

Hometown connection and the Chaozhou business networks: a case study of the Chens of Kintyelung, 1850-1950¹

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1. Introduction

The relationship between merchants and their hometown can be understood from two perspectives. Firstly, whether social functions performed by the merchants in the local communities hinder or promote the development of modern enterprise particularly when capital is used for sponsoring apparently non-profitable activities. Secondly, how cultural resources and ideology at home facilitated business development. As pointed out by Yu Ying-shih, since the Ming dynasty, merchants replaced intellectual-scholars as patrons and persons responsible for various social functions such as compiling genealogies, building or renovating ancestral halls, colleges, temples, roads and bridges.² As late as the 15th century, wealthy merchants, especially those in the Yangzhi delta, contributed huge sums of money to local welfare, built lineage halls and other public facilities for local community, sponsored cultural activities and purchased imperial titles and positions.³ The merchants' ultimate motivation for the pursuit of wealth was to acquire "intellectual-official" status. Their enthusiasm to become intellectual-official (Shi da fu) drove them to invest huge amounts of capital into non-profit-making social-cultural functions and aspiring for an intellectual status. Hence, as pointed out by Chen

Chi-nan, merchants' incentive to use their capital to invest in developing modern enterprise was hindered.⁴

On the other hand, cultural resources, especially the Confucian and traditional family-lineage ideology, facilitated business development and provided the fundamental work ethics and entrepreneurship for the Chinese. The employment of lineage members and relatives was prominent one example of turning traditional lineage bondage into business linkage.⁵ David Faure has pointed out that this emphasis on Confucian social values, in particular that of filial piety, helped the Huizhou merchants in defining liability commitments. The cultural sanction that "sons should pay the debts of their father" guaranteed depositors of their money in banks that were managed by filial Huizhou merchants.⁶ It was their adaptation of Confucian ideology which contributed to the success of the Ming Qing merchants.⁷ Through non-economic activities in local lineage and rural communities, the merchants acquired their social reputation and trust which in return further enhanced their business network and accountability.⁸

This paper, using a Chaozhou merchant house as an example, will explore the hidden business agenda of the merchants' cultural activities in their hometown. It argues that merchants' contribution to their hometown was a response to the needs and development of their business. Non-economic activities, in fact, helped the merchants to efficiently accumulate capital, recruit loyal managers and other employees, and to establish a trustworthy business network. However, following the changing external environment, especially of migration policies, the merchants' relationship with their hometown changed from that of a family to a lineage base. Distance, in terms of space and blood relations, resulted in the changing interpretation of the meaning of the

merchant's cultural activities at home. With the formation of new independent families overseas, merchants, as non-localized lineage members, change their connection with their ancestors' hometown from one of obligation to a voluntary relationship.⁹

2. From Kintyelung to Wanglee: development of the family enterprise of the Chens of Qianxi¹⁰

Kintyelung and its associate companies were founded in the second half of the 19th century by an extended family of the Chens of Qianxi village (hereafter the KTL family). Development of the family enterprise can be divided into four phases: the founding period (1850-70s), period of horizontal expansion (1870s-1890), period of multi-directional expansion (1890-1920), and the period of disintegration and re-integration (1920-1950).¹¹

The family enterprise was first established in the early 1850s when Xuanyi and his brother, Xuanming, founded the Kintyelung import-export company in Hong Kong. The two brothers came from a humble extended family of the first branch of the Chen localized lineage in Qianxi village of Longdu district, Raoping County, Chaozhou prefecture.¹² Fellow villagers can still recall that members of the extended family were linked closely through religious and ritual bonds.¹³ Xuanyi's family was initially so poor that they did not have their own house or land. He was a wage laborer employed to catch fish in the river. According to local legend, because of poverty, some members of the first branch joined a local revolt, which led to the purge of the Chen families and the burning down of Xuanyi's ancestral house in the early 1850s.¹⁴ In the mid-19th century, Xuanyi and some of his fellow villagers decided to leave their village to work as crew on junks

(locally called Hongtou chuan, or “red-head junk”). A few years later, Xuanyi, his brother and some close cousins saved enough money to buy their own junk and later founded an import-export company, Kintyelung, in Hong Kong. The company, in its early years, imported rice from Southeast Asia to China and exported local goods from southern China to Southeast Asia.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, the Chen brothers established associate companies Chen Wanli in Shantou, Qianyuan li in Saigon, Chen Shengli and later Chen Yuanli in Singapore and Hongli (or Wanglee in Thai) in Bangkok.¹⁵ These companies, with Kintyelung as the centre of the business network, continued to import and export rice and local sundries. At the same time, in order to reduce production and transaction costs, the family started to invest in rice mills in Bangkok and Vietnam and also ventured into the remittance business. Though distribution of shareholdings of the companies was most probably shared by members of the Wujia extended family,¹⁶ management of the companies was controlled by the sons of Xuanming and Xuanyi.¹⁷

In the early 20th century, each associate company expanded its own business activities extensively. The group, with Kintyelung as the parent company, in addition to its import-export trade, possessed rice milling and remittance interests and, was agent of the Norway BK Steamship Company as well as a crucial partner of insurance companies in Hong Kong, Singapore and Thailand, they also diversified their interest in other businesses such as tobacco manufacturing and real estate.¹⁸ During this period, each associate company established its own business networks by opening its own branches in various places. A multi-directional business network thus developed. At the same time, especially since the 1920s, the companies restructured continuously. As a result of re-

structuring, some share-holding members relinquished their shares in the companies allowing control of the companies to shift gradually into the descent line of Cihong, Xuanyi's eldest son, and his second son Limei.¹⁹ Limei and his children became major shareholders and directors of these associate companies.²⁰ It is from this period that Wanglee, the Bangkok associate company owned by Cihong, gradually replaced Kintyelung and began to be regarded by fellow villagers as the "parent company" of the family enterprise.

