

12. CULTURAL HERITAGE IMPACT

12.1 Legislation, Policies, Plans, Standards and Criteria

12.1.1 Under the Environmental Impact Assessment Ordinance (EIAO), Annexes 10 and 19 of the Technical Memorandum on EIA Process provide the criteria and guidelines for carrying out impact assessments on sites of cultural or historical heritage significance. These sites provide an essential, finite and irreplaceable link between the past and the future and are points of reference and identity for culture and tradition and are thus worthy of protection and conservation. Adverse impacts on these sites should be kept to the absolute minimum.

12.1.2 There is no quantitative standard in deciding the relative importance of these sites. In general, sites of unique archaeological, historical or architectural value will be considered as highly significant. A wide range of archaeological sites, historic buildings and structures are identified and recorded by the Antiquities and Monuments Office (AMO) of the Leisure and Cultural Services Department (LCSD).

12.1.3 In addition to Annex 10 and Annex 19 of the TM on EIA Process, the AMO has published Criteria for Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment. This document elaborates the requirements for the carrying out of baseline studies and impact assessments, and for the development of mitigation measures.

12.1.4 The AMO has also published Guidelines for Marine Archaeological Investigation (MAI). This document furnishes methodologies for carrying out baseline reviews, geophysical surveys, and field evaluations using remotely operated vehicles (ROV) or divers.

12.2 Assessment Methodology

12.2.1 This heritage impact assessment follows the criteria and guidelines stipulated in Annexes 10 and 19 of the TM on EIA Process together with the other guidelines and requirements discussed above. This assessment focuses on the potential impact on the cultural and historical heritage of proposed development in the vicinity of SEKD.

12.2.2 A comprehensive marine archaeological review was carried out to determine the archaeological potential of the study area. This included examination of AMO records and archaeological and historical academic publications.

12.2.3 All archives holding information on shipwrecks in Hong Kong waters were explored for relevant data.

12.3 Historical Review

12.3.1 *Topography*

(A) Original Coastline and Reclamation Episodes

12.3.1.1 **Drawing No. 22936/EN/001** shows the original coastline as accurately as is possible with the maps available. It should be noted that, east of the Sacred Hill, the coastline was very low-lying and flat, with salt-marshes and mud-flats off-shore, so that it is not always easy to be sure of where the normal high-water line was.

- 12.3.1.2 The outlines of the villages as shown on the map are approximately accurate: the villages further away from the site are marked, but without any attempt to delineate the areas they occupied.
- 12.3.1.3 It will be seen that the great majority of the Kai Tak area is reclaimed land. The original coastline lies close to Prince Edward Road over most of the site. The sea off the coast was reclaimed in at least six reclamation episodes: the north-western and north-central parts of Kowloon Bay being reclaimed in 1923-1924, the north-eastern part in 1929-1931, the area immediately seaward of Kowloon City in 1942-1943, the bulk of the airport site in 1956; with the seaward end of the runway reclaimed in 1970 and 1974, to make the runway usable by wide-bodied aircraft.
- 12.3.1.4 Only at the extreme western end of the airport area was the airport built on unreclaimed, ancient, land. This area, extending from about today's Kowloon City Road to a point opposite today's Airport Hotel (ie the Hong Kong Aviation Club area, the extreme landward end of the runway, and the western edge of the Terminal Building), occupies only a minute fragment of the total Kai Tak area, but the historical interest of the area is concentrated here. What is a matter of some surprise is just how rich in history this tiny area is.

(B) The Sacred Hill

- 12.3.1.5 The land south-west of Kowloon City was, until about a hundred and fifty years ago, a flat plain entirely given over to rice-cultivation. In the middle of this plain, however, a hill arose, which was latterly called the Sacred Hill, (聖山), or the Hill of the Song (宋) King (宋王山), often abbreviated to the Hill of Song (宋山). A great rock on the summit of the hill stood beside a place called the Sung Wong Toi (宋王臺), "The Terrace of the Song Kings", and these three characters were carved into the face of the rock. The reasons for these names, and for the sacred aura which overlay the hill are given in greater detail below, but, in short, reflect the reverence felt by the local villagers for the Song boy-emperor Shih (昞: also called Ching owing to doubts over the pronunciation of the character for the name) and his brother Ping (昺), later on also Emperor for a few months. These two young princes resided in the area for five months during 1277.
- 12.3.1.6 Topographically, the Sacred Hill comprised two rocky hills, connected by a short and much lower neck. The southern hill lay entirely within the airport area, in the angle between Sung Wong Toi Road and Olympic Avenue, extending south to a little past the Airport Tunnel. The northern hill lay to the north of Olympic Avenue, stretching a little to the north of Prince Edward Road. It was only the southern hill (ie that which lies within the airport area) which was believed to be "sacred" to the boy-emperors.
- 12.3.1.7 The line of division between the sacred southern hill, and the northern hill was marked by the footpath from Hung Hom to Kowloon City (on this, see below), and this line of demarcation was made more definite when the Hong Kong Government improved the footpath by making a cutting through the neck, to allow the footpath to pass the hill on the level.
- 12.3.1.8 **Photos A and B** show the Sacred Hill in the 1890s, and **Photo C** shows the roadway through the neck of the hill, about 1890.

(C) Roads within the Area

- 12.3.1.9 There was an important footpath, later widened into a road, which crossed the western end of the airport site before 1942. This was the footpath from the ferry pier at Tsimshatsui to Kowloon City, via Hung Hom. It passed close to Yi Wong Tin, 二王殿, village, then through the centre of Ma Tau Chung, 馬頭涌, village, and on close to Kau Pui Shek, 琚杯石, village (all three of these villages were cleared for development in the late 1920s or early 1930s), from where branches led to the South Gate of the Kowloon Walled City and to the

Kowloon City public pier. This path crossed the creek in front of Ma Tau Chung village by a fine stone bridge: the site of this crossing lies under today's Sung Wong Toi Road, just in front of the Hong Kong Aviation Club premises. Several fine photos of this bridge exist (see **Photo K**). Between Ma Tau Chung and Kau Pui Shek villages, the footpath crossed the Sacred Hill at the neck between the two hills. This footpath must have been in use for many centuries before the coming of the British to the area in 1841.

- 12.3.1.10 This footpath was improved in the late 1880s up to the then border by the Hong Kong Government, which straightened it, and levelled it. A new causeway with culverts was built, to replace the old stone bridge in front of Ma Tau Chung village: where the old path had crossed the Sacred Hill neck, a deep cutting was made, to keep the new road level. The old bridge remained in use, however, especially for access to Ma Tau Chung Village, until the middle 1930s. This new road was about ten feet wide, and was designed for use by pony-traps. The new road was known as Kowloon City Road (it was the main land line of communication between the City and Kowloon City), although it nowhere lay very close to the road now bearing that name. **Photo C** shows the road and cutting through the neck as it was in the 1890s.
- 12.3.1.11 In the middle-late 1920s, a new road (today's Ma Tau Wai/Ma Tau Chung Roads) was built to the west of this older road, to newer, and much wider, lines, designed for use by motor-vehicles. When this new road was complete, the older road was closed, and its site thrown into the new To Kwa Wan development area.
- 12.3.1.12 The old road crossed the airport site obliquely, and its site underlies the landward end of the runway.

