國 立 中 央 大 學

客家社會文化研究所
碩 士 論 文

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英殖民馬來亞的華人分類過程

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by

Wong Wei Chin

ABSTRACT

What does it mean about "Hakka" in Southeast Asia? In contemporary Taiwan Hakka Studies, majority of authors tended to define the "Southeast Asian Hakka" as a form of "ethnic group"; while some revealed the Hakka identity and consciousness among Southeast Asian Hakka as "underdeveloped ethnicity". These statements usually meant a contemporary viewpoint which derived from the theories of ethnicity. However, such statements should be linked with the historical and political formation of different social structures within Southeast Asia countries. These statements, likewise, have contributed to the objective of this research in probing the connotation of "Hakka" in Southeast Asia.

The purpose of this research is to elucidate the factors and circumstances leading to the emergence of "Hakka" and various Chinese dialect groups with particular reference to those in British Malaya during the nineteenth century. Sociological and historical studies assisted with first hand historical materials- *Straits Settlements Original Correspondence* in series CO 273 - were adopted in this research. This research is composed by several arguments. First, the emergence of "Hakka" and other Chinese dialect groups in the classification process of Chinese in British Malaya. Second, the suppression of Chinese secret societies by British colonial regulations and institutions during the 1870s. Third, the practicability of theory "ethnic group" in defining the "Southeast Asian Hakka". Forth, the metatheory of various publications pertaining to "Hakka" in China, Taiwan and Southeast Asia. In conclusion, the connotations of "Hakka" in British Malaya were closely related with the internationality and localization of colonial experiences and implementation of political institutions for British Colonial Empire during nineteenth century. The

connotation of “Hakka” in British Malaya was first formed through an instituted classification process of “Chinese” in relating to the formation of British colonial regulations and institutions in suppressing the Chinese secret societies as “Kheh” in Hokkien dialect; while substituted by the term “Hakka” in Cantonese dialect during 1931. Subsequently, “Hakka” has emerged for the census purpose of British Malaya while eventually became one of the “dialect groups” within Chinese society in present Malaysia and Singapore. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the classification process of “Chinese” and the emergence of “Hakka” in British Malaya during the nineteenth century does not presume and preclude the formation of others in the region of Southeast Asia at the same level.

Keywords: British Malaya, Chinese, Classification Process, Ethnic Group, Federated Malay States, Hakka, Malaysia, Metatheory, Straits Settlements, Southeast Asia, Unfederated Malay States.

東南亞的「客家」意涵：英殖民馬來亞的華人分類過程

黃靖雯

中文摘要

何謂「東南亞客家」？當代台灣「客家研究」的多位學者把「東南亞客家」定義爲「族群」；其中有部份學者揭露「東南亞客家」的身份認同與客家意識爲「未開發族群」(underdeveloped ethnicity)。此番論述乃源自當代「族群研究」之理論。然而，上述論述必須放在東南亞各國的社會與歷史脈絡中加以解析方爲恰當。以上「東南亞客家」論述之未盡善處亦促使了本論文的誕生，冀以對東南亞地區的「客家」進行更爲深入的研究。

本研究的主旨在於說明十九世紀英殖民馬來亞的「客家」與華人「方言群」出現的因素與情境。歷史社會學研究輔助於原始歷史資料：海峽殖民地官方原始書信檔案（Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, CO 273）乃本論文的研究方法。本研究將由下列論述所構成：（一）「客家」與華人「方言群」如何於英殖民馬來亞政府對華人進行分類的過程中出現；（二）1870 年代英殖民馬來亞政府制度的形成及其對華人秘密會社之鎮壓；（三）「族群理論」對詮釋「東南亞客家」的適用性，以及（四）現有的既存文獻對「客家」的後設理論，其中包涵中國、台灣與東南亞之「客家」。總括來說，十九世紀英殖民馬來亞的「客家」及其意涵乃先始於英國殖民政府對秘密會社之鎮壓，後建構自英殖民政府對馬來亞華人進行制度化的分類過程；然而，英殖民馬來亞的統治模式與族群分類亦同時受到「在地化」以及「跨國性殖民」的影響，進而形成辯證性的制度化過程。儘管如此，英殖民馬來亞的「客家」意涵之建構過程並不純粹相等於「東南亞客家」的形成。

關鍵詞：英殖民馬來亞、華人、分類過程、族群、馬來聯邦、客家、馬來西亞、後設理論、海峽殖民地、東南亞、非馬來聯邦。

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Producing this research would have been impossible without a great deal of support. I would like to thank those institutions and persons who have enriched and facilitated the process. Firstly, my thanks are due to the institution has aided me financially: National Central University Grants Committee which partly funded my master programme in Taiwan under “NCU Foreign Student Scholarship”. Secondly, I would like to thank those supportive staffs in the Center for Asia-Pacific Area Studies (CAPAS) of Academia Sinica, and staffs in the Graduate Institute of Hakka Social and Cultural Studies and Office of International Affairs at National Central University.

Thirdly, my thanks are also due to Professor Choong Kwai Fatt of University of Malaya and Professor Wong Sin Kiong of National University of Singapore. I am deeply grateful to Professor Choong Kwai Fatt, for his help of making me as his research assistant and given me access to the research facilities in the Main Library of the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. I also wish to thank Professor Wong Sin Kiong, for having provided me with the opportunity to explore more deeply into colonial and government records which deposited mainly in the Main Library of the National University of Singapore. Indeed I do appreciate the co-operation given to me by the Main Library of the University of Malaya and the Main Library of the National University of Singapore.

In addition, I am deeply grateful to my thesis supervisor, Professor Chang Han-pi, for her patient supervision and encouragement. My thanks also due to the research committees for this master dissertation, Professor Chang Wei-an of National Tsing Hua University and Dr. Atsushi Ota of Center for Asia-Pacific Area Studies (CAPAS), Academia Sinica of Taiwan. I have greatly benefited from their scholarly guidance and supports. I likewise benefited from the lectures of Professor Li Kuang-Chun, Professor Wu Hsueh-Ming and Professor Chang Hung-Yi in Taiwan, and comments and questions of audiences at conferences and seminars in Singapore and

Taiwan. Furthermore, I am also indebted to my friends in Malaysia, Mr. Ng Woon Hwee, Dr. Dato Cheah See Kian, Mr. Koh Teng Huat, Mr. Lee Eng Kew, Mr. Tang Ah Chai, Madam Chee Kah Teik, Mr. Tan Boon Kooi, Mr. Leow Leong Fei and Y. B. Liew Chin Tong. My thanks are also due to Miss Xiu Juan of Penang Khek Association, and other committees of "Hakka Village Commission of Balik Pulau", and those senior citizens in Balik Pulau, Penang, whom I have not, in the interest of space, been able to mention by name here, for given me valuable assistance and guidance in Penang's fieldwork research during 2008. On the other hand, I am deeply grateful to my art teacher, Mr. Yeo Eng Hin, for his unalterable supports and guidance since standard three. His support has always been the wind at my back.

Finally, my deepest gratitude belongs to my wonderful family members, my parent, Yee Ah Kiow and Wong Ah Fatt; my sister, Wong Wei Ching; my brothers, Wong Kam Wae and Wong Wan Foong, for giving me unstinting emotional support when I needed it most. Also, I would like to extend my warmest thanks to my boyfriend, Derek Lei Kuong Io. Their presences have always been the sun upon my face. Last but not least, I do hope my findings in this thesis will stimulate more thorough attention and fruitful areas for future research to the subject of "Chinese" and "dialect groups" in Malaysia. The "Chinese" society of Malaysia is diverse in their dialect groups' identity and culture, and these diversities should not have been gloss over by the scholars. Therefore, there is a need for concerned scholars of Southeast Asian Studies and Overseas Chinese Studies to make more findings and analyses widely in order to perpetuate the diversity of Chinese society of Malaysia, and also Southeast Asia. It might be just a small step for one scholar, but it might be also a great contribution for the future generations of Chinese in Southeast Asia.

Taiwan Wong Wei Chin

30th November 2009

PREFACE

In the course of writing this thesis, there will be a vocabulary and term that may be unfamiliar to readers, in which included Malay, Malays, Malaya, Malayan, Malaysia, Malaysian and British Malaya. These terms are used frequently in this thesis but do have different meaning. The “Malays” is the ethnic group that makes up the majority of the population of present Federation of Malaysia and a minority population in the Republic of Singapore. In short, “Malays” is an ethnic group, and “Malay” is their language and the official language of Malaysia since the independence. On the other hand, “Malaya” is denoting to the geographical concepts for Malaya peninsular, Penang Island, and Singapore Island; while “British Malaya” is denoting to the institutional concepts of “Malaya under British colonial authority”. The term “British Malaya” and “Malaya” in this thesis are likewise refers to the area of present West Malaysia and Singapore; while “Malayan” is refers to the inhabitants of the British Malaya, and later citizens of the Federation of Malaya, whether they are Malays, Chinese, Indian, European or Eurasian.

“Malaysia” was created in 1963 with the combination of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah. Singapore left the federation in 1965, and today, Malaysia consists of the states Perlis, Kedah, Perak, Penang, Selangor, Melaka, Negeri Sembilan, Johor, Pahang, Terengganu, Kelantan, Sabah, Sarawak, and the Federal Districts of Kuala Lumpur, Putrajaya and Federal Territory of Labuan. “Malaysian” is the citizen of this country, regardless on the issues of “race”. Map 1 shows the geographical position of present Malaysia and Singapore in the region of Southeast Asia.

In presenting this thesis, the place names of British Malaya will be written in accordance to Malay language with several exceptions: Penang, Malacca and Singapore. Most of the Chinese terms in this thesis have been romanized in Mandarin pinyin with following exceptions: “places of origin” i.e. Jiaying, Huizhou; “place names” i.e. Kwangtung, Fukien; “secret societies” i.e. Ghee Hin; “Chinese

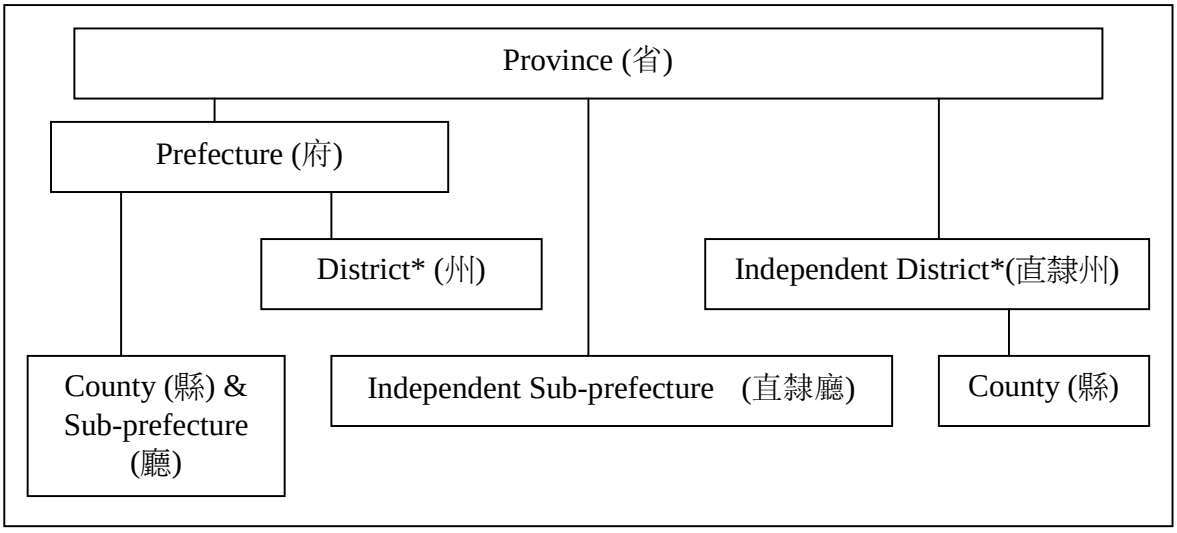
tribes/dialect groups" i.e. Hakka, Hokkien, Cantonese, Hailam; and "personal names" i.e. Yap Ah Loy, Chang Keng Kwee etc. These Chinese terms are written according to their most familiar English spellings rather than in their less-common pinyin forms. In addition, exceptions in Mandarin pinyin also giving to the Chinese author who has provided his or her English name in the publication. Furthermore, the simplified Chinese names of certain authors will be remained in the thesis.

On the other hand, the Ch'ing Dynasty's administrative levels, divisions and its structure during nineteenth century in this thesis will refer to Moese, Reinknecht and Schmitz-Seißer's (1979) version, as table 1 and figure 1.

Table 1: Administrative Levels and Divisions of Ch'ing Dynasty[1]

Level	Division	
1	Province	(省)
2	Prefecture	(府)
	Independent District*	(直隸州)
	Independent Sub-prefecture	(直隸廳)
3	District*	(州)
	County	(縣)
	Sub-prefecture	(廳)

Figure 1: Structure of Administrative Levels and Divisions of Ch'ing Dynasty



[1] Source: Moese, Reinknecht & Schmitz-Seißer (1979: 18).
* Modified from the term "department".

Most of the Malay terms in this thesis also will be romanized with several exceptions, in which included “Sultan”, “kongsi” and “kapitan”. A Glossary of Chinese and Malay characters will appears at the end of this thesis.

Map 1: Map of Southeast Asia.

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1. INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS "HAKKA"?

1.1 Definitions of "Hakka" in General

Around 1870, there were publications published articles pertaining to "Hakka", such as *Chinese Recorder* and *China Review*. The authors of these articles were mostly foreigners who had lived for a considerable time among the Hakka people, and thus gained a good knowledge of Hakka living conditions, manners and customs (Moese, Reinknecht & Schmitz-Seißer 1979: 75). In 1873, one of these authors, Dr. E. J. Eitel has pointed the Hakka people were a race of their own and were not descendants of the Han Chinese (see Eitel 1873-74: 163). Later, in the early twentieth century, there were some English-language publications tended to suggest that Hakka were "less Chinese" than other groups in South China, such as the *Encyclopedia of Missions* in 1912 had described Hakka as "peculiar race or tribe, inhabiting in the mountains near Canton and Swatow, who are a lower social rank than the local Chinese" (Campbell 1912: 473-480). Besides, *Encyclopedia Britannica* which published in 1945 also reported the Hakka people might not be a "true Chinese" but might related to the Burmese or Siamese (cite in Constable 1996: 14).

In 1933, a Chinese historian, Luo Xiang Lin (羅香林) was the first person who made a significant definition of the term "Hakka" by determined its origin with the theory of Han Chinese kinship decency, as an opposition to the statements of Europeans and non-Hakka Chinese informants who doubted that the Hakka were "true Chinese". According to Luo, the Hakka people originally inhabited in the central part of China which now known as Henan province, and some parts of Shanxi and Anhui province; the Hakka people have gone through five migratory periods before sixteenth century which started from 311 A.D., and the populations of Hakka is roughly 16,548,000 person or 3.75 percent of the total population of China during 1933 (羅香林 1979). Undoubtedly, Luo's publication had further contributed for the clarification towards the suspicion about Hakka people as a pure Han Chinese, and this interpretation has stood for over 80 years and still remains as a significant

reference in the academic field, particularly in the contemporary new discipline-Hakka Studies. However, it is important to state that Luo Xiang Lin had once defined the “Hakka” as a form of Chinese “race” and “tribe” in the English and Chinese foreword of his publication during 1933. Unfortunately, his interpretation of Hakka people as form of “race” and “tribe” of Han Chinese had completely relegates by the scholars afterward.

There were some authors tried to amend the meaning of “Hakka” after Luo’s version. Moser (1985: 253-254) has indicated “Hakka” as “a subgroup of Han Chinese”; Kiang (1992: 7) has defined “the ethnic concept of the term Hakka is concisely defined as a people with unique culture without a state or nation of their own”, but Kiang has considered Hakka are not a pure Han race but mixed with early Mongolian elements long time ago in north China (1992: 83). On the other hand, Nicole Constable (1996: 3) has defined this term as “the name of a Chinese ‘ethnic group’ whose ancestors like those of all Han Chinese, are believed to have originated in north central China”. From above statements, we may perceive that despite the meaning of the term “Hakka” are still intertwined with the controversy on “whether Hakka people as a pure Han Chinese”, but eventually “Hakka” has officially included as part of the Han Chinese majority. Furthermore, the definition pertaining to “Hakka” has been gradually replaced by the concept of “ethnic group” today. Nevertheless, the “Hakka” definition replacing by the concept of “ethnic group” is still depending on the premise of Han Chinese kinship decency.

The number of English language anthropological works based on field research in Hakka communities in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia and other regions has started since the 1970s. However, such as these studies might for their contributions to sinology and anthropology in Asian Studies (Pasternak 1972; Strauch 1984; Myron L. Cohen 1976). Thus, the tendency of the shift of terminology from racial label “Han” to “ethnic group” was considered interrelated with the popularity of Ethnicity Studies in academic field during last three decades. In 1996, Constable’s groundbreaking essay *What does it mean to be Hakka?* (1996) has published at the

standpoint of the label of “Han Chinese” have obscured the Hakka identity. According to Constable, despite there were obvious importance and distinctiveness of the “Hakka” abounding in folklore and literature, but there are no detailed pertaining to the meaning of “Hakka identity”. Hence, comparative analysis concerned with ethnicity, migration, nationalism, and the cultural and historical construction of “Hakka identity”- *Guest people: Hakka identity in China and abroad* - has been published in 1996. Subsequently, authors tended to understand “Hakka identity” with its Chinese literal meaning-“*kejia* (客家)”, which means “guest people”, “guest families” or “strangers”- by relating to the immigrant context, included across different provinces in Mainland China and away from China homeland (Constable 1994, 1996; Cohen, Myron 1996; Carstens 1996, 2005).

On the other hand, the linguistic and cultural factors also attracted some attention in anthropological works while Hakka linguistic factors seen have been prevented Hakka people to assimilate with other populations where they settled. Hashimoto (1973) and Myron Cohen (1976) have pointed out the difference in linguistic factor- “dialect”- could have an important influence towards the formation and alignment of social division in the wave of migration and settlement. On the other hand, Kiang (1992: 8-9) has revealed the language and indomitable spirits of Hakka people has historically remained strong through their wide distribution and migratory experience. In addition, Carstens (2005: 88) also pointed the differences of “Hakka” with other Han Chinese was bounded in the linguistic factor since they spoke a distinctive sinitic language and hence exhibited a set of distinctive cultural features which tended to set them apart from other local Han Chinese populations.

Nevertheless, it is important to state that the majority of earlier publications related to “Hakka” are derived from the anthropological and sinological works pertaining to “Chinese” whether in Mainland China or outside China. For instance, the “Chinese” in Southeast Asia has caught more attentions of anthropologists and sinologists comparing with “Hakka” because “Hakka” was virtually attached under the categorization of “Chinese”. In 1957, a leading American anthropologist, G.

William Skinner and Richard J. Coughlin have pointed the “Chinese” in Thailand often referred themselves as “speech groups” based on the different Chinese languages they spoke, such as Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka and Teochew (see Skinner 1957: 35; Coughlin 1960: 6). However, it is vital to note that the terms of “speech groups” and “dialect groups” were often overlapping in Skinner and Coughlin’s publications without further clarification.

In 1985, Mak Lau Fong (麥留芳) has pointed the identity of “Chinese” in nineteenth century Malaya are based on “dialect group identification (方言群認同)”- which based on the factors such as same dialect spoken and place of origin at the same time. Mak revealed the “dialect group identification” as the main principle to classify “Chinese” who spoke different languages, belongs to different association and stayed in difference region in Malaya (included present West Malaysia and Singapore) during nineteenth century. However Mak was not interested in probing the formation of such “dialect group identification” (麥留芳 1985: 15, 197). Likewise, Yen Ching-hwang (1986: 198-202) has utilized the term of “dialect group” to classify and illustrate certain communities that involved in the large-scale of social conflicts within Penang Chinese communities during the late nineteenth century, such as the Penang riots during 1867. However, when turn to the subject of social divisions among Chinese immigrants in Malaya, Yen has defined the social divisions of Chinese immigrants in Malaya as *bang* (幫), which referred to the *bang* identity were formed by the combination of dialect, regional, and occupational groupings (Yen 1986: 177). The *bang* will grouped themselves together socially when they spoke the same dialect and came from the same prefecture; moreover the *bang* were further contributed to the social conflicts while they clashes of economic interest between different *bang* (Yen 1986: 35, 195-202). From these, it can be observed from above statements that the terms using to illustrate social division among Chinese communities which relating to “Hakka” in Southeast Asia were different, in which included “speech group”, “dialect group” and *bang*. However, the linguistic factor seems influencing stronger than the elements of “place of origin” in the division of “Chinese” in present Southeast Asia.

Apart from this, Kiang (1992) was disagreed to call the Hakka language in China as a “dialect” of the popular language of the Chinese majority. He has considered the Hakka language as an independent development of the mother tongue of sinicized Han, but not a dialect of Mandarin Chinese (1992: 82). While we turn to the case of “Chinese” in Southeast Asia, G. William Skinner has emphasized the languages of Chinese “speech groups” in Thailand as “Chinese languages” rather than “dialects”. Tan Chee Beng (1998), too, was disagreed to call languages of “dialect groups” in present Malaysia as “dialect”. Instead it should be called “Chinese languages” rather than dialects (Tan 1998: 29). Above statements might suggest there is a rank between the term “language” and “dialect”: “language” is more orthodox than “dialect”. But the differences is, Kiang was concerning on “Hakka” itself as the first layer; while Skinner and Tan were concerning on the whole “Chinese” community which consisted of different dialect groups (such as Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka, Teochew, Hailam and other dialect groups) as the first layer.

From above definitions, the connotation of the term “Hakka” are virtually full of complexity. Above publications have shown that there were incompatible connotations towards the term “Hakka” in China and Southeast Asia during different periods. Earlier publications in China have denoted “Hakka” by racial label of “Han”; while indicated “Hakka” as form of “ethnic group” in China and Taiwan recently. On contrary, “Hakka” in Southeast Asia was called as “dialect group”, “speech group” or *bang* which attached under “Chinese” in majority publications. How should we define “Hakka” authentically when this term interrelated and overlapped with more than one vocabulary in the existing publications, in which including the term like “ethnic group”, “speech group”, “dialect group” and *bang*? The term “Hakka” thus has ambiguities that leave scholar perplexed, especially when Hakka people have mixed culturally and socially after the result of the coalescence of several migrations to different regions from southeast China, included Taiwan, Southeast Asia countries, India and other western countries. A French historian, Bloch has suggested people must understand the past through the present: “Incomprehension of the present is the

inevitable result of ignorance of the past. But it is perhaps just as fruitless to struggle to understand the past if one knows nothing about the present" (Bloch 1941, cited in Le Goff 1992: 18). Hence, to dig out the connotation of "Hakka" which widely distributed in several regions today, we should understand this term through present world and simultaneously to assure and explain it from the past.

Estimated to number ten millions today, Hakka now reside mainly in Southeast China, Taiwan, and the region of Southeast Asia (Constable 1996: 3). Most scholars have worked on the originality and the characteristics of "Hakka" people in ancient China and Taiwan by historically approaches (see 羅香林 1979, 1989; 陳運棟 1978; 房學嘉 1996). Undoubtedly, these studies has established an important starting point to know a person, a community and a custom or culture who called "Hakka" in China and Taiwan since they had narrated "who and what the 'Hakka' are" through their research and publications, however, it does not mean the word "Hakka" can be equivalent to those "Hakka" in Southeast Asia as homogenous as those in China or Taiwan. As mentioned by Constable (1996), "the term 'Hakka' has generally been treated as an essential, unchanging, unproblematic label- a given or objective truth, rather than a topic for analysis in and of itself" (Constable 1996: 4). Consequently, the "Hakka", which attached under "Chinese" communities in present Southeast Asia has been less concerned in the main stream of Hakka studies. Hence, it is time to explain what does it means about "Hakka" in Southeast Asia through a comprehensive research. A review of the past of research on "Hakka" in Southeast Asia may perhaps aid in a better understanding of the Southeast Asian Hakka who have been gone through the large waves of migratory experiences, wide distributions, European colonial rules, and social transformation. However, the literature particularly focusing on "Hakka" in Southeast Asia is so limited because "Hakka" was attached under "Chinese" which commonly known as "dialect group" in present Southeast Asia countries. Therefore the "Hakka" of Southeast Asia considerably can only survey through three studies branches, in which included Southeast Asia Studies, Overseas Chinese Studies and Hakka Studies.

In my point of view, different types of studies virtually signify their metatheory towards “Hakka” while the authors illustrate their statement, whether he or she is intended or unintended. Therefore, before proceeding to the discovery on the present connotation of “Hakka”, the theoretical background of metatheory will be first reviewed. Besides, the “context” which driven authors to concern on “Hakka” as a research subject also will be traced through three of these existing publications in the following part.

1.2 Theoretical Background of Metatheory

In 2002, in regard to the topicality, there was a Metatheory research group formed by Institute for Strategic Research in Hungary. According to the institute president, Csaba Varga, their works included summarizing the essence of widespread theories (included natural and social sciences, philosophies, the world religions, arts and Hermetic-Mystic literature), and to relate, explore and identify them to each other.[1] The researchers from this institute asserted the “metatheory” as an emerging new theory, which mainly causing by the rapid grow of scientific and post scientific researches.

> The science of knowledge based society is a trans-disciplinary thought anyway, while even the different disciplines have not yet formulated their own interdisciplinary or integrated theories. However, the rapid growth in number of those scientific and post-scientific researches, which are pointing to the development of a metatheory, has been already started, e.g., theories of sciences, systems theories, theories of everything, integrated conceptions of natural sciences, quantum philosophies, comparative studies of religions, epistemological researches, consciousness studies, unifying conceptions of religion and science and so on.[1]

[1] Varga, Csaba. (2002). *Upon the foundation of Metateory research group: Mission statement.* Metatheory-Metaphilosophy Research Group. Website: http://www.metaelmelet.hu/bemutat_en.html. Checked on 15/7/2009.

[1] Varga, Csaba. (2002). *Upon the foundation of Metateory research group: Mission statement.* Metatheory-Metaphilosophy Research Group. Website: http://www.metaelmelet.hu/bemutat_en.html. Checked on 15/7/2009.

In last decade, an American psychologist, Willis F. Overton has defined the term “metatheory”. According to Overton, metatheory and methodology are closely interrelated and intertwined. Metatheory presents a vision of the nature of the world and the objects of that world, while methodology presents a vision of the tools we can use to explore that world. Overton pointed, “a metatheory is a coherent set of interlocking principles that both describes and prescribes what is meaningful and meaningless, acceptable and unacceptable, central and peripheral, as theory- the means of conceptual exploration; and as method- the means of observational exploration- in a scientific discipline. In other words, a metatheory entails standards of judgement and evaluation. In short, scientific metatheories transcend theories and methods in the sense that they define the context in which theoretical and methodological concepts are constructed (Overton 1998: 20).” In the meantime, Overton has revised the definition of metatheory recently:

> Metatheories, which are sometimes also referred to as ‘models’ or ‘paradigms’, tend to form a hierarchy in terms of increasing generality of application……The hierarchical dimension of any given set of metatheoretical ideas also forms a coherently interrelated system of ideas, and the model operating at the pinnacle of this hierarchy is usually termed ‘world view’. World views are composed of coherent interlocking sets of epistemological and ontological principles (Overton 2007: 154).

In short, metatheory refer to the theories and methods themselves while theories and methods refer directly to the empirical world.

In 2003, Overton has narrated a brief history of metatheoretical worlds in *Handbook of Psychology*. He has started his viewpoint from the period of modernity and three important protagonists, Galileo Galilei, René Descartes and Thomas Hobbes:

> The early protagonists who developed the basic tenets of this metatheoretical story line were Galileo Galilei and his physics of natural world disconnected from mind; René Descartes, whose epistemology elevated disconnection or splitting to a *first principle*; and Thomas Hobbes, who saw both mind and nature in a vision of atomistic materialism. Of the three, Descartes was to have

> the greatest and most lasting impact on the text and subtexts of this particular metatheoretical story (Overton 2003: 17-18).

Overton indicated, Descartes has contributed the articulation of *splitting* and *foundationalism* as key of interrelated themes into the story of scientific knowledge; *splitting* is the formation of a conceptual dichotomy, and *foundationalism* is a claim that one or the other elements of the dichotomy constitutes the ultimate reality or bedrock of certainty. Although Cartesian splitting and foundationalism have been operated as a permanent background frame for modernity's scientific story, however, Hobbes and later empiricists have operated within this frame but they built it into a materialist identification of atomistic matter as the ultimate ontological foundational *Real*, which subject split with object, mind split with body and idea split with matter. This process thereby created *objectivism*. According to Overton, these metatheoretical themes included *splitting, foundationalism, materialism, empiricism,* and *objectivism* have formulated a completely exclusive scientific metamethod termed *mechanical explanation*, which included three steps: reduction-description, causal explanation, and induction of interpretation-free hypotheses, theories and laws (Overton 2003: 17-21).

Next, the focal points of Overton's mechanical explanation will be narrated. According to Overton, the step one of mechanical explanation- Reduction-Description- is to reduce all phenomena to the visible, which entails addressing the commonsense object of inquiry and reducing it to the absolute material, objective, fixed, unchanging, foundational elements or atoms. This step is to drive out interpretation from the commonsense phenomena under investigation. Step two of mechanical explanation- Causal Explanation- consists of the instruction to find the relation among the elements described in step one. Step three- Induction of Interpretation- installs induction as the foundational logic of science. This step instructs the investigator that ultimate explanations in science must be found in fixed unchanging laws, and these must be inductively derives as empirical generalization from the repeated observation of cause-effect relations found in step two (Overton 2003: 19-21).

At regards of these three steps of metamethod, the process of metatheory virtually reveals the presupposition of researcher towards phenomena which under their investigation. It is undeniable that generally the presupposition behind these works is that institutions have influence on the way scientific act and thus have an indirect impact on the scientific product. Elkana (1974:277-278) revealed, some young Turks philosopher of science in 1970s, like E. Mendelsohn, A. Thackray, J. E. Curtis and J. W. Petras have presupposed that there is a direct social influence on knowledge in general and on scientific knowledge in particular. At the same time, Elkana also indicated all scientific metaphysics is heavily influenced both by development in science and by cultural and social environment, since the social and political factors have influencing directly to the live of the scientists and image of science, such as what people think of science. Simultaneously, new scientific ideas, insights and product certainly interpenetrate both the image of science and the socio-political developments (Elkana 1974: 279).

A notable sociologists and economic historian, Karl Polanyi has asserted that the human economy is an instituted process: “The human economy, then, is embedded and enmeshed in institutions, economic and noneconomic. The inclusion of the noneconomic is vital. For religion or government may be as important for the structure and functioning of the economy as monetary institutions or the availability of tools and machines themselves that lighten the toil of labor” (1992: 34). In short, by refer to focal points of Overton, Elkana and Polanyi, their viewpoints have helps us to realize that not only the human economy and science development as an instituted process by social, cultural and political institutions, likewise includes the principle of human science and knowledge. Hence, it was hard for scholars to keep away from the social, cultural and political influence while they approach to their research topics.

By reviewing the compact theoretical background of metatheory as above, a scholar is often the product of his or her times, even the selection of research topics is

related to one's personal interest and experience. Hence, it was common that the term "Hakka" compound of different meaning in different study branches since there were referring to different types of metatheories. In the following part, a closer examination of the term "Hakka" in Southeast Asia will begin in my research background by starting with the publications review on Southeast Asia Studies, and thence proceeding to Overseas Chinese Studies and Hakka Studies. It should then prove possible to describe how the "Hakka" of Southeast Asia has been defined from different types of metatheories in the different studies.

1.3 Research Background: What is "Hakka" in Southeast Asia?

As mentioned before, the "Hakka" in Southeast Asia considerably can survey through the publications concerning on "Chinese" in Southeast Asia since the "Hakka" in Southeast Asia was attached under "Chinese", which commonly known as "dialect group" in present Southeast Asia countries. Therefore, a survey of "Hakka" in Southeast Asia will be reviewed from the past researches through three studies branches, in which included Southeast Asia Studies, Overseas Chinese Studies and Hakka Studies. However, "Hakka" in Southeast Asia nowadays were widely distributed in the region of Southeast Asia since several centuries ago. The region of Southeast Asia are huge and complex and there are consisted of eleven different States in the region, included Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Vietnam, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos, and East Timor. Moreover, the colonial background, State policies, and the composition of ethnic groups (particularly "Chinese" and "Hakka") are totally heterogeneous in each country. Therefore, it is impossible to review all "Hakka" in Southeast Asia in such research background.

Fortunately, there are exceptions in the region of Southeast Asia: Singapore and West Malaysia, the States which formed the former British Malaya during nineteenth-twentieth century. The colonial background, geographical environment and the ethnic Chinese conditions of the place where the people chose to settle are rather similar, if

not completely homogenous, since both West Malaysia and Singapore have gone through British colonization period from 1786 to 1946, and kept remained under administration of Federation of Malaya up to the Singapore's separation from Malaysia in 1965. According to the official data of Statistics Department Malaysia in 2000, there are 20 percent Hakka of the six millions of Chinese population.[1] On the other hand, there are 7 percent Hakka of total Chinese population in Singapore during 1980 (Khoo, C. K. 1981: 59). Therefore, it seemed permissible to take West Malaysia and Singapore as a research unit for the present investigation pertaining to the "Hakka" in Southeast Asia. Besides, the assimilation of the "Chinese" with the native population was occurred in a limited scope, unlike other countries in Southeast Asia i.e. Thailand and Indonesia. Hence, the scope of my research background which set up by three different study branches- Southeast Asia Studies, Overseas Chinese Studies and Hakka Studies- will be limited to the former British Malaya, or present West Malaysia and Singapore.

1.3.1 Southeast Asia Studies

In present time, the main subjects concerning to the Southeast Asia Studies are commonly orientated to the development, transformation and international relationship regarding on the politic, economic, cultural and social dimensions within or outside of each country in the region. However, the focal point of the discussion in this part is merely relevant to above topics. Discussions will focus on Southeast Asian Studies with particularly reference to those publications in relating with Malayan or Malaysian history. The purpose to confine this part in Malayan or Malaysian history is to elucidate the role of "Chinese" under British colonial rule since nineteenth century.

The majority of the nascent publications pertaining to the history of Malaya have raised the common questions such as why, how and when the European colonial

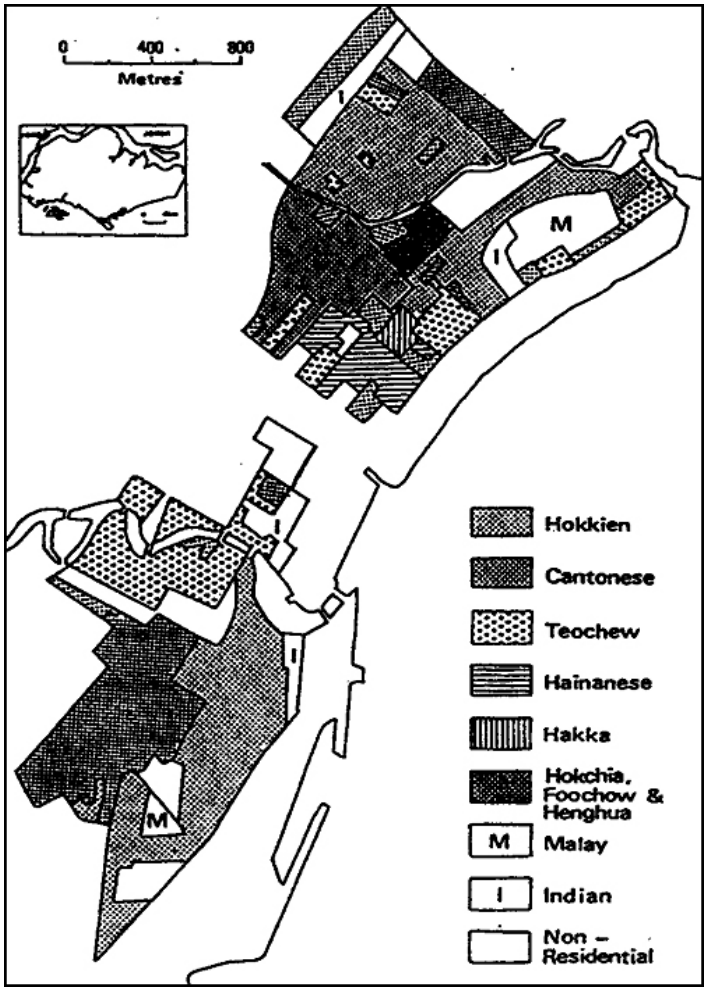
[1] Source: Malaysia *China Press*, National edition (馬來西亞《中國報》全國版) published on 20/11/2007.

intervened and ruled Malay peninsular since sixteenth century; what is the degree of their political and economic intervention; what are these impacts of colonial policies towards people life on this land. Generally, the majority of authors tended to answer these questions by viewpoint of European colonization (see Swettenham 1907; Harrison 1923; Mills 1925; Hodder 1953, 1959; Chai 1967; Sadka 1968; Philip Loh 1969; 朱鏡宙 1977; Andaya and Andaya 1982; Andaya 1992; Milner 1994; Baker 1999; Heidhues 2000). In early twentieth century, there were three publications published in 1907, 1923 and 1925, when little research had been done into the period of Malayan history, included Swettenham's *British Malaya,* Harrison's *An Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States* and Mills's *British Malaya, 1824-67*. The similarities of these publications were directed at constitutional, political and economic aspects of British colonial policy. Clearly, these early studies have hitherto been directed at constitutional aspects of colonial policies. In 1957, there was a turning point contributed to the shift of attention to discuss the administrative and social problems of British colonial policy in the publications: the independent of Federation of Malaya.

In the late 1950s and 1960s, there were some local scholars attempted to draw out the relations between the British colonial constitutional reforms and its impacts towards social progress and economic development in the peninsular of Malaya, included the formation of different administrative units and plural society (see Hodder 1959; Chai 1967; Sadka 1968; Philip Loh 1969). These studies have dealt with the attitudes and motives which determining the political formation of British Malaya and development of government structure in the Federated and Unfederated Malay States, such as *dual government* by Malay sultanate and British authority (Sadka 1968: 274-323). On the other hand, Philip Loh (1969) has studied the British authority represented by governor, agent, resident or adviser to be formalized in separate administrative units- Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Unfederated Malay States- which became known by the unified term "British Malaya". Furthermore, the development in making of "British Malaya" which interrelated with the formation of multi-racial society also had been analyzed,

particularly in the formation of “plural society” that consisted of different “races” such as Malays, Indian and Chinese in making of Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Unfederated Malay States (Chai 1967; Sadka 1968; Philip Loh 1969; 朱鏡宙 1977). In other words, publications in early twentieth century have emphasized on the idea of British colonial policy, while the publications after the independent of Federation of Malaya were emphasized on the idea precedes policy. Thus the thought of individuals involved in the process more than the process itself are studied after the 1950s. Therefore, the publications published after the independence of Malaya were more concerning on the impacts of British rule to Malaya society, particularly in the economic position, occupation and population which divided by different “races”.

There was a foreign scholar adopted different aspects in the studies of Malaya during the 1950s. Hodder (1953, 1959) has studied about the characteristics of human settlements and the bio-geographical background to social and economic development in Malaya, i.e. physical environment and life of people, interaction between population and natural surroundings such as climate, water, soil and insects. Hodder (1953: 35) has outlined the racial grouping in Singapore along with the Singapore River, as map 1.1. Despite he had grouped all people in Singapore as “race”, but he did mentioned about the Chinese settlements, “while distinct groupings in of Hokkien, Cantonese, Tiechiu and Hainanese can be found, there is only one small grouping of Hakka (Kheh) in the congested core” (Hodder 1953: 36). Hodder’s work considered as the earliest publication concerned on the distribution of “Chinese” in Singapore.



Map 1.1: Racial Grouping in 1952 Singapore by B. W. Hodder.[1]

On the other hand, there was controversy pertaining to the disciplinary of contemporary Malayan Historical Studies. Historian of British naval, Cyril Northcote Parkinson (1960: v-vii) stated, most of the works on Malayan history in early period have been done by authors somewhat working in isolation and without access to the archives and libraries, where the researches should ideally depend, such as Straits Settlements official records and Parliamentary papers during British colonization period. Although the access to the historical documents is important, however, Parkinson has pointed out its weakness point, such as the misleading problem of Public Records Office by grouping and numbered system towards Straits Settlements

[1] Source: Hodder, B.W. (1953). Racial groupings in Singapore. *The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*. 1, 25-36. pp. 35

records (preserved in National Library of Singapore). Besides, the inconsistency of the English spelling rendering of Malay and Chinese names in the historical documents also have ambiguities leaves scholars perplexed. However, the inconsistency of spelling has been retained in Parkinson's study without any correction.

Parkinson's student, Constance Mary Turnbull was one of the scholars who studied the history of Malaya based on the colonial official records and documents (Turnbull 1972; 1977). According to Bonny Tan (2008), Turnbull first came to Malaya in 1952 to serve as an administrative officer in the Malayan Civil Service in Kuala Lumpur. When she finished her duty in 1955, she turned to teach history at the University of Malaya in Singapore. During that time, Parkinson was heading the newly established Department of History. The ambitious goal of Parkinson- by capturing local perspectives of the history of Peninsular Malaya and encouraged the brightest students to articulate their understanding of being Malayan as the country moved toward independence- has deeply influenced Turnbull by entered her study with the guidance of Parkinson.

However, a contemporary Malaysian historian- Professor Khoo Kay Kim have doubted about the phenomena of highly depending on the colonial presence in the writing on Malayan/Malaysian history. In 1981, Professor Khoo has reviewed the earliest writings about Malaya history, included *The Malayan Peninsular Embracing Its History, Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants, Politics, Natural History etc from its earliest Records* (P.J. Begbie: 1834), *Political and Statistical Accounts of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* (T.J. Newbold: 1839) and *British Malaya* (Swettenham: 1907). According to Khoo, the majority of the earliest writings on Malaya history as above were published by former officers of British Malaya (i.e. Begbie as a military officer, Newbold as a soldier and Swettenham was the first Resident General of Federated Malay States), whose likely to explain Malayan history largely in the political view of *Euro-centric* (in the foreword of Andaya & Andaya, 1982: xi-xiii). Despite there were western scholars have attempted to reshape

the historiography of Malayan history, such as K. G. Tregonning (1967) and J. M. Gullick (1969), however, Khoo Kay Kim pointed their statements were still too emphasis on the period of Malaysia's modern developments and hence completely neglect the role of indigenous people (see Andaya & Andaya, 1982: xi-xiii).

Later, there were some writings contributed immensely to the enrichment of Malaysian historiography by tracing the origin of the beginning of Malay/Islamic culture and Malay sultanate system, and without ignoring the linking and impacts of British colonial towards indigenous and immigrant society since eighteenth century (see Andaya & Andaya 1982; Baker 1999). In this respect, these recent writings are more comprehensive and more keeping with the current local interpretation of Malaysian history.

The independence in 1957 followed with the possession of Malaysian citizenship by *jus-soli* principle regardless on the issues of "race" has gradually build up the national identity among Malaysian society, while it was further contributed to the shift on depending colonial official records and documents in the study of Malaya. However, it cannot be omitted that the domain for the creation of plural society in Malaya was British colonial government. Hence for many years historians have admitted the plausibility of writing a standard work on Malayan/Malaysian history which must depend heavily on the colonial presence as a pivot while discussing the British creation of plural society, in which mainly consisted of the division of "race" under British colonial administration- "European", "Eurasians", "Malays", "Indian", "Chinese" and "Other". However, the creation of "subdivision of race" of "Chinese" under British rule- "tribe"- which means "dialect group" in present Malaysia- has been completely relegates to a position of obscurity in most of the historical writings concerning on the region of Malaya. Andaya and Andaya (1982) have illustrated the sight of British colonial of what does the "Chinese" meant to the administration to British Malaya:

> A Chinese community was also valuable because it provided the European administration with a guaranteed source of revenue through taxes levied on

> opium, pork, pawnbroking and the sales of spirits. The administration itself was freed from the burden of collecting taxes since this was rented out to other Chinese, either an individual or a syndicate. As Francis Light had perceptively remarked in 1794, 'The Chinese…are the only people of the east from whom a revenue may be raised without expense and extraordinary efforts of government' (Andaya & Andaya 1982: 136-137).

Furthermore, Andaya and Andaya (1982) did mention the difference and riots of Chinese communities in British Malaya despite the coverage are limited:

> …the Chinese population in the nineteenth century Malay areas comprised five major speech groups: Teochew and Cantonese from Kwangtung; Hokkien from Fukien; Hakka from the mountain areas of Kwangtung; Kwangsi from Fukien; and Hainanese from the island of Hainan (Andaya & Andaya 1982: 137).

> The presence of rival Chinese clans and societies in Selangor offered the possibility of further extending these alliances. The Hakka community in Selangor was already split by quarrels between two major clans, the Fui Chew and Kah Yeng Chew, each linked with separate secret societies. The noted Kapitan Yap Ah Loy, leader of Fui Chew, was a member of the Hai San while most of the Kah Yeng Chew belonged to the Ghee Hin society (Andaya & Andaya 1982: 143).

There are four features of nineteenth century "Malayan Chinese" reflected by both Andaya's statement. First, both Andaya has defined the Chinese society in British Malaya was constituted by "speech groups", while the basis of "speech groups" are considered affiliated to "speech" and "places where they came from". Second, the subdivision of "Chinese" or the division of "speech groups" were based on "clans" which formed by one's prefecture or "place of origin". Third, Chinese were closely related to social organization such as secret societies and kapitan system. Forth, British colonial virtually see "Chinese" as a money-maker for British Malaya, exclusively in the farms of opium, pork, pawning and spirits. However, both Andaya have overlapped and repeated the terms of "clan" and "speech group" with "dialect group" while denoting towards "Hakka" without further clarifications. Moreover, the relations between "Hakka" with well-known social organizations such as secret society and kapitan in British Malaya also ended up with ambiguities.

To sum up the Southeast Asia Studies with particularly reference in the publications in Malayan or Malaysian history, the focal points of Southeast Asia Studies pertaining to Malaya (or Malaysia) are more dependent on “event”, which included the development on polity, economy and social of both British colonial and Malaysia governments. Therefore, the “Hakka” are largely gloss over under the research background in probing the national events and history.

1.3.2 Overseas Chinese Studies

The second part of research background is covering with the publications concerning on the “Chinese overseas (海外華人)” in Southeast Asia with particularly reference to those in former Malaya and present West Malaysia and Singapore. However, before proceeding to the further discussion, this part will begin with the short account on the emergence of “Overseas Chinese Studies (海外華人研究)”.

During 1998, Professor Wang Gungwu has illustrated the emergence of Overseas Chinese Studies. He indicated, the writings about Chinese community abroad in Southeast Asia have appeared since sixteenth century by the works of China scholars and European writings, which mainly focus on the Chinese merchants and artisans. Later, when British came to rule over the growing port towns like Penang and Singapore in nineteenth century, this kind of scholarship became increasingly policy-oriented since a great number of Chinese were brought as coolies labor into the colonies. In this respect, it was not enough for British colonials to understand Chinese as merchants and artisans. The surge in labor migration, the tension working in mines and rubber plantations have created new problem of governance. Hence, more research on Chinese community was needed to enable both colonial and native officials to control the Chinese more effectively (Wang 1998: 1-3, 王賡武 2007: 8-10). As a result, the standard of descriptive writing had rose, and many of the administrative reports had been produced, such as the *Straits Settlements Government Gazette* and the *Annual Reports of Straits Settlements*. Some would argue that the nascent colonial reports had become a genre of ethnographic studies or

earlier tradition of *Orientalism* (Said 1979; Breckenridge & Van der Veer 1993). However, Professor Wang Gungwu has identified these nascent writings as the considerable foundations for Overseas Chinese Studies.

Later, Professor Wang Gungwu has divided the existing publications of Overseas Chinese Studies into four categories: the policy reports by colonial officials, white settlers and indigenous leaders; the work of China officials and scholars; writings by local Chinese, whether settled or not; and modern international and Chinese scholarship (1998:4-7). However Professor Wang's proposition to the categorization of Overseas Chinese Studies is vague since the standards to categorize these publications are overlapping and not identical, in which included author's occupation, nationalities and professional, and publication's genus at the same time. Moreover, the chronology of publications is not stated clearly in his categorization.

In this thesis, the categorization towards publications of Overseas Chinese Studies will base on the principle of chronology. The ended of Second World War in 1945 will be taken up as a dividing line for the published time line of Overseas Chinese Studies publications: "Early Publications" and "Contemporary Publications". This dividing line is interrelating with the colonization background in Malaya because the ended of Second World War had accelerated the decolonization movements in Asia. Furthermore, this dividing line also underlines the later transformation of "Chinese" from sojourner to settler along with the independence of Federation of Malaya.

As mentioned in the beginning, "Hakka" was virtually attached under "Chinese" in the region of Southeast Asia. Traditionally, the "Chinese" in the region of Southeast Asia has caught more scholar attentions especially those who anthropologists and sinologists, if compare to "Hakka". Therefore, the research subject of Overseas Chinese Studies is commonly "Chinese", while "Hakka" was one of the major communities attached under this research subject. Hence, division of "early publications" will focus on Chinese in British Malaya which published during

nineteenth century to the 1940s, while “contemporary publications” will focus on Chinese in Malaya, Malaysia and Singapore which published during and after the 1950s. The purpose of this part is to elucidate the character of “Chinese” and “Hakka” communities that frequent existed in the publications, included in both former Malaya and present Malaysia.

1.3.2.1 Early Publications

Apparently, the writings by the European colonial officials were the earliest systematic records which accounted the living of Chinese abroad. Since the colonial officials in Southeast Asia had the responsibility of ruling over both natives (included Malays and aborigines) and Chinese, thus, they had adopted a comparative approach to observe and survey their subjects. However, those colonial officials and white settlers not only compared between Malay natives and Chinese, but also compared the social characteristics, differing physical and personal propensities of each Chinese community which came from different China provinces. Wang Gungwu (1998: 5) pointed the majority of nascent writings by colonial officials and white settlers were narrowly focused, superficial and often reveal their racist attitudes towards Chinese living in Malaya. Professor Wang’s viewpoint consider as an adequate statement since the British officials during early colonization period had largely relegated the cultural dynamics of Chinese, but commonly see the Chinese immigrants as the labor tool for the economic development of tin mining and commercial agricultural plantation in Straits Settlements and Malay States. Nevertheless, it is important to state that British colonial officials had interpreted Chinese immigrants according to the places or provinces where the Chinese came from, and this is not equivalent as their “place of origin (祖籍)” (see Raffles 1822; Newbold 1971: 12-13; Pickering 1876: 440; Tweedie 1953: 217; Vaughan 1854: 3).

In 1822, British colonial administrator Stamford Raffles, who was also the founder of Singapore, has instructed the town planning committee to allocate a special area for the Chinese from Amoy (see map 1.1). Raffles observed that the

Chinese immigrants during that time were divided into merchants and traders, artisans and laborers, and cultivators who were "Southern Hokkiens"; however, he did not mention which "dialect groups" the Chinese belonged to (cite in Yen 1986: 117). In the colonial office file of CO 273/69, the Colonial Engineer, Major McNair R. A. was hesitated about Raffles's references to Chinese immigrants in Singapore, since these references was not supported by any registration data or information.[1] By the way, writing in 1854, Jonas Daniel Vaughan observed that all the carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers and other workers in laborious trades were natives of Quang-tung, while the shopkeepers, merchants and owners of spice plantations were natives from Fuh-kien and Chin-Chew (Vaughan 1854: 3). Later in 1879, Vaughan has divided the Chinese in Straits Settlements into five classes:

> In the Straits the Chinese are classed under five heads, Macaos, native of Canton and neighbouring towns and villages; Kehs from the interior of the province of Quantung; Tay Chews from Swatow and its vicinity; Hylams, natives of the island of Hainan; and Hokiens from Amoy and other places in the province of Fuhkeen; very few emigrants come from the other provinces of China (Vaughan 1971: 6)

Besides, Resident Councillor of Penang Straits Settlements from 1887 to 1897, Allan Maclean Skinner was the first official described the Chinese cleavages such as "Five Districts" and "Four Districts" (which known as precedent Penang secret societies) in Penang in his official document during 1874.[2] Skinner enumerates the "Four Districts" or See Kwan as the Sin Neng, Sin Whee, Seow Keng and Whee Chew; while "Five Districts" as Go Kwan as the Cheng Sia, Poon Say, Soon Tek, Lam Hye, and Tong Quan (cite in Purcell 1967: 104). Purcell later indicated, "*Kwan* is an absolute term for a prefecture or department" and "the Four Districts were mostly Ghee Hins and Cantonese, and the Five districts were mostly Hai Sans and Khehs"[3] (Purcell 1967: 104-105).

In other words, the observations by British colonial officials and European writers during nineteenth century had differentiated the Chinese based on the

[1] CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873.
[2] Skinner, A. M. (1874). Précis of Perak Affairs. *Perak Papers*, 1874-1879.
[3] *Khehs* is equivalent to "Hakka people" in nineteenth century Malaya.

occupations, China prefectures or provinces where the Chinese came from, and involvement in secret societies. It seems these distinctions are nothing to do with the dimensions of language or dialect difference.

Besides writings by colonial officers and white settlers, there were also officers and scholars from Mainland China had described the Chinese living abroad in Malaya, such as Chen Ta, Feng Ch'eng-chun, Yao Nan and Li Ch'ang fu (Wang 1998: 5-6). However, the dominant tone in these literatures was one of the identification with China, including the issues largely in terms of their historical connections with China, patriotism and political activities, economic successes of Chinese abroad, their schools and newspaper and the evolution of Chinese aboard policy by successive Chinese government under Manchus, the Nationalists and the Communists (Wang 1998: 5-6). In 1923, a China scholar, Chen Ta has researched Chinese migrations phenomena with special reference to the labor conditions as his subjects for his doctoral thesis in Columbia. He has included Chinese immigrants in British Malaya as part of his research, and the aspects such as migratory process, population of immigrants, labor conditions i.e. occupation and salaries, economy industries were stated in his doctoral thesis (see Chen Ta 1967: 79-96). In short, the nascent writings by China scholars would not take account on the dimensions of cultural and social distinctiveness of Chinese immigrants in Malaya, because such as these Chinese immigrants were virtually belonged to China during early twentieth century.

