

# *Section 1*

## *A Chronological Sketch of the Hong Kong Police Force before 1969*



# *Chapter 2*

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## Opening of Chaos: The Birth of the Police Force on the Island



## 2.1 Rampant Piracy

In 1841 the British troops landed in Hong Kong Island. On the day after landing, the flag-raising ceremony was held by the British to mark their occupation of Hong Kong.<sup>1</sup> In 1842, the Qing government and the United Kingdom signed the Treaty of Nanking, under which Hong Kong Island became a colony of the British Crown. At that time, there was a population of just 6,000 people on Hong Kong Island. Most of them were Tanka fishermen and Hakka charcoal workers, living in poor villages along the coast.

Commercial activities had been boosted in the area along the Pearl River in Guangdong Province since Hong Kong was opened to the outside world. It attracted a large number of foreign merchants to do business in that new market. Many vessels flying different national flags moored in Hong Kong's Victoria Harbour. Warehouses and terminals sprouted and spread across the island waterfront. Hong Kong prospered with a growing population as its trade developed rapidly. Pubs, gambling houses, opium dens and brothels also flourished in the busy commercial area.

At that time, the British garrison based in Hong Kong was small, which made it difficult to maintain law and order on the Island. In addition to widespread robbery and looting, piracy was escalating in the surrounding waters. It was not easy to combat because the pirates usually hid themselves in the villages, among the normal residents, between their predatory acts. The Hong Kong government and the Qing government campaigned together against the pirates a number of times, but still failed to solve the piracy problem.

There were two major groups of pirates, led by Tsui Ah Bo and Shup Ng Tsai who were fishermen in Wong Ma Kok, Stanley.

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1. Siu Kwok-kin. (1994). *Hong Kong History and Society*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Educational Press. [Chinese]

In 1848, Governor George Bonham (1848–1854) requested the British Government to send its naval fleet against the growing number and power of pirates. The British navy set out to repress piracy in the autumn of 1849. Tsui Ah Bo was hit and escaped with his remains of his gang; in the same year, Shup Ng Tsai was made to surrender himself to the Qing government. In 1850, the navy hit Tsui Ah Bo again when they came across each other in Mirs Bay. On his way to Guangdong to surrender, Tsui Ah Bo was betrayed by his subordinates and offered to the British. He was sentenced to life imprisonment but finally committed suicide by hanging himself in prison.<sup>2</sup>

## 2.2 The Multi-Ethnic Force

In the early days, policemen of different ethnicities worked in different positions of the Hong Kong Police Force under the authority of the colonial government. British and European nationals could be promoted to management and senior positions. Indians could generally hope to be promoted to Sergeant, and it was not uncommon for them to serve as Inspector. The highest rank that the Chinese could attain was Sergeant.

In the annual report of the Police Chief, Walter Meredith Deane, submitted to the colonial government for the year 1873, it was asserted that in the early 1870s the Hong Kong Police Force had recruited officers from Africa and the West Indies. It was believed that they were sailors originally and they joined the Police Force after arriving in Hong Kong on their working vessels. However, Mr. Deane's report stated that the Police

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2. Siu Kwok-kin. (1986). *The Social Changes in Hong Kong Before and After the Relocation of the Harbour in the Early Qing Dynasty*. Taipei: Taiwan Shang Wu Yin Shu Guan. [Chinese]

Force no longer recruited men from the West Indies due to their unsatisfactory performance.<sup>3</sup>

In April 1841, Sir Charles Elliot, the Chief Superintendent of British Trade in China, authorised Mr. William Caine, the Chief Magistrate, to maintain law and order in Hong Kong. Caine proceeded to establish the Hong Kong Police Force. Due to this development, Caine Road in the Mid-Levels in Hong Kong Island was named in his honour.

He recruited 32 people in total, including British and Indian soldiers who were garrisoned in Hong Kong and who voluntarily agreed to leave the army, foreign sailors and Chinese, and in doing so formed the first police force on the small Island.<sup>4</sup> It was not easy for such a mixed team to manage public order effectively. The rampant piracy in those years made night patrols extremely dangerous and thus only few team members were willing to work the night shift. With no alternative, the government imposed a curfew.

In the early days, the British strictly controlled the Chinese in Hong Kong. At the end of 1842, Caine imposed an order that disallowed the Chinese from walking in the streets after eleven o'clock at night. The year after, the Chinese were required to take lanterns with them on the streets from eight to ten every night, and were not allowed to go out at all after ten.<sup>5</sup>

On 1 May 1844, the Fifth Ordinance of the Laws of Hong Kong was enacted, and by it the Hong Kong Police Force was

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3. Hong Kong Government. (1874). *Bluebook*. Hong Kong: Government Printer; Hong Kong Police (2004). *Offbeat*, Issue No. 777.

4. With reference to Ng Chi-wa (1999), there are divergent opinions on the strength of the Hong Kong Police Force upon its establishment. The exact number of personnel has been estimated at 28, 32 or even 93. However, none can be regarded as 100% accurate as no authoritative source can be found in the publicly accessible government archives nowadays.

5. Siu Kwok-kin. (1992). *The Anecdotes of Hong Kong History*. Hong Kong: Modern Educational Press. [Chinese]

formally set up to perform its duties in law. Although the colonial force was established by the British, it did not follow the model of the new police forces in England, which were civil forces working in harmony with the communities they served.

In order to prevent the expansion of Chinese power, the government heralded a curfew for Chinese people and allowed the police to lash Chinese. On one occasion, 54 Chinese men had their braids cut within a day. Every day, there were public floggings by police in Queen's Road. Even worse, from 1871 onwards every Wednesday was considered to be the day of flogging. This barbaric regime was not repealed until Governor Hennessy took office six years later.<sup>6</sup>

In 1871, there were a total of 171 policemen in the Hong Kong Police Force. It was composed of different races, mainly Europeans and Indians, with a small number of Chinese. The European officers took the roles of decision making and management, while the Indian and Chinese members engaged in front-line work. At the very beginning, many members were former soldiers who had voluntarily left the British garrison in Hong Kong. Their job performance was not satisfactory at all. Their high rate of illness, serious alcohol abuse, low sense of belonging and high turnover rate seriously affected the operational efficiency of the police force as a whole.

The first Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Henry Pottinger, asked the British Government for Police officers in the UK on duty in Hong Kong. The request was turned down due to the large expenditure involved. However, when the second Governor, Sir John Davis, took office, a chief inspector and two inspectors were sent to Hong Kong for the purpose of building a modern police force.

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6. Yu Seng-wu. (1995). *Cession of Hong Kong Island (Ge zhan Xianggang Dao)*. Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co. [Chinese]

