Corsane G.
The 'turtle' as an illustration of research that equally promotes the use of tangible and intangible heritage resources to safeguard historic buildings: an example of a foreign family's heritage recovered in historic Hankow, China.


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ABSTRACT: At the heart of this paper is the symbol of the ‘turtle’, as an illustration of how tangible and intangible cultural heritage resources and evidence must be researched in a holistic and integrated manner for a sound heritage management approach, especially when it comes to the protection of historic buildings. The turtle shell represents a large part of the tangible heritage fabric of historic buildings, along with other tangible resources including photographs and documents. The intangible cultural heritage, including oral testimonies and shared memories, make up the living turtle creature itself, which provides the heart-beat and life-blood to this tangible material culture.

In my personal family’s history and heritage, my paternal grandfather started the He Li Hankow Ice Works and利冰厂 in Hankou, now part of greater Wuhan, Hubei Province, China, during the first decade of the 20th Century. The first building was built in 1902 and started production in 1904. By 1921, the original Ice Works building had been extended with a second floor and a second new He Li Hankow Aerated Water Works 和利汽水厂 building started production.

From 2012, research has been undertaken to explore the memories associated with these two buildings. The building that housed the Hankow Aerated Water Works has been recognised, listed and protected at both Hubei Province and Wuhan City levels, as an Industrial Heritage site. The re-built Hankow Ice Works has not received the same level of respect, even although from intangible local memories, family testimony and tangible photographic and documentary evidence, it has much more historical significance. The Aerated water Works building is more architecturally aesthetic, while the Ice Works building does not have any attractive architectural features.

This paper shows how research into the tangible and intangible cultural heritage sources of evidence have been equally drawn upon to recover this displaced heritage. This research is an example of the ‘turtle’ approach to integrated heritage research and management.

1 INTRODUCTION

Inspired by a personal journey of research into part of my own family’s history and heritage, this paper considers the artificial boundary that is, at times, set up between tangible and intangible cultural heritage research and management, and, why this divide needs to be removed. The value of removing any artificial boundary is explored through a voyage of research, in often ‘rough seas’, into two businesses that my paternal grandfather, Walter Hughes Corsane, was involved in establishing in historic Hankow1, China, during the first half of the 20th Century.

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1 The Wade–Giles system for the romanised transcription of Chinese used ‘Hankow’. When this system was replaced by the pinyin system, the spelling ‘Hankou’ became more common and is now the official name.
The next section of the paper briefly outlines the illustration of the ‘turtle’ to symbolise how the relationship between tangible and intangible cultural heritage might best be viewed, especially when dealing with the ‘built heritage’.

The third section points to three very useful references on historic Hankow to provide context for a constructed ‘timeline’ of the outcomes emerging from a personal interpretation of the part of the Corsane family memory related to the possible history of two buildings associated with the He Li\(^2\) Hankow Ice Works 和利冰厂 and He Li Hankow Aerated Water Works 和利汽水厂, which are linked to Walter Hughes Corsane. From this timeline, it is crucial to note that Walter Hughes Corsane at different times in the histories of the businesses had two different main partners. These were W.G. Anderson and T.H. Croucher. However, the section starts with an explanation of why my interest in undertaking the study only started in 2012 and then charts the research voyage to date, with its twists and turns in trying to solve some of the key confusions, contradictions, uncertainties and displacement with regard to the various ‘histories’ and ‘heritages’ that have been constructed around the two businesses and two buildings. In attempting to untangle the interpretations of these constructed histories and heritages (often based on the tangible sources of evidence), it has been vital to take a more integrated approach and draw in the life-blood of the intangible cultural heritage sources of individual and shared organic memories and oral testimonies. The difficulties of working with these sources had to be considered in terms of how they have been constructed: what memories are selected and emphasised, which are consciously, or unconsciously, forgotten, which are controlled by social, cultural or political drivers?

2 THE ‘TURTLE’, AS AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE INSEPERABLE INTER-CONNECTION BETWEEN TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE RESOURCES

A turtle with its shell for protection and the living creature inside is one single entity. Therefore, the turtle, as a symbolic illustration (Fig 1), can be used to represent the totally inseparable inter-connectivity between tangible and intangible cultural heritage resources. This image can help to explain why tangible and intangible sources of evidence must be researched in a holistic and integrated manner for a sound heritage management approach, especially when it comes to the safeguarding and appropriate sustainable use of historic buildings. An awareness of this absolute inter-connectedness is important in the documentation, research, communication and interpretation of cultural heritage. When viewed holistically in this manner, cultural heritage can be seen in its rounded context and this helps to provide a fuller meaning and context to it.

![Figure 1. The ‘turtle’ as an illustration for the living relationship between intangible and intangible cultural heritage](image)

With the illustration of the ‘turtle’, the living creature itself can be viewed as the life-force, which like intangible cultural heritage is life-giving. The shell represents the tangible material culture heritage. The ‘turtle’ is also symbolic of longevity and so is a fitting image to use where heritage management projects are intended to safeguard a living and organic cultural heritage (Corsane & Zheng, 2015, p. 298). One cannot fully understand the tangible without the intangible and vice versa. This is why they are seen as being inseparable in the ‘ecomuseum’ approach.

