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Traditional
Society
and
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Traditional Society in Tai Po

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Foreword

Tai Po is located in east New Territories, with Tolo Harbour bordering on its east side. It was known in the ancient times as Tai Po Sea, a stopover supply station in the north for the local officials in Kowloon. The traditional rural society in Tai Po should be similar to that in other regions of southern China. Yet what exactly is a "traditional rural society"? Here is a case study of Tai Po District.

During the Qing Dynasty, the Tai Po District was included in the Qing Court's "baojia" administrative system as the Sixth Sector ("du"). In the 18th year of the Shunzhi Reign (1661), in order to prevent contact between residents in Guangdong-Fujian and the Zhengs in Taiwan, the Qing Court ordered the villagers on the coastal areas in these two provinces to move inland. This was known as the "coastal evacuation" policy. In the 8th year of the Kangxi Reign (1669), the threats were removed and the Qing Court reinstated the original territory, and residents were able to resettle in the area. At the time the Xin'an County Head divided the county into seven sectors in order to enhance administration of the region. There were 146 villages in the Sixth Sector, including Tai Po Tau, Tai Hang Village, Lam Tsuen, Wun Yiu Village and Cheung Shue Tan Village in present-day Tai Po.¹

However, the division of administration based on the "baojia" system was never the real community organisation within the district. This article discusses the indigenous organisation of Tai Po's traditional society by drawing on incidences in Cheung Shue Tan Village and Lam Tsuen. The section on Cheung Shue Tan relies on my own study in 2007, while the Lam Tsuen study references the New Territories Oral History Archives Project in 1981 to 1982, led by David Faure.

Man Mo Temple Incident in 1899

During the Qing Dynasty, community activities were mostly organised around the ancestral halls or the temples. In Tai Po, Man Mo Temple was the most frequented community centre. In 1899, the village gentry staged a vehement protest

in Man Mo Temple against the British police's attempt to build Tai Po Police Station, highlighting the temple's special status in history. On 9 June 1898 (21st day of the fourth lunar month of the 24th Year of the Guangxu Reign), British Minister Sir Claude Maxwell MacDonald signed the Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong Territory with Li Hongzhang in Beijing, and leased the New Territories for 99 years. Soon after this, Hong Kong Governor Sir Henry Arthur Blake ordered Police Chief Henry May to construct a police lookout in the Tai Wo area of Tai Po's new market. The plan was to hold a ceremony there to mark the takeover of the New Territories on 17 April 1899. Construction of the police lookout had already begun on 28 March 1899, but when Henry May went there for inspection on 31 March, he noticed that while the structure was built the workers were nowhere to be found. He also came upon a notice in Tai Po calling for an anti-British struggle. When Sir Henry Arthur Blake learnt of the news, he telegraphed Joseph Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, and went to Guangzhou immediately to meet with Tan Zhonglin, the Viceroy of Guangdong and Guangxi, through whom he commanded the village gentry not to instigate any incidents. On 3 April, Henry May went to Tai Po again, accompanied by six Sikh policemen, five soldiers borrowed from the Chinese base in Kowloon City and a translator, and negotiated with the village gentry in Man Mo Temple in Tai Wo Market. The gentry representatives emphasised that the police lookout must be demolished. When May refused this demand, a large group of villagers rushed into the temple and attacked him and his entourage with bricks, sticks, chairs, wooden buckets and broomsticks. May managed to run for cover in the police lookout. By this time, Man Cham Chuen of Tai Hang Village had sent requests to other villages for help in attacking Henry May. Help arrived after night fell and the villagers were ready to take over the police lookout. Although Henry May fled the scene eventually, the police lookout was completely destroyed by fire. In the early morning of 4 April, Sir Henry Arthur Blake ordered General W.J. Gascoigne and Colonial Secretary James Stewart Lockhart to lead 100 royal soldiers on two navy vessels to Tai Po. When the British troops arrived at 11 a.m., the villagers fled. Lockhart viewed this attack as a political incident, in which villagers in Tai

Po revolted against the British Government, and insisted that the village gentry must be severely punished. Sir Henry Arthur Blake, on the other hand, believed that the incident was caused by misunderstanding and rumours, and the village gentry should be treated with lenience. On 16 April, the British flag was raised in Tai Po under the direction of Lockhart, marking the official start of British rule in the New Territories.²

The anti-British struggle on 3 April in Tai Po embodied two incidents. First was the negotiation between Henry May and the village gentry and their eventual confrontation; the second was Man Cham Chuen's call for arms to attack May. Comparing the two incidents, the first seemed to have happened spontaneously, but the second was planned. Either way, Man Mo Temple's special status as the centre of Tai Po's community life is clear.

Geopolitical Ties Versus Ancestral Ties

Man Mo Temple was built in the 19th year of the Guangxu Reign (1893). Its very existence tipped the balance of the pre-existing commercial order in the area. It was a challenge to the Tang lineage's power by the indigenous Man lineage of Tai Hang and other Hakka villages.

The Tangs of Tai Po Tau are indigenous people and they share the same ancestry as the Tang lineage of Lung Yeuk Tau in Fanling, the most influential lineage in the New Territories during the Ming Dynasty. The two lineages are both descendants of Song Dynasty's royalty. While the Tangs in Lung Yeuk Tau lost much of their influence during the Qing Dynasty, the Tangs in Tai Po Tau took advantage of fellow Tangs' reputation in Lung Yeuk Tau and built up strong influence in Tai Po. King Law Ka Shuk (King Law Family Study Hall) in Tai Po was named after Tang King Law, an ancestor from the 10th generation, and inside the main hall, named Lau Kwong Tong, respects are paid to every ancestor in the Tang lineage. Ancestral ties weave the Tang community together in Tai Po and such strong familial affinity is rare in the district.³ In the 11th year of the Kangxi Reign (1672), with backing from the Tangs in Lung

Yeuk Tau, the Tangs in Tai Po Tau successfully obtained permission from the Government to open and operate Tai Po Tau Market, thereby monopolising commercial activities in Tai Po.⁴

From a commercial perspective, Tai Po Tau Market had all the advantages geography could offer. As it faced Tai Po Sea, fishermen could anchor their boats at the edge of the market and sell their catch there. The market was also within walking distance from the villages on the northern coast of Tai Po Sea. In addition, villagers in Fanling, north of Tai Po, could reach Tai Po Tau Market by land transportation and trade goods there. The areas in the south of Tai Po, namely Lek Yuen and Wu Kai Sha, were also connected to Tai Po Tau Market by land. Even from as far as Sai Kung in the southeast, Tai Po Tau Market was accessible by sea. Not only could the Tang family wholesale and retail at Tai Po Tau Market, but they could also earn substantial profits by leasing the stores in the market to merchants.⁵

