

A REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENT OF CEMETERIES IN HONG KONG:

1841-1950¹

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Hong Kong² had been claimed for the British Crown even before the First Opium War (1839-42) was formally brought to an end. A naval party under Sir Gordon Bremer landed on the island on 26th January 1841. A form of government was organized and a chief magistrate and a harbour-master appointed, and in June the first land sale took place to create the impression of permanency. The port was declared a free port, and merchants, both foreign and Chinese, were encouraged to settle and trade there. However, little significant building followed, the main deterrent being the island's insalubrity and a high death rate from 'Hong Kong Fever.' Hong Kong, quite unexpectedly, became the last resting place of many of these early settlers and troops.

The Burial Ground in Wan Chai³

The first years in Hong Kong had a distressing aspect for the British particularly its army because of disease. The setting up of the first barrack areas along the north coast of the island led to severe epidemics of fever among the troops. 183 of them had died in 1841.⁴ Consequently, a burial ground for the dead was urgently needed. A notice was proclaimed in August 1841:

A piece of land to the eastward of Cantonment Hill⁵ having by Government been allocated as the ground for the burial of the dead of Europeans and others, Notice is hereby given that persons burying their dead in any other unauthorised place will be treated as trespassers.

*Jno. F. Mylius, Land Officer,
Hong Kong 30th August 1841.⁶*

A 19th century publication also records:

Deaths now [1841] became frequent occurrences also among the European community, hospitals had to be hastily constructed, and the first cemetery (near the present St. Francis' Chapel, above Queen's Road East), began to fill...⁷

Several months later on 2nd April 1842, another piece of land adjacent to the burial ground was allotted for internment of Roman Catholics.⁸ It was recorded that during the leveling work, because of heavy rain, a landslide obstructed Queen's Road. A letter from the Inspector of the Land Office, dated 20th June 1842, required the building of a retaining wall and the immediate clearing of the road. Burials started as soon as the site formation was over. On the same compound, two brick houses were also built, one at the bottom used as a seminary and the second at the top of the hill as the residence of Father Luke Pan who had just arrived from Macao to assist the work in the seminary.⁹

Epidemics of fever, which visited Hong Kong each summer in its early years of development, retarded its development and gave it an evil reputation for insalubrity. 1841 and 1842 had been bad summers, but 1843 was even worse. In 1843 the annual death rate among European troops in Hong Kong was 22 percent and among Indian troops even higher.¹⁰ One regiment alone, at West Point, lost a hundred men between June and the middle of August.¹¹ The Royal Army Medical Corps history records '*Hong Kong proved a costly acquisition, as in spite of good barracks and hospital as the men continued to fall sick and die.*'¹² Almost all contemporary public, private and regimental records had similar entries in regard to the terrible cost in lives, particularly among the troops, in the early development of Hong Kong.¹³ The popular *Illustrated London News* had the following account in 1845:

*Its diseases are endemic fever, diarrhoea and dysentery...The British Commander, General D'Aguilar, has declared, that to retain Hong Kong will require the loss of a whole regiment every three years...The grave yard was soon filled and another was required from the Surveyor-General, who found it difficult to point out a proper spot.*¹⁴

The burial ground in Wan Chai had only been in use for a short period¹⁵ as space was running out. It became necessary for a new burial site and the Wong Nai Chung Valley,¹⁶ soon to be named as Happy Valley, quickly provided the answer.

Yet the last graves and monuments in Wan Chai were not removed until 1889.¹⁷ By then it had become '*surrounded by a dense population of Chinese of the poorer classes, it is difficult to keep it in a condition of decency and cleanliness.*'¹⁸ The ground was sold for development.

Upon a part of it Hong Kong's first electric power plant was built. In fact, what had happened to this burial ground was the cause of some anger long before it was finally cleared:

But we sincerely hope that the Happy Valley may ever be sacred to the dead, and that we may never again behold in Hongkong a grave-yard desecrated and defiled as was that to the South of the Queen's Road East, by St Francis Hospital. Part of it has been cut away to form the building lots, where now stand some tenantless houses; and day after day the head stones are stolen by the Chinese, to be re-faced and sold to some newly-made mourner.¹⁹

The Colonial Cemetery²⁰

Although Wan Chai had been described in various accounts and records as the site of the first burial ground in Hong Kong, a British naval surgeon who arrived in Hong Kong in April 1841 had recorded two burials in Happy Valley in his personal journal two months after his initial arrival:

[18th June 1841] Poor old Brodie was buried in the afternoon in the new cemetery in 'Happy Valley,' Hong Kong. He was much respected by both Navy and Army and large numbers followed him to his grave.

[19th June 1841] Another friend of mine, Wilson, Adjutant of 18th Regiment, has just died of remittent fever soon arriving from Canton, on board Fatty Salaam transport. Many men of the 18th Regiment have also died; many of the wounded from tetanus. Many a gallant fellow who escaped in the field has succumbed to disease.

[20th June 1841] Poor Wilson was buried in 'Happy Valley' near Commander Brodie.²¹

However, as the tombstone of Brodie was among those removed from the 'old Colonial Cemetery' to the new Colonial Cemetery in 1889,²² Brodie's initial burial site is not entirely clear as yet.

Eitel also mentioned the 'new' cemetery in Happy Valley. He wrote: 'A mortuary chapel was erected, in 1845, in the new cemetery

*in the Happy Valley.*²³ The year of 1845 is referred to as the year when the Colonial Cemetery was opened, in a number of official records.²⁴ This was also suggested by a contemporary local historian.²⁵

The new site for the Catholic cemetery, later to be named St. Michael's Catholic Cemetery and adjacent to the Colonial Cemetery, was granted on 7th January 1848.²⁶ At the same time, it was requested that the use of the old burial ground should be discontinued:

*His Excellency the Governor in Council has been pleased to grant the Ground next to and North of the English Burial Ground in the Valley of Wong-nei-chong, for the purpose of a place of Burial for Roman Catholics, provided you distinctly agree to discontinue for the future all internment s whatever in your present burial ground.*²⁷

Death and suffering continued to trouble the troops into the 1850s. A British soldier who was posted to Hong Kong between 1850 and 1854 had recorded not only the sorrowful condition, but also commented about the location of the race-course:

During July, August and September [1850], we buried about 300 men. I never seen or heard anything like the epidemic that got amongst the men and every one, native and European has this sickness...Every day at this time July and August three dead bodies into the hearse at once off to the Happy Valley (grave yard named)...At this time October 1850 the remnants of the 59th were about 250 and 150 of these were either in hospital on shore or on board the Minden Hospital Ship across the harbour, so many men dying...

*Every year we had the races at the Happy Valley Course. On the main road running around the Race Course in Happy Valley opposite the Grand Stand was the burying ground where so many of our comrades lay buried...I always considered the Race Course was in the wrong place, as the sight of the grave yard generally dampened my spirits and took all pleasure away at these races...*²⁸

By the mid 1850s, it was thought that the Colonial Cemetery had already been nearly full, and it became a subject of discussion in a local newspaper:

*Victoria is increasing rapidly in size, and the Happy Valley will soon be within the municipal boundaries. The time must come when the existing Cemeteries will be closed, and the dead taken elsewhere for burial. The Protestant Cemetery is now nearly full, and every little corner is being made use of...*²⁹

A soldier also wrote home about the cemetery:

*[Happy Valley] is crammed with the graves of Europeans who have succumbed to the diseases of the unhealthiest country in the world. The graves of the soldiers are numbered. And when the last one was buried on his grave was 5373, showing that that number had died since the city was garrisoned by the British...*³⁰

Despite what had been written in the mid 19th century, new burials were and still are carried out in the cemetery till this day - almost one and a half century later.

Early Burial Grounds in Stanley and West Point

The cemetery in Stanley,³¹ renamed Stanley Military Cemetery after the Second World War, was another burial ground erected in the early days of British rule. The area was the site of early military barracks.³² Although burials can be traced back to 1843, no mention of the cemetery has been found in any of the examined records, nor is it depicted on Lieutenant T.B. Collinson's map and sketch prepared in 1846. One source suggests that the cemetery was opened on 21st July 1843.³³ It may be possible that servicemen and families were buried in that area, but the cemetery was not designated until later.³⁴ The use of this cemetery was apparently discontinued after 1870, but it was re-opened during the Japanese occupation period for the burial of civilian internees. After the war, many of the servicemen who died in the battle were re-buried in the cemetery. No new burials have taken place there since the war.

Similarly, West Point, another barrack area³⁵ in the early days, was also the site of a burial ground in the early 1840s. It is recorded that the Pro-Prefect Father Navarro forwarded on 26th February 1843 a petition for another burial site at West Point for the troops, which was granted on 3rd March the same year.³⁶ However, no further information

could be traced in regard to this burial ground, though the noted Scottish botanist and traveller Robert Fortune, who visited Hong Kong between 1843 and 1846, recorded:

Before leaving China [1846], I had occasion to visit this spot of ground [the old barrack area in West Point], the grave of many a brave soldier. A fine road⁷ leading round the island...passed through the place where they had been buried. Many of their coffins were exposed to vulgar gaze, and the bones of the poor fellows lay scattered about on the public highway no one could find fault with the road having been made there, but if it was necessary to uncover the coffins, common decency required that they should be buried again...³⁸

Other Early Cemeteries

Hong Kong's initial progress as an entrepôt was slow, nevertheless, by the 1850s, Hong Kong's position as a trading centre had gradually been consolidated. Before the emergence of a recognizable Chinese merchant class in the later half of the 19th century, foreign merchants, the bulk of whom were British, dominated the local political and economic scene. Nevertheless, some of the most prominent and best remembered foreign traders came neither from Europe nor North America, but from the Indian subcontinent and the Middle East. These included the Parsees, the Indians and the Jews.

