

Contingency and Opportunity: The First Century of Hong Kong's Public Parks

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The port city and British colony of Hong Kong had from its inception been characterized by a capitalist ethic and by dense settlement on land hemmed in between hills and sea. Preserving public land for general recreation was rarely prioritized as a primary government goal. Yet in Hong Kong's first century (the 1840s to the 1940s) several public parks came into being and were resilient, while others were compromised. The history of these parks reveals no overall scheme, but responses to contingencies, each shaped by moments when public interest necessitated preserving open spaces and fostering green spaces for recreation.

Keywords: Public Parks, Public Gardens, Hong Kong, multicultural spaces, colonial environments

Introduction

The port city and British colony of Hong Kong had from its inception been characterized by a capitalist ethic and by dense settlement on land hemmed in between hills and sea.¹ Preserving public land for general recreation was rarely prioritized as a primary government goal. Yet within Hong Kong's first century (the 1842 to 1941) several public parks came into being with distinct purposes, while other spaces of public recreation were side-lined or never developed. This essay stands as the initial scholarly attempt to consider Hong Kong's early parks collectively. The history of these parks reveals no overall scheme, but responses to a series of contingencies, each shaped by moments when official and public interest necessitated preserving open spaces and fostering green environments for recreation.

Hong Kong grew in three phases, first with the awarding of Hong Kong Island to the British in 1842, then with the addition of the Kowloon Peninsula in 1860, and finally with the leasing of the New Territories in 1898. Thus, the origin of Hong Kong's urban development and its densest core is what was traditionally the city of Victoria on Hong Kong Island. The island is mountainous, and the initial urban expansion was therefore along the coastline. Subsequently, the addition of Kowloon also saw the densest development occur in orderly blocks on the flat part of the peninsula, leaving only the most uneven ground undeveloped. Only with the addition of the New Territories was development of somewhat relaxed density possible. Initially the city developed from a governmental core in the districts now known as Central and Admiralty to dense commercial development in Sheung Wan and the West and working class and industrial settlement further to the East. The premium placed on land has always confined the possibilities of leaving open space within the city.

The Botanic Garden

The first public park in Hong Kong, the Botanic Garden (also called the Public Garden and later the Hong Kong Zoological and Botanical Gardens), occupies a sloped site that was otherwise difficult to develop (fig. 1). Although a garden had been proposed as early as 1848, its establishment had been sanctioned in 1856, construction commenced in 1860, and it was finally opened to the public in 1864.² Stretching immediately south from Government House (the Governor's official dwelling) up the slope towards an older government officer's barracks, the site took considerable effort to develop, but the backing of the project seems to have developed in part from its proximity to gubernatorial power, as a reaction to the city's rapid expansion to over one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, and from its proximity to the roads ascending the Mid-Levels.³ The Botanic Garden's boundaries were well-marked (its original granite gate posts still survive), and investments with varying degrees of permanence were quickly installed. These included a variety of plantings, in terms of ornamentals in beds, shrubs and trees. In 1866, the Parsee community donated a band pavilion, which below the roofline still exists in its original state.⁴ In 1867, a fountain was commissioned and later installed as a grand centrepiece on the formal terrace below the garden's more elevated picturesque winding paths (fig. 2).⁵ Beds of ornamental plants in the "Gardenesque" manner of John Claudius Loudon et al. were installed around the terraces.⁶ By the early 1870s, when Charles Ford (probably the most important figure in early Hong Kong Park construction) took the superintendent post, garden development was under full swing, with the addition of an orchid house, the importation of exotic plants from all over the empire, the expansion of the staff,