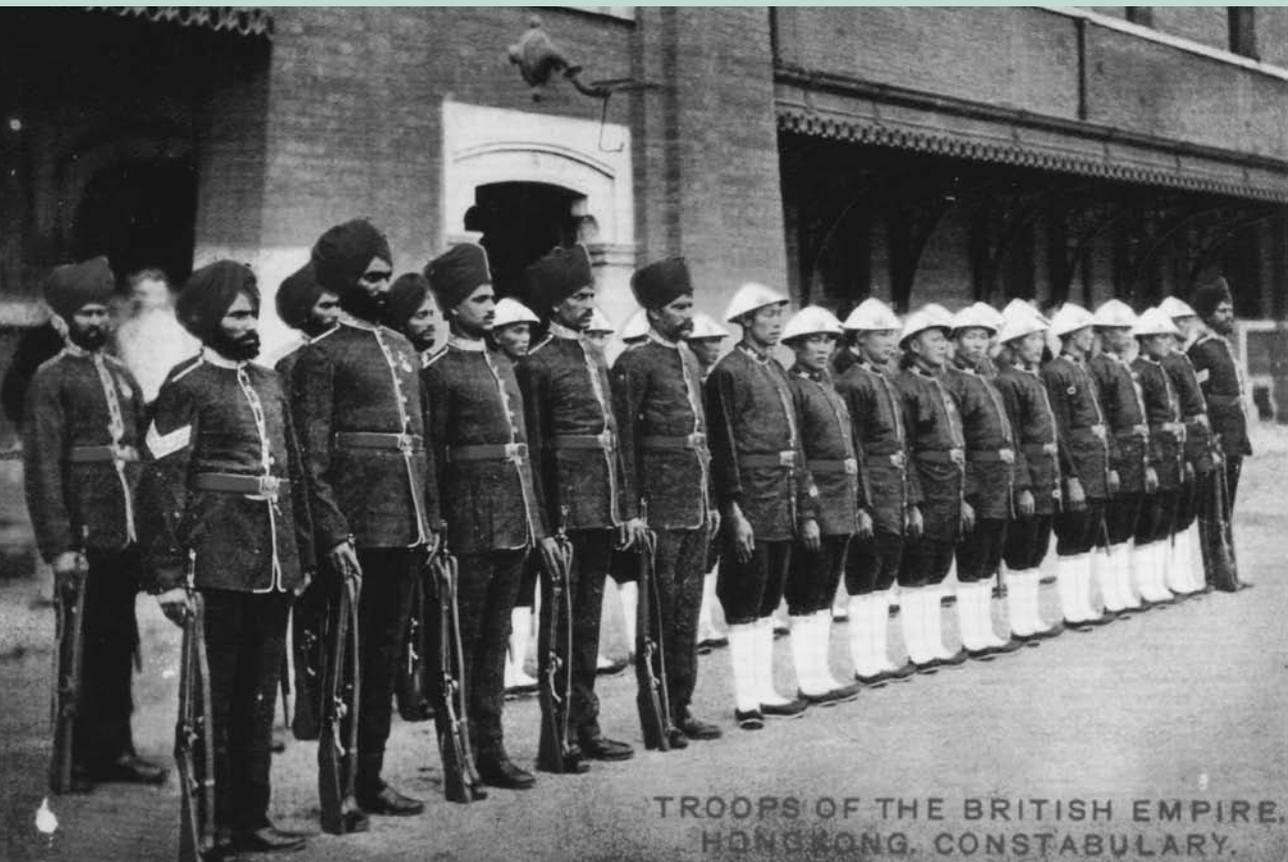


Fig 2.1 Chinese and Indian Police in Hong Kong. Sikhs wore turbans (*dastars*) instead of official caps, in religious observation.

**Table 2.1**  
**Nationalities of Police Officers**  
**in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries<sup>7</sup>**

Nationality	1867	1881	1908	1927	1946
European	89	103	131	246	377
Indian	377	194	410	753	325
Guangdong Chinese	132	351	501	600	1,630
Shandong Chinese	–	–	–	216	305

In the early days, Chinese policemen were not allowed on late-night duty, nor were they allowed to be stationed in European communities like the Peak district. Additionally, they were not equipped with any firearms. In 1878, disregarding objections from the British residents, Governor John Pope Hennessy first allowed the Chinese policemen to receive firearms training. However, once Hennessy left office, the training was immediately suspended. It was not until the 1920s that the Chinese policemen once more began to receive formal firearms training.<sup>8</sup> All those policies reflected that the British Hong Kong government ruled the majority by minority rule.

Before the Second World War, the policemen of different nationalities were grouped under different contingents, with different remunerations and career paths. Table 2.2 shows the income changes of the junior policemen from 1855 to 1915. The remuneration of European officers was two to three times higher

7. Hong Kong Government. (1928). Reports of Captain Superintendent of Police. *Hong Kong Administrative Report 1927*, Appendix K. Hong Kong: Government Printer; Hong Kong Government (1947). *Annual Report on the Hong Kong Police Force 1946–1947*. Hong Kong: Government Printer; Jones, C & Vagg, J. (2007). *Criminal Justice in Hong Kong*. London: Routledge-Cavendish.

8. Jones, C. & Vagg, J. (2007). *Criminal Justice in Hong Kong*. London: Routledge-Cavendish.

than that of their Indian and Chinese counterparts. As for the pay of the Indians and Chinese, the former were better paid than the latter in the nineteenth century, but in the early twentieth century their pay became comparable.

**Table 2.2**  
**Annual Salaries of Rank and Files by Nationality, 1855–1915<sup>9</sup>**

Year (currency)	European	Indian	Chinese
1855 (pounds sterling)	47.10	20	13.15
1885 (HKD)	480	150	108
1915	100 pounds sterling	150 HKD	150 HKD

### **2.3 Separate Management of the Chinese and European**

Prior to the Second World War, the British colonial government adopted an “apartheid” policy of managing the Chinese and European separately.<sup>10</sup> The Police Force principally served the European community. The response to the demand for a means to maintain law and order by the Chinese population was the creation of a separate body of watchmen. Upon the request of a group of Chinese businessmen in 1886, Governor Richard Graves MacDonnell granted permission for the Chinese to organise a District Watchmen Force in order to manage the security of their own community. With money raised by Chinese community groups in various districts and certain government funding, Chinese men in good physical health were recruited as watchmen. They were

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9. Hong Kong Government. (Various Years). *Hong Kong Bluebook*. Hong Kong: Government Printer. The figures were from the *Bluebook* of 1855, 1885 and 1915.

10. Ng Chi-wa. (1999). *Establishment and Early Development of the Police System in Hong Kong* (Unpublished PhD thesis). The Chinese University of Hong Kong. [Chinese]

responsible for patrolling the streets and apprehending thieves and criminals. The government funded these watchmen forces with an annual budget and appointed European police inspectors to monitor their operation. In 1922, the government spent about 2,000 Hong Kong dollars in total on them. In 1929 the force increased from 102 watchmen to 125.<sup>11</sup> District Watchmen Forces were developed in various areas, from Sheung Wan in Hong Kong Island to the undeveloped areas such as Tai Po and Tsuen Wan in the New Territories.

The Chinese community and businessmen in the City of Victoria (Central District) made donations for the organisation of watchmen forces for maintaining law and order in the region. The watchmen assisted the police force in protecting merchants and residents from crimes. In 1891, the Chinese merchants raised more than 7,200 dollars, with 2,000 dollars of government funding, to recruit physically-strong Chinese as the watchmen, responsible for guarding against thieves and criminals. A Board of Watchmen Forces was formed by 15 Chinese community leaders and chaired by the Secretary for Chinese Affairs. There was one watchmen force office in each of the City of Victoria's four districts. The government granted each of the watchmen forces 100 dollars a year for their operation costs. Extra funding for operations was contributed by local businesses as a proportion of rent collected, namely 1.25 dollars for every hundred dollars of rent.

Pirates occasionally preyed on Tsuen Wan, one of the coastal districts in New Territories, Hong Kong. In order to ensure the safety of the inhabitants, the elders of the villages organised a watchmen force by recruiting the strongest youngsters in the villages. The watchmen force then took care of the law and order of the villages. The Tin Hau Temple was the usual venue

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11. Secretary for Chinese Affairs. (1930). Report of the Secretary for Chinese Affairs. *Hong Kong Administrative Report 1929*, Appendix C. Hong Kong: Government Printer.

for meetings and settling disputes by the village elders, and thus became the headquarters of the watchmen force.<sup>12</sup>

The watchmen forces were not subordinate to the Police Force, but were managed by the Secretary for Chinese Affairs and mainly funded by the Chinese business groups. They would take part in a range of policing duties like conducting censuses, combating teenage prostitution with the charitable organisation Po Leung Kuk, and arresting pickpockets and thieves. Since the watchmen forces had a close relationship with the local communities, they were very helpful to the Police Force in helping to keep things under control.

