

MERCHANTS' DAUGHTERS

WOMEN, COMMERCE,
AND REGIONAL CULTURE
IN SOUTH CHINA

Edited by Helen F. Siu



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Introduction

Helen F. Siu and Wing-hoi Chan

Gender, Regional Culture, and Women's Positioning

The study of Chinese women has contributed significantly to gender theories. The construction of gender differences and women's negotiation of cultural space in restrictive power contexts have been given ample attention.¹ This volume continues the analytical direction by using materials from South China to illuminate the junctures of history, gender subjectivities, and power play. The authors, an interdisciplinary team, have done extensive archival and fieldwork in South China. Like many before them, they challenge static and dichotomous frameworks that stress patriarchy, women's subjugation, and resistance. Moreover, the choice of South China signifies an additional analytical agenda. The authors hope to highlight the contingencies, ambiguities, significations, and implications of women's positioning that arose from the intense commercialization that was characteristic of the region from the late imperial to the post-reform periods. They use historical, ethnographic, and literary research to underscore the mutually constitutive processes of a dynamic regional culture, gender constructions, and women's lived experiences.

The volume organizes case materials in ways that engage with historians Dorothy Ko and Susan Mann who, in their studies of the Yangzi River Delta, focus on women's agency that intertwined with regional histories.² While Ko and Mann may have taken commercialized Jiangnan as a given background for their analyses of women's agency, the authors of this volume hope to foreground South China as a historical process and cultural construct. They turn their analytical attention to crucial moments of state-

making and commercialization that have significantly framed the cultural mapping of particular localities. Residents of the Pearl River Delta and Hong Kong, two important localities in South China, were culturally, economically, and politically undifferentiated in the late imperial period. They went separate ways along colonial and revolutionary paths in the twentieth century, but boundaries between them are rapidly blurred in China's post-reform era. The changing relationship became entwined with the negotiations of gender meanings and relationships.

Using the South China region to explore the nuances of women's positioning has particular relevance for Chinese anthropology because the seminal works of Maurice Freedman on territorial lineage formation have long associated the region with patrilineal descent, corporate property ownership by male agnates, and patriarchy.³ On the other hand, unusual forms of marriage and social bonding are not lost to later scholars. The delayed transfer marriages, and the sworn spinsterhoods are well-known examples.⁴ The task here is to appreciate how dominant cultural notions and divergent pursuit have been mutually constitutive in the evolution of a region, a Weberian task we began in an earlier volume.⁵ Instead of accepting the South China region as a geographical or administrative unit that has been a repository for Confucian patriarchy, the authors of this volume ask what a regional culture means to those actively involved in its making. A rereading of South China's cultural history may question the assumption of the lineage complex. Differing from the "marriage resistance" literature, Siu's analysis of the delayed transfer marriage in the Pearl River Delta shows that apparent gender anomalies to a Confucian mindset might turn out to be the regional norm.⁶ The question is how these "anomalies" acquired the aura of cultural mainstream. The process probably reflects how the practitioners of a particular region forged their identities through instrumental and symbolic means to engage with an expanding empire. This conceptual agenda permits the questioning of the lineage paradigm, adds nuance to notions of resistance, challenges the woman-as-victim script, and recenters certain priorities of mercantile society and their modern transformations. They strive for historization of gender consciousness and subtler appreciation of the varieties of women's roles. These identities intertwined with the regional culture of South China where the domination of the lineage paradigm has too often been assumed.⁷

To appreciate the fluidity of women's positioning, actively pursued in this cultural/spatial frame of reference, the volume focuses its attention on three significant historical junctures in the region's transformation broadly conceived. First, it highlights local self-fashioning in the Ming and Qing

dynasties. Women's and men's practices intertwined based on local indigenous cultural backgrounds and specific moments of late imperial state-making. The rise of particular lineage formations in the region complicated gender and kinship hierarchies, when "women" assumed kinship positions that cannot be reduced to their gender.⁸

A second juncture of regional history the volume underscores was trade, empire, emigration, and reform in colonial Hong Kong and Republican South China. In Hong Kong, the colonial encounters between Chinese and other mercantile elites were fraught with Confucian pretensions and racial politics but also enriched by enlightened missionary efforts, formally recognized legal rights, and a wider range of properties. They unexpectedly opened up spaces as well as dangers for both elite and working women. The same applied to emigrant communities along the South China coast.

In the mainland from the late Qing to the Republican period, gender politics was by no means static. Kang Youwei, a leading Cantonese scholar/reformist in the last decades of the Qing Empire, and nationalist women's suffragists in the first two Republican decades pushed gender consciousness to new heights.⁹ The latter development in Guangdong and the movement to abolish the bond maidservant system in Hong Kong during the 1920s owed much to shared social and cultural impact of foreign missionaries. Political border did not prevent mutual influences in gender-related reforms.¹⁰

The volume focuses on the postwar decades as the third significant juncture of regional development and gender dynamics. Progress was made on the mainland in gender equality, but the cultural and political environment remained unfavorable to the rise of women as a force in civil society. In contrast, colonial rule using a conservative male merchant elite to "represent" the Chinese community had been a major obstacle to legal and political reforms to address gender issues until the 1970s, making Hong Kong "the most laggard of modern Chinese society in eradicating the concubinage institution."¹¹ That said, the economic and cultural transformations in Hong Kong amid political changes in more recent decades prepared women for leading public roles and collective action. In contemporary Hong Kong, one finds a meeting of women's work experiences and civic movements where women's groups participate in larger causes while maintaining their own agendas. The political developments in anticipation of 1997 heightened such gendered consciousness and civic activism.

Looking ahead as neoliberal market forces have turned the region into a global factory and haven of consumption, opportunities and vulnerabilities will continue to be created for women and men. Politicians on both sides of the border focus on infrastructural linkages for a mobile work force in

the region. On the software of development, how does the new range of cross-border interactions shape gender dynamics and subjectivities? Where can “tender sprouts of a Chinese feminist public sphere” be found?¹²

Images beyond the Confucian Imagination

It was April 28, 1899. J. Stewart Lockhart, Colonial Secretary of Hong Kong, wrote a report to the Governor while returning from the newly established border posts in the New Territories.

We left Wo Hang yesterday morning and proceeded to Starling Inlet, to the point where the British boundary begins [Sha Tau Kok] . . . From Starling Inlet we crossed in boats to Luk King . . . From Luk King we proceeded to Plover Cove and walked through the villages in that district. . . . We reached Tai Po at 6 p.m. after having marched about 25 miles. . . . I may mention that out of 111 persons employed yesterday at Wo Hang to carry our baggage, 70 were women, who came with us all the way from Wo Hang to the Camp here.¹³

Nearly a century after Lockhart’s march, Siu was with a boatload of villagers who returned in 1992 to a remote corner of the New Territories near the Chinese border. She was attending a major religious ceremony of the community, the *jiao*. Some came from as far as various parts of Britain where they or their fathers had emigrated. The men eagerly described to her the wide range of work that they remembered women in the village had performed. When Siu asked the men what was left for them (the men) to do, they gave her a rather nonchalant answer, “We hung around, fished a little, and played with the children.”

Anyone familiar with South China will acknowledge that women visibly worked outside the home in a variety of trades. That was the norm. Those wearing wide-brimmed hats made of black cloth were seen working in the Hakka villages of Eastern Guangdong and the New Territories of Hong Kong. In the fishing communities known as Dan, women carried children on their backs, fished, mended nets, marketed their catch, and maneuvered boats with sturdy finesse. In the plains where farmers engaged in intensive production of cash crops — vegetables and fruits, mulberry and silk, pigs and wine — women were vital to the family economy. They were skillful farmhands, enterprising peddlers in the market, and dependable keepers of family finances.¹⁴

Some of those from families with comfortable means in the heart of the Pearl River Delta were given the opportunity to be educated alongside their brothers. It was not uncommon to give women landed property as dowry or to allocate provisions of grain to them in documents of family division.¹⁵ In prosperous counties in the delta, brides were known to be bold. Local folklore pointed out that brides readily claimed to have brought their own grain and needed only water from their husbands' households (*dai mi shi shui*). Furthermore, women's voices shared with those of men to sustain an oral tradition of funeral and bridal songs. Intimate sentiments of sisterhood and religious devotion were expressed in popular rituals and not considered problematic in a male-oriented world. They were documented in genealogies, deeds, ritual, and business records.¹⁶ In a word, local practices were far more nuanced and complicated than a Confucian language was able to contain.

In the late imperial period, South China, in particular the Pearl River Delta, was known for its high degree of commercial activities. They were reflected in the large-scale reclamation of the sands financed by lineage and merchant estates, in a vibrant land market and layered tenancy, and in the growing and long-distance marketing of cash crops. Moreover, commerce in coastal South China was tied to foreign trade. As early as the Tang and Song periods, Arab traders came via the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia. Portuguese, Dutch, and, later, British traders arrived in the Ming and Qing. They too left their mark. Over the centuries, despite ebbs and flows in dynastic policies, traders were major players in the making of society in the region.¹⁷ Coastal cities in the southeast (such as Guangzhou and Quanzhou) came to assume culturally mixed characteristics. Mosques, cemeteries, and European-style architecture were interspersed with Buddhist temples, Daoist shrines, and family graveyards. One can argue that these were enclaves of different faiths and communities, but their existence at the level of everyday lives and popular culture showed a relatively diffuse influence.¹⁸

From the perspective of the political center, coastal South China was a volatile region at the margins of empire — affluent but unfamiliar, not entirely out of reach but hard to control. The local populations were resourceful and productive. In their cultural strategies, they tapped the empire's civilizing language. However, their identities were ambiguous and their loyalties unpredictable. Officials at times labeled them *yiyu jiangun* (operators in unfamiliar territory). In peaceful times, some of them were identified as merchants and boat masters. During dynastic turmoil, they were branded pirates and rebels.¹⁹

Moreover, religion and Confucian values were interwoven with mercantile interests and popular culture. As early as the seventeenth century, the colorful career of Monk Dashan (1633–1705) captured the ethos of a cultural renaissance and an unorthodox business ethic.²⁰ Dashan had a network of monasteries under his care in Guangdong, Jiangxi, and Macao in the turbulent Ming-Qing transition. He bought silk from Suzhou for the Vietnam kings and brokered tribute trade when he went overseas to lecture. His monasteries were sites for gatherings of scholars, with wine, song, poetry, dance, and theatrical performances. The likes of Dashan were master cultural brokers with broad horizons. They turned places at the margins into energizing nodes and centers of intense production, exchange, and consumption. Institutional identities and national boundaries were crossed.

Could the combination of Confucian morality, scholarly tastes, mercantile resourcefulness, and religious refuge have provided an unusual space for the region's women? In the twentieth century, Lady Clara Hotung's founding of Tung Lin Kok Yuen may have been a shining example. Fast forward to contemporary Hong Kong, the enterprising energies of the nuns in the newly established Zhilian Jingyuan have also attracted wealthy patrons and public personalities from a global Chinese network. At the extreme other end of the glamour scale, woman shaman in the region have also built careers by founding temples and creating a following even in the most god-forsaken corners.²¹

One also needs to explore the cultural orientation of merchant families. In Guangzhou, merchants who engaged in foreign trade rose to prominence in the eighteenth century when the region produced a wide range of everyday consumer products for foreign buyers. They were worldly and at times unorthodox in their business practices, but they bought the necessary bureaucratic connections and scholarly etiquette with their astonishing wealth and conspicuous consumption.²² Their daughters were to be brought up genteel if only for marriage strategy. The *China Trade* genre of paintings depicting the era of commerce and diplomacy along the China coast in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contained fascinating details of social life that were at once local, imperial, and multicultural.²³ The Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, shows a rich variety of the household goods produced — wallpaper, European style furniture, Chinaware, silverware, clocks, and decorative items, made to order by Chinese craftsmen in Guangzhou and transported across the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic. These technically sophisticated products reflect the interpenetration of European tastes and Chinese cultural imaginations. If educated women in the region managed household budgets and were the major creators of taste

in the household's production and consumption, how would their resourcefulness become intertwined with the unorthodox world of their men?²⁴

Fieldwork in the Pearl River Delta reveals that successful merchants in the Republican era often maintained separate households in their native communities and places of sojourn. Wives and concubines managed these households, which were nodes in the entrepreneurs' business networks.²⁵ Moreover, sons educated away from home or entering family businesses would circulate among these nodes, at times cared for by and apprenticing with their fathers' women.²⁶ Profits were invested in land and occasionally in the form of lineage estates. As a cultural strategy for social mobility, contributions were made to temples and community charities to cast a diverse network.²⁷ How these investments reinforced or eroded male-centered priorities would not be straightforward. As women in emigrant communities had to be resourceful for everyday survival due to long-term absence of male household members, one would at least expect the public and private lives of women in these communities to be loaded with conflicting notions.

Moreover, the Pearl River Delta was linked to city culture through a dynamic network of market towns where powerful lineages and merchants were based. Cities at the turn of the twentieth century constituted a vibrant landscape of conspicuous consumption by metropolitan merchants that involved women as both subject and object. In the images created by popular literature and media, women occupied visible public space as accomplished courtesans and hostesses, opera singers, and, in the later decades, as actresses with distinctive talents in film.²⁸

Extending beyond Guangzhou's cosmopolitan environment at the time, the interracial and multicultural setting of Hong Kong presented women with further unusual opportunities. Women were by no means cloistered in Confucian submissiveness. Through the promotion of Western style, co-educational schools, property laws, missionary and other charitable organizations, women in the region had access to multiple channels of mobility.²⁹ Dan women provisioned merchant fleets from Europe and America when the ships moored in the Victoria Harbor or Macao. Some cohabited with the traders and officers and were left with properties and resources. Some wisely speculated in real estate, whereas others operated businesses, including houses of prostitution. Their experiences can be fruitfully contrasted with forms of prostitution in other regions of China around the same time (as described by Gail Hershatter), where social hierarchies were maintained by rituals of kinship and marriage infused with

traditional cultural norms.³⁰ In Hong Kong, the fortunate ones whose children obtained European education rose from the margins of both societies to become matriarchs of well-connected Eurasian families. But, opportunities also came with dangers and misfortune. The Po Leung Kuk archives have shown that many women fugitives whom the charity protected had escaped from abusive masters, abductors, and fraudulent marriage arrangements.³¹

As historians have pointed out, in China the late Qing and early Republican years provided opportunities that activists in the women's suffrage movement were quick to grasp. Many of female members of Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Alliance invoked their contribution to the nationalist cause to demand recognition of women's election rights as well as constitutional clauses for broader issues of gender equality.³²

Thanks to such efforts progresses were made in Guangdong at the provincial level in 1912. In 1919, in the wake of the May Fourth protest and anticipation of the drafting of a constitution, Wu Zhimei, a Guomindang politician who graduated from the Hackett Medical College for Women in Canton founded by medical missionaries, organized a Guangdong Federation of Women's Circles. These efforts won success in 1922.³³ As a revolutionary center for the Guomindang in alliance with the Chinese Communist Party, and with support from the Comintern, Guangdong was the site of women's mobilization in the mid-1920s but the effects seemed limited and short-lived.³⁴ But the women's suffrage activists' eventual "gains include the Tutelate Constitution, the Double Fifth Draft and the 1947 National Constitution."³⁵ As already mentioned, colonial rule, with its cooptation of conservative Chinese compradors, was an obstacle to similar legal reforms in Hong Kong, but Chinese Christians and Chinese nationalism were important factors to a movement to abolish female slavery known as *mu-tsai* in the 1920s and Guangdong developments were an important impetus of the activism.

Half a century of socialist ideology and state-building further separated Hong Kong from South China in the mid-twentieth century. Millions of women on the mainland rose through the revolutionary ranks, aided by laws and political organizations in the new regime. They were institutionally visible as a work force and as cadres in government-sponsored women's organizations. Skeptics might view images of women occupying "half the sky" as socialist rhetoric in the party-controlled media, but for a great many women growing up in the cities, education, health, social mobility, and self-confidence were real.³⁶

Hong Kong, on the other hand, developed postwar institutions by reorienting its economy towards Europe and North America. From the 1970s to the 1990s, it made a transition from an immigrant city to an industrial and international financial center. The educated, locally born women and men enjoyed unprecedented social mobility to become Hong Kong's professional middle class. Social movements, expanded social services, and more recently political reforms contributed greatly to improvements in gender equality. For example, the equal pay campaign begun by government-employed expatriate women teachers in 1960 made considerable progress by 1965 but equal pay policy was not extended to female nurses until 1971.³⁷ The emergence of a local feminist movement accompanying rapid upward mobility, decolonization, and expanded political participation since the 1980s greatly raised gender consciousness and contributed to public awareness of related issues and legal reforms, and civic activism.³⁸

In the media today, three categories of working women have come to dominate public attention in ways quite separate from their counterparts on the mainland. One sees women as wielders of power and consumers of commodities. Class and ethnic issues complicate women's opportunities for empowerment. At the privileged end are accomplished professionals in international finance, jet-setting heads of family corporations, high-ranking civil servants and legislators, and patrons of the arts and charity organizations.³⁹ Many appear able to maintain vigorous professions and manage their families because other women's labor in the form of domestic help is cheap and available. The presence of over 250,000 female migrant workers from Southeast Asia has meant that middle-income families can afford full-time help at home.⁴⁰

At the sorrowful end of a gendered social hierarchy are Chinese immigrants from rural Guangdong and Fujian who have joined their husbands in Hong Kong in the last two decades. They are part of an increasingly gendered social landscape that straddles the border between Hong Kong and the mainland. Images of their plight are vividly contrasted with the professional women in the local media. Living at the rural fringes of Fujian and Guangdong, they married older working men and immigrants.⁴¹ In Hong Kong, they are easily singled out because of their rural accents and styles and labeled "new immigrants" by a hostile public. Although many have, in fact, found work and successfully adjusted to life in urban Hong Kong, the mass media continues to present them as desperately poor, welfare recipients isolated from extended kin. Many are also victims of abusive husbands and are seen by a large segment of the host community as social burdens.⁴² Hong Kong men who have ventured

north for work since 1997 have found spouses from among the tens of millions of *dagongmei* (working sisters) who are resourceful and have adjusted to urban industrial life in Guangdong.⁴³ Although discriminated against, these women are seeking help from existing women's groups and joining community activism.

On the consumption front, new wealth in the region complicates the cross-border gender landscape. Differences in the prices of commodities, services, and entertainment on the mainland also attract consumers across the border. Extramarital affairs are common, triggering family unhappiness and resulting in tragic human dramas.⁴⁴ The intruding presence of mistresses in Hong Kong families has much to do with the Special Economic Zone in Shenzhen and in the boomtowns of the Pearl River Delta.⁴⁵ A culture of conspicuous consumption has spread among the newly rich who are reeling from decades of deprivation. Lavish banquets, song, dance, and women are visible symbols of the good life on a fast track. Entire neighborhoods, named "mistress villages" (*ernai cun*), have sprung up along the border where men who commute between Hong Kong and South China seek the services of women for a fraction of the price they pay in Hong Kong. Tens of thousands of migrant women have come to the area from poorer provinces seeking fortune. In a morally uncertain post-reform era not unlike nineteenth century Hong Kong as described by historians Carl Smith and Elizabeth Sinn, many seem to consider the sex industry an opportunity. Hong Kong's reintegration with China highlights once again the exploitation, the dominant cultural assumptions, and the desperate maneuvers of young women who try to claim liberating spaces for themselves. These features, sensationalized by popular media, fuel public debates about gender and lived experiences.⁴⁶ On the mainland side, the widening of the gender gap in income and occupation and the apparent return of "traditional" biases in the course of economic liberalization are noted by the provincial Women's Federations and feminist scholars in Guangdong, some of whom are active in newly formed NGOs.⁴⁷ Their interventions to issues such as the exclusion of married "daughters" from sharing dividends from newly urbanized villages are hindered by a legal system under which individual's rights are difficult to assert against local government.⁴⁸

This volume examines how gender notions and women's positioning have been woven into the evolution of this region over the last two centuries. The substantive chapters are organized into three clusters, each based on a significant historical moment of the region's transformation.

Cultural Spaces between State-Making and Kinship in the Late Imperial Period

The volume begins with Liu Zhiwei's meticulous reading of an important ritual practiced by a prominent lineage in Guangdong in the late Qing — the annual visit to a tomb of two female ancestors, the *gusaofen*. Panyu, a county in a prosperous part of the Pearl River Delta, was populated by territorially based groups that traced common descent from male focal ancestors. Their solidarities were reinforced by corporate estates, ornate ancestral halls adorned with literati honors, and public rituals that often excluded female participation. The He lineage in Shawan was a magnate lineage on the edge of the river marshes in Panyu. It claimed tremendous territorial dominance and flaunted its wealth and literati pedigree. Its social, ritual, and political presence centered around the focal ancestral hall, the Liugeng Tang, and the Beidi Temple where the deity, in rare military garb, was seen as symbolic of Ming imperial power.⁴⁹ In this context, the elaborate annual pilgrimage to Guangzhou, dedicated to the wife and sister of the legendary focal ancestor, might have seemed out of place.

Reading between the lines of local gazetteers and lineage genealogies and substantiating his interpretations with ethnographic materials, Liu delineates a complex process of cultural mixing and matching whereby an indigenous population in South China used material and symbolic means to acquire an authoritative place in the evolving empire. The process he describes challenges conventional wisdom about “sinicization,” which assumes that South China was settled by Han Chinese migrants from the Central Plains (Zhongyuan) who brought with them Confucian cultural values and institutions. Instead, Liu argues that state-making in the area during the Ming and Qing dynasties might have involved local populations weaving what they had imagined to be authoritative cultural norms from “the center” into their own practices. The cultural products on the ground highlighted the complicated agency of indigenous inhabitants who claimed to be Han Chinese on their own terms. Their divergent strategies, while aggressively adopting the Confucian literati language, gave women a great deal more nominative space and made patriarchy more contingent than Freedman's lineage paradigm might have acknowledged.⁵⁰

Liu Zhiwei's chapter on public rituals is followed by David Faure's equally meticulous reading of biographies and private family letters during the Ming and Qing. Faure focuses primarily on the writings by a few prominent local scholars about their mothers. Much emotion went into the essays. These were private sentiments interlaced with Confucian narrative

styles. The motherly images progressed from those of intimate caretakers in the earlier period to competent household managers and educated tutors. The mundane details of social life and family networks, however, have to be gleaned from writings framed by formulaic ideals of gentility and literati pretensions by the early nineteenth century. Faure's reading shows that "mothering" took on different meanings and substance for the sons over a long historical period, which allows us to appreciate different degrees of social space beyond prescribed Confucian expectations. Subjectivities changed with the percolation of highly moralized images as Guangdong went through convulsions of late imperial state-making, a process layered with commercial prosperity and literati refinement.⁵¹ But the sons' actual experiences of their mothers survived between the lines. If Confucian ideals are not taken as the cultural/historical baseline for this region, it is interesting to question why, when, and by what means these ideals became moral authority. To what extent were local practices agentive improvisations?

The chapter by May-bo Ching explores the expressive cultures of bridal laments in relation to *muyushu* (songbooks of various popular narratives in the Cantonese vernacular). Comparing the highly innovative performances in the Hakka and Dan communities with those of the more settled Punti farmers, she examines the finer meanings of the positioning of women and marriage practices in the region in the late imperial and early Republican periods. Her subject matter engages with three issues. First, gendered notions embedded in the laments seemed to have been deviations from Confucian ideals but were treated as the norm by locals. Could this have been another long process of cultural mixing and matching by indigenous populations, a theme highlighted by Liu Zhiwei's earlier treatment of lineage rituals? Second, on the intimate emotions involved, do the bridal laments represent experiences with no cultural basis outside liminal time, as Fred Blake has described? Or, do the laments reveal feelings of women in a bind — daughters who have fully internalized Confucian values of filial piety and duties in marriage, and are torn in moments of forsaking one and embracing the other, as Rubie Watson would argue? Agonized voices or not, there are issues of authenticity and interpretation. Authorship and audience complicate the gender issue, because men can be centrally involved in the production and performance of these ritual laments. In fact, Ching points to the more restrictive features of the songbooks vis-à-vis the oral performances and relates the difference to an urban-based print market that was dominated by literate men in the early twentieth century.⁵²

Focusing on women's work and women's food in the New Territories of Hong Kong in the twentieth century, Wing-hoi Chan's chapter further

decenters the lineage paradigm by offering social details and changing subjectivities related to the evolution of a commercialized regional economy. The details serve the point of how dichotomous approaches to women's activities may reinforce exaggerated models of patriliney. He combines British colonial records with women's oral accounts of local economic life and argues against a scholarly preoccupation with the rice paddy and the lineage. Chan highlights women's work in the production of hogs for the market and their consumption of sweet potatoes, a crop of little market value. Chan also suggests that the relationship of women to commercialization in the area was one of intensified exploitation. A mediating factor came with natal and matrilineal ties that were economically important to peasant families. Nevertheless, Chan contrasts the carefree spaces given to unmarried daughters with the hardship of young married women who were subjected to strict control in both production and consumption.

Agency in Emigrant, Colonial, and Mercantile Societies

In this section, Chi-cheung Choi focuses on women in Chaozhou (eastern Guangdong) during the late imperial and early Republican periods. In the rural areas of Chaozhou, a long history of emigration resulted in women taking over many managerial roles at home and in business transactions, as buyers and sellers of land and property, and as guarantors and witnesses to legal contracts. However, Choi explores why women in this area, as contrasted with those in the Pearl River Delta, continued to be confined by male-dominated social ethos. Women were only able to step outside of home in the treaty port of Chaozhou when foreign legal and business institutions gave a generation of women entrepreneurs new protection and recognition.

In the two chapters on Hong Kong, one finds equally mobile populations where laws and moralities associated with trading empires and multi-ethnic colonial encounters created unusual dangers and opportunities for enterprising women. The chapter by the late Carl Smith explores court documents in colonial Hong Kong to find numerous Dan women from the Portuguese colony of Macao who had inherited property under the protection of British law. It traces the case of Ng Akew in mid-nineteenth century, a Dan woman in Macao who lived with and bore children by James Bridges Endicott, an American ship captain who engaged in the opium trade. Starting from the social and economic fringes of both British and Chinese society, she thrived in an interracial relationship and fully exploited her

power among British colonial officials, American traders, Muslim shopkeepers, and Chinese pirates. Her social mobility illustrates the opportunities open to some women who were able to enrich their lives by claiming protection from British colonial institutions and a relatively open mercantile society. Smith's significant observations are not limited to the intimate interracial relationships between European and Muslim men and their Chinese women. For these women, relationships with their "protectors" were often short-lived. However, some were left with properties. Their Eurasian children, if fortunate, were provided with schooling. An important fact behind this was that despite racial and political overtones in most colonial encounters, the legal system had recognized property and a range of other rights for these women even after their men had left the scene. Historian Elizabeth Sinn's 2007 study of prostitution houses operated by these women has noted their shrewd business maneuvers.⁵³

Merchants cultivated power through charity.⁵⁴ Its connection to colonial administration and missionary morality in Hong Kong provided some unusual refuges for women. From the archives of the Tung Wah Hospital and the Po Leung Kuk, Sinn has written extensively on public health, prostitution, and the protection of fugitive women from the mid-nineteenth century to the early decades of the twentieth. These were charitable organizations established within the British legal framework and run by Chinese merchant elites. The women who came under the protection of the Po Leung Kuk were originally bought by their masters at a young age (*zhuhua*) and raised for the purpose of future work.⁵⁵ Some were sold into domestic servitude. Known as *muitsai*, domestic bondservants were often physically and sexually abused. Many who fled their masters fell into the hands of human traffickers who supplied houses of prostitution. The fortunate ones took shelter in the Po Leung Kuk. Sinn's study shows that past prostitutes and protected women who had been left with resources by their foreign male patrons often succeeded in the trade. In an environment full of dangers and opportunities, their gain could be other women's misfortune.⁵⁶

In describing the world of expatriate women in Hong Kong, Susanna Hoe and others reveal the political impact that these women brought to the lives of the most exploited through charity, Victorian morality, Christian sensibilities, and legislation. The issue of women's servitude was an emotional and controversial one not only for politicians, colonial officers, missionaries, and expatriates, but also for Chinese merchant households and elite women. Scholars have explored private letters, diaries, official documents, and missionary records to reconstruct the concerted efforts of

those who opposed female servitude, campaigned for the licensing of prostitutes for public health purposes, and sheltered fugitive women.⁵⁷ The efforts took many decades to become a force in society. Based on moral outrage, political ambition, and religious commitment, the unlikely alliance of reformers and politicians in Whitehall and Hong Kong eventually forced its way into the Chinese merchant community.