12.3.2 History of the Area to the Late Song

(A) Salt

- 12.3.2.1 The Kai Tak area, was, in early centuries, dominated by the yamen (衙門, "Government Office") at or near Kowloon City. This yamen was originally a sub-office of the Imperial Salt Monopoly.
- 12.3.2.2 The early history of salt-working in the Hong Kong area is somewhat obscure. The introduction of the Imperial Salt Monopoly to the Pearl River area is recorded in the Imperial records as having been a development of the "Han" (206BC - 220AD). It is more likely, however, that it was the Nanyue Kings (南越王) (their Empire, cut out of the Han State, and covering Guangdong and adjacent areas, lasted from 204BC to 111BC) who were responsible for this development. The Nanyue Kingdom (南越國), being cut off from the areas in the long-civilised and well-developed North which had been under Chinese Imperial control for thousands of years, were forced to rely only on the resources of the then only slightly sinicised and civilised South. Introduction of the Imperial Salt Monopoly to the Pearl River area is precisely what is to be expected of the Nanyue Kings. Since, however, the Han never recognised the Nanyue, the Imperial records would have ascribed the introduction to the Han rather than the "usurpers and rebels" of the Nanyue.
- 12.3.2.3 It is, therefore, likely that salt-making under the supervision of a State Monopoly was introduced generally to the Pearl River area by the Nanyue Kings in the second century BC. It is probable that salt was being made for the Imperial Salt Monopoly in the Kowloon Bay area from that date.
- 12.3.2.4 Written records of the existence of the local headquarters of the Imperial Salt Monopoly, at Nam Tau, exist from the fourth century AD, but records of this Kowloon City Salt Monopoly sub-yamen do not survive until some centuries later, during the Song, by when the records

suggest it was long-established. In the Song, the Salt Monopoly yamen in the Kowloon Bay area was known as Kwun Fu Cheung (官富場, "Rich Official [Salt-] Fields").

- 12.3.2.5 The village names Nga Yau Tau (衙右頭, "On the Right-hand Side [= west] of the Yamen), Nga Tsin Long (衙前壟, "The Fields in Front of the Yamen") and Nga Tsin Wai (衙前圍, "The Walled Village in front of the Yamen", but originally Nga Pin Heung, 衙邊鄉, "The Village Beside the Yamen"), all of which include the character 衙, "Nga", "yamen", "Government Office", and which all seem to centre on the Kowloon Walled City area, strongly suggest that the old yamen was built near today's Kowloon Walled City (all these placenames have been in use since at least the Ming, i.e. well before the establishment of the Kowloon City Sub-Magistracy in the 1840s, and thus must refer to the older Yamen which existed in the area up until 1341). These placenames, therefore, suggest that the salt yamen stood at today's Kowloon Walled City, but this is not quite certain - it may not have been immediately under today's Walled City site, albeit it must have been somewhere very close nearby.
- 12.3.2.6 Many of the salt-fields under the command of this official were doubtless along the shallow shores of Kowloon Bay, but he also had other fields under his control, including a number along the shores of Mirs Bay - the yamen was moved there for a few years from 1163.
- 12.3.2.7 In order to reduce the risks of salt-smuggling, the area under the control of the Salt Superintendent seems to have been made an Exclusion District: ordinary citizens were prohibited from entering the area, and no residents were allowed except for the salt-workers, who were conscripted from the ancient non-Chinese tribes which had lived here from before the arrival of the salt yamen. The Kwun Fu Cheung Salt Monopoly officials commanded a garrison of soldiers. These Kwun Fu Cheung salt-troops were there in order to suppress smuggling: the constant rebellions and uprisings of salt-workers on Lantau in the second half of the twelfth century (and which on several occasions required the intervention of the Kwun Fu Cheung soldiers, especially during the 1190s) shows how serious the risks of salt-smuggling were, and why so heavy an investment in military force within the Salt Monopoly system was seen as so necessary in this early period.
- 12.3.2.8 No archaeological traces of early salt-working have ever been found in Hong Kong, but the historical records make the early presence of this industry within the wider area a certainty, and its presence on this particular site at Kai Tak extremely likely. The likely reason for the lack of any archaeological record of the industry within the general Hong Kong area before the eighteenth century is that the early salt-workers in this area did not use salt-making methods involving solar evaporation. Throughout South-East Asia, and as far north as the shores of Fujian, the earliest salt-making process involved leaching salt from salt-rich marine muds by trickling sea-water through a basket-load of the mud placed on a mat fixed to a frame-work, such that the leachate would drip through the mat-filter and into a pot below the frame-work, in which it would then crystallise by being heated slowly over a wood fire. The frame-work would be moved from place to place to optimise access to suitable muds. It is extremely likely that early salt-making in the Hong Kong area used this method. This method of salt-making would leave very little archaeological trace. Introduction of salt-making methods involving solar evaporation seems to have been a development in the Hong Kong area only from the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
- 12.3.2.9 It thus seems very probable, therefore, that the land at the seaward end of the runway was first used for the making of salt, from the second century BC, or a little later, together with the rest of the shallow Kowloon Bay foreshore areas, even though no archaeological trace of the industry here has yet been found. When salt ceased to be made here is unclear, but the removal of the Salt Yamen to the Mirs Bay area in 1163 may well mark the end of the industry in Kowloon Bay.

(B) The Pre-Song Watchtower

- 12.3.2.10 It will be seen from the map at **Drawing 22936/EN/109** that there is only a very small area of the Kowloon coast from where an unencumbered view through the Tathong Channel out to the open sea can be had. This small "window" is centred on the Sacred Hill. From any other point on the coast either Devil's Peak, Lei Yue Mun Peak, or Tung Lung Chau Island block the sightlines. The 1956 runway was built directly down the centre of this area which had sightlines to the open sea, precisely to maximise the view pilots could have on take-off.
- 12.3.2.11 At some early date a Watchtower, defended by a ditch-and-rampart with a stockade was built on the summit of the Sacred Hill, presumably to improve the defences of the Kwun Fu Cheung Salt Yamen by allowing early warning to the garrison of any approaching vessels which might be dangerous. The existence of this Watchtower is recorded in several later written records. This narrow "window" to the open sea was important to the early salt-officials. Piracy has always been a threat in this area, and the Kowloon Bay area was outside the protective screen provided by the naval patrols which guarded the entrance to the Pearl River from their base at Tuen Mun, probably from the second century BC, and certainly from shortly thereafter. The Kwun Fu Cheung troops were trained to fight from boats as a semi-naval squad, which allowed them to attack pirates while they were still at sea. However, such troops needed warning of the approach of suspicious vessels to be effective.
- 12.3.2.12 The date when this Watchtower was first built is unclear. An archaeologist who visited the Sacred Hill on several occasions in 1918 and 1937 before the Japanese Wars found considerable quantities of pre-Han, Six Dynasties, Tang, and early and late Song pottery shreds on the hill and the beach area at its foot (the shreds thus dated from 3,500 years ago to the thirteenth century). Shreds found within the defence bank, and thus believed to have been present within the soil from which the bank was raised, mostly dated from the late Tang and earlier, with few if any shreds of Song pottery present. The *terminus ad quem* for the Watchtower and its defences, therefore, is the beginning of the Song (in this area, 979 AD). The archaeologist suggested that the ditch and bank system may have been built in the troubled period at the end of the Tang dynasty, and that the defences and the Watchtower were "re-used and strengthened" in the last years of the Song, when the Emperor Shih and his brother were in residence in the area.
- 12.3.2.13 It is, perhaps, more likely that the defence ditch and rampart were first built immediately after the end of the Tang, in the Nan Han (南漢) period (907-979). This would be as much in accord with the archaeological findings of only Tang and earlier shreds within the defence bank as would a late Tang date. In any event, the most likely date for the Watchtower and the defences is either late ninth or early tenth century. At the same time, the large amount of pottery found on the hill from the Tang and earlier suggests that the summit of the hill was regularly used, presumably as a look-out, before the late Tang/Nan Han period, even if no watchtower with defences was built there until later.
- 12.3.2.14 In the tenth century (907-979) China fell apart into a number of independent states. One of these, the Nan Han Kingdom, was centred on Canton, and covered Guangdong and some adjacent areas. Like the Nanyue a thousand years before, the Nan Han had to maximise their income from Guangdong, and to make as effective as possible their control of the Guangdong shore-lines.
- 12.3.2.15 The Nan Han Emperor visited the Tuen Mun area more than once. He declared the Castle Peak Mountain to be the Holy Mountain of his Empire. Close Nan Han interest in the management and control of the shoreline in the area, therefore, is clear.
- 12.3.2.16 Although no exact dates are recorded for this development, it was the Nan Han, almost certainly, who tightened up the administration of the Salt Monopoly around the lower Pearl River Estuary, increasing the number of Salt Intendants active in the area to the south-east of

