

中文版在第 20-28 頁

曹善允博士

首位擔任香港後備警察隊榮譽總監的扶輪社長

Dr. The Honourable Ts'o Seen-Wan, CBE, LLD, JP

The First Rotarian Commissioner of Hong Kong Police Reserve

By Herbert K. Lau (劉敬恒) (Rotary China Historian)

1 September 2015



Dr. Ts'o Seen-Wan (太平紳士曹善允博士), *HonLLD (HKU)*, JP, was appointed by Hong Kong Governor Sir Reginald Edward Stubbs (香港總督司徒拔爵士) to serve as the first-ever Honorary Commissioner of the Hong Kong Police Reserve Unit (香港後備警察隊榮譽總監) from 1920 to 1939, which was the first generation of the Hong Kong Auxiliary Police Force (香港輔助警察隊) today. While few years later simultaneously, Ts'o was appointed by Hong Kong Governor Sir Cecil Clementi (香港總督金文泰爵士) to serve as Unofficial Member of the Hong Kong Legislative Council (香港立法局非官守議員) from 1929 to 1937. In between during the year of 1932-1933, Ts'o was the President of the Rotary Club of Hong Kong (香港扶輪社).

In 1930, invited by the then Hong Kong Governor Sir William Peel (香港總督貝璐爵士), Ts'o joined the organizing of the first Rotary Club – The Rotary Club of Hong Kong – and was elected to serve as the Charter Vice-President on 8 December 1930. Later, he was elected to serve as Club President in 1932-1933. With such a position held, Ts'o made the historical record of the *FIRST* of a Rotary Club President to serve as: (1) Hong Kong Police Reserve Honorary Commissioner, and (2) Hong Kong Legislative Councillor, in the same year. Certainly, no doubt, Ts'o was the *FIRST* ethnic Chinese Rotary Club President as well as the second Club President in the Rotary Hong Kong history.

Since 1943, Dr. the Honourable Ts'o Seen-Wan, CBE, *HonLLD (HKU)*, JP, was also the father-in-law of another eminent Rotarian -- Dr. Tseung Fat-Im (醫師蔣法賢博士), OBE, KStJ, *HonLLD (HKU)*, MBBS (*HKU*), JP, (Hong Kong Rotary Club President 1947-1948). Thus by 1947, they made another historical record for the Club – the *FIRST* father/son-in-laws Club Presidents.

## Solicitor – Law Enforcement Officer – Lawmaker

Ts'o Seen-Wan, ethnic Cantonese of Kwantung Heung Shan (廣東香山) was born in the Portuguese Territory Macao (澳門) on 10 November 1868. Styled himself “S. W. Ts'o”, he was a distinguished lawyer and educationalist in the British Crown Colony Hong Kong (香港).

S. W. Ts'o was the eldest son of Mr. Ts'o Wai-Chuen (曹渭泉), a well-known and wealthy merchant of that Territory who was the first Chinese Macanese decorated by the King of Portugal with the Order of the Immaculate Conception of Vila Viçosa (Ordem de Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Vila Viçosa), and who was also bestowed in 1880 the honour of the “Second Degree with the Red Button and Peacock’s Feather 二品榮銜頂戴花翎” by the Imperial Qing Emperor Guangxu (大清國光緒皇帝).

After finishing his early education in Macao, Ts'o went to Shanghai (上海) where he received higher Chinese education. He went to England in 1886 and entered Cheltenham College. In due time he passed his law examinations and was connected with well-known law firms. He was enrolled as a solicitor of the Supreme Court of Judicature of England and Wales before returning to Hong Kong in 1897 where he set up his own law practice. He was joined by Mr. P. M. Hodgson in 1927 under the firm name of Messers. Ts'o & Hodgson (曹善允學洵律師樓). Through his association with two leading members of the Chinese community, Sir Kai Ho (何啟爵士) and Sir Boshan Wei-Yuk (韋寶珊爵士), he soon became a leader in the public affairs of the British Crown Colony Hong Kong.

### Law Enforcement

Dr. Ts'o Seen-Wan was honoured by the police historian as “Promoter of Hong Kong Police Reserve”. The Hong Kong Police Reserve was the lineal descendant of the temporary Police Reserve authorized by Ordinance 27 of 1914. Ts'o was appointed by Hong Kong Governor Sir Francis Henry May (香港總督梅含理爵士) to serve the Hong Kong Police Reserve Unit in 1914 as a commandant. This Ordinance envisioned the creating of a special Police Force in an emergency and in the course of its operation when three such emergencies occurred: (1) in the 1914-1918 World War; (2) in the Seamen’s Strike of 1922; and (3) the Canton-Hong Kong General Strike (省港大罷工) of 1925-1926. On each occasion a temporary Police Reserve was created and did valuable and disciplined service until the emergency’s end. Volunteer part-time constables were recruited from local Chinese citizens. Altogether temporary Police Reservists served for nearly seven years in these three emergencies.

After the Canton-Hong Kong General Strike, the Head of the Regular Police, Captain Superintendent E. D. C. Wolfe, and Dr. S. W. Ts'o, the Chinese Labour Controller, recommended that a permanent voluntary Police Reserve should be created. Their recommendation was

accepted and put into effect by Ordinance 24 of 1927 repealing Ordinance 27 of 1914. The new Ordinance authorized the immediate creation of a permanent Police Reserve, to be mobilized wholly or partly whenever the authorities saw fit. Recruiting began the same year and the Police Reserve governed by the 1927 Ordinance has been in existence ever since.

Mention should be made, before proceeding further, of some of the deeds of the pre-1927 Police Reserve which formed the tradition that gave birth to the Police Reserve. Notable among these were the saving by Police Reservists of many lives, at great risk to themselves, in the Race Course fire of 1915, the emergency digging work, when every moment counted, by Police Reservists in clearing the debris and rescuing victims at the Po Hing Fong Collapse (普慶坊護土牆倒塌) in 1925; and the driving of motor buses in face of menacing strike pickets, by technically skilled Police Reservists (most of them Chinese) during the General Strike of 1925. The last called for high moral courage, for the pickets were well-organized and had orders to put a stop to the work of every Chinese engaged in the public utilities. These orders were completely effective for a time, for all transport on the island, both trams and taxis (there were then no buses) were stopped on the island, for a considerable time.

From 1927 until World War II the Police Reserve consisted of four units, a Chinese Company, an Indian Company, a Flying Squad, and an Emergency Unit. Dr. S. W. Ts'o and Mr. Bishen Singh were the first Honorary Commissioners appointed by Hong Kong Governor Sir Reginald Edward Stubbs (香港總督司徒拔爵士). Although nothing of special note occurred during these years the work of the Police Reserve was satisfactory throughout. As the Annual Reports of the Police Reserve Commissioners and the chiefs of the Regular Police show, they fulfilled their tasks of relieving the Regular Police from various duties, as occasion required, and of maintaining their own efficiency in the various branches of police work, by so doing.

S. W. Ts'o retired from the Police Reserve in 1939, and his second son Ts'o Tsun-On (曹峻安), O.B.E., J.P., was appointed by Hong Kong Governor Sir Geoffrey Alexander Stafford Northcote (香港總督羅富國爵士) to succeed the Honorary Commissioner position from 1939 until 1957. With the merger of the 'Special' and 'Reserve' formations, the Hong Kong Auxiliary Police Force was officially established in 1957. From 1969 until 1997, the Force was bestowed by Queen Elizabeth II, United Kingdom, the title of "Royal Hong Kong Auxiliary Police Force". The Force Commandant (皇家香港輔助警察隊總監) from 1983 to 1987, Nylon Leonard Ts'o (曹乃麟), M.B.E., Q.P.M., C.P.M., was the grand-nephew of S. W. Ts'o. The official ranking of such "Commandant" in the Force was "Senior Assistant Commissioner of Police". The appointment was given by Hong Kong Governor Sir Edward Youde (香港總督尤德爵士). Nylon joined the Force since 1947 as a part-time volunteer constable of the Police Reserve when his uncle Ts'o Tsun-On was the Honorary Commissioner.

### Politician in the City Administration

On 17 April 1918, Ts'o Seen-Wan was appointed, by Hong Kong Governor Sir Francis Henry May (香港總督梅含理爵士), an Unofficial Justice of the Peace for Hong Kong (香港非官守太平紳士). In the same year, Ts'o was appointed to serve as an Unofficial Member of Sanitary Board (潔淨局) (the forerunner of the Urban Council 市政局) until 1929. After this service, Ts'o was appointed by Hong Kong Governor Sir Cecil Clementi (香港總督金文泰爵士) as an Unofficial Member of the Hong Kong Legislative Council (香港立法局非官守議員) from 1929 until 1937.

Recognizing of his remarkable services to the Colony, in 1928, Ts'ò was decorated Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (O.B.E.), by King George V, King of the United Kingdom and the British Dominions, and Emperor of India. Later in 1935, Ts'ò was decorated again with higher Order of Commander (C.B.E.).

### Protection against Sale of Women

If the strikes of the 1920's demonstrate that new ideologies fermenting in post-First World War China were bound to have an impact on Hong Kong, the dispute over the abolition of the *mui-tsai* (妹仔), Chinese girls sold into domestic servitude, indicates that Chinese traditions persisted in Hong Kong, and deeply rooted in the family system, they were not to be readily purged.

The abolition of the practice was made the subject of legislation in 1923. The Hong Kong Government fully realized the ineffectiveness of legislation in curbing the practice, but had succumbed to firm decisions made by the Colonial Office of London. In Hong Kong, the Colonial Office's decisions became the subject of heated emotions. Supporters of the legislation formed themselves into an Anti Mui-tsai Society (反對蓄婢會), opponents set up the Society for the Protection of Mui-tsai (防範虐婢會). Gatherings were held by both supporters and opponents. Considering the administrative difficulties of abolishing a practice that had deep roots in Chinese custom, successive Governors of Hong Kong sided with the opponents. But the British home government could in no circumstance tolerate the continuation of a practice that could be construed as slavery. The law 《Female Domestic Service Ordinances》 (家庭女役則例) was passed on 15 February 1923, and supplemented in 1929 and 1938.