\(^2\) 和利 are the characters for He Li (Harmony & Profit). ‘Heli’ would be the form followed today. However, it has been decided to use the form of ‘He Li’, as these characters have played such an important role in identifying the buildings.
to holistic heritage management \textit{in situ}, which will not be discussed here (see Corsane, 2014; Corsane & Massing, 2015).

Intangible cultural heritage, in terms of (re)constructed memories and oral testimonies, lies at the heart of an ongoing journey of research into this family heritage. Many people have joined this research journey along the way, each being valuable sources of evidence both intangible and tangible.

3 A CONSTRUCTION OF THE HISTORIES OF THE TWO BUILDINGS AND BUSINESSES ASSOCIATED WITH WALTER HUGHES CORSANE

This section plots the research journey undertaken to chart the two buildings and businesses associated with Walter Hughes Corsane in historic Hankow, beginning with a contextual background to the research project and then presenting the constructed histories. These histories will be presented in a brief chronological timeline, supported with evidence from a range of tangible resources, but where the intangible cultural heritage resources of memories and oral history have provided the human life-blood that helped to lead and direct the research as the journey unfolded.

3.1 Background of the research journey on the histories of the He Li businesses and buildings

Being a historian and a trans-disciplinary heritage studies practitioner and academic, some may ask why it took me so long to become interested in trying to uncover this part of the family history and heritage, especially as the start of my professional career in 1990 was as Genealogist in the Albany Museums Service, Grahamstown, South Africa. In this post, I was employed to help descendants of the 1820 British Settlers to the eastern Cape in family research.

On the one hand, this delay in researching the family history was due to being from British colonial families, on both the paternal and maternal lines, which were part of the Scottish diaspora. My father was born in 1917 in Yokohama, Japan, and my mother in Quetta in 1923, then part of India. After my parents were married in St. Andrews in Scotland in 1950, they moved to the then Southern Rhodesia, where I was born in 1962. My paternal uncle and his family were equally a ‘mobile’ family, spending time in Java, Indonesia. This geographical movement by the different family members lead to a certain amount of ‘un-rootedness’, along with points of disconnect and distance from a central ‘archive’ of family history, or collection of material cultural heritage. Although I was never told about the family’s heritage by my father in Africa, there are recollections of the stories, based on the memories of my deceased grandfather and my grandmother, Margaret Wallace (née Esplin) that had entered the family oral history and were shared on the few occasions of family reunions during trips back to Jersey, Channel Islands. Unfortunately, I never knew my grandfather, Walter, who had passed away in 1950. These stories included anecdotes about my grandfather’s businesses and life in China, along with accounts of the trauma and suffering that my grandparents endured during their internment in Japanese Civilian Assemble Centres (concentration camps) from March 1943. However, these family reminiscences and memories always seemed so distant and removed from me.

On the other hand, experience as a genealogist made me aware of the ‘dangers’ of family-history research, which can become ‘un-disciplined’ with the desire to establish linkages that are often un-verifiable and/or untenable. Without taking care by following the appropriate research methodologies and methods of the discipline of history, mistaken interpretations and spurious misconstructions can be created, either unconsciously or consciously, and become unquestioningly accepted and included in family folklore. To some extent, this latter concern dampened any desire to get involved in researching the family.

It was a serendipitous moment on the afternoon of the 15\textsuperscript{th} of March 2012 which was the point when the desire to research the family history and heritage in China was kindled. Mohan
Fang⁴, a student registered for her MA in Heritage Studies at Newcastle University, attended a dissertation supervision meeting in my office before leaving to return to China to start the fieldwork research for her dissertation. She saw three items relating to the Corsane heritage in China on my desk, which caught her interest. I had brought these three sources of evidence in as I was preparing to undertake a business trip for Newcastle University of seven cities in China between the 17th of March and the 17th of April and had been considering trying to do some research during this trip on the Corsane heritage.

The first item that caught Mohan’s eye was a memorandum (Fig 2), which was part of the stationary of the Hankow Ice Works business. Mohan, who lived in Wuhan, immediately recognised that the memorandum was a part of her city’s heritage, as Hankow had been incorporated into Wuhan in 1949.

![Figure 2](image1.png)

**Figure 2.** Header on memorandum stationary of the Hankow Ice Works. Note the 和利冰厂 (He Li Ice Factory) Chinese characters down the left hand side

The second historical source was a family photograph album put together by my father, with an interesting page of images (Fig 3).

