

THE ROLE OF HOKKIEN CHINESE IN THE HISTORY OF MALAYSIA AND SINGAPORE

福建人在马来西亚和新加坡历史上的角色

YEN Ching-hwang
(颜清滢)

Abstract

The Hokkiens were the earliest Chinese immigrants to Malaysia and Singapore. As the most dominant Chinese dialect group, they also play the most prominent roles in the history of these countries. The paper begins by examining early Hokkien immigration especially between the ports of Fujian province and those in the Straits Settlements and the subsequent development of their social structure. The next section focuses on the economic contributions of the Hokkiens in pioneering trade, rubber cultivation, banking and manufacturing, followed by a discussion of the rise of prominent Hokkien entrepreneurs in the post-independence period. The final section deals with the leadership role of the Hokkiens in developing Chinese education in both Singapore and Malaysia.

摘要

福建人是最早移民至马来西亚和新加坡的族群。他们是新马华人社会主要的方言族群, 在这些国家的历史中扮演显著的角色。这篇论文先探讨福建人的移民, 尤其是从中国福建港口与马来半岛港口之间的迁移, 并且叙述他

们在海峡殖民地的社会结构。接下的讨论焦点，著重于福建人对于商业、橡胶业、银行业和制造业上的开创，并探讨独立后福建商人的崛起。论文也讨论福建人在新加坡和马来西亚发展华文教育上的领导性角色。

Early Hokkien Immigrants and Their Social Structure

The Hokkiens were the earliest Chinese immigrants in Malaysia and Singapore. They began to migrate to Melaka after the founding of the Sultanate in the early fifteenth century. Being strategically located between China, India and the Southeast Asian archipelago, Melaka was destined to become the hub of a flourishing international trade and attracted Chinese merchants to its shore. These early traders appeared to have come from Zhangzhou prefecture in the southern Fujian province, China. They played such an important role in the international trade of the Sultanate that their leader was appointed as one of the four Shabbanders by the Sultan (Sandhu 1961: 5; Sandhu and Wheatley 1983: 96). It was a natural flow of events that Zhangzhou Hokkiens should become the Chinese pioneers in Melaka, for the Yue Gang (the Port of Moon) of Zhangzhou emerged as a main trading port in the southeastern part of China in the period between 1465 and 1505, and Zhangzhou traders were active in coastal China and the Southeast Asian region (陈自强 / Chen Zhiqiang 1983: 1-7; 陈吴泉 / Chen Wuquan 1983: 200-204). The Chinese community grew in size during the Portuguese rule of Melaka from 1511 to 1641. A Portuguese navigator and explorer, de Eredia, who spent some time in Melaka in the early seventeenth century, observed that a Chinese village was located in a suburb of Upe, and the residents were the "Chincheows". The word "Chincheows" was probably the Romanized Hokkien word of "Cheangchew" which is the equivalent of the Mandarin pronunciation of "Zhangzhou" (de Eredia 1930: 19). During the early Qing period (1644-1670), some among the southern Chinese who resisted the Manchu conquest, and were unwilling to become Manchu subjects, left their homeland and migrated to Southeast Asia, with a group arriving at Melaka to seek refuge. The majority were from Xiamen (Amoy), Quanzhou and Zhangzhou. Their arrival further boosted the number of Hokkiens among the ethnic Chinese in early Melaka. The fact that the early Chinese Kapitans such as Zheng Fang Yang and Li Wei Jing were of southern Hokkien origins testified to the Hokkiens' predominance and overriding position in the early Chinese community here.¹

The founding of Penang (1786) and Singapore (1819) by the British was designed to protect the trade route from China to Europe and to ensure British

supremacy in the tea trade.² At the same time, the British developed them as free ports to attract Chinese immigrants to trade, work and settle down.³ Koh Lay Huan, the first Chinese Kapitan in Penang and a native of Zhangzhou, brought along a big group of relatives and friends to Siam (Thailand), then to Kedah, and eventually settled in Penang. Koh was later appointed by Francis Light, the founder of Penang, as the first Chinese Kapitan to administer the local Chinese community (Yen 1995: 75-77). In addition, all the five powerful Chinese clans, namely, Khoo (Qiu), Yeoh (Yang), Lim (Lin), Cheah (Xie) and Tan (Chen), that dominated early Chinese community in Penang also came from Zhangzhou (Yen 1995: 76-77). These facts suggest that the majority of the Chinese in early Penang were the Hokkiens.

The development of Singapore as a free port attracted many Chinese to its shore, among whom the Teochews and Hokkiens were predominant. Seah Eu Chin (Siah U Chin), an acknowledged Teochew leader of the Chinese community in early Singapore, estimated 40,000 Chinese on the island in 1848, 30 years after the founding of the settlement. Among the Chinese population, the Teochews accounted for 19,000, the Hokkiens, together with the Chinese who had moved from Melaka (the majority of them were Hokkiens) accounted for 10,000; while the rest were made up of Cantonese (6,000), Hakkas (4,000) and Hainanese (700) (Siah 1848: 290). The numerical strength of the Hokkiens and Teochews explains why their dialects still dominate spoken Chinese in Singapore today. Like other Chinese immigrants in Southeast Asia, the Hokkiens moved to Singapore and the Malay States through two migration patterns connected with the kinship-based and credit-ticket systems. The former was based on blood and marriage ties, while the latter relied on a signed contract.⁴ Since the majority of early Hokkien immigrants congregated in ports and cities and were predominantly engaged in business, they favoured the kinship-based system to recruit workers. After having established themselves in business, they might return to their hometowns in China to recruit their kinsmen and relatives. The new immigrants were given the opportunity to learn the trade as apprentices in shops or other business establishments, and were given financial assistance to start their own business. When they were successful in their own business and needed assistants, they too recruited them in China. The process repeated itself, and formed into a chain migration based on kinship ties.

The type of migration pattern favoured by the Hokkiens determined the form of their social structure. As a result of the operation of the kinship-based system, a number of immigrants belonging to the same surnames settled in Penang, Melaka and Singapore. For reasons of security and access to assistance, they tended to congregate together, and established clan organizations for the protection of group

interests. The best examples are the five powerful Hokkien clans in early Penang. All of them had come from the Hai Cheng district of Zhangzhou. When their numbers increased steadily, and the need for religious worship and the celebration of traditional Chinese festivities was felt, they organized their respective clan associations and built clan temples in ornate style. The most powerful among the five in Penang was the Khoo Kongsi which came into existence in 1835. In 1851, after sixteen years of efforts in fund-raising, a magnificent clan temple was constructed to house the ancestral tablets of the clan's progenitors and the protector deity - Da Zhi Ya.⁵

The majority of the early Hokkien clan associations belonged to the "localized lineage". The term refers to a surname group (a clan) that came from the same village and spoke a common dialect in China. The "localized lineage" was thus an integrated entity based on ties of kinship, locality and dialect.⁶ The members of these Hokkien clan associations came from the same Hai Cheng district of Zhangzhou and spoke the same dialect. Kinship and dialect ties were further strengthened by a sense of solidarity and unity among members as a result of prevalent armed clashes among clans in southern Fujian. Like the clan organizations in China, the early Hokkien clan associations were social and cultural entities whose prime objectives were to perpetuate kinship descent, to promote unity and co-operation among members, and to foster traditional Chinese values. Confucian values of filial piety, loyalty, harmony, respect for talent and the aged, and the emphasis on education took root in the minds of the early Hokkien immigrants. They inherited the practice of generation and age hierarchies that reflected the traditional values of the Chinese.⁷ Further, the adoption of some key words such as *de* (virtue), *shi* (generation), *xiao* (filial piety) and *wen* (cultured) in the early Hokkien clan associations,⁸ indicates the transmission of some Confucian values into early Chinese communities in Singapore and the Malay Peninsula. The five key functions of the early Hokkien clan organizations were ancestral worship and worship of protector deities, observation of traditional Chinese festivities, helping destitute members and the new arrivals, arbitration of disputes among members, and legalization of marriage and promotion of education (Yen 1986: 84-93).