During the Qing Dynasty, the only rivals of the Tangs in Tai Po were the Mans in Tai Hang, who prided themselves as being the descendants of famous general Man Tin Cheung of the Southern Song Dynasty. Ancestors of the Mans settled in Tai Hang during the late Yuan and early Ming Dynasty, and they owned a substantial amount of land in Tai Po. Although they were forced to migrate during the Qing Dynasty's coastal evacuation policy, the 14th generation ancestors built an ancestral hall soon after the family resettled in Tai Po. Since the mid-Qing Dynasty, many of the Mans had started businesses and accumulated significant wealth. However, in terms of influence, they still slightly lagged behind the Tangs of Tai Po Tau.⁶

In order to expand their sphere of influence, the Mans of Tai Hang formed an alliance – the Alliance of Seven (Tsat Yeuk) – with a number of villages in Tai Po in the 12th year of the Tongzhi Reign (1873). The "Seven" included Tai Hang yeuk, Fanling yeuk, Cheung Shue Tan yeuk, Lam Tsuen yeuk, Jap Wo yeuk, Ting Kok yeuk and Chap Wo yeuk, which were the main areas populated by people of Hakka origin after the coastal evacuation policy.⁷



The Alliance of Seven came into being for the physical protection of its members, but more importantly, it was a means to fight for the resources in Tai Po. Operating markets was indeed a lucrative business that generated huge profits. In the 18th year of the Guangxu Reign (1892), the Alliance of Seven aggregated their financial resources and applied to Xin'an County for a new market across the river from Tai Po Tau Market. Their application was approved in the same year and in the 19th year of the Guangxu Reign (1893), Tai Wo New Market was officially open for business in Fu Shin Street, with 28 stores on the two sides of the main street. Man Mo Temple, located in the centre of the street, served as the market's management facility.

The new market in Tai Wo saw business flourish and soon surpassed the old market, or Tai Po Tau Market. Key to this development was the construction of Kwong Fuk Bridge. In its early days, Tai Wo market did not have a lot of business, largely due to the lack of access. The area south of the new market was sparsely populated, with only the villages of Cheung Shue Tan and Wun Yiu. The more populated areas, such as Fanling, Tai Hang, Jap Wo, Lam Tsuen and Ting Kok, were all on the other side of the river. It was very inconvenient for the villagers to access the new market as they had to take a boat trip. In the 22nd year of the Guangxu Reign (1896), the Alliance of Seven pulled enough resources together to build Kwong Fuk Bridge connecting the northern and southern banks of the river. After that, business improved and Tai Wo Market gradually took over the old market as the biggest market in Tai Po.⁸

The rise of Tai Wo Market reflected two important developments in Tai Po's local history. First, it reflected the rise of the Hakka villages – among the Alliance of Seven, five allies were of Hakka origin. It should also be noted that part of the land in Tai Wo Market was donated by the Ma lineage of Wun Yiu, which belonged to the Jap Wo yeuk of Hakka origin. Second, it signified the emergence of geopolitical alliances in Tai Po, which successfully challenged the traditional ancestral ties represented by the Tang family.

Ancestral Halls within the Alliance of Seven

Nevertheless, the nature of geopolitical alliances should not be misunderstood, as there were in fact blood relations within the Alliance of Seven. The Mans of Tai Hang, for example, have enjoyed a long influential history in the New Territories. As early as the early Qing Dynasty, they had established an ancestral hall to manage lineage properties, and all important expenses were paid by the ancestral hall, the scale of which was comparable to Lau Kwong Tong of the Tang Ancestral Hall in Tai Po Tau. Even though other villages were homes to different lineages, familial ties were still the predominant bonds among the villagers. There were ancestral halls in these villages as well, and Cheung Shue Tan Village is a good example.

Early records of Cheung Shue Tan Village can be traced to early Qing, in the 8th year of the Kangxi Reign (1669). When the Qing Court approved resettlement after the coastal evacuation policy, villagers old and new moved into Tai Po once again. In *Gazetter of Xin'an County* of the 27th year of the Kangxi Reign (1688), one of the villages in Tai Po was named and it was Cheung Shue Tan Village.⁹ In the 12th year of the Tongzhi Reign (1873), Cheung Shue Tan Village joined neighbouring Chek Nai Ping Village to become the Cheung Shue Tan yeuk of the Alliance of Seven. At the time, there were five lineages in the yeuk, the Wans, the Yaus, the Kongs, the Lees and the Chengs, all of which were of Hakka origin. However, in 1905 the Hong Kong Government implemented the Land Registry¹⁰ and some land was taken from Cheung Shue Tan Village to found Tai Po Mei Village.¹¹ Most of that land belonged to the Lees, who consequently left Cheung Shue Tan Village. Four lineages were left in Cheung Shue Tan Village, namely the Wans, the Yaus, the Kongs and the Chengs.¹² After the 1920s, when the Chengs left Cheung Shue Tan Village, only the Wans, the Yaus and the Kongs remained.¹³

Ancestral ties are very important to the Wans, Yaus and Kongs in Cheung Shue Tan Village. Even today, lineage remains the centre of their association and the essence of their bonding. The Wans were the earliest settlers of Cheung Shue Tan. The Wan Ancestral Hall in the village we see today was in fact rebuilt in 1982. The hall is of a single unit and the inner chamber Sam Sing Tong is supported by one pillar bearing the words, "All Venerated Ancestors of the Wans Are Remembered Here in Order." There are no stone inscriptions in the Wan Ancestral Hall, but on the walls is hung a mirror frame, on which the names of 22 donors and their donation amounts, totalling 70,000 dollars in 1982, are written. According to an interview with Mr. Wan Wah, manager of Sam Sing Tong of the Wan Ancestral Hall and aged 54 in 2007, there used to be a genealogy of the Wan surname in the hall but it was destroyed by fire. When Mr. Wan became manager of the Ancestral Hall in 2003, he began compiling the genealogy again. According to this genealogy, the founding ancestor of the Wans in Cheung Shue Tan was Wan Hon Yeung. He had two sons, Chun Fai the elder brother and Chun Chung the younger. The two sons each had descendants and the Wans in the village naturally broke down into two major branches. Mr. Wan Wah himself belongs to the younger son's line in the sixth generation. He recalled twice-yearly ancestral worship rituals at the ancestral hall when he was young, held on the last day of the lunar year and the second day of the Chinese New Year. In addition, when villagers had a new born son, they would light lanterns at the ancestral hall during the Chinese New Year. Unfortunately, these practices have now become obsolete – the new generation of the Wans no longer follows these traditions.¹⁴