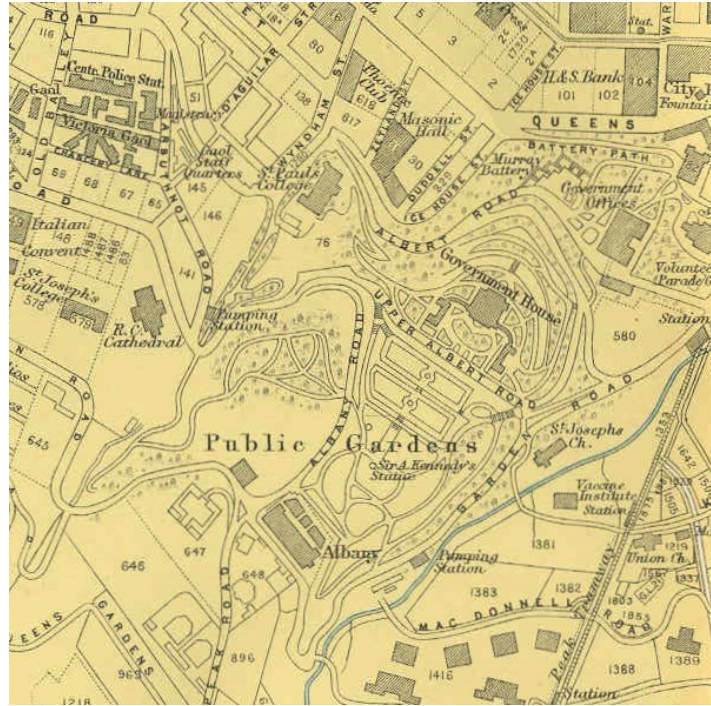


Figure 1: Detail of the Botanic Gardens (here labeled Public Gardens) in the 1914 Directory & Chronicle for China, Japan, Korea, Indochina, Straits Settlements, Malay States, Siam, India, Borneo, the Philippines & c. (map insert of Hong Kong). The original part of the gardens is directly to the southwest of Government House, and the 1870s expansion is to the northwest of them, across Albany Road.



Figure 2: Late 19th or early 20th century photo of the fountain that was the centerpiece of the formal terrace of the Botanic Gardens (albumen print, author's collection). This was a much-publicized improvement (even being reported in the Illustrated London News in 1867). It typified the improvements which could make Hong Kong parks resilient public spaces.

the labelling of plants with both scientific and Chinese names, and the expansion of the garden across Albany Road to Glenealy.⁷ As a site of beauty, learning, and entertainment (brass bands made frequent use of the pavilion throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries), the Botanic Garden attracted great numbers of visitors, to the extent that in 1903 charging attendance on some days to allow less crowded visits was attempted, but rapidly abandoned.⁸ The Botanic Garden was added to the list of great attractions in Hong Kong, and it is the only park that routinely figured in Victorian and early 20th century travel accounts and guidebooks.⁹ Heavy investment both by the government and the local community led to this site being one of the most visited and celebrated parks. This combined with defined boundaries, clearly visible amenities, and proximity to prestigious neighbourhoods led to the space becoming inviolable and permanently part of Hong Kong identity.

Statue Square

Statue Square (originally dubbed Royal Square, but with its current name in popular use since the early 1920s) became the next major public space to be planned (fig. 3). The square was part of a creation of a large swath of land in the city center, Praya Land Reclamation Scheme of 1889.¹⁰ The scheme for this green space had largely been anchored by a neoclassical pavilion housing a bronze statue of Queen Victoria, erected in honor of her Diamond Jubilee in 1897. Because the reclamation was funded by companies which fronted the old harbor front and that still held harbor rights, the formation of the square necessitated substantial negotiation between the colony's government and the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Company, which held the new lots adjacent the city's own (which were in front of the old city hall building).¹¹ In 1901, a settlement between the government and HSBC guaranteed "the site should remain open space for all time," as Sir Thomas Jackson, the bank's chief manager wrote.¹² Probably due to continued new construction of both public and private buildings around the square's perimeter, the completion of the landscape plan did not occur until 1910.¹³ The perimeter of the square was soon lined with important governmental and private buildings in addition to City Hall and HSBC, including the Post Office, the Law Courts, and the Hong Kong Club, making the site the city's new forum. The square acquired its newer moniker with a gradual accumulation of statues from its inception into the Inter-War years. This began with the addition of a statue of the Duke of Connaught in 1902.¹⁴ Subsequently, images of King Edward VII, Queen Alexandra, King George V, and Queen Mary were added, as well as (facing HSBC) Sir Thomas Jackson. After the First World War, the Cenotaph, a veteran's memorial in front of the Hong Kong Club, and on HSBC's side of the square a monument to the sacrifice of the bank's own sacrificed volunteers, were also erected, both unveiled in 1923.¹⁵