The commercial environment provided opportunities for the children of interracial unions. Those fortunate enough to receive a Chinese-English education became successful professionals and brokers for trading empires that needed cross-cultural skills. They intermarried, and their mothers, wives, and daughters became matriarchs of prominent businesses and property-owning families in Hong Kong. They settled and put down roots in Hong Kong, confirmed by their burial ground — the Chiu Yuen Cemetery.⁵⁸ It is true that the early colonial society was sharply demarcated along racial lines. Prejudice prevailed with both Confucian and Victorian moralities. But the Eurasian background of these families did not bar them from positions of influence. They became master cultural brokers.

Another group directly involved in the cultural encounter in the colony were Chinese Christians, whose influences were limited by the colonial government's cooptation of the more traditional compradors. Wai-ching Wong argues that despite conservative doctrinal elements, Christian women evangelists provided female students in missionary schools role models beyond those of wife and mother.⁵⁹ By 1921, inspired by their faith and nationalism, Chinese Christians in Hong Kong organized the Anti-Mui Tsai Society to push for abolition of the *mui tsai* system. On the organization's executive committee in 1921 was Chinese Christian woman Ma Fok Hing-tong, who drew support for the cause from the Chinese YWCA she cofounded not long before. According to Wong's interpretation of the records, Ma and other Chinese Christian women "seized the opportunity to campaign not only for the abolition of girl servants but also for the equality of men and women."⁶⁰

On the other side of the debate was conservative compradors including Eurasians like Sir Robert Hotung.⁶¹ He was known for his business success and philanthropy. He was first knighted in 1915 and received numerous honors from the Pope and the governments of China, Portugal, France, Germany, and Annam. A wife of Sir Robert, Lady Clara Hotung (also known as Ho Cheung Lin-kok) came also from a Eurasian family. As illustrated by Josephine Lai-kuen Wong's chapter, Lady Clara was a remarkable figure who advocated for Buddhist charity causes and led a vigorous and well-respected public life until her death in 1938. She saw her children married

into equally prominent families among the Hong Kong elites. As the most significant lay patron of the Tung Lin Kok Yuen, a Buddhist institution that she established in 1935, she helped redefine Buddhist faith and practice by integrating a place of worship into an urban setting and founding free Buddhist schools for women.⁶² Gentry sponsorship of Buddhism was well known in Chinese history.⁶³ Lady Hotung's patronage was uniquely placed at a period of "New Culture" in the mainland after the May Fourth Movement when religion and cultural norms were challenged. Her Eurasian background made her efforts all the more unique. Her support for Buddhism thus introduced elements of Christian charity, education, and public service. While her polygynous marriage might have precluded her participation in the anti-Mui Tsai movement in which Chinese Christian Ma Fok Hing-tong was very active, Lady Clara used her resources to benefit other women by innovations likely to be inspired by the missionary practices. For her generation of women to whom formal institutional channels were not culturally or politically permissible, religion and charity could have been their best expressions of activism.

Work and Activism in a Gendered Age

Although a colony, Hong Kong was never a bounded physical entity. It was established as a node in the crossroads of empires, trading, and diasporic communities. The border between Hong Kong, mainland China, and the world was porous for almost a hundred years until after the Communist Revolution in China. Culturally, the South China region encompassed a highly commercialized Pearl River Delta and two regions with long histories of emigration, Siyi (Sze Yap) and Chaozhou. Hong Kong was linked to these regions as a vibrant space of flow. Before the 1950s, administrative barriers for the movement of people and goods had been light and often not enforceable. Making use of institutions unavailable on the mainland and elsewhere, a diverse range of people entered and exited Hong Kong in various phases of their lives and careers. According to historian Elizabeth Sinn, from the late nineteenth century to 1939, over 6.3 million emigrants had embarked at Hong Kong for a foreign destination, and over 7.7 million returned to China through the colony. They brought with them goods, capital, diverse cultural styles, worldly information, and new horizons.⁶⁴

However, the political changeover of China in 1949 brought drastic changes to the region as movements across the border became restrictive. Until the 1970s, Hong Kong society was colonial in administrative structure

and cultural orientation. Although politically and culturally cut off from the mainland, it remained a node for world industrial assembly lines, and, in recent decades, global finance, consumption, and media. While China turned inward in the Maoist phases of its socialist revolution, Hong Kong was therefore projected to the world, almost by default. Although the colony received waves of legal and illegal migrants from China, a homegrown population came of age in the 1970s with urban, middle class, Western-oriented education and professional careers. In their cultural identity, institutional practices, and political orientations, they drew a hard line between Hong Kong and China.⁶⁵

The chapters in this section use particular historical moments, when the border between the mainland and Hong Kong hardened and softened, to frame their analyses of women's positioning in the South China region. A range of institutional channels enabled women to be publicly active. In colonial Hong Kong, civil service jobs opened up for women because competitive male candidates had stayed away from what they considered dead-end careers. As highlighted by Helen Siu's chapter, women might have started their civil service careers as strategic response to inequality, but they rose through the colonial system by taking jobs their male colleagues had shunned. Over time, they created their own identity and social recognition. When Anson Chan was appointed chief secretary of the Hong Kong government in the autumn of 1993, there were few raised eyebrows that the first Chinese chief civil servant would be a woman. The absence of fanfare then and now for the presence of senior women in the administrative and business hierarchies contrasts sharply with China, where forty years of ideological promotion to uphold "half the sky" seem to have reaped only token appointments.⁶⁶ The situation in Hong Kong can also be distinguished from that of Japan where societal affluence does not seem to fundamentally alter gender relationships, and high-ranking women within corporate or government structures are rare.⁶⁷ Granted, the term "women of influence" (*nū qiangren*) discloses a degree of gender bias because there is no equivalent prefix for distinguished men, it no longer arouses the sense of awe in Hong Kong that it did when it first appeared in the 1970s. One may argue that for the term to have lost its poignancy in the public mind is a good indicator of the progressive acceptance of women's achievements in the last thirty years.

In an introduction to a collection of works on women in Hong Kong, Veronica Pearson and Benjamin Leung argue that social and legal improvements for women are substantial. However, they have not altered some deep-seated hierarchies. The persistence of gender inequality has to do with Hong Kong's unique history — a combination of Chinese patriarchy,

colonial laissez-faire, and the peculiar demands of a postwar industrial economy.⁶⁸ Their arguments are most relevant for understanding the “working daughters” in Janet Salaff’s classic work on postwar Hong Kong. Inequality is found not only among working class families. Until recently, women were represented less in managerial and administrative positions than professional/technical ones. Nevertheless, a fast-moving industrial and service economy has allowed a large number of women to acquire education and to reach white-collar jobs.

Gendered opportunities are not confined to civil servants and professionals. A dense public culture in popular print, radio, and film from the 1960s helped project new images of women. In film, *The Seven Sisters*, with leading actresses, such as Siu Fong Fong and Chan Po Chu, became popular in the 1960s in their portrayal of college girls and young factory women. “Jane Bond” movies showed martial women kicking men while acknowledging “family values.”⁶⁹ Working daughters of that period flocked to their fan clubs and identified with the actresses in movies that centered on family conflicts, dilemmas in marriage and romance, and hopes for personal fulfillment. The consumption practices associated with fandom were used to assert autonomy and independence.⁷⁰ Thus popular media instead of the state responded to the emergence of a large female audience and contributed to a new gender consciousness that matured in later decades amid political changes.

Po-king Choi uses oral histories to describe a generation of “daughters” who started factory work at a tender age in postwar Hong Kong. Today they look back on their lives as daughters, wives, mothers, and assembly line workers at the height of Hong Kong’s industrial development in the 1970s. These women were distinguished by an intense desire for self-improvement. Opportunities in Hong Kong allowed them to attend night schools, to climb their way up to white-collar employment, and to attain personal fulfillment in social activism outside the home.⁷¹ They fashioned their own moral universe against many odds. Choi also highlights how they have built on their past resourcefulness to face difficult circumstances today. In her previous works and a postscript in her chapter, Po-king Choi focuses on union activism among skilled and semi-skilled workers who have been displaced by the movement of Hong Kong factories across the physical border. Many of Hong Kong’s middle-age working women experienced “withering of the Hong Kong dream” because, as Ching-kwan Lee (1999) has argued, that sexual discrimination at Hong Kong factories decades earlier prepared men for the economic integration with South China (in terms of management and technical jobs) and not for the women. While fighting

for improving their life chances in uncertain times, some have extended their activism to other disadvantaged groups, such as sex workers and abused women. Choi sees the rise of their conscious, critical activism as a crucial component of post-1970s Hong Kong, where civic organizations, combined with the beginning of political negotiations on Hong Kong's future, created an unprecedented public forum.

Across the border on the mainland, public images of women in the socialist decades were in sharp contrast to those in Hong Kong. The liberated women were selfless workers who sacrificed personal lives for revolutionary causes. Tens of millions of young women rose through the cadre ranks of the Chinese communist party. Unlike the civil servants or working daughters in Hong Kong, the cadres garnered very different political resources, which were based on their assigned class positions and ideological affinity to the party-state. Sustained government efforts to improve women's material and social positions did bring visible results. Several generations in the cities enjoyed relatively good health care and education. The oral histories collected by Yan Lijun and Yang Meijian of former student activists turned senior administrators in Guangzhou clearly demonstrate the energies, ambivalences, and the structural constraints the socialist revolution had imposed. Women have had special ideological roles and institutional spaces in post-1949 China. Revolutionary rhetoric and political practice promoted the ideal for women to become "steel maidens" equal to men in their labor contributions. The process of achieving the ideal could be both liberating and alienating. Mobility strategies were relatively one-dimensional when the historically porous border between South China and the world outside became hardened by a language of the state and revolution to the exclusion of other social possibilities. Still, proximity to Hong Kong allowed the adventurous and desperate in Guangdong to cross boundaries in physical, cultural, and political terms.

Post-Mao liberalizations from the early 1980s on triggered drastic changes. The border between Hong Kong and the mainland softened with unprecedented speed and intensity. As shown in Ching-kwan Lee's work, by the mid-1980s, middle-aged women workers in Hong Kong found themselves displaced because factories had moved across the border. On the other hand, these factory jobs in Guangdong have given tens of millions of young women in the surrounding provinces the ultimate opportunity. Ngai Pun's work focuses on the conflicting worlds of the largely female migrant workers in Dongguan, an area with a concentration of foreign direct investment from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Japan. Everyday, the workers juggle the harsh conditions of low-skilled assembly-line work and abusive

factory management. Cramped in temporary dormitories, they create complicated bonding networks based on native place and invented particularistic ties. Their initial goals are to make enough money during a temporary sojourn to return home with a handsome dowry and support their families in the villages if necessary. Increasingly, the more resourceful ones are drawn to enterprising sideline work in the service industries. Pun captures the women's agency in defining their identity and social horizons.⁷²

In the post-reform era, sudden exposure to the affluence of Hong Kong and foreign cultures has been disorienting for the construction of gender subjectivities. Among the newly rich, women are often reduced to a commodity — as cheap, compliant labor in factories and the sex industry. In the thriving consumption industries, hostesses in their *qipao* fill the reception halls of restaurants, karaoke bars, massage parlors, and nightclubs. They solicit eager customers in entertainment quarters and train stations. Many become “contract mistresses” kept by truck drivers and commuting businessmen in the boomtowns along the Hong Kong-Guangdong border.

The final chapter in this volume returns to images. Pheng Cheah meticulously analyzes cross-border prostitution as hauntingly portrayed in Fruit Chan's film, *Durian Durian*. The protagonist is one of the tens of millions of enterprising women who are “on the move” to southern China, looking for opportunities. These migrant women fight against the “controlling gaze” of the state media and popular consumption that expect filial daughters and docile sex objects. The agency of these women migrants is complicated and at times contradictory. One often asks if one should view their performances as empowerment and resistance or as acts of desperation by victims who see few alternatives.⁷³ Their sojourn can be summed up by sad images of the migrant returnee in Fruit Chan's film. The main character travels to Hong Kong to become a prostitute, subjecting herself to inhumane conditions. She returns to her hometown where family and friends shower her with attention for her “accomplishments” as a businesswoman and make demands on her savings. She watches her life fall apart under the pressure of collective pretense. Her only solace is a durian fruit sent to her from Hong Kong by a young illegal immigrant girl who is as much a fugitive as she is in every sense of the word. The historical baggage she carries is heavy. Although the chapter focuses on issues of representation, the film's realistic images force the audience to ask sharp questions about real life situations. Do women like her feel compelled to move on in a fast forward mode?⁷⁴

This volume reflects interdisciplinary work over a decade. The authors have shared interests in the historical evolution of South China. They are

intrigued by the peculiar intertwining of the mercantile, the literati, and the modern in the construction of gendered space. A regional focus does not necessarily divert attention from broader theoretical issues about gender. Instead, by unveiling the complex historical processes juxtaposed with the essentialized images of tradition and patriarchy, the authors hope to sharpen the analytical tools for examining cultural fluidity that enables and is transformed by human agency. By using three historical junctures to organize the empirical materials, the authors also explore how the fluidity consolidated and made lasting significance.

The subject area of Chinese women and the theoretical issues of agency and resistance are widely taught and researched. South China with its historical links with trade and the Chinese diaspora has been a focus for historians. Moreover, contemporary cross-border fluidities between the Pearl River Delta and Hong Kong have gained much analytical attention due to China's market turn, the influx of global capital, emerging labor regimes, and consumption fever. The implications of state-making processes to gender equality and women's agency on either side of the Hong Kong-mainland border have attracted scholarly attention.

The volume aims to integrate these interests with interdisciplinary focus, historical depth, and ethnographic details. For historians and anthropologists who are interested in the works of the "South China gang" since the publication of *Down to Earth: The Territorial Bond in South China* (Stanford 1995), this volume provides further theoretical application of a "regional construct" that appreciates process and transcends definitive powers of administrative borders. Moreover, by focusing on women's agency shaped by historical moments, the volume brings out gender dimensions that were not adequately treated in the previous volume. It also stresses that to understand gender in historical or contemporary South China, the cultural dynamics in Hong Kong provides valuable materials for comparison and connection.

Likewise, for scholars interested in modern Hong Kong society, the volume intends to refocus their attention to cultural dynamics in the larger South China region of which Hong Kong has been an integral part. Traditional concerns of family, lineage, and women's place characteristic of South China continue to shape women's public image and self-identity in modern Hong Kong. Ironically, the Maoist Revolution across the border has decimated traditional cultural resources. It is interesting to examine how cultural fragments are being reconstituted by intense cross-border activities today.

For an audience generally interested in gender issues in China or elsewhere, the organization of case studies in this volume illuminate the

important historical processes in which layers of social, political, and economic activities intersected to constitute gendered notions and strategies in an evolving regional space. This engages with critical perspectives that refuse to treat women and gender as static, essentialized cultural categories. Each section in the volume highlights particular junctures in the development of South China that have significant impact on the predicaments of women and their identities and mobility strategies. Substantial gaps in knowledge remain. The authors nonetheless hope that a regional historical perspective on gender subjectivities is a worthwhile direction to explore.

Notes

Introduction

- 1 See Susan Brownell and Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *Chinese Femininities, Chinese Masculinities: A Reader*, vol. 4, Asia-Local Studies/Global Themes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Gail Hershatter, "State of the Field: Women in China's Long Twentieth Century," *Journal of Asian Studies* 63, no. 4 (November 2004); Dorothy Ko, *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Susan Mann, ed., *Women and Gender Relations: Perspectives on Asia: Sixty Years of the Journal of Asian Studies* (Ann Arbor, M.I.: Association for Asian Studies, Inc., 2004). The exhaustive reviews by Hershatter and Mann are particularly useful. They discuss the issues and substantive works that relate to the social relations of the sexes in the Chinese family, marriage, and kinship (Chinese anthropology in the tradition of Freedman, Cohen, Wolf, Watson), to women's agency and resistance (liberal feminist approaches in the 1970s and 1980s), and nuanced gender subjectivities in different historical and regional cultural contexts (poststructuralist, deconstructionist orientations since the 1980s). The analytical progression corresponds quite well with similar issues and concerns in the literature about other cultures and societies. Beginning with the classic volumes (for example, Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, Louise Lamphere, and Joan Bamberger, eds., *Woman, Culture, and Society* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974]; Sherry B. Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, eds., *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality* [Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981]; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975]), there have been many critical approaches to gender. They challenge the dichotomy of nature and culture, the material and the symbolic, repression, and resistance. Tracing theoretical genealogy from Foucault, Bourdieu, Butler, and the like, a new generation of ethnographies focuses on power and embodied gender practices in everyday life. These works have taken center stage in academic discourse. Studies that are intellectually useful for the comparative study of gender subjectivities in the Chinese context are those from Islamic and South Asian areas. See Lila Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005); Purnima Mankekar, *Screening Culture, Viewing Politics: An Ethnography of Television, Womanhood, and Nation Postcolonial India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

- 2 See the following books: Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); Susan Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).
- 3 Maurice Freedman, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China*, London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology (London: Athlone Press, 1958); Hugh Baker, *A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheung Shui* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968); James L. Watson and Rubie S. Watson, *Village Life in Hong Kong: Politics, Gender, and Ritual in the New Territories* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2004).
- 4 Marjorie Topley, "Marriage Resistance in Rural Kwangtung," in *Women in Chinese Society*, ed. Margery Wolf, Roxane Witke, and Emily M. Ahern (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975); Janice E. Stockard, *Daughters of the Canton Delta: Marriage Patterns and Economic Strategies in South China, 1860–1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989); Helen F. Siu, "Where Were the Women? Rethinking Marriage Resistance and Regional Culture History," *Late Imperial China* 11, no. 2 (December 1990); Myron Cohen, "Lineage Development and the Family in China," in *The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior*, ed. Jih-chang Hsieh and Ying-chang Chuang (Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1985).
- 5 David Faure and Helen F. Siu, eds., *Down to Earth: The Territorial Bond in South China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).
- 6 Siu, "Where Were the Women? Rethinking Marriage Resistance and Regional Culture History," 32–62.
- 7 See Gail Hershatler, *Women in China's Long Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: Global, Area, and International Archive, University of California Press, 2007). For a recent challenge to Freedman's lineage paradigm, see David Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007). A summary can be found in the review by Helen F. Siu, "Review Article: Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China by David Faure," *The China Quarterly* 192 (December 2007): 1041–43.
- 8 Sherry Ortner, "Gender and Sexuality in Hierarchical Societies: The Case of Polynesia and Some Comparative Implications," in *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Sherry B. Ortner and Harriet Whitehead (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
- 9 For the rise of gender as a category associated with the body in early modern China, see Tani E. Barlow, "Theorizing Woman: Funü, Guojia, Jiating (Chinese Woman, Chinese State, Chinese Family)," in *Body, Subject and Power in China*, ed. Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1994). For women's suffrage movement during the early Republican period, in which Guangdong was one of the provinces featured prominently, see Louise Edwards, "Bourgeois Women and Communist Revolutionaries? De-revolutionizing the Chinese Women's Suffrage Movement," in *Women, Activism, and Social Change*, ed. Maja Mikula (London; New York: Routledge, 2005).

- For CCP feminists in Guangdong as the “revolutionary base,” see Christina K. Gilmartin, “Gender, Political Culture, and Women’s Mobilization in the Chinese Nationalist Revolution, 1924–1927,” in *Engendering China: Women, Culture, and the State*, ed. Christina K. Gilmartin, et al. (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1994).
- 10 Carl Smith, “The Chinese Church, Labour and Elites and the Mui Tsai Question in the 1920s,” *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 21 (1981). For the background of Wu Zhimei, a major activist in Guangdong, see Yufa Zhang, “Ershi Shiji Qianbanqi Zhongguo Funu Canzheng Quan De Yanbian” (The Transformation of Women’s Election Rights in the First Half of the Twentieth Century), in *Wusheng Zhi Sheng (I): Jindai Zhongguo De Funu Yu Guojia (1600–1950) (The Sound of Silence [I]): Modern Chinese Women and the State [1600–1950]*, ed. Fangshang Lu (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo, 2003).
 - 11 Pik-wan Wong, “The Hong Kong Women’s Movement in Transition,” in *Political Participation in Hong Kong*, ed. Joseph Y. S. Cheng (Hong Kong: City University Press, 1999).
 - 12 Mayfair Mei-hui Yang, “From Gender Erasure to Gender Difference: State Feminism, Consumer Sexuality, and a Feminist Public Sphere in China,” in *Spaces of Their Own: Women’s Public Sphere in Transnational China*, ed. Mayfair Mei-hui Yang (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).
 - 13 Eastern No. 66: Hong Kong, Correspondence (June 20, 1899, to August 20, 1900) Respecting the Extension of the Boundaries of the Colony (printed for the use of the Colonial Office: Colonial Office, November, 1900), Enclosure 12 in No. 204, 253–54, Letter from J. Stewart Lockhart, Colonial Secretary, to the Governor, written from Tai Po, April 28, 1899. This reference was kindly provided by Patrick Hase.
 - 14 An informant in Xiangshan who originally came from a “rich peasant” family says that her male family members farmed fields in the sands for long periods. The women took care of pig rearing and helped in the wine-making processes close to home. During the war, she and her women cousins were also sent to collect rent and other debts. They were occasionally accompanied by family laborers. Her reasoning was that during turbulent times, her family hid the male members for fear that warlord armies would snatch them.
 - 15 For examples of women in the Pearl River Delta who were given landed property as dowry, see Siu, “Where Were the Women? Rethinking Marriage Resistance and Regional Culture History.” The paper also cites a family division document in Xiangshan County where one of the married daughters was given an annual quota of grain to use whenever she returned to her natal home.
 - 16 See the chapter in this volume by Ching on women’s voices. See the chapter in this volume by Liu on lineage rituals and women’s sentiments. See also the doctoral dissertation by Wing-hoi Chan, “Writing Women’s Words: Bridal Laments and Representations of Kinship and Marriage in South China” (PhD thesis, Department of Anthropology, Yale University, 2000).

- 17 Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) argues that the region was full of market entrepreneurs skilled in working within the legal fictions of tribute trade and the monopolies of royal courts and colonial powers. Port cities along trade routes were economically competitive and culturally open. Brokers of different ethnic origins rose high in local officialdom.
- 18 During one of the grand expeditions of the court eunuch Zheng He in the fifteenth century, his entourage had stopped in Quanzhou to collect precious porcelain, silk, and other commodities. Quanzhou had a sizable Muslim population. A Muslim by birth, Zheng allegedly paid his respects at the gravesite of Muslim prophets and was active in preventing Muslims, who had been tax collectors for the Mongols, from being persecuted by Ming officials.
- 19 See Helen F. Siu, “The Grounding of Cosmopolitans: Merchants and Local Cultures in South China,” in *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond*, ed. Wen-Hsin Yeh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Helen F. Siu and Liu Zhiwei, “Lineage, Market, Pirate and Dan: Ethnicity in the Sands of South China,” in *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Frontier and Ethnicity in Early Modern China*, ed. Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen F. Siu, and Donald S. Sutton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).
- 20 See the works of Jiang Boqin, a noted scholar of Chan Buddhism, on Monk Dashan and his life time of adventures.
- 21 See the case in Tik-sang Liu’s study in the New Territories of Hong Kong (“Becoming Marginal: A Fluid Community and Shamanism in the Pearl River Delta of South China,” PhD dissertation, University of Pittsburg, 1995). Siu has encountered numerous similar ones in post-Mao Pearl River Delta, urban Hong Kong and Macao. See Laura Kendall’s works on women shaman in Japan and Korea.
- 22 See *Fan Kwei* on the *hong* merchants in Guangzhou through the eyes of a foreigner. William Maxwell Wood, *Fankwei; or, the San Jacinto in the Seas of India, China, and Japan* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1859).
- 23 See the catalogue of the China Trade Museum at Salem, Massachusetts, and the collection of China Trade paintings at the Hong Kong Art Museum. The Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank also has a large collection of these paintings. For more recent catalogues, see Sun Yat-sen University Department of History and Guangzhou Museum, eds., *Views from the West: Collection of Nineteenth Century Pith Paper Watercolours Donated by Mr Ifan Williams to the City of Guangzhou* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2001). Ming Wilson and Liu Zhiwei, eds., *Souvenir from Canton: Chinese Export Paintings from the Victoria and Albert Museum* (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 2003). On cultural interpenetration at home among Guangzhou merchant groups and European traders, see May-bo Ching and Liu Zhiwei, “Shiba, Shijiu Shiji Guangzhou Yangren Jiating Li De Zhongguo Yongren” (Chinese Servants in Foreigners’ Families in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Guangzhou), *Shilin*, no. 4 (2004).