Although Cheung Shue Tan is home to different lineages, today's residents mostly have the surname Yau. The Yaus of Cheung Shue Tan shared the same ancestry with the Yaus of neighbouring Chek Nai Ping Village. According to Mr. Yau Tat Kam, a villager of Chek Nai Ping Village (also named Yau Kwai and aged 95 in 2007), the Yaus came from Fujian. They migrated to Guangdong and then came south to

the New Territories. There were four main branches among the Yaus and they lived in Lam Tsuen Village, San Uk Tsai Village, Chek Nai Ping Village and Cheung Shue Tan Village respectively. The founding ancestor of the Cheung Shue Tan branch, Chan Fei, was the youngest of the four branches, and came to settle in Cheung Shue Tan more than 200 years ago.¹⁵ According to an interview with Mr. Yau Chun Yuen of Cheung Shue Tan Village, the Chan Fei branch had five smaller branches. He himself belongs to the line of the eldest son, Chiu Yuen.¹⁶ The Yau Ancestral Hall was named after the first founding ancestor, Chan Fei, who was also the backbone of the Yaus lineage bonds. The ancestral hall is a building composed of two halls and one courtyard. There are couplets on the wall of the Hall, bearing words commemorating the Yaus' resettlement from Boluo County in Guangdong Province 300 years ago. The Yau Ancestral Hall is the venue for celebratory rituals and ancestral worship twice yearly on Chinese New Year's Eve and the second day of the Chinese New Year. As to worshipping the graves of their ancestors, the Yaus only practise that at Chung Yeung Festival, paying respects to their ancestors buried in Lam Tsuen and Sai Kung. Besides worshipping ancestors locally, the Yaus also organise "ancestral worship tours" to Boluo to pay veneration to much older ancestors.¹⁷



Ancestral Hall of Yau Chan Fei in Cheung Shue Tan, where Yau Chan Fei was the founding ancestor for the Yau lineage. (Photography by Tsui Yuen Ling)



Currently, fifteen to sixteen families from the Kong lineage remain in Cheung Shue Tan. The Kong Ancestral Hall (renovated in 2006) is a single unit with an inner chamber, where the ancestors are worshipped. According to Mr. Kong Ming, aged 50 in 2007, the Kongs in the village originated from the town of Choukou Market in Huaiyang County of Henan Province, and the lineage has over 200 years of history in Tai Po. He belongs to the sixth generation of the Kongs in Cheung Shue Tan Village. Every year at Chung Yeung Festival, the Kongs travel to Sai Kung, where the tomb of their founding ancestor is, for ancestral worship.¹⁸

Thus we see Cheung Shue Tan Village was organised based on lineage. Each lineage, with the ancestral hall as its centre, was independent from one another.

The Unifying Power of the Temples

In villages like Cheung Shue Tan where different villagers reside, those of different lineages could lead separate lives, keeping to themselves their own ancestral heritage. If a union was to be formed, there had to be an overarching focus of the community at large that was based on geopolitical ties, and the temples came in as the unifying force for these lineages.

Hip Tin Temple in Cheung Shue Tan, originally built by the Wan ancestors to worship Kwan Tai (Guan Yu), was renovated in the 10th lunar month of the 24th year of the Gaungxu Reign (1898). After renovation, Hip Tin Temple had one manager (Lee Shing Ching), eight deputy managers including two from the Lee family (Lee Shing Bun and Lee Sau Hoi), two from the Wan family (Wan Hok Bun and Wan Hok Fui), two from the Yau family (Yau Yin Man and Yau Kwok), one from the Cheng family (Cheng Shi Bun) and one from the Kong family (Kong Kwan Shing). Before the emergence of the village commons, Hip Tin Temple was the most powerful organisation in the village.



Hip Tin Temple in Cheung Shue Tan, worshipping Kwan Tai, was built in 1898. (Photography by Tsui Yuen Ling)

It is noteworthy that, despite the division of the administrative districts, Hip Tin Temple's significance as the village's communal building was not altered. After the Land Registry in 1905, the Lees moved to an independent village named Tai Po Mei Village but they remained important members of the original community. In the second year of the Xuantong Reign (1910), Hip Tin Temple's inscription stone was restored and the original five families were still represented in the management of the temple (Lee Kei Peng, Lee Shing Gwun, Lee Kei Wah, Wan Hok Bun, Kong Kwan Shing, Cheng Shi Bun and Yau Yin Man). To pay respect to Kwan Tai, the five families in Cheung Shue Tan Village and Tai Po Mei Village designated the 13th day of the 5th lunar month of each year to celebrate Kwan Tai's birthday. Celebrative activities included a performance of Chinese operas, tithing rituals lasting four days and five evenings, and prayers for good weather.¹⁹

As a geopolitical organisation at the peak of the village's power structure, Hip Tin Temple has always represented villagers who "rightfully" resided in Cheung Shue Tan and Tai Po Mei. Therefore, when the Chengs moved away from Cheung Shue Tan in the 1930s, only four lineages – the Wans, Yaus, Kongs and Lees – remained in the management of the temple. During the meetings of the Alliance of Seven, the four clans each sent one representative to speak and vote for Cheung Shue Tan.

