

The Hong Kong Region 1850–1911

Institutions and Leadership
in Town and Countryside

with a new introduction

James Hayes



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INTRODUCTION

Local Leadership below the Gentry

THE PROPOSITION that gentry participation was essential to the management of local affairs in imperial times has been long regarded as a theorem of Chinese political and social existence. John Fairbank's classic statement of the position was first made nearly thirty years ago:

[The] relative smallness of the imperial administration no doubt reflects the fact that it depended upon the gentry to lead and dominate the peasantry in the villages¹

and again:

The imperial government remained a superstructure which did not directly enter the villages because it rested upon the gentry as its foundation. The many public functions of the local degree-holders made a platform under the imperial bureaucracy and let the officials move about with remarkable fluidity and seeming independence of local roots.²

More recently, Kung-chuan Hsiao has restated this thesis in a major work of great authority:

The gentry (persons with official or academic titles) seem to have constituted the most active element in whatever community life was displayed in the Chinese village. . . . There is some indication that the gentry were more active and

exerted more influence in the southern villages than the northern ones. . . . Villages owed a great deal to the leadership supplied by the gentry—retired officials and titled scholars—for their limited organization and activities. . . . It is not an exaggeration to say that the gentry constituted the keystone of rural organization. The village could and did exist without the gentry, but villages without gentry could hardly show any high degree of organized community life or any considerable amount of organized activity.

and again :

Although organization appeared in many villages, it did not appear in all, and even in those where organizations existed, communal activities were limited in scope and were rarely if ever conducted by all the inhabitants on a basis of equality. It is difficult to find an instance in which associative efforts were coordinated by a village-wide organization for the welfare of all inhabitants. Most of the organizations were set up only for special purposes and often merely to meet temporary emergencies. Their membership usually included only a segment of the inhabitants of a given village. Commoners were not precluded from participation or even leadership in village undertakings, but the gentry usually dominated them. It was the gentry that determined to a large extent the pattern and direction of organized village life.³

Etienne Balazs carried the prevailing view to an extreme in an article on tradition and revolution in China, written in 1954. Describing “the scholar–official gentry” he stated :

By exploring the nature and role of this peculiar class we may find the key that will explain the structure of every regime, past and present, of eternal China. . . it was not landownership, nor even heredity, that conferred upon it its special position and its extraordinary power; it was its indispensable social function. . . . Thus we find that, at bottom, Chinese society consisted of a vast majority of illiterate workers without legal rights, and a tiny minority of culti-

vated literati who planned, directed, supervised, and officered the work of others—in short, who assumed all the tasks of organization, coordination, and administration, and without whom the social organism could not have functioned at all.

At the same time, Balazs admitted to having drawn an “incomplete and one-sided—if you like, tendentious” picture of Chinese society.⁴

In contrast, the richness of local community life in China has also been noted. Huc commented that communal organization “is perhaps nowhere else as perfect as in China,”⁵ and in an important passage in his major work S. Wells Williams remarked upon the “tendency to associate . . . a fertile principle applied to every branch of life.”⁶ It is, of course, easier to see the peasant contribution to communal organization from a field study than from a documentary one, and since the opportunities for the first are very limited, it has seldom been stated in explicit terms and for a particular area. However, it has not gone unremarked. C.P. Fitzgerald, for instance, has noted the Chinese peasant’s “great capacity for organization, usually of a clandestine kind.”⁷

The proposition that gentry participation was essential to the management of local affairs has, therefore, puzzled me. Using the opportunities for study arising from twenty years’ local residence, I have examined the management of local affairs in some of the villages and townships of the Hong Kong region, with special reference to the second half of the nineteenth century. I have come to conclude that undue emphasis has been given to the role of the gentry, especially at the subdistrict and village levels. This study is therefore an attempt to provide new perspectives.

The Hong Kong Region: The Nature of Local Society

The Hong Kong region, as I have defined it, and as shown in map 1, takes in the present British crown colony and those adjoining areas in which the colonial authorities and others have shown an interest from time to time, as shown in government papers and the writings of naval and military officers, mission-

aries, naturalists, businessmen, and others. It includes the Portuguese enclave of Macau, formerly part of Hsiang-shan county. Hong Kong itself constituted part of the Hsin-an county of the Kuang-chou (Canton) prefecture, to which Hsiang-shan also belonged.

The main historical and geographical facts of the Hong Kong part of the region may be summarized as follows: a continuing influx of different dialect groups from Sung times on; a reconstruction of local society in the later 17th century following drastic depopulation during the upheavals of the Ming-Ch'ing changeover and the Evacuation of the Coast 1662-69; a reliance on farming and fishing as the principal means of livelihood; the vagaries of an exceedingly destructive climate; endemic disturbance caused by feuds between inhabitants or attacks by robbers and pirates from outside; ownership of land by a few major families up to the British takeover of Hong Kong Island (1841), Kowloon (1860) and the New Territories (1899), with a two-fold division of the soil which placed peasant cultivators in a position of near independence; and, finally, the rise of Hong Kong to a position of economic importance.⁸ My study is concerned only with the final stage of this long evolution, the nature of local society in the late Ch'ing. As I see it, this was determined by four main factors: the local system of land tenure, the absence of gentry leadership from most villages, the prolonged mixed settlement, and the place of the sea in the economic life of the region. These produced a distinct form of local society which we may call Pao-an, after the name of the larger *hsien* to which it had belonged before the mid-T'ang, and with which it was retitled in the early 20th century, in a general revision of county names to avoid similarities and confusions.⁹

Pao-an rural society was essentially peasant, and generally fits the four-fold categorization outlined by Teodor Shanin in his important restatement (1971) of what constitutes peasant society; namely, the "peasant family-farm as the basic unit of multi-dimensional social organisation; land husbandry as the main means of livelihood directly providing the major part of the consumption needs; specific traditional culture related to the way of life of small communities; and the 'underdog' position, the domination of peasantry by outsiders" (though here, as I shall

show, less in degree and practice than in other places). It was also characterized by a variety and complexity of settlement found alike in village and market and by a flourishing rural organization under indigenous leadership. Other notable features included a diversified economy; a good standard of domestic housing; and a conspicuous expenditure on folk religion, the ceremonies of family life, and a variety of essential services that were often provided by itinerants on circuit. These common elements are detailed in chapter one.

This study demonstrates the variety of settlement, the diversity of institutions, and the extent of local leadership through an examination of six places in the Hong Kong region, for convenience underlined on map 1. They include an island market town with a mixed population including boat people (chapter two) and another older example of the kind, with long-established salt pans and an adjacent farming community (chapter three). These small towns are styled coastal market centers to distinguish them from G. William Skinner's standard market centers, from which they differ in certain particulars. The other four areas of detailed study comprise a multilineage Cantonese farming village (chapter four), a linked group of mixed Cantonese and Hakka villages (chapter five), a multilineage Hakka settlement of specialist artisans (chapter six), and a standard market center located outside a sub-district magistracy (chapter seven). A summary and discussion chapter follows the six individual studies, while the postscript suggests a possible classification for the local political systems of Hsin-an at this time.

The main point to emerge from this survey is local competence on the part of a community of peasants and shopkeepers. Local management was left to resident peasants and shopkeepers who had to deal virtually unaided with routine management in villages and market towns, and with every form of disaster, natural or man-made. There were long-established nonresident gentry landlords in these areas, but owing to a local division of the soil into surface and subsoil rights between tenants and owners respectively, the latter had come to be concerned only with the collection of rents or other levies on land and made no attempt to control routine local affairs.

The genius to devise, and the capacity to operate, many

different kinds of organization designed to meet local needs were clearly present, without gentry initiative or guidance. Thus the dynamics of Chinese society in this part of Kwangtung did not derive as directly from the gentry as is maintained in the general surveys of Hsiao, Balazs, Michael, and Fairbank, and owed more to peasants and shopkeepers than has been apparent from individual village studies.

It follows that the maintenance and exercise of imperial control also leaned more on these classes than has been hitherto allowed in the literature on this subject. If, as is generally accepted, the officials were largely dependent upon the cooperation of the gentry and county elites, it appears that they, in their turn, were dependent upon the innumerable leaders of large and small communities up and down the subdistricts. It is this sub-gentry and local management of affairs that comes out in any area examination of community organization in town and country in the Hong Kong region in the late Ch'ing.

The Choice of Location and Extant Literature

The field research for this study was carried out in both urban and rural areas of Hong Kong. The community studies are mostly of places in the Southern District of the New Territories, where I was district officer from 1957 to 1962, and much of the additional information comes from villages in Hong Kong Island and Kowloon where my government service from 1962 to 1974 has provided contacts helpful for the study of the pre- and post-1841 settlements there. The documentary evidence comes from the New Territories as a whole and from Macau.

I undertook the work because I was interested and because I soon found, at that time in the late 1950s, that very little modern research had been undertaken in the Hong Kong region. Apart from Barbara Ward's published articles on the Kau Sai boat people and Maurice Freedman's notices of the New Territories in his *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China* (1958), Hong Kong was, as Freedman put it a little later, regarded by scholarship as "no more than the railway route into Kwangtung."¹¹ Little attempt had been made to study the area for its own sake

and for what it might tell us about other parts of South China.

The position has greatly changed since that time, but far less in the historical field than in sociological and anthropological studies.¹² Historians have not yet thoroughly studied what may be styled "the Chinese side of British Hong Kong" and the Chinese past before 1841 on Hong Kong Island, 1860 in Kowloon, and 1899 in the New Territories. As recently as 1958, G. B. Endacott took for the introduction to his history of Hong Kong a passage from E.J. Eitel, "And Men had to come from the Far West to give it a name in the history of the East."¹³

Generally speaking, there were few serious prewar contributions made to the study of local history, and we must look to the postwar period for the beginning of sustained study of the region.¹⁴ On the Chinese side, Lo Hsiang-lin, Jen Yu-wen and Jao Tsung-i have made useful contributions to Hong Kong's Chinese past in the course of wider studies of Chinese history and society, and other scholars have written on particular aspects of it. However, the bulk of their work is less than the contributions to the study of contemporary and traditional society made by Western anthropologists who, in their study of the present, have found it necessary to investigate what has gone before, and have cast a backward eye that, in some cases, has lingered for more than a glance. H.D.R. Baker's work on the Liao lineage¹⁵ of Sheung Shui is a good instance of the kind and an excellent example of the assistance that the anthropologist who is also a sinologue can give to historical work. Jack M. Potter has provided a study of part of another major lineage, the Tengs of Ping Shan, that, as in the Sheung Shui case, takes us back to the early days of the permanent settlement of the region, though he has given less attention to history than has Dr. Baker. Cornelius Osgood's contemporary and monumental three volume study of an island community off Hong Kong Island has been the most recent major addition to anthropological and ethnographic studies of the region. Other scholars have worked among lesser and newer lineages and village settlements, and in the market towns, but only a portion of their work has yet been published.

Some students in related fields have produced work that thickens the village cover provided by the anthropologists. Barbara Ward, Eugene Anderson, and Hiroaki Kani have studied the past and present of the Tanka, the native boat people of

Hong Kong. K.M.A. Barnett, a former career officer of the Hong Kong Civil Service, has made thoughtful and stimulating contributions to the linguistic and ethnological background, and John McCoy of Cornell and Armando da Silva of the University of Hawaii have also published on these fields. Marjorie Topley's work is of great help in unravelling the past and assessing its relevance for the present; while Carl Smith's painstaking research into original sources is a major contribution to historical studies of the local community.

However, much of the detailed work has related to one lineage or village; and although some of the scholars involved in these studies have attempted to place their communities within the general context and background of the Hong Kong region, the lack of work on the smaller settlements, and on a wider basis than the village or the lineage, has led to an imbalance. There were nearly 700 villages within the present New Territories of Hong Kong in 1899,¹⁶ with many other old settlements in Hong Kong Island and Old and New Kowloon. Published research has not yet done justice to the number and variety of rural and market settlements with their long history of continuous residence, to either the details or the broader aspects of land ownership and tenurial arrangements, or to the social and political institutions of the region and their leadership patterns; yet these studies are required to place the lineage strongholds of the Liaos, Tengs, and others in context and perspective.

An interim statement on the wider basis of historical development in the Hong Kong region is clearly overdue. Although this study is far from being comprehensive, it does go beyond the confines of the village. It takes us away, too, from the gentry leaders of the lineage villages to the peasants and shopkeepers who manned the institutions that managed the lesser villages and coastal market towns.

Other Sources

In the effort to provide a wider view, I have, as stated, taken a number of settlements and market towns and used whatever

local documentary sources and opportunities for recording oral history have been available. On the documentary side I have consulted the Chinese district, prefectural, and provincial gazetteers and similar works, together with the printed and manuscript reports of the Hong Kong government and other Western bodies with an interest in South China.¹⁷ However, these usually produced only occasional and fragmentary information for my purposes.

In the case of Hsin-an, especially at the subdistrict and village level, information in the gazetteer is often scanty, and field work is required to supplement the written record. For instance, the list of temples in the last edition (1819) does not include all that were then already in existence.¹⁸ The list of markets lacks the important information on schedules necessary to construct a model of marketing along Skinner's lines,¹⁹ and this information must be sought in the field. The history of settlement, by time and dialect group, must also be constructed from field research. The relations between large and small villages, great and minor lineages, landlord and tenant, as well as information on rents and tenure systems, must be obtained largely from local sources. In this situation local records like lineage genealogies, shop accounts, rent books, land deeds, and inscribed tablets in temples and other buildings²⁰ are all essential adjuncts to the construction of a fuller picture than that provided by the local gazetteer. Although much of the less durable historical material has already been lost due to the ravages of the climate, the devaluing effects of modernization, and to the direct and indirect effects of the Japanese occupation of the colony between 1941 and 1945, I have used these records wherever they have been available to me.

Fortunately, another major source of information, able to serve as a base line for many inquiries and for checks on the results of field work, is still available. This is the survey and settlement of titles to land undertaken by the Hong Kong government after the lease of the New Territories, which provides ownership schedules and demarcation sheets showing fields and houses in towns and villages existing in 1899. (However, the schedules are not necessarily an accurate guide to the pre-1899 situation and should be used with caution: see n. 129 to chapter one).

Even with these sources, I have faced major difficulties in

recovering sufficient material for a serious study. As Ramon Myers has affirmed, this problem is likely to affect most researchers who attempt to reconstitute the social community and structure at village and town level in China before this century.²¹

I have mentioned the use of oral history, which I soon found was essential in the village and town studies, both for the recovery of material and for anything like an understanding of the period. This was begun in 1959–60, before too many of the old persons who had spent their youth in the last decades of the 19th century had passed beyond my reach. Like any other form of historical research, oral history has its own rules and requirements.²² These are, and must be, especially rigorous in view of its obvious dangers. I shall therefore explain in detail the techniques used in over ten years of interviewing, so that the reader can assess the degree of accuracy reached by this line of inquiry.

I first obtained the life history of new informants to check local birth and to find out if, when, and for how long they had been absent from the village, as it is little use asking questions that are outside personal experience. Wherever possible, questions were related to information obtained from printed or manuscript material and to the statements made by other old persons in the same or a neighboring village. Replies were tested at intervals to note any variations or additional material. Where possible, old persons were brought together for discussion to check facts and reactions, views and opinions.

This is, of course, a recital of perfection. Interviews did not always proceed as planned. They were nearly always conducted in company in small houses, and family members were sometimes a handicap in proportion to the interest they showed. Occasionally a younger and more voluble member of the family would try to give answers or to influence, put off, or weary the old person. Sometimes the elders or committeemen who on many occasions came with me would hold the floor, with frustrating or disastrous effects on the interview. At other times, the problem would be the old person himself, who was too old, too weak, or too deaf to provide anything worthwhile.

Fortunately, in my experience the majority of those interviewed have had something useful to offer. Some old people are veritable “National Treasures,” as they would be styled in Korea or Japan.

