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Source: *The Geographical Journal*, Mar., 1951, Vol. 117, No. 1 (Mar., 1951), pp. 1-23

Published by: The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers)

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# The GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL

*Vol CXVII Part I*

*March 1951*

## HONG KONG: AN URBAN STUDY

R. H. HUGHES

**I**N THE Crown Colony of Hong Kong the sister cities of Victoria and Kowloon lie on either side of the harbour, sheltered on the north by the Kowloon Hills and on the south by the rocky spine of Hong Kong island itself. Within this area of 35 square miles, about half of which is water and another quarter steep hillside capable at best of supporting only a very sparse population, there live nearly two million people.

How the site came to be chosen a little more than one hundred years ago as the focus of South China trade; how it grew to become one of the world's largest ports and why, together with the immediate hinterland of the New Territories, it assumes such great importance at the present day may be seen in an examination of the geographical and historical environment. Such a study cannot ignore the human factors; Chinese industry, cheerfulness and commercial genius allied with British tenacity and administrative ability, which would have been capable of building a city in a hundred years anywhere on the coast of China from the Gulf of Tongking to the Sea of Japan. But those who chose the barren hills around the harbour of Hong Kong chose wisely, and it is doubtful whether the Anglo-Chinese effort would have been equally successful elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

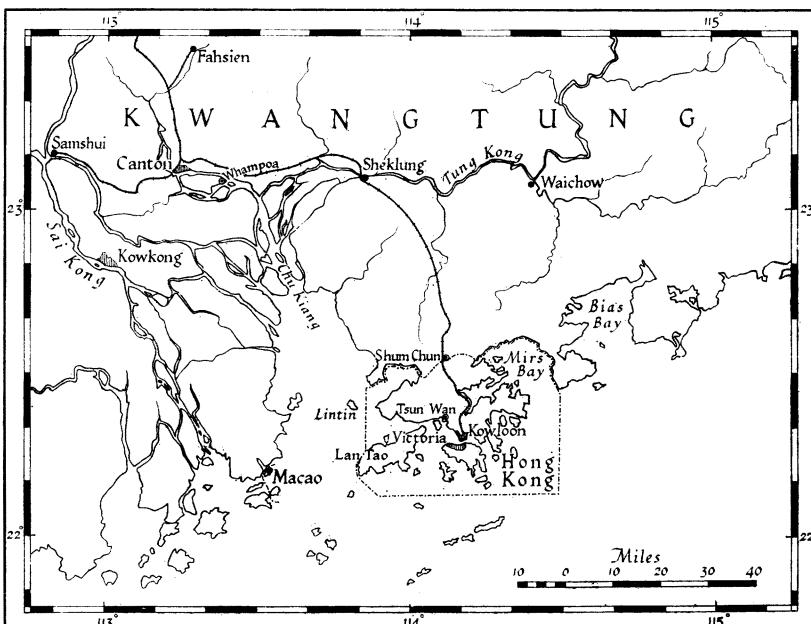
The meridian  $114^{\circ} 10'$  E. and the parallel  $22^{\circ} 17'$  N. cross in the middle of the harbour, which lies on the eastern side of the delta of the Canton river (Chu Kiang). It is midway between Singapore and Yokohama and near the direct sea and air routes between these two great ports, equidistant from the important islands of Hainan and Formosa, well situated athwart the Indo-China and China coast shipping routes and is the nearest harbour on the Asiatic continent to Manila. Yet these advantages are of minor importance compared with its enviable position with regard to the great inlet to Canton and South China. It is this which marks Hong Kong, and not Fuchow, Amoy, Swatow or Kwangchow-Wan, as the greatest port of the South China Sea,<sup>2</sup> for easterly winds make it impossible to maintain a deep-water anchorage on the Macao side of the estuary.

<sup>1</sup> E. J. Eitel thinks that the people on the spot did not choose the site at Hong Kong in 1841 but accepted it unwillingly. See 'Europe in China,' 1895, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> "Prior to our taking possession of Hong Kong, and for some time after, all the native traders between Canton and the East Coast passed through the harbour and generally anchored there." Eitel, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

### *Relief, climate and communications*

The topography of the urban area on both sides of the harbour is one of strong relief, based with one exception on granite and related rocks.<sup>1</sup> This exception is the high ridge which includes Mount Davis, the upper part of Kennedy Town and the middle levels and hill district of Victoria and which is composed of older (Mesozoic) volcanic rocks comprising nearly every type of volcanic product. The tuffs weather to light-coloured silty clay soils and the lavas to brown silty loams; except for scrub on the sides of ravines they support little but coarse grass. The local granite varies widely in colour, constitution and other properties. It occurs in massive intrusions and is usually



*Fig. 1. Hong Kong and its environment*

a well-jointed, hard, grey or pink, coarse-grained rock when fresh. It weathers to a soft mottled red and buff rock composed of quartz grains in clay which is often lateritic. In places, notably at Cha Kwo Ling opposite Quarry Bay, the felspars weather to fine white china clay. Large residual boulders remain and these supply excellent building and roadstone, for the heavy over-burden of the native rock has frequently made deep quarrying less economical. The decomposed granite forms a subsoil which is frequently very deep and which gives rise to a buff-coloured gritty or coarse sandy loam which supports

<sup>1</sup> For the geology of the colony, see two papers by M. Y. Williams *et al.* "The stratigraphy and palaeontology of Hong Kong and the New Territories," *Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada* 3rd Ser. 37 (1943) and "The physiography and igneous geology of Hong Kong and the New Territories," *Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada* 3rd Ser. 39 (1945). A geological map of the colony is in preparation.

coarse grass and, in ravines, low scrub. In its natural state the hilly terrain is strewn with rounded boulders and in places is almost bare of vegetation; the low foothills of Victoria, notably those of the Tai Hang, North Point and Quarry Bay areas, and the hills of Kowloon below the 500-foot contour, are largely of decomposed granite, so heavily gullied and denuded of topsoil and vegetation as to form "badland" areas. These "badlands" have increased since 1939 with the cutting of timber during the Japanese occupation of the colony. There are signs that the erosion is now being checked, but only a properly engineered process of reclamation with resurfacing and replanting will establish a vegetation cover in these areas. As many of them are cemeteries or are nearly ripe for development such reclamation is not economical, and a considerable part of the town has a very barren appearance. On level spots among these low hills wherever sufficient water is available are to be found, often in close juxtaposition to built-up areas, the market-gardens and nurseries which supply part of the cities' needs in flowers and vegetables.

A submerged coastline, which on this side of the Canton delta has experienced only slight sedimentation, provides little in the way of coastal flats. When Victoria was founded such flats existed only in very sheltered inlets, such as those in the Happy Valley-Tai Hang area and in small areas around Kowloon Bay. Any other level ground around the harbour is the result of man's activities. The tidal scour which helps to prevent the formation of coastal flats, also keeps the deep-water harbour relatively free from silt and pollution and enables the two cities to dispense with any sewage disposal works, beyond the organizing of night-soil coolies and lighters and the provision of sewers discharging into the harbour.

Hong Kong lies on the margin of the great Asiatic monsoon and has hot humid summers and cool dry winters, but the so-called "south-west monsoon" is not so regular or uninterrupted, nor is the winter so completely dry, as in the true monsoon countries. In 1948, which was a slightly wetter year than normal, the prevailing direction of the wind was between north and east for eleven months of the year and from the south-south-west in July only. The general tendency of the weather from May to September is however from the south, although winds may be variable; temperatures are high, night and day, but do not often rise above 90° F. Out of a yearly average rainfall of 84 inches, 65 inches fall during this period, mostly in heavy showers or in sustained downpours associated with intense tropical depressions or typhoons. There is no month in the year during which a typhoon has not been recorded in the colony, but they are most common in the summer and autumn. Winds of hurricane force occur when the centre of a typhoon passes over or near the colony, and these have had to be taken into account in planning buildings and port works; several days' outdoor work, particularly in the harbour, are lost every year because of adverse weather conditions. From October to February, winds are from the north-eastern quadrant and fairly steady. Humidity and rainfall are low and temperatures range from 40° F. to 85° F. In the transition period in March and April the weather is frequently overcast and fog and mist may interfere with shipping and aircraft.

Hong Kong is well served with external communications. In normal times (though it is said of Hong Kong that times have never been normal since its

foundation) ocean-going ships of every flag and every tonnage bring goods for transhipment in such volume that it is the greatest entrepôt in the South China Sea, if not in the Far East. The colony is in direct contact not only with its near neighbours but with every major country of the world, by air as well as by sea. Land transport to the New Territories is by good all-weather motor-roads, with dubious connections through Shum Chun into southern Kwangtung. More reliable when not threatened by war is the Kowloon–Canton railway connecting with the Canton–Hankow railway.

The story of Hong Kong is largely the story of its port and the associated financial and commercial undertakings. Even though it is now becoming to some extent a manufacturing centre, it is likely that most of its inhabitants will continue to be employed in commerce and distribution; this is the more likely now that the emphasis is on far eastern trade in general rather than on trade with South China. Internal consumption accounts for probably a tenth of the total goods imported; the colony must remain an entrepôt or diminish greatly in importance.