In Tai Po, Lam Tsuen is another example where a temple was made an overarching communal centre for different clans. Lam Tsuen is not a village, but rather, politically speaking, a union of the 23 villages scattered in Lam Tsuen Valley (5 indigenous villages and 18 Hakka villages).²⁰ Lam Tsuen is believed to have been formed no later than when the 23 villages joined to build a temple to worship Tin Hau. If the bronze bell and cymbals in the temple are adequate indicators of its age, then Tin Hau Temple of Lam Tsuen should have been built around the 36th year of the Qianlong Reign (1771).²¹

The joint effort by the villages to build a temple was intended as a means of mutual protection under Tin Hau's blessing, and to jointly fight against attacks by neighbouring enemies. The most conspicuous proof of this intent is the "martyrs for the village" worship chamber next to Tin Hau Temple. According to the inscription there, during the late Guangxu or early Tongzhi Reign, Lam Tsuen was constantly bullied by a village in Fanling. One time the other villagers invaded Lam Tsuen. Although Lam Tsuen managed to fend off the enemies, twelve of its villagers died during the confrontation. In order to commemorate these twelve martyrs, the worship chamber was placed next to Tin Hau Temple.²² According to a field survey conducted by David Faure, in the 1980s, Lam Tsuen's invaders were the Tangs in Lung Yeuk Tau.²³ However, Puk Wing Kin is sceptical of this explanation. At many of Lam Tsuen's "ta-tsiu" festivals, the villagers invited Tin Hau of the Tai Po Tau Market which was closely related to the Tangs of Lung Yeuk Tau. The Tai Po Tau Market Tin Hau was worshipped alongside the Lam Tsuen Tin Hau at the festival, and furthermore it was placed in the more prestigious position, on the right

of the Lam Tsuen Tin Hau. This shows that the Lam Tsuen community was somewhat subordinate to the Tangs of Lung Yeuk Tau during the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Based on this observation, Puk maintains that Lam Tsuen's invaders were not the Tangs of Lung Yeuk Tau, but rather, with further support from field rental records of Lam Tsuen, the Lius of Sheung Shui Wai.²⁴



Soul tablets of the martyrs for the village worshipped inside the Tin Hau Temple in Lam Tsuen. (Photography by Lo Wai Ling)

Whether Lam Tsuen's invaders were the Tangs of Lung Yeuk Tau or the Lius in Sheung Shui Wai, this incident has once again illustrated that geopolitical association could successfully challenge the prowess of ancestral association. By the mid-Qing Dynasty, temples had become a special feature of Tai Po's traditional society as the centre of civil organisation.

Traditional Society

If the temples were the centre of Tai Po's society during the mid-Qing Dynasty, what was traditional society like before the rise of the temples? Taking Lam Tsuen as an



example, Tin Hau Temple was the unifying force for many villages in Lam Tsuen, but it was only built in the 36th year of the Qianlong Reign (1771), whereas Hip Tin Temple of Cheung Shue Tan was built even later, in the 24th year of the Guangxu Reign (1898).

The Chinese phrase "shehui" was translated from the English word "society" during the late Qing Dynasty. In ancient China, "hui" means "to congregate." The Chinese people could congregate for various purposes, one of which was to amass financial resources for investment (including the provision of loans). During my research in Cheung Shue Tan, I found hand-copied village rituals records, estimated to have come from the early 20th Century. There were four documents, all of which illustrated how a legal document for the court should be drafted when the head of a "yinhui", a local financial body, embezzled funds, suggesting that local financial bodies were common in Tai Po's villages.²⁵

Mr. Lee Tim Fook, the village chief of Tai Po Mei Village, confirmed that the villagers indeed formed financial bodies. One of these was called "tso-she" (doing the she). "She" was also referred to as "taai-wong" (great king) in Tai Po, and taai-wong and "paak-kung" were both deities of the earth. In fact, in Tai Po Mei Village, there was a smaller paak-kung altar next to the taai-wong altar. It is worth noting that the deities were worshipped by the villagers of both Tai Po Mei Village and Cheung Shue Tan Village, and the two altars are in fact found in Cheung Shue Tan Village. We can, therefore, deduce that the two altars existed before the founding of Tai Po Mei Village in 1905.

Paak-kung is accorded a high status by the villagers of Cheung Shue Tan Village and Tai Po Mei Village. In the past, when a woman was married into either of the two villages, she would have to pay her respects at the ancestral halls, then to paak-kung, before she finally headed for Hip Tin Temple.²⁶ Paak-kung was worshipped, in fact, to seek protection for the village from flooding by the sea. Today Cheung Shue Tan is no longer threatened by floods due to land reclamation, but in the olden days the paak-kung altar was placed right at the river mouth of the village. Thus went the saying that

paak-kung guarded the river mouth for the protection of the village.²⁷ Paak-kung was worshipped for an intended purpose, and paak-kung in Cheung Shue Tan and Tai Po Mei was deemed "Paak-kung Guarding the river mouth.")

"She" was different from paak-kung in that it had not been established for any particular purpose and represented the villagers' general well-being. In Cheung Shue Tan, even though taai-wong and paak-kung are placed next to each other, taai-wong's altar is bigger with an elegant couplet to underscore his importance, "Your grand blessings are venerated for thousand ages; Your generous favours keep millions of people safe." According to Mr. Lee Tim Fook, the village chief of Tai Po Mei Village, the yinhui, or tso-she, of Tai Po Mei Village was founded to raise funds to buy offerings for an important annual ritual to honour taai-wong, held in the first month of the lunar year. Furthermore, only male villagers over 60 years old could participate. A local folksong has the following reference, "the she meetings are organised for the elderly only," meaning that young people were not allowed to participate. Most of the villages in Lam Tsuen have ceased the she meetings, but our interviewees told us the money accumulated by the elderly in the villages was more than enough to cover the ritual offerings; indeed, enough to hold a nice feast for them.²⁸



Earth God Shrine in Cheung Shue Tan, in front of which the "tso-she" (doing the she) ceremony is held every year. (Photography by Tsui Yuen Ling)



The villagers today are no longer able to recall the exact year in which the taai-wong altar was built, yet this is indicative of the fact that the altar was probably built even earlier than Hip Tin Temple (1898). If this assumption is accurate, then there was indeed a she (society), centred on taai-wong, among the various clans in Cheung Shue Tan before Hip Tin Temple was built in the late 19th century. The building of a grand temple structure was only to replace the more primitive worship altar, just like the building of a modern village office later replaced the temple.

From "Doing the She" to "Doing the Nga"

In Cheung Shue Tan, the she altar and the temple served overlapping functions; but in Lam Tsuen, the temple played an unrivalled role in unifying the local villages. Its importance to organising the villages in Lam Tsuen was an exceptional phenomenon in Tai Po.

