

# A Drakeford family in China

## 'A Story of Emigration'

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# A Drakeford Family in China and Beyond - 1901 to 1949

## 'A Story of Emigration'

### Introduction

This paper is a companion piece to an earlier essay about a Drakeford family in Shanghai in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The first essay was about Thomas Goode Drakeford from Liverpool, he arrived in Shanghai around 1907 and stayed until just before the Japanese invaded Shanghai in 1941. This second piece follows the story of another Drakeford family in China whose residence lasted from about 1901 until after the Second World War, before dispersing in the years that followed. The big difference between the two families was the 'Goode Drakefords' resided solely in the treaty port of Shanghai, whereas the 'Finch Drakefords' moved around China and beyond.

### A Modern Twist

We know from modern DNA Analysis that these two Drakeford clans had common ancestors. Whether they knew this back in old Shanghai we do not know, but there is an intriguing hint that as the phony war in Shanghai started in 1937 and ended in the Japanese invasion in 1941, the two families may have been aware of a closer family connection.

### First Sightings

The first mention I have found about the Finch Drakefords family in Shanghai reads, '*The members of the Hongkew Fire department held their annual dinner party at the Hotel Metropole on Saturday night... After dinner, a long programme was gone through of songs and speeches, Mr. Drakeford supplying the pianoforte music in his usual accomplished style.*'<sup>1</sup> A few years later in the Mixed Court Riots noted below, the Metropole Hotel was badly burned.<sup>2</sup> This particular Metropole Hotel was located by the Racecourse on 2 – 9



*The Metropole Hotel C.1904*

Bubbling Well Road [Nanjing Road (West)]<sup>3</sup>. In 1930 another Metropole Hotel was built and still stands today, Thomas Goode Drakeford's daughter Faith held her wedding reception there in 1932.

<sup>1</sup> *North China Herald [NCH]*, 23 Dec 1903, p1337

<sup>2</sup> *NCH*, 22 Dec 1905, p672

<sup>3</sup> When place names or street names are mentioned for the first time, the modern name is noted after in square brackets, e.g. Peking [Beijing]

A few words tell us a lot. It seems that Mr. Drakeford had been in Shanghai long enough to establish himself as an accomplished musician. He was playing at a prestigious event, in one of the top Shanghai hotels.

### Fighting Fires

At this time, the fire brigade in Shanghai was as much a social club as it was a firefighting unit. Predominantly run by volunteers and funded by the Shanghai Municipal Council, several fire departments competed with each to achieve the best attendance at fires. Hongkew was an area within the International Settlement of Shanghai, the area now known as Hongkou was originally part of the American Settlement of Shanghai which merged with the English Settlement in 1863 to form the International Settlement. Not wholly international of course, as Paris blocked the French Concession from joining.<sup>4</sup> It was in Hongkou that the Finch Drakefords primarily lived and worked for many years. Another of the volunteer departments in Shanghai was more excitingly named the Mi-Ho-Loong Hook and Ladder Company, translated as the Destroy Fire Dragon Hook and Ladder Company.



A drawing from the 1904 *Eastern Sketch Weekly Magazine* showing the Hongkew Fire Department in action. To get to the fire, they had to wade through the fetid creek.

### From Coventry to Shanghai

That this particular Mr. Drakeford was in Shanghai is itself a fascinating story told by Roger Hall, in his essay *Passage From Poverty*.<sup>5</sup> Briefly, a certain John Drakeford (1797 – 1870) from Bedworth, Warwickshire married Alice Finch (1801 – 1868) in August 1824. They chanced upon hard times and because they could not support themselves and with a young family including their firstborn Henry Finch Drakeford (1826 – 1869), they faced the indignity of being sent from Alice's home town Nuneaton, to where John had last had a job, the parish of Wolston, where they were thrown on the charity of the parish.

John eventually found work, turning his hand to many jobs such as a ribbon weaver, medicine vendor, coal sorter or farm labourer, anything to earn a crust for his growing family. Hoping that their children would face a better future, his children were sent to Sunday School where they learned to read and write.

When their son Henry Finch Drakeford was 16, a Wolston charity paid for him to be apprenticed to a rope maker in Bedworth, his father's home town, for five years. He completed his apprenticeship and moved to

<sup>4</sup> Isabella Jackson, *Shaping Modern Shanghai: Colonialism in China's Global City*, 2018, p4

<sup>5</sup> The essay *Passage from Poverty* is also available on the website <https://drakefordfamilytree.azurewebsites.net/>



Birmingham where he married Elizabeth Williams (1831 – 1886) in 1852. It was in Birmingham that they had their first child in 1854, Samuel Finch Drakeford (1854 – 1933). Seventy-nine years later, Samuel died in Shanghai, but he is not the Mr. Drakeford we encountered earlier, playing the pianoforte.



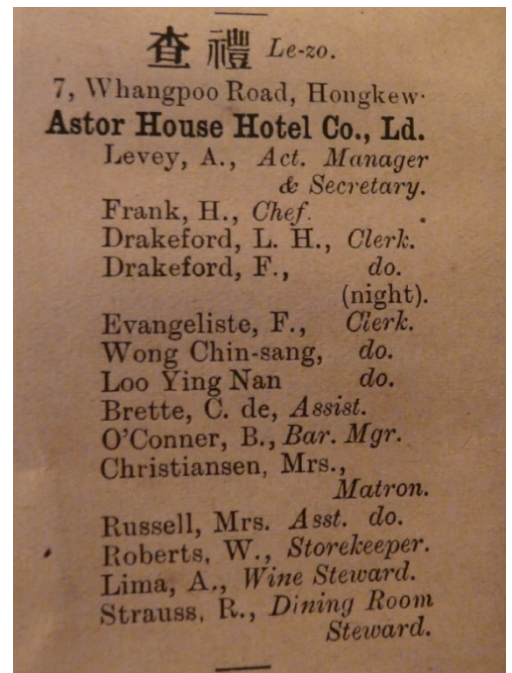
Samuel Finch Drakeford in Australia C.1905

When he was four, Samuel set sail for the Australian colonies with his parents and brother Matthew (1857 – 1932), on the White Star Line's clipper *Mermaid* for an 82 day journey to the colony of Victoria. Henry established himself and his family in Melbourne, using his rope making skills to secure their existence. Sadly, in 1869 he died, just 41 years old when his son Samuel was only 15 years old.

Samuel trained and worked as a jeweller and became a watchmaker and goldsmith, an appropriate trade in this year as the Australian gold rush was still highly important for many residents.<sup>6</sup> His wife Eliza Josephs (1853 – 1919) was born in a gold diggers tent. Their eldest child, Louis Henry Finch Drakeford (1876 – 1952) was born in 1876 and he is this man that we find playing the pianoforte in Shanghai in 1903.

### First Shanghai Employment

The *China Who's Who* 1922, listed Louis as arriving in Shanghai around 1901. A trade directory from 1904 known as the Hong List, showed that he was a clerk at the Astor House Hotel located close to the Garden Bridge on Whangpoo Road [Huangpu Road], Hongkew. The Astor Hotel was the premier hotel in Shanghai at the time. Working with him at the hotel as night clerk was a certain F. Drakeford. It is not clear if this was Louis's uncle Frederick Drakeford (1865 – 1915) or his brother Frederick James Drakeford (1882 – 1947), but it seems likely to be the latter, as the elder man's children were being born in Australia at this time.



<sup>6</sup> James Smith (Ed), *Cyclopedia of Victoria* Vol 3, 1905, p573



## **Brief history of Shanghai**

Shanghai was a 'treaty port', established in 1843, in the same treaty which established Hong Kong as a British colony following the defeat of China in the *First Opium War* (1840-42). The 1843 *Treaty of Nanking* gave British merchants, their families and other necessary personnel the right to reside in a defined area of Shanghai and to establish a British Consul. Subsequent agreements established the principle of extraterritoriality, in simple terms, the right for foreign citizens to be tried under their own law while on foreign territory.<sup>7</sup> This concession was extended to America in 1844 in the *Treaty of Wanghia*.<sup>8</sup>

Shanghai had existed as a Chinese city for hundreds of years prior to the arrival of westerners.<sup>9</sup> The footprint of the old city walls can still be seen on modern maps of Shanghai, although only a fragment remains of the original wall. It was outside those old city walls where the British settled in 1843, followed shortly after by many citizens from other European nations, the Americas and the British Empire. By 1850, the foreign areas of Shanghai consisted of the French Concession, the British Settlement and the American Settlement.

## **Tales of Taels**

Within the text below, frequent mention is made of Taels and \$. Alongside something called 'cash', these were units of currency in common use at this time. For a detailed explanation of the use of money in Shanghai in the early twentieth century, I have included in Appendix 4, a section from a Shanghai travel guide from 1904. In summary, the Tael was the commercial currency used in large transactions. It is not a coin but a weight of silver. As such the value of a Tael changed with the value of silver. To add to the confusion, the value also varied between the different treaty ports where the value of silver varied depending on its purity. As a tourist, you would not expect to come across a Tael. Instead you used the Mexican Dollar, which was divided into 100 cents. In 1904, the Tael was worth 1/3 more than a dollar, and tables of exchange were listed in the daily newspapers. Finally, there were also small coins referred to as 'cash'. These were copper coins which were useful for small value transactions such as paying a rickshaw driver. There were approximately 800 'cash' to the Mexican Dollar.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Betty Peh-T'i Wei, *Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China*, Hong Kong, 1990, pp20-31

<sup>8</sup> Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China (second edition)*, London, 1990, pp162-63

<sup>9</sup> F. L. Hawks Pott, *A Short History of Shanghai*, Shanghai, 1928, pp1-4

<sup>10</sup> Rev C. E. Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook For Travellers And Residents*, 1904, pp vi - vii



## The Astor House Hotel

The Astor House Hotel was one of the first hotels in Shanghai. It was established in 1858 by one of Shanghai's earliest residents Peter Felix Richards just 15 years after the treaty port had been established. At this time it was the most prominent hotel in the city.<sup>11</sup> It was enlarged in 1876 in a bid to become the most modern hotel in China. More rooms were added in 1887 and a host of new facilities in 1894. Further substantial improvements were made around the time the Drakeford brothers arrived. In November 1903, an additional 100 rooms were added, reserved mainly for permanent residents. In 1908, work commenced on demolishing the old hotel to build an ambitious five storey building that is substantially what survives today, but as noted below, by then, the Drakefords were no longer working there.<sup>12</sup>

*An Advert for the Astor House Hotel from The Eastern Sketch Magazine, 1904*

## Changes In Population

Just before the Drakefords arrived in Shanghai, the 1900 Census shows that the total foreign population was 6,774. Of these, the British, which included Australian and other colonies, were by far the biggest contingent with 2,691 men, women and children. The next largest groups were the Portuguese with 978 and the Japanese with 736.<sup>13</sup> This all paled into insignificance when compared with the Chinese population in the International Settlement (excluding the French Concession area) which totalled 345,276 persons.<sup>14</sup>

A comparison with the 1910 Census illustrates how the area the Drakefords were living and working in was changing during their first decade in Shanghai. The total foreign population had increased to 13,536 of whom 4,465 were British. The biggest change however was the growth in the Japanese population which had increased to 3,361. Most of the



*The modernised Astor House Hotel C. 1909*

<sup>11</sup> Peter Hibbard, *Beyond Hospitality: The History of The Hong Kong and Shanghai Hotels, Limited*, 2010, p8

<sup>12</sup> Hibbard, *Beyond Hospitality*, pp13-16

<sup>13</sup> NCH, 27 Jun 1900, p1164

<sup>14</sup> NCH, 18 Jul 1900, p133





## Early Shanghai

Louis' interest in music led him to join a repertory group which travelled to China to perform in 1900 – 01. Louis remained in Shanghai and found himself a position on the editorial staff of the *North China Daily News*, Shanghai's leading English speaking newspaper. His daughter wrote that,

*He found the work congenial, made friends with staff members and soon shared a mess with three of them, later adding to their group an insurance company agent and another young man from a shipping company. They rented a large house in Frenchtown, hired the requisite servants and so Father was drawn into Shanghai social life, and a very pleasant one it was.*<sup>21</sup>

### 'Smokers'

Information about the Drakeford's first ten years can be observed in the newspapers of Shanghai where we get glimpses into the lives of the two brothers. In January 1904, we learn that both men are members of the Shanghai Volunteer Corps (SVC). They were both Gunners in the Artillery battery and provided some of the entertainment at an Artillery Smoker held in the gymnasium of the Town Hall, attended by some 180 current and ex members of the SVC. Louis was on the organising committee. At the smoker, Gunners L. H. and F. Drakeford played a Pianoforte Duet, the *Rosamunde Overture* by Schubert and later sang *The Yeoman's Wedding Song* by Prince Poniatowski.<sup>22</sup> 'Smokers' or Smoking Concerts were men only affairs, very popular in the Victorian and Edwardian eras. The concerts were men only, which allowed the songs to be a little risqué. In Shanghai, the repertoire was both classical pieces and modern songs, often patriotic in nature.

Several months later, another Artillery Smoker was held, in spite of the inclement weather. A gale and snowstorm did its best to disrupt the event, which was this time held at the Volunteer Club Room in the Town Hall.<sup>23</sup> The report of the event remarked that,



Shanghai Town Hall C.1902

*The snow lay pretty thickly everywhere and the unfortunate Sikhs on point duty were besmothered in the white powder... It is extremely fortunate that the battery possesses such a pianist as Gunner Drakeford. His versatility has very rarely failed. It falls to his lot that to have the direction of the general musical arrangements, and the success of these entertainments has been in great measure due to his careful selection of artists.*<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p3

<sup>22</sup> *NCH*, 29 Jan 1904, p178

<sup>23</sup> The first Town Hall building was located on Nanking Road, at the corner of Kwangse Road and Yunnan Road, erected in 1896 and demolished in 1929.

<sup>24</sup> *NCH*, 11 Mar 1904, p489

It is not clear whether this was referring to Louis or Fred. Gunner Drakeford went on to sing *The Gallants of England* and *The Toreador* as an encore, 'which he rendered with plenty of life.'<sup>25</sup>



A bespectacled Fred Drakeford centre picture, on parade at the Shanghai racecourse C. 1919

### Playing At Soldiers

As a member of the SVC, volunteers were expected to train for the defence of Shanghai. Periodically, they were expected to stay in camp. Several months after the second Smoker, one of the Drakefords had been promoted to Bombardier and he attended the Artillery Camp in April 1904. In an afternoon of sports, 'the bare-backed wrestling... provided a great deal of excitement.'

and Bombardier Drakeford took part. The bare back aspect was that the men rode their horses bare back and wrestled each other. Drakeford beat Bombardier Dahl in the first round but was defeated by Gunner Knott in the second.<sup>26</sup>



The Old Shanghai Club C. 1893

### More Concerts

There was a change of audience later that month. On the same evening as the aforementioned Mi Hoo Loong firemen were attending their annual dinner at the Shanghai Club, Drakeford was attending the same venue in the tea room, as part of the Lancastrian Society of Shanghai dinner, what his association with Lancashire is I do not know, but accompanying himself, he 'was in such form in "A Bandit Life" that he was not let off till he had sung "The Yoeman's [sic] Wedding".'<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> NCH, 11 Mar 1904, p489

<sup>26</sup> NCH, 8 Apr 1904, p711

<sup>27</sup> NCH, 15 Apr 1904, p771

The venue was the old Shanghai Club which was destined to close its doors in 1908 and be rebuilt. The new foundation stone was laid in February 1909, and the new Club opened on 6 January 1911, with its infamous long bar standing at 110 feet and 7 inches.<sup>28</sup>

The next event that Louis attended was yet another smoking concert given by the Association of British Colonials in the Far East at the Masonic Hall. Guests started arriving at 9:00 PM and by the time the concert commenced there were some 200 guests, so that *'soon, wreaths of smoke showed that the long churchwarden pipes were being lit up.'*<sup>29</sup>



A Churchwarden Pipe

Louis accompanied many of the singers on piano before accompanying himself on his signature song, *The Yeoman's Wedding*. *'So pleased were his hearers with this that he had to come on again. His rendering of the "Deathless Army" was exquisite and simply entranced his hearers.'* The patriotic song, written by H. Trotère and F. E. Weatherly, published in 1891 glorified the sacrifice of the soldier.

The chorus went:

*'Marching for the dear old country,  
Marching away to war,  
With the hearts they love behind them,  
And the flag they love, before.'*

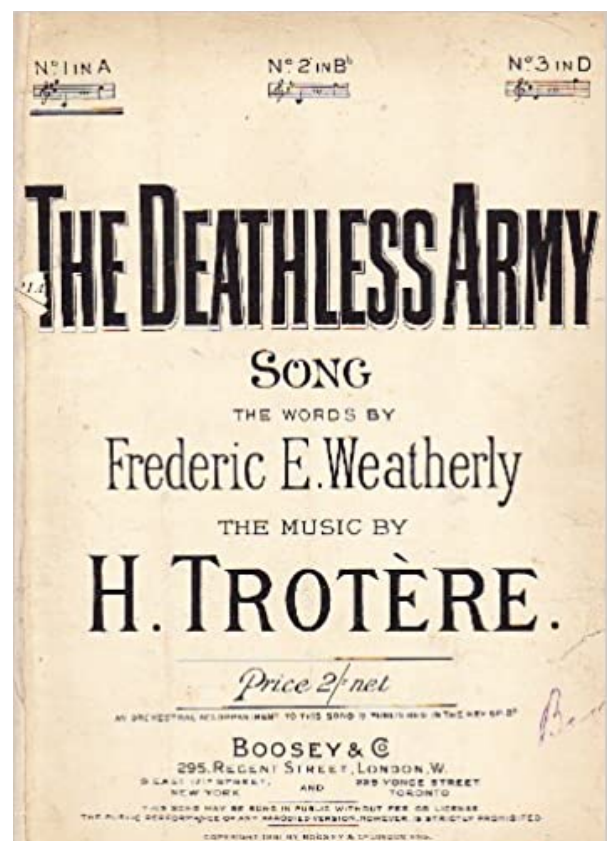
The newspaper report concluded that *'The success of the entertainment was in no small measure due to the energies of Messrs. Drakeford and Turnbull. The former presided at the piano most of the evening.'*<sup>30</sup>

### Target Shooting

SVC duty called for Bombardier Drakeford later in the month at the Annual Rifle Meeting and Competition. The shooting started at 06:30 in the morning and continued all day. In the penultimate event of the day, 'The Griffin's Aggregate', an event open to those who have never won a prize in any previous competition in Shanghai or elsewhere, Drakeford came a commendable second.<sup>31</sup>

### A New Role

After several years working for the *North China Daily News*, Louis decided to look for a new challenge. While at the newspaper, he had learned a great deal about the economic, political and social climate of the day but as noted above, took on a new role as Secretary at the Astor House Hotel sometime before 1904 when he



<sup>28</sup> NCH, 13 Jan 1911, p61 and NCH, 20 Feb 1909, p454

<sup>29</sup> NCH, 22 Apr 1904, p826

<sup>30</sup> NCH, 22 Apr 1904, p826

<sup>31</sup> NCH, 29 Apr 1904, p890



was listed as working there in a trade directory. The Astor House Hotel was across the road from the Russian Consulate which gave Louis the opportunity to get to know senior people connected with the pre-revolutionary Russian government during the Russo-Japanese War, he also continued his interest in Chinese politics.

### **Court Time 1 – The Juror**

In May 1904, another aspect of Louis' life was reported on when he sat as a juror in His Britannic Majesty's Supreme Court for China. The charge was against a certain Richard Greer, formerly a consular constable at Chinking [Zhenjiang] who was alleged to have obtained \$500 by false pretences from a Mr Hespeler.<sup>32</sup> For a relatively small offence, the trial was reported in great detail over several weeks. It concluded with his Lordship advising the jury that it was their duty to find the prisoner not guilty. The jurors might have wondered why they were there!<sup>33</sup>

### **A New Drakeford Arrives**

In October 1905, in the travel announcements we see that a Mr. E. J. Drakeford was arriving on the Steamer *Kwongsang* from Hong Kong and Swatow [Shantou], a city near Hong Kong. This was Ernest John Drakeford (1880 – 1948), the brother of Louis and Frederick.<sup>34</sup> We find him eight months later, travelling this time on the Steamer *Lienshing* from Shanghai to Weihaiwei [Weihai] a coastal town in the north of China.<sup>35</sup>

### **Music Time**

Frederick's musical performances continued, the first one reported in 1905 was the Engineers Football Club Smoking Concert where once again he enthralled his audience performing a piano duet with a Mr. Woodward. He later contributed two songs singing the rousing, *The Deathless Army*, and *Bianca*, 'in both of which his well trained voice was heard to advantage.'<sup>36</sup>

### **Corporate and Club Meetings**

In his capacity as a shareholder, Louis attended the annual meeting of the China Printing Company Limited. The meeting was held at 1 Yuan Ming Yuan Road [Yuanmingyuan Road], very close to the Astor Hotel on the other side of Suzhou Creek. The report shows that the company was very new, but even so, a dividend of 4% was proposed.<sup>37</sup>

Having returned from Weihaiwei, Ernest attended a meeting of Australians at the Hotel Metropole where it was decided to name the newly established organisation The Association of Australasians in the Far East. He was elected onto the general committee.<sup>38</sup>

In his role as Secretary, Louis attended the annual meeting of the Astor House Hotel Company Limited. The report noted that the first half of the year had been an '*exceptionally dull time*' on account of the Russo-Japanese war which had reduced travellers to the Far East. However, after Port Arthur [Dalian] had fallen, the situation improved. The report went into considerable detail about the running of the hotel. It noted at one point

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<sup>32</sup> NCH, 27 May 1904, p1132

<sup>33</sup> NCH, 3 Jun 1904, pp1175 - 6

<sup>34</sup> NCH, 28 Oct 1904, p987

<sup>35</sup> NCH, 16 Jun 1905, p561

<sup>36</sup> NCH, 10 Feb 1905, p288

<sup>37</sup> NCH, 31 Mar 1905, p648

<sup>38</sup> NCH, 28 Jul 1905, p225

that, 'Shanghai is rapidly growing and there is an increasing number of people who prefer to live in a Hotel rather than pay enormous rents and incur the many annoyances and expenses incidental to housekeeping.'<sup>39</sup>

### **A Portrait Of Shanghai**

Elaine's memoir offers glimpses into Louis' early life in Shanghai and paints an accurate picture of Shanghai at this time.

*It was a glamorous and exotic city, already in 1905 established as the "Paris Of The East". There was the broad Bund along the waterfront, an embankment fronting the Whangpoo River where sampans swarmed, busy tugs powered their way churning up the yellow water, and great steamers lay at anchor in the middle, their cargo and passengers disgorged into launches. Warships too. Across the river in Pootung, industry showed itself in the great buildings of cotton and silk mills, warehouses, tobacco and other factories, their chimneys belching smoke into the grey sky. Along the Bund, crowded always, great merchant houses, and banks lined the wide and tree-lined thoroughfare. Here in the heart of the International Settlement, power was concentrated and palpable, the great building of the H & S Bank, the Customs House and the offices of the important shipping companies held the web of the British Empire together: Jardine-Matheson, Butterfield and Swire and of course that bastion of Empire -the P&O, Peninsula & Orient Steamship Company which brought most of the British here from home and would take them eventually back. Here too were the clubs, the most famous the Shanghai Club, notorious for the "longest bar in the world". Rickshaws jostled each other, the coolies shouting to clear the way while horse-drawn carriages with liveried drivers and footmen manoeuvred past the loaded two-wheeled barrows pulled by sweating coolies. On the broad promenade crowds of people, predominately Chinese, threaded past each other, with here and there a group of British naval officers, French or German blue-jackets and occasionally the colorful kimono of a Japanese woman brightened the blues and grays of the crowd.<sup>40</sup>*

### **A Fortuitous Meeting**

Elaine also records how her mother and father met,

*Mother had recently arrived in Shanghai in the company of Lord and Lady C. They were on a trip around the world and had travelled from Russia via the not yet completed Trans-Siberian railway. Mother accompanied Lady C as "Lady's companion", and it is quite likely that Father and she met at a reception in the hotel. Obviously there was a mutual attraction, and Mother with her strawberry blond hair had enough trust in Father eventually to later confide to him that Lord C had been paying unwelcome attentions to her and she did not know what to do. Soon the party would be resuming their trip and the situation had really become quite unbearable. Father was indignant and advised her she must not contemplate continuing the journey under the circumstances. Using his standing at the hotel. Father was able to obtain a position for her on the staff and she was out of this predicament. No doubt they saw each other frequently during this time, fell in love and become engaged.<sup>41</sup>*

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<sup>39</sup> NCH, 25 Aug 1905, p431

<sup>40</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p2

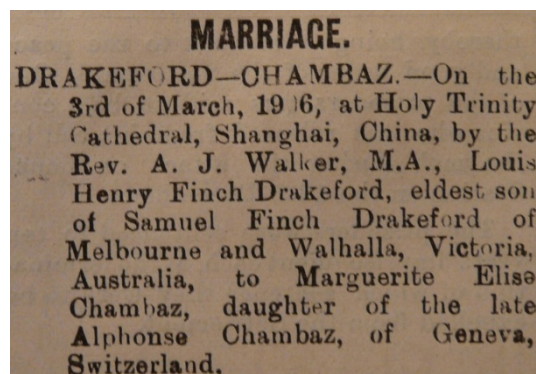
<sup>41</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, pp2-3

## Marriage

Bachelor life continued in Shanghai for the brothers, before Christmas 1905, they played at another SVC Artillery Smoker, one still a Gunner, the other a Bombardier.<sup>42</sup> In the New Year, they once again played at the Engineer's Smoking Concert held at the Masonic Hall.<sup>43</sup>

On 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1906, Louis Henry Finch Drakeford, was married at the Holy Trinity Cathedral in Shanghai. His wife was the aforementioned 'Lady's Companion', Miss Marguerite Elise Chambaz.

The wedding reception was held at the Astor House Hotel where Louis was still employed as the Secretary. The report in the newspaper noted that the bridegroom was an active member of the SVC in the Artillery battery and a valuable assistant at popular entertainments with a host of friends in Shanghai. The bride herself, '*charmingly costumed and veiled was attended by Miss Trixie Jones bridesmaid and was given away by Mr. R W Davies*'. Louis' best man was his brother Ernest. After the wedding, the couple left Shanghai to join a houseboat in the countryside around the picturesque canal city of Soochow [Suzhou].<sup>44</sup> Elaine's account of the honeymoon was that it was spent in the Saddle Islands [Shengsi] which is an archipelago at the mouth of Hangzhou Bay, an eight hour steamer ride from Shanghai to a much cooler climate and a haven in the summer from the heat.<sup>45</sup> The Saddle Islands would have been an unlikely destination in March, so perhaps there were two honeymoons.



*A foreigner's houseboat*

## Houseboat Days

For tourists and residents alike, a houseboat trip along the waterways around Shanghai was a common excursion and could last anything from 3 – 20 days. It allowed the visitor to see '*The innumerable creeks... often so beautiful, walled cities, market towns, villages, bridges, methods of irrigation and agriculture, [which] all afford ceaseless interest.*'<sup>46</sup> A guidebook

### IV

#### SEVEN DAYS' TRIP

##### Shanghai, Hangchow, Soochow, and Back

*First to Fourth Days* as II., but leave Hangchow by Soochow boat train.

*Fifth Day.* Arrive Soochow. See two old pagodas, twin pagodas, beamless temple, Tiger Hill pagoda, City Temple, yamen, gardens, etc. Before leaving Shanghai buy "Beautiful Soo," by Dr. Du Bose.

*Sixth Day.* Donkey or chair ride through city; can visit cotton mill by presenting card.

*Seventh Day.* Leave about 5 p.m. by boat train for Shanghai, arriving early morning eighth day.

*A typical houseboat itinerary around 1904*

<sup>42</sup> NCH, 22 Dec 1905, p65

<sup>43</sup> NCH, 2 Feb 1906, p223

<sup>44</sup> NCH, 9 Mar 1906, p511

<sup>45</sup> Robert Nield, *China's Foreign Places: The Foreign Presence in China in the Treaty Port Era, 1840-1943*, 2015, p192

<sup>46</sup> Rev C. E. Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook For Travellers And Residents*, 1904, p136



informed the reader that there were two classes of houseboat, the foreign and native types, the former being an adaptation of the latter. The native boat was cheaper, but the foreign more luxurious. It had a '*central cabin, with bunks at the sides for two: there is very often another small cabin and most of the boats are very well fitted up.*' The cost was around Tael 5-6 a day.

### **Court Time 2 – The Witness**

With a jolt back to reality after the excitement of their wedding and idyllic days spent on the canals around Soochow, Louis was back in court a few weeks later, this time as a witness in a trial. An ex steward, Mr A. Jovansen of the Astor House Hotel was making a claim of \$3,500 against Mr F. C. Heffer and F. Ayscough both directors of the Hotel for libel, a libel that he claimed had stopped him getting work in other hotels. The Steward had disagreed with the Hotel about promises to pay him more money and was later sacked from his job after a disagreement. Eventually, a letter was published in the *North China Daily News* signed by the two Directors refuting the charges made by the Steward and stating that, '*after thoroughly investigating the charges and find them one and all entirely false and without the least foundation in fact.*'<sup>47</sup> The Steward had previously printed his accusations in a pamphlet which he had sent to the shareholders of the Hotel.

Jovansen's key accusation was that the Astor House was buying cheap liquor in casks from America and putting it in old bottles of higher quality. He further made the accusation that books of account that would prove that he was right, had disappeared. Louis in his role as Secretary had been subpoenaed to bring books to the court and he confirmed that the dining room daily account book for the 9 months to September 1905 could not be found. He did not know when it went missing as it was kept by the Steward, he also noted that the storekeeper's issue book was missing.

