



香江冷月：香港的日治時代

Hong Kong during the Japanese Occupation

鄭寶鴻
CHENG Po Hung

香港大學美術博物館
University Museum and Art Gallery
The University of Hong Kong



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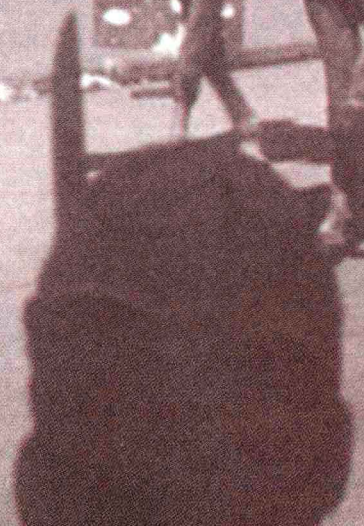
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前言

我們不喜歡提及不愉快的日子，也不想去記錄不光彩的歷史，但這些令我們難過事情，卻一直是難以忘懷的。

一九四一至四五年，日本軍人侵佔了香港，香港人渡過最痛苦歲月。我們知道在這段日治時期，香港出現了急劇變化，但對這些變化，我們則所知甚少。

至今，搜集得來的日治時代資料是十分零碎的。但面對未來，我們不得不重拾這些破碎了的寒暑，去找出香港人如何在暗裏過活，又怎樣重光，為我們的發展歷史補上重要篇章。

鄭寶鴻先生結合舊照片和時事記錄，組成展覽和出版圖冊，披露了當時真相。他的努力成果實在令人讚賞，也讓我們清楚地知道每個時代的轉變也會產生惡果。

現今，香港人到了一個新紀元。香港人的努力使我們在這轉變的時代裏，感受不到崢嶸冷月，而是在熱日下，我們仍相信和風暖氣總會帶上無限希望。

香港大學美術博物館

總監 **楊春棠**

二零零六年四月一日於山之半館

FOREWORD

We do not like to mention unhappy days, nor do we wish to record dark moments in our history, but these things that sadden us are at the same time unforgettable.

From 1941 to 1945, Japanese troops occupied Hong Kong, during which the people of Hong Kong endured great hardships. While we know that many drastic changes took place in Hong Kong during the occupation, we actually know very little about them.

Information so far gathered on the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong is fragmentary. However, in order for us to move forward into the future, we must recover these broken recollections, and understand how the people of Hong Kong lived through dark times to finally see the light of liberation. We need to fill in this important chapter in the history of our development.

Mr Cheng Po Hung draws together historical photographs and news records to produce an exhibition and catalogue that reveal the truth about the period. The result of his efforts is truly admirable, making us aware that changes in every era have the potential to bear terrible consequences.

Today, the people of Hong Kong have reached a new age. It is because of the hard work of the Hong Kong people that we do not despair in this time of change. Instead we continue to believe that our city will continue to glisten with success and happiness.

YEUNG Chun-tong

Director

University Museum and Art Gallery

The University of Hong Kong

1 April 2006

序言

《香江冷月：香港的日治時代》是香港大學美術博物館與鄭寶鴻先生第四度合作舉辦的香港歷史展覽。過去的展覽以香港社會生活為主題，包括早期飲食場所、風月場所和電車路。這次展覽把主題範圍擴大至香港的一整段歷史時期，那就是1941年12月至1945年8月，香港在日本統治下的歲月。

日本佔領香港，為了達成它征服東亞和東南亞地區的野心，成為與西方強國勢力等同的殖民地統治者。同時，香港亦因作為中國抗日的重要陣地，以及軍火輸入大陸的渠道，而成為日本的軍事目標。歐洲的戰事和當時希特勒攻打蘇聯，使日本有機會乘虛而入，向南擴展它的軍事勢力，但由於與美國的關係越趨緊張，使日本認為必須速戰速決。1941年12月7、8日，日本軍機在美國珍珠港、菲律賓、馬來亞和香港進行一連串閃電式空襲，務求以最快的速度佔領東南亞各殖民地，並使美國的太平洋艦隊陷入癱瘓。經過十八天的奮勇抗敵，香港終告淪陷，成為日本“大東亞共榮國”的一部份。

日本當局於1942年2月在香港成立總督部時，明確表示香港的主要用途是作為補給日本軍隊的軍事基地。¹這種不顧及市民生活的態度，做成了日軍以後在香港實行的各種嚴苛措施，包括強行徵募資源、存倉貨物、車輛、金屬、糧食，以及濫發軍票來吸納港幣。日當局又以維持自給自足為理由，強迫遣返市民歸鄉，目標是要把香港戰前的一百六十萬人口縮減至五十萬。至於不幸滯留在香港的外國人，則多被囚禁於拘留營中自生自滅。同時，日本憲兵以殘酷手段對待港人，當局並嚴密監管市民的活動及遷移，而盟機空襲更不時誤炸民居，導致市民傷亡慘重。