Tin Hau Temple in Lam Tsuen was built in 1771, but before that, more than twenty villages in Lam Tsuen had already established communities organised around different she altars. For example, the Cheungs in Wai Tau Village did not found their own ancestral hall, according to a study in 1981, but taai-wong was worshipped and every family in the village would pool resources to buy offerings for the annual ritual during the Chinese New Year.²⁹ Chung Uk Village is another example – although there was an ancestral hall in the village, the custom of she was alive well before World War II.³⁰

Some of the she altars in Lam Tsuen were built to protect more than one village. Ping Long, Ma Po Mei and Tai Yeung Che shared one she altar, and on the first day of the Chinese New Year villagers of the three villages would all go to the altar to worship taai-wong.³¹ The villagers of San Tong, Siu Om Shan, Tai Om, and Lung A Pei also shared the same she. The she meeting (or "doing the she") was held twice a year – the spring meeting on the 15th day

of the first month of the lunar year and the autumn meeting on the 15th day of the seventh month, and an enormous feast would be held during the meetings.³² Meanwhile, Ng Tung Chai Village and Chai Kek Village also shared the same she and villagers worshipped its taai-wong during the Chinese New Year.³³ When the villages shared the same she, they maintained a friendly relationship between them.

In spite of the shared she altars, the real development of village alliance came when Tin Hau Temple was built in the 36th year of the Qianlong Reign (1771). During the early stages of construction, work was temporarily suspended due to financial difficulties. Tang Chim Yat, a passer-by, extended a helping hand. The villagers were grateful to him and paid respects to the spirit tablets of him and his wife placed inside the temple.³⁴ David Faure found Tang's name in the genealogy of the Tang lineage in Ping Shan, Yuen Long, which shows that he was alive (1737-1802) during the Qianlong Reign. Faure thus surmises that the generous benefactor whose donation enabled the completion of Lam Tsuen's Tin Hau Temple was Tang Chim Yat of Ping Shan, Yuen Long. This benefactor was highly regarded by the villagers in Lam Tsuen villages precisely because he did not belong to any of the villages there. His generosity was purely gratuitous, as the Tangs in Ping Shan had no vested interest in the land in Lam Tsuen.³⁵

After Tin Hau Temple was built, a set of ritual rules also appeared. I suspect that the emergence of "luk kaap" (six kaap) organisation followed this development. Luk kaap divided the twenty villages in Lam Tsuen into six districts, known as "kaap", and this division is, in fact, still preserved today. The six kaap divisions are as follows. The first kaap includes Tai Om Shan Village, Ping Long Village, Lung A Pei Village, Siu Om Shan Village, Tin Liu Ha Village, San Tong Village and Lin Au Village. The second kaap includes Chai Kek Village, Shui Wo Village and Tai Om Village. The third kaap includes San Village She Shan Village and San Uk Tsai Village. The fourth kaap includes Tai Yeung Che Village, Pak Ngau Shek Village, Ng Tung Chai Village and Ma Po Mei Village. The fifth kaap includes Tong Sheung



Tin Hau Temple in Lam Tsuen, built in 1771. (Photography by Lo Wai Ling)

Village, Chung Uk Village and Fong Ma Po Village. The sixth kaap includes Hang Ha Po Village, Wai Tau Village and Nam Wah Po Village.³⁶ From the first month of the lunar year, each kaap takes their turn to worship Tin Hau, and this practice was known as "tso-nga", or doing the nga (nga meeting). During these meetings, the villages in the respective kaap would collect money from the village elder to purchase offerings for Tin Hau. After the ritual, there would be a feast and each family of that particular kaap would send a representative.³⁷ The worship of Tin Hau united the twenty villages in Lam Tsuen and, when the need arose, villagers could be called for service according to this arrangement of the six kaap. Indeed, the defence against the attack by a Fanling lineage during the 19th century was very likely to have been arranged based on this system, and so was the forming of the Alliance of Seven in 1874.

However, the tso-nga meeting was still considered an internal affair for each kaap. If the villagers wished to establish closer relationships with another kaap, the next step would be to establish joint property. The construction of Tai Wo New Market in 1893 by the Alliance of Seven provided such an opportunity. When the new market was opened, Man Mo Temple was built in the centre of Fu Shin Street, with stores on both sides of it. Each yeuk was entitled to four stores and there were 28 stores in total.³⁸ According to oral history, the six kaap in Lam Tsuen raised 280 dollars and bought four stores at Tai Wo New Market in the name of Luk Wo Tong³⁹, and leased the stores for profit. From then on, the six kaap established joint property for the benefit of all villagers.⁴⁰

The establishment of Luk Wo Tong facilitated the

financing of communal activities in the villages, the most important of which is ta-tsiu, (celebrating the tsiu) held every nine years for five days and six nights. According to Mr. Cheung Chi Fan, the chairman of the Lam Tsuen ta-tsiu Committee in 1990, the purpose of the festive activities was to offer gratitude to the deities and to let the villagers bond.⁴¹ Here, the role of the festival as a means of bonding should not be overlooked. During the festival, all the taai-wong and paak-kung worshipped by different villages in Lam Tsuen will be worshipped together by everyone. It was a meeting of the deities, as well as their witnessing the villagers' goodwill and alliance. It was not easy to hold a good festival. Besides enormous manpower, a large amount of money was needed. For example, during the festival in 1981, the troupe cost 210,000 dollars, the stage cost over 100,000 dollars to build, and the naam-mo (Daoist priests) were hired for 100,000 dollars.⁴² It was not clear how much was spent on the festival in 1999, but Lam Tsuen raised two million dollars to pay for the expenses. Besides donations from the villagers, Luk Wo Tong alone contributed 800,000 dollars.⁴³ Furthermore, Luk Wo Tong was the main organiser of the event. Before the festival began in 1981, the village chief of Wai Tau Village collected donations from the villagers and recorded the names of donors. The list was then submitted to Luk Wo Tong, to be used in the ritual ceremony.⁴⁴ Apart from organising ta-tsiu, Luk Wo Tong was also responsible for the Tin Hau birthday celebrations in the third lunar month. On that day, elderly villagers over 60 years old are invited to a feast paid for by Luk Wo Tong.⁴⁵

As Luk Wo Tong was the holder of communal property in Lam Tsuen, it was naturally responsible for the communal expenses of Lam Tsuen as well as other administrative affairs. In the words of Ma Po Mei Village representative Mr. Leung Sai Yuk (81 at the time of interview), "Luk Wo Tong, made up by the 24 villages in Lam Tsuen, is the administrative organ for village affairs. It is responsible for village property and forestry, including the Tin Hau Temple. It also collects money for the spring and autumn worship rituals. Autumn Equinox is in the last ten days of the eighth lunar month, and financial support is provided by Luk Wo Tong and the committee members every year to conduct

worship at Tin Hau Temple as well as pay respects to the village Martyrs."⁴⁶ As Luk Wo Tong became the unified administrative and financial organ of the villages in Lam Tsuen, the differences amongst the various villages pale into insignificance. For example, the custom of tso-nga gradually declined. Interviewees explained that during the late 1970s, as the villagers were no longer keen on organising the nga meetings, they were held only once a year. During the meetings, funded by Luk Wo Tong, pork was cooked and those who showed up for the meal were mostly elderly members of the villages.⁴⁷

Conclusion

In previous studies of local societies, scholars have tended to focus on village lives that are centred on ancestral halls. As a result, the accepted history of the New Territories is a history of the "Five Great Clans." We must, however, understand that ancestral ties are only one way around which traditional societies were organised. Geopolitical association was also very important in the traditional societies of Tai Po; the Alliance of Seven was a good example. It successfully challenged the established influence of ancestral association and the interactions between these two types of association are an indispensable part of the history of the New Territories.