the lower part of the estuary from one to four. Reforms in the administration of the naval and customs services operating from the naval garrison at the Tuen Mun also probably date from this period. Certainly Nan Han in date was the establishment (just possibly its re-establishment on a new, much larger, and improved basis) of the Imperial Pearl Monopoly at Tai Po, supported by a large garrison.

- 12.3.2.17 Thus the Nan Han Government can be seen to have been concerned about the efficiency and effectiveness of the coastal garrisons in the wider Hong Kong area: it would seem more likely for the Watchtower and its associated defences at the Sacred Hill to have been established by this vigorous and innovative Government, than by the effete and ineffective late Tang Government, to whom this area was at the very extreme of their Empire, and which they are not recorded as showing any interest in. It must be remembered that the Nan Han, while a small and provincial Government when viewed from the perspective of China as a whole, was vital to the development of Guangdong, and, in particular, for the wider Hong Kong region. It was the Nan Han which established within this region the effective Government presence which the Song inherited, and which was the basis for all later developments in the area.
- 12.3.2.18 It is, however, entirely likely that a Watchtower with associated defences on the sacred Hill, whether originally late Tang, or, more likely, Nan Han, would have been strengthened and re-used during the period when the Song princes were resident in the Kowloon area. Indeed, it would have been surprising, considering the strategic importance of the look-out from the Sacred Hill to any troops at Kowloon, for this not to have been done. The "Terrace" of the Sung Wong Toi was doubtless the watchtower next to the summit rock. The Song princes might well have visited this lookout - there seems to be no reason not to accept the local tradition that the hill, with its "Terrace", was associated with the young princes. Thus, this corner of the old Airport can be assumed to have a genuine connection with the tragic history of the last years of the doomed Song. This matter is discussed further below. It is a great pity that this important historical site was destroyed for Airport development, in part by the Japanese, and in part in the middle 1950s for the building of the new runway.

(C) Foundation of Agricultural Villages in the Area

- 12.3.2.19 In the middle twelfth century AD, financial restraints forced the Imperial Government to lift the Exclusion District rules from the area around Kowloon City. According to the records and legends of the local villagers, three villages were established in the area as soon as residence by ordinary Chinese families was allowed: Ma Tau Wai, Nga Tsin Wai, and Po Kong. Ma Tau Wai, 馬頭圍, lay south-west of Kowloon Walled City, between Argyle Street and the present Ma Tau Wai Estate. Nga Tsin Wai lay (and still lies) immediately to the north-east of the Walled City, and Po Kong, 莆崗, further north-east again, a little off the Map at **Drawing 22936/EN/001**. All three villages were Punti, that is, Cantonese speaking. The family traditions and clan genealogies of the Lam clan of Po Kong, and the Chan clan of Nga Tsin Wai make it certain that both villages were first settled in the third quarter of the twelfth century: evidence for Ma Tau Wai is lacking, but that village is almost certainly of the same date as the other two. It is likely that all three villages were established in or about 1163, when the salt yamen was moved for a time from Kowloon City to Tip Fuk (疊福) on Mirs Bay, probably when the area around today's Kowloon City was opened to settlement by the raising of the Exclusion District controls from that part of the district. By 1200 the whole Kowloon City plain was probably under rice cultivation, including the sea-coast zone now included in the airport area.
- 12.3.2.20 Between the late twelfth and early nineteenth centuries many more villages were founded in this area: this development is discussed separately below.

(D) The Establishment of Kowloon City Market

- 12.3.2.21 A market to support these new villages grew up at Kowloon City. The early history of this market is very obscure. Early written records to the area are almost exclusively to the official yamen or military post there, and make no reference to any civil mercantile settlement there. In fact, no unambiguous reference to the market, as opposed to the official yamen or military post is known to exist from earlier than the mid eighteenth century. However, the market is probably very much earlier than this: probably, indeed, even older than the first settlement of Han Chinese agricultural clans in the area. The market was very probably originally founded to service the settlements of salt-workers.
- 12.3.2.22 The Lam (林) clan of Po Kong were sea-men, originally from Po Tien (莆田), in central Fujian. In the late eleventh and twelfth centuries the family operated a coastal shipping business, with ships carrying cargo between Canton and Fuzhou. The clan genealogy states that the branch of the clan which settled at Po Kong did so precisely because Kowloon Bay, a quarter of the way between Canton and Fuzhou, would be convenient for the servicing of the clan cargo-junks. The land settlement at Po Kong would, it was expected, supply vegetables, rice, firewood and drinking water to the trading junks as they passed through the Harbour between Hong Kong Island and the Kowloon Mainland. This situation would seem to assume that there was a market and a landing place available in the area in 1163, since, without an existing market in the area, it is difficult to envisage how the Lams expected this arrangement to work.
- 12.3.2.23 Indeed, the continuing need for a military post here between 1163 and 1841, and especially during the period 1370 to 1841 when there was no civil yamen here, may well be a reflection of the importance of the market and its landing-place throughout the centuries from the early Ming to the middle Qing.
- 12.3.2.24 A coastal map of 1553, however, which includes both "Kwun Fu Military Post" (官富巡司) and "Kowloon" (九龍), can be taken as evidence that there were then two settlements in the Kowloon City area, a military settlement and a civilian settlement, the second of these being the market. A further map, of several decades later, includes both "Kwun Fu Military Post" (官富巡司), and "Kowloon Hill" (九龍山), and this can also, but much more doubtfully, be seen as evidence that there were two settlements in the area then.
- 12.3.2.25 At all events, when the market at Kowloon City emerges into the full light of day in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was a large market, one of the three or four largest in Xin'an County. Thus, among the donors listed on the Hau Wong Temple Restoration Inscription of 1822 are some 90 shops, along with 4 ferry-boats, 29 fishing vessels, and 31 stone-quarries. Since not every shop-owner in the Market would have donated, and since, even if the owner donated, he might well have donated in his own name rather than in the name of his shop, the 90 shops recorded must represent perhaps twice that number of shops actually operating in the Market in the 1820s, perhaps even more than that.
- 12.3.2.26 The drawing of the market from the summit of Customs Pass by Lt. Collinson in 1846 shows the market then to have been very little smaller than it was to be in 1898, when it had two or three hundred shops.
- 12.3.2.27 This large number of shops operating in the Market in the early nineteenth century suggests that the market has a history stretching back far earlier than the records suggest. The market is not mentioned in the 1688 County Gazetteer, but this does not necessarily imply that the market was not in existence then, as the 1688 County Gazetteer omits all coastal port-markets in the same way.

