



The Education University of Hong Kong

A Project entitled

***The transforming and struggling of social power of the last New
Territory Gentries of Tang's Clan from the early modern times to
the middle 20th century***

近世至二十世紀中期新界鄧氏鄉紳的社會權力的轉變與掙扎

Submitted by

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Declaration

I, ***SHUM Kwan Ho***, declare that this research report represents my own work under the supervision of Dr. HO Kai Lung, and that it has not been submitted previously for examination to any tertiary institution.

Signed

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Date : 16 April 2022

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Abstract

History study is a mass study of humanity. Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann(1966) revealed the theory of social constructivism, which emphasized the complexed relationship of human interaction and the agreement of consensus and power of symbol.¹ For the study of Tang's gentry, it was an investigation of the complicated relationship and development between the various ideologies, socially constructive, and practice for the Chinese community from the early modern to the modern middle 20th century. Also, Georg W. F. Hegel (2007) revealed the "Spirit of times" theory, which engaged the conceptual and intellectual investigation on the changing society of specific time and place. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel revealed the "Spirit of times" theory, which engaged the conceptual and intellectual investigation on the changing society of specific time and place.² The Tang clan of Hong Kong acted as a gentry class, however, based on the changing zeitgeist and politics, there was a different between the previous and modern gentry on power establishment and construction. The study of the change and continuity of the Tang's group are the attempt in linking and adding the Tang clan to the complex historical network with the late early dynasty to the modern 20th century to study the changing social and clan spirit of the Chinese community. Also,

¹ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Reality*. United States: Anchor Books. 1966

² Georg W. F. Hegel. *The Philosophy of History*. United States: Cosimo, Inc. 2007

the investigation would explain the compounded consequence and the manufacture of the powerful symbol, which Abner Cohen (1976) reinforced the relationship between symbol, power, and politics.³

Purpose

This study aimed to integrate, consolidate, explain, and compare the spirit and practice of the specific group of the Tang clan in the historical context. It will analyze the co-relationship between the feudal gentry and the "Shen(紳)" in modern Hong Kong, which primarily concentrated in the stage of the late Qing Dynasty to British governing Hong Kong. Besides, the research would also investigate the cause and effect of the changing politics and how the Chinese community and Tang clan triggered and reacted based on the disadvantage and decline in socio-political recognition.

Significant

There was a complex relationship between the Tang clan during the Qing Dynasty and colonial Hong Kong. Before the "Treaty of Nanking" took effect, the Tang clan was the last Chinese gentry, symbolizing the feudal system and traditional "Shi" in the Chinese

³ Abner, Cohen. *Two-Dimensional Man: An essay on the anthropology of power and symbolism in complex society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press. 1976

community. The status of literati and officialdom was privileged. At the same time, there was a fundamental and structural change in the politics which caused the new definition and mole between "Shi" and "Shen" for the Tang clan in modern times. Based on the above change, the methodology for the Tang clan to maintain their influential power is no longer similar with the previous practice. Perhaps, the modern "Shen" is shared the common characteristics of "self-awareness", "authority", and "leadership" with the old gentlemen. It is essential to understand the differences, similarities, changes, and continuity of the Tang Clan in family spirit and power cultivation to deeply understand how the Tang Clan acted and performed in Hong Kong society.

1.2 Methodology

- Literature review
- Historical description and comparison
- Field study
- Primary and secondary source analysis

1.3 Literature Review

Said to 廖迪生(2013), the Tang clan of Hong Kong was the "higher-order" lineage in

Southern China. The surname of Tang shared the sign of a similar bloodline and constructed an enormous wealth and instructional structure in the socio-political authorly.⁴Besides, 余英時 (1987 & 2003) evaluated that there was a changing social hierarchy between the gentry and merchant, which explained the transferring and duplicating functions of the above classes and occupations. Also, it explained that the rise of entrepreneurship was threatened the classical gentries and provided new mobility for the commoner and non-gentry clans.⁵⁶ Perhaps, the adaptation of imperial examination was the mainstream approach for maintaining the clan status, and revealed by 科大衛 (2009) that, there was a close relationship between fame and reputation for the Tang clan to construct the district power and governing authority before the collapse of the feudal system.⁷ But after the dissolve and the rebuild of the politics, Tang clan, as an old gentry, they had self-recognition and responsibility in public affairs and governance, which Michael(1955) described the gentry was continued in cultivating the administrative functions from the “Shi” at the modern time.⁸

⁴ 廖迪生. 文字的角色在香港新界的一些田野研究經驗. 田野與文獻 70. 香港: 華南研究中心, 2013

⁵ 余英時. 《中國近世宗教倫理與商人精神》. 臺北: 聯經出版事業公司, 1987.

⁶ 余英時. 《朱熹的歷史世界: 宋代士大夫政治文化的研究》. 台北市: 允晨文化實業股份有限公司, 2003.

⁷ 科大衛. 《皇帝和祖宗: 華南的國家與宗族》. 南京: 江蘇人民出版社, 2009.

⁸ Michael, Franz. *State and Society in Nineteenth Century China*. World Politics 7, no. 3, England: Cambridge University Press, 1955.

Background

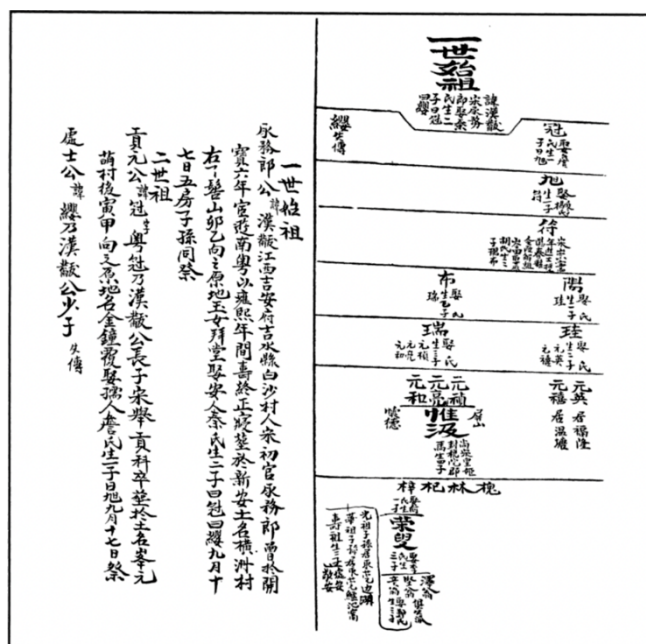
2.1 The Tang Clan of Hong Kong

The forty-seventh ancestor Tang Yu(鄧禹)(C.E. 2 – 58), was born in Nan Yan, the first place of the "Yun Tai Twenty-eight Generals," and assisted the Emperor Guangwu of Han, Liu Xiu, to unify China. Tang Yu is titled "Yuan Hou(元侯)," the head of the feudatory. The descendants of Tang Yu have enjoyed the family title of the "Men-fa system (門閥制度)," which represented the gentry status of the Tang clan in the feudal period of imperial China. Moreover, for the descendants of the Tangs clan, it tended to have fame or officer titles no matter in the civil servant or the force position to reinforce the clan's reputation. The rise of "Men-fa" also reflected the ownership and privatization of the socio-economy resources and combined with political authority(思想編委會, 2012).⁹

One of the earliest traditional Chinese gentry families, the Tang clan, immigrated to Hong Kong. Hong Kong Archaeological Society (1992) stated that the ancestor of the Tangs in the New Territories was Tang Fu-hip(鄧符協), who was born in Jiangxi and obtained the third imperial degree of "Jin-shi(進士)" in 1069. During his travel to Yueng Chun, Guangdong, to report the magistrate's duty, he settled in Sham Tin, today's Kam

⁹ 思想編委會. 《儒家與現代政治》. 新北市: 聯經出版, 2012.

Tin district¹⁰. The "Bun Jyut Ziu Tamm(半月照潭)" tombstone mentioned, the fourth ancestor Tang Fu-hip observed that Kam-tin was located as a precious land and grave in Chinese geomancy. After that, he was migrated to Hong Kong with his ancestor's skeletal remains (香港史學會, 2014).¹¹



(1.1 The Tang clan of Hong Kong's genealogy)

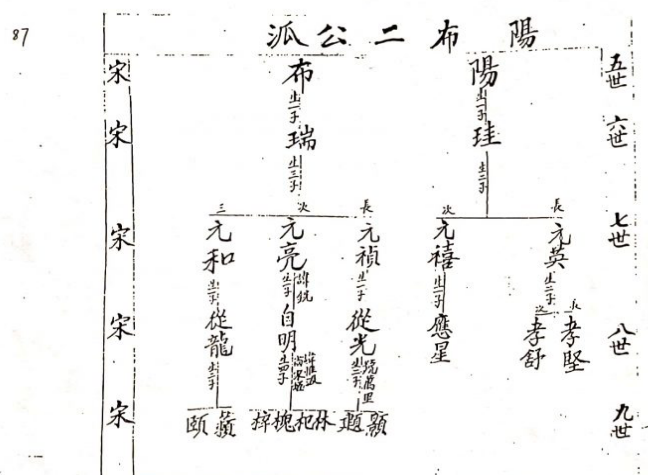
During the Song Dynasty, there were five bloodline branches of the Tang clan, which were Yuan-wo (元和), Yuan-loeng(元亮), Yuan-zhen(元禎), Yuan-xi(元禧), Yuan-ying(元英), who were the seventh ancestors of the Tang clan of Hong Kong according

¹⁰ Hong Kong Archaeological Society. *Journal of The Hong Kong Archaeological Society* XIII, XIII: 100. Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Archaeological Society with the assistance of the Urban Council, 1992.

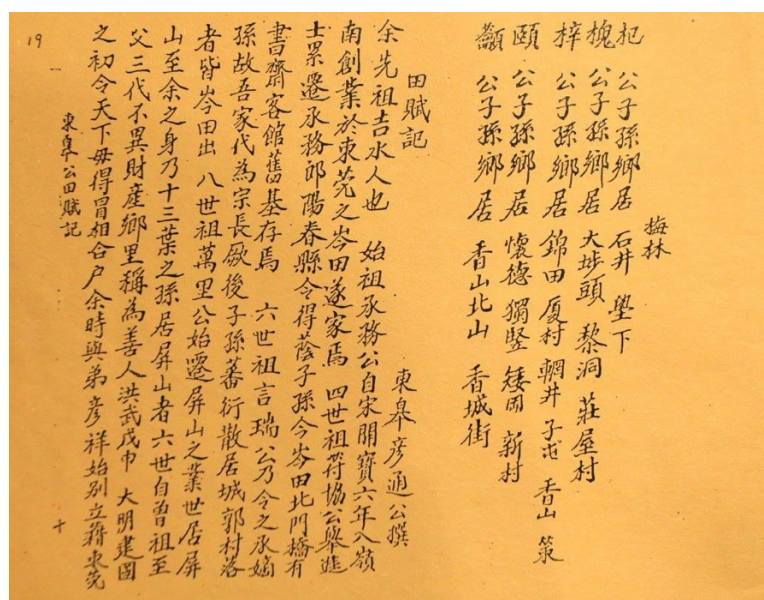
¹¹ 香港史學會. 《文物古蹟中的香港史》(初版 ed.). 香港: 中華書局, 2014

to the Clan's genealogy and started to move and establish their village(鄧昌宇, 2012).¹²

The Tang clan of Hong Kong mainly separated into the Yuan-zhen and Yuan-loeng descendants.