They impressed with their quiet dignity, sincerity, gentleness, and knowledge. Though possessing little education—very few of the women had even the rudiments of an education in the written language—many of them had intelligent minds that retained facts and impressions from earlier days. They had lived, too, through a period when the rural villages, although surrounded by change, retained their isolation until very recently, and with it reliance on the village as a source of entertainment and instruction. Through abundance of leisure time and want of much else to do, these old persons had been in direct and attentive contact with their fathers, uncles, and grandfathers. They were the last generation to have absorbed the accumulated lore and legend of earlier times and to have lived in a style similar to that of past centuries. Because of this, their like will not be seen again. I have been handicapped in having come almost too late to the task,²³ since a person who was 20 years old in 1899, the terminal date of my thesis, was about 80 years of age when I began my interviewing in earnest and with some knowledge of what I was about. I have been fortunate in finding persons with this background and, in many cases, of this caliber. Moreover, I have had the advantage of being able to go back many times.

Since the material from interviews has extended over a period of fifteen years and more, it has been necessary to devise a system which gives the reader the age of the informant and the time that he was interviewed. An entry with (1883; 1961–65) after it means that the informant was born in 1883 and gave this information at various times between 1961 and 1965. Unless otherwise stated it should always be assumed that the informant was a native of the village or market town concerned. I have used this method sparingly, to indicate important material: otherwise the work would be full of such interpolations.

An unavoidable weakness, due to the length of years separating the period of study from the time of the interviews, is that it has often been necessary to rely on the evidence of a very few persons, and sometimes on only one. Where this is so an effort has been made to supplement their testimony from written sources or to reinforce it with hearsay evidence from responsible people who have understood, say, from their fathers and uncles, that such and such was the state of affairs at the time in question.

Nonetheless, it is difficult to conceive of this study without the help and stimulus given by old people. They provided information too commonplace, or too specialized, to be recorded in books and reports. Some chance remark has frequently made me see something in a new light,²⁴ or has confirmed hints or statements given in historical sources.²⁵ Often, the manner of a remark was as revealing as the content.

A study such as this puts me in the debt of many people. Besides the old persons who allowed me to ask them so many questions, to cross-examine them and to return to the same subjects with a different approach on later occasions, I have received a great deal of help from friends among the village representatives and rural committees of the New Territories and the Kaifong and other local associations in the older parts of Hong Kong and Kowloon. Many of them took an interest in the work and did all they could to locate and introduce likely informants and to smooth the way for satisfactory interviews. Without their help, the task would have been more difficult. There would have been a greater barrier of noncomprehension, reserve, and sometimes suspicion to break down. Their skillful handling of old people, and in many cases, their long acquaintance with them, reduced to a minimum difficulties of this sort.

I was aware initially of some disadvantages of being an official: suspicion as to my motives for inquiry and, in some cases, a degree of apprehension at my presence in a house (sometimes for reasons that had nothing to do with the interview, as when I sat on top of a tin of gelegnite intended for illegally dynamiting fish). However, these obstacles were much less apparent than the benefits from having first-class contacts, and as my historical interests became established they were almost entirely removed.

POSTSCRIPT

The Nature of the Political Situation in 1898, and Its Relevance for Local Leadership Patterns

BY WAY OF A POSTSCRIPT to this account of local institutions and leadership as they evolved in one outlying part of Hsin-an by the end of the 19th century, I would like to hazard a few guesses about the wider regional situation, including the mainland areas of the New Territories which were the home of the "Five great clans."¹ In the course of preparing the main work, I found myself agreeing, yet disagreeing, with some points made by Howard Nelson on the political system that operated in the New Territories before 1899. These may be found in his perceptive and stimulating review of Hugh Baker's book on Sheung Shui, one of the major lineage seats in the New Territories.² They are germane both to the background and to the continuing discussion on institutions and leadership. My comments and projections based on them take the issue beyond the scope of my geographical research; so my suggestions will remain no more than speculation until someone undertakes detailed work on the "Five great clans."

Nelson takes up Baker's emphasis of disturbances between competing lineages, and contrasts it with the "remarkably little we are told about the peaceful settlement of disputes," which he styles "an essential dimension of any political system."³ He expresses surprise that Baker should accept "so uncritically the early British description of the orderliness of the local political scene," and that he does not bring out the paradox of disturbed times and the alleged smoothness of a working system above village level for settling disputes and facilitating dialogues with the magistrate and his assistants. He suggests that "the standard means of political expression at the local level was violence, and

that this was the main reason why the British failed in their attempt to get the local leaders to act as arbitrators in the tribunals that they established by ordinance in 1899 and repealed eleven years later.”⁴ In his view this failure “stemmed from their near total unfamiliarity with such a role,” which by implication could not have been practiced before the changeover to British rule.⁵

This is an interesting assessment of the local situation; but one that is so far removed from that described in this book that it raises the immediate question. Is it accurate, or the whole truth? Did violence rather than order characterize the prevailing political system? Did Lockhart describe the mere facade of an order that did not exist? Was this the case everywhere?

The description of the local political system given in contemporary British reports may be ascribed mainly to J.H. Stewart Lockhart. The Kuk, its village elders, and their constables, as described by him and elaborated here and there in the colonial records, were, it seems, one part of a complicated subadministrative system by which the district was in part governed by the district authorities and in part managed by its own leaders. The governmental machinery included the security and taxation systems, *pao-chia* and *li-chia*, to which Kung-chuan Hsiao has given space in his Chinawide survey.⁶ The details, and even the framework, of this system are still far from clear. The matter is exceedingly complex, and, as Maurice Freedman observed in 1966 after a review of the information then available, “a great deal of research has yet to be done on local government and structure in the area.”⁷

Since Freedman and Baker wrote in 1966 and 1968, John Brim of the University of Washington, Seattle, has written an as yet unpublished doctoral thesis “The Modernization of Local Systems in the New Territories of Hong Kong” (1970). This is based on 16 months’ field work in the Yuen Long district of Hong Kong. In it he attempts to set out what he calls “four distinct local systems” forming the “major components of supra-village, local level social structure in the Yuen Long and nearby areas on the eve of British takeover.” These he classifies as “lineage organization, the marketing system, the formal administrative system, and the non-official local government.”⁸ These structural components, he estimates, were for the most part interlocking

and mutually reinforcing; and he noted that only the formal government structure appears to have been relatively independent of the other three "natural" systems.

Brim continues, in his summary,

This lack of correspondence between the territorial units of the formal administrative apparatus and those of the other systems was no doubt made possible by the fact that the formal Government's sub-*hsien* agencies were to a great extent "legal fictions." That is to say, they had a formal existence but were of little consequence for local affairs which generally were left to the disposition of the non-official local government.⁹

He provides an interesting layout in support of his four categories; but though it may fit the Yuen Long situation it is too orderly for other parts of the New Territories, particularly the coastal regions and the outlying islands.

The inability to be more definite about the administrative and fiscal mechanism represented by the *li-chia* and *pao-chia* systems for the area,¹⁰ and its quasi-governmental institutions such as the *tung*, the *lo* and their *chü*, besides the local systems of *yueh* alliances, is of prime importance. Until they can be elucidated we shall not possess a full appreciation of the realities of local systems in Hsin-an.

There is therefore insufficient evidence, as yet, to support Nelson's criticism that Dr. Baker accepts too readily British descriptions of the machinery for settling rural affairs. As for Mr. Nelson's thesis that violence was the only means of political expression that counted for anything in local society, this is presumably based on the interlineage situation among the "Five great clans" and does not take in the rest of the New Territories' villages, about which little has been written to match the work done on the major lineages. I would challenge this interpretation of the total local situation on the basis of the details provided in the six geographical chapters of this book.

To my mind, the background to leadership is as important as the precise number and nature of the local institutions and systems. I suggest that there were two political systems in operation, and that in the second of them, in which the peasantry

and shopkeepers acted on their own initiative, the nature of the local land tenure system and the resultant pattern of landlord (tax lord) behavior were crucial to a proper understanding of the situation.

The first of these systems comprised a number of similar sized, more or less equally balanced lineages, each of which had to maintain a wide-awake posture against its fellows. The other was composed of a congeries of smaller settlements in a less critical situation. There is a world of difference between, say, the Liao lineage of Sheung Shui and the Lantau villages of Shek Pik, Lo Wai, and Tong Fuk. The one had long been locked in an interlineage struggle situation and the others were individual settlements pursuing a seemingly uncomplicated life, free from intense feuds and dreading disease, the supernatural, and robbery from outside more than trouble with adjoining settlements.

The interlineage "struggle situation" of the first of these systems is very well described by Baker in his chapter on the lineage and its external relationships as applied to the Liaos of Sheung Shui.¹¹ The outlook and policies of the lineages of the "Five great clans," it appears, were determined by the situation in which they found themselves and led to their becoming differentiated from lesser single and multilineage settlements in having more distinct economic and political aims. These were reflected in an organizational structure in which lineage wealth could be centralized and channeled to achieve corporate ends.

The difference between the villages of the two systems becomes most pointed in the respective amounts and proportions of trust or clan land. Baker reported that in 1966 the Liaos owned some 4,144 lots of agricultural land (of varying size and quality) totalling 973.33 acres and 726 house lots.¹² Of these, 1,943 land lots (47% of total) and 50 house lots (7 per cent of total) were communally owned, that is, were owned by trusts of one kind or another.¹³ In the Yuen Long district, Brim's sample of land ownership for one-third of the local villages showed that 44% of their land was lineage owned at this time.¹⁴ In comparison, Brim's small multilineage village with its 136 persons in 1911 had 2.51 acres of trust land, less than 6% of the village families' total holdings.¹⁵ At Shek Pik and Pui O these figures were 2.69 acres (4.1%) and 18.39 (10.8%) respectively.

The gap between the two types of settlement was further

widened, since to this numerical difference in holdings in genuine ownership (i.e., as accepted by the British at the New Territories land settlement) must be added the large areas over which the major lineages collected charges.¹⁶ Though its extent has still not been adequately charted, being completely obscured by the land ownership situation recorded in the 1904 settlement, sufficient evidence remains to show its importance to them, and that they still recall this abbreviation of their authority and income with bitterness.¹⁷

Another difference between the two political systems was the need for the lineage villages to produce gentry. The ability of gentry members to effect an "interest" with the authorities often proved its worth during lawsuits and other troubles, and was one of the keys to continued existence and successful struggle against other lineages and combinations.¹⁸ It appears that gentry production was almost entirely a prerogative of the large lineages. Brim points out that the recorded scholars of the Yuen Long area all came from four lineages representing less than half the population, and that one of them, the Tang lineage, accounted for no less than 64% of the total ever recorded for the area.¹⁹

This does not mean that other lineages and other areas never secured examination successes, but when they occurred they were the result of individual brilliance, against heavy odds.²⁰ They were even heavier than they appeared because, as Freedman stresses, the major lineages could, if they wished, concentrate their wealth to secure continued successes and the maintenance of their supremacy rather than spread opportunities amongst their poorer kinsmen.²¹ The poorer Hakka lineages were additionally handicapped, since even by the 1850s, when they were already resident in considerable numbers, the *hsien* examination quotas for the first degree were 8 for Puntis and only 2 for Hakkas.²²

The age of the major lineages of the area in 1899 was yet another major difference between them and lineages in poorer areas. The "Five great clans" had long been great, and had been settled since Sung and Yuan times.²³ The Tangs had produced scholar-officials from the start, and the others had intermittent successes that underlined their higher status and economic strength vis-à-vis neighbors and newcomers. Baker

describes the progress of one of their number, the Liaos, in the three centuries between the return from the Evacuation of the Coast in 1669 and the British takeover of the New Territories:

Change was apparently in degree rather than in kind—that is to say, the lineage may have seen changes in its internal balance, as wealth and fertility saw fit to confer their favours, and its position of power in relation to the outside world may have fluctuated from time to time, but in large it still retained the same attributes of internal organisation *and it still pursued the same policies of aggrandisement which were determined by its standing as a single lineage settlement in a wider society which continued to be composed primarily of other similar settlements.*²⁴

The underlining is mine. It brings out the fact that the major lineages were implicated in a continuous power struggle. As Baker points out, there was a constant search for more land and larger spheres of influence. The political power reflected in land holdings and the amounts of rent charges levied over client villages in wider areas made for a struggle situation, and guaranteed its continuance. Lineages could not afford to have their holdings or their overlordship eroded.²⁵ Cessation of effort on their part was paid for by decline and even extinction. Expansion could, of course, be pursued by peaceful as well as by warlike means. The accretion of holdings and client settlements by purchase and negotiation was less spectacular than obtaining them by fighting,²⁶ but steady attention to this point was more rewarding in the long run.

Herein, as I have said, lies the difference between the major clans and the smaller single or multilineage settlements. I suggest that this amalgam of systems—here necessarily contrasted in black and white—the one locked in long-term struggle and the other free to go its own way in peace or war makes up the true political condition of the region before 1899.²⁷

With regard to the villages of the second of these political systems, I have suggested elsewhere that the development of the local land system, with its perpetual lease and its twofold division of the soil, enabled peasants to become virtual proprietors,

increased peasant independence and fostered belligerence. I have also indicated that with weakened landlord authority over land, there was an associated noninterference in village management. Combined, these two elements in the local situation made for a rugged independence that enabled the two systems to operate side by side without the one swallowing up the other. The occasional exercise of "force majeure," and the bullying of minor by major clans so quickly picked up by the incoming British²⁸ should not obscure the workable contradiction that was the reality of the local situation.

The taxlord activities of the major lineages are now almost too well known. It has been too readily assumed that their control over land had led to interference and bullying. My reading of the local situation is that it was more complex than has hitherto been imagined and is not subject to such easy generalization. Moreover, the local peasantry have always been a tough and difficult lot.²⁹ The evidence for peasant independence, non-interference by gentry (and other) landlords in local management, and the virility of local organization is so strong that I question whether by the late nineteenth century the rent charge *was* the start of an unjustified excursion into the control of family and village affairs by personnel of major lineages or their lackeys. On the evidence before me, I believe that there was an incongruity in full scale operation in the region. It existed not only between the active and passive systems, but within the active system, whereby the major lineages practiced their known and documented exactions on client villages in the form of rent charges but otherwise interfered little with local management and daily routine.

Without such an explanation, it is difficult to explain how such a flourishing, self-regulating community life could exist in the areas studied. Bullied and depressed communities would not have had the spirit, much less the opportunity, to manage their own affairs.

This contradiction may help to explain why the *tung* and *lo* systems of local government-gentry-local elite consultation and peaceful settlement of outstanding matters could exist in the *luan* situation created by the infighting between lineages, the major lineages' collection of rent charges, the confused land registration

system, peasant independence under the Fukien system of tenure, and the limited authority of the district administration.

Somewhere in this confusion there was order; and I believe that there was a good deal more than meets the eye. I have certainly been assured by old men that there was, and I have been told on so many occasions in many small and mediumsized villages that the elders were the seat of authority, that they settled all disputes, that some among them had area prestige, that there was no interference with village and local affairs by either the gentry or the magistrate, that it is difficult for me to think otherwise.

Reliance on oral evidence raises the doubts cast by Nelson that such statements incorporate elderly persons' unconscious "ideal statements" about their own society.³⁰ Therefore their statements must—when we get more evidence—be checked against records of actual behavior. Yet it is most encouraging that Freedman has also sensed this basic order in the midst of apparent chaos. He wrote, in 1966, of "that very complexity of social ties which made it possible for some sort of order to be maintained in a part of China that one might have superficially supposed was well on the road to anarchy."³¹

NOTES

Notes to Introduction

1. Fairbank 1948: 105. The words *lead and* are added in the 1958 and 1971 (p. 103) editions.

2. This passage is worded identically in the 1958 and 1971 editions of Professor Fairbank's book. Its wording in the 1948 edition is different after the first sentence, but the sense is not altered, and for convenience I have used the most recent edition (p. 29) being that readily available to readers.