In addition to clan organizations, the early Hokkien immigrants also founded geographically-based associations known as "*huiguan*". Strong kinship ties led to the preoccupation of the early Hokkiens with the establishment of clan organizations at the expense of their wider geographical connections. In comparison with other Chinese dialect groups, the Hokkiens were relatively late in forming their huiguans. The earliest Hokkien association in Singapore may be traced back to the Tian Hock

Keng Hokkien Association (天福宫福建会馆) that came into existence in Singapore in 1860. Its office was located in the Tian Hock Keng temple, and its first president was Tan Kim Cheng, a famous Chinese community leader in Singapore in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁹ The predecessor of the Tian Hock Keng Hokkien huiguan, the Tian Hock Keng temple, was founded 20 years earlier in 1840, and it was dedicated to the worship of the seafaring goddess - Tian Hou (or Ma Zu), and mainly initiated and supported by the Hokkiens in Singapore (陈荆和, 陈育崧 / Chen Ching-ho and Tan Yeok Seong 1970c: 57-63). At about the same time when the Tian Hock Keng Hokkien Association was founded, the Hokkien Association of Taiping in the state of Perak was established. Many others soon followed, such as the Eng Choon Association of Singapore (1867), the Eng Choon Association of Melaka (1875), the Selangor Hokkien Association in Kuala Lumpur (1885), the Selangor Eng Choon *gongso* (*kongsi*) in Klang (1892), the Eng Choon Association of Muar in Johor state (1894), and the Eng Choon Association of Negri Sembilan (1898) (Yen 1986: 322-326, Appendix 1; Wu 1980: 4-5; 马来西亚永春联合会 / Malaysia United Eng Choon Association 1984: 134, 142, 147 and 155). The functions of the early Hokkien associations were similar to the Hokkien clan organizations, namely, to protect group interests that included religious worship, celebrating festivities, helping new arrivals from China and destitute fellow district folks, promoting friendship and mediating disputes among the members.¹⁰ In contrast to the clan organization, the association's functions were more broadly based and wider in scope. For instance, the religious worship in the association was based on the worship of deities in certain geographical areas in China, rather than confined to ancestors or protector deities of a particular clan. As the association was more broadly based and included many different surname groups from a particular region, it offered a wider scope for social interaction that might provide an additional layer of social contacts for business or employment.

Economic Pursuits of Early Hokkiens and Their Contributions

The migration pattern of early Hokkiens not only determined their social structure, but also affected the types of economic activity that they pursued. As the majority of them congregated in the ports, trading and other forms of commercial activities became their major pursuit. Besides a few wealthy entrepot traders and landowners, they were largely small merchants and shopkeepers involved in local trade and retail sales. Since the days of the Melaka Sultanate, the Zhangzhou

Hokkiens were already active in entrepot and international trade. They imported valuable Chinese commodities such as silk, copper and iron utensils, pottery and textiles and exchanged them for Southeast Asian produce such as spices and dried seafood (Wheatley 1959: J1-J8; Wheatley 1961: 306-320). From the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries during the second wave of European colonization of Southeast Asia, the new colonial powers represented by Netherlands, Britain and France gradually carved up the region into their respective colonies. The advantageous trading position hitherto enjoyed by the Hokkien traders was weakened, and they were gradually incorporated into the new colonial economic order and were reduced to the position of middlemen. Although restricted by the new order, the Hokkien entrepot traders in the Straits Settlements (Melaka, Penang and Singapore) seized the new opportunities and developed their business under the colonial framework. They established close commercial relations with Western merchants and set up trading networks in the Malay Peninsula and other parts of Southeast Asia. On the one hand, they collected local Southeast Asian produce and sold them to European exporters; on the other, they imported Chinese goods and Western manufactured products, and through their wholesale and retailing networks, distributed them to the consumers in Southeast Asia (Chiang 1970: 106-124; Twang 1992: 2). In addition, the Hokkien traders also established their own shipping companies to carry out their commercial activities. They made handsome profits from trade, and accumulated immense wealth that enabled them to claim leadership status of the Chinese community. These merchants, together with their trading firms, enjoyed enormous prestige in the local Chinese society. Some of the large Hokkien trading firms such as Kim Seng & Company, Lee Cheng Yan & Company and Kim Cheng & Company were well-known among the Chinese in Singapore and Malaya (Chiang 1970; Tregonning 1967: 8-9). The proprietors of the Kim Seng & Company and Lee Cheng Yan & Company, Tan Kim Seng and Lee Cheng Yan, were Hokkiens of Eng Choon origin, while the owner of Kim Cheng & Company, Tan Kim Cheng, was a Zhangzhou Hokkien, but all three were born in Melaka, and were among the outstanding Hokkien merchants in the region.

The role of the Hokkiens was not confined only to the development of entrepot and regional trade of Singapore and Malaya, but was also significant in the mining, plantation, banking and manufacturing industries. Although Hokkiens were not actively engaged in tin mining in the Malay Peninsula, their wealth from trade and real estate enabled them to act as financiers of the industry. Chee Yam Chuan, a Melaka-born Hokkien businessman who had inherited a large wealth from his father Chee Kim Guan, and had been active in early planting activities in Melaka and

Singapore, turned his attention to the tin mining industry in the Malay States. Being a close friend of Sultan Muhammad of Selangor, he helped finance tin mining activity in Lukut and acted as the Sultan's main creditor in the early nineteenth century (Khoo 1975: 62-63). Another wealthy Hokkien merchant who had indirectly contributed to tin mining was See Boon Tiong. He was born in Melaka, left for Singapore at the age of 18, and made his wealth in business through his contact with a wealthy English merchant. He had ventured into tapioca planting in Linggi near Melaka, and developed a strong interest in the development of the peninsula. In 1837, he was associated with the development in mining and trade in Pahang, Trengganu, Kelantan, Patani and Singora.¹¹

The most important contributions of early Hokkiens to the economic development of Malaya and Singapore were the planting and trading of rubber. Chinese plantation industry in the nineteenth century was dominated by the Teochews who cultivated pepper and gambir in Singapore and Johor for export, while the Hokkiens did not seem to have played an important role (see Jackson 1968). However, the rise of the rubber industry did much to change the economic fortune of the Hokkiens, and they had since then dominated this new agricultural enterprise. The pioneer of rubber planting in Malaya was Tan Chay Yan, a wealthy Hokkien businessman who was born in Melaka and whose ancestors had come from the Hai Cheng district of Zhangzhou. His grandfather, Tan Tock Seng, was a wealthy merchant and philanthropist, and had left his mark in history by founding the famous Tan Tock Seng hospital in Singapore. His father, Tan Teck Guan, was a successful planter in Melaka. Brought up in a business family with commercial acumen, Tan Chay Yan could foresee the widespread use of rubber in a growing international market. In 1896, he began to experiment with the commercial planting of rubber at Bukit Lintang in Melaka with 40 acres (16.2ha) of land, and further developed another 2,000 acres (809.4ha) for rubber at Bukit Asahan, and made a huge profit (Jackson 1968: 218; 吴体仁 / Wu Tiren 1951: 8 and 1966: 40-43). Tan's successful venture motivated many Hokkien merchants to follow suit and thus laid the foundation for Hokkien domination of this rising industry. Soon Hokkien merchants undertook rubber planting in various parts of the Malay States such as Ulu Langat in Selangor, Kinta in Perak, and Labis in Johor. In Singapore, Tan Kah Kee, the well-known Hokkien businessman and community leader, bought 180,000 rubber seeds from Tan Chay Yan and planted them in his Fu Shan estate that saw the beginning of large-scale rubber planting in the island (陈嘉庚 / Tan Kah Kee 1993: 489). In addition to Tan Kah Kee, Dr. Lim Boon Keng, a well-known medical practitioner and businessman, also followed suit and became a rubber pioneer in

Singapore. The big step taken by the Hokkiens in rubber planting led to their domination of production and marketing of rubber and its associated manufacturing industries; and rubber emerged as an important economic plank of the Hokkien communities in Malaya and Singapore. Moreover, the fast growing car-making industry and the strategic value of rubber created a great demand in the international market, the result of which was the speedy rise of rubber prices and the prosperity of the Hokkien communities. Rubber, together with tin, soon became the major pillars of Malayan economy from the early twentieth century.