Statue Square was not as much a place of public leisure as it was a center of patriotic and ceremonial performance of the colony's membership in the British Empire. Many early photos reveal that the grass, shrubs, and palms that once filled the square were cordoned off from public habitation by iron fencing between stone piers (except for the part around the Cenotaph, considered sacrosanct because of its memorial functions anyway). Indeed, the space was rarely remarked upon in travel accounts, and when it was the results were not necessarily positive. The great assemblage of bronze caused travel writer Mrs. Cecil Chesterton to remark in 1933, "The harbor...is confronted by the most dreadfully undistinguished statues of our late dear Queen, King Edward, his consort, and various hideous bits and scraps of repellent masonry."¹⁶ The second half of the 20th century would be less dedicated with the goals of memorializing empire than its original planners. The Japanese occupation laid waste to the square, and the subsequent opportunities for redesign revolved around a combination of adaptations to new transportation infrastructure and greater public usage for passive recreation. The proximity of this space to both governmental and commercial power, its role in celebrating Hong Kong identity, and early seemingly inviolable legal agreements between the public and private sectors have led to its great resilience.

Blake Garden

Further west on Hong Kong Island, Blake Garden resulted from a public health crisis. In Tai Ping Shan district, once highly congested and occupied by Chinese of modest means, the site for the park was cleared by demolitions that reacted to an outbreak of bubonic plague in the district in 1894. Not until 1903, however, was the space specifically reserved as a public garden, and in 1904 it was given its name after the immediately previous governor.¹⁷ Although no direct link is readily apparent between new sanitary regulations in the city and the design of the park itself, discussion of the park was very much surrounded by a broader discussion of the health value of "external air."¹⁸ In 1904 it was "modeled as a garden, turfed, and partially planted."¹⁹ It was finally opened on August 22nd, 1905.²⁰ A



Figure 3: Statue Square, probably during the first decade of the 20th century when construction was still going on around its peripheries (postcard published by M. Sternberg of Hong Kong, author's collection). The formal arrangement of the square, with the greenspaces cordoned off from public access by railings, was more a place for celebration of empire than leisurely occupation.



Figure 4: Blake Garden, mislabeled as West End Park (early 20th c. postcard published by K.M. & Co., author's collection). There is no evidence West End Park ever had structures in it during the early 20th century, but Blake Garden's pavilions are well documented. The topography and pavilion match Blake Garden as described in the 1922 1:600 topographical map of the neighborhood. Investment in the park's ornamental qualities by both the Botanic and Forestry Department and the local Chinese community insured the park's resilience.



Figure 5: West End Park (early 20th c. postcard published by K.M. & Co., author's collection). The fact that the photographer found nothing but a path, foliage, and steeply sloping topography to record hints at why this site was used as an illegal dumping ground for builder's waste and viewed as a place the government could compromise by reassigning portions of it to the neighbouring St. Stephen's Girls School. Subtle planted green space and neighbourhood investment alone was not as defensible as clearly bounded sites with obvious improvements.

summer house was erected in the garden almost immediately afterwards, funded by donations from Chinese residents in the neighbourhood, and another one was added to the park in 1914.²¹ It is unknown which appears in a mislabelled early 20th century postcard (fig. 4). The 1922 Department of Works survey map of the district shows two pavilions in the northwest corner of the park and another small building in the southeast corner. Early 20th century government reports routinely noted heavy use of Blake Garden by the local residents, and in 1924, there was an additional note that "Increasingly large numbers of visitors now make use of this garden and some difficulty has been experienced with large gangs of youths, who for some time played organized football matches to the great discomfort of the regular and more orderly visitors."²² This predicts the post-war transformation of a great segment of this park into sport facilities. Blake Garden combined governmental hygienic goals with local investment and high usage to prove a resilient public space, that survives today stretching to its original boundaries, albeit with a later 20th century shift in function from passive to active recreation.

