Social Organization of South China 1911-1949:
The Case of the Kwaan Lineage of Hoi-p'ing

by Yuen Fong Woon

B.A., University of Hong Kong, 1966
M.A., University of Hong Kong, 1969

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirement for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the Department of Sociology

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

The University of British Columbia

August, 1975
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study.

I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Anthropology/Sociology

The University of British Columbia
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date August, 1975
I
ABSTRACT

Supervisor: Dr. Graham E. Johnson

The three major principles of social organization in South China before 1949 have been seen as those of lineage (kinship), ethnicity and class. The Kwaan lineage of Hoi-p'ing hsien, Kwangtung province, was used as a case study to examine the role of kinship as a principle of social organization during the period 1911-1949, one of substantial demographic and economic change along with innovations in the political, administrative and educational systems. Fifteen members of the Kwaan lineage and one non-Kwaan long resident in Hoi-p'ing were interviewed in depth in Victoria and Vancouver. Interviews were supplemented by local histories (fang-chih), newspapers of the period and other local historical sources.

Data confirmed Freedman's assertions that ethnicity was the least important principle of social organization. The solidarity of the Kwaan lineage was adversely affected by (1) the migration of lineage segments to other parts of rural Hoi-p'ing, rural to urban migration and overseas emigration; and (2) the growth of class consciousness among the wealthy and well-educated groups through co-operation in economic and defence projects and joint participation in government organs and pressure groups that developed after 1911.

Despite the growth of class consciousness and the migration of its members, the Kwaan lineage retained its territorial, economic, political and numerical dominance in the T'oh-fuk - Che-hom area. After 1911, it became a richer lineage with a more vigorous ritual life as a consequence of the rise in value of its corporate property in the urban centers of T'oh-fuk and Che-hom.
Data on the Kwaan lineage suggest that the higher-order lineage was a more important entity than has generally been recognized. Skinner's argument that relationship between lineage segments attending different standard market towns tended to erode over time is questioned. The study also challenges Fei Hsiao-tung's theory of social erosion: overseas emigrants and merchants among the Kwaan did not lose their connections with the home lineage. Rather, by their investments and direct contributions they strengthened the Kwaan lineage. Contrary to the arguments of Wakeman, Chen Han-seng and Feng Ho-fa, class differences and the growth of class consciousness among elites in T'oh-fuk and Che-hom did not lead to class antagonism. The elite members still lived in T'oh-fuk, retained their lineage membership and acted as spokesmen for the lineage. There was a general absence of peasant organizations in the area.

Among the variables that explain the persistence of the Kwaan lineage, the most important is the policy of the Hsien government which discouraged the sale of corporate property and allowed the lineages to exercise control over segments that had moved away. Moreover, by permitting three types of leaders (1) official leaders; (2) class leaders; (3) lineage leaders to co-exist in the local power structure, it enabled the Kwaan lineage to act as a protective umbrella over its members and to provide a channel of upward mobility for the ambitious and the talented. The heavy taxation and the questionable activities of the police and soldiers after 1936 made it possible for local leaders to gain prestige by acting as both lineage and class spokesmen.
It is also argued that the Kwaan lineage persisted because it was initially a powerful lineage in control of an important market-town and thus able to retain its corporate property and encourage local leaders and migrant members to participate in lineage affairs even amidst administrative, education, population and economic changes. The Kwaan lineage also persisted despite the absence of productive farming in rural T'oh-fuk through reliance on commercial and industrial wealth. As a consequence of the unusual economic conditions in the area, there was a low rate of absentee landlordism and land concentration. The growth of Che-hom enabled both the rich and the poor to share in the general prosperity of the area. This tended to avert the development of class antagonism among the members of the Kwaan lineage.

The study of the Kwaan lineage of Hoi-p'ing suggests that while class challenged lineage, kinship was the dominant principle of social organization in South China until 1949 when there occurred fundamental change in the political, economic and social order.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract .................................................................................................................. I  
List of Maps ........................................................................................................ IV  
List of Illustrations ............................................................................................... V  
Acknowledgements ............................................................................................... VI

## CHAPTERS

I. Introduction ........................................................................................................ 1  
II. Administrative, Education, Population, Economic and Social Developments in Kwangtung, 1911-1949 ........................................ 16  
III. Administrative, Education, Population and Economic Changes in Hoi-p'ing 1911-1949 .................................................... 47  
IV. The Subadministrative System in Hoi-p'ing ............................................... 81  
V. The Kwaan of Hoi-p'ing: Clan and Lineage ............................................... 112  
VI. The Kwaan and Their Neighbours ............................................................... 146  
VII. The Kwaan as a Solidary Group ................................................................. 168  
VIII. The Functions of the Kwaan Lineage ...................................................... 192  
IX. Power and Leadership in T'oh-fuk and Che-hom ..................................... 226  
X. Life in Town and Country ........................................................................... 252  
XI. The Kwaan Lineage and Its Members Overseas ....................................... 279  
XII. Social and Economic Effects of Overseas Emigration among the Kwaan ................................................................. 320  
XIII. Conclusion .................................................................................................. 362

## APPENDIX

I. A Chronological Account of Political Events in Kwangtung 1911-1936 ................................................................. 391  
II. Surname Groups in Hoi-p'ing: Clans or Lineages ................................... 397  
III. Migration History and Class Origins of Informants .............................. 404  
IV. Marriage History of Informants ................................................................. 411  
GLOSSARY ........................................................................................................... 416
LIST OF MAPS

1. Kwangtung: Roads and Railways, 1939 ......................... 37
2. Products of Western Kwangtung .................................. 66
3. Trade Routes of Western Kwangtung, 1939 ..................... 69
4. Products of Hoi-p'ing ............................................. 72
5. Roads and Market Towns in Hoi-p'ing, 1930 ................. 72a
6. The Hakka/Punti Crisis, 1851-1867 ............................ 91
7. 1911-1928 Crisis in Hoi-p'ing ................................. 91a
8. Geographical Spread of the Kwaan in Hoi-p'ing ............. 124
9. The Kwaan at T'oh-fuk: Marriages, Feuds and Alliances ...... 151
10. Villages in T'oh-fuk ............................................. 169
11. Geographical Spread of Fifteen Lineages in Hoi-p'ing ...... 398
12. Geographical Spread of Fifteen Lineages in Hoi-p'ing ...... 399
### VI

**LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>System of Local Administration in Kwangtung under the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>System of Local Government in Kwangtung 1930-1949</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Private Schools in Hoi-p'ing by Ch'u, 1911-1931</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ranking of Surname Groups by Number of Regular Scholars 1644-1911</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Ranking of Surname Groups by Number of Irregular Scholars, 1644-1911</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Ranking of Surname Groups by Number of Modern Graduates, 1911-1931</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>The Punti Confederation in Hoi-p'ing, 1853-1863</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Convergence of the Local Marketing System and the Local Militarization System</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Number of Ferries at the Market-towns of Hoi-p'ing (1911-1931)</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Population of Hoi-p'ing by Ch'u, 1930</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Migration History of the Kwaan in Kwangtung</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Segmentation in Cheung Ts'uen</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Local Militarization of the Kwaan in Hoi-p'ing 1853-1863</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Summary of the Marriage Histories of Informants from T'oh-fuk</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Geographical Distribution of Fifteen Lineages in Hoi-p'ing</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Migration History of Informants</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Class Origin of Informants</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Marriage History of Informants from T'oh-fuk</td>
<td>411</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank the Chairman of the Dissertation Committee, Dr. Graham E. Johnson, whose continued interest and intellectual stimulation have carried me through the whole research project from its initial stage to the concluding stage. I am greatly indebted to Dr. E. Wickberg whose invaluable comments on the manuscripts have widened the intellectual horizon of this thesis beyond its original design.

Thanks also goes to all the Kwaan in Victoria and Vancouver, especially Mr. Kwaan Fat-fan and Mr. Kwaan Yung-foon without whose co-operation and patience this thesis would not have come into being. I must thank Mr. T.H. Lee, Mr. Chen Chi and Mr. Charles Sedgewick for introducing the Kwaan to me.

I am indebted to the staff members of the Asian Library at the University of British Columbia for all their assistance in the use of their facilities. I would also like to thank Mr. Chio Woon, Miss May Tsui, Mr. Peter Lam and Mrs. Ivy Ho who assisted me in the technical aspects of this dissertation. I am also grateful to all my friends who extended their hospitality during my frequent visits to Vancouver for discussion sessions at the University of British Columbia.

Last, but certainly not the least, I would like to thank the Ex-chairman of my Dissertation Committee, Dr. W.E. Willmott, who saw me through my dark days of despair to the initial stages of thesis writing.
VIII

I am indebted to all these individuals for any merits of this work. I accept sole responsibility for all errors and omissions in this thesis.

Y.F. Woon

U.B.C., June, 1975
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to discuss the effects of administrative, educational, economic and population changes in rural social organization in South China in the period from the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty until the formation of the Peoples Republic of China in 1949. It will trace the fortunes of one lineage, the Kwaan of Hoi-p'ing, to illustrate the complexity of social organization and change during this period.

In China before 1949, there were three principles of social stratification: (1) stratification by dialect and ethnicity e.g. Hakka versus Punti; (2) stratification by class: rich versus poor and (3) stratification by kinship: lineages (Freedman 1958:61-2,124; 1966:75; Cohen 1968:240-2, 273). Of these, stratification by kinship was the most important, at least up to the Opium War in 1839-40, before economic changes produced the polarization of social classes (Wakeman 1961:115,127,155-6; Fei 1963:12,106,113).

Ethnicity was often utilized as the principle of residential segregation in areas of heterogeneous cultures. It also served as the principle of military organization in times of conflict (Cohen 1968:273, Lang 1935:124-134; Pasternak 1969:144-6,151-2; 1972:554) but in areas of homogeneous cultures and at times of peace, the principle of ethnicity was too general to produce an enduring social structure. Social organization along class lines was regarded dangerous to the established government and secret societies which united the poor sectors of the society were regarded with suspicion.
Kinship was the most important principle of stratification in South China before the Opium War. It owed its philosophical foundations to Confucian ethics, supported by the national bureaucracy, which glorified respects to ancestors and elders, in life as after death. A social order based on seniority, age and blood ties sprang from this source.

Basing his work on documented evidence in South China notably those of Hu (1948), Kulp (1925), Liu (1936), Hsiao (1960) and Yang (1959), Freedman has produced the most systematic study of lineages. He distinguishes between "clan" and "lineage" which had hitherto been used interchangeably. A clan is a collective term denoting people having the same surname who may not have come from the same geographical location or descended from the same ancestor. They may not enter into any form of social organization, although in large cities of China or overseas, people of diverse origins but bearing the same surname sometimes come together to form clan associations for recreation and self-help purposes. A lineage, on the other hand, definitely denotes a social group, the members of which came from the same geographical location and are genealogically related: their relationships are traceable to a common founder. The lineage is an ancestor-worshipping group, with elaborate rituals serving as links between the members. In some cases, the rituals are sustained by common property owned corporately by members of the lineage.

Freedman (1966:160-4) believes that lineage organizations had been carried to its fullest extent in South China because it
was a region of the latest settlement by the Han people. He asserts that (1) lineages originated in response to the need for defence against the aborigines, bandits and pirates of this area and (2) lineages originated in response to the need to irrigate, to drain or to reclaim land for the purpose of growing rice which needs an elaborate hydraulic system to grow properly, given the soil condition and topography of South China.

Pasternak (1969:553-561; 1972:136-56) argues that the need for defence and irrigation is not a valid explanation for the origin of lineages. He believes that the need was best satisfied by co-operation across surnames instead of co-operation by agnates. He believes that lineages were formed after the frontiers had been pacified and land opened up and irrigated. With the growth of population pressing upon limited resources, agnate groups began to assert their individual identity.

But despite Pasternak's arguments, historical evidence shows that agnates did co-operate in initiating and maintaining irrigation, drainage and reclamation projects and that these irrigated, drained and reclaimed land were held in common by ancestral halls (Watson 1972:36-43; Yang 1959:9,24,26ff). In 1934, in Chung-shaan, 50% of the land were lineage land; in Naam-hoi: 40%; Shun-tak: 60%; San-ooi and T'oi-shaan: 55%; Yan-p'ing and Hoi-p'ing 45% (Chen Han-seng 1936:28, 33-5). These lineage lands were used to support ancestor worship and keep the lineages as ongoing concerns in South China until 1949.

However, Pasternak's argument that multi-surname co-operation rather than co-operation among agnates was the pattern of organisation in times of widespread disorder or unsettled frontier situation
is well-founded, as it is supported by historical evidence, such as the Hakka/Punti War (1851-67), (Pasternak 1969:559; 1972:144).

Skinner (1964: Part I 17-38, 36-40) argues that the marketing areas (i.e. the area within which several lineages attended the same market-town) much more than a single lineage was the focus of the peasants' economic, social and cultural life. Relationships between people of different lineages attending the same market town was close. Members often co-operated in various economic, social and religious projects and were often linked by marriage ties. Relationship between segments of a lineage attending different market-towns tended to erode in time.

Kuhn (1970:82-7) draws a model of militarization in China. He asserts that in South China, while lineages were basic units of social organization, militarization required co-operation of lineages centred in the same market towns.

Though dealing with different theoretical problems and viewing social organizations in South China from different focuses, Kuhn, Pasternak, Cohen and Skinner all draw their attention to the significance of kinship in South China. Scholars in Chinese studies all realize that agnates co-habitted in residential proximity for a long time in this part of the country and that lineages engaged in ferocious feuds in the history of South China (Lamley 1972:1-8; Liu 1936:38-44).

It is generally recognized that there was a correspondence between a weak local government and strong lineage organization (Hsiao 1960:318-33, 339-51, 370; Chu 1962:184; Freedman 1958:137). The traditional system of government left a power vacuum in the level
of government below the Hsien. The Magistrate was not a native of the place he governed. He was transferred once every three years. His staff was exceptionally small and except for the collection of tax and the suppression of rebellions, the mass of the people were of no concern of the Magistrate's.

In South China, because of the prevalence of the lineage structure, the government dealt with the individuals through the lineage elites. These lineage elites were often the products of the traditional system of examination. They were the scholars or retired officials who lived in their native districts. They spoke the same official language as the Magistrates and often served as a bridge between the wishes of the people and the government. Because of this, in a powerful lineage, there was very often a distinction between the "political leaders" and the "kinship leaders" (Baker 1968:133-52). The former derived their prestige from being part of the national power structure. They were scholars and retired officials who represented the lineage's interest to the authority. The latter derived their influence from the kinship principle of age and seniority. They were not regarded by the members as important as the political leaders.

On the one hand, lineages often geared their resources towards producing scholars and officials; on the other hand, these scholars and retired officials were willing to stay in the countryside or nearby market towns to pose as champions of the lineage members (Makino Tatsumi 1948:89-93, 102-4). Merchants were willing to use part of their wealth for the purchase of degrees so as to join the ranks of the scholar-officials, as that was the most important channel of achieving status, power and prestige in traditional
From the above, it should be clear that although the origin of lineages in South China is still debated among scholars, the fact that they continued to exist indicates that they must have fulfilled certain social functions. It is true that local scholars and retired officials were prestigious once they had passed the examinations, yet they often utilized lineage channels to enhance their power and influence before they achieved officialdom or after their retirement. On the other hand, the poor and the humble in a lineage often depended upon their elite members to keep the national bureaucracy at an arm’s length, hopefully to lighten their burden of taxation and labour services and to have their differences settled by their own elites rather than the often brutal lawcourts. In times of inadequate protection from unlawfulness in the countryside, the poor and the humble often had to rely upon the lineage as a unit for the organization of defence (Makino Tatsumi:93-101). Moreover, the corporate property held by the lineage offered hopes for the poor and the humble to better their livelihood.

Thus, the dependence of the rich and the powerful in a lineage for status, power and prestige and the dependence of the poor and the humble for protection from bureaucratic pressure, for organizing defence and for a better livelihood was what averted the development of class antagonism detrimental to the existence of the lineage structure.

Owing to the growth of population as well as to the increasing contact with the West since the Treaty of Nanking (1840), changes of a new kind began around the middle of the 19th Century in South China.
There were four sources of change:

(1) The Growth of Population

South China had been the recipient of waves of migrants from North and Central China since the 14th Century (Perkins 1968:185). But after the 18th Century, the direction of migration was reversed. The people of South China began to migrate towards Szechwan, the Han River Basin and the Yangtze Delta as well as to Formosa (Ho 1959: 149-53; 163-7; Perkins:185). This was evidence enough of the increasing population pressure in South China in this period. After the first decade of the 19th Century, there was not much scope for reclamation in this region of China: almost all the arable land had been taken up (Wakeman: 179).

The growth of population was at a more rapid pace than the rest of China after 1873 (Perkins: 214) partly because the South was not as much affected by natural calamities owing to its more favourable climatic conditions (Buck 1937: 85; Yang: 4) and partly because the South had escaped the scourages of political disturbances associated with the decline of the Ch'ing Dynasty since the end of the 18th Century (Ho:166-7). Moreover, because of its early contact with the West and the work of the missionaries in this area, there was an improvement in health habits and a decline in infanticide by the end of the 19th Century. Consequently, there was an increase of birth over death (Buck: 34-47, 83-6, 195-6, 269, 327, 369; Kanton Shi 1940: 354-7; Minami Shina Soran 1943: 561-80). This resulted in the prevalence of non-farm work in the rural households (Buck: 290), the swelling of the cities by the landless peasants looking for work (Liang 1956:13, 16) and the increasing predominance of overseas
emigration in this part of China (Buck:391; Ho:168).

(2) The Opening of Treaty Ports

It has been argued that contact with the West enhanced the rural problems of South China (Wakeman 5, 98-101, 127, 187-9; Fei 7-8, 104-5, 113, 139). The establishment of the treaty-ports along the coast of China in the 1840's opened the gates to the flow of more and more imported products into the hinterland than before the Opium War. Some of the peasants in the hinterland had to suffer from the competition of both imported raw materials and manufactured goods. This resulted in the decline of some of the traditional handicrafts and furthered the exodus of the peasants in the affected area to towns and overseas.

In the meantime, some of the rich rural households moved to the cities in search of material comforts. In addition, merchants from the port-cities invested their urban income in rich agricultural land for the production of cash crops such as silk, sugar, tobacco and tea. These rich merchants and the large landlords who had chosen to live in the cities were the absentee landlords who sent agents to collect rent from their tenants in the countryside. As a result, tenant-landlord relationship became worse (Chen Han-seng 10-11, 17-18, 22-3, 36-41, 64-8, 85-91, 97; Feng 1935:434, 513-4, 763; Ho 205-7, 219-223).

Side by side with this development, there was a growth of the import/export trade and processing industries in the treaty ports and the central market-towns since the middle of the 19th Century and more so from the 1st decade of the 20th Century onwards. With this growth of commerce and industry, the merchants became an important class both economically and socially.
Massive Overseas Emigration

Overseas emigration, although prevalent in South Fukien and Eastern Kwangtung in the 15th and 16th Centuries, did not become a widespread phenomenon until the 1860's when the European Powers were initiating mining and plantation projects in Southeast Asia and when the American Continent was building trans-continental railways in the 1860's (Ho:167-8, 287). The Chinese were recruited as labourers. Many of them entered trade after their period of indenture was over.

Remittances from the hua-ch'iao (overseas Chinese) played an important part in the Chinese national economy in the 20th Century and helped balance the trade deficit of China in the 1920's (Remer 1933:187-8, 225-8; Wu Chun-hsi 1967:6, 11, 16). The hua-ch'iao also took an active part in the revolutionary movement of Sun Yat-sen and made substantial donations to China's war-chest during the Second World War (Huang Chen-wu 1963; Akashi 1970; Feng Tsu-yu 1946; 1954).

South China benefitted most from overseas remittances, as 90% of the overseas Chinese came from Fukien and Kwangtung Provinces especially from Mooi, Ch'iu-chau, Hoi-p'ing, Yan-p'ing, San-ooi and T'oi-shaan. In these Hsien, overseas emigrants were prestigious because of their economic power. They came to rival the local landlords and the local merchants in social prestige and political influence.

Reform Programs in the early 20th Century

Because of the increasing military and economic pressure from the Western Powers and Japan, the Manchu Court finally carried out a series of reforms at the beginning of the 20th Century. After 1911, the reforms were continued intermittently in South China amidst
political turmoil (Vogel 1969:28-32).

One aspect of the reforms was administrative: the ti-fang tzu-chih movement (local self-government movement) was underway in 1905 (Kuhn: 211-223). Between the period of 1911-1930, the administrative structure was still in a state of flux. By 1930, however, the ti-fang tzu-chih movement was completed. There were the Ch’u, Hsiang and Chen levels of government beneath the Hsien level and the local elites were called upon to participate in all three levels of government.

The second aspect of the reform programme was education. The traditional system of examination was abolished in 1905 and since then the government financed local talents to overseas to study and founded some government schools with a modern curriculum. Local efforts were encouraged to establish more primary and secondary schools as well as universities.

The third aspects of the reform programme was economic. It aimed to facilitate trade and industry through the improvement of communication and marketing systems. Local merchants were encouraged to finance the building of roads, the construction of railways and the founding of bus and steam-boat companies. They were also encouraged to help improve existing markets and to found new ones.

Because of the liaison the Kwangtung government was trying to establish with the local people, voluntary associations such as the Chambers of Commerce, Peasants and Labour Unions founded by the local people to organize their various socio-economic interests were tolerated if these were not anti-government.

How the lineage organization evolved in response to these population, administrative, educational and economic changes is the theme
of this thesis. The problems for this piece of research are: Did the lineages weaken because of increasing geographical and social mobility of the members as a result of population pressure upon land and the rapid development of trade and industry? Did the lineages weaken after the traditional examination system was officially abolished? Did the local elites cease to represent the interests of their lineages now that they were allowed to participate in the local government organs? Did social class replace kinship as a principle of stratification as a result of the development of trade and industry and the development of the Chambers of Commerce, Labour and Peasant Movements?

A great majority of the field studies on lineages were done in Taiwan and the New Territories of Hong Kong: viz. Pratt (1966), Groves (1964), Baker (1968), Potter (1968), Brim (1968), Nelson (1969), Watson (1971), Johnson (1971) and Pasternak (1972). They provided interesting hypotheses and ethnological references, but are not directly relevant to the study of lineages under the impact of changes in Mainland China between 1911-1949.

Studies done by Wang Hing-jui (1935), Kulp (1925), Chen Ta (1940), Ssu-tu (1951), Chuang (1958) and Yang (1959) are more relevant to the problems posed above. However, except Yang's study, they dealt with the problems of change in a piece-meal fashion. Kulp, Chen Ta and Chuang, for example, do not concentrate on the effect of emigration on the structure of lineages. Chen Ta sets out to prove that emigrants were "progressive" in their investment patterns and habits. Both he and Kulp are more interested in the ideological changes brought about by returned emigrants from the Nanyang. Wang's study
dealt with an emigrant village in the 1920's, but the effects of emigration on lineage structure was not discussed to any great extent. Ssu-tu also concentrates on the effects of emigration on village economy and landlord-tenant relationships in the villages. None of these studies deals with the wider theme of class relationship within the lineage as a result of the growth of population as well as administrative, economic, educational changes and overseas emigration in the 20th Century in South China.

I took an area in the Sz-yap to discuss the impact of administrative, education, population and economic changes on lineages. The Sz-yap, or Four Districts, is a collective term for four adjacent hsien lying to the west of the Canton Delta viz: T'oi-shaan, Hoi-p'ing, Yan-p'ing and San-ooi. They are known as the Four Districts because people of these areas speak the same dialect and believe that they share the same sub-culture. I chose this area because about 80% of the overseas Chinese in Canada came from the Sz-yap, among whom were eyewitnesses of the conditions of their home villages in 1911-1949.

Of all the lineages residing in the Sz-yap area, I took the Kwaan of Hoi-p'ing as the object of my investigation. I chose this particular lineage because population, administrative, educational and economic changes outlined above affected them more than other lineages in Hoi-p'ing. The Kwaan lineage was one of the most numerous in Hoi-p'ing. The centre of this lineage was in the hinterland of Kongmoon. The members took part in urban pursuits and overseas emigration; they also participated actively in modernization programmes such as road building, founding of schools, remodelling of their market town etc. In addition, the Kwaan had been a powerful lineage
since the Ch'ing Dynasty. Their local scholars and retired officials posed as spokesmen of the humble and the poor. The commercial wealth of the Kwaan in the 19th Century had also resulted in a great number of the merchants among the Kwaan buying degrees so as to become gentry members. Whether the growth of population, the development of commerce and processing industries, merchant associations, Peasant and Labour Movements had affected the lineage structure could be seen in a highly differentiated lineage like the Kwaan of Hoi-p'ing.

This study was the result of a six month period of depth interviews with sixteen people who had had an intimate knowledge of the Kwaan lineage in the T'oh-fuk - Che-hom area of Hoi-p'ing. Of these informants, one was a non-Kwaan teacher who taught in Che-hom between 1946 and 1947. One was a Kwaan who was born in Victoria but had close connections with his father's native village in T'oh-fuk. The other fourteen informants came from various parts of Hoi-p'ing - ten came from five villages in T'oh-fuk itself - viz. Cheung Ts'uen, Ha Ts'uen, Na-loh, Ha-pin and Sha-tei - and the rest came from villages outside T'oh-fuk: in Ts'ung-long Heung, Yeung-lo Heung and Fung-vaan Heung.

The informants were scattered in their place of origin. They were also different in terms of class origin: they were sons of traditional scholars, merchants, hua chiao (overseas Chinese), landowners, labourers and farmers. Their education ranged from university graduates in Canton to elementary students in ancestral hall traditional schools in the villages. Their occupations in Hoi-p'ing ranged from apprentices to mechanics, teachers, shopowners and merchants (see Appendix III, table 17). Their date of leaving Hoi-p'ing ranged from 1906 to 1953 and they returned to their native places at different
times. They had lived in Indonesia, Hong Kong, Canton and Shanghai before they immigrated to Canada (see Appendix III, Table 16).

Although the informants were not chosen according to rigid sampling techniques, the fact that they had diverse geographical, educational and class origins meant that it was possible to arrive at a picture of the Kwaan lineage of Hoi-p'ing as a whole. The presence of the non-Kwaan informant tended to counter-balance the possible biased views of the Kwaan informants who belonged to one of the most powerful and numerous lineages in South China. The picture of the Kwaan lineage was more complete because of the presence of other primary sources about this area such as the Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao (1906-49), the K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih (1933) and the Chu-yun Ch'uan-chia K'ai-p'ing Tsung-hui-kuan T'e-k'an (1947) which supplemented the data obtained through depth interviews and served as checks for possible distortions of memories, contradictions and inconsistencies in the answers of the informants.

To set the stage for a detailed discussion of the impact of population, administrative, education and economic changes on the social organization of the Kwaan of Hoi-p'ing, I shall begin with an account of those changes in Kwangtung as a whole and then in Hoi-p'ing since the beginning of the 20th Century. I shall then describe the social organization of the Hoi-p'ing people below the Hsien level amidst a changing administrative framework.

Chapters 5 and 12 focus the discussion on the Kwaan lineage. Chapter 5 introduces the Kwaan lineage: its origin and geographical spread as well as its position in the local power structure. Chapter 6 gives an account of how the Kwaan lineage acted as a unit in its
interaction with the neighbouring lineages. Chapter 7 and 8 deal with the mechanisms by which the members were kept together despite signs of peasant-gentry alienation. Chapters 9 and 10 deal with the effects of administrative, educational and economic changes in Hoi-p'ing on the lineage structure while Chapters 11 and 12 focus on the impact of population changes and overseas emigration upon the Kwaan lineage.

Chapter 13, the concluding chapter, describes the viability of kinship as a principle of social stratification in South China amidst administrative, educational and economic reforms and under the impact of socio-economic changes brought about by the population growth and overseas emigration.
Chapter I

1. Throughout the thesis, I shall give the proper names, except prominent historical figures, in Cantonese romanization in accordance with the Meyers-Wempe system. Places in Kwangtung, except well-known ports such as Canton and Swatow, would also be in Cantonese romanization. Administrative terms, other terms of national reference as well as Chinese idioms would be romanized into Mandarin according to the Wade-Giles system. However, colloquial expressions, local products, customs and festivals will be romanized into Cantonese. A full glossary of romanized and translated terms will be included at the end of the thesis.

2. It depends on what type of crops were being grown by the peasants. In some instances, foreign raw materials might not be in direct competition with local produce, for example: although peanut oil as a fuel was replaced by the introduction of kerosene in the early 20th Century, peanut oil for cooking purposes were still in great demand (Feuerwerker 1958:11).
CHAPTER II
ADMINISTRATIVE, EDUCATION, POPULATION, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN KWANGTUNG 1911-1949.

This chapter will outline the administrative, education, population, economic and social changes of Kwangtung during the Min-kuo period (1911-1949) so as to provide background information for an understanding of changes in social organization in this part of China. An outline of the major political events in Kwangtung from 1911-1936 is included in Appendix I to serve as a guide to the political struggles of the period in which these changes took place.

SECTION I: Administrative Changes in Kwangtung

Administrative System during the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911)

In Imperial times, the Viceroy ruled over Kwangtung and Kwangsi. Under him, there was a Governor for each of the two Provinces. In Kwangtung, besides the Governor, there was a Trade Commissioner who had independent authority to deal with foreigners and foreign trade. There was also a military garrison with a Garrison Commander in each of the two Provinces. Below the Province were the Prefectures, Fu and the Hsien.

In the Hsien government, the Magistrate was the supreme head. He was responsible for the collection of taxes, except customs duties and commodity taxes which were collected by the Likin Bureau. Under him were six Departments: viz. Civil; Revenues; Rites; Police; Punishment and Public Works. These subordinate Department heads did not have much power and had no voice in the policies. The police was under the Magistrate's direct command. All of these officials were not natives of the place they governed and they had no local roots (Chu: 132-37).
Villages and Market Towns had no official status. The Hsien was organized into units of Pao-chia and Li-chia (See Figure I). In essence, the Pao-chia system was a local policing and census organ combined. Households were organized into units of Pai (10 Households) Chia (100 Households) and Pao (1,000 Households), each with a locally chosen leader. The principle tasks of these leaders were (1) to watch the local residents: to report on any religious heresies and secret societies formed among them; (2) to keep an eye on suspicious strangers and (3) to assign villagers to keep watch on invaders.

Land and head taxes were collected in accordance with the Li-chia system. 110 households constituted a tax unit and the heads of the unit was a Li-chang. He was selected from the 10 households having the largest number of adult males in the whole Li. The remaining 100 households were divided into 10 Chia, each headed by a Chia-chang. The Chia-chang and the Li-chang were responsible for hastening tax payments. They would be subjected to flogging if taxes were not paid in time.

However, the Pao-chia and the Li-chia systems did not exist for a long time, if at all, in Kwangtung. For China as a whole, both systems lost their functions since the middle of the 18th Century. (Chu: 40-3, 150-1; Freedman 1958:15; Hsiao :43-83, 523).
**FIGURE I.**
System of Local Administration in Kwangtung under the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Viceroy (Kwangtung-Kwangsi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Garrison Commander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fu Garrison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsien Garrison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six Departments</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fu Garrison Commander</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Governor of Kwangtung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fu Prefects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsien Magistrates</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Trade Commissioner          |
| Likin Bureau                |

- Pao-chang
- Li-chang
- Chia-chang
- P'ai-chang

**Administrative Changes in the 20th Century**

The *ti-fang tsu-chih* movement began during the late Ch'ing Dynasty. The programmes of this movement were (1) to allow the local elites to be responsible for their own districts instead of having the local government run by non-natives who were transferred every three years as in traditional times; (2) to allow the local people to choose their own leaders if possible and (3) to allow the Province and the Hsien to have some independence in handling their own affairs such as education, sanitation, communication and economic developments.

In 1907, the Empress Dowager proclaimed the inauguration of the Provincial and Hsien Assemblies, to be elected by a highly limited suffrage. Voters had to own property or were former office-bearers or former traditional scholars: those who had passed the prefectural examinations and above. The first Provincial Assembly was held in Kwangtung in 1909.
Of all the political leaders of Kwangtung after 1911, Ch'en Chiung-ming was the most enthusiastic in reforming the administrative system. He acted upon the principle that local elites should take part in the administrative affairs of their own Hsien. Under Ch'en Chiung-ming, local elections were held on both the Provincial and the Hsien levels in 1912, with the electorate having the same qualifications as the 1908-09 election. However, because of the political turmoil in Canton, the Provincial Assembly did not become a feature of the Provincial Government until after 1922 when Ch'en Chiung-ming resumed power.

Under Ch'en Chiung-ming, the Provincial Government's administrative authority was vested in an Executive Council of 7 to 11 members including a Chairman and the heads of the five Departments - Municipal Affairs, Public Works, Education, Finance and Secretariat. This Council was staffed with Kwangtung people. It was a committee form of government, but still the Chairman had the supreme power, just as the Provincial Governor during the Ch'ing Dynasty.

The Government of the Hsien duplicated the Provincial administrative structure. An Executive Council consisting of the heads of the various Departments was in operation with the assistance of a Hsien Consultative Assembly. The Council and the Assembly were staffed mostly, though not exclusively, by the local elites. Just like the Provincial Government, the Hsien-chang (who may be an outsider) exercised ultimate control. The Hsien was responsible for its own police and education matters as well as sanitation and public works (Boorman 1968:Vol. 1:173-80; Hsieh 1962:203, 206-220).

When Sun Yat-sen resumed leadership in Canton in 1923, he did not extend the power of the Hsien Council to the collection of taxes despite
of the democratic principles he advocated in the early stages of his political career. He was at this time switching from constitutional government to party-led revolution and nation building movements. He believed that the Hsien should not be allowed to control its own revenue because it would result in the Hsien not sending enough revenue to the Provincial Government.

The Constitution of 1923 and Sun's *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction* drafted in 1924 (quoted by Chien 1950: appendix C and E) show that Sun Yat-sen was trying to delay the practice of allowing the local people to choose their own representatives in the Hsien and the Provincial Governments. According to these documents, Hsien and Provincial officials could be elected by the local people only when this had already been successfully practised in the lower levels of government. Only when censuses had been taken, land surveyed, an efficient police force organized, roads built and people trained that officers shall be elected and be made responsible to elected councils.

Probably because of these documents and probably because of the anarchic situation in Kwangtung between 1922 and 1928, there was no further administrative changes until Ch'en Chi-t'ang emerged as the supreme head of the Province. He followed Ch'en Chiu-ming's practice and extended the system of local administration below the Hsien level.

Ch'en Chiu-ming had in 1911 introduced a Ch'ü level of local administration below the Hsien level to be staffed totally by the local elites. The Ch'ü-chang was nominated by the Hsien-chang from the local candidates put forward by a local electorate. Ch'en Chi-t'ang retained this system and took a further step: he introduced the Chen and the Hsiang levels of administration below the Ch'ü level, again
to be staffed by local talents. Moreover, he also revived the Pao-chia system under the control of the Hsiang government.

In essence, the system under Ch'en Chi-t'ang was as follows: ten families were to form one Chia, ten Chia were to form one Pao, several Pao made one Hsiang, and several Hsiang were to form one Ch'ü. Above the Ch'ü was the Hsien government. The Chia-chang and Pao-chang were to be chosen by the heads of the households in the villages. The Hsiang-chang were to be chosen by the Hsiang-min Ta-hui; the Chen-chang by the Chen-min Ta-hui. The Ch'ü-chang and the Hsien-chang, however, were to be appointed by the Provincial Governor. Their tasks were to supervise the taking of census, the survey of land and the police force as well as the building and the repairing of roads (see Figure II) (B.S. Lee 1936:109-119, 127-8; Ch'en Chi-t'ang Chi-nien-chi 1957:7,22,48-52; Boorman vol. 1:160-3).

Another piece of reform under Ch'en Chi-t'ang was the creation of a centralized police force trained by the Provincial Government but paid by and under the direct control of the Hsien government.

Throughout his period, his strong hand ensured peace and stability in the countryside. He also succeeded in taking a census of the Kwangtung people and initiated a systematic land survey in 1933 (Tseng 1936:14-18; Ch'en Chi-t'ang Chi-nien-chi:48-9; Minami Shina Soran:480).

Under him, Kwangtung was semi-independent of the Nanking government. He controlled the tax revenue of the various Hsien in Kwangtung and withheld them from the National Government. This policy was nothing unusual in the fiscal administration after 1911 (Chien:14, 214-5; Feuerwerker:51; Ho:207; Vogel:30-1) except that during the Ch'en Chi-t'ang administration in Kwangtung, the taxes were
further increased. For the purposes of paying for the police and to finance rural self-government, many miscellaneous taxes had been created, such as: head taxes on cattle, slaughter taxes, sugar and salt taxes, as well as taxes on every item sold at the local markets. Rice taxes had been increased 30% by 1935. The surtax attached to the land taxes had been increased 3 to 4 times. In addition, the household tax was also introduced (Chen Han-seng:74-5; Negishi Benji 1940:286-9).

After 1936, when the National Government at Nanking took over the direct control of Kwangtung, the tax burden was not any lighter. In fact, commodity taxes increased considerably. Moreover, there was a clear distinction between "national tax" and "provincial tax". The salt taxes, customs duties, commodity taxes and mining taxes were collected by the National Government. The Provincial Government was to collect land taxes, taxes on house deeds and all kinds of licence taxes which were to pay for the establishment of government schools, road building and the development of farming, industry and trade in the various Hsien in Kwangtung.

The changes in fiscal administration after 1936 meant not only that the Province could no longer utilize its wealth to defy the National Government but also that the merchants and the local landowners had to pay much more taxes than before 1936 (Tseng:4-5).

Except for the changes in the fiscal administration, there were no further changes in the form of local administration after the Nanking Government had taken over the control of Kwangtung. Even the Constitution of 1936 did not assume a position any different from Sun's Fundamentals of 1924. The Hsien-chang was to be elected but in areas where local self-government had not been established, he should
be appointed by the Central Government. It was only in the 1946 Constitution that each Province was to have an elected Assembly and an elected Executive Council and each Hsien was to have an elected Hsien-chang. But this stipulation only existed on paper (Chien 302).

Moreover, the heads of the Pao, the Hsiang and the Chen, though elected, were to be responsible to the organs above, not to the electorate below. They were to report to their superior chiefs on birth, death, marriage and movements of the people within their jurisdictions and the presence of unlawful activities. They were to help to collect taxes and to conscript labourers and soldiers. Chien (307) emphasizes the pseudo-democracy practised in this period. All the local assemblies were in fact chosen and were tightly controlled either by the Hsien-chang or by the Hsien's KMT Party Office.

CONCLUSION

Between 1911-49, the local self-government programmes had been carried out only to a limited extent. Firstly, the government remained an oligarchy: only the local elites were allowed to participate in the government organs of their own Hsien, at the Ch'ü, Hsiang and Chen levels. They were not made responsible to the local populace. Secondly, the Hsien elites were only delegated some of the administrative tasks. Many vital functions especially the collection of taxes and the administration of the police force were not controlled by the Hsien elites but by the agents of the Provincial Government.

This partial fulfilment of the aims of the local self-government movement and the heavy taxation in this period had considerable significance in the development of social movements in Kwangtung.
The heavy taxation enforced by the newly created centralized police force stationed in the market-towns and rural areas was bound to exert considerable hardship on the people of Kwangtung. In addition, the revival of the Pao-chia system and the creation of the Ch'ü, Hsiang and Chen government organs below the Hsien meant the extension of local administration to a lower level than the Ch'ing system of administration had ever done before. The inhabitants of the market-towns and villagers now found it harder to keep the government at an arm's length. This was one of the most important factors leading to the formation of Merchants' Associations and to the Labour and Peasants Unions.

SECTION II: Education Changes

The abolition of the traditional system of examination and the inauguration of the local self-government movement by the Ch'ing government in the early years of the 20th Century created a need for more schools in all of China to produce enough civil servants to staff the various government organs.

The need to build more schools was all the more urgent in Kwangtung during the early Min-kuo period. Between 1911 and 1936, Kwangtung was divided into two power blocs: those who wanted to use Kwangtung as a base for the re-unification of China and those who wanted to keep the Province independent of the Central Government. Paradoxically, both these power blocs saw the need to staff the Kwangtung Government with local talents to fulfill their goals. They were reluctant to recruit any civil servants from outside Kwangtung.

Apart from the political reasons, the rapid development of trade and processing industry in Kwangtung in the 20th Century also created
a need for more book-keepers, accountants as well as other technical personnel for the commercial and industrial concerns. These needs could not be satisfied by relying purely on the missionary schools. Thus, commercial circles joined hands with the government to build more schools and to systematize the curriculum.

(1) Primary Schools in Kwangtung

In 1921, there were 174 primary schools and 74 higher primary schools of a public nature in Kwangtung and there were also 1,100 traditional schools which were conducted under the supervision of the specialists in modern education (Hsieh:214). There were also numerous private schools of different degrees of modernity. Some were business schools which taught students how to use the abacus, how to do letter writing and simple accounting. Much like the traditional system of education, there was nothing on manual training or vocational training such as market-gardening and poultry raising etc (Chen Ta 1940:151; Kulp:218-242).

Under Ch'en Chi-t'ang's Three Years' Plan, there was a further expansion of primary schools. For example, in 1931, there were 18,969 primary schools in the whole of Kwangtung, by 1934, the number jumped to 22,754.

In Canton itself, modern schools were well developed. Since 1920 Canton had the reputation of being the most progressive city in China in terms of primary education (B.S. Lee:117-8). Before 1928, it had already 67 primary schools offering courses like civics, hygiene, mathematics, music, art and physical education. By 1934, the number jumped to 99.
(2) **Middle Schools and Post Secondary Education**

In 1928, there were three technical colleges in Canton and many municipal middle schools. Between 1928-31, the missionaries in Canton were also running high schools. These were more progressive than the Chinese schools which merely taught classics, history and mathematics (ibid).

Universities and post-secondary colleges were also well-developed in Kwangtung. In 1905, after the traditional examination system was abolished, Kwangtung established the Liang-kuang Shih-fan Hsüeh-t'ang (Kwangtung-Kwangsi Teachers' Training School) offering literature, history and science as its subjects. In the same year, the Kuang-chou Fa-cheng Hsiieh-t'ang (Academy of Law and Political Science in Canton) was established, offering law, jurisprudence and political science. This was the highest academy in Kwangtung. Students were limited to those traditional scholars who had passed the district examination (i.e. the hsiu-ts'ai).

In 1911, the Liang-kuang Shih-fan Hsüeh-t'ang became the Kwangtung Higher Normal College. It was known as the National Kwangtung University in 1920 and was known as the Chungshaan University after the death of Sun Yat-sen. The Agricultural Experimental Station, established in 1909, became the School of Agriculture within the University. Ling-ñaäm University was established in 1927. It included literature, science, agriculture, business administration and engineering. The Amoy University was established in 1920 (ibid: 109-119).

In 1920 Ch'en Chiung-ming financed a school for Chinese students in France known as the Lyons University Project. A number of
students, mostly from South China, were sent there to study.

Apart from these government post-secondary schools, there were others which were run by private bodies, including the overseas Chinese and the missionaries, in port cities such as Kongmoon and Swatow.

Because of the education programme, Kwangtung had the highest degree of literacy in the whole of China. By 1934 about 1% of Canton's residents had university education and 8% had middle school education (ibid:115).

(3) Administration of Modern Schools

Attempts were made by the Provincial Government to systematize the private, missionary and government schools on all levels. For example, Ch'en Chiung-ming established a Kwangtung Education Committee headed by a board of famous educationists (Boorman Vol. 1:173-80) and Ch'en Chi-t'ang inaugurated the Education Conference in 1931 with an aim to systematize the missionary, private and government schools (ibid:160-3; K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:139-40, 189, 200, 207).

Most politicians in Kwangtung attempted to recruit the graduates of modern schools to work in the administrative organs. Students who returned from studies abroad and those who graduated from local high schools and above usually filled government posts in the Kwangtung Provincial Government and the Canton Municipal Council as well as various Hsien government organs. The first civil service examination took place in 1916. There were two types of examinations: (1) special examination - to recruit the top cadres of administration. Only University graduates or equivalent were qualified to take the examination; (2) ordinary examination - for the ordinary civil servants. Graduates of senior middle schools were qualified. After
1939, according to Chien (236), candidates to the Hsiang, the Chen, the Ch'ü, the Hsien and the Provincial Assemblies had to undergo an examination. (Chien:236).

CONCLUSION

Like the traditional government before 1911, during the Min-kuo period, formal education was still regarded as the channel for social and political advancement. However, these new graduates, unlike the scholar-officials of old times, served in the local government organs. They were more willing to co-operate with the authority than to act on behalf of the local people to champion government policies as the traditional scholar-gentry of old.

However, the widespread development of modern education as compared to the limited degree of literacy in the Ch'ing period did result in the formation of pressure groups among the professionals who were outside the government hierarchy. Professional Associations such as the education, lawyers, medical and engineering associations were watchful of government policies. Although they would not identify themselves with the interests of the peasants or the workers, they were able and willing to organize public opinion and to exert pressure on the government through such organs as the Hsiang-min Ta-hui and the Chen-min Ta-hui or the press if their own interests were threatened. For example, when taxes were heavy, when government officials were corrupt or when the soldiers and the police corps were disturbing public order, they were willing to pose as spokesmen of the people. On the other hand, they were often on the side of the government in the event of armed revolt by the peasants and the workers.
Official population data during the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911) was inaccurate for China as a whole because the Manchus put an end to the compilation of households and mouth returns in 1651 and only used the t'ing as a unit of population enumeration. T'ing, by definition, was an adult male from 16 years old to 60 who was liable for labour service. However, this service could be replaced by a money-payment. In 1711 the quota for t'ing services was fixed for each locality. From then on, enumeration of t'ing units had lost its significance and local officials were less concerned with its accurate assessment.

After 1722, the collection of t'ing levies became merged with land taxes. The registration of t'ing payment failed to reflect the growth of actual population. T'ing assessments became so out-of-date that in 1772 its registration was abolished completely (Ho: 24, 28, 33-5).

In the 19th Century, the Chia-ching Emperor revived the Pao-chia system and used this instrument for the enumeration of able-bodied males. However, in Kwangtung, even this did not work well. Census results were especially distorted in this area of China because the gentry had successfully bribed the official underlings and evaded registration for themselves and their protégé (ibid: 13, 22, 45, 52; Perkins: 206). As a result, population data were not accurate. For example, the statistics quoted by Wakeman (180) that in 1850 the density of population in Kwangtung was 284 people per square mile was unlikely when compared with Yang's (4) data that the population density of Kwangtung a century later (1951) was 285 people per square mile.

The population census in 1908-1911 in Kwangtung under the auspicion of the Empress Dowager was hurriedly and inaccurately
carried out because of anti-census riots in many localities in the Province. The census of 1930-34 carried out by the Kwangtung Provin­
cial Government under the directions of Ch'en Chi-t'ang, however, was more accurate because it was more strictly enforced. It yielded 33,179,078 people for the Province of Kwangtung (Kanton Shi:10).
The census of 1953, which Ho (94) considers the most accurate, gave the population of Kwangtung as 36,770,000 (Liang:1, 14).

Besides population enumerations, other evidences show that the population pressure on land in Kwangtung was already intense since the beginning of the 19th Century. Since 1812, reclamation of delta land could not match the increase of population in this part of China (Wakeman, 179-80). The Hakka/Punti War in the middle of the 19th Century (to be described in Chapter IV) was evidence enough of the intensity of the struggle for land - a direct reflection of population pressure on land. Buck's investigation (361-3) shows that in 1929-33 the density of population in Fukien and Kwangtung ranked second in the whole of China: there were 2,072 people per square mile of crop area. By 1951, according to Yang (4), this number had already risen to 3,494.

This rapid growth of population unaccompanied by improvements in agricultural technology explain the presence of peasant discontent leading to riots in the 1920's. It also explains the intensity of urbanization and overseas emigration from the end of the 19th Century onwards in this region of China.

With most of Central China filled up by the end of the 18th Century, landless peasants had to migrate either to town or overseas (Perkins:206; Ho:52-3, 139-168; Buck:68). The climax of overseas emigration for Kwangtung and Fukien was between 1899 and 1903 and
and between 1919 and 1921 (Perkins:214). H.F. McNair estimated that there were 8,600,000 overseas Chinese by 1921 (Ho:167). According to Ho (287), without overseas emigration, the population of Fukien and Kwangtung would have increased more than 23.3% in the last Century.

There was also the rapid growth of urban population since the first decade of the 20th Century. The population of Canton in 1901 was 850,000; in 1921, it rose to 900,000; by 1936, the population was 1,300,000. Swatow's population rose from 380,000 in 1901 to 1,250,000 in 1936. Other urban centres included Hoi-hau, Fat-shaan, Ch'iu-chau, Shek-kei, Kongmoon and Shiu-kwaan which by the 1930's had a population ranging from 150,000 to 300,000 each (Liang:13). In fact, Kwangtung was considered the most urbanized Province in the whole of China in the 20th Century (Liang:16; Yang:5; Buck:365).

SECTION IV: Economic Development

Kwangtung before 1870 did not have much industry to speak of, except crude ways of refining sugar in Canton, Wai-yeung, Ch'iu-chau, Lim-chau and Swatow; cloth-making in Fat-shaan, Canton and Swatow using imported cotton as well as drawn work in Canton, Wai-yeung and Ch'iu-chau (Liang:9-10, 12).

The first to adopt modern methods was the silk industry. It started when overseas Chinese began to invest in Naam-hoi and Shun-tak, using machines to unreel cocoons. But, it was not until the years following World War I, that there was an intense interest in improving silk production. In 1919, a Kwangtung Sericulture Research Institute was established, followed by the Commission for the Improvement of Silk Production in 1923 (Nigishi Benji:176-8, 283).
Both the motives to use Kwangtung as a base for the political unification of China and to keep Kwangtung independent of the control of the Central Government had prompted many political leaders to improve Kwangtung's economy. Moreover, since the fall of the Ch'ing Dynasty in 1911, many overseas Chinese who had supported Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary movement began to invest in the reconstruction projects of Kwangtung. With Europe at War (1914-18), native capital began to invest in various industrial concerns, municipal development projects and road building projects. The growth of nationalism among the Chinese was directed towards boycotting Japanese and British goods which in turn benefitted the local manufacturers. This enhanced the further growth of native industry.

The development of industry during this period can be seen from the Canton Trade Reports of the Maritime Customs Service between 1914-1919. The 1914 Report writes: "With regard to cotton and woollen goods the tendency displayed recently on the part of so many of the returned overseas Chinese to adopt foreign style of dress received a check. The less expensive native garb is returning to favour". The 1915 Report writes: "Because of the campaign against Japanese goods, the Chinese manufacturers succeeded in pushing sales of their own goods such as dyes, tea and silk. Cotton spinning and weaving as well as cultivation of natural dyes flourished. Chinese exports in cotton goods, tea and mats reached the highest in record. Local cotton cloth could compete well with Japan".

The 1916 Report writes: "Local fabric were becoming serious competitors of foreign manufactures. The high price paid for the latter had greatly fostered local manufactures. Imported kerosene and oils have fully recovered, but the high price was forcing the
poor consumers into natural oils. There was an increase in cowhide, matting and brown sugar exported from China".

The 1917 Report writes: "In this year, there was a rise in the value of silver. The exchange rate became higher, so foreign articles became even more expensive. The Chinese were reverting to their own resources. For example, they used vegetable oils in place of kerosene and purchased locally manufactured cotton goods, brick, tiles, cement, bags of all kinds, sugar, tobacco and cowhide". The 1919 Report writes: "Tobacco companies such as the Canton China Tobacco Company, the South China Patriotic Tobacco Company and the Nanyang Brothers' Tobacco Company were founded. There was the Star Leather Company which was a native leather tannery using modern machinery to tan leather. Products from this company were exported to Hankow, Java, Manila and Annam ......... The year was still a good year. Peace in Europe led to an unsatiable hunger of Europeans for material goods and raw materials. For the first time in Chinese history since 1890, exports outbalanced imports".

Between 1926 and 1930, Li Chi-shen, Ch'en Ming-shu and Ch'en Chi-t'ang had done much towards restoring order in the Kwangtung countryside. This, and the fact that the Nationalist Government had succeeded in gaining back the control of salt taxes and customs duties from foreign countries in 1930, paved the way to a further expansion of commerce and industry.

In the 1930's, a surtax was imposed on imported rice and duties were raised on imported sugar to protect native products. This latter policy resulted in considerable activities in the sugar industry in eastern Kwangtung (Chen Ta 1940:33). In this period, in Hok-shaan and Naam-hung, tobacco experimental stations
were set up. In Hoi-p'ing, a Tea Experimental Station was established (Negishi Benji 176-178).

The Three Years' Plan, which aimed at achieving self-sufficiency in the Province of Kwangtung, started in 1933. Ch'en Chi-t'ang concentrated on the founding of sugar mills and modern textile factories. A number of sugar refineries were started in P'oon-ue, Shun-tak, Tung-koon, Wai-yeung, Chung-shaan and K'it-yeung. Silk plants were initiated in Shun-tak, Fat-shaan and Chung-shaan; textile factories in Yeung-ch'un, Fat-shaan and T'oi-shaan; a hemp factory in Mooi-luk; textile factories and paper mills in Kongmoon and Yeung-ch'un as well as match manufacturing in Kongmoon, Fat-shaan and T'oi-shaan. In Canton itself, cement, paper mills, silk, hemp and cotton weaving factories, chemical plants, electric plants and fertilizer plants were established (Liang:9-10,12; Maritime Customs Service: Canton Trade Reports, Kongmoon Trade Reports 1911-1919; Ninami Shina Soran:772-784).

Side by side with the development of trade and industry were projects to modernize the cities and the market-towns and to improve the system of transport and communication. These programmes attracted the investments of both the local merchants and the overseas Chinese.

Between 1919 and 1922, the Canton city walls were torn down and the streets widened. A new bridge across the Pearl River was built; a modern sewage system was constructed. The telephone service was first introduced in 1903. In 1925, automatic dialing was adopted; electric lighting was introduced in 1901 and was taken over by the government in 1932 which also assumed control of waterworks in 1929. In spite of the uncertainties of the political situation and the apathy of many of the residents, Canton was modernized because of the cooperation of the local merchants and the overseas Chinese with the
newly founded Municipal Council (B.S. Lee:4-18; Vogel:26-32).

The development of Canton was duplicated in many port-cities such as Kongmoon, Swatow, Ch'iu-chau and other more important market-towns in the hinterland.

Most of the railways in Kwangtung were initiated during the late Ch'ing period and were completed during the early Min-kuo period. For example, the Ch'iu-chau - Swatow Railway; the Kowloon - Canton Railway; the Canton - Swatow Railway; the Canton - Hankow Railway and the Sunning Railway were all completed before 1920 (Liang:13).

Road building came after the age of railway construction but unlike the railways, road building were not financed by the Western Powers. They were the joint projects of local and overseas Chinese merchants under the direction of various Governors of Kwangtung such as Ch'en Chiang-ming, Ch'en Ming-shu and Ch'en Chi-t'ang.

Road building began systematically about 1924. The climax was in 1932, when Ch'en Chi-t'ang was carrying out his Three Years' Plan (B.S. Lee:18-9; Vogel:30-1). A whole network of public highways was completed by 1936 with Canton, Swatow, Shiu-kwaan, Kongmoon and Hoi-hau being the main centres. Kwantung ranked first in China in terms of public highways and motor transportation (Liang:49).

Ogawa Hirakichi (1913:625-28) had some details on the organization of road building. According to him, these roads were built by Bus Companies formed by local inhabitants under the supervision of the various Hsiang Kung-so. The Company had to pay the Hsiang Kung-so 5% of the estimated cost of the road as a deposit. If the Company had to stop working before the end of the period scheduled, then its deposit would be forfeited. The Company was to employ its own road
building staff, but it would have the full backing of the Hsiang Kung-so and the police. If the roads, in passing by the fields, graveyards or temples, aroused the oppositions of the local inhabitants, the quarrel was to be settled by the Hsiang Kung-so. If the local inhabitants boycotted the Company, the police would help. After the road was finished, all the carts, buses or rickshaws using the road were to pay tolls to the Bus Company.

It is evident that the road building programme had imposed considerable hardships on the people of Kwangtung. Property owners could not prevent a road from being built once the decision was made by the Provincial Government. Agricultural land were confiscated; landowners had to pay heavy tax wherever the roads passed by; repairs or rebuilding of houses demolished by the Bus Companies were to be rebuilt at the owners' cost. Sun Fo promised compensation to property owners, but this was never carried out. Opposition to road building was considerable. A large number of police - rural boys of unproven integrity - were hired to insure road building (Vogel:30-1; B.S. Lee: 18-19; Chen Han-seng:75,111).

COMMENTS

The growth of trade and industry, the modernization of the cities and market towns, the building of roads and railways, the improvements of the steam-boat services and bus services were to a large extent responsible for the growth of class consciousness among the overseas Chinese and the local moneyed class (Skinner 1971:277). They co-operated in all kinds of projects and realized the need to form organizations for the purpose of protecting their interests in times of political uncertainties. They became an independent class, co-operating with the bureaucrats when the latter served their purposes
but protesting when the policies of the bureaucrats displeased them. They called in the help of the foreign merchants against the Warlords at one moment while supporting the populace to boycott foreign goods at another moment.

With the rapid development of manufacturing activities after the First World War, there was an increased demand on local raw materials. The urban moneyed class more and more involved itself with the cultivation of cash crops. Peasants suffered from increasing exploitation as a result. This, together with the increasingly heavy tax burden and the growth of population pressure on land, produced widespread misery among the peasants in the countryside. They felt the need to organize themselves, but they lacked the leadership which the traditional scholar-gentry had supplied before the education reforms of the 20th Century. The comforts of life in the modernized port-cities and market-towns attracted many of the modern educated elites from the rural areas to live in the towns. The peasants were thus left without any leaders.

In the market towns and the cities, there was an outburst of economic activities because of the development of commerce and industry, municipal construction projects and the development of transport and communication services. The employees of the various occupations, many of whom were landless peasants from the countryside, began to organize themselves to protect their vested interests in times of political and social uncertainties. These labourers had some liaisons with the peasants in the countryside but they were too pre-occupied with their urban problems to unite with the peasants.

Thus, the growth of population, the administrative, educational and economic changes in Kwangtung between 1911 and 1949 had resulted
in the growth of class consciousness among the merchants, the labourers and the peasants but it had not produced enough cohesion across these class lines to challenge the established political order. This allowed the Warlords to deal with them one by one, after using them as pawns for their power struggles, as will be seen in the following section.

SECTION V: Merchant, Labour and Peasant Movements
A. The Merchants' Voluntary Corps

Before the 20th Century in the cities of Kwangtung, clan and district associations as well as social clubs took care of the details of urban life. Merchants' Guilds were not powerful enough to have a voice in government policies. The merchants' strongest means of protest against the authorities was to close their shops. This situation persisted until the latter half of the 19th Century when the merchants were allowed to join the scholars and the retired officials in discussions with the government. Together this group was known as the "shen-shang" (gentry-merchants). But they were still under the domination of the gentry and failed to form an independent power group.

With the abolition of the traditional system of examination and the rapid development of trade in the 20th Century, the merchants began to grow in power in the local scene vis-a-vis the scholar-officials. The sudden influx of capital from the overseas Chinese and the development of transport facilities brought about the destruction of the old style guilds. New commercial and industrial groups which arose occupied a major role in urban social organization (Vogel:25-6; Chu:268-70; Masui Tsuneo 1941:282-3). In more important market towns and cities, some prominent businessmen banded
together to form Chambers of Commerce which incorporated many of the functions of the district associations and the various merchant guilds and provided the much needed co-ordination.

Because of political instability in Kwangtung in the early days of the Min-kuo period (see Appendix I), the Merchant Voluntary Corps was organized by the Canton merchants in 1912 for the defence of business establishments in Canton itself. By May, 1924, the Canton group amalgamated with the Merchant Voluntary Corps from twelve different cities in Kwangtung to form a provincial organization under the direction of Chen Lien-po, President of the Canton General Chamber of Commerce. They were favoured by Ch'en Chiung-ming, Sun Fo and the English merchant interests in Canton and Hong Kong (Hsieh:199).

From the time of the Constitution Protection Movement (1917) to May, 1921, when Ch'en Chiung-ming and Sun Yat-sen re-entered Canton, the merchant body was in favour. The Canton merchants and bankers were given government posts. But, as soon as Ch'en Chiung-ming denounced Sun Yat-sen's Northern Expedition, the merchants were forced to take sides. They quarrelled with Sun Yat-sen and supported Ch'en Chiung-ming. They requested disarmament and wanted the modernization of Kwangtung by seeking help from Hong Kong as well as the western merchants in Canton.

Sun Yat-sen, with his mind set on seeking Soviet aid, broke with the merchant body. He got rid of all the merchants and bankers from government posts in April, 1923. In August 1924, Ch'en Lien-po, with the tacit approval of Ch'en Chiung-ming, protested against heavy taxation levied for financing the Northern Expedition. The Merchant Corps mobilized 3,000 men and barricaded themselves to a section of the city. The British in Shameen and Hong Kong supported the merchants and
threatened to use their naval forces against Sun Yat-sen. In September, Sun Yat-sen denounced the British.

Hu Han-min was then the Governor of Kwangtung, he deployed all the armed forces available at Canton under the command of Chiang Kai-shek. By mid October, 1924, the uprising had been quelled (Hsieh:234-242).

B. The Peasant Movement

The Peasant Movement was born in eastern Kwangtung under the patronage of Ch'en Chiung-ming. As early as 1922, P'eng P'ai had organized the first Peasant Union in Hoi-fung (Liao 1951:49-52). But it was not until 1924, following the alliance between the Nationalist Party (KMT) and the Communist Party (CCP) and the creation of the Peasants' Training Institute in June of that year that the Peasants Movement spread to other parts of Kwangtung.

In the summer of 1924 the Peasant Training Institute, under the direction of Chinese Communist Party members, created an armed self-defence force. Graduates of the Peasants' Training Institute were to return to their native districts and become organizers of the Peasant Movement there.

The Nationalist Party at first did not take any action against the Peasant Movement. Instead, Chiang Kai-shek, in his two Eastern Expeditions against Ch'en Chiung-ming and his Southern Expedition in 1925 against Tang Pen-yen, used the Peasant Unions as fronts. But as soon as the violent techniques used by the various Peasant Unions against the landlords in Kwangtung aroused the ire and fear of a class revolution in the countryside, the Nationalists regular troops began to crush the movement. It was entirely wiped out in 1927-28 (Gruetter 1972:53-60, 93, 96-110).
C. The Labour Movement

The workers' organizations in Kwangtung began in the first decade of the 20th Century. During this period, there was an influx of landless peasants into the urban centres in search of work. At the same time, many Chinese workers returned from Europe with an interest in forming labour unions. Both Sun Yat-sen and Ch'en Chiung-ming encouraged this movement.

The first Labour Union to be organized was the Seamen's Friendship Association in 1914-15. It was under the sponsorship of Sun Yat-sen himself (Boorman Vol. 3:154). This association was strengthened in 1920 under the leadership of Su Chao-cheng, with its headquarters in the British Colony of Hong Kong (ibid.).

In January, 1922, the Association launched its first strike. Ch'en Chiung-ming, then Governor of Kwangtung, gave financial assistance to the Strike Committee in an attempt to improve his political position with reference to Sun Yat-sen. This strike, which was settled in March 1922, represented a significant victory for the Cantonese Seaman.

Labour Unions flourished in the 1920's as a result of the success of the Seamen's strike. In Canton alone, 130 Labour Unions were organized. The most powerful were: The Kwangtung General Union; Seaman's Union; Labour Representatives' Union; Railway Employees Union; Oil Press Workers' Union; Restaurants and Tea-houses Waiters' Union; Knitting and Weaving Workers' Union as well as the Machinists and Engineers' Union. In May 1922, the All China Federation of Labour was established in Canton (Hsieh:234).

These Labour Unions did not belong to any political parties. They were interested in defending their particular interests by allying with whomever was on the upper hand in the political struggle. Like the
Merchant Associations and the Peasant Unions, they were on good terms with Ch'en Chiung-ming when he was in power in Canton. They made substantial financial contributions to his campaign against the Kwangsi Warlords. They had also openly supported him in his split with Sun Yat-sen (ibid:234-42).

In the 1920's, when the Chinese Communist Party and the Nationalist Party were allies, both competed to enlist the support of the Labour Unions. In 1921-22 for example, the Nationalist Party enrolled 20,000 workers as members (Vogel:33). However, from 1923 onwards, the Communists were on the upper hand in their influence on the Labour Unions. In the summer of 1924, the Pacific Transportation Workers’ Conference was held in Hong Kong. Su Chao-cheng joined the Communist Party and became the top Communist leader in South China in May, 1925 when he was elected the Chairman of the All China Federation of Labour. (Liao:44-8; Boorman Vol. 3:154-5).

The Nationalist Party tried to regain their influence on the Labour Unions. In May-June, 1925, when the British and the French at Shameen fired at the labourers in Canton, the Nationalist Party (KMT) leader Liao Chung-k’ai favoured the anti-British strike in Hong Kong and Canton in June 1925 (see Appendix I). He and the merchants tried to re-direct the anti-British feeling among the workers to their own ends. They encouraged the public to boycott British goods and advised all non-British vessels to bypass Hong Kong and land their cargoes in Canton (Boorman Vol. 2:266).

The strike lasted for a year and six months. It ended because the Nationalist Party (KMT) no longer needed the Labour Unions as allies. After his victory over Wang Ching-wei, Chiang Kai-shek emerged the sole leader of Kwangtung. He withdrew his support for the strike and raided
the Canton-Hong Kong Strike Committee Office. Delegates were sent to discuss the British in Hong Kong to end the strike (ibid. Vol. 1:324).

In 1927, the KMT authorities at WuHan, following their victory in the Northern Expedition, began to purge the Communists in their rank. Many Labour Unions detached themselves from the Communist Party. Communist influence became so weak that when Yeh T'ing and Ho Lung established a territorial base at Hoi-luk-fung they were easily driven off (ibid. Vol. 2:68-72). When Chiang T'ai-lei, another Communist leader, organized a coup in Canton and established the Canton Commune in December, 1927, it was suppressed within three days (ibid. Vol 1:111-2).

After the Canton Commune incidence, the KMT proceeded to execute almost everyone connected with the uprising. This led to the virtual extinction of the local revolutionary activities. The Communist Party's headquarter had to leave Canton. It moved first to Shanghai, then to Kiangsi, then to Yenan.

It was only after the Japanese had entered Canton that the Communists were active again in Kwangtung. From about 1938 to 1949, all over China, the Communists recruited rural soldiers, established liaison with the poor peasants, sought contributions from wealthy individuals, seized granaries of "unjust landlords" or cargoes of "reactionary bourgeoisie". But even during this period, in Kwangtung, the Communists' activities were confined only to a small minority with their base in the East River Hakka area. The rest of Kwangtung was outside the revolutionary movement (Vogel:35).

CONCLUSION

The ease with which the KMT suppressed the Merchants' Corps, the Peasant Unions and the Communist uprisings in Kwangtung indicates how weak and unorganized these class movements were in face of the military
might of the Nationalists. After the Canton Commune Incidence, the Labour, Peasant and the Merchant Associations were recognized by the KMT Government so long as they were not in any sense rebellious. They were allowed to retain their functions as sounding boards of public opinion. Since then, they never came close to challenging the established social and political order, although they sometimes protested against corrupt government officials, heavy taxation and the disturbances of the soldiers and the police in the market towns and the countryside.

Of these three class movements, the Peasants were the weakest in terms of organization and strategy probably because they lacked the necessary leadership and probably because they lacked a strong class consciousness. This was unlike the merchants and the workers in the urban scene, whose class consciousness grew as a direct result of the administrative reforms, educational changes and economic development. After 1928, while the peasants were on the whole inactive politically, the Merchants and the Professional Association leaders as well as the Labour Union leaders still acted as spokesmen against government policies when their particular group interests were threatened.
CHAPTER III
ADMINISTRATIVE, EDUCATION, POPULATION AND ECONOMIC CHANGES IN HOI-P'ING 1911-49

This Chapter follows the same pattern as the last Chapter. The purpose is to outline the administrative, education, population and economic changes in one Hsien to facilitate discussion on the pattern of social organization under the impact of change for the people of that particular Hsien.

SECTION I: Administrative Changes in Hoi-p'ing

Hoi-p'ing as an administrative unit dates from the early Ch'ing (1650) when the boundaries of Yan-p'ing, San-ooi and San-hing were redrawn to form a new Hsien, Hoi-p'ing, with the hope that the presence of government authorities at Ts'ong-sheng (the capital of Hoi-p'ing) would frighten the bandits in the mountainous areas west and north of San-ooi. This plan proved inadequate, so in 1737, the boundaries of Hoi-p'ing, San-ooi and San-hing had once again to be redrawn for another Hsien, Hok-shaan.

Hoi-p'ing is 104 miles (290 li) south-west of Canton. To the east is San-ooi; northwest and northeast is Yan-p'ing; south and southeast is T'oi-shaan; to the north and northeast is Hok-shaan. (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:21). It has a total area of 1711 square miles (Kanton Shi:10).

A. Administrative Structure of Hoi-p'ing During the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911)

During the Ch'ing Dynasty, Hoi-p'ing's administrative structure was much like that of other Hsien in China. There was a Chih-hsien (Magistrate) who was in complete control of the administrative affairs within the Hsien although he was subjected to the supervision of the Prefect (Chih-fu) at Shiu-hing. Under the Chih-hsien were: (1) the Hsien-ch'ing
who was in charge of general administration. His function was ill-defined: he may be sent to collect land taxes in remote areas or to supervise the collection of grain tributes and the sale of government grains or he may be made responsible for accepting or rejecting complaints from the people. Being the Assistant Magistrate, he could make an investigation on behalf of the Magistrate when the latter was absent on an official mission (Chu:122). (2) The Hsun-chien, or the Sub-district Magistrate. There were three in Hoi-p'ing: one at Che-hom, one at Sha-kong and one at Ts'ong-sheng. They were in charge of police duties, river and salt administration. They were empowered to conduct an inquest at a remote corner of the Hsien. They were in short, tax collectors and police commissioners combined.

(3) There was an I-ch'eng (Post-master) who was stationed in Hin-kong. He was under the overall supervision of the Magistrates who was in charge of the funds. It was the I-ch'eng's duty to see that the horses were well-fed and well used and that there was no delay in the delivery of errants.

(4) There was the Tien-shih (Jail Warden). He had his office near the prison and was in charge of the prisoners.

(5) There were two Educational Officers (the Chiao-yü and the Hsün-tao) who were under the supervision of the Provincial Director of Studies. These officers were required to report to the Director on the conducts of the scholars such as the kung-sheng, the chien-sheng and the hsiu-ts'ai in Hoi-p'ing. They, together with the Magistrate, heard cases in which the chastisement of students was involved. The scholars could not be beaten by the Magistrate without the permission of the Education Officers. When corporal punishment was decreed, it was administered by them in the presence of the Magistrate (Chu:9-10, 173).
Women of chastity, married or unmarried and filial sons were honoured. They were reported to the government by the Educational Officers so that they could be worshipped after death in the Shrine to Chaste and Filial Women and in the Shrine to Filial and Brotherly men.

In addition to the above officials, there were the Personal Servants of the Magistrate's who served as his eyes and ears. All these were outsiders to the Hsien and they had no local roots, being transferred once every three years.