(1.2 The Tang clan of Hong Kong's genealogy)



(1.3 "Tian Fu Ji(田賦記)")

¹² 鄧昌宇. 《屏山故事》. 香港：中華書局, 2012

According to the "Tian Fu Ji(田賦記)" inside the Clan's genealogy, it recorded the son of Yuan-zhen called Cong-guang(從光) had migrated to Ping Shan and permanently settled irrespectively in Ping-shan , Bai Hao, Bai Gang, Bai Shi, and Tang Wei. For the Yuan-loeng line, his descendants distributed nearby Kam Tin, Tai Po Tau, Ha Tsuen, and Lung Yeuk Tau (周佳榮, 2017).¹³

The changing of Tang's gentries and modern Tang's talents

余英時(1987) stated that there was a difference between the previous and modern "scholar".¹⁴ To further interpretation, the nature, title, and function remained the same as before; however, the constructional process, component, and treatment have happened change which would be defined on the Tang Clan of Hong Kong.

3.1 Tang's classical gentry

The rise of the gentry class was since the new imperial examination replaced the "Nine-grade Controller System" after the Sui and Tang dynasty. Ordinary people pursued fame, and an official title was not new in early modern China. The occupational classification was not a permanent identification on the household registration. According to the Su

¹³ 周佳榮. 《香港通史：遠古至清代》(General History of Hong Kong). 香港第一版. Ed. 香港：一三聯, 2017.

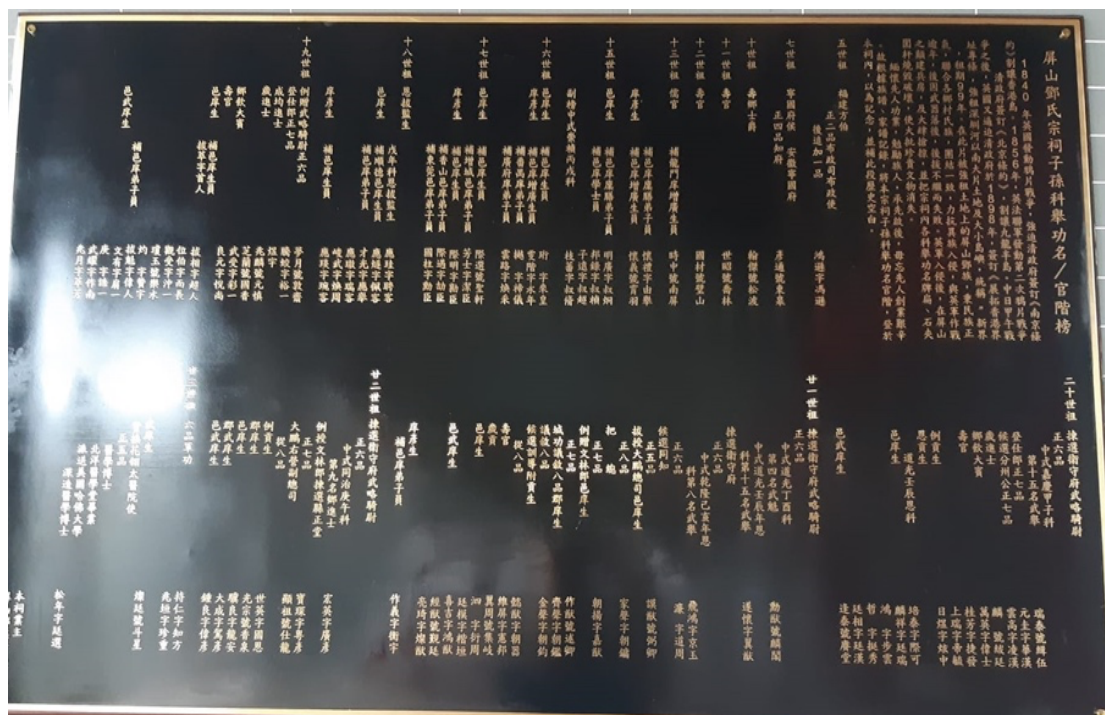
¹⁴ 余英時. 《中國近世宗教倫理與商人精神》. 臺北：聯經出版事業公司, 1987.

Zhe(蘇轍)(C.E. 1039-1112), it stated that:

「凡今農、工、商賈之家，未有不捨其舊而為士者也。」

[No matter farmers, craftsmen, and merchants, both categories were desired to become a scholar or gentry.] (《上皇帝書》)¹⁵

According to the Fame and Reputation List(Figure 2.1 & 2.2), the Ping Shan Tangs clan started from the 1st ancestor Tang Fu-hip to the 23rd ancestor Tang Song-nian(鄧松年). Every Tang generation have possessed fame and an official title as a scholar or military before the collapse of the Qing Dynasty.



(2.1 The Fame and Reputation List from Ping Shan Tang Clan Ancestor Hall)

¹⁵ [北宋]《上皇帝書》：「凡今農、工、商賈之家，未有不捨其舊而為士者也。」

Ancestor↵	Highest Official Title Obtained↵
1st↵	縣令從七品↵
5th↵	一品布政司布政使↵
7th↵	正四品知府↵
10th↵	壽鄉士爵↵
11th↵	壽官↵
12th↵	壽官↵
13th↵	儒官↵
15th↵	邑庫生↵
16th↵	邑庫生↵
17th↵	邑庫生↵
18th↵	恩拔監生↵
19th↵	武略騎尉正六品↵
20th↵	武略騎尉正六品↵
21st↵	候選同知正五品↵
22nd↵	武略騎尉正六品↵
23rd↵	太醫院使正五品↵

(2.2 Highest official ranking for the Tang clan ancestors)↵

Tang fu-hip, the founding ancestor of the Tang family in Hong Kong, has obtained the imperial examination title of "Jin shi" [passed with the final imperial exam presided by the Emperor] and was assigned the civil servant position of district magistrate in Yueng Chun, Guangdong in 1069 in Song dynasty(盧惠玲，張兆和，鄧聖時, 2013).¹⁶ During this period, the political status of "Shi Da Fu(士大夫)" as a part of governing body had relatively increased authority to express their political function into the centralized government (余英時, 2003).¹⁷

¹⁶ 盧惠玲，張兆和，鄧聖時. 《書寫屏山：香港新界屏山鄧氏宗族表述本土歷史文化傳統文獻彙編》. 香港：香港科技大學華南研究中心, 2013

¹⁷ 余英時. 《朱熹的歷史世界：宋代士大夫政治文化的研究》. 台北市：允晨文化實業股份有限公司, 2003.

Under the monarchy, the imperial examination system has always been used as a tool to gain fame and civil servant title and for the court to recruit talents; thereby, it created the concept of "Gong Zhi Tian Xia(共治天下)" or "Jun Chen Tong Zhi(君臣同治)" [shared the governing power with the emperor] that given the official gentlemen the political right in enforcing and practicing the law according to the "Feng Shi(《封事》)" written by Cao Yan-yue(曹彥約)(1157-1228) (余英時, 2003).¹⁸ Aligned with the above concept of “sharing the governing power with the emperor” and “Discuss the national issues and events with the civil servant officer” from the emperor Shenzong of the Song dynasty, the Tangs clan was enjoyed as a “dominant family” and gentry class during imperial China that had a certain degree of socio-political identification and authority based on the cultivation of the fame and clan reputation.

Also, Wen Yan-bo(文彥博)(B.C. 1006-1097), Grand Chancellor of the Song dynasty, revealed the concept of "Governing the world with the official gentlemen" explained the governance right and the right in the political decision were both in the hand of the emperor and the ruling clique of the official gentlemen (余英時, 2003).¹⁹ The district

¹⁸ 余英時. 《朱熹的歷史世界：宋代士大夫政治文化的研究》.台北市：允晨文化實業股份有限公司, 2003.

¹⁹ 余英時. 《朱熹的歷史世界：宋代士大夫政治文化的研究》.台北市：允晨文化實業股份有限公司, 2003.

court was also relied on the clan's authority in managing district events (科大衛).²⁰

The political symbol could be performed in occupation and honor title and the strong symbol was represented the privilege status for the object (Abner, 1976).²¹ The Tangs clan appointed from the imperial government was “dominate symbol” of the gentry's class and opportunity to share the emperor's authority.

3.2 Spirit of Tang Clan as “Shi” and gentry class

Instead of raising the mobility of the gentry class, the principle of the Tang clan or the gentry class was to maintain their advanced position on fame and political status. Said to 余英時(2005), The official-gentlemen or gentry status was not guaranteed and permanent; therefore, the gentry's descendants had a risk factor with downgraded to be farmers, craftsmen, or merchants.²² Also, the social mobility had changed that people could be upgraded their social hierarchy through imperial examination, even from the donation(余英時, 2005).²³

In feudal China, it had three kinds of systems for selecting officials, which were "Shi

²⁰ 科大衛. 《皇帝和祖宗：華南的國家與宗族》. 南京：江蘇人民出版社, 2009.

²¹ Abner, Cohen. *Two-Dimensional Man: An essay on the anthropology of power and symbolism in complex society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press. 1976

²² 余英時. 試說科舉在中國史上的功能與意義. 香港：《二十一世紀》香港中文大學, 2005.

²³ 余英時. 試說科舉在中國史上的功能與意義. 香港：《二十一世紀》香港中文大學, 2005.

Qing Shi Lu(世卿世祿)" [aristocratic hereditary], "Cha Ju (察舉)" [nomination], and "Keju (科舉)" [imperial examination]. The appearance of imperial examination had fundamentally eliminated the noble and official gentlemen's dominance in the political authority. It provided the way for the ordinary people to endure political participation, highlighted by 賴明德(2008).²⁴ The proficiency of the examination guaranteed the way to ascension to the gentry class (余英時, 2005).²⁵ Also, 徐茂明(2004) described, people in ancient China were doing everything possible to urge and subsidize the clansmen to study, attend the imperial examination, and possess fame and official title method to maintain the status of the gentry's class.²⁶ Similar with the Tang Clan, the private education provided qualified training in academic and martial were the effective way for the clansmen to ensure the "Shi" benefits and status.

3.3 Tang's clansman acted as a modern profession

The modern time, the dissolution of the gentry's function and governing authority facilitated the division and specification of the current occupation. The modern vocational and tertiary training made the career professional. Nevertheless, the language proficiency benefited Tang clansmen in establishing district and negotiation

²⁴ 賴明德. 《華人社會與文化》. 台北市: 文鶴出版有限公司, 2009.