A Parsee (or Zoroastrian) cemetery in Happy Valley was granted as early as 1852,³⁹ and the first grave was erected there in 1858.⁴⁰ The Jewish Cemetery, located south-east of Wong Nai Chung Village and near some paddy fields, was first laid out in 1855⁴¹ when the first of the Jewish merchants from Guangzhou settled in Hong Kong. The lease for land for a cemetery was granted in 1857, the year of the first burial.⁴² As the community was not large, the number of burials was small. By the end of the 19th century, burials were limited to about sixty.⁴³ The cemetery was described as 'neglected' in an 1890's tourist guide.⁴⁴

The Muslim cemetery in Happy Valley had been deeded to the community in 1870⁴⁵, and a mosque with rooms for burial preparations was added. Prior to this, a Mohammedan cemetery, located at roughly the present site of St. Stephen's Girls College along Park Road, can be found in an 1863 map.⁴⁶ However, no further information on this

cemetery could be traced. The cemetery was probably created for the early Muslim military community. It was in the 1880s that a Hindu Cemetery was founded in Happy Valley, with the earliest graves dated to 1888.⁴⁷

There had also been a small French Mission Cemetery erected in Pokfulam near the Bethanie, a retreat for retired or sick French Fathers (*Mission Étrangères*), in the later part of the 19th century; however, further details regarding the erection of this cemetery is not known yet.⁴⁸

Chinese Cemeteries in the 19th Century

A great influx of Chinese immigrants occurred soon after the British arrived in Hong Kong though the growth was uneven. By the 1850s, in the wake of massive upheavals as the Tai Ping forces swept through wide areas of southern and central China, the Chinese population of Hong Kong grew rapidly. From 1853-1855, the numbers rose from 39,017 to 72,607.⁴⁹

Between the 1860s and the 1880s, the population steadily increased and Hong Kong was subjected to serious overcrowding. In 1865, the population totalled 125,504⁵⁰ and in 1881 the number was 160,404. During this period, public health emerged as one of the main problems.

Before 1856, burial grounds for the Chinese had not been properly regulated. Not unexpectedly, Chinese burials were not permitted in the Colonial Cemetery in the early days,⁵¹ they were not even allowed to enter the cemetery at least until 1885.⁵² A direct result of the increase of population and the corresponding increase in mortality among the Chinese was the studding of all hillsides and slopes on the island with graves, which caused '*certain Nuisances which the Laws hitherto in force have failed effectually to prevent.*'⁵³

One such popular Chinese burial ground was located on the west of the Tai Ping Shan district, along a certain Fan Mo or Cemetery Street,⁵⁴ upon which the Tung Wah Hospital was later to be built.

The surveyor general had the following entry in his report in 1856, probably referring to the burial ground at Fan Mo Street:

*The Chinese Burial Ground having become offensive in consequence of the corpses being so close to the surface it was found necessary to spread a quantity of quick lime over the whole area at a cost of £20.16s this was provided for by Requisition 5 of 1856.*⁵⁵

In was in the same year that an ordinance was passed 'to regulate Chinese Burials, and to prevent certain Nuisances, within the Colony of Hongkong.' This Ordinance 12 of 1856 became the first step taken by the government to regulate Chinese burials by the establishment of special Chinese cemeteries.⁵⁶ In addition to regulating the burial grounds, due to the 'nuisances' described above, the ordinance also stated that 'a Grave of less than Five Feet⁵⁷ in depth from the ordinary surface of the ground to the uppermost side of the Corpse or Coffin therein deposited, shall for every such Offence forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding Fifty Dollars, nor less than Five Dollars.'

However, it was only fifteen years later in 1871 that the first designated Chinese burial ground was created, which was located in Kowloon. The plot of land was 'situated about one Quarter of a mile to the North-east of the Village of Yau-ma-Tee.'⁵⁸ It became the only lawful place for the Chinese inhabitants of British Kowloon to inter their dead until the establishment of another cemetery in 1885. But no designated Chinese burial ground on the island has so far been traced prior to this announcement. The first Chinese cemetery on the island was selected and appointed in 1882, at Mount Davis 'measuring on the North thereof 40 feet, on the South thereof 40 feet, on the East thereof 60 feet, and on the West thereof 60 feet.'⁵⁹

In 1882, the first two cemeteries for Chinese Christians were authorized. The first one was located 'on the Eastern slope of the Shaukiwan Hills, on a contour line about 300 feet above the level of the sea, marked by four boundary stones and measuring on the North thereof 200 feet, on the South thereof 200 feet, on the East thereof 400 feet, and on the West thereof 400 feet.'⁶⁰ The second one was on the west side of the island, 'on the Western slope of the Hills below the Pokfulam Road, marked by five boundary stones, and bounded on the North by Mount Davis on the South by Crown Land, on the East by the Pokfulam Road, and on the West by the Sea (Sandy Bay) high water mark, and containing about 43 acres.'⁶¹

Three years later in 1885, five cemeteries were simultaneously set apart for the Chinese. These were described in a government notification as follows:⁶²

KAULUNG.⁶³ *Situated on the North Side of the Road from Yaumati to the village of Mat'auwai, and near this village and within a short distance of the limits of British Territory. The site is an irregular figure bounded by Government ground, measuring on the North, 520 feet; South, 300 feet; East, 290 feet; West, 520 feet.*

SHAUKIWAN.⁶⁴ *Situated in the valley facing the East, lying between the Lyeemoon Pass, and the road from Shaukiwan to Stanley; is nearly triangular in shape, and bounded on the North, South-East, and West by Government ground, and on the East by the sea-shore, and measures on the North, 1,650 feet; South-East, 1,650 feet; West, 1,800 feet; East, 550 feet.*

SHEKO.⁶⁵ *Situated about 1/4 of a mile to the North-East of the northern portion of the village of Sheko; bordered by the Cliff facing the Sea on the East, and on the three other sides by Government ground, measuring on the North, 550 feet; South, 500 feet; East, 340 feet; West, 300 feet.*

STANLEY.⁶⁶ *Situated about 1/4 of a mile to the South-East from the Stanley Barracks; bordered on the South-East by Tytam Bay on the North-West, East and West sides by Government ground, and measuring on the North-West, 480 feet; South-East, 520 feet; East, 560 feet; West, 500 feet.*

ABERDEEN. *Situated on the promontory 1/2 mile to the South-East of the village of Aberdeen, and bordered on the Southern side by the Aberdeen Channel, and on the North, East and West by Government ground, measuring on the North, 1,200 feet; East, 300 feet; West, 350 feet.*

In 1891, two more Chinese cemeteries were added to the list:⁶⁷

MOUNT DAVIS.⁶⁸ *Situated on the West side of the Pokfulam Road and about one mile to the North-West of the village of Pokfulam, bordered on the North by Government ground, the boundary line being marked by granite posts, on the South-West by the Chinese Christian*

burial ground. Inland Lot 899, on the east by the Pokfulam Road, and West by Cliff facing the Sea, measuring on the North, 4,800 feet, South-West, 3,500 feet, West, 5,100 feet.

CAROLINE HILL.⁶⁹ *Situated on the South side of the Caroline Hill Road and to the South of Caroline Hill, bordered on the North by a Public Road, 400 feet, South, 612 feet, East, 1,275 feet, West, 1,100 feet.*

In the 1890s, a Eurasian cemetery, generally known as Ho Tung Cemetery before the Second World War and later renamed 'Chiu Yuen Cemetery,' was erected in Mount Davis, with the first grave dated to December 1892.⁷⁰

The Plague Cemeteries and Trenches

The first outbreak of bubonic plague in Hong Kong occurred in May 1894. In less than a month, more than two thousand persons had died. On 6 June, Father Piazzoli, the pro-vicar, wrote:

*The plague is spreading rapidly with 100 dead each day, though only a section of the Chinese city is infected. The tragedy is terrible. There are streets completely empty: it is estimated that about 40 thousand Chinese have left the island. The harbour too is deserted, the large ships sail at large; the trade is dead and the most horrible misery is growing...*⁷¹

From 1896 on, the plague became almost an annual recurrence. Over the period 1894-1901, about 8,600 people succumbed to the disease.⁷² Two plague cemeteries were designated at Kennedy Town⁷³ and Cheung Sha Wan in 1901.⁷⁴ In addition, a section of 'Kau Pui Loong Cemetery' (see below) was also referred to as 'Plague Trench'⁷⁵ (疫症墳場); which was also the case of 'Kai Lung Wan East Cemetery' (also see below).⁷⁶

Indian / Hindu Cemeteries in Kowloon

In 1900, a Hindu Cemetery was authorized in Kowloon, this might have been the result of the plague, as many Indian troops were among the victims of this epidemic disease. This Hindu Cemetery was described as:

Situated on the South slope of Danger Flag Hill, Kowloon, on Military Reserve Land, midway between the Military and Association Rifle Rangers and about thirty yards to the North of the line joining the butts. The Cemetery measures fifty-feet square and its limits have been defined by wooden pickets.⁷⁷

There was another Indian cemetery at Tai Shek Ku⁷⁸ recorded in a government notice, which was ordered to be closed in 1927;⁷⁹ however, the origin of this cemetery is not known.

Cemeteries in the Early 20th Century

The first two decades of the 20th century was a period of steady economic and administrative development in Hong Kong, in spite of the influx of Chinese as a result of unsettled condition following the 1911 Revolution in China. A long list of cemeteries was added during this period.