The use of domestic servant girls, no longer known as *mui-tsai*, continued in Hong Kong into the 1950's. Eventually, it gave way, probably less to legislation than to rising wages from the factories. The law-making in the protection against sale of women could be evidenced by the document 《Expert opinion given by the Hon. S. W. Ts'ò, O.B.E., LL.D., Chinese member of the Hong Kong Legislative Council, in a *mui-tsai* case tried before the Hong Kong Police Magistrate on 26 September 1929》. (See excerpted below the first portion of the Opinion)

In order to understand the answers to the following questions it is necessary first, to have some knowledge of the real *mui-tsai* system in China. The term *mui-tsai*, literally translated into English, is 'small sister.' The reason for employing such a term for a class of servant girls is partly explained by the Chinese method of teaching young children to be polite and to treat those below them with consideration. *Mui-tsai*, though a servant, is not considered to be like a paid servant and merely a member of the household, but a member of the family. It is difficult to trace the origin of this system, but from descriptions in old Chinese books this class of young girls was probably the daughters of paid servants employed in rich or powerful families. For the advancement of their young daughters these servants would deem it fortunate if their daughters were allowed to be admitted into such families as attendants to the ladies of the house, where they would be well looked after, having good food and good clothing, and where they could acquire good manners and gentleness and, as personal attendants or companions to the young ladies of the house, they could also learn needle-work, embroidery, reading, writing and other accomplishments. Being personal attendants to the ladies they were never required to perform any domestic or menial work, as in such families there were plenty of paid servants to do the menial work. Having attained a certain degree of accomplishment, these girls acquired a status

far above that of their parents. When they grew up to a marriageable age, they might and invariably did, through the influence of the master, marry into well-to-do families. In such cases the parents would be too thankful for what was being done for their daughter to interfere with the arrangements made by the master or mistress for the girl. A connection by marriage with a well-to-do family would mean also the advancement of the family of the parent, although the girl might not be married as a wife but as concubine. Girls having been brought up in such a way became deeply attached to their mistresses and were greatly trusted by them and the whole family. Instances have occurred, we are told, of such girls making great personal sacrifices for the sake of their mistresses when the master's family got into trouble.

This system of servant girls or *mui-tsai* became so satisfactory and beneficial to both sides, particularly to the girls, that poor parents were quite willing to part with their daughters to any well-to-do family to be a *mui-tsai*, leaving absolutely in the hands of the master or mistress the care and control of their daughters. On the other hand the well-to-do families, finding this class of servant girls so trust-worthy and so much attached to the family, being reared up in the family from quite a tender age, began to appreciate this class of girl servants. Hence the *mui-tsai* system came into vogue. Poor parents being in need of money would, on parting with their daughter, ask for some compensation for the expense they had incurred since the child's birth, not as a price or vale of the girl, but as a refund of such expense. The amount was usually a nominal sum. Unfortunately by taking money the transaction became at once a case of buying and selling of children. However, in such transactions the following conditions attached even to this day for tradition, that is to say:-

- (1) That the master or mistress should be responsible for the welfare and the person of the child by giving her proper food and clothing, and in case of illness, medical attendance.
- (2) That the girl should be considered to be a member of the family, and not as paid servant.
- (3) That when she is old enough to be married, she must be properly married by the master or mistress as a wife or concubine.
- (4) That no girl should be sold as a prostitute and this should apply to a *mui-tsai* as much as to any girl.
- (5) That by custom, when a *mui-tsai* is engaged to be married, if her parents be then living, the master or mistress should notify them of the fact and the circumstances attending hereto. If the parents desired to do so they would associate with the family of the girl's husband as if she had been married by them. In such a case the responsibility of the master or mistress would cease but if her parents be dead the girl, after her marriage, would be treated in her master's house as a 'quasi daughter' and her husband as a 'quasi-son-in-law'; and all the thousand and one Chinese ceremonies relating to child birth and annual festivities, etc., would be performed by and at the expense of the mistress as a mother-in-law.

There is one point I omitted to mention in memorandum to H. E. the Governor on the question of *mui-tsai*, that is (6) a *mui-tsai* wears mourning on the death of her master or mistress for the same period as that of a daughter. This is custom and is usually done but is not provided by law, as the law only prescribes the period of mourning of persons related to the deceased within the 5 degrees of consanguinity. This point is very important as it shows that a *mui-tsai* is treated by the Chinese as a foster-daughter.

\*\*\*\*\*

## Kai Tak Bund Reclamation

Hong Kong saw an influx of refugees around the time of the 1911 Revolution. To solve the serious housing problem so caused, Dr. Wu Ting-Fang (太平紳士伍廷芳博士), LL.D., J.P., initiated the proposal to reclaim Kowloon Bay for the construction of a residential district. In 1912 the cause was taken up by a group of Chinese merchants, including Sir Kai Ho (何啟爵士), C.M.G., M.R.C.S., J.P., Au Tak (區德), Ts'o Seen-Wan (曹善允), Chau Siu-Ki (周少岐太平紳士), J.P., Chow Shou-Son (周壽臣太平紳士), J.P., Wu Ch'ao-Shu (伍朝樞), etc., who founded the Kai Tak Investment Co., Ltd. (啟德營業有限公司) and applied to the Government for a reclamation permit concerning Kowloon Bay in furtherance of an upper-class residential area. The name of the company, "Kai Tak", came after Ho Kai and Au Tak, the leading figures of the group. It followed that the reclaimed land was called "Kai Tak Bund", the same as the company's name.

In 1914, Sir Kai Ho passed away leaving behind the financial difficulties. Ts'o took up the steering position of the project Kai Tak Bund (啟德濱) Scheme which was commenced in 1916. It proceeded smoothly at first, but the wave of mass strikes in the 1920's and the Canton-Hong Kong General Strike (省港大罷工) in 1925 ignited an economic recession so damaging that the Scheme came to an abrupt halt.

Among the project's three phases only the first was completed, by which the western part of the reclaimed land became a residential district. Other parts were either abandoned or left untreated. The first phase of the project produced an area of unused reclaimed land of around 40,000 SqM, which was leased in 1925 first to the Abbott School of Aviation and then to HMS Hermes, a Royal Air Force aircraft carrier, for the staging of military aircrafts that made way to Hong Kong. The leasing laid the foundation upon which Kai Tak Bund was later developed into an airport. In 1927, the Hong Kong Government purchased the Kai Tak reclaimed land, using the financial crisis of the Kai Tak Investment Company to good advantage. The remaining reclamation was accomplished and an airport, known as the Aerodrome at Kai Tak, was built. (see photo on Page 13)

Many regional-history and anecdote books tell that "Kai Tak Airport 啟德機場" was so named to commemorate Ho Kai and Au Tak, the alleged founders of the airport. The fact is, Ho Kai died in 1914 and Au Tak in 1920, respectively, and they had nothing to do with the construction of the airport. The reclaimed land of Kowloon Bay (九龍灣) had been called "Kai Tak reclaimed land" or "Kai Tak Bund" as early as the 1920's; "Kai Tak Airport" was as a matter of fact named after the place, instead of the men who made no direct contribution to the aviation development of Hong Kong. It is the same as today's Hong Kong International Airport is named after the land of Chek Lap Kok Island as "Chek Lap Kok Airport 赤鱗角機場".

## A True Rotarian in Public Affairs and Community Services

While practicing Vocational Service via his profession as a solicitor, Ts'o exemplified himself a true Rotarian by participating actively in many and various public affairs as well as community services throughout his life. Including but not limited to, here are some of those remarkable as listed below:

(1) 1901-1903: Organizing the establishment of St. Stephen's College; (2) 1902: Member of the King Edward VII Coronation Celebration Committee; (3) 1903: Financial Director of the Alice Memorial Hospital; (4) 1903-1906: Organizing the establishment of St. Stephen's Girls' College; (5) 1904: organizing the establishment of Alice Memorial Maternity Hospital; (6) 1906: organizing the establishment of Ho Miu Ling Hospital; (7) 1909: Member and Honorary Secretary of the Chinese Sub-committee to raise the Endowment Fund for the Establishment of the Hong Kong University; (8) 1911: Member of the King George V Coronation Celebration Committee; (9) 1911-1941: Chairman of the Board, West Point Chinese Public Dispensary; (10) 1914-1920: Commandant of Hong Kong Police Reserve; (11) 1914-1951: Member of the Council, University of Hong Kong; (12) 1918-1929: Member of the Sanitary Board; (13) 1919-1953: Honorary Director, The Board of Management of The Chinese Permanent Cemeteries; (14) 1920: Member of the Sharp Commission, University of Hong Kong; (15) 1920-1939: Honorary Commissioner of Hong Kong Police Reserve; (16) 1920-1940: Member of the Education Board, Hong Kong Government; (17) 1922-1953: Co-founder and Supervisor of Tsan Yuk Hospital; (18) 1925-1926: Organizing the establishment of the Government Vernacular Middle School; (19) 1925-1941: Gentry of the District Watch Force; (20) 1925-1953: Advisor of Tung Wah Hospital; (21) 1926-1953: Co-Founder of Munsang College and Chairman of the College Council; (22) 1928-1935: Organizing the establishment of the Confucius Hall; (23) 1929: Member of the Gollan Committee, University of Hong Kong; (24) 1925-1937: Unofficial Member of the Hong Kong Legislative Council; (25) 1929-1939: Member of The Court, University of Hong Kong; (26) 1929: Vice Chairman, Hong Kong Society for the Protection of Children; (27) 1929-1953: Permanent Director of Po Leung Kuk; (28) 1930-1941: Chairman of the Board of Directors, Alice Memorial Hospital, and Non-Executive Chairman of the Hospital Executive Committee; (29) 1937: Hong Kong Chinese Representative attending the Coronation of King George VI; (30) 1951-1953: Life Member of the Council, University of Hong Kong.