In other words, the authors of the early publications, whether he or she is European or Mainland Chinese, officials or scholars, generally they were not interested in probing the characteristics and the distinctiveness among Chinese in nineteenth century Malaya.

On the other hand, there was another incident contributed to the relegation of distinctiveness among Chinese and "Hakka" in nineteenth century Malaya: "Revolution of 1911". The causes of revolution were derived from the arguments between China and British Empire in the Pacific during early of twentieth century.

The battle between two superpowers have developed the power of a China nationalistic appealing to the patriotism of the Chinese outside China, for instance, Chinese communities resided in Malaya (Purcell 1948). Yen Ching-hwang has been outlined the impacts of "1911 Revolution" to the Chinese abroad in Malaya in his publication *The Overseas Chinese and the 1911 Revolution* (1976). He pointed, Sun Yat-Sen and his Guomindang party members had raised a problem of "loyalty" to the Chinese emigrants abroad under "Revolution of 1911" since Guomindang party had their origins among the Chinese abroad. Thus Guomindang party had identified Chinese abroad as one of the mainstays of its party by designation of "*huaqiao* (華僑)". Meanwhile, the Communist Party of China in opposition to Guomindang party was less dependent on *huaqiao* (Yen 1976). Undoubtedly, the creation of *huaqiao* designation in the "1911 Revolution" has brought the unintended consequences not only to the political diplomacy dimensions of China and Taiwan, but also strongly influenced the academic research pertaining to "Chinese" in Southeast Asia, even after the countries in this region had gained its independence more than half century.

More than half century, the term *huaqiao* were called "Overseas Chinese" in English in People's Republic of China (PRC) and Republic of China (ROC, commonly known as Taiwan R.O.C) which means Chinese citizens who temporarily live overseas in the broad sense. However, with an end of Second World War, a great number of Overseas Chinese have adopted local citizenship and continued to live in their adopted land. Hence, the term *huaqiao* or "Overseas Chinese" is no longer suitable to call the majority of the Chinese population outside China, except those Chinese abroad who are citizens of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Taiwan R.O.C. In China itself, the term *huaqiao* is still used but only refer to those Chinese who are citizens of People's Republic of China; however the cognition of the term *huaqiao* by Taiwan R.O.C government is refer to all Chinese who live abroad with ignorance to their nationality. In other words, the identification of *huaqiao* problem in Taiwan R.O.C is more complicated than People's Republic of China.

Vague definition on *huaqiao* in Taiwan R.O.C and People's Republic of China's diplomacy also caused its consequences towards academic field, and it can be seen through the academic publications pertaining to "Chinese" in Southeast Asia. According to Wang Gungwu (1998), the majority of the studies concerning on "Chinese" in Southeast Asia from 1880s to the 1970s were strongly dominated by the politicization of this *huaqiao* problem because the designation of *huaqiao* virtually connoted a tendency to look Chinese abroad in political, diplomatic, defense and security terms which closely link with China (王賡武 1994: 8-10; Wang 1998: 4). Gradually, there were writings carrying a sensational account of Chinese loyalty and nationalist pride by particular scholars while approached to Chinese living outside China (古鴻廷 1994; 林遠輝、張應龍 1991; 李盈慧 1997; 李恩涵 2003; 成秋華 2007).

Consequently, Professor Wang Gungwu has used a term "Chinese overseas (海外華人)" to replace the old term "Overseas Chinese" with a new meaning: the Chinese people who live outside China, without referring to their citizenship (cite in Suryadinata 2007: 1). Besides, there are authors listed out various terms in order to replace the designation of *huaqiao* towards Southeast Asian Chinese. Suryadinata (2007) and Niew Shong Tong (饒尚東 1995) have listed out following terms included "*huaren* (華人)", "*huayi* (華裔)", and "*huazu* (華族)". *Huaren* is equivalent to English "ethnic Chinese" which used recently when referring to those Chinese outside China who are not China's citizens; *huayi* meaning the foreigners of Chinese descent; while *huazu* is a Chinese ethnic group which opposition to "Malays" and "Indian" ethnic groups in Malaysia. Yen Ching-hwang (2008) and Suryadinata (2007) have used the English term "ethnic Chinese" which equivalent to *huaren* as definition when referring to "Chinese" in Southeast Asia. However, it is important to state that before Yen and Suryadinata's suggestion, the term "Chinese" or "*huaren* (華人) " have been commonly used by the majority of Malaysian scholars since last two decades, but not "ethnic Chinese" (see Heng 1988; Lee & Heng 2000; Daniel Chew 1990, 2000; Danny Wong 2000; Tan 2000; Phang 2000). Apart from this,

Suryadinata (2007) pointed the usage of the terms *huaren* and *huayi* are different in meaning when these terms used by Mainland Chinese scholars, since the former term is used to refer to all Chinese who live outside China (excluding China's official) regardless of their citizenship; while the latter is used to refer to Chinese who are non-citizens of either PRC and Taiwan ROC (Suryadinata 2007: 2).

In last few years, there was a tendency to revive the designation of *huaqiao* in the academic field in China. In 2003, there was a scholar considered the nationality of Southeast Asian Chinese was insignificant thence purposely defined "*huaqiao* (華僑)" and "*huaren* (華人)" are from the same big group of "*huaqiaohuaren* (華僑華人)" because their kinship and historical connection with China were unalterable (吳前進 2003: 5-9). Besides, the designation of *huaqiaohuaren* was existed in a publication concerning on Indonesian Chinese (唐慧 2006). Later in 2006, there were a group of Mainland Chinese scholars have established a new study branch of "Overseas Chinese" (中國華僑華人學) by confined their research circle among Mainland Chinese scholars (李安山、吳小安、程希 2006: 1-10). Although these scholars have realized the identification of their research subjects should based on the basic of subject's recognition included political, cultural, ethnic identity and nationality; however, since it is just a beginning, they have defined their research subject - *huaqiaohuaren*- as a whole, regardless of the matter of nationality and citizenship, since the main theme of this studies is subject's historical connection with Mainland China culture (李安山 2006: 36-62). Besides, a Mainland Chinese commentator pointed that *huaqiaohuaren* is the result of international migration by China population" (丘立本 2006: 121) and "the problem of *huaqiaohuaren* virtually is the impact of national problem of the phenomena of international migration" (丘立本 2006: 123). Suryadinata (2007) has explained the emergence of *huaqiaohuaren* is likely policy-oriented of China's diplomacy because Mainland Chinese often use these two terms- *huaqiao* and *huaren*- together when referring to China's policy towards the Chinese outside China to regard those Chinese with PRC citizenship and

those Chinese with foreign citizenship (2007:1). Therefore, it is clearly to see that one scholar's theory is virtually intertwining with political and social contexts.

A historian Heather Sutherland has responded to the tendency to see Southeast Asian Chinese as a product of migration. Sutherland (2003) revealed the viewpoint to see Southeast Asian Chinese as such *huaqiao*- an unchanging national and cultural being which closely link with China- have formulated a stereotype image for the "Chinese" in Southeast Asia, where they often regarded as a threat to the economic development of the country and thereby challenging indigenous economic proportion. Despite the ancestors of "Chinese" in Southeast Asia were came from Mainland China since two to three centuries ago, however, after the changing of international situations and the establishment of new nation states, the later generations of "Chinese" in Southeast Asia has referred Southeast Asia as their home rather than China. Therefore, Professor Wang Gungwu aptly pointed following statement almost three decades ago, "Whatever China's ultimate intentions, the Southeast Asian Chinese are mostly irrelevant and no asset to China. On the contrary, there is evidence to suggest that they might be, if they have not already been, a considerable liability" (Wang 1981: 283). In other words, it is no longer acceptable for the governments in Beijing and Taipei to continue imposing Chinese in Southeast Asia as the bearer for the status of being temporarily resident in their new nation-states. Hence, the designation of *huaqiao* towards Southeast Asian Chinese in the diplomacy dimensions of PRC and ROC should mark a full stop by today.

Likewise, Malaysian sociologist, Tan Chee Beng (1998) also denounced the tendency to see Southeast Asian Chinese as *huaqiao* in academic dimension, "there is a need for concerned scholars of Southeast Asian Studies to make their findings and analyses widely available in order to correct the distorted representation of Chinese ethnicity particularly in relation to China" (1998: 46). Despite the "Chinese" in Southeast Asia are sharing natural traits nearly the same with those "Chinese" in China and Taiwan, if not completely homogenous, however, after the changing of international situations and the establishment of new nation states, the "Chinese" in

Southeast Asia were no longer *huaqiao*. Therefore, some of the publications concerning on “Chinese” in Southeast Asia should be filter in advance.

To sum up, the observations by British colonial officials, European writers and Chinese scholars during nineteenth century and early twentieth century are not interested in probing the distinctiveness of “Chinese” in Malaya, however, the “Chinese” were differentiated based on following issues: the occupations, China prefectures or provinces where they came from, and involvement in particular secret societies; while the “Hakka” has been mentioned as “Kehs” and “Khehs” in the colonial writings. On the other hand, the creation of *huaqiao* designation under “1911 Revolution” in twentieth century has brought an unintended consequence to present political diplomacy of PRC and ROC and academic field towards interpretation on “Chinese” in Southeast Asia. Consequently, concentrations on the controversy pertaining to *huaqiao* and efforts dedicated to the reconstruction of the ethnic Chinese identity in Southeast Asia, particularly in academic field, have gradually gloss over the focal point of scholars in probing the distinctiveness of “Chinese” in the Southeast Asia. Therefore, the distinctiveness within “Chinese” communities is almost relegates in the “early publications” of Overseas Chinese Studies, even though “Hakka” has been differentiated within the Chinese communities as “Kehs” and “Khehs”.

1.3.2.2 Contemporary Publications

The majority of publications concerning on Malaysian Chinese tended to focus on their role and achievements in such aspects, including economic, politic, social and cultural. Therefore it is common to see the statements regarding on the characteristics of Malaysian Chinese as below: Malaysian Chinese form the largest proportion of ethnic Chinese outside of Mainland China but still able to maintain their Chineseness by public elementary Chinese education system; Chinese have play an important role in country's economic growth and controlled Malaysian economic development; political parties which are Chinese-based participate prominently in the political process; a dozen vibrant Chinese newspapers; numerous social organizations

such as province, dialect and lineage association in all around the country; traditional Chinese religions and Buddhism have been preserved (see 劉文榮 1988; 何國忠 2001; 林水檬 2001; 何啓良 2003; 文平强 2004). Despite the details on "dialect group" and "place of origin" have been mentioned among above publications, however, the general picture is still very conservative one, in which Chinese kinship and Chinese values alone formalized the Chinese success in Malaysia society.

There was a book grew out lately from the efforts of several Malaysian scholars who felt that it was time to offer a comprehensive survey to Malaysian Chinese: *The Chinese in Malaysia* (Lee & Tan 2000). This publication has shown ample evidences that Malaysian Chinese have moved towards greater integration by a process of localization within an evolving Malaysian society since the end of the Second World War. The relevant topics such as Chinese economic role, politic, the geographical and occupational division of Chinese, the distribution of various Chinese dialect groups, Chinese schools, Chinese new village (華人新村), religion, Chinese literature and art have been revealed in this volume. According to Lee and Tan (2000), the population, language, education, political participation, occupation, residential pattern, religion of Malaysian Chinese had to contend with following events at the same time, included British colonialism, *huaqiao* nationalism, the Japanese occupation and Malay political assertion, even though above events were occurred during different periods (Lee and Tan 2000: xxiii-xxiv). Lee and Tan (2000) pointed these events were significant towards Malaysian Chinese because it had shaped the contents of Chinese community in Malaysia. Furthermore, these events have gradually divided the Chinese along with dialect group, religion, and educational lines. Consequently, the "Chinese identities" in Malaysia are diverse, and varying in educational lines, religion, types of economic roles, different orientation in politics and so forth. In other word, this book has provided a brand new viewpoint towards the formation of Malaysian "Chinese" as an institutional process, which further contributed to the "ethnic identity" of "Chinese" as a whole.

In 1998, Tan Chee Beng has started his research regarding on the languages usage among Malaysian Chinese, in which included Malay, English, Mandarin and other Chinese dialects. He has categorized 4 types of Malaysian Chinese descent such as Type A, Type B, Type C and D based on the factors like *language of intimacy*, *language of literacy* and *intra-group language* (1998: 29-46). Furthermore, he also discovered there are common phenomena of a Malaysian Chinese that do not speak any Chinese language but can continue to identify themselves as being Chinese. Hence, Tan Chee Beng has defined the term "identity" as a matter of subjective identification in this paper, which is shaped by the experience of living in a national society. Thence, Tan Chee Beng has stressed the matter on the persistence of Chinese languages or dialects are closely link with the matter of cultural identity, but not ethnic identity:

> As far as ethnic identity is concerned, the persistence of Chinese ethnic identification does not depend on the persistence of the use of any Chinese languages. There is thus a need to distinguish between cultural identity and ethnic identification (Tan Chee Beng 1998: 41).

Two years later, in 2000, Tan Chee Beng has explained the characteristic of Malaysian Chinese identity from the aspect of cultural continuity:

> Chinese Malaysians have various levels of identities. They are divided into dialect groups and subdialect groups. The ethnic identification of Chinese Malaysian is segmentary and the proper level of identity is expressed according to the relevant level of identification. In other words, Chinese form a single ethnic category in relation to other non-Chinese Malaysians. Among themselves, they are segmented in identification at various levels. Hokkien Chinese identify themselves as such in relation to the Cantonese and other dialect groups but among Hokkien they are further segmented into Yongchun (Eng-Choon), Anxi (An-Khoe), and others (Tan 2000: 43).

> While Chinese culture in Malaysia has different models due to specific socio-cultural adaptation, yet Chinese Malaysians, due to cultural continuity, share a common cultural past in China and are united by a set of common Chinese traditions. Thus if Chinese Malaysian continue to be interested in the civilization of China and 'things Chinese' such as traditional Chinese values and philosophy, this is because these things are relevant to their cultural continuity, not because they are loyal to China. It is the cultural past and the continuity which give meaning and pride to an ethnic group. From the perspective of ethnic identity and national identity, Chinese Malaysian are both

> Chinese and Malaysians. Their cultural identity, however, is a combination of traditional Chinese and modern cultural features as well as those elements which are Malaysian origin (Tan 2000: 65).

These quotations pinpoint two main factors contributing to the character of Malaysian Chinese today: "locality" and "cultural continuity". Based on both of these factors at the same time, Tan Chee Beng has distinguished the "Chinese" as an "ethnic group" which based on "national identification"; while "dialect groups" as a "sub-ethnic identification" which based on "cultural identification". On the other hand, under principle of "locality", he stated the national institutions and interaction experience with other Malaysian (such as Indian and Malays) at the local level has further reshaped the identity of Malaysian Chinese today. For "cultural continuity", Tan Chee Beng stated cultural past and traditions are relevant to Chinese cultural continuity, but it has nothing to do with ethnic and national identity of Malaysian Chinese. Therefore, it is common to see that the younger generations of Malaysian Chinese today do not speak Mandarin but speaking the other kind of language such as English; or do not speak their own Chinese dialects (see Tan 1998, 2000). Gradually, dialect group's identification become irrelevant to the younger generation since it is not a serious consideration to Malaysian Chinese in the social context of Malaysia (Tan 2000: 44).

Sharon Carstens, an anthropologist who has devoted more than 25 years to study the Chinese community in Malaysia has started her anthropological work in Pulai, Kelantan during early 1978 in probing the Malaysian Chinese cultural identities. Coincidentally, the majority of Pulai Chinese is Hakkas. In 1983, she has concluded that the Pulai Chinese more inclined to define themselves as "Chinese" in both public and domestic spheres. Meanwhile, the shifts to Malaysian Chinese loyalties have influenced their Chinese cultural identities as "Hakka". The most noticeable changes among Pulai Chinese were the decline in importance of dialect group loyalties (see Carstens 1983). Later in 1996, Carstens (1996) summed it up, clear distinctions between the cultural patterns of Hakka and non-Hakka in present Malaysia will

continue to erode with the increasing rates of intermarriage between different members of different dialect groups.

Although the dialect group identification of Malaysian Chinese gradually became irrelevant among younger generations in present day, however dialect group are keep repeating as the significant term to classify the first or second generations of Malaysian Chinese, for example, "Hakka" during nineteenth and twentieth century Malaya. Therefore, the "Hakka" which affiliated with present "dialect group" while attached under "Chinese" in nineteenth-twentieth century Malaya could only be found through the publications concerning on following issues, included: "Chinese polity" such as secret societies, kapitan and kongsi (Gullick 1955; Blythe 1969; Vaughan 1971; Yen 1976, 1986; Mak 1981; Ownby & Heidhues 1993; Carstens 1993; Wang T.P 1994); "Chinese associations" (Freedman 1960; Willmott 1970; Moese, Reinknecht & Schmitz-Seißer 1979; 吳華 1980; Heng 1988; Cheng 1990, 1995); "Chinese community" by anthropological, sociological and historical approaches whether within a small village, town in Malaya, or extended to the whole Malaya (Purcell 1948; T'ien 1953; 李亦園 1970; Carstens 1983; 麥留芳 1985; Yen 1986). "Hakka" in nineteenth-twentieth century Malaya will be digging out from these publications.

"Hakka" can be found in some publications concerned on "Chinese polity" in Malaya, which commonly stressed on following subjects, included: "secret societies", "kapitan" and "kongsi" during nineteenth century. One of the notable incidents was "Larut War" which triggered among Chinese "secret societies" during the 1860s to 1870s. Skinner[1], who first recording the details of Third Larut War in his *Précis of Perak Affairs* (1874) stated "mostly Ghee Hins and Cantonese on the one side, and mostly Hai Sans and Khehs on the other". In 1879, J. D. Vaughan also mentioned "Hye San were chiefly Kehs" (Vaughan 1971: 103). However, Skinner and Vaughan's documents later have led to some reappraisal by Wilfred Blythe regarding

[1] Skinner, A. M. was Resident Councillor of Penang Straits Settlements from 1887 to 1897. See also Skinner, A. M. (1874). Précis of Perak Affairs. *Perak Papers*, 1874-1879.

on “secret societies”. Blythe (1969) pointed, statements in Skinner’s document was questionable because the mining labors of Larut during the 1860s to 1870s was predominantly Hakka. In order to respond to the deficiencies regarding on “secret societies”, Blythe (1969) has point out the detailed of Larut War, included First Larut War in 1861, Second Larut War in 1865 and Third Larut War in 1872 to 1873:

> In the First and Second Larut Wars of 1861 and 1865 the contestants were, on the one side, Fui Chiu Hakkas based on Klian Bharu in the north, against Chen Shang Hakkas based on Klian Pauh in the South. In the struggle of 1872-3 Sin Nengs Hakkas who had replaced the Fui Chius fought against the Chen Shang Hakkas, though before the end of this third war Cantonese were engaged on both sides, and Hokkiens and Tiechius were also involved.
> The line of division lay between the secret society groups- the Ghee Hin and its ally the Ho Hop Seah on the one side, and the Hai San on the other, the latter being reinforced first by a group of Cantonese from the ‘Five Districts’ area of Kwangtung, and later by the Kien Tek and the Ho Seng societies. The following table summarizes the positions.
>
> *Third Larut War*
> *North (Klian Bahru)*
> Miners: Mostly Hakkas from the ‘Four Districts’ (Sz Yip), principally from the Sin Neng District, together with some Fui Chiu Hakkas and some Cantonese.
> Leaders: Ho Ghi Siu. Later Ch’in Ah Yam. (Both Sin Nengs.)
> Society support: Ghee Hin and Ho Hop Seah, with which societies the Penang financiers of this group were associated.
> Name: The side was known as the ‘Four Districts’ or (in the Hokkien dialect) ‘See Kwan’.
>
> *South (Klian Bahru)*
> Miners: Mostly Hakkas from the Chen Shang District, together with some Cantonese from the ‘Five Districts’.
> Leaders: Chang Keng Kwee (Chen Shang Hakka), Low Sam.
> Society support: The Hai San society. From August 1872 it was actively assisted by ‘Five Districts’ Cantonese. From early May 1873 it was joined by the Kien Tek Society (Toh Peh Kong) composed mostly of local-born Hokkiens, and by the Ho Seng Society of mixed membership, including Hokkiens. The Penang financiers of this group were chiefly local-born Hokkiens of whom Khoo Hong Chooi was prominent.
> Name: From August 1872 (but not before) this side was known as the ‘Five Districts’ or (in the Hokkien Dialect) ‘Go Kwan’.
> (Blythe 1969: 176).

Blythe's analysis as above pinpoints four main factors contributing to the Hakka communities in nineteenth century Larut: Hakka was prefectural-based; Hakka might be a member of the Ghee Hin and a member of Hai San under the group of Cantonese, or vice versa; Hakka were grouped together with Cantonese, Teochew or Hokkien; Hakka was predominantly in the mining lands of Larut during the 1860s to 1870s. Likewise, in nineteenth century Selangor, there were two different groups of Hakka involved in the mining development in Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, "to the north, in the Selangor river district, Jiayingzhou Hakka had mined tin around Kanching since the 1840s, while in Ampang and Kuala Lumpur most of the miners were Huizhou Hakka (see Carstens 1993: 127). In 1948, a British colonial officer Victor Purcell[1] pointed out, "…men of the same tribe, clan, and district of China, even of the same family, might be found ranged against one another in mortal combat through the accident of their secret-society allegiance. This fact will often explain the apparent change of an individual or group from one camp to another as ebb and flow of power effected new combinations" (Purcell 1967: 105).

To sum up from Blythe and Purcell's analysis, the bone of contentions at nineteenth century Klian Pauh, Larut (now Taiping in Perak) was mining lands; meanwhile it can be found that the different prefectural-based Hakka people during that time would ranged altogether on a prefectural basis and might be ranged against one another by joining with other people from different districts, such as "Hokkien", "Cantonese" and "Teochew". Therefore, it is aptly to state that the economic interest in tin mines as the priority factor while it is more important than the cultural factors i.e. "place of origin", dialect differences, and kinship consciousness during nineteenth century Malaya.

On the other hand, there is another subject frequently repeated in publication and it was closely related with "Hakka" in nineteenth century Malaya: Kapitan. There

[1] British colonial officer who served in the pre-war Malayan Civil Service from 1921 until 1946, where at one point he headed the Chinese Protectorate, Assistant Director of Education (Chinese), Director-General of Information, and Principal Adviser on Chinese Affairs to the British Military Administration after Japanese occupation in Malaya.

are two best known Chinese Hakka kapitan in mining industry: Yap Ah Loy and Chang Keng Kwee. Yap Ah Loy, who was Huizhou Hakka was a well-known Chinese kapitan from 1868 to 1885 in Kuala Lumpur. He has started the development of Kuala Lumpur as a commercial and mining centre during the mid 1800s. Furthermore, he also achieved a striking post-Larut war recovery in the mining industry and established Kuala Lumpur as the economic centre of the peninsula (see Carstens 1993, 2005). On the other hand, Chang Keng Kwee, who was Zengcheng Hakka and Chinese kapitan of Larut, Perak since 1873, also known as a millionaire and the innovator in the tin mining of Perak (see Blythe 1969; Yen 1986). Besides, there was another two Hakka kapitans eventually took over Yap Ah Loy as Kapitan in Kuala Lumpur when Yap Ah Loy died in 1885: Yap Ah Shak (1885-1889) and Yap Kwan Seng (1889-1902). Yap Ah Shak was a Huizhou Hakka and Hai San leader. By 1880, Yap Ah Shak had 10 tin mines around Kuala Lumpur. On the other hand, a Hakka descent Yap Kwan Seng who borned in 1846 in Chak Kai district of China was the second largest tin mine owner in Selangor during 1889. The post of Kapitan in Kuala Lumpur was abolished after the death of Yap Kwan Seng (Carstens 1993, 2005).

According to Yen Ching-hwang (1986), Yap Ah Loy has founded the “Fui Chiu Kongsi” in Kuala Lumpur during 1864, and this association was changed its name to “Selangor Fui Chiu Association” in 1885 under the leadership of Yap Ah Shak. Chang Keng Kwee was one of the founders of “Tseng Lung Association of Taiping” in 1888. Another Kapitan of Kuala Lumpur, Yap Kwan Seng was the founder of “Selangor Ch’ih His Association” (Yen 1986: 125). From this, it is noteworthy that there are some similarities between these Hakka Kapitans: there are leader of local Hai San Society, founder of local prefectural association, and they were involved and gained wealth from their tin mining businesses. The reason why Yap Kwan Seng was excluded as the leader of local secret society was mainly resulted by the suppression of secret societies in 1889. Andaya and Andaya (1982: 176) pointed the kapitan system was British creation since British colonials were lacking the personnel necessarily for controlling the whole Chinese community in tin mining areas.

Therefore, the British colonials depended on the co-operation of Chinese leaders in maintaining law and order in the Malay states but Kapitan was not given money or manpower to discharge his duty (see Purcell 1967: 116; Yen 1986: 124). At this point, Yen (1986) revealed that both local secret society and local prefectural association were used by kapitan as a powerful means to control and maintaining law and order of Chinese communities since British was not given money or manpower to discharge his duty (Yen 1986: 124- 128).

The "Hakka" also can be observed from the publications which concerned on "kongsi". It is important to note in advance that the term kongsi has been overlapped and confusing with secret society, "voluntary organization" or *hui guan*, it is because almost every Chinese institution during nineteenth century was called kongsi (see Wang T.P 1994: 2). In 1879, J. D. Vaughan also mentioned the kongsi had been confusing with secret societies by British colonials. Therefore, he has clarified the features of kongsi in his writing:

> The friendly societies or clubs must be distinguished from the Hoeys, or secret societies from which they materially differ; they are however confounded by Europeans. These Kongsis, as they are called, are formed by men of the same town, village, or district, clan, or occupation, and are very exclusive; each club has a house for the accommodation of the sick and indigent, where they are lodged and fed, and on dying are buried at the expense of the Kongsis (Vaughan 1971: 102)

In 1995, Cheng Lim Keak (1995) pointed out, most of the Chinese voluntary associations such as locality associations including "*hui guan* (會館)" and "*tong xiang hui* (同鄉會)", surname associations like "*gong hui* (公會)" or "*tang* (堂)" that emerged before twentieth century were operated as "kongsis (公司; companies)" (Cheng 1995: 492). From these, kongsi seen has been equivalent to present "voluntary associations".

Reappraisal on definitions and translations to kongsi as equivalent to "voluntary associations" has been taken up by Wang Tai Peng in 1994. According to Wang

(1994: 3), Chinese kongsi that emerges in Southeast Asia in the eighteenth century were entirely related to the rise of overseas Chinese mining industries. Furthermore, he has re-identified the term kongsi in Southeast Asia:

> …kongsi is that it was a form of open government, based on an enlarged partnership and brotherhood. Its purpose was to protect economic gains as well as to resist outside power. In this form of government, every member had equal rights in the process of government as everyone was an equal partner and brother to the other. The administration is open to public criticism, participation, election, or dismissal by a general meeting in the kongsi-house. This new political organization provided a foundation for the social economic life of the overseas Chinese (Wang T.P. 1994: 4).

Wang Tai Peng stated, the well-known Jiaying leader, Lo Fang-po has founded the famous kongsi government called Lan-fang kongsi which was situated in Mandor, West Borneo after 1777. Therefore, in West Borneo, the Jiaying Hakkas were almost dominantly in the mining industry (Wang T.P. 1994: 47- 54). Some of these Jiaying Hakkas of Lan-fang kongsi may have re-emigrated from West Borneo to Straits Settlements after 1804 when the Chinese power in West Borneo was declining (Yen 1986: 43).

"Hakka" in Malaya also can be found through the publications concerning on "Chinese voluntary associations". The Hakka people seen appeared to be most active in organizing voluntary associations. The first Chinese voluntary association was founded in Penang during 1801, "Chia Ying Association of Penang". The second to forth "Hakka" association was founded in Malacca: "Hui Zhou Association of Malacca" in 1805 by Huizhou Hakkas; "Ch'a Yang Association of Malacca" in the 1820 by Dabu Hakkas; and "Ying Ho Association of Malacca" in 1821 by Jiaying Hakkas. The fifth "Hakka" association was founded in Penang during 1822, "Hui Chou Association of Penang". The first Chinese voluntary association in Singapore was founded in 1823, "Ying Fo Fui Kun" by Jiaying Hakkas. The second "Hakka" association in Singapore was Singapore "Wui Chiu Association"[1] which officially

[1] Wui Chiu Association was established in 1822 as "Wui Chiu Kongsi" and officially registered as "Wui Chiu Association" in 31/7/1890.
Website: http://was.nl.sg/details/sfcca.org.sg.wuichiuclan.html. Checked on 27/10/2009.

founded in 1890 by Huizhou Hakkas. The list of earliest Chinese voluntary associations in Malaya from 1801 until 1870 can be referred from appendices one. This list is showing that the earliest Chinese voluntary associations in Malaya are founded mainly in Straits Settlements and tin mining areas, such as Taiping and Kuala Lumpur.

The Hakka people seen appeared as the active community in organizing voluntary associations. It can be linked with one striking condition about the early Chinese voluntary associations in Malaya is dominated by the minority groups, such as "Hakka" (see 吳華 1980). The majority associations founded in Penang, Malacca and Singapore in the period between 1801 until 1839 were belonged to Hakka and Cantonese, who were the minorities in the local Chinese community (Yen 1986: 42).

In 1995, Cheng Lim Keak has analyzed the factors and circumstances leading to the formation of those various Hakka associations which founded in nineteenth century Singapore, included present locality associations such as *hui guan* and *tong xiang hui*; and surname associations like *gong hui* or *tang*. According to Cheng (1995: 491), there are three different patterns of Hakka association can be identified: "split-parallel" pattern represented by the association of the various blocs or companies such as "Singapore Hopo Corporation (新加坡河婆集團)"; "convergent" pattern as reflected in the formation of "The Nanyang Khek Community Guild (南洋客屬總會)" and the "Federation of Ka Yin Chiu Association of Singapore"; "divergent" pattern represented by the formation of the various locality association at the province and prefecture levels i.e. "Ying Fo Fui Kun" which founded in 1823. The functions of these three kinds of associations are to promote group solidarity, identity, loyalty, and traditional values, thereby helping the members of the group to survive, settle, develop, and prosper in nineteenth century Singapore (Cheng 1995: 492). Cheng further concluded the formation of these associations is due to their flexibility in using their various "social relationships", including as a member of family, clan, village, hometown, province, district, prefecture, dialect group, community, society, institution, occupation and trade, "the flexibility of using one or more of these

relationships has facilitated the mushrooming of voluntary associations catering to the various need arising from population increase, social mobility and diversity of society" (Cheng 1995: 493).

Among the publication concerning on "Chinese community", T'ien Ju-kang's anthropological work in Sarawak was one of the rare publications that provided observation on "Hakka". He had observed on socioeconomic positions of "Hakka" comparing with other Chinese communities in his writing, as follow:

> Various Hakka informants complained ruefully that they knew there was no possibility for them to attain financial power or even commercial success. The Teochew and Fukienese, they said, had all the experience of urban life and commercial enterprise, while the Hakka had none (T'ien 1953: 58).

T'ien claimed that the occupational divisions between different Chinese communities in Sarawak as above had originated from the mainland of China, where Hakka were mainly rural farmers, while Hokkien and Teochew were more likely to have been urban merchants in China. From this, it can be observed that T'ien virtually denoted "Hakka", "Teochew" and "Fukienese" based on their primordial originality of province or prefecture in China.

In 1979, there was a group of western scholars from Hamburg University, German such as Professor Wolfgang Moese, Gottffried Reinknecht and Eva Schmitz-Seißer. These scholars have group themselves together to analysis the phenomena of *regionalism* by different Chinese dialect groups in present West Malaysia and Singapore. They founded the *regionalism* during nineteenth century Malaya had originated from China's geographical conditions which further caused a large variety of communities with different dialect, cultural, and economic background. The pattern of *regionalism* had stratified the units of Chinese settlements in Malaya, development of "regional association" (or *Landsmannschaften* in German), and the occupational predominance of one dialect-group in nineteenth century Malaya (see Moese, Reinknecht & Schmitz-Seißer 1979).

According to Moese, Reinknecht and Schmitz-Seißer (1979: 203), Hakka dialect-group are originated from following places according to administrative divisions of Ch'ing government, "Jiaying[1] (independent district situated in the northwest of Guangdong), Yongding (district in Fujian), Zenglong (mixed from district of Zengcheng[2] and Longmen[3] in Guangdong), Huizhou (prefecture in Guangdong), Dabu (district in prefecture of Chaozhou), Fengshun (district in prefecture of Chaozhou), Hepo (sub-district in the county of Jieyang[4]) (see Moese, Reinknecht & Schmitz-Seißer 1979: 18, 203-204). Cheng (1995: 479) also stated the early Hakkas in Singapore have mainly come from the old Jiaying, Dabu, Fengshun, Yongding and Huizhou.

To sum up from these "contemporary publications", the detailed of "Hakka" in nineteenth century Malaya are more obvious than those "Hakka dialect group" in present West Malaysia and Singapore, despite the connotation and transformation of "Keh" or "Kheh" to "Hakka" have been totally neglected. "Hakka" in nineteenth century Malaya not only interrelated with factors like dialect difference, kinship and "place of origin"; apparently, it has been closely affiliated with economic factors in their adaptation and competition especially in tin mining areas by involved in quarrels among secret societies. It can be found that the different prefectural-based Hakkas during nineteenth century would ranged altogether on a prefectural basis and might be ranged against one another by joining with other people from different districts, such as Hokkien, Cantonese and Teochew. Moreover, Hakka also might be a member of the Ghee Hin or a member of Hai San which grouped with the group of Cantonese, Teochew or Hokkien in Larut wars. On the other hand, the formation of various "Hakka" voluntary associations during nineteenth century Malaya also revealed that there were flexibilities in using one or more than one cultural or kinship factors to

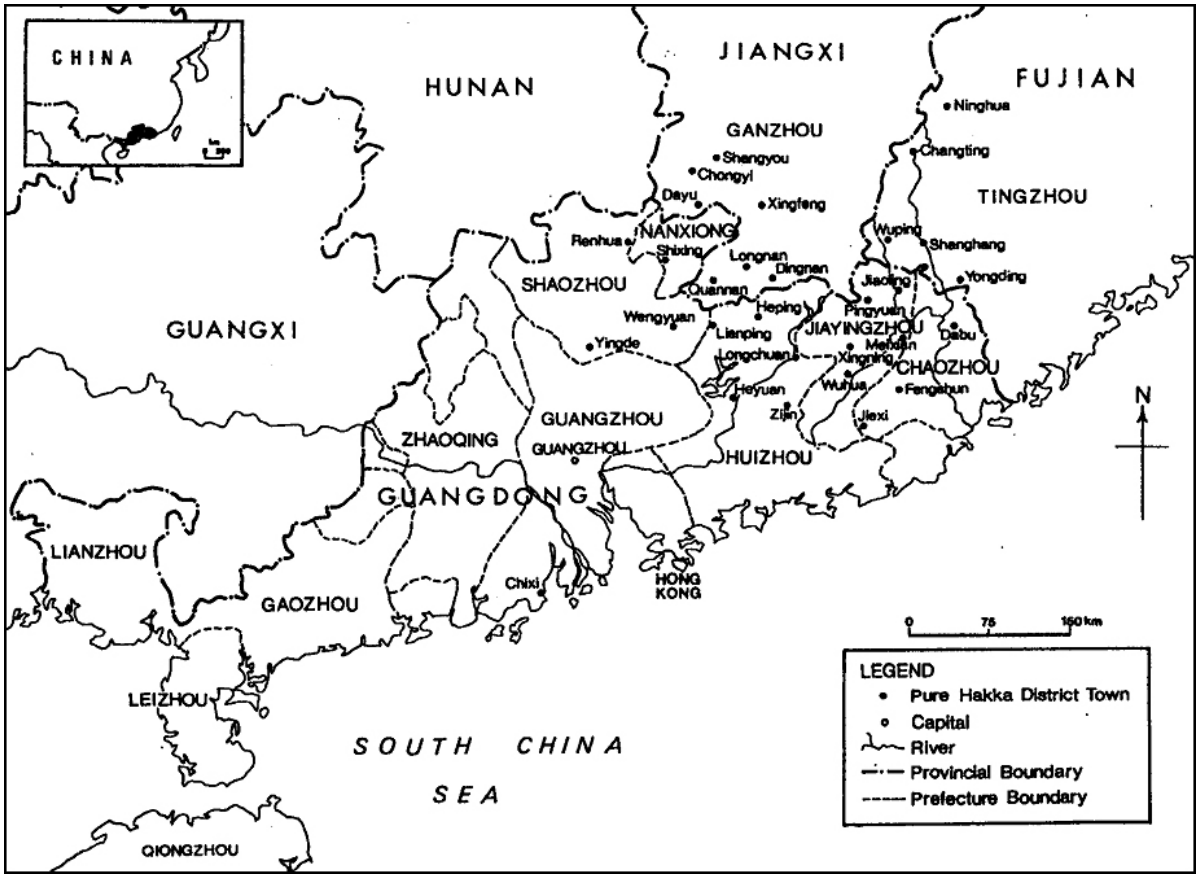
[1] During the period of *Nanqi* (南齊), 479-502 A.D. established as *Chengxiang xian* (程鄉縣). Under the Song Dynasty changed to *Meizhou* (梅州). During the Ming Dynasty renamed as *Chengxian xian*. During Ch'ing Dynasty has raised as Jiaying independent district (嘉應直隸州). After 1911, Jiaying independent district had changed to Mei xian (梅縣) (see Moese, Reinknecht & Schmitz-Seißer 1979: 69).
[2] 增城
[3] 龍門
[4] 揭陽

form associations. Thus, “Hakka” in Malaya during nineteenth century are heterogeneous entities.

1.3.3 Hakka Studies

In 1933, the publications of Mainland Chinese historian, Luo Xiang Lin have claimed the Hakka people was “pure Han Chinese” based on their original kinship through migratory experiences in Mainland China. According to Luo, the Hakka people originally inhabited in the central part of China which now known as Henan province, and some parts of Shanxi and Anhui province while the Hakka people have gone through five migratory periods before sixteenth century which started from 311 A.D. Eventually, “Hakka” has officially included as part of the Han Chinese majority. On the other hand, he also listed out seven distinct features of Hakka people, in which included abilities of Hakka folk in different field, Hakka women’s abilities and their position in family, hardworking habits, Hakka’s ambitious, adventure spirits, frugality and their egotistical attitudes (羅香林 1979: 240-276).

In 1950, Luo has outlined the “pure and mixed Hakka counties” widespread in China, stretching from Jiangxi and Hunan in the lower reaches of the Yangzi River to Fujian, Guangdong, Hainan, and Guangxi in the south, and Yunnan in the southwest; and from Taiwan in the east to Sichuan in the west (羅香林 1989: 57- 58). Cheng (1995) has adapted from Luo’s map in order to enlarge the main Hakka area in Southeast China, as map 1.2. However, it is important to state that Luo’s theory of Han Chinese kinship decency is less impact and less importance in both public and domestic life of former Malaya or present Malaysia and Singapore.



Map 1.2: Main Hakka Area in Southeast China[1].

Inclusion of Hakka people as a "pure Han Chinese" has remained as a significant references in present academic field, especially Hakka Studies in China and Taiwan. In 2002, Taiwan anthropologist, Chuang Ying-chang has illustrated the development of Hakka studies. According to Chuang, the study of Hakka people has begun in early twentieth century. The originality and the migration history of Hakka people in their ancestral homeland were remained as two major research subjects. Besides, the cultural and gender aspects of Hakka such as Hakka language, folklore and Hakka women also caught some attentions (莊英章 2002: 40-43). On the other hand, a Taiwan historian, Yin Chang-yi has pointed the Hakka studies in Taiwan were raised during the 1990s as a brand new discipline in reacted to China's academic trend since China have established many Hakka research centers in early of the 1990s,

[1] Source: Cheng, Lim Keak. (1995). Patterns of social alignment: a case study of Hakka associations in Singapore. *Southeast Asian Studies*, 32(4), 477- 494. pp. 478.

which is earlier than Taiwan. Therefore, Yin believes the emergence of Hakka studies in Taiwan were closely related to the political issues between Taiwan and Mainland of China (尹章義 2003: 30-31). On contrary, Michael Hsiao and Lim Khay Thiong (2007) pointed the fact of the emergence of recent China Hakka studies was a reaction to the rise of Taiwan Hakka Studies in the 1980s due to compete and gain more political supports of *huaqiao* than Taiwan (Hsiao and Lim 2007: 6). Above statements pinpoint one striking fact of the rise of Hakka Studies: Hakka Studies are intertwined with China and Taiwan's cultural and political contexts which might closely related to *huaqiao*.

Nevertheless, the publications of Mainland Chinese historian, Luo Xiang Lin during the 1930s and 1950s have claimed as the text book for Taiwan Hakka Studies in the beginning stage (羅香林 1979, 1989). Despite the origin of Taiwan Hakka studies were virtually affiliated with Mainland Chinese scholar's theory, however Taiwan's scholars have put their supreme efforts to construct their own subjectivity by own theory on the discourse of Hakka studies, such as Taiwan Hakka language and folklore,[1] Taiwan Hakka women,[2] the history of Taiwan Hakka and their distribution,[3] Hakka's religion,[4] Taiwan Hakka's economic,[5] the politic of Taiwan Hakka and its ethnic relationship[6] and so forth. During the mid-2000s, Taiwan Hakka Studies have gradually shifted their attention to "Southeast Asian Hakka" (see 蕭新煌、林開忠、張維安 2007). There are some research subject pertaining to "Southeast Asian Hakka" have been attracted more attentions, particularly "Hakka identity".[7] Other developing research issues of "Southeast Asian Hakka" are including "Hakka associations", "Hakka leader" and "Hakka businesses" i.e. pawn

[1] See 羅肇錦 (1990), 陳運棟 (1991), 劉還月 (1999), 黃榮洛 (2000).
[2] See 張典婉 (2004).
[3] See 陳運棟 (1978, 1989), 施添福 (1987), 溫振華 (1992), 劉還月 (2000), 邱彥貴 & 吳中杰 (2001), 尹章義(2003).
[4] See 陳春聲 (1996), 田金昌 (2005), 羅烈師 (2005).
[5] See 張維安 (2000).
[6] See 徐正光 (1994), 施正鋒 (2004, 2007), 楊長鎮 (2007).
[7] See 張翰璧 & 張維安 (2005), 林開忠 & 李美賢 (2006), 陳美華 (2006), Hsiao & Lim (2007, 2009).

shop and Chinese traditional medicines.[1] As overall, the majority authors tended to focus on the Hakka community in present Malaysia and Singapore.

One striking fact is the majority scholars tended to define "Hakka" as form of "ethnic group" when approached to identity of "Southeast Asian Hakka". The publications concerning on "Hakka identity" in Malaysia shown that the majority of authors tend to speak the Hakka identity and consciousness among Malaysian Hakka are virtually weak (張翰璧、張維安 2005; 陳美華 2006; Hsiao and Lim 2007, 2009). By a case study on Malaysian Hakka students in National Central University, Chang Han-Pi and Chang Wei-an have concluded the Hakka identity in Malaysia was "double-invisible" since the components of their identity were less visible in both public and domestic spheres (張翰璧、張維安 2005). In addition, Chern has explained the reason for the Malaysian Hakka identity is less visible because Malaysian Hakka had suppressed their Hakka identity in order to preserve their Chinese identity. However Malaysian Hakka identity did not disappear altogether but existing as form of "Hakka associations" in present Malaysia (陳美華 2006).

In 2007, Michael Hsiao, Lim Khay Tiong and Chang Wei-an (蕭新煌、林開忠、張維安 2007; Hsiao & Lim 2007) have pointed out the "segmentary identities of Southeast Asian Chinese", in which modified from Tan Chee Beng's "segmentary and proper level of Malaysian Chinese identity" (see Tan 2000: 43). In 2007, Hsiao and Lim have compared the ethnic identity of Taiwanese Hakka with Malaysian Hakka based on Wang Fu-chang definition's on "ethnic group" (see 王甫昌 2003), and thence further concluded with following statement:

> The Hakka of Southeast Asia, however, do not have a clear sense of inequality, and so they do not think it necessary to take any collection action. Therefore, we can assert that Hakka consciousness in Southeast Asia is virtually an underdeveloped ethnicity. Their degree of ethnic consciousness is not at all similar to that of Hakka Taiwanese. The Hakka in Taiwan have already

[1] See 黃賢強 (2000, 2007), 利亮時 &楊忠龍 (2008), 張翰璧 (2007), 張翰璧 & 黃靖雯 (2009).

> facilitated and mobilized ethnic political action and the state's ethnic/cultural policies have also been affected in a positive way (Hsiao & Lim 2007: 13).
>
> Unless there are structural changes, Hakka in Southeast Asia will not able to develop a fully fledge ethnic identity as their cousins in Taiwan are doing (Hsiao & Lim 2007: 25)

Unfortunately, above statements are full of deficiencies. Due to underline the deficiencies published by above authors, segmentary identities of Malaysian comparing with Taiwanese will be revealed, as following table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Segmentary Identities of Malaysian and Taiwanese

Segment	Malaysian Identity (Context)	Taiwanese Identity (Context)
1	**Chinese** (*Vis-à-vis* non-Chinese i.e. Malays, Indians, Kadazan, Iban and etc)	**Hakka** (*Vis-à-vis* non-Hakka i.e. Minnan, Mainlanders and Aborigines)
2	**Hakka** (*Vis-à-vis* non-Hakka dialect group i.e. Hokkien, Cantonese, Teochew, Hainan and etc)	**Zhaoan (詔安)** (*Vis-à-vis* non-Zhaoan i.e. Raoping (饒平), Haifeng (海豐) and etc)
3	**Dabu** (*Vis-à-vis* non-Dabu i.e. Huizhou, Yongding, Hepo and etc)	

Clearly, then, table 1.1 pinpoint two deficiencies of Hsiao and Lim's assertion: "Hakka identity" in Taiwan and Malaysia were compared in different segment, Taiwan' Hakka identity which positioning at the first segment is comparing with Malaysia's Hakka identity at second segment, which is surely not identical. Secondly, "Chinese" would be defined as "ethnic group" rather than "Hakka" in Malaysia. Therefore, it is difficult to concur with Hsiao and Lim's statements. At this point, we should reserve comment on the tendency for defining "Southeast Asian Hakka" as equivalent as Taiwan Hakka, which labeled as "ethnic group" in recent Taiwan Hakka Studies.

1.4 Epilogue

After go through three different kind of studies in probing the connotations of "Hakka" in Southeast Asia, it can be perceived that there are specific metatheories driven to the variety of connotations about "Hakka" in Southeast Asia Studies, Overseas Chinese Studies, and Hakka Studies. "Hakka" is less visible in Southeast Asia Studies (with particularly reference in the publications in Malayan or Malaysian history) since its focal points are more dependent on "event", in which included the development on polity, economy and social of both British colonial and Malaysia governments. Therefore, "Hakka" are largely gloss over under the research background in studying national events and history. On the other hand, "Hakka" is less concerned in the "early publication" of Overseas Chinese Studies because British colonial officials and European writers during nineteenth century might not have a good knowledge in observing Chinese's living. However, Chinese were differentiated in colonial official reports and documents based on following issues: social position in relating to occupations; China prefectures or provinces where they came from; and the involvement in activities of particular secret societies. In the meantime, Chinese scholars during that time are not interested in recording the distinctiveness of Chinese in Malaya, because these Chinese were "emigrants" who had came from the same place –China- as they did. Nevertheless, the term "Keh" and "Kheh" were mentioned in the colonial writings while denoted to "Hakka".

The creation of *huaqiao* designation has largely relegated scholar's attentions in probing the distinctiveness of Chinese and Hakka communities; not only in twentieth century Malaya, but even in present Malaysia and Singapore. The creation of *huaqiao* designation under "1911 Revolution" has brought the unintended consequences to present political diplomacy of PRC and ROC and academic field. Under the designation of *huaqiao*, "Chinese" in Southeast Asia have been interpreted as socio-cultural entities that their Chinese culture, kinship, historical connection and identity with China might unalterable. Therefore, efforts dedicated to the reconstruction of "Chinese identity" in Southeast Asia in academic sphere in opposition to *huaqiao*

might gradually gloss over the focal point of scholars in probing the distinctiveness of "Chinese" in the Southeast Asia. Consequently, "Hakka" is almost relegates in the "early publications" of Overseas Chinese Studies.

On the other hand, the metatheories of Hakka Studies are closely related with the discourse of "Han Chinese kinship decency" and "ethnicity". During twentieth century, Hakka people in China used to doubt by some Europeans and non-Hakka Chinese informants that Hakka might not "pure Han Chinese". The publications of Luo Xiang Lin in 1933 and 1950, and scholars' contributions afterward have further strengthened the masses to include and recognize Hakka people as one of the category of "Han Chinese". Later, the rises of Ethnicity Studies have gradually shifted the sight of western scholars from the approach of anthropology and sinology. Who have been assumed "Hakka" as an unchanging person, community or custom would be criticized in the academic field. Subsequently, an attempt to construct the subjective constructions and expression on "Hakka identity" has risen up in the academic field (see Constables 1996). In the mean time, the social movements in Taiwan during the late 1980s have reconstructed the Taiwan Hakka as "ethnic group". Consequently, literatures posing questions pertaining to Taiwan Hakka identity and consciousness have greatly increased during the past two decades. In mid-2000s, scholars of Taiwan Hakka Studies have shifted their research attentions to "Southeast Asian Hakka". Due to the definitions of Taiwan Hakka as "ethnic group" was implied "some organized function or the deep consciousness of group existence, or even the strong identity of purpose" (Hsiao & Lim 2009: 75), therefore, "Southeast Asian Hakka" have been interpreted as "underdeveloped ethnicity", "weak and less visible Hakka identity and consciousness".[1] However, it is vital to note the adoption of concept "ethnic group" as definition may not practicable in understanding the "Southeast Asian Hakka". This subject will be discussed in next chapter.

[1] See 張翰璧 & 張維安(2005), 林開忠 & 李美賢(2006), 陳美華(2006), and Hsiao & Lim (2007, 2009).

In present Malaysia and Singapore, as mentioned by Tan Chee Beng (1998, 2000) and Carstens (1983, 1996), "Hakka" today as one of the Chinese "dialect group" in relating to "Hokkien", "Cantonese", "Teochew" and so forth was relatively unimportant if compared to their "dialect group" attachments in former Malaya. However, it can be seen that Hakka communities in nineteenth century were more visible in "contemporary publications". The focal points pertaining to "Hakka" in "contemporary publications" will be summary as below.

During early nineteenth century Malaya, Hakka people have been recognized by British colonials as "Kehs" and "Kheh" which based on the features like provinces where they came from and spoken dialect. Later in nineteenth century, the variety of activities in related with secret societies, kapitan, mining and voluntary associations have been revealed Chinese and Hakkas in Malaya were provincial and prefectural-based communities. There were some "place of origin" of Hakkas were kept repeated in the publications, such as Jiaying[1] (嘉應), Huizhou[2] (惠州), Zengcheng[3] (增城), Dabu[4] (大埔), Fengshun[5] (豐順), Yongding (永定), Hepo[6] (河婆) and Xingning[7] (興寧). However, these "place of origin" are different in geographical and administrative units, show as table 1.2. From table 1.2, it can be observed that the majority of Hakka communities during nineteenth century in Malaya were divided among themselves regionally according to their "place of origin" in China, included province, prefecture, district and sub-district. These divisions were repeated in many publications especially in relating with "voluntary associations" of Chinese in former Malaya or present Malaysia. Nevertheless, the formation of Hakka voluntary associations in Malaya based on different divisions as table 1.2 have basically shown that the early Hakkas in Malaya were heterogeneous in "place of origin".

[1] Also known as Chia-Ying, Kah Yeng, Ka Yin or Jiaying.
[2] Also known as Fui Chiu, Fui Chew or Wui Chiu.
[3] Also known as Chen Shang.
[4] Also known as Dapu.
[5] Also known as Fong Shoon.
[6] Also known as Hopo.
[7] Also known as Sin Neng.

Table 1.2: “Place of Origin” of Hakka in Malaya by Province, Prefecture and District.

Province	Prefecture	District	Sub-district
Fujian (福建)	Tingzhou (汀州)	Yongding (永定)	
Guangdong (廣東)	Jiayingzhou (嘉應州)	Xingning (興寧)	
	Chaozhou (潮州)	Dabu (大埔)	Hepo (河婆)
		Fengshun (豐順)	
	HuiZhou (惠州)		
	Guangzhou (廣州)	Zengcheng (增城)	
		Longmen (龍門)	

On the other hand, the divisions of “place of origin” among Hakka communities during nineteenth century in Malaya were noteworthy in the fierce competitions over the tin mining areas which represented by secret societies, such as Larut War in Perak during the 1860s to 1870s, and Selangor War during the 1860s. In First to Third Larut War, Huizhou Hakkas were grouped together with Xingning Hakkas against Zengcheng Hakkas. While in the Selangor mines, the growing competition for mining profits at the same resources had led to the outbreak of quarrels and fighting among Huizhou Hakkas and Jiaying Hakkas. In addition, Hakkas Kapitans who appointed by British colonial for responsible to maintain the law and order in tin mines area were mainly Huizhou Hakkas in Kuala Lumpur, Selangor; while Zengcheng Hakkas in Perak. Despite mostly Hakkas Kapitans were Hai San or secret society leader, and there are various statements stated that mostly Hai San are Hakkas, however, there were different Hakkas leading the Hai San in Larut and Kuala Lumpur. In Larut, Hai San were leading by Zengcheng Hakkas while Hai San in Kuala Lumpur were leading by Huizhou Hakkas. Moreover, there were also statements showing that Jiaying Hakkas were involved in Ghee Hin in Kuala Lumpur and Huizhou and Xingning Hakkas had participated in Larut, Perak. Thus, Hakkas were not only involved in Hai San, but were involved in different secret societies. In other words, the heterogeneities of Hakkas in their “place of origin” during nineteenth century in Malaya are not effective and convincing enough to elucidate the connotation of “Hakka” in Malaya if the social framework for the distinctiveness of all Chinese communities during nineteenth century was neglected. It is important to note that the social structures for Chinese in nineteenth century of Malaya are as follow: Chinese

were controlled and divided by different secret societies; each secret society was formed by many different Chinese *bang* due to the barrier of dialect differences. All Chinese *bang* virtually as a means to plunder and maintain their economic interests and influences for such secret societies in Malaya. Under this circumstance, the heterogeneities of each *bang* in their "place of origin" are less important than their affiliation to the secret societies.