In 1903, the 'Sai Yu Shek Cemetery'⁸⁰ (晒魚石墳場) was appointed *'to the North of Kowloon City and West of Nga Tsin, as a sufficient and proper place for a burial ground for Chinese living in the vicinity of Kowloon City.'*⁸¹ In addition, there was also a Sai Yu Shek (Christian) Cemetery.⁸²

In the same year (1903), it was also announced that the 'Po Kong Po Cemetery' (蒲崗埔墳場), *'situated to the North-east of Kowloon City and West of the Village of Sha Ti Un'*⁸³ (沙地園) was to be closed. Again, no information examined has revealed the origin of this cemetery, although the cemetery is mentioned in a privately published memoir regarding the burial of a woman in 1896.⁸⁴ As this burial predated the lease of the New Territories in 1898 and the fact that the cemetery was adjacent to several villages in the Kowloon City area, Po Kong Po Cemetery might have been an extension of some villagers' burial ground.⁸⁵

A year later, another Chinese Christian Cemetery was authorized *'on the hillside about 200 feet to the North of Kowloon Walled City, measuring, on the North 208'9, on the East 208'9 and on the West 208'9, and defined by boundary stones.'*⁸⁶ This cemetery still exists today as the oldest surviving cemetery on the Kowloon Peninsula. It

has not only survived, but was actually extended in 1947,⁸⁷ despite the vigorous developments that Kowloon would have to experience in the 20th century.⁸⁸ This cemetery was renamed as New Kowloon Cemetery No. 1' in 1925.⁸⁹

In 1904, 'Sham Shui Po Cemetery' was also appointed 'at Sham Shui Po in the New Territory, the Eastern boundary thereof being about 270 feet West of the Tai Po Road and the Southern boundary being about 520 feet North of the old boundary of Kowloon and containing 4.75 acres or thereabouts.'⁹⁰ The cemetery was close to the old Sham Shui Po Village and other settlements in the area. Similar to Po Kong Po Cemetery, the cemetery might have been an extension of an early villagers' burial ground. In some later government notices, the names of 'Kowloon Tong Cemetery'⁹¹ and 'Christian Chinese Cemetery, Kowloon Tong, known as New Kowloon Inland Lot No.16'⁹² also appeared. Further clarification is needed in regard to the location of these two cemeteries, though in a 1924 map,⁹³ three cemeteries can be found in the present Tai Hang Tung area, which may be related to the two cemeteries. Kowloon Tong Cemetery was closed in 1921,⁹⁴ but removal of all graves and urns were not ordered until 1949;⁹⁵ while the removal of all graves and urns in the Chinese Christian Cemetery, Kowloon Tong, was ordered in 1950.⁹⁶

In January 1907, two cemeteries were authorized, one on the island:

A plot of land at Kai Lung Wan⁹⁷ (雞籠環) having an area of about 12 acres and the following boundaries:- North: Farm Lots 14 and 15 and the Jubilee⁹⁸ and Pokfulam Roads; South: the present Kai Lung Wan Cemetery⁹⁹; East: the Pokfulam Road; West: Farm Lot 15.¹⁰⁰

The other was described as:

A plot of land at Tseung Loong Tin¹⁰¹ (長龍田), situated at Cha Kwo Ling¹⁰² in the New Territories, having a total area of about 1 acre.¹⁰³

Later in the year, 'Kai Lung Wan East Cemetery,'¹⁰⁴ which was 'situated on the East side of the Pokfulam Road at No. 10 Bridge, and containing about 53.50 acres'¹⁰⁵ was also appointed.

In 1908, Cheung Chau Cemetery which was 'situated on the

*Western side of Cheung Chau Island and about half a mile to the South-West of the village of Cheung Chau and containing about 5.19 acres,*¹⁰⁶ was authorized. This was the first cemetery designated on an outlying island and was later extended in 1921.¹⁰⁷

In 1912, two Chinese cemeteries were authorized. The first one was situated at *'New Kowloon Survey District 1 Lot Nos. 582 and 583,'*¹⁰⁸ very close to Sai Yu Shek Cemetery. The cemetery appeared in a 1924 map¹⁰⁹ and was marked as 'Fookinese Cemetery.' In another 1940 HKGG Notification, the cemetery was also referred to as 'Fukienese Cemetery.'¹¹⁰ The second cemetery appointed, a Christian cemetery, was *'to be known as the Tsun Wan Christian Cemetery situate and being near Tsun Wan in Demarcation District No. 453 in the New Territories in the Colony of Hongkong, containing an area of 10,000 square feet.'*¹¹¹

In the following year, a site *'to be known as the Hau Pui Loong Cemetery situate and being near Hau Pui Loong in Kowloon in the Colony of Hongkong containing an area of about 19 acres'* was appointed.¹¹²

The Chinese Permanent Cemetery in Aberdeen

Although a number of Chinese cemeteries were authorized and appointed since the 1870s, these cemeteries were not intended for the upper and wealthier classes. By the early 20th century, the absence of what were considered proper and decent sites for these Chinese who wished to settle in Hong Kong was apparent. In 1901, the Cemeteries Committee of the Sanitary Board moved to set apart a piece of hillside between the Aberdeen Channel and Deep Water Bay for wealthy Chinese as a burial ground.¹¹³ However, for some reason, eventually this site was not appointed. Eight years later, the issue was presented again to the Sanitary Board by Lau Chu-pak, a member of the Board and one of the most prominent members of the Chinese community in the Colony.¹¹⁴ Lau said:

The better class of Chinese who had made Hong Kong their permanent home had not a decent cemetery in which to bury their dead, and the Chinese had no control on what were called Chinese Cemeteries. These cemeteries were simply tracts of barren land set apart by the

*Government for the burial of the Chinese dead of any class. The Government reserved the right to resuming the land and ordering the remains to be exhumed and buried anywhere else the Government might from time to time be pleased to direct.*¹¹⁵

A solution was finally arrived at in 1913 when a plot of land was selected in Aberdeen as the location of a Chinese permanent cemetery:

*His Excellency Sir Francis Henry May had been graciously pleased to set apart a certain piece or parcel of ground situate at Aberdeen in the said Colony of Hongkong and registered in the Land Office as Aberdeen Inland Lot No.78 for the purpose of a Permanent Cemetery for Chinese permanently resident in the said Colony...*¹¹⁶

The cemetery was under the control of a Board of Management made up of recognized leaders of the Chinese community. It was stated that the Board should have absolute power in the management of the cemetery and in the control and disposal of the funds, subscriptions, donations, fees, charges, income, fines and all moneys collected or received in respect of or in connection with the cemetery. The erection of this permanent cemetery was an important step and -an encouragement for the upper class Chinese residing in Hong Kong to recognize the place as their home.

The Problem of the Japanese Burials

The early 20th century saw a gradual increase in the Japanese population in Hong Kong.¹¹⁷ The population rose from 484 in 1901 to 958 in 1911.¹¹⁸ A decision to erect a Japanese chapel and crematorium was made by the government which required the removal of graves 'on a plot of Crown Land, to the North-East of I.L. [Inland Lot] 1021 in the Soo-kun-poo Valley.'¹¹⁹ Although this crematorium was intended for the Japanese, the Japanese had no cemetery of their own. The earliest Japanese burials¹²⁰ were found intermingled with Christians in the Colonial Cemetery before a special section of the cemetery was set aside for the burial of Japanese.¹²¹ When their numbers began to increase after the turn of the 20th century,¹²² the Buddhist practices associated with their graves and burning joss sticks in particular had created annoyance among the western communities in Hong Kong, who thought such customs were not appropriate in what they considered to be a

cemetery set apart for the burial of Christians.¹²³ In the end the governor, Sir Frederick Lugard, admitted that the Colonial Cemetery was no longer a Protestant cemetery.¹²⁴ The Japanese burials were to continue right up to the Second World War period, and even after the war.¹²⁵

Further Development of Cemeteries before the Second World War

In 1914, a Chinese cemetery, 'Ap Lei Chau Cemetery' which contained an area of 4 acres, was authorized.¹²⁶ A nearby cemetery, 'Shum Wan Cemetery,' was mentioned in several government notices¹²⁷ in the 1920s, however, the early history of this cemetery is not known. In 1938, a government notice authorized 'a cemetery or urn cemetery' in Shum Wan which was to be known as 'Shum Wan Cemetery'¹²⁸. The piece land contained about 8.68 acres. It is not certain if the two Shum Wan Cemeteries were actually the same cemetery.

In 1919 a Chinese Christian cemetery was appointed, which was described as:

*An area adjoining New Kowloon Inland Lot No.5 measuring approximately on the North side 140'0" and 135'0," on the East side 387'0," on the South side 210'0," and on the West side 290'0" and 120'0," and containing in the whole 57,585 square feet or thereabouts.*¹²⁹

Two years later (1921), a cemetery in Ho Man Tin was authorized which was 'to be known as the Kowloon Cemeteries [sic] situate and being near Ho-min-tin in Kowloon in the Colony of Hongkong containing altogether an area of about 97 acres.'¹³⁰

A cemetery was to be added to list of Chinese Christian cemeteries in 1924, when the 'Christian Chinese Cemetery, Stanley,' 'adjoining the north-west boundary of the Stanley Cemetery, having an area of about 34650 square feet,'¹³¹ was authorized.