![Figure 3](image2.png)

**Figure 3.** Page from a family photograph album compiled by Charles Hughes Corsane with four images of He Li Hankow Ice Works supplying water

The four landscape photographs down the left and right hand sides of the page have inscriptions in my grandfather’s handwriting on the reverse of each providing provenance and context. The inscription on the back of the photograph on the top left is: “Here the gates into the concession were being closed just before the arrival of the Japanese troops. The Chinese crowds can be seen outside trying to get in – Oct 1938”. The building at the left of this first photograph was the French Consulate building and the pillars to the right of the photograph are noteworthy. The wording on the photograph on the bottom left is: “Here is the queue waiting outside our gate for water. The crowd extends to the corner and right down the other street. People came at 5am and waited for the pump to start at 8am. We supplied water free for 2 hrs morning, afternoon and night – Oct-Jan 1938”. The wording on the reverse of the image on the top right reads: "Here

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³ As this paper is in English, the convention of placing the English translation of a person’s Chinese names will be ordered with the ‘given’ name preceding the ‘family’ name.
you see the stream of water at the grill filling the tank. Barbed wire barricades were put round to keep the crowds back and one by one filled up a bucket – Oct-Jan 15th. The words on the back of the final image on the bottom right are: “Water tank filling up outside Ice Works – From Oct-Jan 15th.

Apart from the physical architectural features of the buildings and the other spatial indicators and features of the urban landscape portrayed in these photographs, there are a number of human elements that are significant in these images. Two were to become invaluable for the winding research journey. The first is found in the detail on the right side of the image on the top left. Some of the soldiers in the picture are wearing French-style military helmets, but have Asian features. According to local history from people living in the area, these soldiers were Vietnamese who had been brought in to help protect the French Concession from the historic French Indo-China. This was to become a useful clue later in the research. The second is almost hidden in the detail on the left side of the photograph on the top right, where a man wearing a white turban can be seen standing in a doorway that has the 和利 (He Li) as the top two Chinese characters on the pillar to the right. In the oral history of the Corsane family an Asian Indian is placed as the Major Domo, or the head servant, of the family household and businesses. This figure appears later in two other photographs, of which one a piece related to the two buildings associated with the Hankow Ice and Aerated Water Works.

The third item that Mohan saw was a letter from my grandfather to my father (Fig 4a&b). The date of this letter was to become a vital piece of evidence as the developing narrative unfolded. It was written on the 9th of February 1946 at Ash Camp in Shanghai, which was the final Japanese Civilian Assembly Centre that Walter was to pass through before his release. On the second page of the letter, Walter states: “I expect to get a passage to Hankow in about a week’s time. The Ice Works has been badly looted by the Japs”. In the final paragraph, he states: “Should you be writing to me again the Ice Works will be the place to send to” (Corsane WH, 1943). This evidence was to become important in verifying the oral history of the family in that it shows that Walter was returning to Hankow and to the Ice Works in 1943.

Figure 4a&b. Letter from Walter Hughes Corsane to Charles Hughes Corsane from Ash Camp dated 9.2.46

From the oral history of the Corsanes in China (Corsane P, 2013), it is known that Walter and Margaret had been interned by the Japanese from March 1943, and were sent to Lunghua Civilian Assembly Centre. Their incarceration is also noted in the lists drawn up by Leck (2006).

These three sources of evidence that Mohan saw are part of a very limited collection of historical family material that I have inherited, since so much was lost when Walter and Margaret were interned by the Japanese. One other item is a second small photograph album discovered when my mother moved flats in 2015. One other artefact that has historical significance is in the
other branch of my generation of the family. It is a samurai sword presented to my grandmother by a Japanese officer in one of the camps when the Japanese were surrendering.

Mohan Fung conducted some online research. The information she uncovered was exciting as it revealed that a building (Fig 5a) associated with the businesses that Walter had been involved in had survived and are listed as an Industrial Heritage Building in both the Provincial and City registers of cultural relics and so are protected at both levels. We agreed to meet in Wuhan on the 28th of March to visit the building in the afternoon. Although it was derelict when we visited the building, we were fortunate that a building manager was on site. He provided us with valuable information about the building from his own personal memories, as a local who had grown up in the area. He also provided us with three photocopies of articles in Chinese (Ge, 2009; Wang, 1997; Xiao, 2003) that included information about the businesses and the building.

The visit to the building was sandwiched between meetings with academic staff from the School of Urban Design at Wuhan University that morning and a meeting with academics from Architecture and Urban Planning at Huazhong University of Science and Technology the following day. Although these were business meetings on behalf of Newcastle University to discuss co-operative projects, the academics at both universities were interested to hear a little about my pilgrimage to ‘the building’, as a number of them had research interests in relation to the safeguarding appropriate re-use of historic buildings in the old foreign concessions.