The case lasted for two days. On the third day the Judge summed up, he agreed with Mr. Jovansen that his pamphlet was circulated to the shareholders only, not to the public, and therefore the issue was within the private domain. The fact that the Directors had in effect published their refutation to the world via the pages of the newspaper was a libel, albeit without malice. He awarded Jovansen a substantial sum of \$750 with costs.<sup>48</sup>

### **Sideway Views**

This case reveals several interesting points of note. During the evidence given by Louis, he told the court that '*When a dinner was given to Chinese it was not allowed to take place in the general dining-room.*'<sup>49</sup> This illustrates the segregation prevalent at that time, the Hotel was happy to employ Chinese staff and have Chinese customers, but not in the main dining room. The other point of note is the director Francis Ayscough, or rather his wife. She was a remarkable lady, one who Louis and Frederick most likely would have known. She has been well characterised in the introduction to a biography about her,

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<sup>47</sup> *NCH*, 30 Mar 1906, p732

<sup>48</sup> *NCH*, 6 Apr 1906, p37

<sup>49</sup> *NCH*, 30 Mar 1906, p733



*The Sensuous Realist Florence Ayscough—poet, translator, Sinologist, Shanghailanders, avid collector, pioneering photographer and early feminist champion of women's rights in China. Ayscough's modernist translations of the classical poets still command respect, her ethnographic studies of the lives of Chinese women still engender feminist critiques over three quarters of a century later and her collections of Chinese ceramics and objets now form an important part of several American museum's Asian art collections. Raised in Shanghai in an archetypal Shanghailanders family in the late nineteenth century, Ayscough was to become anything but a typical foreigner in China. Encouraged by the New England poet Amy*

*Lowell, she was to become a much sought after translator in the early years of the new century, not least for her radical interpretations of the Tang-dynasty poet Tu Fu. She later moved on to record China and particularly Chinese women using the new technology of photography, turn the Royal Asiatic Society's Shanghai library into the best on the China Coast and build several impressive collections featuring textiles, Ming and Qing ceramics. By the time of her death, Florence Ayscough has left a legacy of collection and scholarship unrivalled by any other foreign woman in China before or since.<sup>50</sup>*

### **Early Married Life**

Elaine paints an idyllic life as her parents started their life together,

*...they rented a house at number 20 Chowfung Road and prepared to enter into Shanghai social life.<sup>51</sup> They were invited to dinner parties and reciprocated in turn. People came to call, and as young marrieds they in turn left their calling cards. There were balls to go to, and plays to see for when a touring company arrived in town it was an occasion and everyone attended. About once a year a circus would come and it would be a cause for great excitement. There were concerts given and recitals to hear so that there was no lack of somewhere to go in the evening. When summer came, and the enervating heat fell like a pall on the city, businesses closed at about one thirty. No one could work in that great humid heat. People came home for tiffin (an elaborate late lunch) and afterwards lay in a tub of cool water until the sun relented at about four o'clock. Then refreshed by a change of clothes and afternoon tea, it was off to the country club to play or watch tennis, lawn bowls or perhaps cricket. Sitting on the veranda sipping drinks with friends, discussing perhaps the agenda for the Amateur Dramatic Club whiled away many a pleasant hour. Home to dinner prepared by the cook and served by the number one Boy, made a pleasant finale to the day.<sup>52</sup>*

<sup>50</sup> Lyndsey Shen, *Knowledge Is Pleasure: Florence Ayscough in Shanghai*, 2012,

<sup>51</sup> Chowfung Road was correctly spelled as Chaou Foong Road [GaoYang Road (South)]. It was about a mile or so from the Astor House Hotel.

<sup>52</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, pp5-6

## Excitement At The Astor House Hotel



*View of Garden Bridge and the Astor House Hotel over Suzhou Creek C.1908*

Later that year, at the Annual General Meeting of the Astor House Hotel, Louis was again present. The bad publicity from the libel case was not mentioned in the report and the Directors seemed to be very satisfied with the Hotel's results – whether or not the performance was helped by decanting cheap liquor into bottles!<sup>53</sup>

The following week, there was excitement in the Astor Hotel Garden,

*During the cinematograph exhibition at the Astor Garden on Saturday night, one of the films caught fire and the flames spread to the bamboo house from which this machine is*

*worked. The fire was extinguished at a cost of but little damage, Captain Davies and Mr. Gus Drakeford taking a prominent and plucky part in quenching the flames.*

Presumably this was Augustus Peter Drakeford, Louis' younger brother. Within the family Augustus was known as Peter, henceforth I shall refer to him as Peter. It was a dramatic way to make his first appearance in print in Shanghai.<sup>54</sup>

### **For The Benefit of Mr. ...**

The intriguingly named Volcano Marshall was given a benefit concert at the Lyceum, one of the major theatres in Shanghai. He had broken his left leg which left him in hospital for three months. Louis was there to accompany the various entertainers.<sup>55</sup> The first Lyceum theatre opened on 1 March 1867 and was a wooden construction, it burnt down four years later in March 1871.<sup>56</sup> The second Lyceum theatre was completed in 1874 and was the permanent home of the Shanghai Amateur Dramatic Club [ADC], a theatre group founded in 1866 for the foreigners living in Shanghai.<sup>57</sup> This is the venue where Louis would have performed. A third Lyceum theatre, which still stands today, was built in 1930. A few months after Volcano's benefit concert, the Lyceum was forced to close down on safety grounds due to structural problems.<sup>58</sup> For a while, the Town Hall was used for performances until the Lyceum reopened in May 1907.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> NCH, 24 Aug 1906, p449

<sup>54</sup> NCH, 31 Aug 1906, p498

<sup>55</sup> NCH, 12 Oct 1906, p86

<sup>56</sup> NCH, 8 Mar 1871, p159

<sup>57</sup> Jin Fu, *Chinese Theatre*, 2012, p91

<sup>58</sup> NCH, 11 Jan 1907, p55

<sup>59</sup> NCH, 17 May 1907, p405



## Changes Afoot

In June 1907 notes of an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Astor House were called to discuss the current debentures with a view to refinancing in order to help fund a substantial renovation of the Hotel. What is of interest to us is that Louis seems to have been replaced as Secretary by a Mr. A. W. Whitlow, although Louis was still listed as one of the attendees.<sup>60</sup>

## A Son Is Born

Louis and Marguerite's first child was a boy, born 14 June 1907, at the house on Chaou Foong Road. He was christened Louis Samuel Finch Drakeford. Elaine takes up the story,

*The English doctor who was to attend the birth had made arrangements for the Chinese baby-nurse to be ready. She would be living-in for several weeks, taking care of the baby and an amah would attend the mother.<sup>61</sup> Mother would luxuriate in bed during this lying-in period. The Chinese nurse showed up before time and took care of arranging the room for the birth. The cradle was ready in a corner, the elaborate little mosquito net hanging from a metal arm over it. The doctor assured mother she should have no difficulty. He would have chloroform if the pains were severe, the Chinese nurse he had trained and she was well experienced in child birth cases, really a midwife in her own right. It was comforting to have the nurse living in, for when the time came, she would send a servant to fetch Dr. Jones and meanwhile she could take care of things. Mother was not too worried. When June 14 came, everything went smoothly. The doctor was there, the little nurse was a wonder, helping and encouraging Mother, and the baby looked fine and healthy. Father was proud of his first-born. Like all first-time mothers, Mother marvelled at the tiny perfect little hands and feet and was strict with any visitors coming too close to the little one. She hadn't bargained with Uncle Ernest however. He was still staying with them, still looking for the ideal job, and still the prankster. Already he had destroyed the beautiful three tier wedding cake Mother had sentimentally kept in the living room. "What are you keeping that old thing for. Missus" he had said and knocked it over breaking it to pieces. She never forgot that. So when he came into the nursery she was very apprehensive. Bad enough he was smoking a big cigar, but before she could cry out he had shoved it into the baby's rose-bud mouth! "Not smoking yet Missus? that will make a man out of him" he cried. Mother was distraught, he had gone too far this time and it was not long after, that Ernest left for Australia not having been able to find anything suitable in China.<sup>62</sup>*

Louis thrived as a baby,

*A special baby-amah was engaged. She took complete charge of the baby under Mother's careful supervision, bringing him to her for the breast-feeding. Formulas were virtually unknown and it was a catastrophe if a mother had no milk. However, in that unlikely case a Chinese wet-nurse could be engaged and it was said that some idle society ladies who did not want to interrupt their social lives by being held down to a nursing schedule had a wet-nurse as a matter of course.*

*Ernest was still around and had been now joined by Father's youngest brother Peter, who also hoped to find a suitable job so the household was a large one and dinners were lively affairs.<sup>63</sup>*

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<sup>60</sup> NCH, 7 Jun 1907, p580

<sup>61</sup> An Amah is the equivalent of a child carer, a nanny or housemaid

<sup>62</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, pp8-9

<sup>63</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p10



*St Joseph's Church*

At Christmas 1907, for the second year, we hear that a Drakeford, presumably Louis, with two other men, were singing the Benedictus at the Roman Catholic St. Joseph's Church at the Christmas Day morning high mass.<sup>64</sup>

### **Court Time 3 – The Advisor**

The New Year 1908 saw Louis in a new role, he had left the Astor Hotel and had a new job. He appears in a court hearing, acting on behalf of the Shanghai Carrying Company. His client was asking for \$439.31 for repairs to stock, stolen property and loss of profits. His client had been established to introduce a superior type of Japanese ricksha (rickshaw) onto the streets of Shanghai. The report noted that their claim included a portion for uniforms stolen from the company's godown (warehouse) in Broadway [Daming Road] by the rioters who broke into the premises. Broadway was on the same street as the Astor Hotel so Louis had not moved far. The Claim's

Commissioner allowed \$160 for repairs to the rickshaws, but disallowed the loss of the uniforms because, *'it was quite possible that the Company's Chinese foreman thought that it would be an auspicious moment to remove the uniforms and say that it had been done by the rioters.'*<sup>65</sup>

### **The Mixed Court Riot**

This claim was one of numerous hearings for losses incurred during the *Mixed Court Riot* in Shanghai in December 1905. Something the Drakefords would have experienced first-hand, perhaps even having been called out for with the SVC. The Mixed Court was established in 1864 in order to solve the question about how to exercise jurisdiction over the ever increasing numbers of Chinese residing within the borders of the International Settlement. For criminal and civil cases involving only Chinese persons, prisoners were tried by Chinese magistrates, as were those cases involving foreigners who were 'unregistered', i.e. unrepresented by a consul. When the case being tried involved the interests of a foreigner, they were represented by an assessor, usually a junior consular official, who sat in on the case.<sup>66</sup> This inevitably caused resentment within the Chinese population, expressing as it did, the dominant position of the foreigner in the Settlement. This anger turned to violence in the *Mixed Courts Riot*. The straw that broke the camel's back was a dispute about whether a Chinese lady named Li should be held on remand. The British assessor wanted to hold the lady under the control of the Shanghai Municipal authorities, whereas the Chinese Magistrate thought that because the lady was a Chinese citizen, she should be held under the control of the Mixed Courts. The British Assessor's view prevailed and an attempt was made by the Shanghai Municipal Police to take the lady to the gaol. Events spiralled out of control which led to the SVC and men from several Men at War in port being mobilized.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> NCH, 3 Jan 1908, p24

<sup>65</sup> NCH, 10 Jan 1908, p75

<sup>66</sup> Robert Bickers, *Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai*, London, 2003, p76

<sup>67</sup> Bickers, *Empire Made Me*, p76



*The Masonic Hall C.1907*

### **Masonic Connections**

Frederick makes another appearance in a report on the election of officers for The Knights of Pythias, the second lodge of that particular masonic fraternal order which had been instituted on 23 May 1908. Frederick was appointed as the Keeper of Records and Seal.<sup>68</sup>

### **The Hanbury Institute**

Fred next makes an appearance in the role of Musical Director for the Shanghai Juvenile Dramatic Club who were giving a performance of a play in five acts titled *The Slave of the Lamp* at the Hanbury Institute. The performance was a fund raiser for the furniture fund of the Institute and Sailors Home.<sup>69</sup>

The Hanbury Institute and Sailor's Home to give it its full title, was opened in February 1908 replacing an earlier Sailor's home that had been in existence for some 50 years. It

comprised a 'reading-room, billiards room and bedrooms, the latter being single rooms in place of the less popular dormitories of the old Sailor's Home.'<sup>70</sup> The institute provided refuge for sailors who had fallen on hard times. The lady who organised the opening day's concert was the previously mentioned Florence Ayscough.

Louis was also involved in a charity event. He sang at the Shanghai Recreation Club's smoking evening which was a fundraiser for a new pavilion for the club. 'Messrs. W. J. Lewis and L. H. Drakeford were both in splendid voice and such is their reputation that no further guarantee of the excellence of their contributions to the programme is necessary.', reported the newspaper.<sup>71</sup>

### **Court Time 4 – The Witness**

From a court report in September 1908, we learn that Frederick appeared as a witness in a trial against a Mr. Kenneth Malone Marten, who had purchased goods from a tailor's store and obtained credit from the Hanbury Institute on false pretences using a letter purporting to have been written by a certain Dr. C. Lalcaca. The accused was found guilty and was sentenced to 14 days imprisonment with hard labour.<sup>72</sup>

The case was a good illustration of the complexity of the court system in Shanghai at this time, where as well as the aforementioned Mixed Court, there were numerous courts for different nationalities. Marten said that he objected to being subjected to trial in a British Court because he was American. He also stated that if the

<sup>68</sup> NCH, 30 May 1908, p572

<sup>69</sup> NCH, 6 Jun 1908, p639

<sup>70</sup> NCH, 7 Feb 1908, p327

<sup>71</sup> NCH, 19 Sep 1908, p708

<sup>72</sup> NCH, 26 Feb 1908, pp790-3

American authorities would not recognise him, he would prefer to be tried at the Mixed Court, adding that he could prove he was not British because he spoke and read Liberian. His statement caused some hilarity when he added that, *'he would rather go to the Mixed Court, where he would get better justice from a Chinese than from any British Court.'* The confusion as to his nationality required further investigations. The American authorities refused to agree that he was American. Eventually sufficient evidence was obtained to satisfy the court that he had been born in Bombay, India and was therefore under the jurisdiction of the British.

### A New Role for Louis

By at least as early as September 1908, Louis was working as Secretary for the Dallas Horse Repository Company on Mohawk Road [Huangpi Road (North)]. The company sold horses and made harnesses with premises next door to the Shanghai Race track.<sup>73</sup>

### Magic Tricks

In October 1908, Peter Drakeford was involved in a new series of weekly concerts held at the Hanbury Institute. The programme included some *'humorous items'* and a conjuror.<sup>74</sup>

Peter also accompanied one of his brother's at the prize giving of the SVC's annual rifle meeting's prize giving smoking concert. Bombardier Drakeford opened proceedings with a pianoforte solo.

This was followed by a juggler and then A. P. Drakeford *'contributed a capital song.'* After the prizes had been awarded, speeches made and refreshments taken, the concert was resumed by amongst others Bombardier Drakeford.

### Reacquainted

With his brother married, Frederick was soon to follow. Elaine's account of the courting of Fred and his fiancé Ruby seems to be a bit fanciful. She wrote that Ruby's mother Lefena Florence Martin arrived in Shanghai around 1908 with her four children (Ruby, Violet, Alan and Percy) after the death of her husband which had left them adrift while the mines in Walhalla were closing. The facts were somewhat different. Her husband William Martin actually died in 1923. In his will he left £100 to his wife who. In the will was recorded as living at 30 Quinsan Gardens in Shanghai. Elaine added,

*She and her husband had run a hotel there for many years, and the Drakeford boys had stayed there when they visited their father on vacation. It was likely that Fred knew the Martin children on his visits, but in any case when Mrs. Martin arrived in Shanghai, Fred courted her pretty younger daughter Ruby. He was not the only one for she became very popular with the young men, so much so that it was said she was quite "wild" with all the adoration. However it came about Fred "tamed" her...<sup>75</sup>*

In reality, Fred must have 'tamed' Ruby while visiting the hotel in Walhalla with his father. A newspaper report explained the forthcoming wedding plans, *'Within the next few weeks Mr S. F. Drakeford intends leaving Walhalla to join his sons who have been residents of Shanghai for some years. The "Chronicle" says Mr Drakeford will be accompanied by Miss Ruby Martin, who on her arrival is to be married to Mr Fred Drakeford.'*<sup>76</sup>

房馬泰裕老

*Laou-yu-tah-mo-vong.*

2, Mohawk Road.

**Dallas Horse Repository,  
The,**

Dallas, Frederick, *Managing  
Director.*

Wetherton, G. J. L.,  
*Secretary.*

Schwital, J., *Manager,  
Harness & Saddle Factory.*  
Tel. Address "Frederick."  
Telephone No. 613.

<sup>73</sup> NCH, 3 Oct 1908, p18

<sup>74</sup> NCH, 10 Oct 1908, p68

<sup>75</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p13

<sup>76</sup> *Gippsland Times* (Victoria), 26 Oct 1908, p3



A passenger list shows that in December 1908, Samuel Drakeford did indeed accompany Ruby to Shanghai travelling via Hong Kong. They arrived in Hong Kong around 22 December 1908 and it would have taken a few more days to travel to Shanghai.<sup>77</sup> There was not a lot of time for courting, more like reacquainting, the wedding was only days away.

### **Court Time 5 – The Defendant**

Louis returned to court in December 1908 as defendant against Frederick Jones. The case was a complex one. The two men had entered into a partnership to run and manage a retail business known as The Australian Mutual Stores. Everything sold by the store was sourced from Australia. When Mr Jones was questioned by Louis' Counsel, he proved to be a combative witness, leaving the witness box on several occasions and challenging the pertinence of the Counsel in asking questions. For example when Jones was asked by the Counsel, *'How was your salary as Government agent for Queensland paid?'* He replied, *'I like your impudence in asking me that. How is your salary paid; who is paying your costs? It is not fair that you should ask me about my private business.'* The Judge reminded Mr Jones that he must answer the questions put to him. The Counsel tried again, *'How much was paid by Government and how much by these firms?'* To which he replied, *'More than ever you will earn by legitimate law. Must I answer that your Lordship?'* The reporter clearly enjoyed the unusual and unruly witness, commenting that he was rather deaf and kept up a running commentary on the questions asked by Counsel.

When Louis took the stand as witness, he was much more measured in his responses. We learned that he had left the employment of the Astor House Hotel in February 1907. Because he did not have enough capital to start out as a merchant, he decided to start a business on his own as a commission agent. It was at this time he met Mr Jones who impressed him with his stories about the influence he had with traders in Australia which allowed him to get favourable letters of credit.

They entered into partnership, each of them putting in \$1,000, commencing business on 1 July 1907 at 39 Kiangse Road [Jiangxi Road]. The whole enterprise had been a disaster. Sometimes, when Mr Jones claimed



*The restored Supreme Court in as it looks today*

that there were letters of credit, goods were not released when they arrived in Shanghai without a payment being made. To add to the difficulties, Mr Jones disappeared for a time adding to the general confusion. In summing up the case, Louis' Counsel concluded that he had been induced into entering the partnership by material misrepresentations, whereas Mr Jones' Counsel stated that the losses had arisen because of Louis's incompetence. The Judge reserved judgment to consider the case. The result was reported on 9 January

<sup>77</sup> *South China Morning Post*, 22 Dec 1908, p12

and it was not to Louis' liking. The Judge concluded that Mr Jones had not said that he would be able to get letters of credit on all goods bought and many of the goods bought were indeed on letters of credit, he also felt that Louis did not do as well as he might in resolving the situations where there were no letters of credit, and that the tone of his letters suggested that he did not want to help his business partner. He therefore stated that the matters at hand could not be dealt with by setting aside the partnership agreement and rather that they should be dealt with by arbitration as set out in the partnership agreement. Louis indicated that he needed time to think about whether he should appeal against the decision before he appointed an arbitrator.<sup>78</sup> There is no record of such an appeal.

### Baseball's Best

In between the date of the trial and the verdict, we find Louis singing at a news worthy event. An 'All American Baseball Team' had landed in Shanghai on its way back to America from a tour of the Orient. The team had arrived in Shanghai from Japan on the back of winning all 17 matches against Japanese college teams. The oriental tour had been supported by a Philadelphia sporting good company called A. J. Reach and Company and comprised of players from the minor and major leagues.<sup>79</sup> The purpose of the tour was to '*Americanize through baseball the inhabitants of the newly acquired colonial possession, the Philippines.*'<sup>80</sup> The visit to Shanghai was primarily a fuelling stop for the liner but the opportunity was taken to play a match against the Shanghai Baseball Club. Predictably, the home team were easily beaten.

Entertainment was provided at a dinner at the International Race Club on Museum Road [Huqiu Road], where among others, Drakeford contributed songs '*which were peculiarly appropriate to the occasion and were called upon for encores.*'<sup>81</sup> After Shanghai, the team set sail for Hong Kong to play a few games and thence on to Manila before heading back to America.<sup>82</sup>



As reported in an American Newspaper, the Baseball team set sail

<sup>78</sup> NCH, 9 Jan 1909, p99

<sup>79</sup> W. Harrison Daniel, *Jimmie Foxx: The Life and Times of a Baseball Hall of Famer, 1907-1967*, 1996, p77

<sup>80</sup> Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams: How Baseball Linked the United States and Japan in Peace and War*, 2012, p111

<sup>81</sup> NCH, 19 Dec 1908, p716

<sup>82</sup> *Hawaiian Star*, 10 Nov 1908, p6

## Another Wedding



*St Andrew's Church C. 1917*

Four days before the disappointing news about the trial reached Louis, his brother Frederick was married. The big day was 5 January 1909, and the venue was St Andrew's Church, 31 Broadway, which was on the same street and associated with the Hanbury Institute at 16 Broadway. St Andrew's was a new church, dedicated in October 1904.<sup>83</sup> Officiating at the wedding was the Reverend Herbert May Trickett. As noted above, Frederick's new bride was Ruby Florence Martin, eldest daughter of William Martin from Walhalla, Victoria, Australia.<sup>84</sup> Ruby was given away by Frederick's father, Samuel Finch Drakeford. The reception was held at Louis' home (presumably the one at Chowfung Road) and was followed by



MR. AND MRS. F. J. DRAKEFORD

a dinner at the Social Shanghai Tea Rooms. The honeymoon was taken onboard the Steamer *Loong-wo* up the Yangtze River to Hankow [Wuhan].<sup>85</sup>

## An Unexpected Death

Only six weeks later, the Vicar who had married Frederick and Ruby died. He was only 47 years old. Ten days before he died he went to a nursing home suffering from sciatica but a few days later he was given an operation for liver

trouble. At first, the operation seemed a success, but Trickett

suddenly took a turn for the worse and died. Hailing from New South Wales, Australia, he had only been in Shanghai two years, he left behind a wife and two sons.<sup>86</sup>



*Trinity Cathedral C.1907*

A large congregation attended his funeral which was held at the Cathedral rather than the smaller St Andrew's church, to ensure that there was sufficient room for the anticipated large congregation. One of the coffin bearers was

<sup>83</sup> *NCH*, 14 Oct 1904, p921

<sup>84</sup> *NCH*, 16 Jan 1909, p106

<sup>85</sup> *Social Shanghai*, 1909, Volume 7, p127

<sup>86</sup> *NCH*, 20 Feb 1909, p452



Frederick, carrying the coffin to the hearse while Handel's *The Dead March in Saul* was played. The cortege to the cemetery was headed by two Sikh troopers who led the clergy, a detachment of blue jackets and marines and the boys from the Cathedral School. At the cemetery Frederick was once again a coffin bearer.<sup>87</sup>

### **The Yeoman**

Louis participated in the 154<sup>th</sup> production of the Shanghai Amateur Dramatic Club in April 1909. The production was Gilbert and Sullivan's, *The Yeomen of the Guard*. Louis played 'Third Yeoman'. The performance was well received, the review concluding that,

*To sum up, there was throughout the whole production a finish in all departments a sense of solidity and sureness that must place "The Yeoman of the Guard" very high in the annals of the A.D.C., and it is safe to say that it might draw full houses for many more than the promised five nights.*<sup>88</sup>

### **Travelling In Style**

It was custom and practice in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to publish the names and destinations of persons travelling to and from Shanghai on the many steamers that passed through the port. In one of these listings we see that Louis, his wife and child (Louis Samuel Finch Drakeford) were leaving Shanghai bound for Melbourne on the Steamer *Eastern* leaving on 4 July.<sup>89</sup> The trip must have been a welcome one, after the stressful court case and his brother's wedding it was time to take stock and embrace the opportunity to escort his wife, and by now two year old firstborn, to Australia to see his mother and siblings.

### **Court Time 6 – The Fleeting Appearance**

Perhaps Louis' brother Ernest returned to Shanghai or he had not left as early as was suggested above, because he was reported as being a witness at another trial in March 1909. The case was between two cigarette companies, the Anglo-Chinese Tobacco Company and the British Cigarette Company. The former company was accusing the latter of making false representation on its cigarette packaging. It was claimed that misleading wording suggested that the cigarettes were made in America rather than China. Ernest appeared early on in the trial. Seemingly, representing the view of 'the man on the street', he gave corroborative evidence stating that, as a private person, the wording printed on the labels and cigarettes led him to believe that the Atlas and Drumhead cigarettes were manufactured in America.<sup>90</sup> It seems an odd intervention, he never appeared in the trial report again which went into a lot of detail about the history of the cigarette industry in the years preceding the case, and about copyright and trademark rules. One wonders how Ernest found himself in the position to make one of the opening remarks...

### **Court Time 7 – The Juror**

Ernest must have impressed during his court appearance, in June of 1909 he was again in court, this time as a member of the jury. The case involved a Sikh gentleman, Mr Dewan Singh who was alleged to have '*committed a criminal offence on a Chinese on 23 May*'. The report was very short, it merely noted that '*After evidence had been taken accused was discharged.*'<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> NCH, 20 Feb 1909, p484

<sup>88</sup> NCH, 24 Apr 1909, p194

<sup>89</sup> NCH, 10 Jul 1909, p108

<sup>90</sup> NCH, 27 Mar 1909, p781

<sup>91</sup> NCH, 19 Jun 1909, p686



## **Dredging The River – Dredging The Depths**

A letter written by Louis Drakeford while in Shanghai before he returned to Australia appeared in the *Gippsland Times* on 22 Oct 1908 titled, "SQUEEZE" IN CHINA: WALHALLA LAD'S EXPERIENCE.<sup>92</sup> It told of the extraordinary events experienced by Peter Drakeford in 1908. Louis explains in the letter that through his intimate acquaintance with Mr \_\_\_, a very high Mandarin official – a Taotai - he had managed to procure Peter a 'very fair position' as an Overseer with a River Conservancy Board. The Taotai was an imperial Chinese official who as Magistrate oversaw the circuit of the Chinese city of Shanghai, then part of Jiangsu Province, in the Qing Empire. He was an important person in resolving issues between the Chinese and International Settlement of Shanghai. Based on the date, the name of the Taotai would have been either Liang Ju Hao or Tsai Nai Huang.<sup>93</sup> In 1909 Mr Tsai was a director of the company established to run the project.<sup>94</sup>

### **Background To The Dredging**

For decades, there had been concern in Shanghai about the river silting up and the city becoming literally a back water. Shanghai is located inland on the Whangpoo River [Huangpu], which gives it access to both the Yangtze River and the South China Sea and the world.<sup>95</sup> Robert Hart, the long serving head of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service ominously predicted that Zhenjiang would overtake Shanghai as the most important semi-terminus and trans-shipment port in twenty years' time, if work were not done on the Whangpoo River to ensure navigation. In 1875, behind the backs of the Chinese, the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce and the SMC invited two Dutch hydraulic engineers, George Arnold Escher<sup>96</sup> and Johannes de Rijke, who were working in Japan for the Japanese government, to take a look at the problem. They wrote a report but the plan was not accepted, mainly because the cost was thought prohibitive.

In the 1880s the Chinese authorities attempted to deepen the river but the affect was short-lasting. The Shanghai merchant community had not given up searching for ways to improve the situation. In 1897 De Rijke, whose civil engineering career had blossomed in the intervening period, was asked to write another report. Initially there still was no money available to carry out his plans, but in 1900, the Boxer War between China and the foreign powers came to the rescue of the river improvement scheme. One of the stipulations in the 1901 Boxer protocol was that China would finance the improvement of the Whangpoo, and subsequently a foreign-controlled river conservancy board was formed to initiate and supervise the work.

Progress was slow and it was not until 1906 that the Whangpoo Conservancy Board started work. The first decision was to decide on what work was necessary and who should do it. The decision making process on this hugely significant project, both in cost and prestige, was the subject of intense political manoeuvring by among others the British, Chinese, Dutch and German governments. Eventually De Rijke was appointed as Chief Engineer in June 1907. In response to his appointment, three Dutch contractors formed a consortium called the East Asiatic Dredging Company [EAD]. It was common for dredging contractors to form consortiums in order to obtain large projects and manage the high risks and costs involved. The company was in competition with French, Japanese and German consortiums and therefore, the eventual appointment of the EAD in 1907 had been the focus of intense political negotiations.

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<sup>92</sup> *Gippsland Times*, (Victoria), 22 Oct 1908, p3

<sup>93</sup> Liang Yuen-sang, *The Shanghai Taotai: Linkage Man in a Changing Society, 1843 – 90*, Appendix A, p178

<sup>94</sup> *1909 Directory & Chronicle for China, Japan, &c.*, p847

<sup>95</sup> For a detailed account of the Huangpu Conservancy controversy see, Shirley Ye, 'Corrupted Infrastructure: Imperialism and Environmental Sovereignty in Shanghai, 1873–1911', *Frontiers of History in China* 10, 2015, pp 428-56, and Frans-Paul van der Putten, 'Corporate Behaviour and Political Risk: Dutch Companies in China 1903-1941', *Doctoral Thesis for Leiden University*, pp152-56 . Sourced from <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/15900> . Accessed 1 October 2020.

<sup>96</sup> Escher was the father of Maurits Cornelis Escher, one of the world's most famous graphic artists.

## Dredging Commences

It took a year before all of the required heavy-duty equipment had arrived in Shanghai. Most pieces had to be towed from Amsterdam via the Suez Canal with smaller and simpler equipment being acquired in China.