There are three important factors influencing the development of geopolitical relationships. The first was the she organisations arising from the worship of paak-kung or taai-wong. Tso-she is an ancient tradition and the earliest local society was a geopolitical association with she as the centre. In places where the ancestral system was not developed, she played an even more important role in the villagers' lives. However, entering the 18th century, many villages that originally built she began building temples jointly to symbolise their alliance. Temples then became the new form of geopolitical association, and geopolitical ties in the villages evolved to a new stage. While the temples played a central role in the villages' alliance, ta-tsiu epitomised



geopolitical association. During the festival, the paak-kung and taai-wong of each village would be invited to the altars for all villagers to worship, while carrying deities in the parade also evinces the concept of geopolitical association.

This type of geopolitical association did not arise from the Qing Court's top-down policies. In a registry carried out in early Qing, Lam Tsuen was included in the baojia administrative system and belonged to the Sixth Sector of Xin'an County along with other villages in Tai Po.⁴⁸ Yet the baojia system had never exerted any positive effect on Tai Po's society. Lam Tsuen borrowed only the name – "baojia" –

of the system, for their own luk-kaap (liujia) administration established in the Qianlong years. "Baojia" was a single village organisation to facilitate mutual supervision through a network of villagers who knew each other well, as well as maintain order in the village. However, the Lam Tsuen luk-kaap that we observed emphasised the unifying effect of the administration. Each kaap comprised a few villages, and at times of defence the system arose as a handy reference to mobilise physical force. For the sake of comparison, this kind of organisation may in fact resemble the local defence militia, commonly called tuanlian, during the mid to late Qing Dynasty in China.⁴⁹

Footnotes

- ¹ Le Wenmo, ed., "Directory of Geography" (地理志), vol. 3, *Gazetteer of Xin'an County* (新安縣志), 1688 edition.
- ² Yu Shengmo, Liu Cunkuan, eds., *Hong Kong in the 19th Century* (十九世紀的香港) (Hong Kong: Unicorn Books Ltd., 1994 1st ed., 1997 2nd ed.), pp. 132-3. See also "Despatches and Other Papers Relating to the Extension of the Colony of Hong Kong," in *Sessional Papers* (printed Papers Laid before the Legislative Council of Hong Kong, 1899), pp. 6-18.
- ³ The name "King Law Ka Shuk" may literally mean a family study hall, but for all practical purposes the building is the ancestral hall for the Tangs of Tai Po Tau. For more on King Law Ka Shuk, see *Special Issue for the Ta-tsiu Festival of Tai Po Tau Heung* (癸未年大埔頭鄉太平清醮特刊) (2003).
- ⁴ As early as the Wanli years of the Ming Dynasty, the Tangs in Lung Yeuk Tau had built an ancestral hall for Tang Sz Maang in Tai Po, known as the "Temple of the Filial Son." In the 11th year of the Kangxi Reign (1672), the Tangs of Lung Yeuk Tau supported the Tangs in Tai Po, with whom they share the same lineage. The two lineages successfully obtained permission from the Government to establish Tai Po Tau Market to raise funds for the building of the Temple of the Filial Son in Tai Po. See Tanaka Issei, (Qian Hang, Ren Yubai, trans.), *Lineage and Drama in China* (中國的宗族與戲劇) (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chuban She, 1992), pp. 34-8.
- ⁵ Ng Lun Ngai Ha, "The Rise and Fall of Market Cultures in the New Territories, Hong Kong – A Study on Tai Po" (香港新界墟市之興起與衰落——大埔墟研究), in *Hanxue Yanjiu* (漢學研究) (1985) vol. 3, no. 2, p. 639.
- ⁶ Ng Lun Ngai Ha, "The Rise and Fall of Market Cultures in the New Territories, Hong Kong – A Study on Tai Po" (香港新界墟市之興起與衰落——大埔墟研究), p. 644.
- ⁷ One yeuk does not necessarily refer to one village. For example, the Cheung Shue Tan yeuk was in fact comprised of Cheung Shue Tan Village and neighbouring small villages, such as Chek Nai Ping Village.
- ⁸ Ng Lun Ngai Ha, "The Rise and Fall of Market Cultures in the New Territories, Hong Kong – A Study on Tai Po" (香港新界墟市之興起與衰落——大埔墟研究), p. 648.
- ⁹ See Siu Kwok Kin, *Tai Po Heritage* (大埔風物志) (Hong Kong: Tai Po District Council, 1997), p. 52.
- ¹⁰ In 1899, when the British Government took over the New Territories, it started preparations for the implementation of tax policies. The Land Registry began in November of 1899. The New Territories was divided into Demarcation Districts, or D.D., and the government requested landowners to present the "white deed" (which was not registered with the authorities), or the "red deed" (which was registered with the authorities and showed a red verification stamp) to prove land ownership. After verification, officials would register each piece of land with its owner: all land in a Demarcation District would be registered in the same book with codes assigned to different sections of the district.
- These books were known as the Block Crown Lease. The registry was carried out under difficult circumstances and it was completed only in March of 1905, when the Hong Kong Government finally compiled the Block Crown Lease. This document is the earliest complete record of land registry in existence today. See Hayes, James, *The Great Difference: Hong Kong's New Territories and its People, 1898-2004* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006), pp. 32-41; Wesley-Smith, Peter, *Unequal Treaty 1898-1997: China, Britain, and Hong Kong's New Territories* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 92-9.
- ¹¹ It is not clear why the officials made this decision at the time. It was probably based on geography. Today the division of the villages is drawn at the river Tai Po Mei Hang: Cheung Shue Tan Village is to the northwest of the river, and Tai Po Mei Village is to the southeast.
- ¹² The inscription in the Cheung Shue Tan Village Commons reads, "this village was originally named Cheung Kai. The village was founded in the mid Qianlong Years of the Qing Dynasty. In 1708, this village joined the Lees in Tai Po Mei Village, along with the Yaus, Kongs, Wans and Chengs to form a village of five lineages. We were known as Cheung Shue Tan Heung and we lived in harmony. In the 24th year of the Guangxu Reign (1898), the New Territories was ceded to the British Government. In 1905, the Hong Kong Government surveyed the territories and all land and structures in the New Territories were registered. At the time, the population in the village was growing and village affairs became complicated. As a result of the registry, Tai Po Mei Village went under separate administration, and the village was divided into Cheung Shue Tan Village and Tai Po Mei Village. Even though the villages have separated in name, good relationships were maintained throughout. It has been 204 years since." See "On the Founding of the Cheung Shue Tan Village Office" (樟樹灘村村公所落成記), on a stone tablet inscribed by the Cheung Shue Tan Village Office Preparatory Committee, 1984.
- ¹³ The Chengs' Relocation from Cheung Shue Tan Village to Kam Shan in Tai Po; see Yau Tung, *Heritage and People in Hong Kong* (新界風物與民情) (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1992), p. 16.
- ¹⁴ Lai Yin Fan, "Interview with Wan Wah of Cheung Shue Tan Village" (樟樹灘村溫華訪問), 27 February 2007.
- ¹⁵ Lau Tsz Yin, "Interview with Yau Tat Kam of Chek Nai Ping Village" (赤泥坪村邱達琴訪問), 14 April 2007; Tam Ka Ming, "Interview with Yau Fook Ping of Cheung Shue Tan Village" (樟樹灘村邱福平訪問), 18 February 2007.
- ¹⁶ Lai Yin Fan, "Interview with Yau Chun Yuen of Cheung Shue Tan Village" (樟樹灘村邱春元訪問), 25 February 2007.
- ¹⁷ Chan Hiu Fai, "Interview with Yau Choi of Cheung Shue Tan Village" (樟樹灘村邱財訪問), 28 January 2007.
- ¹⁸ Lau Tsz Yin, "Interview with Kong Ming of Cheung Shue Tan Village" (樟樹灘村江明訪問), 28 January 2007.
- ¹⁹ Chinese operas were no longer performed after 1935. Some villagers attributed this to the rise of Christianity in Cheung Shue Tan.