## St. Stephen's College

Prior to the 1840's, school education in Hong Kong had long catered to locals in villages and taught in accordance with Confucian classics. The development of Western style education in Hong Kong started in the late 19th Century when the religious missions started playing an active role in the development of local education and the relatively well-off Chinese started to yearn for the establishment of schools providing modern education.

In 1901, a group of eight Chinese businessmen and community leaders wrote to Hong Kong Governor Sir Henry Arthur Blake (香港總督卜力爵士) asking him to open an English school for Chinese children residing in the Colony. Through the concerted efforts of Sir Kai Ho (何啟爵士), Ts'o Seen-Wan (曹善允), The Right Reverend Bishop Joseph Charles Hoare (霍約瑟主教) and Archdeacon Rev. William Banister (班為蘭會吏長) of the Anglican Church, St. Stephen's College (聖士提反書院) was a boarding school run by the Church Missionary Society, and was opened on Western Street (西邊街) in 1903, with six boarders and one day pupil, as a Christian boys' school. The objective of the founders was to offer an opportunity for Chinese boys to acquire a highly regarded education similar to that provided by well-known English public schools of those times. It soon attracted overseas students, particularly Chinese students from Southeast Asia.

Expansion of the school led to its re-location to Bonham Road (般咸道) in 1924 and to the present Stanley (赤柱) campus in 1930.

Construction of the existing school premises of St. Stephen's College started in 1928. The foundation stone was laid by the then Hong Kong Governor Sir Cecil Clementi (香港總督金文泰爵士) on 27 April 1928. School House was the first building completed under the project and was opened by the then Acting Governor Mr. Wilfrid Thomas Southorn (護理香港總督修頓) on 25 March 1930. (*see photo on Page 15*)

Outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941, shortly before the Japanese Army attack on Hong Kong on 18 December, the British Military took over School House of St. Stephen's College and converted the building into an emergency military hospital. Early on Christmas Day, the Japanese Army captured St. Stephen's College, broke into the school building and initiated the "St. Stephen's College Massacre". During the Japanese Occupation (1941–1945), St. Stephen's College, together with the nearby Stanley Prison Warders' Quarters, were used as the Stanley Internment Camp, which is the only remaining internment camp in Hong Kong.

At present, there are eight pre-war buildings in the secondary section of St. Stephen's College, including the School House as the oldest one, Martin Hostel, the Old Laboratory and five bungalows (staff quarters). The H-shaped School House comprises an east wing and a west wing connected by a central block. It is in late transitional Arts and Crafts style bearing Modernist influence, with external walls of granite on the ground floor and plain rendered and painted finish on the upper storey. Rough-cast rendering, wide overhanging eaves, arched windows and doorways and arcaded verandahs are typical features of the Arts and Crafts style.

School House of St. Stephen's College is not only the oldest surviving school building which still provides boarding service in Hong Kong, but is also one of the very few remaining sites of the Stanley Internment Camp. Thus, it is an important reminder of the history of development of local education and bears testimony to the sufferings endured by the internees in the wartime period. The School House was declared a monument in 2011.

## The University of Hong Kong

The origins of The University of Hong Kong (香港大學) (HKU) can be traced back to the Hong Kong College of Medicine for Chinese (香港華人西醫書院) founded in 1887 by Dr. Ho Kai (何啟醫生) later known as Sir Kai Ho (何啟爵士), which was later incorporated as the University's Faculty of Medicine. It was renamed the Hong Kong College of Medicine (香港西醫書院) in 1907. In 1911, Hong Kong Governor Sir Frederick John Dealtry Lugard (香港總督盧吉爵士) had proposed to establish a university in Hong Kong to compete with the other Great Powers opening universities in China, most notably Prussia, which had just opened the Tongji German Medicine School (同濟德文醫學堂) in Shanghai (上海).

Sir Hormusjee Naorojee Mody (麼地爵士), an Indian Parsi businessman in Hong Kong, learned of Lugard's plan and pledged to donate HK\$280,000 towards the construction and other costs. The Hong Kong Government and the business sector in southern China, which were both equally eager to learn "secrets of the West's success" (referring to technological advances made

since the Industrial Revolution), also gave their support. The Government contributed a site at West Point (西環). Swire Group (太古集團) contributed £40,000 to endow a chair in Engineering, in addition to thousands of dollars in equipment. On the other hand, Dr. Ho Kai was elected as the Chairman of the Chinese sub-committee to raise the Endowment Fund. Ts'o was one of the members and served as the Honorary Secretary.

Along with donations from other donors including the British Government and companies such as Hong Kong & Shanghai Banking Corporation (香港上海匯豐銀行), Lugard finally had enough to fund the building of the University. (see photo on Page 29)

As Governor of Hong Kong, Lugard laid the foundation stone of the Main Building on 16 March 1910. The University was incorporated in Hong Kong as a self-governing body of scholars on 30 March 1911 and had its official opening ceremony on 11 March 1912. It was founded as an all-male institution; women students were admitted for the first time ten years later.

Ts'o had been an active member to the University management --- 1914-1951: Member of the Council (校務委員會); 1920: Member of the Sharp Commission; 1929: Member of the Gollan Committee; 1929-1939: Member of The Court (校董會). He was also a member of the Board of Control of both St. John's Hall (聖約翰堂) (relocated as St. John's College 聖約翰學院 in 1955) and Morrison Hall (馬禮遜堂), the University's boys hostels.

In 1924, Ts'o was conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws (*honoris causa*) by the University. And finally, in 1951 Ts'o was honoured the Life Member of the University Council until he passed away on 20 January 1953.

## Munsang College

Ts'o Seen-Wan was a co-founder of Munsang College (民生書院), and the Life Chairman of the College Council, in Kowloon City (九龍城).

### Beginning Period (1916-1938)

In 1916, in view of the lack of schools for children in Kowloon City, Ts'o Seen-Wan suggested raising funds to build a school. In 1920, Mr. Au Chak-Mun (區澤民) (also known as Au Tak 區德), one of the two people who reclaimed the land at Kowloon Bay and founded the Kai Tak Investment Company, died and bequeathed a donation of HK\$10,000 to support Ts'o's plan. Later, Mr. Mok Kon-Sang (莫幹生) donated HK\$10,000 as the founding fund of the school. Rev. Arthur Dudley Stewart (史超域牧師), the Principal of St. Paul's College (聖保羅書院) was entrusted with the work of preparation. In 1924, Mr. Rufus Huang (黃映然), a teacher of St. Stephen's College, was appointed as the first principal of the school and he rented a three-storey building at No. 2 Kai Tak Bund (啟德濱) as the school building and the open area near the school building as the playground. In commemoration of the contribution of Mr. Au Chak-Mun and Mr. Mok Kon-Sang, the school was named after them as "Munsang College".

On 8 March 1926, classes were opened. At that time, there were only 4 teachers and 18 students. Only boys' junior secondary section was set up. There was one class each in junior 1, 2 and 3. Besides, there were three preparatory classes, Pre A, B and C for children who didn't

reach the level of junior one. That winter, the College Council was set up and Dr. Ts'o Seen- Wan became the chairman of the Council. In 1927, the kindergarten section was set up. There were totally 60 students in the secondary section and 17 students in the primary and kindergarten sections. In 1928, the boys' senior secondary section was set up. Owing to the increasing number of students, Nos. 45 and 47 of Kai Yan Road (啟仁路) near Kai Tak Bund were rented as school buildings. In 1930, the first 3 students graduated in the secondary section. In 1932, a girls' secondary section was set up and the number of students increased to 426. In 1933, a hall with a capacity of 200 students was built at the back of the main school building at Kai Tak Bund. In 1934, owing to the outstanding performance of Munsang College, the Hong Kong Government started to subsidize the school as a special grant school. In the autumn of 1937, the girls' secondary section was closed and all female students were transferred to Heep Yunn School (協恩中學). In 1938, the first Home-Coming day was held.

### Campus Relocated Period (1939-1940)

In the preparation of the 10th anniversary ceremony, it was suggested that a piece of land at the end of Grampian Road (嘉林邊道) should be bought to build a school campus instead of renting houses. HK\$11,000 was raised to purchase most of the land for the new campus. In September 1939, the first phase of building the school campus, including a hall and 12 classrooms, at the present location was completed. There were totally 525 students.

### Resuming Period (1945-1954)

The Pacific War extended to Hong Kong in the winter of 1941. The Japanese Army occupied the campus. School activities were suspended. In August 1945, the Japanese Army surrendered. However, the school campus was still occupied by the British army troops. Civilian houses at Hau Wong Road (侯王道) were rented and the primary school resumed. There were totally 94 students. In May 1946, the campus at Grampian Road was returned to the school authority but only the primary section resumed. The number of students increased to 200. In 1947, the main road in the school campus and the school gate was rebuilt. The school applied to the Government and became a non-profit-making private school. In 1949, a co-ed secondary section was established. In the summer of the same year, one additional classroom was built and in winter, two extra classrooms were built. In 1950, the Student Association was set up and the total number of students increased to 500. In 1953, with the addition of seven classrooms, the secondary school resumed up to S5 and there were totally 17 classes and 785 students. In 1954, five students participated in the first Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE) (香港中學會考) after the World War II.

## Chinese Public Dispensary Committee

After the control of the 1894 plague outbreak, a commission of enquiry was convened to report into the Government Medical Department. The question of starting government-funded public dispensaries for providing outpatient medical services to the Chinese population was raised by the commission, with the suggestion that graduate of the Hong Kong College of Medicine could be put in charge of these dispensaries and given a certain quota of medicines to dispense to the patients coming for treatment. Unfortunately, the scheme not only received no support but instead attracted a great deal of criticism from the Government medical officers who

gave evidence at the enquiry. Thus the scheme was not steadfastly pursued by the Government, although there might have been some pilot schemes started, including the dispensaries in the newly acquired New Territories (新界). However, this negative response from the Government Medical Department did not stop the Registrar General (總登記官) (the title of this post was changed to Secretary for Chinese Affairs 華民政務司 in 1913) to work with enlightened and public-spirited members of the Chinese community, such as Ho Kai and Ts'o Seen-Wan, to start public dispensaries in the heavily Chinese populated areas of Hong Kong and Kowloon.