In 1928, a cemetery 'for the Little Sisters of the Poor (安貧小姊妹會) only and to be known as New Kowloon Cemetery No.2, the piece of land containing approximately 8850 sq. ft. situated at Ngau Shi Wan, on the north side of lot 1907, Survey District II,'¹³² was appointed. A home for the aged was also constructed near the cemetery. In the same year, a Christian Cemetery was also founded in Castle Peak.¹³³

In 1930, Ho Man Tin saw another addition to its list of cemeteries for ‘*a Roman Catholic Cemetery, to be known as ‘Kowloon Inland Lot No. 2148,’ the piece of land containing about 14 acres, situated at Ho Mun Tin in Kowloon,*’ was authorized.¹³⁴

In 1930, the ‘Kowloon Cemeteries’ in Ho Man Tin, authorized in 1921, were split into three separate ones and were renamed, together with Sai Yu Shek Cemetery:

- (A) *To be known as Kowloon Cemetery No.1, the piece of land containing about 11 acres situated at Fo Pang¹³⁵ (火棚) in Kowloon in the Colony of Hong Kong and to be used as a European Protestant cemetery.*¹³⁶
- (B) *To be known as Kowloon Cemetery No.2, a [sic] piece of land containing about 112.30 acres situated at Ho Mun Tin in Kowloon in the Colony of Hong Kong and to be used as a Chinese cemetery.*¹³⁷
- (C) *To be known as Kowloon Cemetery No.3, the piece of land containing about 5.5 acres situated at Ho Man Tin in Kowloon in the Colony of Hong Kong and to be use as a Mohammedan cemetery.*¹³⁸
- (D) *To be known as New Kowloon Cemetery No.4, the piece of land containing about 17 acres situated at Sai Yu Shek in the New Territories in the Colony of Hong Kong and to be used as a Chinese cemetery.*¹³⁹

‘New Kowloon Cemetery No.5’ was authorized in 1931, which was ‘*to be used as an urn cemetery for the Tung Wah Hospital only. The piece of land containing about 1 1/2 acres situated at Diamond Hill in New Kowloon.*’¹⁴⁰

In the same year, a Christian cemetery was approved near Fan Ling, the first and still the only Christian cemetery authorized in that part of the New Territories. The cemetery symbolically rooted the community¹⁴¹ to the place and was a great source of pride and security among the converts there. The cemetery was described as:

A Cemetery for Chinese Christians of an area, containing about 26,

250 square feet, to be known as the *Sung Him Tong Sung Chan Wui Kei Tuk Kau Fan Cheung* (崇謙堂崇真會基督教墳場) near *Tsung Hom [sic] Tong in D.D.* [Demarcation District] No.83 of the Northern District of the New Territories of Hong Kong.¹⁴²

Another Chinese Christian cemetery was also appointed in 1931. It was known as 'Cheung Chau Chinese Christian Cemetery' and contained about 10,000 square feet.¹⁴³ In the same year, the 'Tao Fung Shan Christian Cemetery' was also in use.¹⁴⁴

In 1932, both a cemetery and an urn cemetery were approved in the coastal market town at Tai O on Lantau Island, which was called 'The Tai O Cemetery'. The cemetery contained about 250 acres.¹⁴⁵

A tiny cemetery was appointed in Stanley in 1933, which was 'to be known as *New Stanley Cemetery, the piece of land containing approximately 2.5 acres, situated to the south of St. Stephen's College at Stanley.*'¹⁴⁶ This cemetery was extended to approximately 4.26 acres five years later.¹⁴⁷

A government notice¹⁴⁸ in 1933 ordered that a certain Telegraph Hill Urn Cemetery to be closed, however, no other reference examined has anything about this cemetery. In the same year, with the closure of Kowloon Cemetery No. 1 (European Protestant) at Fo Pang near Ho Man Tin, a new European Protestant cemetery was authorized in Kap Shek Mi Valley in substitution for the closed cemetery.¹⁴⁹ The new cemetery, containing an area of 11 about acres, was to be known as 'New Kowloon Cemetery No.6'.¹⁵⁰ However, no further information in regard to this cemetery has been found yet, though the boundary of the cemetery is shown in a 1954 map.¹⁵¹

The next new cemetery, 'Sai Kung Catholic Cemetery,' in Lot No. 1697 'in D.D.221 of the Northern District of the New Territories,'¹⁵² was approved in 1934.

In 1935 a Chinese permanent cemetery in Tsuen Wan, similar in nature to the Chinese Permanent Cemetery in Aberdeen, was set apart for 'Chinese who shall have been permanently resident in the said Colony (of Hong Kong).'¹⁵³ Again, as with the Chinese Permanent Cemetery in Aberdeen, the care and management of the new cemetery

were entrusted to a Board of Management, comprised mainly the leading Chinese members in the community. The location of the cemetery, finally authorized in 1941, was described as '*a piece of land at Tsun Wan in the New Territories of Hong Kong known as Lot No.262 Demarcation District No.446.*'¹⁵⁴

'New Kowloon Cemetery No.7,' situated at Hammer Hill, was also authorized in 1935.¹⁵⁵ Three years later, in 1938, an urn cemetery, known as 'Hammer Hill Urn Cemetery,' and contained about 90 acres and situated at Hammer Hill, was approved.¹⁵⁶ Another extension of New Kowloon Cemetery No.7 was authorized in 1941, which was described as 'that piece of land containing about 16 acres situate to the east of the said cemetery and having Anderson Road as its western boundary.'¹⁵⁷

Just before the Japanese invasion, a new Catholic cemetery, 'New Kowloon I.L. No.2662 (Roman Catholic) Cemetery,'¹⁵⁸ had been erected near Piper's Hill in Cheung Sha Wan, however, no information is found in regard to its setting up,¹⁵⁹ though a 1947 government notice stated:

*It is the intention of the Government to exhume all unauthorised graves in the Roman Catholic Cemetery, known as New Kowloon Inland Lot No. 2662, Cheung Sha Wan, in which bodies were buried during the war period. The exhumation will commence on 1st February 1948. The remains of those known to have been of the Roman Catholic Faith will be reburied in the same cemetery and the remains of those known to have been non-Catholic will be removed to authorised urn cemeteries for reburial unless applications for private reburial are received in the meantime...*¹⁶⁰

The Japanese Occupation Period (1941-1945)

Despite the huge loss of lives during the Japanese invasion and the subsequent occupation period,¹⁶¹ no cemetery of a long-term nature was established between 1942 and 1945. However, a number of 'War Emergency Cemeteries' were temporarily in use, they were:

1. Hong Kong No.1 (Emergency) Cemetery, at the Hong Kong University Playing Field in Pokfulam.¹⁶²

2. Hong Kong No.2A, piece of Botanical and Forestry Department ground at the junction of Kennedy Road and Garden Road.¹⁶³

3. Hong Kong No.2B, piece of Botanical and Forestry Department ground at junction of Upper Albert Road and Albany Road.¹⁶⁴

4. Old Government Civil Hospital Site¹⁶⁵ (2,631), open space behind the Old Government Civil Hospital.¹⁶⁶

5. Queen Mary Hospital Site (101), piece of ground on the east side of Pokfulam Road near the Maison de Nazareth.¹⁶⁷

6. Aberdeen Site (98), on the north side of Island Road,¹⁶⁸ about 100 yards from the Aberdeen Industrial School.¹⁶⁹

7. Island Road,¹⁷⁰ Shaukiwan Site (363), slopes on side of Island Road near its junction with Shaukiwan Road.¹⁷¹

Figures in bracket show the number of grave exhumations for reburial between April 1948 and March 1949.¹⁷² The remains in these emergency cemeteries were reburied in the New Kowloon Cemetery No.8 (Diamond Hill Urn Cemetery).

Early Post-War Cemeteries

The first cemetery authorized after the Second World War in 1947 was a military cemetery for the burial of the servicemen who had died in the war. It was initially known as the 'Sai Wan Military Cemetery',¹⁷³ *'which contained about 5.71 acres, situated East of Chai Wan Cemetery'¹⁷⁴ and the extension thereof and to the North of the road serving Sai wan and Cape Collinson in the Colony of Hong Kong.'*¹⁷⁵

This was followed by a 'Prisons Cemetery' in the same year, which was *'being an enclosure of about 5,000 square feet lying 250 yards to the South of St. Stephen's College Preparatory School Building at Stanley.'*¹⁷⁶

It was recorded that as early as 1940, the government had already intended to transfer the government cemeteries for Chinese from the urban area to new sites in the New Territories. However, due to the

Japanese invasion, steps could not be taken until after the war.¹⁷⁷

In July 1949 the first of such cemeteries, the Sandy Ridge (Urn) Cemetery¹⁷⁸ near Lowu was approved,¹⁷⁹ and burials commenced on 9th April 1950. In the financial year of 1950-51, the number of reburials (including temporary storage awaiting cremation) at Sandy Ridge (Urn) Cemetery was as high as 65,558.¹⁸⁰

This was followed by the commissioning of the most important post-war cemetery, the Wo Hop Shek Cemetery, which was authorized on 27th February 1950.¹⁸¹ Burials in this cemetery commenced on 1st December in the same year. The cemetery was served by a branch of the Kowloon-Canton Railway, and coffins could be transported to the cemetery by railway hearse. In the financial year of 1951-52, 16,054 coffins were transported to the cemetery by the railway hearse.¹⁸²

Appendix 1

Name of Cemetery ¹⁸³	Location	Year ¹⁸⁴	Remarks
Protestant Burial Ground	Wan Chai	1841	Closed 1845, last graves removed
	removed	1889	
Catholic Burial Ground	Wan Chai	1842	
*Colonial/Hong Kong Cemetery	Happy Valley	1845	
*Stanley Cemetery	Stanley		Earliest graves: 1843. Closed c. 1870, re-opened during the war. Renamed Stanley Military Cemetery after WWII.
West Point Burial Ground	Sai Ying Poon	1843	
St. Michael Catholic Cemetery	Happy Valley	1848	
*Parsee/Zoroastrian Cemetery	Happy Valley	1852	
*Jewish Cemetery	Happy Valley	1857	
Muslim/Mohammedan Cemetery	Mid-Levels		Appeared in a 1863 map. Details not known.
*Muslim/Mohammedan Cemetery	Happy Valley	1870	
Chinese Burial Ground	Po Yan Street (Cemetery Street)		Appeared by 1850s. Details not known.
Chinese Burial Ground	Yau Ma Tei	1871	
Chinese Cemetery	Mount Davis	1882	
Chinese Christian Cemetery	Chai Wan	1882	