During early twentieth century, the superintendent of *1911 Census of the Federated Malay States*, Mr. Pountney had classified all Chinese population into different "tribe" based on the linguistic criterion of dialect differences, in which included "Hokkien", "Cantonese", "Tiechiu", "Hailam", "Kheh", "Hok Chiu", "Hok Chia", "Hin Hoa", "Kwongsai", "Northern Provinces", and "Other Tribes". These classification has been revised in the report of 1921 and 1931, which "Hin Hoa" and "Northern Provinces" have been eliminated from Chinese "tribes", and the spelling of "Hakka", "Tiu Chiu" and "Hok Chhia" have been substituted for "Kheh", "Tie Chiu" and "Hok Chia" (see Vlieland 1932: 78). After the official classification of Chinese in the census reports of 1911, 1921 and 1931, the term "Hakka" was officially emerged during 1931 in Malaya and it has further grouped all Hakkas communities together in British Malaya. Thence, the heterogeneities of Hakkas communities seems has been gloss over by this dialect based-classification by British colonials, while scholars afterward tended to call "Hakka" and other Chinese "tribes" as "dialect group" in vulgar.

At this juncture, here we find the most interesting dimensions of "Hakka" in Malaya. Before the British Colonial Government suppress the secret societies in the 1870s, all Chinese communities were controlled and divided by different secret societies, each secret society were composed by different Chinese *bang* or gangs with different dialect; while Hakka people in Malaya have known as "Kheh". However, during the 1900s, the census reports of British Malaya have classified all Chinese communities as "tribes", which based on the basis of their dialect differences. What is the turning point has led British Colonial Government to classify Chinese in Malaya

as form of “tribe” during twentieth century? How does the “Kheh” in British Malaya substituted to the designation of “Hakka”? In order to answer above questions, the only solution is to discover through the classification process of Chinese in nineteenth century British Malaya. Two arguments will be revealed in this research: first, the emergence of “Hakka” and other Chinese dialect groups in the Chinese classification for census reports in British Malaya; second, the suppression of Chinese secret societies by British colonial regulations and institutions during the 1870s. Therefore, sociological and historical studies assisted with first hand historical materials - *Straits Settlements Original Correspondence* in series CO 273 (1870-1935) – census reports of British Malaya (1871, 1881, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1947), and annual reports of the Straits Settlements (1855-1941) will be adopted in this research.

In short, the connotation of “Hakka” in Southeast Asia can be probed only through the historical social context of mass migration and adaption of “Chinese” in the region during nineteenth century. The primordial heterogeneities within the interior of “Hakka” would be meaningless if the social framework for the distinctiveness of “Chinese” communities during nineteenth century was neglected. Therefore, the social structure and classification process of “Chinese” during nineteenth century are significant in discovering the connotation of “Hakka” in Southeast Asia. To sum up, the purpose of this research is to elucidate the factors and circumstances leading to the emergence and connotation of “Hakka” and other Chinese “dialect group” in Southeast Asia; with particular reference to those in British Malaya during the nineteenth century.

2. DISCOVERY OF "HAKKA" IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

This chapter will first discuss the practicability to adopt the concept of "ethnic group" in defining "Hakka" in Southeast Asia. Secondly, the research will proceed to the review of formation for the "Chinese" society in British Malaya during nineteenth century, particularly their migratory and adaptation process from Mainland China to British Malaya.

2.1 "Ethnic Group" in Defining "Southeast Asian Hakka"

Last chapter has illustrated that there are tendency to define "Southeast Asian Hakka" as an "ethnic group" in present Taiwan Hakka Studies since middle of the 2000s. Due to explain the reason why the concepts of "ethnicity" might not applicable in interpreting "Southeast Asian Hakka", the rise for the theoretical background of "ethnicity", and the emergence of "ethnic group" in contemporary Taiwan and Malaysia will be reviewed in the chapter.

2.1.1 The Rise of Ethnicity

"Ethnicity" as a term and a subject of study is very recent. In 1975, Glazer and Moynihan (1975: 3) stated the term "ethnicity" seems to be a new term, and its first usage is attributed to the American sociologist David Reisman in 1953. According to Hutchinson and Smith (1996: 4) and Eriksen (1993: 3), the appearance of the term "ethnicity" was first appeared in the 1950s in English language but it is first recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary* of 1972. Though this term is recent, however "ethnicity" virtually closely related and referred to the ancient factors such as the sense of kinship, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, common culture, homeland and group solidarity, which are as old as historical record. In this sense, there were many authors attempt to trace back the origin of this term. Hutchinson and Smith (1996) stated the term "ethnicity" is a derivative of the commonly used adjective "ethnic"; while the "ethnic" is clearly in turn derives from

the ancient Greek term *ethnos*, which means non-Christian and non-Jewish pagan in New Testament Greek. Gradually, this Greek noun survives in French term as *ethnie*, which denote the meaning of "ethnic group" or "ethnic community" (Hutchinson & Smith 1996: 4). In other words, the terms "ethnicity" and "ethnic group" have commonly absorbed in present usage.

The ancient Greeks used the term *ethnos* in variety way, included in Homer we hear *ethnos hetairon* (a band of friends), *ethnos Lukion* (a tribe of Lycians) and *ethnos melisson* (a swarm of bees); Aescylus calls the Persian as an *ethnos*; Pindar calls a race of men or women as *ethnos aneron* or *gunaikan*; Herodotus speaks of the Median people as *Medikon ethnos*. Later, Aristotle used *ethnos* as a oppose term to *polis* (which means the Greek urban city-state); and Plato used the term *ethnos kerukikon* to speak of a caste of heralds. In addition, in New Testament Greek, *ta ethne* stands for the gentile peoples, while *ethnea*, the adjective derived from *ta ethne* was used to characterize the non-Greek as "foreign barbarians", "uncivilized" and "peripheral" (Smith 1986: ch.2; Tonkin, McDonald & Chapman 1989: 11-17). On this juncture, it is obvious to see that most of the Greek term *ethnos* above have eventually connoted to the identification of people which determined by legitimacy that derived from one people's social class and religion, except Homer. Consequently, Eriksen (1993: 3-7) considered the term *ethnos* was used in the sense of politic in English language started from the mid-fourteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, and its political sentiments had raised greatly while this term was gradually transferred to the term "race" in nineteenth century. Therefore, Lentz pointed out, "ethnos is embedded in a context-specific we/they dichotomy and was, to a certain extent, originally associated with 'others' and a lower stage of civilization or political development" (Lentz 1995: 305). From this, it can be perceived that the emergence of historical diverse noun *ethnos* was embedded in particular socio-political context which stressed on the identification and classification of people.

In 1922, Max Weber has defined "ethnic group" as a "political community", which constituted the social action in the belief of shared common ethnicity:

> In our sense, ethnic membership does not constitute a group; it only facilitates group formation of any kind, particularly in the political sphere. This belief tends to persist even after the disintegration of the political community, unless drastic differences in the customs, physical type, or, above all, language exist among its member (Weber 1968: 389).

Weber has underlined some of its significant implications of "ethnic group". He had a strong sense of the role of history in shaping ethnic groups, included memories of a common past, migration experience in the history, attachment to a clearly demarcated territory, and certain traditions and ways of life (1968: 385- 400).

Besides Weber, there were scholars had suggested different meaning towards "ethnicity" and "ethnic group". According to Thomas Eriksen (1993: 4), the term "ethnicity" is refer to the classification of peoples and the relations between groups, especially in a context of "self-other" distinction. Tonkin, McDonald and Chapman (1989) pointed the meaning of "ethnicity" can be the essences and the quality of belonging to an "ethnic group", as their quotation mentioned: "what you have if you are an ethnic group" (Tonkin, McDonald & Chapman 1989: 15). On the other hand, Walker Connor has indicated the term *ethnie* and "ethnic" will be applied to majority and minority or host and immigrant communities (Connor 1978: 378-400). From these statements, "ethnic group" considered as a component unit in classification of different group of people in one country, while this component was connoted the "origins" and "essence of belonging" of such group even the group had gone through a large waves of social mobility.

The "ethnic group" and "ethnicity" has become the household words with the appearance of the modern bureaucratic states and capitalism. The new ideology of political nationalism required all the members of a nation state to be homogenous and united. The new kind of ideology on "ethnic group" or "ethnicity" has produced numerous of social conflicts in most sates which composed several ethnic communities. The ethnic conflicts can be considered under several reasons, included economic inequalities, cultural differences and the distribution of political rewards within poly-ethnic states (Hutchinson & Smith 1996: 3). Finally, the ethnic

differences between and within national states are exacerbated by the ethnic movements of secession. These phenomena have created a room for the rise of studies i.e. *Nationalism, Multicluturalism, Ethnicity* and *Diaspora* that concerning on the key concepts of nationality, citizenship, politic of recognition, national and ethnic consciousness, ethnic identity, ethnic origin, equality and so forth, especially when societies have gone through the process of post-colonial, mass migration, and industrialization. Nevertheless, if we closer to the object of investigation for above studies, we will discern there are many fissures in the concept of "ethnicity" and "ethnic group", particularly, the numerous approaches to ethnicity. Next, the approaches to ethnicity will be reviewed, as follow.

2.1.2 Approaches to Ethnicity

The present existing approaches to "ethnicity" have been divided into several categories, included primordialists, instrumentalists, transactionalist, social psychologists and ethno-symbolic (Hutchinson & Smith 1996: 8-10). Primordialists emphasize that ethnicity is attributed by individuals to the ties of blood, race, religion, language, region, customs, and further claimed that ethnic communities were natural, primordial and given (Shils 1957; Geertz 1963; Issacs 1975). Edward Shils (1957) had distinguished the social bonds into four components, such as personal, primordial, sacred, and civil ties; while he believed that these social bonds were persisted in the modern societies. This idea was taken up by an anthropologist Clifford Geertz who spoke of "overpowering", "ineffable", "given" and "coerciveness" attaching to primordial ties, which participants tended to see as exterior. Geertz suggested that the drive for dynamic modern states to interact with the issues of personal identity was virtually based on the "primordial ties" (Geertz 1963: 108-113; 1973). On the other hand, socio-biologist Van den Berghe (1981; 1995) has proposed a socio-biological model which regards genetic reproductive capacity as the basis of primordialism, which conceives of ethnicity and race as the expansion of kinship, and suggests that ethnic groups are bonded thorough biologically evolved mechanism of nepotism. Besides, Issacs (1975: 29-52) defined ethnicity as "a basic group identity" which all

members inherit at birth and which satisfies the human need for "belongingness and self-esteem" acquired later in life. Despite the primordialism concepts of ethnicity were widespread in the academic sphere, however it has been criticized by certain scholars. Eller and Coughlan (1993) criticized that primordialism has defining ethnicity largely in immemorial, discrete and persisting units which lack of explanatory power and failing to take account about the malleability of ethnic identity under the situations of frequent migration, colonization and intermarriage in modern world.

The central ideas of instrumentalism are socially constructed nature of ethnicity, and the ability of individuals to cut and mix from a variety of heritages and cultures to forge their own identity (Bhabha 1990; Hall 1992; R. Cohen, 1994). Some authors, like Michael Hechter (1986) applied rational choice theories to ethnicity and look for the "objective" interests upon which ethnic identity is based. Still others study the social implications on ethnic norms construction of ethnic identity, for example, in Malaysia (Banton 1992, 1994). Yet others stress the political implementation of ethnicity by social movements (Aronson 1976); and by élites competition (Brass 1991). Despite the arguments and positions of above instrumentalists were vary widely in detail, but as overall, above instrumentalists have emphasized that researchers must not naively adopt the actor's own discourse of "ethnic identity" which typically claim hereditary membership in an ethnic group, but to understand the "ethnic identity" are constructed under specific historical-political circumstances. Nevertheless, some authors had criticized instrumentalists had defined ethnicity largely in interest and material term, and underplaying the affective dimensions of ethnicity (Grosby 1994). Fishman (1980) and Connor (1993) also pointed out their disagreement towards instrumentalism due to the instrumentalists have failed to take seriously to the participants' sense of the permanence of their primordial ties.

The emergence of "transactionalism" in Ethnicity Studies was closely related with the argument of a notable scholar- Fredrik Barth. Barth (1969) has criticized the equation of "ethnicity" with the common culture classification, particularly in the

anthropological field of studies. Barth has insisted that “ethnic group” were constituted through the construction of social boundaries, as self-ascription and ascription by others. Besides, Barth also regards the boundary as permeable, and the transactions across the boundary help to render the boundary more durable (Barth 1969: 14-19). However, the theory of Barth have been criticized by some authors, included for assuming the fixity of bounded ethnic identities and failing to take account of individual subjective dimensions and ethnic allegiances (Francis 1976; Epstein 1978; Wallmann 1986). On contrary, social psychologist Donald Horowitz (1985) has focus on the estimation of group worth, collective stereotype of ethnic groups in Africa and Asia. In Horowitz’s approach, he has assumed the ethnic affiliation is ultimately based on kinship myths and on a sense of group honor in relation to other groups. However, Hutchinson and Smith (1996: 10) criticized that Horowitz’s account was too over simplified.

For ethno-symbolism, the persistence on myths and symbols has played a crucial role in unifying populations and ensuring their continuity over many generations (Armstrong 1982; Smith 1992). Armstrong (1982: 206-213) has considered factors such as language fissures, imperial myths, nostalgia for past life style, religious civilization and organization have gradually created the shifting on ethnic identities. On the other hand, Smith (1992: 440-448) has emphasized the cultural contents of myths, memories, symbols; myths of origin; ethnic election and memories of golden ages had been a resurgence of ethnicity in the modern world. Undoubtedly, ethno-symbolism had provided masses a brand new viewpoint towards “ethnicity”, however, Hutchinson and Smith (1996) has criticized ethno-symbolism had largely relegated the material aspects of the ethnic group. Furthermore, ethno-symbolism are too privileging on the contents of myths and memories.

In addition, there were scholars tended to combine primordial and instrumental approach together in their research, such as McKay (1982) and Scott (1990). Although both McKay and Scott have demonstrated that these syntheses might be done on a theoretical level, however there were scholars questioned its efficiency of

how far these syntheses can be empirically helpful for academic research (see Hutchinson & Smith 1996: 3- 14).

To sum up, the numerous approaches to ethnicity as above virtually presented a dazzling and ambiguous normative standards. As mentioned by Lentz (1995), " 'ethnicity' functions like the joker in a card-game: it can be introduced into various play sequences, taking on the characteristics- in this case, connotations and conceptual vagueness- of the card it replaces" (Lentz 1995: 304). Therefore, here we find that the operation on "ethnicity" as a guide may scientifically questionable in academic since the theories of ethnicity are multi-approaches and multi-functions. There might be a consequence coming up next after the application by these approaches: no matter primordially given or socially constructed "ethnic group", to classify diverse historical forms of social group as "ethnic group" has created a room to those people who classified under the label of "ethnic group" are basically the same; while their "ethnic identity" is a natural trait of the group.

2.1.3 The Emergence of "Ethnic Group" in Present Taiwan and Malaysia

In 2003, a sociologist from Taiwan, Wang Fu-chang has published a book concerning on the emergence of "ethnic group" in Taiwan (王甫昌 2003). In this publication, he has revealed the relatively ethnic group's categorization in Taiwan during different period, as table 2.1. Category of ethnic group in table 2.1 are included *bensheng* people (本省人) in relation to *waisheng* people or Mainlanders (外省人) during end of the 1970s; Aborigines in relation to Han Chinese during early of the 1980s; Hakka in relation to *Minnan* people during middle of the 1980s, and *waisheng* people in relation to *Minnan* people during the 1990s (王甫昌 2003: 63).

Table 2.1: The Emergence of Ethnic group's Categorization in Contemporary Taiwan.[1]

Category of Ethnic Group	Appearing Time
Bensheng people *vis-a-vis Waisheng* people (本省人/外省人)	Late-1970s
Aborigines *vis-a-vis* Han Chinese (原住民/漢人)	Early-1980s
Hakka people *vis-a-vis* Minnan people (客家人/閩南人)	Mid-1980s
Waisheng people *vis-a-vis* Minnan people (外省人/閩南人)	1990s

According to Wang Fu-chang (2003), the emergence of these ethnic group's categorization have began during 1970s, when certain political opposition parties and social protest movements have actively advocating "the liberation movements of the suppressed indigenous culture" by Minnan, Hakka and Aborigines descent political and cultural elites. Since the identity of Minnan, Hakka and Aborigines have gradually disappeared under the inclusive banner of "*Benshengren* (本省人)", the social movements has began to resist the "Chinese nationalism" which imposed and propagated by Taiwan Kuomintang Party (KMT) for more than half century. Under the propaganda of KMT, the majority of Minnan people have somehow constructed as the basis and label for "Taiwanese" which excluded the minority Hakka people in Taiwan. In 1980s, the Minnan people did not take account of the importance of religion "*yimin* (義民; righteous heroes)" as a Hakka features and even stigmatized these religious temples. Furthermore, Hakka communities have been marginalized by the hegemony of Mandarin and Minnan languages when they move to urban area since 1970s. Under these conditions, the Hakka culture and languages were suppressed and gradually disappeared among urban Hakka migrants. Under this circumstance, a great number of religious festivals of *yimin* in Hakka areas have formed the collective sentiments among Hakka communities in Taiwan. These are the reasons and contexts which led to the rise of "the movement of reclaiming my mother tongue (還我母語運動)" in 28th of December 1988. Thereafter, the study on Hakka culture, origins and Hakka *yimin* have supported by a noticeable funding and

[1] Source: 王甫昌，2003，《當代臺灣社會的族群想像》。臺北：群學。頁 63。

manpower in order to give their Hakka interpretation on Taiwan history (王甫昌 2003: 121- 145).

One focal point of Wang Fu-chang's publication was his clarification towards the main ingredient of Taiwan's ethnic groups: "ethnic imagination". He first defined the "ethnic group" as a group who self-identify or are identified by others as a distinguishable group of people who share common origin, ancestors, culture and language, and people can use their group characteristics to differentiate "us" from "them" (王甫昌 2003: 10). Thence, he further defined "ethnic group" is basically bearing with different identities, included "a perception of differences", "a sense of inequality", and "a need to act collectively". He further adopted instrumental viewpoint and asserted that "ethnic imagination" are intertwined in "a perception of differences", "a sense of inequality", and "a need to act collectively" through collective actions in political and social movements, but not merely transforming linearly or primordially from "a perception of differences" to "a sense of inequality" and thence to "a need to act collectively" (王甫昌 2003: 14-18). Thus, not merely cultural factors alone that constituted "ethnic group", but "ethnic imagination" socially constructed Taiwan's ethnic groups. From this, above statements is leading us to infer that Wang Fu-chang was tended to respond and distinguish to the primordial viewpoints in defining Taiwan's ethnic group as socio-cultural entities which are similar with Mainland Chinese.

Next, the "ethnic group" in present Malaysia will be reviewed. Basically, the term "ethnic group" was substituted for the term "race" in the census reports of British Malaya which applied by British colonials since 1921. The shift of terminology from former "race" [1] to contemporary "ethnic group" in classification of

[1] The classification of population in British Malaya by the term "race" was first appeared in *The Census of British Malaya 1921*. According to the superintendent of census of 1921, J. E. Nathan (1922), the division of total population of British Malaya into six main "race" was principally conducted for the tabulation purposes, in which including "Europeans", "Eurasians", "Malays", "Chinese", "Indians", and "Others" (Nathan 1922).

"Malays", "Indian", "Chinese" etc undoubtedly are influenced by the progress of epistemology, particularly in relation with the rise of Ethnicity Studies.

The new emphasis upon ethnicity has gradually affected the shift of terminology in the study, while one formerly spoke of "race" and "tribe"; the term "ethnic group" is much more common nowadays. In 1922, Weber (1968) has aptly pointed the differences on "race" are "based on biological hereditary or on tradition is usually of no importance as far as their effect on mutual attraction or repulsion is concerned" (1968: 387). Later, there were scholars tried to articulate the issues of "race" with "ethnicity". Some had regard "race" as a special case of ethnicity; or oriented to the group identification of "other" (Van den Berghe 1983; Banton 1967). Thomas Eriksen (1993) stated, "Ideas of 'race' may or may not form part of ethnic ideologies, and their presence or absence does not seem to be a decisive factor in interethnic relations", therefore one scholar should not distinguish the race relations between ethnicity (Eriksen 1993: 6). From this, here we perceive that the idea of "race" was basically oriented to biological or physical identification on "self" and "other".

During nineteenth century in British Malaya, British colonial government has adopted the principle of "divide and rule" by divided all people according to different races into different forms of economic activities and place of residence, such as "Chinese" mainly stayed in tin mines, "Indian" stayed in rubber plantation area while "Malays" resided in rural areas (Mispari & Abdul Wahab 2003: 140- 143). The forth Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dato Dr. Tun Mahathir Mohamad's essay *Growth and Ethnic Inequality: Malaysia's New Economic Policy* (2002) has denounced the present social structures and features of Malaysian were colonial invention that implied by racial prejudices, in which non-Malays such as Chinese and Indian had dominated the business and economic sector and the Malays dominated the agricultural and non-modern sector (cite in Mahathir & Jamaludin 2004: viii). According to Tun Mahathir, a sense of equity in economy may well be the key of stable inter-ethnic relations:

> Suffice say that an equitable racial policy is of that utmost importance in a country with several different economic groups who were not enjoying the same level of economic prosperity. This remained the largest challenge in creating a stable society and later became the central theme of my political actions as leader of the country (cite in Haji Ahmad & Kadir 2005: 54).

According to Mahathir and Jamaludin (2004), Malaysia major racial riots "May 13" in 1969 was came into being under these equitable social structures. Mahathir and Jamaludin (2004: 1-5) pointed, Malaysia government had recognized from the racial riots of "May 13" that closing the gap between the Malays and other ethnic group would be essential for the long term stability and prosperity of the country. As Tun Mahathir stated, "since the main rift was between the *bumiputera* and other groups, the main focus of these new policies was to draw the Malays into the mainstream economic life of the nation. The idea was not to expropriate or redistribute the wealth of other economic groups, but to enrich the Malays through expanding the 'economic cake' and apportioning a large slice to them" (cite in Haji Ahmad & Kadir 2005: 54). Consequently, the New Economic Policy (NEP) which aiming for eradicate poverty and restructure of "race" with vocation had in forced from 1971 to 1990, and later superseded by National Development Policy (NDP) after 1990 until now. Haji Ahmad and Kadar (2005) stated, the racial riots of "May 13" in 1969 was a crisis that resulted in a change of the polity's character from a variant of "multi-racial" country to that of "Malay-dominant" in today Malaysia society and politics. This mode of "Malay-dominant" governance also a key contributed to Malaysia's ability in order to keep ethnic harmony and peace in a plural society (Haji Ahmad & Kadar 2005: 43). Briefly reviewed on Malaysia's ethnic relation and public policies, the emergence of "ethnic group" in Malaysia is not merely a shift of terminology from the former colonial invention term- "races", but triggered by the ethnic conflicts in which included economic inequalities, cultural differences and the distribution of political rewards, after Malaysia had gained it independence from the hand of British colonial government in 1957.

Clearly then, as Weber (1968) asserted, the existence of "ethnic group" are inherited along with the migration experience in the history and thence force through

the particular political and economic conditions. Therefore, it is not merely primordial factors such as kinship, linguistic and religious factor alone that constitute an "ethnic group", but more dependent on the social context in making of such "ethnic group":

> Those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or of both, or because of memories of colonization or migration (Weber 1968: 389).

> Pronounced differences of customs, which play a role equal to that of inherited physical type in the creation of feelings of common ethnicity and notions of kinship, are usually caused, in addition to linguistic and religious differences, by the diverse economic and political conditions of various social groups (Weber 1968: 391).

To sum up from the case of Taiwan and Malaysia, "ethnic group" today is a terminology that denoting for the major component unit of one State, which formed by a social group with belief in their common descent after gone through the radical competitions and conflicts in political, economic and cultural conditions. As table 1.1, the major component units of Taiwan are "Minnan", "Mainlander", "Hakka" and "Aborigines"; while major component units of Malaysia are "Malays", "Chinese", "Indian", "Kadazan", "Iban" and so forth. "Hakka" in Malaysia virtually is a component attached under the "Chinese" ethnic group which commonly known as "dialect group" in present Malaysia. However, Malaysian Hakka has been referred presumably homogenous socio-cultural entities, in which imposed by the label of "ethnic group" under "Southeast Asian Hakka" for scholar's comparison with Taiwan Hakka. This is not merely the problem of delimiting and naming the research subject, rather, a lip-service. Hence, the practicability to adopt the concept of "ethnic group" as definition for "Southeast Asian Hakka" is virtually low.

2.2 Chinese in Malaya

This part will review the distinctiveness and classifications of "Chinese" and "Hakka" that have gone through the migratory process and come into being as the major population of British Malaya during nineteenth century. The review on the

migratory process of “Chinese” to Malaya under British colonization context considers will help to dig out the distinctiveness and classifications of “Chinese” and “Hakka” in different period.

During nineteenth century, demand of tin in the trade business of British Malaya has further contributed to the mass importation of Chinese labor from Southeast China to Malaya (Purcell 1967; Turnbull 1972). However, why does the pioneer labor in British Malaya have to be Chinese? There were authors elucidated the phenomena of the mass migration of Chinese to Malaya as pioneer labor in tin mining areas. According to Purcell (1967: 1-13), the influx of Chinese was driven by the twin afflictions of over-population and disasters like flood and famine in China. Moreover, it has been worsening by the political conflict in South China, particularly the outbreak of the Taiping rebellion in 1851 (Andaya & Andaya 1982: 137). Therefore, the natural disasters, over population, poverty, famine and political quarrels have pushed Chinese aggressively away from their homeland. In the mean time, the labor needs for the rising demand of the British tin-plate industry in Malaya has pulled the Chinese emigrants to choose Malaya to flood in, especially to the tin mines area in the state of Perak, Selangor and Negeri Sembilan since 1820s (Purcell 1967).

Before British colonial government build up the secure base for the Chinese immigration in the late nineteenth century, there were two patterns of immigration simultaneously occurred in the Chinese immigration: kinship-based immigration and credit ticket system (Yen 1986; Wang Gungwu 1991; 王賡武 1994). The chain of kinship-based immigration considered as the earliest Chinese immigration pattern in Malaya and it was existed before the nineteenth century, mainly for those small Chinese businessmen who successful and go back to their homeland to recruit relatives or kinsmen as labor. These Chinese businessmen have establishing their business as well as saving some capital since they came under Malacca during fifteenth-sixteenth century (王賡武 1994: 4; Khoo 1996). Due to the dialect differences and the nature of the immigrant community in Malaya, Chinese businessmen commonly returned to the homeland to recruit trustworthy staff among

their relatives. Later, the businessmen will pay for the kinsmen or staff's passage and brought them to Malaya to work as apprentices in their shop (Yen 1986: 4).

On the other hand, immigration by the credit ticket system was widespread in Malaya during the early nineteenth century up to the late of 1840s (Yen 1986). Yen Ching-hwang (1986) has illustrated this credit ticket system through historical approaches in his publication. According to Yen (1986), the Chinamen who made money by carrying the Chinese immigrants to Malaya mainly came from province of Kwangtung and Fukien via junks, while the Chinamen were notoriously known as "*ketou* (客頭)",[1] which mean labor broker and captain of junks at the same time. Due to the great demand for labor in Malaya, the *ketou* have made a generous profit by disposed the destitute Chinese immigrants to the Malayan employers who needed laborers to develop plantation estates and mines in Malaya. The employers will pay the passage money to *ketou* that Chinese immigrants owed. Moreover, they would have a verbal or written contract with the immigrants for the payment of their debts in the form of labors. After working for a fixed period, the credit ticket immigrants were freed from their obligations and were able to choose employers (Yen 1986: 4). Yen indicated the price of the passage money for the credit ticket immigrant was determined by both labor brokers and the junk captains. Therefore, the passage money that Malayan employer paid for Chinese immigrants not merely for the passage money but also the profit of both labor brokers and the junk captains. In the mean time, some employers had used opium and gambling as a means to keep Chinese immigrants in their plantation estates or mines after the expiry of contracts. Therefore, Chinese immigrants who worked as labor normally will stay longer in Malaya (Yen 1986: 4-5). However, the credit ticket system has gradually controlled by the foreign merchants instead of the Chinamen after the outbreak of "First Opium War" in 1839. The war had further contributed to the transformation of credit ticket system to the system of "coolie trade" in the late 1840s.

[1] The term *ketou* is equivalent to "*kheh-tau*" in southern Fukien dialect. *Kheh* means guest, and *tau* means head. In the eyes of Chinese the immigrants were considered as the new guests or *Sinkheh*, thus the headmen or labor broker who brought the immigrants was called *Kheh-tau* (see also Yen 1985: 37).

2.2.1 Coolie Trade and Secret Societies

The “First Opium War” or the “First Anglo-Chinese War” was fought between the British East India Company and the Ch’ing Dynasty of China from 1839 to 1842, with the aim of forcing China to allow free trade, particularly in opium (Collis 1946). According to Yen Ching-hwang (1985, 1986), there were several international treaties further contributed to the transformation of credit ticket system to the coolie trade system in nineteenth century: “Treaty Nanking of 1842”, “Treaty of Ghent of 1814” and “Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842”. Yen (1985) indicated, “Treaty of Ghent of 1814” and “Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842” virtually the twins effects in creating the coolie trade system in China. The “Treaty of Ghent” in 1814 has first obliged Great Britain and United States to abolish the African slave trade; while the enforcement of “Webster-Ashburton Treaty” in 1842 has compelled European colonists to look for the alternative source of cheap labor in the new world (Yen 1985: 32-33). Consequently, the European colonists have cast their eyes on China which was increasingly handicapped by its overflowing population, famine, and poverty.

“First Opium War” fought between the British East India Company and the Ch’ing Dynasty of China from 1839 to 1842 has led to the treaty of “Treaty Nanking of 1842”, while China was granted an indemnity to British by opening of five treaty ports along the China South East Coast, and the cession of Hong Kong Island to British (Collis 1946). Even though emigration of Chinese to the overseas was still prohibited by the Ch’ing government before 1893, but the poverty, flood and teeming population in South China had pulled the millions of “poverty-stricken Chinese” to the emigration for their desire to earn better livelihood in overseas (Purcell 1967: 1-13; 李恩涵 2003: 147-176). Taking advantage to this situation, some foreign merchants had developed a system of supplying coolies to meet the international demand: coolie agencies (Yen 1985). Even though there was no evidence to suggest that British went to war with China for an intention of obtaining Chinese cheap labor in the 1840s, however it is possibly to link with the abolition of African slave trade with the creation of coolie trade system during that time.

The establishment of coolie agencies was compelled by the economic needs of European merchants on agricultural cultivation and mining industry in Asia. According to Campbell (1923), the acquisition of Chinese labor was further facilitated by these coolie agencies which set up by the foreign merchants at the treaty ports along the Southeast Coast of China during the middle of nineteenth century (Campbell 1923: 95). The emerging of coolies agencies were primarily in the hands of European merchants such as British, German, Dutch, Portuguese, Italian and Spanish.[1] These coolies agencies had established a number of coolie cargoes in the treaty ports which served as a warehouse for coolie; vessels then arrived at the ports to pick up the coolies and set sail for the destinations to other countries, principally for Peru, Cuba and the West Indies by charging commissions on the number of coolies supplied (Aimes 1967: 159; Stewart 1970: 5). The monopoly of the sources of Chinese coolies by the Western merchants had caused for the disregard of human rights, and the growing of coolie cargoes in the treaty ports had brought the inhuman treatment for prospective coolie (Yen 1986: 6; 李恩涵 2003: 147-176). Eventually, the coolie agency system have gradually replaced the former credit ticket system, while further brought the rise of the coolie trade centers in Amoy, Macau, Swatow and Hong Kong during the middle of nineteenth century (see Aimes 1967; Stewart 1970; Yen 1985)

Collinson (1845) pointed, the first port emerged as the "center of the coolie trade" was Amoy (cite in Yen 1985: 41). Yen (1985) indicated there were several reasons for British to choose Amoy as the "center for coolie trade". Firstly, the harbor of Amoy has been flourished by the junk trade with various countries in Southeast Asia and Japan; secondly, the officers of Ch'ing government were less powerful than those in the provincial capitals of Kwangtung and Fukien i.e. Canton and Foochow because Amoy was not the seat of provincial government. Thirdly, the British had established a solid commercial base in Amoy and they were good relationship with

[1] See the colonial documents of arrival and departure vessels of the Straits Settlements in the *Annual Report of the Straits Settlements, 1865-66.* (Jarman 1998: Vol.1, 760-766).

local mandarin officials (Yen 1985: 41- 42). Yen further illustrated the coolie trade in Amoy during 1840s to 1850s:

> The first shipment of coolies under contract to foreign lands was made in 1845, in French vessels, from Amoy to the island of Bourbon. In 1847 a Spanish company induced a body of 800 coolies to Cuba. In the same year, a European observer reported that Amoy could supply from its neighbouring districts 50,000 coolies annually. From 1847 to March 1853, Amoy was estimated to have exported 8281 coolies…...There were six foreign coolie agencies in Amoy, five of them were British. The principal agencies were the firms of Messrs. Syme, and Muir & Co., and Messrs. Tait and Co. Although coolie trade was illegal, the European agents had little regard for Chinese law (Yen 1985: 42- 43).

According to Yen (1985), the flourishing coolie trade in Amoy has declined after the outbreak of riots by local residents against illicit coolie trade in November 1852. After the riots, the western coolie traders had encountered hostilities in Amoy. Therefore, many coolie merchants had shifted their operations from Amoy to Swatow, Hong Kong and Macau. The port later replaced Amoy as the "center of the coolie trade" was Macau (see Greenberg 1951; Steward 1970; Yen 1985, 1986). The duration of voyages from different ports of China, such as Swatow and Amoy to Straits Settlements during 1868 can be referred from the appendices two. Though the coolie trade was mainly in the hand of European merchants, however, the coolie trade merchants were handicapped in the process of acquiring coolies by Chinese linguistic barriers. Their inability to obtain Chinese coolie from Chinese interior communities had forced them to forge a close link with the local Chinamen, who known as labor broker or *ketou*.

Yen Ching-hwang (1985) has studied about the role of labor broker in the rise of coolie trade system during nineteenth century. According to Yen (1985), there were two types of coolie brokers can be discerned: the principal broker and the subordinate coolie brokers. The former was attached to the foreign coolie agencies while the latter appeared to be attached under the control of the former. However, the key to the success of acquiring coolie emigrants was not with the principal coolie brokers, but in the hands of the subordinate brokers. Yen pointed, the origins among the both types of broker was difficult to ascertain, but both groups of broker came

mostly from the members of lower classes who had a burning desire to get rich but had few moral constraints. The group of subordinate brokers was larger than the principal brokers, and the subordinate brokers were directly involved in recruiting coolie by taking orders from the principal brokers, distributing the news about emigration in China and the terms of contract (Yen 1985: 37-40). Most importantly, Yen Ching-hwang has founded there were close link between operations of these labor brokers with secret society:

> …the subordinate brokers held considerable power in the underworld. Coastal provinces in Southeast China were hotbed for secret society activities. The triad which was known in South China and the overseas Chinese communities, was particularly active in Fukien and Kwangtung. The rise of the Treaty ports in these regions stimulated its activities, and provided it with additional cover. As a result, the Treaty ports became the paradise for organised crime such as gambling, prostitution, extortion and opium smuggling. The rise of the coolie trade and its highly profitable "enterprise" could not have escaped the attention of the members of the secret societies. The precise relationship between the subordinate brokers and the secret society member is unclear; the brokers could have been members of the secret societies, and vice versa. Whatever the relationship was, both groups had much in common- both belonged to the underworld and had sinister powers over the populace; both depended on secrecy and unlawful means for the livelihood of their members; and both operated outside the law (Yen 1985: 40-41).

In other words, it can be observed that basically there were secret societies in charged of both labor brokers. Secret societies were not mainly in controlling, acquiring and sending Chinese coolies abroad, but also strongly influenced the coolie trade in both China ports and ports in coolie's destination, for instance, Malaya. Above observation can be proved by Wilfred Blythe's historical work in 1969 regarding on Chinese secret societies in nineteenth century Malaya:

> Two Triad rebellions which had residual consequences in the Straits Settlements took place in 1853, one at Amoy in Fukien province, and one at Shanghai. In the first of these the 'Small Sword Society', of which many members had previously lived in the Straits Settlements, raised the banner of revolt and captured Amoy in May. After a desultory campaign against imperial troops sent to retake the city, an arrangement was reached whereby in November the rebels left the city and sailed away in junks for Singapore and elsewhere in the South-seas. At Shanghai,

> in September, a rebellion was organized ad conducted by Triad men hailing from Fukien and Kwangtung, of whom there were said to be 150,000 in the city. The arrest and torture of some members of the Brotherhood alleged to have been engaged in unlawful activities had angered their fellow who rose in revolt. The city was captured and remained in rebel hands for nearly eighteen months when, once again, an agreement was made which permitted the Triad forces to decamp. They left during the night of 17 September 1855, and some of these, too, sailed for the Straits Settlements (Blythe 1869: 22)

Blythe's statements pinpoint one of the main factors contributing to the widespread of secret societies in both ports in Southeast China and Straits Settlements: coerciveness and powerful in great members in which their members were mostly fierce in fighting.

Apart from this, why does the secret societies are appointed by British and Western merchants as the mean to supply and control Chinese coolie in South China? Yen Ching-hwang (1985) explained, the riots occurred in Amoy during 1852 was the main incident which driven British to do so, because British was not prepared to let its coolie trade business affected by hostilities towards British just like Amoy (see Yen 1985: 54). Yen has further linked the coolie business of secret societies in Malaya in relating with the coastal provinces of Southeast China:

> The Cantonese, on the other hand, had worked through the Ghee Hin society to extend its control over the coolies. Coolies from Macau and Swatow seem to have been received in Penang by the Ghee Hin and were effectively distributed to meet the demand (Yen 1986: 202).

At this point, it can be perceived that the major unit to in charge and control the emigration of Chinese coolies from China homeland to Malaya is secret societies.

The founding of British settlement in Penang and Singapore during 1786 and 1819 had marked the beginning of an important era of the mass immigration of Chinese to Southeast Asia (see Turnbull 1972). The formation of Straits Settlements during 1826 had led to the recognition by British colonials towards the potential of supplying cheap Chinese labor for the development of European enclaves in Southeast Asia, such as French power ruling Indo-China (including present Cambodia,

Vietnam and Laos); Dutch ruling western Java (present Indonesia) and Spain ruling Philippine (see Yen 1986; Mispari & Abdul Wahab 2003). As mentioned before, Chinese immigration in the coolie trade was illegal in China before 1893. Due to the illegality and the unwillingness of the British colonial government in Malaya to be involved directly in the Chinese coolie trade, it had further provided ample opportunities for coolie agencies in the treaty ports of South China to export coolie to the Western colonies in Southeast Asia.[1] In order to pursue maximum profit, the coolie agencies traders required the co-operation from secret societies in both South China and Southeast Asia to cover supplied, transportation and distribution of coolies (see Yen 1986: 112). Under this context, the secret societies were used as the effective mechanism in acquiring, controlling, and distributing Chinese coolies in Malaya. Therefore, most of the newly arrived coolies will be sent to tin mines by secret societies, meanwhile these tin mines were operated and controlled by secret societies and Chinese kapitan (see Gullick 1955; Godley 1987; Comber 1959; Blythe 1969; Yen 1986).

In the colonial office file of CO 273/69, the practices of secret societies in importing the Chinese coolies from China to Straits Settlements has been mentioned by a British colonial officer, Mr. R. Little:

> …they had come in a very simple way, either by junks or sailing vessels and latterly by steamers. There were parties in China who latterly had adopted the system of chartering a vessel for so much on condition of taking so many men. They paid so much money for the vessels, and took so many passengers, and when they came here they made arrangements with employers to take as many men and pay their passage-money. In that way the coolie got his passage-money paid, and the contractor got a certain amount of profit; and very cheap labour was introduced. When they came, they engaged themselves for twelve months, at so much per month, and their food and clothing, and the person who engaged them, in consideration of the money he had advanced, took very good care not to pay to the Sin-kheh the same as to another man.[2]

[1] The prosperity of coolie trade in Southeast Asia can be seen in following colonial official record: CO273/89, Proposed Chinese Coolie Postal Services, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 3/4/1876.
[2] CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873.

Here we perceive some basic factors of "Sinkheh" in Malaya: cheap coolies who could not afford their passage money for abroad; or labor whom have to engage themselves with their employer for at least a year due to pay back their passage money. Chinese coolies that distributed and controlled by the secret societies commonly called as "sinkheh"[1] or "singkeks"[2] in nineteenth century of Malaya, which means "new comers (新客)". Before the 1870s, the disposal of Chinese coolie became the focus of attentions among secret societies. According to Yen Ching-hwang (1986: 8), the involvement of secret societies in the coolie trade aggravated the misery of coolies. Since there was no government supervision in the coolie depots of Straits Settlements before 1870, therefore, the members of secret societies would not hesitate to use force on those coolie who attempted to escape. On the other hand, the ill-treatment of coolie in the depots and the kidnapping of free immigrants were outraged the local Chinese communities in Malaya. Therefore, two petitions have been submitted to the Government of Straits Settlements in 1871 and 1873 by local Chinese merchant and community leaders[3] (see appendix three & four). As a result, the "Chinese Immigration Ordinance 1873" was passed by the Legislative Councils, while the definition of "immigrant" has been officially substituted for the term "coolie", "sinkheh" or "singkek" in this ordinance[4] (see appendix five). The "Chinese Immigration Ordinance 1873" and later the establishment of "Chinese Protectorates" in the Straits Settlements in 1877 considered as the most significant official regulations toward Chinese because "Chinese" had eventually included into the administration of British Malaya. Later in time, the coolie trade in Malaya had been abused in the 1880; while all the secret societies in Malaya had been banned in 1889. Consequently, the Chinese in Malaya eventually have been regulated and re-grouped by above British colonial institutions.[5]

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[1] See *Report on the administration of Penang during the year 1881* regarding on Chinese Immigration (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 522-523.
[2] See CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ample evidences and detailed can be read from chapter 3 and 4.

One common interpretation in the publications tended to suggest that secret societies in Straits Settlements were dialect group-based, and there were close connections between these dialect group-based secret societies with mining industries, kapitans, voluntary associations and Chinese merchants (see Gullick 1955: 12; Wong 1965: 41-42; Godley 1981: 27; Yen 1986: 125-128). However, Freedman (1960) had refused models as above that posit direct relationships between dialect group with merchants, kapitans, secret societies and mining coolies. Freedman (1960: 36-37) pointed, secret societies could and did include members from different dialect groups (see also Blythe 1969: 175-176; Khoo 1972: 201-225). Besides, Comber (1959: 73) had revealed the secret societies did not only pass very early the dialect boundaries among Chinese, but also the race boudaries, such as Malays and Indians. Locating above explanations within the conditions of no government supervision in the coolie depots of Straits Settlements, and mining areas in Malay states before the 1870s; Comber, Freedman and Blythe have viewed dialect group as something distinct from economic and political spheres, which secondary to secret societies. In my point of view, common controversies as above are deriving from the misconception on secret societies, and overemphasis on the role of dialect group.

2.2.2 Dialect Group and *Bang* in Malaya

The purpose of this segment is to review those significant classifications regarding on “Chinese” and “Hakka” during nineteenth century Malaya in various publications, particularly in relating to “*bang* (幫)” and “dialect group”.

One of the earliest scholars who had classified the “Chinese” in Southeast Asia was Professor Wang Gungwu, a Southeast Asian Chinese who grew up in former Malaya but accomplished his study in different countries, included London and China. Wang (1998: 4) stated the nascent European and colonial writings about classification of Chinese in Southeast Asia were mainly focus on Chinese merchants and artisans. It can be seen by Raffles observation in 1854 that the merchants “as the higher and more respectable class in Malaya” (cite in Purcell 1967: 73). During 1989, Wang

Gungwu has divided “Chinese immigrants” in Southeast Asia into four patterns, included “the trader (華商)”, “the coolie (華工)”, “the sojourner (華僑)”, and “the descent (華裔)”. He further indicated, the category of sojourner might comprise four of these categories while all of these categories had been politically loaded as one population in order to encourage all the Chinese immigrants during that time to be loyal and patriotic towards China under “1911 Revolution” (Wang 1991: 3-21; 1996: 1-8; 王賡武 1994: 3-13). However, the standard of these four classifications might not practical since the normative standards are not identical. Category like “the trader” and “the coolie” was based on commercial instrument; “the sojourner” was based on the political ideologies; while the category of “the descent” was based on citizenship and kinship.

Before Wang Gungwu, there were two anthropological works regarding on the “Chinese” in Malaya: *The Chinese of Sarawak* by T’ien Ju-k’ang (1953) and *The Malayan Chinese’s living in Muar, Johor* by Li Yi-yuan (李亦園，1970). T’ien Ju-k’ang’s work in Sarawak during 1948 has provided his observation to the occupational divisions among Chinese communities in Sarawak. In his publication, T’ien has claimed that the occupational divisions between the Chinese dialect groups in Sarawak had originated from the mainland of China, because Hakka were mainly rural farmers in China, while Hokkien and Teochew were more likely to have been urban merchants in China. T’ien later stated the socio-economic positions of Chinese in Sarawak were coincided with those in China:

> Various Hakka informants complained ruefully that they knew there was no possibility for them to attain financial power or even commercial success. The Teochew and Fukienese, they said, had all the experience of urban life and commercial enterprise, while the Hakka had none (T’ien 1953: 58).

Therefore, for T’ien, the living patterns and experiences in China was the main cause for the urban and rural split in Sarawak, rather than the difference of dialect groups in Chinese community of Sarawak.

On the other hand, Li Yi-yuan has published a book in 1970 regarding on his observations towards "Malayan Chinese" in Muar, Johor. In this book, he has mentioned there are different Chinese dialect groups or *bang* (幫) who likely to divide among themselves into different economic structures; owing the different Chinese community organizations which included dialect group and local group associations, surname or clan organization, business organizations, recreational organizations, religious organization and so forth; different structure of the community leadership; different family and religious life within Chinese community in Muar. The *bang* or dialect groups that Li mentioned in his study included Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka, Teochew, Hailam and others (李亦園 1970 : 71-75). Li has claimed that there was an "ideal model of China culture" pertaining in every single Chinese in Malaya, and this model has tolerated the conflicts among different dialect groups or *bangs* and thence gradually forming one Malaysian Chinese community which can contain different dialect groups or *bang* (李亦園 1970: 245-248). T'ien Ju-K'ang's and Li Yi-yuan's work consider as the earliest anthropological work which have provided the anthropological description of "Chinese dialect groups" in Malaya. However, their interpretations had posited that cultural and socioeconomic patterns which associated with Chinese dialect groups or *bang* in Malaya had first developed in China, and subsequently shaped their adaptations and settlements in Malaya. However, above general picture is still conservative one.

There is not many scholar interested in discovering the distinctiveness and classification of Chinese dialect group or *bang* during nineteenth-twentieth century Malaya before the 1990s. Fortunately, there are five exceptions, in which included Moese, Reinknecht and Schmitz-Seißer (1979), Mak Lau Fong (麥留芳 1985), Yen Ching-hwang (1986), Cheng Lim Keak (1985), and Victor Purcell (1967).

As mentioned in last chapter, Wolfgang Moese, Gottffried Reinknecht and Eva Schmitz-Seißer (1979) was a group of scholars from Hamburg University of German, who reached West Malaysia to analysis the phenomena of Chinese *regionalism* in nineteenth century Malaya. Different research methods had been applied in this study,

such as socio-psychological approach, historical, and institutional approach. According to Moese, Reinknecht and Schmitz-Seißer, *regionalism* is to be understood as the distinction among the Chinese population on the basis of dialect and "place of origin" (祖籍) (1979: xvii). There were two main research subjects superimposed in their study of *regionalism*, the first was the discovery on the Malayan Chinese's "place of origin" in the region in China; the second was the discovery of features for various social organizations which founded in former Malaya, included *Landsmannschaften* (regional associations), clan association, temples and religious organization, schools and educational organizations, guilds and secret societies. This study has revealed that the regional aspects for "place of origin", for example, Hakka in Malaya as table 1.2, was not only widespread in the various regional associations, clan association, temples and religious organization, schools and educational organizations and guilds, but also played a part in entering a secret societies (1979: 471- 498).

According to Moese, Reinknecht and Schmitz-Seißer (1979), despite the regional aspects can be found in all types of social organizations in Malaya, however, the feature of secret societies were different with other social organizations. Regional associations, clan association, and guilds are all focused on common subjects, such as "place of origin", surname or profession. On contrary, the secret societies usually composed of one or several Chinese dialect groups, while mostly had various sub-branches. Moese, Reinknecht and Schmitz-Seißer have listed out five dominant secret societies: Ghee Hin, Hai San, Toh Peh Kong, Kien Tek and Ghee Hok. Furthermore, they have discovered there were different dialect groups structured secret societies in Singapore, in which included "Hokkien Ghee Hin (福建義興)", "Kong Fee Siew or Guangfu Ghee Hin (廣府義興)", "Teo Kun Ghee Hin (潮郡義興)", "Hylam Ghee Hin (海南義興)", "Songbo guan or Hakka Ghee Hin (松柏館)". Besides, there were different dialect branches linked with Ghee Hin in Singapore, such as "Ghee Sin (義心)" with Teochew member, "Ghee Kee Kwang Hok (義記廣福)" with Hakka and Teochew members, "Hok Hin (福興)" with Hokkien and Hainanese members and

"Ghee Hok (義福)" with Hokkien members. Moese, Reinknecht and Schmitz-Seißer further indicated, the growth of Chinese population had created a room for the secret societies to gain increasing control over the Chinese communities, while the outbreak of serious riots and wars were frequent occurred after the middle of nineteenth century, such as Singapore Riots 1851 and 1853, Penang Riots 1867, and Larut Wars in Perak during 1861, 1865, 1872 until 1873. The Larut wars also provided opportunity to British colonial power to increase their influence on the Malays states by signing the "Treaty of Pangkor" with Sultan Perak in 1874 (see 1979: 157). In the mean time, during the 1870s, British had started to regulate Chinese immigrants by colonial institutions which substituted for the secret societies. Here we find a clue of timeline for the relationships between secret societies and classification of Chinese by British colonials: 1870s.

On the other hand, Moese, Reinknecht and Schmitz-Seißer (1979) had concluded the factor contributing to the formation of various social organizations:

> The simultaneous existence of the various dialect-groups of the two provinces of Fujian and Guangdong in strange surroundings and the difficulty to overcome the language barrier, made the emigrants use forms of organization of their homeland which already have proved to be useful there (Moese, Reinknecht & Schmitz-Seißer 1979: 499).

Furthermore, Moese, Reinknecht and Schmitz-Seißer (1979) also demonstrated the settlements of dialect group in Malaya on levels of country, region, city, and streets (1979: 153- 177). Moese, Reinknecht and Schmitz-Seißer (1979: 499) summed up in their conclusion that one dialect group usually provides a distinct majority of the Chinese population while the other dialects are no importance. Clearly, then, Moese, Reinknecht and Schmitz-Seißer's conclusion were no far difference with T'ien Ju-k'ang (1953) and Li Yi-yuan's (1970) statements, where the features of Chinese *regionalism* in Malaya had originated in the region of China.

In the 1980s, a Malaysian Chinese scholar, Mak Lau Fong (麥留芳 1985) has studied the principle to classify "Chinese" of Malaya in Taiwan. Mak had first re-

defined the term of “dialect group (方言群)” in this research. Mak (1985) pointed, in theoretically, “dialect group” can be delimited as the dialect-based group, which means the group which normally speaking the same dialect; but in principally, “dialect group” denoted the provincial-based or prefectural-based groups which grouped themselves together when they came from the same “place of origin” and speaking a same dialect. Therefore, he claimed the main content to form one “dialect group” would not be the elements like “place of origin” or “dialect”, but the shared interior consciousness: “dialect group identification (方言群認同)” (麥留芳 1985: 15). Mak started his research based on the assumption that the “dialect group identification” did exist in nineteenth century Malaya and further determined these “dialect group” were originally “Han Chinese” (1985: 183). Mak has utilized two types of research materials to proof his hypothesis: the data of census reports and Chinese voluntary association’s monuments. In his conclusion, Mak concluded the concepts of “dialect group identification” in Malaya are divided into two categories, included in “broad sense” and “narrow sense”. “Broad sense” of “dialect group identification” can be founded clearly in the categorization of “Chinese tribes” in British Malaya’s census reports; while the “narrow sense” of “dialect group identification” can be observed from the details of Chinese voluntary association’s monuments (麥留芳 1985: 181). In his conclusion, Mak emphasized that he was not interested in probing the formation of such “dialect group identification” (麥留芳 1985: 197). In other words, it is noteworthy that Mak Lau Fong’s study was merely to coincide with those already made in official census reports and Chinese voluntary association’s monuments in Malaya. Therefore, the practicability and normative standard of “dialect group identification” in classified “Chinese” and “Hakka” of Malaya was still remaining questionable until today.