²⁵ 賴明德. 《華人社會與文化》. 台北市: 文鶴出版有限公司, 2009

²⁶ 徐茂明. 《江南士紳與江南社會, 1368-1911 年》. 北京: 商務印書館, 2002.

power for the Tang scholars. Said to Sinn (1980), there was not necessary for the degree-holders of Tang's clansman to control wealth, power, and influence for the last Chinese gentry.²⁷

Tang Kun-chi(鄧昆池) and Tang Yao-zu(鄧耀祖)

鄧昌宇(2012), there was no administration officer or chief officer for the Tang's descendants inside the governing institution during the British colonial period. Tang Kun-chi, the eldest son in the family, studied in Dade public school and further studied at the National Taiwan University. After he graduated, he joined the Hong Kong Agriculture, Fisheries, and Conservation Department until his retirement. Moreover, Tang Yao-zu, after graduating from secondary school, gave up the opportunity to study abroad in Taiwan; however, he entered the District Office and served as a clerk. There were fewer promotion opportunities for his civil servant career, so he further studied the teacher qualification at the Hong Kong Institution of Education and became the principal of the Dade school.²⁸ The Tang clan did not construct power from the political ontology but prefers to build prestige by making personal and social contributions in modern times.

²⁷ Sinn, Elizabeth, *Power and Charity: The Early History of the Tung Wah Hospital, Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1980

²⁸ 鄧昌宇. 《屏山故事》. 香港：中華書局, 2012

Tang Song-nian (鄧松年)

The 24th ancestor Tang Song-nian, the earliest clansman, adapted to modern westernized education. Tang Song-nian was studied in the Government Central School (Queen's College) and further studied at the Beiyang Medical School. After graduation, he was studied for a Doctoral Degree in Public Hygiene at Harvard University (Bu, 2017).²⁹

Tang Song-nian was the first western doctor from Ping Shan. He had served in a doctor's office in the various hospitals in Beijing. In addition, he was appointed as a medical researcher and official in Harbin, responsible for leading the anti-plague works in the Eastern-north province. During the Japanese occupation, he backed to Hong Kong to continue his career in the medical field (鄧昌宇, 2012).³⁰ He became a village leader and participated in the district event in the mid 20th century, such as against the government proposal to build an airport in Ping Shan, which will be discussed more in the following chapter. He was appointed as a ship doctor in the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company in the late period. The Tang clansman had built the memorial and

²⁹ Bu, Liping. *Public Health and the Modernization of China, 1865-2015*. London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

³⁰ 鄧昌宇. 《屏山故事》. 香港：中華書局, 2012

honorable stele within the Tangs Ancestor Hall (盧惠玲，張兆和，鄧聖時, 2013).³¹

Tang Ri-teng (鄧日騰) and Tang Gui-zhang (鄧圭璋)

Both Tang Ri-teng and Tang-zhang were Chinese medical doctors. Tang Ri-teng obtained the Tung Wah Hospital medical license at 18 years old. Tang Gui-zhang has studied the medical program in Singapore and backed to Hong Kong further to study Chinese medicine at Tung Wah Hospital in 1928. The above clansman has operated their clinic in Ping Shan.

Comments for Tang Ri-teng:

" To respond to the patient's request, Tang Ri-teng did not care about the distance and traveled to Shen Zhen to treat patients."

Comments for Tang Gui-zhang:

Tang Gui-zhang was a loyal person, who did not acquire any promotion or advertisement for his clinic, even did not mind how much the patient paid the charges. He believed that "natural musk fragrance" was his life's accomplishment. (鄧昌宇, 2012)³²

The working experiences and aspirations of Tang Ri-teng and Tang Gui-zhang have presented the virtues and community contribution, which reinforced the modern values of social enterprise and further built up their personal and clan reputation. Other than

³¹ 盧惠玲，張兆和，鄧聖時. 《書寫屏山：香港新界屏山鄧氏宗族表述本土歷史文化傳統文獻彙編》. 香港：香港科技大學華南研究中心, 2013

³² 鄧昌宇. 《屏山故事》. 香港：中華書局, 2012

the above clansman, the following descendants have also implemented the medical route:

Tang Zhu-ting 鄧祝庭	Unknown
Tang Bo-zhou 鄧伯周	Chinese Medical in Kuala Lumpur
Tang Zhi-wei 鄧志偉	West Medical in Hong Kong
Tang Jie-fan 鄧傑凡	Chinese Medical in Australia
Tang Zi-hin 鄧子軒	Unknown

(3.1 Tang clansmen who obtained medical license)³³

The Tang clansman was adapted into the modern education system, while it throughout the modern professionalism in medicine to establish the social reputation. Also, it reflected that the Tang clansman who, without fame and reputation, could possess academic and career achievement in the society to increase their renown and social recognition.

Tang Sheng-shi(鄧聖時)

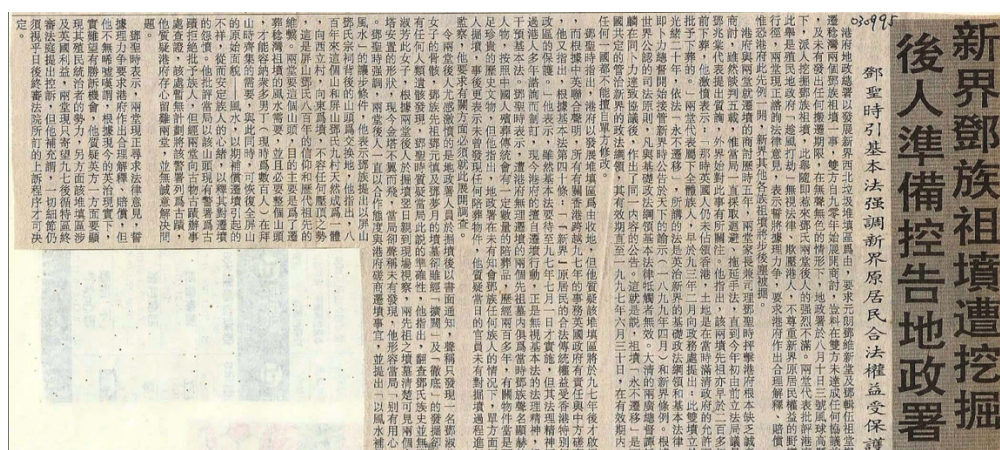
Tang Sheng-shi was graduated from King's College and received a law degree at the Guangdong Legislative Business School. He was appointed to the judiciary on Hainan Island. During the early period of Japanese occupation, He went to Shaoguan and participated in the "Oversea Chinese Youth Camp" (鄧昌宇, 2012).³⁴ He reinforced

³³ 鄧昌宇. 《屏山故事》. 香港：中華書局, 2012

³⁴ 鄧昌宇. 《屏山故事》. 香港：中華書局, 2012

the idea of Chinese nationalism, which believed that the public, even the Tang clansman, were lacked belonging awareness to the nation (盧惠玲，張兆和，鄧聖時, 2013).³⁵

In general, the Tang clansman was against the British governing in Hong Kong because they thought the colonial government damaged their legal right and traditional practices. Before the Hong Kong handover to the People's Republic of China, Tang Sheng-shi participated in a case regarding the land issues in Yuen Long and the destruction of Tang's ancestral tombs and sued the British government (Figure 5.2).



(3.2 Tang clansmen sues the colonial government)³⁶

To face the clan's benefit and the modern scholar and the last gentry, the Tang's descendants had used their knowledge of the fundamental law. The discussion about Hong Kong's future between PRC and the British was expressed in the newspaper.

³⁵ 盧惠玲，張兆和，鄧聖時. 《書寫屏山：香港新界屏山鄧氏宗族表述本土歷史文化傳統文獻彙編》. 香港：香港科技大學華南研究中心, 2013

³⁶ GotoWalk, “新界鄧族祖墳遭挖掘後人準備控告地政署”, retrieved from <http://www.somanhing.com/gotowalk/literature/paper/ntvi/pingshan/pingshan12.pdf>

Inside the news report, it emphasized the national perspective of Tang Sheng-shi to reinforce the interrelationship between the clan and the Chinese nation and tradition. Also, he was committed to defending their right and clan esteem.

Tang Pak-qiu (鄧伯裘)

Tang Pak-qiu was born in the late Qing period. After the British invasion and the "Six-Day War" failure, many clansmen decided to settle in mainland China. Tang Pak-qiu, since the family's migration and received huge of farmland. There was no evidence recording his educational background; however, he was the fewer people proficient in English.

In his career and community participation, he operated an oil mill and participated in the Agribusiness Research Association (Heung Yee Kuk) in 1923. Also, he established his charity development in education and built the Guangzhou Jishan college (1924), Kam Tin Mung Yeung Public School (1927), and Yuen Long Public Secondary School (1949). Based on his business achievement, he was also appointed as Director of Fanling Agricultural Association (1930), Chairman of Pok Oi Hospital (1931), and

Chairman of Yuen Long Chamber of Commerce (1934)(盧惠玲，張兆和，鄧聖時).³⁷

After Tang Pak-qiu received the "Justice of the Peace" title, he represented the village to negotiate with the British government. The British army installed the "iron door" from the Kat Hing Wai and Tai Hong Wai as booty. After his retirement, the "iron door" was sent to Henry Arthur Blake's private house in England(蕭國健, 2013).³⁸ If we used the Chinese culture to analyze the above event, the "iron door" signified the loss of autonomy, which was a shame for the gentry class. Tang Pak-qiu (鄧伯裘) requested the governor to return the "iron door". Finally, the "iron door" was sent back to the Tang clan(蕭國健, 2013).³⁹

Observed by the Tang clansmen, the essential symbols of the gentry were utterly different and were continually changed, which Hegel (2007) reinforced the change of the value and social agreement in History.⁴⁰ It could be consolidated that the original gentry of the Tang Clan was the traditional scholars and military strategists who possessed merit. The symbol of power was coming from the fame and examination title,

³⁷ 盧惠玲，張兆和，鄧聖時. 《書寫屏山：香港新界屏山鄧氏宗族表述本土歷史文化傳統文獻彙編》. 香港：香港科技大學華南研究中心, 2013

³⁸ 蕭國健. 《簡明香港近代史》. 香港：三聯, 2013

³⁹ 蕭國健. 《簡明香港近代史》. 香港：三聯, 2013

⁴⁰ Georg W. F. Hegel. The Philosophy of History. United States: Cosimo, Inc. 2007

while based on the concept of symbolic interactionism that symbol could be changed by the changing values of the time and society (Herbert, 1986).⁴¹ The modern value of professionalism in career driven the Tang's individuals interacted with modern intelligent and values. The symbol or honor title have been renewed, both degree and non-degree holders for the Tang's clansmen could obtain the title of "Shen" and describe as a modern class through economic and social contribution. The characteristics of the gentry were subjected to a complex personal development on learning ability, specifically in the English language that facilitated the bargaining power with the government and further established community contribution to increase the public and government acknowledgment and clan's domination in the New Territory.