Peter was presumably recruited in late 1907. We know that, on March 8, 1908 Peter aka Gus, by now an overseer, had made a confidential statement that M. Kamsteeg, the superintendent employed by the EAD had offered him bribes and tried to persuade him to make false returns on the amount of silt that had been dredged. This corresponds with what was written in Louis' letter,

*Gus's duties consist in checking the quantities of silt raised by the contractors with the dredges. Shortly after joining, Gus was approached by a representative of the firm who have the contract, a party of very wealthy Dutchmen, and offered a bribe to certify that greater quantities of silt were being raised by the contractors than was actually the case.<sup>97</sup>*

Louis explained further,

*Of course Gus refused, and took the first opportunity of communicating with me, and I advised him to report the matter to Mr —. By Mr — Gus was ordered in the name of the Board to procure further information by adopting a different system of checking. This was soon supplied, and in the course of six months it was discovered beyond doubt that some of the men were accepting bribes to cheat their employers - the Conservancy Board, and that the latter were being swindled out of about 40,000 taels per month, equivalent to about £5,000. The amount paid as bribes to the various employees varied from £10 to £20 per month. I might mention that during the six months Gus was tried several times but kept straight.*

## Gu Hongming

The man that Peter reported to was Gu Hongming. He was another significant historical Chinese figure in the years before and after the fall of the Qing Empire. Gu was an overseas Chinese, born in Penang in 1857. Because Malaya was a British Colony, he was also a British subject. At age 13 he accompanied his father's employer, a British man, to Britain for education. In 1871, he earned a master's degree in literature at the University of Edinburgh and then studied civil engineering at University of Leipzig. Between 1871 and 1873 he studied and travelled in Europe, acquiring German, French, and Italian.



Gu Hongming (1857 – 1938) C 1917

He returned to Penang in 1880 and only then started to formally study Chinese. He soon joined the colonial Singapore civil service, where he worked until 1883. He went to China in 1885, and served as an advisor to the Chinese official Zhang Zhidong for twenty years. From 1905 to 1908, he was the director of the Whangpoo Conservancy Board. He served in the Imperial Foreign Ministry from 1908 to 1910, then as the president of the Nanyang Public School, the forerunner of Shanghai Jiao Tong University. He resigned the latter post in 1911 as a sign of his loyalty to the fallen imperial Qing government. In 1915, he became a professor at Peking University. From 1924 he lived in Japan and Japanese-administered Taiwan for three years as a guest lecturer in Oriental cultures. Finally, he returned to live in Beijing until his death in 1928 at the age of 72.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>97</sup> *Gippsland Times*, (Victoria), 22 Oct 1908, p3

<sup>98</sup> Gotelind Muller, *Gu Hongming (1857-1928): China's Defence Against the Occident*, University of Heidelberg, 2013.

## Standing Firm

The fact that Peter stood his ground by consistently refusing to be bribed, and then reported the matter, firstly to a Chinese person, albeit a 'British' one, shows tremendous strength of character and a strict moral compass. Despite the support from Gu, the initial complaint was ignored and Drakeford was now a marked man. Louis wrote,

*As they could not bribe him, and as he knew too much, he had to be got rid of, so a deliberate attempt was made to murder him. One of the contractors' men picked a quarrel with him about three in the morning. There was a bit of a scuffle in which Gus held his own, but a little later, as he was writing some figures in a book, this man rushed at him and knocked him over the end of the mud barge into the river, which was running about six knots. Gus had knee boots on, which filled with water, and as he could not swim, he was rapidly swept along the side of the barge, the villain who had knocked him in carefully poking him down with a pole as he rose to the surface. Fortunately for Gus the whole thing was witnessed by the captain of the dredge, who got on the barge, and just as Gus was going down for the third time he promptly laid the murderer out with a boat hook and fished Gus out as he reached the end of the barge, 100 feet from where he was knocked in. Restorative measures were adopted and Gus recovered, but he was as near gone as a man could be.*

## More Revelations

Events moved along, a few months later a second person also made allegations about the fraud. Arie Renaud, who was the former dredging master of the EAD's dredger *Rhenania*, and since dismissed for 'incurable continual drunkenness and of a brutal assault on a native woman.'<sup>99</sup> wrote a letter to the Board. In it, he accused his former employers of systematically swindling the Conservancy Board, and several of the Conservancy overseers of receiving bribes, called "hopper money." On August 9, one of the Conservancy overseers, J. Mills, admitted to Gu Hongming and Sergeants Bookless and McDowell that he had received "hopper money" for over-measuring barges and falsifying returns. He signed a statement to this effect. On August 11, the Mills told De Rijke and a Captain Forbes of the fraud and the EAD wrote to the Conservancy Board stating that they had paid "hopper money" to their employees. With the exception of Mills, all of the employees accused, denied on oath receiving "hopper money" from the contractors.

## The Fraud Exposed

Two months before Louis' account was published in Australia, the *North China Daily News* reported that,

*So many rumours have been current in connexion with the Huangpu Conservancy, that it may be advisable to state briefly what has happened to date. Towards the end of July, Mr. Ku Hung-Ming [Gu Hongming] brought to the notice of the Board alleged irregularities of a serious nature in regard to the dredging contract and the expenditure on the Huangpu Conservancy scheme. When these matters were brought to the notice of Viceroy Tuan Fan, his Excellency nominated a Commission... to make a thorough investigation of the matter... In view of the nature of the allegations that have been made, it would appear to be as much in the interests of fairness to both parties as for the general satisfaction of the community, that an investigation should be conducted by an independent Commission.<sup>100</sup>*

This was presumably the investigation to which Louis was referring when he wrote,

*This incident led to renewed inquiries, and soon further and conclusive evidence of the swindle was procured, but unfortunately it would seem that several of the chief officers were interested in keeping the matter quiet, for when Mr — tried to push the matter they did all in their power to keep it dark. An attempt to have the man arrested for attempted murder was foiled by another high personage, who was apparently a friend of the contractors consequently the man got away. The Viceroy has appointed a special commission of enquiry into these matters. This has not started yet owing to various intrigues, but I have hopes it will soon*

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<sup>99</sup> NCH, 12 Dec 1908, p682

<sup>100</sup> NCH, 29 Aug 1908, p518

come off. If it does it is almost certain that Gus will come out of it very well, as but for him the swindle in all probability would never have been discovered. If the enquiry comes out all right it will be one of the most sensational things known here for years, and many reputations will be seriously damaged... calls for a public enquiry seems more hopeful daily. Gus is suspended in the meantime, but is on full pay.<sup>101</sup>

### Tuan Fang

The Viceroy of Nanking, Tuan Fang was also an imperial Chinese official, more senior than the Taotai, he was situated upstream on the Yangtze river in Nanking. A brief Western oriented portrait was painted of him in 1908,



Tuan Fang (1861 - 1911), Viceroy of Nanking

*His Excellency Tuan Fang is one of the most progressive statesmen in China. He qualified for official life by passing the usual examinations, and, at the early age of twenty-eight received the rank of Substantial Taotai. His promotion was rapid. In 1900 he was Governor of Shensi Province. Here his name is held in the highest respect because of his humane treatment of the foreigners during the Boxer riots. He had sufficient strength of character to ignore the decree containing their death sentence, and gathering them together to the number of about 80, he sent them out of the province under a strong escort. He became Governor of Soochow and, later, of Hunan, and was subsequently appointed one of the Imperial High Commissioners to travel abroad and study the methods of Constitutional Government in European countries. On his return he was made Viceroy of Foochow, but before he had time to proceed to his destination the viceroyalty of Nanking fell vacant, and he was requested to fill the position.<sup>102</sup>*

His career ended suddenly. Loyal to the monarchy, in September 1911 he was appointed as the acting governor of Sichuan province and led the Hubei New Army into Sichuan. The army mutinied on November 27, and an officer named Liu Yifeng killed him, as part of a general wave of anti-Manchu violence during the revolution, although ironically Tuan Fang was actually a Han Chinese.

### Coverup?

The reporting of the scandal gained momentum, letters were published about the capacity of dredgers and how best to measure them while disagreement continued about the how the scandal should be investigated. In August, an agreement had been made to hand the investigation to a Commission of four people nominated by the Huangpu Conservancy Board and the Taotai of the Kiangnan Dock and Engineering Works. However, the Consular Body got involved and wrote a letter to the Commissioner of Customs in its capacity as Director of the Huangpu Conservancy Board saying that the appointment of the Commission was unnecessary and should be dealt with by the members of the Huangpu Conservancy Board without outside interference. *'For the present, therefore, any inquiry into the allegations against the contractors is in abeyance in consequence of the Consul's action.'*<sup>103</sup>

The *North China Daily News* was to say the least rather sceptical of the Consuls' approach, pointing out that amongst other things that the glare of public opinion warranted an independent investigation into serious fraud allegations and the EAD had already admitted to some 'irregularities' but dismissed allegations of bribery

<sup>101</sup> *Gippsland Times*, (Victoria), 22 Oct 1908, p3

<sup>102</sup> Arnold Wright Ed., *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hongkong, Shanghai, and Other Treaty Ports of China*, 1908, p778

<sup>103</sup> *NCH*, 12 Sep 1908, p638



and corruption as a misconception of a practice of giving bonuses. The newspaper also said that they were 'at a loss to understand the failure on the part of the Dutch Consul to insist upon a prompt and thorough investigation', adding that, surely such charges are, 'devoid of all foundation: but having been made it should be subjected to the fullest investigation in order that, as we sincerely hope, it may be entirely refuted. Until this is done, the public becomes inevitably a prey to the gravest misgivings.'<sup>104</sup>

### **German Complaints**

The German Consortium had not been happy that de Rijkjes' proposal was chosen over theirs and they followed the progress of the Dutch project in detail. Amidst all the controversy about the fraud, they eagerly fanned the flames of discontent. A translation of an article published in the Shanghai based German newspaper *Ostasiatische Lloyd* tearing apart the progress reports issued by the Conservancy Board, was published in English 'After a very careful study of the Board's reports it rather appears to us as if not even a single thing had happened as promised by M. de Rijke to the shipowners interested in the shipping of Shanghai.'<sup>105</sup>

### **A Suspicious Death**

In the meantime, Captain Renaud was being sued for libel because of his allegations, and was due to stand before the Netherlands Consular Court. The hearing was initially postponed due to his illness and then cancelled due to his death at the Shanghai General Hospital. The week before he died, he had been interviewed by the Commissioner of Customs, Mr. H. E. Hobson and the Shanghai Taotai, Mr. Tsai who were by now conducting a preliminary inquiry on behalf of the Huangpu Conservancy Board.<sup>106</sup> Inevitably, wild speculation and frenzied rumours swirled around Shanghai. It subsequently transpired that his death was connected with his excessive drinking.

### **Allegations and Rebuttals**

In early November, the *North China Daily News* reported that, a report had been completed and that a Chinese translation was being prepared to send to Tuan Fang, the Viceroy of Nanking. They also understood that the inquiry had found evidence of fraud and that proposals had been made about how to make good the wrong. In the strongest terms, the newspaper also demanded that the contents of the report be fully published and that there be a public inquiry.<sup>107</sup>

In December, the *North China Daily News* continued to agitate for a public inquiry but lamented that their suggestions, have 'not secured the support of those with whom the final decision rests; while any attempt to bring the case into a law court has been burked, in spite of the fact that the insinuations freely bandied about have reference -bien entendu quite irresponsibly- to attempted murder, graft and official incompetency.'<sup>108</sup> In the meantime, a rival newspaper had obtained a copy of the report and published it. Because the report was confidential, the *North China Daily News* took the moral high ground and refused to publish it.

They did however publish a letter sent to them by the Board of the EAD who mounted a spirited defence of their position, refuting the report's contents and pointing out that testimonies were not made on oath and that the report had no legal status, adding for good measure, 'We understand that certain of our men testified in a manner, the purport of which was to do us some harm. We have taken notice thereof, as we have sufficient experience of this class of people to know what value to place on their sayings...'<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> NCH, 12 Sep 1908, p639

<sup>105</sup> NCH, 19 Sep 1908, p717

<sup>106</sup> NCH, 10 Oct 1908, p104

<sup>107</sup> NCH, 7 Nov 1908, p301

<sup>108</sup> NCH, 5 Dec 1908, p577

<sup>109</sup> NCH, 12 Dec 1908, p682



*De Rijke, (with the spade and clogs), and Hobson, prodding a Chinese official, presumably the Shanghai Taotai, featured in The Eastern Sketch Magazine in March 1906*

Before the response of the Viceroy had been received, a letter from the Directors of the Huangpu Conservancy Board was printed saying that on the back of their report, the Consular Body had concluded that the dredging contractors had *'been guilty of serious irregularities in offering hopper money in direct opposition to the wishes of the Engineer in chief.'* It added that the *'Malpractices have thus been committed in dredging to the damage of the Chinese Government but to dredge 250,000 cubic yards free of charge will more than compensate for this damage.'*<sup>110</sup> This was in contradiction to what was recommended in the report, i.e. that the Directors were prepared to dredge 500,000 cubic yards free of cost.<sup>111</sup>

The letter sent between the Chinese official appears to be their conditions for resolving the problems caused by the errant contractor. The Taotai made nine recommendations to the Viceroy. The first two being that he agreed that after consultation with the Engineer in Chief Mr. Johannis de Rijke and a Mr. Herbert Elgar Hobson, a Director of the Board, that they

no longer wished to cancel the contract as long as the company agreed to dredge 500,000 cubic yards free.<sup>112</sup> The Taotai also recommended that all overseers of the Huangpu Conservancy Board be changed with the exception of Peter Drakeford who should be offered a position on the outdoor staff of the Customs. The other recommendations were to do with ensuring that the dredging was satisfactorily overseen to protect Chinese interests. The Viceroy agreed with the most of the Taotai recommendations and in particular that *'Overseer Drakeford is to be given a position in the Customs and a reward of one thousand taels for his services.'* The Viceroy also asked the Taotai to consider what form of recognition and compensation should be given to the family of the late Captain Renaud.<sup>113</sup>

In the quarterly report of the Huangpu Conservancy Board for the months April to June, it confirms that the Viceroy's wishes were complied with. It notes that *'A. P. Drakeford'* was indeed awarded a reward of 1,000 Taels for his services and notes that he left the employment of the Board, presumably to join the Chinese Maritime Customs, an organisation also working on behalf of the Chinese government, albeit under the control of Sir Robert Hart.

<sup>110</sup> NCH, 8 May 1909, p308

<sup>111</sup> NCH, 7 Nov 1908, p302

<sup>112</sup> This was about two months work – see NCH, 12 Dec 1908, p682, also gives a good overview of the dispute.

<sup>113</sup> NCH, 19 Jun 1909, pp699-700

## Court Time 7 – An Epic Tale

Starting in September 1909, a commercial dispute was recorded in the pages of the local newspapers in tremendous detail. One of the protagonists was Samuel Drakeford, his role, the acting secretary of the Dallas Horse Repository Company and an ally of the founding Directors of this once family company. A business which was now at the mercy (as they saw it) of voracious shareholders who wanted to take control of the company. In the courts, no quarter was given while the combative assailants fought their rivalry out under the bemused gaze of the Shanghai public and the endurance of the eminent judge. Nobody involved came out of the case looking good, and the company barely survived the immense distraction from its business adjacent to the Race Club and Race Course. Because of the complexity of the case and the number of words necessary to recount the sorry tale, I have included the story in Appendix 5.

### A Capable Man

A calmer and more serene annual meeting was held at the Hanbury Institute, that of the Seamen's Church and Mission Society. The meeting reported in great detail on the activities of the organisation during the year. The death of Reverend Trickett loomed large. Commenting on the Manager of the Mission, the report recorded that, '*We are very fortunate in having such a capable and energetic manager as Mr. F. J. Drakeford. He has made the Institute a comfortable home, and has given every satisfaction to the Committee and the boarders.*'<sup>114</sup>

### Travelling

In the middle of the Dallas Horse dispute, a Mr. Samuel H. Drakeford was listed as travelling on Steamer *Kinling* from Hankow on 18 December.<sup>115</sup> Samuel was occasionally referred to as Sam H., perhaps he was taking a Christmas break away from Shanghai to escape the possible embarrassment about the revelations coming out in court.



*Paddle Steamer Kinling discharging at Shanghai C.1917*

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<sup>114</sup> *NCH*, 25 Feb 1910, p426

<sup>115</sup> *NCH*, 6 Nov 1909, p741

On 27 January 1910, Louis, his wife and child once again travelled to Melbourne, this time on the 4,000 ton Steamer *Aldenham*.<sup>116</sup> He must have only returned from Australia a few months before. Elaine's memoir explains why there was such a hasty return.

*Back at home at Chowfung Road, Mother was glad to have the luxury of servants again. Father was able to take up journalistic work at the North China Daily News and found time to join in some amateur musicals. The group put on a Pierrot show, at that time a very popular form of entertainment, and others where his ability in writing the transitional music from one skit to another proved invaluable. Soon he was writing little songs and ditties and they enjoyed considerable popularity, and made this little group stand out.*<sup>117</sup>

On a 'boys' trip to Hangchow [Hangzhou] to see the famous tidal bore with his old work colleague from the *North China Daily News* and now god father to his son, R. W. Davies, and a few of his old 'mess pals' from when he first arrived in Shanghai, Louis spent a pleasant few days away from the hustle and bustle of Shanghai. It was during this trip that a new opportunity arose.

### **The Han Yang Ping Iron And Coal Company**

Davies told Louis that he had heard about an interesting prospect, the establishment of an iron and steel works in Hankow. He had been told that there was now an excess of pig iron and that the managers were looking for agents to sell this excess abroad. He thought it might be a good idea for Louis to investigate further.

*Excited by the possibilities. Father took the trip up the Yangtze to Hankow and inspected the iron works himself. He found that it had been erected and supplied by a British company: The Tee Side Iron Works Co, of Yorkshire. It consisted of two blast furnaces sixty five feet high and rolling mills which produced rails, angles, bars and plates. This sounded good, but unfortunately for China the impurities in the iron ore from the Wong Chittong Mines made it unsuitable for steel-making, and pig iron was the only usable result and was being produced in excess of China's limited needs. Back in Shanghai, Father negotiated with the Iron Works headquarters there and was elated to find that they had no agent to sell to Australia. He was offered the position and accepted the quite generous terms of the contract. Mother was pleased at the prospect of returning to Australia.*<sup>118</sup>

And so Louis senior, Marguerite and Louis junior arrived back to stay with their extended family. His arrival back in Australia was proclaimed by the newspaper headline 'AN IRONMASTER FROM CHINA', arriving on Friday 13 August 1909, the report noted that 'The company he represents is a large concern, and employs close upon 20,000 hands altogether... The manufacture of steel rails is a big industry, and China provides a ready market, Japan is also a customer, while pig iron is exported to America.'<sup>119</sup> The following year, more information was published about Louis' activities,

*The production of iron, however is in excess of the production of steel, and for sometime past the surplus has been exported to the United States. It is now proposed to ascertain whether the Australian market can absorb some of this surplus, and this is the object of my mission. The pig iron is quite equal to that manufactured in any other part of the world, but although we may offer certain inducements to merchants, it is not our intention to cut prices very fine. We will get the best price we can for our surplus iron.*<sup>120</sup>

Life was going well, a daughter named Yvonne Marguerite was born 4 August 1911 and by travelling extensively around the huge continent, Louis secured many orders for his Chinese employers. However, events beyond his control -the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty- led to the destruction of the Ironworks by rebellious troops and Louis lost his job.

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<sup>116</sup> NCH, 29 Jan 1910, p228

<sup>117</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p13

<sup>118</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p14

<sup>119</sup> 13 Aug 1909, *Evening News* (Sydney), p5

<sup>120</sup> 9 Mar 1910, *Lithgow Mercury* (NSW), P4



The press asked Louis to comment on the historic overthrow of the Chinese monarchy. He stated that the events 'were interesting but not altogether unexpected.', adding that,

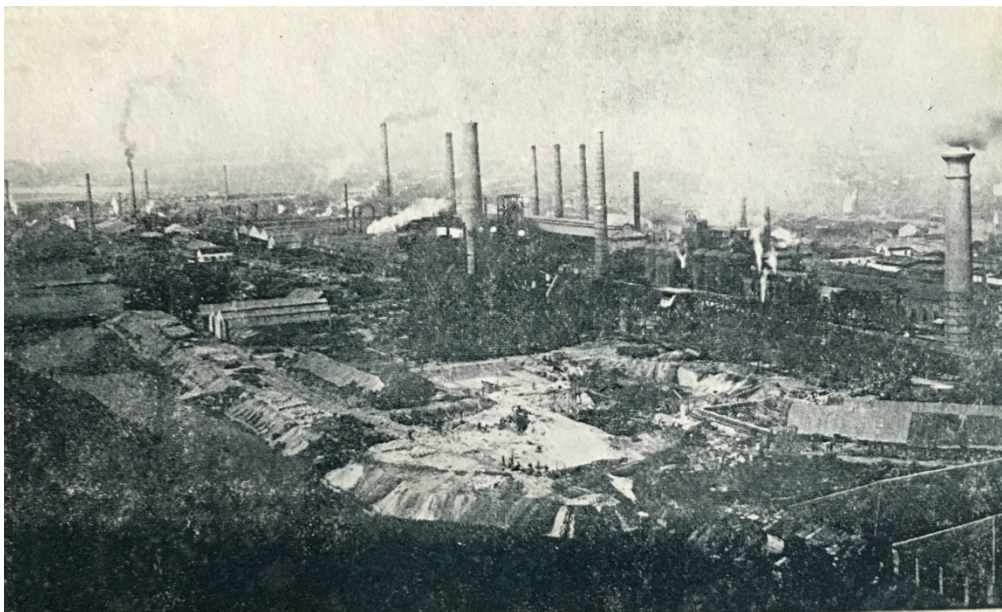
*For some time past there has been a growth of revolutionary feeling throughout China. It is the object of Sun Yat Sen to reorganise the Empire, with the object of overthrowing the Ta Ching (Manchu) dynasty. We who have lived in China have never heard of the project to establish a republic, but that may be a later development.<sup>121</sup>*

He observed that Sun Yat Sen was,

*...said to have received considerable assistance from Chinese in foreign parts, particularly in America and the Straits Settlement. The revolutionary leader has been a veritable will-o'-the-wisp. There has been a price on his head for many years, but he has always been so successful in concealing his movements that he has been able to evade capture.<sup>122</sup>*

Speaking within a week of the start of the revolution, Louis' detailed commentary as a contemporary account of events from the distance of Australia, shows the extent of his knowledge and understanding of the state of Chinese politics at this time. While not totally historically accurate, it shows how well informed he was when Puyi, the last emperor, was overthrown. As far as it directly affected him, Louis observed that,

*The Han Yang arsenal is practically an extension of the Han Yang iron and steel works. The arsenal is however government property, while the steel works are conducted by a joint stock company... The shareholders in the steelworks will now be in some trepidation as to the safety of their property, which is contiguous to and in the same compound as the arsenal. However, the revolutionaries have secured a great strategic advantage in taking possession of it, it is not likely that any damage will be done. If they are forced to retreat, however, they may decide to destroy the arsenal so as to prevent the Government troops making use of it. Then the steel works might also suffer, although as it is a purely commercial affair, it may not be damaged.<sup>123</sup>*



*The Hanyang Steel Works C.1911*

The first major uprising of the revolution had in fact started near the Han Yang arsenal on 9 Oct 1911. The conflagration started more by accident than design, when revolutionaries triggered an accidental bomb explosion which sparked the revolution. During the ensuing incident, revolutionaries stormed the arsenal and took a number of rifles and

other arms. When the dust had settled, Hubei province fell to the revolutionaries and the officials at Han Yang arsenal actively supported them, supplying them with much-needed guns and ammunition, helping to deliver a

<sup>121</sup> *Daily Herald*, (Adelaide) 16 Oct 1911, p5

<sup>122</sup> *Daily Herald*, (Adelaide) 16 Oct 1911, p5

<sup>123</sup> *Daily Herald*, (Adelaide) 16 Oct 1911, p5

major blow to the Qing authorities. After the Qing Dynasty finally collapsed in February 1912, Han Yang arsenal produced weapons for the new Republic of China.<sup>124</sup>

Louis was insightful enough to realise that the establishment of the new republic offered opportunities and so he returned with his family to Shanghai around July 1912.

*Back in Shanghai a very nice house was found in Frenchtown at 298 Avenue Paul Brunat, [Huai Hai Road (Middle)] and the family moved in. Father saw R.W. Davis at the "North China Daily News" and he suggested for a change of pace that Father might like to take over the editorship of "Social Shanghai" which the paper owned. It was really not so much to Father's taste although he did make some nice social and musical contacts through it, but he satisfied his serious side by writing editorials for both the "North China Daily News" and the American-owned paper "China Press".<sup>125</sup>*

### **Court Time 8 – The Witness**

Frederick Drakeford meanwhile was having to deal with literally life and death matters. He was appearing at a coroner's hearing on the death of John A. Davies. Frederick stated that he had first heard of the man's death early in the morning and so he went down to the billiard room and saw several people there. He stated that he did not think that the body had been moved and that he had known the deceased for about 12 months. He added that the deceased had helped him out when he was busy, but had no official appointment. Frederick had last seen Davies alive at 6 o'clock the previous night. He reported that Davies had complained of feeling ill about six weeks before and had suggested that he should go to the hospital, which he did. On his return, Davies had told Drakeford that he had some problem with his chest and had been given some medication and he appeared to get better. Davies had a bed in room 16 but Frederick had been told that he had the habit of sleeping in the Billiard Room. The post mortem report showed the cause of death. The Doctor said that the deceased's organs were diseased and indicated that he was an alcoholic.<sup>126</sup>

### **Court Time 9 – The Witness**

Later that year, Frederick was back in court at the trial of F. H. Baldry, a man who had been charged with wilful damage of furniture belonging to the Hanbury Institute. In a statement Frederick said that the accused had been hanging around the Institute although he was not living there. On a Sunday night he was accused of breaking a glass cabinet. The 'Bar Boy' had later found him in a bed that belonged to somebody else, and told him to get out. This was when he went downstairs and broke the cabinet. During the evidence, the accused continually interrupted the witness and said that the Chinese boy had been hired to make the statements against him. The court adjourned so that a Doctor might examine the prisoner to examine his state of mind. On resumption, the Doctor said that the plaintiff was of sound mind and the trial resumed.

The accused claimed that he had merely been walking up and down the hall of the Institute sheltering from the rain and that he had not broken the cabinet. The Judge said that it was quite clear that he did break the glass and he must fine him for the damage. He must either pay a fine of \$1 or go to prison for three days.<sup>127</sup>

Fred was still working at the Mission in 1915. He was praised at the Mission's annual meeting, by the Reverend A. J. Walker. He said that Fred had worked very hard indeed in the interests of the institution.<sup>128</sup> Later that year, he was again at the coroner court giving evidence about the sudden death of an ex SMC policeman, Gerald Moonan, at the institute.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> For a detailed account see Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, p258-63

<sup>125</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p19

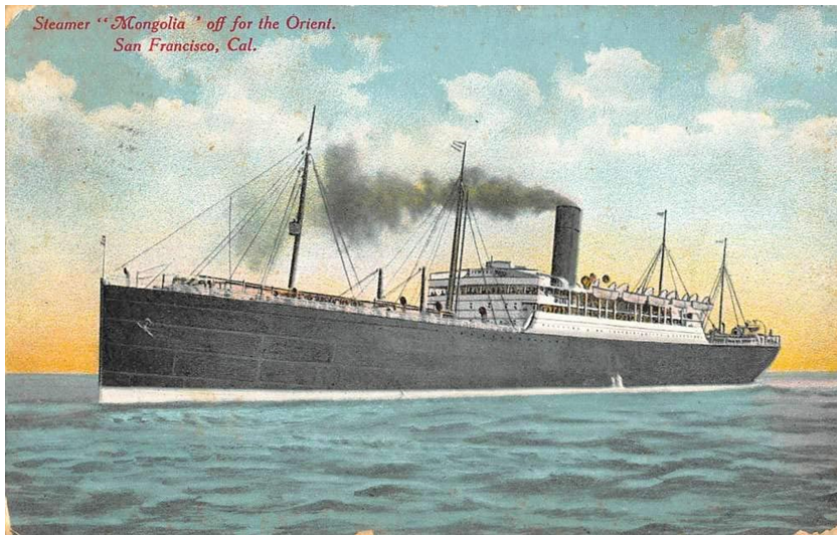
<sup>126</sup> *NCH*, 15 Jul 1910, pp164-65

<sup>127</sup> *NCH*, 11 Nov 1910, p370

<sup>128</sup> *North China Daily News [NCDN]*, 26 Feb 1915, p5

<sup>129</sup> *South China Morning Post*, 24 Nov 1915



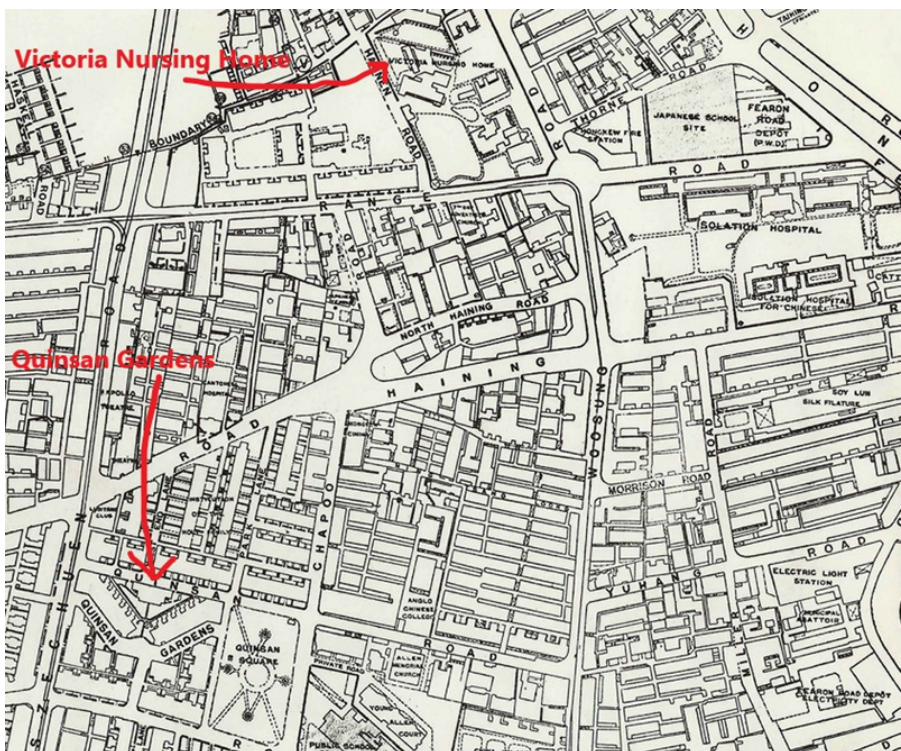


## Pastures New

In February 1911, Peter boarded the Steamer *Mongolia* in Shanghai headed for Manila on the San Francisco route.<sup>130</sup> He may well have been heading there for work. The 1920 China Chronicle lists an A. Drakeford, working as Assistant Manager in the Vacuum Oil Co in Manila. We will pick up his life later, a family man in Manila with his new family.