The wording on the plaque (Fig 5b) placed on the building by Wuhan City in recognition of the site being part of the industrial heritage included information which can be translated as: “built in 1918 by Guangxing Longyu Construction Works… The building was first established as Hankow Ice Works. British businessmen Corsane and Croucher jointly financed to construct it in 1918, and it started to produce in 1921. Daily maximum production was 2000 dozen bottles. The factory was sold to Hankou businessman Liu Yaotang in 1938, and ceased production later when Wuhan was occupied by Japanese”

This first visit was a key in developing an understanding of the He Li businesses. It stimulated a number of questions. The building did not look the same as the building in the family photographs (see Fig 3). Was there more than one building? Was there a ‘re-build’ at some point. One reference that was to become vital was the entry in MacMillan 1925 (Fig 6). The information in the entry helped to clarify confusing and contradictory information presented in the range of other secondary sources found. The entry also became the basis for a desire for undertaking further research, especially in trying to access to intangible cultural sources in terms of individual and shared heritage memories and stories to help bring life into the study.

Figure 5a&b. One building associated with the He Li businesses and protected at provincial and city levels
Figure 6. Entry on Hankow Ice Works from MacMillan 1925, note names and dates provided

The research journey that had now started was to continue and there were to be a number of serendipitous moments and meetings along the way. Fortunately, I was a member of a research consortium established from funding provided by the Marie Skłodowska-Curie International Research Staff Exchange Scheme. Two of the Chinese partners in the Planning, Urban Management and Heritage (PUMAH) project were Beijing University and Wuhan University. In December 2012, time was spent at Beijing University doing desk-top research in the libraries.

With the research up until the start of 2013 there was still too much confusion, contradictions and contestations coming through from the different sources studied. Therefore, I decided that I should meet my paternal Aunt, Pierrette Corsane, the ‘keeper’ of the family oral history and memories of life in China. Between the 4th and 7th August 2013, we spent four days together, where I first interviewed her and then we discussed information in the different sources. This intangible cultural heritage communicated by my aunt brought many points of clarity to the research, which I then passed on to my research associates in Wuhan. It became very clear that there were two buildings associated with the He Li businesses of the Hankow Ice Works and the Aerated Water Works. I could untangle what information was likely to be verifiable and what information was more problematic. It also became very apparent that although W.G. Anderson was the first partner who had been working as a ship engineer with Walter and had been a co-founder of the Hankow Ice Works (see Evans, 2008), T.H. Croucher had become the second main partner in the He Li businesses after Anderson’s death. This information was a huge step forward and vital for my second visit to Wuhan.

Between 28th August and 2nd of September 2013, I was given another opportunity to return to Wuhan under the auspices of the PUMAH project and other university business. On this visit Professor Shidan Cheng and two of his students, Huan Kou and Teng Fei provided significant research support by introducing me to people who could help on the ground. Prof. Cheng provided at introduction to Ji Wang, Director of the Design Department at the Hubei Province Ancient Buildings Conservation Centre, who provided valuable information about the building that had been recognised and protected at the provincial level and copies of the documentation related to this. The student, Huan, provided me with electronic copies of two photographs that were to become pivotal in identifying a second building associated with the He Li businesses. These two photographs showed Vietnamese soldiers and French officers standing on parade along the street next to and in front of the He Li Hankow Ice Works opened themselves to a study of the architecture of the building itself, but more importantly the architecture of the building next to it, with its distinctive arches (Fig 7a&b). The building looked more in keeping with the building in Fig 3.
In addition, Huan introduced me to a grass-roots association of people interested in the local history and culture of Hankow/Hankou, the Wuhan Shared Heritage Research Committee of Wuhan Humanities Association. This group spent a day with me in the area exchanging information, old photographs and documents (She, 2013). This resulted in them preparing a documentary piece for Wuhan Broadcasting and Television (Hou & Yang, 2013). Members of this association have now accepted me into their research community, where they are interested in documenting the intangible culture heritage associated with historic places in Wuhan. In particular, Mr Hongzhi Hou has become like a brother to me and he has now published a number of articles (2017, a,b&c) in Chinese to promote the history and heritage of the He Li businesses and associated buildings. I also started publishing after this trip with a book chapter (Corsane G, 2014), which was a precursor to this paper and hopefully more.

Another ‘chance’ meeting occurred when I was at Xiamen University between the 9th and 15th of May 2015, as part of a Newcastle University research group looking at possible joint research projects. On the final day there, I met with two research colleagues from the Department of Anthropology. In this meeting, I was updating Professor Zhaorong Peng and Rongling Ge on my family research in China. They said that I should meet one of their PhD students, Jin Zhang, who lived in Wuhan. By ‘coincidence’ she rang Prof. Peng at that exact moment on his mobile phone (the first time ever that she had done this). We met and, as I was planning to be in Wuhan from the 12th to the 20th June, she said that she and her parents would help. They provided valuable support and became very interested in my research into the family heritage in historic Hankow. Jin subsequently decided that the focus of her PhD research would be ‘Place, Memory and Identity – Constructing the Hankow Concessions’. Amongst her case studies, she has selected the He Li businesses. During this particular trip, I had a chance to meet Nick Whittingham, the British Consul-General in Wuhan, who also has an interest in the historic buildings in Wuhan with British links.