3. Hsiao: 316-17, 321. I have been selective, but not to distort the sense or content of Professor Hsiao's argument.

4. Balazs: 153-56.

5. Cited in Schurmann and Schell: 26.

6. Wells Williams 1883: II, 87-88.

7. Fitzgerald: 109.

8. Some of these points are well known and covered in the existing literature; others are discussed at various points in this book. See, in general, Krone 1859; Eitel 1895; Balfour 1941; Barnett 1957; Endacott 1958; Peter Y.L. Ng 1961; and Lo 1963. My account of the Chinese historiography of the Hong Kong region and the principal events since the establishment of Hsin-an in 1573 appeared in JHKBRAS 14, 1974. For the Evacuation of the Coast, an enforced, seven year removal and a major watershed in the district's later history, see Hsieh's article; also Lo 1963: 89-105, Sung 1939, and Mai's article in Chinese. For a description of the geography and climate of the present British crown colony, generally applicable to the region, see CR 1975: 168-70, and for a more detailed account Tregear 5-24.

9. HNHC: 1/1b, 3a and KTKKTY: 1/1b. Also New Atlas: 52.

10. PSN 2 (1): 3-4. See also Powell in PSN 1 (3): 94-99. It should be noted that in their social and cultural aspects, the coastal market centers were only once removed from peasant society, in that many of their shopkeepers were former members of the peasantry of Kwangtung who had made good in their new homes and occupations. See Selby: 46 for a general statement on the shopkeepers of Canton and Foshan in the 1870s.

11. Freedman 1963: par. 6.
12. Even so, the introduction to Jarvie and Agassi 1969 devotes a section to the lack of sociological studies of Hong Kong.
13. Endacott 1958: 1.
14. The works mentioned in this and following paragraphs will be found in the bibliography. A useful detailed survey of recent studies appears in Topley "Published and Unpublished Materials on Hong Kong by Overseas Affiliated Scholars," 1970.
15. I have, in this largely historical study, used "lineage" as defined by Freedman, *Chinese Lineage and Society*, 1966, chapter 1.
16. 602 are listed for the northern district alone at the 1911 colony census, SP 1911: 103 (27–36). Another 71 villages are given for the southern, from which many are, however, omitted, SP 1911: 103 (37–38).
17. These are indicated in detail in the bibliography.
18. Compare Hayes in Topley (ed.) 1967: 96–98 with HNHC 7/12b–18b. This partial listing in gazetteers is apparently common, e.g. Graham: 203–204 found the same thing in west China.
19. Skinner 1964: 5.
20. Commemorative tablets are usually included in gazetteers. HNHC has some in chüan 23 *chi hsü* but is typically weak in this sector. Their intrinsic usefulness, whether obtained from gazetteers or fieldwork, has been recognized: e.g. Yang 1967: 22 and David Buck's article in CSWT 1974. They have been collected for Singapore and Malaysia by Chen and Tan, *A Collection of Chinese Inscriptions in Singapore*, in Chinese (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1970.)
21. Myers 1972: 413.
22. For a recent appraisal see Vansina.
23. The recollected youth of my informants covered the thirty years 1885–1915, so that some of these statements refer to the early period of British rule in the New Territories. However, the colonial authorities did not intend to change or interfere with the existing system of internal control. (See Blake's Chinese proclamation on taking over the New Territory in Extension: 21 and his farewell address to the Legislative Council of Hong Kong in Hansard 1903: 52). In those aspects of local society in which I am interested, the situation at village level continued much the same as under Chinese rule. Freedman [article] 1966: 8, took the same view.
24. The relations between land and boat people are placed on a more practical and commonplace basis by interviews with each side than by the literature. The Shek Pik people could not see the point of my questions about the extent of intermarriage with the local Tanka and when pressed said "How could we take their women for wives when they don't know the first thing about farming": given added point at Shek Pik where this was left largely to women.
25. I could only have discovered from interviews that the vague knowledge of landlords reported by the New Territories Land Court was real. My Lantau informants all said that the rent collectors came "from Sha Wan" but most did not know the landowner's family name and none of

them knew the name of its estate management organisation, the Li Kau Yuen Tong. Again, on local participation in piracy, a local elder (born 1883) said, with a broad smile, that he had been "in all lines of business."

Notes to Chapter 1

1. K.M.A. Barnett's various articles come nearest to providing this: see bibliography.
2. Detailed reports of finds and excavations can be found in Finn (1933-36) Schofield (1940) and Davis and Tregear (1959). The Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society from 1969 on contains accounts of recent work.
3. Barnett 1957: 261.
4. For a general description of Hakka and Punti see Barnett 1957. There is no modern work on the Cantonese, but see Forrest in Purcell, Appendix 1. For the Hakkas, Lo 1971 is the principal Chinese work. See also Cohen 1968, and the illustrated article by Edge in *Echo*, October 1973. Among older works see Lechler, Piton, and Vaillant.
5. Barnett 1957: 261. Also McCoy, JHKBRAS 5 (1965): 46-64.
6. See JHKBRAS 10 (1970): 197-202. Also Sewell: 75 for Canton.
7. Orange: 184, 312, and 377.
8. Eitel 1895: 132.
9. James Johnston: 263-64; Orme: par. 53.
10. E.g. folders of Rev. Roberts and Rev. Dean for the early 1840s and ABMM vols. 23 and 24 for the same period (from Carl T. Smith).
11. Orme: par. 53. See also ARDONT 1919: J13, and CR 1947: 10.
12. A local petition of 1318 mentions two tribes named Yao and Shan-lao: see Barnett 1958: 2. Wiens: 272 states that the Chuang and the Yao are the principal tribal peoples of Ling-nan. The tribes of Kwangtung are described in YTPC chüan 7 and Imperial Encyclopaedia, 1389-94.
13. Wiens: 269-76. See also Eberhard 1962: 198-201, and Drake (editor): 101-109, 115-19.
14. Barnett 1958: 2; Yang: 1959 12; Schofield mss quoting "Selections from Toi Shan History," *Chinese Nationalist Daily* (New York) 16 January 1943.
15. Barnett 1964: 59.
16. Wiens: 168-84, and for Lingnan in particular 180-84.
17. HKGG 8 April 1899 (hereafter styled Lockhart): 542-43 and SP 1912 (hereafter styled Orme) after par. 6 (the numbering in my copy is defective). See also Lo: 104-105 and 143.
18. Orme: par. 6.
19. CR 1957: 38.

20. Barnett 1967: part 3, “The Riddle of the Hakka.”

21. I have recorded the first type of conversion from Pa Mei, (now called Shan Ha), Ma Wan Chung and Tung Chung Hang (all three located in the Tung Chung Valley), Tai and Siu A Chau, and Luk Tei Tong at Mui Wo. See Gazetteer: 76–77, 79, 82 for these places. Instances of the latter type came from Lo Wai at Pui O on Lantau; Pak Lap on High Island in the Sai Kung subdistrict; Tai Nam Wu in Ho Chung; and Sheung Sz Wan in Clear Water Bay. Gazetteer: 80, 132, 139, 109. These all relate to small lineages, but conversion is not lacking among the major lineages of the region. The Liao of Sheung Shui were originally Hakka (Baker 1968: 28 and 41) and Michael Palmer tells me that the Hau of Ho Sheung Heung, Kam Tsin, Yin Kong, and other places were also Hakka though now classified as Punti (Gazetteer: 205–206). See also, generally, Eberhard 1962: 114–15.

And yet the separate identity of Hakkas, and even of their individual villages, was generally marked and maintained through generations by the finely decorated woven colored bands known as *fa tai* made and worn by Hakka girls and women. Both unmarried and married appear generally to keep to the colors and patterns of their native village. Dr Betsy Johnson’s unique study of these fascinating items of Hong Kong ethnography will appear in JHKBRAS 16 (1976).

22. Informants in Chuk Yuen village, Kowloon, who are *wai tau wa* speakers, tell me that the reference in AR 1947: 10 to such mixed villages as “pun kong cham,” the half-filled pitcher, refers to this speech, which is also known by at least one uncomplimentary term, being apparently not highly regarded among Hakkas or Cantonese. The subject is worthy of detailed specialist examination before it is too late. Mongrel speech is not unusual in Kwangtung with its mixed population: see Eitel’s Dictionary: v, viii. For mixed population, see Eitel in *China Review* 20 (1892–93): 264 which lists 6 districts of the Canton Delta area with mixed Hakka, Hoklo, and Punti settlements including Hsin-an. Another instance is given by Johnston, 272, who mentions a mixed Hakka-Hoklo area in northeast Kwangtung.

23. Lockhart: 543. For conflict see, *inter alia*, Wells Williams 1883: 2: 590–91 and Dyer Ball 1903: 326. And more recently Kuhn: 421–23, 431.

24. Balfour: 139.

25. Hsiao: 421.

26. Orme, par. 6.

27. Barnett 1957: 263.

28. The main Punti villages of Sai Kung in the eastern New Territories all received regular visits from Tang collectors.

29. Potter 1968: 19–21. See also Baker 1968: 154–61 for minor families at Sheung Shui, although he does not say whether they were Hakka or Punti. Serfdom, in one form or another, appears to have lingered long in China: see Elvin: 235–50, particularly 247, for adjacent parts of Kwangtung.

30. Freedman reached the same conclusion. See Freedman 1963: par. 93.

31. Orme, par. 53.

32. SP 1911: 103 (22); by addition.

33. CR 1957: 39.

34. See, *inter alia*, CO 129/12, no. 53; Orme, par. 53; HNTES 1908 Report.

35. Hoklo boat people at Peng Chau, Lantau (1885, 1888; 1971).

36. CR 1938: 50. See also Lin 1939: 6–8 and Burkhardt 1957: 271.

37. Summarized in Ward 1965: 287–89. Also Kani 1967: chapter 1 and notes.

38. John Davis: 195. See also T'ung-chu Ch'ü 1961: 128–35.

39. See chapter three, p. 99 for the long continuing cooperation between land and boat people at Tai O in the repair of local temples 1802–1930: also Hayes 1964: 84–86 and notes 39–45; and Hayes 1969.

40. *Eastern No. 88* (hereafter styled Nathan).

41. Encl. B to Nathan. As the major farming product, rice was well developed. The HNHC 3/1a–b states that the county is good for paddy which has many names and varieties, and it lists 26 types. Nearly a hundred years later, SP 1907: 223 gives 19 varieties. See also the details for some yields given in *Report of the Agricultural Department*, Hong Kong government, 1948–49: 4–7.

42. Governor Blake's report for 1901 in SP 1902: 348a. For earlier see CO 129/12, no. 53 (3 May 1845) par. 12.

43. Lockhart: 543. Hong Kong Island's thriving western district was built on this foundation in the 19th century.

44. Arlington: 158.

45. Lockhart: 543.

46. See HKGG, GN no. 557 of 1901; also CSO 1901 Ext, vol. 2/1240, minute of 30 July 1902, and CSO 1904 Ext/6929, minute of 29 August 1904.

47. Lockhart: 544; and Enclosure C to Nathan. See also SP 1903: 209.

48. SP 1901: no. 28, p. 6. I have found abandoned stone mills in villages in the Clear Water Bay and Sai Kung subdistricts and on Lantau. See also Baker 1968: 15; and Blackie: 78. A description of sugar cane and of sugar production in northeast Kwangtung is given in Campbell Gibson: 127–28. It is not known whether the cooperative methods of producing sugar in that region as described in Kulp: 88–89, 203–206 were practiced here.

49. Enclosure B to Nathan.

50. These entries and much other information on local salt-making will be found in JHKBRAS 7, 1967: 138–51.

51. Annex on Native Trade to Governor of Hong Kong's Despatch no. 38 to Gladstone, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 11 April 1846.

52. Orme, par. 79.

53. See Orme, par. 76, and Blue Book 1906: U 2.

54. Lockhart: 544; and Hayes 1968 and 1971 for notes on weaving and calendering.

55. SP 1907: 221; and Blackie: 118. It is difficult to give a date for the tea plantations, but the 1688 edition of the Hsin-an gazetteer states that Tai Mo Shan, the highest mountain in the present New Territories, was famous for its tea, HNHC 1688, chüan 3.

56. Enclosure B to Nathan.

57. Orme: par. 80. See also CSO 1904 Ext/6929, minute of 29 August 1904.

58. Lockhart: 544; Orme: par. 83; Enclosure B to Nathan; and CSO 1904 Ext/6929, as above. Also JHKBRAS 15: 290-1.

59. Lockhart: 544; Enclosure B to Nathan.

60. Orme: par. 84.

61. Lockhart: 544; Enclosure D to Nathan; and CSO 1901 Ext/151, minute of 5 July 1901, CSO 1903 Ext/1474. Water wheels also worked the clay crushing mills at the Wun Yiu potteries, CSO 1904 Ext/6929.

62. Orme: par. 85.

63. ARDONT, 117. See also Welsby: 3-7, 21-23, 29-30 and 47.

64. Krone: 122; also Orme: paras 58-60; CSO 1905 Ext/17, minutes of 6 April and 5 May 1905, and Fortune: 9-11.

65. Krone: 108; Enclosures C and D to Nathan; and Orme, app. F.

66. Krone: 105 and 124.

67. One case is recorded at length in CSO 1903 Ext/586, Pang Wai-leung's petition of 16 Jan. 1903.

68. E.g. Ross in ARDONT 1909, 1910, 1916.

69. Lockhart: 552.

70. Hon Gershom Stewart, HAN 1910: 113.

71. Lo 1963: 80-88.

72. TCITCCY 41/1a.

73. Krone: 124. Some time later, traveling in the Hakka country near Hong Kong in 1884, Rev. Frank Damon wrote "Truly this is a land of 'burden bearers.' Men and women and children passed us in a continuous stream bearing great baskets and bales and parcels of every description." Char 1975: 25. See also the figures in "Traffic on the Principal Roads of the New Territory," Enclosure E to Nathan.

74. The markets of Hsin-an are shown in the 1688 and 1819 editions of the district gazetteer at chüan 3 and 2 respectively. No market schedules are given. The 1880 edition of the prefectural gazetteer KCFC lists the markets of Hsin-an in chüan 69 but does not give this information either. The products of Hsin-an are listed in HNHC 1819: 3.

75. Tablet dated Tao Kuang 17th year, 11th month, lucky day. See HNHC 1688: 3 and HNHC 1819: 2/12.

76. Tablet dated Kuang Hsü 18th year, 5th month, 14th day, now lost. See HNHC 1688: 3 under Tai Po Tau, and HNHC 1819: 2/13a under Tai Po.

77. HNHC 1819: 2/13b.

78. Enclosure C to Nathan.

79. Skinner 1964: 5-10. See also Baker 1968: 6.

80. Sung 1934: 94. Cheung Chau and Tai O had no proper market

places before the British administration designated them in 1914 and 1918 respectively, and applied rules to them. See HKGG, 10 July 1914 and 30 August 1918. Local people explained that marketing had been done in certain streets.

81. Some of these were very large concerns. See Hayes 1964 for an account of the San Tai Li shop on Peng Chau. There were similar large, multifarious businesses in Sai Kung and Cheung Chau.

82. Skinner 1964: 20–21.

83. Nacken in JHKBRAS 8 (1968): 130; and Bowring in JHKBRAS 5 (1965): 34.

84. I would expect to find it all along the China coast, wherever small communities are settled in places where a sheltered anchorage provides a convenient refuge for a floating population and there is room for boat building, running repairs to craft and fishing equipment, and a supply of water.

85. Waley 1958: 101.

86. Hayes 1964: 77–78.

87. The Tangs of Kam Tin let out nine sites on Tsing Yi at \$6 per annum each, (see CSO 1903 Ext/8551) and the Wongs of Nam Tau and Cheung Chau let out thirteen fishing stations on the southern part of Hong Kong Island as shown on a map in their printed genealogy (Huang-shih Tsu-p'u, *t'u hsing* section).

