of the design pattern of porch in FML and catalogue in 1905. Photo a from *Working Report of the Archaeological Works at Former Mountain Lodge*, 2012.



Lady May on the verandah of Former Mountain Lodge, September 1915



Design of No. 339  
Catalogue of Minton Hollins & Co.  
published in 1905



Lieutenant F.J. Kinchin Smith Aide De Camp, on the verandah of Former Mountain Lodge, 1916

Figure 13. Comparison on historical photography on the verandah in FML and catalogue in 1905. Historical photography from *Working Report of the Archaeological Works at Former Mountain Lodge*, 2012.

There were some differences between the actual design and design in catalogue. For instance, the light grey triangular floor tile in large size (in red triangle on photo a) replaced the group of green and white triangular floor tile in small size (in red triangle on photo b). The similar phenomena were found in the British consular residence in Tai Wan. (Figure 30) As mentioned before, the design of floor tiles will change based on the dimensions of the space.



Figure 14. Comparison the actual design and catalogue design in both sites.

Photo a from *Working Report of the Archaeological Works at Former Mountain Lodge*, 2012. Photo b from Tamsui Historical Museum.

## 6. Floor tiles design in Central School Site (PMQ)

It is difficult to reconstruct floor tiles in Central School Site with a lack of historical photography, but it could be reconstructed through comparing the designs in catalogue and the combination of floor tiles. After the comparison, there are two types of design that could be reconstructed.

### *Pattern 1*

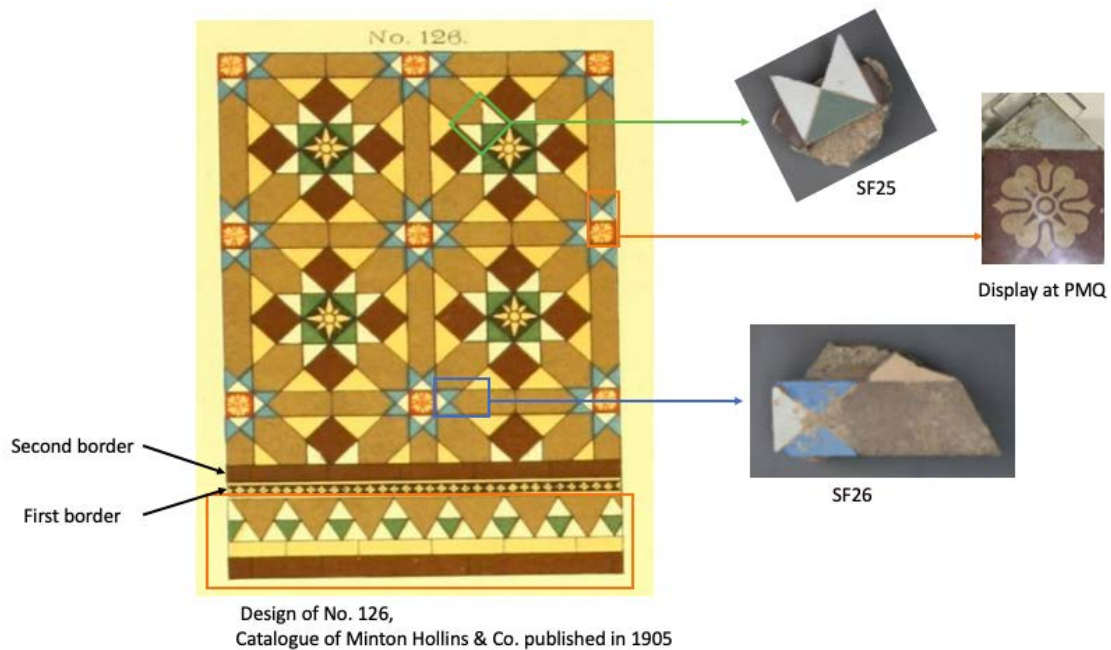


Figure 15. Comparison on the combinations of floor tile found in PMQ and catalogue design in 1905.

