

Britain's forgotten colony?

Why Hong Kong deserves a place in the story of empire

Ollie Barnes encountered Hong Kong history on honeymoon and, powerfully, in the classroom in Nottinghamshire.

Historical changes in the former colony's present had resulted in increasing numbers of Hong Kongers arriving in school. This history demanded attention – important historical changes were in process and pupils needed to understand them. It was important, also, that students came to appreciate the intimate historical links between Hong Kong and Britain and this history was largely hidden, or at least almost entirely absent, in the history curriculum.

Barnes outlines how his department introduced a new Hong Kong enquiry into their curriculum and reflects on the impact that doing this had on students' perceptions.

Ollie Barnes

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Why Hong Kong?

The decision to introduce the National Security Law in Hong Kong in 2020 was a moment of profound change for the 7.5 million people who lived in the region. Political rights that they had taken for granted were being stripped away. Chinese law took sovereignty over Hong Kong law, some trials began to be held behind closed doors and Beijing appointed advisers to enforce the new laws. A mass exodus began, with hundreds of thousands of residents deciding to leave their homes, fleeing to safety. By 2023, half a million people had left Hong Kong.¹

It was September in that same year, as I began a new job in a large secondary school in east Nottinghamshire, that my interest in Hong Kong peaked. I had visited the island on my honeymoon in 2018, exploring the Lamma Island and admiring the famous skyline (see Figure 1). I remembered the distinct feeling Hong Kong gave me, having just travelled from Beijing, through China, to get to my destination. Hong Kong felt somehow different. The tramways and roads seemed like they belonged in a bygone era, the food was unique and almost European, it felt strangely familiar. And that is because it was. Hong Kong maintained much of its British identity, decades after the handover in 1997.² The towering skyscrapers and right-hand drive, a hangover from British occupation and imperialism. According to Kestell and Meinhardt, 'Hong Kong is a unique melding of Eastern and Western influences, whose history has made it a meeting point for China and the outside world. In this environment, Hong Kong's Chinese population has developed a distinctive culture.'³

Why now?

Upon arriving at my new school, I learned that the exodus since 2020 had seen a growing number of Hong Kongers arriving in the market town the school was based in. Through my research, I found that over 15% of our Year 7 cohort were Hong Kongers and this proportion looked set to increase further. The department was already in the process of developing the Year 9 curriculum to focus on identity, migration and empire through time. First, students explored the development of identity in Anglo-Saxon England before embarking on explorations of Jamaica, British America and India. It felt natural to advance this by exploring Hong Kong's relationship with empire.

Both Davies, Rakib and Zakariah and Donaldson discuss the importance of creating an history curriculum which is truly representative and challenges dominant narratives in history education.⁴ It became clear from my initial research that Hong Kong has been long neglected in the story of the British Empire.

Wilkes *The British Empire: Depth Study* and Kennett *et al.*'s *KS3 History: The British Empire c.1500–Present*, two excellent textbooks both published in 2023, have done much to improve the teaching of empire in schools. However, where Hong Kong is mentioned within these textbooks, it is through a fleeting reference

Figure 1: Photos from my visit to Hong Kong in March 2018



Figure 2: Images of Hong Kong's development



A view of Hong Kong Harbour – circa 1850
Artist unknown – Vallejo Gallery



A bird's eye view of Kowloon Walled City – 1989.
Taken by Ian Lambot

to the opium wars and Britain's interaction with imperial China. In Wilkes, a paragraph is dedicated to Hong Kong's story on page 9, while Kennett *et al.* give Hong Kong's story just a few sentences in an enquiry about Sino-British relations, along with two references to handover marking the end of empire.⁵ The China enquiry is summed up with the statement

'Britain's colony in Hong Kong continued to grow, providing Britain with a valuable military and trading base in East Asia. It remained a British colony until 1999'.⁶ Additionally, AQA's empire and migration unit at GCSE, despite its vast breadth, does not include Hong Kong in any way.⁷ This appears to be an opportunity missed.