The banking and manufacturing industries also benefited from the contributions made by the Hokkiens. The rise of Chinese banks in the first decade of the twentieth century was a symbol of economic advancement from primary production to manufacturing and service industries. The founding of Chinese banks facilitated Chinese business activities and consolidated Chinese position in the economies of Malaya and Singapore. Although the Hokkiens were not the early founders of Chinese banks, they nevertheless realized the importance of this modern institution. One of the early Hokkien banks that had an impact on the Chinese communities was Ho Hong Bank, founded by Lim Peng Siang, a wealthy Hokkien businessman, together with Dr. Lim Boon Keng and Seow Poh Leng in Singapore in 1917. Lim Peng Siang was born in Long Xi district of Zhangzhou, Fujian province in 1872. He was an entrepreneur, manufacturer, banker and ship owner. His business acumen, foresight and ambition made him a business empire builder.¹² In view of the economic interests of the growing Hokkien community and the need to keep up with the times, Lim and his friends founded the Ho Hong Bank that expanded first to Malaya, and then to other parts of Southeast Asia and China. The expansion in Malaya was especially rapid, resulting in the establishment of a score of branches in major towns such as Melaka, Penang, Batu Pahat and Seremban. The bank also set up branches in Palembang and Batavia in Dutch East Indies and Hong Kong (杨进发 / Yong Ching Fatt 1977: 104-105). The world depression that decimated the global economy in the late 1920s and early 1930s had a profound impact on the economies of Malaya and Singapore. The severe economic situation demanded closer co-operation among existing Hokkien banks to survive the onslaught. The three major Hokkien banks - Ho Hong Bank, Overseas Chinese Bank and Hua Shang Yinhang (Chinese Merchants Bank) - were amalgamated in 1932 into a financially more solid entity known as the Overseas Chinese Banking Corporation. The new bank proved its capability not only in weathering the depression, but also to grow rapidly after World War Two and, eventually, to emerge as a major banking corporation in the Republic of Singapore.¹³ Although the Hokkiens were not the

forerunners in the banking industry in Singapore and Malaya, they operated the most successful Chinese banks which proved capable of enduring the test of time.

The early Hokkiens also played a significant role in the manufacturing sectors in Singapore and Malaya. The earliest pineapple-canning factory was founded by Tan Kee Peck (father of Tan Kah Kee) in Singapore in late nineteenth century for the local and export markets. He made handsome profits from this pioneering venture. His enterprise inspired many other Hokkien merchants to follow his footsteps. As a result, there were at least ten pineapple-canning factories in Singapore in the first decade of the twentieth century, and most of them were owned by Hokkiens. The First World War (1914-18) that devastated many parts of Asia dealt a heavy blow to the pineapple-canning industry as well as rubber export. But the war also created new opportunities for entrepreneurs with foresight and courage. The man who took up the challenge was Tan Kah Kee who converted one of his largest rubber milling factories into a rubber manufacturing plant to turn out such rubber-based products as shoes, hats, umbrellas, tubes, tennis balls and toys (Yong 1987: 57). His plant also produced inner tubes and tyres for the growing bicycle and motor car markets in the world.

The Hokkiens also engaged in other industries to produce items such as soap, biscuits, soft-drink and soy sauce, in oil-processing, food-canning and others. Tan Kah Kee's World Biscuit factory, as well as the Zhong Hua biscuit factory, the Tai Hong Biscuit factory, and Lee Biscuit factory (Nan Yi), adopted Western methods in producing hygienic and fine quality biscuits that superseded traditional Chinese biscuits, and succeeded in capturing a growing market in Singapore, Malaya and other parts of Southeast Asia (崔贵强 / Chui Kuei Chiang 1995: 145-148; 颜清滢 / Yen Ching-hwang 1998: 44).

Economic Change in Malaysia and the Hokkien Entrepreneurs

Like other Chinese dialect groups, the Hokkiens could not escape the harsh Japanese rule during the Japanese Occupation of Malaya that lasted for three years and eight months. They suffered atrocities in the hands of the Japanese, and their economies were ruined. The Hokkiens incurred the worst treatment from the Japanese and were targeted for revenge because they were suspected to be the main supporters of the resistance movement against Japanese aggression in China.¹⁴ Some of their leaders were executed by the Japanese or they had to flee overseas to escape the scourge. The return of the British after World War Two stabilized the political

situation in Malaya and Singapore, and they undertook to carry out political and economic reforms in the colonies. By the early 1950s, the economies of Malaya and Singapore had already recovered to the pre-war level, but the end of the Korean War in 1953 disrupted the international rubber market and rubber prices plummeted. The collapse of rubber prices dealt a heavy blow to the Hokkien community that had hitherto depended on rubber as its economic mainstay. However, the political reform that ushered in a decade of surge in indigenous nationalism and de-colonization showed positive results. In 1955, the British colonial government, together with the governments of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore, commissioned the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) to conduct an investigation into the economic conditions of Malaya. The main thrust of the report brought out by the Commission hinged upon the sustainability of the Malayan economy after independence. The new nation had to adopt a diversified multi-faceted approach to economic development so as to cope with its population growth. In addition to tin and rubber, the two main pillars of Malayan exports, other agricultural products had to be promoted for export.

The gist of the IBRD report was the emphasis on an industrialization programme that would promise a bright future for the new nation. An "Import Substitution Industrialization" (ISI) was recommended. Under this formula, the new nation had to encourage local investment in manufacturing industry by setting up tariff protection; and to encourage foreign investment by lowering income tax and other tax concessions (IBRD 1955: 18-28). The recommendations were taken seriously by the Alliance government which came to power in 1955. It set up an "Industrial Development Committee" and "Tariff Consultative Committee" to implement the ISI strategy (Sundaram 1988: 221). In the period between August 1957 and 1971, the year when the New Economic Policy was introduced, the Chinese in Malaysia achieved remarkable economic progress as a result of the excellent opportunities provided by the implementation of ISI. Many took up the offer of the government by investing in new manufacturing production, and those with foresight and courage successfully transformed their traditional family business into modern multi-national corporations.

Hokkien entrepreneurs played a significant role in this transformation process and many were subsequently recognized as leaders of Malaysian entrepreneurs. In 1995, a study of Chinese business conglomerates in Malaysia listed 17 major Chinese enterprises, 12 of which belonged to Hokkien Chinese. On top of the list were Robert Kuok's Kuok Brothers group, Lim Goh Tong's Genting group, and Quek Leng Chan's Hong Leong (Malaysia) Berhad, Loh Boon Siew's Oriental

group, Lim Ah Tam and his son Lim Thian Kiat's Kamunting and MPH group, and Low Yaw Chuan's Low Yat group (林伍瑛 / Lin Wuguang 1995: 100-102). In 1999, in his study of Chinese business in Malaysia, Gomez (1999: 40-178) listed ten leading Chinese entrepreneurs, of whom eight were identified as Hokkiens. They were Robert Kuok Hock Nien, Lim Goh Tong, Quek Leng Chan, Loh Boon Siew, Khoo Key Peng, Vincent Tan Chee Yioun, Francis Yeoh Sock Ping and Ting Pek Khiing.¹⁵

Robert Kuok's father and uncles had migrated from Fuzhou in northern Fujian province while he was born in Johor Bahru as a second-generation settler. His personal and family fortune was estimated in 1994-95 at US\$5 billion. Lim Goh Tong was a first-generation migrant from An Xi district of Fujian. By 1994-95, he had accumulated a fortune estimated at US\$3.7 billion. Another local-born billionaire was Quek Leng Chan whose father and uncles had migrated from Tong An district of Fujian. His personal and family wealth was worth US\$2 to 2.4 billion in 1994-95. Loh Boon Siew, born in 1916 in Hui An district of Fujian, had migrated to Malaya in his youth. By 1994-95, he had amassed a fortune of about US\$1.8 billion. Lim Ah Tam was born in An Xi district of Fujian in 1928 and was another first-generation migrant whose son, Lim Thian Kiat, born in Johor in 1959, built on the family fortune. In 1994-95, the family wealth had reached an estimated US\$1.8 billion. Low Yaw Chuan was born in Kuala Lumpur in 1932, while his father Low Yat was a native of Nan An in Fujian province. His family fortune was estimated at US\$1.2 billion. Khoo Kay Peng made his fortune of US\$1 billion as a local-born from Batu Pahat of Johor where he was born in 1938. Similarly, Vincent Tan Chee Yioun, born in Batu Pahat in 1952, was another second-generation tycoon whose father had migrated from Eng Choon district of Fujian. So also Ting Pek Khiing, born in Sarawak in 1945, whose father had come from Fu Qing district of Fujian. As the chairman of the Ekran group, he was in command of an estimated US\$1 billion fortune in 1996.

Three models of Hokkien entrepreneurs may be identified. The first is a common model found among Chinese and other immigrants, that is "from rags to riches". The first Chinese immigrants arrived in Malaysia almost penniless, but through hard work, thrift, business acumen and luck, they built up business empires and passed them on to their children. Lim Goh Tong and Loh Boon Siew are examples of this model. In the second model, the local-born children built upon the family business and went on to establish multi-national conglomerates. Robert Kuok, Quek Leng Chan, Lim Thian Kiat and Francis Yeoh are representatives of this group. The third model is that of business empires created entirely by

second-generation settlers with their own business acumen, foresight and luck. Khoo Kay Peng, Vincent Tan and Ting Pek Khiing belong to this group.

