

THE POPULATION GEOGRAPHY OF THE CHINESE COMMUNITIES IN
MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE AND BRUNEI

BY

NIEW SHONG TONG

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ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to examine the spatial distribution pattern of the Chinese population in the Malaysian region (i.e. Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei) in relation to their migrations, growth, economic activities and socio-political characteristics.

Chinese contacts with South-east Asia go back to the pre-Christian era and progressed slowly during the pre-European periods. With the advent of European powers, the role of the Chinese in South-east Asia rapidly changed from that of elite traders to one in which coolie labour was predominant. There was also a marked change in the nature of Chinese settlement in South-east Asia, as the early pattern of seasonal migration gave place to one in which immigrant labourers stayed for long periods of their working life and in many cases permanently.

The creation of the British sphere in the South China Sea initiated the great 19th and 20th century migration of southern Chinese to the Malaysian region, Singapore in particular becoming a centre from which dispersion later took place to adjacent areas. Subsequent Chinese settlement in Malaya has been conditioned by early commercial agriculture, tin-mining rubber cultivation, commerce and trade.

The policy in Northern Borneo, especially in Sarawak, has been to discourage immigration. Chinese penetration in Northern Borneo has been largely confined to gold-mining and agriculture in Sarawak, agricultural plantation work in Sabah

and the oil industry in Brunei.

Since the entry restrictions of the 1930s and more especially since the Second World War, immigration has declined in importance and today the Chinese communities in the region are growing almost exclusively as the result of the considerable excess of births over deaths. Meanwhile the increased birth rate, the equalization of sex ratios and the increase in the proportion of infants and children in the population indicate the extent to which the Chinese here are changing from immigrant to permanently settled communities.

Changes have also taken place in occupational specialisation of the various dialect groups within the Chinese population and in their social and cultural habits in the region. The process of fusion among them has taken place, especially in the large urban centres. The occupational distinctions between them have been considerably modified. The social geographical pattern based on the new distribution of wealth is becoming more important than the pattern based on the cultural differences of the Chinese communities.

Governmental policies of mutual adjustment of various ethnic groups into one people can succeed only if different ethnic groups are regarded as equal, for discrimination tends to emphasize if not indeed to promote awareness of racial origin and thus further to complicate the pattern of distribution and redistribution of the Chinese and other ethnic groups within the region.

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The responsibility for any errors of fact or of judgement in this thesis rests with me alone.

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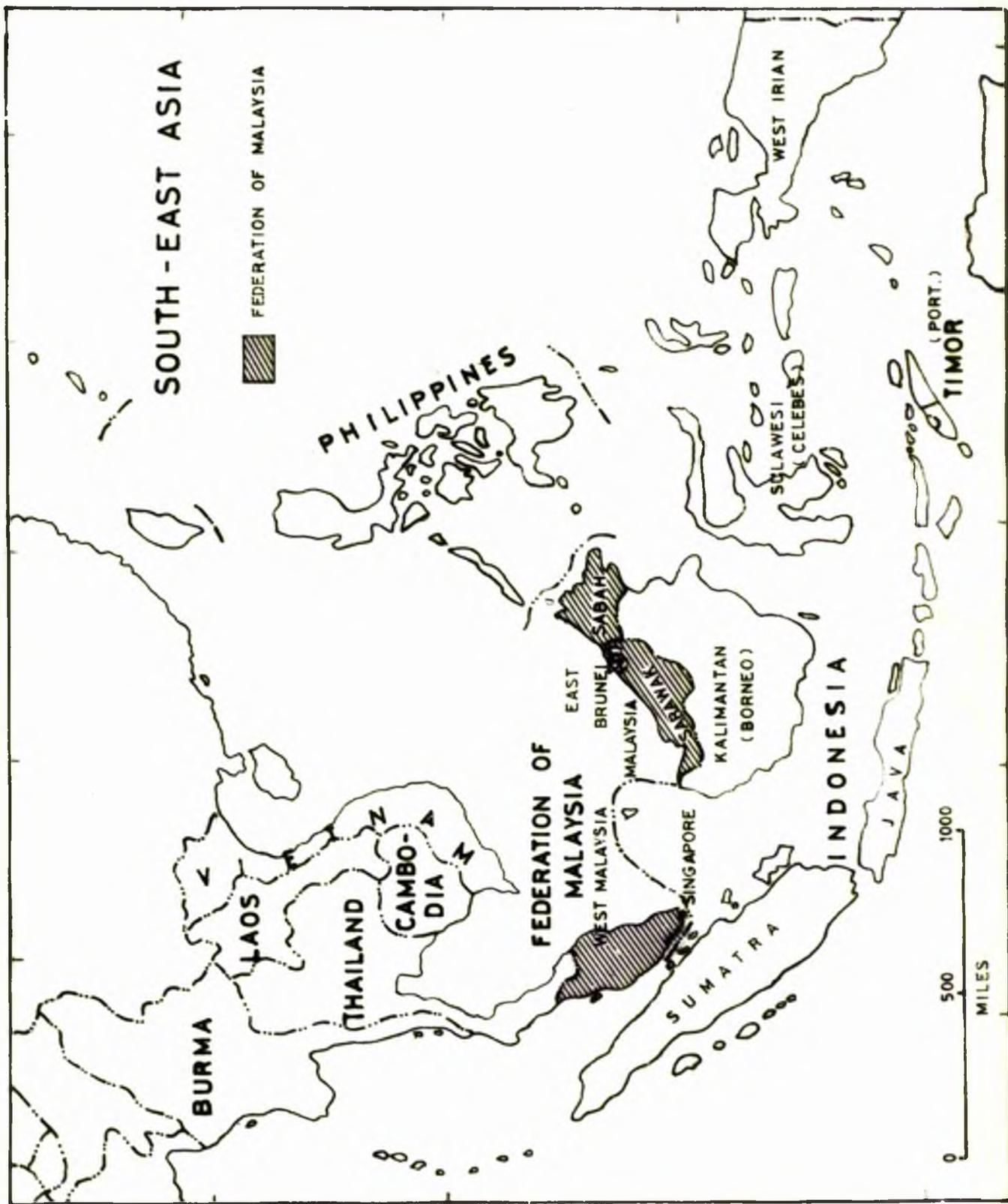


FIG. 0.1

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

A Brief Review of Previous Work

The Chinese in South-east Asia have been much studied by many scholars. From the historical point of view, Dr. Victor Purcell brought together a vast mass of information which he interpreted in the light of his long experience as a government specialist in Chinese affairs in Malaya. The most important of his works are The Chinese in Malaya, published in 1948 and The Chinese in South-East Asia, first published in 1951 and in a revised second edition with up-to-date material in 1965. The immigration and settlement of Chinese in this region have also received considerable attention. The conditions under which the Chinese immigration took place prior to 1914 have been dealt with by P.C. Campbell in her Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire (1928), while the labour conditions have received special treatment in a general treatise by Chen Ta entitled Chinese Migrations with Special Reference to Labour Conditions (1923). A Hundred Years of the Chinese in Singapore by Song Ong Siang (1929) gave an intimate picture of the social structure of the Chinese community in Singapore. More recently, A Short History of Nanyang Chinese (1959), by Professor Wang Gungwu and The Third China - The Chinese Community in South-east Asia (1965) by Professor C.P. FitzGerald, have contributed

to the earlier history of the Chinese in this region. The future of the Overseas Chinese in South-east Asia (1966) by L.E. Williams has examined the present situation of the important Chinese population in South-east Asia, and appraises its significance for United States policy in that area.

The study of the Chinese communities in this area from the sociological and anthropological points of view have also received considerable attention. Professor Maurice Freedman has worked extensively in this field. Two unpublished theses by him should be mentioned, namely The Sociology of Race Relations in South-east Asia, with Special Reference to British Malaya. (M.A. London, 1948), an analysis of the plural societies of South-east Asia with the Chinese as his focus, and Kinship Local Grouping and Migration: A Study in Social Realignment Among Chinese Overseas. (Ph.D. 1956, London). In 1957, he published Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore, a detailed examination of the Chinese community and family from an anthropological point of view. Dr. Tien Ju-Kang's study of the structure of Chinese society in Sarawak, The Chinese of Sarawak: A Study of Social Structure, (1953), is the result of field work originally intended to be conducted in Malaya in conjunction with Professor Freedman's study. So far, this is the only detailed study of the Chinese community in Sarawak or indeed in any part of northern Borneo. Another anthropologist to publish in the field is G. W. Skinner, who on the basis of a rapid tour wrote a general survey of the Chinese in the

region, country by country, namely Report on the Chinese in South-east Asia, (1950). There are also some studies of urban and rural Chinese within specific small areas in Malaya and Singapore by competent sociologists. These include Barrington Kaye's book Upper Nankin Street, Singapore: A Sociological Study of Chinese Households living in a Densely Populated Area, (1960), and W. H. Newell's book: Treacherous River: A Study of Rural Chinese in North Malaya, (1962) which examines the social organisation of the rural Teochiu of Province Wellesley in Northern Malaya. Recently, a Japanese sociologist, Kiyoshige Maeda, has studied the social structure of the Chinese community in one small village in Kedah State, Malaya in his book Alor Janggus, a Chinese Community in Malaya, (1967).

Elsewhere, in many journals, reviews and reports, the very varied aspects of the Chinese in this area have received attention. But in the field of population geography, no attempt has been made to focus attention solely on the Chinese in the former British sphere now represented by the States of Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei, and on the broad patterns of change in the period since the early 19th century. This study/therefore attempts to make good that deficiency.

Purpose and Scope of Study

Population geography is concerned with demonstrating how spatial variations in the distribution, composition, migration and growth of population are related to spatial varia-

tions in the nature of places. In this study, an endeavour has been made to analyse areal patterns of migrations, growth, composition and distribution among the Chinese population, as well as the causes of their pattern, and their consequence upon the cultural landscape in Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei.

A geographical study of the Chinese communities in this area is basically dependent on statistical data. But a qualitative approach has also been followed in an attempt to unravel the inter-relationships between physical and human environments on the one hand and population on the other. The explanation and analysis of these inter-relationships is the real substance of this study.

In writing this thesis, I have drawn on my personal knowledge of the countries, and in addition have consulted a large number of sources, the most important of which are listed in the bibliography. These sources consist of official reports (Census, commission, administration and specialist), monographs on such topics as economics, history and demography; and both the general and the geographical literature of the region.

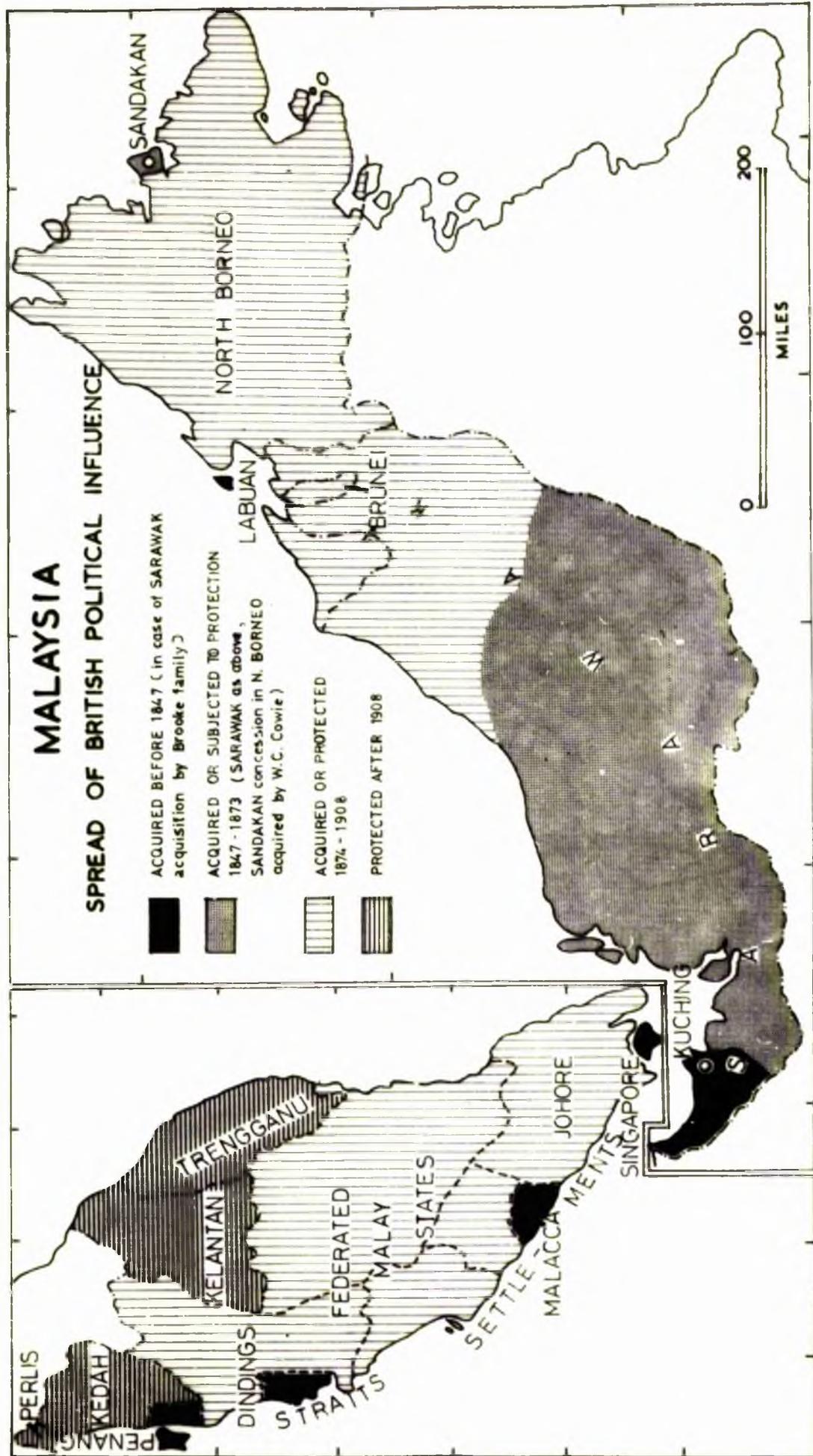
Definition of Terms Used

The area under consideration in this thesis comprises the series of territories which formerly constituted the British Malaysian sphere straddling the great maritime cross-

roads where the Straits of Malacca and the South China Sea meet. This British sphere which gradually developed around the original growing points of the Straits Settlements -- Singapore, Penang, Malacca and Labuan -- was never politically unified under British rule and its principal political subdivision corresponded to different stages in the outward extension of British influence. Thus, British rule was first established in the three ports of Penang, Malacca and Singapore over the period 1786-1819, and extended to Labuan in 1846. In the second quarter of the 19th century, James Brooke began building his private domain in Sarawak, and in the third quarter, another form of British influence made its appearance in North Borneo. Meanwhile, in 1874 British protection was first extended to the Malay States of Perak, Selangor, Sungei Ujong and later to the rest of Negri Sembilan and to Pahang and between 1909 and 1914 the process was further extended to take in the four states to the north and Johore in the extreme south. (Fig. 1.1).

Thus, the following pattern of British rule persisted until the post war reorganization of 1946.

- (1) the Crown Colony of the Straits Settlements, which included the islands of Singapore and Penang (with the mainland territory of Province Wellesley opposite Penang island) and the mainland enclave of Malacca. Each of these territories was called a 'Settlement' and they were first united in 1826 together with another small coastal area, the



AFTER C. A. FISHER

FIG. 1.1

Dindings, which was retroceded to Perak in 1935. Singapore became the capital in 1832. Labuan became part of the Straits Settlements in 1846, but was later included in British North Borneo in 1890.

- (2) the Federated Malay States (F.M.S.) of central Malaya, comprising the British protected States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pehang. The F.M.S. was formed in 1896 with Kuala Lumpur as its capital.
- (3) the unfederated Malay States, namely, Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu each of which remained a separate British protected state.
- (4) British North Borneo (Since renamed Sabah) and Sarawak were governed respectively by a commercial company under charter from the British Crown and by the Brooke family. These two, and also the Malay Sultanate of Brunei in between, came under separate British protection in 1888.

In 1946 the nine Malay States were joined with Penang and Malacca to form the Malayan Union which was reformed to become the Federation of Malaya in 1948; it became an independent member of the commonwealth in 1957. Singapore, a separate Crown Colony since 1946, became a self-governing State (but still under British sovereignty) in 1959.

British North Borneo and Sarawak each became separate British Crown Colonies in 1946 while Brunei remained a British

protected State.

In September 1963, Singapore, British North Borneo (Sabah) and Sarawak joined with the Federation of Malaya to form the Federation of Malaysia. Brunei was also invited to join but decided not to do so. Singapore withdrew from the Federation at the request of the Malaysian Central Government in August 1965.

Besides the official names listed above, two regional terms which have come into common use at different times are also used in this study as follows:

Malaya: is used as a collective name for the former Federation of Malaya and Singapore.

Northern Borneo: is used to describe the part of Borneo formerly under British protection. i.e. Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei. (As opposed to the rest of Borneo, formerly under Dutch rule and now part of Indonesia, which is called Kalimantan).

In addition, the Federation of Malaysia has now adopted the name West Malaysia to cover the former Federation of Malaya, and East Malaysia to cover northern Borneo, exclusive of Brunei.

For the sake of brevity, the combined area of Malaya and Northern Borneo is referred to throughout the text as the Malayo-Borneo region or, simply, the region.

The definition of the peoples of Malaya and Northern Borneo, Malaysians, Chinese, Indians and Borneo Indigenous in this thesis refers to ethnic origin and not to birth-place.

A Malaysian is defined as a person belonging to the Malay or any other Malaysian race, who habitually speaks the Malay language or any Malaysian language and professes the Muslim religion. Thus, the term covers both the Malays and immigrant Malaysians. The term Indian is used to include peoples whose ancestry derives from the whole of the Indian subcontinent i.e. the present India and Pakistan. Borneo Indigenous refers to all Borneo people of Malaysian race other than Malays. Lastly Chinese is used throughout this study in its ethnic sense to include both immigrants from China and those whose forebears came from China.

Historical and Geographical Background

Chinese contacts with South-east Asian countries can be traced back to ancient times when Chinese pilgrims, travellers and goodwill missions visited the region. The Malay Peninsula was frequently visited by Buddhist monks from China from early in the 4th century A.D. who were followed much later by seafaring traders. It was not until the 14th century that accounts of trading visits of significant scale began to appear regularly in Chinese records. The Chinese were known to have resided in Singapore, which they knew as 'Tumasik', in the mid-14th century and in Malacca during the early 15th century.

Soon after the foundation of Malacca about 1400 A.D., a series of major naval expeditions was sent to South-east Asia by Emperor Yung Lo of the Ming Dynasty as a demonstration of

Chinese strength and interest in these areas. Realizing the strategic location of Malacca, the Chinese brought it under their protection in 1405. Although Malacca outlasted the short burst of Chinese naval activities in South-east Asia, its small population and limited food producing capacity severely restricted its power of survival. In 1511, Malacca succumbed to the Portuguese and thenceforth remained in European hands for over four hundred years.

British interest in the Far East, like that of the Portuguese and Dutch, began primarily with commercial activities, but during most of the 19th century, Britain was more concerned with strengthening the security of India and opening up a further great trading sphere in China than it was with South-east Asia itself. Thus, in 1786 Britain had already taken possession of Penang as a naval station and in 1819 Singapore was acquired by Sir Stamford Raffles. It was Raffles' initiative that forced Britain to extend its influence in the Malay archipelago. Thus in 1826, Penang and Province Wellesley, The Dindings, Malacca and Singapore were combined to form the colony of the Straits Settlements. In 1841, Hong Kong was annexed, creating a 'Penang-Singapore-Hong Kong axis', and thereby completing the line of British stations from the Indian Ocean to the China coast. (see Professor Fisher, C.A. "Malaysia: A Study in the Political Geography of Decolonization" in Fisher, C.A. (ed.). Essays in Political Geography, London, 1968, p. 81.)

At this time the Malay Pemsinsula was a relatively backward and under-populated region and, partly for this reason and partly because of related British encouragement, it offered exceptionally tempting opportunities to Chinese immigration. Even before the formal lifting of the ban on emigration by the Chinese government in the 1860s, the volume of Chinese emigration to Malaya had begun to grow rapidly. By the beginning of the 1840s, the expansion of tin-mining industry in the western Malay states of Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan which was due to Chinese initiative gave the great impetus to mass migration into the inland areas of these Malay States. But it was during the seventy years from 1860 to 1930 that the great migration of millions of Chinese occurred to the lands of opportunity in South-east Asia, following the arterial route to Singapore and Penang. Many of them stayed in these Straits Settlements ports while others ventured into the Malay States. The flow of labour from South China was so heavy that by 1901, there were more Chinese in the two mining states of Perak and Selangor than Malaysians.

At the beginning of the 20th century, rubber plantation were developed as the main agricultural industry in Malaya. Thus although tin remained important, rubber cultivation replaced mining as the main economic activity among the Chinese from the second decade of the present century, a period which saw the heavy influx of Chinese into rubber growing areas like Johore. The combination of conditions was so favourable that

the potential Chinese migrant needed little persuasion to seek his fortune in Malaya.

In contrast to this, the three territories in Northern Borneo present different pictures. It is certain that Chinese contacts with Northern Borneo were first established at least 1500 years ago, but these early Chinese relationships left little impression on the contemporary scene. In both Sarawak and Brunei, pepper planting was developed by Chinese in the early years of the 19th century, but it was the presence of gold and antimony in Bau, and Brooke's pacification of the territories in 1840 that provided the great incentive. Under the patriarchal rule of the Brookes, large scale immigration to Sarawak was discouraged. The government was concerned with the development of the indigenous people and admitted Chinese immigrants only in specific cases like helping the Fuchow American Mission to effect relief in stricken areas in South China by granting land for rubber cultivation in Sibiu. Both Brunei and Sarawak lacked the natural resources that attracted the Chinese to Malaya. In Brunei, Chinese immigration dates mainly from the discovery of the Seria oilfield in 1929, which attracted both skilled and unskilled Chinese labour to the country. In Sabah the British North Borneo Chartered Company, formed in 1881 was largely responsible for the importation of Chinese for its agricultural development.

As a result of both the liberal immigration policy and the geographical alignment of the area, the Chinese in the

British territories of Malaya and Northern Borneo form the largest Chinese minority in South-east Asia. (Table 11). In 1965 the Chinese in South-east Asia were estimated to number about 12.4 million in a total population of some 248.8 million, constituted almost exactly 5 per cent of the total south-east Asian people. But the Chinese population in Malaya and Northern Borneo ranged from 75 per cent in Singapore to 23 per cent in Sabah, whereas in the other South-east Asian countries the proportion which the Chinese have formed of the total population has ranged from less than 1 per cent in Portuguese Timor to about 9 per cent in Thailand.

Nevertheless, the demographic difference between Malaya and Northern Borneo is very great. Whilst 60 per cent of the area lies in Borneo, Malaya contains 88 per cent of the population. The difference is even greater for the Chinese, for while 61 per cent live in West Malaysia and 30 per cent in Singapore, only 9 per cent are in Northern Borneo. Thus, Malaya contains 91 per cent of the Chinese population in the region.

At this stage, for lack of up-to-date census reports for the region, (the last census was held in 1957 in Malaya and 1960 in Northern Borneo; and the new census for the whole region will not be held before 1970 at the earliest) and adequate historical material on the Borneo territories, this work cannot be definitive or complete. But in the absence of any detailed and comprehensive account, especially in the

TABLE 1.1
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF OVERSEAS CHINESE
IN THE POPULATIONS OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA 1965.

Country	Number of Chinese	Total Population	% of Chinese
Singapore	1,400,000	1,880,000	74.5
West Malaysia	2,920,000	8,090,000	36.1
Sarawak	275,000	830,000	32.5
Brunei	25,000	95,000	26.3
Sabah	120,000	515,000	23.3
Thailand	2,600,000	30,500,000	8.5
Cambodia	435,000	6,250,000	7.0
South Vietnam	860,000	16,300,000	5.3
Indonesia	2,750,000	106,000,000	2.6
Laos	45,000	2,100,000	2.1
Burma	400,000	25,300,000	1.6
Philippines	450,000	32,100,000	1.4
North Vietnam	190,000	18,400,000	1.0
Portuguese Timor	5,000	575,000	0.9
TOTAL	12,475,000	248,835,000	5.0

Source: Adapted from Williams, L.E., The Future of the Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, New York, 1966. p.11.

Borneo territories, it is hoped that this study will serve to fill in some of the gaps in the vast subject of the overseas Chinese impact in the region. Furthermore, it is hoped that it will serve as an example to more detailed research on population geography of the Chinese communities not only in the Malaysian region but also in the rest of South-east Asia and in other parts of the world, where altogether more than 16 million Chinese are to be found. (Fig.1.2).

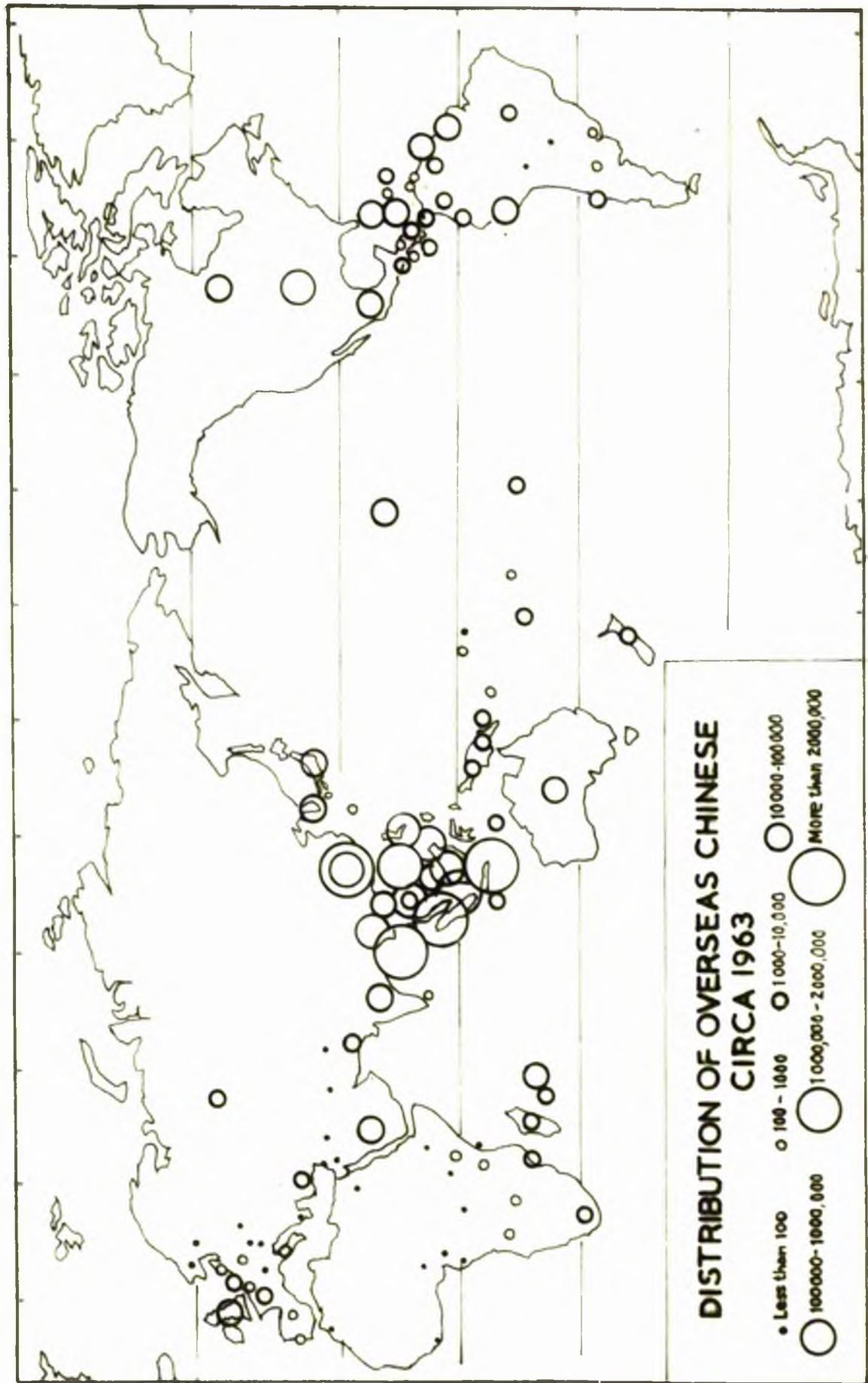


FIG. 1.2

SOURCE: HUA-CHIAO CHIH TSUNG-CHIH (GENERAL RECORDS OF THE OVERSEAS CHINESE), TAIPEI, 1964.

CHAPTER TWO

CHINESE MIGRATION TO MALAYA AND NORTHERN BORNEO

Early Chinese Contacts With South-east Asia

Overland links between China and the lands to the south were established much earlier than contacts by sea. They date from at least the 2nd century B.C., when regular trade relations were established between China and Tonkin, which was at that time a vassal territory of the Chinese empire.¹ As early as the 3rd century A.D., the first Chinese colonists began to settle in Vietnam.² There were extensive Chinese contacts with what is now Cambodia, mainly in the form of trade, during the Funan period from 200 to 600 A.D. The first recorded diplomatic contact between Funan (the predecessor of Cambodia) and China occurred between 225 and 330 A.D., when a Prince Wu sent a mission to civilise the southern countries.³ The first official Chinese ambassadors Chu En and Kan Tai were recorded to have arrived in Funan in 226 A.D. and in the wake of the ambassadors, Buddhist monks and merchants arrived.⁴ As early as the 2nd century B.C. there appear to have been Chinese trade routes through Yunnan to the Salween and

Irrawaddy Valleys penetrating into Burma. But Chinese settlement there occurred much later.⁵

Originally the tie between China and the countries of Indo-China was established exclusively by land. However, by the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. relations were also established with the countries of the Malay Archipelago.⁶ The Chinese pilgrim Fu Hsien went overland to India, visited Ceylon by sea and arrived in what was either Java or Malaya in 413 A.D., and I-tsing, in 692 A.D. reached Lang-ya-Si, identified as Langkasuka, a kingdom in the Malay peninsula.⁷

The 4th, 5th and 6th centuries, were the 'Dark Ages' of Chinese history when civil warfare and foreign invasion were almost incessant. Despite these disturbances in the first Sung dynasty (A.D. 420-479) missions from the Malay Archipelago, especially those from Java made their appearance in China.⁸ Later on, Chu Fan Chi (諸 蕃 誌) mentioned that Emperor Sui-Yang-ti sent a mission by sea to Siam to open up commercial relations with that country in 607 A.D.⁹

In the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.), one of the greatest periods in Chinese history, diplomatic and trade relations were expanded between China and the countries of South-east Asia. Between 756 and 779

A.D. three envoys of Java arrived in China and in the year 813 further envoys arrived at the capital with presents.¹⁰ By the end of the Tang period the first Chinese colonists appeared in Indonesia, in particular on the northern coast of Java.¹¹ Tang influence was so great that the Chinese overseas are now known as 'Tang Jen' (唐人) or the people of Tang and their home country is referred to as 'Tang Shan' (唐山) or The Tang Mountains.

The Sung epoch (906-1279) saw a considerable development of shipbuilding. The compass was first used for sailing in this period and regular trade relations were established between China and the countries of the Malay Archipelago and the Philippines. These circumstances created favourable conditions for increasing the number of emigrants from China.¹²

The first significant Chinese settlements on the islands of the Malay archipelago date from the 13th century. One of the earliest settlements was San-fo-tsi (Palembang on the island of Sumatra). Palembang fell into Chinese hands on the decay of Sri Vijaya and remained under them for about two hundred years. This town was one of the earliest places in South-east Asia where the Chinese settled in any numbers.¹³ At the

beginning of the 15th century, the Emperors of the Ming dynasty began to send expeditions to South-east Asia. From 1405, Cheng Ho, the famous Grand Eunuch, made seven voyages to Nan Yang (Southern Ocean). When he arrived in Java, he discovered Chinese settlements there.¹⁴ Besides Java and Sumatra there were also Chinese trading settlements on the western shore of Borneo. These were Sambas, Pontianak and Sukadana as well as Brunei.¹⁵ (See pp. 70-75)

The first recorded history of the Chinese in Malaya was in 1349 when Wang Ta-Yuan, a Chinese trader and traveller in describing Tumasik or Old Singapore mentioned that there were Chinese settlers there.¹⁶ Chinese contacts with Malacca began during the Ming Dynasty when Emperor Yung Lo (1403-1424) sent the eunuch Yin Ching as envoy to Malacca with presents of silk brocade in 1403. The gesture was reciprocated by Parameswara, the King of Malacca, who sent his envoys to China in 1405 and 1407 with tribute and presents for the Chinese emperor, and a request that his country be accepted as a dependency of the 'Middle Kingdom'.¹⁷ But the most noteworthy event of the era was the arrival at Malacca in 1408 of Cheng Ho. When he raised Malacca to the status of a kingdom, a loose political connection was inaugurated between Malacca and the Chinese Empire

accompanied by an exchange of gifts and the general acceptance of Chinese suzerainty by the Malacca rulers.¹⁸ However, these diplomatic links and the renewed Chinese mercantile activity do not necessarily mean that there was a permanent Chinese settlement in Malacca before its conquest by the Portuguese in 1511.

Fei Hsin, one of the Cheng Ho's followers, stated that 'the people of Malacca are rather dark in skin but those who are fairer in complexion are the descendants of the Chinese'.¹⁹ But Ma Huan, a Muslim interpreter who also accompanied Cheng Ho on some of his numerous expeditions into the Nanhai ('Southern Seas') in the first third of the 15th century, though recording that Malacca was visited by Chinese merchants, made no mention of a Chinese settlement there.²⁰

A century later, Hwang Chung, the Chinese traveller who visited Malacca, stated that there were some Chinese resident in Malacca.²¹ But a further reference suggests that the Chinese in Malacca at this time were only sojourners, for the Hsi Yu or 'Report from the Ocean' published in 1537, referred to the Chinese as 'merchant of ships who live in an hotel', the chief of which always sends female slaves to serve them and sends their food and drink morning and evening.²² Chinese literary evidence therefore, is not very conclusive in fixing

the date of the earlier Chinese settlement in Malacca.

The presence of Chinese merchants in Malacca, prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, was also mentioned by Dona Jeronimo Osoria in 1571. He dwelt at length on the help given by these Chinese merchants to Sequiera, the first Portuguese captain to visit Malacca in 1509.²³ When captain Sequiera came to anchor in the port he found there four Chinese ships, the captains of which immediately waited on him. Sequiera was much taken with their polite, friendly behaviour and their agreeable manners and at once felt quite at home with them. He paid visits to their junks and was well entertained.

Relationships between the Chinese and the rulers of Malacca had been deteriorating for some time following the ill-treatment of Chinese merchants by the Malays, and when the Portuguese attacked Malacca in 1511 the five Chinese junks present in the harbour and the Chinese merchants in the city all sided with the Portuguese against their erstwhile friends.²⁴

It is quite clear that by 1511, if not earlier, there was a Chinese trading community in the port-city of Malacca. But as to whether these Chinese represented a permanent or a fluid society, that kept coming and going with the monsoons, is still uncertain. By the beginning of the 17th century, however, there is little doubt about the existence of a permanent Chinese settle-

ment in Malacca, for by this time the Chinese were present in sufficient numbers to have a 'Campon China',²⁵ a special quarter of their own, in the city of Malacca. The Portuguese cosmographer and explorer de Eredia, who lived in Malacca for the first four years of the 17th century, in his account of the territory, described 'Campon China' at some length.²⁶ He stated that it formed part of the suburb of Upe, and extended 'from the Bazaar of the Jaos (Javanese) on the beach and from the mouth of the river (of Malacca) in a north-easterly direction for a distance of 400 fathoms along the bank of the same river to the gate (of the Chincheos) and the earth wall which forms part of the rampart; and beyond the marsh-land again as far as the 'Nypeiras' or wild palms beside the stream of Paret²⁷ China'. Here lived the Chincheos, or Chinese of the Fukien Province of South-eastern China.²⁸ (Fig. 2.1).

