# Cantonese Society in Hong Kong and Singapore

Gender, Religion, Medicine and Money

Essays by Marjorie Topley edited and introduced by Jean DeBernardi

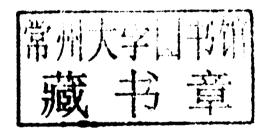


# Cantonese Society in Hong Kong and Singapore

# Gender, Religion, Medicine and Money

## Essays by Marjorie Topley

Edited and Introduced by Jean DeBernardi





**Hong Kong University Press** 

14/F, Hing Wai Centre 7 Tin Wan Praya Road Aberdeen Hong Kong www.hkupress.org

© Hong Kong University Press 2011

ISBN 978-988-8028-14-6

All rights reserved. No portion of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publisher.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

This digitally printed version 2011

# Cantonese Society in Hong Kong and Singapore

#### Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Studies Series

Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Studies Series is designed to make widely available important contributions on the local history, culture and society of Hong Kong and the surrounding region. Generous support from the Sir Lindsay and Lady May Ride Memorial Fund makes it possible to publish a series of high-quality works that will be of lasting appeal and value to all, both scholars and informed general readers, who share a deeper interest in and enthusiasm for the area.

#### Other titles in RAS Hong Kong Studies Series:

The Dragon and the Crown: Hong Kong Memoirs

Stanley S.K. Kwan with Nicole Kwan

Early China Coast Meteorology: The Role of Hong Kong

P. Kevin MacKeown

East River Column: Hong Kong Guerillas in the Second World War and After

Chan Sui-jeung

For Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors: The Chinese Tradition of Paper Offerings

Janet Lee Scott

Forgotten Souls: A Social History of the Hong Kong Cemetery

Patricia Lim

Hong Kong Internment 1942–1945: Life in the Japanese Civilian Camp at Stanley

Geoffrey Charles Emerson

Public Success, Private Sorrow: The Life and Times of Charles Henry Brewitt-Taylor

(1857–1938), China Customs Commissoner and Pioneer Translator

Isidore Cyril Cannon

Reluctant Heroes: Rickshaw Pullers in Hong Kong and Canton 1874-1954

Fung Chi Ming

Resist to the End: Hong Kong, 1941-1945

Charles Barman, edited by Ray Barman

The Six-Day War of 1899: Hong Kong in the Age of Imperialism

Patrick H. Hase

Southern District Officer Reports: Islands and Villages in Rural Hong Kong, 1910-60

Edited by John Strickland

Watching Over Hong Kong: Private Policing 1841-1941

Sheilah E. Hamilton

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com

#### Foreword

Many anthologies of academic and intellectual study can appear quite dry to the uninitiated. Sometimes the very title prompts the casual reader to reach for his or her dictionary in order to get an idea of what the book or article is about, or to select another book altogether. Not so in the case of this large and informative collection of essays. The topics of gender, religion, medicine and money were the main areas of focus for Marjorie Topley during her many years of research, and remain undisputedly four of the main pillars of society today.

Arriving in Singapore as a young and enthusiastic twenty-something lady in 1951, Topley was a classic case of being the right person in the right place at the right time. It is to our lasting benefit she did not pursue her initial interests of geography and sociology. Instead, her hard-won academic training in anthropology was put to immediate use in the very foreign society that was post-war Singapore. Very often it is the case that it takes an outsider to study and record what has been general knowledge and standard practice for generations for an indigenous population. And this is Topley's lasting achievement. Topics such as "The Buddhist view of nature and the cosmos" are so much a part of the make-up of Chinese people that they would probably be hard pushed to explain it themselves.

What is the relevance of Topley's writing today, given that much of it first appeared 40 and 50 years ago? I would suggest that it is of tremendous relevance. Much of the "hardware" that she describes in both Singapore and Hong Kong has long gone – the temples, vegetarian halls and other institutions. However, scratch the surface of any Chinese society and the "software" is usually there, alive and well – the attitudes and beliefs of the people, and other aspects of what is often referred to as "collective memory". Chinese society is to be envied by much of the so-called developed world, in that not only is much of the old traditional way of life still visible in people's behaviour but it is also so deeply instilled from parent to child that it is difficult to see it totally disappearing. This collection of essays therefore needs to be read whilst at the same time raising the veil of our modern surroundings. In this way, Topley's writing is as meaningful and insightful today as it was when it first appeared.