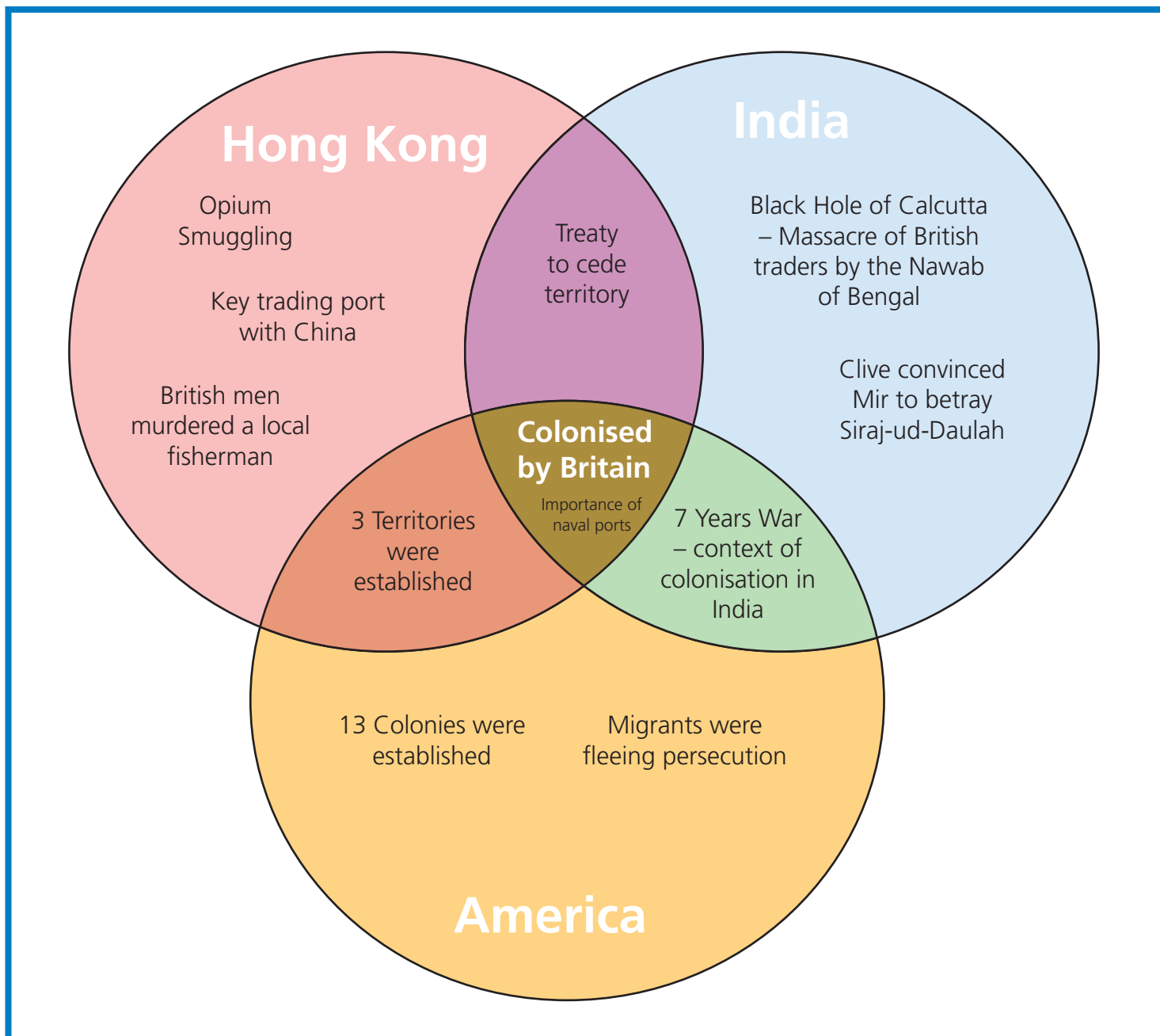
Mitter explores what historians have been arguing about Chinese history.⁸ She recognises that Chinese history was largely missing from school history curricula a generation ago, and while updated GCSE specifications have gone some way to establish Mao's China as part of a curricular conversation, Hong Kong has remained absent from these discussions. Fender and Ragdale have recently explored the long eighteenth century in these pages, making a compelling argument for its inclusion in history curriculum.⁹ I hope to make a similar case for Hong Kong.¹⁰

Colonial connections

Hong Kong has a rich political and cultural history. Through this unit, I intended to draw out concepts of trade, monopoly, revolution, international relations and state power, all substantive concepts central to understanding that rich history.¹¹ The lens of Hong Kong allows students to approach Chinese history in a unique way. Arriving at this unit, having just studied British America and India, students are able to compare and contrast colonisation and independence between places and across time. Figure 2 includes two images which show the story of Hong Kong's development.

Drawing inspiration from Priggs, as a department, we decided to frame our Year 9 curriculum to delve into the concepts of identity and migration, with a detailed focus on the impact of British identity on the world around us.¹² My colleagues and I drew up plans to focus each unit on a different British colony to explore the impact of 'Britishness' around the world. The comparisons between British America, India and Hong Kong are clear. The East India Company established the port of Hong Kong as a key trading outpost in their triangular trade network to smuggle Indian opium in exchange for

Figure 3: How does Hong Kong fit with the wider British Empire?



Chinese tea.¹³ The Treaty of Nanjing 1842, the first of the ‘unequal treaties’, ceded Hong Kong Island to the British, was signed aboard HMS *Cornwallis*, a ship named after Charles Cornwallis who led the British at Yorktown in 1781 and later as Governor General of India.¹⁴ This treaty, written in two languages, would bind Britain and China together through Hong Kong until the handover in 1997. We wanted students to understand the complexities and connections of empire, to see the dominance of colonialism and the construction of white saviourism. Figure 3 shows the interconnectedness of imperial history we wanted to highlight.