West End Park

Various factors compromised another of Hong Kong's early parks, West End Park (fig. 5), a fragment of which still occupies a steeply sloping site above the Sai Ying Pun district of the island. This park came about as the central part of the city was developing suburbs into this area. A 1902 government report reveals that the area was originally set aside in 1898 as part of the Department of Works' redistribution of soil as it extended roads into the area, and with the funding of local residents, the Botanical Departments planting of the area.²³ Maintenance of the park was then left up to the Botanical Department although no additional money was appropriated for that purpose.²⁴ This foreshadows the difficulties the park would face. The only additional expenditure beyond ordinary planting and maintenance (mostly of trees and shrubs) listed for the park before the Second World War was the leveling of a portion of the topography to allow for a playground.²⁵ One of the challenges faced from the park's inception through at least the 1920s was the illegal dumping of building debris.²⁶ The Botanical Department considered it a low priority, noting the park was "little used" in 1906 and referring to it as a "so-called park" in 1908.²⁷ These likely contributed to the willingness to re-allocate West End Park's land in 1916, 1920, and 1926, apparently mostly to surrounding educational institutions

(particularly St. Stephen's Girls College).²⁸ An anonymous 1924 newspaper editorial stated, "I can assure you, Sir, that West End Park is a source of great pleasure to the residents of this district. We count it our lone beauty spot, but authorities seem to have forgotten it..."²⁹ With this history in mind, the observation today that the remaining land which survives still as West End Park is on the most steeply sloping face of the site and difficult to develop for other purposes. The history of West End Park reveals how without dense surrounding habitation, proximity to the prestigious and powerful, intense usage, or structural investment, public parks could fall prey to official convenience and competition from surrounding interests.

King's Park

Even though the Kowloon district had become densely populated by the turn of the century, inclusion of public parks in its development seemed largely an afterthought. Orderly blocks of development marched uninterrupted the tip of the peninsula northward along the flatter west side of the peninsula, which was expanded by new reclamation over time, while shipbuilding and maintenance facilities dominated the east coast of the peninsula. In the center, however, stretched an undeveloped and rather topographically uneven plot of land of around seventy acres, which had been used by the British military as a shooting range. In 1899, Charles Ford, who had been the superintendent of the Botanic Gardens since 1871 and subsequently of the Botanical and Forestry Department, proposed this area be developed as a public park, and it acquired the title of King's Park as a dedication upon the coronation of Edward VII.³⁰ The park was ceremonially opened on August 6, 1902, by Lieutenant Governor Gascoigne and his wife with the planting of a camphor tree, but nothing else was done immediately for the laying out of the grounds.³¹

Already in 1904 (the year after Charles Ford's retirement), however, the plans for this area as an ornamental park began to unravel, as the plan to combine "accommodation for games with a certain level of landscape effect" for the southwestern part of the park had already been compromised by demands for sport fields.³² The Botanical and Forestry Department made continuous attempts to plant the park (presumably around the periphery on the hill occupying the northern end of the park) from the 1900s through the early 1920s, but they were met with challenges from plant theft and the grazing of goats and cattle, indicating that locals did not understand the intended function of the park, and perhaps that its boundaries were not clearly delineated.³³ The final transfer of King's Park into a primarily an area dedicated to sport rather than passive recreation is noted in 1924, "This area has now been laid out by Public Works Department as a sports ground and all flowering trees have been lifted and removed..."³⁴ The government had devised a scheme to lease the lands of the park to private clubs (thereby presumably relieving themselves of the burden of maintenance) by 1925.³⁵ July 1935 topographical maps reveal that the entire southern end of the park had by that point been allocated to the sports facilities of the Y.M.C.A, the Club de Recreio, the Kowloon Indian Tennis Club, the Filipino Club, the Netherland Club, the German Club, the China Light and Power Recreation Club, the Royal Navy Recreation Club, and the Central British School. The northern end of the park, which was undeveloped at this stage, in the later 20th century filled with government and other high-rise residences, leaving only a hill with a water reservoir and a playground area unoccupied. The lack of a distinctive, cordoned-off identity for King's Park led to vulnerability which allowed it to initially be unrecognized by locals and then to be colonized by private (and indeed sometimes other public) interests.