- ²⁰ Puk Wing Kin, "The Resistance of Rent and the Worship of Gods: from the Jimao Year (1999); A Look into the Relationship Between Lam Tsuen and the Tangs in Lung Yeuk Tau during the Qing Dynasty through Ta-tsiu of Lam Tsuen in Tai Po, Hong Kong" (抗租與迎神：從己卯年(1999)香港大埔林村鄉十年一度太平清醮看清代林村與龍躍頭鄧氏之關係), *South China Research Resource Station Newsletter* (華南研究資料中心通訊), January 2000, no. 18, p. 2.
- ²¹ The cymbals in Tin Hau Temple were made in the 33rd year of the Qianlong Reign in 1768, while the bronze bell was made in the 36th year of the Qianlong Reign in 1771. See Faure, David, Luk Hung Kay, Ng Lun Ngai Ha, eds., *Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Hong Kong* (香港碑銘彙編) vol. 3 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Urban Council, 1986), p. 673. Oral history has also confirmed that the Tin Hau cymbals in Lam Tsuen were built during the Qianlong years. See Mak Sui Chen, "Interview with Chung Kwai Pak of Lam Tsuen" (訪問林村鍾貴柏), 9 October 1981.
- ²² Puk Wing Kin, "The Resistance of Rent and the Worship of Gods: from the Jimao Year (1999); A Look into the Relationship Between Lam Tsuen and the Tangs in Lung Yeuk Tau During the Qing Dynasty through Ta-tsiu of Lam Tsuen in Tai Po, Hong Kong" (抗租與迎神：從己卯年(1999)香港大埔林村鄉十年一度太平清醮看清代林村與龍躍頭鄧氏之關係), p. 3
- ²³ Kwok Po Nei, "Interview with Leung Sai Yuk of Ma Po Mei Village, Lam Tsuen" (林村麻布尾村梁世玉訪問), 8 October 1981; Lee Lai Mui, "Interview with Cheung of Wai Tau Village, Lam Tsuen" (林村圍頭村張先生訪問), 28 November 1981; Lee Lai Mui, "Interview with Cheung Chi Fan of Tong Sheung Village, Lam Tsuen" (林村塘上村張枝繁訪問), 27 November 1981; Mak Sui Chen, "Interview with Cheung Yick Lung of Tai Om Shan" (林村大菴山村鍾奕隆訪問), 6 February 1982 and 4 May 1982.
- ²⁴ Puk Wing Kin discovers that during the Tongzhi and Guangxu Reigns, fourteen villages in Lam Tsuen became tenants at the Liu's Man Shek Tong, including Shui Wo (three families of the Shums), Tai Om Shan (four families of the Cheungs) and Pak Ngau Shek (one family of the Leungs). The twelve martyrs who resisted rents came from these families. See Puk Wing Kin, "The Resistance of Rent and the Worship of Gods: from the Jimao Year (1999); A Look into the Relationship Between Lam Tsuen and the Tangs in Lung Yeuk Tau During the Qing Dynasty through Ta-tsiu of Lam Tsuen in Tai Po, Hong Kong" (抗租與迎神：從己卯年(1999)香港大埔林村鄉十年一度太平清醮看清代林村與龍躍頭鄧氏之關係), p.4. However, Patrick Hase is sceptical of Puk's view, arguing that the invitation of Tin Hau of Tai Po Tau Market was only a ritual and did not reflect politics of the time. (See Hase, Patrick, "Response to 'The Resistance of Rent and the Worship of Gods'" (對〈抗租與迎神〉一文的回應), *South China Research Resource Station Newsletter* (華南研究資料中心通訊), April 2000, Issue 19, p. 8.)
- ²⁵ Village handbook for rituals in Tai Po Mei Village (大埔尾村鄉村禮儀書), no original title or year, from the collection of Lee Wah Cheung of Tai Po Mei Village.
- ²⁶ Lau Tsz Yin, "Interview with Lee Tim Fook of Tai Po Mei Village" (大埔尾村李添福訪問), 9 February 2007.
- ²⁷ Wong Shan Shan, "Interview with Lee Tim Fook of Tai Po Mei Village" (大埔尾村李添福訪問), 12 January 2007.
- ²⁸ Cheung Sui Wai, "Interview with Lee Tim Fook of Tai Po Mei Village" (大埔尾村李添福訪問), 6 June 2007.
- ²⁹ Lee Yee Fan, "Investigative Report on Lam Tsuen" (林村調查報告), 21 November 1981; Lee Yee Fan, "Interview with Cheung Wing Fat of Wai Tau Village" (林村圍頭村張榮發訪問), Lam Tsuen, 29 December, 1981.
- ³⁰ Mak Sui Chen, "Interview with Chung Yau of Chung Uk Village, Lam Tsuen" (林村圍頭村張榮發訪問), 17 October 1981; Kwok Po Nei, "Interview with Chung Kwai Pak of Chung Uk Village, Lam Tsuen" (林村鍾屋村鍾貴柏訪問), 17 October 1981.
- ³¹ Mak Sui Chen, "Interview with Chung Shek Sau of Ping Long Village, Lam Tsuen" (林村坪朗村鍾石秀訪問), 18 May 1982.
- ³² Lee Yee Fan, "Investigative Report on Lam Tsuen" (林村調查報告), 21 November 1981; Kwok Po Nei, "Interview with Wan of San Tong Village, Lam Tsuen" (林村新塘村溫伯訪問), 28 November 1981.
- ³³ Mak Sui Chen, "Interview with the Chengs of Ng Tong Chai Village, Lam Tsuen" (林村梧桐寨村鄭氏訪問), 14 November 1981.
- ³⁴ Chung Yick Ming, "A History of the Tin Hau Temple in Lam Tsuen" (林村鄉天后廟之沿革), in *Tai Ping Qing Jiao in Lam Tsuen Every Ten Years, the 1990 Session of the Gengwu Year* (庚午年·一九九零年林村鄉十年一屆太平清醮) (1990), p. 4.
- ³⁵ Faure, David, *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society: Lineage and Village in the Eastern New Territories, Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 109-111.
- ³⁶ Chung Yick Ming, "A History of the Tin Hau Temple in Lam Tsuen" (林村鄉天后廟之沿革), p. 4. There were no set rules governing the village composition of a "kaap". Geographic proximity, same lineage, having the same dialect or worshipping the same deity could have been factors for villages to ally with each other. For more details, see Faure, David, *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society: Lineage and Village in the Eastern New Territories, Hong Kong*, pp. 113-4.
- ³⁷ Lee Yee Fan, "Interview with Lam Wo On of Hang Ha Po Village, Lam Tsuen" (林村坑下莆村林和安訪問), 8 November 1981.
- ³⁸ Ng Lun Ngai Ha, "The Rise and Fall of Market Cultures in the New Territories, Hong Kong – A Study on Tai Po" (香港新界墟市之興起與衰落——大埔墟研究), p. 647.
- ³⁹ From an interview done in 1982, Luk Wo Tong had more than \$140,000 income from leasing the stores every year. See Mak Sui Chen, "Interview with Chung Shek Sau of Ping Long Village, Lam Tsuen" (林村坪朗村鍾石秀訪問), 18 May 1982.
- ⁴⁰ In 1998, Mr. Cheung Hok Ming, vice chairman of the Lam Tsuen Village Office said the following, "Tin Hau Temple of Lam Tsuen was