88. Alice Memorial Hospital, Hong Kong, annual reports for 1904 and 1905. This practice was prohibited by law: see Alabaster, 1: 1074.

89. Hayes 1964: 76–77, 81.

90. SP 1903: 348a. It is a pity that, in his otherwise exhaustive and valuable work on the fisheries of Hong Kong, S.Y. Lin scarcely touched on the village fishing, perhaps because by the late 1930s it had already declined greatly in importance and numbers.

91. China, IMC; III Misc. Series, no. 11: 5–10.

92. Wells Williams 1856: 306.

93. E.g. Wong Chuk Shan and Pak Kong Au in Sai Kung subdistrict. Aijmar 1967: 50–51 mentions that the Hakkas of Grass Field Village (Mau Ping), Sha Tin, were also long engaged in this trade. (Woodside: 31 writes of itinerant families of Vietnamese carpenters and bricklayers in 19th century Vietnam).

94. Lechler in *Chinese Recorder* September–October, 1878: 359. See also my note in JHKBRAS 8 (1968): 162–65.

95. See e.g. Dyer Ball 1903: 325.

96. Boxer: 232 n. 1 reminds us that geomancers had specialized functions and were not one-line experts. Li Shu-fan: 9 states that they were often physiognomists as well. By way of comparison, Fairbank, Banno and Yamamoto, 8.2.13 p. 238, lists an article by Naoe Hiroji (1947) which lists geomancers and itinerants in North China villages and ascribes to them the additional function of transmitters of folk tales and legends.

97. Among them two persons from the Cheung lineage of Pui O's home district of Kim Hau, Fukien, which it had left nearly three centuries before. See also HKNTES, 1911 report.

98. I have given a few examples in Hayes 1962: n. 55.

99. It is also necessary to take into account the favorable bias of the work load associated with rice farming in a predominantly rural society. D.Y. Lin has calculated that to work an average-size farm of 12.5 tou (his figure), 100 days of animal labor and 225 days of human labor would be required, and that if no catch crop is grown during the winter months there will be an idle period of 140 days or more than one-third of a year (Tregear: 64-65). Bear in mind, too, that in this region, as elsewhere in the southeast the women often did much of the field work (Campbell Gibson: 136). I propose to develop, elsewhere, this interesting question of time available for community work at various levels, and the priorities awarded to it in local society. A full examination of time available in a life style bounded largely by natural daylight and reduced by reliance on traditional means of production, preparation and manufacture, would e.g. take into account the division of work between men and women, and the time needed to travel on foot to market, usually with loads and reportedly more often by men than women, and to perform the self-sufficient parts of household economy like unhusking rice by traditional means.

100. Field Officer: 75.

101. Lockhart: 542. E.R. Hallifax, then serving in the New Territory gives further information in a memorandum dated 30 June 1903 in CSO 1903 Ext/3690.

102. J. L. Buck 1937: 443.

103. See John Davis: 163 and Ryckmans: 6.

104. See Wu: 23, 25, and 45.

105. One seldom encounters the history of ordinary dwellings. An interesting brief record of one such house is contained in a manuscript genealogy of the Pang family of Shek Pui Ling, Pang Tong, Tung-kuan district, Kwangtung. This records a *mao wu* or thatched house descending from an unknown time to a 11th generation ancestor (1728-1803), through the next (1762-1830); rebuilt as a tiled house measuring 17 *hang* across by the 13th generation (1814-93); affected by the collapse of a neighboring earthwalled house after rain in 1899; compensated with seven silver dollars and rebuilt five months later. It was sold in 1904 to a mother and son of the same lineage and finally, in 1912, was rebuilt to provide three connecting houses.

106. E.g. Wells Williams 1883: 1: 40; Gutzlaff: 141 and Simpson: 4.

107. Goodwin: 109, 123.

108. See e.g. its report for 1936.

109. SP 1898: 235.

110. The minutes of HKNTES for 5 November 1917 mention that the mistress of their school on Cheung Chau had given notice because she was "suffering from boils and eruptions due to the state of the drinking water in the place." Also ADR, DCNT 1955-6: par. 24.

111. There is a useful summary of communicable diseases and of factors facilitating the spread of disease in Lamson 1935: 274-88. See also Kulp on health in Phenix Village, northeast Kwangtung: 54-61. Li Shu-fan has also remarked of his home village in Toi Shan, Kwangtung that the

heat of the tropical sun on tender skins "often caused boils that left ugly scars," whilst "the merest cut often resulted in suppuration." And about 1905 he recalls treating 70 cases of dysentery in his maternal grandmother's nearby village while on vacation from the Hong Kong College of Medicine (Li: 11, 13, 27). However, village practices were sometimes beneficial. The use of traditional methods of processing rice "in a stone basin with a wooden hammer contrivance worked by foot" retained the nutritious pericarp and safeguarded the village population from beriberi, the disease resulting from a deficiency of vitamin B. This covering was usually removed in the imported machine-polished rice of Southeast Asia. (Li: 162.)

112. Yang (1967: 14) reported that 80% of the worshippers in the temple at Nanching, Kwangtung, prayed for the return of health.

This spiritual protection was also sought for animals. Ng reports that a cure for cattle diseases and infections was 'the hanging of a piece of red paper folded in the shape of a triangle, blessed at the village temple [and hung] around the neck of the affected animal': Ng in Jarvie and Agassi: 62. Protection was further extended for both men and animals by placing lucky papers on agricultural tools at the Lunar New Year, a practice still to be seen in local villages.

113. Hong Kong Meteorological Records (R.O.T.M. 5): 1.

114. The damage done in the New Territories by the 1937 typhoon, one of the worst in the colony's history, is described in ARDONT 1937: J7.

115. Hayes 1964: 75-76, 91-92. See Gray II: 286 for descriptions of losses to the boat populations of Macao and Canton in 1857 and 1862 respectively.

116. HNHC 1819: 13/1b-6b. The droughts of the two preceding years are noted on a tablet in the Tao lineage ancestral hall of Ping Shan, Yuen Long, dated the 52nd year of Ch'ien Lung (1787-88).

117. ARDONT 1917, 1918, and 1928.

118. They were a regular part of farming life in the Far East. Thomas C. Smith reports of 17th-19th century Japan "Some records kept by peasants, recording little else than the size of the harvest each year, read like chronicles of disaster: 'poor harvest,' 'crop failure,' 'harvest reduced by one-half,' and so on appear every few years." Smith: 159c.

119. See e.g. Hume: 47, 214, and chapter 25; Moody: 102-103, 107; and Li: 21. For some associated ideas see Topley in *Man*, 1970.

Tree spirits were also pressed into protective service by villagers, and may still be seen in present day Hong Kong. Trees are pasted with lucky papers announcing that such and such a child is their *kai tsai* (seen in Sheung Kwai Chung and Tung Chung, Lantau).

120. See Moody: 110. For the background to Chinese geomancy see March.

121. See Foster: 87. This was applied less to outbuildings, which, in the Hong Kong region, tended to be sited haphazardly and at need.

122. Some were given in a short lived Chinese periodical, *Hsin-chieh chou-pao* in 1962-63. Many others are to be found in Sung Hok-pang's articles on the Tangs in *The Hong Kong Naturalist*, 1935-38.

123. See the case in CSO 1904 Ext/6269, minute of 17 January 1908.

124. Gazetteer: 214.

125. I have described some of these cases in JHKBRAS 3 (1963) and 9 (1969).

126. This disease was called *chü mo ping* by the villagers, and appears in Eitel 1910: 619 as follows, "a common disease in South China. It begins with high fever and after vigorously rubbing the chest, bristles an inch long appear through the skin, after their removal the fever goes down".

The problem of depopulation early intruded itself into my village studies. It came first to my attention through the preoccupation with *feng-shui* noted in the text, so much of it linked to a reported decline in local populations. Besides the statements of old persons in the villages and the few documentary indications on the subject, there is other evidence to support a large population in, say, midcentury. First, close acquaintance with the hills and valleys of the southern district of the New Territories suggests that practically every piece of land, high or low, that could be planted with rice had been opened for that purpose at one time or another. This presumes a large and settled population, since the opening of paddy fields and their irrigation dams and channels involves considerable labor, and once rice is cultivated there is continuous farming unless the number of cultivators available in a family or village drops to the point where fields go out of use. There was dry and shifting cultivation in addition, for ancillary crops such as peanuts and sweet potatoes that, old villagers say, were more extensively cultivated in the past. Writing in 1958, Tregear: 42-44 states "There is a surprising amount of land, formerly under cultivation, which has been abandoned. In all it amounts to some 3,000 acres. The map... shows this to be fairly generally distributed but with a rather greater concentration in districts to the north and east." Poor water supply, lack of communications, poor farming, pests and epidemics, and other more recent factors are attributed by the author; but in my view the extent of depopulation and the reasons for it have not yet been realized or understood. A second factor that points to a larger population is the widespread and intense fishing of local waters that was such a marked feature of village life seventy and more years ago, as revealed by my inquiries all over the New Territories. Local affirmation is reinforced by the many fishing stations that can be discerned at places all along the coastline of the mainland and islands. If fishing at its most intensive coincided with farming at its most widespread, one may conclude that, subsidiary reasons and incentive factors apart, all this activity was required to provide for the existence of a large population in the villages.

Thus village tradition and the evidence of the countryside and coastline combine to support my belief that depopulation was an event in the later history of the Hong Kong region. Though it is tempting, and speculative, to suggest that emigration and the establishment and rise of Hong Kong had something to do with attracting men away from the villages and helping to reduce the birthrate,—but on these points see Li Shu-fan: 4, 121—I believe that more vital and serious reasons exist to explain what amounted to a major disaster in rural life. In the light of my surmises it is interesting

to find that Perkins notes a sharp reduction in the population figures for Kwangtung between 1851 and 1873, not fully recovered by 1893. This would, of course, take in the ravages of the Tai Ping time and the Hakka-Punti wars; but there is more to it. Using available demographic and economic materials, much work can yet be done to show that Professor Ping-ti Ho's postulate of a "declining rate of growth" in the population of Kwangtung, 1850-1953, covers reductions as well as increases at the local level. See Ho 1959: 270, 277-78.

127. Da Silva 1972: 62-64.

128. Wells Williams 1883: II: 246.

129. See CSO 1904 Ext/4893. I have elaborated on some of the inadequacies of the Block Crown Leases in a forthcoming article "Rural Society and Economy in Late Ch'ing: A Case Study of the New Territories of Hong Kong (Kwangtung)" to appear in CSWT 3, No. 5 (1976).

130. KTKKCY 6/4a.

131. Illegally, according to the Lis. See CSO 1899 no. 8, Confid. 153, and CSO 1903 Ext/7466.

132. I do not know how to account for this situation, nor when it began. The earliest date for a deed not concerned with Li land is Ch'ien Lung 37 (1772-73).

133. KTTC 270. Also Lo 1956: 217, n. 29.

134. See Hsieh. Also Lo 1963: 89-105.

135. Legal suits could pile up. It is said that in the 1820s a newly appointed provincial judge of Kiangsi cleared up, within four months, some four thousand accumulated cases. Hummel: 702.

136. Fei: 189 found that old people in Kaihsienkung in the Yangtse valley regarded similar rent payment as a "moral duty."

137. First Year, Appendix 8, par. 12. This situation occasioned the taxlord controversy which caused the British much concern and major clans like the Lis and Tangs much heartburning, impoverishment, and loss of prestige. They and other owners of land given out on perpetual lease were the "rent charge owners or taxlords" referred to by the president of the New Territories Land Court in SP 1902: 557-64, par. 14, but elsewhere referred to as "tax-collecting families," (SP 1906: 143-52, par. 82). The former is the correct description, in my view. Some taxlords were compensated by the Hong Kong government—see Orme: par. 21 (1) and Clementi's minute of 28 August 1906 in CSO 1904 Ext/6269. Others, including the Li family of Lantau, the Chans who owned much of Peng Chau (see Hayes 1964: n. 27-28 and CSO 1903 Ext/7466) and some smaller "taxlords" were not (see CSO 1904 Ext/1625, minute of 29 February 1904). See also Potter 1968: 23 and 100.

138. Rawski 1972: 19-24. Elvin: 245 suggests that its origin there may be traced to a 15th century rebellion.

139. from First Year: Appendix 3.

140. CSO 1904 Ext/1560, minute of 5 August 1904.

141. CSO Ext/1823, minute of 9 April 1904. A similar two-fold division of the soil was to be found in Fukien, Kiangsu and Kiangsi: reference

7.6.8. in Fairbank, Banno and Yamamoto: 191. See also Fei on Kaihsien-kung, 188-89.

142. First Year: 4. Rawski (1975: 71) reports a like situation in the settlement of the Han River Highlands on the borders of Szechuan, Hopei, and Shensi, citing an early 19th century report.

143. CSO 1903 Ext/8551, minute of 6 July 1904.

144. CSO 1904 Ext/436, minute of 27 March 1904.

145. CSO 1904 Ext/1625, minute of 29 February 1904.

146. See, *inter alia*, the translated letter from the provincial treasurer of Kwangtung to Sir John Davis attached to no. 76 in CO 129/7; the *Friend of China* 24 July 1858 for the translation of a Chinese notice on this subject; Lobscheid 1858: 36; Report of the Anglo-Chinese Land Commission in CO 129/85, no. 82 of 30 April 1862; and CSO 1898 no. 2982. However, by the 1860s the position was obscure and chaotic, leading to the doubts expressed—wrongly I believe—by the surveyor-general of Hong Kong in par. 6 of no. 19 in CO 129/98.

147. See e.g. CSO 1904 Ext/1625 and 3420, minutes of 29 February and 26 April 1904.

148. Alabaster: 1897.

149. Rawski 1972: 19, citing Niida Noboru.

150. It continued well into the British period. A district officer wrote in 1922, "Although the waste land round villages are now technically the property of the Crown the villagers continue to regard them as theirs, and resent encroachments by individuals accordingly." (ARDONT 1922, under D.O. North.)

151. Yasaburo Takekoshi: 121.

152. See par. 6-10 of his no. 82 in CO 129/85. See also the surveyor general's resumé in CO 129/98.

153. Elvin: 250-60.

154. There is no trace here, so far, in the areas studied, of the "powerful domination" which landlords and bursaries were able to exert over their land and tenants in late Ch'ing and early Republican Kiangnan. Muramatsu: 595-99.

155. Rostow: 105.

156. Ho 1962: 86-91 has an important section on the permeation of society by Confucian ideology. Chiang Monlin's autobiography tells the same story: "These moral precepts came from the Confucian classics. Moral ideas were driven into the people by every possible means—temples, theatres, houses, toys, proverbs, schools, history and stories—until they became habits in daily life." (Chiang: 9.) For state action see Hisayuki Miyakawa, especially 43-46, on the Ch'ing confucianization of Formosa, and also on that subject Colquhoun and Lockhart: 184-190, 204. See also Fairbank, Banno and Yamamoto, 8.8.1, p. 255, which lists an article by Tsukishima Kenzo (1951) which stresses the permeation of the so-called Confucian morality into the lower social strata of China and the persistent influence of the traditional morality even in persons seemingly rather detached from the old social order.

157. See the library list of holdings in the Fung Ping-shan Library, University of Hong Kong in Lo 1971: 211-40, to which additions are being steadily made.

158. Kept in the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Mss. My own fieldwork in the Tsuen Wan subdistrict of the New Territories is producing additional family records, both printed and manuscript, and my forthcoming article in CSWT 3, No. 5 (1976) will have more to say on the Confucianization of the small lineage.

159. Chung: 26-27. See also for Nanching, Kwangtung, in the 1940s Yang 1959: 182.

160. These pursuits are listed in YTPC 1/1a. Some of the folktales and legends were collected in the 1920s by the National Sun Yat-sen University at Canton. See Eberhard 1973: x-xi and Schneider 137-38, 142-43 for Ku Chieh-kang's and Chung Ching-wen's work there, and part 2 of this interesting book for the folklore movement and popular culture. The class of female entertainers in towns and cities was another repository of old stories; Sewell: 126. Also Peplow: 52 on riddles. A rare translation of some New Year riddles appears at pp. 66-69 of L.G. Hopkins' *The Guide to Kuan Hua* (Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, Fifth edition, 1921).

