

香港早期電影遊蹤

TRANSCENDING SPACE AND TIME
~EARLY CINEMATIC EXPERIENCE OF HONG KONG~



第一冊 早期香港影像
BOOK I CITYSCAPE IN EARLY MOVING IMAGES

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目錄 Contents

前言 Foreword /4

香港早期的非故事片 1898-1916 /6

Early Hong Kong Non-fiction Films 1898-1916 /24

尋找米高羅格的香港回憶 /42

In Search of Michael Rogge's Hong Kong Memories /54

對僅存的辛亥革命紀錄片《中國的革命》的若干考證和推測 /70

Examination & Speculation: The Chinese Revolution as
the Only Existing Documentary of the 1911 Revolution /80

放映節目 Screening Programme /90

前言

Foreword

香港電影資料館於2014年1月至3月舉辦「香港早期電影遊蹤」影展，除了令本館收藏的影像瑰寶得以曝光之外，更重要的是希望透過對這些影像的深化閱讀，今昔互動，鑑古知今，這是我們愛談「回憶」和「歷史」的當下不可或缺的。

「香港早期電影遊蹤」設四個放映主題，第一部份集中放映早期的紀錄片，第二部份是電影先驅侯曜的小型電影回顧，第三部份主要是追溯被遺忘的早期電影女中豪傑，第四部份為香港大觀公司1939至48年間避走美國時在彼邦拍攝的電影。

除放映外亦會輔以講座和映後談，並以電子書的方式出版這三冊節目特刊。

在此特別鳴謝前輩羅卡、研究者法蘭賓、荷蘭攝影界前輩米高羅格、捐贈者黎錫、研究者劉嶽、借出新作《金門銀光夢》（2013）的魏時煜導演、借出《關武帝》（1916）電影拷貝的曾奕田、該電影創作者Violet Wong的後人余競存和電子書的執行編輯陳志華等。

“Transcending Space and Time” series curated by the Hong Kong Film Archive (HKFA) from January to March 2014 showcases some of the HKFA's most valued treasures, and also intends to create an interaction between the past and the present through closer analysis of these images. After all, learning from the past is an important part of any discussion of memory and history.

“Transcending Space and Time” series is comprised of four major focuses: 1) Cityscape in early moving images; 2) A retrospective on pioneering filmmaker Hou Yao; 3) A commemoration of forgotten female filmmakers from the early years; and 4) Films produced by Hong Kong's Grandview Film Company after it shifted productions to the United States between 1939-1948. In addition to screenings, the series also includes, post-screening discussions and these three electronic publications.

The HKFA would like to thank veteran film historian Law Kar, film scholar Frank Bren, donor Lai Shek, cinematographer Michael Rogge, researcher Lau Yam, Dr S. Louisa Wei (for providing a copy of her latest film *Golden Gate Girls*, 2013), Arthur Dong (for providing a copy of *The Curse of Quon Gwon*, 1916), Professor Gregory Yee Mark (Grandson of *The Curse of Quon Gwon*'s female lead, Violet Wong) and Ernest Chan (Editor of our digital publications).

香港早期的 非故事片 1898~1916

—— 羅卡

西方人攝製的風光片、新聞片與紀錄片

沒有紀錄顯示盧米埃兄弟的攝影師曾來港拍攝電影。最早有紀錄在香港拍攝的電影是六部約50呎長的短片，1898年由愛迪生公司的詹姆斯懷特和弗雷德布勒次登攝製。¹ 這六部短片，連同其餘八部在澳門、廣東和上海拍攝的短片，全都是一軸過、未經剪輯的風光片，現時存放於美國國會圖書館。² 這些風光片拍的其實只是一些西方人眼中的城市景象，曾在歐美放映以作商業或教學用途，引起大眾對中國的興趣和好奇心。自1900年起，越來越多西方電影公司派攝製隊到香港和中國拍攝風光片及新聞紀錄片。³

1900年是中國電影關鍵的一年。四月，義和團入侵北京，攻克外國使館，並得到慈禧太后支持。最後，西方盟國派兵到北京支援，展開八國聯軍之役，一直留守到談判結束。美國妙透鏡與拜奧影片公司、魯賓電影公司、愛迪生製造公司、百代



圖一 美籍攝影師艾卡曼和邦尼爾重構
美國第六騎兵隊攻入北京南門的歷史事件
Fig.1 American cameramen Ackerman
and Bonine who worked for Biograph
reconstructed in Peking the assault on the
South Gate by the U.S. Sixth Cavalry.

電影公司和查理斯奧爾班貿易公司紛紛派出專業攝影師到中國，拍攝新聞片、紀錄片和風光片，時為1900年或之後。這些短片當中某些至今仍保存在歐美的檔案館。這場腥風血雨過後，和域公司的約瑟羅森圖隨即來到紫禁城進行拍攝，而妙透鏡與拜奧影片公司的美籍攝影師艾卡曼和邦尼爾，則重構了美國第六騎兵隊攻入北京南門的歷史事件。往後的數年，赴中國拍攝的電影越來越多。1900/01年，遊學講師波頓賀姆斯來京拍片，經驗老到的安力高勞羅1904年也跑了一趟上海，拍攝街景鏡頭，更定居下來開設電影公司。⁴ 可是，真正的實地戰爭片段似乎並不存在，至少不為人所知。目前在中國以外保存下來的，就只有一些重構出來的擬紀錄片，要麼是拍來宣揚盟國英雄事跡的宣傳片，要麼是為了將故事再現。⁵ 義和團一役令中國在西方惡名昭彰，此後數年中國便成了拍攝電影的熱點；香港自1842年鴉片戰爭割讓給英國後，已變成西方人通往中國的一道方便之門，因此到1900年之時，也有很多人來港拍攝。



圖二 香港九龍彌敦道34號，華美電影公司及華美電影製造廠門前大合照（鳴謝香港電影資料館提供照片）

Fig.2 Group picture taken at the front door of Variety Film Exchange Co. and Variety Film Manufacturing Co., 34 Nathan Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong. (courtesy of Hong Kong Film Archive)

1900年代初，曾有不少西方人到中國拍片，當中波頓賀姆斯和安力高勞羅可算是重要人物。賀姆斯是拍風光片的先驅，周遊列國的他沿途一邊拍攝短片，一邊講學，透過放映幻燈片展示所到國家的文化及歷史風貌。據史家陳立所指，賀姆斯是首批到北京拍片的人，義和團之役後他馬上拍得紫禁城和使館區的畫面，還拍攝了「各大重要人物，包括慈禧太后」⁶的鏡頭。法蘭賓引用比爾卡特萊特編訂的電影片目說，賀姆斯早在1897年已開始拍攝風光片。他曾數度到訪香港，最早的紀錄是1901年，拍了些「中國搬運工人用擔挑、人力車和轎子揹重物」的片段；1906年那次他又拍了「颱風吹襲後手推車和人們的情況」⁷；1913年他又再次路過香港，拍了些主要建築和街景鏡頭。不過，這些影片拍來只是給西方觀眾看的。

第一位同時照顧西方及中國觀眾的，是安力高勞羅。勞羅在意大利電影公司受訓，約1904年來到上海，拍攝了「一本影片，全都是些無關痛癢的東西，例如茶藝、上海街道的風景等」。然後他定居了下來，經營電影放映事業之餘也開設了一家電影公司，攝製新聞片和紀錄片。⁸ 據說，1908年慈禧太后和光緒帝先後逝世，其國喪儀式皆由勞羅拍攝，⁹ 而這兩段影片在中國及海外都曾放映過。1911年，英皇佐治五世加冕慶典，香港於6月26至28日進行一連三天的慶祝活動，快活谷馬場更有巡遊活動。勞羅應域多利戲院的邀請，在慶典當天拍攝巡遊盛況，該影片並於6月26日晚上作公開放映。¹⁰ 勞羅可謂替後來的布拉斯基樹立了一個好榜樣，啟發他為西方及中國觀眾攝製電影。

班傑明布拉斯基的到臨

在歐美，故事長片自1900年起便逐漸取代短片和非故事片；中國的情況卻不一樣，西方電影對中國觀眾始終還是很新，他們主要還是看外國放映家帶來中國的老電影，班傑明布拉斯基就是其中一人。俄裔猶太人布拉斯基年青時遊走各國謀生，1906至08年間曾定居舊金山，購置了一些舊電影和放映器材，約於1909年乘船來到中國展開其電影放映事業。幾年下來，他的綜藝影片交易公司已遍佈舊金山、檀香山、橫濱、



圖三 1910-20年間的香港九龍彌敦道，華美電影公司及華美電影製造廠所在地（鳴謝香港歷史博物館提供照片）

Fig.3 Nathan Road, c.1910-20, where Variety Film Exchange Co. and Variety Film Manufacturing Co. were located (courtesy of Hong Kong Museum of History)



圖四 1920年代的香港九龍彌敦道，華美電影公司及華美電影製造廠所在地（鳴謝香港歷史博物館提供照片）

Fig.4 Nathan Road, 1920, where Variety Film Exchange Co. and Variety Film Manufacturing Co. were located (courtesy of Hong Kong Museum of History)

上海和香港，經營電影及電影器材買賣。據輪船乘客名單顯示，布氏在1910年代初經常往返以上城市做生意。

那時候，故事片和非故事片開始在中國大城市流行起來，但中國基本上還未有正式的電影工業來供應這個市場。清朝末年，朝廷和百姓對國內的西方人態度還是很排斥，因此西方人想與中國人合作搞電影製作很不容易。1911年的辛亥革命改變了人民的心情和社會的氣氛。中國漸漸開放，年輕知識份子和新的戲劇工作者熱衷向西方學習，以戲劇和電影作為娛樂及啟導民眾的媒介，並建立自己的電影工業。

布拉斯基是其中一個最早意識到此市場大有潛力的人。1911年左右，正當中國人忙於籌謀革命之際，得到中國政府高官經濟上大力支持的布氏回了美國一趟，添置一批新影片作放映之用，同時準備在中國攝製電影。¹¹ 事實上，勞羅幾年前也作過同樣的嘗試，決定攝製一部名為《鴉片的詛咒》、

「起用中國演員的正式故事片」，但結果因為技術上遇到困難——演員不夠專業——而放棄拍攝，他承認自己是「走早了幾年」，但也保留了部份底片。¹²

不過，布拉斯基開始在中國攝製電影的確實時間，我們還沒能找到資料。我們知道的是，1913年他曾兩度從美國返回香港，分別是六月中和十二月中；還有就是1913年他在香港九龍彌敦道34號開設了華美電影公司（即綜藝影片交易公司的香港分公司）及華美電影製造廠。¹³ 同年他從紐約聘請攝影師萬維沙來港，裝建攝影和沖印設備，又訓練本地員工，做足拍製電影的準備。

到底布氏曾否在上海組織製作公司？如有，是何時？又拍了甚麼電影？這些問題都尚待解答，還有一大片未知的區域留待探索。一直有說布氏在上海的亞西亞（或稱亞細亞）公司1909年在上海和香港拍成了四部電影：《西太后》、《不幸兒》、《偷燒鴨》、《瓦盆伸冤》現已證實只屬傳聞。黃德泉的論文論證了傳說中亞西亞影戲公司攝製的這四部電影，在1913年前並不存在，而這家公司與布氏亦無關連。¹⁴ 法蘭賓和我翻查過布拉斯基的自傳、香港及美國媒體的訪問和報導，1914年前並無提及過他在中國攝製電影。1916年，他曾告訴傳媒自己的一項大計，那就是要拍攝《西太后》，還有一部已在中國拍攝的《不幸兒》，但就沒有指明是哪一年。¹⁵

《中國的革命》

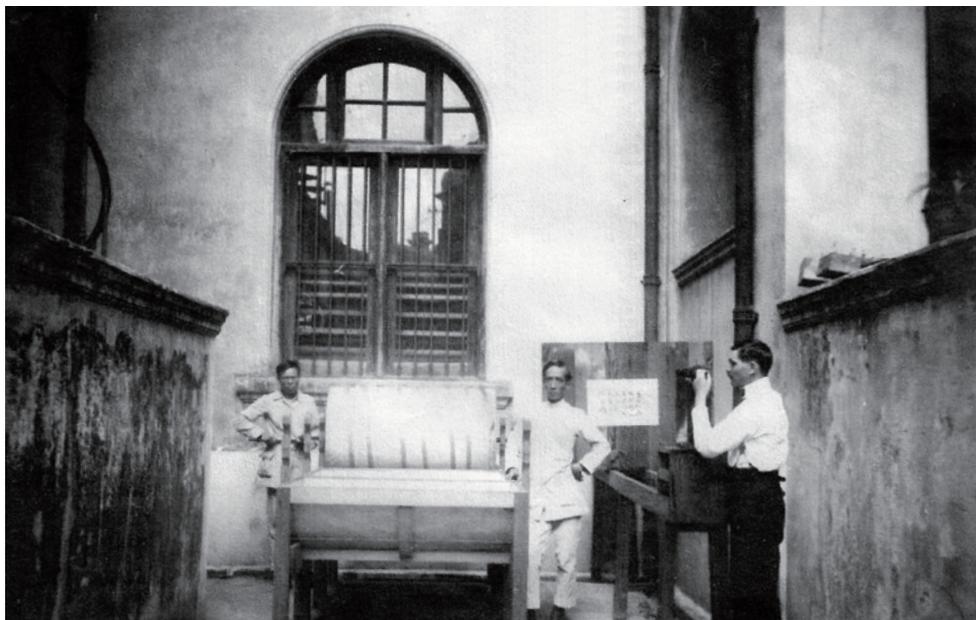
陳立曾提到一部紀錄片，「由東方影片公司在香港製作（存於美國國會圖書館Louise G. Ernst藏品部）」，並將之列入布氏香港分公司1912年的製作。該片就是《中國革命》，又名《中國的革命》，1912年3月30日美國雜誌《電影世界》曾刊登發行廣告。¹⁶ 陳立「傾向相信」此片跟朱連奎與外國美利公司於1911年合拍的《武漢戰爭》是同一部片。根據程季華《中國電影發展史》所載，後者1911年12月1日曾於上海上映。¹⁷ 不過，《中國的革命》廣告中提到片中包含十二月初南京受襲至被革命軍攻佔的片段，這和《武漢戰爭》上映時間不吻合。看過該片及其相關資料，幾乎可以肯定該片不僅僅是1911辛亥革命的實地新聞片，更有事後擺拍的片段。可惜現在我們只能看到影片的一小部份，原本2000呎的菲林（約長30分鐘）中只留存9分鐘，而廣告提及的血腥打仗場面完全欠奉。法蘭賓又發現1912年3月16日《電影世界》刊出了另一篇廣告，指明該片的攝製公司是被譽為「日本的百代電影公司」的Anataka公司，而舊金山的東方影片公司只購入了該片的美洲發行權。同時，研究者Kim Fahlstedt查証過舊金山或香港的東方影片公司都無商業註冊，對陳立指這是布拉斯基的香港的公司製作的說法不表認同。¹⁸ 我的估計是，該片部份打仗場面是在1911年10至12月期間實地拍攝的，12月南京戰事爆發後再拍了一些，並加入事後擺拍的片段，以提高戲劇效果。

片中插入中英文字幕，相信是照顧美國市場之故。1912年2至3月，孫中山讓位給袁世凱接任中華民國臨時大總統，轟動國際，無疑是賣片的最佳時機了。

《王者的體育》

到1914年2月，布拉斯基抓緊機會拍攝了一項盛事，就是在跑馬地馬場舉行的香港周年大賽馬，日期為2月16至18及21日。這項為期四天的盛事，出席的達官貴人多不勝數，港督梅舍理及其夫人亦是座上客，入場觀眾數以百計。布拉斯基拍了

圖六 布拉斯基（右）攝於華美電影公司（鳴謝香港電影資料館提供照片）
Fig.6 Photograph of Brodsky (right) taken inside the Variety Film Exchange Co.
(courtesy of Hong Kong Film Archive)