The only two useful references regarding on the *bang* and dialect group in Malaya are the publications by Cheng Lim Keak (1985) and Yen Ching-hwang (1986). Based on the study concerning on “Chinese” in Singapore during nineteenth century, Cheng has stated there were particular factors leading to the formation of

Chinese *bang*, included dialect differences, strong locality and kinship consciousness, and economic competitions in British Malaya:

> Originating largely from the provinces of Guangdong and Fujian in southeastern China, early Chinese migrants in Singapore were heterogeneous. Dialect differences and unintelligibility together with strong locality and kinship consciousness and keen competition in the colonial laissez-faire commercial setting resulted in strong exclusiveness within each dialect groups. The result of such a development was the emergence of a bang-structured Chinese society which is characterised, to a certain extent even today, by the spatial concentration of dialect groups in the city area and by trade specializations (Cheng 1985; cite in Cheng 1995: 477-478).

On the other hand, Yen Ching-hwang (1986) has elucidated the circumstances that leading to the formation of *bang*. According to Yen, *bang* can be referred as a "sub-community" and it is combination of dialect, regional, and occupational grouping. Yen further divided the Chinese community under his study into five major *bang*, included "Hokkien *bang*", "Teochew *bang*", "Cantonese *bang*", "Hakka *bang*" and "Hainan *bang*" (Yen 1986: 177). Yen indicated the root of the social conflict was *bang* for economic interest, while secret societies were used as agents for the economic interest of *bang*. In addition, the *bang* had placed the utmost importance on the maintenance of business monopolies. Therefore, the *bang* was not just segregated by secret societies, the *bang* was also supposed to safeguard, advance, and perpetuate the economic interest of its members, in order to maintain its members control over certain types of occupation and business. In addition, the development of *bang* monopolies was reflected in the specialization of certain occupations and business (see Yen 1986: 195). However, I shall note that Yen's statement regarding on *bang* and secret societies was barely his personal interpretation.

In addition, Yen Ching-hwang also demonstrated the distinctiveness of Chinese coolie regarding on their first arrival in embarkation from China to Malaya:

> Chinese immigrants embarked at different ports on the south-east coast of China, where different dialects were spoken. Ships came from Amoy with southern Hokkiens, from Swatow with immigrants speaking Teochew, and from H'ai K'ou with immigrants speaking Hainanese. As immigrant ships picked up

> passengers mostly from one port, the immigrants who met on board spoke the same dialect, and this reinforced regional and dialect ties. Even when ships visited more than one port and picked up passengers with different dialects, those speaking the same dialect tended to get together and help each other (Yen 1986: 37).

From above quotations, it is clearly to observe that the newly arrived Chinese coolies in Malaya during nineteenth century have already formed the basic prototype for different *bang* in naturally based on their dialect differences. The most important part which always missed out by scholars is: the background of economic competitions represented by secret societies in British Malaya. Detailed explanation will be illustrated in chapter's epilogue.

There was also another classical scholar who did find a space for the discussion regarding on the classification of Chinese in Malaya: Victor Purcell. Victor Purcell was a British colonial officer who served in the pre-war Malayan Civil Service from 1921 until 1946. At one point he also headed the Chinese Protectorate, Assistant Director of Education (Chinese), Director-General of Information, and Principal Adviser on Chinese Affairs to the British Military Administration after Japanese occupation in Malaya.[1] His publication- *The Chinese in Malaya*- which first published in 1948 based on his personal experiences as former British colonial which referring to a great number of colonial office files and documents, considered as the first and the only publication which offering a comprehensive survey of Chinese in nineteenth century Malaya.

In order to dig out the nature of Chinese in Malaya during nineteenth century, Purcell had traced back to the emigrants' institution of Ch'ing government during that period. According to Purcell (1967), before 1911, the system government of China was virtually a system of "loose despotism". The emperor policies during Ch'ing dynasty before 1911 were mainly concerned in keeping the people in a state of subjection. Purcell stated, the civil officers of Ch'ing government were not interested in the welfare of their people who speaking the native dialect that they probably do

[1] See preface of *The Chinese in Malaya* (Purcell 1967).

not understand. Thus the Ch'ing government had given local headmen in China provinces to execute the laws and regulations upon Chinese emigrants. Despite the operation of the regulations on Chinese emigrants seems loosely, however, there was still a legal and social system monitored strictly by Ch'ing government civil officers. From above institutional approach, Purcell noticed that the Ch'ing policies might deeply influenced the classification of Chinese who later arrived in Malaya:

> The Chinese emigrants did not go overseas as a community: they only began to be such after they arrived. They might belong to the same province or even clan, but they were, until they had improvised a system of communal government, nothing but an unintegrated mass (Purcell 1967: 84).

From this quotation, it can be observed that the Ch'ing emigrants' policies had provided an opportunity to the formation of Chinese *bang* through their migratory journey to Malaya. However, Purcell did not discover the formation of Chinese *bang*; he even disregard the role of secret societies in acquiring, controlling and distributing Chinese coolies in their migratory process from China to Malaya. Therefore, Purcell further claimed that "Chinese tribes"- in which also equivalent to dialect group in Purcell's perception- as first "community type" that newly formed in nineteenth century Malaya; while the "place of origin" in China was unimportance to Chinese whom under British rule during and after the 1840s in Malaya:

> Tribes speaking different dialects regarded one another almost as foreigners, as indeed they sometimes do to-day. There was no hint of Chinese nationalism. In May 1840 British troops intended for use in the First China War arrived and camped on the Esplanade. There was no manifestation of hospitality on the part of the local Chinese. In 1857 at the beginning of the Second China War some ill-will towards the British was shown by a section of the poorer classes, but when Lord Elgin arrived in Singapore on 6 June of that year on his way to China as British High Commissioner and Plenipotentiary he was presented with an address by the Chinese merchants in which they referred to the great advantage the Chinese population was enjoying under British rule. Chinese tribes were brought into a proximity unexampled in their native country, though even when they came from the same village they had not the restraining organization of their village headmen (Purcell 1967: 84- 85).

On the other hand, Purcell's study also provided some useful information regarding on British regulations of Chinese in Malaya before the establishment of

"Chinese Protectorate" in 1877. According to Purcell (1967), before the 1870s, there were difficulties in governing Chinese because all British officials had little knowledge about Chinese characteristic and ability they had to control. Consequently, British colonial government in Singapore had adopted the classification by "race" to Chinese in Malaya:

> Progress towards harmonious combination had therefore to be made in two different directions- the first was by the Chinese getting used to the laws, the habits, and the prejudices of the ruling race, and the second by the ruling race getting to understand the nature of the people they had to govern (Purcell 1967: 85)

However, Purcell's statements on the classification of Chinese by "race" and "tribe" can only be used as the second hand references. Before proceeding to the epilogue, the classification of "Chinese" as "race" and "tribe" in archival materials and official census reports of British Malaya will be demonstrated. These materials are more convincing and persuadable than the second hand literatures in analyzing the classification of "Chinese".

2.2.3 Chinese "Race" and "Tribe" in British Malaya

The earliest census report of British Malaysia was taken on the 2nd April of 1871, which only accounted the population of Straits Settlements.[1] It can be observed from *Report on the administration of Straits Settlements of 1871* that the superintendents of census 1871 had classified all the population in Straits Settlements by their "nationality", in which included Malays, Chinese, Klings, Hindoos, Europeans, Americans, Eurasians, Javanese, and twenty one other kinds of nationalities for Eastern origin.[2]

[1] See *Report on the administration of Straits Settlements in 1871* regarding on "Population" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 108-109.
[2] Ibid.

Table 2.2: Population of 1871 and 1881 in Straits Settlements[1]

Nationalities	1871			1881		
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
Singapore	**74348(37)*(77)**	**22763(21)*(23)**	**97111(32)*(100)**	**105423(37)*(76)**	**33785(24)*(24)**	**139208(33)*(100)**
Europeans	1528(1)*(79)	418(0)*(21)	1946(1)*(100)	2207(1)*(80)	562(0)*(20)	2769(1)*(100)
Eurasians	1063(1)*(49)	1101(1)*(51)	2164(1)*(100)	1509(1)*(49)	1585(1)*(51)	3094(1)*(100)
Malays	10059(5)*(52)	9211(9)*(48)	19270(6)*(100)	11471(4)*(52)	10684(8)*(48)	22155(5)*(100)
Chinese	47104(24)*(86)	7468(7)*(14)	54572(18)*(100)	72571(26)*(84)	14195(10)*(16)	86766(20)*(100)
Indian	9492(5)*(83)	1948(2)*(17)	11440(4)*(100)	9619(3)*(80)	2439(2)*(20)	12058(3)*(100)
Other	5102(3)*(66)	2617(2)*(34)	7719(3)*(100)	8046(3)*(65)	4320(3)*(35)	12366(3)*(100)
Penang Island, Province Wellesley and Dindings	**84149(42)*(63)**	**49081(46)*(37)**	**133230(43)*(100)**	**124205(44)*(65)**	**66392(47)*(35)**	**190588(45)*(100)**
Europeans	289(0)*(67)	144(0)*(33)	433(0)*(100)	565(0)*(84)	109(0)*(16)	674(0)*(100)
Eurasians	644(0)*(47)	739(1)*(53)	1383(0)*(100)	751(0)*(47)	846(1)*(53)	1597(0)*(100)
Malays	35570(18)*(50)	34963(32)*(50)	70533(22)*(100)	42560(15)*(50)	42212(30)*(50)	84772(20)*(100)
Chinese	30347(15)*(83)	6214(6)*(17)	36561(12)*(100)	55313(20)*(82)	12507(9)*(18)	67820(16)*(100)
Indian	13943(7)*(76)	4470(4)*(24)	18413(6)*(100)	20337(7)*(75)	6699(5)*(25)	27036(6)*(100)
Other	3356(2)*(57)	2551(2)*(43)	5907(2)*(100)	4679(2)*(54)	4019(3)*(46)	8689(2)*(100)
Malacca	**41876(21)*(54)**	**35811(33)*(46)**	**77756(25)*(100)**	**52059(18)*(56)**	**41520(29)*(44)**	**93579(22)*(100)**
Europeans	31(0)*(62)	10(0)*(38)	50(0)*(100)	31(0)*(78)	9(0)*(22)	40(0)*(100)
Eurasians	1056(1)*(47)	1169(1)*(53)	2225(1)*(100)	1075(0)*(49)	1138(1)*(51)	2213(1)*(100)
Malays	28165(14)*(49)	29372(27)*(51)	57537(19)*(100)	32784(12)*(49)	34729(25)*(51)	67513(16)*(100)
Chinese	9876(5)*(73)	3606(3)*(27)	13482(4)*(100)	15721(6)*(80)	4020(3)*(20)	19741(5)*(100)
Indian	1946(1)*(59)	1331(1)*(41)	3277(1)*(100)	1148(0)*(61)	743(1)*(39)	1891(0)*(100)
Other	802(0)*(68)	323(0)*(32)	1185(0)*(100)	1300(1)*(60)	881(1)*(40)	2181(1)*(100)
Total	**200373(100)*(65)**	**107655(100)*(35)**	**308097(100)*(100)**	**281687(100)*(67)**	**141697(100)*(33)**	**423375(100)*(100)**

[1] See *Report on the administration of Straits Settlements in 1881* regarding on "Population" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 511-513. The error of calculation in the original resource has been corrected. Percentage with * is column percentage; without * is row percentage. See also Wong (2009: 10).

Later in 1881, the second census of Straits Settlements was taken; the nationalities of population have been divided into six big categories: "Europeans", "Eurasians", "Malays", "Chinese", "Indians" and "Other Nationalities".[1] "Other Nationalities" had included Armenians, Aborigines of the Peninsular, Achinese, Africans, Anamese, Arabs, Boyanese, Bugis, Burmese, Dyaks, Japanese, Jawi Pekan, Jews, Manilamen, Parsees, Persians, Siamese, and Singhalese.[2] Table 2.2 has demonstrated the details of census 1871 and 1881 in Straits Settlements. On the other hand, the first census regarding on the population in Federated Malay States has been taken in 1891, and the second census was taken in 1901.[3] The superintendent of Census in Federated Malay States, G.T. Hare has compared the population of 1891 with the approximate population of 1901 in Federated Malay States in this report, listed as table 2.3.[4] Despite the detailed classification of population are not stated in his report, such as "Chinese", "Malays" and "Indian", however, G.T Hare believed that the Chinese population has largely increased in each Federated Malay States due to the boom of tin mining. He pointed, " I think, that the Chinese population has largely increased in each State owing to the boom of tin during the last twenty odd months and that they now number as many as Malays".[5]

Table 2.3: Population of 1891 and 1901 in Federated Malay States.[6]

State	Population in 1891	Population in 1901	Increased (%)
Perak	214254	319530	105276 (33)
Selangor	81592	167194	85602 (51)
Negeri Sembilan	65219	95685	30466 (32)
Pahang	64000	82500	18500 (22)
Total	**425065**	**664909**	**239844 (36)**

[1] See *Report on the administration of Straits Settlements in 1881* regarding on "Population" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 511-513.
[2] Ibid.
[3] CO 273/272, Census 1901, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 13/4/1901.
[4] Ibid.
[5] CO 273/272, Census 1901, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 13/4/1901.
[6] Source: CO 2723/272, Census 1901, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 13/4/1901. See also Wong (2009: 11).

The earlier census of Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States in 1871, 1881, and 1891 were principally focused on population's nationalities, while the detailed of each nationality was completely relegated in the colonial reports. The details of "Chinese immigrants" were first recorded in the annual reports of the Straits Settlements during 1877, which was the same year to establish "Chinese Protectorate" in Straits Settlements.[1] According to this reports, the main reason to record the place of origin for Chinese immigrants was principally due to the commencement of "registration of Chinese immigrants and emigrants" during 1st October in 1877.[2] There are different Chinese immigrants mentioned in this reports, including "Tew Chews", "Foo Chew", "Kyan Chew", "Cantonese", "Hokkien" and "Hylams".[3] These terms principally were recorded based on the place where they came from.

The classification of population in British Malaya by the term "race" was first appeared in the 1911 census (Nathan 1922: 29). According to the superintendent of *The Census of British Malaya 1921*, J. E. Nathan (1922), the division of total population of British Malaya into six main "race" was principally conducted for the tabulation purposes, in which including "Europeans", "Eurasians", "Malays", "Chinese", "Indians", and "Others".[4] Later in the 1931 census report of British Malaya, the superintendent C. A. Vlieland (1932) also emphasized the classification on total population by six racial division was principally for the census purposes, while the classification of "race" divisions has been remained the same like census of 1921.[5]

The classification on "Chinese" as form of "tribe" was officially first taken in the census of Federated Malay States in 1911, which based on A. M. Pountney's suggestion on the linguistic criterion. Mr. A. M. Pountney was a Chinese scholar and

[1] See *Report on the administration of Straits Settlements, Penang in 1877* regarding on "Chinese Immigration and Emigration" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 348-349.
[2] Ibid
[3] Ibid.
[4] Nathan, J. E. (1922). *The Census of British Malaya 1921*. London: Waterlow and Son Limited. pp. 70.
[5] Vlieland, C. A. (1932). *British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census and on Certain Problems of Vital Statistics*. England: Office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies.

official who in charged the census of Federated Malay States in 1911.[1] He had claimed his pretension as to classify "Chinese" into divisions of "tribe" in the official census of British Malaya by following statements:

> Between what we may be called the major dialects or, preferably, the principal languages of China, e.g., the Mandarin, the Cantonese, the Hokkien, etc., lies as great a difference as between European languages, and, though these major dialects range themselves into groups as do European languages, it is scarcely an overstatement to say that there are as many different languages in China, and as many different dialects of those distinct languages, as there are languages and dialects in Europe. Although there is one uniform character employed in writing throughout the Empire of China, and 'to read and write Chinese' is a proper, if somewhat loose, expression, no person can say that he speaks Chinese; he can only properly claim to speak one or more of the languages of the Empire, or dialects as they are erroneously called. Of the language and dialect used in the Empire of China, there is considerable representation in the Federated Malay States. The great sources of the Chinese population of these States are the southern maritime provinces of Canton and Fuhkien (Kwangtung and Hokkien) and the island of Hainan; and in these parts of China are embraced not only a diversity of languages but also a considerable number of dialects of each of such languages. With the diversity in languages among the Chinese, comes a diversity of characteristics of customs, and the proper division of the Chinese population into tribes is therefore a paramount importance.[2]

As mentioned in last chapter, Mr. Pountney had classified all Chinese population into different "tribe" based on the linguistic criterion, in which included "Hokkien", "Cantonese", "Tie Chiu", "Hailam", "Kheh", "Hok Chiu", "Hok Chia", "Hin Hoa", "Kwongsai", "Northern Provinces", and "Other Tribes" in the census report of 1911. However, the 1911 census report of Unfederated Malay States do not classify the Chinese by "tribe".[3] The classification of Chinese by "tribe" in census report of 1911 has applied in the census report of 1921 without any amendment; but it have been revised in the census report of 1931, which "Hin Hoa" and "Northern Provinces" have been eliminated from "Chinese Tribes", and the spelling of "Hakka", "Tiu Chiu" and "Hok Chhia" have been substituted for "Kheh", "Tie Chiu" and "Hok

[1] See Nathan, J. E. (1922). *The Census of British Malaya 1921*. London: Waterlow and Son Limited. pp. 77.
[2] See Nathan, J. E. (1922). *The Census of British Malaya 1921*. London: Waterlow and Son Limited. pp. 78.
[3] See Nathan, J. E. (1922). *The Census of British Malaya 1921*. London: Waterlow and Son Limited. pp. 81.

Chia".[1] Consequently, the term "Hakka" has officially first emerged in 1931 Malaya while it has further grouped the Hakka *bang* altogether under the classification of "tribe".

2.3 Epilogue

The epilogue of this chapter will first sum up the adoption of concept "ethnic group" in defining "Southeast Asian Hakka". Later, epilogue will proceed to the focal point on the classifications of "Chinese" and "Hakka" in Malaya during nineteenth century.

After reviewing the epistemology for the contemporary Ethnicity Studies, there are two dimensions can be demonstrated for the practicability of concept "ethnic group" in defining "Southeast Asian Hakka". First, in generally, the normative standard in delimiting certain social group whether as an "ethnic group" by ethnicity theories, indeed, are virtually multi-functions in approaches. No matter "primordially given" or "socially constructed" certain ethnic group, to classify diverse forms of social group as "ethnic group" has created an outcome for the people who classified under "ethnic group" are basically the same while their "ethnic identity" is a natural trait of the group. Therefore, "ethnicity" functions are not only like the joker in a card-game (see Lentz 1995: 304), but might function like a fortune-teller in predicting the emergence of certain "ethnic group" by using the instrumental-constructed ethnicity approaches with particular intention. Second, in specifically, with particular reference to the case of Taiwan and Malaysia, "ethnic group" today in Taiwan and Malaysia basically is a terminology in denoting the major component unit of both Taiwan and Malaysia, which formed by such social group with belief in their common descent after gone through the radical competitions and conflicts in political, economic and cultural conditions. As table 1.1, the major component units of Taiwan are "Minnan", "Mainlander", "Hakka" and "Aborigines"; while major component

[1] See Vlieland, C. A. (1932). *British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census and on Certain Problems of Vital Statistics.* England: Office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies. pp. 78.

units of Malaysia are “Malays”, “Chinese”, “Indian”, “Kadazan”, “Iban” and so forth. Therefore, Hakka in Malaysia virtually is a component attached under “Chinese” ethnic group which commonly known as “dialect group” in present Malaysia. However, Malaysian Hakka which imposed by concept “ethnic group” under “Southeast Asian Hakka” in present Taiwan Hakka Studies was referred presumably homogenous socio-cultural entities as Taiwan Hakka, for one scholar’s comparison in academic research. At this juncture, it is aptly to state that the practicability of concept “ethnic group” in defining “Southeast Asian Hakka” is basically low.

Next, epilogue is proceeding to the classifications of “Chinese” and “Hakka” in Malaya during nineteenth century. After reviewing the number of publications pertaining to “Chinese” and “Hakka” in Malaya, there are two common interpretations can be summarized. Firstly, the creatures of both *bang* and dialect group were denoted by various authors that both *bang* and dialect group were originated from China by following elements, included same dialect, “place of origin” and kinship ties. However, *bang* and dialect group were overlapped in the publications without further clarifications. Secondly, the connections between *bang* and dialect group with secret societies, tin mining industries, kapitans, voluntary associations were intertwined in complex relationships, while this complicated connections also led to such controversies towards the direct relationships between *bang* and dialect group with secret societies, kapitans, voluntary associations, monopolization of businesses.[1] From this, here we find a common question posing among these authors in their publications: Whether the base of the secret societies, kapitans, voluntary associations, monopolization of businesses, social conflicts, riots, and fighting, is “dialect group”? Despite there were many authors have started their studies by assumed the answer of above question as “yes”, however, there were also authors provided ample opposite evidences to proof that “dialect group” as something distinct from economic and political spheres, and it seems secondary to secret societies (see Comber 1959; Freedman 1960; Blythe 1969). In short, the picture of

[1] See Gullick (1955: 12), Comber (1959: 73), Freedman (1960: 36- 37), Wong (1965: 41- 42), Blythe (1969: 175- 176), Khoo (1972: 201- 225), Godley (1981: 27), Mak (1981), and Yen (1986: 125- 128).

"dialect group" and "*bang*" in relation to secret societies, kapitans, voluntary associations, monopolization of businesses etc., still, are perplexed by ambiguities. In my point of view, the only solution to analyze these labyrinths is by discovery through the classification process of "Chinese" in British Malaya.

Before proceed to my own interpretation to the classification process of "Chinese" in early Malaya, there are two points have to be wise up: classifications by British colonials; and Chinese communities' classification in Malaya. In early nineteenth century, there were different observations by British colonials pertaining to "Chinese" in Malaya. There were colonials classified Chinese by social position, included merchants, traders, artisans and laborers, such as Raffles during 1822 and 1854 (see Purcell 1967: 73; Yen 1986: 117). Besides, there were British colonials classified Chinese based on the provinces or prefectures where they came from, such as "Kehs", "Keks" or "Khehs" from Kwangtung province; "Hokiens" or "Hokkiens" from Amoy and other places of Fukien province; "Tay Chews", "Tie Chiu" or "Tiu Chiu" from Swatow; "Hylams" from Hainan island and so forth (see Pickering 1876: 440; Vaughan 1854: 3, 1971: 6). Later in 1871, while the first census of Straits Settlements was taken in 1871, Chinese have classified as "Chinese" by British Colonial Government based on the criterion of "nationality". In the mean time, the newly arrived Chinese labors which commonly known as "sinkheh", "singkek", or coolie have classified by British colonial officials as "immigrant" under the "Chinese Immigration Ordinance" during 1873. During 1911, "Chinese" had first classified as the division of "race" in the census report of British Malaya. Likewise in 1911, the classification of "Chinese" based on the criterion of dialect differences- "Chinese tribe"- have been first adopted in the 1911 census report of Federated Malay Sates. The classification of "Chinese tribe" in census reports of British Malaya were more stable in 1931 by following divisions: "Hokkien", "Tiu Chiu", "Hakka", "Hok Chhia", "Cantonese", "Hailam", "Hok Chiu", "Kwongsai", and "Other". The term "Hakka" was first emerged and applied by British colonial government in 1931.

In other words, there was a dividing line of British colonials' classification towards "Chinese" before and after the 1870s. Before the 1870s, British colonials have been classified "Chinese" in Malaya based on the provinces where they came from and social position in relating with their occupations; while after the 1870s, "Chinese" have been classified by the divisions of "nationalities", "race" and "tribe".

On contrary, the classifications within the interior of Chinese communities in Malaya were slightly different with those by British colonial government. The classifications within Chinese communities in Malaya were divided by *bang*. It is important to note that the connotation of *bang* is not equivalent with "dialect group". The *bang* virtually as a vulgar form of Chinese divisions, which attached under the secret societies before British colonial government regulated towards the secret societies before the 1870s; and *bang* basically as a "sub-community" for today "dialect group" in present time. Both *bang* and "dialect group" might denoted to a social group which formed by following elements, included dialect differences, "place of origin", and economic competitions, however, it is important to state that the *bang* and "dialect group" is different.

My own interpretation for the classification of "Chinese" and "Hakka" by *bang* before the 1870s British Malaya is as follows: the root of the division of different *bang* was deeply influenced by the secret societies, through their acquirement and distribution processes of Chinese coolies from China to Malaya. As mentioned earlier, secret societies were appointed by British officials as the major unit in acquiring and sending Chinese coolies abroad in China; while controlling and distributing these coolies to mining areas in states of Malaya under the circumstances of unwillingness within British colonial government to be involved directly in the Chinese coolie trade. The adoption of secret societies as a control mean among Chinese communities in Malaya had further provided ample opportunities to extend their power in mining industry of Malay states. Therefore, there were certain secret societies dominated certain part in Straits Settlements and mining areas. In order to perpetuate and advance their economic interest and political power in Malaya, there were a great

number of Chinese coolies have been acquired by secret societies from China; thence distributed to such secret society's domain territory in Malaya for its perpetuation and advancement for their economic interest and influences.

Above statements can be examined by following information which extracted from official reports and documents. The annual report of the Straits Settlements in Penang during 1881 had recorded that there were 2417 new Chinese coolies were registered as the member of six secret societies for secure and protection.[1] On the other hand, the members of secret societies in Malacca were gradually increased from 1879 to 1881, as table 2.4. These secret societies were registered under the department of Chinese Protectorate.

Table 2.4: Registered Societies and its Members in Malacca from 1879-1881.[2]

Year / Secret Society	1879	1880	1881
Ghee Hin	1380	1778	2549
Ghee Hin (Macau)	282	282	344
Ghee Boo	556	556	581
Hock Beng	1126	1126	1802
Hye San	156	357	440

In addition, table 2.5 has shown the registered societies of Straits Settlements during 1889. There were ten registered societies in Singapore which made up 68316 members in total. On the other hand, there were five registered societies that made up 113300 members in total in Penang; while there were three registered societies with 7529 members in total.

[1] See the *Annual Report of the Straits Settlements, Penang during 1881*, regarding on "Chinese Immigration and Emigration" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 522-523.
[2] Source: *Annual Report of the Straits Settlements, Malacca during 1881*, regarding on "Chinese and Malay Societies" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 556-557.

Table 2.5: Registered Societies in Straits Settlements during 1889.[1]

Name	Members
Singapore	**68316**
Ghee Hin (Hokkien)	18973
Ghee Hok	14487
Ghee Khee Kwang Hok	6466
Hok Hin	14317
Kwong Wai Shiu	4877
Ts'ung Paak	7413
Hong Ghee Thong	402
Lee Seng Hong	407
Yuet Tong Kun	415
Heng Sun	559
Penang	**113300**
Ghee Hin	75000
Kien Tek	21000
Ho Seng	14000
Chun Sim	2450
Hai San	850
Malacca	**7529**
Ghee Hin	6487
Ghee Hin (Macau)	527
Hai San	515
Total	**189145**

From table 2.5, Ghee Hin was dominant among other secret societies in Straits Settlements. Furthermore, the size and influence of secret societies were diverse in Straits Settlements and Malays states. Hence, the perpetuation and advancement for their economic interest and influences in Malaya by each secret society has created a room for fierce quarrels and fighting, particularly in mining areas. Chinese coolie whom acquiring and distributing by certain secret society from Kwangtung and Fukien province to Malaya were attached under the power and influence of such secret society. For example, coolie acquiring by Ghee Hin from Fukien province will be distributed to their territory in Larut as mining labors. It is important to state that the coolie whom controlling and distributing by certain secret society were vary in

[1] Source: Blythe, Wilfred, 1969. *The Impact of Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya: A Historical Study*. London: Oxford University Press. pp. 539. See also Wong (2009: 23).

"dialect" and "place of origin". Therefore, it is reasonable for its members which diverse in dialect differences to form their own *bang*.

To sum up, the major component units of Chinese community in Malaya before 1870 are secret societies. Each secret society is composing by different *bang*, which basically formed on the basic of dialect difference. *Bang* was used by secret societies as a mean to perpetuate, plunder and maximize their economic interests and political influences in Malaya, for instance, Larut wars in the 1860s to 1870s. At this point, here we find the significant turning point for former *bang* to present dialect group: the implementation of British colonial regulations and institutions to suppress the Chinese secret societies in the 1870s. These regulations have further contributed to the classification of "Chinese" based on the basis of dialect differences in British Malaya's census reports after 1911. In other words, connotations of "Hakka" in Malaya which attached within the "Chinese" can only be discovered through the classification process of "Chinese" during and after the 1870s under British colonial regulations and institutions.

2.4 Methodology

This thesis is a research which carried out for the specific purpose in probing the connotation of "Hakka" in Southeast Asia, with particular reference to former British Malaya. The thesis will focus on the investigation to the implementation of British colonial regulations and institutions since the 1870s in British Malaya. The processes and impacts of these British colonial regulations and institutions towards the classification of "Chinese" in British Malaya also will be discovered in this research.

The scope of investigation will be limited to the former Malaya which colonized under the British authorities- "British Malaya"- which amalgamated by three separate administrative units during different periods: the establishment of Straits Settlements in 1826, Federated Malay States in 1895, and Unfederated Malay States in 1909 up to

the formation of "Federation of Malaya" in 1946. In other words, "Malaya" is denoting to the geographical concepts for Malaya peninsular, Penang Island, and Singapore Island; while "British Malaya" is denoting to the institutional concepts of "Malaya under British colonial authority". Reasons to confine the scope of research to the former Malaya, or present West Malaysia and Singapore are determining by following elements. The colonial background, geographical environment and conditions of the places where the Chinese chose to settle in former Malaya were similar. Furthermore, both present West Malaysia and Singapore have gone through British colonization during nineteenth century, and kept remained under the administration of "Federation of Malaya" up to the Singapore's separation from Malaysia in 1965. Historical background of the formation for "British Malaya" will be illustrated in detailed in next chapter.

The "Chinese" in Malaya can be discerned into two distinct communities during different migratory period: "Straits Chinese or *Baba*" and "Chinese immigrants". "Straits Chinese or *Baba*"[1] community was formed in the beginning of the fifteenth century up to the founding of the Straits Settlements by British. On the other hand, "Chinese immigrants" has come under the wave of mass immigration which coincided with the establishment of the Straits Settlements in the beginning of nineteenth century until the middle of twentieth century. According to Khoo Joo Ee (1996: 23), *Baba* or "Straits Chinese" are the terms to describe the Chinese traders arrived Malaya in fifteenth century, those who left China and set up the second home in Malacca with local wives (ethnic Malays) in order to look after their business when they returned annually to China. Generally, the *Baba* lifestyles have consisted of Chinese religions, customs and practices; Chinese and European (including Anglo-Indian) architecture; Malay languages, customs and cuisines (Khoo 1996: 25-26). From this, it can be observed that the economic position, social class, and the migration experiences of *Baba* or Straits Chinese are completely different with those

[1] The group called *Baba* or Straits Chinese were the descendents of earliest Chinese settlers, who first came to Malaya around 1400 to engage in the thriving maritime trade of the newly established Malacca Sultanate. The *Baba* had been settled in Malaya since the time of Malacca, they had come in small numbers and had basically adapted and assimilated with the indigenous people (see Purcell 1950; Heng 1988; Khoo, J. E. 1996).

"Chinese immigrants" who came under British colonization period since early nineteenth century. Moreover, *Baba* or Straits Chinese have partially assimilated into Malay culture after hybridization through marriages. In other words, "Straits Chinese or *Baba*" and "Chinese immigrants" are heterogeneous. Therefore, the research subject - "Chinese"- in this thesis will focus on "Chinese immigrants", while "Straits Chinese or *Baba*" will be excluded from the research.

On the other hand, "dialect group" in present Malaysia and Singapore is equivalent with "tribe" in former British Malaya. The composition of "Chinese dialect groups" are derived from "Chinese tribes" in the 1931 census report of British Malaya, in which consisting of "Hokkien", "Cantonese", "Hakka (Kheh)", "Tiu Chiu", "Hailam", "Hok Chhia", "Hok Chiu", "Kwongsai" and "Other".

Specific first hand archival materials are relevant to this research, included colonial office files *Straits Settlements, Original Correspondence* in series CO 273; the official reports such as *Annual Reports of Straits Settlements (1855-1941)*; and census reports of British Malaya in 1871, 1881, 1911, 1921, 1931, and 1947. The purpose to adopt above materials is determining not only by the content of these materials, but also deriving from the institution and actor who recorded such as these official reports: British Colonial Government and its officials. The contents of above materials were closely related to British colonial regulations and institutions to regulate Chinese secret societies during nineteenth century in British Malaya. According to the head of NUS Chinese library, Mr. Lee Ching Seng, the original colonial office files was also known as CO Series, in which included office files office files CO 144, CO 273, CO274, CO 275, CO276, CO380, CO386, CO425, CO426, CO537, CO717, CO740 and so forth. Among these CO series, the series of CO 273 was particular consisted of the records on the matter of "Chinese immigrant", in which included "Chinese secret societies" and "Chinese Protectorate" (李金生 2002: 229). The colonial office files and documents in series CO 273 have been adopted by some scholars in their study pertaining to "Chinese in Malaya", included

Victor Purcell (1967), Yen Ching-hwang (1986) and Wu Xian An (2003); and Wilfred Blythe's investigation for "secret societies" in Malaya (Blythe 1969).

The major collections of colonial office files and documents that dealt with Malay Peninsular and northern Borneo (the territories that now make up Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei) are now housed and kept in the Public Records Office at Kew, southwest of London. Fortunately, there are colonial office files in series CO 273 can be consulted by microfilms version in the library of National University of Singapore (NUS). There are two major indexes are significant in accessing to the colonial office files in series CO 273, such as Tan Soo Chye (1970-71) and Paul H.Kratoska (1990). After referred to these two indexes, the indexes comprised by Professor Kratoska, *File Lists and Indexes to Colonial Office Materials Concerning Malaysia* are considered more comprehensive and accessible. Professor Kratoska has divided 12 volumes indexes which consisted of all colonial official files with series CO in present National University of Singapore into different classes, as table 2.6. Among the distribution of CO files in 12 volumes, content of series CO 273 have occupied 9 volumes from 1838 to 1946. According to Kratoska (1990: 7-8), the topics concerning on "Malaya" as a whole tended to appear in the correspondences of CO 273 series.

Kratoska's indexes are computer-generated. Therefore, the indexes regarding on the colonial offices files in series CO 273 are entirely dependent on the key words appearing in the colonial file's titles (see Kratoska 1990: 8). Hence, I have been viewed the colonial offices files in series CO 273 in microfilms version mainly in relating to following keywords, included *Census, Chinese, Emigration, Immigration, Labor* and *Secret Society*. Finally, 65 colonial correspondences in series CO 273 have been founded with nearly one thousand pages (see appendix six). These colonial offices files were collected while I was a research assistant of Professor Chang Han-pi under certain research plans, in which included "Research Program of Southeast Asia Hakka", Center for Asia-Pacific Area Studies (CAPAS) of Academia Sinica

during August 2008 until April of 2009; and "Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top Level Research Centers" of National Central University during 2008.

Table 2.6: Different Classes of Colonial Office Files.[1]

No.	Series Number	Title of Colonial Office Files
1	CO 144	Labuan. Original Correspondence (1846-1906)
2	CO 273	Straits Settlements. Original Correspondence (1838-1946)
3	CO 531	British North Borneo. Original Correspondence (1907-1951)
4	CO 537	Colonies. General. Supplementary Original Correspondence (1759-1955)
5	CO 717	Malay States, Federated. Original Correspondence (1920-1950)
6	CO 825	Eastern Department. Original Correspondence (1927-1946)
7	CO 852	Economic. Original Correspondence (1935-1955)
8	CO 865	Far Eastern Reconstruction. Original Correspondence (1942-1945)
9	CO 874	British North Borneo Company Papers (1865-1925)
10	CO 882	Confidential Prints: Eastern (1847-1952)
11	CO 938	Sarawak. Original Correspondence (1946-1951)
12	CO 947	Commission of Enquiry in North Borneo and Sarawak regarding Malayan Federation. Minutes and Papers (1962)
13	CO 953	Singapore. Original Correspondence (1946-1951)
14	CO 954	Borneo. Original Correspondence (1946-1951)
15	CO 1022	Southeast Asia Department. Original Correspondence (1950-1955)
16	CO 1030	Far Eastern Department. Original Correspondence (1954-1957)

This thesis will be conducted by "documentary analysis" as research method. The adoption of "documentary analysis" as research method is primarily due to examine the impacts of British colonial regulations pertaining to "Chinese" and "Hakka" classification in Malaya. This research method will be conducted to achieve a contextual understanding for the regulations by British colonials towards "Chinese" and "Hakka" in the 1870s, by analyzing through the colonial office files in series CO 273, official annual reports of the Straits Settlements, and census reports of British

[1] Source: Kratoska, Paul H., 1990. *Index to British Colonial Office Files Pertaining to British Malaya.* Kuala Lumpur: Arkib Negara Malaysia. See also Wong (2009: 7).

Malaya. The “documentary analysis” will be conducted according to the process of policy. The policy cycle are consisting of three stages, namely *policy formulation*- understanding the dimension of the issue and previous responses to the problem; *policy implementation*- documenting how policies are transformed into procedures and regulations; and *policy accountability*- examining the intended and unintended impacts and consequences of policies (see Rist, 1994).

3. THE FORMATION OF BRITISH MALAYA

3.1 Early European Powers in Southeast Asia

There was an age of Western Colonialism towards the region of Southeast Asia since fifteenth century. During sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was a rise of nation state in creating stronger central government and solving domestic problems in Europe, such as Portugal, Spain, England, the Netherlands, and France. The tendencies for the expansion of these Europeans power are closely related to the industrialization, invention of navigation and the strong nationalism. These European powers are not merely attributed by their ambitions to achieve greater economic and military powers outside their countries, but also meant there would be a manifestation of dominant position within European economic system through their political and economic rivalries outside their countries, which represented by the system of mercantilism during that time. Mercantilism system was based on the premise that nation states were in competition for their share of the world's wealth. However, contemporary sociologists and historians would indicate the advent of European colonialism to the East was virtually represented by the ideology of "Social Darwinism".

Another economic force that contributed to the advent of European colonization from West to East was the commercial agricultural product: spices (Donkin 2003). New agricultural products such as tea, areca, clove, nutmeg, sandalwood, tobacco, coffee, sugar cane, pineapple and rubber have created the need for new markets and new sources of wealth; while the wealth could be made in supplying these new agricultural products. However, the accesses of these new agricultural products were on the hands of merchants by Indian, Middle Eastern and Eastern Mediterranean. In order to take the whole control on this business, the Europe's outward expansion had taken place around that time due to plunder of unlimited opportunities for their trade businesses and monarchs in Asia.[1] Under these economic forces, the first and second

[1] See also Turnbull (1972), Baker (1999) and Mispari and Abdul Wahab (2003).

European countries came to Southeast Asia were the Spaniards and the Portuguese, followed by the Dutch and British in later during sixteenth century. The first part of Malaya peninsular which comes into being as the European colony was Malacca. The first European colonial intervened in Malacca was Portuguese. In 1511, Portuguese had conquered the Malacca city as a strategic base, while Straits of Malacca as the commercial traffic for the Portuguese trade business and economic expansion in the East Indies. However, the Dutch had defeated the Portuguese and captured Malacca in 1641 with the help of the Sultan of Johor.[1] Later, there was another Europe country had made an attempt to establish itself in the trade business of Southeast Asia during seventeenth century: England, which represented by a join stock company, "England East India Company".[2]

A British historian, Linda Colley has explained the substitution of the term "England" to "British". According to Colley, the Napoleonic Wars ran from 1803 to 1815 had reconditioned the England culture and national identity of English people by fostering a concept of "Britishness" and a united national identity of "British" which shared altogether between English with Scottish and Welsh. As a direct result of the Napoleonic wars, the British Empire became the foremost world power for the nineteenth century (see Colley 1992). Moreover, the success of British in the First Opium War (1839-1842) and her acquisition of Hong Kong further consolidated its leading position in the East Asian trade (see Greenberg 1951).

During nineteenth century, the whole Southeast Asia was divided among European powers, such as French ruling Indo-China (including present Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos and northern part of Malaysia); Dutch ruling western Java (present Indonesia), Spain ruling Philippine, and British ruling over the peninsular of Malaya, except Thailand.[3] The considerations of British to expand their base in Southeast Asia were due to defense and protect their trade route from India colonies to China.[4] The

[1] See Ahamd Fawzi and Sakdan (2002).
[2] See *Annual Reports of the Straits Settlements, 1855-1941* (Jarman 1998: Vol. 1).
[3] See Mispari and Abdul Wahab (2003).
[4] See Turnbull (1972: 1-10) and Wu (2003: 27).

founding of Penang and Singapore as British settlements in 1786 and 1819 had brought a great implication to the expansion of British influences in the whole Malaya peninsular.

3.2 The Formation of British Malaya: Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Unfederated Malay States

The Straits Settlements was formed by the Great Britain since eighteenth century, represented by the "British East India Company" which aimed to look for a favorable base in Southeast Asia due to protect their eastern trade routes and trading empire in India colonies. British first became involved with Malay politics in 1771 when it tried to set up a trading port in Penang, an Island which formerly a part of Kedah. During 1786, with the trickery of Francis Light, Sultan of Kedah had rent the Penang Island to Francis light in return for their help against Bugis's attack by yearly taxes. Therefore, Penang has ceded to the hand of British East India Company by Sultan of Kedah with rent of 30,000 Spanish dollars per year. Subsequently, Penang has become the first British settlements in Malay Peninsular.[1] According to Mispari and Abdul Wahab (2003), Stamford Raffles has founded the almost uninhabited island, Singapore as the second settlement in 1819 by virtue of treaty. Consequently, Singapore was ceded by Sultan of Johor to British with the rent of 3, 000 Spanish dollars per year.

Since 1641, Malacca has been captured by Dutch as a Dutch colony. During the Napoleonic Wars in the early nineteenth century, Malacca and other Dutch holdings in Southeast Asia were under the care of the British due to prevent the French powers from claiming the Dutch possessions. When Napoleonic Wars ended in 1815, Malacca was returned to Dutch. In 1824, British and Dutch had signed a treaty called "Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824", which also known as "Treaty of London 1824". This treaty had legally transferred Malacca to British colonization based on a deal of British to exchange its settlements in Sumatra with Dutch. This treaty also officially

[1] See Nathan (1922) and Mispari and Abdul Wahab (2003).

divided the Malay world in the archipelago into two separate entities: Java by Dutch while Malaya peninsular by British.[1]

Basically, the Straits Settlements were formed primarily in 1826 by the amalgamation of the three Settlements of Singapore (including Christmas Island and Cocos-Keeling group[2]), Penang (including Province Wellesley), and Malacca. In 1874, the Dindings (consisting of some islands near the mouth of the Perak River and a small piece of territory on the adjoining mainland) were ceded by Perak to the Straits Settlements under the "Pangkor Treaty of 1874". The settlement of Dindings were administered under the settlements of Penang during British colonization period, but later were transferred to the government of Perak since 1935 due to the Dindings has been proven unimportant both politically and financially; where its harbor have been doomed to disappointment (Del Tufo 1949: 8). In 1906, Labuan[3], an island located off the northwest coast of Borneo has become the fourth settlement of Straits Settlements. It is important to note that British colonials did not apply any military intervention in the possession of Straits Settlements in Malay Peninsular, but lots of political tricks and traps to get Penang, Singapore and Malacca as their settlements.[4]

In the early stage of the establishment of Straits Settlements, Singapore and Penang were almost inhabited islands when they came under the rule of "British East India Company". Therefore, British colonials in Straits Settlements must rely upon the importation of Indian and Chinese as labors for their settlements. In order to enable the European merchants- as main profit maker of Straits Settlements- to prosper, "British East India Company" has implemented the principle of free trade

[1] See Mispari and Abdul Wahab (2003).
[2] The Cocos Keeling Islands lie about midway between Java and Australia, and were discovered in 1609 by Captain Keeling while on a voyage from Batavia to the Cape. This islands formerly governed from Ceylon, there were in 1882 transferred to the Government of the Straits Settlements. Christmas Island lies about 190 miles south of Java, and is 62 square miles in area. The island was practically uninhabited till 1895, when large deposits of lime were discovered which have since been extensively worked by a company employing imported Chinese labor (Nathan 1922: 1).
[3] Labuan was transferred from the Government of the British North Borneo Company to that of the Straits Settlements in 1906. The population consist almost entirely Borneo Malays and immigrant Chinese (Nathan 1922: 2).
[4] See Mispari and Abdul Wahab (2003: 23).

and light taxation in Straits Settlements, such as Penang. However, commitment in Straits Settlements in return has brought an expensive administrative burden to the "British East India Company" since the company was based in Calcutta, India, which is far way from Straits Settlements. Therefore, the Straits Settlements has used to call as "the East India Company's most incongruous offspring" (Turnbull 1972: 1). Due to save the administrative expenses, "British East India Company" have created a tradition of light central government by established a simple and inexpensive policy towards Straits Settlements. However, simple policies are not effective enough to control the large fluctuating labor population, which mostly are Chinese who came in the early nineteenth century. In order to overcome these difficulties, European merchants have succeeded in persuading the British colonial government to transfer the Straits Settlements to the direct rule of the Crown in 1867, due to enhance the protection for their trade business.[1] Therefore, the Straits Settlements were transferred from the control of Indian Government to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London on 1st April 1867.[2]

Before the middle of nineteenth century, British has managed the valuable tin mines in some of the Malay States, for instance, Sungai Ujong in Negeri Sembilan which rent from the Malay Sultans in taxes payment. Despite the demand in tin was gradually increased in the world market, however, British was practiced a policy of "non-intervention" towards the Native States or Malay States in peninsular of Malaya before the 1870s. However, the exactions broke out within the tin mine areas of Sungai Ujong and Segamat in Johor during 1850s had further convinced British colonials to play a more active role in the Malay states.[3] There was another factor further convinced British to intervene into the Malay States: protection of British economic interest, such as the supply for raw materials i.e. tin, iron and gold. It can be observed from the statements by Governor, St. George in the annual report of Straits Settlements, 1873:

[1] Refer to Turnbull, C.M. (1972). *The Straits Settlements 1826-1867: Indian Presidency to Crown Colony*. London: Oxford University Press. pp. 1-5.
[2] See *Annual Reports of the Straits Settlements, 1855-1941*(Jarman 1998: Vol.1), pp. v-vi.
[3] See *Annual Reports of the Straits Settlements, 1855-1941*(Jarman 1998: Vol.1), pp. 19.

> It was sought to obtain by a change of Government such an influence over the neighbouring Native States as the large commerce of the Settlements seemed to demand. Owing to causes, purely local, some of the Native States on the Westward of the Peninsular have been in a state of a great anarchy. But whilst a policy of non-interference in purely internal quarrels has been pursued, the influence exercised over these States by British Authority is no less than it has hitherto been (Jarman 1998: Vol.2, 207).

As the result, three earliest Malays States which full of tin have came under British protection and administration with the advice of British residents were Perak, Selangor and Sungai Ujong during late 1874.[1]

There was an incident led to the intervention of the British into the Malay States in 1874: Larut wars.[2] According to Andaya and Andaya (1982: 207), the frequent wars in Larut between Chinese secret societies and Malay allies had been one of the reasons for intervention in 1874. Governor Clarke was quick to seize the long-awaited opportunity provided by the signing of "Pangkor Treaty of 1874". Under this treaty, three British commissioners were dispatched to Perak to supervise the dismantling of Larut wars which had been disrupted the tin trade, included Frank Swettenham, who spoke good Malay; William Pickering, who was fluent in Chinese; and J. W. W. Birch.[3] By the beginning of 1875, the development of residential system has been taken in Perak:

> The appearance of indirect rule, of British advice to ruler and his court, was maintained by the institution of a State Council, which became the sole legislative body. It consisted of about ten individuals: the ruler, selected princes and chiefs, a restricted representation from the Chinese community and the Resident. But it was the Resident who nominated the members, who were then approved by the Governor and then formally appointed by Sultan, usually for life. The Residents was the effective ruler since the Council met only about seven times a year. On these occasions, while the Regent or Sultan formally presided, the Resident prepared the agenda and, after consultation, especially with the Governor, proposed the legislation to be discussed. Although the Council did provide a useful sounding board for public opinion, especially on matters affecting the Malays, its direct influence on legislation was limited (Andaya & Andaya 1982: 173).

[1] See *Annual Reports of the Straits Settlements, 1855-1941*(Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 514.
[2] See also Blythe (1969: 6), and Andaya and Andaya (1982: 157-158).
[3] Ibid.

Therefore, here we perceive the general administrations and legislations of Malay states were in the hands of British colonial which conducted in accordance with Resident's advice and discussion; while "religion and customs" of Malays was excluded from British control.[1]

Although there were no plenteous returns from these three Malay States during 1877 to 1881, British colonial government still insists to administrate these states due to the battle of Western European powers in the archipelago.[2] There were different European powers ruling over different region in Southeast Asia during nineteenth century, included French, Dutch and Spaniards. One common interpretation of the British intervention into Malay States was British concerning about the richness of natural resources in Malay Peninsular i.e. tin, gold, iron and coal will targeted by other western colonial; thus, British decided to adopt a "policy of intervention" (Mispari & Abdul Wahab 2003: 55- 64). Andaya and Andaya (1982) did explain the British intervention in Malay States during nineteenth century. According to Andaya and Andaya (1982), Malay States were lack of strong leadership in determining the success in mining industry, thus the need to establish law and order in Malay States became a celebrated rationale for British involvement in the peninsular of Malaya (Andaya & Andaya 1982: 143-150). In the process of British intervention, British colonial has applied an indirect rule -State-by State Intervention- due to maintain the relationships between Malay Sultans and British colonials (Baker 1999: 136). Consequently, British authority has been formalized in separate administrative units which became known by the unified term "British Malaya"[3], included: Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Unfederated Malay States, such as table 3.1.

The formation period and states among these administrative units were different. The Straits Settlements were formed during 1826 to 1946, consisted of Singapore

[1] See also Andaya and Andaya (1982: 157-175).
[2] See *Annual Reports of the Strait Settlements, 1877- 1881* regarding on "revenue" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 95-561.
[3] See also Andaya and Andaya (1982: 157).

(including Christmas Island and Cocos-Keeling group), Penang (including Province Wellesley and Dindings), Malacca, and Labuan. Federated Malay States was formed and composed of the state of Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang from 1895 to 1946. On the other hand, the suzerainty over state of Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan and Terengganu was transferred by Siam to British after signing the treaty of "Bangkok Treaty of 1909". Subsequently, the Unfederated Malay States was formed by the state of Johor, Kedah, Kelantan, Terengganu and Perlis from 1909 until 1946.