## Still Singing

We have a gap of four years before the next appearance of a Drakeford in the Shanghai newspapers. Louis is still performing, this time at the dining room of the Astor House Hotel at the Lancastrian Soiree where almost 300 guests enjoyed him accompanying several other performers.<sup>131</sup> Later that year he appeared in a Vaudeville performance at the Lyceum Theatre the venue, where as noted above, he had performed eight years earlier. The performers included singers, dancers and even an acrobat. 'Mr. L. H. Drakeford played the accompaniments in sympathetic manner.'<sup>132</sup>



A 1934 Map of Hongkew showing Quinsan Gardens (see below) and Victoria Nursing Home

## Life And Death

On February 4 1917, Florence Ruby, the dearly beloved wife of Frederick died at the Victoria Nursing Home in Shanghai near Range Road [Wujin Road]. She succumbed to double pneumonia. The notice of death shows that by this time, Frederick was working at the Municipal Council Health Department.<sup>133</sup> He had been appointed to the position 1 May 1916 for a three year period to 31 July 1919.<sup>134</sup>

On 7 September 1914, a few weeks after the start of the First World War, a daughter, Elaine Daphne, was born to Louis and Marguerite at 298 Avenue Paul

<sup>130</sup> NCH, 17 Feb 1911, p396

<sup>131</sup> NCH, 14 Feb 1914, p486

<sup>132</sup> NCH, 13 Jun 1914, p860

<sup>133</sup> NCH, 10 Feb 1917, p316

<sup>134</sup> Shanghai Municipal Council Report, 1917, p166a

Brunat in the French Concession.<sup>135</sup> Brunat was a French businessman and architect. The following year the street was renamed Avenue Joffre after the French World War One General, and is now called Huai Hai Road (Middle).<sup>136</sup>

Elaine wrote about her birth in her memoir,

*The summer of 1914 was unusually hot, and Mother felt it more than ever now that she was expecting a third child. Dr. Jones had told her the baby would be due the beginning of September and he would be sure to arrange for the lying-in nurse to be ready to take charge. The summer dragged on. Appetites drooped in the sultry heat and Mother found lemonade on the cool veranda restored her sagging spirits. When the lying-in nurse appeared Mother was astonished. "What are you doing here?" she asked. "Missy" she said "it is time for the baby". The little nurse was making her arrangements, fixing the nursery and getting the crib ready. Mother relaxed, the heat abated too for after all it was September. I was born about 4:30 AM September 7th and weighed in at just 4 lbs. Dr. Jones said I was well-nourished ~"a fine little girl", but insisted that the crib was too big for me and I was put into Yvonne's doll's bed. She was not too pleased at this usurpation, but understood finally.<sup>137</sup>*

### **Salt Mining**

Salt has for millennia been an essential commodity in China and taxed as a source of revenue. The influence of foreigners on the administration had started around 1900 when the Empress Dowager initiated a short lived wave of general reforming of various Chinese administrations, which affected the salt administration more than most. At the same time, the foreign run Chinese Maritime Customs administration delivered its own huge report titled *Salt: Production and Taxation*, marking the start of European interest in the salt affairs of China. In the decade that followed, officials such as Prince Tsai-tse and Chao Erh-hsun exerted considerable effort to reform the Qing's salt administration. After the overthrow of the Qing dynasty in 1911, the new Nationalist government also involved itself in trying to reform the administration under the auspices of men such as Teng Hsiao-k'o and Ching Pen-po. Despite their best efforts, the inevitable chaos following the revolution and the political importance of salt as a revenue generator for the state led to the functional breakdown of the salt administration, with regional and political priorities usurping national ones. However the most significant change was initiated by a Briton, Sir Richard Dane, a retired Indian civil servant who was appointed the first foreign inspector of the Chinese salt administration in 1913.<sup>138</sup>

### **The Salt Gabelle**

Nearing bankruptcy, Yuan Shikai, the new President of China needed to secure funds to enable him to establish a strong central government, which in reality meant that he could pay his army. He turned to six of the largest treaty powers, Britain, France, Germany, United States, Russia and Japan, to borrow the huge amount of £25 million. Inevitably, the six powers required security over their loan, also inevitably, with six powers involved, reaching agreement about how the security should be administered led to a lot of argument. Eventually, on 27 April 1913, the loan agreement was signed. It was secured by future tax revenues from the salt administration. A condition of the loan was that foreign inspectors would be appointed to oversee the movement of the salt and the collection of taxes under the control of a Chinese appointed chief inspector – Sir Richard Dane.<sup>139 140</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> NCH, 14 Sep 1914, p875

<sup>136</sup> Paul French, *The Old Shanghai A – Z*, 2010, p185

<sup>137</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p19

<sup>138</sup> S. A. M. Adshead, *The Modernization of the Chinese Salt Administration, 1900 – 1920*, 1970, pp3-4 and pp69-70

<sup>139</sup> Tim Wright (Ed.), *The Chinese Economy in the Early Twentieth Century: Recent Chinese Studies*, 1992, pp161-62

<sup>140</sup> Adshead, *The Modernization of the Chinese Salt Administration*, pp82-89



Despite serving the interests of the treaty port system by securing the loan from nationalities who had signed treaties with China, Adshead stated that the gabelle was far from being an agent of European imperialism. Its members had the outlook of being international civil servants, employed by the Chinese government while at the same time enjoying the privileges of extraterritoriality, that is protected by treaty with their own nationality's legal system.<sup>141</sup>

### **Interviewed**

The opportunities arising from the creation of a new foreign controlled Chinese administration were obvious to Louis. His daughter explained,

*Father made the trip to Peking after getting encouraging answers to his letter of inquiry to the Salt Administration. Sir Richard Dane was not finding it easy to fill the positions of auditors and inspectors. The requisites were stringent: Candidates had to have a combination of qualities not easily found -diplomacy in dealing with both Chinese colleagues and foreign and Chinese military personnel, scrupulous honesty as representing a new breed of official, a knowledge of the Chinese language, and a certain sophistication and what could be described as "street-smarts" in gaining the respect of an ancient bureaucracy wise in the ways of bribery and corruption. Besides these qualifications the candidate had to be able to endure difficult living conditions often isolated and far from headquarters. He had therefore to be able to act judiciously and take the responsibility for his actions as he, although a foreigner, represented the Chinese Government's Ministry of Finance. This was of particular importance in giving authority and indicating that this was not a foreign enterprise but strictly a Chinese one.<sup>142</sup>*

### **Moving to Manchuria**

Louis was offered the job sometime in 1915 and was first posted to Fengtien, Newchwang [Yingkou] in Manchuria, located on the coast, midway between Shenyang and Dalian in the far north east of China. In the 1917 China Chronicle, a trade directory, he is listed:, 'L H Drakeford, District Inspector, Fengtien Inspectorate of Salt Revenues.

Elaine described their time there,

*Father was fortunate in being able to rent a comfortable house outside the city while its owners were away on "home-leave". It was set in extensive grounds surrounded by a wall, and came complete with servants quarters and stables. We even inherited a nice big dog, Boof, and a donkey, eventually acquiring for Father a fine big Australian horse, Tokhoida, and of course a mafoo or groom to go with it. ...Built of brick it was semi-Chinese in style, having typical Chinese windows. Glass being both scarce and not a good insulator, the windows were covered with layers of white paper. Laid across an intricate fret-work of wood, it made a pretty picture of considerable charm. As a concession to those who insisted on seeing out, a small glass pane was set in each window near the center which did not disturb the insulating qualities of the paper. The house was L-shaped with a long facade facing south to catch the winter sun and a wing which held the big dining-room. The South-facing facade was really a long hall or corridor, so wide and so cheery that it became the favorite area of the house. The rooms opening off it had small windows high up in the North wall well-covered against the Siberian winds that blew all winter. A big tall stove stood in the hall. Never allowed to go out it did a grand job of keeping the whole house warm with fireplaces seldom used for auxiliary heat. Mother loved the hall and finished it with cozy arm-chairs and sofas and everyone gathered there... As always where there are the British there is a club or if possible a race course. Newchwang's clubhouse was a fine-looking building with a long breeze-swept veranda. Here one could have tea and watch tennis or later play it. Inside there were tea-rooms, game rooms for bridge and mah-jong, billiards for the men next to the bar, and a reading room with magazines from "home" such as "Punch", "The Tattler", and the "Illustrated London News". A few books constituted the library and donations were very welcome... In the winter besides the very popular game rooms,*

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<sup>141</sup> Adshead, *The Modernization of the Chinese Salt Administration*, p82

<sup>142</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p21

a big skating- rink had been set up. Covered with a roof it provided some shelter and here the children of the port gathered to have some fun. The club was the center of activity and news dispersal, and since World War I was in progress, it was the nerve center for information... Besides tennis, there would be sporting events to involve the whole community such as on Empire Day, May 24th. Here there would be all of the fun events such as the potato race, sack race, 3-legged race, tug-of-war and egg & spoon race to the delight of the children. A huge buffet meal would be the special contribution of the ladies, and the prizes would be given out with beautiful fire-works rounding out the day. Other times in the summer, excursions were planned to visit the old lightship up the river and launches would be supplied by the Harbor Master, the Customs Commissioner, and Father who had the handsome Salt Gabelle launch the "Chuntung" at his disposal.<sup>143</sup>

### **Boarding School**

In 1915, when Louis was eight, it was decided that rather than send him 'home' to school, he would attend the school at WeihaiWei. The school had been founded by Herbert Beer in 1901 with just four pupils. The school quickly became a success and in 1903, he purchased a new building perched on the cliffs above the seafront with accommodation for 40 boarders.<sup>144</sup>



*A view of Weihaiwei School perched above the coast C.1908*

Elaine recorded that,

*Father accompanied him in the little steamer and was well impressed by Mr. Beer and the school. There were about six or eight boarders there, most as young as Louis and a Matron to see to the boys' welfare. Weihai-wei was a summer resort and full of vacationers from the heat during the hot months. Mr. Beer explained that because it was so pleasant in the summer and the winters were so long and cold he decided to reverse the usual routine and give the boys a long vacation at home in the winter time. This saved fuel as well as long weeks of being shut-in during winter storms and worked out quite well.<sup>145</sup>*

### **A Chinese Name**

Louis' role required him to do business with many Chinese officials and so he set out to learn the language, appointing a Chinese teacher. Elaine recalls that he certainly became fluent enough in spoken Chinese to understand and be understood and also learned to read some of the characters but never tried to write them. As a government official, Louis was also required to have a Chinese name, and so his teacher gave him the name surname "Tzu", and the given name "Kai Fu", which could be roughly translated into "Tzu the Opener of the Gate of Happiness" –"Fu" being rich with pleasant meanings such as "prosperity" and "good luck".

<sup>143</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, pp23-25

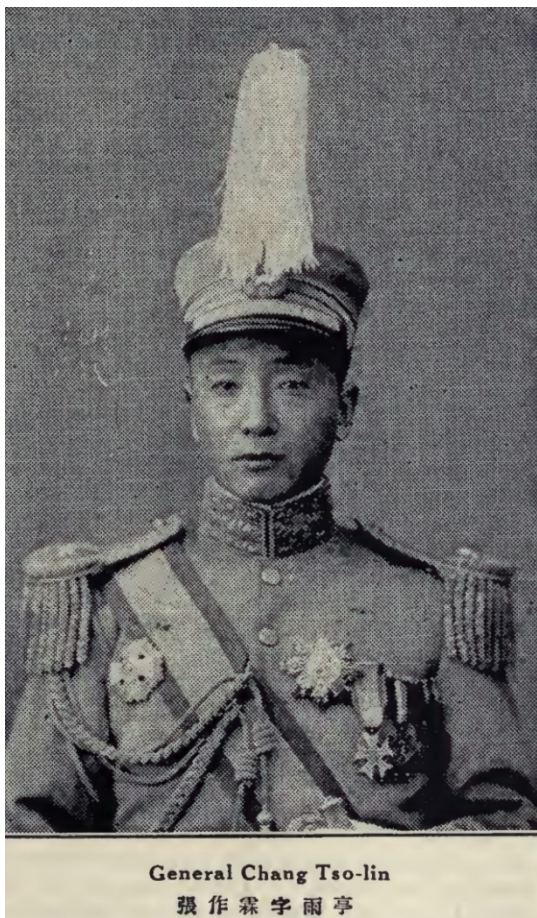
<sup>144</sup> Nield, *China's Foreign Places*, p268

<sup>145</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p26

## Harsh Realities

Living in rural China at this time exposed foreigners to the effects that poverty had on the local Chinese peasants. Echoing Pearl Buck's famous fictional account in the Pulitzer Prize winning book *The Good Earth*, but based on her actual experiences, Elaine recalled the common practice of discarding unwanted girls,

*There were many small tragedies to be endured. One was the Chinese custom of discarding their girl babies to die of exposure. Girls were of little use. Too weak to help in the fields and costing a dowry for marriage they were simply another mouth to feed, and so were dumped. Unfortunately the dumping ground was not far from our compound wall, and when Mother heard that packs of hungry half-wild dogs roamed the neighborhood, she could not stand the thought of the little babies being eaten. She had the servants save the nice small wooden boxes that the laundry soap was packed in, and supervised the burial of the babies in the impromptu coffins. The servants thought she was crazy to waste such nice containers for useless purposes.<sup>146</sup>*



General Chang Tso-lin  
張作霖字雨亭

Zhang Zuolin, Manchurian Warlord 1875 - 1928

## The Old General

As a government official during the Warlord Era which followed the death of Yuan Shikai, Louis inevitably crossed paths with many of the political movers of the day. One of the most famous and influential was General Chang Tso-Lin [Zhang Zuolin] also known as the Old General. Zhang controlled Manchuria at the time Louis was there.<sup>147</sup>

Spence observes that Zhang was a tough, wily operator who during the time that Louis knew him, was consolidating his position in Manchuria by exhibiting great political skill in managing both the Japanese and Russian interests. He fought against Chiang Kai-shek in March 1928 during Chiang's Northern Expedition. During the battle, he colluded with the Japanese who assured him that if he forfeited Peking and headed back to his Manchurian stronghold, they would prevent Chiang's army from passing the Great Wall. Zhang left Peking on 2 June 1928. His political manoeuvring finally caught up with him. As he was approaching Mukden station on the morning of 4 June, a bomb exploded by his carriage and he was killed. Japanese officers had planted the bomb in the hope that assassinating Zhang would 'provoke a general crisis that would lead to widespread mobilization and an extension of Japan's northeast China power base.'<sup>148</sup>

## New Salt Adventures

After three to four years in Newchang, in early 1918 news came from the Gabelle's Peking headquarters that it was time for Louis to move on. His new position was reported in the *North China Daily News*. He had just arrived in Taiyuanfu [Taiyuan] to take over the Superintendence of the service in Northern Shansi [Shaanxi] province.<sup>149</sup> This was a long way from his previous posting, he was now far inland in north central China.

<sup>146</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, pp29-30

<sup>147</sup> Spence, *Search for Modern China*, p323

<sup>148</sup> Spence, *Search for Modern China*, p346

<sup>149</sup> *NCH*, 20 Apr 1918, p144

When they arrived at their new home, there was no readily available accommodation. Initially the family moved into a Mission compound with a family named Harlow. This gave them the breathing space to be able to find a new abode. After a long search, Louis found a Chinese house that they could rent while the search continued for a permanent home. The house was an adventurous choice, it was inside the city walls where few foreigners resided.

*Meanwhile Father lost no time in continuing to see about a proper house for us. He found a piece of land near the railway station and having approval from Gabelle headquarters he negotiated to have a house built. This was a novel venture and turned out to be of great interest. Several architectural drawings had been sent and he and Mother pored over them until they found something to their liking. Mother was excited at having the opportunity of choosing a plan to her taste, keeping in mind of course that the house would have to do for those who would succeed us. They finally chose a basic design with four bedrooms. In China where there were no suitable hotels in the smaller cities, it was customary for foreigners to open their houses to visitors, so extra bedrooms and bathrooms were put to good use. Later Mother would add her special touch such as a beamed ceiling in the living room and a mantel-piece for the fireplace of her design.<sup>150</sup>*

The building progressed over the next year.

*The grounds there were very large. The area encompassed a steep hill, so steep that it had to be terraced with steps separating each level. At the very bottom had once been a moat, now dry, which had at one time encircled the city wall. That there was water still available was made clear when a well was dug at the bottom. It flowed readily like an artesian well, which in that arid climate was a great asset. The top of the hill had plenty of flat space for landscaping and Mother was planning for that already. A broad driveway led down from the house in a graceful curve to the gate house at the bottom where stables and store rooms and the Kai-mundi's (gatekeepers) cottage were being built.<sup>151</sup>*

### **A Mysterious Lady**

One day Marguerite heard from her servants about a foreign lady who lived close to their Chinese house. It seemed most unlikely that there was unknown foreign lady because foreigners were very much inside each other's pockets in these out of the way Chinese places. Louis made some enquiries, and discovered that there was indeed a foreign lady living inside the city walls and that her husband worked at the University just outside the city walls.

Marguerite called on the lady a Mrs Wong, who was indeed a foreigner, but married to a Chinese Professor. What happened next shows how the Drakefords were not afraid to challenge the social mores of the day,

*Mother, in subsequent talks, thought she could discern a stand-offish attitude of the foreigners as Mr. Wong was Chinese, and although highly educated and charming himself it was unusual if not unheard of here for inter-racial marriages to exist. Not only that but there were two little girls, Joan & Winifred, who would be Eurasians of course and that was frowned upon. Mother grew indignant. "How can they do that to such a charming woman?" she said to Father "I don't understand such bigotry." Father said "You know you could try to break the barrier yourself —invite them to one of your dinner parties."*

*This she did, and whether it was Joan Wong's charm, Mother's spunk or the innate decency of the community it worked! Mr. and Mrs. Wong were accepted and she in particular became very popular in the community as she was talented musically and was an articulate and artistic person. We think it was Mother's spunk that did it, for she was very sensitive to injustices and always stood up for people she thought had been maligned...*

*Living in our Chinese house within the city walls made it lonely for us too, and we were happy when the Wong children came over to play. Winifred had light brown hair but her father's Chinese eyes. She was about*

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<sup>150</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p34

<sup>151</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p39



my age. Joan, about the same age as Yvonne was prettier than her sister. She had black hair but her mother's light complexion and features. We all spoke Chinese together and got along well.<sup>152</sup>

### **An Executioner's Blade**

Eventually, the house was completed, its proximity to the city gates led to some grisly moments.

*The house inside was so comfortable for all of us. There was a big play-room nursery upstairs with room for all our toys to spread out. We each had our bedrooms, dressing rooms and bathrooms and the upstairs veranda gave a spectacular panorama of the city wall with the impressive South Gate its four stories and up-turned tiled eaves prominently in view. This gate was the most popular and always provided an interesting stream of traffic: Squads of soldiers marching in or out, a funeral procession, or a wedding, smart cavalymen on their shaggy ponies and occasionally a string of Bactrian camels heavily laden plodding their way in from the Desert. It is embarrassing to have to admit however that the sight we found the most interesting was the execution of criminals which took place from time to time. To our credit we just happened on these occurrences, but once they were in progress it was difficult not to follow the whole drama to its end: With considerable fanfare of bugles blowing, a squad of soldiers would stop, a figure (the executioner) stepped forward wielding a sword. The poor condemned man was forced to his knees, head stretched out. The sword flashed and the head would roll and be gathered into a basket. Fortunately distance prevented us from seeing any details so it was a little unreal like a tableau. On rare occasions, if going into the city soon after, the head could be seen on a pole outside the Gate attracting little attention from the crowds.*



Yan Xishan , Manchurian Warlord 1883-1960

### **General Yen Hsi-shan**

While in Shaanxi province, Louis and his family had the opportunity to meet yet another Chinese Warlord, Yen Hsi-shan [Yan Xishan] (1883 – 1960). Yan was a survivor, and quite unique in that as Elaine recalled, seemed to have a genuine interest in the economic development of his province rather than his own economic development. He was keen to introduce western technological advances in order to achieve his aims. From a longevity perspective he was successful, he controlled Shanxi from 1912 until 1949 when the communists prevailed and he fled to Taiwan with Chiang Kai-shek, dying there in 1960. Yan's own view on his time controlling Shanxi was that he had constructed an almost perfect ideology combing the best features of "militarism, nationalism, anarchism, democracy, capitalism, communism, individualism, imperialism, universalism, paternalism and utopianism."<sup>153</sup>

### **Australian Stockmen And America Cowboys**

Elaine remembers seeing him at one of his reform minded experimental farms aimed at introducing modern methods of agriculture and animal husbandry.

*He consulted with experts on improving crop production with better seeds and fertilizers, and to bettering the stock of animals, especially sheep, by cross-breeding the native animals with hardier strains. He especially wanted to cross the Chinese sheep with Merino strains from Australia for better wool production. The native sheep were noted for their meat, especially for their curiously developed tails which were wide and fat, almost big enough for a meal in themselves. He was also interested in introducing cattle to this part of the country as*

<sup>152</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, pp41-42

<sup>153</sup> Donald Gillin, *Warlord: Yen Hsi-shan in Shanxi Province, 1911-1949*, 1973, p13

he had been told that it was eminently suitable for cattle ranching. To further these ends he had instituted an Experimental Farm where the results of the new methods could be studied. The farm was open to visitors and Father thought we should pay it a visit. General Yen made a special day for this, a sort of "open house" as he was very proud of this innovation. He and his underlings accompanied a group of foreigners and us and we were shown the experimental fields where the crops were growing and the stables and outlying buildings for the breeding experiments that were going on. There was a demonstration of sheep shearing and sheep dipping and we saw the many lambs which had been produced. We saw some of the Australian stockmen who had been imported for the sheep and horse raising, but when we reached the cattle sheds we saw for the first time real American cowboys. Just like in the movies and picture books they were the real thing - big Stetsons on their heads, chaps on their legs neckerchiefs at their throats, and real spurs on their heels. What a thrill! They stood around, their tanned faces creased into a grin while one of them nonchalantly rolled a cigarette with his fingers.<sup>154</sup>

### **A New Business**

Also in the 1919 China Chronicle, Samuel F. Drakeford is listed as a Merchant in Mukden (also called Moukden) [Shenyang], in the far North East corner of China nestled between the borders of what is now North Korea, Mongolia and Russia. An advertisement in a Melbourne newspaper shows that he was an 'exporter of



*Frederick and Melba on their wedding*

Manchurian produce, Chinese raw furs, Siberian foxes, squirrels, kolinski, marmots, racoons, dressed bristles, and horse-hair.<sup>155</sup> He was in the business of trading furs. The 1919 and 1920 China Chronicle shows that he is still in Mukden working at a company called Drakeford & Co. Alongside him, his son Frederick.

### **A Wedding**

After the death of his first wife Ruby in 1917, some 14 months later, Frederick married an Australian lady called Melba Eva Collis on 3 April 1918. Melba was 10 years old when she arrived in China in late 1906 or early 1907 after leaving Australia on the *Chingtu* in November 1906. She came with her parents Charles and Harriet, her sister Elsie and brother Charles. Her father had heard that there were jobs available in China, so he applied for and accepted a position as Foreman on the Shanghai-Nanking Railway. A fourth child, Cyril, was born in Shanghai in January 1908. The family settled at Chang Chow [Zhangzhou]. On 14 December 1919, Frederick and Melba had their first child, a son named Frederick Charles Melvin Drakeford. He was born at Ki Foo Chu in Moukden.<sup>156</sup>

### **The Matriarch**

Louis' first furlough since starting work with the Gabelle was taken the year after his mother died on 2 November 1919, at Parkeville, Victoria, Australia.<sup>157</sup> Was she estranged from her husband Samuel? Elaine's memoir suggests that they were although,<sup>158</sup> Samuel's great granddaughter Jenny, comments that there is no evidence that Eliza visited Shanghai or China and offers more light on the subject, noting that Eliza would have been very busy with some of the younger children. The youngest, Rose, would have been 14 when Samuel left

<sup>154</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p48

<sup>155</sup> *Argus* (Melbourne), 25 Oct 1919, p13

<sup>156</sup> *NCH*, 20 Dec 1919

<sup>157</sup> *NCH*, 15 Nov 1919, p460

<sup>158</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p11

for Shanghai in 1908. Eliza did travel with Samuel to Murtoa in western Victoria where he worked as a jeweller. Samuel was very involved in the Walhalla community which was a gold mining town, but he felt that the life style associated with a mostly male population in Walhalla would not be suitable for ladies, accordingly Eliza never visited, nor his daughters, whereas his sons did. She also lived with him in Sale when he worked there and their fifth child, Maude, was born in Sale in June 1884, the only one to be born outside Melbourne.<sup>159</sup>

### Home Leave

The long journey from Taiyuanfu started in the summer of 1920, not to Australia as you might expect, but to London. Travelling to Hankow [Wuhan] and then on the Yangtze to Shanghai. Elaine, nearly six years old recalled that,



*P & O S.S. Kalyan*

*Shanghai was very exciting -such traffic that I had never seen, horses and carriages, and even a few motor cars. The carriages were the main conveyances for groups as rickshaws holding only one person were too easily separated from each other. We rode in an open Victoria with driver and footman and it was delightfully smooth on its pneumatic tires and on the asphalt pavement...*

*Father had arranged for us to stay at Mrs. Martin's. She was the good friend of the Drakefords at Walhalla in Australia and Father and his brothers knew her from their vacations there. She had opened a boarding house in the Hong Kew section of Shanghai and was doing very well. We crossed the Garden Bridge over the Soochow Creek to get there, and received a very warm welcome. She was a good looking woman, dark complexioned with bright black eyes, and gave us all warm hugs and made us feel at home .*

*[in the] meantime Mother, Yvonne, Louis and I went to the International Settlement to shop and see the houses where Louis and I had been born in Frenchtown. There were many more shops now in 1920 compared to those times. Shanghai was burgeoning, with buildings going up everywhere, and filled with men who came to make their fortunes... The week went by and we said our goodbyes.*

They set sail from Shanghai on the P&O Steamer *Kalyan* arriving in London on 10 October 1920. The ship which had originated from Japan, visited Singapore on Elaine's sixth birthday, Penang, Bombay, Aden, sailing through the Suez Canal into the Mediterranean, through the Straits of Gibraltar and onto Southampton where, after they docked they took the boat train to London.

### A New School

Now Louis junior was 13, he was of the age when he needed to attend a prep school. Felsted School in Essex which had been founded in 1564, had been recommended and Louis found himself at a spartan minor public school. This would be his home for three years before he saw his family again. After he had been left at the school, it was time to visit London for a shopping spree to buy things to furnish their newly built house. During the trip they visited Mrs Wong's parents who were anxious to hear first-hand how she was getting on in

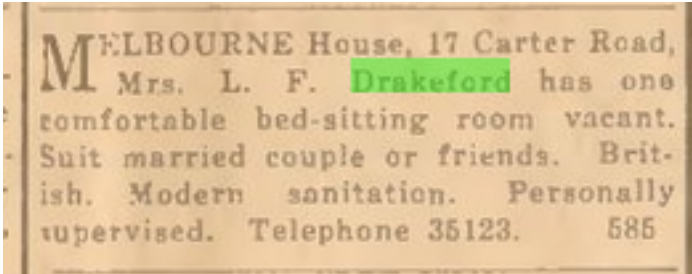
<sup>159</sup> Email correspondence from Jenny Levett, 12 Aug 2020



China and Marguerite was naturally anxious to visit her mother Mme. Cardineaux near Lucerne in Switzerland. After their trip to Switzerland they returned to London where the children had a painful visit to the dentist.

### Plans Change

After seven months away, it was time to return to Shanghai where once again they stayed at Mrs Martin's house. Mrs Martin was later to be their step grandmother when Samuel Drakeford married Lefena Florence Martin in Shanghai on 3 December 1924. Perhaps the house they stayed at was 17 Carter Road [Shimen No. 1 Road], a few years later, Mrs L F Drakeford was renting out this property.<sup>160</sup>



Louis sent a telegram to his company to let them know that he had arrived back in Shanghai and was ready to start work again in Taiyuanfu. He received a telegram back advising that his work in Taiyuanfu was over, he was urgently required in Wuhu. Marguerite was disappointed, all that

shopping for soft furnishings for the new house had gone to waste! She cheered up when she learned that Wuhu was not so far from Shanghai, in Anhui province, just two days away up the Yangtze River by steamer beyond Nanjing.

They stayed longer in Shanghai while arrangements were made to send their furniture from their old home and preparing to get ready for their new one in Wuhu. Wuhu had become a treaty port on 1 April 1877 after the signing of the Chefoo Agreement the year before.