There is no indication of the size of the Chinese community in Portuguese Malacca. But to judge from the size of 'Campon China' as described by de Eredia, it would appear that the Chinese must have been present in substantial numbers by at least the first decade of the 17th century. At the time of the Dutch capture of Malacca in 1641, there were only 300 to 400 Chinese in the State.²⁹ The Dutch had to import Chinese from

PORTUGUESE MALACCA

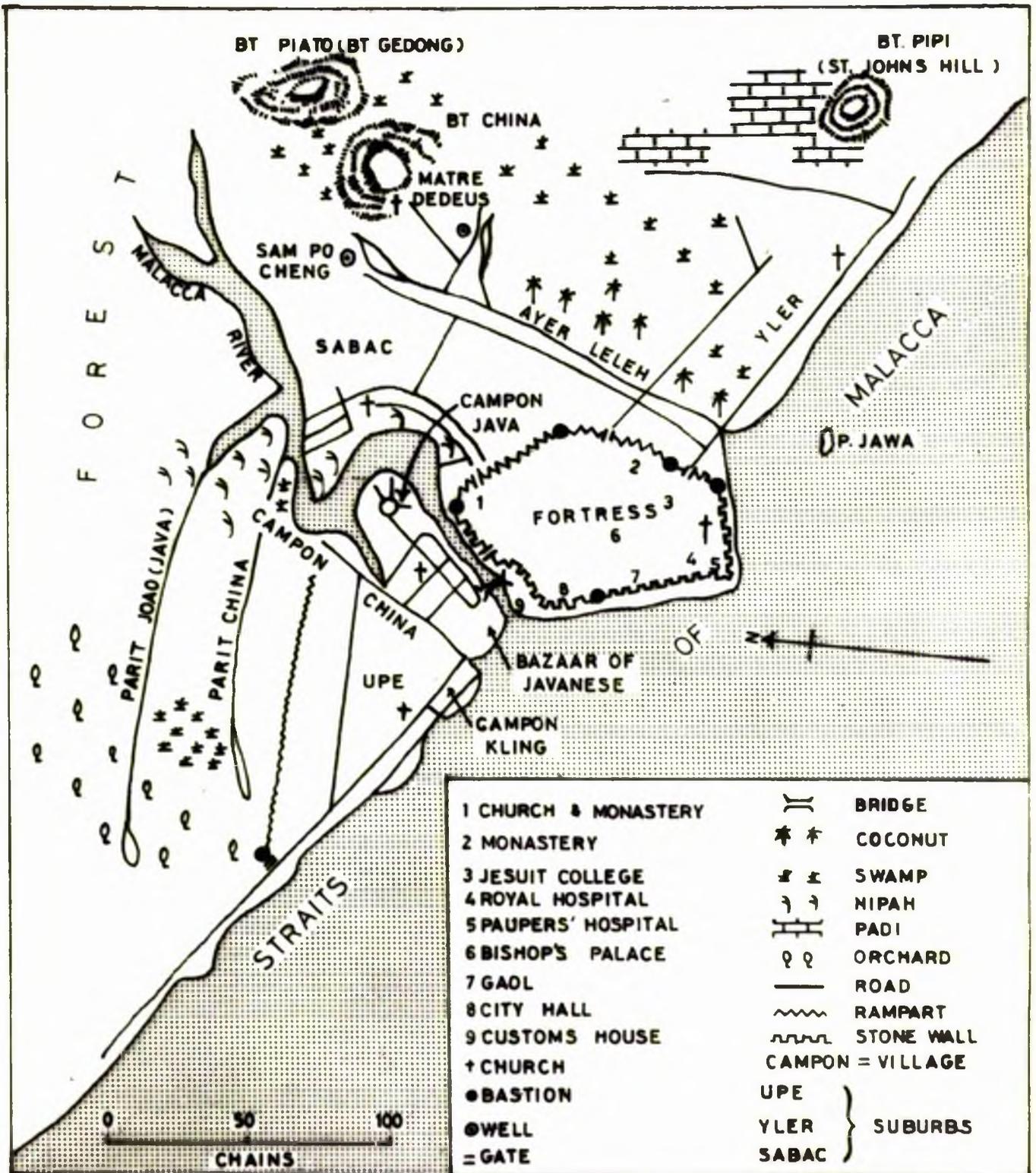


FIG. 2.1

Batavia to work the fields and gardens of Malacca.³⁰ Schouten, the Dutch emissary, visiting Malacca in 1641, enumerated thirty-three such Chinese immigrants among the estimated 300 to 400 Chinese merchants, craftsmen and fishermen living in the Upe and Sabac (modern Bunga Raya) suburbs of the city.³¹

In 1678, Balthasar Bort, the Dutch Governor of Malacca, enumerated 426 Chinese among the total population of 4884.³² According to Bort the Chinese community comprised 127 men, 140 women and 159 children. The females among the Chinese were probably Batak and Balinese slaves and some Malays, whom the Chinese males 'married in the absence of Chinese women'.³³ Seventy-eight of the Chinese lived around Bukit China, the rest were in the northern suburb ('Upe' of the Portuguese). These Chinese principally merchants, artisans and carpenters were comparatively wealthy, owning 81 brick and 51 atap³⁴ out of a total of 185 brick and 583 atap structures in the whole territory.³⁵ In addition, they owned 290 slaves.³⁶

The Dutch were anxious to persuade the industrious Chinese to settle in Malacca. 'This country must have a larger population,' Governor Bort said 'especially of industrious Chinese, so that the necessary cultivation of the soil may be continued and other traffic and

trade may be carried on, for the black Christians are all very inert, too idle and lazy to have any inclination there to.³⁷ In response to Dutch encouragement the Chinese population increased to 2161 by 1750, a five-fold increase over the 1641 estimates.³⁸

After the downfall of the Ming empire in China the Manchu dynasty of Ching came into power. Severe repressions against the population and its unwillingness to submit to the rule of the conquerors caused a wave of emigration unprecedented in scale from the southern regions of China to the countries of South-east Asia.³⁹ Desiring to put a complete stop to the exodus of the population from China, the Manchu emperors enacted a strict prohibition on emigration. For example, in 1712 the Emperor Kang Hsi issued a decree forbidding them to return to their native land on pain of death. In 1717 Kang Hsi permitted emigrants who were abroad to return to China, but only those who had left the country prior to his accession (i.e. prior to 1662) received the pardon. But in 1728 the Emperor Yung Cheng forbade the emigrants who had left the country without trade licences to return home.⁴⁰ The ban on emigration and return to China existed until 1860, and from the 19th century onwards, migration from

China started to take place on the grand scale.

The Causes of Chinese Emigration

Floods, droughts, famines, rebellions and even over-population are often put forward as explanations for the Chinese emigration, as also are the theories of climatic adaptability and hardness of race. All these did have an important part in encouraging emigration, but the attractions of economic opportunities abroad also played a very important part in determining its direction and volume. Obviously appropriate internal and external conditions have to coincide in time: if there is no internal drive, no emigrants are forthcoming, and if there is no economic opportunity abroad, there is nowhere to go.

An important aspect of the history of 19th and 20th century China was its rebellions and revolutions which were the natural outcome of dissatisfaction with an oppressive and increasingly inept Government and with constant poverty. Most notable among these were the Taiping Rebellion of 1857-1864, the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, and the national Revolution of 1911. Even after the Republic had been established in 1911, there was dissension between Yuen Shih-Kai and Sun Yat-Sen, and the

country gradually sank into a state of civil war, with much of the countryside controlled by rival warlords.⁴¹ Neither life nor property were safe and the population were terror-stricken. With such conditions to face at home, more and more people chose to leave China for South-east Asia and above all for Malaya which offered the best prospects within the region.

By this time China was very densely populated and consequently many found the task of earning a decent livelihood almost an impossibility. The problem of over-population and unemployment had become very serious in China, especially in the south, during the 19th and the early 20th century. In an enquiry conducted in the hinterland of Swatow in 1934-35, Chen Ta discovered that of the 905 families interviewed who had members resident overseas, more than two-thirds of the latter had left China because they could not earn enough to support themselves or their families.⁴² (Table 2.1)

The provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien were most receptive to the idea of emigration, because of their history of maritime trade (and associated settlement) with South-east Asia and more recently because of foreign contacts arising from the tea trade with Europe since the 18th century. The decline of handicraft industries caused by the introduction of imported machine-made

Table 2.1Principal Causes of Emigration From Southern China

Cause named	No. of Families	Per Cent
Economic pressure	633	69.95
Previous connexion with the Nan Yang	176	17.45
Losses from natural calamities	31	3.43
Plan to expand specific enterprise	26	2.87
Bad conduct	17	1.88
Local disturbance	7	0.77
Family quarrel	7	0.77
Other causes	8	0.88
Total	905	100.00

Source: Chen Ta, Emigrant Communities in South
China, New York 1940, p. 260.

goods resulted in the handicraft worker becoming poverty stricken, the transportation labourer being unemployed, and the misery and starvation of the impoverished peasant being so acute that emigration offered the only escape. Towards the end of the 19th century too, Indian and Ceylonese tea began to compete seriously with the Chinese tea trade, and the effect of this was clearly seen in Fukien where many villages soon became desolate. It was then that South-east Asia became the Eldorado of the villagers.⁴³

Added to these problems, natural calamities were another inducement for the Chinese to emigrate. China was particularly susceptible to recurring floods and famines. During the period 1390 to 1626 famine raged in China as a whole 18 times (an average of once in every 13 years). In Fukien province matters were even worse. During the period 1369 to 1615 there were 29 droughts (once in $8\frac{1}{2}$ years) and during the period 1416 to 1635 the population suffered from famine 20 times (once every 11 years).⁴⁴ In the 20th century, there were records of famines in 1901, 1906 and 1911. The 1911 famines were the most serious of all. In that year not only was there a bad harvest but there were also terrible floods. As a result about two and a half million people were estimated to be without

means of sustenance.⁴⁵

In the early 20th century in such countries as Malaya, Indonesia and Northern Borneo, the demand of immigrant labour for the development of the natural resources was increasing. It must be remembered that, in order to derive more raw materials from colonies, commercial agriculture and mining were developed by the metropolitan power. The serious obstacle posed by the lack of a labour force could only be overcome by encouraging immigration from China and India.⁴⁶

Finally, the changed attitude of the Chinese Government towards emigration had helped Chinese migration to Malaya. Effective prohibitions against emigration had begun to be relaxed from the mid-19th century, and by 1860 the Imperial Government had signed a convention with Britain and France whereby Chinese subjects were permitted to emigrate and take service overseas. Then in 1904 agreements were reached between the Chinese and British Governments to supervise indentured migration jointly according to the 'Emigration Convention between the United Kingdom and China Respecting the Employment of Chinese Labour in the British Colonies and Protectorates'.⁴⁷ Thus, in the 20th century, Chinese migration overseas was legalized.

After the establishment of the Nationalist Government at Canton in 1923, Sun Yat-Sen was quick to set up a special bureau to assess intending emigrants. Eventually when China was reunified in 1928, this bureau began its efforts of protecting the overseas Chinese in earnest.⁴⁸ Secure in the knowledge that they could no longer be penalized if they emigrated, the Chinese continued to leave China.

We see then that large scale emigration originated from dire poverty in the homeland, and was aided by the relaxation of official Chinese opposition to such movement, and partly from the effects of such 19th and 20th century Western activities as the introduction of capital, the enforcement of law and order and establishment of steamship lines between the South China Coast and the principal South-east Asian ports.

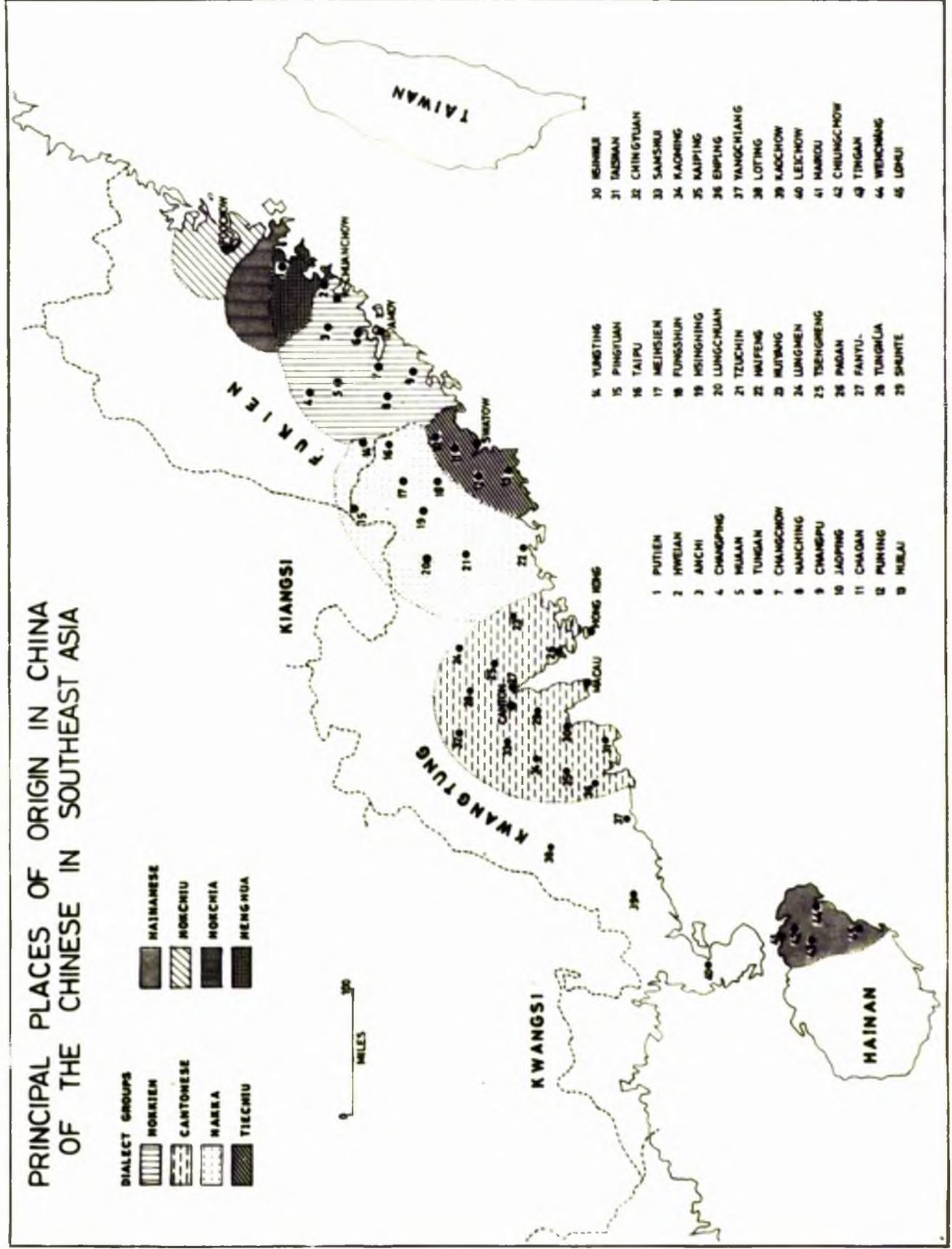
Chinese Migration to Malaya

Almost all the Chinese immigrants to Malaya have come from the Provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien, (Fig. 2.2) embarking at Amoy or Macao and after 1842, at Hong Kong as well. They 'left to find a living overseas - as refugees from official displeasure, as banishees from their local communities, as captives

PRINCIPAL PLACES OF ORIGIN IN CHINA OF THE CHINESE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

- DIALECT GROUPS**
-  HOKRIEN
 -  CANTONESE
 -  HAKKA
 -  TIECHU
 -  HAINANESE
 -  HOKCHIU
 -  HOKCHIA
 -  HENGHUA

0 100 200
MILES



- 1 PUTIEN
- 2 HWELAN
- 3 ANCHI
- 4 CHANGPING
- 5 HULAN
- 6 TUNGAN
- 7 CHANGCHOW
- 8 NANCHING
- 9 CHANGPU
- 10 JIAPING
- 11 CHAOAN
- 12 PUNING
- 13 HULAI
- 14 YUNGTING
- 15 PINGTUAN
- 16 TAIPI
- 17 MEHSIEN
- 18 FUNSSHUN
- 19 HSINONING
- 20 LUNGCHUAN
- 21 TZUCHIN
- 22 HUIFENG
- 23 HUIBANG
- 24 LUNGHEIN
- 25 TSEHENG
- 26 PHAN
- 27 FANYU-
- 28 TUNGHUA
- 29 SHUTE
- 30 HSINLEI
- 31 TAIWAN
- 32 CHINGTUAN
- 33 SAMSUI
- 34 KAOMING
- 35 KAIPIING
- 36 ENPING
- 37 YANGCHIANG
- 38 LOTING
- 39 KAOCHOW
- 40 LEKCHOW
- 41 HAKOU
- 42 CHUNGCHOW
- 43 TINGAN
- 44 WENHANG
- 45 LOHUI

BASED PARTLY ON a SKINNER, G.W. CHINESE SOCIETY IN THAILAND, NEW YORK, 1957, PP. 24, 26, 39.

b PURCELL, V. THE CHINESE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. LONDON, 1965, P. 5.

FIG. 2.-2

in 'Clan wars sold to dealers, as free emigrants seeking their fortune and as contract coolies.'⁴⁹

Some of the immigrants (the free emigrants) were people who had sufficient money to pay for the expenses of the voyage from China to Singapore or Penang. When they landed at these places they had no obligations to anyone, and could look round for such employment as suited them. But most of the immigrants (especially coolies) were too poor to pay for their own passages from China. Consequently they were 'recruited' in South China. Two methods were used in this recruiting process, the 'credit - ticket' system and the 'contract' system. Under the first system, all the care and expenses involved in the recruiting operations in China (later on in Hong Kong as well) and the delivery of the coolie to Singapore and Penang were assumed by special brokers. On arrival in Singapore the coolies were found employment by the brokers. In the 'contract' system the cost of transporting the coolie was assumed directly by the companies (usually foreign) in need of labour. The first system became most wide-spread in South-east Asia.⁵⁰

The credit - ticket system called for a large network of brokers and coolie-recruiting agents. The

Chinese brokers of Singapore and Penang were connected with the owners of special lodging houses in Swatow, Amoy, as well as Hong Kong and Macao.⁵¹ The agents or Kheh-Thau (chief recruiter) usually recruited in his home village among persons known to him. The coolies were first brought to the lodging houses which specially prepared for them and then dispatched by junk or foreign ship to the port of destination. The ship owners were interested in carrying as many coolies as possible, and the overcrowding on board ship was disgraceful. The coolies were, in fact, treated like animals, and there are well authenticated cases of hundreds of coolies dying during the voyage or being drowned like rats without a chance of escape when ships sank.

When the ships carrying coolies arrived in the colony, the agents of the employers swarmed aboard to bargain with the Singapore coolie-brokers. The coolie was appraised according to his use value. The price of artisans, tailors, carpenters, jewellers, etc., ranged from 10 to 15 Malayan dollars, an ordinary coolie brought in 6 to 10 dollars, and sick and weak coolies only 3 to 4 dollars.⁵² The coolies not in demand for the moment were kept on the ships or in shore barracks awaiting customers. The barracks as a rule were always

backed by some branch of a secret society.⁵³

Regardless of which of the channels the immigrants came by, they had their passages and other expenses paid for them and were therefore already in debt on arrival. Once in the hands of the employer, the coolie was required to work for that employer at whatever wages the latter cared to fix, until he had paid off the debt. Immigrants imported under this system were known as 'Chue Tsai' (豬仔 or 'piglets') and the people in charge of the coolie-importing lodging houses as 'Chue Tsai Thau' (豬仔頭 'head of piglets'). The phrase 'pig business' was also used to describe this system.

On the whole the system of Chinese immigration at that time was known to suffer from many undesirable practices, the most serious being ill-treatment and exploitation.⁵⁴ In 1871, Chinese merchants and citizens had petitioned the Singapore Governor, drawing attention to the disappearance of newly-arrived labourers. In 1873 a further petition was received by the Governor from local Chinese begging for an Ordinance prohibiting the disgraceful kidnapping of sin-khehs (new immigrants), and for the appointment of inspection officers, and the establishment of depots for registration and lodging.

About the same time articles appeared in the newspapers alleging shameful overcrowding of steamers engaged in the coolie traffic and drawing attention to other abuses connected with it. In 1873 a Bill was introduced to regulate the system of immigration (The Bill passed into Law as Ordinance X of 1873), but because of opposition from unofficial members of Council for business reasons, the bill was never brought into force. Until 1877, no laws were actually enacted to protect the immigrants especially those employed as labourers. Though as early as 1823, Raffles had issued an Ordinance at Singapore designed to control the engagement of sin-khehs under promises to work to pay off their passage debts, this law like the one passed in 1873 was never enforced.⁵⁵

The Straits Settlements government's attempt at protecting and regulating Chinese immigrants began on 23 March 1877 with the passing of the Chinese Immigration Ordinance (No. II of 1877).⁵⁶ Under the provisions of this Ordinance a Protector of Chinese (Mr W.A. Pickering) was appointed at Singapore, and an Assistant Protector of Chinese (Mr E. Karl) at Penang on the 3 May 1877. The ordinance regulated the proceedings of vessels arriving with Chinese passengers to ensure the inspection of the passengers by the Protector and his

officers with a special view to ascertaining whether the 'unpaid passengers' were or were not voluntary immigrants; it authorized the establishment of depots for the reception of the sin-khehs and for their detention if the Protector deemed such a course necessary; it made obligatory the registration of all labour-contracts made by the Chinese immigrants. Consequently, conditions on board junks and steamers were improved, depots for the reception of immigrants were set up and recruiters were licensed.⁵⁷ Other Ordinances enacted in 1877, 1880, 1882 and 1883 sought to strengthen official control over Chinese immigration to regulate recruiting for labour elsewhere, especially Sumatra and nearby islands; and to regulate the terms of labour contracts made in the colony.⁵⁸ A more important result was the emergence of Chinese indentured immigrants who signed formal contracts according to the provision of the Ordinance and this received protection from the law. However, a large number of immigrants still preferred not to sign contracts; they clearly would rather place their fate in the hands of one of their countrymen rather than go before the British officers of the Chinese Protectorate whose work was designed to protect them.⁵⁹ The immigrants' preferences

may be explained partly by their lack of experience in dealing with Europeans and partly by the influence of secret societies, which were often headed by lodging house owners or their agents.⁶⁰

In 1890, another Commission was appointed to enquire into 'the State of Labour in the Straits Settlements and Protected Native States, with a view to devising a scheme for encouraging immigration and thereby supplying the demand of labour'. How ineffective the earlier measures were could be seen from the report submitted by the Commission. It showed that numerous abuses were still rife, and the Report was as a whole an impressive exposé of the terrible evils associated with Chinese immigration and employment in Malaya. Towards remedying matters, the Commission recommended that the Straits Settlements government assume a large and vigorous role in recruiting and immigration, both in Malaya and China; take greater powers of inspection of places of employment, and seek the Chinese government's approval of emigration as reformed. The Commission believed that these steps would reduce the abuses and inequities suffered by the immigrants; cheapen the cost of Chinese labour by regulating the professional recruiter and eliminating the brokers, and

result in an increased flow of immigrants.⁶¹

The recommendations of the Commission were finally accepted and acted on in 1896 when the government enacted an ordinance to license and regulate the immigrant lodging-houses in the Straits.⁶² In the following year a bill was introduced to raise funds for the construction of an official immigration depot in Singapore for the purpose of examination and detention of Chinese immigrants. Protectorate officers thought that such depots were necessary for this would not only curtail lodging-house activities, but also result in more strict controls over the disposal of indebted immigrants. The bill was not enacted, however, because of the opposition of steamship companies and the Singapore Chamber of Commerce which would have to pay the cost.⁶³ After the question was fully discussed in the executive Council a decision was finally made to establish only Examination Depots leaving Detention Depots to a later date. The first official Examination Depot was built in 1899 in Singapore. However it fell short of the goal in that immigrants could only be examined in it and were still dependent on lodging-houses for accommodation. So the use of such a depot did not improve the situation.

So far the main emphasis has been upon inquiry, legislation and action in the Straits Settlements. We may now turn to the Federated Malay States where rapid development had been taking place since the early 19th century. Until 1909 each of the States of the Federation passed its own laws, and there existed in each State a series of Orders in Council, Regulations and Enactments dealing with the importation of labourers. Some of these laws dated from the 1880s but, in 1904, there was some consolidation into three main enactments, (1) The Labour Enactment (General), (2) The Labour Enactment (Chinese Mining) and (3) The Labour Enactment (Chinese Agricultural). In general these laws followed the lines of those already enacted in the Colony. In 1890, a Government depot for the reception of sin-khehs was established at Kuala Lumpur under the management of a committee of Chinese. All newly imported coolies must pass through this depot where they were registered, and where they remained at the expense of their broker until work was found for them. Employers who were in need of labour could apply to the depot manager who communicated with the brokers. If coolies were engaged, agreements were made out in duplicate and the particulars were registered in the depot. In the agreement were

set out the sum received in advance, the term of service, the names of the employer and the coolie, the place of work, the scale of remuneration, the hours of work and the nature of the food and clothing to be provided. On the expiration of the sin-kheh's year of service he had to procure from his employer a certificate stating that his agreement had been fulfilled. This he presented to the depot, and he was free to take service wherever he chose as long as he held a certificate to the effect that he had completed the term of his last engagement and had repaid all his advances. Employers who engaged labourers without such a certificate were liable to a fine of \$ (Straits) 200.⁶⁴

Further ordinances were passed in 1902 and 1910 to guard the rights of the immigrants and to strengthen the powers of the Protector over them.⁶⁵ But these were peripheral refinements and failed to deal with the basic factors in immigration; and thus abuses still existed. Although constantly urged, the government still could not bring itself to participate in the active business of bringing in the immigrants to obviate the troublesome and expensive professional recruiters. One reason for this perhaps was the difficulty of working out a stable and permanent agree-

ment with the Chinese authorities. Also conditions surrounding labour recruitment in China were such that there was no assurance that official intervention would be successful. The professional recruiters and lodging-house brokers both here and in China had large enough interests at stake to brook no interference, and appeared capable of powerful combinations which would resist Government attempts.

Separate figures for indentured immigrants are presented in Table 2.2. The gradual decline in the proportion of indentured immigrants may be attributed partly to the preference of some immigrants not to sign formal contracts and partly to the few real advantages to be gained by employers in hiring indentured immigrants.⁶⁶ By the early 1910s public opinion against the indentured system was gathering momentum in China and Malaya, culminating in the government of both the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States passing the same Labour Contracts Ordinance of 1914 by which Chinese indentured immigration was abolished from June 30, 1914.⁶⁷

The legal abolition of indentured labour had little influence on the system of labour supply, as from the first decade of the 20th century the Chinese Mines -

Table 2.2Malaya - Annual Chinese Indentured Immigrants
1880-1914

Year	Chinese Indentured Immigrants	% of Chinese Indentured Immigrants to Total Chinese Immigrants	Year	Chinese Indentured Immigrants	% of C.I.I. to Total Chinese Immigrants
1880	22115	28.4	1898	16536	12.4
1881	32316	36.0	1899	19525	13.0
1882	28415	28.1	1900	25533	12.7
1883	26446	24.2	1901	21121	11.8
1884	24871	23.3	1902	22545	10.9
1885	26391	23.7	1903	20588	9.3
1886	39192	27.1	1904	16930	8.3
1887	42400	25.3	1905	14864	8.6
1888	34607	21.1	1906	18675	10.6
1889	21213	14.1	1907	24089	10.6
1890	14335	11.2	1908	13604	8.9
1891	15136	12.0	1909	13379	8.8
1892	15710	11.3	1910	23935	11.1
1893	29134	13.6	1911	24345	9.0
1894	15544	10.1	1912	13600	5.4
1895	23249	12.2	1913	14197	5.9
1896	24019	13.7	1914	2648	1.8
1897	13799	12.0			

Source: Annual Report of Protector of Chinese,
Straits Settlements.

the largest employers of labour had practically ceased to employ indentured labour and had developed a system of private recruitment. Parr explained in his Commissions Report of 1910:

'When communications improved and the facilities for absconding increased, indentured Chinese labour on mines fell into disfavour and diminished rapidly, until recently it has practically disappeared in mining districts and has been confined almost entirely to the sugar estates in Krian. 68

But the abolition of indentures did prevent any reversal back to the old system which in view of the pressing demands for labour, might otherwise have taken place.

The prohibition of indentured Chinese labour in 1914 left the Government of both the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States with almost no legislation to deal with Chinese immigration, and Chinese were free to enter and leave Malaya without restriction. But at the outbreak of World War I the Governor, Sir Arthur Young, declared that it was advisable to prohibit immigration from China and India. This was done to alleviate distress and unemployment; arrangements were also made for the repatriation of those desirous of returning to their own country.⁶⁹ For the first time perhaps we see an effort being made to restrict the flow

of immigration, and like the measures of later years this was dictated by circumstances - war and bad economic conditions. It was in 1928 that the Immigration Restriction Ordinance was enacted by the Malayan government to equip itself with the necessary powers to regulate or prohibit immigration for the purposes of performing domestic or manual labour whenever the influx of immigrants threatened unemployment, economic distress, or was not in the public interest.⁷⁰ The Ordinance appeared to have also been prompted by the Government's desire to exercise a stricter control with a view to excluding criminals and other undesirable elements. The Bill was understandably criticised severely by many employers as it was feared that it would affect the supply of labour and lead to high wages and strikes and they believed that the control of the criminal elements lay in a stronger police force rather than such emergency legislation. As no immediate action was apparently needed, the powers conferred by this Ordinance were not exercised until August 1, 1930 when the Governor proclaimed a monthly quota for male Chinese immigrants only.⁷¹ Action was prompted by increasing unemployment which followed the closure of some tin-mines and rubber estates and the general worsening of the economy during the World Depression.

The quota was extended by short periods to the end of 1932 and the number of immigrants was reduced from an initial figure of 6016 per month to 1000 per month during the last five months of 1932. The Federated Malay States enacted complementary legislation and also sought to control Chinese immigration overland from Siam. Employers opposed application of the Ordinance, and the Singapore Chamber of Commerce urged that action be delayed until 'the matter becomes very acute'.⁷²

The Immigration Restriction Ordinance did much to prevent the swamping of Malaya by unwanted immigrants and led to a considerable improvement in the overall quality of those who came. However, the experience of the past years showed that it was not entirely satisfactory because it could be resorted to only in emergencies and provided no control over immigrants once they had landed.⁷³ It was desirable to make its provisions permanent and to extend it till it became possible to control substantially the volume of immigration and its quality as well. The Ordinance was thus replaced by the Aliens' Ordinance from January 1, 1933 whose object was to regulate the immigration of aliens, besides controlling their residence as well as their departure from the Colony.⁷⁴ Almost all functions

concerning Chinese immigration were transferred from the Chinese Protectorate Office to the new Immigration Department.⁷⁵

Registration of aliens residing in Malaya was a radical departure from previous policy. Registration was not made compulsory, but if an alien left the country with the intention of returning, in order to gain re-admission without being subject to whatever quota system might be in force, he would have to obtain a certificate before leaving. The hope was to get all aliens eventually registered.⁷⁶ Two kinds of certificates were granted to aliens under the Ordinance. The certificate of admission was valid for two years only, as a simple means of exemption from an immigration quota on return to Malaya. On the other hand, the certificate of residence was valid for the holder's lifetime. Both certificates could be cancelled at the discretion of the government. The Aliens' Ordinance necessitated the establishment of an Immigration Department in the Straits Settlements. As before, complementary legislation was introduced in the F.M.S. and unfederated Malay States.

From 1 April 1933 the quota system of restricting Chinese male immigrants was continued under the Aliens

Ordinance until the outbreak of the Second World War in Malaya in December 1941. The monthly quota varied from 500 to 6000, though remaining constant at 4000 from August 1934 to January 1937. At the beginning of 1933 unemployment and economic distress still prevailed and through most of 1933 the monthly quota were fully used. Nevertheless, employers' criticism of the Ordinance for its possible bad effects on the supply of labour caused the Government to introduce an amendment late in 1933.⁷⁷ The "Section 12a" Amendment, as it became known, allowed employers who could show good cause to obtain official permits to recruit labour abroad and bring them to Malaya outside the quota. During 1934 and 1935 some Chinese male immigrants were permitted to enter by means of these permits, but the primary aim of the amendment was not achieved and relatively few permits were issued after mid-1935.⁷⁸

The immediate result of the imposition of the quota was an increase in the cost of passages for Sin-Khehs. This was due partly to the higher prices charged by the shipping companies to compensate for their limited trade and partly to the competition for the limited number of tickets available. The importation of fresh labour thus became an expensive business for any individual

employer, particularly when the newly arrived labourer might abscond almost as soon as he arrived. Employers therefore turned increasingly to the lodging-houses for additional labour as a result. Another result of this Ordinance was that any Chinese who came to Malaya had either paid for his own passage or has got a relative - probably in Malaya - to pay it for him. The system of recruiting through professional brokers or lodging-houses soon vanished as the costs were too high.

The immigration of Chinese women and children continued to be exempted from any restriction under the Aliens Ordinance. The Government was anxious to encourage the immigration of women in order to improve the sex ratio.⁷⁹ As women were outside the quota, passages for women were far cheaper than those for men. These factors encouraged women in China to emigrate, but this emigration was also stimulated by the action of ticket brokers at the China ports who refused to sell quota tickets unless three or four non-quota tickets were bought by the lodging-houses and ticket agencies for each quota ticket bought. It was therefore to the advantage of the lodging-houses and ticket agencies to encourage the emigration of women to take up these

non-quota tickets.⁸⁰ As a result, from 1933 onwards tens of thousands of Chinese women, mostly Cantonese-speaking persons from the Shun Tak and Tung Kwun Districts, entered Malaya. In the five years 1934 to 1938 there was a migrational gain to Malaya of over 190,000 female Chinese deck passengers.⁸¹ The majority of these women were peasant workers, who entered the rubber and tin industries, the building industry and factories. By 1938, there was in Malaya a reduction in the exports of tin and rubber, and following this there was less demand for immigrant Chinese labour. In order to ease the unemployment situation the Government cancelled the exemption of alien women from the Ordinance and proclaimed a monthly quota of 500 on the immigration of alien women on 1st May, 1938, thus for the first time controlling the movement of Chinese women. Immigration of Chinese was of course at a complete standstill during World War II from December 1941 to September 1945. (Fig. 2.3)

In the immediate postwar years, Chinese immigration continued to be regulated by the prewar Aliens Ordinance, but by the 1950s two new developments had emerged to make the governments of the Federation of Malaya and of Singapore adopt a new attitude towards immigration in

THE TREND OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION INTO MALAYA

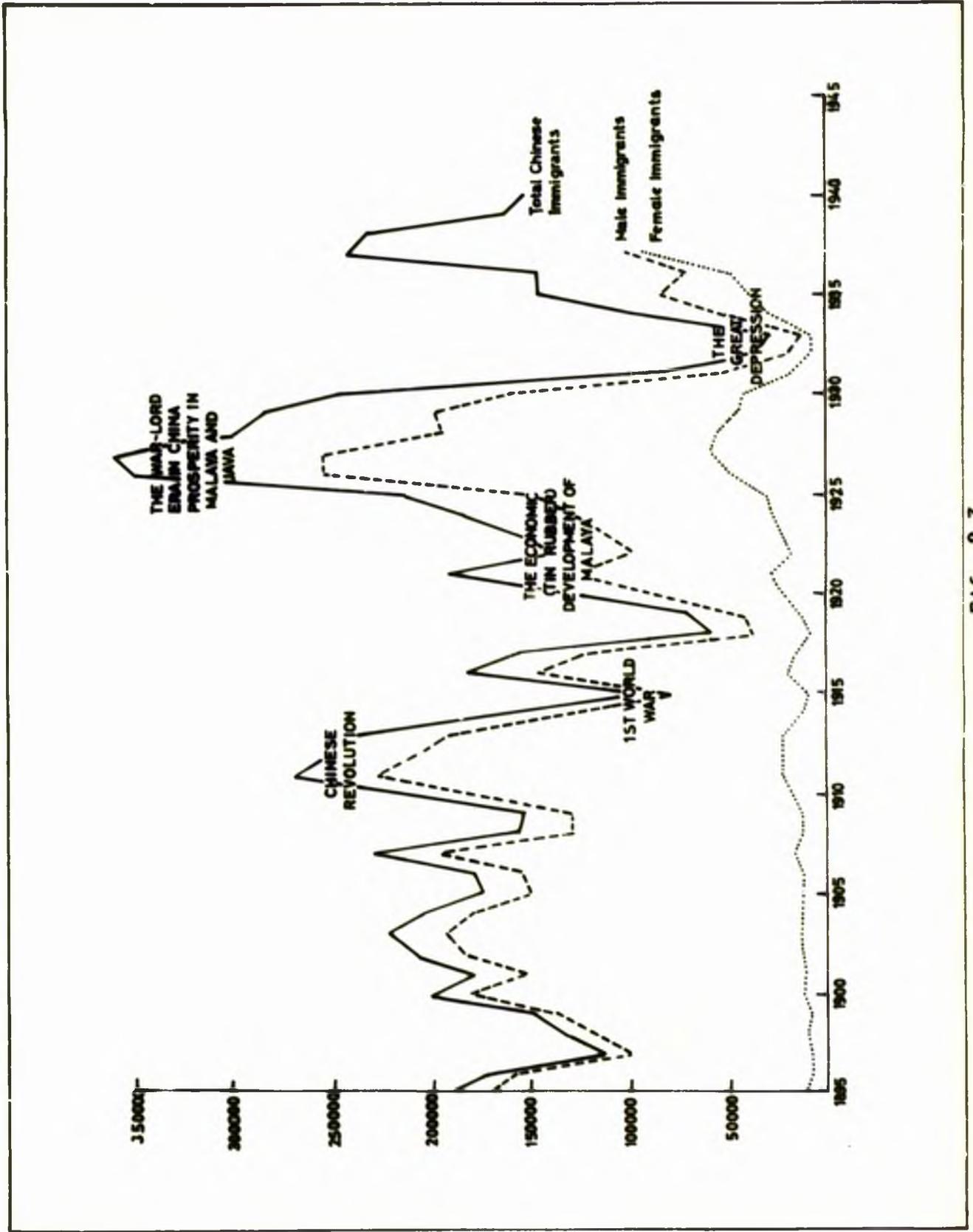


FIG. 2.3

general. It became increasingly necessary to exercise a tighter control on all immigrants since the overall demand for labour was not increasing at such a rapid rate as in the prewar days, and there was now an adequate supply of labour from the Malaysians and from the earlier immigrants and their descendants. With this in view the Malayan government replaced the old Aliens Ordinance with the more comprehensive Immigration Ordinance of 1953 which came into force on 1st August 1953.⁸² This Ordinance, together with its many subsequent amendments, is employed to regulate not only Chinese but also Indian, Malay and other immigrants.

The Ordinance still admitted under some restriction the entry of the following categories of immigrants:

- (a) persons who can contribute to the expansion of commerce and industry;
- (b) persons who can provide specialised services not available locally;
- (c) families of local residents, and
- (d) others on special compassionate grounds.

In 1959, the Ordinance was amended to tighten entry by prohibiting the entry of wives and children of local residents who were non-citizens of Malaya, wives of citizens who had been living separately from their

husbands for five continuous years after December 1954, and children of citizens who were six years of age and over.⁸³ In addition children aged six and over, of those persons admitted as specialists or on grounds of economic benefit, were also prohibited.

The principle objectives of the amendment were to safeguard the employment and livelihood of Malayan citizens and to bring about a more balanced and assimilated Malayan population whose ties and loyalty were to that country alone, without which the foundation of a true Malayan nation could not be laid. On the whole the Ordinance has provided a very strict and effective control over quantity and quality of immigrants of all races into Malaya during the postwar years.