### **2.3.1 How Expatriate Police Managed the Chinese Population?**

In the early days, most European and Indian police officers joined the force because they no longer wanted to serve as soldiers. Their sense of responsibility for the job of policing was questionable. The Chinese inhabitants of Hong Kong were not familiar with the British judicial system, and so it is of little surprise that they did not trust a police force that was made up of foreigners. In addition to the language barrier between the alien police officers and local residents, the force hardly ever maintained law and order effectively.

In the late nineteenth century, more Chinese men joined the police force. Nevertheless, the British government reserved its trust in the indigenous policemen. At that time, the Chinese and European communities were clearly separated and the latter did not like the Chinese police patrolling in their communities. In fact, the government did not dare to give too much power

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12. Hong Kong Museum of History. (1990). *Collected Essays on Various Historical Materials for Hong Kong Studies*. Hong Kong: Urban Council.

to the local Chinese policemen for fear of its governance being threatened.

In order to solve the problem of insufficient manpower in the police force, the government recruited personnel from India, as another colony of the British Empire in Asia; the number of Indian policemen employed was comparable to the number of Chinese, while the European officers fulfilled the management roles of the force. This organisational structure was used to curb the growth of Chinese power and avoid the potential threat to British governance.

### **Big head in green coat whistled**

There was a popular nursery rhyme that described the police system to a certain extent. Children chanted: “ABCD, big head in green coat, blew whistle when failed to arrest thieves”.

Since the 1920s, the policemen were grouped according to their ethnicity and assigned a different alphabetical letter before their batch numbers: “A” for the British and Europeans, “B” for Indians, “C” for Guangdong Chinese, “D” for Chinese recruited from Weihaiwei, Shandong, and “E” for Russians who joined the force after 1930 and specialised in marine work.

Due to the dark green colour of the old-style Chinese police uniform, the police were named “green coats”. In the early days, there were a large number of Indian policemen who traditionally wore turbans the size of a rice cooker. They were therefore dubbed “Big head in green coat”. Later, when Chinese police officers were recruited, they wore conical straw hats which made their heads look big. Hence the public continued to call the police the “Big head in a green coat”, just as it used to.

From 1861 onwards, the Hong Kong Police Force recruited members from Mumbai, India, and targeted later Sikhs in the Punjab. Respecting the traditions and religious beliefs of the Sikhs, the Hong Kong Police Force permitted them to retain the custom of wearing turbans instead of caps. As the number of Indian policemen kept increasing, the Hong Kong Police Force

sent senior British police officers to study Hindi in India from time to time in order to facilitate their communication with their Indian subordinates. This study arrangement continued until shortly before the Second World War.

### **Indian Police**

Up to the Second World War, 23 Indian Hong Kong policemen had died in their line of duty while only nine Chinese and six British officers had lost their lives at their post. Indian policemen mostly worked in the front line, which explained why they made up more than a half of the deceased. Their contribution to law and order in Hong Kong should not be overlooked. For example, at the inauguration of Governor Henry May in 1912, a Chinese man, whose father had been dismissed by May when he was the police chief, attempted to assassinate the newly appointed Governor. Fortunately, there were two Indian policemen on hand who thwarted the assassination attempt promptly. Without their action, the Governor could not even have taken the oath of office smoothly.<sup>13</sup>

During the Second World War, some of the Indian police returned to India, while some of them continued to work in Hong Kong. The Japanese army did not treat the Indian policemen who stayed in Hong Kong as enemies, and allowed them to perform police work under the Japanese occupation. However, if they did not obey the Japanese leadership, or assisted the British in the prison camp, they would be executed. In the first two months of the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, eight Indian policemen were put to death on these grounds.<sup>14</sup>

After the war, few Indian policemen served the Hong Kong force any longer. According to the Annual Report of the Hong

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13. White, B. (1994). *Turbans and Traders: Hong Kong's Indian Communities*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

14. Vaid, K. (1972). *The Overseas Indian Community in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, The University of Hong Kong.

Kong Police Force for 1946–47, only three out of the former 300 Indian policemen continued to work in Hong Kong. Part of this can perhaps be ascribed to a change in the political relationship between Britain and India. The former British colony split into two independent countries, India and Pakistan. The new government of India did not support the colonial government of Hong Kong recruiting from the Punjab. It even withheld permission from the Indian policemen who took leave at homeland after the war from resuming duties in Hong Kong. Therefore, the Hong Kong government went to find other sources of personnel. It simultaneously increased the number of local Chinese policemen and recruited Muslims from Pakistan, India's neighbour.<sup>15</sup>

Two recruitment drives were conducted by the Hong Kong Police Force in Pakistan. The first one was held in 1952 and recruited 156 personnel; the second one in 1961 recruited 47. Those recruited in the first round travelled to Hong Kong by train and then cargo vessel, with 13 days at sea. There were more applicants in the second recruitment drive, probably because they found their friends recruited in the first round enjoyed good pay and good lives in Hong Kong. In the second drive, the Superintendent Peter Moor led two colleagues to conduct the recruitment of policemen in four cities in Pakistan, specifically Rawalpindi, Lahore, Peshawar and Karachi.

The Pakistani candidates were required to undergo a strict selection procedure in order to obtain the letters of appointment. The good salary on offer was their main motivation for applying. A Pakistani policeman in Hong Kong could receive a salary of up to 180 Hong Kong dollars per month, which was four times that of a general civil servant in Pakistan. It thus attracted as many as 2,000 on-site applications for 50 places in the recruitment held in Lahore. Yet, only five were employed in the end, most of whom

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15. *Ibid.*

held university degrees and were able to speak fluent English. The interviewers were inclined to pick those candidates who had received military training. They also favoured those who were family members of the Pakistani police officers employed in 1952, probably because they were regarded as being better able to adapt to a new life in Hong Kong. A retired Pakistani policeman who was among those recruited in 1961 recalled:

*I was well-educated and able to speak fluent English. This explains why I could stand out among the 2,000 candidates and was admitted successfully. Being single was one of the entry requirements. In order to get the employment, some candidates who had passed the preliminary interview but were rejected due to their married status brought their wives and kids to the interviewer's office and publicly announced that they would divorce their wives.*

The 47 Pakistani recruits went to Hong Kong by air. Pan American World Airways especially set aside some space in the plane for their personal belongings and carried their luggage together with their favourite chicken curry to Hong Kong. Upon arrival, they were all assigned to live in an abandoned military camp temporarily. They then moved into quarters that were specifically built for them. In the quarters, they had a dedicated chef who served traditional Pakistani food; and their own barber. They worshipped in the mosque inside the quarters while, later, their children studied in the Islamic school in the vicinity. Afterwards, some of the Pakistani children enrolled in the general schools in the community and studied with the local students.<sup>16</sup>

At that time, the policemen from Pakistan were classified as overseas employees by the Hong Kong Police Force. They not only received a monthly special allowance of 20 Hong Kong

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16. Royal Hong Kong Police Force. (1980). *Offbeat*, Issue No. 197.

Dollars but also enjoy six-month paid holidays after five years of service. The long holidays were designed for them to visit their hometown and family. However, they were eligible for those benefits only if they did not marry in the first five years of service. As they were socially conservative and preferred to marry women from their own culture, many Pakistani policemen took advantage of the long paid leave to get married in their hometowns after the five years of service. Few Pakistani policemen married Chinese women in Hong Kong.