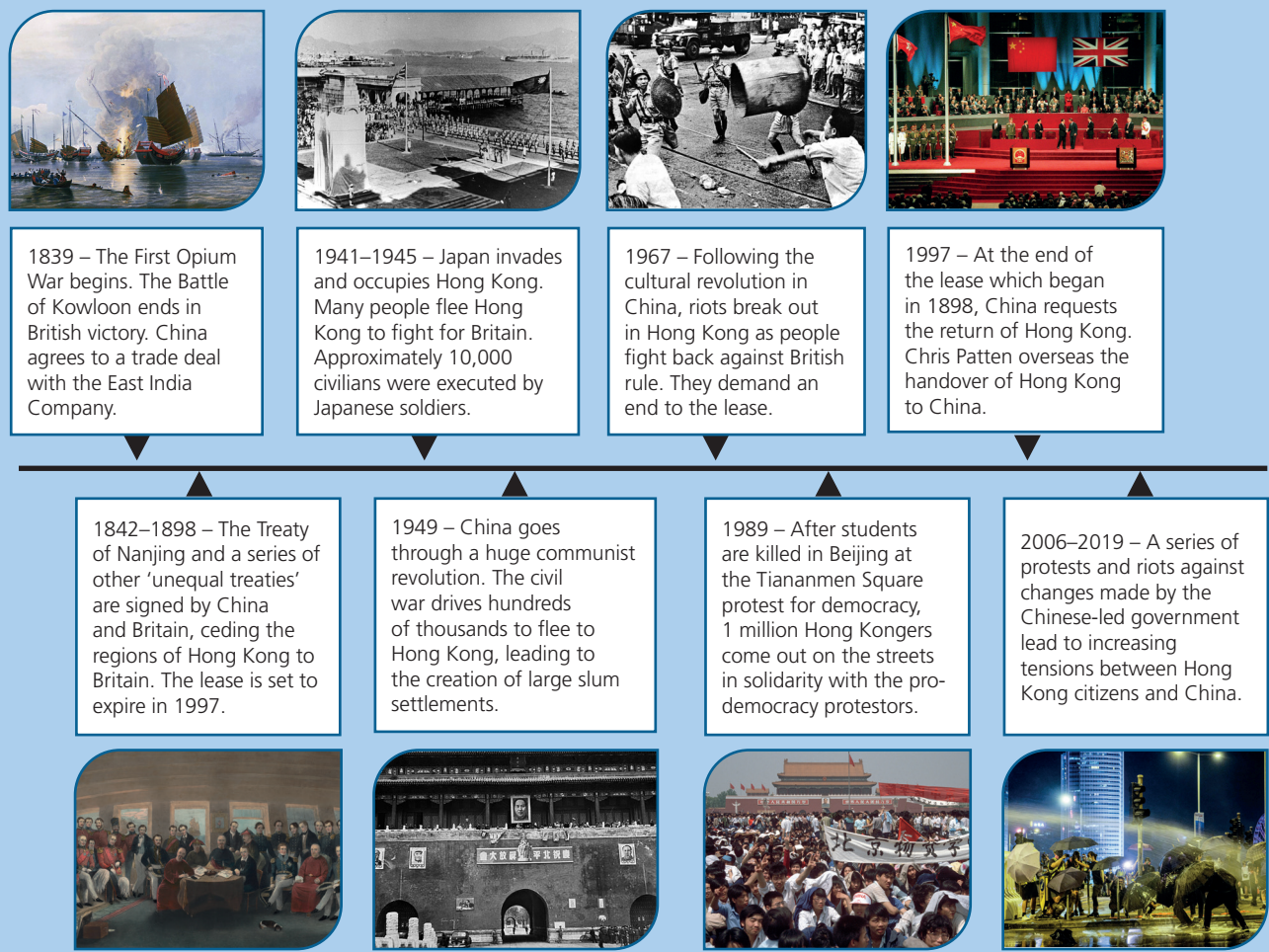
Research

Before planning the unit, it was important to gather as much information as possible about Hong Kong history and how it is taught. I decided it would be valuable to gather some insight from sixth-form historians who had recently migrated from Hong Kong and who had studied this history in schools before the exodus. I found four students willing to participate and their responses were insightful. Responses

to the question ‘What have you learned in school about the history of Hong Kong?’ included ‘British rule in the 1980s and 1990s’ and the meaning of ‘one country, two policies’ and ‘Japanese occupation in WWII, the first Opium War and the handover.’¹⁵ These responses were useful to highlight key moments in the narrative, but also seemed to stop short in their exploration of political protest and direct action which I had already read about. I asked the students ‘What have you learned in school about the history of China?’ and responses included ‘Civil War between the KMT and CCP and how China fell into communism’ and ‘a brief history since the Xia dynasties’. Again, there seemed to be a gap in the story of China’s relationship with Hong Kong. My focus group also commented that they would like students to learn about Hong Kong society and how daily life has transformed in Hong Kong over time. I felt this could be achieved through a breadth study which covered the 200-year period of British involvement.

Following this research, I also invited parents from the local Hong Kong community to school for a meeting to discuss

Figure 4: A visual timeline of Hong Kong



my plans for the unit. I was keen to hear their insight into living in Hong Kong in recent years and their stories about how they ended up in Nottinghamshire. Parents discussed identity and the uniqueness of Hong Kongers when compared to the identity of mainland China. It was clear that they felt a deep connection with 'Britishness' which had motivated them to migrate to the UK following the introduction of the National Security Law in 2020. They pointed out that education in Hong Kong is increasingly under the control of the Chinese state, meaning that the story of British Hong Kong is being told through a new lens to young people living in Hong Kong today. They also discussed their experiences in the local community of east Nottinghamshire, as they had encountered confusion and occasional racism from people in the local area. I felt it our duty as an history department to inform and educate our students about the story of Hong Kong to tackle any misconceptions and negative stereotypes that they might hold about Hong Kongers and their histories. There was also discussion about the overarching enquiry question and the concept of 'one country, two systems'. One interpretation offered by parents in the meeting was that this statement has been 'the biggest lie of all time' and that Hong Kongers were 'naïve' to trust the promises made by both sides during the handover.¹⁶

With this research complete, and approval from school leaders, we began to map out how the unit would be taught and importantly what we wanted students to learn. Figure 4

shows a rough outline of the story of Hong Kong, which we shared with students as part of their 'knowledge organisers'.¹⁷

Opium and tea: a Wild West in the East

I began, as always, by mapping out the narrative I wanted students to understand. I knew that I wanted our students to develop an idea of the uniqueness of Hong Kong and I also knew that the unit needed to cover some breadth to do this. I also wanted students to learn how Hong Kong developed, from 'a rocky outcrop, a barren island with hardly a house upon it',¹⁸ into a global financial and commercial force. Figure 5 shows the overarching plan for the unit, with 6 lessons structured into three pairs. Students in Year 9 have 2 lessons per week, so it was important to try to mirror this, by exploring Hong Kong in three phases. First, they would investigate British colonisation of Hong Kong and the impact this had on the identity of the region. They would then broaden their focus to explore China and the impact of its transition to communism on the people living in British Hong Kong. Finally, students would address the impact of Chinese state control on Hong Kong after the handover.