- 24 Joseph McDermott, “The Chinese Domestic Bursar,” *Asian Cultural Studies* Special issue (1990). Susan Mann initiated similar questions for the Qing, see Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China’s Long Eighteenth Century*.
- 25 In a literary portrayal of Wu Xueyan, a leading merchant in late Qing Jiangnan, his wife consulted with the family business manager to place a new favorite of Wu under a manager in a subsidiary native bank. It could be her way to send off a potential competitor for Wu’s attention, but the matter-of-fact portrayal of the negotiations gives one the impression that these roles for women were quite accepted. In a private conversation, David Faure alerted me to such an episode.
- 26 The traders I encountered in Chaolian xiang near Jiangmen, and in Panyu near Guangzhou were not big-time merchants, but many, to my surprise, had wives and concubines who were economically active. In one case, the concubine of a trader/local boss was a powerful figure in the 1940s. She bore arms and accompanied boatloads of merchandise transported between Guangzhou and Jiangmen. Children from different mothers in these households had their share of conflict and intrigues but seemed able to work closely together in the family enterprises. In private conversations, Elizabeth Sinn, David Faure, and others corroborated this with similar observations of women’s active roles in family businesses. Margaret Chu also confirms that among wealthy merchants and scholarly families in the late Qing and Republican periods, when men were away from home for extended periods, women were often entrusted with business decisions and aided by family managers. These women also relied on natal kin to invest their private pocket money.
- 27 For the cultural strategies of merchants in Republican Guangdong and their demise, see Siu, “The Grounding of Cosmopolitans: Merchants and Local Cultures in South China.”
- 28 For a recent work on Guangzhou’s turn of the century city culture, see Aidongxi Huang, *Lao Guangzhou (Old Guangzhou)* (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1999). For a Shanghai-Hong Kong comparison, see Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge, M.A.; London: Harvard University Press, 1999).
- 29 In the Republican era, elite women in mainland China’s cities gained access to Western education and culture largely through missionary channels. In Hong Kong, the exposure cut across class lines in unusual ways due to interracial relationships. See a paper by Carl Smith, “Ng Akew, One of Hong Kong’s ‘Protected Women,’” *Chung Chi Bulletin* no. 46 (June 1966). Also Peter Hall, *In the Web* (London: Basingstoke Press, 1992).
- 30 Gail Hershatter, “The Hierarchy of Shanghai Prostitution,” *Modern China* 15, no. 4 (1989).
- 31 See articles in Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers, eds., *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1994). See also the investigative reports in a volume of documents compiled by an association against domestic servitude, “Fandui xupi shilue”

- (Hong Kong 1934; prefaced by Mai Meisheng 1933) (Mai Meisheng, 1933, *Fandui Xubei Shilue* [A History of the Anti-Mui Tsai Campaign]; Hong Kong: Fuxing zhongxi yinwuju).
- 32 Louise Edwards, “Bourgeois Women and Communist Revolutionaries? De-revolutionizing the Chinese Women’s Suffrage Movement.”
- 33 Zhang Yufa, “Ershi Shiji Qianbanqi Zhongguo Funu Canzheng Quan De Yanbian (The Transformation of Women’ Election Rights in the First Half of the Twentieth Century),” in *Wusheng Zhi Sheng (I): Jindai Zhongguo De Funu Yu Guojia (1600–1950)* (The Sound of Silence [I]: Modern Chinese Women and the State [1600–1950]), ed. Fangshang Lu (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo, 2003), 55, 57–8.
- 34 Gilmartin, “Gender, Political Culture, and Women’s Mobilization in the Chinese Nationalist Revolution, 1924–1927.” See pages 219 to 220 for the case of the child bride’s dead body. For the limited mobilization of women workers, see also Michael Tsang-Woon Tsin, *Nation, Governance, and Modernity in China: Canton, 1900–1927* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).
- 35 Edwards, “Bourgeois Women and Communist Revolutionaries? De-revolutionizing the Chinese Women’s Suffrage Movement,” 46. The Society for Citizen’s Political Participation (Guomin canzheng hui) sponsored by the government in 1938 had ten to fifteen women members in a total of some two hundred. Of the women members four were from Guangdong and three of those served all three terms. Guo Zhaozhao, “Kangzhan Qijian Guomin Canzhenghui Zhong Nü Canzhengyuan Qunti De Kaocha” (A General Review of the Female Politicians in the National Political Council of the Government of China during the Anti-Japanese War), *Anhui Daxue Xuebao* 30, no. 6 (2006): 102–06.
- 36 See Margery Wolf, *Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985). If women were not entirely empowered, one needs to explore how the “reversals” in the post-reform era and then the new gendered public sphere may be understood. See Mayfair Mei-hui Yang, ed., *Spaces of Their Own: Women’s Public Sphere in Transnational China*; Barlow, “Theorizing Woman: Funü, Guojia, Jiating (Chinese Woman, Chinese State, Chinese Family)”; and Paul Pickowicz and Wang Liping, “Village Voices, Urban Activists: Women, Violence, and Gender Inequality in Rural China,” in *Popular China: Unofficial Culture in a Globalizing Society*, ed. E. Perry Link, Richard Madsen, and Paul Pickowicz (Lanham, M.D.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002).
- 37 Gar-yin Tsang, “Chronology of Women’s Achievements,” in *Women in Hong Kong*, ed. Veronica Pearson and Benjamin K. P. Leung (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1995). Wen Zhiqi, “Nannü Tonggong Tongchou Yundong De Canyu Zhe: Mei Meiya” (A Participant in the Equal Pay Movement: Elizabeth Susan Mair), in *Ling Yiban Tiankong: Zhanhou Xianggang Funü Yundong* (The Other Half of the Sky: Post-War Women’s Movement in Hong Kong), ed. Zhang Caiyun et al. (Hong Kong: Xin Funü Xiejin Hui, 1992), 9–16.

- 38 Wong, “The Hong Kong Women’s Movement in Transition.”
- 39 See a survey by Citibank showing the wealth of over 200,000 women wielding assets of over HK \$10 million. Chun-ho Wong, *Ming Pao Daily News*, May 2, 2007, A11; see also “Who’s Worth a Million Dollars in Hong Kong? More Women than Men,” *South China Morning Post*, February 14, 2007.
- 40 See Nicole Constable, *Maid to Order in Hong Kong: Stories of Filipina Workers* (Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press, 1997). In the 1990s, tens of thousands of Indonesian maids have also come to Hong Kong. Many speak rudimentary Cantonese and accept lower than the legal wage. This may mean that lower middle income, non-English speaking, Chinese families are able to hire domestic help.
- 41 For the history of immigration law in Hong Kong, see Johannes Chan and Bart Rwezura, eds., *Immigration Law in Hong Kong: An Interdisciplinary Study* (Hong Kong: Sweet and Maxwell Asia, 2004). On the history of immigration flow in and out of Hong Kong, see Helen F. Siu, Richard Wong, Faure, David, “Rethinking Hong Kong’s Human Resources and Competitiveness: A Pre-Policy Study” (for the 2022 Foundation, 2005).
- 42 For a history of the “new immigrants” and their changing social profiles, see Helen F. Siu, “Positioning “Hong Kongers” and “New Immigrants”,” in *Hong Kong Mobile: Making a Global Population*, ed. Helen F. Siu and Agnes S. Ku (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), 117–147.
- 43 See the Hong Kong government’s bi-census of 2006 that shows a clear trend of an increase in the number of cross-border unions and that the age difference between spouses has narrowed. See “2006 Population Bi-Census” (Census and Statistics Department, the Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, 2007).
- 44 Two cases reported by local media gripped public attention in recent years. The first involved a middle-aged woman whose contractor husband took up with an eighteen-year-old mistress in his hometown in northern Guangdong. After numerous family efforts to mediate failed, she killed her husband by stabbing him thirty-one times, one for each year of their marriage, and then jumped to her death. The other highly publicized saga also ended in multiple deaths. Newspapers (October 19, 1998) reported that a young wife was left destitute with her two children because her husband, a laborer, had spent his meager income on “song-and-dance girls” in karaoke bars across the border. Whatever her state of mind that night was, she seemed to have thrown her innocent children from a thirty-story building and jumped off afterwards. The public was infuriated that instead of showing remorse, the husband continued his frolicking in Shenzhen. When he was challenged by the press to show up at the funeral, several passers-by cornered him. A shouting match turned into a beating until he sought help from a policeman. See similar cases described in *Ming Pao Daily News*, June 10, 1999.
- 45 The post-reform economy in Guangdong has been built on the labor of millions of migrants, most of them women from inland provinces. See Arianne M.

- Gaetano and Tamara Jacka, eds., *On the Move: Women and Rural-to-Urban Migration in Contemporary China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). See also “Liudong Renkou Yi Chaoguo 1.2yi, Qizhong Kuasheng Liudong Da 4242Wan, Jinru Guangdong Renshu Ju Quanguo Zhishou” (Floating Population Already Exceeds 120 Million), *Nangfang dushi bao*, October 7, 2002. According to an official estimate, mobile populations reached 120 million, of which 42.42 million crossed provincial boundaries. Provinces with the most population outflows were Sichuan, Anhui, Hunan, Jiangxi, Henan, and Hubei. Provinces with the most inflows were Guangdong (35.5%), Zhejiang (8.7%), Shanghai (7.4%), Jiangsu (6%), Beijing (5.8%), and Fujian (5.1%).
- 46 On the cross-border mistress culture between Hong Kong and Guangdong, see Siumi Maria Tam, “Normalization Of “Second Wives”: Gender Contestation in Hong Kong,” *Asian Journal of Women Studies* 2 (1996); Graeme Lang and Josephine Smart, “Migration and The ‘Second Wife’ in South China: Toward Cross-Border Polygyny,” *International Migration Review* 36, no. 2 (2002). See also Carolyn Cartier, “Symbolic City-Regions and Gendered Identity Formation,” *Provincial China* 8, no. 2 (2003). Numerous magazines focus on the migrant women workers in south China. They supposedly report personal stories, but some of the stories verge on the pornographic. Web sites have sprung up for participants to exchange information about the range of “services” available for men seeking sexual adventure.
- 47 Liu Li, “Guangdong Nüxing Jiuye Renkou De Zhiye Zhuangkuang He Jingji Shouru Fenxi” (Analysis of the Occupational Condition and Incomes of Guangdong Women in Employment), *Ningbo Dangxiao Xuebao*, no. 5 (2003): 77–80. Zuo Waiqing, “Guangdong Shehui Xingbie Diaocha Yu Bijiao Fenxi” (Survey and Comparative Analysis of Gender in Guangdong), *Tequ Lilun yu Shijian*, no. 6 (2003): 57–60.
- 48 Sun Hailong, Gong Dejia, and Li Bin, “Chengshihua Beijing Xia Nongcun ‘Waijianü’ Quanyi Jiufen Jiqi Jiejue Jizhi De Sikao” (Reflections on Disputes over the Rights of Rural “Married Daughter” amid Urbanization and Mechanism for Their Resolutions), *Falü Shiyong*, no. 3 (2004): 26–30. The obstacles include gender biases embedded in some provincial provisions on the protection of women’s rights, the highest court’s restriction on individuals’ civil litigation against rural collectives as well as the courts’ reluctance to “inconvenience” themselves and relevant administrative units by a kind of case anticipated to come in overwhelming numbers if accepted.
- 49 See Liu Zhiwei, “Lineage on the Sands: The Case of Shawan,” in *Down to Earth: The Territorial Bonds in South China*, ed. David Faure and Helen F. Siu (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).
- 50 Ritual focus on women is not unique. It is well known that a number of the Tang (Deng) surnamed lineages in the New Territories of Hong Kong attributed their wealth and good fortune to an ancestress, “the emperor’s paternal aunt.” The worship of legendary mothers of focal ancestors (*bopo*) is also found among lineages in the region. See *Chen Lineage Genealogy of Xinhui*, for example (1923).

- For works that have acknowledged the indigenous origins of Lingnan's populations and their gender implications, see Qu Dajun, *Guangdong Xinyu* (New Items Relating to Guangdong, 1700) (reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1985); Wolfram Eberhard, *The Local Cultures of South and East China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968); Herold J. Wiens, *Han Chinese Expansion in South China* (Hamden: Shoe String Press, 1967); David Faure, "The Lineage as a Cultural Invention: The Case of the Pearl River Delta," *Modern China* 15, no. 1 (1989); Siu, "Where Were the Women? Rethinking Marriage Resistance and Regional Culture History.;" Wing-hoi Chan, "Ordination Names in Hakka Genealogies: A Religious Practice and Its Decline," in *Down to Earth: The Territorial Bond in South China*, ed. David Faure and Helen F. Siu (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).
- 51 On the rise of a particular kind of lineage formation in the Ming and Qing dynasties, and the implications for kinship and gender relationships, see Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China*.
 - 52 Wing-hoi Chan, on the other hand, explores the linguistic strategies of bridal and funeral laments among Cantonese women in the New Territories of Hong Kong to appreciate the infinite improvisations of meaning and style in regional dialects and genres. He argues that despite the formalized language and literati images in these laments, the strategies continue to allow women to express their sentiments and to assert their agency, see Chan, "Writing Women's Words: Bridal Laments and Representations of Kinship and Marriage in South China."
 - 53 The late Carl Smith also explored a great deal of legal cases involving women and their inherited properties in Hong Kong's early colonial history.
 - 54 See Elizabeth Sinn, *Power and Charity: The Early History of the Tung Wah Hospital, Hong Kong*, East Asian Historical Monographs (Hong Kong; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).
 - 55 See the work of the Japanese scholar Hiroaki Kani; see also Elizabeth Sinn and Hong-ming Yip on the Po Leung Kuk archives.
 - 56 See Elizabeth Sinn, "Women at Work: Chinese Brothel Keepers in Nineteenth-Century Hong Kong," *Women's History* 19, no. 3 (2007). The similarity of these women's enterprises to some sworn spinsters in the Pearl River delta raising girls to become prostitutes or to engage in other forms of servitude might be worth noting.
 - 57 See chapters in Jaschok and Miers, eds., *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape*; Susanne Hoe, *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong: Western Women in The British Colony, 1841–1941* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1991); see also Watson's chapter in Rubie S. Watson and Patricia Buckley Ebrey, eds., *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). See also Barbara-Sue White, ed., *Hong Kong: Somewhere Between Heaven and Earth* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1996).
 - 58 See Irene Cheng, *Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1976). The books mentioned that

Lady Ho Tung's father, a Eurasian, considered Hong Kong his native place. When he died during an assignment in Guangdong, Clara's mother transported him back to Hong Kong for burial.

- 59 Wai-ching Wong, "Negotiating Gender Identity: Postcolonialism and Christianity in Hong Kong," in *Gender and Change in Hong Kong: Globalization, Postcolonialism, and Chinese Patriarchy*, ed. Eliza W. Y. Lee (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004).
- 60 Wong, "Negotiating Gender Identity: Postcolonialism and Christianity in Hong Kong," 162.
- 61 See Hall, *In the Web*. See also Cheng, *Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*. Both books are personal accounts of their families.
- 62 Women who at a young age devoted themselves to life in a Buddhist monastery is a well-known custom in the region (Patrick Hase, and David Faure, personal communications). For many sworn spinsters who migrated to Hong Kong before and after the Second World War to look for employment often ended up in Buddhist vegetarian halls after retirement, see Stockard, *Daughters of the Canton Delta: Marriage Patterns and Economic Strategies in South China, 1860–1930*. Tung Lin Kok Yuen under Lady Clara, however, was a much more public institution.
- 63 See Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series (Cambridge, M.A.: Council on East Asian Studies Distributed by Harvard University Press, 1993).
- 64 See Elizabeth Sinn, "Lesson in Openness: Creating a Space of Flow in Hong Kong," in *Hong Kong Mobile: Making a Global Population* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), 13–43.
- 65 Among the voluminous literature on the coming of age of this home-grown Hong Kong generation, see the works of sociologists Tai-lok Lui, Agnes Ku, Thomas Wong, and cultural scholars Koon-chung Chan, Stephen Chan, and Chun-hung Ng.
- 66 From Siu's fieldwork experiences in Guangdong, she observes that there are women in high positions, but they are few and far between, especially in rural areas and the boomtowns.
- 67 According to a survey on businesses, described by "Eighty-three percent Gangqi Ping Nü Gaocheng Lie Quanqiu Diwu" (83% Hong Kong Businesses Hired Senior Women Executives, Ranking Number Five in the World), *Ming Pao Daily News*, March 8, 2007. The number of Japanese women professionals taking up senior management positions in the business sector are low, 25%, compared to the 83% indicated for Hong Kong. The low number in Japan is confirmed by a recent report made by Claire Chino, senior lawyer, activist, and a World Fellow visiting Yale University. On Hong Kong, see also *South China Morning Post*, February 23, 2007.
- 68 See Veronica Pearson and Benjamin K. P. Leung, eds., *Women in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong; New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). See also a

- comprehensive collection on the topic by Anita Kit-wa Chan and Wai-ling Wong, eds., *Gendering Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- 69 Sam Ho, “Licensed to Kick Men: The Jane Bond Films,” in *The Restless Breed: Cantonese Stars of the Sixties*, ed. the Urban Council (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1996).
- 70 Lisbeth Ku, “Mass-Mediated Images of Women: Connie Chan Po-Chu and Josephine Siao Fong-Fong as Desired Cultural Images,” *Hong Kong Cultural Studies Bulletin* 8–9 (Spring/Summer 1998).
- 71 See Po-king Choi, ed. *Wan Wan Liudianban: Qishi Nindai Shang Yexiao De Nügong* (Every Night at Six-Thirty: Women Workers Who Attended Evening Schools in the Seventies) (Hong Kong: Stepforward Multimedia Co.Ltd., 1998). See also Tai-lok Lui, *Waged Work at Home: The Social Organization of Industrial Outwork in Hong Kong* (Aldershot, England: Avebury, 1994). See also Ching-kwan Lee, *Gender and the South China Miracle: Two Worlds of Factory Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
- 72 For a more comprehensive treatment of the topic, see Ngai Pun, *Made in China: Women Factory Workers in a Global Workplace* (Durham: Duke University Press; Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005).
- 73 See an excellent portrayal of karaoke hostesses in Dalian and their aspirations to become “modern” in Tiantian Zheng, “From Peasant Women to Bar Hostesses: Gender and Modernity in Post-Mao Dalian,” in *On the Move: Women in Rural-to-Urban Migration in Contemporary China*, ed. Arianne Gaetano and Tamara Jacka (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); Tiantian Zheng, *Red Lights: The Lives of Sex Workers in Postsocialist China* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).
- 74 On how recent decades of reform translate into the lives of a generation desperate to move ahead and to catch up with the world, see Helen F. Siu, “China’s Century: Fast Forward with Historical Baggage,” *American Anthropologist* 108, no. 2 (2006).

Chapter 1

- 1 The practice of reconstituting women’s image as reflected in Chinese literature can clearly be proven in the following paragraph, written by Gu Jiegang: “Mr Xu Shenyu told me that he had once proofread the *Siku Quanshu* in the Song edition of Lou Yue’s *Gongkui ji*. He noticed that all of the stories about women recorded as having remarried in the biographies and epitaphs written by Lou were rewritten in *Siku Quanshu* as if they had never married a second time.” See Gu Jiegang, *Mao Xue Congji*, Vol. 1. In *Gu Jiegang Dushu biji* (Reading Notes of Gu Jiegang), Vol. 10 (Taipei: Lianjing Chuban Shiye Gongsi, 1990), 7802.
- 2 See Makino Tatsumi, “Koto Genju Minzoku Ko” (An Investigation of the Indigenous Population of Guangdong), in *Makino Tatsumi Chokikushu*, ed. Makino Tatsumi (Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shoba 5, 1985).
- 3 Liu Wanzhang, *Guangzhou Minjian Gushi* (Folk Stories of Canton) (Guangzhou: Zhongshan Daxue Yuyan Lishi Yanjiusuo, 1929).

- 4 Throughout this study, the genealogical record of the Shawan Hes, from which I quote, refers to the extracts handcopied by members of the contemporary He family.
- 5 An “auspicious tomb” (*jimu*) actually refers to an empty tomb (*kongmu*). Because the character *kong* is pronounced the same way as *xiong* (meaning unfortunate) in Cantonese, Cantonese people usually substitute it with the character *ji* (meaning fortunate) to avoid speaking ill-fated words.
- 6 Judging from the brick pattern and composition, we speculate that they were not constructed on the same occasion.
- 7 Interview with Mr He Rugen, June 30, 1989.
- 8 Interview with Mr He Rugen, June 30, 1989. See also the letter written by the Shawan Chongxiu Gusaofen Choubei xiaozu to the Guangzhoushi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, dated January 5, 1994.
- 9 *Guangdong Tongzhi* (Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer), *juan* 18 (1561).
- 10 See Liu Zhiwei, “Lineage on the Sand: The Case of Shawan,” in *Down to Earth: The Territorial Bond in South China*, ed. David Faure and Helen F. Siu (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).
- 11 Ma Duanlin, *Wenxian Tongkao* (General Study of the Literary Remains), *juan* 64, *zhiguan* 18 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, rep. 1986).
- 12 *Guangdong Tongzhi* (Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer), *juan* 20 (1561), 55b.
- 13 For a detailed study of the Nanxiong zhujixiang legend, see David Faure, “The Lineage as a Cultural Invention: The Case of the Pearl River Delta,” *Modern China*, Vol. 15, no. 1 (January, 1989): 4–36.
- 14 The genealogical record of the Hes in Shawan.
- 15 *Panyu Xianzhi* (Panyu County Gazetteer), *juan* 24 (1870), 5b.
- 16 See Makino Tatsumi (1985).
- 17 Zhang Zi, “Guangzhou Fu Yixue Ji” (An Account of Moving the Guangzhou Prefectural School), in *Yuan Dade Nanhaizhi Canben* (An Incomplete Copy of Nanhai Gazetteer Compiled in the Yuan Dynasty), ed. Guangzhoushi Difangzhi Bianzuan Weiyuanhui Bangongshi (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1991 reprint), 160–61.
- 18 Zhu Yu, *Pingzhou Ketan* (Talks on Pingzhou), *juan* 2, 6a. *Siku Quanshu* ed. (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1982).
- 19 Professor Xu Songshi, an expert on Lingnan culture, once pointed out that “even today, the society of the Zhuang ethnic group is still centered on women activities.” See Xu Songshi, *Yuejiang Liuyu Renmin Shi* (A History of the People Residing along the Pearl River) (Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1929), 162.
- 20 Wang Sen, *Yuxi Congzai* (Collected Records on Guangxi), *juan* 18, 16a–b.
- 21 See Luo Xianglin, “Guangdong Minzu Gailun” (A General Discussion of the Ethnic Groups in Guangdong), in *Minsu (Folklores)*, no. 63 (Guangzhou: Guoli Zhongshan Daxue, 1929). Lin Yutang accurately summarizes the culture of the Guangdong people in one sentence: “where beneath the Chinese culture a snake-eating aborigines tradition persists.” See Lin Yutang, *My Country and My People* (New York: The John Day Company, 1939), 18.

- 22 For a general description of the local customs of Guangdong, see 1561 and 1602 editions of *Guangdong Tongzhi* (*juan* 20 and *juan* 14 respectively). The direct citation is from *Guangdong Tongzhi* (Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer), *juan* 20 (1561), 13a–b.
- 23 See Helen F. Siu, “The Reconstitution of Brideprice and Dowry in South China,” in *Chinese Families in the Post-Mao Era*, ed. Deborah Davis and Stevan Harrell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
- 24 *Panyu Xianzhi* (Panyu County Gazetteer), *juan* 16 (1774), 1b.
- 25 *Xinhui Xianzhi* (Xinhui County Gazetteer), *juan* 15 (*lienu*) (Beijing: Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe, 1690; reprint, 1991), 368.
- 26 See Helen F. Siu, “Where Were the Women? Rethinking Marriage Resistance and Regional Culture History,” *Late Imperial China* 11, no. 2 (1990): 32–62.
- 27 *Shunde Xianzhi* (Shunde County Gazetteer) (1750), *juan* 3, *fengsu*, Zhongguo shudian, Hanjian Zhongguo difangzhi huikan, rep. 1992, vol. 45, 852. Qianlong edition of *Guangzhou Fuzhi* (Guangzhou Prefectural Gazetteer) has the same entry and notes that are quoted from the “old gazetteer,” which should be the Kangxi edition of *Guangzhou Fuzhi*.
- 28 One may suggest “uxorilocal marriage” for translating the Chinese term “*ruzhui*.” However, while uxorilocality implies matrilocality and is thus matrifocal, “*ruzhui*,” at least within the historical context of the Pearl River Delta region, is a means through which outsiders could acquire settlement rights.
- 29 Zhang Qu, *Yuedong Wenjian Lu* (An Account of What [I] Hear and Observe in Guangdong) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Gaodeng Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1990), 59.
- 30 (Xinhui) *Waihai Chenshi Zupu Gao* (The Genealogy of the Chens of Waihai Township in Xinhui County) (n.p., n.d.), 11–20.
- 31 Interview with Mr Wang Su, July 21, 1989.
- 32 See the field notes that Helen Siu and I recorded for the interviews conducted in Chakeng and Tianma townships in Xinhui county, July 1, 1987. See also (Xinhui) *Chenzu Shipu*, “Tianma kaiji shilue” (A Record of the History of Settlement at Tianma).
- 33 *Panyu Xianzhi* (Panyu County Gazetteer), *juan* 16 (1774), 3a, *juan* 5 (1774), 28a.
- 34 Interview with Mr He Jinhua and Mr He Yin, June 24, 1989.
- 35 *Panyu Xianzhi* (Panyu County Gazetteer), *juan* 5 (1774), 26a.
- 36 Liang was a lecturer of classics colloquium in the Southern Study while appointed the vice minister of the Ministry of Revenue. For the official career of Liang, see Qian Yiji, *Beizhuanji* (A Collection of Biographies), *juan* 28, *Qingdai Beizhuan Quanji* (A Complete Collection of Biographies of the Qing Dynasty) (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1987), 182.
- 37 Liang also mentioned in the inscription that when he “undertook the appointment to supervise the civil service examinations in Guangdong” in 1756, he had already seen the accounts of the Sisters-in-Law Tomb in a local gazetteer. Because the Qianlong edition of *Panyu Xianzhi* was published in 1774, the gazetteer that Liang saw must have been the Kangxi edition of *Panyu Xianzhi*. Liang’s inscription was re-inscribed by the Hes in 1994 and was inlaid adjacent to the newly repaired Sisters-in-Law Tomb.

- 38 Long Tinghuai, *Jingxue Xuan Wenji* (Collected Essays of Jingxue xuan), *juan* 7, 10b (1842).
- 39 The county record only notes the close relationship between the sisters-in-law, but it certainly is not complete.
- 40 I would like to thank the Guangzhou Shi Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui for allowing me to read this and the subsequent letters.
- 41 Liu Wanzhang (1928). Another version says that the site of the tomb land directed by the Earth Goddess is for He Renjian, not for the pair of sisters-in-law.

Chapter 2

- 1 I have in mind the essays of Gui Youguang (1506–1571) on members of his family as I write this essay, but have not found anything in the Pearl River Delta record to match his sensitivities.
- 2 Chen Baisha, “Qi Zhongyang Shu,” in *Chen Xianzhang ji* (The Collected Works of Chen Xianzhang) (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1987), 2.
- 3 Huang Zuo, *Taiquan Xiangli*, Siku edition ed., vol. 3 (preface of 1549).
- 4 Li Suiqiu, *Lianxu Ge Wenchao* (Essays of the Lianxu Pavilion), *Preface of 1638*, *Guangdong congshu* edition of 1940 ed., vol. 8, 9b–10.
- 5 *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 10b–11b.
- 6 *Ibid.*, vol. 17, 4b–5b; vol. 4, 1a–2a.
- 7 Margery Wolf, *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972).
- 8 *Huoshi zupu* 1848, vol. 9, 37a–39a, 55b–56a, and 68b–72b.
- 9 *Ibid.*, vol. 9, 69a.
- 10 Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).
- 11 The biography of Luo Tianchi’s father, Shiju, may be found in the 1750 *Shunde Xianzhi*. vol. 13, 19a–20a. His essay, “Jiabei quanyan” is reproduced in the *Shunde Beimen Luoshi Zupu* (1882), vol. 21, 24a–25b.
- 12 Luo Tianchi, *Wushan Jilin* (Shunde shizhi bangongshi preface of 1761; reprint, 1986), 41.
- 13 Luo Tianchi, “Weizi Xunfu” (Sacrificing One’s Life for the Husband before Wedding Is Completed), in *Wushan Jilin* (Shunde shizhi bangongshi, 1761; reprint, 1986), 40–41.
- 14 This account may be found in the *Shunde Beimen Luoshi Zupu*, vol. 21, 27b–30b.
- 15 Untitled correspondence in D. Faure’s holding, manuscript, 2b–3a.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 8b–9a.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 13b–14a.
- 18 Helen F. Siu, “Where Were the Women? Rethinking Marriage Resistance and Regional Culture History,” *Late Imperial China* 11, no. 2 (December 1990): 32–62.