The Consul-General invited me back to Wuhan to attend and co-present a paper jointly authored with Prof. Shiduan Cheng, during the ‘UK-Wuhan Creative Redevelopment of Historic Districts Seminar’ on the 18th and 19th of December 2016. The title of the paper was, ‘The care and re-use of British buildings in the foreign concessions of historic Hankow for sustainable development’, in which we promoted the guidelines of the ecomuseum ideal, along with the illustration of the ‘turtle’. Following the seminar, I stayed on until the 28th of December to meet some of the other delegates. Key amongst them were Dr Yuan Ding and Dr Yi Song and the staff from the ICOMOS Wuhan Research Centre on Shared Built Heritage, and, Mr Yang and volunteers from the China Endangered Culture Protector organisation, who are doing vital work in documenting the local memories of people in Wuhan.

In between these two trips, however, two other important things had taken place. The first was that the second family photograph album (Corsane WH, no date) had been found in my mother’s move to a new flat in December 2015. On 15 November 2016, Irene Martin, a Granddaughter of T.H. Croucher first made contact with me via e-mail after accessing my book chapter (Corsane G, 2014). We very quickly discovered the mutual history and heritage of our fami-
lies in Hankow and that indeed her Grandfather and Walter had been business partners. Since then we have felt a mutual bond and have shared photographs, documents, information, along with the often scant intangible cultural memories of the two families. Two sets of photographs (Fig 8 and Fig 9), one from a Corsane album (Corsane WH, 2017-22) and one from the Croucher albums (Xavier, no date) were to help close the final missing pieces.

Figure 8. The Hankow Ice Works in 1917 shows a single-story building and Walter standing with another man, likely W.G. Anderson (Corsane WH, 1917-22)

Figure 9. A photograph of the Hankow Ice Works and one of the Hankow Aerated Water Works. Note the Asian Indian Major Domo in both images (ownership and credit, the Estate of Francisco Croucher Xavier)

The photographs (Fig 8) show that in 1917 the Hankow Ice Works was a single-story building that was likely rebuilt in preparation for the 1921 expansion (MacMillan, 1925), while the photographs (Fig 9) show two very distinct buildings, one, the He Li Hankow Ice Works, still unrecognised and the other the He Li Hankow Aerated Water Works, protected at a provincial and city level. This left an unanswered question, where was the Hankow Ice Works photographed in 1917 located?

I believe that this was answered during the most recent trip to Wuhan between 16th to 24th June this year. During a visit to the Customs House Museum in Hankou, a representation of a 1913 map (Moser, 1913) provided an answer. The plot where the Hankow Ice Works was located shows buildings present, the plot where the Aerated Water works was located was empty. This suggests that the Hankow Ice Works had probably always been on the same plot from when it started operations in 1904. The building that contained the Aerated Waters Works was built after 1913, probably in 1918 and started production in 1921. There are still questions to solve and there are still the histories of the two buildings to chart after 1948, but this will be part of future studies and will need more research into the intangible cultural heritage of memories and oral histories.
3.2 Timeline of the businesses and buildings extracted from sources of evidence, both tangible and intangible