It is a particular pleasure to welcome this volume as the latest in the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Studies Series. Marjorie Topley played xii Forword

a pivotal role in the resuscitation of the Society's Hong Kong Branch in 1959 and came to be a Vice-President and later President. She shaped the organization that still flourishes, over 50 years later, and lives up to the standards that she and her co-founders set for us back then.

The Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch and Hong Kong University Press are very proud of what they have achieved so far with the Studies Series. More and more people, both here and abroad, are finding that Hong Kong and its unique history and culture provides a rich and fascinating field of study. An increasing number of schools are including the history of our city and its surroundings in their curricula, for which we should be able to take some credit. We will continue to bring to the public original works that will enhance this area even further.

The publications in the Studies Series have been made possible initially by the very generous donation of seeding capital by the Trustees of the Clague Trust Fund, representing the estate of the late Sir Douglas Clague. This donation enabled us to establish a trust fund in the name of Sir Lindsay and Lady Ride, in memory of our first Vice President and his wife. The Society itself added to this fund, as have a number of other generous donors.

The result is that we now have funding to bring to students of Hong Kong's history, culture and society a number of books that might otherwise not have seen the light of day. Furthermore, we continue to be delighted with the agreement established with Hong Kong University Press, which sets out the basis on which the Press will partner our efforts.

Robert Nield President Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong Branch

# Contents

List of Illustrations		vii
Foreword		xi
Introduction	Cantonese Society in Hong Kong and Singapore: Gender, Religion, Medicine and Money	1
	Part I Chinese Ritual Practice in Singapore	
Chapter 1	Some Occasional Rites Performed by the Singapore Cantonese	27
Chapter 2	Chinese Rites for the Repose of the Soul, with Special Reference to Cantonese Custom	57
Chapter 3	Paper Charms, and Prayer Sheets as Adjuncts to Chinese Worship	73
Chapter 4	Ghost Marriages among the Singapore Chinese	97
Chapter 5	Ghost Marriages among the Singapore Chinese: A Further Note	101
Pari	t II Religious Associations in Singapore and China	
Chapter 6	Chinese Women's Vegetarian Houses in Singapore	107
Chapter 7	Chinese Religion and Religious Institutions in Singapore	125
Chapter 8	The Emergence and Social Function of Chinese Religious Associations in Singapore	175
Chapter 9	The Great Way of Former Heaven: A Group of Chinese Secret Religious Sects	203
Chapter 10	Chinese Religion and Rural Cohesion in the Nineteenth Century	241

vi Contents

275
331
365
381
405
423
449
471
489
523
549
573

## List of Illustrations

## **Figures**

T : 1		
Introd	ucti	on

(Editor's note: These photographs are from Dr. Topley's private collection. Although they are not catalogued, she recalls that Carl A. Gibson-Hill took these photographs for her.)

1	Marjorie Topley examining paper charm at a ritual goods store at	
	Pagoda Street, Singapore	6
2	Ritual goods store at Pagoda Street, Singapore	6
3	A team of Nam-mo-lo "chanting fellows", Singapore	7
4	Nam-mo-lo performing the funeral ritual to "break hell" to escort	
	the soul of the deceased through the courts of hell	7
5	Nam-mo-lo performing the ritual to "break hell"	8
6	Altar to Tianhou Shengmu at Wak Hai Cheng Bio	8
7	Marjorie Topley interviewing a Chinese mourner in Singapore	9
8	Singaporean spirit medium possessed by the Great Saint	9
9	Women performing an offering ritual	10
10	Women throwing a live crab to sea as an act of merit-making	10
Chap	pter 1	
1	Material apparatus used in the Kwoh Kwaan rite	30
2	Paper money and joss sticks as used in the rites	31
3	A woman performing the "Prayer against the Little Man" rite	38
4	Prayers to "wash away" sickness	38
5	Procession round the altar during a "Changing Fate" rite	39
6	Procession of priest and mother through the Tiger Gate	39
7	Raising up one of the gods of the year	39
8	Material apparatus used in the Paai Siu Yan rite	41
9	The "Reliever of a Hundred Catastrophes" paper as used in the	
	Paai Siu Yan rite	41
10	Coupon for use by the spirits	43
11	A Kwai Yan Lok Ma paper	43
12	A charm paper portraying the tiger, snake, and eagle used in the	
	Paai Siu Yan rites	44
13	The larger form of the "Good Omen" paper	47