Chapter 3

- 1 For a critical review of studies on marriage resistance in South China, see Helen F. Siu, “Where Were the Women? Rethinking Marriage Resistance and Regional Culture History,” *Late Imperial China* 11, no. 2 (December 1990).
- 2 *Liugu Huimen* (Sixth Aunt Returning to Her Natal Home) (Hong Kong: Wuguitang, n.d.), *juan* 3, 2b.
- 3 *Ibid.*
- 4 *Sangu Huimen* (Third Aunt Returning to Her Natal Home), n.p. (probably Hong Kong and Guangzhou: Wuguitang, n.d.), *juan* 1, 2b.
- 5 *Ibid.*, *juan* 1, 4a.
- 6 Sai-shing Yung, “Mu-Yu Shu and the Cantonese Popular Singing Arts,” *The Gest Library Journal* 2, no. 1 (1987).
- 7 See Tan Zhengbi and Tan Xun, *Muyuge, Chaozhouge Xulu* (An Annotated Catalogue of Wooden-fish Songs and Chaozhou Songs) (Beijing: Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe, 1982); Yung.
- 8 Kuang Lu, *Qiaoya* (A Collection of Poems) (n.p., n.d., the poem selected was written in 1694), *juan* 1, 29b–30b; Tan and Tan; Wang Shizhen, *Nanhai Ji* (A Collection of Essays on the South, n.p., n.d., preface dated 1684), *juan* 2, 3b.
- 9 Qu Dajun, *Guangdong Xinyu* (New Accounts of Guangdong), preface dated 1700 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua Shuju; reprint, 1974).
- 10 Zheng Zhenduo, *Bali Guojia Tushuguan Zhong Zhi Zhongguo Xiaoshuo Yu Xiqu* (Chinese Novels and Opera Scripts Collected at Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris) (1927; reprint, in his *Zhongguo Wenxue Yanjiu* [Studies of Chinese Literature], Hong Kong: Guwen Shuju, 1961), 1275–313. See also Tan and Tan.
- 11 See Tan and Tan.
- 12 Wing-hoi Chan, “Traditional Folksongs and Rural Life in Hong Kong,” in “Overall Report on the General Context of Local Folksongs” for the Project on the Recording of Local Traditional Folksongs of the Hong Kong Region (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum, 1984 [unpublished]).
- 13 I have seen only the editions collected in the University of Hong Kong, which are exactly the same as the copies personally owned by Mr Zhou Chuqi. I am grateful to Mr Zhou for generously showing me his personal *muyushu* collection.
- 14 Pui-chee Leung, *Xianggang Daxue Suocang Muyushu Xulu Yu Yanjiu* (Wooden-fish Books: Critical Essays and Annotated Catalogue Based on the Collection in the University of Hong Kong) (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, The University of Hong Kong, 1978).
- 15 For a careful documentation of the case, see Luo Ergang, “Jiuming Qiyuan De Benshi” (The Original Story of Jiuming Qiyuan), and “Jiuming Qiyuan Xiongfān Chuansaiqi Dang’an Zhi Faxian” (The Discovery of the Archives Concerning the Murderer, Chuansaiqi, in Connection with the Story Entitled Jiuming Qiyuan), both in *Wu Jianren Yanjiu Ziliao* (Materials for Studying Wu Jianren), ed. Wei Shaochang (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1980).
- 16 According to Leung.

- 17 The edition of the *muyushu* that I read is collected at the University of Hong Kong. Judging from the printing style and cover, it is probably a late Qing or early Republican edition.
- 18 An example of Cantonese opera adapted from the story of Liang Tianlai is *Huoshao shishi* (Setting fire to a stone house, performed in the mid-1920s; the script was published in Guangzhou). See Shiu-hon Wong, *Xianggang Daxue Yazhou Yanjiu Zhongxin Suocang Yueju Juben Mulu* (A Catalogue of Cantonese Opera Scripts Collected at the Centre of Asian Studies, The University of Hong Kong) (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, The University of Hong Kong, 1990), Item 15. A copy of this opera script is available at the Chinese Opera Information Centre, the Department of Music, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- 19 For other *muyushu* that have their stories or narratives originating in Guangdong, see Tan and Tan.
- 20 I would like to thank Dr Wing-hoi Chan and the Hong Kong Museum for allowing me to read the report on folksong traditions of Hong Kong, written by Chan himself in 1984, and to listen to the tapes that he recorded during the study.
- 21 See Fred Blake, “Death and Abuse in Marriage Laments: The Curse of Chinese Brides,” *Studies in Asian Folklore* 37, no. 1 (1978); Elizabeth Johnson, “Grieving for the Dead, Grieving for the Living: Funeral Laments of Hakka Women,” in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, ed. James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Liu Wanzhang and Gu Jiegang, *Su Yue De Hunsang* (The Marriage and Funeral Rite of Soochow [Suzhou] and Canton [Guangzhou]) (Guangzhou: Guoli Zhongshan Daxue Yuyan Lishi Yanjiusuo, 1928); Emily Martin, “Gender and Ideological Difference in Representation of Life and Death,” in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, ed. James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Zhang Zhengping, *Ku Gezi Ci* (Hong Kong New Territories Folk-literature Study), vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Youhua Publisher, 1969). See also Wing-hoi Chan for his review of the studies of Fred Blake and Emily Martin: Wing-hoi Chan, “Locating Women’s Voice: Chinese Bridal Songs in Its Social Context,” in *Conference on Merchants and Local Cultures* (Hong Kong: Division of Humanities, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, 1994).
- 22 The Dan fishermen are usually called “Tanka.” They are roughly categorized as those coming from the “Eastern side” and those from “Western side.” Some tunes of the bridal laments from both sides are different, and some are the same. See Chan, “Traditional Folksongs and Rural Life in Hong Kong.”
- 23 *Ibid.*, 81.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 74. He notes that exceptions are found among the Punti populations in the Yuen Long–Sheung Shui–Fanling area of the New Territories in Hong Kong.
- 25 Wing-hoi Chan, *Local Traditional Folksongs: Transcriptions* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum, 1984 [unpublished]).
- 26 *Ibid.*, 311, 43.
- 27 Chan, “Traditional Folksongs and Rural Life in Hong Kong,” 83.
- 28 Chan, *Local Traditional Folksongs: Transcriptions*.

- 29 Chan, “Locating Women’s Voice: Chinese Bridal Songs in Its Social Context.”
- 30 There are three occasions on which bridal laments appear in the text. They are, namely, *shangtou kaimian* (pinning and making up the face), *zhuqin songjia* (various relatives seeing off the bride), and *tongxin kubie* (lamenting the separation by [sisters] with the same heart).
- 31 *Liugu Huimen*, *juan 1*, 10a.
- 32 Blake, 25–27; Chan, “Traditional Folksongs and Rural Life in Hong Kong,” 69.
- 33 *Hunyin Sangji Hanshu* (A Book of Marriage and Funeral Laments), manuscript collected at Guangdong Provincial Library, Guangzhou (n.p., n.d.).
- 34 *Liugu Huimen*, *juan 2*, 6b.
- 35 *Ibid.*
- 36 *Ibid.*, *juan 3*, 7b.
- 37 *Zishunu* refers to those women who remained spinsters and took vows, usually before a deity and in front of witnesses, never to wed. Their vows are preceded by a hairdressing ritual that resembles the one traditionally performed before marriage to signal a girl’s arrival at social maturity. *Buluojia* refers to those women who were formally married but did not live with their husbands. For discussions on both topics, see Siu; Janice E. Stockard, *Daughters of the Canton Delta: Marriage Patterns and Economic Strategies in South China, 1860–1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989); Marjorie Topley, “Marriage Resistance in Rural Kwantung,” in *Women in Chinese Society*, ed. Margery Wolf, Roxane Witke, and Emily M. Ahern (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975).
- 38 See Tan and Tan; Zhou Chuqi, “Jiebai Jinlan Zhen Yewei: Muyushu Zhong Zishunu Tongxinglian Jingguan” (How Scrumptious Knotting a “Golden-orchid” Relationship Is: The Homosexual Outlook of the Zishunu as Reflected in the Wooden-Fish Song Books), *Jiushi Niandai*, no. 7 (1994).
- 39 See *Tongxin Shangbannian* ([Thinking about] My “Same Heart” [As I Think about the Things and Events Occurring in] the First Half of the Year) (n.p., n.d.); *Wuxiang Tongxin* (Five Times I Think about My Sisters with the “Same Heart”) (Guangzhou: Wuguitang, n.d.).
- 40 *Chuixiao Yiyou* (Playing the Flute [She] Misses [Her] Friend) (Guangzhou: Yiwentang, n.d.), 2b.
- 41 *Menglan Yiyou* (Menglan Missing Her Friend) (n.p., n.d.), 6b.
- 42 *Riye Shichen* (Hours through Days and Nights) (n.p., n.d.), 4b.
- 43 See *Jiexielan* (Untying the Carrying Basket) (n.p. [probably Guangzhou: Wuguitang], n.d.); *Yuchan Fujian* (Yuchan Sending a Letter [to Her “Golden-orchid” Sister]) (n.p. [probably Guangzhou: Wuguitang], n.d.); *Yuchan Wenxi* (Yuchan Inquiring the Sorcerer) (n.p. [probably Guangzhou: Wuguitang], n.d.).
- 44 *Shi’er Shichen* (Twelve [Chinese] Hours) (Hong Kong: Xingji Shuju, n.d.), *juan 2*, 6.
- 45 See *Chai Waimu Wu* (Tearing down the Mother-in-law’s House) (Guangzhou: Yiwentang, n.d.).
- 46 See *Jinxiu Shizhai* (Jiuxiu Eating Vegetarian Feast) (Guangzhou: Zuijingtang, n.d.). The text is personally possessed by Mr Zhou Chuqi.
- 47 *Mei Li Zeng Hua* (Mr Mei and Mr Li Competing with Each Other for Miss Hua) (Guangzhou: Zuijingtang, n.d.), *juan 3*, 12a.

- 48 *Xinchu Husinu Zitan* (A Woman Silk Worker Lamenting on Her Own) (n.p., n.d.).
- 49 *Yejian Jinlan* (Warning Jinlan at Night) (n.p., n.d.), *juan* 1, 1a.
- 50 For a review of modern intellectuals' attitude towards local customs and practices, see Chang-tai Hung, *Going to the People: Chinese Intellectuals and Folk Literature, 1918–1937*, Harvard East Asian Monographs (Cambridge, M.A.: Council on East Asian Studies Distributed by Harvard University Press, 1985); Zhao Shiyu, *Yanguang Xiangxia De Geming: Zhongguo Xiandai Minsuxue Sixiangshi Lun (1918–1937)* (A Revolution Towards the Masses: A History of Folklore Studies in Modern China 1918–1937) (Beijing: Beijing Shifan Daxue Chubanshe, 1999).
- 51 For a similar argument, see Wu Ruiqing, “Guangfuhua Shuochangben Muyushu De Yanjiu” (A Study on Cantonese Wooden-fish Song Books) (PhD dissertation, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1989).
- 52 A similar argument can be found in Wu Ruiqing, 209. Men are also consumers of *muyushu*, although they may not be as enthusiastic as women. Chan Wing-hoi's study on the Hakka region shows that the *Huajian ji* is one of the favorites of men. See Chan, “Traditional Folksongs and Rural Life in Hong Kong,” Chapter 4.
- 53 See Wu Ruiqing.
- 54 These examples showing the ways of addressing parents come from the Puntí song texts collected by Wing-hoi Chan as well as the oral account of my grandmother, who was born in and married in the Zhongshan–Zhuhai region.
- 55 See *You Yinghua Qianxue Qimeng Shu Yi* (Translating from an English Primer of Enlightenment), collected at Cambridge University (n.p., 1873).
- 56 Pui-chee Leung records the number of publishing houses that produce *muyushu* in Hong Kong, Chaozhou, and other counties in the Pearl River Delta region, and as far as the United States as fifty. See Leung; Evelyn S. Rawski, “Economic and Social Foundations of Late Imperial Culture,” in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. David G. Johnson, et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

Chapter 4

- 1 For other kinds of criticism, see “Introduction” in this volume and, for example, Allen Chun, *Unstructuring Chinese Society: The Fictions of Colonial Practice and the Changing Realities of “Land” in the New Territories of Hong Kong* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 2000).
- 2 Margery Wolf, *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972).
- 3 Rubie Watson, *Inequality among Brothers: Class and Kinship in South China* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- 4 D. K. Feil, “Beyond Patriliney in the New Guinea Highlands,” *Man* n.s. 19, no. 1 (1984): 53.

- 5 Emily Ahern and James Watson study the symbolism of pigs in rural Hong Kong and Taiwan respectively, without paying much attention to the place of swine in local economy.
- 6 See Wing-hoi Chan, “Writing Women’s Words: Bridal Laments and Representations of Kinship and Marriage in South China” (PhD thesis, Department of Anthropology, Yale University, 2000).
- 7 Not that Freedman ignores exploitation. He observes that even as the poor in a lineage “were exploited they enjoyed privileges important enough” to make them stay in the lineage, see Maurice Freedman, *Lineage Organization in Southeast China* (New York: Humanities Press, 1965), 127.
- 8 This usage is significantly different from the meaning of the same term in models of “segmentary lineage” in Africa.
- 9 After referring to reports from other parts of China that intra-lineage tenants enjoy secure tenancy and lower rent than outsiders, Potter acknowledges that “this economic benefit for poorer members of a lineage should not be overemphasized. . . .” In Ping Shan, the village he studied, intralineaage tenants mostly rented from “branches of which they were not members” and were “charged the same rate as outsiders.” Moreover, some lineages had rules against leasing to their own members (Jack M. Potter, “Land and Lineage in Traditional China,” in *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*, ed. Maurice Freedman [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970]).
- 10 *Ibid.*, 128.
- 11 Elizabeth L. Johnson, “Hakka Women: Great Aunt Yeung: A Hakka Wage Laborer,” in *Lives: Chinese Working Women*, ed. Mary Sheridan and Janet W. Salaff (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).
- 12 Rubie S. Watson, *Inequality among Brothers: Class and Kinship in South China*, (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 80–81.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 78–79.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 65.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 80–81.
- 16 Myron Cohen, “Lineage Development and the Family in China,” in *The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior*, ed. Jih-chang Hsieh and Ying-chang Chuang (Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1985), 210.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 212.
- 18 Watson, *Inequality among Brothers: Class and Kinship in South China*, 77.
- 19 James L. Watson, *Emigration and the Chinese Lineage: The Mans in Hong Kong and London* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 60–61, 63. San Tin men also worked outside their lineage in more traditional forms of employment. One of my informants at Ho Sheung Heung mentioned that during the prewar period in his village there were always some male annual farm helpers hired from San Tin.
- 20 On sailors, see Watson, *Inequality among Brothers: Class and Kinship in South China*, 80. For the number of households see Watson, *Inequality among Brothers*, 65–66.

- 21 Watson, *Emigration and the Chinese Lineage: The Mans in Hong Kong and London*, 60–64.
- 22 Micaela di Leonardo, “The Female World of Cards and Holidays: Women, Families, and the Work of Kinship,” *Signs* 12, no. 3 (1987).
- 23 For some of the circumstances of the rise of local lineage, see Gompertz, “Some Notes on Land Tenure in the New Territory,” in *Report on Operations in the New Territories During 1900* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1901).
- 24 See a tenancy contract dated 1733 cited by David Faure, *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society: Lineage and Village in the Eastern New Territories* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1986), 36–37.
- 25 Hugh Baker, *A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheung Shui* (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1968), 32–36.
- 26 The trust by the same name appeared in a document dated 1733. See Faure, 36–37.
- 27 One female informant attended the banquet for elders held in Wanshi *tang*, for which women became eligible in recent years. Before then some women recalled participating in the grave worship of the founding ancestor, but only as laborers.
- 28 Baker, 21–22. There Baker also mentions “Selling . . . high quality rice to buy cheap grain and other goods,” where probably alleviated the problem of land shortage. But that was probably a relatively late development because the “cheap grain” was broken in the process of machine milling, which was probably introduced in the early 1930s according to one informant.
- 29 Three *danzhong*, “gross” assumed here.
- 30 Although many plots in the core area are much closer to other villages than they are to Sheung Shui and some of those were mostly likely rented to outsiders, most of the plots were probably farmed by the Lius. Baker has drawn attention to the lineage’s ownership of three irrigation dams in the core area, and has linked that to a pattern that “land near the village was not only owned by [Lius], but, where rented out, it was leased to [Lius] too.” See Baker, 166.
- 31 As Baker has suggested, it would be difficult for a Liu family to farm isolated plots or clusters of plots amidst fields farmed by outsiders, as irrigation disputes often caused serious conflicts when the parties belonged to different communities. Other factors include perpetual tenancy (*ibid.*, 166–67). See, for example, John Kamm, “Two Essays on the Ch’ing Economy of Hsin-An,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 17 (1977). Or Michael Palmer, “The Surface-Subsoil Form of Divided Ownership in Late Imperial China: Some Examples from the New Territories of Hong Kong,” *Modern Asian Studies* 21, no. 1 (1987); James L. Watson, “Hereditary Tenancy and Corporate Landlordism in Traditional China: A Case Study,” *Modern Asian Studies* 11, no. 2 (1977): 161–82. Moreover, tenant communities often participated in local coalitions that allowed them to unite and resist their common enemies (see, for example, John Brim, “Village Alliance Temples in Hong Kong,” in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, ed. Arthur Wolf [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974]). The power of dominant lineages was also limited by the fact that they were far

- from being united. See, for example, Hugh Baker, "The Five Great Clans of the New Territories," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 6 (1966).
- 32 One informant at Ho Sheung Heung born in the 1910s consistently used the term *caizhu* for such men only.
- 33 In nearby Ho Sheung Heung, well-to-do men who farmed their own paddy fields owned about four acres of rice land. Those in Sheung Shui probably had similar holdings.
- 34 *Shangshui Xiang Wenxian* (Historical documents from Sheung Shui Village), vol. 6 (n.p., n.d.), 76. A list on p. 26 indicates that each descendant received two taels (about 2.66 oz.) of pork. See Baker, *A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheung Shui*, 92.
- 35 Some of these subgroups had their own ancestral halls and some have "study halls" that served as the venues of traditional education and banquets.
- 36 This is an estimate based on the fact that at the time the poorer families belonging to Yunsheng tang, the trust in the name of the wealthiest Yimou tang's father, was in the eighteenth generation and after according to Baker, *A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheung Shui*, 127. The descriptions on pages 110 and 126 suggest some confusion about the generation numbers of these Liu ancestors, but the information quoted here should be a good approximation.
- 37 This was after losses suffered during the land registration exercise at the beginning of British rule when some tenants in other communities successfully claimed ownership. Information from the comparable lineage of Kam Tin suggests that the land lost in the event probably had not generated very significant income for average lineage members (*ibid.*, 113–15). The proportion of double-crop paddy land is derived from Baker's samples data on the composition of trust holdings on p. 170, which reflects the overall composition of all trust holdings taken together.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 108.
- 39 A Wanshi *tang* document bearing no dates named tenants who were also house owners in the House Block Crown Lease of 1904, suggesting that the tenancy existed before the transformations that took place after the Second World War. Three of the six tenants of rice land owned 1.17, 1.34 and 0.51 acres of first-class land respectively, all at or above the 20% percentile in terms of first-class holdings. Given the moderate size of the tenants' own holdings, it is likely that they do not sublet to others. If they do, the extra rent they charge will significantly reduce the benefit to the cultivator. There is another list for pieces of land with much lower total rent suggesting much smaller total acreage and involving many more tenants, who seem to be of a younger generation than those on the Block Crown Lease of 1904, making it harder to trace their economic backgrounds.
- 40 We were unable to identify contiguous lots using maps. Instead, we made a heuristic assumption that contiguous lots, taking together, bear consecutive lot numbers. There is corroboration for the validity of the numbers: the total acreage found is very close to Baker's 635.23 (Baker, *A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheung Shui*, 165).

- 41 Fei's estimate for a rural population in southwestern China is equivalent to an average of 437 catties after allowance for variations by age and gender (Fei Hsiao-tung and Chang Chih-i, *Earthbound China: A Study of Rural Economy in Yunnan* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945], 51). He gives the total estimated for a rural population of 694 persons in terms of the smaller new picul (for conversion into pound, see Fei and Chang, 50, note 3). Faure uses 400 catties as "a narrowly defined minimum" in his study of rural economy in Guangdong and Jiangsu provinces during a comparable period (David Faure, *The Rural Economy of Pre-Liberation China: Trade Expansion and Peasant Livelihood in Jiangsu and Guangdong* [Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1989], 227, note 29). The Hong Kong government's standard budget for urban workers during 1930–49 translates to 375 catties per year. The rural diet was likely to include much less meat, peanut oil, and bean curd, which are included in the standard budget. For the government figures, see, for example, "Hong Kong Statistics 1947–1967" (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 1969), 215.
- 42 Faure uses a conversion ratio of 70% (Faure, *The Rural Economy of Pre-Liberation China: Trade Expansion and Peasant Livelihood in Jiangsu and Guangdong*, 52–54). Hase reports a lower ratio of 60% (Patrick Hase, "A Note on Rice Farming in Sha Tin," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 21 [1981]: 197).
- 43 For productivity figures, see Charles J. Grant, "The Soils and Agriculture of Hong Kong" (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Press, 1960), figure VI(p). Grant's own translation is 20% lower (expressed in pounds, p. 18). This may be attributed to the conversion of a *douzhong* to 1/5 acres. J. Watson translates a *douzhong* (*tou*) to approximately 1/6 acre, which corresponds to the Chinese *mu* (Watson, *Emigration and the Chinese Lineage: The Mans in Hong Kong and London*, ix). Potter mentions that the *douzhong* was the equivalent of *mu* in some local usage but the ratio varied according to fertility. He also noted that there can be a large variation in yield between a normal year and one in which there was insufficient spring rain (Jack M. Potter, *Capitalism and the Chinese Peasant: Social and Economic Change in a Hong Kong Village* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968], 62, 82). Grant's productivity figures could be considerably higher than their counterparts in prewar years (Grant, 116). He observes with respect to Tai Hong Wai in another part of the New Territories that the current productivity represented a 40% increase due to newly introduced seeds, insecticides and fertilizers.
- 44 This is similar to Grant's report from a hamlet in the dominant lineage in Kam Tin that three piculs were paid out of a harvest of up to six piculs (Grant, 115). Similarly, Potter reports from another wealthy and powerful lineage in the New Territories that lineage members and outsiders paid rent at the same rate (Potter, "Land and Lineage in Traditional China," 128).
- 45 In term of *douzhong* each *dou* (about ten catties) produced between 200 and 300 catties per crop. The percentage of seed implied would be around 4%. As

- already explained, a *douzhong* normally took considerably less than a *dou* to plant. Therefore, an allowance of 3% should be closer to reality.
- 46 While actual family size should not be independent of landholding, averaging approximates family ideals.
- 47 Consumption need is assumed to be the same as the one presented above. Productivity is according to Grant, Figure VI(I), 101–3. Second-class land was assumed to be as productive as first-class and the inferiority of the rice it produced is ignored. Other data are from Watson, *Inequality among Brothers: Class and Kinship in South China*. The hamlet's share of rental land is estimated as proportional to its 1911 population adjusted by taking into account the fraction of houses whose owners were not lineage members in 1906. Of landlord holdings in the *xiang*, including 183 first-class and fifty second-class acres, 41% is in the “core area” Watson has defined as “the land that is located within a half mile radius of Ha Tsuen Market” (77). That overall ratio is used to estimate the smaller “core area” acreage for each class. The second-class portion of non-first-class land owned by trusts and residents of the hamlet is optimistically estimated at the higher ratio known for landlords. The ancestral-trust-owned first-class and second-class land acreages are 207 and sixty-one respectively in the larger *xiang*. Of those 30% to 88% is said to be in the core area. The higher percentage is used for an optimistic estimate. “A few” reported the rent to be 50% to 60% of yield and “others” 30% to 40% according to Watson. The middle of the lower range, 35% is used here.
- 48 Freedman, 9–10.
- 49 Potter, “Land and Lineage in Traditional China,” 135.
- 50 This is based on informant descriptions, which is corroborated by Grant, 122.
- 51 This is somewhat different from the situation recorded by Johnson, where the mother-in-law was responsible (Johnson, 88).
- 52 Quoted in Potter, *Capitalism and the Chinese Peasant: Social and Economic Change in a Hong Kong Village*, 33.
- 53 Reports in *Guangdong Nongye Gaikuang Diaocha Baogaoshu* provides relevant information during the early 1920s (*Guangdong Nongye Gaikuang Diaocha Baogaoshu* [Guangdong Agriculture Survey Report] [Guangzhou: Guoli Guangdong Daxue Nongke Xueyuan, 1925]). Hogs were sold when they reached 120 catties in Xinhui County (Chen Zelin, “Xinhui Xian Nongye Diaocha Baogao” [Agriculture Survey Report for Xinhui County], in *Guangdong Nongye Gaikuang Diaocha Baogaoshu*, ed. Guangdong Sheng Difang Nonglin Shiyanchang Diaochake [Guangzhou: Guoli Guangdong Daxue Nongke Xueyuan] [Guangdong Agriculture Survey Report, 1925], 287). In Boluo pigs were sold at weights between 100 and 160 (Zheng Zhenzhou, “Boluo Xian Nongye Diaocha Baogao” [Agriculture Survey Report for Boluo County], in *Guangdong Nongye Gaikuang Diaocha Baogaoshu* [Guangdong Agriculture Survey Report], ed. Guangdong Sheng Difang Nonglin Shiyanchang Diaochake [Guangzhou: Guoli Guangdong Daxue Nongke Xueyuan, 1925], 27–28). In Heyuan county, under a different kind of operation, the typically weight was 150 (Qiaofang Li, “Heyuan

