

ARTICLES

TRADITIONAL LIFE IN THE NEW TERRITORIES: THE EVIDENCE OF THE 1911 AND 1921 CENSUSES

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The Censuses and Traditional New Territories Society

The 1911 and 1921 Censuses were the first to take a scientific look at the New Territories.¹ These censuses are particularly important, as they show the New Territories before the traditional way of life there began to disappear.

Modernisation is normally a factor of physical communication with more developed societies and intellectual contact with new ideas. In the New Territories, these factors only began to be significant after 1911, and over much of the area only became important after 1921.

Contact with new ideas had begun to be noticeable before 1899 in some parts of the New Territories. Italian priests had established missions at Tai Po and Sai Kung in the 1860s, and Protestant missionaries were active in the Sha Tau Kok area from 1849. By about 1910, information about the wider world was trickling down from these foreign missionaries, even to relatively remote villages.² Villagers were emigrating from parts of the New Territories from the 1860s onwards, and this became a marked social phenomenon from the 1880s. By 1900-1910 there were many returned emigrants in villages in the New Territories: since the emigrants came especially from the poorer villages of the eastern New Territories and Islands, this helped circulate new ideas in the remoter parts of the area. Returned emigrants also brought their savings back with them: the New Territories experienced a significant increase in prosperity in the early years of this century in consequence, which in turn led to more overseas products reaching traditional New Territories villages.³

In 1912, the district officer noted this high rate of emigration and the resultant prosperity "More and more of the young men from the country have been tempted into Hong Kong or abroad in quest of higher wages, and many have returned with their savings to their native villages ... with all this added wealth, many more substantial houses have been

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built all over the Territory: a taste has sprung up for many foreign luxuries, and aerated waters, cigarettes, clothes, caps, towels and kerosene oil are now common objects of sale in the small market towns". The district officer also noted the villagers' openness to new ideas: "Contact with foreign ways has rendered the average villager less superstitious than of yore": as an example of this openness to new ideas, he stressed the "suddenness and unanimity" with which the New Territories villagers accepted the 1911 Revolution: "all showed ... that they had long been ready to join the party of progress."⁴

If, however, in the generation before 1911, there was already some openness to foreign ideas in the New Territories, the efforts by the Hong Kong Government to inculcate these new ideas formally through the schools were initially less successful. In 1902, the Brewin Committee recommended setting up government schools in the New Territories to teach village youths English and a modern curriculum. The first such school, at Yuen Long, was established in 1904, and schools at Tai Po and Cheung Chau followed in 1906 and 1909. However, in their first decade, these schools were unpopular with poor academic standards, and had little influence: in 1911 the three government schools only had 66 pupils between them, out of 3,085 pupils at school in the New Territories generally (2.1%). However, during the next decade the standards and acceptability of the government schools began to rise: in 1920 their combined enrolment reached 133. It was only after that date, however, that the government schools began to have any very marked effect.⁵

In 1913 the village schools were brought within the ambit of the Education Ordinance. The Sung Report recommended paying a grant to those village schools of a better quality willing to include some modern teaching within their curricula. Initially 50 schools (out of the 260 existing) were chosen, and the scheme was begun in 1914. By 1916, however, only 11 of the aided schools were as yet able to teach a "modern curriculum". In 1918 a two-level grant scheme was introduced, and in 1919 a three-level scheme: this was designed to increase the number of schools eligible for a grant, and to increase the leverage of the government in introducing more modern subjects into the village schools. By 1921, however, there were still only 85 village schools which the government considered fit to receive any form of grant.⁶

The attempts by the government to improve and modernise teaching in the village schools, therefore, although they began in 1904, only started to make a real impact after about 1920

However, even if there was an inchoate openness to new ideas in the area, nonetheless oral testimony from all over the eastern New Territories suggests that the traditional society of the area remained basically untouched until after the opening of the railway and the new roads brought the area into a closer physical relationship with the city.

The Kowloon-Canton Railway started operation only in October, 1910, and the light railway branch to Sha Tau Kok only in December, 1911.⁷ The railway was an important factor in the modernisation of the central and north-eastern New Territories, but the effects of the railway were, clearly, only substantial after 1910-11

In 1914, it was decided to build a surfaced circular motor road around the New Territories. This was done in phases, between 1914 and 1921. Since the crucial Tsuen Wan to Castle Peak and Kowloon to Tai Po sections were only ready for motor traffic in 1921, the road system thus only became a significant factor in the modernisation of New Territories life after that date.⁸

In the islands, there had been an intermittent steam ferry service to Cheung Chau from before 1899, but a regular daily service seems only to have begun in 1910. It is unclear when the regular steam ferry service to Tai O began, but it was probably shortly before 1915. It seems that it was only in 1919 that there was more than a single ferry service a day to Cheung Chau, and only from 1922 that there were more than two.⁹ Easy contact with the city, and the modernisation and change that implies, began before 1899, but became a marked feature of islands life only after 1910, although the effects were clearly significant by 1921.¹⁰

All in all, it is clear that New Territories physical communications with more developed communities were poor before 1911, and only became a widespread factor of importance after 1921

The district officer noted in 1912 the changes that the railway in

particular was expected to make in increasing contact between the city and the eastern New Territories: "The railway will bring . . . the Territory into closer contact with Hong Kong and western ideas . . . Country folk who used to require a full day to reach Hongkong can now go in and out and do their shopping in the day." It is, however, clear that the district officer considered that this development had not yet begun in any significant way at the date when he was writing.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the district officer felt that the broader picture in 1912 was of a generally unchanged traditional life: "A visitor to the Territory of 1899, upon returning in 1912, would find changes to remark in the outward appearance of the country, but he would not find the life or character of its inhabitants greatly altered . . . The domestic life of the villager does not differ much from that of Chinese in other parts of China, nor has it altered much during the few years of British occupation: if anything, it falls rather behind the general standard of freedom and enlightenment in the Canton Province . . . even now the customs and habits of the people are probably little changed from what they were a hundred years ago." The district officer feared that modernisation, when it came, would cause the inhabitants "to lose their simple old-fashioned virtues." But clearly he felt that this unwelcome development had yet to begin.

In summary, therefore, the district officer's view was that the New Territories in 1912 were ripe for modernisation, but that this process had only just begun.¹¹

By 1921 it is interesting to note that another well-informed European - the Census Officer - could still make very similar remarks: "The opening of the railway seems, contrary to expectations, to have produced little change", and the effect of the Government schools "is just becoming apparent"¹²

Thus, by 1911, the village society of the New Territories, while more prosperous than a decade or two earlier, and aware of, and at least partially receptive to, modern ideas, was still (other than for New Kowloon, the southern strip immediately around Kowloon City and Sham Shui Po) almost entirely traditional. The 1911 Census, therefore, took place in one of the last years in which the old, traditional society survived more or less unchanged. By 1921 that society was beginning

to show signs of change, but these were still limited, except in a few places. After 1921, however, change came fast, and was widespread. The 1911 and 1921 censuses, therefore, are of great interest, as they show us a traditional society on the eve of modernisation.

The 1911 Census

The 1911 Census of the New Territories was conducted with care. The census date was midnight on Saturday 20th May, 1911. In the New Territories work began two months earlier, but was not finished until a month later. The New Territories residents were notified as to what a census was, what uses the information gathered would be put to, and how the census would be conducted.¹³ This was probably done by briefing the village elders, and posting up notices at suitable places.

The New Territories was, in 1911, divided into two administrative districts: Northern District (the present day Tsuen Wan, Kwai Tsing, Tuen Mun, Yuen Long, North, Tai Po, Sha Tin, and Sai Kung Districts), and Southern District, (the present day Islands District plus New Kowloon),¹⁴ Many of the tables in the 1911 Census Report are divided into these two administrative districts, although occasionally New Kowloon is combined with Old Kowloon. The floating population (the boat-people) was enumerated separately, but few details were taken in this census

Nine enumerator teams were established to conduct the census over an area covering most of the mainland New Territories - the whole of the Northern District except for the present day Tsuen Wan and Kwai Tsing Districts. Each team consisted of a specially employed New Territories man as enumerator, plus a uniformed Chinese police constable with New Territories experience.¹⁵ Each team was given a geographical area to enumerate: these areas were probably related to police sub-districts. Enumeration in the New Territories began on 6th March, 1911, and continued for as long as was necessary - the most complicated districts were not completed until early June

The enumerator team on entering a village, would announce its presence, and then conduct a house-to-house visit to every building, enumerating those residing there, and entering the details on the spot into books of schedules of 25 pages each¹⁶

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In New Kowloon, Tsuen Wan, and the Islands, enumeration was conducted by the police stationed there, or by the water police. The police were assisted by a headquarters team consisting of an experienced enumerator and translator. The enumerations undertaken by the police were conducted on the same house-to-house basis as those undertaken by the civilian enumerators, and the same books of schedules were used.¹⁷

Details of age, sex, place of birth, dialect spoken, occupation, religion, married state, degree of education, and infirmities, were recorded for each resident.¹⁸ The schedules were worked up into tables by experienced tabulators in the Census Office, this work being completed by October 28th.¹⁹ Table 1 below gives a summary of the 1911 census tables which refer to the New Territories. For the New Territories the population was tabulated for each village as well (broken down into male and female), as a single-handed contribution to the census by Mr. S.B.C. Ross, the district officer - this was not repeated for later censuses.²⁰

Table 1

1911 Census Tables Referring to the New Territories

Table	Description of Table	Comments
I	The total population of the colony	By district, age, and sex
IX	Birth places of the Chinese population of the NT (Northern District)	Given for males and females separately
X	Birth places of the Chinese population of the NT (Southern District)	Given for males and females separately
XII	Dialects spoken in the home (NT: North. District)	Given for males and females separately
XIII	Dialects spoken in the home (NT: Southern District)	Given for males and females separately
XIV	Chinese population of the villages of Hong Kong	HK Island, Po Toi, etc Given for males and females separately.

XV	Chinese population of Old Kowloon villages	Given for males and females separately
XVIII	Chinese population of NT by districts	Given for males and females separately
XIX	Chinese population of NT (North district) by villages	Given for males and females
XIXa	Chinese population of NT (South district) by villages	Given for males and females
XXI	The ages of the Chinese population	By district and sex
XXVII	The married state of the floating population	Not broken down
XXVIII	The married state of the Chinese population of NT	By district and sex
XXX	The degree of education of the Chinese population	By district and sex
XXXV	The occupations of the Chinese population of NT (Northern District)	Given for males and females separately
XXXVI	The occupations of the Chinese population of NT (Southern District)	Given for males and females separately
XXXVIII	The number of Chinese who described themselves as students	By district and sex

The census officer was clearly satisfied with the success of this census. He remarked on the greater detail included in the Census as compared with the previous Censuses (1901 and 1906).²¹ The methods of enumeration were "superior," and "very favourably reported on." The work done was "excellent," "admirable," "brought to a successful finish."²² He considered that returns relating to family members were incomplete (this is clearly true for the New Territories, where young boys, and even more unmarried girls, were under-reported, as noted in greater detail below), but, in general, the census seems to have been reasonably well-conducted.²³

It is clear that the care taken with the 1911 Census of the New Territories was due to the quite unsatisfactory nature of the 1901 Census of that area. In 1901, all that had been done was to ascertain the number of dwellings in a village, and then to guess the average number of

occupants, thus giving a total which was "of a very little value."²⁴

The 1911 Census was conducted at an inappropriate time, in the rainy season rather than the dry season, as it formed part of the census of the whole British Empire conducted on May 20th, 1911. Heavy rains hampered operations-requiring the first attempt to enumerate Kowloon city for instance, to be aborted. Wherever rain interfered with the census, however, it is clear that the work was re-done, and the census officer considered that the rain did not interfere seriously with the accuracy of the final figure as tabulated.²⁵

A major flaw in the census evidence for the New Territories is in the statistics relating to the floating population. 55,157 persons from the floating population were recorded. In most tables referring to the floating population they are not broken down by district at all. In one table they were divided among five localities-Victoria Harbour, Aberdeen, Stanley, Shau Kei Wan, and "New Territories, Islands." "which is, in yet another place, divided into Cheung Chau and Lantau. The obvious question is, where are the boat people of Kowloon City, Sham Shui Po, Tsuen Wan, Tsing Yi, Tuen Mun, Deep Bay, Kat O/Shau Tau Kok, Tolo Harbour and Sai Kung/Kau Sai? At all these places it is known that there were boat people, but at none of them does the census show any.

It seems likely that the census enumerators in the northern New Territories omitted the boat-people, or most of them. Most Northern District boat people were operating in waters through which the boundary of Hong Kong ran (Deep Bay, the Sham Chun River, Mirs Bay). As such, there must have been doubt as to whether the boat-people found on Northern waters should be regarded as belonging to Hong Kong at all. The 1921 Census, which certainly attempted to enumerate every junk and sampan found on Hong Kong waters during the Census period, found 3,911 boat-people in Northern District, living in and operating 548 vessels (including 84 cargo boats and 456 fishing boats).²⁶ Detailed consideration of differences in the 1911 and 1921 statistics on place of birth makes it unlikely that anything like 3,911 boat people were caught in 1911,²⁷ although a few inshore boat people may have been enumerated in the nearest land village. The very large "Miscellaneous" category within the Sai Kung enumeration district in 1911 (454 persons) may hide that area's boat-people - Kau Sai is only

recorded as having 29 males and 10 females resident. The boat people at Kowloon City and Sham Shui Po may have been included in the Victoria Harbour grouping. But it seems likely that the bulk of the Northern boat-people population was omitted from the statistics in 1911.

At Cheung Chau, 4,442 boat-people are recorded in 1911, 2,601 of them male. This probably includes those boat-people usually anchored at Ping Chau and Mui Wo. At Lantau, 5,413 are recorded, 3,159 of them male.²⁸ The Lantau figure probably includes, not only the floating population at Tai O, but also the people living in "boat-huts" on stilts there. It also probably covers those boat-people anchored at Tung Chung, and may cover those at Tuen Mun as well. In 1921, 3,552 boat people are enumerated at Cheung Chau, and 3,894 at Tai O (probably not including the "boat-hut" residents). Given the absence of some deep sea fishing boats during the 1921 Census period, it seems that the Southern District floating population statistics are broadly similar in 1911 and 1921.

The careful notification of New Territories residents as to the purpose of the 1911 Census, and the use of local men as enumerators, led to a lack of practical problems with villagers, who seem to have responded surprisingly well to the process. The police escorts had "not very much to do," and "no trouble whatever" occurred.²⁹

On a more detailed basis, the civilian enumerator teams in the mainland New Territories, and the police on Lamma, in the Sham Shui Po area, and, to a lesser extent, on Lantau, seem to have done a more careful job than the police on Cheung Chau, and in the Tsuen Wan and Kowloon City areas. 598 villages were separately enumerated in the nine mainland civilian enumerator districts,³⁰ 18 on Lamma, 49 on Lantau, and 23 in the Sham Shui Po district.³¹ Very few of the villages or hamlets on Lamma or in the mainland New Territories outside the Tsuen Wan and Kowloon City areas were not separately enumerated. The few that are not are hamlets closely connected with a nearby village and enumerated with it. On Lantau, however, some villages are not separately enumerated. The villages to the south of Tai O (Fan Kwai Tong, Yi O, Fan Lau), those immediately east of Tung Chung and along the upper edges of the Tung Chung valley (Tai Po, Tung Chung Hang, Wong Lung Hang, Lam Che, etc), most of those in the Chi Ma Wan peninsula (except Shap Long), and most of the very tiny villages in the

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extreme north of the island, are omitted. It seems likely that the populations of these villages - most of which are rather small were combined with the populations of the nearest market, port, or major village. In most cases the market, port, or major village was where the police post was from which the census was being conducted. Thus, the populations of the missing villages are probably buried in the figures recorded for Tai O, Sheung Ling Pei, Shap Long, Cheung Chau, and Ma Wan.

This is certainly what happened at Tsuen Wan and Kowloon City. In Tsuen Wan, populations are recorded only for Tsing Yi, Tsuen Wan, Ma Wan, Chai Wan Kok, and Kwai Chung.³² Clearly, all the Tsing Yi villages are lumped together, as are all the Kwai Chung villages. Equally clearly, the Tsuen Wan villages - with the odd exception of Chai Wan Kok - are combined in a single entry with Tsuen Wan Market. In Kowloon City district, none of the central Kowloon villages (i.e. the very important villages of Nga Tsin Wai and Po Kong and the smaller villages such as Chuk Yuen) are entered separately - their populations are, clearly, subsumed under the entry for Kowloon City.³³ In part, the lack of detail in the Kowloon City census may be due to the heavy rain which interfered with the first attempt to hold it.

Thus, when conducting detailed analyses of the tables of statistics in the 1911 Census, it is necessary to bear in mind that the populations recorded for the towns and major villages in the south of the New Territories are inflated to some degree, and their social characteristics are likely to be obscured, at least in part.

The villages still existing on Hong Kong Island and Old Kowloon in 1911 are separately recorded. Po Toi Island is included under the Hong Kong villages.³⁴

The process of holding the house-to-house enumerator visits lasted "a few days" on Lamma, and three months in the bigger districts.³⁵ Assuming Lamma was completed in five days, and the largest districts (Au Tau, Sha Tau Kok, Ping Shan, and Sai Kung) required 50-60 working days, the average population enumerated each day varied between 143 and 181, with between one and four villages being dealt with each day.³⁶ This is clearly not excessive, and, again, suggests that the statistics produced should be treated as reasonably accurate.

The 1921 Census

In 1921 the census officer instituted a number of changes to census practice in the New Territories, to reflect perceived shortcomings in 1911. The most significant was the employment of large numbers of enumerators in each district (8 head enumerators and 50 enumerators in Northern District, and head enumerators and 11 enumerators in Southern District - the local police undertook the enumeration in the "outlying islands and inaccessible fishing villages"), all employed from among the "better educated" of the local New Territories population. These enumerators did their work village by village, being preceded the previous day by policemen who explained what was to be done, and why. In each district a police officer was seconded to oversee the whole operation. The census officer noted that this system was less arduous than that used in 1911, and "proved very successful." The work done "interested the better educated inhabitants," and was done "expeditiously," "very thoroughly," and "carefully." The enumeration was completed in three weeks starting from March 24th. The census officer also noted that the weather was less hot and rainy than during the 1911 enumeration period.³⁷

In 1921 the enumerators took care to adjust from Chinese to European age-reckoning, which had not been done in 1911, thus leading to some of the 1911 reported ages being marginally inaccurate. This factor can be detected in some quirks of the 1911 figures.³⁸

The census schedule was simplified, with the questions relating to language, religion, infirmities and industry being dropped. The census officer commented adversely on the omission of the "Industry in which Employed" question, as he felt this left the "Occupation" question "extremely laborious" to draw up, so that it was often dealt with "without sufficient preciseness."³⁹ The problems arising from the "Occupation" tables in the two censuses will be discussed further below.

As in 1911, the raw figures provided by the enumerators were processed by tabulators in headquarters before finalisation.⁴⁰

The inadequacies of the 1911 figures for the New Territories floating population were acknowledged, and an attempt was made to provide better statistics. The census officer however, noted that the figures were still "not so satisfactory", because of the "impossibility" of noting all

the continuously mobile sampans, and the absence during the Census period of some deep-sea fishing boats.⁴¹ As noted above, in Northern District in 1921 attempts seem to have been made to enumerate every vessel found on Hong Kong waters during the census period, including numbers of people who, in 1911, had not been considered to be Hong Kong residents at all.

Table 2

Census Tables Referring to the New Territories, 1921 Census

Table	Description of Table	Comments
I/III	Final figures of the population. New Territories.	By police district (includes non-Chinese popn)
I/IV	Final figures of the population (floating population)	By district
II	Comparative table	Compares regional popn figures with 1911 Census
IX	NT, North . The ages of the Chinese population	By age and sex
X	NT, North nationality and married state	By sex and nationality
XI	NT, North . birthplaces of the Chinese population	By sex and married State
XII	NT, North.: education of the Chinese population	By sex and married State
XIII	NT, North .villages or aggregations of villages over 500 population	Not broken down
XIV	NT, South..ages of the Chinese population	By age and sex
XV	NT, South..nationality and married state	By sex and nationality
XVI	NT, South. (birthplaces of the Chinese population	By sex and married state
XVII	NT, South.: education of the Chinese population	By sex and married state

XVIII	NT, occupations of the Chinese population	By sex and divided into North and South Districts
XXIV	NT, South (floating population) ages of the Chinese population	By ages and sex and married state
XXV	NT, South (floating population) nationality and marrieds state of the Chinese population	By sex and nationality
XXVI	NT, South, (floating population) birthplaces of the Chinese population	By sex and married state
XXVII	NT, South (floating population); education of the Chinese population	By sex and married state
XXVIII	NT, South (floating population) occupations of the Chinese population	By sex
XXXIVa	Small craft enumerated	By region
XXXV	Staff	By region
XXXVI	Census books used	By police district

The biggest difference for the New Territories between the 1911 and 1921 Censuses, however, was the boundary change between the Northern and Southern Districts put into place in 1916, when Tsuen Wan district was transferred from Northern to Southern District. This change was marginal for Northern District. Tsuen Wan in 1911 represented only 34.7% of the total population of Northern District, and this population was similar in character to the rest of Northern District, being predominantly agricultural.⁴² However, Tsuen Wan was 34.7% of Southern District in 1921, and its population was markedly different from the marine based society of the islands. Furthermore, Tsuen Wan, close to the urban areas, is one of the districts where significant development demonstrably did take place between the 1911 and 1921 Censuses - between 1911 and 1921, the population of Tsuen Wan rose 75% (2,982 to 4,983), mostly because of immigrant artisans. This Tsuen Wan factor makes direct comparisons between the 1911 and 1921 Census evidence problematic for Southern District. New Kowloon (Shamshui-po and Kowloon City) was still regarded as part

of Southern District for some purposes in both censuses: this also causes some problems for analyses of that district, since New Kowloon had developed very fast between 1911 and 1921.

As in 1911, the 1921 Census date formed part of a census of the whole British Empire, and, as in 1911, this led to the census in 1921 having to be conducted at an inappropriate date for Hong Kong, and particularly for the New Territories. The Chung Ming Festival fell during the enumeration period of the New Territories. As a result, numbers of people usually resident outside the New Territories were caught by the enumerators when they came to worship at their ancestral graves. This led to slightly more young adult males being enumerated than would have been the case at other periods. This is especially noticeable in the Northern District, where the marked increase in males recorded in 1921 as being born in San On District as compared with 1911 is very probably due in part to this factor, given that many clans resident in San On District have ancestral graves within the New Territories.⁴³

As well as coinciding with the Ching Ming Festival, the census period coincided with the peak agricultural period of the planting out of the main rice crop. The census officer complained that this "hindered" the work, and states that it caused "considerable difficulty" in obtaining accurate information.⁴⁴ The effects of this problem can be detected in the returns.