Currently, Wuhan is the capital city of Hubei Province in the People’s Republic of China. Located at the confluence of the Han and middle reaches of the Yangtze Rivers, the area has a long and rich heritage. Its significance over time is noted in many of the historical accounts of Chinese and global history. Its geographical placement has meant that it has been a natural meeting point and ‘crossroads’ in central China; a transportation hub and an economic, commercial, cultural and political centre. In 1949, following the birth of the People’s Republic of China after the Communist forces came to power; Wuhan City was established by the merging of Hanyang, Hankou and Wuchan urban settlements. Positioned on the north-east bank, where the rivers meet, Hankou (see footnote 1) remains a key port. Useful secondary sources that have helped to provide context to the research have been Dennys (1867), MacKinnon 2008 and Nield 2015. The best way to present the research is in a tabulated timeline.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>INFORMATION</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1803/08/22</td>
<td>Walter Watson Hughes born in Pittenween, Fife, Scotland – son of Thomas Hughes and his wife Eliza (née Anderson). In 1829 he bought the brig “Hero” and traded opium in the Indian and China seas. By 1841 he was married in Adelaide and settled in South Australia, where he finally started sheep-farming. In 1854 he jointly leased the Wallaroo station on the Yorke Peninsula with his brother-in-law, John Duncan. In 1860 copper was discovered on the property and Hughes became the biggest shareholder in the Wallaroo Mine Co. Under questionable circumstances, Hughes also acquired a mining lease on his nearby Moonta property. In 1873, Hughes and his wife settled back in Britain. He died in Chertsey, Surrey, in January 1887, without children from his marriage. [Some of the estate was inherited by Eliza Anderson (née Hughes) Corsane].</td>
<td>(Van Dissel, 1972)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Thomas Henry Croucher born in England [details unknown]</td>
<td>[obituary] Hankow Herald, 27 October 1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>There was an earlier ‘Hankow Ice Works’ 汉口制冰厂 in Hankow (see North China Herald and Supreme Court &amp; Consular Gazette, 3 July, 1891. p. 10: “our Ice Company’s machines”, no name is given of the company in Hankow, or who “Our Own Had Copper with the 和利冰厂 Hankow Ice Works associated with Corsane, Anderson &amp; Co. The latter had the distinguishing Chinese characters 和利 (He = Harmony, Li = Profit).</td>
<td>The Chinese lists of Foreign Businesses in the Hankou Customs House Museum, the Hankow Ice Works is listed and the list is registered with the customs house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>T.H. Croucher left England to join the firm of Arnhold Karberg, Co.</td>
<td>[obituary] Hankow Herald, 27 October 1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896/10/08</td>
<td>Margaret Wallace Esplin Born.</td>
<td>Birth Certificate &amp; Passport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Eliza Anderson Hughes leaves estate and finances to her three children Ellen (Nelly) Whyte Corsane; James Hughes Corsane; and, Walter Hughes Corsane.</td>
<td>(Hughes, 1902)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Walter Hughes Corsane acquires property in French Concession in Hankow (now 24 Yuefei Street).</td>
<td>(Corsane P, 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>“Anping” [Steam Ship - listed under those owned by the China Merchants’ Steam Navigation Company]; Captain – H. Barlow; Chief Officer – J. Whitelaw; Second do. – H. Atkinson; Chief Engineer – N. Riersdorf; Second do. – Wm. G. Anderson; Third do. – Walter H. Corsane.</td>
<td>(Hong Kong Daily Press, 1902, p. 728; 1904, p. 819)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Hankow Ice Works recorded as being established.</td>
<td>(MacMillan, 1925, p. 185) (Hong Kong Daily Press, 1922, p. 886)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>T.H. Croucher listed as a staff member in the Hankow office of Geddes &amp; Co.</td>
<td>North-China Herald, 1904, p.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Source (Reference)</td>
</tr>
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<td>------</td>
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<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Club, donated by Shanghai Golf Club.</td>
<td>(Hong Kong Daily Press, 1907, p. 839; 1908, p. 886)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Corsane, Anderson &amp; Co. Sole Agents for Hankow and District for the United Asbestos Oriental Agency Ltd. (See Dodwell &amp; Co., Shanghai)</td>
<td>(Hong Kong Daily Press, 1907, p. 841; 1908, p. 858)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Hankow Ice Works. Corsane, Anderson &amp; Co. proprietors.</td>
<td>(Hong Kong Daily Press, 1908, pp. 858 &amp; 1480; 1909, pp. 882 &amp; 1497; 1912, pp. 978 &amp; 1582)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Chinese National Republic established.</td>
<td>History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Map of foreign concessions in Hankow. Plot 48 on Rue de Tananarive later renamed Rue du Maréchal Joffre shows that buildings were present at the time, as represented in pink brick colour. Plot 51 at the intersection of Rue de Tananarive and Rue de Saigon has no building represented at that time</td>
<td>(Moser, 1913)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915/12/24</td>
<td>Entry for – Hankow Ice Works (Corsane, Anderson &amp; Co.)</td>
<td>12816 Supplement of the London Gazette, 24 December, 1915 [earliest entry found on internet]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916/11/15</td>
<td>Walter marries Margaret (Margaret Wallace Corsane) Wallace Esplin in Dundee</td>
<td>Marriage Certificate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917/01/01</td>
<td>On ship 11609 S.S. “Kitano Maru” of Nippon Yusen Kaisha [Line] (Master’s Name F.E. Cope). Departure 1 January 1917 from London on voyage of 40 days. Mr W.C. Corsane, Ice Manufacturer, 44; Mrs W.M. Corsane, 20. 1st Class to Yokohama, Japan. Country of Intended Future Permanent Residence – China.</td>
<td>Out-going Passengers Returns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Hankow Ice Works. W.G. Anderson listed as Manager.</td>
<td>(Hong Kong Daily Press, 1917, p. 932)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917/03/19</td>
<td>Hankow Ice Works as a single storied building. Photographs of Walter Hughes Corsane standing in front of the sign and building, and, one of him standing in front of the gate</td>
<td>(Corsane WH, 1917)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917/11/20</td>
<td>Charles Hughes Corsane born in Yokohama</td>
<td>Birth Certificate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Date on lintel above doorway onto balcony of the building of 42-44 Yuefei Street</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1918 | Aerated Water Manufacturers, etc. [out of 18 listed 2 were in Hankow]  
Hankow Dispensary, Ltd.  
Niagara Aerated Water Factory  
Ice and Cold Storage Factories  
Crystal Ice Co. (G Mutter)  
Hankow Ice Works (W. H. Corsane, proprietor)  
International Export Co., Ltd.  | (Montague-Bell & Woodhead, 1919, pp. 92 & p.96) |
| 1919 | Aerated-Water Manufacturers:  
Hankow Dispensary (Ltd.), Hankow (British)  
Niagara Aerated-Water Factory Hankow (foreign).  
Wilson & Co., Hankow (British).  
Ice Works  
Hankow Ice Works, Hankow (British).  
Crystal Ice Co., Hankow (foreign). | (Arnold, 1919, pp. 163-164) |
| 1919/01/13 | On ship S.S. “Shidzuoka Maru” of European Line departed from Kobe and arrival in Liverpool – Mr Walter Hughes Corsane, Ice-Manufacture, 47; Mrs Margaret W. Corsane, 22; Master Charles H. Corsane, 1. | In-coming Passengers return list |
| 1919-1920 | *Anderson, W.G., Hankow Ice Works, Hankow  
*Croucher, T.H., Hankow Ice Works, Hankow | (Over-Seas Club and Patriotic League, 1919, pp. 286 & 288) |
| 1920/01/14 | Leonard Hughes Corsane born in Tay Grove house in Fife, Scotland | Birth Certificate |
| 1920 | In 1920, they jointly invested again and purchased a large piece | (Wang, 1997) |
of land to the east of their own factory, and then imported a set of equipment from Britain, to set up “和利汽水厂” (Hankow Soft Drinks Factory).