- Xian Nongye Diaocha Baogao" [Agriculture Survey Report for Heyan County], in Guangdong Nongye Gaikuang Diaocha Baogaoshu [Guangdong Agriculture Survey Report], ed. Guangdong Sheng Difang Nonglin Shiyanchang Diaochake [Guangzhou: Guoli Guangdong Daxue Nongke Xueyuan, 1925], 52).
- 54 "Evidence of J. T. Cotton, Given before the Food Commission," in Edward Osborne, et al., *Food Commission Report, 1900* (n.p., 1900), 9. But the Hongkong Government Gazette shows that 22,727 imported swine weighted 1,345 (long) tons, which imply an average weight of very close to 100 catties. See "The Hongkong Government Gazette, 6 July" (Hong Kong 1901), 1192.
- 55 The estimate is made by John Brim, "Local Systems and Modernizing Change in the New Territories of Hong Kong" (PhD thesis, Stanford University, 1970), 151. He uses the average price of imported swine in 1934 and the price of rice in 1937. The estimate ignores changes over a three-year period and possible effects of short-term variations on the numbers.
- 56 In parts of Guangdong for which data are available, the average price ratio was about 35% higher during the 1920s. There were considerable volatility in the prices of hog and paddy. Reports in *Guangdong Nongye Gaikuang Diaocha Baogaoshu* provides information on prices in different localities of Guangdong Province during the early 1920s (*Guangdong Nongye Gaikuang Diaocha Baogaoshu*, 27–8, 36–7, 52, 62–3, 95, 108–9, 149–50, 287, 245, 252, 390). Around 1933 the price fell due to an economic decline ultimately caused by world depression and the related import of cheap foreign rice (Faure, *The Rural Economy of Pre-Liberation China: Trade Expansion and Peasant Livelihood in Jiangsu and Guangdong*, 128–31). According to Chen Hansheng, within a year the price of pigs in Canton dropped from 34 to 15 taels (about 43 to 19 dollars) per hundred catties (Chen Han-seng, *Agrarian Problems in Southernmost China* [Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1936], 86).
- 57 A government survey in 1941 reports that there were 43,000 pigs in the New Territories. The most detailed figure appears in "Xinjie de Yangzhu Shiye" (Pig Farming in the New Territories), in *Xinjie Nianjian* (Yearbook of the New Territories) (Hong Kong: Yu Nong Chu [Agriculture and Fisheries Department], 1971), 14. See the rounded-off figure in "Colonial Annual Reports, Hong Kong, 1948" (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1949), 45. In 1938, the New Territories population, excluding recent refugee immigrants, was estimated at 109,028 ("Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Hong Kong, 1938" [London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939], 18). The regional breed was likely to take about 10 months to raise for the market (N. L. Smith, et al. "Report of the Committee Appointed to Consider the Breeding of Pigs and Poultry in the New Territories," [1934], 127). However, *Zhongguo Zhu Pinzhong Zhi* suggests that it was shorter at 9 months (*Zhongguo Zhu Pinzhong Zhi* [A Description of Breeds of Pig in China] [Shanghai: Shanghai Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1986], 87–88).
- 58 Orme writes, "No Chinese village in the Territory is complete without its complements of pigs . . . all of which cost nothing to keep . . ." (G. N. Orme,

- Report on the New Territories, 1899–1912* [n.p., 1912], 52). Fei and Chang reports from a different region a similar feature of small-scale pig raising. “The materials used for feed need not be purchased, and there is little market for them, since pigs are not raised with purchased feed” (Fei and Chang, 49–50, 166–67).
- 59 Improved communication with urban areas of the colony probably increased profitability for the farmer. By 1919, the road from Kowloon links many villages in different parts of the New Territories. By 1921 a road extension reached the outskirts of Sheung Shui. See “Hong Kong, Annual Report for 1921” (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1922), 19; S. G. Davis, *Hong Kong in Its Geographical Setting* (London: Collins, 1949), 129. But comparative data from parts of Guangdong cited earlier suggests that the New Territories situation was far from unique.
- 60 Baker, *A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheung Shui*, 124, n30.
- 61 Freedman already mentions women’s labor in rice farming (G. William Skinner, ed., *The Study of Chinese Society: Essays by Maurice Freedman* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979).
- 62 See, for example, Ping-ti Ho, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368–1953* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 186–87.
- 63 See Chen Shuping, “Yumi He Fanshu Zai Zhongguo Chuanbo Qingkuang Yanjiu” (A Study of the Spread of Corn and Sweet Potato in China), *Zhongguo shehui kexue jikan*, no. 3 (1980): 193–95, 201–4.
- 64 The acreage is estimated on the basis of information relating to the sale of one of the two parcels of land: (1) the purchase price of a house site and construction costs of the house, both paid for with the proceed from the sale, and (2) the sale price per square foot.
- 65 Hase, 196–97. Brim quoted another Hong Kong source giving a very similar figure (Brim, “Local Systems and Modernizing Change in the New Territories of Hong Kong,” 150). Based on three cycles per year, the production figure is comparable to that mentioned by a source from the mid-eighteenth century referred to by Chen: (probably annual) of three to four thousand catties per *mu* 畝 (roughly a *douzhong*) (Chen, “Yumi He Fanshu Zai Zhongguo Chuanbo Qingkuang Yanjiu,” 195). Hase also reports that each person ate 3 to 4 catties of sweet potato a day if the individual did not eat rice at all (196).
- 66 Watson, *Inequality among Brothers: Class and Kinship in South China*, 81.
- 67 Between 1928 and 1933, the crop fetched a price between 23% to 18% that of rice in a county very near Canton according to Chan, *Agrarian Problems in Southernmost China*, 86. Writing in 1935, the author reports that “recently the prices [of taro, potato, carrots, and peanuts] have fallen to a level which barely covers the transportation charges.”
- 68 Watson, *Inequality among Brothers: Class and Kinship in South China*, 77.
- 69 See also Baker, *A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheung Shui*, 153. Baker also reports a Sheung Shui legend in which the strength of one male member of the community who supposedly lived in the 1700s was expressed in these terms: he was “capable of leaping [over] seven rows of sweet potato at once” (79).

The crop must have been very commonplace for it to be used as a yardstick of physical prowess in the tale.

- 70 Davis, 138–40.
- 71 An informant account suggests that the crop was grown in part for its good effects on land productivity. Palmer mentions the peanut-oil-press factory set up at the nearby Shek Wu Hui market in the 1920s (Michael Palmer, “Lineage and Urban Development in a New Territories Town,” in *An Old State in New Settings: Studies in the Social Anthropology of China in Memory of Maurice Freedman*, ed. Hugh Baker and Stephan Feuchtwang [Oxford: JASO, 1991], 74).
- 72 Ping Shan and Tun Mun were noted for their production. See Oral History Project interview at Lung Yeuk Tau, July 9, 1982. Even at nearby Ha Tsuen, where there were peanut and sugar cane processing factories, the local peasants never had much involvement in growing the two crops according to Watson, *Inequality among Brothers: Class and Kinship in South China*, 80.
- 73 Baker, *A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheung Shui*, 92.
- 74 J. Watson covers “dry land” in San Tin and states, “Some of the dry fields produced crops of groundnuts, but many were used only to grow rough brush for fuel.” (Watson, *Emigration and the Chinese Lineage: The Mans in Hong Kong and London*, 36–37, 46.) The author also suggests that catching “fish and shrimp from the river” was an important economic activity for members of the community (46). That no mention is made of growing sweet potatoes in the lineage is probably the result of omission. It seems that in Ha Tsuen a large portion of ancestral trust holdings was third-class land. Out of about 470 acres, only about 207 (44%) were first-class land. This is in part the effect of an atypical trust that consisted mostly of about 100 acre of third-class land. (If the 100 acres are excluded from the denominator, the first-class portion would be 56%.) The anomaly may be the result of accumulation of third-class land for some unusually profitable cash crop, which may also explain why an estimated 55% of Ha Tsuen villagers of the Sik Kong Wai hamlet owned no land at all. On the trust holdings and Sik Kong Wai holdings, see Watson, *Inequality among Brothers: Class and Kinship in South China*, 68, 65–66.
- 75 Lockhart’s report on the land registration exercise mentions this factor in the case of a nearby area that was among the first to be dealt with (J. H. S. Lockhart, “New Territories Report for 1901” [1902], 7). About 13% of lots found to be under current or recent cultivation remained unclaimed, and they could be attributed to “poor cultivation in the occupation of mere squatters who are in no hurry to assume the burdens of ownership.” C. M. Messer in Land Court states, “It was also decided to exclude from leases and rent rolls, sloping dry cultivation of a shifting nature to which the occupiers had no valid titled” (“New Territories: Land Court, Report on Work from 1900 to 1905” [Land Court], 1905, 149).
- 76 Helen F. Siu, “Where Were the Women? Rethinking Marriage Resistance and Regional Culture History,” *Late Imperial China* 11, no. 2 (December 1990).

- 77 Ibid.
- 78 Most informants acknowledged considerable variation in the relationship. But there was an expectation that a mother-in-law would be harsh. They tended to have to rely on the mother-in-law for cooking and childcare during busy agricultural seasons.
- 79 The quality of a woman's relationship with her husband was obviously a factor in her predicament as a young wife. This complex issue is taken up elsewhere.
- 80 Some of the elderly women collect paper cartons, newspaper, and aluminum cans to sell for a few Hong Kong dollars. One woman has been admonished by her children, but would refrain from doing so only when they are in Hong Kong briefly.
- 81 This is contrary to some influential accounts in the literature, see below.
- 82 Chan, "Writing Women's Words: Bridal Laments and Representations of Kinship and Marriage in South China."
- 83 Rubie Watson, "Class Differences and Affinal Relations in South China," *Man* n.s. 16, no. 4 (December 1984): 593–613; Watson, *Inequality among Brothers: Class and Kinship in South China*, Chapter 7.
- 84 Martin King Whyte, "Revolutionary Social Change and Patrilocal Residence in China," *Ethnology* 18, no. 3 (1979): 211–27.
- 85 Ibid., 211.
- 86 Baker, *A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheung Shui*, 161.
- 87 Palmer, "The Surface-Subsoil Form of Divided Ownership in Late Imperial China: Some Examples from the New Territories of Hong Kong."
- 88 Interview at Sheung Shui Wai, November 4, 1981.
- 89 Ho Sheung Heung had a population of 580 in 1955 according to *A Gazetteer of Place Names in Hong Kong, Kowloon and the New Territories* (1969, 2–6). There were only about ten seamen during the prewar period, suggesting that sailors could be found in not much more than 10% of families in the same period.
- 90 Palmer, "Lineage and Urban Development in a New Territories Town," 74, 76.
- 91 Among them, Liu Hei Ting was, according to an interviewee of the Oral History Project, a *xiuca'i*'s son who worked as a teacher in the village and later as a "secretary" in a business firm based in metropolitan Hong Kong. See the project's notes for the interview at Sheung Shui, November 4, 1981. For Liu's involvement in the trucking business see Palmer (*ibid.*, 77, note 19).
- 92 Compare Brim, "Local Systems and Modernizing Change in the New Territories of Hong Kong", 103–05. After the end of Japanese occupation in 1945, the husband of one of my informants in Sheung Shui obtained a job in the clinic at the nearby village of Kam Tsin.
- 93 One Ho Sheung Heung informant mentions that when his son emigrated around 1960, the family needed to raise three thousand Hong Kong dollars, and he borrowed part of the money from two married sisters.
- 94 Feil, 58–60.
- 95 Wolf, 36.
- 96 Feil, 58–60.

- 97 The argument is made with additional cases and in much more detail in Chan, “Writing Women’s Words: Bridal Laments and Representations of Kinship and Marriage in South China.”

Chapter 5

- 1 Margery Wolf, Roxane Witke, and Emily M. Ahern, eds., *Women in Chinese Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 23–24 and 27. See also Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).
- 2 Noboru Niida, “Chugoku Shufu No Chii to Kagi No Ken (Status of the Chinese Women and the Right of the Key),” in *Chugoku Noson Kazoku* (Chinese Rural Family) (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Toyo Bunka Kenkyujo, 1952); Myron Cohen, “Family Management and Family Division in Contemporary Rural China,” *China Quarterly*, no. 130 (1992); Joseph McDermott, “The Chinese Domestic Bursar,” *Ajia Bunka Kenkyu* (Asian Cultural Studies), no. 2 (1990).
- 3 Myron Cohen, “Family Management and Family Division in Contemporary Rural China,” *China Quarterly*, no. 130 (1992).
- 4 For example, Wang Xifeng, the very capable daughter-in-law, was manager of the family in *Hong Lao Meng* (The Dream of the Red Chamber). As for Zeng Zifan, see Thomas L. Kennedy and Micki Kennedy, eds., *Testimony of a Confucian Woman: The Autobiography of Mrs. Nie Zeng Jifen, 1852–1942* (Athens, G.A.; London: University of Georgia Press, 1993), 69, 90.
- 5 See Chi-cheung Choi, “Settlement of Chinese Families in Macau,” in *Macau: City of Culture and Commerce*, ed. R. D. Cremer (Hong Kong: API Press, 1991).
- 6 For example, see C. R. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century* (Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1953 and 1967), 149ff.
- 7 See Elizabeth Perry, *Shanghai on Strike: The Politics of Chinese Labor* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993); Alvin Y. So, *The South China Silk District: Local Historical Transformation and World-System Theory* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986).
- 8 Their power came unless they were in the inner chamber of the imperial court and exercised through their emperor son or grandson or through the eunuch.
- 9 “Special Resolution of Kin Tye Lung Co. Ltd.,” Company Registry (Hong Kong, 1988), Company no. 14575.
- 10 In this year, fifteen female members inherited 62,132 shares (11% of the total) of the company. See Company Registry (Hong Kong, 1992), Company no. 14575.
- 11 Since the death of Chen Sou-yan, proprietor and managing director of the family enterprise, decision making has been under his daughter’s control. For the history of the company, see Chi-cheung Choi, “Competition among Brothers: The Kin Tye Lung Company and Its Associate Companies,” in *Chinese Business Enterprise in Asia*, ed. Rajeswary Brown (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 96–114.

- 12 Ta Chen, *Emigrant Communities in South China, a Study of Overseas Migration and Its Influence on Standards of Living and Social Change* (New York: Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940), 59.
- 13 Xiao Guanying, *Liushi Nian Lai Zhi Lingdong Jilue* (Accounts of Eastern Guangdong in the Recent Sixty Years) (Guangdong: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1996 [reprint of 1925]), 96.
- 14 Chen, 123.
- 15 Refer to Chi-cheung Choi, ed., *Business Documents and Land Deeds Collected by Dr. James Hayes: Kin Tye Lung Document*, vol. 1: *Land Deeds of the Chaoshan Region* (Tokyo: The Institute of Oriental Culture, Tokyo University, 1995).
- 16 For example, *ibid.*, Land deed no. L35-1-1, 55.
- 17 *Ibid.*, Land deed no. L10-2-2, 25.
- 18 *Chenghai Xianzhi* (Gazetteer of the Chenghai County) (Guangdong: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1991), 155.
- 19 Ta Chen, *Nan Yang Huaqiao Yu Minyue Shehui* (Southeast Asian Chinese and the Society of Fujian and Guangdong) (Changsha: Shangwu Publishing House, 1938), 130.
- 20 For example, refer to Choi, ed., *Business Documents and Land Deeds Collected by Dr. James Hayes: Kin Tye Lung Document*, vol. 1: *Land Deeds of the Chaoshan Region*. Land deed no. L27-1-1, L48-1-1, L99-1 and L125-1-1, 45, 71–2, 143–44, 201.
- 21 Chen, *Nan Yang Huaqiao Yu Minyue Shehui*, 35, 37.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 36–37.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 129.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 31. Refer also to Shishun Chou, ed., *Chaozhou Fuzhi* (Gazetteer of Chaozhou Prefecture), vol. 3, book 12 (u.p., 1893), 5.
- 25 J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese: Or Notes Connected with China*, 5th ed. (Hong Kong and Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1925), 718.
- 26 The story was widely reported in local literatures and retold by Chen Chunsheng. See Chen Chunsheng, “Tianhou Gushi Yu Shequ Lishi Zhuanbian: Zhanglin Sige Tianhou Miao De Yanjiu” (Stories of the Goddess of Heaven and the Historical Development of Local Communities: Study of Four Tianhou Temples in Zhanglin), *Chaoxue Yanjiu*, no. 8 (2000): 167–69.
- 27 Akira Suehiro, *Capital Accumulation in Thailand, 1855–1985* (Tokyo: UNESCO [The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies], 1989), 84–87, 110ff.
- 28 For a comparison of these two companies, see Chi-cheung Choi, “Kinship and Business: Paternal and Maternal Kin in Chaozhou Chinese Family Firms,” *Business History* 40, no. 1 (1998). For details of the development of Kin Tye Lung company, see Choi, “Competition among Brothers: The Kin Tye Lung Company and Its Associate Companies.”
- 29 For example, Wanglee, founder of the Wanglee company in Bangkok and son of the founder of Kin Tye Lung in Hong Kong, enjoyed his retirement in their hometown as village and lineage head in the late nineteenth century. His eldest natal son, Limei, was born in Bangkok by his Thai Chinese wife, came “home”

- in a coffin in the early 1920s. See Chi-cheung Choi, “Hometown Connection and the Chaozhou Business Networks: A Case Study of the Chens of Kintyelung, 1850–1950,” in *the XIV International Economic Congress (Session #71)* (Helsinki, 2006).
- 30 For example, in Chen Limei’s wills, pledged in 1927 in the Supreme Court in Hong Kong and Singapore, stated that after his death, his second concubine should go back to his home town, adopted a son and lived there until the end of her life. See “Hkrs No. 144, D&S No.4/3020 and 4/3792,” Hong Kong Public Records Office.
- 31 There were three coffin houses (*guancai wu*) in the village, one for Wanglee (*Cihong*), one for Wanglee’s Thai Chinese wife, and one for Wanglee’s eldest natal son, Limei. The latter two were sent back from Bangkok. All three coffins were rested in the houses waiting for a graveyard of good geomancy. They were buried hastily in 1939 when the district was alarmed by the threats of the Japanese army.
- 32 The Chens as well as the Gaos of Yuanfa hang were famous of having many adopted sons. This can also be reflected in local proverbs “Chen Jia you Yangzi” (the Chen family has adopted sons) or “Gao jia you Yangzi.” The Chens had four major housekeepers before 1949. Besides the adopted son, the other three were an affinal kin and two remote clan relatives who did not live in the village.
- 33 Peishen Yin, *Fengshan Jixu* (Accounts on Chenghai county) (u.p., n.d. [c.1810–1820]), 38b–39a. Before its establishment as a treaty port, Shantou area was under the jurisdiction of Chenghai county.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 38–39.
- 35 Liang Tingnan, ed. *Yue Hai Guan Zhi* (Gazetteer of the Guangdong Maritime Customs), vol. 6 (u.p., c.1874).
- 36 *Shantou Bainian Dashiji, 1859–1959* (Major Events in Shantou from 1858 to 1959) (Shantou: Shantou Shi Zhi Bianxie Weiyuan Hui, 1960).
- 37 *Shantou Gaikuang* (General Survey of Shantou) (Shantou: Shantou Shi Defang Zhi Bianzuan Weiyuan Hui Bangong Shi, 1987), 6ff.
- 38 *Xin Shantou* (New Swatow) (Shantou: Shantou Shi Shizhengting Bianji Gu, 1928), 2.
- 39 *Chaohai Guanshiliao Huibian* (Collected Archives of Chaozhou Maritime Customs) (Zhongguo haiguan xuehui Shantou haiguan xiaozu and Shantou shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui bangong shi 1988), 23–24, 27. Refer also to Zongyi Rao, ed. *Chaozhou Zhi Huibian* (Gazetteers of Chaozhou Prefecture) (Xianggang: Longmen Shudian, 1965), 875.
- 40 Julean Arnold, ed., *Commercial Handbook of China*, vol. 1, Miscellaneous (Washington: Government Printing Office, Department of Commerce, 1919), no. 84, 600–10.
- 41 Rao, ed., 835–877.
- 42 See advertisements in Xie Xueying, ed., *Chao Mei Xianxiang* (Conditions in the Chaozhou Mei xian area) (Guangdong: Shantou Shi Tongxun She, 1935), 82, 83, 87, 90, 134ff.

- 43 Pan Xinlong, *Malaiya Chaoqiao Tongjian* (Gazetteer of the Chaozhou Chinese in Malaya) (u.p., 1950), 20; Xia Chenghua, *Jindai Guangdong Sheng Qiaohui Yanjiu (1862–1949): Yi Guang, Chao, Mei, Qiong Diqu Wei Li* (Study of Remittance of Guangdong Province in the Modern Period: Using Guangzhou, Chaozhou, Meizhou and Qiongzhou Districts as Examples) (Singapore: Xinjiapo Nanyang Xue Hui, 1992), 27.
- 44 Xie, ed., 44.
- 45 Sharon M. Lee, “Female Immigrants and Labor in Colonial Malaya: 1860–1947,” *International Migration Review* 23, no. 2 (1989).
- 46 The sources Lee used are: Annual Reports of the Chinese Protectorate, Strait Settlements, 1881–1932, the Annual Reports of the Immigration Department, Strait Settlements and Federated Malay States, 1922–1938 and the Malayan Statistics Monthly digest, Singapore, 1939–1940.
- 47 “Zai Langhua Guanfan Zhong De Chaoshan Fun v (1)” (Chaoshan Women in the Turmoil of Waves), *Huazhi Ribao*, 2.18, 1935, 2.
- 48 “Zai Langhua Guanfan Zhong De Chaoshan Fun v (2)” (Chaoshan Women in the Turmoil of Waves), *Huazhi Ribao*, 2.19, 1935, 3.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 It should also be noted that many women in the city worked as prostitutes serving the men of the business sector. It was said that, in the 1930s, there were many brothels in the Shantou city. Xie, ed., 35.
- 51 This can be found in some private accounting papers of the Tan Guan Lee company, an associate company of Kin Tye Lung in Singapore (private collection).
- 52 Interview, mother of vice-mayor Xu of Chenghai county. Xu was a descendant of the Gaos of Yuanfa hang. He was adopted by his uncle (his mother’s brother) in the 1950s and thereby changed his surname.
- 53 Frank H. H. King, *The Hong Kong Bank between the Wars and the Bank Interned, 1919–1945: Return from Grandeur* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 496–97.
- 54 Rao, ed., 868.
- 55 Suehiro, 83.
- 56 The Gaos had trading companies in Singapore (Yuan Fa Chan), Kobe, Japan (Wen Fa Hang) and Canton (Cheng Fa Hang), a trading enterprise (Yuan Fa Sheng Hang, or Koh Mah Wah and companies as it was known in Bangkok) including five rice mills in Bangkok, a plantation in Johor, Malaysia and in Shantou several public utilities companies (water, electricity), a textile factory, and Chinese banks. They also owned warehouses in Hong Kong and Canton. See Lin Xi, “Cong Xianggang Di Yuanfa Hang Tanqi” (Talking from Yuan Fat Hong in Hong Kong), *Da Cheng*, no. 117–121 (1983); Lin Xi, “Gao Zizheng Gong Qianbiao Yu Gao Chuxiang Jia Zhuan” (Obituary and Biography of Gao Chuxiang), *Da Cheng*, no. 121 (1983). Lin Xi is the pseudonym of Gao Zhenbai, a grandson of Gao Chuxiang. See also K. C. Fok, “Lineage Ties, Business Partnership and Financial Agency: The Many Roles of a Hong Kong Commercial Network,” in *Preliminary Workshop for the 11th International Economic History Congress* (Milan, Atami, Japan, 1994).

- 57 See Zhang Y. Q., “Taiguo Huaqiao Gao Chuxiang Yu Hongli Jiazou Di Yeji” (Achievements of the Thai Chinese Gao Chuxiang and Chen Hongli Families), in *Shantou Wenshi* (1990), 31–3.
- 58 As suggested by Wellington Chan, in order to minimize risk and maximize opportunities, many Chinese businesses tend to have their shares and directors intertwined with each other. See W. K. K. Chan, “Chinese Business Networking and the Pacific Rim: The Family Firm, Roles Past and Present,” *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 1, no. 2.
- 59 For instance, the “common company,” the fourth and fifth branch of the family had shares in the Yuan Zhang Sheng rice mill in Bangkok. The “common company” also had shares in the Yu De Sheng, a Nanbei *hang* company owned by Chen Chunquan, his son and Shunqin.
- 60 For example, the Yu De Sheng and Fu Tai Xiang in Hong Kong, and Cheng Fa Hang in Canton. Lin, “Cong Xianggang Di Yuanfa Hang Tanqi” (Talking from Yuan Fat Hong in Hong Kong), no. 117: 52; no. 118: 48.
- 61 See Chi-cheung Choi, “Dongnan Ya Huaren Jiazou Qiye De Jiegou: Qiantai Long Yu Yuanfa Hang De Bijiao Yanjiu” (Structure of Southeast Asian Chinese Family Firms: A Comparative Study of the Kin Tye Lung and Yuanfa Hang), in *Southeast Asian Chinese and Chinese Economy and Society*, ed. Hou-seng Lim (Singapore: Singapore Society of Asian Studies, 1995), 98–99.
- 62 “Lugang Chaozhou Shanghui Sanshi Zhounian Jinian Tekan” (Special Bulletin Commemorating the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Chaozhou Chamber of Commerce) (Hong Kong: Lugang Chaozhou Shanghui [Hong Kong Chaozhou Chamber of Commerce], 1951), 2.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 See Lin, “Cong Xianggang Di Yuanfa Hang Tanqi” (Talking from Yuan Fat Hong in Hong Kong), no. 118: 47, 50.
- 65 Ibid., 48–49.
- 66 Ibid., 50.
- 67 Ibid., no. 119: 35–6.
- 68 Lin Xi, “Yijiu Sansan Nian Shantou Jinrong Fengchao” (The 1933 Financial Crisis in Shantou), *Da Cheng*, no. 22 (1967): 4.
- 69 See “Special Resolution of Kin Tye Lung Co. Ltd.”
- 70 G. William Skinner, *Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1957), 127.
- 71 Ibid., 128.
- 72 Chi-cheung Choi, “Cong Yizhu Kan Jindai Chaoshan Jiazou Qiye De Fazhan: Yi Xianggang Qiantai Longji Mangu Hongli Chen Shi We Li” (Development of Family Business in Modern Chaoshan Area: A View from Wills, Using the Chens of Kinn Tye Lung in Hong Kong and Wanglee in Bangkok as Example), *Journal of Resources for Hong Kong Studies*, no. 1 (1998).
- 73 Suehiro and Nanbara, *Tai No Zaibatsu* (Thai’s financial tycoons) (Tokyo: Tongbun kan, 1991).

- 74 “Text Book of Documentary Chinese: Selected and Designed for the Special Use of Members of the Civil Services of the Straits Settlements and the Protected Native States” (Singapore, 1894).
- 75 See discussions in Ko (1994), So (1986), and Wolf and Witke (1975).