The companies ventured into diverse business activities in various sectors and regions in the late nineteenth and early 20th century. As a consequence, they had to employ increasing numbers of employees, professional and unskilled workers. Close analysis of the internal structure of the Chen Yuanli Company in Singapore has revealed that in the 1930s the company recruited not only Chinese professional managers, but also Malays and Indians born in the Straits Settlement. However, to maintain control of the company, key financial positions continued to be closely held by the proprietors' immediate family. Middle-ranking employees of the companies were largely recruited from kin members (maternal and paternal) and from the same Chaozhou dialect group.²¹ From interviews, we have learnt that professional managers, even if unrelated, earned ten times more than middle-ranking clerks.²² However, many of the middle-ranking employees remained loyal to the companies. Several of my informants in Bangkok attributed this to the "en" (grace) that the Wanglee family had provided their fathers. My informants gave two examples of "en" of the Wanglee family: Firstly, in Bangkok, the company allowed its employees from the hometown to build houses in company land without charging them rent. It was said that a village community of 4000

lineage members called *Wattnam* had developed. This village was seen as the second home of the Chens from Qianxi. Secondly, Cihong, founder of Wanglee, bought lands and built a “new district” (Xinxiang) of residential homes in Qianxi for members of the first branch.²³

In brief, since the 1930s, though ownership and key financial positions remained in the hands of one particular descent line, the companies still relied on unrelated professional managers. Thus, loyal kin members as well as unrelated local employees were incorporated as the business expanded.

Political development in the 1940s contributed to a major disruption of the business linking China and South East Asia.²⁴ Business firms like the KTL and its associate companies had to re-divert their business emphasis and concentration. Their Shantou and Saigon companies closed down following the change of political regime in China and Vietnam in 1949 and 1975 respectively. Businesses in Hong Kong and Singapore gradually declined following the loss of a vast China market and the competition of local traders armed with official support (NTUC in Singapore and Wufeng *Hang* in Hong Kong are prominent examples of such alliances). In contrast, the Bangkok company, whose family members became major shareholders of KTL and Chen Yuanli in Singapore, successfully re-diverted their business from a rice-dominated concern to a diversified enterprise, incorporating banking, insurance, hotel, land development and other activities not directly dependent on the Chinese market. It therefore changed from a China-oriented business firm to one that actively collaborated with local influential business houses, such as the Lamsam family of Bangkok and also with capital from some Western countries.²⁵ The assassination of Chen Shouming, the

family patriarch, in 1945, further hindered the family's association with their hometown as well as with the Chinese community in Thailand. According to local legend, a Chinese left-wing agent assassinated Shouming for his cooperation with the Japanese during the period when Thailand was under the Japanese occupation.²⁶ Shouming's wife, a daughter of the Lamsam family, announced that the family no longer desired involvement in any activities of the Chinese community in Thailand. This announcement, while alienating the family from the Chinese community allowed the family to become more intimate with the local community. This is demonstrated in the relationship with non-Chaozhou naturalized tycoons such as the Lamsam family.

From the 1960s, the family's businesses in Hong Kong and Singapore stagnated. More share-holding members of other descent lines gradually divested their shares, thus allowing control of the companies to accumulate further in the hands of Cihong's few descendants. Wanglee, originally the account name of Cihong and now the name of the company group in Bangkok, replaced KTL as the parent company. On the other hand, abandoning their relations with their hometown due to uncontrollable political factors²⁷, and the increasing alienation of the family with the Chinese community in Bangkok, forced the family firm to seek alternative markets, to rely on local people as employees as well as foreign collaboration. That is, the estrangement from its China connections resulted in the company's active localization and joint ventures with local and international partners.²⁸ Thus, the relationship with the family and their hometown dramatically transformed.

3. Development of the KTL family's hometown links

As suggested by McElderry and other scholars, family is the core of the multi-layer structure of “concentric circles” within Chinese business. The structure expands, like circles of waves, from the preferences of descent, kinship, territorial and occupational relations to transactions dependent on guarantors and contract.²⁹ The closer the connections to the core, the more trust that would be shared by members who are linked by that relationship. It is the trust that effectively facilitates and enhances transactions among members of the kin, affines, fellow countrymen or members of the same guild. Trust, however, is a virtue that has to be cultivated. In the following section, we shall examine how the contribution of the KTL family to their hometown reflected the family’s different needs for trust in different periods. It also reveals how descent and territorial relationships emanating from hometown loyalties were often manipulated by these overseas merchants.

I. Lineage and locality

As mentioned above, Xuanyi and Xuanming came from Qianxi village of Longdu district, Raoping County. They belonged to the eighth generation descended from Huixian, founder of Qianxi village, and the 18th generation descended from Shixu, founding ancestor of the Chens in Raoping county. By the end of the Yuan dynasty (or the last quarter of the 14th century), Shixu settled in Xiwei, a village within one Chinese mile (or 0.5 kilometer) from the west of Qianxi. In the beginning of the Qing dynasty, most of Shixu’s descendants lived in villages near Xiwei (i.e. Houchen, Zhuzhe, and Maitouwei of Longdu and Xilong of Haiyang County). Only 23 members of four generations lived in Qianxi in the beginning of the early 18th century. The Chens who lived in Qianxi were regarded only as an extended family of Xiwei. A higher order

lineage focused on Shixu was formed in the beginning of the 18th century when an ancestral hall was built, an ancestral trust was established and a genealogy was compiled. The Chens of Qianxi were members of the higher order lineage with Shixu as its focal ancestor. Even today, branched out descendants continue to come to worship Shixu at the ancestral hall in Xiwei. The Chens of Qianxi were related to those who lived in Xiwei not only through descent linkage, but also through territorial bonds. Until 1949, there was a territorial alliance vested in a temple in Xiwei. Religious activities were organized every year to enhance the strength of the alliance. The alliance was divided into four shares. Two shares belonged to the Zhus of a nearby village while the other two were owned by the localized lineages of the Chens, one of which was owned by the Chens of Houchen while the other was shared by the Chens of Qianxi and Xiwei. In other words, the Chens of Qianxi were tied closely with Xiwei by descent and territorial links.³⁰

The localized lineage of the Chens of Qianxi was founded by Huixian (1646-1709) and his three sons. Huixian was a junk merchant sailing between Northern and Southern China. According to their genealogies, the Chens settled in Qianxi in 1732 when Huixian's second son, Tingguan, rebuilt the family-owned warehouse into a *zhai* (or fortified house compound) in Qianxi. Tingguan, a *juren* high degree holder and a magistrate, was the highest-ranking official and degree holder in the village. He contributed generously to community welfare. A prominent example was the building of a dyke, three wen ci (halls of literacy) and a market. In 1753, at the age of 82, 60 years after he had received his *juren* degree, Tingguan was honored again by the imperial court. He was the only member of the Qianxi Chen lineage who had his biography recorded in the local gazettes.³¹ Tingguan and his two brothers contributed to the

formation of the higher order lineage dedicated to Shixu through the establishment of ancestral halls, ancestral trust, and by compiling the first genealogy of the lineage.