(E) Official Government Interest in the Area 1163-1841

- 12.3.2.28 The salt yamen was, as noted above, relocated to Mirs Bay in 1163, but it returned to the Kowloon City area after a few years, presumably because Tip Fuk was too remote to make it a convenient site for an official yamen. It continued to function from the Kowloon City area until 1293, controlling the Mirs Bay salt-fields from a distance. In 1293, however, a re-arrangement of the local operations of the Salt Monopoly led to the Kwun Fu Cheung salt district being amalgamated with the Wong Tin (黃田) salt district, and run from the Wong Tin salt yamen near the county capital, Nam Tau (Nantou, 南頭), some ten miles outside the present Hong Kong area.
- 12.3.2.29 In 1293 a new civil yamen was established to provide the local County Magistrate with an assistant, who was to administer the south-eastern part of the County under the Magistrate's supervision. The new Sub-County yamen occupied the now superfluous Kwun Fu Cheung salt yamen. A military post was also established at Kwun Fu Cheung, probably at the same date, to replace the garrison of the old salt troops, now removed along with the salt yamen. The civil yamen remained at Kowloon City until 1370, when a re-organisation of the County administration saw it moved to Chek Mei, (赤尾, Chimei), near Shenzhen, although a small military detachment remained at Kowloon City.
- 12.3.2.30 The Chek Mei Sub-Magistracy was moved back to Kowloon City after the establishment of the British on Hong Kong in 1841: the walls around the yamen were rebuilt between 1846 and 1847 to form the Kowloon Walled City as it existed until the destruction of the walls by the Japanese in 1942-3.
- 12.3.2.31 The small military post, however, remained in the Kowloon City area throughout the period from 1370 to 1841. Where this post was centred for most of this period is unclear. A strong fort was built in 1811 to guard the landing-place at the market: it was garrisoned by an officer and 42 soldiers. The site of this fort lies underneath today's Prince Edward Road, immediately north of the Carpark Building at the old Terminal Building. The officer commanding this fort and the garrison of soldiers at Kowloon was probably also in command of the other forts on the Kowloon Peninsula - the Tsim Sha Tsui Fort, the fort at Blackhead Point, the Kwun Chung Fort, and the fort near today's Austin Road in Tsim Sha Tsui - which were built at various dates in the early nineteenth century. There were also signalling stations and look-out posts subordinate to the fort at Kowloon City; in particular on the north shore of Hong Kong Island, and at the summit of Customs Pass.

12.3.3 The Area in the Late Song

(A) The Song Boy-Emperors Shih and Ping and Kowloon City

- 12.3.3.1 The Mongol army had been engaged in a long-drawn-out invasion of the Southern Song state since the 1250s. Between 1267 and 1273 the invasion was halted by the siege of Fancheng (樊城) and Xiangyang (襄陽) on the Han River. The heartland of the Southern Song State was conquered in stages between late 1274 and 1276. The Duzong (度宗) Emperor (1264-1274) died as this latter stage of the invasion began, leaving the rule of the Empire to his widow, the Dowager Empress. His young son, then aged three, took the throne as the Gongzong (恭宗) Emperor. The Gongzong Emperor and his mother submitted to the Mongols in 1275 (he was pensioned off and lived in retirement until his death, in 1323, latterly living as a Buddhist monk).
- 12.3.3.2 Two of the Duzong Emperor's Concubines, however, and especially the Concubine Yang (楊太妃), refused to accept this tame submission. Concubine Yang, aided by her brother, the Marquis Yang (later, after his death, he was known as the Prince-Marquis Yang, 楊侯王) fled the Court in 1275, and escaped the Mongol soldiers, taking with her son, the Prince Shih (also known as Prince Ching, from doubts as to the pronunciation of the character for his name), and

the son of another concubine, Prince Ping. The Marquis Yang's name in life was Yang Liang-chieh (Yeung Leung-chit, 楊亮節). The group were all very young: The Duzong Emperor had died at the age of 26, and the Concubine Yang was, in 1275, in her mid twenties, and the Marquis Yang was younger than she was - Prince Shih was seven and Prince Ping three in 1275. They had many adventures before reaching safety at Fuchow, where Prince Shih was proclaimed Emperor. A few senior Sung officials, especially Luk Sau-fu (陸秀夫) and Man Tin-cheung (文天祥), rallied to the support of this court-in-exile.

- 12.3.3.3 Unfortunately, the Mongol forces bore down on the group, which was unable to rally support from the bulk of the Chinese people. The group was forced further and further south.
- 12.3.3.4 From the 4th to the 9th Moons the Imperial party was in the Kowloon City area. One record, unfortunately corrupt in the text as we have it, states that the Imperial party were resident at "古塔" ("The Ancient Pagoda"). Considerable ingenuity has been spent by scholars trying to find an ancient pagoda in the Kowloon City area which could be the one implied. However, the formal name of Ma Tau Wai is Kwu Gen, 古瑾, and there can be little doubt that it is this name which has been corrupted to "古塔" in the text as we now have it, and that the Imperial party thus resided at or near Ma Tau Wai.
- 12.3.3.5 Towards the end of the 9th Moon of 1277 the Imperial Family and the Court moved away, to Ngai Mun, 崖門, on the west side of the Pearl River, near Macau, stopping for a short time en route at Tsuen Wan and the Bogue. Later they moved back to a site which cannot be entirely certainly identified, but which was probably Lantau, where the Emperor Shih died, and his half-brother, Prince Ping was proclaimed Emperor in his place (3rd Moon, 1278). The Imperial Family then returned to Ngai Mun (6th Moon, 1278). The Emperor Ping died in the 2nd Moon, 1279, when his ship (he was attempting to flee once again to Lantau) was intercepted by a Mongol fleet: he died clasped in the arms of Luk Sau-fu who threw himself and his young master to their deaths in the sea somewhere near Tai O. The Marquis Yang had died a little earlier. On hearing of the Emperor Ping's death, the Concubine Yang, bewailing the extinction of the Song House, also committed suicide, by drowning herself in the sea at Ngai Mun.

(B) The Imperial Family and the Kowloon City Area

- 12.3.3.6 The only relatively peaceful period of the Emperor Shih's period as Emperor were the five months he spent in Kowloon City. His stay there entered deeply into the legends and records of the Kowloon City villagers. The main Kowloon City Temple is the Hau Wong Temple, a little to the west of the Walled City. This is dedicated to the Marquis Yang, and the villagers say the temple is built on the site of the house where he lived while the Imperial Family stayed in Kowloon (the Marquis Yang, 楊侯, was given the posthumous title of Prince, 王, on his death: Hau Wong, 侯王, means "Marquis-Prince", and the full title of the deity is "Marquis-PrinceYang", 楊侯王, Yang Hau Wong). The villagers claim that they worshipped the Marquis Yang "in their hearts" during the Yuan (Mongol) Dynasty, and built the temple to him as soon as it was safe to do so, with the coming of the Ming Dynasty, at the very end of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century. While no documentary or archaeological evidence survives to confirm this statement, it seems very probably true: the deity of the Hau Wong Temple in Sha Tin was "invited" from Kowloon when the Sha Tin temple was first founded (probably in the 1570s), strongly suggesting an early Ming date for the establishment of the Kowloon temple.
- 12.3.3.7 Another temple near Ma Tau Wai village, the Sheung Ti Temple (上帝古廟) is also believed by some scholars to have Song Imperial connections. Worship of Sheung Ti is almost exclusively limited to the Imperial Court (especially under that title), and it has been suggested that this temple was originally the Song court worshipping centre. Only the door-pillars of this temple survive today, in Lomond Road. There is no evidence for this, however, and, until

archaeological excavations in the area can be conducted the matter can only be considered scholarly speculation.