King George V Memorial Park

The last of Hong Kong's public parks of the city's first century was King George V Memorial Park on Kowloon. This park was indirectly a result of the national memorial proposed in 1936 for the recently deceased King in the United Kingdom in the form of the construction, funded through public donations, of playing fields across the country.³⁶ The Governor's executive council, in view of the unlikelihood of finding enough donations to carrying out such large scale works in Hong Kong due to the Depression, promoted instead the idea that they should solicit donations for two public parks (one on the Island and one on Kowloon) with children's playgrounds. The park proposed for the Island would occupy the gardens and yet standing wing of the Civil Hospital and it was not constructed before the Japanese Occupation. The work on the Kowloon side, however, did commence on a rocky site at the junction of Canton and Jordan Roads (although initially the Government was also soliciting suggestions for alternative sites).³⁷ Relieving urban congestion by creating sites of "recreative and hygienic value" was a primary motive behind the choice of both sites.³⁸ Maps from earlier in the century reveal that the Kowloon George V Park occupied in fact a site adjacent where there had early been oil storage tanks. These had been cleared by the mid-1930s, but the Governor's speech (delivered by his administrator) for the opening of the park referred to its previous state as "a dusty, stony wilderness, an eyesore to the passer-by and a home of vagabonds."³⁹ In its 1941 form, designed by Palmer & Turner (then Hong Kong's most prominent architectural firm), this park covered 94,000 square feet and featured a Chinese style gate with bronze doors and a bronze plaque of the king, lawn, seats, and a children's

playground.⁴⁰ The park was characterized as “something done for the greater happiness of the ordinary citizen,” and as having local Chinese from the neighborhood as its primary future users.⁴¹ Within six months, the Japanese occupation would change the way the city functioned, and all parks were under threat in the deprivations which followed. To judge by the post-war redesign and expansion of King George V Park, however, the place was well chosen to suit local needs. The parks survival seemed guaranteed by intense local investment, a substantial on-site monument (the gate), and regular and intensive use.

Conclusion

This survey has examined four largely intact and two compromised parks from Hong Kong’s first century. What it has revealed is that clearly defined boundaries, notable congestion relief, shared community and government investment, visible attractive improvements, and emblems of shared identity (whether that be in terms of articulated Chinese location or imagined Imperial community) all contributed to park resilience. Vague boundaries, lack of construction, or vulnerability to competing private interests could, on the other hand, compromise parks. These are meaningful lessons both to future protectors of public green space in Hong Kong (where it remains threatened by development, as reflected in recent debates about the use of country parks for housing construction) and also to park planners globally.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor

Johnathan Farris is assistant professor of art history at Youngstown State University. Previously he lived and taught for seven years in Hong Kong. He works on artistic and architectural cultural exchange between Asia and the West, and is the author of *Enclave to Urbanity: Canton, Foreigners, and Architecture from the Late 18th to the Early 20th Centuries* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016).

Endnotes

¹ This is a bit of a truism, but for a recent iteration of the historical contours of Hong Kong’s urban fabric, see Barrie Shelton, Justyna Karakiewicz, and Thomas Kvan, *The Making of Hong Kong: From Vertical to Volumetric* (London: Routledge, 2011). See also Charlie Q. L. Xue, Han Zou, Baihao Li, and Ka Chuen Hui, “The Shaping of Early Hong Kong: Transplantation and Adaptation by the British Professionals, 1841-1941” in *Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 27, No. 4, October 2012, 549-568.