ohes" paper	48 49
hes" paper	49
hes" paper	49
phes" paper	49
te	51
	54
	55
nis status	58
blet	64
	65
	67
	69
neral ceremony	70
	78
	81
	81
	81
	82
oyal Lord	
•	82
	83
	84
S	84
	84
o-protects-the-	
,	85
	85
	85
	86
	86
	88
	88
	89
	90
osts	92
	oyal Lord  as o-protects-the-

21	A wood panel depicting Chang T'ien Shih	92
22	Spirit medium cuts his tongue with a ceremonial sword	93
23	Spirit medium licks charm papers to fortify them with blood	93
24	Inking charm blocks	93
25	The method of printing charms	93
26	Three charm blocks	94
27	The wall of the temple decorated with charm papers in a ghost	
	marriage ceremony	94
28	A ghost marriage ceremony	95
29	Part of the wall in a temple in Waterloo Street, Singapore,	
	covered with charm papers	95
30	The spirit medium of the Monkey God at a temple in	
	Tiong Bahru, Singapore	96
Cha	pter 5	
1	Ghost marriage feast in Singapore	103
Cha	pter 13	
1	Geomancer's equipment	370
2	Some of the sixty T'aai Sui Gods in the Sui Tsing Paak/	-
	T'in Hau Temple	375
3	Altar to Kam Fa in the Shui Uei Kung Temple	377
Cha	pter 14	
1	Some of the sixty T'aai Sui Gods in the Sui Tsing Paak/	
	T'in Hau Temple	385
2	Altar to Kam Fa in the Shui Uei Kung Temple	385
3	"Plant of Life"	392
4	Bridge of paper and bamboo with "Honourable Men" fixed to	
	the rail	396
5	"Tiger Gates" used in the Kwoh Kwaan rite	396
6	Boat of paper and bamboo used in ritual for transporting	
	sickness away	397
7	Human figure prints used in rites for sickness	397
8	Set of materials used for the performance of	
	Paai Siu Yan	398
9	Paper cut-outs for ritual performance	398
10	Rite at a T'o Tai shrine	399
11	"Paper Tigers" used in rituals related to the White Tiger God	399

Cha	pter 15	
1 2	The front of the <i>Wing Lok T'ung</i> vegetarian hall Members of the Society and children of the area, outside	413
	the Kam Ha Ching She vegetarian hall	415
3	Soul-tablets of deceased inmates and other members	416
4	An altar in one of the halls visited	417
5	The Ngau Chi Wan village temple	419
6	Vegetarian refreshments are offered by an elderly inmate	
	of the Tsing Shai vegetarian hall	420
Cha	pter 20	
1	Man in harmony with the cosmos	528
2	The Buddhist view of nature and the cosmos	533
3	Diagnoses of symptoms of ill health	535
4	Taoist priest performing a ritual to cure a sick infant	537
5	Portrait of a Chinese bone-setter	543
Ch	arts	
Cha	pter 9	
1	To Early Nineteenth Century	208
2	Division into T'ung-shan She and Kuei-ken Men	209
3	Nineteenth Century and After: Division into P'u-tu Sects	210
4	The Hierarchy of Inner Sects	220
Tal	oles	
Cha	pter 11	
1	Investments	302
2	Deposits, Loans and Advances	313

#### Introduction

# Cantonese Society in Hong Kong and Singapore: Gender, Religion, Medicine and Money

### **Essays by Marjorie Topley**

Jean DeBernardi

This book collects the published articles of Dr. Marjorie Topley, who was a pioneer in the field of social anthropology in the postwar period. Her ethnographic research in Singapore and Hong Kong sets a high standard for urban anthropology, focusing on topics that remain current and important in the discipline.