1000呎的菲林，把短片命名為《王者的體育》，於2月26日舉行了優先放映，與其他影片一同放映給梅夫人及嘉賓先睹為快，大獲好評。本地四份日報都大讚影片拍得非常成功，又指應該搬到九龍公映。¹⁹《香港孖刺西報》讚揚其「畫面特佳，為觀眾帶來歡樂」。²⁰《南華早報》則把3月5日晚上的公開放映形容為「極好」和「有趣」。那是一場露天放映，假九龍威旺網球會舉行，現場還有樂隊伴奏。²¹該片後來易名《香港大賽馬》，移師港島區比照戲院公映。

布拉斯基很清楚知道拍攝這些盛事會為他在香港帶來名氣。早有勞羅拍攝英皇佐治五世在港加冕巡遊，今有布拉斯基拍攝香港周年大賽馬，兩部片同樣在活動後隨即公映並獲好評。布氏把握機會，邀請港督梅含理偕夫人觀賞2月26日的預映，雖然港督當天來不了，翌日卻主動要求在港督府再放映一遍。梅夫人以樂善好施見稱，曾擔任基督教女青年會主席和香港婦女慈善會幹事。²²布氏後來拍的紀錄長片《經巡中國》（1916）和《從基督教女青年會看中國》（1919）中，有些香港洋女士教導殘障女童的鏡頭，或許就是通過梅夫人的關係拍得的。

中國製造影片有限公司

布拉斯基曾提及在往中國的船上認識了一位耶魯大學畢業

生，「他爸爸是中國總統的姻親兄弟」。後來布氏的露天劇院起火，放映器材燒光，就是這位擔任「中國政府的法律顧問」的年輕人挺身而出助他一把，借錢給他回美國重新添置一批新器材，擴充業務。布氏並無說明事件的具體日期，只是說「當時中國的全城熱話是革命，說要推翻西太后」。我們不知道他是何時回上海重建其電影公司，卻可以肯定他有在香港辦過公司。根據報導，華美電影公司於1913年底開始營業，1914年2月投入攝製。1914年11月27日，中國製造影片有限公司於香港註冊。²³《電影世界》曾刊出一篇曉治賀夫曼執筆的訪問，內有一幀布氏與九位中國籍的中國製造影片有限公司董事的大合照，而布氏被稱為公司的總裁。²⁴雷蒙娜柯理在其論文中詳細闡釋布氏的跨太平洋電影事跡，又辨認出九位董事的其中八位，包括中國政府高官、經濟學家、工程師和富商等，並總結說布氏與他們合作建立電影企業。中國製造影片有限公司旨在攝製中國題材的電影，起用中國職演員，同時照顧中國及海外市場的口味，「從而令全世界明白中國人」。²⁵該公司以香港為基地，與當時袁世凱統治下的中國政府關係不淺。布拉斯基於是開始拍攝《經巡中國》，取景範圍覆蓋香港、九龍、澳門、廣東、蘇州、南京、上海、天津、北京和萬里長城。橫跨中國這麼多地方、涉獵這麼多百姓生活，是當年內容最豐富的中國紀錄片之一；即使至今也如此。

不過，正如柯理在論文中指出，布拉斯基當時其實是在利



圖七 《經巡中國》：黎元洪與袁世凱
Fig.7 *A Trip Through China* (1916):
Li Yuanhong and Yuan Shikai



圖八 《經巡中國》：孩童跳進水裏撿遊客
扔下的錢幣
Fig.8 *A Trip Through China* (1916): Children
dived into the water to fetch coins thrown down
by tourists.

用自己的人脈和中國人的經濟支持來達成自己的目標，而他成功了。拍攝《經巡中國》時，布氏曾獲美國傳媒封為「中國電影之王」。估計該片在1916年初拍竣，接着布氏便忙於安排紐約、洛杉磯和舊金山的放映。²⁶《經巡中國》在美國上映非常成功，布氏於是繼續洽談更多中美合作計劃，不過似乎都沒有成事。隨着1916年6月袁世凱逝世，中國的政治形勢越來越壞，幾位董事在政府中不再當權，公司業務也逐漸淡出。因此，《經巡中國》可能是中國製造影片有限公司攝製的第一部電影，也是最後一部。

《經巡中國》

《經巡中國》在美國上映時片長估計約兩小時，現存於台北電影資料館的版本則只有80分鐘長。布拉斯基開始拍攝的確實日期很難說得準，因為有些鏡頭似乎是在革命後不久拍

的，有些又可能是外購補入的。「攝製五年」——在紐約開畫時，有廣告如是說。依我推測，影片的鏡頭大部份都是在1914年4月後拍攝的，因為公司的沖印設備那時才準備就緒。仔細看過現存版本後，我必須承認這部片遠遠超過一部「風光片」，因為它記錄了當時中國人的很多生活面貌和社會氣氛。在紐約公映時，片名叫做《布拉斯基經巡中國》，我猜布拉斯基一定很高興。這部片無疑反映了布氏對中國的矛盾看法——中國是個地方很大卻很窮的國家，歷史悠久、文化遺產豐碩，但平民百姓的生活水平卻像從前一樣差。這與片中香港繁忙的海港和中環區、上海外灘的商業中心和貨運碼頭等現代城市景色，形成了強烈的對比。

從影片第一部份的開場鏡頭，我們可以看到洋輪駛入維多利亞港，中環區林立的政府建築物、露天廣場、大會堂、香港匯豐銀行等；另外還有從電車上層拍攝的經典鏡頭，帶我們沿着皇后大道中走到皇后大道西，一覽英式及中式的商業中心。接着，纜車又帶我們登上英國富商聚居的太平山頂，俯瞰香港全景。然後，我們看到洋女士在孤兒院教授聾啞女童手語、工人工作的情況、善信在香燭煙霧間參拜天后娘娘、苦力在碼頭東奔西走、孩童跳進水裏撿遊客扔下的錢幣、啞喀兵和英軍站崗的情況……字幕把香港形容為「東方魅力所在」，百姓在英國政府統治下看來安居樂業。



圖五 1917年5月
《經巡中國》在紐約
上映時的電影廣告
Fig.5 Ad. of *A Trip
Through China* when
it was released in New
York, May 1917.

影片第二部份，我們看到袁世凱總統的肖像和北洋軍隊的演練情況，還有袁的四名兒子與教師在一起的畫面。然後是宏偉的故宮、特許1915年11月28日入內拍攝的官方通行證的特寫鏡頭，還有在故宮北海遊湖的景色。這部份剪輯成旅程抵達中國大陸的開端。布拉斯基很懂得討好中國政府，知道要把總統放在前、人民放在後，拍攝中國北方為先、南方為後。接着，我們會看到平民百姓的日常生活。

第三、四部份的上海鏡頭就更引人入勝：外灘上歐洲式古典建築林立；被譽為「上海的百老匯大道」的南京路熙來攘往；歐洲人、日本人和印度人在海濱公園享受生活；蘇州河上航行的帆船，帆是用藤草織造的，因為人們負擔不起帆布。我們又看到船民手腳並用地划船；農民以雙腳將河水泵到田地；苦力把重甸甸的貨物扛在肩上，從停泊滿貨輪和帆船的碼頭運走；木匠每天工作「12小時」賺取12仙美金。運輸工人推着獨輪車穿插於外灘的電車和汽車之間；一名工人揹着十呎高的貨物走過……我們彷彿在看馬戲團的雜技表演。這些蒙太奇段落顯然是要對比着貧與富、新與舊。透過布拉斯基的西方眼睛，我們看到中國人落後的一面，同時又對他們掙扎求存的堅忍和頑強的生命力嘖嘖稱奇。

第四部份，我們目睹一名犯人慘被折磨的場面，人們圍觀他慢慢死去，人群中還有一個洋人。漁民訓練海鳥捕魚，方法奇特。這些鏡頭剪輯在一起，用意是對比苦力在岸邊搬運重物的畫面。字幕如是寫道：「搬重物的動物，他們唯一的救贖就是根本不知道世上有更好的生活方式」、「中國勞工比馬兒還要低賤」、「日本勞工搬小物很勤快，中國勞工搬重物更勤快」。雖然布拉斯基喜歡嘲笑中國的廉價勞工，但也不忘展示中國美麗的一面，讓觀眾欣賞到南方的水鄉美景、蘇州庭園，還有雕塑家製作可愛的泥人玩偶的畫面。

然後第四、五部份是大城小鎮的風景、高低水平的百姓生活，從多角度呈現：上海的賽馬及體育運動；北京的清華學堂和廣東的基督教青年會一遊；路邊的理髮匠和算命師傅；竹棚下的粵劇表演；中國人在市場買菜、在家小賭怡情；囚犯在印籍警察監視下維修道路；接着是1914年颱風吹襲東南岸一城市的場面。影片最後帶觀眾來到萬里長城，字幕讚頌其宏偉的建築及中國輝煌的歷史文化，雖然長城其實是建來抵禦外國侵襲的。

雖然我看到的只是不完整的版本，而且布拉斯基帶有歧視的態度不時令人很氣憤，我還是覺得《經巡中國》是一部很有紀念價值的劃時代作品。全片充分反映出中國及其人民的生命力，活靈活現，捕捉非常細緻，是中國1910年代文化歷史難

上海新影片聯合會出品單	香港民新影片公司出品單
上海五洲電影團攝 (一) 四百尺	香港新豆蔻 (一) 四百尺
上海五洲電影團攝 (二) 四百尺	天竺僧 (一) 四百尺
孫中山先生特種歷史畫 (一) 四百尺	中國反對萬國代表會 (第一次) (一) 四百尺
安撫人壽山風光 (一) 四百尺	香港新豆蔻 (二) 四百尺
孫傳芳 (一) 四百尺	香港新豆蔻 (三) 四百尺
上海虹口女子體育聯合會 (一) 四百尺	孫中山先生特種歷史畫 (第二次) (一) 四百尺
上海虹口女子體育聯合會 (二) 四百尺	香港新豆蔻 (四) 四百尺
中國展覽會第一次全圖代 (一) 四百尺	香港新豆蔻 (五) 四百尺
中國展覽會第一次全圖代 (二) 四百尺	香港新豆蔻 (六) 四百尺
	香港新豆蔻 (七) 四百尺
	香港新豆蔻 (八) 四百尺
	香港新豆蔻 (九) 四百尺
	香港新豆蔻 (十) 四百尺
	香港新豆蔻 (十一) 四百尺
	香港新豆蔻 (十二) 四百尺
	香港新豆蔻 (十三) 四百尺
	香港新豆蔻 (十四) 四百尺
	香港新豆蔻 (十五) 四百尺
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	香港新豆蔻 (九十九) 四百尺
	香港新豆蔻 (一百) 四百尺

圖九 香港民新影片公司出品單，取自1927年出版的《民新特刊》。
Fig.9 The film catalogue of China Sun Manufacturing Company, taken from the company's publication in 1927.

得的紀錄。有了這部片，我們對布拉斯基作為一個生意人暨電影家的事跡了解更深了，知道他曾竭力向西方世界「推銷」中國，亦為東西方築起了一道跨文化的橋樑。

布拉斯基1917年把製作基地移往日本。1914年和布氏合作拍製出香港最早兩部故事片²⁷《莊子試妻》的黎民偉、黎北海、羅永祥、梁少坡等自此愛上電影製作，嘗試自立門戶，同期參與拍製《偷燒鴨》的梁少坡、黎北海等，再直到1923年民新製造影畫片公司成立，才能拍製出首部故事長片《胭脂》(1924)。民新同期亦拍製了一些風光片、新聞片，延續了前此只有洋人從事的製作。黎民偉是在故事片和非故事片兩個領域都有傑出成就。他於1923年(或更早)在香港開始，再到中國、日本拍攝風光片、新聞片，斷斷續續拍攝和剪輯



圖十 黎民偉 (1893-1953)
(鳴謝黎民偉後人)
Fig.10 Lai Man-wai (1893-1953)
(courtesy of Lai's descendant)



圖十一 「人我鏡劇社」全人合照，
前排中間為黎民偉 (鳴謝黎民偉後人)
Fig.11 Renwojing Theatre Troupe, with
Lai Man-wai sitting in the middle of the
front row (courtesy of Lai's descendant)

工作到1941年為止，完成了多部有重大歷史價值的紀錄片：例如紀錄了孫中山先生的革命事蹟和1924-27年的北伐戰爭，1932年國軍抵抗日軍侵襲上海之戰，和1937年日軍侵略上海的一·二八戰役，中國電影資料館和香港電影資料館有收藏其中部份、並陸續作修復整理。對黎民偉作為中國早期最重要的紀錄片工作者的研究近幾年才展開，但他在香港拍的風光片、新聞片絕大部份都已散失，有關的圖文資料也極少，自是有待更積極的發掘和研究。(翻譯：杜蘊思)

羅卡，資深電影研究學者。前香港國際電影節及香港電影資料館節目策劃。

* 本文節錄自我的論文〈Early Hong Kong Cinema in Transition〉，法文版將於巴黎當代史研究所 (CNRS-Paris) 研究學者Anne Kerlan編輯的中國電影史專集內刊出。現經同意刊用其中部份，並經修訂。

註釋

1. 根據Charles Musser, 《Edison Motion Pictures 1890-1900—An Annotated Filmography》, Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997。
2. 見美國國會圖書館目錄#502-506, 508, 香港、#507, 澳門及 #509-512 廣東; #513-515, 上海條目。
3. 見法蘭賓整理的「早期內地和香港的影片製作列表1896-1908 (不完整稿)」, 羅卡、法蘭賓合著: 《香港電影跨文化觀》(增訂版), 北京, 北京大學出版社, 2012, 附錄3。
4. 同上, 頁298-299。
5. 陳立, 《電影—中國的電影和觀眾沿革》, 美國麻省理工學院出版社, 1972, 頁3-6。
6. 同註5, 頁7。
7. 同註3, 頁298-299。
8. 勞羅的訪問見於1935年5月15日《北華捷報》的文章〈Far East Cinema Pioneers Here〉, 頁260。
9. 程季華、李少白、邢祖文編著, 《中國電影發展史》第一卷, 頁15。同頁並記載勞羅首次來中國是1907年。
10. 根據香港《華字日報》1911年6月6日的報導, 轉引自余慕雲: 《香港電影史話》(卷一), 香港, 次文化堂, 1996, 頁62。
11. 布拉斯基在其未出版的自傳《God's Country, As Related by Ben Brodsky to Nathan Abkin》(洛杉磯, 約1950)中如此憶述。自傳是他口述由別人抄錄的打字稿共280頁, 另有28頁摘錄是有關他在中國的電影業務的, 現存於台北電影資料館。
12. 同註8。但據程季華所指, 中國片《黑籍冤魂》與1916年勞羅的電影廠起用中國製作人拍攝、勞羅親自掌鏡的《鴉片的詛咒》題材相似, 參見程季華等: 《中國電影發展史》第一卷, 頁24-26。
13. 根據香港《華字日報》1914年2月27日的報導。
14. 黃德泉: 〈亞西亞活動影戲之真相〉, 《當代電影》, 第148期, 2008年7月, 北京, 當代電影雜誌社, 頁88。

15. 《紐約論壇報》，1916年8月27日。
16. 同註5，頁11、519。
17. 同註9，頁27。
18. 參見金浮士達特個人網頁：<http://kimfahlstedt.wordpress.com/tag/benjamin-brodsky/>。
19. 法蘭賓是首個在香港報章找到這些報導的人，參見其論文〈The Fabulous Adventures of Benjamin Brodsky: China's First Films〉，《Asia Cinema》，冬季號，2009。
20. 《香港孖刺西報》，1914年2月27日。
21. 《南華早報》，1914年3月6日。
22. May Holdsworth 和 Christopher Munn 編著.，《Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography》，香港大學出版社，2012，頁319。
23. 法蘭賓根據香港政府商業登記署紀錄查得；公司結業日期為1918年6月6日。
24. 見曉治賀夫曼，〈The Photoplay in China〉，《電影世界》，1915年4月10日，頁224。該照片由法蘭賓從布氏後人處取得，刊於法蘭賓及羅卡，〈Ben Brodsky & the Real Dawn of Hong Kong cinema〉，《China Daily》，2010年3月13日香港版，頁3。
25. 雷蒙娜柯理，〈Benjamin Brodsky (1877-1960): The Trans-Pacific American Entrepreneur—Part One, Making A Trip Thru China〉，《Journal of American-East Asian Relations》，18，Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV，2011，頁58-94。
26. 參見《電影世界》對布拉斯基往舊金山的報導（1916年3月18日，頁1875）及喬治考夫曼對布氏的訪問〈Bret Hart Said it: the Heathen Chinese is Peculiar〉（見《紐約論壇報》，1916年8月27日，頁v.3），還有在洛杉磯開畫時艾雲舒華勒在1916年11月13日《洛杉磯時報》中非常正面的影評〈Rare Views of China〉。
27. 近年的研究證實布氏在香港的公司最先和黎民偉、黎北海、羅永祥、嚴珊珊合作拍製《莊子試妻》，再和梁少坡、黎北海等合拍了《偷燒鴨》，兩片都由布氏製片、萬維沙攝影，完成於1914年5月前。詳細論述參見香港電影資料館出版《中國電影溯源》，2011年，第一章諸文，頁32-93。

Early Hong Kong Non-fiction Films 1898-1916

— Law Kar

Travelogue, newsreel & documentary by Westerners

So far, no proof has been found that cameramen of the Lumière Brothers were sent to Hong Kong to shoot film. According to existing records, the earliest motion pictures ever shot in Hong Kong are six short films, each about 50ft. long, made by James White and Frederick Blechynden in 1898 for the Edison Company.¹ The six films, together with another eight films shot in Macao, Canton and Shanghai, are travelogues in a single reel without editing, all preserved in the American Library of Congress.² These and some other travelogues on Hong Kong and China only captured cityscape from the Western eyes; they were all shown in Europe and America for commercial and educational purposes, arousing curiosity and interest in China. From 1900 onward, more and more Western film companies sent their crews to Hong Kong and China to shoot travelogues and newsreels.³

1900 is a critical year for filmmaking in China. The Boxer rebels, backed by Empress Dowager Cixi, reached Peking in April 1900 and launched attack on the Legation Quarter. As a result, the Western Allied forces sent troops to Peking to fight the so-called Boxer War and stayed there till a peace deal was reached. American Mutoscope

& Biograph Company, Lubin Films, Edison Manufacturing Company, Pathe Freres, Charles Urban Trading Company all sent professional cameramen to China in or after 1900 to shoot newsreels, documentaries and travelogues, some of them still preserved in archives in Europe and America today. Joseph Rosenthal came right after the bloody suppression to film the Forbidden City for the Warwick Company, while American cameramen Ackerman and Bonine, who worked for Biograph, reenacted in Peking the assault on the South Gate by the US Sixth Cavalry.