The local people filled minor posts in the government: the highest post being the Private Secretaries. These were usually former Clerks, chü-jen, or retired low-rank officials. They were familiar with law and precedents in the locality. They were empowered to determine whether certain complaints were to be rejected or endorsed and what had to be investigated etc. Magistrates also sought their advice in other legal matters. Moreover they also helped in the tax collection process, such as preparing a list of the taxpayers who did not pay. In addition, these Private Secretaries helped the Magistrates to read examination papers of those who wanted to take the formal civil service examination given by the Provincial Directors of Studies in Canton (Chu:110-111).

Besides the Private Secretaries, there were the Yamen Clerks who helped in all aspects of local administration. They were especially powerful in matters of tax collection. They had the land tax information in their hands. They were thus in a position to manipulate land tax receipts and even warrants for the arrest of delinquent taxpayers (ibid. 49-50).

In addition to the clerks, there was a host of Government Runners who were also natives of the locality. They were to convey orders of the Magistrates to the people in the rural districts, conscript labour,
collect land tax and to make arrests.

B. Administrative Changes in the Min-kuo Period (see Figure II, Chapter II).

The Hsien administrative structure between 1911 and 1931 was in a state of flux because of political instability in Kwangtung as a whole in this period.

The first significant attempt to depart from a traditional form of administration was in 1906 when the notion of "self-government" was raised. The Magistrate asked the gentry members to meet at Ts'ong-sheng to establish a Self-government Bureau. In 1909, a Local Self-government Affairs Bureau was established to investigate the possibility of practising self-government in Hoi-p'ing (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:181).

Following the experiment on self-government in Canton after 1911, there were several attempts to establish Hsien Consultative Assemblies in Hoi-p'ing. However, this did not become a permanent feature of the Hoi-p'ing administration until 1930, either because the available funds had to be diverted to the maintenance of social order or because of political struggle in Canton (ibid:143, 184, 189, 200, 207).

The Ch'ü, Hsiang and Chen levels of government did not come into existence until 1930. It is true that Hoi-p'ing had been divided into 10 Ch'ü since 1908, but there were no Ch'ü government. They remained merely territorial units until 1930. Since that date, Hoi-p'ing was to be divided into 10 Ch'ü, 103 Hsiang, 35 Chen, 947 Pao, 4,205 Chia and 97,653 Hu (ibid:202) each with a government organ to regulate affairs within that particular administrative unit.

As the rest of Kwangtung (see Figure II, Chapter II) the Pao-chang and the Chia-chang in Hoi-p'ing were chosen by the Ts'un-min Ta-hui which was made up of all the heads of the households (Hu) within their jurisdictions but they were to be responsible to the Hsiang-chang, not
On the Hsiang level, there were the Hsiang-chang and the Hsiang Consultative Assembly (Hsiang-i-hui) which was made up of three supervisors and other staff members of the Hsiang-chang. They were chosen by an organ known as the Hsiang-min Ta-hui. The three supervisors' functions were to look after the financial affairs of the Hsiang and to see to it that the actions of the Hsiang-chang were legal. They, together with the Hsiang-chang and his staff, worked in an office known as the Hsiang Kung-so.

The Hsiang-chang was a civil servant. He had to take an oath of allegiance to the government at Ts'ong-sheng and had to report to the KMT Office once a month (ibid:130-1). He and the Pao-chang under him were to seek out the criminals and those who misbehaved and reported them to the government at Ts'ong-sheng. They were also responsible for the allocation of land and the collection of taxes. They were to conscript soldiers with the help of the Police Corps and the Self-defence Corps (formed after 1945). The Hsiang-chang and the Hsiang Kung-so members were to transmit government regulations. They were to sign papers for the sale of any kind of property of the Hsiang inhabitants as well as in matters of adoption. They were also responsible for taking the census of the various villages, acting as a marriage, death and birth registration office. They were also empowered to speak up for a Hsiang member whose integrity and honesty may be in doubt in the eyes of the Hsien government.

Unlike the rural areas, the 35 market towns of Hoi-p'ing were not organized into Pao-chia units. Instead, the Department of Public Security was responsible for the peace and security of these market towns. The Police Corps were stationed in these areas. Similar to the
arrangements in the Hsiang government, the people of each market town were to form into a Chen-min Ta-hui to choose the Chen-chang and the Chen Consultative Assembly members who were to be responsible for the affairs of that particular market-town (ibid:90).

On the Ch'ü level and the Hsien level of government, there were the Ch'ü Consultative Assembly and the Hsien Consultative Assembly which advised the Ch'ü-chang and the Hsien-chang respectively in their administrative tasks. However, unlike the Hsiang and the Chen governments, they were not directly chosen by the people of Hoi-p'ing. The members of the Hsien and Ch'ü Consultative Assemblies became members by virtue of their being Consultative members of the Hsiang and the Chen levels (ibid:208). The Ch'ü-chang and the Hsien-chang were appointed by the Provincial Government in Canton.

The Hsien-chang was the direct nominee of the government of Canton except in 1921-22 when Ch'en Chiung-ming was in power. In these two exceptional years, the gentry of Hoi-p'ing were to put forward three names as candidates and out of these, the Canton government was to choose one as the Hsien-chang (ibid:188-9). For the rest of the period, the Canton government simply sent its appointee to be the Hsien-chang. Thus, between 1911 and 1930, out of the 40 Hsien-chang in Hoi-p'ing, only 7 were Hoi-p'ing natives. But, with the exception of 6, the rest of the Hsien-chang were all coming from the various parts of Kwangtung (ibid:215-6).

Under the Hsiang-chang were a number of executive departments: the Education Department, Public Works Department, Finance Department, Civil Affairs Department and the Department of Public Security. The members of all these executive departments were nominated. As a rule, the personnel in the Department of Public Works as well as the
Education Department were Hoi-p'ing natives but the Finance Department, the Civil Affairs' Department and the Department of Public Security were filled by outsiders (ibid: 182-208). This indicates that the pretense of local self government did not prevent the Hsien from being controlled by the Provincial government as it still controlled the Hsien's vital functions. Through the control of the police and financial matters by nominees of the Provincial government as well as through the MKT Party Office, established in Hoi-p'ing in 1924 to supervise the whole Hsien administration, the government of Canton still exercised considerable power over the Hsien government.

Fiscal Matters

Though often under the control of the agents of the Canton government, the Finance Department of Hoi-p'ing had to enlist the help of the local leaders to deal with matters of taxation. A number of bureaux were established for specific purposes and were dissolved once the specific tasks were over.

In 1924, for example, the Hsien Mortgage and Property Tax Bureau was established, eight Hoi-p'ing natives were nominated to work there. Whoever sold his land or house had to bring the property papers to the Hsien government at Ts'ong-sheng to put a seal on the whole transaction. The members of the Bureau received no salary from the government but they were allowed to take 5% from the fees collected.

In the same year, the Sha T'in Title Clarification Bureau was established in Che-hom. Hoi-p'ing natives were again nominated to work in this bureau. They were to examine all land titles of the T'aam River area and to collect taxes on all recently reclaimed land. If the landowners did not have any land papers to prove their ownership, their piece of land would be confiscated.
In 1928, the members of the 3rd Hsien Consultative Assembly were empowered to collect taxes and hand them to the Finance Department at Ts'ong-sheng. But this experiment was short-lived. The Hsien Consultative Assembly was dissolved in 1929.

In 1930, the Education Land Title Clarification Committee was established to investigate the land titles of the Education Land so that it could be taxed to help the development of modern schools in Hoi-p'ing. This committee was made up of members of the Education Department and the Education Conference, the KMT Party Office and the leaders of the Chambers of Commerce (ibid:140).

In 1930, four local people were chosen to work in the newly established Bureau for the Management of Hsien Finance. The landowners and the ancestral hall representatives were to pay both the land taxes and the head taxes to this body. This bureau was abolished in September 1930, when it was proved unworkable.

In 1930, the Hsien Land Registration Office was established. The Hsien-chang was to nominate the representative in each Hsiang to be responsible for (1) mapping out the boundaries of every plot of land in the Hsiang; (2) making clear all land titles, and (3) deciding on how much tax was to be collected. This represented the final attempt made by the Hsien government to clear up the land records, some of which were lost since the Hakka/Punti War of the mid. 19th Century. However, this attempt also failed. The local populace did not cooperate in reporting how much and the exact location of the land they owned. So it was again dissolved in June, 1931 (ibid:182-208).

In 1933, Ch'en Chi-t'ang sent the Hsiang elites to Canton to undergo training and tried to do another land survey. This time, the surveyors themselves were to get a portion of the land tax. Still the
land records were not completed (Tseng 1936:18). When the Nanking government took over the direct control of Kwangtung in 1936, the various Hsiang Kung-so were made responsible for the allocation of land and the collection of land and head taxes.

All land was theoretically the property of the Hsiang Kung-so, unless the landowners came to claim their land in person. If there was any piece of land unclaimed within a month, it would be confiscated and the Hsiang Kung-so had the right to put it up for auction. The rent collected from the unclaimed land would be used for Hsiang purposes. If a mistake was made in the new land record and the landowner concerned protested, he had to ask the Pao-charig to sign a proof. The Hsiang-chang would then send the land register to the Finance Department in Canton. A representative would come to investigate. In case of default, the Hsiang-chang had the power to re-allocate land. If there was any unused land, the Hsiang Kung-so would ask a contractor among the local inhabitants to farm it for a period of five years, charging $0.50 to $1 per mou of land thus contracted (ibid:36).

Since 1936 June, the Hsiang Kung-so became solely responsible for the collection of land taxes, property taxes and head taxes; the amount of taxes paid on both corporate land and private land was the same. For private land, the landowners had to pay in person to the Hsiang Kung-so while taxes for the corporate land in each village were to be paid by village representatives (Personal Communication).

Other kinds of taxes were collected by the Pao-shang (contractors). Taxes for electricity, telephone and other public utilities were also in the hands of local contracting companies. The Pao-shang were asked to collect all kinds of commercial taxes. Before 1936, the contractors
were nominated by the Finance Department but after 1936, public biddings were being held. Whoever agreed to pay the most to the Finance Department were to be contractor of that particular kind of tax (Tseng:47, 60; Ogawa Hira-kichi:625-8).

Judiciary Affairs

After 1911, the Canton Government sent some legal advisors to Ts'ong-sheng to assist the Hsien-chang in judicial matters. An attempt was made to establish the judiciary as a separate branch of administration directly under the Legal Department in Canton. In 1921, a law-court was set up in Ts'ong-sheng. But in 1924, this was abolished owing to insufficient funds. Between 1924-26, the only court that was in operation was the Mobile Court centred in Canton. Each judge was to be responsible for 2 to 3 Hsien's legal cases. They travelled periodically to the Hsien within their jurisdiction to hear and deal with important cases. In 1926-27, a more sophisticated lawcourt was set up in Ts'ong-sheng with judges and a body of jurists present at the hearings. In 1928, there was a district court at each of the more important market towns such as Che-hom, Cheung-sha and Shui-hau, a Hsien court at Ts'ong-sheng and a Supreme Court at Canton for the final decisions (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:142, 182-203).

COMMENTS

It is true that in the Min-kuo period, the natives of Hoi-p'ing had a much greater part to play in the administrative affairs of their Hsien than the Ch'ing period when only a few served in the capacities of Private Secretaries, Yamen Clerks and Government Runners. But, it is still doubtful whether the increased participation of the local talents in the Hoi-p'ing Government meant increased power for the
people of Hoi-p'ing to direct their own affairs.

In order to assess the power of Hoi-p'ing natives in the Hsien government, one needs to look at two things: (1) what kind of people served in the various Bureaux, Departments and Consultative Assemblies in Hoi-p'ing? (2) What sort of power did they have?

A detailed survey of the personnel of the Legislative, the Executive, Fiscal, Education and Judicial branches of government described in this section shows that they were one of the following types: (a) traditional scholars who followed the government's advice in 1907 to join the modern schools in Canton; (b) modern school graduates of post-secondary schools overseas or at Canton; (c) lineage leaders who had contributed to the defence of Hoi-p'ing in the 1911-1928 crisis, to be described in Chapter IV; (d) merchants who had wide connections not only in Hoi-p'ing but also in Canton and Hong Kong; (e) representatives of the Hoi-p'ing Scholar-gentry Circle in Canton who came back to help the Hoi-p'ing government in the 1911-28 crisis; (f) Hoi-p'ing merchant representatives in Hong Kong who came back to help the Hoi-p'ing government in the 1911-28 crisis.

From the above, it is clear that the personnel of the Hoi-p'ing government was drawn from a narrow cross-section of the population. They came from scholar, gentry and merchant classes. Moreover, a close examination of the personnel of the various Departments, Assemblies and Bureaux listed in the K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih (182-208) shows that people serving in the Executive and Fiscal branches also served in the various Hsien Consultative Assemblies which were supposed to check the policies of the various government branches. In fact, the members of the Consultative Assemblies, like the Pao-chang, the Chia-chang, the Chen-chang, the Hsiang-chang, the Ch'ü-chang and the Hsien-chang were
considered civil servants and not the people's representatives. They had to take an oath of allegiance to the KMT Party Office and write reports to this office once a month (ibid:130-1).

Thus, although it was true that the Chen-min Ta-hui, the Hsiang-min Ta-hui and the Ts'un-min Ta-hui chose the Chia-chang, the Pao-chang, the Hsiang-chang and the Chen-chang as well as the members of their Consultative Assemblies, these Ta-hui had no control over the conduct of their nominees. The line of authority came from the higher level of government downwards, not from the people upwards to the government. Moreover, the government officials from the Ch'ü level upwards were not chosen by the Hoi-p'ing natives. The Hsien-chang and the members of the Executive Council were either outsiders sent by Canton or Hoi-p'ing natives appointed by Canton. This meant that the most important affairs were controlled by people who very often represented Canton's interests instead of the interests of the Hoi-p'ing natives. The KMT Party Office and the garrison soldiers who were independent of the Hsien-chang served as a further control on the affairs of the Hsien.

For this reason, between 1911-31 the local elites who became part of the government structure were almost impotent. The Consultative Assemblies, the Hsien Mortgage and Property Tax Bureau, the Sha T'in Title Clarification Committee, the Bureau for the Management of Hsien Finance, the Hsien Land Registration Office were created and dissolved at will. After 1930, the Consultative Assembly members were not any more influential. They were something like the participants of a bored debating society. The members questioned and commented on the government policies in a stereotyped manner. They did not even make any resolutions or debate the major issues. Their chief task was to discuss
how to implement the government's decisions - how to fill the army quota, how to collect army rations etc. At their best, the Consultative Assemblies served sounding boards for complaints. For example, in 1948, when the High School Teachers' Union wanted to ask for more salary, they sent representatives to sit in the Hsien Consultative Assembly hearings to make their wishes known (Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao October 15, 1948:26).

From various evidences in the Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao and from conversations with the informants, it is possible to conclude that after 1930, the Hsiang-chang, the Pao-chang, the Chia-chang and the Chen-chang had more power especially with regards to the collection of taxes and the conscription of labourers and soldiers, but they had less prestige in the eyes of the local inhabitants because they were considered to be co-opted by the Hsien government. They were transmitters of orders from the government to the people and not vice-versa. It was the members of the Chen-min Ta-hui, the Hsiang-min Ta-hui and the Ts'un-min Ta-hui who had more prestige. Although they had less power to influence government policies, they were at least regarded as potential spokesmen of the average Hoi-p'ing native who had no part to play in the Hsien administrative organs.

SECTION II: Education Changes in Hoi-p'ing

Education changes in Hoi-p'ing was slow when compared to the progress made in Canton in early years of the Min-kuo period. The first modern school, the First Primary School of Hoi-p'ing, was built in Ts'ong-shêng in 1905, after the traditional system of examination was abolished. But partly because of the local disturbances and partly because of the lack of interests among the local people, nothing further
was done for more than a decade.

It was only until 1919-20 that the Hsien government declared that the traditional schools were to be replaced by modern primary schools, the curriculum of which had to be in accordance with the Education Department in Canton. An Education Affairs Committee was then set up in Hoi-p'ing with an aim to encourage the Hoi-p'ing people to build and manage their own private schools. In 1922, in an attempt to co-ordinate the government schools as well as the private schools in Hoi-p'ing, an Education Department Conference was sponsored by the Hsien government. A constitution was drawn up governing all the schools in Hoi-p'ing. However, because of the political struggle between Ch'en Ch'ing-ming and Sun Yat-sen in Canton, the constitution was declared null and void by Canton (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:139-143).

Finally, in 1931, the Hsien-chang established an organ to co-ordinate the administration of all the schools in Hoi-p'ing. In that year, a formal meeting was called in Che-hom. The Education Conference was re-established. It was made up of 250 members who were either Chairman of the Board of Directors or the Principal of schools in Hoi-p'ing. The head of the Education Department was the Chairman and the Hsien-chang was the President of the Conference (ibid:189,200,207). Still the government did not take an active part in the actual building of the schools. They only acted as co-ordinators who tried to standardize the curriculum.

Of a total of 201 schools in Hoi-p'ing, only five were run by the government. A mobile library project was attempted in 1921 but was soon abolished. Local effort was responsible for the remaining 196 schools and the three tsu libraries (one in Hin-kong and two in Che-hom).
The above table shows that the 4th Ch'ü had the largest number of private schools, followed by the 5th, the 3rd, the 8th and the 10th Ch'ü. These, as will be demonstrated in later chapters, were places where lineages were strong, where commercial and industrial activities were intense and where overseas emigration was heavy. The 1st, 2nd and 6th Ch'ü were relatively poor agriculturally, commercially and industrially. Thus, the limited number of schools there was understandable.

Of special interest was the case of the 9th Ch'ü. It was rich agriculturally and some of the lineages - notably the Cheung - were among the most prestigious in Hoi-p'ing in terms of the number of traditional scholars they claimed their own (see Chapter IV) and yet the whole Ch'ü ranked second last in the number of modern schools built.

The special case of the 9th Ch'ü leads one to conclude that there was a close correlation between commercialization, overseas emigration
and the willingness and ability to take part in modern education in Hoi-p'ing. It was the merchants both overseas and at home who were more enthusiastic than the landowners for their offsprings to advance through the routes of modern education either into the civil service or be literate enough to act as unofficial spokesmen of the Hoi-p'ing people in order to gain prestige as an adjunct to their economic success. In fact, the sudden growth of enthusiasm in the 1920's on the part of the private circles to establish schools and on the part of the government to co-ordinate these schools could have been a reflection of the growth of trade and commerce in Hoi-p'ing in this period and as a consequence to discrimination suffered by the overseas emigrants in the Americas.

SECTION III: Population Growth

According to the records in the K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih (89-90) there were 11,238 t'ing-k'ou in 1650 in Hoi-p'ing. In 1660, this number increased to 13,132 t'ing-k'ou. Between 1671 and 1711, when the quota for t'ing payment was fixed, there were 13,477 t'ing-k'ou. In 1737, when the t'ing payment was officially combined with land taxes, there were 13,486 t'ing-k'ou. Between 1737 and 1819, there were no t'ing-k'ou records for Hoi-p'ing.

Around 1800, the Chia-ching Emperor had tried to utilize the Pao-chia system for the enlistment of population figures. It was obvious that this had not been done in Hoi-p'ing, for the population record of this Hsien was still in terms of t'ing-k'ou in 1819. It yielded 68,991 t'ing-k'ou units for that year.

Population enumeration was not resumed for almost a century.
In 1910-11, the Hsuan-t'ung Emperor was trying to carry out the local self-government programme and ordered a population census to be taken in terms of households and mouths (hu-k'ou). This was not carried out in Hoi-p'ing systematically, owing to the resistance of the local populace (ibid:89). In 1929-30, when Kwangtung was under the control of Ch'en Chi-t'ang, another attempt was made to carry out a census, with the intention of re-establishing the Pao-chia system. The census in Hoi-p'ing showed a total of 92,834 households and 478,263 people for the year 1930.

The K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih compares this last figure with the official t'ing-k'ou figures of 1819 and concludes that the population of Hoi-p'ing had increased about 8 times in the last 110 years. This comparison is not warranted. Apart from the problem of evasion in the census taking process, the units t'ing-k'ou were merely tax units - t'ing was a labour levy unit and k'ou was a salt-gabelle assessment unit. Not only was the quota of t'ing fixed since 1711, but it had also been combined with land tax assessments since 1737. For these reasons, the 1819 figures was far from reflecting the actual population statistics of Hoi-p'ing at that time. Even the K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih admits that the population statistics during the Ch'ing dynasty and the early Min-kuo period were mostly under-estimations (ibid.). Thus, although it is obvious that there was an increase in the population of Hoi-p'ing between 1819 and 1930, it is difficult to estimate the exact rate of increase, let alone the fluctuations of population growth within these 110 years.

The census results released by the Kwangtung Provincial Government in 1934 listed the population of Hoi-p'ing as 74,435 households and 442,892 people, with a population density of 378 per square mile (Kanton Shi:11). This was not too different from the 1930 figure of
478,263. It is reasonable to assume that the figures of 1934 was a more accurate figure than any of the previous population statistics. This was a period of relative peace and prosperity in Hoi-p'ing. There were less disturbances in public order and government authorities had extended to the Hsiang level through its more efficient Police system and Pao-chia system.

From the same census material, one can compare the population density of Hoi-p'ing with the rest of Kwangtung. The statistics show that in Kwangtung, only Shun-tak, Tang-hoi, Ch'iu-yeung, Naam-hoi, Ch'iu-on Tung-koon, P'oon-ue, Ts'ong-sheng, P'o-ning, Chung-shaan and San-ooi had a population density greater than that of Hoi-p'ing (ibid:11-13). When one compares the productivity of these Hsien in the Pearl River Delta and the Han River Delta of Kwangtung with that of Hoi-p'ing which was 70% barren (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:56-61), one can put into perspective the tremendous land pressure ratio in this Hsien. The density of population of Hoi-p'ing was all the more apparent when one compares this figure of 378 people per square mile with the population density of the more fertile area of Western Kwangtung and Lui-chau Peninsula, none of which had a population density of more than 200 people per square mile (Kanton Shi:11-13).

It was the pressure of population upon limited agricultural land which led to the migration of the rural poor in Hoi-p'ing to work in towns and overseas. According to the 1930 census, there were about 24,266 people in the 35 market towns of Hoi-p'ing (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:89-90) which was about 5% of the population; and according to the figures given by Feng Ho-fa (772-3), in Hoi-p'ing, every 1 in 10 was an overseas emigrant.
SECTION IV: Economic Changes

A. The Importance of the T'aam River in the Economy of Hoi-p'ing

Kwangtung west and northwest of Sz-Yap is mountainous but the southwest coast and the Lui-chau Peninsula is flat and fertile. Both areas were less densely populated than the Canton Delta and the Sz-Yap area, judging from the 1934 population figures. They produced a number of cash crops as well as staple crops for the Canton Delta and the Sz-yap.

The Sz-yap and the Canton Delta were both rice deficient areas, the former because the soil was infertile, the latter because of the concentration of cash crops. Rice had to be imported into these areas from Thailand. After 1930, when the Chinese government had regained its tariff autonomy, imported rice became very expensive. In times of disruption of communication lines (such as during and after the Second World War) rice and mixed cereal grown in the Lui-chau Peninsula and the rest of Western Kwangtung became very important sources of food supply to the dense population in the Canton delta. During the Ch'en Chi-t'ang administration of Western Kwangtung, the irrigation system of Lui-chau was improved and this increased the production of rice and mixed cereals extensively (Negishi Benji:160).

Peanuts for the production of peanut oil (for cooking and fuel) and peanut cakes (as fertilizers) were also grown in the coarse soil of Western Kwangtung while the coast from T'oi-shaan to the Lui-chau Peninsula was one of the World's largest fishing ground. So fish was exported from this area of Kwangtung in addition to salt (Liang 78-9; Ogawa Hira Kichi:594-601).

Western Kwangtung, because of its topography was well suited for the raising of livestocks. Its pasture land supplied the densely
populated area of the Sz-yap and the Canton Delta with mutton, beef, pork and chicken. Of all the meat producing centres in this area, Yeung-kong was the most important producer of pork while Lim-kong and Lim-chau were the most important producers of beef and raw hide (Ogawa Hira-kichi:303). In Sui-k'ai, a group of returned emigrants from America had founded the P'o-shaang Company in 1929 and ran an extensive pasture land for raising livestock. This group also experimented on cash crops such as sugar cane and hemp (ibid:605-7, 611-2).

Of these two crops, hemp was grown extensively in Western Kwangtung even before the establishment of the P'o-shaang Company. The making of hemp cloth, grass sacks and grass mats commanded a wide market in Hong Kong and Macau from the Ch'ing Dynasty onwards (ibid:845,858-9). However, the production of sugar cane in Western Kwangtung and the Lui-chau Peninsula was a relatively late development. It flourished in the beginning of the 20th Century owing to the investment of the hua-ch'iao from Southeast Asia and the investment of the P'o-shaang Company during the period of Ch'en Chi-t'ang's administration in Western Kwangtung. The sugar processing plants established in 1932 in Tung-koon, Shun-tak and Canton as well as the T'aai-koo Sugar Refinery, established by the British in Hong Kong, processed sugar grown in this area besides other sources of supply.

Ch'en Chi-t'ang also developed the growth of tropical fruits in the Lui-chau Peninsula. A Tropical Plant Experimental Station was established in Ts'ui-man in 1928 to improve the quality of tropical fruits. Coconuts from this area as well as its byproducts (used for fertilizers and animal feed) were sold in Kongmoon, Macau and Hong Kong (Ogawa Hira Kichi:293; Negishi Benji:178ff, 385-6).
Other cash crops such as tobacco and tea were also major exports from the Sz-yap - Hokshaan area as well as other parts of Western Kwangtung. Tobacco was especially in great demand because of the establishment of the British America Tobacco Company and the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company in Canton and Hong Kong (Negishi Benji: 73-4).

As can be seen from the above, the Lui-chau Peninsula and the coasts and river banks of Western Kwangtung were of vital importance to the economy of Kwangtung in general and to the Canton region in particular. Yet much of this part of Kwangtung were not opened up until the early 20th Century. The Ch'ing emperors, for example, in their edicts brought attention to the under-development of the Lui-chau Peninsula as compared to the over development of the Canton Delta area (Liang: 21-24). After the Punti/Hakka War in the Sz-yap area in 1863, the Hakka were exiled to Southwestern Kwangtung and the Lui-chau Peninsula precisely because this area was barren (Ho: 166). In fact, the potentialities of Western Kwangtung was not realized until the reforming zeal of Ch'en Chi-t'ang was brought into action in the late 1920's.

The reason for the late development was geographical. Southwestern Kwangtung and the Lui-chau Peninsula were cut off from the rest of Kwangtung by the difficult topography. While the Pearl River with its tributaries such as the North River, West River and the East River formed a network of navigable waters, there was no such river systems in Western Kwangtung. The rivers were short, each entering the sea separately. Land transportation was difficult through narrow mountain passes (Liang: 75; Ogawa Hira-kichi: 304).

There were only three relatively navigable rivers in Western Kwangtung viz. the Lim River, the Yeung River and the T'aam River.
Of these, the T'aam River was the most important in terms of commercial value because it linked Western Kwangtung with the Canton Delta, Macau and Hong Kong.

The T'aam River flows from Yan-p'ing to San-ooi, entering the sea at Kongmoon with important branches flowing from Hok-shaan and T'oi-shaan. From Yan-p'ing to Saam-fau (collective term for Cheung-sha, San-ch'eung and Tik-hoi) small boats could pass by, from Saam-fau to Kongmoon, tug-boats and steamers could pass through. Because of its navigability, the ports on the banks of the lower T'aam River were important trading and processing centres.

Kongmoon became a port in 1904 because it was the junction of the T'aam River and the West River. Goods from Mau-menğ such as pineapples, bananas, sugar cane and fish were transported by land through Yeung-ch'un, Yeung-kong to Yan-p'ing and then by the T'aam River to be distributed all over Western Kwangtung (Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao Dec. 1947:45, Oct. 1948:19, Ogawa Hira-kichi 454-5, 89).

In the 1920's, the importance of Kongmoon was enhanced because of the improvement of Western Kwangtung's road system which ran from Canton to Kwong-chau Waan and because of the building of the Canton-Hankow Railway. Imports such as dried fruits, groceries, rice, vegetables, and timber from Hong Kong and Canton were stored in godowns at Kongmoon to be transported up the T'aam River into Western Kwangtung. On the other hand, products from Western Kwangtung were gathered at Kongmoon (a) to be exported to Canton, Hong Kong, Macau and overseas or (b) to be transported up the West River or by the Canton-Hankow Railway to Kwangsi, Kiangsi and Hunan (Liang:63; 80-1).

It is not surprising that most of the people of Hoi-p'ing lived in the middle and lower courses of the T'aam River. This was partly
because 70% of the land of Hoi-p'ing was mountainous and barren. Only 30% of its land was suitable for agriculture and the best land was on both sides of the T'aam River and its tributaries. Ts'ong-sheng and Cheung-sha-t'ong were famous for vegetables, bamboos and sweet potatoes. The Ma-kong - Cheung-k'iu area was famous for its lichees; Hin-kong for its peanuts; Poh-loh for its melons; Lau-kong for its loh-paak and nim tsz (which were exported to Hong Kong, Canton and Macau). The Sha-kong area was noted for vegetables, sugar cane and, above all, its garlic which were exported all over Southeast Asia. The Shui-hau, Lai-tung, P'oon-ts'uen, Taai-kong, Loh-ts'uen, Kam-ts'uen and Shui-tseng areas were famous for vegetables and commercial crops such as tea and tobacco (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih: 56-61).

More importantly, the banks of the T'aam River were sites of much of the commercial activities and processing industries in Hoi-p'ing. Iron and livestocks were transported from San-hing and Yeung-kong through the T'aam River; hemp transported from Lui-chau; tobacco from Hok-shaan; foreign goods such as rice, cotton, yarn and kerosene were sent up from Kongmoon. All these allowed for much of the processing activities along the middle and lower courses of the T'aam River. For example, cows from San-hing were the source of raw materials for the leather goods industry in Shui-hau, the products of which were exported to Hong Kong and Canton through Kongmoon. Iron stoves and iron farm equipment were made at Cheung-sha and Kam-shaan relying on iron from San-hing and Yeung-kong. Palms for San-ooi's famous fan-making industry came from Lui-chau and so did the hemp cloth weaving industry at Poh-loh, Mok-yeung Heung and San-ooi. Bamboo was exported from Ma-kong to Shui-hau and Sha-kong where bamboo utensils were made. Imported cotton yarns which came from Hong Kong through Kongmoon, supplied the looms
along the T'aam River. Peanuts grown in Hin-kong were used for the 
extraction of peanut oil for cooking and fuel. Much of the tea and 
tobacco leaves were processed in the market towns along the T'aam River, 
depending on the tea and tobacco grown on the Hoi-p'ing - Hok-shaan 
border. (Ogawa Hira-kichi: 591-2; Hsin-hui Hsien-chih: 64; K'ai-p'ing 
Hsien-chih: 61-4).

B. Economic Problems in Hoi-p'ing after 1911

From the above, it is obvious that the T'aam River was the life-
blood of Hoi-p'ing. However, since 1900, the natives of Hoi-p'ing 
had to combat with the problem of the recession of the T'aam River.

In the early 20th Century, this river had become silted from 
Kau-p'ei-ch'ung to the Hin-kong - Che-hom area. The river bed became 
more shallow as years passed by so much so that in the 1940's parts of 
the T'aam River at Che-hom had become so shallow that one could wade 
across. Boats could come down the river easily but they had difficulty 
going up because the river tide no longer came up as far as Che-hom 
(Per. Com.). Because of this, the peanut production of Hin-kong and 
the garlic production of Sha-kong as well as the oyster culture activi-
ties of the T'oi-fuk area declined. Many irrigation channels were no 
longer functioning. ²

Adding to the transportation and agricultural problems created by 
the recession of the T'aam River was the breakdown of civil order after 
1911 all over Western Kwangtung, as a result of the political struggle 
in Canton. For example, in 1911, the number of sailing vessels at 
Kongmoon diminished by half because of lawlessness arising from poli-
tical turmoil. In 1912-13 disbanded troops fled from Canton, took their 
arms with them and either joined the pirates or sold arms to them causing 
further lawlessness. (Kongmoon Trade Report 1911, 1913). The bandits
and the pirates all over Western Kwangtung used this chance to disturb the social order even further. The force of various Warlords in Canton were not able to restore order in the delta areas not to mention the mountainous border areas of Western Kwangtung with their forests and intricate mountain passes. As a result, the traditional land routes from the Lui-chau Peninsula to the head of the T'aam River were discontinued (Ogawa Hira-kichi:64, 454-5, Kongmoon Trade Report:1911-16).

Partly because of the breakdown of civil order and partly because of the replacement of sail boats by steamboats, communication by sea had improved in Western Kwangtung. Several sea-ports were opened in the 1920's. Shui-tung, for example, became an important seaport of Tin-paak in the first decade of the 20th Century. It had not been a very good port because the water was shallow and the tidal waves changed too quickly. By 1910, however, the harbour was improved and it became a port of call for Canton and the coastal areas of Western Kwangtung. From then on the export of pigs and poultry (from Kongmoon) had almost disappeared because of the direct coastal trade between Shui-tung, Yeung-kong and Canton. Yeung-kong which used to procure its supplies from Kongmoon, now mostly obtained them directly from Hong Kong and Macau by steam-towed junks (Kongmoon Trade Report 1917). Mooi-luk was the commercial centre of Ng Ch'uen and Mau-meng. It had a better harbour and was even more busy than Shui-tung (Ogawa Hira-kichi:607-9, 622-4, 1183).

Kwong-chau Waan was opened in 1898 but it was not important until 1930 when it became the terminal of the road system running from Canton. Kwong-chau Waan had one of the best harbours in Western Kwangtung, serving the Hoi-naam Island, Yam-chau, Lim-chau and the whole of the Lui-chau Peninsula. It exported pigs, hemp-cloth, mixed cereals, pineapples, sugar and leather as well as textiles, kerosene and foreign
groceries (Liang: 48-51, 80-82).

The opening of Mooi-luk, Shui-tung and Kwong-chau Waan affected trade along the T'aam River adversely. Raw materials from the Lui-chau Peninsula and other parts of Western Kwangtung bypassed the T'aam River altogether.

C. Steps to Improve Commercial Activities in Hoi-p'ing

To combat the decline of trade along the T'aam River, Hoi-p'ing merchants and government authorities co-operated in various projects. The first was the improvement of river transportation. Cheung-sha’s ferries were improved in 1885-1896 while Che-hom’s ferries were improved around 1913. Shallow-bottom steamboats and tugboats were introduced in addition to the traditional sailing junks as a means of transportation between Hin-kong, San-ch’eung, Kung-yik and Shui-hau (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih 82, 84). But apparently, these did not help river transportation in the upper course of the T'aam River.

The second step was the pacification of local disturbances in 1928-30 all over Western Kwangtung. This will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. It is sufficient to say here that this was successful owing to the co-operation of the local gentry, the merchant bodies and the overseas emigrants centred in Hong Kong with the Hsien Government.

The third step was the building of roads. As early as 1912, Lung Chi-chaak, the Hsien-chang, went to Hong Kong to discuss with the hua-ch’iao plans for the improvement of the roads in order to facilitate police action against the bandits. But it was only in 1923 that a Public Road Bureau was established in Ts'ong-sheng. Every Ch’ü was to be responsible for the building of roads. But even then only half-hearted attempts were made. In 1924, only one road, from Ts'ong-sheng
to Ma-shaan, was built. It was not until 1926, when Kwaan T'ing-taat, a Hoi-p'ing native, became the director of the Public Works Department and Ng Lo-in, another Hoi-p'ing native, was nominated Hsien-chang that a plan was drawn up for the systematic building of roads in Hoi-p'ing.

Officially, the Hsien-chang asked the various Hsiang Kung-so to be jointly or separately responsible for organizing the building of new roads and the modernizing of old roads. However, in reality, in Hoi-p'ing as in other parts of Kwangtung, road building was financed neither by the proceeds of corporate land nor by collections from individual Hsiang members but by the Bus Companies (formed 1928-30) - a joint project of the local gentry, businessmen and the hua-ch'iao.

Between 1928-31, 22 new roads were built in Hoi-p'ing. Nine Bus Companies viz. Po-shuk Bus Company, P'ing-p'ing Bus Company, Tung-kaau-lung Bus Company, Che-kau Bus Company, T'oh-fuk Bus Company, Ts'ai-hin-t'ung Bus Company, Che-paak Bus Company, Sha-im-paak Bus Company and Lau-sha Bus Company were founded. These bus companies were also responsible for the building of cement bridges and the repairing of old bridges in the areas of their management to facilitate public transportation (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:77-8, 206).

Between 1911-1931, many old markets were modernized and new ones founded as a result of co-operation between overseas and local Hoi-p'ing merchants. Of a total of 52 markets in Hoi-p'ing after 1930, 13 were built after 1911. These new markets were: Kung-woh Market (1914), Chan-hing Market (1926) and Kung-on Market (1927) of the Second Ch'u; Shui-pin Market (1927) and Shing-p'ing Market (1931) of the Third Ch'u; K'ei-shaan-hoi Market (1902) and Taai-t'ung Market (1923) of the fifth Ch'u; Siu-hoi Market (1931) of the Seventh Ch'u; Luk-on Market (1928)
Of the Ninth Ch'ū; I-ts'at Market (1911); Hoi-moon Market (1931) and San-k'iu Market (1908) of the Tenth Ch'ū (ibid. 86-88).

Of the old markets, Lung-shing, Che-hom, Maau-kong, Lau-kong, Cheung-sha and Shui-hau were modernized between 1927-31. Streets were widened and many new buildings were erected. Public utilities were introduced. For example, around 1929, telephones were first introduced in Che-hom, then in Cheung-sha and Shui-hau. In 1921 electric lighting came first to Cheung-sha and then spread to other market towns of Hoi-p'ing.

DISCUSSION

Skinner (1965 Part II:8,15) asserts that there are two ways in which market towns develop: they either undergo traditional changes or modern changes. According to him, traditional changes involve a process of addition of new markets near the rim of the old market. Because of these new markets, the size of the marketing area of the old market becomes smaller through the loss of some of its customers to the new markets. Modern changes, on the other hand, involve a steady increase in the size of marketing areas as some of the old markets die.

Secondly, Skinner believes that as old markets become modernized, they will become continuous instead of periodic. In other words, most of the establishments in the markets which have undergone modern changes would be permanent instead of temporary. These markets would be opened every day.

Thirdly, he asserts that these modern changes will only take place when markets are linked by steamers, railways and improved roads to centres of industrial production (see also Feuerwerker:2; Masui Tsuneo:277-9, 282-3).
The development in Hoi-p'ing outlined above, I think, exhibits both traditional and modern changes as described by Skinner.

Kongmoon became a treaty port in 1897 (The China-Burma Treaty). It was a distribution centre for mulberries, vegetables, eggs, fruits, tobacco, tea, mats and pigs as well as imports such as cotton goods, cigarettes, kerosene and rice.

With the completion of the Sunning Railway in 1913 and the building of modern roads in the 1920's and 1930's, Western Kwangtung was linked with Kongmoon. By 1930, Kongmoon had become a booming city of 80,000 people, with modernized industries such as paper mills, mat and match factories, cement works, tobacco and tea processing plants (Minami Shina Soran:893; Kanton Shi:388).

In Hoi-p'ing, the development of Kongmoon affected the lower course of the T'aam River. From Kau-p'ei-ch'ung to Shui-hau, many of the market towns such as Taai-t'ung, K'ei-shaan-hoi, Shing-p'ing, Shiu-hoi, Luk-on and Hoi-moon were built while old ones such as P'ing-sam, Sha-waan and Koo-chau died (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:86-88). The upper course of the T'aam River and the rest of Hoi-p'ing had not yet been affected by changes in communication enough to produce a modern change. New markets such as Kung-woh, Chan-hing, Kung-on and I-ts'at were built on the edges of the old ones and no market died.

However, even the lower courses of the T'aam River had not completed the cycle of modern changes in the 1930's as postulated by Skinner. These were still periodic markets rather than continuous ones. Nonetheless, the volume of trade in Hoi-p'ing had increased since the restoration of peace and order in the countryside, the improvement of communication and the municipal construction projects of the new and traditional market-towns.
Through years of co-operation to combat the economic problems of Hoi-p'ing and to re-open the trade of Western Kwangtung, the overseas and local merchants had developed a strong class consciousness and a willingness to co-operate with any government which guaranteed peace and order which they had contributed so much since 1911. On the other hand, through the increased participation of the merchants in the various government and semi-government organizations as well as in the building of roads in the 1920's, they gained a louder voice in the administrative affairs of Hoi-p'ing. They would protest if certain government policies were detrimental to their economic interests or if government soldiers and police disturbed commercial establishments in the market towns.

It is the purpose of the rest of this thesis to discuss whether this growth of class consciousness had led to changes in the social organization of Hoi-p'ing.
NOTES: Chapter III

1. "Personal Communication" means that the information cited has been obtained by talking with informants. In the rest of the thesis, "Personal Communication" will be abbreviated as Per.Com.

2. The recession of the T'aam River could have been one of the causes of a series of feuds between lineages of Hoi-p'ing around 1900-24, as will be outlined in Chapter IV of this thesis.
CHAPTER IV
THE SUBADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM IN HOI-P'ING

It is the purpose of this Chapter to give an account of how the local people organized themselves within the administrative framework described in Chapter III in order to bring into closer focus the social organization of the Kwaan in Hoi-p'ing.

SECTION I: Lineages as a Form of Social Organization

As described in the last Chapter, like the rest of China, the power of the Magistrate in Hoi-p'ing during the Ch'ing Dynasty did not extend any further than the Hsien seat. Other officials such as the Assistant Magistrates, the Education Officers, the Postmaster, the Jail Warden and the Sub-district Officers were all of non-Hoi-p'ing origin. (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:209-215). They did not represent local interests. Moreover, at no time were there more than 500 soldiers stationed in Hoi-p'ing between 1644 and 1911. There were about 300 soldiers during the Shun-chih period (1644-1662), 164 soldiers during the Kang-hsi period (1662-1721), 350 soldiers during the Chia-Ch'ing period (1794-1819) and 420 soldiers during the Kuang-hsü period (1874-1908). These soldiers spread over 21 strategic areas in the Hok-shaan, San-hing and Yan-p'ing borders of Hoi-p'ing. At no place were there more than 30 soldiers. The T'aam River banks were protected by only three police ships. In 1898, the number of soldiers in Hoi-p'ing were drastically reduced by 70% because money was needed to train the New Army as part of the modernization efforts of the Hundred Days Reform (ibid.143-5).

The administrative structure of Hoi-p'ing after the fall of the Ch'ing Dynasty was unstable. The administrative system changed quickly and unpredictably. The governing personnel changed as fortunes of
Warlords in Canton rose and fell. From 1911 to 1931, for instance, there were as many as 40 Hsiang-chang, averaging a term of six months each. The Hsien Consultative Assembly was called in 1913 but dissolved in 1914; a second was formed in 1921 and dissolved in the same year; a third one was called in 1928 but dissolved in 1929. The Bureau for Management of Hsien Finance was created in June 1930 but abolished in September 1930. The Land Registration Office was founded in March 1931 but dissolved in June 1931. In addition, during this period, with the civil war going on, Canton did not have enough manpower to defend Hoi-p'ing's unruly countryside. An army would move in occasionally upon local request to suppress a group of bandits and then move away as soon as that particular incident was over.

Because of the inability of the Ch'ing and the early Min-kuo administration to govern and to defend the people of Hoi-p'ing the various lineages remained the effective organ of social control beyond the Hsien seat. The lineages were so strong that lineage land amounted to about 40% of the total landholding of Hoi-p'ing in 1934 (Chen Han-seng: 33-5).

The powerful lineages in Hoi-p'ing did not concentrate in the Ts'ong-sheng area which had been the capital of Hoi-p'ing since the Hsien was founded. The reason was probably that in 1650, Ts'ong-sheng was founded for the purpose of defending the countryside north and west of San-ooi. The site was not chosen for its economic importance. It was because of this historical incident that the economic apex (in Che-hom, Cheung-sha and Shui-hau) did not co-incide with the administrative apex at Ts'ong-sheng. The gentry members of various lineages did not stay in Ts'ong-sheng itself and only went there infrequently to discuss important matters with the officials.
The most prominent lineages had their headquarters in areas along the lower and middle courses of the T'ama River, the southern parts of the 3rd Chü and the whole of the 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th and 10th Chü (see Appendix II).

Informants were unable to rank the various surnames in terms of their numerical strength although some of them were sure that the Cheung was the most numerous. But they could rank the surnames in terms of scholarly prestige.

The reason for this could be that scholar-officials, especially holders of Chin-shih and Chü-jen degrees and retired officials, were considered equals of the Magistrates. They often had ties with higher officials both in Central and Provincial government. They were the only group which could legitimately represent the local community in discussing local affairs with the Magistrates. (Chü:168-9; Makino Tatsumi:89-90, 104).

During the Min-kuo period, education was still regarded as an important index of prestige. Those with good education were among the potential leaders of Hoi-p'ing. As described in Chapter II, the civil service examination took as candidates the high school, university and post-secondary college graduates.

For these reasons, I have chosen to rank the surnames of Hoi-p'ing in terms of the number of scholars each claimed its own, both in the Ch'ing and the Min-kuo period. As the surnames of Hoi-p'ing with scholarly titles were numerous, I have chosen to present here the 1st ten surnames in each of the scholarship lists:-
FIGURE IV

Number of Regular Scholars in Hoi-p'ing (1644-1911)
(including Chin-shih, Ch'u-jen and Kung-sheng)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>Total No. of Titled Scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cheung</td>
<td>128 (from Cheung-kiu and Sha-kong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sz-t' o</td>
<td>65 (from Kaau-t'ai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan</td>
<td>60 (from T'o-h-fuk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'aam</td>
<td>35 (from To-tang and Cheung-sha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chau</td>
<td>27 (from Poh-loh, Mau-kong, Hin-kong, Lei-t's'uen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo</td>
<td>26 (from Cheung-sha-t'ong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leung</td>
<td>26 (from Cheung-sha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw'ong</td>
<td>26 (from P'oon-ts'uen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoh</td>
<td>24 (from Lung-t'ong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ue</td>
<td>20 (from P'oon-ts'uen)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih, vol. 25-26).

FIGURE V

Number of Irregular Scholars (1644-1911)
(li-kung-sheng)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>Total No. of Degrees Bought</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheung</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'aam</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sz-t' o</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chau</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tse</td>
<td>24 (T'aam-pin-uen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang</td>
<td>23 (Oo-lung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lei</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoh</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wong</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih, Vol. 25)
FIGURE VI

Modern Graduates (1911-1931)
(University and post-secondary college graduates)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>No. of Graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sz-t'o</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chau</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheung</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'aam</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ng</td>
<td>33 (Lau-kong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oo</td>
<td>31 (Ue-leung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wong</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tse</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lei</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih, Vol. 27).

A close look at the geographical distribution of the various surname groups in Appendix II and at Figures IV, V, VI above shows one interesting fact: most modern graduates and li-kung-sheng came from lineages with their headquarters in the more commercial area of Hoi-p'ing. On the other hand, there was a close relationship between regular scholars and areas which were agriculturally rich.

Figures IV to VI also show that the five most prominent surnames of Hoi-p'ing in terms of scholarly prestige were the Sz-t'o, the Kwaan, the Cheung, the T'aam and the Chau while the Ng and the Oo only became prominent in the Min-kuo period. One possible reason is that members of the Oo and the Ng had become rich through emigration. Emigrants, as we shall see in Chapter XI of this thesis, were noted for sending money home for putting their children through higher
education.

SECTION II: Interlineage Rivalries

There had been a long history of serious lineage feuds in Hoi-p'ing and the rest of Sz-yap but the period after 1930 was marked by an absence of large-scale feuds, as Ch'en Chi-t'ang and later Chiang Kai-shek's representatives at Canton controlled the countryside through a well-established and centralized police force. It was only after 1946, when the social order returned to chaos that lineages in the countryside started feuding again on a large scale. For example, the Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao recorded at least 11 feuds of large magnitude during 1946-49 in T'oi-shaan and San-ooi. One possible explanation is that since World War II, many merchants from Kongmoon illegally bought guns and ammunition and sold them to the contending lineages in Sz-yap to fetch a good price (Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao Oct. 1949:55).

Below is a list of the feuds recorded by the Hsien-chih (170, 177, 190, 197, 261-2) and by the Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao (1946-49):-

1815-6: The Kwaan and the Sz-t'o struggled for the control of Che-hom; the Leung and the T'aam struggled for control of the Cheungsha Market.

1830: The T'aam and the Ng feuded for the control of a pier at Hoi-sam, the Magistrate of Hoi-p'ing asked a local chin-shih to mediate. The case was decided in favour of the T'aam.

1845: The Kwaan and the Sz-t'o feuded again for the control of Che-hom. The Magistrate had to draw a line of demarcation to divide Che-hom into two: Upper Che-hom for the Kwaan and Lower Che-hom for the Sz-t'o.

1846: The Leung and the T'aam feuded again at Cheung-sha. The Magistrate forced them to make peace and the Luk-po Shue-uen
(study hall) was built to deal with affairs between lineages at Cheung-sha.

1849: In Sha-kong, people belonging to two fang of the Cheung lineage struggled for water rights. The Magistrates of Hoi-p'ing asked them to build a dam together and share the water rights.

1896: In Sheng-tung Heung of the 1st Ch'ü, the Lo and the Yeung feuded for more than 10 years. The Yeung turned rebellious and even fought the officials who tried to mediate. The Magistrates once again had to ask a body of local gentry from neutral lineages to mediate.

1900: The Fong and the T'aam struggled for water rights at Tung-shaan. They were asked by the Magistrate to build a dam to share the water.

1902: The Chan and the Tse of the first Ch'ü struggled for water rights at T'aam-pik. The Magistrate ordered them to build a dam to share the water.

1924: The Ue and the Leung struggled for water rights at Waang-shek Heung of the 10th Ch'ü. The Hsien-chang had to set up a committee of gentry members at Shui-hau to settle the matter.

1924: The Fong and the T'aam at Che-shui struggled for water rights. The Hsien-chang asked the gentry members of both sides to draw up a truce.

1928: At the 7th Ch'ü, the Ue and the T'aam feuded for the control of a ferry. Government troops moved in to suppress and nationalize the ferry.

1929: The Chue lineage of Yeung-lo Heung quarrelled with the lineages at Paak-sha (T'oi-shaan) for the control of a ferry. The Hsien-chang ordered the lineages to share the ferry and build a i-yuan
(clinic) as headquarters to mediate affairs between lineages in these areas.

1947: The T'aam quarrelled with the Kw'ong at P'oon-ts'uen of the 10th Ch'ü because the T'aam had damaged some of the crops of the Kw'ong's on their way to perform rites at their ancestral graves. The incident involved the T'aam of Hoi-p'ing, T'oi-shaan, San-ooi, Yan-p'ing, Ko-ming and Ko-iu.

DISCUSSION

Inter-lineage feuds were a common occurrence in South China (Hsiao: 361-70, 420-5, 432-3; Liu:38-44; Lamley:1-8). This is not surprising, considering the laissez faire policy of the traditional government and the unstable conditions of the Min-kuo period from 1911 to 1928. The various lineages had to fight for their interests. It was only after conditions went out of hand that government officials would mediate, with the co-operation of neutral local gentry members.

As seen from the above description of inter-lineage feuds, the struggle was mainly for the control of water rights, markets and piers. The picture in Hoi-p'ing supports Lamley's assertion (30) that feuds were urban as well as rural phenomenon.

Embedded in the literature on inter-lineage feuds was the controversy of whether these were class struggles. The Marxist theory is that feuds were caused by the attempt of the economically powerful lineages to exploit the economically weak lineages (Liu:40-3). According to this theory, the elites of the strong lineages collected forced levies from the poor lineage mates for funds to fight against the poor lineages for the further enhancement of the economic and political power of the elites themselves. This forced the poor lineages to ally to fight the strong lineages.
Both Kuhn (77-79, 159-60, 209) and Lamley (46), however, regard interlineage feuds as an alternative to class struggle in rural South China. Lineage militarization made use of the corporate property to support fallen militia, fallen fighters and for the fortification of the villages so as to protect the interests of the rich as well as the poor members of the same lineage. This form of militarization was an alternative to secret society militarization which united the poor member of a strong lineage with the poor members of a weak lineage to fight against their lineage elites. It was interlineage feuds which was utilized by the lineage elites to avert the discontentment of the poor lineage mates through the exploitation of a weaker lineage in the neighbourhood.

Judging from the evidence of Hoi-p'ing, I agree with Kuhn and Lamley's arguments. Many of the lineage feuds were fought between one strong lineage and another equally strong one, such as the Kwaan versus the Sz-t'o; the Leung versus the T'aam; the Ng versus the T'aam etc. They were not fought between a strong and a weak lineage. This, of course, is not denying that there could have been feuds between strong and weak lineages, but that interlineage feuds were not necessarily a struggle between the haves and the have-nots.

SECTION III: Multi-Surname Associations

There were two periods in the history of Hoi-p'ing which marked large scale co-operation among the lineages for defence. The first was the Hakka/Punti War of 1851-67 and the second was during the crisis years of 1911-1928.
The Hakka/Punti War 1851-67

This war affected not only Hoi-p'ing, but also T'oi-shaan, Hok-shaan, Yan-p'ing, Ko-ming, Ko-iu, Yeung-kong, Yeung-ch'un, San-on, Tung-koon and Che-k'ai. Over 100,000 were killed in these bloody years (Lamley:10-14).

The Hakka came to the Canton Delta during the early Ch'ing period (early 18th Century) because they were given favourable terms to farm in the coastal area which had been evacuated by order of the Ch'ing Emperor to isolate the populace from the remnants of the Ming Loyalists. Because they were late comers and land was limited, they settled in dispersion among the Cantonese-speaking people (Punti) (Cohen:251-54).

Numerical increase in the Hakka population was accompanied by an effort to expand and secure, rent free, the land which they were farming. Moreover, the Hakka had also to organize themselves to check the exploitation of the Punti landowners. Since the dispersed settlement pattern of the Hakka precluded localized groupings on a large scale, so they organized themselves into multi-surname associations, spreading over a wide area, the common denominator of these associations was dialect.

On the side of the Punti, the landowners were alarmed at the Hakka organizations. Moreover, the infiltration of the Hakka population in the Punti area created a situation of constant competition between the Hakka and the Punti tenants. Because of this, the Punti tenants aided their landlords against the Hakka tenants. As a result, there was a large scale mobilization on both sides, using dialect as a basis.

A series of Ch'ü and T'ang were formed on both sides, sometimes even across Hsien boundaries. Market towns such as T'aam-k'ai, Tung-shaan, Kam-oo, Che-shui of Hoi-p'ing, Na-foo, To-huk, Ch'ung-lau of T'oi-shaan as well as Shing-t'ong and Kam-k'ai of Yan-p'ing were used as centres of military organization.
1911-1928 CRISIS IN HOI-PING
In Hoi-p'ing itself between 1853-63, many Punti lineages formed into alliances to resist the Hakka, as can be seen in the following figure:-

![Diagram of Punti Confederation]

FIGURE VII: The Punti Confederation in Hoi-p'ing (1853-63)

(Source: K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:171-4, 287-93, 354).
From the above table, one can see that lineages which were traditionally enemies, such as the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o at Che-hom, the Leung and the T'aam at Cheung-sha, the Kwaan and the Lei at Kam-oo and the Kw-ong and the T'aam at Shui-hau, allied together to resist the Hakka. In 1863, under the leadership of T'aam Saam-ts'oi, a Hoi-p'ing native trading in Hong Kong, the various Chü joined hands to establish the Ts'uen-shing Tsung-kuk (Tsüng-chü) at Ts'ong-sheng to co-ordinate all their efforts against the Hakka.

After their victory in 1865, the Chau, the Ng, the Kwaan, the Cheung, the Sz-t'o, the Fong and the T'aam seized the land left behind by the defeated Hakka, which was mostly in the 6th and the 2nd Chü of Hoi-p'ing. The Hakka were exiled to the Lui-chau Peninsula and the Hoi-naam Island after their defeat (ibid. 173-4, 175-6; Liang:137).

DISCUSSION

The Hakka/Punti War has been used by Cohen as an example to show that Freedman had over-emphasized lineage and class as principles of social stratification in South China. He holds that ethnicity was also an important principle (Cohen:237, 240-2, 273-87).

Pasternak uses the example of the Hakka/Punti War to challenge Freedman's theory (1966:160-4) that the need for defence in a frontier situation was one of the causes leading to the formation of localized lineages. Pasternak (1969:559, 1972:144-6) argues that the need for defence led to the formation of multi-surname associations and higher order lineages rather than localized lineages (see also Appendix II).

To this Freedman replies (1966:90-4) that Hakka/Punti fighting of the 19th Century is evidence enough of ethnic solidarity, but this principle had not been consistently used as a basis for social organization in South China. He uses the Seven Yüeh formed at the end of the
19th Century in Kam-t'in (New Territories, Hong Kong) as a counter-example. He argues that the Yüeh which was led by the Man to challenge the Tang at Tai-po consisted of both Hakka and Punti lineages as members. This shows how inconsistent ethnicity was as a basis of social organization.

My study of the pattern of interlineage co-operation in Hoi-p'ing does not contribute to this controversy between Freedman and Cohen. The Hakka/Punti War in Hoi-p'ing shows that ethnicity could be used as a basis for military organization in times of widespread conflict. But after the Hakka/Punti War, the Hoi-p'ing was almost cleared of the Hakka people, so there was no evidence as to whether or not the Hakka and the Punti co-operated after the middle of the 19th Century. It is certain, however, that the Punti lineages were at loggerheads with one another once the danger of a Hakka confederation was over.

As to the controversy between Freedman and Pasternak on the origin of localized lineages, it is a chicken and egg argument. Localized lineages could have been formed before or after they entered into association with other lineages. The evolutionary approach is too rigid. The pattern of development probably varied from locality to locality and from lineages to lineages.

B. The 1911-1928 Crisis

Local gazetteers blamed the local disturbances of this period on the Triads. However, Hoi-p'ing history shows that the centre of the Triad activities were confined to market towns in the border areas of Hoi-p'ing, San-hing, Yan-p'ing and eastern T'oi-shaan. The lower T'aam River was more affected by fighting and looting of government forces than by the Triads. However, the two sources of disturbances in this period did combine to produce the 1911-1928 crisis in Hoi-p'ing history (K'ai-p'ing
Due to the strategic location, Hoi-p'ing suffered greatly as Warlord armies traversed the area and battled in it. For example in 1911, when the revolutionaries at Canton declared the independence of Kwangtung, the "People's Armies" occupied Ts'ong-sheng. Cheung-sha-t'ong, P'oon-ts'uen, Lau-kong, Ue-leung, Sz-kau, Sha-kong, Lung-t'ong and Cheung-k'iu. These "armies" took advantage of the situation to loot the places (ibid:182, 195).

From 1913 March, when Sun Yat-sen organized the Second Revolution against Yuan Shih-k'ai, up to the period when Lung Chi-kuang was transferred to the Hoi-naam Island, Hoi-p'ing was the battleground for pro-Yuan and anti-Yuan struggles (ibid:85-6). Again, late in 1917, when Sun Yat-sen organized the Constitution Protection Movement against Tuan Ch'i-jui, Lung Chi-kuang emerged from Hoi-naam Island, marched to the Lui-chau Peninsula, trying to capture Canton from Western Kwangtung. There was fighting in the lower T'aam River from Tik-hoi to Kongmoon.

In 1920, in Canton, there was a movement against General Mo Yung-hsin, a Kwangsi warlord who had been the Military Governor of Kwangtung since 1917. Li Yao-hon, the former Civil Governor, emerged from Makong, marched through Cheung-sha and Shui-hau and attacked Mo Yung-hsin's army in Kongmoon. The remnants of the Kwangsi army escaped to Shui-hau to loot the populace so much so that between 1920-23, the whole of the Shui-hau became a dead city.

In 1923, because of the quarrel between Sheng Hung-ying and the Yunnan warlords at Canton there were again fighting on the Hoi-p'ing soil. Li Yao-hon who now allied himself with Sheng Hung-ying was asked to attack Ts'ong-sheng. In the struggle, Lau-kong, Che-hom, Saam-kong, Cheung-sha and Shui-hau became battlegrounds in turn.
In 1924-5, during Chiang Kai-shek's expeditions against Ch'en Chiung-ming, Teng Ping-yin emerged from the Lui-chau Peninsula, entered Yeung-ch'un and Yeung-kong, sacked Yan-p'ing City and attacked Ts'ong-sheng. The civil war was again fought in Hoi-p'ing at Che-shui, Che-hom, Lau-kong, Shui-hau and Ue-leung. (ibid:187-199).

It was the need for the protection of life and property during these unruly years that led to the re-emergence of local military organizations among the people of Hoi-p'ing since the Hakka/Punti War. In the countryside, the inhabitants of each Hsiang organized themselves into a Hsiang-t'uan. In the market towns such as Shui-hau, Che-hom and Cheung-sha, the Chambers of Commerce organized Shang-t'uan for local defence (ibid:190, 196).

To co-ordinate local efforts throughout Hoi-p'ing, several bureaux were organized by the local elites together with the merchants and the gentry leaders residing in Hong Kong and Canton. For example, in 1911, the Hoi-p'ing Scholar-gentry Circle at Canton and the Hong Kong Hoi-p'ing Chamber of Commerce contributed money to establish the Hsien Defence Board with a Private Defence Corps to maintain law and order in Hoi-p'ing. This board was led by the Sz-t'о, the Ng, the Fong, the Kw'ong, the Kwaan, the Chau and the Cheung, with Tang Saam as the commander of the corps (ibid:185,186,191).

In 1918-9, Ng Ting-san, a Lau-kong native residing in Canton, had gone to America to ask for donations to build the First High School of Hoi-p'ing. Seeing the conditions of Hoi-p'ing, he also collected funds for the establishment of the Hsien Militia Headquarters (Tsung-chû) in Cheung-sha. This organization was led by the Cheung, the Kwaan and the Ng. The donations were such that the Tsung-chû could now employ mercenaries to maintain peace in Hoi-p'ing (ibid:187).
In 1927, the Hong Kong Hoi-p'ing Chamber of Commerce established the Association for the Defence of Hoi-p'ing in Hong Kong. Donations were collected from the emigrants in both North America and the Nanyang to help Hoi-p'ing to maintain order and security (ibid:190).

In 1928, with the failure of the Canton Commune, many of the participants under the leadership of T'aam Hung fled from Canton to T'o-t'ong. Ue T'ung-sun was then the acting Hsien-chang, he called upon the Hsiang and Merchants' Private Corps to co-operate with the garrison troops to gather at the Sz-kau market town to launch an all-out attack on T'o-t'ong. To this call, the Merchants' Militia as well as the Hsiang-t'uan of the Kwaan, the Sz-t'o, the Ng, the Chau, the Fong and the Tse responded. The Hong Kong Association for the Defence of Hoi-p'ing donated ammunition and money to this joint effort. The T'o-t'ong headquarters was finally wiped out in 1929 (ibid:198-9).

As can be seen from the above account, civil disorder in Hoi-p'ing had resulted in the formation of the Hsiang and Merchants' Private Defence Corps. The centres of co-ordination were at Cheung-sha, Ts'ong-sheng, Che-hom and Hong Kong. The corps were for the maintenance of peace and order. They were as much against the soldiers as they were against the bandits.

The T'o-t'ong riot of the late 1920's led to the growth of class consciousness among the elites of Hoi-p'ing. They banded together to protect life and property and to maintain law and order during those turbulent years. It was through their co-operation that the T'o-t'ong bandits were defeated in 1929. After that date, as will be seen in a later Chapter, they supported the government's move to establish a stronger police force, even if that meant weakening the lineage-controlled Private Defence Corps. By this move, they put their class interests
(to maintain peace and order in Hoi-p'ing for economic prosperity) above lineage interest (to ward off government interference).

DISCUSSION

1. **Skinner's Local Marketing System**

Skinner (1964-5 Part I:6-7, 20-31, 41-43) distinguishes between three types of periodic markets in rural China (viz. the standard market town, the intermediate market town and the central market town) in his attempt to describe the pattern of economic and social organization on the subadministrative level in China.

The standard market town is a type of rural market which meets the normal trade needs of the peasant household. Each standard market town serves a number of villages. It has a definite and recognizable area it regards as its own. It looks upon people of certain villages as its primary customers. In turn, it is regarded by these villagers as their own town.

Nonetheless, each standard market town is dependent upon two or three higher level market towns. A standard market town at the upper end of mountain valleys usually is dependent on a downstream intermediate market.

An intermediate market town serves the needs of the local elites of the standard market towns in the vicinity since it provides decorative items, clothes of quality etc. which are inaccessible in small market towns. Skinner emphasizes the exclusiveness of the intermediate market town to the local elites. He said, "Insofar as the intermediate market town is a social community, it is one which excludes both the peasantry and the bureaucrats. Representatives of local elites from the whole ring of surrounding market towns direct the affairs of the wider area served by the intermediate market town". It also served as
the centre for interclass dealings between the gentlemanly elite and the merchants of the market town itself". (ibid:42).

The central market town is normally situated at a strategic site in the transportation networks and has important wholesale functions. Its facilities are designed on the one hand to receive imported items and distribute them within its dependent areas and on the other to collect local products and export them to the other central markets or higher level urban centres (ibid 43, see also Masui Tsuneo:263-277).

The administrative hierarchy and the economic hierarchy did not coincide in China especially in the standard market town level. Only a minority of the intermediate market towns served as capital of a Hsien. But a clear majority of the central market town had such administrative functions. Because of this, the central market town was very often the scene of critical consultation between bureaucratic officials, gentry leader and leading merchants (Skinner 1964-5 Part I:43).

2. Local Defence System

Kuhn (82-83) had discovered a similar schema for the organization of local defence in China based on the yüeh.

The "Yüeh" originated from the system of public lectures in traditional China which were supposed to be held twice a month in a central place. The students, the gentry members or the local officials acted as speakers to instruct the local populace.

Later, the term was used to denote an association to promote inter-lineage or inter-village co-operation such as the maintenance of dikes, famine relief, public works, charity, local education etc.

In the middle of the 19th Century, local militarization became important in rural China for defence against bandits, pirates, secret societies and soldiers as well as for feuds. It was then that the yüeh became the basis of local militarization. The leaders of these units of
militarization were very often gentry who could transcend lineage bounds. These militarized yüeh were often known as "t'uan" or "t'ang" (ibid. 95, 169).

The t'uan (or t'ang) would in turn be part of a more inclusive confederation, known as a "she" or "chü". In times of widespread disturbances, these she (or chü) would organize themselves as "tsüng-she" or "tsüng-chü" (head bureau). These were often rich and influential enough to recruit and maintain a properly equipped armed force and even a mercenary force (ibid. 43, 65-70, 166-175).

According to Kuhn, such military organizations were independent of state supervision. They may ally with the state in face of banditry or rebellion but they were under the leadership of the local gentry (ibid. 67-8).


Granting that Skinner's local marketing system and Kuhn's local militarization system were representative of the sub-administrative social organization above the level of the lineage in rural South China, I now turn to one fundamental problem: did these systems converge? Stated schematically, the picture is as follows:

FIGURE VIII
Convergence of the Local Marketing System and the Local Militarization System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skinner's Marketing System</th>
<th>Kuhn's Militarization System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Market-town</td>
<td>Tsüng-she (Tsüng-chü)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate Market-town</td>
<td>She (Chü)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Market-town</td>
<td>Yüeh (T'uan, T'ang)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Problem: Did these two systems coincide?
Both Freedman and Brim are of the opinion that the area served by a yüeh does not coincide with a market town. According to Freedman (1966: 92-4) a yüeh is used by a strong lineage to lead its satellites against a strong neighbour in the same marketing area. Thus, some villages in the same marketing area are often deliberately excluded from a particular yüeh. Brim agrees with Freedman.

According to him, market towns is often the bone of contention for two yüeh in the vicinity. Thus a yüeh may centre in a market town, but it is just a faction in the power politics of the market. (Brim: "An outline of the Social Structure in the Yuen-long Area on the eve of the British Takeover" p.5-8; Brim 1971:27, ft.nt. 10).

Both Lamley and Kuhn on the other hand are of the opinion that market towns are centres of militarization. Lamley (14,30) holds that a market town very often houses headquarters of several lineages, and this is where inter-lineage alliances are planned and organized. Kuhn asserts that a she is located in an intermediate market town which is the centre for consultation among the gentry and the wealthy merchants. According to him, the very fact that the yüeh and the chü are multi-surname shows that port-cities and market-towns, which are gathering places for lineages in the vicinity, are centres of militarization. Moreover, market-towns are centres where religious and cultural activities are organized under the leadership of the elites of the elite lineages, there is thus every reason to believe that the power and influence of these elite lineages would be exerted through defence organizations incorporating the whole marketing area (Kuhn:82-7).

From the description of market towns, the accounts of Hoi-p'ing's topography, transportation lines and marketing schedules, it is clear that Ts'ong-sheng, Che-hom, Lau-kong, Cheungscha, Shui-hau, Lung-shing,
Sz-kau, Paak-hop, Hin-kong, Tung-shaan and Che-shui were the more important market towns (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:78,348). From conversations with my informants, I am certain that only Cheung-sha can be classified as a central market town, since it was the only centre for wholesalers who traded directly with the treaty port of Kongmoon. Ts'ong-sheng, though the capital, was an intermediate market town. It was not the centre of commercial activities (ibid.:346).

Granted all these, the question is: were these market towns of Hoi-p'ing the centre of the t'uan, the she and the tsung-she?

The data I have indicate that Kuhn's assertions hold true of Hoi-p'ing. During the Hakka/Punti War, both the Hakka and the Punti lineages formed themselves into confederations known as chu or t'ang, all centred in standard market towns or intermediate market towns such as Tung-shaan, Che-shui, T'aam-kai, Kam-oo, Che-hom, Ma-kong and Lau-kong. It was Ts'ong-sheng, the capital, and Cheung-sha, a central market town, which acted as the co-ordinating centres of these t'ang, chu and t'uan.

The same pattern repeated itself in the 1911-28 crisis. The Shang-t'uan were formed by merchants in Che-hom, Shui-hau and Cheung-sha. The Hsiang-t'uan were formed by the powerful lineages. Together they co-operated to maintain the peace and security of Hoi-p'ing. It was again Ts'ong-sheng and Cheung-sha which were headquarters of the tsung-chu.

SECTION IV: The Power Structure of Hoi-p'ing after 1930

A. Political Change after 1930

The power structure of Hoi-p'ing changed drastically after 1930 when an era of peace was inaugurated in the countryside. The source of change originated from Ch'en Chi-t'ang's 8 years' rule in Canton (1928-36) and was solidified after 1936 when Kwangtung came under the direct control of the Nanking Government.
(1) Some Traditional leaders became officials

In 1930-1, a formal structure was imposed upon the informal power structure in the countryside. The Pao-chia system was re-established. Some of the local leaders, the Hong Kong merchants and the Canton Scholar Gentry who had taken part in the defence of Hoi-p'ing were promoted to become government officials to be members of the Hsiang Kung-so, Ch'ü Kung-so, Chen Kung-so and the Hsien Consultative Assembly.