### On The Road Again

Once again, as this was a new area for the Salt Gabelle, there was no ready-made house available and so they rented a property in a mission compound owned by some American missionaries. The search for the house proved fruitful,

*Father immediately started looking for a house for us. Our furniture had arrived and we were very anxious to have our own place. As luck would have it, the British Consulate had just been vacated. It had been concluded that Wuhu no longer warranted a Consul of its own, but could be serviced by the Consul-General at*



*British Consulate in Wuhu c 1887 with flagpole*

*there by large trees. At the edge of the lawn were clipped laurel bushes and the tallest flagpole I have ever seen before or since. Here the British flag (Union Jack) was flown when the consul was in residence.*

*Nanking just 50 miles down river. The Salt Headquarters acquiesced and to our delight we moved in.*

*I think the British Consulate was about the grandest house in Wuhu. Near the Chinese city it was situated on the top of a gentle hill. There was an enormous and commanding gate on the street with a gatekeeper's house just inside, and a long, wide, gravelled driveway led up the gentle slope, past a tennis court on the lower level, to the mansion on the top. This was set in spacious lawns shaded here and*

<sup>160</sup> NCDN, 1 Oct 1929



*The house itself appeared square, with spacious verandas up and down. A broad but short flight of steps led to the lower floor through a lobby and into the very spacious center hall. A wide staircase in three sections with landings led down from the upper story and filled the end of the hall. At the center section there was a huge window two stories tall which filled the hall with light. The living room was on the left with French windows opening on the veranda. A cheerful tiled fireplace complemented the rooms.*

*On the right the dining room held an enormous table and matching chairs left behind by the Consul. French windows opened, not on a veranda, but to a glassed-in conservatory which filled the whole side of the room.*

*Upstairs there was a series of suites. Every bedroom had its own large bathroom, and dressing room, and had their own fireplaces. The front bedrooms opened on the screened veranda wide enough for beds to be placed in the hot summertime. Downstairs beyond the dining room there was a large pantry and storeroom and a short flight of stairs leading outside under a covered passageway to the kitchen and servants quarters. These were extensive and were separated from the house by a walled and paved courtyard for the servants use.*

*The house had an added embellishment. This was the office wing which was behind the living room and consisted of several rooms and anterooms. This pleased Father who would be able to have his office right at home.<sup>161</sup>*

After hiring the necessary selection of servants and establishing the house, it was time to get back into enjoying a treaty port social life,

*With the household now running smoothly, the Liberty cretonnes made into pretty slipcovers - a pattern of sweet peas in pink and lavender - Mother was ready to join in the social life. There was a certain protocol to follow in Treaty Ports. This had not been the case in Taiyuanfu and to only a certain extent in Newchwang where there was such a cosmopolitan population. Wuhu was definitely under British influence and there were certain rules of conduct to be followed. Newcomers once established, were to be "called" upon. This was a formality acknowledging their arrival in the community. This was accomplished by the lady of the house coming to the new arrivals and leaving her calling card. At the door she would present her card to the Boy who would take it in to his Missy. If at home she would come to the door and greet the caller and thank her, introducing herself Tea would be ordered and over the cups the ladies would size each other up and chat for a while. Visits were short as there must be other calls to make and distances were great. If the Missy was not at home the card would be dropped on the hall table. Sometimes there were several calls in one day and the rickshaws would pass each other coming and going. No matter how many calls were made, every call had to be returned or it would be considered an insult...*

*The social order was quite rigid: the British Consul if any, was first, then came the Commissioners of Customs, then the Salt Gabelle representative. After that came the Asiatic Petroleum Company and Standard Oil, which because of the size of their compounds and their staffs carried great prestige. The shipping agents for Butterfield and Swire and their rivals Jardine Matheson came next because of their importance in having a virtual monopoly of river traffic. After them came representatives of lesser firms, perhaps insurance companies, so-called "butter and egg men" in import and export who had their own businesses. The missionaries were at the bottom as they generally did not mix in the community, and would not be guests at formal dinners.<sup>162</sup>*

Writing in 2015, the writer Nield noted that the Consulate building was still there 'although looking rather sad.'<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, pp56-57

<sup>162</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p63

<sup>163</sup> Nield, *China's Foreign Places*, p284

[At this point, Elaine's memoir jumps to their time in Tzeliuching in Sichuan province before it finally ending. Sadly, she died before she had time to complete the story. The family went to Sichuan province about 1925. However it is still possible to track their progress through newspapers.]

### Happy Birthday Your Highness

In June 1921, a Louis, was reported as being one of the guests at the British Consulate in Nanking to celebrate King George V's birthday. The occasion was used to invite Chinese officials and military personnel and provided an 'excellent luncheon'. The speeches were directed towards the Chinese guests, 'expressing the hope that there would be a continuance of that harmony which characterized at all times the Chinese Government and British Consulates.'<sup>164</sup>



Quinsan Gardens

### Good News, Bad News

While Louis and Marguerite were enjoying themselves in Wuhu, Frederick and Melba had a second son, Cyril James Drakeford, born 22 February 1922. The birth was registered at the British Consulate at Chingkiang [Zhenjiang] on the Yangtze east of Nanjing. It is not clear why they were in Zhenjiang at the time of the birth. Happiness turned to sadness. For a second time, Frederick lost a wife. Melba died on 21 December 1923 at Mukden of meningitis.<sup>165</sup>

### On The High Seas Again

The newspaper recorded that on 25 May 1924, Louis, and Marguerite travelled on board the P.M.S *President Pierce* from Shanghai.<sup>166</sup> On the passenger list dated 24 May 1924, it shows that Elaine was also making the journey to London. They gave, their Shanghai contact as S. F. Drakeford living at Quinsan Gardens, where Samuel was living with his new wife Lefena Florence. Lefena was long time family friend Mrs Martin, the mother of Ruby, Frederick's first wife, who had sadly died in 1917. On the manifest, Louis listed their last China address as Yangchow [Yangzhou], which was very close to Zhenjiang where Cyril was born. Quinsan Gardens, or alternatively Quinsan Square, just off Quinsan Road [Kunshan Hua Yuan Road] was in the Hongkew area. It was named after the town (often spelt Qinsan or Qinshan) in Zhejiang Province. The Gardens were not really a park but a road with a green public square.<sup>167</sup>

A copy of Louis' curriculum vitae shows that in 1923 he was appointed as Acting Foreign District Inspector to Yangchow [Yangzhou]. To get from Wuhu to Yangzhou, he would have taken a steamer to Zhenjiang past Nanjing and then headed north to Yangzhou. Perhaps because it was an acting role, the family decided to stay in Wuhu, they were certainly there for Christmas 1924.

<sup>164</sup> NCH, 11 Jun 1921, p731

<sup>165</sup> NCH, 29 Dec 1923, p935

<sup>166</sup> NCH, 31 May 1924, p360

<sup>167</sup> French, *Old Shanghai A - Z*, p150

## Christmas Time

Come Christmas time, Louis and Marguerite were back together in Wuhu. Under the headline '*Wuhu Festivities: Christmas on a Gay Scale*', a report noted that,

*The Christmas spirit ran very high this year in the port city of Wuhu. Both foreigners and Chinese made early and elaborate preparations, and long before the day arrived coolies and boys were seen carrying pretty baskets filled with attractive red parcels. Every foreign home had a tree, and bright cheery decorations adorned the hulks and business honges... Several families were made happy by the home-coming of their children from school: Yvonne Drakeford from the Kuling British School.... 'Mr. & Mrs. Drakeford of the Salt Gabelle gave a fancy dress party on Saturday, December 27; it was very successful, and prizes were given for the most beautiful, most original, and funniest costumes.'*<sup>168</sup>



*A view of Kuling 1920s*

## Cooling In Kuling

Kuling [Guling] was a place established by missionary Edward S. Little as a summer retreat in the hills some 400km along the Yangtze river towards Wuhan, in the late nineteenth century. The place name was not Chinese, it was a play on words – cooling – but sounded conveniently as if it were Chinese. The school was residential, educational facilities were certainly there

before 1917, '*With schools such as those in Kuling, it is no longer necessary for children to go home before their teens.*'<sup>169</sup> By 1920, a British School had been established,

*The British School which is very much alive and which has a full attendance of students, is desperately handicapped by reason of having neither school-house nor campus. The school could be self-supporting and meet a most pronounced want for the education of British children, if only it has a school building and playground. Miss Tilley, the lady principal is a well qualified head of such an institution an parents are very fortunate who have placed their offspring under her charge. A splendid site is available -there is non better in all of Kuling- which is ample for buildings and playground. Surely Britons can find, say \$40,000 or thereabouts, which at a rough guess would be necessary.*<sup>170</sup>

## Movin' West

Disaster struck the school Kuling on 3 January 1926, a few months after Yvonne had left. A fire engulfed a large part of the town. Fortunately, there were no casualties, but many building including the schools, hotels and hospitals were burnt to the ground.<sup>171</sup>

The following Christmas Louis had been posted to yet another part of China and held a Christmas party at his new location. '*The new Salt Commissioners, Messrs. Tsen and Drakeford, gave a "tea" to the staff. Later a*

<sup>168</sup> NCH, 10 Jan 1925, p48

<sup>169</sup> NCH, 22 Sep 1917, p654

<sup>170</sup> NCH, 22 Dec 1920, p662

<sup>171</sup> NCH, 7 Aug 1926, p248



*Christmas tree was given at the Drakeford home and the families with children greatly enjoyed it. Mr. and Mrs. Drakeford and the girls have gone to Chengtu [Chengdu] where the children will attend the Canadian School.*<sup>172</sup>



*Canadian Missionary School Chengdu 1919*

Their new school was well known as a Missionary School. It had originally opened with five pupils on 9 March 1909 in a small Chinese building on So Hung Chiao Street that also served as a church. The corner stone for the new school was laid on 17 December 1916 in the grounds of the West China Union University, with the grand opening of the school on Wednesday September 11, 1918.<sup>173</sup>

### **Salt City**

Louis was by now the District Inspector of Salt Revenues in Tzeliuching [Ziliujing] that is now part of Zigong City, Szechuan [Sichuan]. This was an important commercial centre some 200km south of Chengdu and was known for centuries as "Salt City". Today there is a Salt History Museum marking its importance as one of the major historical salt producing areas in China.

### **Three Warlords and a Parrot**

Not for the first time, one of Louis' roles was to try to maintain cordial relationships with local warlords. The final section of Elaine's memoir explains how they acquired a green parrot at the Chengdu fair with the intent of teaching it to swear. *'Yvonne said "We could call him Damocles for a start, that should help". Mr. Wilson laughed his approval, but his Chinese secretary, a solemn man, seemed puzzled. "I hope you won't be disappointed" he said, but this is a Chinese parrot and I don't believe he could ever learn to speak in English'*.<sup>174</sup>

As well as a Parrot, the local Warlords were there to add to the interest in their new home. The first mentioned was General Chen, I am not sure who Elaine is referring to here and he seems to be a minor character.

*General Chen was Tzeliuching's resident Warlord. Like General Tien Soong Yao<sup>175</sup> he had a ferocious reputation -but with a difference. General Tien, as we had found out, had two sides -his public persona of ruthlessness, and his hidden gentle scholarly personality. General Chen had only one side -bad! He was the typical Warlord with what amounted to a gangster mentality. Out strictly for himself, plundering the countryside, inflicting prohibitive taxes on the peasants, and when he couldn't pay his soldiers letting them loot the villages, he was able to maintain himself in crude luxury with many wives and concubines.*<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> NCH, 30 Jan 1926, p187

<sup>173</sup> Sourced from,

[http://library.vicu.utoronto.ca/exhibitions/vic\\_in\\_china/sections/mission\\_work\\_education/canadian\\_school\\_for\\_missionaries\\_children.htm](http://library.vicu.utoronto.ca/exhibitions/vic_in_china/sections/mission_work_education/canadian_school_for_missionaries_children.htm) Accessed 7 July 2020

<sup>174</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p69

<sup>175</sup> I assume that this is Tian Songyao (1888 -1975) one of the Sichuan Clique. He was a military man who served the Nationalist cause but changed sides in 1949 and stayed in China, dying in Chengdu in 1975.

<sup>176</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, p70



## General Yang

Elaine recalled that General Chen was replaced by General Yang soon after Chen had been entertained at their house and had diplomatically been allowed to win a game of musical chairs! General Yang Shen (1884/7-1977) was a member of the Sichuan Clique. He fled to Taiwan after the communists took power in 1949. Elaine



General Yang Shen (1884/7 – 1977)

recalls him with some fondness,

General Yang Shen (1884/7 – 1977)

feast at his Yamen (office), women and children were present. His wife and his concubines were seated at one end of the table. Each child, and there were many, had it's [sic] own Amah. We were not seated with them but did observe one of the Amahs helping a little boy to urinate in a corner, so perhaps it was a good thing!

When we invited him to dinner there was no thought of noisy games like musical chairs. He would prefer a game of skill. His sense of dignity would not permit him to engage in anything like body contact. Mother, always interested in people, asked him about his wife and children. Officials never brought their wives to functions but nevertheless this must have surprised him for when we were in turn invited to a formal

We had shown so much interest in General Yang's calligraphy that on another occasion he came to our house with his equipment. With a large scroll spread out on the floor before him, he prepared the ink, then seized an enormous brush that looked a little like horse's tail, knelt before the scroll and deftly but carefully stroked the eight-inch tall characters... The scroll was given to us but like so many of our perishable treasures we never saw it again.

Not long after when Yvonne and I were in the lower garden we heard rifle shots but didn't pay much attention until we heard the long high whistle of the bullet and the leaves on a bush a few feet away shook and leaves flew off. Then another and another and we ran into the house calling Mother. She phoned Father and he in turn phoned General Yang. The General apologized profusely for his troops target practice and the shooting soon stopped. It happened several times again. General Yang's relations with Father were always respectful and cordial and he became our friend and would be protector.<sup>177</sup>

recalls him with some fondness,

General Yang was a puzzle. It was easy to understand a General Chen and what would drive him to be a Warlord, he liked war and especially the spoils it brought him and the power and prestige. His was basically a brigand's outlook... General Yang was impossible to penetrate, at least on our level. We never saw him in uniform. He was slender - almost delicate and had a long melancholy face with a drooping Fu Manchu moustache. He dressed as a wealthy Chinese gentleman in a long dark silk robe with a short brocade jacket over it. His rather sad face was topped with a Chinese black skullcap. He was quiet, soft-spoken and courteous. One would think he knew nothing of firearms and indeed he was known and respected not only as a scholar but as a calligrapher of note.

When we invited him to dinner there was no thought of noisy games like musical chairs. He would prefer a game of skill. His sense of dignity would not permit him to engage in anything like body contact. Mother, always interested in people, asked him about his wife and children. Officials never brought their wives to functions but nevertheless this must have surprised him for when we were in turn invited to a formal

<sup>177</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, pp71-72

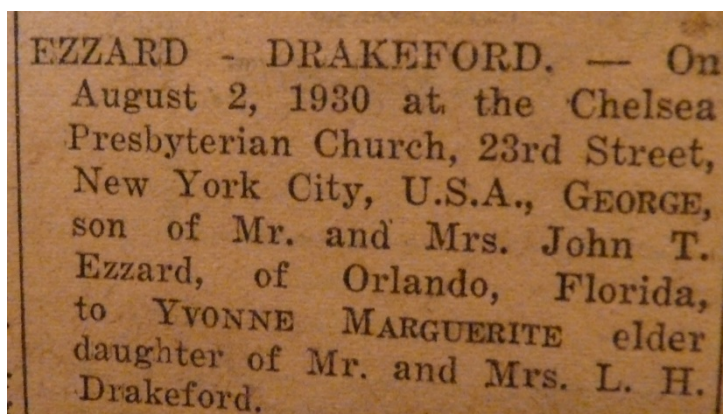
### A Sister Visits

In 1925, Isabella Rose Drakeford, known as Rose, visited Frederick in Shanghai. She stayed for some time and participated in several concerts. In early January 1926, she sang at a British Women's Association concert singing four songs which were 'highly appreciated' including the well-known 'Slave Song'.<sup>178</sup> A month later, she was accompanied by Frederick singing a rendition of *Love, Here is my Heart* by Lao Silesu.<sup>179</sup>

In 1929, Louis' role within the Salt Gabelle was terminated soon after the Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek came to power.

### Composing

Around 1929, Louis set the Robert Browning poem *Boot and Saddle* to music and the score was published in London by Winthrop Rogers Limited. One of Louis' songs, *Spring is come again*, was even performed live on the radio in Shanghai.<sup>180</sup> These are just two of many songs that he composed the music for, or on occasions, added words. Appendix 6 lists those I have found.



### A Wedding In New York

Louis' daughter Yvonne Marguerite Drakeford married George Ezzard at the Chelsea Presbyterian Church on 23<sup>rd</sup> Street, New York on 1930.<sup>181</sup>

### Educational Successes

The last mention of Louis Samuel Drakeford was when he was being left at Felsted School in 1920. Now, 12 years later, news of his educational

success was printed in Hong Kong's *South China Morning Post*. He had just passed his final exam at King's College, University of London, a B.Sc. in Engineering. Before that, he had stayed at Felsted until the summer of 1924 having passed the Matriculation Exam in the Army and Engineering Department in 1923. After his degree, he stayed in England, as a student apprentice working for Messrs. C. A. Parson & Co. of Newcastle-on-Tyne.<sup>182</sup>

Meanwhile, the following year, Louis Samuel's younger sister Elaine Drakeford also celebrated exam success. She was by now living in New York and had graduated from the Julia Richman High School. She had earned the school's scholarship which awarded her fees to cover her college expenses.<sup>183</sup>

### Writing?

In 1936, a book was published by Thomas Louis Drakeford. The book was reviewed in both Australia and America and noted that the author had been in China for 27 years and had worked for the Salt Gabelle. Surely this was Louis Henry Finch Drakeford? The book was called *Honky Tonk Girl*, and was a 'dramatic novel around conflicts of romance and passion, intrigue and conspiracy which dominate so many phases of life in the Far East, particularly in Northern China'.<sup>184</sup> The main protagonist in this 'sensational novel', is Vera Pavlov. She is the daughter of a former colonel of a Cossack regiment who had fled Russia during the revolution and settled in Harbin in Manchuria. They were poor and so Vera became a dancing girl at a local cabaret. Her beauty

<sup>178</sup> NCDN, 6 Jan 1926

<sup>179</sup> NCDN, 8 Feb 1926

<sup>180</sup> NCDN, 11 Mar 1929

<sup>181</sup> NCH, 7 Oct 1930

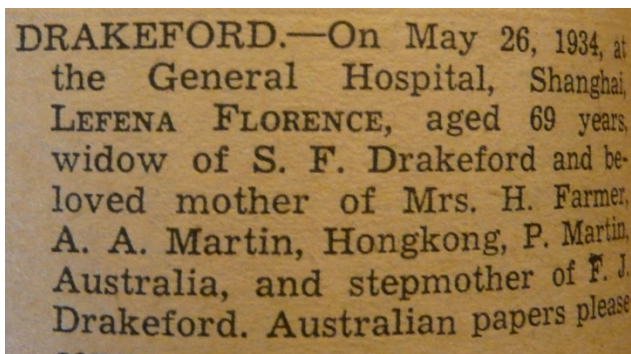
<sup>182</sup> *South China Morning Post*, 29 Jul 1932

<sup>183</sup> *South China Morning Post*, 30 Mar 1933

<sup>184</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald & Miner's Advocate (NSW)*, 27 Feb 1937, p7



attracted a Chinese villain who was in the secret pay of the Soviets. It takes the actions of her lover Ray Wilson to save her from her fate.<sup>185</sup>



Australia and step mother of Frederick Drakeford.<sup>187</sup>

She was buried in the Bubbling Well Cemetery on 29 May in the presence of a large number of mourners. The Very Reverend A. C. S. Trivet of the Cathedral officiated.<sup>188</sup>

Bubbling Well Cemetery was commissioned by the Shanghai Municipal Council in 1896 to

accommodate the growing foreign population on the (then) outskirts of Shanghai. The Cemetery was moved by the Chinese Government in the 1950s and the place is now a busy park, known as Jingan Park where the author often visited when he lived close by.

#### **A Short History of British-American Tobacco**

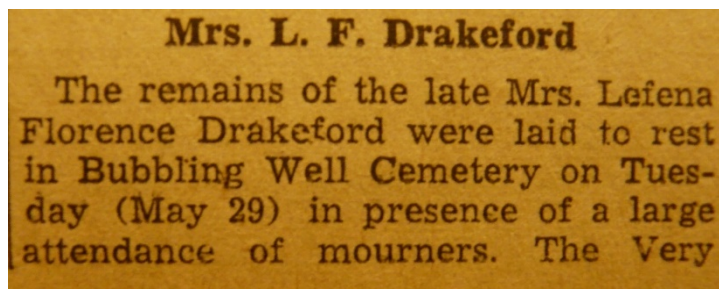
In the 1933 Shanghai Directory, Frederick Drakeford was working for British American Tobacco (BAT). As noted below, his obituary noted that he had worked for them for twenty five years. This suggests that he must have joined BAT sometime in the early 1920s leaving his role with the Shanghai Municipal Council. The 1935 Shanghai Directory and the 1936 Hong List recorded him working for Yee Tsoong Tobacco Distributors, this was a subsidiary of BAT, which was set up to give the name a local flavour, and to encourage local investors.<sup>189</sup> He was by now living with his new wife at Lane 175, House 16, Seymour Road [Shaanxi Road (North)], Shanghai.

He had married for a third time in Shanghai on 23 November 1925 to Maggie Eliza Schofield, nee Josephs, whose first husband, Thomas Morton Schofield had died in 1920. Maggie and Fred were cousins, Fred's mother was the sister of Maggie's father.

In October 1901, the American Tobacco Company purchased the British cigarette manufacturer Ogdens Limited based in Liverpool, England. The purchase was tactical, enabling the American Tobacco Company to gain access to the protected British market for manufactured tobacco products.<sup>190</sup> This provoked an immediate response by the British tobacco industry which resulted in 13 British firms amalgamating under the banner of the Imperial Tobacco Company. By the time that this tobacco war was resolved about one year later, the changes wrought served to '*shape the future of the international tobacco industry throughout the remainder of the*

#### **Two Funerals**

Samuel Finch Drakeford died in Shanghai at the General Hospital, located in Hongkew, aged 79 years on 20 April 1933.<sup>186</sup> Just over one year later, his second wife Lefena Florence Drakeford, died on 26 May 1934, also at the General Hospital in Shanghai aged 69 years. The notice of death recorded that she was the beloved mother of Mrs H. Farmer, A. A. Martin of Hong Kong, P. Martin of



<sup>185</sup> *The Age (Melbourne)*, 4 July 1936, p6

<sup>186</sup> *NCH*, 3 May 1933

<sup>187</sup> *NCH*, 30 May 1934

<sup>188</sup> *NCH*, 30 May 1934

<sup>189</sup> Howard Cox, *The Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution of British American Tobacco, 1880-1945*, 2000, p196

<sup>190</sup> Cox, *The Global Cigarette*, p 19

twentieth century.<sup>191</sup> The two rival conglomerates agreed that they would trade exclusively in their own domestic markets and concocted an arrangement about trading in the rest of the world. The two companies formed a joint venture, creating the British-American Tobacco Company.<sup>192</sup>



*The Asiatic Petroleum Company building as it looks today*

In the decade following its founding, events conspired to leave Britain as the more influential party in the joint venture. By the end of World War One, the London based directors were able to exert control over the management of BAT, *'From this point onwards the company functioned unambiguously as a British-based multinational.'*<sup>193</sup>

### **Work and Home Life**

The 1933 and 1935 Shanghai Directory and 1936 and 1939 Hong Lists, records that Louis Samuel Finch Drakeford had returned to China, and was working for the Asiatic Petroleum Company (APC). In the 1941 Shanghai Directory he was working at the Lower Wharf of APC and living at the company premises at the Upper Wharf in Pootung [Pudong]. However, in the 1942 Shanghai Directory, he was listed as living at

the Foreign YMCA. This would have been a lot safer than the industrial and shipping area by the APC Wharfs.

APC was a joint venture between the Shell and Royal Dutch oil companies founded in 1903, eventually opening an office in Shanghai in 1908. It operated in Asia in the early twentieth century with their headquarters on the Bund in Shanghai. It was taken over by the new Chinese Communist Government in 1951.

### **Club And Home**

In 1934, Frederick was elected a Treasurer of the Shanghai Lawn Bowls Club, a very long established club in Shanghai whose lawns were in the middle of the racecourse.<sup>194</sup> Later that month his wife presented prizes to the successful winners attending the horse riding and jumping competition of the Ascot Riding School at 200 Tunsin Road.[Wu Yi Road], located in the direction of the Columbia Country Club and near the Yah Shing Dairy at number 78.<sup>195</sup>



Snapped at the Shanghai Lawn Bowls Club on Saturday; (left to right) Miss Elaine Hill, Mrs. F. J. Drakeford, Mrs. F. Hill.—N.C.D.N.

*Maggie Drakeford (centre) pictured at the Racecourse in August 1938*

<sup>191</sup> Cox, *The Global Cigarette*, p21

<sup>192</sup> Cox, *The Global Cigarette*, pp76-77

<sup>193</sup> Cox, *The Global Cigarette*, p116

<sup>194</sup> NCDN, 12 May 1934

<sup>195</sup> NCDN, 14 May 1934



In 1935, Frederick became the Treasurer of the Anzac Society of Shanghai and was re-elected the following year, taking the role of acting secretary in 1938.<sup>196</sup>, <sup>197</sup> & <sup>198</sup>

In 1940, he had stepped down from senior elected positions on the Lawn Bowls Club but remained on the committee. In 1941 he resigned from the committee of the Anzac Society.<sup>199</sup>

In the 1936 Hong List, Frederick Drakeford and wife Maggie were living at 370 Hart Road [Changde Road]. The 1939 and 1941 Shanghai Directories show that he was still working at Yee Tsoong Tobacco Distributors at their Head Office at 175 Soochow Road [Suzhou Road] in the



accounting department.

The 1939 Shanghai Directory shows them living at 53 Lane 1220, Avenue Road [Beijing West Road].

By the time the 1942 Shanghai Directory was published, they were listed as living at 90, Terrace, 41 Carter Road. Curiously, a Mrs Florence Drakeford was listed as living at this address. Who this Florence was, I have no idea.



*Entrance to the house on Avenue Road where F J Drakeford and his wife lived around 1939, photos taken by author 2010.*

### **American Marriage**

On 9 August 1940, Louis' daughter Daphne Elaine married William R. Rado at Engelwood, New Jersey, USA.<sup>200</sup>

### **Life in the Philippines**

As noted above, Augustus Peter Drakeford fled Shanghai for fear of his life in 1910. He made a new life for himself in the Philippines. He married an American lady, Ruth Crossfield in 1920. A newspaper reports that in 1921 he was posted to Bangkok with the company, but he did not appear to spend long there.<sup>201</sup>

A passenger list dated November 1924 shows the couple had had a daughter. This was 18 month old Claire Louise. A second daughter, Elizabeth Ruth Drakeford was born in Manila in 1930. Peter's United States naturalization certificate offers more details. Claire Louise was born on 5 May 1923 in Manila, as was her sister Elizabeth, known in the family as Doodie, who was born 31 July 1930.

<sup>196</sup> NCDN, 18 Dec 1935

<sup>197</sup> NCDN, 18 Dec 1936

<sup>198</sup> NCDN, 3 Dec 1938

<sup>199</sup> NCDN, 22 Mar 1941

<sup>200</sup> NCH, 2 Oct 1940

<sup>201</sup> South China Morning Post, 9 May 1921

We get glimpses of Peter's family life in newspaper reports during the 1930s. In 1931, the Vacuum Oil Company in the Philippines merged with the Standard Oil Company. He was then appointed to a high executive position with the Standard Vacuum Oil Company eventually retiring in June 1941.<sup>202</sup>

In September 1932, a headline announced, '*Prominent Manilans Are Members Of Symphony Society Just formed*'. Peter and Ruth were two of the 94 '*prominent Manilans*' who pledged an annual subscription to the newly formed society. The establishment of the society was considered an important step forward towards the plan of establishing a permanent symphony orchestra in Manila.<sup>203</sup>

In October 1932, '*Many prominent Manila residents are among those arriving from Europe on the German ship Fulda on October 20... Among those arriving from Europe are A. P. Drakeford, of the Socony-Vacuum Corporation who is arriving from a holiday abroad with his family.*'<sup>204</sup>

Suitably rested, Ruth was able to take charge one of the fund raising booths -at the National City Bank- for the Philippines chapter of the American Red Cross.<sup>205</sup> A key player in the Red Cross was the wife of Theodore Roosevelt Jnr, the son of President Theodore Roosevelt. Theodore Jnr was at this time Governor-General of the Philippines. As part of the fund raising, the Red Cross held luncheons with bridge as entertainment, all in the cause of fund raising, Ruth Drakeford was a willing participant.<sup>206</sup>

In June 1933, Ruth was the General Chairman of the Woman's Board of St Luke's Hospital. At the meeting, they discussed the forthcoming bridge tea to be held at the Manila Hotel.<sup>207</sup>

In 1934, Elizabeth's fourth birthday was a grand affair, hosted at her house in Del Pan Street, Pasay City, a suburb of Manila.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> *West Australian*, (Perth), 29 May 1942, p6

<sup>203</sup> *Tribune* (Philippines), 1 Sep 1932, p1

<sup>204</sup> *Tribune* (Philippines), 16 Oct 1932, p25

<sup>205</sup> *Tribune* (Philippines), 11 Nov 1932, p5

<sup>206</sup> *Tribune* (Philippines), 18 Nov 1932, p5

<sup>207</sup> *Tribune* (Philippines), 7 Jun 1933, p5

<sup>208</sup> *Tribune* (Philippines), 1 Aug 1934, p5

Peter was also member of the Rotary Club and spoke at a meeting at the Manila Hotel one Thursday luncheon.<sup>209</sup>

While visiting Australia the following month he spoke at the weekly luncheon of the Essendon Rotary Club at the Moonee Ponds town hall. In his talk he recommended that Australians should take steps to share in the trade of the Philippine Islands due to its geographical proximity.<sup>210</sup>

### The Net Closes

The late 1930s and the early 1940s were a difficult time for foreigners in Shanghai. In January 1936, Maggie Drakeford painted a picture of life in Shanghai. She was headed to Melbourne for two years and was anticipating that Fred would soon join her on leave. She told the newspaper Shanghai was, *'still in the throes of the depression. Many Europeans are unemployed, and two or three foreign firms are closing down. Things have never been so bad in her experience, and no one in employment can be sure of the future.'*<sup>211</sup>

Things got worse. In 1937, the second Battle of Shanghai was fought between the Japanese and Chinese in Chapei [Zhabei], the area just outside the international settlement adjacent to Hongkew. After a valiant defence, the Chinese were finally forced to retreat, leaving the Japanese in control of the Chinese parts of Shanghai. At this stage however, the Japanese more or less respected the boundaries of the International Settlement. W. H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood poetically described the situation in their book *Journey to a War*, thus *'The International Settlement and the French Concession form an island, an oasis in the midst of the stark, frightful wilderness which was once the Chinese City.'*<sup>212</sup>

The four years between the Chinese troops finally leaving Shanghai in November 1937 and the Japanese occupation of International Shanghai in December 1941 became known as gū dǎo, literally, 'solitary island' or 'lone islet'.<sup>213</sup> It was an oasis of sorts, a haven for many, but it has been hypothesized that the original coining of the term gū dǎo was alluding more to ideas of isolation, abandonment, or becoming an orphan, conjuring up images of powerlessness and vulnerability.<sup>214</sup>



<sup>209</sup> *Tribune* (Philippines), 5 Jul 1934, p1

<sup>210</sup> *Argus* (Melbourne), 24 Aug 1938, p8

<sup>211</sup> *The Telegraph* (Brisbane), 25 Jan 1936, p4

<sup>212</sup> W H Auden and Christopher Isherwood, *Journey to a War*, London 1939

<sup>213</sup> Gū dǎo in Chinese characters is 孤島

<sup>214</sup> Christian Henriot and Wen-Hsin Yeh, eds., *In the Shadow of the Rising Sun: Shanghai Under Japanese Occupation*, Cambridge, 2004, p6



*HMS Duncan in 1943*

It seems that Maggie had returned to Shanghai before the battle, as she participated in the evacuation of women and children. Her journey from Shanghai commenced on 18 August 1937, four days after the horrendous events detailed below. She first embarked on *HMS Duncan*, a D Class destroyer, as far as Woosung where the *Whangpoo* river meets the *Yangtze*, she then transferred to the liner *RMS Empress of Asia* and sailed to Hong Kong and thence to Australia on the *Taiping*. On her arrival in Australia, she shared her experience about the battle of Shanghai. *'Because the Chinese people are trying to live their own lives in peace, they are being slaughtered by Frenzied Japanese... The progress being made by the Chinese during recent years has been anathema to the Japanese, hence their determination to try and crush their neighbours.'*<sup>215</sup>



*HMS Duncan in 1937 loading evacuees from the ferry in Shanghai*

Before she fled, Maggie's experience of the battle was dramatic, her home in Hongkew was in the heart of the battle. She seems to have experienced the carnage of Bloody Sunday when two bombs aimed at the Japanese Destroyer *Idzumo* Chinese planes, missed their mark and fell between the Palace and Cathay Hotels nearby the Bund and close to the racecourse by the New World Entertainment Centre. The report below makes a brief reference to the day.