The following years saw an upsurge of films on China. Traveling lecturer Burton Holmes came to Peking for a shoot in 1900/01; veteran A. Enrico Lauro came to Shanghai in 1904 to capture streetscape and eventually settled in the city to start his film business.⁴ However, no real footage of the Boxer War is known to exist. Only some fakes and “reconstructions” of the incidents are preserved outside of China, but such materials are either propaganda to boost the heroic acts of the Allies or reenacted stories.⁵ The Boxer War made China so notorious in the West that it became a hot spot for filming in the subsequent years; and so did Hong Kong, which was ceded to Great Britain after the 1842

Opium War and had become an open door to the Chinese Mainland for Westerners by 1900.

Among the Westerners who came to China to make films in the early 1900s, E. Burton Holmes and A. Enrico Lauro were two important figures. Holmes was an American pioneer in travelogue, who traveled widely and lectured on foreign cultures and histories along the way with footage and slides he had shot in other countries. According to Jay Leyda he was among the very first to film Peking – scenes of the imperial capital right after the Boxer War, the Legation Quarter, and “various personages, including Dowager Empress.”⁶ Frank Bren cited the film catalogue compiled by Bill Cartwright to reveal that Holmes started making travelogue as early as in 1897. He had traveled to Hong Kong several times, and the earliest on record was 1901, when he took some footage of “Chinese porters carrying burdens on poles, rickshaw and sedan chairs.” Later in 1906, he shot “Carts and People after Typhoon Damage,”⁷ and in 1913 he stopped over in Hong Kong to shoot major buildings and street scenes. Yet all these films were meant for the Western audience.

It was Enrico Lauro who stayed in China to make films for both Western and Chinese audiences. Lauro was trained at the Cines Company in Italy; he came to Shanghai around 1904 to film “one-reel pictures of such innocuous subjects as tea culture or picturesque scenes in Shanghai streets,” before settling down to run his film exhibition

business and his own production company to make newsreels and documentaries.⁸ He was said to have filmed the imperial funerals of both Empress Dowager Cixi and her son, Emperor Guangxu who died in the same year of 1908,⁹ and his films were shown both in China and abroad. In June 1911, Hong Kong celebrated the Coronation of King George V. From June 26 to 28 a three-day celebration was held in the city with a parade at the racecourse in Happy Valley. Lauro was invited by the Victoria Theatre to film the parade on the Coronation Day and the picture was shown to the public in the evening of June 26.¹⁰ Lauro would set an example for Brodsky to make films for both Western and Chinese audiences.

The coming of Ben Brodsky

Starting from 1900, feature-length narrative film gradually began to take the place of short film and non-fiction film in Europe and America. And yet in China where motion picture was still new to the audience, what they could see were mainly old films brought in by foreign exhibitors, such as Benjamin Brodsky. A Russian Jew who had drifted across various countries to make a living in his youth, he settled in San Francisco in 1906–08, bought some old films and projection equipment before sailing off to China around 1909 to start his film exhibition business. In a few years, he managed to set up offices for his Variety Film Exchange Company in San Francisco, Honolulu, Yokohama,

Shanghai and Hong Kong, selling films and related equipment. Ship passenger records reveal that in the early 1910s he traveled quite often between these cities on business.

By that time, fiction and non-fiction films alike were becoming increasingly popular with Chinese audiences in the big cities, but there was practically no film industry in China to satisfy the demand. The late Qing dynasty was hostile to Westerners, and so were the common people. It was therefore difficult for Westerners and Chinese to make films together. But the Republican Revolution in 1911 changed the mood of the people and society. China slowly began to open itself to the outside world. Young intellectuals and theatre workers were eager to learn from the West, intent on entertaining, enlightening people with theatre and film, as well as starting their own film industry.

Brodsky was among the firsts who noticed the tremendous potential of this market. Around 1911, when the Chinese were occupied with the upcoming revolution, Brodsky, with the financial backing of a high official from the Chinese Government, went back to the US to buy new films for exhibition while readying himself for a film shoot in China.¹¹ In fact, Enrico Lauro made the same attempt several years before to make “a real story film with Chinese actors” entitled *The Curse of Opium*. Yet due to technical issues – that the actors were too amateurish – he gave up the project and kept part of the original negative, admitting that he was “several years too early”.¹²

But we could not find out exactly when Brodsky started making films in China. What we know is that Brodsky came back to Hong Kong from the US twice in 1913 – in mid-June and mid-December respectively – and that same year he founded a film trading company Variety Film Exchange, as well as the Variety Film Manufacturing Company at 34 Nathan Road, Kowloon.¹³ He hired a cameraman Van Velzer from New York, acquired better equipment for shooting and printing, and trained local helpers for film production.

Had he set up any production company in Shanghai? If yes, when and what films had he made? These are questions yet to be answered, and there are vast swaths of uncharted territory to be explored. The traditional belief that Brodsky's company in Shanghai and Hong Kong produced four films – *Empress Dowager*, *The Unfortunate Boy*, *Stealing a Roast Duck* and *The Haunted Pot* – in 1909 has been proved to be some sort of hearsay. In his research, Huang Dequan maintains that these four films, allegedly made by the Asia Film Company/Asiatic Film Manufacturing Company, did not exist before 1913, and this company had nothing to do with Brodsky.¹⁴ Frank Bren and I went through Brodsky's autobiography, as well as press interviews and reports in Hong Kong and the US, and we found no mention of his film production in China before 1914. Instead, in 1916, Brodsky only talked about the blockbuster *Empress Dowager* he was to make, and another film *The Unfortunate Boy* made in China, but he never specified which year it was.¹⁵

The Chinese Revolution

Jay Leyda mentioned in his book a documentary “produced in Hong Kong by Oriental Film Company (preserved in the Louise G. Ernst Collection, Library of Congress),” and listed it as a 1912 production by Brodsky’s company in Hong Kong. The film is *The Chinese Revolution* (aka *The Revolution in China*), advertised in *The Moving Picture World* (MPW) March 30, 1912 for sale in the US.¹⁶ Leyda was “inclined to believe” that this is the same film as *War in Wuhan*. As per Cheng Jihua’s book,¹⁷ the latter was a newsreel documentary made by Chu Lian-kui in collaboration with a foreign firm Mei Li Company in 1911, and was released in Shanghai on December 1, 1911. But in *The Chinese Revolution*, there are scenes that depict the fall of Nanking to the revolutionary army in early December, contradictory to the release date of *War of Wuhan*. Reviewing the film and related materials makes it clear that the film is not simply a newsreel documentary shot on location in the 1911 Revolution, but a combination of news footage and staged segments. It is a pity that what we can see now is just a small part (9 mins.) of the original 2,000 ft. film (about 30 mins.), and all the bloody battle scenes as pictured in the advertisements are missing. According to another advertisement in *Moving Picture World* dated March 16, 1912 found by Frank Bren, the production company was Anataka Co., better known as “The Pathe’s of Japan”, and the film was only acquired by Oriental Film Co. in San Francisco for distribution. Researcher Kim Fahlstedt also refuted Leyda’s assumption that Brodsky was related to

the Oriental Film Company in San Francisco or Hong Kong.¹⁸ My best guess is that some battle scenes were shot on location from October to December 1911, and during the ceasefire from mid-December staged segments were filmed in China to heighten the drama; English and Chinese inter-titles were added to cater for the American market. When Sun Yat-sen's (President of the Republic of China) abdication in favor of Yuan Shikai made international headlines in February to March 1912, it was indeed the right time to sell the film.

The Sport of Kings

By February 1914, Brodsky seized the opportunity to film a big event – the annual Hong Kong Races at the Happy Valley racecourse, February 16–18 & 21. The four-day event was attended by luminaries and hundreds of spectators, with Governor Henry May and Lady May as guests of honor. Brodsky made a 1,000-ft. film for the event and named it *The Sport of Kings*. On February 26, the film, together with other works, was presented to Lady May and a number of special guests at a private preview, winning rave reviews from the press. Four newspapers praised the films highly and suggested that they should be brought to the public in Kowloon.¹⁹ *Hong Kong Daily Press* (HKDP) commented: “The pictures were exceptionally good and gave much pleasure to the selected company who witnessed it.”²⁰ The *South China Morning Post* (SCMP) also described the public showing on March 5

evening as “excellent” and “enjoyable”. It was an open-air screening at the Wigwan Tennis Club, Kowloon, accompanied by a band.²¹ Later on, the film was renamed *Hong Kong Races* and released to the public at the Bijou Scenic Theatre on Hong Kong Island.

Brodsky knew well that filming a big event like this would probably bring him fame in Hong Kong. While Lauro filmed the parade in Hong Kong on the Coronation Day of King George V, he filmed the annual Hong Kong Races, both released to critical acclaim right after the events. He seized the opportunity to promote his films by inviting the Governor, Sir Henry May and Lady May to his preview. As the Governor could not attend the preview on February 26, the film was shown in the Government House the next day on his request. Lady May was famous for her charity work. She was President of the Hong Kong Young Women’s Christian Association and was on the committee of the Hong Kong Ladies Benevolent Society.²² Brodsky might have made use of this connection for his feature-length documentaries, *A Trip Through China* (1916) and *Seeing China As It Is by the YWCA* (1919), in which Western ladies were seen teaching handicapped children in Hong Kong.

China Cinema Company Ltd.

Brodsky once mentioned a Yale graduate he met on a trip to China, whose “father is the brother-in-law of the Chinese President.” Later when Brodsky’s open-air theatre caught fire and all his equipment was

lost, this young man, “a legal adviser to the Chinese Government”, came to his aid by lending him money, so that Brodsky could return to the US and come back with new equipment to start an even bigger business. Brodsky had not made clear when that happened, but only mentioned it was during the time of the “revolution in China to overthrow the Empress Dowager.” We do not know when Brodsky returned to Shanghai to rebuild his film company, but it is certain that he had set up his own company in Hong Kong. The Variety Film Exchange Co. reportedly opened its doors at the end of 1913, and went into production in February 1914. And on November 27, 1914, a China Cinema Company Limited was registered in Hong Kong.²³ *Moving Picture World* once published a picture of Brodsky with nine Chinese directors of the latter company, alongside an interview by Hugh Hoffman, in which Brodsky was referred to as President and General Manager of the company.²⁴ Ramona Curry, in her elaborate research on Brodsky’s trans-Pacific film activities, identified eight of the nine directors as high officials of the Chinese Government, economists, engineers, and successful merchants, with whom Brodsky collaborated to build a film enterprise. The China Cinema Company set out to produce films relevant to the Chinese audience, using Chinese cast and crew members to adapt to Chinese and overseas markets in order that “the world will understand the Chinese people.”²⁵ The company was based in Hong Kong and had strong ties with the Chinese Government then under Yuan Shikai’s rule. Brodsky started filming *A Trip Through China* covering Hong Kong, Kowloon, Macao, Canton, Soochow,

Nanking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Peking and the Great Wall. This is one of the earliest and richest documentaries that probes into the places and people of China, equally significant then and now.

But as Ramona argues in her essay, Brodsky was using his network and financial backing from the Chinese to achieve his own goal, and he succeeded. He was called “the king of Chinese cinema” by the US media when *A Trip Through China* was in the making. Filming was reckoned to have wrapped by early 1916 and thereafter Brodsky was busy lining up theatrical release in New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco.²⁶ *A Trip Through China* was a great success in the US, and Brodsky went on to negotiate for other China–US collaborations, only they never seemed to have materialised. With the death of Yuan Shikai in June 1916, the political situation in China continued to worsen. Some of the China Cinema Company directors fell from power and the company gradually faded into oblivion. *A Trip Through China* might well have been the first and last film the company ever produced.

A Trip Through China

It is estimated that *A Trip Through China* (1916) was two hours long when it was released in the US. However, the copy now preserved in the Chinese Taipei Film Archive is only some 80 minutes long. It is hard to say when filming exactly commenced, as some scenes seem to

have been shot right after the Revolution, while some footage might have been acquired from somewhere else later on. An advertisement during its New York opening read: “Five years in the making.” My guess is that most of the footage was taken after April 1914, when the developing and printing facilities of the company were ready for use. After viewing the existing copy closely, I contend that it is much more than a mere travelogue, as it has documented various facets of the lives of the Chinese people and the mood of the time. Brodsky must have been happy that the film was called *Brodsky’s Trip thru China* when released in New York. It indeed reflected Brodsky’s conflicting views on China: it was a vast yet poor country, it has a long history and rich cultural heritage, but people were still living under very poor conditions much like in the old days. And this became all the more obvious when compared with the modernity of Hong Kong, such as the busy harbor and Central District, and that of the Shanghai Bund where the colonial rulers built commercial centers and trading wharfs.

In the opening of Part One, we see Western liners entering the Victoria Harbor, and the Central District where government buildings, outdoor piazzas, City Hall, Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank were situated. There is this classic sequence taken from the upper deck of the tram, escorting us on a tour along the Queen’s Road where we catch a good view of a British-style business center that is Hong Kong. Then the Tramway brings us up the Peak where rich British merchants live. From there we catch a panoramic view of Hong Kong, a city built by the

British. Later, we see Western women teaching deaf girls in a missionary home; laborers and peasants at work; worshippers of the Sea Goddess amid incense; coolies toiling at the wharf; children diving into the water to fetch coins thrown down by tourists; and Gurkha and British soldiers on guard. The surtitles describe Hong Kong as the “witchery and glamour of the Orient”, where common people live in peace under British rule.

In Part Two, we see a portrait of Yuan Shikai and his Beiyang Army during a drill, followed by a scene where his four sons are seen with their tutor. We see the grandeur of the Forbidden City, a close-up of the filming license dated November 28, 1915, and scenery of Baihei – the interior lake in the Forbidden City – taken on a pleasure boat. These were edited into the opening sequence for the trip to mainland China. Brodsky knew how to please the Chinese Government by putting the President before the people, the north before the south. Then we see the daily lives of the common people.