Unfortunately, the 1921 Census includes no village-by-village figures, either for the New Territories, or for the Hong Kong Island villages.

Demographic Features: Age Profiles, Birth Rates and Death Rates, Immigration

Northern District: A Settled Agricultural Society

The 1911 and 1921 Census figures for Northern District show a settled agricultural society, with few and small towns, but many villages. The demographic features disclosed are typical of undeveloped agricultural societies. The evidence of the 1911 and 1921 Censuses shows, for instance, very high rates of juvenile mortality, leading to half of all persons dying before their early 20s, a feature typical of

such traditional agricultural societies. The age profile of the enumerated male population of the Northern District in 1911 and 1921 is shown at Tables 3, 5 and 6 below¹⁵

The information recorded in the censuses can be seen to be basically accurate, but there was clearly significant under-reporting of both young girls and young boys, in both censuses. In the Northern District in 1911, 4,472 males aged 5-9 years old are recorded, but only 3,356 males aged 0-4. But oral evidence strongly suggests that in fact mortality in the first years of life was very high - many contacts suggest that up to a fifth, or even more, of all live births died before they reached five years of age. So there should be significantly more males aged 0-4 than males aged 5-9, given that there were no social catastrophes or other reasons why the years 1907-1910 should have seen a sharp downturn in births.¹⁶ The 1921 Census also shows significant under-reporting of young boys, although probably not to the same extent as in 1911. The likely reasons for this under-reporting are the traditional reluctance to acknowledge a son until he was safely weaned, and thus less likely to be attacked by demons, and to doubts as to the government's intentions in holding the census. In 1921 the census officer discussed under-reporting of youths at some length: the unwillingness to report boys was, he felt, primarily due to "puerile rumours" of human sacrifice of young children by the government.¹⁷ The enumeration of males aged 10 and over in both censuses must be seen as essentially accurate, given the close similarities in the figures in both censuses

If the slopes of the curves in Table 3 are projected backwards it seems very likely that the annual number of live male births in the Northern District in both 1911 and 1921 was about 1,250. The census officer in 1921 gave some thought to birth rates in the New Territories, which he considered to be "35 per thousand," as compared to "23 per thousand" in the City with its unbalanced male/female ratios.¹⁸ This would give Northern District an annual live male birth figure of slightly less than 1,250.¹⁹

In both censuses, the under-reporting of young girls in Northern District (Tables 4, 5, and 6) was more significant than the under-reporting of young boys. The same phenomenon of a much smaller recorded population of girls aged 0-4 than 5-9 is seen in the 1911 Census

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(2,950, as against 3,693). However, there is also in the 1911 Census a suspicious increase in the number of females recorded aged 20-24 as compared with those aged 15-19 (3,062 as against 2,750). This must be connected with marriage, with all married women being enumerated but at least some unmarried young women not being recorded.⁵⁰ This feature of an increase in recorded females aged 20-24 does not appear in the 1921 Census, and whatever fears villagers may have had about their teenage daughters in 1911 seem to have been partly overcome by 1921. However, as Tables 5 and 6 show, both in 1911 and 1921, the totals of females recorded are noticeably lower than males for ages below the normal age of marriage. This can only be due to under-reporting of unmarried girls. The annual live birth rate of girls in Northern District in both 1911 and 1921 is likely to have been about 1,250. The figures for females recorded at ages above about 20 must be seen as essentially accurate, in both censuses, given the essential similarity of the two sets of figures.

Assuming these adjusted birth-rate figures are approximately correct, then the mortality figures for Northern District are, very approximately, as shown in Table 7, which is compiled from Tables 3 and 4.⁵¹ It seems likely that, of all live births, one quarter were dead by about age 7-8, half by 22-24, and three-quarters by 48 (males) or 54 (females), in both 1911 and 1921. At the same time, they show about 15% of all males, and 20% of all females, lived to the age of 60 or more. This is more or less in line with oral evidence.⁵² Table 8 shows the position in population pyramid form: the profile of the pyramid is typical of an undeveloped society.

Table 3
Recorded and Estimated Population
Northern District
Males

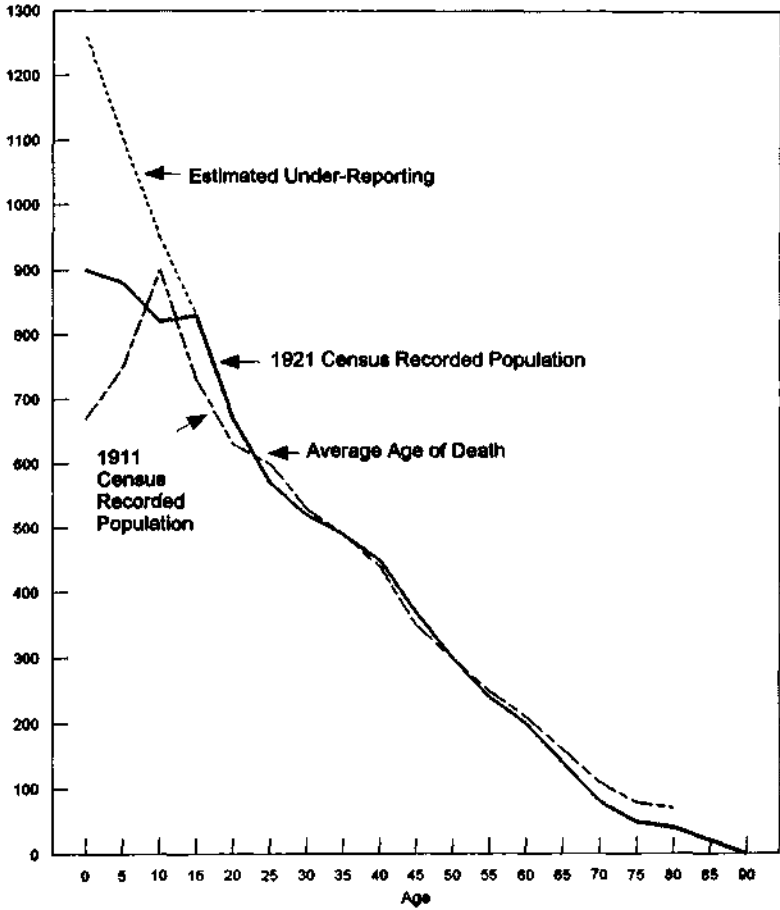


Table 4
Recorded and Estimated Population
Northern District
Females

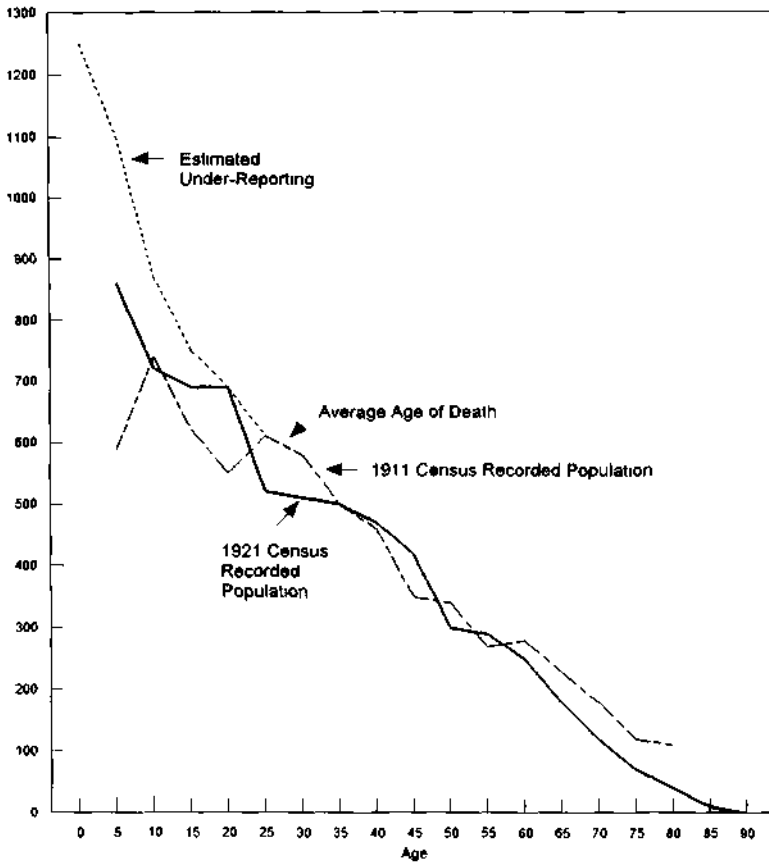


Table 5
Recorded Population Northern District
1911 Census

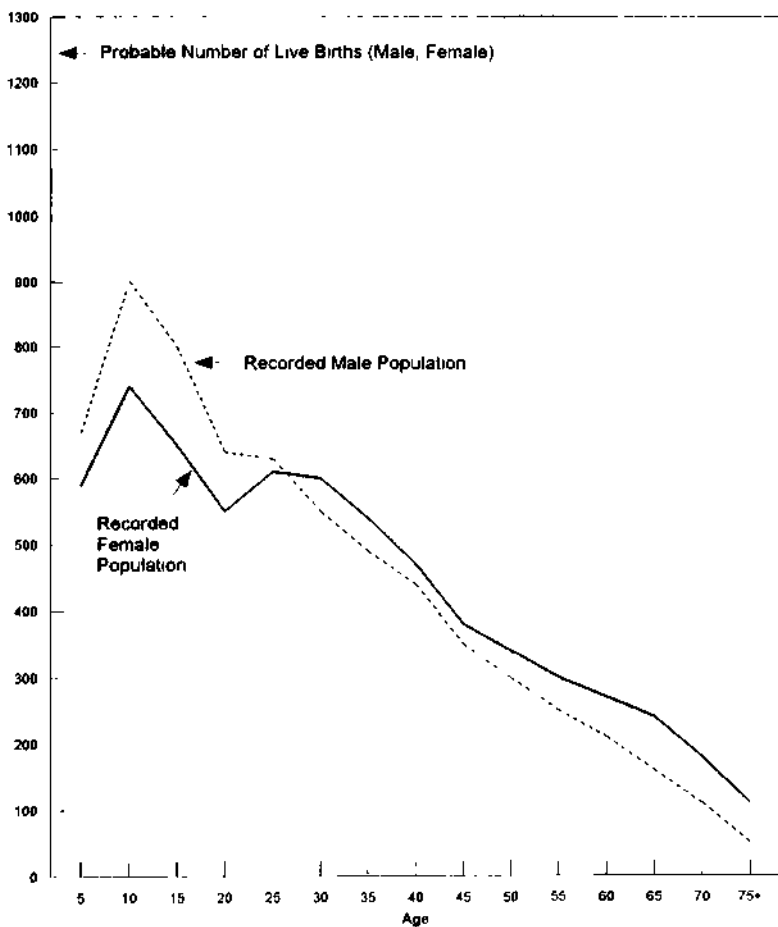
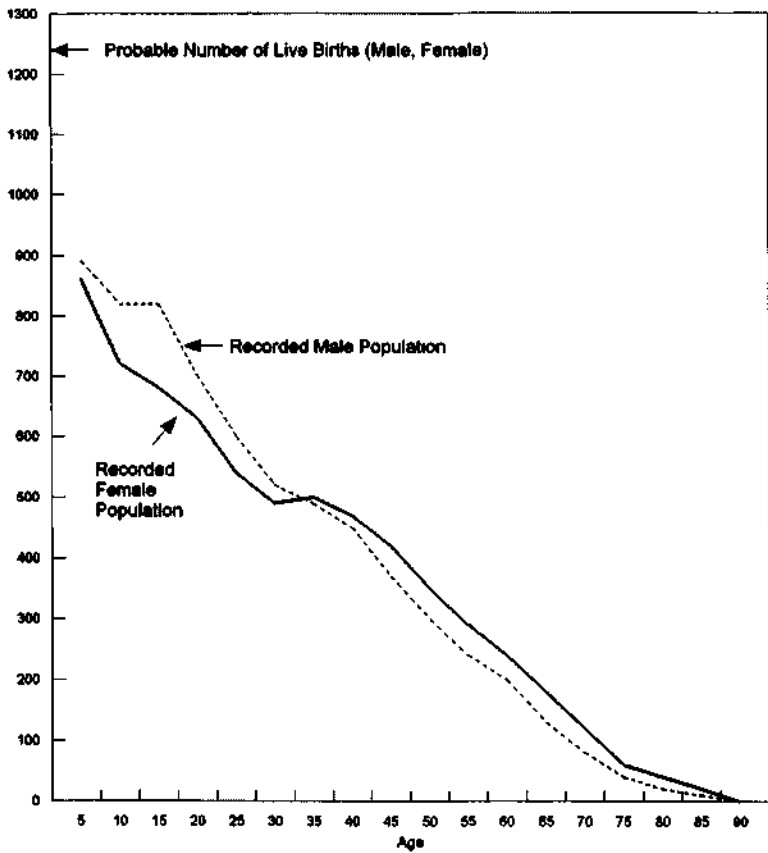


Table 6
Recorded Population Northern District
1921 Census



Tables 7 and 8 assume that mortality rates in 1911 and 1921 were basically the same, or at least that any changes were too small to be discerned in statistics as approximate as those in Tables 7 and 8. In fact, major improvements in the health of the New Territories only began to be seen in the 1930s. The government had begun to provide for the health of the New Territories immediately after the take-over. A dispensary with a resident doctor was established at Tai Po in 1900, and a programme of vaccination was initiated. However, most of this clinic's time was taken up with treating the police and other government servants in the New Territories; few local villagers were affected. The annual number of vaccinations (including re-vaccinations) was under 100 before 1909, when the Tung Wah Hospital began to assist every summer. Between 1910 and 1920 the annual vaccination rate in the New Territories rose to several hundred. Nonetheless, the area affected by this vaccination campaign seems to have been limited to the market towns of Tai Po, Sheung Shui and Tsuen Wan. The doctor posted to the New Territories in 1900 was withdrawn in 1909, after which the only trained medical staff resident in the area was a "dresser", who was supervised by intermittent visits by a doctor from Kowloon.⁵¹

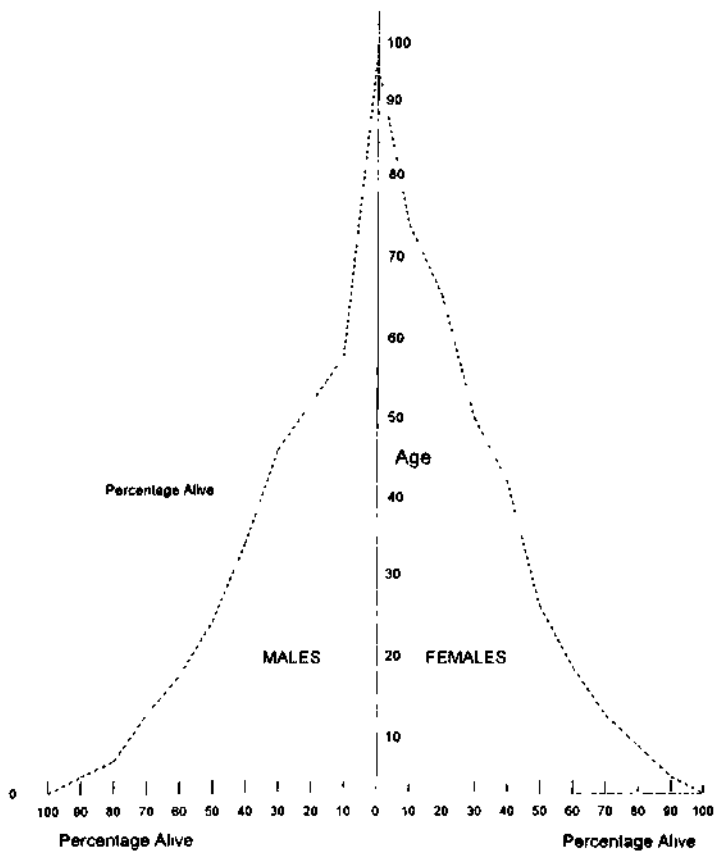
The very high rates of neo-natal casualties in the New Territories began to be addressed by the government from 1914, when a government midwife was stationed at Yuen Long. Midwives were posted to Tai Po, Tsuen Wan, and Cheung Chau in 1915, 1916, and 1917 respectively. The Pok Oi Hospital at Yuen Long was reorganised in 1920, and was backed by a government dispensary from 1925.⁵¹ However the critical decision to post midwives to cover the villages in addition to the market towns, was only taken in the 1930s. From the 1930s, the district midwives disinfected all drinking water wells, and vaccinated against smallpox, as well as attending births. Oral evidence suggests that the results on infant mortality were massive. By 1921, however, these great improvements had only begun to affect the market towns, and the overall mortality rates for the New Territories as a whole must have been much as they had been in 1911 and earlier.⁵⁵ Between 1911 and 1921, changes in mortality rates were probably, therefore, marginal, and averaging the two sets of statistics, as in Tables 7 and 8, is not unreasonable.

Table 7

Approximate Death-Rates

Percentage Dead	By Age (Males)	By Age (Females)
0	Birth	Birth
10	2	2
20	4	6
25	7	8
30	9	10
40	15	15
50	22	24
60	32	39
70	44	47
75	48	54
80	50	63
90	66	73
100	95	95

Table 8
Population Pyramid, North District



It must be stressed that the figures as given in Tables 7 and 8 are very approximate. They probably under-estimate the numbers of deaths of very young infants. They are likely, therefore, to be conservative: the average age of death, shown on Tables 7 and 8 as 22/24, may well, in fact, have been as low as 18/20. It can, however, be accepted that the average age of death is unlikely to have been *higher* than 22/24.

Clearly these figures, because of the serious under-reporting of very young children, cannot be used to provide detailed statistics of infant mortality in the New Territories. They do, however, show that about a fifth at least of all children died before reaching school age, and that about half of all children died before reaching marriageable age. They demonstrate that infant mortality was a major social factor, and permit debate only on the detail of incidence.

It is worth noting some points disclosed by Tables 3-6. Table 5 shows a slight upturn in the population recorded in 1911 for both males and females at ages 60-65: this is clearly a reaction to those elderly villagers who claimed they were "more than one cycle old," and who were consequently all entered as 61 years old. In 1921 this unthinking reaction was not followed: actual ages were identified and entered.

Because of the loss of Tsuen Wan district to Southern District, the 1921 figures for Northern District should have been very slightly lower than those for 1911.⁵⁶ This is the case for both males and females older than about 50. Since it is this elderly section of the population which is the most sedentary, these figures are likely to be accurate. However, between the ages of 35 and 50, for both males and females, the 1921 records show higher populations for Northern District than in 1911. This can probably be ascribed in part to villagers being caught by the census when returning to worship at their ancestral graves during the Ching Ming Festival, as postulated by the 1921 Census officer, and in part to greater efforts being made in 1921 to capture the boat people. In addition, political troubles in the border area of China had caused large numbers of refugees to cross over into the New Territories in 1920. While most of these refugees had returned to China at the end of 1920, it is likely that some remained in the New Territories, to be caught by the enumerators in Northern District in 1921.⁵⁷

Between the ages of 20 and 35, the 1911 figures for the Northern District are higher than the 1921 figures, as expected, but the very

wide divergence where females are concerned cannot be due solely to the transfer of Tsuen Wan alone.⁵⁸ This wide divergence can probably be ascribed to the large numbers of women busy in the fields during the 1921 Census period and thus being missed by the 1921 enumerators. The 1921 Census Officer, as noted above, remarked on the problems the peak agricultural season caused for the enumerators, who, clearly, were able to compel the presence of the heads of household, but not always the womentolk of the family.

The higher numbers of females as compared with males recorded in both 1911 and 1921 (at ages above about 26 in 1911, and about 32 in 1921) can be ascribed to the temporary absence of many of the males in the City or abroad. As is to be expected, this feature is much less marked in 1921, because of the return of so many males for the Ching Ming Festival, and the greater effort made to record the boat-people, many of whom were prime-age males, whose families were resident outside the New Territories. The higher recorded figures for females at ages above 55 are more likely to be due to differential death-rates, with females living longer.

Southern District. An Immigrant, Urban Society

While the censuses show a settled agricultural society in Northern District, in Southern District they show a society dominated by the land and floating populations of the market town seaports of Cheung Chau, Tai O, and Ping Chau, and marked by significant temporary immigration of young adult males.

As mentioned above, the census figures are problematic for Southern District. Because of differences in the treatment of New Kowloon, Tsuen Wan, and the floating population, only two tables provide fully usable data—the 1911 figures for the islands land population,⁵⁹ and the 1921 figures for the Southern District floating population.⁶⁰ However, even though the series of usable figures is short, nonetheless they clearly show a society radically distinct from that of Northern District.

Table 9 shows the reported population figures for the 1911 land population of the islands. As in Northern District, the figures suggest under-reporting of infant children. At 35 births per thousand,⁶¹ the

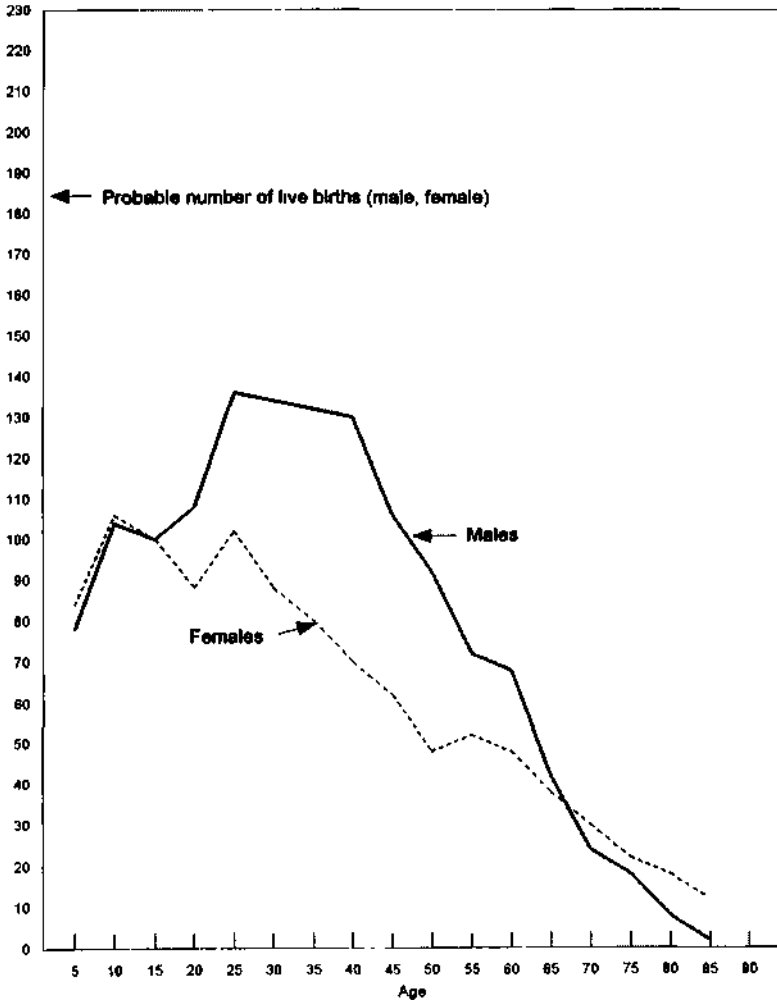
26

annual number of live births in the islands land population would have been about 180-185 each for males and females.