Chinese Migration to Northern Borneo

1. Early Chinese Contacts in Northern Borneo

In about the year 414 A.D., as noted on page 34 Fa Hsien made his famous voyage to the South Seas. Among the hundreds of places he described on his return to China was a reference to "Ye-P'o-Ti" which Sir Roland Braddell maintains was Borneo.⁸⁴ If this be accepted, then it is certain that the first Chinese contacts with

the island of Borneo occurred at least 1500 years ago. During the Sung dynasty (960-1279 A.D.) there was already some degree of Chinese influence over what was then the kingdom of Brunei. The Sung histories state that kingdom called Po-ni⁸⁵ sent tribute to China in 977 and 1082 A.D. and according to the Chu-Fan-Chi (1225 A.D.) whenever a foreign boat passed through Po-ni the master always presented the Sultan with gifts of Chinese food.⁸⁶ During the Yuan dynasty (1280-1367 A.D.) there appears to have been no direct political contact between Po-ni and the Celestial Empire, but according to Wang Ta-yuan writing in 1349 the State flourished and its people showed "the greatest respect and affection to the Chinese; if one is drunk they will assist him to get back to his inn".⁸⁷ Under the Ming dynasty (1368-1643 A.D.), as noted on page 36 above, the connexions between the Emperors and the South Seas were once more strengthened and in 1405 A.D. the eunuch Cheng Ho was sent on the first of his seven journeys to the vassal states of the south. He is said to have passed Po-ni twice.⁸⁸

In fact, between 600-1500 A.D. there were numerous references in Chinese dynastic histories to embassies from Borneo⁸⁹ concerned mainly with official contacts. But it seems fair to infer that there was probably already

quite a large number of unofficial visits, trading and other contacts between China and this part of the South Seas. The Sarawak Museum excavations in the south-west coastal zones of Sarawak since 1952 have revealed predominantly Chinese monsoonal occupation and trading during the early centuries of this millennium.⁹⁰

Among the most important commodities were the large Chinese jars which are still found in use and as valuables among most of the Sarawak tribes.⁹¹ The Chinese records which refer to this trade state that some of the jars date from the Sui (589-618 A.D.) and Tang (618-907 A.D.) dynasties.⁹²

In the 15th century, when there was much trading between China and Brunei, it was inevitable that some members of the trading expeditions should elect to stay in Borneo. There are records both in the Brunei and the Sulu annals of a Chinese colony on the Kinsbatangan River (in Sabah) in the 15th century, commemorated perhaps by the name of the river.⁹³ The Sultan of Brunei (ca. 1435-1450) is said to have married the daughter (or sister) of one Ong Sum Ping who is described in the 'Selesilah or Book of Descent of the Rajahs of Brunei' as 'the Chinese rajah of the Kinsbatangan river',⁹⁴ though elsewhere he is referred to simply as

the Chinese 'rajah's' envoy.⁹⁵

If we turn to the European records, the earliest accounts overlap with the Ming Histories. Pigafetta, writing of the landing of Magellan's men at Brunei in 1521, did not refer to Chinese communities but only to Chinese silks, weights, measures and coins etc., which nevertheless are indications of Chinese influence.⁹⁶

Hunt states that when the Portuguese arrived in 1520 they found a large number of Chinese along the shores of Borneo.⁹⁷ St John believed that in the early ages of European intercourse some Chinese 'settled in Brunei and engaged in pursuing those branches of industry in which they peculiarly excel'.⁹⁸ Although such statements are not always verifiable, it is nevertheless agreed by most writers that there was a continuing trade between Brunei and China, a trade which was soon to be affected by the competition of the Europeans. Trade rivalry, however, between the Chinese and the Europeans particularly the Dutch and English, continued into the 18th century. Even in 1776, trade between China and Borneo was considerable. Seven junks were at Brunei in that year. Chinese shipbuilders even built junks at Brunei itself, and many Chinese were settled there as pepper growers and shopkeepers.⁹⁹

From the late 18th century onwards, much of the settlement activities of the Chinese in Borneo took place in the gold mining districts of south-west Borneo, i.e. in the present-day 'Chinese Districts' of Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo).¹⁰⁰ Among the first arrivals were the one hundred odd Hakkas who landed at Pontianak (Dutch Borneo) in 1772. This formed the nucleus of the later Chinese population in Dutch Borneo who were organised under the kongsi system.¹⁰¹ It was a flourishing Chinese area. Hunt, writing in 1812, describes the then thriving state of the mines, especially where they were worked by Chinese whose numbers were annually increasing.¹⁰² Crawford in 1820, reckoned that the Chinese in the gold areas numbered 36,000 of whom 4000 were women. Only 6000 of the men were engaged directly as miners, the rest being occupied in trade, agriculture and industries indirectly attached to mining. For the island as a whole he mentions estimates of 200,000 Chinese.¹⁰³ In 1834, news came to Singapore that the Chinese colonists in West Borneo desired commercial intercourse with Britain, and an expedition was sent under Earl. The 'machinations' of the Dutch secured the failure of the expedition,¹⁰⁴ but Earl's account of his visit to the area between

Pontianak and Sambas is most valuable. He writes 'before the Dutch took possession of the west coast of Borneo in 1823 about 3000 Chinese arrived annually as settlers, but immigration has now almost totally ceased'. He estimated a total of 150,000 Chinese of whom 90,000 inhabited the gold districts.¹⁰⁵

2. Chinese Migration to Sarawak

a. Migration into the Kuching-Bau Areas:

As the Dutch penetrated further into West Borneo, they put increasingly arduous restrictions upon Chinese trade and immigration, finally stopping any direct contact with China altogether. At the same time they attempted to tackle the problem of the kongsis. With mounting Sinc-Dutch antagonism, increasing taxes imposed by the Dutch "were mainly successful in upsetting smaller settlements, discouraging the miners, causing increasing migration into Sarawak."¹⁰⁶ It has been estimated that at the beginning of the Rajah's rule there were already 20,000 Chinese in his territory, though this appears improbable.¹⁰⁷ It was not until 1857 that the kongsis were entirely abolished and the Chinese completely subjugated. Posewitz reports that "these long wars were

the ruin of the once flourishing gold mining industry, thousands of industrious workers were killed or scattered; while fresh workers did not arrive to take their places".¹⁰⁸

These comings and goings of Chinese between Dutch Borneo and Sarawak increased considerably in the 19th century. But it was not until 1850 that large numbers of Chinese entered Sarawak from across the border, via Bau. In that year an estimated 3000 Chinese from Pemangkat (Dutch Borneo), who had not taken part in an insurrection against the Dutch, fled into Sarawak to escape the wrath of their own rebel countrymen.¹⁰⁹

These refugees were mainly rice planters, but in their plight had no choice but to settle down in the mining community of Upper Sarawak established largely around Bau, Bidi, Puku and Tundong. All were organised under one kongsi (San Ti Qu) the headquarters of which was at Bau.

At first the refugees, being farmers, did not take kindly to gold-mining. James Brooke himself was anxious to resettle these Chinese where they could farm. Finally several hundred settled at Sungei Temgah, six miles above Kuching.¹¹⁰ St John records that by 1856 it had a thriving population of 500, planting rice and

vegetables and that he had "never seen in Borneo anything more pleasing to my eye than the extensive cultivated fields which spread out round the scattered Chinese houses, each closely surrounded by beds of esculent plants growing in a most luxuriant manner".¹¹¹

From here upstream along the Sarawak River gold-workings were everywhere evident from Siniawan to Bau. It was estimated in 1857, just before the insurrection, that there were about 4000 Chinese in the mining areas and only 500 in Kuching. These numbers were augmented by further waves of Chinese from Dutch Borneo in 1854 and 1856. At that time Bau was a large village with 100 shops and many houses.¹¹²

Unfortunately, this progress was checked for a time when the Chinese miners in Bau, who had long opposed the taxes and regulation of their societies by the Brooke's regime, rose in rebellion in 1857. The insurrection was successful for a day or two and large parts of Kuching were completely burnt down by the Chinese. At last, Kuching was recaptured by a retaliatory force of Malays and Dayaks led by Charles Brooke, and there followed a complete exodus of the Chinese from Kuching.¹¹³ The growth of Kuching had received a severe setback. However, under Brookes' administration there was peace and security again, and as confidence returned, Rajah

Brooke had ideas of importing Chinese,¹¹⁴ though nothing seems to have come of them and the number of Chinese grew only slowly - some 3000 in 1871 and 7000 towards the end of the decade.¹¹⁵ The flow of Chinese immigrants into Sarawak a few years later was probably an indirect result of British North Borneo Company's policy of seeking additional population at any reasonable cost,¹¹⁶ an entirely different attitude from that of Sarawak. The reason for the differing policies lay in the basic attitudes of the two governments - Brooke's desire to create a peaceful state out of the chaos he had discovered, and the need of the Chartered Company to make a profit if it was to survive. Sabah's recruiting efforts were concentrated on China, and the overflow of those who responded went to Sarawak.

Each of these settlements in the mining district was a fairly close knit group of immigrants, most of whom were either clan relatives or at least from the same locality in China. A small settlement was likely to be made up of people from the same place of origin, often indeed members of the same clan. Most of the men were fellow workers in a gold mine and the settlements were therefore not merely groups of people who happened to live near one another.¹¹⁷

This brief migration history therefore explains the presence of the strong Chinese, especially the Hakka element, in the First Division of Sarawak. Further immigration by land from Dutch territory and, especially, by sea from China has of course, continued over the years.

The bulk of the other Chinese, besides the miners, in the country at that time was composed mainly of traders and shopkeepers. Very few of them, except for a few pepper planters were engaged in agriculture on their own account as the country was entirely covered with unfamiliar tropical forests with which the Chinese were unable to cope without financial assistance.

"Arrived in this strange new land the immigrant found himself facing strange new difficulties. Tropical climate, virgin jungle and head-hunting Dayaks, the sin-kheh was used to none of them. Sickness contracted on the voyage was cured only slowly in the sticky climate where food was often so scarce that the Rajah's government had to supply rations ... A few rough atap houses were the only dwellings. Immigrants usually arrived only with the clothes they stood up in, some had a few dollars besides ... The jungle was something that no Chinese at first knew how to tackle. The earliest clearing had to be made with the help of Dayak labour." 118

Despite the hardship with which the Chinese pioneers

for recruiting experienced Chinese farmers, he went personally to Kuching and negotiated with the Rajah. An agreement was drawn up and signed, and a settlement was obtained for farming purposes. A place called Sin Choo San (New Pearl Hill or Sungei Merah) near and connected to Sibul town was chosen as a base of operation. This particular area could be reached by road, and the Sin Choo stream (Sungei Merah) could provide water for irrigation, bathing and domestic consumption. The first group of 72 immigrants from Foochow province was brought in the same year. Before they arrived, the District Officer of Sibul had built six huts - two situated on the east bank of the stream and four on the west of it for them. These six huts were named New Foochow, and from such humble beginnings have come the large and populous Foochow Settlements of today.¹²¹

In 1901, Wong personally brought down another group of 500 to Sin Choo San. All these immigrants met with initial difficulties, and only their perseverance and courage pulled them through.

"When they first landed huts were poorly constructed and were only good to protect them from rain and sun scorch. Grass was as tall as a man's height and jungle surrounded them in all directions ... They discovered incompleteness of their bedding, lack of chairs and tables, shortage of cooking utensils (so they

had to use cooking utensils by taking turns). When night came giant snakes came to snatch away their poultry. People were stung by poisonous scorpions and blood was sucked by venomous flies. As they were not acclimatized they were always suffering illness. Many died in their beds." 122

In spite of this, Wong recruited another 540 persons to Sibu in the autumn of 1902 and they were scattered on both banks of the Rajang River to cultivate the land. They mainly planted pepper, though some sweet potatoes and green vegetables were planted temporarily to maintain livelihood.

In 1906, Wong relinquished his post and returned to China. An American Methodist missionary, the Rev. L. Hoover, was appointed by the Sarawak Government as his successor. He led the settlers through several trying periods. At that time the price of rubber was high and on his initiative, rubber seeds were transported to the settlement for planting. From then onwards, the livelihood of the settlers became more secure. During this period (1914-1918) many more relatives and friends migrated to Sarawak and joined their pioneers in New Eoochow. This led to the enlargement of their existing holdings and the opening of new gardens. They had settled down in over ten areas on either side of the Rajang River. 123

In 1924 the price of rubber went up again and this marked the beginning of another period of expansion. The Foochow farmers competed with each other at buying rubber gardens, or applied to the Land Office for land. Companies and firms were founded to deal in groceries and other consumer goods, and some set up sawmills, rice mills, rubber mills and steamship companies. This was the boom time of Sibü, a period which also saw the 'urbanization' of a large section of the Foochow settlers and the growth of Sibü into a sizable river port town. This early switch from agriculture to business in Sibü has made it the only town in Sarawak where urban occupations are still largely in Foochow hands.

Unfortunately, and in a quite unexpected way, this growing prosperity of New Foochow was brought to a complete halt in 1928 when a fire reduced the town to ashes. The depression years which followed in the 1930s brought another period of hardship to this pioneer area and aggravated the misery of the people. Gardeners could not afford to employ coolies and coolies had no place to earn their living. Gardens were abandoned; unemployed could be found everywhere. Accordingly the government allocated a sum of more than ten thousand dollars to employ those who were jobless to construct

roads in order to save them from starvation. This action alleviated the situation a little.

Nevertheless, from this core area of Sibü, settlers have spread to Binstang, Sarikei, Kapit, Bintulu and Baram, all of which are largely Foochow. From the little jungle plots of land growing only sweet potatoes and vegetables, the Chinese have carved out from forests the many rubber and pepper holdings which largely form the landscape of these areas. Although they have spread out to pioneer new areas, the largest concentration of Foochow is still at the point of their entry into the country. Thus, concentrated around Sibü is a pocket of immigrant Chinese whose entry, occupation and dialect are different from the other main pocket of Chinese in the First Division. Entry into this latter area was largely by a land route from the Sambas district of Dutch Borneo and was associated with the development of gold mining activities of the Montrado-Sambas-Bau mining area whereas the settlement in the Sibü area was based upon the direct immigration of agricultural peasants from China.

3. Chinese Migration to Sabah

From the beginning of the British North Borneo

(Chartered) Company administration almost until the end (1881-1946) the territory was under-populated and its most urgent need was for labour. In the absence of any really promising mineral resources Sabah was forced to pay attention almost wholly to agricultural and forest development, which moreover had to rely largely on outside sources for labour. As early as 1878 the Provisional Association recorded that for labour the Muslim coastal peoples should be left out of consideration and that even the Dusuns could not be relied on for steady, sustained labour as the country was too thinly populated to spare many people away from their own work.¹²⁴ In that case, labour would have to be imported, and the Chartered Company recognised quite early the desirability of importing Chinese labour.

W.H. Treacher, the first governor, wrote thus in 1881:

"Experience in the Straits Settlements, and the Malay Peninsula and Sarawak has shown that the people to cause rapid financial progress in Malayan countries are the hardworking, money loving Chinese, and these are the peoples whom the company should lay themselves out to attract to Borneo. Once get them to voluntarily migrate and the financial success of the Company would, in my opinion, be secured."¹²⁵

There had been Chinese in Sabah before. Both its highest mountain (Kinabalu) and its longest river (Kinabatangan) bore witness by their names to a past

Chinese connexion. There had once been Chinese on the west coast, perhaps when Brunei had been powerful and when, relatively speaking, peace had reigned, but there were scarcely a dozen left in the whole of Sabah by the time the Europeans arrived. In Sandakan Bay there were two traders from Labuan, with a few more in Marudu Bay, and one or two shops linked with Labuan were scattered near the coast opposite.¹²⁶

To rectify this deficiency, the first action taken was the appointment of Sir Walter Medhurst as the first Commissioner for Chinese immigration. He reached China on his first mission less than three months after the granting of the charter. In spite of the fact that Medhurst had for many years been consul and consul-general at Shanghai, and had long experience of China, he failed completely to understand his mission or to grasp the requirements of Sabah.

When he reached Hong Kong in 1882, he chartered a steamer and issued a proclamation offering free passages. He made no conditions and undertook no selection. Down into Sandakan poured a flood of the unsuccessful shopkeepers, traders, tailors, artisans and other urban workers of Hong Kong, the most unnecessary, the most

unwanted of all the types of Chinese that he could have secured.

The great majority of these Hong Kong immigrants were terrified of the jungle, and refused to undertake any agricultural work there. Being unused to the climate, they, and the great majority of their associates flocked back to Hong Kong during the later half of 1883. By December, an infinitesimal number of Medhurst's migrants remained, as the shipping subsidy was discontinued. Meanwhile, nevertheless, a flow of Chinese from the Straits had been quietly but steadily pouring in, unassisted by government protection or subsidy. These Chinese from the Straits Settlements had pre-empted the field, and being already familiar with the language, and versed in the business of the indigenous population, could easily outstrip and undersell the newly arrived immigrants from Hong Kong.

In April 1883, another group of about 96 Hakkas led by a priest named Leschler came to Kudat,¹²⁷ mainly by means of free passages. These Hakkas, who did not smoke opium, were not encouraged to immigrate by Medhurst, but from this humble beginning they nevertheless became the pre-eminent group in Sabah. They have remained true to their traditions as farmers and have become labourers

in the smallholdings and the padi-fields, leaving the intricacies of the towns to others. Today, this Hakka element forms the most stable and largest component of the Chinese population in Sabah.

Another attempt was made in 1886, when Governor Treacher made it known that in addition to granting free passage to immigrants from China the Company was willing to grant land to settlers at the rate of one acre for an adult and an additional half acre for each child. In spite of further inducements, such as the provision of implements and subsistence allowances, only 27 families took advantage of the offer, and were settled in the 'old' settlement at Kudat.¹²⁸ In 1889, another 13 families arrived in Kudat on the same terms, except that half the passage money only was paid by government, and were settled in the 'New' Settlement.¹²⁹

By 1890 the tobacco boom was at its height and the government made several efforts to stimulate a flow of Chinese at this period. Chinese labourers mainly from Hong Kong and Singapore were hired by written contract. Most of the Chinese labourers were treated very badly by the manager of the estate they worked for.

"There is scarcely a coolie on Van Marle's, Bruch's or Vooringk's estate who has not been entitled once or oftener to have his contract cancelled in consequence of

brutality, starvation, neglect to supply medicine or food, and absolute fraud in the matter of wage payment ... Van Marle's estate has been carried on apparently upon a system of the most incredible brutality. The coolies have been swindled, cheated and half starved. They have been flogged in the most merciless manner, and have been refused medical treatment when suffering from the wounds inflicted upon them by the flogging whip, the tail of a stinging ray. The manager has utterly ignored all orders given by the protector." 130

Besides, disease was common in those early days, with new estates scrambling for quick profits regardless of the lives of their labourers. In 1890 nearly 2000 of the 8061 Chinese on estates died before the end of the year.¹³¹ - In 1891, in the 21 estates which submitted returns, the average death-rate was over 20 per cent that year. Several estates had death-rates of over 40 per cent.¹³² With general conditions such as this, it was no wonder that of 300 labourers signed on in Hong Kong for service in Sabah, only four could be persuaded on board the steamer in April 1891.¹³³

By 1895, the labour conditions and the condition of labour had both greatly improved. The death-rate had dropped to 12 per cent.¹³⁴ In China outbursts against Christians had induced many Hakkas to follow the example of the first small settlement at Kudat; and in 1889, 81 immigrants arrived in Sandakan.¹³⁵

As a result of the new Governor Beaufort's imposing heavy new taxes, especially one on rice, the staple diet of the Chinese, an exodus of Chinese became noticeable after 1895, and Chinese immigrants stopped coming to Sabah. Accordingly, Cowie, the Chairman of the Chartered Company decided in 1903 to suspend the hated tax on rice, and a steady flow of migrants began again. Further efforts were made to settle Chinese along the west coast where the construction of the Jesselton-Beaufort-Tenom railway had begun. Over 1500 new immigrants entered Sabah by July 1903,¹³⁶ the majority being Hakka (881) and Cantonese (568). Large numbers were allotted for work on railway construction, and the rest distributed in South Keppel, Province Dent and Tuaran. Those who settled on the land received liberal treatment and easy terms, and assisted in forming the nucleus of a Chinese population along the new railway line.

Under the governorship of Gueritz (1903-1909) no further large-scale schemes for labour were projected. In 1906, 150 Hakka men, women and children arrived in Sabah and were settled on the west coast, and another 190 Chinese, the largest single group ever to arrive, landed at Kudat.¹³⁷

By 1907, tobacco cultivation had almost ceased in Sabah, and the scattered estates were replaced by a compact collection of rubber plantations. In that year there were 30 estates, worked by 10,467 people. Of this number the majority were Chinese (5856); the estimated number of adult Chinese in Sabah at this time was 13,000.¹³⁸

No further efforts to promote immigration were made until 1912-1914 when the Basel Mission Society, Lutherans with strong connexions with the Hakkas in Canton Province, became interested in introducing Chinese into the country. The following easy terms were granted by government for lots of land up to five acres:- Premium nil; rent free for two years, and thereafter a rent of one dollar per acre per annum was to be paid. With the assistance of government 63 families consisting of 244 persons, mostly Hakkas from South China, arrived during 1913-1914 in Kudat, and were settled on the Basel Mission's terms in the Pinang, Tamalang, Bamboo and Bukbuk settlements.¹³⁹ The Basel Mission was also interested in settlements on the west coast, and in March 1913, 26 families (111 persons) were settled in Inanam, 33 families (167 persons) at Telipuk - all along the west coast between Jesselton and Turaran.¹⁴⁰

Immigration had hitherto been confined to southern Chinese, but it was now decided to try a new departure and in December 1913, 107 families of northern Chinese consisting of 403 persons arrived in Jesselton and were settled on the land behind that town. These settlers came from what was then called Chili Province but were regarded locally as coming from Shantung. The Sabah government gave ten acres to each family, land free for two years and then at a rent of fifty cents per acre per annum. Until the plots became productive, subsistence allowances were also made at the rate of thirty-five cents per day per family.¹⁴¹

The agreement was for a maximum of 250 families in the first instance, but when the government learnt that the cost of the first shipload of 107 families, which left Tientsin, Northern China was £2500, all further arrangements were cancelled. The cost was prohibitive. This northern Chinese settlement, whose people came from Chili Province, is unique among the Chinese settlements of South-east Asia, a region whose immigrants have been essentially from South China. Today, they and their descendants are still in Jesselton earning a living mainly as rubber small-holders.

During the war period 1914-18, nothing further was done to stimulate the flow of Chinese immigrants into

Sabah. Until 1920, a new scheme to encourage immigration was evolved whereby the government enlisted the co-operation of Chinese already in the country. Any local Chinese cultivator, owning not more than 25 acres, could make a claim to his District Officer for a pass to bring his relatives or friends to Sabah. The pass was then posted in the applicant's own Chinese letter to his relatives or friends, and when presented by them to the Government Agent in Hong Kong a free steamer ticket to Sandakan was issued. On arrival the immigrant could take up, within twelve months, five acres of land, rent free for the first two years, after which he paid 50 cents per acre per annum up to the end of the sixth year, and thereafter \$2.50 per acre per annum. The Government was prepared to give 50 such free passes every month.¹⁴²

This new scheme was sound and met with greater success than earlier schemes had done. It ensured that the newly arrived immigrants had friends and relatives to go to in the first instance, escaped the unavoidably pauperising effect of subsistence allowances and similar help, and brought in the proper type of agricultural immigrant settlers. So successful was this new immigration scheme that the government Handbook of

1929 reported that "the Chinese are proving in North Borneo, as in Malaya, a most important factor in the industrial revolution of the State, and the contribution which the Chinese peasant settler in particular, is making towards the agricultural development of the country is substantial."¹⁴³

Although, in the first year of this new scheme (1921) there was little response, only 24 passes being issued, the demand increased with the slow recovery of rubber. It was also encouraged by the promulgation in November 1923 of new land terms, which offered land rent-free for the first six years if cultivated within six months of occupation. As the scheme became better known more applications were made and by 1924 over 800 free passes had been issued. In 1927, intending settlers applied for 1054 passes and for the first time a \$2 deposit was required to guard against their sale in Hong Kong. After 1929 (1665 passes) the depression brought a setback, only a few hundred relatives being brought in during 1930 and 1931. At the same time, a restriction was imposed on a number of free passes, and from 1934 onwards until 1940, they numbered about 400 to 500 a year.¹⁴⁴

The reduction in free passes was made possible by

the great increase in the number of unsolicited Chinese who began pouring into the country. In 1927 nearly 1000 unaided migrants who had paid their own fares from Hong Kong were reported. In 1928 there were 2724 and after the depression the flood increased. In 1934 there were over 3000, by 1937 nearly 8000 and the government, having become alarmed, rushed to turn off the tap. In the ten years (1928-37) 34,000 unassisted migrants had come, and the resources of the territory were strained. The unprecedented step was taken of restricting Chinese immigration. Already in 1936 the government had empowered the Protector of Labour and government labour officers to deport Chinese on grounds of health, unsuitability for the work for which they had been engaged, and on other minor grounds.¹⁴⁵ But in April 1938, it went further and decreed that every incoming migrant must possess a minimum of £70. Immigration figures dropped immediately, only 3342 arriving in 1938, and number continued to decrease even after the qualifying sum had been reduced to £10 in 1940. By that time much of China was involved in war, and unfortunately for Sabah migration was somewhat reduced.

(Table 2.3)

Table 2.3
Number of New Chinese Arrivals into Sabah
1927-1939

Year	State Assisted	Unassisted
1927	866	-----
1928	1278	2724
1929	1067	2967
1930	1157	2882
1931	395	1519
1932	92	1086
1933	187	2315
1934	643	3307
1935	667	3837
1936	395	4577
1937	493	7912
1938	345	3342
1939	263	1992

Source: North Borneo Annual Reports,
1928-1939.

4. Chinese Migration to Brunei

The arrival of significant numbers of Chinese wishing to settle in Brunei came much later than the main migration of Chinese to Malaya, Sarawak and Sabah. Though, in the first two decades of the 18th century, the population in Brunei town was estimated at 40,000 with a Chinese population in its neighbourhood of 30,000 engaged in planting pepper,¹⁴⁶ these figures were probably exaggerated. In 1809, Brunei town had shrunk to 3000 houses with a population of 15,000. By 1847, there were only 12,000 people and the Chinese had disappeared, except for a few who had been reduced to slavery.¹⁴⁷ From then onwards, Brunei stagnated and no Chinese were attracted to it. Until the first two decades of this century, Brunei, with an area of 2226 square miles, was a backward territory, as observed by R.M. McKinnon:

"Brunei ... whose limited resources barely managed to support a population of 30,000 Malays, Chinese and indigenous tribes ... The Chinese carried out what little commerce there was, while the Malay Bruneis living chiefly in the River Kampong of Brunei Town, earned their livelihood by fishing or by the traditioned cottage industries ... The indigenous tribes scraped a precarious existence from primitive cultivation of the soil which had been wrested from the jungle." 148

It was not until the year 1929 that the discovery of the oil field at Seria induced a greater number of Chinese labourers to migrate thither from China and the neighbouring countries. Unfortunately, precise data are lacking of the proportion of the present Chinese population of Brunei which arrived during the last two or three decades. However, Brunei must have received many Chinese immigrants during that period which saw the build up of the main labour force in the oilfield.

Not until 1936 were the figures of persons arriving and departing first published in the Brunei Annual Report. Migration was frequent along the border at that time. In view of the long land and sea borders which it would be impossible to guard efficiently even if it were desired to do so, the checking of arrivals and departures was very difficult. The information about them, particularly figures for earlier years were not reliable. After the Second World War figures were published again from 1954, and between that year and mid-1960 the numbers of Chinese entering the State ranged from 14,845 to 27,500 and of those departing from 14,476 to 27,010 annually. The balance of Chinese arriving during the period was 5322. These figures appear to be extremely high. They must have included the movement

of each individual Chinese into or out of the State; many of the persons shown above have merely travelled from Brunei to Labuan or the Fifth Division, Sarawak for a few hours and have then returned, or vice versa. (Table 2.4)

5. Post-war Migration in Northern Borneo

By 1941, the immigrant peoples (mainly Chinese, Javanese and Filipino) comprised a quarter of the population of the three countries together, and in two of them, Sarawak and Sabah, members of the immigrant races had gained for themselves a very favourable position vis-a-vis the indigenous population. Although net immigration of Chinese into Northern Borneo was small after the war, the immigrants continued to play an important part in most aspects of the life of the three countries. Table 25 gives a summary of the information available on post war immigration up to mid-1960. This is obviously not a complete picture, and it should be noted that in the undocumented years much movement of population may have taken place. There is little doubt that in Northern Borneo, more people arrived than left in the early postwar years for there was only a small incentive for earlier immigrants to return to China or

Table 2.4

Brunei: Summary of Immigration/Emigration for
Chinese Community 1954 - mid 1960.

	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
Entered	17277	16743	18991	14845	24199	27500	16618
Left	16128	15863	17387	14476	24057	27010	15930
Balanced	+1149	+880	+1604	+369	+142	+490	+668

Source: Brunei, Report on the Census of
Population, 1960, Appendix C, p. 176.

Table 2.5

Northern Borneo: Summary of Records of Post-war
Immigration/Emigration

	Sarawak 1948-60	Sabah 1951-60	Brunei 1954-60	All three countries
Chinese	+7779	+496	+5322	+13597
Indigenous	+728	-2852	+5418	+3294
Others	+1581	+22923	+2252	+26756
All Races	+10088	+20567	+12992	+43647

Sources: 1960 Census Report of Sarawak,
Appendix 1, p. 333;

1960 Census Report of North Borneo,
Appendix G, p. 301;

1960 Census Report of Brunei.
Appendix C, p. 176.

Java at that time, while the attraction of easily obtained and comparatively well paid employment in Northern Borneo was strong.

Several points of interest may be noted here. Immigration into Sabah was on a much larger scale than into Sarawak. In all the countries together, an unvarying majority of Chinese among the immigrants in pre-war times was replaced after the war by a majority of Indonesians and natives of the Philippines. This change was the result mainly of policies which varied in each country, and which can be traced back to their pre-war antecedents. In broad outline, Sarawak not only gave no encouragement to immigrants, but exercised progressively stricter control over them. Sabah, on the other hand, aware as ever of its need for workers, positively encouraged immigration, though on a selective basis. Brunei exercised rather less control, realizing that workers in large numbers - at least by Brunei standards - were needed at the oilfield. One feature which was common to Northern Borneo was caution about the admission of Chinese. Recruitment of Chinese from Hong Kong and China was fraught with political problems, but equally important for the caution

were probably the growing recognition that not only were the Chinese then in a position of economic superiority vis-a-vis the indigenous peoples, but were likely to maintain that position indefinitely because their high rate of natural increase and their lead in the fields of education and business enabled them to forge ahead faster in the social world.

The other reason was the realization that the Chinese were not content to remain paid labourers indefinitely but wished to move on to establish their own enterprises, thus leaving the labour shortage unsolved.

In Sarawak, only skilled technicians, relatives of earlier immigrants, and a few others were allowed to enter the country. The whole subject, however, was not considered to be one of importance. The office of Controller was of only medium grade, official comment was scarce, and in some years immigration was not even mentioned in the Annual Report. In Brunei the position was entirely different in that immigrants were urgently needed to work at the oilfield. Here it was a question of one large employer being able and ready to carry out the necessary recruiting abroad. Immigration was therefore a matter of public concern and of official comment, but it was not a prime factor in public policy

since the government had to do little more than authorize the oil company to recruit according to its needs.

Entry permits were in general granted only to persons who could provide services of which the State stood in need.¹⁴⁹

The need for immigrants was urgent in Sabah also, but here it was a major question of government policy, just as it had been in the very first days of the Chartered Company's existence. Since 1950, recruitment from Hong Kong and China had been fraught with political problems, it is not surprising to read that in 1948 the prospects of recruiting workers from Java were regarded as reasonable. In the event these prospects failed to materialize. At the same time, negotiation with the Philippine Government to bring in Filipino labour also proved fruitless, and the projected migration scheme of Mauritius labour has also not materialized.¹⁵⁰ Then, while the Sabah government continued to search and negotiate, immigrants came, unbidden and by the back door. Indonesians and natives of the Philippines arrived at Tawau and Sandakan in their own small boats to look for work. They were not the residents of Java and Luzon who had been the subject of official negotiations but people from Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Temor and the nearby Southern Philippine

islands. Most of them come in search of temporary work and do not stay permanently (mostly not more than 12 months), and as such there has been a shuttling back and forth between their home islands and the east coast of Sabah. 2000 of them were employed on east coast estates at the end of 1954, and some 10,000 throughout the country in 1960. For the first time Sabah was not short of unskilled labour. But as the newcomers did not fill every need, being both transient and lacking in skill and experience, the government made yet another attempt to import Chinese settlers. In 1960, agreement was reached with the government of Hong Kong, the machinery was set in motion, but the scheme failed. This was partly due to the inability of the workers to adapt themselves to conditions in Sabah and partly to the relative ease with which employers were able to supply their need by engaging unsponsored immigrant labour from Indonesia or the Philippines without cost to themselves.¹⁵¹ Thus ended, for the time being at least, eighty years of effort to find suitable Chinese immigrants for Sabah.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Chinese State was unified into a single political body by the Chin's Emperor, Chin Shih-Huang-Ti (秦始皇帝) in 221 B.C. It was only after this unification that it became possible for the emperor to extend his control to large sections of the south-east coast of China and only then was it possible for Chinese political power to be extended still further afield to the shores of the South China Sea. See Wang Gungwu, "The Nanshai Trade: A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea", J.M.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXXI, part 2, June, 1958, p. 5; Fisher, C.A., South-east Asia, London, 1966, p. 88; Also see Li-Chang-Fu (李長傅著) Nan-Yang Hwa-Chiao Shih (南洋華僑史), History of Chinese in South-east Asia, Shanghai, 1934, p. 105.
2. Robequain, C., The Economic Development of French Indo-China, London, 1944, p. 32.
3. See Willmott, W.E., "History and Sociology of the Chinese in Cambodia Prior to the French Protectorate", J.S.E.A.H., Vol. 7, No. 1, March 1966, pp. 15-18.
4. Simoniya, N.A., Overseas Chinese in South-east Asia - A Russian Study, Ithaca, 1961, p. 9.
5. See Chen Yi-Sein, "The Chinese in Upper Burma, Before A.D. 1700", J.S.A.R., Vol. II, 1966, pp. 81-94.
6. Simoniya, N.A., op.cit., p. 9.
7. Purcell, V., The Chinese in South-east Asia, London, 1965, pp. 12-13.
8. Ibid., p. 13; and also see Simoniya, N.A., op.cit., p. 10.
9. The Chu-fan-chi (諸蕃誌), a work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was written by Chao-Ju-Kua (趙汝造) in A.D. 1225. It was extensively used by the famous thirteenth century encyclopedist Mai-Tuan-Lin

- (馬端臨) in his Won-Hien-tung-kau (文獻通考) and in the next century by the compilers of the History of the Sung dynasty (宋史). A translation of the Chu-fan-chi, under the title of Chao-Ju-Kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, was prepared by Hirth, F. and Rockhill, W.W., and published in 1912 by the imperial Academy of Sciences of St Petersburg. See Wheatley, P., "Chinese Sources for the Historical Geography of Malaya before A.D. 1500", M.J.T.G., Vol. 9, Dec. 1956, p. 76. Also see Hoontrakul, L., The Historical Records of the Siam-Chinese Relations, Bangkok, 1951.
10. Purcell, V., op.cit., 1965, p. 13.
 11. Purcell, V., The Chinese in Malaya, London, 1948, p. 5.
 12. See Hua chiao-chih pien tsuan hui (華僑志編纂委員會編) Hua chiao chih tsung-chih, (華僑志總志) / General Records of the Overseas Chinese, Taipei, 1964, Chapter 1, section 2, pp. 19-37.
 13. See Purcell, V., op.cit., 1965, p. 16. Also see Chao-Ju-Kua, Chu-fan-chi (in Chinese), Japan, 1914, Section on San-fo-tsi (三佛齊國), pp. 5-7.
 14. For a description of the frequent trips of Cheng Ho into the South Seas area see Kung Chen (龔珍著) Hsi-yang fan-kuo-chih (西洋番國志). For the Chart of travels of Cheng Ho see Hsiang Ta (何達) Cheng Ho hang-hai-tu (鄭和航海圖).
 15. Cator, W.J., The Economic Position of the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies, Chicago, 1936, pp. 4-6, 142.
 16. Purcell, V., op.cit., 1965, p. 235. Wang Ta-Yuan (汪大淵) Tao-I-Chih-Lio (島夷志略) Description of the Barbarians of the Islands, parts of which are translated into English by Rockhill, W.W., "Notes on the relations and trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the coast of the Indian Ocean during the fourteenth century", T.P., Vol. XVI, 1915, pp. 236-271.

17. Purcell, V., ibid., pp. 235-236.
18. See Hsu Yun-Tsiao (許雲樵) "Notes on the Journey of the Eunuch San Pao to the west Ocean" (三保太監下西洋歌), J.S.S.S., Vol. V, Part 1, June, 1948, pp. 42-53. Also see Winstedt, R.O., "A History of Malays", J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. 13, pt. 1, 1935, pp. 40-59. In Malacca 'San Pao Well' is still shown to visitors as the admiral's supposed watering place.
19. Yeh Hua Fen, the Rev., "The Chinese of Malacca", Historical Guide of Malacca, Singapore, 1936, p. 74. Also see Hsing cha sheng lan (星槎勝覽) by Fei Hsin (費信) (1436). An English translation is incorporated in Rockhill, W.W., "Notes on the relations and trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the coast of the Indian Ocean during the fourteenth century", T.P., Vol, 16, pt. 2, 1915, pp. 61-159.
20. Purcell, V., op.cit., 1965, p. 236. See also Ying Yai Sheng Lan (瀛涯勝覽) [Description of the Coasts of the Ocean] published in 1451 by Ma Huan (馬歡). The only Malayan area described in this book is Malacca (滿刺加).
21. Purcell, V., "Chinese Settlement in Malacca", J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. 20, pt. 1, 1947, p. 117.
22. Groeneveldt, W.P., Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, Compiled from Chinese source, Batavia, 1876, p. 127.
23. Purcell, V., op.cit., 1947, p. 119.
24. de Albuquerque Braz, The Commentaries of the Great Afonso de Albuquerque, Vol. 3, English translation by Walter de Gray Birch, London, 1880, pp. 97-100.
25. Campon = Kampong, Malay for village or hamlet.
26. de Eredia, Emannel Godinho, Declaracam de Malacca & India Meridional com o Cathay, English translation by Mills, J.V., J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. 8, pt. 1, 1930, pp. 1-288.
27. Paret = Perit, Malay for drain.