When searching for a hook to draw students into the unit, I learned from the *Hong Kong History Podcast* about a bar fight between two British merchants and a local fisherman named Lin Zexu which occurred in Kowloon in 1839.¹⁹

Figure 5: Stages of the enquiry – One country, two systems: How has the identity of Hong Kong been shaped?

1	2	3	4	5	6
• Opium and tea – How did a bar fight lead to war? • Students explore the causes and consequences of the first Opium War	• Was the Treaty of Nanjing a good deal? • Students examine the Treaty of Nanjing to determine what Britain gained from the deal with China	• Two systems – How did China change after WWII? • A broader look at the communist revolution in China and its impact on migration to HK	• How much did the Cultural Revolution affect Hong Kong? • An exploration of the restriction of civil rights under the Chinese communist regime	• What did handover mean for Hong Kong? • Students use knowledge they have gained to predict and investigate the impact of the handover on HK's identity	• 'One country, two systems?' – What impact has Britain had on the identity of Hong Kong? • Students examine protest against extradition and the impact of the exodus

The fight, which broke out after a night of heavy rice liquor consumption, led to the murder of Zexu. This, I believed, was revealing for students, to discover the tension between Chinese people and British merchants. When exploring the context of the story more deeply, it became clearer that there had been rising tensions in the region due to ongoing British smuggling. While the Portuguese traders had been working with local guides to trade in Macau, the East India Company had been bypassing these shallow waters and trading directly with Chinese merchants on Hong Kong Island using Aberdeen beach.²⁰ The product that they had been smuggling, of course, was opium.²¹ This can be seen in the map of British Hong Kong in Figure 6.

The opium trade was illegal in China, but this had not stopped the British East India Company shipping thousands of tonnes of the product to sell to Chinese merchants to fuel Britain's addiction to another drug, tea.²² Traders operating in China were renowned for selling opium to smugglers in exchange for silver, before making deals for tea and silk for their return journeys.²³ The connection between India and Hong Kong became clear and obvious and I knew I had a strong and tangible link for my unit. The theme of protest arose in the first lesson, with the reaction of Commissioner Lin to the British smuggling, when he dumped 1200 tonnes of opium and issued an edict banning the sale of food to British traders. The first instance of state power in action, when the British navy sent HMS *Nemesis* from Liverpool to destroy the Chinese fleet at the Battle of Kowloon in 1839, would form my conceptual focus for the unit as it unfolded.²⁴

The coercive power of the British Empire continued to be a present theme as students explored the 'unequal' treaties signed between the British East India Company and China. These three treaties showed students the gradual cession of the Hong Kong peninsula to the British. In Lesson 2, students studied the Treaty of Nanjing, discussing whether it was a 'good deal'. This allowed them to look at the treaty through multiple lenses and explore why the British were able to extract so much from the Chinese emperor (see Figure 7).

They went on to colour code a map of Hong Kong to show its growth between 1842 and 1898 as Britain increased its influence in the region, and the uniqueness of Hong Kong's identity began to emerge.

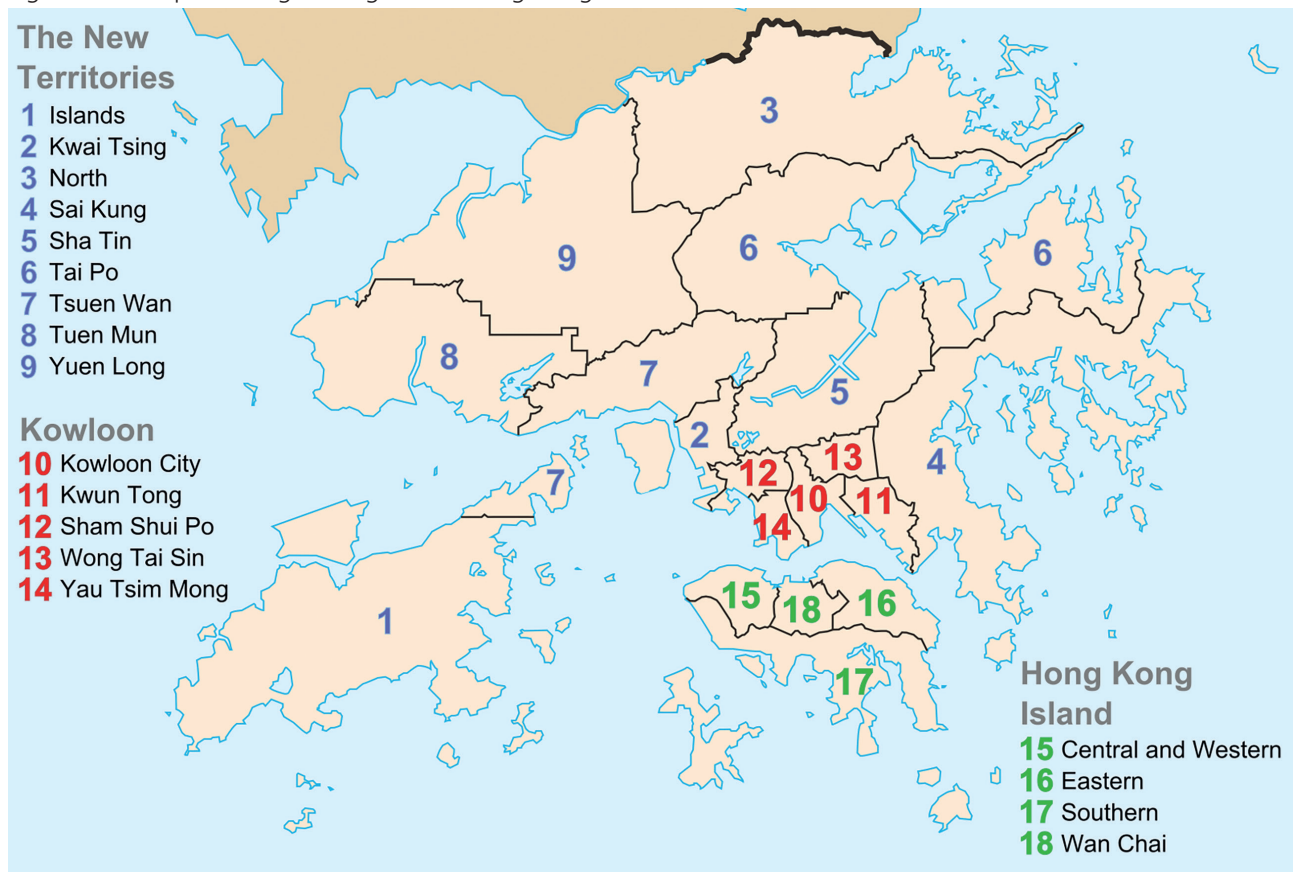
Students were able to use their definitions of fairness to explain whether the Treaty of Nanjing was a good deal, exploring who benefited most from the terms of the treaty. This raised from interesting questions from students such as 'Why did China agree to this?' and 'How quickly did Hong Kong grow?' which allowed for further exploration.