The 1911 overall situation for females from the Southern District land population is generally similar to that for Northern District. The increase in recorded females aged 20-25, however, is rather higher in percentage terms than in Northern District (16% as compared with 11%), and must include some immigration of women into the district as well as under-reporting of resident unmarried young women.

This postulated immigration into the district of young adult land population women - who probably, in many cases, left the district again before death - raises the average age of death for women in the Southern District land population as compared with Northern District from 24 to 26, and causes, as will be noted below, a similar slip of 2 or 3 years in, for instance, the average age of marriage, when compared with Northern District. This influx of young women into Southern District was small (possibly only 10 a year), and is possibly connected with the prostitution trade which is known from oral sources to have been significant on Cheung Chau, although other immigrant female workers may also have been involved.

Table 9
1911 Census
Islands, Land Population



The figures for females in the City and in Old Kowloon in 1911 (Table 10), and in New Kowloon (Table 11), show the same features of under-reporting of young girls as in the islands and in Northern District, and suggest essentially the same situation for ages above 60, but the increase in the numbers of young women aged 20-30 is far higher than in the Southern District land population (in Old Kowloon there were 55% more women aged 30-35 than aged 15-20, and 42% more in the City), and, in this case, this is certainly connected with the prostitution trade.

Thus, the 1911 Census shows a Southern District female land population with characteristics generally similar to the Northern District population, but with a few features suggestive of the temporary-immigrant society in the City.

If the figures for the 1911 Southern District female population show a few, rather faint, indications of temporary immigration into the area, however, this becomes very much clearer when the male population figures are considered. The figures for males of the land population recorded in 1911 in the islands are very different from those recorded in Northern District (Table 9: Table 3). The islands land population figures for 1911 show a male population sharply higher than the female population between the ages of about 15 and 55. A similar feature is to be seen in the figures for males recorded in 1911 for Old Kowloon and the City of Victoria (Table 10), and New Kowloon (Table 11). In both the City and Old and New Kowloon in 1911 the explosive increase in males recorded aged between about 12 and 55 was undoubtedly a reflection of immigrant workers only temporarily resident in the City, arriving there in their teens or low twenties to work, and leaving again to settle down in their native place once they had made some money, a few years or decades later. Given the general similarity between the female populations recorded in the Islands land population and Northern District, it is unlikely that the two areas had any radical differences between their *settled* land populations. The sharply higher male land population in the islands between the ages of 15 and 55, must, therefore, be due to significant temporary immigration into the islands of workers from outside the area, as in the corresponding figures for the City.

The Islands towns contained a higher percentage of the total population of Southern District than was the case in Northern District (at most, Northern District towns had a little less than 3,000 residents,

Table 10
1911 Census
City of Victoria, Old Kowloon
Land Population

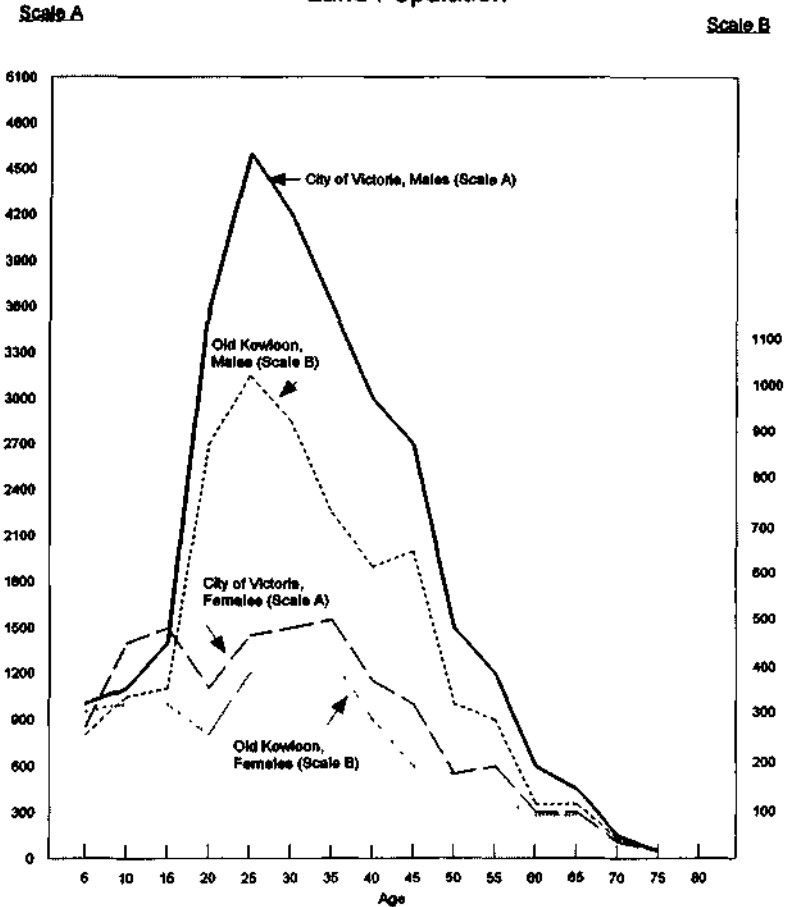
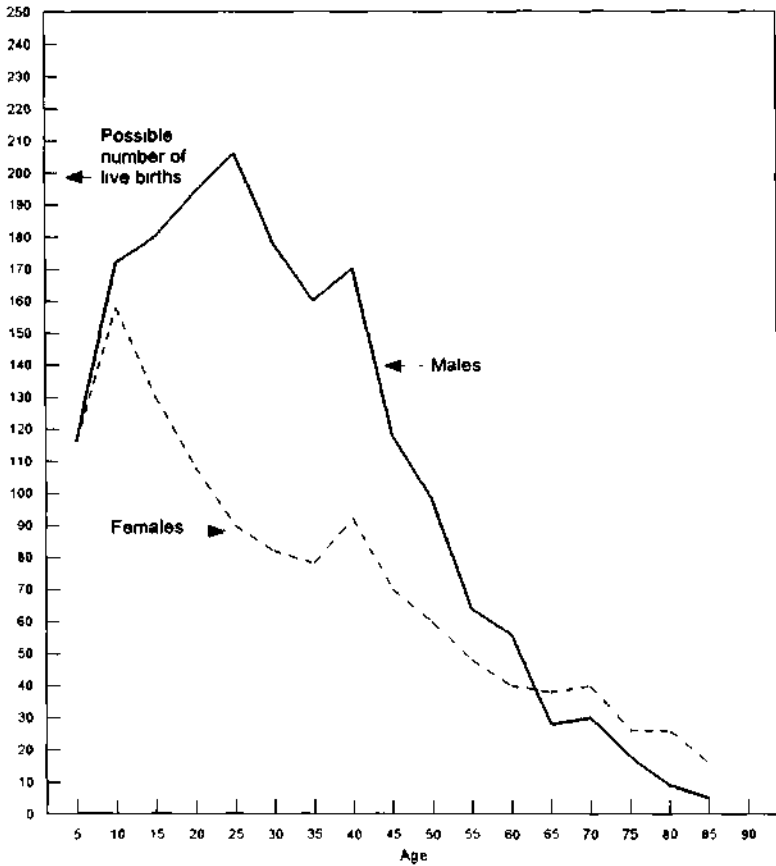


Table 11
1911 Census
New Kowloon · Land Population



out of a total population of 69,122 - 3.9%, while Southern District towns (including their floating populations) had at least 16,000 out of 21,355 - 74.9% - see Table 28). It is known that the Southern towns, for all their relatively small size, were socially dominated by groups of merchants from outside the marketing district.⁶² There can be no doubt that the recorded differences between the Northern and Southern District male land populations are due to the fact that the Southern figures record an essentially urban population, and the Northern figures an essentially agricultural one. Further, it is clear that the urban character of the small Southern District towns was different in quantity, but not in kind, from the City: both were marked by substantial numbers of immigrant prime-of-life males, temporarily resident without their families. Not surprisingly, the City shows this social pattern most clearly, but the basic pattern is common to the City, Kowloon, and the islands, and, as detailed study below will show, even to the small towns in the Northern District.

That the Southern District was dominated by immigrant workers only temporarily resident there, while the Northern District was mostly a settled, agricultural, society is also shown by the 1911 statistics for the place of birth of the recorded land population in the two Districts.⁶³

In Northern District in 1911 a mere 1,321 males (4% of the total male population), and 3,727 females (11% of the total female population) were born outside the New Territories.⁶⁴ These 1,321 Northern District males born outside the New Territories fall into three groups. The first are the 243 born in San On District; the area immediately to the north of the New Territories. These people had formed part of the same basic society as the Northern District, and, although born outside the New Territories, should probably not be regarded as immigrants. Before 1899, indeed, the New Territories formed a single unit with the rest of San On from which the New Territories was cut. These men may have been accompanied by their families in some cases - 1536 females born in San On were recorded, mostly brides of Northern District men, but possibly accompanying San On husbands in some cases. Villages in the north of the New Territories, close to the border, were particularly likely to have families whose ties lay equally on either side of the border.

The second group of Northern District males born outside the New Territories were the migrant stone cutters, salt-workers, and weavers from the north-east, a group of whom oral testimony has a good deal

to say. These came from the Wai Chau Prefecture, particularly Kwai Shin District, and from Ka Ying Prefecture, especially Cheung Lok District - 556 males are recorded in the 1911 Census from these Prefectures, 488 from the two Districts of Kwai Shin and Cheung Lok. Only 110 females from these areas were recorded, making it clear that the bulk of the people from these areas were not accompanied by their families.

The third group of Northern District men recorded in the 1911 Census as born outside the New Territories are probably mostly shop-keepers in the small market-towns, people from all over the Canton Delta (273 males and 119 females), but only a few from any one place. A few may be children born while their New Territories parents were living temporarily away from home, as doubtless the three males born in Honolulu.

It is clear that, in 1911, the 556 Northern District males born in the north-east prefectures, and the 273 born in the Delta, could not have affected the basic structure of society - they together represent only 2% of recorded males.

Females born outside the New Territories were more numerous than males born outside the New Territories in 1911 in Northern District, as it had long been the custom of the area to seek wives for sons from some distance away from the village. Doubtless, the 1,536 females recorded as born in San On District, and the 2,383 born in Hong Kong and Kowloon were mostly wives brought in, and thus not likely to affect the basic structure of society. Females from further away constitute only 308, a mere 1% of the recorded female population of the Northern District in 1911.

In the islands, however, a full 26% of males recorded in 1911 of the land population (1,631 males) were born outside the New Territories. As in the Northern District, some of these were probably shop-keepers resident with their families (246 San On males, and 265 San On females; 195 Tung Kun males, and 144 females; 40 Macau males, and 63 females), but many were businessmen or coolies living apart from their families, in businesses supporting the coastal shipping trade. 51 males from the Chiu Chau area (only 7 females), 536 from the Hoi Luk Fung area (only 28 females), and 32 men from Lo Tung (no females) were

all from this group, as were a good number also of those from the southern, seacoast edge of the Delta, and from Sze Yap (266 males, and 65 females; and 28 males and 6 females respectively).

In Southern District, the dominance of the land population in 1911 by people born outside the area was not so noticeable among females. Only 773 females were recorded born outside the New Territories (15%), and only 364 of these were born outside San On and Tung Kun (7%). This, however, was still a noticeably higher percentage than in the Northern District.

This temporarily resident male immigrant component of the Southern District population, as compared with the Northern District, is discernible also in the dialects recorded in the 1911 Census as "spoken in the home" among the land populations.⁶⁵ In the Northern District only 50 male Hoklo speakers were recorded (28 of them were working in the salt-fields at Sha Tau Kok), a mere 0.1% of the recorded male population (25 female Hoklo speakers were recorded). In the Southern District, however, 701 male Hoklo speakers were noted within the land population (11.3%) (365 female Hoklo speakers were recorded).

Thus, from all the statistics in the 1911 Census, it is clear that the seasonal movement of the fishing fleets, and the general coastal sea-borne trade, with the coolies and traders required to service these trades, was a sufficiently major social factor in traditional islands life to give the islands land population an "immigrant" type of social structure with an imbalanced male/female ratio, and heavy dominance of male society by persons born outside the area, and speaking non-local dialects. At the same time, underlying this urban, immigrant society was a small settled agricultural society, especially on Lantau, but also on Lamma to a less extent, probably not dissimilar to that seen more clearly in the Northern District.

The 1921 figures for the Southern District floating population (Table 12) show a pattern generally similar the 19 islands land population. There appears to be very little under-reporting in these figures - perhaps because of the difficulty of hiding children when enumerators visited tiny sampan homes. Taking into account those children who died shortly after birth, and who would be omitted by the census in any case, it

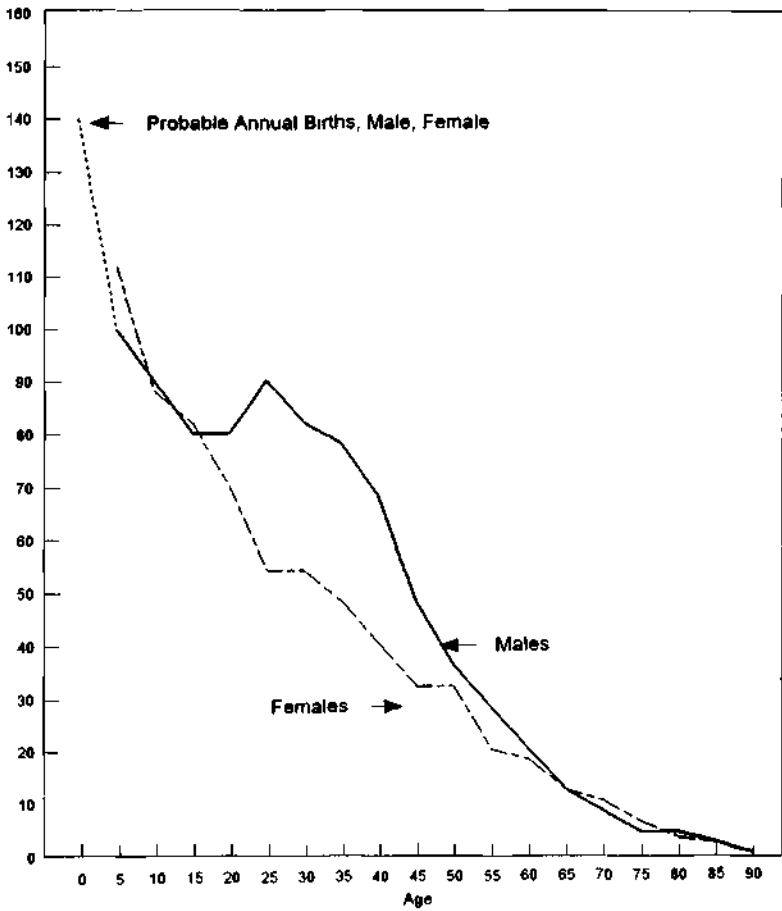
seems likely that the annual birth rate was about 140 males and the same number of females. This represents a figure of 37 births per thousand, higher than that estimated for the land population by the census officer. The recorded number of females aged below 5, even ignoring postnatal deaths, already represents a birth rate of over 30 per thousand, and this suggests that the birth rate among the islands boat-people must have been above 35 per thousand.⁶⁶ Up to the age of about 12, the figures for males and females are very similar, and they are again for ages above 45, and even more for ages above 60. These figures must represent the settled, permanently resident floating population. Between the ages of 12 and 45, however, the recorded numbers of males greatly surpasses those of females (by about 40% at about age 22).

There is a very slight change in the angle of curve of the female figures at about age 25, which may represent a very small influx of single women, but the figures recorded for females suggest a single, settled, population of females at all ages. The curve is generally coherent at all ages. This curve suggests the average age of death for boat people women was about 17-18. The recorded figures for females can be taken as accurate, and as descriptive of the settled Southern District boat people.

As with the 1911 land population figures, however, the males recorded must include a substantial temporarily immigrant adult male component. On the figures given, the average age of death for men was about 37, which is highly unlikely, unless large numbers of temporarily immigrant adult males are in question, many of whom would have left the area before death.

The average age of marriage recorded for the Southern District boat people in 1921 (about 21-22 for females, 26-27 for males) also suggests a significant number of temporarily resident immigrant adult males. This is discussed in greater detail below.

Table 12
Floating Population 1921
Southern District



In 1921, 1,528 (36%) of the male boat-people in the islands were recorded as born outside the New Territories, and 893 (26%) of the females.⁶⁷ Of the 1,528 males and 893 females born outside the New Territories, 444 males and 279 females were born in Hong Kong or Macao, 956 and 578 respectively in the Delta, and 101 and 10 in the Hoi Fung/Chiu Chau area. From every area from where people born outside the New Territories came, the number of recorded males was far higher than the number of females: there were 95 New Territories-born floating population females recorded for every 100 males, but only 50 Macao born females for every 100 males, 41 for every 100 San On-born males, 31 for every 100 Tung Kun males, and so on. In the recorded populations from some areas unmarried people greatly outnumber the married (ie 72% of the 316 males, and 54% of the 199 females from San Ning District were unmarried, and 74% of the 195 males and 62% of the 175 females from Heung Shan District), again making it clear that we are dealing with temporarily resident populations. The extreme disparity of the male female figures from the Hoi Fung / Chiu Chau area also suggests this: in this case, however, the number of married persons (51% of males, and 50% of females) suggests that many of those recorded had families in their home districts. Many of the people from this area were in the Southern District as seamen on board coastal cargo and large fishing junks.

Thus the 1921 Southern District floating population records support the 1911 Southern District land population statistics to confirm that the Islands had an essentially urban population structure, dominated by significant numbers of temporarily resident immigrant groups, mostly young adult males, and that therefore the Islands population had much in common with the City, and was sharply distinct from the settled, agricultural, population of the Northern District. This is a finding which is confirmed by analysis of many other parts of the records of the censuses.

The Villager's World

Since most trade in traditional South China was by family owned and operated sampans and junks, the places where people found resident in the New Territories were born gives an indication of the area the traditional New Territories villager was in contact with. Table 13 shows this area. It shows the places (other than the New Territories themselves,

and Hong Kong) where males found resident in the New Territories were born.⁶⁸ Females are recorded in addition as born at Lung Chuen, Lo Ting, Ko Chau, and Lei Chau, but in each case only in ones and twos.

It will be seen that the world of the New Territories villager was effectively bounded by the coastal strip, and the central, Delta, area of Kwangtung Province. The Islands were in contact with other ports from Chiu Chau to Lim Chau, but not much further. Neither the 1911 nor the 1921 Censuses refers to anyone born in Fukien, and there is only a single reference in 1921 to a man born in Vietnam. The coastal trade must have been essentially kept within the bounds of the province, although oral evidence mentions also traders from the very southernmost part of Fukien.

At the same time, contact seems to have been close and easy with the Pearl River Delta area within 100 miles of the New Territories, but beyond 100 miles contacts were slight. Only one man is recorded from Ho Yuen, Ying Tak, and Yeung Kong. The three recorded in 1911 from Kwangsi fall into the same pattern, as also the single male recorded from Kiangsi in both Censuses. Above 100 miles from the New Territories, the only place with which the New Territories villagers were in significant contact was the Ka Ying area in the upper Han River valley, where the stonecutters and itinerant weavers came from, although oral evidence suggests that the villagers knew the name of the area, but not much more.

It will be clear from Table 13 that the New Territories was in particularly close contact with a zone no more than about 50 miles wide, i.e. the districts of Kwai Shin (Wai Chau), San On (Po On), Tung Kun, Nam Hoi and Pun Yue (the Canton City and suburban districts), Heung Shan (Chung Shan), Shun Tak, and San Wui (Kongmoon). The villagers' contacts with Central and North China was almost non-existent.

Many villagers emigrated for part of their life, but almost always without their families, and the contacts of the New Territories villagers with the wider world outside China is, as a consequence, understated in Table 13. The 1911 Census, however, mentions males born in Honolulu, the Philippines, and Malaya, and the 1921 Census adds individuals born in Japan, Italy, and USA. Probably, by 1911, the New Territories villager was more in contact

with, and had a fuller mental concept of, the world beyond the South Sea than he had of China outside central Kwangtung.

Marriage and Childbirth

The 1911 census gives some information on marriage in the New Territories.⁶⁹ It notes the married state of 51,101 persons in Northern District, and 17,739 persons of the land population in Southern District. This probably represents all those aged over 12, plus those married as infants under 12.⁷⁰ 881 males and 902 females in Northern District had been married as infants of less than 12 (2.6% and 2.6% respectively).⁷¹ In 1921, the details of married state are much fuller than in 1911, and include details of the numbers of married and single males and females at all ages. However, in 1921 no details are given of infant marriages. The recorded details from the two censuses are shown in Table 14. The average age of marriage can be given accurately for 1921, but only approximately for 1911.

Table 14
Married State. New Territories, 1911, 1921 Censuses

	Males			Females		
		%age of Total Population	Average Age of marriage		%age of Total Population	Average Age of marriage
Northern District married, 1911	14428	42%	24	17433	50%	21.9
Northern District married, 1921	14891	43%	23	16124	46%	17
Northern District widow(er)s 1911	2201	6%		5150	15%	
Northern District widow(er)s 1921	1767	5%		5500	16%	
N District married as infants, 1911	881	3%		902	3%	
S. District: boat Population married 1921	1757	43%	26	1411	50%	21
S. District: boat Population widow(er)s	212	5%		343	12%	

Some points stand out from this table. The first is confirmation of the fact deduced from the general population statistics, that less than half of people born lived to the age of marriage. Here it shows that under half of recorded males did in fact marry, although about two-thirds of recorded women did, because of the earlier age of marriage of women: if account is taken of un-reported youngsters, the percentage of those who survived to marry would be markedly less.