Some of the Pakistani policemen who arrived in Hong Kong in 1952 were deployed for anti-smuggling activities in Hong Kong Island; some of them joined the Shandong policemen to make up the Emergency Unit of Kowloon. Those who worked in the Emergency Unit were dispatched to cope with internal unrest in Hong Kong. In the Double Ten Day Riots of 1956, the Pakistani policemen, wearing white helmets, were sent to round up the troublemakers in Sham Shui Po in Kowloon. Since many of them had worked in the armed forces in Pakistan before, they were physically strong enough to control the riot.

A Pakistani policeman on duty in the Double Ten Day Riots recalled:

*I remember that the thugs kept throwing stones and even soft drink bottles at us. We held the shields and unceasingly dispersed the crowd. The most impressive incident was the kidnapping of a rich Chinese businessman during the riot. We searched the Castle Peak in New Territories under orders. We successfully arrested the suspect and finally rescued the hostage.*

The group worked in the New Territories Emergency Unit involved in the sensational gunfight in Lam Tsuen in 1964. An outlaw confronted the police in the forest of Lam Tsuen for seven hours. The non-stop gunfight between the two sides left four people dead and many wounded.

Another group of Pakistani policemen, stationed in the border area, were often sent to patrol in the mountains and intercept illegal immigrants. They recalled that in cold winter weather, when the temperature was below 10 degrees Celsius, they continued their outdoor work as usual. When working in the mountains, they were stiff most of the time. It was undoubtedly a great challenge to them. A retired Pakistani policeman recalled:

*We had to be on duty in the mountains even when typhoon signal number ten was hoisted. However, the toughest time was working in mountains in hard winters. Once a British commanding officer came up and inspected our work. He could not urinate because he was so cold that he was not able to unzip his trousers. He asked our help but it was too late for us to do anything because he had already peed!*

In the 1967 disturbances, many Pakistani policemen were sent to work in the border area. Several of them were killed in the shooting incident in Sha Tau Kok on 9 July.<sup>17</sup> As the Muslim Pakistani policemen did not smoke cigarettes some of them were assigned to police the official explosive store on Stonecutters Island.

In the ten years between the enrolment of the first and the second batch of Pakistani policemen in 1952 and 1961 respectively, some of the outstanding recruits were promoted as group leaders, responsible for managing the other Pakistani policemen as well as drilling the marching and firearms technique of the second batch of policemen. Meanwhile, a number of Chinese teachers were employed to teach the Pakistani policemen basic Cantonese. As a result, most of the Pakistanis in the 1970s were able to communicate with the local people on a basic level.

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17. Royal Hong Kong Police Force. (1995). *Offbeat*, Issue No. 571.

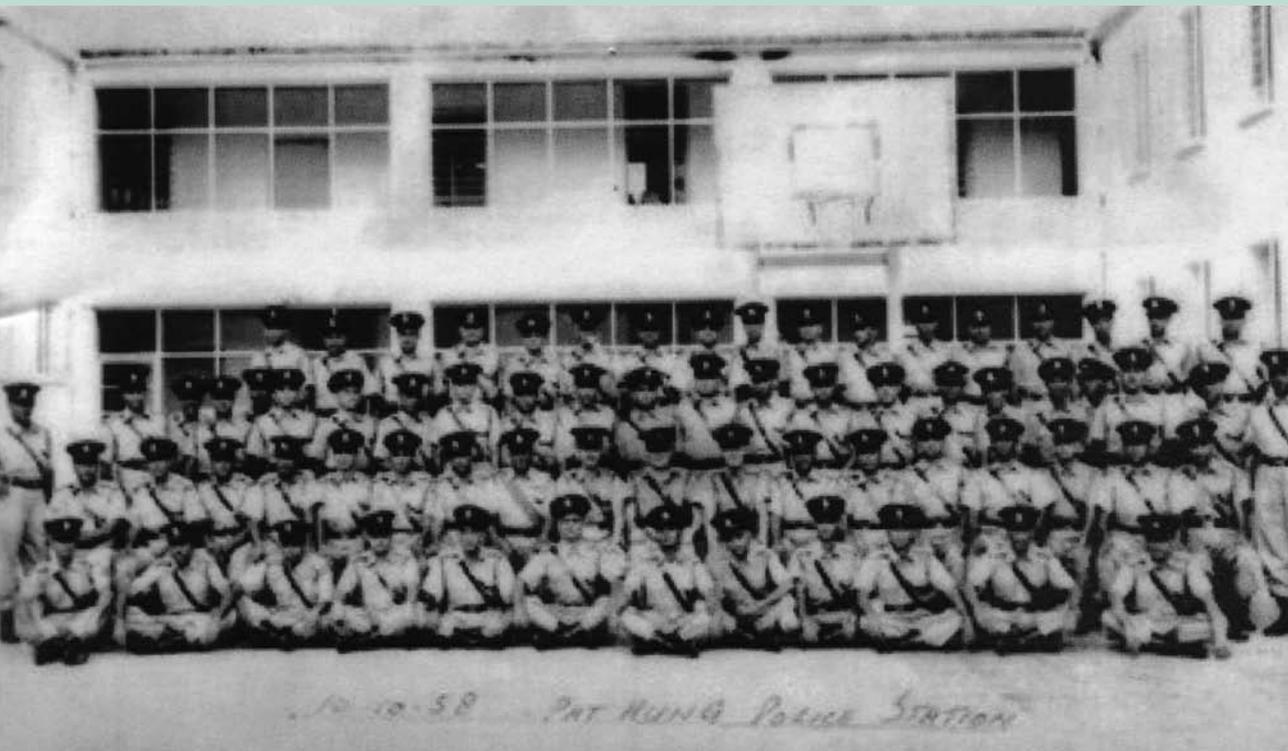


Fig 2.2 The review of Pakistanis policemen in Hong Kong by the *Offbeat* magazine No. 197 of the Hong Kong Police, 1980.