The naturally excellent harbour is improved by good wharfs, buoyed anchorages and well-organized facilities for weather forecasting; and an adequate supply of labour, lighterage and storage ensure a high rate of loading and discharging cargo. Pilferage is low. Before the Second World War many ships were attracted to Hong Kong by the excellent repair facilities, which were cheaper than in most ports in the world. Even now that the comparative cheapness no longer exists, shipping is still attracted owing to the scarcity of facilities elsewhere.

#### *The history of the colony*

The Portuguese came to Macao, the spearhead of European adventure in the China Sea, from Malacca and the East India Company established a post there in 1664. In 1771 they opened a trading factory in Canton itself. Other nations followed them and, as the monopoly of "the Company" was broken, other British traders came too. Trade was precarious and depended very much on relations with the Chinese Viceroy in Canton. The navigation of the river up to Whampoa and Canton was hazardous and relied on the good will of Chinese pilots. When therefore the import into Macao and Canton of opium, their most valuable cargo, was prohibited in 1821, British merchants and shipowners were not entirely sorry to make use of the anchorages around the Lintin, Lan Tao and Hong Kong islands.<sup>1</sup>

The first anchorage was off Lintin island where depots were established ashore (the foundations of which may still be seen) but the anchorage was not safe in all weathers and by 1836 ships were using Hong Kong more and more frequently. In 1839, after a series of indignities perhaps not entirely unmerited, the final breach came and Captain C. Elliot, the Superintendent of Trade, ordered all British subjects to leave Canton; in the same year they had to leave Macao also and sought asylum in the ships in Hong Kong harbour. In 1841, they settled peacefully on Hong Kong island itself, which was then

<sup>1</sup> Hong Kong (Heung Kong) was originally the name given by fishermen to the harbour of Aberdeen on the south side of the island; this attracted ships because of the stream of sweet water which entered the sea at Waterfall Bay nearby. Europeans later applied the name to the whole island and the main harbour.

a haunt of smugglers and pirates and inhabited by a few farmers, fishermen and stonemasons. "Stern necessity and not their wills sent them thither. The same necessity ordained that the little band, once lodged there, should take root, and growth followed as a natural result of the inherent vitality of the organism."<sup>1</sup> A most decisive feature, and the reason for the phenomenally rapid growth of the city of Victoria in the early days, was the arrival as going concerns of large sections of the British commercial communities from Canton and Macao.<sup>2</sup>

The transfer of sovereignty from China to Britain was a protracted process, but in August 1842 the Treaty of Nanking confirmed the transfer of the island to Great Britain.<sup>3</sup> By the Convention of Peking in 1860, the British Crown obtained a lease of the Kowloon peninsula, south of what is now Boundary Street. The following year saw this peninsula, together with Stonecutters Island in the harbour, ceded outright. In 1898 under a second Convention of Peking the remainder of Kowloon (New Kowloon) and the New Territories, including all the northern shores of the harbour and the land south of the Kowloon hills, were leased to Britain for a period of ninety-nine years. Whatever storms have swept over China since, with the exception of the Japanese occupation, the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong has remained the one stable point. The Japanese occupied the colony from December 1941 to September 1945. The fighting in 1941 though heavy, did not in itself cause more material damage than could have been repaired in a few months; greater damage was caused by looting at the times of occupation and reoccupation and by allied bombing in between, so that by 1946 European housing for 7000 persons and Chinese housing for 160,000 was uninhabitable; factories were largely denuded of machinery, port and shipyard facilities seriously impaired and more than half of the pre-war population was scattered. The only substantial improvement carried out by the Japanese was the extension and reconstruction of Kai Tak airport.

The settlements of Victoria and Kowloon have grown through various turns of fortune from the first thirty-three lots with sea frontages, sold by Captain Elliot on 14 June 1841, to the haphazard and overcrowded cities that they are to-day. Up to 1845 the settlement was an intermittent 2-mile strip between Queen's Road and the sea, extending in the first stage almost continuously from Possession Point to Morrison Hill. It was at no place more

<sup>1</sup> Alex. Michie, 'The Englishman in China,' as quoted by James Orange in 'The Chater Collection,' 1924, p. 326.

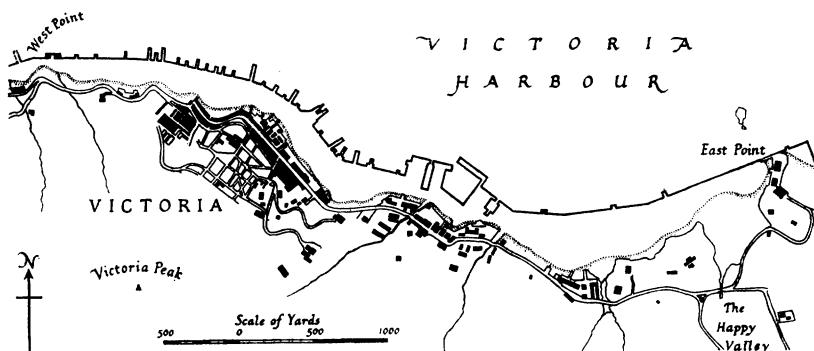
<sup>2</sup> For the history of the colony, see G. R. Sayer, 'Hong Kong 1841-1862,' 1937; E. J. Eitel, 'Europe in China: the history of Hong Kong from the beginning to year 1882,' 1895; and W. A. Wood, 'A brief history of Hong Kong,' 1940 (the last is an outline of the history to 1938). Since this paper was written in 1949, S. G. Davis has published his 'Hong Kong in its geographical setting' (London, Collins, 1949; reviewed in *Geogr. J.* 115 (1950) 106). This excellent book contains a full bibliography of the whole subject of the colony and its relationship to its hinterland.

<sup>3</sup> Treaty of Nanking, Article 111. ". . . it being obviously necessary and desirable that British subjects should have some port whereat they may careen and refit their ships, when required, and keep stores for that purpose. . . ." It is possible that the future of Hong Kong as Britain's entrepôt in South China was already realized, but it may not have been considered diplomatic to reveal intentions too fully in the text of the treaty.

than 150 yards wide, being bounded on the northern side by low sea-walls along the shore.<sup>1</sup> There was also some settlement in the Happy Valley area (though this was not popular in the early days for fear of fever and pestilence) and at East Point and West Point. The south side of Queen's Road rose steeply along almost its whole length, as the stepped streets still bear witness, and on these slopes were scattered a few military, administrative and institutional buildings. The dense mass of Chinese residential and commercial settlement, which to-day stretches unbroken from the city centre to Sai Ying Poon with scattered outliers at either end, began in two small areas between Wellington Street and Queen's Road and in the area below Blake Gardens.

#### *The urban site*

The natural site of Victoria was completely built over in the first few years and there the boundaries would have remained but for the pressure of trade



*Fig. 2. Victoria: the new coastline of reclaimed land superimposed on the map of 1845*

and population. The only outlet was out to sea and up the hill, and thus began a long series of reclamations. Many of these were costly and there have been cases where the cost of forming a site has been greater than that of the building erected on it, but land was valuable and well repaid the capital outlay. By 1862 seaward reclamations to the approximate line of Des Voeux Road, Ko Shing Street and Johnston Road had been completed.<sup>2</sup> In 1893 the waterfront from West Point to the Naval Yard was substantially as it is to-day. Before the First World War, further reclamations had been made to the east and west of the town, while the 4,000,000 square feet Praya East reclamation, on which stands the homogeneous urban unit of New Wan Chai, was undertaken between 1920 and 1929. Further reclamations from the harbour are planned or underway at several points along the water-front; their feasibility will depend very largely on labour costs relative to the value of the reclaimed land.

<sup>1</sup> The north-eastern shore of the harbour, from Kai Tak to Lye Mun, with its few narrow coastal flats and its narrow silted bays backed by steep hills presents an illustration of Victoria as it must have been in 1841. But here too, development is now in progress.

<sup>2</sup> It was alleged in 1855 that 298,685 square feet had been reclaimed privately by owners of marine lots in opposition to the rights of the Crown. Eitel, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

From the early days the British and Portuguese, who together form the bulk of the "foreign" community, realized the advantages to health of living away from the lower levels of the city and, though the Military and the junior members of the foreign firms usually lived in messes or above their offices, they developed what are now the "Mid Levels," the northern slopes of the Victoria Peak group of hills between the 200- and the 900-foot contours. The growth appears to have commenced at about the Bonham Road, Caine Road, Kennedy Road level and to have crept up the hill, urged on partly by the increase of the foreign community itself and partly by the press of more fortunate Chinese citizens who, in turn, began to appreciate the advantages, both medical and social, of living here. The year 1874 saw the first permanent settlement in the hill district proper, locally called "the Peak," where, although the benefits of a 5° or 6° F. drop in the temperature were appreciated, they had been outweighed by the disadvantages of mist and bad communications. The construction of the Peak Tramway in 1888, and of two motor roads built between the wars, has speeded up the development of this beautiful district of dispersed residences. In the past it was almost entirely a European settlement but since the last war there are signs of it becoming increasingly cosmopolitan.

Apart from the Pok Fu Lam area it is only in the last twenty years that there has been any significant overspill of population to dormitory suburbs situated on the east and south sides of the island, but these settlements grew rapidly before the last war in the Shek O, Stanley, Repulse Bay, Deep Water Bay and Little Hong Kong districts and now constitute a serious threat to the unparalleled coastal scenery of the island.