Chinese Christian Cemetery	Pokfulam	1882	
Kaulung Cemetery	Ma Tau Wai	1885	Later renamed Ma TauWai Cemetery, removal of graves ordered 1925.
Shaukiwan Cemetery	Chai Wan	1885	
Sheko Cemetery	Shek O	1885	Closed 1926.
Stanley Cemetery	Stanley	1885	Removal of graves ordered 1933.
Aberdeen Cemetery	Aberdeen	1885	
Hindu Cemetery	Happy Valley		First graves: 1888
Mount Davis Chinese Cemetery	Mount Davis	1891	Removal of all graves and urns ordered 1949.
Caroline Hill Cemetery	Caroline Hill	1891	
*Chiu Yuen Cemetery	Pokfulam		Earliest graves: 1892.
Plague Cemetery	Town	1901	
Plague Cemetery	Cheung Sha Wan	1901	
Hindu Cemetery	King's Park	1900	
Indian Cemetery	Ho Man Tin		Closed 1927. Details not known.
Sai Yu Shek Cemetery	Lo Fu Ngam	1903	Renamed New Kowloon Cemetery No.4 1930.
Sai Yu Shek (Christian)Cemetery	Lo Fu Ngam		Details not known.
Po Kong Po Cemetery	Po Kong		Closed in 1903. Details not known.
*Chinese Christian Cemetery (New Kowloon Cemetery No.1)	Kowloon City	1904	
Sham Shui Po Cemetery	Sham Shui Po	1904	Removal of graves ordered 1923.
Kowloon Tong Cemetery	Tai Hang Tung		In existence 1920. Removal of graves and urns ordered 1949. Early history not known.
Christian Chinese Cemetery, Kowloon Tong	Tai Hang Tung		Removal of graves and urns ordered 1950. Early history not known.
Kai Lung Wan Cemetery	Pokfulam	1907	A plot of land had been in use as cemetery prior to 1907.
Tseung Loong Tin	Cha Kwo Ling	1907	
Kai Lung Wan East Cemetery	Pokfulam	1907	Removal of all urns was ordered 1949.
Fukienese Cemetery	Lo Fu Ngam	1912	Adjacent to Sai Yu Shek

Tsuen Wan Christian Cemetery	Tsuen Wan	1912	Cemetery.
Hau Pui Loong Cemetery	Ma Tau Wai	1913	Removal of last graves was ordered 1948.
*Chinese Permanent Cemetery	Aberdeen	1913	
Ap Lei Chau Cemetery	Ap Lei Chau	1914	Removal of all urns was ordered 1949.
Chinese Christian Cemetery	New Kowloon	1919	Location not known.
	Inland Lot No. 5		
Kowloon Cemeteries	Ho Man Tin	1921	Cemeteries were split into four 1930.
*Race Course Fire Memorial and Cemetery	So Kon Po		Completed 1922.
Christian Chinese Cemetery	Stanley	1924	
*New Kowloon Cemetery No. 2	Ngau Chi Wan	1928	Erected for the Little Sisters of the Poor.
*Castle Peak Christian Cemetery	Castle Peak		Earliest graves: 1928
Roman Catholic Cemetery	Ho Man Tin	1930	
Kowloon Cemetery No. 1	Ho Man Tin	1930	Erected for European Protestants.
Kowloon Cemetery No. 2	Ho Man Tin	1930	Erected for Chinese.
Kowloon Cemetery No. 3	Ho Man Tin	1930	Erected for Muslims.
*New Kowloon Cemetery No. 5	Diamond Hill	1931	
*Sung Him Tong Sung Chan Wui Kei Tuk Kau Fan Cheung	Fan Ling	1931	
*Cheung Chau Chinese Christian Cemetery	Cheung Chau	1931	
*Tao Fung Shan Christian Cemetery	Sha Tin		Earliest graves: 1931
*Tai O Cemetery	Tai O	1932	
New Stanley Cemetery	Stanley	1933	
New Kowloon Cemetery No. 6	Shek Kip Mei	1933	Intended for European Protestants, details not known.
*Sai Kung Catholic Cemetery	Sai Kung	1934	
*Chinese Permanent Cemetery	Tsuen Wan	1935	
*New Kowloon Cemetery No. 7	Hammer Hill	1935	Extension was approved 1941, Extension might have been renamed New Kowloon Cemetery No. 8 later.
*Hammer Hill Urn Cemetery	Hammer Hill	1938	

Shum Wan Cemetery	Aberdeen	1938	There had been another cemetery in Shum Wan in 1920s, details of which is not known. Removal of all urns was ordered 1949.
*New Kln Inland Lot No. 2662 (St. Raphael's) Catholic Cemetery	Piper's Hill		Earliest graves: 1941.
War Emergency Cemeteries		1941-45	Refer to the article.
*Sai Wan Military/War Cemetery	Cape Collinson	1947	
Prison Cemetery	Stanley	1947	
*Sandy Ridge Cemetery	Lo Wu	1949	
*Wo Hop Shek Cemetery	Wo Hop Shek	1950	
*Cheung Chau Catholic Cemetery	Cheung Chau		Earliest graves: 1957.
*Holy Cross Catholic Cemetery	Cape Collinson		Earliest graves: 1960.
*Chinese Permanent Cemetery	Cape Collinson		Earliest graves: 1963.
*Muslim Cemetery	Cape Collinson	1963	
*Buddhist Cemetery	Cape Collinson		Earliest graves: 1964.
*Military Cemetery	Cape Collinson	1967	
*Chinese Permanent Cemetery	Tseung Kwan O	1989	
* Cemeteries still known to be in existence.			

Appendix 2

1. Distribution of lots at Sandy Ridge Cemetery

Coffin section:

1. General
2. Roman Catholic
3. Little Sisters of the Poor
4. Tung Wah

Urn section:

1. General
2. Tung Wah
3. Chiu Chow
4. Yan Ping
5. Chung Shan
6. Hok Shan
7. Sun Wui
8. Tsang Shing
9. Fukien

10. Chekiang and Kiangsu
11. Hopeh and Shantung
12. Pentecostal
13. Christian

2. Distribution of lots at Wo Hop Shek Cemetery:

Coffin section:

1. General
2. Chiu Chow
3. Fukien
4. Yan Ping
5. Wai Hoi Wai
6. Pentecostal
7. 7th Day Adventists

Um section:

1. General
2. Chiu Chow
3. Toi Shan
4. Hoi Ping
5. Ka Ying
6. Tung Kwun

- ¹ The very large number of indigenous villagers' burial sites/graveyards, some of considerable size, will not be dealt with in this study.
- ² Prior to 1926, Hong Kong's official spelling was 'Hongkong.' In September 1926, under instructions received from the Secretary of State for Colonies, 'Hong Kong' was adopted as the official form. See Hongkong Government Gazette (hereinafter HKGG) Notification 479 of 3 September 1926.
- ³ The name of Wan Chai was not in use in the early 1840s, the area around the burial ground was described as 'that part of the town fronting upon Howwan Bay' in *Friend of China* of 19th May 1842.
- ⁴ Oxley, D.H. (ed) (1979), *Victoria Barracks 1842-1979*. Hong Kong: Headquarters British Forces Hong Kong, p. 25.
- ⁵ The barrack area of the present Hong Kong Park site.

- ⁶ Sayer, S.R. (1980). *HONG KONG 1841 - 1862: BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE AND COMING OF AGE*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, p. 117.
- ⁷ Eitel, E.J. (1895). *EUROPE IN CHINA: THE HISTORY OF HONGKONG FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE YEAR 1882*. Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, p. 175.
- ⁸ Ticozzi, Sergio (1997). *HISTORICAL DOCUMENT OF THE HONG KONG CATHOLIC CHURCH*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archives, p. 13.
- ⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰ Hawkins, R.S. (1968). Far East Outpost, *The Royal Engineers Journal* Vol. LXXXII, p. 41.
- ¹¹ Endacott, G.B. (1988). *A HISTORY OF HONG KONG*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, p. 67.
- ¹² Oxley, p. 28.
- ¹³ For details of some of the military graves, see Bard, Solomon (1997), *Garrison Memorials in Hong Kong: Some Graves and Monuments at Happy Valley, The Antiquities and Monuments Office Occasional Paper No.4*. Hong Kong: The Antiquities and monuments Office.
- ¹⁴ *Illustrated London News*, 8 November 1845.
- ¹⁵ Smith, Carl T. (1985). NOTES FOR A VISIT TO THE GOVERNMENT CEMETERY AT HAPPY VALLEY, *The Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 25, pp. 17-18. Also see the same author's work, *A SENSE OF HISTORY: Studies in the Social and Urban History of Hong Kong* (1995), Hong Kong: Hong Kong Education Publishing Co, pp. 113-114.
- ¹⁶ Wong Nai Chung Valley was at first intended by British merchants and the Land Officer and Colonial Engineer A.T. Gordon for the principal business centre, but the project was abandoned as the valley was found to be unhealthy. See Eitel, p. 167 and Endacott, p. 45.
- ¹⁷ A list of these graves and monuments can be found in HKGG Notification of 2nd

November 1889.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ *The China Mail*, 23rd November 1865.