² For chronologies of the Botanic Garden, see D.A. Griffiths, “A Garden on the Edge of China: Hong Kong 1848” in *Garden History*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Autumn 1988), 189-198. and D.A. Griffiths and S. P. Lau, “The Hong Kong Botanical Gardens—A Historical Overview,” *Journal H.K.B.R.A.S.* Vol. 26, 1988, 55-76.

³ For a sense of the early exchanges and planning, see D.A. Griffiths, “A Garden on the Edge of China: Hong Kong 1848,” 189-192. and for population figures see William Frederick Meyers, N. B. Dennys, and Charles King, *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan: A Complete Guide to the Open Ports of those Countries, together with Peking, Yedo, Hong Kong and Macao.* (Hong Kong: A. Shortrede and Co., 1867), 17.

⁴ See “Office of Surveyor General Estimate of the Expense Necessary to be Incurred for Public Gardens, Fountains, and Improvements” Ware and Colonial Office: Hong Kong Original Correspondence (National Archives Kew or Hong Kong Government Records Service) CO 129 series, 120, 373. The Parsee community has a long history of philanthropy in Hong Kong.

⁵ *The Illustrated London News*, Dec. 28, 1867, 713.

⁶ Loudon and other garden designers of the second quarter of the 19th century introduced the idea that within the previous tradition of naturalistic English garden design, geometric beds with specimen flowers and other plants should be reintroduced. Following this design strategy, the Botanic Gardens, although partially set within an organic plan, contained discrete formally designed beds that displayed botanical specimens.

⁷ “The First Annual Government Report on the Government Gardens and Tree Planting,” Government Notification No. 15 in *The Hong Government Gazette*, Vol. XIX, 1 February 1873, 33.

⁸ *The Hong Kong Weekly Press and China Overland Trade Report*, June 27, 1904, 474.

⁹ See California Directory Company, *Guest’s Guide to Hong Kong compliments of the Hong Kong Hotel* (Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Hotel, 1920), 18; Thomas Cook & Son, *Information for Travelers arriving at Hong Kong* (London: Thomas Cook, 1919), 19-20; Carl Crow, *Handbook for China* (Hong Kong: Kelly and Walsh Ltd., 1933), 363-4; Lucian Swift Kirtland, *Finding the Worthwhile in the Orient* (New York: Robert McBride & Co., 1926), 218-219; John L. Stoddard, *John L. Stoddard’s Lectures* Vol. 3 (Japan and China) (Boston: Balch Brothers Co., 1897), 244-245. Et al.

¹⁰ For a summary of the Praya Reclamation scheme, see Arnold Wright and H. A. Cartwright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong, Shanghai, and other Treaty Ports of China: Their History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources* (Lloyd’s Greater Britain Publishing Company, Ltd., 1908), 129. For a summary of the history of the square and its surroundings, see also Alain Le Pichon, “In the Heart of Victoria: the Emergence of Hong Kong’s Statue Square as Symbol of Victorian Achievement” in *Revue LISA/LISA e-journal*, Vol. VII – n°3 | 2009, 605-625. See also Ian Lambot and Gillian Chambers, *One Queen’s Road Central: The Headquarters of Hong Kong Bank Since 1864* (Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Bank, 1986), 88-91 passim.

¹¹ See particularly Lambot and Chambers *One Queen's Road Central*, pp. 88-90.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Appendix M, "Report on the Botanical and Forestry Department for the Year 1910," Hong Kong Administrative Report 1910, M3.

¹⁴ "Report on Blue Book for 1902," Hong Kong Sessional Papers for 1903, 336.

¹⁵ *The China Mail*, May 18, 1923, 4 and May 25, 1923, 8.

¹⁶ Mrs. Cecil (Ada Elizabeth) Chesterton *Young China and New Japan* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1933), 62.