(2) Local Militarization Ended

Chen Chi-t'ang tried to convert the Hsiang-t'uan and the shang-t'uan to a police force controlled by the Hsien government. The Local Police Recruiting and Training Institute was established and military personnel were sent from Canton to Hoi-p'ing to co-ordinate the various private defence corps there. At the same time, the leaders of these corps were sent to Canton to undergo military and ideological training. The Department of Public Security was established at Ts'ong-sheng with branches at Che-hom, Paak-hop, Hin-kong, Che-shui, Cheung-sha and Shui-hau. (Source: Ch'en Chi-t'ang Chi-nien-chi:22, 48-9; K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:146, 200).

However, the re-organization of the Hsiang-t'uan was not complete. Members of the new police force were still recruited from candidates nominated by the lineage elites and the Chambers of Commerce. In 1936, when the Nanking government took over the control of Kwangtung, the Hsien Police Corps was completely under government control. It was completely trained, controlled and paid by Canton (Tseng:72-3).

(3) Peasant Movements and Labour Unions Curbed

The Peasant Movement in Hoi-p'ing was weak. Even when the Peasant Movement was tolerated by the KMT government in Canton, Hoi-p'ing remained unaffected. No Hoi-p'ing native studied in the Peasant Training
Institute, nor were they among those killed or wounded during the peasant uprisings in the West River area (Gruetter 1972:60-73, 84-5). The only evidence was the "T'o-t'ong Bandits" in Hoi-p'ing's local history. Apparently, these were not leaders of any widespread organization along class lines in Hoi-p'ing's countryside.

Nevertheless, because of the infiltration of Communist elements into the T'o-t'ong area in 1928, the authorities were so apprehensive of them that all the Peasant and Labour Movements were banned. By 1931, the KMT Party Office drew up a set of regulations concerning voluntary associations: All Chambers of Commerce, Occupation Unions, Students' Associations and Education Associations had to reconstitute and register with the government (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih, 196).

B. Pressure Groups in Hoi-p'ing after 1930

The subadministrative structure of Hoi-p'ing after 1930 was more complicated in view of the above developments. The local leaders were more class conscious through their joint attempts to fight the T'o-t'ong bandits and to improve the economy of Hoi-p'ing through road building projects and municipal development projects. Some of them joined the newly created government organs while others supported the government's move to demilitarize the Hsiang-t'uan and the Shang-t'uan and to strengthen the Police Corps against any possible revival of the T'o-t'ong riots. Moreover, owing to the increased pace of commercialization and the rapid development of processing industries in the 1920's and 1930's, Occupation Unions and Chambers of Commerce grew rapidly. This further complicated the sub-administrative structure of Hoi-p'ing.

(1) Occupation Unions

It is not known when trade and labour unions began in Hoi-p'ing. It is clear, however, that by March, 1931, there were already the
Labourers' General Union, the Cement Workers' Union, the Carpenters' Union and the Public Transportation Workers' Union (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:204-5). There were also the Butchers' Union, the Dressmakers' Union, the Machinists' Union, the Restaurant and Teahouse Workers' Union and the Wood Workers' Union (per. Com.).

These were not secret societies. They were legitimate unions, organs of public opinion. They took a piece-meal approach in their protests against government policies and personalities. They did not seek to replace the social order by means of revolution.

To give a few examples: after the Second World War, about 1946-7, the Butchers' Union was on strike against the Canton government's attempt to put a ceiling on the price of pork by refusing to kill pigs; the Woodworkers and the Dressmakers' Unions were on strike when the Canton government declared all employees' salaries were to be paid in terms of Chinese currency. They had lost faith in the Chinese Dollar and demanded that they should be paid in the form of rice (Per. Com).

(2) The Chambers of Commerce

The Chambers of Commerce movement in Hoi-p'ing started around 1907-8. The first one to be established was the one at Che-hom (1907) by Kwaan Shung-iu and Sz-t'o I-fung. By 1931, there were 11 Chambers of Commerce in Hoi-p'ing, viz. Che-hom, Shui-hau, Sha-chau, Che-shui, Tung-shaan, Chan-wa, Luk-on, Maau-kong, Ts'ong-sheng, Lau-kong and Cheung-sha Chambers of Commerce (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:88).

The Chambers of Commerce did not become an important force until 1923 when the Shang-t'uan were established in Che-hom, Cheung-sha and Shui-hau to defend the life and property of all the merchants against those who challenged the established social order.

When Ch'en Chi-t'ang came to power, the Sheung-t'uan were abolished.
In return, however, the Chambers of Commerce were given semi-government functions. For example, when the Hsien-chang dissolved the 3rd Hsien Consultative Assembly in 1929, the Chambers of Commerce at Cheung-sha, Shui-hau and Che-hom were given the duty of safe-keeping the bounty established by the Ts'ong-sheng government to reward anyone apprehending the T'o-t'ong bandits still at large. When the Sha-t'in Title Clarification Bureau was established in 1930, the representatives of all 11 Chambers of Commerce were to be part of the Bureau to investigate into education land titles (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:140,200).

According to one informant whose father had been the Chairman of the Che-hom Chamber of Commerce, the Chambers of Commerce bargained with the Chan-chang on matters of taxation. They also organized strikes and protests. Any tax-collector who wanted to look at the accounts of the shop-owners had to be accompanied by the Chairman of the Chambers of Commerce. Moreover, if the tax collector wanted to look into the workings of the occupation unions, he had first to ask the permission of the Chambers of Commerce.

After the Second World War, like the Hsiang Kung-so, the Chambers of Commerce re-established the Self-defence Corps to defend shopowners and peddlars against raids by policemen, bandits and soldiers and any "Communist" who might threaten the life and property of the merchants (Per.Com.).

(3) The Gentry-merchants as Spokesman of Hoi-p'ing
a) Local gentry-merchants

Those local-elites who had not been asked to join the Hsiang Kung-so, Ch'ü Kung-so, Chen Kung-so and the Hsien Consultative Assemblies very often served as leaders to defy both the government's taxation policy and corrupt government officials. For example, a Paak-hop
merchant Oo Yik-chau led the protest against the government's attempt to levy the Fortress Tax in 1924. He was successful. The Tax was cancelled (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:192). In 1929, when the government designated the Wing On Company as contractor to collect taxes from the cement factories, the local leaders protested and won the case (ibid:199). Again in 1930-31, the local leaders in Hoi-p'ing led a petition to Canton to complain about one Hsien-chang for his mishandling of the government's budget. He was relieved of duty (ibid. 205-6).

Notoriously corrupt Hsien-chang such as Lam Kwong-uen was removed in 1947 because of protests from the Hoi-p'ing local leaders. They together with the Hsiang-chang and some of the Pao-chang collected evidence of corruption and extortion and brought the Hsien-chang to trial at the Supreme Court at Canton. He was relieved of duty and sent to prison (Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao Dec. 1947:31).

b) Gentry-merchants from Hong Kong and Canton

The leaders of the Hoi-p'ing Scholar-gentry Circle at Canton and the Hong Kong Hoi-p'ing Chamber of Commerce who had done a lot to help the modern school movement also exerted considerable pressure on the various social and political issues of Hoi-p'ing.

In 1929, when Wong Hon-kwong advised the Civil Affairs' Department to stop opera performances in market towns on the ground that they were organized by the gamblers' rackets and were likely to cause civil disorder, he was seriously listened to. In 1927, Ng Ting-san suggested to the Hsien-chang to prohibit lineage members from borrowing without the signature and agreement of their elders and gentry leaders, his advice was followed. As will be seen in Chapter VI of this thesis, regulations were passed to that effect (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:204).

In the 1940's, the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce and the Hoi-p'ing
Scholar-gentry Circle in Canton joined hands in protesting to Canton against the Hsien-chang (Ma Pak-kung) because his policemen and soldiers often raided the villagers for army rations and robbed the people's property. In 1938, when the price of rice soared, the Hong Kong Hoi-p'ing Chamber of Commerce wrote the Finance Department of Kwangtung asking it not to tax imported rice and not to let local rice be exported so that the people of Hoi-p'ing could have enough to eat (Per. Com.).

From the above, it should be clear that while the government of Hoi-p'ing had the power to tax people and to nominate whomever they thought suitable to the various government posts, they could sometimes be forced to remove these policies and personalities once there were enough protests against them from influential circles.

CONCLUSION

Despite the fact that after 1930, more and more members of the local elites joined the local government organs and were thus, in the eyes of the average Hoi-p'ing peasant, co-opted by the Hsien government, there were other leaders, both at home and overseas, who were willing to act as spokesmen against misgovernment. The administrative base was not wide enough to incorporate all the influential personalities in Hoi-p'ing.

In the market-towns, the merchant leaders were more vocal than they were during the Ch'ing Dynasty. The labourers were more organized. But, as compared to other parts of China, they were still not vocal enough to be leaders of social and political reform movements or revolution. They only acted when their particular interests were at stake. Both the merchants and the workers were organized against taxes and levies as well as the interference of the police and the soldiers in their daily lives. Because there were not much oppositions to the domination of the merchants in the market-towns after 1930, class wars did not seem to be as intense.
as the struggle against the government and its forces.

In the countryside, the peasants did not organize themselves to any great extent across lineage lines after 1930 as to challenge the authority of the lineage gentry. They still looked up to the lineage gentry for leadership, especially those leaders who did not become civil servants.

Nevertheless, it is beyond doubt that there was a growth of class consciousness among the elite members of the lineages in Hoi-p'ing in the way they co-operated both economically and militarily. What effects this growth of class consciousness among the leaders of Hoi-p'ing had on the viability of the lineage as a principle of social organization will be examined in the light of my investigation of the Kwaan lineage as described in the remainder of this thesis.
CHAPTER IV - NOTES

1. I use the term "surnames" here instead of "clans" or "lineages" because it is not known whether people with the same surname are in fact members of a localized lineage, a dispersed lineage, a higher-order lineage or a clan. See the discussion section of Appendix II.

2. In traditional China, merchants and landlords, regardless of their own economic status, did not have the political and social status of the scholar-officials (Chu: 168-70, ft. nt. 6 & 8). Among the local scholar-officials, the holders of the hsiu-ts'ai degrees (sheung-yuan, kung-sheng etc.) were not as powerful as the chin-shih or the chü-jen. They were merely heads of commoners. Neither were those who bought degrees (li-kung-sheng) as prestigious in official eyes. But on the local scene the hsiu-ts'ai and the li-kung-sheng were also prestigious in the eyes of their humble lineage mates and in the local power structure. For this reason, they were taken into consideration when I tried to rank the various lineages in terms of prestige.

3. Lineage feuds was only one type of feuds. In the countryside, feuds mostly occurred in the form of inter-lineage quarrels, but in towns, feuds were fought between groups of lineages for control of the entire marketing area. In Taiwan as well as along the Fukien-Kwangtung border, there were Feuds between Provinces: the Kwangtung people fighting the Fukien people (Liu: 39-41).

4. The number of feuds recorded in the K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih and the Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao may not reflect reality. Records were only made when feuds were getting out of hand. In reality, inter-lineage feuds of a smaller magnitude could have occurred more frequently and among these, many could have been fought when strong lineages tried to dominate small lineages.
5. There were at least two detailed accounts on the causes and development of the Hakka/Punti War. The Punti biased record of the K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih (Vol. 21) and the Hakka biased record of Lang's. The accounts of Ho (166 ff), Hsiao (347-431) and Cohen are less detailed but more neutral.

6. It is interesting that the first Chamber of Commerce was not in Cheung-sha, a central market-town. This fact may have reflected the growing importance of Che-hom vis-a-vis Cheung-sha.

7. However undemocratic the KMT system of government was, the rule that any individual may bring complaints against any official to the administrative courts had often been enacted. Each year, there were about 3,000 to 4,000 complaints. About half were followed by some investigation (Chien:258, 267).
CHAPTER V
THE KWAAN OF HOI-P'ING: CLAN AND LINEAGE

Having outlined the sub-administrative structure of Hoi-p'ing in the last Chapter, I now turn to describe the fortunes of the basic unit of the sub-administrative structure - the lineage - under the impact of change. This Chapter serves as an introduction of the Kwaan of Hoi-p'ing: what was the origin and geographical spread of this surname group and whether this surname group was a clan, a higher-order lineage or a dispersed lineage.

SECTION I: The Power of the Kwaan Lineage of T'oh-fuk

Freedman distinguishes between two extreme types of localized lineages in South China: a homogeneous, undifferentiated lineage and a heterogeneous and highly differentiated lineage (1958:131-33). An undifferentiated localized lineage is one which is numerically small, had little or no corporate property. Its members are mostly peasants. There is not much socio-economic differences among them. Village elders usually serve as both ritual and political leaders. A differentiated lineage, on the other hand, is one which is numerically large. It usually holds land, has a large amount of corporate property. Its members vary greatly in socio-economic class. There are merchants, scholars, retired officials, large landlords in addition to the peasants, the artisans and the labourers. The elite are usually rich and powerful landlords, scholars and merchants instead of elders. They have important connections with the officialdom. Freedman believes that lineages in China ranges along a continuum, from an undifferentiated lineage which he terms "A" type to an extremely differentiated one which he terms "Z" type.

The Kwaan lineage of T'oh-fuk was towards the Z end of Freedman's
continuum, as I shall demonstrate below:

A. Involvement with the Government Hierarchy - The Ch'ing Period

The Kwaan captured many scholarly titles during the Ch'ing Dynasty especially from the Tao-kuang period onwards (mid. 19th Century). Of 60 Kwaan with scholarly titles during the whole Ch'ing Dynasty, 14 had become officials. Of these, five had performed great services to the state so much so that their fathers, grandfathers and paternal uncles were granted posthumous honours by the Ch'ing government. The highest office bearer among these scholars was Kwaan Ch'iue-tsung (a Ha Ts'uen native) who became a chu-jen in the Hsien-feng period and a chin-shih in the T'ung-chih period. He was made a member of the Hanlin Academy and served in the Tsungli Yamen. All my informants mentioned him as the glory of all the Kwaan in Hoi-p'ing.

Besides these 14 officials, there were also five Kwaan who had no scholarly titles but served as petty officials outside Hoi-p'ing.

Min-kuo Period

Between 1911 and 1930, 70 Kwaan had graduated from universities and post-secondary colleges outside Hoi-p'ing. Of these, 29 graduated from colleges in Canton, 26 in Peking, 7 in the United States, 3 in Japan, 2 in France (Lyons University project of Ch'en Chiung-ming's), 1 each in England, Shanghai and Hong Kong. Of these graduates, 11 became officials outside Hoi-p'ing and five served in Hoi-p'ing. Besides these graduates, traditional scholars and local talents among the Kwaan were also employed in the Hoi-p'ing government.

All in all, the Kwaan were well represented in the government of Hoi-p'ing. Of the 34 members of the 1st Hsien Consultative Assembly, one Kwaan acted as the Chairman and another Kwaan a member;
of the 28 members of the 2nd Hsien Consultative Assembly, one Kwaan was the chairman and three Kwaan were members; of the 8 members of the 3rd Hsien Consultative Assembly, one was a Kwaan; of the 20 members of the 4th Consultative Assembly, 5 were Kwaan; of the 7 Hoi-p'ing natives working in the KMT Party Office in 1926, 2 were Kwaan; of the 7 Hoi-p'ing natives working in the KMT Party Office in 1947-49, 3 were Kwaan. Of the 8 members working in the Hsien Mortgage and Property Tax Bureau, 2 were Kwaan; of the 6 members working in the Bureau for the Management of Hsien Finance, one was a Kwaan and he was the Chairman (K'ai-p'ing Hsien Chih: vols. 22, 23, 25-8).

B. As Spokesman of Hoi-p'ing

Ch'ing Period

Retired officials like Kwaan P'ooi-kwan, Kwaan Ch'iu-tsung and Kwaan Lim-fong were active in Hoi-p'ing itself, together with local scholars like Kwaan Tak-kei (li-kung-sheng), Kwaan Ting-kit (another li-kung-sheng) and Kwaan Wai-shing. Not only were they leaders of the Punti against the Hakka, they were actually representatives of the Punti people to the government during those critical years. For example, it was Kwaan Wai-shing and Kwaan P'ooi-kwan who represented Hoi-p'ing Punti lineages to discuss strategy with the Magistrate P'aang Hing-wan. And, it was Kwaan Ch'iu-tsung together with Cheung Yuk-lam and Sz-t'o K'ei who headed the delegation to Peking which argued against Magistrate Ch'euk Hing who suggested putting the Hakka back to Na-foo, Tung-shaan and Che-shui in 1864. Again in 1905, it was Kwaan P'ooi-kwan, Cheung Yuk-lam and Sz-t'o K'ei who headed another delegation to Sh'iu-hing to argue against the suggestion of the Garrison Commander Sham Ch'un-huen to put Hoi-p'ing under the
administration of Yeung-kong instead of Sh'iu-hing (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih: 180, 185, 227-9, 285, 291). In both instances, the petitions were successful. This was probably because the Kwaan, the Sz-t'o and the Cheung were powerful lineages and had many of their leaders holding posts in the government.

The Min-kuo period

The Kwaan were active as defence leaders against local disturbances in the 1911-1928 crisis. Kwaan Sz-lim, a kung-sheng during the Kuang-hsü period, was the vice-president of the Hsien Militia Headquarters in Cheung-sha. Kwaan Tso-ming, a Hsüan-t'ung li-kung-sheng, was the president of a T'ang in Che-hom in 1913. Kwaan Chuk-iu, a Kuang-hsü chü-jen, took an active part in the Hsien Defence Board at Ts'ong-sheng in 1911 to help defend the capital against the Peoples' Army (ibid: 182-199).

Among the Kwaan were also spokesmen for the people of Hoi-p'ing against the government. Kwaan Man-uen, for example, sued the Hsien-chang, Chan Wai-tok, for his mishandling of a murder case at Che-hom in 1912 while he was a student at the Peking University. Chan Wai-tok was relieved of duty soon afterwards. Kwaan Sz-uen, a Hsüan-t'ung li-kung-sheng, and Oo Hiu-ts'uen stood as the representatives of Hoi-p'ing at Canton. In March, 1915, they co-operated with the Hong Kong Hoi-p'ing traders such as T'aam Suen-t'ing and Wong Hon-kwong to head a petition to Canton against the Hsien-chang, Lau Him, for misgovernment. Lau Him was soon relieved of duty (ibid: 182-199).

C. Corporate Property

The Kwaan owned all the land in T'oh-fuk which comprised four Hsiang (viz. Ng-wing Heung, Chung-miu Heung, Lo-yeung Heung and
Ling-uen Heung). Although land in this part of the T'aam River was not particularly fertile, nor did it yield any cash crops, it was at least arable and yielded enough food to sustain the Kwaan until the end of the 19th Century (Per. Com.).

Outside T'oh-fuk, the Kwaan also had corporate property in the 2nd and the 6th Ch'ü. Informants could not tell me exactly how much corporate property the Kwaan had except that it was quite extensive. This was the Hakka land the Kwaan seized after the termination of the Hakka/Punti War in the mid. 19th Century. Most of this land was in the Kam-kai area, on the Hoi-p'ing - Yan-p'ing border. Similar to the Liao of Sheung-shui (Baker:171), it was rented to non-Kwaan lineages in the vicinity.

The Kwaan had Ha Fu (servile households) to farm their land. For example, in villages such as Cheung Ts'uen, there were 10 families of Ha Fu, surnamed Lau; in Ha Ts'uen, there were also ten families of Ha Fu surnamed Lai, Leung and Faan; in Sha-tei village, there were 3 or 4 families of Ha Fu surnamed Ts'ang and Wong; in Ha-pin, there were four families of Ha Fu surnamed Loh to serve the Kwaan. Like other powerful lineages in South China (Freedman 1966:9) these HaFu households, together with the labourers the Kwaan landowners employed from Yeung-kong, Yan-p'ing and Yeung-ch'un allowed the Kwaan to divert their energy to commercial and bureaucratic opportunities.

D. Commercial Wealth

Che-hom was one of the most important intermediate market towns in Hoi-p'ing. It was 35 li (about 12 miles) south-west of Ts'ong-sheng. Market days were held on every 3rd and 8th days of the lunar month. As can be seen from Map V, to the east of Che-hom was T'oi-
shaan, to the west was Ts'ung-long and Ue-leung, to the north was T'aam-k'ai (T'aam-pin-uen). A branch of the T'aam River linked Che-hom with Lei-ts'uen and Tong-hau Markets, another linked it with Sz-kau while a third branch linked it with Kau-p'ei-ch'ung through Hin-kong Market. To the south was the T'in-sam Market and Paak-hop Market.

Che-hom was built during the K'ang-hsi - Yung-cheng period (about the beginning of the 18th century). It was separated into Upper and Lower Che-hom after 1845 as a result of a serious feud between the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih: 22, 86).

Che-hom was one of the most important ferry ports of Hoi-p'ing as can be seen from the table below:-

**FIGURE IX**

**NUMBER OF FERRIES AT THE MARKET TOWNS OF HOI-P'ING (1911-1931)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Port</th>
<th>To Places Outside Hoi-p'ing</th>
<th>To Places in Hoi-p'ing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ts'ong-sheng</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Che-hom</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheung-sha</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kam-shaan</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shui-hau</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih: 81-3).

As can be seen from the above table, both Cheung-sha and Che-hom were important ports on the T'aam River. The K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih (348, 86) emphasizes the commercial importance of Che-hom. "The most flourishing years of Che-hom was after 1900. Although it was founded later than Cheung-sha and Shui-hau, its marketing area was wider. Goods from Lui-chau, Lim-chau, Ko-chau (Mau-meng) and Yeung-kong
such as sugar, livestock and peanut oil as well as salt from Na-foo (T'oi-shaan) were transported to Shui-hau, Kongmoon and Canton through Che-hom" (ibid:86).

My informants echoed this statement: Che-hom had a lot of ḫaam dealing with sugar, salt, fish, pigs, rice and oil, it also had stores dealing with timber and all kinds of construction materials, hardware, silverwares, drugs, imported tobacco, luxury articles and other imported groceries; Che-hom's business was not as good as that of Cheung-sha since steamboats could enter there, but, the 'marketing area' of Che-hom was bigger: fish, sugar, cows and pigs used Che-hom instead of Cheung-sha as wholesale centre.

All informants came to the conclusion that business was good in Che-hom because it was the distributing centre for Mooi-luk, Yeung-kong, Lui-chau, Yam-chau and Mau-meng. Even people from Canton came to buy there. Che-hom was attended by all sorts of people, especially busy was the livestock market held by the people from Yeung-kong. In addition, informants also pointed out that a lot of processing industries and handicraft work was going on in Che-hom such as the milling of rice, the refining of sugar, the processing and packaging of tea leaves, rolling tobacco leaves into cigarettes, extracting oil from peanuts, weaving hemp clothes, making bamboo utensils, salting fish, making leather bags, leather shoes and the butchering of livestocks.

From the above remarks, it was beyond doubt that Che-hom was the terminal point of the commercial-industrial zone of the Pearl River Delta. Beyond this point was the agricultural zone of Western Kwangtung which supplied raw materials to and received the finished products from the Pearl River Delta. As will be described in
Chapter X, Che-hom became more prosperous with the modernization of the market and the building of a network of modern roads. By the 1930's, there were about 1,000 shops in Che-hom (Per. Com.).

To demonstrate the magnitude of Che-hom, one had to look at Shum-chun Market of the New Territories of Hong Kong which had only 61 large shops and 323 medium shops and yet was regarded as an important intermediate market-town (Brim: "An Outline of the Social Structure in the Yuen-long Area on the Eve of the British Takeover" pp 1-4). Che-hom had 1,000 shops, so it must have been quite important when compared to other market towns in South China. By 1930, it was, like the Kau-kong Market of N'aam-hoi, a "miniature town rather than a rural market" (Hsiao 1960:22-23).

The Kwaan of T'oh-fuk established sole control of Upper Che-hom from 1845 onwards. The lineage grew in prosperity with the growth of Che-hom through its right to collect fees and levies of all kinds. Moreover, the control of Che-hom gave the Kwaan of T'oh-fuk a commanding voice over the surrounding market-towns such as Lei-ts'uen, T'aam-k'ai, Tong-hau and Oo-lung Markets. The Kwaan for instance, were among the founders of the Che-hom Chamber of Commerce. They took lead in the modern education movement and in defence organizations such as the Luen-po T'ong.

Among the Kwaan were very successful merchants. They monopolized the rice-milling concerns, which was one of the most important processing industries in Che-hom. Using rice imported from Yeung-kong and Yan-p'ing, the rice-mills owned by the Kwaan would mill the rice and send it to Kongmoon for export (Per. Com.). The Kwaan were also active in sugar-refining concerns as well as other processing indus-
tries. Even down to the 1940's, the Kwaan owned over half of the shops in Upper Che-hom and they had extensive business connections with Hong Kong and Canton through Kongmoon. In fact, there was a Kwaan's Pier in Canton. A private company used this pier to operate a ferry service which ran from Canton to Che-hom. The gentry members among the Kwaan were free of charge because of the business connections between the Kwaan of Hoi-p'ing and Canton (Per. Com.)

E. Numerical Strength

According to my informants, the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk by 1930 numbered 20,000. It must be among the most numerous lineages in Hoi-p'ing if this piece of information was matched with the population census of 1930 which also gave a breakdown of the number of people in Hoi-p'ing by Ch'ü as follows:-

FIGURE X

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ch'ü</th>
<th>No. of People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>39,690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>46,616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>47,204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>65,388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>30,391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>26,149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh</td>
<td>30,347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighth</td>
<td>45,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninth</td>
<td>38,647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenth</td>
<td>78,408</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:90).
From the above table, it is clear that the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk which boasted a number of 20,000, accounted for almost a third of the people in the 4th Ch'ü which was one of the most populous in Hoi-p'ing. In fact, the Kwaan could be considered one of the most numerous in South China judging from Hsiao's statement (330) that "Clans in Kwangtung and Fukien were large. Some boasted a membership of 10,000." The Kwaan of T'oh-fuk was boasting of twice this number! Moreover, the numerical power of the Kwaan was matched by political influence. Among the Kwaan were scholars, rich merchants, bureaucrats and gentlemen who, as has been demonstrated, served the government of Hoi-p'ing and at the same time acted as spokesmen of the people of Hoi-p'ing against the authority. Thus, in terms of numerical strength, scholarship, wealth and leaders of Hoi-p'ing, the Kwaan was one of the most powerful lineages in Hoi-p'ing.

SECTION II: Historical Origin and Geographical Spread of the Kwaan

The Kwaan originally came from Shensi Province. From there, a branch went to the Shiu-mo County of Fukien. This branch was led by King-kei Kung who was a Chin-shih in the Sung Dynasty. As an official, he lost favour with the Emperor because of an ill-timed advice and was subsequently exiled to Kong-chau (San-ooi). He retired to Taam-nga Heung in San-ooi by the beginning of the 14th Century. The 6th generation following King-kei Kung was Wing Kung. He was the first who came to Hoi-p'ing. He settled in the T'oh-fuk area and founded Taai-Ng Ts'uen around 1500 while a brother of his went to Kau-kong Heung of Naam-hoi (Per. Com., K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:317).

The Hei-um Shui-uen in Canton was one of the remaining relics of the founder of the Kwaan in Kwangtung. It was a place reserved for
residence for all the Kwaan in Kwangtung who went to Canton either to take their provincial examination or to board there temporarily. Informants knew about this place. B's uncle stayed there while bringing a lawsuit to the Supreme Court in Canton in 1932-33. E knew about the place when he was in Canton (1921-32), he participated in the rituals conducted there. According to him, Spring and Autumn Rites were performed by the Kwaan gentry members who happened to be staying in Canton. J boarded there with his brother when they were students in a high school in Canton in the 1950's. Mr. Kwaan I had stayed there for a night when he passed by Canton enroute to Hong Kong to come to Canada in 1953.

In the 1940's, the Kwaan of Hoi-p'ing were about 25 generations deep, counting from their founder: the 6th generation Wing Kung. 90% of them stayed around the T'oh-fuk area where they were grouped into four Hsiang, viz. Ng-wing Heung, Ling-uen Heung, Lo-yeung Heung and Chung-miu Heung.

A small number of the Kwaan had moved to Yeung-kong and another branch to Kau-p'ei-ch'ung on the Yan-p'ing - Hoi-p'ing border in the Fung-waan Heung - Waang-shek Heung area. It was in the 7th generation that the split took place (cir. 1530). Wing Kung had three sons: Uen-saam, Uen-luk, Uen-kau. Uen-saam went to Yeung-kong, Uen-luk moved to Kau-p'ei-ch'ung and Uen-kau remained in Taai-ng Ts'uen. Following the founding of the Kau-p'ei-ch'ung branch, some Kwaan from Lo-yeung Heung also moved there.

About 200 years ago, some of the Kwaan from Chung-miu Heung moved to the Ts'ung-long area and founded 6 or 7 villages, followed by others from Ling-uen Heung. This area was geographically
separated from T'oh-fuk by the Oo lineage of Ue-leung Heung.

Besides these three major areas - T'oh-fuk, Kau-p'ei-ch'ung and Ts'ung-long - there were also pockets of villages inhabited by the Kwaan in the midst of other prominent lineages in Hoi-p'ing. For example, there were two Kwaan villages known as Ngau-laan-tai and Kei-shing Lei in Yeung-lo Heung on the Hoi-p'ing - T'oi-shaan border, an area dominated by the Wong and the Ma of Paak-sha Heung.

SECTION III: Relationship of the Kwaan in Different Parts of Hoi-p'ing

This section will consider the relationship between the Kwaan in T'oh-fuk, Ts'ung-long, Kau-p'ei-ch'ung and Yeung-lo in an attempt to determine the mechanisms which draw people with the same surname in the same Hsien together.

A. Ritual Ties

In this section, I shall use the history of segmentation of four representative Ts'un in T'oh-fuk (viz. Cheung Ts'uen, Na-loh Ts'uen, Sha-tei Ts'uen and Ha-pin Ts'uen) to illustrate the system of ritual segmentation in T'oh-fuk as a whole. Next, I shall present the history of segmentation of the Kwaan villages outside T'oh-fuk so as to determine whether or not the Kwaan in Hoi-p'ing formed a higher-order lineage.

Ritual Ties among the Kwaan in T'oh-fuk

(1) Cheung Ts'uen

There were about 2,000 people in Cheung Ts'uen about 1940. It was founded by the 10 generation ancestor (cir. 1620). The ancestral hall established in honour of the founder (Ling-uen T'ong) was for the benefit of the people of the whole village. The 11th, the 13th, the
GEOGRAPHIC SPREAD OF THE KWAAN IN HOI-PING
FIGURE XI

The Migration History of the Kwaan in Kwangtung

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation Depth</th>
<th>Record of Segmentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Generation</td>
<td>King-hei Kung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(San-ooi Taam-nga Heung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cir. 1300)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Generation</td>
<td>Wing Kung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Hoi-p'ing Taai-ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ts'uen cir. 1500)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>? Kung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Naam-hoi Kau-kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heung cir. 1500)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th Generation</td>
<td>Uen-luk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Kau-p'eil-ch'ung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cir. 1530)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th Generation</td>
<td>Lo-yeung Heung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(cir. 1620)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chung-miu Heung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(cir. 1620)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ng-wing Heung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(cir. 1620)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15th Generation</td>
<td>Kau-p'eil-ch'ung Lo-yeung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(cir. 1780)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ts'ung-long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(cir. 1775)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chung-miu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(cir. 1775)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ts'ung-long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(cir. 1775)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ling-uen Heung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(cir. 1775)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14th generations ancestors had no ancestral halls in honour of them. Segmentation in Cheung Ts'uen began in the 15th generation. The 14th generation ancestor had six sons, the 1st, the 2nd and the 6th son all had ancestral halls in their honour.

In the 19th generation, the ancestral hall built in honour of the 1st fang (i.e. the Ch'oh-hou Kung-tsz) split into two segments. They were known as the Sam-shoh Ancestral Hall and the Tui-shoh Ancestral Hall. In the 22nd generation (cir. 1890) Tui-shoh was split into 2 more ancestral halls known as Leung-uet and Ts'ing-fan.

FIGURE XII

Segmentation in Cheung Ts'uen
The reason why there were no ancestral halls in honour of the 3rd, 4th and 5th sons of the 14th generation was that the whole of the 3rd fang of the 15th generation had moved to Yeung-kong while a majority of the 4th fang moved to Ha Ts'uen next to Cheung Ts'uen. The three remaining families of the 4th fang simply went to Ha Ts'uen to perform ancestral rites while the inhabitants of Ha Ts'uen would come over to Cheung Ts'uen to attend the Ling-uen T'ong.

The 5th fang had died off and their tablets were put into the I-t'sz which was attached to the Ch'oh-hon Kung-t'sz. This was usual with all the villages among the Kwaan. Whenever one branch had no descendants and failed to adopt sons, the tablets would be attached to the ancestral hall of the most prominent segment so that their departed souls could be worshipped too.

(2) Ha Ts'uen

In the 1940's, there were about 1,200 people and there were 3 ancestral halls and 4 shu-shih (study rooms). Of the three ancestral halls, one was attended by people of the whole village; the other two by people of the two major segments of the village. The four shu-shih were sub-branches of the two segments.

People from Sha-tei, Ha-pin, and Uen Ts'uen also came to attend the rites of the main ancestral hall in Ha Ts'uen and so did the 4th fang in Cheung Ts'uen. The people of Ha Ts'uen, on the other hand, went to Cheung Ts'uen to attend the rites conducted by Ling-uen T'ong. This practice was because Cheung Ts'uen was established earlier than Ha Ts'uen whereas people of Sha-tei, Ha-pin and Uen Ts'uen originally came from Ha Ts'uen.
(3) Sha-tei Ts'uen

There were two ancestral halls in Sha-tei known as the Ue-shan and the Kw'ai-yan Ancestral Halls. The first conducted Spring Rites on the 2nd day of the New Year. It was founded by the junior segment. The second conducted Spring Rites on the 6th day of the New Year. It represented the 1st fang of the village. This ancestral hall was very big and the Kwaan from other villages, even as far away as the Yeung-lo Heung, also went there for the rites. On the other hand, those who attended the Ue-shan Ancestral Hall also went to Ha Ts'uen to attend the Spring Rites. The village elders went to the Kwong-ue T'ong in Che-hom on the 14th day after the New Year.

Since Sha-tei was five minutes walk from Che-hom, it was heterogeneous in population structure. It included among its inhabitants people from Ling-uen Heung, Ng-wing Heung, Lo-yeung Heung and Chung-miu Heung. Thus, people from this village, besides attending either the Ue-shan or the Kw'ai-yan Ancestral Hall also went elsewhere for the Spring Rites.

(4) Ha-pin Ts'uen

Ha-pin had two ancestral halls each representing a different fang in the village. The people of Ha-pin went back to Ha Ts'uen to attend the Annual Spring Rites because they were originally from there.

(5) Na-loh Ts'uen

There were two surname groups in Na-loh - the Oo and the Kwaan. The Kwaan occupied 10 alleys and the Oo, 6 alleys. There were two ancestral halls in the village: the small one for the Oo and the bigger one for the Kwaan.

The Kwaan of Na-loh went to attend the ancestral rites in other villages while the elder members went to the Kwong-ue T'ong
to take part in the Spring and Autumn Rites. On the other hand, however, no one from other villages went to Na-loh to attend the ancestral hall there.

CONCLUSION

One can deduce from the above data that in T'oh-fuk, ancestral halls did not confine ritual membership to people of one village. The ritual hierarchy was complicated and interlocking. Those who migrated to another village went back to their village of origin to attend the rites. If this pattern was true of all the villages there, one can perhaps tell the relative generation depth and migration history of each village by investigating into the membership of ancestral halls in the village.

In fact, further investigation shows that the four Hsiang of T'oh-fuk roughly coincided with the four segments of the Kwaan lineage. Each of them had its own major ancestral hall. The ritual centre of Ng-wing Heung, for example, was the ancestral hall at Taai-ng Ts'uen; the ritual centre of Chung-miu Heung was the ancestral hall at Taai-lung Ts'uen; the ritual centre of Lo-yeung Heung was the ancestral hall at Lo Ts'uen; the ritual centre of Ling-uen Heung was the ancestral hall at Cheung Ts'uen (i.e. Ling-uen T'ong). Each of these four ancestral halls had corporate property to sustain the rituals. The elders and gentry members of these four ancestral halls also attended the Spring and Autumn Rites at Che-hom's Kwong-ue T'ong which owned the land at Upper Che-hom.

When asked why the main ancestral hall of the Kwaan was at Che-hom and not in Taai-ng Ts'uen which was the first village founded by Wing Kung in 1500, one informant answered, "This is because Che-hom
was more important. It was easier to reach by ferry and bus. Moreover, the ancestral hall at Taai-ng Ts'uen was too limited and its corporate wealth was not enough to sustain the rituals for so many Kwaan in T'oh-fuk".

Ritual Ties Between The Kwaan at T'oh-fuk and the Kwaan in other Parts of Hoi-p'ing.

(1) The Kau-p'ei-ch'ung Branch

Outside T'oh-fuk, there was another settlement with an elaborate ancestral hall. It was at the Kau-p'ei-ch'ung Market. As has been said, the Kau-p'ei-ch'ung branch was founded by Uen-luk around 1530. That was the ancestral hall in honour of him, with corporate property to sustain the rituals.

While there were about 20,000 Kwaan in T'oh-fuk, there were only about 300 to 400 Kwaan in Kau-p'ei-ch'ung which was separated from T'oh-fuk by over 30 li (11 miles).

Of the 20 villages in Kau-p'ei-ch'ung, the Kwaan only occupied 4 before 1880. Since that date, however, some of the Kwaan from Lo-yeung Heung migrated there. By the 1940's the Kwaan already occupied 7 villages there. The Uen-luk Ancestral Hall was the only hall for these 7 villages. The elders from this area went to Lo Ts'uen in Lo-yeung Heung and to Kwong-ue T'ong at Che-hom to perform rites but they had no right to get the ritual meat since they had no claim in the corporate property of Lo-yeung Heung or on the T'oh-fuk Kwaan lineage as a whole. No one from the T'oh-fuk area came to Kau-p'ei-ch'ung's Uen-luk ancestral hall to perform rites.
(2) The Ts'ung-long Branch

In Ts'ung-long Heung, there was a group of 6 to 7 villages founded 180 years ago by the Kwaan from Chung-miu Heung and Ling-uen Heung. In the 1940's, there were about 150-200 people in each village. These villages were called "she" and not "ts'un". They were about two hours' walk from Che-hom and were separated from T'oh-fuk by the Oo lineage at Ue-leung Heung, the Chau lineage at Hin-kong and the Wong lineage at Paak-hop.

Lung-tsai She, one of the villages, had about 200 people: the Tang and the Kwaan had each 90 souls and the Wong about 15. The Kwaan lived at the village head, the Tang in the middle and the Wong at the village tail. They lived in segregated areas of the village. It is not known where the Tang and the Wong came from, but the Kwaan founder in this village was Yan-waang Kung who came from Na-loh village about 160 to 170 years ago when the latter village had become over-populated.

The Kwaan at Lung-tsai She, Ts'ung-hing She as well as other Kwaan villages at Ts'ung-long all went to T'oh-fuk for the Spring and Autumn Rites. They attended Taai-lung Ts'uen or Cheung Ts'uen's ancestral hall and shared the ritual meat depending on whether their ancestors came from Chung-miu or Ling-uen Heung. The gentry and elders from Ts'ung-long attended the rites at Kwong-ue T'ong in Che-hom and were entitled to the ritual meat there.

(3) The Yeung-lo Branch

In Yeung-lo Heung, the two Kwaan villages (Kei-shing Lei and Ngau-laan-tai) were about 6 to 7 generations deep. Kei-shing Lei had one ancestral hall with no corporate property attached to the hall. They went back to Sha-tei and Cheung Ts'uen to attend the
annual rites and their village elders went to Kwong-ue T'ong to take part in the worship there, but they had no right to claim the ritual meat in Sha-tai, Cheung Ts'uen or Kwong-ue T'ong.

**SUMMARY: Ritual Segmentation among the Kwaan**

There was no ancestral hall or corporate property belonging to the Kwaan of Hoi-p'ing as a whole. T'oh-fuk was the seat of a localized Kwaan lineage with Kwong-ue T'ong as the ritual centre and the 4 Hsiang were its major segments, each having its own corporate property and ancestral hall.

The Kwaan at Ts'ung-long and the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk formed a higher order lineage. The Kwaan at Ts'ung-long attended the rites at Kwong-ue T'ong and also the rites of one of the four Hsiang at T'oh-fuk where their ancestors came from. At the same time, there was no ancestral hall with corporate property for Ts'ung-long Kwaan as a whole.

The Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung did not form a higher order lineage with the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk. It was a localized lineage and had a ritual centre of its own with corporate property. Although the elders attended the rites at T'oh-fuk, they did not have a share in the ritual meat or the corporate property owned by the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk. Their relationship with T'oh-fuk was close. They were linked geneologically and historically, had co-operated in more ways than one. Still they were more of a clanship relationship as far as ritual expression was concerned.

The relationship between the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk and the Kwaan at Yeung-lo is harder to classify. They had no ancestral hall of their own and yet they did not form a higher-order lineage with the
T'o-h-fuk Kwaan since they had no claim on the ritual meat at Kwong-ue T'ong or the ancestral halls of the four Hsiang at T'o-h-fuk. Like the Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung, their attendance of the rites at Che-hom was "diplomatic", probably motivated by the fact that Che-hom was one of the major economic and political centres of Hoi-p'ing.

The Kwaan at Yeung-kong were also linked with the Kwaan at T'o-h-fuk geneologically. But, unlike the Kwaan at Yeung-lo and Kau-p'ei-ch'ung, they did not even attend the rites at Kwong-ue T'ong nor did they co-operate with the Kwaan at T'o-h-fuk in any projects. Even more remote was the connection of the Kwaan at T'o-h-fuk and the Kwaan in Naam-hoi or the rest of Kwangtung, although the Hei-om Shue-uen served as a symbolic reminder of their common founder. Like many clan associations in Kwangtung (Makino Tatsumi:90,109), Spring and Autumn Rites were performed in the Hei-om Shue-uen by the Kwaan gentry in Kwangtung who happened to be in Canton, but the ceremony was simple: no ritual meat was divided and the Hei-om Shue-uen owned no land.

B. Economic Ties

The Kwaan in T'o-h-fuk worked or attended Che-hom as their standard market town. This did not mean that Che-hom was closest to their respective villages than other market-towns. In fact, inhabitants of Ha Ts'uen and Cheung Ts'uen were nearer to Tong-hau Market and Lau-kong Market than they were to Che-hom. The reason given by my informants was simply that Che-hom was the market-town for the Kwaan lineage. Moreover, since the building of the T'o-h-fuk Public Road, it was very easy to go there by bus.

The Kwaan at Ts'ung-long were two hours' walk from Che-hom. They attended the T'in-sam Market as their standard market and Che-hom
as the intermediate market, although they were nearer to Hin-kong Market (controlled by the Oo). This was because wholesalers from Cheung-sha went to Che-hom to do business and prices were cheaper there. But people from Ts'ung-long did not as a rule invest in Che-hom. They only bought and sold there and collected overseas remittances from there. The building of the Ngau-hin-t'ung Public Road which linked Ngau-min-sha, Hin-kong and Taai-t'ung Markets meant that they could travel to Che-hom by bus in less than half an hour.

The inhabitants of Kau-p'ei-ch'ung attended Kau-p'ei-ch'ung Market as their standard market and the Kam-kai Market (Yan-p'ing) as their intermediate market town. Before the 1920's, the Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung did not invest, buy or sell in Che-hom. However, in 1923, the Taai-t'ung Market was founded. The Kau-p'ei-ch'ung Market dissolved itself and the Kwaan simply moved their shops to the Taai-t'ung Market. Since then, they monopolized the transport of cows from Yeung-kong and Yan-p'ing and salt from Na-foo (T'oi-shaan) to Che-hom. This, together with the building of the two major roads - Ngau-hin-t'ung and Ts'ai-hin-t'ung - led to very close economic links between the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk and the Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung.

The Kwaan at Yeung-lo was more than 10 li (3 to 4 miles) away from Che-hom. They attended the Sha-chau Market as their standard market and Paak-sha Market (T'oi-shaan) as their intermediate market. They did not invest, buy or sell at Che-hom. Overseas remittances sent to the Kwaan at Yeung-lo Heung went through Paak-sha Market.

After the construction of the Sha-im-paak Public Road in the 1920's, the very rich people from Yeung-lo went to Che-hom for
luxury goods. But, the building of this public road on the whole did not improve the economic relationship between the Kwaan at Yeung-lo and the Kwaan at Che-hom since it was the Wong and the Ma who dominated trade in this area.

DISCUSSION

While Che-hom served as the standard market to the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk it was the Ts'ung-long Kwaan who attended Che-hom as an intermediate market before the age of road building. The Yeung-lo and the Kau-p'ei-ch'ung Kwaan seldom attended Che-hom. In Freedman's language, (1966:23-5) the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk and the Kwaan at Ts'ung-long belonged to the same "vicinage" using Che-hom, an intermediate market, as the centre. The fact that wholesalers from Cheung-sha, a central market town, went to Che-hom to offer cheaper prices induced peasants and small store owners to market more often at Che-hom which offered a great variety of goods at lower prices. At the same time, the farmers at Ts'ung-long found it feasible to market their produce directly at Che-hom, taking advantage of the higher buying power. It was such economic ties which had kept the ritual relationship between the T'oh-fuk Kwaan and the Ts'ung-long Kwaan so close. After the founding of the Taai-t'ung Market in 1923, and the building of roads in the 1920's, the relationship between the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk and the Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung became closer.

This development among the Kwaan in Hoi-p'ing supports Skinner's theory (1964-5 Part II:214) that marketing activities usually shift from standard to higher level markets in the course of modernization. However, Skinner's belief (ibid:37-41) that bonds between localized lineages in different marketing communities tend to erode with time does not apply to the Kwaan in Hoi-p'ing. The Kwaan at Ts'ung-long
and the Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung had strong ties with the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk although they belonged to different marketing communities and were geographically separated from the T'oh-fuk Kwaan by other lineages.

The reason why Skinner's theory does not apply to the Kwaan is perhaps because of the importance of the T'aam River to the economic life of the lineages in Hoi-p'ing. The Kwaan at Che-hom could not ignore the Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung and Ts'ung-long or to draw themselves away, since they needed to command the trade route from T'oi-shaan, Yeung-kong and Yan-p'ing. They needed to expand their economic horizon to survive, since corporate land alone was not enough to maintain the Kwaan there as a prominent lineage in the 20th Century. At the same time, the Kwaan at Ts'ung-long and Kau-p'ei-ch'ung were attracted to the central position of Che-hom.

C. Administrative Links

(1) Before 1929, Sz-heung Kung-yeuk

Before 1929, the Kwaan of T'oh-fuk had a Sz-heung Kung-yeuk in Che-hom with Kwong-ue T'ong attached to it as the lineage headquarters of the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk. The term yeuk (yueh) here referred to a building attended by the Hsiang gentry from Lo-yeung, Ng-wing, Chung-miu and Ling-uen Heung to regulate lineage affairs.

The Kung-yeuk (Kung-yueh) and the Kwong-ue T'ong were in fact diplomatic centres between the Kwaan lineage and other lineages as well as between various branches of the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk on matters such as the management of ancestral hall property. They were also the court of appeal to regulate violent conflicts between lineage members in matters such as inheritance.

This yueh-so was the basic unit of militarization during the
Hakka/Punti War. Each of the four Hsiang formed into a t'uan and the yüeh-so co-ordinated these Hsiang-t'uan. The yüeh-so in turn formed the Luen-po T'ong with the Sz-t'o at Che-hom to fight the Hakka in 1853. The Maan-ts'uen Kuk formed by the Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung with the Lei at Kam-oo co-operated with the Luen-po T'ong. Kwaan Wai-shing, a T'oh-fuk gentry, started a tsüng-chü in Kam-kai Market and stayed there for eight years (1853-61) (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:288).

**FIGURE XIII**

*Local Militarization of the Kwaan in Hoi-p'ing (1851-1863)*

```
Tsüng-chü
(Kam-kai Market)

Maan-ts'uen Kuk
(Kam-oo)         Luen-po T'ong
                  (Che-hom)

Lei         Kwaan
(Kam-oo)     (Kau-p'ei-ch'ung)

Kwaan
Sz-heung Yeuk-shoh
(Che-hom)

Sz-t'o
League
(Kaaau-tai)

Lo-yeung
Heung-t'uen

Ling-uen
Heung-t'uen

Chung-miu
Heung-t'uen

Ng-wing
Heung-t'uen
```
Military organization among the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk during the 1911-28 crisis was the same as during the Hakka/Punti crisis. Local Defence Corps of the Kwaan there was run by the main ancestral halls of each of the 4 Hsiang in T'oh-fuk while the Sz-heung Kung-yeuk coordinated the Hsiang-t'uan. Outside T'oh-fuk, however, the Hsiang-t'uan was not controlled by the Sz-heung Kung-yeuk during the 1911-1928 crisis. For example, in Ts'ung-long, the Kwaan was part of the Ts'ung-long Heung-t'uen. It was not under the direction of the gentry of the Ling-uen Heung or Chung-miu Heung from whence they came. Likewise, the Yeung-lo Heung-t'uen had no connection with the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk: it was led by the Chue, the Cheung and the Sz-t'o at Sha-chau Market. In Kau-p'ei-ch'ung, the Kwaan formed the Waang-shaan Heung-t'uen and were independent of T'oh-fuk in all its actions.

**COMMENTS**

The form of militarization among the Kwaan in Hoi-p'ing in the period between 1911 and 1928 shows that higher-order lineages were not utilized as a unit of militarization as much as multi-surname associations of lineages living in close proximity. One possible reason is that social disturbances were affecting the whole of Hoi-p'ing during the 20th Century whereas the Hakka/Punti War merely affected the Hoi-p'ing - Yan-p'ing - T'oi-shaan border areas, leaving the middle and lower courses of the T'aam River untouched. This widespread disturbances in Hoi-p'ing between 1911-28 must have led to the formation of multi-lineage associations on a regional basis and thus contributed to the growth of class consciousness among the elites of the various lineages living in proximity to one another.
(2) After 1930 - Sz-heung Kung-shoh

By 1929, the Kwaan in T'oh-fuk numbered 20,000 and they were in a good bargaining position with the Hsien government because of their powerful Hsiang-t'uan which the government needed to wipe out any remnants of the T'o-t'ong bandits. A series of negotiations was actually held between the Hsien-chang and the Kwaan gentry such as Kwaan Wing-t'ong, Kwaan K'am-shek and Kwaan Shung-taat when Ch'en Chi-t'ang came to power in Canton. The Hsiang-t'uan was disbanded and the Sz-heung Kung-yeuk was changed to the Sz-heung Kung-shoh empowered not only to direct the internal affairs of the lineage itself but also to perform given administrative functions. The leaders agreed to the disbanding of the Hsiang-t'uan possibly because of their desire for law and order and for the protection of their own property which was threatened during the 1911-1928 crisis.

From 1929 onwards, the Sz-heung Kung-shoh centred in Che-hom represented the political headquarters of all the Kwaan in Hoi-p'ing, except in matters of defence and security. Whatever quota, be it tax quota, labour or conscription, the government assigned to the Kwaan would go through the Sz-heung Kung-shoh, the Hsiang gentry working there would divide the quota among the inhabitants of the 4 Hsiang. This included the Kwaan who had moved outside T'oh-fuk. The Hsiang-chang of Chung-miu Heung working in the Sz-heung Kung-shoh, for example, claimed jurisdiction over the Kwaan at Ts'ung-long and Yeung-lo Heung, although in fact there was a Yeung-lo Heung-kung-shoh in Sha-chau Market and a Ts'ung-long Heung-kung-shoh in T'in-sam Market. In the same way, the Hsiang-chang of Ling-uen Heung claimed jurisdiction over the Kwaan in Ha-pin which was near Paak-hop
while the gentry member of Ha-pin went back to Ha Ts'uen for consultation in important village matters.

Such administrative arrangements were at times beneficial to the individual Kwaan. Although it was not known how much more immunities from taxation the lineage elites in the Sz-heung Kung-shoh themselves or their underlings had as compared to the ordinary Kwaan member, nonetheless, from the data of my field work, it is quite certain that the average Kwaan was in a more favourable position than his non-Kwaan neighbours in terms of tax payment. For example, I was told that they did not have to pay land or head taxes owing to the influence of the village gentry. The Hsien government periodically sent representatives to the ancestral halls to collect army rations. But the payment was not regular. The people of Sha-tei did not have to pay taxes except during war time when the landowners had to send "nin-leung" (annual levies) directly to the Department of Public Security at Che-hom.

These benefits experienced by members of the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk were also extended to the Kwaan at Ts'ung-long. For example, in Ts'ung-hing She, no taxes were ever paid to the government (either land taxes or head taxes) because of the powerful influence of three local leaders who lived in Che-hom and who had certain relationships with the government through the Sz-heung Kung-shoh.

The relationship between the Sz-heung Kung-shoh and the Kau-p'ei-ch'ung Kwaan was not as intimate. Kau-p'ei-ch'ung had a Hsiang Kung-so of its own at the Kau-p'ei-ch'ung Market dominated by the Kwaan there. But in important matters, those gentry who came from Lo-yeung Heung would go to the Sz-heung Kung-shoh for discussion.
This, I think, is because Che-hom had important administrative functions for the whole of Hoi-p'ing. There was a branch office of the Department of Public Security in Che-hom in 1930. This market town was also the main office of the Sha-t'in Titles Clarification Bureau in 1924; the Education Department in 1911-1927; the Hsien Land Registration Office in 1930-32; Fortress Tax Bureau (1925) and the KMT Party Office from 1926 onwards. The Kau-p'ei-ch'uang, Yeung-lo and Ts'ung-long Heung-kung-shoh could not compare with the Sz-heung Kung-shoh at Che-hom in power and prestige.

Moreover, as have been described in the early part of this chapter, the Kwaan of T'oh-fuk also served in the various government organs such as the Hsien Consultative Assemblies, the KMT Party Office, the All Hsien Mortgage and Property Tax Bureau etc. I think it is such power and prestige as well as the economic and political importance of the Che-hom which attracted all the Kwaan in Hoi-p'ing. They acknowledged the Kwong-ue T'ong as the ritual centre in spite of geographical separation.

CONCLUSION

I see ritual ties as symbolic expressions of economic and political ties between different branches of a lineage. Ritual ties may precede economic and political ties, but the latter sustain ritual ties once they are established.

All the Kwaan in T'oh-fuk acknowledged the Kwong-ue T'ong as the ritual centre and Che-hom as the economic centre of the lineage. Ts'ung-long was economically, administratively and ritually an integral part of the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk. The economic and ritual links between the Kwaan at Yeung-lo and the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk were
weak but were sustained by the administrative ties because of the protective umbrella offered them by the Sz-heung Kung-shoh. Kau-p'ei-ch'ung's ritual ties with T'oh-fuk was weak from the start, but these were strengthened in the 1920's because of the reciprocal economic relationship between Che-hom and the Taai-t'ung Market and because of the growing political importance of the Sz-heung Kung-shoh.

The Kwaan at Yeung-kong, Naam-hoi and other parts of Kwangtung had no ritual connections with the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk not only because of geographical separation, I think, but also because their connections had not been sustained by economic and political ties.
1. By Ha Fu is meant the servile households living in the village of a powerful lineage. They stayed in the houses provided by their masters in the village and had to serve their masters without wages. Their positions were inherited. The presence of Ha Fu households in powerful lineages was a common phenomenon in South China. Freedman notices that in one district of Kwangtung, out of a total of 10,000 people 30% were Ha Fu (Freedman 1966:10). Baker (155-61) believes that the presence of Ha Fu in the lineages was a symbol of wealth and power in traditional China.

The best known sources on Ha Fu is Wang's article (48-49). He compares them with Roman slaves but believes that they were much better off than slaves because they had the freedom to engage in non-farming occupations. According to him, during the early Min-kuo period, there was a proposal to emancipate the Ha Fu of Kwangtung, but nothing was done (ibid:49) until after 1949.

2. The term laan means wholesale markets dealing with foodstuffs. Small dealers bought from these laan for retailing purposes in their own market towns in traditional and modern China (Masui Tsuneo:278, 280). The appearance of laan in Che-hom shows that this market-town was on its way to becoming a modern town with permanent business establishments.

3. The term T'oh-fuk must have been used because of the existence of the T'oh-fuk T'ung during the Ch'ing Dynasty as an unofficial court in this area. See also Brim's article "An Outline of the Social Structure in the Yuen-long Area on the Eve of the British Takeover" (pp.8-12) for the functions of a t'ung.

4. I do not know whether there were any other villages in Hoi-p'ing
inhabited by the Kwaan. I learnt about these two villages simply because N came from one of them.

5. Kwaan Chung was the eldest son of the 14th generation. He was a kung-sheng during the Ch'ing Dynasty. He was made an official in Hunan. When he retired home, he gave away half of his inheritance to his youngest brother (6th fang) who was an illegitimate, not entitled to inheritance. The ancestral hall in honour of Kwaan Chung was known as the Kwaan Noi-hon T'.sz or Ch'oh-hon Kung-t'sz with the inscription written by his famous brother-in-law Yung Chiu-mong. A lichee tree was given to Kwaan Chung as a present from his friend and colleague, a Ts'ang-sheng native, for his virtue and hospitality (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:271-2). That tree was still growing in Cheung Ts'uen. (Per. Com.).

6. According to my informants, shu-shih was the same as an ancestral hall only that it was smaller and attended by fewer people. Watson (1972:23) also found some study halls in San-t'in, New Territories of Hong Kong. These were set up by the lower segments of the Man lineage. There were no ancestral tablets. According to Masui Tsuneo (98), a shu-shih was built by one donor for himself during his life-time. The shu-shih would be known as a T'sz-t'ong (ancestral hall) once the donor was dead and his descendants began to worship him there.

While these various descriptions of study halls need not be exclusive of one another, it is difficult to arrive at the exact definition of the term shu-shih, the denotations of which vary from locality to locality in Kwangtung.
7. The hua-ch'iao who lived in the New Villages also followed the same pattern of going back to their village of origin for Spring and Autumn Rites. See Chapter XII of this thesis.

8. Here, the 'she' was used to denote a small village which was very loosely organized. The term therefore did not have the same connotation as the multiplex military organization described by Kuhn.

9. None of my informants knew why the Yeung-lo people had no claim on the corporate property of the T'oh-fuk Kwaan. But this arrangement happened in at least one other lineage described by Hu: the Chen lineage of Hupei. Some members of the Chen lineage there had moved away and lost their geneology for 200 years. Then the main branch of the Chen permitted them to be admitted to the ancestral rites but not to any benefits of the ritual land or the education land (Hu 1948:45).

10. It is possible that Kau-p'ei-ch'ung and T'oh-fuk Kwaan had gone through a process of lien-tsung described by Hu (19-20).

11. When I interviewed Kwaan L and M and asked where they came from, they told me they came from Lung-tsai She and Ts'ung-hing She respectively. When asked where those two places were, they said that they were in Ts'ung-long which belonged to Chung-miu Heung, although Chung-miu Heung and Ts'ung-long Heung were two separated places 6 li (over 2 miles) apart. This showed how the Kwaan outside T'oh-fuk still identified themselves with T'oh-fuk's 4 Hsiang.

12. It was not unusual for powerful lineage elites to protect their own members or smaller lineages in the neighbourhood and softened the government's demand of taxes on their protégé (Liu:9-10; Freedman 1958:111-113; 1966:9-10).
CHAPTER VI

THE KWAAN AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

In the last Chapter, I have described the Kwaan lineage as a basic unit of social organization in Hoi-p'ing. In this Chapter, I shall discuss the pattern of interaction of this social unit with others of the same nature in order to show how lineage as a principle of social organization operated in the history of Hoi-p'ing.

This Chapter will commence with the geographical distribution and power of the Kwaan's neighbouring lineages, to be followed by an account of their interactions with the Kwaan. The reader is advised to refer to Appendix II and Maps XI & XII for the detailed description of the geographical spread of the most important lineages in Hoi-p'ing.

SECTION I: The Power of the Kwaan's Neighbouring Lineages

A. The Tang at Oo-lung

The Tang at Oo-lung Heung of the 7th Ch'ü were separated from the Kwaan of T'oh-fuk by the T'aam River. They attended the Oo-lung Market as their standard market and Che-hom as the intermediate market. The Tang were not active during the Ch'ing period or the Min-kuo period, except that Tang Saam was made the leader of the Hoi-p'ing People's Private Corps in 1911 and he became the Hsien-chang of Hoi-p'ing in 1921 (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:148,182,188,376).

B. The Tse at T'aam-pin-uen

The Tse at T'aam-k'ai Heung (T'aam-pin-uen) of the 3rd Ch'ü attended T'aam-k'ai Market as their standard market and Che-hom as their intermediate market. They had been a well-known lineage before the Min-kuo period. During the Ming Dynasty, they built the famous
Woh-lim Dam which irrigated wide stretches of land. Among the Tse were regular and irregular title holders during the Ch'ing Dynasty. During the Min-kuo period, however, they did not play a very important role in Hsien affairs.

C. The Fong at T'ong-hau

The Fong were concentrated in Koo-chaak of the 3rd Ch'ü. They attended the T'ong-hau Market as their standard market town and Che-hom as their intermediate market. They were not as numerous nor as prestigious as their brethren in Tung-shaan, Che-shui of the 6th Ch'ü. They were not well reputed for scholarly titles. However, their Hsiang-t'uan had been active in keeping the peace of the area from bandits in 1911-28.

D. The Lei at Fooi-kong

Near the Fong in the 3rd Ch'ü were the Lei. They were numerous in Fooi-kong of the 3rd Ch'ü with the Yeung and the Chau. They were not as prestigious nor as active in government as their brethren of the 8th and 10th Ch'ü.

E. The Chau of Lei-ts'uen, Hin-kong, Mau-kong and Paak-hop

Some members of the Chau were living among the Lei at Fooi-kong. They were an important part of the Lei-ts'uen Market with the Lei. In fact, they were more prestigious than the Lei. They built 6 dams in the vicinity of Lei-Ts'uen to irrigate over 200 mou of land. Moreover, Chau Hok-min, the Hsien-chang of Hoi-p'ing in 1924, was a Lei-ts'uen native.

On the whole, the Chau of Hoi-p'ing were prestigious. Like the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o, they had been active in the various Hsien Assemblies between 1913 and 1921 and in the KMT Party Office in 1926. They were also active in organizing Hsien defence in 1911.
The centre of the Chau lineage was in Hin-kong, an intermediate market, where the Chau Lineage Library was founded in 1924. Hin-kong was a peanut producing area and the Hin-kong Market was the market for peanut oil, peanut cakes (as fertilizers) and sesami oil. The Chau also controlled the Maau-kong Market.

F. The Wong at Paak-hop and Ts'ai-t'ong

The Wong were numerous at Ts'ai-t'ong - Koo-pin area of the 5th Ch'ü. They were at Maau-kong Market with the Chau where they built a charity hall together in 1904. They were also at Paak-hop Market and Hin-kong Market, both intermediate markets, with the Chau. In fact, Wong Hin-t'ong, Hsien-chang of Hoi-p'ing in 1911, and Wong Po-shue, Director of the Education Department of Hoi-p'ing in 1911, were both Hin-kong natives.

Although the Wong had not been as prestigeful as the Chau as kung-ming (scholarly titles) winners during the Ch'ing Dynasty, among them were leaders of modern education. They were active in the founding of the First High School of Hoi-p'ing and the Third Government Primary School as well as the Hoi-k'iu High School in 1919.

G. The Oo at Ue-leung

Although numerous at Ue-leung Heung, the Oo were also an important element in Paak-hop Market with the Wong. They had not been particularly prestigeful as kung-ming winners in the Ch'ing period but they were more well-known during the Min-kuo period. For example, Oo T'ing-naam and Oo Hon-in were Hsien-chang of Hoi-p'ing in 1911 and 1923 respectively. Oo Tin-yung who had been Hsien-chang of a Hsien in Kwangsi became the head of the Hsien Land Registration Office in Hoi-p'ing in 1930-1. Other members of the Oo lineage served in the KMT Party Office in 1926, the Hsien Assemblies in 1913 and 1930 and the
Bureau for the Management of Hsien Finance in 1930.

H. The Ng at Lau-kong

Except as leaders of the Punti against the Hakka in the mid. 19th Century, the Ng at Lau-kong, like the Oo and the Wong, were more prestigious during the Min-kuo period than during the Ch'ing Dynasty. Among the Ng were Ng Lo-in who was the Hsien-chang of Hoi-p'ing in 1920 and Ng Tsun who was the Hsien-chang of Hoi-p'ing in 1923. The Ng had also been active in serving the various Hsien Assemblies in 1928 and 1931. The Lau-kong Heung-t'uen was famous for its part against the bandits during the Min-kuo period. Ng T'ing-san, a native of Lau-kong, was among the leaders of the Hsien Militia Headquarters at Cheung-sa in 1918. He was the founder of the Hoi-k'iu High School in 1919.

Lau-kong Heung was rich agriculturally, with produce for export, and Lau-kong Market was an important intermediate market. The construction boom in Sz-yap in the last quarter of the 19th Century had boosted the brick-making industry at Lau-kong Market. The "net-market" held at Lau-kong every year attracted fishermen from Shun-tak, San-ooi, San-hing, Yan-p'ing and T'oi-shaan. In 1930, under the leadership of Ng T'ing-san, the market was remodelled and enlarged.

I. The Sz-t'o at Kaau-t'ai

Of equal calibre as the Kwaan and sharing Che-hom Market with them were the Sz-t'o whose headquarters was in Kaau-t'ai Chau, which was 10 li (4 miles) from east to west and 7 to 8 li (3 miles) from north to south (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:76,82,317). It was an island in the middle of the T'aam River. The Sz-t'o were the sole occupants of this area. They made important steps in modernizing Kaau-t'ai Chau in the 20th Century. The Kaau-t'ai Clinics (i-uen) was
established in 1931 and two new piers were built in 1924.

In Che-hom, they owned the land at "Lower" or "Eastern" Che-hom ever since 1845. They built two bridges there, in 1895 and 1908 respectively. The Sz-t'ø also founded the Tung-kaau-lung Bus Company to build roads from Kaau-t'ai to their section of Che-hom. A Lineage Library was founded by the Sz-t'ø in 1925 in Che-hom itself.

The Sz-t'ø had been active both during the Ch'ing and the Min-kuo periods. Among them were famous scholars and spokesmen of Hoip'ing. They also had education land in the 6th Ch'ü as a result of their efforts during the Hakka/Punti War.

During the Min-kuo period, the Sz-t'ø were well-represented in all the Hsien Consultative Assemblies. Sz-t'ø King-hung acted as the vice-chairman in the 1921 Assembly. Other Sz-t'ø served in the KMT Party Office and the Institute of Correct Behaviour as well as the Bureau for the Management of Hsien Finance. One Sz-t'ø was also made head of the Education Department in 1920 and another as vice-chairman of the Luen-po T'ong in Che-hom in 1913. The Sz-t'ø were also active in the Hsien Defence Board of 1911.

J. Other Minor Lineages

Within the vicinages of the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk, there were the T'aam and the Leung at Ngau-min-sha; the Yeung at Fooi-kong; the Ue at Pak-im; the Hoh at She-pin and the Lau at Ue-leung.

SECTION II: Interlineage Relations

Feuds and Alliances

There had not been any large-scale co-operative projects between the Kwaan and other lineages in welfare, public works, education or irrigation. The only incident of large-scale inter-lineage co-operation mentioned by my informants was defence - against the Hakka
THE KWAAN AT TOH-FUK: MARRIAGE, FEUDS AND ALLIANCES
in the mid. 19th Century and during the 1911-1928 crisis. On the other hand, there had been numerous quarrels between the Kwaan and the non-Kwaan.

Below I shall give an account of the relationship between the Kwaan and their neighbours, taking each of the lineages in turn.

A. Kwaan and Sz-t'o: Rivalry and Co-operation.

The Kwaan had had a history of both feuds and co-operation with the Sz-t'o dating back to at least the 16th Century. I had heard two versions of the cause of the feud between the Kwaan in Cheung Ts'uen and the Sz-t'o in Kaau-t'ai in the 16th Century.

The founder of the Cheung Ts'uen married his daughter to a Sz-t'o and gave her a piece of land as dowry. According to one version, she visited her natal home on the 6th day of the 6th lunar month when traditionally all the "hung-k'ai" (registered deeds to land) were laid out in the sun to air and dry. She complained that the Sz-t'o had stolen her hung-k'ai. According to another version, however, she actually stole some hung-k'ai from her natal home.

Whatever the cause, a feud soon followed between the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o on land titles. It was settled not so much by the officials as by the mediation of other lineages. A line of demarcation was drawn between the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o at Ling-uen Heung.

There were at least two feuds between the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o for the control of Che-hom: one in 1816 and another in 1845 (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:86,261). Finally, the Magistrate divided Che-hom into Upper and Lower Che-hom, using T'ong-t'ai Street as the boundary in 1845 in order to put an end to the struggle for mastery in this market-town. It was a close match: the leaders of both lineages had scholarly titles and personal ties with the bureaucracy, but they
were willing to accept mediation.

During the Hakka/Punti War, the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o forgot their differences and became allied in 1853, led by their local scholars and retired officials such as Sz-t'o Ch'iu, Sz-t'o Uen, Sz-t'o K'ei, Kwaan Wai-shing, Kwaan P'ooi-kwan and Kwaan Chiutsung. They shared in the interest to fight the Hakka, I think, since the area in the Yan-p'ing - T'oi-shaan border was important for the continuation of trade in Che-hom.

The Kwaan and the Sz-t'o feuded again in 1886. Although causes of this feud were unclear, there was little doubt that it was a fierce battle: mercenaries were employed, foreign guns and cannons were used. A piece of stone was set up by the Magistrate denouncing the incidence.

A marriage bar was imposed soon after the incident. All of my informants knew about the existence of the bar at the turn of the Century but they could not agree on whether it was strongly imposed. One informant, for example, said, "Of course it was not strongly imposed, my mother was a Sz-t'o". According to other informants, however, the marriage bar was effective until at least the 1920's.

In spite of inter-lineage quarrels, there was a growth of class consciousness in the 20th Century among the merchants of the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o which cut across lineage enmity. The marriage-bar did not stop them from co-operating at Che-hom. The merchants there such as Kwaan Shung-iu and Sz'-t'o I-fung joined hands in founding the Che-hom Chamber of Commerce in 1907 which, significantly enough, was situated at Tong-t'ai Street, their boundary since 1845. In 1924, the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o led the merchants of Che-hom to establish the Merchants' Private Defence Corps for the defence of Che-hom.
In 1911 the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o bought an old fortress and rented it to the Department of Public Security for the maintenance of peace and order at Che-hom. In 1917, the Luen-po T'ong, founded in 1853, was again in action. As had been described in Chapter IV of this thesis, the Chairman Kwaan Tso-ming and the Vice-chairman Sz-t'o Kan co-operated with Cheung-sha and Hong Kong to help the Hoi-p'ing government forces against the bandits.

When the Sha-t'ien Titles Clarification Bureau was established to register all the newly reclaimed land, the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o were quarrelling again. The Kwaan of Ha Ts'uen and Cheung Ts'uen and the Sz-t'o of Kaau-t'ai were rivals to a piece of Sha-t'ien (reclaimed land). The quarrel lasted one or two years but did not break into large-scale feuds owing to mediation of the authorities and other lineage leaders.

This was the last time the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o ever quarrelled. There was an era of goodwill and co-operation among the elite members of both lineages arising from their combined efforts in the defence of the 4th Ch'ü during the 1911-1928 crisis and in the development programmes of Che-hom.