28. de Eredia, Emanuel Godinho, op.cit., p. 19.
29. 'Commissary Justus Schouten's Report on his visit to Malacca in 1641', translated by Mac. Hacobians, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. 16, pt. 1, 1936, pp. 113-32.
30. Shellabear, W.G., The Chinese in Malaysia, quoted in Purcell, V., op.cit., 1948, p. 19, footnote 3.
31. Mac. Hacobians, op.cit., pp. 116-32.
32. "Report of Governor Bulthasan Bort on Malacca, 1678", translated by Bremmer, M.J., J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. V, pt. 1, 1927, pp. 32-42.
33. Purcell, V., op.cit., 1948, p. 30.
34. Malay for roofing thatch.
35. Bremmer, M.J., op.cit., pp. 32-42.
36. Ibid., p. 107.
37. Ibid., p. 74.
38. Braddell, T., Statistics of the British Possessions in the Straits of Malacca, Penang, 1861, Table 1.
39. At the turnover to the Ching dynasty in 1644 the southern Chinese with Nanyang connexions formed an important part of the resistance to the new regime. For example, the anti-Manchu patriot Cheng Cheng-Kung (鄭成功) /known in foreign literature under the name Koxinga/ who had occupied Taiwan, blockaded the southern shore of China, and created a state embracing the province of Fukien, Taiwan and a number of other islands. Partly to cut off his supplies and partly to intimidate the population of these regions, whose sympathies were anti-dynastic, the Manchus decided to break the opposition of the insurgents. They turned the shore of Kwangtung, Fukien and Chekiang into a dead zone, within the limits of which crops and villages were destroyed. The harsh treatment the people received was undoubtedly an encouragement to many in these parts of China to seek refuge overseas and settle there. As Freedman states, "Indeed, one of the unintended consequences of

imperial action seems to have been precisely to promote the overseas settlement which it deplored; for Chinese traders, fearing the difficulties and dangers created for them at home by the officials of the new regime, now established themselves in partibus infidelium where formerly they had gone temporarily to trade." See Freedman, Maurice, The Chinese in South-east Asia: A Longer View, A Lecture delivered to the China Society on 17th June, 1964. The China Society, London, 1965, p. 6.

40. See Hua Chiao-Chih Pien tsuan hui (華僑老編纂委員會編) op.cit., Chapter 1, section 5, pp. 94-97. Also see Chen Ta, Chinese Migrations, with Special Reference to Labour Conditions, Washington, 1923, p. 16.
41. The breakdown of Government in China at that time was not only the result of western pressure, but was also a symptom of the difficulty of administering an increasingly overpopulated countryside.
42. Chen Ta, Emigrant Communities in South China, New York, 1940, pp. 259-260.
43. See Gardner, L.T., "Amoy Emigration to the Straits", C.R., Vol. 22, 1897, pp. 621-626.
44. Chen Ta, op.cit., 1940, pp. 9-10.
45. See Strait Budget, January 4, 1912 quoted by Joyce Ee, "Chinese Migration to Singapore, 1896-1941", J.S.E.A.H., Vol. 2, No. 1, March 1961, p. 34. See also Huang Tsa-Tsang (黃澤蒼) Chung-Kuo tien-tssai wen-ti, (中國天災問題), (Natural disasters in China) Shanghai, 1935, Chapter 2, pp. 37-56.
46. The Chinese migrated into Malaya not because they found the climate or working conditions here suitable, but because they had been selected as the right kind of 'raw material' by the British. After all the Malays did not take part in the kinds of labour which the development of the country demanded. So it was necessary for development purposes to look elsewhere for a population whose poverty would make it willing to do the work at

very low rates. Besides, the government in Malaya had not been restrictive and particular about the immigration question. On the contrary, a laissez-faire policy was adopted to encourage Chinese migration, and the Chinese therefore responded very well to the encouragement given them.

47. British Malays, General Labour Committee, Report of the Special Committee on Chinese Labour, Kuala Lumpur, 1922, p. 1.
48. See Hua-Chiao-Chih pien tsuan hui (華僑老編茶委員會編) op.cit., pp. 642-645; also see Wang Gungwu, A Short History of the Nanyang Chinese, Singapore, 1959, p. 34.
49. Freedman, M., "Immigrants and Association: Chinese in Nineteenth Century Singapore", C.S.S.H., Vol. III, 1960-1961, p. 26.
50. P.C. Campbell's Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire, London, 1923, provides a good account of the coolie traffic in Malaya. Also see Li Chang-fu (李長傅) op.cit., pp. 48-51 and Hua-Chiao-Chih Pien tsuan hui, op.cit., pp. 97-101; describes briefly the coolie trade of the Ching period.
51. Campbell, P.C., op.cit., p. 6.
52. Purcell, V., op.cit., 1948, p. 60.
53. Campbell, P.C., op.cit., p. 8.
 "The mode of conducting the emigration business is as follows: The new recruit (Sin-kheh) not having money to pay for his passage, enters into an agreement with the master of the junk to bind himself apprentice to some one at the port of arrival for one year, without wages, only receiving food, clothing, and a small sum for barber's expenses, tobacco and other little indispensable luxuries, the balance of consideration for the labour of the year is to be handed over to the master of the junk as payment of the passage money. The sin-khehs are kept on board the junks, as security for the passage money, till taken by an employer who, in consideration of obtaining his services for a year at a low rate, pays part of a year's

wages in advance, with which advance the sin-kheh clears himself with the junk master. This is the principle of the operation, but as the business is conducted, not through each sin-kheh but directly between the junk master and the intending employer, and as the amount for passage money varies with the demand for labour, it has a certain colouring of slave dealing which has prejudiced many against the system. The sin-kheh is not bound to go with any person who chooses him. If he pays his passage money, as he agreed to do when starting, at the same rate as the others, he is quite free to go wherever he pleases."

54. See Hua-Chiao-Chih pien-tsun hui (華僑志編纂委員會編) op.cit., pp. 97-101; Liu Tu-mu (劉士木) and Hsu Chih-kuei (徐之圭), Hua-Chiao Kai-Kuan (華僑概觀) [The Overseas Chinese], Shanghai, 1935, Chapter 3, pp. 16-25. Also see Blythe, W.L., "Historical Sketch of Chinese Labour in Malaya", J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XX, part 1, June 1947, pp. 64-70.
55. As early as 1823, Sir Stamford Raffles published an Ordinance dated 1st May, providing further protection of immigrants from China. The following is an extract from this Ordinance:
 "As it frequently happens that free labourers and others are brought from China and elsewhere as passengers who have not the means of paying for their passage, and under the expectation that individuals resident in Singapore will advance the amount of it on condition of receiving the services of the parties for a limited period in compensation thereof - such arrangements are not deemed objectionable provided the parties are landed as free persons, but in all cases the amount of passage money or otherwise is limited to twenty dollars, and the period of service by an adult in compensation thereof shall in no case exceed two years, and every engagement shall be entered into with the free consent of the parties in presence of a Magistrate, and duly registered." See Blythe, W.L., op.cit., 1947, pp. 68-69.
56. Campbell, P.C., op.cit., p. 111.
57. Jackson, R.N., Immigrant Labour and the Development

of Malaya, Government Printer, Kuala Lumpur, 1961, pp. 72-74.

58. See Blythe, W.L., 1947, op.cit., pp. 74-77. In addition to the legislation for the protection of the labourer there were Ordinances for the protection of the employer. The first of these was the Crimping Ordinance (No. III of 1877). It imposed a penalty on any person who, by deceit or other illegitimate persuasion, induced any person to leave the Colony for service elsewhere. It imposed penalties on those who, having signed such contracts or received advances, refused to carry out their agreement and forbade any person to seduce a labourer from his employment or harbour or employ a deserter. This was an attempt to stop the leakage of labourers from Malaya to the tobacco plantations of Sumatra - which offered a profitable field to labour recruiters in Malaya who could induce labourers to abscond from their places of employment. The second of these Ordinances was the Labour Contracts Ordinance (No. 1 of 1882) which provided for written contracts to labour for a term of five years and imposed the penalty of rigorous imprisonment for breaches by the labourers. The third one was the Ordinance III of 1883. Under this Ordinance the term of contract was limited from five to three years for contracts made within the Colony. Breach of contract involved imprisonment only after the option of a fine, and the imprisonment might be simple or rigorous at the option of the Magistrate.
59. Parr, C.W.C., Report of Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Conditions of Indentured Labour in the Federated Malay States, 1910, Appendix B, p. 27.
60. See Comber, Leon, Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya, New York, 1959.
61. See Straits Settlements, Report of the Labour Commission, 1891.
62. Ordinance XVIII of 1896, 'Native Passenger Lodging Houses' under it any house "kept as a public resort for the boarding and lodging of native passengers was required to have a licence issued by the Protector, and the keeper thereof was bound to

observe the rules made by the Governor in council for the management of such lodging houses." See Blythe, W.L., op.cit., 1947, p. 88.

63. Straits Settlements, Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 1897, p. B 32 ff.
64. See Blythe, W.L., op.cit., 1947, pp. 86-88.
65. In the Chinese Immigrants Ordinance of 1902 Clause 32 stated that an immigrant whose contract of service is for a definite period, should be entitled to determine such contract at any time on giving one month's notice and on payment to the employer of all advances, if any, made to him or on his behalf, which the immigrant by his contract had agreed to pay. Under the Emigration Ordinance of 1910, it would be an offence for anyone under contract to go to places other than those named on the schedule. The Chinese Immigration Ordinance (Amendment) Bill of 1910 also stated that the period of contract was not to exceed three hundred days. See Straits Settlements, Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 1902, p. A44, and 1910, p. B7.
66. Parr, C.W.C., op.cit., pp. 10-12.
67. Straits Settlements, Report of Protector of Chinese, 1914, Government Press, Singapore, p. 46.
68. Federated Malay States, Labour Commission Report, 1910.
69. Straits Settlements, Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 1914, Oct. 2, No. 25, P.C. 108.
70. Parmer, N.J., Colonial Labor Policy and Administration: A History of Labor in the Rubber Plantation Industry in Malaya, c. 1910-1941. New York, 1960, p. 92.
71. Straits Settlements, Report of Protector of Chinese 1930, Government Press, Singapore, p. 65.
72. Parmer, N.J., op.cit., p. 93.

73. Parmer, N.J., op.cit., p. 93.
74. Blythe, W.L., op.cit., 1947, p. 102.
75. Straits Settlements, Report of the Immigration Department, 1933, Government Press, Singapore, p. 23.
76. The term alien was defined as any person not a British subject nor a subject of a British-protected or mandated territory. Indians were thus exempt from the Ordinance, but Chinese and Indonesians were subject to it. The Governor-in-Council however had the power to exempt aliens from any particular country from this law. Initially, all alien women and children and all those from the Netherlands Indies were exempted. The Ordinance thus chiefly affected Chinese entry and residence.
77. Straits Settlements, Report of the Immigration Department, 1933, Government Press, Singapore, p. 25.
78. Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, Report of the Immigration Department, 1935, Government Press, Singapore, p. 32.
79. Del Tufo, M.V., Malaya & Singapore. A Report on the 1947 Census of Population, p. 33.
80. Blythe, W.L., Methods and Conditions of Employment of Chinese Labour in the Federated Malay States, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S. Government Press, 1938, pp. 1-4.
81. Blythe, W.L., "Historical Sketch of Chinese Labour in Malaya", J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XX, Part 1, June 1947 (Reprint 1953), p. 30.
82. Malaya, Federation of Malaya Annual Report 1953, p. 9.
83. Immigration Ordinance, 1959, No. 12 of 1959, quoted in Saw Swee Hock, "Trends and Differentials in International Migration in Malaya", E., Vol. IV, No. 1, December 1963, p. 93.

84. See Braddell, R., "An Introduction to the study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca", J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. 19, part 1, 1941, pp. 21-74. Fa-hsien was said to have remained in Borneo for five months from January to May, 414 A.D. waiting for the change of monsoon so as to continue his homeward journey to China. See Wang Gung-Wu, "The Nanhai Trade: A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea", J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXXI, Part 2, June 1958, pp. 42-45. See also Wheatley, Paul, The Golden Khersonese: Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula before A.D. 1500, Kuala Lumpur, 1961, Chapter IV.
85. Po-ni is taken to be a near phonetic transcription for Brni, later spelt Brunei. See Tan, Y.S., "Preliminary Report on the Discovery of the Hoard of Indian Religious Objects, near Sambas West Borneo", J.S.S.S. (Singapore) Vol. V, Part 1, 1948, p. 36.
86. See Chao-Ju-Kua (趙汝适) op.cit., pp. 34-36.
87. See Note 16.
88. See Hsu Yun-tshiao (許雲樵) "Notes on the Journey of the Eunuch San Pao to the West Ocean" (三保太监下西洋考), J.S.S.S., Vol. V, Part 1, June 1948, pp. 42-53.
89. Braddell, R., "Poli in Borneo", S.M.J., Vol. 5, 1949, p. 5-9. Braddell noted that "The Liang Shu or History of the Liang Dynasty (502-557 A.D.) compiled by Yao Chien records two embassies from Po'-li to China in 518 and 523 A.D. The Sui Shu or History of the Sui Dynasty (589-618 A.D.) compiled by Wei Cheng records an embassy from Po'-li to China in 616 A.D. The next mention of Po'-li in a dynastic history occurs in the Chui Tang Shu or Old History of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) and during this dynasty a third and last embassy is recorded in 630 A.D. There is also a full notice of Po'-li in the Wen hsien tung Kau by Ma Tuan-lin who flourished in 1273 A.D.
90. Harrisson, T., "Indian Pioneers in Borneo: C 500 on", S.M.J., Vol. 6, 1955, pp. 511-17.

91. Harrisson, T., "Gold and Indian Influences in West Borneo", J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. 22, 1949, pp. 33-110.
92. See note 65.
93. Hughes-Hallett, H.R., "A Sketch of the History of Brunei", J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. 18, 1940, p. 26.
94. Low, Hugh, "Selesilah, the Book of Descent of the Rajahs of Brunei", J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 5, 1880, pp. 1-35. Low adds: "At that time the Emperor of China had sent two of his officers named Wang Kong and Ong Sum Ping to get the gemala (jewel) of the Dragon, which lived on the China Balu. A great number of the Chinese were lost, being eaten by the Dragon, which retained its jewel, and thus the mountain was called China Balu. But Ong conceived a device for deceiving the Dragon; he put a candle in a glass case, and while the Dragon was out feeding, he took the jewel, putting the candle in its place, the Dragon thinking his gemala still safe. The treasure having been thus obtained, all the junks set sail to return to their country, and when they had got some distance from the mountain Wang Kong demanded the jewel from Ong and they quarrelled, but Wang insisted on the surrender of the jewel, so that Ong was angry and would not return to China, but turned back and sailed to Brunei, and, having arrived there, he married the Princess, the daughter of the Sultan Mohomed and the Sultan gave over the sovereignty to his son-in-law Sultan Akhmed."
95. Skinner, C.F., "Mt. Kina Balu, A Dusun Legend of its Home", J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. VI, part IV, 1928, pp. 63-65.
96. See Pigafetta, Antonio, The First Voyage Round the World by Magellan, translated by Lord Stanley of Alderley, Hakluyt Society, London 1874, pp. 110-117.
97. Hunt, J., "A Sketch of Borneo or Pulau Kalamantan", in Keppel's The Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido, Vol. II, Appendix 5, London, 1847, p. 387.
98. St John, Horace, The Indian Archipelago, its History and Present State, Vol. 1, London, 1853, pp. 196, 199.

99. Forrest, Thomas, A Voyage to New Guinea and the Malaccas from Balambangan, G. Scott, London, 1780, pp. 381-383. Forrest adds: "The Chinese here are very active and industrious. They bring all kinds of the manufacture of China, and keep shops on board their junk, as well as on shore ... It gives an European pleasure to see the regularity and cleanliness on board the Chinese vessels. To the latter much contributes their not using tar. Their tanks for water are sweet and convenient ... Their cook rooms are remarkably neat. Their crew all eat off China, and, in a harbour, everyone is employed without noise about his own business." See also St John Spenser, Life in the Forests of the Far East, Vol. 2, 1862, p. 334.
100. Harrisson, Tom, "Gold and Indian Influence in West Borneo", J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXII, part IV, 1949, p. 40.
101. In China, the name Kongsí is used only for companies in the ordinary sense, as stipulated by company law. Among Overseas Chinese, the meaning has been quite different. The Chinese Kongsí had their own territories, collected taxes and very often resorted to force. Until the end of the nineteenth century, they were independent kingdoms. In Pontianak, West Borneo, there was the noted Langfang Kongsí of the Kaying Chiu Hakkas led by Lo Fang Pai. Lo arrived as immigrant in Pontianak, in West Borneo where he soon afterwards organized his fellow countrymen in colonization. He also helped the local Sultan to suppress mutinies. Lo's prestige and power grew and finally in A.D. 1777 the Sultan humbly submitted to him. After having peacefully brought South-western Borneo under his rule, he established the Lu-Fang Presidential System under which he was elected in 1777, by the local Chinese people, the first President of the new republic. This Presidential Regime lasted from 1777 to 1884 under a succession of ten Presidents. From 1821 onwards, the Dutch invaders in turn occupied the South-eastern part of Borneo. They gradually penetrated the lands of the Lau-Fang Regime, and the Lo's regime was finally overthrown by the Dutch invading force in 1884 immediately following the death of the tenth President. Lo Hsiang-Lin (羅香林) gives an excellent account

of the History of Lau-Fang Kongsu in his book
 (西達羅洲羅芳伯等所建共和國考)
A Historical Survey of the Lau-Fang Presidential
 System in Western Borneo. Established by Lo Fang-
 Pai and Other Overseas Chinese. Institute of Chinese
 Culture, Hong Kong, 1961.

102. Hunt, J., op.cit., especially pp. 398-400. Hunt stated that "There are only fifty paretts or mines wrought in the whole kingdom Sukadana, thirty of which are in the Sambas district, each mine having at least three hundred men, Chinese, employed in them ... There are thirty thousand Chinese in the Sambas districts, and they feel themselves strong enough to oppose or evade this tax ... Salako is up a river fifteen miles south of the Sambas river ... here the metal is found more abundant than anywhere else; and twenty thousand Chinese are found in this district."
103. Crawford, John F.R.S., History of the Indian Archipelago, Edinburgh, 1820, pp. 473 and 482.
104. St John, H., op.cit., p. 107.
105. Earl, George Windsor, The Eastern Seas, London 1837, p. 250.
106. Crawford, John F.R.S., op.cit., p. 42.
107. The 20,000 figure is undoubtedly a gross over-estimate. Spencer St John wrote that owing to persecution from the Sultan of Brunei, "There was scarcely a Chinese left in the capital" in 1846 (see St John, Spencer: Life in the Forests of the Far East, London 1863, Vol. II, p. 332) and nearly thirty years later the estimation gives a total of only 4947 of Chinese in the whole country. (See Baring Gould, S. and Bampfylde, C.A., A History of Sarawak Under the Two White Rajahs, London 1909, p. 33) It is true that this estimation was taken only 14 years after the great slaughter which followed the Chinese Insurrection, but even allowing for that the original estimate of 20,000 appears far too high.
108. Posewitz, T., Borneo: Its Geology and Mineral Resources, London, 1892, p. 315.

109. St John, Spencer, Life in the Forests of the Far East, Vol. II, p. 342. In 1850, Keppel wrote: "The power of the Tyquong Kongsu had overshadowed the entire country, until Dutch authority was but a name, and the large opium revenue of the Sultan of Sambas was gradually falling away from the bare faced system of smuggling carried on. I believe that I may safely say that it had become a question which of the two parties was to rule the country; and thus the Dutch and the Sultan resolved to vindicate the authority of government and to humble the Kongsu ... The details are of no importance to Sarawak, but up to the present time Tyquong has been successful, has beaten back the Dutch troops from their grounds, and has attacked and punished all the Chinese who have sided with the legitimate government ... The inhabitants of the flourishing town of Pamangot fled in a fright to Sarawak." (See Keppel, Henry, A Visit to the Indian Archipelago in H.M. Ship Meander, with portions of the private journey of Sir James Brooke, London, 1853, pp. 352-3.)
110. St John, Spencer, op.cit., p. 346.
111. Ibid., p. 249.
112. Ibid., p. 353.
113. See St John, Spencer, Rajah Brooke, London, 1889, p. 148-163 for the description of the Chinese Revolt in Sarawak in 1859.
114. "I have some details of the Chinese immigration scheme. Our funds are not large enough to enter into it upon a large scale and common prudence dictates that we should not throw a mass of Chinese, whose antecedents are far from inspiring confidence, into a peaceful country. I propose, therefore, making a trial by locating from 500 to 2000 and allowing the plan to grow gradually to its full proportions." See Rutter, O., (ed.), Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett-Coutts, London, 1935, p. 189.
115. See Noakes, J.L., "The Growth of the population of Sarawak" in Jones, L.W., Sarawak, Report on the Census of Population, 1960, Appendix A., pp. 320-321.
116. See below pp. 84-96.

117. Ward, B.E., "A Hakka Kongsis in Borneo", J.O.S., Vol. 1, No. 2, July 1954, p. 366.
118. Tien Ju-Kang, The Chinese of Sarawak, a study of Social Structure, London, 1953, p. 5.
119. St John, Spencer, op.cit., p. 319.
120. In 1901 Second Rajah also made a contract with Tan Chai Shang, an educated man from Canton. He was granted 8000 acres for pepper gardens. He brought in about 500 Cantonese to work in these gardens. This Limited Company which Tan founded and of which he was a member went bankrupt after the 1914-1918 war, and finally he returned to China. But many of the settlers he had brought in remained or induced others to come over. See Tien Ju-Kang, op.cit., Appendix 1, p. 6.
121. See Dr Liu Chiang (劉強 '砂朥越新福州壑場志') "New Foochow, the Chinese Settlement in Sarawak", (in Chinese) J.S.S.S., Vol. VI, Part II, No. 12, Dec. 1950, p. 9.
122. Ibid., p. 9.
123. The locations of these areas were: (1) Bukit Lima, (2) Telephone Road, (3) Sin Choo San (Sungei Merah), (4) Bukit Asek, (5) Sungei Birut, (6) Telok Bango, (7) Engkilo, (8) Sungei Sadit, (9) Ensurai, (10) Sungei Nawa, (11) Bukit Len, (12) Lebean, (13) Sungei Assam, (14) Kerto, (15) Nan Chong, (16) Sin Nan Chong, (17) Tanjong Kunyit, (18) Sinpang Tiga. See Liu Chiang, ibid., p. 10.
124. Provisional Association, A Sketch of the Territory of Sabah in North Borneo, 1878.
125. Kahin, George McT., "The State of North Borneo, 1881-1946", F.E.Q., Vol. 7, 1947, p. 63.
126. Tregonning, K.G., A History of Modern Sabah 1881-1963, University of Malaya Press, 1965, p. 130.
127. Ibid., p. 132.
128. Maxwell, D.R., State of North Borneo. A Report on the Census of Population, 1921, London, 1922, p.8.

129. Ibid., p. 8.
130. Governor to Court of Directors, 4 May, 1891.
- 131-133. Tregonning, K.G., op.cit., p. 136.
- 134-135. Ibid., p. 137.
136. Maxwell, D.R. op.cit., p. 9.
137. Tregonning, K.G., op.cit., p. 141-142.
138. Ibid., p. 141.
- 139-142. Maxwell, D.R., op.cit., pp. 8-10.
143. Handbook of the State of North Borneo. 1929, London, 1929, p. 32.
144. Tregonning, K.G., op.cit., p. 150.
145. Purcell, Victor, op.cit., 1965, p. 376.
146. See Lee, Y.L., "The Chinese in Sarawak (and Brunei)", S.M.J., Vol. XI, Nos. 23-24 (New Series), July-Dec., 1964, p. 517.
147. Baring-Goulds, S. and Bampfylde, C.A., A History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajahs, London, 1909, p. 43.
148. McKinnon, R.M., "Progress in Brunei", E.W., 1949, December, p. 9.
149. "There is a very large movement of persons into and out of the State annually, due to the large demands for labour and professional and technical staff by the government service. The British Malayan Petroleum Company and the contractors responsible for construction under the State Development Plan. This movement is carefully controlled and there are strict limitations placed upon the permitted periods of temporary residence within the State of other than permanent residents of the State." See Brunei Annual Report, 1956, p. 4. Unskilled immigrants are only contemplated in cases of menial or unpleasent jobs which have to be done but are repugnant and unacceptable to locals. See Brunei Annual Report, 1959, p. 9.

150. See Wilkinson, R.C., Report on the Project of Emigration from Mauritius to North Borneo, Government Printer, Port Louis, Mauritius, 1949.
151. North Borneo Annual Report, 1960, p. 9.

CHAPTER THREE

GROWTH AND STRUCTURE OF THE CHINESE POPULATION

Introduction

The population of Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei in 1966 was estimated to be over 11.5 million. ⁽¹⁾ The most recent official figures available, however, are from a census and population estimate taken in 1960, which counted a population of 9,826,000 in the region, (Table 3.1), comprising 42 per cent Chinese, 40 per cent Malaysians, 9 per cent Indians, 7 per cent Borneo indigenous peoples and 2 per cent others, giving the Chinese a clear lead in the population. Although the main ethnic groups, except Borneo indigenous, are found in all territorial units here, their relative numbers vary considerably, creating significantly different population profiles for each area. In West Malaysia, the Malaysians form 50 per cent of the population, the Chinese 37 per cent and the Indians 11 per cent. In Singapore, the Chinese form an absolute majority and make up 76 per cent of the population as against the Malaysians 14 per cent and the Indians 8 per cent. In Sarawak, the proportions of the ethnic groups are somewhat different, comprising 51 per cent indigenous peoples, 31 per cent Chinese and 17 per cent Malaysians. In Sabah, the indigenous peoples constitute 68 per cent of the population, Chinese 23 per cent and Malaysians 6 per

TABLE 3.1

POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUPS IN MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE AND BRUNEI, 1960. Numbers (in thousands) & percentages

Territories	Malaysians	Chinese	Indians	Portuguese-Indigenous	Others	Total
West Malaysia (a)	3461 (c) (50%)	2552 (37%)	773 (11%)	-	123 (2%)	6909(100)
Sarawak (b)	129 (17%)	229 (31%)	2	378 (51%)	6 (1%)	744(100)
Sabah (b)	26 (d) (6%)	105 (23%)	3	307 (68%)	14 (3%)	455(100)
Total East Malaysia	155 (13%)	334 (28%)	5	685 (57%)	20 (2%)	1199(100)
Total Malaysia	3616 (45%)	2886 (36%)	778 (9%)	685 (8%)	143 (2%)	8108(100)
Singapore (a)	227 (14%)	1231 (76%)	138 (8%)	-	38 (2%)	1634(100)
Brunei (b)	45 (54%)	22 (26%)	-	14(17%)	3 (e) (3%)	84(100)
TOTAL	3888 (40%)	4139 (42%)	916 (9%)	699(7%)	184 (2%)	9826(100)

Notes:

(a) Mid-year estimates (last Censuses in 1957).

(b) 1960 Census figures.

(c) Includes Malays, Indonesians and the aboriginal group.

(d) Includes 25,000 Indonesians.

(e) Includes a few Indians.

cent. The State of Brunei is the most Malaysian of the Borneo territories, with Malaysians accounting for 54 per cent of the population, Chinese 26 per cent and 17 per cent indigenous peoples.

Only the Chinese have substantial numbers in all component units of the region. They have increased their proportions rapidly, especially before the Second World War, and by 1965 were estimated to almost equal the Malaysians in West Malaysia, and to surpass them in Malaysia as a whole in 1960.

In attempting to write an account of the growth of the Chinese population in the region, it is necessary to rely almost entirely on published material. Unfortunately, source material for both the pre-European and modern period is scarce, often fragmentary and obscure. This is especially true of the initial stages of Chinese growth. So, the full story of Chinese settlement in the region has yet to be told. In this chapter, the growth and structure of the Chinese in the region will be studied, and the population changes among them will be examined.

Growth of the Chinese Population in Malaya, 1786-1957.

In Malaya the total population enumerated in 1957 was over $7\frac{1}{2}$ million, of which nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ million were in Singapore. Malaya's population has grown rapidly, especially over the last

fifty years, increasing by almost three times from 1911 to 1957.² The growth of the Chinese section of the area's population has been equally spectacular. By 1957 it numbered nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ million or 44.3 per cent of the total population, forming the largest ethnic group in Malaya. (Fig. 3.1, Table 3.2)

Before the British first obtained a foothold in Malaya in the late 18th. century, its people were mainly aborigines and lowland Malays. The aborigines lived in the coastal swamps and on the jungle-covered slopes of the central mountain ranges, and their economics comprised the hunting, gathering and shifting cultivation. The lowland Malays, on the other hand, had their settlements located along the coast and river banks, where they followed a simple subsistence economy founded on padi cultivation, with fish as the main supplement. There are no reliable figures of the total aborigines and Malay population at this period. Newbold estimated in 1835-36 that there were some 9,000 aborigines, and the total population of the peninsula in this period was roughly estimated to be 374,000.³

After the founding of the Straits Settlements of Penang and Province Wellesley, Singapore and Malacca, the influx of immigrants (mainly Chinese and Indian) in these Straits

TABLE 3.2

GROWTH AND RACIAL COMPOSITION OF
THE POPULATION OF MALAYA, 1911-1957.

Year	Total Population (in thousands)	Percentage of Total			
		Chinese	Malaysians	Indians	Others
1911	2645	34.6	53.3	10.1	2.0
1921	3327	35.2	48.8	14.2	1.8
1931	4348	39.2	44.4	14.3	2.1
1947	5849	44.7	43.5	10.3	1.5
1957	7725	44.3	43.1	10.6	2.0

SOURCES: Compiled from Del Tufo. M.V., Malaya, A Report of the 1947 Census of Population, Appendix C

Fell, H., 1957 Population Census of the Federation of Malaya, Report No.14, Table I, and

Chua, S.C., State of Singapore, Report on the Census of Population, 1957, Table 2.

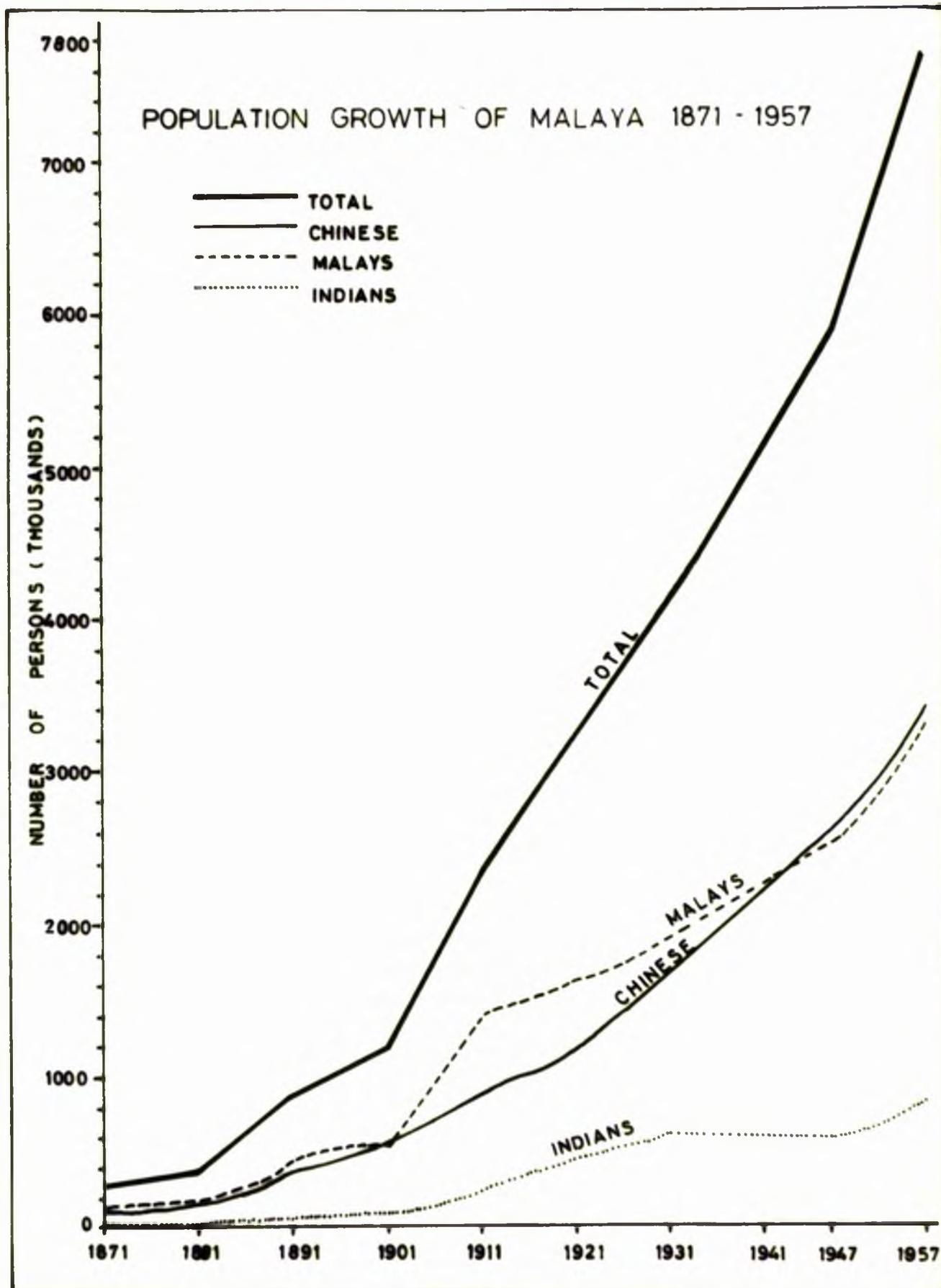


FIG. 3-1

Settlements began. Penang (which the British named Prince of Wales Island, a name which, however, did not stick) was occupied by the British East India Company in 1786. A strip of land on the mainland named Province Wellesley was added to it in 1800. Penang was almost uninhabited at the time of the British occupation, ⁽⁴⁾ but within a very few years substantial numbers of immigrants with Indians and increasingly Chinese, began to settle in both the island and Province Wellesley. After the foundation of Penang the immigration of the Chinese to Malaya greatly increased. On 18th July, 1786, a few days only after the arrival of Captain Francis Light - the founder of the new settlement - some Chinese, probably from Kedah, headed by a "Captain China" arrived, bringing with them a present of some fish nets. ⁽⁵⁾

The Malacca Chinese would have flocked hither in even greater numbers had not the Dutch kept a strong watch over them. In a letter to Andrew Ross of 1st February, 1787, Light says:

"Our inhabitants increase very fast, and did not the Dutch keep a strict watch over the Chinese, most of them would leave Malacca: 40 of them had prepared to come in the Drake, but were stopped by the order of the Dutch Government..." ⁽⁶⁾

A year after the foundation, in his report of 1st. September, 1787, Captain Kyd, one of Light's assistants, says that the shops in the bazaar which was "pretty extensive", were princi-

pally kept by Chinese. There were up to date 60 families.

"This very industrious and quiet people" he says "are spread over all the Malay countries and exercise almost all the handicraft professions and carry on most of the retail trade. (7) On 25th. January 1794, the year of his death, Light wrote a letter which gives his considered opinion of the Chinese settlers in Penang:

"The Chinese constitute the most valuable part of our inhabitants; they are men, women and children, about 3,000, they possess the different trades of carpenters, masons and smiths, are traders, shopkeepers and planters, they employ small vessels and prows and send adventurers to the surrounding countries. They are the only people of the east from whom a revenue may be raised without expense and extraordinary efforts of government...they... send annually a part of their profits to their families. This is so general that a poor labourer will work double labour to acquire two or three dollars to remit to China. As soon as they obtain a little money, they obtain a wife and go on in a regular domestic mode to the end of their existence..." (8)

Thereafter, the Chinese were increasing their share in the general trade of the settlement. They also had the monopoly of sugar-planting from about 1800 up to about 1846. (9) The rapid immigration of Chinese to the town and their spread also as cultivators led to the expectation that soon they would populate the whole of the island. By 1844 the Chinese population in Penang and Province Wellesley were about 13,000. The gates of immigration had been opened up by the general develop-

ment and by quicker transport, and they had been swamped by large numbers of new immigrants from southern China. Every year the Chinese merchants engaged in the traffic would charter a vessel leaving in April or May with the south-westerly monsoon for Macao. The new recruits were brought back in January or February to Penang. The arrivals of these sinkhehs in Penang in the third and fourth decades of the 19th century were about 2,000-3,000 a year.⁽¹⁰⁾ The Chinese population continued to increase steadily and by the year 1871, it had reached 36,561 out of a total of 133,230 in the settlement. (Table 3.3)

In Singapore, there were a few Chinese on the island when Raffles acquired it for the East India Company in February 1819. Newbold says the total population consisted of some 150 fishermen and pirates of whom about 30 were Chinese.⁽¹¹⁾

According to W. Bartley, there were Chinese settlers, mainly engaging in gambier farming, even before the foundation of the settlement in 1819.⁽¹²⁾ It has also been said by Tan that there were Chinese engaged in plantation agriculture at that time.⁽¹³⁾ It is plausible that these early Chinese came from other parts of the archipelago, particularly from the Dutch settlements of Malacca and Rhiau. One point which has been established is that most of the prominent Chinese in the early years were Malacca Babas, who had migrated together with the

TABLE 3.3THE CHINESE POPULATION OF PENANG AND PROVINCE WELLESLEY1812 - 1871

Year	Chinese Male	Chinese Female	Total Chinese	Total Population
1812	-	-	7558	26,107
1820	-	-	8920	41,220
1833	-	-	11010	86,275
1842-44	-	-	13822	91,978
1851	19750	4438	24188	107,914
1860	27050	9172	36222	124,772
1871	30347	6214	36561	133,230

SOURCE: Del Tufo, M.V., Malaya. A Report on the 1947 Census of Population. (London 1949). Appendix C. p.584.