Most of the floor tiles in design No. 126 were found in PMQ, except for the floor tiles in orange square. The border design would change during the designing or laying (in red rectangle). But the main field design basics follow the catalogue. There is a lack of historical photography showing the locations of the floor tiles in Central School. The same pattern of Minton floor tiles from other existing buildings could be an evidence to show the distribution of those floor tiles. For example, first design pattern of Minton floor tiles in PMQ was found on the corridor, which connected the lobby and entrance and dated ca. 1850, in Bootham Park Hospital in York, Britain (Alex Gordon Partnership 1987: 4). Therefore, the first pattern of Minton floor tiles in PMQ was probably located on the corridor inside the building.

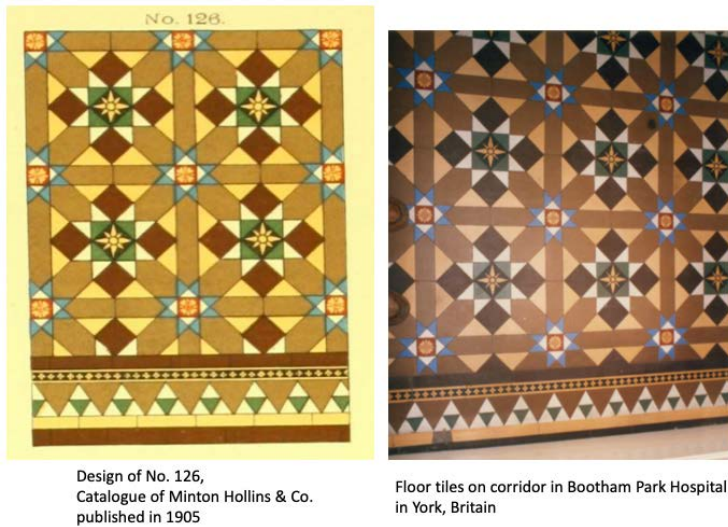


Figure 16. Comparison between the design patterns of corridor in Bootham Park Hospital and catalogue in 1905.

*Pattern 2*

Minton Hollins & Co published many design catalogues for floor tiles. However, only one catalogue was found in Boston public library archives. Studying the artifacts by observing the production vestiges, such as grout lines between the tiles and the mortar, could help reconstructing the floor tile design. However, there are needs for more documentary, historical photography and actual design in existing building to supporting the following design pattern.

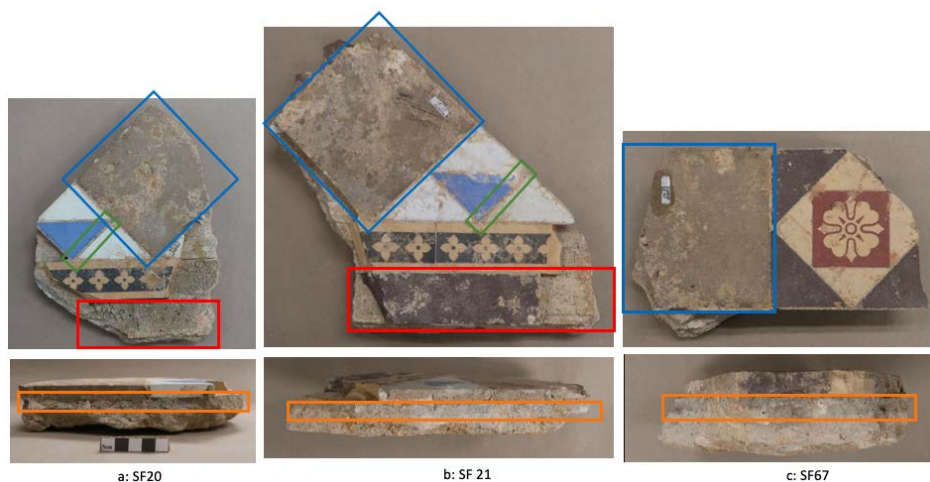


Figure 17. Comparison on the grout lines (green rectangle), length of mortar (orange

rectangle) and the area of each floor tiles (blue and red square) of three combinations of floor tile found in PMQ. Photos from Hong Kong Archaeological Archive System.