Lim Goh Tong is perhaps the best example of the first model of Hokkien entrepreneurs. He was born in 1918 in a poor family in An Xi of Fujian. His family was too poor to allow him to receive more than five years of education in his village school. In 1937, he left China at the age of 19 for Kuala Lumpur to join his uncle. He was employed as a carpenter, chef and construction worker. During the Japanese Occupation, he became a hawker and worked hard to save enough money to start a small business in collecting scrap-metals and selling hardware. The reconstruction of Malaya after World War Two provided him with an excellent opportunity to get into the building business as a contractor. His experience in construction and the trading of building materials led him to establish Kien Huat Construction Sdn. Bhd. in 1950 when the building industry was booming. The 1950s was a decade when Malaya was forging ahead towards independence, and the government was prepared to invest large sums of capital into infrastructure construction. Lim seized the opportunity to expand his business, and successfully secured several major projects in building roads, bridges, sewerage, dams and irrigation schemes. He made huge profits out of these projects and built up his construction firm to become a leading company in the country.

Lim Goh Tong's success in construction laid a solid foundation for the rapid expansion of his business. Step by step he began to realize his dream of building a vast business empire. He recruited talents and strengthened his management team, and adopted a diversification strategy for expansion. He branched out into mining and plantation, and became a pioneer in the gambling, hotel and tourism industries. With his political connections, he succeeded in getting the first gambling license from the Malaysian government and the special right to develop Genting Highland as a tourist resort. In 1971, Genting resort consisting of a casino, international hotels, restaurants and other attractions was officially opened. It has since become a famous tourist resort in Southeast Asia and the flagship of Lim's business empire. In addition, his business activities also included plantations, construction, real estate, manufacturing, trade, insurance and finance. In terms of geographical scope, his business has extended beyond Malaysia into other parts of Southeast Asia, Hong Kong, Australia, the United States and Europe, to form a multi-national corporation across several continents. With his sustained business activities in Malaysia, he has made a notable contribution to the Malaysian economy, especially in the promotion of leisure and service industry and tourism (林伍珩 / Lin Wuguang 1995: 100-102, 2000a: 276-277, and 2000b: 561-562; Gomez 1999: 49-58).

The appearance of Robert Kuok as a leading Malaysian entrepreneur in the 1960s exemplified the second model of Hokkien Chinese entrepreneurs. His meteoric rise to prominence was to a certain extent based on the success in business of his father and uncles who had migrated from Fuzhou. Like many other Chinese businessmen, his father and uncles had earned their livelihood as apprentices in Johor Bahru, and began to accumulate savings through hard work and thrift that prepared them to establish their own business. They set up a grocery shop named Dong Sheng to sell rice, soya beans and sugar, all daily needs of the people. The success of Dong Sheng laid the foundation of the Kuok family business. Robert Kuok was born in Johor Bahru, and received a good English education that opened up a completely new world that his father and uncles had never experienced. He pursued further studies in England where he observed the operation of large Western business enterprises. In 1955, Kuok returned to Malaya and transformed his family business into a modern enterprise just as the country was on its road to independence when there were ample opportunities for business expansion. He succeeded in controlling the production and distribution of sugar in Malaysia and other Southeast Asian countries, and earned the title of "Sugar King of Asia". From 1962 to 1968, he branched out into manufacturing, banking and sea transport. In the 1970s, he rapidly expanded his business overseas, and adopted a diversification strategy to achieve his aim of establishing a multi-national business empire. This strategy was centred on hotel and tourism, international trade and transport, real estate and media. The geographical spread of his empire extended into Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines, Hong Kong, China and Taiwan. By the 1990s, the Kuok brothers group had become an international conglomerate with over 200 subsidiary companies covering a range of businesses that included sugar planting and production, hotel and tourism, import and export, food industry, petro-chemical industry, mining, aviation, media and film industry, insurance and finance. Although many of Kuok's enterprises were established outside Malaysia, he contributed significantly to the promotion of tourism, sugar planting and production and the manufacturing industry of Malaysia (Gomez 1999: 40-49; 周少龙 / Zhou Shaolong 1996: 22-32, 67-71; 林伍琯 / Lin Wuguang 1995: 111-113; 梁英明 / Liang Yingming 2000a: 152).

Vincent Tan Chee Yioun's success story is taken as the representative of the third model of Hokkien entrepreneurs. Through hard work and struggle, his father ran a small business but found it difficult to provide his son with a tertiary education. Belonging to the post-war generation and having received a local English education, Vincent's perceptions of life and the world were vastly different from

those of his father. He was ambitious and dared to take risk. After having completed his high school education, Vincent worked as a clerk in a local bank, but also doubled as a part-time insurance agent for an American Company. He was able to accumulate some savings to start a small business dealing in trade and transport as well as insurance agency. It was not until 1982 when Vincent reached the age of 30 that he had a break-through in his business venture. A rare opportunity arose when McDonald called for tenders for a Malaysian franchisee to undertake this new business in the region. With his personal contacts and skill, Vincent out-bid other powerful opponents and obtained the franchise that marked his rise in Chinese business circles in Malaysia. In 1983, Vincent's star shone again. Berjaya Kawat Berhad, a Malay-owned listed electrical wires company went into bankruptcy and Vincent, together with friends, took over control. It became the Berjaya Corporation and eventually emerged as the flagship of his business empire. Malaysia in 1985 was hit by a recession that lasted for several years. Against normal business practice, Vincent took a bold step of expansion by means of a "take-over" strategy to gain control of several listed companies. Perhaps his most important acquisition was the purchase of 70 per cent of the government's gaming entity - Sports Toto Berhad - in 1985. This lottery company, incorporated by the government in 1969 to generate funds for sports, became a "cash cow" that helped solve cash flow problems of the Berjaya group of companies. After more than a decade's operation, the Berjaya group emerged as a powerful Malaysian conglomerate with 200 subsidiary companies, and its scope covered hotel and leisure business, fast food chains, real estate and housing development, insurance and finance, manufacturing industry, trade, gaming and media (Gomez 1999: 112-127; 梁英明 / Liang Yingming 2000b, 2000c: 66-68). With his business activities confined mainly to Malaysia, he thus contributed positively to the revival of Malaysian economy in late 1980s and early 1990s.

Hokkien Contributions to Education

In 1993, the Federation of the Hokkien Associations in Malaysia published a book entitled *Collections of Historical Materials of the Founding of Chinese Schools by the Hokkiens in Malaysia* in Chinese (曾荣盛 / Zeng Rong Sheng 1993). It was a pioneering work that preserved a great deal of materials as reference for future research on the educational activities of the Hokkiens in Malaysia. I was honoured to be invited by the Federation to write an introduction to trace the history of

Hokkien involvement in the Chinese education in Malaya and Singapore, and provided an appraisal of their contributions (曾荣盛 / Zeng Rong Sheng 1993: 2-27; 颜清滢 / Yen Ching-hwang 1992: 283-342; Yen 2003: 114-144).

It is worthy to note that the Hokkiens made three major contributions to Chinese education in Malaysia and Singapore. Firstly, they initiated the founding of *bang* (dialect group) schools based on the bang's economic power, and this practice had an impact on other bangs in Singapore and Malaysia. In 1849, the Hokkien Association of Singapore under the leadership of Tan Kim Seng established the first bang school named Chong Wen Ge in Singapore. Kim Seng was born in Melaka where his ancestors had migrated from Eng Choon district of Fujian. He was a wealthy merchant in both Singapore and Melaka, and was the acknowledged Hokkien community leader in the former. His awareness of the importance of education to the community led him to take the first step to found the Chinese school as a free educational institution for Hokkien children (陈荆和, 陈育崧 1970a and b: 283-285; 柯木林 1975: 217-220). In a period of 90 years, the Hokkien bangs in Singapore and Malaya had, beginning with Chong Wen Ge school in 1849, also established Cui Ying school in 1854,¹⁶ Dao Nan modern primary school (1907),¹⁷ Chong Hwa Girl school, Guo Min school and Chong Hwa school in Kuala Lumpur in the 1930s (雪兰莪福建会馆 / Selangor Hokkien Association: Minutes of Meetings), and the famous Chong Hwa High school in Kuala Lumpur in 1939.¹⁸ Although they might not be held up as modern and advanced educational institutions by present-day standards, bang schools were a progressive model at the time. It was superior to privately-funded traditional Chinese schools - *si shu* or clan school - which were smaller in size and short of financial resources. With its financial back-up, the bang school could employ more teachers, provide better facilities, and subsidize poor students. The result was the improvements in the academic standards of Chinese education. Schools sponsored by the Hokkien bang set a good example for other bangs to follow. In Singapore, the founding of the Ying Xin school (1905) with financial backing by the Jia Ying Hakkas, Yang Zheng school (1906) by the Cantonese, Duan Meng school (1907) by the Teochews, and Shun Ren high school by the Hakkas in Kuala Lumpur were invariably influenced by the concept of bang school initiated by the Hokkiens.¹⁹