Another interesting fact is that, despite heavy infant mortality, the average age of marriage was not particularly young, particularly for men. In both 1911 and 1921 the average age of marriage seems to have been about 23-24 for men, and for women some 5 or 7 years younger. In the Islands in 1921 the average age of marriage was several years later than in Northern District, particularly of the large numbers of temporarily resident immigrants there, although it does seem that the boat people married later than the land people generally.²² These temporarily resident immigrants clearly, in at least some cases, deferred marriage until they returned to their native place, and thus boosted the numbers of single men recorded, in Southern District. The Northern District was a centre of *emigration* rather than immigration, and this may well be the reason why many of the men in Northern District did not marry until their forties. These are probably emigrants from the area who married on their return to the native village. Table 15 gives the details from the 1921 Census of age of marriage, and Table 16 the same information in graph form.

The percentage of widows and widowers is given in both censuses. For men and land population women the figure is similar in both censuses - about 5-6% for men in both Northern and Southern Districts (in Southern District for both the land and the floating populations), but for women 15-16% among the land people in both Northern and Southern Districts, but about 12% among the boat-people. While the higher rate of widows as compared with widowers may, to some degree, reflect the greater longevity of women, it seems probable that it reflects to a greater degree the Chinese unwillingness to permit women to remarry after the death of their husbands, but to accept remarriage among men.

These findings are more clearly shown in Tables 15 and 16. These show that very few people married before the age of 15 (less than 10%

of either sex, in any social group) In 1911 a few "infant marriages" are noted. These must be the San Po Tsai marriages which are known to have been quite common. In 1921 the census ignored these marriages, recording only those couples actually living together as man and wife, treating "infant marriages" as the infant betrothals they in fact were. Probably many of the couples living together as man and wife at the age of 13 - 15 in the 1921 Census were in fact such "infant marriages."

Table 15
Married State: 1921 Census

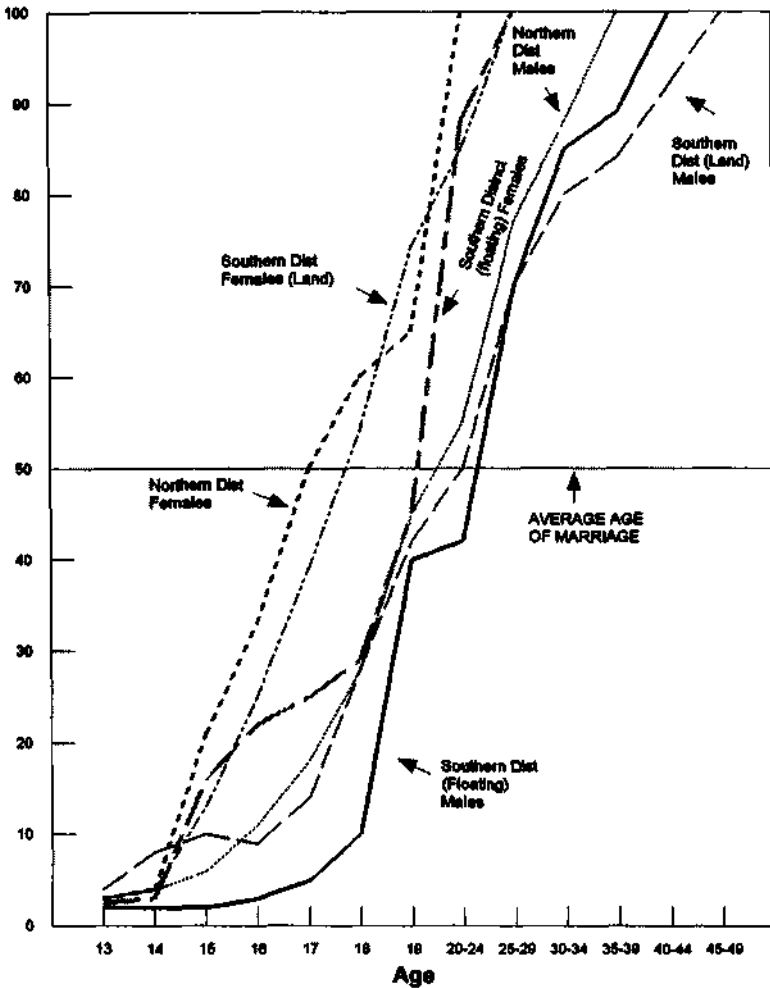
Age	Northern District		Southern District (Land)		Southern District (Boat)	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
13	2.8%	1.7%	3.4%	2.9%	1.2%	1.1%
14	4.2	7.0	6.4	7.7	(1.2%)	(1.1%)
15	6.0	21.5	9.4	12.4	1.5	15.5
16	11.1	32.6	9.9	23.6	3.2	22.5
17	17.0	50.7	13.9	37.1	4.1	25.4
18	26.4	60.3	28.1	53.2	4.7	28.3
19	44.8	65.0	42.4	77.7	45.7	45.1
20-24	55.3	95.9	50.2	89.3	47.4	92.2
25-29	77.4	99.0	70.1	95.2	70.2	97.4
30-34	87.7	99.4	80.3	98.3	85.0	99.1
35-39	94.5	99.6	88.5	99.3	91.9	100
40-44	95.9	99.4	91.8	98.8	97.9	99.4
45-49	97.0	99.4	94.8	98.8	98.9	100

Figures for "married" includes widow(er)s

Women married younger than men. The women of the settled Northern District married noticeably younger than those in Southern District, with the Southern District floating population marrying significantly later than the land women. Thus, more than a fifth of Northern District women married at 15 or younger, a third were married by 16, and half by 17. By the age of 19 two-thirds of Northern District women were married, and almost all were by 24. In the Southern land population, however, these percentages were reached in every case about 6 months or a year later than in Northern District, and, for the floating population, up to 3 years later. While the immigrant nature of Islands society is the most likely reason for the differences, a social divergence between the land and floating populations is likely as well.

Table 16
Age of Marriage
1921 Census

Percentage



The figures for males show that a significant percentage married late. Thus, while about 14-17% of males were married in both Northern District and in the Southern District land population by the age of 17, only a quarter were married by 18, half by about 23 or a little later, and even by the late 20s only two-thirds were married. Even as late as the late 30s 10-15% of males were still unmarried. The 1921 Census suggests that eventually every villager married. All males aged over 80 and all females aged over 75 (except one) in Northern District, all males over 70, and all females over 75 in the Southern District land population, and all males over 50 (except one), and all females over 35 (except one) of the Southern District floating population are shown as married, or widow(er)s. There is likely to be some error here, as both the 1911 and 1921 Censuses and oral evidence make it certain that there were a few Buddhists in the area, who never married.⁷³ It is probable that these monks and nuns were just ignored in the Married State figures in the 1921 Census. However, there does seem to be a real difference between the figures for the land populations and the floating population. In the floating population it seems that there were very few young marriages, for over half of both men and women married between 18 and 24, but that, on the other hand, by the late 30s all were married, whereas, for the land populations, while there were more men married at below 18, up to a third of males were still unmarried by the late 30s. The reason for the late marriage of so many men is, without doubt, the temporary young adult male emigration/immigration into or from the area.

Another point of interest is the varying ratios between married and single men and women in the various social groups. Ignoring widow(er)s and infant marriages, the figures show significantly more married women than married men recorded in Northern District in both 1911 and 1921, but significantly more married men than married women in Southern District in 1921. This, again, is a factor of the temporary emigration of adult males from Northern District, and the temporary immigration into Southern District of adult males. While some of the temporary migrants waited to marry until they returned to and settled down in their home village at the age of 30 or 40, others clearly married before leaving, and left the wife at home in the native village while the husband went off to make money. Details are given in Table 17: the differences in the statistics for Northern District between 1911 and 1921 are probably due to the effects of the Chung Ming Festival in

1921 bringing numbers of usually absent men back to the village for the festival, and the remaining 1920 refugees.

Table 17
Ratio of Married Men to Married Women

N. District 1911	14428	Excess of	-
. Married Males		. Males	
. Married females	17433	. Females	3005 (17.2%)
N. District 1921	14891	Excess of	-
. Married males		. Males	
. Married females	16124	. Females	1233 (7.6%)
S. District 1911	6231	Excess of	-
(Land) Married males*		. Males	
. Married females*	3985	. Females	2246 (36.0%)
S. District 1921	6429	Excess of	939 (14.6%)
(Land) Married males*		. Males	
. Married females*	5490	. Females	
S. District 1921	1817	Excess of	406 (22.3%)
(Boat) Married males**		. Males	
. Married females*	1411	. Females	-
* Includes New Kowloon			

Fertility was low. We have seen that the likely adjusted annual figure for births was about 2,500 a year in Northern District. The figures for married men and women in the two censuses, when adjusted for widow(er)s and absent spouses, suggests that there were about 10,000-10,750 couples living together as man-and-wife in that district, with the wife of child-bearing age (below 45). This suggests only one live birth for each such couple every 4-4.3 years. With live births at these rates, a family where both husband and wife survived from marriage at about 20 to the wife reaching 45 would have had 5-6 children. However, many couples must have had their married lives cut by the death of one of the spouses, and it is, perhaps, more likely that the average number of children per family was closer to 4-5. Given that less than half of children born lived to marry, it would seem that the population was basically static, or growing only slowly. Comparing the basic 1911 and 1921 figures for Northern District (subtracting the Tsuen Wan figures from the 1911 statistics, and the Floating population figures from the 1921 statistics) suggests that the resulting 1911 population was 32,747 males and 33,393 females, against 32,139 males and 32,056 females in 1921, a slight drop over the decade. While these

figures are not strong enough to make any such a drop in population certain, they do make it unlikely that the population was rising fast.

The reason for the low fertility is probably the practice of late weaning. Oral evidence suggests that boys were not weaned until they could walk and talk, and, in some cases, not until they were 4 or 5 years old, since it was recognised that mother's milk was strengthening. Girls were weaned younger, but still not until after they reached 1 year, in many cases. This must have acted to slow down conception

Social Statistics

Education

The 1911 Census lists 26,460 males in Northern District of 10 years of age and upwards. It gives the educational attainments of 25,679 males in that district, probably intending this to equate to all males of 10 years old and above, which was specifically the case with the corresponding statistics for the City and floating population in that census.⁷¹ 14,162 males were entered as "Able to Read and Write" (55.2%), and 11,517 as "Unable to read and Write" (44.8%). Even taking into account the 778 males aged over 10 whose educational attainments are not given, it is clear that significantly over half of the male population reported itself literate. In 1921, the census found even higher levels of male literacy. 17,611 literate males, representing 67.2% of males over 10.⁷² The difference is unlikely to be due to increasing literacy, but is probably the result of a more relaxed standard of literacy in 1921.

In Southern District (including New Kowloon) in 1911 the levels of male literacy among the land population were even higher than in Northern District, presumably reflecting the more urban character of life there. 7,006 males out of 11,652 with educational attainments recorded (60.1%) were "Able to Read and Write" (the full total of males there over 10 was 11,859). In 1921 7,439 males of the Southern District land population (again including New Kowloon) were recorded as "Able to Read and Write," representing 65.7% of males aged over 10.

However, if literacy among village males was common, it was

extremely uncommon among women. In 1911 only 235 women out of 25,899 for whom the educational attainments are given (0.9%) in Northern District, and 231 out of 7,991 (2.8%) in the land population of Southern District are recorded as literate. It is probable that the 1,934 females over 10 whose educational attainments are not given for Northern District (27,833 females are recorded there over 10), and the 532 not recorded in Southern District (8,523 females are recorded there over 10), were also illiterate. In 1921 674 females are recorded as "Able to Read and Write" (2.5% of 26,942 females over 10) in Northern District, and 377 in Southern District (3.5% of 10,665 females aged over 10).

The floating population was also far less literate than the land population. In 1921, in Southern District, 1,452 males of the floating population were "Able to Read and Write" (45% of 3,180 males over 10), and just 67 females (2.7% of 2394 females over 10). At Cheung Chau, however, there were a number of boat people who travelled on the large coastal trading junks, and these were more likely to be literate than the dwellers on small sampans: in 1911, for the floating population of Hong Kong as a whole, the census found only 4,416 floating population males out of 24,747 males over 10 literate (17.8%), and only 127 females out of 15,129 (0.8%), and this is more likely to be closer to the true position for dwellers on the smaller and poorer vessels.⁷⁶

The 1931 Census gives literacy rates for persons aged "21 and over" (i.e. born in or before 1910). 66.0% of land population males in the New Territories in this age group, and 2.81% of land population females, are recorded there as literate. It will be seen that these figures are very close to those recorded for the same age group in 1921 (i.e. those aged "over 10" in 1921).⁷⁷

A further indicator of education appears in the tables of "Occupations" in the 1911 Census.⁷⁸ This shows that 1,729 males aged over 10 in Northern District were students, and 771 males over 10 in Southern District (including New Kowloon). It is unlikely that more than a tiny minority of villagers continued in full-time education after 15.⁷⁹ 4008 males were enumerated as being aged between 10 and 15 in Northern District in 1911, suggesting that 43.1% of them were students. It is, however, probable that, in the "Occupations"

table, the cut-off at age 10 was not followed for full-time students, and the enumerated students probably include all full-time students, including those below 10. If so, the percentage of male children aged 5-15 at school on the census date was 20.3%. The corresponding figures for Southern District in 1911 (including New Kowloon) are 1,365 males students, or 28.0% of those aged 5-15. It is likely that not all students were recorded by the enumerators, with the actual number of students being higher than recorded. In comparison, the 33 female students enumerated in 1911 in Northern District represent just 0.5% of the enumerated female population aged 5-15. Unfortunately, the 1921 Census does not give any figures for full-time students.

Four other censuses of school populations in the New Territories survive, however, for the period 1900-1921, and these throw considerable light on the census records (see Table 18). In 1902 it was estimated that "over 4,000" children were at school in the New Territories as a whole out of 17,500 male children under 15.

Table 18
Male Students, 1902-1921

Source	No. of students	% age of males of school age
Brewn Report, 1900	4000+	22.9%
Census 1911 N. District	1729	20.3%
S. District ¹	771	28.0%#
Total	2500	22.3%
Orme Report 1912		
N. District	2449	28.9%
Islands	570	55.5%#
Total	3019	31.7%
Sung Report 1913		
N. District	2990	35.2%
Islands	233+168=401	39.1%#
Total	3391	35.7%
Schools Census 1921 (enrolled) (regularly attending school)	3989 (3096)	32.9% (25.5%)
# Excluding boat-people		
* Including New Kowloon		
Excluding students in government schools		

These figures are impressionistic, and on the high side (in 1911

there were 15,570 male children under 15 in the New Territories including New Kowloon), but suggest that about 235 of boys aged 5-15 were believed to be at school at any one time.⁸⁰

In 1912, the district officer reported that there were, on average, 2,449 children regularly attending school in Northern District, in 166 schools, and 570 in the islands, in 29 schools.⁸¹ This would suggest that 28.9% of male children aged 5-15 were at school in Northern District, and 55.5% of those of the same age group among the land population of the Islands.

In 1913, in the Sung Report on Education in the New Territories, a total of 2,990 students regularly attending school were recorded, in 247 schools, in Northern District, and 233 in 13 schools, in Southern District. However, the Sung Report did not cover Lantau (where there had been eight schools, with 168 students, the previous year). The Sung Report figures differ from those of the district officer and come from a different census, but give an entirely similar picture.⁸²

In 1921 another school census of the New Territories found 3,989 at school in 184 schools, although the census does not break the figures down into Northern and Southern Districts. The Report on New Territories Schools noted that, although 3,989 persons were registered as students, the average attendance was about 3,096 (both the Orme and Sung Reports also gave "average attendance" rather than "registration" figures). It will be seen that this school census gives figures again very close to the previous ones.⁸³

Thus, the 1911 Census, and the 1921 and 1931 Censuses, seem to give figures very much in line with those of the school censuses of 1902, 1912, 1913, and 1921, and these figures must, therefore, be treated as essentially accurate. At any time, about a quarter of all boys between 5 and 15 were at school in the Northern District, and up to half were in Southern District. In 1921, the Director of Education assumed that the average period a boy spent at school was $5\frac{1}{2}$ years, but a rather shorter period than this is probable. $3\frac{1}{2}$ -4 years would seem more likely.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, the numbers of full students found make the claims in the three censuses that well over half of all adult land population males in the New Territories were literate believable. The Director of Education was of this opinion in 1921: "very few males in Hongkong

are totally illiterate.”

The four school censuses say little about the education of girls, except that it was rare. However, the 1921 School Census did record that only 145 girls were full-time students at that date, which is only a little better than the 51 noted in the 1911 Census, despite the foundation of three girls' schools, and one fully co-educational school between 1911 and 1921 in the New Territories.⁵⁵

The question of the degree of literacy of males in traditional Chinese society is one of considerable debate. The evidence of the 1911, 1921, and 1931 Censuses, and the 1902-1921 School Censuses in the New Territories should not be ignored in this debate. They show unequivocally that the villagers believed that between 55 and 66% of the adult men of the villages were literate, and that about a quarter or a third of the male children aged 5-15 were at school at any time. There seems no good reason not to take this evidence at face value.⁵⁶

Occupation

Both the 1911 and the 1921 Census include tables of “Occupations”⁵⁷ Both sets of records are difficult to use, although the figures in the 1911 Census are better. In 1921, in fact, the census officer apologised for the poor quality of the “Occupation” statistics.⁵⁸ In 1911, the occupation of 22,770 males and 14,386 females in the Northern District are recorded. This probably represents all those who claimed to have an occupation, and omitted infants, the elderly, and those women who claimed only to be housewives. Occupations are recorded for a male population approximately equivalent to all males aged over 15. In 1921, however, occupations were recorded for 34,753 males, against a total male population of 37,287. It must be assumed that persons with more than one occupation (e.g. a farmer and a carpenter, both part-time) were entered under each occupation in 1921. “Student” is not given as an occupation in 1921.

In both 1911 and 1921 the occupation figures for Southern District include the New Kowloon populations, although a separate “Occupations” table is included for the Southern District floating population in 1921. In 1911 it is unclear if the islands boat people

are included in the Southern District figures, although this is unlikely. For these reasons, the Southern "Occupations" tables are more difficult to use than the Northern ones. In 1911, occupations are recorded for 11,036 Southern District males and 2,270 females, against the islands recorded land population of 6,229 males and 5,271 females, and the total Southern District population (including New Kowloon but excluding the boat-people) of 14,228 males and 10,896 females.

The low figure of women recorded as being in full-time occupation in Southern District in 1911 (about 22.7% of recorded females) as compared with Northern District (51.7%) is due to Southern District's high percentage of fishermen, and low percentage of farmers, as compared with Northern District. In 1911, in both Northern District and Southern District the ratio of fishermen to fisherwomen recorded is low (24.68: 1; 63.2: 1 respectively - 1,851 fishermen to 75 fisherwomen in Northern District, 1,580 fishermen to 25 fisherwomen in Southern District), while that of (male) farmers to (female) agricultural labourers is high (105: 1, 1.7: 1 - 14,630 male farmers, market gardeners, or miscellaneous agricultural labourers to 13,982 female agricultural labourers in Northern District, and 3,138 to 1,820 in Southern District). Clearly the 1911 Census enumerators considered the wife of a fisherman as essentially no more than a housewife (while her duties as a fisherwoman were significant, they were conducted from a boat which was also her home), but the wife of a farmer, since she had to assist in the fields, away from the home, was classed as an independent farm labourer. Other women, working from their own homes, were also probably classed as housewives in 1911 and left unrecorded in this way, an especially significant factor where the wives of shopkeepers running shops or workshops from the buildings they lived in are concerned. 63.8% of all males in Northern District whose occupation was recorded in 1911 were farmers or working in agriculture, as opposed to only 26.8% in Southern District. Only 8% of males with occupations recorded in 1911 were fishermen in Northern District, as against 14% in Southern. Shopkeepers, and workshop operators, were also more common in Southern District. The two societies, the one landward, and the other coastal and urban, were very different, and the enumeration of

female occupations is one of the places where the difference is discernible

The occupations of males as recorded in 1911 are shown in Tables 19 and 20, which are re-arrangements of the information in the 1911 Census, and the occupations of Northern District males as recorded in 1921 in Tables 21, 22, and 24. It will be seen that the enumerators in the two Districts in 1911 differed in their classification of occupations. It is unlikely, for instance, that there were no restaurants in Northern District, and certain that there were numbers of ferry boats (the absence of ferry boats may, however, be a reflection of the 1911 Census tendency not to record the floating population in Northern District). Equally, there were certainly fishmongers in Southern District. Clearly, some people were being entered into "General" classifications in the one District, who would have been separately classified in the other. Similarly, there seem to have been differences of interpretation in, for instance, the distinctions to be drawn between general carpenters and boat-builders, and between medicinal drug-dealers, and opium sellers. Too much weight should not be placed on the detail of these tables, therefore, although certain general conclusions can be drawn from them.

The dominance of society by farming in the Northern District comes out clearly in these statistics. About two-thirds of all men in that district in 1911 were full-time farmers. This dominance is even more profound in the 1921 figures, where 78.8% of all the recorded males are farmers- although, as noted above, these figures probably include part-time farmers, and are not completely comparable with those of 1911. Even in Northern District the second most important occupation was the other major primary occupation of fishing, with 8.1% of males employed in it in 1911 (9.4% in 1921). The long-standing quarrying industry in the area is also clearly shown, with 1.7% of all males in Northern District in this trade (in 1921 there were about 1.8% of all recorded males in this trade in Northern District). The remaining males in Northern District in both 1911 and 1921 were working as shopkeepers, artisans, or labourers, some in the market-towns, the others within their villages.