Chapter 6

- 1 *Hongkong Telegraph*, September 24, 1895, 289–90.
- 2 *Hong Kong Government Gazette*, October 25, 1879.
- 3 The spelling of the name has been inconsistent. The Portuguese use “Macau”, but “Macao” has been used in English-language literature. The editor has left the term the way Carl Smith has used it.
- 4 Carl T. Smith, “A Comparative Study of Eurasians in Macau and Hong Kong,” in *Meeting Point of Cultures: Macau and Ethnic Diversity in Asia* (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1993).
- 5 For a discussion of the word “Tanka,” see Carl Smith, “Protected Women in 19th-Century Hong Kong,” in *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude, and Escape*, ed. Maria Jachok and Suzanne Miers (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1994), 236.
- 6 “The half-caste population of Hongkong were . . . almost exclusively the offspring of these Tan-ka women.” E. J. Eitel, *Europe in China, the History of Hongkong from the Beginning to the Year 1882* (Taipei: Chen-Wen Publishing Co., originally published in Hong Kong by Kelly and Walsh, 1895, 1968), 169.
- 7 Charles Toogood Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China 1836–37*, vol. 1 (1838), 28–29.
- 8 William Maxwell Wood, *Fankwei; or, the San Jacinto in the Seas of India, China, and Japan* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1859), 289–90. See also the images of boatwomen drawn by George Chinnery in Patrick Conner, *George Chinnery: 1774–1852: Artist of India and the China Coast* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors’ Club, 1993). Color Plates 70, 71, Plate 126, 127, 199–200. A 1984 edition of Conner’s book was not found.
- 9 Conner quote from Wood, see Conner, *George Chinnery: 1774–1852: Artist of India and the China Coast*, 202; Wood, *Fankwei; or, the San Jacinto in the Seas of India, China, and Japan*, 290.
- 10 Conner quote from Downing. See Conner, *George Chinnery: 1774–1852: Artist of India and the China Coast*, 202; Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China 1836–37*, 28–9.
- 11 In an early document, Memorial 77, one of these lots records their original designation: number 3 in row 5 of the Bazaar Lots.
- 12 This is a term for Indian seamen employed in European ships. The term is rarely used today.
- 13 Chinese names and designations of grantor and grantee are given in English in the Memorials. They are accompanied by Chinese characters, which do not

- always correspond to the English. My reference to the name of the grantor/grantee is given as it appears in English. The version following “otherwise” is a Cantonese romanization of the Chinese characters given in the record.
- 14 “Hong Kong Land Registry,” Memorial 559.
 - 15 *Ibid.*, Memorial 956.
 - 16 A *serang* or *ghaut serang* was a recruiter and contractor of lascar seamen to man vessels plying the eastern seas.
 - 17 “Hong Kong Land Registry,” Memorial 714.
 - 18 *Ibid.*, Memorials 555, 626.
 - 19 *Ibid.*, Memorials 526, 563.
 - 20 K. J. P. Lowe, “Hong Kong, 26 January 1841: Hoisting the Flag Revisited,” *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 29 (1989). In my opinion, some of the data in this article should be used with caution.
 - 21 *Probate File*, No. 1132 of 878 (4/365).
 - 22 “Hong Kong Land Registry,” Memorial 571.
 - 23 *Ibid.*, Memorials 516, 591.
 - 24 *Ibid.*, Memorial 728.
 - 25 *Ibid.*, Memorial 77.
 - 26 *Ibid.*, Memorial 1835.
 - 27 *Ibid.*, Memorials 459, 3058, 5291.
 - 28 Barbara-Sue White, *Turbans and Traders, Hong Kong’s Indian Communities* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1994), 66.
 - 29 Peter Hall, *In the Web* (London: Basingstoke Press 1992), 32, Appendix, Genealogical Charts No. 3: Anderson/Overbeck, 167, No. 29: Overbeck, 93, No. 35: Tyson, 99, No. 36: Tyson, 200. I have been unable to identify a person named Bartou as resident on the China coast. Could the man have been Dr George Kingston Barton, a partner of Dr Thomas Hunter? They had a dispensary at Macau and Hong Kong in the 1840s. Dr Barton married Rhoda Dobbs in Hong Kong in 1850.
 - 30 “Hong Kong Land Registry,” Memorial 4320.
 - 31 The date of death of Lam A-shui is left blank in Memorial 18,631. Her daughter, Chan Quay Neo (a Malaysian romanization) married Choa Lap-chee, a member of an old Malacca Chinese family, who moved to Hong Kong. See Hall, *In the Web*. Genealogical Chart No 35: Tyson/Chan, 199; and Genealogical Chart No. 9: Choa, 173.
 - 32 These facts are recited in Memorial 18,631, dated April 1, 1891 for the conveyance of sub-section 1 of Section A of Inland Lot 110. In the 1871 and 1876 Rate lists, E.C. Ray is named as the agent for the owner of the lot. He succeeded Gustav Overbeck as the protector of Lam Tsat-tai.
 - 33 There are difficulties in interpretation of records of Lam Fong-kew and Lam Kew-fong. “Mother” Chan, of the Lam family, otherwise Chan mo Lam, is buried at the Chiu Yuen Cemetery, Mount Davis Road, Pokfulam. Her gravestone records her birth as 1843, her death as 1925, and her sons as Kai-ming and Kai-cheung. Chan Kai-ming was also known as George Tyson. However, the land

- records indicate that the woman who died in 1925 was Lam Kew-fong was protected by Albert Farley Heard and Lam Fong-kew, who died in 1871 was protected by George Tyson. It is possible that George Tyson was the first protector of Lam Fong-kew, and Albert Farley Heard her second protector.
- 34 “Hong Kong Land Registry,” Memorial 17, 281.
- 35 *Ibid.*, Memorial 5724, dated May 3, 1873. The property was section B of Inland Lot 94. Lot 94 was a large tract extending from Caine Road to Staunton Street owned by Augustine Heard, the younger. Section B was on the farthest corner from the Heard mansion on Caine Road. Before Albert F. Heard conveyed the lot to Lam Kew-fong, the property had been occupied by “Miss Li Kiu.” Her name appears on the Rates lists from 1869 to 1872 and was replaced in 1873 by that of Lam Kew-fong. In 1869 the owner of this small lot was A. Heard and Co, but it had been crossed out, and the name Lee Kee was written in. In the official title for the lot there is no record of a transfer to Lee Kiu/Li Kiu, although she is listed as occupant and owner until 1873. Augustine Heard, the younger, in 1866 sold the whole of lot 94 to a consortium of six of its Chinese employees (Memorials 4032, 4033). The consortium sold Section B, the small corner lot, in February 1867 to Albert Farley Heard for \$500 (Memorial 4199). As mentioned above, it was occupied by Li Kiu. She may have died in 1872, and perhaps was protected by A. F. Heard. The circumstances suggest that he had a similar relationship with Lam Kew-fong, who may, in turn, have been previously protected by George Tyson.
- 36 “Macau Land Registry,” B-1, 211, No. 193, dated July 10, 1873. The lot was No. 8 (otherwise No. 17) Travessa Matre Tigre in the Bazarinho section of S. Lourenco parish. I have not found any record of the disposal of this property. An adjoining house belonged to John Heard.
- 37 “Hong Kong Land Registry,” Memorial 5689, dated May 7, 1873, Inland Lot 110, remaining part. “Hong Kong Land Registry,” Memorial 8459, dated October 1, 1879.
- 38 “Hong Kong Land Registry.” Memorials 7788, 7892, 7893, and 18,632. Lots 183 and 184 were bounded south by Gage Street, east by Graham Street, and west by Peel Street.
- 39 *Ibid.*, Memorial 4870, dated October 26, 1869, Inland Lots 491 and 490. Section A. Memorial 6261, dated May 15, 1875.
- 40 *Ibid.*, Memorial 5688, dated May 7, 1873, Inland Lot 110, Section D. The vendor was the Parsee merchant, Dadabhoy Cowasjee Tata, Memorial 22,681, dated September 27, 1896. The purchaser was Lung Lin-hin.
- 41 *Ibid.*, Memorial 6774, dated August 29, 1876, Inland Lot 110, sub-section 2 of Section A. The lot had been purchased by William Hammond Foster, junior, in of Russell and Co. in 1867. “For diverse considerations and good causes” he conveyed it in 1873 to Kwok A-cheong, single woman. She died the following year and her father, Kwok Foon Tuck, was appointed administrator of her estate. In 1875 he conveyed it to John Murray Forbes, Jr., as trustee for Kwok A-cheong’s children. Memorials 4321, 5564, 6113, and 6114.

- 42 Ibid., Memorial 14,899, dated February 12, 1887. The two properties were leased for \$1,440 per annum.
- 43 Her name is given as Akew in the newspaper accounts of the “Cumsingmun Affair” in *China Mail*, September 27, November 1, 1849. and *The Friend of China*, October 13, 1849. In 1875 she is called Hung Mow (red haired) Akew, “a stout Chinese woman.”
- 44 Account in *China Mail*, October 13, 1849: “Several years ago Captain J. B. Endicott, now of the American opium receiving ship *Ruparell*, purchased (as was then common with foreigners) a Chinese girl named Akeu; she has lived with him since and is the mother of several children. Akeu is a shrewd, intelligent woman, without any of those feelings of degradation which Europeans attach to females in her condition.”
- 45 “Hong Kong Land Registry,” Memorial 662, dated October 18, 1852.
- 46 Ibid., Memorial 663.
- 47 James Bridges Endicott, in his will stated, “Sensible of unceasing care and devotion she [his wife Sarah Anne Russell Endicott] has at all times displayed toward myself and all my children, as well as those who stand in relationship of step-children as of her own, she having made no distinction in the treatment of them, and I trust when I am no more my three children, Henry, James and Sarah, will be aware of obligation which they are under to her and always display a true sense of gratitude for the unceasing care and attention she has bestowed on them from our marriage to the present time, through which they have been mainly enabled to hold the position they now enjoy, and anxious to requite the love and attention they have received of her, they will unite with her own children, Sarah Anne, Lucy Russell and Robert Russell, my said sons Henry and James will contribute to their support.” Hong Kong Public Records Office, “Probate File,” No. 104 of 1870 (4/227).
- 48 *The Friend of China*, December 6, 1856. Fung/Foong Aching, a native of Shunte District, Guangdong Province, bought land in Hong Kong in 1845. He died in 1881. Letters of administration on his estate were granted to his son, Foong Chi. “Hong Kong Land Registry,” Memorial 10,764.
- 49 James Norton-Kyshe, *The History of the Laws and Courts of Hong Kong*, vol. 2, 317. Does this may mean that Akew was actively engaged in the brothel business or that she owned property that was rented to brothel keepers?
- 50 “Hong Kong Land Registry.” Memorials 56,759, 60,958, 61066. If Akew lived until 1914, she would have been aged about ninety-four years.
- 51 Susanna Hoe, *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong: Western Women in the British Colony, 1841–1941* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1991), 111–19.
- 52 *China Mail*, February 27, 1872.
- 53 *Daily Advertiser*, July 4, 1872.
- 54 *Daily Press*, August 25, 1876.
- 55 John Olsen was a Swede and a tavern keeper. He also had a Chinese wife. She was Mrs Ellen Olsen, otherwise Au Chung Ah-fung, who was baptized in 1891 at To Tsai Church, Hong Kong. They had three children, baptized by the Rev. Mr Ost of the Anglican Church.

- 56 *Probate File* No. 1035 of 1876 (4/334).
- 57 January 21, 1880.
- 58 *China Mail*, March 8, 1881.
- 59 The child may be the George McBreen who was enrolled at the Diocesan Home and Orphanage in 1889.
- 60 At the time Mrs McBreen lived there, North Bridge Street, Singapore was occupied by brothels catering to Europeans. See James Francis Warren, “Chinese Prostitution in Singapore: Recruitment and Brothel Organisation,” in *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude, and Escape*, ed. Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press; London; Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books, 1994), 92–94.
- 61 *China Mail*, May 21, 1889, *Daily Press*, September 16, 1889. In 1898, a Mr McBreen gave information about the brothel business to Singapore authorities, Watson, *op. cit.*, 90, 101. John Francis Webber was a disreputable character who left Hong Kong for Singapore under a cloud in 1891. Perhaps the McBreens went with him.
- 62 An exception would have been the Hong Kong Macaenese and “local” Muslim communities, although among some individuals, they may have had reservations.

Chapter 7

- 1 See Peter Hall, *In the Web* (London: Basingstoke Press 1992), 99, 112–14.
- 2 Florence Yeo, *My Memories* (Pittsburgh, P.A.: Dorrance Publishing Co., Inc, 1994), 12.
- 3 Irene Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1980, first published 1976), 7.
- 4 For more details on Lady Margaret Ho Tung, Mak Sau Ying, see Xiaohong Lee et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 69–71.
- 5 Robert Ho Tung (1862–1956). Born on December 22, 1862 in Hong Kong with the original name as He Qidong and the style name as Xiao Sheng, Robert was the first generation of Eurasians but took his Chinese identity seriously. “Little is known of his father except that he was a British of Dutch descent and his name was Bosman” (*South China Morning Post*, January 27, 1991). His Chinese mother’s native place could be traced back to Guangdong Baoan. Robert was the second child of the family, but the eldest son, after a sister and was followed by four brothers and two sisters. He was educated at the Central School (later Queen’s College) and graduated in 1878. He then worked as pupil teacher at the School before entering the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs in Canton in 1878. Starting from 1880, he became the compradore for the Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co and was a millionaire before the age of thirty, which won him both fortune and reputation in the colony. He then invested widely in Hong

Kong and elsewhere. Due to sickness, he retired from his compradore position in 1900, but was still very active in the colony's economy, politics, and philanthropy. "He was always involved with public matters relating to Chinese population. He was the chief founder and the first President of the Chinese Club in 1899" (quoting Peter Hall. He was made Justice of Peace in 1889, knighted by King George V in 1915 and by Queen Elizabeth II in 1955, and received honors from many other countries. He sat on a number of boards of directors, including Tung Wah Hospital and Po Leung Kuk, and represented Hong Kong at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1924–25. He helped the Hong Kong government settle strike disputes in 1922 and 1925. He proposed the famous "Round Table Conference" among warlords in China. He made huge donations to the colony's war effort during the two world wars, and financed Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek of the Kuomintang [Guomindang] on the mainland. Education and hospitals were two main items of his philanthropic contributions in Hong Kong and Macau. He died on April 26, 1956 at the age of ninety-four and earned the title of "The Grand Old Man of Hong Kong." For more details on Robert, see Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 1, 2, 7–9, 86, 112, 42–57, 85; Sing-lim Woo, *Xianggang Huaren Mingren Shilue* (Hong Kong: Wuchou Publishing, 1937); Wen Xiang He, *Xianggang Jiazhu Shi* (Hong Kong: Capital Communications Corporation Limited, 1989), 5–55; Hall, *In the Web*, 118–19, 80–82. (See also, the personal account of two of her children, Florence and Jean.)

- 6 For the original letter, see Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 12; He, *Xianggang Jiazhu Shi*, 22–23.
- 7 For more details on Lady Clara's life, see her own biographical notes in Jingrong Zhang, *Mingshan Youji* (Hong Kong: Private publication, 1935); Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*; Irene Cheng, *Intercultural Reminiscences* (Hong Kong: David C. Lam Institute for East-West Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University, 1997); Jean Gittins, "Eastern Windows – Western Skies" (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post, 1969); Yeo, *My Memories*; Shai-lai Ho, *Xianci Hemu Zhang Taifuren Lianjue Jushi Shengping Yixing Buyi* (Hong Kong: Private publication, 1954); Shai-lai Ho, *Hemu Zhang Taifuren Bazhi Mingshou Jilian Ji* (Hong Kong: Private publication, 1954); Susanna Hoe, "Clara Ho Tung, 1875–1938," in *Chinese Footprints* (Hong Kong: Roundhouse Publications, 1997).
- 8 For more examples, see Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 4, 6, 9, 50, 66, 75, 73–4, 98, 153; Gittins, "Eastern Windows – Western Skies" 86, 71. Yeo, *My Memories*. See also Ho, *Xianci Hemu Zhang Taifuren Lianjue Jushi Shengping Yixing Buyi*, 6.
- 9 Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 4, 179. See also Cheng, *Intercultural Reminiscences*, 51–52.
- 10 Keeping the vegetarian vow is a common Buddhist practice. It means that the practitioner is willing to abstain his or her pleasure for food to transfer the merit onto the loved ones. In this case, Clara kept the vow for her mother's

- next life and probably also for her husband's health and longevity. For more details on the religious roots of vegetarianism, see Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism 1900–1950* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1973, first published 1967), 112, 365.
- 11 Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 99, 112–14. Zhang, *Mingshan Youji*, 92; Ho, *Hemu Zhang Taifuren Bazhi Mingshou Jilian Ji*, 4.
 - 12 Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 17, 99.
 - 13 Gittins, “Eastern Windows – Western Skies”; Cheng, *Intercultural Reminiscences*, 70.
 - 14 Lin Lengzhen (1899–1966) née Lin Shunqun was born in Japan. She was a distant relative of the Ho Tung family and she and Lady Clara addressed each other as cousins; and others simply called her Cousin Lin (Lin *biaogu*). She received her education in Japan until the age of fifteen when her father died, and she returned Hong Kong. Influenced by Lady Clara, she became interested in Buddhism, took refuge vows under two monks, and assumed two more Buddhist names, Lengzhen and Guanzhen. To assist Lady Clara in her Buddhist business, Lin decided not to marry. She was not only a central figure of the Yuen, but also an active member who earned respect in the local Buddhist community. For more information on Lin, see Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 8; Cheng, *Intercultural Reminiscences*, 21. *Dayushan Zhi* (Lantau Gazetteer) (Hong Kong, 1958), 37, 67; *Baojue Liankan* (Baojue Annual) Vol.11 (1966); *Xianggang Fojiao Lianhehui Huikan Ji Chuangli Wushi Zhounian Jinxi Jinian Tekan* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Buddhist Association, 1995), 141.
 - 15 Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 125.
 - 16 In Buddhism, there are different sets of rules and ceremonies to define and differentiate common laity, such as being refuge disciples or tonsure disciple. Lay Buddhists who hope to be admitted as refuge disciples must keep the Three Jewels Refuges (the Buddha, the Buddhist truth, and the congregation of clergy) and the Five Vows (promise not to kill, steal, lie, drink alcoholic beverages, or commit any immoral sexual act), and to learn from a master ordained Buddhist. One can follow more than one Buddhist masters. For more details, see Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism 1900–1950*, 317, 58, 64.
 - 17 Interview with Irene Cheng, November 18, 1996: the Buddhist name for Victoria was Lian Jie; Daisy was Lian Hui; Eva was Lian Jing; and Irene was Lian Sheng. Daisy, the second daughter who eventually suffered from mental instability, did not go on the trip, but Lady Clara took the refuge vow in her daughter's stead, probably for the blessing of her health.
 - 18 The interpretation of the May Fourth Movement has been a controversial one. Vera Schwarz attempts to downplay the movement as an “unfinished business” whose main significance was its legacy as only an allegory for generations to

- come, see Vera Schwarz, *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
- 19 Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 122.
 - 20 Sir Robert Ho Tung's involvement in the political arena during the Republican period can also be found in *Zhonghua Minguo Shishi Rizhi: 1922–1926*, vol. 3 (Taipei: u.d.).
 - 21 Zhang Lianjue, *Mingshan Youji*, 70.
 - 22 That was the Qixia Si, which needed restoration because of the damage done during the Taiping Rebellion. The restoration was also aimed at reviving and reforming the Monastery. For more details of the Ho Tung couple's visit, their donation, their long-term patronage, the inscription of the plaque, and the personal relationship between Clara and the abbot, see Zhu Jiexuan, *Qixia Shan Zhi (The Gazetteer of Qixiashan)* (unknown published place, 1962), 73, 97, 117, 139–41; Shi Dong Chu, *Zhonghua Fojiao Jindai Shi*, 738.
 - 23 Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 137.
 - 24 *Ibid.*, xii and 121. The first draft of the travelogue was prepared by Chiu Kutum (Zhao Jian) and later revised by Lady Clara's Buddhist friend and tutor, Ting-yuk Leung (Liang Tingyu). For more details on Lady Clara's 1916 pilgrimage, see her travelogue, *Mingshan Youji* and Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 120–21.
 - 25 On Lady Clara's observations about Buddhism in Guangdong, see *Mingshan Youji*, 54, 80–84.
 - 26 Zhang Lianjue, *Mingshan Youji*, 80.
 - 27 Zhang Lianjue, *Mingshan Youji*, 83–84.
 - 28 The relationship between monk Shi Ai Ting and Lady Clara will be elaborated in the chapter. For a detailed background of the monk, see *Ai Ting Fashi Jimian Kan* (Commemorative Issue on Master Ai Ting) (Hong Kong: Private publication, 1948).
 - 29 Ai Ting Shi, "Wosuo Renshi Di Lianjue Jushi-2" (What I Knew about Laywoman Lin-Kok – Part II), *Huanan Jueyin* 29: 32, 1941.
 - 30 *Ibid.*, 36.
 - 31 Ai Ting Shi, "Wosuo Renshi Di Lianjue Jushi-1" (What I Knew about Laywoman Lin-Kok – Part I) *Huanan jueyin* 27 and 28: 36–37. 1941. See also Zhang Lianjue, *Mingshan Youji*, 40–42.
 - 32 Zhang Lianjue, *Mingshan Youji*, 3–4.
 - 33 Zhang Lianjue, *Mingshan Youji*, 104.
 - 34 Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 83, 101.
 - 35 Gittins, "Eastern Windows – Western Skies," 105.
 - 36 Susanna Hoe, "Clara Ho Tung, 1875–1938," 234.

- 37 For references to Clara's public and social engagements, see *Hong Kong Government Administrative Report* (1916, 1927, 1928, 1931, 1932, 1935); *Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals: 75 Anniversary Commemorative Issue* (1996). *Huazi Ribao*, December 9, 1938; also see Lady Clara's obituary, *South China Morning Post*, January 6, 1938, p. 10, which described her as a "prominent Social Worker the Colony loses."
- 38 Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 3–4, 100.
- 39 For more details on the visit, see Zhang Jingrong, *Mingshan Youji*, 97; words quoted in the paragraph are from *ibid.*, 100.
- 40 Zhang Jingrong, *Clara Ho Tung*, 101–5.
- 41 For information on monk Shi Bao Jing, see *Baojing Dashi Quanji* (The Collection on Master Bao Jing) (Hong Kong: Private publication, 1979). Monk Shi Yuan Can (1873–1967) was from Guangdong and among the first group of clergy coming to Hong Kong in 1911. Ordained at the age of fifteen, he was once a student disciple of another famous monk, Miao Can (refer to the previous chapter for background information). He was well-known for his extensive travels and public lectures. Besides Hong Kong, he had been to Japan and other Southeast Asian countries. Because of his radical and strong opinions towards Tai Xu's reformation ideas, he was a controversial figure in the Chinese Buddhist circle. In time, he settled down in Hong Kong and founded a Buddhist institution in Causeway Bay called Weixin foxueshe. He also bought the hermitage on Lantau Island, Bayan ge, from a nun for his retirement. The two-story hermitage was initially founded in 1926. His funeral was an occasion in Hong Kong with days of newspaper coverage. For more information on Yuan Can, see Ming Hui, *Dayushan Zhi*, *op. cit.*, 36, 52; Shi Ming Hui, *Yuan Can Laofashi Jilian Ji* (The Commemorate Issue on the Old Master Yuan Can) (Hong Kong: Private publication, 1967); Man-yee Ip, "Xianggang Zaoqi Zhi Fojiao Fazhan" (The Early Development of Buddhism in Hong Kong), *The Dharmalakshana Buddhist Institute Buddhist Journal* III (November 1992): 49.
- 42 Zhang Jing Rong, *Mingshan Youji*, 103–4.
- 43 Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 100–1.
- 44 For example, Lady Clara and some of her Buddhist friends organized the visit of a Japanese monk to Hong Kong. For details, see Ip, "Xianggang Zaoqi Zhi Fojiao Fazhan" (The Early Development of Buddhism in Hong Kong), 37.
- 45 Jinglin Wang, *Zhongguo Gudai Siyuan Shenghuo* (Xian: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 1991).

The "Water and Land" ritual service is the largest activity and "festival" celebrated in Chinese Buddhist monasteries and lasts from a minimum of seven to forty-nine days, depending on the request of patrons. Usually, the service could mobilize the entire monastery, or on some larger occasions, the combined efforts of several monasteries would be employed. The main purpose of the ritual service is to say prayers for the dead, the ghosts, and spirits of all sides and all levels. The reputation and status of clergy and monasteries taking part

is closely related to the effectiveness of the service. The venue could be at one of the monasteries, a patron's residence, or in the open space near the monastery. The service was not inherited from Indian Buddhism, but was formulated by a devoted Buddhist Chinese Emperor in AD 505. The complication level of the ritual and setting again depend on the scale of the service, which could include chanting different Buddhist scriptures day and night, specifically those for the dead, specially chanted by 108 monks. There are also elaborate food offering rituals to ghosts and spirits.

- 46 For more background information of Qixia Si, and its restoration project, see Zhu Jiexuan, *Qixia Shan Zhi*.
- 47 Zhang Jingrong, *Mingshan Youji*, 97–98.
- 48 Ip, “Xianggang Zaoqi Zhi Fojiao Fazhan” (The Early Development of Buddhism in Hong Kong), 27.
- 49 For more details on the activity, see *ibid.*, 21, 27.
- 50 Zhang Jingrong, *Mingshan Youji*, 100–1.
- 51 For more details of the assassination, see Vivienne Poy, *A River Named Lee* (Scarborough, Ont.: Calyan Publishing Ltd., 1995), 1, 2, 59–63.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 45, 52, 58.
- 53 Zhang Jingrong, *Mingshan Youji*, 105.
- 54 Poy, *A River Named Lee*, 63.
- 55 For background on the Lee Gardens and Lee Theatre, see *ibid.*, 40–41; Vivienne Poy, *Building Bridges: The Life and Times of Richard Charles Lee, Hong Kong: 1905–1983* (Canada: Calyan Publishing Ltd., 1998).
- 56 He, *Xianggang Jiazu Shi*, 113. The Lee family has been a patron of local Buddhist development, even in recent times, for example, the HK\$1,000,000 donation to the Bronze Buddha project finished in 1992.
- 57 Tung Lin Kok Yuen was founded on May 10, 1935 (the 8th day of the fourth month in the Chinese lunar calendar). There are different dates to commemorate Buddhism. These dates also differ among Buddhist countries in northern and southern Asia. In China, for example, Buddhists commemorate Buddha's death on the 15th day of the second month, Buddha's birthday on the 8th day of the fourth month, Buddha's enlightenment on the 8th day of the twelfth month. These dates are based on the Chinese lunar calendar; according to which the year of Buddha began in 486 BC when the year was believed to be Buddhist death. In many Southeastern Asian Buddhist countries, Buddhists celebrate Buddha's birthday, death, and enlightenment on the same day, April 15. For these countries, the year of Buddha began 59 years later than in the North, in 545 BC. For more details on the Yuen's opening, see *Renhaideng* (The Lamp of the Sea of Man), vol. 2, no. 13 (June 1935): 207–9.
- 58 *The Enlightened Voice*, 1941, vol. 29, 32.
- 59 For more information on the layout and function of the chamber, see Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 104–5.
- 60 Zhang Jingrong, *Mingshan Youji*, 107–8.
- 61 Yong Ming Shi, *Xianggang Fojiao Yu Fosi* (Hong Kong: Po Lin Monastery, 1992), 49.