Malacca Malays.⁽¹⁴⁾ Before the establishment of the British settlement in Singapore, the island was hardly a centre for overseas Chinese. As has been noted above, there were already Chinese living in Penang and Malacca. With the founding of a commercial settlement under the protection of the British in the centre of an area so rich in trade in 1819, Chinese traders who had been going to such places as Malacca, Brunei, and Manila found it safer and more profitable to visit Singapore instead.⁽¹⁵⁾ The first junk arrived there from Amoy in February 1821 initiating a series of such journeys that were to bring the Chinese immigrants to the island.⁽¹⁶⁾ From 1826, when the British finally took over Malacca from the Dutch, until the constitutional changes made after the Second World War, Singapore, Malacca and Penang (with Province Wellesley) made a trio of British settlements which relied economically to a great extent on their Chinese populations. Among these three settlements Singapore emerged as the most populous, the most important and the most Chinese.

After its foundation the town of Singapore grew very quickly. On 11th. June 1819 Raffles wrote that his new colony was thriving most rapidly, and that though it had not been established four months it had received an accession of population exceeding 5,000; these he added, were principally Chinese, whose numbers were daily increasing.⁽¹⁷⁾

As early as June 1819, the number of different nationalities had so increased that Raffles began to plan his town by making regulations regarding the allotment of locations. It was arranged that the Chinese should move to the southern side of the river, forming a kampong below a large bridge situated probably near the Elgin Bridge. All the Malays were to move to the same side of the river, to form a kampong above the bridge.

In 1821, the population was estimated at 4,727 persons, of whom 29 were Europeans, 2,851 Malays and 1159 Chinese.⁽¹⁸⁾ Next year (1822) a committee was appointed by Raffles for appropriating and marking out the quarters or departments of the several classes of the population.⁽¹⁹⁾

In the directions given to this committee for their guidance, suggestions were made for the location of the Chinese on the south-west of the river, the Bugis on the spot beyond the residence of the Sultan in Kampong Glam, the Chuliahs (native of Madras) up the Singapore River and the Arabs in Kampong Glam immediately adjoining the Sultan's residence. The Malays were expected to settle near Panglinia Prang's (River Valley Road) and on the upper banks of the river.⁽²⁰⁾

In January 1824, the population consisted of 10,683 persons, and included 3,317 Chinese, 4,580 Malays and 74 Europeans.⁽²¹⁾ At that time, the Chinese were principally

Macaos and Hokkiens. The latter were described as the most respectable and the best settlers. All the merchants and most of the good agriculturists were of this class.

Censuses were again taken from 1825-1836. The figures for these earlier censuses cannot, however, be regarded as very accurate. They were in fact merely "counts of heads" undertaken by the police. One interesting feature is that in the first two decades or so, the Malays were the dominant group in Singapore; but by 1836 the Malays with a total of 12,497 were numerically outnumbered by the Chinese whose total was 13,749,⁽²²⁾ and since then the Chinese have become increasingly predominant in the population. In the census for 1836, the Settlement was divided into two portions, the town and the country. The town extended from the Rochore River on the east to Ryan's Hill, and inland to a line drawn parallel to Mount Sophia. Within this area there were 12,748 males and 3,400 females. By nationalities there were 8,233 Chinese, 3,617 Malays, with the remainder consisting of Klings, Bugis and Bengalis. The country comprised all the island outside the town, and included the neighbouring islands. It was sub-divided into two districts, viz; Singapore town and Kampong Glam. The population of Singapore Town amounted to only 4,184, consisting of 2,358 Chinese. The district of Kampong Glam, including the island of Pulo Tekong and Pulo Ohin had a population of 9,652, of whom 3,178 were Chinese.⁽²³⁾

At the census of 1840, the Chinese had risen to 17,740. At this time the Chinese were said to have been chiefly Hokkien, Kheh, Tiechius and Cantonese. Between 1840 and 1850 the immigration of Chinese into Singapore was very large. In 1843 the number was 7,000, in 1844, 1600, while up to March 1845, 6,833 had arrived. In 1848 the number arriving in square-rigged vessels was 1,330, and in junks was 9,145.⁽²⁴⁾

In 1848, Siah U Chin estimated the total number of Chinese in Singapore at 40,000.⁽²⁵⁾ (This was apparently an over-estimate, as the census figures for the following year show). These, he considered, consisted mainly of Hokkiens, Malacca-born Chinese, Tiechius, Cantonese, Khehs and Hailams. The greatest number of married Chinese were among the Malacca-born, the next greatest amongst the Hokkien shop-keepers and the least amongst the Cantonese.

In 1852-3, the number of Chinese immigrants into Singapore was 11,434. Towards the end of 1853 large numbers arrived from Amoy. As considerable financial assistance had been given to them by the Singapore Chinese, they brought with them the wives and families of many of the most respectable Singapore Chinese merchants.

The Census of 1860 was taken by the police and the total population amounted to 81,734 of whom 61 per cent were Chinese (50,043 persons). The Census taken in 1871 is the

first census as understood in the modern form. From that year onwards the censuses have been taken at regular intervals of ten years. In 1871, the Chinese total had risen to 54,572. There were 38,362 living in the town division and 13,375 in the country division.⁽²⁶⁾ (Table 3.4)

By the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1824, Malacca became a British possession. Since the port of Malacca could not hope to compete with the better-placed entrepots of Singapore and Penang, the focus of interest in Malacca thereafter gradually shifted from the sea to the hinterland. The population began to increase again, as more and more cultivators, speculators and artisans took part in new ventures in the interior.

The increase of Chinese settlers in Malacca was especially rapid in the first few years under the British. A Dr. Ward, who was stationed in Malacca for some time round about 1827, recorded that the Chinese were still concentrated in the north-western part of the town, and numbered 3,989, that is nearly a third of the total population of 12,687 free people.⁽²⁷⁾ This represents an increase of nearly 300 per cent on the Chinese population of 1817. Newbold on the other hand, stated that the total population was 31,441 of whom 5,200 were Chinese.⁽²⁸⁾ It is possible that Newbold's figure is inaccurate, since the Chinese population in the

TABLE 3.4

THE CHINESE POPULATION OF SINGAPORE, 1819-1871

Year	Male	Female	Total Chinese	Total Population	Chinese as % of Total Population
1821	-	-	1159	4727	25
1824	2956	361	3317	10683	31
1825	3561	267	3828	11851	32
1826	3833	396	4279	12905	33
1827	5747	341	6088	13732	44
1828	-	-	6210	14885	42
1829	7163	412	7575	18819	40
1830	6021	534	6555	16634	39
1832	7149	613	7762	19715	39
1833	7650	867	8517	20978	41
1834	9944	823	10767	26329	41
1836	12870	879	13749	29984	46
1840	-	-	17704	35389	50
1849	25749	2239	27988	52891	53
1860	46795	3248	50043	81734	61
1871	46104	7468	54572	97111	56

SOURCES: This table reproduces data in Makepeace W., Brooke, G.E., and Braddell R. St. J. eds., One Hundred Years of Singapore, London 1921, Vol.I. pp.359-362.

decade 1826-36 appears to have fluctuated between 4,000 and 4,700, except for the year 1827 and 1832. (29)

Between 1834 and 1871, with the exception of the periods 1852-60 when there were small decreases as a result of emigration to other more attractive areas, the Chinese population continued to increase steadily reaching 13,482 out of a total of 77,756 inhabitants in the State in 1871. (Table 3.5)

Thus the basic Malayan population pattern of aborigines in the interior highlands and lowland Malays around the coast was altered to some extent in the 19th century by the addition of Chinese and other immigrant groups composed largely of Indians distributed in the three British possessions - Penang, Singapore and Malacca. By 1871 the immigrant element of the population in the Straits Settlements had become numerically almost as important as the Malays, as shown in Table 3.6.

✓ The population pattern in the Malay states remained much the same until the latter half of the 19th century when Chinese planters and miners began to enter in increasingly large numbers.

By the middle of the last century, there were some Chinese squatters cultivating pepper and gambier in south Johore. In 1860, there were about 1,000 gambier and pepper plantations in Johore, employing a Chinese labour force of some

TABLE 3.5

THE CHINESE POPULATION OF MALACCA, 1750-1871

Year	Chinese Males	Chinese Females	Total Chinese	Total Population
1750	-	-	2161	9635
1766	-	-	1390	7216
1817	-	-	1006	19647
1827	-	-	5006	33162
1829	-	-	4797	30164
1834	-	-	4143	29260
1842	-	-	6882	46096
1852	7735	2873	10608	62514
1860	7037	3002	10039	67267
1871	9876	3606	13482	77756

SOURCE: Del Tufo, M.V., Malaya: A Report on the 1947 Census of Population. (London 1949). Appendix C, p.584.

TABLE 3.6
THE IMMIGRANT AND MALAY POPULATION
IN THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS, 1871.

RACE	PENANG	SINGAPORE	MALACCA	TOTAL
Chinese	36,561	54,572	13,482	104,615
Indians	18,611	11,501	3,278	33,390
Europeans	433	1,946	50	2,429
Eurasians and others	2,409	2,951	2,850	8,210
Total Immigrant population	58,014	70,970	19,660	148,644
Total Malay population	75,216	26,141	58,096	159,453
Grand Total	133,230	97,111	77,756	308,097

SOURCE: McNair, J.F.A., Straits
Settlements, Census Reports
and Returns, 1871.

15,000.⁽³⁰⁾ But it was not agriculture but tin-mining which was responsible for the main influx of Chinese into the Peninsula. In Trengganu, the Chinese claim that there have been Hokkiens in Kuala Trengganu town for more than 400 years. Although grave-markers and family records extend back only 200 years, it is probable that the Hokkiens were already well-established in the early 18th century, if not before. They scattered in rural settlements along the Trengganu River, between Kuala Trengganu and the upstream trading centre of Kuala Brang.⁽³¹⁾ In 1828, Chinese were reported to be numerous,

living principally in strong stone-built houses, which indicated by their appearance that the colony had been long established.⁽³²⁾ Tin mining was their objective, and accounts both of this date and much later stress the fact that otherwise the country was practically continuous jungle. In 1839, Newbold states that there were 600 Chinese in Trengganu town, while the population of the State as a whole was 50,000.⁽³³⁾

In Kelantan, also permanent settlement for the purpose of gold and tin mining goes back a long way. In Kelantan: A State of the Malay Peninsula, published in 1908, W.A.Graham states:

"Gold has been mined in Kelantan from a very remote period, a fact which is attested by the presence of traces of old workings in many parts of the State, the history of which has been entirely lost. Apparently the industry has always been entirely in the hands of Chinese, who must have settled in the gold-producing districts in considerable numbers, and a few of whose descendants persist to this day, at Pulai and elsewhere..."⁽³⁴⁾

Local Chinese tradition credits the foundation of the Pulai settlement (situated about 9 miles from Gua Musang) to a Hakka leader, Chong Poh Chai, who was a notorious 18th century pirate. After a disastrous sea battle off the Hong Kong coast, he fled with some of his followers to the east coast of Malaya and eventually arrived at Pulai,⁽³⁵⁾ and founded a settlement there.

Pahang, another state having early association with tin-mining was mentioned by Gray who wrote in his journal of 21st January 1827:-

"I am informed by the merchants that they have discovered a tin mine, near the river Leppa (Lepar), at the distance of two days pulling from the settlement of Pahang. It is expected to turn out favourably and to be opened in the dry season by about 800 Malays, besides a number of Chinese." (36)

Newbold in 1839 stated that there were 12,000 Chinese in Pahang out of a total population of about 40,000,⁽³⁷⁾ but the Chinese had dwindled in numbers during the period of widespread lawlessness that began with the death of Bendahara Ali in 1857.⁽³⁸⁾ Many of the Chinese miners or traders were either murdered or driven out, and as new arrivals from China were attracted by the more developed west coast states, there were only an estimated two to three hundred Chinese in Pahang when Swettenham visited the State in 1885.⁽³⁹⁾

In Selangor, the first major centre of Chinese mining was Lukut, which was transferred to Sungei Ujong in 1878, and now forms part of Negri Sembilan. The area was first worked in the 1820s. Anderson mentions that in 1824 Lukut had become a great centre of tin mining.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Of its 1,000 inhabitants 200 were Chinese miners. In 1874 there were about 10,000 Chinese miners there.⁽⁴¹⁾ Chinese mining settlements were also established at Kanching and Ampang in the late 1840s.⁽⁴²⁾ By 1860 the Chinese in Selangor "greatly outnumbered the settled local population."⁽⁴³⁾ In the mid-1860s the Chinese miners in the Kuala Lumpur area already numbered five to ten thousand and were increasing fast."⁽⁴⁴⁾ For the next twenty or thirty years the interior foothill zone witnessed what might be termed the pioneer Chinese mining era of its settlement history. Gradually, a series of small, isolated Chinese mining centres appeared, each consisting of a group of temporary atap-roofed buildings. By 1871, there were about 12,000 Chinese in the State.⁽⁴⁵⁾

In Perak, the discovery of rich deposits of tin in the Larut district in 1850 turned it from a little-known and almost uninhabited area to a busy and densely-populated mining camp swarming with thousands of Chinese miners. By 1862, there were 19 mines at Kamunting and 8 at Taiping, and the

number of Chinese miners in these two areas of Larut was 20-25,000.⁽⁴⁶⁾ By 1872, the Chinese miners in Larut district had increased to 40,000.⁽⁴⁷⁾

Chinese miners also penetrated into, and set up camp in the tin-mining areas of Negri Sembilan. In 1832 the population of Sungei Ujong was 3,200 Malays, principally Menangkabaus, and 400 Chinese employed in the mines.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Before this date in 1828 the number of Chinese miners on Sungei Ujong was nearly 1,000. They were massacred by the Malays in the same year, but two years later, the mines were again worked by 400 Chinese.⁽⁴⁹⁾ By 1874, the Chinese miners in Sungei Ujong had increased to 15,000.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The penetration of the Chinese tin miners into the Malay States gave rise to many problems. The mining settlements were very closely knit, self-governing communities, homogeneous, united in aim if often mutually antagonistic, and, by virtue of their secret society organisation, with strong internal discipline and the ability to present a united front to outsiders. The Malay States possessed only rudimentary governmental organisation, which was completely unable to cope with the problems caused by the mining communities; they lacked both political stability and the means of enforcing law and order. There was also competition between rival Malay chiefs for dynastic succession and for the revenue to be collected from the tin, and there was rivalry between different groups of

miners and their secret societies as their economic interests clashed.

The turbulent conditions in the Malay States threatened to spread to the Straits Settlements. Normal economic activities in the Settlements were also hampered. Up to this juncture the British Government was reluctant to interfere in the internal affairs of the Malay States. But in 1873, when conditions were becoming chaotic, the British Government finally reversed their declared policy of not interfering in the Malay States, and decided to step in and try to restore law and order in the peninsula. Both Perak and Selangor were brought under British protection in 1874. Sungei Ujong, the key area of Negri Sembilan, also came under British rule in the same year, and was joined by other states in subsequent years to form the State of Negri Sembilan. British rule gradually spread to cover the rest of the peninsula, Pahang accepting protection in 1888, Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah and Perlis in 1909, and finally Johore in 1914. (51)

The far-reaching results of the British pacification and the development that followed are well-known. Seeking to stimulate the economic life of the country and to increase available revenue, the administrators encouraged the development of tin mining. At the same time, immigration was also actively encouraged by the British as a necessary means to

development, and the years between 1874 and the beginning of the Second World War saw the influx of Chinese, Indians and immigrant Indonesians in such numbers as to alter the population pattern of the country completely. The next section is devoted to tracing the growth of Chinese population during this decisive period.

The stabilization of conditions in the western Malay States laid the foundation for large scale and systematic exploitation of the tin deposits in these areas. Immigration was completely unrestricted until the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the Chinese continued to flow into the peninsula in great numbers to work and to trade in the tin mines, and, later also in the rubber holdings and other agricultural enterprises.

In the 1880s, there was a considerable expansion in the tin-mining industry which followed on the increased demand for tin and the discovery of further deposits along the western foothills. This had stimulated the flow of labour from south China to such an extent that during the period 1881-1900 an estimated two million adult Chinese had entered the Federated Malay States.

Although the development of the tin-mining industry gave the original impetus to Chinese migration, the interests of later migrants expanded to cover a wide range of other economic activities, in particular rubber planting. At the

beginning of the 20th century, rubber had come onto the agricultural scene, and the end of the first decade saw a phenomenal boom which greatly stimulated the cultivation of the crop. A large number of Chinese was attracted by this crop and participated in the new venture. In 1911 only 25 per cent of the estate population in the Federated Malay States was Chinese,⁽⁵²⁾ in 1931 the proportion increased to 35 per cent, while the corresponding figure in the Straits Settlements was 32 per cent, in Johore 49 per cent, in Kedah 16 per cent and in Kelantan 13 per cent.⁽⁵³⁾ By 1941 the number of Chinese employed in estates of 25 acres and over was 50,000 in the Federated Malay States, 7,500 in the Straits Settlements, 33,000 in Johore and 4,400 in Kedah.⁽⁵⁴⁾

The yearly statistics of Chinese immigrants from 1881 to 1941 and also of emigrants and net migrants from 1916 to 1941 are set out in Table 3.7. It can be seen that migration into Malaya during the period 1881-1941 occurred on an unprecedented scale, which is never likely to be repeated. The characteristic feature of Chinese migration to Malaya was that it was motivated entirely by economic reasons. The Chinese came to the country with but one desire - to make their fortunes before returning to their original homes. In the early days only a few found that the benefits of law and order appealed to them more than the call of their ancestral homes, and consequently decided to settle permanently. Movements of Chinese to and

TABLE 3.7

MALAYA: ANNUAL CHINESE IMMIGRANTS AND EMIGRATION1881 - 1941

Year	Immigrants	Year	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net Migrants
1880	-	1916	183,399	61,630	121,769
81	89,801	17	155,167	41,282	113,885
82	101,009	18	58,421	35,585	22,836
83	109,136	19	70,912	37,590	33,322
84	106,748	20	126,077	68,383	57,694
85	111,456	21	191,043	98,986	92,057
86	144,517	22	132,886	96,869	36,017
87	167,906	23	159,019	78,121	80,898
88	164,300	24	181,430	87,749	93,681
89	150,809	25	214,692	77,920	136,772
90	127,936	26	348,593	120,308	228,285
91	126,088	27	359,262	155,198	204,064
92	139,448	28	295,700	149,354	146,346
93	213,717	29	293,167	139,967	153,200
94	153,954	30	242,149	167,903	74,246
95	190,901	31	79,091	213,992	-134,947
96	175,718	32	33,534	282,779	-249,245
97	114,978	33	27,796	86,555	-58,759
98	133,558	34	98,864	68,129	30,735
99	149,697	35	141,892	69,025	72,867
1900	200,947	1936	143,331	80,578	62,753
01	178,778	37	239,106	66,502	172,604
02	207,156	38	98,863	54,603	44,260
03	220,321	39	160,448	146,109	14,339
04	204,796	40	147,016	143,694	3,322
05	173,131	41	117,426	110,826	6,600
06	176,587				
07	227,342				
08	153,452				
09	151,752				
10	216,321				
11	269,854				
12	251,644				
13	240,979				
14	147,150				
15	95,735				

SOURCES: Annual Reports of the Protector of Chinese, 1881-1932, Straits Settlements and Annual Reports of the Immigration Department, 1933-1938, Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, and Malayan Statistics Monthly Digest, 1939-1941, Singapore.

Note: The figures from 1939-41 refer to total arrivals and departures by air, sea and land.

from China were therefore extremely fluid, and their frequency and directions were closely geared to the existing state of the Malayan economy, with periods of economic boom resulting in a net influx of labour and periods of depression causing a return flow of migrants to China. At most times there was a constant stream of new immigrants from China landing at the Malayan ports and making their way inland to the mines, the estates, and the new towns that were springing up in western Malaya.

Thus the years 1881-1913 were characterized by a gradual upward trend, with some minor fluctuations, in the number of annual immigrants, which increased from about 90,000 in 1881 to about 250,000 at the end of this period. The next decade at first witnessed a major curtailment in the annual inflow, caused by the First World War and its aftermath, which was reinforced subsequently by the local slump of 1921-23. This was followed by a short period between 1924 and 1930 of uninterrupted and greatly enlarged immigration, with the record number of 359,000 being attained in 1927. Then came the second and more serious setback in the 1930s when the World Depression and the government restriction reduced the annual inflow to unprecedentedly low levels in the first few years. The slight recovery in the late thirties was attributable to the large influx of women. But the enforcement of control on Chinese female immigration in May 1938 kept the overall volume of inflow relatively low until the outbreak of war.

The number of annual emigrants, mainly persons returning for short visits or for good after a term of employment, also showed a rising trend from 1916 to 1932, but the somewhat high figure for the last three years of this period was in the main contributed by the repatriation of unemployed at the height of the Depression. From 1933 to the outbreak of War in 1941, the annual outflow seemed to have been stabilized between 60,000 and 80,000.

It may be noted that the number of annual net migrants displayed a rather indefinite trend with considerable fluctuations throughout. By far the largest gain for Malaya took place in the second half of the thirties, when a net gain of about 800,000 was recorded, in contrast to the net loss during the preceding World Depression which amounted to about 400,000.

The net result of Chinese migration from the middle of the 19th century to the beginning of the Second World War was to add a major racial component to the population pattern of Malaya. It has been estimated that at least 5 million Chinese entered Malaya during the 19th century, and a further 12 million between 1900 and 1940. The large majority of them returned to China, but a significant number decided, for one reason or another, to settle in the peninsula. Thus the Chinese population in Malaya grew from 104,615 (Straits Settlements only) in 1871 to 2,418,615 or 44 per cent of the total population in 1941. (Table 3.8)

TABLE 3.8
GROWTH OF THE CHINESE POPULATION IN MALAYA
1871 - 1941

Year	Total Population	CHINESE	
		Number	Percentage of the Total population
1871 ⁽¹⁾	308,097	104,615	34
1891 ⁽²⁾	910,123	391,418	43
1901 ⁽³⁾	1,227,195	583,396	48
1911 ⁽³⁾	2,644,489	912,805	35
1921 ⁽³⁾	3,326,695	1,171,014	36
1931 ⁽³⁾	4,347,704	1,702,734	39
1941 ⁽³⁾	5,545,173	2,418,615	44

(1) Straits Settlements only.

(2) Straits Settlements and States include after 1896 in Federated Malay States only.

(3) All Malaya.

Within the space of less than a century the Chinese had entered and settled in Malaya in such large numbers that they came to outnumber the Malays after 1941. By this time, immigration had ceased to play an important role in the growth of the Chinese population, and the increase from 2.4 million to 2.6 million between the years 1941 and 1947 was due mainly to natural increase.

The end of the war, the recovery and further development of the Malayan economy and the extension of health and medical facilities to most parts of the country have resulted in a great increase in the numbers of Chinese as the birth rates remained high and the death rates declined. Table 3.9 illustrates the position between the two census years 1947 and 1957. The Chinese population had increased from 2.6 million in 1947 to 3.4 million in 1957, constituting 44.3 per cent of the total population, thus still outnumbering the Malaysians and forming the largest ethnic group in the area.

Growth in State and District Population in Malaya 1874-1957

Within a few decades of protection, the Malay States began to compete with the Straits Settlements in attracting the ever increasing number of Chinese migrants. In 1882, Sir Hugh Low reported that the number of Chinese miners in Perak had increased from no more than 9,000 in 1877 to about 50,000 within 5 years. (55) With the rapid development of tin-mining in the

TABLE 3.9
NUMBER AND COMPOSITION OF THE
POPULATION IN MALAYA. 1947-1957.

Ethnic Group	Number		Percentage of total population	
	1947	1957	1947	1957
Chinese	2,614,667	3,424,352	44.7	44.3
Malaysians	2,543,569	3,322,533	43.5	43.1
Indians	599,616	820,270	10.3	10.6
Others	90,981	157,532	1.5	2.0
TOTAL	5,846,230	7,724,687	100.0	100.0

SOURCES: Fell, H., 1957 Population Census of the Federation of Malaya, Report No.14. Table I, p.51.

Chua, S.C., Singapore. Report on the Census of Population, 1957, p.44.

Kinta district, the local Chinese mining population increased rapidly from 5,242 in 1884 to 25,000 in 1887.⁽⁵⁶⁾ By 1897 the Chinese population of Perak was estimated at about 90,000.⁽⁵⁷⁾

In Selangor, massive immigration raised the number of Chinese by about 135 per cent from 12,000 in 1871 to 28,236 in 1884, when it represented 60.6 per cent of the total state population.⁽⁵⁸⁾ By 1891, the Chinese had increased to 50,844 and constituted 62.3 per cent of the total state population.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Thus, in this relatively short period of 7 years, the Chinese population of the State almost doubled. By 1901 there were more Chinese in the Federated Malay States than in the Straits Settlements.⁽⁶⁰⁾

At the beginning of this century, the Chinese population in the Federated Malay States increased spectacularly, with the highest rates of increase occurring in Perak and Selangor. By 1911, the Chinese in these two states had increased to 217,206 and 150,908 respectively.⁽⁶¹⁾ (Table 3.10) This was largely the result of the expansion in the tin industry, the spread of rubber cultivation and the continuing rapid extension of communications and other developments in these areas.

Between 1911 and 1921, the increase in the Chinese population of the Federated Malay States was less marked than in the previous decade. The returns for 1921 showed a Chinese population of 494,548 or 61,304 more than in 1911, an increase of 14.1 per cent.

TABLE 3.10

GROWTH OF THE CHINESE POPULATION IN MALAYA BY STATES1911 - 1957.

	NUMBER					Percentage Increase			
	1911	1921	1931	1947	1957	1911 1921	1921 1931	1931 1947	1947 1957
Singapore	219,577	315,151	418,640	729,473	1,090,596	43.5	32.9	74.1	35.8
Penang	111,738	135,288	176,518	247,366	327,240	21.0	30.5	39.8	32.3
Malacca	35,450	45,768	65,179	96,144	120,759	29.1	42.4	47.5	25.6
Perak	217,206	224,586	325,527	444,509	539,334	3.3	44.9	36.5	21.3
Selangor	150,908	170,687	241,351	362,710	488,657	13.1	41.4	50.1	34.7
Negri Sembilan	40,843	65,171	92,371	114,406	150,055	59.5	41.7	23.9	31.2
Pahang	24,287	34,104	52,291	97,329	108,226	40.4	53.3	86.4	11.2
Johore	63,410	97,253	215,076	354,770	392,568	53.3	121.1	65.0	10.7
Kedah	33,746	59,403	78,415	115,928	144,057	76.0	32.0	47.8	24.3
Perlis	1,627	3,602	6,500	11,788	15,771	121.3	80.5	81.4	25.8
Kelantan	9,844	12,755	17,612	22,938	28,861	29.5	38.1	30.2	15.0
Trengganu	4,169	7,246	13,254	15,864	18,228	73.8	83.0	19.7	33.8
MALAYA	912,805	1,171,014	1,702,734	2,614,667	3,424,352	28.0	45.5	53.4	30.9

SOURCE: British Malaya, A Report on the Population Census 1921, 1931 and 1947: Federation of Malaya, 1957 Population Census Report No.14, and State of Singapore, Report on the Census of Population, 1957.

A number of economic factors helped to bring about a reduction in the rate of increase, and in some districts an actual decrease, in the Chinese population in the Federated Malay States. In the first place there was a big decrease in the use of manual labour in tin-mining as a result of the great increase in the use of machinery. Mr. Eyre Kenny, Senior Warden of Mines, wrote in 1918:

"As in the case of all alluvial fields, where an abundant supply of cheap and efficient labour has been available for many years the easily worked deposits in Malaya have to a large extent been exhausted....Actually employed in the mines are some 144,000 Asiatics, and of these about 8,500 are Indians, Javanese and Malays, the remainder being Chinese. In 1913, the total labour employed in the mines numbered 216,000, whereas in 1918 it had fallen to 144,600. This decrease in the labour force was offset by a great increase in the use of labour-saving appliances, and mechanical power is largely taking the place of manual labour." (62)

The great change in the labour situation in between 1911 and 1921 is shown in Table 3.11. There was a switch from mining to agriculture as the main area of employment opportunity for the Chinese population of the Federated Malay States. The development of rubber estates had attracted Chinese agriculturists to the States of Kedah and Johore. The Chinese population of Kedah and Johore increased by 59,500, an increase more than double that in Perak and Selangor. In Johore especially, not only was there a great demand for Chinese labour on the rubber estates, but large numbers of Chinese estate coolies from the Federated Malay States, especially Hailams, took up small holdings of their own and planted them with rubber. In Muar

TABLE 3.11

LABOUR EMPLOYED ON TIN-MINES IN THE FEDERATED
MALAY STATES BETWEEN 1911 AND 1921.

	Labour employed on mines			Horse-power of labour-saving machinery on mines		
	1911	1921	Decrease	1911	1921	Increase
Perak	91,165	50,622	40,543	13,018	40,990	27,972
Selangor	59,472	29,129	30,343	3,600	13,145	9,545
Negri Sembilan	8,296	2,240	6,056	847	1,372	525
Pahang	11,428	7,566	3,862	1,050	8,853	7,803
F.M.S.	170,361	89,557	80,804	18,515	64,360	45,845

SOURCE: Nathan, J.E., The Census of British Malaya, 1921, p.24.

district, there were a large number of small areas of 10 to 100 acres planted with rubber by Chinese from the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, the labour force on which was almost exclusively Chinese.

The waves of immigration from China, which in the past have swelled the population of the western States left Kelantan, Trangganu and Perlis practically untouched, with the result that more than four-fifths of the population of these states were Malays. The Chinese population in Perlis in 1921 was so small (1,627) that the increase of 121.3 per cent for the decade 1911-1921, by itself, can be misleading.

The story of the 1921-1931 inter-censal period was very different from that of the previous decade. The centre of migrational attraction had shifted to the State of Johore whose Chinese population doubled in this decade. In the meantime, the Chinese population in the Federated Malay States also increased by 44 per cent. The extension of rubber planting, in both new and existing agricultural areas, made itself felt in most parts of the Malay States, particularly in relatively sparsely occupied and more accessible Johore, where it was undoubtedly the main cause of the very significant increase in population. (Table 3.10)

In the 1931-47 period the greatest absolute increases took place in Singapore, Johore, Selangor, Perak, Penang and Pahang. Singapore increased by 310,833 (74%) and Johore increased by 139,694 (65%), Selangor by 121,359 (51%) and Perak by 118,982 (36%). The other States together increased by less than 100,000, while Trengganu having the smallest absolute increase of 2,610 (19%) only. (See Table 3.10)

Out of the 87 census enumerated districts in the Federation of Malaya, 76 had increases in the period and 11 had decreases. The temporary decline of the tin and, to a lesser extent, of the rubber industries, resulted in the decrease of the Chinese population in some districts. The chief instance of the former is the case of the great tin-bearing Kinta Valley in which two districts, Ipoh Remainder and Batu Gajah, had decreased by 8.86 per cent and 6.19 per cent respectively. (Fig. 3.2)

Decreases were sometimes due to purely local causes such as the felling of large areas of rubber with a consequent reduction in the local demand for labour. The decrease of Chinese population in Bandar Bahru (15.5 per cent) and Padang Terap (17.2 per cent), both in Kedah State were typical examples.

The chief cause of local increases was the growing emphasis on food production, particularly in the areas immediately surrounding the large towns. An especially noticeable example was that of Penang North-East, where the Chinese population

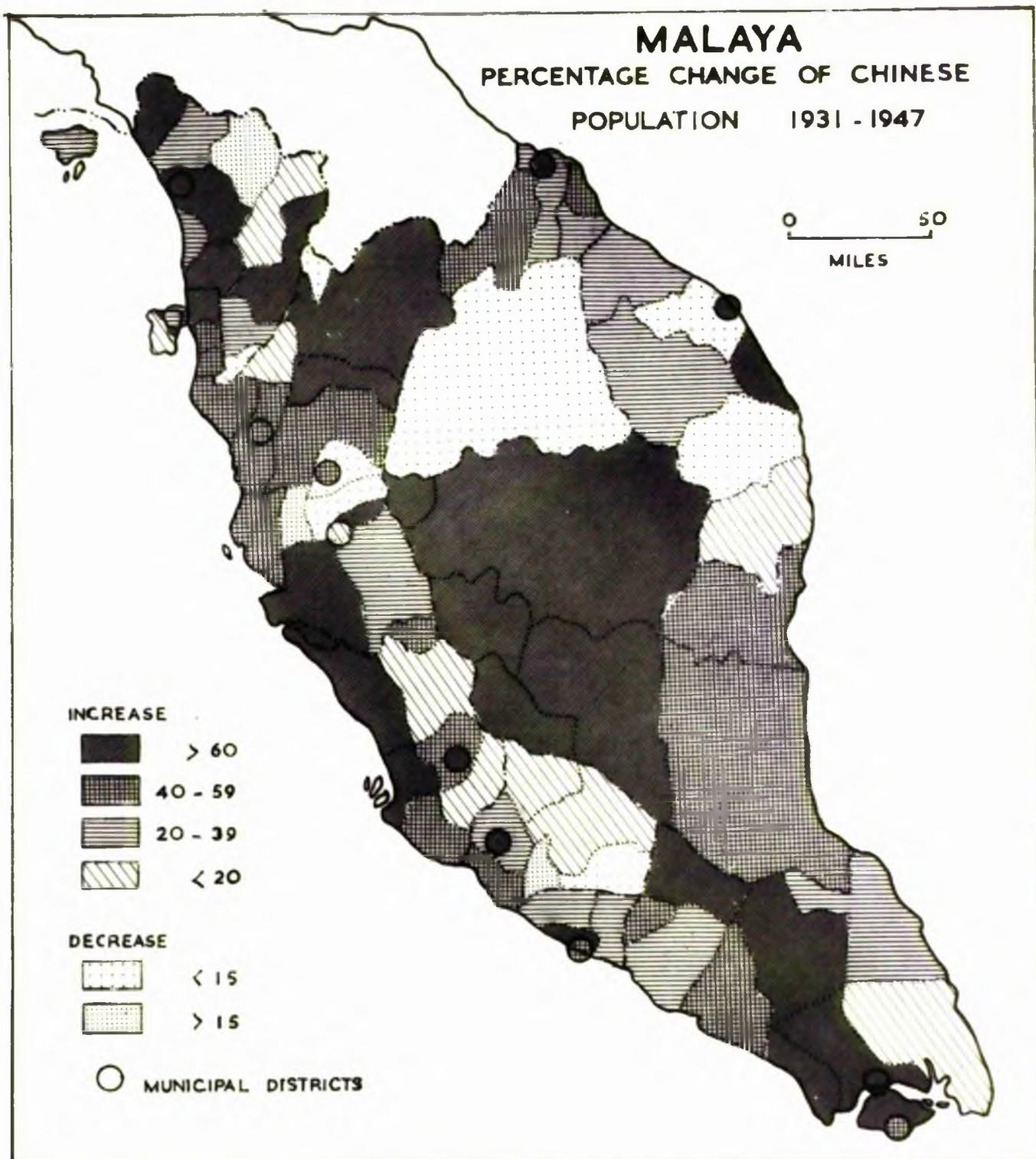


FIG. 3,2

had increased by no less than 147 per cent. The unrestricted opening up of land by Chinese squatters during the Japanese occupation and immediately afterwards was another important cause of exceptional local increases, a matter which is discussed in Chapter 4. Another cause of local increases was the attraction of the Chinese population into the towns, which is also considered more fully in Chapter 4.