Tingguan was the most respected person in the lineage and the district. During my field researches in the village, Tingguan and Cihong, Xuanyi's son, were two names still fondly remembered by fellow villagers.³² The fortified house compound, Yongning zhai, built by Tingguan was regarded by fellow villagers as the cultural and religious symbol of the localized lineage.³³

Huixian had three sons whose descendants formed the three major branches of the localized lineage. The first branch, which Xuanyi belonged to, was poor although it encompassed the largest population. Until Ciyun, Xuanyi's third son who was awarded an "en gongsheng" higher degree, the first branch of the lineage did not have any degree holders except low ranking Imperial School students (Guoxue sheng). There is not much evidence available for the study of the development of the third branch of the lineage. The only information present is that it did not have as many members as the first branch nor as many degree holders as the second. The second branch, with Tingguan as its focal ancestor and Yongning zhai as its religious center, was the most powerful and influential group in the village.³⁴ Although each branch had an ancestral hall for the worship of its own focal ancestors, not a single hall was built dedicated to Huixian, founder of the localized lineage.³⁵ In other words, despite Tingguan's lineage-building efforts in early Qing, there was little sign of any integrated effort or activities to unite the three branches until the end of the 18th century. Since the mid-Qing period, as a result of the disputes concerning the control of water resources and the local market, feuds between the Chens of Qianxi and their neighboring villages, especially the Jins of Houxi and the Xus of Xu

village intensified.³⁶ It was during this period that the Chens of Qianxi established a common property dedicated to Huixian, founder of the lineage. It was this common property and the reputation of Tingguan that united the members of the localized lineage against external threats.³⁷

In brief, during the Qing dynasty, one can observe that within the Qianxi village, the three branches competed against each other, and at the same time united for defence purposes. Outside Qianxi, members were united with some villages through territorial and descent relationships, but at the same time had constant conflicts with other villages. Such contradictory and opposing relationships existing among branches of the localized lineage and among adjacent villages, affected the pursuit of hometown activities by overseas merchants. Descent tie and territorial proximity did not always contribute to the foundation of “trust” needed for networking. The extension of the merchants’ contribution to their hometown depended on their needs overseas.

II. Contributions to the local community

1. Construction of the Lineage

The KLT family’s lineage building efforts can be seen from their contribution to the establishment of ancestral halls, common properties and their initiative in the compilation of genealogies. As mentioned above, the genealogy of the Chens in Raoping was first compiled by Tingguan, the first *Juren* high-degree holder of the descent group. Republished by Xuan-yi’s two sons, Cihong and Ciyun, an “en gongsheng” high degree holder,³⁸ the genealogy was one of the 48 volumes of the *Xiu Shu Lau Cong Shu* (Collection of the Hall of the embroidered books) collected by Ciyun.³⁹

The genealogy contains the following sections: (1) an introduction written by Cihong and Ciyun; (2) Photographs of paintings of Huixian (G-11) and his wife, Tingguan (G-11), Xuanyi (G-18) and his wife, Xianzhong (G-14), Cihong (G-19) and Ciyun (G-19), Wai-fang (alias Li-mei, G-20), Wai-chan (G-20) and He-zhen (G-21); (3) genealogical chart from Shixu, the founding ancestor to members of the 15th generation; and (4) an essay to congratulate the 60th birthday of Xuanyi.

The genealogy that was compiled at the beginning of the 20th century by the sons of Xuanyi does not provide genealogical information of all the living members of the lineage. The compilers of the genealogy probably sought to focus on the immediate family of Xuanyi and tried to link the family with the higher order lineage without emphasising branch diversification of the Qianxi localised lineage. The genealogy may have served the purpose of uniting the Chens who lived nearby and who claimed descent either from Shixu or Huixian, and at the same time reduced the internal tension persisting among the three branches.

The Chens in Qianxi participated in worship at nine ancestral halls. The KTL family constantly donated money to renovate the halls dedicated to Shixu and the ancestral hall of the first branch. Every year the Kintyelung Company sent four thousand silver taels (*long yin*) to sponsor activities related to ancestral worship in the village.⁴⁰ In 1907, an ancestral hall was built to commemorate the father of Xuanming and Xuanyi. In the 1920s, two halls were built dedicated to Xuanming and Xuanyi respectively. In the 1930s, an attempt was made, although unsuccessfully due to the Japanese invasion, to establish a hall dedicated to Cihong. Therefore, in the period between 1920 and 1940 the

family's lineage-building activities shifted from an emphasis on the first branch and the Wujia extended-family to the immediate family of Xuanming and Xuanyi.

2. Reinvestment: market, real estate, land and light industry

Land and real estate

According to a collection of land-deeds owned by the KTL family from 1867 to 1949, the family bought 853.03 *mus* (acre) of fields in Qianxi and its adjacent areas. Besides two mortgage deeds, all the 148 land transactions carried out during this period, related to sale documents.⁴¹ These land deeds recorded the family's land holdings in their hometown until the end of 1949. Majority of the land was bought after Chen Cihong, at the age of 40, retired from his overseas business in 1883. Of the 148 transactions, one was bought under the name of Cihong's father Xuanyi, 23 under Cihong (1843-1921), 112 under his second son Limei (1880-1930) and nine under the names of Limei's sons. Therefore, the land deeds were owned by the stem family of Limei.⁴²

About 78% of the 148 transactions were executed after the fall of the Imperial government in 1911. Most of these transactions were in the 1920s. In 1922, Chaozhou district suffered from a natural disaster and in 1933-34, Swatou, the treaty port of Chaozhou district, was in the throes of a financial crisis.⁴³ These two incidents forced many large and petty land owners to sell their lands. A prominent merchant family which collapsed under the pressures of this period was the Gaos of Chenghai City, who were serious competitors of KTL in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia.⁴⁴ However, the KTL family survived the two crises. In the 1920s, Limei became proprietor of Kintyelung and attained majority control of the businesses in Bangkok, Singapore and Swatou (Shantou). His ability to survive the

crisis, and defeat the Company's rivals, in particular the Gaos, and meet the immediate needs of disaster victims, earned the family a social reputation that was once enjoyed by the lineage's founding ancestor, Huixian and his son, Tingguan. We can therefore, understand why fellow villagers often equate Cihong and Limei with Huixian and Tingguan.⁴⁵