*Outside her home in Shanghai was a constant stream of armoured cars and tanks while machine guns were posted nearby. The conditions caused her to suffer a breakdown hence her decision to return to Australia. She was saved from*

<sup>215</sup> *The Telegraph* (Brisbane), 1 Oct 1937, p8





being killed by shrapnel when bombs were dropped from Japanese aeroplanes. The bombs resulted in many lives of non combatants being sacrificed. "It was heartrending to see hundreds of women and children's bodies strewn in the streets as a result of the bomb dropping" said Mrs Drakeford.<sup>216</sup>

## Slaughter in Shanghai

Many others left more vivid accounts.

*On Saturday, 14 August 1937, as a typhoon blew through Shanghai picking up people bodily, five American-made planes from the Chinese air force flew in a tight V formation towards Japanese navy ships moored off the Bund... Missing the Japanese ships completely, two of their bombs skimmed above the North China Daily News building on the Bund falling towards the main shopping street of Nanking Road by the Cathay and Palace Hotels.<sup>217</sup>*

The normally busy junction where the bombs fell, swelled by the influx of refugees, turned into a nightmare. The mass of humanity became in an instant a storm of torn and broken limbs. Francis Richard Burch who worked for HSBC, witnessed the carnage shortly after the bomb fell, '*...we arrived, oh five minutes afterwards I think. [There] were a couple of wrecked trams... and of course, bodies and bits. The Volunteers [SVC] were using furniture vans to remove the remains.*'<sup>218</sup>

A touching story was reported a few days later in the *North China Daily News*; a fireman, one of the first to arrive on the scene realised that he needed more fire engines as well as ambulances. He went to use the slot telephone but did not have the necessary coins. Looking around at the people that lay dead at his feet he saw, '*a man on the floor with both legs cut off and one arm hanging in shreds. This man reached into a pocket with his other hand, produced a 5-cent piece and handed it to the Fire Officer. He smiled a last, faint smile. Soon afterwards he was dead.*'<sup>219</sup>

Worse was to come; thirty minutes later a third and fourth bomb fell near the Race Course landing in the crowded streets by the New World Entertainment Centre. People had fled to the Entertainment Centre, just a five-minute panicked run from where the first two bombs had fallen, to escape the carnage, only to be cut down by the shrapnel from the deadly wayward bombs.

More than 1,000 people, some say as many as 3,000 perished and many more were maimed and injured. '*The heavy rain from the typhoon added its own tang to the stench. The death carts kept sloshing up and down Avenue Edward VII, taking the corpses away, but the dank and heavy reek of the bodies lingered; the blood had soaked into the gutters.*'<sup>220</sup>

<sup>216</sup> *The Telegraph* (Brisbane), 1 Oct 1937, p8

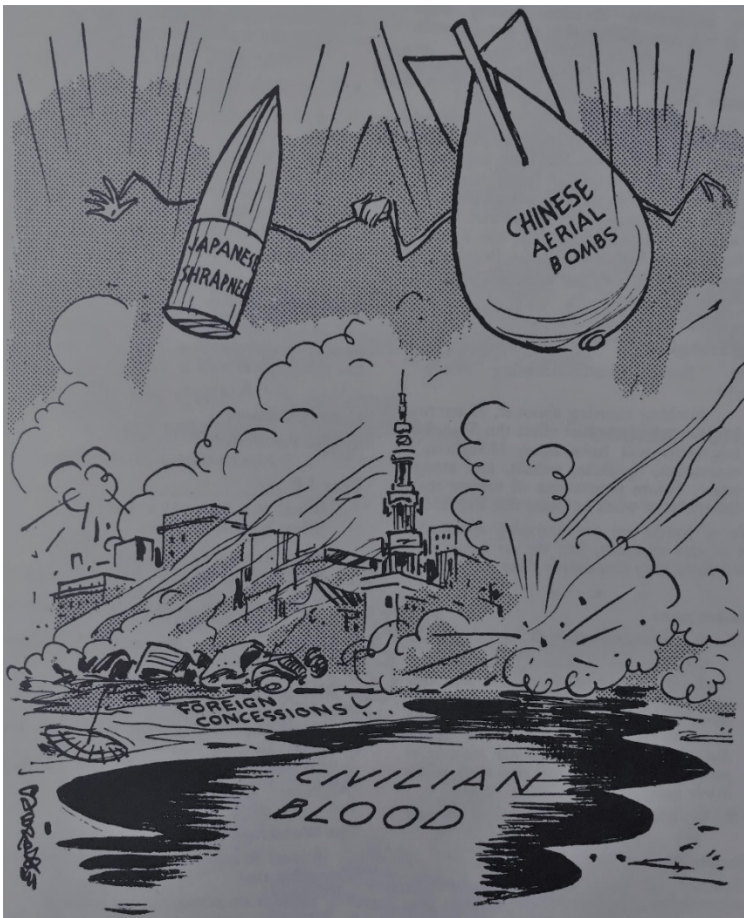
<sup>217</sup> Jonathan Fenby, *Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-Shek and the China He Lost*, 2003., Chapter 17

<sup>218</sup> Interview of Francis Richard Burch with Christopher Cook on 2 April 1981, transcript held at the HSBC archives, London, p45

<sup>219</sup> *NCH*, 25 Aug 1937

<sup>220</sup> Lynn Pan, *Old Shanghai: Gangsters in Paradise*, Singapore, 2011

For Carroll Alcott, the radio broadcaster and journalist, the images of death were left forever in his memory, as they would have been for anybody including Maggie, who had been a first-hand witness to the tragedy. He wrote,



Sapajou, a Shanghai based cartoonist drew the carnage in 1937

within 100 feet of fleeing refugees and used bombs, killing them as if they were killing a lot of cattle. These terrible methods had done more for China than anything else in uniting her as a nation.<sup>222</sup>

Another returnee stated that he thought that the conflict was really guerrilla warfare, that the Chinese could not hold out much longer against the Japanese, as they did not have sufficient heavy guns compared with the Japanese but despite this, the Chinese were putting up a magnificent fight.<sup>223</sup>

Many families left Shanghai around this time. For those that stayed, they had to face the escalating threat of Japan as it started to exert more authority on the International Settlement. The American journalist Edna Lee Booker recalled that in July 1939,

*Day by day, our settlement is becoming more and more an armed camp, although there is no war. Armored cars and tanks are on patrol day and night. The American sailors in Shanghai are having a wonderful time – their small U.S. pay multiplied by 15 buys the town. [Due to the raging inflation] It is amusing to see them piled into taxis instead of rickshaws.*<sup>224</sup>

The foreign citizens in Shanghai watched as first, the British garrison left to reinforce Singapore and then the US Fourth Marines left Shanghai headed for a fateful battle on the island of Corregidor in Manila.

*Even after five years I still have nightmares resulting from what I saw on Nanking Road and Avenue Edward VII. Though death in its most violent forms is nothing new to me, I sometimes wake from my sleep in a cold sweat with the moans of hundreds of dying Chinese men and women ringing in my head. Photographed on my mind are the bleeding bodies and limbs of the dead being tossed into police vans and trucks as though they had just come out of an abattoir.*<sup>221</sup>

### Sanctuary In Australia

Nearly two months later Fred had returned to Australia providing additional first-hand news to the newspaper. He was still under the impression that the Japanese had bombed the civilians rather than poorly directed Chinese bombs. He told the reporter that,

*...the terrorising methods of the Japanese were considered to be almost organised murder... bombing planes flew*

<sup>221</sup> Alcott, *My War With Japan*, 239

<sup>222</sup> *Cairns Post* (Queensland), 29 Nov 1937, p7

<sup>223</sup> *Cairns Post* (Queensland), 29 Nov 1937, p7

<sup>224</sup> Booker, *News is my Job*, p 348

## A Question

In the 1942 Shanghai Directory, there is a small intrigue, L. H. Drakeford, presumably Louis, was listed as living at 460 Avenue Haig [Huashan Road]. This was the house of Thomas Goode Drakeford, the other Drakeford family in Shanghai, hailing from Liverpool. This raises the question why were they sharing the same house and was Louis' wife with him? The directory would have been prepared in 1941 before the Japanese invaded. We know that Thomas and his family had left Shanghai before then to find sanctuary in Sydney, they certainly did not live in the house in 1942. It is possible that after living at the YMCA, they allowed Louis to move in with them before they left for Australia. We also know that Louis himself was not in Shanghai when the Japanese took over. He too presumably had managed to leave the country that had been his home for decades.

## The Japanese Take Over – 1

Returning to Peter's life in the Philippines, leading up to the invasion by the Japanese which started 8 December 1941. In February of that year, Peter, a baritone, sang the songs *Friend O'Mine* by Wilfrid Sanderson and *Smilin' Through* by Arthur A. Penn. The event was a benefit concert for the St Stephen's Chinese Girls School and was attended by the United States High Commissioner to the Philippines, Francis Bowes Sayre whose wife Jessie was the daughter of President Woodrow Wilson.<sup>225</sup>

Less than a year later, under the headline 'MAY NOT BE SAFE', it was reported that,

*Two brothers of the Air Minister may have been menaced by the Japanese southward advance. When last heard of Mr. F. J. Drakeford was at Shanghai and Mr. A. P. Drakeford was on his plantation at Davao, Philippine Islands. Mr A. P. Drakeford, a former oil company manager, was last reported at this Davao plantation on December 16. His American wife and their two children had been evacuated earlier. There has been no assuring news about Mr. F. J. Drakeford who was to have left Shanghai on December 15. His wife is in Melbourne.*<sup>226</sup>

For the second time in his life, Peter was in mortal danger, stuck in the Philippines, his life in danger, he needed to escape. His remarkable story when it emerged was widely reported in the Australian press.<sup>227</sup>

When the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbour, Peter was at his hemp and coconut plantation, about 104 kilometres by road south of Davao, he immediately arranged for the internment of 43 Japanese employed there. It was impossible for him to proceed to Davao for war work, and so he continued at the plantation. He later moved into the hills behind the property and was there when a force of about 85 Japanese soldiers took over his plantation on February 2. The enemy soldiers were led by a trained officer, who, in the guise of a tenant at the plantation, had been engaged for some time in espionage work.

## A Dramatic Escape

The plantation's foreman and houseboy, both Filipinos, were captured by the Japanese but escaped and strongly urged Peter to attempt an escape. Apparently the Japanese were sent to the plantation to capture Peter because he was the only white man in the immediate neighbourhood. Accompanied by a Filipino family and his houseboy, they hiked for six days through partially explored mountainous jungle country. The jungle tracks they followed were both precipitous and slippery. When Peter's right knee gave out after three days, a pony was found for him. The saddle which went with it was rotten and, as there was only one stirrup, another was improvised with string. This makeshift arrangement was far from ideal, as they moved along the jungle tracks the string cut painfully into his foot. They slept in native shacks at night and sparingly ate local food during the day. Peter lost 20lb (9kg) in weight during those six days.

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<sup>225</sup> *Tribune* (Philippines), 7 Feb 1941, p5

<sup>226</sup> *Examiner* (Launceston) 3 Jan 1942, p4 . Note His wife and daughters had gone to Claremont, California.

<sup>227</sup> Account below compiled from, *Northern Star* (Lismore), 27 May 1942, p7, *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 27 May 1942, p1, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 May 1942, p9, *The Age* (Melbourne), 27 May 1942, p3, and *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 29 May 1942, p6

The party finally reached Buayan, (renamed General Santos City in 1954) at the head of Sarangani Bay, where they linked up with a Bolo battalion of Moros, a fierce Filipino fighting tribe, mostly Muslim, who had a fearsome reputation resisting both the Spanish and American colonial invaders and who would resist the Japanese.

A truck was borrowed to take the small party and most of the Moros warriors to a secret U.S. military headquarters near Buayan. The truck had no brakes but still travelled at high speed. At the first hill leading down to a river, the Filipino driver brought the truck to such a sudden halt that several of the Moros were thrown off. The passengers picked themselves up grumbling and boarded the truck which negotiated the decline safely in first gear.

Just as they arrived at their destination there was an air raid alert and the driver met this situation by jerking the truck to a standstill so unexpectedly and this time, everybody was ejected from the truck! From this point Peter proceeded to a place called Midsayap, about 140 miles north, also by truck. He then went by car to the Atugan cattle ranch near Impalutao in north Mindanao a further 140 miles north, and joined a party of American and Spanish evacuees from Davao.

Japanese planes flew over the ranch house several times a day on their way to bomb other targets. Bombs were dropped fairly close to the ranch house and trucks were strafed on the provincial road (presumably this was the Sayre Highway named after the aforementioned high commissioner), which runs about 100 metres in front of the ranch, but the homestead was never attacked.



Back in Australia, Peter Drakeford (left) meets his brother Arthur, the Australian Air Minister, soon after his return

### Flight To Safety

Peter left Mindanao at 11 p.m. on April 23 and arrived in Melbourne at 2.45 p.m. on April 25, he reckoned that the actual flying time from the Philippines to Melbourne was nearly 20 hours. He recalled that it was a comfortable trip, fortunately they did not see a hostile aircraft, although about an hour before they flew over Darwin, the enemy had launched a big air raid there.<sup>228</sup>

Soon after his return to Australia, Peter expressed confidence that the Americans would be able to take back the Philippines because the Filipinos had great faith in General MacArthur, but warned that, '*...it is going to be a long and difficult task.*'<sup>229</sup>

### War Business

Peter, attended a conference in November 1944 in Chicago, with his brother Arthur who was chairman of the Australian delegation at the International Civil Aviation Conference, known today as 'The Chicago Convention'. The conference was attended by 54 Allied and neutral nations and was the first wartime conference where neutral nations joined in. On 7 December, the conference signed a landmark document that

<sup>228</sup> Account based on *Western Australian* (Perth), 29 May 1942, p6

<sup>229</sup> *Advocate* (Burnie, Tasmania), 28 May 1942, p5



established the International Civil Aviation Organization, a specialised agency of the soon to be formed United Nations charged with coordinating international air travel in the peace that would follow the end of the war. The document was eventually ratified in 1947.<sup>230</sup>

### **The Japanese Take Over – 2**

As the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour, the anticipation of impending doom in Shanghai was confirmed, the Japanese crossed over Suzhou Creek on Garden Bridge and strolled into the International Settlement facing very little resistance.

Almost immediately, all enemy aliens were required to register with the Japanese and the city became a city of queues. Whether it was queuing to be registered, for food rations, or to get money from the bank, life had changed overnight. The Japanese started seizing anything that might be of use for their war effort. Items such as arms, ammunition, petrol and cars were obvious targets. But more mundane items such as metals, rubber, skins, furs, cotton and wool were all on the list. To keep the city running, it was necessary for many of the foreigners to remain at work, whether they were bankers, teachers, utility workers, doctors and nurses, vicars or police, they carried on working. Slowly however, as the Japanese grip on the Settlement tightened, and the Japanese set into progress plans to imprison all enemy aliens. Greg Leck's *Captive in Shanghai* provides a detailed account of the internment of civilians in Shanghai, but there are other accounts.<sup>231</sup>

Come early 1943, the Japanese started to arrange for civilians to be sent to what was euphemistically called Civilian Assembly Centres, but were in effect civilian prisons. A highly organised round up was instigated. One inmate, eighteen year old Desmond Power, who started his internment in Pootung remembers the round up. After leaving their rendezvous point,

*Our roll taken – all present and correct – the trucks roared off along Great Western Road, heading for downtown, heading for Holy Trinity Cathedral. What a sight the cathedral yard. If you've ever seen a newsreel of Ellis Island that's what it looked like, a shambles of bodies, kitbags, suitcases, baskets, holdalls, bundles of every sort!*<sup>232</sup>

*After waiting around at the cathedral in the drizzling rain, they set off marching to their gaol. The roadways were bare of traffic, but the sidewalks teemed with Chinese all the way down Kiangse Road to Nanking Road to the Bund. It was on that wide esplanade opposite the mighty colonnaded temples of finance that the largest crowd gathered to witness the White Man's ultimate humiliation.*

The camps were under the control of the Japanese, but they pragmatically allowed the internees to organise how they lived together. Leaders were elected, and committees organised to look after different aspects of life; be it sanitation, food distribution, cooking, education, recreation, all had to be organised.

### **Imprisoned 1**

In February 1943, Louis Samuel Drakeford was eventually sent to the Pootung Internment Centre, situated on the other side of the Whangpoo River. Tantalisingly, the Bund and the Astor House Hotel were in full view. His work was listed as an engineer with the Asiatic Petroleum Company. Every prisoner was assigned a number, Louis' was 'P1117'.<sup>233</sup>

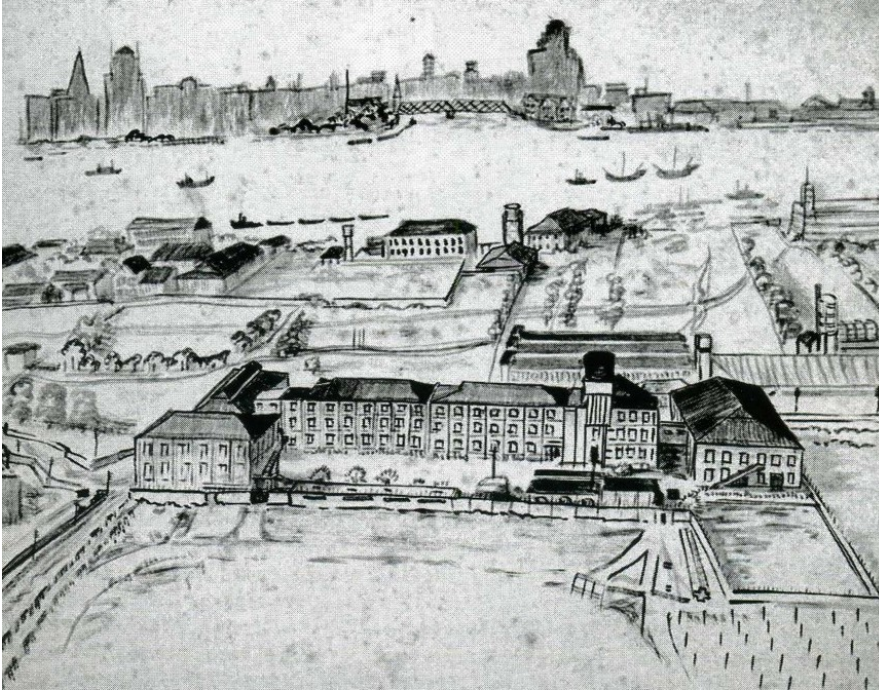
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<sup>230</sup> Sourced from <https://www.icao.int/about-icao/History/Pages/default.aspx> . Accessed 29 Sep 2020

<sup>231</sup> Greg Leck, *Captives of Empire: The Japanese Internment of Allied Civilians in China 1941 – 1945*, 2006, pp73-102

<sup>232</sup> Desmond Power, *Little Foreign Devil*, 1996, p172-73

<sup>233</sup> Australian National Archives file NAA A4144 228-1947



*The Bund with its magnificent skyline was tantalisingly on view from the prison*

A letter held by the Drakeford family in Australia, initially thought to be written by Louis but now understood to be written by another internee named William Ball gives a detailed account of how they were imprisoned and the first few months of imprisonment.

*Our camp was located in the old British American Tobacco Factory on Pootung Point. The plant had been condemned many years ago and had been stripped of all machinery. Into these buildings the Japanese crowded approximately 1100 men (800 British, 385*

*Americans, and 14 Dutch). We were segregated into rooms according to nationality[,] the number of men varying from 50 to 150 per room. The beds were all lined up in rows with barely enough room for a chair to be squeezed in between them.*

*The roundup of internees started in January [1943]. The first lot went over on January 31<sup>st</sup>. In this first lot there were 400 of the younger men sent over to get the camp started and some sort of organization set up... The first squad got things started and had the space allotted for the next bunch of 700 who arrived on the 15<sup>th</sup> of February...*

*We were all notified by the Japanese authorities to report at Church House on Feb. 7<sup>th</sup> to get our orders. This we did and received a long mimeographed statement of what we would be allowed to bring into camp and what to do with our property left behind...*

*My orders called for me to report at the Shanghai Municipal Drill Hall Feb. 15<sup>th</sup> at 10 A.M. with my light hand luggage... At 10:30 we started the parade with about 1/3 the total number of men, to the customs jetty...*

*As we marched out of the drill hall into Foochow Road and towards the Bund the crowds on the sidewalks set up a roaring cheer as at a great football game. It was a royal send off and much appreciated as the crowd was composed of Chinese, Russians and other neutrals.*

*The ferry set us down on the Pootung shore about ¾ of a mile from the camp so we had another long walk carrying luggage. Then we came up to the buildings, the 400 who were already there hung out of the windows yelling and shouting. It sounded like an insane asylum. We marched into the compound and I felt like Dante when he read the sign, "Abandon all hope ye who enter here."*

*... We were told to go and fix up our quarters... The room was one terrible mess of beds and luggage which had to be unscrambled... The place was filthy dirty, the outlook ahead bleak; we were a tired despondent crowd...*

*In a week's time we had cleaned up our quarters pretty well and had our beds and chairs all squared away ship shape. We found bits of lumber lying around about which we took and made into shelves and table for our own use. All prisoners had some work to do, kitchen detail, room policing, latrine cleanup, yard cleanup work, etc.*

*A more mixed crowd it would be difficult to find. In my room we had men from every strata of life – beachcombers, dope fiends, drunkards, able bodied seamen, [black men], preachers, bankers and businessmen of all ranks...*

*There was a university set up in camp where we could take all sorts of courses of study. As we had many professors from St. Johns [sic] University among the internees, the lectures were very much worthwhile... At least 75% of the men did some sort of study...*

*A small library of 3,000 volumes of all sorts of books gave us something to read.*

*Outside the small factory yard was a large field which after Herculean effort on the part of the internees was made into a first class playing field where we got recreation and exercise. English Football and American Soft Ball were the favorite sports. We had a baseball league of 20 teams...*

*From our buildings we could look across the Whangpoo and see the Bund. It was very tantalizing to be so near yet so far.<sup>234</sup>*

William Ball was fortunate enough to be one of the men chosen to be repatriated back to America in a prisoner exchange with Japanese prisoners. He left the camp September 1943 and so only spent eight months there. Louis still had another 23 to go.

## **Imprisoned 2**

Louis Samuel's uncle, Frederick James Drakeford was sent to Lunghwa Camp on the other side of the river, the same camp as the future author J. G. Ballard who wrote a semi-biographical account, *Empire of the Sun*, about his time in Shanghai. Frederick's job was recorded as an accountant from the BAT accounting department. With the prisoner number 20/211,<sup>235</sup> he was held there from April 1943 to August 1945.<sup>236</sup> His wife Maggie was not interned, she had left Shanghai before the Japanese invaded, and for part of the war lived with her daughter Alice. Perhaps she and her brother in law, Louis Henry were able to leave together.

Lunghwa was situated eight miles southwest of Shanghai on the Minhong Road. It had originally been the Kiangsu Middle School and had been heavily damaged in the 1937 battle of Shanghai, after which it was occupied by the Japanese.<sup>237</sup>

The camp was slowly filled as batches of prisoners were escorted there over a period of weeks. One account recalls being told to meet at the Columbia Country Club on 7<sup>th</sup> April 1943, '*Eventually eight French buses rolled up... There were [sic] a few hand waves en route, and some non-armband wearers accompanied us on their bicycles. The Chinese just looked on stolidly,*<sup>238</sup> While another, this time on 10<sup>th</sup> April, notes that on leaving the Columbia Club, '*Two cars of Japanese and Swiss officials headed the procession of ten red buses (Frenchtown ones) while a truck of luggage and a repair car brought up the rear... We travelled out Columbia Road, down Avenue Joffre to Winling and on passed the peach orchards in bloom and the Lunghwa Pagoda.*<sup>239</sup> Louis' journey would have no doubt been the same.

## **Settling In**

Another account remembers those first days,

*We soon got into a regular routine. Every day a drinking water truck arrived. My father was one of the people responsible for doling water out. We called it the Dewdrop Inn. We had to boil it to make it safe. Another drinking water station was called Waterloo. We used water from a pond for washing clothes. It was often full of pond weed. The water from the taps was salty and very hard on your hands. I remember doing our washing in a trough.<sup>240</sup>*

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<sup>234</sup> Letter Held by Jenny Levett, Fred Drakeford's granddaughter, written by William Ball after his release.

<sup>235</sup> Australian National Archives file NAA A4144 228-1947

<sup>236</sup> Leck, *Captives of Empire*, p573

<sup>237</sup> Leck, *Captives of Empire*, p461

<sup>238</sup> Peggy Abkhazi, *A Curious Cage: A Shanghai Journal 1941 – 1945*, 1981, p50-51

<sup>239</sup> Ruth Hill Barr, *Ruth's Record: The Diary of an American in Japanese-Occupied Shanghai 1941-1945*, 2016, p146

<sup>240</sup> Account by Jean Heather Little, later Burch, sourced from

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/stories/64/a5730464.shtml>. Accessed 21 September 2020



As was the case in Pootung Camp, tasks were assigned by rota, everybody had to contribute their labour. Sports and other recreation such as Amateur Dramatics were organised. Little time was wasted organising schooling for the many children in camp, school commenced on Monday 3 May!<sup>241</sup> Another facet of life was the waiting, *'We ALL stand in queues – for meals, for washing water, for drinking water, and for many and various registrations.'*<sup>242</sup>

*Time flew in many respects. We wondered what was happening in Europe. And what would happen to us. The winters were cold and we bought fleece-lined, ugly brown tops and bottoms brought in to the camp. We called them Dire Needs. Spring was short and summer long and very hot. The worse thing, particularly for families, was the uncertainty — the not knowing.*<sup>243</sup>

In the lead up to the first Christmas, the *'Japanese Consulate has sent us a Christmas gift – so marked on the paper – bags of cracked wheat still in the American Red Cross sacks.'*<sup>244</sup>

1944 arrived and with it cold weather that ate into the bones. Coal was starting to be less plentiful, an essential fuel for heating water and bodies, and the electricity supply faced more restrictions. The food too started to become more scarce, Red Cross parcels, when they arrived, contributed greatly to the physical and mental wellbeing of the interned, one such delivery in April included items such as chocolate, coffee, Crosse & Blackwell jam, cheese and cigarettes, which for many were useful as a currency of exchange.<sup>245</sup>

### **Bombs Fall Again**

News that on 6 June, D-Day, the invasion of France had happened, gave hope that the end of the war was coming. More promising news arrived in August as firstly rumours of American planes flying over Shanghai turned into facts that they had dropped bombs on the Whangpoo River.<sup>246</sup> On 11 November the morning roll call was disturbed by a series of explosions, bombs being dropped on a nearby airfield. Naturally this caused great excitement and expressions of joy by



*An accommodation unit in Lunghwa.*

the inmates which gave rise to a proclamation, *'in which we were told to refrain from any demonstrations of joy during future raids, and equally to refrain from leaning out of the window.'*<sup>247</sup>

The winter of 1944/45 was cold. Already worn down by their incarceration, the week before Christmas 1944 the mercury dropped as low as 18 Fahrenheit [-8 Centigrade].<sup>248</sup> In January the air raids increased offering more hope, on the 17<sup>th</sup>, *'Spectacular raid with 12-15 small U.S. planes diving low, bombing air fields. Much smoke – Hungjao and Lunghwa aerodromes.'*<sup>249</sup>

<sup>241</sup> Barr, *Ruth's Record*, p153

<sup>242</sup> Abkhazi, *A Curious Cage*, p63

<sup>243</sup> Little, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/>

<sup>244</sup> Barr, *Ruth's Record*, p184

<sup>245</sup> Barr, *Ruth's Record*, p203

<sup>246</sup> Barr, *Ruth's Record*, p218

<sup>247</sup> Abkhazi, *A Curious Cage*, p119

<sup>248</sup> Barr, *Ruth's Record*, p232

<sup>249</sup> Barr, *Ruth's Record*, p242



## Hopes Are Raised

Throughout their imprisonment, a radio had remained concealed in the camp and war news filtered through. The death of Roosevelt caused distress, the fall of Manila and the surrender of Germany created hope – and the air raids increased, shrapnel falling in the camp on occasions. Come July, the frequency and size of air raids increased, as did the rumours about what the Japanese might do to the inmates as their seemingly inevitable defeat grew nearer.