The post-war years have seen stabilization of the Chinese population. All the States showed increases. The largest absolute increase in any one political unit for the decade 1947-1957 was Singapore which increased by 261,123, or 35.8 per cent. The second was Selangor (125,947 or 34.7 per cent), the third Perak (94,825 or 21.3 per cent) and the fourth Penang (79,874 or 32.3 per cent). Johore had fallen from second to fifth place, increasing only by 37,798 or 10.7 per cent, which was possibly accounted for by the proximity of Singapore with its attraction for young persons who found it increasingly difficult to find employment in Johore itself. (Fig. 3.3)

The continuance of a very high rate of Chinese population increase in Selangor throughout 1947-1957 calls for comment. As has been noted before, Selangor's phenomenal population growth in the past was due mainly to the growth of the tin and rubber industries and to a lesser extent to the establishment of Kuala Lumpur as the centre of the railway network

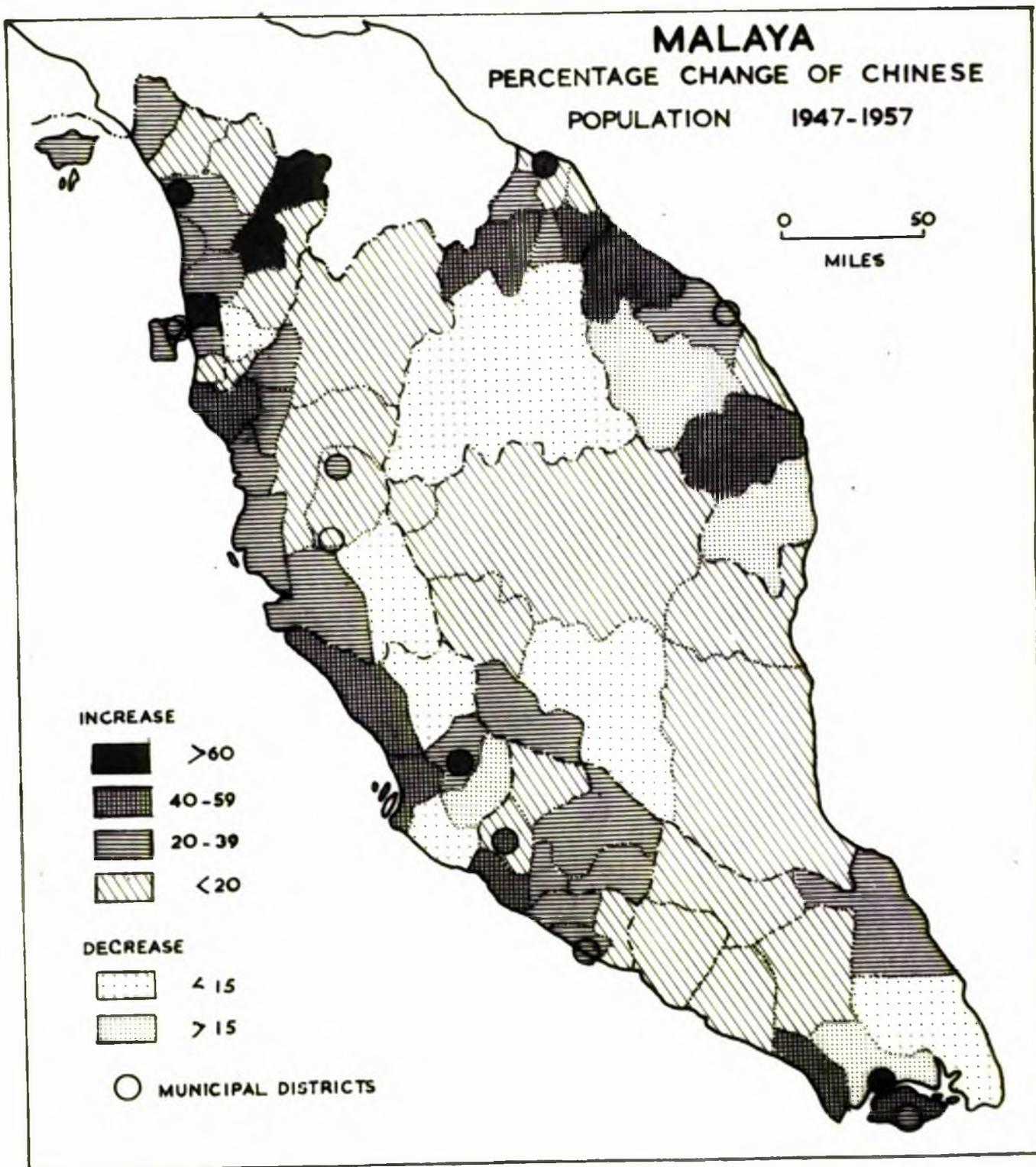


FIG. 3.3

of Malaya and its selection as the capital of the Federated Malay States. After the Second World War, Kuala Lumpur, the heart of Selangor, became the capital of the Malayan Union, later the Federation of Malaya, a much bigger political and economic entity than the former Federated Malay States. With the recovery and growth of the Federation economy after the war and the increasing expansion of the public sector, characteristic of post-war Malaya, Kuala Lumpur began to assume a more and more important role as the centre of public administration, commerce, finance, industry and education in the Federation. A combination of similar political and economic events has also brought into existence many satellite towns around Kuala Lumpur, in particular Petaling Jaya and Jinjang. The growth of these satellite townships and of Kuala Lumpur itself had greatly contributed to the Chinese population increase in Selangor. In 1947 in terms of population, Kuala Lumpur was still smaller than Georgetown, but by 1957 it far exceeded Georgetown, replacing the latter as the largest town, and the largest Chinese concentration in West Malaysia.

Out of the 76 districts, again 11 had decreases during 1947-1957, and 65 had increases. Only 4 of the municipal districts showed increases of 50 per cent or more-- Kuala Lumpur, Johore Bharu, Alor Star and Kota Bharu. With few exceptions the other districts having large rates of increase were in or adjacent to the western population concentrations.

Growth of the Chinese Population in Northern Borneo

As a result of the migration movements described in Chapter 2, the Chinese today form an important and distinct component of the Northern Borneo population. Although the numbers entering the country have not been as large as those entering Malaya, the Chinese now amount to 28 per cent of the total population, and this percentage may increase if the Chinese rate of growth continues at its present level. Had it not been for the immigration restrictions that came to be imposed against them, the Chinese might have formed as high in percentage as in Malaya. In fact, however, despite some further immigration, the growth of the Chinese population of Northern Borneo as a whole during the first half of the century was slow, but after the Second World War it has been increasing rather rapidly.

1. Sarawak.

(a) General: The Chinese in Sarawak, numbering 229,154 in 1960, were the second largest ethnic group in the country.

(Fig. 3.4) At the turn of the century the various indigenous peoples as a whole constituted 90 per cent of the total population and the remainder was mostly Chinese. But since then the Chinese proportion has steadily increased and in 1960 they formed 31 per cent of the total population. As in Malaya, the increase of the Chinese population in Sarawak had passed through

POPULATION GROWTH OF SARAWAK 1939 - 1960 (LOGARITHMIC SCALE)

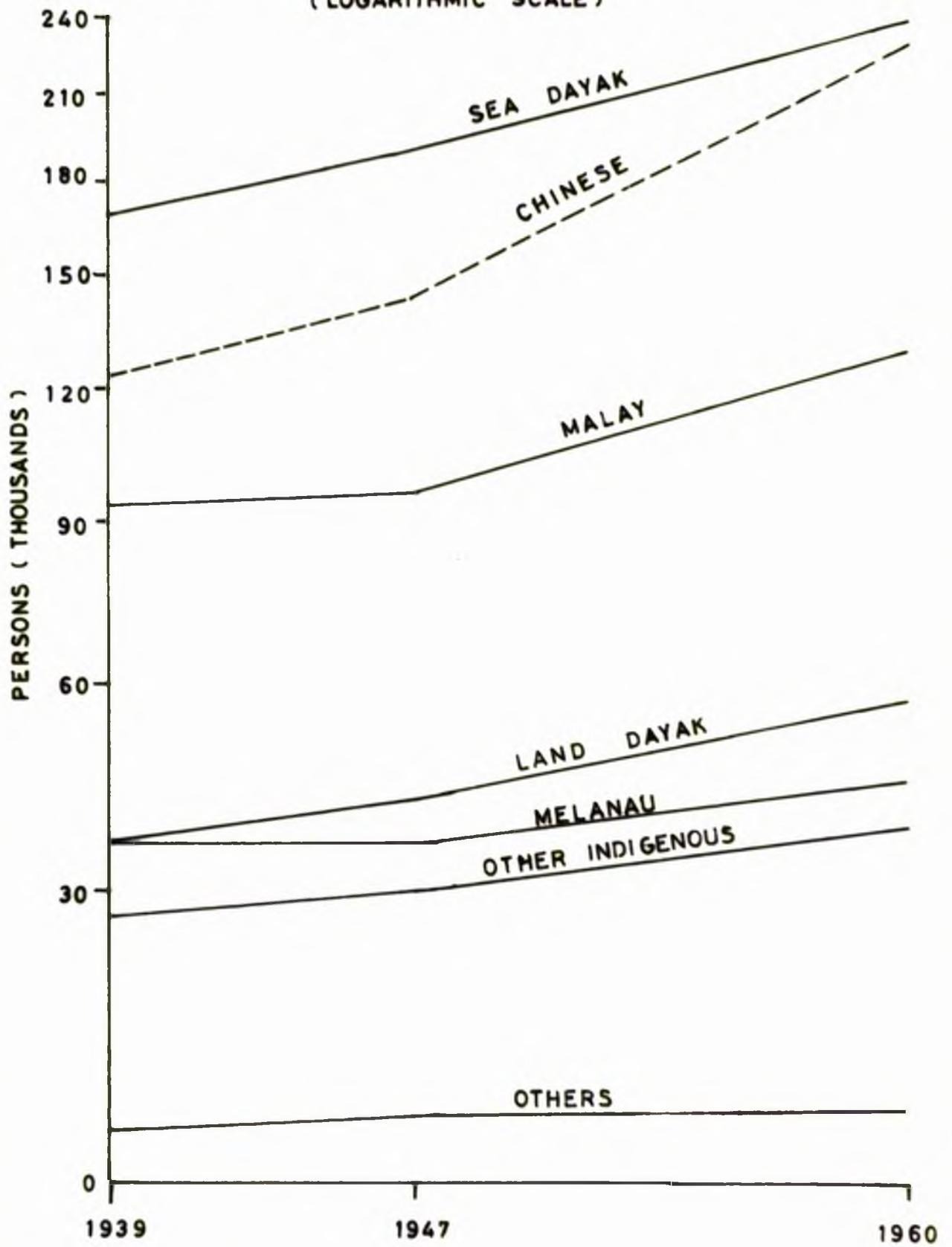


FIG. 3.4

two distinct periods, with heavy immigration in the early years followed by a more recent period of a high rate of natural increase.

The first important Chinese settlement in Sarawak in modern times was associated with gold-mining at Bau where they were well-established when James Brooke reached Sarawak in 1839. With the spread of stable government and law and order they started coming into Sarawak to settle in greater numbers from 1850 onwards. In 1871 it was estimated that the Chinese numbered 3467 in the State, ⁽⁶³⁾ which was much smaller than it is now, and in 1909, by which time the State had reached virtually its present extent, an estimate gave a figure of 45,000. (Table 3.12) However, the level of immigration tended to fluctuate considerably, a balance of 19,000 immigrants being recorded between 1935 and 1939. Since 1939, immigration has played a small part in the increase, though it is not possible, unfortunately, to determine the exact proportion which immigration has played in this as all existing records were destroyed during the war. However, it is clear that immigration did play a considerable part, and had already produced a plural society before the Brooke family's hundred years sovereignty came to an end. The migration balance between 1939 and 1947 was thought to amount to no more than one per cent of the 1939 population, that is to say not more than 5,000 people, most of whom would have been born in China. Between 1948 and mid-1960 the records of the immigration Department show a net gain by immigration of

TABLE 3.12SARAWAK: GROWTH OF THE CHINESE POPULATION

Year	Numbers	Increase	Percentage Increase
1841	(a) 1,000	-	-
1871	(b) 3,467	-	-
1876	(c) 2,742	-	-
1909	(d) 45,000	-	-
1939	123,626	78,626	-
1947	145,158	21,532	17.4
1960	229,154	83,996	57.9

- SOURCES: (a) Owen Rutter, "Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts", p.808,
 (b) Sarawak Gazette, No.31, p.121.
 (c) Ibid, No.124, p.4.
 (d) Baring-Gould & Bamfylde: "A History of Sarawak under the Two White Rajahs. 1839-1908", (London 1909) p.33, and
 Jones, L.W., Sarawak, Report on the Census of Population, 1960. p.56

7,749 Chinese.⁽⁶⁴⁾ After allowance is made for both these figures, the natural increase of Chinese from 1939 to 1947 was 13 per cent and from 1947 to 1960 was 52 per cent. If the 52 per cent natural increase or an annual rate of 3.5 per cent is any criterion, it seems inevitable that the Chinese proportion will become even larger at the next census count. In fact, the Chinese became the most numerical ethnic group in 1962,⁽⁶⁵⁾ though at the time of the 1960 census they were still second to the Sea Dayaks (Sea Dayaks 238,000, Chinese 229,000).

Between 1939 and 1947, the Chinese increase of 21,532 or 17.4 per cent was higher than that of any other group.⁽⁶⁶⁾

The factors contributing towards a high increase were:-

(1) Immigration over a long period. Immigrants to Sarawak for the last 100 years have always been predominantly Chinese. Although no reliable statistics are available for most of this time, the Chinese immigration in excess of emigration since 1939 has clearly played an important part in the increase of the population of Sarawak.

(2) Intermarriage, usually occurring in the outlying districts between Chinese male agriculturists and Sea Dayak and Land Dayak women. This was especially important in the early days when there were few Chinese women in the country. In 1839 James Brooke mentioned that the "mixed breed of Chinese and

Malays seems to be a good-looking and industrious race, partaking much more of the Chinese character than the indigenous of the country."⁽⁶⁷⁾ The children of these mixed marriages have usually adopted the paternal characteristics and been accepted as Chinese with the result that the natural increase of the indigenous people has been retarded while that of the Chinese has been accelerated.

(3) Japanese interference resulting in early marriages among the Chinese to protect their young women. The Chinese found that marriage offered safeguards to their women-folk against interference by the Japanese, and therefore parents sought and obtained husbands for their daughters at an age much lower than had been customary before the war. In this respect, therefore, fertility amongst the Chinese was stimulated.

During the last inter-censal period the Chinese population increased 58 per cent, which was much more than the national average rate of increase (36.3 per cent), whereas the indigenous population as a whole increased by only 28.3 per cent.⁽⁶⁸⁾

(b) Districts: Between 1939 and 1947, the Chinese population increased in all districts, except for the Bau, Simanggang and Miri Rural and Municipal districts. (Appendix 1, Fig. 3.5) The main reason for the decrease in Bau was that it was the centre of the gold-mining industry, and prior to Japanese

SARAWAK PERCENTAGE CHANGE OF THE CHINESE POPULATION 1939 - 1947

1939 - 1947

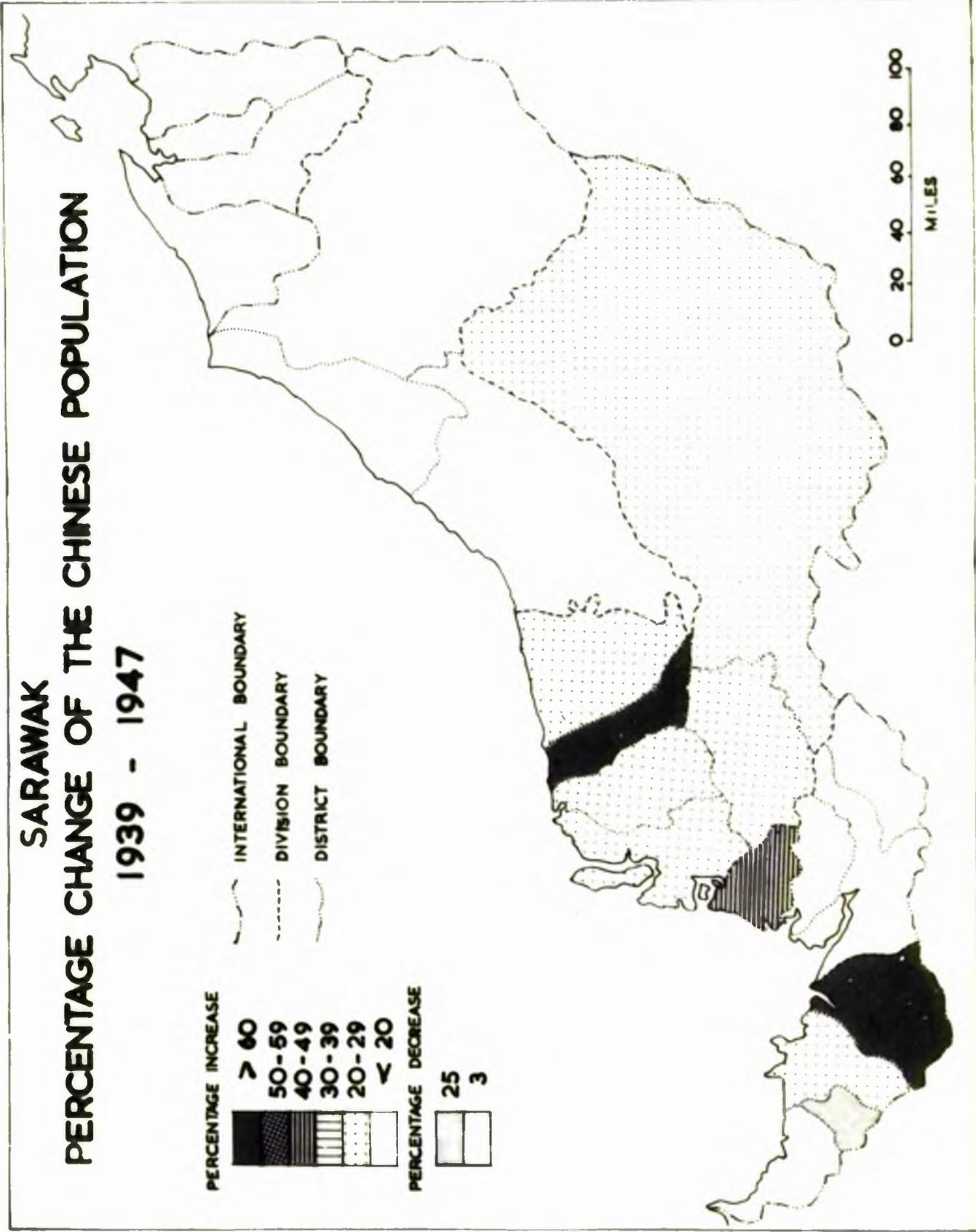
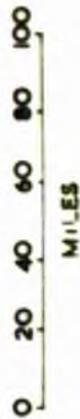
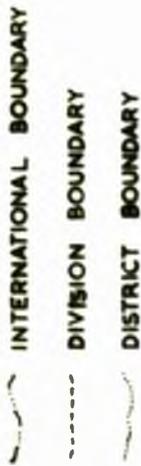
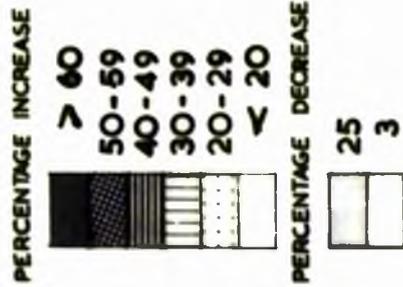


FIG. 3.5

occupation a comparatively large proportion of the population was engaged in gold-mining and allied industries. During the Japanese occupation many of these people fled to the nearby Districts of Kuching Rural and Serian where good farming land was more plentiful, as illustrated by the very large decrease of 2,408 of the Chinese population. The gold-mining industry had not yet been fully re-established during this period. The slight decrease of the Chinese in Simanggang district (97 persons) was not significant. Since the 1939 boundaries between the Simanggang District and Luboh Antu District were obscure, comparisons are best made by combining the two districts. Within this combined area the Chinese had increased by 131 persons, during the period under consideration. The decrease of 381 of the Chinese population in Miri Districts could be attributed directly to evacuation during the war. Rehabilitation of the oil-field was by no means complete, and the town of Miri had not yet been rebuilt. Indeed, the history of Miri had been very closely linked with that of the oilfield since the time when it was a fishing village and the Resident's headquarters was not at Miri but at Marudi.

The large increase of the Chinese in the districts Serian and Kuching could be ascribed in part to movement from the Bau district during the occupation in both districts, but also to a certain amount of migration, possibly from the Fourth

and Fifth Divisions, which suffered most during the war, into the Kuching Rural and Municipal Districts. The very large increase in Chinese in the Third Division, especially in the Lower Rajang District and Sibul Districts was accounted for by two main factors:-

- (1) Considerable immigration from China.
- (2) Immigration of Chinese from other parts of Sarawak, mainly to Muara Lassa - Buit - Palch areas in the lower Rajang Districts, where they have been able to borrow good native-owned land for farming.

The low increase of Chinese in the Limbang District (Fifth Division) was mainly due to the military operations (both of the regular and a guerrilla type) which took place in parts of this District during the later part of the war, thus causing the migration of some of the Chinese to the First Division. In Lawas District the Chinese had also increased by 151 persons; it is possible that immigration from the Limbang District was partly responsible for this.

From 1947 to 1960, the Chinese population increased in all districts (Fig. 3.6), and in nearly half of them increased by more than the national average. In Kuching, Sibul and Miri Districts the Chinese numbered more than one-half of the total Chinese population in 1960. Although the town dwellers were mainly Chinese by number the table showing population changes also reveals the fact that some of the interior rural districts and the more isolated coastal districts had shown substantial

SARAWAK

PERCENTAGE CHANGE OF THE CHINESE POPULATION 1947 - 1960

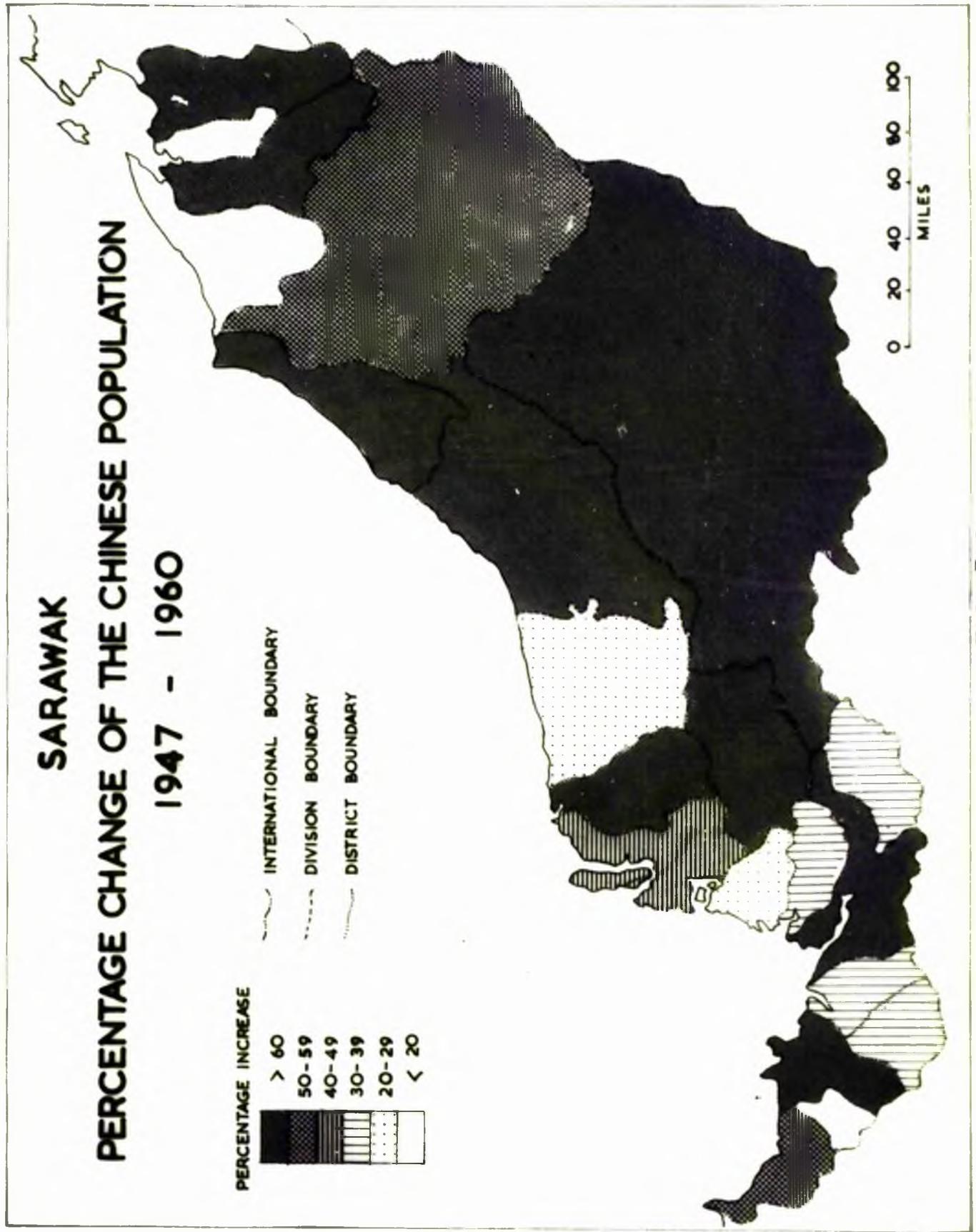
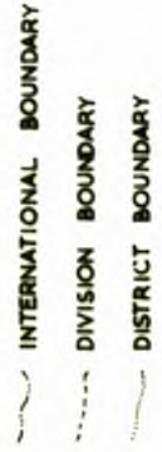
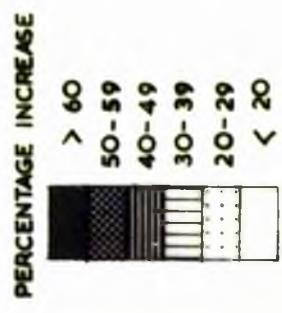


FIG. 3.6

Chinese increases during the last inter-censal period, an indication, perhaps, that the Chinese were moving from the more congested areas around the major towns to the less crowded areas in isolated districts, where land had been made available to them for agriculture. Chinese had moved up the Rajang River from the Sibu rural district into the Kanowit and Kapit districts, thus accounting for the high increase of the Chinese in these two districts of about 72.6 per cent and 94.9 per cent respectively. The construction of a road from Serian to Simanggang had attracted Chinese to Simanggang District, where again they increased rather more than the average figure. Settlement schemes in Bintulu, Baram and Miri Rural had also brought Chinese into these Districts. (69) On the other hand, the Bau District, suffered from a continued decline in the gold-mining industry; and the reduced scale of operation of the Miri oil industry may have been responsible for the very small Chinese increase in these two Districts.

2. Sabah

(a) General: Chinese migrants began to settle in Sabah in large numbers only in the 1880s. Today there is a Chinese settlement in every district, and with a total of 104,542 persons they constituted 23 per cent of the state's population in 1960. As in West Malaysia they form the second most numerous community being exceeded here only by the indigenous Dusun.

Their growth resulted mainly from immigration in the early years, i.e. after the introduction of the British North Borneo Company's administration in the eighties of the last century and more recently from a high rate of natural increase.

(Fig. 3.7)

The first Census of Sabah was held in 1891, when the influence of the government had only partially penetrated into the interior of the country. This census was published in the official Gazette of 1st February, 1892. A total of 67,062 persons were enumerated on the mainland and 5,853 in Labuan, of whom only 7,156 were Chinese. (Table 3.13)

At the 1901 census, the result of which was published in the Official Gazette of Oct. 5th that year, 104,527 persons were enumerated, of whom 13,897 were Chinese, representing an increase of 41 per cent since 1891. The Superintendent stated that "a satisfactory item in the census is the increase of 41 per cent in the Chinese population. This is most gratifying. The Chinese are here not for their health's sake but to make money, so that an increase in their number represents one of the money-making propensities which spells progress."⁽⁷⁰⁾ In the 1911 Census, 208,183 persons were enumerated, the Chinese total being 27,801, which amounted to an increase of 13,904 (111 per cent) over 1901.

In 1921, Chinese had increased 41.2 per cent to form 39,256 out of the total population of 263,252. Nearly half the

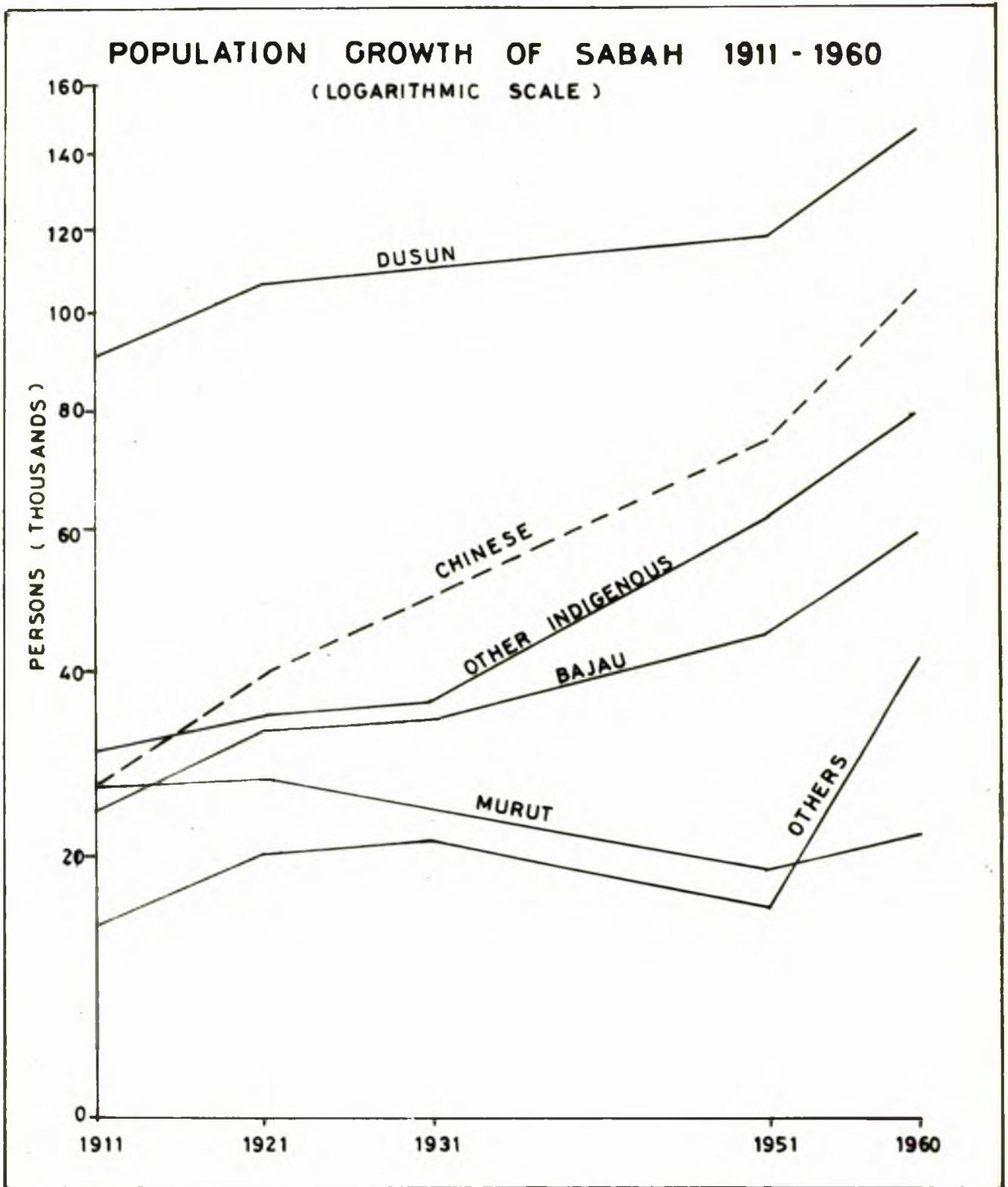


FIG. 3.7

TABLE 3.13SABAH: GROWTH OF THE CHINESE POPULATION

Year	Numbers	% Increase	% of Total Population
1891	7,156 (a)	-	11.0
1901	13,897 (b)	41.0	13.0
1911	27,801 (c)	111.0	13.0
1921	39,256 (d)	41.2	15.0
1931	50,056 (e)	27.5	18.0
1951	74,374 (f)	48.6	22.3
1960	104,542 (g)	40.6	23.0

- SOURCES: (a) Census of British North Borneo, 1891 Official Gazette, Feb.1, 1892.
- (b) British North Borneo, Official Gazette 5th Oct., 1901.
- (c) British North Borneo, Official Gazette 2nd Jan., 1912.
- (d) Maxwell, D.R., State of North Borneo Census Report, 1921.
- (e) Garry, A.N.M., State of North Borneo: Report of the Census, 1931.
- (f) Jones, L.W., North Borneo: Report on the Census of Population held in 1951.
- (g) Jones, L.W., North Borneo: Report on the Census of Population taken in 1960.

adult Chinese had been imported for work in estates and other major centres of employment. The Census recorded 10,711 Chinese males so employed, practically all of whom were either unmarried or had left their wives in China. They had come to Sabah for a variety of reasons, one of them being the intention of saving some money and returning with it to China. The Chinese coolies in the country at that time generally had no home life, and small chance of getting it, with the result that few of them settled permanently. What was wanted by this time, however, was the Chinese immigrant who intended to settle, who brought his wife and family and made a home within the country. Thus, the increase of 105.1 per cent in the number of Chinese adult females (Table 3.14) was one of the most hopeful indications in the census, and was also reflected in the increase in the number of children. There was no doubt that the new tendency towards permanent settlement which these facts implied, though still on a small scale, was associated with the growth of Chinese ownership of small holdings and plantations.

Between 1921-1931, the Chinese increased 27.5 per cent to a total of 50,056 out of a total population of 277,476. Many of those settlers who originally had arrived under the Government Immigration Scheme had now become acclimatised and had accordingly brought their wives, children and female relatives to join them. The depression in trade had not affected them to any great extent. This, therefore, could easily account for the increase of 79.8 per cent in Chinese adult females. (Table 3.14)

TABLE 3.14SABAH: CHINESE POPULATION INCREASE, 1911-1921

(excluding Labuan Island)

		1911	1921	1931	Percentage of Increase	
					1911/1921	1921/1931
ADULTS	Males	19,354	23,469	23,578	21.3	0.5
	Females	2,845	5,851	10,522	105.1	79.8
CHILDREN	Males	2,157	4,261	7,100	97.5	66.6
	Females	1,646	4,061	6,599	146.7	62.5
TOTAL	Males	21,511	27,730	30,678	28.9	10.6
	Females	4,491	9,912	17,121	120.7	72.8
PERSONS		26,002	37,642	47,799	44.8	27.0

SOURCES: Based on Maxwell, D.R., State of North Borneo, 1921 Census Report and Barry, A.N.M., North Borneo, Report of the Population Census, 1931.

In 1931, the Chinese estate population was found to have decreased by just over 4,000 persons. Practically all these men were bachelors or had left their wives in China, and the majority had probably returned there or drifted elsewhere in search of work.

The steady increase of the Chinese population during this census period was due mainly to the most ambitious and most successful **scheme** of immigration, namely that which had been introduced in 1920. (See Chapter Two p. 93) Families, relatives and friends were encouraged to join the settlers of good standing in the country and the great increase in Chinese females that had occurred during the period of the scheme showed that the immigrants had settled down contentedly to a normal family life.

Between 1931 and 1951 the Chinese increased by 24,318 to 74,374 forming 22 per cent of the total population. Although part of the large increase was due to natural processes, (Table 3.13) immigration had certainly played a significant role in this remarkable growth. In this period somewhat between 15,000 and 25,000 Chinese arrived in Sabah. Furthermore, the actual number of Chinese in Sabah who died by violence or starvation as a result of the Pacific War will never be known but the total number of deaths was certainly significant.

Between 1951 and 1960, the Chinese increased by 40.6 per cent to a total of 104,542. This represents a much larger increase than that of the whole population (36 per cent). It is reasonable to suppose that this increase was largely the result of natural increase, since the net migration of Chinese into the country during this inter-censal period was no more than 496 persons. (71)

The fertility ratios of the Chinese in Sabah also provide some indication for the future population growth. The Chinese ratio of 855.9 (births per 1000 women of child-bearing age) is very much higher than the ratio for the indigenous population of 756.2. In addition, the infant mortality rate among the Chinese is lower than the other ethnic groups. Chinese mothers up to the age of 29 lose, on average, 3.8 per cent of their children ever born while indigenous mothers lose about 25 per cent. All this, of course, suggests a high current rate of increase for the Chinese community.

(b) Districts: In Sabah, the Chinese live mainly in and close to the towns, and it may be said that the Sabah towns have been made by the Chinese. Thus the Chinese are to be found primarily in the districts containing towns and very much less in the other districts. (Fig. 3.8) The districts in which the Chinese population are high enough to be significant and

SABAH PERCENTAGE CHANGE OF CHINESE POPULATION 1951 - 1960

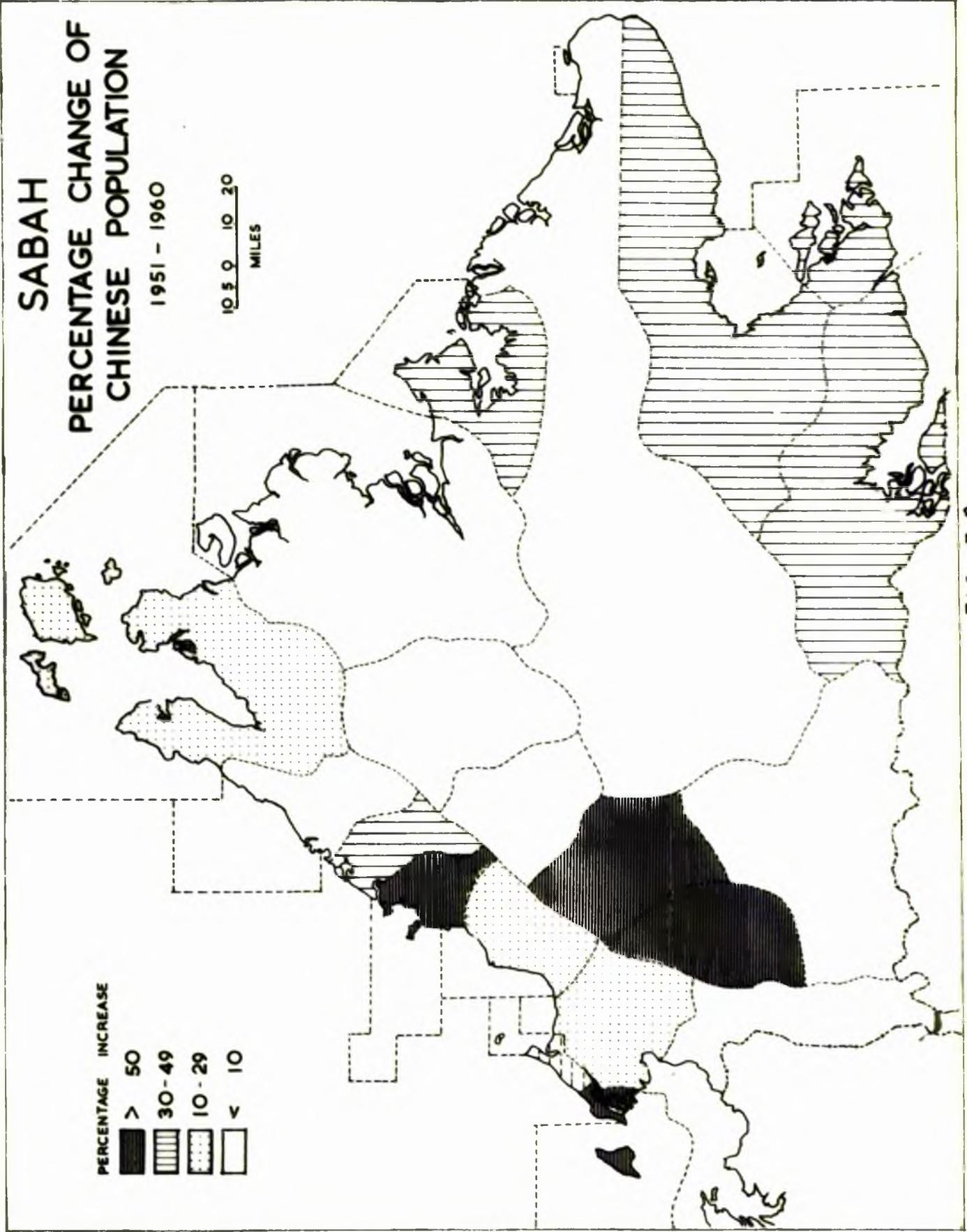
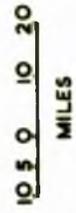
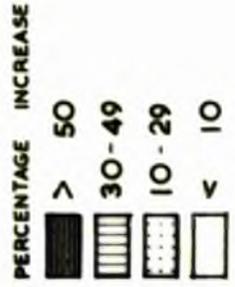


FIG. 3.8

have grown by more than that amount since 1951 are:-

District	% increase of Chinese population 1951-60	No. of towns
Labuan	52	1
Jesselton	51	7
Tenom	51	1
Sandakan	50	1
Tuaran	42	3

The increase in the Chinese by 52 per cent in Labuan had been partly due to the transfer of a part of the former Mempakul district to Labuan since 1947 and partly to a genuine accretion in Labuan town encouraged perhaps by the prospect, largely unjustified, of more commerce after the island became a free port and more recently to some development in the small boat trade with the Philippines, in any case, the numbers were small.