²⁰ Although the Colonial Cemetery was referred to as 'the Protestant Cemetery' in most 19th century government notifications (starting from HKGG Notification 120 of 15th November 1856) and maps, the ordinance to set apart certain section of the cemetery to be used as a burial ground for persons professing the Christian religion only had its first reading in the Legislative Council in November 1909. See Smith (1985), NOTES FOR A VISIT TO THE GOVERNMENT CEMETERY AT HAPPY VALLEY, *The Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol.25, pp. 17-26. The earliest Chinese name of the cemetery that could be traced is '紅毛墳', see HKGG Notification 92 of 6th October 1859. In some 19th century tourist guides, the cemetery was simply called 'the Anglican cemetery,' e.g., *A HAND-BOOK TO HONGKONG BEING A POPULAR GUIDE TO THE VARIOUS PLACES OF INTEREST IN THE COLONY, FOR THE USE OF TOURISTS* (1893), Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, p. 94. The cemetery was renamed 'Hong Kong Cemetery' in the 1970s.

²¹ Levien, Michael (ed) (1982), *NAVEL SURGEON: The Voyages of Dr. Edward H. Cree, Royal Navy, as Related in His Private Journals, 1837-1856*, New York: E.P. Dutton, p. 89. Dr. Cree had also made a water-colour sketch of the funeral of Brodie which is shown on p. 90 in the same book. Both the graves of Brodie and Wilson are still lying in the Hong Kong Cemetery.

²² This burial ground in Wan Chai had been referred to as 'the old Colonial Cemetery,' see HKGG Notification 447 of 2nd November 1889. A list of the tombstones removed from the burial ground in Wan Chai to the Colonial Cemetery can be found in the same notification.

²³ Eitel, p. 246.

²⁴ See *Blue Book*, 1845, p. 40, or *HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE COLONY OF HONG KONG 1841 - 1930* (1932), Hong Kong: Government Printer, p. 4. However, one source suggests the cemetery was opened on 1st February 1844, see Hayes (1970), COACH TOUR OF EASTERN HONG KONG ISLAND 19TH OCTOBER, 1969, *The Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol.10, p. 190.

- ²⁵ Smith, NOTES FOR A VISIT TO THE GOVERNMENT CEMETERY AT HAPPY VALLEY, p. 17.
- ²⁶ The boundaries of the new cemetery were rearranged in July 1870, when the government granted a nearby site for the Muslim Cemetery, and it was extended northwards in 1927. See Ticozzi, p. 13.
- ²⁷ Ticozzi, pp. 12-13.
- ²⁸ Sinclair, Kevin (ed) (1982). *A SOLDIER'S VIEW OF EMPIRE: The Reminiscences of James Bodell, 1831-92*. London: Bodley Head, pp. 58-60, pp. 65-66.
- ²⁹ *The China Mail*, 23rd November 1865.
- ³⁰ Oxley, p. 33, of personal correspondence of Bandsman F. Davis, 2nd Battalion 20th Foot, who was posted to Hong Kong between December 1863-January 1864 and May 1866-March 1867. Civilians are not included in this number.
- ³¹ This cemetery was not related to the Chinese cemetery in Stanley. See below for a description on the Chinese cemetery.
- ³² R.S. Hawkins, p. 41. Early barracks was erected around the present St. Stephen's College site.
- ³³ Hayes (1970). COACH TOUR OF EASTERN HONG KONG ISLAND 18TH OCTOBER, 1969, *The Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 10: 193.
- ³⁴ Dr. S.M. Bard has also conducted research on Stanley Military Cemetery, the report, titled *REPORT ON SURVEY AND STUDY OF SERVICE GRAVES AT STANLEY MILITARY CEMETERY*, was presented to the Antiquities and Monuments Office in 1984.
- ³⁵ A little below the present University of Hong Kong site.
- ³⁶ Ticozzi, p. 12.
- ³⁷ The present Pokfulam Road.

- ³⁸ Fortune, Robert (1935). *THREE YEARS' WANDERINGS IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCES OF CHINA*. Shanghai: The University Press, p. 22 (footnote).
- ³⁹ Inscriptions found at the entrance of the cemetery. However, in Barbara-Sue White's *TURBANS AND TRADERS: HONG KONG'S INDIAN COMMUNITIES* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 17, the year stated is 1854.
- ⁴⁰ Information provided by the Rev. Carl T. Smith.
- ⁴¹ The cemetery can be found in an 1863 map, see Hal Empson, p. 132.
- ⁴² Smith: *A SENSE OF HISTORY*, p. 401
- ⁴³ Ibid, p. 402.
- ⁴⁴ *A HAND-BOOK TO HONGKONG BEING A POPULAR GUIDE TO THE VARIOUS PLACES OF INTEREST IN THE COLONY, FOR THE USE OF TOURISTS* (1893). Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, p. 94.
- ⁴⁵ 杜瑞樂 (Joel Thoraval) 著 (張寧譯) (2002): <葬禮與祈禱的安排：香港回教信託基金總會歷史概貌> (1850-1985), 載陳慎慶編：《諸神嘉年華：香港宗教研究》。Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, p. 392.
- ⁴⁶ Empson, p. 132. The cemetery is also shown in another 1866 map in the same book, see p. 49.
- ⁴⁷ Information provided by the Rev. Carl T. Smith. Details regarding the founding of this cemetery are not known as yet. In a 1863 map, at the of the site of the subsequent Muslim cemetery, an area marked as 'Indian soldier' can be found, which might be an early burial ground for Indian soldiers, but details regarding its founding is not known, see Empson, p. 133.
- ⁴⁸ The graves in this cemetery were removed to Cape Collinson Catholic Cemetery, around late 1980s and early 1990s, according to Father Louis Ha, long after the *Bethanie* had been purchased by the University of Hong Kong in the early 1960s.
- ⁴⁹ For the breakdowns of population figures, see *Blue Books or HKGG* of the corresponding years.
- ⁵⁰ The figure included that of 'British Kowloon,' i.e., the area south of old boundary

(present Boundary Street).

- ⁵¹ Both the Cemeteries and Crematoria Section of the Food and Environment Hygiene Department and the cemetery office inside the Hong Kong Cemetery do not possess any historical records of the graves lying in the cemetery. The earliest Chinese grave that this author has come across there belongs to a 5-year-old child whose grave was erected in 1897 (S41 Section).
- ⁵² At the moment, no official document regarding this restriction on Chinese on entering the Colonial Cemetery has been found, though it is described in Knollys, Henry (1885), *ENGLISH LIFE IN CHINA*, London: Smith, Elder, and Co, p. 18.
- ⁵³ HKGG Notification of 31st May 1856.
- ⁵⁴ Fan Mo Street was renamed Po Yan Street in 1869, see HKGG Notice of 2nd October 1869. The cemetery can be found in a redrawn map of 1856, see Empson, p. 160.
- ⁵⁵ *Surveyor General Report, Blue Book*, 1856, p. 90.
- ⁵⁶ HKGG Notifications of 31st May and 14th June 1856.
- ⁵⁷ An 1898 by-law required each grave in 'cemeteries other than public Chinese cemeteries' to be dug to at least a depth of seven feet throughout, see HKGG Notification 532 of 26th November 1898. Another 1907 by-law required 'cemeteries other than Chinese cemeteries' should be dug to a depth of at least six feet; for other regulations, see HKGG Notification 621 of 20th September 1907.
- ⁵⁸ HKGG Notification 169 of 2nd December 1871.
- ⁵⁹ HKGG Notification of 353 of 2nd September 1882.
- ⁶⁰ HKGG Notification 322 of 12th August 1882.
- ⁶¹ HKGG Notification 354 of 2nd September 1882.
- ⁶² HKGG Notification 229 of 6th June 1885.
- ⁶³ The name 'Kaulung Cemetery' was not seen in any subsequent notifications or

records. It is almost certain that this cemetery was the same as 'Ma Tau Wai Cemetery,' though reference in regard to this change in name has not been found. Ma Tau Wai Cemetery, located around the present site of the Hong Kong Eye Hospital, was a large cemetery which can be revealed by the fact that between 1911 and 1912, the number of interments was mounting to 1,155 and 2,036 respectively, see *Administrative Report 1912*, p. L28. Removal of all graves in Ma Tau Wai Cemetery was ordered in 1925, see HKGG Notice 352 of 19th June 1925. The location and boundary of this cemetery is shown in a 1920 map, CO 1047/455, as kept in the PRO at Kew.

⁶⁴ This plot of land was later cancelled and replaced by a similar site in the same area in 1889, see HKGG Notification 76 of 23rd February 1889. A year later, this cemetery was closed, see HKGG Notification 168 of 26 April 1890. The cemetery was later referred to as Chai Wan Cemetery in 1911, and the burial area was extended, see HKGG Notification 42 of 24th February 1911. Another plot of land, also in the same area, was appointed as a Chinese cemetery in the same year, see HKGG Notification 307 of 19th July 1890. A section of Chai Wan Cemetery was reserved for the use by the Tung Wah Hospital, known as 'Chai Wan Extension, Tung Wah Hospital' which was authorized some time after. However, details on this development are not known yet, but obviously it occupied a huge area, for in 1939 alone, there were 2,274 interments (many dead were probably refugees arriving in Hong Kong after the fall of Guangzhou in 1938), see *Annual Report of the Chairman Urban Council Hong Kong for the year 1939*, p. M(1)17. All graves and urns in the Extension section and the urns in the whole cemetery (including the Christian section) were ordered to be removed in 1948, see HKGG Notice 1072 of 19th November 1948.