161. Cantonese, Hoklo and Chiu-chou opera troupes perform in present-day Hong Kong, along with Cantonese, Chiu-chou and Fukienese puppet troupes.

162. See Werle in JHKBRAS 13 (1973).

163. Fitzgerald: 140. See also Chiang: 19, Sewell: 91 and Llewellyn: 101-102. Gamble 1954: 329-97 gives many useful comparative details of *yang ke* plays, other recreation, festivals, and customs for Ting Hsien, including texts. Many more texts are given in Gamble 1971.

164. See Kulp: 268-70. In Hong Kong the verses are usually taken from Tang poetry. See also Paul Ng: 82, 87-98.

165. Kulp: 276 makes this point. His whole chapter 9, 261-83, on art and recreation is a valuable and seldom-found account of these influences at village level, as observed over fifty years ago. See also Yang 1959: 96, and, especially, Ho 1962: 91.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. Introduction to an inscription dated 1870 (T'ung Chih, 9th year, 3rd moon, lucky date) recording the repair of the Chen-an She of the present Pao-an District Association.

2. Gazetteer: 88; about 592 acres.

3. SP 1911: 103 (26) and 103 (38). The figure for the floating population may be the figure for the census district as at 103 (38).

4. HKNTES: 1916 report.
5. Arlington: 159. He was in charge of the Imperial Maritime Customs station on Cheung Chau, 1893–99.
6. CSP: 443.
7. Arlington: 158.
8. BB 1906: V2–11.
9. It is not possible to give an exact figure for the late 19th century but the number probably exceeded one hundred. Businesses were often stable and long lasting, as befitted a prosperous place. A survey made in 1962 gave 26 shops founded before 1918. Ten of these had been established in the 19th century, the five earliest in 1833, 1843, 1853, 1854, and 1860.
10. SP 1911: 103 (38).
11. SP 1911: 103 (22).
12. Tablet of 1866–67 (T'ung Chih, 5th year, winter).
13. Cheung Chau is shown on a plan entitled "Chang-chou Yü-t'u" in the *t'u hsing* section of the *Huang-shih tsu-p'u*. The land officer in Hong Kong reported in 1903, "I find there, all the houses are held under one landlord, the tenants holding varying leases from one year to perpetuity." (CSO 1903 Ext/3690: minute of 18 August.) See also ARDONT 1909: H5.
14. *Huang-shih tsu-p'u*. The Cheung Chau members of the family say they have been twenty-seven adult generations in Nam Tau.
15. Comparison of entries in the *ch'ang-yeh* section in chüan 7, *Huang-shih tsu-p'u* and the preamble to a surviving woodblock-printed lease of land dated January 1904.
16. 91.07 acres of agricultural land were surveyed and registered by the New Territories Survey and Land Court: see BCL for Cheung Chau.
17. The Tong was still collecting rent from sand beaches in 1958: see the printed statement of account, "Huang Wei Tse T'ang Cheng Hsin Lu," for 1958.
18. CSO 1905 Ext/5914, petition dated 31st July 1905. It refers to houses and shops, but also involved agricultural lots.
19. The last appears to confirm the position reported by my older informants, that the Tong did not lead or direct the management of local affairs.
20. CSO 1905 Ext/5914.
21. ARDONT 1909, H 5. Not only was the decision unusual; it also appears that the land work was badly done. See Orme: par. 19.
22. Skinner 1958 calls such bodies "speech group organizations." Their formation was usual in the Hong Kong region, where numbers permitted. For instance, the associations of Hsin-an and Tung-kuan men at Tai O are described in chapter 3; and on Ap Lei Chau, off Hong Kong Island (population 1,437 at the 1911 census) there were two similar associations for Hsin-an and Tung-kuan people and a third for residents of other places. See Hayes in JHKBRAS, 7 (1967): 166–68; also Osgood 1975: 2: 487–88, 491–93.
23. A recent review of their overseas aspects is given by Aline K. Wong in JHKBRAS 11 (1971): 62–73.
24. The Wai Chiu Club also provided a school before and after 1899.

One of my informants attended it in 1885–86: see Hayes 1963: 97 and 105, n. 28.

25. In all this work there is an interesting parallel with the Tung Kwun Tung Yee Tong of Hong Kong (*Chu-chiang Tung-kuan Tung-i-t'ang*) established in Kuang Hsü 19th year (1893–94). Its record, published in 1931, describes its main objects as to establish a charitable grave, carry out the customary worship and sacrifices to feed hungry souls and transport them in spirit to their native place, and to found a charitable school for poor children of the district. (*Chu-chiang Tang-kuan Tung-i-t'ang shih-lu*: 4).

26. Hayes 1963: 97.

27. ADR by the social welfare officer for the period 1948–54, par. 72. I have here altered the capitals to match the differentiation adopted above. I have found a reference to the Kaifong of a section of Canton City in Clementi: 100. He quotes from a letter by Harry Parkes dated 12 November 1859 in which the latter had got some gentry and a deputy magistrate “to call in the Kai-fong, or principal men of the neighbourhood—men who have a voice in the municipal arrangements of that quarter—” to listen to an explanation of the workings and objects of an emigration depot established in the area. For later Kaifong in Hong Kong see Wong 1973.

28. It is still standing. The lintel is inscribed “Kung-so” and is dated Tung Chih, 1st year, mid month of summer. There had been earlier developments before the Kung-so was established, indicating that the early Chinese community of Hong Kong was taking steps to organize itself as a group and in the several districts of the new town. See Carl Smith 1971: 76 (7), 81; Lethbridge 1971: 117–18; and Topley and Hayes 1967: 139–41.

29. Hayes 1966: 129–30.

30. The community of Hung Hom, a large village beside the Hong Kong and Whampoa Dock Company's yards at Kowloon, erected two temples, a meeting hall, and a clinic between the 1870s and 1910. See the note in JHKBRAS 15 (1975): 318–24.

31. Tablet dated T'ung Chih 12th year, autumn, lucky day.

32. See M. Hugo-Brunt's article on this church in JOS 1, no. 2: 327–44.

33. Kuang Hsü 22nd year, 6th month, 17th day.

34. Head tablet inscribed T'ung Chih 12th year, 6th month. Giles 1912: 363, describes *i-chung* as “a public cemetery—for the temporary accommodation of the bodies of strangers.” This grave is stated conclusively by all elders to be the Kaifong's scheme.

35. See the petition to this end from leading Kaifongs in CSO 1901 Ext/44.

36. Hayes 1963: 98 and 106, n. 31.

37. BCL, Lot 340 where it is styled *chai lau so* or “asylum.”

38. One is reminded, probably unjustly in this case, of the satirical “eight thoughts of a Chinese official” current just before the Revolution of 1911. “When he meets a Chinese merchant from Singapore, Java, San Francisco etc. he thinks of charitable endowments i.e. of the opportunities of squeezing such presents for good causes.” (Tyau: 111.)

39. For more details see Hayes 1963: 92, 94-95 and n. 18 and 22. The tablet listed 21 persons with rank or title of whom sixteen were Wongs and probably members of the Tong, from the main as well as the Cheung Chau branches. However, I believe that this was outside "interest" exerted in an emergency rather than a sign of Wong direction of local affairs. Since 1963 I have also discovered that several Cheung Chau shopkeepers had purchased degrees.

40. Personal communication, 1962.

41. This importance is reflected by the local honors paid to committeemen of this type. Stevens: 16 includes among his "Cantonese Apothegms" the phrase *Tsip sung chik sz* (*Chieh-sung chih-shih*) and comments "The ceremonies of welcoming a new and escorting home an old, street councillor are carried out with a fanfare of trumpets, beating of gongs and firing of crackers."

42. See DAR, DCNT for 1954-55, par. 48, and for 1960-61, pars. 121 and 126.

43. E.g. the "Sun Hing Street Luen Yee Wui" registered on 8 October 1949 by the registrar of societies; and the unregistered Pak She Street Kung Sor formed in 1955 but originating in a prewar youth group for lion dancing and music training.

44. On the 18th of the first month at Pak She; and on the Earth God's festival on the 2nd day of the second month at Tai San and San Hing Streets.

45. See the note in JHKBRAS 15 (1975): 311-18.

46. Giles 1912: 161, calls it "the festival of All-Souls." There is a good description of different types of *chiao*, as practiced in present day Taiwan, in *Echo*, January 1974: 28-44. Of these, the *ping-an chiao* is closest to the Cheung Chau rite.

47. There is here a striking similarity to the proceedings in late 19th century Formosa described by Rev. G.L. Mackay who calls the bun towers "cones." (Mackay: 129-31.) See also *Echo* 6, No. 2: 13-18, 60.

48. See Topley 1967: 108-109; Werner: 196-97; and Wells Williams 1856: 308 and 531.

49. The modern practice is not new, however. Adele Fielde reported it from Swatow in the 1870s (Fielde: 68-71) and J.A. Turner gives details of such a procession at Fatshan in the 1880s "in which several hundreds of boys, girls, and men take part" (Turner: 140). See also Lobscheid 1883-84: 403.

50. Dated Kuang Hsü 15th year, third winter month.

51. Tin Hau dated Hsüan Tung 1st year, and Pak Tai Kuang Hsü 29th year.

52. The Tin Hau (Pak She) has a bell dated Ch'ien Lung 32 (1767-68) and an incense burner dated Ch'ien Lung 50 (1785-86). The Tin Hau (Chung Hing Street) bell is dated Ch'ien Lung 37 (1772-73). The Pak Tai's bell is dated Ch'ien Lung 49 (1784-85) and the Hung Shing temple's bell is dated Chia Ch'ing 18 (1813-14).

53. From Mr. Lo Tin-yan of the Tung Yu shrimp sauce business established in 1843.

54. This was not the first time that Kuang-chou natives had presented items to the temple; a pair of imposing granite lion-dogs standing outside it were donated in 1861. Individuals had probably also contributed amounts in the past. But 1904 was the first time an approach was made to Kuang-chou groups to associate them in the management.

55. Bell dated Ch'ien Lung 39th year (1774-75).

56. A nearby tablet commemorating the construction of the road to this temple gives Tao Kuang 20th year (1840-41) for the date of the work.

57. I have here regarded the temples as institutions and vehicles for leadership, especially in the activities at the time of their gods' birthdays. I have not studied their year-round social and ritual activities or the persons connected with them. Some information on what was likely to take place in them, as in other temples of their kind and other religious institutions, is provided by Topley 1967 on Chinese occasional rites in Hong Kong, and Topley and Hayes, included in the same RAS Symposium brochure under her editorship. Topley's two articles on Chinese Religion in Singapore (1956 and 1961, see bibliography) are also of assistance in this specialized field. See, too, Graham: 195-214.

58. The fare provided for these events did not always meet with satisfaction from members. An elder recalled that on one occasion there were twenty-eight tables with over 220 people. He named the caterer and the cost, and added, "The food was no good, and those present were dissatisfied and there was a lot of grumbling."

59. The Hoklo and Cantonese elements on the island were particularly antagonistic to each other: see HKNTES 1908. There is much evidence for these animosities which, as might have been expected, also came to the fore on emigrant ships. In 1859 Rev. Lobscheid advised an agent that "some care should be taken to separate the clans, for example Hak-ka from Pun-ti, so as to prevent quarrels in the ship." Three years later trouble on two ships was attributed to taking on a mixed complement of Chinese from Hong Kong, Canton, Amoy, and Swatow, and the surgeon-superintendent of the ship *Persia* gave a graphic description of the troubles that ensued, "They spoke different dialects, could not understand and cordially hated each other . . . came on board fighting and during the ten days the ship lay at Hong Kong these faction fights were of almost daily occurrence." (Clementi: 79, 130-33.)

60. In the course of a long life, many of them have not found it necessary to take much interest in anything else. One old man, born in 1885 and usually a mine of information, was unable to tell me anything about an institution in the next street, though it was located only a few hundred yards from the house in which he had lived all his life. He explained his ignorance by saying that he lived in Pak She Street "whereas over there is San Hing Street."

61. HKGG, 15 July 1899: 1,117. Sir Henry Blake, governor of Hong Kong at this time, explained the background to, and intentions of, this legislation in his farewell address to the Legislative Council. Hansard, 1903: 52.

62. See CSO 1901 Ext/44 and CSO 1905 Ext/5914, petitions dated 5 March 1901 and 31 July 1905 respectively.

63. HKGG, 15 July 1899: 1,117.

64. Ts'o Tsing's name appears as one of the managers for the property on lots 421, 482, 502, and 599 belonging to the Tung Kwun association. Descendants of some of the others are registered as managers of the Hoklo community's Chiu Chau and Wai Chau Club property on lots 229 and 379.

65. I have not yet been able to establish, in an outline study, whether this was a temporary absence from local leadership or whether the Tong's leaders were not normally included in Kaifong direction in the 19th century.

66. This emphasis on the human element in the management of local affairs, at the expense of rigid demarcation of personnel, duties, and finance, is another manifestation of what D.E. Willmott: 144, writing in 1960 of the Chinese of Semarang, styles the "continuing preference for face-to-face trust relations rather than contractual relations."

67. I have no information on what happened in a crisis requiring measures to placate the gods: as in the case of plague related by Peplow: 223–26, said to have occurred about 1910.

68. Eitel 1910: 345, 780: not in Giles.

69. As happened in 1946: see Paul K.C. Tsui's minute in file 11/631/45 on the Pak Tai Temple, Cheung Chau (kept in the Directorate of Home Affairs, Hong Kong).

70. Skinner 1958: 5, 11–12.

71. See ARDONT 1910: I 11–12; 1911: I 15; 1912: I 13; and 1914: I 9.

72. ARDONT 1919, 1920, 1921: J 12, J 12, and J 13 respectively.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. By comparison with Cheung Chau, present day Tai O appears to have fewer old families with members prominent in its 19th century management, most likely due to the economic stagnation that kept the population fluid and sent many enterprising people elsewhere. Partly because of this, I have not attempted to deal with the economic relationship between land and boat people—despite its obvious bearing on the community aspects of their interaction—because there is insufficient 19th century material and a lack of suitable informants.

2. ARDONT 1915: J 9.

3. SP 1911: 103 (38) and (26).

4. SP 1911: 103 (38).
5. CSO 1904 Ext/3165, minute of 21 April 1904.
6. Also seen in old shops on Ap Lei Chau, Hong Kong island.
7. Memorial 28000 in the Hong Kong Land Registry, dated 6 July 1900, concerns the sale of a shop at Tai O in Kuang Hsü 23rd year, on which there was a yearly ground rent of 2 mace payable to the Li family.
8. ARDONT 1911 and 1916: I 14 and J 12.
9. See JHKBRAS 10 (1970): 197–202 for an account, written in 1937, of the dwellings of Tai O boat people.
10. ARDONT 1916, 1926, 1927: J 12, J 13, and J 11.
11. Orme, par. 70. HNHC mentions them (3/13b) ‘caught in the sea near Tai O. From the ninth to eleventh moons fishermen hear their croak at night and catch them with nets, encircling them. The tactic is ‘beat the yellow croaker’.
12. ARDONT 1911: I 15; 1915: J 9; and 1926 and 1927: J 13 and J 11.
13. ARDONT 1918: J 11; 1920: J 12; 1921: J 12; 1922: J 11.
14. BB 1906: J 2–11.
15. Colonial Reports—Annual, no. 314, Hong Kong, 1899: 14.
16. Orme: par. 65.
17. J.F. Davis: 343.
18. The salt production for these years, taken from ARDONT, is summarized in JHKBRAS 7 (1967): 145–49.
19. Lo 1959: 212 and 216 (n. 28).
20. See also Cheng Kam-man’s complaints about junks bringing salt to Tai O for sale and his workmen selling salt in the night in CSO 1903 Ext/4904 minute of 22 June 1903.
21. This man’s name (Cheng Kam-man) appears in the BCL for Tai O and the CSO papers (1903 Ext/4904 and 1904 Ext/2140). Some of his own and his father’s purchases of land in the Hong Kong region, mainly of fishing stations and an abandoned salt pan, are shown in deeds recorded in the Hong Kong Land Registry (memorials 26918, 27998–28000).
22. Local information, and CSO 1904 Ext/3420, minute of 26 April 1904.
23. CSO 1904 Ext/7304, petition of 17 July 1906.
24. JHKBRAS 7 (1967): 139.
25. See JHKBRAS 7 (1967): 149.
26. NTLC 1900–1905 in SP 1906: 150.
27. Schofield, personal communication; also Lo 1963: 172.
28. For accounts of these places see JHKBRAS 3 (1963): 144–45; 4 (1964): 146–52; 8 (1968): 82–95 and 165–67.
29. The troops came from the Tai Pang battalion and were under the overall command of the Kowloon garrison commander.
30. HNHC 2/19a onwards.
31. Tablet dated in the winter months of Tao Kuang 18th year.
32. See chapter one, also Hayes 1964: n. 40.
33. HKNTES 1910.
34. HKNTES 1915.