The scenes of Shanghai in Parts Three and Four are more compelling: classical European buildings standing on the Bund; the busy Nanking Road lauded as “the Broadway of Shanghai”; Europeans, Japanese and Indians enjoying life in a seaside garden; junks navigating along the Soochow River with sails made of grass, as canvas was beyond the means of the average people. We see people rowing the boat with both hands and feet; peasants pumping river water to their fields

using their feet; coolies carrying heavy loads on their shoulders at the harbor packed with liners and junks; sawyers working “12 hours a day” to earn 12 pennies; laborers pushing single-wheel carts amid busy traffic along the Bund; a load as high as 10 ft. being carried on a man’s back. Scenes unfold before our eyes as if we were watching acrobatics in the circus. The montage is well meant to contrast the rich and the poor, the new and the old. Through Brodsky’s eyes as a Westerner, we see the backwardness of the Chinese people, and at the same time we would marvel at their perseverance and tenacity in face of life’s hardships.

In Part Four, we witness a convict being tortured to death in front of a crowd, among which stands a Westerner. In another scene, boat people are training seabirds to catch fish in an amazing way. These are juxtaposed with scenes of coolies moving heavy cargos along the seafront. Surtitles run: “Beasts of burden – whose only salvation is their ignorance of a better lot of life.... Chinese labor is cheaper than horse.... In Japan laborers work fast with small loads, in China they work faster with heavy cargos.” Brodsky liked to ridicule the Chinese cheap labor, but in between the scenes we see beautiful water scenery of southern China, beautiful Soochow gardens and a sculptor using mud to make pretty toys. It seems that Brodsky would not forget to show the prettier side of China.

And in Parts Four and Five, there are detailed depictions of the scenery of cities big and small, the lives of people high and low: horse

racing and sports activities in Shanghai, a visit to Ching Hua Academy in Peking and YMCA in Canton; roadside barber and fortune teller; opera performance at the bamboo theatre; Chinese people shopping at the wet market and gambling at home; prisoners repairing the road under supervision by Indian officers; and the devastation caused by a 1914 typhoon on a south-eastern coastal city. The film ends with a tour to the Great Wall, accompanied by surtitles admiring the great architecture and the glorious history and culture of China, despite the fact that the Great Wall was actually built to defend the country from foreign invasions.

Even though what I have seen are only fragments from an incomplete version, and at times Brodsky's discriminatory attitude really gets on my nerves, I still think *A Trip Through China* is a monumental work of the day. Packed with vivid images and nuanced portrayals of China and its people's lives, the film is brimming with life and captures a rare view of the country in the 1910s. Through this film, we get to understand more about Brodsky as a businessman and filmmaker who tried hard to "sell" China to the Western world – he himself was arguably a bridge between the East and the West.

In 1917, Brodsky moved his production base to Japan. Lai Man-wai, Lai Buk-hoi, Yim Shan-shan, Law Wing-cheung and Leung Siu-bor worked with Brodsky's company in 1914 and made Hong Kong's

first two fiction shorts.²⁷ After that, they tried to set up a production company of their own, but eventually they managed to establish the China Sun Manufacturing Company only in 1923 and completed their debut feature *Rouge* (1924) the following year. Among them all, Lai Man-wai was the one who reaped tremendous success in both fiction and non-fiction filmmaking. He started shooting travelogues and newsreels in 1923 (or earlier) in Hong Kong, China and Japan, and became the pioneering documentary filmmaker. Lai followed Sun Yat-sen on his revolutionary journey till his death, putting on celluloid important battles in the Northern Expedition (1924–27), the War of Shanghai (1932) and the Japanese invasion of Shanghai (1937). These films are now being restored and preserved in the Hong Kong Film Archive and China Film Archive. It is a pity that almost all of his early travelogues and newsreels made in Hong Kong were lost, and very few documents about these films were found. Needless to say, all this deserves further exploration and study.

Law Kar, Veteran film researcher. Ex-Programmer of Hong Kong International Film Festival and the Hong Kong Film Archive.

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Note

1. As documented in Charles Musser, *Edison Motion Pictures 1890-1900—An Annotated Filmography*. Washington D.C. Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.
2. #502-506, 508, Hong Kong; #507, Macao; #509-512 Canton; #513-515, Shanghai ; as catalogued in the American Library of Congress.
3. See Appendix 3, “An Incomplete List of Early Film Production in Hong Kong and Mainland China: 1896-1908” compiled by Frank Bren in *Hong Kong Cinema- A Cross Cultural View*, pp.308-309.
4. *Ibid.*3, pp.309-310
5. Jay Leyda, *Dianying/ Electric Shadows: An Account of Films and the Film Audience in China*, Cambridge, Mass. The MIT Press, 1972, pp.3-6.
6. *Ibid.*5, p.7.
7. *Ibid.*3, pp.309-311
8. See Lauro’s interview “Far East Cinema Pioneers Here” by *North China Herald*, May 15, 1935. p.260.
9. Cheng Jihua, Li Shoabai & Xing Zuwen Eds. *The History of the Development of Chinese Cinema*, Vol. I, p.15. The same page documented Lauro first came to China in 1907.
10. As reported by *Chinese Mail*, Hong Kong, June 6, 1911, quoted in Yu Mo-wan’s *Historical Account of Hong Kong Cinema*, Vol. I, p.62.
11. Brodsky recalled that in his unpublished autobiography “God’s Country, as related by Ben Brodsky to Nathan Abkin”, Los Angeles, circa1950. This is a typing text in 280pp. a summary in 28pp that concerns his film business in China is now preserved in Chinese Taipei Film Archive.
12. *Ibid.*8. But according to Cheng Jihua, a Chinese film *Wronged Ghosts in Opium Den* similar to the subject of *Curse of the Opium* was made in 1916 by Chinese producers in Lauro’s studio, with Lauro as cameraman. See Cheng’s *The History of the Development of Chinese Cinema*, vol. I, pp.24-26.
13. As reported by *China Mail*, February 27, 1914.
14. Huang Dequan, “The Truth of Yaxiya in China”, *Contemporary Cinema*, Beijing, No.148, July 2008, pp.88

15. *New York Tribune*, August 27 1916.
16. *Ibid.*, p.11. & p.519.
17. *Ibid.*, p.27.
18. See Kim's personal website: <http://kimfahlstedt.wordpress.com/tag/benjamin-brodsky/>
19. Frank Bren is the first to find out these reports in Hong Kong newspaper, See Frank Bren, "The Fabulous Adventures of Benjamin Brodsky: China's First Films", *Asia Cinema*, Quarterly, Winter issue, 2009
20. *Hong Kong Daily Press*, Feb 27 1914.
21. *South China Morning Post*, March 6 1914.
22. May Holdsworth & Christopher Munn ed. *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2012, p.319.
23. As found out by Frank Bren in the Hong Kong Registry, and date of dissolution: June 6, 1918.
24. Hugh Hoffman, "The Photoplay in China", *The Moving Picture World*, April.10,1915, p.224. The picture was given by the descendant of Ben Brodsky to Frank Bren and was published in an article "Ben Brodsky & the Real Dawn of Hong Kong cinema" by Frank Bren and Law Kar in *China Daily*, HK edition, Mar.13, 2010.
25. Ramona Curry, "Benjamin Brodsky (1877-1960): The Trans-Pacific American Entrepreneur—Part One, Making A Trip Thru China." *Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, 18, Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2011, pp.58-94.
26. See for instance, the report on Brodsky's visit to San Francisco in *MPW*, Mar.18, 1916, p.1875, and his interview with George. S. Kaufman, "Bret Hart Said it: the Heathen Chinese is Peculiar", *New York Tribune*, Aug.27, 1916, p v.3, and the positive review by Edwin Schallert when the film opened in LA, "Rare Views of China", *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 13, 1916.
27. Recent research has evidenced that Lai Man-wai, Lai Buk-hoi, Law Wing-cheung & Yim Shan-shan were involved in the making of *Chuang Tsi Tests his Wife*, while Leung Siu-por, Lai Buk-hoi in *Stealing a Roast Duck*, both produced by Brodsky and shot by Van Velzer before May 1914. For details see, *Chinese Cinema: Tracing The Origins*, Hong Kong Film Archive, 2011, articles in Chapter 1, pp.32-93.

尋找 米高羅格的 香港回憶

—— 傅慧儀

認識米高羅格前輩是一種緣份。

之所以說有「緣」，是因為我和八十四歲的高羅格先生不單輩份相差很遠，而且他住在老遠的阿姆斯特丹，深居簡出，一般情況下很難相見，而機緣巧合下我們今年共渡了一個溫馨愉快的下午。如果「緣」代表穿越時空，「份」代表關係建立的話，我和羅格先生的緣份應該是建基在十數卷承載着五、六十年代香港面貌的菲林膠卷和一百五十多段已上載於網上的老香港影像之上。

其實荷蘭攝影家米高羅格五、六十年代在香港拍攝的紀錄片，由2008年開始，已陸續透過名為「Michael Rogge」的YouTube網上頻道，以「老香港」作主題，逐一曝光。香港電影資料館亦於2010年聯絡上他本人，那時研究組的同事藍天雲更和他透過電郵做了一系列的訪問，對這位東來年輕歐洲人



圖一 珍藏近三十年的攝影器材

Fig.1 Photo and film equipment assembled over the past three decades.

的傳奇一生、在港拍攝的歷程，以至香港早期電影會發展史上的補遺都有提及。¹

在多重意義上，米高羅格那些畫面優美的短片對香港文化承傳是非常珍貴和重要的。首先，在戰後香港根本沒多少人擁有一台攝影機；就算有，也沒有幾個像羅格那樣常常拍攝。第二，1949至55年羅格在港工作，在那段期間，電視、報章和電影機構的代表都沒有拍攝紀錄式影像的專責部門。第三，即使那時有些外國人途經香港，拍下一些影片，都只會是一些家庭錄像、旅遊紀錄，而不會像羅格的影片那樣從本地人的眼光出發，並加入大量美學處理手法，旨在製作有主題、有概念、有剪輯、有聲效的短片。

引用羅格網頁上的字眼，他的影片是「一趟回到過去的感性旅程，回到一個顯然已逝的年代，當城市還未被高樓大廈覆蓋、旅遊業還未侵害自然美景和傳統習俗繽紛多彩的年代」。



圖二 放滿香港影像寶藏的皮箱
Fig.2 A suitcase full of Hong Kong cinematic treasures



圖三 米高羅格自2008年起把香港紀錄片上載到互聯網
Fig.3 Michael Rogge has been putting online his Hong Kong-made documentaries since 2008.

64年前乘慢船抵港

米高羅格本名Isbrand Cornelius Rogge，1949年首次乘着慢船東來，當年他才二十歲。至今他還清楚記得他的荷蘭銀行同事坐着一隻「嘩啦嘩啦」（電船仔）來接他的情景，然後同事騎着摩托車接他往中環去給上司打個招呼，褲子被摩托車的電油濺髒了也沒得換；他記得偷聽到經理一通電話對話，是上海打來的，說中國人民解放軍正步入上海街頭；他又記得自己很喜歡坐貨船，還希望共產黨登陸香港，那麼他就不用下船。他大概沒想到，他所認識和鍾愛的二戰後的香港，在他離開很久以後仍然是個英國殖民地。

這位二十歲的荷蘭小子，很快便在麥當奴道一所與人合租的公寓定居下來。不久他便開始將周遭環境拍攝下來，其鏡頭下所承載的情感和人情味，不僅感動到身邊的人，時至今日仍然感動到數以百萬計的網上觀眾。

羅格過着刻板的銀行職員生活，星期一至六朝九晚六，只



圖四 羅格今昔，背後是手搖式9.5毫米底片攝影機
Fig.4 Michael Rogge now and then. Behind the young Michael is a Pathescope 9.5mm hand-cranked camera.



圖五 傅慧儀赴阿姆斯特丹探訪羅格
Fig.5 The writer visiting Michael Rogge in Amsterdam.

有星期日放假。雖然工時頗長，他仍然趁着星期日和下班後的工餘時間，穿梭大街小巷拍照或拍片。他最初用的是一台二手的Alef 9.5毫米攝影機，很快就換上Pathescope 9.5毫米攝影機。1951年，羅格拍片拍得興起，給自己買了一台Paillard Bolex 16毫米攝影機，用Kodachrome菲林拍攝彩色片。自此，他便成了一位非常用心的業餘拍片家，記錄這個殖民地有趣的民生百態，其短片更屢獲獎項。從高樓大廈到何文田木屋，從虎豹別墅到大嶼山寶蓮禪寺，從北區圍村到南區海灘……他走遍這座城市，尋找不同的拍攝角度，不斷實驗不同的構圖、橫移鏡頭、透視和電影語言。

業餘拍攝

羅格的第一部作品《從半山步行到中環》（1949）是部黑白短片，記錄他每天從半山往下走的路程，途經一些小徑、河流和台階，最後到達皇后大道中，看見一家叫「愛雪」的賣攝影器材的店舖櫥窗。其後，他開始拍攝日常城市生活的點滴及消閒活動。



圖六 羅格的第一台車是台「獲素」，與友人共同擁有

Fig.6 Rogge's first car is a Vauxhall shared with his friends



圖七 羅格（右）與荷蘭印度商業銀行同事合照

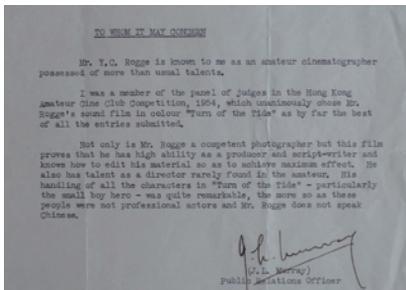
Fig.7 Staff of The Netherlands - Indian Commerical Bank, Rogge on the right

1952年，《南華早報》的A.G.斯特利策動成立香港業餘電影會，羅格成為創立人之一，非常活躍。自此羅格便每年參與電影會的年度比賽，第一部參賽作品是三分鐘詩意短片《雨》（1952），隨即獲獎。1929年荷蘭著名紀錄片導演伊雲斯曾拍過一部《Regen雨》，片長12分鐘就花了兩年時間製作，描繪雨中的阿姆斯特丹。羅格的《雨》顯然是受到他的啟發，全片由多個不同日子的雨景鏡頭組成，光影的處理細緻活潑，影像的鋪排亦具敘事性和節奏感，呈現的雨中香港靈動和有生氣。

1953年，羅格又興致勃勃想拍些野心較大的作品，捕捉香港從晨曦中甦醒過來的情景。於是他從赤柱附近的山上以鳥瞰式的角度拍攝海景，又拍攝碼頭活動；在北角附近，陽光斜照着女士們提着水桶，象徵這座城市經已醒過來。羅格心裏想着巴哈的〈G弦之歌〉，拍下漁民在碼頭開始幹活的畫面，刻劃早晨的寧靜。這些畫面，事隔六十年再看仍然驚為天人，教人感動。除了這部《日出》（1953），羅格亦把一些重要的歷



圖八 米高羅格與他新買的Bolex 16毫米攝影機
Fig.8 Michael Rogge with his new 16mm Bolex



圖九 評審J.L.梅利對《逆流》的評語
Fig.9 Judge J L Murray's comments on
Turn of the Tide

史事件記錄下來，例如令六萬木屋居民痛失家園的石硤尾大火，與及1953年6月英女皇加冕的慶祝活動等。

與很多其他電影製作人一樣，羅格特別鍾情拍攝漁船和住在帆船或舢舨的水上人生活。1954年，羅格結識了東方水上基督教會的石美芬教士，那時佈光福音船停泊在油麻地避風塘，石教士在船上宣教，邀請羅格拍攝她講學的情況。不過由於羅格是自資拍攝，他要求以自己的角度去拍，結果就拍出了劇情短片《逆流》（1954）。故事描述一個蜆家男孩因摯友死去而經歷的心理轉變，有劇本、有配音、剪接流麗，詩情畫意，甚為難得。這部片贏得電影會比賽的首獎，後更獲得在倫敦舉辦的業餘電影世界「十大最佳作品」比賽的特別推薦。官方推薦信由評審之一的香港公共關係主任J.L.梅利先生撰寫，信裏讚揚羅格「不僅是個傑出的攝影師，更具備高超的監製及編劇才能，懂得將材料剪輯以達最佳效果，其導演才華更是業餘界別中非常難得的。」羅格在1955年離開香港之前，把自