The length and color of the mortar in the layer are similar, which are in grey. Also, the vestige of laying (red rectangle) showed in bar shape, suggests that rectangle shaped floor tiles were near the rectangle encaustic tile. (red rectangle)

The design of paving tiles had some formulas or models that could guide duplications with a variety of floor tiles. Those kinds of formulas were replacing models in the catalogue by combining different types of floor tiles. For example, designs of No. 210 (Figure a) and No. 358 (Figure b) in catalogue show that the similar main design pattern of pavement was strip floor tiles in border, triangle and square in main field design. But the interior design of the triangular and square floor tiles were different (orange triangle and red square on Figure 46 below). This formula could help and support the origin of combinations of three group of floor tiles found in PMQ and reconstruct another design in Central School Site.

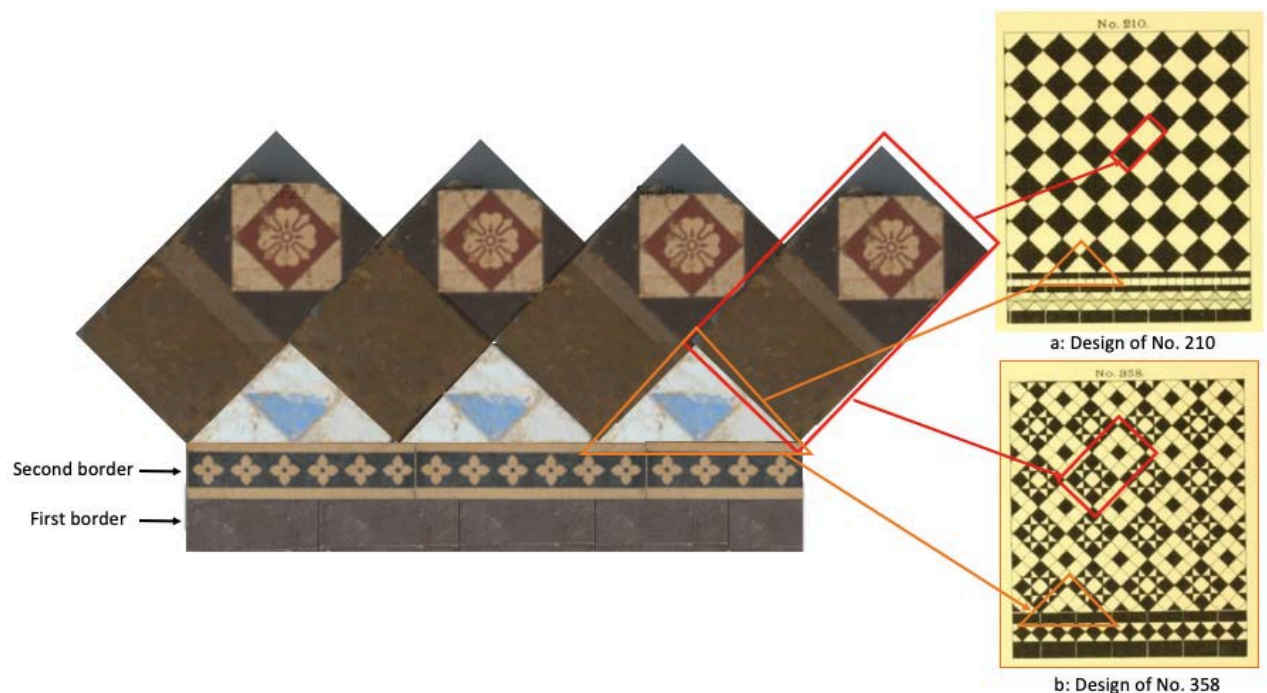


Figure 18. Reconstructing type 2 design in PMQ and comparing the two design in catalogue.



## *7. Laying the floor tiles*

After Minton floor tiles were imported to Hong Kong, laying the tiles was the next step. Minton will provide printed instruction to guide local tile-layers to lay the tiles. (Minton Hollins & Co 1905) According to grout line and mortar, the process of tile-laying can be deduced.