B. The Kwaan and the Fong

There was at least one feud between the Fong in T'ong-kau and the Kwaan in Long-ha Ts'uen (Chung-miu Heung) lasting for 2 to 3 weeks in the 1920's. This feud was caused by the fact that a Kwaan had sold a piece of land to a Fong and his villagers did not like the thought of the Fong intruding into their territory. This feud was settled by the army.
C. The Kwaan and the Ng

There was latent hostility between the Kwaan from T'oh-fuk and the Ng at Lau-kong. In 1918, Ng Ling-san, representing the Hong Kong Hoi-p'ing Chamber of Commerce, came to Canada to ask for donations to fight the bandits in Hoi-p'ing and to build a high school. He also asked the hua-ch'iao to invest in Hoi-sam Chau for the establishment of a Model Village. But, he deliberately excluded the Kwaan and the Sz-t'ao from the Model Village project because he insisted that "it was meant for the smaller lineages in Hoi-p'ing".

When the High School was finally built, it was built in Hoi-sam Chau (between Lau-kong and Cheung-sha). It was known as the Hoi-k'iu High School with Ng Ting-san himself as the supervisor. The overseas Kwaan leaders in Hong Kong and the Americas argued that the school should have been built in Che-hom. The gentry leaders in Hoi-p'ing and Canton supported this argument. Together with the Sz-t'ao representatives in Che-hom, they started a donation campaign in America, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Canton and Hoi-p'ing itself. In the end, another high school was built, known as the First High School of Hoi-p'ing, this time, in Che-hom itself, run by the government with Kwaan Tsun as the acting principal (T.H. Lee 1967:458; Kai-p'ing Hsien-chih: 187-188; Per. Com.).

D. The Kwaan and Lei at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung

The Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung Market and the Lei at Kam-Oo Market had not been on good terms, mostly because of their struggle for the control of the cow-trade route moving from Yeung-kong and the salt trade with Na-foo in T'oi-shaan.

During the Hakka/Punti War, the whole of the Kau-p'ei-ch'ung - Kam-k'ai area was the centre of the struggle. Lei Ts'au-t'in and
Kwaan Ting-lit led the Maan-ts'uen Kuk to fight the Hakka (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih: 172-3). However, the Kwaan and the Lei soon quarrelled again after the War was over, although there were no large scale feuding.

According to Kwaan O, when the Taai-t'ung Market project was proposed in 1923 by the Kwaan, it was opposed by the Lei. The Kwaan there used their influence in government and obtained permission to establish the Taai-t'ung Market, claiming that their market was open to all interested parties. Together with the Wong, the Chiu and the Oo, they held the market on the same days (5th and 10th day) as the Lei at Kam-Oo. They and the Kwaan at Che-hom co-operated in building such public roads as the Ngau-hin-t'ung and Ts'ai-hin-t'ung Public Roads. Kwaan T'ing-taat, a native of Fung-waan Heung, was then the head of the Department of Public Works.

E. The Kwaan and the Lung-kong Association

The Kwaan could claim as potential allies three other clans in the Sz-yap - the Lau, the Cheung and the Chiu, because a Lau, a Kwaan, a Cheung and a Chiu were blood brothers during the period of the Three Kingdoms in Chinese History. The symbol of such an alliance was the Lung-kong Ancient Temple in Shui-hau on the border of San-ooi, T'oi-shaan and Hoi-p'ing, founded by the gentry members of the Lau, the Kwaan, the Chiu and the Cheung about 300 years ago. Annual Spring and Autumn Rites were performed in honour of the four blood brothers of the Three Kingdoms.

An evidence of the co-operation between the gentry members of the Lung-kong Ancient Temple was the founding of the Lung-kong Magazine centred first in Shui-hau and then moved to Che-hom in the early years of the Min-kuo. There was other evidence in the T'oi-shaan City:
the Lung-kong Primary School operated by a Lau.

Despite Freedman's assertion (1958:5) that "bonds of no-marriage extended to lineages who were in alliance with one another", marriage between the Lau, the Kwaan, the Cheung and the Chiu were permissible. One informant explained that this was because the Kwaan of Hoi-p'ing were not direct descendants of Kwaan Kung.

There was at least one incidence in the memory of an informant in which the Lau, the Kwaan, the Cheung and the Chiu lineages actually helped one another. It was during the feud of 1886 between the Kwaan and the Sz-t' o of Hoi-p'ing that the Kwaan of T'oh-fuk called upon the help of the Cheung of Sha-kong (Hoi-p'ing), the Chiu of Saam-kong and the Lau of Lung-ts'uen (San-ooi) while the Sz-t' o called upon the help of the Sit from San-ooi.

This feud is also mentioned by Hu (50-1). She wrote, "The Sz-t' o often showed aggression towards ... the Kwaan. So the latter combined with the lineage of Cheung, which lived at the junction of the tributary river with the main stream and thus was in a good position to control the shipping that went down to the sea. By allying themselves, the Kwaan obtained the help of the Cheung in damaging the boats of the Sz-t' o. If the latter tried to bully their neighbours and should the Cheung find themselves threatened, they would rely on the Kwaan to bring relief."

The co-operation between the Kwaan and the Cheung in Hoi-p'ing is not surprising. The Cheung at Sha-kong were at least as powerful and as numerous as the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk, if not more so. They were the earliest to come to Hoi-p'ing and were masters of the Sz-kau, the Chan-wa and the Kam-shaan Markets. They occupied the rich land of Sha-kong which produced the most important cash crop of Hoi-p'ing -
garlic - as well as sugar cane, melon and loh-paak. Kam-shaan Market was a ferry centre and was famous for its iron works. Moreover, the Cheung as a whole were well-represented in the various Hsien Consultative Assemblies. Like the Kwaan and the Sz-t' o, they were nominated to work in the government organs such as the Bureau for the Management of Hsien Finance, the Hsien Mortgage and Property Tax Bureau. They were also leaders of defence organs like the Hsien Militia Headquarters in 1918, the Hsien Defence Board in 1911, and the Sha-kong League established in 1913. The fact that the Kwaan and the Cheung were far apart and were both powerful lineages and masters of their own vicinages meant that both could be stronger by the Lung-kong alliance.

However, the alliance between the Lau, the Kwaan, the Cheung and the Chiu after the feud of 1886 became less tightly organized. The Lung-kong Ancient Temple eventually lost its splendour. None of my younger informants had heard of the alliance of the Lung-kong Ancient Temple until they went abroad.

Below is an incident which illustrates how weak the bonds had become in the 1940's. When the Chiu of Saam-kong and the Lau of Lung-t's'uen in San-ooi were feuding, both lineages claimed the allegiance of the Kwaan at Che-hom and the Cheung at Sha-kong. Money and opium were offered to enlist them as mercenaries besides the call of blood ties. But the elite of T'oh-fuk and Sha-kong were not involved in the feud (Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao Sept. 1947:3,15-16).

The weakness of the link between the Kwaan, the Cheung, the Chiu and the Lau in the 1940's was perhaps a result of the improvement of relationships between the Kwaan and the Sz-t' o in Che-hom and between the Cheung and their allies in the Sha-kong League after 1930. The
growth of class consciousness among the merchants trading in the same market-towns must have resulted in better relationships across lineage lines and a weakening of alliances based on blood-ties.

F. The Kwaan and Minor Lineages in Che-hom

The Luen-po T'ong at Che-hom under the leadership of the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o was in fact an alliance of 24 surnames living in the vicinity such as the Ts'ik, the Hui and the Chau. It was regulated by the Hong-lok Shue-uen in 1853 which acted as a kung-yüeh. These 24 surnames allied together for defence and to regulate affairs among themselves since the middle of the 19th Century (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:352). During the 1911-1928 crisis, the gentry at the Hong-lok Shue-uen collected fees from the members to pay for the Luen-po T'ong's private defence corps for the maintenance of peace and order in the 4th Ch'ü.

DISCUSSION

The formation of the Hong-lok Shue-uen in Che-hom was no isolated incidence in Hoi-p'ing or the rest of China (Kuhn:71-2, 128). In Hoi-p'ing, besides the Hong-lok Shue-uen in Che-hom, there were the Po-luk Shue-uen in Cheung-sha built in 1846; the Uet-shaan Shue-uen in Uet-shaan Heung built in 1873 by the 13 lineages there; the Tun-lun Shue-uen in Paak-hop built in 1885 by 6 lineages as well as the Tsz-shin Shue-uen in Shui-hau built by 4 lineages. All these shii-yuan (study halls) were designated to act as 'kung yüeh' for the lineages concerned (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:66). In some instances, i-yüan (clinics) also became the headquarters for various lineages to regulate inter-lineage affairs. For example, the Saam-po I-uen in Sha-chau Market were to regulate the differences between lineages in
Yeung-lo Heung of Hoi-p'ing, the New Paak-sha and the Old Paak-sha
Heung of T'oi-shaan.

Liu, Baker and Freedman believe that in South China only small lineages joined to form a yüeh. According to Liu (40), a yüeh was formed by a group of small lineages to resist the exploitation of a powerful lineage. Freedman (1966:86) wrote, "A hsiang-yüeh was formed to protect the interest of the weak against the strong. The strong lineages did not join such an alliance". Baker (157) wrote, "Strong neighbours could not be allies, only small lineages could join together against the powerful..... Powerful lineages tended to have few relationships in their intermediate neighbourhood but many outside it."

My findings seem to contradict these assertions. In Che-hom as well as the rest of Hoi-p'ing, one often finds dominant lineages on the same side of the yüeh as the weak lineages. In Che-hom, for instance, both the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o were on the same side of the Luen-po T'ong because they sought to dominate the Che-hom area. The Hsien Magistrate, Mo-fan, in fact, had ordered the yüeh to be formed in both Che-hom and Cheung-sha, since it was easier to control the large market towns through the elite of the elite lineages (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:261). The yüeh, in other words, was not used as an instrument by which weaker lineages fought against one dominant lineage in the vicinity. It was, in fact, more an instrument of mediation. In the case of a feud between the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o, for example, the minor members of the yüeh were not involved. Rather they acted as a mediating force to bring the two contending parties together.

Thus, Freedman, Liu and Baker's assertions that yüeh was to protect the interest of the weak against the strong lineages did not apply to most of the yüeh in Hoi-p'ing.
SECTION III: Interlineage Relationship - Marriage

A. Marriage Preference

Freedman (1958:144) suggests that it was possible that a segment of one lineage specialized in marrying its members to a particular segment of another lineage. The Kwaan in T'oh-fuk did not have such a "marriage strategy" as suggested by Freedman. The village elders and the Hsiang gentry did not have to be informed when a marriage was contracted, although until recently, the marriage of a boy or girl had to have the approval of his or her chia-chang fu-hsiang, that is, the extended family.

Nonetheless, the fact that (1) by custom everyone was invited to attend the wedding party of his fellow villagers and (2) marriages until 1949 in the countryside of Hoi-p'ing were mostly arranged meant that there was a certain subtle control over the pattern of marriage. The go-between would naturally avoid arranging for marriages that might cause trouble and work hard for marriages that would bring prestige to the families of the brides and the grooms.

The Kwaan were exogamous. None of my informants had heard of a case of a Kwaan marrying a Kwaan in Hoi-p'ing, Canton, Hong Kong, Shanghai or overseas. Like many lineages in South China (Kulp:167; Freedman 1966:97 ff), the Kwaan also frowned upon marriages between cousins of whatever degree. Kwaan I remarked that cross-cousin marriages only existed "in popular novels like the Dreams of the Red Chamber or radio stories".

Neither did the Kwaan favour the taking of child-brides in the family. One informant proudly proclaimed that "child marriage" was only practised in poor lineages in Chiu-chau and Fukien, not powerful lineages like the Kwaan of Hoi-p'ing. However, another informant
told me that there was one case of child marriage in his village.
"She had been kidnapped and sold to the family in my village and did not know where she came from. Her case was very unusual" he added.

Married-in sons-in-law was not a custom of the Kwaan. In other words, it was not customary for a Kwaan to change his surname to that of his wife's and live in her village. But there were exceptions. "There was one case I know of" said one informant "in which a member of the Kwaan lineage - a scoundrel was he - married himself into the family of his bride in T'oi-shaan City. Wow! He was the laughing-stock of the whole of Che-hom." Another informant told me that married-in sons-in-law was definitely not a custom in Hoi-p'ing, but in south T'oi-shaan, it was very popular. A third informant almost gave the same answer when I asked him about married-in sons-in-law, "in Yan-p'ing may be, but never in Hoi-p'ing" he said.

Unless marriages were contracted in Hong Kong, Canton or overseas, a Kwaan tended to marry a non-Kwaan in the lineages nearby. This was because of the fact that for every arranged marriage, the family history up to the 3rd generation of the bride-to-be or the groom-to-be had to be clearly known to the other party.

But not too near. Informants had not heard of the Kwaan in Na-loh marrying the Oo of Na-loh. One informant said, "They may marry the Oo from other villages but never the Oo in Na-loh itself." When asked why, he replied, "I do not know, it just didn't happen .... The Oo were low class people, no-one knew how they supported themselves". Informants also answered in the negative when I asked them about the incidence of marriages between the Kwaan, the Tang and the Wong in Ts'ung-hing She of Ts'ung-long Heung.
B. Marriage Area of the Kwaan in T'oh-fuk

The "marriage area" of the Kwaan is a theoretical construct of the geographical space within which the Kwaan usually sought their spouse. This marriage area is drawn up through an analysis of the various genealogies of the informants who were T'oh-fuk natives (see Appendix III).

**FIGURE XIV**

**SUMMARY OF THE MARRIAGE HISTORIES OF INFORMANTS FROM T'OH-FUK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidence of Marriage and Surname of Spouse</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Birth Place of Spouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Sz-t'o</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Che-hom, Kaau-t'ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Oo</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ue-leung, Che-hom, Paak-hop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Chau</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Paak-hop, Ue-leung, Hin-kong, Mau-kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Wong</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Hin-kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Ng</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lau-kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Fong</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tong-hau, Koo-chaak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Tse</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>T'aam-pin-u en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-T'aam</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ngau-min-sha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Tang</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Oo-lung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Wong</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Paak-sha (T'oi-shaan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Chan</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Paak-sha (T'oi-shaan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Leung</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ngau-min-sha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Lei</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lei-ts'uen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Hoh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Che-hom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Cheung</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sha-kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Leung</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Fooi-kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Ts'ik</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Che-hom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Ue</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pak-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Lo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cheung-sha-t'ong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Lau</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ue-leung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Kw'ong</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Shui-hau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-Chan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cheung-sha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan-T'aam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Che-shui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>89</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the above table, it is clear that the greatest number of marriages in my informants' genealogies was those between the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o which accounted for 23.8% of the total number of marriages. The Sz-t'o was the largest single group having marriage relationships with the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk. From the last section of this chapter, we learnt that the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o had the longest history of both feud and co-operation. It is possible, as Freedman asserts (1966:113), that the presence of affinal ties made co-operation between the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o possible and called for mediation after each feud.

Judging from the geographical spread of the marriages in the above table, one can see that there was a total of 46 cases of marriages involving lineages using Che-hom either as a standard market town or as an intermediate market. The other 43 cases were marriages between the Kwaan and lineages not attending Che-hom at all.

If the marriage histories of my informants were at all representative of the pattern of the Kwaan of T'oh-fuk, the Kwaan there must have had a larger marriage area than the Liao in Sheung-shui before 1949 (Baker:174-86). Their marriage area stretched further than the intermediate market community. They tended to marry powerful lineages of Hoi-p'ing in the vicinity such as the Sz-t'o and the Tse. They also married powerful lineages outside their vicinity such as the Kw'ong, the Oo, the Wong, the Ng and the Cheung. The Kwaan of T'oh-fuk, being a powerful lineage with rich merchants and resourceful literatus, and Che-hom, being the nodal point for ferries and roads, it is not surprising that their marriage network stretched beyond the intermediate market community.
The above findings could be interpreted as supporting either or both of (1) Freedman's assertion (1966:103) that high standing lineages tended to cast marriage ties very widely, basing on higher-level market-towns and (2) Skinner's assertion (1964-5 Part II:221) that with the modernization of the communication lines, marriage area tended to stretch further than the standard or even the intermediate market community. It is difficult to judge from this small sample which one of these two assertions was, if at all, at work to produce a wide marriage area of the Kwaan lineage of T'oh-fuk.
CHAPTER VI - NOTES

1. The Sz-t' o called their sections of Che-hom "Eastern Che-hom" because they did not like the term "Lower Che-hom" which might mean that they were inferior to the Kwaan who occupied "Upper Che-hom." (Per. Com.).

2. One informant told me that in South China, marriage bars are not necessarily the result of feuds as Freedman asserts (1958:5, 1966:13). In T'oi-shaan, for example, the Lei never married the Ip because Lei has the same sound in Cantonese as a pear and Ip sounds the same as leaves. Whenever there are pears on the tree, there will be no leaves and vice versa. So, a marriage between a Lei and a Ip was regarded as bad omen for either one of the clans.

3. This raised the question of whether the Hong Kong Hoi-p'ing Chamber of Commerce was founded by "small lineages". This is a difficult question to answer without further research. However, one thing is certain: the Kwaan and the Sz-t' o were not among the founders of this Chamber of Commerce (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:182-3).

4. In South China, it was not unusual for a group of villages to found a new market with the deliberate intent to encroach on the area supporting an already existent market. See Brim's article "An Outline of the Social Structure in the Yuen Long Area on the Eve of the British Takeover" pp. 8-12, 16-20; Groves 1964:16-20 and Freedman 1966:90-94.

5. This is an example of the "Alliance Temple" discussed by Brim (1971: 18-24). According to him, alliance temples were centres of Hsieh-tou (feud) built-ups and militarization against bandits. The Spring and Autumn Rites practised in the temples were to solve the "latency problem".
6. In Hoi-p'ing, there was another yüeh which had nothing to do with militarization. It was formed by the emigrants of Yan-p'ing and Hoi-p'ing in 1883. The headquarters was in Paak-hop. The yüeh was called the Yan-hoi Heung-yeuk. The purpose was to take care of bones transported home from overseas (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih: 76).
CHAPTER VII
THE KWAAN AS A SOLIDARY GROUP

In the last Chapter, I have discussed the relationship of the Kwaan lineage with its neighbours. This Chapter examines further the mechanisms by which the Kwaan had kept themselves territorially and socially separated. Through a description of the life in the villages in T'oh-fuk, one can gain an insight into how tradition and customs as well as government regulations kept the Kwaan united as a territorial and social unit and strengthened the lineage as a principle of social organization in Hoi-p'ing.

SECTION I: How the Kwaan Kept Their Territories Intact

The Kwaan at T'oh-fuk was separated from the rest of the non-Kwaan world by a branch of the T'aam River, the Sz-kau Shui (local term: Nai-hoi), to the north and the T'aam River to the south and the east. To the west of T'oh-fuk was Che-hom. T'ong-t'ai Street in Che-hom, as had been indicated, had been the line of demarcation between the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o since 1845. Within this boundary, land was owned by the Kwaan either privately or corporately.\1

Within the villages at T'oh-fuk, houses were never rented out. They were locked up if no member of the family lived there, or relatives might be asked to take care of them temporarily. "At most," said one informant, "a room inside a house might be rented out to people of the same village. No outsider could own houses in our village because there just was not enough room even to accommodate all the villagers themselves".

As far as corporate land was concerned, before World War II, like the Liao of Sheung-shui (Baker:115) and the villages in Chui-
chau (Kulp:102, 116), practically no corporate property on the Hsiang level had been sold by the Kwaan lineage in T'oh-fuk. This was owing to the fact that every fang representative had to sign his name before the corporate property of one Hsiang could be sold. It was very difficult to reach a decision.

The same applied to corporate property on the Ts' un level. Land of the main ancestral halls could never be sold because every male member had to sign his name. There were several pieces of land in both Cheung Ts'uen and Ha Ts'uen known as the \textit{kung-fan-t'in}, which could never be sold. They were handed down by the early founders to be kept in perpetuity. They might be mortgaged in case of emergency, but they must be redeemed without paying interest.

On the other hand, there was corporate property owned by a few families in one village known as \textit{siu-a-kung t'in}. The proceeds were not used to support any ancestral halls but were divided up among the owners. This kind of land could easily be sold because the co-proprietors were few in number. The sale of siu-a-kung t'in would be initiated by whomever took care of the accounts. All adult males (over 18) among the co-proprietors had a right to sign and had a share in the benefits. In Ha Ts'uen, the siu-a-kung land was even easier to be sold: only the agreement of the head of each household was required.

Actual land sale, however, was rare before World War II. But land - whether private or corporate property - changed hands very quickly during and immediately after the War. For example, during Wartime, 35 tou of land (3\frac{1}{2} acres) belonging to the Ling-uen Heung were sold. In Sha-tei some land belonging to the Ue-shan Ancestral Hall was also sold during Wartime. The gentry members initiated the
land sale and when over half of the elders and gentry had agreed, it
was sold. Some 20 tou (2 acres) of land belonging to the main ancestral
hall in Ha Ts'uen were also sold. Only a few leaders conducted the
whole sale against the wishes of many villagers.

The reason why corporate land was sold during Wartime was because
of the need to buy weapons for defence against the Japanese who in­
vaded South China during this time. This is documented by Hu (67)
who quoted the China Daily News Feb. 8/9, 1945 "In the summer of
1944, when the Japanese were in Hoi-p'ing and the Chinese Army had
retreated, the Sz-t'o and the Kwaan organized themselves to fight for
their homes. The wealthy merchants and landlords, realizing the
great danger that threatened everyone, contributed all they had to
buy ammunition. As that was not sufficient, the ritual land and
other common property was sold off."

Nevertheless, even during Wartime, many followed village customs
and offered their land to fellow villagers first and then other Kwaan
before it was sold to outsiders, although the price asked for land
was the same for a Kwaan as for a non-Kwaan.

This village custom had been followed by the Kwaan in T'oh-fuk
ever since the time the Kwaan established themselves in that area.
One informant pointed to the feud between the Kwaan at Long-ha Ts'uen
and the Fong at T'ong-hau (mentioned in the last chapter) to show that
public opinion and/or ancestral hall leaders would step in to prevent
any piece of land in T'oh-fuk from being sold to a non-Kwaan. More­
over, since 1930, the Sz-heung Kung-shoh leaders whose signatures
were required for every land and house transaction in the T'oh-fuk
area served as a further brake on land being passed into the hands
of the non-Kwaan.
The very fact that by this time there were as many as 20,000 Kwaan in the T'oh-fuk area meant that it was seldom necessary for the Sz-heung Kung-shoh or the ancestral hall leaders of individual villages to intervene on land sales. Corporate or private property for sale could usually find a buyer among the Kwaan.

Data from the K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih and the Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao indicated that government regulations set by Ts'ong-sheng must have discouraged the selling of ancestral property by any lineage in Hoi-p'ing. For example, in 1927, on the advice of Ng Ting-san, the Hsien-chang passed a rule to the effect that no one should use lineage land as security for borrowing. It stated that (1) each individual member should not use the corporate property of his ancestral hall as security for borrowing money unless he had obtained the formal approval of all members; (2) unless all the gentry and elder members signed their names, all corporate land transactions were null and void; (3) in case of quarrels between the debtor and the creditor belonging to different ancestral halls, it was the leaders of these halls who would represent the individual's case to the lawcourts (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih: 195). Such stipulations must have deterred the dismantling of corporate property among lineages in Hoi-p'ing in ordinary times.

Immediately after the Second World War, the Provincial Government of Hoi-p'ing and the Supreme Court of Canton decided that any corporate property sold during the Japanese Occupation could be redeemed by the original owner. As will be mentioned in Chapter XI of this thesis, some returned hua-ch'iao at Ha Ts'uen did help to redeem corporate property sold during World War II. This law was later applied to emigrants' family members who sold their land to non-lineage members when remittances stopped during Wartime.
CONCLUSION

In ordinary times, the Kwaan, being a powerful lineage occupying arable land in T'oh-fuk and controlling rich markets such as Che-hom, had never been short of money to sell their corporate property. However during Wartime, even they had to sell some of their corporate land. It was precisely at this point that village custom and government regulations helped to uphold the territorial integrity of the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk. As long as the corporate property was kept intact, ritual life could go on.

SECTION II: Outsiders and the Kwaan Lineage at T'oh-fuk

In T'oh-fuk, there were very few outsiders living in the villages. The only exception was that in some houses, there were relatives staying temporarily. For example, in one village there were 2 or 3 old women from nearby villages whose sons or husbands had gone overseas. They stayed temporarily in their sons-in-law's houses.

Professionals might visit the villages, the iron smith, for example, frequented the villages at T'oh-fuk. Once or twice a year, 3 or 4 of them came from Che-hom to repair or make farm equipments for the villagers. They usually stayed in the villages for several days. They either lived in the ancestral halls or set up tents as temporary homes in empty spaces in the village. After they had done their work they would return to Che-hom. A doctor too may come when called upon, but he would leave as soon as the case was over.

Every year, a company of 10 to 20 people would come into the villages upon invitations to perform puppet shows during the Chinese New Year. Again, they either lived in the ancestral halls or in tents next to the stage. Occasionally 2 or 3 Buddhist nuns would come from Ts'ong-sheng to ask for donations of money or rice. They usually
stayed as house guests of some rich believers.

No outsiders operated permanent stores in the Kwaan villages at T'oh-fuk although peddlars very infrequently came in to peddle. In villages further away from Che-hom, the Kwaan there usually operated stores of their own. These store-owners went to Che-hom to stock up on grocery items to serve the immediate needs of the villagers.

"In our village," said one informant, "there were two drug-stores and one grocery-store all owned by the villagers. Some customers bought their goods on credit. They did not even have to sign their names in the account books. All transactions relied on mutual trust. The customers usually settled their accounts before New Year for fear of becoming a laughing-stock."

The case of the Kwaan was unusual. In San-tin, Yuen-long and Sheung-shui of the New Territories of Hong Kong and in the villages studied by Kulp in the Chiu-chau area, lineages allowed outsiders to operate shops in their villages.

Anthropologists gave various explanations of this phenomena. Kulp (29-31, 99), for example, believes that this was because of the attitude of avoidance in business transactions among agnates. According to Potter (121-30) the villagers patronized outsiders' stores because they were jealous of the shopowners among their brethren.

One wonders why there were no outside shopowners among the Kwaan villages in T'oh-fuk. One possible explanation might be the "commercial orientation" of the Kwaan: agnates felt little embarrassment in dealing with agnates in business; they were not jealous of their brethren owning stores in the villages.
SECTION III: Non-Kwaan Living in Kwaan Villages

A. The Teachers and the Students

The school teacher in the village was usually a non-Kwaan. Similar to the Man in San-tin (Watson 1972:272) and the Liao in Sheung-shui (Baker:74), while the scholars among the Kwaan taught elsewhere, the village at T'oh-fuk usually employed a non-Kwaan as teacher. He usually lived in the ancestral hall behind the school.

While traditional schools did not admit outsiders as students, the modern schools in both T'oh-fuk and at Che-hom were opened to students of all surnames, even to board in the school building. In Cheung Ts'uen, for example, in about 1930, non-Kwaan students were admitted into the modern primary schools there. The school at Na-loh which was built by the Kwaan, admitted the Oo of Na-loh as well as other non-Kwaan students. In fact at Che-hom, T'oh-fuk and Kaau-t'ai Chau, the Kwaan or the Sz-t'o lineage schools simply meant that all members of the school boards were Kwaan or Sz-t'o but these schools still accepted students of other lineages.

B. Long-term Labourers

There were non-Kwaan farm labourers living in the village. They stayed in the households of some rich Kwaan landlords and farm-owners. The richer Kwaan usually employed long-term labourers from non-Kwaan territories. There were a few of them in Cheung Ts'uen, they came from Yeung-kong and Yan-p'ing. They lived in the employers' home. Most of them had been there for a long time. One even changed his surname and was adopted into the family of his employer. He inherited some property when the employer died without issue. Three or four families in Sha-t'ei employed long-term labourers to work their land. These came from Yan-p'ing, they were boys of 11-12 years old when
they first came. They lived in the employers' home and only returned to their native place during the Chinese New Year.

One informant and his nine brothers were the only notable absentee landlords in Na-loh Ts'uen. Their family employed long-term labourers from Yan-p'ing and Hok-shaan to farm their land while they went to Canton, Che-hom, Kam-kai and Indonesia to trade.

These long-term labourers migrated from their places of origin to Che-hom. They usually gathered at a street corner behind the Cow Market (!). Then prospective farmers or landlords would go there to interview them. Some of these long-term labourers had been recommended by relatives and friends, since employers had no way of telling whether they were reliable or not.

This tradition of employing labourers from Yeung-kong, Yan-p'ing, Hok-shaan and Sun-i were not only confined to the Kwaan. It was in fact practised in the whole of the Sz-yap area. The people in these Hsien were poor while the wages were relatively higher in the Sz-yap area than the rest of Western Kwangtung. On the other hand, these farm-labourers were willing to accept lower wages than the Sz-yap natives, so they were usually employed.

C. The Ha Fu

As has been mentioned in Chapter 5, there were several Ha Fu families in Ha Ts'uen, Cheung Ts'uen, Sha-tei and Ha-pin. In fact, the Ha Fu was a common phenomena not only in T'oh-fuk but also in the whole of Sz-yap where they were known as sai-tsai literally meaning "little slave" (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:53).

In T'oh-fuk, the sai-tsai did not belong to individual families but to ancestral halls. They carried sedan chairs in wedding ceremonies, coffins during funerals and presents between families on all
ceremonial occasions. They did all the cooking during Spring and Autumn Rites and other festivities, as well as taking part in cutting up and dividing the ritual meat. The Kwaan themselves had an aversion to such jobs. In Na-loh, for instance, where there were no sai-tsai, the villagers would rather employ a group of outsiders to serve during ceremonial and festive occasions.

In spite of their social stigma, the sai-tsai did not have a hard time at all in T'oh-fuk. Although they did not have their own private property - the land they farmed belonged to the ancestral halls - they could do whatever they wanted with their masters' land. Just like the ordinary tenants, the type of crop they grew, the subsidiary occupations they had or whether they rented other people's land were of no concern to their masters. Just like ordinary tenants in the T'oh-fuk area, they paid 50% of their produce as rent to the ancestral halls concerned. Unlike the Kwaan, however, they were not allowed to buy land or houses in the village. But neither did they have to pay any rent for the houses they occupied.

The sai-tsai had a particular way of addressing the Kwaan. They addressed the Kwaan in the same way as a daughter-in-law would address her husband and in-laws. The Kwaan themselves, however, addressed the sai-tsai by their names plus the suffix nu, meaning slave.

This suffix was eventually dropped in the villages. The Ha Fu were addressed as shu or ke according to their relative age to the speaker. This changing way of addressing only occurred after the Second World War. "After the War, the Kwaan even married sai-tsai girls" said one elderly informant emphatically.

The change was a reflection of the improved economic status of the sai-tsai among the Kwaan. In fact, my informants were emphatic
on the point that the sai-tsai were financially much better off than the poor tenant-farmers among the Kwaan. Returned emigrants who threw house warming, wedding, birth-of-son or retirement parties usually invited all the village folks. On such occasions, the sai-tsai received many tips for their services. The poor Kwaan tenants had none of these benefits.

There were three cases of delinquent behaviour among the sai-tsai. One sai-tsai in Cheung Ts'uen ran away to Cheung-sha and cheated the people there by pretending to be one of the Kwaan; another went to Nanyang and took his father away from Cheung Ts'uen and a third left the village and started a store in Che-hom. Except these cases, none of the other sai-tsai tried to escape from their positions until the coming of the Communists. They were contented to serve the Kwaan—the economic advantages they had perhaps overcame their feeling of social inferiority.

DISCUSSION

The improved economic positions of the Ha Fu in the 1930's was not confined to the Kwaan. It was also true of the Ha Fu in Wang's village (Wang:48-9). These two places had one thing in common: both were emigrant communities. While the Ha Fu were non-emigrants, they must have benefitted from the wealth that was being ploughed back to the village. The generous tips mentioned by my informants was a case in mind.

There were other reasons. Because of the concentration on emigration the fortune of the elite lineages fluctuated. Some were more successful than others. In certain periods, emigrants were more successful while in other periods such as Wartime and Depression, they might go home bankrupt. If Kulp's statistics were reliable,
only an average of 10% of the returned emigrants came back rich (Kulp:50-3). Those who concentrated on farming at home, however, were on the whole more stable economically and they reaped the benefits of economic developments such as the municipal development projects of Che-hom and the building of roads. Some of the sai-tsai were able to take advantage of the price changes during Wartime and Depression in Mainland China and during the Vegetable Revolution in New Territories in the 1950's.

D. Adopted Sons

Adoption was a very popular practice in Hoi-p'ing at least from the Ch'ien-lung period onwards (1734-1794). At that time, one would give away one's son for adoption only if he had more than one son. But after the Tao-kuang period (1819-1849) even only sons were given away for adoption as they were entitled to inherit the property of both the natural and the adopting parents (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:49-50).

There were two types of adoption in Hoi-p'ing, shaang-kai and sz-kai. Those who took an adopted son during their life-time (shaang-kai) could choose among boys one generation younger than they were; whereas those couples who died without issue would have adopted sons given to them to inherit their property and to "burn their incense" (ibid.). This latter practice was known as sz-kai. Sz-kai usually was a source of dispute because there were many possible candidates of the same generation distance from the dead man. In the case of a rich household, these possible candidates would dispute among themselves as to the inheritance of the property. So, in Hoi-p'ing, shaang-kai was more popular.
According to village customs, the most popular candidate was one's brother's son; the next was the son of the village folks and then the son of one of the hsiang members. But in many cases, the couple simply bought a son from afar.

Below are a few examples: In one village, there was an old man who was himself a returned emigrant. His son had gone overseas and had lost contact with him. Only the daughter-in-law stayed home. So he bought a young boy from Yan-p'ing as his adopted grandson. In the same village, there was another 50-year-old woman whose husband had not returned from California for years. She, too, bought a kidnapped Yeung-kong boy at Che-hom from a go-between and took him as her adopted son. In another village, there was a returned emigrant from Canada who came home to get married the second time, since his wife had died without issue. But so concerned was he with descendants that he bought a son from Yeung-kong the 10th day he was married!

Apparently, adoption was so widespread that in 1929, the Hsien-chang denounced and forbade the practice of adopting a son or a whole family of non-lineage members in the village (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih: 200).

Data from interviews indicated that Hsien-chang's denunciations were in vain. One informant, for example, told me that adoption was very popular in his village. Even his own brother was a kwoh-kai-tsai. There were many cases of buying sons from non-Kwaan families far away from T'oh-fuk. In more than one case, a man who had no wife or family would adopt a whole family of non-Kwaan people to succeed him. This arrangement usually went through a go-between.
E. Position of Women within the Kwaan Lineage

The Women's Rights Movement began in Kwangtung about the beginning of the 20th Century, mostly centred in the port-cities like Canton and Swatow. There was considerable advancement in women's education in the first two decades of the 20th Century, owing partly to the influence and work of the missionaries there. For example, from 1912 onwards there were primary schools for girls, evening schools for adult females as well as industrial training schools for girls and women in the Chiu-chau and Fukien area. In Canton itself, women education was well-developed, so much so that by 1933, half of the teachers in primary schools in Canton were women (B.S. Lee: Appendix V). Women, according to Lee, were employed as government employees, teachers, clerks, professionals, religious preachers and teachers. In 1935, according to Chien (Ch. 17), the National Government passed a law proclaiming the legal equality of women in respect to inheritance. Outside the coastal cities, women's education owed much to the contributions of the emigrants (Chen Ta 1940:161-3; Ssu-tu:32-3).

In Hoi-p'ing, the position of women did not improve until the late 1920's. Moreover, women's education and Women's Rights Movement only affected the central and intermediate market towns along the T'aam River. For example, by the 1920's and 1930's, there were five private women's tuition schools in Hoi-p'ing: two in Sz-kau Market, one in Che-hom, one in Hin-kong Market and one in Cheung-sha. Of the government schools, the First High School of Hoi-p'ing in Che-hom accepted girls since 1930; and the Teachers' Training School of Cheung-sha started a women's branch in 1928 offering a one year course for women who were interested in teaching. Besides schools for
women, there were also voluntary associations run by women in important market towns such as Che-hom, Hin-kong and Cheung-sha. These included: Women's Association for the Promotion of National Products; Women's League; and Women's Rights Movement Consolidated Association (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih: 67, 71, 204-5).

The position of women in T'oh-fuk, which was in the vicinity of Che-hom, also changed noticeably in the 1930's.

Before 1911, women's feet were bound and they were restricted to the home, apart from the men's world. All they did, in addition to household chores, was to sew, to make embroidered slippers and bed sheets as well as to grind rice and to feed the chickens and the pigs. They shied away from the rice fields, the ancestral halls and the market towns. Few went to Che-hom to buy and sell. Except a few bold and independent old women, none went to watch the rituals conducted either in the ancestral halls in the villages or at Che-hom. Every evening after supper, the men usually went out to chat with men, while the women gathered inside the houses to talk.

The daughters of the Kwaan, as soon as they reached the age of twelve, would leave home to spend their days sewing and singing in the maidens' houses with other girls in the same village. They would stay there until they were married. After their marriage, they still went back for occasional re-unions.

These maidens' houses were prevalent in almost every village in T'oh-fuk. In Ha-pin, where there were no empty houses, the girls used the fortress on top of the village gate as a gathering place. Maidens' houses were different from the old maids' homes in Shun-tak where girls who were determined to be single stayed permanently. The
maidens' houses here were gathering places for the pre-marital period, the marriage rate in the villages at T'oh-fuk being extremely high.

Since 1920, girls and women in the villages of T'oh-fuk began to take an interest in education. Those who wanted to read and write usually employed literate women as teachers to study at home. There were no proper girls' schools then. But since about 1930, girls began to go to schools and to take up work hitherto done by men.

"In 1935, when I returned home for a visit, I was surprised to find that 3/4 of the people attending Che-hom on a market day were women. They did all the coolie and farm-work. I never knew until then that women could load 100 catties (133 lbs) of unhusked rice on their shoulders! To my amazement, I saw that some men even stayed home to watch the children while their women worked in the market towns as peddlars and as labourers in the fields." B concluded to himself, "I think it must be because the women ousted men from the job market (since they asked for less wages), that the men had to go overseas."

I think B must have confused the cause with the effect. Most probably, the reason why women took up all the work hitherto done by men was because of the mass emigration of men in T'oh-fuk leading to the consequent rise in wages. Although none of my other informants drew the same conclusion, they also told me that women did a lot of work which was hitherto considered as men's work and that it was mostly women who bought and sold on market days since about 1930.

Judging from the above, it is quite certain that women were economically emancipated especially since 1930. However, my data did not seem to indicate that they were socially emancipated. No matter
how educated they were, they were not entitled to the ritual meat at the ancestral halls. One of the biggest jokes B remembered of his village was that one woman who had high school education went to the Ling-uen Ancestral Hall to demand ritual meat and made a fool of herself.

Any woman with delinquent behaviour would be subjected to the punishment of the parents or parents-in-law and the elders in the village. In one village in T'oh-fuk, for example, one emigrant's wife was so quarrelsome that she was known as the "fierce hen". The elders in the villages asked her to behave or she would be driven out of the village. This silenced her forever.

Blind marriages were still very prevalent in T'oh-fuk and Che-hom up to the 1940's. Although some parents might have consulted their daughters or sons for prospective matches and although relatives or close friends might have introduced the couples initially, the professional go-betweens did all the running about. Free marital choice, that is, without consent of parents and without go-betweens, only happened elsewhere: in Canton, Shanghai and Hong Kong. As will be seen in Chapter X of this thesis, all my informants went home to get married.

To give an example: a young man had gone abroad to make a living, leaving his aged mother at home. She was very sick and was afraid that if she died, all her property would be controlled by her relatives. So she asked a go-between to find a bride for her son. She wrote and asked the son to come home to get married. He refused, saying that he was too busy. She finally used a rooster to represent the bridegroom to perform the wedding ceremony.
Patrilocal residence was still strictly adhered to in the T'oh-fuk area. Those who went to work in Canton, Shanghai and Hong Kong as well as overseas usually left their wives at home with the parents. Widows usually stayed with their husband's parents. It happened that an emigrant came back to his village in T'oh-fuk after his first wife died. He made an arrangement to marry another wife, but he died before the wedding took place. She went to his home as an unwed widow. She did not remarry but bought a youth from Yeung-kong to continue her husband's line.

An informant related to me what happened to a distant relative of his. There was a woman surnamed Tang, a native of Oo-lung. When she was young, her parents betrothed her to a Kwaan at Cheung Ts'uen. He went away to trade in the Nanyang. She refused to be married to another man, saying that she was already engaged. Sz-t'o I, a family friend of her natal home, who operated a store in Hong Kong, helped her find the groom and they were finally married.

I asked whether widow remarriage was frequent in the villages. One informant said that he had not heard of such cases, but the rest of my informants answered in the affirmative. E knew that in his family tree, one of his uncles had married a widow. C said that he had heard of cases of remarriage in his village, especially among the poor.

However, all informants agreed that widow remarriage was excused rather than encouraged. The widow simply vanished to other places to get married. The villagers could bring her back if they wanted to, but most of them would not, especially if the husband was missing or had died young. Unlike many lineages in South China (Freedman 1958:31-2; 1966:58-60) neither the family of the widow's husband's nor her
own parents would have anything to do with her second marriage. She simply married secretly. This was because of the general belief in T'oh-fuk that remarriage of widows among a powerful and prestigeful lineage was a shame: no one liked to have anything to do with it.

Below are two illustrations of this attitude of the Kwaan's.
A woman married a Kwaan. He died. After 10 years, she married a Sz-t'o. He also died. Her girl friend acted as her go-between and she became the second wife of an old widower who was a member of a minor lineage (the Ts'ik) in the vicinity. Everyone jeered at her. Another widow of the Kwaan lineage wanted to remarry. She secretly asked a go-between to help. She was introduced to a Yan-p'ing native who had taken up residence at Che-hom the year before. They threw a party for the wedding. No guests attended.

Judging from the above accounts of the position of women in T'oh-fuk, I think that women, despite increasing educational and economic opportunities, were still socially inferior, bounded by the male dominated lineage rules and customs, while the men could remarry or marry concubines when working in the cities or abroad and take them home with pomp, women were married off without a wedding party held in their honour by their natal home. Even when widowed, they usually condescend to remain in their husbands' household as they could only remarry in disgrace.

F. Christians among the Kwaan

Although the Kwangtung Province had the highest number of missionaries in China (Minami Shina Soran:452), their activities were confined only to certain cities in the province even in the 1940's. They were most influential in Canton, taking an active part in journalism, education, clinics and hospitals. In Kongmoon and
Swatow, the missionaries were also active. But in Sz-yap and Hokshaan, their influence was minimal.

Christianity came to Hoi-p'ing in 1897 when a Franciscan priest came to Tsong-sheng to build churches and was favoured by the Hsien Magistrate (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:73-4). From then on, churches were being built. The Che-hom - T'oh-fuk area had a number of Protestant and Catholic Churches, all built between 1898 and 1922. There were three Catholic Churches in Che-hom; one at Lung-hau Lei, one at Lin-foh Lei, one at T'ong-t'ai Street. The former two were built between 1898 and 1902, the latter one was built in 1916. There were four Protestant Churches in Che-hom; one in Upper Che-hom, one at Eastern Che-hom, one at Lung-pooi Ts'uen and one at the Cow Market. The first three were built between 1898 - 1902 and the last one built in 1922 (ibid.).

However, despite all these churches, Christianity did not make any inroads in Che-hom and T'oh-fuk. There were no churches at all in the villages and those at Che-hom were poorly attended. Only four members in Sha-pei were Christians and they did not perform ancestral worship. This had not been a source of conflict. The villagers just left them alone during their Spring and Autumn Rites. As long as their parents had performed the hoi-tang ceremony (discussed in the next Chapter) for them when they were born, these Christians were given the ritual pork.

There were 3 to 4 converts in Cheung Ts'uen. They did not perform ancestral worship and no one seemed to be bothered. There were 5 to 6 Protestants in Ha Ts'uen but all of them were women. There were two Catholics in Ha-pin. They were given nicknames: one was sun-kaau luk (meaning Believer No. 6) and the other was sun-kaau saam (Believer
No. 3) but apart from that, nobody cared whether they performed ancestral worship or not.

CONCLUSION

Skinner (1971:270) believes that there are two types of village communities in China: a closed village community and an open one. According to him, the closed village community is "corporate, self-sufficient, introverted, particularized, encysted" and the open village community is "non-corporated at the community level, culturally open - a type of social system whose bounds are blurred and whose boundary-maintaining mechanisms are weak."

Evidence from the T'oh-fuk area shows that unlike the villages in the New Territories of Hong Kong such as P'ing-shaan and Sheung-shui in the 1960's, the Kwaan villages were only partially opened in the 1940's. On the other hand, the bounds of the villages were by no means blurred and the boundary-maintaining mechanisms were by no means weak. The Kwaan of T'oh-fuk kept their territories from possible encroachments of non-Kwaan lineages. On the other hand, however, the villages of T'oh-fuk were culturally opened. They accepted the rise in the economic position of the Ha Fu families and the partial emancipation of women in the villages. They also tolerated delinquent behaviour among the Christians in the villages, the remarriage of the widows as well as the taking of adopted sons from outside T'oh-fuk. They accepted outside students to study in their modern schools.

The reasons for this cultural openness of the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk could be that (1) after the 1911-1928 crisis, there was a period of peace and security in the countryside, marked by an absence of banditry and inter-lineage feuds. It was also a period of economic
prosperity, municipal reconstruction and the widening of communication lines. (2) Because of the fact that many merchants, overseas emigrants and modern graduates lived in the T'oh-fuk villages, the peasants were more open to deviant ideas in their communities, so they were more tolerant of ideas from the outside such as Christianity and the Women's Rights Movements.

However, the presence of these two pre-conditions is not sufficient to explain why the Kwaan were only culturally but not territorially opened. In fact, they tolerated deviant ideas insofar as they were sure of their dominance in the T'oh-fuk area. They were in a controlling position over the school teachers, the long-term labourers, the adopted sons and women married into the Kwaan lineage as well as the Ha Fu families in the villages. They strictly enforced their territorial dominance in the T'oh-fuk area.

The reason perhaps lies in the fact that despite the growth of class consciousness, lineages were still regarded by both the government and the people of Hoi-p'ing in the 1930's and 1940's as the most important principle of social organization, unlike the situation in the New Territories of Hong Kong in the 1960's. (See also Makino Tatsumi:93, 100-1).
1. Some corporate land outside T‘oh-fuk was also owned by the Kwaan known as *ngoi-chaak-t‘in*. This will be discussed in the next Chapter.

2. This was unlike the Liao in Sheung-shui. There, after 1949, empty houses were let to the outsiders so much so that by the 1960's about 1/3 of the villagers were outsiders (Baker: 112, 210-4). But this was a relatively late development in Hong Kong's New Territories. The traditional rule of the Liao was similar to that of the Kwaan: ancestral halls would step in to prevent any house or land within the village precinct from being sold to a non-lineage buyer. Moreover, non-lineage members in the village in the New Territories had no political representation (ibid: 83, 154, 163).

3. This is similar to the land trusts described by Freedman (1966: 33) and by Baker (who called them "material trusts"). These were subjected to rapid disintegration because they lacked ritual commitments, since they were not attached to any ancestral halls (Baker: 117).

4. In fact, in Nanching, Wartime brought about the reversal of the fortunes of two lineages. The emigrant lineage (the Lee) had to sell all their land to the Wong lineage whose members were predominantly farmers (Yang: 124).

The improvement of the position of the Ha Fu had also been observed by Potter and Baker in the New Territories of Hong Kong in the 1960's. In Sheung-shui, some Ha Fu had improved themselves economically and moved out of the village to set up a new settlement a few miles away (Baker: 15-6, 61). In P'ing-shaan, the Ha Fu shared the general prosperity of the villages and purchased their
house sites from the Tang (Potter:21, 98, 136). This was because of the fact that the Ha Fu (and the non-lineage tenant farmers) were able to take advantage of the vegetable revolution in the New Territories.

5. This eagerness to continue with one's family line through the buying of sons from afar is common to village life in many parts of South China (Freedman 1966:17; Baker:49).

   Nelson (1969:118) distinguishes between loh-faan-tsai and kwoh kai tsai. The former is different surname adoption, the latter is adopting a member of one's lineage as son. According to him, the practice of loh-faan-tsai was frowned on but occurred frequently in Sheung-ts'uen.

   This happens also to Jean Pratt's Hakka Village (1960). According to her, each family head is a rival to every other in the struggle to increase landholdings. If one has to resort to adoption, as is very likely in an emigrant family, it is logical that the adopted heir should be brought from outside the system. Any other procedure would involve the merging of estates. She asserts (p. 157) that the practice of taking an outsider as an adopted son shows that "lineage members were concerned less with perpetuating the true descent lines than the corporateness of the sub-group."
CHAPTER VIII
THE FUNCTIONS OF THE KWAAN LINEAGE

While the last Chapter examines the mechanisms which kept the Kwaan together as an in-group, this Chapter is devoted to an examination of the actual functions of the lineage organization and what this means to the relationship between the average member of the Kwaan and his lineage organization.

SECTION I: The Allocation of Corporate Property

A. The Bidding System

Corporate property owned by the Kwaan formed into a hierarchy. The corporate property of Kwong-ue T'ong included land at Upper Che-hom and the ngoi-chaak-t'in in the 2nd and 6th Ch'ü of Hoi-p'ing which the Kwaan seized from the Hakka in the middle of the 19th Century. This corporate land was held in common by the whole Kwaan lineage of T'oh-fuk. Below it was the land owned by each of the four Hsiang: Ling-uen, Lo-yeung, Chung-miu and Ng-wing. Below this, was the corporate property owned by each of the ancestral halls in the various villages of T'oh-fuk. At the lowest level of the hierarchy was the siu-a-kung land which was owned by a few families in the village itself.

The Kwaan adopted the bidding system in their choice of tenants to farm all forms of corporate property. The ngoi-chaak-t'in was rented to the non-Kwaan. It was not rented to any lineage in particular but to the highest bidder (that is, whoever could pay the highest rent deposit).

This arrangement is similar to lineages in other parts of South China. There is a tendency for corporate property far away
from the lineage to be rented to outsiders (Baker:171; Hu:199). Hu suggests that it was because of the feeling that "strangers can be dealt with more easily in collecting rent" (Hu:199). In view of other studies of tenant-landlord relationship in South China (notably studies done by Chen Han-seng and Ssu-tu), Hu's explanation seems inappropriate. Baker (171) offers another explanation. He believes that lineages tend to rent their holdings which were far away to non-members as a means of subjugation.

Both Hu and Baker's arguments are difficult to validate or refute. Most of my informants explained that the reason why land far away from T'oh-fuk was rented to outsiders was that it was inconvenient for any Kwaan to farm his land so far away from his home village at T'oh-fuk. Corporate land within the T'oh-fuk area, be it Hsiang land, fang land or siu-a-kung land, was rented to those who could pay the highest deposit among the members. The same happened to the fish ponds in the village precinct which were owned by the various ancestral halls in the village.

The period of bidding varied from village to village and from ancestral hall to ancestral hall. In Cheung Ts'uen, the fish ponds were opened to bidding once a year. The same happened to the corporate property of the Cheung-luk Hop-t'sz. Land of the Ch'oh-hon Kung-t'sz, however, was opened to bidding once every two years; those of Ling-uen T'ong, once every three years. In all cases, only members were allowed to bid.

In Ha-pin, corporate land was theoretically rented to those who paid the highest rent deposit among the members. The bidding time was once every ten years. However, fraud sometimes occurred. Those who were influential paid bribes to the managers of the corporate
land and were given the right to farm the land.

In Sha-tei, land belonging to the Ue-shan Ancestral Hall was opened to bidding once every two years. Bidding was not confined to members of one's particular ancestral hall, but there was a definite rule of preference: fang members of the ancestral hall whose land was opened to bidding had the first preference, then members of Sha-tei and then other Kwaan outside Sha-tei.

In Ha Ts'uen, all corporate property was opened to bidding once every three years. Managers of ancestral land acted as collective landlords. In case of rent default, land would be taken back and put to bidding again even before the three year period was up.

In Na-loh, corporate land was opened to bidding once every three years. In case the tenant refused to pay the rent, the managers could ask the Self-defence Corps to collect rent from him and put the land to bidding again.

DISCUSSION

In South China, the allocation of corporate property by the lineages took four forms:— (1) every member farmed a portion of the ancestral land; (2) every member farmed ancestral land in turn; (3) land was rented to the highest bidder; (4) land was allocated by the lineage managers to whomever they deemed suitable (Negishi Benji:222-3).

Of these four methods of allocating land, the first two are fairer to the average lineage members (Freedman 1958:12-14, 73). The 4th method varies in its benefits to the members depending on how judicious the lineage managers are. The 3rd method is definitely disadvantageous to the humble and the poor in the lineage, although in some lineages, like the Oo lineage of Nanching, the system worked
better, since the lineage managers did not demand any rent deposit from the lineage members (Yang:47-8).

In T'oh-fuk, this system did not benefit the poor farmers. They had little chance of farming the lineage land. This was because favouritism and bribery were sometimes involved in the bidding process. Moreover, because of increasing population and the scarcity of land, there was too much competition and consequently the bidding price was high. Of course, the thought that every member of the ancestral hall was theoretically entitled to take part in the bidding might have comforted the poor Kwaan and given him a sense of superiority versus the poor member of a poor lineage close by. However, in actual fact, being a member of the Kwaan lineage did not give him much actual benefit. The Kwaan bidder of corporate property in T'oh-fuk paid as much rent deposit as the non-Kwaan bidder of corporate property outside T'oh-fuk. Thus, among the Kwaan, as far as bidding land was concerned, membership did not prove particularly advantageous.

B. The Management of Corporate Property

Rent collected by the ancestral hall managers from the tenants of the corporate property was never divided up. No monetary benefits were given to members of the ancestral hall to which the corporate property belonged except in the case of the siu-a-kung land.

Members were not interested in augmenting lineage land such as land belonging to the Kwong-ue T'ong or the ancestral halls of the four Hsiang. This was because the benefit derived by the immediate descendants of any donor was minimal, as there were so many Kwaan in T'oh-fuk. Moreover, very few people were interested in what happened to the corporate property above the Ts'un level because it was
controlled by the Hsiang gentry.

In fact, informants hinted more than once during interviews that much of the income from the Hsiang corporate land was embezzled by the managers. One informant, after telling me that he did not have any idea whether Kwong-ue T'ong had any land, added "If it had any, we did not have a share." Another said, "Certainly the Ling-uen Heung had some corporate property outside T'oh-fuk, but I had no idea where it was - could be at Yeung-kong, Yan-p'ing or T'oi-shaan. Only people at the Sz-heung Kung-shoh knew."

A third informant cited an actual case of corruption in his village in the 1940's. Kwaan XX had been the manager of the corporate property of the main ancestral hall in Ha-pin. After his one year's term was up another Kwaan was selected as manager. But Kwaan XX failed to make a clear account of the proceeds of the corporate property, so the new manager and his brothers sued him in the lawcourt at Tsong-sheng. The latter was heavily fined.

In another village, there was also a case of corruption. Kwaan XX was an accountant of the corporate property there. During the second day of the Chinese New Year when Spring Rites was being held at the ancestral hall, the members questioned him on his accounts. He was so furious that he took a big knife and attacked the elders. The elders went to the Sz-heung Kung-shoh to report. The Self-defence Corps went into the village and captured him.

These cases were by no means unique. Corruption was prevalent in many lineages in South China (Hsiao:359; Freedman 1958:73-4; Baker:134; Makino Tatsumi:92). As membership grew, lineage property which was supposed to be everyone's property became nobody's property except that of the lineage managers.
COMMENTS

The Kwaan did not receive any monetary benefits from their ancestral land. All they had received were a few catties of pork each. This meant that land did not yield any profits to the average Kwaan by remaining within the lineage. Corporate property did not become meaningful to the actual economy of the members. Even those who were successful in the bidding did not make much profit as the bidding price was probably too high for any net profit to be made.

This is very different from the lineages studied by Kulp (87) and Potter (104-5, 169) where dividends were shared among the members of the lineage. There, lineage members paid a great deal of attention to lineage affairs. Kulp, for example, wrote (87), "in as much as ancestral properties were very large, the surpluses were objects of interest. In fact they may be the very hope for the poverty stricken ...." This is not applicable to the Kwaan lineage of Hoi-p'ing.

There, only the corporate property on the village level had some meaning. There were fewer to bid for its renting. Some siu-a-kung land yielded material dividends. The cases of corruption mentioned above seem to indicate that while most of the Kwaan did not care about corporate property on the Hsiang level, there was considerable interest on how the Ts'un and the fang corporate property was managed.

SECTION II: The Organization of Ritual Life
A. Ceremonies Sustained by Corporate Property

According to the K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih (49), in some ancestral halls in Hoi-p'ing, whoever paid the most money could have his ancestor's tablets put in a distinguished position. Thus, the
placement of ancestral tablets distinguished the rich from the poor irrespective of generation hierarchy. This is a true description of the arrangements at T'oh-fuk as it is true of many other lineages in South China (Freedman 1958:79; Baker:57, 63; Hu:25; Makino Tatsumi: 124).

In each ancestral hall in T'oh-fuk, there was a door god placed at the left of the inner door. Inside the ancestral hall, in the middle was an altar. On top of the table was hung a huge wooden board on which was written the name of the hall. Below this board were two large ancestral tablets dedicated to the founder and his wife. On the table itself were numerous ancestral tablets. Whoever paid $5 (Chinese dollar) could put his parents' tablets there. Some even put their own tablets, known as "long life tablets" there. The more one paid, the more central was one's parents or one's own tablet placed. Below the altar was the Earth God's statue.

The rituals during the Ch'ing period was very elaborate, as those with kungming put on their official garments. But during the Min-kuo period, clothing was less formal. In every Spring and Autumn Rites, there was a leader and a deputy and a master of ceremonies. Each of these had two followers: one walked in front to lead them and the other walked behind. Besides the leader, the deputy and the master of ceremonies, there was another man who read a speech dedicated to the founder of the ancestral hall.

In small villages, it was the eldest son of the 1st fang who was the leader and the one with the highest scholarly title being the deputy. In most villages, however, it was the other way round: the best scholar was the leader and the eldest son of the 1st fang was
the deputy. In the Hsiang ancestral halls, viz. Ling-uen T'ong, Lo-yeung T’ong, Ng-wing T’ong and Chung-miu-T’ong, as well as the ancestral hall of the whole lineage (i.e. Kwong-ue T'ong), it was always the one with the highest honour being the leader and the one with the second highest honour being the deputy, the elders had no part in being the leader or the deputy though they still attended the ceremony. In all levels, the master of ceremony, the one who read the annual speech and the followers were all gentry members.

The Spring and Autumn Rites at the ancestral halls theoretically included all the male members. But, in practice, like many other lineages in South China (Freedman 1958:80, Liu:36; Hu:25; Makino Tatsumi:125) the attendance of the heads of the households and their sons was optional. The attendance of the elders and the gentry was compulsory while those over 60 and the high school graduates were invited to go. The kowtow and the three prostrations were in the order of the government officials (if any) first, then the gentry, then the elders, then the high school graduates and then whoever happened to be there.

The whole ceremony was full of pomp and noise with musicians playing, just like the Canton Opera. After the ceremony was over, there was a feast in the empty spaces of the ancestral hall. Meat was divided. One share of meat was about 3 to 4 catties. The elders and those over 60 had two shares of meat. So did the high school graduates and their parents. Those who had or were holding posts in the government of Hoi-p'ing or elsewhere were given four shares of meat. It was the Ha Fu who did the cutting of the meat.

The number of times by which rites were performed in the ancestral halls depended on how rich the ancestral hall was. The rich ones
usually held both the Spring and the Autumn Rites. The still richer ones held memorial services for the birth and death anniversaries of both the founders of the ancestral halls and their wives, in addition to the Spring and Autumn Rites. The poorest ones just held the Spring Rites. Every year the Sz-heung Kung-shoh leaders arranged for the annual Rites at the Kwong-ue T'ong at Che-hom, while the gentry of the four Hsiang arranged for the rituals of the Ling-uen T'ong, the Lo-yeung T'ong, the Ng-wing T'ong and the Chung-miu T'ong respectively. The elders and the gentry arranged for the rituals of the ancestral halls in their own Ts'un. The dates of the rites were different in each ancestral hall so that they would not clash with one another.

The same happened to the sweeping of the graves of the founders of the lineage, the Hsiang and the Ts'un during every Ching-ming and Double Nine Festivals. Dates for such events were fixed so that they would not clash with one another. The poorer villages swept the graves of their founders only once a year; either during Ching-ming or the Double Nine, while the richer villages did it twice a year. As far as the graves of the founders of the Hsiang ancestral halls and Kwong-ue T'ong were concerned, they were not swept every year: it depended on the financial situation of the ancestral hall that particular year. But when it happened, it was considered a very important occasion.

Usually the graves of the founders of the ancestral halls were outside T'oh-fuk. Boats had to be chartered for the occasion and the gentry leaders usually urged all members to attend. The sweeping of the graves was regarded as an event to show off the power and prestige of the Kwaan lineage. Lion dances were performed and firecrackers were lighted as the procession passed through the non-Kwaan territories to the graves of the founders. The Self-defence Corps carried their weapons along, ready to fight whomever interfered with the procession.
One informant argued that if there was no corporate property, there would not have been any rituals, then there would not have been any lineage organization nor would the gentry have had the power and authority over their fellow lineage members. I did not agree with the first part of his argument. The Kwaan at Yeung-lo Heung, for instance, had no corporate property and yet they had a ritual life together. Like the Wei Lineage of Hunnan (Hu:3), the Kwaan at Yeung-lo adopted a system of rotation of duties. The cost of the ancestral rites was borne by contributions of every male in the group. However, I think my informant was right that ritual ceremony which was sustained by corporate property was an expression not only of the union of the Kwaan lineage as a whole but also symbolized the power and authority of the gentry among the Kwaan. The Spring and Autumn Rites performed at the Kwong-ue T'ong and other Hsiang ancestral halls were ceremonies conducted by the powerful and prestigeful of the present generation for the powerful and prestigeful of the past generation. The meat dividing rituals was an index of social differentiation. Women married into the Kwaan lineage and the daughters among the Kwaan had no ritual meat. The average male member did not have as much meat as those over 60 or as those who were graduated from high schools or those who were gentry, elders and civil servants.

B. Ceremonies Not Sustained by Corporate Property

There were other aspects of the ceremonial life among the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk which did not reflect the pomp of the powerful nor serve as indices of social differentiation. These were not organized by the gentry or the elders but by volunteers in the village. In large
villages of over 1,000 people, the villagers would be divided into different she. There was no rule as to who should belong to which she, membership was voluntary, although it was confined to members of one village only. Each she organized the annual event in turn.

The most important of these kinds of festivities was the Hoi-tang ceremony which was practised by many lineages in South China (Brim 1971:5-7; Baker:48-50; Pasternak 1972:111). There was a bamboo hut in the village away from the ancestral halls known as the tang-liu. Inside the hut was a beautiful lantern which signified life for all the villagers. There was also the statue of either Kwaan Kung or the Goddess of Heaven. These statues were originally donated by the she members. Each she in the village bought a statue to be put in the nearby temple outside the village. When that particular she was to organize the Hoi-tang ceremony for that year, the representatives would go to the temple to take their particular statue to the tang-liu in the village on the second day of the Chinese New Year. Those who had a son born that year would buy a lamp and hang it on the tang-liu. The number of lamps would signify the number of new additions to the village community. If one's lamp had not been lit at the tang-liu during the year of his birth, he would not have the right to receive the ritual pork. Like the Liao in Sheung-shui (Baker 48-50), the Kwaan in Cheung Ts'uen even lit a lamp the year they adopted a son. This tradition, however, was not observed in other villages of T'oh-fuk such as Ha-pin.

The Hoi-tang ceremony began on the second day of the Chinese New Year. The latter remained lit until the 15th day of the first lunar month. On that day, the representatives of the she which organized the event would light a whole chain of beautifully decorated
firecrackers known as fa-p'aau and then sent the God (be it Kwaan Kung or the Goddess of Heaven) back to the temple where it would remain until this she organized the event again. Whoever caught the first fire-cracker falling down would have all the luck for the year. So every one struggled to catch it. Fights often occurred in the attempt. This was known as the Fa-p'aau event. It was observed in Cheung Ts'uen, Ha-pin and Ha Ts'uen. In Na-loh, however, it was dying out in the 1940's although the Hoi-tang ceremony was still practised.

The Hoi-tang ceremony was the cause of one of the intervillage quarrels. In Lo-yeung Heung, two villages used to share a statue of the Goddess of Heaven in the same temple, as they were originally one village. One year, both tried to invite the Goddess of Heaven on the same day. Both sides were ready to fight. They went back to their respective villages to collect men and weapons. The elders of the two villages stopped them. At last it was decided that each village should sent one leader to kneel before the statue of the Goddess of Heaven to draw lots to decide who was going to take the statue first. After that year, both villages had their own statue made and this particular Goddess of Heaven statue was abandoned.

The worship of the Earth God happened on the 28th day of the 7th lunar month each year. In Na-loh, this event was regarded as very important. The Kwaan and the Oo each worshipped their own Earth God. In Sha-tei and Cheung Ts'uen, the villagers did not worship the Earth God as a group. Each family had their own Earth God tablet to worship instead of going to worship the Earth God tablet in the ancestral halls.
Another event was the village opera held during the Chinese New Year. It was organized on a she basis. Sometimes professionals were invited to perform puppet shows in the village; sometimes a Cantonese opera group was invited. In Cheung Ts'uen this was not an annual event, operas and puppet shows only performed occasionally. In Ha Ts'uen, however, it was very common. In Ha-pin and Sha-tei there were no village operas at all. This was because Sha-tei was too near Che-hom. Those who wanted to watch puppet shows or the opera usually went there instead.

There was a great difference in the organization of ceremonial life between Lung-tsai She in Ts'ung-long Heung and Na-loh Ts'uen in T'oh-fuk. These were both multi-surname villages. In Na-loh, there were 10 alleys of Kwaan and 6 alleys of Oo. In Lung-tsai She, there were 18 to 20 families of Wong, 18-20 families of Kwaan and 3 to 4 families of Tang living in the same village.

Na-loh exhibited a picture of social segregation between the Kwaan and the Oo. Each had an ancestral hall of their own. The Kwaan's ancestral hall was in the middle of the village whereas the Oo's was in the western corner; each of these halls conducted its own Spring and Autumn Rites separately. There were two tang-liu in Na-loh: one for the Oo and the other for the Kwaan. They organized their own Hoi-tang ceremony, the village opera and the worship of the Earth God separately.

Lung-tsai She was a picture of social cohesion. There was only one ancestral hall in the village which was in fact a community temple. Inside this hall, there was a huge wooden board with the name of the hall. Below this board was an altar for putting all the sacrificial meat. There were no ancestral tablets at all. Below this altar
was an Earth God tablet. Behind this was the statue of the Goddess of Heaven. This Goddess was originally placed in a temple on the outskirts of Ts'ung-long Heung. On New Year's Day, the Wong, the Kwaan and the Tang each sent representatives to form a joint procession to take the Goddess back to the hall at Lung-tsai She. When the Goddess came, firecrackers would be lit. That was when the Fa-p'aau event occurred.

The Spring Rites ceremony and the Hoi-tang ceremony took place together. After the Goddess of Heaven was installed in the Lung-tsai She hall, the Kwaan, the Wong and the Tang performed the kowtow and the three prostrations in front of the Goddess in no special order whatsoever. Whoever had a son born that year would hang the lantern there at the same time. After the ceremony, there was a feast, each bringing his own meat. Occasionally, the village opera would crown the event. The Goddess of Heaven statue remained in the hall until the end of the year when it would be sent back to the same temple on the outskirts of Ts'ung-long Heung just for a few days before the next New Year.

Besides the Fa-p'aau, the Hoi-tang ceremonies and the Spring Rites, there was the worship of the Earth God on the 28th day of the 7th lunar month. This again was participated in by the Kwaan, the Wong and the Tang together.

The Kwaan, the Wong and the Tang not only joined hands in celebrating their festivals of the year, they were also very integrated in social organization. Those who wanted to rent their private plot or to sell land would offer it to the villagers first, be they Kwaan, Wong or Tang, before they would offer it to people outside the village.
Pasternak (1972) has recently done a study on two multi-surname villages in Taiwan - Tatieh and Chungshe. I can discern from his work some interesting similarities between his two villages and the two multi-surname villages in Hoi-pong mentioned above.

Tatieh was similar to Lung-tsaï She in social organization. None of the lineages there had an ancestral hall of its own nor owned corporate property. All the members of Tatieh village worshipped in a temple (Pasternak 1972:72-75; 109-110). Secondly, like the members of Lung-tsaï She, village members had the first preference to buy or rent the private plot belonging to a fellow villager (ibid:22-26).

Chungshe was similar to Na-loh in social organization. There was no community temple belonging to the village as a whole. Instead, each lineage had its own ancestral hall with corporate property (ibid:13-14, 82-84). Secondly, private or corporate property seldom changed hands from one lineage to another. Lineage mates only rented or bought land from one another or from their own ancestral hall (ibid.:38, 125-127).

Pasternak in his final chapter gives two explanations to account for the differences in social organization between Tatieh and Chungshe. The first is that there was the need for common defence in Tatieh against another ethnic group in the vicinity. But in Chungshe there was no need for defence on a village basis. The second reason is that there was a need for co-operation in irrigation project in Tatieh but not in Chungshe (ibid:136-149).

I think these two explanations might also account for the difference in social organization between Lung-tsaï She and Na-loh.
Lung-tsai She was situated in a much more hilly area than Na-loh: there was a greater need for cross-surname co-operation in irrigation. Secondly, the mainstay of power of the Kwaan was in T'oh-fuk, the Kwaan in Na-loh Ts'uen, being in the vicinity of T'oh-fuk, did not need to co-operate with the Oo. In Ts'ung-long Heung, however, the Kwaan were a minority. They could not afford to live in a segregated manner. So, the Kwaan at Lung-tsai She had to co-operate with the Wong and the Tang in their own village.

SECTION III: Part Played by the Lineage in Education

Before the Min-kuo period, some of the ngoi-chaak-t'in was used as education land. It was in the Lung-chau-t'ong and Ngau-laan-tai area in the 6th Ch'u of Hoi-p'ing. Similar to many lineages in South China (Freedman 1966:73-5; Hsiao:337, 417; Liu:43; Makino Tatsumi:89-90, 104) only those who had the hsiu-ts'ai degree and above could collect the proceeds of the education land. Thus the education land was used by the ancestral halls of the four Hsiang to encourage scholars to win prestige for the Kwaan lineage during the Ch'ing period. It only benefitted the powerful families, since the hsui-ts'ai usually came from the rich and powerful households. It was no help to the poor but talented students.

After 1920, there was no education land because there were too many school graduates to divide the proceeds of the land. All of the education land was reverted back to ritual land by about 1930.

The lineage did not sponsor any students abroad or to Canton to study. Most of the talented students either paid themselves or borrowed from rich relatives. E, for example, who studied in the Chung-shaan University in Canton, was supported by his parents. I and his brother were also supported by their parents when they
studied in a high school in Canton. From about 1922 onwards, some students were sent by the government of Canton to study abroad. Kwaan Ch'iu-ho from Cheung Ts'uen, for example, went to study at the Lyons University in France on a government scholarship.