Translated by Chen Dan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>… eventually in 1921 the ice factory was rebuilt and a new plant of machinery installed having a capacity of 35 tons of ice daily… Messrs. Corsane, Anderson and Co., the founders and proprietors of the business, are also manufacturers of aerated waters by the most modern scientific processes. The plant of machinery for that purpose, embracing the latest inventions of the trade, was installed when the present new factory was built in 1921. The firm make fourteen different beverages of the highest quality…</td>
<td>(MacMillan, 1925, p.185)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921/10/21</td>
<td>Walter Corsane, Margaret, Charles, Leonard - Depart Liverpool for Sydney on the “Suevic” of the White Star Shipping Line</td>
<td>Out-going Passengers return list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921/12/09</td>
<td>Walter Hughes Corsane, Margaret Wallace Corsane, Charles Hughes Corsane, Leonard - arrived in Sydney from Liverpool on the S.S. “Suevic”.</td>
<td>Australian In-coming Passenger return list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921/02</td>
<td>Newport…41  Corsane W. H. ……………….. Taygrove</td>
<td>Telephone Directory (Section 40) 6 CAE-COU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Jardine, Matheson &amp; Co. Ltd., Merchants [T. H. Croucher included in the list of staff]</td>
<td>(Hong Kong Daily Press, 1922, p. 889)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922/02</td>
<td>Family returns to China on the S.S. “Nikko Maru” and on to Hankow</td>
<td>(Corsane CH, No Date)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922/05</td>
<td>Leonard Hughes Corsane and Charles Hughes Corsane as young boys on balcony of the 1918 building</td>
<td>(Corsane WH, 1917-22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Tour of Australia and New Zealand</td>
<td>(Corsane P, 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925/08/29</td>
<td>W. G. Anderson dies. “The death of the late Mr. W. G. Anderson of Hankow, who was found dead on the Japanese Bund on August 29, was due to acute poisoning from drinking phenol, the post-mortem examination showed. Mr. Anderson was reported to have been in a depressed and nervous state for some weeks”.</td>
<td>(Straits Times, p.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>T. H. Croucher noted under C: Comprador in Semi-official Correspondence between Shanghai and Hankow 7 Jan. 1927 - 30 Dec. 1927</td>
<td>Jardine Matheson Archive, MS JM/31/287 Vol. 1, Janus Repositories of Manuscripts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Tour of France</td>
<td>(Corsane P, 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Walter Hughes Corsane is diagnosed as having terminal heart disease by a German, Doctor Klein. He returned by flying-boat to London to see medical specialists, but it was found that his illness was pyrea mouth disease.</td>
<td>(Corsane P, 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931/10/24</td>
<td>On ship 135519 “Helenus” of Blue Funnel [Line]. Departure 24 October 1931 from Liverpool on voyage of 110 days. Where bound: Straits, China, Japan. Walter Hughes Corsane, Ice Manufacturer, 59. Last Address in the United Kingdom: 85, Don Road, St. Helier, Jersey. Country of Intended Future Permanent Residence: China.</td>
<td>Out-going Passengers return list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932/07/14</td>
<td>On ship 147282 “Hector” of the Blue Funnel Lines departed from Far East and arrival in London. Walter Corsane, Ice Merchant, 60, boarded in Shanghai; Margaret Corsane, 35, boarded in Marseilles.</td>
<td>In-coming Passengers return list</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1935 | T.H. Croucher entered Hankow International Hospital, probably in November, with stomach cancer | [obituary] Hankow Herald, 27 October 1936 & oral history from his son, Kitchner Croucher (later named Francisco Croucher Xavier)  
1936/10/23 | T.H. Croucher died at the hospital with family around him. He was baptized a Catholic before his death. Requiem mass held at Church of the Immaculate Conception at 10:00 a.m. October 26 attended by friends and family. Interment at the International Cemetery with a cortege leaving the hospital at 5:00 p.m. Monday October 26 | [obituary] Hankow Herald, 27 October 1936  
1937 | W.G. Anderson’s family (wife/partner, son and adopted Chinese daughter) fled to Hong Kong. | (Evans, 2008)  
1938 | Walter Hughes Corsane reported to have sold Aerated Water business to Liu Yaotang, an oil trader and the manager of Tonghe Rice Factory in Hankow approached and purchased the business with 160,000 yuan. Before long, Wuhan was occupied by invaders and Liu Yaotang and his family left for Chongqing, the factory ended up in Japanese invaders’ hands. Then the soft drink market was largely occupied by Zanyu Soft Drink Factory and Japanese-run Hangao Water Factory. This is probably a more realistic date (Corsane P, 2013) in contrast to Wang (1997) who had reported this business sold in 1931 | (Corsane C, No Date)  
1938/10-1939/01 | French Concession in Hankow was barricaded and became the stronghold against the Japanese. The Hankow Ice Works provided water to Chinese residents and refugees. | (Corsane P, 2013)  
1939/02/05 | ‘Manhandled, He Says’ – Hankow, China-(U.P)-The British consul protested to Japanese authorities Saturday against an alleged attack by Japanese sentries on W. H. Corsane, British manager of the Hankow ice works, and his wife. Corsane reported that the sentries attempted to force him and his wife into a Japanese navy car when they stood watching a Japanese sentry demolishing a basket of food which a Chinese coolie was attempting to carry into the French concession. He said Mrs. Corsane was manhandled by the sentries and her clothing torn. The Milwaukee Journal, Sunday 5 February 1939 | (Leck 2006). In lists of people moved to camp.  
1940-1942 | Japanese restrictions come into stronger force | (Corsane P, 2013)  
1943/03 | Walter Hughes Corsane and Margaret Wallace Corsane interned in Lunghua Civilian Centre in Shanghai | (Leck 2006). In lists of people moved to camp.  
1946/02/09 | Going back to Hankow and to use the Hankow Ice Works as the address to send mail to. | (Corsane WH, 1946)  
1946/03 | On ship “Highland Chieftain” of the Royal Mail Lines. Margaret Corsane. | (Corsane P, 2013)  
1948 | Walter Hughes Corsane knocked over by American Truck and has stroke. | (Corsane P, 2013)  
1948 | Margaret Wallace Corsane – Colombo, Ceylon 1948/08/17; Stamps in Passport |
4 A FINAL NOTE AND CONCLUSIONS