- 12.3.3.8 Another suggestion is, again, scholarly speculation without firm evidence. Just south-west of the Kai Tak area, near today's Pak Tai Street and Tam Kung Street in To Kwa Wan, there was, until the late 1920s, a village called Yi Wong Tin. This placename is usually today written 二王殿, which means "Hall of the Two Princes", and the village is believed by many scholars to have been the site of the wooden "Travelling Palace", which was built to house the Court during its four month stay in the area (the Emperor Ching may have stayed in the yamen nearby). The village, however, is written as 二黃店 ("Yi Wong Tim", meaning, "The Shop run by two men of the Wong Surname") in the 1819 Gazetteer, and it cannot be considered that the speculation that the village was named from the Travelling Palace of the Imperial party is proved.
- 12.3.3.9 According to Sung Hok-pang (宋學鵬), a scholar who collected local legends and stories in the early part of the twentieth century, one clan of Ma Tau Wai village, the Chius (趙) claimed direct descent from the Song Imperial House: this clan believed that it descended from an Imperial Clansman for whom there was no room in the ship which took the Imperial Family away in 1277. This clan, however, seems to be no longer to be resident in the area, and this romantic tale cannot, therefore, be investigated further. Others of the Ma Tau Wai and To Kwa Wan village clans claimed, again according to Sung Hok-pang, when he visited those villages to collect stories, to have still owned "facsimiles" of certain banners given to them by the Imperial party when the Imperial party first landed at Kowloon, and to have still conducted certain rituals which they believed were connected with the presence of the Imperial party there. Other clans, and particularly the three indigenous clans of Nga Tsin Wai, claim to have supported and assisted the Imperial party during their stay in the area. To what degree any of these stories are historically accurate is questionable: in the case of Nga Tsin Wai it can be shown that they are very unlikely to be correct as they stand.
- 12.3.3.10 Thus, while it is true that there are numbers of suggestive placenames and legends relating to the stay of the Imperial party in the area immediately to the west and north of the Kai Tak area, few of them can be shown to be well-based in historical fact. The tendency to mythologise and romanticise historical facts is a powerful one. There can be little doubt that it has been at work here. Some of the local "Imperial" placenames (eg the "Imperial Armchair" (御座交椅石) name given to the prominent rock on the summit of the hill behind the Kowloon Walled City, and the "Queen Mother's Dressing Table" (王母梳妝石) name given to a prominent rock at the foot of the same hill) cannot be anything other than romantic stories. It would not be difficult to dismiss the entire collection of stories as mere romancing, if it were not for the fact that the contemporary sources are unequivocal in their agreement that the Imperial party did stay in the Kowloon City area for these five months. It is, perhaps, best to treat all these stories (with the possible exception of the legends connected with the Hau Wong Temple, which seem older and deeper than the rest) as mythologisations of the important historical fact of the stay in the area of the Song Imperial party.

(C) The Sung Wong Toi and the Sung Imperial Court

- 12.3.3.11 The centre of all the legends of the stay in the area of the Song Court, however, is the Sacred Hill, the Hill of the Song Princes. Before this hill was cleared (partially by the Japanese for their airport extension in 1942, and then the remainder by the British in 1956 for the new Runway) the large rock on the summit was surrounded by a low wall, and had engraved on it the inscription 宋王臺, "Terrace of the Song Princes", with subordinate inscriptions at many other places on the rock, including a number of verses placed there by visiting literati at various dates (see **Photos D and E**).

- 12.3.3.12 The villages embroidered a romantic tale around the place, stating that the young Emperor and his brother would often play here, on the summit of the hill, and so the area at the foot of the Watchtower became known as the "Terrace of the Song Princes". The villagers state that the inscription was placed here as soon as the fall of the Yuan dynasty made it safe to do so (ie in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century). There is no proof of this: the present, still surviving, inscription is a recutting of 1807.
- 12.3.3.13 The Xin'an County Gazetteer of 1688, however, states of "Kwun Fu Shan", which, as noted in greater detail below, may or may not be another name for the Sacred Hill, but which certainly refers to somewhere nearby, that "the ship of the King Yim (景炎) Emperor [= Emperor Ching] stopped here", which shows that the legend was older than this period. It is likely that there was already an inscription on the rock well before 1817, perhaps even well before 1688. Certainly the inscription is considerably older than the recutting of 1817. Neither the inscription, nor the name "Sung Wong Toi", is included in the 1688 Gazetteer, although both are included in the 1819 Gazetteer. The Xin'an County Gazetteer of 1819 says that this inscription was placed there because "in olden times the Song Emperor Ping stayed here".
- 12.3.3.14 There can be little doubt that the pre-Song Watchtower was put back into use as soon as the Song Court settled at Kowloon City: as noted above, the situation of the young princes was such that systems to warn of the approach of potentially unfriendly vessels would have been absolutely essential. It is possible that the Song Princes liked to come here to stare out to sea, and very likely that they landed and took ship here: the seaward edge of the Sacred Hill is the closest place to Kowloon City where deep water comes into land - this stretch of sea-shore may well have been used as a landing place before the building of the Kowloon City Public Pier through to the open sea beyond the mud-flats. Whatever the reason the villagers associated this hill with the Song Princes, however, there can be little doubt that the hill was seen as the centre of local Song relic-sites, and that it was revered in consequence from an early date.
- 12.3.3.15 When the British took control of Kowloon in 1860, the only stipulation made by the Chinese was that the Sacred Hill should be left undeveloped, and protected from all encroachment, and especially stone-cutting, in reverence for the Song boy-emperors. The British followed this condition, and allowed no development of the southern hill. However, when the Japanese extended the airport in 1942, the southern hill stood immediately across the end of their new runway, and it was partly levelled in that year. The rest of the hill was destroyed for the building of the new Runway in 1956. The portion of the summit rock with the inscription survived the blasting of the hill, however, and was re-erected after the war a little north-west of the original site, in a garden stretching between Olympic Avenue and Ma Tau Chung Road.
- 12.3.3.16 The Sacred Hill is thus one of the most important historical sites in Kowloon. The stay of the Song Court in Kowloon City for the five months of the summer and autumn of 1277 is an important historical event, and the Sung Wong Toi was the central local memorial of that stay. Since the sacred part of the Sacred Hill lay entirely within the airport area, the presence of the hill makes of the westernmost part of the Kai Tak site an area of extremely important historical and cultural heritage significance, even though no trace of the original hill survives. This feature of the Kai Tak area should be properly recognised in any development of the area.