The second major contribution of the Hokkiens to Chinese education was the adoption of Mandarin as a medium of instruction. This was to remove barriers to the enrolment of students based on dialects. Before the founding of the Chinese Republic in early 1912, the Chinese were a community divided by bang conflicts and rigid social and educational barriers. Modern Chinese schools in Singapore and

Malaya that were set up at the end of the Qing dynasty had strictly followed the bang line for the benefit of the children of each bang.²⁰ However, the activities of the reformists led by Kang Youwei and the revolutionaries led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen spread the seeds of unity and co-operation and brought about the weakening of bang consciousness.²¹ The founding of the republic strengthened political and educational relations with its overseas subjects, and heightened overseas Chinese nationalism and their consciousness of belonging to a newly emerged nation. To follow the new political tide, Chinese schools in Singapore and Malaya began to dismantle the bang's barriers in schools and slowly adopted Mandarin as the medium of instruction. The Hokkiens in Singapore, under the leadership of Tan Kah Kee, took the lead in adopting Mandarin, and Dao Nan school under the control of Hokkien bang took the step in 1916 in the use of this new teaching medium (王增炳, 余钢 / Wang Zengbing and Yu Gang 1981: 62). At the same time, Dao Nan also took the lead in appointing a non-Hokkien principal and teachers that broke the tradition of bang-based recruitment of teaching staff.²² The result of this breakthrough was not only the weakening of bang consciousness and loyalty, but also the establishment of a new principle of meritocracy in education.

The third major contribution of the Hokkiens to Chinese education was in the area of unified examination of Chinese schools in Singapore and Malaya. For the purpose of vetting the educational standard of Hokkien schools in Singapore, Lim Keng Nian (Lin Qingnian) - the head of educational section of the Singapore Hokkien Association - proposed to introduce a unified examination for all Chinese schools on the island. The examination took place in December 1930 in which twelve Chinese schools controlled by the Hokkien bang participated (see 许甦吾 / Xu Shuwu 1949: 65-66). The Hokkien Association continued to sponsor three consecutive unified examinations of Chinese schools in Singapore with excellent results. This new initiative was commended by the Colonial government in Singapore that also encouraged government-aided schools to participate. The system was later adopted by the Chinese schools in the Federation of Malaya. A unified examination was thus established between Singapore and Federation of Malaya and popularly known as the Unified Examination of Chinese Schools in the Seven States (七州府华校会考). It was co-sponsored by the governments of Singapore and the Federation of Malaya together with the Chinese Consul-General. The introduction of this system helped to lift the academic standard of the Chinese schools, and became a further impetus to the development of Chinese education in Malaysia and Singapore.

The story of the Hokkien contribution to Chinese education in Malaysia and

Singapore would not be complete without a discussion of the involvement of Hokkien leaders. These outstanding leaders included Tan Kah Kee, Tan Lark Sye, Lee Kong Chian of Singapore, and Lim Lian Geok, Sim Bok Woo, Hu Wanduo, Li Seng Fong (Li Chengfong), Lim Yeok Jing and Soh Bok Woo of Malaysia.

Tan Kah Kee was a Hokkien leader known worldwide as a modern education promoter and an educationist. He was also an entrepreneur, a philanthropist and a Chinese patriot.²³ His founding of the Jimei educational complex and the Xiamen university in China was known throughout the Chinese communities in the world, and had inspired some to do the same.²⁴ However, his efforts in promoting Chinese education in Singapore and Malaya, though less known, are also commendable. Since 1911, he had been striving to promote modern Chinese education in Singapore. He was the chairman of Dao Nan school for many years, and led the reform movement to abandon the Hokkien dialect as teaching medium in favour of Mandarin. He also donated a large sum of money to aid the primary schools that were under the care of the Hokkien Association. His most memorable deed in education was the founding of the Overseas Chinese High School in 1918, the first of its kind in Singapore and Malaya. With the support of leaders of other bangs in Singapore, he founded a high school for the benefit of the entire Chinese community and thus set a model for other Chinese high schools to follow.²⁵ In addition, Tan Kah Kee was credited with the founding of the Singapore Marine and Navigation College in 1939 and the Nanyang Teachers' Training College in 1941.²⁶

Tan Kah Kee's educational deed in Singapore could hardly be matched by others except Tan Lark Sye who was credited with the founding of the Nanyang University in Singapore in 1953. These two men were fellow countrymen from Tong An and Lark Sye had worked for Kah Kee for some years.²⁷ Inspired by Tan Kah Kee's educational works in Fujian, Tan Lark Sye saw the founding of a Chinese university on the island as the solution to the problems of Chinese education and to answer the urgent needs of local Chinese students for tertiary education. He took the lead to donate S\$5 million to the building fund, and the Hokkien Association of which he was the president donated 500 acres (202.3ha) of land in Jurong as the campus of the new university. Despite various problems, the university soon developed into the premier Chinese university in Southeast Asia, and turned out more than 8,000 graduates at the time of its closure in 1980. Nanyang University graduates have served in various sectors in Singapore and Malaysia, especially in Chinese education, and some attained academic reputations in various universities in Hong Kong, Canada, the United States and Australia. In this context, the role of Tan Lark Sye as a leader in promoting Chinese education will always be remembered in

the region.²⁸ Apart from Tan Kah Kee and Tan Lark Sye, Lee Kong Chian - popularly known as the "rubber king" - also contributed generously to the various Chinese schools, the University of Malaya and Nanyang University. At the same time, the Lee Foundation supports Chinese cultural and educational institutions in Singapore and Malaysia with generous financial assistance.

Hokkien leaders in Malaysia also made substantial contributions to Chinese education, especially in the defence and revival of Chinese education in the 1960s and 1970s. Lim Lian Yeok and Sim Bok Woo (Shen Muyu) were the leading defenders of Chinese education who, without regard of their personal interests and safety, fought for the rightful place of the Chinese language and culture in Malaysia.²⁹ Hu Wanduo, inspired by the deeds of Lim and Sim, led a Chinese independent school revival movement that started in Perak and spread to other parts of Malaysia.³⁰ The revival of Chinese education has maintained the high standard of Chinese in Malaysia at a time when the country is forging close economic and political ties with China - an emerging superpower in Asia - and the demand for expertise in Chinese will increase. In addition to Lim, Sim and Hu, Li Cheng Feng donated large sums of money in support of the Chong Hwa High School in Kuala Lumpur that has become a reputable Chinese high school in the country. Lim Yeok Jing dedicated himself to the maintenance of two Chinese independent schools - Xing Hua High School and Chong Hwa High School - in his home district of Klang. Soh Bok Woo (Su Muyou) of Johor consistently and tirelessly supported the Chinese High School (Hua Ren Zhong Xue) of Batu Pahat. Many other Hokkien leaders had made contributions to the maintenance of Chinese independent high schools and the revival of Chinese education in Malaysia (陈玉水 / Chen Yu Shui 1993: 80-85; 黄水莲 / Huang Shui Lian 1993: 86-89; 林腾飞 / Lin Teng Fei 1993: 205-207).