During 2016 extensive work was undertaken to revitalise Zhongshan Avenue (Han 2016; Wang Y. 2016) and both the buildings discussed in this paper have undergone work to improve their facades and to bring them back to life, as part of a master plan to rejuvenate the area into a creative and cultural industries precinct. The project was launched, with several others, in December 2016 as Wuhan continues in its city planning for the future. It is hoped that all the Chinese researchers, individually and in their organisations, mentioned in this paper will be able to promote the illustration of the ‘turtle’ to ensure that the management of the intangible and tangible cultural heritage is considered as inseparable and that an integrated approach is taken to maintain sustainable development and a responsible (re)use of the urban heritage and cultural landscapes of the city.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge my aunt, Pierrette Corsane, for all the valuable help that she gave me before she passed away in providing information from the family oral histories and shared memories. I wish to dedicate this paper to her. Thanks also go to my cousins Alan and Babette. I would like to thank all those mentioned by name in the paper. A number of people were not mentioned so I would like to acknowledge others who have provided help. These are Professors Ming Zhang, Qingming Zhan and Zhengdong Huang, Wuhan University. In Wuhan, I was also very kindly assisted with information and photographs by Hongzhi Hou, Hui She, Yangsheng Wang and Xuegong Wan. Professor Pengjun Zhao and the postgraduate students Ma Bowen and Wen Ping from Peking University provided support in Beijing. With help in translation, I would like to thank Dan Chen, Chanzi Zheng, Yage Huang, Yong Zhao, Junlong Shen and Yi Yi Shan. There are many others who have helped at various points through this journey of (re)discovery and I apologise if I have not mentioned everyone by name. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the Marie Skłodowska-Curie International Research Staff Exchange Scheme for funding the PUMAH project.

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Corsane, E. 1902a. Will. Reference SC20/56/2 Cupar Sheriff Court Wills
Corsane, E. 1902b. Inventory. Reference SC20/50/84 Cupar Sheriff Court Wills


Wang, Y. 2016. *“Zhongshan Avenue Revival Plan” wins international award.* Changjiang Weekly, Friday, September 2. p.3


Xavier, F.C. [original name Kitchner Croucher]. No Date. *Photograph albums. In the possession of Irene Martin,* with ownership and credit given to the Estate of Francisco Croucher Xavier