(D) The Tomb of the Golden Maiden 金夫人墓

- 12.3.3.17 Another local legend connected with the presence in the Kowloon City area of the Imperial party suggests that a tomb of a sister of the boy-Emperors once stood on the south-western face of the northern part of the Sacred Hill. The legend suggests that this young girl died at sea, and that her body was lost: the tomb, in consequence, had a golden figurine in it to represent the dead Princess, and was known as "The Tomb of the Golden Maiden" in consequence.

- 12.3.3.18 The 1688 and 1819 Xin'an County Gazetteers (新安縣志) both state that this tomb stood on "Kwun Fu Shan" (官富山), and that this hill was "where the Song King Yim Emperor's Floating Palace came to land" (and presumably, therefore, near the coast), where "the remains of the [Song King Yim Emperor's] Palace can be seen", and where there "was once an assistant magistracy which has since been removed to Chek Mei Village" (and presumably therefore at or near the later Kowloon Walled City, where this Assistant Magistracy probably stood). The 1819 Gazetteer, however, adds a comment that the tomb was on "Kwun Fu Shan, to the north of the Sung Wong Toi" (在官富山宋王臺之北). Elsewhere, however, it states that the Sung Wong Toi was "to the east of Kwun Fu" (官富之東), so the actual site of Kwun Fu Shan as understood in the early nineteenth century cannot be said to be clear from the Gazetteer. It is, however, possible that the site was believed to be on the northern hill at this period, although other sites, on the Pak Hok Shan immediately north of the later Kowloon Walled City, and on the Ma Tau Wai Shan west of Ma Tau Wai village have also been suggested.
- 12.3.3.19 The scholar Chan Pak-to (陳伯陶) was the first to locate this tomb explicitly on the western slope of the northern hill: he stated, in an inscription of 1917, that he had been told that this was the site by the local elders, and that the exact site lay under the church built on the south-western side of the northern hill in about 1890: the site indicated would be towards the north-western part of today's Chun Seen Mei Estate (真善美村), some hundreds of yards outside the Kai Tak area. Chan Pak-to said: 縣志又稱：楊太妃女晉國公主溺死，鑄金身以葬，名金夫人墓。詢之土人，則云：在宋王台西，墓舊有碑。近因牧師築堂其上，遺跡遂泯云。 "The County Gazetteer states: The daughter of the Concubine Yang, the Princess of Jin, died by drowning, and a golden figure was made and buried, and the tomb became known as the Tomb of the Golden Maiden. .. I have asked the local residents, and they say that, to the west of the Sung Wong Toi, there used to be a tomb with an inscription. In recent years, because a protestant minister has built a [preaching] hall on top of the site, this relic of past ages has disappeared."
- 12.3.3.20 The church and missionary residences there were removed, and the northern hill flattened, when Ma Tau Chung Road, Prince Edward Road, Argyle Street, and Boundary Street were laid out in the middle and late 1920s, and the areas between them opened for development (the church was re-built a little to the east of the original site, along the new Ma Tau Chung Road): if Chan Pak-to was given trustworthy information by the local elders, then the tomb was destroyed in this period.
- 12.3.3.21 The story of the Tomb of the Golden Maiden is clearly an old one, dating from the Ming at least. Nonetheless, eminent scholars have, in recent years, considered the whole story of an imperial tomb anywhere in the Kowloon City area to be "sheer legend", a romantic tale invented by some local scholar in the Ming. It is, for instance, notable that there is no reference to any burial here of a "Golden Maiden" in the contemporary Song or Yuan histories of the Song Boy-Emperors. This would seem to be the most likely background to the whole story. If the "Tomb of the Golden Maiden" is a romantic fabrication, as seems most likely, then the story should be seen as a mythologisation of the residence in the area of the Song Court - there are a number of similar mythologised reflections of important historical events elsewhere in the Hong Kong area, in particular the mythologised stories referring to Ho Chen (何真), the late Yuan Warlord, and the downfall of his family, and a mythologised story of the drowned Princess would, therefore, fit into a widespread local pattern.

12.3.4 Developments in the Area from 1279 to 1924

(A) Agricultural Developments

- 12.3.4.1 The foundation of the three Punti villages in the third quarter of the twelfth century, although it was these villages which were responsible for converting the Kowloon City plain to

agriculture, and although it was only these three villages which stood here when the Song Court arrived here, did not mark the end of agricultural development in the area. Several Punti villages were established subsequent to the twelfth century, mostly by branches of the older settlements. Thus, Ma Tau Wai established Nga Yau Tau village, (衙右頭, also known as Upper Ma Tau Wai), in the vicinity of today's Grampian Road, probably during the middle sixteenth century. At about the same date, in the 1530s, Nga Tsin Long village (衙前壟, near today's road which bears its name) was established by one of the Nga Tsin Wai clans. Kak Hang (隔坑) was similarly established by groups from Nga Tsin Wai, probably later in the sixteenth century. Nga Yau Tau and Nga Tsin Long villages were cleared for development in the 1920s, and Kak Hang in 1942.

- 12.3.4.2 Between 1661 and 1669 the local resident population was cleared inland in conditions of great hardship and suffering, to avoid giving any assistance to Koxinga (國姓爺) and his Ming remnants on Taiwan. When the Coastal Evacuation decree (遷海令) was rescinded in 1669, most of the population removed from the area had already died of hunger. Only eight men returned to Nga Tsin Wai village, for instance, from the largest and wealthiest of its clans. This shrunken population, however, had to find the full Land Tax as it had been paid by the much larger Ming population. As a result, new tenants were sought, with a view to their occupying vacant land. Many of these new groups were Hakka.
- 12.3.4.3 It will be noted that the oldest villages - indeed, all those known to have been founded before 1662 - were established at some distance from the coast. This was probably because of doubts about the risks of flooding from tidal surges during typhoons. However, after centuries of farming the land along the coast became less and less likely to flood as bunds were raised, and drainage channels improved, and some villages were founded close to the coast in the decades after 1668, and especially from the late eighteenth century.
- 12.3.4.4 Within the Kai Tak airport area, two villages were established on the then seacoast. The date of foundation is not now known for sure for either village, but a late eighteenth century date is likely for both, possibly even early nineteenth century. One was Ma Tau Chung (馬頭涌). This village occupied the land immediately under the western slopes of the Sacred Hill, and was accessed over the stone bridge which carried the footpath over the creek here. It had some dozen houses by the 1890s. It was a Punti village, founded by various families of Ma Tau Wai, and remained very closely connected with that older village. It can be seen in **Photo A**, dating from the 1890s. Ma Tau Chung village stood almost exactly on the site now occupied by the Hong Kong Aviation Club premises.
- 12.3.4.5 The other village was Kau Pui Shek, 琚杯石, which lay to the east of the Sacred Hill. The name ("Divining Block Stones") was taken from the great boulders on the summit of the Sacred Hill, which took the form of the divining blocks used in temples. The site lies beneath the landward end of the runway. Kau Pui Shek village lay in a number of distinct groups of houses. There were also a number of matsheds within the village area. **Photo C** shows the Kau Pui Shek area about 1900 very clearly: the upper village can be seen in the middle distance (the houses near the road are part of the missionary residences built on the northern hill in the 1890s): **Photo B** also shows the rooftops of the village: the roofs nearest the boundary fence are those of the lower village. So little is known about Kau Pui Shek that it is not even known whether the village was Punti or Hakka.
- 12.3.4.6 Another village near the Kai Tak area which was probably a new foundation of the eighteenth century was Yi Wong Tin, which lay some hundreds of yards to the west of the Sacred Hill, in the area between Shing Tak Street and Fuk Cheung Street. The village is included in the list of villages in the 1819 Gazetteer. Villages were only included on this list if they were well-established, at least one or two generations, and so this village can be assumed to have existed in the eighteenth century. If the village name refers to the Travelling Palace of the late Song Boy-Emperor, then the name must date from the late Song, but presumably then only as the

name of an area (土名), since it is unlikely that anyone lived here before the eighteenth century. The village was small, with only a half-dozen houses in the 1920s. It is not known whether the village was Punti or Hakka, but it was closely connected with Ma Tau Wai, and was thus probably more likely to be Punti.