During early colonial period, many Chinese workers came to Hong Kong and worked as servants, coolies, stonecutters and masons (Ho 2010:85). Some of the Chinese workers worked as bricks and tiles manufacturers but only in a limited number. At the same time, many Chinese contractors accepted construction projects from British government. Because a lack of talent in construction industry, the Chinese contractors did not need to be professional in the industry, but needed to be fluent in English, friendly with British with sufficient working capital and having an ability to recruit workers, which got the trust of Hong Kong colonial government by interpersonal networks (Ho 2010: 94). Therefore, the Chinese contractors undertook many government construction projects. For example, FML was built by Sang Lee Construction was funded by Lam Yam Chuen (or Lam Lau) and it undertook many government construction projects, such as Hall E in Tai Kwun. Its history reflects that there were a group of Chinese contractors having a close relationship with colonial government and Chinese workers with low social status, which played an important mediating role in labor strikes in 1920s.

The floor tile found in FML was an evidence of the Chinese workers constructing the Mountain Lodge at the Peak. The ink of Chinese characters “同 五” on the reverse side of floor tiles reflects that the identity of tile-layers should be Chinese. “五” is Suzhou numerals and equal to five in Chinese cultures. Suzhou numerals is a Chinese traditional numeral system and used as shorthand for accounting and bookkeeping in Chinese community. Also, that reflects the situation or practice of those Chinese

workers during constructing colonial buildings in the City of Victoria, Suzhou numerals were used as marking and Suzhou numerals, but not only used for accounting and bookkeeping in Hong Kong.



Figure 19. Inked marks of Chinese characters “同 8” on the reserve side of floor tiles found in porch of FML. Photos from *Working Report of the Archaeological Works at Former Mountain Lodge*, 2012. Photo b from Tamsui Historical Museum.

## 8. Conclusion

Considering the process of tile-making, exporting, designing and tiles laying, which could help understand the relationship between human and material in FML and PMQ. The import and use of Minton floor ties reflect the control of the colonial government by the sovereign state. This vestige of floor tile reflecting the tile-layers of FML probably was Chinese and shows that there are groups of Chinese constructors in the City of Victoria, who played the role of middlemen between colonial government and Chinese grassroot during colonial period. Also, the process of tile laying reflects a mixture of Western and Chinese style, when Chinese tile-layers constructed colonial buildings by using foreign architectural ceramics. Therefore, studying the Minton floor tiles allows us to tease out the relationship between colonizers and the colonized in Hong Kong.

## **The culture of hybridity and Hong Kong identity**

Through identifying the background of artifacts excavated from these three sites and examining the production and tiling process of Minton floor tiles, the social hierarchy and relation between colonizers and the colonized and the culture of hybridity in the City of Victoria during early colonial period were unraveled.

### ***Identity of the Chinese working class before 1920s***

Most of the artifacts found in three colonial buildings, do not suggest a sense of Hong Kong identity. There are only one artifact produced in Wun Yin, Hong Kong, which is a blue-and-white porcelain dish with Chinese characters “福” (fu). However, the design of porcelain produced in Wun Yin was affected by Jingdezhen kiln, which was the official kiln and made imperial porcelain made for Emperor of China. Therefore, the culture reflected by blue-and-white porcelain dish was Traditional Chinese culture rather than an original local culture.

Although some of the artifacts presented the idea of Hong Kong, they were not popular in the City of Victoria during the early colonial period. The currencies found in FML and PMQ reflect this situation. Money has a long history being a basic exchange medium in human daily life. The use of coins helps construct the collective national identity. Moreover, coins were closely connected to the location and thus their presence reflects the portrayed local cultures and identities based on the location. For example, Hong Kong One Mil found in PMQ was the first dollar of Hong Kong. Although crown of Queen Victoria was minted on the side, the English letters and Chinese characters of “Hong Kong” and “香港” were minted on the coin. It displays a form of bilingualism in Hong Kong at the time, which was different with the culture in the neighboring province, Guangdong. Before Hong Kong One Mil was minted in 1863, the people had been using the Chinese coin that did not connote an idea of “Hong Kong”. But Hong Kong One Mil expressed the rise of a new community, pinpointing that Hong Kong was different and separate from Guangdong and other

regions in China which added to the local uniqueness as a sociocultural collective entity.