These dispensaries were placed under the management of a Chinese Public Dispensary (CPD) Committee (華人醫局管理委員會) formed by local Chinese community leaders, including the Chinese members of the Sanitary Board, and chaired by the Registrar General himself. Dr. Francis W. Clark, as administrator of the Government Midwifery Service, he was also able to mobilize trained Chinese midwives to be based at the dispensaries and to attend to domiciliary delivers in their neighbourhood, thus boosting their usefulness and appeal to the community. The CPD Committee were successfully in fundraising for the building of the premises (while land was provided free by the Government), as well as providing for medicines and other public health services including vaccinations. With this support from the Chinese community, only a minimum subvention was required from the Government to keep the dispensaries going.

So it was that the first CPD was opened on First Street (第一街) in Sai Ying Pun (西營盤), followed by others in both of the Hong Kong Island and Kowloon Peninsula, which were all under the auspices of the Chinese Public Dispensary Committee chaired by the Registrar General, with Dr. Ho Kai as vice chair. Ts'o was appointed to fill up the Vice-Chairman vacancy after Ho Kai passed away in 1914.

Through the CPD system, the licentiates were able to provide valuable medical outpatient services to the Chinese population residing in their immediate surrounding district. Serious cases were transported to hospital by ambulance, and deaths were certified, with the bodies transferred to the public mortuaries. The CPD in Sai Ying Pun, known as West Point Chinese Public Dispensary (西約華人公立醫局) (西約方便醫所) was rebuilt in 1909 on Third Street (第三街) (*see photo on Page 17*), and was distinguished by the fact that it had a small district plague hospital on the first floor, while the dispensary occupied the ground floor. This building is now still standing, being used as The Conservancy Association Centre for Heritage (長春社文化古蹟資源中心).

From 1911 until 1941, Ts'o was elected to serve as the Chairman of the Board of Directors, West Point Chinese Public Dispensary---a government-subsidized non-governmental organization. When a patient was brought into the dispensary with suspected plague, the attendant doctor would be asked to examine the patient and, if the diagnosis was confirmed, to admit these patients to the hospital under their care, without the need for transferring them to the special plague hospitals in Kennedy Town (堅尼地城). This was one of the innovative measures started by Hong Kong Governor Sir Henry Arthur Blake (香港總督卜力爵士) to address the problem of 'dumping' of dead bodies or of serious ill patients on the streets, which was much too common. It also had the effect of encouraging family and friends to bring the sick to be seen and cared for in a facility that was close by, where they could visit, without the stigma or terror conjured up by admission to the special plague hospitals outside the city areas.

The CPDs also served as centers for promoting public health, for providing maternity and child health services, including vaccinations for children, as well as registration of births. There were also personnel engaged specially to provide public education in health matters to the Chinese. All these activities were making inroads into generating trust and familiarity with Western medicine and public health measures among the local population, including most importantly, its womenfolk.

## Tsan Tuk Hospital

Having a Chinese doctor and Western-trained Chinese midwives at the dispensaries undoubtedly was a key asset in this aspect. The Western-trained midwives who were providing a domiciliary maternity service, back up by the Chinese doctors at the CPD, were able to demonstrate convincingly to the womenfolk how their ability and skills could assist them not only in childbirth but also in bringing up their babies and children with a lower mortality and with better health. The start of the maternity hospitals attached to the CPDs allowed for training of more midwives as well as giving a safe place for the mothers to give birth when domiciliary deliveries were not feasible.

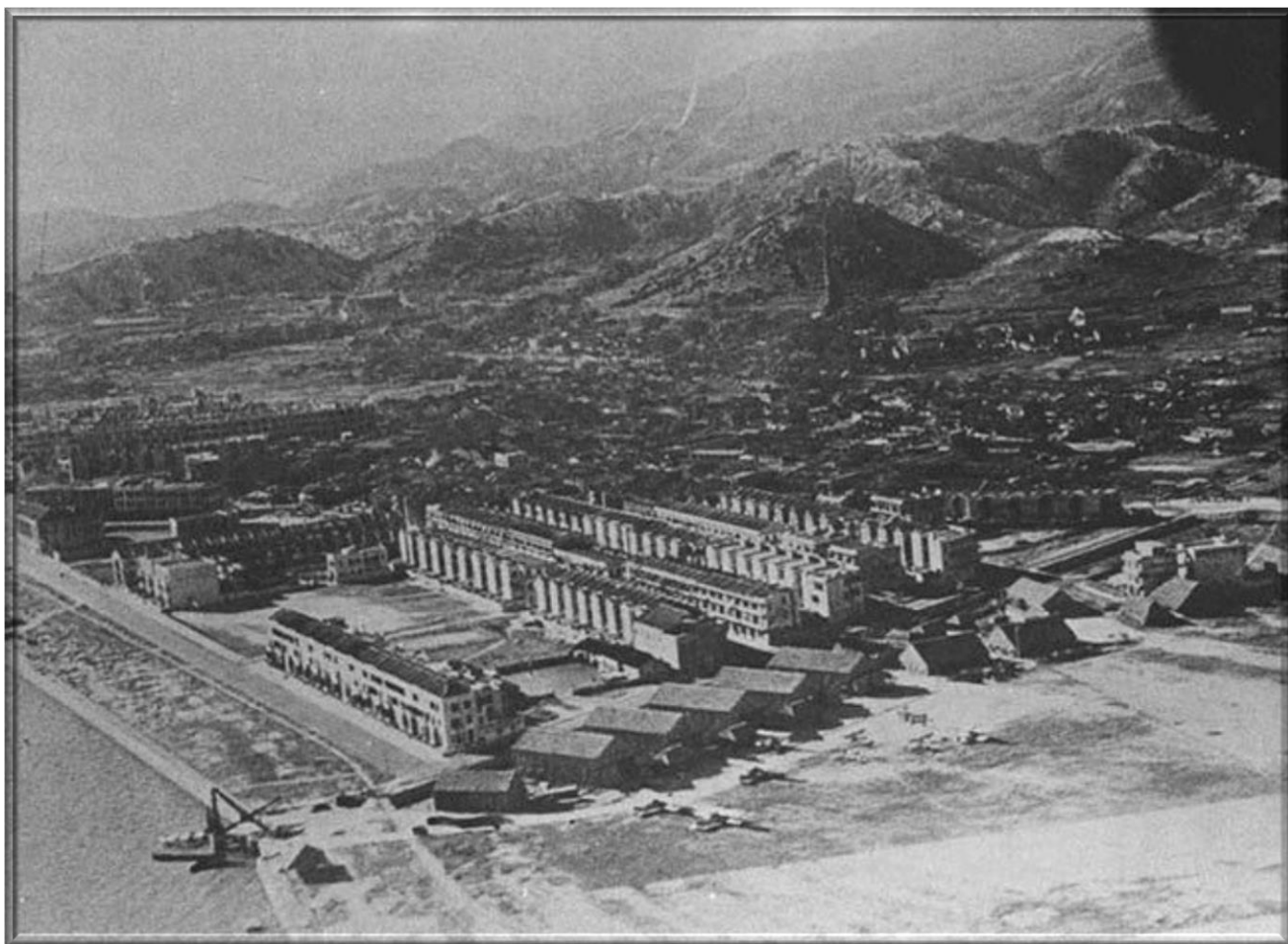
In the decade of the 1920's the maternity services provided by Government midwives stationed at the CPDs proved so popular that it was deemed necessary to add a maternity hospital to some of them, at first at the Eastern CPD at Stone Nullah Lane (石水渠街) in Wanchai (灣仔), and later in 1922, to the West Point Chinese Public Dispensary (the hospital came to be known as the Tsan Yuk Hospital), thus expanding their sphere of service.

Tsan Yuk Hospital (贊育醫院) was originally located at the cross-section of Western Street (西邊街) and Third Street in Hong Kong's Sai Ying Pun District. The land on which the Hospital was built was donated by the Government and the HK\$94,000 construction fee was donated by Mr. H. M. H. Nemazee, Sai Ying Pun Kai Fong Association (西營盤街坊會), the Fishmongers' Guild (魚販商會), and Fruit and Vegetable Sellers' Guild (蔬果販商協會). The 30 beds plus HK\$50,000 Endowment Fund were donated by Tung Wah Hospital (東華醫院), another non-governmental charity hospital located in neighbouring Sheung Wan District (上環).

The Hospital was opened by the London Missionary Society, of England, on 17 October 1922. It was originally opened as a maternity hospital, with the intention to meet society's increasing demand for neonatal services, including the training of midwives and obstetricians. The London Missionary Society recruited the first foreign female doctor in Hong Kong, Dr. Alice D. Hickling (歐海倫醫生), and appointed her as the director of Tsan Yuk. In her development of obstetric services, she quickly recognized the abundance of women eager to become professional midwives in Hong Kong, and had the notion to provide such training through the hospital. She suggested this to Ts'o Seen-Wan, Chairman of the West Point Chinese Public Dispensary and Vice Chairman of the Chinese Public Dispensary Committee. Ts'o supported her proposal to help the establishment, and served as the Hospital Supervisor until 1953.

Its first building (*see photo on Page 18*) was a simple three-storey structure in Western Street, in the heart of Hong Kong's poorest district. With 1,100 SqM in area, the British-colonial-style building comprised a three-storey hospital block with a basement, a two-storey staff quarters with annex and a one-storey servant quarters. Though it had only 30 beds it recorded

436 patients in its first year. Dr. Alice D. Hickling gave inspired leadership. She made Tsan Yuk to become the leading teaching institution for nurses and midwives, as well as for the Hong Kong University medical faculty from 1927. It has since attracted most of Hong Kong's leading obstetricians who were either trained there or served in senior clinical or academic positions. Tsan Yuk Hospital has been regarded as one of the leading institutions in Asia.