Dr. Topley's publications reflect her training in British social anthropology, with its focus on fieldwork and detailed empirical observation. She was among the first to refine and extend those methods in the 1950s, adapting them to the study of modernizing urban settings like Singapore and Hong Kong. Her ethnographic research on the Great

For their assistance in preparing the chapters for publication, special thanks are due to Paul Harms, Cathy Kmita, and Hsu Yu-tsuen, all of the Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta. Prof. Hugh Baker generously spent many hours refining Cantonese entries in the Chinese glossary and also scanned original photographs in Marjorie Topley's private collection for inclusion in this publication. For careful work in copyediting the manuscript Yat-kong Fung is due special thanks, as is Moira Calder for preparing the index.

<sup>1</sup> For support for this project in its initial stage, thanks are due to Paul Kratoska of National University of Singapore Press and Colin Day of Hong Kong University Press. The Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada provided funding for a short period of research in Hong Kong in 2006 that allowed me to consult archival sources and to interview longtime members of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (HKBRAS). Jenny Day, the Secretary of HKBRAS, assisted me in gaining access to their records at the Hong Kong Public Records Office. Hugh Baker, Colin Day, James Hayes, and Dan Waters shared knowledge and reminiscences that guided me in preparation of the Introduction, as did Prof. Wang Gungwu, whom Dr. Topley first met in Singapore in the 1950s while he was still a student, Thanks are also due to Michael Duckworth and Dennis Cheung for guiding the manuscript through the final publication process. Last but not least, Dr. Marjorie Topley shared reminiscences, reprints, and photographs, and offered advice as the volume was being prepared.

2 Introduction

Way of Former Heaven sectarian movement and Cantonese women's vegetarian halls in Singapore in the 1950s is an early contribution to the study of sub-cultural groups in a complex urban society, and she asks insightful questions about the relationship between religion, secularism, and modernity. Because of extensive social change in Singapore and Hong Kong, many of the temples and religious organizations that she describes have disappeared or experienced radical transformation. Consequently, her work on these topics also has added value as historical documentation of the recent past.

Dr. Topley was a pioneer in several areas of scholarship. She conducted important early research on Chinese women's organizations, and her article on "Marriage Resistance in Rural Kwangtung" (1978) is a classic in the fields of Chinese anthropology and women's studies. She also broke new ground in the field of Chinese medical anthropology, exploring the interface between Chinese and Western medicine and medical practitioners in Hong Kong, and also investigating Chinese women's use of traditional and modern remedies especially in the treatment of their children's illnesses. Her 1974 article, "Cosmic Antagonisms: A Mother-Child Syndrome", which appeared in a volume on *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society* that Arthur Wolf edited, is widely known and cited. A student of Raymond Firth's, she also focused a number of articles on economic issues, including the collective management of property and wealth.

Dr. Topley never held a full-time academic appointment, but until her return to England in 1983 took full advantage of residence in Singapore and Hong Kong to conduct research, teach, and participate in international conferences. In 1959, she helped to revive the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, creating a vibrant organization that organizes public lectures and symposia, publishes a journal and monographs, and invites members on popular expert-led field trips and tours.

## Training in England<sup>2</sup>

When I interviewed Dr. Topley in 2005, she recalled her early life and training in anthropology. Marjorie Topley (née Wills) was born in Hendon, London, in 1927. As a girl she attended Church of England schools that she describes as "ordinary". She was fascinated by Egyptology and wanted to become an archaeologist. When she was about

While doing archival research in London in May 2005, I visited Dr. Topley at her home and interviewed her about her life and career. The following account is based on that interview.

12 years old she wrote to Sir Flinders Petrie (1853–1942), one of the founders of modern Egyptology. She got a letter back, "You've got to be well-off and a man to be an archaeologist." She resigned herself "to give that one up".