- 12.3.4.7 Thus, the end of the nineteenth century, the villages within a quarter of a mile of the western edge of the Kai Tak area consisted of Ma Tau Wai (founded in the 12th century), and its offshoots Ma Tau Chung (c18/19) and Yi Wong Tin (c18), Nga Tsin Long (c16), and Kau Pui Shek (c19).
- 12.3.4.8 Prince Edward Road, along the northern edge of the Kai Tak area, from about Kai Tak Road to a little to the west of the Lei Kau Yan Secondary School, runs close to the original sea-front. In this area, the sea-front ran immediately in front of buildings of the Kowloon City Market. The main Market Landing Place lay here, close to the end of today's Sa Po Road. In the later nineteenth century this Landing Place consisted of a long stone pier, with, after 1892, a wooden extension. Most of the Market consisted of a single long street which ran back from the Landing Place to the South Gate of the Kowloon Walled City, with side alleys on both sides of it. The area near the sea-coast had buildings used to house prostitutes, and gambling houses, as well as industrial and commercial concerns which needed easy access to the sea.
- 12.3.4.9 This Report is not an appropriate place to attempt any description of the commercial or social life or history of the Kowloon City Market, which lies entirely outside the Kai Tak area, but it is worth stressing once again that the market was very large and important in 1822 and 1846, before it was subjected to any influence from the new City of Hong Kong. During the later nineteenth century, however, the new City did influence the Kowloon City Market. The large number of gambling houses, and their adjacent prostitutes' quarter, were, to a large extent, designed to provide for pleasure-seekers from the City. From 1841, and even more from 1860, to 1898, Kowloon City was, with Shamshuipo, the nearest significant settlement to Hong Kong where the Hong Kong legal restrictions on gambling did not apply, and thus the two markets attracted a good deal of tourism from the City, and a good deal of investment into this tourism market. But, while the area of the Kowloon City Market near the Landing Place changed in character during those years to become essentially a pleasure and tourism area, most of the Kowloon City Market, away from the area immediately adjacent to the Landing Place, remained as it had been before 1841: a large, prosperous, market and industrial area, serving the local villages as their market town.
- 12.3.4.10 To the east of the Kowloon City Market was a suburban area, known as Sha Po (沙浦). This village lay a little inland from the waterfront, in the general area of today's Lok Sin Road. It was partly residential and partly industrial: many of the workshops of the Kowloon City artisans were here. Around the village were market gardens and orchards serving the Market. In the centre of the village, the Lok Sin Tong, the major charitable institution of the Market, was founded in 1880: this ran a Hospital and a school from its large, two-courtyard premises. Sha Po was founded in the eighteenth century as a suburban settlement serving the Market: many of the houses here were owned by villagers of Nga Tsin Wai village, who had owned the land before the eighteenth century, and grasped the opportunity to maximise income by developing the area for commercial uses as the growth of the Market presented them with the opportunity.
- 12.3.4.11 Further east, in today's San Po Kong area, the land immediately inland from the coast was sterile and sandy. In the 1840s this area was uninhabited and left as waste. The older villages of the area, Po Kong and Kak Hang, were built well inland, on the good land behind this sandy strip (Po Kong stood where the San Po Kong Market Building stands today, and Kak Hang was built close to the upper part of today's Shung Ling Street). In the later nineteenth century, however, settlement on this sandy waste began. The area was, like Sha Po, developed as a suburban settlement to the Kowloon City Market. The village which grew up here was scattered, with individual houses standing within their own plots of land - the area was used

- for market gardening, and, in particular, as orchards growing, especially, pears, for the Market. The village was known as Sha Tei Yuen (沙地園). Again, as with the Market and Sha Po, Sha Tei Yuen lay outside the Kai Tak area: the original waterfront in the Sha Tei Yuen area lay well inland from today's Prince Edward Road, between King Fuk Street and Tsat Po Road.
- 12.3.4.12 In the area of today's Choi Hung Estate, the original sea-front lay close to Choi Hung Road/Kwun Tong Road, across the front of the Estate. In this area there was a large and prosperous Hakka village, Ngau Chi Wan, which stood where today's Choi Hung MTR Station stands. This village was an agricultural village, growing rice on its fields, which stood where the Choi Hung Estate stands today. This village was the oldest Hakka village of eastern Kowloon, having been founded in the very early eighteenth century. It was a multi-surname village, originally founded by the Lau (劉) clan, who were joined there by clans of Tos (杜), Yeungs (楊), Tsangs (曾), and Yips (葉) during the eighteenth century, and by a group of Fungs (馮) towards the later nineteenth century. This village had a subsidiary settlement, at Ping Shek, a few hundred yards from the main village, near the waterfront, in the general area of today's Ping Shek Estate.
- 12.3.4.13 Unlike everywhere else in the Kowloon Bay area, Ngau Chi Wan faced relatively deep water. The Imperial Maritime Customs built the pier they used to serve their Customs Station at Kowloon City here: it was used from 1862 to 1898. This deep water also attracted boat-builders. It is likely there were some boat-builders here even before 1841, but the numbers grew during the nineteenth, and even more during the first twenty years of the twentieth century: by 1925 the whole coastline here was occupied by boat-sheds. When a railway began to be considered to link Kowloon and Canton at the very end of the nineteenth century, one of the proposals was to build the terminus here (before 1898, this would have meant the entire Railway would have been built in Chinese Territory), and, even after the line of the Kowloon-Canton Railway was agreed, for some years proposals remained "in the wind" for a spur line to a port development here, although, in the end, nothing came of this.
- 12.3.4.14 While little is known about either Kau Pui Shek or Ma Tau Chung, and although both villages have long vanished (Kau Pui Shek as part of the development of the area in the 1930s, and Ma Tau Chung probably in the same period), their contribution to the history of the Kai Tak area was important and should not be forgotten. For 150 years it was villagers of these two villages who cultivated the land now buried below the landward end of the runway, and who ensured that the area was as well cultivated as was clearly the case at the date of **Photo C**. The Market, Sha Po, and Sha Tei Yuen all lay outside the Kai Tak area, and their direct contribution to the area was minor. The Kai Tak area lay off-shore to this Market and village zone, and consisted of unusable marsh and mudflat: the Market and the villages which were suburban to the Market all looked inland, and ignored the sea to their south. The only exception to this was the Landing Place in front of the market. Ngau Chi Wan, too, was a land-ward village, little interested in the sea, but here the large numbers of boat-yards did contribute to the development of the Kai Tak area, especially in the early years of the twentieth century.