35. HKNTES 1917. See Anderson 1972: 21–32 for useful background.

36. Lot 152 in DD 313.

37. Lot 258 in DD 313.

38. No transactions have been listed for either the Hip Wo She Hok or the Po On Study since the initial registration of 1905. Consequently no leads for further inquiry were available.

39. In every case these premises were regarded as public property at the land settlement, and were registered in the block crown lease for Tai O in the name of the registrar general.

40. According to the district land registers, lot 133 was sold in 1922, and lots 134–35 the following year. Lot 263 was vested in a private person in 1910, and lot 275 has remained in the name of the registrar general, now the director of home affairs.

41. Yang 1967: 96–99.

42. Brim (1970: chapter 2) reports it from Sun Fung Wai near Castle Peak (Gazetteer: 162), and I have recorded it from Shek Pik and Tong Fuk on Lantau Island.

43. Personal communication, 1962.

44. Nevius: 219 reports it from Ningpo, and Clark: 133 from Chefoo.

45. Personal communication, 1962. Prewar (and postwar) the Kaifong also operated a *fong pin so*, similar in type and purpose to the Cheung Chau Fong Pin hospital but much smaller. It was repaired by them in 1934 but was originally provided as a charitable work with subscriptions collected mainly from Hong Kong by the Kuan Yin temple at Keung Shan nearby. The Kaifong appointed a keeper for this ‘dying house’ to look after the indigent sick near to death, and it provided coffins at need.

46. ARDONT 1926: J 13. Unfortunately GN 394, HKGG, 15 July 1899, does not list the committeemen (i.e. Kaifong) for Tai O market, as it does for Cheung Chau. The names shown there are only those for the surrounding villages.

47. This *Tei Po* is probably the same functionary as the *Yeuk-po* (*Yüeh-pao*) Cheng Lam-sau who was writer and middleman for the sale of an old house at Tai O in T’ung Chih 5 (copy of deed in my possession).

48. There was, for instance, a *tei po* (tepo) at Kowloon Street before 1899: he reported a stabbing to the assistant magistrate of Kowloon, as mentioned in a Chinese deed of Kuang Hsü 25th year (Memorial 28037 in the Hong Kong Land Registry).

49. This temple has three main sections within the one structure: the temple to Kwan Tai after whom it takes its name; a side temple to Tin Hau with its own commemorative tablet of 1835; and the guest hall-community office.

Tai O has a fifth temple, a small building in Wang Hang village on the edge of the salt fields styled the Chung Sheng temple (lots 58–59 in DD 313). It seems to be a village temple erected and maintained by the residents of this small multi-lineage place, and had been built or reconstructed in the 1890s.

50. However, the Yeung Hau Wong temple directors at its major

repairs of 1877—the only one for which a commemorative tablet exists—were not only from the boat population. The tablet was erected by *ho-ao chih-li*.

51. The bells are dated as follows: Kwan Tai-Tin Hau, Ch'ien Lung 6 (1741–42) and Ch'ien Lung 37 (1772–73); Hung Shing, Ch'ien Lung 11 (1746–47); Yeung Hau Wong, K'ang Hsi 38 (1699–1700) and Tin Hau, K'ang Hsi 52 (1713–14).

52. See chapter one, also Hayes 1964: n. 39–45, and Hayes 1969: 41–43.

53. The *ssu-hsiang* were the Tai O villages of Wang Hang, San Tsuen, Leung Uk and Nam Chung. (SP 1911: 103 (38).)

54. These included reaching mutual agreement on the auspicious times at which each of the major events in the rebuilding projects were to be undertaken. For example, a Sai Kung temple tablet (1916) lists eleven stages, from the erection of the scaffolding to the fixing of doors and the installation of the several gods. (Hayes 1967: 89 and n. 14.)

Notes to Chapter 4

1. See Schofield 1940.

2. Hayes and Watt 1970. It is considered by some scholars that the name of the smaller of the Shek Pik villages, Fan Pui (“the back of the tomb”), may denote the existence of a royal burial, one of the last two boy emperors of Sung. The events of this sad time have lived long in local history. Dr. Li Shu-fan’s home village of Heung Tau Fan (“Sandalwood-Head Tomb”) in Toi Shan district has similar connections. The name commemorates the fate of a loyal minister of the Sung Dynasty “who was finally caught and decapitated on the same hill where his remains now lie in a tomb, with a head carved from sandalwood in place where his natural head should be.” (Li: 4.)

3. Lin T'ien-wei 1964. Two rocks with carved geometric patterns probably date from this time. See S.G. Davis 1963: 19–21.

4. 4,142 separate lots were registered in the demarcation district sheets nos. 312, 315, 318, 319, 321, and 323. See BCL.

5. E.W. Hamilton, private communication, 1960. Also ARDONT 1922: J 12.

6. SP 1911: 103 (38).

7. The closeness of these two lineages is noted by Giles 1912: 573: “Certain families (e.g. the 徐 and the 余) will not intermarry because their surnames, now different, were once the same.”

8. Krone noted this tendency elsewhere in the Hsin-an district in the 1850s through for different reasons, Krone: 124. This phenomenon is apparently not confined to peasants. I have a Chia Ch'ing edition of a book of collected moral instructions first published in the 7th year of Ch'ien Lung (1742-43) which advises gentry not to be ashamed of their own family and seek to enter more important ones (implying those of other *hsing*). (Ch'en Hung-mou: 4/53.)

9. Most of these fields lay round and above Shek Pik Wai in DD 312.

10. These figures tie in roughly with an irrigation engineer's survey of 1952. He estimated 136 acres in cultivation, and 40 abandoned acres in the upper village. (File IO 115/52 of DCNT's office.)

11. The plight of a landless rural laborer in a late 19th century "small crowded village, a few miles from Hong Kong" subsisting with his wife and two children on "six baskets of rice which were paid, twice a year for my father's duty as a night watchman" and the proceeds of odd jobs, is described in Char: 247-49.

12. I have since come to believe that the BCL registers are not a reliable guide to the lineage and other institutions to be found in Shek Pik and many other smaller villages of the region. In this particular case the Chan and Tsui lineages recall their ancestral halls, and the Chi lineage hall is mentioned in a deed of partition of 1789. See Hayes 1976: 46-47, 63.

13. Said to be common in the Tai Po district of the New Territories. Morrison: 98, describes *cheng ch'ang* as sacrifices in winter and autumn.

14. The Yeung Hau Wong temple owned 0.06 building and 1.67 acres agricultural at the land settlement, and the Hung Shing temple 0.04 building and 0.10 agricultural. The school was registered in the first temple's name (lot 566 in DD 312). Max Weber: 91-93 has seized upon the administrative position of the temple in Chinese villages of this sort, and states that its "significance . . . lay in its secular, social and legal practices." He continues, "the village legally and actually was capable of acting as a corporate body through the temple." In Shek Pik and other local cases, the temple lay at the center of corporate life, while the concept of "Ah Kung" was its outer manifestation.

15. The customary religious activities at Shek Pik and adjoining villages appear more numerous and regular than those mentioned by Yang 1967, chapter 4; and more specifically, for Nanching, in Yang 1959: 191-96.

16. Stevens: 100 and Jenyns: 169.

17. See Kulp: 209-10.

18. In the Hong Kong region, dancing lions (*wu shih*) are generally associated with Cantonese villages and unicorns (*ch'i lin*) with Hakka settlements. There is, I am told, considerable variation in the style, shape, and design of these very old art forms.

19. For an account of the organization and functions of the lineage (clan) in Nanching, see Yang 1959: 92-99. See also Baker 1968: chapters 1-5 and the lineage passages in Potter 1968.

20. An engrossing account of such accountability is given in Selby:

63–68 for a village in north Kwangtung apparently in the 1870s. See also a case from early British Hong Kong concerning a clan in Hsiang-shan district in CO 129/23 no. 19 of 4 March 1848.

21. SP 1921: 161–62, mentions “the common practice of purchasing a small girl (*‘sanpotsai’*) as prospective bride to be brought up in the family of the future husband . . . very prevalent in San On, especially among Hakkas.” I recorded earlier cases at Shek Pik, and also those in which engagements had been made before puberty but without the daughter being reared in the boy’s family.

22. It is explained, I think, by their highly personal nature which discourages their production for study purposes.

23. Yang 1959: 11, and Hayes 1970: 165. A 19th century deed of sale for a village house illustrates this clearly for Shek Pik, “The house in question is situated in Shek Pik village, facing south, with Cheung Yung-tai’s house on the left, Kung Kwai-fat’s house on the right, Chan Wang-ho’s house in front, and Tsui Lung-choi’s house at the back.”

24. See FO 233, vol. 136, e.g. 1845, nos. 20, 30, and 24, and 1848 nos. 5 and 7. Where literati or other elites were involved this is usually indicated by the use of degree titles or other terms indicative of special status, but these are seldom encountered in the old Southern District.

25. Yang 1959: 99. Baker 1968: 52, could not find evidence of one at Sheung Shui, but then this was a single, not a multilineage village.

26. Myers 1970: 259 also reports village councils “of half a dozen or more peasants, who selected a headman and his assistant from among their number” in his recent study of four villages in Shantung and Hopei, 1890–1949. For a village council in Yunnan see Osgood 1963: 117–8.

27. Lockhart: 546. He was here describing its jurisdiction rather than its executive functions.

28. Yang 1959: 99.

29. Seventy years after the event it is impossible to trace the local power groups and the informal political order at Shek Pik in the way reported by Yang for Nanching, 1959: 109–18. However, one person was clearly of importance in late 19th century Shek Pik. This was the schoolmaster Kung from a local village who built up an estate there by purchase and mortgage, and maintained an influence, through his holdings and his superior education.

30. He was styled “village representative” in the post 1945 period: see ARDONT 1947–48: 2–3.

31. Similar statements about the post of headman, and how it was manned, were made to me in many of the multilineage settlements of Lantau.

32. Berkowitz and Poon: 17–18.

33. As the manager of the branch of the powerful Tang lineage claiming possession of Tsing Yi told Cecil Clementi: “I have been manager for two years, I remain manager so long as I give satisfaction.” (CSO 1903 Ext/8551, minute of 16 June 1904.)

34. See Ordinance No. 13 of 1844, Ordinance No. 3 of 1853 and Colonial

Estimates 1854-61. These appointments were discontinued in 1861. See Endacott 1964: 37-38.

35. The CO 129 and FO 233 series show that they were extensively used by the authorities. See e.g. CO 129/10, no. 45; CO 129/16, no. 47; CO 129/19, no. 11; CO 129/47, no. 89; CO 129/80, no. 2. Also FO 233, vol. 186, nos. 20, 30 of 1845; nos. 5 and 7 of 1848; and no. 22 of 1847 in vol. 187. After 1861, though not paid, headmen were still recognized and sometimes styled Tepos. See *Authorities* and also Eitel 1895: 166.

36. This much is certain, though the nature of their duties is not always clear and the literature is sometimes confused. See Hsiao: 64-66, 267; Chü: 3-4, 203-204; Watt: 190.

37. Werner: 161-62.

38. Baker 1968: 133-34.

39. Yang 1959: 103. This transition is shown clearly by Myers 1970: 97-98 for a village in Li-ch'eng County, Shantung.

40. Kulp: 110-17.

41. They were apparently needed. Peplow: 154-155 explains the less welcome aspects of village festivals which attracted many persons to the site besides relatives and friends.

42. Collectively, these represent the "non-economic, communal religious observances" described by Yang 1967: 86-96. Yang does not mention the *Ta chiao* ceremonies by name, and it may be that they had lapsed at Nanching by the 1940s, as they had in many places, including the Hong Kong region. (See Yang 1959: 194, and Potter 1968: 171.) Yang 1967, chapter 13, and Fei 1939: 130-31, note the discontinuation of old ceremonies. The latter relates the "deterioration of social life" that this represented in the minds of ordinary people.

43. Such lands had apparently been under lease from the Chinese government; see SP 1901: 307.

44. Fortune: 9-11 mentions the "very fair orchards containing the Mango, Leechee, Longan, Wangpee, Orange, Citrons and Pomelows" of the Hong Kong region. It was customary in local villages for the produce to be auctioned well before each crop and the proceeds credited to village funds, as at Shek Pik itself. Consequently it was forbidden to pick fruit in common ownership.

45. No doubt following local custom, British forestry licenses included graves within forest lots, but forbade desecration and stipulated a clear space of grass one *chang* in width (10 Chinese feet) to be left round them (Forestry Licence No. 95 of D.O. South for 1925-26).

46. These are mentioned in a lease of fields for 15 years, drawn up at Shek Pik in 1954. Scattered evidence is given in surviving deeds of mortgage and in an old property book listing rents and cultivators in the late 19th century and after.

47. For comparison, Baker's lineage village "possessed only the most sketchy of village rules" (Baker 1968: 134). Kulp's Phenix Village had no written rules, but he gives an account of offenses and punishments (Kulp: 129 et seq., 320-321). For a written local example from Tung

Chung on north Lantau, revised once after being drawn up in 1894, see Hayes 1962: 84. These particular rules were not comprehensive. They covered theft from crops and plantations and trespass by cattle. Other matters had apparently to be covered by the elders' collective memory of past precedents: see Ng in Jarvie and Agassi: 59.

48. As reported from Tung Chung in connection with its rules. They were described as *ch'un t'ing*.

49. Until the early 1950s, it was usual to summon Shek Pik and Lo Wai (Pui O) villagers by gong for this duty. The determinant of involvement was the dam; there were four in the Shek Pik valley and three at Pui O. Disputes regarding water supply from communally constructed irrigation works were apparently solved by the memory of what had been done before on a similar occasion: as reported for Tung Chung by Ng in Jarvie and Agassi: 59.

When the new Civil and Criminal Codes were being elaborated by the Kuomintang Government, the place of local custom in the matter of irrigation and other rights was much in its mind. The Introduction to the Civil Code states (p. xvi): "It was the wish of the Commission that many traditional agricultural customs, which had grown out of the geographical or economic conditions of particular districts, should be preserved so long as they were not contrary to public order or good morals". It is noteworthy that the articles of the Civil Code in this and related matters (for water rights see Articles 775–785) provide that local custom shall have precedence over the Code if there be a difference in provision. See the English translations of *The Civil Code of the Republic of China* and *The Criminal Code of the Republic of China*, Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, 1931 and 1936 respectively. Article 252 of the Criminal Code makes the impairment of farm irrigation an offence punishable by imprisonment, detention or fine.

50. These are sometimes recorded by memorial tablets, and can be glimpsed in the prewar administrative reports of the DONT, e.g. for Shek Pik in ARDONT 1922.