Table 3.1: Administrative Units of British Malaya, 1826-1946.[1]

Administrative Unit (Model)	States	Period
Straits Settlements (Crown Colony; under direct control by the Colonial Office in London)	1.Singapore (including Christmas Island and Cocos-Keeling group) 2. Penang (including Province Wellesley and Dindings*) 3. Malacca 4. Labuan	1826-1946
Federated Malay States (Dependant regions under British control by "Resident")	1. Perak 2. Selangor 3. Negeri Sembilan 4. Pahang	1895-1946
Unfederated Malay States (Under indirectly control by "British Advisor")	1. Kedah 2. Perlis 3. Kelantan 4. Terengganu 5. Johor	1909-1946

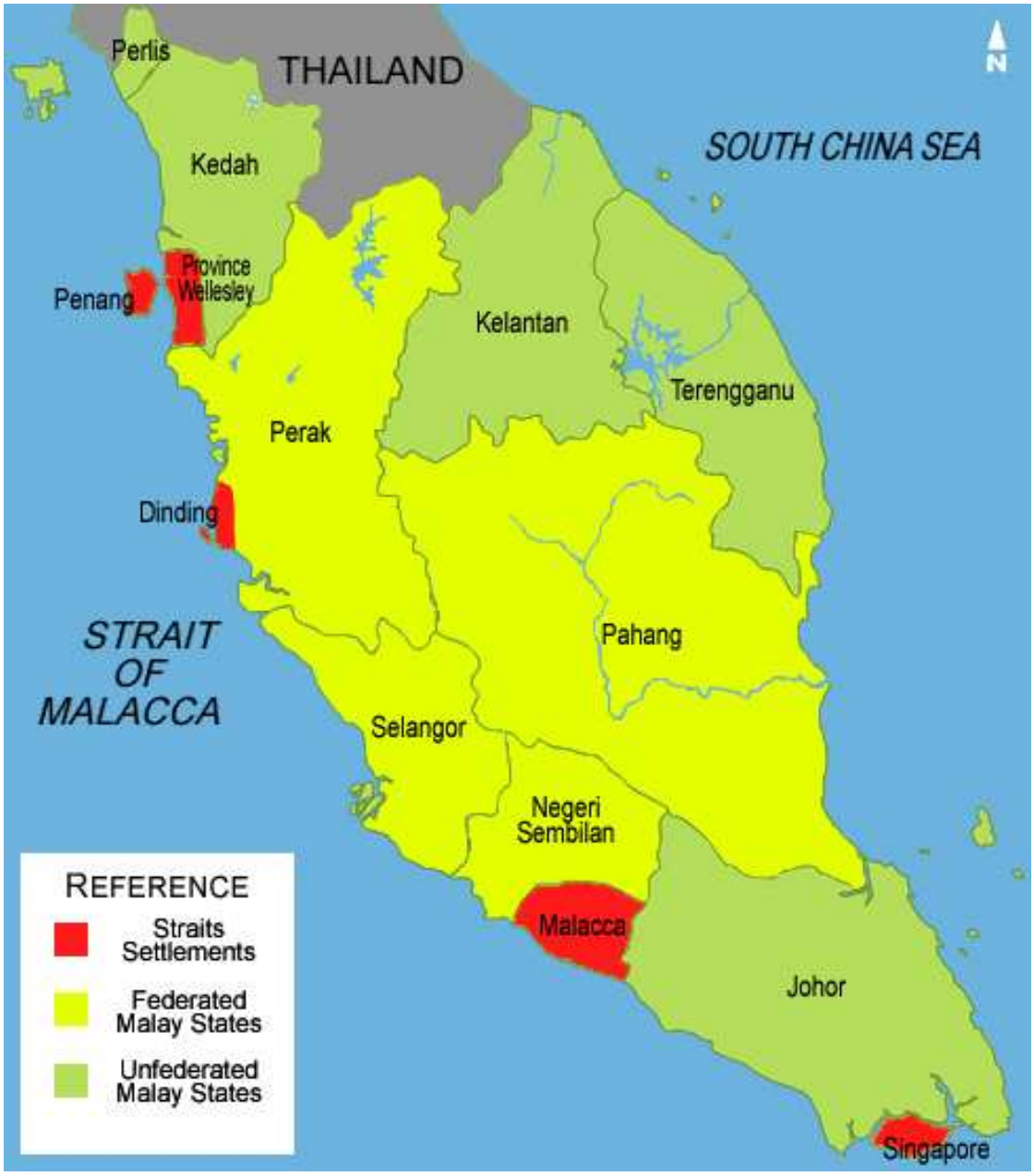
There might be a rank of economic significance that can be observed from the models of these administrative units, in which Straits Settlements as a Crown Colony; Federated Malay States as a dependant regions under British administration by the control of a British resident in each state; and the states of Unfederated Malay States were under indirectly control by British colonial advisor, which had less influence than the resident. The administration units and models of British Malaya have

[1] Sources: Heidheus, M.S, 2000. *Southeast Asia: a concise history*. New York: Thames and Hudson; Moese, Reinknecht and Schmitz-Seißer, 1979. *Chinese regionalism in West-Malaysia and Singapore.* Kuala Lumpur: Hamburg ; Masariah & Johara, 2003. *Sejarah tingkatan 2: buku teks (text book of history, form 2)*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. See also Wong (2009: 5).
* Transferred to the government of Perak since 1935.

remained unchanged until 1946, after the end of Second World War (included the time of Japanese occupation of Malaya from 1942 until 1945). Whereas the commission of the Colonial Office already planned to abolish the co-existence of these different administrative models in 1943, while Malaya was during the Japanese occupation.[1] Subsequently, after the end of Second World War in 1946, the Straits Settlements were dismantled and four settlements had gone with their separate ways. Singapore became as a free port and remains as a separate Colony; while Penang and Malacca combine together with Federated Malay States and Unfederated Malay States as "Malayan Union". On the other hand, Labuan islands have become part of the "British North Borneo". During 1948, a centralized institution, "Federation of Malaya" finally adopted to replace Malayan Union. At the same time, an "Emergency" policy has implemented and lasted for twelve years to antagonize with the underground communist guerillas. During 1948 to 1960, a large-scale of resettlement program of Chinese population was carried out from the rural place. On 31st August of 1957, "Federation of Malaya" had gained its independence. In 16th September of 1963, the "Federation of Malaya" and British colonized areas, included Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak (formerly "British North Borneo") has established as the state of "Malaysia". After two years, Singapore has left Malaysia and became an independent state on 8th of August, 1965.[2]

According to the general description of "British Malaya" in *The Census of British Malaya 1921*, Brunei which lies opposite Labuan on the north coast of Borneo also under control of British Malaya since 1888; after the Sultan Brunei agreed that British should control his foreign relations. In 1905, Brunei became one of the states of the Unfederated Malay States when a British resident was appointed to Brunei in order to advise and assist in their administration under a further agreement (see Nathan 1922: 4). However, Brunei was excluded from the Unfederated Malay States in my thesis. Map 3.1 shows the colonies of British Malaya during nineteenth century.

[1] See Moese, Reinknecht and Schmitz-Seißer (1979: 158).
[2] See Jarman (1998: Vol.1). See also Mispari and Abdul Wahab (2003), Ahmad Fawzi and Sakdan (2002), and Ramlah and Abdul Hakim (2004).



Map 3.1: The Colonies of British Malaya in 19th century.

Table 3.2: The Areas of each Settlements and State in British Malaya.[1]

Settlement or State	Area (square miles)
Straits Settlements	**1599.7**
Singapore	307.9
Penang	571.3
Malacca	720.5
Federated Malay States	**27648**
Perak	7875
Selangor	3195
Negeri Sembilan	2572
Pahang	14006
Unfederated Malay States	**23355**
Johor	7678
Kedah	3648
Kelantan	5713
Terengganu	6000
Perlis	316
British Malaya	**52602.7**

According to *the Census of British Malaya 1921*, the total area of British Malaya is 52602 square miles in area, and the areas of each Settlements and States in British Malaya are stating in table 3.2. The area of Straits Settlements is 1599.7 square miles, consisted 307.9 square miles in area of Singapore, 571.3 square miles of Penang and 720.5 square miles in area of Malacca; the area of the Federated Malays States is 27648 square miles, while Perak is 7875 square miles in area, Selangor is 3195 square miles in area, Negeri Sembilan is 2572 square miles in area, and Pahang is the largest in Federated Malay States, which is 14006 square miles in area. The area of the Unfederated Malay States is 23355 square miles, consisted 7678 square miles area in Johor, 5713 square miles area in Kelantan, 6000 square miles area in Terengganu, 3648 square miles area in Kedah, and 316 square miles area in Perlis. The major change instituted by the British in their aim to develop a profitable colonial export economy in Malaya were the establishment of an effective administrative

[1] Source: Nathan, J. E. (1922). *The Census of British Malaya 1921: The Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Protected States of Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Brunei*. London: Waterlow and Son Limited. pp. vi.

system, assurance of security, and the establishment of an infrastructure.[1] But perhaps the most significant consequence provided by the British colonial department in Malaya was the formation of "plural society".[2] In the segment that follows, the relation of Chinese immigrant the first, while later the Indian immigrant labor were allowed to enter Malaya due to prosper the various export industries will be indicated, particularly in the industry of tin mining, rubber and other commercial agricultural products.

3.3 Domination of Commercial Agriculture and Tin Mining in Making of Plural Society.

Under the colonization of British during nineteenth century, demand of tin and rubber have play an important role in British Malaya's export earnings and further contributed to the formation of immigrant society due to the mass importation of Indian and Chinese labor from India and China to Malay Peninsular. However, the industry of tin mining and rubber plantation had contributed its importance in different period, which tin mines had been carried on in Malaya since 1820s, while the rubber industry was purely a British creation during early years of twentieth century with the coming of automobile.[3]

Generally, British had emphasized on three kinds of industry in Malaya: tin industry, lumber industry, and industry of commercial agriculture.[4] Industry of commercial agriculture consisted of the agricultural products growing, such as pepper, nutmeg, gambier or areca, sugar cane, pineapple, clove, cassava, coffee and so forth (Mispari & Abdul Wahab 2003). Among these commercial agriculture products, pepper and gambier has been first cultivated in Malaya during the early nineteenth century in Johor. Demand for pepper and gambier has brought the Chinese pioneer labors to Johor. Between 1818 and 1825, there were a large Teochew community in

[1] See also Mispari and Abdul Wahab (2003) and Andaya and Andaya (1982).
[2] See also Chai (1967), Sadka (1968) and Mispari and Abdul Wahab (2003)
[3] See also Purcell (1967), Stenson (1980), Mispari and Abdul Wahab (2003).
[4] See Mispari and Abdul Wahab (2003: 135-146)

Riau and Singapore for the cultivation and development of trade system for pepper and gambier (see Yen 1986: 120). Purcell (1967) stated, "Those Chinese pioneer who could satisfy the Malay authorities as to their means were allowed to form settlements, each up some named river, for the planting of pepper and gambier, and the titles which they received from the Malay ruler were called simply '*Surat Sungai*' (river documents)" (Purcell 1967: 100). The owner or master of such a river was *kangchu*, the whole system therefore became *kangchu* system.[1] The *kangchu* system continued until 1917 when it was abolished (Purcell 1967: 101).

When reached the 1850s, British colonial has shifted to the plantation of new agricultural products such as rubber, coffee, palm, nutmeg, coconut, sugar cane, tobacco, tea and so forth in their settlements.[2] The annual reports of the Straits Settlements during 1855 has recorded the sugar and spices are the chief products of Penang Exports, while the quantities of sugar exported from Penang were 44728 *pikul*, 48510 *pikul*, 54,888 *pikul*, 56875 *pikul* and 69352 *pikul* during 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853 and 1854, to which the manufacture was carried on with European science and skills, and Chinese labor.[3] On the other hand, the annual report of Straits Settlements in 1860 also recorded there were 68402 square acres, 337277 square acres and 143947 square acres land of cultivation in Penang, Malacca and Singapore, while the average annual value of the agricultural productions (included areca nut, coconut, fruits, paddy, pineapple, pepper, spice, sago, sugar cane etc) in these three municipals of the Straits Settlements were 1372466 Spanish dollars in Province Wellesley and 3836 Spanish dollars in Penang; 1720515 Spanish dollars in Malacca; and 353808 Spanish dollars in Singapore.[4]

The natural resources and agricultural products in British Malaya has provided impetus to the trade business of the Straits Settlements to following countries,

[1] See also Moese, Reinknecht and Schmitz-Seißer (1979: 160-162) and Andaya and Andaya (1982: 140).
[2] See *Report on the administration of Penang and Straits Settlements during the year 1881, 1901 and 1902*, see Jarman (1998: Vol.2), pp. 532-535; (1998: Vol.5), pp. 6, 69-72.
[3] See *Annual Reports of the Straits Settlements, 1855-1867*(Jarman 1998: Vol.1), pp. 31.
[4] See *Annual Reports of the Straits Settlements, 1855-1867*(Jarman 1998: Vol. 1), pp. 301.

included Great Britain, North America, India, Australia, China, Siam, Java, Rhio, Bally, Ceylon, Arabia, Egypt and Mauritius.[1] According to the *Annual Report of Straits Settlements* during 1865 to 1866, there were 1730 vessels with 738083 tonnage arrived in the Singapore harbor; 688 vessels with 181370 tonnage arrived in Penang harbor; and 405 vessels with 68616 tonnage arrived in Malacca harbor. In the same year, the vessel number of the departure were 1706 vessels with 674087 tonnage, 510 vessels with 166357 tonnage and 405 vessels with 68616 tonnage departed from Singapore, Penang and Malacca harbor.[2] On the other hand, *Annual Reports of the Straits Settlements* during 1866 to 1867 also recorded that the value of the exports for Europe was increased, such as tin, gambier, sago, black and white pepper, coffee, gutta-percha, rattans etc produced in Straits Settlements and Malay States.[3] The value of the exports to Great Britain has increased, principally in tin and black pepper. The principal articles of the exports to North America have been tin, black pepper, gutta-percha, nutmegs and mace, rattans, hides, sugar, arrowroot and tapioca; to Calcutta, the exports have been principally treasure and piece goods; and to Bombay were almost entirely spices. Opium, piece goods, and rice have been exported to China; while the exports to Manila have been chiefly iron, and piece goods. Besides, the principal exports to Java, Rhio and Bally have been the English piece goods, iron and copperware, and opium.[4] The famous products in the states of Malaya has flourished the exports trade of Straits Settlements, and the articles exported from Malacca to Great Britain, the Continent of Europe, and United States were gambier, tin, sago flour, pearl sago, black pepper, white pepper, gutta-percha, nutmeg, coffee, sapan-wood, rattans, hides, teel seed, cassia, sugar, India rubber, rice, horns, Malacca canes, dragoon's blood, cutch, dammar, tea, antimony ore, sticklac, tortoise shell, tapioca, gambouge, clove, rum, gum Benjamin and camphor.[5]

The alluvial deposits of tin have been discovered in the Malay peninsular as early as the fifteenth century, where found in the north of Malacca (Chen 1967: 89).

[1] *Annual Reports of the Straits Settlements, 1855-1867* (Jarman 1998: Vol.1).
[2] *Annual Reports of the Straits Settlements, 1855-1867* (Jarman 1998: Vol.1), pp. 760-763.
[3] See *Annual Reports of the Straits Settlements, 1855-1941* (Jarman 1998: Vol.1), pp. 767-769.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

In the early of nineteenth century, the peninsular of Malaya is one of the famous tin producing countries in the world and further leaded to the British intervention, the mass migration of Chinese labors and the incoming of Europeans capital towards the development of this industry. According to Andaya and Andaya (1982: 210), a major development in the tin industry was the discovery in Perak of a major tin field in Larut during 1848, and another in Kinta by 1880.[1] Before the 1820s, labors who dominant in the field of tin mining were principally Malays by using their traditional way: *dulang.* While reach the 1820s, tin was largely dominated by Chinese and European in Lukut, Sungai Ujong, Larut, and Klang which operated by renting the tin mines from *pembesar Melayu*.[2] According to Purcell (1967), there was a group of Chinese pioneer labor resided in tin mining areas before the discovery of rich deposit of tin in Larut. Later the discovery of rich deposits in Larut during 1848 has subsequently affected the Chinese miners flocked to the field in large numbers. In the mean time, the discovery of new mines in Kuala Lumpur, such as Ampang and Lembah Kinta also further contributed the mass migration of Chinese into the field of tin mining in Selangor during late nineteenth (Mispari and Abdul Wahab 2003: 136). However, the increase in the importance of machinery technology by the introduction of the European methods, *kapal korek* (dredge) in the 1920s as against Chinese methods, such as open-cast mining, *pam kelikir* (gravel-pumps) and *palong* (flume), the tin mining areas have been largely arrested by the European companies since 1931. Figure 3.1 as below shows the ownership of European and Chinese in Malaya tin production during 1910 to 1938 (see appendices seven). It can be observed from the figure that the tin production in Malaya has gradually granted by the Europeans since the late 1920s.

[1] See also Purcell (1967: 194-208) and Mispari and Abdul Wahab (2003: 135).
[2] See also Purcell (1967: 235-239) and Mispari and Abdul Wahab (2003: 135).

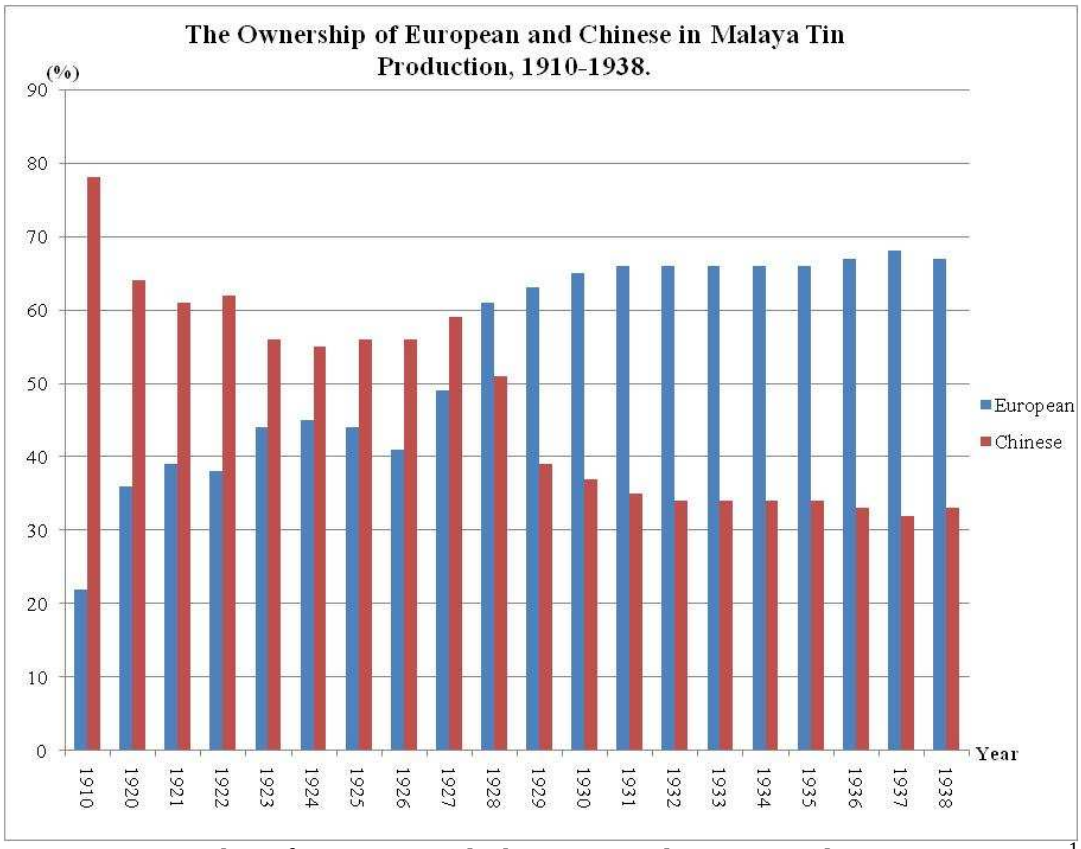
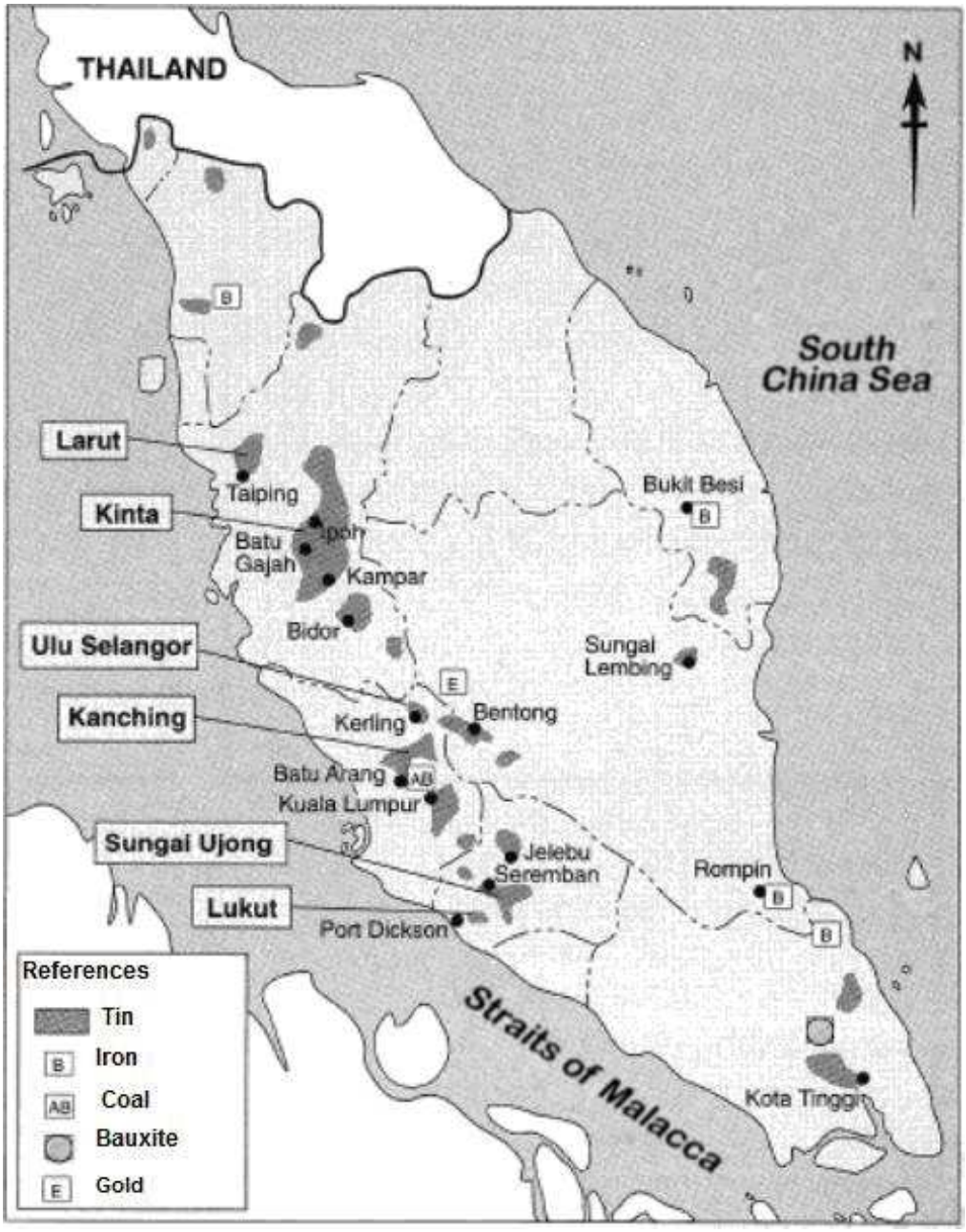


Figure 3.1: Ownership of European and Chinese in Malaya Tin production, 1910-1938.[1]

Map 3.2 is showing the distribution of mining areas in the early twentieth century of Malaya, included tin, iron, coal, bauxite and gold. The map shows that largely of tin mines have based in the Federated Malay States, such as Larut, Kinta, Taiping, Ipoh, Batu Gajah, Bidor and Kampar in Perak; Ulu Selangor and Kanching in Selangor, and Lukut and Sungai Ujong in Negeri Sembilan. Besides, there were also the discoveries of rich deposits in Bentong, Pahang and Kota Tinggi in Johor.

[1] Source: See appendix seven.



Map 3.2: The Distribution of Mining Areas in the Early Twentieth Century of Malaya.[1]

[1] Reference: Mispari & Abdul Wahab. 2003. *Sejarah Tingkatan 2: Buku Teks (Text Book of History, Form 2)*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. pp134. Certain Malay language in the original map has been changed to English. See also Wong (2009: 9), 張翰璧、黃靖雯 (2009: 13).

Map 3.3: The Distribution of Rubber Plantation Areas in Twentieth Century.[1]

During the nineteenth century, there were two important innovations further contributed to the great demand for rubber: the discovery of vulcanization, and the invention of pneumatic tyre; due to the invention of vehicle in United States and Europe countries during early twentieth century (Lim 2004). While reached the 1920s,

[1] Reference: Mispari & Abdul Wahab. 2003. *Sejarah Tingkatan 2: Buku Teks (Text Book of History, Form 2).* Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. pp131. Certain Malay language in the original map has been changed to English.

Malaya has eventually become the largest exporter for the rubber exportation. The total output of Malaya rubber has occupied 53 percent or 196000 tonnage of the total world production; by 1937, Malaya had about 5322518 acres of land under rubber trees and being estates, and the net export of the rubber during the same year was 681638 tons (Purcell 1967: 240). According to Mispari and Abdul Wahab (2003), there were six factors further encouraging to the widespread of rubber cultivation in Malaya, such as the declining of market price for coffee; great demand of rubber in the international to produce tyres, clothes, wires, and medical tools; cheap labor from India; light system of taxation on land and exportation trade in Malaya; huge investments from European capital to Malaya, such as *Sime Darby*, *Guthrie*, *Harrisons and Crosfield* and *United Plantations*; and lastly, the invention of "system ibidem" of rubber tapping by H.N. Ridley (see Mispari & Abdul Wahab 2003: 131-133). H. N. Ridley, who was the head of Botanical Garden in Singapore, was the first person to introduce better way of rubber tapping by "ibidem" tapping in the early nineteenth century (Lim 1967). Map 3.3 shows the distribution of rubber plantation areas in twentieth century were mainly cultivated in the West Coast of Malaya, particularly in the states of Selangor, Johor, Perak and Negeri Sembilan.

The availability of a pool of cheap labor was a crucial key in the development of economic in eighteenth to nineteenth century British Malaya, especially in the agricultural plantation and tin prospecting industry. Despite the most logical source of labor would have been the indigenous population of Malays and aborigines in Malaya, however, British colonial has excluded Malays and aboriginal people of Malaya from these industries for certain reason which stated in the *Report on the administration of the Straits Settlements during the year 1855-56:*

> The Malayan peasantry are slothful, ignorant, and unenterprising, difficult to wean from old habits and ideas, living unsociably, not in towns and villages, but in separate detached Compongs. With all this, they have a high sense of honor, and are, at all times, ready to support their Chiefs, when they believe the hereditary rights and possessions of these Chiefs to be unjustly assailed, and even the wretched little district of Segamet, whose very position and boundaries are almost unknown, might, if attacked by the Tumonggong with an armed force, cause a rising of the neighboring States and districts in its defence. To the arbitrament and decision of British Government, they will readily submit,

> provided they be satisfied that the decision is the result of enquiry and discussion, and not the mere prompting of any interested party. It become necessary, in these cases, to be cautions in the exercise of any interference. (Jarman 1998: Vol.1, 20).

On the other hand, in 1870, the Governor of Straits Settlements, Lieutenant E.W. Shaw has recorded his observation towards Malays "the Malays is a lazy man, and prefers a feudal life among his own people with the occasional excitement of fighting for their chiefs and sharing the spoil, to the quite of a village life under our protection".[1] Above quotations have explained the reason of British colonials to exclude Malays to play major role in providing the labors need to develop Malaya economy. Simultaneously, it also can be observed that the labor requirement by British administration in Malaya was dependent on the economic consideration of less trouble, less disturbance but high productivity. Instead, British colonial had encouraged the importation of labor from China and India.

Table 3.3: Economic Pattern in British Malaya.[2]

Pattern / Dimension	Traditional-Economic	Commercial-Economic
Form	Autarky	Export trade
Scope	Small capital	International capital flows
Technique	Traditional tools	Advanced technique and machines
Labor Capital	None. Normally manage among family members	Depends on large number of labors and immigrants
Industry	Fishing and rice growing	Tin mining and rubber
Race	Malays	European, Chinese and Indian

Mispari and Abdul Wahab (2003) have outlined a very concise table regarding on the economic pattern in British Malaya: traditional-economic and commercial-economic, as table 3.3. Table 3.3 shows the "form", "scope", "technique", "labor capital", "industry" and "race" of traditional-economic and commercial-economic are

[1]See *Annual Reports of the Straits Settlements during 1869*, (Jarman 1998: Vol. 2), pp. 60.
[2] Source: Mispari and Abdul Wahab, 2003. *Sejarah Tingkatan 2: Buku Teks (Text Book of History, Form 2)*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. pp. 141. See also Wong (2009: 25), 張翰璧、黃靖雯 (2009: 7).

different. This table has demonstrated the development of tin and rubber industry by British not only as a crucial factor contributed to the importation of Chinese and Indian labor, however, it also further boosted the exclusion of Malays and aborigines from tin mining and rubber industry.

On the other hand, British land policy also had an impact to Malays economic role and position in Malaya. In the beginning of the 1850s, the appointment of Mr. Moniot as Surveyor General in the Straits Settlements has enabling the Land Offices to prepare the titles for land for two reasons: to increase the source of land revenue in Straits Settlements; and tended to promote the agricultural cultivation throughout the settlements by placing the specific titles of land.[1] In the 1910s, Malays leader became concerned about the booming economy in Malaya would strip the Malays from the only one asset they had: land. But in the mean time, British colonial also concerned the booming o land prices would encourage the Malays to sell their land to other foreign and immigrant interests, which may bring the bad influences to Malaya's economic. To stop this from happening, the "Malay Reservation Enactment of 1913" was created, strengthened by significant portions of each states were set as Malay reserve land which ownership only by the Malays.[2] According to Baker (1999), this British order has brought an unintended consequence to Malays. The land policy of British had stipulated the Malay reserve lands could only use for agriculture purpose; or more precisely, the land could only use for rice growing. Baker pointed, "as the Malays began to plant rubber and other commercial crops, the authorities, fearing a drop in food production, created new legislation that made it illegal to use rice land for other agricultural purposes" (Baker 1999: 198).

The involvement of Malays in the industry of rice growing can be referred from the census reports of British. Census of 1931 has clearly shown that there were 78009 persons (44421 males and 33588 females) engaged in the industry of rice growing in Federated Malay States, but the Indian rice growers were just 1892 persons (1689

[1] See *Annual Report of the Straits Settlements, 1855* (Jarman 1998: Vol.1), pp. 15.
[2] See Baker (1999: 196-199).

males and 203 females) while the Chinese only 1038 (including 77 females). The reason for the small number of the non-Malays races join in this industry was caused by the policy of Malay Land Reservations and the non-alienation of rice land to Chinese and Indians by British colonial. It is alike, in the Unfederated Malay States. The proportion of the Indian and Chinese rice grower were only 5888 Chinese, and Indians even were not separately enumerated, if compare to 159861 Malays rice grower. On the other hand, though the rice land in the Straits Settlements was small, there were 2877 Malays, 84 Indian, and 322 Chinese rice planters.[1] From this, it is obvious to see that the Malays were not only stick with the production of rice and traditional crops, but continue remained rural due to the land policy of British Malaya. It thus reinforces the distribution of urban and rural population which divided by different races in Malaya.

The distribution of urban/rural population by different "race" can be proven by the Census of 1931.[2] In the census, the annotation of "urban" population means resident in towns of over a thousand inhabitants; while "rural" denotes all population enumerated outside these towns (Vlieland 1932: 44). In addition, this census has shown that there were 123 towns in Malaya with populations over 1,000; 30 towns with over 5,000 inhabitants; 18 with over 10,000 inhabitants; 6 with over 25,000; 4 with over 50,000 and 3 with populations over 100,000 during 1931.

The population of principal towns in Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Unfederated Malay States during 1911, 1921 and 1931 are listed as table 3.4. There were four principal towns in the Straits Settlements, included municipals of Singapore, Penang, Malacca, and the new port, Butterworth. The large increased of population in Straits Settlements were primarily resulted by the immigration, followed by the rubber planting. On the other hand, the principal towns of Federated Malay States were Ipoh, Kampar, Taiping, Telok Anson, Klang, Kuala Lumpur and

[1] See Vlieland, C. A. (1932). British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census and on Certain Problems of Vital Statistics. England: Office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies.
[2] Vlieland, C. A. (1932). British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census and on Certain Problems of Vital Statistics. England: Office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies. See chapter "population of town and villages". pp. 40-50.

Seremban. In addition, Johor Bharu, Bandar Maharani, Bandar Penggaram, Alor Setar, Kota Bharu and Kuala Terengganu had become the principal towns of Unfederated Malay States. The increased of population in Federated Malay States were largely resulted by the development of tin mining industry in Perak, Selangor and Negeri Sembilan; while the raise of population in Unfederated Malay States were affected by the rubber cultivation and the creation of administrative section in Johor (Vlieland 1932: 43- 48).

Table 3.4: The Population and Growth of Towns in British Malaya, 1921-1931.[1]

Town	Population			Increase (%)	
	1911	1921	1931	1911-21	1921-31
Straits Settlements					
Singapore	259610	350355	445719	35	27
Penang	101182	123069	149408	22	21
Malacca	21191	30671	38042	45	24
Butterworth	3911	4100	13540	5	230
Federated Malay States					
Ipoh	23978	36860	53183	54	44
Kampar	11604	12325	15302	6	24
Taiping	19556	21111	30070	8	42
Telok Anson	6927	10859	14671	57	35
Klang	7657	11655	20931	52	79
Kuala Lumpur	46718	80424	111418	72	39
Seremban	8667	17272	21453	99	24
Unfederated Malay States					
Johor Bharu	-	15312	21463	-	40
Bandar Maharani	-	13327	20338	-	53
Bandar Penggaram	-	6392	13329	-	109
Alor Setar	-	11596	18568	-	60
Kota Bharu	-	10833	14843	-	37
Kuala Terengganu	-	12456	13972	-	12

[1] Source: Vlieland, C.A., 1932. *British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census and on Certain Problems of Vital Statistics.* England: Office of the Crown Agents For the Colonies. pp. 46-47.

Table 3.5: The Proportion of Urban to Total Population in British Malaya, 1911-1931.[1]

States	Proportion of Urban (%)		
	1911	1921	1931
Straits Settlements	**57**	**60**	**61**
Singapore	84	83	79
Penang	44	47	52
Malacca	18	22	23
Federated Malay States	**22**	**22**	**25**
Perak	23	23	26
Selangor	28	31	34
Negeri Sembilan	14	14	16
Pahang	6	7	13
Unfederated Malay States	No figure	No figure	No figure
Johor	10	16	16
Kedah	4	7	9
Kelantan	4	4	7
Terengganu	10	11	12
Perlis	3	3	4
British Malaya	**25**	**28**	**30**

In turn, the table 3.5 shows the proportion of urban to total population of Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Unfederated Malay States during 1911, 1921 and 1931. The figures show the majority of urban population in British Malaya were based in Singapore, Penang; while follow the tin mines area, such as Perak and Selangor. Averagely, the proportion of urban population in British Malaya was gradually increasing during 1911 to 1931 which swell from 25 percent to 30 percent. The major factor contributed to the population growth of British Malaya was come from the migrant labors, particularly Chinese. The conditions of Chinese living resided in Singapore and Penang during nineteenth century can be found in some publications, such as Vaughan (1971), Lee (1978) and Song (1984).

The influx of Chinese immigrants or labors to Malaya have resulted the Chinese made up as the majority population in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay

[1] Source: Vlieland, C.A., 1932. *British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census and on Certain Problems of Vital Statistics.* England: Office of the Crown Agents For the Colonies. pp. 45.

States. It can be observed from table 3.6 that the urban population in Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States is dominantly Chinese. On the other hand, the largest component of the urban population in the Unfederated Malay States, such as Kedah, Johor and Perlis were Chinese. Despite Chinese were being everywhere in Malaya, but in the urban towns, they were the majority population compared with other races. The urban population of Indian is numerous in the towns of the Federated Malay States, even though the Indians are just formed over one-fifth of the total urban populations in each state. For Malays, Malays has became the minority in the urban towns of Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, but accounting for more than 80 percent of the urban population in East Coast of Malaya peninsular, such as Kelantan and Terengganu. In short, the urban towns of Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States are dominantly Chinese while the towns of Unfederated Malay States are still essential Malays. The distributions of these urban/rural patterns by "race" during early twentieth century in British Malaya were still remaining in the Malaysia census of 1970. The Malays who stay in the rural/urban areas in 1947, 1957 and 1970 were 93/7 percent, 89/11 percent and followed by 85/15 percent. On the other hand, The Chinese who stay in urban towns were 69 percent, 55 percent and 47 percent in 1947, 1957 and 1970. For the Indian, the Indian who resided in the rural/urban areas in Malaya were 74/26 percent, 69/31 percent and 65/35 percent in 1947, 1957 and 1970.[1]

[1] Chander, R. (1972). Banchi penduduk dan perumahan Malaysia 1970: Golongan Masyarakat (1970 Population and housing census of Malaysia: community groups). Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia: Kuala Lumpur. pp. 33.

Table 3.6: Proportion of Malays, Chinese and Indians to the Total Urban Population in 1911-1931.[1]

States	Malays (%)			Chinese (%)			Indians (%)		
	1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931
Straits Settlements	**13**	**12**	**12**	**71**	**74**	**72**	**11**	**10**	**12**
Singapore	11	10	9	75	78	76	9	7	9
Penang	16	15	15	63	65	64	17	17	18
Malacca	24	22	18	60	65	67	7	7	9
Federated Malay States	**12**	**10**	**12**	**67**	**65**	**63**	**18**	**22**	**22**
Perak	12	10	11	67	66	66	19	21	21
Selangor	11	9	11	67	63	61	18	24	23
Negeri Sembilan	14	9	10	64	69	63	16	18	21
Pahang	23	16	25	57	66	52	16	15	21
Unfederated Malay States	No figures			No figures			No figures		
Johor	40	33	29	49	53	57	7	11	11
Kedah	36	30	33	52	51	48	7	16	17
Kelantan	88	79	69	9	15	29	2	5	6
Terengganu	92	87	82	7	11	16	0	0	2
Perlis	36	27	42	48	56	45	8	1	10

[1] Source: Vlieland, C.A., 1932. *British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census and on Certain Problems of Vital Statistics*. England: Office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies. pp. 48; Del Tufo, M.V. (1949). *Malaya comprising the Federation of Malaya and the Colony of Singapore: A Report on the 1947 Census of Population*. London: Crown Agents for the Colonies. pp. 42.

As stated in the Census of 1931, it is commonplace that the growth of the population of British Malaya is mainly determined, not by birth and deaths, but by migration (Vlieland 1932: 105). The mass migration of Chinese and Indian to Malaya, and its distribution in the later were closely related with the tin mining and rubber boom in the 1850s and the early of 1900s. During 1899, the General Resident of Federated Malay States, P. A. Swettenham had proposed the direct immigration from China to the ports of Federated Malay States, included Pork Dickson, Klang and Teluk Anson due to the great demand of Chinese coolies for tin mining industry.[1] On the other hand, there were ten thousand Chinese coolies have been imported to the Federated Malay States for the employment on the rubber plantation.[2] It can be observed from the figure 3.2 and table 3.7 that the revenue of Straits Settlements has increased synchronously with the growth of immigrant population. Thus, British colonials believed that the rate of Chinese migration and the numbers of Chinese settlers was a reliable indexs of economic progress for British Malaya.[3]

Table 3.7: Revenue and Population of Straits Settlements, 1871-1931.[4]

Year	European	Eurasian	Malays	Chinese	Indian	Other	**Total**	Revenue($)
1871	2429	5772	147340	104615	33130	14811	**308097**	1405703
1881	3483	6904	174440	174327	40985	23243	**423382**	451724
1901	5058	7662	215058	281933	57150	5387	**572248**	7041595
1911	7368	8072	240206	369843	82055	6525	**714069**	11409221
1921	8149	9138	255353	498547	104628	7954	**883769**	39545735
1931	10003	11292	250864	663518	132277	11609	**1079563**	32408305

[1] CO273/250, Chinese Immigrants, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 17/2/1899; and CO273/252, Chinese Immigrants, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 14/12/1899.
[2] CO273/365, Employment of Chinese Coolies, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 24/11/1910.
[3] See Andaya and Andaya (1982: 176).
[4] Sources: *Annual Reports of the Straits Settlements* (Jarman 1998: Vol.2, 3, 5, 6, 7 & 9); *Census of 1921* (Nathan 1922: 29); *Census of 1931* (Vlieland 1932: 120-121), *Census of 1947* (Del Tufo 1949: 40).

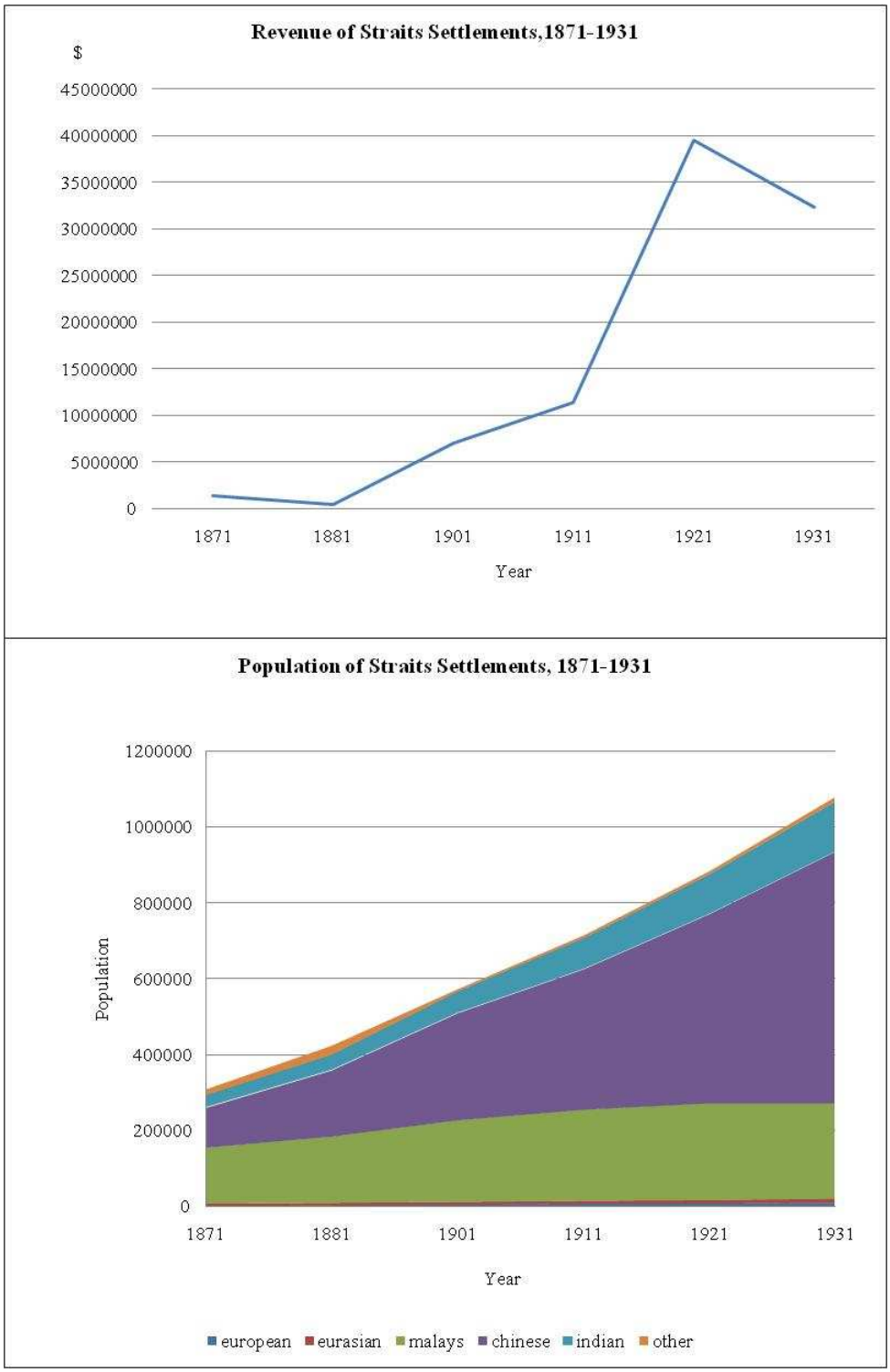


Figure 3.2: Revenue and Population of Straits Settlements, 1871-1931.[1]

[1] Sources: *Annual Reports of the Straits Settlements* (Jarman 1998: Vol.2, 3, 5, 6, 7 & 9); *Census of 1921* (Nathan 1922: 29); *Census of 1931* (Vlieland 1932: 120-121), *Census of 1947* (Del Tufo 1949: 40).

3.4 Population and Distribution in British Malaya

3.4.1 Population and Distribution: Chinese and Other Races

As mentioned in last chapter, the earliest census report of British Malaysia was taken on the 2nd April of 1871. Before the census taken by the British colonial government, the colonial officers have classified the population in Malacca based on their skin and race's color in the annual reports of the Straits Settlements during 1867 and 1870[1]:

> Of the native or coloured races the great numerical preponderance is with the Malays. Next come the Chinese, many of whom have a semi-Malayan origin, derived through six or more resident generations. Third in importance are the Tamils, or "Klings," also in great part native born, and there are a few Bugis, Arabs, and wild forest tribes known as Mantras, Jaccouns, and Orang Huban, with a sprinkling of islanders from the surrounding states.[2]

The first census report of British Malaya in 1871 had classified the population of Straits Settlements[3] by "nationality", in which included Malays, Chinese, Klings, Hindoos, Europeans, Americans, Eurasians, Javanese, and twenty one other kinds of nationalities for Eastern origin.[4] Later in 1881, the second census of Straits Settlements was taken and the classification on "nationalities" for total population have been revised and divided into six big categories: "Europeans", "Eurasians", "Malays", "Chinese", "Indians" and "Other Nationalities".[5] "Other Nationalities" had included Armenians, Aborigines of the Peninsular, Achinese, Africans, Anamese, Arabs, Boyanese, Bugis, Burmese, Dyaks, Japanese, Jawi Pekan, Jews, Manilamen, Parsees, Persians, Siamese, and Singhalese.[6] The details of census 1871 and 1881 in Straits Settlements have been demonstrated in table 2.2. On the other hand, the first

[1] See *Report on the administration of Straits Settlements, Malacca in 1867and 1870* regarding on "Population" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 19, 60.
[2] See *Report on the administration of Straits Settlements, Malacca in 1867* regarding on "Population" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 19.
[3] See *Report on the administration of Straits Settlements in 1871* regarding on "Population" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 108-109.
[4] Ibid.
[5] See *Report on the administration of Straits Settlements in 1881* regarding on "Population" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 511-513.
[6] Ibid.

census regarding on the population in Federated Malay States has been taken in 1891, and the second census was taken in 1901[1], as table 2.3. However, the earlier census of Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States in 1871, 1881, and 1891 were principally focused on population's nationalities. The classification and division of total population in British Malaya by "race" was first appeared in the 1911 census (see Nathan 1922: 29).

According to the superintendent of *The Census of British Malaya 1921*, J. E. Nathan (1922), the division of total population of British Malaya into six main "race" was principally conducted for the tabulation purposes, in which including "Europeans", "Eurasians", "Malays", "Chinese", "Indians", and "Others".[2] Later in the 1931 census report of British Malaya, the superintendent C. A. Vlieland (1932) also emphasized the classification on total population by six racial division was principally for the census purposes, while the classification of "race" divisions has been remained the same like census of 1921.[3] In the following table 3.8, the total population in 1931 of each administrative unit was divided during tabulation into six main racial divisions, "Europeans", "Eurasians", "Malays", "Chinese", "Indians", and "Others"; and it is shown together with the corresponding total population for 1921 and 1911. Table 3.8 shows the total population of 1911, 1921 and 1931 was gradually swell from 2651036, 3332603 to 4037209. Among the six racial divisions, "Chinese" population has increased from 35 percent from the total population of British Malaya in 1911 and 1921 to 42 percent in 1931, which was more than the Malays population in 1931. The "Chinese" population in British Malaya was mainly resided in Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States. In addition, the "Chinese" population in Johor has increased steadily from 1911 to 1931. On the other hand, "Malays" population has been decreased from 53 percent to 40 percent out of the total population of British Malaya from 1911 to 1931; while "Indian" population has been increased from 10 percent to 15 percent out of the total population of British Malaya

[1] CO 273/272, Census 1901, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 13/4/1901.
[2] Nathan, J. E. (1922). *The Census of British Malaya 1921*. London: Waterlow and Son Limited. pp. 70.
[3] Vlieland, C. A. (1932). British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census and on Certain Problems of Vital Statistics. England: Office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies.

from 1911 to 1931. Therefore, it is aptly for the superintendent of 1931 Census, C. A. Vlieland to point that "it is commonplace that the growth of the population of British Malaya is mainly determined, not by birth and deaths, but by migration" (Vlieland 1932: 105).

As mentioned before, the administration units and models of British Malaya have abolished in 1946. Subsequently, the Straits Settlements were dismantled and the settlements had gone with their separate ways. Singapore remains as a separate Crown Colony, while Penang and Malacca combine together with Federated Malay States and Unfederated Malay States as "Malayan Union" in 1946.[1] Table 3.9 shows the total population in "Malayan Union" and "Crown Colony"- Singapore- in the census of 1947. It can be referred from table 3.9 that the "Chinese" population was 44 percent of the total population, which was more than the "Malays" population (43%) in 1947. On the other hand, there were 72 percent of "Chinese" resided in "Malayan Union" while there were 28 percent resided in Singapore. In addition, there were also high percentages of "Chinese" resided in Singapore, Perak, Selangor, Johor, and Penang (see column percentage of table 3.9). Map 3.4 shows the distribution of "Malays", "Chinese" and "Indian" in British Malaya during 1947. On the other hand, the distribution of races population in accordance with the tin mining and rubber industry areas is demonstrating as map 3.5.[2]

[1] See chapter 3.2 (pp.95-102).
[2] Combine from maps 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4.

Table 3.8: Total Population of British Malaya in Census 1911, 1921 and 1931[1]

Administrative Unit	Europeans (%)			Eurasians (%)			Malays (%)		
	1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931
Straits Settlements	**7368(0)**	**8149(0)**	**10003(0)**	**8072(0)**	**9138(0)**	**11292(0)**	**240206(9)**	**255353(8)**	**250864(6)**
Singapore	5803(0)	6231(0)	8417(0)	4712(0)	5451(0)	6937(0)	46952(2)	58520(2)	43055(1)
Penang	1262(0)	1476(0)	1526(0)	1774(0)	1919(0)	2348(0)	114441(4)	110382(3)	115721(3)
Malacca	303(0)	442(0)	330(0)	1586(0)	1768(0)	2007(0)	78813(3)	86451(2)	92088(2)
Federated Malay States	**3284(0)**	**5686(0)**	**6350(0)**	**2649(0)**	**3204(0)**	**4251(0)**	**420840(16)**	**510821(15)**	**443618(11)**
Perak	1396(0)	2047(0)	2359(0)	845(0)	973(0)	1270(0)	199034(8)	239128(7)	208159(5)
Selangor	1348(0)	2467(0)	2723(0)	1255(0)	1596(0)	2137(0)	64952(2)	91787(2)	64436(1)
Negeri Sembilan	403(0)	894(0)	878(0)	464(0)	519(0)	699(0)	69745(3)	77648(2)	80109(2)
Pahang	137(0)	278(0)	390(0)	85(0)	116(0)	145(0)	87109(3)	102258(3)	90914(2)
Unfederated Malay States	**413(0)**	**1084(0)**	**1295(0)**	**147(0)**	**302(0)**	**468(0)**	**755750(29)**	**860943(26)**	**923912(23)**
Johor	205(0)	618(0)	722(0)	75(0)	183(0)	302(0)	109983(4)	157852(5)	113247(3)
Kedah	86(0)	300(0)	411(0)	60(0)	75(0)	108(0)	197702(7)	237031(7)	279897(7)
Kelantan	108(0)	127(0)	124(0)	11(0)	35(0)	32(0)	268914(10)	286363(9)	327097(8)
Terengganu	10(0)	34(0)	35(0)	0(0)	8(0)	15(0)	149553(6)	145523(4)	163955(4)
Perlis	4(0)	5 0)	3(0)	1(0)	1(0)	11(0)	29589(1)	34165(1)	39716(1)
Total	**11065 (0)**	**14919 (0)**	**17648 (0)**	**10868 (0)**	**12644 (0)**	**16011 (0)**	**1416796 (53)**	**1627108 (49)**	**1618394 (40)**

[1] Source: Nathan, J. E. (1922). *The Census of British Malaya 1921: The Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Protected States of Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Brunei*. London: Waterlow and Son Limited. pp 29; Vlieland, C.A., 1932. *British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census and on Certain Problems of Vital Statistics*. England: Office of the Crown Agents For the Colonies. pp 120-121. The category of "other Malaysians" is excluded from this table, since this category was illustrated by the Censes superintendent as the idea of political status amongst the census criteria (Vlieland 1932: 75). The error on calculation in the census has been corrected.

Table 3.8: Total Population of British Malaya in 1911, 1921 and 1931[1] ---*continued*

Administrative Unit	Chinese (%)			Indians (%)			Others (%)		
	1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931
Straits Settlements	**369843(14)**	**498547(15)**	**663518(16)**	**82055(3)**	**104628(3)**	**132277(3)**	**6525(0)**	**7954(0)**	**11609(0)**
Singapore	222655(8)	317491(9)	421821(10)	27990(1)	32456(1)	51019(1)	3873(0)	5763(0)	8352(0)
Penang	111738(4)	135288(4)	176518(4)	46565(2)	53339(2)	58020(1)	2223(0)	1931(0)	2607(0)
Malacca	35450(1)	45768(2)	65179(2)	7500(0)	18833(1)	23238(0)	429(0)	260(0)	650(0)
Federated Malay States	**433244(16)**	**494548(15)**	**711540(18)**	**172465(7)**	**305219(9)**	**379996(9)**	**4517(0)**	**5412(0)**	**17228(0)**
Perak	217206(8)	224586(7)	325527(8)	73539(3)	130324(4)	159152(4)	2037(0)	1997(0)	5135(0)
Selangor	150908(6)	170687(5)	241351(6)	74067(3)	132545(4)	155924(4)	1505(0)	1927(0)	8194(0)
Negeri Sembilan	40843(2)	65717(2)	92371(2)	18248(1)	33658(1)	50100(1)	496(0)	872(0)	2556(0)
Pahang	24287(1)	34104(1)	52291(1)	6611(0)	8692(0)	14820(0)	479(0)	616(0)	1343(0)
Unfederated Malay States	**112796(4)**	**180259(5)**	**330857(8)**	**12639(1)**	**61781(2)**	**110951(3)**	**18223(1)**	**19584(1)**	**27180(1)**
Johor	63410(2)	97253(3)	215076(5)	5659(0)	24180(1)	51038(1)	1080(0)	2148(0)	3751(0)
Kedah	33746(1)	59403(2)	78415(2)	6074(0)	33004(1)	50824(1)	8318(0)	8745(0)	13671(0)
Kelantan	9844(0)	12755(0)	17612(0)	731(0)	3575(0)	6752(0)	7143(0)	6445(0)	7223(0)
Terengganu	4169(0)	7246(0)	13254(0)	61(0)	211(0)	1371(0)	280(0)	743(0)	550(0)
Perlis	1627(0)	3602(0)	6500(0)	114(0)	811(0)	966(0)	1402(0)	1503(0)	1985(0)
Total	**915883 (35)**	**1173354 (35)**	**1705915 (42)**	**267159 (10)**	**471628 (14)**	**623224 (15)**	**29265 (1)**	**32950 (1)**	**56017 (1)**

[1] Source: Nathan, J. E. (1922). *The Census of British Malaya 1921: The Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Protected States of Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Brunei*. London: Waterlow and Son Limited. pp 29; Vlieland, C.A., 1932. *British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census and on Certain Problems of Vital Statistics*. England: Office of the Crown Agents For the Colonies. pp 120-121. The category of "other Malaysians" is excluded from this table, since this category was illustrated by the Censes superintendent as the idea of political status amongst the census criteria (Vlieland 1932: 75). The error on calculation in the census has been corrected.