這次展覽和圖錄記載了香港人在日軍統治下的艱苦生活。大部份展品，包括歷史照片，是鄭先生的私人收藏，而鄭先生撰寫的圖錄內容，則主要由《華僑日報》收集得來。²本圖錄的分段先設有摘要，然後以年表的方式展示較詳細的資料。通過這樣的編排，讀者能追溯物資越趨短缺、物價快速上升、當局控制市民生活等現象。第五章講述日化政策，讓讀者感受到若日治持續下去，香港社會或會變成怎樣的面貌。Snow(2003)認為香港的日化政策，比日本在台灣和韓國所實施的“更為劇烈”。³本圖錄描述的多項日化計劃，包括更易地方名稱、興建如位於金馬倫山忠靈塔的紀念建築物，以及日語教育等，正反映出日本在香港推行日化政策的程度。

雖然這本圖錄沒有分析香港淪陷的論文，而且內容亦不算全面(如香港的抗日運動就未被提及)，但當中包含了大量有關市民日常生活的資料，對研究日治時期有一定的幫助。同時，圖錄收錄的資料在某些方面帶出了日治時期香港社會的複雜性。譬如說，正當普羅大眾面臨飢荒，新電話用戶竟然明顯增加，表示日治後期仍有市民有能力支付每年軍票12,000圓的電話費。此外，香港淪陷後，有不少企業向日當局申請重新開業，希望能繼續生產經營，更有某些行業，如珠寶行，在日治時期出奇蓬勃。有市民為求工作機會，申請就讀當局在香港各區開設的日語學校。這些現象隱藏在上升的物資價格和盟機空襲次數等資料中。現把它們發

掘出來，並非輕視香港人所承受的痛苦和作出的犧牲，或低估日軍在香港所犯的惡行，而是帶出日治時期香港人各種不同的經歷，並非只能用偉大或奸詐來形容，更多的是出自繼續生活的意欲。⁴

日本投降已經過六十多年了。環顧今時今日在香港，或會覺得除了禮賓府的塔樓和屋頂外，歷時差不多四年的日本統治並沒有在香港社會留下烙印。港人稱日治時期為“三年零八個月”，亦意味著那歲月是特殊的，有別於香港由漁港發展為商業大都會，由中英兩國主導下所形成的歷史。但事實上，日軍的統治無形中對香港作出不可逆轉的改變。如 Tsang (2004) 所說：“日本侵略成功，打破了大英帝國無敵的神話。‘英國統治下和平’由香港安全的基本保障變成了歷史的遺物。”⁵ 英國管治香港無法回復戰前一樣。香港的主權問題成為無可避免的事實，而英國亦必須面對它最寶貴的殖民地是“一個借來的地方，靠借來的時間過活”。⁶

香港經歷過戰爭的洗禮，不單能繼續下去，更能興盛起來，這是香港人的幸運，同時亦反映出香港人的堅毅、適應能力和生命力。希望這次展覽和圖錄，能讓觀眾多更加了解香港歷史中這沉痛而重要的一頁。

香港大學美術博物館
助理館長 **陸於平**

註釋

- 1 G. B. Endacott, *Hong Kong Eclipse*, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1978, 頁 124。
- 2 請看參考書目。
- 3 Phillip Snow, *The Fall of Hong Kong: Britain, China and the Japanese Occupation*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003, 頁 158。
- 4 同上，序言。
- 5 Steven Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004, 頁 119。
- 6 Richard Hughes, *Hong Kong: Borrowed Place — Borrowed Time*, London: Deutsch, 1968。

INTRODUCTION

Hong Kong during the Japanese Occupation is the fourth in a series of exhibitions on Hong Kong history that the University Museum and Art Gallery has produced in collaboration with Mr Cheng Po Hung. Previous exhibitions have dealt with aspects of Hong Kong's social life: early eateries, brothels and the tramway. On this occasion, however, the scope has been broadened to an entire period in Hong Kong's history, from December 1941 to August 1945 when Hong Kong was under the rule of Japan.

The battle for Hong Kong was part of Japan's ambition to conquer East and South-East Asia, to become a colonial power equal in stature to the dominant countries in the West. Hong Kong was also targeted due to her position as a centre of Chinese resistance to Japan and the entrance through which munitions were being channelled into the Mainland. The war in Europe and Hitler's invasion of Russia gave Japan the opportunity to advance south, but increasing tensions with the United States compelled her to act quickly. On 7 and 8 December 1941, Japanese forces carried out a series of attacks on Pearl Harbor, the Philippines, Malaya and Hong Kong in a gambit to seize the Southeast Asian colonies while attempting to cripple the United States' Pacific fleet. Hong Kong fell into Japanese hands after eighteen days of gallant resistance, and became integrated into Japan's 'Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere'.