Almost half of the Sabah Chinese resided in the two districts of Jesselton (now called Kota Kinabalu) and Sandakan in 1960 (Appendix 2). The transfer of the seat of the government from Sandakan to Jesselton after the Second World War has led to a great deal of building and expansion of commerce, all of which brought increased opportunity for employment. The increase of Chinese from 4,697 in 1921 to 19,700 in 1960 has owed much to Jesselton's position as the capital and port for the west coast rubber industry and to the more advanced general development in the West.

Sandakan, the point of the first British settlement on the mainland of Sabah, was the capital of the country until the Japanese occupation and is still the chief commercial centre. It was the main port of entry for immigrants arriving from China and the population is still predominantly Chinese (74 per cent). In the district as a whole the Chinese had increased by a half. Sandakan would have a larger Chinese population still had it not been for the war when the town was devastated and the area starved. The 26,642 Chinese in Sandakan district in 1960 was by far the largest of any district in the country.

Tenom, the interior district at the head of the railway has been the focus of some immigration. Tenom is unique in that it is the only interior town that has not shown a decrease in both total population and Chinese population since 1931, a situation due largely to its accessibility by train and the rubber cultivation in the district. The 1951-1960 increase of 51 per cent was likely to have been genuine. During the war years there were many Chinese who moved into the area from the towns on the west coast to avoid the Japanese and to grow more food.

Tuaran, the district next to Jesselton is only one hour away from the latter by bus. Though the Chinese increased by 42 per cent since 1951, they still formed only 11 per cent of the population in this district.

The Chinese population has more than trebled in the last 39 years in Tawau District, and having increased from 4,368 in 1921 to 14,881 in 1960, the total Chinese numbers are now next to Sandakan and Jesselton districts. In 1921 the biggest employer was a coal-mining company which went out of existence in 1931, the majority of its work people were Chinese. However, in the 1930s the development of rubber and hemp estates by the Japanese drew in more Chinese immigrants. Since 1951 producers of all types in Tawau-estates, logging companies, small holdings - have continued to prosper and to expand as roads have opened up new areas of excellent land, and capital has come in from outside. In addition the town has become prosperous through a lively trade, partly on a barter basis, with neighbouring countries. All these activities have attracted the Chinese to settle there.

Beaufort is essentially a centre of the rubber industry. Between 1911-1921 the number of Chinese decreased slightly, and by the slump of 1931, the Chinese were leaving the district, but in 1951 at the height of a rubber boom, the population had again increased. In 50 years, the Chinese population has increased by only about one-third, which is tantamount to saying that many have left the district.

Before their separation in 1960, Lahad Datu and Semporna districts formed a single administrative district. Between 1951 and 1960 the Chinese population rose by 39 per cent

which was the same as the country's average, but during the last 40 years they have only doubled in numbers which represents a smaller increase than over the country as a whole.

Kinabatangan, the giant of the Sabah districts comprising well over one-fifth of the country's area, has the lowest population density of any district and has fewer people now than in 1921. Nevertheless, since 1951 the logging industry has expanded and a few Chinese immigrants have come into the district seeking work.

The districts of Sipitang and Papar are inhabited mainly by indigenous people and have attracted only a handful of Chinese immigrants. Some Chinese have left the Kudat district since 1951, perhaps as children going to secondary schools and young people looking for work elsewhere.

The districts with the slightest decrease of Chinese between 1951 and 1960 were Pensiangan and Kuala Penya (Menpakul). Pensiangan is a very isolated district so far untouched by the greatly improved communications of other parts of the country.

To sum up, the districts which have received immigrants from either abroad or elsewhere in the country - Sandakan, Tawau, Tenom and the districts whose population has grown fairly steadily with probably little net in or out migration, namely Jesselton and Labuan are the main Chinese districts. Chinese formed over 30 per cent of the total population in each district in 1960. Very few immigrants are attracted into the

interior districts of Pensiangan, Tambunan, Ranau, Labuk and Kinabatangan. The better amenities associated with the general development in the coastal areas acted as a strong influence, not only in pulling in Chinese immigrants but also in drawing the indigenous peoples from the interior.

3. Brunei

Chinese migrants of any significant numbers began to settle in Brunei only after the turn of this century. In 1911, there were no more than 736 Chinese in Brunei, forming a mere 3 per cent of the total population, (Table 3.15, Fig. 3.9) but after 1911 their number grew rapidly and since 1931 their number was growing still faster. Between 1931 and 1947, the number of Chinese had increased by over three times the previous total. The 1947 Chinese population of 8,300 was 20.4 per cent of the total population of Brunei. It must be due largely to immigration in response to employment created by rapid expansion of the oilfields since 1929. By 1960 their figures had risen to 21,795 and their corresponding percentage of the total population reached 26 per cent. As the phenomenal increase in the Chinese migrants in Brunei occurred in the relatively recent past, a large number of the present Chinese settlers are still first-generation migrants and in actual fact about half of them were born abroad.

In Brunei the districts vary greatly in population. In 1931, when the oil-field in Belait district was brought

TABLE 3.15BRUNEI: GROWTH OF THE CHINESE POPULATION,
1911-1960

Year	Chinese Population	Percentage of Increase	Percentage of Total Population
1911	736	-	3.4
1921	1,423	93.3	5.6
1931	2,683	88.5	8.9
1947	8,300	209.4	20.4
1960	21,795	162.6	26.0

SOURCE: Jones, L.W., 1960 Population Census Report. pp 27 & 28

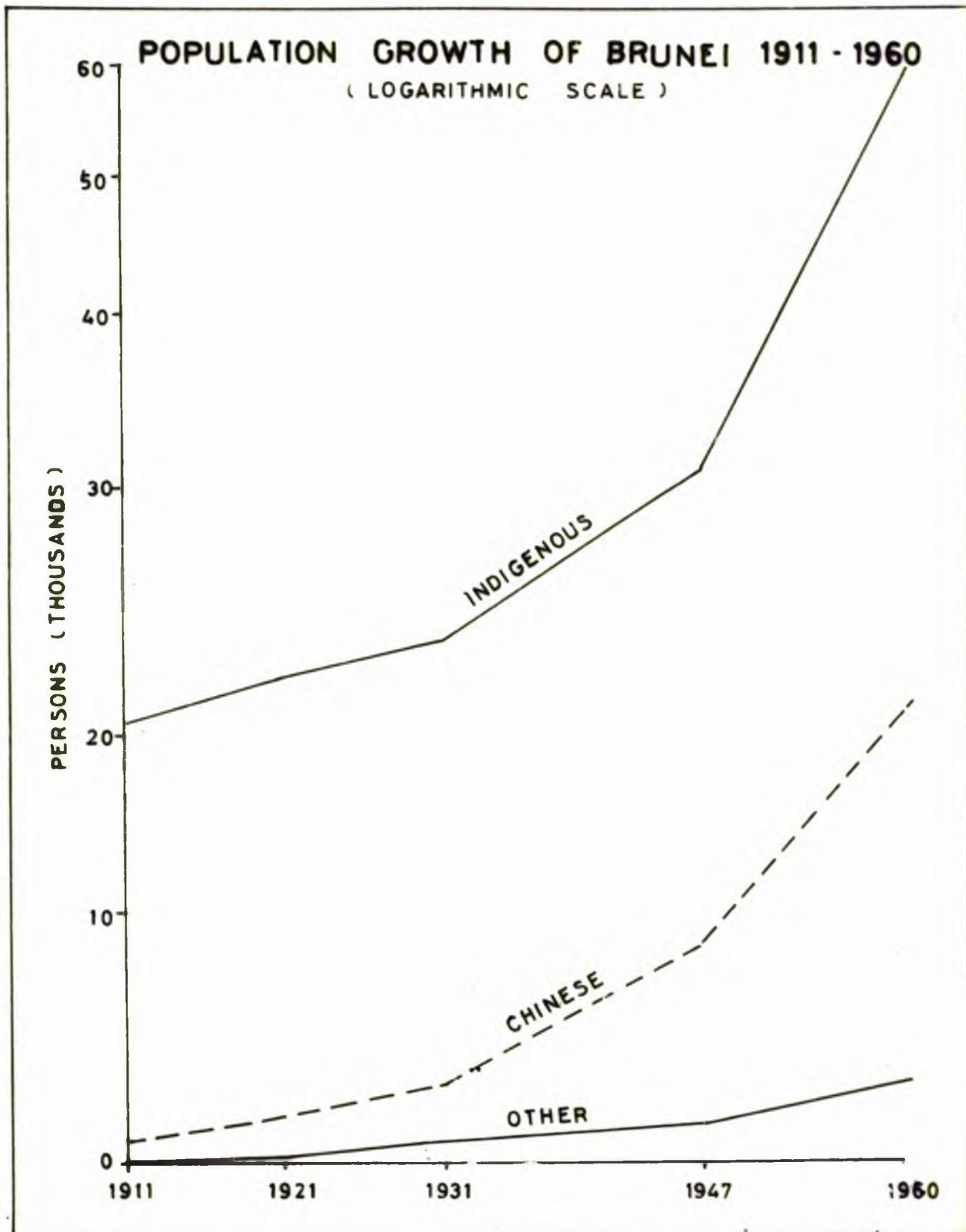


FIG. 3.9

into production the Chinese population was scattered fairly evenly throughout all districts, but now almost all of it lives in Belait and Brunei districts. (Table 3.16) In less than three decades the Chinese population of the State had increased by almost eight times. During this period the population of Temburong district had less than doubled, whereas that of the Tutong district had increased four times, Brunei district had increased by almost seven times and Belait district had increased by more than ten times. It is in Belait district that the oil-fields are situated. Of the increase of 19,112 persons since 1931 only 812 have been recorded in Tutong and Temburong districts. Between 1931 and 1947 the Chinese population increased by 5,617 persons, of which 4,085 (72%) was the increase in Belait district alone, and in the same period Tutong and Temburong districts together increased only by about 300 persons (5 per cent). Between 1947 and 1960 the population of Belait district increased by about 8,660 and that of Brunei district by about 4,300, out of the total increase of about 13,500; again it was the oil-field and its environs which proved the chief attraction while another marked growth of Chinese population occurred in Brunei district.

TABLE 3.16BRUNEI: THE CHINESE POPULATION IN DISTRICT, 1931-1960

Census District	Total Chinese Population			Increase			
				1931-1947		1947-1960	
	1931	1947	1960	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Belait	1,406	5,491	14,149	4,085	290.5	8,658	157.7
Tutong	211	482	881	271	128.4	399	82.8
Brunei Rural) Brunei Municipal)	919	2,133	6,476	1,214	132.1	4,343	203.1
Temburong	147	194	289	47	32.0	95	49.0
BRUNEI	2,683	8,300	21,795	5,617	209.4	13,495	162.6

SOURCE: Jones, L.W., Brunei. 1960
Population Census Report, p.28.

Trends in the Sex and Age Composition and Birthplace
of the Chinese Communities in Malaya and Northern Borneo

As has been mentioned before, one of the characteristics of Chinese population in the region is its rapid rate of growth, at first mainly by immigration and more recently by natural increase. The evolution of the sex and age structure of the Chinese population clearly reflects the forces which have contributed to the present-day composition of the population.

In the early stages, in which migration had been the dominant factor in population growth, one can expect a predominance of male over females in the Chinese population. In the course of time, a slow movement towards a more balanced sex ratio of the Chinese occurred. As the proportion of female immigrants increased, the formerly negligible rate of natural increase became increasingly important. More recently as the flow of total migration diminished, the growth of the number of Chinese was due almost entirely to natural increases. The sex ratio for various periods are therefore good indicators of the nature of the Chinese settlement. At present the sex ratio of the comparatively settled Chinese population in the region is approaching normal with a slight excess of males over females, though there are still some differences between one part of the region and another.

In Malaya, since 1931 and in Northern Borneo during the last two decades, substantial changes have occurred in the age structure of the Chinese population. The singularly most important development has been the trend away from a preponderance in the adult age groups to a rapid expansion in the youngest age groups. The broad base of the age-sex pyramid has become a feature of the present Chinese communities in the whole area. The proportion of locally-born in the Chinese population also provides one indicator of the relatively less transient nature of the present-day Chinese in the region. While such statistics cannot provide conclusive evidence that the population is permanently settled, they do indicate for a given moment the relative importance of the locally-born and migrants, and clearly reflect that migrant population is a declining element in an expanding population characterized by a high rate of natural increase. In the following sections, the sex and age structure as well as the birth-place of the Chinese population are studied and some of the main reasons for the evolution of the recent patterns and the regional contrasts are discussed.

1. Malaya

Table 3.17 shows the trend of the Chinese sex ratio in Malaya by states from 1911 to 1957. The data reveal a common feature in that throughout the whole period there has

TABLE 3.17MALAYA, SEX RATIO OF THE CHINESE POPULATION 1911-1957

(Females per 1000 Males)

Political Units	1911	1921	1931	1947	1957
Singapore	356	469	602	882	962
Penang	424	551	678	931	984
Malacca	204	367	536	862	922
Perak	195	379	502	830	953
Selangor	213	399	564	850	949
Negri Sembilan	105	215	351	761	897
Pahang	113	231	389	711	828
Johore	116	230	358	751	884
Kedah	172	252	458	772	880
Perlis	233	333	424	715	858
Kelantan	362	360	464	760	854
Trengganu	279	190	279	669	784
MALAYA	247	384	513	833	938

SOURCES: Based on Malaya, 1921, 31, 47 & 1957 Population Census Reports.

been an excess of Chinese males over females. Especially before the first World War the Chinese sex ratio showed greater disparity, which may be attributed to the influx mainly of male immigrants from China. This in turn was partly because, being only temporary residents, they preferred to leave their wives and children in China, partly because the majority of them could not afford to bring their families and partly because the authorities in China, though lax in preventing the emigration of males, took precautions to discourage women from going overseas in order to maintain a strong hold on the overseas Chinese and to ensure remittances from them. (73)

From 1911 onwards, a continuous movement of the sex ratio towards parity may be observed. As the Chinese community in Malaya assumed a more settled nature, from about 1921 onwards, an increasing number of women came, resulting in a gradual normalising of the sex ratio.

In 1921, except in Kelantan and Trengganu, where the Chinese populations were small, every state showed a higher proportion of females than in 1911. The lack of balance was considerably more marked in the former Malay States than in the former Straits Settlements. The proportion of Chinese women was highest in Penang, the oldest British settlement in the region, and next in Singapore, the second oldest. Malacca had made even more rapid progress, from 204 to 367 females per

1000 males. In Perak, Negri Sembilan and Pahang, the ratio of females among the Chinese had roughly doubled since 1911, and in Selangor it had risen from 213 to 399. Practically the whole of the increase in the number of Chinese in the four States during 1911-1921 was in the female population. In the State of Kelantan there was practically no change, while the lower proportion of females among Trengganu Chinese was due to new recruitment of male Chinese labour for the mines and estates.

By 1931, the figures showed a very marked movement in the direction of normality, arising from the great increase in the number of immigrant women. From the mid-1930s the movement of the Chinese ratio towards parity was accelerated by the increase in the percentage of Malaya-born, (among whom the sexes were approximately equal in number) and by the government policy encouraging female immigration through the Aliens Ordinance of 1933 whereby women were admitted free of quota restrictions until 1938.⁽⁷²⁾ The flow of migration dropped after the outbreak of war in 1941 and in the post-war years. The change had been brought about by legislation which had rendered immigration an increasingly selective process mainly on political and economic grounds. The general aim was to limit permanent admission to those persons who could contribute to the commerce and industry of the country, and to

those who could provide specialized services not at present available locally in sufficient quantity.⁽⁷³⁾ This proviso had subsequently been made increasingly restrictive in practice in three main ways: by the implementation of a means test applied even to temporary residents, by making the issue of entry permits discretionary instead of mandatory for eligible applicants, and by making discretionary in certain instances the entrance of non-citizen spouses and children of Malaya residents and citizens (Chapter 2). In spite of this change, the high rate of natural increase continued the process of normalising the ratio. In 1947 the ratio was 833 and by 1957 it increased further to the level of 938 females per thousand males.

The change in the sex ratio is also reflected in the increasing normalisation of the age structure of the Chinese population. (Fig.3.10) The evolution of the age structure over the years 1921-1957 of the Chinese population is seen in Table 3.18 in terms of six broad age groups. Two general features stand out clearly. Firstly as a result of the rapid overall population growth the number in almost all the age groups (except the 30-39 which declined from 1947-57) recorded an increase in these years, the rate of growth being greatest in the youngest group and least in the older group. Secondly,

MALAYA : CHINESE SEX & AGE STRUCTURE 1921 - 1957

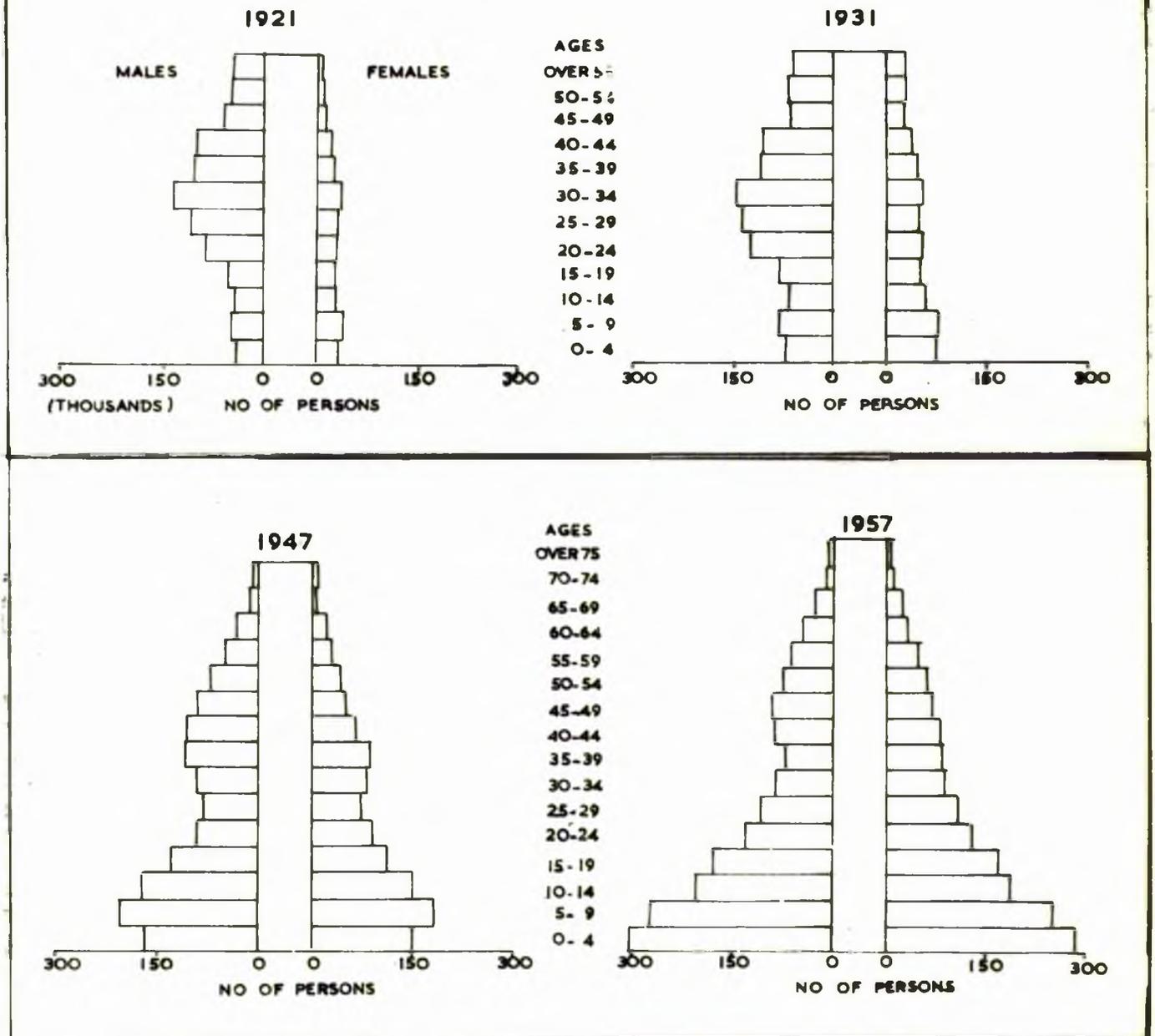


FIG. 3.10

TABLE 3.18
MALAYA . AGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE POPULATION
1921 - 1957

	1921	1931	1947	1957
0--9	133	179	266	328
10--19	126	153	219	214
20--29	216	216	132	143
30--39	255	208	141	95
40--54	218	195	166	138
55 & over	52	49	76	82
All Ages	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

SOURCES: Based on Malaya, 1921-1957
Population Census Reports.

the population structure experienced a gradual but continuous shift from a predominantly "middle-age" structure to a relatively "young" one.

The substantial increase in the proportion of population in the youngest group, below age 9, is the result of the rising crude birth rate and, to a limited extent, of the relatively faster decline in mortality at these infant years. The increase in the proportion was not so pronounced in the second age group which consists of children in the school-age group. Actually a permillage distribution figure for this group had slightly dropped from 219 in 1947 to 214 in 1957. In terms of fertility, employment and migration, the third and fourth age group 20-39 constituted the important and active section of the population, while the next group 40-54 referred more to mature persons of working age and those past the prime of their reproductive life. The falls in the proportion in these two groups were the result of the two-fold effect of the growing proportionate importance at the young age groups and the continuous diminution of immigration to a negligible level. No significant changes were experienced by the older age group 55 and over.

It is instructive to examine in some detail the type of age structure by studying the 1957 age pyramids presented in Fig. 3.10 . By 1957, the age pyramid of Chinese in Malaya was

fairly smooth, and quite normal with the numbers in the different quinary age groups decreasing regularly from the first year of life upwards, the bulge at the working ages no longer exists. This reflected largely the results of natural increase. The only trace of the influence of pre-war migration may be noticed at the two male age groups between 40 and 49. The minor depression at ages 15-19 which was more pronounced in the female section was the result of the low birth rate and the high infant mortality prevailing during the Japanese occupation. The most striking feature was the broad base at age 0-9 consequent on the high birth rate recorded in the late forties and early fifties.

The improvement in the sex-structure, together with the improvement in health services and consequent reduction in mortality rates saw natural increase begin to become a much larger factor in the growth of the Chinese population from the beginning of the 1930s. By 1947 the annual rate of natural increase amongst the Chinese in West Malaysia was 2.9 per cent. Ten years later it had reached 3.35 per cent. (74)

Since 1947, the increase in the total Chinese population has been the result predominantly of the excess of births over deaths, the excess of immigration over emigration by now having become a relatively minor feature. The superseding of

net immigration by natural increase as the dominant factor controlling the growth of the Chinese population is reflected in the increasing proportion of local or Malaya-born amongst the Chinese in Malaya. (Table 3.19) Today more than 75 per cent of the Chinese population were born in Malaya as compared with only 22 per cent in 1921. It is of special interest to note that, in 1957, 1,386,667 Chinese were recorded as being under 15 years of age, and 92 per cent of them were locally-born. These young persons, even though their parents are immigrants, are likely to settle permanently in the country of their birth.

2. Sarawak

The immigration of Chinese began early in the known history of Sarawak and has continued ever since, reaching its heyday in the 1920s and 1930s. It has been small since 1942 due to the Japanese occupation and to official restrictions after the war. The early immigrants were mostly men, the women of the community arriving only after a fairly long interval, once the men had established themselves. Many of the male immigrants did not stay, and so never brought their wives and children to Sarawak. A few immigrants married local women. The sex ratio of the Chinese fluctuated from time to time, thus it must have improved as the flow of immigration went into reverse about 1930, for instance, and worsened again as immigration increased. Over the years, however, Chinese settlement grew

TABLE 3.19**PERCENTAGE OF THE CHINESE POPULATION
BORN IN MALAYA, 1921 - 1957.**

	1921	1931	1947	1957
West Malaysia	21	30	64	76
Singapore	25	36	60	73
Malaya	22.0	31.2	62.5	74.8

SOURCE: Based on Malaya, Population
Census Reports, 1921-1957.

and many of those who decided to settle in the country brought their families later. The females who were brought included some single girls, many of whom doubtless became the wives of bachelor immigrants, and so the sex ratio generally improved. By the year 1947 there were about 783 females per 1000 males for the Chinese. This figure further improved to the level of 904 by 1960. (Table 3.20)

For the years 1947 and 1960, sex ratios of the Chinese were broadly similar in that the ratio is found to be higher in the younger years and lower over 45 years, but in fact the ratio in 1960 was better at all ages. It was 947 below the age of 44 and 682 at ages 45 and over. (Table 3.21) So it was only amongst the older Chinese that a large majority of males still persisted. This was the result of the immigration of the period between 1910-1930 when large numbers of male immigrants came into the country to work in the newly-established rubber plantations and oil-fields.

The age distribution reveals at once the fact that in the 1960 Census, the Chinese included a large number of children and very few old people. In fact, over half of the Chinese population in 1960 was under 15 years old. This was a very unusual figure indeed and suggested a high current rate of increase for the Chinese community. (Table 3.22) It was compensated by a

TABLE 3.20SARAWAK: THE CHINESE COMMUNITY BY SEX1947 - 1960.

1947			1960			Sex Ratio	
Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	1947	1960
145,158	81,392	63,766	229,154	120,369	108,785	783	904

SOURCE: Jones, L.W., Sarawak, Report on the Census of Population, 1960. p.60.

TABLE 3.21

SARAWAK: CHINESE SEX RATIOS IN AGE GROUPS, 1947-1960
 (Females per 1,000 males)

	0 - 4	5 - 14	15 - 44	45 & over	All ages
1947	887	907	787	477	783
1960	923	915	992	682	904

SOURCE: Jones, L.W., Report on the Census of Population, 1960.
 p.61.

TABLE 3.22SARAWAK: CHINESE AGE DISTRIBUTION. 1947-1960

	0--4	5--14	15 - 44	45 - 49	60 & Over	All Ages
1947	150	294	421	98	37	1,000
1960	173	330	351	101	45	1,000

SOURCE: Jones, L.W., Report on the Census Population, 1960. p.39.

lower proportion of people aged 15 to 44 and also by a proportion of old people which was rather lower than the average for the country (52 out of every 1,000 persons). The large bulge in the 5 to 14 age group, in conjunction with an average proportion in the under-5 years, suggests that the increased growth of the whole population took effect rather earlier in the Chinese community and the result of it was evident in the 5 to 14 group; it is probably true that more children survive to the later ages in the Chinese community than in the others.

Between 1947 and 1960, the change in the age distribution among Chinese indicated that there were more children, a smaller proportion aged 15 to 44 years and slightly more people over 45. The increase in the number of Chinese aged 45 and over seems likely to be due to an increase in the number of immigrants in the community. When immigrants come they are usually in the working ages so that any considerable number of them will distort the population distribution until they have been in the country long enough for the population to be balanced again by the usual numbers of old people and children, a process which takes a long time. The recent increase in the proportion of old Chinese people indicates that this process is now taking place in Sarawak.

The accompanying age pyramids for the Chinese community illustrate the age structures of this group. It is characterised by the larger number of children. After 14 years the pyramid narrows very rapidly with a preponderance of males near the top. (Fig. 3.11)

In 1960, almost 80 per cent of the Chinese were born in Sarawak, compared with about 64 per cent in 1947. (Table 3.23) This increase of 16 per cent from 1947 to 1960 and together with the improvement of the sex ratio to 904 in 1960 indicated that the Chinese in Sarawak are a more settled community today.

Besides the 80 per cent born in Sarawak 18.7 per cent were born in China and the remaining 1.7 per cent in Singapore, West Malaysia, Hong Kong and Sarawak's immediate neighbours. (Table 3.24) In 1947 about 34 per cent of the Chinese were born in China so the proportion had dropped by nearly a half in 12 years. Since the major component comes from China, this reduction in the number of foreign-born Chinese means that, firstly Chinese immigration is dwindling and secondly, more and more of the Chinese are claiming Sarawak as their birthplace. It could also mean that more stringent immigration laws have been introduced thereby restricting immigration. However, we must qualify our conclusion with regard to recent Chinese migration with more conclusive evidence. Figures in Table 10 alone

SARAWAK : CHINESE SEX AND AGE STRUCTURE, 1947 - 1960

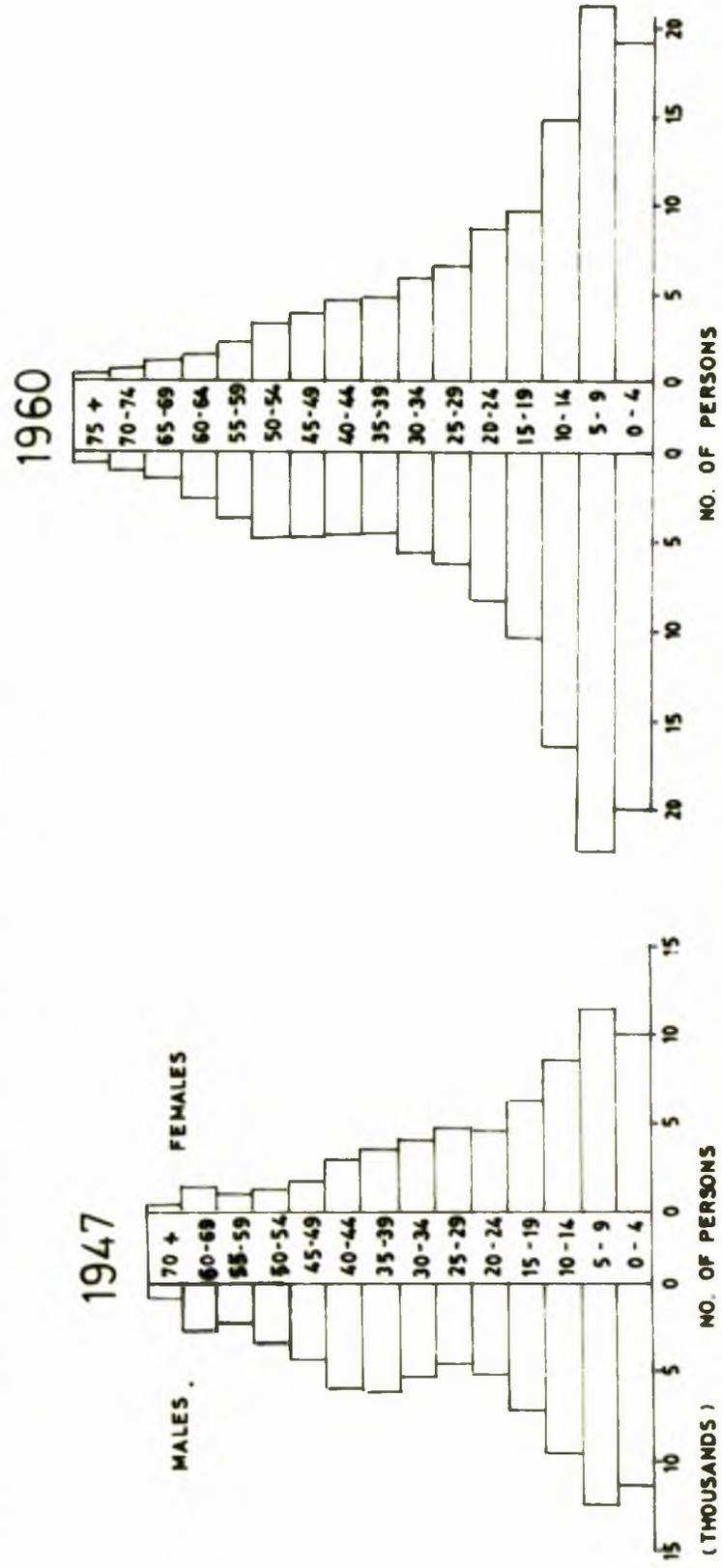


FIG. 3.11

TABLE 3.23SARAWAK: PROPORTION OF CHINESE BORN LOCALLY, 1960

Number			Percentage		
	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
182,366	93,908	88,458	79.6	78.0	81.3

SOURCE: Jones, L.W., Sarawak. Report on the Census of Population, 1960. p.97.

TABLE 3.24SARAWAK: BIRTHPLACE OF THE CHINESE, 1960

Country of Birth	Number	Percentage
Sarawak	182,366	79.6
Brunei	696	0.3
Sabah	621	0.3
Singapore, West Malaysia	1,365	0.6
India, Pakistan, Ceylon.	1	-
Indonesia	357	0.2
Hong Kong	726	0.3
China	42,893	18.7
Taiwan	57	-
Other Countries	72	-
All countries	229,154	100.0

SOURCE: Jones, L.W., Report on the Census of Population 1960, p.99

Note: The 1947 census tabulated the numbers of persons of all communities born in China and Hong Kong and it may be assumed that they were all Chinese but it gave no indication of the other countries in which Chinese had been born. The numbers of Chinese born in countries other than Sarawak, China and Hong Kong were probably very small, just as they were found to be in 1960.

are not enough because it is possible to say that most of the 46,788 foreign-born Chinese might be in the working age group of 15-44 years in which case our conclusions would be invalidated. If on the other hand most of the foreign-born Chinese fall into the old-aged population group, we can be confident that the conclusion drawn has some basis.

According to the data presented in Table 3.25 nearly 60 per cent of foreign-born Chinese are over 45 years of age. Chinese children born overseas and aged less than 15 years contributed only 3.6 per cent of the total foreign-born Chinese. This means that the number of local-born Chinese had definitely increased between 1947 and 1960. Assuming this trend does not change, the next couple of decades will witness the virtual disappearance of foreign-born Chinese.

3. Sabah

The sex ratio for the Chinese in Sabah has improved tremendously during the last four decades. Before the Second World War, there was a majority of males, whereas in 1911 there was about 2 females for every 10 Chinese males, up to 1931 there were only 5 females to every 10 males. After the war, immigration has ceased to be an important factor for population growth. At the time of the 1960 Census, the Chinese community had had 18 years in which to go on stabilising itself without the influence of further immigration. One of the outstanding

TABLE 3.25

SARAWAK: THE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOREIGN
BORN CHINESE, 1960.

Age	Persons	Percentage
0-- 4	303	0.8
5--14	1,339	2.8
15--44	17,804	38.0
45 & over	27,342	58.4
All ages	46,788	100.0

SOURCES: Jones, L.W., Report on the
Census of Population, 1960. p.99.

changes recorded in 1960 was therefore the improvement in the sex ratio of the Chinese community, to nearly nine females for every 10 males. This improvement has been continuous for several decades, and will continue for two or three more yet, provided that no further substantial immigration takes place. (Table 3.26)

By comparing the Chinese sex ratio in age groups between 1951 and 1960, as in Sarawak, the ratio was in 1960 better at all ages except the youngest, and in the youngest age group we know age reporting to be so inaccurate that the figure may not be of great significance. As a whole the ratio among Chinese was higher in the younger years and lower over 45 years. (Table 3.27) The lower sex ratio in the older groups was the result of early immigration of Chinese into this country.

The age distribution of Chinese in Sabah reveals a high proportion of children under 15 years, more people in the middle working ages and fewer old people. The increase from 413 per 1,000 Chinese under the age of 15 in 1951 to 469 in 1960 indicated that the Chinese population had a high birth rate and was potentially capable of rapid increase. (Table 3.28) In Sabah, the age structure of the Chinese community was approaching its normal pattern, as the community settled down and the number of new immigrants decreased. There were more children said to be aged 5-9 than 0-4; from 20 years up the pyramid was more even and more solid than the others. The preponderance of Chinese men in the higher ages was plain. (Fig. 3.12)

TABLE 3.26SABAH: THE CHINESE COMMUNITY BY SEX, 1911-1960

Census of	Total	Male	Female	Sex Ratio
1911	27,801	22,772	5,029	209
1921	39,256	28,712	10,544	367
1931	50,056	31,990	18,066	565
1951	74,374	41,427	32,947	795
1960	104,542	55,589	48,953	881

SOURCE: Jones, L.W., Report on the Census of Population, 1960. p.126

TABLE 3.27SABAH: CHINESE SEX RATIOS IN AGE GROUPS, 1951-1960

	0 - 4	5 - 14	15 - 44	45 & over	All ages
1951	974	880	778	584	795
1960	953	950	880	702	881

SOURCE: Jones, L.W., 1960 Census Report,
Table 5, p.141.

TABLE 3.28SABAH: CHINESE AGE DISTRIBUTION, 1951 - 1960

	0 - 4	5 - 14	15 - 44	45 - 59	60 & Over	All ages
1951	152	261	427	111	49	1,000
1960	165	304	372	106	53	1,000

SOURCE: Jones, L.W. Report on the Census of Population, 1960, p.57.