已拍的香港片段總結成約半小時的短片《簡介香港》，記錄1951至54年香港的民生美景。

總括來說，羅格在五十年代初戰後香港的影像紀錄方面扮演了極其重要的角色，他的紀錄片填補了我們文化歷史中的一大缺口。在這些珍貴的香港影像中²，所有短片都是經過剪輯和配樂的³，而且有清晰的主題和敘事。《雨》和《日出》是當年影會比賽的得獎作品；而《香港慶祝伊利莎伯女皇加冕盛況》（1953）則是由五名攝影師⁴合力組織的大規模拍攝，後來更有沖印拷貝以供發售。所以我認為米高羅格拍的香港影像不光是紀錄香港五、六十年代人物風情和殖民社會的紀錄片，他更是香港最早一代拍攝獨立短片的創作人。

六十年後在阿姆斯特丹

翻閱過米高羅格1949至62年拍下的所有影片後，我決定要把這些保存得極好的珍貴影像剪輯、整理並正規地搬到大銀幕放映。2013年7月，我特意飛往荷蘭阿姆斯特丹一趟，造訪羅格先生，旅程雖短，卻非常值得，我重新感受到這位資深電影製作人的熱誠和視野。參觀過他大宅內的寶庫後，我又發現了他攝影師以外的另外兩個重要身份：一位非常專注和投入的電影收藏家，以及老電影網上發行人。以下，我會略略講述我與羅格見面的情況。



圖十 在1955年香港短片比賽中獲第四獎
Fig.10 Short Film Hong Kong awarded Fourth Prize in 1955



圖十一 《南華早報》刊出羅格得獎的照片
Fig.11 Award winning photo of Michael Rogge on *South China Morning Post*

羅格先生住的地方離市中心不很遠，是靜中帶旺的住宅區，他住的房子並不算豪華，但比起香港的豪宅卻大多了。我知道他愛收集電影舊物，卻想不到他的收藏品能填滿地牢三數個加起來有千多呎的房間。由一句「這就是我凌亂的地庫……」開始，我便走進了一個攝影器材的時間廊。

那裏有各式奇怪的攝影機、放映機、魔幻燈箱、不同年代的影片剪接器、不同大小的菲林，其中鮮為人知的有17.5毫米和28毫米，還有一部價值不菲、全球只剩極少量的盧米埃攝影機。另一個小房間放滿不同大小的菲林盒和放映機，菲林片散滿一地，問起才知地上那些都是他花錢買回來後覺得不適用的片段。我問他是甚麼時候開始搜購電影文物的，他漫不經意地說是八十年代開始，算起來已經快三十年了！然後他如數家珍的慢慢一件一件講解，我亦不敢怠慢，把這一課難求的「電影器材史」拍攝下來。



圖十二 全球只剩極少量的盧米埃攝影機
Fig.12 One of the handful of Lumière
Cinématographes that still exist today.

談話間我才知道，由於他對年青時代的香港、日本和東南亞地區很是懷念，於是努力地在網上搜羅舊片，過去十年他買下了很多二十至七十年代的舊菲林，有些甚至連片名也不知道。互聯網發達，令他有機會向世界發表這些影片，於是把老電影剪輯好再上載到自己的YouTube頻道便成為他的最大嗜好，截至2013年11月，他的頻道已累積到11,000,000瀏覽人次！即每日約15,000人次，當中約1,000來自香港。

自2010-11年間研究組與羅格先生作了電郵訪問後，資料館便展開了要把這些網上影像的原物料搜羅回港的工程。截至2013年，資料館已成功把他由1949至1962年間用9.5毫米和16毫米菲林拍的短片和紀錄片轉成數碼Beta拷貝，由於長年儲存於荷蘭羅格先生家中，影片都保存得很好，質素甚佳。很高



圖十三 米高羅格1955年離港前，銀行同事為他舉行歡送晚宴
Fig.13 Farewell dinner of bank staff for Rogge of his departure in 1955

興於本年一月香港電影資料館的「香港早期電影遊蹤」專題節目，終於能鄭重地把這些影像整理、剪輯好，並作公開放映。

[中譯：杜蘊思]

傅慧儀 香港電影資料館節目策劃

註釋

1. 藍天雲：〈米高羅格的香江舊影錄〉，《通訊》，第57期，香港，香港電影資料館，2011年8月，頁3-6。想閱讀更多有關米高羅格傳奇經歷，可參看他的網頁：
<http://wicchm.home.xs4all.nl/hongkongE49.html>。
2. 13盒Beta拷貝約共200多分鐘的影片。
3. 當年羅格先生為了做好後期製作的音效，特別由英國買回一部同步Celsonic錄音機，作配音及配樂之用。
4. 按片上資料，其他四位攝影師為N.T. Assomull、W.T. Bushell、E.J.M. Churn和K.A. Watson。

Introducing
Hong Kong

簡介香港



Hong Kong
Celebrates the
Coronation of
Her Majesty
Queen Elizabeth II



香港慶祝
伊麗莎白
加冕盛況
女皇



日出
Sunrise



雨
Rain

Turn of
the Tide

逆流

石碇
火
大



從半山
步行到
中環



One Second's
Negligence
May Render
80,000 Squatters
Homeless



Walking Down
to Central



香港
三百萬人

Three Million Souls
of Hong Kong

In Search of Michael Rogge's Hong Kong Memories

— Winnie Fu

Getting to know Mr Michael Rogge is indeed the result of serendipity.

It's because the much-revered Mr Rogge, now 84 years old, is several decades my senior; it's also because he is living somewhat a reclusive life hundreds of thousands of miles away in Amsterdam, and so it's remotely conceivable that I could have made this unlikely acquaintance. But by a twist of fate, earlier this year I was able to spend with him a warm, blissful afternoon. If serendipity means to forge relationship across time and space, what brought us together might have been a dozen reels of film that captured Hong Kong of the 1950s and 60s, and some 150 clips of such moving images Rogge has put online.

Since 2008, the documentaries shot by Dutch cinematographer Michael Rogge in 1950s and 60s Hong Kong have begun to surface – in an “Old Hong Kong” series on the “Michael Rogge” YouTube Channel.

Later in 2010, the Hong Kong Film Archive managed to get in touch with him. Grace Ng, then member of our Research Unit, conducted a series of email interviews with the veteran, covering topics such as his legendary life as a young European travelling east, his moviemaking experience in Hong Kong, and the developmental history of early Hong Kong cine clubs.¹

Michael Rogge's beautiful film footages are precious and very significant to Hong Kong's cultural heritage in many senses. Firstly, there were not many people who possessed a movie camera during that post-war period of Hong Kong, not to mention filming actively on a regular basis as Rogge did. Secondly, there was no representative of television, press and film enterprises who were making film reportage at that particular period of 1949 to 1955 when Mr Rogge was working in Hong Kong. Thirdly, even if some foreigners passed by and made some films in those days, they were either home movies or touristic recordings of their

own travels, which would be very different from Rogge's images which we see now which were made with an eye of a local resident, and in which he put in lots of aesthetic treatments with an aim to produce short films with themes, concept, proper editing and sound inputs.

Using Rogge's own wordings on his webpage, his images are "a sentimental journey back to an era definitely passed - before the building explosion began and tourism invaded its beautiful scenery and colorful customs and traditions."

ARRIVING ON A SLOW BOAT 64 YEARS AGO

IJsbrand Cornelius Rogge (aka Michael Rogge) first travelled to the East on a slow boat back in 1949 at age 20. He remembered in details how his colleagues from the Dutch bank, where he was to report duty to, came to pick him up with a walla walla; how his trousers were messed up by dark oil spilling from the motorbike that took him to Central so he had no choice but to greet his senior in dirty pants; and how he overheard a phone call of the manager with Shanghai that the PLA in red China was marching on the streets of Shanghai. He still remembered that he enjoyed the freight ride so much that he vaguely wished that the Communist had landed on Hong Kong so he would not need to leave the freighter. But the post World War II Hong Kong that he came to know and love stayed on as a British colony until long after he left.

The 20-year-old Dutch boy soon settled down in a shared apartment up on MacDonald Road and before long, he was filming his surroundings with such passion and intensity that has not only impressed people in his surroundings, but is still impressing millions of viewers in the recent decade that came across his videos online.

Rogge observed the strict routine of a bank employee's life, working from nine to six from Monday through Saturday with just Sunday off. Despite the comparatively long working hours, Rogge spent most of his Sundays or off hours in making photos or movies around town. The first camera he used was a secondhand Alef 9.5mm, which was soon replaced by a Pathescope 9.5mm. In 1951, Rogge was so much into making movies that he bought himself a Paillard Bolex 16mm camera with which he took coloured pictures using Kodachrome stock. From then on, he was a studious amateur moviemaker producing interesting footage of all walks of life in the colony and winning a number of film awards with his short films. From high rises in the city to squatters in Ho Man Tin, from the Tiger Balm Gardens to the Lantau Po Lin Monastery, from the walled villages in the north to the beaches in the south, he took length in exploring the city, trying out various angles and experimenting with composition, playing around with pan shots, perspectives and the language of film.

AMATEUR FILMMAKING

Rogge's first short film *Walking Down to Central* in 1949 is a black and white piece that recorded the trip downhill that he took every day from mid-levels through paths, streams and stairways until he reached Queen's Road Central, ending with the display window of the Asia photo supplies shop that sold camera equipments. He then went on to record events, leisure activities and bits and pieces of city life.

In 1952 he became one of the founder and active participant of the Hong Kong Amateur Cine Club, which was initiated by A.G. Staley of the *South China Morning Post*. Since then Rogge took part in the annual competition of the Cine Club, his first entry being a three-minute visual poem *Rain* (1952) which immediately won him an award. *Rain* was an obvious echo of the 1929 film *Regen* by famous Dutch documentary filmmaker Joris Ivens, who had taken two years to produce a 12-minute poetic piece on rain in the city of Amsterdam. Rogge's *Rain* was a compilation of many isolated scenes on rainy days that offered a playful and rhythmic portrayal of Hong Kong with beautiful light treatment and a narration that was at once joyful and gentle.

By 1953, Rogge was eager to produce more ambitious works and took length to capture the look of a city awakening. He started with an

panoramic shot of the sea view from the hills around Stanley, followed by harbor activities around North Point, and in slanting golden sunbeams, we saw women carrying buckets of water, symbolising the city coming alive. With J S Bach's *Air on G String* in mind, he filled his film stock with serene morning scenes of fishermen starting their errands around the harbour, images that are still shockingly touching to watch when 60 years have gone by. Besides *Sunrise* (1953), Rogge also recorded important historical happenings like the Shek Kip Mei fire that rendered 60,000 squatter residents homeless, and the festivities in June 1953 that celebrated the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II.

Like many other filmmakers, Rogge was much attracted to filming the fishing boats and lives of people living on junks and sampans. In 1954, he got to know Stephanie Czechowitz who was teaching on the "Oriental Gospel Boat" at the Yau Ma Tei Typhoon Shelter. She asked Rogge to make a film on her teaching activities, but since Rogge was shooting on his own expenses, he bargained for making a film with an angle of his own – which ended up in *Turn of the Tide* (1954), a short drama piece around a sampan boy who lost his best friend and the spiritual changes that he went through. This short film, complete with a script, is dubbed, well edited, and evocatively poetic. The piece won the First Prize in the HK Cine Club competition and later received a special recommendation in the Amateur Film World's "Ten Best" Competition

held in London. An official letter of recommendation drafted by Hong Kong's Public Relations Officer Mr J L Murray, who was among the panel of judges, mentioned Rogge as “not only a competent photographer, but has high ability as a producer and script-writer and knows how to edit his material so as to achieve maximum effort. He also has talent as a director rarely found in the amateur.” Before Rogge left Hong Kong in 1955, he managed to sum up his Hong Kong footage into a half-hour piece titled *Introducing Hong Kong* which covers a lot of livelihood and scenery of the city around 1951-54.

All in all, Rogge played a significant role in recording the moving images of a post-war Hong Kong in the early 50s, filling in a big gap of documentary footage that otherwise would be a void in our cultural history. Of these old Hong Kong pictures², all short films are duly edited with either voiceover or sound effects³, with a clear subject and narrative structure. *Rain* and *Sunrise* are award-winners at cine club contests of their day while the *Hong Kong Celebrates the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II* (1953) was a major collaboration by five cinematographers⁴, which Rogge would later develop into multiple copies for sale. As such, I contend that Michael Rogge's works are not mere documentaries of the social landscape of colonial Hong Kong in the 1950s and 60s – he is among the first creators of indie shorts in the territory.

SIXTY YEARS LATER IN AMSTERDAM

After going through all the available film footage made by Michael Rogge from 1949 to 1962, I decided that these precious and well preserved materials deserve proper programming to be viewed on a big screen. In July 2013, I took a quick trip to Amsterdam to greet Mr Rogge in person and the trip, though short, proved very worthwhile as I gained new insights on the passion and vision of this veteran filmmaker. From the treasure trove inside his house, I discovered his two other major identities alongside that of a photographer – an incredibly devoted film collector, and a global online distributor of old movies. I shall summarise my encounter with Rogge briefly as follows:

Mr Rogge's home nestles in a quiet but convenient residential area not far away from the city centre. Though not extravagant, his mansion is much bigger than the average luxury home in Hong Kong. I knew his fondness for film memorabilia, but the sheer size of his collection, which filled up several rooms of over 1,000 square feet in the basement, took me aback nonetheless. 'Here is my chaotic basement,' he said, and there began my journey back in time.

Along the time tunnel is a dazzling parade of vintage cameras, projectors, magic lanterns, film editing machines from different eras, motion picture films of varying widths such as the unheard-of 17.5mm and 28mm, as well as one among the handful of Lumière

Cinématographes that still exist today. A smaller room next door was packed full of film canisters and a vast array of projectors, with reels of film lying scattered all over the floor. Those were film strips Rogge acquired but eventually couldn't find any use for. When asked for how long he has been assembling film artefacts, he replied, matter-of-factly, that it has been 30 years since the 1980s. As he began to go over with me each of his cherished gems, I lost no time videoing what he said, which would turn out to be a hard-won history lesson on film equipment.

As our conversation went on, I realised that Rogge has always been on the lookout for old films on the internet – a way he tries to soothe his nostalgia for Hong Kong, Japan and Southeast Asia which he visited in his youthful days. Over the past decade, he has bought piles of films from the 1920s to the 70s, some without even knowing the titles. The rapid development of the Internet made it possible for him to release these motion pictures worldwide, so editing and uploading film clips onto his YouTube channel has now become his favourite pastime. As at November 2013, his channel has scored an astonishing hit rate of 11,000,000 – ie 15,000 per day, 1,000 of which coming from Hong Kong!

Ever since the 2010–11 email interview, the Film Archive has commenced to acquire from Mr Rogge the raw materials of his online

treasures. As at 2013, the Film Archive has successfully struck Digital Betacam copies for the short films and documentaries he shot on 9.5mm and 16mm between 1949 and 1962. Stored inside his residence amidst the film-friendly environment of the Netherlands, all the antique prints have survived to this day in great condition. These invaluable moving images, now being sorted and edited, will be brought to audiences in our programme, 'Transcending Space and Time – Early Cinematic Experience of Hong Kong', in January 2014.

Winnie Fu is Programmer (Film Programmes) of the HKFA.

Note

1. Grace Ng, 'Hong Kong As It Was: Documentaries by Michael Rogge', Newsletter, Issue 57, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, August 2011, pp 3–6. Those who wants to read more about Micheal Rogge's legendary life can visit his webpage: <http://wichm.home.xs4all.nl/hongkongE49.html>.
2. Footage of 200-odd minutes contained in 13 Betacam tapes.
3. In his attempt to perfect sound effects during post-production, Rogge procured from England a synchronisable Celsonic taperecorder that could run alongside an Ampro projector, using it for dubbing and scoring.
4. The other four cinematographers other than Rogge were N.T. Assomull, W.T. Bushell, E.J.M. Churn, K.A. Watson, as per the film credits.