*啟德濱住宅和啟德機場初期(右下角) (1930年代)*

*The Kai Tak Bund residences and the Kai Tak Aerodrome (front right) (1930's)*



*1930 年代的香港大學 The University of Hong Kong in 1930's*



*1912 年的香港大學聖約翰堂 (男學生宿舍)  
St. John's Hall, Hong Kong University (1912) (Boys' Hostel)*



1913 年的香港大學馬禮遜堂（男學生宿舍）

*Morrison Hall, Hong Kong University (1913) (Boys' Hostel)*



1930 年 3 月 25 日啟用的聖士提反書院校舍

*The School House of St. Stephen's College opened on 25 March 1930.*



早年民生書院的正門

*The original front gate of Munsang College*



建於1935年的孔聖講堂

*The Confucius Hall built in 1935*



建於 1909 年的西約華人公立醫局

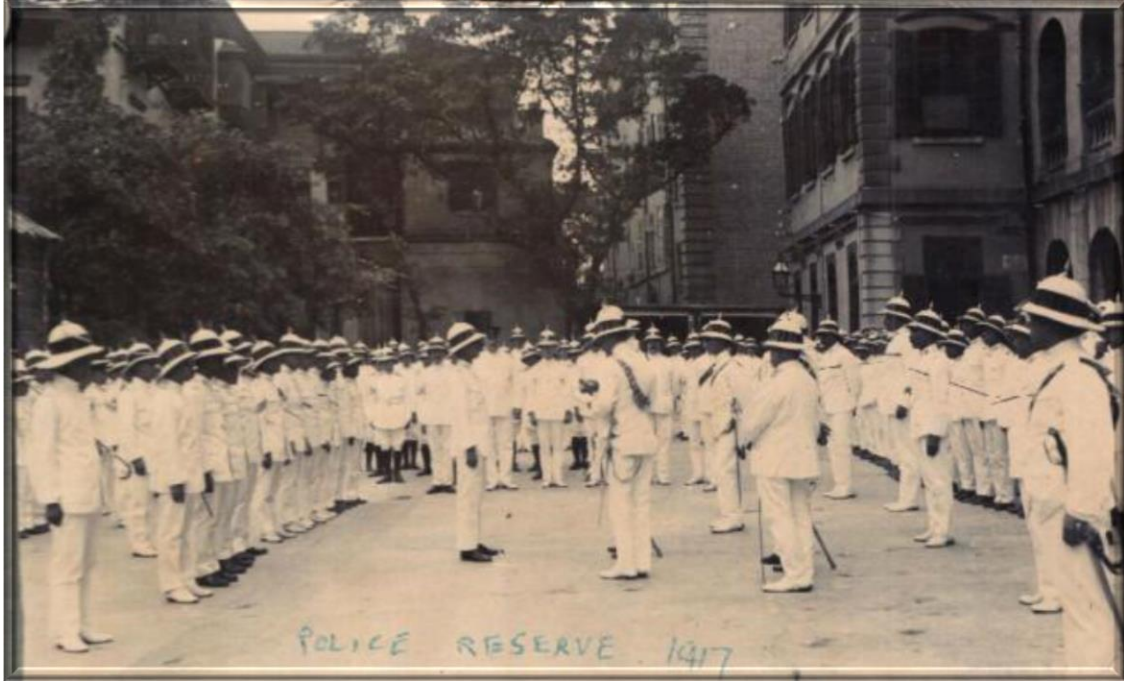
*The West Point Chinese Public Dispensary built in 1909*



1906 年何妙齡醫院 *Ho Miu Ling Hospital built in 1906*



最初的贊育醫院建於1922年  
The original Tsan Yuk Hospital built in 1922



1917 年的香港後備警察隊 -- 指揮官(1914-1920)、榮譽總監(1920-1939)是曹善允太平紳士  
Hong Kong Police Reserve Unit in 1917 ---Ts'o Seen Wan was the Honorary Commissioner (1920-1939)



1941 年香港後備警察隊的全體合影 -- 前中坐者是榮譽總監曹峻安太平紳士  
Group photo of the Hong Kong Police Reserve in 1941  
Front central sitting (non-uniformed) was Ts'o Tsun-On, J.P., Honourary Commissioner

## 曹善允博士

### 首位擔任香港後備警察隊榮譽總監的扶輪社長



太平紳士曹善允博士, LL.D., J.P., 得香港總督司徒拔爵士(Sir Reginald Edward Stubbs)任命, 在 1920-1939 年擔任香港後備警察隊榮譽總監 (香港後備警察隊是今天香港輔助警察隊前身的第一代)。同時, 又在 1929-1937 年受香港總督金文泰爵士(Sir Cecil Clementi)任命, 擔任香港立法局非官守議員。期間, 在 1932-1933 年度, 曹善允擔任香港扶輪社 (Rotary Club of Hong Kong) 社長。

1930 年, 應當時的香港總督貝璐爵士 (Sir William Peel) 的邀請, 曹善允加入組織了第一家扶輪社——香港扶輪社, 並於 1930 年 12 月 8 日當選擔任創社副社長。後來, 他於 1932-1933 年度當選為社長。在擔任這一職務後, 曹善允給香港扶輪歷史締造了以下記錄: 第一位扶輪社社長, 同時擔任 (1) 香港後備警察隊榮譽總監; 以及 (2) 香港立法局議員。另一方面, 毫無疑問, 曹善允是香港首位華裔扶輪社社長, 也是香港扶輪社歷史上的第二任社長。

曹善允的女婿, 還是另一位傑出的扶輪社員——醫師蔣法賢博士, O.B.E., K.St.J., LL.D., M.B., B.S., J.P.。在 1947-1948 年度蔣法賢擔任香港扶輪社社長, 於是, 又給香港扶輪歷史締造了另一項記錄——翁婿同社, 也前後同樣擔任社長。

### 香港後備警察隊榮譽總監

曹善允博士被警察史學家譽為「香港後備警察隊發起人」。1914 年 8 月 1 日第一次世界大戰爆發, 至同月 4 日, 英國對德國宣戰。香港作為英國殖民地, 至少 264 名香港居民被徵召遠赴英國及參與戰爭。當中包括警務人員 61 人, 因而對香港警察力量造成一定影響。時任香港總督梅含理爵士(Sir Francis Henry May)於是呼籲, 志願者組織後備警隊。同年 10 月 27 日立法局通過《特別後備警隊法案》, 從而成立香港後備警察隊(Hong Kong Police Reserve Unit), 此就是現今香港輔助警察隊的前身。最初僅 29 名人員, 後來員額增多, 合共 352 人經過宣誓儀式; 當中以葡萄牙人最多, 其次是中國人, 餘下的為英國人及印度人。截至 1915 年 12 月 31 日, 後備警隊員額達 476 名, 當中 191 名為中國人。後備警隊當時僅為負責徒步巡邏, 於黃昏 6 時至午夜 12 時執勤; 人員分為兩更, 每更 3 小時。其時, 後備警察隊並無固定編制, 因此並無招募人數上限, 更無基本裝備及制服。往後香港政府才向隊員派發頭盔、警棍、卡賓槍及子彈等等基本裝備。

早於1914年，曹善允接受香港總督任命為香港後備警察隊指揮官。自1920年起，升任後備警隊歷來首位華人榮譽總監(Honorary Commissioner)。次子曹峻安也服務於後備警察，任高級警司。因此在1922年海員大罷工，以及1925年省港十三、四萬人大罷工期間，曹善允還負責組織臨時巡街更練和特別華人後備警隊(Special Police Reserve Unit)，設法維持治安和秩序。

另一方面，曹氏家族對輔助警察隊的發展，貢獻深厚，三代人合共服務了83年。從1914年創立後備警隊到1939年榮休，曹善允服務了25年。1939年，曹善允次子曹峻安太平紳士接受香港總督羅富國爵士(Sir Geoffrey Northcote)任命，接任後備警隊榮譽總監至1957年(圖見第18頁)，獲得英國女王授予大英帝國最優秀官佐勳章(Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, O.B.E.)。期間在1947年，曹善允的姪孫曹乃麟(Nylon Leonard Ts'o)，也參加了後備警隊當員警。1957年，「香港後備警察隊」改組為「香港輔助警察隊」(Hong Kong Auxiliary Police Force)。1969年，英國女王伊麗莎白二世授予警察隊「皇家」稱號。1983年，曹乃麟接受香港總督尤德爵士(Sir Edward Youde)任命為皇家香港輔助警察隊總監(Commandant, Royal Hong Kong Auxiliary Police Force)至1987年榮休。輔警總監的官階，是高級助理警務處處長。曹乃麟服務了40年，奉獻卓越——前後獲得英國女王授予殖民地警察勳章(Colonial Police Medal, C.P.M.)、女王警察勳章(Queen's Police Medal, Q.P.M.)、大英帝國最優秀員佐勳章(Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, M.B.E.)。

### 幼承庭訓 修讀法律

曹善允，祖籍廣東省香山縣上沖鄉(今屬珠海市香洲區前山鎮上沖村)，1868年11月10日生於葡萄牙王國領地的澳門，是家中十多名弟妹的長兄。父親曹有(字應賢，號渭泉、益昌)，是澳門富商，與澳門政府和清廷關係密切。曹有一家皆擁有葡國國籍，他在1880年獲葡萄牙國王欽賜維索薩莊園聖母無原罪勳章(聖母金星)(Ordem de Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Vila Viçosa)，成為首位獲葡國冊封為騎士的華人；另又獲大清國光緒皇帝欽賜二品榮銜及賞賜頂戴花翎。