built over 260 years ago during the Qianlong years (1736), whereas Luk Wo Tong of Lam Tsuen also has a history of more than 100 years." See Cheung Hok Ming, "A Brief History of Lam Tsuen's Tin Hau Temple and Luk Wo Tong" (林村天后廟及六和堂史略), in *Founding of the Lam Tsuen Village Office* (林村鄉公所重建落成開幕典禮) (1998), p. 20. As seen, the establishment of Luk Wo Tong came much later than Tin Hau Temple.

- ⁴¹ Cheung Chi Fan, "Preface: The Village Celebrations of Tai Ping Qing Jiao in Lam Tsuen" (林村鄉太平清醮序言), in *Tai Ping Qing Jiao in Lam Tsuen Every Ten Years, the 1990 Session of the Gengwu Year* (庚午年·一九九零年林村鄉十年一屆太平清醮), p. 2.
- ⁴² Lee Yee Fan, "Interview with Lam Wo On of Hang Ha Po Village, Lam Tsuen" (林村坑下莆村林和安訪問), 8 November 1981.
- ⁴³ Puk Wing Kin, "The Resistance of Rent and the Worship of Gods: from the Jimao Year (1999); A Look into the Relationship Between Lam Tsuen and the Tangs in Lung Yeuk Tau During the Qing Dynasty through Ta-tsiu of Lam Tsuen in Tai Po, Hong Kong" (抗租與迎神：從

己卯年(1999)香港大埔林村鄉十年一度太平清醮看清代林村與龍躍頭鄧氏之關係), p. 6, footnote 3.

- ⁴⁴ Lee Yee Fan, "Interview with Cheung Wing Fat of Wai Tau Village, Lam Tsuen" (林村圍頭村張榮發訪問), 29 December 1981.
- ⁴⁵ Lee Yee Fan, "Interview with Lam Wo On of Ha Po Village, Lam Tsuen" (林村坑下莆村林和安訪問), 8 November 1981.
- ⁴⁶ Kwok Po Nei, "Interview with Leung Sai Yuk of Ma Po Mei Village, Lam Tsuen" (林村麻布尾村梁世玉訪問), 8 October 1981.
- ⁴⁷ Lee Lai Mui, "Interview with Cheung of Wai Tau Village, Lam Tsuen" (林村圍頭村張先生訪問), 28 November 1981.
- ⁴⁸ Le Wenmo, ed., "Directory of Geography" (地理志), vol. 3, *Gazetteer of Xin'an County* (新安縣志), 1688 edition.
- ⁴⁹ For more on local armies during the mid-Qing Dynasty, see Kuhn, Philip, (Tse Leung Sang trans.), *Rebellion and its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarisation and Social Structure, 1796-1864* (中華帝國晚期的叛亂及其敵人：1796-1864年的軍事化與社會結構) (Beijing: Chinese Social Science Press, 1990), p. 95.



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