The Kowloon peninsula is linked to central Victoria by ferries which ply between the Victoria termini and all parts of the harbour and the New Territories. A steady stream of freight-carrying craft, towed, powered or sailing, plies between the wharfs at Kowloon Point or ships lying at buoyed anchorages in the harbour, and the warehouses and coastal-shipping wharfs. These are situated along the greater part of the southern shore and, to a much less extent, around the Yau Ma Ti harbour of refuge and the light industrial areas of Sham Shui Po and To Kwa Wan. An electric passenger tramway runs almost the whole length of Victoria from Sau Ki Wan to Kennedy Town and has played a considerable part in the growth of working class suburbs at the extremities of the city, though the Chinese labourer, artisan or shop assistant usually lives within walking distance of his work if not actually on the premises. The Peak Tram, an electrically operated rope railway rising over 1200 feet in less than a mile, played a similar role in the development of the hill district, though it is now being superseded by the two motor roads which meet at Magazine Gap.

Most towns seem to have had a central artery from which they have grown, and in Victoria this is Queen's Road, narrow and tortuous by modern traffic standards but running through a city of far more narrow and more congested lanes, alleys and side streets. Kowloon has its north-to-south artery of Nathan Road, a much more imposing street and symptomatic of the more spacious layout of the younger city.

The development of Kowloon has not followed the same pattern as that of

Hong Kong. The levelling of sites is less difficult and from the first the rudiments of town-planning and the needs of the future seem not to have been lost sight of; it was probably always regarded as an overspill area for the older city. Historians have paid little attention to its development and the only stages which can be traced are the principal periods at which land was alienated to private persons, and the carrying out of public works.<sup>1</sup>

When the peninsula was ceded most of the land capable of irrigation was under cultivation.<sup>2</sup> By 1875 much of the area south of Jordan Road was privately held and developed for both residential and storage purposes, while the small reclamations and port facilities that line the tip and sheltered western side of the peninsula had been begun. About the same time a start was made on what is now the centre of Chinese commercial life around Shanghai Street and Yau Ma Ti; a smaller community developed around the new dockyard at Tai Kok Tsui in 1880.<sup>3</sup> The year 1864 saw the start of a dockyard venture at Hung Hom, with its associated community of work-people, but the main development in that area dates from twenty years later. The lease of the New Territories in 1898 produced little immediate expansion of Kowloon north of Boundary Street; the opening of the British section of the Kowloon-Canton Railway in 1910 caused minor residential districts to be developed in the New Territories, and Tai Po may now be considered a small dormitory suburb to Kowloon.<sup>4</sup>

The 1920's saw considerable reclamation on the sea front and low-lying agricultural land to form the modern Chinese suburbs of Sham Shui Po and Kowloon City—Kai Tak; the latter is partly occupied by the Colony's only airfield. Up to this time all development had been along the shore but a significant stage in the 1920's and 1930's was the building, to European town-planning standards of the time, of a residential district extending up the centre of the peninsula from Ho Mun Tin to the Kowloon foothills. The gaps in this belt, and in the pre-war industrial areas towards Lai Chi Kok and Ma Tau Kok, are being filled and an industrial suburb is growing up at Tsun Wan.<sup>5</sup>

Though reclamation has been less difficult than at Victoria, the expansion described above has been achieved only by removing several millions of tons of hard or decomposed granite, much of it by means of baskets and bamboo carrying-poles. And where it is not uncommon for more than 4 inches of rain to fall within an hour, any change in the natural fall of the ground creates problems in drainage and protection-works which if not heeded will undo the work of formation in a matter of months. Heavy retaining walls and wide and deep storm-water channels are a familiar feature of the urban scene.

<sup>1</sup> Most of these details are to be found in 'Historical and statistical abstract of the Colony of Hong Kong; 1841-1930,' Hong Kong, 1932.

<sup>2</sup> Collinson's map of 1845 includes the Kowloon peninsula, though not in great detail, and marks only Kowloon, Chimsa-tsui and Chowpae. What is now "Kowloon city," an area of less than 10 acres, includes the site of the old walled city and its immediate neighbourhood.

<sup>3</sup> E. J. Eitel, *op. cit.*, p. 565.

<sup>4</sup> This has not yet recovered from the devastation of the last war.

<sup>5</sup> The population of Kowloon rose from 123,000 in 1921 to 263,000 in 1931, and 581,000 in 1941.

Right in the centre of Kowloon, to the east of Ho Mun Tin, there is almost a square mile of bare unproductive hills rising at the highest point to 420 feet. Apart from the Chinese cemeteries which were closed before the last war in accordance with a decision to move all cemeteries out of the cities, its only use is to provide granite for building and roadstone and occasional filling for engineering projects; a few building sites have been formed but it remains an unsightly hindrance to the proper planning of the city. This hilly mass separates a Chinese area on the west, an area of large-scale industrial development on the east, and the European-style residential district to the north.

### *Buildings*

At this point in the description of the growth of the urban area it may be profitable to insert a note on local architecture. Hong Kong lies just outside the West Pacific earthquake zone and the traditional building materials in the cities are the local granite, which varies in quality but at its best is an excellent building stone, and an unfired blue brick, much of which has been imported from the Canton delta. Recently these have been supplemented and almost supplanted by fired red bricks made at Castle Peak in the New Territories and by reinforced concrete; the cement is imported or manufactured in Kowloon partly from imported raw materials, the steel reinforcement is imported or rolled locally from old ships' plates. Until the advent of concrete all flat roofs were finished in foot-square Canton tiles, a lightly fired red tile about an inch thick, and the same tile was frequently used for flooring; the familiar roll and pantile Chinese ridge roofs were made almost entirely of imported tiles. China fir from the North or West Rivers, hardwoods from Malaysia and some woods from America are used. As elsewhere in China the ingenuity of temporary building has to be seen to be believed; given any waste material, animal, vegetable or mineral, from paper to petrol tins, the Chinese squatter will build himself a habitation.

With a diversity of modern materials to choose from, buildings are departing from the traditional style. With the pressure of population and the scarcity of land, and also because of the absence of serious earth tremors, it is natural that there should be a tendency to increase the height of buildings. This is noticeable not only in the commercial core of the city but also in the scattered residential areas where additional sites are difficult to find and many storied blocks of flats are replacing the spacious old colonial-style houses.

"Foreign" architecture, both domestic and commercial, was formerly inclined towards high and spacious rooms for coolness with deep verandas for protection against rain and sun. Now the tendency is to economize space, and air-conditioning is increasingly used. The modern trend in Chinese architecture is similar, but the old Chinese style deserves description because of its universality over the greater part of the city, and because modern styles are restricted by land tenure to a similar form. The maximum economic length of a China fir joist is 15 feet and the width of the average Chinese town or village house is limited by this dimension; hence the extremely regular appearance of the great majority of the streets in the Chinese areas of Victoria and Kowloon. Here rows of three- and four-storied houses have an identical

frontage, though the occupation of the houses may differ radically. The common unit of land tenure has become a 15-foot strip about 50 feet deep, and this size has been maintained in the modern reinforced concrete houses which are replacing the older properties.

Probably three-quarters of the Chinese families in Victoria and Kowloon are housed on a floor, or part of a floor, in a three- or four-storied tenement house.<sup>1</sup> Such a floor is 15 feet wide, 40 feet long and 12 feet high, and there may be in addition a 10 by 15-foot veranda overlooking the street in front and a small kitchen and toilet behind. More than half these floors are divided by wooden partitions into cubicles usually 8 feet square; each cubicle is occupied by a family, or family group, paying rent to a principal tenant who is frequently the occupant of one of the cubicles, and who makes a considerable profit on the rents. The veranda, kitchen and 6-foot wide passage extending the whole length of the floor are used communally, though spaces for beds in the passage may be rented to individuals or families. Overcrowding is thus a very pressing domestic and social problem.

All privately held land in the colony is leased from the Crown, on leases of 999 years' duration in the older parts of Victoria and from 75 to 150 years in the newer parts of the city, the remainder of Hong Kong island and the ceded territory of Kowloon. Crown leases in the New Territory part of Kowloon are for 99 years only, from 1898; land for temporary occupation is held from the Crown on annual tenancies. There is machinery to prevent the illegal occupation of Crown land, but in recent years a fringe of squatters has grown up around the built-up areas and, since the last war, in the devastated areas in the cities themselves. This is partly due to war damage in Hong Kong but chiefly to the influx of refugees from China. Rebuilding and vigorous action on the part of the health authorities have cleared the worst of the central areas, but the very large squatter colonies and the squalid temporary buildings on land legally restricted to agriculture are a major factor in the social geography of the colony.