- 62 Zhang Jingrong, *Mingshan Youji*, 108.
- 63 Ho, *Hemu Zhang Taifuren Bazhi Mingshou Jilian Ji*, 5, 21.
- 64 Zhang Jingrong, *Mingshan Youji*, 107–8.
- 65 Mantao Zhang, ed., *Xiandai Fojiaoxueshu Congkan 86: Mingguo Fojiao Pian* (Taipei: Dasheng wenhua chuban she, 1978), 333. The year 1937 was a turning point in the Buddhist Reformation movement in China, as marked by the Japanese invasion, the shifting of the agenda among reformist Buddhists from a religious to a patriotic cause. In the 1930s, there were clergy fleeing to Hong Kong first and mainly as refugees. Later some reformist Buddhists transplanted their ideals to Hong Kong. In this case, Tung Lin Kok Yuen was very much a place for both refugees and reformist idealists.
- 66 Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 140–41.
- 67 Cheng, *Intercultural Reminiscences*, 225.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 231.
- 69 For a more detailed reference, see Irene Cheng, “Women Students and Graduates,” in *University of Hong Kong: The First 50 Years, 1911–1961*, ed. Harrison B (Hong Kong: Cathay Press, 1962), 148–58.
- 70 For some explanation on the *mui-tsai* system, see Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 177.
- 71 *Ibid.*, 60, 65–66.
- 72 *Ibid.*, 66.
- 73 *Ibid.*, 145, Ho, *Xianci Hemu Zhang Taifuren Lianjue Jushi Shengping Yixing Buyi*, 3.
- 74 Extracted and translated from Zhang Jingrong, *Mingshan Youji*, 106–7.
- 75 *Ibid.*
- 76 Cheng, *Intercultural Reminiscences*, 188.
- 77 The two free schools are referred differently in different contexts, see Fang Meixian, *Xianggang Zaoqi Jiaoyu Fazhan Shi: 1841–1941*, 150. Po Kok Free School in Hong Kong is named as Baojue Nuyixue.
- 78 He, *Xianggang Jiazu Shi*, 99–100. In the 1930s, the entire Percival Street was Lee Hysan family’s property, and Lady Clara was a good friend of the Lee family. Her travelogue recorded Lee Haysan’s death and her involvement in arranging the Buddhist funeral for the Lee family. It would be interesting to know if there was any connection between Lady Clara’s friendship with the Lee family and her successful search for the free school’s premises in Percival Street.
- 79 Zhang Jingrong, *Mingshan Youji*, 106.
- 80 Shi, *Xianggang Fojiao Yu Fosi*, 49.
- 81 Bao-qiong Mai, “Xiaoyou Yanjiang” (A Speech from a Former Graduate), *Baojue Tongxue* (Baojue Students) no. 1 (1953): 2, Jin Ping, “Xianggang Fojiao Xuexiao Gaikuang” (The General Situation of Buddhist Schools in Hong Kong), *Xianggang fojiao* (Hong Kong Buddhism), no. 36 (1963): 36.
- 82 Wai-ying Shi, “Zhanqian Guhou Yicien: Zhuinian Lin Yuanchang Zhen Jushi” (In Memory of Mother Superior Lin, Laywoman Zhen), *Po Kok Annual Journal* 11, no. 27 (1966): 3. The account was written by Shi Wai Yin, a former student of the seminary and the subsequent Po Kok School and now a Buddhist nun.

- 83 Zhang Jing Rong, *Mingshan Youji*, 106. The other two were Mr Xie Mengbo and “the fourth auntie” with unknown background.
- 84 Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 130. See also Susanna Hoe, “Clara Ho Tung, 1875–1938,” in *Chinese Footprints: Exploring Women’s History in China, Hong Kong and Macau* (Hong Kong: Roundhouse Publication, 1997), 239.
- 85 *Ibid.*, 18, 73, 150. In October 1902, Lady Clara took her son Eddie to Macau for medical retreat because the climate there seemed better for the sick baby. Due to her interest in Chinese theatre, Lady Clara “became acquainted with one of the owners of the Tsing Ping Theatre in Macao.” During the Japanese occupation, Sir Robert Ho Tung took refuge in Macau to avoid being forced to cooperate with the Japanese. In time, the Ho Tung family contributed much to Macau, including a donation to the Macau Government of a Chinese Library worth \$25,000, funding Macau’s Keng Wu Hospital, and many other charitable organizations, including Lady Clara’s efforts to promote Buddhist education in Macau.
- 86 Tanxu Shi, “Wuyu Guanben Heshang Zhi Yinyuan” (My Relation with Monk Guan Ben), *Wujindeng* 5, no. 2 (November 1955): 18–19, 30; Tanxu Shi, “Wuyu Guanben Heshang Zhi Yinyuan” (My Relation with Monk Guan Ben), *Wujindeng* 5, no. 3 (December 1955): 15–17. Zhang Xiubo (1868–1946) was born in 1868, and his native place was Guangdong Xiangshan. He passed several levels of imperial examinations in 1886, 1890, and 1891. He married twice in 1887 and 1892 and had three daughters and one son. In the 1890s, with his friends, he organized a study society and a free school in Macau to promote social reforms such as anti-footbinding and anti-smoking. He fled to Japan and studied there after the failure of the Hundred Days Reform. Later, he was involved in a publishing business, in running schools, and in the Sino-Japanese trade and railway in Shanghai. He first learned about Buddhism in 1914 from a lay friend. In 1915, he took his family members and moved to Macau where he headed two schools and ran a Buddhist institution, *Fosheng she* to promote vegetarianism and Buddhist studies. From time to time, he returned to Shanghai to take laymen vows. In 1928, he initiated his Buddhist tours to southeastern countries, including staying in Hong Kong for four months to give lectures in Shatin. In 1931, at the age of sixty-four, with most of his senior family members dead, he took the final step to become an ordained monk and returned to China to receive monastic training. He headed Gongde Lin in 1933, but he continued to travel to Hong Kong, Macau, and China for Buddhist lectures and proposed updating Buddhist ritual songs. After the fall of Canton in 1937, he took refuge in Hong Kong and stayed in Shatin Baoling Dong. He then moved back to China when Hong Kong fell to the Japanese. He returned to Canton after the war, and, by that time, he already had more than 10,000 disciples. He died in Canton in 1946, at the age of seventy-eight. His son was also an ordained monk, much earlier in 1920, but died a year later; one of his daughters remained single throughout her life and took charge of Gongde Lin.

- 87 Tan Xu Shi and Tai Guang Shi, *Yingchen Huiyi Lu* (1991), 220, 56. *Xianggang Fojiao* (Buddhism in Hong Kong) vol. 170, 21: July 1974. The term “Gongde Lin” comes from mixed Taoist and Buddhist backgrounds. *Gongde* is a Taoist concept that means to count and balance one’s good and bad deeds. *Lin* in Buddhism is a metaphoric word used to describe different organizations, for example, *jushi lin* and *conglin* meaning a lay organization and a common monastic organization. The term is used widely by different Buddhist institutions and vegetarian restaurants. For example, there were Buddhist institutions named Gongde Lin in Shanghai and Tianjin.
- 88 Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 150.
- 89 Shi, “Wuyu Guanben Heshang Zhi Yinyuan” (My Relation with Monk Guan Ben), no. 2: 18–19, 30; no. 3: 15–17.
- 90 Shi, “Zhanqian Guhou Yicien: Zhuinian Lin Yuanchang Zhen Jushi” (In Memory of Mother Superior Lin, Laywoman Zhen), 3. The author described the seminary as *conglin*, that is, the traditional Buddhist monastic style, though no further details are given about how the seminary was run as such with fewer than one hundred inmates.
- 91 *Ibid.*, 4, Shi, “Wosuo Renshi Di Lianjue Jushi-2” (What I Knew about Laywoman Lin-Kok – Part II), 36.
- 92 *Aomen Youlan Zhinan* (Macau: Private Publication, 1939), 58–59.
- 93 Please note that the seminary has different names in Lady Clara’s travelogue and on the photograph taken on the opening day. The photograph’s caption shows the name of the seminary as Qingshan foxue yanjiushe. There is also confusion about whether Lady Clara bought or rented the venue at *Haiyun lanruo*. Monk Ai Ting recalled that Lady Clara rented the place, whereas nun Wai-ying suggested otherwise.
- 94 Zhang Jingrong, *Mingshan Youji*, 106.
- 95 Ai Ting Shi, “Wosuo Renshi Di Lianjue Jushi-1” (What I Knew about Laywoman Lin-Kok – Part I), *Huanan Jueyin* (The Enlightened Voice for South China), 27–28, 36.
- 96 Shi, “Zhanqian Guhou Yicien: Zhuinian Lin Yuanchang Zhen Jushi” (In Memory of Mother Superior Lin, Laywoman Zhen), 4; Shi, “Wosuo Renshi Di Lianjue Jushi-1” (What I Knew about Laywoman Lin-Kok – Part I), 36.
- 97 Shi, *Xianggang Fojiao Yu Fosi*, 61.
- 98 For more details of the funeral, see Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 153–64.
- 99 Cheng, *Intercultural Reminiscences*, 217–18, 301.
- 100 For more details, see *Memorandum and Articles of Association of Tung Lin Kok Yuen*.
- 101 See Annual Report of Tung Lin Kok Yuen in 1952, and Amendment of the Yuen’s Articles of Association in 1957.
- 102 Cheng, *Intercultural Reminiscences*, Chapter 20, 12.
- 103 See booklet produced by Tung Lin Kok Yuen, Canada Society, 1; see also its website: www.tunglinkok.ca.

- 104 Cheng, *Lady Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, 164.
- 105 *South China Morning Post*, January 6, 1938, 10; see also *ibid.*, 181.
- 106 Tai Xu Shi, “Sanshi Nianlai Zhi Zhongguo Fojiao” (Buddhism in China in the Thirty Years), in *Xiandai Fojiaoxueshu Congkan 86: Mingguo Fojiao Pian*, ed. Mantao Zhang (Taipei: Dasheng Wenhua Chubanshe, 1978), 324–5.
- 107 Zhu Kong Shi, “Mingguo Fojiao Nianji” (The Chronology of Buddhism during the Republican Period), in *Xiandai Fojiaoxueshu Congkan 86: Mingguo Fojiao Pian*, ed. Mantao Zhang (Taipei: Dasheng Wenhua Chubanshe, 1978), 199, 213.
- 108 Shi Ai Ting, “Wosuo renshi di Lianjue jueshi,” 32–33.
- 109 Le Guan Shi, “Wosuo Renshi Di Yiwei Lupusa” (A Female Bodhistattva as I Knew Her), in *Hemu Zhang Taifuren Bazhi Mingshou Jilian Ji*, ed. Shai-lai Ho (Hong Kong: Private publication, 1954), 13.
- 110 See Bicheng Lu, “Zhang Lianhue Jushi Chuan” (A Biographical Sketch on Zhang Lianjue), in *Guangdong Fojiaoshi*, ed. Yongkang Liang (Hong Kong: Zhonghua Fojiao Tushu Guan, 1984), 108–10.
- 111 Susanna Hoe, *Chinese Footprints*, 234.
- 112 Siu-lun Wong, “Gender and Trust: The Dynamism of Chinese Family Enterprise Revisited,” in *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology in the Twenty First Century*, ed. Chiao Chien, Rance Lee, and Ma Rong (Kaohsiung: Liwen Cultural Enterprise Ltd., 2001).

Chapter 8

- 1 A survey of doctoral dissertations written in the last twenty years at the University of Hong Kong produces only a few that are remotely related to the topic. See Priscilla Pue Ho Chu, *The Making of Women Entrepreneurs in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003).
- 2 Some notable biographies include one on Lady Clara Ho-tung by her daughter Irene Cheng, but she belonged to a different era. Although she was respected for her public service and charity, she was by no means seen as “professional.” Ellen Li (born 1907), a pioneer professional woman, produced her own autobiography that summarizes her life and work over eight decades. Although recognized for her tremendously high profile record of public service and her push for legislation to advance the rights of women in Hong Kong, she is seen as a woman of privilege who engaged in charity and “do-goodism.” In her self-perception, she juxtaposed familial ties and duties of a wife and mother with her extremely progressive record of public involvement in women’s causes. I interviewed her in 1993.
- 3 A leading journalist in Hong Kong volunteered these impressions during a conversation I had with him. Similarly, an academic who was active in public service once confessed that when Chief Secretary Anson Chan stared him in the eye, his legs turned weak; when she smiled, his heart melted.

- 4 See Elizabeth Sinn, “Lesson in Openness: Creating a Space of Flow in Hong Kong,” in *Hong Kong Mobile: Making a Global Population*, ed. Helen F. Siu and Agnes S. Ku (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), 13–43.
- 5 See summary in the introduction of this volume. See also Zhaoxing Li and Zeng Fan, eds., *Xianggang 101: Ai Hen Xianggang De 101 Ge Li You* (Hong Kong 101: One Hundred and One Reasons to Love and Hate Hong Kong) (Hong Kong: Feel Company Ltd., 2000). On the likes and dislikes of a postwar Hong Kong generation (born between 1955 and 1975), Chan portrayed the diligent factory girls of working class families, and members of her fan clubs identified with her movie images. Siu Fong Fong played the upwardly mobile, middle-class girl going through secondary school and local university, and captured another class of fans. The images and the fans’ experiences characterized Hong Kong in the postwar decades.
- 6 See Karen Kelsky, *Women on the Verge: Japanese Women, Western Dreams*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).
- 7 See Norma Connolly and Martin Wong, “Scales Tip as Women Outnumber Men,” *South China Morning Post*, February 23, 2007.
- 8 See Chun-ho Wong “Who’s Worth a Million Dollars in Hong Kong? More Women Than Men,” *South China Morning Post*, February 14, 2007. See also articles “Nü Dagong Guizu Shinian Zeng Wucheng, Gang Zui Gaoxin 1% Ren Shuikuan Zhan Zong’e 36%” (Female Working Aristocrats Increased Fifty Percent in Ten Years; Top One Percent Income Earners Paid Thirty-six Percent of Total Hong Kong Taxes), *Ming Pao Daily News*, May 2, 2007, A11, and “83% Gangqi Ping Nü Gaocheng Lie Quanzhi Diwu” (83% Hong Kong Businesses Hired Senior Women Executives, Ranking Number Five in the World), *Ming Pao Daily News*, March 8, 2007.
- 9 This occurs across political lines for public figures, such as Audrey Eu (Civic Party), and Rita Fan (convener for LegCo).
- 10 See interviews of these women in *Xianggang Funü Nianbao Bianji Weiyuanhui*, ed. *Xianggang Funü Nianbao* (Hong Kong Women’s Annual Book) (Hong Kong: Xianggang Xinwen Chubanshe, 1975–).
- 11 These are leading social magazines in Hong Kong that highlight elite women and their styles.
- 12 See Betty Yau, Kit Chun Au, and Fanny M. Cheung, “Women’s Concern Groups in Hong Kong” (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, 1992). See also Xiaoyun Fang, *Xianggang Nü Fuhao Liejuan* (Wealthy Women in Hong Kong) (Hong Kong: Chinshiyuan Chubanshe, 1993). The author examines the background and family ties of five wealthy women in Hong Kong who are the wives of prominent businessmen. See also Liu Su, *Xianggang, Xianggang . . .* (Hong Kong, Hong Kong . . .) (Hong Kong: Zhongguo Tu Shu Kan Xing She, 1987).
- 13 David Faure, *Colonialism and the Hong Kong Mentality* (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, The University of Hong Kong, 2003).
- 14 See Liu, *Xianggang, Xianggang . . .*
- 15 See media reports on the campaigns of the two candidates since the death of Ma Li, a Legislative Councilor who died in August 2007.

- 16 See Fan Zuoyun “Shengguan zhiri huixiang zhizu” (High Official Returning to Native Place to Pay Respect to Ancestors), *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, October 1, 1993, 5.
- 17 See Luo Di, “Buzhengsi Chen Fang Ansheng Renzhong Daoyuan” (Chief Secretary Anson Chan Shoulders Heavy Responsibilities), *Nanbeiji*, December 1993, 8–9.
- 18 See “Buzhengsi Anson Chan Changtan Danren Lingdaoren Suoxu Pinzhi: Gui Yi Shen Zuo Ze Geng Xu Duidezhu Liangxin” (Chief Secretary Discusses Necessary Quality of Leadership: Be a Model for Society and Act with a Conscience). *Shing Pao*, December 5, 1993, 10.
- 19 See Dorinda Elliot, “The Iron Lady Is on the Spot,” *Newsweek*, June 9 1997, 11–15.
- 20 See Margaret Ng, “And Now, the Real Tung Administration,” *South China Morning Post*, January 16, 2001.
- 21 See Weng Yuxiong, “Fendai Guanchang Yingxiong Shise” (Heroes Pale in a Female-dominated Officialdom), *Apple Daily*, June 25, 2000. A figure in September 2004 puts it at 24.6%. See “Nü Jiao Nan Duo 25 Wan, Yue Lai Yue Chihun, Nan 31 Nü28,” *Ming Pao Daily News*, July 29, 2005 (Women Outnumber Men by 250,000. Rising Trend for Late Marriages, Men 31 Women 28) on a rise in the percentage of women civil servants at the directorate level and above. See also “Ben Gang Nüxing Cangxuan Bilü Di” (The Ratio of Political Participation among Hong Kong Women is Low), *Ming Pao Daily News*, April 7, 2005, in which Fang Minsheng, a social services activist, lamented the low participation rate and success rate of women in electoral politics (less than 20%).
- 22 See Weng, “Fengdai Guanchang, Yingxiong Shise” (Heroes Pale in a Female-dominated Officialdom).
- 23 See *Ming Pao Daily News*, November 13, 1998.
- 24 See Ma Zhenping, *Gangren Da Xieyi: Yige Beijing Ren Yanzhong De Xianggang Ren* (An Overall Description of Hong Kong People Through the Eyes of a Beijing Person) (Beijing: Qunyan Chubanshe, 1998).
- 25 I heard the comments in a morning radio program in Hong Kong during the year 2000, when citizens called in to express their views on current public affairs. For the comment on Cheung, see Ma, *Gangren Da Xieyi: Yige Beijing Ren Yanzhong De Xianggang Ren* on Hong Kong women.
- 26 See the comic book: Lai Yifu, *Saobatou* (Broomhead) (Hong Kong: Subculture Publisher, 2001). The TV program in which Ip was interviewed was “James Wong Xianggang Qing Zhi Zongyou Chutou Tian, episode 10–11” (Program by James Wong on Unveiling Hong Kong Moods, episode 9–10), broadcast on February 7 and 8, 2002 at 10:35 p.m. See also http://www.mingpaoweekly.com/htm/1810/bb01_8.htm on popular comments on Ip.
- 27 As Secretary for Security, she was given the task to “persuade” the public to accept a rather tough national securities legislation (known locally as the Article 23 legislation in the Basic Law of Hong Kong). She and the government were

- accused by an alliance of liberal democrats of not seeking enough public consultation, yielding to political pressure from China, and being high-handed. The attempts triggered a mass demonstration of more than half a million people on July 1, 2003, which took China completely by surprise. Ip resigned soon after, although friends have argued that her resignation was not related to the episode. See HKU POP Site (<http://hkupop.hku.hk/>) and Archive-POP Polls, there is “Ratings of Secretary for Security Regina Ip Lau Suk-ye.” The first poll was conducted in July 2002 (five months after the TV program) and the ratings still showed a downward trend.
- 28 Emily Lau, a legislator, asked the universities in Hong Kong to be vigilant in their hiring. She pointed to the low ratio of female faculty (23%) — especially in the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) and the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. The pro-Vice Chancellor of CUHK, Professor Kenneth Young, denied any sex discrimination, but noted that a few decades before, there had been fewer opportunities for women to receive higher education. Hence, there is a lack of female academics today. See “Jiaoshi Yangcheng Yin Shuai” (Male Dominance in Number of Academics), *Ming Pao Daily News*, March 11, 1999.
 - 29 The report in Weng, “Fen Dai Guanchang, Yingxiang Shi Se” (Heroes Pale in a Female-dominated Officialdom), quotes Chi-chiu Leung, chair of the Senior Civil Servants Association, who attributes the high numbers of women administrative officers to the particular demands of the British colonial service and the subsequent localization in preparation for 1997.
 - 30 I interviewed a dozen or so women professionals with law degrees. The oldest generation of women lawyers is now in their sixties and mostly retired. The active political figures are in their fifties and forties.
 - 31 Interview with Elsie Leung in 1994. Among the recent chairs of the Hong Kong Bar Association are Gladys Li, Jacqueline Leung, and Audrey Eu. The late Helen Lo was the territory’s first women magistrate, followed by others. See most recent figures for junior counsels at the Hong Kong bar Association, in <http://barlist.hkba.org/hkba/SeniorityJunior/JuniorCounsel.htm>. As of 2008, the total number of junior counsels is 975, including 712 male and 263 female, i.e. around 30%.
 - 32 It was December 18, 2001. I was invited by a graduate of the university to attend the dinner, held at the Hong Kong Convention Centre.
 - 33 Faure (2003), 48–49.
 - 34 See an autobiography by Patrick Shuk-siu Yu, *A Seventh Child and the Law* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1998).
 - 35 See *Ming Pao Daily News*, January 6, 1988 (excerpted in Dr Li’s autobiography, *Life’s Journey*, July 1993, 108).
 - 36 “Tai tai” is a term that refers to a wealthy but dependent spouse.
 - 37 The quote is taken from Ellen Li’s autobiography, 113.
 - 38 Lydia Dunn, Rita Fan, Audrey Eu, Emily Lau, Rosanna Wong, Selina Chow, and Laura Cha are all remarkable examples across a political spectrum who, at

one time or another, were appointed to the Executive Council or elected to the Legislative Council.

- 39 I interviewed her in Hong Kong in November and December 2000. We have had many other opportunities to discuss her life and career.
- 40 This quote is taken from “Wu Hung Yuk Zai Xiang Hushan Xing” (Hu Hongyu Heads towards the Tiger Mountain Again), *Ming Pao Daily News*, July 25, 1999. In response to the news that she had been appointed by the government as the new chair of the Equal Opportunities Commission.
- 41 See the statement mounted on Equal Opportunity Commission’s website (www.eoc.org.hk).
- 42 Two years later, with public support, the government renewed her contract although they downgraded the position. See “Ping Ji Hui Gao Zhengfu Minjian Kong Chunu Gaoguan, Tuanti Fen Han Teshou Bao Hu Hongyu” (The Equal Opportunities Commission’s Lawsuit against the Government might have Offended officials. Organizations appealed to the Chief Executive to Retain Hu Hongyu), *Ming Pao Daily News*, June 29, 2002 and “Gangfu Shunying Minjian ‘Bao Yu Xingdong’, Xianshi Zunzhong Renquan, Hu Hongyu Xuyue Ping Ji Hui Yinian” (The Hong Kong Government Accommodates Public Efforts to Retain Hu. Showing Respect for Human Rights, Hu’s Contract in Equal Opportunity Commission Is Renewed for a Year), *Ming Pao Daily News*, July 28, 2002.
- 43 Her father was a cotton commodity merchant from Shanghai. Her maternal grandmother and mother have been managers of the high-end English department store, Lane Crawford. They came from a family of old wealth. Generations of its male members had served on the board of the Tung Wah Hospital. (Interview with her mother and maternal grandmother in 1996.)
- 44 See a document by the Citizens Party, “Claiming the Hong Kong Advantage: Future Based and Ambition Driven” (Hong Kong: Citizens Party, 1999).
- 45 See “Lu Gonghui Shinian Jiu Yige Wei Gang” (Christine Loh Took Ten Years to Save a Victoria Harbour), *Ming Pao Daily News*, April 16, 2000. During a newspaper interview after she announced her intention not to run for a third term. The interview focused on her work on Hong Kong’s environment.
- 46 See “Tian Shao Zhi Lu Gonghui Guofen Duli” (Master Tian Accuses Christine Loh of Being Too Independent), *Sing Tao Daily*, April 13, 2000.
- 47 See an interview “Bu Shi Danchu, Ershi Chongxin Touru: Christine Loh Zhuanhuan Kongjian ‘Chong Dian’ (Not a Retreat, but Re-engagement: Christine Loh Changes an Environment to ‘Recharge’) by Yuk-man Wong, a talk show host and political commentator, published in *Oriental Daily*, May 14, 2000, downloaded from www.orisun.com on July 22, 2000.
- 48 See, for example, a report done in partnership with CLSA, “Hong Kong Strategy,” focusing on Hong King’s relationship with Guangdong (October 2002), and a follow-up report in March 2003. On the environment front, she has been active in publicizing and mobilizing the public against further harbor reclamation. Earlier, Civic Exchange conducted a joint survey report with the China Development Institute in Shenzhen on “Zhujiang sanjiaozhou jumin

- huanbao shehui diaocha baogao” (A Social Survey Report on Community Environmental Practices in the Pearl River Delta) (December 2002).
- 49 See “Guihua Yuanjing Wenjian Duanshi” (“Document on Strategic Planning Vision” Short-sighted), *Taiyang bao* (Sun), March 1, 2001.
- 50 See Kaishan Yang and Xue Yike, “Xuni Shequ Ninju Shimin Liliang, Lu Gonghui Tuidong Wangshang Canzheng” (Virtual Community to Gather Citizen’s Strength. Christine Loh Pushes for Internet Political Participation), *Sing Tao Daily*, July 19, 2000.
- 51 See a special bulletin put out by the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce in November 2006 and speeches made by David Eldon, former chairman of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, in November 2006, on the Clean Air Charter. See corresponding publications by Christine Loh in Civic Exchange.
- 52 She was once criticized by a women’s organization for her “lack of empathy.” In a meeting with legislators, women’s advocates were not pleased to hear Christine’s analysis of why uneducated middle-aged women in Hong Kong would face chronic structural unemployment and need government assistance. See “Christine Loh Beima ‘Shi Li Nü Ren’” (Christine Loh Accused of Disappointing Her Gender), *Apple Daily*, February 5, 1999, A16, downloaded from Wiser Information Ltd.
- 53 See debates in the local newspapers in that period for in-depth reporting of the process and outcome.
- 54 See “Da Xuesheng Xiang Jian Emily Lau Christine Loh” (University Students Eager to Meet Emily Lau and Christine Loh), *Ming Pao Daily News*, August 24, 2000, A12 on the details of the survey of over 900 university students.
- 55 See “Zhengtan ‘Athena Chu’ De Jingcai Zhengzhi Xiu” (The “Athena Chu’ in Politics Staging a Political Show), *Sing Tao Daily News*, April 12, 2000, A09, and “Fei Peng Tiba Ruju Renqi Ya Martin Lee Zhengtan ‘Guimei’ Minwang Di Er” (Fatty Patten LegCo Appointee Overtakes Martin Lee in Popularity. “Foreign Little Devil” comes Second in Poll), *Apple Daily*, April 12, 2000, A01.
- 56 See “Xin Jiyuan Renlei Xi Gang, Yin Shui Du Jiang Zhihui” (New Century Beings Descend upon Hong Kong, Oozing Wisdom Even in Water-Drinking), *Sing Dao Daily*, November 30, 2000.
- 57 After she was appointed a board member of the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, she decided to stay at a dormitory a night each semester to experience and to listen to student views.
- 58 Although the legal profession is sharply divided between barristers and solicitors, with the latter outnumbering the former by a ratio of 5 to 1, Margaret Ng, a barrister, has won over two-thirds of the votes in all the elections. In the 1998 election immediately after the political return of Hong Kong to China, she received 1,741 votes in a three-way competition. The other two candidates received 394 and 138 respectively (see Hong Kong Government Announcements, May 25, 1998).
- 59 See her book of essays on her year in Cambridge. Margaret Ng, *Jianqiao Guilu* (Home from Cambridge) (Hong Kong: Mingbao Chubanshe, 1987).

- 60 See Elsie Leung's defense as published in a government news item on March 11, 1999, <http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/199903/11/0311102.htm>, accessed on June 23, 2008.
- 61 See Johannes Chan and Bart Rwezura, eds., *Immigration Law in Hong Kong: An Interdisciplinary Study* (Hong Kong: Sweet and Maxwell Asia, 2004).
- 62 Article 45 of the Basic Law in Hong Kong involves the constitutional basis for universal suffrage in the reelection of the Chief Executive and the Legislative Council. The possibilities were ruled out by Beijing through another reinterpretation in 2004. For more on the July 1 march and the issues, see Margaret Ng, *23 Tiao Lifa Rizhi* (A Dairy on the Legislation of Article 23) (Hong Kong: Next Publications, 2004).
- 63 Audrey Eu, a former chair of the Hong Kong Bar Association, made her political debut when she campaigned and won handsomely against her pro-China opponent in a bi-election in 2000. Educated in a missionary school in Hong Kong and then in England, she is known for her elegance, articulation, and quality brain power through her work in the Legislative Council. She also runs a popular radio talk show on public affairs and continues to be ranked by public opinion polls as one of the most popular political figures. She is a core member of the Article 45 Concern Group.
- 64 See documents and newspaper reporting on the party during its establishment. For details of the party and Margaret Ng's role in it, see www.margaretnng.com, and www.civicparty.hk.
- 65 She has published a highly entertaining book on her food ventures. Margaret Ng, *Chi He Wan Le* (Eat, Drink, and Be Merry) (Hong Kong: Mingbao Chubanshe Youxian Gongsi, 1997).
- 66 The flood of pornography, prostitution, and the short-term keeping of "second wives" in these boomtowns has been quite alarming.
- 67 See the tabloid by *Beijing qingnian bao* during the Hong Kong Tools Exhibition.
- 68 See Wendy Tam, "Chuzou Hou Leyuan" (Venturing out for Happier Circumstances), *Ming Pao Daily News* (May 14, 2007, A14) on interviews of Hong Kong men who have chosen to find spouses across the border. On the changing profiles of mainland spouses, see Hei-wah Ho, "Chengqing Dui Xinyimin De Jige Mouwu" (Clarifying a Few Misunderstandings towards New Immigrants), *Ming Pao Daily News*, September 17, 2007.