已歸入館藏的米高羅格影片紀錄

Films acquired by Hong Kong Film Archive
from Michael Rogge

01

未到香港前拍攝的影片

Films made before arriving in Hong Kong

共7分鐘 黑白

Total 7min B&W

02

初到香港拍攝的影片 (1949-52)

Films made after arriving in Hong Kong (1949-52)

包括：* 從半山步行到中環 (1949, 4.5分鐘, 黑白)、

* 香港居所 (1951, 9.5分鐘, 黑白)

including: * Walking Down to Central (1949, 4.5min, B/W),

* Apartment and Life in Hong Kong (1951, 9.5min, B/W)

共24分鐘 黑白及彩色

Total 24min B&W / Color

03

植物公園，及其他

The Botanical Gardens, et al.

共4.5分鐘 黑白

Total 4.5min B&W

04

- * 日出 (1953)
- * Sunrise (1953)

共8.5分鐘 彩色
Total 8.5min Color

05

香港內外

In and Around Hong Kong

包括：片場探班（黑白）、外地拍攝隊在香港（黑白）、
慶祝女王登基的時裝表演（彩色）

including: We Visit a Chinese Film Studio (B/W),
Production of A Soldier of Fortune (B/W) and The Coronation Fashion Show (Color)

共4.5分鐘
Total 4.5min

06

- * 香港慶祝伊利莎伯女皇加冕盛況 (1953)
- * Hong Kong Celebrates the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (1953)

共14.5分鐘 彩色
Total 14.5min Color

07

- * 雨 (1952, 3.5min, 黑白)
- * Rain (1952, 3.5分鐘, B/W)

日本 (彩色)
Japan (Color)

共12.5分鐘
Total 12.5min

08

* 簡介香港 (1951-54)

* Introducing Hong Kong (1951-54):

包括：由高空鏡頭開始、植物公園、傳統道教喪禮、南來難民在寮屋生活、1953年石硤尾大火、虎豹別墅、銅鑼灣、香港仔漁村、颱風、島嶼風景、一日的結束
including: Opening with aerial shots from airplane, The Botanical Gardens, Ancient Taoist Ceremonies Accompany Burial of the Dead, Refugees from China Live in Squatter Huts, Shek Kip Mei Fire in 1953, The Tiger Balm Garden, Causeway Bay, Old Fishing Village Aberdeen, Typhoon, Island Scenery, Close of a Day

共30.5分鐘 黑白及彩色

Total 30.5min B&W / Color

09

香港市郊 (1949-51)

Hong Kong: Around and About (1949-51)

包括：周六工餘、休息的一天、NHB足球賽

including: Saturday at Close of Business, The Bank Has a Day Off, The Football Champions of the N.H.B.

共9.5分鐘 黑白

Total 9.5min B&W

10

1953年石硤尾大火

Shek Kip Mei Fire in 1953

共3.5分鐘 彩色

Total 3.5min Color

11

* 逆流 – 於油麻地攝製的劇情短片

* Turn of the Tide – an independent short drama on a sampan boy filmed at the Yaumatei Typhoon Shelter

共20分鐘 彩色

Total 20min Color

12

澳門與香港

Macao and Hong Kong Everyday Life

包括：* 香港風情畫（10分鐘）

including: * Everyday Life of 1950s (10min)

共18分鐘 黑白

Total 18min B&W

13

經孟買到香港

Trip to Bombay and then Hong Kong

包括：* 香港三百萬人（1961-62, 42min）– 為荷蘭電視台拍攝的紀錄片（1963年播放）

including: * Three Million Souls of Hong Kong (42min) – a film made for Dutch Television around 1961-62 and broadcasted in the Netherlands in 1963

共44分鐘 彩色

Total 44min Color

* 參看米高羅格回顧放映節目

selected for Michael Rogge Retrospective

米高羅格回顧放映節目和網上目錄對照表

Michael Rogge selected programmes' reference titles on YouTube channel

米高羅格回顧(一) Michael Rogge Retrospective I

片名 Title	館藏序號 Collection No	時間 Time Code
1. 日出 Sunrise (1953)	#4	00:46 - 08:25
2. 雨 Rain (1952)	#7	00:00 - 03:19
3. 颱風 Typhoon	#8	26:10 - 27:44
4. 簡介香港 Introducing Hong Kong (1953)	#8	00:00 - 23:11
5. 香港風情畫 Everyday Life of 1950s	#12	08:12 - 17:57
6. 島嶼風景 Island Scenery	#8	27:53 - 29:28
7. 一日的結束 Close of a Day	#8	29:36 - 30:30
8. 香港慶祝伊利莎伯女皇加冕盛況 Coronation of Her Majesty QE II (1953)	#6	00:00 - 14:34

米高羅格回顧(二) Michael Rogge Retrospective II

片名 Title	館藏序號 Collection No	時間 Time Code
1. 從半山步行到中環 (1949) Walking Down to Central	#2	00:09 - 04:24
2. 香港居所 (1951) Apartment and Life in Hong Kong	#2	14:03 - 23:38
3. 香港三百萬人(1962) Three Million Souls of Hong Kong	#13	02:03 - 43:48
4. 獨立短片：逆流 (1954) Turn of the Tide (Experimental Short Drama)	#11	00:21 - 19:44

備註：請注意上列的 YouTube 頻道資料是基於米高羅格線上頻道截至 2014 年 1 月 4 日的狀態，他本人可按其意願或因應其他原因而作出更改。提供此列表供觀眾或研究者參考的主要原因，是因為 YouTube 上刊行的版本都經過米高羅格本人重新剪輯，加上聲音效果、旁白或配上音樂，觀賞價值有所不同。此外請注意由於米高羅格最初幾年的上傳影像受片長和檔案大小的限制，版本有被剪短或分成幾個章節上載的情況。

YouTube 標題 YouTube Title

Hong Kong Awakening
 Hong Kong in the Rain 1952
 Typhoon Susan Devastates Hong Kong in 1953
 Introducing Hong Kong in 1951-54 (1)
 Introducing Hong Kong in 1951-54 (2)
 Introducing Hong Kong in 1951-54 (3)
 Hong Kong 1950 Bank of China Strike
 Hong Kong Refugee Problem 1960
 Demolition Hong Kong 1960 - Old Kowloon
 Introducing Hong Kong in 1951-54 (3)
 Introducing Hong Kong in 1951-54 (3)
 Hong Kong Coronation Festivities 1953 Part 1
 Hong Kong Coronation Festivities 1953 Part 2

YouTube 標題 YouTube Title

Hong Kong as I saw it in 1949
 Hong Kong 1949 Strolling from Midlevel to Downtown
 My Life in Hong Kong 1949-51 (1)
 My Life in Hong Kong 1949-51 (2)
 My Life in Hong Kong 1949-51 (3)
 My Life in Hong Kong 1949-51 (4)
 Entering the Old Hong Kong Harbour in 1960
 Old Hong Kong Central 1962
 Old Hong Kong. To the Peak in 1962
 Hong Kong, the Old Aberdeen in 1962
 Old Hong Kong Industries / Argriculture in 1962
 Children of Hong Kong in 1962
 Hong Kong Squatters in 1962
 The Old New Territories Hong Kong in 1962
 Hong Kong Fisherboy's Tragedy 1953

對僅存的辛亥革命紀錄片《中國的革命》的若干考證和推測

—— 羅卡

2011年，華人地區都有慶祝辛亥革命100周年的活動，以文字和圖像展示辛亥革命的艱苦過程和成果，但現場拍攝的活動影像極為少見。1911年10月10日武昌起義事發突然，相信沒有現場的隨軍拍攝。根據程季華等編著《中國電影發展史》的記載，雜技家朱連奎和美利公司（外商）合作拍成的新聞紀錄短片《武漢戰爭》有1911年10月12日新軍佔領漢口、漢陽的戰鬥和此後接連的幾次重大戰役，包括10月27日起義軍和清軍的漢口爭奪戰、11月16日自漢陽反攻、二次光復漢口等。書中認為這是「我國唯一的一部紀錄和頌揚武昌起義的革命軍事活動影片」。1911年12月1日在上海謀得利戲園曾公映。可惜此片已無留存，就連相關圖像也未有見。

僅存的辛亥革命活動影像

其實還有一部中文史書甚少提及的紀錄片《中國的革命》（The Chinese Revolution, 1912），影片每幅字幕的底部都註上：Oriental Film Company, Hong Kong（香港東方影片公司），

Copyright 1912 (版權所有 1912)，其中「香港」二字已難以辨認。此片因曾在美國註冊發行，美國國會圖書館有不完整拷貝（已轉成16毫米，長300英尺），香港電影資料館亦有存片。影片原長2000呎，以當年35毫米默片每秒走16格（1英尺）或18格（1.125英尺）計，應可放映約33或29分鐘。唯現僅存下列片段，長時約9分鐘，以中英文字幕分隔：

漢口外滿軍軍營

革黨童子被定死罪

十四歲童子被炮斃

革黨烈士為博自由而死，其父對屍而泣

滿員被黨員攻擊

革兵被捕

滿員嚴訊黨員

黨員為國殉難

滿員殘殺婦女

滿員形狀

兵士屍橫遍野

影相人在籬內到戰場攝影情形



左圖 Left

圖一 《電影世界》，
Fig.1 1912年4月6日，頁65
Moving Picture World，
April 6, 1912, page 65

右圖 Right

圖二 《電影世界》，
Fig.2 1912年3月30日，頁1212
Moving Picture World，
March 30, 1912, page 1212

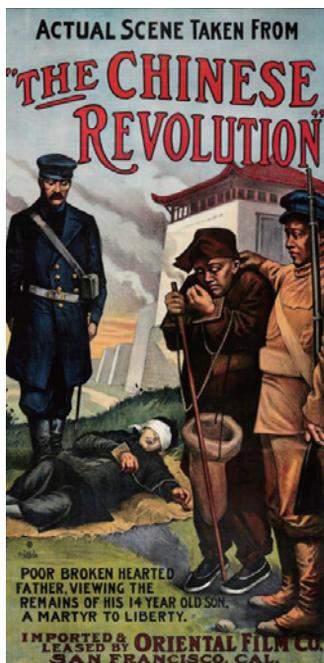
跟着我們要問：這是甚麼人／公司拍攝的、何時何地公映過、是否完全現場拍攝、有無事後偽造成分？有些甚麼內容，對中國革命有些甚麼看法？

對影片製作者的推斷

這是1912年3月中刊於美國《電影世界》（*Moving Picture World*）的兩則廣告（圖一、圖二），由三藩市一家「經營出入口電影放映機、影片及零件」的東方影片公司美國分公司（*American Branch, Oriental Film Co., Inc.*）刊登，推銷影片《中國的革命》在美國各州的零售發行權。並說已賣出19州，正銷向墨西哥、加拿大，催促要買就快，遲則錯失發財機會。圖片和文字都渲染其血腥戰鬥的慘烈，形容是「真實的」中國戰役，不是仿造的戲劇。但看過現有片段會發覺有不少疑點，亦有不少事後仿拍（或稱擺拍）的痕跡。後面再談。

影史家陳立 (Jay Leyda) 在其英文著作《電影—中國的電影和觀眾沿革》(1972) 中認為這可能是布拉斯基在香港的製作，並推測這可能和《武漢戰爭》是同一影片，在附錄2的片目中並寫明是布氏拍製、香港亞細亞公司出品。¹ 言下之意似是布氏購得影片後在香港加工、再發行到美國公映。但美國的廣告和海報 (圖三) 都寫明東方影片公司只是美國的版權代理、發行商。而研究者遍查過香港和三藩市的公司登記，均無東方影片公司的紀錄，估計該公司是為發行此片而設立的，營運時期很短。

近年，研究者金浮士達特 (Kim Fahlstedt) 發現了該片1912年4月12日在上海 Apollo 戲院上映的廣告，上有「火燒武漢」等宣傳字句，² 說明該片亦有在中國上映。他認為陳立之說純屬推測，《中國的革命》出品發行都和布拉斯基無關。研究者法蘭賓 (Frank Bren) 晚近在1912年3月16日的《電影世界》上又找到相關報導和廣告，顯示製作公司是日本Anataka Co.，是



圖三 轉自研究者金浮士達特個人網站
Fig.3 from researcher Kim Fahlstedt's personal website



圖四 《電影世界》，
1912年3月16日，頁962
Fig.4 *Moving Picture World*,
March 16, 1912, p.962



圖五 《電影世界》，
1912年3月16日，頁1012
Fig.5 *Moving Picture World*,
March 16, 1912, p.1012

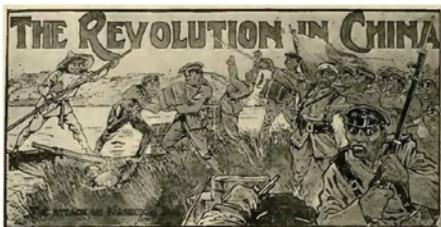
有規模的電影公司，有「日本的百代公司」之稱。廣告中宣稱影片活現中國成為共和國的歷史，「逼真描繪戰鬥、謀殺、令人心寒的造反戰役，而以激動人心的攻佔南京作結」。可惜這些場面在現存的片段中都看不到。現今看到的只是一些審訊、槍決的小場面，革命軍並無出現，字幕所提的革命黨只是造反的平民、民兵。

是現場拍攝、事後仿拍，還是二者皆有？

先說疑點。我看仿拍的痕跡有：

1. 所見的清朝官員相貌滑稽、似在演戲，持槍的清兵來來去去總是那三兩個人。
2. 所謂「屍橫遍野」也只是先前槍決的幾個屍體。
3. 鏡頭全都擺放得正正定定、毫無搖晃，人物出入鏡都有序，不像是戰地現場拍攝、更像是經過排練拍出的。

圖六 《電影世界》，
1912年3月30日，頁1212
Fig.6 Moving Picture World,
March 30, 1912, p.1212

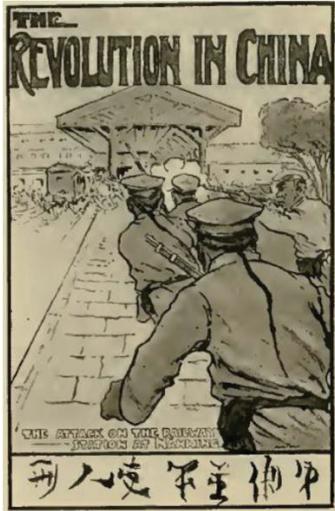


圖七 《電影世界》，
1912年4月6日，頁65
Fig.7 Moving Picture World,
April 6, 1912, p.65



4. 片末有外國人入鏡，更有外國攝影師從籬中跳出、並取出影機。³ 字幕說是攝影師在戰場自籬中拍得的，但從籬中的視點偷拍、視線和構圖都不可能如此規矩方正。恐怕是自圓其說，卻顯得畫蛇添足。

再細看兩幀廣告插圖：圖三的海報是按照片中場面描繪的，因此有理由相信圖六、七、八、九也是按片中場面描繪的。圖六左下角有英文注明「進攻南京」；圖七說明太模糊無法卒讀；圖八有英文注明「進攻南京火車站」，這都是1911年12月初革命軍進攻南京和清軍會戰一役的寫照。還有廣告插圖（圖九）英文說明寫着：「革命軍分發槍械彈藥」，中文說明是：「中國民軍喜捨生命博自由」，都像是依據片中場景描繪的。進攻南京的戰役場面和圖六、圖七所示的渡江慘烈戰鬥，在1911年中國的攝製條件下不可能仿拍出來。這都顯示



圖八 《電影世界》，
1912年3月30日，頁1212
Fig.8 Moving Picture World,
March 30, 1912, p.1212



圖九 《電影世界》，
1912年4月6日，頁65
Fig.9 Moving Picture World,
April 6, 1912, p.65

《中國的革命》中有不少是新聞紀錄片。它不可能完全是事後仿拍的。我的推測是既有現場拍下的新聞片，也有事後的簡單仿拍，剪輯在一起既有新聞性又有戲劇性，又能增加長度和聳動的趣味。

對影片拍攝時期的推測

《武漢戰爭》公映於1911年12月1日，不可能拍攝到12月初革命軍攻陷南京的戰事。據此可推斷《中國的革命》和《武漢戰爭》並非同一影片，它的拍製和完成應遲於《武漢戰爭》。《武漢戰爭》由西洋人主導、中國人朱連奎協助拍製，作為新聞紀錄片加插於朱連奎的雜技幻術中演出⁴；而《中國的革命》則是可以獨立發行的影片，由日本公司Anataka Co.（東洋人和西洋人掌鏡？）製作，其中一些片段可能購自