### *Population of the colony*

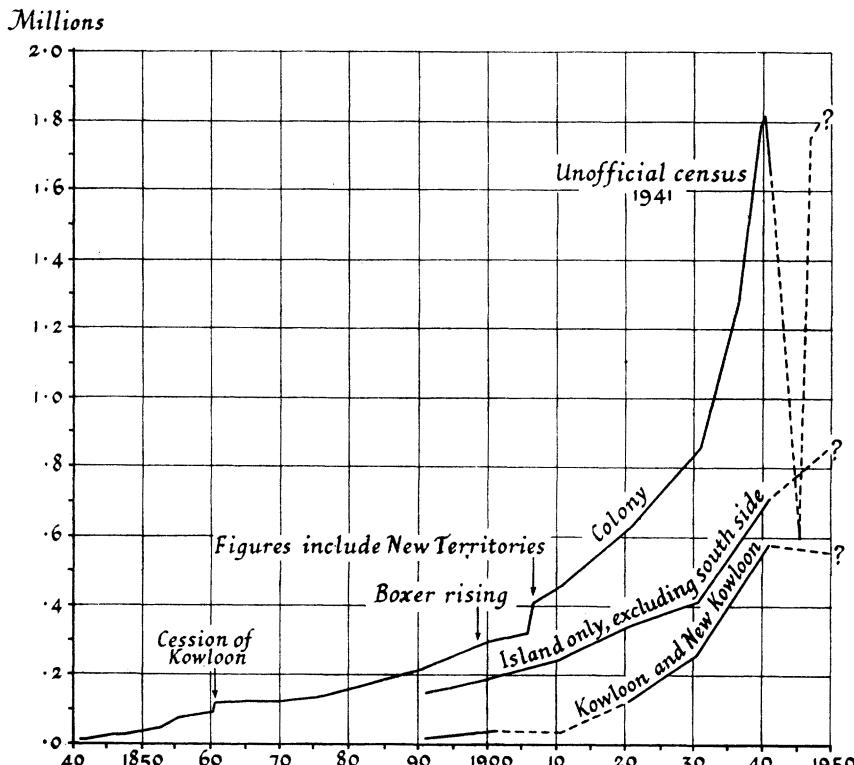
In Hong Kong, as in the cities of China, the abundance of human beings everywhere forcibly strikes the observer.<sup>2</sup> Figure 3 which shows the very rapid growth of population has been constructed from census figures and estimates, but in the past estimates have frequently tended to be high and should be treated with caution; as indeed should the census figures themselves, for they are difficult to collect with accuracy in all Eastern countries. The census data for 1921 and 1941 are not adequate for the compilation of population density maps, but Figure 4 illustrates the results of the 1931 census. The administrative regions upon which it is based are the city health districts though these are not ideal units. The maximum densities of 1254 persons to an acre in part of Victoria and 350 in part of Kowloon are a measure of the different degrees of congestion in the two cities, and may be compared with maximum densities of

<sup>1</sup> The situation is similar in Canton, and to a lesser degree in the newly built centres of other cities in Kwangtung province.

<sup>2</sup> Statistics in this section are taken from the report of the 1931 census of Hong Kong, and from Statistical Supplements to the Hong Kong *Government Gazette*.

about 240 to an acre in Rangoon<sup>1</sup> and 238 to an acre in London. It is doubtful if there has been any outward shift of population from central to outlying districts, but the growth of population since 1931 has resulted in increases in density on the south of the island, in the area of the Praya East reclamation in Wan Chai, in Wong Nei Chong and at North Point. In Kowloon, the density in the outlying districts has increased, particularly round Prince Edward Road and in all areas north of Boundary Street.

In 1948 a check was made of a block of 42 three-storied tenement houses



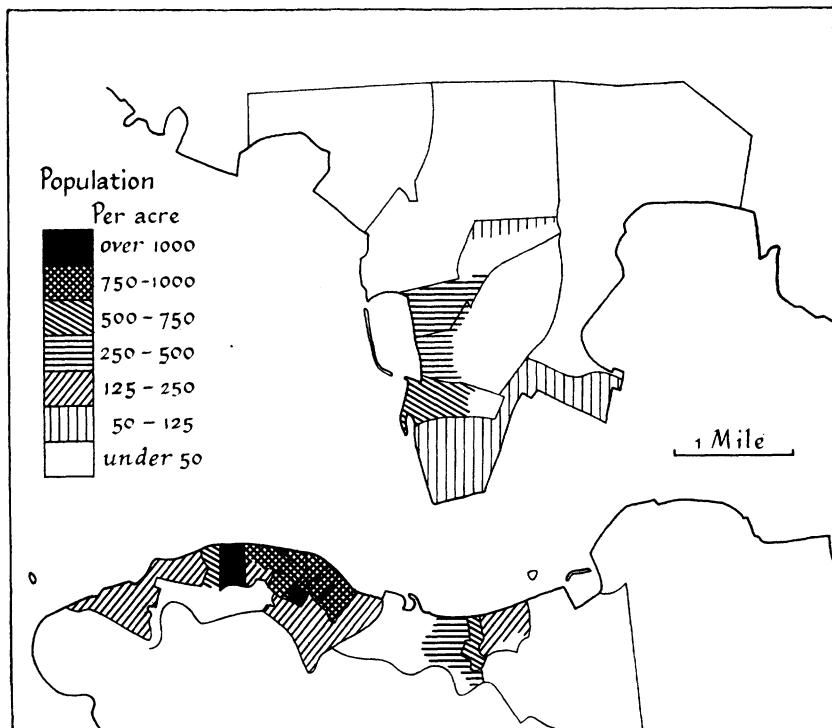
*Fig. 3. The growth of population*

in the central district of Victoria between Queen's Road, Des Voeux Road, Pottinger Street and Chinese Street. They had 2022 residents, an average of nearly 50 per house (or 17 per floor) including the ground floors which are nearly all used during the day as shops, workshops or warehouses. The 1931 census report gives an average of 39 persons per house in Health District No. 4, in which this block lies; in Health District No. 6A (the area around Bridges Street) however, the number of persons per house was then 54. Many houses in the latter area were destroyed during the war but in those

<sup>1</sup> O. H. K. Spate and L. W. Trueblood, "Rangoon: a study in urban geography," *Geogr. Rev.* 32 (1942) 64.

that remain this high density still occurs. There is reason to believe therefore that the density in the central areas of Victoria is at least as high as in 1931. Because of the increased numbers of buildings and the crowding within them, the densities in all districts of Kowloon, particularly in Health Districts 14 to 17, have probably increased considerably.

Of the total estimated population of the colony of 1,800,000 in 1949, it is estimated that there are 750,000 to 800,000 in the city of Victoria and the Peak, and 650,000 to 700,000 in Kowloon and New Kowloon.<sup>1</sup> In 1948 "the



*Fig. 4. Distribution of population, 1931*

number of Europeans and Americans permanently resident, excluding service personnel and their dependents, increased to about 12,000. This total includes some 7000 British subjects from the United Kingdom and the Dominions, about 3000 British subjects of Portuguese race and 2037 aliens permanently resident. In addition there were some 1500 aliens temporarily

<sup>1</sup> The population of Victoria and the Peak is estimated at about 767,000 and of Kowloon and New Kowloon at 547,000, but these figures are difficult to reconcile with the total estimated population (*Hong Kong Annual Report 1948*, p. 17). The Air Raid Warden census in 1941 recorded 686,309 persons in Victoria and the Peak, and 581,943 in Kowloon and New Kowloon. The total population in these areas in 1951 is believed to exceed 2 million.

resident."<sup>1</sup> The number of Indians is about 2000. The chief racial groups among the aliens are as follows; fifty other nationalities are registered including only 2 Japanese:

Portuguese	..	..	..	..	..	983
Americans	..	..	..	..	..	802
Filipino	..	..	..	..	..	246
Dutch	..	..	..	..	..	221
French	..	..	..	..	..	180
Italian	..	..	..	..	..	176

A stable element of the Chinese population is the section that is Hong Kong born and bred; many would consider themselves British subjects<sup>2</sup> and some have gone to the length of obtaining British papers. A very large proportion of the Chinese population is migratory; the 1931 report states that of a total of 817,326 Chinese, 56 per cent. had been in the colony for 10 years and under, and 35 per cent. for 5 years and under; the corresponding percentages for non-Chinese are 65 per cent. and 47 per cent. respectively. Very few British or Americans are life-long residents of the colony.<sup>3</sup> The excess of males over females also points to the existence of a migratory population, but it is interesting to note that on the island the number of females per 1000 males rose from 571 in 1921 to 662 in 1931, and in Kowloon from 653 to 814, showing that the population is becoming a more settled one. The Chinese clings to associations with his native place more tenaciously than does the Englishman; his spiritual beliefs dictate it and the economics of his family life usually pre-suppose a regular remittance from all children who emigrate. In Hong Kong there are many clubs and mutual benefit societies, composed more often than not of people originating from one district of Kwangtung or the coast. At the Chinese New Year in January or February, and to a lesser degree at other festivals, there is an exodus of people "going home for the holidays."<sup>4</sup> No evidence of place of origin is available for the present Chinese population, but the figures in 1931 indicate the general trend. Condensed, they are given in the table overleaf.

<sup>1</sup> *Hong Kong Annual Report, 1948*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> In 1931, 2·3 per cent. ashore in Hong Kong and Kowloon; the percentage is much higher in the New Territories and among the population afloat.