Until the end of the 19th century, the lands bought were located within Qianxi. They were bought to redeem residential houses (i.e. Liu Cuo) and for members of Xuanyi and Xuanming's extended family. In the first quarter of the 20th century, lands bought from members of the localised lineage were used to establish a family hall (Guzu jiamiao, 1907) and a school (Chengde school, 1909 and 1912). Rents collected from lands bought from outside of the village were used to support the Chengde School. It is also since this period that the Chens of Kintyelung, under Cihong's planning, started to accumulate lands in the boundary of Qianxi to build a new village (Xinxiang) for members of the first branch of the lineage.⁴⁶

In the second quarter of the 20th century, lands obtained from inside the Qianxi village were used to build large "si ma tou che" (four horses dragging a cart) style houses for members of Cihong's immediate family. A pond was also bought with the intention of filling it up to build a hall dedicated to Cihong. As most of the adult male members of Cihong's family lived in Bangkok, these houses were mainly occupied by their female members. Four housekeepers were employed to manage the houses as well as the rents collected from the fields. It was said that besides Cihong's adopted son (his eldest son), the other three housekeepers were remote relatives not from Qianxi. According to the memories of the elders in Qianxi and Xiwei, almost all villagers of Qianxi and Xiwei were tenants of

the Cihong family until 1952.⁴⁷ This tenant-landlord relationship contributed to the widening rift between the Cihong family and the villagers.

The remoteness between the villagers and the family was not only a result of the tension between landlord and tenants, but also because of the distance the family kept from the remaining villagers. For instance, during festivals, instead of going to the temple or to worship in front of the entrance of the house like other villagers did, the family had the deities brought into the houses for family members to worship. Another popular story highlights the class difference between the family and other villagers. When Cihong died in 1921, his body was kept in a purpose-built stone house, locally called “coffin house”. The corpse was kept in the house for some 15 years until the family finally found an auspicious gravesite. The funeral in 1936 was a grand affair with a long procession of flags and bands. All the villagers who came to worship were given two silver dollars. Many villagers, in order to get more money, rejoined the queue many times offering the same sacrifices until they were discovered and driven away by the housekeepers. The “coffin house” and the funeral proceedings were perceived with distant fear and admiration by the villagers.⁴⁸ Tension between the Cihong family and their fellow villagers further escalated in the 1930s. It was said that, to keep the wealth of the family a secret, the family had four housekeepers. Other than Cihong’s own adopted son, all the three housekeepers were remote relatives who did not come from the Qianxi village. The high wall of the big houses also separated the family from the villagers. The family has, since 1930s, maintained their mysterious existence in the village.

Market and light industry:

In addition to these investments in land, the Chens of Kintyelung invested in two other enterprises in their hometown. In the beginning of the 20th century, 12 members of the Wujia extended family established a Lisheng cloth manufacturing factory in Qianxi village and an oxen market in Longdu. Rents collected from these ancestral properties were channelled to these two enterprises. Profits from these two enterprises were said to be used for the welfare of the village, for the purchase of common property, for a musical band for village events including funerals and weddings, and to sponsor religious activities (e.g. dragon boat race) in the village. Before the factory closed in the mid-1930s, the Cihong family controlled 12 of the 17 shares of the village enterprise. Villagers believed that the factory and the oxen market were closed down as a result of the Sino-Japanese war.⁴⁹ It is also apparent that after the 1934 financial crisis in Shantou, businesses in the Chaoshan district did not attract capital investments from the family.⁵⁰

3. Philanthropic activities

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the family contributed to various affairs in the village and the Longdu district. The family opened a modern school in 1907 for the children of the village. From 1911, this was a primary school which accepted students from the whole Longdu district. Funding for the school came mainly from rents collected from common properties of the Chen lineage. The first principal of the school, Chen Yongzhai, was Xuanyi's great grandson and a graduate of the Queen's College in Hong Kong.⁵¹ Yongzhai left for Hong Kong in 1923. The family continued to contribute 4000 silver yuan to the school annually until the war broke out in 1941.⁵²

Besides their contribution to local education, the family also donated money to assist those who were affected by natural calamities.⁵³ The following are cases of disaster aid:

- (1) In 1908 strong wind and flooding destroyed many fields and houses in Chaozhou. Ciyun, brother of Cihong, wrote 30 poems and had them weaved into silk cloths for auction. Proceeds from the auction were distributed to victims of the flood. For his role in helping the victims, Ciyun was rewarded a tablet with “Xiu Si Lou” (Cabin to weave poems) inscribed on it by a Qing official. This title was used in Ciyun’s subsequent publications.
- (2) In 1909, the family donated money to the flood victims in the Yangtze delta. In gratitude, the Qing government awarded the family with imperial titles which were subsequently used to name houses owned by the family.
- (3) In 1918, an earthquake, said to be the most serious in the Chaozhou district since the year 851, destroyed thousands of houses and cost many lives. The family donated huge sums of money to repair the dykes and irrigation system in the Longdu district.
- (4) In 1922, the most serious typhoon hit Chaozhou and more than a hundred thousand lives were lost as a result. Besides financial donations, the family also helped to bury the dead and built a free grave for those victims who possessed no relatives.⁵⁴
- (5) In 1939, the family offered grains to those who suffered from poor harvests.

The family also helped many villagers who wanted to venture overseas. Kintyelung and its associate companies in Hong Kong, Bangkok, Singapore and Saigon provided

free transportation, lodging and food for new immigrants. For instance, in 1923, Chen Muqian, a non-lineage member from the same Chaozhou district came to Singapore to join his father, a store-keeper of the Chen Yuanli company in Singapore since 1921. Both father and son lived in rent free accommodation on the 2nd floor of the company building. At 12, Muqian was not working for the company but was given 2 dollars each month as allowance until he left school two years later and found employment with another company.⁵⁵ This is not an isolated case. As noted by Chen Zuochang, "... before 1949, almost all households in the Qianmei village had some members working overseas. Most of them had worked for the Wanglee Company at one time or another..."⁵⁶