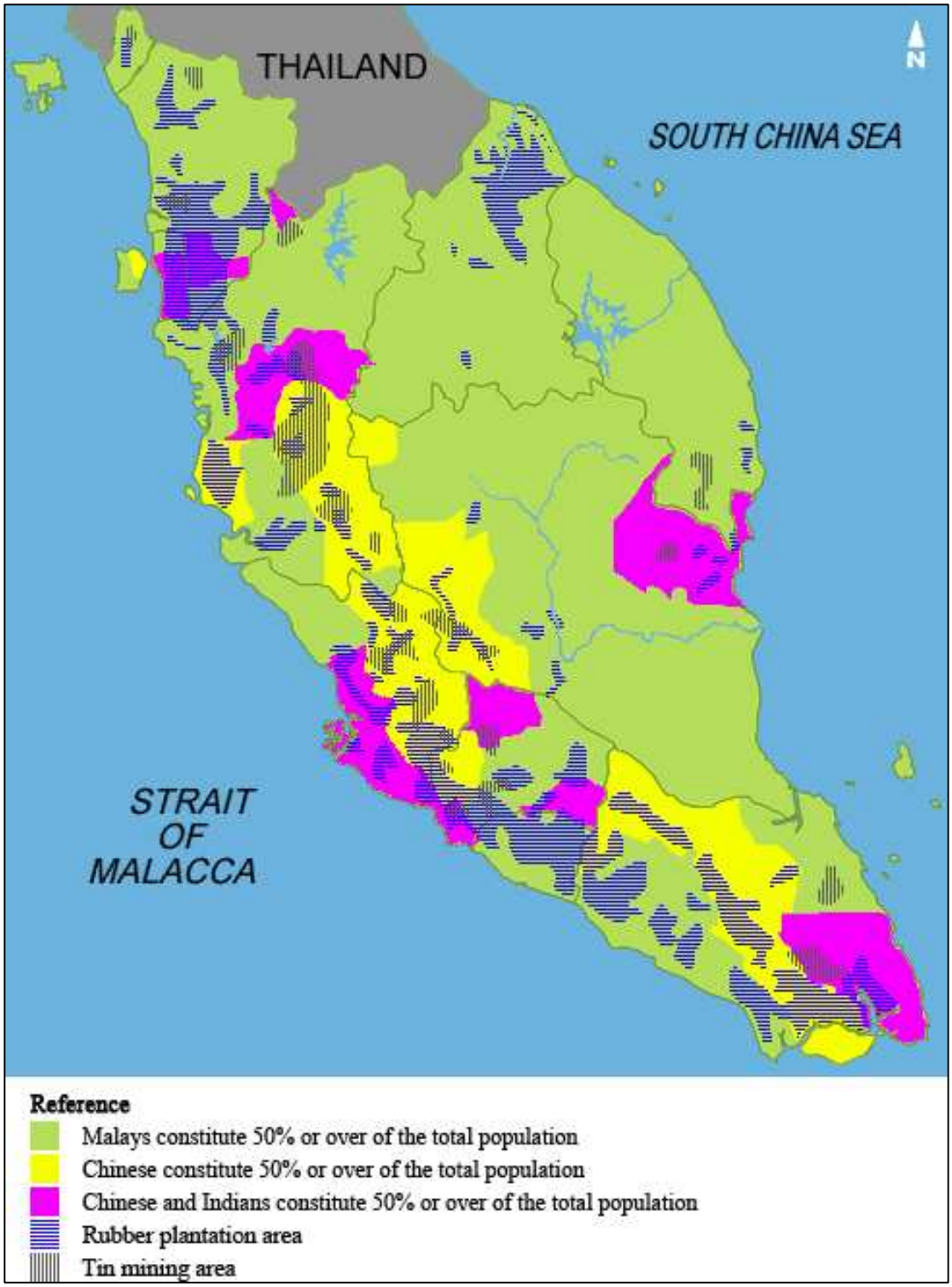
Table 3.9: The Total Population in Malayan Union and Singapore (Crown Colony) in Census 1947.[1]

State	Malays	Chinese	Indian	European	Eurasian	Other	Total
Malayan Union	**2427853(95)*(49)**	**1884647(72)*(38)**	**535092(88)*(11)**	**16836(35)*(0)**	**10062(52)*(0)**	**48331(74)*(1)**	**4922821(83)*(100)**
Penang	136163(5)*(30)	247411(9)*(55)	57536(9)*(13)	2325(5)*(1)	2413(13)*(1)	2039(3)*(0)	447707(8)*(100)
Malacca	120334(5)*(50)	96144(4)*(40)	19718(3)*(8)	308(0)*(0)	1978(10)*(1)	881(1)*(0)	239363(4)*(100)
Perak	360631(14)*(38)	444509(17)*(47)	140755(23)*(15)	2762(6)*(0)	1182(6)*(0)	5868(9)*(1)	955707(16)*(100)
Selangor	187334(7)*(26)	362755(14)*(51)	147149(24)*(21)	4791(10)*(1)	2816(15)*(0)	10686(16)*(1)	715531(12)*(100)
Negeri Sembilan	110560(4)*(41)	114411(4)*(42)	39053(6)*(15)	1420(3)*(1)	880(5)*(0)	2980(5)*(1)	269304(5)*(100)
Pahang	135772(5)*(54)	97325(4)*(39)	14744(2)*(6)	849(2)*(0)	79(0)*(0)	1467(2)*(1)	250240(4)*(100)
Johor	323682(13)*(44)	354788(14)*(48)	55618(9)*(7)	3771(8)*(1)	478(2)*(0)	3454(5)*(0)	741791(13)*(100)
Kedah	377075(15)*(68)	115928(4)*(21)	51417(8)*(9)	314(0)*(0)	161(1)*(0)	9632(15)*(2)	554581(9)* (100)
Kelantan	412918(16)*(92)	22938(1)*(5)	4982(0)*(1)	130(0)*(0)	25(0)*(0)	7637(12)*(2)	448630(8)* (100)
Terengganu	207874(8)*(92)	15864(1)*(7)	1761(0)*(1)	60(0)*(0)	14(0)*(0)	423(1)*(0)	225996(4)* (100)
Perlis	55185(2)*(78)	11788(0)*(17)	1684(0)*(2)	8(0)*(0)	7(0)*(0)	1818(3)*(3)	70490(1)* (100)
Indetermi-nate	325(0)*(9)	782(0)*(22)	801(0)*(23)	98(0)*(3)	29(0)*(1)	1446(2)*(42)	3481(0)* (100)
Singapore (Crown Colony)	**116406(5)*(12)**	**730603(28)*(75)**	**73496(12)*(8)**	**30631(65)*(3)**	**9112(48)*(1)**	**16951(26)*(2)**	**976839(17)*(100)**
Total	**2543899(100)*(43)**	**2615250(100)*(44)**	**608588(100)*(10)**	**47467(100)*(1)**	**19174(100)*(0)**	**65282(100)*(1)**	**5899660(100)*(100)**

[1] Source: Del Tufo, M.V., 1949, *Malaya Comprising the Federation of Malaya and the Colony of Singapore: A Report on the 1947 Census of Population.* London: Crown Agents for the Colonies. pp.132-133. The error on calculation in the census has been corrected. Note: Percentage with * is column percentage, without * is row percentage. See also Wong (2009: 26).

Map 3.4: Distribution of Race Population in British Malaya during 1947.[1]

[1] Source: Del Tufo, M.V., 1949, *Malaya Comprising the Federation of Malaya and the Colony of Singapore: A Report on the 1947 Census of Population.* London: Crown Agents for the Colonies.



Map 3.5: Distribution of Race Population, Tin Mining and Rubber Industry in British Malaya.[1]

[1] Combine from maps 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4.

3.4.2 Population and Distribution: "Chinese Tribes"

This segment will demonstrate the distribution of each "Chinese tribe" in British Malaya during 1921 and 1931. As mentioned in last two chapters, the classification on "Chinese" as form of "tribe" was officially first taken in the census of Federated Malay States 1911, which based on a British official A. M. Pountney's suggestion on the linguistic criterion,[1] in which included "Hokkien", "Cantonese", "Tiechiu", "Hailam", "Kheh", "Hok Chiu", "Hok Chia", "Hin Hoa", "Kwongsai", "Northern Provinces", and "Other Tribes". In the census of 1921, the tribal divisions of "Chinese" in each state and settlement were divided during tabulation as at the census 1911, as table 3.10. In table 3.10, the largest population of Chinese tribe in British Malaya was "Hokkien" by 32 percent. "Hokkien" in the Straits Settlements, Johor and Kelantan are the most numerous of the tribes, but in the Federated Malay States they are outnumbered by the "Cantonese" and "Kheh", and in Kedah by "Tie Chiu". According to Nathan (1922), "Hokkien" in the Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Unfederated Malay States during 1921 have increased in generally when compared to the census of 1911 (Nathan 1922: 79).

The "Hokkien" population of the Straits Settlements is nearly double that of the Federated Malay States, but with the "Cantonese" the position is reversed. "Cantonese" as the second largest Chinese tribe in British Malaya with number 332043 or 28 percent of the total population; they are numerically the strongest Chinese tribe in the Federated Malay States, outnumbering the "Kheh" by 26020 and the "Hokkien" by 72773. According to Nathan (1922: 80), Cantonese in the Federated Malay States not only have formed a high proportion of the mining population, but they were also extensively engaged in planting. Most of the Cantonese in Kelantan, and Terengganu were agricultural coolies employed in rubber estates (see Nathan 1922: 81). Furthermore, Nathan stated "Cantonese" were supplied the bulk of labor on the tin mines in the Federated Malay States, followed by "Kheh" and "Hokkien". During 1921, the second largest Chinese population in Federated Malay States was

[1] Refer to chapter 1.4 (pp. 47) and chapter 2.2.3 (pp. 81-82).

"Kheh", which followed after the "Cantonese". However, Nathan stated that the population of "Kheh" in tin mines areas, such as Kinta and Kuala Lumpur have been elapsed; Nathan explained, "probably as many Khehs are now engaged in agriculture as in mining, and they are more evenly distributed through the various districts" (Nathan 1922: 81). On the other hand, "Kheh" was enumerated on the estates of Johor and Kedah in 1921.[1] In Perlis, "Kheh" has formed 40 percent of the Chinese population there. In addition, in the Straits Settlements, "Khehs" are less numerous and represented only 7 percent of the Chinese population. However, there was higher proportion of "Kheh" in Malacca and Penang by 18 and 11 percent. Nathan pointed there were numerous Kheh in Balik Pulau and Bukit Martajam:

> In Balik Pulau and Bukit Martajam most of the hill planters, who formerly grew cloves and nutmegs and now plant rubber in their place, are Khehs, and these two districts contain the largest Kheh populations outside the town of Singapore. Many of them are Roman Catholics (Nathan 1922: 82).

The "Tie Chiu" was the forth largest Chinese tribe in 1921, representing 11 percent of the Chinese population of British Malaya. Among the whole states and settlements in British Malaya, Singapore was contained more than two-fifth of the total "Tie Chiu" population of British Malaya. On the other hand, there was 6 percent of the total Chinese population of British Malaya in 1921 was "Hailams". There were two-third of "Hailam" was found in the three municipalities of Straits Settlements; while Terengganu, Malacca, Negeri Sembilan and Johor were the places in which most agriculturalists of "Hailam" were found.[2] Nathan pointed that "Hailam" in towns were mainly engaged in domestic service, "nine out of ten servants in European house belonging to this tribe, or in shopkeeping, but large numbers in the rural districts are engaged in planting rubber".[3] Besides, "Hok Chiu" and "Hok Chia" were enumerated in the Straits Settlements by 53 and 95 percent of the each tribe population. Nathan stated these tribes were branches of "Hokkien" while most of the rickshaw pullers were recruited from these two tribes.[4] For "Hin Hoa" and

[1] See Nathan (1922: 82).
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] See Nathan (1922: 84). See also Warren (2003).

"Kwongsai", all "Hin Hoa" was enumerated in Singapore; while there was 88 percent of "Kwongsai" was resided in Federated Malay States. Chinese whom came from Shanghai, Beijing and Northern parts of China were tabulated under "Northern Provinces" in the census of 1921 of British Malaya, by numbered 2671 in population, but 52 percent were resided in Straits Settlements; while 37 and 12 percent were resided in Federated Malay States and Unfederated Malay States. Nathan pointed the Chinese from "Northern Provinces" were chiefly tailors, washermen, and dealers in silk and in skins.[1] For the Chinese in the tribal division of "Other", it consisted of 21829 of cases in which the race and language were entered as "Chinese" but no dialect specified in the census of 1921.[2] Following was the conclusion by the superintendent of census 1921:

> As compared with 1911, there are few striking changes, the most noticeable being the decrease in the proportion of Khehs in Kuala Lumpur and the increase in Seremban. In each of the three large towns of the Straits Settlements, Cantonese form a higher proportion than in 1911, while the percentage of Hokkiens has fallen in Singapore and Penang. Hokkien are, however, the strongest tribe numerically in all the Straits Settlements towns, in Klang and Telok Anson in the Federated Malay States, and in all the Unfederated Malay States towns except Johore Bahru. In Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh, Taiping, Seremban and Kampar they are outnumbered by the Cantonese, Kampar returning 7 Cantonese to 1 Hokkien. Johore Bharu is the only town in which Tie Chius are the most numerous tribe, while the proportion of Hailams has decreased in 8 out of 12 towns; it is highest in Malacca, Johore Bharu and Terengganu (Nathan 1922: 85).

In the census of British Malaya in 1931, classification of "Chinese tribes" has been revised in the census of 1931, which "Hin Hoa" and "Northern Provinces" have been eliminated from the census' tabulation, and the designations like "Kheh", "Tie Chiu" and "Hok Chia" in the census of 1921 have been substituted by "Hakka", "Tiu Chiu" and "Hok Chhia" in the census of 1931.[3] Therefore, there were nine tribal divisions in the census of 1931, included "Hokkien", "Cantonese", "Tiu Chiu", "Hailam", "Hakka", "Hok Chiu", "Hok Chhia", "Kwongsai", and "Other", show as table 3.11.

[1] See Nathan (1922: 84).
[2] Ibid.
[3] See Vlieland (1932: 78).

Table 3.10: The Population of Chinese Tribes (Dialect Groups) in British Malaya, 1921.[1]

Administrative Unit	Hokkien	Cantonese	Tie Chiu	Hailam	Kheh
Straits Settlements	**218619(58)* (44)**	**115707(35)* (23)**	**75004(58)* (15)**	**28455(42)* (6)**	**37277(17)* (7)**
Singapore	136823(36)* (43)	78959(24)* (25)	53428(41)* (17)	14547(21)* (5)	14572(7)* (5)
Penang	64085(17)* (47)	30846(9)* (23)	19236(15)* (14)	3883(6)* (3)	14293(7)* (11)
Malacca	17783(5)* (39)	5902(2)* (13)	2340(2)* (5)	10025(15)* (22)	8412(4)* (18)
Federated Malay States	**105435(28)* (21)**	**178208(54)* (36)**	**20458(16)* (4)**	**22558(33)* (5)**	**152188(70)* (31)**
Perak	41997(11)* (19)	93878(28)* (42)	9470(7)* (4)	4861(7)* (2)	66939(31)* (30)
Selangor	45242(12)* (27)	49861(15)* (29)	8512(7)* (5)	6449(9)* (4)	56022(26)* (33)
Negeri Sembilan	11549(3)* (18)	19188(6)* (29)	1589(1)* (2)	8884(13)* (14)	20757(10)* (32)
Pahang	6647(2)* (19)	15281(5)* (45)	887(1)* (3)	2364(3)* (7)	8470(4)* (25)
Unfederated Malay States	**55869(14)*(31)**	**38128(11)*(21)**	**34660(27)*(19)**	**17295(25)*(10)**	**28385(13)*(16)**
Johor	31112(8)*(32)	20938(6)*(22)	17915(14)*(18)	11809(17)*(12)	12112(5)*(12)
Kedah	15491(4)*(26)	11647(4)*(20)	16065(12)*(27)	2768(4)*(5)	12455(6)*(21)
Perlis	1161(0)*(32)	683(0)*(19)	182(0)*(5)	132(0)*(4)	1439(1)*(40)
Kelantan	6113(2)*(48)	2707(1)*(21)	262(0)*(2)	607(1)*(5)	1699(1)*(13)
Terengganu	1992(1)*(27)	2153(1)*(30)	236(0)*(3)	1979(3)*(27)	680(0)*(9)
Total	**379923(100)*(32)**	**332043(100)*(28)**	**130122(100)*(11)**	**68308(100)*(6)**	**217850(100)*(19)**

[1] Source: Nathan, J.E., 1922, *The Census of British Malaya: The Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Protected States of Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Brunei*. London: Waterlow and Son Limited. pp. 77-84, 186. The error on calculation in the census has been corrected.
Note: Percentage with * is column percentage, without * is row percentage. See also 張翰璧、黃靖雯 (2009: 17-18).

Table 3.10: The Population of Chinese Tribes (Dialect Groups) in British Malaya, 1921.[1]—*continued*

Region	Hok Chiu	Hok Chia	Hin Hoa	Kwongsai	Northern Provinces	Other[2]	Total
Straits Settlements	**7315(53)* (1)**	**3845(95)* (1)**	**1659(100)* (0)**	**87(9)* (0)**	**1386(52)*(0)**	**9121(42)*(2)**	**498475(42)* (100)**
Singapore	5583(40)* (2)	3845(95)* (1)	1659(100)* (1)	33(3)* (0)	-	6865(31)*(2)	316314(27)* (100)
Penang	1326(10)* (1)	-	-	14(1)* (0)	-	1464(7)*(1)	135147(12)* (100)
Malacca	406(3)* (1)	-	-	40(4)* (0)	-	792(4)*(2)	45700(4)* (100)
Federated Malay States	**4858(35)* (1)**	**40(1)* (0)**	-	**879(88)* (0)**	**977(37)*(0)**	**8947(41)*(2)**	**494548(42)* (100)**
Perak	3417(25)* (2)	40(1)* (0)	-	702(70)* (0)	-	2573(12)*(1)	223877(19)* (100)
Selangor	937(7)* (1)	-	-	6(1)* (0)	-	3429(16)*(2)	170458(15)* (100)
Negeri Sembilan	294(2)* (0)	-	-	99(10)* (0)	-	2782(13)*(4)	65142(6)* (100)
Pahang	210(2)* (1)	-	-	72(7)* (0)	-	163(1)*(0)	34094(3)* (100)
Unfederated Malay States	**1648(12)*(1)**	**173(4)*(0)**	**-**	**32(3)*(0)**	**308(12)*(0)**	**3761(17)*(2)**	**180259(15)* (100)**
Johor	864(6)*(1)	173(4)*(0)	-	32(3)*(0)	-	2086(10)*(2)	97041(8)* (100)
Kedah	646(5)*(1)	-	-	-	-	275(1)*(0)	59347(5)* (100)
Perlis	5(0)*(0)	-	-	-	-	-	3602(0)* (100)
Kelantan	101(1)*(1)	-	-	-	-	1226(6)*(10)	12715(1)* (100)
Terengganu	32(0)*(0)	-	-	-	-	174(1)*(2)	7246(1)* (100)
Total	**13821(100)*(1)**	**4058(100)*(0)**	**1659(100)*(0)**	**998(100)*(0)**	**2671(100)*()**	**21829(100)*(2)**	**1173282 (100)*(100)**

[1] Source: Nathan, J.E., 1922, *The Census of British Malaya: The Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Protected States of Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Brunei*. London: Waterlow and Son Limited. pp. 77-84, 186. The error on calculation in the census has been corrected.
Note: Percentage with * is column percentage, without * is row percentage. See also 張翰璧、黃靖雯 (2009: 17-18).
[2] Including "Others and Not Returned".

Table 3.11: The Population of Chinese Tribes (Dialect Groups) in British Malaya, 1931.[1]

Administrative Unit	Hokkien	Cantonese	Tiu Chiu	Hailam	Hakka (Kheh)
Straits Settlements	**287125(53)*(43)**	**141975(34)*(21)**	**115123(55)*(17)**	**35679(37)*(5)**	**52369(16)*(8)**
Singapore	181287(34)*(43)	95114(23)*(23)	82516(40)*(20)	20040(21)*(5)	19716(6)*(5)
Penang	79546(15)*(45)	40041(10)*(23)	28920(14)*(16)	5359(5)*(3)	17704(5)*(10)
Malacca	26292(5)*(40)	6820(2)*(10)	3687(2)*(6)	10280(11)*(16)	14949(5)*(23)
Federated Malay States	**143429(27)*(20)**	**226181(54)*(32)**	**33040(16)*(5)**	**30107(31)*(4)**	**211906(67)*(30)**
Perak	53471(10)*(16)	121401(29)*(37)	19060(9)*(6)	7145(7)*(2)	87885(28)*(27)
Selangor	64311(12)*(27)	63191(15)*(26)	10464(5)*(4)	10097(10)*(4)	80167(25)*(33)
Negeri Sembilan	15554(3)*(17)	26750(6)*(29)	1762(1)*(2)	8468(9)*(9)	30115(9)*(33)
Pahang	10093(2)*(19)	14839(4)*(28)	1754(1)*(3)	4397(5)*(8)	13739(4)*(26)
Unfederated Malay States	**109345(20)*(33)**	**49325(12)*(15)**	**60607(29)*(18)**	**31870(33)*(10)**	**53459(17)*(16)**
Johor	73270(14)*(34)	29585(7)*(14)	35935(17)*(17)	23539(24)*(11)	33588(11)*(16)
Kedah	21984(4)*(28)	13079(3)*(17)	23045(11)*(29)	2761(3)*(3)	13718(4)*(17)
Kelantan	8949(2)*(51)	1975(0)*(11)	452(0)*(3)	917(1)*(5)	3052(1)*(17)
Terengganu	3242(1)*(24)	2998(1)*(23)	472(0)*(4)	4449(5)*(34)	1264(0)*(10)
Perlis	1900(0)*(29)	1688(0)*(26)	703(0)*(11)	204(0)*(3)	1837(1)*(28)
Total	**539899(100)*(32)**	**417481(100)*(24)**	**208770(100)*(12)**	**97656(100)*(6)**	**317734(100)*(19)**

[1] Source: Vlieland, C.A., 1932. *British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census and on Certain Problems of Vital Statistics.* England: Office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies. pp. 180. The error on calculation in the census has been corrected. See also Wong (2009: 34-35), 張翰璧、黃靖雯 (2009: 19-20).
Note: Percentage with * is column percentage, without * is row percentage.

Table 3.11: The Population of Chinese Tribes (Dialect Groups) in British Malaya, 1931.[1]--*continued*

Region	Hok Chiu	Hok Chhia	Kwongsai	Other[2]	Total
Straits Settlements	**8958(28)*(1)**	**9796(64)*(1)**	**1469(3)*(0)**	**11024(35)*(2)**	**663518(39)*(100)**
Singapore	6548(21)*(2)	8842(58)*(2)	949(2)*(0)	6809(22)*(2)	421821(25)*(100)
Penang	1887(6)*(1)	704(5)*(0)	412(1)*(0)	1945(6)*(1)	176518(10)*(100)
Malacca	523(2)*(1)	250(2)*(0)	108(0)*(0)	2270(7)*(3)	65179(4)*(100)
Federated Malay States	**17962(56)*(3)**	**3189(21)*(0)**	**35021(76)*(5)**	**10705(34)*(2)**	**711540(42)*(100)**
Perak	13650(43)*(4)	1869(12)*(0)	16963(37)*(5)	4083(13)*(1)	325527(19)*(100)
Selangor	3094(10)*(1)	657(4)*(0)	5658(12)*(2)	3712(12)*(2)	241351(14)*(100)
Negeri Sembilan	920(3)*(1)	506(3)*(1)	5894(13)*(6)	2402(8)*(3)	92371(5)*(100)
Pahang	298(1)*(1)	157(1)*(0)	6506(14)*(12)	508(2)*(1)	52291(3)*(100)
Unfederated Malay States	**4993(16)*(2)**	**2318(15)*(1)**	**9609(21)*(3)**	**9331(30)*(3)**	**330857(19)*(100)**
Johor	3540(11)*(2)	1856(12)*(1)	7519(16)*(3)	6244(20)*(3)	215076(13)*(100)
Kedah	1284(4)*(2)	335(2)*(0)	1075(2)*(1)	1134(4)*(1)	78415(5)*(100)
Kelantan	54(0)*(0)	89(1)*(1)	541(1)*(3)	1583(5)*(9)	17612(1)*(100)
Terengganu	57(0)*(0)	38(0)*(0)	385(1)*(3)	349(1)*(3)	13254(1)*(100)
Perlis	58(0)*(1)	-	89(0)*(1)	21(0)*(0)	6500(0)*(100)
Total	**31913(100)*(2)**	**15303(100)*(1)**	**46099(100)*(3)**	**31060(100)*(2)**	**1705915(100)*(100)**

[1] Source: Vlieland, C.A., 1932. *British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census and on Certain Problems of Vital Statistics*. England: Office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies. pp. 180. The error on calculation in the census has been corrected. See also Wong (2009: 34-35), 張翰璧、黃靖雯 (2009: 19-20).
Note: Percentage with * is column percentage, without * is row percentage.
[2] Including others and indeterminate.

Table 3.11 shows that the largest Chinese population in British Malaya during 1931 was "Hokkien". In the Straits Settlements, the "Hokkien" was 43 percent (in row percentage) which was more than twice as numerous as any other tribe in British Malaya. In Johore and Kelantan, "Hokkien" also showed a predominance position as similar as that in the Straits Settlements. Over half of the Chinese population in Kelantan was composed by "Hokkien". However, "Hokkien" population was far surpassed by "Cantonese" and "Hakka" in the Federated Malay States. "Cantonese" was the largest Chinese population in Federated Malay States by 32 percent; while followed by the second largest Chinese population in Federated Malay States, "Hakka" by 30 percent. According to Vlieland (1932), "Hokkien" was extensively engaged in the agricultural pursuits and formed the bulk of the trading and shopkeeping classes; while the "Cantonese" has formed a high proportion of the mining population, and they were extensively engaged in planting.[1]

"Hakka" was the second biggest Chinese population in Federated Malay States. However, Vlieland stated "Hakka" were characteristically more rural than urban in their residential tastes.[2] Therefore, the large towns in the Federated Malay States were strongly represented by the "Cantonese"; while in the Straits Settlements, "Hakka" was only 8 percent, which was less than one-fifth as numerous as either "Hokkien" or "Cantonese". Whereas the "Hakka" population were still numerous in the states like Johor, Malacca and Kedah. Despite it is worthy to note that the "Hakka" has formed a larger proportion than other tribe in Perlis and Kelantan, however, their number were naturally small. Nevertheless, the presence of "Hakka" in Federated Malay States was mainly due to mining.[3]

On the other hand, the population of "Tiu Chiu" in British Malaya was far more numerous in Singapore (40%), Johor (17%), Penang (14%), and Kedah (11%) than elsewhere. In Johor, "Tiu Chiu" was second largest Chinese population while slightly more than "Hakka" and "Cantonese". Besides, the population of "Hailam" was more

[1] See Vlieland (1932: 80-81).
[2] See Vlieland (1932: 81).
[3] Ibid.

numerous in the Straits Settlements (37%), while resided averagely in Federated Malay States (31%) and Unfederated Malay States (33%). In addition, "Kwongsai" was principally found in the Federated Malay States (76%) and Johor (16%). The population of "Hok Chiu" was more numerous in the Federated Malay States than the Straits Settlements; while the "Hok Chhia" was reversed. However, it is noteworthy that the population of "Hok Chiu" was in twice more than the population of "Hok Chhia". The superintendent of 1931 census, C. A. Vlieland stated any individual who did not recognize himself or herself as definitely belonging to one of the tribal division would be thrown into the division of "Other".[1] Following was the conclusion by the superintendent of census 1931:

> It seems likely that the particularly large apparent increase in Tiu Chius, and the relatively small apparent increase in Cantonese is partly due to a number of Tiu Chiu being included in Cantonese in 1921. It is also probable that Kwongsais were largely classed as Cantonese in 1921. The heavy apparent increases in Hok Chiu and Hok Chhia Chinese also suggest more complete differentiation of these tribes at the 1931 census, probably at the expense of the Hokkien count. The rather heavy apparent increase in the Hakka element is probably to some extent illusory also, as the lack of a specific geographical location of this tribe in China is apt to result in a Hokkien being assigned by a Malayan enumerator to the tribe associated with the location from which he happens to come. This tendency was, it is hoped, minimized by the special measures outlined above, and, if it was, we should obviously expect an increase in the number of Hakkas (Khehs) recorded (Vlieland 1932: 79).

It can be observed from above conclusion that Vlieland has eventually figured out the naming problem in the classification of Chinese by "tribes" as "illustrations of the admittedly arbitrary nature of the classification and nomenclature":

> The terms "Hokkien," "Cantonese" and "Kwongsai" should strictly include all the inhabitants of Kwangtung, Fukien (or Hokkien) and Kwongsai provinces, but, in the case of "Hokkien" and "Cantonese," the terms are, in local usage, applied to the inhabitants of certains areas only of the two provinces. Tiu Chiu, again, is a prefecture of Kwangtung Province, but its inhabitants speak a language of their own and always refer to themselves as Tiu Chius. The Hok Chius come from an area around Fuchow (Hok Chiu in the local language), the capital of the Fukien Province, and the Hok Chhias and Hin Hoas are from districts of Fukien. The Khehs or Hakkas are a race apart in China; they are distributed over several provinces but retain their own language and characteristics. The Hailams come

[1] See Vlieland (1932: 79).

> from the island of Hainan, which is part of the Province of Kwangtung; they too speak a language very different from Cantonese, and have characteristics definitely distinguishing them from the other tribes (Vlieland 1932: 78).

However, census's superintendent did not take any solution in solving the problems for the classification of "Chinese tribes", which completely relegated the issues of "place of origin" as mentioned above; but kept remained the same divisions in the classification of "Chinese tribes" by the criterion of "dialect difference" in census reports. It was mainly due to the outbreak of the "May Forth Movement"[1] in China during 1915 to 1921 has leading British colonials to foresee the linguistic assimilation of Chinese dialects, as following statement:

> There is, in fact, no oral medium of communication between two Chinese of different "tribe," if each speaks only the language of his own "tribe." Since the revolution, an attempt has been made to get over this difficulty by standardizing "Mandarin" as the medium of instruction in schools. Mandarin is the language of the old official classes, and is spoken in varying forms in places as far apart as Peking and Yunnan, and the official "national language" of China is a compromise between the northern and southern forms. This movement is having an increasing measure of success, though the process is naturally slow, and the mass of the Chinese people has yet to be affected. Mandarin is the medium of instruction in nearly all Chinese schools in Malaya, of which there are about six hundred representing between fifty and sixty thousand pupils. It may be anticipated that, as this movement becomes increasingly effective, the special problems confronting the census authority in the case of the Chinese population of Malaya will progressively diminish, but it remains to be seen in what manner and degree linguistic assimilation will affect the discrimination between the "tribes" and necessitate a different "racial" classification.

From both census reports of 1921 and 1931 as above, it is worthy to note that the classification for the "Chinese tribes" were basically based on the criterion of "dialect difference"; while the "place of origin" and other cultural factor was totally irrelevant in British colonial's mentality, though the issues of "place of origin" of Chinese had first noticed by Vlieland in the census of 1931. In other words, under the classification by British colonial government, whether "Kheh" in the census of 1911 and 1921 or "Hakka" emerged in the 1931 census; these classifications were basically denoted to a social group who spoke the same language or dialect of "Hakka". The

[1] Also known as the "New Culture Movement" (五四運動).

reasons for British colonial government to classify Chinese based on the criterion of "dialect difference" will be discovered in detailed in next chapter.

3.5 Epilogue

After reviewed the formation of colonized "British Malaya" and the census reports of 1921 and 1931, it is worthy to note that the racial and tribal division of "Chinese" for tabulation purposes in the census reports of British Malaya are virtually an instituted process by British colonization. One common interpretation towards the people classification under the waves of colonization might interrelate with following issues, included "racism" and "prejudice".[1] For example, Mafeje (1971) considered "tribes" as a colonial invention and "tribalism" as a mere "false consciousness". On the other hand, generally, anthropologists would defined "tribal societies" as politically autonomous societies characterized by a "high degree of self-sufficiency at a near-subsistence level", "simple techonology" and "distinctive language, culture and sense of identity", which were derived from the sights of "prejudice" (see Southall 1970: 28). In addition, Tibi (1991: 136) also stated the European historians usually refer to the social groupings in pre-modern periods of their own history as *ethnies* but refer to similar entities in non-European history disparagingly as "tribes"; thus the emergence of "tribe" seen as an attachment to the social groups of "non-European". Clearly, then, the formation of "British Malaya" and people's classification in "race" and "tribe" were colonial products which formed by the colonized mentality. However, I shall note that above issues is secondary importance in the thesis. The primary concern of this thesis is to discover the process and reason for British colonials to classify Chinese based on the criterion of "dialect difference" in the census reports.

As mentioned in last two chapters, due to discover the connotation of "Hakka" in Malaya, the classification process of Chinese by British colonial officials through

[1] "Prejudice" is a negative attitude based on the overgeneralizations about the appearance, behavior, or other characteristics of all members of a category; while "racism" is the belief that some racial groups are superior while others are inferior.

the establishment of colonial regulations and institutions during the 1870s is significant and will be discovered in next chapter through the first hand historical colonial office files. The reason for the British colonial government to classified “Chinese” based on the criterion of “dialect difference” will be probed in the process for the establishment of British colonial regulations and institutions during the 1870s.

4. THE PROCESS OF CHINESE CLASSIFICATION IN BRITISH MALAYA

The process of Chinese classification by British colonial's regulations and institutions since the 1870s considered as the pivotal process to dig out the connotation of "Hakka" in British Malaya. Therefore, the information of relevant colonial office files- *Straits Settlements Original Correspondence* in series CO 273- will be connected as the thread from beginning to the end of this chapter. The classification of "Chinese" based on the criterion of "dialect difference" by British colonial government also will be discovered in this chapter.

4.1 Chinese Riots and Problems during the 1870s

There were a numbers of Chinese riots and fighting outbreak in the Straits Settlements during the 1870s. Furthermore, the ill treatment of Chinese coolies such as kidnapping and overloaded shipment of newly arrived Chinese coolies or "sinkhehs" had outraged the local Chinese community in the Straits Settlements. Two petitions had been sent by groups of Singapore Chinese merchants and traders to the British colonial government during 1871 and 1873.[1] Here the curtain rises for the implementation of British colonial's regulations and institutions to suppress the Chinese secret societies.

4.1.1 Chinese Riots and Problems in Straits Settlements

In 23rd May of 1871, there was a translation of the petition which signed by seventy Chinese merchants and citizens has been sent to the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements.[2] In this petition, the clandestinely trade of newly arrived Chinese coolies by a group of vagabonds has been complained by the petitioners. According to the petitioners, there were lots of newly arrived Chinese coolies or "sinkhehs" have been cheated by such vagabonds; and the coolie will disappeared and

[1] See appendix 3 and 4.
[2] CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873. See also appendix 3.

often cannot be traced after the bargain between coolie and vagabond have been made.[1] Therefore, such petitioners have urged the British colonial government to establish a system of superintendence in order to supervise all the new Chinese arrivals.[2]

There was a serious Chinese riot occurred in the town of Singapore during 23rd October of 1871; while almost two-third of Chinese population in Singapore were involved in the riot, and the anxiety had been lasted for 36 hours in the town.[3] According to the colonial office file of CO273/50, the fuse of this riot was caused by the incident of "pocket-picking" at the Chinese theater in Philip Street of Singapore. Such account on this Chinese disturbance could be found in the colonial office file, as follow:

> …the pocket-picking at the Chinese wayang was only too readily seized upon as pretext to let loose clan rancour of long standing- and to carry out a more or less prearranged system of attack and retaliation. The two clans at war with one another- the Hokiens and the Teo Chews- are by a long way the largest in the Island- indeed, they include between them probably two thirds of our Chinese population…We do not think the Secret Societies have themselves instigated this rising; and as it is an open raid of clan upon clan, the manner of successfully dealing with it is more obvious…There is no question of any menace to the European population in anything that has gone on so far; but we all know the effects of lengthened indulgence in pillage and license upon an excitable people; how soon it begets an indiscriminating phrenzy which strikes alike at everything opposing it; and no effort should therefore be relaxed until every smouldering ember of the feud has died out or been extinguished. Altogether; the last 36 hours have been a period of anxiety and exertion to many- and of natural alarm to not a few…We regret to find that these have again broke out this morning and that the favorable expectations entertained when the above was written are very far from being realized; it is also much to be feared that the secret societies are now involved…The quarrel, so far, is limited between the Hokien and Teo Chew Chinese, and though the feud is of long standing, the cause of the present outbreak is very trivial…the police from the B. Station having come to head them off, the crowd dispersed in all directions. This, did not end the disturbances…They went home, each to plot schemes of vengeance, and an hour or two later gangs of Teo Chew coolies entered two or three Hokien shops in the Chinese part of the town, and after assaulting the inmates completely ransacked

[1] CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873. See also appendix 3.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Refer to CO273/50, Riots Between Hokkien and Teochew, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 27/10/1871.

> the places, carrying away everything they found,-bag of rices, pepper, and produce of every description…Fighting and plunder were going on everywhere…One hundred men of the 19th regiment were called out, to assist the police in maintaining order; guards were stationed at the bridged, to prevent suspicious looking characters from crossing,-coolies were invariably turned back whenever they attempted to go over; but meantime this work of pillage proceeded…On the appearance of the Sepoys and the police, the plunder was stayed for a time…where a gang had been committing an assault and robbery, and while they were away, the crowd grew bold enough to attack the police and remaining Sepoys, pelting them with stones and sticks, and driving them off. The Sepoys, perhaps having no orders, could not fire or charge bayonets on the crowd…A great many European constables, the Artillery, Sepoys, Volunteer Corps, and regular police force, as also a number of Malays armed, were on duty in the town and at Rochore…At nine o'clock this morning, the confusion was frightful; furious fighting was going on in almost every street, from the Tanjong Pagar road to Rochore, and it became evident that many of the kongsees had joined in the riots.[1]

From above statement, it can be seen that the Chinese riots outbreak in Singapore towns was triggered by two different *bang*- "Hokien" and "Teo Chew"- despite the man who recorded this incident had called them as "clan". Subsequently, each *bang* had grabbed the aid and supports from the secret societies which they belonged. Therefore, the furious fighting among Chinese had become more frightful after the involvements of secret societies. It is worthy to note from above quotation that the secret societies as the root to instigate Chinese disturbances; the incident of "pocket-picking" was only a pretext to let their *bang* to fight for the dominant political influence in the town.

During the 1870s, the ill treatment and overloaded vessels of Chinese coolies was outbreak in the Straits Settlements. There was a paragraph extracted from a newspaper "China Mail" on 7th February of 1873, in relating to the coolie traffic in the Straits Settlements:

> A large importation of Chinese coolies is, says the *Straits Times*, going on at Singapore vessels arriving almost daily from Amoy and Swatow, laden, or more properly speaking, overladen with them. They are a troublesome cargo in some instances, being packed so densely on board as to impede the working of the ship. On board of one vessel that recently arrived, there were no less than 1,400, the

[1] Quote from CO273/50, Riots Between Hokkien and Teochew, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 27/10/1871.

> ships tonnage being between 800 and 900 tons. Most of the ships thus freighted anchor as far outside as possible, to render the escape of their passengers a matter of difficulty. Despite this precaution, whether to evade payment of their passage-money or the clutches of their consignees, or that impatience seizes the celestial mind at sight of the promised land, or that the durance on board appears particularly vile, one knows not, but numbers of them jump overboard, risking a briny grave in attempting to reach some of the numerous sampans that are constantly dodging about these ships, and thus get quickly ashore. A few nights ago, seven escaped in this manner from one ship, whilst on board another, one of the crew, having interfered with the fixings of a coolie, received a stab from the latter's knife.[1]

Beside the problems of vessels were overcrowding by Chinese coolies in the coolies trade, there was another petition had been sent to the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements during 23rd June of 1873.[2] This petition was comprising 200 chops which signed by a group of Chinese merchants- mainly by the merchants from the Gambier and Pepper Society and many others of the leading Chinese merchants and firms in Singapore- regarding on the bad treatment and kidnapping of newly arrived Chinese coolies at the ports of Penang, Singapore and Malacca. Therefore, the petitioners were urged the British colonial government to pass an Ordinance to establish a "Depòt" at each port in the Straits Settlements, and to register all the Chinese new comers who onboard and to prohibit the kidnapping of Chinese coolie in the Straits Settlements.[3]

In the mean time, the third Larut War had outbreak in the early of 1873. The Governor of Straits Settlements, Sir Harry St. George Ord[4] had mentioned his observations on this war in the meeting of Legislative Council, which held on 9th September of 1873:

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[1] CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873.
[2] CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873. See also appendix 4.
[3] Ibid.
[4] St George Ord became the Governor of the Crown Colony of the Straits Settlements from 16 March 1867 until 4 November 1873. During that time, Major General Archibald Edward Harbord Anson was the Lieutenant-Governor of Penang from 1867 to 1871. Anson Road in Penang and Singapore, and the now disappeared Anson Bridge in Penang were named after him. Also during Anson's first term as Lieutenant-Governor, the Penang Riots of 1867 erupted. From 1871-1872, Arthur Nonus Birch was acting Lieutenant Governor of Penang while from 1872-1873, Sir George William Robert Campbell, who was also Inspector General from 1866-1891, was the Acting Lieutenang Governor of Penang. See Tye, Timothy. (2008-2009). British Governors of the Straits Settlement. Website: http://www.penang-traveltips.com/governors-of-the-straits-settlements.htm. Check on 30/10/2009.

> On arriving at Penang, I found the apprehension that the Lieutenant Governor entertained that the disturbances going on in Laroot might lead to riots in Penang were well founded. Of the two parties of Chinese who were fighting for the mastery in Laroot, one, blockading the interior of the country, finding that those in the interior were receiving supplies through the agency of a ventral body of Chinese on one of the rivers, threatened these Chinese that they would attack and destroy them if they did not cease giving aid to their enemies. The Chinese in question, who were Hokiens, having a large body of friends in Penang, their friends announced publicly that if any attack were made on those in Laroot, they would take life for life from the friends of the attacking party in Penang; and I entertain but little doubt that…[1]

Incidents such as Chinese riots and disturbances in the Straits Settlements, ill treatment and kidnapping of newly arriving Chinese coolies, and Larut wars had forced British colonial government head on to the Chinese problems in British Malaya. Considerations in relating to these Chinese problems have been discussed in the meeting of Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements during 1873. Their considerations will be demonstrated, as follow.

4.1.2 Considerations of British Colonial Officials to Regulate Chinese in British Malaya

During 9th September of 1873, a Legislative Council meeting was held for the second reading for the Bill to provide better protection of Chinese immigrants in Malaya (first reading time for the Bill was held on 21st August of 1873). The attendees of this Legislative Council meeting were included the Governor (Sir Harry St. George Ord), the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Birch), the Attorney-General (Mr. Braddell), the Treasurer (Mr. Willans), the Auditors-General (Major McNair, R. A.), and British colonial officials (Mr. Thomas Scott, Mr. A. K. Whampoa, Dr. Little, and Mr. W. R. Scott).[2] The Governor has begun the meeting for the second reading of the Bill from the report of "Report of the Riot Commission". The commissioners had sketched an outline for the measure to deal with the laboring Chinese on arrival in the Straits Settlements. According to the commissioners, there were an immense number

[1] CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873.
[2] Ibid.

of coolies came to the Straits Settlements every year, however, neither the Government nor the Police had any knowledge of the movements or any control over the Chinese coolies. The commissioners stated that the Chinese coolies knew there was no authority upon them in British Malaya, and they were closely affiliated to the "secret societies"- the unit of those had authority upon them or employed them. Therefore, the commissioners suggested to Legislative Council that a system of "Registration of Chinese Immigrants" should be undertaken: "each coolie ship should be boarded by a Registering Officer, who should take a list of all the coolies, their names, place of embarkation, and occupation; that these coolie should be landed and kept until occupations was found for them; and that a list of persons requiring coolies should be kept at the Registrar's Office". The Governor was agreed with commissioner's suggestion for the Bill due to the principle for the objection of slavery within Chinese coolies in Straits Settlements; even though he has foresee that such an interference with the coolie trade would have the effect of increasing the price of labor, "Remember (said His Excellency) it is our proud boast that the sun never sets on the British dominions, and that in those dominions no slave can live". In addition, Governor also mentioned in the meeting that he believed the kidnapping of "sinkheh" which existed during 1870 has been fade away in the Straits Settlements.

Nevertheless, in the point of view of Mr. W. R. Scott, he was disagreed with the Governor and further objected to the principle of this Bill. In his opinion, registration of all Chinese coolies was not necessarily since the coolies were under controlled by Chinaman:

> There was really no slavery. The Chinaman took care of his coolies, fed them well, and got good work out of them. The passenger traffic from here to China was a patent proof that the Chinese coolie who came here was able to save money and be in a position to return China. And after having done that, and spent his money, what did he do? He came back here. He found that this was not such a very bad place.[1]

Mr. W. R. Scott suggested the British colonial government should let the Ch'ing government to protect their own men; but if the Ch'ing government allowed their

[1] CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873.

men to come as they like, Mr. W. R. Scott pointed, "I don't see what right we have to interfere".[1] However, the Governor has objected the manner of disregard Chinese matter in the colonial order. He pointed, "Whether the Chinese Government performs its duties or not is another matter. No colony, no community, no individual, can abrogate his duties and we have our duties towards them, and I must beg leave to differ from the hon'ble member who spoke to the contrary effect".[2]

Likewise, Mr. Thomas Scott also did not agree with the Governor's charge that the Straits Settlements was the place of slavery. Mr. Thomas Scott stated the number of immigrants was very great in Malaya, "probably in the season sometimes seven or eight thousand in a week"; while the Chinese immigration was falling in the hands of the secret societies. Therefore, he suggested to the council that the secret societies should be banned by Colonial Government. On the other hand, he was also hesitated about the mode of working the protection Bill if the secret societies did not stop by the Colonial Government. Dr. Little, too, had hesitated to the efficiency of the Bill to provide better protection for the Chinese coolies, because the operation of the coolie trade and acquirement of Chinese coolies were still in the hands of secret societies.[3]

The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Birch was supported the measure to provide better protection for the Chinese coolies. However, he did find this measure was only one-sided because the Bill only imposed restriction upon the importer, but none on the coolies whom controlled by the secret societies. In this meeting, Mr. Birch has revealed the operation of secret societies in the coolie trade based on his informers, the Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Plunket:

> Mr. Plunket, the then Inspector-General of Police, who knew a great deal about it that in the year of 1871, he believed it was, there was such an organization. He heard of that on his return to the Colony from England, and received some complaints from the Consuls at Swatow and Foochow, and on making inquiries among the Chinese, and consulting Mr. Plunket on the subject, he was told that they believed the statements to be true. The Consuls at Swatow sent him a

[1] CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

> translation of a printed placard which was put up in the street of Swatow and Foochow by certain Chinese persons in the habit of sending Chinese laborers here, stating that the Sin-khehs were puckerowed on arrival here and sent to Deli and other places, and had no objection…That a system existed by which these people were nominally bound to the persons who imported them, and who kept a watch upon them, he had not the slightest doubt because he had found, in employing Chinese labor, that if he objected to the mandore, or stopped his pay for any reason, the coolies left at once, the reason given being that they owed for their passage-money and had to work it out. [1]

Mr. Birch's statement has aptly pinpointed the major unit to control the emigration of Chinese coolies from China to Malaya was "secret societies".[2] Therefore, Mr. Birch was agreed with Mr. T. Scott's suggestion for the Colonial Government to suppress the secret societies entirely through an official regulation. Mr. Birch pointed all Chinese coolies should be protected from the activities of secret societies and further stated "the Sin-khehs should be prevented from going into them, and there was no other way but by registering them on landing".[3] In order to make good the deficiencies of the Bill, Mr. Birch has suggested to the council to undertake the Bill by imposing some charge and moderate fee pay for the registration, or appointed a Protector of Chinese Immigrants for the registration; just like the cases in Hong Kong, Saigon, Dutch possession, Burmah, Mauritius and Ceylon. The Attorney-General, Mr. Braddell has responded to the suggestion to collect charges for the registration. Mr. Braddell emphasized that the Bill is not intended to interfere with the supply of labor to the British colonies, but to secure the Chinese coolies to land Malaya within the feeling of authority. Mr. Braddell has concerned the interference of coolies and charge upon Chinese coolies may affect the price of labor market, particularly to the labor supply for the Straits Settlements.[4]

Before the Governor made his conclusion, the Colonial Engineer, Major McNair R. A. pointed that one reality of Colonial Government was lack of knowledge to acquaint the unanimous movement of the Chinese in the colony, although the majority of British colonial officials were long resident in Singapore or other colonies

[1] CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873.
[2] See also chapter 2.2.1, pp. 62-69.
[3] CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873.
[4] Ibid.

in Malaya.[1] He had mentioned that Sir Stamford Raffles was the first person who had considered with the reference to Chinese immigrants; however, these references were not supported by any data of registration. Therefore, Major McNair R. A. pointed that the system of registration was necessarily and it should be undertaken in the Straits Settlements. He further mentioned, the system of registration not only would provide information to the Government about all events of Chinese coolies in Malaya, but also can let the Chinese coolies themselves to know about where and whom to go for the better protection in Malaya. Moreover, he pointed the measure to register the Chinese coolies also might be a good thing for Census purposes. Therefore, Major McNair R. A. mentioned that he did not think that the measure of registration would have the negative effect of interfering with the labor market.[2]

At the end of this meeting, the Governor has made his conclusion for British Colonial Government to undertake the system of registration for Chinese coolies, as following statement:

> I will therefore say that being made aware that coolie are brought in under arrangements of the nature of which they are ignorant,- that they are often, in consequences, taken and compelled to labour against their inclination, or not knowing where they are going to, and in some cases taken out of the Colony to labour in places where they objected to go,- the Bill process that an immigrant labourer or coolie landing here for the first time;- and you must bear in mind that there is a special provision that it shall only apply to their first arrival and only extend to the first two years of their residence here, after which they are considered capable of protecting themselves…If he is under engagement, to labour, cognizance will be taken of it, and it will be recorded, but simply for the object of knowing where he goes; and if any men are found missing we have then the means of tracing them…The Colony has nothing to do with being a party to their contracts for labour…it has only to see whether they have contracts…I hope you will understand that if the coolie come here to labour on his own account we do not care anything about him except to know that he is a free man, but if he comes under a contract, there is as we know, some reason for fearing that he may not be fairly dealt with and we want to be able to protect him; and after the expiration of two years the employer must bring back the ticket and state what has become of him, and after that, we have no further concern with him…There is one point that I should explain, as to maintaining a man at the expense of his employer. It is quite possible that men might come here under a certain species of engagement hardly known to them, and the employer by setting a watch over

[1] CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873
[2] Ibid.