曹善允幼承庭訓，1882年14歲時獲父親送往上海習國學。在1886年，獲父親同鄉友好兼香港銀行家及政治家韋廷俊太平紳士(小名玉，字寶珊，1919年獲冊封韋寶珊爵士)推薦下，曹善允得以遊歷英國，且在同年秋天考入英格蘭的切爾滕納姆書院(Cheltenham College)，修讀法律。曹善允早年熱衷體操和體育運動，曾代表校方參與足球比賽。在1890年畢業後，最初在倫敦一所律師樓實習，1896年復以優異成績，獲英格蘭及威爾斯最高法院認可為執業事務律師。

### 事務律師

雖然曹善允幼時長於澳門，但不少親友居於香港，因此自少與香港保持密切關係。曹善允在1897年選擇到香港發展，同年7月3日獲香港最高法院認可為執業事務律師。旋即自設「曹善允律師樓」，獨力經營律師業務。曹善允是香港開埠早年少有的華人執業律師，他於1927年邀得曾任政府律師的英國律師學洵(P. M. Hodgson)加入，律師樓遂易名為「曹善允學洵律師樓」(Messrs. Ts'o & Hodgson Solicitors)，是當時香港一家著名的律師事務所。

(1951年，曹善允出售律師樓權益，改名為劉陳高律師事務所 Lau, Chan & Ko Solicitors & Notaries，直到今天。)

## 登上政治舞台 潔淨局議員

1918年，香港總督梅合理爵士(Sir Francis Henry May)委任曹善允為非官守太平紳士。同年，因其教育和醫療方面的經驗，委任為潔淨局(Sanitary Board)（市政局 Urban Council 前身）非官守議員。及至1925年，香港爆發省港大罷工，以曹善允深具聲望，香港總督司徒拔爵士(Sir Reginald Edward Stubbs)遂委任他為東華醫院顧問、保良局非常到紳士及團防局紳，設法調停罷工。在大罷工期間，全港罷工人數高達20萬人，更有10萬人離港返回廣東。有見及此，總督又特別委任曹善允為臨時勞工署長(Controllor of Labour)。負責組織工業維持會，每日駐守香港大會堂招攬義工。

## 立法局議員 堅持審查華文報章

省港大罷工後，政府進一步重用曹善允。在1929年，他退出服務共11年的潔淨局。同年5月3日與布力架(José Pedro Braga)一起，獲銳意改革的香港總督金文泰爵士(Sir Cecil Clementi)委任為立法局非官守議員。兩人的委任，分別意味立法局首次有代表九龍和葡裔社區的議席。曹善允的加入，也使立法局的華人議席由兩席增至三席。同年，他當選為保良局永遠總理和出任新成立的香港保護兒童會(Hong Kong Society For The Protection Of Children)副主席。

在立法局，身兼局內常務法律委員會委員的曹善允，不單就「妹仔」問題對政府提供法律意見（詳細內容參見英文版第4-5頁）；還爭取政府興建更多遊樂場地。事實上，尚在潔淨局供職時，曹善允已和布力架及香港基督教青年會的總幹事麥花臣(John Livingstone McPherson)等人，大力向政府爭取於尖沙咀興建兒童遊樂場。就在他出任立法局議員後不久，政府便在1929年5月成立遊樂場地委員會(Playing Fields Committee)；研究香港未來在兒童遊樂場地方面的發展，且委任曹善允和布力架等人為委員。這個委員會最終於1930年1月發表報告，啟引兒童遊樂場協會(香港遊樂場協會 Hong Kong Playground Association 前身)成立。兒童遊樂場協會在1933年成立後，由曹善允出任協會副主席。同年7月1日，他還當選為香港扶輪社社長。

在1936年，曹善允接替羅旭蘇爵士(Sir Robert Hormus Kotewall), C.M.G., J.P., 成為立法局內的華人議員之首。但未幾，他與局內另一華人議員羅文錦律師卻就政府應否廢除華文報章的審查制度展開激辯，引起轟動。提出廢除華文報章審查制度的動議，本由羅文錦於1936年8月26日在立法局內提出，理據在於審查制度浪費政府公帑。而審查制度源於政府在1925年省港大罷工期間透過緊急立法形式設立，意在控制一時亂局。不過後來社會動盪平息，但審查制度卻施行11年之久，所以政府有違憲之嫌。再者，大英帝國各地早已視審查制度有違新聞自由，只對華文報章審查，也有偏袒英文報章之嫌。羅文錦表示，他一直收到華文報界反映不滿，要求政府早日正視問題。

羅文錦的動議在局內僅得布力架一人支持，其他出席議員均表反對。當中有份在省港大罷工期間維持社會秩序的曹善允，更以嚴辭對動議加以駁斥。曹善允表示他雖然支持新聞自由，可是中國大陸局勢仍然不穩定，地方勢力盤踞。如有任何不當言論經報章傳開，不單可能加劇內地動盪，也有機會損害香港與內地往來，隨時置香港於險境。此外，他認為香港百分之九十七人口屬華人。一旦華文報章刊出激進內容，華人社區易受煽動，繼而可能爆發社會動盪。一時之間，羅文錦與曹善允在局內爭持不下，言辭針鋒相對。兩人經由主持會議的護理總督調停下方才作罷，而羅文錦的動議最後以兩票贊成，14票反對，被大比數否決。

曹善允與羅文錦等人對審查制度的辯論引起很大反響，曹善允在辯論中聲稱未聞報界投訴審查制度。不單遭受華文報界猛烈聲討，而華報刊出他認為華人智力低於洋人云云的言論，更使公眾嘩然。曹善允後來致函各大報章，澄清自己從沒說華人智力低於洋人，而是指部份華人教育水平不高，易受煽動。得出如此曲解，是因為華報記者誤譯其英語演辭。不過，他始終堅持保留華文報章審查制度的看法。

曹善允在 1937 年 1 月 17 日任期屆滿，卸任立法局議員。另一方面，羅文錦議員也是扶輪社員——香港扶輪社 1934-1935 年度社長。

### 啟德濱填海計劃

除了律師的工作外，曹善允也有從商，也是香港華商總會（香港中華總商會前身）名譽值理。在 1912 年，兩名富商何啟爵士與區德銳意在九龍寨城對開的九龍灣，填海建造類似英式「花園城市」的高尚住宅區。兩人遂以自己的名字創立啟德營業有限公司（Kai Tak Investment Co., Ltd.），與何啟份屬友好的曹善允也應邀加入董事局。該公司董事局全由華人組成，其他董事還包括周壽臣太平紳士、周少岐太平紳士等紳商和伍朝樞（立法局議員伍廷芳之子、何啟的外甥）。

關於在九龍填海造地建屋一事，早於 1910 年代已由何啟的姐夫伍廷芳博士提倡。但啟德公司成立後，填海計劃卻遇上重重困難。首先，何啟因投資不善陷入財困，需要區德和曹善允等人接濟。在 1912 年起，曹善允除了代何啟繳交其辦公室租金外，又義務出資為他僱請一名文員。當何啟在 1914 年病逝後，曹善允和區德等又各自出資，作為殮葬何啟和接濟其家人的費用。雖然何啟淡出，但稱之為「啟德濱」的填海計劃未有因此告吹，並由具備法律知識的曹善允擔當向香港政府商討填海計劃的主要交涉人。在交涉過程當中，啟德公司確保發展地段落入 1860 年《北京條約》所劃定界限街以南割讓予英國的土地。而計劃在 1915 年獲政府批准後，填海工程即於 1916 年展開。整個填海計劃共分為三期，最終希望造地 1,200 萬平方呎，號稱是當時全港最大規模、以及少有專門發展作住宅用途的填海計劃。

在曹善允主持下，啟德濱的首期填海計劃在 1920 年完成。新填地內建有多幢花園洋房，具一定規模。第一期落成後，啟德公司多名董事均遷入啟德濱作招徠。當中，曹善允全家遷入啟德路 11 號交界大宅，後花園位於啟仁路。同年，區德因病逝世，但第二期填海工程依計劃展開。不過，第一期洋房落成後，市面反應不甚理想。加上位處偏僻，居民出入頗不方便。為解決交通問題，曹善允等在 1923 年成立啟德客車公司（Kai Tack Motor Bus Company），開辦來往啟德濱和尖沙咀天星碼頭等地的巴士路線。但對改善交通，作用不大。

另一方面，由於用作填海的物料出現短缺，再加上受 1922 年海員大罷工和 1925 年省港大罷工影響，曹善允等看淡啟德濱的前景。在省港大罷工期間，第二期填海工程更一度中斷。雖然在工潮過後工程恢復，但第二期填海在 1926 年年中竣工後，啟德公司便終止了餘下包括第三期填海在內的發展計劃。為免啟德填海計劃泡湯，香港政府與啟德公司展開磋商。並在取得英國政府同意後，於 1927 年宣佈接手餘下 400 萬平方呎的第三期填海計劃；以及出資約 100 萬港元收購啟德公司已填海但未建屋的土地，以便土地日後用作公共用途。至於已建屋的地段，則繼續屬啟德公司所有。

在政府接管啟德濱土地以前，啟德公司其實早於 1924 年將部份土地租借予美國人哈利·阿博特（Harry Abbott）以開辦飛行學校，是為啟德機場建立之肇始（圖見第 13 頁）。飛行學校倒

閉和政府接管土地後，該地皮逐漸發展成為日後的香港啟德國際機場。至於啟德公司退出發展計劃後，啟德客車公司在 1926 年改組為啟德客車有限公司(Kai Tack Motor Bus Co., (1926) Ltd.)，但公司控制權在 1928 年落入香港電車有限公司 (Hong Kong Tramways Ltd.) 手上。到 1933 年，九龍汽車有限公司(The Kowloon Motor Bus Co., (1933) Ltd.)取得九龍和新界地區的巴士服務專營權，啟德客車自此停辦。1936 年，啟德公司解散。而曹善允主持建立的啟德濱花園城市，最終在第二次世界大戰香港淪陷期間，被日本軍隊以擴建機場為理由，將之夷為平地。