However, the history and development of Hong Kong One Mil shows that the sense of Hong Kong did not contribute to constructing an exclusive identity of Hong Kong during early colonial period because the people in the City of Victoria prefer using Chinese coin rather than Hong Kong One Mil. This phenomenon was also found in FML, where one Chinese coin was found in Chinese servant quarters of Mountain Lodge.

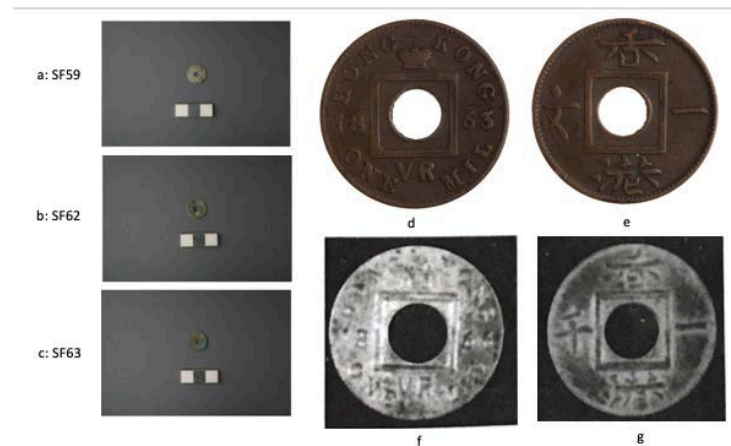


Figure 20. Comparison on the bronze coins excavated from PMQ(a-c), two types of Hong Kong One Mil(d-g).

d: The positive side of Hong Kong One Mil, minted in 1863-1865.

e: The reverse side of Hong Kong One Mil, minted in 1863-1865.

f: The positive side of Hong Kong One Mil, minted in 1866.

g: The reverse side of Hong Kong One Mil, minted in 1866.

Photos a-c from *Former Hollywood Road Police Married Quarters 2007 Site*

*Investigation Report*, 2007. Photos d, e from Museums Victoria Collections. Photos f, g from *Hong Kong Currency (1841-1997)*, 2006, Appendix.

This shows that the Chinese people in the City of Victoria, especially the working class, did not have a clear sense of Hong Kong and locality. Because those workers

came from Guangdong were not born in Hong Kong, Hong Kong was not their hometown but simply a place to earn money. They are not the permanent residents of Hong Kong and would eventually go back to their hometown. Therefore, the identities of the working class or lower class in the City of Victoria were recognized as being from Guangdong or China.

### ***Identities of the Chinese bilingual middlemen***

During the early colonial period, there were a group of Chinese or Eurasians of middle-class background in the City of Victoria, such as graduates from Central School and Chinese contractors from Guangdong, who were totally different from the Chinese workers. As they were fluent in both Chinese and English and had a higher education background, they became the bilingual messenger between Hong Kong colonial government and the upper class of Chinese workers.

The artifacts found in PMQ reflected the daily activities of bilingual middlemen. For example, the fragments of salt glazed gin bottle and tobacco pipe found in Central School Site, which was one of the western-styled building, decorated with Minton floor tiles from England, show that students would behave as Europeans in the campus. The historical photography of Central School shows that some of the Chinese students wore suits. The clothing and social manners of bilingual middlemen could easily win the trust from Hong Kong government and help to mitigate the conflicts and problems between colonial government and the Chinese workers. They were the representatives or the leaders of Chinese in the colonial period, who helped to improve the environment of Chinese residents like running a charity that serves the Chinese community as chairperson.

Not only they led a Western lifestyle and were close to the colonial government, the bilingual middlemen were also actively participating in the Chinese community. For example, Tam Shiu Hong and Lam Woo, who were two Chinese contractors, were the first members of Chinese Revolutionary Alliance and supported the 1911 Revolution

in China (Ho 2010: 108).

The identity of bilingual middlemen is difficult to be categorized as European or Chinese. However, they did not try to establish an identity that would be completely alienated from Mainland China because they were rely on traditional geographic networks to recruited the Chinese workers, which diluted the local population, and then they could get the construction projects from colonial government which increased their influence (Ho 2010: 105).