Notes

- 1 "Kapitan" probably has its origins in the Dutch word "Kapitein" which is equivalent to "Captain" in English. The word means a chief or a headman of a community. During the Dutch rule of Melaka, the leader of the Chinese community was appointed by the Dutch authority as Kapitan. For the history of Chinese Kapitans in the Straits Settlements and three Northern Malay States, see C.S. Wong (1964). For the stone tablets dedicated to Kapitan Zheng Fang Yang (郑芳扬) and Kapitan Li Wei Jing (李为经), see Franke and Chen (1982: 247-248).
- 2 For a discussion on the motives for the founding of Penang, see Tregonning (1965: 5-40).
- 3 For the development of Singapore as a free port and its attraction of Chinese to the port, see

- L.K. Wong (1978) and Lee (1978).
- 4 For a discussion of the patterns of early Chinese migration to Singapore and Malaya, see Yen (1986: 4-8).
 - 5 The Khoo progenitors worshiped in the Khoo clan temple in Penang included the founder of the Khoo clan in the Xin Jiang village of the Hai Cheng district, China, Khoo Chiang Eng (Qiu Qian Rong) and his wife, plus other Khoo ancestors of the first to fifth generations and their wives. See H.S. Khoo (1974).
 - 6 For a detailed discussion of the "localized lineage", see Freedman (1958: 1-8).
 - 7 According to this practice, members of a clan were organized into different generation layers and age groups, and status and authority were accorded according to seniority. In the generation hierarchy, each generation was given a code word that would be incorporated into the name of a male member. Thus, a male's name can be easily identified as belonging to which generation. For a discussion of this issue, see Yen (1986: 81).
 - 8 The word "De" (virtue) appeared in the generation code names of Lim Kongsí and Yeoh Kongsí of Penang, while the word "Shi" (generation) was adopted by Lim Kongsí, Yeoh Kongsí and Khoo Kongsí as one of their generation code words. A list of generation code words appears in each of the *kongsí*. See Lim Teong Aik (not dated: 25-26); Yeoh Kongsí; and Khoo Kongsí.
 - 9 For the early history of the Tian Hock Keng Hokkien huiguan, see 吴华 / Wu Hua (1975: 57-58).
 - 10 For detail discussion of the functions of *huiguan*, see Yen (1986: 42-48).
 - 11 For See Boon Tiong (薛文忠) as a wealthy merchant in Melaka and Singapore as well as one of the founders of Keng Teck Hui (庆德会), a well-known social organization of wealthy Chinese in early Singapore, see 林孝胜 / Lim How Seng (1993), also published in 林孝胜 / Lim How Seng (1995: 105-106).
 - 12 For a short biography of Lim Peng Siang (林秉祥), see 杨进发 / Yong Chin Fatt (1977: 104-105). For a recent study on Lim Peng Siang and his business empire, see Yong (2004).
 - 13 For the analysis of the circumstances leading to the amalgamation of the three Hokkien banks into a new banking entity and its growth in post-war period, see Wilson (1972). For the contribution of Tan Chin Tuan's (陈振传) leadership to the development of the Overseas Chinese Corporation in Singapore, see Loh *et al.* (2000: chapters 6 to 10).
 - 14 For Tan Kah Kee's (陈嘉庚) role in the combined efforts of the Southeast Asian Chinese in fund-raising movement for the support of China's resistance to Japanese aggression (1937-41), see 陈嘉庚 / Tan Kah Kee (1993a: 63-87); Yong (1987: 213-216) and Leong (1976: 272-296).
 - 15 In addition to these eight Hokkien entrepreneurs, the other two entrepreneurs were William Cheng (钟廷森), a Teochew entrepreneur, and Lee Loy Seng (李莱成), a Hakka entrepreneur. See Gomez (1999: 40-178).
 - 16 The Cui Ying school was also founded by Tan Kim Seng (陈金声), the leader of the Hokkien bang in Singapore. He received financial support of twelve wealthy Hokkien merchants on the island. See 陈荆和, 陈育菘 / Chen Ching-ho and Tan Yeok Seong (1970a: 291-292) and Song (1967: 46).
 - 17 Dao Nan school was a modern primary school founded by the Hokkien bang in Singapore. It was initiated by Goh Siew Tin (吴寿珍), Teo Sian Keng (张善庆) and Lee Cheng Yan (李清

- 渊) who were leaders of the Hokkien bang at the time. See 《叻报》/ *Lat Pau* (*The Singapore Daily*) (16 and 23 April 1907, 2 May 1907) and 林云 / Lin Yun (1966: 25).
- 18 The Chong Hwa High School in Kuala Lumpur was founded by a group of wealthy Hokkien merchants including Ng Tiong Kiet (黄重吉) and others. See 雪兰莪福建会馆 (1986: 72).
 - 19 For the founding of modern Chinese primary schools in Singapore, see 颜清滢 / Yen Ching-hwang (1992: 285-289) and Yen (2003: 116-117).
 - 20 See, for instance, when the Ying Xin primary school was established by the Jia Ying Hakkas in Singapore, its rules clearly stated that the school was only meant for Hakka children in Singapore. See Xia Bing Yan (1907: Chapter 1, rule 2).
 - 21 For the impact of the reformists and revolutionaries on the Chinese societies in Singapore and Malaya, see Yen (1976: 287-290).
 - 22 In 1916, Dao Nan appointed Xiong Shangfu (熊尚父) as the principal of the school. As Xiong was a native of Hunan province, this practice was a break from the tradition of appointing Hokkiens to such an important position in the school. In 1921, Dao Nan also recruited several non-Hokkien teachers who came from Hebei, Jiangsu, Hunan, Hubei and Guangdong provinces. See 林云 / Lin Yun (1966: 46-48).
 - 23 For the best work on the study of Tan Kah Kee, see Yong (1987). For works on Tan Kah Kee as an entrepreneur, see Yen (1998), also published in Yen (2002); 林孝胜 / Lim How Seng (1995).
 - 24 It has been popularly claimed that Tan Kah Kee's deeds inspired Li Ka Shing to found the Swatow (Shantou) University in Chaozhou, Guangdong province, and Sir Yeok Kong Pau of Hong Kong to found the Ningpo University in Chekiang province.
 - 25 For Tan Kah Kee' ardent and emotional speech for support for the founding of the Overseas Chinese High School, see 《国民日报》/ *The Citizen Daily* (18 June 1918 and 20 June 1918). This speech is reproduced in Yong (1980: 25-28).
 - 26 For the founding of the Singapore Marine and Navigation College, see Yeap Chong Leng (not dated); Yen (2003: 139).
 - 27 For short biographies of Tan Lark Sye (陈六使), see various articles published in 王如明 / Wang Ruming (1997).
 - 28 For important documents on Nanyang University, see 《南洋大学创学史》 published in Singapore in 1956; and 李业霖 / Lee Yip Lim 2004. For a study on Tan Lark Sye and his efforts in the founding and management of Nanyang University, see 利亮时 / Lee Leong Sze's Ph.D. thesis 2004.
 - 29 For the study of Lim Lian Geok and his championing the cause of Chinese education in Malaysia, see 何国忠 / Hou Kok Chung (2002); 何启良 / Ho Khai Leong (2001); Yen (2004). For original research materials on Lim Lian Geok (林连玉), see 林连玉 / Lim Lian Geok (1986, 1988 and 1990); 郑良树 / Tay Lian Soo (2003).
 - 30 On the revival movement of the Chinese independent schools and Hu Wanduo's (胡万铎) contribution, see 华文独立中学发展工作委员会 / Independent Chinese Schools Development Committee (1976).

References

- CHIANG Hai Ding 1970. Sino-British mercantile relations in Singapore entrepot trade, 1870-1915. In *Studies in the Social History of China and Southeast Asia: Essays in Memory of Victor Purcell*, edited by Jerome Chen and Nicholas Tarling. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- De EREDIA, Emanuel Godinho 1930. Eredia's description of Malucca, meridional India and Cathay (translated by J.V. Mills). *Journal of the Malayan Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, 8 (1): 19.
- FRANKE, Wolfgang and CHEN Tieh Fan (eds) 1982. *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Malaysia*, Vol.1. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.
- FREEDMAN, Maurice 1958. *Lineage Organizations in Southeastern China*. London: The Athlone Press, University of London.
- GOMEZ, Edmund Terence 1999. *Chinese Business in Malaysia: Accumulation, Ascendance, Accommodation*. The Qudrant, Richmond, Curzon Press.
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) 1955. *The Economic Development of Malaya: Report of a Mission Organised by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development at the Request of the Governments of the Federation of Malaya, the Crown Colony of Singapore and the United Kingdom*. Singapore: Government Printer.
- JACKSON, James C. 1968. *Planters and Speculators: Chinese and European Agricultural Enterprise in Malaya, 1786-1921*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.
- KHOO Hock Siew 1974. A short history of the Leong San Tong Khoo Clan and its development. In *Geneological Record of the Goh Pang Khoo Clansmen*.
- KHOO Kay Kim 1975. *The Western Malay States, 1850-1873: The Effects of Commercial Development on Malay Politics*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Khoo Kongsi. A list of generation code words of the members of the Leong San Tong Khoo Kongsi.
- LEE Poh Ping 1978. *Chinese Society in Nineteenth Century Singapore*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- LEONG Mun Yoon, Stephen 1976. *Sources, Agencies and Manifestations of Overseas Chinese Nationalism in Malaya, 1937-1941*, Volume 1. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation of the University of California, Los Angeles.
- LIM Teong Aik. A list of generation code words of Lin Gongsu dumbentang and miamshutang?. In *Souvenir Magazine for Centenary Celebration of the Lim Kongsi Toon Pun Tong and Lim Sz Bian Soot Tong*. Penang: Lim Kongsi.
- LOH, Grace, GOH Chor Boon and TAN Teng Lang 2000. *Building Bridges, Carving Niches: An Enduring Legacy*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- SANDHU, Kernal Singh 1961. Chinese colonization of Malacca: a study in population change, 1500 to 1957 A.D. *Journal of Tropical Geography*, Vol.15.
- and WHEATLEY, Paul (eds.) 1983. *Melaka: The Transformation of a Malay Capital, c. 1400-1980*, Vol.2. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- SIAH U Chin 1848. General sketch of the numbers, tribes and avocations of the Chinese in Singapore. *The Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, No.2, p.290.