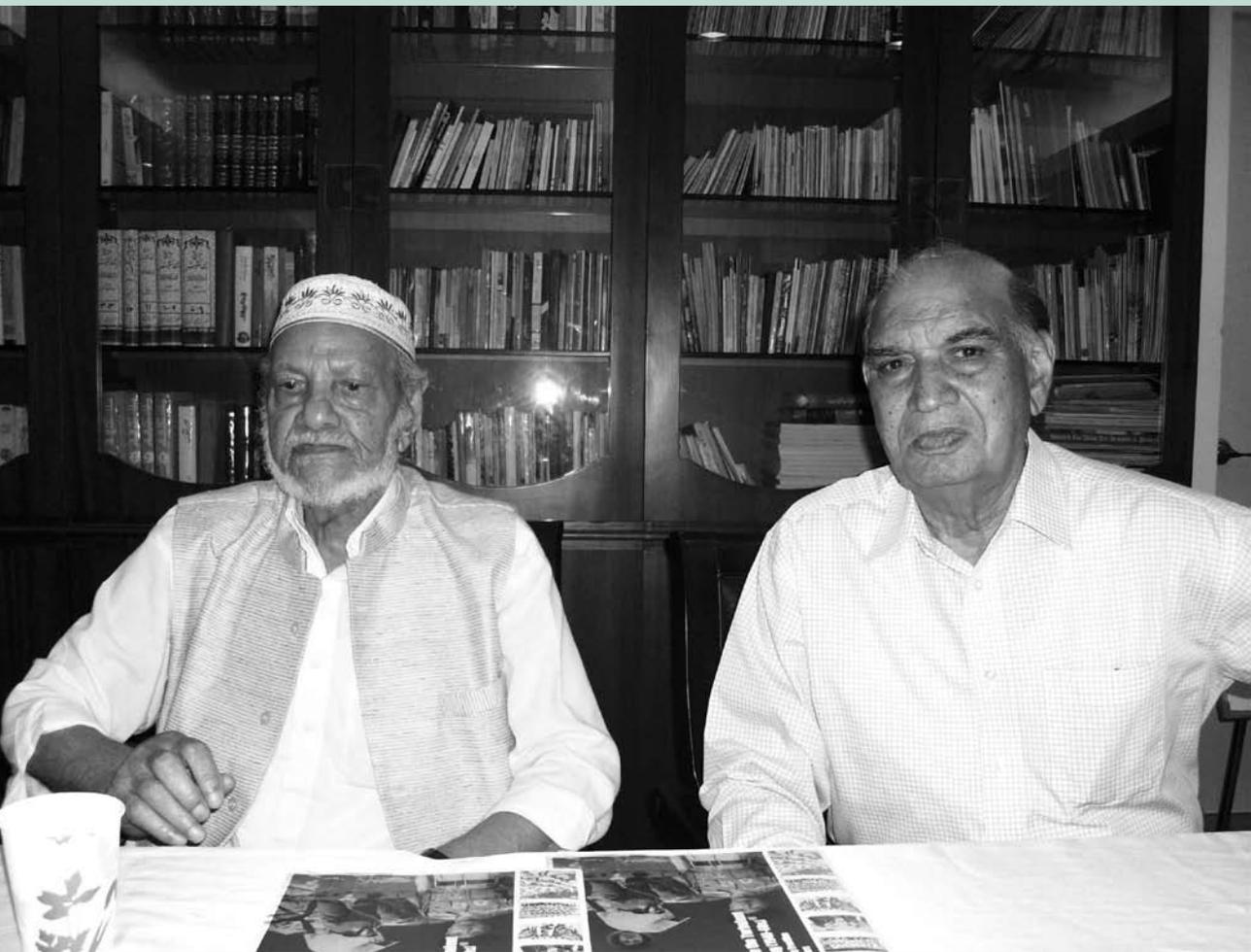


Fig 2.3 Two Pakistanis policemen recruited in Pakistan and reported duty in 1962.

Those Pakistani policemen, working far away from their homeland, mostly served Hong Kong with great honour and pride. Their work in Hong Kong also made their friends and relatives in their home country envious, regardless of the fact that in Pakistan policemen did not have a good reputation. In the 1960s, the situation in Hong Kong was not stable and the 1967 Riots even lasted for more than half a year. The Pakistani policemen, with no political stance or national feeling in Hong Kong, were able to fulfil their duties and implement orders impartially.

Under the police reform in the early 1970s, the Pakistani policemen were no longer regarded as a distinct category in the police force. All of them were deployed to different departments. From that time, their contacts with colleagues of different races increased. Because of their good character, they cooperated closely with the local Chinese policemen. Some of them were even promoted to the rank of inspector. The last Pakistani policeman to retire was recruited by Peter Moor in 1961.<sup>18</sup> He worked in the shooting incident in Sha Tau Kok and had been promoted to Senior Inspector when he retired in 1996. Today, all those recruited in Pakistan have retired. Some of their descendants have joined the Force as local citizens and continued to serve Hong Kong.

### **2.3.2 How Shandong Police Managed the Local Cantonese Population**

Hong Kong is a Chinese community, and hence the frontline policemen are predominantly Guangdong Chinese. Donguan, Hakka and Chaozhou policemen have long played an important

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18. Royal Hong Kong Police Force. (1996). *Offbeat*, Issue No. 576.

role in the Hong Kong Police Force. One special group of Chinese in the history of the Police Force should be noted — those recruited from Weihaiwei in the Shandong Province of China. The burly and strong Shandong policemen were assigned to the station in the Peak as well as the Western and Central districts, where European resided. Most of them were not fluent in Cantonese and so worked in the absence of mutual communication with the local Guangdong Chinese residents. This was in line with the strategy of not relying on local recruitment that had been adopted by the British colonial government.

After World War I, in order to improve the efficiency of the police, the British government started to recruit police in Weihaiwei in Shandong Province in China. According to the official statistics, the first group from Shandong was recruited in 1922. To facilitate the first recruitment drive in Weihaiwei, an expatriate police officer, two or three local training instructors and a Shandong-English interpreter joined in. The selection criteria were tougher for the Shandong candidates than their Hong Kong counterparts: for example, the Shandong candidates had to be at least five feet seven inches (170 cm) tall with a muscular build. More than 50 policemen in total were recruited from the first recruitment in Shandong. After six months of training in Weihaiwei, they were transported to Hong Kong by British warship for about a week, accompanied by an English-Shandong language interpreter. By 1946, as many as 300 policemen had been recruited from Shandong Province.<sup>19</sup>

All the admitted candidates received training with the accompanying instructors in Shandong and went to serve in Hong Kong after training. They were eligible for a holiday of three months after a service of three years. Apart from visiting relatives, most of the traditional and conservative Shandong

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19. Secretary for Chinese Affairs. (1930). Report of the Secretary for Chinese Affairs. *Hong Kong Administrative Report 1929*, Appendix C. Hong Kong: Government Printer.

policemen would make use of the long holiday to get married in their hometown. They then returned with their spouses and settled down in Hong Kong.

### **Selection by Hand**

According to a retired police officer, his native Shandong grandfather joined the recruitment in Weihaiwei and was required to put his hands out for the British interviewer's touch. It was said that candidates with rough hands had a higher chance of admission, compared with those with tender skin, because the interviewer preferred those with tough and bitter life experience.

With limited knowledge of English and Cantonese, the Shandong policemen were segregated and classified as a group with numbers different from the local Guangdong policemen. They were assigned the batch numbers 2501 to 3000 and 4701 to 4800 and group D, one of the A-E scheme for grouping by races. Due to the language barrier, they generally worked in the Peak district, remote areas in the New Territories, and the Transport Department.<sup>20</sup>

### **Good appetite**

A retired local policeman who worked with Shandong counterparts recalled that they had a very good appetite and always complained that insufficient food was provided. He remembered that there was a cook hired specifically for the Shandong men in the police station, with the food originally provided at a fixed contract price. The cook was surprised to find that all the Shandongese were trenchermen, and he promptly changed the price to a per-portion basis.

The local Chinese did not know English and thus were unwilling to work in the Peak where the European resided. In

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20. Hong Kong Police. (2004). *Offbeat*, Issue No. 777.

fact, the expatriate communities did not like the local Chinese policemen but favoured the burly and apparently simple-minded Shandong policemen. Despite their lower education level, the meticulous Shandong policemen were always dispatched to work in Central and Western districts as well as the Peak. A Guangdong Chinese who worked with the Shandong policemen recalled,

*A majority of the Shandong colleagues were assigned to work in the Peak station. They were not able to speak Cantonese and it was difficult for them to communicate with the local people. Thus, they kept working in the Peak and we seldom linked up with them. At the time when I was stationed in the Wanchai Police Station, there was a patrol car. In the daytime, there were two Shandong associates on patrol. Two local colleagues would join them in the evenings just because it required more manpower in the night time.*

All the members of the Emergency Unit of Hong Kong Island, which was established in 1927, were from Shandong, except three expatriate Inspectors.

Working away from their hometown, the Shandong police were not close to the local people. Without much entertainment, most of them studied hard in their spare time. English was always the subject they were most keen to learn in order to gain opportunities for promotion, and it paid off: many of them were eventually promoted to the position of Sergeant. A retired Guangdong Chinese policeman praised his Shandong partner profusely:

*My Shandong colleague did not know even the English letters when he arrived in Hong Kong. He was so hard-working that he enrolled on a lot of courses in his spare time. Later, he was promoted as Probationary Inspector. He kept pursuing further education, and he entered the legal profession and became the first on-the-job Queen's Counsel in the force.*

After 1949, the Hong Kong Police Force stopped recruiting in Shandong. However, under the influence or encouragement of their elders and relatives, many offspring of the Shandong policemen themselves joined the force. Today, there are still the descendants of Shandong serving in the Police Force.