4. Enhancing scholastic status

Though it had many lower ranking imperial degree holders, the Chen localized lineage in Qianxi had only one high-degree holder: Tingguan of the second branch, in the Qing dynasty.⁵⁷ The fortified house compound, the literati halls, and various religious activities affiliated to Tingguan were cultural symbols that the villagers honored with high respect. Through Tingguan, the villagers believed they received protection from the imperial court. The first branch which Xuanming and Xuanyi belonged to had only had humble ancestors. However, after the family had successfully developed their overseas business they started to acquire imperial honors. The extended family received different imperial titles for their many contributions to charities. These titles like "da fu" (5 houses), "tong feng" (10) or "lang zhong" (2) were used to name their houses. In the village, imperial titles were used to name Tingguan's houses and the houses of members

of the extended family of Xuanming and Xuanyi. These grandiose buildings with imperial recognitions reminded villagers the esteemed status of this family.⁵⁸

Besides imperial titles earned through contributions to charity, the family also produced the second high-degree holder of the village since the village's foundation. Ciyun, Xuanyi's youngest son, received his "En gongsheng" high degree in 1909. He became general manager of the Kintyelung Company in Hong Kong from 1905 until his death in 1934.⁵⁹ He was, as representative of the company, elected vice-chair of the Chaozhou Chamber of Commerce and as committee member of the Tung Wah Hospital, a Chinese institution that had strong political influence on the colonial government in the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century.⁶⁰ As a poet, calligrapher and sponsor for a number of literary publications, he established an intellectual circle in Hong Kong. This circle included high ranking officials like Wen Su and Lai Jixi, and prominent scholars like Chen Botao. His intellectual background and his business status earned him the reputation of a "Confucian-merchant".⁶¹ His charitable activities also earned him several titles from the Qing government and later after 1912, from the Republican government.⁶²

The imperial titles, the public awards, the buildings with imperial titles and the intellectual network enabled the family to establish a symbolic elite-gentry status in their hometown and a well-respected "Confucian-merchant" reputation within the business circles of Hong Kong and South East Asia.

III. Merchants' hometown connection: an interpretation

When comparing their business development and their hometown activities, we found that from 1850 to 1870, the period when the KLT family's business activities were based in Hong Kong, investment in their hometown was limited to the purchase of real property for residential use and the redemption of petty lands for self-cultivation. The KLT family's contribution to their hometown in this period largely concentrated on re-establishing the economic base of the extended family.

However, in the last quarter of the 19th century the KLT family expanded their business rapidly through the creation of associate companies in various countries and through the diversification of business initiatives. At the same time, the family earned respect from the villagers in their home town for their achievements in the following areas: (1) the compilation of the lineage genealogy, (2) the establishment and renovation of branch and lineage halls, (3) successes in the imperial examinations and (4) awards of imperial titles for their charitable donations. By the end of the 19th century, after Cihong retired to Qianxi village, the family had contributed not only to lineage welfare, but also to the wider local community. The family established a school for members of the lineage and adjacent villages (1909 and 1912), bought lands to build a new village for members of the same branch of the localized lineage, opened an oxen market whose profits were used for the development of the welfare of the village, and found a cloth manufacturing factory which employed fellow lineage members. In brief, during this period of expansion of their overseas business, the KLT family, invested heavily to establish a *central position* in the localized lineage and community, and a *cultural status* that associated them with the State. It is also during this period that members of the extended family became leaders of the lineage and community: Cihong was chosen head

of the village; succeeded by Wenshi, a member of the Wujia-extended family. Cihong and his adopted son, Huichen became heads of the first branch of the localized lineage, positions they held until the late 1940s.

Kintyelung and its associate companies underwent major re-structuring after 1930. Control of the companies gradually shifted into one particular descent line. The restructuring of the companies reflects this change of family relationships. Since the beginning of the 20th century, Cihong and his descendants started building gargantuan houses in Qianxi, in a glorious design called “four horses dragging the cart” (si ma tou che) using materials from China, Southeast Asia and Europe. These residential houses occupied 25400-sq meter with a total of 506 rooms.⁶³ However, they were not all occupied. Moreover, it was in the same period that Cihong’s descendants bought a pond from the ancestral property of the localized lineage with the intention to fill up the pond and build a hall dedicated to Cihong in its place. But the plan did not materialize due to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war. Instead, a hall dedicated to Cihong was later built in Bangkok. It was also during this period that the family bought many plots of land from insolvent kinsmen. The natural disasters in the 1920s and the economic crisis in the early 1930s allowed the family to increase their landholdings, thereby, widening the social and economic gap between them and the rest of the village. This gap led to resentment and envy from the villagers, many of whom were tenants of the family. The situation was further aggravated by unfavorable political developments in China and Southeast Asia from the 1930s. The cultural symbols once sought by the company lost their value in the second half of the 20th century. Since the 1930s, not only did the cost of transportation rise rapidly, but both China and the Southeast Asian countries actively discouraged

migration from the mainland. Immigration regulations became stricter in Thailand and other Southeast Asian countries.⁶⁴ China discouraged emigration while Thailand discouraged immigration, especially from Communist China. In 1945, Shouming, the son of Limei and head of the Wanglee enterprise was assassinated. The family, led by Shouming's wife declared that they would no longer participate in any functions organized by the Chinese. The Wanglee family became naturalized Thai citizens and sought to maintain high social influence and esteem in their host society.

A consequence of such changes, internally and externally, led to a new interpretation of the relationship between overseas merchants and their hometown. In 1994, the villagers of the Qianmei district successfully collected more than two million Hong Kong dollars, the majority of this donation came from overseas members. The Wanglee family alone donated HK\$800,000-, far exceeding all other donations. However, rumors prevailed that since 1992, three teams of local cadres, including one member from the Wujia-extended family, were sent to persuade the Wanglee family to donate money to promote the welfare of the villagers. These requests were rejected three times. It was only when two overseas merchants agreed to donate HK\$400,000- each for the construction of a school in Qianxi that the Wanglee family finally relented. Local villagers rejoiced and interpreted the Wanglee donation as a sentimental action of love and memory of their hometown. However, for the Wanglees who were now fourth generation descendants in Bangkok, the attitudes were ambivalent. Their donation was a response to competition from local Sino-Thai merchants to maintain their image as philanthropists, eminent business and social leaders of the Sino-Thai community. The two donors, a Chen who came from Jumei village and a Zhu from Zhucuo, both came

from very poor tenant-families in Qianmei district. They became successful merchants in Bangkok, each claiming to have more than four billion US dollars in assets.⁶⁵ Both men grew up in Qianmei and migrated to Thailand when they were teenagers. Unlike the Wanglees who had established their social reputation and status in Thailand since the late 19th century and had close marital ties with other Sino-Thai tycoons, they established their enterprises through hard work from the very humble origins. It appears that, the donation by the Wanglees was more a publicity strategy to assert their social status in the Sino-Thai community rather than a simple contribution to reconfirm their links with their remote lineage and hometown affiliations in China.