- SONG Ong Siang 1967. *One Hundred Years History of the Chinese in Singapore*. Singapore: University of Malaya Press.
- SUNDARAM, Jomo Kwame 1988. *A Question of Class: Capital, the State and Uneven Development in Malaya*. New York: Monthly Review Press & Philippines: Journal of Contemporary Asia Publishers.
- TAN Kah Kee 1993. *Reminiscence of My Life in the Chinese Communities in Southeast Asia*, Volume 1. USA: Global Publishing Co.Inc.
- TREGONNING, K.C. 1965. *The British in Malaya: The First Forty Years 1786-1826*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- 1967. *Home Port Singapore: A History of Straits Steamship Company Limited, 1890-1965*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- TWANG Peck Yang 1992. Chinese Maritime Trading Network and Organizations Based in Singapore, 1820s-1960s. (Paper presented to the Conference on Island Southeast Asia and the World Economy, 1790s-1990s, held at the Australian National University, Canberra, 24-26 November).
- WHEATLEY, Paul 1959. A city that was made for merchandise - the geography of fifteenth Century Malacca. *Southeast Asian Studies*, 1: J1-J8.
- 1961. *The Golden Khersonese: Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula before A.D. 1500*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.
- WILSON, Dick 1972. *Solid as a Rock: The First Forty Years of the Oversea Chinese Banking Corporation*. Singapore: OCBC Limited.
- WONG Lin Ken 1978. Singapore: its growth as an entrepot port, 1819-1941. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol.9, No.1, pp.50-56.
- WONG, C.S. 1964. *A Gallery of Chinese Kapitans*. Singapore: Dewan Bahasa dan Kebudayaan Kebangsaan.
- WU Hua 1980. *A Short History of Chinese Associations in Malaysia*. Singapore: Dongnanya yanjiushuo.
- XIA Bing Yan 1907. *The Modified Rules of the Ying Xin Primary School of Singapore*. Singapore (in Chinese).
- YEAP Chong Leng (not dated). The commencement and ending of the Singapore marine and navigation college. *Asian Culture*, No 14, pp.150-160, a special issue on ethnic Chinese studies.
- YEN Ching-hwang 1976. *The Overseas Chinese and the 1911 Revolution: With Special Reference to Singapore and Malaya*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- 1986. *A Social History of the Chinese in Singapore and Malaya, 1800-1911*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- 1995. Early Fukienese migration and social organization in Singapore and Malaya before 1900. In *Community and Politics: The Chinese in Colonial Singapore and Malaysia*. Singapore: Times Academic Press.
- 1998. Tan Kah Kee and the overseas Chinese entrepreneurship, *Asian Culture*, No. 22: 1-13.
- 2003. Hokkien immigrant society and modern Chinese education in British Malaya. In *Chinese Migrants Abroad: Cultural, Educational, and Social Dimensions of the Chinese Diaspora*, edited by Michael W. Charney, Brenda S.A. Yeoh and Tong Chee Kiong. Singapore: Singapore University Press and World Scientific.

- 2004. Lim Lian Geok and his struggle for the Chinese education in Malaysia (1949-1961). Paper presented at the international conference on National Boundary and Cultural Configuration held at the Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.
- Yeoh Kongsì. A list of generation code words of the Yeoh Kongsì of Penang. In *The Constitution of the Yeoh Kongsì of Penang*.
- YONG Ching Fatt 1980. *Tan Kah Kee in Pre-war Singapore: Selected Documents and Analysis*. Singapore: South Seas Society.
- 1987. *Tan Kah-kee: The Making of an Overseas Chinese Legend*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- 2004. Lim Peng Siang and the building of the Ho Hong empire in colonial Singapore. *Asian Culture*, No 28, pp.1-26.
- 陈嘉庚 1993. 《南侨回忆录》(新版, 下册)。新加坡: 八方文化企业公司 (Tan Kah Kee 1993. *Reminiscence of My Life in the Overseas Chinese Communities in Southeast Asia - Autobiography*)。
- 陈荆和, 陈育崧 1970a. 〈萃英书院碑文〉。载《新加坡华文碑铭集录》。香港: 香港中文大学出版社 (Chen Ching-ho and Tan Yeok Seong 1970a. Inscription of the stone tablet dedicated to the founding of the Cui Ying School. In *A Collection of Chinese Inscriptions in Singapore*)。
- 1970b. 〈兴建崇文阁碑记〉。载《新加坡华文碑铭集录》。香港: 香港中文大学出版社 (Stone tablet in memory of the founding of the Chong Wen Ge. In *A Collection of Chinese Inscriptions in Singapore*)。
- 1970c. 〈建立天福宫碑记〉。载《新加坡华文碑铭集录》。香港: 香港中文大学出版社 (Inscription for the founding of the Tian Fu Gong temple in *Collections of Chinese inscription in Singapore*)。
- 陈吴泉 1983. 〈月港的兴起与闽南华侨〉。载《月港研究论文集》。中共龙溪地委宣传部, 福建省历史学会厦门分会编 (Cheng Wuquan 1983. The rise of Port Moon and the overseas Chinese of Southern Fujian in *Collections of Essays on the Study of Port Moon*)。
- 陈玉水 1993. 〈李成枫: 振兴吉隆坡中华中学〉。载曾荣盛编, 《马来西亚福建人兴学办教史料集》。吉隆坡: 马来西亚福建社团联合会 (陈玉水 1993. Li Cheng Feng: the man who revitalised the Chong Hwa High School of Kuala Lumpur. In *Collections of Historical Materials of Hokkien Chinese Involvements in the Founding of Chinese Schools and Maintenance of Chinese Education*)。
- 陈自强 1983. 〈论明代漳州月港〉。载《月港研究论文集》。中共龙溪地委宣传部, 福建省历史学会厦门分会编 (Chen Zhiqiang 1983. On the Port Moon of Zhangzhou during the Ming period in *Collections of Essays on the Study of Port Moon*)。
- 崔贵强 1995. 〈战前新加坡闽南人的工商业活动〉。载林孝胜编, 《东南亚华人与中国经济与社会》。新加坡: 新加坡亚洲研究学会 (Chui Kuei Chiang 1995. The industrial and commercial activities of the Hokkiens in pre-war Singapore)。
- 《光明日报》1918年6月18日与20日 (*Guo Min Daily* 1918, 18 and 20 June)。
- 何国忠 2002. 〈林连玉: 为族群招魂的故事〉。载《马来西亚华人: 身份认同, 文化与族群政治》。吉隆坡: 华社研究中心 (Hou Kok Chung 2002. Lim Lian Geok: a story of his defence of the interest of the Chinese community. In *The Chinese in Malaysia: Identity, Culture and Community Politics*)。
- 何启良 2001. 〈百年连玉: 论马来西亚华人政治史上的林连玉〉。林连玉基金主办, “教