⁶⁵ Bodies buried in this cemetery between 1929 and 1941 were exhumed by the government and the remains reburied in New Kowloon Cemetery No.8 (Diamond Hill Urn Cemetery), see HKGG 719 of 1947.

⁶⁶ Removal of all the graves in the Stanley Cemetery, together with the Christian Chinese Cemetery, Stanley, mentioned below, was ordered in 1933, see HKGG Notices 494 and 500 of 21st July 1933. A 'New Stanley Cemetery' was erected shortly after, also see below.

⁶⁷ HKGG Notification 211 of 2nd May 1891.

⁶⁸ The Chinese cemetery at Mount Davis was extended in 1900, see HKGG Notification 6 of 13th January 1900. The cemetery was closed in December 1906,

see HKGG Notification 691 of 17th August 1906. A certain number of graves in the cemetery were ordered to be removed in 1914, see HKGG Notices 449 of 13th November 1914. Another removal of graves was ordered in 1930 for 'the proper laying out of such area in connection with the Aberdeen Waterwork Scheme,' see HKGG Notice 539 of 29th August 1930. Removal of all graves and urns in this cemetery was finally ordered in 1949, see HKGG Notice 936 of 30th September 1949.

⁶⁹ This cemetery was later referred to as '咖啡園墳場' in Chinese, see HKGG Notice 580 of 26th November 1920. In 1948, all graves and urns, other than those in 'Section D,' were ordered to be removed, see HKGG Notice 1071 of 19th November 1948.

⁷⁰ Information supplied by the Rev. Carl T. Smith. Other references in regard to the erection of this cemetery have not been found yet.

⁷¹ Ticozzi, pp. 102-103.

⁷² Pryor, E.G. (1975). The Great Plague of Hong Kong (1894), *The Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol.15, p. 64.

⁷³ Apart from this plague cemetery, a 1907 War Office map kept at the PRO at Kew (WO 78/5332) also shows a 'Plague burial ground (1894)' at Sandy Bay, at about the site of the present Duke of Kent Children's Hospital. In 1948, the removal of all bodies and remains of bodies in 'Kennedy Town Cemetery' was ordered, it is not certain if this cemetery was the same plague cemetery, see HKGG Notice 700 of 30th July 1948.

⁷⁴ HKGG Notification 473 of 31st August 1901. On the eastern edge of St. Raphael's Catholic Cemetery in Cheung Sha Wan, there is a large charitable grave dating back to 1894, the year of the Great Plague, erected by the Tung Wah Hospital. This grave may be associated with the plague cemetery.

⁷⁵ HKGG Notice 164 of 26th March 1926.

⁷⁶ HKGG Notice 555 of 8th October 1926.

⁷⁷ HKGG Notification 466 of 15th September 1900.

⁷⁸ Tai Shek Ku was generally referred to an area to the north-east of the old Ho

Man Tin Village before Argyle Street was laid out in the 1920s. This Indian cemetery should therefore be different from the Hindu Cemetery.

- ⁷⁹ HKGG Notice 300 of 20th May 1927. The location and boundary of this cemetery is shown the CO 1047/455 map of 1920.
- ⁸⁰ Site of present Lok Fu / Wang Tau Hom area.
- ⁸¹ HKGG Notification 334 of 22th May 1903. In 1923, the Inland Lot No. 9 section of this cemetery was closed and removal of some graves was ordered for the laying out of roads and building sites, see HKGG Notice 7 of 5th January and Notice 208 of 4th May 1923. Other removals were ordered in 1927 and 1929, see HKGG Notices 286 of 13th May 1927 and 191 of 19th April 1929. In 1949, removal of all graves in the 'old' section of this cemetery was ordered, see HKGG Notice 936 of 30th September 1949. Sai Yu Shek Cemetery was later renamed as New Kowloon Cemetery No.4 in 1930, see below.
- ⁸² Sai Yu Shek Cemetery and Sai Yu Shek (Christian) Cemetery had separate burial entries in the *Administrative Reports* of the 1910s and 1920s.
- ⁸³ The village was located about the present site of the 7-storey resettled factory blocks in San Po Kong District.
- ⁸⁴ 是但居士 (譚榮光)(1952), *華甲回憶錄*, privately published, p. 4.
- ⁸⁵ All the graves in Po Kong Po Cemetery were ordered to be removed in 1914, see HKGG Notices 448 of 13th November 1914.
- ⁸⁶ HKGG Notification 234 of 31 March 1904.
- ⁸⁷ HKGG Notice 963 of 10 December 1947.
- ⁸⁸ The cemetery was closed temporarily in 1925 and 1926, see HKGG Notices 402 of 10th July 1925 and Notice 325 of 18th June 1926.
- ⁸⁹ HKGG Notice 410 of 10th July 1925.
- ⁹⁰ HKGG Notification 581 of 19th August 1904. All graves in this cemetery were ordered to be removed in 1923 for the laying out of roads and building sites, see HKGG Notices 162 of 13th April and 462 of 26th October 1923.

- ⁹¹ For instance, HKGG Notices 423 of 13th August 1920 and 44 of 4th February 1921. The old Kowloon Tong Village was located about the present Tai Hang Tung Recreation Ground site.
- ⁹² HKGG Notice 369 of 16th July 1926.
- ⁹³ See Empson, p. 181.
- ⁹⁴ HKGG Notice 540 of 23rd December 1921. Removal of some graves in Kowloon Tong Cemetery was ordered in 1924 for the laying out of roads and building sites, see HKGG Notices 366 of 20th June and 712 of 19th December 1924.
- ⁹⁵ HKGG Notice 936 of 30th September 1949.
- ⁹⁶ HKGG Notice 1020 of 1st September 1950.
- ⁹⁷ Around the present Wah Fu Estate area. The cemetery had also been referred to as '雞籠環國家墳場' in some government notices, e.g., HKGG Notices 420 of 18th July 1924 and 253 of 29th April 1927 etc.
- ⁹⁸ The road was later renamed Victoria Road.
- ⁹⁹ The origin of this early Kai Lung Wan Cemetery is not known yet.
- ¹⁰⁰ HKGG Notification 692 of 17th August 1906. Similar to Chai Wan Cemetery, a very large section of the Kai Lung Wan Cemetery was later under the management of the Tung Wah Hospital, the cemetery, was called 'Tung Wah Hospital, Kai Lung Wan'. But the detail for this development is not known. In 1939, there were 10,679 interments in the Tung Wah section of the cemetery, see *Annual Report of the Chairman Urban Council Hong Kong for the year 1939*, p. M(1) 17. Also, according to a 1951 stone inscription at the Chiu Chow section of the Wo Hop Shek Cemetery, another section of the Kai Lung Wan Cemetery was reserved for the Chiu Chow dead in about 1923.
- ¹⁰¹ In a 1978 government map (*HONG KONG STREETS & PLACES VOLUME 2: THE OFFICIAL GUIDE KOWLOON & THE NEW TERRITORIES*, p. 83), Tseung Loong Tin (Cheung Lung Tin) is referred to a hillside area between Lam Tin and Yau Tong.
- ¹⁰² Cha Kwo Ling was one of the 'Four Hills' (四山) villages in eastern Kowloon.

The others were Ngau Tau Kok, Sai Cho Wan and Lei Yue Mun. All four villages were Hakka stone-cutters' settlements, all could at least be dated back to early and mid-19th century.

¹⁰³ HKGG Notification 3 of 4th January 1907.

¹⁰⁴ The cemetery had also been referred to as '雞籠環國家墳場' in some government notices, e.g., HKGG Notice 420 of 18th July 1924. This should be a huge cemetery as in 1939 alone, there were 3,900 interments, see *Annual Report of the Chairman Urban Council Hong Kong for the year 1939*, p. M(1)17.

¹⁰⁵ HKGG Notification 752 of 15th November 1907. Removal of all the urns in this cemetery was ordered in 1949, see HKGG Notice 936 of 30th September 1949.

¹⁰⁶ HKGG Notification 337 of 15th May 1908.

¹⁰⁷ HKGG Notice 102 of 18th March 1921.

¹⁰⁸ HKGG Notification 3 of 12th January 1912. The location of this cemetery was near to the present junction of Junction Road and Heng Lam Street.

¹⁰⁹ Empson, p. 181.

¹¹⁰ HKGG Notice 91 of 26th January 1940. This boundary of the cemetery can be found in the AIR 2/463 map of c.1930.

¹¹¹ HKGG Notification 337 of 15th November 1912.

¹¹² HKGG Notification 88 of 28th March 1913. This cemetery was closed in 1921, see HKGG Notice 540 of 23rd December 1921. Removal of some graves in this cemetery was ordered between 1924 and 1926 for the laying out of roads and building sites, see HKGG Notices 367 of 20 June and 711 of 19th December 1924, Notice 419 of 17th July 1925, and Notice 7 of 8th January 1926. All graves and urns were ordered to be removed in 1948, see HKGG Notice 1072 of 19th November 1948. The location and boundary of this cemetery is shown in a 1920 map, CO 1047/455, as kept in the PRO at Kew. Two headstones in memory of two members of the Chinese Labour Corps who were sent to and died in Europe during the First World War are to be found in the Stanley Military Cemetery. It is inscribed on the headstones that they were originally buried at Kau Pui Loong (Lung) Cemetery.