The speculation and rumours increased in August, one day's news contradicted the next day's and nothing official was heard, not even via either of the two hidden radios still working. News came on 11<sup>th</sup> that war was over causing much excitement, with hopes



*A residents block at Lunghwa*

only to be dashed, people started worrying that even if Japan surrendered would those in Shanghai also do so! 'AUGUST 13<sup>TH</sup>. What a day of anticlimax! Confused and contradictory rumours pour in all the time. One moment the war is over, the next it is irrefutably proved that fighting is still going on. So I just give up.'<sup>250</sup> On 15 August news finally came that the war was indeed over, the Swiss authorities took over the camp at noon, confirming in tangible form the end of their incarceration.

The confinement was over, but it was still necessary to stay in camp. Inevitably, Shanghai was in chaos and the camp, no longer a prison became a safe refuge. In a letter written by Fred Drakeford after the surrender but before he left the camp he told his family,

*I was hoping to give a full account of my life in camp and the doings here but I am in the last stage of packing... While it has been a rotten experience and a great waste of time, we have come through the ordeal not too bad and since the peace our feeding has been very good and everybody is feeling the benefit of this and now pulling up and by the time we arrive home ought to be "goodho".*

## Free At Last

An Australian reporter with the title B.W. made it into the camp around 10 September, he wrote,

*A group of 40 Australians interned in Lunghwa civil assembly camp, ten miles from Shanghai, greeted me when I arrived there with the waving of an Australian flag and the roar of "Good Old Aussie".. Tears came into their eyes as they wrung my hand – the first Australian from the outside world they had seen in two years and a half.'<sup>251</sup>*

One of the first to greet the reporter was Fred Drakeford whom he had met in Australia many years before. 'Naturally Mr. Drakeford's first thoughts were for his wife, who resides at 78 Bruce-street, West Coburg, Victoria. He hopes to be back with her soon.' B.W. concluded that, 'one and all of this little group of typical Australians throughout their long ordeal have maintained their native cheerfulness and optimism. "We knew we would come out on top in the end." They said. "We knew the Diggers in New Guinea would not let us down.'<sup>252</sup>

<sup>250</sup> Abkhazi, *A Curious Cage*, p130

<sup>251</sup> Age (Melbourne), 11 Sep 1945, p3

<sup>252</sup> Age (Melbourne), 11 Sep 1945, p3

## A Useful Contact

When news reached the wider world that the prisoners in Shanghai had been released, there was a mad scramble to contact and be contacted by family members and friends. It was therefore quite useful that Frederick had a brother, and Louis an uncle, in high places.

Samuel Drakeford's second son was Arthur Samuel Drakeford. Born in 1878, he started his career with the railways. He was an engine driver and was also interested in worker's rights. He joined the Locomotive Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Association, a powerful trade union and progressed through its ranks. He was elected as a member of parliament in 1934 representing the Labour Party. After they gained power in October 1941, he became Minister for Air and Minister for Civil Aviation and held both positions until Labour's defeat at the 1949 election.<sup>253</sup>

Arthur wasted no time in using his influential position to try to establish contact with his brother and nephew. On 23 August, a cable was sent on behalf of the Air Minister by the Royal Australian Air Force as follows,

*Please hand following message from Minister to C.A.S personally (Begins) My brother Frederick James DRAKEFORD was interned in Civil Assembly Centre Lunghwa Camp Shanghai and my nephew Louis DRAKEFORD at Pootung Camp Shanghai China. Former's family is in Australia and latter's in New York. Could you ascertain where in Far East their present location and their intentions concerning future movement. Would also appreciate anything you can do to facilitate their transport to destinations desired and advise me of any information available concerning them. Have already sent cables through External Affairs but no advices yet received. Regards (Message ends).*<sup>254</sup>

Using official channels, the Air Minister continued his attempts to find news about his brother and nephew. Please hand to Mr. Louis Drakeford the following message from the Minister for Air.

*Your cable re Louis upon announcement of release internees Shanghai cabled him and Fred through the external affairs department here asking desires and intentions and have since enquired through other sources without receiving reply. Chinese Consul Victoria offered and has communicated with Chinese government representatives requesting that every assistance be given to brother and nephew of Australia Minister for air repatriation requirement. As no replies yet to hand imagine both have transferred from Shanghai probably to Manila...*<sup>255</sup>

They had not gone to Manila. Eventually they were located, their camp addresses being communicated to the Air Minister. In the same cable, the minister is informed that Maggie Drakeford had heard from Fred via a Red Cross broadcast and that Fred had seen Louis. In that cable is the first suggestion that the Air Minister was planning to fly his relatives out of Shanghai. As the days passed the assumption was made that Louis would like to go to New York to reunite with his parents and sisters who had spent the war there, while it was assumed that Fred wanted to return to Australia.

## Slow Progress

The Air Minister was getting impatient and started to apply some pressure to get things moving. On 20 September, more than a month after they had been released, the department of external affairs in Canberra sent a telegraph.

*Minister for Air (disturbed?) he has not had any direct news from either his brother or nephew. On his behalf we sent a message contained in my immediately following telegram to Shanghai and Manila but it is not*

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<sup>253</sup> Source: <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/drakeford-arthur-samuel-10048> . Accessed 22 September 2020

<sup>254</sup> Copy of cable held by Jenny Levett, Fred Drakeford's granddaughter

<sup>255</sup> Copy of cable held by Jenny Levett, Fred Drakeford's granddaughter

known whether message delivered: would you please attempt to have message retransmitted to Frederick James Drakeford from Arthur Drakeford. Please advise result.<sup>256</sup>

On 22<sup>nd</sup> September, the telegram initiated a response from the Australian government representative in Chungking to a Mr. R. J. R. Butler that offered more comforting news for the Drakeford family in Australia.

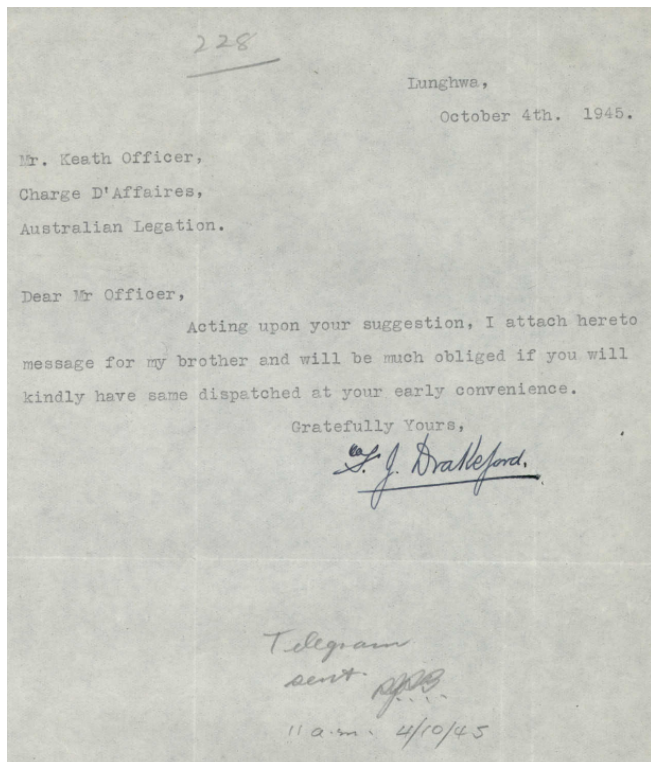
*My telegram No. 208. First knowledge of your release arises from press announcement yesterday which contains no mention of Louis. Everybody well here and send love and congratulations you both. On 25<sup>th</sup> August I sent cables via Chungking to yourself and Louis asking that you confer with Louis if possible and advise your desires and intentions. I understand that Chinese Consul Melbourne also kindly communicated with appropriate authorities on China on same subject asking that every assistance be given to relatives of Minister for Air Australia. These cables have been repeated to British Consul Shanghai today. Press information this week, however, indicates condition of affairs Shanghai respecting communications previously very difficult if not impossible.*

*Have today informed as follows: 'Stokes saw his brother Frederick who is well and is returning to Australia as quickly as possible.'*

*Since my first cable to you have received from Louis New York request that in view of probable transport and other difficulties which may arise that arrangements be made if possible for Louis to go to United States of America direct rather than Australia first. Can you contact him and advise me respecting his position. Would suggest that you contact British Consulate Shanghai with a view to obtaining any advice and assistance necessary for Louis and yourself and notify me through quickest appropriate telegraphic channels for which facilities will be provided here.<sup>257</sup>*

Arthur Drakeford was given a gentle wrist slap by an official in Chungking,

*Grateful if you will explain Air Minister (and other enquirers) that there are up to present no regular communications to or from Shanghai. Messages we receive for that please send onto Butler for delivery by very over loaded British Military Mission wireless service if short or R.A.F. plane. Messages from Shanghai come in same way and we telegraph them through to you.<sup>258</sup>*



On 26<sup>th</sup> September Louis contacted his uncle using official channels, *'Have contacted Fred who is arranging repatriate. I am remaining here at request of employers. Am in perfect health. Many thanks for your assistance.'*<sup>259</sup>

From a letter (see left) he sent to Mr Keath Officer, Charges D'Affaires, Australian Legation, we know that Frederick was still at Lunghwa on 4 October 1945.<sup>260</sup>

<sup>256</sup> Australian National Archives file NAA A4144 228-1945 – headed 'Telegram no. 208'

<sup>257</sup> Australian National Archives file NAA A4144 228-1945 – 228/45/23

<sup>258</sup> Australian National Archives file NAA A4144 228-1945 - headed 'Telegram no. 281', 228/45/36

<sup>259</sup> Australian National Archives file NAA A4144 228-1945 - headed 'Telegram unnumbered'

<sup>260</sup> Australian National Archives file NAA A4144 228-1945 – headed in pencil '228'





*St Luke's Hospital C1910*

## **An Australian Refuge**

Three days later, on 7 October, a group of Australians and New Zealanders managed to secure St Luke's Hospital at the corner of Seward Road [Dongdaming Road] and Boone Road (Tanggu Road) in Hongkou to set up home. They renamed it the Southern Cross Club. Fred was appointed manager of the club until his departure.<sup>261</sup> Details were reported in a letter from the Australian Legation in Shanghai to the Australian Charges D'Affaires in

Chungking.

*St Luke's Hospital project.* Since Sunday last the Australians not planning to repatriate are moving into what they have decided to call the Southern Cross Club. We have a large Australian Flag over the doorway. The American Army group supplied the necessary transport [from the internment camps]. The people are very happy and approximately seventy people are now quartered there... Mr Drakeford is temporary manager until he leaves on the next ship, then we hope to have a suitable man from amongst the Australian group quartered there to continue. The food is good and the caterer seems to be entering into the spirit of the job... The people who are already living in this hotel have expressed their appreciation in no uncertain terms for this gesture of the Australian Government, in fact, we have been rushed with applications from New Zealanders and Canadians to enter and partake of its benefits.<sup>262</sup>

### **The Cavalry Arrive**

Frederick however was not hanging around. Plans for his repatriation were proceeding with all haste. On 17 October, Brigadier General Clifford [sic] arrived in Shanghai from Hong Kong on a Catalina flying boat.<sup>263</sup> The members of the legation,

*...have done our utmost to entertain him and make him feel very welcome. Murdoch and Cutbush entertained the Brigadier and some members of the crew last night in town. I have placed a car at his disposal... These chaps expect us to show them around, and it would certainly look rather bad if we did not do something. To act as 'guides' and expect them to pay for the entertainment would also be bad form... We cannot really afford to pay our own way and then have this added entertainment expense. Is there any possibility of a grant being made to cover items such as this? I feel that we do not lose out by doing the 'good thing' by these chaps...<sup>264</sup>*

The reason the Catalina arrived in Shanghai was to 'move out Mr Drakeford to Manila. As they are able to take other passengers I have arranged for Mr Drakeford's sister-in-law, Mrs Farmer and her 22 year old son to travel with Mr Drakeford. They will be able to contact further flying facilities at Manila and proceed to Australia.'<sup>265</sup>

<sup>261</sup> Christina Twomey, *Australian's Forgotten Prisoners: Civilians Interned by the Japanese in World War Two*, 2007, p138

<sup>262</sup> Australian National Archives file NAA A4144 228-1945, headed, 228/45/81

<sup>263</sup> The official reports referred to him as Brigadier General Clifford. However the flight manifesto lists him as Brig. O H Clifton. Possibly this is an error and the man was actually Brigadier George Herbert Clifton (1898 – 1970) a man of some renown.

<sup>264</sup> Australian National Archives file NAA A4144 228-1945, headed, Australian Legation Shanghai Office, 19 October 1945

<sup>265</sup> Australian National Archives file NAA A4144 228-1945, headed, Australian Legation Shanghai Office, 19 October 1945



Weighing in at 140 pounds and with 100 pounds of baggage, on 22 October, Frederick accompanied by his first wife's sister, Violet Stella Farmer and her son, finally left Shanghai headed for Manila. It had been a busy two months since he had first tasted freedom.

### **Unsolved Mysteries**

There is an unanswered question about Louis. Soon after the end of the war, he married. His wife, Ai-lun Chang, was Chinese, a native of Peking. It is not clear if they knew each other before Louis was interned or whether they met afterwards. The Chinese were not interned, their prison was the city of Shanghai itself. Indeed, many Chinese were able to help the captive foreigners by getting food into the camps, was Ai-lun able to help either of the Drakefords?

After they were engaged on 14 April 1946,<sup>266</sup> Louis Samuel Drakeford and Ai-Lun (Helen) Chang of Peiping [Beijing] were married on 18 May 1946, at the Community Church at 53 Avenue Petain [Hengshan Road].<sup>267</sup> Adding to the mystery, Louis' second cousin Peter Melvin Drakeford recalls a visit from Louis when he was looking to retire back to Australia in the late 1980s, presumably after his wife (apparently) died in Hong Kong in 1986, and he told an intriguing story about how they met.

Louis told Peter that he was a Radio Ham, an enthusiast who held classes about how to use them and he regularly spoke to fellow enthusiasts around the world. A Chinese woman joined the class and love blossomed. A mixed race marriage was not that unusual at that time, however what was unusual was the fact, revealed after years of marriage, that Ai-Lun was a spy; sent by the Nationalist Government to see what Louis was up to in his radio classes. On a sad note and a poor reflection on the mores of the day, Louis said they decided not to have children because of a concern about how a Eurasian child would have been treated, perhaps Louis was mindful of Winifred and Joan Wong, the Eurasian children he had played with years before.

In the 1947 China Directory, L. S. F. Drakeford was listed as still working for the Shell Company of China.

### **A Return 'Home'**

As noted above, Frederick J Drakeford returned to Australia, a country he had barely lived in as an adult. He died on 24 July 1947 at his home on Bluff Road, Hampton, Melbourne. His obituary notes that he was on the staff of British-American Tobacco for 25 years stationed in Shanghai and made a number of visits to Australia. He was one of five brothers, four of whom went to the Far East. It briefly described his war experience:

*With the entry of Japan into the war, he was interned at the Lungh Wu [sic] (Shanghai) camp with other Australians, and was released after V-J Day, when he re-joined his family in Australia. During his internment Mr Drakeford took a leading part in providing amenities and social activities for internees. He is survived by a widow and five children.*<sup>268</sup>

I assume these five children were his two sons whose mother was Melba, and his three step children, the children of Maggie.

### **The End Of An Era**

In 1949, after a long civil war, the communists finally defeated Chiang Kai Shek's Nationalist government. It was not long before most foreigners were thrown out of China bringing to an end the almost 50 years of China residence for Samuel Finch Drakeford, his children and grandchildren.

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<sup>266</sup> NCDN, 4 April 1946, p7

<sup>267</sup> NCDN, 20 May 1946, p7

<sup>268</sup> The Age (Melbourne), 26 Jul 1947, p2

## **Epilogue**

Along with many foreign residents of China, some who had been there for generations, the 'Shanghailanders' found new homes around the world. Some returned to their 'home' countries, places they did not really know, while others moved to Hong Kong or Singapore and elsewhere around the British Empire or to America. This story concludes with an overview of what happened to the Finch Drakefords who had lived in China after they left Shanghai.

### **Louis Henry Drakeford, son of Samuel Drakeford**

In a probate listing, Louis is listed as Lewis, a version of his name he never used in life. He moved to New York sometime before December 1941, perhaps with his wife. He died on 8 November 1952 and was living at 21-88, 31<sup>st</sup> Street, Long Island City, Queens, New York. His effects were value at £361.

His daughter **Elaine** was named in the probate papers. His wife Marguerite Drakeford nee Chambaz also died at Queens New York on 29 April 1963.

### **Louis Henry's son Louis Samuel Drakeford and his wife Ai-lun nee Chang.**

On 12 September 1949, they both flew on Northwest airlines leaving Seoul, Korea, headed for Tokyo, Japan. Louis was listed as working for Shell.

On 17 May 1950, they left Southampton on the *Queen Mary* headed for New York. Louis listed as working for APC.

On 19 July 1950, they arrived in Southampton in the UK. Louis was listed as working for Shell, Ai-Lun a housewife. Their last place of residence was recorded as Korea.

On 25 August 1950 they left Southampton headed for Hong Kong, their future country of residence named as Japan.

On 1 December 1953, they arrived in London from Hong Kong, still listed as living in Japan.

On 12 February 1954, they left Southampton headed for New York, their address in New York recorded as 21-88, 31<sup>st</sup> Street, Long Island City, Queens, New York, the home of his recently deceased father.

On several family trees on Ancestry.com, Ai-Lun is listed as dying in Hong Kong on 18 Feb 1986 although no source is given. Her husband Louis is recorded as dying in Queensland, Australia in 1999, again with no source.

### **Louis Henry's daughter, Yvonne Marguerite Drakeford.**

As noted above, Yvonne married George Ezzard in New York in 1930. In 1940, they were listed as living at 33<sup>rd</sup> Street, Queens, New York with their three children, Richard, Dodd and George Junior. Her husband George died in 1981. Yvonne died on 29 August 2000, at Jamaica, Queens County, New York.

### **Louis Henry's daughter, Elaine Daphne Drakeford**

Also lived in New York. Her first husband William R Rado died October 1976. In a U.S. Social Security Applications and Claims Index, there is mention that Elaine had once been known as Elaine Snobar, suggesting that she may have married a Mr. Snobar as her second husband. In the New York, Marriage License Indexes, she is listed as being Elaine Snobar when she married her third husband Robert Fazio. I have not been able to find a record of a marriage to Snobar.

In 1986, she married Robert L Fazio in Queens New York. Robert died 2 October 1993. Their address was 2138 31<sup>st</sup> Street, Astoria, New York. Elaine died 29 May 1996 on Long Island City, Queens County.

Before her death, Elaine starting writing a memoir of her time in China with the help of her stepson Leonard Rado, the manuscript was incomplete when she died but it was published in 1998.<sup>269</sup>

#### **The wife of Frederick Drakeford (son of Samuel), Maggie Eliza Josephs and children**

Maggie continued to live in Australia in the state of Victoria until her death on 24 April 1982. Her step son Frederick Charles Melvin Drakeford, whose mother was Melba Collis, remained in Australia as an adult. He married Anne Rose Bishop in 1942. She died in 1946. In 1948 he married Irene Isobel Collins. He died in Tasmania, Australia on 17 September 2006.

Her other stepson was Cyril James Drakeford, also the son of Melba Collis, known in the family as 'Uncle Nick', also spent his adult life in Australia. In 1948, he married Thelma Beryl Jean Grose who died in 1955. He married a second time to Dorothy Maud Williams in 1957. Cyril died in in 1972 in Clayton, Melbourne.

#### **Ernest John Drakeford, son of Samuel Drakeford**

Ernest lived in Shanghai briefly, staying with his elder brother Louis eventually returning to Australia after not finding suitable work. He was married to Eunice Mary Gatens in 1926. They had two daughters, Eunice Mary (1928 – 2018) and Ernestine (1929 – 1980). He died at home at 39 Mackay Street, Essendon on 17 December 1948.

#### **Augustus Peter Drakeford, son of Samuel Drakeford**

He married an American lady, Ruth Crossfield in 1920. They had two daughters Claire Louise was born on 5 May 1923 in Manila, as was her sister Elizabeth, who was born 31 July 1930. After living in the Philippines, the family, minus Peter moved to America before war started, and Peter shortly after. Peter died on 19 April 1959, in San Francisco.

#### **Author's note of thanks**

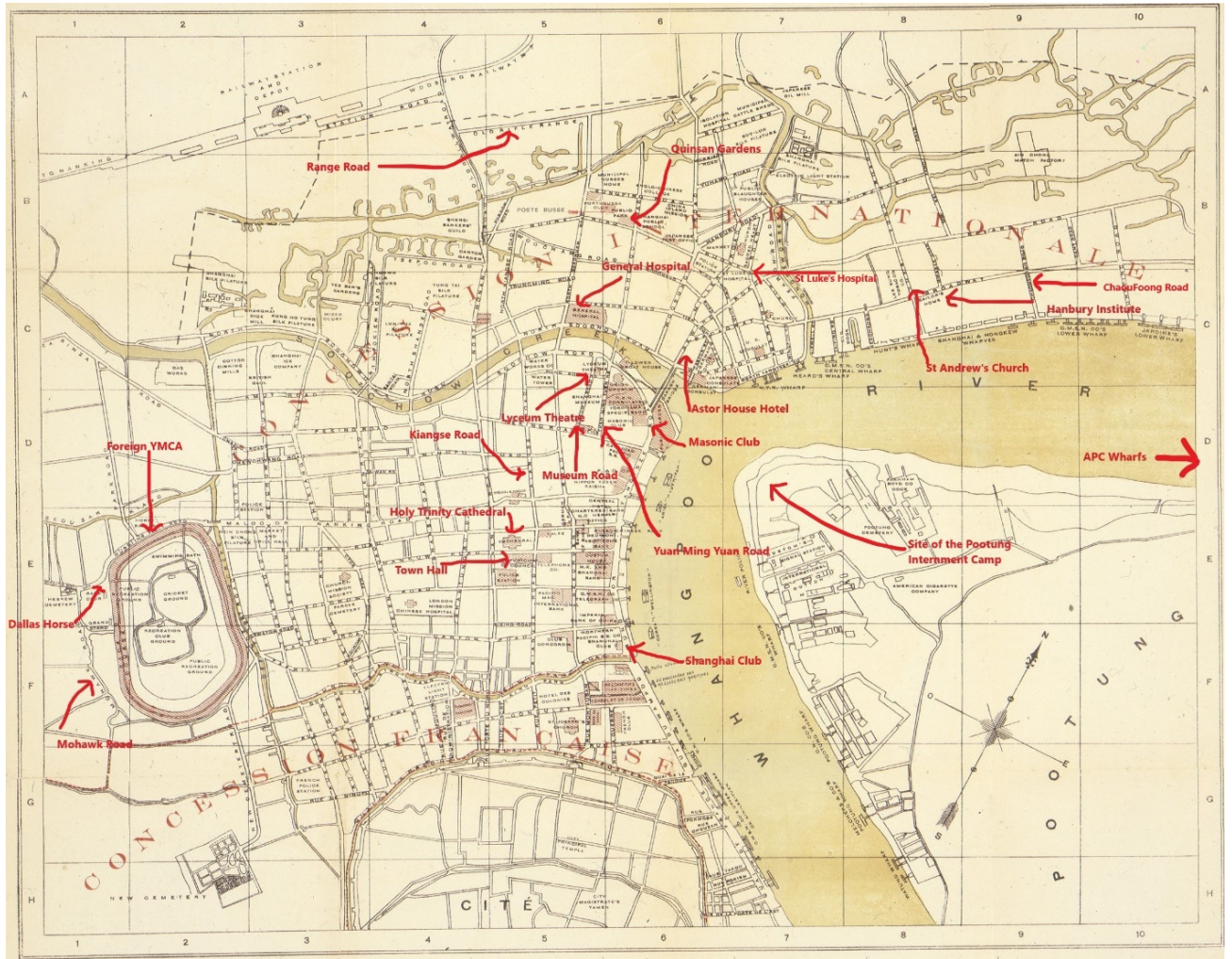
Thanks to Jennifer Levett, Great Granddaughter of Samuel Finch Drakeford and 3X Great Granddaughter of John Drakeford and Alice Finch, for copies of documents, useful leads and first class proof reading. All mistakes are of course my own.

Thanks also to Roger Hall, 3X Great Grandson of John Drakeford and Alice Finch, for access to his copy of Elaine D Drakeford & Leonard G Rado, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times: A young lady's memoirs of China: 1910-1930*, 1998, and connecting me with the Australian Drakeford Finch family.

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<sup>269</sup> Drakeford, *Growing up in Revolutionary Times*, 1998

Appendix 1 – 1912 Map of Shanghai showing locations associated with the Drakefords.

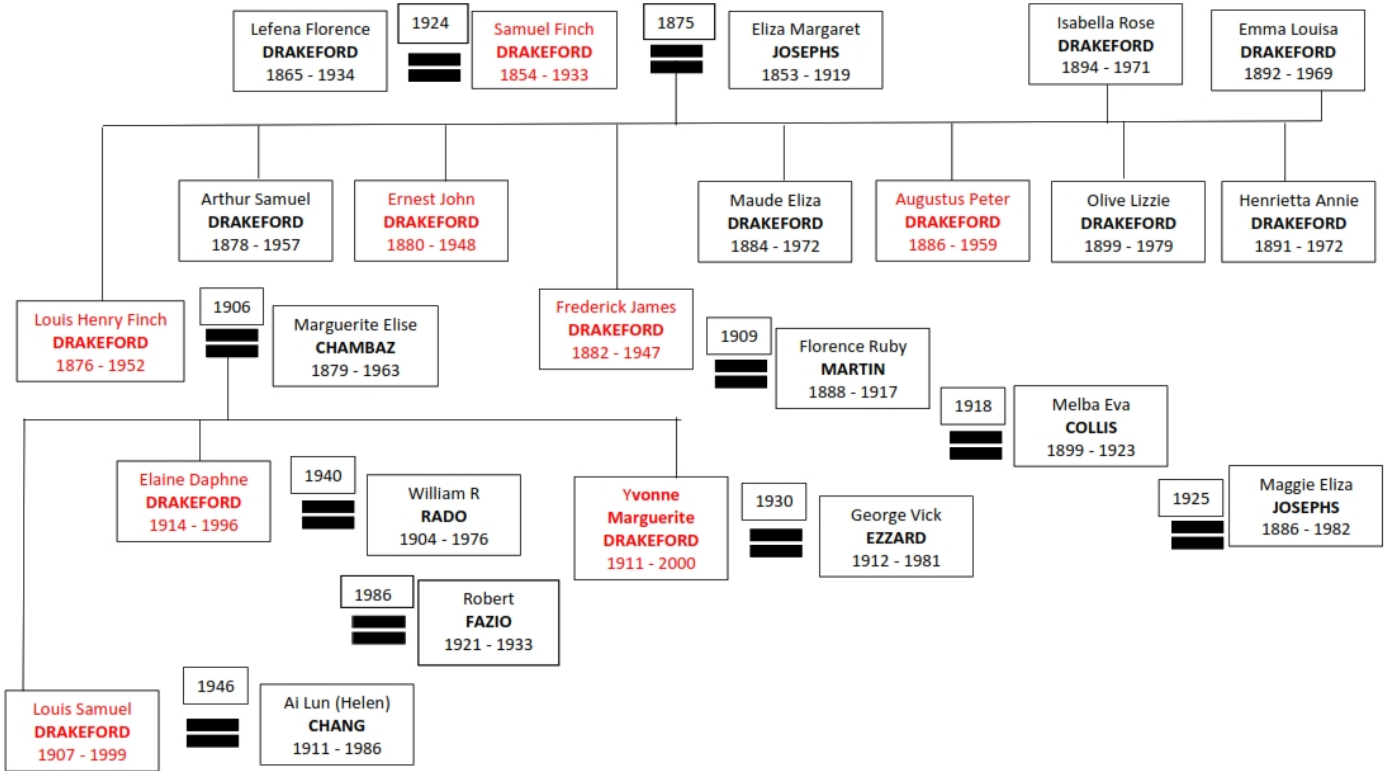




Appendix 2 – Map of China Showing places associated with the Drakefords



**Appendix 3 – Selected Drakeford Family Tree**



## Money

The tael is the commercial currency of the port ; it is used in large transactions, in piece-goods, in auctions, buying and selling land, etc. It is not a coin, but a *weight* of silver. Once worth 6s. 8d., it is now worth only about 2s. 6d. English money. Steamer fares on the coast are also generally in taels. The tael is divided into 10 mace, and 1 mace equals 10 candareens or tael cents. The tael is therefore on the decimal system, divided into 100 tael cents. The traveller, however, will not have much to do with taels nor with cash (copper coins with a square hole in the centre, which have preserved their shape for over a thousand years). There are about 1,100 cash to the tael.