In brief, during the founding period of a family firm, the scale of the business is limited and labor force employed was largely confined to the extended family. Merchants' hometown connections during this period are largely concerned with the establishment of the family's social and economic status in the local community. When the company expanded in size, diversified their business activities, management and shareholdings of the associate companies divided and more employees were required. When competition with other rival companies became more acute, more loyal employees were required to assume different hierarchies in the companies. During this period of expansion, we see the merchants' extensive cultivation of cultural resources to facilitate their expanding business commitments. Social and cultural activities in the merchants' hometown grew from family-oriented concerns to include the localized lineage as well as the whole local community. Since the 1920s, the Company experienced drastic internal re-structuring. Control of the enterprise was concentrated in the hands of one particular descent line. Members of this line, descendants of Limei, were born in Bangkok. They

didn't share the same nostalgic love of China as their parents. Such apathy was accentuated by the differences in economic and social status. At the same time, the political atmosphere, especially in Southeast Asia encouraged local-born ethnic Chinese to be naturalized in their host country and to employ local employees instead of bringing Chinese immigrant workers from the mainland. Therefore, the social reputation once cultivated through their contributions to the hometown, and the enhancement of business networks through local bonds was no longer a necessity to the overseas merchants. As remote lineage members, these overseas members did not feel the same obligation to contribute to their ancestors' hometown as did their forefathers.

The study of the Chens of Kintyelung shows that the overseas merchants' hometown connection varied according to their changing status in the descent group, the development (expansion or reduction) of their business activities and the changing political environment. Merchants' contributions to their hometown are not always altruistic philanthropy based on sentimental hometown connections. Cultural resources such as trust and loyalty are important elements of business success of the Chinese overseas merchants and the hometown is the appropriate place to nurture that.⁶⁶

¹ The author would like to thank the Hong Kong Research Grant Council for the support of this research project.

² Yu, Ying-shi (1987) Zhongguo jingshi zhongjiao lunli yu shangren jingshen (Religious ethics and merchant spirits in Modern China), Taipei, Luenjing, *ibid.*, p.161.

³ There are many literatures on the patronage of the merchants on literacy, arts and other cultural and social activities. For example, Ho, Ping-ti, (1980) "The Salt merchants of Yang-chou: a study of commercial capitalism in eighteenth-century China" in Yu Zhong-xian and others (comp.) Zhongguo Jingji Fazhan shi Lunwen ji (Essays on the History of Chinese Economic Development) vol. 2: Taipei: Luenjing, pp.1389-1450 (Originally published in Harvard Journal of Asian Studies vol.17, 1954) and Fu Yi-ling (1956) Mingqing Shidai Shangren ji shangye ziben (Merchants and their capitals in the Ming Qing period), Renmin chubanshe.

⁴ Chen Chi-nan (1991) "Ming Qing Huizhou shangren di zhiye guan yu jiazhu zhuyi: jianrun Weibo lilun yu yujia lunli" (Occupational view and familism of the Huizhou merchants in the Ming Qing period: a

discussion of the Weberian theory and the Confucianist ethics) in Chen Chi-nan, Jiazu yu Shehui (Family and Society), Taipei: Luenjing Press, pp.296, 302

⁵ Yu, *ibid.*, p.153ff.

⁶ Faure (1994) China and Capitalism, Hong Kong: Humanities Division, Hong Kong Univ. of Science and Technology, p.18

⁷ Fu Yi-ling, *ibid.*; Tang Lixing, Shangren yu zhongguo jindai shehui, (Merchants and modern Chinese society), Lufrano (1997) p.179

⁸ For example see Brown, Rajeswary A. (1996) "Introduction: uses and abuses of Chinese business history" in Brown, R. (ed.) Chinese Business Enterprise: Critical Perspectives on Business and Management, vol. 1, London: Routledge, p.2. Hamilton and Redding emphasized the strong networks of the Chinese and the weakness of the institutional bases of their businesses. See Hamilton, Gary (ed.) (1991) Business Networks and Economic Development in East and southeast Asia, Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, Hong Kong University; Redding, Gordon (1991) "Weak organizations and strong linkages: managerial ideology and Chinese family business networks" in Gary Hamilton (ed.) Business Networks and Economic Development in East and southeast Asia, Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, Hong Kong University, pp.30-47.

⁹ Choi, C.C. (1991) "Settlement of Chinese families in Macau" in R.D. Cremer (ed.) Macau: City of Commerce and Culture, 2nd edition: Continuity and Change, Hong Kong: API Press, pp.61-80.

¹⁰ Unless otherwise stated, this section is based on Choi, Chi-cheung (1995a), "Competition among brothers: the Kin Tye Lung Company and its associate companies" in Brown, Rajeswary (ed.) Chinese Business Enterprise in Asia, Routledge, pp.96-114.

¹¹ See Choi, *ibid.*. Discussion on the developmental cycle of the Chinese family firm refers to Wong Siu-lun (1985), "The Chinese family firm: a model" The British Journal of Sociology, vol.36, no. 1, pp.58-70.

¹² Longdu district was under the jurisdiction of Raoping County before 1949. From 1949, the district became part of the Chenghai county. For the history of the Longdu district, see Choi Chi-cheung (1995b), Xu Shu Boshi shuocang shangye ji tudi qiyue wenshu: Jiantailong wenshu (1): Chaoshan diqu tudi qiyue wenshu (Business documents and land deeds collected by Dr. James Hayes: Kin Tye Lung document vol. 1: Land deeds of the Chaoshan region), Tokyo: The Institute of Oriental Culture, Tokyo University.

¹³ Interview with Chen Zuochang and the village elders, 27-29 August 1991.

¹⁴ Choi (1995b), p.235. A recent booklet published by two local intellectuals recalled the story of the rebel hero. See Gu Xiang Qing Jie (comp. By Chen Xianjun and Chen Xuanzhu, both members of the lineage, 1999), pp.53-57.

¹⁵ Choi (1995a), pp.98ff.