51. The involvement of village elders with teachers is shown in AR 1913: N16–17.

52. Neumann: 97–125 and Montalto de Jesus: 231–48. Pirate fleets from a later time are described in *Illustrated London News* for 28 March 1857: 283. See also Fox and Dalrymple Hay.

53. Some strong-minded, capable headman or elder in the smaller villages might take everything on himself, despite the heavy burden. This happened at Tong Fuk fifty or sixty years ago when, the elders recall, one such person determined all public business.

54. This happened in the lineage as in the village: see also Yang 1959: 95.

55. In theory, the district land records should provide a record of the successive managers of landed trusts, since registration of managers was required by the New Territories Ordinance, Cap 97; but in the pre-1941 period villages often did not register changes, even on the death of a manager. This tendency in other registrations was early remarked by the British district administration; ARDONT 1912: I 11.

56. For a similar process in appointing clan managers see Yang 1959: 94. For village office holders in Yunnan see Osgood 1963: 118–9.

57. Eberhard 1962: 212 mentions such *p'ao* in South China and Taiwan as “typical attempts towards self-defense of colonial settlements.”

58. *Chang-shi Tzu-p'u*.

59. *Illustrated London News*, 9 and 16 May 1857: 463, 473–74, and Szczesniak: 262–66.

60. CO 129/99, no. 115; 37–45.

61. Ramon Myers has described the existence of a specialist (*t'o ku*) skilled in handling property divisions in Taiwan rural families and other matters requiring mediation, and went on to observe “The role of such special individuals has scarcely been touched upon by students of traditional Chinese society” (Myers 1972: 3: 422). I agree with him, though my information shows that villagers in this region may have done some of this work themselves. Myers 1970: 94–95 gives the only detailed account I have seen of steps in sale negotiations.

62. Examples of local deeds can be found in Appendix 3 to *First Year*, in SP 1900: 266–77. See also Meadows 1859.

63. Smith: 156.

64. Money loan associations in the Hong Kong region are described at Appendix E to Orme, and by Dyer Ball: 632–45. See also L.S. Yang: 75–78. They are now generally described in the literature as “rotating credit associations.” See Ardener in bibliography.

65. Proof that money loan associations were in operation twenty years before is given in another of the Shek Pik land papers, a mortgage deed of 1858, in which failure to repay 18 taels of silver “being a share in a money loan association” led to the mortgage.

66. The operation of money loan associations was further complicated by weather and its effect on crops, and hence on ability to pay debts. See ARDONT 1916: J 4; 1929: J 2.

67. Kulp: 134.

68. The extent of village organization in the Hong Kong region in the late 19th century appears, on a superficial comparison, to be considerably greater than that reported by Myers for sixteen North China villages from information provided by Gamble and Japanese researchers (Myers 1970: 262). The weight of evidence for the importance of folk and village religion in providing for the functions and exercise of local leadership in the Hong Kong region is particularly striking, and the apparent lack of this element in leadership in the areas of Hopei and Shantung reported on by Myers is puzzling to me (Myers 1970: 40–122). His statements that “the household must be considered the basic economic and social unit” (p. 126) in these villages, and that their peasants “lacked a strong sense of village identity” (p. 125 and also p. 80) are based on solid Japanese research. Nonetheless, while variety is encountered everywhere, I am inclined to suggest that a closer study of village religion in these areas might have modified opinions reached from inquiries with an economic and institutional emphasis.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. In the 19th century. Two others, Cheung Sha Lan in the Shap Long peninsula, and Lower Cheung Sha have been added since 1899; see Gazetteer: 80–81 (which is not accurate for Pui O itself).

2. SP 1911: 103 (37).

3. Gazetteer gives 11.90 square miles for an area that includes Silver Mine Bay (Mui Wo) which is another separate group.

4. For aspects of Chinese family organization see Chapter 3 of Cohen 1976. With regard to the registrations contained in the Block Crown Leases for Pui O and elsewhere in the New Territories, I think we should beware of taking registration of ownership within lineages at its face value until we know more about the pre-1899 arrangements in any one location from other sources such as land deeds, rent books, account books, and the like.

5. See the sizes of lineages given in Freedman 1958: 5–6 and Freedman 1966: 4n. 16, and 19.

6. All told, these holdings amounted to 11.73 acres of agricultural land and 0.21 acres of building land in 1904; out of a total clan holding of 93.30 acres and 2.33 acres respectively.

7. This deed, registered with the Hsin-an magistrate, is dated Ch'ien Lung 37th year.

8. This clan's demography gives point to the great increases shown in the early Ch'ing census records: see Perkins: 206–208 and 212–14.

9. *Kuo-hsueh-sheng* and *chün-kung*. It would be both interesting and useful to compare such men with e.g. the many *kuo-hsueh-sheng* and holders of similar lesser titles listed in the Lo genealogy of Chiu-lin sub-district of Hsin-hui, Kwangtung (chüan 22/27a–32a for *Kuo-hsueh-sheng*) to ascertain whether their property, income, life-style and background were similar or not. An easier comparison, aided by field investigation, could be done with, say, the minor degree holders of the Tang lineage of Kam Tin, New Territories. I suspect that great variation could be shown.

10. Cheung Kwong-chuen is said to have owned ten houses and fifty to sixty *tou chung* of fields. His wife was a Ho from San Tsuen, and he seems to have had a concubine from the local boat population. He would be a good subject for investigation of the degree of exploitation practised by 'small landlords' and 'rich peasants' of the Hong Kong region. Elvin: 259–60 cites a Communist document that alleges that such persons exploited more ruthlessly than large landlords. It seems unlikely from my inquiries that the Li Kau Yuen Tong, the subsoil owner, was much of an exploiter—at least in the 19th century—so that such exploitation as there was was likely to come from persons like Kwong-chuen. Regrettably the materials are not fully available to determine the issue; but it was undoubtedly in the detailed nitty-gritty of daily economic life, in the matter of interest on loans of all kinds and in small dealings in farm produce and running small stores, listed in the paper cited by Elvin, that the greatest impact of the 'rich peasant' like him could lie.

11. Similar organizations are shown in the Block Crown Leases for

Sheung Ling Pei and Tung Hing villages at Tung Chung, Luk Tei Tong at Mui Wo, and Tong Fuk east of Pui O.

12. Other trusts in the registers are specifically stated to be *tu t'i hui*, e.g. for the Lantau villages of Pak Ngan Heung at Mui Wo and Shek Mun Kap at Tung Chung. A *ta wang hui* is listed for Tai Tei Tong, another of the Mui Wo villages. These three are all multilineage settlements, so that the trusts are shared. Yet such is the diversity of the local scene that we can find, at Lo Wai village, Pui O, *each* of the three clans with its own earth shrine.

13. ARDONT 1947–48, section on “Rural Organisation.”

14. They were big enough for self-defense and to have their own organization for religious rites, and most possessed their own local temple. However some of the villages within linkages also had their own temples.

15. Freedman 1963: pars. 17–28 discusses these and other *yüeh* complexes in the New Territories.

16. These groupings can be found in Gazetteer: 170–72, 166–68 and 182–83 respectively, but in the case of the first two the number of the villages in the group is now much greater than their names suggest. This use of *hsiang* places it (and these settlements) within the definition given in Hsiao: 11–12, “a unit of intervillage cooperation or organization: it had semiofficial recognition and occupied a definite place in the pattern of rural life.” See also Hsiao: 559–60 n. 12. Under the Kuomintang the *hsiang* became a legally established unit of self-government: see Linebarger: 107, 324, 389–91 with chart.

17. See Freedman 1963: pars. 8–22.

18. HNHC 1688: chüan 3, and HNHC 1819: 2/13b et seq.

19. Tong Fuk *Hsiang* (“Tong Fuk village”) appears on a bell of 1802 in the Hung Shing temple at Tong Fuk. At Tung Chung the rule board of 1894 described the subdistrict as Tung Chung *ho-hsiang* (“the united villages of Tung Chung”). At Tai O a tablet listing contributions to a temple repair of 1877 is worded *ko-hsiang* (“each of the villages”).

20. A tablet of 1883 in a Taoist religious hall in the hills above Tai O calls the area Luk Wu Tung, but this is surely in its descriptive usage, as there were only a few settlements in the surrounding area.

21. Dated July 1899 and now in the PRO, Hong Kong. For Ordinance No. 11 of 1899 see HKGG 18 April 1899.

22. GN 394 in HKGG 15 July 1899.

23. Only the Tai O, Mui Wo, and Tung Chung villages are listed. All the South Lantau villages and many outlying ones are omitted.

24. According to Freedman 1966: 8, they were in some cases the latter; but I am not yet sure of this.

25. HNHC 1819 2/19a et seq.

26. Tax receipts from Pui O and Shek Pik, dated in the Hsien Feng and Kuang Hsü periods respectively, list the payers as residing in the *Mut chia*, Yau *tu* of 3rd *t'u*. Registration of a sale of fields at Shui Hau, dated early 1895, also lists the parties to the transaction as belonging to these tax divisions. However, the same divisions are used for land in Kowloon

Tong, Kowloon (Hong Kong Memorials 28116, 28120, and 28145 registering deeds dated 1876, 1897, 1897 respectively). The tax divisions are confusing, as seen in local deeds, and their operation is clearly a complex matter requiring investigation.

27. In this respect the existence of unlinked settlements is a good indication of the comparative unimportance of the group on the local scene, since it must be supposed that they could do without whatever advantages it was presumed to have.

28. The Wan lineage of Pui O, settled there for two hundred years, stems from a family whose senior branch has long been in the adjoining Mui Wo group. The Tsui lineage of Shek Pik have a branch that went generations ago to Mui Wo and continues there today.

29. Sitings often led to quarrels at the outset or periodically thereafter. These are also recorded. A grave would not normally stay long in a place without the prior consent of the local elders or a later adjustment.

30. Old villagers stress the element of cooperation and mutual aid in the group system. Asked to illustrate how it operated in Pui O, one old man (b. 1886) said "If Cheung Sha people asked for help in trouble, they would get it. If Tong Fuk asked, they would not."

31. Old people have even told me that the gods, not men, were intended to benefit in the expectation that their help would be forthcoming when required.

32. They would not otherwise have been described as *Ta-ao ko-hsiang*.

33. The Tung Chung villages used the Hau Wong temple as their meeting place, and the rules of the group were displayed on a board that hung on one of its side rooms.

34. The 1899 map referred to above is accurate only in its representation of the Tung Chung area.

35. There were six schools at Tai O in 1912; see Orme: Appendix G.

36. See Hayes 1967: 97-100.

37. The Kwan Tai temple at Tai O has an inscription commemorating a repair of 1852 to which the Li Kau Yuen Tong contributed 10 taels (maximum donation 33.5) and the 1852 tablet at the Hung Shing temple at Sha Lo Wan lists it as giving 3.6 taels (maximum donation 11.8 taels).

38. These ceremonies appear similar to the *chau shen fu chiao* (thanking the gods in advance) and *yuan min fu chiao* (thanking the gods for favors granted) rites in present-day Taiwan. See *Echo*, January 1974: 28-44.

39. There was no formal organization for this twice-yearly ceremony despite its importance to the continued well-being of the Pui O villages. However, the management duties followed the pattern mentioned above. The organizers at the 12th month rituals in the lunar year 1972-73 were a Cheung, a Ho, and a Law. At the 2nd month ceremony in 1973-74, they were two Cheungs and a Ho.

40. Dated Chinese Republic, 3rd year, lucky day in the third winter month. It has now disappeared at a recent rebuilding.

41. Dated Tao Kuang 19th year, lucky day in the 3rd spring month.

The Cheung names lead all the others on the two memorial boards, as befitted their leading position in the locality.

42. Dated Chia Ch'ing, 4th year, lucky day in the 1st summer month.

43. Curiously enough, the solidarity of the Pui O villages was not reinforced by the periodic "Ta Chiu" reported from many other places on Lantau. The oldest men said to me on many occasions, "We Hakka do not *ta chiao*." However, this did not prevent villagers from adjoining settlements from taking the portable images of the gods in the Pui O temples to their Ta Chiu, as allowed by local custom.

Notes to Chapter 6

1. The old village was cleared for redevelopment in May, 1966.

2. Ngau Tau Kok, Lei Yue Mun, Cha Kwo Ling, and Sai Cho Wan: see *Gazetteer*: 126–27. The population of these four villages at the 1911 colony census was 440, 255, 211, and 58 respectively. Of these 314, 142, 134, and 35 were males: SP 1911: 103 (39).

3. Orme: par. 79.

4. HKN: 8: 109–10.

5. Obtained from them by inquiries made since 1966.

6. Smith: 74–75.

7. Colonial secretary to British consul-general, Canton, 21 February 1901 in CSO 1903 Ext/6550 (originally no. 384 in 1902 Ext/32). This man is the Ho Lap Pun referred to by Gompertz in a querulous memorandum to the colonial secretary, dated 16 August 1901, in CSO Ext 1901/201.

8. Included in the viceroy's reply dated 28 June 1901 in CSO 1903 Ext/6550.

9. *Gazetteer*: 128.

10. Memorials 27231, 27371 and 26891 in HKLR.

11. Memorials 28549, 28550 and 28551 in HKLR.

12. CO 129/92, no. 121 of 24 April 1863.

13. Lockhart: Appendix 6.

14. A proclamation by another acting magistrate of Hsin-an set out rules for the management of the stone quarries, and shows the troublesome nature of the place, requiring regulation by a permanent control mechanism.

15. Quoted in Endacott 1964: 96–97.

16. See BCL, SD No. 3, Lots 926–1029.

17. A deed of perpetual lease to the first Liu to settle in Ngau Tau Kok, to cultivate land and occupy four houses already built thereon, dated 18

April 1877, is translated in Memorial 26891 in HKLR.

18. Aijmer, *Interim Report* 3: 23–28.

19. Lockhart: 543.

20. Orme: par. 79. Kweishin was a district in the Hui-chou prefecture, not far from Hsin-an. In fact, it is the former name for the present Wai Yeung (Hui-yang) which received this name at the beginning of the Chinese Republic (*New Atlas*: 33).

21. E.g. Dyer Ball 1896: ix.

22. The Hong Kong Blue Books list the current wages in various employments, year by year, and stonecutters figure among the higher paid Chinese trades.

23. Report NTLC up to 31 December 1901, par. 10, in SP 1902: 559–60.

24. See Hayes 1970: 164.

25. Some information is given in CSO 1901 Ext/292.

26. It is dated Kuang Hsü 19 year, 3rd moon, 13th day and is included in CSO 1903 Ext/6550.

27. HKGG 24 June 1904.

28. This information is taken from one of a printed series of reports on Hong Kong labor and commercial guilds prepared by Cecil Clementi in the early 1900s and kept (1965) among his papers at Holmer Court, Bucks. This one is headed "Masons."

29. For an explanation of *Tung* and *Hsi* in connection with masters and men, see Wade and Hillier: 2: 143.

30. The temple was removed to another location about 1950 to make way for an oil storage depot.

Notes to Chapter 7

1. For descriptions of typical areas see Parliamentary Papers, China, 1861–66: 16, and dispatch no. 73 of 14 February 1863 in CO 129/91.

2. "List of Villages of New Kowloon in the Southern District" printed in Victoria Gaol, Hong Kong. It came from Walter Schofield who had added five more in Ms.

3. Report of the Anglo-Chinese Land Commission of 1862, annexed to dispatch no. 82 of 30 April 1862 in CO 129/85. The later settlements of Old Kowloon are listed in table 13 of the 1901 census return included in SP 1902.

4. The five Cheung Sha Wan villages in west Kowloon had recorded populations of 157, 151, 68, 55, and 61 at the 1911 census (Hayes 1970:

157). Ma Tau Wai and Ma Tau Chung, near Kowloon City, had 318 and 243 persons at the same census (SP 1911: 103 [24]). The largest and oldest settlements of the area, Nga Tsin Wai, Chuk Yuen, and Po Kong, are unfortunately not included in any census record, though the number of houses in each is given in the Block Crown Lease for Kowloon SD no. 1.