Table 19
Occupations of Males, 1911

Occupation	Northern District		Southern District*	
Agricultural occupations	14630	64.3%	3138	28.4%
Fishermen	1851	8.1%	1580	14.3%
Seamen and sailors	296	1.3%	180	1.6%
Ferry boats and messengers	—	—	31	0.3%
Foodstuff sellers (See Table 20)	832	3.7%	745	6.8%
Masons and stonecutters etc	376	1.7%	766	6.9%
Carpenters	122	0.5%	322	2.9%
Boat builders, etc.	479	2.1%	199	1.8%
Brick makers	14	0.1%	—	—
Tailors and cloth sellers	176	0.8%	119	1.1%
Blacksmiths, workers in tin and brass	138	0.6%	222	2.0%
Shopkeepers and assistants	1151	5.1%	621	5.6%
Silversmiths and jewellers	24	0.1%	49	0.4%
Foreign goods dealers	4	0.0%	20	0.2%
Booksellers and paper dealers	—	—	30	0.3%
Pawnbrokers	4	0.0%	—	—
Doctors and druggists	104	0.5%	173	1.6%
Opium sellers	23	0.1%	—	—
Coolies and general labourers	246	1.1%	1446	13.1%
Pottery and glass dealers	15	0.1%	6	0.1%
Basketry and rattan dealers	28	0.1%	35	0.1%
Priests, monks, and fortune tellers	41	0.2%	11	0.1%
Mechanics, watch sellers, etc.	9	0.0%	67	0.6%
Shoe makers	7	0.0%	34	0.3%
Beggars	6	0.0%	—	—
Musicians and artists	1	0.0%	7	0.1%
Cooks	98	0.4%	55	0.5%
Domestic servants	18	0.5%	4	0.0%
Sanitary workers	4	0.0%	43	0.4%
Restaurant keepers	—	—	27	0.2%
Barbers	116	0.5%	97	0.9%
Coal dealers	—	—	63	0.6%
Surveyors	—	—	56	0.5%
Government service	58	0.3%	45	0.4%
Students	1729	7.6%	771	7.0%
Teachers	169	0.7%	74	0.7%
Others	1	0.0%	—	—
TOTAL	22770	100%	11036	100%
* Includes New Kowloon				

Table 20
Male Sellers of Foodstuffs and Allied Trades, 1911

Occupation	Northern District		Southern District*	
Vegetable dealers	21	2.5%	19	2.6%
Fruit sellers	26	3.1%	16	2.1%
Bakers	7	0.1%	35	4.7%
Poultry dealers	4	0.5%	4	0.5%
Grain and flour dealers	5	0.6%	11	1.5%
Rice dealers	70	8.4%	43	5.8%
Rice pounders	24	2.9%	—	—
Tobacco dealers	18	2.2%	14	1.9%
Wine sellers	22	2.6%	30	4.0%
Fishmongers	74	8.9%		
Butchers and pork sellers	—	—	8	1.1%
Oil sellers	11	1.3%	1	0.1%
Tea sellers	15	1.8%	26	3.5%
Unclassified and general	535	64.3%	538	72.2%
TOTAL	832	100%	745	100%
*Includes New Kowloon				

Table 21
Male Dealers in Foodstuffs, Northern District, 1921

Occupation	No. of Males	
Beancurd/bean stick makers and dealers	42	4.4%
Bakers/Flour millers	42	4.4%
Dried fish curers and dealers	54	5.7%
Preserved meat makers and dealers	1	0.1%
Rice millers	27	2.8%
Rice dealers	84	8.8%
Dog meat sellers	1	0.1%
Fishmongers	186	19.5%
Fruit sellers	16	1.7%
General grocery	397	41.7%
Butchers	67	7.0%
Noodle sellers	2	0.2%
Salt dealers	12	1.3%
Sauce makers and dealers	3	0.3%
Tea dealers	11	1.2%
Vegetable sellers	7	0.7%
Total	952	100%

Table 22
Occupations of Males. Northern District. 1921

Occupation	No. of Males	
Agricultural occupations	25306	78.8%
Fishing	3268	9.4%
Masons and allied trades	378	1.1%
Lime burners and dealers	20	0.1%
Brick/tile makers	93	0.3%
Oil pressers and dealers	104	0.3%
Boat builders	42	0.1%
Carpenters and allied trades	249	0.7%
Blacksmiths/other metal-workers	56	0.2%
Jewellers	52	0.1%
Basketry and rattan makers and dealers	41	0.1%
Other artisans*	55	0.2%
Weavers	11	0.0%
Sail makers	10	0.0%
Other textile workers	7	0.0%
Tailors, cobblers and allied trades	325	0.9%
Dealers in foodstuffs (See Table 22)	952	2.7%
Dealers in wine	58	0.2%
Builders*	55	0.2%
Fuel dealers	40	0.1%
Land transport workers (rail and road)	119	0.3%
Boatmen (See Table 24)	371	1.1%
Sailors on foreign ships and steam launches	841	2.4%
Dockyard workers	20	0.1%
Tobacco dealers	25	0.1%
Doctors, dentists and medicine dealers	124	0.4%
Optum sellers	4	0.0%
Pawnbrokers	5	0.0%
Other shop workers#	392	1.1%
Hawkers, coolies, general labourers	886	2.6%
Government service	63	0.2%
Interpreters	11	0.0%
Teachers	192	0.6%
Vets, lawyers, artists	3	0.0%
Actors, musicians	8	0.0%
Religious, fortune tellers, geomancers, temple keepers	114	0.3%
Domestic servants	23	0.1%
Barbers	88	0.3%
Cooks	266	0.8%
Restaurant, teahouse, guesthouse workers	42	0.1%
Laundrymen	2	0.0%
Watchmen and miscellaneous	31	0.1%
Total	34753	100%

* Includes engineers, motor car repairers, scissors grinders, paper makers
 * Some masons and allied trades were in the building trade as well
 # Includes cork dealers, paper dealers, joss stick makers and dealers, umbrella makers, straw coat makers, various brokers, money changers, buyers, clerks, salesmen, shop assistants, shop accountants, shop masters, weighers

The differences between Northern and Southern District do not stand out too clearly in the 1911 tables since the Southern District figures there include New Kowloon, and exclude the boat people. Nonetheless, Southern District has 16.2% of recorded males working on boats as against 9.3% in Northern District in 1911, and higher percentages in all categories of shopkeeper and artisan. The more urban and coastal character of the islands can be seen, if dimly.

In 1921, however, there is an "Occupations" table specifically for the Southern District Floating Population.³⁹ This is reorganised below, as Table 23. If this Table is read with the Southern District figures in Tables 19 and 20, a fuller picture of Southern District life can be had. The floating population table in the census, as for the land people, provides an occupation for 4,129 males as against a total recorded male population of 4,137, and so enters people under more than one occupation category, and must be read with care. The details of absolute numbers, therefore, cannot be relied upon.

Table 23

Occupations of the Floating Population, Southern District, 1921

Occupation	Males		Females	
Agricultural occupations	2	0.0%	—	—
Fisher (wo)men	3174	76.9%	—	—
Net weaving	1	0.0%	896	59.9%
Rope making	2	0.0%	57	3.8%
Sailcloth (hemp) weaving	—	—	4	0.3%
Seamstresses	—	—	33	2.2%
Carpenters and allied trades	—	—	9	0.2%
Boatmen (see Table 24)	755	18.3%	430	28.7%
Fishmongers	31	0.8%	11	0.7%
Other shopkeepers	14	0.8%	1	0.1%
Coolies, hawkers, general labourers	68	1.6%	9	0.6%
Religious occupations, fortune tellers	4	0.1%	1	0.1%
Barbers, handdressers	1	0.0%	—	—
Cooks	5	0.1%	11	0.7%
Domestic servants	—	—	16	1.1%
Washerwomen	—	—	13	0.9%
Teashop workers	4	0.1%	—	—
Seamen/cooks on ocean-going vessels and steam launches ¹	59	1.4%	14	0.9%
TOTAL	4129	100%	1496	100%

¹Includes "coxswains"

Table 24
Occupations of Boatmen, 1921

Occupations	Northern District: males	Northern District: females	Southern District (land): males ¹	Southern District (land): females*	Southern District (board): males	Southern District (boat) females
Boat crew	1 0.3%	— —	— —	— —	352 43.6%	54 12.6%
Junk masters	176 47.4%	36 37.5%	43 72.9%	— —	229 28.1%	52 12.1%
Cargo boats genera	111 29.9%	16 1.6%	— —	— —	18 2.4%	1 0.2%
coal	6 1.6%	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —
firewood	5 1.3%	1 1.0%	— —	— —	— —	— —
fish	11 3.0%	4 4.2%	— —	— —	— —	— —
tune	— —	2 2.1%	1 1.7%	— —	18 2.4%	2 0.5%
rice	40 10.8%	8 8.3%	— —	— —	— —	— —
stone	15 4.0%	3 3.1%	— —	— —	— —	— —
water	— —	— —	2 3.4%	— —	16 2.1%	11 2.6%
salt	— —	— —	— —	— —	5 0.7%	— —
earth	— —	— —	— —	— —	7 0.9%	1 0.2%
Hawker boats	— —	— —	5 8.5%	— —	6 0.8%	— —
Coolie boats	— —	— —	— —	— —	6 0.8%	3 0.8%
Ferry boats	2 0.5%	1 1.0%	8 13.6%	77 100%	75 1.0%	280 65.1%
Tow boats	— —	— —	— —	— —	14 1.9%	10 2.3%
Misc sampans and family boats	4 1.0%	25 26.0%	— —	— —	3 0.4%	14 3.3%
Divers	— —	— —	— —	— —	5 0.7%	— —
Boat cleaners	— —	— —	— —	— —	1 0.1%	2 0.5%
TOTAL	371 100%	96 100%	59 100%	77 100%	755 100%	430 100%

¹Includes New Kowloon

It will be seen that the occupations of the floating population were almost exclusively conducted from boats. If the occupation was landward, it was closely connected with a marine base. Those boat people, for instance, recorded as fishmongers were almost certainly acting as the landward agency for a family fishing boat. Between the land people who were fishermen and boatmen and the floating population strictly so called, 51% of the total population of Southern District was normally working or resident on boats (59.7% if sailors in ocean-going ships and steam launches are included). Interestingly, in 1921, of all the mariners recorded (in both Northern and Southern Districts) - and to repeat, this figure must be read with care-21.3% were operating cargo boats, hawker boats, or passenger sampans and ferry boats rather than fishing. This is a salutary reminder of just how

much freight was being carried by boat, and how important ferries were, in the area, both in Northern and Southern District. The census also shows just how many specialist cargo boats there were operating, as well as the large numbers of general cargo vessels.

The 1921 Census records all the vessels seen by the enumerators.⁹⁰ In Northern District 456 fishing boats, 84 cargo boats and seven sampans were recorded, and in Southern District 672 fishing boats 33 cargo boats and 236 sampans. In Northern District 2.1 males are recorded for every fishing boat, and 4.1 for every cargo boat and sampan: in Southern District 4.7 and 2.8 respectively. The most likely reason for the lower figure for persons recorded for every cargo boat/sampan in Southern District as against Northern District is the very much higher number of sampans recorded in Southern District. The higher figure for males recorded against Southern District fishing boats is probably due to the fact that Southern waters were oceanic, and the fishing boats were in fact larger than those operating in the creeks and shallows of Northern District. The numbers recorded, however, in each district and for each class of vessel, are such that it is likely that few boats were manned by more than the males of a single family.

There were clear differences between women's and men's work among the floating population. the overwhelmingly female nature of the passenger-carrying work in particular is very clearly brought out in these statistics. Probably the women were working passenger sampans while their menfolk were out fishing.

The recorded occupations of Northern District women in the 1911 and 1921 Censuses and for Southern District women in the 1911 Census are given in Tables 25 and 26. Unfortunately, the method of recording the occupations of women is, for the reasons outlined above, flawed, and the information given is of only modest value, since women working from the home were left out of the census figures, thus biasing the statistics by underplaying the role of women in fishing, shopkeeping, and the minor services such as hand-dressing, especially in the 1911 Census. It seems likely that the vital role of women as grass-cutters and fuel sellers is also seriously under-recorded, since this seems almost always to have been a part-time occupation.

Table 25

**Occupations of Women, Northern District 1911 and 1921,
and Southern District 1911.**

Occupation	Northern District: 1911		Northern District: 1921		Southern District: 1911*	
Agricultural occupations	13982	97.2%	8792	71.4%	1820	80.2%
Fisherwomen	75	0.5%	546	4.4%	25	1.1%
Masons and allied trades	2	0.0%	55	0.4%	—	—
Carpenters	2	0.0%	6	0.0%	—	—
Foodstuff sellers (See Table 26)	21	0.1%	61	0.4%	20	0.9%
Embroiderers	2	0.0%	1	0.0%	10	0.4%
Seamstresses etc	36	0.2%	1669	13.5%	28	1.2%
Silversmiths and jewellers	—	—	—	—	2	0.1%
Shopkeepers and assistants	1	0.0%	15	0.1%#	7	0.3%
Grass-cutters, charcoal burners, and other fuels	130	0.9%	245	2.0%	13	0.6%
Weavers and allied trades	—	—	48	0.4%	—	—
Shoemakers	—	—	2	0.0%	12	0.5%
Doctors and druggists	2	0.0%	31	0.2%	—	—
Coolies and general labourers	50	0.3%	21	0.1%	253	11.1%
Hawkers	—	—	97	0.7%	—	—
Basketry and rattan	2	0.0%	3	0.0%	2	0.1%
Joss stick dealers	2	0.0%	—	—	—	—
Nuns, fortune tellers, temple keepers	18	0.1%	107	0.8%	6	0.3%
Marriage brokers	1	0.0%	—	—	—	—
Midwife	—	—	4	0.0%	1	0.0%
Rent collectors	6	0.0%	—	—	—	—
Domestic servants	12	0.1%	159	1.3%	13	0.6%
Mui tsai	—	—	119	1.0%	—	—
Washerwomen	—	—	77	0.2%	1	0.0%
Cooks	—	—	141	1.1%	13	0.6%
Restaurant and teahouse keepers	3	0.0%	3	0.0%	—	—
Boarding house keepers	—	—	3	0.0%	—	—
Rope spinners	—	—	—	—	4	0.2%
Netmakers	—	—	3	0.0%	4	0.2%
Harddressers	—	—	1	0.0%	3	0.1%
Boatmen •	—	—	97	9.7%	3	0.1%
Government service	—	—	3	0.0%	—	—
Prostitutes	—	—	—	—	11	0.5%
Beggars	—	—	—	—	1	0.1%
Students	33	0.2%	—	—	21	0.9%
Teachers	6	0.0%	13	0.1%	—	—
TOTAL	14386	100%	12320	100%	2270	100

* Includes New Kowloon
Includes 1 blacksmith, 1 paper dealer, 1 shop accountant, and 12 shop assistants • (See Table 24)

Table 26

Female Sellers of Foodstuffs and Allied Trades, 1911 and 1921

Occupation	Northern District: 1911		Northern District: 1921		Southern District: 1911*	
Grocers	4	19.0%	21	34.4%	—	—
Vegetable dealers	—	—	7	11.5%	—	—
Fruit sellers	—	—	4	6.6%	—	—
Rice dealers	—	—	4	6.6%	16	80.0%
Fishmongers	—	—	6	9.8%	1	5.0%
Oil sellers	—	—	2	3.3%	—	—
Rice grinders	—	—	—	—	1	5.0%
Wine sellers	7	33.3%	1	1.6%	—	—
Tea sellers	2	9.5%	3	4.9%	—	—
General food hawkers	5	23.8%	3	4.9%	1	5.0%
Bean curd sellers etc	3	14.2%	5	8.2%	1	5.0%
Fish cutters	—	—	1	1.6%	—	—
Congee seller	—	—	1	1.6%	—	—
Meat hawkers	—	—	3	4.9%	—	—
TOTAL	21	100%	61	100%	20	100%
*Includes New Kowloon						

The 1921 figures for the occupation of women in the Northern District are easier to use than those for men. Women seem only to have been recorded in 1921 if the enumerators felt they were in full-time employment other than as housewives. In 1921 the enumerators were less inclined to class women as agricultural labourers because of their part-time help in the fields, and more inclined to accept fisherwomen as being in full-time employment, even if they worked from a boat that was also their home, but, in both cases, the same biases still appear as in 1911, even if less strongly. More significantly, the 1921 enumerators were more willing to accept as being in full-time employment women who worked at handicrafts from their home, or who helped their husbands in shops or workshops. Even so, the figures are without doubt flawed, and still doubtless under-represent the contribution women made to the traditional economy. The 1921 Census records the occupations of 12,320 women in the Northern District, 35.3% of all women recorded there, the 1911 Census recorded the occupations of 14,386 women, 41.4% of all women recorded.

Since the 1911 Census seems to ignore those women who worked from home, or assisted in their husband's shop, those women the 1911

Census does enumerate as being in full-time employment must be treated as being in actual fact working independently, except for those enumerated as agricultural labourers. The 404 women so enumerated in Northern District represent 2.5% of the total of 16,271 women aged between 15 and 45 in Northern District in 1911. Clearly, there were a substantial minority of women who were in full-time independent employment outside the home in 1911. From the 1911 statistics, many were working at the lower end of the employment market, as coolies and general labourers, or hawkers, but there were enough women operating shops (possibly in many cases as widows taking over the family shop after their husband's death) to make it clear that shops operated by women were by no means rare, as, indeed, oral evidence would lead us to expect. The 1911 female masons, carpenters, general shopkeepers, doctors, basketry dealers, jogs-stick dealers, and restaurant keepers are all in this category.

The 1911 statistics do note, but clearly under-represent, the specifically female occupations (embroiderers, seamstresses, nuns, and prostitutes), plus the fuel sellers which oral evidence strongly suggests was another more or less exclusively female occupation. The 1911 statistics also suggest that beancurd selling, in 1911 as now, was essentially a female occupation. The presence of prostitutes only in Southern District confirms the oral evidence that, while there were no prostitutes in Tai Po or Yuen Long, there were in Kowloon City and Cheung Chau. Midwives and marriage brokers were also purely women's work, but mostly were part-time jobs undertaken *ad hoc* by housewives, and so only two strays out of the many dozens who worked in these areas appear in the statistics. The 1911 statistics, however, seriously under-record women working in these trades. In 1921, in Northern District, far more women are recorded as working in them than in 1911 (thus, 61 female foodstuff sellers are recorded in 1921 as against 21 in 1911; 1669 seamstresses as against 36; 48 weavers as against 0; 118 coolies/hawkers as against 50; 107 nuns, fortune tellers, temple keepers etc as against 18, and so on). The 1921 Northern District statistics for female occupations, therefore, are much fuller, and so probably closer to the actual position, even if under-recording is still likely.

The 1911 statistics draw a distinction which is probably real, between "Tailors" or "Dress" (male: Northern and Southern Districts

respectively), and “Seamstresses and Dressmakers” (females, both Districts). Oral evidence suggests that tailors shops were a feature of every market town, since there were no mass-produced clothes to buy, and most women were not able to cut out and sew the family clothes. The tailors, however, must have used dozens of seamstresses in the market and surrounding villages to sew up the clothes they had cut out. The ubiquity of seamstresses - mostly part-time and working from home - is very clearly brought out in the 1921 statistics, which shows that perhaps 10% of all women aged between 15 and 45 were engaged in sewing up clothes. The 1921 Census also adds a significant number of weavers, washerwomen, cooks, and boatwomen. presumably these trades were all conducted on a part-time basis, or from home, and were consequently under- in 1911.

The 1921 statistics also mention significant numbers of domestic servants, and most interestingly, *mui tsai*, most of whom were ignored in 1911 as being clearly “within the home.” The 1921 Census again refers to prostitutes in Southern District, but finds none in Northern. The 1921 Census finds 119 *mui tsai* in Northern District, which represents 1.1% of all recorded females there aged 5-20. In the city in 1921, there were 11,023 *mui tsai* out of a total female population of 50,990 aged 5-20, or 21.6%.¹¹ The city statistics also give detail on *mui tsai*, showing that most were aged 11-17. The census, therefore, strongly suggests that *mui tsai* were not a factor of as great a significance in the rural areas as in the city. The figures for *mui tsai* in Southern District in 1921 (39, out of a total population of women aged 5-20 of 3,057, or 1.3%) are similar to those from Northern District.

The 1921 Census also gives, as noted above, far more information on women working full-time in shops and workshops. The largest increases in Northern District are among the doctors (31 as opposed to 2 in 1911). clearly many doctors used their wives to interview female patients. The 12 shop assistants and the shop accountant in 1921 also probably represent women working in family shops.

Thus, while the statistics on female occupations in 1911 and 1921 are flawed, and particularly so with regard to women working on the family fishing boats, nonetheless they do give enough to throw some light on the question of the traditional occupations of women, and they

show that women working full-time in shops, or from home, were quite common in the area.

The "Occupations" statistics, when read against the population figures for the individual settlements given in the 1911 Census also throw a good deal of light on urban life in the New Territories. As mentioned a number of times, the towns of Southern District were more important to the society of that District than were the towns of Northern District. In both 1911 and 1921 a far higher percentage of those with recorded occupations who were working in "urban" occupations.² was recorded in Southern District (see Table 27).

Table 27

Persons in Urban Occupations, 1911 and 1921 Censuses

District	Total population	In urban occupations	
Northern District 1911: (M)	22770	3859	16.9%
(F)	14387	105	0.7%
Northern District 1921: (M)	34753	4669	13.4%
(F)	12320	924	7.5%
Southern District 1911: (M)*•	11036	5017	45.5%
(F)*•	2270	344	15.2%
Southern District 1921: (M)*	18418	4894	26.6%
(F)*	4329	1100	25.4%
* Includes New Kowloon			
• Does not include the floating population			

While the problems arising from the inadequacies of the "Occupations" tables in the two censuses make the detail of Table 27 not to be fully depended on, nonetheless the much more heavily urban character of the Southern society comes out clearly. The 1911 Census, which gives details of the population of every settlement, also allows us to see the relative size of the towns, which in Northern District were tiny when compared with those in Southern. The details are at Table 28.

Table 28
Urban Population: New Territories, 1911

Northern District: Town	Males		Females		Total
Yuen Long	458	81.9%	101	18.1%	559
Sai Kung	320	62.5%	192	37.5%	512
Hang Hau	262	67.7%	125	32.3%	387
Ha Tsuen Shi	120	67.4%	58	32.6%	178
Shek Wu Hui	29	67.4%	14	32.6%	43
Tuen Mun San Hui	72	67.3%	35	32.7%	107
Tai Wo Shi	377	79.9%	95	20.1%	472
Tai Po Old Market	104	53.3%	84	44.7%	253
Tap Mun	168	66.4%	85	33.6%	253
Sha Tau Kok ⁴	43	70.5%	18	29.5%	61
North District Total	1910	70.8%	789	29.2%	2699
Southern District: Town					
Tai O land population	1159	51.6%	1089	48.4%	2248
boat population	3159	58.4%	2254	41.6%	5413
Total	4318	56.4%	3343	43.65%	7661
Cheung Chau land population	1918	59.1%	1326	40.9%	3244
boat population	2601	58.6%	1841	41.4%	4442
Total	4519	58.8%	3167	41.2%	7686
Ping Chau	434	67.6%	208	32.4%	642
Mui Wo Kau Chun	11	61.1%	7	38.8%	18
Southern District Total	9282	58.0%	6725	42.0%	16007
New Territories Total	11192	60.0%	7514	40%	18706

⁴ Most of Sha Tau Kok was in China this is the New Territories part of the town
Tsuen wan is not included as the census includes a large rural population with the town. Some of the Cheung Chau boat population was probably at Ping Chau, and some of the Tai O boat population was probably at other anchorages on Lantau, but only a small percentage in each case

It will be noted that there was no town in the Northern District as large as Ping Chau, and that Cheung Chau was more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as large as all the Northern District towns put together. There were rural populations included within the total for, especially, Tai O, but, nonetheless, the differences are very real. The 1921 Census includes population figures for only one town, Sai Kung the figure it gives (an overall figure of 606) is in line with the 1911 figure.