The changing of methodology for Tang Clan in power construction

4.1 Tang Clan's Private Education

The outcome of the Tang's education methodology and adaption successfully cultivated fame and socio-political reputation for their clan as a gentry class until the collapse of the imperial examination in the Qing Dynasty in 1905.

Starting from 1105, the first ancestor Tang Fu-hip established the "Li Ying Shuyuan(力

⁴¹ Herbert Blumer. *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1986.

瀛書院)" in Kam Tin. In the Jiaqing period, Qing Dynasty, the "Xin An Xianzhi:

Shanshui Lue(《新安縣誌·山水略》)" recorded that:

「桂角山在縣東南四十里，多產桂，兩山競秀如角，一名龍潭山，宋鄧符築力瀛書院講學於其下，今基址尚存」

[Guijiao mountain is in forty miles southeast of the Xin-an district, it products prolific and has a beautiful land view; also there has a scholar called Tang Fu-hip who built the private school named Li-Ying in Longtan Mountian] (《新安縣誌·山水略》)⁴²

The "Li Ying Shuyuan" is the earliest school in Canton and Hong Kong, which possesses a library and lecture room. The guest lecturer was invited to offer tutorials for the Tang's successors to prepare for the imperial examination (Sweeting, 1990).⁴³

Other private education places from the Tang clan see below table:

Year↵	Academy, library, and private school↵
1105↵	Li ying shuyuan(力瀛書院)↵
1684↵	Zhou wang ergong shuyuan (周王二公書院)↵
1662-1722↵	Li rong tang shu shi (力榮堂書室)↵
1708-1775↵	Ruo xu shu shi(若虛書室)↵
1760↵	Jin yan shu shi (覲延書室)↵
1821↵	Er di shuyuan (二帝書院)↵
1840↵	Shan shu shu shi(善述書室)↵
1874↵	Shu qing shu shi (述卿書室)↵
Unknown↵	Ren dun gang shu shi (仁敦岡書室)↵

⁴² 《新安縣誌·山水略》：「桂角山在縣東南四十里，多產桂，兩山競秀如角，一名龍潭山，宋鄧符築力瀛書院講學於其下，今基址尚存」

⁴³ Sweeting, A. *Education in Hong Kong, Pre-1841 to 1941: Fact and Opinion*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1990.

The education system of the Tangs clan was well organized, no matter the scale for the private schools was different. To ensure the monopoly for fame and title, the private school from the Tang Clan was not open to registering ordinary people other than Tang's lineage. The education opportunity for early modern China was relatively low. Only the gentry and elite classes could study in private schools and become scholars or politicians. The size of the school also divided the grading of education. For instance, the "Er Di Shuyuan" is offered to the clansmen who possessed the "Xiucai(秀才)" title to ensure the quality of the learning environment and deviation (羅慧燕, 2015).⁴⁵

4.2 The success in sculpting gentry

Fame and title were highly competitive in forming social recognition and family power. The Tangs clan engaged their descendants to be the official gentlemen to protect their benefit and position. Viewing the number of examination titles obtained in Hong Kong from the South Song Dynasty to the Jiaqing twenty-three years (1818), the "Xin An Xianzhi(《新安縣誌》)" shows that:

⁴⁴ 香港史學會. 《文物古蹟中的香港史》. 香港: 中華書局, 2014

⁴⁵ 羅慧燕. 《藍天樹下: 新界鄉村學校》. 香港: 三聯, 2015.

Examination Title↵	Number of scholar↵
甲科進士↵	1↵
鄉試中式↵	11↵
恩貢↵	4↵
歲貢↵	9↵
例貢/增貢↵	60↵
例職↵	17↵

(4.2 Numbers of imperial examination title obtained by Tang clan from South Song Dynasty to the

Jiaqing twenty-three years) ⁴⁶

Referring to the examination title plaques in Kim Tin, it recorded:

Year↵	Name↵	Title↵
康熙二十四年(1685)↵	Tang Man-wai 鄧文蔚↵	文進士↵
乾隆五十七年(1792)↵	Tang Hung 鄧熊↵	舉人↵
嘉慶十年(1805)↵	Tang Ti-bo 鄧天保↵	武進士↵
同治三年(1864)↵	Tang Rong-jing 鄧蓉鏡↵	舉人↵
同治六年(1867)↵	Tang Zuo-huai 鄧佐槐↵	解元↵
同治九年(1869)↵	Tang Hong-ying 鄧宏英↵	武舉人↵
光緒二年(1876)↵	Tang Ding-bang 鄧定邦↵	舉人↵

(4.3 Imperial examination title obtained by Tang clansmen in Kim Tin)

For the Tang clan in Ping Shan, which also has examination title plaques, see the following:

⁴⁶ 劉智鵬, & 劉蜀永. 《香港史：從遠古到九七》[A brief history of Hong Kong : From ancient times to the 1997 handover]. 香港：香港城市大學出版社, 2019



(4.4 The imperial examination celebration plaques in Ping Shan)

Although there is ambiguity about the number of fame and title the Tang clan obtained from the old dynasty to the Qing Dynasty, Siu Kwok-kin (1997) consolidated the title possessed during the Qing Dynasty:

	Ping Shan	Lung Yeuk Tau	Ha Tsuen
進士	Nil	Nil	1
舉人	5	1	2
貢生	8	14	3

(4.5 Number of the imperial examination titles obtained by Tang clansmen during Qing Dynasty)⁴⁷

Compared to other domestic clans in the New Territory, the Tang clan occupied a relatively high fame and examination titles ratio. It represented the socio-political status was in advanced in the gentry class. The rhyming couplet presented by Lam Zhao-

⁴⁷ 蕭國健. 《香港的歷史與文物》. 香港: 明報出版社有限公司, 1997.

tang(林召棠)(1786-1873), Principal Graduate, and the plaque with "Fu Zi Dangke (父子登科)" [both of father and son obtained fame and imperial title] by Ruan Yuan(阮元)(1764-1849), Viceroy of Liangguang, are symbolized the reputation for the Tang clan of Hong Kong(鄧聖時, 1999).⁴⁸ The number of plaques and titles reflected as a strong symbol revealed by Abner (1976)⁴⁹, which presented the monopolistically for the Tang clan.

4.3 Fall into the commercial and official donation

Until the late 19th century, there was an increased number of merchants being "Shi". 余英時(1987) argued that the spirit of entrepreneurship and the natural trading behavior was already planted in the Chinese people, and the function between "Shi" and "Merchant" became ambiguous.⁵⁰ The ideological change began during the Song Dynasty, called "Neo-Confucianism". The impacts on merchant development were explained by Shen Yao(沈垚)(1798-1840), a Scholar of the Qing Dynasty, who mentioned that:

「古者士之子恆為士，後世商之子亦能為士」；

[The descendent of gentries were always being gentries, but the descendent

⁴⁸ 鄧聖時. 《屏山鄧族千年史探索》. 香港：鄧廣賢, 1999

⁴⁹ Abner, Cohen. *Two-Dimensional Man: An essay on the anthropology of power and symbolism in complex society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press. 1976

⁵⁰ 余英時. 《中國近世宗教倫理與商人精神》. 臺北：聯經出版事業公司, 1987.

of merchants could also be gentry in lateral generations]

「天下士多出於商」；

[Most of the gentries came from businessmen]

「天下之勢偏重在商」

[Business was the new trend of the world]

(《落帆樓文集》卷二四:《費席山先生七十雙壽序》)⁵¹

Na gong" [purchasing or donating for the civil servant position] was famous in the Late Ming to Qing Dynasty since the emergence of the natural disaster and the war expenditure. Compared with the traditional approach of studying hard to obtain official and examination titles, the donation was a direct way for the merchant to possess authority and political power. For clans in the New Territories, compared to cultivating a new generation of intellectuals, donating official positions and titles showed the clan's wealth, ability, and status in society. Nevertheless, the Tang clan had engaged clansmen in Business, and among the Tang clan, the method of "Simultaneous development of agriculture and business" had prevailed. By the middle of the 19th century, more and more clansmen of Long Yue Tau worked in the trade and maritime industry. They began to view less importance on academic achievements and fame assiduously (陳國成, 2019).⁵² It was affected by the change of social structure, scholars no longer monopolized politics and society, and merchants promoted accordingly.

⁵¹ [清]《落帆樓文集》卷二四:《費席山先生七十雙壽序》:「古者士之子恆為士，後世商之子亦能為士」；「天下士多出於商」；「天下之勢偏重在商」

⁵² 陳國成. 《香港地區史研究之三：粉嶺（增訂版）》. 香港：三聯, 2019

According to the "Xin An Xianzhi(《新安縣誌》), as of 1819, donating scholar title in Tang clan in Long Yue Tou had 16 times, Kam Tin had 20 times, Ha Tsuen had 3 times, and Ping Shan 6 times(陳國成, 2019).⁵³ The above donation reflects the social status and economic power of the Tang clan and symbolized the traditional values and clan spirit of fame and reputation pursuit and defending the occupation of “Shi” and gentry status.

4.4 Step into the Power rebuilt after the alternation of politics

Said to Yu Ying-shih (1987), the exhaustion of the imperial examination symbolized the separation between the traditional scholar and modern intellectuals.⁵⁴To go further, the occupation by the British government and the collapse of the Qing dynasty also illustrated the division between the classical gentry and the modern “Shen(紳)” in Hong Kong. The Tang Clan had remained the gentry’s function on educational traditions and governing authority in public affairs.

Said to Sinn (1980), Charity and the formation of Chinese organization were the essential elements for the local Chinese elite to establish the channel of communication

⁵³ 陳國成. 《香港地區史研究之三：粉嶺（增訂版）》. 香港：三聯, 2019

⁵⁴ 余英時. 《中國近世宗教倫理與商人精神》. 臺北：聯經出版事業公司, 1987.

and the right in sharing the domestic governing authority from the colonial government.⁵⁵ Similar to the establishment of Po Leung Kok, the Yuen Long "Shen-Shang", Tang Lian-ming(鄧廉明), Tang Pui-king(鄧佩瓊), Tang Wei-tang(鄧煒堂), and others Tang's clansman through the Pok Oi Hospital Incorporation Ordinance established the west medical hospital in Yuen Long(徐振邦, 2015).⁵⁶ The Tang clansmen were appointed as the institution's directors, such as Tang Bi-ru(鄧璧如), Tang Wei-tang, and Tang Pak-qiu, etc.(Pok Oi Hospital, 2013)⁵⁷ Said to Sinn(2003), the Tung Wah's directors were referred to as "Jushen(局紳)", the literally "gentry" of the group.⁵⁸ As we can observe from the "《新界年鑑》"[Annual report of New Territory], it claimed the official title of "Shen Zhu-xi(紳主席)" [Chairman Gentry] for the Pok Oi Hospital director(新界新聞報, 2009).⁵⁹ In modern times, the Tang clansman had demonstrated the functions comparable to the gentry's value in early China, which reinforced virtues and organizational performance into the society and played an essential role in providing medical service for the residents in the New Territory. The consequence of the Hospital establishment was further displayed the

⁵⁵ Sinn, Elizabeth, *Power and Charity: The Early History of the Tung Wah Hospital, Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1980

⁵⁶ 徐振邦. 《我哋當舖好有情》. 香港：突破出版社, 2015

⁵⁷ Pok Oi Hospital. 《博愛醫院壬辰年年報 2012-2013》. 香港：Pok Oi Hospital, 2013

⁵⁸ Sinn, Elizabeth, *Power and Charity: The Early History of the Tung Wah Hospital, Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1980

⁵⁹ 新界新聞報. 《新界年鑑》. 美國：密西根大學, 2009

gentry role of the Tang clan and the extension of the clan's power in Hong Kong.