5. See Hayes 1970: 161–62.

6. SP 1911: 103 (22).

7. It is shown on the map of Tung-kuan *hsien* at Chüan 11905 of the early 15th century Yung Lo Encyclopedia.

8. Lockhart: 552. For earlier mentions see Krone, and Wade in HKGG, 25 April 1857, GN no. 62.

9. Although it is not listed as a market in HNHC 1819: 2.

10. One visitor from Hong Kong described the suburbs in the 1840s. See Sirr: 60–61, 66. For descriptions before and after the British takeover in 1899 see Wesley-Smith 1973 and 1975.

11. See CSO 1904 Ext/6564, Wood's report on survey district no. 1 dated 17 August 1904. Only the superstructure on two lots in the city was allowed to private individuals, in consequence of a mortgage.

12. As in the land settlement of Old British Kowloon in 1862. See CO 129/85 no. 82 par. 8 which gives a very clear statement of this point.

13. Entries numbered HKLR 28126, 27228, 27386, 27381, 27382, 26816, 26611, and 28124. I am indebted to Carl T. Smith for copies of these papers. They are in English translation only, the Chinese originals not being retained in the registry.

14. In two cases, deeds of the 16th and 20th years of the Ch'ien Lung reign are cited.

15. See, e.g., the wording in memorial 27585 registered 4 May 1900 in the Hong Kong Land Registry. "As Ip family (purchaser) have no household name in the Sun On Magistracy he is unable to register it in his name, therefore he shall have to pay tax to the vendor forever (who is responsible for the Tax)." See also par. 9 of "Some Notes on Land Tenure" in HKGG 17 August 1901; and Weber: 273–74, quoting Bumbailiff's article on Land Tenure in China.

16. See, e.g., CSO 1904 Ext/430, 1560, 1625, 5956, and 6564.

17. See Anglo-Chinese Land Commission's Report 1862, and CSO 1898, no. 2982, minute of 12 December 1898; also memorials 28118 and 28117 in HKLR.

18. The remarks columns of the Block Crown Lease for Kowloon SD1 give occasional indications of the former situation. For the Ngs see against lot nos. 5309, 5312–14, 5341–43, 5900. For others see, e.g., 1313–14 connected with lots on pp. 43–46 of the register; also 1406–07, 1413, 1472, 1690.

19. I attribute these late developments to the increased importance of the Kowloon post following the cession of Hong Kong to Britain. Krone mentions that the Tai Pang colonel was transferred permanently to Kowloon thereafter. Also to the need for a closer liaison with and over-

sight of the local civil population.

20. The memorial tablet has disappeared since the 1941–45 war, but its text has been preserved. For Wang see KCFC: 27/11b.

21. It is likely that it was used for consultations between civil and military officials and local leaders from Kowloon and the surrounding districts during the hostilities of 1857. See Wade in HKGG 1857: GN no. 62.

22. HKGG 1901: GN no. 274.

23. Lot 6625.

24. This was wholly in keeping with Chinese practice: see Yang, 1967: 335–36.

25. It was removed for redevelopment of the area in 1963.

26. Memorial 28037 in HKLR.

27. JHKBRAS 7 (1967): 158–60.

28. This man's name also appears on the list of directors responsible for the repair of the Hau Wong Temple at Kowloon city in 1879. Both men were *Kuo-hsüeh-sheng*.

29. See dispatches no. 61 of 21 August 1854 and no. 67 of 9 September 1854 from acting governor Caine to Sir George Grey in CO 129/47 on the rebels' capture and withdrawal from Kowloon City.

30. Tablet dated Tao-kuang 1st year at the Hau Wong temple.

31. Schofield papers and contents of Hau Wong and Tin Hau temples, Kowloon City.

32. Schofield papers.

33. According to old residents, part of the Tong's income came from the one cent fee paid to enter the Kowloon City vegetable market, and another one cent charge levied at the open space where grass and firewood were weighed on public scales. This was the kind of revenue that would normally belong to a Kaifong, and must have been passed to, or instituted for the Tong where it was established in 1880, to help finance its activities.

34. Krone: 116, and HNHC 1819: 2/19a et seq.

35. E.g. Chang 1955: 51–70; Ch'ü 1962: 180–85; Watts: 14.

36. Hirth: 2: 211–22. Lobscheid refers to the "understrappers" in government offices (Dictionary: 3).

37. See the chapter on mandarin offices in Medhurst: 76–83. Ralph: 31, 129–30 describes the dignity of official traveling on the waterways of Kiangsu and Chekiang. Des Voeux: 2: 237 noted the roughness of mandarins' attendants in Shanghai.

38. Ch'ü 1962: 21–22; Watts: 20–22; Woodside: 83–84.

39. As given in Appendix 2 to Chang 1962: "a consistently high proportion of gentry members were engaged in public works and relief organisations in all areas" (p. 215). See also Appendix to Ho 1962, and the biographies in Chow.

40. Lockhart: 546. This "Tung Lo" is clearly not to be confused with the east, west, and central *lo* of Kwangtung itself which were connected with organization for coastal defense, and took in much larger areas than one part of a *hsien*. See KTKKCY: 30/4a, 8a, and 9b; and the late Ming

work *Wu-pei chih*: chüan 215.

41. Lockhart: 546. *Kuk* is the Cantonese for *chü*.

42. Referred to in Groves: 52-55.

43. See CSO 1902 Ext/202 for the Kuk's undated petition, the Special Summons (translation only) of the Hsin-an magistrate of 3 October 1904, and C. McI. M.'s minute of 27 December 1904.

44. CO 129/184, no. 242.

45. It is very likely that old members of the leading families of the Northern District might have known about the Tung Ping Kuk, but I missed the opportunity to question them on the subject.

46. CSWT, issue 1, no. 1.

47. Especially when a little over one hundred taels could purchase a title. See Ho 1959: 60-65 and Ho 1962: 33-38.

48. See da Silva 1968.

49. A full list of these and other local garrison places in the T'ung Chih reign, with the numbers of men supposed to be at each of them is given in KTTS 13/14-20. At that time the Cheung Chau post (*hsün*) had 45 men, the posts at Tai O and Tung Chung 30 each, with smaller numbers in other places down to the 5 each at the other Lantau *hsün* of Mui Wo, Tai Ho, and Sha Lo Wan.

50. Harry Lamley (personal communication, 1974) has told me that similar evidence can be found in Taiwan and the Pescadores.

51. HNHC: chüan 6 lists (up to 1819) names and often origins. KCFC, chüan 30-31, gives more information up to a later time.

52. CSO 1899/9, Confidential 190.

53. Hui-chou Bulletin: 109, and JHKBRAS 15 (1975): 311-318.

54. The *Ch'ou Hai T'u Pien* (1802 ed.): 3 gives similar details, as does Ku Yen-wu's *T'ien-hsia chun-kuo li-ping shu*: 97-104 and the *Wu-pei chih*: 215; all for the late Ming period.

55. Parker: 260-61.

56. The provincial authorities issued prohibitions in the Ch'ia Ching and Tao Kuang periods against military, naval, and customs personnel harrassing fishing craft in the delta. There are inscribed stone tablets to this effect at the Hsin Miao at Macao dated in the 11th month of the 6th year of Tao Kuang (1826) which refers to a similar tablet dated in early Ch'ia Ching; and another outside the Tin Hau temple at Peng Chau, Lantau, dated in the 15th year of Tao Kuang (1835-36).

57. Sayer: 33.

58. First tablet referred to in n. 56 above.

59. Krone: 118. Perhaps because pay was often in arrears?

60. Krone: 114, 119.

61. Hsiao—he sees their duty as that of defense, e.g. p. 66.

62. Waung: 11 states "Military officers with their detachments . . . were also stationed in the provinces, but they played little or no part in local administration."

63. Myers 1971: 503.

Notes to Chapter 8

1. Chang 1955: 3-6.
2. Ho 1962: 38-41.
3. Kuhn: 67. He adds that considerations of this sort lead one to doubt the utility of an overly formal definition of elite status in rural China.
4. Kuhn: 4. See also Schoppa's article on Szechuan elites, CSWT 1973.
5. Where gentry leaders harassed the countryside and even the magistrate at will: see, e.g., Hsiao: 317-20 (various examples from Kwangtung) and Campbell Gibson: 299-309 (from Pu-ning, Kwangtung).
6. Hayes 1963: n. 16, 22 on pp. 102-104.
7. Hayes 1964: 92.
8. It is interesting that, in his study of Hopei and Shantung villages, Ramon Myers (1970: 258) comments "from the surveys of Sidney Gamble and the Mentetsu researchers, there is no evidence that the gentry resided in villages or played any role in village affairs." He implies that this was the situation from 1890 on, though he is not certain whether this was so in the early Ch'ing.
9. See Skinner 1971: 2. The "peasant platform" apart, it may be the case that we have, indeed, greatly overstated the role of the degree-holding gentry in some areas. Keith Schoppa has recently given another pointer in this direction. In his investigation of the composition and functions of local elites in Szechuan 1851-74, as recovered from biographical material in gazetteers, he has shown that in such fields as *t'uan* leadership, the provision of military forces, public works, charity, and in the mediation of disputes the majority of persons engaging in these activities were non-degree-holders. Even in the exception, education, 41% of those listed were nondegree-holders. On this basis, he suggests that claims that degree-holding gentry "dominated the social and economic life of Chinese communities" (as stated by Franz Michael at p. xiii of his introduction to Chang's *The Chinese Gentry*) obscures the richness and complexity of the forces at work in society (Schoppa, CSWT 2 (no. 10, November 1973): 7-23).
10. Balazs: 155.
11. See MacNair: 216.
12. See MacNair: 216, 223, 259, 330.
13. Cooke: 436 quoting Tseng Wang-yen, later viceroy of Szechuan.
14. See, e.g., the *Hong Kong Daily Telegraph*, 13 March 1879 quoting from the *Catholic Register*; and Forbes: 232-34.
15. Wakeman: 149-50 on the "purge" of 1855.
16. Balazs: 149.
17. See, e.g., Governor Han Wen-chi's memorials in Wade 1867, especially no. 74 which gives his recommendations for the punishment of certain rebels, members of an affiliated society.
18. Myers 1971: 503.
19. Schurmann: lii. Besides providing leadership at the local level,

traditional China may also have prepared the way for the modern apparatus of social control and direction through its proliferation of associations and organizations in the villages. In the course of reading Pi-chao Chen's review of Martin K. Whyte's 1974 study, *Small Groups and Political Rituals in China* (*China Quarterly* 63 (September 1975): 543-45) it seemed to me that these primary devices (sic) for effecting change in mainland China since 1949 may build heavily on pre-liberation organization and practise. The contents of my present study imply that the peasant was accustomed to operate small groups of various kinds, whilst rural life involved him in rituals of many different sorts, not always understood!

20. J.M. Gullick, a former member of the Malayan Civil Service, writing in 1963 of the Chinese in Malaya notes their "remarkable facility for organizing themselves into societies and associations for welfare and the prosecution of common interests" (Gullick: 20). Earlier this genius expressed itself in the formation of secret societies to which, the protector of Chinese in the straits settlements estimated in 1876, sixty percent of the Chinese population belonged (Jackson: 51).

21. Hayes 1966: 128-31.

22. Hsiao: 313, 275. This does not square with Ramon Myers' recent study of the traditional economy of Ch'ing Taiwan in which he had occasion to note the common people's "ingenuity and skill to create organizations and share scarce resources among themselves." (Myers 1972: 2: 408).

23. Hsiao: 281, 333-34, 198.

24. Hsiao: 521-48.

25. Hsiao: 68-69.

26. Werner: 161-65; Williams: 118-36, and as assessed by Max Weber: 88-95 who wrote of "the organized self-government of the (Chinese) village". Also G. Jamieson, *Chinese Family and Commercial Law*, Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh 1921, p. 74 with his description "a pure democracy": his Chapter IV pp 56-75 is entitled "Village Organization".

27. Especially as they are supported by Chinese accounts; see, e.g., Chiang Monlin: 12-13 on the "self government" of his sixty-household, three-hundred-persons, five-century-old settlement in Yu-yao district, Hang Chou Bay, Chekiang. Freedman wrote of "the high degree of local autonomy" in Liang Chi-chiao's ancestral region in another part of coastal Kwangtung (Freedman 1966: 88n.) as described by Liang.

Notes to Postscript

1. See Baker 1966.

2. Nelson 1971: 101-104.

3. Nelson 1971: 103.
4. HKGG 1910: 593 and Hansard 1910: 113, 115.
5. The Hong Kong authorities gave other reasons, principally the easy access to "the stronger authority of the [British] magistrates" (Orme: par. 15).
6. Hsiao: chapters 3-4 and Appendix 1.
7. Freedman 1966: 81n.
8. Brim: chapter 1, 26. For Yuen Long see Gazetteer: 166-69.
9. Brim: chapter 1, 26.
10. About which little or nothing is known, though I have in my possession a copy of a woodblock *pao-chia* form dated in the 2nd month of the 32nd year of Ch'ien Lung completed for a family living in Chai Wan, Hong Kong Island. *Li-chia* nomenclature is used on some local land deeds, but many more are required to construct the divisions and their meaning.
11. Baker 1968: 164-203.
12. Baker 1968: 92. Shek Pik had about the same number of agricultural lots. The difference in acreage between the two places, 973 at Sheung Shui to 177 at Shek Pik, underlines the difference in terrain and the much greater agricultural wealth of the former.
13. Baker 1968: 92.
14. Brim: chapter 1, 24.
15. Brim: chapter 2, 2.
16. See Hayes 1970: 170-73.
17. Potter 1968: 100. I have come to believe that there was somewhere a legitimate basis to this ownership or overlordship (whichever it was), and think Nelson's statement of the major clans' "totally spurious claims" is inadequate: but more research is required.
18. E.g. Campbell Gibson: 299-309.
19. Brim: chapter 1, 25.
20. After much inquiry, I have discovered only one *hsiu-ts'ai* by examination and only several failed ones for Southern District villages in the late 19th century.
21. Freedman 1966: 74-75.
22. Krone: 95, and the useful note in Freedman 1966: 71n.
23. Baker 1966: 26-27.
24. Baker 1968: 204.
25. The virtual independence of their tenants mattered little so long as they paid their rent charges, which seems to have been always or mostly the case.
26. For an example of land by conquest see Shepherd, par. 11 in SP 1900: 278.
27. In fairness to Mr. Nelson, there was a deal of violence about: see Lamley's assemblage of information on the subject of *hsieh-ton*, especially on the southeastern provinces of China. However, the latter's evidence, if tested against local information, may relate mainly to *lineage* struggle.
28. Extension: 47 and 57. Also Orme: par. 6.

29. Yang 1959: 115 says of a village leader of Nanching “His piercing eyes revealed a fierceness characteristic of many of the natives of this province.” I concur.

30. Nelson 1971: 102, and Murphey 1970: 27–30.

31. Freedman 1966: 64. See also Schurmann: 229–31 on “the extraordinary capacity” of Chinese society “to link human groups by intermediary devices.” To conclude, a good example of some unexpected ties at work is provided by two presentation boards in the Tung-kuan Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong, one dated 1911–12 and the other undated but a little later. They had been given in appreciation of the chamber’s successful mediation in intervillage conflicts in Tung-kuan *hsien*.

Notes to A Note on Weights and Measures

1. *First Year*: 3.

2. As in the many examples of “white” or unregistered deeds that have come to my notice. However, the examples of land documents “A” or “B” in *First Year*: 21–24 use *mou* measurements, being concerned with tax registers and payment of the land tax.

3. *First Year*: 15.

4. See Taylor in JHKBRAS 6 (1966).

5. Information from Pui O, Lantau.

6. Ho 1959: 104–23.

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