It is noticeable that the population engaged in "urban" occupations can be comfortably fitted into the recorded populations of the Southern District towns, with a substantial excess over to cover the fishermen and ocean-going seamen living in the towns. In Northern

District, however, the total recorded urban population of males is far smaller than the recorded numbers of men in "urban" occupations. Clearly, many men traditionally went home to their native villages to sleep who worked by day in the Northern District towns and, probably, many craftsmen worked at home in their native villages, only occasionally going to sell their wares in the towns. This suggestion, of a more intimate and closely integrated urban/rural society in Northern, and a more thoroughly urban society in Southern, is likely to be correct. By day, the Northern towns may well have been twice as large as the figure given in the census, but, even if this is so, the difference between the tiny market-villages in northern District and the genuine towns in Southern remains stark.

The high number (376 in 1911, 378 in 1921) of masons and allied trades in Northern District, is to be explained, in part, by the construction of the roads, and the other public works projects the Government had begun after taking over the New Territories, but even more by the very large quarry at Lung Kwu Tan, which, as is made clear in the Village Population Table in the 1911 Census, employed 215 stonecutters and others. In Southern District there were 766 males working as masons or in associated trades in 1911 (6.9% of all males with recorded trade), and there were 989 in 1921 (the 1911 and 1921 figures for Southern District both including New Kowloon): in both 1911 and 1921 these people were mostly working in the large quarries at Chek Lap Kok off Lantau, and in the "stone hills" in New Kowloon, as well as in private and public construction projects. Stonecutters clearly tended to live apart from their families at the quarries where they worked. In 1911 in "Lung Kwu Tan Quarry", 215 males were recorded, but no females, and in Southern the quarries at Chek Lap Kok and at the "stone hills" in Kwun Tong stand out. Chek Lap Kok had 55 males recorded, with only 22 females, while Ngau Tau Kok, Sai Cho Wan, Lei Yue Mun and Cha Kwo Ling - the villages of the "stone hills" - had 625 males between them, but only 339 females. The Quarry Bay villages of Hong Kong Island, and the Shek Shan village in Kowloon, are other cases in point.

The censuses are unrevealing on the other known village industries. Up to 1917 there was a major pottery at Wun Yiu near Tai Po, and incense mills at several places, especially Tsuen Wan: none of the workers in these trades are specifically recorded either in 1911 or in 1921, unless under the "general labourer" category. However, the lime

burners, who oral evidence suggests were common, are noted in the 1921 Census: 16 in Northern and 183 in Southern District, as also are the brick and tile makers, with 83 male and five female workers noted in Northern District in that year. The other traditional trades noted by the 1921 Census as present in numbers (vegetable oil pressers, shipbuilders, blacksmiths, carpenters) were mostly working within the market towns.

In some places the "industrial" villages can be traced in the 1911 Census, even though the residents in them do not appear specifically in the "Occupations" Table. Thus, there was an area where incense wood was pounded into dust for manufacture into joss-sticks at Pak Kiu Tsuen outside Tai Po Market, and another at Tso Kung Tam outside Tsuen Wan. At the first, the census records the village of Wong Ka Uk, with 10 males but no females, and, at the second, the villages of Tso Kung Tam and Pak Shek Kiu, with 36 males and only nine females between them. These imbalanced populations strongly suggest that the villages in question were essentially industrial. Shek Tsai Po, outside Tai O - a centre for the drying of fish and the manufacture of shrimp paste - had a similarly imbalanced population of 71 males to 47 females. Villages next to important ferries - Liu Pok, Lo Wu, Yuen Chau Kok, Sha Kong, Ha Mei, Mui Wo - also tend to have recorded populations with more males than females, reflecting the boatmen and similar traders living at the ferry pier. Suburban industrial trades are probably the reason also why many of the villages on Hong Kong Island and the rural parts of Kowloon (especially Ma Kong, Chung Hom Kok, Lan Nai Wan, To Tei Wan, Tai Tam Tuk, Tong Po, Deep Water Bay, and the Quarry Bay villages on Hong Kong Island, and Ma Tau Kok, San Shan, Shek Shan, Lo Lung Hang, Wong Nai Yue, Fo Pang, Tai Shek Kwu, and Ho Man Tin in Kowloon)⁹¹ show a significant excess of males over females. Suburban villages with significant excesses of males are also to be seen immediately outside most of the New Territories market towns in 1911. These villages had commercial market-gardens, industrial premises which required large areas (dyers, joss-stick makers, sawyers, etc), and offensive trades (tanners, lime-burners, brick and tile works, etc), and should be considered as part of the market town complex. The ring of villages with high male: female ratios around the city in 1911 should be seen in the same way, as subordinate to the commercial life of the City.

Unfortunately, the 1921 Census includes no details corresponding to the village-by-village information in the 1911 Census.

Language

The 1911 Census gives information on "Language Spoken in the Home", although unfortunately this information is not included in the 1921 Census.⁹⁴ The information in the 1911 Census is broken down only by enumeration district, and is thus less interesting than it would have been if it had been provided on a village-by-basis. A few points are notable, however, and are detailed in Tables 29 and 30 below. The first point is that, while Northern District was marginally more Hakka than Punti in speech (45.7 Punti: 53.6 Hakka), the land population of Southern District was substantially more Punti speaking (76.5% as compared with 14.2% Hakka, with 9.3% speaking Hoklo). (Nothing is said in the Census as to the languages spoken by the Boat People) The percentage of Punti speakers in the New Territories as a whole in 1911 was almost exactly half (Punti), 40,389 or 50.3%, Hakka, 38,690, or 48.2%, Hoklo, 1,141, or 1.4%). This is a higher percentage of Hakka speakers than is often assumed in speech - the political dominance of the Punti often leads both them and the Hakka to overestimate the numbers of the Punti.⁹⁵

It will be seen from Tables 29 and 30 that in most enumeration districts the males and females of any particular dialect group do not coincide, either in absolute numbers or percentages. In most cases, the differences are slight, and due to emigration out of the area or into the area of predominantly unmarried young adult males. However, in some districts the imbalance is so great as to be unlikely to be due solely to this factor. Thus, in Ping Shan enumeration district, there are 736 more Punti males than Punti females, and 754 more Hakka females than Hakka males, and on Lamma there are 321 more Punti females than Punti males, but 117 more Hakka males than females. It is difficult to explain these discrepancies. In some cases, where the number and percentage of Hakka speaking females is greater than the number and percentage of Hakka speaking males, but where, at the same time, the number and percentage of Punti speaking females is less than the number and percentage of Punti speaking males, it is possible that the census is recording the first stages of the move towards speaking Punti in the New Territories Hakka villages, with some Hakka families

speaking Hakka at home, with the females therefore regarding themselves as Hakka speakers, but with the males more usually speaking Punti outside, and, therefore, with some of the males recording themselves as Punti speakers. The Launch District, and the Ping Shan and Sha Tin enumeration districts show this situation, and possibly Tsuen Wan. The Lamma figures, however, defy explanation.

Table 29

Languages Spoken in the Home, Northern District, 1911

Enumeration district	Punti	Hakka	Hoklo	Others and un stated	Total
Au Tau (M)	3180 57.2%	2288 41.1%	-	96 1.8%	5564
(F)	3211 60.5%	2098 40.0%	-	-	5309
Total	6391 58.8%	4386 40.3%	-	96 0.9%	10873
Launch District (M)	806 52.7%	791 49.5%	-	-	1597
(F)	724 47.8%	790 52.5%	-	-	1514
Total	1530 49.2%	1581 50.8%	-	-	3111
Ping Shan (M)	4377 81.0%	997 18.4%	2 0.0%	28 0.5%	5404
(F)	5641 67.5%	1751 32.5%	1 0.0%	-	5393
Total	8018 74.3%	2748 25.5%	3 0.0%	28 0.3%	5404
Sai Kung (M)	1195 26.3%	3343 73.5%	1 0.2%	-	4549
(F)	1438 30.6%	3256 69.4%	-	-	4694
Total	2633 28.5%	6599 71.4%	11 0.1%	-	10797
San Tin (M)	1706 100%	-	-	-	1706
(F)	1663 30.6%	3 0.2%	-	-	1666
Total	3369 99.9%	3 0.1%	-	-	3372
Sha Tau Kok (M)	157 3.9%	3789 95.3%	29 0.7%	-	3975
(F)	187 4.1%	4392 95.6%	16 0.3%	-	4595
Total	344 4.0%	8181 95.5%	45 0.5%	-	8570
Sha Tin (M)	520 28.4%	1215 66.2%	4 0.2%	-	1834
(F)	531 26.9%	1444 73.1%	-	-	1975
Total	1051 27.6%	2659 69.8%	4 0.1%	-	3809
Sheung Shui (M)	2747 78.2%	767 21.8%	-	-	3514
(F)	2652 79.3%	693 20.7%	-	-	3345
Total	5399 78.7%	1460 21.3%	-	-	6859
Tai Po (M)	1039 22.9%	3498 76.9%	3 0.1%	-	4540
(F)	1291 26.3%	3489 71.2%	8 0.2%	113 2.3%	4901
Total	2330 24.7%	6987 74.0%	11 0.1%	113 1.2%	9441
Tsuen Wan (M)	375 22.9%	1259 77.0%	1 0.1%	1 0.1%	1636
(F)	155 11.5%	1190 88.4%	-	1 0.1%	1346
Total	530 17.8%	2449 82.1%	1 0.0%	2 0.1%	2982
Total (M)	1610 246.8%	17947 52.2%	50 0.1%	284 0.8 [‡]	34383
(F)	15493 44.6%	19106 55.0%	25 0.1%	115 0.3% [†]	34739

[‡]Includes 64 male and 1 female "Miscellaneous Unstated"

Table 30
Dialects Spoken in the Home (Southern District, Land Population), 1911

Enumeration district	Punti		Hakka		Hoklo		Others and unstated	Total	
Cheung Chau (M)	1421	59.5%	348	14.6%	621	26.9%	-	2390	
(F)	1022	64.9%	216	13.7%	336	21.3%	-	1574	
Total	2443	61.6%	564	14.2%	957	24.1%	-	3964	
Lantau (M)	2999	85.5%	466	13.3%	40	1.1%	3	0.1%	3508
(F)	2695	84.2%	478	14.9%	29	0.9%	-	3202	
Total	5694	84.9%	944	14.1%	69	1.0%	3	0.0%	6710
Lamma (M)	168	50.8%	123	37.2%	40	4.8%	-	331	
(F)	489	98.8%	6	1.2%	-	4.9%	-		
Total	657	79.5%	129	15.6%	40	4.8%	-	826	
Total (M)	4588	73.7%	937	15.0%	701	11.3%	3	0.0%	6229
(F)	4206	79.8%	700	13.3%	365	6.9%	-	5271	
Total	8794	76.5%	1637	14.2%	1066	9.3%	3	0.0%	11500

Male:Female Ratios and Emigration

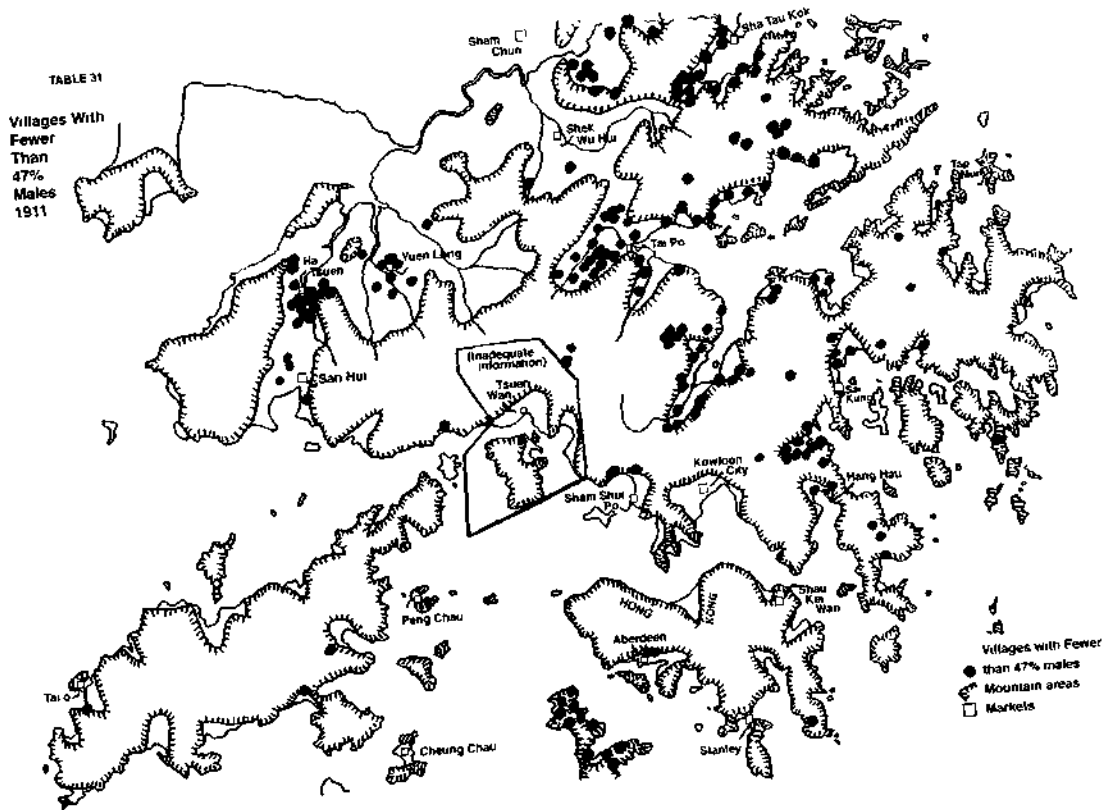
The village population tables in the 1911 Census which give the male and female population of each village in the New Territories are of value, not only in giving the basic population statistics of the area, but also because they enable us to identify villages with abnormal population characteristics.⁹⁶

It is not easy to extrapolate from the 1911 Census figures to detailed analysis of village society, because of the problem of the under-reporting of infant children and teenage girls in the Census. The problem is made worse by the 1921 Census having no tables parallel to those giving the village-by-village population statistics in the 1911 Census. While the under-reporting of youngsters in 1911 is clear, it is not, for instance, clear if the under-reporting was universal in incidence, or more typical of wealthier, Punti, villages, or, conversely, of poorer Hakka villages. Since more young girls went under-reported than young boys, the standard ratio as reported should have been about 51.5 males, 48.5 females. In fact, in many villages, more females than males are recorded. Given the general under-reporting of young girls, this feature can only be explained as the result of the temporary emigration out of the village (to the local market town, to Hong Kong, or abroad) of young adult

males, while their families remained behind. In other words, those villages with an excess of females are the inevitable reverse side of the coin, off-setting the towns and cities of the area, with their excess of males. Not surprisingly, given the more urban character of Southern District, most of the villages with excess females were in Northern District, as this temporary male emigration was a feature of rural villages, just as temporary male immigration was a feature of the industrial villages, towns, and cities. Appendix I lists the villages with significantly low ratios of males to females (less than 47.0% of total population male, excluding villages with total populations of less than 35, except where the imbalance is extreme) Table 31 maps these villages

It will be seen at once from the map at Table 31 that the villages with low percentages of males are concentrated in the mountainous east of the New Territories, and on Lamma. Because of this, more Hakka than Punti villages are low in males. This is, however, a factor of social and geographical conditions, rather than racial or cultural ones: large Punti villages within the eastern New Territories (such as Siu Lek Yuen, Ho Chung, Sha Kok Mei, Wu Kai Sha, Tai Hang etc) share a shortage of males with their smaller Hakka neighbours. Indeed, in Ta Kwu Leng, it is the Punti villages (Ping Che, Lo Shue Ling, Lei Uk Tsuen, Tai Po Tin) which are short of males, the Hakka villages having either a balanced population, or even a surplus of males (eg Heung Yuen with 53.4% of males, and Ping Yuen with 55.9%). Within the richer western parts of the New Territories, villages with shortages of males are less common, but a few clusters can be seen, such as around Ha Tsuen and Yuen Long Markets. These clusters are probably mostly of villages with significant numbers of males working in the markets (the shortage of males in all the Yuen Long villages with shortages was in total 242: the number of excess males working in the markets at Yuen Long and Ha Tsuen was 197) Similarly, it is likely that at least some of the absent males from Lam Tsuen were working in the market at Tai Po

The shortage of males in the eastern New Territories is to be explained by emigration. The missionaries of the Basel Mission, who were active in the north-east New Territories from 1849 onwards, remarked on the high levels of emigration from villages in this area from 1851 onwards. By 1880, the missionaries were speaking of "emigration fever" in their reports on the area, by 1894 of "deserted



villages and depopulated districts”, and by 1906 they were remarking on villages “with no adult males left at all.”⁹⁷ As noted above, the district officer in 1912 also identified heavy temporary emigration of young adult males as a notable feature of the New Territories. Up to the 1870s, the emigration noted by the missionaries was of indentured coolies, leaving by ones and twos following inducements offered by more or less dubious emigration agents, and the missionaries castigated it as a “slave trade”. However, after the reforms of the coolie trade in the 1870s, emigration became more respectable, with elders of the villages arranging for the emigration for a few years of groups of youths from the village, through well-trusted contacts with particular shipping lines.⁹⁸

A tablet of 1894 in the main temple of the Sha Tau Kok area (the Kwan Tai Temple at Shan Tsui), lists the donors to the temple rebuilding of that year.⁹⁹ The elders decided to seek donations in the first place from residents of the Sha Tau Kok area living away from home. Over a thousand donated and are listed, with their place of residence given. Apart from a substantial group living in Hong Kong, villagers of the area were at that date living in New South Wales, Queensland, and Victoria in Australia, in New Zealand, in Hawaii, British Columbia, California, Peru, Panama, and many other places. Today, in villages of the area such as Shan Tsui or Sheung Wo Hang, elders will state that the best of the older surviving houses in the village were built by people who returned from emigration to marry and raise their families in the village in the period 1910-1930. In a few, portraits of these rich returned emigrants still hang on the walls of the houses they built. Similar tales are told of rich returned emigrants in Sha Tin: the village of San Tin there was founded by a returned emigrant of Au Pui Wan village about 1890-1895. For most of Tsuen Wan district the 1911 Census does not give enough information to identify villages with abnormal population balances, but there is a further tablet recording donations to a temple rebuilding there, in this case of 1900, which demonstrates that some hundreds of the villagers of that area were abroad then.¹⁰⁰ Those villages which can be shown to have had villagers living away from the village from the Shan Tsui tablet, or which have “returned emigrant” houses, all have low male: female ratios in 1911. There can be no doubt that the information at Appendix I and Table 31 shows the degree to which, and the area where, early emigration was a significant social factor in the New Territories.

Of course, in some cases the emigration was over a short distance, to the nearest market town. It is likely, as noted above, that the absent males of the Yuen Long plain villages were working in the Yuen Long markets, and possible that some at least of the Lam Tsuen males were in the Tai Po Market. Some Lamma villagers were probably working in Aberdeen, and from all over the New Territories there were villagers working in the city - so many that their return to the villages for the Ching Ming Festival in 1921 could bias the census in that year, as noted above. But much of the emigration, as the Basel missionaries, the temple donation tablets at Shan Tsui and Tsuen Wan, and oral evidence, all make clear, was to overseas

The implications of villages with *surplus* males are less easy to identify (see Appendix II and Table 32. these identify villages with more than 56% recorded males in their populations: villages with fewer than 35 total population are excluded, except where the surplus of males is extreme). In many cases, just as the villages with low male: female ratios identify villages with significant temporary male *emigration*, so villages with high male: female ratios identify places with temporary male *immigration*. One group already discussed which stands out is the market towns, almost all of which have high male: female ratios. Nearly 82% of the recorded population of Yuen Long market was male, and almost 80% of that of Tai Po new market (Tai Wo Shi). Even Shek Wu Hui, Ha Tsuen and Tuen Mun San Hui had over two-thirds of their tiny populations male (Table 28). These figures need to be put into perspective. In 1911, within the City of Victoria (ie omitting the Peak and the Hong Kong Island villages) there were 151,303 males out of a total Chinese population of 217,668. Males represented, therefore, 69.5% of the total Chinese population.¹⁰¹ Thus, the male domination of the larger New Territories market towns was significantly more substantial in 1911 than that of the city, and even the smaller New Territories markets had at least as high a level of male domination. The only exceptions to this are Cheung Chau, and Tai O, in Southern District. While these towns have more males than females, the imbalance is less than in the Northern District towns or the city: however, it seems likely that small rural populations are included with those towns, and that this causes distortion in these cases. Most of the New Territories towns also, as noted above, had suburban villages which shared the male domination of the town itself.