(B) The Anglo-Chinese Border of 1860-1898

- 12.3.4.15 In 1860, following the Second Anglo-Chinese War, Britain was ceded the Kowloon Peninsula. The exact line of the new Border was established by a joint Anglo-Chinese Border Commission. Britain wanted the new Border to run as close as possible to the two market towns of Shamshuipo and Kowloon City. When the officials of the Border Commission had agreed on sites which were as close to these two towns as the Chinese side were prepared to accept, markers were driven into the ground at the sea-shore to mark the agreed positions, just to the south of the two towns. A straight line was then surveyed between these two prime markers, and six additional markers were driven into the ground at equidistant sites along the surveyed line. A stout bamboo fence was then built from end to end of the new border, with little sheds for the Chinese Customs at every place where a path crossed it.

12.3.4.16 The prime marker for the new border at Kowloon City lay within the Kai Tak airport area. The site lies underneath the western end of the Terminal Building. **Photo B** shows the bamboo border fence at this extreme eastern end of the border, and the site of the prime marker. This prime marker was a low inscribed stone (it was inscribed "V.R. No. 8"): it cannot be seen in the photo. The 1860-1898 Border is an important factor in Hong Kong's history, and the presence of this border marker within the Kai Tak area before 1898 is a feature of considerable historical interest.

(C) The Kai Tak Land Development Company

12.3.4.17 After 1860, the Kai Tak area continued much as before, except for the better communications brought to the area by the new Kowloon City Road from about 1890, and the inevitable dislocations caused by the new frontier and the new Customs controls. The area remained entirely rural, although, as **Photo C** shows, from the later nineteenth century, the cultivation of rice to a large extent gave way to market gardening, of vegetables, poultry, and pigs, to serve the insatiable appetites of the City of Hong Kong.

12.3.4.18 By the 1920s, however, the steady growth of Kowloon brought development proposals to the area. The Government laid out the major roads in this area in the middle-late 1920s (Prince Edward Road, Ma Tau Chung Road, Boundary Street, and Argyle Street). As part of this development, the northern part of the Sacred Hill was removed, and the villages of Ma Tau Wai and Yi Wong Tin were cleared. By the middle-late 1920s, development along these new roads was already in hand. Further developments required the removal of Kau Pui Shek village, and probably Ma Tau Chung village, in the 1930s.

12.3.4.19 The area immediately south of Kowloon Walled City, between the City and Boundary Street, was also developed in this period (the later 1920s and 1930s). The area was raised to new, flood-proof, levels (this work began in 1927), and the streets between Carpenter Road and Boundary Street/Prince Edward Road, were laid out, and most of the old Kowloon City Market removed. Houses were built along the new streets in the 1930s, and the development was complete by the coming of the Japanese. This development was connected with the completion of Ma Tau Wai/Ma Tau Chung Road (under construction from 1923, completed in early 1930s), Argyle Street (under construction from 1923, completed 1929), Prince Edward Road (under construction from 1922), and Boundary Street (completed 1926), most of which were thus completed by the late 1920s. The new roads brought the Kowloon City area much more conveniently into contact with the rest of Kowloon. By the middle 1930s, public buses were running along these new roads to connect Kowloon City with Tsim Sha Tsui and Yaumatei.

12.3.4.20 It seemed likely to a group of Chinese land developers in the early 1920s that there was development potential as well a little further to the north-east. The Hon. Sir Kai Ho Kai (何啓) and Mr Au Tack (區德), both very prominent Chinese businessmen of the period, established a new Land Development Company, which they named the Kai Tak Land Development Company, taking the name of their company from their given names. This company bought the rights to reclaim the northern part of Kowloon Bay, for development as an area of tenement buildings for sale and rent. Their reclamation area extended from across the front of the market east to a line close to the end of Concorde Road, as can be seen from **Drawing No. 22936/EN/001**. Across the new reclamation a nullah was built to carry the waters of the major stream which drained the Nga Tsin Wai area and the hills beyond. Also as part of this reclamation, the coastline was straightened out, and a public road built along the coast (this was the very much narrower predecessor of the later Prince Edward Road Extension). By 1924 the reclamation they undertook was complete, and the western third of the reclamation, between Kowloon City Market and the new nullah, was laid out with streets, and developed as terraces of tenement buildings and shop-houses.

12.3.4.21 Unfortunately, this development did not succeed. Few people bought or rented the new houses which the company had built. The costs of reclamation pushed the price of property here up to

levels higher than those expected in the Nga Tsin Wai Road area, while, at the same time, the Kai Tak Development area was further away from the new market and the bus terminus then under planning. It was just a little ahead of its time: its houses came on stream some four or five years before the developments in the Nga Tsin Wai Road area (the new market there was opened only in 1930), and just before the new roads linking Kowloon City with the rest of Kowloon were opened.

- 12.3.4.22 The company declared itself bankrupt, and returned the land to Government. The Government continued to seek tenants for the houses built on the western third of the area, eventually with some success. The eastern two-thirds of the Kai Tak site, however, beyond the nullah, where the Land Development Company had not done anything more than sketch out the lines of a few streets, the Government left undeveloped. The easternmost part of the Kai Tak area, near and to the south-east of Ngau Chi Wan village, was not reclaimed in this period. From 1925, the Government used the eastern part of the Kai Tak reclamation for the airfield which Hong Kong by then badly needed.

12.4 Other Historical Heritage Sites

12.4.1 *The Kowloon City Execution Ground*

- 12.4.1.1 The traditional execution ground for criminals ordered for execution at Kowloon City was an almost enclosed courtyard on the western side of the Kowloon City market, to the south of the Walled City. Occasionally, however, another site was used. This was a peninsula of land south of the city, opening to the bay on the east, and a creek to the west. This peninsula was used because it lay immediately adjacent to the 1860-1898 border, and was used for executions which were of interest to Hong Kong as well as to the Kowloon City authorities, especially of pirates captured in joint Anglo-Chinese Anti-Pirate operations. The site was used as the execution ground for such executions because the site could easily be cut off by a cordon of soldiers across the neck of the peninsula, thereby making access to the site subject to the control of the authorities. This execution ground lies within the Kai Tak site, under the western end of the Terminal Building (exactly under the area which was, before 1998, the Waiting Area for people awaiting arrivals).
- 12.4.1.2 In 1860, when the new border was set out, the southern tip of this peninsula fell within the new British Kowloon. The execution ground used the area immediately adjacent to the border, just north of the border-fence, but still within the peninsula. **Photo B** shows the beach immediately north of the fence which was where executions took place. **Photos F** and **G** are of an execution which took place here in 1891, of some nine or ten pirates. **Photo F**, showing the execution actually in progress, is taken from the north, and shows the border fence immediately behind the last pirate shown (with some Hong Kong spectators, clinging to the fence itself). **Photo G** shows the aftermath of the execution: the Kowloon City Public Pier can be seen immediately behind the corpses laid out on the beach.
- 12.4.1.3 The European officials shown in **Photo G** are there because this group of pirates (who had murdered many people on the ships they had captured) were caught by a joint Anglo-Chinese Anti-Pirate agreement. It was considered doubtful that the pirates would receive sufficiently condign punishment if they were brought to trial in Hong Kong, and so they were returned to the sub-Magistrate at Kowloon City, to be tried there, since some of their crimes had been committed in Chinese waters. The Magistrate invited the naval and police officers from Hong Kong, who had caught the gang, to witness the execution as his guests: this was seen, on both sides of the then border, to be a clear sign of the good relations between the two authorities at this date.
- 12.4.1.4 Gruesome as these photos may be, nonetheless, the presence of the execution ground within the Kai Tak Development Area is a significant historical heritage factor.