During the Ch'ing period, the ancestral halls of the various villages ran schools of traditional type for their own students while the Kwong-ue T'ong ran a traditional school for the whole Kwaan lineage. About 1920, the ancestral halls in T'oh-fuk began to run more "modern" schools. These were not free schools. Most of them were poorly equipped, with a curriculum not much different from the Ch'ing period. According to one informant, they were more eager to collect school fees than to teach. He told me that only the modern high schools in Che-hom taught English, science and other modern subjects. The best schools were those operated by the missionaries in Che-hom or founded jointly by the merchants and the hua-ch'iao there such as: the First High School of Hoi-p'ing (built 1930), the Kwong-ue T'ong High School, the Naam-lau High School (both built 1946) and the Tai-rin High School (built when ?) The first one was run by the government based on emigrant funds, the 2nd and 3rd ones were founded by emigrants and local merchants. The last one was run by the missionaries. All these schools were mostly attended by sons of the merchants and the hua-ch'iao as well as those of the rich landlords.

COMMENTS

As can be seen from the above, rent collected by the Hsiang gentry from the corporate property was not spent on improving the quality of education in the T'oh-fuk villages. Neither was lineage fund used to produce talented students. Except for the missionary
schools the best ones were in fact founded by the hua-ch'iao and the rich merchants for the education of their own sons.

SECTION IV: The Organization of Public Works

The organization of water works by lineages in parts of South China did not find its counterpart among the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk during the Min-kuo period. Neither flood nor drought was of major concern to the farmers in this area.

The farmers of the villages of T'oh-fuk carried water from the streams which flowed around the village outskirts. They either used a keuk-ch'e (leg-driven wheel) or a shau-ch'e (hand-drawn wheel) to carry water. Many farming families had their own shau-ch'e, but those specialized in full-time farming had their own keuk-ch'e. They would rent these wheels to other villagers for a small fee.

Floods and droughts had never been a serious problem in Cheung Ts'uen. No drainage channels had ever been constructed by the villagers. Because the T'aam River was shallow in this part of T'oh-fuk, there were very few floods. Informants have only heard of one case of flood in Na-loh. People went away for several days until the water subsided, no relief was necessary. Usually the farmers relied on water from nearby streams for drainage. They just went there to carry water back by means of their buckets.

In Ha-pin, there was a flood once a year. But no irrigation or drainage channels were ever constructed and no relief was necessary. They just waited for the water to subside.

In Sha-tei, flooding was a more serious problem. An informant's father could remember one serious flood during his time in that village. The water level went up to the top of the house. However, during his son's time, water came only to the bed level. The
villagers just waited for the water to subside. Sha-tee used water from the wells for irrigation. These wells were built by the donations of the householders. Every one was entitled to draw water from the wells. Ngau-lo-t'au Ts'uen, next to Sha-tee, used water from the T'aam River.

That floods did not affect the T'oh-fuk - Che-hom area was confirmed by an article in the Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao (Oct. 30, 1949:51) which reported a so-called serious flood as a result of an unusual typhoon. There was a heavy downpour which caused the tide of the T'aam River to come up as far as Che-hom. But the water level did not even affect the bus service running on the public road at Che-hom.

SECTION V: Charity Work

It was the ideal of many lineages to be able to provide charity work for their lineage members (Hu:72-80). The provisions of low-interest clan loans and clan granaries was in fact common in Chung-shaan and Naam-hoi in the 19th Century (Hsiao:339-40).

The Kwaan lineage of Hoi-p'ing did not live up to this ideal. There were no relief or charity work done by the ancestral halls in the Ts'un, Hsiang or lineage levels.

The ancestral halls did not provide low interest loans for those who wanted to borrow. The ancestral halls did not help those who were widowed, stranded or poor. There were no granaries run by the ancestral halls.

The ancestral halls did not run any charity halls or any free funeral homes or cemeteries for the poor Kwaan. There was a charity hall in Che-hom itself run by merchants and gentry of a former age, but it had largely been neglected. Much of the relief and charity work was done by the churches at Che-hom. C was a bit cynical about
relief work. He said, "there was no help at all for those without land and money. All they could do was to beg for food".

Possibly owing to the fact that the ancestral halls did not cater for relief and charity work, the individual Kwaan usually relied on his closest relatives, affines and kins for help. Villagers formed voluntary associations for self-help.

*Pig clubs*, for example, were very popular in the villages. About 4 families joined together to form a pig club. Each family fed the pig for one week. When all agreed, they'd slaughter the pig to divide the meat. In addition to the pig club, there was also the *long life club*. A group of villagers joined together to pool their resources in order to pay for the coffins of the members when the time came.

**SECTION VI: The System of Defence**

Before 1929, as has been mentioned, each Hsiang in T'oh-fuk ran a Hsiang-t'uan. This was encouraged by the government of Hoi-p'ing but was under the direction of the local leaders. Those who volunteered for service received a double share of the ritual meat. It was partly paid for by the proceeds of the Hsiang corporate property and partly by the subscription of individual members. The elders of each Ts'un collected money from the householders to buy ammunition and weapons.

"These measures were necessary because of the lack of protection in the villages," said H, "But during the Ch'en Chi-t'ang period, there were no more Hsiang-t'uan because it was more peaceful."

The measures taken by Ch'en Chi-t'ang in 1930 to replace the Hsiang-t'uan has been described in Chapter IV. Here, it is important to note that even after the Hsiang-t'uan was replaced by the Police
Corps in 1930, the Hsiang Kung-so still retained some means of warding off the interference of the police and the soldiers on the one hand and from bandits on the other hand. For example, the Police Corps had to inform the Sz-heung Kung-shoh before they could enter the villages at T'oh-fuk. Moreover, the Hsiang boundaries were strictly observed. Suppose some one was robbed, if the robber had escaped outside the Hsiang boundary, all the victim could do was to present the case to the Sz-heung Kung-shoh to ask the next Hsiang Kung-so to apprehend the criminal.

After the Second World War, the Hsien Consultative Assembly met at Ts'ong-sheng and decided that each Hsiang was to establish a militia known as the Self-defence Corps under the direction of the Hsiang-chang. In the opinion of the informants, the Self-defence Corps was entirely different from the Hsiang-t'uan of 1911-1928. Instead of protecting the members of the Hsiang, they were instruments of the Sz-heung Kung-shoh against the peasants and the workers. In the late 1940's, they were even independent of the orders of the Sz-heung Kung-shoh: they were not supposed to enter the villages in search of criminals unless the Hsiang-chang told them to, but they did not care. They entered the villages and illegally searched the villagers' premises for food and money.

Thus, by the 1940's, the Sz-heung Kung-shoh became an awesome place. There was an alienation between the government and the governed within the same lineage. No one dared approach the Sz-heung Kung-shoh which was guarded by the Self-defence Corps. The individuals preferred to speak with the elders of their own village on important matters.

Each village had its own defence system. Physically, the
villages at T'oh-fuk were each surrounded by thick bamboo trees. In the case of Cheung Ts'uen, there was, in addition, a stream surrounding the village precinct, forming a moat for protection. A narrow footpath was built at the back of each of the villages leading to the next village.

For defence, some villages had high towers called *tiu-lau* built with concrete walls, iron doors and iron windows overlooking the countryside. From there, the village watchmen could see who were approaching the village. If anything happened, the villagers would hide in the tower itself.

In Cheung Ts'uen, the elders and the gentry served to organize the maintainence of law and order. They employed the village watch. There were 16 people in Cheung Ts'uen who were responsible for watching crops when they ripened. Cheung Ts'uen, I was told, was on the whole very peaceful; there were very few cases of stealing crops or water.

In Ha Ts'uen, the villagers pooled their resources together to employ professional watchmen in the 1920's and 1930's, but after that the villagers took turns to be watchman themselves.

In Na-loh, the villagers took turns being sentries. These were not paid, but if there was a case of theft that they had solved successfully, then they would be paid handsomely by the original owner.

**SECTION VII: Judicial Functions of the Lineage**

As has been described in Chapter III, the judicial system in Hoi-p'ing during the Min-kuo period had been gradually re-organized. By 1927, there was a District Court at Ts'ong-sheng with trial by jury. However, even after 1927, the lawcourts were not often made use of by the inhabitants of the T'oh-fuk area. As B put it in a nutshell,
"The villagers all believed that sung-tse chung-hsiung (whoever appealed to the lawcourts would only result in bad luck). Other informants expressed the same opinion. They told me that usually village elders settled disputes. Except murder cases, very seldom would people appeal to the lawcourts.

Like many lineages in South China (Hu: 132, 162-3) the elders in the villages were the mediators of quarrels among family members on the point of dividing up family estates or between creditors and debtors of the same village as well as offences in filial piety. The village gentry usually dealt with quarrels within the same village while the gentry at the Sz-heung Kung-shoh were unofficial judges of all quarrels between villages which could not be settled by the village gentry. But this, from all informed sources, seldom happened.

An informant remembered a case in his own village. An emigrant from the Nanyang left his property to his elder brother and his nephew. When the emigrant came home, he discovered that his land had been occupied by a Kwaan of another village. He appealed to the elders of that village for mediation and at last got his piece of land back.

The same informant described a murder case in T'oh-fuk. Two Kwaan from one village in Lo-yeung Heung killed a Kwaan from another village in Ng-wing Heung. The elders and gentry of the two Hsiang involved met at a teahouse in Che-hom for negotiation. They asked the two murderers to compensate the family of the victim by paying $9,000 (Chinese dollars). At first the murderers agreed. But the next day, they changed their minds. The elders and gentry sent them to the Department of Public Security.

The above shows that even for murder cases, the gentry tried to mediate. The official system was only made use of in the
last resort.

The Hsien government usually did not interfere with the judicial decisions of the Sz-heung Kung-shoh and was willing to accept the opinion of the Hsiang gentry on the integrity of the members of the Hsiang. An informant told me this event as an illustration. Two sons of an emigrant who owned a grocery store in Che-hom were apprehended by the Police Corps. The gentry of Ng-wing Heung joined with the elders to ask the Hsien-chang to release them.

B did not have a high opinion of the Hsiang gentry at the Sz-heung Kung-shoh. He said, "before the Min-kuo period, the gentry were at least steeped in the Confucian code of morality. After the Ch'ing Dynasty, the rich but uneducated people bought degrees and became Hsiang gentry. The villagers lost faith in their judgement. For minor cases, they usually appealed to their own village elders for settlement. For serious cases, they preferred to go to the District Court in Ts'ong-sheng or even the Supreme Court at Canton, bypassing the Sz-heung Kung-shoh altogether."

To illustrate his point, B mentioned a case in which an old retired hua-ch'iao was cheated of $60,000 (Chinese dollars) by the Pao-chang of his own village. His relative took him to the Sz-heung Kung-shoh to appeal, but he dared not speak up for fear that the Hsiang gentry would be biased towards the Pao-chang whom they appointed. So he did not get his money back.

B also described another judicial case which involved himself. "My 21st and 22nd generation ancestors had left us a shop-space in Che-hom. We rented it to a businessman who started a restaurant there. About 1929-30, when Che-hom was undergoing the process of widening the streets to make way for modern roads, more than half of
our shop had to be sold to the T’oh-fuk Bus Company. So we negotiated with the shop next door, which was owned by a merchant from Cheung Ts’uen also. The plan was to combine the two shops to start a new restaurant. But in trying to draw a line of demarcation for the two shop-spaces, the other party falsely insisted that some parts of our lot was his. About 1932-33, Kwaan Uen-leung, my cousin, went to the Ts’ong-sheng lawcourt to appeal for a decision on the shop boundary. Uen-leung was afraid that the other party would bribe the judge, so he asked me (I was visiting Cheung Ts’uen at that time) to go to T’oi-shaan City to bring a letter to a fellow graduate of his who was well-acquainted with the judge so that the latter would look at the matter more closely. The judge went to the site of the dispute. He found a piece of stone indicating the demarcation line between the two shops, but the cement under the stone was still wet. So the judge decided that this was forged evidence and we won our case. But the other party threatened that he would appeal to the Supreme Court in Canton. So we went to Canton to report the case to the Supreme Court first. The other party knew that we were not afraid, so he asked another Cheung Ts’uen native to beg us to drop the case. Seeing that he was also a Cheung Ts’uen native, we withdrew the case, telling the Supreme Court that we would settle the case outside the lawcourt. If we had not done this, he would probably have to go to jail."

B’s case above illustrates two points. Firstly, it shows that lawcourt cases were often influenced by personal factors. B’s side won the case because Kwaan Uen-leung and the Ts’ong-sheng judge had a mutual friend as much as because the other party was forging evidence. B’s side dropped the case at Canton because a fellow villager acted as middleman. Secondly, B’s example also illustrates a distrust of
the Sz-heung Kung-shoh as well as the village gentry in solving cases which involved merchants at Che-hom. Both parties in the case were Cheung Ts'uen natives and yet neither thought of appealing to the Sz-heung Kung-shoh or the Cheung Ts'uen leaders for a decision.

The same might not be true of quarrels involving other villagers. They probably did not have the knowledge of legal procedure or personal influence as Kwaan Uen-leung, a graduate of Law and Jurisprudence, had. For them, quarrels would probably be settled by the leaders in the village.

CONCLUSION

The K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih (49\(\)), like a lot of the other Chinese gazetteers, glorifies the lineage organization as beneficial to the individual members. My field data do not warrant this glorification among the Kwaan, at least not during the 20th Century.

The average member got nothing or very little material benefits out of the lineage property. The management of the Hsiang ancestral halls and the Kwong-ue T'ong estates were secret operations controlled by the Hsiang leaders. The individual members were not interested in augmenting to the lineage land since it would only benefit the managers. All the individual got was a few catties of pork.

It was true that the lineage maintained schools, but these were poorly equipped and out-of-date. The best schools were donated by the merchants and the emigrants for the education of their sons and daughters. No important public works or charity work were paid for by the proceeds of the lineage land.

Probably for this reason and probably because of the large size of the Kwaan lineage in T' oh-fuk, the individual Kwaan often lost
touch with the lineage organization as a whole, nor did he have a
high opinion of the elite members at the Sz-heung Kung-shoh. He was
more concerned with people and affairs of his own village which was
more tightly organized and more meaningful to his daily life.

The elders and the gentry members in the village were judges
in disputes. The village had its own boundary which kept the
inhabitants from non-members, be they Kwaan from another village or
non-Kwaan. Each village had its own defence mechanisms. The indivi-
dual's own fang or village ancestral estates were more beneficial to
him than the Hsiang or Kwong-ue T'ong estates both in terms of the
amount of pork being divided and the chances of successfully bidding
land to rent, while the siu-a-kung land, an economic corporation of
a few families in the same village, yielded substantial dividends.
The sentimental ties between villagers were expressed ritually by
such events as the Hoi-tang ceremony, the Fa-p'aaau event, the village
opera, the worship of the Earth God and the various voluntary clubs
such as the Long Life Club and the Pig Clubs.

Kwaan belonging to different villages occasionally quarrelled for
market spaces in Che-hom, these were often settled by elders of the
villages concerned. But, sometimes, the quarrels were for terri-
torial rights and these were harder to settle. Below are some
examples illustrating the strong solidarity of one village against
another village in T'oh-fuk at times of struggling for territorial
rights:

Members of village A and village B (both of Ng-wing Heung) came
from the same fang but they were not on good terms. One year in the
1940's, on the 4th day of the Chinese New Year when the members of the
two villages were celebrating their Hoi-tang ceremony together, they
broke up in anger, because they could not agree on how to divide the proceeds of a piece of rice field which was held by their common ancestral hall. This quarrel was never resolved. Their common ancestral hall was demolished and each set up its own, while that piece of corporate property was divided up.

In Chung-miu Heung, both village C and village D shared a piece of corporate property. In 1947, friction in the management of the land came into the open. Both sides wanted to divide up the land. The youths of village D claimed that $2/3$ of the land should belong to them, but the village C elders claimed that $\frac{1}{2}$ should belong to them. Both sides were ready to fight for their claims. They began to gather men and weapons. The Hsiang gentry of Chung-miu Heung mediated. They reprimanded the people of village D and divided the piece of corporate property equally between the two villages.

Informants told me that among the Kwan, there were frequent quarrels between people of different villages. But these, like these two cases cited above, were often settled by the Hsiang gentry. However, sometimes quarrels could become permanent enmity. An informant told me this story as an illustration. Village E of Ling-uen Heung used to be a well-organized village. No bandit dared raid the village. However, after the War, the defence system weakened because the corrupt managers had secretly sold all the guns. One day, a group of bandits raided the village. The villagers signalled for help by beating the gong for an hour, but none of the neighbouring villagers came to help.

In his 1964-65 article, Skinner argues that as market towns become modernized and roads built, village overlap becomes more pronounced. The peasant widens his social horizon. His acquaintance
expands to include initially townspeople and eventually residents of villages elsewhere in the trading system. He writes, "while the modernizing of marketing system leads to an expansion of social horizon, it is likely to involve a contraction of the social community. And it gives new importance to the village. As the marketing community fade away, much of the communal significance devolves on the component village. Villagers placed village interest above inter-village cooperation" (1964-5 Part II, 200-01).

This account of the development of Chinese rural communities does not correspond with his 1971 article, as discussed in Chapter VI of this thesis. In this latter article, he argues that in the heyday of every Dynasty in Chinese History, after the Empire had been pacified, there was usually an era of peace and stability, accompanied by an increase in economic and bureaucratic opportunities for the ambitious within the village community. Those who had gone elsewhere to trade, to take civil service examinations or to serve as officials usually went back to their home community to retire. They brought with them wider cultural norms, and as a result, there was usually an expansion of the social horizon of the peasants themselves (272-277). But unlike his article of 1964-65, Skinner does not conclude from this that there was a contraction of the social community. In fact, according to his 1971 article, the village community became open instead of closed. It became a type of social system whose bounds were blurred and whose boundary-maintaining mechanisms were weak (ibid:270).

As can be seen in this Chapter and the last one, the villages in T'oh-fuk were culturally opened in the 1930's and the 1940's, but they were territorially closed to outsiders, be they non-Kwaan or Kwaan from neighbouring villages. Judging from the data I have of
the Kwaan, I think Skinner's account of 1964-5 is more applicable to
the village communities in this part of China.

However, the fact that the component villages were closed against
one another does not mean that the Kwaan lineage as an entity was fall­
ing apart. Despite the divisive forces described in this Chapter, the
Kwaan lineage was still a strong social organization even down to the
late 1940's. This is probably because of the prestige and social
advantages of belonging to a powerful lineage like the Kwaan of Hoi-
p'ing. The individual Kwaan shared the past and present glory of his
lineage. The corporate land of the Kwaan did support a lively ritual
life. Through the pomp and noise of the Annual Rites and the sweeping
of the graves, the individual Kwaan derived such satisfaction by
being able to show off the numbers as well as the glory and prestige
of his lineage.

This showing-off was more than psychological satisfaction. As has
been described by Makino Tatsumi (93,100-1), even in the 1940's, in
South China, people belonging to a powerful lineage had a great deal
of influence over those who came from a weak lineage because of their
greater social position in the eyes of the Hsien government and public
opinion. Moreover, if the lineage had a great deal of corporate pro­
erty, even if there should be confrontation with another lineage, such
as in litigation or in fighting, the members of a powerful lineage was
often at a greater advantage over their opponents. Thus, the divisive­
ness of the component villages among the Kwaan did not tear the lineage
apart.

In fact, according to Tatsumi, it was common for large and power­
ful lineages in Kwangtung to have an "upper structure" and a "lower
structure": the former being the entire common descent group which
may comprise of many villages in the locality; the latter being the component villages of this descent group. According to Tatsumi (95, 99), "whatever concerns the daily life, the scope of lineage unity is generally limited to a single village (i.e. the lower structure) and it appears rare for it to extend to the lineage outside the village". But that does not mean that the upper structure had no functions. As Tatsumi (95, 99) further points out, "between once and several times a year, lineage representatives would gather for the occasion of a festive rite, the names of the lineage leaders were widely known, many printed genealogies were compiled and rules and percepts were drawn up by the organizers of the upper structure to be observed by the entire lineage. It was this upper structure which gave the whole lineage its form and thereby gave a sense of security to the lives of the lineage members. In places where lineage oppositions were very prominent as in Kwangtung, this was a very useful function".

These remarks of Tatsumi's can be applied to the Kwaan in T'oh-fuk. But quite apart from the political and social advantages gained by being members of the Kwaan lineage in Hoi-p'ing, there were also the economic advantages. The Kwaan lineage as a whole owned most of the land in Upper Che-hom and controlled that market, which was one of the most prosperous in Hoi-p'ing. The Kwaan found that they could seek commercial advantage by being members of the lineage.

Thus, despite the fact that the average Kwaan did not gain very much from the corporate property of the lineage, there were motives enough for the most deviant members to stay within the fold of the lineage structure.
CHAPTER VIII - NOTES

1. The worship of the Earth God was a good index of segregation and integration in a village (see also Baker: 130).

2. I was puzzled by the term "ancestral hall" which included as members three surname groups. Only in a second inquiry did I find out that it was in fact not an ancestral hall but a Tin-hau (T'ien-hou) temple which was opened to all village members.

Brim has a similar example: he wrote, "Some temples were recorded as 'ancestral temples' but in fact they were owned by the village public. There were in fact non-ancestral temples" (1971: ft. nt. 21).

3. This ceremony was practised in the New Territories. According to Brim, "alliance temples" possessed small Hsing-hsiang (or travelling images of Gods). These were invited to the individual villages to attend ceremonies such as the Hoi-tang ceremony. The main temple at Ts'ung-long where the Kwaan there put their images of T'ien-hou (Goddess of Heaven) could have been an alliance temple.

4. There were some differences. First, residential segregation was practised in Lung-tsai She but not in Tatieh. Second, Lung-tsai She took part in the rituals in the ancestral halls in T'oh-fuk, but the Tatieh people did not participate in any ancestral halls outside their own village. Third, there were no marriage ties between the three lineages in Lung-tsai She whereas there were considerable intra-village marriages in Tatieh. From these differences, one can see that Tatieh was a much more integrated village than Lung-tsai She.

5. There were two types of education land in Hoi-p'ing: education land established by lineages and education land established by
the Hsien government. Under the Empire and the Republic, the local administration owned a certain amount of land for funds to build schools and to help government students.

When Sham P'ing-k'eung in 1930 tried to investigate into the titles of education land in Hoi-p'ing (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:140), the lineages were afraid that some of their own education land might be confiscated. This fear might have prompted the Kwaan's decisions to revert all of its education land back to ritual land.

The same fear was shared by owners of association land. According to Feng Ho-fa (440), association land (property owned by merchant bodies and religious bodies) were of Ming origin. During the end of the Ch'ing period and the beginning of the Min-kuo period, association land was still being formed. But about 1930, no new association land was being formed. Old association property was sold because the owners were afraid of land being confiscated by the government to serve as government education land.

6. In Hoi-p'ing, the lineages situated in the upper course of the T'aam River had the problem of conserving water and directing water to their fields. So irrigation channels had to be built. In the lower course of the T'aam River, in Sha-kong and Shui-hau area, there was the problem of drainage because the area was liable to flood (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:111-13). Thus, the Cheung lineage established and maintained a system of embankments just like other lineages in South China (Baker:83-86; Watson 1972:36-43; Hsiao:340; Yang:26).

The relationship between the origin of lineages in South China and the drainage problem has given rise to the controversy between
Freedman and Pasternak, the solution of which this thesis was unable to contribute, as the Kwaan did not face the problem of drainage and irrigation.

7. In 1928, the Hsien-chang tried to re-establish the granary system in Hoi-p'ing. The Chambers of Commerce, other voluntary associations as well as rich households were asked to donate rice while the government would subsidize the rest. The rice was to be sold cheaply to the poor and the needy. But this attempt was given up in 1936 after the Nanking Government had resumed control of Canton (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih: 111-3).

8. The fu-mu hui in Ch'iu-chau was similar in intention to the long-life club. The only difference was that the fu-mu hui was to provide services for the funeral of the parents whereas the long life club was to provide coffins for the members themselves.

9. Wang (87) reported that after 1927, in the village of his study, there were more use of the lawcourts in cases where close relatives were fighting for inheritance and in cases where debtors quarrelled with creditors. Instead of blaming this on the low moral standard of the gentry leaders as B did, he believes that this showed that the Confucian ethics was on the decline and that "individualism was triumpheruing over clan relations".
CHAPTER IX
POWER AND LEADERSHIP IN T'OH-FUK AND CHE-HOM

Chapters II to IV of this thesis have dealt with the local self-government movement in the Kwangtung Province in general and in Hoi-p'ing in particular. The sub-administrative structure of this Hsien have also been described. The aim of this chapter is to take T'oh-fuk and Che-hom as examples to show the interaction between the administrative system and the sub-administrative system in Hoi-p'ing and to discuss what this meant to the local inhabitants and to the pattern of leadership of the Kwaan lineage as a whole.

SECTION I: The Power Structure in T'oh-fuk

A. The Sz-heung Kung-shoh

I was not able to get unanimous answers on the time and duration in which the Pao-chia system affected the villages at T'oh-fuk. Some of my informants were not sure how the Sz-heung Kung-shoh functioned; whether there was a Hsiang Consultative Assembly and what was the exact procedure by which the Hsiang-chang and the Hsiang Consultative members were chosen. This vagueness was perhaps partly because they were not clear about events and personalities 40 years ago and they were not often at home. However, it might be suggested that the ignorance about the Hsiang government was a reflection of its oligarchical structure.

Other informants were more knowledgeable and from them, I gathered information on the structure and function of the Hsiang government in T'oh-fuk.

The Sz-heung Kung-shoh was the office where the officials of the Ling-uen Heung, Chung-miu Heung, Ng-wing Heung and Lo-yeung Heung met.
Like the rest of Kwangtung, the Hsiang-chang of these four Hsiang and their Consultative members were nominated by the Hsien Government from the candidates put forward by the Hsiang-min Ta-hui of each of the four Hsiang in T'oh-fuk (see Figure II, Chapter II of this thesis).

The four Hsiang-min Ta-hui in T'oh-fuk were made up of the powerful elements of the component villages of each Hsiang: the scholars, the landowners and the merchants - who were either rich or educated or both. These were the unofficial leaders of the local inhabitants. Very often, a verbal agreement among the most powerful merchants and landowners was sufficient for anyone to be nominated to work in the Sz-heung Kung-shoh.

From the above, one can see that the Sz-heung Kung-shoh was an oligarchy. Only the elite members of the Kwaan lineage could become the Hsiang-chang or members of the Hsiang Consultative Assembly. The Hsiang-min Ta-hui was also an oligarchy but, even so, the members of the Ta-hui were more respected by the ordinary people than members of the Sz-heung Kung-shoh, simply because they were not civil servants and thus were regarded as potential champions of the people vis-a-vis the Government.

The following incidence shows that the members of the Hsiang-min Ta-hui did try to pose as champions of the local people against the officials but that they were not often effective in their attempts.

In the 1940's, one Hsiang-chang was involved in extortion and bribery. Some members of the Hsiang-min Ta-hui signed a petition to sue him in the Ts'ong-sheng Lawcourt. The Hsien-chang ordered another election to be held. However, this particular Hsiang-chang was still re-elected because he paid the Pao-chang as well as the Hsiang Consultative Members $200 (Hong Kong) each.
The reason why the members of the Hsiang-min Ta-hui were not always effective politically was that the Ta-hui itself was chaired by the Hsiang Consultative Members themselves. They could refuse to sign their names for any candidates unacceptable to them. Once they vetoed a certain candidate, it was not possible for him to stand for "election".

B. Power Structure in the Ts'un

Below is a description of how the formal and the informal power structures actually interacted in five villages in T'oh-fuk.

Sha-tei

There was a Ts'un-chang in Sha-tei. He was an old man of about 60 years old who had been in the post for over 10 years. His position was honorary. He settled family quarrels whenever called upon to do so. There were 14 powerful families in Sha-tei. They took care of the accounts of their particular ancestral halls. They were the ones who initiated land sales during Wartime.

The Pao-chang in the village was about 50 years old. Similar to the Ts'un-chang, he had been a Pao-chang for a long time since nobody else liked to take the post. He was responsible for appointing a corps of village watchmen. He collected unhusked rice from each family as the salary for himself and his staff. The householders chose the Pao-chang. The Hsiang-chang simply confirmed the post. This matter was no concern of the Hsien government at all.

The Pao-chang and the Ts'un-chang in this village were not influential leaders. For example, at one time, two sons of a hua-ch'iao in the village were apprehended by the Police Corps. The Pao-chang and the Ts'un-chang wanted to guarantee their good behaviour, but the Public Security Department refused to let them go until their
family paid $2,000 (Hong Kong dollars).

The Police Corps robbed the village more than once with guns in their hands. Sha-tei, being so near Che-hom, often suffered from these occasional police raids.

**Cheung Ts'uen**

There was a Ts'un-chang in the village. He was over 70 years old. He led the Spring and Autumn Rites in one of the ancestral halls and was regarded with affection by the villagers. Besides him, there were about 4 or 5 elders in the village - men over 60 years old whose opinions were well respected.

Neither the Ts'un-chang nor the elders had much control over the accounts of the ancestral halls. It was the resident merchants, graduates of modern schools and landlords who were the powerful people in Cheung Ts'uen. They collected rent from the corporate land and paid tax to the Sz-heung Kung-shoh.

Most of the leaders were educated - they were at least high school graduates - except one, who was an "uneducated rascal". According to one informant, "he was neither rich nor educated but he was a bully. Because the people of Cheung Ts'uen were timid, he succeeded in bullying them. He was the representative of the Ch'oh-hon Kung-t'sz which had the most land and people. The founder of the chang-fang, Kwaan Chung, had been an official in Hunan, so usually his descendants had the most power in our village".

Some of the village leaders stayed in Che-hom. They, together with the elders and the resident leaders would meet once a year in the Ling-uen Ancestral Hall to discuss the affairs of Cheung Ts'uen. While the elders in the village were responsible for matters pertaining to the inhabitants of that village such as mediating quarrels
within the village, the scholars, merchants and landlords residing in the village usually dealt with quarrels between Cheung Ts'uen and other villages. Matters of defence and public works were the joint responsibility of all the leaders, whether residing in the village or not. Together they employed the village watchmen and arranged for the repair or the reconstruction of the ancestral halls and the footpaths on the village outskirts.

The Pao-chia system was a list of names of householders. It was only a piece of paper kept by the so-called "Pao-chang", who had no other functions. But during and just before the War, the Pao-chang was responsible for enforcing the details of collecting army rations and conscripting people, helped by members of the Self-defence Corps. The Sz-heung Kung-shoh had to fill the army quota - one man in every 150 adult males and females had to serve in the army. According to the notice in the Bureau of Overseas Chinese Affairs, in the 1940's those hua-ch'iao who were visiting home for a period of less than 6 months were not supposed to be conscripted, while those who were retiring at home or those who were family members of the hua-ch'iao were to be conscripted last. But the people of the Sz-heung Kung-shoh did not care. They asked the Pao-chang to include all the hua-ch'iao in the army quota. If they refused to be conscripted, then the heads of the households would have to go to prison and their property confiscated. All the conscripted soldiers were like prisoners. They were forced to stay in the Sz-heung Kung-shoh until further notice.

Ha Ts'uen

Ha Ts'uen did not have a Ts'un-chang. There were the elders, the most prominent merchants, scholars and landlords who were responsible for the affairs of the village. Most of the leaders in
Ha Ts'uen were merchants. They had big businesses in Che-hom such as real estate and remittance firms. Some even operated gambling houses. Many of them did not live in Ha Ts'uen - neither did they own land there. Only once a year did they go back to discuss affairs with the elders. That was why most of the judicial functions were performed by the elders.

An informant of mine did not have a high opinion of the merchant-leaders in his village. He told me that they were "bullies who claimed that they were descendants of famous officials during the Ch'ing Dynasty and that they should take care of the ancestral land". According to him, these leaders were only interested in their own wealth and prestige and did nothing good for the village.

In the 1940's, one of the leaders in the village went to the lawcourt at Ts'ong-sheng to sue the accountant of the main ancestral hall for corruption. The Police Corps came to arrest the accountant. Everyone was happy. But unfortunately, the most powerful leaders of the village were left untouched.

Informants had not heard of the Pao-chia system before the War. But the system was in full operation during Wartime. Ha Ts'uen was then divided into three Chia, each had a Chia-chang. Above the Chia-chang was the Pao-chang. They were nominated by the Sz-heung Kung-shoh from the names suggested by the village leaders. That was why they consulted with the village leaders each time they had to do something in the village.

The work of the Pao-chang and the Chia-chang under him was to use the household register for conscripting soldiers and for collecting army rations. They also informed the people of government rules and regulations.
In about 1943, the KMT Armed Forces asked all the elders and the prominent leaders to come to a 'Security Meeting'. The Hsiang Kung-so members and all the Pao-chang were to guarantee the safe conduct of all the villagers and to give the soldiers weapons, ammunition and food. They stationed soldiers and policemen in the main ancestral hall in Ha Ts'uen to see to it that people were conscripted and army rations collected. If the Pao-chang and the Chia-chang had failed to conscript, they would have to go into the army themselves.

Ha-pin

There was no Ts'un-chang in Ha-pin. The more powerful merchants, scholars, landlords and elders were responsible for all unofficial matters in the village. Of these four types of leaders, the merchants were the most influential. In fact, while the scholars were often sons of reputed merchants families, most of the other leaders in Ha-pin had business in Che-hom or elsewhere although they lived in Ha-pin itself.

While the elders were conductors of rituals in the ancestral halls in Ha-pin, it was the most prominent merchants, scholars and landlords of the two fang who collected rent for the corporate property of their own ancestral halls, but each year, only one fang paid tax to the Sz-heung Kung-shoh from the rent collected.

The Pao-chia was only in operation for about 5 to 6 years in the 1930's. The whole of the Ha-pin was a Pao. A Pao-chang was recommended by the unofficial leaders to the Sz-heung Kung-shoh to be appointed. The Pao-chang of Ha-pin came from the ta-fang in the village. He was a small landowner, owning about 10 tou (approx. 1 acre) of land. He was under the influence of the unofficial
leaders in the village. During the years when the Pao-chia system was in operation, there was a bifiguration of functions in the village. The unofficial leaders regulated affairs concerning personal relationships such as struggles for inheritance, divorce and other quarrels between villagers. The Pao-chang was responsible for taking criminals to the Sz-heung Kung-shoh and other public duties. However, after 1936, there was no Pao-chang because the villagers felt that he was too impotent since he was just the messenger of the powerful leaders in the village.

**Na-loh**

In Na-loh, the Pao-chang was also the Ts'un-chang, since his area of jurisdiction comprised the whole village. Every year, the more powerful elements and the elders met together in a Nung-ooi (Ts'un-min Ta-hui) to elect the Pao-chang. The Oo also sent representatives to the Nung-ooi, but it was usually a Kwaan who was chosen since the Kwaan were in a majority in Na-loh.

The Pao-chang was paid out of the contributions of the villagers according to landholdings so he usually favoured the larger landowners. He mediated between the government authorities and the Ts'un people. His work was to report to the Sz-heung Kung-shoh births and marriages, movements of people as well as any major crimes and suspicious characters in the village. He was also responsible for conscription.

An informant told me that the people of Na-loh disliked the Pao-chang because he only accepted orders from above and assisted the government. Moreover, he often collected black money. When he failed to get what he wanted, he would report the case to the Sz-heung Kung-shoh who would put the Self-defence Corps into action.

A native of Na-loh had gone to Thailand. He had a brick house in
the village which was locked up for many years. One day, a scoundrel wanted to demolish his house. A member of the village told the Pao-chang who went to stop the scoundrel. But the scoundrel did not listen and refused to pay black money, so the Pao-chang asked the Self-defence Corps to help apprehend the criminal. This created an uproar in the village because the Self-defence Corps were notorious. They robbed rather than aided the villagers and protected the opium and gambler's rackets in town. Asking the Self-defence Corps for help meant asking for trouble. So, the coming year, the merchants and the elders of Na-loh banded together to have this notorious Pao-chang removed.

Like other villages in T'oh-fuk, it was the elders and the most popular merchants, scholars and landlords who took care of the public affairs in Na-loh. There was no way of choosing these leaders. Everyone knew who they were.

The elders (about 5 to 7 of them) were men over 60 years old. They were the leaders of the Spring and Autumn Rites in the village. In matters of family and other disputes, the elders in the village were consulted and they served as arbiters.

The merchants and landlords had more power than the elders. Many lived in the village itself. Among them were a group of leaders called the "managers" who took care of village affairs in turn. These managers were mostly businessmen who had connections in both Che-hom and elsewhere.

As far as collecting tax was concerned, Na-loh adopted a rotation system. Every head of the household in the village was to handle the rent collected from the ancestral corporate land in turn and to pay tax to the Sz-heung Kung-so for a year. Because of this system of paying tax, the unofficial leaders were probably less powerful than
those in other villages of T'oh-fuk.

SECTION II: Leadership Pattern in T'oh-fuk and Che-hom

A. The Official Leaders

The government organs which controlled Che-hom and T'oh-fuk included the Sz-heung Kung-shoh, the Che-hom Chan Kung-shoh, the Branch Office of the Department of Public Security and the Army Garrison - all centred in the market town of Che-hom. Of these organs, the local inhabitants only served in the Sz-heung Kung-shoh and the Che-hom Chan Kung-shoh. The Kwaan acted as Hsiang-chang, Pao-chang, Chia-chang, Chen-chang, as well as the Hsiang Consultative members and the Chen Consultative members since they were the dominant lineage in this area of Hoi-p'ing. This arrangement was the result of Ch'en Chi-t'ang's attempt to make use of the local elites to serve the purposes of the government. He tried to merge the official and the unofficial power structures in both the market towns and the countryside so as to strengthen his control of South China.

From the data presented in Section I of this Chapter, it is clear that the Hsiang-chang, the Chia-chang, the Pao-chang and the Hsiang Consultative members were not popular figures. This is rather surprising in view of the fact that the Sz-heung Kung-shoh offered a protection umbrella to the Kwaan in all parts of Hoi-p'ing and helped them to gain some degree of tax immunities (see Chapters IV and VII of this Thesis).

This paradox could perhaps be resolved by looking at Skinner's 1968 article on Overseas Chinese Community Leadership in Southeast Asia. The Kapitan system of government there was very similar to the Hsiang government in the T'oh-fuk area of Hoi-p'ing after 1930, in the way
the officers were chosen, the qualifications of these leaders as well as their functions (Skinner 1968:192-5).

Like the members of the Sz-heung Kung-shoh, these Kapitan leaders were originally unofficial leaders of the Overseas Chinese Communities. They were chosen by the governments in Southeast Asia as the State's Agents and by the Chinese communities as their protectors (ibid:203). But, because the Government offered more concrete economic and social advantages to them, these Kapitan leaders became co-opted to the side of the government. From then on, they lost their effectiveness as community leaders and were regarded totally as the agents of the state (ibid:196-9).

The same happened to the relationship between the Hsiang members and the leaders at the Sz-heung Kung-shoh in the T'oh-fuk area of Hoi-p'ing. Insofar as the Sz-heung Kung-shoh had gained some political and fiscal advantages for the individual Kwaan, he would be contented to be under its jurisdiction. That was why the Sz-heung Kung-shoh at Che-hom served as a unifying force for all the Kwaan in Hoi-p'ing. Nevertheless, the individuals who worked in the Sz-heung Kung-shoh were often regarded as potential oppressors to the peoples' interests because they did not have to rely on the people's goodwill for their power.

Embedded in this distrust of the official leaders was the traditional peasant attitudes in South China that local leaders should remain out of office and protect the lineage members' interests. Once the leaders deviated from this norm, they would be regarded as potential traitors to the people's interests no matter whether they were really working for the interests of the lineage members or not.

It is true that some of the local leaders who had joined the
government did use their control of the land registers, their power to allocate land, to collect taxes as well as to conscript labourers and soldiers and to bail suspects to extort the powerless members of their own lineage. But this was not always the case. From the description of the various villages in T'oh-fuk in Section I above, the Pao-chang, for example, varied in moral standards: the Pao-chang in Shatei was a genuine representative of the Ts'un members' interests. But even so, he still had less influence and status than the other village spokesmen who stayed out of office.

Thus, Ch'en Chi-t'ang's policy of using local talents in local government organs resulted in the alienation of some of the elite members from the non-elite members of the same lineage. This widened the gulf of class interests in Hoi-p'ing since the elites belonged to the rich and the educated class in the Hsien.

After 1936, when the Nanking Government took over the control of Kwangtung Province and extended its influence over the villages by centralizing the Police Corps and strengthening the Department of Public Security, it became harder for the official leaders, even if they wanted to, to protect the villagers from the pillages of the government soldiers and the Police Corps or to bail innocent members of their Hsiang in case of trouble with the Department of Public Security. The Self-defence Corps which was established after the Second World War to be under the control of the Hsiang Kung-so soon got out of hand. They bullied and extorted the people, with or without the permission of the Hsiang-chang, the Pao-chang and the Chia-chang. Even worse was their misuse of the power to conscript the people. In T'oh-fuk, those who did not want to be conscripted had to pay a large sum of money and those who could not pay had to serve in the army.
Thus, although my informants all emphasized the peacefulness of the countryside of T'oh-fuk as being free from bandit raids, they complained about the occasional raids by the Self-defence Corps, soldiers and the Police Corps and these were often blamed on the fact that some of their lineage elites were instruments of the government.

B. The Unofficial Leaders

By the term "unofficial leaders" is meant those leaders who were not civil servants of the government. They were more influential and prestigious than the official leaders who were believed to be traitors to local interests. These unofficial leaders were not chosen by any legal means, they were recognized rather than elected.

Administrative, educational and economic changes in Hoi-p'ing in the 20th Century had changed the qualities of the unofficial leaders.

1. The Changing Meaning of the Term "Gentry"

In Chinese studies, there were two different definitions of the term "gentry". According to Chang (xviii), the term meant the scholar-officials: those who had taken state examinations or those who had bought official degrees. According to Fei (6), however, the term gentry denotes a particular socio-economic class - those who pursued a gentlemanly way of life. He distinguishes the "gentry" from the "literati" who were scholars but may or may not be rich enough to lead a gentleman's way of life.

It can be argued that the difference of definitions between Chang and Fei reflected a historical evolution of the term "gentry". When the traditional examination system was at its height, the term "gentry" definitely meant scholar-officials who had a particular legal status which included among other things, exemption from labour duties
and from corporal punishment. Mere landowners and merchants did not attain this status however rich they were. These privileges could only be obtained by those who passed the traditional examinations as well as by those who bought degrees.

When the traditional examination system was abolished in 1905, the term "gentry" had lost its legal meaning. The graduates of modern schools, including University graduates, did not have the legal status as the old scholar-officials, but they were still high in social prestige. In many lineages in South China, the high school graduates were regarded as gentry members and were invited to join the ancestral hall association (Freedman 1958:50).

Hu (23) observes that in South China the emphasis placed on status and prestige varies with the region and the lineage. Where education was much valued, it was an important requirement for prestige. In other groups, strength of personality and ability to run the affairs of the lineage were decisive factors.

Thus, by the 20th Century, the term gentry could mean two types of people (1) those who pursued a lifestyle similar to those of the old scholar-officials, be they landowners, merchants, retired civil servants or overseas emigrants; (2) those who obtained a degree equivalent to the degrees of the old scholar officials - that is, graduates of high schools and above (who were entitled to take the civil service examination in Canton). Both of these two categories of people were termed "new gentry" by my informants, as distinguished from the traditional scholar-gentry-officials whom they called the "old gentry"
Although the traditional examination system was abolished in Hoi-p'ing in 1905, modern schools did not become popular until 1920, as had been indicated in Chapter III above. Thus, before 1930, there were still the old gentry and the new gentry living side by side in T'oh-fuk.

There were two kinds of old gentry: those who had passed traditional examinations before 1905 and those who bought traditional degrees before that date. The former were the "regular gentry" and the latter were the "irregular gentry". They were to be distinguished from the new gentry who were either graduates of high school and above or were rich men living in the villages.

B's feeling to the changes in education system was ambivalent. On the one hand, he emphasized the enthusiasm the Kwaan had towards education. On the other hand, he denounced the standard of morality of the new gentry and the irregular gentry.

He said, "The irregular gentry were often illiterate. When I was about ten years old, I went to the Kwong-ue T'ong at Che-hom. An old man asked me whether the word on the board at the ancestral hall was the word "ku". I told him that it was the word "yuan". At first, I thought he was testing me. Later I found out that he was an irregular gentry!".

Of the new gentry, he said, "Modern graduates were usually given political posts since they were able to move around in official circles. The Kwaan, as far as I know, valued formal education as a means of attaining prestige and power. From about 1920 onwards some rich Kwaan families sent their children to Canton to study. However, there were a second type of new gentry: those who were rich and bought themselves power and prestige. So, on the whole, the new
gentry did not have as high a standard of morality as the old gentry.

The development of the second type of new gentry described by Kwaan B. must have been a result of the growth of business in Che-hom from 1920-30, a consequence of the road building programmes and the municipal development in Che-hom. Because of the accessibility of urban opportunity, class advancement must have become more and more through commercial routes. Moreover, the differences between the leaders and the led became more and more a difference in economic class. Although not all rich families were local leaders, all local leaders came from rich families.

2. Different Ways of Validating Statuses in Market-towns and Villages.

As has been indicated in Chapter VIII, the modernization of education proceeded very slowly in the villages in T'oh-fuk. Even after 1920, these "modern schools" which were operated by the ancestral halls in the villages were still traditional or at most semi-modern. However, the schools in Che-hom operated by the merchants, overseas emigrants and the missionaries were progressive, being modelled after Canton. It was these schools as well as those in Canton which gave birth to modern graduates.

Because of the uneveness in the development of education, there were different ways of validating statuses in the market-towns in the villages.

From Section I, we learnt that the elders, the traditional scholars or sons of the traditional scholars still commanded status and prestige in the villages. Traditional means of validating status and prestige, such as leading the Spring and Autumn Rites, having two or more shares of the ritual pork and paying money to put ancestral tablets in the ancestral halls were still utilized. In
market towns, these traditional trappings were not important in validating status and prestige. There, personal wealth, commercial success and modern education were important criteria of leadership.

Unofficial Leaders in the Hsiang

One informant suggested to me that in T'oh-fuk, before 1905, the Hsiang gentry were traditional scholars. After 1905, they were either high school graduates or university graduates. They were usually men of good morals, though not necessarily rich men. But, about 1920-30, many of the nouveau riche, retired merchants and returned emigrants became Hsiang leaders. He believes that this evolution of Hsiang leadership was also true of the rest of the Sz-yap area. After 1930, it was these new gentry who dominated the political structure unofficially. They formed the Hsiang-min Ta-hui which nominated the Hsiang-chang and the Hsiang Consultative members while they themselves remained out of office.

From Section I of this Chapter, it is quite clear that the whole procedure of selection of the Hsiang official elite was a balance between the unofficial Hsiang leaders on the one hand and the Hsien government on the other hand. Like the Kapitans in Southeast Asia, the Hsiang-chang and the Pao-chang were thus subjected to the wishes of these two forces. The common villagers had no part in the nomination of their official leaders. They could only protest in the case of a corrupt Hsiang-chang, Chia-chang or Pao-chang. Yet, their protests would only be effective if the unofficial leaders backed them up. And, insofar as the unofficial leaders fulfilled this function, they were regarded as the "real" leaders by the Hsiang inhabitants and were treated with as much respect as the traditional scholar-gentry before 1911.
Unofficial Leaders in the Ts'un

Possibly because of the presence of traditional schools in the T'oh-fuk villages, the Confucian ethics and the traditional system of values still prevailed. Traditional leaders such as the elders, the representative of fang and descendants of traditional scholars still retained their status and prestige in the T'oh-fuk villages in the 1940's.

a. The elders

Like the Liao in Sheung-shui (Baker:97), there were two types of leaders in the villages of T'oh-fuk: ritual leaders and political leaders.

The elders who were old and experienced in organizing ritual matters usually served as the ritual leaders. But, as in other parts of South China (Freedman 1958:37; Kulp:106-11), the elders in the T'oh-fuk villages had very little political power in the 20th Century when respect for age was declining. Though willing enough to be spokesmen of village interests, they were not able to assert their influence. It was the well-to-do merchants and the landlords who formed a locus of authority over the elders.

However, this does not mean that the elders had no functions at all in T'oh-fuk. In the case of villages (such as Ha Ts'uen) where the merchant leaders were busy with business in Che-hom and elsewhere, the elders who were usually small landowners residing in the villages, took over many of the political and judicial functions. As in the village of Nanching (Yang:87-8,116,132) the elders usually arbitrated in the case of quarrels between the various power blocs in the villages.

In fact, they were regarded with much more affection than the merchants and landlord leaders. This was probably because of the fact that the elders were not part of the power elite. Being respected because of age and seniority and not because of other economic or political trappings, their only means of gaining prestige and status was through being genuinely helpful to the villagers.
b. **Representatives of a Strong Segment**

Data in Section I indicates that although education, wealth and talents were among the most important credentials for village leadership, descent was also important. The descendants of the founders of the village corporate land or the representatives of a fang with a large number of members often won their claims to be managers and accountants of corporate land.

The reason why representatives of powerful segments had high status was probably because of the fact that a numerical segment usually had a lot of corporate property and had in traditional times produced a substantial number of traditional degree holders. As the traditional system of examination was abolished, wealthy segments no longer supported scholar-officials. However, they still held a lot of corporate property and retained much of the prestige in the village through the glorious past.

c. **The gentry**

Before 1920, the old gentry still predominated in the village level in terms of power, status and prestige. They, together with the elders, controlled the affairs in the village while the new gentry served in the Hsiang and the Hsien Governments. After that date, however, the power of the new gentry began to extend to the villages. Many of the new gentry quarrelled with the old gentry in the villages, trying to control the accounts of the ancestral land. Moreover, like the new gentry in Nanching (ibid:112) after 1920, it was they, instead of the old scholars, who approached the government authorities on behalf of the villages. By 1930, these new gentry - modern graduates, merchants and retired emigrants - had completely replaced the power of the scholar-gentry.
This replacement of the old gentry by the new gentry came so gradual that it was almost unperceivable by the peasants in the villages. The new gentry, although different in nature from the old gentry, still commanded the respect of the peasants as long as they remained out of office and posed as champions of the village people against the officials. For example, the merchant leaders in Ha Ts'uen who sued the accountant of the Main Ancestral Hall and the merchant leaders in Na-loh who helped to remove a notorious Pao-chang were well-loved by the villagers.

Unofficial Leaders in Che-hom

The new gentry who dominated politics in the T‘oh-fuk villages were also the unofficial leaders in Che-hom. Instead of exerting their power through adopting the traditional status symbols of the ancestral halls in the lineage, Hsiang and Ts‘un levels, they extended their power through modern organizations such as the Chen-min Ta-hui, the Chambers of Commerce and the Occupation Unions.

My informants did not think highly of the Chen-chang or the Chen Consultative members whom they regarded as mere puppets of the Hsien Government since they could not protect the citizens from the misdeeds of the soldiers and the Police Corps. In Che-hom as in other market towns of Hoi-p'ing, it was the Chambers of Commerce which had the most prestige because the leaders were not civil servants and they were often powerful spokesmen against the government (Skinner 1968: 199-200).

a. Chamber of Commerce

The Che-hom Chamber of Commerce began when a group of merchants of different surnames joined together for recreation purposes and to employ tutors to teach their children. Eventually, it came to incor-
porate all merchants at Che-hom.

Theoretically, this Chamber of Commerce was run by the leading citizens from the market-town itself and not dominated by the Kwaan or the Sz-t' o. However, it often happened that a Kwaan or a Sz-t' o acted as the Chairman by the sheer fact that they had the largest number of shops there.

Every year, all shopowners of Che-hom got together to elect 12 members as the standing committee. They served as middlemen in disputes. When two shopowners quarrelled, the members would appeal to the committee for mediation before the case was reported to the lawcourt at Ts'ong-sheng. They also served as spokesmen of the shopowners in case of a confrontation with the Hsien Government or with the garrison soldiers in Che-hom.

Among the first quarrels between the authorities and the Che-hom Chamber of Commerce was the one in October 1914. The underlings of the Che-hom Garrison Commander So T'ing-yau massacred an innocent audience at a theatre in Che-hom because the gambler's racket which organized the opera did not pay any protection fees. The leaders of the Che-hom Chamber of Commerce went to Canton to complain. All the shops in Che-hom closed until action was taken. In the end, So T'ing-yau was relieved of duty and his underlings had to face the firing squad (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih: 85; Per.Com.).

In 1925, there was another strike by the Che-hom Chamber of Commerce. The government at Ts'ong-sheng sent Kwok Sek-woh, a tax collector, to estimate how much land in Che-hom were "reclaimed land" (Sha-t'in). He reported that all the land there had to pay the Sha-t'in Tax since the landlords could not produce evidence to prove that they were not reclaimed land. The Chairman of the Che-hom
Chamber of Commerce then headed a delegation to Canton to protest. The merchants at Che-hom closed their shops for five days. The Finance Department in Canton mediated in the affair. Che-hom paid a lump sum of $7,000 (Chinese dollars) for the "reclaimed land". Kwok Sek-woh was relieved of duty (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:196).

After the War, the soldiers went to the villages at T'oh-fuk "to hunt for communists". They seized the people's belongings and operated a stand to sell these booties at Che-hom. The Chamber of Commerce protested to Canton but without effect (Per. Com.).

Besides organizing protests, the Chamber of Commerce in Che-hom was behind the modern education movement. Many of the committee members of the Education Conference were members of the Che-hom Chamber of Commerce. According to a school teacher in Che-hom, the leaders of the Chamber of Commerce there collected donations from each shop to support the building of the First High School of Hoi-p'ing. In this endeavour, they joined hands with the Hong Kong Hoi-p'ing Chamber of Commerce in their campaign for education funds.

b. Occupation Unions and Social Disorder in Che-hom after 1940

It is not known when Labour Unions began in Che-hom or how they were organized. But evidence shows that they were quite extensive by the 1940's, at a time when the Police Corps at Che-hom were becoming more and more brutal to the citizens. The workers had to organize themselves into unions so as to present a united front against police brutality.

An incident in Che-hom in the 1940's illustrates this need for a united front clearly. About 1947, one policeman beat up a bus conductor, all the bus conductors and bus drivers refused to work until everything was settled. They appealed to the Machinists' Union
who also joined in the strike. Because of the latters' help, the strike was successful.

Besides police brutality, civil order was not good in Che-hom in the late 1940's. There was, for example, a lodge of the Triads at Che-hom during the Ch'ing period which had degenerated into an underground society smuggling opium, organizing opium dens and gambling rackets. There was also a "Pao-chang" in Che-hom. He was the "King" of all the underground societies there. According to one informant "If you have your things stolen, you asked him, he could tell you who did it". In addition, there was also "bandit organizations" which kidnapped and robbed families of the merchants, the hua-ch'iao and the civil servants.

CONCLUSION

In Hoi-p'ing after 1936, it is beyond doubt that the people of both the countryside and the market towns were suffering from harsh fiscal policies and police rule. The tax contractors, the soldiers and the police were collecting tax, levies, contributions etc. at will. They were also involved in extortions of all kinds. It is obvious that the people of Hoi-p'ing needed local leaders urgently to arbitrate with the government.

Three avenues were opened to local talents: (1) as unofficial leaders of powerful lineages; (2) as official members of various government or semi-government organizations such as the Hsiang Kung-so, Hsiang Consultative Assembly etc; (3) as leaders of various organized pressure groups such as the Chambers of Commerce and the Occupation Unions.

Of these three avenues, the most unpopular from the view point of the average Kwaan was to become official members of the various
government organs. Civil servants were regarded as part of the oppressive bureaucratic system whose interests were the direct opposite of those of the local inhabitants, whether in the markettowns or in the villages. Whoever joined the civil service were regarded as having been co-opted to the side of the government and were therefore potential oppressors.

Thus, those who had the most prestige and status among the Kwaan in T'oh-fuk were not office-bearers but were leaders of the pressure groups such as the Hsiang-min Ta-hui, the Chen-min Ta-hui, the Chamber of Commerce and the Labour Unions. These were the people who were educated enough and/or had enough outside connections to organize strikes, protests or bring the cases to lawcourts in Ts'ong-sheng and Canton to fight against harsh taxation, corrupt officials and ruthless soldiers and policemen.

The difference between new gentry and old gentry had little meaning to the peasants. To them, the distinction between good and bad gentry was perhaps more meaningful. A leader, whether steeped in Confucianism or modern knowledge or no knowledge at all, was a good gentry if he contributed to lineage land and acted as spokesman of the peasants to the officials. A leader was a bad gentry if he embezzled lineage funds, bullied the peasants and was co-opted by the government.

Thus, those local leaders who had become civil servants in their own locality were alienated from the humble members of their own lineage, whereas he who remained outside the government hierarchy, even though he may also be a representative of his own class interest, would not lose his prestige if at the same time he acted as a spokesman of the local people against the government.
In traditional China, besides acting as spokesman of the lineage, contributions to ancestral halls and ritual land were also regarded as deeds of a good gentry (Hsiao:335). But, in an age when the bureaucratic pressure on the ordinary people were on the increase, these gestures were not required to achieve status and prestige. What was necessary was to act as spokesman for lineage members or for town inhabitants or for the whole of Hoi-p'ing against the harsh government policies and personalities. Leaders may even be chosen if they did not contribute to the improvement of the lineage as such. As long as they could shield the people from the encroachment of the government, they would be respected.
CHAPTER IX - NOTES

1. It is not surprising that B notices the presence of li-kung-sheng in T'oh-fuk. As can be seen from Chapter IV of this thesis, the Kwaan had the largest number of li-kung-sheng degrees in Hoi-p'ing during the Ch'ing period. It is not known, however, how many bought their way to government posts in Hoi-p'ing during the Min-kuo period.

2. This development of the leadership pattern among the Kwaan was by no means unique. The same pattern was also found in Nanching (Yang:87-8; 112-7) and Phenix (Kulp:106-117) See also Freedman (1958:52, 61-2).
CHAPTER X
LIFE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY

From Chapters VIII and IX above, it should be clear that there were some dissatisfaction among the ordinary members to the way the Kwaan lineage was organized and to the fact that some of the local leaders were co-opted by the government. This Chapter will be devoted to an examination of the occupational structure of the T'oh-fuk - Che-hom area to see if there were any economic reasons for members to remain in the lineage. The first part of the Chapter consists of a description of life in the various villages under study. The second part consists of a description of the development of Che-hom as a trading centre.

SECTION I: The Village Economy and Occupational Structure

A. Sha-tei

There were about 200 houses in the village. The land produced mostly rice, some sweet potatoes, yams and a few vegetables. There was not enough food grown for every inhabitant in the village who often had to buy imported Thai rice at Che-hom. It was very expensive since the taxes were high on imported rice after 1930 when Kongmoon regained its tariff autonomy.

The villagers enjoyed buying things from the market such as vegetables and fruits which came from Kongmoon; fresh water fish from Shun-tak; rice from Thailand as well as other imported grocery items such as Ceylon tea, cigarettes, kerosene as well as clothing. It was considered prestigious to buy imported goods.

Before the 20th Century, one of the most important non-farming occupations in Sha-tei was to collect oysters at the banks of the T'aam River. Another was the making of fishing-nets. These, however,
were no longer profitable after the 1920's because the T'aam River had been drying up. Besides these, there were no side occupations done at home in Sha-tei.

The village was so near Che-hom that every family had one or two members working there either full-time or part-time (informant's estimation). The poorer village folks went to Che-hom to dig dirt, to work as warehouse coolies, to pull rickshaws, crush rocks to build houses etc. Two of the villagers were barbers in Che-hom and one a carpenter. Fourteen families in the village had business in Che-hom. Owing to their patronage, many in the village served as apprentices and shop employees.

Women did most of the farming. Men either worked in Che-hom, Canton, Hong Kong or America. Nobody in the village worked in other villages as farm labourers. They would rather work in Che-hom, other market towns or overseas. Those who worked in Che-hom stayed in Sha-tei which was only 5 minutes' walk to Che-hom.

About 2 in every 5 families in the village rented land (informant's estimation). These were the families who either owned no land or who owned less than 8 tou (0.8 acres) of land and at the same time, their livelihood was not supplemented by remittances from Che-hom, Hong Kong, Canton or overseas. In other words, these families either had no members working away from the village or because their family members were not very successful in their urban or overseas adventures.

Land for rent, whether private or corporate, was thrown open to bidding. The time for each bidding varied with the individual cases. Usually the owner kept the original tenant whom he felt he could trust. There was no contract binding the tenant and the landlord. Either party could give up before the period specified
verbally. The tenant was to pay half the products of his labour to the landlord. The landlord did not supply anything else. The tenant used his own tools and fertilizers.

It is not known how much or whether any land or head taxes were paid. But there were high taxes on every kind of farm produce and domestic animals being sold by the villagers on market days — such as rice, vegetables, fish, shrimps, chicken, ducks, eggs, cows or pigs — some of which were to pay for the building and the upkeep of modern roads.

Few of the villagers organized or joined loan associations. Money was borrowed either from affines or relatives or close kins in the village, if it involved a small sum. For these, often no interest was being charged. For a large sum of money, the villagers either borrowed from the rich farmers in the village or those with business concerns in Che-hom or from professional moneylenders in Che-hom. The latter usually charged about 10% of the loan as interest.

There was a professional usurer in Che-hom nicknamed "winking interest". He had no fixed rate on the amount of interest charged on the sum of money borrowed. People said his interest rates changed whenever he winked his eyes. Anyone who borrowed money from him was bound to be in trouble. Other professional moneylenders in Che-hom, like the "winking interest", were usually either owners or part-owners of remittance firms. They asked land or house papers as security for lending money. Thus, the landless or the houseless did not even have a chance to borrow from them.

The wives or parents of some hua-ch'iao loaned money to the villagers occasionally to help the neighbours, but they were not professional usurers. They did not ask for high interests.
B. Cheung Ts'uen

Cheung Ts'uen consisted of a group of 500 houses. The village produced two crops of rice a year and some vegetables. There were no other food or cash crops produced but many villagers raised pigs and chickens to be taken to Che-hom for sale.

About 1920, when foreign cloth became popular in Che-hom, fewer women wove cloth for the market. Adolescent girls who stayed in maiden houses still wove cloth, but they did that to pass their days, not to earn money.

In Cheung Ts'uen as well as in Ha Ts'uen, there was a family industry known as po-tsai. Everyone in the family took part. It was the making of paper money for ritual purposes used during funerals, at Ching-ming and the Double Nine Festivals. In Hoi-p'ing, if anyone brought po-tsai into the house, it would be considered as bringing bad luck to the family. But the po-tsai industry commanded a good market in Yan-p'ing, Ma-kong (Hoi-p'ing) and T'oi-shaan. The Yan-p'ing people liked to buy this paper money because they regarded it as a homonym for "po-tsai" which meant keeping one's family tree flourishing. So they bought some for all kinds of celebrations - weddings, birthdays, births of sons or funerals. The income obtained by selling the po-tsai was a substantial addition to the income of the families of both Cheung Ts'uen and Ha Ts'uen.

Tenant farmers in Cheung Ts'uen accounted for 1 in every 6 families in the village (informant's estimation). They were usually Ha Fu families, poor Kwaan families owning little or no land or the women of poor emigrant families. They either rented private land from individual families or corporate land from the ancestral halls or both. There were no written contracts on the durations or
conditions of rent but the verbal agreements were often renewed once a year in the case of private land. Land could be taken back by the landlord after a year or the tenant could give up the land. Sometimes some "fierce tenant" would insist on paying less rent or refuse to give up the land after a year, saying that he had improved the land and he alone had the right to rent it.

The landlord was the one who had to pay the land taxes. He took part of the rent he collected to pay the taxes to the government. Owing to the fact that after 1926, farmland in Hoi-p'ing was divided into five grades for taxing purposes (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:193), the landlord would theoretically collect different amounts of land-rent for the different grades of land so as to meet the differential tax quota. To avoid complicated calculations on the amount of rent to be collected and to avoid protests and arguments from the tenants, the landlord in Cheung Ts'uen (as in other parts of T'oh-fuk) usually collected half of the tenant's harvest as rent.

One informant estimated that in Cheung Ts'uen, there were about 20 taai-kaang-oo, literally meaning "big farming households". These were the households specializing in farming: they had no members working outside the village. They farmed their own land and rented other pieces of land to grow vegetables and raise chickens for sale. They owned their farm-equipment and the keuk ch'e for bringing water from the river. They sometimes rented their farm equipment to other villagers for a fee. They earned a good living after the Depression years when vegetables and chickens fetched a better price and also during and immediately after the War when rice from Thailand could not be imported. They were often in a good position to extend loans to poorer farmers in the village.
Other than the taai-kaang-oo, most of the villagers had subsidiary occupations besides farming. The land alone did not yield enough income for the average family, so most of the young men in Cheung Ts'uen worked outside the village. Many worked part-time in Che-hom in winter, when it was not too busy in the fields. Others worked full-time in Che-hom or went overseas.

Many boys, as soon as they reached 12 years old, either went to study outside Cheung Ts'uen and boarded away from home, or they were apprenticed in market towns or went overseas. A large number of adult men did not work at all. If they did not have enough money to go abroad, they would stay home to gamble or smoke opium, leaving the women to do all the farm-work and marketing. Other more enterprising men operated stores in Che-hom.

On the whole, few people needed to beg or borrow. Those who borrowed temporarily were those who needed money to go abroad or pay for their wedding. Most of them borrowed from the village gentry who did not ask for any form of security for the loan. It was not known whether there were any loan associations among the poor members of the village. Neither was it known how much land or head taxes were collected. But it was clear that every transaction of land or house, be it a mortgage or a sale, had to go through the Sz-heung Kung-shoh for a seal and one paid something like $6 tax and $12 (Chinese dollars) as voluntary contributions for the maintenance and building of government schools.

C. Ha Ts'uen

Ha Ts'uen had about 400 to 500 houses. The crops grown there were mostly rice, melons and vegetables. There was not enough food for everyone and rice had to be imported.
Besides the making of po-tsai, there were not many profitable side occupations done within the village itself. The fish ponds were all owned by the ancestral halls and only the highest bidders could raise fish. The villagers did make mud-huts, but these were for one's own building purposes, not for sale in the market. Most of the farming families with excess manpower sent their sons to work outside the village as apprentices or as cooks in Che-hom, other market towns, Canton or overseas.

Over 80 families in Ha Ts'uen had less than 8 tou of land. They had to work in Che-hom or elsewhere in order to earn enough to eat. Others had more land, but they wanted to work outside the village in order to make a better living. Altogether, about 7 in every 10 villagers had family members working in Che-hom or elsewhere (informant's estimation).

In the village, 36 families were classified as taai-kaang-oo by other villagers (informant's estimation). They owned more than 10 tou of land (1 acre). They could earn enough to eat without engaging in side occupations at all, but they still did not earn as much as the rice-laan, pig-laan or chicken-laan owners who controlled the prices.

There were no loan associations in the villages. Most of the needy either borrowed from their relatives or from richer households in the village. There were no co-operatives or low interest loans offered by the government banks.

D. Ha-pin

There were about 100 houses in Ha-pin. The soil was neither very rich nor very poor. Most of the crops grown were for local consumption. The villagers did not have to buy rice at all except
that some rich families liked to buy rice from Che-hom because they preferred the taste of Thai to local rice.

Ha-pin was apparently self-sufficient. But its self-sufficiency was only because of the fact that many left the village for a living elsewhere. According to one informant's estimation, in Ha-pin, while no-one went to other villages as farm labourers, every 1 in 3 families had members abroad. A lot of others were professionals, merchants and part-time labourers in Che-hom. During Wartime, when many overseas Chinese came back to the village, the houses in Ha-pin were all packed and there was not enough to eat.

Private land was open to bidding once every three years, while ancestral land once every 10 years. No fixed contract was involved. Except for the rent and the rent deposit, there were no other obligations. Taxes were to be paid by the landlord while the tenants provided their own equipment. A landlord theoretically could take back a tenant's land while the tenant could always give the land back. However, this seldom happened. The owner usually kept the original tenant. But, in case of rent default, then the rent deposit paid by the tenant at the beginning of the year would be confiscated and another tenant found in his place.

Usury was not a feature of Ha-pin. Those who were poor would pawn their belongings at the pawn shops in Che-hom or borrow money from relatives and friends. People tended to be rather careful not to borrow money and if they had to borrow, they usually avoided the professional moneylenders. There were some credit associations among the villagers in Ha-pin, but these involved very small sums of money. The hua-ch'iao families did not engage in usury extensively. They preferred to hoard American and Hong Kong dollars and gold bars
instead of lending them out.

E. Na-loh Ts'uen

There were about 700 to 800 people in Na-loh, counting the Oo. According to one informant's estimation, about 1 in every 2 households had family members working outside the village, as there were not many side occupations done within the village.

The farmers there grew sweet potatoes and rice and a little vegetables and raised some chickens. Owing to the fact that many had temporarily left the village for overseas or had gone to town for work, there was enough food. It was unnecessary to buy rice at Che-hom except during Wartime when many villagers who had been working in town and overseas came back to stay in the village. On the other hand, not much food produce was being marketed.

Imported cotton cloth was very popular among the richer villagers. But, the poor in the village still wore the locally made hemp clothings because it was believed that hemp cloth, though less eye-catching, would last longer. The richer people in the village tended to buy imported rice as a matter of prestige while the poor ate sweet potatoes.

Private land in Na-loh was opened to bidding every year while corporate land, once every three years. The landlords could always take back the land, but this seldom happened. Each tenant was to pay 50% of his produce to the landlord as rent. Landowners were responsible for paying taxes to the Sz-heung Kung-shoh in person. Before the Ch'en Chi-t'ang era, land taxes were about 20¢ a tou. From 1928 onwards, land taxes were about 30¢ a tou, to be paid in advance. If taxes were not paid on time, they had to pay 20% more. Naturally some landowners paid more and some paid less, depending on the
quality of land they owned. For land converted into house lots, land
taxes doubled.

Few people in Na-loh used artificial fertilizers for farming. After the War, there was an agriculture co-op centred in Che-hom and interested farmers could get artificial fertilizers there. Only a handful in Na-loh did so, since farmers had to pay for them. In addition, levies were imposed on anyone who bought the fertilizers, as a contribution to the anti-communist campaigns and for the post-war reconstruction programmes.

According to one informant's estimation, about half of the farmers in Na-loh had to borrow money, especially between sowing and harvest time, to pay for rent, food, seeds as well as other celebration feasts. Since loan associations were not popular among the villagers in Na-loh because few had spare money and the ancestral hall did not provide any low interest loans, most of the villagers borrowed from relatives, friends or rich households in the village itself. No house or landpapers were required as security for lending money because in the village, everyone knew everyone else. Seldom would the villagers borrow from professional moneylenders in Che-hom.

DISCUSSION

In some parts of Kwangtung, a distinction was made between rights of the subsoil and rights of the topsoil. The holder of the subsoil collected rent from the holder of the topsoil, but he could not arbitrarily terminate the latter's tenancy (Freedman 1958:15). This system was fast disappearing in the 20th Century. Feuerwerker (35) and Feng Ho-fa (505,912) noticed that in all of China by 1935, 7/10 of the leases did not fix the duration of tenure. They had only
annual or biennial contracts. Moreover, landlords imposed land deposits and higher rents. In the 1930's, if any tenant could not pay rent in the first year, the landlord had the right to confiscate his rent deposit. If he failed to pay the second year, then the landlord could take back his land (see also Yang:48, 67).