A string of cash is handy on houseboat excursions to buy native produce. There are many places up-country where the natives have no knowledge of any other currency.

The most universally used coin is the Mexican dollar (\$); a handsome piece of silver. There are 100 cents to the dollar. Subsidiary coins are 20 cent, 10 cent, and 5 cent pieces. The traveller must avoid other dollars, such as the Hongkong and Singapore dollar, as they are at a discount. Jinrickshawmen and Chinese will accept Hongkong 5 cent pieces, but not as a rule 10 and 20 cent pieces.

All the leading banks issue notes for one, five, ten dollars, and upwards. These notes are the most convenient method of carrying money. As the Mexican dollar weighs about an ounce, not many can be carried with comfort.

In dealing with money, the traveller must look out for himself. The Chinese have an ingenious method of cutting off the face of a dollar, filling it with base metal, and soldering the face on again. One can generally tell by the ring of the coin. The small coinage is also subject to forgery. The rule is not to have more small money than necessary ; and if in paying a 'rickshaw coolie 20 cents, he returns it, saying "blass" (brass), the chances are he is right, and it is best to give him another.

The majority of Mexican dollars in circulation have a "chop" or mark of some business firm on them. This is supposed to mark their genuineness. Chinese shroffs are past-masters at testing coinage.

## Banks

It is useful to know that roughly the tael is one-third more than the dollar.

The rates of exchange are published in the morning papers. Tables of exchange may be purchased.

Silver coins in circulation at Shanghai and other treaty ports :—

Mexican dollar, worth about 1s. 9*d.* to 1s. 11*d.*

20 cent piece        „        „        4*d.*

10 „        „        „        „        2*d.*

5 „        „        „        „        1*d.*

The tael (worth about 2s. 6*d.*) is a weight of silver.

The cash is a copper coin (worth about 800 to the Mexican dollar).



## Appendix 5 – The Saga of the Dallas Horse Repository Wars

Too detailed to be included in the main narrative, the story below was closely followed in the weekly *North China Herald* which itself was the weekly version of the *North China Daily News*. It involved yet another court case for a member of the Drakeford family. The saga was in the news from September 1909 to August 1910. Numerous pages of court proceedings were reported in salacious detail. Some of the issues at hand were, amongst other things, was a Mr N. E. Moller a Director of the Dallas Horse Repository Company, was Samuel Finch Drakeford a Director of the Dallas Horse Repository Company, if it were decided that Drakeford was a Director, to seek to serve him an injunction from acting as if he were. Another issue for the Judge to consider was, what had caused the delay in registering recent share transfers. The plaintiff was a German named George Sinnecker. Even before the trial commenced, there were voluminous affidavits filed by the plaintiff (Sinnecker) and the defendants (Dallas brothers and Drakeford).

The defendants argued the Mr Moller had been a Director until recently, but by virtue of him failing to attend three consecutive meetings of the Directors he had ceased to be a Director. Into that vacuum stepped Samuel Drakeford, readily welcomed by the Dallas brothers as a Director. Up to this point, he had been serving as Secretary of the Company, having taken over from his son before Louis travelled to Australia.<sup>270</sup>

During the trial, we learn from Samuel's testament to the court that his son Louis had been secretary of the defendant Company for a long time, but (as noted above) left for a holiday to Melbourne in July, at which point he took over his work as Acting Secretary. He worked with his son for about two weeks before his son left.

Samuel had been a Director of many companies in the past, although not in Shanghai, having arrived there around Christmas 1908. Fred Dallas, one of the Directors thought that Samuel's experience might be useful to his company. Up until then Samuel had done no work for the company but had formed a friendship with the Dallas brothers. They knew that Samuel had something to do with the International Race Club, acting as Secretary there. The Dallas brothers were members of the Race Club and saw that the company was doing well. Richard Dallas wanted to appoint Samuel as a Director because he had previously had wide dealings with public companies in Australia, and was seen as a keen business man.

After several days of evidence, the Judge cut through a lot of the detail in his summing up. No party came out smelling of roses. He noted that Mr Moller, while Director of the company fell out with the other Directors, making accusations of poor bookkeeping. He used the Plaintiff Mr. Sinnecker as an ally in the ensuing arguments, while the Dallas brothers used Samuel Drakeford as their ally. He commented that '*a considerable portion of the battle between Mr. Moller and the Messrs Dallas was borne by these two champions.*' Mr Moller tried to strengthen his position by getting Mr Sinnecker to acquire shares in the company in order to secure votes. This caused Messrs' Dallas some anxiety and they used their ally and his comprehensive knowledge of public companies to read the Articles of Association and conceive a scheme to strengthen the Dallas' position, in order to frustrate the attack of Sinnecker.

The Judge considered that the delay in transferring shares bought by Sinnecker from two of the Dallas' sisters was inappropriate. The delay had been caused by the fact that it was claimed that the two sisters were indebted to the company for relatively small amounts of money and the Directors therefore could legitimately delay transfer of the shares until the debt was paid. The Judge swiftly dismissed this noting that the sisters had not been asked to pay the debt, and that the value of the debt relative to the value of the shares was small. He used a similar argument with other shares that Sinnecker had bought and ordered that the shares should indeed be transferred to the Sinnecker with all haste.

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<sup>270</sup> NCH, 18 Sep 1909, p680-82

In respect of the appointment of Samuel as Director and the removal of Moller, the Judge commented that he was not altogether satisfied in the way that Drakeford had been appointed, being brought in as an ally of the Dallas's. He had however shown himself to be a shrewd businessman who used his knowledge of company law and the company's Articles of Association. However, he noted that in reality, the matter of whether he was a Director was actually of small consequence as both the appointment of Samuel and the removal of Moller would need to be confirmed by the shareholders at the next general meeting in a week's time, in accordance with the Articles of Association. Having ruled that the shares acquired by Sinnecker must be registered in the share register, the issue of the status of the Directors was now irrelevant.<sup>271</sup>

After another day's adjournment, the Judge returned to the issue of Samuel's appointment as Director. After further discussion, the Judge concluded that whereas technically Samuel's appointment had been correct in that it followed the requirements of the Article of Association, he concluded that the appointment must be annulled and granted Sinnecker an injunction to prevent Drakeford from acting as Director. The rationale was that the existing Directors, i.e. the Dallas brothers, in appointing Drakeford had acted in their own interests rather than those of the shareholders as a whole.<sup>272</sup>

One might think that that might close the matter, but this was far from the case. The arguments descended into more chaos, both parties intransigent despite the rulings of the Court. The following week, the parties were back in court, despite the fact that the court was supposed to be closed in order to celebrate the Chinese Mid-Autumn Festival, the Judge held a special hearing.

After the hearing, a Mr. McNeill at the request of Sinnecker, contacted Samuel Drakeford to ask him to register the shares as directed by the Judge. Sinnecker had also acquired more shares and then sold them in tranches of 20 to other parties. The reason he did this was that a shareholder with 20 shares had the same vote as a shareholder with more than 20.

Despite several attempts to get the shares registered, and having supplied all the necessary details, the share transfers had not been registered. The Judge was at a loss as to understand why not. He indicated that based on the what he had heard, Samuel and his fellow Directors were in contempt of court. Their Counsel told the Judge that he was sure that there was some good explanation for their actions and offered to bring them to the court later that morning. Later that day Samuel and the two Directors arrived back in court to explain themselves. Drakeford started explaining the process he had to follow regarding the various share transfers and the order in which the shares must be registered. In defence of the slow progress he told the Judge, *'I am doing the best I can. There is a great deal of work to be done. You have to be very careful with regard to the numbers.'* Clearly suspecting that Samuel was dragging his feet regarding issuing the shares, the Judge told him that he would extend the time the share register was open to allow him to complete the transfers. Questioning Samuel he asked, *'Do you mean to tell me that it takes four days to issue twenty-five shares?'* To which he replied, *'A portion of that time has been employed with other duties.'* The Judge sternly rebuked him stating that, *'Your duty is to carry out the Order of the Court, and that is why you are brought down here this morning. I will not hear of any excuse of the kind.'* Clearly frustrated, the Judge concluded by saying, *'I am not satisfied that any adequate attempt to carry out the Order of the Court has been made... I must mark my sense of disobedience by fining each of them (Dallas brothers and Samuel) by \$25, and ordering them to pay the plaintiff's costs. I shall extend the time for obeying the Order of the Court with respect to the transfers, till twelve*

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<sup>271</sup> NCH, 25 Sep 1909, p734-45

<sup>272</sup> NCH, 25 Sep 1909, p760-61

(noon) tomorrow. I warn the defendants that if their duty is not carried out by then, they will be proceeded against for a gross offence against the Order in Council.<sup>273</sup>

The scene then was set for the next step in the ongoing saga. The delayed annual general meeting of the Dallas Horse Repository Company was held on Thursday 30 September 1909 at their offices on Mohawk Road. Perhaps in anticipation of a good show, all the protagonists were there, many shareholders *'and others, including a lady and several Chinese.'*<sup>274</sup>

The Chairman, Richard Dallas, told the meeting that because an appeal had been lodged over the recent legal case, it was impossible to place the accounts before the meeting. Explaining the length of time an appeal process may take, a Mr. Curtis requested a motion that the meeting should be adjourned for 10 months. Unsurprisingly not everybody agreed and so the arguments began. Ernest Drakeford was in attendance and suggested that the motion be voted on without amendment. The meeting then descended into chaos. A Mr. McKean wanted an amendment which Samuel said was not an amendment but a motion. The following exchange took place:

*'Mr. McKean – Then I put it that this meeting be adjourned for one minute and not for ten months for the purpose of hearing an appeal to the Privy Council.'*

*Mr. S. F. Drakeford – For what purpose? What is the good of a minute? Ridiculous!*

*'Mr. J. A. Moller – What is the use of ten months? (Laughter)'*

There was then a debate about whether the motion was carried:

*'Mr. Sinnecker – By the show of hands the motion was not carried.'*

*Mr. Drakeford – How do you know?*

*Mr Sinnecker – Can you see better than me?*

*Mr. Drakeford – Yes, I have all the people in front of me.'*

A convoluted voting process was then initiated to vote on the motion. The voters left the room. Those in favour of the motion went into the room first and their vote taken, followed by those against. *'While the voting was proceeding some feeling was exhibited by both sides, as remarks were made which elicited sharp retorts.'* When the question was asked, are there any more to vote in favour of the motion? A sarcastic reply came from the yard where all those against the motion were assembled, *'Yes: here's Mr. So & So's mafoo to vote yet.'* This indicated the concern by some that some of the Chinese voting were not entitled to do so. A mafoo was somebody employed as a groom for horses.

This scepticism led Mr. McKean to state that he had the right to check the list of shareholders. Samuel resisted asking where his authority came from.

*'Mr. Drakeford observed that he was still acting secretary, although he might not hold the position for long.'*

To which somebody replied, *'No we'll watch that.'*

After the farcical vote, the Chairman announced that the motion had been passed by 49 votes to 46 and Frederick and Richard Dallas and Samuel Drakeford left the room. The report concluded that *'Many of the shareholders left the premises, but others remained and discussed the situation.'*<sup>275</sup>

That clearly was not the end of the matter. A new case was heard in Court, this time between George Sinnecker and the Dallas Horse Repository against Richard and Frederick Dallas and other Directors of the Dallas Horse Repository. The plaintiff was seeking an injunction to restrain the defendants from borrowing further money on behalf of the company, or using the company's property as security, and to issue a writ to get

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<sup>273</sup> NCH, 2 Oct 1909, p34-36

<sup>274</sup> NCH, 2 Oct 1909, p15

<sup>275</sup> NCH, 2 Oct 1909, p15-16

them to reconvene the long delayed Annual General Meeting so that the company's accounts could be presented. After disclosure of letters between the plaintiffs, defendants, company auditors and Acting Secretary Samuel Drakeford, the Judge refused the injunction, saying that he was not convinced that the defendants were going to borrow more money in excess of their powers without the required sanction of the shareholders.<sup>276</sup>

On 15 February 1910, the adjourned Annual General Meeting of the company was resumed, 4 ½ months after the adjournment. It was held in the harness factory of the company premises on Mohawk Road. It was noted that there was a very large attendance of shareholders, few of whom could find a seat. Sitting with the Directors was the Secretary Samuel Drakeford.

Samuel told the attendees that before the meeting could be properly convened, it was necessary to pass a motion to rescind the resolution which had been passed at the previous meeting on 30 September adjourning the meeting for 10 months. The resolution was put to the meeting and inexplicably was lost! The Chairman announced that they therefore could not proceed with business.

*'Mr. G. Sinnecker – The meeting is not finished.*

*The Secretary – It is finished.'*

A further debate ensued, at which several shareholders said that there had been a misunderstanding. They asked the motion to be put again. This was done and the motion was declared to be carried – a farcical start, surely it couldn't get any worse?

The Chairman then set the scene. He blamed the company's auditors for not consulting with the Directors on statements that they wanted to make which could be damaging to the credit of the company, he added that the auditors were dealing with matters outside of their province and had changed their mind on the way items had been treated in the past. This left the Directors with no other alternative than to appoint a chartered accountant, a Mr. E. Mortimer Reid, to make an independent audit of the books and to prepare a separate report.

Samuel was then asked to read the reports of the original auditors and that of Mr. Reid. The original auditor's report was lengthy and damning, with many questions unanswered and doubts expressed over the bookkeeping and assumptions made by the Directors. On the other hand, the report by Mr. Reid, was measured, explaining away the problems noted by the original auditors, and concluding that, *'Every information and explanation required have been readily furnished me by the Board of Directors in the preparation of the report.'*

Mr Sinnecker asked the not unreasonable question, *'Why weren't those reports printed and circulated amongst the shareholders [before the meeting]?'* He then raised question about the list of shareholders not including a person who should be on it. This led to the following exchange:

*'The Chairman – This is not the business of this meeting (Laughter). You are out of order.*

*A lady – Yes you are, sit down.*

*Mr. Reiber – May I ask who pays for the second report which is not made by the Company's auditors?*

*The Chairman – That remains to be seen. (Laughter).'*

Mr. Reiber then raised the point that given the differences of opinion between the reports, the *'books must be in an awful muddle and those responsible for the good keeping of the books should be made to pay for it.'* This elicited a round of applause. The meeting then descended into a charade, as questions were raised about which report to approve, and why the reports had not been circulated to the shareholders before the meeting. Samuel Drakeford was in the thick of it.

*'The Secretary, to the Chairman – Don't you put the amendment. Put the motion.*

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<sup>276</sup> NCH, 4 Feb 1910, p279-83



Voices – *“Which comes first” and “Ask your lawyer.” (Laughter).’*

A few second later,

*‘A shareholder – We have a declaration that Mr. Ellis is not the legal adviser to the Company. (Applause).*

*The Secretary – You have no such declaration.*

*Voices – Mr. Ellis has just said so. (Renewed Applause).*

*The Secretary – Oh, I am not responsible for what Mr. Ellis says. (Laughter).’*

A vote was then taken to approve Mr Reid’s report which was lost. The meeting then moved on to discuss the election of Directors. More arguments ensued, the temperature rising as the differences widened.

*‘The Chairman – This meeting is to pass the accounts.*

*Mr. Sinnecker – And they are not passed and never will be. (Applause).*

*The Secretary – We will see about that.*

*Mr. Moller – I thought you were going to retire, Mr Chairman. I heard it from yourself. (Laughter and applause).*

*The Chairman – I am not going to retire. Having looked at the book (laughter) I saw that it was not my turn to retire and as Mr Sinnecker wants to come in I am stopping until my turn comes.*

*Voices – Who is Mr. Macgregor?*

*Mr. Macgregor – Here he is, you can have a good look at him.*

*Voices – What are his qualifications?*

*Mr Macgregor – As good as yours.’*

If at all possible, the behaviour descended further into the gutter:

*‘A regular uproar followed. Mr. Sinnecker got up and asked the Chairman if he had read the judgment of the Supreme Court, and a lady at the back of the room shouted, “it is not your business”. To this Mr. Sinnecker replied that “If I want an amah I will get one.” ‘ An Amah was a Chinese servant who served the household and Mr Sinnecker was therefore condemning the lady in racial and gender terms.*

More arguments ensued about who the director was, who the chairman was and who should retire. Samuel then listed in detail the names of directors and dates of appointment and retirement since the company started in 1905. The detail did nothing to calm the meeting. Descending into sarcasm, Mr Sinnecker begged to propose a vote of confidence in the directors, which generated both laughter and a seconder. A shareholder then asked, *‘A vote of confidence or want of confidence?’*

Discussion turned back to the reports.

A shareholder asked what was going to be done with the report that had been thrown out, to which Samuel replied, *‘You can do what you like with the report you have thrown out.’* Mr. Moller then said that he wanted the report of the Company’s auditors confirmed, to which Samuel replied, *‘I dare say. You want a lot of things.’*

Returning to the appointment of directors, waving a copy of the judgment, Mr Sinnecker referred to the Supremes Court’s previous ruling about who the Directors were and who should retire. Samuel was unimpressed shouting, *‘Get another judgment’*. Entering into the spirit of disarray, several shareholders then asked, *‘Where is the Judge?’* and *‘Why is the Judge not here?’* and *‘He would settle this very quick if he were.’*

Sensing that the audience was on his side, the time was approaching for the *coup de grace*, Mr Sinnecker now proposed a vote of want of confidence in the Directors. This was resisted by the Chairman and Directors but the shareholders encouraged Sinnecker to try again with cries of *‘Get up Sinnecker and put it yourself.’* He rose to the challenge, *‘Who is against?’* To general uproar, Mr Moller declared, *‘It is carried unanimously.’* Pursuing his attack, Sinnecker asked, *‘Will the directors resign?’* To which Samuel replied, *‘Will they resign? Not much!’*. Sinnecker retorted, *‘If you have any sense of honour left in you, you would all resign voluntarily.’*

The Chairman, (or was he now the ex-Chairman) declared the meeting ended. By now the wind was firmly behind Sinnecker's sails. He told the Chairman that he could not end the meeting and proposed that Mr. Moller take the chair, in the absence of the Dallas Brothers and Samuel, who had by this time left the room, the motion was passed. Moller promptly took the chair and Sinnecker proposed Mr. McKean act as Secretary, again the motion was carried. He then again proposed that Moller be elected a Director to fill the vacancy that the previous Directors agree need to be filled, the resolution was passed. Using the Supreme Court ruling, he noted that there were two other vacancies to be filled and proposed himself and a Mr. Hoppenberg. Again the resolution was passed. Now with a full Board of Directors, Sinnecker proposed that the original auditor's report be printed and circulated amongst the shareholders and that the meeting be adjourned for 14 days. They then realised that they may well have to apply to the court to get command of the books of account for the old auditors to examine in order to actually sign them off, and so an adjournment was agreed for as long as necessary. With that the tumultuous meeting ended and all shareholders still present signed their names before leaving.<sup>277</sup>



*Judge Sir Havilland De Sausmarez looking like he had just spent the day in court at a Dallas horse hearing*

This was clearly an unsatisfactory state of affairs. The company had been taken over by a Coup D'état. It was inevitable that there would be another day in court. That day duly arrived, in the form of a pre-trial hearing to try to agree what would be heard in court. Alongside the report of this hearing in the newspaper was an advert for a treatment for Eczema. If the exasperated Judge Sir Havilland De Sausmarez had read the report, he may have smiled a rueful smile when he read the words, 'Never without irritation'. The task at hand was to unravel the ball of string that had been tangled by the warring parties.

The new case was brought by the Dallas Horse Repository Company, and J. A. Moller and G. Sinnecker on behalf of the majority of shareholders against the defendants, R. Dallas, F. Dallas, J. MacGregor and W. Beer. In six statements, the Plaintiffs essentially wanted the Judge to confirm that what they had done in the chaotic meeting was in order. In addition the Plaintiffs wanted to appoint a Receiver, not to wind up the

company as in a bankruptcy, but to take charge for the time being. Too add to the task at hand, various new and old Directors had resigned and some had left town. Once again, the Judge was able to cut through a lot of the argument and counter argument and had harsh words for the motives of Mr. Sinnecker. The Judge noted Sinnecker had purchased 1,304 shares and presumably therefore had his eyes open as to who the Directors were at that time. Based on what had happened to date, the Judge came to the conclusion that Sinnecker had done all he could to upset those Directors. As he is the main person in the current action, the Judge was not convinced he was truly acting in the interest of the company and therefore refused the proposed actions.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> NCH, 18 Feb 1910, p364-368

<sup>278</sup> NCH, 18 Mar 1910, p638-640

The Company was by now on its knees, it must have become the laughing stock of Shanghai. It's reputation shot by the warring parties. Mr Sinnecker was one of those who requested the court to issue a winding up petition. A liquidator, Norman Thomson, was appointed sometime before 26 June and he was suing Richard and Frederick Dallas for monies owed to the Company.<sup>279</sup>

We shall leave the last words to the Judge who had endured many days in court listening to the arguments of both sides. In considering the merits of those involved he said that, *'I must say at once that so far as the whole lot of them is concerned, certainly I have not a pennyworth of sympathy with the whole lot of them. They have chosen to make this Company the ground for fighting out their quarrels.'* Referring to the adjournment of the meeting for 10 months he stated that, *'I am clearly convinced that that was not a bona fide adjournment; but it was a dodge on the part of the directors to get round the judgement of the Court.'* The Judge then explained in detail who he considered to be a Director of the Company at the various meetings. While discussing the case with regard to Messrs. Hoppenberg, and Sinnecker, he noted that, *'although I might have been disposed to have lent a favourable ear to their complaint if matters had been conducted reasonably, I cannot say that I feel inclined to treat them more favourably – their own conduct at the meetings of September and February was no better than that of the other parties. The meetings have been qualified differently by Counsel who wish to make them out to be respectable or otherwise, but all I can say is that I think they are a disgrace to a public company. I am not going to as Judge of this Court, to be a party to upholding anything that was done in so disorderly a manner.'* He then took aim at the other Directors who he said ran the family business, *'in a more or less slipshod way'*. He declined to say anymore because some of the matters were sub judice, in other words their actions may have been criminal. Concluding, he stated that if one can be found, a Receiver should be appointed. The liquidator Norman Thomson indicated that he was willing to take on the assignment.<sup>280</sup> By this time Samuel Drakeford was nowhere to be seen and we shall leave the liquidator cum receiver picking over the bones of the sad company, it was time to put the Dallas Horse Company out of its misery.<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>279</sup> NCH, 1 Jul 1910, p48

<sup>280</sup> NCH, 22 Jul 1910, p212-15

<sup>281</sup> NCH, 19 Aug 1910, p446-47

## Appendix 6 - List of music by Louis Henry Drakeford<sup>282</sup>

The earliest reference to a song written by L H Drakeford is *Hands Across the Sea*, a patriotic song set to words by Walter Watkins and published by Messrs. W. H. Glen and Company.<sup>283</sup>

*All For The Sake Of a Dream*, Words by Dora C. Sollows, 1943? <sup>284</sup>

*Barbecue*, Words by Henry Finch, 2 Apr 1929

*Because Of This*, Words by Margaret Dixon Thayer, 30 Jan 1929

*Because You Are With Me Tonight*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 2 Apr 1929

*Bittersweet*, Poem by Eleanor A. Chaffe, 24 Jan 1929

*Boot And Saddle*, Poem by Robert Browning, 28 Mar 1929

*Boys Of The Old Countree*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 2 Apr 1929

*Cockney Blues*, Words by Thomas Grant Springer, 1940s<sup>285</sup>

*Cocktails*, Words by Thomas Grant Springer, 1943, <sup>286</sup>

*Dost Thou Remember*, Words by Louis Drakeford<sup>287</sup>

*Give a Rouse: Cavalier Tune*, Poem by Robert Browning, 28 Mar 1929

*God Bless You, Dear Old Friend*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 2 Apr 1929

*I'll Love You More And More*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 2 Apr 1929

*If You Should Tire Of Loving Me*<sup>288</sup>

*In The Twilight I Await You*, Words by Henry L. Finch, 2 Apr 1929

*Intermezzo a L'antiques*, 2 Apr 1929

*The Invincibles*, Words by William Tainsh<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>282</sup> Unless otherwise stated all, *Catalogue of Copyright Entries: Part 3 Musical Compositions*, Vol 24, 1929

<sup>283</sup> *Australian Town and Country Journal* (Sydney) 19 May 1900, p44

<sup>284</sup> Located in State Library, Victoria, Australia archives

<sup>285</sup> Located in State Library, Victoria, Australia archives

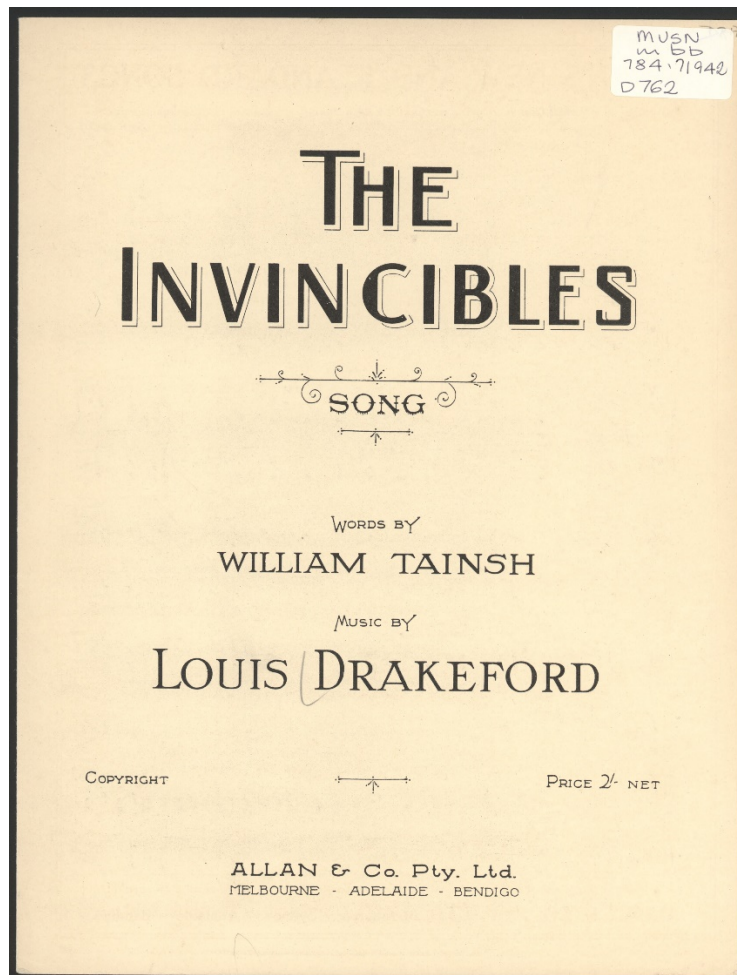
<sup>286</sup> Located in State Library, Victoria, Australia archives

<sup>287</sup> *NCDN*, 6 Jun 1927

<sup>288</sup> Sourced from [https://library.syr.edu/digital/guides/w/widdemer\\_m.htm](https://library.syr.edu/digital/guides/w/widdemer_m.htm), Accessed 4 Jul 2020

<sup>289</sup> Sourced from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/15308285>, Accessed 4 Jul 2020





*Let Me Nestle Close, My Dear, To You*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 2 Apr 1929

*The Lifeboat Man*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 17 Apr 1929

*Marching Along: Cavalier Tune*, Poem by Robert Browning, 28 Mar 1929

*My Mother*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 2 Apr 1929

*My Sweetheart Bird*, Words by George E. Merrick, 30 Jan 1929

*The Outlaw*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 2 Apr 1929

*Song Of The Wind*, Words by George E. Merrick, 2 Apr 1929

*There Is No Dream*, Words by Margaret E. Sangster, 30 Jan 1929

*When You Return To Me*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 30 Jan 1929

*Where Is The Song I Used To Dream?*, Words by F. Lionel Pratt, 1940s?<sup>290</sup>

*Yang Chow Intermezzo Orientale*, 30 Oct 1929

And:<sup>291</sup>

*Ballet Des fees Et Des Ogres*, 6 Dec 1926<sup>292</sup>

*California*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 31 Oct 1927

*China*, Words by Henry L. Finch, 31 Oct 1927

*The City Of Rest*, Words by J. Collins, 31 Oct 1927

*Danse Des Aztecs*, 6 Dec 1926<sup>293</sup>

<sup>290</sup> Located in State Library, Victoria, Australia archives

<sup>291</sup> Unless otherwise stated all, Catalogue of Copyright Entries: Part 3 Musical Compositions, Vol 22, 1927

<sup>292</sup> NCDN, 6 Jun 1927

<sup>293</sup> NCDN, 6 Jun 1927

A Dervish Dream, 6 Dec 1926

*Dost thou remember*: solo voice & vesper hymn, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 6 Dec 1926

*A Frosty Morning*, 6 Dec 1926

*Healer Of Broken Hearts*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 31 Oct 1927

*Known Unto God*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 6 Dec 1926

*None Do I Love Save Thee*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 6 Dec 1926

*Oh, Love! Be Patient*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 31 Oct 1927

*The Peddler*, Words by Eleanor A. Chaffe, 6 Dec 1926

*A Riding Song*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 6 Dec 1926<sup>294</sup>

*Romany Folk Dance*, 6 Dec 1926

*Spring Is Come Again*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 31 Oct 1927<sup>295</sup>

*To Me Thou Art All*: lullaby, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 31 Oct 1927

*I Feel Your Arms Around Me*, Words by L. H. Drakeford, 6 Dec 1926

And: <sup>296</sup>

*To Poetry*, Words by Lillian Everts, 18 Mar 1952<sup>297</sup>

*You Are My Heaven*, Words by Lillian Everts, 18 Mar 1952<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>294</sup> NCDN, 6 Jun 1927

<sup>295</sup> NCDN, 11 Mar 1929

<sup>296</sup> Copyright Office, *Catalog of Copyright Entries: Third Series - Unpublished Music*, Volume 6 Part 5B Number 1, Jan – Jun 1952, p312

<sup>297</sup> Copyright Office, *Catalog of Copyright Entries*, p239

<sup>298</sup> Copyright Office, *Catalog of Copyright Entries*, p272