When the Japanese established a Governor's Office in Hong Kong in February 1942, the administration made clear that the primary purpose of the captured territory was 'as a centre of supplies for the troops'.¹ This attitude, which showed little consideration for the livelihoods of the local population, underlined Japan's policy in Hong Kong. The Japanese commandeered what they could of Hong Kong's resources, its godown stock, vehicles, scrap metal, foodstuff, and absorbed the dollar currency by excessive issues of military yen notes. A severe repatriation scheme was carried out in the name of self-sufficiency, aiming to cut Hong Kong's population from 1.6 million to half a million, while most foreigners were held captive and left to fend for themselves in internment camps. The Japanese gendarmerie was ruthless in its treatment of civilians, and strict controls were imposed on the movement and activities of the population. Meanwhile, allied air raids increased in frequency and missed military targets led to the loss of civilian lives and property.

The hardship endured by the Hong Kong people during the occupation is recorded by Mr Cheng in this exhibition and catalogue. The exhibition consists of historical photographs and other items mostly from Mr Cheng's own collection, while the catalogue presents information that the writer has gathered predominantly from the newspaper *Wah kiu yat po*.² Each section begins with a summary, followed by information presented in a timeline format, through which the reader can trace the increasingly desperate shortages in food and resources, the soaring prices as well as the various government controls that restricted everyday life. Chapter 5 on Japan's programme of Nipponization gives the reader an interesting glimpse into what may have been intended for Hong Kong in the long-run had the occupation continued. The renaming of places, the various construction projects, including a giant war memorial on Mount Cameron, and the propagation of Japanese teachings and culture reveal a level of Nipponization that Snow (2003) describes as 'far more drastic than anything inflicted on [Taiwan and Korea]'.³

While this catalogue is not a thesis or a comprehensive examination of war-time Hong Kong (there is no mention of the resistance movement for instance), it contains rich information on everyday life under Japanese rule that should be useful to anyone studying the subject. In addition, the information presented offers some sense of the complexity of Hong Kong society during the occupation. For instance, the reader may notice that while many struggled to find enough food to eat, there was a notable increase in new telephone users in the latter part of the occupation who could afford the annual fee of 12,000 military yen. Businesses petitioned to return to production and trading following the fall of Hong Kong, while some, such as jewelry shops, even prospered during the occupation. Others seeking job opportunities enrolled in the Japanese language institutes that opened around the territory. Recognizing these phenomena in between the listing of inflated prices and the frequency of air raids does not detract from the suffering of the Hong Kong people and the individual acts of self-sacrifice, nor make light the brutality of Japanese rule. Instead, they suggest the existence of a range of experiences that have more to do with the need to survive than with heroism and treachery.⁴

Over sixty years have passed since Japan signed the instrument of surrender. Looking around Hong Kong today, one might think that nearly four years of Japanese rule left no visible imprint on Hong Kong, apart from the tower and roof of the Government House. The local term for the occupation simply by referring to its duration – ‘three years and eight months’ – also gives the impression that it was a self-contained event, an isolated episode separate from the story of Hong Kong’s transformation from fishing village to commercial hub, where the main players were the Chinese and the British. Yet, in less tangible ways, Hong Kong was changed irreversibly because of the occupation. As Tsang (2004) has written, ‘Japan’s successful invasion destroyed the myth of the invincibility of the British’s Empire. *Pax Britannica* was reduced from the basis of Hong Kong’s security to a relic of history.’⁵ British rule in Hong Kong could not return to what it was before the war. Ownership of Hong Kong became an inescapable issue, making clear that the crown jewel of colonial Britain was indeed ‘a borrowed place on borrowed time’.⁶

The Japanese occupation tested the mettle of the people of Hong Kong. The fact that Hong Kong survived and went on to prosper shows not only good fortune, but also the fortitude of its citizens and their ability to adapt and survive. It is hoped that this exhibition and catalogue can lead to greater understanding of this solemn and important chapter in the history of Hong Kong.

LUK Yu Ping

Assistant Curator

University Museum and Art Gallery, HKU

Notes

- 1 G. B. Endacott, *Hong Kong Eclipse* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 124.
- 2 See selected bibliography for a complete list of sources.
- 3 Phillip Snow, *The Fall of Hong Kong: Britain, China and the Japanese Occupation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 158.
- 4 Ibid, introduction.
- 5 Steven Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), p. 119.
- 6 Richard Hughes, *Hong Kong: Borrowed Place – Borrowed Time* (London, 1968).