In T'oh-fuk, tenancy could be terminated by the landlord who put the land to bidding periodically. From the data presented in this Chapter and those in Chapters VII and VIII, it seems that there were five types of landownership in the village in T'oh-fuk: (1) lineage land (owned by the Kwong-ue T'ong), (2) t'aa-kung-t'in (owned by various ancestral halls in the Hsiang and the Ts'un levels); (3) kung-fan-t'in which were inalienable land owned by some ancestral halls such as those in Ha Ts'uen and Cheung Ts'uen; (4) siu-a-kung-t'in (owned by groups of families in one village, not attached to any ancestral halls) and (5) Sz-t'in (owned by the individual family). All these types of landholdings adopted the bidding system. This resulted in the insecurity of tenancy and probably explained the lack of interest in improving the soil such as buying fertilizers from the agricultural co-operative in Che-hom.

According to Buck (464-5), Kwangtung and South Fukien had the highest rate of indebtedness in the whole of China between 1929-33. Most of this indebtedness was because the peasants were spending too much on special ceremonial occasions. According to Yang (83), the expense of marrying a son usually equalled one year's income of the poor peasants and this was the reason why many were often in debt. Thus, the rosy picture of Cheung Ts'uen (in T'oh-fuk) that few of the peasants were in permanent debt comes as a surprise. It could have been that remittances, urban income together with income from
the po-tsai industry in that village was such that few needed to borrow.

Unfortunately, the paucity of the data did not allow any calculations as to the exact rate of rural indebtedness in T'oh-fuk. From the data collected, most of the peasants borrowed from the rich households in the same village, be they landlord, merchants or retired officials. Loan associations, clan loans, agricultural co-operatives or government loans were either absent or not popular in the villages at T'oh-fuk. The average farmer in this area did not have any benefits of low interest loans. This was true of many parts of China. According to Feuerwerker (57-8, 39) and Negishi Benji (304-5), most of the Chinese peasants borrowed from the landlords, wholesale companies (laan), remittance firms and grain merchants because of the absence of government low-cost loans and farm co-operatives.

Thus, the insecurity of tenancy combined with the absence of low-cost loans must have resulted in misery among the tenant farmers in T'oh-fuk as in other parts of China.

Nevertheless, as compared to other parts of Kwangtung, the farmers in T'oh-fuk suffered less from the exploitations of their landlords. There was an absence of cash crops such as sugar, tobacco and mulberries, moreover, rice was not produced extensively to be marketed nor was it of good quality (Negishi Benji:76-9). This was in contrast to the profitable peanut-growing area of Hin-kong, the tobacco - tea growing area of Shui-hau and the garlic growing area of Sha-kong of Hoi-p'ing.

According to Wakeman (155-6), it was the conversion to cash crops which led to the intensification of class divisions in the village
community because it created a new exploiting class. Because of the high market value of the cash crops, merchants from the nearby port-cities competed to invest in the valuable land. Consequently the price of land rose. Labourers and tenants were exploited to make up for the capital the merchants invested.

In the T'oh-fuk area of Hoi-p'ing, the lack of cash crops combined with the presence of commercial and industrial opportunities in the vicinity resulted in a lack of interest in investing land on a large scale. Business development in Che-hom seemed to offer more profitable ground for investment than land. For this reason, there probably was less "class oppression" than places like the garlic-producing area of Sha-kong, the tea-tobacco producing area of the Hoi-p'ing – Hôk-shaan border and the orange orchards of San-ooi (Ssu-t'ø:53-7). The crushing rate of rent and the intricate pattern of subrenting which took away 80% of the produce of the tillers in the Canton Delta area (Chen Han-seng:22-30; Feng Ho-fa:236) did not find its counterpart in the T'oh-fuk countryside.

In T'oh-fuk, as in the rest of the West River area of Kwangtung, the share-cropping practice was prevalent (Feng Ho-fa:914, 921). Instead of a fixed rent, the tenant usually paid a percentage of the crop as rent. In T'oh-fuk, although the rent deposit was high, the proportion of the crop the tenant paid to the landlord was only 50% which was relatively low when compared to the rest of Western Kwangtung and the Pearl River Delta. San-hing, Ko-iu, Hoi-kin, Ling-shaan, Hop-po, Lim-chau, Fong-sheng and Naam-hoi had a rate of rent much higher than that of Hoi-p'ing (ibid:252-3). In the whole of Kwangtung, the tenant farmers paid an average of 50% to 80% of their produce as rent (Chen Han-seng:24). T'oh-fuk, where the
tenants paid only 50% of the produce as rent, therefore had the lowest rate of rent in the whole Kwangtung Province.

Probably because of this lighter burden put on the tenant farmer, probably because of the modernization of Che-hom and the road building programme of the T'oh-fuk area, farming was not particularly unprofitable for those farmers with initial capital because it meant that agricultural produce such as rice, vegetables, eggs, etc. secured a wider market. The improvement of the socio-economic position of the Ha Fu and the rise of wages for women described in Chapter VII indicated that tenant farmers could improve their lot, especially in this area where emigration and urban pursuits resulted in a shortage of labour and a consequent rise of labour wages.

A better illustration was the position of the taai-kaang-oo in the villages of T'oh-fuk. They were very similar to the rich peasants of Nanching and other parts of Kwangtung\(^2\) (Yang:29-30, 40-6, 50-8; Chen Han-seng:7). With the advantage of an initial capital through years of careful savings, they could afford a high rent deposit and thus could bid for fish ponds as well as engage in poultry and pig-raising activities. They could utilize their capital to lease dry land and improve their farm through the purchase of fertilizers. They were also able to benefit from favourable price changes such as the period between 1885-1931 when silver fell in value and after 1937, when the KMT Government imposed a surtax on imported rice as well as during and immediately after the War when the transportation of rice from Thailand to Kwangtung was disrupted (Buck:14, 320, 328, 345-7; Yang:45-7, 125-6).
For the poor peasants in T'oh-fuk where there were few subsidiary occupations, additional income besides farming could be sought in urban employment and from overseas adventures. Moreover, the system of share-cropping practised in this area must have induced the peasants of T'oh-fuk, as in the rest of the West River area, to seek non-agricultural income. The reason is simple: for anything the tenant grew, he had to share with his landlord, whereas he did not have to share his urban wages (Feng Ho-fa:921).

The prevalence of urban occupations among the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk could be detected from the report of the five villages presented in the early part of this Chapter, although I was unsuccessful in measuring the exact percentage of the amount of urban income in an average family's budget. It is clear that all my informants emphasized the commercial wealth of the Kwaan and the number of people in the village who were in urban pursuits. It was Che-hom, other market towns and overseas which provided the temporary or permanent exodus of the excess population of T'oh-fuk. The village economy was a mixture of overseas remittances, the growing of rice and other food produce as well as subsidiary occupations in Che-hom and other market towns.

Fei believes that proximity to treaty ports was unfavourable to the village economy. The rich people in the hinterland of the treaty ports usually bought imported products and this ruined rural handicrafts. This line of argument was also adopted by Hsiao (418), Wakeman (88) and Chen Han-seng (30). Potter, however, believes that proximity to treaty ports was beneficial to the countryside because it provided employment to the peasant families in the hinterland. Moreover, farm produce such as rice, vegetables, pigs, chickens and
eggs were in great demand by the larger population in the treaty port.

Yang's position is somewhere in the middle of the two views. He (71-7) believes that the city did serve as a safety-valve for the rural unemployed while the countryside served as a safety valve for the urban unemployed. However, although it was true that the proximity to a large city meant a wider market for agricultural produce, it was only the rich peasants who could benefit from this (ibid:46-51, 64-8). Moreover, proximity to the city meant that peasants were more easily affected by international price changes and Depression than if they were inland (ibid:29, 76-7).

The Kwaan at T'oh-fuk were in the hinterland of Kongmoon, a flourishing treaty port, and they were also very close to a very important intermediate market: Che-hom. From the information I gathered, there was a great preference for rice and other imported goods which did ruin cloth weaving in rural households. However, modern transportation did improve the market for traditional handicrafts such as the po-tsai industry of Cheung Ts'uen and Ha Ts'uen. Because of the lack of cash crops in this area, the peasants' economy was not affected as much by the changes of world market prices as were the peasants in the Canton Delta and the Han River Delta. On the other hand, the ever expanding marketing area and the large population of Che-hom meant that farm produce and domestic animals would fetch a good price for the taai-kaang-oo who could afford to invest. Most importantly, Che-hom provided jobs for the poor peasant households. Thus on the whole, proximity to Che-hom, which the Kwaan themselves controlled, was beneficial to the T'oh-fuk countryside.
SECTION II: The Decline and Revitalization of Che-hom's Commercial Sphere

A. Road Building

While the lack of cash crop meant that changes in world prices did not affect farming in T'oh-fuk as much as the Pearl River Delta and the Han River Delta, it did affect the processing industry and trade in Che-hom. For example, one informant's father had a cloth shop dealing with local cloth in 1915, but business was so bad that the shop was closed down in 1932. Another informant's grandfather operated a dyeing plant in 1916 to dye clothes made by women in the villages of T'oh-fuk. At that time, business was good, since imported clothings had not invaded the Che-hom market. But in 1933 the plant closed down. A third informant's family had some shares in a sugar refining plant in Che-hom but it was closed down in 1934. Other businesses also declined about that time: one was hemp cloth weaving, another was tea-leaves processing. This was because of the fact that like many parts of South China (Liang:11-13; Feng Ho-fa:820; Chen Hanseng:66-71), the processing industries in Che-hom was affected by the competition of imported raw materials and finished products from abroad.

In addition to the decline of the processing industry because of competition from imported raw materials, trade was bad in Che-hom as it was in the rest of South China between 1913 and 1917; between 1922 and 1925 and between 1933 and 1934. The first period was (ie. 1912-17) because of civil war in Canton; the second period (1922-25) was because of the boycott of British goods and Japanese goods; the third period (1933-35) was because of the World Depression (Buck:333; Canton Trade Report 1911-19). All these affected Che-hom as much as they affected the rest of Kwangtung.
Apart from the above, there were other events which affected Che-hom in particular. One was the recession of the T'aam River (which has been discussed in Chapter III of this thesis) and another the building of the Sunning (or Ning-yeung) Railway in 1902-1912 which ran from Kongmoon, Kung-yik through San-Ch'euung to T'oi-shaan City and then to Paak-sha (Kanton Chosha Sho:16-7; Ogawa Hirakichi:355-6, 454). This railway captured the junk-borne trade on the T'aam River during the cessation of junk transportation resulting from lawlessness between 1911 and 1916 (Kongmoon Report, 1916) and adversely affected businesses in Hoi-p'ing and Yan-p'ing. For this reason, the emigrants of these two Hsien planned to build a P'ing-yeung Railway to rival the Ning-yeung Railway, but the plan was dropped because of the successful appeal of the Board of Directors of the Ning-yeung Railway Company to the Administrative Court in Canton (K'ai-p'ing Hsiên-chih:87-8).

As the railway and the steam-boat services in Western Kwangtung improved, raw materials in the Lui-chau Peninsula were transported from Shui-tung, Mooi-luk and Kwong-chau Waan to Macau and Hong Kong directly by sea, while raw materials from eastern T'oi-shaan and parts of Yan-p'ing were now transported by railway from Paak-sha through T'oi-shaan City, San-ch'euung and Kung-yik onto Kongmoon. Imported goods from Macau and Hong Kong could also go by the Ning-yeung railway or by sea to Lui-chau Peninsula and Western Kwangtung, bypassing the T'aam River altogether (see Map III).

To combat the decline of trade, the Kwaan took an active part in the road building programmes. The Kwaan lineage at T'oh-fuk was responsible for the building of the T'oh-fuk Public Road while the Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung were responsible for the building of the
Ts'ai-hin-t'ung Road and Ngau-hin-t'ung Road. The individual Kwaan also invested heavily in the following roads: (1) P'ing-p'ing Public Road; (2) Paak-che-maau Public Road; (3) Na-t'ung Public Road; (4) Che-kau Public Road; (5) Sha-im-paak Public Road and (6) Na-foo Public Road (see Map V).

The building of roads had actually aroused the opposition of the rural inhabitants because the Bus Companies were entitled to buy off any agricultural land lying within the blueprint of the roads, whether the local inhabitants agreed to them or not. Some of the landowners raised so much opposition that the Ts'ong-sheng Government had to send soldiers to the T'oh-fuk area to survey the road.

One informant was particularly bitter about the whole process of road building. He said, "It was the bullies and the scoundrels of the Sz-heung Kung-shoh who were organizers of the T'oh-fuk Bus Company. Even bicycles passing through the roads had to pay tolls no matter whether they were driven by a Kwaan or a Non-Kwaan." He added, "it was the same thing that happened to the P'ing-p'ing Public Road built by the Oo and the Paak-che-maau Public Road built by the Chau. In fact the Bus Companies were so unpopular that when the Communists controlled Hoi-p'ing, the scoundrels who controlled the P'ing-p'ing Bus Company had to face the firing squad".

COMMENTS

It is beyond doubt that there were individual sufferings in the process of road building and also that road building enriched the Sz-heung Kung-shoh and the Bus Companies more than the ordinary inhabitants.

However, according to the information I gathered, business definitely improved since the building of roads. Many more villagers visited
Che-hom during market days. Goods were cheaper and there were more varieties to choose from.

Road building did help to re-open the traditional routes from Western Kwangtung to Kongmoon. After the old roads were modernized and the new ones reconstructed in the 1920's and 1930's, less goods relied on rivers and the sea as a means of transportation (Kanton Cho sha Sho: 7). In fact, Western Kwangtung had one of the best road systems in China for the transportation of goods between Sz-yap and Mau-meng (Liang: 82). And, of all the roads built in Hoi-p'ing, according to a visiting officer from Canton in 1931, the best were the Paak-che-maau Public Road, the T'oh-fuk Public Road and the Na-t'ung Public Road (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih: 206). This shows how vigorous the Kwaan were in their attempts to revitalize the commercial sphere of Che-hom.

B. The Growth of Che-hom and the Emergence of a Civil Society

As has been indicated in Chapter IV, the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o were responsible for modernizing Che-hom while the Kwaan of Kau-p'ei-ch'ung were responsible for the founding of the Taai-t'ung Market in 1923 to capture the salt and cow trade from Yeung-kong and Eastern T'oi-shaan.

By 1936, when the Three Years' Plan of Ch'en Chi-t'ang had ended with the Nanking Government taking over the control of Kwangtung and when the Depression was over, Che-hom must have regained its former vitality and prosperity, as the town itself became modernized and all the roads were built.
As a result, the marketing area of Che-hom had widened. According to the information I gathered, the Oo, the Wong, the Chau, the Tse, the Ng, the Fong, the Ue as well as other unknown people from Yeung-kong and Yan-p'ing not only attended the market days every 3rd and 8th days of the lunar month, they also set up shops in Che-hom permanently.

As Che-hom grew in the size of its marketing area, some small ephemeral markets serving a small group of Kwaan villages in T'oh-fuk began to emerge. Below is a description of one of these minor markets. To the west of Cheung Ts'uen was a large piece of open area. Every morning from 6 to 9 O'clock, a shi-t'au was in operation, except the 3rd and 8th day of the month when Che-hom had its market days. Fresh pork, beef, mutton, fresh fish, vegetables, bean sprouts, bean curds, clam meat, oil, sugar, etc. were being sold. The pedlars, who were on their way to Lau-kong or T'ong-hau Market in the afternoon, came here to operate the pedlar's stands. They did not have to pay rent to do so. The customers usually came from Cheung Ts'uen, Ha Ts'uen, Taai-ng Ts'uen, Uen Ts'uen and other villages of Chung-miu Heung all within 40 minutes' walk from the shi-t'au.

According to Skinner (1964-5 Part II:201) the existence of minor markets is indicative of changes in the marketing system. He believes that a market town which is undergoing modern changes usually exhibits the following symptoms:- (1) an increase in the total volume of trade carried on in the town; (2) an increase in the number of market hours per week; (3) an increase in the proportion of permanent to mobile firms and (4) an increase in the degree of economic specialization.

There is little doubt that Che-hom was undergoing modern changes. By 1930, this town at least exhibited three of the four symptoms.
outlined by Skinner, although it still retained the two-per-tsun system in the 1940's. Many of the stores in Che-hom were permanent establishments. They had good business and were opened all day during market days especially after the World Depression in the early 1930's was over. There were many laan specializing in foodstuffs of all kinds such as rice, sugar, pigs and chicken.

The modernization of Che-hom was even implied in the way the informants described that town. Kwaan B, for example, called Che-hom a hsü, A called Che-hom a shi while J, the last of my informants to leave Hoi-p'ing, corrected me twice by saying that Che-hom was a fu, not a hsü or a shi. This change of terminology necessarily bespeak the modernization of Che-hom since the term hsü meant itinerant selling, the term shi meant the presence of permanent commercial establishments in the market while the term fu meant centres of commerce where goods of every day uses concentrated (Masui Tsuneo:277-281).

As Che-hom developed from an ephemeral market to a centre of commerce, it evolved from a strictly Kwaan - Sz-t'o sphere of influence to an open-to-all town. Until the beginning of the Min-kuo period, all the land in Upper Che-hom belonged to the Kwaan and the land at Eastern Che-hom belonged to the Sz-t'o. After 1911, several pieces of private land belonging to the Kwaan in Upper Che-hom were sold. It had been the rule that if a Kwaan had to rent or sell a shop-space, he was supposed to rent or to sell it to another Kwaan. That was why up until 1920, the Kwaan were still the owners of land at Upper Che-hom. Although shops changed hands, it was always a Kwaan who bought them.

About 1930, however, shops began to pass from Kwaan to non-Kwaan freely. The T'ong-tai Street, which had been a line of demarcation between the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o, had now lost its meaning. The Kwaan
did not have the preference to buy land or to rent shops in Upper Che-hom. It was open to the bidding of all interested parties. The piers and the ferries at Upper Che-hom did not serve the interests of the Kwaan lineage as a whole. An individual Kwaan may own a pier but both a Kwaan and a non-Kwaan had to pay to use it. Nevertheless, there were numerous Kwaan in T'oh-fuk and from overseas who were interested in renting or buying shop-spaces in Che-hom. Thus, a majority of the businesses in Upper Che-hom were still in the hands of the Kwaan in the 1940's.

Because the Kwaan owned a majority of shops in Che-hom, it was easy to find a job there. Kwaan I was an apprentice in an automobile and steam-boat body-shop owned by a fellow villager. His job was obtained for him by H's brother in Che-hom. "Because of H's brother, I did not pay anything to become an apprentice". It was, according to him, common to employ one's own villager or to form a partnership with a fellow villager in business concerns. Moreover, people from a village usually went to buy and to chat at the shops operated by fellow villagers.

H, however, gave the opposite view. He said, "In Che-hom, it was not a rule that one always bought from or sold to people of the same village. The shoppers always went where things were cheaper. Neither was it common to take another Kwaan as one's business partner or to employ one's own villager. Our shop, which had been in Che-hom for almost 80 years, did not employ or even join partner with a Kwaan. Nevertheless," he added, "it would be next to impossible to find a job in Che-hom if one were not recommended by relatives or friends". 
C talked about his own experience. "My father co-owned a cloth shop in Che-hom with a fellow villager from Ha Ts'uen. When he died, I became an apprentice in Paak-sha Market, working for a friend of my father's former business partner. When I was 17 years old, I went back to Che-hom to work in a drug store which was co-owned by three Kwaan. As far as I know, " he added, "it was not necessarily true that in Che-hom people bought from their own villagers or kins, but they usually joined partners with or employed people of the same village".

E also talked about his father's shop. He believed that recommendations were necessary if one wanted to work in Che-hom. But one did not necessarily employ people of the same village or from the same lineage. Employees were usually obtained through recommendations of friends, affines or former class-mates. "My father's shop even had an employee who was a native of San-ooi. People in Che-hom", said E, "did not necessarily do business with people of the same village or same lineage, but they preferred to deal with people they knew - their friends, relatives or kin".

Summarizing the answers of my informants above, I think probably before 1920, when most of the shops were owned by the Kwaan in Upper Che-hom, the social world there must have been one of exclusively Kwaan. Most of the employers probably favoured the recruiting of people who were from the same lineage or from the same village as employees.

But after 1930, when more and more outsiders owned shops in Che-hom and brought their families along to stay there, their children probably became the classmates and friends of the children of the Kwaan. Through the system of personal recommendations, they probably became work mates or business associates in one another's concerns.
A cross-surname society must then be emerging. As H once pointed out, many real estate concerns as well as money remittance firms were usually made up of partnerships of affines, agnates and friends. The lineage no longer served as the focal point by which one obtained partners and employees in Che-hom.

**CONCLUSION**

From the preceding pages, it is clear that with the growth of population pressure on land and with the high rent deposit, farming became more and more unprofitable in T'oh-fuk except for a small minority (the taai-kaang-co) who had the initial capital and the necessary equipment. Moreover, it is also clear that the corporate property had become less meaningful to the poor farmers' income because they could not afford to bid for farming it and because they did not receive any dividends from the rent collected by the ancestral hall managers.

For many who failed to obtain a livelihood in the countryside and for those who despised farming, there was an alternative way to social mobility - instead of bidding for ancestral land and other corporate property, they could aim at making money in their own urban pursuits. For them, personal attention drifted towards the urban society of Che-hom instead of towards the exclusive rural world of T'oh-fuk.

As can be seen in Chapter V, it was the economic control of Che-hom which was the strength of the Kwaan lineage. At the same time, it was this same market town from which the individuals at T'oh-fuk obtained most of the jobs to supplement and enrich their livelihood in the villages. Thus, in the early 1930's, when the processing industry and commerce of Che-hom declined, the capital of the hua-ch'iao and the merchants were used to modernize Che-hom and
to found the Taai-t'ung Market, with the support of the Sz-heung Kung-shoh and the Kau-p'ei-ch'ung Heung Kung-shoh. This was when personal advancement coincided with lineage interests. However, the very fact that some of the landowners among the Kwaan quarrelled with the T'oh-fuk Bus Company showed that individual interests more than collective sentiments were often at stake in the whole process of road building and modernization. Moreover, the emergence of Che-hom from a lineage-controlled market town to an open-to-all town, the need for co-operation among the merchants and the hua-ch'iao for the modernization of the market town promoted the growth of class consciousness and interests across lineage lines. Whether this would weaken lineage solidarity would be further discussed in the remainder of this thesis.
CHAPTER X - NOTES

1. I have omitted from this section discussion on the rate of tenancy and absentee landlordism as well as problems arising from population pressure and the high price of land at the T'oh-fuk countryside. All these problems will be included in Chapter XII of the thesis when I discuss the effects of overseas emigration on the village economy. Here the discussion is centered on whether proximity to Che-hom had any effects on the economy and occupation structure of the villages at T'oh-fuk.

2. It has been supposed that the classification of rich, middle and poor peasants has been imposed by the Maxian social scientists to describe the rural countryside in terms of class conflicts. My field work seems to indicate that the farmers themselves were conscious of those below the poverty line (i.e. farming less than 8 tou of land) and those taai-kaang-oo who were rich enough just by farming that they did not have to engage in non-farming occupations in market towns.

3. The founding of Tik-hoi (1875) and Kung-yik (1890) had led to the decline of Kam-shaan, Cheung-sha and Shui-hau of Hoi-p'ing (K'ai-p'ing Haian-chih:87, Ogawa Hirakichi:186-7).

4. See Skinner 1964-5, Part I:6. Potter (123-6) also found that there was a minor market in P'ing-shaan of Hong Kong which was still functioning in the 1960's.

5. The fact that the collective efforts of the government, lineage and merchants helped to revitalize trade along the T'aam River and in Che-hom shows that the adverse effects of "natural" economic phenomenon such as the World Depression could be minimized by deliberate social planning and social action.
CHAPTER XI
THE KWAAN LINEAGE AND ITS MEMBERS OVERSEAS

From the last Chapter, it should be clear that the lineage's control of Che-hom was among one of the strongest binding force on the loyalty of the peasants and the merchants to the lineage. This Chapter and the one following will be focused on a third group of T'oh-fuk natives: the overseas emigrants and their relationship with the Kwaan lineage.

Specifically, Chapters XI and XII will be devoted to the following topics:-

(i) to describe the process of emigration among the Kwaan and the lineage ties involved in the process;

(ii) to trace the links between the hua-ch'iao and his home village;

(iii) to outline the direct contributions made by the hua-ch'iao while still abroad to Hoi-p'ing in general and to Che-hom and T'oh-fuk in particular;

(iv) to evaluate the economic effects of the investments of the hua-ch'iao while abroad and after their retirement; and

(v) to evaluate the effects of the behaviour patterns of the hua-ch'iao families left at home on the social structure of the Kwaan lineage.

This Chapter will deal with (i) to (iii) only.

SECTION I: The Process of Emigration Among the Kwaan

Overseas emigration in the Sz-yap was a rather late development when compared with the emigration movement in the Ch'iu-chau - Fukien area where emigration was already very prevalent during the 15th and the 16th Century, following a long history of junk-trade between
China and the Nanyang (Chen Ta 1940:29-31, 39, 49-50). The origin of emigration in Hoi-p'ing was about the middle of the 19th Century (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:30, 46). The direct impetus to emigrate was the civil disorder in this area during and after the Red Turban Revolt in 1851 and the Hakka/Punti War of 1851-67 (Lang:137). During that period, most of the emigrants left Hoi-p'ing as contract labourers to the Nanyang and North America.

Emigration became more prevalent during the Kuang-hsü period (1874-1908) when some of the labourers were able to establish themselves in the Nanyang and North America as immigrants and encouraged others to join them. By the 1930's, about 1 in every 10 Hoi-p'ing native was an emigrant (Feng Ho-fa:772-3).

However, overseas emigration did not affect all parts of Hoi-p'ing. In fact, it was confined only to lineages living in the middle and lower courses of the T'aam River: the Tse at T'aam-pin-uen; the Chau, the Oo and the Wong at the Hin-kong - Ue-leung area as well as the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o at the T'oh-fuk - Kaau-t'ai area. Very few emigrated from Ts'ong-sheng area because it was sparsely populated. The land, although poor, was able to support the inhabitants there. Very few emigrated from the Sha-kong - Lau-kong area which was fertile and productive enough to sustain the dense population there. From Cheung-sha and Shui-hau, very few emigrated to the Nanyang and North America although many went to Hong Kong and Canton to facilitate trade between the lower T'aam River and the Canton Delta area.

The earliest to emigrate were the Tse, the Chau, the Oo and the Wong, whereas the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o emigrated the latest because they were not the poorest. Moreover, among the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o emigration had never been widespread. Only about 1 in every 7 was a
hua-ch'iao in this area (informant's estimation). This was possibly because the Kwaan and the Sz-t'o were still rich lineages at the beginning of the 20th Century.

It is difficult to date the Kwaan's emigration to Canada. Some indications of when the first emigrants among the Kwaan came could be found in the life history of my informants (see Appendix III). One informant, for example, had an uncle in Canada who served as a cook for the staff of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company (cir. 1881-2) and another one told me that Ue-lun, the first Chinese grocery store in Victoria, was founded by his father in 1896. Judging from these, the earliest emigrants among the Kwaan could have come to Canada between the 1880's when the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was contracting labourers and 1923, the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act.

COMMENTS

Causes for emigration varied in different parts of South China. In the Fukien - Ch'iu-chau area, it was the hope for commercial gains which played an important part among the motives to emigrate, especially among those who had business connections in the Nanyang. Moreover, fluctuation in the price of sugar and tea which disturbed the rural economy in this area also acted as a spur to emigration (Chen Ta 1940:16, 29-38, 49-50; Freedman 1958:10). In the New Territories of Hong Kong, emigration was simply a result of rice deficiency due to poor soils or as in the case of the Man, when economic changes such as the vegetable revolutions in the New Territories in the 1950's and 60's led to the decline of agriculture in San-tin (Watson 1972:48-63). The case of the Kwaan was similar to the Tsun-kong area of Fukien where there was a positive relationship between emigration and the man-land ratio (Chuang:113).
According to Watson, there were two patterns of emigration among the Chinese in South China: the traditional pattern in which not more than \( \frac{1}{2} \) of the members of the lineage emigrated and only 1 in every 10 was successful; and the modern pattern in which over half of the lineage members emigrated and the success rate was high (Watson 1972: 84, 99-100, 197-8, 239).

The Kwaan, like the lineages in the Fukien-Ch'iu-chau area exemplified the traditional pattern. They were among the latest to emigrate in Hoi-p'ing because of their relative wealth—business was lucrative enough in Che-hom and the land at T'oh-fuk was sufficiently productive so that the Kwaan could find better local alternatives to earn a living than committing themselves to contract labour overseas. It was during the late 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th Century that population pressure and political chaos combined to drive the Kwaan overseas. Even then, the Kwaan were never wholly dependent upon emigration for a livelihood.

The modern pattern was exemplified by the Man in San-tin where as many as 71% of the members had emigrated to England and Europe. Unlike the natives of Sheung-shui and P'ing-shan, the people in San-tin had no experience or personal contact in the urban market nearby to make a living, so the lineage members' livelihood was almost completely dependent upon the overseas emigrants. Moreover, unlike many lineages in South China before 1949, there was adequate protection offered by the British in the New Territories, thus, emigration was more widespread than the lineages in South China. This probably explains why the whole of the Man lineage was geared to facilitating emigration among its members whereas the same was not true of the Kwaan of T'oh-fuk, as will be seen in the latter part of this Chapter.
Immigration and Employment History of the Informants

Little was known as to the process of emigration among the first generation of emigrants to Canada. The informants I had had a chance to interview came to Canada between 1906 and 1921. Many came after 1949. A short review of their individual history could at least indicate the lineage links involved in the emigration process from 1906 onwards.

Kwaan B

"I have heard of Canada through my uncle's letters home. He was a camp-cook at the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and was the founder of a drug store in Victoria. Later, he retired to Hong Kong. Together with the capital supplied by the owners of another Chinese grocery store in Vancouver, he started an import/export concern in Hong Kong. His son (i.e. my cousin) stayed on in Victoria to manage the Chinese drugstore.

"My father encouraged me to go to Victoria since my own family was getting poorer and the conditions in Victoria were attractive. My cousin was then doing a good business.

"I had to pay $500 (Canadian) head tax to come to Canada, although I was travelling on a student visa. I borrowed this sum of money and my passage fare from a rich man in our village. I did not have to pay any interest for the money I borrowed. I paid it back in small instalments from the salary I earned.

"In 1920, I took a boat from Che-hom through Cheung-sha to Kongmoon's Pak-kaai and then to Hong Kong. My uncle in Hong Kong helped me fill the immigration papers and obtain a student visa. His son picked me up when I landed in Victoria. I did not know anybody
when I was boarding the "Empress" to Victoria.

"In Victoria I worked and lived in my cousin's drugstore. Upstairs was a fong*hau. Many of the Kwaan lived there and cooked together. I became a co-owner of the store after working five years. We had six owners: myself, my cousin, three Kwaan from Ha Ts'uen and a Lee who was the brother-in-law of one of the partners".

Asked whether it was a common practice among the Chinese in Victoria to employ or form partnerships with people of their own lineage, B gave me a definite affirmative answer. He said, "Definitely it was people of the same lineage who had the first priority of being the work partners and employees. That was why there were many Kwaan in Victoria and many Lei in Toronto.

"Of course, some Chinese immigrants came without a job and had to look for one in Victoria through the Chinese Employment Agency operated by a Ts'ang-sheng native. This agency was a private concern, jobs were found for the Chinese who desired to be servants of westerners. Those who found jobs this way would have to pay 10% of their first month's salary to the agency as a commission. This happened to people who emigrated here without any relatives or kin. As far as I know, the Kwaan seldom had to do this".

Kwaan B confided to me that "emigrants usually sponsored sons instead of daughters. An emigrant visited home and on his return to Canada, he would tell the Immigration Officer here that his wife had given birth to a son. If later the baby turned out to be a girl, then he would sell or exchange the girl for a boy, usually a nephew or a close kin, and then sponsor him as a son. That was how many kinsmen came over to Victoria before 1923 and after 1947."
"Kinship links were also important outside Canada. Take my case as an example. In the 1930's, when Victoria was suffering from the Depression, I lived and worked in my uncle's concern for four years in Hong Kong. If not for him, my saving would have been used up then.

"Besides Hong Kong and Canada, I had no contacts with my relatives in other parts of the world. My grandfather's eldest brother and his 3rd youngest brother were somewhere in the Nanyang. His 5th youngest brother was either in Mexico or Cuba but we have lost contact with them altogether".

Kwaan D

"I left Hoi-p'ing in 1936 and worked in a textile company in Shanghai. This company was owned by Kwaan G's brother. But my grand uncle also had some shares in the concern. Kwaan A's brother was also one of the employees there. In fact, out of the 130 employees in that company, over half were members of the Kwaan lineage from Hoi-p'ing. There was another concern in Shanghai - a pen making factory employing over 30 people managed by another Kwaan. The co-owners of this concern were all Kwaan from Hoi-p'ing. Very close to the textile company and this pen-making factory (I forgot the name) was another textile company which was run by the Wong in Hin-kong. They employed over 1,000 people. The employees of these concerns made up my circle of friends in Shanghai.

"In 1937, when I was in Hong Kong, I was the accountant for a drugstore and a grocery store. Both of these stores were owned by members of the Kwaan lineage of Hoi-p'ing. The capital came mostly from the partners of my father's drugstore in Victoria and two other concerns in the Victoria - Vancouver area. The employees were mostly natives of Ha Ts'uen, Cheung Ts'uen and Kau-p'eิ-ch'ung."
"I returned to my village in Hoi-p'ing during World War II but went back to Hong Kong again in 1955. At that time, both the drugstore and the grocery store in which I had previously worked were closed down. My purpose of coming to Hong Kong was to emigrate to Canada. But, my mother's younger brother asked me to stay on and help him start a textile factory in Kowloon, so I stayed on. In 1959, I came to Victoria to help my father manage the drugstore with B. My father paid for my passage. I did not live in the store because the fong hau was no longer in operation after the War".

Kwaan C

"I heard about Canada from my cousin in Victoria. He paid part of my trip over while my sister also loaned me some money. For the rest, I borrowed from my mother's relatives. I paid them back later in small instalments from the money I earned in my cousin's drugstore as resident Chinese doctor. I did not have to pay any interest for the money I borrowed.

"On my way over in 1915, I passed by Hong Kong. I did not travel with any Kwaan from Hoi-p'ing. The only person I knew on the boat was the shui haak from Cheung Ts'uen. He took me around Hong Kong and helped me find a reliable hotel.

"I worked in my cousin's drugstore for four years. A lot of Chinese people here knew me. I examined my patients and wrote prescriptions for them to buy drugs in the store. There was a Lei - he was a patient of mine - who offered me a sum of money to start a shop. But I turned him down. Later, I worked for a Kwaan to start a greenhouse in Saanich. After about 10 years, I became a partner.

"While I was in the drugstore, I lived in the fong hau upstairs. Other Kwaan who were employees also stayed there. There were other
fong hau in Victoria. Those who worked for westerners as servants also lived in fong hau together. The occupants were usually people with the same surname."

Asked whether it was popular for the Kwaan in Victoria to join partners with or to employ another Kwaan in their concerns, C answered in the affirmative. He said, "It was usually through kinship links that new immigrants could find jobs. This was why in Victoria, the Kwaan were mostly in grocery as well as greenhouse businesses or worked in lumber mills". However, he added, "since immigration restrictions in 1923, the hua-ch'iao here could not sponsor people from their home villages to work. But the Kwaan still joined partners with the Kwaan already in Victoria and Vancouver, as in the case of our drugstore, G's grocery store in Victoria and O's grocery store in Vancouver. Those immigrants who had no lineage ties usually found work through the hua-ch'iao employment agency here".

Kwaan G

"I was born in Victoria but my father emigrated from Hoi-p'ing. He did not have any money to pay for the passage. In those days, no one was interested in lending money to a poor emigrant. It was not popular to emigrate in his generation. In the end he was so desperate that he had to sell his sister to get enough to come over. He was in various odd jobs - selling incense, working as a farm hand etc. before he had saved enough money to start a grocery store in Victoria.

"Most of the employees of our grocery store were sponsored by my father. On his various trips back to the village in T'oh-fuk, he usually took one or two villagers he knew he could trust to come over and work in the store. So he was very popular in his native village. This was a common practice among the Chinese in Victoria at his time."
The kin of the owners had the first priority of being employed. But, of course, friends and relatives were sometimes employed. They also joined hands as partners to start new concerns in Victoria. Social and political clubs did not recommend jobs. There was an employment agency started by a Ts'ang-sheng native before the War to help the unemployed hua-ch'iao find work.

"During my father's time, upstairs from our store, there was a fong-hau. The occupants were not necessarily relatives, but it had become a usual practice for anyone from Hoi-p'ing to stay in our store for a while before they moved to work in other parts of B.C. You see, Victoria was the centre of recreation and a port of arrival and departure for Chinese immigrants working on Vancouver Island and the Interior of B.C.

"When I inherited the store from my father, I still continued the fong-hau upstairs. I have worked here for I do not remember how long. My nine other brothers are now all in Edmonton, they are in the restaurant business. As far as I know, we do not have any other relatives in the Nanyang. My uncles are still in Mainland China".

Kwaan I

"I was only distantly related to G, although I came from the same village as his father. However, it was his father who sponsored my father to work in their grocery store while he sponsored me in 1963. G's family was regarded as benefactors of our village. I heard that they had sponsored over 20 people from our village to Victoria to work in their grocery store in Victoria and in their restaurant in Edmonton.

"My passage was paid by Kwaan G and his brothers. I worked in their grocery store for 10 years and I paid them back with my salary. Perhaps
I had worked too long in there, I do not know a single word of English even now.

"I have a sister who was married in Thailand and several distant cousins in Detroit. My father at present is not living with us. He is living in a fong-hau upstairs to the Lung-kong Kung-shoh in Victoria with other Kwaan of his age. He said he liked it better there.

"I still have a mother and a sister in Mainland China. My father did not sponsor them because it was a usual practice only to sponsor one's sons and not daughters. In our case, my father was even too poor to sponsor me. I have heard that those hua-ch'iao who had no son usually sponsored a nephew or a grandson as a son to Canada after 1947".

Kwaan H

"I have been in Indonesia for many years before I immigrated to Canada. I can probably tell you more about the Nanyang than I can tell you about Canada. I think it was a popular practice for the hua-ch'iao there to write home to their families to look for prospective employees in the home village or villages close by. It was also popular to join partners with or employ some one from the same village who was already abroad. At least, his place of origin was well-known and one could get in touch with his family members in case of trouble.

"After 1946, it was especially important to employ someone one was sure of. In Thailand, for example, the Thai government specified that a prospective immigrant to Thailand had to have a shop willing to employ him and to pay a sum of money to guarantee his good conduct. In Singapore, if the immigrant was not a member of the sponsor's direct relatives, then the sponsor had to go to the Labour Department to show that he was willing to employ the immigrant and to guarantee that the immigrant would return to China within a year if the government asked
him to leave. That was why one must employ somebody whose background and conduct was well-known to the employer. So Chinese employers in the Nanyang usually preferred employing their own village folks to employing outsiders.

"I left Hoi-p'ing for Indonesia in 1927 when I was 16 years old. I went to Medan as an apprentice to help a Mr. Kwaan from Cheung Ts'uen in his jewelry shop. Actually I would not have left if my father had not so insisted. We were rich enough to have stayed in Che-hom.

"My passage fare was paid by my elder brother. A shui-haak (a Cheung Ts'uen native) helped me with the whole red-tape and took care of me on the boat to Indonesia. There were only two shui-haak in the T'oh-fuk area - one in Cheung Ts'uen and another a Ha Ts'uen native. These shui-haak brought emigrants from Che-hom to Kongmoon and then to the Nanyang. They brought goods back to Che-hom from there. There were, as far as I know, no shui-haak who helped immigrants to North America.

"Actually in my time," continued H, "not much red-tape was involved to go to Medan, even a passport was not necessary. There were two others from my village on the same boat as mine, so the journey was not too tough.

"When I first worked in the jewelry store, I lived in the shop of my boss - it was a very popular practice then. After five years of being in Medan, I sponsored my wife. My younger brother also came to work in the store, since I had become manager there.

"I went back to Che-hom in 1948. In 1955, I went to Hong Kong, trying to go back to Medan but without success. So I joined my brother in P'ing-shaan in the New Territories of Hong Kong. I was not afraid of having nowhere to go because I had nine brothers: two in Che-hom,
two in Canton; two in Hong Kong; two in San Francisco; myself and my youngest brother in Indonesia.

"My eldest daughter sponsored me to Victoria in 1964. But my wife, two sons and two daughters are still in Mainland China".

Kwaan J

"I went to Canton in 1941 when I was ten years old. My parents and sisters were already there. The Communists controlled Canton when I was 18 years old. I went to Hong Kong. For a while, I worked in a laundry operated by one of my uncles' daughters. Later I worked in a dental office run by a classmate. In 1971, H, my uncle, sponsored me to Victoria. He had already found a job for me before I came. Besides him, I have no other relatives in Canada. However, I have a cousin in San Francisco. One of my mother's sisters is also there".

Kwaan F

"My father sponsored me in 1915. He paid for the passage and the $500 (Canadian) head tax. I had an uncle in Hong Kong who helped me with all the red-tape at the Canadian Immigration Office in Hong Kong".

Kwaan E

"I went with my elder brother to study in Canton. I worked in Hong Kong for 4 to 5 years. In 1963, I was sponsored to Canada by my married daughter.

"One of my brothers came to Canada about 50 years ago. He had to pay the $500 (Canadian) head tax. He borrowed from my father's elder brother. This sum he later repaid in small instalments without interest".

Kwaan A

"I had two brothers. My eldest brother worked in Shanghai in the same textile company as D. My younger brother worked in Macau
and later in Hong Kong. I went to Hong Kong as a 'journalist' because he was working in a newspaper company there.

"I came to Canada in 1952 because my father liked me to join him. He sponsored me and my mother and bought us the plane tickets. I was over 18 when I came over, but I put my age as under 18 when I filled the application form because it was easier to be accepted that way.

"I lived with my father since I came. There were very few fong-hau in Victoria after the Second World War simply because family members of the hua-ch'iao were allowed to stay in Canada. In my age too, the Chinese here did not necessarily employ people of the same lineage.

"When I came, no relatives helped me find jobs. I was in several odd jobs until I entered the B.C. Ferry Company as a cook. My job was recommended to me by a friend."

Kwaan N

"I went to Hong Kong in 1951 when I was 14 years old so as to emigrate to Canada. I have a sister in Hong Kong and she helped me with the immigration procedure. My father paid for the air ticket to Victoria. He had been here for years.

"In the first few years here, I studied. I was introduced to my first job by a friend. In 1960, I entered the B.C. Ferry Company as a cook. It was Kwaan A who recommended me."

Kwaan K

"I am son of a hua-ch'iao in Canada. My father and my uncle were both employees of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. They sponsored me in 1920. I worked and am still working in a westerner's home as a servant. At present, Kwaan L is my only relative in Canada. I am his father's uncle."
Kwaan L

"My father had gone to Canton to work before I was born. He owned a shop there. My grandfather had been in Canada for a long time. He sponsored me as 'son' in 1960 and paid for my air ticket".

Kwaan M

"My father was the owner of a wholesale outlet and a greenhouse in Victoria. He wrote home and told us that it was easy to find a job here. He wanted me and my mother to come. He bought us the air tickets. If it were not for his insistence, we would not have left home. Who likes to leave one's homeland?

"We stayed in Hong Kong for a while and lived with my mother's relatives there. Since we came, our family had lived upstairs to the wholesale outlet.

"As far as I know, it was not common in my time for the hua-ch'iao here to join partners with or to employ people of the same lineage".

CONCLUSION

As can be seen from the above immigration history, most of my informants came to Canada because they were sponsored by their kin or relatives. They heard of Canada through corresponding with relatives and kin regarding job opportunities and other attractions of the country. From the answers of my informants, it is clear that the same kinship links were in operation in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Canton and the Nanyang.

Of course, not all of my informants were recommended or sponsored by a Kwaan. Maternal uncles, married daughters, married sisters, classmates and friends helped in recommending jobs and lending passage money. On the whole, I think that before 1923, lineage links played a very important part in the emigration process while lineage links
did not seem to be as important for the Kwaan who came after 1947, as in the case of Kwaan A and Kwaan N.

Because of the importance of lineage links among the overseas Chinese, especially in the initial stages of immigration, they formed a very closely knit community in both their employment and their residence pattern. Emigrants lived with kin, rarely entered into the life of the foreign community. They worked under Chinese employers. Thus they had only very superficial contacts with the host society. This was true of the Kwaan in Victoria before 1947, as it was true of the overseas Chinese in Nanyang, England, Europe or other parts of the world (Hsu:11; Yang:22-3; Chuang:104; Crissman:193-4; Chen Ta 1940:136, 257-60, 265; Watson 1972:119-125, 137-8, 146-7, 158-9).

Unlike the Man lineage of San-tin (Watson 1972:120-38) the Kwaan lineage as a whole did not play a prominent part in organizing emigration. Although lineage networks served as a framework for job introduction, the ancestral hall leaders did not directly recommend jobs for the prospective emigrants. It was the lower order kin group which was responsible for the whole process of emigration. My informants who came to Canada before 1923 usually borrowed from kinsmen at home or those already established abroad.

In the same manner as the local officials in the Tsun-kong area of Fukien (Chuang:105), the Hsiang Kung-so leaders in the Sz-yap area used their power to enrich themselves by extracting 'tea money' from the prospective emigrants or the wives and children of the hua-ch'iao who were trying to join the hua-ch'iao abroad. Below is a translation of an article in the Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao (Sept. 1948, p.11):
"It was a regulation since 1945 that whoever was applying to go to America had to go to his Hsiang Kung-so to get three copies of his birth certificate to be stamped by the Hsien Government at Ts'ong-sheng. The wife of the hua-ch'iao who was applying to go abroad had to go to her husband's Hsiang Kung-so to get the marriage certificate and then forward it to the Hsien Government to be stamped. The Hsiang Kung-so leaders, instead of helping the emigrants, exploited them, since they were their only agencies dealing with birth and marriage certificates. Each emigrant usually had to pay $50-$100 (Hong Kong) to the Hsiang-chang and his secretary. For those who were between 20 and 25 years old and were liable to be conscripted, they had to pay $100 to $350 (Hong Kong) to have their age changed to be under 18. From our (the editors') investigation, in the past three years, very few were successful in applying abroad because they could not afford the tea money which sometimes ran as high as $500. That was why the hua-ch'iao were very disaffected with the people at their own Hsiang Kung-so."

SECTION II: Links Between Overseas Chinese and Their Home Villages

This section attempts to trace the relationships between overseas Chinese and their families left at home. The information here came from both the actual experiences of the informants themselves as well as what they knew about their own villagers who had gone overseas. I shall also describe the relationship between the overseas Chinese associations and the homeland of the hua-ch'iao from the data I have gathered.

A. Links on the Individual Level

Kwaan E

"Of all the people in our village who were overseas at my time, something like 70% went to North America and 30% to the Nanyang. Those
who had gone to the Nanyang went as pigs. The centres of the 'pig trade' were Hong Kong, Canton and Macau. A plantation owner (usually a westerner) in Southeast Asia would ask a Chinese contractor to sponsor people to work for a number of years. In Che-hom, the contractors' agents were very active in recruiting people. Some of the people in our village volunteered to go, some were cheated into it at the gambling table. It was difficult to redeem oneself once sold. Three or four families in our village went to Trinidad. They too had been contract workers there.

"When I was still in T'oh-fuk, I heard that those in the Nanyang usually had two wives - one in the village and another in the Nanyang. We called them 'amphibians'. When I was in Canton and in Hong Kong, some of the people I knew had two wives too.

"Unlike many of my village folks, I did not go home to get married. I met my wife in Canton. After we were married, I took her home to see my parents who insisted that we should have a second wedding ceremony held in the village. Again, unlike many of the village folks, I did not leave my wife in the village.

"I went back to the village from Hong Kong in 1941-45. Believe it or not, I was given two shares of pork and honoured as a gentry. However, I returned to Hong Kong right after the War because I was used to city life."

Kwaan B

"As far as I know, a lot of people from our village had gone overseas. Of the 2,000 people in this village, about 200 were in Canada, 200 were in the States and 200 in the Nanyang. That was why almost the whole village relied on remittances from overseas. Many of the early emigrants who came to Canada were railway workers."
I called that 'semi-pig trade'. They signed contracts with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company agents at Che-hom who paid for their passage.

"Those who had gone to the Nanyang before 1920 remitted money back to their family folks in the village. The reason, I think, was because they were bound by strong family ties. There were so many people from our village at one place in the Nanyang that if an emigrant did not remit, the rest would criticise him. They returned home frequently to see their parents, wives and children especially during the Chinese New Year, the Ching-ming Festival and important occasions in the family such as birthdays of parents, funerals and weddings of family members. They usually sent money home to buy land and houses since they did not have pensions or any form of security while working abroad. The same happened to those who had gone to North America. They remitted money home and visited home, although not as frequently as those who worked in the Nanyang. Most of them planned to retire home.

"As for myself, I left Hoi-p'ing as a single man at the age of 18. When I was 26, I had saved enough money to go home to get married. The second time I went back home was when my father died. The third time I went home was in 1932 and I stayed in Hong Kong for four years and in my native village for three years. This was because business was bad in Victoria during the Depression years. I went home again during Wartime, and stayed there until 1947.

"I was well informed about happenings in our village while in Canada because I received letters from home frequently. The employees and partners of the store in which I worked every now and then went back to their villages and brought news from home."
"I had intended to retire home in T'oh-fuk because all my family members were there and the Canadian Government at that time did not allow the Chinese to bring their families over. We did not know when we would be kicked out of the country altogether. I changed my mind after 1947 when I saw how unruly my native village had become. Moreover, the Canadian Immigration Restrictions had loosened up and we could sponsor our families. I did that in 1951-2 when I sponsored my wife, children and nephew. In 1956, I sponsored my mother.

"Like me, a lot of the hua-ch'iao here sponsored their dependents over after 1945. A lot of young men came over. That was why you find that after 1947 in Chinatown here, the Chinese were either very old or very young".

Kwaan C

"Most of the emigrants from our village went to North America especially Canada (while most of the Sz-t'o went to the United States). In my time, nearly all of the hua-ch'iao from our village came home to get married. The go-between usually gave a list of prospective brides and the parents of the hua-ch'iao chose a girl and arranged for the marriage ceremony. The returned emigrant usually accepted the bride chosen by his parents because he had no time to hunt for another one. He usually stayed home for no more than three months every time he returned, for fear that his visa would be cancelled by the Canadian Immigration Office if he stayed any longer."

"As for myself, I went home to get married in 1920. I remitted money home four times a year and went home every five to six years. In 1949, I sponsored my wife and children to come."

"Of the 1,200 people in our village, about 100 had gone to Hong Kong to work. Others went to Canada, the Nanyang and the United States. In the Nanyang, most of them went to Singapore, Philippines and Indonesia.

"Those who had gone to America were nearly all single men, they came home to get married and left their wives and children home. The same happened to those who had gone to Hong Kong or Canton. They all aimed at returning home. I am not too sure about those who had gone to the Nanyang."

"There were about 200 families in our village. Of these 3 or 4 families had gone to the Nanyang (mostly Singapore, Vietnam and the Philippines), about 12 had gone to America (mostly in Los Angeles); 2 to 3 families to Mexico; 2 families to Peru; 1 to Edmonton and ours was the only family in Victoria.

"Of all the hua-ch'iao families in our village, those whose members had gone to the Nanyang were notorious for not returning home. They got married in the Nanyang although they had wives in the village. However, the lucky thing was that they still sent money home to support the remaining members of the family in the village. Two old Nanyang hua-ch'iao, I remember, returned to the village with their sons to look for a go-between to find brides for their sons. They took the brides back to Singapore again after the wedding.

"In my generation, unlike that of my father's, many hua-ch'iao brought their wives along to work in Hong Kong, Canton or overseas. My elder brother who worked in Macau came home to get married and took my sister-in-law to Macau after the wedding. My eldest brother, however,
was married in Shanghai.

"As far as the American hua-ch'iao were concerned, owing to Immigration Restrictions, they went home to get married and had to leave their wives at home. It was only after 1947 that many sponsored their wives and children.

"After 1949, many could not go back to the Mainland to look for brides. As Kwaan I and Kwaan N would have told you, both theirs and my wife were "mail order brides". (I called them 'C.O.D. wives'). A go-between in Hong Kong collected the photographs of marriageable girls and sent them over to me. Then I chose one of the photographs, paid the go-between some lucky money and bought an air-ticket to have the would-be bride come over for the wedding."

Kwaan F

"The first time I visited home was 1918, I got married then. The second time I visited home was in 1921; the third time was in 1928 and the last time was in 1935 when my eldest son got married. My home folks are still in the Mainland. I plan to retire home."

Kwaan H

"About the same number in our village left for North America as for Nanyang - I do not remember exactly how many, or which family had gone where. Out of those who had gone to the Nanyang, only a few were pigs. Most of them went as voluntary emigrants. The pigs I met in the boat I took to Medan were mostly people from Ch'iu-chau or from Lui-chau and Lim-chau. This, I think, was because the people from the Sz-yap were richer and did not have to sell themselves as pigs. Only the poor and the rootless people were lured into selling themselves as pigs."
In Medan, the pigs usually worked in plantations owned by westerners such as coffee, rubber and pineapple plantations. Once sold, they did not have much freedom. In name, the contract was for 3 to 5 years but they were usually not able to redeem themselves because they gambled a lot. Even if they had saved enough money, their savings might be literally robbed by their 'pig heads'. It was only after 1930 that the local government in Medan regulated the pig trade and allowed pigs to redeem themselves in no more than five years' time.

Whether as voluntary emigrants or as pigs, the hua-ch'iao in Medan seldom returned home after 1930 either because they did not have enough money, or if they had enough, were usually too busy with their business abroad to come home. Many made use of the loose immigration regulations and sponsored their families. There were so many Sz-yap people in Medan by the 1930's that one did not feel socially deprived. Many dared not return because they heard rumours that the Sz-yap was infested with bandits. They did not like to be robbed.

It is, I think, on the whole true that those in Medan who aimed at returning home were the poorer hua-ch'iao such as the pedlars and labourers who had parents, wives and children in the village. They usually sent a lot of their savings home to buy a small piece of land and a house as well as remitting home for the support of their family folks.

The richer merchants usually did not plan to retire home. All their money were invested in business in Medan. Many of them already had a second wife there. The second wife usually did not return to the home village. Who would like to smell the stinking toilets at home? She would never get used to the climate and the living conditions
So, many of the rich hua-ch’iao in Medan did not return home. They cut their ties with their home village once their parents died. In our village, these people were deprived of their ritual pork.

"As for me, well, I went to Medan as a single man in 1927. After 3 years, I went home to get married. After another 2 years, I sponsored my wife. All of my children were born in Medan. I sent all of them back home for education and asked my father to look after them until they were old enough to join me in Medan. It had been a common practice for the hua-ch’iao in Medan to send their children home to school. The reason was because of 

ku-hsiang kuan-nien (the love of one's native place). These local born Medan boys were not necessarily sent to their father's home villages or market towns to study. In fact, many of them were sent to the most prominent schools in Canton. In Medan, before 1930, there were several dialect schools where sons of the hua-ch’iao could attend. These schools were combined to form a Chinese school in 1930, using kuo-yu as the teaching media. The rich hua-ch’iao families usually sent their sons to continue with high schools in Mainland China after graduating from the Chinese school in Medan.

"I did not remit a lot of money home because I had nine other brothers who were also responsible for keeping up the family budget in Che-hom. Besides, I did not have much say as to how the money was to be used, being one of the younger sons. Actually I would not have returned to Che-hom if it were not for the anti-Chinese policy of the Medan government in the 1940's. My business was going well in Medan... God knows how eager I was to apply back to Medan in 1948. I was so used to Medan life."

Kwaan I

"My father emigrated to Canada before I was born. He very seldom returned home, so much so that I did not remember 'the old mosquito' (col. for father) at all when he picked me up at the International Airport in Vancouver! I haven't been back to Hoi-p'ing since I came."

Kwaan G

"My father came home to get married in 1905-6. He sponsored my mother and my eldest brother in 1910. My eight other brothers and myself were all Victoria born.

"When my father died in 1921, my mother, myself and my eldest brother brought his bones back to his home village in T'oh-fuk to be buried. In accordance with his last wishes, my eldest brother and I attended Chinese classes in the Ling-naam University. They had a class catering especially for the sons of overseas Chinese. I left Ling-naam after half a year because I had to hurry back to take care of our store in Victoria.

"My father wanted us to go back to China to study because he believed that it was hard for a Chinese to find work in the western community even though one had graduated from a Canadian University here. It was common, during my father's day, as well as during my time, to send sons back to China to study. Some were even sent as far as Shanghai and Peking Universities to continue with their education.

"My father had bought some land and a house in his native village. After his death, when we had decided not to return to China, we sold our property to a cousin. We only asked $1 (Canadian) as transfer fees to make it legal."
From Section II A, it is clear that emigrants from T'oh-fuk before 1949 had kept close contact with their home villages. Like those hua-ch'iao from the Ch'iu-chau - Fukien area and from the New Territories of Hong Kong (Chen Ta 1940:53, 124-5, 142-3; Kulp:52-3, 342-3; Chuang:104; Watson 1972:166, 172-7) most of my informants sent their children home for education, remitted money home and returned home when there was trouble abroad.

The reason for the lack of assimilation among the Chinese abroad was the uncertainties of emigrant life in a hostile environment. Many could not afford to forego their homeland as a possible safety valve in case of discrimination and at times of economic dislocations abroad. In this sense, the overseas emigrants were much like the rural-urban migrants except that the former had an even greater sense of insecurity as they lived in an entirely alien and sometimes unpredictable social-political milieu. In the Nanyang, it was the most successful hua-ch'iao and those who were living in a congenial host society who could afford to forego their ties with China. In Canada, it was only after 1949 when the social atmosphere was more congenial to the Chinese and when it was not possible to return to Mainland China that the hua-ch'iao decided to forego their ties with the homeland completely.

B. Links on an Association Level

Unlike the Man of San-tin (Watson 1972:169-71) the Hoi-p'ing Kwaan in Victoria participated in a number of Overseas Chinese Associations because there were not enough of them in the city to be socially self-sufficient.
Among the associations joined by the Kwaan in Victoria were the Hoi-p'ing Association, the Chi-kung T'ong, the Lung-kong Kung-shoh and the Chinese Benevolent Association. The membership of these associations cut across lineage lines. It is not the purpose here to give a detailed description of the functions and organizations of these associations. My aim is to describe the connection between these various associations and the home communities of the overseas Chinese.

All my informants denied that the Chi-kung T'ong and the Lung-kong Kung-shoh had any connections at all with the Triads or the Lung-kong Ancient Temple Association in the Sz-yap. The Lung-kong Kung-shoh were established in Vancouver and Victoria because the Lau, the Kwaan, the Cheung and the Chiu, taken individually, were not as numerous as the other clans, so they must join together. It had nothing to do with Mainland China except that monetary donations were sent to the Chinese Government during Wartime. It merely served as a social club between people of the four clans. The same happened to the Koo-sheng Ooi in Medan of Indonesia which, according to Kwaan H, was the counterpart of the Lung-kong Kung-shoh here.

It is true that the members of the Chi-kung T'ong had donated to Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary movement before 1911. But after that date it had lost much of its political fervour and had become more of a social club than a political party organization, although it had a control over the employment of the Chinese in the lumber industry here.

The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association was noted for its benevolence in sending the stranded Chinese labourers back to their respective home villages after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1884 (T.H. Lee:58-60; Lai:132, 135). But as I discovered from my informants, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent
Association did not always perform this function.

Very seldom were stranded Chinese helped home by the Association after 1884. Any overseas Chinese who was sick and in need of medical help or who was dead and in need of coffin money, his relatives here would start a campaign to ask the hua-ch’iao for donations. Thus, it was the individual hua-ch’iao who donated money voluntarily for his stranded kinsmen to return home, it was not through association help.

The same applied to Medan in Indonesia as described by H. He said, "No association would help you when you were sick or the unemployed in Medan. Only the rich and benevolent individuals would donate to help. In my time, a Mr. Cheung was noted for such kind actions in Medan."

Of all the overseas Chinese associations joined by the Kwaan, the Hoi-p'ing Association had the closest connections with their home villages. It organized the transportation of bones of the deceased Hoi-p'ing natives back to their home village for burial. The procedure was as follows:- most of the Sz-yap natives in Victoria bought tickets from the Chinese shipping agencies such as Lei-t'ung and Kwaan-on when they visited home. These shipping agencies took some of the tickets to Maan-yuk T'ong and Ue-lun to be sold, because the headquarters of the Hoi-p'ing Association (known as Kwong-fuk T'ong before the War) was sometimes in Ue-lun and sometimes in Maan-yuk T'ong. When the Hoi-p'ing people came to buy tickets in either one of these two stores, they had to pay $2 (Canadian) extra. This was known as ch'ut-hau piu. These two dollars were compulsory donations, they were used to finance the transportation of bones of the Hoi-p'ing natives in Canada.

The bones were transported back home through one of the special
boats run by Lei-t'ung. These bones were sent to the Hong Kong Tung-wa Hospital's Funeral Home. The Hoi-p'ing Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong then chartered a boat known as Kung-shau Ho to send the bones to the funeral home at Paak-hop Market-town known as the Yan-hoi Kung-yeuk. The Hong Kong Hoi-p'ing Chamber of Commerce would notify the various families concerned to go to Paak-hop to take the bones to their native villages for burial. Those bones which were not collected were sent back to the Tung-wa Hospital to be burnt. Before the War, whoever said he was going home, people would ask him jokingly whether he was going to land at Paak-hop!?

In Victoria, bones were transported back home once every 8 years. After the Communists controlled Mainland China, this practice stopped and the Hoi-p'ing Association had lost its most important function. The Association now does not have enough members and exists only in name. The one in Vancouver is much stronger as it has some property of its own (Chu-yün Chüan-chia K'ai-p'ing Tsung-hui-kuan T'ê-k'an: 27-29).

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing two sections, it seems obvious that the Hoi-p'ing emigrants did not receive any benefits or services from their home government or their lineages. The lower order kin group took care of the whole emigration process, while the benefactors among the hua-ch'iao overseas helped the stranded and the sick and the Hoi-p'ing Association arranged for the bones of the deceased hua-ch'iao to be sent home. The Hsiang Kung-so did nothing but collect 'tea money' from the prospective emigrants or the family members of the hua-ch'iao. There were numerous incidences in which the Self-defence Corps intimidated the families of the hua-ch'iao, frightened the hua-ch'iao
of conscription and accused them of smoking opium and gambling in order to squeeze some money from them (see Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao 1946-49).

SECTION III: Contributions of the Hua-ch'iao to Hoi-p'ing

Overseas emigrants among the Kwaan were regarded as belonging to their lineage at home. They had a share of the ritual pork of their own ancestral halls. However, in contrast to the San-tin emigrants described by Watson (1972:183-4, 191, 199-200, 205-9), they were not consulted in moments of important decisions. For example, in T'oh-fuk, only members residing in the villages could sign their names when the question of land sales arose. People who had gone abroad had no say in the selling of the ancestral property in the 1940's. People working in Canton or Hong Kong, if they were powerful gentry, merchants or scholars, were consulted and given some benefits.

In the 1940's the hua-ch'iao among the Kwaan were beginning to lose their rights even to ritual pork. For example, in Shek-tsz-kong Ts'uen, the Kwaan Ue-shiu Ancestral Hall was rich enough to provide its members with shares of rice and money after each Spring Rites. But in 1948 the elders and the gentry members set up new rules. Male members who were living outside Hoi-p'ing, whether in business or as soldiers, would not be given any benefits of the ancestral property unless their families sent their names, ages and family photos to the ancestral hall to prove that they were still part of the family. This had to be done every year from then on (Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao Oct 1948:17-18).

From the above, it is not surprising that the hua-ch'iao did not contribute to the building and repairing of ancestral halls in their respective villages. The large ancestral hall in Ha Ts'uen had undergone repair and rebuilding in the 1920's. This was not because of donations from the hua-ch'iao but only because this ancestral hall had
considerable property to finance the project. Similarly in Cheung Ts'uen the hua-ch'iao did not contribute to the buying of corporate property because they would not derive much benefit for themselves or their direct descendants. The Ch'oh-hon Kung-t'sz had undergone repair in 1921 but this was not due to the efforts of the hua-ch'iao. In Sha-tei, the Ue Shan Ancestral Hall too had undergone repair but this was paid for by the rich landlords in the village. Similarly in Na-loh, the hua-ch'iao did not contribute to the repairing or the building of ancestral halls or set aside any land for the establishment of corporate property.

According to Chen Ta (1940:127,133) emigrants in Siam did help to build ancestral halls in the villages in the Fukien - Ch'iu-chau area and set aside corporate property to provide for their own rituals after death. Freedman (1966:169-70) also believes that in parts of South China, emigrants donated to ancestral halls to keep the lineage going. Thus, my findings that the hua-ch'iao among the Kwaan did not donate to the building of ancestral halls or to the augmentation of ancestral property may suggest that the hua-ch'iao among the Kwaan lacked lineage consciousness.

Two points, however, had to be borne in mind: (1) As had been described in Chapter X, in the 20th Century the Kwaan in the T'oh-fuk area seldom added corporate property to their own ancestral halls in their villages or their Hsiang, nor did they help build new ancestral halls. These, as I had suggested, were not necessary to achieve social prestige, power and status there. So, one should not expect the hua-ch'iao to do likewise; (2) The Man in San-tin, according to Watson (1972:188-97), were very 'lineage conscious', yet they did not donate ritual land to the ancestral hall either. Thus, donations of ritual land or helping
to build new ancestral halls may not be good indices of lineage consciousness.

My informants stated specifically that the hua-ch'iao had the lineage in mind all the time. Their concern with the lineage was strongest during and after the War. For example, after the War, when the Sz-heung Kung-shoh sent letters to the Kwaan in Victoria asking for donations for the repairing of the T'oh-fuk Public Road destroyed during World War II, most of them donated money for its repair. In addition, the Kwaan in Victoria also donated $1,000 (Chinese dollars) when in 1946 the Sz-heung Kung-shoh organized a Memorial Service for those 15 Kwaan who had died while bravely defending the T'oh-fuk area.

B. Education and Cultural Contributions

The emigrants of Hoi-p'ing in general were active in contributing to cultural affairs of the Hsien. They were active in the founding of newspapers. For example, in 1919, the Hoi-p'ing Ming-po was founded, based on the contributions of the Hoi-p'ing emigrants. Most of the contributions came from the Kwaan and the Tse in Canada. That was perhaps the reason why Kwaan Ue-t'in and Tse Yik-pan were chosen as the papers' directors. Other newspapers which were initiated by the hua-ch'iao included the Hoi-p'ing Daily in Cheung-sha, the Hoi-p'ing Ts'un-hon and the Hoi-p'ing Morning Newspapers (Per.Com; K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:30, 64,139,187-9,376).

The Kwaan Lineage Library was built in 1929, like other tsu libraries in Hoi-p'ing, (the Sz-t'o Lineage Library and the Chau Lineage Library), it was based on donations of the hua-ch'iao in the name of the lineage. The whole project was initiated at the Maan-yuk T'ong in 1922-23. The library was built on a piece of corporate property belonging to the Kwong-ue Ancestral Hall. That was why in 1929, when it was built, the Kwaan Lineage Library was administered by the
Hsiang gentry at the Sz-heung Kung-shoh.

Besides the founding of newspapers and libraries, emigrants of Hoi-p'ing, and the Kwaan among them, were also interested in the founding of modern schools. One informant estimated that 9 out of 10 primary schools in the T'oh-fuk area had connections with the hua-ch'iao overseas. They were not totally dependent upon overseas Chinese remittances: part of the funds also came from various ancestral halls and the rich merchants. This happened to the Kwong-uen Primary School, the Leung-uet Primary School and Cheung-k'ai Primary School in Cheung Ts'uen as well as T'o-k'eung Primary School in Ha Ts'uen. These schools taught letter writing and the use of the abacus.

The best school in the T'oh-fuk - Che-hom area were the Kwong-i Primary School and the Kwong-ue Primary School at Che-hom which were supported completely by Hua-ch'iao funds, although the Sz-heung Kung-shoh managed the schools and the teachers were employed by the Hsiang gentry. These two schools taught arts, science and mathematics.

In Ts'ung-long, there was the Ts'ung-k'ai Primary School which was based entirely on emigrant funds. Returned hua-ch'iao served on the Board of Directors and as advisors. The school taught elementary English and some modern subjects such as history, geography and civics.

In Kau-p'ei-ch'ung, the Taai-t'ung Primary School (built in 1923) was one of the most important contributions of the Kwaan in Canada. The donations received from the hua-ch'iao were used to invest in real estates in Hong Kong. The proceeds of these investments were used to pay the teachers' salary. The students did not have to pay to attend the school.

As far as the establishment of high schools and post-secondary schools was concerned, the hua-ch'iao played an even greater part,
as these schools were more expensive than the primary schools.

The Hoi-k'iu High School and the First High School of Hoi-p'ing were almost entirely financed by the hua-ch'iao. In 1922-27, when Ng Ting-san founded the Hoi-k'iu High School, the hua-ch'iao donor selected some members to go back to China to help in the establishment of the Board of Directors of the school. Together they drew up a constitution for the school, nominated a few supervisors as well as the Chairman and members of the Board of Directors. They also chose the principal and the executives of the schools. Wong Hon-kwong served as the chief executive of the Hoi-k'iu High School (see Chapter VI of this thesis).

In 1948, when the Kwaan Lineage Library was destroyed by War, it was the hua-ch'iao who donated for its rebuilding. In addition, a Kwong-ue High School was built next to the Library. The contributions to this project came mostly from the Canadian and American Hoi-p'ing emigrants and some from the hua-ch'iao in the Nanyang, Cuba, Mexico and Hong Kong. At about the same time the Che-hom inhabitants of Hoi-p'ing were starting their donations campaign overseas for the establishment of a Naam-lau High School in honour of the 7 martyrs who died during World War II in defence of Naam-lau. Response from overseas was tremendous. Within a few months, enough was collected to start the building project (Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao May, 1948:15, 17).

All these high schools built by the hua-ch'iao were based on the Canton model. They did not give any vocational training. The curriculum emphasized book learning and aimed at preparing the students to become civil servants of the Hsien or the Canton Government. The hua-ch'iao donated to these schools and sent their children to study there because they aimed at social advancement for their
children in China through education at home instead of education abroad. Since they believed their children would not be able to find a decent job abroad even if they graduated from a western institution.

The hua-ch'iao of the Fukien - Ch'iu-chau area who had gone to the Nanyang were equally, if not more, enthusiastic about promoting education in Eastern Kwangtung and Southern Fukien (Chuang:117; Chen Ta 1940:149-161, 275-80). Like the hua-ch'iao in America and Canada, the Nanyang hua-ch'iao wished to send their children home to attend schools in China because their children could not enter the civil service in the Colonial Governments of Southeast Asia. However, in addition to this motive, the Nanyang hua-ch'iao were also interested in training bookkeeping personnel, shop assistants etc. to help businesses in the Nanyang. This motive was not present among the hua-ch'iao of the Americas, since they were not allowed to sponsor anybody after 1923. Thus, the type of vocational schools in the Ch'iu-chau - Fukien area which provided apprenticeship in the Nanyang were not founded in the T'oh-fuk area where the richest hua-ch'iao from North America donated the most money for educational purposes (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:30).