At this point, we began to recall and compare the story of colonisation in Hong Kong with other colonies we had looked at so far. By asking students 'what are the similarities between the colonisation of Hong Kong and India?' they were able to compare the Treaty of Nanjing and the Treaty of Allahabad. The Battle of Plassey provided a good comparison with the Battle of Kowloon, while the reluctance of local nawabs in India paired well with Qing dynasty policy towards British smugglers. The prominent role of the East India Company in both these stories provided a sense of history rhyming with itself. Some students went further by comparing Commissioner Lin's actions to deal with opium smugglers with the actions of the Sons of Liberty during the Boston Tea Party. Hong Kong began to reveal the grand narrative of empire with greater clarity.²⁵

One country, two systems: 'The biggest lie of all time'?

To address the enquiry question, students needed to understand how 'two systems' emerged in the period 1898 to 1997. It became clear that the divergence between ideologies was the next logical story to explore. This involved fast-forwarding the story from the 99-year lease in 1898 to explore how China changed following the Second World War. I wanted to avoid retelling the story of Hong Kong through Japanese occupation 1941–45 for two reasons. Firstly, the extent of trauma caused by the Japanese in Hong Kong was

Figure 6: A map showing the regions of Hong Kong



huge. I wanted to avoid triggering uncomfortable emotions in students, particularly those who may have relatives who were persecuted by Japanese forces during the war. I also wanted to maintain focus on the overarching narrative, the story of Britain and China's struggle for Hong Kong over two centuries. It felt necessary next to explore how China's communist revolution changed the 'system' under which millions of people would come to live. The third stage of the enquiry focused on the extent of change in China under Mao's leadership, and how far this differed from the rights enjoyed in Britain after WWII.

In this lesson, students explored the concept of communist revolution, briefly exploring how Mao's Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was victorious in the Civil War and what this meant for Hong Kong, which remained under British rule. Students would be asked to explore what this would mean for Hong Kongers, as hundreds of thousands of wealthy, educated refugees flooded southwards from Guangzhou.²⁶ By comparing the political systems in place in both Britain and Hong Kong, students could come to realise the impact of state control of the economy, isolationism, Maoist ideology and mass surveillance. This starkly contrasted with the experiences of Hong Kong, where large multinational companies like the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC) continued to be allowed to thrive with low taxation and regulation (see Figure 8).²⁷ In 1992, HSBC acquired Midland Bank for £3.9 billion, one of the largest deals in financial history, showing the significance of Hong Kong's global financial services.

Further to this, students then went on to explore the Cultural Revolution and its impact on Hong Kong. I wanted to explore the concept of Cultural Revolution in more depth as it had a

profound effect on innovation and personal liberty in China.²⁸ Students had the opportunity to explore 'The Little Red Book, asking 'How were Chinese citizens taught to love their leader?' This is an interesting enquiry at this stage as it shows the vast divergence between British values of free speech and democracy on the one hand, and collectivism on the other. Despite China's repressive approach to rights, in Hong Kong in 1967 a mass protest flared up among the population, who wished to leave the British Empire and rejoin China.²⁹ This was a jarring concept, after students had spent almost two lessons exploring the restrictions of living under the Maoist regime. This posed the question 'Why would Hong Kongers want to join the Cultural Revolution?', enabling students to explore the factors which might lead Hong Kong towards returning to Chinese rule. Students ended this stage of the enquiry by discussing how far China and Britain differed, and whether these two systems could work in one country.