¹⁷ Dispatch no. 223, 24 April 1903. War and Colonial Department and Colonial Office: Hong Kong Original Correspondence, CO 129 series, 317, 125. and Government Notification No. 757 in *The Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 28 October 1904, 1747.

¹⁸ See "Report of the Meeting on 7 December 1903" in Hong Kong Hansard 1903, 58-65.

¹⁹ "Report on the Botanical and Afforestation Department," Government Notification No. 201 in *The Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 7 April 1905, 415.

²⁰ Government Notification No. 522 in *The Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 18 August 1905, 1256.

²¹ "Report on the Botanical and Forestry Department, for the Year 1905," Hong Kong Sessional Paper No. 18, 1906, and Appendix N, "Report on the Botanical and Forestry Department for the Year 1915," Hong Kong Administrative Report 1915, N4.

²² Appendix N, "Report on the Botanical and Forestry Department for the Year 1924," Hong Kong Administrative Report 1924, N2-N3.

²³ "Report on the Botanical and Afforestation Department for 1901," Hong Kong Sessional Paper No. 32, 1902, 689.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ "Report of the Meeting on 26 February 1914" in Hong Kong Hansard 1914, 29.

²⁶ This trend is especially true early in its life, but seemingly persistent. See "Report on the Botanical and Forestry Department for 1904," Hong Kong Government Gazette 7 April 1905, 416, and "Report on the Botanical and Forestry Department for 1906," Hong Kong Government Gazette, 6 April 1907, 182. See also editorial correspondence in *The China Mail*, 23 December 1924, 7.

²⁷ "Report on the Botanical and Forestry Department for 1906," Hong Kong Government Gazette, 6 April 1907, 182, and "Report on the Botanical and Forestry Department for 1907," Hong Kong Government Gazette 31 July 1908, 419.

²⁸ Notice No. 373 in Hong Kong Government Gazette, 25 August 1916, 540; Notice 271 in Hong Kong Government Gazette, 7 May 1920, 198; Notice No. 341 in Hong Kong Government Gazette, 25 June 1926, 312. See also *The China Mail*, 17 August 1920, 4.

²⁹ Dispatch no. 258, War and Colonial Department and Colonial Office: Hong Kong Original Correspondence, CO 129 series, 311, 366; and *The China Mail*, 23 December 1924, 7.

³⁰ *The Hong Kong Weekly Press*, 16 June 1902, 447.

³¹ "Report on the Botanical and Forestry Department for 1902," Hong Kong Sessional Paper No. 19, 1903, 204.

³² "Report on the Botanical and Afforestation Department for 1904," Hong Kong Sessional Paper No. [?], 1905, 154.

³³ For instances of vandalism and grazing, see specifically "Report on the Botanical and Forestry Department for the Year 1915," Hong Kong Administrative Report 1915, N4; "Report on the Botanical and Forestry Department for the Year 1920," Hong Kong Administrative Report 1920, N4; and "Report on the Botanical and Forestry Department for the Year 1921," Hong Kong Administrative Report 1921, N6.

³⁴ "Report on the Botanical and Forestry Department for the Year 1924," Hong Kong Administrative Report 1924, N3.

³⁵ See *The Hong Kong Daily Telegraph*, 3 February 1925, 1.

³⁶ For the complete contemporary discussion of the scheme, see *The Hong Kong Telegraph*, 2 October 1936, 7; and 7 October 1936, 4.

³⁷ *The Hong Kong Telegraph*, 2 October 1936, 7.

³⁸ *The Hong Kong Telegraph*, 7 October 1936, 4.

³⁹ *Hong Kong Daily Press*, 12 June 1941, 12.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

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Figure 1: The Hong Kong Daily Press, The Directory & chronicle for China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Malay states, Siam, Netherlands India, Borneo, the Philippines, &c. (Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Daily Press Office, 1914). Map insert.

Figure 2: author's collection

Figure 3: author's collection

Figure 4: author's collection

Figure 5: author's collection