## 2.4 Policemen Onboard

The Royal Navy was tasked with defending British merchantmen travelling from Hong Kong to the coastal cities of Mainland China against piracy. In 1929, however, the British military decided not to support commercial shipping in that way any longer. Consequently, the Anti-Piracy Guards unit of the Hong Kong Police Force was set up in May 1930 and took over the escort work. In addition to Shandong and Indian, 25 Russians were recruited to join the unit. The Russian policemen were under the fifth group of the Police Force, identified with the letter E. The entire cost of the Anti-Piracy Guards was borne by the British companies that required the escort service.

Jardines and Swire Pacific Co. Ltd, names with which we are still familiar today, were the main clients of the escort service. The merchant vessels of Swire Pacific sailed between Britain and Tianjin, China, with Hong Kong as a port of call. In times of serious piracy, the merchants paid for Hong Kong policemen to be stationed onboard their ships in order to combat pirates. The official data of the Hong Kong Police Force showed that no British merchant ships with police onboard were robbed by pirates in their way to Mainland China from June to December of 1930. Conversely, those merchant ships without the presence of police were always the pirates' favoured targets. In the late 1930s, the Commissioner of Police deemed that escorting was not

the primary responsibility of the Hong Kong Police Force. The task of escorting convoys was then gradually dropped.<sup>21</sup>

**Table 2.3**  
**Anti-Piracy Guards in 1932<sup>22</sup>**

Origins of Members	Number
Russian Police Officers	28 <sup>23</sup>
Indian Police Officers	28
European Sergeants	6
Indian Sergeants	8
Shandong Police officers	95

Companies	Staff	
Canadian Pacific Steam Ship Co.	1 British	12 Russians
Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co.	4 British	36 Indians
Jardine, Matheson & Co.		
Butterfield & Swire	Team A: 4 British Team B: 13 Russians	Teams A & B: 78 Shandong Chinese

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21. Hong Kong Police. (1930). Report of the Inspector General of Police. *Hong Kong Administrative Reports 1930*, Appendix K. Hong Kong: Government Printer.

22. Hong Kong Government. (1931). Report of the Inspector General of Police. *Hong Kong Administrative Reports 1930*, Appendix K. Hong Kong: Government Printer.

23. The Government Administrative Report stated that there were 28 Russian policemen in the Hong Kong Police Force in 1931. However, the figure of 25 is given in most of the other governmental sources, including the official journal *Offbeat* and the Hong Kong Police Museum.

### Foreign aid from Russia

In the 1930s, 25 Russians were recruited and employed in the Anti-Piracy Guards. They came from the anti-Communist forces in Siberia. They were incorporated into the Hong Kong Police Force due to their capacity for hard work and extensive experience in battle. During World War II, some of the Russians, together with British officers, were jailed in the prison camp in Stanley. Four of them continued their service in the Hong Kong Police Force after the war. After the Anti-Piracy Guards unit was disbanded in the late 1930s, they served in different departments of the Police Force. Mr L. N. Karpovich was the last Russian anti-piracy team member to leave—he was working as a Communications Officer when he retired in the early 1960s.<sup>24</sup>

### A shootout in the early twentieth century

In the morning of 22 January 1918, a rarely-seen shootout between police and criminals happened in Hong Kong, which resulted casualties of British, Chinese and Indian policemen. Two British officers led several Chinese colleagues to search a collection of stolen goods in No. 6, Morrison Street, Wanchai, according to intelligence. They were attacked by the suspected robbers. Two British officers and one Chinese were shot to death. When more policemen arrived on the scene, two criminals took the opportunity to escape and exchanged gunfire with two Indian policemen. The rest of the criminals inside the apartment were surrounded by the police. It was reported that the shootout alarmed the senior government officials and the Governor May also acted as the commander at the scene. The standoff lasted for 18 hours and a total of four police officers were killed on the spot, including two British, one Chinese and one Indian. One more Chinese policeman died from his wounds in hospital two days later. The firefight also left three culprits dead, one arrested and two escaped.<sup>25</sup>

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24. Royal Hong Kong Police Force. (1987). *Offbeat*, Issue No. 360.

25. Hong Kong Police. (1928). Report of Captain Superintendent of Police. *Hong Kong Administrative Reports 1927*, Appendix K. Hong Kong: Government Printer.

## 2.5 The Multi-Tasking Force

It is not widely known that the police performed various duties in the pre-war period. Before the Second World War, the Police Force was also responsible for firefighting, population registration, import and export matters, and directing traffic, as well as the issue of identity documents, driving licenses, vehicle registrations, and even dog licenses. In remote areas, they even coped with sales of stamps and the postal service. The Superintendent was an *ex officio* member of the Sanitary Board, the former Urban Council, and so the police were required to patrol the markets and manage the city hygiene. They in fact undertook the jobs of the current Fire Services Department, Immigration Department, Transport Department, Food and Environmental Hygiene Department and the Post Office. It is clear that the police played a major role in society.<sup>26</sup>

**Fire Services:** At the end of the nineteenth century, the Fire Brigade was part of the Hong Kong Police Force. Its head was also the chief of police. From 1941, the fire services were independent from the Police Force.

**Immigration:** In the very beginning, the Police Force had responsibility over population registration and immigration matters, including the issuance of identity documents, as well as searching for and deporting illegal immigrants. The Immigration Department was established in 1961, and thereafter the police no longer performed such duties.

**Transport:** In addition to directing traffic and enforcement of traffic laws, the Force was also responsible for issuing driving licenses. Registration of vehicles and some early means of transport, such as sedan chairs and rickshaws, was also the

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26. Hong Kong Police. (2004). *Offbeat*, Issue No. 770.; Ho. P. Y. (2004). *The Administrative History of the Hong Kong Government Agencies, 1841–2002*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

responsibility of the police before the creation of the Transport Department in 1965.

**Health Services:** In the nineteenth century, the Police Chief was an *ex officio* member of the Sanitary Department, the predecessor of the Food and Environmental Hygiene Department. Thus, some policemen were dedicated to the inspection of wet markets and the management of city hygiene. In the time of the brothel licensing system, inspectors were also sent for the on-site inspection of these premises.

**Postal Services:** The early postal services of Hong Kong were not as mature as those of today. In the remote areas, the sale of stamps and the collection and distribution of letters took place in police stations.

**Other Services:** Other than the above duties, the Police Force was also responsible for the issuance of dog licenses, and managing missing and stray dogs. It also managed the regulatory licensing of dangerous goods and services. Besides this, it implemented the Weights and Measures Ordinance and ensured vendors used proper measuring tools by inspections.

## 2.6 Recruitment and Training before World War II

Before the Second World War, there were neither standardised guidelines nor even the concept of interviews for police recruitment in Hong Kong. As long as one dared to apply, one would have a chance to be admitted as a policeman, even if illiterate. At that time, the wages of police were far more attractive than those of apprentices. A retiree joined the Police Force in 1938 recalled:

*I was 20 years old in 1938. I heard about the police recruitment and so went to apply with other people. At that time, not many people got educated formally. It was*

CURRICULUM.