Protest and extradition

Thematically, the plan I had created seemed to lean towards protest and political repression, first from the British Empire and later from the Chinese communist regime. The story of this relationship between individuals and the state was shown clearly during the events which transpired in Beijing on 4 June 1989. It is not merely the Tiananmen protest which seemed significant to cover, but the way it was remembered in both China and Hong Kong.³⁰ The stark difference in commemoration between China and Hong Kong was a clear indication of the two systems at work. In 2019, 180,000 Hong Kongers held a vigil for the hundreds of pro-democracy protesters who were killed as tanks rolled into China's capital.³¹ It was the last time that the vigil would be permitted as the Chinese state began to restrict personal freedoms.³²

Read through the extracts you have been given from the Treaty of Nanjing. Where there is an arrow, write in the effect this will have on both Britain (right) and China (left)



China would...

EXCERPTS FROM THE TREATY OF NANJING, AUGUST 1842



Britain would...

Article I

There shall henceforth be Peace and Friendship between ... England and China and between their respective Subjects, who shall **enjoy full security and protection for their persons and property** within the Dominions (land) of the other.

Article III

It being necessary and desirable, **that British Subjects (citizens) should have some Port whereat they may refit their Ships**, when required, and keep Stores, His Majesty the Emperor of China cedes (gives) to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, **the Island of Hong-Kong, to be possessed in perpetuity (forever)**... and to be governed by such Laws as Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain shall see fit to direct.

Article V

...the Emperor of China agrees to [allow British Merchants to trade with] whatever persons they please, and His Imperial Majesty further agrees to pay to the British Government the sum of **Three Millions of Dollars, on account of Debts due to British Subjects.**

Article VII

It is agreed that the Total amount of **Twenty-one Millions** of Dollars, described in the three preceding Articles, shall be paid to Britain as follows:
Six Millions immediately... . Six Millions in 1843... .
Five Millions in 1844... . Four Millions in 1845... .

Article X

His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to establish all the Ports... **a fair and regular Tariff (tax)** of Export and Import Customs and other Dues, which shall be publicly notified. Such **Merchandise (this included Opium)** **may be conveyed by Chinese Merchants**, to any area in the interior of the Empire of China.

Figure 8: HSBC headquarters in Central District, taken from Hong Kong Harbour in the 1950s



Figure 9: Umbrella Protest 28 October 2014 in Harcourt Road, Hong Kong



The interconnectedness of China, Hong Kong and Britain could be demonstrated through this hugely significant moment in global history, often forgotten in our curricula. Yet within this unit, Tiananmen felt critical to telling the story of rights and freedoms, and how they have been eroded for millions of Hong Kongers.

Less than a decade passed between the Tiananmen Square massacre and the official handover of Hong Kong. Chris Patten, the last governor of Hong Kong, was accompanied by both Tony Blair and Margaret Thatcher, as well as the Prince of Wales, to declare an end to the 99-year lease. Britain agreed to sign over control of Hong Kong to Chinese authority and it was declared a Special Administrative Region.³³ Although it was agreed that Hong Kong would be allowed to maintain its own government, China would gradually extend its influence, with an agreement in place that Britain would no longer have a right to interfere following a 50-year period of transition. The handover represented the implementation of

the ‘one country, two systems’ doctrine which came to define Hong Kong for the next 23 years.³⁴ Within the unit, I wanted students to explore the impact of the handover, looking at the impact of the transition on the rights of Hong Kongers. To do so, they explored a range of protests, beginning in 2003 with 500,000 marchers, and encompassing the Occupy movement in 2014, nicknamed the Umbrella movement. This gave students an idea of the civil unrest in Hong Kong post-handover.³⁵ Using photographs, such as the one in Figure 9, allowed students to visualise the extent of protest in Hong Kong over the past decade and start to understand how the narrative they had been exploring forced so many thousands to flee. This allowed me to pose the question ‘Was Britain right to hand over Hong Kong?’ This challenged students’ thinking that the British Empire was a global evil, or that self-determination was the sole desirable outcome for all British colonies. Hong Kong could reveal a complexity to decolonisation which students could explore more deeply than with their previous case studies.

By asking Year 9 to consider the identity of Hong Kong and the impact of colonisation on the political rights of its residents, I had hoped to challenge them to reconsider their preconceptions of the British Empire. The final lesson would be focused on the National Security Law, passed by the Special Administrative Region (SAR) government in 2020, during a strict Covid lockdown.³⁶ This new law meant that people who had been arrested for a wide range of offences, including civil disobedience, could be extradited to mainland China for trial. The impact of this law was mass exodus of Hong Kongers, who no longer had the right to protest which is protected under British law.³⁷ This allowed us to address the question ‘One country, two systems: why is it so problematic?’