> them, might let them register as freemen, and then come and say they are engaged, and take them away; and therefore, if any one claims a man, he must come for him, and if delaying doing this I propose that he shall be kept for a day or two, and the expense of keeping him shall be discharged by the man who comes and says he is engaged to him. That is the only expense that working the measure.[1]

Above conclusion has annotated the basic rules and regulations for the Bill of better protection of Chinese immigrants. This Bill also further contributed to the establishment of "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance, 1873". The Ordinance was committed on 16th September 1873 in the Legislative Council meeting; while reported with amendments was held on 22nd September of 1873.[2] The Governor have personally superintended the working of this Ordinance and further appointed the Registrar of immigrants to occupy this measure.[3] The Bill was read a third time and passed in the Legislative Council meeting on 17th October of 1873.[4]

However, on 21st October of 1873, British Colonial Officer, Dr. Little has personally sent an official correspondence to the Governor to call upon the immediate attentions of colonial government to register the secret societies, and it was necessary for colonial government to overlook the "passage money" and "labor contract" of Chinese coolies in relating with the operation of coolie trade by secret societies.[5] According to Dr. Little, the clause of registration in the "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance, 1873" might not effective enough in protecting Chinese coolies from the control of secret societies:

> To give us cheap labour, we must have a cheap rate of passage for the Coolies from China. In former years, say 20 to 30 years ago, they all arrived in Junks, so crowded, that the vessel looked like a moving masses of living beings, and from their crowded state many who were weak when they started from China never reached this, and those who did were in a very sickly state. Then, the passage money, say from Amoy, was $6, and coolies' wages were $3 per monsoon here. Now the same class of coolies come down in sailing vessels and steamers, and pay for their passage $10 to $14, but their wages have increased from $3 to $4

[1] CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873.
[2] CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873. See also appendix 5.
[3] CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873.
[4] CO273/70, The Chinese Immigration Bill, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 20/10/1873.
[5] CO273/70, The Chinese Immigration Bill, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 20/10/1873.

and $6 per monsoon, while the natural deduction to be drawn from this is, that if difficulties are thrown in the way of the Cooly Immigration, the passage money will be increased, and the employers of labor in the Straits must pay still more for that labor. To allow of owners of vessels bringing down coolies at the present cheap rate, they must select the time of the year when they can make the quickest run, that is in the North East monsoon, and at the same time be allowed to carry as many as their vessel can, with safety, and tolerate comfort to the passengers (who expect to rough it); it is therefore not uncommon for a vessel of 1,000 tons to bring down 12 to 1,4000 men, which can be done easily and comfortably compared to what the junks should do in former days. When this is done, the Master or owner has nothing to do with the passage money paid by each cooly, but he receives a lump sum for carrying so many coolies, who are generally bundled on board the day before or the day the vessel is appointed to sail…The modified Ordinance simply states that it is "expedient to make better provision for the protection of the Chinese Immigration." But how can it protect the Cooly? He may learn for the first time what his engagements are. If he has a contract, he must simply acquiesce, for this Ordinance gives no power to anuul contracts; but what will that benefit him? He is registered, his ticket is given to his master for the time being, who may be an employer, or an agent of a Secret Societies…Mere Registration will not better the Cooly's condition, for the must adhere to his agreement with the party who brought him here from China, for the registration does not annul that, and if there is no written agreement, then he must accept the best offer the contractor can make for his interests, whether agreeable to the coolly or not…It cannot procure him higher wages, for that will depend upon the law of supply and demand, which is not affected by the Registration; nor better his treatment, as that depends on the character of the Master, who cannot tyrannize much, as the cooly will abscond; and most certainly it will not keep him out of the hands of the secret societies, who will have him a member whether registered or not; nor will be know Government until he is arrested by the police, nor our law till he is thrown into prison; contrary to the opinions of the Commissioners on the late riots, who considered that Registration would initiatively open his eyes to the benefits of the good Government as exemplified in the Straits, and keep him from breaking laws he never heard of…Neither can registration trace a cooly more surely than can be done now. A cooly once registered may be seen through the books to have been taken to his employer's plantation or massed with other coolies. If all is in rule, he will be found there; but if his employer has made away with him by sending him elsewhere against his will, he could return his ticket to the Registrar, saying he died, or had absented himself. ---and the Registering Officer has no authority, and will have as little inclination, to test the correctness of his story. At present, so clannish are the Chinese, that any Chinaman of the same tribe can always find out where one of his own "Say," or tribe, has gone to by enquiring of his companions. If her has been unlawfully made away, with, the police in both cases will be expected to unlay the mystery…And for that, two substantive rules are alone required. The first is that no Chinese Coolies numbering more than five should be allowed to leave any of the Settlements without a written Contract with the party employing them, which contract must be in the language of the Cooly and must be read over to him, the purport of which he must be made to understand, and this must be done before a Magistrate or Inspector General of Police, who must attach his signature to the name; except Coolies returning to their native countries or proceeding to one or other of the Straits Settlements, when no contract will be

> required. 2nd. For this, the sum of $3 to $5 for each coolly will have to e paid by the employer.[1]

Mr. Little's appeals as above had took account into the clauses of "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance, 1873" which would not effective enough to provided better protection to Chinese immigrants, if the matters of secret societies, coolies' passage money and labor contract are relegated in the Ordinance.[2] Subsequently, on 31st October of 1873, Sir Harry St. George Ord has reported the details for the official measures of the Straits Settlements during 1873 were due to control over the Chinese riots and secret societies in the Colony in the annual report of the Straits Settlements, 1874:

> The measures of legal reform which have been passed with those still under consideration of the Council will effect a complete reconstitution of our Judicial System and great improvement in the administration of Justice. It was sought to obtain some control over the Chinese and other Secret Societies whose rivalry had been the occasion of outrages and disturbances often of a very grave nature. Although these disturbances have not altogether stopped they have been less frequent in number, and less serious in character, and since 1867 there has been but one outbreak of any moment at Penang and one at Singapore. The measures which Government has passed and the arrangements made under them have moreover given it a power of controlling the Societies with which they originate, which it is confidently anticipated will eventually lead to them complete cessation. Even now with the means at its disposal the administration ought to be able to prevent any disturbance from assuming a serious character, if it is not possible altogether to prevent its breaking out.[3]

To sum up from above considerations of British colonial officials, the main concern of British colonial government to control over the Chinese were the effects in interfere the supply of Chinese coolies by secret societies, and the change for the price of labor supply to the Colony. However, the Chinese riots and the secrecy movements of the secret societies in coolie trade have forced the British colonial government to suppress the secret societies and take back the control of Chinese coolies from the hands of secret societies, since the effect of lengthened indulgence of

[1] CO273/70, The Chinese Immigration Bill, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 20/10/1873.
[2] See CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873. See also appendix 5.
[3] See *Report on the administration of Straits Settlements in 1874* regarding on "Population" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 206-207.

secret societies were destructive to the economic interest and development of the Straits Settlements.

4.2 Implementation of Regulation and Institution

There were a series of British colonial regulations and institutions have been established due to control over the Chinese secret societies during and after the 1870s, included "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance", British colonial precaution in quelling the Chinese riots, the establishment of "Chinese Protectorate", scheme for Chinese Interpreters, the establishment of Government Examination Depòts, and "Societies Ordinance".

4.2.1 Implementation of "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance"

The Bill of "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance, 1873" was passed in the Legislative Council meeting on 17th October of 1873.[1] There were 25 clauses which categorized under eight subjects in the Ordinance, included "interpretation", "appointment of officers and rules", "arrival of immigrants", "registry of immigrants", "immigrants' tickets", "landing of immigrants", "agreements to labor", and "penalties and procedures".[2] Under the subject of "interpretation", there were five clauses have been formulated, while the "Chinese coolies" who had been called as "sinkheh" or "singkek" in vulgar has been defined as "immigrant" in the Ordinance. The clause 6 and clause 7 which categorized under the subject of "appointment of officers and rules" were related with the responsible of British colonial official as a "Registrar" for the Ordinance; while the clause 8 and 9 were categorized under the subject of "arrival of immigrants". The clause 10 and 11 under the subject of "registry of immigrants" have stated the related items will be registered under the registration procedures for Chinese immigrants, such as name, occupation, port of embarkation, purpose of coming to Malaya, nature of the agreement of labor, and so forth. On the

[1] CO273/70, The Chinese Immigration Bill, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 20/10/1873.
[2] CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873. See also appendix 5.

other hand, the clause12 to 17 were related to the subject of "immigrants' tickets" and "landing of immigrants". The clause 18 to 22 were under the subject of "agreements to labor", which have stated the limitation of period and place of employment for each Chinese immigrant in the Colony; while clause 23 to 25 have demonstrated the penalties to each Chinese immigrant who may against the Ordinance.[1]

Annual report of the Straits Settlements during 1877 has recorded the result of the "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance, 1873" in British Malaya. Chinese immigrants in the Straits Settlements have gradually relied upon the Government to look for better protection instead of secret societies:

> The respectable portion of the Chinese community have expressed much satisfaction at the measures adopted by Government to afford protection and assistance to their poor and simple countrymen. These measures, which appear to be also greatly appreciated by the coolies themselves, who have already manifested great confidence in the Protector, and have in several instances in the marked manner adopted his advice in preference to that of their headmen, will, doubtless, eventually have the effect of inducing the Chinese who come to reside in this Colony to look to the Government, instead of to their Congsees or secret societies, for assistance and protection, and will, while the influence of the latter is being weakened, cause them to hold the former in estimation and respect.[2]

Based on the recommendations of Chinese Protector, the Ordinance of "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance, 1873" has been amended, repealed and re-enacted for several times subsequently in 1880, 1891, 1900, 1902, and 1910.[3] However, the basic gists for the Ordinance were maintained. Nevertheless, it is important to note that an Ordinance to amend the "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance, 1880" during 1900 has been

[1] The detailed clauses for the "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance, 1873" are demonstrated in appendix 5.
[2] See *Annual Reports of the Strait Settlements, Penang in 1877* regarding on "Chinese Immigration and Emigration" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 348.
[3] See CO273/258, Ordinance 15 of 1900 Chinese Immigrants Amend, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 1//9/1900; CO273/280, Chinese Immigrants Ordinance, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 29/10/1902; CO273/357, Ordinance 3/1910: Chinese Immigrants Amend, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 19/4/1910; and CO273/358, Emigration Ordinance, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 23/8/1910.

passed in order to remove any doubt as what to meant by the expression of the word "China" in the "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance, 1880".[1]

According to the colonial office file of CO 273/258, the word "China" was made by the purposes of the "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance, 1880" to include Hong Kong, Macau and all such territory as formed part of the Chinese Empire at the beginning of the year 1840. However, during 31st August of 1900, the Attorney General of the Straits Settlements, W. R. Collyer has suggested to the Legislative Council of British Malaya that the word "China" may become rather a geographical than a political expression, and many places essentially Chinese are no longer integral parts of the Chinese Empire.[2]

4.2.2 British Colonial Precaution in Quelling the Chinese Riots

After the implementation of "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance" in 1873, Chinese riots and disturbances were outbreak in the Straits Settlements. In 26th September of 1876, a memorandum with the subject title of "memorandum on the precautions necessary to prevent, and the measures to be adopted in quelling, Riots amongst the Chinese in the Straits Settlements" has been drafted by the Colonial Secretary, John Douglas.[3] Thirty clauses which drafted in the memorandum were interrelated with the issues like the character of Chinese riots (clause 1 to 11); and measures to be adopted in quelling the riots (clause 12 to 30). According to John Douglas, Chinese riots in the Straits Settlements were caused by their resistances to the measures of the Colonial Government. By the way, he stated it was necessarily for the Colonial Government to distinguish the cases of riot amongst the Chinese in the Straits Settlements, whether one having it origin in quarrels between rival Chinese secret societies; or between rival clans or tribes, such as Hokkien and Cantonese. Douglas pointed, "In all these

[1] CO273/258, Ordinance 15 of 1900 Chinese Immigrants Amend, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 1//9/1900.
[2] CO273/258, Ordinance 15 of 1900 Chinese Immigrants Amend, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 1//9/1900.
[3] CO273/84, Riots Amongst the Chinese in Straits Settlements, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 26/9/1876. pp. 1-4.

cases, the character of the disturbances would be much alike: crowds will collect; stones and broken bottles would, in the first instance, be freely used; then the Chinese fighting men, armed with long sharpened poles, would turn out and endeavour to clear the streets of their opponents. Looting is an invariable accompaniment of Chinese rioting". In addition, Douglas further stated that there might be a possibility to prevent the outbreak of certain Chinese riot, if Government measures can be translated and posted up in Chinese language:

> With proper watchfulness, opposition to a Government measure need never be allowed to culminate in a riot. Such opposition has invariably arisen from ignorance of the intentions of the Government, and, with the assistance of intelligent Chinese, the Chief Police Officer can easily remove any misunderstanding or prejudice from the minds of the class affected. Before any Government measure affecting the Chinese is put in force, the greatest care should be taken to make it widely known and notices in the Chinese language should be prepared and posted up in conspicuous places, at least a month before it is intended to enforce such measure.[1]

On the other hand, Douglas also demonstrated his observations to the distinction of Chinese riots among the quarrels between secret societies, and tribes:

> Quarrels between Secret Societies are usually brought about by the Headmen on one side or the other, who are able to raise subscriptions and make a profit out of the disturbances. These Headmen encourage the "Samsengs" (or bad characters) under them, wantonly to assault and rob persons belonging to the opposite party. This, as a matter of course, leads to counter assaults and robberies, until, after a few days, the two parties in town and country are in a state of open warfare.
> Sometimes, however, especially in the case of quarrels between two tribes, or between Hokiens and Cantonese, little or no warning is given, and a single affront offered to a man of one tribe, or of one of the two provinces, may be regarded as a party matter, and be sufficient to bring about a general quarrel.[2]

Above quotation pinpoints two factors contributing to the Chinese riots: quarrels between secret societies are often commanded by the leaders of secret societies, while their riots were assaulted in planning; quarrels between two tribes who came from different provinces were often assaulted spontaneously. In other words, the mode of former quarrels was bigger than the latter. Therefore, Douglas emphasized in the

[1] CO273/84, Riots Amongst the Chinese in Straits Settlements, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 26/9/1876. pp. 1.
[2] Ibid.

memorandum that the "headmen" of the secret societies should be summoned and detained at the Head Station once the disturbances by the secret societies is arise. According to Douglas, the detention of secret societies "headmen", who were respectable and influential among Chinese communities was beneficial to the Colonial Government in quelling the Chinese riots, particularly in the cases of quarrels between tribes:

> The Headmen should then at once be summoned, sworn in as Special Constables, and detained at the Head Station, with a view more of affording them an opportunity of coming to some agreement, and preventing them from making mischief outside, than for actual duty as Constables; although, when they shew a disposition to come to terms, their services may be made most useful.
> In the case of quarrels between tribes, or between Cantonese and Hokiens, more circumspection is required in swearing in Special Constables, as the Headmen are often some of the most respectable Chinese, who have themselves an interest in preserving the peace of the Settlements, and would resent as an affront being sworn in as Special Constables.
> In such cases the Inspector-General or Superintendent should leave it to them to furnish a list of the most dangerous men on each side, whom it would be desirable to summon as Special Constables, and swear in as such, with a view to preventing their taking part in the disturbances…
> The Headmen, if detained as Special Constables, seldom hold out longer than a week or ten days, and the moment they shew signs of wishing to come to a settlement, the good offices of the Chinese Justices of the Peace are most useful in arranging terms.
> When a settlement is being arranged, some of the Headmen may with great advantage be put on duty in the streets in which they have most influence, and, in order to prevent unnecessary excitement, a Headmen should always be attached to any party of Police employed in executing Warrants in the country districts where the persons to be arrested recognize his authority.
> As soon as a settlement has been arrived at, the terms of it should be drawn out in Chinese and signed by as many of the Headmen as possible, and a sufficient number of copies should be lithographed and posted up in town and country.[1]

It can be observed from above quotations that the "headmen" of secret societies have been imposed by the British colonial officials as "espial" in quelling the Chinese riots during the detention; however, ample rewards were given to the "headmen" in return by British colonial government. Despite the co-operation from the "headmen" might useful in preventing and quelling the Chinese riots in the Straits Settlements; nevertheless, Douglas stated the Superior Officers should not relax their efforts to

[1] CO273/84, Riots Amongst the Chinese in Straits Settlements, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 26/9/1876. pp. 2-4.

remove the turmoil causes of the Chinese riots. While the riot arising, sufficient force would be steadily directed by the Colonial Government due to put down the riot. Following are the forces and measures stated in the memorandum in quelling the Chinese riots:

> On the first sign of the use of sticks or stones, a sufficient force of Police should be brought together, not only to clear the street, and drive the rioters into their houses, but also to apprehend some of them, and persons so apprehend should be dealt with summarily and severely by the Magistrates. While the riot is confined to single street, it will be best dealt with by marching from 15 to 20 men simultaneously from each end of it, and a few men should act as a reserve, at either end, to prevent the mob breaking out; the two parties, each headed by a European Officer should, on a signal agreed upon, by whistle or bugle, change down the street, making free use of their truncheons, until they meet in the middle; the mob will, by this time, be pretty well broken up, and the Police will probably have no difficulty in securing a few of the rioters, whom they were escort back to the end of the street, and give in charge to the reserve. Advantage should be taken of a house or room close by, in which these prisoners can be kept tied, under one or two of the reserve, until it is convenient to send them under a proper escort to the Court; by this means the main body will be left free to continue their proceedings against the mob…
>
> Should it be found that the rioting cannot be put down without having recourse to stronger measures, it may be found necessarily to send out parties of Police armed with rifles to take up particular stations and keep back the rioters.
>
> No armed party should consist of less than ten men and one Non-Commissioned Officer, and should be accompanied by a Justice of the Peace, and if possible by a number of special and ordinary Police Constables, for the purpose of making arrests.
>
> The main body of the Police, however, should still be armed with batons, or side-arms, as with rifles in their hands they are unable to make arrests and to perform ordinary Police duty.
>
> Should a body of armed Police at any time during the riots receive orders from a Justice of the Peace to fire, they must not on any account do so except by regular word of command from the senior Police Officer or Constable present; and the Officer or Constable must not give the word "Fire" unless distinctly ordered to do so by the Justice of the Peace under whose authority he is acting.
>
> In the same way, when a Justice is *not* present, they must not fire except by order of the senior Police Officer or Constable present, and then only in self defence, or to prevent the commissioner of some serious crime attended with violence…
>
> In no case should the Police fire over the heads of the mob, and when the necessity for firing arises, it ought to be directed against the leaders of the riot, and if possible with effect.[1]

[1] CO273/84, Riots Amongst the Chinese in Straits Settlements, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 26/9/1876. pp. 2-4.

In other words, despite the memorandum was adopted during 1876 in quelling the Chinese riots and disturbances in the Straits Settlements, however, it is worthy to note from the content of memorandum that there was tendency for British Colonial Government to suppress the secret societies in Malaya during 1889.

4.2.3 Establishment of "Chinese Protectorate"

The system of "Chinese Protectorate" was first established in the Straits Settlements in 1877.[1] According to the colonial office file of CO 273/93, William Pickering was the first Chinese Protector in British Malaya.[2] The first office of Chinese Protectorate was opened in Singapore during 1877; while the Penang office and Malacca office were opened in 1881 and 1911.[3] In the Federated Malay States, the first office of Chinese Protectorate was opened in Perak, Taiping in 1883; but it was moved to Ipoh during 1893. The Selangor office was opened at Kuala Lumpur in 1890 and its jurisdiction was subsequently extended to Pahang. On the other hand, the office of Chinese Protectorate in Negeri Sembilan was opened at Seremban in 1914.[4] Besides the based in the Straits Settlements, the offices of Chinese Protectorate were mainly located within the tin mining areas in the Federated Malay States.

Duties of Chinese Protector were mentioned in the colonial office file of CO 273/373 in March 1911.[5] Duties of Chinese Protector were in connection with following issues, such as inspection and registration of Chinese immigrants, dealing with the secret societies, protection of women and girls, suppression of gambling, and other matters affecting the Chinese community in generally.[6] In this colonial office file, a British colonial official, John Anderson has suggested to the Legislative

[1] CO273/613, Restriction of Chinese Immigration, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 1935.
[2] CO 273/ 93, Mr. Pickering, Protector of Chinese. Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 3/1/1878.
[3] CO273/613, Restriction of Chinese Immigration, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 1935.
[4] Ibid.
[5] CO273/373, Procedures for Introduction of Labour from India and China, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 28/3/1911.
[6] CO273/373, Procedures for Introduction of Labour from India and China, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 28/3/1911.

Council that the cost of Chinese Protectorate should be shared between Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements, due to the Chinese labors were widespread in both Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States. On the other hand, on 2nd July of 1914, Mr. R. J. Wilkinson as Administering Officer has recommended three alterations in relating to Chinese Protectorate's posts to the Colonial Government.[1] Mr. Wilkinson has suggested to the Colonial Government that the post of Secretary for Chinese Affairs should be turned into as Registrar of Companies and Official Assignee; the post of Assistant Protectorate of Chinese, Penang, should be reduced from Class III to Class IV; while the post of Second Assistant Protectorate of Chinese, Penang, should be abolished. These proposals were approved by Mr. Harcourt during 3rd September, 1914.[2] On the other hand, three more alterations for Chinese Protectorate's posts were recommended in the colonial office files of CO 273/483 in 1919.[3] First, the Protector of Chinese of the Straits Settlements should be raised from Class III to Class II. Second, the Assistant Protector of Chinese of Penang should be raised from Class IV to Class III. Third, two additional Assistant Protector of Chinese Class IV should be provided one in Singapore, one in Penang.[4] It is important to note that those "two additional Assistant Protector of Chinese Class IV" is pertaining to Chinese merchants, who were respectable and influential in the Straits Settlements. It can be observed from the statements in the colonial office files of CO 273/483 that Chinese Protectorate in British Malaya needed the assistance from Chinese merchants, as follow:

> …routine work of the Protectorate has shown a large increase during the past five years and with the introduction of the draft Labour Code will increase still further. It is not advisable that the senior officer at Singapore and Penang should have a considerable portion of his time occupied with these matters. He should have more time to devote to the general supervision of the Chinese population and to enquire into the special problems which Chinese affairs in this Colony are likely to present in the future. Further the Chinese merchant class is an influential and prosperous section of the community with whom the Protectorate's duties often bring him into touch. These merchants undoubtedly attach considerable

[1] CO273/483, Staff of Chinese Protectorate, Straits Settlements, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 4/7/1919.
[2] CO273/483, Staff of Chinese Protectorate, Straits Settlements, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 4/7/1919.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

> importance to the status of the Officer in communication with them and for this reason alone it will be wise measure to raise the class of the two senior posts.[1]

In other words, Chinese merchants have been involved and possessed posts as Assistant Protector of Chinese in the department of Chinese Protectorate since 1919.

In 1934, two appointments of Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Straits Settlements and Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Federated Malay States were combined under the department title of "Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Malaya".[2] The holder of this appointment is stationed at Singapore, together with the Assistant Secretary for Chinese Affairs and the Chinese Assistant to the Secretary for Chinese Affairs of Malaya, and the headquarters subordinate staff. These officers are paid, half by the Straits Settlements and half by the Federated Malay States.[3] All senior appointments in the Department of Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Malaya are listed as table 4.1. The Secretary for Chinese Affairs of Malaya also advises the Unfederated Malay States on Chinese matters but has no executive powers. The Protectorate staff in these states consists of a Protectorate and an Assistant Protectorate in Johor and a Protectorate in Kedah.[4] According to colonial office file of CO 273/613, Department of "Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Malaya" would administers following ordinances and enactments, such as Societies Ordinance and Enactment; Ordinance and Enactment for the Protection of Women and Girls; Labor Ordinance and Labor Code (so far as Chinese employees are concerned); and the Pawnbrokers Enactment in the Federated Malay States.[5] Furthermore, Chinese Protectorate officers also are Registrar, Deputy Registrars or Assistant Registrars of Societies for their respective

[1] CO273/483, Staff of Chinese Protectorate, Straits Settlements, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 4/7/1919.
[2] CO273/613, Restriction of Chinese Immigration, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 1935. pp. 1.
[3] Ibid.
[4] CO273/613, Restriction of Chinese Immigration, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 1935. pp. 2.
[5] Ibid.

settlements or states in British Malaya.[1] The detailed for registration of secret societies by Chinese Protectorate will be illustrated in chapter 4.2.5.

Table 4.1: Senior Appointments in Department of Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Malaya.[2]

Administrative Unit	Senior Appointments in Department
Straits Settlements	
Singapore	1. Assistant Protector of Chinese 2. Second Assistant Protector of Chinese 3. Extra Assistant Protector of Chinese 4. Lady Assistant Protector of Chinese
Penang	1. Protector of Chinese 2. Assistant Protector of Chinese
Malacca	1.Assistant Protector of Chinese
Federated Malay States	
Ipoh	1. Protector of Chinese 2. Assistant Protector of Chinese, Perak
Kuala Lumpur	1. Protector of Chinese, Selangor and Pahang 2. Assistant Protector of Chinese, Selangor and Pahang
Seremban	1. Protector of Chinese, Negeri Sembilan

4.2.4 Scheme for Chinese Interpreters

During 1877, the Secretary of State for the Straits Settlements had approved a scheme for supplying a qualified body of Chinese Interpreters for the Straits Settlements. All Chinese interpreters employed by the Colonial Government will be arranged in the department of "Secretary for Chinese Affairs" under the supervision of the Protector of Chinese. The qualifications for the admission and promotion of Chinese interpreters will be categorized into three grades with different salaries, as table 4.2. No Chinese interpreter will be employed or promoted except after the official examination.[3]

[1] CO273/613, Restriction of Chinese Immigration, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 1935. pp. 2.
[2] Source: CO273/613, Restriction of Chinese Immigration, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 1935. pp. 1.
[3] CO 273/ 93, Mr. Pickering, Protector of Chinese. Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 3/1/1878. (CO 273/ 93 was extracted from Government Gazette in 17/10/1879). See also CO273/326, Salaries of Chinese Interpreter, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 14/2/1907.

Table 4.2: Qualification of Chinese Interpreters[1]

Grade	Qualifications	Salary ($)
1	1. English, spoken and written. 2. Three dialects of Chinese. 3. Chinese written language. Malay, spoken and written.	$ 1,200 ($ 1,500 after 5 years approved service.)
2	1. English, spoken, and fair knowledge of writing. 2. Two dialects of Chinese. 3. Chinese written language. Malay, spoken.	$ 780 ($ 900 after 5 years approved service.)
3	1. English, spoken. 2. Two dialects of Chinese. 3. Malay, spoken.	$ 420 ($ 540 after 5 years approved service.)

Table 4.3: Classes, Qualifications and Salaries of Chinese Interpreters in 1906[2]

Class	Designation	Qualifications	Salary ($)
I	Senior Interpreters	1. English, spoken and written. 2. Any two of following dialects: Hokkien or Tiechiu; Cantonese; Kheh. 3. Chinese written character.	$ 2,160 (annual increment $ 120 until the salary has drawn $ 2,400).
II	Certificated Interpreters	1. English, spoken and written. 2. Any two of following dialects: Hokkien or Tiechiu; Cantonese; Kheh.	$ 720 (annual increment $ 60 until the salary has drawn $ 1,200; $ 120 until the salary has drawn $ 1,560).
III	Interpreters	None.	$ 420 (No increment).

A new scheme for Chinese Interpreters prepared by the Secretary for Chinese Affairs has been approved in the Legislative Council on 26th February of 1906.[3] Subjects like "qualifications", "appointments", "pay", "examination", "letter of appointment", "register of interpreters", "transfers", "student interpreters" have been

[1] Source: CO 273/ 93, Mr. Pickering, Protector of Chinese. Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 3/1/1878. (CO 273/ 93 was extracted from Government Gazette in 17/10/1879). See also Wong (2009: 20).
[2] See "Scheme for Chinese Interpreters" in CO273/326, Salaries of Chinese Interpreter, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 14/2/1907.
[3] CO273/326, Salaries of Chinese Interpreter, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 14/2/1907.

formulated in this scheme. According to the new scheme for Chinese Interpreters, all Chinese Interpreters shall be divided into three classes with different qualifications and salaries, as table 4.3.

Certificated Interpreter will be eligible to receive pensionable increases to the annual salary drawn by him by passing examinations in the additional qualifications set out by the scheme as table 4.4. It can be observed from the table 4.4 that the pensionable increments of Chinese Certificated Interpreters in dialects of Chinese minority i.e. "Hailam", "Hokchiu" or "Hinghua" were higher than the Chinese majority, such as "Hokkien", "Cantonese", "Tiechiu" and "Kheh". Furthermore, these qualifications also pinpoint the Chinese communities have been classified by the Secretary for Chinese Affairs based on the criterion of "dialect differences".

Table 4.4: Qualifications of Pensionable Increment for Chinese Certificated Interpreters.[1]

Qualifications	Salary ($)
Written in Chinese character	240
Spoken dialect of Hailam; or Hokchiu; or Hinghua	180
Spoken dialect of Kheh; or Cantonese	120
Spoken dialect of Hokkien or Tiechiu[2]	120
English spoken and written	180
In any other language or dialect.	180

A Certificated Interpreter presenting himself for examination for pensionable increments in Chinese character will be required to pass the following standards: first, ability to translate into clear and accurate English, letters, petitions, notices, etc; second, ability to translate into Chinese in correct form drafts of letters, notices, etc; third, ability to read running hand of fair difficulty; and forth, ability to draw up a statement of accounts from a set of Chinese books of no exceptional intricacy.[3]

[1] See "Scheme for Chinese Interpreters" in CO273/326, Salaries of Chinese Interpreter, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 14/2/1907.
[2] Involvement included "for either dialect in the case of an Interpreter who did not present the other dialect as a qualifying subject or who has not received a special increase for it; in the case of other Interpreters". See "Scheme for Chinese Interpreters" in CO273/326, Salaries of Chinese Interpreter, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 14/2/1907.
[3] See "Scheme for Chinese Interpreters" in CO273/326, Salaries of Chinese Interpreter, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 14/2/1907.

Table 4.5: Qualification Standards of Certificated Interpreter and Senior Interpreter [1]

Qualification Standards	Certificated Interpreter	Senior Interpreter
Dialect	1. Ability to interpret accurately between the Board and Chinese ignorant of any dialect. 2. Ability to translate idiomatic passages from Hopkins' "Guide to Kuan Hua" or from any similar book. 3. Ability to translate with readiness and accuracy passages read out from depositions, etc. 4. A fair, accent, vocabulary and idiom.	1. A high degree of proficiency in the qualifications of a Certificated Interpreter. Consideration will be given to candidates with knowledge of three or more dialects.
English	1. Ability to converse readily, intelligibly and intelligently upon all ordinary topics. 2. Ability to write down in good English a narrative orally detailed and explained in Chinese.	1. The possession of a command of English both spoken and written fully adequate for all interpretation and translation.
Chinese Character	1. Ability to write down in good English a narrative orally detailed and explained in Chinese.	1. Translation into English of letters, petitions, etc., written in Chinese that in use in ordinary documents. 2. Translation into sound and idiomatic Chinese of drafts of letter, notices and notification and of extracts from Ordinances. 3. Ability to read fluently running hand of considerable difficulty. 4. Ability to draw up a statement of accounts from a set of Chinese books of considerably intricacy.

[1] See "Scheme for Chinese Interpreters" in CO273/326, Salaries of Chinese Interpreter, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 14/2/1907.

Members of the Examining Boards will be formed by the Secretary of Chinese Affairs. The examinations to seek qualify Senior Interpreter will be conducted in individually. Standards for the qualifications of Senior Interpreter and Certificated Interpreter set out by the scheme are listed in table 4.5.

The Local Head of the Educational Department will assist in the examination in English. Besides, the Board of Examiners will in all cases report the result of examination of Senior Interpreters and Certificated Interpreters to the Colonial Secretary; while the percentage marks by the candidates obtained in each subject will be stated and forwarded to the Colonial Secretary in English.[1]

According to the "Scheme for Chinese Interpreters" in 1906, Senior Interpreter and Certificated Interpreter will be appointed under following conditions: first, he has served as an Interpreter for twelve months; second, he has been examined and reported upon by a Board composed of at least of two persons appointed by the Secretary for Chinese Affairs with the approval of the Colonial Secretary; third, a report upon his ability as Interpreter, his character and general conduct has been received from the Head of his Department. During 1906, there were 30 appointments for Certificated Interpreters and 4 appointments for Senior Interpreters in the Straits Settlements, which held by Chinese Protectorate, Supreme Court, Official Assignee's Office, Police Court, Court of Requests, Inspector-General of Police Office, Registry of Deeds, Coroner's Office, Stamp Office, District Offices i.e. in Christmas Island, Dindings, Balik Pulau, Butterworth, Bukit Martajam, and Nibong Tebal.[2]

In addition, "Student Interpreters" also will be appointed from time to time upon the recommendation of the Secretary for Chinese Affairs. According to the scheme, such student must have a fair knowledge of English and either of two dialects of Chinese or in the alternative of one dialect of the Chinese written character. Student

[1] See "Scheme for Chinese Interpreters" in CO273/326, Salaries of Chinese Interpreter, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 14/2/1907.
[2] Ibid.

Interpreters will pursue a course of study under the direction of the Secretary for Chinese Affairs. Student Interpreter who on appointment will receive a salary of $ 360 and rising to $ 420 after one year's approved service. A Student Interpreter who has passed in the qualification of a Certificated Interpreter as set out in the scheme will be eligible to draw pay at the rate of $ 600 and will continue to draw such pay until he is appointed a Qualified Interpreter.[1]

4.2.5 Registration of Secret Societies and Implementation of "Societies Ordinance"

During 14th December of 1874, a petition which signed by groups of European merchants, bankers, traders, planters and residents in Singapore has been sent to the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements due to express their opinions to the Colonial Government about the limitations of "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance".[2] This petition has pointed that the origin of serious riots and disturbances was secret societies; which often outbreak through the fierce competitions among different secret societies in coolie trade. Therefore, "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance" might not effective enough to provide better protection for Chinese coolies:

> …it is true that some years ago, and even now to a considerable extent, the influence of the Secret Societies is brought to bear more oppressively upon men arriving ignorant of our laws and customs than it can be upon those to whom some residence in the place has taught their rights and privileges. But the evident cure for this is to abolish and do away forever with these Societies, which have been the origin and support of every serious disturbance which has broken out in the Settlement. Once landed in Singapore, and apart from this influence, the competition for labor is so great as to obtain for the newly arrived Immigrant perfect security from extortion or unfair labor bargains. The only danger which assails him is that he may be, either before landing or after, hurried and cajoled into engagements to work in countries outside of this Settlement, and in ignorance shipped away beyond the influence and protection of our laws; and to meet this an emigration and not an immigration measure is required. Your Petitioners are of opinion that the Harbour and Police authorities should be authorized to board all vessels arriving with Coolies, and to see that none of them

[1] See "Scheme for Chinese Interpreters" in CO273/326, Salaries of Chinese Interpreter, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 14/2/1907.
[2] CO273/80, Ordinance 10/1873 Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 29/4/1875. See also appendix 9.

> are shipped off without landing unless they thoroughly comprehend and assent to their engagements; moreover, that the Harbour and Police authorities should see that no vessels leave the Port with Coolies for service outside the Colony, unless the engagements of such Coolies are explained to, and assented to, by them.[1]

It can be observed from above quotation that the secret society is a good servant but a bad master. Secret societies were controlled the sources of coolie supply, in which include the processes of coolies' acquirement from China and coolies' distribution to Malaya during nineteenth century; but at the same time , secret societies also threatened the public peace and economic development of British Malaya. Therefore, the petitioners in colonial file CO 273/80 did not suggest to the British colonial government to suppress those secret societies in black and white, but kept emphasized that the maintenance of "absolute freedom Immigration" in Malaya was rather important than the suppression of secret societies because the progress and prosperity of British Malaya were dependent upon the labor supply.[2] From this, it can be perceived that the hesitation of British colonial government to suppress the secret societies in the 1870s is mainly causing by the supply of Chinese coolies to Malaya.

Nevertheless, according to the annual reports of the Straits Settlements of 1878, "registration of secret societies" has been conducted by Chinese Protectorate in co-operation with police officers since 1877:

> 35. The Protector of Chinese reports a continuance during 1878 of the quite and orderly conduct of the Chinese inhabitants of the Colony. The re-registration of the secret societies was completed in January last, and the total number of members now on the books is 17,906, of which number, 3,862 have joined during the past year. During the period under review the headmen of the various Hoeys have, almost without exceptions, afforded prompt and efficient assistance when called upon by the Inspector-General of Police or the Protector of Chinese; and they have shown a marked and growing disposition to refer their disputes and quarrels to the Government, instead of, as heretofore, fighting on every possible occasion. The best disciplined society in Singapore is the Ghee Hok, which now contains 3,294 registered members, yet the whole amount of subscriptions (nominally $1 per head) received during 1878 only amounted to

[1] CO273/80, Ordinance 10/1873 Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 29/4/1875. See also appendix 9.
[2] CO273/80, Ordinance 10/1873 Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 29/4/1875. See also appendix 9.

> $2,363. The members, but is at present in a disorganised state, and the subscriptions only amount to about $1,000.[1]

From above quotation, it can be observed that the efficient assistance of "headmen" of secret societies was closely related with the British precautions in quelling the Chinese riots during 1876. The "headmen" of secret societies have been imposed by British colonial officials as "espial" in quelling the Chinese riots during the detention; but ample rewards were given to the "headmen" in return by British colonial government.[2] Therefore, the "headmen" of various secret societies were willing to afford prompt and efficient assistance when called upon by the Inspector-General of Police or the Protector of Chinese during 1877.

However, the Governor of Singapore, Sir Frederick Weld was doubted about the abilities of police officers and Protectors of Chinese to immune the secret societies from riots.[3] On 21st October of 1880, Sir Frederick Weld has mentioned in the annual report of Straits Settlements, 1879 that all secret societies in British Malaya should be suppressed by legislation since the number of secret societies' members were greatly increased:

> 41. The registration of the secret societies has conduced in some measure to the satisfactory state of things now existing, but there can be little doubt that to the present influence of the chief police officers and Protectorate of Chinese is mainly due the good order and immunity from riots which the Colony has for some time enjoyed.
> 42. The power of the dangerous societies has been greatly weakened, though one or two of them, owing to the want of influence exercised by their headmen, require constant supervision. The Protector of Chinese and the Inspector General of Police are of opinion that the Governor should have power to suspend or cancel the registration of any society, in order that the Executive might be enabled to have better check on such as are dangerous to the public peace, or even (if found advisable) to suppress the whole of them in this Colony.
> 43. I shall, after I have gained more local experience, be in a position to advise your Lordship as to the necessity of introducing any fresh legislation dealing with this subject.

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[1] See *Annual Report on the administration of Straits Settlements in 1878* regarding on "Chinese Protectorate, Singapore" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 383-384.
[2] See chapter 4.2.2.
[3] See *Annual Report on the administration of Straits Settlements in 1879* regarding on "Chinese Protectorate" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 410-411.

44. During 1879, the number of members on the register books of the secret societies amounted to 23,588, as against 17,906 in the previous year, while the number of actual subscribers was 15,888, as against 13,306 in 1878. In Penang the registered members amounted to 39,627.[1]

Table 4.6: Societies Excepted under "Societies Ordinance 1889".[2]

Name of Society	Date of Registration
Singapore Club	3/4/1890
Tanglin Club	3/4/1890
Jenlonia Club	3/4/1890
Masonie Club	3/4/1890
Singapore Crickets Club	3/4/1890
Singapore Pawning Club	3/4/1890
Ladies Loan Tennis Club	3/4/1890
Singapore Cycling Club	3/4/1890
Engineer Association	3/4/1890
Singapore Photographer Society	3/4/1890
Singapore Rice Association	3/4/1890
The Swiss Shooting Club	3/4/1890
Straits Chinese Recreation Club	3/4/1890
E Lam Teng	3/4/1890
Peng Ann Koer Club	3/4/1890
Chao Heng Phoh Club	3/4/1890
Chinese Christian Association	3/4/1890
Singapore Recreation Club	18/4/1890
Singapore Sporting Club	9/5/1890
Straits Medieval Association	9/5/1890
Chew Nah Lim	9/5/1890
Lim Baw Choon Club	23/5/1890
Wan Cheng Kok Club	30/5/1890
Ban Choon Hwee Club	30/5/1890
Yong Ann Bangolow	30/5/1890
Mutual Improvement Society	20/6/1890
Raffles School Crickets Club	20/6/1890
Kwan Chiu Hin Club	20/6/1890
Ban Chye Ho Club	20/6/1890
Ban Hock Choon Club	20/6/1890
Hao Chai Biow Temple	11/7/1890
Hong Sin Hol Hwa Society	11/7/1890
Poh Chew Kiong Temple	11/7/1890
Kwa Lin Tong Hooi Che Temple	11/7/1890

[1] See *Annual Report on the administration of Straits Settlements in 1879* regarding on "Chinese Protectorate" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 410-411.

[2] Source: CO 273/168, Suppression of Chinese Secret Societies, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 6/10/1890. pp. 61. There were 18 names missing in this official record. See also Wong (2009: 22).

According to the colonial office file of CO 273/168, British Colonial Government has implemented a legislative rule to suppress the widespread of secret societies: "Societies Ordinance, 1889".[1] The list of societies which excepted from the Registration under the "Societies Ordinance, 1889" is listed in table 4.6.

Acting Protector of Chinese, Mr. Wray has sent a report to the Governor regarding to the existence of a secret society in Singapore "Gi Tiong Heng" on 4th March of 1892.[2] An order of banishment is made against seven Chinese who named Tan Lim, Kho Ju Chia, Tiun Pek Lin, Lek Chun Peng, Jon Pha, Kho Eng Loe and Ang Toa Sun.[3] After enquiries, the Legislative Council have came out following decisions:

> It is finally decided that Kho Ju Chia shall be released on condition that he leaves the Colony within three days and does not return to Singapore for one year, and that on his return he will give security, to be approved by the Government, for his good behaviour.
> It is further decided that the orders of banishment against Tan Lim, Lek Chun Peng, and Kho Eng Loe shall be carried out at once, and they are informed accordingly, and warned that if they return they will be imprisoned for life. An order of banishment is made against Ngo Yeow Chin with a view to his being arrested and brought before the Council.[4]

From above quotation, it can be observed that the determination of British Colonial Government to suppress the secret societies in Singapore was strong. By the way, the enquiries by Mr. Wray towards these seven Chinese have been recorded word by word in English in the colonial office file of CO 273/180. It is important to state that the statements made by those Chinese in relating to secret society of "Gi Tiong Heng" during the enquiries are commonly consisted by following issues: prefectures or provinces where they came from, how many year they have been stayed in Singapore, occupations, wages and working experiences in British Malaya,

[1] CO273/168, Suppression of Secret Societies, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 6/10/1890. pp. 45-54.
[2] CO273/180, Chinese Society Gi Tiong Heng, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 16/4/1892.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

and their connection with secret societies i.e. in relating with their recruitment of coolies as "sin-keh" and "Lau-keh", and money have been paid for the worship subscription of secret societies.[1]

During the 1890s, British Colonial Government has suppressed all secret societies in the Straits Settlements under the supervision of Chinese Protectorate. In 1891, Sir C. C. Smith has sent an official letter to Sultan Johor- Sultan Abu Bakar- on behalf of Colonial Government due to seek for the co-operation from Johor Government to suppress all secret societies throughout the Federated Malay States, Johor and Kedah.[2] On 23rd July of 1891, Sultan Abu Bakar has replied to Sir C. C. Smith that he was refusing to British's request to suppress the secret societies in Johor. He claimed that there was only one "secret societies" which recognized by the Johor Government in Johor; while the operation of this secret society was beneficent:

> There is only one so called Secret Society in Johore, and this Society, as explained to you by the Dato Henri during my absence in Europe has been in existence from the time when the Chinese first came over to plant Gambier and Pepper. This Society, the "Ngi Hin Kongsi", is a recognised institution and I may almost say an institution established under my patronage, in as much as it owed its raison d'être to the fact-
> (a) that I allowed it on the clear understanding that no other Chinese society of the kind would ever again be permitted to be established in Johore;
> (b) that it should be a declared friendly Society;
> (c) that the officers of the Society would be responsible for the good behaviour of the members, individually and collectively;
> (e) that all Captains China and Kang Chus (Heads of rivers) must be or become members of the Society;
> and such other conditions as were thought necessary to enable my Government to have a thorough control over the Society, for the safeguard of public peace…it is not "Societies" but one Society only, and this one Society as a friendly Society has been of vast use and benefit to my Chinese population.[3]

There were resistances and disapprovals of Chinese community outbreak in the Straits Settlements in regard to the suppression of secret societies. On 6th March of 1893, Resident Councilor of Penang Settlement, A. M. Skinner has sent a memorandum to the Colonial Secretary in regard to the Chinese resistances towards

[1] CO273/180, Chinese Society Gi Tiong Heng, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 16/4/1892.
[2] CO273/250, Chinese Triad Societies, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 20/1/1899.
[3] Ibid.

Colonial Government's suppression of secret societies. This memorandum was translated and composed by Acting Assistant Protector of Chinese, G. T. Hare; while this memorandum was composed by the petitions which signed by two Penang Chinese parties in 1893.[1] According to Mr. Hare, two of these Penang Chinese parties were leaded by Li Phi Yau and Koh Seang Tat, who were men with substance and position in Penang; while a large number of Chinese whose fortunes financially are more or less in their hands. Mr. Hare stated the first and second Chinese petition were indeed "a covert attempt to block the way to the appointment of a Royal Commission", because these petitions have implicated, but not express their disapproval to Sir Cecil Smith's policy for the suppression of secret societies in Penang:

> …the real gist of the matter is that they wish to express their disapproval of the first Chinese petition in favour of Sir Cecil Smith's policy re the suppression of the Societies and his retention in office. They do not dare to openly to censure the Secret Societiy polity of Sir Cecil Smith but, by tacking on to the petition their views about Penang grievances, they have cleverly manage to hint, while talking about a Royal Commission for Penang, that they disagree with the former Chinese petition which dealt almost exclusively with the Governor's policy in regard to the suppression of the Secret Societies…This second petition does not dare to say that Sir Cecil Smith's policy of suppression was wrong, because the authors know well that many Chinese who have signed the petition believing it to be are asking for a Royal Commission would not have dare so if they had known that the petition was one to censure the policy of the Government in suppressing the Secret Societies.[2]

Mr. Hare has suspected about the split of Penang Chinese into two parties in such petitions. The first and second petition was split by the followers of Li Phi Yau and Koh Seang Tat. Mr. Hare pointed most of their followers were China-born Chinese traders, the Opium and Spirit Farmers, and their friends in such connections. Mr. Hare also compared these Penang Chinese petitions with those Chinese petitions in Singapore, and he has founded that many Chinese petitioners who signed in the Penang petitions were similar to that in Singapore. By looking through the signatures, he also founded that ten petitioners are those of ex-headmen or members of the suppressed secret societies, such as "Kien Tek" and "Ghee Hin". Consequently, Mr.

[1] CO273/186, Petition of Chinese in Penang, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 14/3/1893.
[2] CO273/186, Petition of Chinese in Penang, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 14/3/1893.

Hare has expressed his personally opinion to the Penang Governor in this memorandum, as follow:

> I am of opinion that the representation of this second petition is largely due first to animus on the part of the two chief promoters, Mr. Li Phi Yau and Mr. Koh Seang Tat, who thought themselves slighted by the action of the other part of the Chinese community in regard to the first petition, and secondly to the ill-will undoubtedly felt by a large number of the old Gi-Heng and other Triad headmen towards the Governor as the destroyer of their cherished Triad Institutions. I do not think it is a fair petition on the question of the grievances of Penang and the demand for a Royal Commission to inquire into them. Its real object is to protest against and express disagreement with the first petition sent in and this is done by making the question of Penang grievances a means by which the petitioners can indirectly attack the first petition, which dealt almost exclusively with the question of the suppression of the Secret Societies.[1]

It can be observed from above petitions that the Chinese communities in Penang and Singapore were basically controlled by those Chinese merchant or leader who had closely affiliated with secret societies. Despite they have dealt with the British Colonial's suppression of the secret societies, however, those leaders were helpless in resisting towards British colonial regulations since the remnant of the suppressed secret societies were scattered in different places of British Malaya. Furthermore, it is hardly to construct a protest against British Colonial Government among suppressed secret societies, since these secret societies have been competed among each other for a long time during nineteenth century in British Malaya. Eventually, secret societies have completely suppressed by the colonial government.

The annual report of "Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Malaya" of 1935 has provided the numbers of registered societies and exempted societies under "Chinese Protectorate" until the end of 1934, as table 4.7. From table 2.4, 2.5 and table 4.7, it can be observed that Chinese Protectorate's officers did not applied the term "secret societies" but "registered societies" in their office files and documents.[2] From table 4.7, it can be seen that there were 1577 secret societies have been registered and controlled under the supervision of Chinese Protectorate. Furthermore, it is also

[1] CO273/186, Petition of Chinese in Penang, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 14/3/1893.
[2] See also Source: *Annual Report of the Straits Settlements, Malacca during 1881*, regarding on "Chinese and Malay Societies" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 556-557.

clearly to see that before the suppression of secret societies by British Colonial Government, state or settlement used to face fierce competition among secret societies were Singapore, Perak, Penang and Selangor.

Table 4.7: Registered and Exempted Societies of Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States.[1]

Administrative Unit	Registered Societies	Exempted Societies
Straits Settlements	**841**	**750**
Singapore	379	498
Penang	340	139
Malacca	117	109
Labuan	5	4
Federated Malay States	**736**	**497**
Perak	355	193
Selangor	264	185
Negeri Sembilan	74	82
Pahang	43	37
Total	**1577**	**1247**

4.2.6 The Establishment of Government Examination Depòts

According to the annual report of the Straits Settlements, Penang in 1877, "Chinese Protector" and staffs were appointed in accordance with the new establishment of Ordinance 2 and 3 of 1877 for the protection of Chinese immigrants.[2] All Chinese immigrants arriving in the Straits Settlements must receive their labor engagement in the presence of the Chinese Protector, in order to provide assistance and information to the Chinese immigrant.[3] On the other hand, eight respectable depòts have been established under the supervision of the Chinese Protector as lodging house for Chinese immigrants,[4] as well as for Chinese to emigrate and who are awaiting means of transport and there were 20 respectable Chinese have been licensed as "recruiters of coolies" under the supervision of

[1] CO273/613, Restriction of Chinese Immigration, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 1935.
[2] See *Annual Reports of the Strait Settlements, Penang in 1877* regarding on "Chinese Immigration and Emigration" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 348.
[3] See *Annual Reports of the Strait Settlements, Penang in 1877* regarding on "Chinese Immigration and Emigration" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 348.
[4] Ibid.

Chinese Protector. There were 6076 Chinese immigrants and 5107 Chinese emigrants have been registered under the Ordinance 2 and 3 which commenced on 1st October of 1877.[1] Those Chinese immigrants who were registered have been recorded in the annual report of the Straits Settlement, 1877. It is noteworthy that the registration was merely concerned on the "places" where the Chinese immigrants came from:

> Of the immigrants, 2,930 were Tew Chews, 1,791 Foo Chews, 297 Kyan Chews, 268 Cantonese, 377 Hokiens, and 24 Hylams…Of those that emigrated, 2,880 were Tew Chews, 1,635 Foo Chews, 257 Kyan Chew, 168 Cantonese, 69 Hylams, 97 Hokiens, and one was K'see. 3,688 went to Sumatra, viz., 2,342 to Deli, 919 to Langkat, 274 to Sirdang, 138 to Edie, and 15 to Achin, 18 went to the Native States of the Peninsula, and 1,401 entered into engagements in Penang and Province Wellesley.[2]

On 29th April of 1897, a Bill imposing a surtax of one dollar on every Chinese adult male immigrant landed in the Straits Settlements was introduced and read a first time in the Legislative Council meeting, due to build the Government Examination Depòts for Chinese immigrants in Singapore and Penang.[3] This Bill has been cited as "The Immigrants Depòt Ordinance 1897".[4] According to this Ordinance, for a period of two years from the commencement of "The Immigrants Depòt Ordinance 1897", every Chinese immigrant landed in the Straits Settlements shall be paid the surtax for one dollar.[5] Such surtax was collected by the Protector of Chinese and to be paid to the Colonial Treasurer by the owner, agent or master of the ship bringing immigrants into the Straits Settlements.[6] The money accruing from the surtax will kept in the joint account of the Colonial Treasurer and the Protector of Chinese, due to constitute

[1] See *Annual Reports of the Strait Settlements, Penang in 1877* regarding on "Chinese Immigration and Emigration" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 348.
[2] See *Annual Reports of the Strait Settlements, Penang in 1877* regarding on "Chinese Immigration and Emigration" (Jarman 1998: Vol.2), pp. 348-349.
[3] CO273/224, Chinese Immigrants. Examination Depots, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 20/1/1897; CO273/225, Chinese Immigrants and Detention Pots, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 25/5/1897.
[4] CO273/224, Chinese Immigrants. Examination Depots, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 20/1/1897.
[5] CO273/224, Chinese Immigrants. Examination Depots, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 20/1/1897.
[6] CO273/224, Chinese Immigrants. Examination Depots, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 20/1/1897; CO273/225, Chinese Immigrants and Detention Pots, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 25/5/1897.

the “Immigrant Depòt Fund” for the purpose of constructing the examination depòts under “The Chinese Immigrant Ordinance 1880”.[1]

On 7th January of 1897, Attorney-General of the Straits Settlements, W. R. Collyer has objected to this Ordinance. He pointed the Ordinance should not raise a fund for the purpose of building depots for the examination of Chinese immigrants under the provisions of Ordinance IV of 1880.[2] However, a British colonial officer, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was disagreed with Mr. Collyer. On 20th of January 1897, Mr. Chamberlain had proposed to the Colonial Government for the purpose to provide funds for building examination depots for Chinese immigrants.[3] Likewise, before the proposal of Mr. Chamberlin, the Acting Assistant of Chinese Protector, Mr. G. T. Hare has been suggested to the Colonial Government to build a Government Examination Depòt and Wharf during 8th April of 1895 for two reasons. First, to prevent all abuses of Chinese Immigration in the Straits Settlements; second, to ensure all the Chinese immigrants can be dealt with safety and effectually by the examination depot and wharf. Mr. Hare pointed, there were concrete cases shown that the majority of Chinese immigrant vessels may arrived after the sunset, when the Protectorate has closed; or in the early morning in thick weather, before the Protectorate Office can board the ship. Therefore, the establishment of Government Examination Depòt and Wharf was the only solution to solve the problems for the abuse of Chinese Immigration in the Straits Settlements.[4]

According to the suggestion of Mr. Hare, the cost of erection for the examination depòt can easily be repaid by asking the Chinese Immigration Steamships to pay a fee of 50 cents or 25 cents for every deck passenger of Chinese nationality whom landed and examined at the new government jetty. Mr. Hare estimated these fees can be collected in two years or in less time and it will then cease

[1] CO273/224, Chinese Immigrants. Examination Depots, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 20/1/1897.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] See CO273/224, Chinese Immigrants. Examination Depots, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 20/1/1897.

to be charged; after all, there will be no cost for Government to collect new charges. Mr. Hare further stated that the establishment of Government Wharf and Examination Depòt in the Straits Settlements; while hereafter might be established in Amoy, Swatow, Hong Kong and Hoi How, would created ample benefits to the Colony in importing cheap Chinese labors in the future.[1] The recapitulation of the fees regarding on the Detention Depot were demonstrated in the colonial official correspondence CO 273/224, included entrance fee on every credit ticket immigrant when entering the depòt, 50 cents (charged on the employer of labor); depòt-keeper's license, 25 dollar (issued annually, which normally charged on the employer of labor); licenses recruiter, 5 dollar (charged on each coolly); monthly rent for detention depòt, 18 dollar (each depòt consist of 30 cubicles to contain 50 coolies, while water for bath and cleaning latrines were provided); photograph of coolies, 50 cents (charged on the employer of labor) and medical examination fee of coolies, 50 cents (charged on the employer of labor). In 1895, the number of Chinese immigrants conveyed from China and Hong Kong to Singapore were 114687[2]; while the revenue received from the Government Detention Depot in Singapore during 1895 has swell to $ 19,320 (not include the fee of photographing and medical examination of coolies).[3] In other words, the Colonial Government have fully controlled and examined Chinese immigrants and its labor supply by the measures of official regulations and institutions. Eventually, the secret societies as a means in acquiring Chinese coolies from China have been eliminated.