## 興辦學校

### 聖士提反男校 聖士提反女校

曹善允的父親在澳門以熱心公益著稱，再加上受到同樣信奉基督教的韋寶珊爵士和何啟爵士之影響，他在香港也積極參與公益事務，當中尤其關注香港的教育和醫療發展。本身曾在英國接受教育的曹善允，深明華人接受西式教育的重要性。又認為出國留學，不單長途跋涉，學費高昂，且易與華人社會脫節。因此，他大力提倡在香港興辦西式教育。

在 1901 年，以何啟為首的八位華商，聯署上書香港總督卜力爵士(Sir Henry Arthur Blake)，倡建一所仿效英國式公學的學校。專門招攬本地華人子弟，以便他們畢業後可銜接升讀英國的大學，曹善允便是上書聯署的其中一人。建校之事除得總督支持外，更獲得由英國來港的聖公會班納牧師 (Rev. E. J. Barnett) 熱心協助。在曹善允等呼籲下，本地華民一共捐出 6 萬港元，作為創校經費，最終促成聖士提反男校（今聖士提反書院）(St. Stephen's College)在 1903 年於西營盤創校，由聖公會營辦。聖士提反男校是當時全港唯一一所直接向英倫註冊的學校，且不受香港教育司署管轄。至 1928 年，香港總督金文泰爵士(Sir Cecil Clementi) 批准撥地在赤柱(Stanley)興建新校舍，曹善允作為校董兼創校人之一，獲邀在當年 4 月 27 日的新校動土儀式上致以謝辭。

聖士提反男校創立後，曹善允與何啟進一步提出構思興辦一所兼收男女學童的小學暨幼稚園，獲得各界響應。該校在 1904 年草創於卑利士道 (Breezy Path)，未幾於 1905 年遷到堅道(Caine Road)，並交由聖公會營辦，於 1906 年正名為聖士提反女校 (St. Stephen's Girls' College)，後來又開設中學部（今聖士提反女子中學）。在 1918 年，堅道校舍受南澳大地震破壞，學校被迫暫遷往巴丙頓道 (Babington Path)，復於 1922 年遷往列堤頓道(Lyttelton Road)新校舍。新校舍主樓奠基禮在 1922 年 4 月 7 日舉行，由適值訪問香港的英國皇儲威爾斯太子愛德華(His Royal Highness Prince Edward, The Prince of Wales)主禮，並由曹善允及已升為聖公會副主教的班納致以謝辭。在 1926 年，聖士提反女校成立校董會，曹善允即當選為校董之一。

### 聖保羅男校 官立漢文學校

透過與好友何啟的關係，曹善允在 1914 年又獲委任為聖保羅男校（今聖保羅書院）(St. Paul's College)校董。同年因校舍擴建，校方委任他為籌款委員會秘書。後來在 1918 年，校方再因增建宿舍而向各界募捐，曹善允也二度獲邀出任籌款委員會委員。在 1925 年，曹善允又夥同周壽臣、羅旭龢(Robert Hormus Kotewall)、李右泉及馮平山等紳商倡建一所以中文為教學語言的西式中學，遂促成官立漢文學校(Government Vernacular Middle School)於 1926 年成立。官立漢文學校是香港首間官立中文學校，復於 1951 年改名金文泰中學(Clementi Secondary School)，以紀念前任香港總督金文泰爵士。

## 民生書院

除上述四所位於港島的學校外，曹善允在 1916 年着手發展啟德濱時，有感九龍城地區的居民缺乏接受西學的機會，於是積極籌款興學。在 1920 年，啟德公司創辦人區德病逝後，特意在遺囑餽贈一萬港元，以支持曹善允在九龍辦學。不久以後，曹善允又成功游說太古洋行買辦莫幹生捐出一萬港元，使他有足夠資金籌辦學校。在得到聖保羅男校校長史超域牧師 (Rev. Arthur Dudley Stewart) 協助下，學校在 1926 年於啟德濱創校，初期租用伍朝樞的物業作為校址。為紀念區德 (又名區澤民) 和莫幹生兩人對創校的貢獻，學校遂取名為「民生書院」(Munsang College)，而曹善允則獲推舉終身出任校董會主席。在 1939 年，民生書院復遷到九龍塘東寶庭道 (Dumbarton Road) 繼續辦學。

## 香港大學

曹善允除了興辦學校以外，在教育方面另一重要貢獻，是參與創立香港大學 (University of Hong Kong)。在 1907 年，聖士提反男校首屆學生畢業。時任香港總督盧吉爵士 (Sir Frederick John Dealtry Lugard) 在畢業典禮上致辭時，提出在香港興辦大學的構想。事後印度裔殷商廢地爵士 (Sir Hormusjee Naorojee Mody) 透過報章得悉總督有意興辦大學，於是率先響應捐出 15 萬港元鉅款，作為建造大學校舍之用；另又捐出 3 萬港元作為大學的營運資金，為興辦大學的計劃注入重要動力。

為進一步籌得足夠的營運資金，總督盧吉爵士在 1908 年 3 月 18 日邀請香港紳商代表與政府官員到總督府開會，即席成立香港大學籌備委員會，並以行政局首席非官守議員遮打爵士 (Sir Catchick Paul Chater) 為主席，委員包括香港西醫書院興辦人何啟醫生、立法局非官守議員普樂爵士 (Sir Henry Edward Pollock)、總醫官愛建臣 (Dr. John Mitford Atkinson)、工務司漆咸 (William Chatham)、皇仁書院校長胡禮博士 (Dr. George Henry Bateson Wright) 及庫務司譚臣 (Alexander MacDonald Thomson) 等人。可是，由於初期外界對籌款反應冷淡，委員會一度提出放棄興辦大學的建議。其後經何啟提出「以大學加設教授中文作招徠，集中向各地華人籌款」的建議後，總督盧吉爵士在 1909 年再成立大學經費籌募附屬委員會，由何啟出任主席，委員包括曹善允、陳少白和伍漢墀等，另由陳席儒出任司庫，以及由曹善允兼任義務秘書。在何啟和曹善允等委員四出游說下，各方響應者眾，紛紛向大學捐款，籌得款項高達 147.7 萬港元。當中，何啟及曹善允更率同委員專程北上拜會兩廣總督張人駿，獲對方答應捐款 20 萬港元。廢地爵士不甘被張人駿超越，後來再將捐款總額增至 28 萬港元，才保住捐款最多的地位。至於以團體名義捐出最多款項的，是太古洋行，合共捐出 4 萬英鎊。而本身財力不算豐厚的曹善允，也捐出 500 港元。籌募委員中有黃炳耀太平紳士 (Benjamin Wong-Tape, JP)，是香港扶輪社創社秘書。

在籌得足夠經費後，香港大學終於在 1910 年 3 月 16 日由總督盧吉爵士於般咸道 (Bonham Road) 校址主持立石奠基儀式。大學隨後於 1911 年正式成立，並在 1912 年 3 月 11 日舉行開幕大典 (圖見第 28 頁)。同年，香港大學舉行籌款賣物會，再由曹善允擔任賣物會義務秘書。香港大學在 1911 年草創時，曾邀請參與創校的曹善允加入校董會 (University Court)，但被他多番婉拒。一直到 1914 年，他才答應出任校董，並任馬禮遜堂 (Morrison Hall) 及聖約翰堂 (St. John's Hall) (聖約翰學院 St. John's College 前身) 兩所舍堂之院務委員會委員。曹善允此後繼續關注香港大學校務，他在 1929 年至 1937 年進一步出任香港大學校務委員會委員 (University Council Member)，以及在 1920 年和 1929 年先後擔任沙普委員會 (Sharp Commission) 和歌倫

委員會 (Gollan Committee) 委員，就香港大學財務撥款事宜提供意見。為表揚貢獻，香港大學在 1924 年向曹善允頒授名譽法學博士學位。

### 教育委員會 孔聖講堂

在 1920 年 4 月，香港總督司徒拔爵士 (Sir Reginald Edward Stubbs) 設立教育委員會，作為政府在教育事務上的諮詢機構。而深具辦學經驗的曹善允，即獲委任為委員之一。曹善允此後多番獲得續任，一直到 1940 年 4 月方才卸任，擔任委員一職前後共 20 年之久。曹善允其他擔任過的教育公職，還包括出任英國聖公會差會 (Church Missionary Society) 旗下學校理事會理事；在 1928 年 5 月與何東爵士 (Sir Robert Ho-Tung)、尤列和李景康等出任孔聖講堂籌備委員，促成講堂在 1935 年建於港島加路連山道 (Caroline Hill Road)，以宣揚儒學。(圖見第 16 頁)

### 醫療服務

#### 雅麗氏紀念醫院 雅麗氏紀念產科醫院 何妙齡醫院

香港開埠早年只有極少醫院，華人缺乏接受西式醫療的機會，曹善允因此大力倡辦醫院。在 1903 年，曹善允獲委任為雅麗氏紀念醫院 (Alice Memorial Hospital) 財務董事。該院由何啟於 1887 年成立，歸倫敦傳道會 (London Missionary Society) 管理，是香港首間為基層華人家庭提供西式醫療服務的醫院，與當時同屬倫敦傳道會的那打素醫院 (Nethersole Hospital) 是「姊妹醫院」。曹善允在財務董事任內，除協力促成雅麗氏紀念產科醫院 (Alice Memorial Maternity Hospital) 於 1904 年成立外，又為雅麗氏紀念醫院籌款增建新的護士學校。復至 1906 年，得到曹善允穿針引線下，伍廷芳夫人何妙齡 (即何啟爵士之胞姊) 出資興建一所全新的產科醫院，是為何妙齡醫院 (Ho Miu Ling Hospital) (圖見第 17 頁)。該院作為雅麗氏紀念醫院之附屬醫院，也是由倫敦傳道會管理。在 1930 年，曹善允復出任雅麗氏紀念醫院董事會主席兼執行委員會非執行主席。後來於 1935 年，他又為那打素醫院遷址一事參與籌款工作。一直到 1954 年，政府立例將雅麗氏紀念醫院、那打素醫院、雅麗氏紀念產科醫院和何妙齡醫院，合併成為雅麗氏何妙齡那打素醫院 (Alice Ho Miu Ling Nethersole Hospital) (1997 年全新醫院大樓遷至新界大埔)。