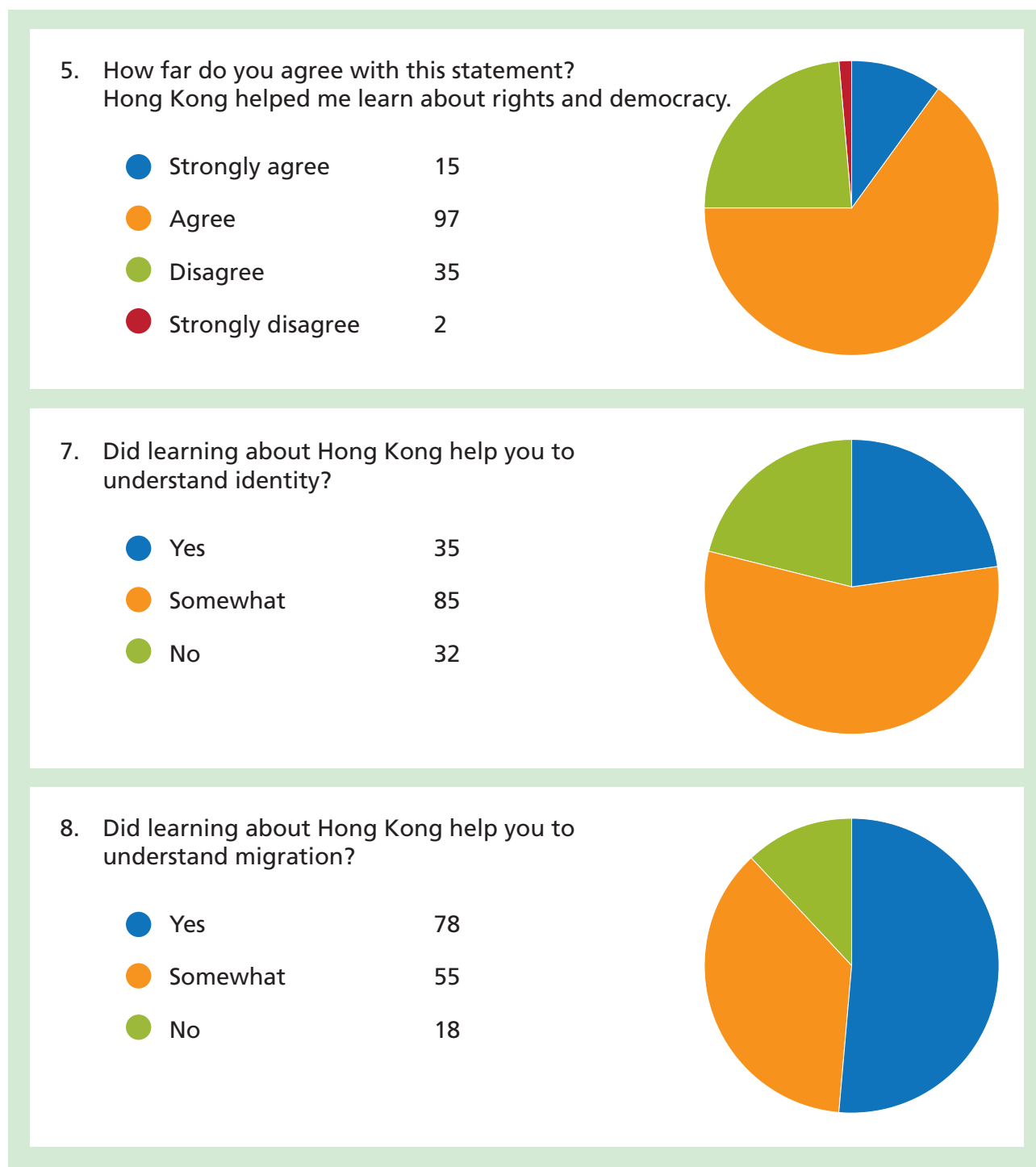
The cross-curricular links with geography here are tangible. By studying the story of Hong Kong from opium to extradition, students can gain a clear understanding of urban development, international trade, growth, poverty and migration. The key focus for us, however, was identity. Students could see that the political rights so cherished by Hong Kongers under British rule would be tightly controlled in mainland China. The tension this creates between people and state is a narrative that we wanted students to engage with.

Demonstrating the rich historical narrative of Hong Kong was just part of the aim for us as a department. As mentioned earlier, we also wanted to create a curriculum which reflected our students and that they could feel part of. We also wanted all our pupils to gain an understanding of the push factors which led so many Hong Kong families to migrate thousands of miles to rural Nottinghamshire. This unit served this purpose, while also sitting comfortably and logically within a broader study of empire and identity.

Reflections

Having conducted a student voice survey it was clear that our students really engaged with the political narrative, as well as the concept of change and continuity, by studying Hong Kong’s past. From 152 responses, 142 agreed or strongly agreed that Hong Kong was an important aspect of the history of the British Empire. 136 said that the unit helped them understand the concepts of capitalism and communism,

Figure 10: An extract from student survey results



while 118 enjoyed learning about Hong Kong and its history. Students were most interested in learning about the opium wars and the impact of the National Security Law. Some feedback suggested that they would have liked to have spent more time learning about mainland China and the cultural changes seen by Hong Kong during British rule. One student commented in this survey that they learned that 'Great Britain had hugely negative effects on China (e.g. famine, addiction, poverty) just so that they could trade, grow in wealth and expand their empire'. Another, who had recently migrated from Hong Kong stated 'Hong Kong schools never taught us any history about the British Empire so it was fun to learn about'. The most common themes which engaged students within the unit seemed to be the opium wars and the handover of Hong Kong, which were consistently mentioned in student voice.

One class in particular stood out as significant during the teaching of the content. They began by asking questions about the impact of Hong Kong migration on the local community, with comments like: 'Why are they coming here though?' or 'Why don't they move to Russia?' However, as they learned more, they came to realise that Hong Kong and the UK are inherently connected by shared values and a shared past. They were able to connect with the injustice of authoritarianism in Hong Kong since 2019 and understand this as a push factor in the exodus.

Students were asked to produce a guide for Year 7s on the story of Hong Kong since the opium wars. These showed a depth of knowledge and detail which was beyond expectations (see Figure 11). They told a story of how state power, initially from the British government and later from

Figure 11: Hong Kong history guides produced by students in 9H/Hi4



the Chinese, had shaped a national identity. They included detail about the impact of the Treaty of Nanjing on the growth of Hong Kong, how the Cultural Revolution sparked calls for independence, and how handover sparked political tensions and the umbrella movement.