- ¹¹³ THE CHINESE CEMETERIES QUESTION, *The China Mail*, 12th July 1901.
- ¹¹⁴ Lau was listed after Ho Kai and Wei Yuk in the Board, see Arnold Wright (ed) (1990), *20TH CENTURY IMPRESSIONS OF HONG KONG*, Singapore: Graham Brash, p. 174. (The book was first published in 1908.)
- ¹¹⁵ *The Hongkong Weekly Press and China Overland Trade Report*, 17 April 1909.
- ¹¹⁶ HKGG Notice 229 of 25th July 1913. The rules and regulations of the cemetery are given in the same notice.
- ¹¹⁷ This may partly be due to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902.
- ¹¹⁸ Davis, S.G..(1949). *HONG KONG IN ITS GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING*. London: Collins, p. 96.
- ¹¹⁹ HKGG Notification 12 of 20th January 1911.
- ¹²⁰ The first Japanese burial in the Colonial Cemetery was a young second lieutenant in the Imperial Japanese Army who died in Hong Kong in 1878 while on the way back to Japan. His grave lies in S27 section in the cemetery.
- ¹²¹ A small number of Japanese were buried at Caroline Hill Cemetery, whose remains were later reinterred in the Colonial Cemetery, when former was cleared.
- ¹²² Between 1878-1945, there were about 465 Japanese buried in the Colonial Cemetery. For details of the Japanese burials, see 赤岩昭滋 (1988), 香港 日本人墓地—船員墓碑中心, 港日關係之回顧與前瞻, 香港日本文化協會二十五週年紀念特集, 香港: 香港日本文化協會, pp. 132-141. (The article was originally written in 1973 when the author was posted to the Japanese Consulate General in Hong Kong.) Also see a local Japanese newspaper, WEEKLY HONG KONG, 5th October 2000, p. 7.
- ¹²³ A highly interesting articles on the subject, titled *THE EXHILARATING TOPIC OF GRAVES*, can be found in *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 10th November 1909, p. 4. It was also reported and discussed in *The Hongkong Weekly Press and China Overland Trade Report*, 20th February 1909, p. 142 and 17th April 1909, pp. 311-312.
- ¹²⁴ *Hong Kong Hansard 1909*, pp. 168-169.

¹²⁵ As late as the 1990, there was still a new burial.

¹²⁶ HKGG Notice 311 of 14th August 1914. According to a 1951 stone inscription at the Chiu Chow section of the Wo Hop Shek Cemetery, a section of this cemetery was reserved for the Chiu Chow dead in 1933. All graves of the 'Government or General section' of urn cemetery in the same cemetery were ordered to be removed in 1947, see HKGG Notice 743 of 19th September 1947.

¹²⁷ For instance, HKGG Notice 421 of 20th October 1922 and Notice 321 of 20th July 1923.

¹²⁸ HKGG Notice 797 of 14th October 1938. Removal of all urns in Shum Wan Cemetery was ordered in 1949, see HKGG Notice 936 of 30th September 1949.

¹²⁹ HKGG Notice 420 of 12th September 1919. The location of this cemetery is not mentioned in the notification and the site is not known at the moment.

¹³⁰ HKGG Notice 18 of 21st January 1921. The cemetery was to be split into three separate ones in 1930, see below.

¹³¹ HKGG Notice 678 of 5th December 1924.

¹³² HKGG Notice 439 of 3rd August 1928. A section of this cemetery still exists within the St. Joseph's Home for the Aged. As the whole piece of land has just been sold to a developer in February 2002, the cemetery may be cleared soon. See a local Chinese newspaper, *The Economic Journal*, 13th March 2002, p. 6.

¹³³ Information provided by the Rev. Carl T. Smith.

¹³⁴ HKGG Notice 400 of 27th June 1930.

¹³⁵ Fo Pang was the old name for the area around the present Wah Yan College site.

¹³⁶ A 1920 map, CO 1047/455, as kept in the PRO at Kew, shows a European Cemetery near Tai Shek Ku, approximately the present Kowloon Hospital site, but not in the Fo Pang area. Further clarification is needed in regard to the relation between these two cemeteries. Kowloon Cemetery No. 1 was closed in 1933, see HKGG Notice 799 of 15th December 1933.

¹³⁷ Removal of all graves and urns in this cemetery was ordered in 1948, see HKGG

Notice 1071 of 19 November 1948.

¹³⁸ This cemetery might have been in existence for quite some time, perhaps even from the late 19th century. In Barbara-Sue White, pp. 60-61, it is stated that '*Part of the agreement with the government in the 19th century was that Muslims would prepare the original Ho Man Tin area for burials, and so Muslim soldiers gathered every Sunday, their only day off, and cleared the provided land...*'. However, further reference regarding the agreement is not known at the moment.

¹³⁹ HKGG Notice 401 of 27th June 1930.

¹⁴⁰ HKGG Notice 496 of 7th August 1931.

¹⁴¹ Sung Him Tong was founded in 1903 by some converts of the Basel Mission.

¹⁴² HKGG Notice 511 of 14th August 1931. The origin of this cemetery is given in 彭樂三(1932), 香港新界龍躍頭崇謙堂村誌, pp. 29-32.

¹⁴³ HKGG Notice 716 of 23rd October 1931.

¹⁴⁴ Information provided by the Rev. Carl T. Smith. The origin of this cemetery is not known yet.

¹⁴⁵ HKGG Notice 2 of 8th January 1932.

¹⁴⁶ The description of this new cemetery is also applicable to the Stanley Military Cemetery, however, there is no grave between 1870 and 1941 found in the latter; the site of this Stanley New Cemetery is not known yet.

¹⁴⁷ HKGG Notice 269 of 8th April 1938.

¹⁴⁸ HKGG Notice 784 of 8th December 1933.

¹⁴⁹ Kap Shek Mi was an old name for Shek Kip Mei.

¹⁵⁰ HKGG Notice 799 of 15th December 1933.

¹⁵¹ The cemetery was located in an area between the present Pak Tin Estate and the Shek Kip Mei Park. It is marked 'closed' and is shown in a map (Map B) enclosed in the *REPORT ON THE RIOTS IN KOWLOON AND TSUEN WAN, OCTOBER*

10TH TO 12TH, 1956, TOGETHER WITH COVERING DESPATCH DATED THE 3RD DECEMBER, 1956, FROM THE GOVERNOR OF HONG KONG TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

¹⁵² HKGG Notice 727 of 28th September 1934.

¹⁵³ HKGG Notice 698 of 13th September 1935.

¹⁵⁴ HKGG Notice 571 of 16th May 1941.

¹⁵⁵ HKGG Notice 784 of 11th October 1935.

¹⁵⁶ HKGG Notice 852 of 4th November 1938. This cemetery was probably the same cemetery as Diamond Hill Urn Cemetery (New Kowloon Cemetery No. 8), however, no reference in regard to the renaming is found yet.

¹⁵⁷ HKGG Notice 534 of 9th May 1941.

¹⁵⁸ The present St. Raphael's Catholic Cemetery. A few headstones in this cemetery could be traced back to the early 20th century which may be the result of reburials.

¹⁵⁹ According to the information supplied by the Rev. Carl T. Smith, the earliest graves in this cemetery dated back to June 1941.

¹⁶⁰ HKGG Notice 616 of 1947.

¹⁶¹ There is no reliable record on the number of deaths particularly among the civilians during the invasion and the occupation period. A chief factor was the very large number of refugees arriving in Hong Kong between 1938 and 1941, which might have been as high as 800,000.

¹⁶² HKGG Notice of 23rd March 1946.

¹⁶³ HKGG Notice of 723 of 16th September 1947.

¹⁶⁴ HKGG Notice of 724 of 16th September 1947.

¹⁶⁵ Site of present Tsan Yuk Hospital.

¹⁶⁶ HKGG Notice 722 of 16th September 1947.

- ¹⁶⁷ HKGG Notice 725 of 16th September 1947.
- ¹⁶⁸ Present Wong Chuk Hang Road.
- ¹⁶⁹ HKGG Notice 721 of 16th September 1947.
- ¹⁷⁰ Present Chai Wan Road.
- ¹⁷¹ HKGG Notice 720 of 16th September 1947.
- ¹⁷² *Report of the Urban Council and Sanitary Department for the financial year 1st April, 1948-31st March, 1949*, p. 29.
- ¹⁷³ The cemetery was later renamed 'Sai Wan War Cemetery'. This cemetery was and still is managed by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. There is another military cemetery located just below Sai Wan War Cemetery. Established in 1967, the new military cemetery is not related to Sai Wan War Cemetery, nor the Commonwealth War Graves Commission.
- ¹⁷⁴ This was the pre-war Chai Wan Cemetery, not to be confused with those established in the area in the early 1960s.
- ¹⁷⁵ HKGG Notice 214 of 13th March 1947.
- ¹⁷⁶ HKGG Notice 381 of 13th May 1947.
- ¹⁷⁷ *Annual Departmental Report by the Chairman of the Urban Council and Head of the Sanitary Department for the financial year 1950-51*, p. 11.
- ¹⁷⁸ Later regazetted as Sandy Ridge Cemetery and Sandy Ridge (Urn) Cemetery in 1950.
- ¹⁷⁹ *Annual Report by the Chairman of the Urban Council and Head of the Sanitary Department for the year ended the 31st March, 1950*, p. 8.
- ¹⁸⁰ *Annual Departmental Report by the Chairman of the Urban Council and Head of the Sanitary Department for the financial year 1950-51*, p. 38.
- ¹⁸¹ *Annual Report by the Chairman of the Urban Council and Head of the Sanitary Department for the year ended the 31st March, 1950*, p. 8.

¹⁸² *Annual Departmental Report by the Chairman of the Urban Council and Head of the Sanitary Department for the Financial Year 1951-52*, p. 16.

¹⁸³ Some early burial grounds / cemeteries did not have proper or official names. For convenience of reference, names are given here.

¹⁸⁴ Year in which the cemeteries were appointed or the lots granted.