<sup>3</sup> The 1931 census recorded 837 Eurasians but added that "most Eurasians are brought up as Chinese and would claim to be Chinese." At the present time there is among all classes of the population a considerable element of mixed blood which is not likely to be recorded in a census. The colony is little over a hundred years old and cannot yet be considered a melting pot of races; nevertheless there is a type of Eurasian not yet compacted into a class or society, a mixture of Chinese, Anglo-Saxon, and Portuguese in face and physique, whose language is a clipped, impure form of English usually spoken bilingually with Cantonese and whose mode of living and thinking is compounded of those of its ancestors. It may be the prototype of the typical Hong Kong man of the future.

<sup>4</sup> In 1948 there was an immigration and emigration, each of about 170,000 persons per month, by land, sea and air, apart from unrecorded arrivals and departures on foot or by small craft.

	<i>Place of birth</i>		<i>Per cent.</i>
Hong Kong and New Territories	..	..	33
Canton Delta	..	..	46
Elsewhere in Kwangtung	..	..	19
Canton city (included in Delta)	..	..	6
Macao (included in Delta)	..	..	1
Elsewhere in China	..	..	1.5
Elsewhere in Asia	..	..	0.25
Outside Asia	..	..	0.15

The above figures are for the whole colony; of those living in Hong Kong island and Kowloon, 21.5 per cent. were born in the colony; of those afloat 75.1 per cent.; and of those living in the New Territories 89.3 per cent.<sup>1</sup>

It is believed that the present constitution of the Chinese population is substantially the same as in 1931, with the exception of a slight increase in the proportion from Shanghai and parts of northern China as a result of the war and the shift of certain industrial concerns from Shanghai to Hong Kong, but this increase may be only temporary and may be offset by increases from other parts of China.

In 1931 over 50 per cent. of the non-infant population of the two cities could read and write their mother tongue and over 6 per cent. could read and write English. With the intervention of war it is doubtful if these percentages have increased.

Of the 1931 population of 840,000 in the colony, 53 per cent. were occupied in the pursuit of gain, 71 per cent. of all males and 28 per cent. of all females. The proportion per 1000 of the occupied population engaged in various activities is shown in the accompanying table<sup>2</sup>: the figures for fishing and agriculture refer mainly to people outside the urban area.

	<i>Occupation</i>		<i>Per mille.</i>
Commerce and finance	..	..	206
Manufacturing industries	..	..	191
Transport and communications	..	..	151
Personal services	..	..	130
Agriculture	..	..	89
Public administration and defence	..	..	50
Fishing	..	..	48
Building and decorating	..	..	45
Professions	..	..	21
Entertainment	..	..	14
Gas and electricity supply	..	..	4
Mines and quarries	..	..	4
Other categories	..	..	47
			<u>1000</u>

<sup>1</sup> These last two groups are composed of Cantonese (Tanka) and Hoklo afloat, and Cantonese, Hakka and Hoklo ashore in the New Territories. The population of the cities may however be taken as preponderantly Cantonese.

<sup>2</sup> This subject is very fully treated in the 1931 Census report from which the table is an abridgment.

Comparable figures are not available for the present population but, with some exceptions, the proportions are probably similar. Owing to the influx of refugees there is probably an increase in persons not regularly employed, yet this proportion is not so great as in 1940 when the number of refugees from Japanese occupied China was estimated at 750,000 out of a population of 1,822,000.

No data are available for the construction of a "social index" for Hong Kong such as that which Moscheles has drawn for Prague,<sup>1</sup> but it is perhaps of equal interest to plot the distribution of land values as an indication of the economic if not the social importance of the different zones of the city. This

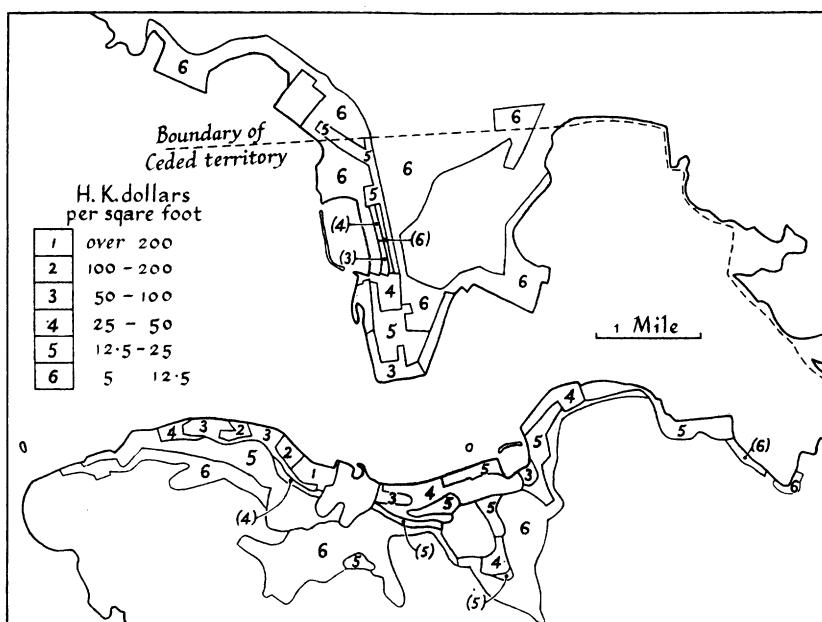


Fig. 5. Distribution of land values, 1948

has been done in Figure 5, though the assessments on which it is based are to some extent a matter of opinion. The writer has not seen this presentation used elsewhere and until similar maps have been constructed for other cities it is difficult to make comparisons.

The majority of industrial workers live near their work, but there is a daily ebb and flow of office and professional workers from residential suburbs to the business centre, as in any large city in Britain. Thus from the mid-levels, the Peak, the south side of Hong Kong island and from the peninsula and residential spine of Kowloon, broad streams converge on the central district of Victoria every morning. The cross-harbour ferries carry an average of 90,000 passengers a day, three times the pre-war number. The only other

<sup>1</sup> J. Moscheles, "The demographic, social and economic regions of Greater Prague: a contribution to urban geography," *Geogr. Rev.* 27 (1937) 414-39.

regular currents within the population are the holiday concentrations of crowds of all classes at sporting events, particularly racing and football, and in summer the week-end drift of the middle classes to the bathing beaches. Both these movements are more marked than they were before the war.