In San-tin the emigrants were successful abroad so much so that the sons of the Man did not see any reasons for going to school. Enthusiasm for education was thus entirely lacking there (Watson 1972: 272-5).

C. Defence and Public Safety

Freedman (1958:107, 1966:116) believes that overseas remittances must have strengthened lineages in South China in the sense that emigrants donated to increase the political control of the lineages over their neighbours. Lamley (18, 48) also shares the same belief: that powerful lineages relied on their overseas merchants for monetary
donations and firearms for feuds.

In the study made by Chen Ta (129) in Ch'iu-on, an elder in the village made his living largely by creating trouble between lineages and then having the disputes settled by monetary payments demanded for this purpose from well-to-do kinsmen in the Nanyang. However, in other cases cited by Chen Ta (1940:196-9, 201-2), the part played by the emigrants in defence was wider than just helping the lineage in its scheme of expansion and aggrandisement. As he notes, most emigrants realized that one cannot protect one's life in the midst of unprotected territories. So, the emigrants helped found a strong police force to defend the whole countryside from 1915, so much so that banditry, robbery and theft had become rare occurrences. (ibid:116-7).

The history of Hoi-p'ing shows that during the Hakka/Punti War, the one who contributed weapon, money and interlineage leadership to the cause of the Punti against the Hakka was Taam Saam-ts'oi who was a Hoi-p'ing merchant trading in Hong Kong (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:173, 290, 352, 370; Lang:132).

During the 1911-1928 crisis, the hua-ch'iao also helped Hoi-p'ing as a whole and not just their own lineages. In 1911, when the bandits occupied Ts'ong-sheng, it was the Hoi-p'ing Scholar Gentry Circle in Canton and the Hong Kong Hoi-p'ing Chamber of Commerce leaders who helped in local defence and in the founding of the Hsien Defence Board in 1911 and the Hsien Militia Headquarters in 1918. They contributed money and leadership for all the campaigns against the T'o-t'ong bandits. In 1928, they also donated to the building of the Chan-naam Lau, a strong fortress, next to the former bandit headquarters in T'o-t'ong. They contributed a total of 77 hand guns to the Hoi-p'ing Government for the establishment of a centralized
police force in 1929-1930 under the Hsien-chang (K'ai-p'ing Hsien chih: 145-6).

The Hoi-p'ing Association of Canada also played an important part in the 1911-28 crisis. In 1928, it organized a campaign to ask the emigrants in Canada to donate to the Hoi-p'ing Government for the peace and order of their native place. The Hoi-p'ing Association then sent the money collected to the Hong Kong Association for the Defence of Hoi-p'ing. Some members went back personally from Canada to Cheung-sha to discuss with the local gentry defence matters of Hoi-p'ing (Chu-yun Ch'uan K'ai-p'ing Tsun-hui-kuan T'e-k'an: 5, 80).

Between 1930 and 1936, Hoi-p'ing was very peaceful. Thus, the hua-ch'iao did not send any more donations for the maintenance of peace and order there. After 1936, when social disorder mounted, the hua-ch'iao would have sent their donations, if not for the fact that their Hsien-chang was suspected of pocketing $20,000 (Hong Kong) out of the $30,000 he raised in both North America and the Nanyang for "fighting the Communists" (Per. Com.).

The only fund raising project in the late 1930's and the 1940's was organized by the representatives of the KMT Party Office in Canton. A Mr. Lau came to Victoria in 1939-40 to ask for donations to the war-chest. Everyone was so eager to donate. Those who did not buy war-bonds were dragged out and tied to a lamp-post. But the KMT Government after the War did not honour the war bonds and every hua-ch'iao had lost faith in that government (Per. Com.).

CONCLUSION

Despite the ill-treatment and the harrassment they got from the lineage leaders and the local police, the hua-ch'iao among the Kwaan did make some contributions to the lineage. The building of modern
schools in T'oh-fuk and Che-hom, the building of the Kwaan Lineage Library as well as the repair of the T'oh-fuk Public Road after the War were among the most important direct contributions of the hua-ch'iao to the Kwaan lineage.

However, these contributions were not for the sole purpose of enhancing the power of the Kwaan lineage as such. The high schools founded in Che-hom were donated not merely by the hua-ch'iao among the Kwaan but by the hua-ch'iao of many lineages. These schools were opened to students of all lineages. Also, when the hua-ch'iao were donating to the schools, their motive was the advancement of their descendants, not for the glory and prestige of the lineage.

As can be seen from the part they played in the defence of Hoi-p'ing, the hua-ch'iao aimed at building a peaceful Hoi-p'ing so that their family members could be saved from bandit attacks. Moreover, they hoped that with the return of peace and order in Hoi-p'ing and the Sz-yap, the trade routes could be re-opened and conditions would once again be favourable to commerce, farming and the processing industry. Thus, the hua-ch'iao did not aim at strengthening the Hsiang-t'uan of their own lineage as such, they aimed at co-ordinating the local defence efforts with the government forces in restoring peace and order in Hoi-p'ing. And in 1930, they even supported Ch'en Chit'ang's establishment of a centralized Police Force in Hoi-p'ing which replaced the lineage based Hsiang-t'uan. Like the gentry at T'oh-fuk and the merchants at Che-hom, they believed that their class interests could only be guaranteed by improved government forces.

The pattern of contributions of the overseas emigrants shows that they, together with the merchants, were more progressive than the
old gentry. They regarded territorial peace and order as more important than lineage solidarity and defence against other lineages and they were less inclined to oppose the government's attempt at centralizing control over the local populace. They occasionally acted as spokesmen of the local populace against government taxation policies and government officials only when these were against their interests as well.
CHAPTER XI - NOTES

1. In 1885, the Immigration Office in Canada began to collect a head tax of $50 from every Chinese immigrant. In 1905, the head tax was increased to $500. Still the Chinese continued to come in large numbers. The year of the highest immigration of Chinese to Canada was 1911-12, right after the Revolution of 1911 in China. In 1923, the Government of Canada thought it wise to prohibit Chinese immigration altogether. The ban was lifted after 1947 (T.H. Lee 487ff).

2. A fong-hau is a communal residence of the Chinese immigrants in North America. It usually houses people from the same lineage. The occupants are usually single men who are related. They cook together and help one another. On rare occasions a fong hau houses single men with the same occupation. Fong-hau are only found in North America. They are not found in Hong Kong, Canton or Southeast Asia because shops there are so constructed that employees lived with their shopowners (see also T.H. Lee:203).

3. Shui-haak are messengers who travel between Overseas Chinese Communities and the home villages of these Overseas Chinese bringing letters, remittances and goods for their clients.

4. Pigs were those who were victims of the contract labour system operated by the Europeans in their colonial possessions in Southeast Asia, South Africa, Central and South America in the mid. 19th Century. The Chinese labourers were recruited to work in plantations or mining projects in these areas under a contract, which provided them with passage money,
residence and a living allowance binding them to work for a certain period of time.

5. The plural family system was very common among the hua-ch'iao in Southeast Asia (Chen Ta 1940:121,134-5).


7. Arranged marriage was prevalent among the emigrants in traditional China (Chen Ta 1940:124, 144-5; Yang:83-4). This was not true of the Man in San-tin. This is probably because they could afford to return to look for their own brides. Moreover, their success rate was high, not like some of the traditional emigrants who had to rely upon the family to provide for the wedding (Watson 1972:235-243-5).

8. This system was also found in San-tin (Watson 1972:247-9).

9. According to Chen Han-seng (111-2), it was not until 1934 that female emigration was at its height, through encouragement of the colonial powers such as the British in Malaya and the Dutch in Indonesia. This was also the period of considerable family emigration.

10. This confirmed Hsu's argument (50) against Chen Ta that foreign born Chinese wives or native wives could not be agents of social change since so few of them returned to the hua-ch'iao's native villages. Actually, Chen Ta himself notices (1940:130-1, 142) that very few of these foreign wives returned home with their husbands.

11. See studies of Willmott, Lyman and Lai.
CHAPTER XII
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF OVERSEAS EMIGRATION AMONG
THE KWAAN IN T'O'H-FUK

From the last Chapter, it is found that the hua-ch'iao's contributions to Hoi-p'ing were motivated more by class interests than by lineage consciousness. This Chapter will discuss whether the investment pattern of the hua-ch'iao had any effects on the persistence of the Kwaan lineage.

SECTION I: Hua-ch'iao and the Development of Che-hom and Taai-t'ung

A. Remittance Business

Che-hom was one of the ports of embarkation for the Hoi-p'ing and the Yan-p'ing emigrants, either to the Nanyang or to the Americas via Hong Kong. B himself had to take a boat to Che-hom from Cheung Ts'uen first and then onto Cheung-sha and Kongmoon before he boarded the "Empress" in Hong Kong to go to Canada. Kwaan M from Ts'ung-long had to take a bus from Ts'ung-long to Che-hom and from there take a boat to Cheung-sha.

According to Yao (5), Che-hom was one of the centres to receive cheques from overseas. (The other centres were: Cheung-sha, San-ch'eung, Kongmoon, T'oi-shaan City and Yan-p'ing City). The villagers in Hoi-p'ing received the cheques and cashed them at Che-hom.

There were various ways by which money was sent. The early hua-ch'iao in Victoria asked either Lei-t'ung or Kwan-on Shipping Agencies to take money home for them.
They sometimes asked the employees or partners of their stores who were about to visit China to take some money for them.

Most of the early hua-ch'iao from the Nanyang and the Americas, however, utilized the services of the shui-haak to take money home for them. No receipt was ever issued by the shui-haak; everything was based on trust. The shui-haak did not ask for a commission either. But the shui-haak lost their function once the remittance firms (to be discussed) became popular. In the 1930's there were no more shui-haak travelling between Hong Kong and North America and very few between Hong Kong and the Nanyang. They only served as messengers of the remittance firms from Hong Kong to the Mainland (Yao:27).

Since then, a majority of the hua-ch'iao in both North America and the Nanyang would send cheques to a relative's shop in the market towns nearby. N's father remitted money to a relative's drugstore in Paak-sha Market and his mother went there to collect the money. M's father sent remittances to his grandfather by simply buying a cheque at the bank in Victoria and posting it to a grocery store in Ts'ung-long. His grandfather picked it up from the store. A's father bought a cheque in Victoria, sent it through a Chinese drugstore in Victoria to another one in Hong Kong. The cheque was then converted into Chinese currency. A shui-haak would take the money to a third drugstore in Che-hom. His father would pick up the money from there.

In Che-hom, people usually went to their villager's remittance firm, drugstore or grocery store to chat and to
take a rest on market days. The remittances were mostly sent there to be collected by the recipients. There were the Provincial Bank of Kwangtung, the Ta-s-t'ung Bank, the Bank of China and the Post Office in Che-hom, but most people did not make use of their remittance services. The reason was that too much commissions was collected. Moreover like other parts of South China, the banks required the cheque to be cashed on the same day as it was received. A guarantor was compulsory for cashing the cheque. So most of the hua-ch'iao families would rather make use of the remittance firms (Yao:8, 16 ff; Minami Shina Soran:638-49).

The remittance firms usually had three branches: one overseas, one in a port-city and one in the market town of the native Esien of the hua-ch'iao. In the Nanyang, it was the letter offices which collected the hua-ch'iao's remittances and sent them to either Swatow or Hong Kong to be distributed to the market-towns of the hua-ch'iao's families (Chen Ta 1940:78-80, 208-211; Wu Cheng-hsi 1937:224-233). In America, it was the district associations which handled remittances through their connections with the Chinese shipping agents.

In Hong Kong and other port-cities, firms were known as kam-shean chong if they did business with America, and naam-yeung chong if they did business with the Nanyang (Yao:10). Most of their clients were friends and relatives abroad. These firms did import and export business and helped their relatives and friends to handle immigrant procedures. These naam-yeung
chong and kam-shaan chong usually had a branch in the market-towns of their clients or they made use of a friendly store there to distribute the remittances.

In the Sz-yap, many remittance firms were run by the returned hua-ch'iao or members of the hua-ch'iao's family at home. From 1911 to 1930, the Shun-tak Corporation controlled remittance businesses. In the late 1930's, however, many Sz-yap returned hua-ch'iao started their own remittance business with branches in the Nanyang and in the home villages of the emigrants. While waiting for remittances to accumulate, they profitted from lending money out on short terms to the peasants, or used money for buying commodities to be imported to China. Their influence was the greatest among their lineage folks in their home districts (Yao:10-11, 15, 22).

There were ten remittance firms in Che-hom since the beginning of the 20th Century. They were all along Fuk-hing Road. The height of their business activities was between 1920-1932 and between 1943-1946. During these two periods, the hua-ch'iao remitted almost all of their savings home either because of discrimination or because of economic dislocations abroad. Much of the commissions the remittance firms received were re-invested in import/export businesses as well as in real estates in Che-hom.

The Kwaan were particularly successful in running remittance firms. They not only dealt with remittances in the T'oh-fuk area, but also in Kau-p'ei-ch'ung and other parts of Hoi-p'ing.
Below is a description of the activities of some of the remittance firms owned by the Kwaan:

Maan Yuk-t'ong and Ue-lun in Victoria and Kwong-ue-lung in Vancouver were centres handling remittances for the Hoi-p'ing emigrants in Victoria, Vancouver as well as other small towns in British Columbia. Together they owned two branches in Hong Kong; Ue-fung-woh and Maan-ue-lung. The cheques of the Hoi-p'ing emigrants in British Columbia were sent there to be changed to Chinese currency. The shui-haak (who were Cheung Ts'uen and Ha Ts'uen natives) would take the money to Ooi-wa-uen, a remittance firm, and Maan-ning T'ong, a drugstore, in Che-hom both of which were run by the Kwaan in T'oh-fuk. The family members of the hua-ch'iao would go to Ooi-wa-uen or Maan-ning T'ong on market days to ask whether there were any letters or remittances for them. If the recipients did not turn up, a shui-haak would go to the villages concerned and ask them to go to Che-hom to get the money.

Kwong-ue-lung operated on a larger scale than Maan-yuk T'ong or Ue-lun. Its receipts could be found all over the Sz-yap. The remittances Kwong-ue-long collected were sent through Hong Kong to the remittance firms in Taai-t'ung Market, bypassing Che-hom altogether.

Thus, from British Columbia to Che-hom and Taai-t'ung, the remittances of the Hoi-p'ing emigrants were handled by firms owned by the Kwaan from Ha Ts'uen, Cheung Ts'uen and Kau-p'ei-ch'ung.
However, in Che-hom, there were many remittance firms which were not operated by the Kwaan alone. Like the rest of the Sz-yap (Ninami Shina Soran:649) most of the remittance firms ran on a partnership basis. Since the hua-ch'iao of many surnames remitted money through Che-hom, it made good business sense to join partners with people of other lineages in remittance concerns (Per. Com.).

B. Other Business Investments

The hua-ch'iao among the Kwaan, whether still residing abroad or had retired home, invested heavily in businesses in Che-hom, which they regarded as their sphere of influence. Most of them did not invest outside Hoi-p'ing unless they were very successful abroad. As the T'oh-fuk countryside was too crowded by the 1930's to allow for any development and investing in urban pursuits was more lucrative, the hua-ch'iao concentrated their investments in Che-hom.

This was very different from the Chinese emigrants in the Nanyang. They usually invested in the port-cities such as Swatow and Amoy. Moreover, their pattern of investment was sporadic rather than continuous. Political disorder, excessive taxation, fluctuation in the price of silver, insecurity in China, changing tariff and currency or even improvement in the conditions in the Nanyang would turn them away from investing in Mainland China (Chen Ta 1940:20-1, 74-5, 210).

One of the reasons for this difference was because of the fact that those who had emigrated to the Americas had no other alternatives: they did not have much scope for investing in the host countries. In Canada, for example, the hua-ch'iao could
not sponsor their families, so most of them aimed at laying a good economic foundation at home before they actually retired to the T'oh-fuk - Che-hom area.

In Che-hom, some of the hua-ch'iao established leather shops, grocery stores, fashion boutiques, cake-shops etc. to have them managed by their family members. They were also owners of hotels and restaurants, tea-houses and theatres. The more popular concerns run by them or their families were shops dealing with imported grocery items and imported clothings. They usually had a branch of the same nature in Hong Kong or Canton. But most important of all, they specialized in remittance firms and were dealers of gold and jewelry.

C. Modernization of Che-hom

Like the hua-ch'iao in the Amoy-Swatow area, Kongmoon and the rest of the Sz-yap (Chen Ta 1940:206-221; Chuang:122; Ssu-tu:62; Minami Shina Soran:562) money remitted from the Nanyang and North America was invested into municipal developments such as electric lights, telephones, road companies, bus and steamboat services in Che-hom. The T'oh-fuk Bus Company, for example, was financed by both overseas and local capital. The best years in Che-hom was during the Ch'en Chi-t'ang period because it was more peaceful and there was a favourable rate of exchange. Moreover, with the onset of the Depression in both the Nanyang and North America, many overseas Chinese sent all their savings home for investments, not just for family upkeep.

As a result life in Che-hom after 1930 was not too much different from life in Canton. The roads were widened and paved with cement. There was a good bus service. The houses
were modern two storied buildings with balconies. There were telephones, post offices, modern banks and electric lighting. There were newspapers, magazines and modern schools.

D. Real Estates

Before the Ch'en Chi-t'ang period, no hua-ch'iao dared go back to Che-hom via Canton. He could be kidnapped or extorted. So not many hua-ch'iao ran shops in Che-hom. They merely sent money back to buy shop spaces and rented them to local shopowners. It was only after 1930 that many shops in Che-hom were run by returned hua-ch'iao themselves.

After 1930, in the same way as the hua-ch'iao in the Pearl River Delta and the Fukien - Ch'iu-chau area (B.S. Lee:4-18; Chen Ta 1940: 149-50, 206-226), money remitted from the Nanyang and North America was put into real estates in Che-hom. One informant estimated that 9 out of 10 shops in Che-hom were owned by the hua-ch'iao. Because of the investment of the hua-ch'iao, according to the same informant, the price for shop-spaces in Che-hom was higher than that of Hong Kong before the War.

E. Business Stimulated by the Presence of the Hua-ch'iao

Because of (1) the demand for better housing among the hua-ch'iao families and the retired hua-ch'iao; (2) the development of real estate business in Che-hom and (3) the municipal development programmes, the construction industry was booming in Lau-kong and Che-hom. Concerns selling construction materials as well as furniture were doing particularly good business in the 1930's and immediately after the Second World War.
The rice-milling industry was introduced by the hua-ch'iao into Che-hom (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih: 55). Before, rice was milled in a crude way by the farmers' wives at home. But, besides that, there was not much industrial development in Che-hom. This was partly because the hua-ch'iao invested most of their capital in commerce rather than industry. Most of the hua-ch'iao engaged in speculating in government bonds, as well as in middle men business such as import/export concerns, remittance concerns, processing industries etc. as well as investing their money in hotels, restaurants, cinemas etc. all relating to entertainment and comforts of life.

Che-hom became a centre of luxury because of the amount of remittances that was channelled into it. The returned hua-ch'iao and the families of the rich hua-ch'iao all demanded luxury goods and imported commodities such as grocery items, clothings from Japan, Britain and America. There were two western-type movie theatres and a lot of restaurants, tea houses as well as opera houses. Che-hom was known as "little Canton", a lot of people went there for entertainment. It was busier than Cheung-sha in this respect (Per. Com.).

One informant was impressed by a gambling casino which sponsored a Chinese opera in Che-hom every year to celebrate the birthday of Confucius. Singers came from Hong Kong too. Besides this casino, there were numerous opium dens and other casinos to satisfy the needs of the visiting or the retired emigrants.
The indulgence in a luxurious life was common in all emigrant communities so much so that many writers emphasized the laziness of the hua-ch'iao families and their lack of interest in investing in industry (Ssu-tu:62; Chuang:122). But it should be borne in mind that it was the political, economic and social instability of the Min-kuo period which was the main reason for the lack of development in industry and the diversion of the Chinese capital to investing in industries in Hong Kong (Vogel:17). Moreover, except the Three Years' Plan of Ch'en Chi-t'ang, the government did not initiate any modern industrial projects in Kwangtung. The government floated bonds in the markets. This led to speculation among those with capital, instead of investing in commerce and industry (Feuerwerker:48-62).

Nevertheless, some of the more adventurous hua-ch'iao did invest in industries in large cities such as Canton, Shanghai, Kongmoon, Swatow and Amoy (Chen Ta:209-10). They also invested in plantations in the Hoi-naam Island and the mining project in the Kwangtung-Kwangsi border (see Kanton Chosha-sho:3-4; Negishi Benji:68).

From my field work, it is certain that the hua-ch'iao in the 1930's did take an active role in the economic life of Che-hom. Unlike the Man in San-tin (Watson 1972:216-9, 236-8), Che-hom and T'oh-fuk did not become purely a centre of consumption, people engaged in production work as well as spending their time in gambling houses, opium dens and tea-houses.
However, after 1946, many hua-ch'iao refused to invest in any business or processing industries in Che-hom. Less and less remittances were sent. This was not only because the KMT Authorities taxed commercial concerns heavily but also because they put a ceiling on the price of goods. Shops closed down and merchants hoarded their goods in the village. Smuggling was on the increase. The Nanking Government also forbade the use of American and Hong Kong dollars. This was enforced by the policemen and the soldiers. They wore ordinary clothing and spied on anyone using foreign currencies. Many of the hua-ch'iao families either had to pay 'black money' or be imprisoned. Many of those who used Chinese currency in business transactions soon went bankrupt because the Chinese Yuan became 'wet firewood' overnight. As a result, a lot of the returned emigrants went back to America and Canada after the War. Many who were abroad sponsored their family members. Investments went to business and real estates in Hong Kong, Shanghai and overseas instead of Che-hom while other hua-ch'iao families stored up gold bars rather than cash. As a result many remittance firms closed down from 1946 onwards. Restaurants and theatres, however, were still doing good business since the hua-ch'iao and their family members rather enjoyed life than invested in businesses (Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao Sept. 1948: 17).

In 1948, the KMT Party Office in Che-hom began to insist that every citizen had to carry with him an identity card.
ready for inspection. They imposed curfews on Che-hom frequently and used this as an excuse for extorting money from the citizens, the merchants as well as the peddlars who carried beef and mutton to sell in Che-hom. The soldiers even stole the jewelry of the wives of the hua-ch'iao and forced the Chen-chang Kwaan Sui-ch'eeung to give them 600 catties of rice for rations. Many people dared not attend Che-hom on market days (Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao Oct. 1949:49).

F. Hua-ch'iao and the Development of the Taai-t'ung Market

The founding of the Taai-t'ung Market and the building of the Ts'ai-hin-t'ung and Ngau-hin-t'ung Public Roads in the 1920's had been mentioned in several areas in this thesis. In Chapter V, I have described how the founding of the Taai-t'ung Market had strengthened the economic and ritual ties between the Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung and the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk. In Chapter VI, I have discussed how the founding of the Taai-t'ung Market and the building of the two roads had redirected the cow-trade and the salt trade from the Lei at Kam-oo to the Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung. In Chapter X, the founding of the Taai-t'ung Market and the building of the two roads were seen as one of the important ways by which Che-hom's trade with Western Kwangtung was revitalized in the 1920's and 1930's.

Thus, the founding of the Taai-t'ung Market and the building of the two modern roads by the Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung were vital to the Kwaan lineage in Hoi-p'ing. The initiative behind these projects came from the hua-ch'iao in Canada. The whole project was organized by the various partners of Kwong-ue
lung in Vancouver. The owner of that store was the one who gave the name "Taai-t'ung" to this newly founded market town next to Kam-oo in 1923, because it represented many lineages (per. Com.). The initial motive was to facilitate the remittance business from Vancouver to the Kau-p'ei-ch'ung and Yan-p'ing area via Hong Kong. The local merchants among the Kwaan, who found that the project would also strengthen the trade between Che-hom and Western Kwangtung, joined in the project.

Just outside Taai-t'ung was the Taai-uuen Dam. It was also built in 1923. This project was also financed by the hua-ch'iao in Vancouver as well as the local merchants. The purpose was to improve the water level in that part of the T'aam River which had become too shallow for any boats to sail on. Machines were used to remove sediments from the river.

After the building of the Taai-t'ung Market, the two roads and the Taai-uuen Dam, many hua-ch'iao from both the Nanyang and North America returned to invest in the shops there. There were also movie theatres, as well as many restaurants in Taai-t'ung. The Taai-t'ung Primary School was also founded at that time.

CONCLUSION

Che-hom developed from a commercial as well as a processing market town to a remittance and luxury centre because of the hua-ch'iao's investments. The more Che-hom was modernized, and the more it received overseas remittances, the wealthier the Kwaan lineage, which controlled the market town, became.
The Sz-heung Kung-shoh grew rich on the rent of the pedlar stands. The corporate property owned by the Kwong-ue T'ong became very valuable. On the other hand, the more Che-hom was developed, the more it offered chances for the hua-ch'iao to invest. So the self-enrichment of the hua-ch'iao led to the development of Che-hom which in turn created new opportunities for their own self-enrichment until 1946, when the deterioration of civil order and the increase in bureaucratic pressure broke the vicious circle.

The founding of the Taai-t'ung Market which originally was for the enrichment of the hua-ch'iao themselves proved to strengthen the Kwaan lineage as a whole and revitalized the trade at Che-hom. This, together with the modernization of Che-hom proved beneficial to both the individual Kwaan and the Kwaan lineage as a whole. Thus the investments of the hua-ch'iao for their own benefits rather than their direct donations (described in the last Chapter) had a great effect on the strengthening of the Kwaan lineage.

However, in their joint participation with the local merchants at Che-hom in business and municipal development programmes, there was the growth of class consciousness among them. The effect of this on the viability of the lineage as a principle of social organization will be discussed in a later Section of this Chapter.
SECTION III: Effects of Overseas Emigration on the Village Economy

Ch’en Han-seng emphasized the adverse effects of overseas emigration on the livelihood of the villagers who were left behind to till the land. This section will look at how valid Ch’en Han-seng’s assertions are when applied to the Kwaan at T’oh-fuk.

Below I shall present the information I have about land ownership, absentee landlordism, the size and the price of land etc. in each of the five villages in the T’oh-fuk area.

Sha-tee

Probably because there was a Public Security Office at Che-hom, the whole of the T’oh-fuk area was less troubled by bandits than the rest of Hoi-p’ing. Natives of Sha-tee tended to retire to T’oh-fuk. It was only until after the War that they took their wives and children along to work in Hong Kong or sponsored them to the American continent.

Among the private landowners in Sha-tee, the 14 families which had business in Che-hom, Canton and the Nanyang were the largest landowners. Each had over 30 tou of land (3 acres) and rented part of their property to the poorer folks in the village. They were considered very rich people because the average farmer owned less than 10 tou (1 acre) of land (informant’s estimation).

Except the 14 families, there were very few large landowners in Sha-tee. Those who worked as labourers in Che-hom usually did not have enough money to buy houses or land in the
village because the wage level was low compared to the price of houses and land. Very small pieces of land were being bought by the hua-ch'iao from Hong Kong, the Nanyang or the Americas for their families in the village or by returned hua-ch'iao who retired in Sha-tei. They remitted something like $15 to $55 (US) home a year. The richest remitted about $100 (US) a year for their family's livelihood. (Informant's estimation).

The price of land at Sha-tei was not high, when compared to Sha-kong or the Shui-hau area, since it was not top-grade land. Some of the hua-ch'iao did not even care to buy land for farming. They just bought enough land to build houses for their retirement, but the price of land shot up immediately after the War. The hua-ch'iao families who owned no land in the village suffered from starvation during the War and had to sell all their valuable belongings, jewelry and clothing to live. They realized the importance of farmland. So after the War, when remittances from overseas resumed, all the hua-ch'iao families wanted to buy land for fear of another War. So the price of land escalated. This was not because land was an important source of income but they wanted to be insured against future troubles.

Cheung Ts'uen

Like many villages in T'oh-fuk, Cheung Ts'uen suffered from the conversion of farmland into house lots. In this village, land was often sold in small parcels, something like one to four tou (1/10 to 2/5 of an acre) (informant's estimation).
This was too small for agricultural purposes and most of the hua-ch’iao bought land just for building houses. Because of the frequency of using farmland for building houses, agricultural land shrunk. It had become, in the words of one informant, more of a ch’iao-hsiang than a nung-ts’un. Not much rice was put to the market although land was still arable. There was less farmland left because many New Villages (San Ts’uen) were built by the side of Cheung Ts’uen. The villagers had to eat imported rice.

In the 1930s, almost every family had land, at least about 1 to 4 tou (1/10 to 2/5 of an acre) while the richest owned about 20 tou (2 acres) or more (informant’s estimation). The most important landlords were the ancestral halls. Their land accounted for more than half of the landholdings in the village.

Some of the private landowners farmed their own land. They usually had family members working in town or elsewhere and their small piece of land was bought for the upkeep of the remaining members of the family. The more successful hua-ch’iao families, it is true, were landlords who lived in the New Villages nearby. But most of them were not rich enough to become landlords. The reason was because the price of land was very high in Cheung Ts’uen especially during the Depression and immediately after the War. But after 1946, land was not as valuable. Many hua-ch’iao in fact sold rather than bought land. They were afraid of the “Red Army” (Per. Com.).

Ha Ts’uen

In Ha Ts’uen, about 60% of the land was corporate land while 40% was private land (informant’s estimation). About 8
families in the village had more than 10 tou of land (1 acre). Of these 3 families had 45 tou (4½ acres) of land. These three families were the notable landlords, as they rented most of their land to the poorer members in Ha Ts’uen. The poorest owned about 1 or 2 tou of land.

Land in Ha Ts’uen was not of good quality. People retired in Ha Ts’uen not because land was fertile but because Che-hom had commercial opportunities. For this reason, the merchants from Che-hom itself did not even buy land in Ha Ts’uen itself. They simply lived in the beautiful houses in the New Villages next to Ha Ts’uen.

Some of the rich hua-ch’iao in Ha Ts’uen, however, did buy about 7 to 8 tou of land (7/10 to 4/5 of an acre) for their family members (informant’s estimation). These were not rented to others. They did the farming themselves.

As in all parts of T’oh-fuk, land became a more valuable object during and immediately after the War. During this period, the price of land was extremely high. One tou of land rose from $53 (Hong Kong) to $1,000 (Hong Kong) (Per. Com.).

Because of this high price of land, many returned hua-ch’iao rather bid for the renting of corporate land than trying to buy land. They also tried to redeem the kung-fan-t’in mortgaged during Wartime. In about 1943 they organized a Corporate Property Re-organizing Committee and sent two representatives to the lawcourt at Ts’ong-sheng to see if they could redeem that piece of kung-fan-t’in for their ancestral hall. They were successful after an appeal to the Supreme
Court in Canton. Those who had helped in redeeming the land were given the first priority to farm it for a period of three years.

Ha-pin

There was an era of peace during and after the Ch'en Chi-t'ang period. Those who went to work away from the villages intended to retire there. Those who worked in Canton and Hong Kong came back several times a year to visit their family members left at home. Since they did not bring their wives along, they sent money back to buy land and houses for their wives, children and parents in the village.

Although the hua-ch'iao owned about one quarter of the land in Ha-pin (informant's estimation), they were not absentee landlords because their family members farmed the land they owned. It is true that if they were rich enough they would have bought both land and houses in Ha-pin, but they preferred owning a house to buying a piece of farmland. Their order of preference was (1) house (2) adopted sons and (3) land. The most important landlords were the Ancestral Halls and the three rich families in the village who had businesses in Che-hom (Per. Com.).

Na-loh

There were very few differences between the rich and the poor in Na-loh in terms of landholding because very few people owned more than 10 tou of land (1 acre) (informant's estimation). Some of this land was rented to others. It was hard to say which was more prevalent: farmer-owners or non-farming landowners.

There was only one notable absentee landlord family in the village. They ran a rice mill in Che-hom and a tea-shop in Kam-kai Market in Yan-p'ing. They had over 100 tou (10 acres) of land in Na-loh which were passed down by the ancestors. They rented some
of their landholdings out and employed natives of Yan-p'ing to farm the rest. When the Communists came, their family of 10 brothers were the victims of the anti-landlord campaign. As far as the hua-ch'iao were concerned, they only bought a small piece of land of about 3 to 5 tou (3/10 to 1/2 acres) if they still had family members in Na-loh itself (informant's estimation). They never bought land in the village for the sake of investment because the land was not worth investing in. In fact, about half of the hua-ch'iao in Na-loh and those who worked in Che-hom did not even bother to buy land (informant's estimation). They lived in the New Village, Yan-woh Lei, and invested in businesses in Che-hom.

DISCUSSION

From the accounts given in this Section as well as Section I of Chapter X, it is obvious that overseas emigration was in some respects harmful to the economy of the countryside of T'oh-fuk.

First of all, like the overseas emigrants in the Ch'iu-chau - Fukien area, the male emigrants from T'oh-fuk were usually between 25 to 44 years old which was the age of productive labour. Their emigration meant leaving the land to be farmed by women. The fertility of the soil might have suffered as a result, as described by Chen Han-seng for P'oon-ue (Chen Han-seng:97,107; see also Buck:292; Kulp:37-8).

Secondly, the hua-ch'iao families turned their attention to trade and modernization of Che-hom instead of to the villages in T'oh-fuk. Like the hua-ch'iao in the Fukien - Ch'iu-chau area (Chen Ta 1940:99; Kulp:53), they favoured imported goods, bought foreign clothings and produce. This did ruin local handicrafts such as cloth-weaving which in turn lowered the average rural household income, though not to such
an extent as described by Fei (7-8).²

Other assertions of Chen Han-seng that (1) the hua-ch'iao as a group were the most important absentee landlords who rented their land and exploited their tenants while they themselves lived in cities and treaty-ports and that (2) the hua-ch'iao, by buying land in the countryside, forced up the land value are more debatable when they applied to T'oh-fuk, although these assertions may be true of other emigrant communities in South China.

Chen Ta's work, for example, supported Chen Han-seng's idea that there was a connection between overseas emigration and absentee landlordism. The returned emigrants forsook their villages and went to live in Amoy and Swatow since 1928. According to Chen Ta (1940:208), the development of port-cities explained the lack of development in the rural home communities of the emigrants.

The relationship between overseas emigration and the price of land had also been supported by Buck and Negishi Benji. According to Buck (82-6, 27, 30-8, 195), the land value in Kwangtung and South Fukien was the highest in the whole of China between 1929-33. Negishi Benji (203, 253) believes that overseas Chinese had a lot to do with the increasing price of land. He believes that land price should have fallen in the 1920's due to heavy taxation and agitation against landlords. But, because of the hua-ch'iao investment, the price of land was still high.

The basic problem in the T'oh-fuk area was population pressure. From the census survey of Ch'en Chi-t'ang in 1930, the Che-hom area was one of the most densely populated areas in Hoi-p'ing (see figure 10, Chapter IV). The relative freedom from local disturbances and
the variety of jobs offered in Che-hom must have attracted people to come and stay. The population pressure must have been reduced temporarily by overseas emigration. But because many of the emigrants adopted sons and came back to retire, population pressure was not reduced, especially in times of Depression, during and immediately after the War.

Adding to the unfavourable man-land ratio was the problem of land partition. The genealogy of one informant illustrated this well:—

"My great great grandfather, Yuk-yan Kung, around 1800 owned over 100 tou (10 acres) of land. He was the one who built the ancestral hall known as Ts'ing-fan Pit-sui in Cheung Ts'uen. My great grandfather (cir. 1830) had sold some of the farmland because farming was getting less profitable. When he died, land was divided into 5 parts, each son had a portion. My grandfather, T'ing-iu Kung, was the 2nd son. During his lifetime, the portion of land he inherited was not enough to sustain the livelihood of his family. Neither were the portions of his other brothers. Thus, two of my grand uncles went to the Nanyang as traders, a third one was adopted into another fang and the fourth one went to Mexico or Cuba. My own grandfather had a concern in Che-hom which specialized in dyeing clothes. My father and my uncle had even less land. My father continued to operate my grandfather's shop while my uncle went to Canada as a CPR cook."

The above example shows that each generation in T'oh-fuk owned less land because of the growth of population and the partition of land. This, together with the inertia to adopt modern methods such as using fertilizers, meant that there was no increase in food production in T'oh-fuk to support the dense population.
The bidding system adopted by the landowners in T'oh-fuk for both private and corporate property meant a higher rent deposit after each bidding as well as greater insecurity to the tenant farmer. The participation of the hua-ch'iao families in the bidding enhanced this problem and pushed the rent deposit higher and higher.

However, as compared to the rest of Kwangtung, the rate of tenancy of this area was relatively low. According to Negishi Benji (252), the average % of tenancy in Hoi-p'ing was only 36%. This was low when compared with the Kwangtung average of 52% in 1911 and 58% in 1933. It was certainly lower than the 77% in P'oon-ue reported by Chen Han-seng in the 1930's and the 85% in Saam-shui reported by Hsiao (384-5, 407-8) or the 94% in the Swatow - Amoy area reported by Chen Ta in the 1930's (1940:68).

It is hard just from the accounts of the five villages to generalize what the rate of tenancy in T'oh-fuk was. It is even harder to calculate the rate of tenancy attributed to the hua-ch'iao landlords in the villages in T'oh-fuk as a separate category from the merchant landlords or the corporate landlords. It varied from village to village, depending on how successful the members of the villages working overseas were.

However, from the description of my informants, it is clear that much of the capital of the hua-ch'iao were invested in commerce after 1930. The T'oh-fuk area lacked cash crops and the rice it produced was not enough to feed its growing population. For this reason, land was not an attractive object for investment. The hua-ch'iao never bought land for the sake of investment. Most pieces of land they bought were just for the remaining members of the family in the village. Some even converted their farmland into house-lots.
Those who had no family members in the village did not bother to buy land. Thus, the high price of land recorded in this area could have been the high price of the residential lots, not necessarily farmland.

Moreover, the concentration of land in the hands of a few merchant-landowners was not found in this area because land was not lucrative enough to attract large tracts to be bought by a few investors.

The inertia to buy land could be seen from the investment activities of my informants. For example: H and his nine brothers did not send money home to buy any farmland; neither did Kwaan I or his father who was also a hua-ch'iao; B, too, did not remit money to buy land and house, he merely rebuilt his old house in the village; C had bought about 6 tou (3/5 acre) of land for his wife who did all the farming; D and his father had bought very little land in his village - just enough for keeping D's mother and grandparents alive; D himself bought only 1 tou of land (1/10 acre) in 1942 for transplanting; A's father only added 2½ tou (½ acre) of land to their family property; his mother did all the farming.

The field work done by Ssu-tu (25,61) in the Sz-yap - Hok-shaan area supported my data in T'oh-fuk. In Hok-shaan Kwan-tung Heung, 14.4% of the inhabitants were hua-ch'iao families, together they owned only 20% of the land: Whereas the clan managers owned about 41.1% of the land. In Ngan-t'ong Ts'uen in the 3rd ch'ü of T'ai-shaan, the hua-ch'iao owned about 22.3% of the land; whereas the clan managers owned about 45% of the land.

Thus, while it is true that in T'oh-fuk as well as in other emigrant communities in this part of Kwangtung, the hua-ch'iao did
come back to buy land, yet they were less important than lineage ancestral halls as landowners.

From this, three conclusions followed. Firstly, land prices were not high in T'oh-fuk as in Sha-kong or more fertile areas of the Canton Delta described by Chen Han-seng, except as a consequence of the Depression and the Second World War, which raised the price of land all over South China (Potter: 194; Feng Ho-fa: 565; Yang: 26; Chen Han-seng: 84).

Secondly, when compared to other parts of South-China, the rate of absenteeism did not seem to be high in T'oh-fuk, judging from the answers of my informants. The landowners were not outsiders, merchants from Canton, Hong Kong or elsewhere who came merely to invest in land. They were the richer Kwaan who were originally members of the village where they owned land. Most of them or their families lived in the village itself, while some of the richer landlords lived in the New Village adjacent to the old village. They collected rent from their tenants in person. They did not live in cities or treaty ports outside Hoi-p'ing such as Kongmoon, Canton etc.

According to Feuerwerker (32), in China in general, there was the growth of absenteeism in the countryside in the 1920's. Because of the breakdown of civil order, landlords sought protection in city walls and asked the agents to collect rent. This enhanced the harsh rural class relationship. The relative peace of T'oh-fuk seemed to be an exception. Few had to run away from the countryside to the towns for protection during the Ch'en Chi-t'ang period. Thus, unlike the area studied by Chen Ta in the Swatow-Amoy area, absenteeism was not on the increase (Chen Ta: 202, 206, 208).
Thirdly, although it is true that the conversion of land into house lots by the hua-ch’iao did enhance the unfavourable man/land ratio, their presence in the villages of T’oh-fuk and their investment in Che-hom did yield some beneficial results for the people of T’oh-fuk in the same way as other emigrant communities in South China. For example, the Ha Fu gained most tips for the services they rendered to the hua-ch’iao. The wages of women was high because they were needed both for farm work and as domestic servants of rich hua-ch’iao households. The municipal development and road building as well as other construction projects, entertainment industry and remittance firms stimulated or owned by the returned hua-ch’iao must have provided jobs for the people in the countryside of T’oh-fuk. As can be seen from the description of the village occupation structure in Chapter X, many villagers supplemented their livelihood by working part-time or full-time in Che-hom.

The higher farm wages in the emigrant communities and the supplementary urban wages for some of the farming families were perhaps the reasons why despite the unfavourable man/land ratio, Kwangtung and South Fukien experienced the highest increase in the standard of living in 1929-33 as compared to the rest of China. Moreover, the number of farmers having savings was the greatest in China in the same period (Buck: 30-38, 46, 459).

SECTION III: Effects of Overseas Emigration on the Social Structure of the Kwaan Lineage at T’oh-fuk

A. Changing Indices of Power, Status and Prestige

As I have described in Chapter X and here, local trade and overseas remittances in the T’oh-fuk area were the two major sources of income. Except for the taai-kaang-oo, income from farming dropped
to the last place. After 1936, when Canton was under the direct control of the Nanking Government, trade and processing industries at Che-hom revived but most traders had to suffer from the increasing miscellaneous taxes, levies and forced contributions and from the increasing pressure of the police and soldiers centred in Che-hom. Overseas remittances became the more important source of income of the Kwaan until the onset of the World War II, when they stopped altogether. It resumed again after 1945 but declined again about 1947, when civil disorder was mounting.

Thus, like the rest of the Sz-yap - Hok-shaan area (Ssu-tu:58) Tsun-kong area (Chuang:122) and the Ch'iu-chau area (Chen Ta 1940:59-67), the economic importance of overseas remittances in T'oh-fuk overshadowed any local factors in influencing social status from the second decade of the 20th Century onwards. Farming only played a minor role in the village economy and land owning was not as an important criteria of class difference as participation in overseas emigration.

It is obvious that after 1911, both the rich and the poor in T'oh-fuk took part in overseas emigration. H's family, which was the most important land owning family in the village and which also owned a rice-mill in Che-hom and a tea-export firm in Kam-kai, sent their sons to Indonesia, Canton, Hong Kong and America to earn money to enhance the wealth, status and prestige of the family as a whole. Kwaan C, before emigration, earned 2½ yuan (Chinese dollars) a year, working as an apprentice cook in Paak-sha. After he emigrated, he earned $30 (Canadian) a year at a drugstore as resident Chinese doctor. Eventually, he was able to save enough to buy his wife
and children 6 tou (3/5 acres) of land, build them a yeung lau (foreign style house) and move them to live in the New Village.

All informants told me that in the Min-kuo period, returned hua-ch'iao often improved their family status no matter whether they were rich or poor before emigration. The very fact that they had been overseas made them stand out as someone special.

A few of the more successful emigrants, after they had built a beautiful home, would buy some land to become landlords, while a great majority would buy shop spaces in Che-hom and become shopowners. Some would lend money to the poorer villagers and employed the women as domestic servants. So very often, the returned hua-ch'iao were either the creditors or the employers of their less fortunate fellow villagers who did not emigrate. They were, as a group, the richest in the villages at T'oh-fuk. As far as Cheung Ts'uen was concerned, there had not been much "class differences" during the Ch'ing period, but after the 1st decade of the 20th Century, when remittances became an important source of income, there was a marked class difference (Per. Com.). Similarly, there was a marked difference between the rich and the poor in Ha-pin. The rich were those whose ancestry had a lot of business and more often, they were families of successful emigrants abroad (Per. Com.).

**COMMENTS**

From the above data, one can discern the changes in the indices of power, status and prestige in the T'oh-fuk area. Before the onset of emigration, rich villages might have distinguished themselves from poorer villages and rich segments within the village might have distinguished themselves from the poorer segments by the amount of
corporate property, generation depths of their ancestral halls as well as whether their ancestral halls were rich enough to have Ha Fu serving them and whether they had produced important scholars.

On those counts, Ha Ts'uen, Cheung Ts'uen, Sha-tei and Ha-pin were regarded as having more prestige and status than villages such as Na-loh, and those in Ts'ung-long, Yeung-lo and Kau-p'ei-ch'ung. This attitude was reflected in my conversation with an informant. When I asked him about the presence of Ha Fu in his village, he said, "Of course we did not have any Ha Fu in Na-loh, our ancestral hall was not as powerful or as rich as other villages in T'oh-fuk. But attitudes are different in my generation: who wants the Ha Fu in his village? They only take up houses without paying rent!"

From the statement of this informant, it seems that consideration of the economic well-being of the individual took over the desire for prestige of one's ancestral hall. In fact, when remittances had become the major source of income, it was quite obvious that individual wealth rather than corporate wealth became the most important index of social differentiation. Similar to San-tin in the 1960's (Watson 1972:294), overseas emigration also had a levelling effect on the lineage hierarchy which was hitherto based on the amount of corporate land of each segment. Moreover, standards of living, education, types of work and personal wealth became more relevant measures of the individual's prestige and status in the T'oh-fuk area, as can be seen from the leadership structure described in Chapter VIII. In this sense, overseas emigration accelerated the transition of power from the old gentry to that of the new gentry in T'oh-fuk and Che-hom."
B. Establishment of the New Villages

Class differences created by remittances overseas were crystallized in the residential separation between the rich and the poor in the T'oh-fuk area.

There were New Villages (San-ts'uen) adjacent to the original villages in T'oh-fuk. In Cheung Ts'uen, there were 6 New Villages, each about 30 houses, around Cheung Ts'uen proper. In Na-loh, the New Village was called Yan-woh Lei. In Ha Ts'uen, the New Village was called Iu-wa Fong (which was made up of 15 houses in the 1930's and 30 houses in the 1940's). In Ha-pin, the New Village was known as Fuk-woh Lei. It was again made up of about 30 houses. Most of my informants' families lived in the New Villages.

A New Village was a cluster of houses with no farmland at all. It was built on farm land originally belonging to the parent village. The people of the New Village were originally the inhabitants of the parent village, only that they cut across fang lines in their pattern of settlement and excluded some members. Na-loh was occupied by the Oo and the Kwaan, the new village - Yan-woh Lei, built in 1902 by the emigrants of the Na-loh village - was a purely Kwaan settlement.

The establishment of the New Villages began about the first decade of the 20th Century. Even though railway workers were in Canada since 1885 and some contract labourers had gone to the Nanyang since 1860, they were in financial difficulties until the turn of the Century (T.H. Lee:75-7, 89, 98, 131, 183, 487). Thus, the New Villages, an index of affluence abroad, were not established before the 20th Century.

The first New Village to establish in Cheung Ts'uen was San-uen Lei. It was built around the Hsüan-t'ung period (1908-11) but the
idea of New Villages did not become popular until about 1928. This was probably because the hua-ch'iao in North America knew that they could no longer sponsor their families as immigrants. Moreover, with the onset of World Depression and the still favourable rate of exchange, many hua-ch'iao sent their savings home to build new houses. They were very eager to invest in housing. They usually bought rice-fields to build new houses or pulled down old ones to rebuild.

This eagerness to build houses were traditional in the sense that members of non-emigrant villages such as Sheung Ts'uen in the New Territories were much concerned with building houses. It was felt that it was much more prestigious to own one's house however shabby (Nelson:226-7). This tradition, however, was more manifested in emigrant communities where many foreign style houses were built (Kulp:52-3; Chen Ta 1940:109; Ssu-tu:58; Watson 1972:216-9,236-8). The reason was not only that it was a symbol of prestige to own a house but also that the insecurity of life abroad created a need for secure investment at home.

In T'oh-fuk, new houses were built in clusters, forming separate settlements from the parent villages. One can usually tell how many successful hua-ch'iao there were in the villages by examining the size of the New Villages adjacent to the old ones since these New Villages were mostly built by the hua-ch'iao although some also included the local rich merchants as members. For example, the New Villages of Cheung Ts'uen: Che-uen Lei, Tung-ling Lei, San-ling Lei, Woh-t'ong New Village, Laan-kwai Fong and San-uen Lei were all inhabited by families of the hua-ch'iao from either Canada or USA. The same happened to Chiu Ts'uen's Wa-kwai Lei and Yuk-san Lei.
Moreover, some of the New Villages were planned when the hua-ch'iao were still abroad. The Iu-wa Fong project, for example, was organized by the Ha Ts'uen natives in Victoria. When it was finally built in 1923-24, it included all the hua-ch'iao families of Ha Ts'uen in Canada.

From the above examples, it is beyond doubt that the establishment of the New Village was associated with the investment of the hua-ch'iao among the Kwaan. However, one must bear in mind that not all hua-ch'iao were rich enough to live in New Villages. In fact, only about 1 in every 5 or 6 hua-ch'iao was rich enough to live in the New Villages (informant's estimation). A large proportion of these rich hua-ch'iao were from the USA, Canada or Cuba. The rest of the hua-ch'iao's family did not live very differently from their fellow villagers. Kwaan I's family exemplified the above assertion, his father had emigrated to Canada a long time ago, but he and his mother still lived in the old village. He had to work as an apprentice in Che-hom while his mother farmed. His father only remitted $10 (Canadian) a year and seldom saved enough money to return home.

C. Life in the New Village

The New Village was the abode of the new gentry leaders in T'oh-fuk. It was a place reserved for the rich emigrant families and the rich merchant families, while the old village was a place left for the poor farmers, the labourers and the unsuccessful emigrants' families.

The buildings in the New Village were yeung-lau of two or three stories high, with gardens and a lot of living spaces. The houses were all well-supplied with electricity, lighting and flushed toilets.
Very few of the houses in the New Village had farmland. Around the little garden was a thick wall with an iron gate. One informant's two-storied yeung-lau had a watch-tower on top to keep watch against intruders. According to him, many families had firearms for protection since they were objects of blackmail, kidnapping, extortion and bandit raids.

Most of the inhabitants of the New Village were old men (retired hua-ch'iao or their fathers left at home), women and children under 16. In some New Villages, there were some rich local merchants who worked in Che-hom in the day time and went back to the yeung-lau to sleep at night.

Like the emigrant communities studied by Chen Ta (1940:130-1), there were a large number of adopted children in the New Villages inhabited by hua-ch'iao families, since the birth rate was low through prolonged absence of the men. Adoption was regarded as one of the means by which emigrant families tried to continue with their family lines and to assure themselves of sufficient manpower to defend their property.

The prevalence of adoption was evident in the reply of one informant. When I asked him about adoption in his village, he told me that very few people in Na-loh, his native village, adopted. Almost all the families there had sons. However, Yan-woh Lei was different. The rate of adoption was very high because many hua-ch'iao families in this New Village had no sons.

The people in the New Villages were mostly landowners, traders, officials or professionals. They were rich enough to send their sons to the most prestigious schools such as the First High School.
of Hoi-p'ing in Che-hom, the post secondary colleges in Canton, Peking and Shanghai and even Universities overseas. They had a higher standard of living which set them apart from the people of the old villages. Like the hua-ch'iao in other parts of South China (Chuang:104, Chen Ta 1940:134-40; Watson 1972:199-208) they spent a large sum of money entertaining all the villagers from both the old and the New Villages to demonstrate their wealth. They spent a lot of money on weddings, funerals, house-warming parties, retirement parties and birth-of-sons parties. They competed with one another to show off their clothings, furniture etc. They wore western style clothings and spoke a few words of English every now and then.

The showing off of wealth and affluence had become such a habit in T'oh-fuk that the hua-ch'iao overseas sometimes preferred to send money to buy land and houses and to adopt sons rather than coming home. The reason was that it had become too expensive to return: in Sz-yap, whoever returned home had to invite all of the village folk to various feasts and had to give each one luck money in American or Canadian dollars (Per.Com.).

After the War, the hua-ch'iao families were all the more luxurious in their life styles because they had suffered so much during the War. Many engaged in smoking opium, gambling and movie going instead of attending to their businesses (Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao Dec. 1947:41).

Asked about the relationship between the old and the New Villages, informants all assured me that moving to live in the New Villages did not mean that the individual was breaking away from the lineage or village membership. The new gentry living in the New Villages were
still regarded as and they regarded themselves as members of their own ancestral hall with a share in the corporate property. The New Village did not have ancestral halls or corporate property of its own, the new gentry all went back to the old village for ritual observations and their ritual pork.

In fact, people in the New Village cared about the public opinion of the people of the old village. In 1946, for example, a returned emigrant in the village built a yeung-lau in the New Village, the folks in Ha-pin believed that his new house had destroyed the feng-shui (geomancy), he was deprived of his ancestral hall membership. It was only after he had formally apologised to all the elders in the ancestral hall that he was re-admitted to be a member.

D. Role of the Returned Hua-ch'iao

Data on T'oh-fuk shows that the returned hua-ch'iao had an important part to play in the villages. First of all, although they did not increase the corporate property of their own ancestral halls, they did help to redeem some of the kung-fan-t'in and other corporate property in their villages, sold during Wartime.

In addition, the returned hua-ch'iao were often asked to donate to public works projects such as the building of the fortress in Ha-pin for the prevention of banditry, the construction and repair of the footpaths leading from one village to the next one, the repair of the T'oh-fuk Public Road after the War etc. Moreover whenever the Hoi-p'ing Government or the Kwaan lineage planned to ask for donations overseas, they usually asked the returned hua-ch'iao's advice as to whom they should send the donation booklets such as donations to such projects as the building of modern schools in the villages.
In 1945, when many hua-ch'iao returned home, the KMT authorities encouraged them to form a Wa-hip Ooi. In Che-hom, the Wa-hip Ooi was an association made up of about 200 people to help the villages in the reconstruction projects after the War. Some of the members of this association were notorious in the T'oh-fuk area. One Kwaan, for example, served in both the Wa-hip Ooi and the Hsien Consultative Assembly. He was hated because he advised the people to pay taxes on time.

However, other members of the Wa-hip Ooi were more popular. They initiated the establishment of a reading room in Ha Ts'uen and obtained support from the American hua-ch'iao, and the local rich merchants and landlords. Kwaan Kwok-lim, a returned hua-ch'iao, donated the most money. In 1946, the Sz-heung Kung-shoh planned to build the Kwong-ue High School next to the Kwaan Lineage Library. The Wa-hip Ooi members served as advisors to the project. Twenty-six of them were made responsible for the donation campaign overseas. Other than these specific projects, the Wa-hip Ooi members often made public talks on various topics such as health and sanitation in the villages, the use of artificial fertilizers etc.

CONCLUSION

Overseas emigration had strengthened two social tendencies which were already inherent in the T'oh-fuk countryside before 1930. One was the emphasis on commercial and other urban pursuits as the ideal occupation in place of farming. Like the hua-ch'iao in the Ch'iu-chau - Fukien area (Chen Ta 1940:60-70), the investment pattern of the hua-ch'iao in T'oh-fuk (described in Section I) had strengthened this tendency.
The second but related tendency was the change in indices of status and prestige in this area. As has been indicated in Chapter VII, lineage property was not as important to the economic status for many of the Kwaan as compared to urban earnings in Che-hom. This was all the more apparent after 1936 when Che-hom expanded in trade. The success of the hua-ch'iao further led to the changing index of status and prestige. Individual achievements and wealth instead of segment differences were now the key to status and prestige. The establishment of the New Villages which separated the rich from the poor residentially crystallized this tendency and led to the growth of class consciousness among the rich Kwaan.

The fact that the hua-ch'iao and the merchants in Che-hom did not contribute to lineage land and the building of new ancestral halls was a reflection of the changing indices of social prestige. The power structure in Hoi-p'ing after 1930 (described in Chapter IX) was that in order to achieve power, one must act as a spokesman of the pressure groups against the government. Establishing a new ancestral hall or augmenting to lineage land did not mean an enhancement of power for the lineage or for the individual.

However, from the data obtained, I am of the opinion that there was no conflict between the self-ambition of the hua-ch'iao and the growth of the Kwaan lineage.

Firstly, the overseas hua-ch'iao adopted sons to continue with their family lines. This indirectly meant the strengthening of the Kwaan lineage numerically.

Secondly, the overseas hua-ch'iao contributed to the building of modern schools and sent their sons back to China for education. The
returned hua-ch'iao supported the rituals of the ancestral hall and formed the Wa-hip Ooi for the reconstruction of the villages after the War because they wanted to be part of the powerful Kwaan lineage. Positively, their active part in lineage affairs would enhance their chances of becoming local leaders. At the least, they could be included under the protective umbrella of the Sz-heung Kung-shoh in terms of taxation. The Kwaan lineage, on the other hand, benefited from the building of modern schools by the hua-ch'iao which would hopefully produce spokesmen for the benefits of the Kwaan lineage as a whole in the eyes of the Hsien government.

Thirdly, the returned hua-ch'iao helped their ancestral halls to redeem corporate land as well as kung-fan-t'in sold during Wartime. By doing so, they had the preference to bid for the renting of the corporate property. It is true that the participation of the hua-ch'iao in the bidding of corporate property had raised the rent deposit in the T'oh-fuk area and was harmful to the livelihood of the individual Kwaan, yet the high rent deposit meant an increase in the income of the ancestral halls. Ritual life could be continued because of such income.

Fourthly, the hua-ch'iao contributed to the defence forces of the local gentry and the government in 1911-30. They invested in road building projects, municipal development of Che-hom as well as the founding of the Taai-t'ung Market in order that their remittance firms and their other economic interests could be facilitated. All these reflected their class consciousness rather than lineage consciousness. By taking a leading part in modernization programmes and defence measures across surname lines, they strengthened the growth of class
consciousness among the rich in Hoi-p'ing. However, these investments of the hua-ch'iao indirectly contributed to the peace of Hoi-p'ing and the revitalizing of trade between Che-hom and Western Kwangtung. The founding of the Taai-t'ung Market by the hua-ch'iao strengthened the relationship between the Kwaan in T'oh-fuk and the Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung and captured the cow and salt trade routes from the Lei at Kam-oo. The increased volume of trade at Che-hom as well as the modernization of the town itself in turn increased the revenue of the Sz-heung Kung-shoh. The property taxes collected as well as rent from the pedlars who operated their stands in the valuable corporate land of the Kwong-ue T'ong in Che-hom enriched the Kwaan lineage as a whole.

Chen Ta believes that the emigrants who had gone to the Nanyang were a progressive force in the villages. Their behaviour pattern led to the breakdown of the traditional family system; they helped to introduce many modern ideas and habits in the countryside. By their investment, they helped to modernize the port-cities of Amoy and Swatow (Chen Ta 1940:116-7,128-30,145-50,178-82,192-6,206-226).

Hsu (48-50,56-7) argues that the traditional family remained unaffected by the emigrants. They submitted to arranged marriages. Moreover there were very few foreign-born wives who returned to the villages with their husbands to produce changes in the pattern of authority within the household. He argues further that emigrants' emphasis on land, housing and learning was traditional concerns, so was the practice of adoption. Hsu (57) concludes, "The returned Southseas emigrants and their families have not forgotten the traditional conception of life and behaviour .... Weal
emigration had in most cases merely added oil to the lamp of age-old tradition." However, he adds, "I believe that Chinese emigrants to other parts of the world, for example, Europe and especially America, showed a much higher degree of departure from the Chinese tradition."

My field work indicates that in T'oh-fuk, even the emigrants to America and Canada among the Kwaan strengthened rather than weakened the social structure they left behind. In fact, they were more conservative than the hua-ch'iao in the Fukien - Ch'iu-chau area. For example, the development of New Villages was not found in the Fukien - Ch'iu-chau area. Many of the hua-ch'iao did not retire to their home villages. They created residential areas within port-cities such as Amoy and Swatow (Chen Ta 1940:202,206) just like the returned hua-ch'iao in the Pearl River Delta who established Tungshaan in Canton as their residential area (B.S. Lee:20,25,29).

Like the Man in San-tin (Watson 1972:89,129), the hua-ch'iao who returned to T'oh-fuk did not upset the socio-political structure of the lineage. There were no reasons for doing so. Discriminated against abroad, they were welcomed back. The paths of social, political and economic advancement were wide open to them.
CHAPTER XII - NOTES

1. A ch'iao-hsiang is a residential neighbourhood in the countryside. The members relied mainly on overseas remittances and only to a small extent on farming for a livelihood. This term is similar to what Chen Ta (1940:4 ft.nt 3) termed 'an emigrant community'. Of course, ch'iao-hsiang or an emigrant community did not mean that all its male members had gone overseas. In Chung-piu, a village in the New Territories, according to Watson (1972:110), only 17 out of its 201 people were emigrants, yet it was still an emigrant community because villagers depended on overseas remittances.

2. From the middle of the 19th Century, according to Wakeman (88) and Chen Han-seng (30), as much as ¼ of the goods used by agricultural families in South China were imported. But this does not mean that all kinds of locally produced goods were affected adversely by foreign imports. According to Feuerwerker (12,19) and the Canton Trade Reports of 1915 to 1917, for items of universal use such as textile or cotton, the people of Kwangtung continued to use the products of handicraft industry.

3. Profits from land ownership in China was low when expressed in capital invested. In 1922, for example, the landlord received 2.5% return on land investment whereas the returns for commerce and moneylending was 10 to 20% (Perkins:93-5). Speculation in bonds, commodities and foreign exchange was more lucrative than investment in land. Those with capital either hoarded them or invested in foreign banks and bonds or in real estates instead of farm land (Feuerwerker:18).

Thus, it is clear that investment in land was not popular unless the land was particularly profit yielding like the Pearl River
Delta and the Han River Delta of Kwangtung. These were precisely the areas which suffered the most from increasing land concentration and a high percentage of tenancy.

4. In 1941-43, when Hong Kong was occupied by Japan, many concubines of the hua-ch’iao remarried, others sold their belongings (known as 'selling old things' but in fact these were treasures stored up in times of peace such as jewelry and silk clothings etc.). Many starved to death (Per.Com.). The same happened to the hua-ch’iao families in Tsun Kong studied by Chuang (104-106). This shows how dependent the people in an emigrant community were on remittances from overseas.
Lineage has been the most important form of social organization in South China at least since the Sung Dynasty. From the work of Freedman, it is plain that the traditional economic system, the traditional political structure and the system of Confucian ethics had helped to sustain and reinforce this form of social organization.

The question often arises in the minds of scholars of Chinese studies: did the cultural, social, political, population and economic changes in Mainland China after 1911 and in Hong Kong after 1898 weaken the lineage as a form of social organization? Put in more definite terms: (1) did the change from a basically agrarian subsistence economy to a commercial-industrial economy as a result of development in transportation, marketing and commerce weaken the lineage? (2) Did individual members lose their lineage consciousness when the size of the lineage had grown too large and the organization had become too complex? (3) Did intensive competition for limited resources among the members as a result of population pressure weaken the cohesion of the lineage? (4) Did massive out-migration of the members as a result of the growing population pressure weaken the lineage? (5) Did changes in the education system weaken the lineage? (6) Did the increased participation of lineage elites in local government organs lead to the weakening of the lineage as a form of social organization?

From the work of scholars in the field, it seems to me that there were two groups of theorists who believe that lineages were weakened because of the changes mentioned above. I shall present each
of their arguments in turn and then discuss these in view of my data and those of other anthropologists.

SECTION I: Theory of Social Erosion

There is a difference of opinion between Pasternak and Freedman on the way population pressure affected lineage formation (see Appendix II, Discussion). Unlike Freedman, Pasternak (1969:553-62; 1972:136-56) believes that it was the need for defence and irrigation which led first to the formation of higher-order lineages by "fusion" and then later it was population pressure which led to the formation of localized lineages. However, he agrees with Freedman (1966:18-42) that it was a further growth of population which led to the formation of higher-order lineages by "segmentation".

From the 16th Century onwards to the 19th Century, segments of a lineage tended to move out of the parent settlement once the lineage had reached an optimum size in relation to the availability of farmland. They may move to settle close to the parent settlement, or they move far away -- sometimes as far as the Szechwan and the Yangtse Basin (Ho:139ff). In the former case, they may still be ritually linked with the parent settlement, forming a dispersed or a higher-order lineage (Freedman 1966:18-42). But even in this case, argues Skinner (1964-5 Part I:17-8, 36-40), if the segment that moved away attended a different market town, then relationship between it and the parent settlement would be eroded in time until they lost complete contact with one another.

After the middle of the 19th Century, when all the farmland in South China had been taken up and when population kept on increasing in a rapid pace, lineage members began to leave their parent settle-
ment as individuals and move to towns to work or to overseas to make a living. Because of the rapid development of urban centres after the Treaty of Nanking in 1840, people began to settle in the port-cities. Thus, the lineages in the countryside were more and more suffering from "social erosion".

The chief protagonist of this theory is Fei. He holds that western penetration in China since the Opium War introduced a strong desire for material comforts. The landlords and the merchants deserted the countryside and went to live in large cities, instead of living in the villages or nearby market towns as the merchants and gentry did in old times. Moreover, the modern graduates, products of modern education, did not return to live in the countryside as the old scholar-officials who used their prestige and connections outside for the benefits of the home community. In the lower strata, because of the import of western products, the traditional crafts were ruined. The poor deserted the countryside and went to the cities for work (Fei:12, 68,113,117,133-5,140).

Hsiao (318,400-5) believes that this social erosion took place even before the Opium War. According to him, in the 1800's, people already abandoned their agricultural occupations and went to work in the cities. The rich people tended to leave the countryside for comforts and safety in towns, leaving their home communities to decay. Chen Ta (1940:20,206) also asserts that the landlords, merchants and retired emigrants chose to stay in town. He notes that many returned hua-ch'iao set up houses in the nearby port-cities. According to him, this explained the lack of development in the rural home communities of the emigrants.
Yang (71-4,80-1) distinguishes between the two types of emigrants: (1) seasonal migrants - those who worked in town only during slack seasons in the countryside; (2) long term emigrants - those who went to town or overseas to work and only came back for visits. Yang believes that it was this latter type of migrant who weakened the lineage structure. He asserts that "agricultural economy was the key factor to the continuance of the lineage structure. Trade and emigration were detrimental to it". Younger sons of landowners, educated in the cities, settled there permanently, married city girls and were lost to the villages.

A Variation of the Theory

Baker (208) distinguishes the overseas emigrants from the rural to urban migrants. He believes that those who worked in town and the students of modern education took up permanent residence in town. But this mode of behaviour was not shared by the overseas emigrants. They left their families in the village, took an active part in lineage affairs and retired in their villages. Watson (1972:4) also believes that overseas emigrants tended to preserve the social structure but not the rural-urban migrants. Freedman (1966:170) notes that the only new ancestral hall in the New Territories he noticed in 1963 was built by Chinese restaurant workers in Britain.

SECTION II: The Theory of Class Antagonism in the Countryside

It has often been argued that quantitative changes in a social system results in qualitative changes. In other words, with the growth of the numerical size of the lineage, there is a contraction of the village community. The average member of a large lineage often does not know much about the structure or the personnel working in
the higher levels of the lineage hierarchy. He seldom has any
knowledge of or control over the management of the corporate property
of the lineage. Neither is he interested in augmenting to lineage
property as this would not benefit him or his direct descendants.

The lack of interest, knowledge or control over the upper struc-
ture of the lineage often results in a loss of affection to the
lineage leaders. After 1930, as a result of administrative changes,
this lack of affection developed into distrust and sometimes hatred
of one's lineage elites who worked with the government authorities.
In fact, according to Feng Ho-fa (922) and Chen Han-seng (38-9, 64-5),
there was the growth of political dominance of the humble by the
powerful of the same lineage in the 1930's when local elites were
utilized by the government to collect taxes and to help in the con-
scription of labourers and soldiers. Feng Ho-fa (ibid), Chen Han-seng
(ibid) and Wakeman (115, 122, 155) argue that this weakened the lineage
structure. The powerful could encroach upon the powerless without
fear of government reprisal. The lineage elites did not have to pose
as champions of the poor and the humble against the government to
gain power. With the elite members being co-opted by the government,
the humble members responded by joining the peasant movements,
secret societies etc. Class antagonism took the place of lineage
cohesion.

Along with the increase in political dominance of the powerful
elites was the increase in economic exploitation; as a result of the
growth of population pressure on limited resources and as a result
of the development of commerce and overseas emigration.
The rapid increase of population in South China by the end of the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th Century led to the high price of land, high rent deposits and the insecurity of tenancy. It also led to an increase of overseas and rural to urban migration and the further development of trade and processing industry in the urban centres as an alternative form of economic activity to feed the increasing population.

Yang (80-1) and Chen Han-seng (18-20,39,72) argue that these developments weakened the solidarity of the lineage in South China. A purely agrarian economy fostered a uniform mode of life, intimate social and economic co-operation. Overseas emigration and commerce meant a high rate of social mobility and an increase in the difference between the rich and the poor. According to Chen Han-seng, many used city earnings to buy land and took rent from the villages to invest or spend in the cities. This meant (1) impoverishing the countryside and (2) the prevalence of absenteeism which in turn led to the deterioration of the social relationship between tenants and landlords of the same lineage.

SECTION III: Discussion of the Two Theories

A. Social Erosion and Lineage Cohesion

Data on the Kwaan lineage of Hoi-p'ing suggest that branches of a lineage may still keep in contact with the parent settlement in spite of geographical separation. The Kwaan in Ts'ung-long, Yeung-lo and Kau-p'ei-ch'ung were closely linked ritually, economically and administratively with the Kwaan in T'oh-fuk. They claimed that they were linked genealogically together and they participated actively in the rituals of the Sz-heung Kung-so. They co-operated in the Hakka/Punti War of 1851-67 and in their attempts to improve
communication lines in order to divert the cow and salt trade routes to the advantage of the Kwaan in all parts of Hoi-p'ing.

Thus, the data in this thesis questions Skinner's assertion that segments of a lineage tended to lose connections with one another if they belonged to different standard marketing communities. The study of the interconnections of lineage segments geographically separated has been largely neglected by scholars in Chinese studies. It is possible that when lineage segments were situated at different points of the same river system, their relationships were much closer than has been recognized.

The extent of social erosion postulated by Fei Hsiao-tung, Chen Ta and Hsiao Kung-chuan has been exaggerated. It is true that from the 19th Century onwards, when there were no more land available in South China, lineage members began to move to urban centres and overseas. But, up until 1949, urban dwellers in South China amounted to a small minority of the inhabitants in the area. Buck's statistics (365) shows that Kwangtung and South Fukien had the highest percentage of men and women in cities, yet the farming population was still 71%. In P'oon-ue which was highly urbanized, the farming population amounted to 77% in the 1930's (Chen Han-seng:2-3). In Hoi-p'ing, only 5% of the population were urban settlers (see Chapter III of this Thesis). Thus, the participation of the population of Hoi-p'ing in urban pursuits was nothing like the magnitude of participation by the population of the New Territories of Hong Kong in the 1960's where only 10% was engaged in any form of agricultural activities. In the lineages studied by Baker and Potter, social erosion was taking place to such an extent that many houses were rented to outsiders.
and individual plots of land were sold to outsiders who outnumbered the lineage members. And yet, even in the New Territories, lineages were not weakened. Potter, for example, observes (169), "By 1962, the lineage was still very much a going concern, in spite of the fact that it had lost many of its former functions .... very little common property had been sold ... The worshipping ceremonies were still performed and attended by a large number of lineage members".