洋人在現場拍攝的新聞片。1911年12月中旬以後南北雙方停戰，轉為談判，1912年2月12日清帝退位，孫文隨即讓位給袁世凱當臨時大總統。我估計，《中國的革命》是在1911年10月底至12月間實地拍攝戰事，停戰後的兩個月再補拍一些有戲劇性的簡單場面（像如今能看到的那些），剪輯好後加上中英文字幕（可能是由廣東人中譯，因此有「影相」的粵語夾雜其中），由東方影片公司做美洲發行。1912年3月10日袁世凱宣誓正式就任大總統，中國政局為國際時事大新聞，影片3月間在美國推出銷售正合時宜。同年4月則在上海公映。

外國人眼中的中國革命

至於影片的觀點，就已看到的部份而論，難免有外國人隔岸觀火的態度和獵奇的目光，恐怕難以要求它有推動自由民主革命的熱情。辛亥革命初起，歐美各國都對此抱觀望態度，懷疑孫文、黃興等領導的革命軍有足夠的軍力戰勝袁世凱的北洋軍隊。到袁世凱按兵不動和革命軍談判撈取做總統的資本，局面才改觀。西方和日本都明白到清朝必亡、共和國已成事實，對辛亥革命才給予正面肯定。

然而影片對中國革命還殘存着某些模稜兩可的態度，如片中描寫起義者追殺「富有的官員」相當殘忍可怕，此時英文字

幕稱之為「作亂」頗有貶義；但一時又把造反者譽為「烈士為博自由而死」。廣告圖像中的兵士給繪成洋人眼中慣見的中國人形象：面目猙獰、誇張，其尚留有長辮，又有駭人的殺頭場面。廣告文字渲染革命的血腥殘暴，「令人心寒」，同時又宣稱「影片活現中國成為共和國的歷史」。仿拍片段中出現的清朝官兵都給醜化，而對犧牲的平民婦孺則寄予同情。

無疑，此片表現了洋人（包括東洋、西洋人）面對中國革命的機會主義態度，其製作目的出於應時牟利。但另一方面，這也顯示了洋人在電影製作、市場、推廣上考慮周詳、懂得變通，敢於把記錄和仿拍混合使用，製作出早期的一部「紀實影片」，今天所謂的docudrama。

無論我們喜歡與否，《中國的革命》是現今僅存的、有活動影像／圖像可供稽考的辛亥革命的記錄資料。

羅卡，資深電影研究學者。前香港國際電影節及香港電影資料館節目策劃。

作者附識：本文的寫成得法蘭賓，雷蒙娜柯理和金浮士達特三位研究者提供資料、圖片和交流意見之處不少，在此深表感謝。

註釋

1. 陳立，《電影—中國的電影和觀眾沿革》，美國麻省理工學院出版社，1972年，頁10-11、頁394。
2. 參看他的個人網站 <http://kimfahlstedt.wordpress.com/tag/benjamin-brodsky/>
3. 研究者金浮士達特和雷蒙娜柯理都認定此攝影師是在上海商務印書館當攝影師的美國人法蘭西斯史丹福，資料來自作者和雷蒙娜柯理教授的通信，2012年3月21日。
4. 程季華、李少白、邢祖文編著《中國電影發展史》第一卷，中國電影出版社1963年版，頁27。

Examination & Speculation: The Chinese Revolution as the Only Existing Documentary of the 1911 Revolution

— Law Kar

In 2011, Chinese diasporas around the world joined in the centennial celebration of the Revolution of 1911. Textual and visual exhibits were put on display to chart the happenings during the arduous course of the uprising and its outcomes. Yet videos capturing live action were few and far between. It was believed that the unexpected nature of the Wuchang Uprising made the presence of an accompanying filming crew impossible. According to *The History of the Development of Chinese Film* (eds: Cheng Jihua, et al), *The War of Wuhan*, a short newsreel co-produced by acrobatic artist Zhu Liankui and Mei Li (a foreign-owned company), contains images of the New Army's capture and occupation of the cities of Hankou and Hanyang and the several landmark battles that ensued: the coup staged by the revolutionary army to seize control of Hankou from the Qing troops on 27 October; the counterattacks launched from Hanyang on 16 November; and the second restoration of Hankou, among others. *The History of the Development of Chinese Film* describes the newsreel as 'The only film containing images of revolutionary and military affairs that document and extol the Wuchang Uprising.' It was shown at the Moutrie Theatre Garden in Shanghai on 1 December 1911. However, the film had not been preserved, nor had its related images and film stills.

Sole surviving images of the Revolution of 1911 and related activities

There exists, in fact, *The Chinese Revolution* (1912), a documentary which has received scant mention in Chinese history books. Having been registered for release in the US, an incomplete copy of the film has been preserved in the US Library of Congress as well as the Hong Kong Film Archive. On the bottom of every title flip there is a line written: “Oriental Film Co., Hong Kong” with the words “Hong Kong” barely recognised, and under that: “Copyright 1912”. Measuring some 2,000 feet long, this silent film shot on 35mm film stock at 16 frames (1 foot) or 18 frames (1.125 feet) per second should contain about either 33 or 29 minutes of running time. There is about 9 minutes of known piece of footage in existence, with expository Chinese and English intertitles used at beginning of the scenes:

Manchu headhunters outside wall of Hankow [Hankou]

Boy revolutionist receiving sentence of death

Fourteen year old [sic] boy executed outside of city

Broken-hearted father viewing remains of his boy, a Martyr to Liberty

Rich Mandarin attacked by a group of revolutionists
Taking to prison of rioting revolutionists
Swift trial and judgment
Revolutionaries waiting for the coming death
Even women were not spared
Sample of Manchu Judges
The bodies of the dead strewn along [sic] the ruins
Basket in which during camera man [sic] was carried.
Passing sentries and firing line while taking pictures

The insertion of these intertitles, then, begs the following questions: who/which company made the film? When and where was it shown? Was it entirely filmed on the spot? Are there staged scenes? What are its contents and its views on the Chinese Revolution?

Inferences about the filmmakers

Two advertisements of the film were published in mid-March 1912 edition of *Moving Picture World* (Fig. 1 & 2) by an American Branch of the Oriental Film Co., Inc. claimed to specialise in “Importers and Exporters, Moving Picture Machines, Films, Sundries, Etc.” in San Francisco, announcing the sale of its retail distribution rights across the US. Already sold to 19 states and counting with Mexico and Canada next on the rental list, the adverts explore potential buyers not

to miss out on the lucrative opportunity. Splattered with depictions, both visually and textually, of gore and horrors on blood-spattered battlefields, the adverts emphasise that the film is not a dramatic imitation of ‘an actuality’ – real wars in China – though viewers of the footage would have their share of doubts since the use of dramatic re-enactment appears too obvious to need iteration or proof. More on this in later paragraphs.

In *Dianying/Electric Shadows: an Account of Films Audience in China* (1972),¹ film historian Jay Leyda credits the film to Benjamin Brodsky and his Asia Film Co., Hong Kong and speculates that this film and *The War of Wuhan* are one and the same. Brodsky, as Leyda implies, purchased the film rights and repackaged it for its North American release. Based on the poster (Fig. 3) stating the film was ‘imported & leased by Oriental Film Co, San Francisco, Cal’, it can be safely assumed that its role was of distributor rather than producer. Searching the official company registers in Hong Kong and San Francisco did not find any record of the Oriental Film Co., the company was likely to have been established for the sole purpose of distributing the film and lasted only a short spell.

Recently, researcher Kim Fahlstedt found a 1912 advertisement for a film entitled *The Revolution in China* released on April 12 at the Apollo Theatre in Shanghai, which contains publicity lines describing scenes of Wuhan ‘burning’², providing proof that the film was released

in China. Fahlstedt dismisses Leyda's assertions as pure speculation and that Brodsky was unrelated to the production and distribution of the film. Film researcher Frank Bren found another related article and advertisement in *The Moving Picture World* (16 March 1912), asserting the film is a production of Anataka Company of Japan, a sizable film studio dubbed the 'Pathé of Japan'. The film depicts the chain of events which culminated in China becoming a republic, through its 'vivid portrayal of the Fighting, Massacring, Murdering and Awe-inspiring, Blood-curdling Battles of the Chinese Rebellion closing with the Sensational Capture of the City of Nanking [Nanjing].' It is a great pity that these scenes were not to be found in the surviving footage, only minor scenes of trials and executions, revolting civilians and militia in the absence of revolutionists (as the intertitles put it).

Filmed on the spot? Dramatic re-enactments? Or both?

Let's first discuss areas of doubt. Below are pieces of evidence suggesting scenes of dramatic re-enactment:

- 1) Not only are the Machu officials wearing funny expressions on their faces, as if acting out a script, the handful of armed soldiers are the same few familiar faces.
- 2) The so-called scene of 'dead bodies strewn all over the ruins' is not much more than the few revolutionists executed in the previous scene.
- 3) Scenes were shot with superior camera stability – virtually shake-free – as various characters weave in and out of shots orderly. It's more the product of a well-rehearsed routine than the filming of

natural occurrences in real battles.

- 4) Westerners appeared on film towards the end; there's even a Western cameraman jumping out of a basket and taking out a camera.³ While the intertitles suggest that the cameraman was filming from the hiding place of the basket, the visual angle, the field of vision and composition all conspire to indicate that the shots could not have been accomplished from that vantage point with such unnerving regularity. The intertitles are nothing more than a futile attempt to justify the oddity.

Next, let's examine the illustrations in the two adverts a little more closely: the poster in Fig. 3 illustrates a scene from the film and it stands to reason that Fig. 6, 7, 8 & 9 are drawn according to other actual scenes: in the bottom left corner of Fig. 6 is a caption, which reads 'The Attack on Nanking [Nanjing]'; the caption of Fig. 7 is too blurry to read; the words accompanying Fig. 8 read, 'The Attack on the Railway Station at Nanking [Nanjing]'. Together, these images indicate the film had included scenes of the clashes that took place in Nanjing between the advancing Revolutionary Army and the Manchu troops in early December 1911. On another advert (Fig. 9), the English illustration announces, 'Distribution of Arms and Munitions by the Revolutionists', while the Chinese copy reads, 'Chinese militia sacrificing lives for freedom', both being drawings of the actual scenes. The fierce and dire fighting during the attack on Nanjing and the subsequent river crossing as shown in Fig. 6 & 7 could not be re-enacted on film given the production technologies available at the time. All these combined to

indicate that Revolution in China does include a considerable amount of newsreel footage. The film could not have been completely dramatically re-enacted. My assumption is that it's a mixture of newsreel footage filmed on the spot and scenes of simple re-enactment, edited together to produce a film that is both newsworthy and dramatic while giving its length and sensational value a boost.

Inferences about the filming period

The fact that *The War of Wuhan* was premiered on 1 December 1911 made it chronologically impossible to include footage of the burning of Nanjing that broke out in early December the same year. *The Chinese Revolution* is a not the same film as *The War of Wuhan*, its filming and completion was of a later day than *The War of Wuhan*. With a Western filmmaker at the helm assisted by the Chinese Zhu Liankui, *The War of Wuhan* was intended as a news documentary woven together with Zhu's fantastical and acrobatic performances.⁴ *The Chinese Revolution*, on the other hand, was an independently distributed film produced by Anataka of Japan (helmed by Westerners and Japanese?), and incorporated live newsreel footage possibly purchased from a Western crew. Events took a different turn from mid-December 1911 onwards, with the revolutionary southern provinces and the Qing court agreeing to a ceasefire and taking up negotiations for a truce, followed by the abdication of the last Qing emperor and Sun Yat-sen's yielding of the Provisional Presidency to Yuan

Shikai. My guess is that the bulk of *The Chinese Revolution* was filmed on the actual battlefields between the end of October and December in 1911, while some basic additional scenes of dramatic interest (such as those existing segments) were shot during two months after the ceasefire. The footage was then edited and subtitled in Chinese and English (the use of Cantonese slangs suggests that the subtitling was possibly done by a Guangdong native) and distributed by Oriental Film Company in North America. Political situations in China had made front-page news internationally since Yuan Shikai was sworn in as Provisional President on 10 March 1912 and its release in the US in March could not have been better timed. The film was shown in Shanghai in April the same year.

The Chinese Revolution in the eyes of Foreigners

The views offered by the film, based on the existing segments, were invariably seen from a Western gaze at a safe distance as events of exotic curiosity and could hardly be expected to inspire in the audience a fervent passion for a democratic revolution. At the beginning of the 1911 Revolution, countries in America and Europe were taking a wait-and-see attitude, underscored by a pervasive sense of doubt about whether the revolutionary army led by Sun Yat-sen and Huang Xing had the capability to overpower the imperial Beiyang Army commanded by Yuan Shikai. The status quo was maintained until Yuan agreed to an armistice and came to the negotiation table with the rebels in exchange

for his presidency. The 1911 Revolution did not get its due recognition until the end of the Qing dynasty and the founding of a republic were accepted as a foregone conclusion.

The film contains remnants aplenty of a somewhat ambiguous stance towards the Chinese Revolution: the graphic depiction of revolutionists pursuing ‘wealthy officials’ is terrifying and chilling, and the term ‘rioting revolutionists’ in the English subtitles is used with a derogatory undertone; yet the same ‘rioting revolutionists’ are subsequently hailed as ‘martyr[s] to liberty’. The image of the revolutionary fighters in the adverts encompasses the stereotypical Chinese characteristics under Western eyes: a sinister face with menacing, exaggerated expressions; the practice of wearing a queue (or ‘pigtail’), completed with a gruesome scene of beheading. The ad copy describes the horror and blood spill of war in sensationalised language as ‘blood-curdling’ as it is a ‘vivid portrayal’ of the history development leading to the establishment of China as a republic. The staged scenes featuring Qing troops depict the Manchus in a defamatory light, but the civilians, children and women who died in the cause in a sympathetic one.

The film undoubtedly embodies the opportunistic attitude exhibited by foreigners (Japanese and Westerners alike) towards the Chinese Revolution. Its production was driven by a pragmatic motivation to make money. Then again, the film also demonstrates the thorough and adaptable approach these foreigners adopted in film

production, marketing and promotion by taking the bold step of mixing documentary with dramatic re-enactment in early cinema, a precursor to today's docudrama.

Regardless of whether it is a favourite of ours or not, *The Chinese Revolution* is the only surviving historical document that includes both pictures and moving images of the 1911 Chinese Revolution. [Translated by Agnes Lam]

Law Kar, Veteran film researcher. Ex-Programmer of Hong Kong Interational Film Festival and the Hong Kong Film Archive.

Writer's note: A debt of gratitude is owed to film researchers Frank Bren, Ramona Curry and Kim Fahlstedt for their invaluable inputs of materials, images and ideas, without which this essay could not have been written.

Note

1. Jay Leyda, *Dianying/Electric Shadows: an Account of Films and the Film Audience in China*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1972 (paperback), p.10 –11, and p.394.
2. See his personal website: <http://kimfahlstedt.wordpress.com/tag/benjamin-brodsky/>
3. Researchers Kim Fahlstedt and Ramona Curry both identify the cinematographer as the American Francis E Stafford, who worked as a photographer at Shanghai Commercial Press at the time . This piece of information is obtained from a correspondence I had with Professor Ramona Curry on 21 March 2012.
4. Cheng Jihua, Li Shaobai and Xing Zuwen (eds), *The History of the Development of Chinese Film* (Vol 1), Beijing: China Film Press, 1963 (first edition), p27.