1. 戰時香港 HONG KONG AT WAR

香港淪陷

1941年12月，香港已被戰雲籠罩，港府加緊疏散外籍僑民。未領離境證的華人出境後不能復返，故此離港的華人不多。同時，市民亦對英國保衛香港的決心和能力，寄以厚望。

當局召集義勇軍及後備警察等民間防衛組織。民防部隊、街坊自衛團、糧食供應隊等亦在當局鼓吹下紛紛成立。但一般市民仍不相信戰爭會降臨香港。

12月8日上午，日機轟炸啟德機場，市民的樂觀情緒被一掃而空。港府曾一度寄望中國軍隊會施予援手，並稱蔣介石委員長為“同志”。但香港的形勢愈趨惡劣，九龍及新界於12月12日相繼淪陷，當局只能退守港島。除了要面對日軍的猛烈轟擊外，港府還須應付缺糧、缺水等嚴重問題，並繼續維持市面秩序和治安，已力不從心。

日軍於12月18日晚上登陸港島，經過多場慘烈的攻防戰後，到了12月25日黃昏，港督楊慕琦向日軍投降，結束十八天的交戰。

THE FALL OF HONG KONG

In December 1941, faced with the prospect of imminent war, the Hong Kong government heightened efforts to evacuate foreign nationals. Most local Chinese, however, chose to stay in Hong Kong since without a departure card they were permitted to depart but not re-enter. In addition, people had faith in Britain's determination and ability to defend her colony.

The Hong Kong government assembled civilian defence forces such as the Volunteer Defence Corps and the Police Reserve. Civil defence services, neighbourhood self-defence groups and food supply corps were also established at the urging of the government. Yet, most citizens did not believe that war would break out in Hong Kong.

However, this feeling of optimism was erased when Japanese military aircrafts bombed Kai Tak Airport on the morning of 8 December. The Hong Kong government held hope that the Chinese military would offer assistance, calling Chiang Kai-shek, the Chairman of the Nationalist Government, their 'comrade'. The situation grew worse for Hong Kong as Kowloon and the New Territories fell successively into Japanese hands on 12 December, and defence forces were ordered to retreat to Hong Kong Island. The government struggled to deal not only with the fierce attack from the Japanese, but also serious shortages in food and water, as well as maintaining law and order.

On the evening of 18 December, Japanese forces landed on Hong Kong Island. Following fierce fighting, Governor Sir Mark Young surrendered to the Japanese on 25 December, bringing an end to the eighteen-day siege of Hong Kong.

1941年12月1日

華人代表羅旭和爵士，在香港ZEK電台作緊急廣播，勸告與香港防衛無關的居民及家屬，立即離開香港。輔政司史美亦作同樣的呼籲。人民入境事務局盡速辦理簽發離境證。未領離境證的華人只能出境，不能入境。

12月2日

駐港英軍已開始在港九軍事要點駐守，九龍及新界亦進行防空演習。為數三千的“街坊保衛團”已開始接受軍事訓練，並有二千二百名市民應民防招募處招募，參加“民防隊伍”。

當局增派警察保衛各政府部門，亦派出後備警察(輔警)看守各商業大樓，並為他們準備帆布床及棉被以供歇宿。此時，不少中區寫字樓及半山、山頂住宅已被政府徵用，商行及居民紛紛他遷。

12月4日

位於快活谷的“防空學校”，進行撲滅“夷燒彈”演習。由此時起，警察不准請假。

12月5日

中央警署警衛森嚴，前門大閘已被關閉，有特許證人士才能入內。

新界凹頭警署幫辦，召集“元朗街坊自衛團”，指示他們於戰時，可入屋搜查非法集會。

政府草擬有關戰時供應及分配糧食的辦法。

12月6日

近四千名居民參加“民防部隊”，特別是屬下的“糧食供應隊”。最近加入“義勇軍部隊”的市民，已開始進行集訓和演習。

屯門市民效仿元朗，組“自衛團”應變。

12月7日

港府宣佈進入緊急狀態，並將實施無限期燈火管制，下午動員“義勇軍”參加軍事工作。義勇軍分為工程隊、裝甲車隊、電單車隊、野戰炮兵隊、訊號隊、高射炮隊、戰地救傷隊。

英國對芬蘭、匈牙利、羅馬尼亞宣戰，該等國家的旅港人士被視為“敵國人”，適合軍齡者，將被拘留。

12月8日

日本向英美宣戰。早上約七時，日機轟炸啟德機場及港九數處，新界多處發生軍事衝突。

港督楊慕琦會同行政局及立法局，呼籲市民與“友邦中國人士及其偉大領袖蔣委員長”並肩作戰，彼此“互為同志”。是日，新任輔政司詹遜宣誓就職，接替告退的史美。

日本駐港總領事矢野和領事木村，被香港軍警監視，領事館由警察接管，敵僑被拘禁。“日本郵船公司”及“大阪商務會社”被當局接管。羅兵咸核數師負責拍賣日僑商行。