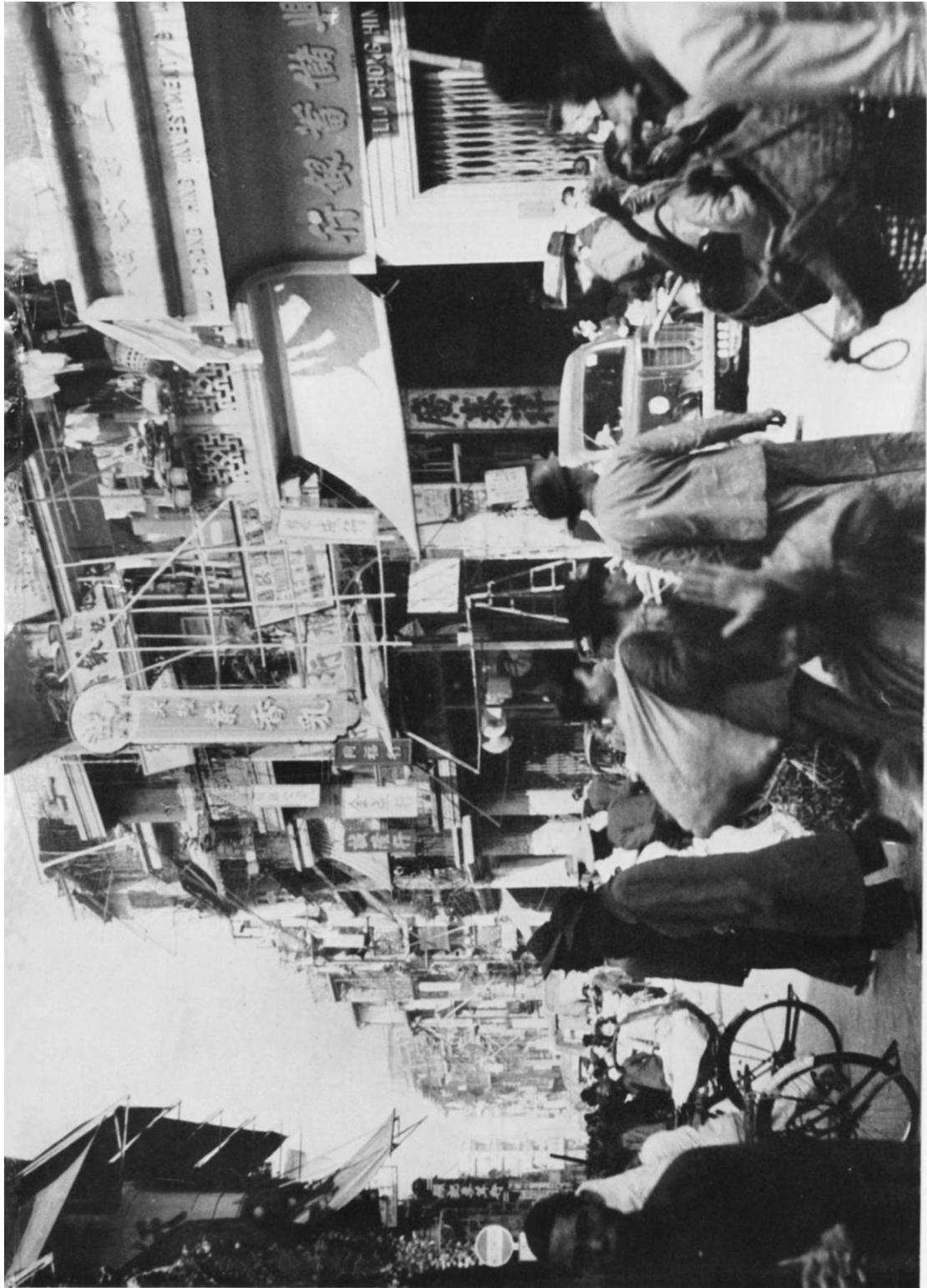
### *Food and water supplies*

The New Territories produced 22,000 metric tons of rice in 1948, just over a month's supply for the colony. Much of it is of a very high grade and in normal years would have been exported, but now the export of rice is prohibited; the remainder of the colony's needs are met by allocations from Bangkok, Rangoon and Saigon, and on occasions from Egypt. Before the war four-fifths of the vegetables consumed were imported, but since the government set up a department of agriculture and opened a wholesale vegetable market it is claimed that "the fraction of home-grown vegetables (mostly from the New Territories mainland) is now probably nearer half the total consumption."<sup>1</sup> Imported fruit and vegetables come from the Delta, from Formosa and from Hainan and the Gulf of Tongking.

The colony's fishing fleets more than meet the demand for fresh, salt and dried fish. Pork is the principal meat food and comes mostly from the Delta, but the proportion from the New Territories is increasing. Cooking oil (usually ground-nut oil) used to come mainly from North China, but this source has now almost ceased. Large quantities of oil from all over the Far East pass through Hong Kong however and a sufficiency reaches the local market. Fresh milk is produced at Pok Fu Lam on the island, and beer at Sham Tseng beyond Tsun Wan on the mainland, but neither of these sources is adequate to meet the needs of the population, probably because of the increased consumption of both beverages by Chinese.

Apart from shallow wells which are now used mainly for flushing there is little underground water in the city areas, nor do the rivers have much dry season surplus over the needs of rice cultivation; the cities depend for their water supply on impounding reservoirs, fed by channels which intercept the run-off from adjacent hill-sides and valleys. The main reservoirs on the island are at Tai Tam, Aberdeen and Pok Fu Lam and have a capacity of 2362 million gallons. On the mainland the reservoirs at the western end of the Kowloon hills and at Shing Mun have a capacity of 3608 million gallons. Over 40 per cent. of the water used on the island comes by pipeline under the harbour from Kowloon. As the highest service reservoir is at a height of 1700 feet, pumping is necessary. The average consumption per head, of filtered and sterilized water, is nearly 20 gallons a day which must compare very favourably with towns and villages in China. In an urban district where the population has increased so rapidly it is not surprising that the water supply has seldom been able to keep pace with the full demand in the dry season. In the first half of the year restrictions are always necessary and, if the summer rains are long delayed or less than normal, the situation can become acute. A proposal to double the water supply of the colony by a scheme in the Tai Lam Chung valley, near Castle Peak in the New Territories, is under consideration.

<sup>1</sup> *Hong Kong Annual Report, 1948*, p. 54.



Hong Kong; Wing  
Lok Street on a  
quiet morning



*Victoria a hundred years ago*



*Hong Kong; the waterfront*

### Conclusion

Since 1945 nearly all the damage of the war years has been repaired and the progress of the colony has continued. Its population has been swollen once again by refugees from the civil war and economic severities in China, quite apart from the normal influx of political *émigrés* and destitute opportunists which is a regular feature of the life of the colony. The possibility of a continued increase in the population makes it profitable to examine the factors which control the continued spread and further development of the urban area.<sup>1</sup> The ultimate size, and to some extent the distribution, of the urban population will depend upon water supply and the end of new sources which can be developed economically by present methods is not very far off. If the present reservoir capacity can be trebled that will be about the limit. Nearly double the existing capacity together with additional distribution facilities is needed to give even the present population an unrestricted supply throughout the year. Thus the future number of permanent residents may be limited to about three millions.

The size and shape of the urban area will be determined by the land that can be made available at a reasonable cost for building purposes. In Kowloon the development of the more easily formed sites is proceeding apace, from Sham Shui Po to Lai Chi Kok; and at Ma Tau Kok for industrial purposes and along Boundary Street and Waterloo Road for residential purposes. With reasonable costs for labour, plant and transport, many of the remaining soft hills can be levelled for building and large reclamations made on both sides of the peninsula. The typhoon refuge at Yau Ma Ti could be filled to form building sites and a new refuge constructed elsewhere. The opening up of the north-east shore of the harbour from Kai Tak to Lye Mun is already under way at isolated points. A large area of comparatively level agricultural and squatter occupied land surrounds Kai Tak airport and, given space to settle the present occupants and money to carry out the necessary works, it would provide space for a suburb bigger than Sham Shui Po.<sup>2</sup>

As the residential districts of Victoria gradually climbed the hills, so in the future if population pressure is sufficient, a wave of residences may clothe the lower slopes of the Kowloon hills. Satellites or new towns are possible at Tsun Wan and around the head of the Sha Tin inlet and possibly at Hebe Haven. The site at Tsun Wan is already under way though its future character is not yet clear.

The development of the urban area of the peninsula outside Kowloon will be influenced by the expiry of the New Territories lease, due in 1997. This event already enters into the calculations of property owners in the Colony and after 1970 may be expected to have a marked effect on development beyond Boundary Street.

The urban area of Victoria is almost saturated except for a strip of residential and industrial development now going on between North Point and

<sup>1</sup> Sir Patrick Abercrombie has drawn up an outline plan for the development of the urban area which is being examined by the authorities.

<sup>2</sup> Were Kai Tak airport ever to become obsolete, the space available for development would be doubled and the engineering problems made easier.

Quarry Bay, and new housing on the lower hill slopes on a line running from North Point nearly to Wong Nei Chong Gap. Scattered residential expansion is possible at great expense by opening new sites in the Hill District and on the south side of the island, or at lesser expense by increasing the density by building blocks of flats on existing sites. Both these processes are taking place slowly. The only other possibility for considerable expansion in the near future is the use for industrial, residential or recreational purposes of the low-lying strip of land to the east of Aberdeen.

The rebuilding of the greater part of the city to modern town planning standards will be an extremely protracted and difficult process because of the acute shortage of land and its high value, the very small units in which the greater part of the land is held, and because of the conservatism of land-owners. The opportunity has been taken to see that the rebuilding of war-damaged property conforms to the latest plan, but the problem of lowering the density or of introducing open spaces into the heavily populated areas has yet to be tackled.

The future growth of Hong Kong will depend as before on the relative freedom of world trade, on security and on the political and economic health of China. Without these, its advantages of geographical or demographical environment will be of little avail. With them, its disadvantages will be overcome successfully, as they have always been overcome in the past, by the fortunate blend of Chinese and British enterprise which still remains in the colony to-day.