#### 華人公立醫局委員會 西約華人公立醫局

在 1910 年，曹善允獲推舉為華人公立醫局委員會委員。1911 年起出任西約華人公立醫局 (西約方便醫所) 董事會主席，嗣後又兼任華人公立醫局委員會副主席。在西約華人公立醫局董事會主席任內，曹善允對港島西區的醫療服務作出重要貢獻。在 1915 年，西區爆發天花疫潮，為免疫潮蔓延，曹善允即推動種痘運動，敦促政府儘早為華人接種牛痘。期間，他暫時放下家庭和律師業務，協助政府全力呼籲民眾種痘，又挨家挨戶向民眾解釋種痘的重要性。一時之間，接種人數高達 36 萬人。為防患未然，曹善允在 1916 年二度參與主持種痘工作，疫潮方暫告熄滅。香港此後二十年，天花患者數量持續下降，與曹善允推動的種痘運動不無關係。

### 贊育醫院

繼種痘運動以後，曹善允另一對西區的醫療貢獻，是促成贊育醫院 (Tsan Yuk Hospital) 於 1922 年落成啟用 (圖見第 18 頁)。贊育醫院之興建構思，源於來自倫敦傳道會的產科醫生歐海倫 (Dr. Alice D. Hickling)。歐海倫醫生在雅麗氏紀念醫院行醫時，有感床位不足，加上希望可以培訓足夠的助產士，於是提出興建一所獨立的產科醫院。曹善允正好認為西區基層民眾眾多，

產科需求殷切，因此對計劃予以支持。儘管醫院的興建費用高達9萬港元，但在曹善允等號召下，獲得各界響應，當中波斯裔船運富商內馬西（H. M. H. Nemazee）和有份捐建民生書院的莫幹生，分別捐出1萬港元和3千港元。另外，東華醫院捐贈30張病床；又把在1920年慶祝金禧期間，籌得其中接近5萬港元的善款，投資到房地產市場，作為醫院的營運基金。除以上人士和機構外，西營盤街坊會、魚販商會和蔬果販商協會等，也有捐出善款或醫院所需的家具。贊育醫院當年設於西營盤西邊街，樓高四層的醫院大樓由李杜露建築師樓（Messrs. Little, Adams and Wood）興建，土地則由政府免費撥出。贊育醫院的落成啟鑰儀式於1922年10月17日舉行，儀式由曹善允將醫院正門的銀鑰匙交予華民政務司夫人開啟，復由華民政務司兼華人公立醫局委員會當然主席夏理德（Edwin Richard Hallifax, Secretary for Chinese Affairs）致辭。當日場面盛大，出席者還包括署任輔政司符烈槎（Arthur George Murchison Fletcher, Acting Colonial Secretary）伉儷、律政司金培源（Joseph Horsford Kemp, Attorney General）、教育司伊榮（Edward Alexander Irving, Director of Education）、以及華人代表周壽臣議員伉儷、伍漢墀議員、香港聖約翰救傷隊創立人何甘棠和羅旭龢太平紳士（Robert Hormus Kotewall）等等。

贊育醫院成立之初，由華人公立醫局委員會管理。院內設有兩個產科病房，每個病房可容納五名產婦，另設兩間單人病房和一間雙人病房。這些病房分別設於醫院其中兩層，而這兩層則分別設有手術室、產房、消毒房和值勤室。醫院除了提供產科服務外，也在同年率先開辦華人助產士培訓課程，在首年合共招收六名華人女學員。

曹善允自醫院運作以來，一直擔任醫院監督。而醫院啟用首年，合共收容產婦416名；落成五年後，即突破每年千名的紀錄。至1926年，該院復與香港大學合作，成為教學醫院之一。復至1934年，由於經費不繼，華人公立醫局委員會惟有將贊育醫院贈予政府管理，使之成為一所公立醫院，但曹善允仍留任醫院監督。1952年，贊育醫院決定於西營盤醫院道（Hospital Road）建造全新的醫院大樓。10月28日根德公爵夫人（Duchess of Kent）於訪問香港期間，主持奠基儀式。曹善允雖然身體健康欠佳，行動不便，但作為創院人之一，仍然堅持應邀出席。遺憾的是，新院落成前，曹善允在1953年1月20日逝世。

### 華人永遠墳場管理委員會

在1912年，以曹善允為首的一班華人紳商上書香港政府，陳情華人墳地不足，希望政府撥出土地，以永久作華人墳場之用。在1913年6月16日，政府批准在香港仔撥地一幅，用以興建華人永遠墳場，但要華人自行營辦。在這種背景下，華人紳商在同年自行成立華人永遠墳場管理委員會，以便監督墳場的興建，而曹善允是委員之一。在1915年10月17日，墳場正式落成啟用，是為「香港仔華人永遠墳場」。墳場落成後，委員會旋即邀請華民政務司出任委員會的當然主席，使委員會直接受到政府華民政務司署（現今民政事務局）監管。為肯定曹善允對永遠墳場興建的貢獻，他在1919年當選華人永遠墳場管理委員會之名譽司理。

### 其他公職、榮譽

除了教育和醫療方面的貢獻外，曹善允還參與各方面的社會工作，也着力支持聖約翰救傷隊和童軍的活動。1914年至1939年任香港後備警察隊指揮官、榮譽總監，1929年至1937年任立法局非官守議員，另曾任潔淨局議員、團防局紳等公職。在1925年省港大罷工期間，設法維持社會秩序。曹善允對公共服務的多年貢獻深獲香港政府肯定，屢獲殊勳，先於1928年獲英國國王佐治五世（King George V）授予大英帝國最優秀官佐勳章（Officer of the Most Excellent Order

of the British Empire, OBE)。1935年晉升一級，授予大英帝國最優秀司令勳章(Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, CBE)。1936年，英國國王佐治六世(King George VI)登基。曾在1902年和1911年分別擔任英國國王愛德華七世(King Edward VII)與佐治五世的各界慶祝加冕委員會委員的曹善允，作為香港華人代表，也於1937年5月12日出席倫敦西敏寺(The Collegiate Church of St. Peter at Westminster, London)舉行的佐治六世加冕大典。

## 晚年

在1941年12月8日，太平洋戰爭爆發，日本帝國隨而侵略香港。在香港保衛戰期間，曹善允全家均為香港政府服務。香港在同年12月25日淪陷後，曹善允任職的香港大學校董會和華人公立醫局委員會等組織一概停辦。他的大宅更為日軍徵用，損失不菲。與此同時，日本軍方多次有意招攬曹善允，但他不甘奉事侵略者，多番以身體欠佳、臥病在床為理由推卻。不久以後，曹善允攜家眷全體避居澳門；並派兒子前往中國參與抗日戰爭，堅決不向侵略者屈服。

1945年8月日本帝國戰敗，香港重光，曹善允即返回香港。除將曹善允學洵律師樓重新復業外，又參與復辦香港大學和聖保羅男校等重要的重建工作，且榮任香港華商總會名譽顧問。曹善允晚年得病，加上年老失明，終在1951年註銷長達51年（不包括淪陷時期）的執業律師身份，律師樓自此改名「劉陳高律師事務所」。同年，他又從香港大學校董會退休，但即獲委任為終身校董。

晚年的曹善允雖然晚年身體欠佳，但仍不忘香港之公益事務，獲得敬重。1953年1月20日正午12時30分，曹善允病逝於養和醫院(Hong Kong Sanatorium & Hospital)，終年84歲。遺體即日移送萬國殯儀館，並由家人以曹存善堂名義在各大報章發表訃聞，復於1月22日舉殯。安息禮拜在聖公會聖約翰座堂(St. John's Cathedral)舉行，由會督何明華主教(The Right Rev. Bishop Ronald Owen Hall)、施玉麒牧師(Rev. George Samuel Zimmern)和曹思晃牧師等主持（曹思晃牧師是曹善允的姪子）。禮拜過後，警務處派出警察儀仗隊護送靈柩，遺體落葬於曹善允有份創立的香港仔華人永遠墳場。家人將喪禮收到的8,200港元贖儀，分贈慈善機關。

法律界全體代表也在1月22日齊集最高法院悼念曹善允，主持悼念儀式的包括首席按察司侯志律爵士(Sir Gerard Howe)、律政司賴德遐(Arthur Ridehalgh)、大律師公會主席廖亞利孖打(Leonardo Horácio d'Almada e Castro)和律師會主席布祿斯(E. S. C. Brooks)等。同年7月11日，香港總督葛量洪爵士(Sir Alexander Grantham)於聖士提反書院為紀念何啟爵士及曹善允兩人的牌匾揭幕，特別讚揚曹善允為人極富善心，因此獲得華洋各界敬重。

## 家庭

夫人陳桂卿，因熱心公益，獲香港總督葛量洪爵士(Sir Alexander Grantham)在1947年12月11日委任為非官守太平紳士。兩人共有四子(曹智安、曹峻安、曹克安、曹明安)三女(曹慧姬、曹麗姬、曹妙姬)。次子曹峻安：1939年至1957年任後備警隊榮譽總監、1933年至1947年間曾任總督榮譽副官；第二次世界大戰期間效力英軍情報部門。次女曹麗姬嫁予蔣法賢醫生(國際聯青社華南區1939-1940年度監督、香港扶輪社1947-1948年度社長、香港聯合書院校長1956-1959、香港聖約翰救傷隊總監1958-1963)。



香港大學本部大樓於 1912 年 3 月 11 日舉行開幕典禮後正式啟用。

*The University of Hong Kong Main Building was officially opened on 11 March 1912.*

康寧爵士於 1924 年至 1937 年擔任香港大學校長，並於 1930-1932 年度擔任香港扶輪社創社社長。

*Sir William Woodward Hornell was the Hong Kong University Vice-Chancellor in 1924-1937, and who was the Charter President of the Rotary Club of Hong Kong in 1930-1932.*