Another example was the continuity of the educational function of the Tang clans. Private school was the central place to represent the Tang clan's religion, politics, economy, and social values(羅慧燕, 2015).⁶⁰ However, the intervention from the British Hong Kong government caused the Tangs to lose their autonomy in managing the education system. The government announced the “Education Ordinance”, which included the registration policy for the New Territory private school in 1921(Hong Kong Cultural Press, 1975).⁶¹ All the private school or study room categories should be under government management. The private study room had been retired and further replaced by the public school. Therefore, the Tang's "Shen-Shang" was endured into the modern educational system and established the Ping Shan Dade Public School and Kim Tin Mung Yeung Public School, founded in 1929 and 1926.

The Kim Tin Mung Yeung Public School was established as a "legal person", and the organization had divided into the modern business structure that:

⁶⁰ 羅慧燕. 《藍天樹下：新界鄉村學校》. 香港: 三聯, 2015.

⁶¹ Hong Kong Cultural Press. *Hong Kong Education Yearbook*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Cultural Press, 1975

Kim Tin Mung Yeung Public School Organization Chart	
School Chief Executive	Tang Wing-shou (鄧永壽)
Chancellor	Tang Qian (鄧乾)
Committee Member	Tang Fai-ru (鄧輝儒)
Committee Member	Tang Le-chi (鄧樂芝)
Committee Member	Tang Wan-fa (鄧萬發)
Committee Member	Tang Cai-gui (鄧財貴)
Committee Member	Tang Wai-chi (鄧惠翅)
Committee Member	Tang Xue-ren (鄧學仁)
Committee Member	Tang Zhao-lin (鄧兆霖)
Committee Member	Tang Han-man (鄧漢文)
Committee Member	Tang Huo-an (鄧伙安)
School Principal	Tang En (鄧恩)

(5.1 Organizational charts of Kim Tin Mung Yeung Public School)⁶²

Perhaps, the school was managed by the Tang's clansman hand on the surface. The right in governing at the behind was the Education Bureau and the related ordinance. However, it could be observed that the Tang clans attempted to maintain their gentry function on educational cultivation and thought school creation to train their descendants and spread their clan's reputation as modern "Shen".

4.5 The extension of Tang's "Shen" from private to a political institution

The role of the gentry and acting as "Shi" in district management was never terminated for the Tang Clan because there was the responsibility for the gentry to participate in the district issues, which was a kind of self-awareness to protect the village benefits and

⁶² 方駿，麥尚玲，熊賢君。《香港早期報紙教育資料選萃》。中國：湖南人民出版社，2006

solve the deputy from the resident, also as known as the bridge between the local elite, New Territory residents, and the colonial government said by Sinn (2003).⁶³

The Tang clan was concerned about the maintenance of their leadership and the right to present their traditional right in the Chinese community. According to Kwong (2018), the colonial government had appointed some of New Territory "Shen", who was less aggressive, to take the duty of "committee-men for Sub-districts" to explain and promote the latest policy;⁶⁴ perhaps, there was no real power for the "Shen" to negotiate on planning and implementation.

Therefore, Tang Wei-tang and Tang Pak-qui were the original co-founders of the "Agribusiness Research Association" and "Kowloon New Territories Civil Property Protection Committee" to fight for the property benefits for the village resident caused the new ordinance of "Premium Policy to Build House" raised by the District Office (盧惠玲，張兆和，鄧聖時, 2013).⁶⁵ Before the announcement of the new policy, the

⁶³ Sinn, Elizabeth, *Power and Charity: The Early History of the Tung Wah Hospital, Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1980

⁶⁴ Kwong, Chi Man. *From the "New Territories People" to "Indigenous Inhabitants"*. Identity Construction of the Rural Population in Colonial Hong Kong. No. 52. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Journal of Social Sciences, 2018

⁶⁵ 盧惠玲，張兆和，鄧聖時. 《書寫屏山：香港新界屏山鄧氏宗族表述本土歷史文化傳統文獻彙編》. 香港：香港科技大學華南研究中心, 2013

New Territory residents, specifically the Tang clan, which owned a massive scale of land, enjoyed the exception of the rent fee of the land in trading. The modern gentry and "Shen-Shang" had an awareness of the value of the land and property and the inequality of the terms. So, the public pressure created by the gentry and the legal organization found by the Tang clan had caused the influential power of the government. Meanwhile, it reflected the function of the gentry to intervene in district issues and played the consultation role in policymaking for the governing institution. Eventually, Sir Cecil Clementi, Governor of Hong Kong, decided to withdraw the bill (鄧昌宇, 2012).⁶⁶

Both colonial government and gentries in the New Territory found the importance of the "Shen" corporation and the validity in pursuing right in political participation. After the breakout of the above event, the colonial government had shared more authority with the district organization. It reconstructed the "Agribusiness Research Association" to "Heung Yee Kuk", which gave the power to the "Shen" and Tang clan in handling district issues since the Tang's descendants, such as Tang Pak-qiu, were selected as "Kuk Shen(局紳)" and had right on settling civil deputies and revealing comments on

⁶⁶ 鄧昌宇. 《屏山故事》. 香港：中華書局, 2012

the New Territory events (劉智鵬，劉蜀永, 2019).⁶⁷

In addition, there was a unification of the modern gentry to obtain bargaining power for the Tang gentry to improve the community infrastructure in the Ping Shan and nearby districts in the New Territory. The "Yuen Long Merchants Association" founded by Tang's Clan and other New Territory "Shen-Shang" was an example of building up social connections for the Tang clan to accumulate the "Shen" network and domestic reputation which could further intervene the public policymaking and obtain clan benefits.

The principle for the merchant's association was "unifying merchant's power, knowledge exchange, and transfer, developing the New Territory economy, and pursuing public benefits". The purpose of the Tang clan was to assemble the "Shen" and local elites and try to stress the government and strengthen the self-governance for the clansman. Discussed by 蔡思行(2016) discussed that the association achieved a self-governing function for the Tang's gentry.⁶⁸ On the one hand, the organization established an armed force to protect themselves and manage the Yuen Long District(盧

⁶⁷ 劉智鵬, & 劉蜀永. 《香港史：從遠古到九七》[*A brief history of Hong Kong : From ancient times to the 1997 handover*]. 香港：香港城市大學出版社, 2019

⁶⁸ 蔡思行. 《戰後新界發展史》. 香港：中華書局, 2016

惠玲，張兆和，鄧聖時，2013).⁶⁹ The situation was similar with the early modern time that the district management was based on the clan and gentry authority(科大衛，2009).⁷⁰ Furthermore, the Tang clan had proactively in socio-political participation and government works, such as assisting the government in statistic and population census work in Yuen Long, which should be conducted by the Census and Statistic Department from the colonial government (蔡思行，2016).⁷¹ In addition, there was an overlap function for the association that was comparable to the district consultation and development committee to provide recommendations in community construction, such as telecommunication and fire protection related equipment installation in Yuen Long district (蔡思行，2016).⁷² It evidenced the Tang Clan was actively in community affairs and succussed in using domestic organization to extend the power in social governance, nevertheless, became an important role in Hong Kong political system.

The changing of Clan's benefits, dominant position, land interest

5.1 Traditional Honours for the Tang Clan

Fame and imperial examination title are the abstract impression and symbols for scholars and people to evaluate the socio-political status; however, the practice of "Li

⁶⁹ 盧惠玲，張兆和，鄧聖時. 《書寫屏山：香港新界屏山鄧氏宗族表述本土歷史文化傳統文獻彙編》. 香港：香港科技大學華南研究中心，2013

⁷⁰ 科大衛. 《皇帝和祖宗：華南的國家與宗族》. 南京：江蘇人民出版社，2009.

⁷¹ 蔡思行. 《戰後新界發展史》. 香港：中華書局，2016

⁷² 蔡思行. 《戰後新界發展史》. 香港：中華書局，2016

Jie(禮節)" [etiquette] could be conspicuous the privilege of Tang's Clan and gentry's class in previous China.

「凡百官朝見、洪武二十六年定：稽首頓首五拜、乃臣下見君上之禮」

[In Hongwu, twenty-six years of the Ming Dynasty, the act of kowtow shown by the official reinforced the respect when meeting with the emperor] (《大明會典》)⁷³;

「大朝，王公百官行三跪九叩禮，其他朝儀亦如之。」

[Like previous dynasties, the act of kneeling and kowtow by officials symbolized the more excellent status of the nation] (《大清會典》)⁷⁴

Therefore, the practice of "Li Jie" also symbolized the privilege and inferior status of the social hierarchy, which should match with the "San Gang Wu Chang(三綱五常)" [Three Fundamental Bonds and Five Constant Virtues]. In discussing the four occupational classifications, farmers, craftsmen, and merchants are required to activate the "Zhang Gui Zhe Li (長跪之禮)" [long kneeling ceremony] to the officer, while people who possess fame except for the above action. It reflected the difference between the Tangs clan and general people that people should demonstrate the kneeling ceremony when meeting with the governor from the Tangs family. In addition, for the ancestors of the Tangs clan, the title of "Shou Guan (壽官)" and "Yi Ku sheng (邑庫生)" [honor title given by the emperor] did not have specific authority and government power in politics. However, these virtual titles also rewarded the advanced position in

⁷³ [明]《大明會典》：「凡百官朝見、洪武二十六年定：稽首頓首五拜、乃臣下見君上之禮」

⁷⁴ [清]《大清會典》：「大朝，王公百官行三跪九叩禮，其他朝儀亦如之。」

kneeling exception of the official.