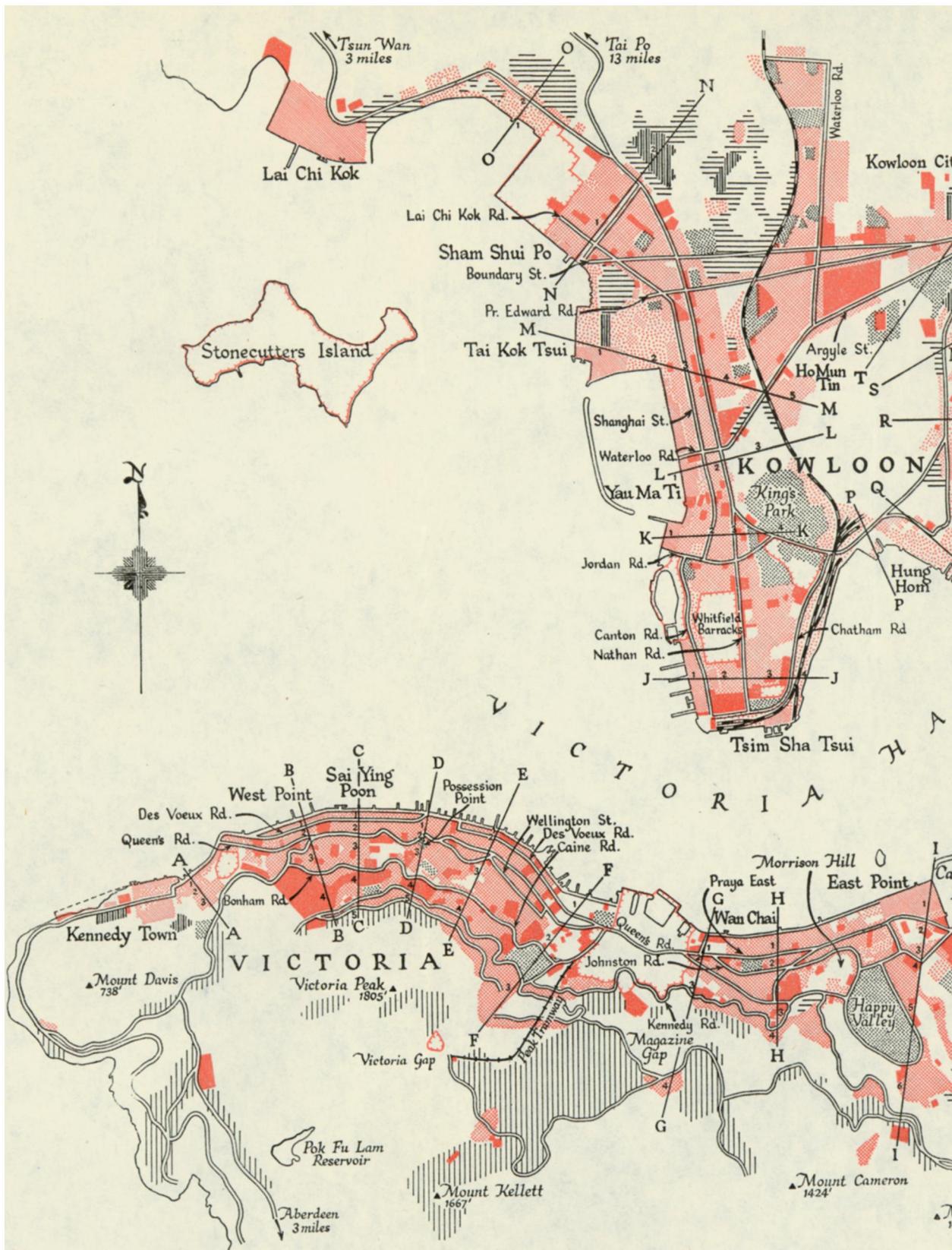
## APPENDIX

### *Land use in Hong Kong*

Whatever his business and however prosperous, the traditional Chinese trader seems to be able to operate on a front of 15 feet, and this he still does over the greater part of Hong Kong. Only in the central districts of Victoria and on the tip of the Kowloon peninsula where the influence of the West is strongest is this practice departed from to any extent; here departmental stores and large shop and office blocks, often operated entirely on British or American lines, are common. Elsewhere, even where a large amount of space for storage or workshops is needed, the situation is usually met by the business encroaching on the living space of the family, or on upper floors, or frequently on to the pavement.

Most of the wholesale trade in the colony is carried on in offices, trade-associations or tea-shops, there being no wholesale commodity markets except those recently established for fish and vegetables. But as in the cities of the interior, and all the world over, perishable foods are sold as much in public as in the shops. Hawkers both licensed and unlicensed frequent every open space, particularly near the public markets, though they are kept on the move by official action.

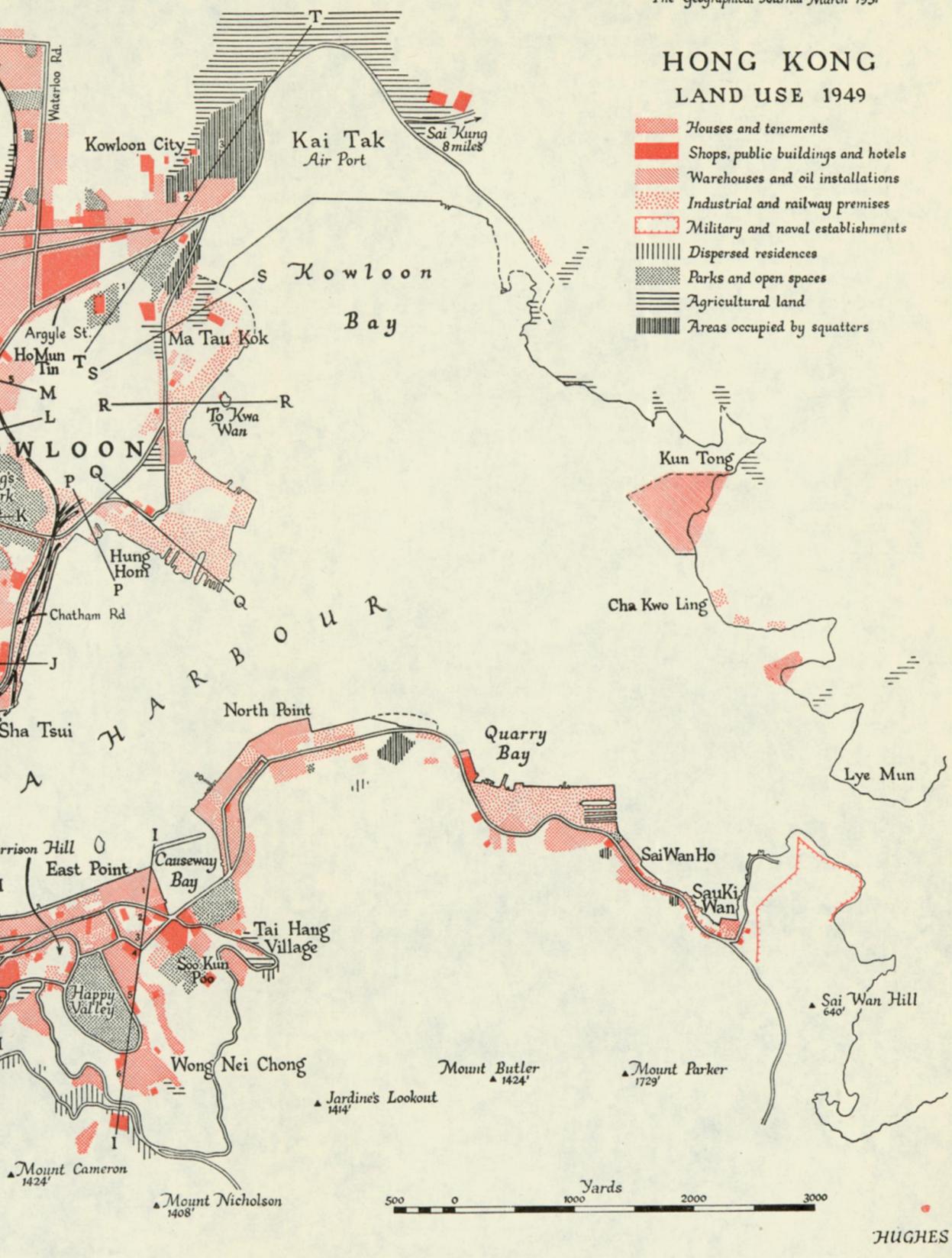
In most Eastern cities merchants, bankers, manufacturers and the like tend to live at or adjacent to their places of business and they often house their work people upon the premises also. In Hong Kong, where overcrowding of all types of property is the rule, a land use map may give a wrong impression. Particularly in the large areas designated as Chinese tenements, there is a great mixture of activities, commercial, industrial and tenement residences being so closely intermingled as to be quite incapable of separation, except on a map



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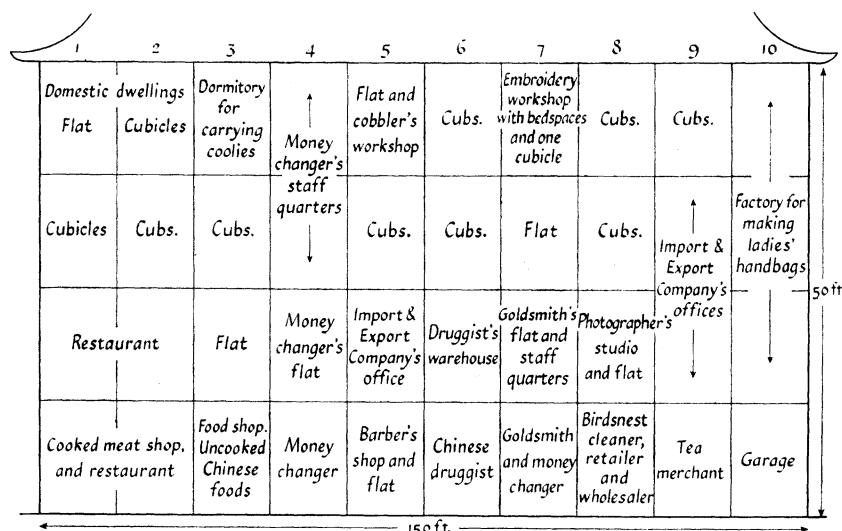
## HONG KONG LAND USE 1949

- Houses and tenements
- Shops, public buildings and hotels
- Warehouses and oil installations
- Industrial and railway premises
- Military and naval establishments
- Dispersed residences
- Parks and open spaces
- Agricultural land
- Areas occupied by squatters



showing individual houses; and very few tenement houses are used for the same purpose on every floor. It is not uncommon to find a shop or workshop on the ground floor, a flat on the second and cubicles on the third. Figure 6 showing the use of ten houses in Des Voeux Road West in 1948 illustrates this.

Although the Chinese tenement house is the largest single category it is possible to distinguish regions which are relatively homogeneous in their land use, particularly if the ground floors only are considered. It is not within the scope of this paper to enlarge on the land utilization plan by describing each region independently, nor is any purpose achieved by trying to place boundaries



*Fig. 6. The occupation of ten adjacent houses, 1948*

where no real boundaries exist. Instead an attempt has been made, here and in the folding map accompanying the paper,<sup>1</sup> to draw profiles or cross-sections of the city, and to set down the trends which are noticeable along them.