She was a teenager during World War II:

Of course, you know, I grew up during the war. We were bombed at one point. We used to sleep in an air raid shelter. I was allowed to stay up until 9:30. I stayed up and a German plane dropped two bombs, one behind and one in front. I was calling "Mother, mother", and she was calling "Mother, mother" too. We were lucky; we weren't injured.

Because she failed to pass a crucial scholarship examination, for a time she went to a technical college that taught skills like shorthand and typing. She was deeply unhappy there, and the headmaster offered to help her enter the City of London College. She succeeded in winning an award to support her studies, prepared for the London School of Economics (LSE) entrance exam, and passed it.

In her first year she studied geography, but she became bored with it and switched to sociology. But she again lost interest, concluding that sociology was based too much on common sense. Initially anthropology was not an option since Raymond Firth, who was head of department, had concluded that undergraduates should not study anthropology since the subject was morally relative and potentially disturbing. When he changed his mind, she switched her major from sociology to anthropology. Consequently Topley was the first undergraduate student in anthropology at the London School of Economics.

While still an undergraduate Topley attended the famous LSE seminar that Malinowski had initiated during his term as Professor of Anthropology, and which Firth had continued when he assumed the position of Professor. Her fellow students were all postgraduates coming back from the field, and she could only write "little essays from books". After she read one of these essays out loud to the seminar group, Austrian-born Siegfried Nadel, then a lecturer at the LSE, asked, "Was your journey *really* necessary?" quoting the words on a government wartime poster. She was devastated by his sarcasm. But she also met more congenial anthropology postgraduates, including Barbara Ward, Maurice Freedman, and Judith Djamour Freedman. Before she was 21 years old, she also did a summer course at the University of Chicago. She found the M.A. students at Chicago to be no more advanced that the undergraduate majors at the LSE, who had specialized in their subject earlier in their careers.

4 Introduction

At the LSE Marjorie met her husband, Kenneth Wallis Joseph Topley (1922–2007), who had entered the LSE to study political science after leaving the air force at the end of World War II. There he studied government under Harold Laski (Topley 1969: xviii), a controversial political theorist who also was Chairman of the British Labour Party from 1945–46 and contributed to shaping the party's policies.<sup>3</sup>

At that time, anthropology students went directly into the Ph.D. programme without doing an M.A. Marjorie did not think that she could do any further degree since she would have had to do fieldwork. Her formal training in anthropology ended and her work as an ethnographic researcher began when her husband joined the colonial service. In preparation, they studied Chinese at the School of Oriental and African Studies, and in 1951 they went to Singapore.

#### Singapore (1951-55)

During World War II, the British lost control of Malaya and the Straits Settlements to Japan. On their return to Singapore after World War II, they faced armed opposition to the restoration of colonial rule. From 1948–60, the Malayan Communist Party's Malayan Races Liberation Army (MRLA) fought a guerrilla war in which they sought to overthrow the British colonial administration. In Malaya, the British forced over 500,000 people — most of them ethnic Chinese — to relocate from isolated areas, seeking to prevent them from providing the insurgents with food. The policy of resettlement, which caused great hardship, only intensified support for the Communists. By the time the Topleys arrived in Singapore in 1951, a number of violent clashes had occured (see Stubbs 2008). The "Malayan Emergency" was the British colonial government's name for this conflict.

In April 1951 Topley took a post at the Raffles Museum as curator of anthropology since "they couldn't get a man to come out during [the] bandit troubles", i.e., the Emergency. In 1952, a *Straits Times* reporter interviewed Topley for an article entitled "She Spent a Night in a Death House: Portrait of a Pretty Anthropologist" (Hall 1952). As Topley described it, when she first entered the huge, dusty rooms at the back of the Museum, she found piles of unsorted specimens and exhibits, some of which had been hurriedly stored before the Japanese occupation. Although she would have liked to travel to Malaya to collect items for the museum collection, the "Communist war" made that impractical.

<sup>3</sup> For further details on Harold Laski, see the LSE website: http://www.lse.ac.uk/resources/LSEHistory/laski.htm (consulted on 3 August 2008).