When considering the teaching of empire, as many history departments have done in recent years, understanding what Britain's forgotten colony can offer is essential.

Acknowledgements

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- For many Hong Kongers, the Sino-British Joint Declaration 1984, which promised to allow Hong Kong to self-govern for 50 years after the handover in 1997, is a false promise. The imposition of national security legislation in 2020 and beyond has seen political freedoms of Hong Kongers restricted by the Chinese government.

¹⁷ Documents which provide a brief overview of each topic they study. These are kept in their exercise books to refer back to and include key terminology and maps.

¹⁸ Lord Palmerston's description of Hong Kong in 1841. More available at: www.yearbook.gov.hk/2003/english/chapter21/21_02.html#:~:text=Palmerston%20was%20equally%20dissatisfied%20with,alternative%20to%20a%20commercial%20treaty [accessed on 27 June 2024].

¹⁹ Davies, S. and Clark D.J. (2020) 'The Hong Kong History Podcast', available at: <https://thehongkonghistorypodcast.com/> [accessed on 27 June 2024]. This podcast is ongoing and provides a very detailed look at Hong Kong, from British occupation to present. It is excellent for building subject knowledge.

²⁰ The Hong Kong History Podcast explores this in great detail.

²¹ In order to include this story in our lessons, we used Jeremy Paxman's Empire series from the BBC. Although the premise of the series is slightly flawed as it follows a 'balance sheet' approach, I felt this introduction gave students a sense of place and explained the causes of tension between China and the East India Company. Available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=HnXenihxSeg [accessed on 27 June 2024].

²² The Hong Kong History Podcast goes into excellent detail on the development of mercantile trade in the region, and why Hong Kong was chosen by the East India Company as a rival port to Macau, controlled by the Portuguese.

²³ National Army Museum 'First China War' available at: www.nam.ac.uk/explore/first-china-war-1839-1842#:~:text=To%20rectify%20this%20trade%20imbalance,the%20entire%20British%20tea%20trade [accessed on 27 June 2024].

²⁴ Fenby *op.cit.*, pp. 9–10.

²⁵ Some excellent books have been published in recent years on the British Empire and the role of the East India Company, many of which have gained wide acclaim. Here are a few examples: Sanghera, S. (2021) *Empireland: how imperialism has shaped modern Britain*, London: Penguin; Paxman, J. (2011) *Empire: what ruling the world did to the British*, London: Penguin; Dalrymple, W. (2019) *The Anarchy: the relentless rise of the East India Company*, London: Bloomsbury.

²⁶ Wong, S. (2007) 'Historical and cultural contexts of mainland Chinese migrants in Hong Kong' in *Exploring 'Unseen' Social Capital in Community Participation: Everyday Lives of Poor Mainland Chinese Migrants in Hong Kong*, 2007, pp. 73–96, available at: www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt45kfdv.7 [accessed 6 April 2024].

²⁷ HSBC was established in Hong Kong in 1865 and merged with Midland Bank in 1992, becoming one of the largest domestic banks in the UK.

²⁸ Fenby *op.cit.*, pp. 440–71.

²⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 478–79; Parker, M. (1967) 'Reports: Hong Kong' in *The Atlantic Online*, available at: www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/issues/67nov/hk1167.htm [accessed 11 November 2023].

³⁰ Anderlini, J. (2022) 'China's rebellious youth has forgotten Tiananmen', available at: <https://politico.eu/article/chinas-rebellious-youth-has-forgotten-tiananmen/> [accessed on 14 May 2024]. On my own visits to China in 2010, 2011 and 2013, I visited a number of museums in Beijing, including the National Museum in Tiananmen and the Urban Planning Museum. The story of Beijing was clear, with the obvious omission of the events of June 1989. This is common across mainland China, where discussions about the Tiananmen Square massacre are carefully controlled.

³¹ BBC (2019) 'Tiananmen 30th anniversary: thousands hold huge vigil in Hong Kong' available at: www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-48516455 [accessed on 27 June 2024].

³² In 2022, one of Hong Kong's last remaining memorials to the Tiananmen Square massacre was removed. This came after reports that activists were being arrested by Hong Kong authorities for commemorating the events of July 1989. BBC (2022) 'Hong Kong: one of city's last Tiananmen Square memorials covered up', available at: www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-60180507 [accessed on 27 June 2024].

³³ Hong Kong Free Press (2023) 'In pictures: the 1997 handover of Hong Kong from Britain to China', available at: <https://hongkongfp.com/2022/07/02/pictures-1997-handover-hong-kong-britain-china/> [accessed on 27 June 2024].

³⁴ Griffiths, J. (2017) 'The secret negotiations that sealed Hong Kong's future' in *CNN Online*. Available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/06/18/asia/hong-kong-handover-china-uk-thatcher/index.html> [accessed on 3 November 2023].

³⁵ *Expats*, the Amazon Prime series starring Nicole Kidman, which has been banned in Hong Kong, shows scenes of the Umbrella movement in 2014. Amnesty International (2019) 'Hong Kong's protests explained', available at: www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2019/09/hong-kong-protests-explained/ [accessed on 3 November 2023].

³⁶ Along with Macau, Hong Kong operates as a Special Administrative Region of China. As a result, it enjoys a degree of autonomy over domestic affairs while China is responsible for diplomatic, military and other state-level affairs.

³⁷ I recommended to my department that they all watch this short documentary on the exodus of Hong Kong before planning or teaching this unit. BBC (2023) 'Our world: Hong Kong's exodus', available at: www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/m001nklh/our-world-hong-kongs-exodus [accessed on 27 June 2024].

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