#### *Land use in Victoria*

Section	No.	Block	Utilization
A-A	1	Transit and storage godowns (warehouses); occasional houses on landward side.	
	2	Smaller storage godowns and processing factories.	
	3	Chinese middle class residential flats.	
B-B	1	Godowns as in A-A 1; goods brought by lighter from ships or from Kowloon.	
	2	Smaller storage godowns; some shops and living quarters on main road frontages.	
	3	Residential and institutional—transition zone of urban fringe.	
	4	University area.	

<sup>1</sup> The map is based on a civic survey carried out in 1947 by the Town Planning Office of Public Works Department.

<i>Section</i>	<i>Block No.</i>	<i>Utilization</i>
C-C	1	Storage godowns. (Eastwards from this point the godowns become smaller and import and export business offices more numerous.)
	2	Centre of packing trades; tenement houses.
	3	Main dormitory area for godown labour of western district (now being rebuilt after war damage).
	4	Middle class flats and houses; some schools.
	5	Large residences of wealthy Chinese.
D-D	1	Import and export businesses and associated banking and shipping firms. <sup>1</sup>
	2	Mainly shops processing and marketing Chinese foodstuffs.
	3	Western limit of an area of Chinese workshops; tinsmiths, cabinet makers, tailors, printers, etc. The proportion of residences increases towards the south.
	4	Mission hospital.
	5	Middle class flats and houses. To the east the proportion of "foreign" residences increases.
E-E	1	Chinese import and export businesses with associated warehouses and living quarters; Chinese hotels and Western style department stores.
	2	Shops and offices; goldsmiths, money changers, brokers and agents. Overwhelmingly Chinese, but a zone of contact with Western style business.
	3	A war-devastated area now being rebuilt.
	4	Chinese and foreign residential area, with religious and educational institutions.
F-F	1	The heart of the colony's commerce and banking. To the west: European shops, restaurants, cinemas and hotels. To the east: naval, military and police establishments. <sup>2</sup>
	2	Administrative centre and Anglican cathedral.
	3	European residential area with large blocks of modern flats.
G-G	1	Shops, small restaurants and places of entertainment, catering largely for soldiers and sailors.
	2	Tenement houses over shops and workshops. A relic of the old "Canton bazaar."
	3	Mission school; residential flats (cosmopolitan).
	4	Blocks of flats. An area accessible to the city and enjoying the climatic advantages of moderate elevation.
H-H	1	Chinese tenement houses in reinforced concrete, built since 1920 on reclaimed land. Largely a dormitory area for all classes and more westernized than the older parts of the city.
	2	Tuberculosis hospital; and the older quarter of Wan Chai. Small workshops, marine stores and dealers in metal goods; street market.

<sup>1</sup> This block adjoins one of the oldest centres of Chinese life in the city; Bonham Strand East and Jervois Street stand on the first major reclamation completed before 1854.

<sup>2</sup> Here in an area of little more than 30 acres are to be found the business houses of all the great commercial undertakings, both foreign and Chinese; it constitutes one of the most concentrated sites of commercial enterprise in the colonial world.

<i>Section</i>	<i>Block</i>	<i>Utilization</i>
H-H	No.	
	3	Small old style Chinese houses; some small iron foundries.
	4	Flats and houses (cosmopolitan).
I-I	1	Old godowns and spaces for open-air storage; modern block of cold storage warehouses.
	2	(Jardine's Bazaar) Carpenter's shops in temporary premises; an old general bazaar which is being rebuilt with tenement houses.
	3	Blocks of flats (a rapidly growing cosmopolitan residential area).
	4	Chinese philanthropical institution.
	5	Cosmopolitan residential area (formerly British and Portuguese) overlooking racecourse.
	6	(Happy Valley). <sup>1</sup> Densely populated residential district (middle class Chinese).

To the east of section I-I the following districts deserve separate mention : *Soo Kun Poo*—Recreation grounds and clubs.

*Causeway Bay* (west and south sides)—a rapidly growing hotel and entertainment area.<sup>2</sup>

*Causeway Bay* (east side)—A suburb with boat-building yards, biscuit and mineral water factories, oil installations, government stores and the power station.

*North Point*—A deep-water wharf with godowns now under construction (an earlier project was unsuccessful). Modern apartment houses on the foothills behind, now largely occupied by refugees from Shanghai and other Chinese ports.

*Quarry Bay* (Sai Wan Ho)—Sugar refinery (recently reopened) and shipyards with workers' dwellings. This suburb continues through junk-building yards and the fishing village of Sau Ki Wan to the harbour limit at Lye Mun.

#### *Land use in Kowloon*

In the matter of land use, the relationship of Kowloon and Victoria is not altogether unlike that of Birkenhead and Liverpool, or of London south and north of the Thames. While Victoria is largely devoted to overseas trade and distribution and possesses many of the signs of a metropolis, with insufficient living space for all who work there, Kowloon has far fewer offices, a greater proportion of residential to commercial buildings and more industries. Yau Ma Ti and Sham Shui Po are, if population is the criterion, considerable and almost self-sufficient Chinese sub-cities. There are more open spaces and these

<sup>1</sup> ". . . the Happy Valley was at first (1841) intended by British merchants for the principal business centre. However the prejudices of the Chinese merchants against the Fung shui (geomantic aspects) of the Happy Valley and the peculiarly malignant fever which emptied every European house in that neighbourhood almost as soon as it was tenanted caused the business settlement to move gradually westward." E. J. Eitel, 'Europe in China.' 1895, p. 167.

The geomantic principles to which Eitel refers are now reputed to be very favourable in the Happy Valley. For an account of geomancy see E. J. Eitel, 'Feng Shui,' Hong Kong, 1873.

<sup>2</sup> The urban district ends officially at Causeway Bay, but the boundary has now little administrative or physical significance.

are rarely left unused, either for agriculture, storage, or industries requiring open space or temporary building.

To the west of Nathan Road and north of Whitfield Barracks, and on the greater part of the east side of Nathan Road itself, there are hardly any buildings which do not conform to the Chinese tenement house pattern already described. The upper floors are almost entirely occupied by flats and cubicles and, to avoid repetition, only the use of the ground floors will be described.

<i>Section</i>	<i>Block No.</i>	<i>Utilization</i>
J-J	1	Wharfs and transit godowns for ocean shipping; some hostels for dock labour across Canton Road.
	2	Small Chinese residential area surrounded by shops catering for tourists.
	3	Flats, hotels and boarding houses (largely European).
	4	Railway property; part is temporarily used for recreation and other non-railway purposes.
K-K	1	Godowns.
	2	Shanghai Street, the main axis of Chinese life in Kowloon; shops of every description and, in the side streets, carpenters, metal workers, leather workers, etc. <sup>1</sup>
	3	Western type shops, hotels and cinemas.
	4	King's Park, the biggest single sports ground in the colony.
L-L	1	The Yau Ma Ti harbour of refuge for small craft; many boatmen use the harbour nightly. Sheds and yards for the storage of coal, timber, etc.
	2	Ships' chandlers, small engineering shops, etc., catering for the population afloat. <sup>2</sup>
	3	"Badland" area of erosion with patches of cultivation. Now being developed for European flats and school.
M-M	1	Small oil installation and several small shipyards.
	2	Light industry, often in temporary premises.
	3	Shanghai Street (see K-K 2).
	4	Similar to Shanghai Street but largely industrial and not yet fully built up.
	5	The edge of the Western style residential suburb which extends northwards to the foot of the Kowloon hills.
N-N	1	Chinese tenement houses built since 1920 (similar to H-H 1). Ground floors on main streets are shops; elsewhere used for light industry.
	2	An enclave of agricultural land surrounding two villages; not yet under urban development but becoming overrun with squatters.
O-O	1	Chinese shipyards (now giving place to factories).
	2	Houses and factories steadily encroaching on market gardens and squatters' plots. <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Shanghai Street extends through sections K, L and M.

<sup>2</sup> The small tidal scour in the harbour of refuge prevents the introduction of water-borne sanitation in this block.

<sup>3</sup> The encroachment of houses and factories extends in a narrow strip to the official urban boundary at Lai Chi Kok where there is an oil installation and prison. The village of Tsun Wan, 3 miles distant, with an oil installation and modern engineering works, is also on the way to becoming an industrial centre.

<i>Section</i>	<i>Block No.</i>	<i>Utilization</i>
P-P		Railway workshops, wireless stations and, on the sea-front, the depot of the Sand Monopoly.
Q-Q		Dockyard, cement works, power station and workers' dwellings. <sup>1</sup>
R-R and S-S		A factory area, planned and built to modern standards before and after the last war. There is a fringe of gardens and workers' dwellings.
T-T	1	Residential, schools and open spaces.
	2	Tenement houses built since 1920. Occupants mainly engaged in weaving and dyeing trades. <sup>2</sup>
	3	An extensive and ever increasing "shanty town" of temporary buildings housing refugees and other persons displaced by the war. It is without roads, water supply, or adequate sanitation.

<sup>1</sup> The dockyard has been repaired since the war; the dwellings are still largely devastated.

<sup>2</sup> There were twice the present number of houses before the airport at Kai Tak was extended by the Japanese in 1943.