Europeans.	Indians.	Chinese.	District Watchmen Recruits.	District Watchmen Regulars.
Police Regulations and General Instructions. Ordinances—all those that apply to Police. Police Code. Sections and Beats. Local Knowledge. Educational Subjects. Police Court Routine. Observation Lessons. Physical Drill. Squad and Rifle Drill. Musketry Course. Revolver Course.	Police Regulations and General Instructions. Ordinances—selected. Sections and Beats. Local Knowledge. Police Court Routine. Observation Lessons. Physical Drill. Squad and Rifle Drill. Musketry Course. Revolver Course. Urdu and/or Gurmukhi and/or English.	Police Regulations and General Instructions. Ordinances—selected. Sections and Beats. Local Knowledge. Police Court Routine. Observation Lessons. English and Arithmetic—elementary. Geography of China. Excerpts from Book of Morals. Physical Drill. Squad and Rifle Drill. Musketry Course. Revolver Course.	Police Regulation Book—selected portions and General Instructions. Ordinances—selected. Local Knowledge. Physical Drill. Squad Drill.	Drilled Weekly on Tuesdays and Fridays. During the year 3 men received instruction in Police Regulations.

*Note.*—Detainers sent to School (Indians and Chinese) receive special instruction according to the subject in which they are reported to be inefficient.

Fig 2.4 Varying training contents for the police recruits of different ethnicities in 1930, published in *Hong Kong Administrative Report 1930*.

*not a big deal, because there was no entry examination. As long as we were able to impress the examiner, we would be admitted. I earned 18 dollars a month when I was newly recruited. In comparison, there was no wage for an apprentice in other industries in the beginning; and two dollars later in middle stage and four dollars after apprenticeship.*

**Table 2.4**  
**Training Course Contents in the 1940s**

Police Constables	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Police Regulations and General Instructions</li> <li>• Ordinances: all those that apply to police</li> <li>• Police Code</li> <li>• Sections and Beats</li> <li>• Local Knowledge</li> <li>• Educational Subjects</li> <li>• Police Court Routine</li> <li>• Observation Lessons</li> <li>• Physical Drill</li> <li>• Squad and Rifle Drill</li> <li>• Musketry Course</li> <li>• Revolver Course</li> <li>• <i>Urdu and/or Gurumukhi and/or English (Indians recruits only)</i></li> <li>• <i>English and Arithmetic: Elementary (Chinese recruits only)</i></li> <li>• <i>Geography of China (Chinese recruits only)</i></li> <li>• <i>Excerpts from Book of Morals (Chinese recruits only)</i></li> </ul>
District Watchmen Recruits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Police Regulation Book (selected portions) and General Instructions</li> <li>• Ordinances (selected)</li> <li>• Local Knowledge</li> <li>• Physical Drill</li> <li>• Squad Drill</li> </ul>
District Watchmen Regulars	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Drilled weekly on Tuesdays and Fridays</li> <li>• During the year three men received instruction in Police Regulations</li> </ul>

The Police Training School was established in 1920. Since the school premises in Wong Chuk Hang had not been completed yet, training of new recruits took place in police stations or other places. For example, those serving in Kowloon were trained in Mongkok Police Station. For those working in Hong Kong Island, some of them received training in the Central Police Station and other in St. Stephen's School. The teachers of police cases and legal studies were the civilians who managed the legal documents in police stations. The instructors of foot drill were Indian sergeants who were able to speak Cantonese, as recalled by a retiree who joined the force in 1941:

*After three months of training, the policemen were assigned to work in different police stations. Before the Second World War, there were no more than a thousand policemen. The insufficient manpower created an uncommon duty roster for the policemen, who had to be on-duty for four hours in the morning and had another four-hour session in the evening. In between the morning and evening sessions, there were eight hours for rest; while marching drill would also be arranged during the eight-hour break once or twice a week.*

In those years, the Chinese policemen wore different uniforms during the days and nights. In the day time, they wore a slouch hat made of taxus, which protected them from the high temperature and sunlight. At night, they wore caps instead. They wore green shorts and socks with tight legs for going out.

## **2.7 Police Reserve and the Special Police Constabulary**

In the early twentieth century, the Hong Kong government convened the Police Reserve several times, in order to support the

regular police in maintaining law and order in particular crises. First created in 1914, the Police Reserve experienced several changes of its name and organisational structure, which was consistent with the changes of the social situation. There were two separate teams with Chinese and expatriate members in the Police Reserve, and in the years before and right after the Second World War, all the non-ethnic Chinese in Hong Kong had to serve in the Police Reserve so as to consolidate British defence against Japanese invasion. This supporting force regularly experienced being formed for a short time and then disbanded.

The Police Reserve was first formed in 1914, when the British members of the Hong Kong Police Force departed to fight in the First World War. The Hong Kong government thus passed the Special Police Reserve Ordinance and formed the Hong Kong Special Police Reserve in order to fill up the temporary vacancies left by the policemen on war service.<sup>27</sup> The Special Police Reserve had 250 members when it was disbanded in 1917 after three years of operation. Later, it began to operate again as the Hong Kong Police Reserve, with its responsibilities and rights unchanged. It was disbanded again in 1919.

As a result of the political changes in Mainland China, a large-scale strike, known as the Canton-Hong Kong strike, broke out in Hong Kong and Guangzhou from June 1925 to October 1926. To strengthen the police in dealing with unexpected incidents under the unstable situation, the government reorganised the Hong Kong Police Reserve with more than 290 personnel. These were arranged in different contingents according to their races.

In 1930 the Police Reserve was composed of four contingents, namely Chinese, Indian, European and the Marine Police. During the Japanese invasion of China in 1939, the

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27. Hong Kong Government. [1914–1917]. Report of Captain Superintendent of Police. *Hong Kong Administrative Reports*, Appendix K. Hong Kong: Government Printer.

Compulsory Service Ordinance was enacted. It forced all British nationals in Hong Kong who were not ethnic Chinese to undertake voluntary work for the purpose of increasing the law-enforcing power of Hong Kong. In 1940, there were more than one thousand personnel in the Police Reserve. It is interesting that the Hong Kong government set up a Chinese-based Police Reserve at the same time. The so-called Hong Kong Special Police Constabulary co-existed with the Hong Kong Police Reserve and they maintained the law and order of the community together.

### **2.7.1 Special Police Constabulary**

When the Japanese eagerly planned to occupy Hong Kong in the mid-1941, the Hong Kong government established the Chinese-based Special Police Constabulary under the command of the Commissioner of Police, Mr. I. Penefather Evans. Mr. Lok Oi-wan, a Chinese tycoon, was responsible for the recruitment of 3,000 Chinese constables. The recruitment office was located on the ground floor of the Central Magistracy in Connaught Road, Central District.<sup>28</sup> The Hong Kong Governor later appointed Mr. Law Tung Fun, a Chinese lawyer, as the Honorary Deputy Commissioner of Police to manage the Chinese special team directly.

The first two batches of Chinese special police went through training in the Police Training School in Prince Edward Road. The following batches, with greater numbers, were trained at the South China Athletic Association grounds in Caroline Hill Road and Swire Amusement Park in Quarry Bay. Though the Chinese special policemen had their own jobs, they took the same training courses of marching, weapons training, police cases and so on, as their counterparts of the Hong Kong Police Force and the Hong

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28. Lam, C. B. (1997). *Looking Back with Pride and Glory: Hong Kong Auxiliary Police History Book (1914–1997)*. Hong Kong: Royal Hong Kong Auxiliary Police Force.