5.2 Temple and worship

For the traditional Chinese, even the modern Chinese community, it concerns the spirit and function of the ancestor hall; however, the construction of the relevant building had cautiously and rigid requirements for the clan. Social ranking was an essential factor in evaluating who could be qualified to build an ancestor hall. According to FOR Tai-wai(科大衛) (2003), the ritual and ceremony system was only available for the emperor, noble, and official gentlemen, while the familiar people had no right to build temples and halls to conduct ancestor scarification.⁷⁵ In addition, referring to the "Zhou Li (周禮)" [The Rites of Zhou], it stated that:

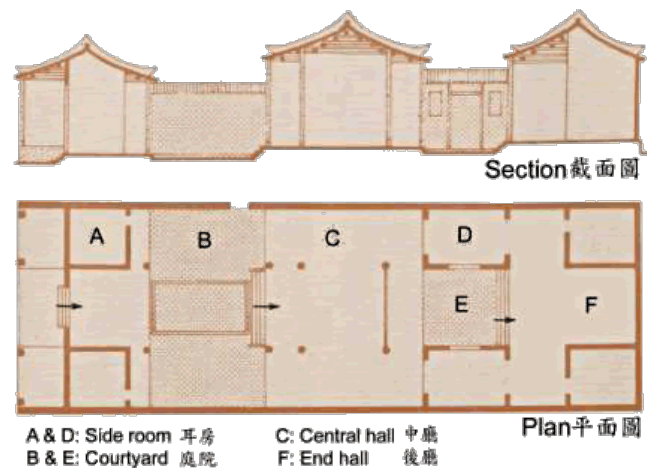
「天子七廟，諸侯五，大夫三，適士二，官師一，庶士、庶人無廟」
[Emperor was maximum to build seven temples, feudatory for five temples, official gentlemen for three temples, an upper-ranking official for two temples, a middle-ranking official for one temple, and the lower-ranking official and ordinary people was not allowed to build temple]
(《禮記·祭法》)⁷⁶

So, becoming an official gentleman was the entrance condition for building a family temple or hall. Moreover, there have further restrictions on the scale and scope of the

⁷⁵ 科大衛. 祠堂與家廟—從宋末到明中葉宗族禮儀的演變. 歷史人類學學刊 1, no. 2, 2003.

⁷⁶ [戰國]《禮記·祭法》:「天子七廟，諸侯五，大夫三，適士二，官師一，庶士、庶人無廟」

temple or hall design based on the ranking of the gentry's class (黃家樑, 2014).⁷⁷ In viewing the architectural design of the Tangs Clan Ancestor Hall, it identified the structure as three halls with two enclosed courtyards, seeing the following floor plan:



(6.1 The floorplan of the Tang Ancestor Hall in Ping Shan)⁷⁸

黃家樑(2014) also mentioned that referring to the feudal law in China, the official ranking with "San Pin(三品)" [upper-class official gentlemen granted by emperor] or above could build ancestor hall with five halls; ranking with "Si Pin (四品)" to "Qi Pin(七品)" [middle-class official-gentlemen] could build three halls; ranking with "Ba Pin(八品)" to "Jiu Pin (九品)" [low-class official-gentlemen] could build two halls.⁷⁹ People who had not possessed fame and examination title were prohibited from

⁷⁷ 黃家樑. 《藏在古蹟裡的香港》. 香港: 三聯, 2014.

⁷⁸ Education and Manpower Bureau. 鄧氏宗祠: 建築特色. Accessed March 1, 2022. https://cd1.edb.hkedcity.net/cd/pshe/resources/pingshan_lungyeuktau/zh_tw/pingshan/tangancestral_hall_ac.htm.

⁷⁹ 黃家樑. 《藏在古蹟裡的香港》. 香港: 三聯, 2014.

building ancestor hall while only creating a court inside the house for worship. Traced to the first ancestor Tang Fu-hip, his highest official ranking was "Cong Qi Pin(從七品)" district magistrate.

Evaluating the ancestors of the Tang clan of Hong Kong, Tang Fu-hip served as the head of a county who was governance covered 10,000 households, and Tang Feng-xun(鄧馮遜), the builder of the Tangs Clan Ancestor Hall in Ping Shan, Hong Kong, was achieved the highest official ranking of "Yi Pin(一品)". The ancestral hall played an essential role in Chinese tradition. It symbolized the socio-political status and further represented the inheritance and honor of the Tang family. The Tang's ancestral hall with three halls and two enclosed courtyards reflected the advantages for the official-gentlemen classes, specially positioned into the middle-highest ranking of official gentry.

5.3 Risk factors for the Tang's Clan "Shi" status and domination

The spread of entrepreneurship would be the new fashion in the Chinese community and cause the social atmosphere of "Waiver of Confucianism, begin with commerce"

in the late Ming to Qing dynasty, said to 余英時 (1987).⁸⁰ Stated by 王昕(2018) the personal life and the utilitarianism were the essential factors to evaluate the social status.⁸¹ Moreover, even the wave of "Waiver of Confucianism, begin with commerce" happened in the society (Wang, 2020).⁸²

For the Tang Clan, commercial development was benefited in accumulating wealth. However, the crisis has appeared on the declined value of the title and the decreased number of official vacancies for the Tang Clan to obtain during the late 19th century. 趙利棟(2005) had reviewed the number of officer positions obtained through imperial examination and donation. See the following:

表1 清代地方官的出身背景 (1801-1904)

背景 年份	科目		捐納		其他途徑		未明出身		總數
	人數	%	人數	%	人數	%	人數	%	
1801	4,463	48.9	2,636	28.9	1,254	13.7	775	8.5	9,128
1850	4,152	45.5	3,426	37.5	1,254	13.7	300	3.3	9,132
1871	3,633	40.6	4,168	46.6	776	8.7	372	4.1	8,949
1880	3,658	39.0	4,775	50.9	647	6.9	297	3.2	9,377
1890	3,590	40.0	4,379	48.8	552	6.2	446	5.0	8,985
1898	3,618	40.3	4,484	50.0	564	6.3	302	3.4	8,968
1904	3,443	38.5	4,475	50.0	504	5.6	532	5.9	8,954

說明：1、數字根據《大清摺紳全書》(1801、1850、1871、1880、1890、1898、1904)統計，沒有統計盛京、吉林及後設的新疆、台灣。

2、科目類包括：進士、舉人、拔貢、優貢、副榜(副貢)、恩貢、歲貢、生員(廩生、附生、增生)、教習、膳錄；捐納類包括：廩貢、增貢、附貢、貢生、廩監、增監、附監、監生；其他途徑包括：蔭生、書吏、議敘、保薦、蔭襲、軍功、孝廉方正、文童、俊秀、勞績。

(6.2 Background of district officer in Qing Dynasty) ⁸³

⁸⁰ 余英時. 《中國近世宗教倫理與商人精神》. 臺北: 聯經出版事業公司, 1987.

⁸¹ 王昕. 「棄儒就賈」與明代平民文化的興盛. 中國: 《人民論壇》中國人民大學文學院, 2018.

⁸² Wang, Shuo. *Negotiating Friendships a Canton Merchant between East and West in the Early 19th Century*. Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020.

⁸³ 趙利棟. 一九〇五年前後的科舉廢止：學堂與士紳階層. 香港: 《二十一世紀》香港中文大學,

From the 19th to 20th century, Qing officials who graduated from the imperial examination dropped from 4,463 in 1801 to 3,443 in 1904. Contributions to official positions rose from 2,636 in 1801 to 4,475 in 1904. Those who donated to official positions accounted for 50% of the overall establishment from 1890 to 1904. At the same time, the threshold of the Qing Dynasty for the official position to enter the official position continued to decline. The number of "Jinshi" who obtained officer positions dropped from 11.8% to 6.7% in 1904; however, the number of donating scholars who got an offer in the civil servant was increased from 22.9% to 35.9%. Also, according to the "《大清縉紳全書》 [Complete Book of Jinshen of the Great Qing Dynasty]", there were only 51 people who were granted examination titles in "Jinshi" as magistrates and prefectures in 1904, while the number of donating scholars rose to 390 (趙利棟, 2005).⁸⁴ It reflected that the social demand for fame and fortune has declined. The titles of those who hold official positions are also relatively devalued. Furthermore, the entire structure of the imperial officials, the overall proportion of those who donated to official positions and entered the official career has surpassed that of the traditional examination process in the subjects. The power of political participation makes it easier for businessmen to replace traditional scholars and, at the same time, encourages

2005

⁸⁴ 趙利棟. 一九〇五年前後的科舉廢止：學堂與士紳階層. 香港：《二十一世紀》香港中文大學, 2005

scholars to use the way of donating classes.

It was only fewer "Jinshi" and "Juren" assigned to civil servant position(趙利棟, 2005).⁸⁵ The Tang clansmen was difficult for the official gentlemen to obtain absolute governing authority. The officer was divided into an administrative and military post, while it was further divided into "Zhishi guan(執事官)" [Deacon] and "San guan (散官)" [honors official]. The military-based titles were a generally lower reputation than the scholar. Instead of the examination context, the official position only had limited privileges and power in the political system. According to to 俞啟定(2017), people who passed the imperial examination in the military would be granted "(Ying Zhi 營職)" [military officer], "Wei Zhi(衛職)" [guard duty for the royal family], and "Wu San Jie (武散階)" [honor title in the military].⁸⁶ Viewing with the Fame and Reputation List from Ping Shan Tang Clan Ancestor Hall, most of the descendants were only obtained the honors titles both in scholar and mainly in the military. For example, the Tangs ancestors from 19th to 22nd were possessed the historical highest title in "Wu Lue Qi Wei (武略騎尉)" [grade 6 honor title in the military]. There was no specific political power and authority for the Tang clan while having a family reputation for themselves;

⁸⁵ 趙利棟. 一九〇五年前後的科舉廢止：學堂與士紳階層. 香港：《二十一世紀》香港中文大學, 2005

⁸⁶ 俞啟定. 《書院北京：最高學府--北京國子監（太學）》. 臺北：崧博出版事業有限公司, 2017.

perhaps, as discussed before, the military title was less valuable in the civil servant system. The Tang Clan only remained under the "Shi" title. Perhaps, it did not possess actual authority in governing.

5.4 The dissatisfactory and new challengers for the Tang Clan

Before the collapse of the imperial examination system, the clansman in the Tangs family failed to obtain official titles and decided to do business; however, there was a critique from the clansmen in Tang's family, which stated:

「某某人，屢試不售，改途貿易」；

[Some clansmen who were failed to obtain official positions and decided to do business];

「某某人，例捐登士郎，雖非箕裘克紹，而創垂造作頗有餘資」

[Some clansmen who were donated official posts or fell into doing business could not follow and cultivate the ancestral spirit with scholar and politic but had talent in enterprise and crafts work.] (陳國成, 2019)⁸⁷

It was a shame for the Tang clansmen not to receive the imperial title. The descendants of the Tang clan even abandoned scholars to go into business. The change of social status and the modernized materialized society all harmed the Tang clan, and the Clan itself was also frustrated by this phenomenon.