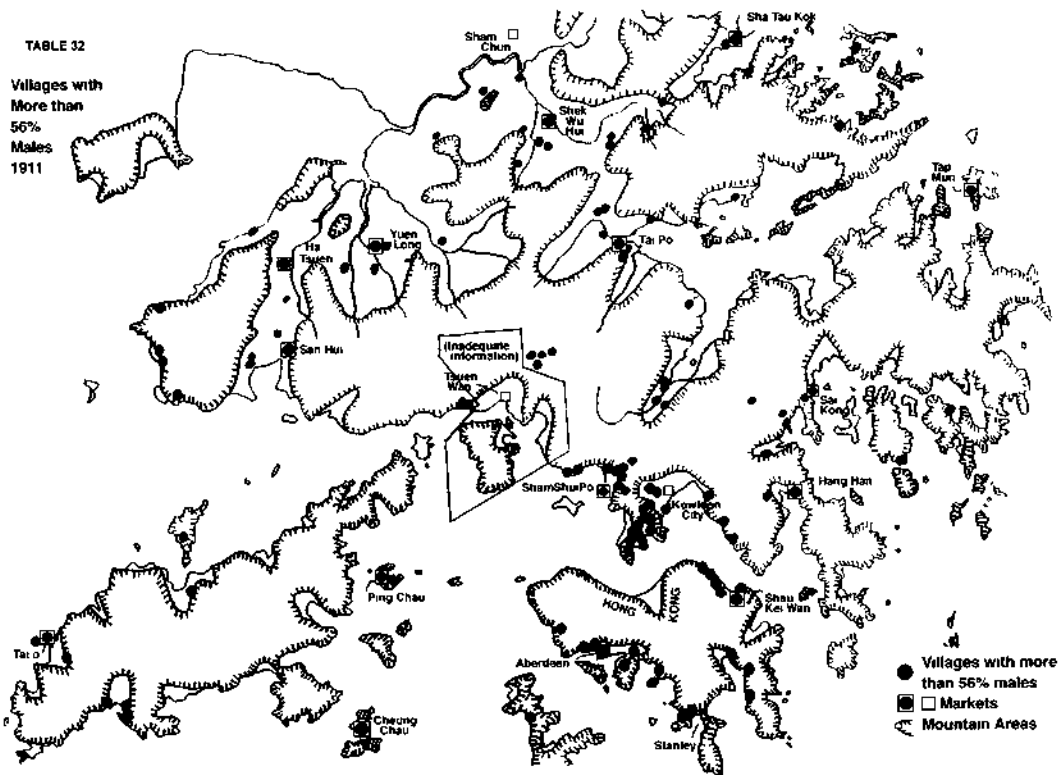
The Basel missionaries make it clear that this feature of domination of the local market towns by males whose families remained resident in the village was normal in the mid-nineteenth century. In their description of Sha Tau Kok Market, from 1853, they say:

*"The owners of these shops and stalls [in Sha Tau Kok Market] do not live in the town, but in neighbouring villages, and only come here for business and trade, or have it conducted by a substitute / manager."*¹⁰²

Clearly, male dominated towns, with shopkeepers living apart from their families in the village, are a long-standing feature of the region. The practice of young men leaving their villages for temporary residence in a town was, therefore, not a new one in the early twentieth century. The society, heavily dominated by temporarily resident young adult males, that sprang up in the city in the early decades after the foundation of Hong Kong as a port, was not either novel or a reaction to the foreign nature of the city, but was a practice with deep local roots. Obviously, the men in the market towns would often have their families within a half-day's walk away, while the city was, for most of them, more distant, but the essential factor in both cases is a widespread social acceptance of young villagers temporarily leaving home to seek fortunes away from their native village

The close link between market towns and high male:female ratios is sufficiently strong to allow this factor to be used to differentiate between towns in being, and towns not yet established. Tap Mun's 66.4% males, for instance, differentiates it from Kat O, with its 54.5%. Similarly, Ha Tsuen's 67.4% males differentiates it from Kam Tin, with no significant village higher than 55%. Kat O and Kam Tin may well have had small periodic markets in 1911, and perhaps one or two shops, but they were not yet towns. Hang Hau's 67.9% of males also marks it as a town in being in 1911.

Another clearly differentiated group, again as noted above, was the specialist industrial villages, although in them, usually, the male:female ratio, while high, was less than that in the market towns (this does not hold true for the industrial villages ringing the City, as perhaps is not to be considered surprising, and also does not hold true for villages with quarries). Ferry villages, and suburban villages outside



market towns can be, as noted above, identified by their imbalanced populations, as can villages specialising in incense pounding, stonecutting, and salt-working (Yim Liu Ha, and perhaps Tsing Shan and Tsing Shan Po in Tuen Mun). Some fishing villages (especially Kau Sai) show what is probably a seasonal population imbalance, with the male population boosted by the temporary presence of "foreign" fishing vessels at the Census date. In all these cases, as with the market towns, the opportunities for wage-paying employment must have led to a certain degree of temporary male immigration into the village in question.

Some other villages may have been "industrial" in 1911 without this being so clearly confirmed by oral evidence as in these cases. Thus, Sheung Wo Che in Sha Tin was the site of the Sha Tin Railway Station – the excess males recorded here, with the nearby Pak Tin and Wang Pok, may have been working on the construction of the railway

However, when all the urban and industrial villages are discounted, there remain numbers of villages with excess males where there seems little likelihood of immigration, and where some other factor or factors must be at work. A number of very poor villages in the eastern part of the New Territories have more males than are to be expected. It may be that some of these villages were just too poor to pay the fees required to let their young adult males emigrate, and equally too poor to arrange marriages for them until there was land available for them to inherit.

On the other hand, a number of very wealthy Punti villages, especially those in the Sheung Shui plain (including Loi Tung, Lung Yeuk Tau, Ping Kong, with others at just below the 56% cut-off point) also have high male, female ratios. The reasons for this are unclear. It may be no more than a particularly strong unwillingness to report unmarried girls in these villages. J.L. Watson, however, has shown that some at least of the wealthier Punti villages had a "bachelor sub-culture", in which poorer members of the lineage tended not to marry, but to drift into a society of bachelor clubs centred on the lineage self-defence force. This system, in which unmarriageable poorer lineage sons were nonetheless given a positive role in local society, may have induced higher than average male female ratios – in such villages, emigration was not the only option available to the excess males.¹⁰³ No evidence of such a "bachelor sub-culture" seems to exist for the

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Hakka villages in the area.

Summary

Thus, the 1911 and 1921 Censuses throw considerable light on the late pre-modern traditional society of the New Territories. The evidence the censuses provide should be used more fully than it has been. That the censuses have inaccuracies is manifest, but the inaccuracies are not of so serious a character as to preclude detailed use of their tables for analytical work. Analysis, freed of the biases which oral evidence invariably introduce, shows what traditional village life was like before modernisation became a significant factor to the New Territories. It shows us a complex society, with the heavy mortality rates and overwhelming dominance of the economy by primary producers typical of such a traditional society, but it shows us also the vigorous market towns and ports, and the complex life of a well-settled and confident, if small-scale and rural, community.

Appendix I

Villages with Low Male: Female (Less than 47%) Population Ratios, 1911

Village	District	No. of males	Total population	Age of males
San Tong Po	N	15	47	31.9**
Ngau Ha	N	6	16	33.3**
Sau Tam Lo	N	1	6	16.7**
Mo To Hang	N	2	6	33.3**
Ko Tan	N	8	21	38.1**
Tsu Keng	N	15	43	34.9**
Wo Hop Shek	N	21	48	43.8
Sheung Tan Chuk Hang	N	43	102	42.2 ^y
Ping Che Yuen Ha	N	27	61	44.3
Tai Po Tin	N	25	56	44.6
Fung Wong Wu	N	39	84	46.4
Lo Shue Ling	N	98	209	46.9
Lei Uk Tsuen	N	41	94	43.6
Chuk Yuen	N	18	44	40.9*
Tsung Yuen Ha	N	39	85	45.9
Muk Wu	N	81	174	46.6
Luk Keng	N	182	484	37.6 ^{z†}
Yim Tso Ha	N	18	47	38.3**
Shek Kiu Tau	N	37	98	37.8 ^{z†}
Ma Tseuk Ling	N	47	125	37.6**
Tai Long	N	20	46	43.5
Ha Wo Hang	N	66	160	41.3 ^y
Sheung Wo Hang	N	175	443	39.5*
Nam Chung	N	152	348	43.7
Wu Kau Tang	N	165	423	39.0 ^{y*}
Lin Ma Hang	N	199	516	38.2**
Ha Wang shan Keuk	N	16	43	37.2 ^{y*}
Ha Tsai Muk Kiu	N	27	76	35.5 ^{z†}
Kau Tam Tso	N	13	42	31.0 ^{z†}
Kai Keuk Shue Ha	N	47	108	43.5
Fung Hang	N	61	143	42.6*
Kuk Po San Wai	N	56	126	44.4
Tong To	N	47	104	45.2
Shan Tsui	N	162	367	44.1
Kong Ha	N	63	135	46.5
Pok Wai	N	100	225	44.4
Tai Che	ST	7	18	38.9**
Ngau Kok Wo	ST	1	3	33.3**
Tsung Tau Ha	ST	3	8	37.5 ^{z†}

Min Fong	ST	1	4	25.0**
Ngau Wu Tok	ST	3	10	33.3**
Lo Sheung Tun	ST	3	9	33.3**
Mau Liu Shui	ST	5	13	38.5**
Cheung King	ST	2	6	33.3**
Siu Lek Yuen	ST	73	174	41.9*
Mu Ping	ST	57	124	46.0
Shek Kwu Lung	ST	18	55	32.7**
Tai Lam Liu	ST	23	57	40.4 ¹
Sha Tin Wai	ST	81	180	45.0*
Shan Ha Wai	ST	24	56	42.9*
Kak Tin	ST	92	200	46.0
Keng Hau	ST	86	195	44.1
Tai Wai	ST	164	350	46.9%
Ha Wo Che	ST	31	76	40.8%
Shan Mei	ST	42	94	44.7
Kau To	ST	57	130	43.8
Ho Lek Pui	ST	18	45	40.0*
Wu Kai Sha	ST	59	135	43.7
Sai Shan Wai	YL	7	21	33.3* ¹
Leung Ka Tsuen	YL	3	8	37.5**
Ying Lung Wai	YL	38	94	40.0*
Nam Pin Wai	YL	223	519	43.0
Shan Pui	YL	118	273	43.2
Tong Tau Po	YL	53	116	45.7
Nam Hang	YL	44	104	42.3*
Ha Che	YL	109	234	46.6
Tim Liu	YL	48	105	45.7
Lam Hau	YL	107	237	45.1
Fui Sha Wai	YL	72	165	43.6
Hung Uk Tsuen	YL	56	120	46.7
Kiu Tau Wai	YL	71	152	46.7
Shek Po	YL	108	257	42.0*
Sik Kong Tsuen	YL	178	381	46.7
San Wai	YL	215	487	44.1
Hong Mei Tsuen	YL	21	52	40.4*
Fung Kong Tsuen	YL	34	76	44.7
Wong Ka Wai	TM	20	50	40.0 ²
Sheung Cheung Wai	TM	52	119	43.7
Hang Tau	TM	171	394	43.4
San Tsuen	TM	22	50	44.0
Tai Lam	TM	26	61	42.6*
Keung Ma Wo	TW	2	6	33.3**
Sham Tseng	TW	32	72	44.4
Sai Hang Hau	SK	3	10	33.3**
Pik Uk	SK	5	25	20.0 ¹ *
Shek Pok Wai	SK	4	13	30.8 ¹

Ngau Liu	SK	5	14	35.7 ^{z*}
Chuk Yuen	SK	3	9	33.3 ^{z*}
Chuk Kok	SK	4	11	36.4 ^{z*}
Heung Chung	SK	1	4	25.0 ^{z*}
Che Ha San Tsuen	SK	11	30	36.7 ^{z*}
Tai Wong Chung	SK	3	9	37.5 ^{z*}
Sheung Yeung	SK	34	85	40.0 ^{z*}
Tai Wan Tau	SK	53	117	45.3
Tseung Kwan O	SK	90	193	46.6
Yau Yue Wan	SK	53	116	45.7
Ma Yau Tong	SK	60	131	45.8
Tseng Lan Shue	SK	124	276	44.9
Mok Tse Che	SK	20	51	39.2 ^{z*}
Tai Po Tsai	SK	77	172	44.8
Wo Mei	SK	30	66	45.5
Ho Chung	SK	159	418	38.0 ^{z*}
Pak Kong	SK	75	190	39.5 ^{z*}
Sha Kok Mei	SK	152	346	43.9
Nam Shan	SK	36	86	41.9 ^{z*}
Wong Chuk Yeung	SK	25	83	30.1 ^{z*}
Shan Liu	SK	33	73	45.2
Lung Shuen Wan Pak A	SK	76	164	46.3
Chuk Hang San Wai	TP	7	18	38.9 ^{z*}
Tai Wo Yuen	TP	3	9	33.3 ^{z*}
San Uk Pau	TP	3	9	33.3 ^{z*}
Tai Hang San Tsuen	TP	3	10	33.3 ^{z*}
Uk Tau	TP	10	27	37.0 ^{z*}
Tai Tan	TP	12	35	34.3 ^{z*}
Nam Shan	TP	9	26	34.6 ^{z*}
Nai Tong Kok	TP	19	49	38.8 ^{z*}
Che Ha	TP	33	73	45.2
Ma Kwu Lam	TP	27	63	42.9 ^{z*}
Tai Po Tau	TP	50	112	44.6
Shek Kwu Lung	TP	30	72	43.1
Ha Wun Yiu	TP	26	60	43.3
Lai Chi Shan	TP	40	97	41.2 ^{z*}
Sheung Wun Yiu	TP	53	129	41.7 ^{z*}
Wong Yi Au	TP	43	114	37.7 ^{z*}
Hang Ha Po	TP	99	246	40.2 ^{z*}
Tong Sheung Tsuen	TP	46	131	35.1 ^{z*}
Tai Ming Tsai	TP	36	86	41.9 ^{z*}
Shui Wo	TP	41	92	44.6
Pak Ngau Shek	TP	22	53	41.5 ^{z*}
Tsai Kek	TP	51	129	39.5 ^{z*}
Tai Om Shan	TP	30	72	41.7 ^{z*}
Tai Om	TP	74	162	45.7
Lung A Pin	TP	40	90	44.4
Tin Lau Ha	TP	74	177	41.3 ^{z*}

Tai Hang Tsz Tong Tsuen	TP	29	77	37.7**
Tai Hang Chung San Wai	TP	52	112	46.4
Tai Hang Fui Sha Wai	TP	47	117	40.2*
Sha Lo Tung	TP	120	307	39.1*
Fung Yuen	TP	60	133	45.1
Ha Hang	TP	40	97	41.2*
Shuen Wan Tseng Tau	TP	21	48	43.8
Shuen Wan Tung Tsai	TP	14	43	32.6**
Shuen Wan Po Sam Pai	TP	70	156	44.9
Ting Kok	TP	301	669	45.0
Shek Tau Pai	TP	25	56	44.6
Ko Tong	TP	34	80	42.5*
Tai Tan	TP	12	35	34.3**
Pak Sha Au	TP	52	117	44.4
Nai Tong Kok	TP	19	48	38.8**
Kam Chuk Pai	TP	39	93	41.9*
Yeung Shu Long	I	5	13	38.5**
Kau Lung	I	2	6	33.3**
Mau Tat	I	23	69	33.5**
Upper Tung O	I	18	44	40.9*
Lo So Shung	I	30	75	40.0*
Luk Chau	I	16	54	29.6**
Tai Ping	I	49	113	43.4
Pak Kok	I	15	52	28.8**
Tai Wan	I	52	113	39.1*
Wang Lung	I	17	50	34.0**
San Tsuen	I	61	133	46.2
Luk Tei Tong	I	23	76	43.4
Leung Uk	I	46	104	44.2
Kau Pa Kong	SSP	73	165	44.2
Pak Shue Long	SSP	61	151	40.4 [†]
Aberdeen Old Village	HKI	74	164	45.1
Aberdeen New Village	HKI	45	98	45.9
Hok Tsui Wan	HKI	15	39	38.5**
* Villages with severe shortage of males (43% or less)				
†* Village with extreme shortage of males (39% or less)				

Appendix II
Villages with High Male: Female (More than 56% Male)
Population Ratios 1911

Village	District	No. of males	Total population	Age of males
Liu Pok	N	136	237	57.4
Shek Wu Hui	N	37	56	66.1**
Lo Wu	N	8	8	100* ¹
Tai Tau tong	N	51	91	56.0
Tsung Pak Leng	N	105	184	57.0
Yin Kong	N	21	35	60.0 ²
Tsu Keng Wai	N	38	66	57.6
Siu Hang	N	25	42	59.5 ³
Ma Wat Wai	N	28	49	57.3
Wan Shan Ha	N	38	66	57.6
Loi Tung	N	107	191	56.0
Kuk Po Lo Wai	N	140	247	56.7
Hung Shek Mun	N	49	87	56.3
Wu Chau Tong	N	28	48	58.3
Sha Tau Kok	N	14	14	100**
Yin Liu Ha	N	29	47	61.7*
Ngong Ping	ST	7	9	77.8* ⁴
San Tin	ST	7	109	70.0**
Pak Tin	ST	2	3	66.7**
Wang Pok	ST	8	9	88.9**
Sheung Wo Che	ST	70	100	70.0**
Chek Nai Ping	ST	70	122	57.2
Shek Wu Wai	YL	37	56	66.1**
Tung Tau Yuen	YL	26	38	68.4**
Kak Hang Yuen	YL	16	25	64.0**
Lei Uk	YL	32	48	66.7**
Sha Kong Miu	YL	5	6	77.4**
Yuen Long Market	YL	458	559	81.9**
Tong Fong	YL	83	148	56.1
Sha Kong	YL	5	6	83.3**
Kong Tau	YL	26	46	56.5
Ha Tsuen Shi	YL	120	178	67.4**
Wang Che	SK	4	5	80.0**
Wu Lei Tau	SK	6	9	66.7**
Yau Ma Po	SK	24	31	77.4**
Uk Cheung	SK	4	6	66.7**
Hang Hau	SK	262	387	67.8* ⁵
Mau Fa Tsai	SK	28	47	59.6*

Sai Kung Market	SK	320	512	62.5*
Kon Hang	SK	32	56	57.1
Kau Sai	SK	29	39	74.4 [†]
Tsing Shan	TM	17	26	65.4 ^{**}
San Hu	TM	72	107	67.3 ^{**}
Shu Hang	TM	40	68	58.8
Tsing Shan Po	TM	37	43	86.0 [†]
Sheung Nam Long	TM	112	194	57.7
Ha Nam long	TM	56	97	57.7
Lung Kwu Tan Quarry	TM	215	215	100 ^{**}
Tai Shui Hang	TM	27	41	65.9 ^{**}
Nam Hang San Wai	TP	14	21	66.7 ^{**}
Tin Liu	TP	5	7	71.4 [†]
Tai Hang Tai Wo	TP	11	17	64.7 ^{**}
Long Ha	TP	14	18	77.8 ^{**}
Tai Wo Shi	TP	377	472	79.9 ^{**}
Wong Ka Uk	TP	7	7	100 [†]
Pun Chung Heung Chan	TP	2	2	100 ^{**}
Yuen tong	TP	26	46	56.5
Fu Yung Shan	TP	24	38	63.2 [*]
Tai Tong	TP	148	258	57.4
Chau Tau	TP	155	325	56.9
Tap Mun	TP	168	253	66.4 [†]
Pak Shek Wo	TW	11	16	77.8 [†]
Tung Kwu Shek	TW	2	3	68.8 ^{**}
Nam Fong To	TW	16	25	66.7 ^{**}
Tso Kung Tam	TW	20	20	100 [†]
Pak Shek Kiu	TW	16	25	64.0 ^{**}
Ha Mei	I	4	4	100 [†]
Chek Lap Kok	I	55	77	71.4 ^{**}
Sai Wan	I	33	49	67.3 [†]
Shek Tsai Po	I	71	118	60.2 [*]
San Keung Shan	I	37	66	56.1
Fan Pui	I	34	59	57.6
Sha Tsui	I	62	107	57.9
Pa Mei	I	27	46	58.7
Cheung Chau (Land and Boat Population)	I	4519	7686	58.8
Tai O (Land and Population)	I	4318	7661	56.4
Ping Chau	I	434	642	67.6 ^{**}
Ngau Tau Kok	KT	314	440	71.4 [†]
Sai Cho Wan	KT	35	58	60.3 [*]
Cha Two Lung	KT	134	211	63.5 ^{**}
Pokfulam	HKI	580	833	69.6 ^{**}
Aberdeen Town	HKI	951	1314	72.4 [†]
Aberdeen Garden	HKI	22	28	78.6 [*]
Aberdeen Brick Works	HKI	64	64	100 ^{**}
Wong Chuk Hang	HKI	44	57	77.2 [†]

Tin Wan	HKI	67	111	60.4*
Ma Kong	HKI	7	7	100 [†] *
Chung Hom Kok	HKI	10	10	100 [†] *
Lan Nai Wan	HKI	4	4	100 [†] *
To Tei Wan	HKI	53	54	98.1 ^{††}
Tai Tam Tuk	HKI	52	76	68.4 ^{††}
Tong Po	HKI	17	18	94.4 ^{††}
Deep Water Bay	HKI	8	8	100 [†] *
A Kung Nam	HKI	161	269	59.9
Shaoketwan	HKI	4317	5908	73.1 [†] *
Fu Tsoi Fat	HKI	361	585	61.7*
Ma Shan Ha	HKI	458	742	61.7*
Sai Wan Ho	HKI	650	876	74.2 [†] *
Tsat Tsz Mui	HKI	193	297	64.9 [†] *
Ma Tau Kok	k	145	212	68.4*
San Shan	k	117	180	65.0 [†] *
To Kwa Wan	k	766	1072	71.5 [†] *
Shek Shan	k	178	277	64.3 [†] *
Hok Yuen	k	789	1272	62.0*
Tai Wan	k	61	97	62.9*
Lo Lung Hang	k	178	204	87.3*
Wong Nai Yue	k	168	250	67.2 [†] *
Fo Pang	k	126	180	70.0 [†] *
Tai Shek Kwu	k	47	70	65.7 [†] *
Ho Man Tin	k	272	470	57.9
Fuk Tsuen Heung	k	610	861	70.8 [†] *
Sz Wu Tong	k	258	451	57.2
Wai Chau Tsai	k	85	130	65.4 [†] *
Ap Liu	ssp	270	391	69.0 [†] *
Tin Liu Tsuen	ssp	253	337	75.1 ^{††}
Chu Liu	ssp	84	142	59.2
Cheung Sha Wan	ssp	496	653	76.0 [†] *
Sheung Chu Liu	ssp	35	54	64.8 [†] *
Lai Chi Kok	ssp	144	173	83.2 [†] *
Sai Kok	ssp	309	508	60.8*
Kowloon Tong	ssp	113	185	61.1*
Muk Kung Hom	ssp	42	62	67.7 [†] *
Shek Kip Mei	ssp	50	72	69.4 [†] *
Sham Shui Po	ssp	1028	1577	65.2 [†] *

† Villages with *severe* excess of males (more than 60%)

** Villager With *extreme* excess of males (more than 64%)

Fully developed parts of Hong Kong Inland and Kowloon excluded

NOTES

- ¹ Details of the 1911 Census are in *Papers Laid Before the Legislative Council of Hongkong, 1911*, (Hong Kong Sessional papers), printed by Noronha and Co., Government Printers, Hong Kong, No. 17, "Report on the Census of the Colony for 1911, Laid Before the Legislative Council by Command of His Excellency the Governor, November 23rd, 1911" (Hereinafter, *Census Report, 1911*) This Report consists of an eight page (49 paragraph) Report (pages 103 (1-9), with 41 Tables attached to it (pages 103 (10-59), together with a section of 'Notes for the Guidance of Future Census officers' Details of the 1921 Census are in *Papers Laid before the Legislative Council of Hong Kong, 1921*, (Hong Kong Sessional Papers), printed by Noronha and Co., Government Printers, Hong Kong, No. 5, "Preliminary Report on the Census of Hong kong, 1921, Laid Before the Legislative Council by Command of His Excellency the Governor, 23rd June, 1921", and No. 15, "Report on the Census of the Colony for 1921, Laid Before the Legislative Council by Command of His Excellency the Governor, 15th December 1921" (Hereinafter, the 15th December Report is noted as *Census Report, 1921*) The preliminary Report consists of an introduction (page 41), followed by 4 Tables of 'Preliminary Figures of the Population' pages 42-44) The 15th December Report consists of a 19 page Report, in 7 sections (pages 151-169), with 37 Tables (many with several subtables) attached to it (pages 171-232)
- ² Thus, the Hoi Ha books which are now deposited with the Regional Council, in the Sha Tin Central Library, are the books and papers of a local doctor and teacher from the remote village of Hoi Ha, in North Sai Kung. Included in them are some notes of information on Italy and the Mediterranean Sea, which must be the record of a conversation with the priests. More specific evidence of contact is a book which the owner of the collection bound in fragments of an Italian newspaper. This evidence dates from 1910-1920. From the late 1890s there is a deed from Hoi Ha regulating the village's relationship with the bottom-soil landlord, which states that a copy has been deposited with the priests "for safekeeping". The owner of the collection had no religious sympathy with the Saiking priests.
- ³ Emigration is discussed in detail below.
- ⁴ *Papers Laid before the Legislative Council of Hongkong, 1912* (Hong Kong Sessional Papers), printed by Noronha and Co., Government Printers, No. 11, "Report on the New Territories, 1899-1912, Laid before the Legislative Council by Command of His Excellency the Governor, August 22nd, 1912", (the *Orme Report*) para 88.
- ⁵ *Papers Laid Before the Legislative Council of Hongkong, 1902*, (Hong Kong Sessional Papers) printed by Noronha and Co., Government Printers, No. 14, "Report of the Committee on Education, Laid before the Legislative Council by Command of His Excellency the officer Administering the Government", p. 392. See also *Sessional Papers 1905*, pages 536-7, 1907, page 514, 1908, page 339, *Administrative Reports for the Year 1909*, page M10; 1910, page N13, 1911, pages N7-8, 1912, page N11-12. The Yuen Long school was at Ping Shan between 1907 and 1912. The poor standards and low numbers of pupils are stressed in 1908, 1909, 1910, and 1911. See also the *Orme Report* op cit paras 100-102 and Appendix G, and *Administrative Reports for the Year 1920*, page 015.