### ***Hong Kong labor strikes in 1920s***

Before the Hong Kong seamen's strike happened in 1920s, the identity of Hong Kongers was not constructed and created in the City of Victoria during the colonial period. After the labor strikes in Hong Kong during 1920s, the sense of Hong Kong was created and heightened significantly.

From 1842 to 1900, the wages of Chinese workers did not increase. At the same time, the price level was increasing, their income could no longer cover the basic expenses of those Chinese workers (Ho 2010: 112). Therefore, the Chinese workers went on strikes for better working conditions and wages. Later they were also against the colonial government secretly fear towards under the affects of nationalism from Mainland China (Ho 2010: 112).

The City of Victoria was nearly paralyzed and business activity came to a halt during the strike, which reflected the power and the important roles played by Chinese workers in Hong Kong. Since the Hong Kong seamen's strike succeeded in 1922, Canton–Hong Kong strike started again from 1925 to 1926. However, the Chinese workers did not get any benefits after this strike. But the sense of becoming as a group of the working class in Hong Kong was created among Chinese workers during the strikes and they tried to see Hong Kong as their second hometown. So as to counter nationalism from Mainland, Hong Kong colonial government started to create the identity of Hong Kongers. Therefore, the labor strikes became the starting point that

constructed the identity or the sense of Hong Kongers since 1920s.

### *Conclusion*

The artifacts found in FML, PMQ and tai Kwun reflect the social hierarchy and the culture of hybridity in the City of Victoria during the colonial period. I argue that the relationship between colonizers and the colonized in the City of Victoria could not be clearly divided into two parts, because there were a group of Chinese bilinguals as the middle class between the colonial government and the working class or lower class in the Chinese community. Because the City of Victoria became a home for immigrants, the sense and identity of Hong Kong was hard to be constructed within the Chinese community, especially the working class, because they saw Hong Kong as the place to earn money temporarily. The artifacts from the three colonial buildings also echo the argument that the identity of Hong Kongers was not constructed in the City of Victoria before World War II.

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## Appendix I

	<i>Local products</i>	FML	PMQ	Tai Kwun
<b>Architectural ceramics</b>	Green glazed baluster	2	1	0
<b>Daily utensils</b>	Blue-and-white porcelain jar	1	0	0
	Blue-and-white porcelain dish	0	0	1
	Blue-and-white porcelain bowl	0	1	2
	Blue-and-white porcelain bamboo bowl	0	2	0
	Blue-and-white porcelain double happiness bowl	0	1	2
	Blue-and-white porcelain cup	0	2	0
	Blue-and-white porcelain spoon	0	1	0
	Green glazed porcelain bowl	0	1	0
	Overglazed porcelain spoon	0	0	1
	Herbal pot	0	0	1
	Oil lamp stand	0	1	0
	Oil lamp dish	0	1	0
	Chinese coin	1	0	0
	<b>Total</b>		4	11

Table 9. The number of different local products found in three sites.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Fragment stand of one object in Table.

	<i>Provenances</i>	<i>Foreign products</i>	FML	PMQ	Tai Kwun
<b>Architectural ceramics</b>	England	Monochromatic geometric floor tile	6676	879	0
		Monochromatic wall tile	168	0	0
		Encaustic tiles	399	193	0
<b>Daily utensils</b>	Japan	Blue-and-white porcelain flowerpot	0	0	0
		Porcelain bowl	0	1	0
	England	Tobacco pipe	0	1	1
		Stoneware jar	0	2	1
		Bone china plate	1	0	0
		Fragments of English transfer-printed ware	0	4	14
		Medical glass bottle	1	0	0
	Hong Kong One Mil	0	3	0	
	The Netherlands	Salt glazed gin bottle	0	1	0
<b>Total</b>			401	206	16

Table 10. The number of different foreign products found in three site.

Constructing the cultures of hybridity in the City of Victoria (1843-1946) – Studying the archaeological artifacts excavated from Former Mountain Lodge, Central School Site (PMQ) and Central Police Station Compound (Tai Kwun) in Hong Kong  
Ho Wing Sze, Lucy