⁸⁷ 陳國成. 《香港地區史研究之三：粉嶺（增訂版）》. 香港：三聯, 2019

Furthermore, since the descendants of the Tang family were driven to enter the business sector, the opportunity for their fame was lost to other clans in the New Territories. For example, in 1861, the Liu clan had several descendant who obtained the "Juren" title through imperial examination, and the Tang clan overshadowed their socio-political reputation. In addition, because Liu's clan also benefited from economic development, his family power grew in the 19th century and acquired Lung Yue tau, Sai Kung, Lam Tsuen, Fan Ling, and other places (陳國成, 2019).⁸⁸ As a result, the status and power of the Tang clan in society have been continuously weakened. Their level of political participation has also declined.

The commercial development also drove the wealth from other clans in New Territory, which caused new competition and conflict between the clans. The following is one example that shows the new competitor challenged the Tang clan domination:

「農業最盛時期，陶族與錦田鄧族預備比身家，陶族屯谷公以蔗糖五缸一棟，由屯門排至錦田，鄧族鄧連光，以白銀五元 一同，由錦田排至屯門，此事係舊族相傳，成為佳話。」

[There was a competition on worth between the Tau's and Tang's clansmen. The 8th ancestor of Tau used five sucrose cylinders as one stack and linked up from Tuen Mun to Kim Tin; For the Tang's clan, it used five yuan as one stack and linked up from Kam Tin to Tuen Mun.] (James Hayes & 潘淑華, 2011)⁸⁹

⁸⁸ 陳國成. 《香港地區史研究之三：粉嶺（增訂版）》. 香港：三聯, 2019

⁸⁹ James Hayes & 潘淑華. 許舒博士所藏屯門歷史文獻資料. 第六十四期,. 香港：《田野與文獻》, 2011

The event reflected the approach of the clans in establishing clan identification and domination. In addition, it evidenced that entrepreneurship and the transforming values were shaped the whole civil servant system and the Tang clan of Hong Kong. The fame and examination title were less valuable than in previous times. It was hard to obtain an official position in the highly competitive environment with the "merchant-gentlemen" (趙利棟, 2005).⁹⁰ To face the challenges from the other clans in Hong Kong, the Tang clan had remained the advantage in the number of the examination titles. However, it was only restricted to the military while other clans obtained higher recognized academic titles. The rise of entrepreneurship has also boosted the inflation in fame and title, and consequently, wealth and materialism were dominated in presenting the privilege of the clan and social status. Eventually, although the Tang clan remained as "Shi", it was not ever monopolized the leading position in society.

5.5 Conflicts and autonomy on land

The assumption described by For Da-wai(科大衛, 2009) revealed that the rise of the district clan and power could be a metaphor for the country's benefits. The land is the recognized language for the gentry to demonstrate their domestic benefits in a rationalized framework.⁹¹ The land registration system created in the Ming Dynasty is called "Li Jia(里甲), which ensures the possessor's ownership. The domestic clans and gentries were beginning to use corporations as legal persons to extend the legal right for their descendants to inherit and control the land resources. The study of the genealogy of the Pearl River Delta showed various domestic clans were hoarding lands

⁹⁰ 趙利棟. 一九〇五年前後的科舉廢止：學堂與士紳階層. 香港：《二十一世紀》香港中文大學, 2005

⁹¹ 科大衛. 《皇帝和祖宗：華南的國家與宗族》. 南京：江蘇人民出版社, 2009.

with the combination of household land from the general people(科大衛, 2009).⁹² The group consensus had been further developed to the clan spirit and created an exclusion conception for the outsider, also because the district government needed the local elites to assist in managing and organizing military force. It granted the right for the clan to organize local forces and strengthen control over land. Moreover, the Tang clan of Hong Kong showed a great example of the land's conflict between the modern zeitgeists.

New Territory

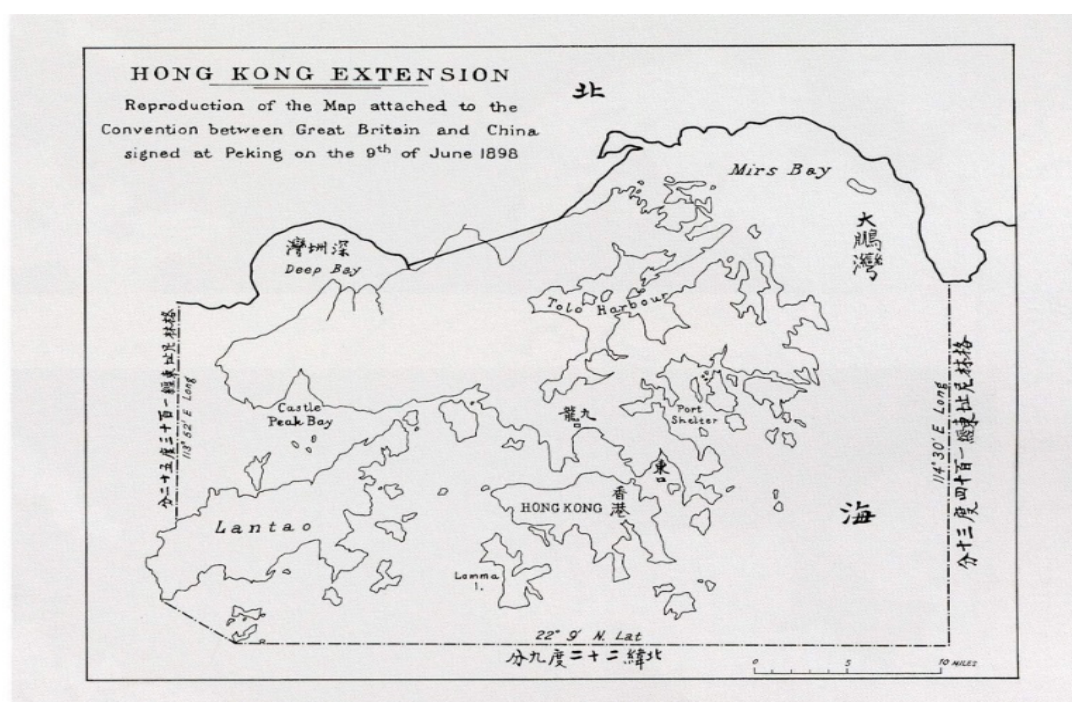
The Tang's genealogy described that their ancestor had married the emperor's aunt in the Song Dynasty, so their clan possessed a vast scale of land. The Tang clan also continued to compile genealogical ultimatums and the links between the clansmen around the near district. Therefore, the combination of clan history and land ownership for the clan was well organized during the early modern times(科大衛, 2009).⁹³ The transition point happened in the late 19th century. Based on the commercial development, the Man clan was attempted to challenge the Tang clan's control of the Tai Po Market. Although the trial judged the Tang clan's legal right of the "tariff land" in Tai Po Market and the income from land matched the value of "Filial piety" in worship and maintaining the "文武二帝" temple in Lung Yue tau, the verdict indicated Man clansmen had right in building a house nearby the market while prohibited in doing

⁹² 科大衛. 《皇帝和祖宗：華南的國家與宗族》. 南京：江蘇人民出版社, 2009.

⁹³ 科大衛. 《皇帝和祖宗：華南的國家與宗族》. 南京：江蘇人民出版社, 2009.

Business. The Man clan had further built the Tai Wo Market and Kwong Fuk Bridge in 1896(卜永堅, 2000).⁹⁴ It indirectly scrambled the revenues from the old Tai Po Market.

The further intervention was regarded as the national treaty that the Qing Government signed, the "The Convention Between Great Britain and China Respecting an Extension of Hong Kong Territory" with the British government, which included all land in the New Territory:

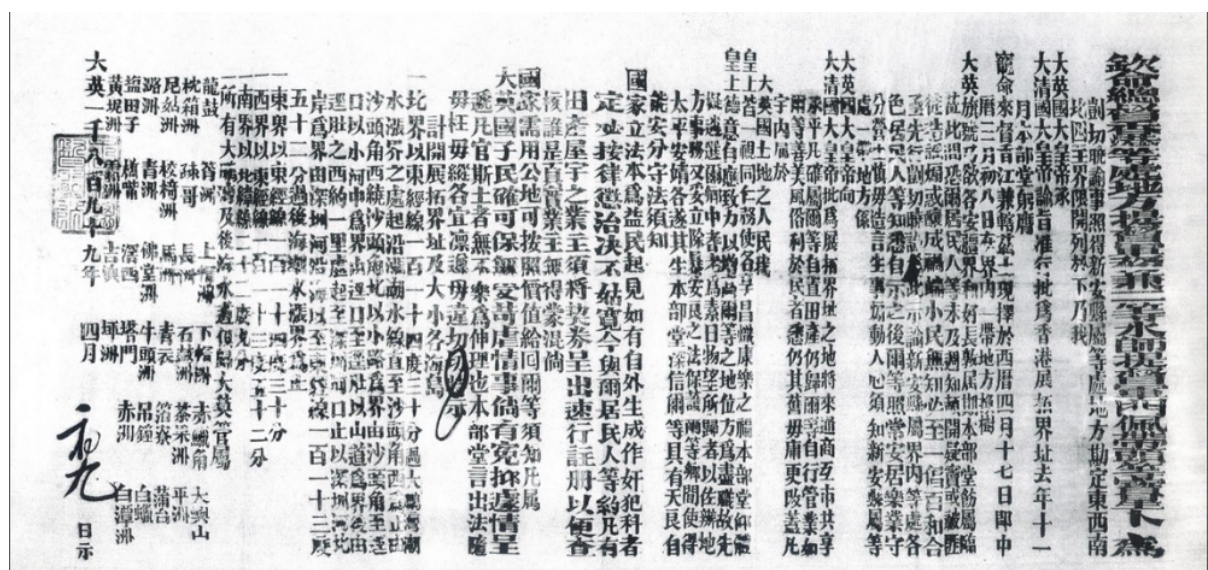


(6.3 The map of extension of Hong Kong territory in 1898)⁹⁵

⁹⁴ 卜永堅. 《抗租與迎神：從己卯年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》，香港城市大學中國文化科目中心，香港：華南研究資料中心通訊，2000

⁹⁵ Great Britain Parliament. Convention between the United Kingdom and China, respecting an extension of Hong Kong territory (with a map) / signed at Peking, June 9, 1898 (ratifications exchanged at London, August 6, 1898); presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London: H.M.S.O., 1898

The Tang clan was aware of the threat to the land's ownership and the governing authority and caused the "Six-Day War" eventually. Of course, the Tang's militia could not beat the British army, and Henry Arthur Blake, the Governor of Hong Kong, issued the notices of receiving of the New Territory:



(6.4 Governor of Hong Kong receiving the New Territories announcement in 1899)

The notice had clearly stated that the landowner was under the British king. However, the managing authority remained for the people who possessed the legal land deed and needed to be verified by the British government. Otherwise, the land that did not have legal ownership would be incorporated into the British government.