4.3 Impacts of British Colonial Regulation and Institution

Chinese riots and problems created by the secret societies during the 1860s and 1870s in Malaya have raised the curtains for a series of British colonial's regulations and institutions to be implemented due to suppress the Chinese secret societies, in which included the implementation of "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance" and "Societies

[1] See CO273/224, Chinese Immigrants. Examination Depots, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 20/1/1897.
[2] See appendix 8.
[3] See CO273/224, Chinese Immigrants. Examination Depots, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 20/1/1897.

Ordinance", establishment of "Chinese Protectorate" and Government Examination Depòts, registration of secret societies, and measures of scheme for Chinese Interpreters, and British Colonial Precaution in Quelling the Chinese Riots. Despite each of these British colonial institutions was implemented for particular objective to regulate Chinese in Malaya, but in basic, these institutions were derived from the determinations of British colonial government to suppress secret societies.

Secret society is a good servant but a bad master. Secret societies have been controlled the sources of coolie supply, in which included the coolies' acquirement from China and coolies' distribution to Malaya during nineteenth century; but at the same time, secret societies also threatened the public peace and economic development of British Malaya. Though British colonial government was hesitated to suppress the secret societies in the early of the 1870s since they have been concerned such regulations might affected the labor supply and prices of Chinese coolies to Malaya, however, the secrecy movements and indulgences of the secret societies in coolie trade have further forced the British colonial government to suppress the secret societies; while take back the control of Chinese coolies from the hands of secret societies. Eventually, the secret societies as a means in supplying Chinese coolies to British Malaya have been eliminated in the late nineteenth century.

The elimination of secret societies as a control means for Chinese coolies' supply has further contributed to the change of social structure for Chinese communities. Before British colonial regulations and institutions to be undertaken, Chinese were controlled and divided by different secret societies. Due to the barrier of dialect differences among Chinese, there were different Chinese *bang* closely affiliated with each secret societies. Chinese *bang* or gangs of each secret society will be involved in the fighting and quarrels due to plunder and maintain their economic interests and influences for their own societies before the 1870s in Malaya. When the implementations of British colonial regulations and constitutions have taken over the secret societies as the major unit to rule Chinese communities, those territories which have been dominated by such secret societies in Malaya were collapsed. The major

unit to lead the Chinese community in Malaya have transformed from former secret societies' "headmen" to British Colonial Government. Nevertheless, except from suppressed those indulgent secret societies, British Colonial Government did not dispose any new social structure for Chinese community. All Chinese have been classified in their colonial regulations in accordance with the existed Chinese *bang* or gangs divisions in former secret societies. In other words, after the take over by British Colonial Government, all Chinese who used to scatter in different gangs which attached under different secret societies in Malaya have been regrouped by British Colonial Government into several "Chinese tribes" according with their dialect differences by the implementation of "Chinese Protectorate" during 1877.

Before 1934, "Chinese Protectorate" which dealing with secret societies, the inspection and registration of Chinese immigrants, protection of women and girls, suppression of gambling, and other matters affecting the Chinese community of Malaya in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States were separated under different divisions: Secretary for Chinese Affairs of Straits Settlements; and Secretary for Chinese Affairs of Federated Malay States. However, two of these divisions have been combined under the department title of "Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Malaya" which based at Singapore, together with the "Assistant Secretary for Chinese Affairs" and the "Chinese Assistant to the Secretary for Chinese Affairs of Malaya", and the headquarters subordinate staff during 1934. All senior appointments in the Department of Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Malaya are listed as table 4.1. The Secretary for Chinese Affairs of Malaya also advises the Unfederated Malay States on Chinese matters by a Protectorate and an Assistant Protectorate in Johor and a Protectorate in Kedah, but they have no executive powers in the Unfederated Malay States.

In addition, the administering powers of the department of "Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Malaya" are to implement and execute following ordinances and enactments, such as Societies Ordinance and Enactment; Ordinance and Enactment for the Protection of Women and Girls; Labor Ordinance and Labor Code (so far as

Chinese employees are concerned); and the Pawnbrokers Enactment in the Federated Malay States. Furthermore, Chinese Protectorate officers also are Registrar, Deputy Registrars or Assistant Registrars of Societies for their respective settlements or states in British Malaya. It can be observed from the scheme of Chinese Interpreters and the duties of Chinese Protectorate in such British colonial institutions, the dialect differences in the domestic life of Chinese have gradually transformed to the political institution and classification by “Chinese tribes”- such as “Hokkien”, “Tiechiu”, “Cantonese”, “Kheh”, “Hailam”, “Hokchiu” and “Hinghua” which attached under the table 4.3 and 4.4- while such as these political institutions have been gradually combined directly under one British Colonial Government from three different administrative units. Hence, here we find the classification of Malayan Chinese by British Colonial Government based on the dialect criterion as “Chinese tribes” are basically an instituted process with political connotations.

5. CONCLUSION: THE CONNOTATION OF "HAKKA" IN BRITISH MALAYA

Last four chapters have explained the "Hakka" and its "connotation" in British Malaya were formed through an instituted classification process in relating to the formation of British colonial regulations and institutions due to suppress the secret societies. It is vital to note that the term "connotation" in this dissertation is basically denoting the implications and meanings which intertwined together with the term "Kheh" or "Hakka" under different social background; while the connotations of "Kheh" or "Hakka" were gradually transformed into a coherent social unit from the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, particularly before and after the 1870s, during 1911, and the 1930s. In fact, the "connotation" of "Kheh" and "Hakka" were gradually formed through a practical process in the classification process of Chinese and all people in the colonial regulations of British Malaya since the 1870s. However, before proceeding to the emergence of the term "Hakka" in the governmental institutions of British Malaya officially, "Kheh"- the former term of "Hakka" in British Malaya before the 1870s- will be firstly discussed.

As mentioned in the chapter one and two, the major unit of Chinese communities of Malaya before the implementation of British colonial regulations and institutions in the 1870s has been asserted as the secret societies. This assertion was match with the evidences which I found in the *Straits Settlements Original Correspondences (CO 273)*, which proven that the major unit to determine about the terms and conditions of occupation, labor contract, and salary for one Chinese immigrant before the intervention of British Colonial Government in the 1870s, was virtually secret societies. Although these secret societies have created their own organization during the nineteenth century, for instances, Ghee Hin, Hai San and Gi Tiong Heng, however, since the operations of such organizations regarding on the importation, distributions and working conditions of Chinese coolies in Malaya were conducted in a secrecy and non-transparent way, therefore, here we find the reason why these organizations have been called as "secret" societies, no matter by the

Chinese communities itself, or by the British Colonial Government. Apart from this, as mentioned in the chapter two, due to the illegality and the unwillingness of the British colonial government in Malaya to be involved directly in the Chinese coolie trade, it had further provided ample opportunities for the secret societies to pursue profits in the Chinese coolie trade particularly for tin mining purpose. Before the 1870s, the importation, distributions and working conditions of Chinese coolies into Malaya were scattered and competed by different secret societies. Moreover, British colonial officials have been appointed the leaders of Chinese secret societies, or Chinese kapitans to operate and control Chinese coolies in such mining areas. However, such policies have been created an unintended consequence for the secret societies within Chinese communities in Malaya. Due to perpetuate and extend their economic portion in Malaya, a great number of Chinese coolies were imported by the secret societies from the different provinces or places of southern China. The drastic economic competitions among different secret societies have further caused a series of riots, wars and fighting in the mining areas of Federated Malay States, and also Straits Settlements in the 1860s. In the mean time, the dialect differences among Chinese coolies have been automatically separated them into different gangs or *bang* in each secret society. Apparently, this might explains the reason why there were Chinese gangs speaking same dialect, i.e. Kheh or Hakka language were involved in the Larut Wars during the 1860s. Therefore, it can be inferred that the major unit to control of Chinese communities before the implementation of British colonial regulations was secret societies, while the Chinese gangs speaking different dialects were attached under such secret societies, and scattered in different places of British Malaya. In short, "Kheh" before the 1870s was connoted as a Chinese gang or *bang*, which is scattered and attached as an incoherent social unit under different secret society.

The historical document of *Straits Settlements Original Correspondences (CO273/613)*, have shown that there were 1577 secret societies in Malaya have been suppressed under the supervision of Chinese Protectorate until 1934. Furthermore, the historical documents of CO 273 also provided ample evidences that the main cause

for the British Colonial Government to regulate the Chinese communities in Malaya during the 1870s was the secret societies, particularly when the secret societies have created a series of social riots in Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States. Here we find the turning point for the connotation of "Kheh" in Malaya from a gang or *bang*, to a coherent social unit within the Chinese communities, particularly after they had gone through the practical process by a series of colonial regulations, institutions and people classifications of British Colonial Government. It is vital to note that the intervention by the British Colonial Government in such colonial regulations, institutions and people classifications during the 1870s also has represented the turning point for the colonial pattern of British in Malaya. Or more precisely, such interventions have been implicated that British colonial's mindset to colonize Malaya has been changed.

The essence for the mindset of British colonization in the British Malaya was virtually to rule and control the people on the land by their colonial model, which mainly aimed for the opening of new markets for surplus production in Asia during the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1826, British colonial officials has firstly amalgamated three important ports, Penang, Malacca, and Singapore as the Straits Settlements, in order to look after their economic profits in Asian trade businesses. Apparently, it can be observed that the mindset of British colonial officials during that time was primarily aiming for the economic profit in the industries of tin mines, rubber and other commercial agricultures, while British colonial officials were practiced a minimum or "non-intervention" policy towards the Malay States in the Malay peninsular before the 1870s. Secret societies were used as the main mechanism to control over the Chinese coolies who mainly resided in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States; Indian laborers were under controlled by the system kangani; while the Malay Sultanate system to rule over the Malays was maintained in the Unfederated Malay States. However, while the residence period of the British colonial officials were longer, and the British colonial officials were more localize, the more obligations they had to face to. Furthermore, there were social incidents occurred in the 1860s, for instances, Larut Wars and a series of social riots, had

further forced the British Colonial Government to eliminated the policy of "non-intervention" towards Malaya. Therefore, during the beginning of the 1870s, after the British Colonial Government have noticed the main reason for the outbreak of the social riots and fighting in British Malaya were caused by the secret societies, the "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance, 1873" and "Chinese Protectorate" were firstly implemented, due to regulate the inspection and registration of Chinese immigrants, and to control and dealing with the secret societies. In other words, the official intervention of British Colonial Government in Malaya was started in the 1870s, particularly in relating with the suppression of the secret societies.

There were a series of British colonial's regulations and institutions have been conducted during and after the 1870s, including the implementation of "Chinese Immigrant Ordinance, 1873", "Chinese Protectorate", "Scheme for Chinese Interpreter", establishment of the Governmental Examination Depòts, "Societies Ordinance, 1889" and so forth. The social incident, Larut Wars, which had been disrupted British's tin trade in Malaya during the 1860s also further led to the British intervention into Malay States by signing the treaty of "Pangkor Treaty of 1874". Later in 1895 and 1909, Federated Malay States and Unfederated Malay States have been formed, in accordance with the Straits Settlements as three different administrative units as "British Malaya". The formation of British Malaya in accordance with the British intervention has leading the British Colonial Government to deal with the people classification in Malaya, who diverse in their places of origin, races, cultures, and languages. The earliest people classification of British Malaya that I found in the historical materials was classified by the skin's color, which recorded in the annual reports of the Straits Settlements for Malacca in 1867 and 1870. On the other hand, the earliest census reports of the Straits Settlements in 1871 and 1881, and the earliest census reports of the Federated Malay States in 1891 and 1901, have used the term "nationality" to classify all people in Malaya into six main divisions for the census's tabulation purpose, included "European", "Eurasian", "Chinese", "Indian", "Malays", and "Other". It is important to state that the meaning of the term "nationality" in these earliest census reports were connoted to the

"geographical location", and it is completely not equivalent to what we understand about the term "nationality" today. However, while the British colonial officials have gained more experiences through the daily interactions with miscellaneous matters in the three different administrative units within British Malaya, they have perceived more characteristics about the people likes "European", "Eurasian", "Chinese", "Indian", "Malays", and "Other". In 1911, the term "nationality" which using for the people classification in census report has been substituted by the term "race" in the third census report of the Federated Malay States in 1911, and the term "tribe" has been used for the sub-divisions of each "race"; while the divisions of "races" were maintained in six divisions as "European", "Eurasian", "Chinese", "Indian", "Malays", and "Other". The first and the earliest national census report of British Malaya were taken in 1921, and the census's tabulation for the population and its classifications were referred to the census report of Federated Malay States in 1911. The first layer of the populations' classification were divided into six main "races", included "European", "Eurasian", "Chinese", "Indian", "Malays", and "Other"; while the sub-division of "races" were classified as "tribes", included "European tribes", "Eurasian tribes", "Chinese tribes", "Indian tribes", "Malays tribes", and "Other tribes". The "Chinese tribes" in 1921 census of British Malaya consisted of eleven tribes, including "Hokkien", "Cantonese", "Tie Chiu", "Hailam", "Kheh", "Hok Chiu", "Hok Chia", "Hin Hoa", "Kwongsai", "Northern Provinces", and "Other Tribes". In other words, the "Kheh" and other "Chinese tribes" in Malaya that used to scatter and attached under different secret societies as different gangs have been regrouped by the British colonial institution in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century as a coherent social unit – "Chinese tribes"- after the suppression of the secret societies.

However, in the national census report of British Malaya in 1931, there was some revise for the designations in "Chinese tribes", included the "Tie Chiu", "Kheh", "Hok Chia" and "Other Tribes" have been substituted by "Tiu Chiu", "Hakka" "Hok Chhia" and "Other"; while the "Hin Hoa" and "Northern Provinces" have been eliminated from the classification of "Chinese tribes". In other words, the people

classification for the racial division and “Chinese tribes” of British Malaya have been finalize in the census report of 1931, while the classification of “Chinese tribes” consisted of nine divisions, included “Hokkien”, “Cantonese”, “Tiu Chiu”, “Hailam”, “Hakka”, “Hok Chiu”, “Hok Chhia”, “Kwongsai”,, and “Other”. On the other hand, it is also worthy to note that the term “Hakka” has been officially emerged in Malaya during 1931. Nevertheless, before proceeding to the substitution of the term “Hakka” from “Kheh”, the connotations of “Kheh” will be first discussed. The terms which were commonly using by the Chinese within the Chinese communities in Malaya before the 1870s were “Kek”, “Keh” or “Kheh”; while the British colonial government have adopted the term “Kheh” in the political institutions in the census reports of British Malaya since 1911. In my point of view, even though the term using by Chinese communities itself and the British Colonial Government was same as “Kheh”, however, the meaning of “Kheh” was connoting to the different meaning. Within the Chinese communities, “Kheh” was basically connoting to a group of Chinese people who speaking same kind of “Kheh” dialect; while the “Kheh” classified by the British Colonial Government was connoting to a more coherent social unit among the Chinese population in Malaya.

Apart from this, the emergence for the word of “Kheh” during nineteenth century, and the term of “Hakka” during 1931 in Malaya was interrelated with particular metatheory behind the scene. In my point of view, the terms like “Kek”, “Keh” or “Kheh” were equivalent to the Chinese word “*ke* (客)” in Hokkien dialect from southern Fujian province. Therefore, these terms were believed first emerged and commonly used in Malaya in accordance with the earliest and majority settlers of Chinese in the Straits Settlements- “Hokkien” people; while the “Hokkien” have first identified the distinguishable group of later comers by using their own dialect. In the mean time, British colonial officials in Malaya were closely related to these Hokkien merchants and traders in their daily social interaction within Chinese communities during early nineteenth century. Therefore, it were reasonable to see the terms of “Kek”, “Keh” or “Kheh” which connoting to a group of Chinese people speaking “Kheh” dialect were recorded in the colonial writings during nineteenth century, such

as Vaughan (1854, 1971) and Pickering (1876). However, within the interior of "Kheh" community before the 1870s, "Kheh" were denoting to their spoken dialect and primordial affiliations in different divisions of "place of origin" (祖籍) at the same time, in which included "Kheh" of Tingzhou, Yongding, Jiaying, Xingning, Dabu, Hepo, Fengshun, HuiZhou, Zengcheng, Longmen and so forth, which listed as table 1.2. On the other hand, classifications of "Kheh" had first revised to the term "Hakka" in the census of British Malaya during 1931. One striking fact for the substitution from "Kheh" to "Hakka" was the change from Hokkien dialect to the dialect of Cantonese. When pronouncing the Chinese noun "*kejia* (客家)" to the transliteration of Cantonese dialect, the Chinese noun "*ke* (客)" and "*jia* (家)" marked out as "Hak" and "Ka" in Cantonese. The metatheory interrelated with the substitution of "Kheh" to "Hakka" in British Malaya during 1931 was believed in accordance with following element: the internationality of social interactions among British colonial officials in Hong Kong and Malaya. As mentioned in the chapter two, Hong Kong Island was ceded to British by China under the "Treaty Nanking of 1842" during 1842; while Hong Kong became the important colony base for British Empire in Asia. Therefore, it is noteworthy to state that the British colonial officers were deeply influenced by Cantonese dialect compared with other dialects, since the majority of the populations in Hong Kong were originating from Canton province (or present Guangdong province) who spoken Cantonese dialect in their daily social communication. Hong Kong Island considered as the main entrance for Western colonial officials and foreigners to interact with the Chinese after middle of nineteenth century. The foreigners' experiences absorbed from the social interactions with Chinese who spoken Cantonese in Hong Kong also greatly affected the Chinese noun "*kejia* (客家)" had first emerged in the English-language publications as "Hakka" during the 1870. As mentioned in the first page in this thesis, the term "Hakka" had first emerged mostly in the publications by foreigners around the 1870s in China; while the doubts of "Hakka" might not be a true Han Chinese among foreign writers have led to the scholarly controversy and subsequently took up by Luo Xiang Lin in the 1930s due to redefine the originality of "Hakka" as the descendants of Han Chinese. It can be inferred from such as these scholarly controversies during

the 1930s have caused the substitution from “Kheh” to “Hakka” in the 1931 census report of British Malaya through the experiences gained from the internationality of social interaction among British colonial officials in Hong Kong and Malaya.

As conclusion, it has thus become clearer that the suppression of secret societies and the classification process of Chinese in the British Colonial Government during the 1870s have been further conditioned the connotations of “Hakka” in Malaya. Several features outlined above can be summarized as follows. Firstly, the transformation of British colonial’s mindset in Malaya pertaining to people classification and implementation of British colonial regulations and institutions were occurred dialectically in accordance with the localization of British colonial experiences in Malaya, and the internationality of social interactions among British colonial officials in Hong Kong and Malaya. The British colonial culture in Malaya have been formed through an instituted process in accordance with their localization in Malaya, and the internationality of social interactions among British colonial officials in Hong Kong and Malaya. Secondly, the substitution of “Kheh” by the term of “Hakka” in British Malaya during the 1930s were closely intertwined with the international colonial experiences and the implementation of political institutions of British Colonial Empire during nineteenth century, including the experiences they gained from Hong Kong and the localization of British colonization in Malaya. Thirdly, the connotation of the term “Hakka” in Cantonese dialect was substituted from the term “Kheh” in Hokkien dialect in the national census report of British Malaya during 1931. The term “Kheh” in British Malaya was belief first called by the earliest and majority settlers Chinese comers to the Straits Settlements- “Hokkien” people; while the “Hokkien” have first identified the “Hakka” people as later comers by using their own dialect. Before the implementation of British colonial regulations towards Chinese communities in 1870s, within the interior of Chinese communities, “Kheh” were basically connoting as the Chinese gang who spoken same dialect and affiliated to the same “place of origin”, in which included “Kheh” of Tingzhou, Yongding, Jiaying, Xingning, Dabu, Hepo, Fengshun, HuiZhou, Zengcheng, Longmen and so forth. However, after gone through the instituted classification

process of “Chinese” in relating to the formation of British colonial regulations and institutions in suppressing the secret societies after the 1870s, “Kheh” which used to attach and scattered under different secret societies have been regrouped by the British Colonial Government to a more coherent social unit as one of the “Chinese tribes”. Forth, the emergence of both terms of “Kheh” and “Hakka” in British Malaya were labeled by the social “others”. “Kheh” was labeled by the “Hokkien” people by their Hokkien dialect; while the term “Hakka” was officially substituted for the term “Kheh” by British colonial decision, after the British colonial officials have learnt and heard about the popularity of “Hakka” from Hong Kong and China during the 1930s. The term calling by the “Hakka” people themselves is still missing in the historical records.

Fifthly, the social structure for the formation of “British Malaya” and its people classification by “race” and “tribe” were produced by the mindset of colonial mentality. The people classifications within the British Colonial Government in Malaya were more dependent on the social division of “race” rather than the sub-division of “tribe”. It is aptly to state that the people classification in British Malaya by “race” under the British colonization were based on the generalizations about the exterior appearances, behaviors and characteristics of all actors of the category; while the sub-division, “tribes”, were still dependent on the premise of “race”, such as the variety of “Chinese tribes”, “Malays tribes”, and “Indian tribes” in the nineteenth century of British Malaya, and such as these “tribes” categorization were based on their linguistic criterions. Therefore, it is worthy to note that the social structure of British Malaya was concentrated on the social divisions of “race”, while the sub-divisions of “tribe” were largely neglected in the political institutions, except their linguistic or dialect differences. Likewise, such as these phenomena also could be found in present Malaysia and Singapore; the social structures of Malaysia and Singapore are constituted by three major “ethnic groups”- “Malays”, “Chinese” and “Indians”- which seems substituted from former “races”. In the mean time, the sub-divisions of “Chinese”- “dialect groups”- in present Malaysia are composed by the different categories of Chinese who spoke different dialects. In other words, the social

structures of former British Malaya which created during the British colonization period almost two centuries ago have been perpetuated until today. Finally, it is important to note that the classification process of “Chinese” and the emergence of “Hakka” in British Malaya during the nineteenth century does not presume and preclude the formation of others in the region of Southeast Asia at the same level.

Even though there were ample publications from different fields have provided us with certain insight pertaining to “Chinese” and the settlements in Malaya since fifteenth to twentieth century; and pertaining to the Malaysian Chinese in present world, this dissertation has, nevertheless, shown that the factors and circumstances which contributed to the emergence of the term “Kheh” and “Hakka” in British Malaya during nineteenth century were extensive and complex. Apparently, the “Chinese” society of Southeast Asia is diverse in their dialect groups’ identity and culture, and these diversities should not have been gloss over by the scholars. Therefore, there is a need for concerned scholars of Southeast Asian Studies and Overseas Chinese Studies to make more findings and analyses widely in order to perpetuate the diversity of Chinese society of Southeast Asia. It might be just a small step for one scholar, but it might be also a great contribution for the future generations of Chinese in Southeast Asia.

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The Earliest Chinese Voluntary Association in Malaya, 1801-1870.

No	Name of Organization	Place	*Bang*	Place of Origin	Year of establish
1	Chia Ying Association of Penang 檳城嘉應會館	Penang	Hakka	Chia Ying prefecture, Kwangtung. 廣東嘉應州	1801
2	Kwangtung & Tengchow Association of Penang 檳城廣東暨汀洲會館	Penang	Cantonese	Kwangtung & Tengchow prefecture, Fukien. 廣東暨福建汀洲	1801
3	Chung Shan Association of Penang 檳城中山會館	Penang	Cantonese	Chung Shan district, Kwangtung. 廣東中山縣	1805
4	Hui Zhou Association of Malacca 馬六甲惠州會館	Malacca	Hakka	Hui Zhou prefecture, Kwangtung. 廣東惠州	1805
5	Tengchow Association of Penang 檳城汀洲會館	Penang	Hokkien	Tengchow prefecture, Fukien. 福建汀洲	1819
6	Wu Fu T'ang Kwangchou of Penang 檳城五福堂廣州會館	Penang	Cantonese	Kwangchou prefecture, Kwangtung. 廣東廣州府	1819
7	Ch'a Yang Association of Malacca 馬六甲茶陽會館	Malacca	Hakka	Ta P'u district, Kwangtung. 廣東大埔縣	1820
8	Ying Ho Association of Malacca 馬六甲應和會館	Malacca	Hakka	Chia Ying prefecture, Kwangtung. 廣東嘉應州	1821
9	Hui Chou Association of Penang 檳城惠州會館	Penang	Hakka	Hui Chou prefecture, Kwangtung. 廣東惠州	1822
10	Ch'ao Chou Association of Malacca 馬六甲潮州會館	Penang	Teochew	Ch'ao Chou prefecture, Kwangtung. 廣東潮州	1822
11	Ning Yang Association of Singapore 新加坡寧陽會館	Singapore	Cantonese	Tai Shan district, Kwangtung. 廣東台山縣	1822
12	Ying Fo Fui Kun of Singapore 新加坡應和會館	Singapore	Hakka	Chia Ying prefecture, Kwangtung. 廣東嘉應	1823
13	Nan Hai Association of Penang 檳城南海會館	Penang	Cantonese	Nan Hai district, Kwangtung. 廣東南海縣	1828
14	Ning Yang Association of Malacca 馬六甲寧陽會館	Malacca	Cantonese	Tai Shan district, Kwangtung. 廣東台山縣	1828

15	Ning Yang Association of Penang 檳城寧陽會館	Penang	Cantonese	Tai Shan district, Kwangtung. 廣東台山縣	1833
16	Chung Shan Association of Singapore 新加坡中山會館	Singapore	Cantonese	Chung Shan district Kwangtung. 廣東中山縣	1838
17	Shun Teh Association of Penang 檳城順德會館	Penang	Cantonese	Shun Teh district Kwangtung. 廣東順德縣	1838
18	Hokkien Association of Singapore 新加坡福建會館	Singapore	Hokkien	Fukien province 福建省	1839
19	Nan Shun Association of Singapore 新加坡順德會館	Singapore	Cantonese	Nan Hai and Shun Teh district, Kwangtung. 廣東南海暨順德縣	1839
20	Kang Chou Association of Singapore 新加坡岡州會館	Singapore	Cantonese	Hsin Hui, Kai Ping, Yern Ping, Tai Shan, Ho Shan & Chih Hsi districts, Kwangtung 廣東新會、開平、恩平、台山、鶴山暨赤溪縣	1843
21	Hokkien Association of Malacca 馬六甲福建會館	Malacca	Hokkien	Fukien province 福建省	1843(to be confirm)
22	Tseng Long Association of Penang 檳城增龍會館	Penang	Hakka	Tseng Ch'eng & Lung Meng district Kwangtung. 廣東增城暨龍門縣	1849
23	Kwangtung and Tengchow Association of Kedah 吉打廣東暨汀洲會館	Kedah	Cantonese and Hokkien	Kwangtung & Tengchow prefecture, Fukien province. 廣東暨福建汀洲	1850
24	Ch'a Yang Association of Singapore 新加坡茶陽會館	Singapore	Hakka	Ta Pu district, Kwangtung. 廣東大埔縣	1857
25	Hokkien Association of Taiping, Perak 霹靂太平福建會館	Taiping, Perak	Hokkien	Fukien province 福建省	1859
26	Chao Ch'ing Association of Penang 檳城肇慶會館	Penang	Cantonese	Chao Ch'ing prefecture Kwangtung 廣東肇慶府	1860 (to be confirm)
27	Tseng Lung Association of Malacca 馬六甲增龍會館	Malacca	Hakka	Tseng Ch'eng & Lung Meng district Kwangtung. 廣東增城暨龍門縣	1860s

28	Ch'ao Chou (Teochew) Association of Penang 檳城潮州會館	Penang	Teochew	Chao Chou (Teochew) prefecture Kwangtung. 廣東潮州	1864
29	Hui Chou Association of Selangor 雪蘭莪惠州會館	Kuala Lumpur	Hakka	Hui Chou prefecture, Kwangtung. 廣東惠州	1864
30	Yung Ch'un Association of Singapore 新加坡永春會館	Singapore	Hokkien	Yung Ch'un district, Fukien province 福建永春縣	1867
31	Kheng Chow Association of Malacca 馬六甲瓊州會館	Malacca	Hainanese	Hainan Island, Kwangtung 廣東海南島	1869
32	Kheng Chew Association of Taiping 霹靂太平瓊州會館	Taiping, Perak	Hainanese	Hainan Island, Kwangtung 廣東海南島	1869
33	Kheng Chew Association of Penang 檳城瓊州會館	Penang	Hainanese	Hainan Island, Kwangtung 廣東海南島	1870

Source: 吳華，1980，馬來西亞華族會館史略。新加坡：新加坡東南亞研究所; Yen, Ching Hwang, 1986. *A Social History of the Chinese in Singapore and Malaya 1800-1911.* Singapore: Oxford University Press; Cheng, Lim Keak. (1995). Patterns of social alignment: a case study of Hakka associations in Singapore. *Southeast Asian Studies*, 32(4), 477- 494. See also Wong (2009: 36-39).

GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATION-No. 199.

The Following is published for general information.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
12th *November,* 1868

By His Excellency's Command,
R. MACPHERSON, *Lieut.Colonel,* R.A.,
Colonial Secretary.

By Virtue of the powers vested by Section 3 of Ordinance XIV of 1868, His Excellency of the Government has been pleased to declare that the following shall be the duration of voyages of Passenger Ships to the Ports or places therein named, that is to say,-

	Hainan	**Macau**	**Canton**	**Hong Kong**	**Swatow**	**Amoy**	**Shanghai**	**Chefu**
During South-West Monsoon between the months of April and September								
From Singapore to	13 days	17 days	18 days	17 days	22 days	24 days	29 days	40 days
From Malacca to	16 days	20 days	21 days	20 days	25 days	27 days	32 days	43 days
From Penang to	21 days	25 days	26 days	25 days	30 days	32 days	37 days	48 days
During North-East Monsoon between the months of October and March								
From Singapore to	38 days	54 days	56 days	54 days	64 days	72 days	83 days	107 days
From Malacca to	41 days	57 days	59 days	57 days	67 days	75 days	86 days	110 days
From Penang to	46 days	62 days	64 days	62 days	72 days	80 days	91 days	115 days

Source: CO 273/ 70, Chinese Passenger, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 12/11/1868. See also Wong (2009: 13).

APPENDIX 2

APPENDIX 3

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

Petition laid before the Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Thomas Scott.

23RD MAY, 1871.

Translation of Petition from Chinese Merchants and Citizens.

To His Excellency COLONEY A. E. H. ANSON, Administrator, and The Hon'ble Members of the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements.

May it please Your Honourable Council,---

As the English Laws are impartially just, every place or country, therefore, governed by them is crowded like clouds with merchants and inhabitants, and the traffic in human beings never happens; such being the case, vessels from the four seas or quarters resort hither, and the footsteps of men multiply as ants, because they can live there in tranquility.

Now-a-days we hear of ill-disposed people (vagabonds) that often make it their trade of the "Singkeks" or new comers, who, on their first landing here, not happening to be acquainted with any one in the place, are by these vagabonds invariably deceived and cheated, or these vagabonds at times board the fresh arrivals and clandestinely trade in these "Singkeks" with whom to enrich themselves. When the bargain is secured the "Singkeks" disappear, oftentimes never to be traced, and neither is it possible for the living or the dead to divine. Such practices, besides being detrimental to the place, is a lamentable deterrent to the "Singkeks," unless means be devised to inform them of the place where to lodge their complaints.

Now, in order to avoid this evil and cause the country to flourish, it is desirable to establish a system of superintendence, viz., to have a trustworthy officer to superintend all the new arrivals, and ascertain from the "Singkeks" themselves where they intend to go, those of them wishing to stay to be apprised that they are at liberty to act as free agents, that these vagabonds may not have the opportunity of deluding these "Singkeks," and that a stop may be put to such and the like abuses.

That, after mature deliberation, a scheme be planned, whereby the Sinkeks may be protected, and obtain endless security and benefits, and

Your Petitioners, as in duty bound,
will ever pray.

[*Seventy Signatures.*]

Singapore, 17*th May*, 1871.

Source: CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873.

APPENDIX 4

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

Papers laid before the Legislative Council by command of His Excellency the Governor.

23RD JUNE, 1873.

Petition from Chinese Merchants relative to the treatment of Chinese Immigrants.

The Petition of the undersigned British Subjects and Chinese Merchants, to His Excellency the Governor and the Legislative Council of these Settlements, praying that they will of their benevolence, make arrangements to prevent bad characters from kidnapping the newly-arrived immigrants (Sin-Khehs).

When Your Petitioners reflect on the myriads of Chinese arriving yearly at Singapore, Penang, and Malacca, they see that the fame of the benevolent Government of Your Excellency and the Council, and the paternal protection which the people receive, make them in such numbers brave the stormy ocean and the fierce waves, to come here to seek a livelihood,---They know that in this fine country they will find a peaceful home where the whole population, are so prosperous that they sing for joy.

Your Petitioners some time since sent in a Memorial on the subjects of kidnapping and the trade in Sin-khehs, but as yet nothing has been done in the matter; we now again approach Your Excellency and the Council, humbly begging that an Ordinance may be passed prohibiting the disgraceful kidnapping of Sin-khehs, and that a Depot may be established (under the control of a regularly appointed Government Officer:, where the newly-arrived immigrants may be placed, fed, and their names, &c., registered. Any person requiring labourers should go to the Depot, and there enter into a registered contract with the men before taking them away.

We would also suggest that Your Excellency and the Council appoint Officers to visit and inspect the Sin-khehs at intervals after their engagement, to see that they are comfortable and that they do not suffer from oppression.

Your Petitioners humbly pray that the benevolence of Your Excellency and the Council may be Exerted to grant our request.

Singapore, 30*th May*, 1873.

Signed by

Tan Kim Cheng.
Hoo-ah-kee.
Seah-eu-Chin.
Tan-Seng-po.
Cheang-hong-lim.

Gambier and Pepper Society containing 200 shops), and 42 others of the leading Chinese Merchants and Firms in Singapore.

Source: CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873.

APPENDIX 5

Read 1st time	21st August 1873.
Read 2nd time	9th September 1873.
Committed	16th September 1873.
Reported with Amendments	22nd September 1873.

A Bill to provide for the better protection of Chinese Immigrants.

Whereas it is expedient to make better provision by law for the protection of Chinese Immigrants:

It is hereby enacted by His Excellency the Governor of the Straits Settlements, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows:--

Interpretation.

1. The word "Immigrant" as used in this Ordinance shall be held to apply to inhabitants of China coming to the Colony for the first time to work as labourers, whether in the Towns or Country Districts, at occupations not requiring skilled labour.
2. The expression "Immigration Officer" shall include the Registrar of Immigrants, and any Officers authorized by him to act in that capacity.
3. The word "Ship" shall include every description of vessel used in navigation not exclusively propelled by oars. The term "Master" or "Master of the Ship" shall include every person, except the Pilot, having command of, or being in charge of ,a ship.
4. Every ship arriving at any of the Ports in the Colony having on board twenty or more Immigrants shall be deemed to be an Immigrant Ship within the meaning of this Ordinance.
5. Nothing in this Ordinance shall be held to apply to Chinese labourers arriving in the Colony having embarked on board a ship at Hongkong for a Port in the Colony.

Appointment of Officers and Rules.

6. It shall be lawful for the Governor to appoint a Registrar of Immigrants, with such other Officers as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Ordinance.
7. It shall be lawful for the Governor in Council, from time to time, to frame such Rules and Orders as may be necessary for the conduct of the duties of the Officers appointed under this Ordinance, and generally for carrying out the several duties therein prescribed.

Arrival of Immigrants.

8. No Immigrants shall be landed at any place in the colony other than the three Ports as defined in the Harbours' Ordinance, 1872.
9. The arrival of every Immigrants Ship at any of the Settlements shall forthwith be reported by the Master at the Office of the Harbour Master, who shall thereom inform the Registrar of Immigrants of the same. The Registrar of immigrants shall,

either personally or by an Officer of his Department, forthwith go on board the Immigrant Ship.

Registry of Immigrants.

10. The master of the ship shall cause all the Immigrants on board to be mustered on Deck, and the Immigration Officer shall the examine them, and shall write or cause to be written, in a Registry Book, to be kept for that purpose, the following particulars relating to each Immigrants:--

    the number of such Immigrant on the Registry,
    his name and surname,
    his calling or occupation,
    the Port of embarkation on present voyage, the place of destination and the object or purpose of his coming to the Colony,
    the nature of the agreement for labour, if any, entered into by him,
    and such further or other particulars as may be from time to time directed by

    Order of the Governor in Council under Section 7.

11. The Registering Officer shall cause to be explained to the Immigrant the terms of any agreement for labour entered into, or to be entered into, by the Immigrant.

Immigrants' Tickets.

12. On being so registered, a ticket shall be given to the Immigrant, containing a copy of the entries so as above required to be made in the Registry Book, or of such of the said entries as may be required by any Orders of the Governor in Council issued under Section 7.
13. The ticket of each Immigrant shall be given by the Registering Officer to his employer, who shall hold the same during the term of employment with him, and shall be bound to produce the same whenever required by the Registrar of Immigrants.
14. Every Immigrant not being under an engagement to labour in the Colony, or whose term of agreement to labour in the Colony has expired, shall retain his ticket until he has completed two years residence in the Colony, when is shall be given up to the Registrar of Immigrants.
15. If any Immigrant shall die or absent himself from his employment during the term of his agreement of service, the employer shall forthwith report the same to the Registering Officer, and the Immigrant's ticket shall be given up to the Registrar.

Landing of Immigrants.

16. The registrar of Immigrants on the application of the Master of any Immigrant Ship may, before registration permet the Immigrants on board such ship to be landed and placed in convenient places near the wharves or places at which such ships may be; and there such Immigrants shall be registered in the manner prescribed by this Ordinance.
17. No such Immigrant shall be permitted to leave the ship or, if permitted to land as

provided in Section 16, shall be permitted to leave the registering place, until duly registered as above required.

Agreements to labour.

18. No Immigrant shall be bound by any agreement to work for a longer period than two years, and if, by his agreement, he is to work only in the Colony, he shall not be bound to go to any place without the Colony.
19. If any such Immigrant on arriving in the Colony shall prove to be sick or infirm and unable to work, or to fulfil his engagement to work, the Registering Officer may require the Master of the Ship in which such Immigrant arrived to provide for his removal from the Colony, or to deposit such sum of money, or to find good and sufficient security in the Colony for the payment of such sum of money, not exceeding, in either case, fifty dollars for each such Immigrant, as to the Registering Officer may seem to be sufficient for the maintenance of such Immigrant during sickness or infirmity. Such sum of money shall be applied to the maintenance of such Immigrant during his sickness or infirmity.
20. No immigrant shall be moved from the place of employment set out in his agreement and entered on the Registry, until report shall be made to the Registrar of Immigrants, who shall enquire into the same, and if the Immigrant agrees to the change, or if the change is provided for in his agreement, shall enter the change on the Register and on the ticket of the Immigrant.
21. If any such Immigrant shall have arrived in the Colony under engagement to labour for or with any persons in the Colony, and it any such Immigrant enters in the Colony into an agreement to labour for or with any person in the Colony, such person shall attend at the Registry Office, either personally or by agent duly authorized thereto in writing, and shall furnish such particulars as to the nature of the agreement, place of proposed employment, wages, period of service and otherwise, as may be required by any Orders of the Governor in Council issued under Section 7.
22. All such particulars shall be entered in the Registry Book, and shall be signed by the Immigrant and by his employer or his agent, and if an agent appears his authority in writing shall be filed in the records of the Registry Office and marked, with the number or numbers of the Immigrant or Immigrants in regard to whom he acts.

Penalties and Procedure.

23. Every person offending against any of the provisions of Section 8, 9, 10 and 17 of this Ordinance shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding five hundred dollars, and an additional penalty not exceeding ten dollars for every Immigrant landed contrary to the provisions of the Ordinance. Every person offending against any other provisions of this Ordinance or against any Rule or Order made under Section 7, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding one hundred dollars.
24. All offences against this Ordinance may be tried summarily before a Magistrate, and in addition to the means prescribed by law for the recovery of penalties

imposed by Magistrates in their summary jurisdiction, it shall be lawful for a Magistrate, by warrant under his hand, to cause the amount of any penalty imposed under this Ordinance upon the Owner or Master of any vessel for any offence committed under this Ordinance, to be levied by distress and sale of such vessel, and the tackle, apparel, and furuiture thereof, or so much thereof as shall be necessary.

25. This Ordinance may be cited as “The Chinese Immigration Ordinance, 1873,” and shall come into operation at such time as the Governor may by Order in Council direct.

Source: CO273/69, Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 30/9/1873.

APPENDIX 6

Collection of Colonial Office Files in series CO 273.

No.	Microfilm No	Date	Title
1	CO273/39	23/8/1870	Chinese Passenger Ship's Ordinance 1868
2	CO273/50	27/10/1871	Riots Between Hokkien and Teochew
3	CO273/69	30/9/1873	Protection of Chinese Immigrant
4	CO273/70	20/10/1873	The Chinese Immigration Bill
5	CO273/70	20/10/1873	Legislative Council Bill: Steam Survey, Stamp, Chinese Immigration
6	CO273/70	12/11/1868	Chinese Passenger
7	CO273/80	29/4/1875	Ordinance 10/1873 Protection of Chinese Immigrant
8	CO273/84	26/9/1876	Riots Amongst the Chinese in Straits Settlements
9	CO273/89	3/4/1876	Proposed Chinese Coolie Postal Services
10	CO273/89	13/10/1876	Condition of Chinese Coolie in the Straits
11	CO273/117	30/12/1882	Ordinance 1 of 1882: Labour
12	CO273/122	20/9/1883	Qualification of Chinese Interpreters
13	CO273/168	6/10/1890	Suppression of Secret Societies
14	CO273/173	6/5/1891	Census 1891
15	CO273/179	21/3/1892	Ordinance 6/1892 : Sunday Labour
16	CO273/180	16/4/1892	Chinese Society *Gi Tiong Heng*
17	CO273/186	14/3/1893	Petition of Chinese in Penang
18	CO273/186	13/3/1893	Petition from Chinese in Penang
19	CO273/189	15/9/1893	Chinese Agent in Protected Native States
20	CO273/206	23/4/1901	Protection for Women and Girls
21	CO273/225	25/5/1897	Chinese Immigrants and Detention Pots
22	CO273/224	20/1/1897	Chinese Immigrants. Examination Depots
23	CO273/250	20/1/1899	Chinese Triad Societies
24	CO273/250	17/2/1899	Chinese Immigrants
25	CO273/252	14/12/1899	Chinese Immigrants
26	CO273/258	1//9/1900	Ordinance 15 of 1900 Chinese Immigrants Amend
27	CO273/262	29/11/1900	Chinese Immigrants from Canton
28	CO273/263	29/11/1900	Chinese Immigration
29	CO273/270	23/8/1901	Importation of Coolie Immigrants
30	CO273/272	13/4/1901	Direct Chinese Immigration
31	CO273/272	13/4/1901	Census 1901
32	CO273/273	22/6/1901	Census 1891
33	CO273/275	4/11/1901	Chinese Mission To Collect Funds
34	CO273/275	14/9/1901	Chinese Immigrant Ordinance
35	CO273/275	26/9/1901	Chinese Immigration Bill
36	CO273/280	29/10/1902	Chinese Immigrants Ordinance
37	CO273/296	18/8/1903	Free Emigration of Chinese to FMS
38	CO273/304	7/4/1904	Naturalization of Chinese in FMS

39	CO273/305	16/6/1904	Protection of Chinese Immigrant Ordinance
40	CO273/314	6/2/1905	Passports for Chinese British Subjects
41	CO273/317	17/5/1906	Indentured Coolie Labour
42	CO273/326	14/2/1907	Salaries of Chinese Interpreter
43	CO273/326	10/12/1910	Chinese Coolie Immigration
44	CO273/357	19/4/1910	Ordinance 3/1910: Chinese Immigrants Amend
45	CO273/358	23/8/1910	Emigration Ordinance
46	CO273/365	24/11/1910	Employment of Chinese Coolies
47	CO273/369	24/3/1911	Immigration of Chinese Labour
48	CO273/373	28/3/1911	Importation of Chinese Coolies
49	CO273/373	28/3/1911	Procedures for Introduction of Labour from India and China
50	CO273/374	24/8/1911	Chinese Immigration to Malay Peninsular
51	CO273/377	2/2/1911	Shipments of Chinese Coolies
52	CO273/387	30/10/1912	En. No. 6/1912: Labour Code
53	CO273/387	9/9/1912	Chinese Riots in KL
54	CO273/387	5/10/1912	Chinese Riots in KL
55	CO273/387	28/11/1912	Chinese Riots in KL
56	CO273/398	25/3/1913	Labour Code
57	CO273/407	20/4/1914	Ordinance 16/1914: Labour Contracts
58	CO273/449	21/11/1916	Chinese Coolies
59	CO273/483	4/7/1919	Staff of Chinese Protectorate, Straits Settlements
60	CO273/566	1930	Unemployment in Malaya: Proposed Restriction of Chinese Immigration
61	CO273/569	1931	Labour Conditions in Malaya
62	CO273/571	1931	Review of Chinese Affairs: Nationality
63	CO273/581	1932	Unemployment in Malaya: Restriction of Chinese Immigration
64	CO273/590	1933	Restriction of Chinese Immigration
65	CO273/613	1935	Restriction of Chinese Immigration

Source: Collected from the Library of National University of Singapore in January 2009.

APPENDIX 7

Ownership of European and Chinese in Malaya Tin production, 1910-1938.

Year	European (%)	Chinese (%)
1910	22	78
1920	36	64
1921	39	61
1922	38	62
1923	44	56
1924	45	55
1925	44	56
1926	41	56
1927	49	59
1928	61	51
1929	63	39
1930	65	37
1931	66	35
1932	66	34
1933	66	34
1934	66	34
1935	66	34
1936	67	33
1937	68	32
1938	67	33

Source: Purcell, Victor, 1967. *The Chinese in Malaya.* London: Oxford University Press. pp.237; Masariah & Johara. (2003). *Sejarah Tingkatan 2: Buku Teks (Text Book of History, Form 2).* Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.pp. 137.

APPENDIX 8

Chinese Immigrant Ships Coming Direct from China and Hong Kong to Singapore in 1895.

Name of Steamers	Under what flag	Number of Chinese passenger	Name of Agents
Kwei Yang	British	443	W.Mansfield & Co.
Nan Chang	British	1850	W.Mansfield & Co.
Kweilim	British	727	W.Mansfield & Co.
Whampo	British	250	W.Mansfield & Co.
Thibet	British	1817	P & O Co.
Gwalior	British	2172	P & O Co.
Lombardy	British	941	P & O Co.
Nizam	British	1074	P & O Co.
Teheran	British	819	P & O Co.
Phra Chom Klao	British	2206	Behn Meyer & Co
Kong Beng	British	1941	Behn Meyer & Co
Mongkut	British	3848	Behn Meyer & Co
Phra Chula Chom Klao	British	3089	Behn Meyer & Co
Phra Nang	British	2507	Behn Meyer & Co
Chow Fa	British	2542	Behn Meyer & Co
Loo Sok	British	1479	Behn Meyer & Co
Tai Chow	British	2014	Behn Meyer & Co
Devawongse	British	1544	Behn Meyer & Co
Arratoon Apear	British	3437	Sarkies & Moses
Lighting	British	4427	Sarkies & Moses
Catherine Apear	British	3586	Sarkies & Moses
Si Shan	British	4676	Guthrie & Co.
Siano	British	6025	Guthrie & Co.
Nan Shan	British	4778	Guthrie & Co.
Pakshan	British	4937	Guthrie & Co.
Chelydra	British	3298	Boustead and Co.
Yuen Sang	British	809	Boustead and Co.
Tuk Sang	British	2298	Boustead and Co.
Kut Sang	British	4623	Boustead and Co.
Woo Sang	British	1512	Boustead and Co.
Choy Sang	British	861	Boustead and Co.
Wing Sang	British	3876	Boustead and Co.
Ardgay	British	2754	Boustead and Co.
Lok Sang	British	1559	Boustead and Co.
Hongay	British	2059	Cromarty
Cromarty	British	1641	Boustead and Co.
Glucksburg	German	1247	McAlister & Co

Protos	German	724	McAlister & Co
Deuteros	German	417	McAlister & Co
Pollux	German	17	McAlister & Co
Wuotan	German	891	Bun Hin and Co.
Kio	German	1262	Bun Hin and Co.
China	German	2080	Tan Say Li
Dona	German	1031	Tan Say Li
Fedelio	German	991	Tan Say Li
Picciola	German	1106	Khu Tek Tai
Independent	German	366	Kong Sang Long
Elektra	Austrian	185	Rautenberg Schmidt & Co.
Orion	Austrian	500	Rautenberg Schmidt & Co.
Gesila	Austrian	335	Rautenberg Schmidt & Co.
Maria Teresa	Austrian	489	Rautenberg Schmidt & Co.
Maria Valerie	Austrian	424	Rautenberg Schmidt & Co.
Thishe	Austrian	178	Rautenberg Schmidt & Co.
Vindobona	Austrian	449	Rautenberg Schmidt & Co.
Marquis Bacquehem	Austrian	166	Rautenberg Schmidt & Co.
Rantam	Dutch	2509	Boustead and Co.
Borneo	Dutch	2857	Behn Meyer & Co
Bormida	Italian	2931	Behn Meyer & Co
Bisarmo	Italian	1777	Behn Meyer & Co
Giava	Italian	833	Behn Meyer & Co
Stura	Italian	465	Behn Meyer & Co
Nanking	Norweigian	2001	McAlister & Co.
Total	**-**	**114687**	**-**

Source: CO 273/224, Chinese Immigrant, Examination Depot, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 20/1/1897. Recorded by the Acting Assistant of Chinese Protector, G. T. Hare in 4th April 1985, Singapore. See also Wong (2009: 16-17).

APPENDIX 9

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

Paper to be laid before the Legislative Conncil by Command of His Excellency the Governor.

14TH DECEMBER, 1874.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY COLONEL SIR ANDREW CLARKE, R.E., C.B., K.C.M.G., GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, AND THE HONORABLE THE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

We, the Bankers, Merchants, Traders, Planters, and Residents of Singapore, &c., &c., having carefully perused the Draft of the Chinese Immigration Bill, which it is Your Excellency's intention to submit to the Legislative Council, in accordance, we believe, with instructions from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, would strongly urge upon Your Excellency the inexpediency of proceeding with such a measure.

No doubt the object sought to be obtained by the measure is the protection of newly arrived Immigrants from China against imposition upon the part of their country-men; and it is true that some years ago, and even now to a considerable extent, the influence of the Secret Societies is brought to bear more oppressively upon men arriving ignorant of our laws and customs than it can be upon those to whom some residence in the place has taught their rights and privileges. But the evident cure for this is to abolish and do away forever with these Societies, which have been the origin and support of every serious disturbance which has broken out in the Settlement. Once landed in Singapore, and apart from this influence, the competition for labor is so great as to obtain for the newly arrived Immigrant perfect security from extortion or unfair labor bargains. The only danger which assails him is that he may be, either before landing or after, hurried and cajoled into engagements to work in countries outside of this Settlement, and in ignorance shipped away beyond the influence and protection of our laws; and to meet this an emigration and not an immigration measure is required. Your Petitioners are of opinion that the Harbour and Police authorities should be authorized to board all vessels arriving with Coolies, and to see that none of them are shipped off without landing unless they thoroughly comprehend and assent to their engagements; moreover, that the Harbour and Police authorities should see that no vessels leave the Port with Coolies for service outside the Colony, unless the engagements of such Coolies are explained to, and assented to, by them.

Above all things, your Petitioners would urge the maintenance of absolute freedom of Immigration. Rules and Regulations which would offer no great obstaclo in European countries, would prove here a most serious check; if, indeed, they did not put a stop to Immigration---the oriental mind taking ready alarm at every interposition of authority. At no previous time did the prosperity and progress of the Colony

depend more upon an abundant supply of labor than it does now; for such labor the Colony has no sources of supply within itself; and, if Immigration be cut off or discouraged, enterprises of great moment that are now developing must wither and collapse.

And your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray, &c., &c.

Gilfillan, wood & Co.
Per pro. Syme & Co.,
Alex. Johnston.
Boustead & Co.
Scott, Witham & Co.
Hamilton, Gray & Co.
Martin, Dyce & Co.
Puttfarcken, Rheinard & Co.
Schuster & Engel.
Rantenberg, Schmidt & Co.
For the Borneo Company Limited,
W. Mulholland, Manager.
H. W. Geiger,
Acting Agent P. & O. Co.
Reme Brothers.

Lind, Asmus & Co.
Hooglandt & Co.
Paterson, Simons & Co.
For the Chartered Bank of India,
Australia, and China,
R. I. Harper, Manager.
A. L. Johnston & Co.
C. Poisson & Co.
Brennand & Co.
Brinkmann, Kumpers & Co.
Staehelin, Stablkecht & Co.
John Cameron & Co.
Kaltenbach, Engler & Co.
Jose D' Almeida.
Harrison & Co.
G. Angus.

Source: CO273/80, Ordinance 10/1873 Protection of Chinese Immigrant, Straits Settlements Original Correspondence, 29/4/1875.

GLOSSARY

Chinese Noun

bang	gang; 幫
jia	house; 家
ke	guest; 客
kejia	Hakka; 客家
huaren	ethnic Chinese; 華人
huaqiao	Overseas Chinese or Chinese citizens who temporarily live overseas in the broad sense; 華僑
huayi	Chinese descendant; 華裔
huazu	ethnic group with Chinese kinship; 華族

Malay Noun

Bumiputera	"son of the soil"; a term employed by the Malaysian government to refer to Malays and all other indigenous groups in the country
dulang	a tray or pan used for tin and gold washing
Kangchu	title given to a Chinese river headmen in Johor
kapal korek	dredge
Kapitan	a Malay title for the representative of a Chinese enclave
Kongsi	Chinese business co-operative or social organization
Melayu	Malays or Malay
palong	flume; using for tin mining
pam kelikir	gravel-pump; using for tin mining

pembesar Melayu	Malay officials
pikul	a measure of weight, about 62.5 kilograms
Sultan	a Malay title of Muslim rulers
surat sungai	river document; a title deed giving authority over a river district
Temenggung	Malay minister in charge of defense, justice and palace affairs
wayang	drama