- 育, 启蒙, 创新: 林连玉百岁冥诞学术研讨会”, 吉隆坡 (Ho Khai Leong 2001. Centenary Lian Yeok: on the role of Lim Lian Geok in the Chinese political history in Malaysia)。
- 华文独立中学发展工作委员会 1976。《霹靂州华文独中复兴史》。怡保: 霹靂华校董事会联合会 (Independent Chinese Schools Development Committee Independent Chinese Schools Development Committee 1976. *A History of Revival of the Chinese Independent High Schools in the State of Perak*, Ipoh)。
- 黄水莲 1993。〈林玉静: 肩挑二独中, 沿户招生筹款〉。载曾荣盛编, 《马来西亚福建人兴学办教史料集》。吉隆坡: 马来西亚福建社团联合会 (黄水莲 1993. Lim Geok Jing: the man who shouldered two Chinese independent high schools and raised funds house by house. In *Collections of Historical Materials of Hokkien Chinese Involvements in the Founding of Chinese Schools and Maintenance of Chinese Education*, Kuala Lumpur)。
- 吉隆坡雪兰莪福建会馆议事记录, 1930-1932 年 (Minutes of the Meetings of the Hokkien Association of Selangor in Kuala Lumpur)。
- 柯木林 1975。〈崇文阁与萃英书院〉。载林孝胜等合著, 《石叻古迹》。新加坡: 南洋学会 (Kwa Bak Lim 1975. The Chong Wen Ge and Cui Ying Schools in *The Historical Relics in Singapore*)。
- 《叻报》 (*Lat Pau*) 1907 年 4 月 16 和 23 日, 5 月 2 日 (*The Singapore Daily*, 16 and 23 April, 2 May 1907)。
- 利亮时 2004。《陈六使与南洋大学: 筚路蓝缕的办学之路 (1950-1964)》。新加坡: 南洋理工大学中华语言文化中心博士论文 (Lee Leong Sze 2004. *Tan Lark Sye and Nanyang University*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore)。
- 李业霖 2004。《南洋大学史论集》。吉隆坡: 马来亚南洋大学校友会 (Li Yelin 2004. *Collections of Documents on the history of Nanyang University*)。
- 梁英明 2000a。〈郭鹤年家族〉。载周南京主编, 《华侨华人百科全书, 经济卷》。北京: 中国华侨出版社 (Liang Yingming 2000a. The family of Robert Kuok Hock Nian. In *The Encyclopaedia of the Overseas and Ethnic Chinese*, edited by Zhou Nanjing, Beijing)。
- 2000b。〈成功集团〉。载周南京主编, 《华侨华人百科全书, 经济卷》 (The Berjaya Group of Companies. In *The Encyclopaedia of the Overseas and Ethnic Chinese*, edited by Zhou Nanjing, Beijing)。
- 2000c。〈陈志远家族〉。载周南京主编, 《华侨华人百科全书, 经济卷》。北京: 中国华侨出版社 (The Family of Vincent Tan Chee Yioun. In *The Encyclopaedia of the Overseas and Ethnic Chinese*, edited by Zhou Nanjing, Beijing)。
- 林连玉 1986。《华文教育呼吁录》。吉隆坡: 林连玉基金 (Lim Lian Geok 1986. *Collections of Appeals to the Defence of Chinese Education*, Kuala Lumpur: Lim Lian Geok Foundation)。
- 1988。《风雨十八年, 上集》。吉隆坡: 林连玉基金 (*Eighteen Years of Storm*, Volume 1, Kuala Lumpur: Lim Lian Geok Foundation)。
- 1990。《风雨十八年, 下集》。吉隆坡: 林连玉基金 (*Eighteen Years of Storm*, Volume 2, Kuala Lumpur: Lim Lian Geok Foundation)。
- 林腾飞 1993。〈苏木有: 坚守峇株华仁中学〉。载曾荣盛编, 《马来西亚福建人兴学办教史料集》。吉隆坡: 马来西亚福建社团联合会 (林腾飞 1993. Soh Bok Woo: the man who persisted to support the Chinese high school of Batu Pahat. In *Collections of Historical Materials of Hokkien Chinese Involvements in the Founding of Chinese Schools and Maintenance of Chinese Education*)。

- 林伍琬 1995。《马来西亚的华人企业集团》。载汪慕恆主编，《东南亚华人企业集团研究》。厦门：厦门大学出版社（Lin Wuguang 1995. Chinese business conglomerates. In Malaysia in *A Study on the Chinese Business Conglomerates in Southeast Asia*）。
- 2000a。〈林梧桐家族〉。载周南京主编，《华侨华人百科全书，经济卷》。北京：中国华侨出版社（The family of Lim Goh Tong. In *The Encyclopaedia of the Overseas and Ethnic Chinese*, edited by Zhou Nanjing, Beijing）。
- 2000b。〈云顶集团〉。载周南京主编，《华侨华人百科全书，经济卷》。北京：中国华侨出版社（The Genting Group. In *The Encyclopaedia of the Overseas and Ethnic Chinese*, edited by Zhou Nanjing, Beijing）。
- 林孝胜 1993。〈庆德会：新加坡华商互助的组织与运作〉。《亚洲文化》第 17 期，页 155-156（Lim How Seng 1993. Keng Teck Hui: a mutual help social organization of Chinese merchants in Singapore and its functions, *Asian Culture*, 17: 155-156）。
- 1995。《新加坡华社与华商》。新加坡：新加坡亚洲研究学会（Lim How Seng 1995. *The Chinese Society and Chinese Merchants in Singapore*, Singapore）。
- 林云 1966。〈道南校史〉。载《道南学校创校 60 周年纪念特刊》。新加坡：道南学校（Lin Yun 1966. A history of the Dao Nan School. In *The 60th Anniversary of the Dao Nan School, Singapore*）。
- 1966。《道南学校创校六十周年纪念特刊》。新加坡：道南学校（The 60th Anniversary of the Dao Nan School, Singapore）。
- 马来西亚永春联合会 1984。《马来西亚永春联合会银禧纪念特刊》。吉隆坡：马来西亚永春联合会。
- 王如明 1997。《陈六使百年诞纪念文集》。新加坡：八方文化企业公司（Wang Ruming 1997. *Collection of Papers Dedicated to the Centenary Celebration of Birth of Tan Lark Sye*）。
- 王增炳，余钢 1981。《陈嘉庚兴学记》。福州：福建教育出版社（Wang Zengbing and Yu Gang 1981. *Records of Tan Kah Kee's Educational Efforts*）。
- 吴华 1975。《新加坡华族会馆志》第一册。新加坡：南洋学会（Wu Hua 1975. *Chinese Associations in Singapore*）。
- 1980。《马来西亚华族会馆史录》。新加坡：东南亚研究所（Wu Hua 1980. *History of Chinese Associations in Malaysia*）。
- 吴体仁 1951。《热带经济植物：橡胶树》。新加坡：中南联合出版社（Wu Tiren 1951. *The Rubber Tree: A Tropical Commercial Crop*）。
- 1966。《殖产橡胶拓荒人》。新加坡：世界书局有限公司（*The Pioneers in Rubber Planting*）。
- XIA Bing Yan (compiler) 1907。
《新加坡应心学堂章程》（*The Modified Rules of the Ying Xin Primary School of Singapore, Singapore*）。
- 新加坡南洋文化出版社 1956。《南洋大学创校史》。新加坡：新加坡南洋文化出版社（*A History on the Founding of Nanyang University*）。
- 许甦吾 1949。《新加坡华校教育全貌》。新加坡：联枢印务有限公司（Xu Shuwu 1949. *The Overall Picture of the Chinese Education in Singapore*）。
- 雪兰莪福建会馆 1986。〈中学部概况：沿革史略〉。载郭洙镇等编，《雪兰莪福建会馆百年纪念特刊 1885-1985》。吉隆坡：马来西亚雪兰莪福建会馆（The Selangor Hokkien Association 1986. The high school section: a historical outline. In *Souvenir Magazine of Centenary Celebration of the Selangor Hokkien Association, 1885-1985*）。

- 颜清滢 1992。〈战前新马闽人教育〉。载《海外华人史研究》。新加坡：新加坡亚洲研究会 (Yen Ching-hwang 1992. *Studies of the Ethnic Chinese History*)。
- 1998。〈华人历史变革, 1403-1941〉。载林水椽, 何启良, 何国忠, 赖观福合编, 《马来西亚华人史新编》第一册。吉隆坡：马来西亚中华大会堂总会。
- 杨进发 1977。〈资本家林秉祥的兴起〉。《战前星华社会结构与领导层初探》。新加坡：南洋学会 (Yong Ching Fatt 1977. *The rise of Lim Peng Siang, the capitalist*)。
- 曾荣盛 1993。《马来西亚福建人兴学办教史料集》。吉隆坡：马来西亚福建社团联合会 (Zeng Rongsheng 1993. *Collections of Historical Materials of Hokkien Chinese Involvements in the Founding of Chinese Schools and Maintenance of Chinese Education*)。
- 郑良树 2003。《林连玉先生言论集》。吉隆坡：林连玉基金 (Tay Lian Soo 2003. *Collections of Speeches and Articles by Lim Lian Geok*)。
- 周少龙 1996。《郭鹤年传》。香港：明窗出版社有限公司 (Zhou Shaolong 1996. *A Biography of Robert Kuok Hock Nian*)。