早期香港影像

Cityscape in Early Moving Images

01.2014

本專題合共四個放映項目，首三部為精選的紀錄片選段，集結了香港電影資料館多年來搜羅回港的瑰寶，其中《愛迪生短片》中約有四分鐘的香港街道面貌；王泉珠女士捐贈的《香港戰前風貌》包括香港多個地區的風景和維港景緻；數年前搜羅到的《查理基斯爾拔短片》、《香港：中國的大門》，和米高羅格紀錄香江的多部短片，都是極具歷史意義的流動影像。最後一個放映則是和西九文化區管理局協力策劃的「拾·年」。

Three of the four programs under this theme feature selections of documentaries that represent some of the most valued treasures in the Hong Kong Film Archive. About four minutes of *The Edison Shorts* features a look at the streets of Hong Kong in the late 1890's. *Pre-war Images of Hong Kong* (donated by Ms. Dolores Wang) features views of many Hong Kong neighborhoods as well as Victoria Harbour. *The Charles Gilbert Collection, Hong Kong: Gateway to China* and the many shorts by Michael Rogge are all historically significant documents of Hong Kong's history as well. The fourth program is *DECADE*, a digital initiative by the West Kowloon Cultural District Authority co-curated by the HKFA.

座談會 Seminar

米高羅格和五十年代的香港

Michael Rogge and his Hong Kong of the 1950s

講者 Speakers: 藍天雲 Grace Ng、傅慧儀 Winnie Fu

日期及時間 Date & Time: 11.1.2014 (六 Sat) 3:15pm

地點 Venue: 香港電影資料館電影院 Cinema, Hong Kong Film Archive

粵語主講 Conducted in Cantonese 免費入場 Admission Free

節目一 Programme I

香江光影重溫
The Spectacular Early Years

現場音樂伴奏 Live music accompaniment

10/1 莫德尼利森 Maud Nelissen

19/1 黃仁達與友人 Wong Yan-kwai and friends

英文插入字幕 Eng Intertitles 共84分鐘 Total 84min

八段由十九世紀末到二十世紀五、六十年代的光影紀事，記錄了昔日民風市貌，亦留下了大戰時期戰火的遺痕。特別邀得荷蘭鋼琴演奏家Maud Nelissen和黃仁達與友人分別為兩場放映作現場伴奏。

Produced between the final years of the 19th century and the 1960's, these eight film segments captured what everyday life in Hong Kong looked like in the past, as well as the scars left on the city during World War II. The HKFA has invited Dutch pianist Maud Nelissen (Jan 10) and Wong Yan-kwai and friends (Jan 19) to provide live music accompaniment for the two screenings.

- 1 · 愛迪生短片 The Edison Shorts (1898) (9.5min)
- 2 · 查理基斯爾拔短片：香港、上海、北京
Charles Gilbert Collection: Hong Kong, Shanghai, Beijing (10min)
- 3 · 香港風貌 Views of Hong Kong (24min)
- 4 · 戰前香港風貌 Pre-war Images of Hong Kong (8min)
- 5 · 香港淪陷 Fall of Hong Kong (6.5min)
- 6 · 英軍佔領東京和香港
The Occupation of Tokyo and Hong Kong (7min)
- 7 · 浪漫縈迴：香港遊記
Haunt of Romance: Hong Kong Travelogue (1935) (9min)
- 8 · 香港：中國的大門 Hong Kong: Gateway to China (1938) (12 min)

10/1 7:30pm*, 19/1 7:30pm

* 設映後談，講者傅慧儀、陳彩玉、黃敏聰

Post-screening talk with Winnie Fu, Priscilla Chan and Valerie Wong

節目二 Programme II

米高羅格回顧(一)

Michael Rogge Retrospective (1)

作曲及現場音樂伴奏 Music composed and performed live by:

莫德尼利森 Maud Nelissen

英文插入字幕及中文字幕 Eng Intertitles and Chi Subtitles

共64分鐘 Total 64min

荷蘭人米高羅格拍攝香港紀錄片的年代是攝製電影還未普及的年代，甚至政府也未有中央的拍攝隊伍。所以羅格拍下的超過200分鐘的香港生活和社會民情，成為香港難得的影像遺產。米高羅格1949至1955年間被派到香港工作。自小酷愛攝影的他，到埗時才二十歲，來港後一直以拍攝電影和硬照為他的最大嗜好，帶來港的9.5毫米二手攝影機很快便被新買的9.5毫米Pathescope攝影機和16毫米Paillard Bolex攝影機所取代。他於1952年和幾位志同道合的朋友組織業餘電影會，自此便年年拍攝短片參賽，這次選映的《日出》、《雨》都是他曾獲獎的創作，而《香港慶祝伊利莎伯女皇加冕盛況》更是動用了五位攝影師、有部署和拍攝了一整天的「大製作」。

Michael Rogge began documenting Hong Kong on film even before the Hong Kong government formed its own film production department. This is why Rogge's document of Hong Kong life – adding up to over 200 minutes of footage – has become an extremely valuable artifact for Hong Kong. Rogge was sent to work in Hong Kong at the age of 20 from 1949 to 1955. An aficionado of photography from an early age, Rogge took up photography and filmmaking as his main hobbies after his move to Hong Kong. Soon after his arrival, he bought himself a new 9.5mm Pathescope camera and a 16mm Paillard Bolex camera. In 1952, he formed a film club with several fellow movie buffs, directing short films for competition. *Sunrise* and *Rain* – both featured in this program – are two of his prize-winning works. Rogge was among five cameramen to capture the Coronation Festivities in 1953, possibly the most ambitious production during his stay in Hong Kong.

日出 *Sunrise* (8min)

雨 *Rain* (3.5min)

颱風 *Typhoon* (1.5min)

簡介香港 *Introducing Hong Kong (1950s)* (23.5min)

香港風情畫 *Everyday Life of 1950s* (10min)

島嶼風景 *Island Scenery* (1.5min)

一日的結束 *Close of a Day* (1min)

香港慶祝伊利莎伯女皇加冕盛況

Hong Kong Celebrates the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (1953) (15min)

11/1 2:00pm, 12/1 5:00pm

節目三 Programme III

米高羅格回顧(二)

Michael Rogge Retrospective (2)

作曲及現場音樂伴奏 Music composed and performed live by:

莫德尼利森 Maud Nelissen

英文插入字幕及中文字幕 Eng Intertitles and Chi Subtitles

共79分鐘 Total 79min

米高羅格第二輯選片更多展示他在港的生活片段，其中《從半山步行到中環》是他1949年到埗不久所拍攝的，見到年青俊俏的羅格活躍於半山的住宅，還拍下了當年的生活片段。1955年羅格離開香港後又再被派到日本公幹，1961年返荷蘭後有電視台請他拍攝香港的特輯，所以他1961年重訪香港，逗留了一個月，翌年完成了《香港三百萬人》。至於《逆流》則是他加入劇情的短片，有關一個漁家男孩經歷摯友病危及離世的心理演繹，攝影流麗自然，寫情細膩又富詩情，可算是香港最早一代的獨立短片。

Our second Michael Rogge program features snapshots of his life in Hong Kong. *Walking Down to Central* was made not long after his arrival to Hong Kong in 1949, showing a young, handsome Rogge and his mid-peak home. Rogge moved to Japan from Hong Kong in 1955, and upon returning to the Netherlands, he was commissioned by a Dutch television station to make a documentary about Hong Kong, leading to his one-month stay in 1961. *Hong Kong 1961* was the result of that visit. The story of a young boy from a fisherman's family and his relationship with a terminally ill friend, *Turn of the Tide* can be called one of the first independent short films ever made in Hong Kong. It features splendid naturalistic cinematography and a moving story that shows Rogge's talent extended to dramatic filmmaking as well.

從半山步行到中環 *Walking Down to Central* (1949) (4.5min)香港居所 *Apartment and Life in Hong Kong* (9.5min)香港三百萬人 *Three Million Souls of Hong Kong* (1962) (42min)獨立短片：逆流 *Independent Short Drama: Turn of the Tide* (20min)

11/1 7:30pm, 12/1 2:30pm*

* 設映後談，講者登徒、傅慧儀

Post-screening talk with Thomas Shin and Winnie Fu

節目四 Programme IV

拾·年

DECADE

共50分鐘 Total 50min

因應其政治歷史，香港於1997前一直被冠以「借來的時間」裏一個「借來的地方」的稱謂。這小島的命運看似荒誕，但卻令其於國際地圖上更為注目；即使在香港前途未卜命運懸而未決的時候，城裏大眾仍一直奮鬥打拼，活得繁華。這股拼勁固然舉世無雙，而眾人求存的能耐亦強大得令人詫異。在過去一世紀，影像這一強大的媒體把這種拼勁能耐紀錄下來，《拾·年》透過電影及錄像，再現了過去香港110多年（1898至2010）的電影歷史，為過去的光影片段重新注入活力，試圖為年青一代帶來新思維、新希望，延續這股拼勁和求存能耐。影像的挑選不單為城市景觀，更重要的是反映某時某地的思想情感、集體回憶。這次非一般的跨界合作，企圖透過創意的製作，啟發重新詮釋香港電影文化以及歷史的新脈絡。《拾·年》亦是一個創意數碼計劃，是結合新音樂和十集不同的流動影像成就的藝術實驗；十段影像章節都來自香港這我們鍾愛的城市的歷史影像，由我們邀約的音樂創作人配以創意樂章。稍後更將於網上平台上發佈，供來自世界各地的觀眾以互動方式欣賞。

- 世紀伊始 — 金敏靜（聲樂）
- 殖民印象 — 錢璟（古箏）
- 通向中國之門 — 趙朗天（鋼琴）
- 戰爭時期 — Shane Aspegren（敲擊）
- 戰後風景 — 梁仁昭（笙）
- 勤奮與玩樂 — 黃仲輝 aka Sin:Ned (Chapman Stick)
- 志比天高 — Sascia Pellegrini（敲擊）
- 興旺與耗竭 — 龔志成（電子中提琴）
- 焦慮與熱情 — 陳柏達（低音大提琴）
- 網絡都會 — 蔡世豪（電子音樂）

4/1 2:30pm*, 18/1 7:30pm**

* 設映後談，講者李筱怡、康立、傅慧儀
Post-screening talk with Bobo Lee, Conor Roche, Winnie Fu

** 設映後談，許敖山、傅慧儀
Post-screening talk with Steve Hui, Winnie Fu

Hong Kong used to be termed the “borrowed place living on borrowed time” because of its political history. Since 1997, its label became “a returned place with a fixed borrowed time of 50 years”. This absurd fate, however, has made Hong Kong even more prominent on the world map. Despite skeptical prophecies of its future and destiny, the seemingly indifferent populace of this borrowed place continues to thrive and survive. This kind of striving energy is unique while such survival skills are amazingly shocking. *DECADE* is a project that intends to comprehend such energy by revitalising archival moving images from the past century, and to trigger new interpretations of this metropolis that shall bring along new thoughts and hopes to the next generation who shall continue to strive and survive on. *DECADE* is also a creative digital project that experiments with new music to go along with the moving images, marrying 10 chapters of historical footage with 10 new creative music pieces. These 10 audio-visual pieces will then be placed on the virtual highway to be appreciated in an interactive mode by an international audience. Particular efforts were made to source the most representative images of each *DECADE*, to cover not only the city texture and landscapes, but also the overall sentiment of the populace at their respective time and space.

- TURN OF THE CENTURY – Shadow Kim (Vocal)
- COLONIAL IMPRESSION – Chin King (Gu Zheng)
- GATEWAY TO CHINA – Alain Chiu (Piano)
- WARTIME TURMOILS – Shane Aspegren (Percussion)
- POST-WAR LANDSCAPES – Leung Yan Chiu (Sheng)
- WORK HARD & PLAY HARD – Dennis Wong aka Sin:Ned (Chapman Stick)
- FLY HIGH & ASPIRE – Sascia Pellegrini (Percussion)
- BOOM & DRAIN – Kung Chi-shing (Electric Viola)
- TENSIONS & PASSIONS – Wilmer Chan (Double Bass)
- NETWORKED METROPOLIS – Choi Sai-ho (Electronics)

《拾·年》將於十二月十四及十五日於西九龍海濱長廊的「自由野 2013」戶外藝術節作現場演出。
數碼藝術策動：西九文化區管理局

聯合策劃：香港電影資料館、Fieldwork Productions

聯合監製：西九文化區管理局、Fieldwork Productions

DECADE will be showcased as a live performance on December 14 and 15 at the Freespace Fest 2013.

Digital Initiative by West Kowloon Cultural District Authority,

Co-curated by Hong Kong Film Archive and Fieldwork Productions

Co-produced by West Kowloon Cultural District Authority and Fieldwork Productions

~ 現場音樂伴奏 Live Music Accompaniment ~

莫德尼利森

Maud Nelissen

荷蘭作曲家及鋼琴演奏家，曾為各電影節的默片節目作現場伴奏。她多次應荷蘭電影博物館及Film in Concert 邀請為默片配樂。近年的演出包括2012 年和阿姆斯特丹Cello8ctet合作的默片巡迴系列。



Maud Nelissen is a composer, pianist and film accompanist that is internationally renowned. In recent years she has devoted more and more time to composing (silent) film music. Maud Nelissen respects the original 1910's and 20's styles, but develops and blends these with her own modern inventions. She also founded her own silent film ensemble "The Sprockets" and together they performed in many film concerts. In 2010 Maud worked successfully together with the Cello8ctet Amsterdam in a silent film programme which toured throughout Holland.

黃仁達與友人

Wong Yan-kwai and friends

身兼電影美指、畫家和音樂人多重身份的黃仁達，活躍於電影和音樂圈多年，並於年前開始對無聲電影現場伴奏產生濃厚興趣。他的配樂與眾不同，亦每每為不同影片度身訂造適設的配樂，創新之餘，更充分顯示他和他的團隊對待電影和音樂的熱情與執着。黃仁達的友人包括孔繁強、Neil ART、梁卓堃和劉子斌。



Film art director, painter and musician in one, Wong Yan-kwai has been active in the both film and music scenes and have over the years developed a keen interest in performing live for silent films. His innovative attempts in working out sounds that fits the right genre and right era outstands him and his friends as a group that treats films and music with passion. Yan-kwai's key partners include Billy Hung, Neil ART, Edmund Leung and Lau Chi-bun.

龔志成

Kung Chi-shing

龔志成是香港活躍的作曲家、演奏家和音樂行動家。他2009年創辦和策劃的「街頭音樂系列」至今仍定期在香港藝術中心演出。龔志成喜歡實驗性的音樂行動，透過不同形式和風格去體現和推動創作，包括流行、古典、即興音樂和戲劇藝術。



他由1996年至今已創作了六個長篇音樂劇，並曾應邀到全世界演出。這次和資料館的合作，將請來美籍電子敲擊樂手Shane Aspegren和他合奏。

Kung Chi-shing is a composer, performer and music activist based in Hong Kong. Since 2009 he founded and curated the 'Street Music Series' of free public concerts, which is still running regularly today at the Hong Kong Arts Centre. Kung focuses on experimentation with different formats, including pop, classical and improvisational music and theatre art. Since 1996 he has created, composed and staged six full-length music theatre pieces and has performed his music worldwide. He shall team up with percussionist Shane Aspegren in the Film Archive's performance in January.

Shane Aspegren

美國音樂人、聲音藝術家及監製，從事電影、時裝、劇場等藝術配樂及聲音設計，亦灌錄個人作品。在過去十年間，他跟來自不同地域的獨立樂團合作，曾在俄羅斯、巴西等地演出。2013年成立Bellows Limited，以冀在香港繼續創新其音樂風格。



Shane Aspegren is an American-born musician, sound artist & producer. Apart from creating soundtracks & sound design for art, film, fashion and theatre, he has made dozens of studio records and toured the world with his own projects. For the past decade he has functioned as half of the internationally acclaimed Franco-American duo The Berg Sans Nipple, developing a style that combines brut polyrhythms & hypnotic, spaced-out analogue electronics. They have played hundreds of concerts from Russia to Brazil. In 2013, he launched Bellows Limited to bring a new perspective on music production & curation to Hong Kong.

香港早期電影遊蹤

Early Cinematic Experience of Hong Kong

第一冊 早期香港影像
Book I Cityscape in Early Moving Images

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編輯 Editor：傅慧儀 Winnie FU

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館長 Head：楊可欣 Janet YOUNG

節目組 Programming Unit

節目策劃(放映) Programmer (Film Programme)：傅慧儀 Winnie FU

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香港西灣河鯉景道50號 50 Lei King Road, Sai Wan Ho, Hong Kong

電話 Enquiries：(852) 2739 2139 傳真 Fax：(852) 2311 5229

電郵地址 E-mail：hkfa@lcsd.gov.hk 網址 Website：http://www.filmarchive.gov.hk