¹⁶ Distribution of shareholdings in Saigon, Bangkok and Shantou is not clear. However, as revealed in the Chen Shengli company of Singapore, the company was jointly owned by 12 members of the Wujia extended family. Xing Pao, 13 November 1891.

¹⁷ Until 1930s, Kin Tye Lung was managed by Xuanyi's 3rd son, Wanglee in Bangkok by Xuanyi's eldest son, Chen Shengli and later Chen Yuanli in Singapore by Xuanming's eldest son. See Choi (1995a), pp.98-98.

¹⁸ See Wang Mienzhang (1990) "Hongli jiazu ziben di lishi (History of the family capital of Hongli [Wanglee]), Shantou Wenshi, vol. 8, no.5.

¹⁹ Cihong's first son was adopted. He lived in the village to look after the family's land and business. Limei was the first son born to Cihong. He lived and died in Bangkok.

²⁰ For example, when Kintyelung was registered as a limited liability company in Hong Kong in 1975, Cihong's descendants held more than 75% of the total shares. (See Choi 1995, table 4). Since 1931, Wanglee was advertised as "parent company" of Chen Yuanli in Singapore. When Chen Yuanli was registered in 1940, Cihong's descendants held 83% of the 8750 shares. (See Choi, 1998, p.33)

²¹ Choi, Chi-cheung (1998) "Kinship and business: paternal and maternal kin in the Chaozhou Chinese family firms" Business History 40(1): 34-36.

²² Interview with Tan Song-yui in Singapore, December 28, 1995.

²³ Interviews with Chen Qing-heng and other members of the Qianmei Regional Association in Bangkok and villagers of the Wattnam village, 17-19 July, 1994.

- ²⁴ Chan, Wellington K.K. (1992), "Chinese business networking and the Pacific Rim: the family firm, roles past and present" Journal of American-East Asian Relations, vol.1(2), pp.171-190.
- ²⁵ According to Suehiro, the family had close marital relationship with the Lamsam family, originally from the Hakka area of Guangdong province. Both families were ranked top five Chinese families in Thailand in the 1930s. See Suehiro, Akira (1989) Capital Accumulation in Thailand, 1850-1985, Tokyo: the Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, p.112ff. Also Suehiro Akira and Nanbara Makoto (1991) Tai no zaibatsu (Zaibatsu, financial combines, of Thailand), Tokyo: Toubunkan, pp.13, 297ff. The Royal Garden Riverside hotel built on the land of two of their rice mills is a joint venture with French capital. Interview with Chen Tianzhong (grandson of Limei) in Bangkok, July 18, 1994.
- ²⁶ See also Skinner, William (1957) Chinese Society in Thailand: an Analytical History, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, p. 289.
- ²⁷ For example, Thailand's immigration policy which limited the immigration of the Chinese, China's close door policy until the late 1970s which limited the supply of the Chinese, the purge of the family and confiscation of family assets in China by peasant revolutionists.
- ²⁸ Wang Mienzhang (1997) "Taihua jiazhu ziben di yige dianxing: Chen Hongli" (A model case of family capitals of the Chinese in Thailand: Chen Hongli [Wanglee]), in Yuan Weiqiang (ed.) Chen Hongli jiazhu shiliao huibian (Collection of historical sources of the Chen Hongli [Wanglee] family), Shantou: Shantou huaqiao lishi xuehui, pp.33-36. According to Suehiro and Nanbara, after the second world war, the family changed their business focus from the rice industry to banking, insurance and, especially after the 1980s, into the real estate developing business. (Suehiro and Nanbara, *ibid.*, p.13-14)
- ²⁹ McElderry used the term "Fiduciary community" to describe the structure of such relation. McElderry, Andrea (1995) "Securing trust and stability: Chinese finance in the late nineteenth century" in R.Brown (ed.) Chinese Business Enterprise in Asia, London: Routledge, p.28. Fei Xiao-tung's mode of differential frameworks (chaxu geju) expressed a similar idea. See Fei (1947) Xiangtu Zhongguo (Rural China), Beijing: Sanlian, pp.20-30.
- ³⁰ See Choi, Chi-cheung (1995c) "Chuantong di yanxu yu bianqian: Chaozhou Chenghai xian Longdu Qianmei xiang di youshen" (The continuity and change of tradition: the parade of deities in Qianmei, Longdu district, Chenghai county, Chaozhou) Proceedings of the Conference on Temples and Popular Culture, Taiwan: Xingzheng yuan wenjian hui, vol.2: 671-690.
- ³¹ See Chen Zhidan (1908), Qianlong Chaozhou fuzhi, vol.28, p.47.
- ³² My field research at Qianxi began in 1990 with the initial support from the University of East Asia (now Macau University) and subsequently, from 1992, the Research Grant Council, Hong Kong.
- ³³ Based on my observations in the village, especially during the "Parade of deities" every year on the 16th and 17th of the first moon. Refer to Choi (1995c). See also Chen Zuochang (1993) "Qianmei Yongning zhai" (The Yongning walled house compound of Qianmei village) Chenghai Wenshi (1993 issue), pp.29ff.
- ³⁴ Choi (1995a), pp.239-240.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.238ff.
- ³⁶ Two stone tablets established by local magistrates in 1890 to settle disputes on the use of water resources since 1840 between the Chens and their neighbors. These stone tablets were found in the boundary of the Qianmei village and the Houxi village of the Jins.
- ³⁷ Choi (1995a), p237-38, 239-40.
- ³⁸ "Cong kan Chenshi Zupu xu" in [Raoping] Chenshi Zupu (1920)
- ³⁹ There are at least 34 different titles in this collection which can be found in the Zhongshan Library, Guangzhou and Fung Ping-shan Library and the Hong Kong Collection of the Hong Kong University.
- ⁴⁰ Chen Ciyun (comp.) Xiangli bianlan (Gazette of the Rural Etiquette). Also interview with Chen Zuochang, a local historian, 27-29 August 1991.
- ⁴¹ A completed-sell is to sell the surface (or utility right) and the subsoil rights of the land.
- ⁴² Choi (1995a), pp.246-48.
- ⁴³ Chen Chunsheng (1997) "The 2nd August typhoon disaster and the hometown of the overseas Chaozhouese in the early Republican period" Chaoxue yanjiu 6: 369-395. For the 1933-34 financial crisis see the volume on "Jinyong zhi" (Financial Gazetteer) in Rao Zongyi (comp., 1949) Chaozhou Zhi Huibian.
- ⁴⁴ The Gao family was one of the richest families in the Chaozhou area from the end of the 19th century to 1934. They were also founders of Yuan Fa Hang and the TungWah Hospital in Hong Kong. According to local

stories, before starting his own business, Xuanyi once worked in a ship owned by the founder of Yuen Fa Heng. For details of the Gaos and Yuan Fa Heng see Lin Xi (1983) “Cong Xianggang di Yuanfa Hang tanqi” (Talking from Yuan Fat Hong in Hong Kong) Da Cheng, nos. 117-21.