The pressure of population upon the Kwaan lineage was felt by the end of the 19th Century, when there was no more Hakka land to seize and when much farmland were converted by the hua-ch'iao to establish New Villages and rice had to be imported. For this reason, many Kwaan had to work elsewhere to make a living. Boys over 12 years old usually left home to board in schools, to work as apprentices in the market towns or to go overseas. Yet, social erosion was not taking place to a large extent, either among the rural to urban migrants or among the overseas emigrants.

The poorer farmers or their family members usually worked part-time in Che-hom and part-time in the fields; the richer shopowners ran shops in Che-hom but they still returned to the village to sleep. Those working overseas (North America or the Nanyang), Canton, Hong Kong and Shanghai usually had family members staying in the home villages. There was no difference in the behaviour patterns of the rural to urban migrants and the overseas emigrants among the Kwaan in this respect, in contrast to the findings of Baker and Watson.

It is true that the wealthy, the educated and the prestigeful of the same village associated with one another by living in the same neighbourhood apart from their poorer and less prestigeful fellow
villagers. It is also true that they were more concerned with their own family and their local interests than they were with the power and wealth of the Kwaan lineage, that they invested more for the benefits of their own business and for the education of their sons than they were contributing to corporate property or the building of ancestral halls. But, the fact remained that they did not leave the Kwaan lineage and T'oh-fuk. Moreover, their activities in this locality strengthened the Kwaan lineage. For example, the returned hua-ch’iao and the merchants helped to redeem lineage land sold during Wartime. They invested in road building projects, helped modernize Che-hom and initiated the founding of the Taai-t'ung Market for their own benefits. These activities not only indirectly enriched the Kwaan lineage and helped to lessen the adverse effects of the recession of the T'aam River but also strengthened the relationship between the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk and the Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung, Ts'ung-long and Yeung-lo.

The behaviour of the Kwaan merchants and emigrants in Hoi-p'ing was not unique. In Nanching, according to Yang (17,73-5), families who lived in Canton and Hong Kong had concubines and young children to watch over the village houses. Moreover, the majority of the overseas emigrants and the merchants were not absentee landlords who drained wealth from the village: they had family members living in the village.

Chen Han-seng also notes (67-8,84) that many of the overseas emigrants, no matter whether they had gone to the Nanyang or North America, came home during Wartime and Depression. They all planned to retire home. Permanent emigration to the Nanyang happened only after 1936.
According to Hu (10), families that moved away still retained their allegiance to the ancestral hall for many generations. Their loyalty to the home of their ancestors encouraged the flow of money and wealth from the city to the country.

Moving to the modern period and to the New Territories of Hong Kong, those working overseas in San Tin all planned to retire at home (Watson 1972:176-9). They left their children to be looked after by their parents. Even those who married non-Chinese wives still kept their links with the Man lineage. In Tsuen-wan and Pingshaan, those working in Kowloon still lived in the villages (Johnson:33, Potter:161-2, 168-70).

All this evidence suggests that the argument of Fei Hsiao-tung that treaty-ports drained wealth and talents from the hinterland is far too simplicative. Wealth and talents probably moved both ways from the countryside to the treaty-ports and vice versa. The countryside was not completely impoverished economically and socially because of the growth of treaty ports and the prevalence of rural to urban migration and overseas emigration, since many of the migrants were attached to their home lineages in this part of China.

The reasons for the attachment to the lineage is basically a reflection of the feeling of insecurity among the overseas emigrants and the urban workers. They needed the home village for psychological relief from all the uncertainties of life abroad and in the big cities. They also needed the home village for economic security in case of bad fortunes in town or overseas. Discrimination abroad, Depression and War drove many urban workers and overseas emigrants home. According to Kulp (50-3), as the success rate of the tradi-
tional overseas emigrants was not high, most of them had still to rely on their families for support in case of difficulties. They could not afford to sever their links with home. Only a few of the exceptionally successful merchants in the Nanyang could do so.

The group of emigrants among the Kwaan who had gone to Canada before 1945 was an extreme case. They could not bring their families over to Canada because of immigration restrictions. Because of social discrimination abroad, they had very few chances to invest in Canada. Thus, most of them sent investments home and planned to retire there. Because the Kwaan lineage controlled the very important market town of Che-hom, there was much scope for the hua-ch'iao and the merchants among the Kwaan to invest. So despite the lack of concern among the leaders of the Sz-heung Kung-shoh and the extortion of the Self-Defence Corps, they invested home. They also contributed to the building of lineage and public schools and sent their children home for education to enhance social prestige for their sons and for themselves. By these means, they sought compensation for years of social and political discrimination suffered abroad.

B. Class Antagonism and Lineage Structure

Freedman (1958:124) believes that there were two major principles of social stratification in South China before 1949. One was stratification in terms of kinship and another was stratification in terms of social class. He believes that it was the strength of lineage organizations which kept class antagonisms in check and conversely, when social class became more important as a principle of social stratification, then lineages would be weakened. Following the same line of argument, Lamley (50) argues that the growth of class consciousness in the 1930's led to the decline of interlineage feuds.
My investigation of the Kwaan in Hoi-p'ing shows that after 1930, there were more evidences of the growth of class differences. Firstly, the system of bidding for corporate property which the Kwaan practised was not conducive to lineage unity. With the growth of population and the increased participation of the hua-ch'iao families in the bidding during the Depression and after the War, competition for land became so intense that bribery was often involved and this weakened lineage cohesion.

Secondly, some of the lineage elites were given official status. They served in the Hsien, Ch'ü and Hsiang government organs. The Hsiang-chang were given power to allocate land, to collect taxes and to conscript soldiers and labourers. The traditionally separated organs of Pao-chia, Li-chia and T'uan-lien became merged. The local officials of this period, however, lost much of the affection the humble and the poor had for their traditional elites. To the peasants, the Hsiang Kung-so became an awesome place and the Self-defence Corps, created after 1945, was an instrument of exploitation and extortion rather than protection.

Thirdly, because of the change in educational system, the development of trade and commerce in market towns and cities as well as massive emigration, the "new gentry" became an important power elite. Unlike the traditional scholar-gentry who posed as champions of the poor and the humble in order to enhance their power, status and prestige gained through passing the traditional examinations, some of the new gentry were more willing to co-operate with one another across lineage lines and with the Hsien government authorities in defence measures as well as in road building and municipal development projects. Just as Lamley has postulated, interlineage quarrels did
stop in Hoi-p'ing when these elites were co-operating in modernizing markets, building schools and roads. There was a weakened interest in augmenting to corporate property of their respective lineages and a strong tendency to co-operate with the government. They regarded territorial peace and order as more important than lineage solidarity and defence against other lineages. The traders especially wanted a peaceful Hoi-p'ing after all the upheavals of the 1911-1928 crisis. The overseas emigrants wanted a peaceful place to retire and to invest their savings. The new gentry either acquired wealth in the market towns, in the cities or overseas or were educated in towns or overseas. They kept themselves in segregated sections of the villages. They were richer than the average farmers and wage labourers and became their landlords, moneylenders and employers. They had a different life-style from people of the poorer sections of the villages.

The growth of class differences and class consciousness, however, did not weaken lineage solidarity as Freedman postulated. Social class in Hoi-p'ing challenged but did not completely replace lineage as a principle of social stratification. Contrary to Feng Ho-fa, Chen Han-seng, Yang and Wakeman's arguments, the fact that some of the local leaders had been co-opted to join the ranks of the local government did not lead to intensive class antagonism in Hoi-p'ing, as evidenced by the weak peasant organizations in the countryside. Pressure groups along class lines in the market-towns - the Chambers of Commerce, the Labour Unions - existed side by side with the rural social structure based on lineages.

The new gentry remained in the rural areas of T'oh-fuk, took on the traditional garb of social status such as taking a leading part in the ancestral halls rituals. They performed a prominent role in
the political-judicial affairs of their lineage and were managers of the lineage corporate property. In the market towns and in the Hsien government, some of them posed as protectors of the Hoi-p'ing people as a whole when government policies were detrimental to their class interests.

In other words, while one group of the new gentry became civil servants of the government and thus became hated figures, another group acted as unofficial leaders, trying to gain prestige, status and power through such pressure groups as the Chambers of Commerce, the Hsiang-min Ta-hui, the Chen-min Ta-hui and the Ts'un-min Ta-hui. They utilized both lineage and non-lineage channels to pose as champions of the poor and the humble when their interests were also threatened by the government. This re-directed antagonism of the peasants and the labourers towards government personnel and government policies instead of towards the entire upper class of the society.

SECTION IV: Variables Explaining the Persistence of Lineages

A. Initial Power of the Lineage

Freedman (1958:126ff) has argued that large and powerful lineages persisted longer than smaller lineages because of three reasons (1) the elites brought connections, prestige, political status and protection to the ordinary members of the lineage; (2) the elites expanded corporate property which was important for the poor members of the lineage to increase living standards; (3) powerful lineages dominated small lineages by sheer force of numbers.

Along similar lines, Makino Tatsumi (105) holds that there were three paths of expansion for the lineages in South China: (1) the quantitative widening of membership through adoption and by the inclusion of other branches of the lineage which had moved away;
(2) the qualitative strengthening of organization through the drawing up of genealogies, the augmentation of lineage land and the building of ancestral halls; (3) qualitative strengthening of membership through the inclusion of scholars, bureaucrats and rich people as members to increase power and social prestige.

Freedman and Tatsumi's thus argue that there were two ways by which lineages in South China maintained themselves and expanded their power: (1) the ability to attract local leaders as well as all migrant members to its fold (2) the ability to sustain and if possible to expand their corporate holdings.

Of these two factors, Potter (110-1,167) believes that corporate property was more important in explaining the persistence of lineages. Despite its inability to attract local leaders and migrants, the Tang lineage of Pingshaan persisted because the members could not agree on how to divide its valuable corporate property. Watson (1972:290, 300) on the other hand, believes that corporate property was important in sustaining a lineage only during the early period of its existence. But it was not the most important factor in explaining the persistence of the lineage once it has passed the initial stage. The example of the Man lineage in San-tin shows that the lineage persisted although its corporate property was poor because it attracted local leaders as well as migrants by being the employment agency for the prospective emigrants and by acting as a psychological anchor for the emigrants overseas and the retired emigrants.

The two factors - corporate property and membership - were equally important in explaining the persistence of the Kwaan lineage. Among the Kwaan, land was only rarely sold. The Kwaan lineage was able to sustain itself because it could retain its corporate property.
The ritual life among the Kwaan was still very vigorous even in the 1940's. This was due, in part, to the fact that the ancestral halls derived much benefit by the frequent biddings of its corporate property and by collecting fees from the pedlars using its land at Upper Che-hom. At the same time, the Kwaan lineage was able to expand in terms of "quantitative widening" as well as "qualitative strengthening" of its membership. In other words, the Kwaan lineage could sustain its own corporate holdings and at the same time incorporate scholars, bureaucrats and rich people as well as serving as a frame of reference to members in Ts'ung-long, Kau-p'ei-ch'ung, Yeung-lo, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Canton, the Nanyang and the Americas.

That the Kwaan lineage at T'oh-fuk could retain all its members and keep its corporate holdings was basically because it was a numerically large, economically rich, socially prestigious and politically powerful lineage before the onset of rural, urban and overseas migrations. In the social structure of South China, quantitative changes did not lead to qualitative changes. The more populous a lineage had become, the more it had power in the local political and social structure. Moreover, the larger a lineage, the more it was socially differentiated. Its elite members could bring connections, prestige, social status and protection to the common members. That was the reason why the Kwaan lineage could attract its members by providing an important frame of reference for the overseas emigrants and the urban migrants amidst all the uncertainties of life and by providing an important channel for the ambitious who tried to achieve power and status.

Secondly, in South China, it was very often the most numerous and powerful lineage which dominated both the market town and the
rural areas in the vicinity. Che-hom, for example, was controlled by the Kwaan lineage and it yielded economic benefits to both the poor and the rich Kwaan. In addition, the Kwaan lineage was rich enough not to have to sell corporate property. Being one of the most numerous lineages, it was hard to divide the shares among the members if corporate property was sold. Because of the numerical concentration of the Kwaan in T'oh-fuk and Che-hom, the individual Kwaan landowner or shopowner could always find a buyer among the Kwaan should he want to sell his property. As a consequence, the Kwaan retained its territorial dominance in the Che-hom - T'oh-fuk area down to 1949.

Initial numerical, economic, social and political power allowed the Kwaan lineage to persist even in the midst of administrative, education, population and economic changes after the middle of the 19th Century. Its corporate property sustained its ritual life and it included among its members important local leaders as well as rural migrants, rural to urban migrants and overseas emigrants.

B. The Economic Factor

It can be argued that the reliance upon commercial and industrial activities instead of farming as the mainstay of the individual's and the lineage's income at a time of land shortage accounted for the persistence of the Kwaan lineage of Hoi-p'ing.

Firstly, since individual members as well as the Kwaan lineage as a whole relied upon trade with Western Kwangtung for sustenance and because of the wholesale functions at the market-town of Che-hom, it was necessary for the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk to co-operate with the Kwaan in Ts'ung-long, Yeung-lo and Kau-p'e-i-ch'ung in building roads and other municipal projects. This tended to strengthen the ritual
ties of the Kwaan throughout Hoi-p'ing.

Secondly, since land at T'oh-fuk was not rich enough to produce important cash crops, and Che-hom offered opportunities for investments of the merchants and the emigrants, there were certain ramifications for class relationships among the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk. That the economy was based on commercial and industrial wealth and not farming lessened the effect of class exploitation. Although tenancy was insecure and rent deposit was high as a result of the bidding system, yet compared to other parts of Kwangtung (such as the Pearl River Delta), the poor Kwaan were still in a fortunate position in terms of the rate of tenancy and the amount of rent paid. Merchants and returned emigrants either bought a small piece of land and became a small resident landlord or they bought land to build houses. In contrast to Chen Han-seng's findings, there were very few large merchants or rich emigrants who would invest in large tracts of land and sub-rent it, since the T'oh-fuk land was not worth exploiting as compared to business opportunities in Che-hom.

In addition, since the economy was based on commercial-industrial activities, the rich became richer, the poor did not become poorer - all members of the Kwaan lineage at T'oh-fuk were able to share the increasing prosperity of Che-hom and overseas emigration. The participation in overseas emigration and commercial activities by a large number of the Kwaan meant a shortage of labour. This benefitted both the rich landowners and the farm labourers. The municipal development programmes in Che-hom produced an economic boom. The poorer farmers of the Kwaan lineage could find jobs in Che-hom and their produce also fetched a good price. The numerical dominance of Upper Che-hom by the Kwaan meant that it was easier for
the poor Kwaan to find a job there, utilizing lineage links.

C. The Political Factor

Lineages persisted in South China since the Sung Dynasty because they were given functions by the government. The administrative changes after 1911 did not remove these functions of the lineages. Moreover, lineage property and lineage leadership were left untouched. This non-interference of the government on the rural power structure of South China is one of the most important factors explaining the persistence of lineages.

In Hoi-p'ing after 1911, the Hsien government still regarded the lineage as the basis of social organization in the rural areas. The government did not stop large lineages from exploiting and dominating the small lineages and the Ha Fu. It also formulated rules to prevent the use of corporate property as security for loans and was in favour of the hua-ch'iao's attempts to redeem corporate property sold during Wartime. The government also allowed the lineage leaders to serve collectively as a court of appeal and to sign any papers involving the transfer of land. All these meant that lineages were still very important in terms of the local power structure.

After 1930, although there was the establishment of the Hsiang Kung-so and the centralization of the police force, there were few changes in the rural social structure of Hoi-p'ing. It is true that the need for joint defence actions of the Kwaan in T'oh-fuk, Kau-p'ei-ch'ung, Yeung-lo and Ts'ung-long was removed by the presence of a more efficient police force and garrison soldiers, yet the political link between the Kwaan in these areas of Hoi-p'ing was strengthened by the increase of the power of the Sz-heung Kung-shoh. Since the leaders of the Sz-heung Kung-shoh were given jurisdiction over the
members of the Kwaan even when they were residing outside T'oh-fuk, the Kwaan of Hoi-p'ing looked to the Sz-heung Kung-shoh for tax immunities as well as other forms of political and economic advantages. They utilized genealogical links and ritual participation to claim membership.

The Hsien government did not change the rural social structure and allowed the official leaders, the leaders of pressure groups in market-towns to co-exist with unofficial lineage leaders in the rural areas. This implied that the new gentry could utilize the lineage channel as much as they could utilize the non-lineage channel to achieve power, status and prestige over their fellow members. The questionable activities of the police and the soldiers of Hoi-p'ing and the increasingly heavy taxes, levies and forced contributions of all kinds after 1936 made it necessary for the humble and the powerless members to follow the leadership of their elites. Thus the Kwaan lineage remained solidary despite geographical separation and the growth of class differences.

CONCLUSION

Of all the three variables listed above which explain the persistence of the Kwaan lineage in the T'oh-fuk area of Hoi-p'ing, the last is the most important.

The first factor, that a lineage persisted in South China because it was initially powerful numerically, economically, socially and politically, can be used to explain the persistence of all powerful lineages. It does not explain the persistence of small and undifferentiated lineages amidst administrative, educational, demographic and economic changes.
The second factor, that a lineage persisted in South China because the members relied upon commercial and industrial activities instead of farming as their major source of income, is even more limited in its explanatory power. It does not explain the persistence of lineages which were situated in areas of fertile land and in proximity to commercial centres, the persistence of lineages in areas of infertile land with noncommercial opportunities nearby or the persistence of lineages in areas of fertile land and with no commercial opportunities nearby.

The third fact is most inclusive in its explanatory power and is therefore the most important in explaining the persistence of the lineages in South China. That lineages persisted because they were allowed to retain their functions, leaders and corporate property by the government can be used to explain the persistence of powerful as well as humble lineages; it can also explain the persistence of lineages in different economic settings in South China.

The importance of this last factor can be clearly seen when one compares the fate of the lineages under different political orders. In the New Territories of Hong Kong, the British government recognized lineage leaders and thereby prevented the dismantling of corporate property of the lineages. However, it took over many of the defence and judicial functions of the lineages and discouraged the exploitation of the tenant lineages and the Ha Fu by the powerful lineages in the locality. As a result, the powerful lineages were weakened politically and the higher-order lineages disappeared. Only the localized lineages remained (Freedman 1958, 1966; Baker; Potter and Johnson). In Taiwan under the Japanese administration, the
efficient police force and the strong government removed the defence and judicial functions of the lineages. The refusal of the government to recognize lineage property and lineage leaders led to the weakening and dismantling of large and small lineages in the area (Pasternak 1972). In China since 1949, the government took an active part in the complete dismantling of the power of the lineage leaders, in the redistribution of lineage property and in the assumption of the functions hitherto performed by the lineages. After the formation of the Peoples Republic of China, the lineage as a form of social organization went out of existence (Freedman, 1966). The examination of the fate of lineages under different political order shows that the political factor is the most important variable accounting for the persistence of lineages in South China before 1949.
CHAPTER XIII - NOTES

1. Even there, social erosion, in some sense, was beneficial to the lineage. Houses and shop-spaces in the villages belonging to the lineage rented to outsiders meant enriching the ancestral halls and this in turn enriched the ritual life of the lineage (Potter: 100; Baker: 163; Johnson: 30-1,33).

2. A non-Kwaan informant and B pointed out that some of the most successful hua-ch'iao from Hoi-p'ing and T'oi-shaan lived in K'un-shan and Wu-hu in Shanghai and Wu-hsi in Nanking. These settlements included many lineages. The ones in Wu-hsi was called Hing-wa New Village. It was built by the T'oi-shaan - Hoi-p'ing people in 1928. Another one was in Chen-ju Chen in Shanghai, it was built around 1930. Both were dispersed in 1937.

However, according to my informants, these settlements accounted for a very small number of the very successful hua-ch'iao among the Kwaan. Most of the Kwaan, successful or otherwise, retired at T'oh-fuk. Very few brought their families to live in cities such as Canton, Hong Kong or Shanghai.

3. The British Government in the New Territories, too, established the Hsiang-i-chü and the Rural Consultative Committee so as to convert the lineage elites to civil servants. The presence of an efficient police force also removed the need for lineage defence and prevented lineage feuds.

4. The British Government in Hong Kong also upheld the rights of the lineages but it did not allow the powerful lineages to exploit the small lineages or the Ha Fu.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barth, G.</td>
<td>Bitter Strength Harvard University Press.</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boorman, H.L.</td>
<td>Biographical Dictionary of Republican China (3 Volumes)</td>
<td>1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buck, J.L.</td>
<td>Land Utilization in China, Nanking.</td>
<td>1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Ta</td>
<td>Emigrant Communities in South China: A Study of Overseas Migration on Standard of Living and Social Changes. London and New York.</td>
<td>1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Han-seng</td>
<td>Agrarian Problems in Southernmost China. Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai.</td>
<td>1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu Tung-tsu</td>
<td>Local Government in China under the Ch'ing. Harvard University Press.</td>
<td>1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Title and Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huang Chen-wu</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Hua-ch'iao yu Chung-kuo Ke-ming, Hong Kong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese Government Reports, 1938</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kanton Shosha Sho. Taiwan Sotoku-fu Rinji Minami Shina Chosa-kyoko, Taipei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Kanton Chi. Nan Shi Haken-gun Hodo-bu Hen, Taipei.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Minami Shina Soran. Taiwan Sotoku-fu Gaiji-bu Chosa No. 97, Taipei Publishing Company Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee, Bing-shuey</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Modern Canton. Shanghai. Mercury Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lang Ch'ing-hsiao</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>&quot;Ch'ing-tai Yueh-tung Hsieh-tou Shih-shih&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liao Yuan</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liu Hsiang-t'ang</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>&quot;Fu-chien ti Hsueh-tsu Tsu-chih&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makino Tatsumi</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>&quot;Lineage Halls and Genealogies in Kwangtung&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritime Customs</td>
<td>1911-30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publications</td>
<td>1911-30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narumi Tsuneo</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>&quot;The Markets of Kwangtung&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negishi Benji</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>1946-1949</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title and Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogawa Hira-kichi</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Shina Shobetsu Zenshi Vol. 1, Taipei.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remer, C.F.</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Foreign Investments in China. New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Publications</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Chu Yun Ch’uan-chia K’ai-p’ing Tsung-hui-kuan Tie-k’an. Vancouver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Ch’en Chi-t’ang Chi-nien-chi. Taipei.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Ch’iao-kang Hsin-hui Shang-hui Chin-hsi Chi-nien-k’an Hong Kong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ssu-tu Mei-t’ang</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Yueh-chung Ch’iao-hsiang Tu-kai Ch’ien-hou. Canton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tseng Yang-fu</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Kuang-tung Ts’ai-cheng Chi-yao. Nanking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakeman, F.</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Strangers at the Gate: Social Disorder in South China 1839-1861, Berkeley, University of California Press.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Chinese Clan Associations in Vancouver" Man 64:33-37


"Approaches to the Study of the Chinese in British Columbia" B.C. Studies 4:38-51

"Hsia-man ti Hua-ch'iao Hui-k'uan yu Chin-jung Tsu-chih" She-hui K'e-hsueh Tsa-chih VIII:2:193-252


A Chinese Village in Early Communist Transition Cambridge, the Technology Press.

Kuang-tung-sheng ti Hua-ch'iao Hui-k'uan, Institute of Social Sciences, Chungking.
APPENDIX I

A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF POLITICAL EVENTS IN KWANGTUNG 1911-1936

1911 October
Success of the Wu-chang Uprising in Central China
Ch'en Chiung-ming advanced his troops upon Wai-chau in Kwangtung.

November
Fall of Canton to the revolutionaries. Kwangtung was declared independent of the Empire.
Hu Han-min became the Military Governor of Kwangtung; Ch'en Chiung-ming, the Deputy Military Governor.
Sun Yat-sen returned to China, declined to form his government at Canton. Hu Han-min left Canton to join Sun Yat-sen in Nanking. Ch'en Chiung-ming in sole control of Kwangtung.

1912 February
Sun Yat-sen turned over the Presidency to Yuan Shih-k'ai in Nanking. He and Hu Han-min returned to Canton.
Yuan Shih-k'ai formally appointed Ch'en Chiung-ming and Lung Chi-kuang (Yunnan Warlord) as Military Commissioners of Kwangtung.
The Merchant Voluntary Corps was organized by the Canton Merchants.

1913 March
Murder of Sung Chiao-jen in Shanghai. Sun Yat-sen organized the Second Revolution against Yuan Shih-k'ai.

June
Yuan Shih-k'ai defeated Sun Yat-sen who fled to Japan with Hu Han-min. Yuan Shih-k'ai moved his troops southwards.

July
Ch'en Chiung-ming declared Kwangtung independent of Peking.

August
Yuan Shih-k'ai ordered Lung Chi-kuang to oust Ch'en Chiung-ming. Lung became the Governor of Kwangtung.

October
Formation of the Seamen's Friendship Association in Hong Kong.

1916 May
Lu Jung-t'ing (Kwangsi Warlord) disarmed Lung Chi-kuang and entered Kwangtung.

June
Yuan Shih-k'ai declared himself Emperor of China in Peking. Beginning of the anti-yuan movement which involved Kwangtung, Shensi, Hunan, Chekiang, Fukien and Kwangsi.
1916 June  
Death of Yuan Shih-k'ai. Li Yuan-hung became the president in Peking. Lung Chi-kuang was transferred to the Hoi-naam Island. Lu Jung-t'ing became the Military Governor of Kwangtung.

1917  
Lu Jung-t'ing became the Inspector General of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. Ch'en Ping-kun became the Military Governor of Kwangtung to be followed by Mo Jung-hsin (Both Kwangsi Warlords).

March  
Li Yuan-hung was forced to resign his Presidency in Peking. Tuan Ch'i-jui became the President.

June  
Beginning of the Constitution Protection Movement organized by Ch'en Chiung-ming and Sun Yat-sen in Shanghai against Tuan Ch'i-jui.

July  
Ch'en Chiung-ming and Sun Yat-sen returned to Canton. Sun Yat-sen became the Commander-in-chief of the Military Government in Canton.

Lu Jung-t'ing withheld his support from the Constitution Protection Movement. Sun Yat-sen and Ch'en Chiung-ming organized their own army. Ch'en Chiung-ming stationed himself in Fukien and Eastern Kwangtung.

Tuan Ch'i-jui appointed Lung Chi-kuang as the Inspector General of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. Lung Chi-kuang moved his troops from the Hoi-naam Island to enter Canton but was ousted by Sun Yat-sen's forces.

Lu Jung-t'ing forced the reorganization of Sun Yat-sen's Military Government into a Directorate of 7 members. Sun Yat-sen left for Shanghai. The Rump Parliament in Canton appointed Ts'en Ch'un-hsuan the Chairman of the Board of Directors.

1920  
Ch'en Chiung-ming re-occupied Canton. Sun Yat-sen returned and appointed Ch'en Chiung-ming Military Governor of Kwangtung.

May  
Sun Yat-sen became President Extraordinary. He announced his plan for a Northern Expedition to reunit China. Sun Yat-sen moved to Shiu-kwaan to direct the expedition.

September  
Ch'en Chiung-ming routed Lu Jung-t'ing completely. Kwangsi came under the control of Kwangtung.

1922 January  
Ch'en Chiung-ming broke with Sun Yat-sen and withheld his supplies to Shiu-kwaan.
1922 March

Seaman's strike in Hong Kong and Canton supported by Ch'en Chiung-ming.

Sun Yat-sen went back to Canton. Ch'en Chiung-ming fled. Sun Yat-sen returned to Shiu-kwaan. Yeh Chu, a subordinate of Ch'en Chiung-ming, occupied Canton and demanded that Ch'en Chiung-ming be restored. Sun Yat-sen returned to Canton once more. Yeh Chu surrounded his residence. Sun Yat-sen escaped to Shanghai. Ch'en Chiung-ming returned to Canton.

Sun Yat-sen called upon Hsu Ch'ung-chih, Yang Hsi-min (Yunnan Warlord), Liu Chen-huan and Sheng Hung-ying (all Kwangsi Warlords) to oust Ch'en Chiung-ming.

Ch'en Chiung-ming and Yeh Chu left Canton but occupied Eastern Kwangtung.

Hsu Ch'ung-chih became Military Governor of Kwangtung. Sun Yat-sen took the title of Generalissimo.

May

Establishment of the All-China Federation of Labour in Canton.

1923

Quarrel of Kwangsi Warlords with Yunnan Warlords in Canton.

Peking appointed Sheng Hung-ying as the Military Commander of Kwangtung.

1924 April

Sun Yat-sen embarked on the Northern Expedition for the second time.

May

Ch'en Lien-po led the Merchants Voluntary Corps to demand disarmament and protested against the Northern Expedition, supported by the British in Sha-meen.

June

Liao Chung-k'ai and Sun Yat-sen entered talks with Russia to seek financial aid for the Northern Expedition. The Peasants Training Institute founded.

September

Arrival of Michael Borodin at Canton. Formation of the First United Front between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuo-min-tang.

Re-organization of the Kuo-min-tang (KMT) upon the advice of Borodin.

Pacific Transportation Worker's Conference held in Hong Kong. Su Chao-ch'ing joined the Chinese Communist Party.
1924 October Merchants Voluntary Corps quelled by Chiang Kai-shek and Hu Han-min.

1925 January Death of Sun Yat-sen in Peking. Hu Han-min and Chiang Kai-shek controlled Canton.

March T'ang Chi-yao (Yunnan Warlord) attacked Canton, supported by Yang Hsi-min and Liu Chen-huan. They were suppressed by Hu Han-min and Chiang Kai-shek.

May Su Chao-cheng was elected the Chairman of the All-China Federation of Labour.

The Police in the International Settlement fired at the Chinese workers in Shanghai. Labourers in Canton organized a demonstration in sympathy. But they were fired upon by the British and the French at Sha-meen (Canton).

June Su Chao-cheng and Teng Chung-hsia led a strike in Hong Kong and Canton. They were supported by Liao Chung-kai.

July Chiang Kai-shek and Hsu Ch'ung-chih led the Eastern Expedition against Ch'en Chiung-ming and routed him.

October Li Chi-shen organized a Southern Expedition against the followers of Ch'en Chiung-ming, Teng Pen-yin, in Southwestern Kwangtung and routed him. Kwangtung became re-united under the KMT.

November Alliance between Chiang Kai-shek and the Kwangsi Clique -- Huang Shao-hung, Li Tsung-jen and Pai Ch'ung-hsi.

1925 August Liao Chung-kai assassinated. Hu Han-min, whose cousin was a suspect, left Canton.

September Hsu Ch'ung-chih was relieved of duty.

Struggle of power between Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei began.

1926 March Chiang Kai-shek arrested the Communist members under Wang Ching-wei's command.

May Chiang Kai-shek raided the Canton - Hong Kong Strike Office. Wang Ching-wei resigned.

June KMT regular troops began to crush the Peasant Movements.
1926 July
Chiang Kai-shek launched the Northern Expedition and left Kwangtung. Li Chi-shen was appointed to secure the base at Canton.

1927
The Wu-han branch of the KMT began to purge the Communists in that area. Yeh T'ing and Ho Lung launched an attack at Nanching (Kiangsi) but were driven off.

September
Yeh T'ing and Ho Lung established a territorial base at the Hoi-luk-fung area of Kwangtung but were again driven off.

November
Li Chi-shen left Canton for Nanking to attend a meeting dealing with the re-unification of the Wu-han and the Nanking branch of the KMT. Chang Fa-k'uei staged a coup and gained control of Canton.

The Kwangsi Clique joined with Ch'en Chi-t'ang and Ch'en Ming-shu to advance to Canton against Chang Fa-k'uei from both the Kwangsi and the Fukien borders.

December
Chang T'ai-lei gained control of Canton. He was joined by Yeh T'ing, Ho Lung and Yeh Chien-ying. Chang Fa-k'uei escaped. The Canton Commune was established by the representatives of workers, peasants and soldiers in Canton. Su Chao-cheng was elected Chairman in absentia. Hsueh Yueh, a subordinate of Chang Fa-k'uei, suppressed the Canton Commune.

1928 January
Li Chi-shen restored to power at Canton by Ch'en Chi-t'ang, Ch'en Ming-shu and the Kwangsi Clique. Execution of anyone connected with the Canton Commune event. Chinese Communist Party headquarters left Canton. Peasant Unions were wiped off in all of Kwangtung. Delegates were sent to discuss with the British in Hong Kong to end the Hong Kong - Canton Strike.

October
Li Chi-shen left Kwangtung to become a State Council member in Nanking. Ch'en Ming-shu became Kwangtung's Civil Governor.

The Kwangsi Clique broke with the KMT, allied with Chang Fa-k'uei and launched an attack on Kwangtung

November
Ch'en Chi-t'ang defeated the Kwangsi Clique and took over the Military Command in Kwangtung.

1931 March
Hu Han-min was imprisoned by Chiang Kai-shek in Nanking. Four members of the Parliament led the impeachment of Chiang Kai-shek. Ch'en Chi-t'ang and the Kwangsi Clique supported the four members.
1931 May  A separatist regime was formed in Kwangtung and Kwangsi headed by Wang Ching-wei and Ch'en Chi-t'ang. Ch'en Ming-shu resigned.

September  Japanese invasion of Manchuria led to the reconciliation between Canton and the Nanking Government. Chang Kai-shek resigned temporarily and Hu Han-min was released. Ch'en Chi-t'ang and the Kwangsi Clique established the Southwest Executive Headquarters of the KMT and the Southwest Political Council. The Nanking Government's authority was bypassed.

Ch'en Chi-t'ang expanded his military force and built an air-force. Yu Hon-mou became the Pacification Commissioner of Northwest Kwangtung.

1933 April  The Nanking Government intensified its campaigns against the Communists in Kwangsi. Ch'en Chi-t'ang was made in charge of Kwangtung campaign to exterminate the Communists.

1934 September  The Long March of the Communists began. Ch'en Chi-t'ang took steps to prevent their entrance into Kwangtung territories.

1936 June  Death of Hu Han-min. Ch'en Chi-t'ang and Li Tsung-jen attempted to forestall the Nanking Government's move to end the semi-independence of Kwangtung. They formed an "anti-Japanese expedition" and marched north to protest against Chiang Kai-shek for not fighting the Japanese.

July  Canton's air-force defected to the Nanking Government. Yu Hon-mou flew to Nanking and asked the Kwangtung military forces to join him to force Ch'en Chi-t'ang to retire. Ch'en Chi-t'ang left for Hong Kong.

Yu Hon-mou became the top Commander of Kwangtung and Huang Mu-sung, his former teacher, became the Civil Governor. The semi-independence of Kwangtung ended.

NOTE: This chronology is based on Chien (55-120), Liao (1-15, 31-5, 44-52), Hsieh (205-14, 227-33) and Boorman (Vol. 1:111-2, 160-3, 173-180, 324 ff; Vol. 2:69-72, 364-7; Vol. 3:154-5).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>1st Ch'u Heung</th>
<th>2nd Ch'u Heung</th>
<th>3rd Ch'u Heung</th>
<th>4th Ch'u Heung</th>
<th>5th Ch'u Heung</th>
<th>6th Ch'u Heung</th>
<th>7th Ch'u Heung</th>
<th>8th Ch'u Heung</th>
<th>9th Ch'u Heung</th>
<th>10th Ch'u Heung</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fu</td>
<td>T'ong-hau</td>
<td>Koo-chak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsai</td>
<td>T'sam-t'ai</td>
<td>T'sam-t'ai</td>
<td>Che-hom</td>
<td>Kau-t'ai</td>
<td>Hing-kong</td>
<td>Hing-kong</td>
<td>Che-shui</td>
<td>Che-shui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Che-hom</td>
<td>Lo-yeung</td>
<td>Ling-tung</td>
<td>Fung-waan</td>
<td>Che-shui</td>
<td>Che-shui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wong</td>
<td>Paak-hop</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hing-kong</td>
<td></td>
<td>Koo-pin</td>
<td>T'ai-long</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woo</td>
<td>Paak-hop</td>
<td>Hoi-t'ung</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lei</td>
<td>Lai-tung</td>
<td>Lai-t'ung</td>
<td>Kam-o0</td>
<td>Pung-waan</td>
<td>Yeung-lo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leung</td>
<td>Ha-kong</td>
<td>Lok-t'ung</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'sam</td>
<td>Lai-tung</td>
<td>Lung-kong</td>
<td></td>
<td>T'ai-long</td>
<td>Tung-shaan</td>
<td>Ch'ung-hau</td>
<td>Che-shui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chau</td>
<td>Lei-t'ung</td>
<td>Paak-hop</td>
<td>Hing-kong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lau-kong</td>
<td>Lau-t'ung</td>
<td>Hoi-t'ung</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheung</td>
<td>Cheung-t'ai</td>
<td>Sze-kau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shui-t'ung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE GEOGRAPHICAL SPREAD OF FIFTEEN LINEAGES IN HOI-P'ING
DISCUSSION

Freedman (1966:18-42) distinguishes between a localized lineage, a dispersed lineage, a higher-order lineage and a clan.

A "localized lineage" denotes a group of agnates who live together in the same geographical area. The members claim to be descended from a common founder. They usually have a common ancestral hall to practise ancestor worship together.

A "dispersed lineage" denotes two or more groups of agnates with the same surname which are separated geographically. One group has an ancestral hall to practise ancestor worship. The members of the other groups do not have ancestral halls of their own. They would go to the first group to practise ancestor worship there because it is believed that they were originally descendants of the first group but had at some point in history moved away from the parent settlement.

A "higher-order lineage" denotes two or more groups of agnates with the same surname which are separated geographically. Each group has an ancestral hall of its own but there is also a common ancestral hall comprising all the members of these groups for the performance of ancestor worship together because it is believed that they were all descended from a common founder.

A "clan" is a loose term which denotes people with the same surname. The members do not claim that they descended from a common founder. Thus, they may or may not enter into any form of association.

Pasternak does not dispute Freedman's definition of higher-order lineages but he quarrels with Freedman's theory of the origin of these higher-order lineages.

According to Freedman (1966:37), a higher-order lineage originated because one or more of its segments had moved away and settled somewhere in the vicinity. Higher-order lineages were formed by a process of "segmentation". Pasternak (1969:555,559,561; 1972:149-57) argues that that was not true. A higher-order lineage was formed not by the process of "segmentation" but by a process of "fusion" (or "aggregation"). Two or more groups of people bearing the same surname had decided to group together for common defence and they built an ancestral hall to commemorate the event. This ancestral hall became a basis for further co-operation. He believes that higher-order lineages formed by fusion came prior to the formation of a localized lineage. It was only after a lineage had been established for a long time that limited resources or intra-lineage quarrels drove segments to look for newer grounds.
Schematically, Pasternak's theory could be presented as:

Higher Order Lineage — Localized Lineage — Higher-order Lineage
(by aggregation)  (by segmentation)

The controversy between Freedman and Pasternak is further confused by Hu's concept of lien tsung. According to Hu, when different local groups of the same surname can trace their genealogy to one common founder, they will join together for rites and hold an occasional convention to discuss problems. This is known as lien tsung. But, the confusing point is that 'actually the word 'tsung' is rarely used by itself. This enlarged group will speak of itself as a tsu (lineage) with branches and sub-branches' (Hu:19-20).

This is precisely what I encountered while talking with the informants. There is no distinction between people belonging to the same tsung and people belonging to the same tsu from their conversations. One cannot tell whether the Sz-t'o, the Kwaan, the Lei, the Leung, the T'aam, the Chau and the Cheung in Hoi-ying were single descent groups or not. It is true that each of these groups was linked by a common genealogy yet, one cannot tell the authenticity of these written genealogies. As Freedman maintains (1966:26-31) genealogies may sometimes be retrospective constructions. In order to show that their particular clan was prestigious or numerous or because of the need to form effective social relationships and to get protection from the bureaucracy, some lineages may have their genealogies rewritten to show their connections with their more powerful brethren (see also Makino Tatsumi:91,99).

It is true that during the Hakka/Punti War (discussed in the next section), the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk helped the Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung; the Sz-t'o at Kaau-t'ai helped the Sz-t'o at Che-shui; the Cheung at Sha-kong helped the Cheung at Sz-kau; the T'aam at Cheung-sha helped the T'aam at Che-shui and Tung-shaan; the Leung at Cheung-sha helped the Leung at Ma-kong etc. But one cannot be sure whether it was the need for defence that drew members of the same clans together to reconstruct their genealogies retrospectively as a basis for common action or whether it was indeed a common descent group in action to protect one another.

The Sz-t'o at Kaau-t'ai were prestigious. All the Sz-t'o with scholarly titles during the Ch'ing period were natives of Kaau-t'ai. Moreover, the Sz-t'o at Kaau-t'ai were five times the Sz-t'o at Che-shui in terms of population (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih: 203-4). The Kwaan at T'oh-fuk captured all the scholarly titles that were won by the Kwaan in Hoi-p'ing during the Ch'ing era and they outnumbered the Kwaan at Kau-p'ei-ch'ung by 50 times. In the same way, the Cheung at Sha-kong; the T'aam at To-tang and Cheung-sha; the Leung at Cheung-sha were more prestigious than their brethren in other parts of Hoi-p'ing.
From the above data, I suspect that there was at least a strong motive for the less prestigious members to claim affiliation with the more prestigious members of the clan to seek bureaucratic and social protection. At the same time, I also suspect that the stronger branch of a particular clan in Hoi-p'ing used its weaker branch as an outpost to capture the trade routes moving from Yeung-kong, Yan-p'ing, San-hing and T'oi-shaan into Hoi-p'ing. Just as the Kau-p'ei-ch'ung area served as the outpost for the Kwaan at T'oh-fuk, it can be argued that the Sz-t'o at Che-shui served as an outpost of the Sz-t'o at Kaau-t'ai; similarly the Cheung at Sha-kong used the Cheung at Cheung-k'iu and Sei-kau as an outpost and so forth. As the T'aam River was the lifeblood of Hoi-p'ing, it is reasonable to believe that the more successful lineages were those who could dominate the important trade routes from Western Kwangtung into Hoi-p'ing. In 1864, the Magistrate of Hoi-p'ing intended to put the defeated Hakka back to Na-foo (in T'oi-shaan), Kam-kai (in Yan-p'ing, next to Kau-p'ei-ch'ung) as well as the Tung-shaan - Che-shui area (Hoi-p'ing). The scholars Kwaan Chiu-ts'ung of T'oh-fuk, Cheung Yuk-lam of Sha-kong and Sz-t'o Kei of Kaau-t'ai led the opposition to Peking (ibid. 175). This fact confirms my suspicion and testifies the importance of these border regions to the lineages in the middle and lower courses of the T'aam River.

Thus, although it cannot be conclusive that the various clans of Hoi-p'ing were indeed members of the same descent group, it is at least certain that there was close co-operation between them. Among the Lei, the T'aam and the Kwong of Hoi-p'ing, such co-operation was expressed by periodic rites performed at the grave of the common founder. The only way to determine whether these clans in Hoi-p'ing were dispersed lineages is to examine the ritual structure of each of them in detail to see whether the whole clan owned any corporate land and ancestral halls collectively and whether they shared the benefits and obligations flowing from the common estates attached to the ancestral halls.

NOTES

1. These surnames were chosen because of the active role they played in Hoi-p'ing history, the large number of scholars they claimed their own and the economic importance of the place they made their headquarters. Sources are derived from the various sections of the K'ail-p'ing Hsien-chih.

2. According to their genealogy, the Sz-t'o moved from Naam-hung to Canton during the Sung Dynasty, from there they moved to Yan-p'ing and Yeung-kong and to Hoi-p'ing's Kaau-t'ai area. The Sz-t'o were important as inter-provincial traders and notorious as opium smugglers (K'ail-p'ing Hsien-chih:46,266,217).

3. The Lei of Hoi-p'ing claimed to be descendants of noble families of the Tang Dynasty. In South China, the Lei moved from Naam-hung to Canton during the Sung Dynasty where they were dispersed into various branches: Naam-hoi, Chung-shaan, San-ooi and Hoi-p'ing. Though perhaps the most dispersed of all surnames in Hoi-p'ing itself, the Lei all went to Koo-chau (Sha-kong area) to perform
rites at the graves of their common founder (Ibid:315-6).

4. According to their genealogy, the T'aam came from Naam-hung to live in the Cheung-sha area of Hoi-p'ing. Later, they spread to San-ooi and T'oi-shaan as well as other parts of Western Kwangtung (ibid:337). Every 20 years, the T'aam of Hoi-p'ing, T'oi-shaan, San-ooi, Yan-p'ing, Ko-ming and Ko-iu would gather in the vicinity of Shui-hau to perform rites at the graves of their common founder (Ssu-i Ch'iao-pao Dec. 1947:33).

5. According to their genealogy and the biographies of some of the notable members, the Chau were descendants of the rulers of the Chou Dynasty. Their more immediate descendants came from Fukien (K'ai-p'ing Hsien-chih:266-7, 315-6).

6. The Cheung were among the earliest lineages to settle in Hoi-p'ing. They came from Naam-hung and settled in the Sha-kong area of Hoi-p'ing as early as the Tsun Dynasty (ibid:266,336).
From January to March 1973, I have had chance to talk several times to each of my fifteen informants, thirteen of whom were born in Hoi-p'ing. Of the other two, one is Mr. Lee who has been a school teacher in Che-hom in 1946-47. The other is a 70-year-old Mr. Kwaan, who, though born in Victoria, has been very much involved with his father's native village as well as with the Overseas Chinese Community in Victoria before and after the Second World War. A follow-up study was made in October through December, 1973, in an attempt to collect genealogical material from my fourteen informants (including the Victoria-born Mr. Kwaan mentioned above). A special trip has been made to Vancouver to interview another Mr. Kwaan who was the key figure in the founding of the Taai-t'ung Market in 1923. In toto, therefore, I have interviewed sixteen people for this thesis: fifteen Kwaan and one non-Kwaan.

Below are two tables summarising the characteristics of the fifteen informants. Pseudonyms will be used to hide their identity. They will be presented in accordance to the distance of their place of origin from Che-hom. For example, the one whose village of origin is closest to Che-hom will be A; the next one will be B and so on.
TABLE 16
MIGRATION HISTORY OF INFORMANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>Birth Date</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place of Origin</th>
<th>Year left Hoi-p'ing</th>
<th>Year Entered Canada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Sha-tei (Chung-miu Heung)</td>
<td>1945-52 Hong Kong</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Cheung Ts'uen (Ling-uen Heung)</td>
<td>1920-21</td>
<td>1920-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Ha Ts'uen (Ling-uen Heung)</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Ha Ts'uen (Ling-uen Heung)</td>
<td>1936-37 Shanghai</td>
<td>1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1937-41 Hong Kong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1941-1955 Hoi-p'ing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1955-59 Hoi-p'ing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1963 Hoi-p'ing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Ha-pin (Ling-uen Heung)</td>
<td>1921-32 Canton;</td>
<td>1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1932-36 Hong Kong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1936-41 Hoi-p'ing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1941-45 T'oi-shaan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1945-63 Hoi-p'ing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1963 Hoi-p'ing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Na-loh (Lo-yeung Heung)</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Victoria (father from Na-loh Ts'uen)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Na-loh (Lo-yeung Heung)</td>
<td>1927-48 Medan (Indonesia)</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1948-55 Che-hom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1955-64 Hong Kong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Birth Date</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Place of Origin</td>
<td>Year left Hoi-p'ing</td>
<td>Year Entered Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Na-loh (Lo-yeung Heung)</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Na-loh (Lo-yeung Heung)</td>
<td>1951-57 Canton; 1957-59 Che-hom; 1959-72 Hong Kong</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Lung-ts'ai She (Ts'ung-long Heung)</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Lung-ts'ai She (Ts'ung-long Heung)</td>
<td>1949-60 Hong Kong</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Ts'ung-hing She (Ts'ung-long Heung)</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>K'ei-shing Lei (Yeung-lo Heung)</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Naam-woh Lei (Fung-waan Heung)</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Father's Occupation</td>
<td>Occupation in Hoi-p'ing</td>
<td>Occupation Elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Studied in private school run by ancestral hall</td>
<td>A Canadian hua-ch'iao worked as cook, sailor etc.</td>
<td>Did not work, relied on remittances</td>
<td>Hong Kong; as journalist. Canada: odd jobs: greenhouse farm hand, servant in westerner's home etc. At present, B.C. Ferry cook.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Attended private school and high school at Che-hom</td>
<td>Shop owner at Che-hom</td>
<td>Did not work.</td>
<td>Canada: came as student. Worked in Maan-yuk T'ong in Victoria. At present part-owner of the above and owner of the South China Noodles Co. in Vancouver.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Studied for 6 years in private school run by ancestral hall</td>
<td>A cloth merchant at Che-hom who went bankrupt and died young</td>
<td>Worked as an apprentice in drugstore in Che-hom</td>
<td>Paak-sha (T'oi-shaan): Worked as an apprentice in 1910-14. Canada: worked in Maan-yuk T'ong as resident Chinese doctor for 10 years. Then, as employee of greenhouse in central Saanich, eventually became part-owner of the same. Now retired.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 17 cont'd......

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Father's Occupation</th>
<th>Occupation in Hoi-p'ing</th>
<th>Occupation Elsewhere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Studied in private school run by ancestral hall in Ha Ts'uen; when in Hong Kong attended evening tuition school.</td>
<td>A hua-ch'iao in Canada, part-owner of Maan-yuk T'ong</td>
<td>Did not work, relied on remittances</td>
<td>Shanghai: worked in Foo-man Textile Co. owned by G's brother. Hong Kong: worked in Uncle's drugstore 1937-41; 1955 helped maternal uncle to start cloth factory. Canada: part-owner of Maan-yuk T'ong with B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>A graduate of the Chung-shaun University.</td>
<td>A heiu-ts'ai who has turned merchant at Che-hom; Chairman of Che-hom Chamber of Commerce for 10 years.</td>
<td>Did not work</td>
<td>Canton: taught in Chung-shaun University for two years; T'oi-shaan: San-ch' eung diesel oil co. and later rice grinding business. Hong Kong: worked in leather goods company. Victoria: owner of Tong-yen Grocery Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Primary School Hua-ch'iao in Canada in ancestral hall.</td>
<td>Did not work, relied on remittances.</td>
<td>Not Known.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Studied in Victoria; studied in the Ue-lun Grocery Co. in Ling-naam Victoria University for half a year.</td>
<td>A Canadian hua-ch'iao who started the Ue-lun Grocery Co. in Victoria</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Canada: owner of Ue-lun Grocery Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Father's Occupation</td>
<td>Occupation in Hoi-p'ing</td>
<td>Occupation Elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Studied in Che-hom, 1920-27</td>
<td>Landowner at Na-loh; owner of rice milling concern at Che-hom.</td>
<td>Helped father to operate rice milling concern at Che-hom</td>
<td>Medan (Indonesia): worked as an apprentice in jewelry store, later manager of the same. Hong Kong: odd jobs; salesman of a bicycle store; helped brother in farm work in P'ing-shaan; worked in grocery store in Yuen-long. Canada: owner of Shelbourne Grocery in Victoria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Studied in primary school run by ancestral hall.</td>
<td>Canada hua-ch'iao worked in B.C. Rail Company.</td>
<td>Did not work; relied on remittances.</td>
<td>Canada: worked in Maan-yuk T'ong and then run a greenhouse. Now retired.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Father's Occupation</td>
<td>Occupation in Hoi-p'ing</td>
<td>Occupation Elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Studied 6 years in private school.</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Canada: as B.C. Ferry cook.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Studied in ancestral hall school.</td>
<td>Owned a small store in Kau-p'ai-ch'ung</td>
<td>Helped father to run store.</td>
<td>Canada: first as cook and domestic servant; then started Kwong Uelung Grocery with partners; at present retired.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX IV

Table 18

MARRIAGE HISTORY OF INFORMANTS

(1) A's Family Tree
(Sha-tei near Che-hom)

Kwaan Sz-t'o (Kaau-t'ai)
(M) (F)

Kwaan Sz-t'o (Che-hom)
(M) (F)

Kwaan Sz-t'o (Che-hom)
(Kwaan-T'aam (Ngau-min-sha))
(M) (F)

Kwaan Sz-t'o (Che-hom)
(Kwaan-Yeung (Fooi-kong))
(M) (F)

Kwaan-Sz-t'o (Che-hom)
(M) (F)

Kwaan-Wong Ego-Oo (Ue-leung)
(M) (F)

(Kwaan-Oo (Ue-leung) (Macau))
(M) (F)

Ego-Chan (Cheung-sha)
(M) (F)

NOTE: Ego has two wives. His brother married in Shanghai and his other brother married in Macau.

KEY: M = Male
F == Female
( ) = Place of origin of spouse
1 = Line of descent.
(2) KWAN B, C, D's FAMILY TREE
(Cheung Te'uen & Ha Te'uen)

Kwan-Lo (Cheung-sha-t'ong) Kwan-Too (H) (F) (T'aan-pin-usu) (Kau-t'ail)

Kwan-Lo (Cheung-sha-t'ong) Kwan-Too (H) (F) (T'aan-pin-usu) (Kau-t'ail)

Kwan-T'aan (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'aan (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-Lo (Cheung-sha-t'ong) Kwan-Too (H) (F) (T'aan-pin-usu) (Kau-t'ail)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)

Kwan-T'oa (Che-shui) Kwan-Chau (Peak-hoy) (M) (F) (N)
(3) E's Family Tree
(Ha-pin Ts'uen)

Kwaan-Fong
(M) (F)
(Koo-chaak)

Kwaan-Wong
(M) (F)
(Hin-kong)

Kwaan-Chan
(M) (F)
(T'oi-shaan) (T'oi-shaan)
Kwaan-Chan
(M) (F)
(T'oi-shaan) (T'oi-shaan)
Kwaan-Wong
(F) (M) (M) (F) (M) (F) (M) (F)
(Canton) (T'oi-shaan) (T'oi-shaan)
Kwaan-Wong
(M) (F)
(T'oi-shaan)

(4) F's Family Tree
(Na-loh Ts'uen)

Kwaan-Tse (Che-hom)
(M) (F)

Kwaan-Chau
(F) (M)
(Paak-hop)

Ego-Oo
(M) (F)
(Paak-hop)

Kwaan-Chau
(M) (F)
(Maau-kong)

Kwaan-Lau
(F) (M)
(Ue-leung)
(4) G and I's Family Tree

(Na-loh-Ts'uen)

NOTE: Ego¹ is Kwaan G
   Ego² is Kwaan I
NOTE: Ego is Kwaan H; Ego2 is Kwaan J
GLOSSARY

1. CANTONESE TRANSLITERATIONS

Chan
Chan-hing Market
Chan-naam Lau
Chan-wa Market
Chan Wai-tok
Chau
Chau Hok-nin
Chau I-yung
Chau Iu-kwong
Chau Ka-hoh
Chau Seung
Chau Sui-uen
Che-foo Public Road
Che-hom
Che-hom Ha-fau
Che-hom Sheung-fau
Che-k'ai
Che-kau Bus Company
Che-kau Public Road
Che-paak Bus Company
Che-shui
Che-uen Lei
卓興
張
樟州
樟溪小學
張景惠
張橋
長六合祠
長安里
張煥猷
張彥卿
長沙
長沙塘
張樹村
張允堂
張毓林
致公堂
趙
潮洲
潮安
招村
潮陽
楚翰公祠
朱
豬仔頭
豬仔兵
Ch'ung-hau Market
Ch'ung-lau
Chung-miu Heung
Chung-shaan
Ch'ung-tang Lei-shing
Ch'ung-tang Leung-shing
Chung Wing-kwong
ch'ut-hau-piu

fa-p'aau
Fa
Faan
Fat-kong
Fat-shaan
Fong
Fong
fong-hau
Fong King-t'ong
Fong-sheng
Foo-man Textile Company
Foo-uen
Fooi-kong Heung
Fuk-hing Road
Fuk-woh Lei
Fung-waan Heung

Foo
Fa
Faan
Fat-kong
Fat-shaan
Fong
Fong
fong-hau
Fong King-t'ong
Fong-sheng
Foo-man Textile Company
Foo-uen
Fooi-kong Heung
Fuk-hing Road
Fuk-woh Lei
Fung-waan Heung
ha fu
Hakka
Ha-pin
Ha Ts'uen
Hei-om Shue-uen
Hin-kong
Hing-wa New Village
Hing
Hoh
Hoh-naam Chau
Hoi-fung
Hoi-hau
Hoi-kin
Hoi-k'iu High School
Hoi-luk-fung
Hoi-moon Market
Hoi-naam Island
Hoi-p'ing
Hoi-p'ing Ts'un-hon
Hoi-p'ing Ming Po
Hoi-sam Chau
Hoi-tang
Hok-shaan
Hom-ha Dam
Hong-lok Shue-uen
Hop-Po
Hop-shing Company
Hui
hung-k'ai
Ip
I-ts'at Market
I-t'sz
Iu-wa Fong

Kaau-t'ai Chau
Kaau-t'ai Chung-koo Heung
Kaau-t'ai Ha-koo Heung
Kaau-t'ai Sheung-koo Heung
Kam-kai Market
Kam-oo
Kam-shaan Chong
Kam-shaan Market
Kam Ts'uen
Kat
Kau-kong
Kau-p'ei-ch'ung
K'ei-shaan-hoi Market
K'ei-shing Lei
keuk-ch'e
King-hei Kung
K'it-yeung
Ko-chau
Ko-iu

合成公司
許
紅契
葉
士
市
義
祠
耀
華
坊

滘堤洲
滘堤中股
鄉
滘堤下股
鄉
滘堤上股
鄉
金
雞
市
錦
湖
金
山
莊
金
山
市
金
村
吉
九
江

狗
脾
沖
企
山
海
市

奇
盛
里

腳
車
景
器
公

揭
陽

高
州

高
要
Koon-chau
Kongmoon
Koo-chaak Heung
Koo-chau Market
Koo-pin Heung
Koo-sheng Ooi
Koo-ue
kung-fan-t'iu
Kung-on Market
Kung-shau Ho
Kung-woh Market
Kung-yik
Kwaan
Kwaan Ch'iu-ho
Kwaan Ch'iu-in
Kwaan Chiu-tsun
Kwaan Chiu-tsung
Kwaan Chuk-ju
Kwaan Chuk-t'ong
Kwaan Chung
Kwaan Foo
Kwaan Hoi-man
Kwaan Hoi-tung
Kwaan K'ai-wa
Kwaan K'am-shek
Kwaan K'ei-fong

高明
江門
古都
市
儒
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市
市

Kwaan K'ei-piu
Kwaan Kei-shaan
Kwaan Kin-om
Kwaan Kwan-iu
Kwaan Kwok-lim
Kwaan Kung
Kwaan I-man
Kwaan I-yung
Kwaan Laap-man
Kwaan Lim-fong
Kwaan Man-ch'i
Kwaan Man-uen
Kwaan Noi-hon T'sz
Kwaan P'o-t'in
Kwaan P'ooi-kwan
Kwaan Shung-iu
Kwaan Shung-taat
Kwaan Shung-wing
Kwaan Sui-ch'eung
Kwaan Sui-kwan
Kwaan Sz-lim
Kwaan Sz-uen
Kwaan Tak-kei
Kwaan Ting-kit
Kwaan Ting-lit
Kwaan T'ing-taat
Kwaan Tso-ming
Kwong-uen Primary School
Kwong-yik

laan
Laan-kwai Fong
Lai
Lai-tung Heung
Lam Kwong-uen
Lau
Lau Him
Lau-kong
Lau-sha Bus Company
Lei
lei
Lei Hei-chim
Lei Kaai-shing
Lei-shing Company
Lei Ts'au-t'in
Lei-ts'uen Market
Lei-t'ung
Leung
Leung-uet Ancestral Hall
Leung-uet Primary School
Lim-chau
Lim-kong
Lin-foh Lei
Ling-naam University
Ling-shaan
Na-loh Ts'uen
Na-t'ung Public Road
Naam-hoi
Naam-hung
Naam-lau High School
Naam-woh Lei
Naam-yeung Chong
Nai-hoi
New Paaksha
Ng
Ng Cheuk-fong
Ng-ch'uen
Ng-heung Primary School
Ng K'ai-tung
Ng Lo-in
Ng Luen-ts'ing
Ng T'ing-ching
Ng Ting-san
Ng Tsun
Ng-wing Heung

Ngau-hin-t'ung Public Road
Ngau-hui Road
Ngau-laan-tai
Ngau-lo-t'au Ts'uen
Ngau-min-sha
Ngau-t'ong Ts'uen
ngoi-chaak-t'in
nim-tsz
nin-leung
Ning-yeung Railway
nung-ooi

Oo Hiu-ts'uen
Oo Hon-in
Oo-lung
Oo T'ing-naam
Oo Yik-chau
Ooi-t'ung
Ooi-wa-uen

Paak-che-maa Public Road
Paak-hop
Paak-laap Shaan
Paak-sha Market
Paak-sha Heung
P'aang Hing-wan
Pak-hing Lei
Pak-im
Pak-kaai
Pak-t'aam Heung
P'ing-on Heung
P'ing-p'ing Bus Company
P'ing-sam Market
P'ing-shaam
P'ing-yeung Railway
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Po-luk Shue-uen</td>
<td>史氏書院</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Po-on</td>
<td>安全生公司</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Po-on Kuk</td>
<td>捕屬車路公司</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P'o-shaang Company</td>
<td>宝仔保安局</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Po-shuk Bus Company</td>
<td>波羅中西鄉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po-tsai</td>
<td>波羅東南鄉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po-tsai</td>
<td>波羅市</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poh-loh Chung-sai Heung</td>
<td>波羅村</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poh-loh Tung-naam Heung</td>
<td>番禺</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poh-Loh Market</td>
<td>波羅本地</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P'oon-ts'uen</td>
<td>三埠</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P'oon-ue</td>
<td>三江里</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punti</td>
<td>三門里</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saam-fau</td>
<td>三水三堡医院</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saam-kong</td>
<td>新水細戶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saam-moon Lei</td>
<td>新新心</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saam-po I-yuan</td>
<td>新星興</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saam-shui</td>
<td>新新新禮里</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sai-oo</td>
<td>新興里</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sai-tsai</td>
<td>新新新禮里</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam-shoh</td>
<td>安里</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San-ch'eung</td>
<td>新新新禮里</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San-hing</td>
<td>新新新禮里</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San-hing Lei</td>
<td>新新新禮里</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San-k'iu Market</td>
<td>新新新禮里</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San-ling Lei</td>
<td>新新新禮里</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San-on</td>
<td>新新新禮里</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
San-ts'uen
San-ooi
San-uen Lei
Sha-chau Market
Sha-im-paak Bus Company
Sha-im-paak Public Road
Sha-kong
Sha-meen
Sha-oo Market
Sha-tei Ts'uen
Sha-t'in
Sha-waan Market
Shaang-kai
Sham Ch'un-huen
Sham Ping-k'eung
Shau-ch'e
She
She-pin
Shek
Shek-tsz-kong Ts'uen
Sheng-tung Heung
Sheng-sai Heung
Sheung Lung-chau-t'ong
Shing-lei
Shing-p'ing Kuk
Shing-p'ing Market
Shing-t'ong Market
Sz-t'o Ch'tiu
Sz-t'o I
Sz-t'o I-fung
Sz-t'o K'ei
Sz-t'o King-hung
Sz-t'o Kwong
Sz-t'o Luen
Sz-t'o Shan
Sz-t'o Uen
Sz-t'o Yau-paak
Sz-yap

Taai-in High School
Taai-kaang-oo
Taai-kong Heung
T'aai-koo
t'aai-kung-t'in
Taai-lei Company
Taai-lung Ts'uen
Taai-ng Ts'uen
Taai-t'ung Bank
Taai-t'ung Market
Taai-t'ung Primary School
Taai-uen Dam
T'aam
T'aam Hok-poh
T'aam Hung

司徒潮
司徒義
司徒聰鳳
司徒琦
司徒競雄
司徒光
司徒聯
司徒蓮
司徒友白
四邑

大賢學校
大耕戶
大岡鄉
太古
太公田
大利公司
大隆村
大梧村
大通銀行
大同市
大同小學
大沅波
譚
譚鶴坡
譚洪
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese Characters</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T'aam-k'ai Heung</td>
<td>T'aam-k'ai Market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'aam-nga Heung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'aam-pik Heung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'aam-pin-uen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'aam River</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'aam Saam-ts'oi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'aam Shun-k'ui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'aam Suen-t'ing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang Chung-chaak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tang-liu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang Saam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teng-shing Kuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tik-hoi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'in-hau Temple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin-paak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'in-po</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'in-sam Market</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'in-sam Ts'uen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ting-iu Kung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiu-lau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To-huk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'o-k'eung Primary School</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To-tang Heung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'o-t'ong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'oh-fuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
T'oh-fuk Bus Company
T'oh-fuk Public Road
T'oh-fuk Tung
T'oi-shaan
T'oi-tung
T'ong-hau Market
T'ong-hung Heung
T'ong-tai Street
Ts'ai-hin-t'ung Bus Company
Ts'ai-hin-t'ung Public Road
Ts'ai-t'ong
Ts'ang
Ts'ang-sheng
Tse
Tse Tsok-hong
Tse Yik-pan
Tseung-laan Heung
Ts'ik
Ts'ing-fan Pit'sui
Ts'ong-sheng
Ts'uen-shing Tsung-kuk
Ts'ui-man
Tsun-kong
Ts'ung-hing She
Ts'ung-k'ai Primary School
Ts'ung-long Heung
Tsz-shin Shue-uen
Waang-shek Heung
Waang-shaan Heung-t'uen
Wa-hip Ooi
Wa-kwai Lei
Wai-chau (Wai-yeung)
Wan-fau
Wing-on Company
Woh-lim Dam
Woh-t'ong New Village
Woh-yik Company
Wong
Wong Heung-laan
Wong Hin-t'ong
Wong Hon-kwong
Wong Po-shue

Yam-chau
Yan-hoi Kung-yeuk
Yan-p'ing
Yan-waang Kung
Yan-woh Lei
Yeung
Yeung-ch'un
Yeung-kong
Yeung-lau
Yeung-lo Chung Heung
Yeung-lo Sai-heung
Yeung-lo Tung-heung
Yeung River
Yik-kei Company
Yung Chiu-mong
Yuk-sau Lei
Yuk-yan Kung
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Mandarin Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chang Fa-k'uei</td>
<td>chang-fang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang T'ai-lei</td>
<td>chang-t'ai-tieh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen-chang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'en Chi-t'ang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'en Chiung-ming</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen-ju Chen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Kung-so</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'en Lien-po</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen-min Ta-hui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'en Ming-shu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'en Ping-kun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'en Tu-hsiu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chia-chang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chia-chang-fu-hsiung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chia-ch'ing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiang Kai-shek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiao-hsiang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chiao-yu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'i'en-chuang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'i'en-lung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chien-sheng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chih-fu
Chih-hsien
Chin Dynasty
chin-shih
Ch'ing Dynasty
Ch'ing-ming
Chou Dynasty
Ch'ü
Chü
Ch'ü-chang
chu-jen
Ch'ü Kung-so
er-fang
er lao-yeh
er t'ai-yeh
er yeh
fang
feng-shui
fu
fu
fu-mu hui
Hankow
han-lin
Ho-lung
Hsiang
Hsiang-i-chü
Hsiang-i-hui
Hsiang Kung-so
Hsiang-min Ta-hui
Hsiang-t'uan
Hsien
Hsien-chang
Hsien-ch'eng
Hsien-feng
hsing-hsiang
Hsing-hua New Village
hsiu-ts'ai
hsü
Hsu Ch'ung-chih
Hsuan-t'ung
Hsueh Yueh
Hsun-chien
Hsun-tao
Hu
Hu Han-min
hua-ch'iao
Huang Mu-sung
Huang Shao-hung
I-ch'eng
i-yuan

鄉議局
鄉公所
鄉民大會
鄉團
長榮
豐
行
華
新村
秀
才
許崇智
宣統
薛
巡
訓
導
胡
漢
民
僑
黃
慕
松
黃
紹
雄

I
醫院
Min-kuo

min-t'uan

men-kuan

Mo Jung-hsin

mou

Nanchang
	nu

P'ai

Pai Ch'ung-shi

Pao

Pao-chang

Pao-chia

Pao-shang

Peiyang Warlords

P'eng P'ai

Shang-t'uan

shen-shang

Sheng Hung-ying

sheng-yuan

Shun-chih

Soo Chow

Su Chao-cheng

Sun Fo
Sun Yat-sen
Sung Chiao-jen
Sung Dynasty
sung-tse chung-hsiung
Szechwan

Ta Ts' u-t'ang
ta-yeh
t'ai-yeh
T'ang
T'ang Chi-yao
Teng Chung-hsia
Tang Pen-yin
Tao-kuang
ti-fang tzu-chih
Ti-pao
T'ien hou
Tien-shih
t'ing
tou
Ts'en Ch'un-hsuan
ts u
Ts'un
Ts'un-min Ta'hui
Tsung-chu
Tsungli Yamen
Tsung-she
T'uan
Tuan Ch'i-jui
T'uan-lien
T'ung-chih

Wang Ching-wei
Wu-chang Uprising
Wu-hsi
Wu-hu

Yeh Chien-ying
Yeh Chu
Yeh T'ing
Yu Hon-mou
Yuan
Yuan Shih-k'ai
yueh
yueh-so
Yung-cheng
Yung-feng Gun-boat
Yunnan Warlords
3. TRANSLATED TERMS

Association for the Defence of Hoi-p'ing in Hong Kong
Bureau for the Management of Hsien Finance
Bureau of Overseas Chinese Affairs
Butchers' Union
Carpenters' Union (Woodworkers' Union)
Cement Workers' Union
Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association
Civil Affairs Department
Corporate Property Re-organizing Committee
Cow Market
Department of Public Security
Department of Public Works
deputy
Double Nine Festival
Dress Makers' Union
Earth God
Eastern Che-hom
Education Affairs Committee
Education Bureau
Education Conference
Education Department
Education Land Titles Clarification Committee
Finance Department
First High School of Hoi-p'ing
follower
Fortress Tax
Fortress Tax Bureau
Goddess of Heaven
Hoi-p'ing Association
Hoi-p'ing Daily
Hoi-p'ing Morning Newspaper
Hoi-p'ing Scholar-gentry Circle in Canton
Hong Kong Hoi-p'ing Chamber of Commerce
Hsien Consultative Assemblies
Hsien Defence Board
Hsien Land Registration Office
Hsien Militia Headquarters
Hsien Mortgage and Property Tax Bureau
Institute of Correct Behaviour
Institute for the Promotion of Education
irregular gentry
KMT Party Office
Kwaan's Pier
Kwangtung-Kwangsi Dialect School
Labourer's General Union
leader
Local Police Recruiting and Training Institute
Local Self-Government Affairs Bureau
long life club
long life tablets
Machinist Union
master of ceremony
Model Village
new gentry
new village
People's Army
People's Militia
pig club
Police Corps
Public Transportation Workers' Union
regular gentry
Restaurants and Tea - houses Workers' Union
Self-Defence Corps
Self-government Bureau
Sha-kong Defence League
Sha-t'in Titles Clarification Bureau
Shun-tak Corporation
Upper Che-hom
wet firewood
Women's Association for the Promotion of National Products
Women's League
Women's Rights Movement Consolidated Association