- ⁶ *Administrative Reports for the Year 1913*, pages N13-17, *1914*, pages N12-N13, *1915*, pages O18-O19, *1916*, pages 05-06, *1917*, page 07, *1918*, page 09, *1919*, page 010, *1920*, pages 015, 021, 029-030, *1921*, pages 03-4, 016, 022-023, 033-034. Scholarships were offered from these aided village schools to the Government schools in the New Territories, and from the Government schools in the New Territories to those in the City, although very few were taken up in the first few years.
- ⁷ See R J Phillips, *Kowloon-Canton Railway (British Section) A History*, (Urban Council, Hong Kong, 1990), and *Administrative Reports for the Year 1910*, page R6, *1911*, page R1. In 1911, the Sha Tau Kok light railway was opened only as far as Shek Chung Au. The extension of the light railway to Sha Tau Kok came in 1912.
- ⁸ *Administrative Reports for the Year 1910*, pages p34-35, *1911*, pages p40-41, *1912*, page p51, *1913*, pages p86-88, *1914*, page p85-86, *1915*, pages Q94-96, *1916*, pages Q77-78, *1917*, pages Q88-90, *1918*, pages Q81-85, *1919*, pages Q53-55, *1920*, pages Q64-65, and *1921*, pages Q77-78. A programme to build 6 to 8 feet wide footpaths/bridle paths had been begun in the New Territories in 1899. The footpath from Kowloon to Tai Po was completed in 1902, and that from Castle Peak Bay to Au Tau in 1911. The section from Au Tau to Fanling was completed (except for the bridge at Au Tau) by the end of 1914. No path was built between Castle Peak Bay and Sham Shui Po, or between Tai Po and Fanling in this period. This footpath construction programme does not seem to have affected traditional village life significantly, although the District Officer felt the new footpaths had made the work of patrolling and administering the New Territories easier. However, the only specific use the District Officer noted for the new footpaths, other than by Government officials, was by cattle drovers sending animals to the City for slaughter: the footpaths were "justified by administrative and military needs" (the *Orme Report*, pages 30, 32-33, 36). The New Territories circular road was an upgrading of these earlier footpaths, where they existed, but included new construction where the earlier footpaths were lacking.
- ⁹ *Papers Laid Before the Legislative Council of HongKong, 1899* (Hong Kong Sessional Papers), printed by Norton & Co., Government Printers, Hong Kong, No. 9, "Extracts from Papers Relating to the Extension of the Colony of Hongkong, Laid before the Legislative Council by Command of His Excellency the Governor. Extracts from a Report by Mr. Stewart Lockhart on the Extension of the Colony of Hongkong," p. 187, remarks that, in 1899, the steamers from Hong Kong to Macao called intermittently at Cheung Chau. The *Orme Report*, op. cit. mentions that steam ferries from Cheung Chau used to carry the fish catch to Hong Kong early in the morning (para 65). See also *Administrative Reports for the Year 1910*, page J12, *1915*, page J9, *1916*, page J12, *1919*, page J12, *1922*, page J12.
- ¹⁰ Including the choice of Cheung Chau as a place to spend weekends and the summer by numbers of European families, initially mostly missionaries from Canton. This began in a very small way in 1912, but only became a major feature from 1918. In 1919 a "European reservation" was formed, and a small year-round resident European community with an Assembly Hall and a 10-hole golf-course had become established by 1921. *Administrative Reports for the Year 1912*, page J13, *1913*, page J11, *1914*, page J9, *1915*, page J10, *1917*, page J11, *1918*, page J11, *1920*, page J12, *1921*, page J13.

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¹¹ *Onne Report*, op cit , paras 87, 89, 91, 101-102

¹² *Census Report*, 1921, pages 160, 162

¹³ *Census Report*, 1911, para 48

¹⁴ By 1921, the Districts were called North and South Districts, but in this paper they are called Northern and Southern Districts throughout, for the sake of uniformity and simplicity

¹⁵ *Census Report 1911*, paras 8, 41

¹⁶ *Census Report*, 1911, paras 6, 7

¹⁷ *Census Report*, 1911, para 7

¹⁸ *Census Report 1911* para 3

¹⁹ *Census Report*, 1911 para 44

²⁰ *Census Report*, 1911 para 22, and Tables XIX and XIXa

²¹ *Census Report*, 1911 para 3

²² *Census Report 1911* para 5, 6, 8, 44

²³ *Census Report 1911* para 19

²⁴ *Census Report*, 1911 para 22

²⁵ *Census Report*, 1911 para 2

²⁶ *Census Report*, 1921, Table XXXIVa

²⁷ See below, n 63

²⁸ *Census Report*, 1911 Table XVIII

²⁹ *Census Report*, 1911, paras 41, 48

³⁰ *Census Report*, 1911, Table XIX San Tin district enumerated 73 villages, the Mui Bay Launch District 34, Sheung Shui 59, Sha Tin 62, Au Tau 62, Sha Tau Kok 67, Ping Shan 73, Tai Po 102, and Sai Kung 126

³¹ *Census Report*, 1911, Table XIXa

³² Tsing Fai Tong, Ha Fa Shan, Yau Kam Tau, Ting Kau, Tso Kung Tam, Sham Tseng, Chuen Lung and other villages west of the Tso Kung Tam stream are enumerated separately

under the Au Tau Enumeration District, and the Shing Mun villages are similarly separately enumerated under the Tai Po Enumeration District

⁴¹ The villages of the "Stone Hill" - Ngau Tau Kok, Sai Cho Wan, Cha Kwo Ling, and Lei Yue Mun - are enumerated separately, under Kowloon City enumeration district

⁴² *Census Report, 1911*, Tables XIV, XV

⁴³ *Census Report, 1911*, page 6

⁴⁴ On Lamna, 18 villages, population 826 (perhaps 3-6 villages, 181 people per day), in Au Tau, 62 villages, population 10873 (perhaps 1 village, 181 people per day), Sha Tau Kok, 67 villages, population 8570 (perhaps 1 village, 143 people per day), Ping Shan, 74 villages, population 10797 (perhaps 1 village, 190 people per day), Sai Kung, 126 villages, population 9243 (perhaps 2 villages, 154 people per day)

⁴⁵ *Census Report, 1921*, pages 159-160, Para 1

⁴⁶ *Census Report, 1921*, page 160, para 6

⁴⁷ *Census Report, 1921*, page 151, para 4, 6

⁴⁸ *Census Report, 1921*, page 152, para 9

⁴⁹ *Census Report, 1921*, pages 166-167, paras 5, 7

⁵⁰ In 1921, Tsuen Wan district had only 135 boat people. It, as is likely, the numbers of boat people there were the same in 1911, then the boat people were only 5% of the population of Tsuen Wan

⁵¹ *Preliminary Census Report (23rd June 1921)*, op cit, para 4 - 5, *Census Report, 1921*, page 155, para 9, page 160, para 3,4, page 162, para 13, Table XI

⁵² *Preliminary Census Report (23rd June 1921)*, op cit, para 4, *Census Report, 1921*, page 160, para 1

⁵³ Taken from *Census Report, 1911*, Table XXI, and *Census Report, 1921*, Tables IX, XIV

⁵⁴ That the figures in 1911 are the result of under-reporting of young boys can be seen by checking the figures in the 1921 Census for boys aged 10-14 and 15-19. Since the Northern District population was basically static, these are largely the same group as those aged 0-4, 5-9 a decade earlier. The Census gives 4146 and 3479 for these two groups, thereby confirming the under-reporting of 1911

⁵⁵ *Preliminary Census Report (23rd June 1921)*, op cit, para 3, *Census Report, 1921*, page 156

⁵⁶ *Census Report, 1921*, page 161, para 9, page 162, para 1. However, see also note 65

- ⁴⁹ The total Northern District recorded population was 69.1 thousand in 1911, and 69.9 thousand in 1921 (including the boat-people), suggesting, at 35 births per thousand, about 2420-2450 births a year, of which half (1210-1225) would be male.
- ⁵⁰ The 1921 figures for women aged 10-14, 15-19, 25-29, 30-34 do not show the same pattern as the 1911 figures did – for the same group a decade earlier (in 1921 these groups are, respectively 4,380, 3,390, 2,792 and 2,616), thus making it very likely that the differences were due to under-reporting, given the static nature of the population.
- ⁵¹ The figures in Table 7 take no account of emigration from the area – which would reduce the resident adult male population (particularly between ages 20 and 40). Emigration was a significant social feature (it is discussed more fully below), but does not make the very rough figures in Table 7 substantially inaccurate.
- ⁵² Death-rates, of course, differed much more on a year-by-year basis than today. Epidemic disease (smallpox especially) killed many children, but smallpox struck only one year in every 3 or 4. Malaria and dysentery, the other major killers of children after neo-natal infections, were more endemic as problems. The Census officer in 1921 discussed death-rates within the New Territories, but, presumably because he was aware of the problem of under-reporting of children, he limited himself to the death-rates of persons aged over 25, pointing out that the death rates of males between 25 and 50 were double those of England and Wales at the same date, and were 50% higher for females. Between 50 and 60, death rates in the New Territories were 1½ times those in England and Wales – and rather higher than this for females. The percentage of the population still alive at age 60 in the New Territories was less than half that in England and Wales for males, and barely half for females. *Census Report 1921*, page 161, para 8.
- ⁵³ *Papers Laid Before the Legislative Council of Hongkong, 1900*, (Sessional Papers), printed by Noronha and Co., Government Printers, No. 8, "Report of the Acting Principal Civil Medical Officer for the Year 1900. Laid Before the Legislative Council by Command of His Excellency the Governor", p. 253, 1902, No. 37, p. 729, 1905, No. 15, p. 266, 1906, No. 14, p. 350, 1907, No. 27, p. 459, 1908, No. 21, p. 459, etc. *Administrative Reports for the Year 1909*, P. K54-6, 1910 p. L51-52, 1911, p. L61, 1912, p. L60-61, 1913, p. L61-62, 1914, p. L63, 1915, p. M57-58, etc. A short history of medical provision in the New Territories is in *Administrative Reports for the Year 1932*, p. M103-104.
- ⁵⁴ *Administrative Reports*, passim.
- ⁵⁵ Reductions in infant, especially neo-natal, mortality in the market-towns between 1911 and 1921 were certainly less than the numbers of infants not reported to the Census, and thus are invisible in the statistics.
- ⁵⁶ The 4.3% reduction the loss of Tsuen Wan implied was offset, to a large extent, by the 1921 higher figures for the boat people. Between these two factors, the 1921 figures would be expected to be lower than the 1911 figures by about 1-2%.
- ⁵⁷ *Administrative Reports for the Year 1920* page 029-30.

⁵⁸ 2,992 females aged 25-30 in 1911 2,795 in 1921

⁵⁹ *Census Report 1911*, Table XXI

⁶⁰ *Census Report 1921*, Tables XXIV-XXVIII

⁶¹ Based on a figure of double the female population since the male population is clearly significantly distorted by immigration

⁶² See J.W. Hayes, *The Hong Kong Region 1850-1911: Institutions in Town and Countryside*, Hamden, Connecticut, 1977

⁶³ *Census Report, 1911*, Tables IX and X. No detailed breakdown of Place of Birth of the floating population is included in the 1911 Census.

⁶⁴ The statistics for Place of Birth in the 1921 Census give a somewhat different picture. There (*Census Report, 1921*, Table XI) the place of birth of 34,724 Northern District males and 36,311 Northern District females are given, of which only 88% (males) and 82% (females) were born within the New Territories. The sharply higher figures for persons born outside the New Territories seems to be due to three factors. The first is the time of the Census. The 1921 Census was taken during the cooler weather (March-April) as compared with the 1911 Census (April-June). Numbers of stonecutters, itinerant weavers etc. are likely to have been higher in 1921, as it is known from oral evidence that many of these village-to-village traders went back to their own families in villages outside the New Territories for the summer and harvest seasons, and would thus have been enumerated in 1921 but not in 1911. This is doubtless the reason the 1921 Census shows a far higher figure for males born in Kwai Shun District (997 compared to 354), and also for males from the area north of Canton (241 as compared to 23), although the numbers from Ka Yung and other East River areas were lower (142 as compared to 177). This may also be the reason for higher recorded numbers of males from other inland areas in 1921 (Sze Yap 77 as compared to 25, and Shui Hing area 95 as to 19). With the exception of Kwai Shun, all the 1921 figures for these areas show far fewer females than males (Kwai Shun, 1507 females, north of Canton 132, East River 72, Sze Yap 16, Shui Hing 45). The effects of the Chung Ming Festival, and the remaining 1920 refugees, are responsible, almost certainly, for the much higher numbers of San On born males (1213 in 1921, only 243 in 1911), and may in part also account for the increase in Tung Kun males (385 in 1921, 163 in 1911). Most of the difference, however, must be due to a more careful enumeration of the boat people in the area. The higher numbers recorded in 1921 for males born in the Delta (750 as against 234), the Chiu Chau area (113 as against 9), Hong Kong (226 as against 10), and Macao (25 as against nil), must be due to this factor. The reduction in the numbers of women recorded as born in Hong Kong (1208 as against 2383 in 1911) may be due to errors in the 1911 record. Because of these differences, it is difficult to compare the two Censuses directly with regard to these statistics. It is considered likely that the 1911 figures are closer to the actual position of long-term land population residents born outside the area. The information in the 1921 Census does not permit any direct comparison with the Place of Birth figures for Southern District in 1911, since the 1921 figures include New Kowloon as well as the Islands.

- ⁶⁵ *Census Report, 1911*, Tables II and XIII. No detailed breakdown of Dialect Spoken in the Home by the floating population is included in the 1911 Census.
- ⁶⁶ Oral evidence suggests that the boat people did have larger families than the land people, and a higher rate of infant mortality, but these figures still suggest that the "35 per thousand" figure given by the Census officer in 1921 may have been slightly under-estimated.
- ⁶⁷ *Census Report, 1921*, Table XXVI.
- ⁶⁸ Taken from the 1911 Table of Places of Birth (Northern District), and the 1921 Tables of Places of Birth (Northern District, Southern District, Floating Population).
- ⁶⁹ *Census Report, 1911*, Table XXVIII.
- ⁷⁰ The 1911 Census records 24,468 males of 10 years old and upward, and 22,460 of 15 years and upward, suggesting about 24,000 of 12 years and upward. The married state of 24,378 males is recorded, of whom 881 were married before the age of 12. The corresponding figures for Northern District females are 27,926, and 24,378, suggesting about 26,000 aged 12 and upward, with the married state of 26,723 females actually recorded, of whom 902 were married before the age of 12.
- ⁷¹ The corresponding figures in 1911 for the Southern District land population were 0.8% and 1.1%.
- ⁷² In 1911 the Married State figures for Southern District are not broken down into the Islands and New Kowloon, and are therefore difficult to use.
- ⁷³ The "Occupations" Table of the 1921 Census (TABLE XVIII) shows 31 male, and 104 female religious in North District, and 14 male and 71 female religious in South District in 1921.
- ⁷⁴ *Census Report 1911*, Table XXX.
- ⁷⁵ *Census Report 1921*, Table XII. See also Alice Ng Lun Ngai-ha, "Village Education in Transition: The Case of Sheung Shui", *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 82 (1982), pp. 252-270 generally for this section of this article.
- ⁷⁶ In 1931, the Census Officer stated that he felt the 1921 Census figures for educational attainments of the floating population were inaccurate. He suggested 34.04% of floating population males over 20, and 13.8% of females over 20 were literate. These figures, however, are not broken down by district. See *Sessional Papers Laid Before the Legislative Council of Hong Kong, 1931*, printed by Noonha and Co, Hong Kong, 1931, No 5/1931, "Report on the Census of the Colony of Hong Kong, 1931" (the *Census Report, 1931*), p. 141.
- ⁷⁷ See Alice Ng Lun Ngai-ha, *op cit* p. 266.
- ⁷⁸ *Census Report, 1911*, Tables XXXV and XXXVI.

- ⁷⁹ The Census Officer in 1931 came to this conclusion, after considering the evidence in some depth *Census Report, 1931*, pp. 139-141
- ⁸⁰ *Papers Laid before the Legislative Council of Hongkong, 1902* (Hong Kong Sessional Papers), printed Noronha and Co. Government Printers, 1903, No. 14 "Report of the Committee of Education" (The Brewin Report). "Laid before the Legislative Council by Command of His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government", p. 392
- ⁸¹ *Orme Report*, op. cit. para 101, and Appendix G
- ⁸² *Administrative Reports for the Year 1913*, pages N13-17
- ⁸³ *Administrative Reports for the Year 1921*, pages 03-4, 022-23
- ⁸⁴ *Administrative Reports for the Year 1921*, page 03-4. An average of 3½ years would imply about 80% of boys received some education. 4 years, about 70%
- ⁸⁵ The Tai Po Market Girls School, the Cheung Chau Girls School, the Yuen Long Girls School, and the London Mission Society School (Co-educational) at Tsuen Wan. By 1931 there were distinct signs of improvement. While only 2.81% of land population females over 21 were then literate, 3.69% of those aged 16-20 were
- ⁸⁶ The withering scorn with which the Sung Report treats the content of the traditional curriculum and teaching methods of the village schools should be treated with some caution. Sung was an extreme proponent of the "new methods" in education.
- ⁸⁷ *Census Report, 1911*, Tables XXXV, XXXVI, *Census Report, 1921*, Table XVIII
- ⁸⁸ *Census Report, 1921*, para 4. The criticism of the 1921 "Occupations" statistics was repeated in the 1931 Census Report
- ⁸⁹ *Census Report, 1921*, Table XXVIII
- ⁹⁰ *Census Report, 1921*, Table XXXIVa
- ⁹¹ *Census Report, 1921*, Table XXIII, Part I and Part II
- ⁹² Omitting people working in agricultural occupations, fisher(women), domestic servants, people working in religion, teachers/students, sailors on ocean-going ships, grass-cutters, railway workers, road transport workers, coolies, miners and lime-burners, seamstresses and Mui Tsu.
- ⁹³ Aberdeen, Apichau, Im Wan and Wong Chuk Hang also show dominance of the population by males, as does Shaokwan, but these areas should be considered more as market towns, with subordinate industrial villages, and thus to fall more with places like Sai Kung or Peng Chau
- ⁹⁴ *Census Report, 1911*, Tables XII, XIII

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⁹⁵ For instance, in Sha Tin, both Punti and Hakka indigenous villagers believe that their numbers are, and have always been, about half-and-half, whereas in fact there were, in 1911, 28.4% Punti males to 66.2% Hakka males (the remaining 5.4% were predominantly “not stated”)

⁹⁶ *Census Report, 1911*, Tables XIX, XIXa

⁹⁷ Basel Mission Archive, Doct. A1-2, Nr. 14 A1-28, Nr. 47 *Der Evangelische Heidenbote*, Feb. 1906, p. 9

⁹⁸ See *Der Evangelische Heidenbote* Sep. 1861, for a discussion of the indentured coolie trade from this general area

⁹⁹ D. Faure, A. Ng, B. Luk, eds., *港碑銘纂編, Xianggang Beiming Huipian Historical Inscriptions of Hong Kong*, Urban Council, Hong Kong, 1986, Vol. 1, pp. 262-280

¹⁰⁰ The tablet records the donations towards the rebuilding of the main Tsuen Wan Temple. The tablet divides donors into two categories: 500 donors resident in the Tsuen Wan District, and some 636 resident abroad. While a few of those donating from overseas were not Tsuen Wan people (a few Sha Tin villagers can be identified), the great majority clearly are. There can be no doubt that Tsuen Wan, as the other New Territories mountainous areas, had a high percentage of its young adult males overseas in 1900. The overseas donors came from California, Australia, Hawaii, Siam, Singapore, Hong Kong, and elsewhere. Faure et al. *The Historical Inscriptions of Hong Kong*, op. cit. Vol. 1, pp. 319-329

¹⁰¹ *Census Report, 1911*, Table I

¹⁰² Basel Mission Archive, Doct. A1-2, Nr. 44 printed in translation in P.H. Hase, “Sha Tau Kok in 153”, in *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 30, 1990, p. 281-297

¹⁰³ J.L. Watson, “Self Defence Corps, Violence, and the Bachelor Sub-Culture in South China: Two Case Studies”, in *proceedings of the Second International Conference on Sinology*, Academia Sinica, Taipei, 1989, pp. 209-221. There is no evidence for female infanticide in the New Territories or the broader region.