⁴⁵ See the “Introduction.” in Chen Zuochang & Chen Xuanzhu (comp., 1991) Qianmei Chenshi Huixian gong zupu (Genealogy of the Chens of Qianmei descended from Huixian).

⁴⁶ Interview with Chen Zuochang 27-29 August, 1991. See also landdeeds collected in Choi (1995a).

⁴⁷ Interview with local elders, 27-29 August 1991. Also interview with members of the Qianmei District Association in Bangkok, July 19, 1994.

⁴⁸ Interview in the Old Men’s Association, Qianmei village, 25 Aug. 1990. The stories were told many times during my visits to the village since then.

⁴⁹ Interview with Mr. Chen Xiuwu, Zuochang and others, 11 Aug. 1992.

⁵⁰ For the 1934 financial crisis, see Huang Ting “Yijiu san san zhi yijiu sansi nian jingrong weiji zhong and Shantou shi shanghui” (The Shantou city Chamber of Commerce in the 1933-34 financial crisis), paper presented at the Third International Conference on Chinese Business History: Chinese Merchants, Chambers of Commerce, and Business Networks, organized by Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong and Department of History, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 6-8 July 2000.

⁵¹ Chen Yongzhai was a great grandson of Xuanyi and a graduate from Queen’s College in Hong Kong. See his biography in Chaozhou shanghui, (1951) Lugang Chaozhou Shanghui Sanshi Zhounian Jinian Tekan (Special Bulletin for the commemoration of the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Chaozhou Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong).

⁵² Chen Zuochang & Chen Xunxian, (1990) “Chen Hongli Jiazou Xiangqing Shilu” (Records of the Chen Hongli family’s love to their hometown), Chenghai Wenshi Ziliao 5, p. 53.

⁵³ For a comprehensive account of the Chen’s contribution see Chen Zuochang & Chen Xunxian (1990): 55-58.

⁵⁴ The incident, called “Eight-Two Disaster” was said to be the most serious natural disaster to hit the Chaozhou district. See Chen Chunsheng (1997). A special bulletin was published to commemorate the incident. See Zheng Dusheng & Xu Zhuozhi (comp., n.d.) Zhanglin Fengzai Tekan (Special Bulletin on the Zhanglin Typhoon Disaster).

⁵⁵ Interview, Mr. Chen Muqian in Singapore, July 18, 1993.

⁵⁶ Chen Zuochang & Chen Xunxian (1990), p.59.

⁵⁷ Lower ranking imperial degree holders refer to are Shengyuan, or those who were successful in the county level examination. High degree holders refer to those who were successful in the Provincial level examination or above. These elites, including Gongsheng, Juren and Jinshi, were eligible to become officials of the Imperial court. For definition, see Ho, Ping-ti (1962), The ladder of Success in Imperial China, Columbia University Press; and Eastman, Lloyd (1988) Family, Field and Ancestors, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁵⁸ Chen Xianjun & Chen Xuanzhu (1999), pp.13-15.

⁵⁹ Choi (1995a), table 4.2.

⁶⁰ Ciyun’s biography written by Lai Jixi in Xianggang Huaren Mingren Shilue (Prominent Chinese in Hong Kong), pp.13-14. For the Tung Wah Hospital, see Sinn, Elizabeth (1989) Power and Charity, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

⁶¹ See poems recorded in Ciyun’s Funeral Memorial Special Bulletin.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Chen Zuochang and Chen Xunxian (1990), p.51. Cai Yinghao (comp.) (1987) Chenghai xian Wenwu zhi, Chenghai xian bowu guan, p.57-58.

⁶⁴ Nanyang shangbao (Southeast Asia Business News), 14 February 1933, p.9. on the restriction of immigration. The new regulation required (1) an under-20 to enter Thailand with his/her parents, (2) those who were over 12 must understand either Thai language or the written language of their own country, and (3) increase the immigration fee from 30 baht to 100. See also J. Crosby’s correspondence with the Viscount Halifax on May 20 and August 17, 1939. (Public Records Office, London, BT11/990).

⁶⁵ Interviews, Mr. Chen Jimpao, July 18, 1994; Mr. Zhu Tueqiu, July 19, 1994, both in Bangkok.

⁶⁶ Casson, Mark (1991, 1997 paperback) The Economics of Business Culture, Oxford: Clarendon Press. In fact, the case of the KTL family is not an isolated one. Xu Run, a prominent comprador of the Dents & Co., is another such example. In his heyday, before going bankrupt in 1888, he devoted himself extensively in

local welfares for the lineage as well as the community. He compiled genealogies, established and renovated ancestral halls and graves, constructed roads, donated to help victims of natural disasters. He also founded a company to collect investments from fellow villagers and kinsmen. After he went bankrupt due to the fall of the real estate market in Shanghai, investors demanded that their investment be returned. Xu turned them away by reasoning that during his heyday, he donated so much in the welfare of the village and lineage. Now, when he is in financial trouble, they not only did not offer to help him out of the difficulty but cared only about themselves. Xu did not repay the investors. The family settled in Shanghai and reemerge after the 1888 crisis. See Xu Run (1977 reprinted), Xu Ruzhai Zixu nianpu, (Autobiography of Xu Run) Taipei: Shi Huo. See also Choi, Chi-cheung (2000) “Xiupu: zongzu di tonghe yu fengzhi, yi Xiangshan Xushi zupu weili” (Compiling genealogy: lineage unification and segmentation, a case study of the genealogies of the Xus in Xiangshan), in Editorial Committee (ed.) Zheng Qinren Jiaoshou Rongtui Jinian Lunwen Ji (Edited volume in commemorate of Prof. Cheng Chinren’s retirement), Taipei: Daoxiang chubanshe, pp.351-362.