The contradiction was made in the terms and definition for the "deed", that the Tang's clansman claimed the words "管事" (permanent right to managing the land) were

different from the British Law and understanding (盧惠玲，張兆和，鄧聖時, 2013).⁹⁶

The colonial government had the right to the expropriation of land for public use. For example, the colonial government proposed building a military airport in Ping Shan in 1945 without consultation and notification. The village selected Tang Song-nian as the representative against the construction. The willingness and personal contribution drive Tang Song-nian to be promoted to the village leader.

在鄉村，豎立功名石是為了告知大眾有族人科舉中式或獲授官位，從而激勵後人奮發讀書，光宗耀祖。屏山坑尾村有五塊功名石并列一起，上圖最左面一塊顯示一位近代名人，他是民國年間畢業於北洋醫學院，後被派往美國哈佛大學深造的鄧松年，為新界第一位留美的醫學博士。鄧松年退休後參與反對香港軍政府在元朗與屯門一帶興建機場。時值二次大戰結束，英國重奪香港，軍政府計劃加強香港的防禦能力，並以此促進中英之間貿易為由，選址新界興建屏山機場。為此要清拆約十條村落，半數位於屏山地區，引起村民很大反抗。鄧松年其時年屆七十，德高望重，被族人推舉為代表，向香港軍政府和國民政府反映意見，懇請停建屏山機場。一九四五年十一月屏山、廈村和屯門等村組成五百人的請願團前往中區，先後會見聖公會何明華會督、中國軍事代表團代特派員周應賓將軍、華民政務司葛健士，及香港軍政府首長夏。一九四六年三月，鄧松年致函中國外交部，再次要求反對興建屏山機場。事隔一個月，香港軍政府基於多種原因宣布停建機場，並答應向受影響村民作出賠償，事件自此告一段落。

(6.5 《英國的友誼－記九龍屏山機場事件》)⁹⁷

The news report showed the position and ideology of "nation," which regarded the gentry's belief in comprehending the land and diplomatic issues, seeking the Chinese government to provide intervention to defend their ownership and clan's reputation. On the one hand, it illustrated that the Tang clan would lose their authority on their land and further weakened their district power. On the other hand, according to For Dai-wai(科大衛)(2017), there was no official registration of the land ownership of part of the Tang's clansman and the emperor's aunt after the Song Dynasty in the record.⁹⁸ It

⁹⁶ 盧惠玲，張兆和，鄧聖時。《書寫屏山：香港新界屏山鄧氏宗族表述本土歷史文化傳統文獻彙編》。香港：香港科技大學華南研究中心，2013

⁹⁷ 孫揚。《國民政府對香港問題的處置（1937-1949）》。香港：三聯，2017

⁹⁸ 科大衛。《皇帝和祖宗：華南的國家與宗族》。南京：江蘇人民出版社，2009。

means part of the Tang's occupied land in the modern law was illegal and the governing legitimacy under the changed politics was switched from China to British, and from domestic gentry to the modern bureaucracy.

Kowloon and Hong Kong Island

The influence occurred in the internal New Territory, Kowloon, and Hong Kong Island. Based on the commercial and traditional agriculture development, the land power of the Tang clan had extended to the whole of Hong Kong. Stated by Tam Hin-Chung (譚顯宗)(2017) 's thesis, one of Tang's lineages claimed their family had land ownership in Tsim Sha Tsui but had been lost the authority during the cede of Kowloon in the middle 19th century.⁹⁹ In addition, the business structure of "tenant land" was adapted by the Tang clan, which offered farmland to the Hakka people to manage and receive the rent fees. The renter had raised the issues because the definition of ownership in the modern law was changed, and the Tang Clan could not, through their political power and the gentry status, achieve a settlement with the "Xin An Xian Yamen(新安縣衙門)" [the county government].

⁹⁹ 譚顯宗. 論香港近代轉型, 北京大學碩士論文, 2017

It verified that the Tang clan possessed land all over Hong Kong. Second, the land ownership had been changed. According to the "Xianggang Deng Chu Shui Liu Zong Cheng (《香港等處稅畝總呈》)"[general tax report]:

糧道批
據呈夷人
佔田糧租
無出請暫
緩征等情
是否屬實
仰廣卅府
為夷佔民業租失糧賤乞
恩憐准飭暫緩征事切生
等先祖遺
有新安稅田土名香港群
大路大潭潭橫港洛子壠
大橋下益
田園慈嶺松木岡等處共
計八頃零又東莞稅田土
名黃泥
涌紫窩石龜石滑石坑
梳頂等處共計三頃零均
有印冊可
據向批佃戶彭周各姓耕
種輸租歷久靡異不料喚
逆窺該田切
近海邊去年胆敢霸佔該
土名大潭潭群大群路
處計下稅
頃零並土名黃泥涌黃泥
滑石坑梳頂等處計下稅
一頃零已種之禾平毀為
路未耕之田搭蓋為房其
餘均枕逆巢

(6.6 《香港等處稅畝總呈》 recovered in 1894)¹⁰⁰

The Chow's brother refused to pay the rental fee and privately resold the land that originally belonged to the Tang clan in Kam Tin, including Tai Tam (Crown Road)(大潭 (裙帶路)) and Wong Nai Chung(黃泥涌). The Tang Clan hoped to restore the land ownership and repay the tariff to the Qing and the colonial government. However, the

¹⁰⁰ 香港大學. 《香港等處稅畝總呈》, 光緒 20 年(1894)重抄本. 香港: 香港大學

district government had a misunderstanding on the above situation and claimed it could

be collecting the rent fees even the use of the land had changed to build the house:

新安縣

其軍武生鄧致祥等
稟為乞 憲申詳注銷以完糧累事緣生等租遺香港群大路等
處土名數百餘畝苗甲在案歷代管業一向無異不道料先二十
一年內慘被噴夷將該處田地填塞起造樓房其中尚餘未經填
塞田地又被安佃私賣領租穀租良一概無收可憐數十家口
倚仰無資苦楚難言前蒙 藩憲大憲大人批示暫行緩征時
思租由田出從租輸田耗稅存終恐貽累復于本年十月內稟
請大英國欽差親臨新安城驗明稅畝既經 仁天蓋印將稅冊撥
與粵人以便注銷將生該處新東兩路各名稅畝申詳 督撫

着查稅畝并何戶聲明候夷稍靖查詳示遵等諭生等恐為糧累
歷稟 各憲奉批批批呈隨蒙票飭生等繪圖呈繳理宜是是
遵惟查逆夷霸佔無休今又被土人藉勢佔造舖戶百十餘間竊
付糧從田出彼既霸佔田畝越造舖戶似可就于各舖戶中抽取
地租以輸糧務則上可無虧國餉下亦無負民業是否有當靜候
憲裁只得粘抄繪圖續叩 奏階伏乞俯准批情轉詳核示飭
遵實為公便公候頂稅世世沾 恩切切
計抄粘 憲批一帝 地苗一帝 呈電
道光二十三年二月十三 日准

(6.7 & 6.8 《香港等處稅畝總呈》 recovered in 1894)¹⁰¹

After the trial, the Tang clan in Kam Tin was judged to lose Hong Kong Island land ownership. The Tang clan could not recover the rent fee and lost legal ownership of the related lands. The above circumstance illustrated that the framework of “Clan management” described by For Da-wai was no longer applicable in modern times.

¹⁰¹ 香港大學. 《香港等處稅畝總呈》, 光緒 20 年(1894)重抄本. 香港: 香港大學

Previously, clan lineage, fame, examination title, and the close relationship with the magistrate were the methodology for the local gentries to maintain their land power and authority; however, the Tang clan in the New Territory represented the decline of the gentry status in the modern society, specifically, under the period of British occupation, the change on the scope of governance and emphasis on gentry was further weakened the socio-political status for the clans in the New Territory. It caused the loss of land ownership.

Conclusion

Tang's gentry, power construction, and conflict of interest

In evaluating the social constructional procedure for the Tang clan, even said, the Chinese community, there was an obvious transformation on the gentry class creation and the methodology in power, social governance authority, and clan reputation cultivation from the early modern to the middle 20th century. The concept of “Shi” and “Clan” centralization of social governing were the fundamental elements for the Tang clan of Hong Kong to consolidate the power and implement the duty as a gentry. Regarding with the Abner’s investigation on political symbol, the Tang Clan possessed fame, examination title, and civil servant position were the symbolic evidence in social governing authority. At the meanwhile, the establishment of private education was the

effective tool for the Tang clan to enjoy the privilege status on the gentry class and the traditional interests based on etiquette, administrative function, and land.

However, said to Hegel, zeitgeist and value were changed from time to time, which was important for understand the cause and effect of the social constructional development. And investigated by Yu Ying-shih, the political strategy and authority were gradually emphasized on commercial development, which strengthened the merchant's role into the governing framework and created the new value of "entrepreneurship" during the modern time. Along with the busy and opportunity for the economy development in modern China, the social interaction driven the new consensus on the power of symptom. Wealth level for the clan was the symbol of powers demonstration while the traditional value of fame and examination title had not been eliminated in the society. Even say, the power of money was the source for the clan to obtain honor and maintain their class privilege. See with the Tang Clan, based on the economic growth, the Tang clansmen had both participated in official donation and business. Perhaps, the benefits on commercial development were not only restricted on the Tang clan, but it also raised the comparability for other New Territory clans to challenge the Tang's leadership and domination. In addition, it could be seen that the negative consequence on the fame and title inflation caused the shortage of civil servant vacancy and driven the decline of the

actual political authority and honor title.

After the end of the Qing dynasty, fame, examination title, and official donation were completely lost on the socio-political value, because of the change of the political environment. The new governing institution and modern law had applied to Hong Kong. There was meaningless for the Tang's clansmen to operate private study room and attend to imperial examination, which was a vital symbol of the termination of the advanced position of the gentry class in the social hierarchy. But, argued by Michael Franz, the old Chinese gentries were still carrying out the "Shi" function on social administration and affairs. The modern gentry of "Shen" had given to the Tang's clansmen, while the demographic characteristics and methodologies in building the modern gentry class were tended to be diversified and complicated. In study of the modern gentries from the Tang clan, the phenomena for both degree and non-degree holder were eligible to obtain "Shen" title and become district leader was the new fashion of the society. In view of the modern society, people were put a new vision on the personal diversification and community contribution. Therefore, the professionalism, economy contribution, social participation, and public utilities development are the main sources for the Tang clan to receive the honor as a modern gentry, which matched with the Yu Ying-shih idea on the different between previous

and modern gentry. Other than the features and methodologies in power reconstruction, the conflict of interests had obviously observed from the Tang clan to explain the political right and status for the gentry class between the early modern to the modern time that, the modern governing institution was more caution on sharing the political power. It means that the traditional benefits and conventions, such as land and right self-governance for the Tang's gentry were further weakened.

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