Chapter 9

- 1 E. H. Phelps Brown, "The Hong Kong Economy: Achievements and Prospects," in *Hong Kong: The Industrial Colony*, ed. Keith Hopkins (Hong Kong; London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Siu-lun Wong, *Emigrant Entrepreneurs: Shanghai Industrialists in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong; New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Graham Johnson, "Hong Kong, from Colony to Territory: Social Implications of Globalization," in *25 Years of Social and Economic Development*

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 - 5 Levin, "Women and the Industrial Labour Market in Hong Kong," 190.
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 - 9 Lee, "Flexible Manufacturing in a Colonial Economy."
 - 10 Eliza W. Y. Lee, ed., *Gender and Change in Hong Kong: Globalization, Postcolonialism, and Chinese Patriarchy* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003).
 - 11 Ping-chun Hsiung, *Living Rooms as Factories: Class, Gender, and the Satellite Factory System in Taiwan = [Ke Ting Ji Gong Chang]* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996).
 - 12 Hsiung did her fieldwork in 1989, while Lee did hers in 1992–93.
 - 13 Ching-kwan Lee, "Engendering the Worlds of Labor: Women Workers, Labor Markets, and Production Politics in the South China Economic Miracle," *American Sociological Review* 60, no. 3 (1995); Ching-kwan Lee, *Gender and the South China Miracle: Two Worlds of Factory Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
 - 14 Ngai Pun, "Becoming Dagongmei: Politics of Identities and Differences," in *Made in China: Women Factory Workers in a Global Workplace*, ed. Ngai Pun (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Ngai Pun, "Am I the Only Survivor? Global Capital, Local Gaze, and Social Trauma in China," *Public Culture* 14, no. 2 (2002): 341–47.

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- 19 Joan Acker, Kate Barry, and Joke Esseveld, “Objectivity and Truth: Problems in Doing Feminist Research,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 6, no. 4 (1983): 423–35.
- 20 Reinharz and Davidman, *Feminist Methods in Social Research*.
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- 22 Reinharz and Davidman, *Feminist Methods in Social Research*; Jacka, *Rural Women in Urban China: Gender, Migration, and Social Change*.
- 23 Dorothy E. Smith, “Institutional Ethnography: A Feminist Method,” *Resources for Feminist Research* 15, no. 1 (1986): 6–13.
- 24 Smith, “Institutional Ethnography: A Feminist Method,” 6.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 8.
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- 27 The names of these five women are pseudonyms.
- 28 Hsiung, *Living Rooms as Factories: Class, Gender, and the Satellite Factory System in Taiwan = [Ke Ting Ji Gong Chang]*.
- 29 *Ye-Ye Sheng-Ge: Wo Zai Jianuosha De Rizi* (Music and Songs Every Evening: My Days At the Canossian School) (Hong Kong: Publishing Committee for the School History of the Shaukiwan Canossian Evening School, 1998). Comprising original essays written by the alumnae of this school, this was a desktop publication for private circulation only. It preceded the publication of a book for public circulation: Po-king Choi, ed., *Wan Wan Liudianban: Qishi Nindai Shang Yexiao De Nugong* (Every Night at Six-Thirty: Women Workers Who Attended Evening Schools in the Seventies) (Hong Kong: Stepforward Multimedia Co. Ltd., 1998).
- 30 Choi, ed., *Wan Wan Liudianban: Qishi Nindai Shang Yexiao De Nugong*, 17–18.
- 31 This was the common fate of most of the SCES alumnae. See *Ye-Ye Sheng-Ge: Wo Zai Jianuosha De Rizi*, 6, 21; Choi, ed., *Wan Wan Liudianban: Qishi Nindai Shang Yexiao De Nugong*.

- 32 Choi, ed., *Wan Wan Liudianban: Qishi Nindai Shang Yexiao De Nugong*.
- 33 See the stories of Brenda, Betty and Winnie, in Choi, ed., *Wan Wan Liudianban: Qishi Nindai Shang Yexiao De Nugong*, 16–17.
- 34 Choi, ed., *Wan Wan Liudianban: Qishi Nindai Shang Yexiao De Nugong*, 17–18.
- 35 Transcription of group discussion among SCES alumnae on evening school life (July 12, 1997).
- 36 Janet W. Salaff, *Working Daughters of Hong Kong: Filial Piety or Power in the Family?* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
- 37 Lee, *Gender and the South China Miracle: Two Worlds of Factory Women*, 34.
- 38 This was recounted by three SCES alumnae, Cecilia, Wendy, and Emily, in the group discussion on evening school life. (See Choi, ed., *Wan Wan Liudianban: Qishi Nindai Shang Yexiao De Nugong*, 22–25.) However, in one or two years' time, they started taking evening classes. All three worked hard at their studies and got their secondary school leaving qualifications.
- 39 Choi, ed., *Wan Wan Liudianban: Qishi Nindai Shang Yexiao De Nugong*, 20.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid., 31.
- 42 Ibid., 19–20, 28–31.
- 43 Ibid., 53.
- 44 Salaff, *Working Daughters of Hong Kong: Filial Piety or Power in the Family?*
- 45 A. Wei Djao, "Public Issues and Private Troubles: The Government and the Working Class in Hong Kong," in *Poverty and Social Change in Southeast Asia*, ed. Ozay Mehmet (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1979), 109–10.
- 46 It was a common practice for a working daughter to surrender her whole pay packet to the family, while keeping the wages they got for overtime work. At a time when overtime work was abundant and almost mandatory, it could fetch a rather good sum.
- 47 Kit-mui Wong criticized Salaff for simply casting these working daughters in the role of victims of traditional ideologies. Such a view is not only a great insult to these women, but also a lame excuse on the part of the researcher for not trying to understand them. See Choi, ed., *Wan Wan Liudianban: Qishi Nindai Shang Yexiao De Nugong*, 50.
- 48 Kit-wah Man, "Hong Kong Films of the Sixties and Woman's Identity," in *Hong Kong Sixties: Designing Identity*, ed. Matthew Turner and Irene Ngan (Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Arts Centre, 1995), 76–77.
- 49 Lee, *Gender and the South China Miracle: Two Worlds of Factory Women*, 15.
- 50 Ibid., 27.
- 51 Pun, "Am I the Only Survivor? Global Capital, Local Gaze, and Social Trauma in China," 345.
- 52 Choi, ed., *Wan Wan Liudianban: Qishi Nindai Shang Yexiao De Nugong*, 84.
- 53 Chiu and Levin, "The World Economy, State, and Sectors in Industrial Change: Labor Relations in Hong Kong's Textile and Garment-Making Industries," 159; Lee, "Flexible Manufacturing in a Colonial Economy," 166.
- 54 England and Rear, in Levin, "Women and the Industrial Labour Market in Hong Kong," 204.

- 55 Chiu and Levin, “The World Economy, State, and Sectors in Industrial Change: Labor Relations in Hong Kong’s Textile and Garment-Making Industries,” 149.
- 56 Transcription of group discussion among SCES alumnae in work life, July 1997.
- 57 Djao, “Public Issues and Private Troubles: The Government and the Working Class in Hong Kong,” 278.
- 58 Ibid., 285–82.
- 59 Levin, “Women and the Industrial Labour Market in Hong Kong,” 208.
- 60 Levin, *ibid.*, 183–214.
- 61 Lee, *Gender and the South China Miracle: Two Worlds of Factory Women*, 166.
- 62 Djao, “Public Issues and Private Troubles: The Government and the Working Class in Hong Kong,” 281–82.
- 63 Choi, ed., *Wan Wan Liudianban: Qishi Nindai Shang Yexiao De Nugong*, 39–42.
- 64 Paul E. Willis, *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981).
- 65 Choi, 1997, 335.
- 66 In 1991, on the eve of the passing of the “Trade Descriptions Ordinance,” the garment union rallied for the support of workers in their massive protests outside the Legislative Council. Yau-lin joined a number of sit-ins, the hunger strike, and then an overnight vigil, after which she witnessed the defeat of their side when the ordinance was passed. With the passing of the ordinance, relocation of garment factories over the border intensified, as garment products could now legitimately bear the “Made in Hong Kong” label even when only an insignificant proportion of the production work is done in Hong Kong.
- 67 Yau-lin said when she was invited to join the executive committee, she tried to decline by saying that she was illiterate, but then she was convinced when she was told that she could contribute by networking among her fellow workers.
- 68 Wai-fong Chan, Shun-hing Chan, and Yuen-yee Law, “Pioneers in Women’s Rights: Fung-ying Lee, Wai-ming Leung and Yuet-lin Yim,” in *The Other Half of the Sky: Women’s Movement in Post-War Hong Kong*, ed. Cheung Choi Wan, et al. (Hong Kong: Association for the Advancement of Feminism, 1992), 33–34.
- 69 For a detailed report on Yim’s work in the sex workers’ rights movement, see Yuet-lin Yim and Yan-yan Chan, “The Enlightenment Age of the Hong Kong Sex Workers’ Rights Movement,” in *Xing Gongzuo Yanjiu* (The Study of Sex Work), ed. Ho Chuen Juei (Taipei: The Centre for the Study of Sexualities, National Central University, 2003), 59–94.
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- Pingdeng: Xianggang Funu Yundong De Xin Tiaozhan* (Differences and Equality: New Challenges to the Hong Kong Women's Movement), ed. Kam-wah Chan, et al. (Hong Kong: Association for the Advancement of Feminism, in collaboration with the Centre for Social Policy Studies, Department of Applied Social Studies, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, 2001), 133–56.
- 71 See a report on Ngan-fung Liu's talk given on the fifteen anniversary of Kwan Fook, in which she made known her convictions and political stance as a grassroots activist, in <http://www.inmediahk.net/node/62438>. See also her contribution to a conference on women's movement in Hong Kong held in 2000: Ngan-fung Liu, "Family Violence and Sexual Self-Determination," in *Chayi Yu Pingdeng: Xianggang Funu Yundong De Xin Tiaozhan* (Differences and Equality: New Challenges to the Hong Kong Women's Movement), ed. Kam-wah Chan, et al. (Hong Kong: Association for the Advancement of Feminism, in collaboration with the Centre for Social Policy Studies, Department of Applied Social Studies, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, 2001), 109–14.

Chapter 10

- 1 Luo Mu, "Jiqing Ranshao 'Tie Guniang'" (Burning Passion: The Steel Maidens), *Shenghuo Yuekan* (Life Monthly), no. 4 (2005).
- 2 In the eight model operas, many heroines are revolutionary cadres, e.g., Fang Haizhen in "Seaport," Jiang Shuiying in "Ode to the Dragon River," and Ke Xiang of "The Mountain of Cuckoos." Each of them is either a Party secretary or a Party representative.
- 3 Jin Yihong, "Tie Gunian Zaisikao – Zhongguo Wenhua Dageming Qijian De Shehui Xingbie Yu Laodong" (Rethinking the Steel Maidens: Gender roles and Labor in the Cultural Revolution), *Shehuixue Yanjiu* (Sociology Research), no. 1 (2006).
- 4 See Margery Wolf, *Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985); Kay Ann Johnson, *Women, the Family and Peasant Revolution in China* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983).
- 5 Hu Yukun, "Guojia, Shichang Yu Zhongguo Nongcun Funü De Jingji Canyu" (Nation, the Market, and Peasant Women's Economic Participation), in *Jianshe Shehui Zhuyi Xinnongcun Yu Xingbie Pingdeng – Duoxueke He Kuaxueke De Yanjiu* (Multi-Disciplinary Studies in Creating Socialist Villages and Gender Equality), ed. Zhongguo Funü Yanjiuhui (The Association for Chinese Women's Studies) (Beijing: Zhongguo Funü Chubanshe, 2007).
- 6 Jin Yihong, "Tie Guniang Zaisikao – Zhongguo Wenhua Dageming Qijian De Shehui Xingbie Yu Laodong" (Rethinking the Steel Maidens: Gender roles and Labor in the Cultural Revolution).
- 7 Wu Liping, "Wenhua Dageming Zhong De Nühongweibing" (Female Red Guards in the Culture Revolution), *Ershiyi Shiji* (Twenty-First Century

- Bimonthly) 68, no. 11 (2007). For web version, see <http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/ics/21c/>.
- 8 See works by Wolf, *Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China*. Elisabeth J. Croll, *Women and Rural Development in China: Production and Reproduction* (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1985). Johnson, *Women, the Family, and Peasant Revolution in China*, and Delia Davin, *Woman-Work: Women and the Party in Revolutionary China* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976). For a later work, focusing on the Federation of Chinese Women in rural China in the early reform period, Ellen R. Judd provides a nuanced picture. See Ellen R. Judd, *The Chinese Women's Movement between State and Market* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002). Portrayal of women's complicated predicaments in the Maoist period can also be gleaned from personal memoirs and literature published in the post-Mao period. Famous women writers of the post-Mao period who stress the conflicts between private emotions and revolutionary sacrifices include Zhang Jie, Shen Rong, Wang Anyi, Shu Ting, Yang Jian. See Helen F. Siu and Zelda Stern, eds., *Mao's Harvest: Voices of China's New Generation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).
 - 9 Helen F. Siu, "Nianzai Huanan Yanjiu Zhilu" (A Twenty-Year Journey through South China), *Qinghua shehuixue pinglun* (Tsinghua Sociological Review) 1, no. 3 (2001). See "Where Were the Women? Rethinking Marriage Resistance and Regional Culture History," *Late Imperial China* 11, no. 2 (1990).
 - 10 See the picture: Zhuo "niu" (Capture 'Cows'), *Yangcheng Wanbao* (Yangcheng Evening News), August 30, 1966.
 - 11 According to a news report at that time, in order to resist the unhealthy life style of *niu nü*, a hairdresser in Guangzhou proposed that all hairdressers refuse to design the hair style of *niu nü* for customers. See "Da Mie Te Mie Kuai Mie Zichanjieji Guai Faxing" (Get Rid of Strange Bourgeois Hairstyles Extensively, Thoroughly, and Promptly), *Yangcheng Wanbao* (Yangcheng Evening News), August 27, 1966.
 - 12 Shou Beibei, "Renkou Liudong Wushi Nian" (Fifty Years of Migration), *Nanfang Zhoumo* (Nanfang Weekly), November 6, 1998.
 - 13 There are different statistics on the number of people who went down to the countryside. The data here come from Tamara Jacka, *Women's Work in Rural China: Change and Continuity in an Era of Reform*, 38.
 - 14 Li Ruojian, "Cong Shuzui Dao Tizui: 'Si Lei Fenzi' Jieji Chutan" (From Atonement to Scapegoats: A Class Analysis of the "Four Kinds of Elements" in the Initiate Period of the People's Republic of China), *Kaifang Shidai* (Open Times), no. 5 (2006).
 - 15 To protect the identities of the interviewees, we use M, H, and G to represent three different cities.
 - 16 Pseudonyms are used here.
 - 17 A pseudonym is used here.
 - 18 Zhong Dajun, *Guomin Daiyu Bu Pingdeng Shenshi: Eryuan Jiegou Xia De Zhongguo* (Examining the Inequality of National Treatment: The Urban-Rural

- Dual Structure in China) (Beijing: Zhongguo Gongren Chubanshe, 2002).
- 19 See Huang Shumin, *Lincun De Gushi: 1949 Nian Hou De Zhongguo Nongcun Biange* (The Spiral Road: Change in a Chinese Village through the Eyes of a Communist Party Leader) (Beijing: Sanlian Shudian, 2002), 68–110; Jacka, *Women's Work in Rural China: Change and Continuity in an Era of Reform*.
 - 20 Some artists acquired a new artistic life through their experiences in the countryside. See Documentary by Hu Jie and Ai Xiaoming, “Red Art” (China, 2007).
 - 21 The difficult situation in which the educated youth found themselves is described in many literary works. See, for example, Wang Anyi, *Zhiqing Xiaoshuo* (Novels about Educated Youth) (Chengdu: Sichuan Wenyi Chubanshe, 1992).
 - 22 For a recent analysis of the restrictive rural-urban divide, see Helen Siu, “Grounding Displacement: Uncivil Urban Spaces in Postreform South China,” *American Ethnologist* 34, no. 2 (2007). The quote is taken from p. 330 of the article.
 - 23 According to a government document, which analyses the cause of the collective suicide of some young women at a certain place, unequal pay for equal work was an important factor. See Guangdong sheng Fulian, “Guanyu Huilaixian Lianxu Fasheng Nüqingnian Jiti Toushui Zisha Shijian De Qingkuang Diaocha” (An Investigation on Recent Mass Suicides by Self-drowning among Young Women in Huilai County), November 13, 1974 (Guangzhou: Guangdong Sheng Dang'an Guan), (Guangdong Provincial Archives), 233-3-20.
 - 24 Guangdong sheng Fulian (Women's Federation, Guangdong Province), “Jieji Douzheng Zhuyao Fanying Zai Yixia Jige Fangmian” (Class Struggle Included the Following Aspects), November 30, 1973. Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng Dang'an Guan, 233-3-9.
 - 25 Guangdong sheng Fulian (Women's Federation, Guangdong Province), “Guanyu Huilaixian Lianxu Fasheng Nüqingnian Jiti Toushui Zisha Shijian De Qingkuang Diaocha” (An Investigation on Recent Mass Suicides by self-drowning among Young Women in Huilai County).
 - 26 Jacka, *Women's Work in Rural China: Change and Continuity in an Era of Reform*, 133.
 - 27 Ching-kwan Lee, *Gender and the South China Miracle: Two Worlds of Factory Women* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1998), 14.
 - 28 Liwan Quwei (the District Party Committee of Liwan), “Huanan Jinbi Chang Jinxing 'Xianggang Hao Haishi Guangzhou Hao' Jiaoyu De Zuofa” (The Patriotic Education by the South China Pen Factory: ‘Which is better, Hong Kong or Guangzhou?’), August 6, 1962. Guangzhou: Guangdong Sheng Dang'an Guan (Guangdong Provincial Archives), 214-1-293.
 - 29 Zhonggong Guangdong Shengwei Xuanchuanbu (The Propaganda Department of Guangdong Provincial Party Committee), “Guangzhou Shi Yixie Zhongxuesheng Qu Xianggang Hou De Zaoyu” (The Experiences of Some High School Students fleeing to Hong Kong from Guangzhou), July 30, 1963. Guangzhou: Guangdong Sheng Dang'an Guan (Guangdong Provincial Archives), 214-1-300.

- 30 Helen F. Siu, “Immigrants and Social Ethos: Hong Kong in the Nineteen-Eighties,” *Journal of The Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26 (1986).
- 31 Guangdong sheng Nong Lin Shui Bangongshi Diaochazu (The Investigation Team of Guangdong Department of Agriculture, Forestry, and Water Resources), “Zhongshan Xian Toudu Waitao Qingkuang Zonghe” (A Summary Report of Massive Fleeing from Zhongshan County), May 31, 1973. Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng Dang’an Guan (Guangdong Provincial Archives), 229-4-298.
- 32 Lee, *Gender and the South China Miracle: Two Worlds of Factory Women*, 39.
- 33 Xianggang Wu Feng Hang (Ng Fung Hong Limited), “Xianggang Shichang Xiao Huo Dongwu Gongxiao Qingkuang” (The Supply and Marketing of Live Game in Hong Kong), September 1972. Guangzhou: Guangdong Sheng Dang’an Guan (Guangdong Provincial Archives), 296-A2.1-5.
- 34 Liwan Quwei (The District Party Committee of Liwan), “Huanan Jinbi Chang Jinxing ‘Xianggang Hao Haishi Guangzhou Hao’ Jiaoyu De Zuofa” (The Patriotic Education by the South China Pen Factory: ‘Which is better, Hong Kong or Guangzhou?’).
- 35 Guangzhou Haiguan Junguan Xiaozu (The Military Control Commission of Guangzhou Customs), “Guanyu Gaige Haiguan Dui Laizi Xianggang Aomen Duanqi Lüke Xingli Wupin Guanli Guiding De Qingshi Baogao” (The Request for Instructions to Pilot Customs Departments on Administration of the Baggage Carried by Short-term Visitors from Hong Kong and Macao), August 24, 1968. Guangzhou: Guangdong Sheng Dang’an Guan (Guangdong Provincial Archives), 229-4-11.
- 36 Guangdong sheng Nong Lin Shui Bangongshi Diaochazu (The Investigation Team of Guangdong Department of Agriculture, Forestry, and Water Resources), “Zhongshan Xian Toudu Waitao Qingkuang Zonghe” (A Summary Report of Massive Fleeing from Zhongshan County).
- 37 Da Li Gongshe Dangwei Bangongshi (The CPC Committee Office of Dali). “Da Li Gongshe Hong Feng Dadui Dangqian Jieji Douzheng De Yixie Qingkuang” (Current Situations of Class Struggle in Hongfeng Brigade of Dali Commune), May 13, 1973. Guangzhou: Guangdong Sheng Dang’an Guan (Guangdong Provincial Archives), 229-4-298.
- 38 Guowuyuan, Zhongyang Junwei (The State Council, and the Military Commission of the Central Committee), “Guowuyuan, Zhongyang Junwei Guanyu Jianjue Zhizhi Guangdongsheng Daliang Qunzhong Toudu Waitao De Zhishi” (The Directive by the State Council and the CMC to Stop Massive Fleeing from Guangdong Province), June 14, 1979. Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng Dang’an Guan (Guangdong Provincial Archives), 235-2-287.
- 39 Guangdong sheng Fulian (Women’s Federation, Guangdong Province), “Jieji Douzheng Zhuyao Fanying Zai Yixia Jige Fangmian”(Class Struggle Included the Following Aspects).
- 40 Guangdong sheng Nong Lin Shui Bangongshi Diaochazu (The Investigation Team of Guangdong Department of Agriculture, Forestry, and Water Resources), “Zhongshan Xian Toudu Waitao Qingkuang Zonghe” (A Summary Report of Massive Fleeing from Zhongshan County).

- 41 See a film by Zhang Zeming, “Jue Xiang” (Swan Song). China, 1985.
- 42 Guangdong sheng Fulian (Women’s Federation, Guangdong Province), “Jieji Douzheng Zhuyao Fanying Zai Yixia Jige Fangmian”(Class Struggle Included the Following Aspects).
- 43 Guangdong sheng Fulian (Women’s Federation, Guangdong Province), “Gei Zhongshan Xian Fulian Liaojie Nüqingnian Toudu De Quxin” (A Letter to the Women’s Federation of Zhongshan County Concerning Young Female Fleeing), June 26, 1977. Guangzhou: Guangdong Sheng Dang’an Guan (Guangdong Provincial Archives), 233-3-94.
- 44 See the documentary by Carma Hinton, Geremie Barme, and Richard Gordon, *Morning Sun*, 2003.

Chapter 11

- 1 David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford, UK; Cambridge, M.A.: B. Blackwell, 1989), Chapter 2.
- 2 See Gungwu Wang, “Greater China and the Chinese Overseas,” *The China Quarterly*, no. 136 (1993): 930–31.
- 3 For instance, the movie studio tycoons, the Shaw Brothers, are Singaporean, the Kuok family that heads the Shangri-la group is from Penang, and the Haw Par brothers of Tiger Balm are Burmese Chinese.
- 4 There is an elaborate plan for developing Disney consumerism in China through a spectacular program of English-language education from kindergarten onward that is infused with Disney characters.
- 5 See the report by Zi Teng (a Hong Kong-based NGO), “Research Report on Mainland Chinese Sex Workers: Hong Kong, Macau, and Town B in Pearl River Delta,” Hong Kong, 2000.
- 6 For a fuller biography and study that positions Fruit Chan’s work within Hong Kong film, see Wendy Gan, *Fruit Chan’s Durian Durian* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005).
- 7 *Little Cheung* received the Silver Leopard at the Locarno Film Festival. *Durian Durian* won awards for Best Original Screenplay and Best New Performer (for Qin Hailu) at the 2001 Hong Kong Film Awards and won Best Film, Best Actress, Best New Performer, and Best Original Screenplay at the Golden Horse Awards in 2002.
- 8 For a fuller study of the handover trilogy, see Ka-fai Yau, “Cinema 3: Towards a ‘Minor Hong Kong Cinema’,” *Cultural Studies* 15, no. 3/4 (2001). I do not necessarily agree with the details of Yau’s interpretations of the films.
- 9 *Little Cheung* already strains at transnationalism in the centrality it accords to the Filipina maid, and the illegal immigrant girl, who also appears as Ah Fen in *Durian, Durian*.
- 10 For a fuller discussion, see especially Agnes S. Ku, “Hegemonic Construction, Negotiation and Displacement,” *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 4, no. 3 (2001); Helen F. Siu, “Immigrants and Social Ethos: Hong Kong in the

Nineteen-Eighties,” *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26 (1986).

- 11 Wendy Gan suggests that Chan adopts a different mode of social realism when he goes back to China and enters the world of China’s Sixth Generation filmmakers, who are interested in low-key realist explorations of contemporary Chinese life that is devoid of ideals, certainty and hope of a future “and filled instead with the worship of money as China embraces money-making.” See Gan, 40.
- 12 See, for instance, Ryan Bishop and Lillian S. Robinson, *Night Market: Sexual Cultures and the Thai Economic Miracle* (New York; London: Routledge, 1998); Phongpaichit Pasuk, *From Peasant Girls to Bangkok Masseuses* (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1982); Ara Wilson, *The Intimate Economies of Bangkok: Tomboys, Tycoons, and Avon Ladies in the Global City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), Chapter 2. All these studies deal with Thailand.
- 13 See Robyn Emerton, “Trafficking of Women into Hong Kong for the Purpose of Prostitution: Preliminary Research Findings” (Centre for Comparative and Public Law, Faculty of Law, The University of Hong Kong: 2001). On the violation of sex workers rights, see Carolina Ng, “Policemen Humiliate and Hurt Us, Prostitutes Claim,” *Sunday Morning Post*, July 24, 2005.
- 14 Kevin D. Ming, “Cross-Border ‘Traffic’: Stories of Dangerous Victims, Pure Whores and Hiv/Aids in the Experiences of Mainland Female Sex Workers in Hong Kong,” *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 46, no. 1 (2005): 44–45.
- 15 Zi Teng, “Research Report on Mainland Chinese Sex Workers: Hong Kong, Macau, and Town B in Pearl River Delta,” 4–5.

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- affinal ties, 80–1, 95–9
- Baker, Hugh, 83–4, 87, 90, 97
- ballads see *myushu*
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