Kong Police Reserve. In December 1941, the Japanese troops laid siege to Hong Kong. All Chinese special policemen were called to gather at the South China Athletic Association on 12 December and arranged to be stationed in the air-raid shelters in Kowloon and Hong Kong Island. Yet, as the Japanese captured Hong Kong on Christmas Day, Governor Sir Mark Young surrendered and the Chinese special police team was also disbanded.<sup>29</sup>

**Table 2.5**  
**Chronology of the “Part-time” Police in Hong Kong**

Year	
1914	Hong Kong Special Police Reserve was established
1917–1919	Hong Kong Special Police Reserve was renamed to be the Hong Kong Police Reserve
1927	Hong Kong Police Reserve was re-organised
1941	Hong Kong Special Police Constabulary was established
1945	Hong Kong Police Reserve and Hong Kong Special Police Constabulary were restored after World War II
1951	Compulsory Service Ordinance was passed. Under the provisions of the Ordinance, the British nationals residing in Hong Kong were required to serve in the Special Police Constabulary
1959	Hong Kong Police Reserve and Hong Kong Special Police Constabulary combined together and formed the Hong Kong Auxiliary Police. All auxiliary police were salaried part-time employees
1969	The Queen bestowed the title of “Royal” on the Hong Kong Auxiliary Police which was then renamed as Royal Hong Kong Auxiliary Police

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29. The Special Police Constabulary, Hong Kong (1949). *Special Bulletin of the Special Police Constabulary of Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: The Special Police Constabulary, Hong Kong.

The Special Police Constabulary finally recruited a total of 1,500 Chinese personnel, in order to support the insufficient regular policemen. Most of them studied in missionary schools, were born in Hong Kong and spoke fluent English. They joined the Special Police Constabulary under the encouragement of their British teachers. The wages of the Constabulary force were very attractive: in 1937, a special policeman earned one dollar for an eight-hour working day, while a full-time police officer earned less than 20 dollars a month.

### **What are rates?**

The Chinese word for rates indicates that it was levied for the payment of the police. In 1845, just four years after the establishment of Hong Kong Government by the British, rates were introduced and initially used to cover the cost of policing, street lighting, drinking water and fire control. As time passed, rates became a kind of indirect tax on the occupation of properties that are on lease or in use. It was the part of government revenue that funded the municipal services for the urban areas and New Territories, which were provided by the Urban Council and Regional Council respectively.

## **2.8 Summary**

To review the establishment and early development of the Hong Kong Police Force, we must understand the colonial governance system of Hong Kong. Established in 1844, the Hong Kong Police Force was an armed force serving the colonial rulers. It was adapted from the model of the Royal Irish Police Force and organised with military features. It was policing by coercion in that it enforced laws by force if the citizens did not cooperate. Multi-ethnicity was another feature of the Police Force, which was led by European nationals who were not familiar with the community while front-line duties were taken by Indian and Chinese nationals.

A British scholar on colonial policy, Sinclair remarked that there was the common practice of top-down segregation in the early police system in the British colonies. The former curator of Hong Kong Police Museum, Ng C. W. analysed that the British did not introduce their own legal and judicial systems completely in Hong Kong, and even had the Chinese and European residents under the governance of different police teams. In addition to the formal establishment of the Hong Kong Police Force, the British allowed the local Chinese to form their own watchmen forces in order to maintain law and order in their community. The police force and the watchmen forces were totally different in the ways they operated and their service targets.

Ng also argued that the policy of managing the Chinese and European separately reflects the fact that British government did not trust the Chinese population of Hong Kong. Therefore, the Police Force initially was mainly formed by expatriates. He pointed out that there was widespread anti-foreign sentiment in the Hong Kong Chinese community as a result of the Opium War and battles with British and French troops. The colonial government was afraid that the Hong Kong Chinese would overthrow the colonial rule together with the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom or the Qing government. As a result, not many Chinese were allowed to join the Hong Kong Police Force.<sup>30</sup>

Not until 1872 did the police begin recruiting more Chinese to join the force. It also continuously adjusted the proportion of Chinese to European and Indian members. It attempted to improve its working efficiency by assigning the officers of different ethnicities to different types of police work. It even recruited policemen from Weihaiwei in Shandong Province from 1922. Though there were more ethnic Chinese in the Police Force, the colonial Hong Kong government still mistrusted the

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30. Sinclair, G. (2006). *At the End of the Line: Colonial Policing and the Imperial Endgame 1945-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

local Chinese policemen. The dual police system terminated officially after the Second World War. Watchmen forces were also disbanded in 1949. The Hong Kong Police Force thus strengthened the localisation of personnel by stopping the recruitment of European nationals for the rank and file posts as well as hiring more local Chinese as Probationary Inspectors.<sup>31</sup>

The early performance of the Police Force was far from satisfactory. The first recruits were mostly former soldiers of the British Army, who joined the police because they did not want to serve as soldiers. In addition to the language barrier with the local Chinese, the indolent ex-soldiers could not maintain law and order effectively. When crimes occurred, they mostly failed to reach the scene in time. It made the security worse because they feared revenge in the dark streets and did not dare to have night patrols. The situation was not improved much after Indian and Chinese members joined the Police Force.

The Hong Kong Police Force was seriously riddled with corruption too. The policemen thus tried different ways to increase their income. They privately operated gambling houses, pubs and brothels. They also received bribes from people who asked for their favour. People stuffed money inside matchboxes and passed the boxes to the policemen by pretending to pass them matches to light their cigarettes, or sent the policemen sealed envelopes with cheques inside in the name of “petitions”. Gifts were indispensable at festivals and New Year.

In 1879, the police chief, Henry May, investigated corruption of the police personally. He seized a record of bribes to the police by syndicate leaders and revealed a 42-year history of corruption. Such a force definitely could not gain respect and trust from the public. Governor MacDonnell had also exclaimed, “I had never

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31. Ng Chi-Wa. (1999). *Establishment and Early Development of the Police System in Hong Kong* (Unpublished PhD thesis). The Chinese University of Hong Kong. [Chinese]

seen nor heard of any colonial police force [...] as corruptive, useless, unreliable and inefficient as the Hong Kong Police.”<sup>32</sup>

### Stewed mushrooms

This is a popular expression among Hong Kong policemen. It was initially used to refer to a plain-clothes detective who was demoted to the uniformed ranks. It has now spread to refer to all kinds of degradation of rank in the Police Force.

In the early days, the Indian policemen traditionally wore turbans the size of a rice cooker, and individual members were known as a “big head in green coat”. The Chinese policemen wore the same green uniform but did not wear a turban, and thus were called “green coats”. With reference to the headgear of the Qing army, the early Chinese policemen of Hong Kong Police Force in the 1850s wore a straw conical hat that resembled a mushroom in shape. The Chinese policemen were jokingly referred to as “mushroom heads”.

The term “stewed mushroom” first appeared in the post-war years. It referred to those plain-clothes policemen who were relegated to uniform. The vested interests of the degraded policemen, like bribes, salaries and degree of freedom, were exploited to a certain extent. The Chinese word for “stew” originates from another word which implies “to level down in an instant”. It gives “stewed mushroom” a more specific meaning and it became more popular. Nowadays, the term is commonly applied in different industries in Hong Kong.

To address the issue of understaffing, the Hong Kong Police Reserve was formed, and expatriates in Hong Kong were encouraged to join the police on a voluntary basis. As society changed, the government not only empowered the Police Reserve to the same extent as the regular police, but it also set up the Hong Kong Special Police Constabulary and recruited locally-born Chinese. In the late 1950s, the government reformed the

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32. Ng Chi-Wa. (1999). *Establishment and Early Development of the Police System in Hong Kong* (Unpublished PhD thesis). The Chinese University of Hong Kong. [Chinese]

entire reserve police system. The Hong Kong Police Reserve and Hong Kong Special Police Constabulary were merged into the Hong Kong Auxiliary Police Force. The auxiliary police members no longer served voluntarily, but instead received payment on a part time basis.