SABAH: CHINESE SEX AND AGE STRUCTURE 1951 - 1960

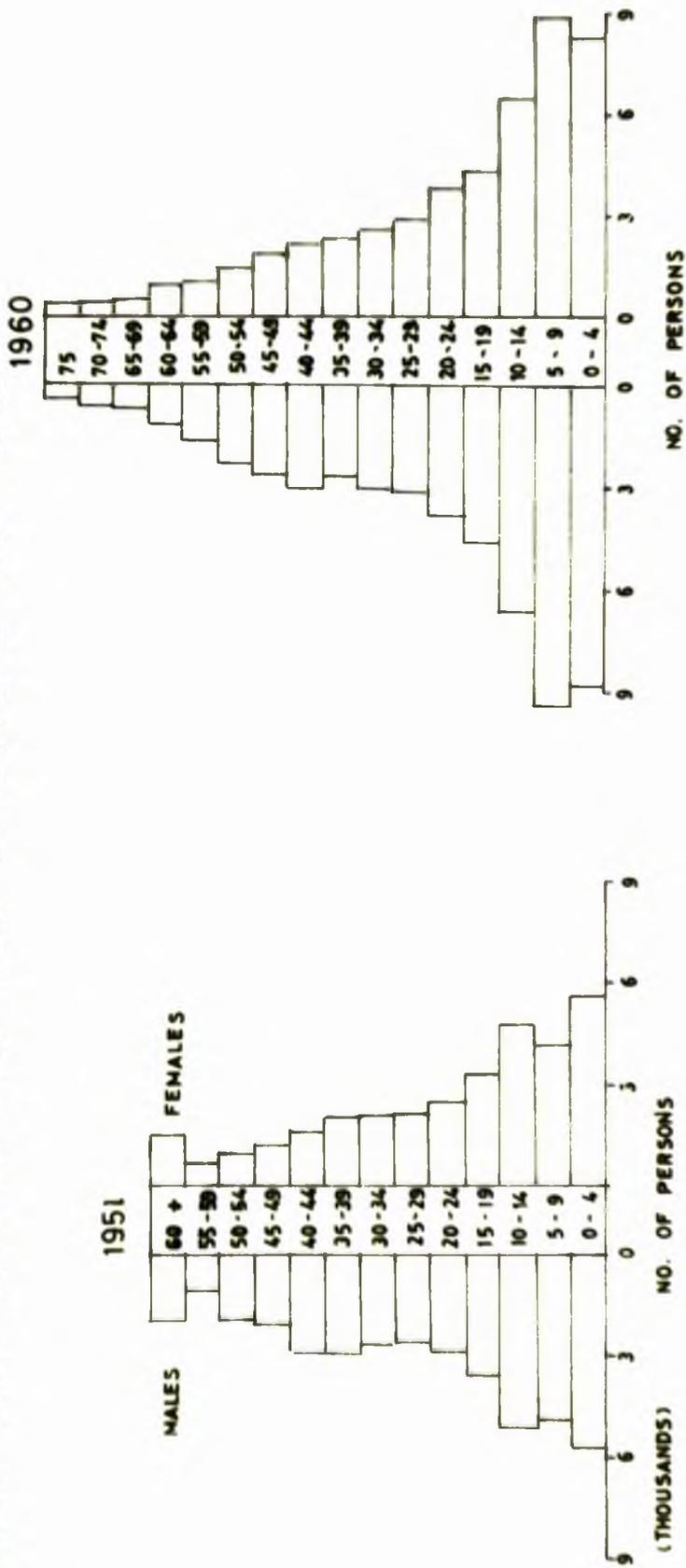


FIG. 3.12

In 1960, the total number of Chinese reported as born in Sabah was 80,323 or 76.9 per cent of the total Chinese population. In 1951, the first indication of how many Chinese had been born in Sabah was reported to be 65.7 per cent and it has now increased 11 per cent since then. (Table 3.29) This suggested that the Chinese are becoming permanent settlers in Sabah. As Jones states:

"This is a satisfactory state of affairs in a country which is under-populated and still developing, and where the influence of the outside world has been of significance for only 70 years or so, although it should be remembered that large-scale permanent immigration was brought to a halt nearly 20 years ago and that during most of that period there has been no hindrance to the return of immigrants to their home land." (75)

The foreign-born Chinese are generally the older members of the community. Most of them came from China (15.9 per cent in 1960) and a smaller number from Hong Kong (5.1 per cent). As in Sarawak, well over half of those born outside Sabah are over 45 years old, so it is plain that the proportion of foreign-born Chinese is decreasing rapidly. (Table 3.30) Furthermore, the figure of 76.9 per cent for the Chinese born in Sabah in 1960 not only suggested that immigration is no longer an important factor in the growth of population but indicated that this most important immigrant group is settling down on a more permanent basis.

TABLE 3.29

SABAH: BIRTHPLACE OF CHINESE. 1951-1960.

Country of Birth	1951		1960	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
North Borneo (Sabah)	48,862	65.7	80,323	76.9
Sarawak & Brunei	761	1.0	921	0.9
S'pore & Malaya	679	0.9	969	0.9
Philippine Islands	8	0	12	0
Indonesia	120	0.2	177	0.2
Hong Kong	4,116	5.5	5,365	5.1
Taiwan)	19,747	26.6	(49	0
China)			(16,629	15.9
Other Countries	81	0.1	97	0.1
All Countries	74,374	100.0	104,542	100.0

SOURCE: Jones, L.W., 1960 Census Report. p.102.

TABLE 3.30

SABAH: THE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOREIGN BORN CHINESE, 1960

Age	Number	Percentage
0-- 4	282	1.2
5--14	1,203	4.9
15--44	9,078	37.5
45 & over	13,656	56.4
All ages	24,219	100.0

SOURCE: Jones, L.W., 1960 Census Report
p.102

4. Brunei

Among the Brunei Chinese the sex ratio has improved steadily over the last few decades. In 1921 for every 1,000 Chinese males there were only 274 females, but the ratio has been increased to 815 in 1960. It is probable that the Chinese community is now becoming more stable than ever before. There were about 10 males to 8 females in the Chinese community; in the higher ages there was a bigger proportion of men, but among the children the ratio was nearly even, so as these children grow up and replace those now in the older ages the ratio will approach parity. The rapidly improved sex ratio is a sign that the Chinese community is settling down well and that its natural increase will probably be greater in the future than in the past because there will be more women available for marriage and child-bearing. (Table 3.31)

As in Malaya, Sarawak and Sabah, the age structure of Brunei Chinese reveals at once a very high proportion of children and very few older people. By comparing the age structure of the Chinese community in 1947 and 1960, the most remarkable increase was seen to be in the group under 15 years old, namely from 413 per 1,000 persons in 1947 to 451 per 1,000 in 1960. It is likely that the rate of growth of the Chinese will be high in the future. There has also been a change in the Chinese working-age population as the number had declined during the last 12 years but the number of old people had remained small. (Table 3.32)

TABLE 3.31BRUNEI: THE CHINESE COMMUNITY BY SEX, 1921-1960

Census of	Total	Male	Female	Sex Ratio
1921	1,423	1,117	306	274
1931	2,683	2,060	623	302
1947	8,300	4,967	3,333	671
1960	21,795	12,008	9,787	815

SOURCE: Jones, L.W., Brunei. Report on the Census of Population, 1960.
p.36

TABLE 3.32BRUNEI: CHINESE AGE DISTRIBUTION, 1947-1960

	0--4	5--14	15-44	45 - 59	60 & over	All ages
1947	154	259	446	111	30	1,000
1960	164	287	401	110	38	1,000

SOURCE: Jones, L.W., Brunei, Report on the Census of Population, 1960. p.31.

The accompanying age pyramid for the Chinese population showed a marked bulge at the foot indicating large proportions of children. (Fig. 3.13) The excess of Chinese females between 20 and 24 years was most probably due to the fact that women have expressed a preference for ages in the 20s, the excess of men thereafter is mainly genuine being part of the normal pattern for an immigrant community. A majority of men in the older ages reveals that more of them were the original settlers who did not bring their womenfolk with them.

In 1960, 10,942 Chinese, or 50.2 per cent were stated to have been born in Brunei. This figure was the lowest among the various territories in the region. The Chinese in Brunei are of course mainly an immigrant community and it has been seen earlier that before the establishment of the oil-field in 1929, there were very few Chinese in the State. It follows that a large proportion of the present Chinese population must have been born elsewhere. (Table 3.33)

As far as immigration was concerned, those from China were the most numerous (about 20 per cent in 1960). In 1947, the proportion of Chinese born in China was much larger (36 per cent) although the total number was smaller. Another 22 per cent were born in Sarawak and Sabah - the more recent immigrants perhaps, who had been attracted into the State by the prospect of work at the cost of only a short bus or boat journey. This was virtually a one-way traffic, as the censuses of Sarawak and Sabah

BRUNEI: CHINESE SEX AND AGE STRUCTURE 1947 - 1960

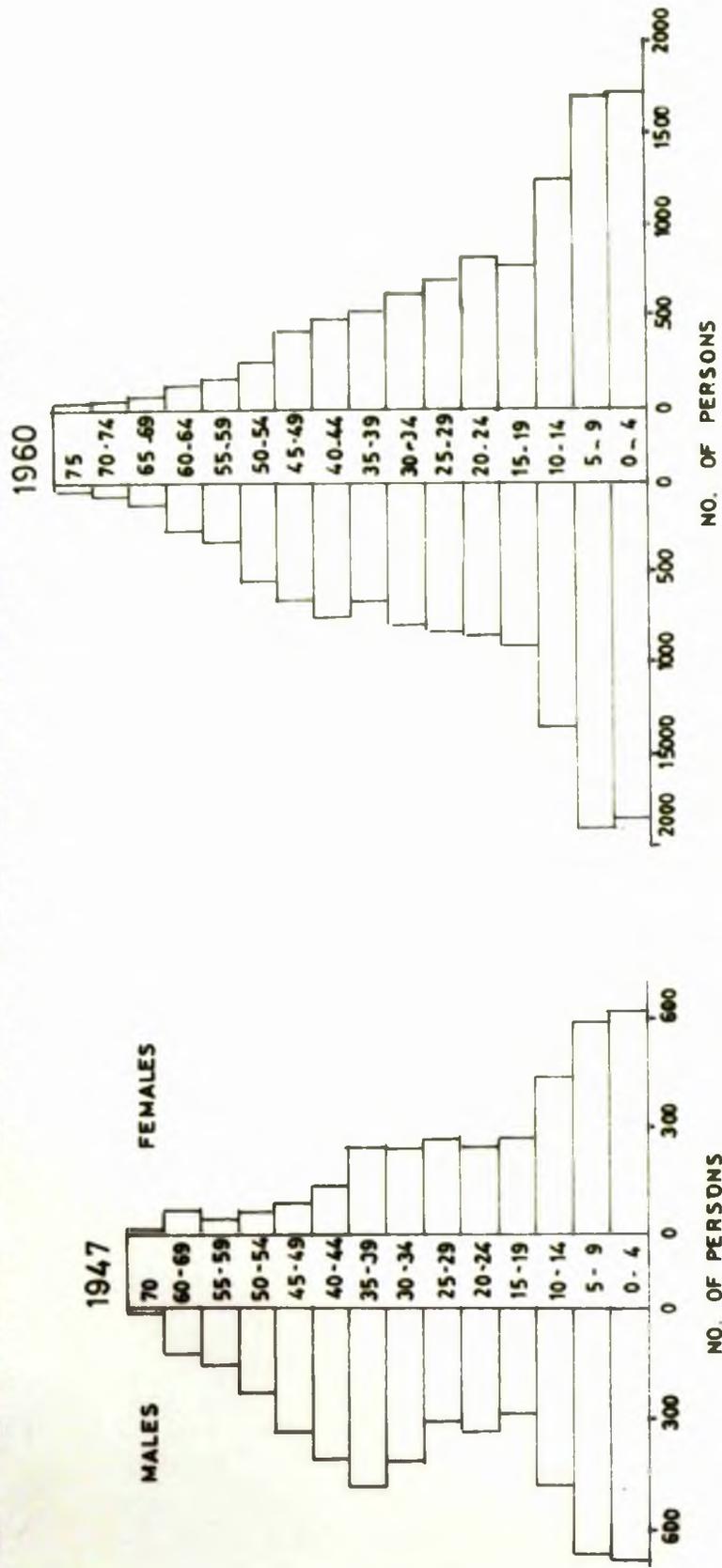


FIG. 3.13

TABLE 3.33BRUNEI: BIRTHPLACE OF THE CHINESE, 1960.

Country of Birth	Number	Percentage
Brunei	10,942	50.2
Sarawak	3,103	14.2
Sabah	1,793	8.2
Singapore & Malaya	633	2.9
Indonesia	33	0.2
China	4,274	19.6
Taiwan	278	1.3
Hong Kong	719	3.3
Other Countries	20	0.1
All Countries	21,795	100.0

SOURCE: Jones, L.W., Brunei, Report on the Census of Population, 1960.
p.61

recorded only small numbers of Chinese born in Brunei. The remainder had come from Singapore, Hong Kong and elsewhere. Had place of birth been analysed by age, as in Sarawak and Sabah, it would no doubt have been found that in the younger ages a large proportion was locally born, while in the older ages the proportion would probably be quite small.

Conclusion

Summing up, one may say that the main contribution to the growth of the Chinese population in the region prior to the Second World War was by immigration. Since 1947, immigration has been a factor of little significance, and the population increase can almost be accounted for by natural increase. Furthermore, each element of the Chinese population structure which has been considered - sex and age composition and proportion of locally born - has indicated that the Chinese population has become increasingly more stable.

During the 19th and early 20th centuries, the sex ratio of the Chinese was in greater disparity, but a steady inward migration of females and a substantial emigration of males returning to their families in China tended to redress this chronic imbalance. In Malaya, restrictions introduced under the Aliens Ordinance of 1933 had improved the Chinese sex ratio because larger numbers of Chinese females were admitted to Malaya prior to 1938. In Northern Borneo too, the Chinese sex ratio

undoubtedly fluctuated from time to time - it must have improved as the flow of immigration had reversed about 1930, for instance, and worsened again as immigration increased. Over the years, however, Chinese settlement grew and so the sex ratio generally improved.

By 1960, the migrant element in the older ages appeared as only a slight irregularity in the general age-sex structure. The distinctive characteristic of an excess of males in the 20-24 age group is becoming less pronounced. Its relative importance as a component in the age composition had been greatly reduced by the large increases in the younger age groups. The proportion of local-born Chinese has also increased considerably during the last three or four decades. The Chinese population is thus rapidly approaching a stage of normality between the sexes and a pattern of age groups characteristic of a settled population expanding rapidly by high rate of natural increase, similar to the overall pattern of Malaya.

Among the various communities, up to the late fifties of the present century, the Chinese have the higher rate of natural increase. Of the various communities, the fertility rate is highest among the Chinese, and the maternity mortality rate and infant mortality rate is much lower among the Chinese than the other ethnic groups. Moreover, the overall Chinese

mortality rate has declined significantly and is the lowest of all the ethnic groups in the region. The Chinese population is thus increasing at an accelerating rate. On the basis of the maintenance of the present levels of fertility and a continued gradual decline in levels of mortality, Jones has estimated that the region will contain about 9 million Chinese of which 8 million will be in Malaya and the remainder in Northern Borneo.⁽⁷⁶⁾ By that time, they will still remain the largest ethnic group in the region, and will continue to play a crucial role in determining the overall pattern in future.

Although there are similar characteristics between all parts of the region, as mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs, there are different features between these territories. Firstly, the most normal sex ratios were in the former Straits settlements and the States of Perak and Selangor; the less normal were in the States of Negri Sembilan, Pahang, Johore, Kedah, Sarawak and Sabah, and the least normal were in Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Brunei. Then, the proportion of the older Chinese in Malaya is greater than that in Northern Borneo. Furthermore, in 1960 only 50 per cent of the Chinese were stated to have been born in Brunei, while the figures for local born in Malaya were 75 per cent, Sabah 77 per cent and Sarawak 80 per cent.

These differences can be explained by the fact that there is a longer history of the Chinese immigration in the former Straits Settlements than elsewhere in the region. These settlements becoming a centre from which dispersion later took

place to adjacent areas, namely Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Johore, the areas which were most economically developed. The Chinese in these areas therefore had had longer time in which to undergo the necessary transformations from a distinctive pattern associated with transient groups into one that is characterised of a stable and permanent population. By contrast the flow of Chinese immigrants into Northern Borneo occurred rather late and had therefore less time in which to experience the transformation. The Chinese began to settle in Sarawak only after Brooke's arrival in 1839; in Sabah only after the establishment of British North Borneo (Chartered) Company in 1881; and in Brunei, the corresponding stage was not reached until 1929 when the oil field was discovered and attracted Chinese labour into the country. Since then, in Brunei, there were large demands for both skilled and unskilled labourers, mostly Chinese, by the oil company and the State Development Plan also required more labourers for construction. However, the permitted period of residence for these foreign labourers was strictly limited. Here, it must be remembered that the population in Brunei was rather small, and accordingly, this large inward and outward movement of labour would have a marked effect on the Chinese population structure in that country.

Thus, in the three Borneo territories, especially Brunei, with their characteristic time-lag, the picture in the population structure is somewhat different from that of Malaya.

Since immigration no longer plays an important part in the growth of the Chinese population in the region, it is clear that with the passage of time, Northern Borneo will eventually have a pattern typical of a more stable and normal population like that of the Chinese in present day Malaya.

Footnotes:

- (1) Population statistics in the various geographical regions of Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei are both complicated and imprecise, because no overall census of the Federation has been taken, and available figures were calculated at different times and on differing and usually incompatible bases. The latest census for West Malaysia and Singapore was taken in 1957 and those for Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei were conducted in 1960. On the basis of these censuses and estimated annual population growth rates the total population of Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei was estimated by the United Nations to be over 11.5 million in 1966. See United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1966. pp.107-108.
- (2) Malaya's population grew at about double the South-east Asian rate during the period of 1830-1954, the difference being due to immigration. Malaya is known to have experienced a far higher volume of immigration than any other part of South-east Asia during this period. See Fisher, C.A., "Some Comments on Population Growth in South-east Asia, with special reference to the Period Since 1830", pp.48-71 in Cowan, C.D., edited, The Economic Development of South-East Asia. London, 1964.
- (3) See Newbold, T.J., Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlement in the Straits of Malacca, London, 1839, Vol.1, pp.418-419.
- (4) According to Norman Macalister (Historical Memoir Relative to Prince of Wales Island, London 1803) when the island was first occupied there were only two or three individuals there, "natives of the island, who subsisted by fishing, and extracting from the trees, dammer and wood-oil."
- (5) See "Notices of Penang", J.I.A. 1850, Vol.IV. pp.629 & 636.
- (6) Purcell, V., op.cit., (1948), p.39.
- (7) "Notices of Penang" op. cit., pp.641-2.
- (8) Ibid., 1851. Vol.V. p.9.
- (9) Purcell, V., op.cit., 1948, p.46.
- (10) "Notes on the Chinese of Penang." J.I.A. 1854, Vol. Vlll

- (11) Newbold, T.J., op.cit., p.279.
- (12) Bartley, W., "Population of Singapore in 1819", J.M.B.R.A.S. Vol.XI, 1933, p.177.
- (13) Tan Soo Chye, "Singapore as a village on the river", S.B. Feb.27, 1947.
- (14) Song Ong Siang, One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore, London, John Murray, 1923, p.6.
- (15) Ibid. p.7.
- (16) Purcell, V., op.cit., (1948) p.70
- (17) Makepeace, W., Brooke, G.E., and Braddell, R. St. J., (eds.) One Hundred Years of Singapore, London, 1921. Vol.1, p.343.
- (18) Ibid., p.355.
- (19) Logan, J.R., "Notices of Singapore", J.I.A. Vol.8, 1854, p.100.
- (20) Ibid., p.108.
- (21) Makepeace, W., op.cit., p.355
- (22) Ibid., p.356.
- (23) Ibid., p.349
- (24) Ibid., p.350
- (25) Siah U Chin, "The Chinese in Singapore", J.I.A. (Logan's Journal) Vol.11. 1848, p.283.
- (26) McNair, J.F.A., "Report of the Census for the Settlements of Singapore, 1871. p.11
- (27) Ward, T.M., and Grant J.P., Official Papers on the Medical Statistics and Topography of Malacca and Prince of Wales Island and the Prevailing Diseases of the Tenasserim Coast, Penang, 1830, Section 1, pp.2-3.
- (28) Newbold, T.J., Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlement in the Straits of Malacca, London, 1839, Vol. 1, p.136.

- (29) The following table summarizes the growth of the Chinese population of Malacca from 1826 to 1836 calculated by Newbold. See Newbold, T.J., op.cit., pp.136-137.

	1826	1827	1829	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836
Chinese Population	4,125	5,200	4,764	3,862	4,764	4,143	4,613	4,102
Total Population	28,505	31,441	34,492	-	33,129	34,339	37,237	37,906

- (30) See Jackson, J.C., Planters and Speculators: Chinese and European Agricultural Enterprise in Malaya, 1786-1921. Kuala Lumpur, 1968, p.15.
- (31) See Gosling, L.A.P., "Migration and Assimilation of Rural Chinese in Trengganu" in Bastin, J., and Roolvink, R., ed., Malayan and Indonesian Studies, Oxford, 1964, pp.203-221.
- (32) Newbold, T.J., op. cit., p.63.
- (33) Ibid., p.65.
- (34) Graham, W.A. Kelantan: A State of the Malay Peninsula, 1908, p.102 quoted in Middlebrook S.M., "Pulai: an early Chinese Settlement in Kelantan" J.M.B.R.A.S. Vol.XI, pt.II, 1933, p.152.
- (35) Middlebrook, S.M., Ibid., p152, see also Anker Rantse, "History of Kelantan" J.M.B.R.A.S. Vol.XII, part II 1934, pp.42-62.
- (36) "Journal of a route overland from Malacca to Pahang, across the Malayan Peninsula." J.I.A. Vol.VI, 1852, p.373.
- (37) Newbold, T.J., op.cit., p.56.
- (38) Lineham, W., "A History of Pahang", J.M.B.R.A.S. Vol.14, No.2, 1936, p.89.
- (39) Swettenham, F.A. "Journal kept during a journey across the Malay Peninsula" J.S.B.R.A.S. No.15 1885, p.10.
- (40) Anderson, John, Political and Commercial Consideration relative to the Malayan Peninsula and the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca. (Prince of Wales Island, 1824, p.202.
- (41) Purcell, V., The Chinese in South-east Asia. London, 1965. p.260.

- (42) Gullick, J.M., A History of Selangor, 1742-1957. (Singapore, 1960, p.53.
- (43) Jackson, R.N., Immigrant Labour and the Development of Malaya. 1786-1920. Kuala Lumpur, 1961, p.36.
- (44) Gullick, J.M., A History of Selangor. 1742-1957. Singapore, 1960, p.56.
- (45) Blythe, W.L., "Historical Sketch of Chinese Labour in Malaya." J.M.B.R.A.S. Vol.20, pt.1, 1947, p.67.
- (46) Jackson, R.N., op. cit., p.35.
- (47) Ooi Jin-Bee, Land, People and Economy in Malaya. London, 1963, p.108.
- (48) Newbold, T.J., op. cit., p.93.
- (49) Ibid., p.97.
- (50) Ooi Jin-Bee, op.cit., p.109.
- (51) See Fisher C.A., "The Problem of Malayan Unity in its Geographical Setting", in Steel R.W., and Fisher, C.A. (Eds.) Geographical Essays on British Tropical Lands. London 1956, pp.284-303.
- (52) Nathan, J.E., The Census of British Malaya, 1921. London, 1922, p.137.
- (53) Vlieland, C.A., British Malaya, A Report on the 1931 Census, (London 1932) p.159.
- (54) Ooi Jin-Bee, op.cit., p.111
- (55) Purcell, V., op.cit., (1965) p.267.
- (56) Straits Settlements Gazette, 1888, p.1157.
- (57) Gullick, J.M., Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya, London 1958, p.23.
- (58) Annual Report of the State of Selangor, 1884, (Straits Settlements Gazette, 1885, No.333).
- (59) Merewether, E.M., Report of the Census of the Straits Settlements, 1891, Singapore, 1892.

- (60) Nathan, J.E., op.cit., p.29 In the Federated Malay States there were 301,463 Chinese in 1901 as compared with 280,980 in the Straits Settlements.
- (61) Unless otherwise stated, all figures used in this section are taken from each individual Census Report of Malaya from the years 1921-1957.
- (62) Nathan, J.E., op. cit., p.24.
- (63) The earliest census that appears to have been attempted in Sarawak was taken in 1871. Judging by the report that was published in the Gazette this census was made in a very imperfect manner. It was an approximation based upon the amount paid in direct taxation, such as head and door taxes, allowing an average of so many people to a family.
- (64) Jones, L.W., Sarawak, Report on the Census of Population, 1960. p.333.
- (65) See Sarawak Annual Report, 1962. (Government Printing Office, Kuching, Sarawak, 1963). p.11. Among the various communities, the Chinese have the highest crude birth-rate and the lowest crude death-rate in Sarawak. In addition the mortality rate of Chinese children is low. Between 25-29 years Chinese mothers have lost 3.4 per cent of their children; in Malaysia at the same age the loss was 21 per cent and in Sea Dayak 17 per cent. The Chinese fertility ratio of 900.6 is very much higher than the Sarawak average of 755.4, whereas except for the Land Dayak the ratio for each of the indigenous groups is in every instance, below that of the national average. All these facts, of course, suggest a high current rate of increase for the Chinese community. See Sarawak, Report on the Registration of Birth and Deaths for 1960, Appendix 1, p.8, 1960 population census, Table 16, pp.235-240. Also, see Lee, Y.L., "The Population of Sarawak" G.J., Vol.131, pt.3, Sept. 1965, pp.344-356.
- (66) The percentage changes of each every ethnic groups between 1939-47 were as follows:-

Chinese	17.4%
Land Dayak	14.2%
Sea Dayak	13.5%
Malay)	
Melanan)	2.7%
Others	8.5%

SOURCE: Noakes, J.L., op.cit., p.38.

- (67) See Keppel, Henry, The Expedition to Borneo H.M.S.Dido, Vol.1, London, 1847, p.67.
- (68) Between 1947 and 1960, the proportion of the total indigenous population and of each of the indigenous groups to the total population decreased, whereas the proportion of the Chinese increased from 26.6 to 30.8 per cent.
- (69) The Rubber Planting Scheme, started in 1956, with the basic aim of establishing the greater acreage of high-yielding rubber in the shortest possible time had attracted the Chinese peasant not only to participate in individual planting but also in communal mixed-racial and block plantings in these areas. The large concentrations of the rubber areas of Sarawak are also found in the other Chinese districts such as Kuching and Bau in the First Division, Sibul, Sarikei, Binatang districts and along the Rajang River in the Kanowit district of the Third Division, and also in the Saribas and Kalaka districts of the Second Division.
- (70) See British North Borneo. Official Gazette, 5th Oct.1901.
- (71) See Jones, L.W., North Borneo, 1960 Census Report, Appendix G, p.301.
- (72) Del Tufo, M.V., Malaya: A Report on the 1947 Census of Population, London, 1949, p.33.
- (73) See Colony of Singapore, Annual Report of the Immigration Department, 1954, (Singapore 1955) p.1, and Federation of Malaya, Annual Report, 1953. p.9.
- (74) The main reason for the effectively higher rate of natural increase of the Chinese population is not hard to find. The crude death-rate for the Chinese of all ages in West Malaysia is now around the 9 deaths per 1,000 population per annum mark, and in Singapore is 7 per 1,000 population. These death rates are among the lowest in the world, whilst the Malaysian crude death-rate is around 14 in West Malaysia and 10 in Singapore. The infant mortality rate for the Chinese is now typically at around the 50 per 1,000 births level and the Malaysian infant mortality rate is approximately double this figure. Moreover, Chinese marital fertility rates are higher than those for Malaysian women. See Federation of Malaya, Report of the Registrar-General on Population, Births and Deaths, Marriages and Adoptions, 1957 and State of Singapore, Report on the Registration of Birth and Deaths, Marriage and Persons, 1957.

- (75) Jones, L.W., op. cit., p.100
- (76) See Jones, L.W., "Malaysia's Future Population", P.V., Vol.6, No.1, May 1965, pp.39-51 and Jones, L.W., The Population of Borneo, London 1966, pp.166-173.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF CHINESE POPULATION

Introduction

The surface configuration and the natural resources of the region have played an important role in determining the distribution of population in the countries.

In Malaya, there are two zones of high population densities, one extending from north to south along the entire western lowlands of the country including the crowded islands of Penang and Singapore; and the other centered in the Kelantan and Trengganu deltas. (Fig.4.1 & 4.2)

Over 85 per cent of the inhabitants of the country are concentrated principally in the western States of Perlis, Kedah, Penang, Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Malacca, the western side of Johore, and Singapore, constituting about 30 per cent of the total land area of the country. Most of the people live within forty miles of the coast, in a continuous belt running the entire length of the western Peninsula, which is the area of maximum economic activity in the country. Both the high degree of economic development and the high population densities are the result of a combination of circumstances that has made western Malaya specially favourable to settlement.

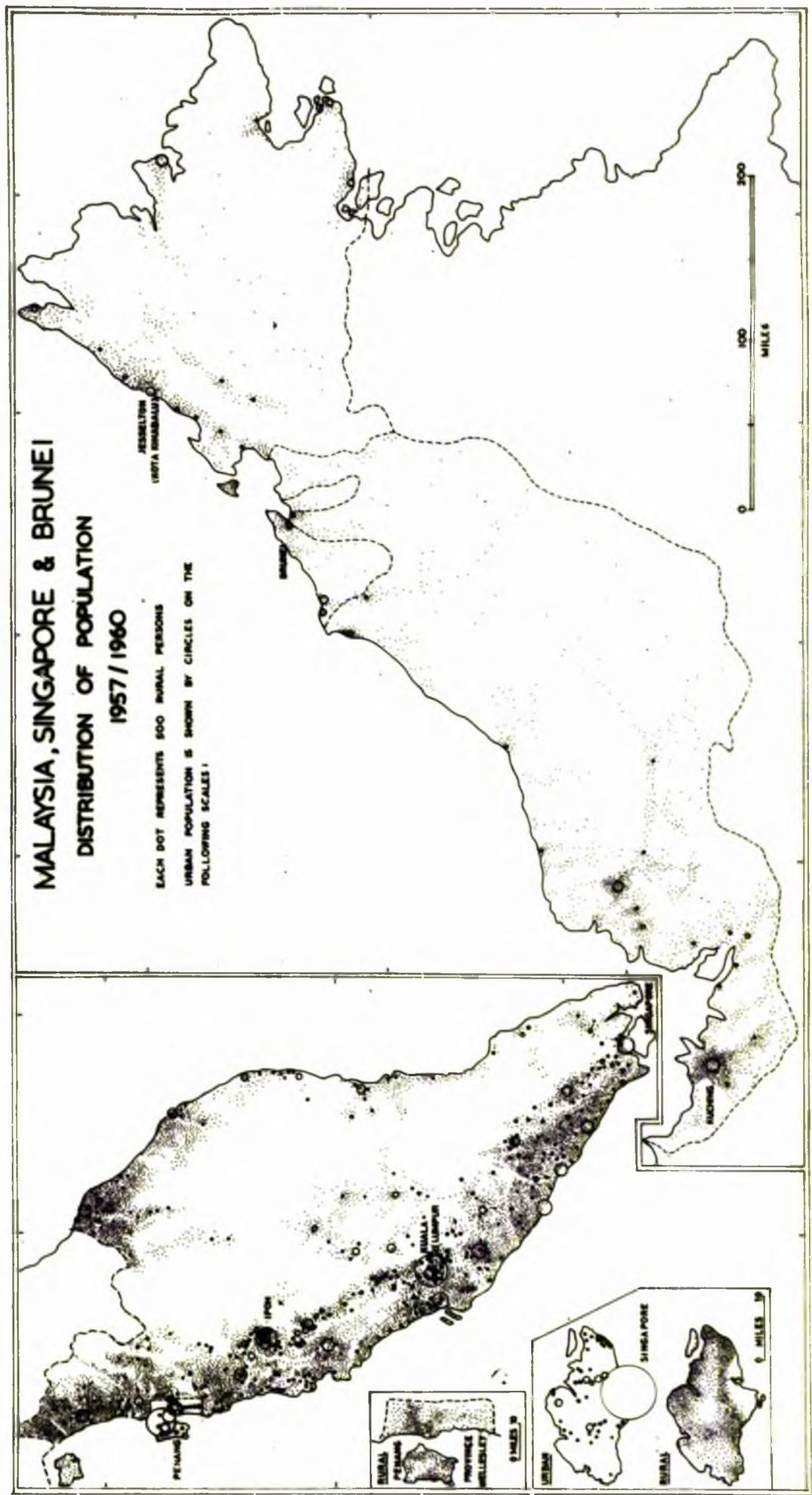


FIG. 4.1

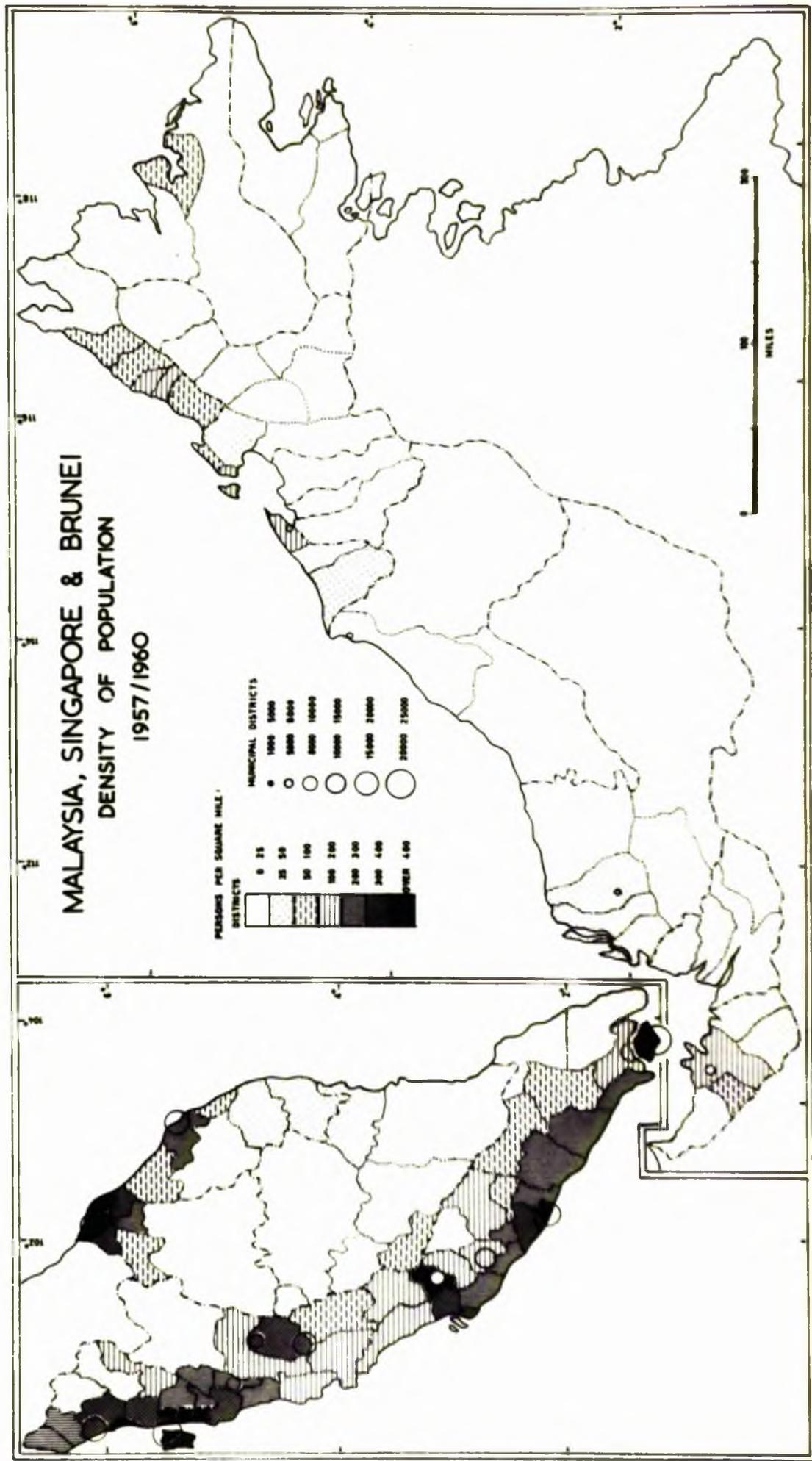


FIG. 4.2

Perhaps the greatest single factor that has influenced the pattern of population distribution was the presence of large and easily accessible deposits of tin along the western flanks and valleys of the Main Range. As seen in Chapter 2, these rich deposits were the original magnet that drew thousands of Chinese miners to the western foothills. Subsequent to the British occupation of the Federated Malay States in the 1870s, railway lines were built to link up the pioneer mining settlements with the ocean ports of Penang and Port Swettenham and with each other. With the rapid spread of large-scale mining activities along this railway network the concentration of population penetrated from the coast to the western interior foothills. When rubber was introduced as a major export crop, at the turn of this century, the first plantations were started in the western belt not only because of the advantage of good natural drainage, but more important because of the existing railway network for communication and supplies. Rubber planting thus spread ribbon-like along the railway lines in the western foothills, thereby confirming the new pattern of population distribution initiated by tin-mining. The early success of both the tin and rubber industries provided the revenue for the extension of the rail and road networks along western Malaya, which in turn served to concentrate subsequent rubber and other

agricultural development in the area. Further, from the mid-foothill zone increasing number of planters and others gradually pushed north into Kedah and south into Johore as the railway lines were extended into these States.

Roads and railway lines were also constructed in the eastern foothill zone, but the extension of rubber plantation into the eastern two-thirds of the country was very limited.¹ With much greater physical difficulties - more rugged relief, severe floods, dangerous bars near the river mouths - eastern Malaya generally suffered from its isolation and inaccessibility, and the lack of the economic attractiveness of western Malaya. All these factors combined to retard the development of eastern Malaya. Only 12 per cent of the total population of Malaya was distributed in the north-eastern belt of Kelantan and Trengganu deltas. Both the plains are fishing and agricultural areas with high rural population densities.

Northern Borneo was in many respects similar to eastern Malaya but with the adverse factors combining in an even more extreme form. Today, forests still cover more than 75 per cent of each of the three territories of Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei. With much wider coastal swamps and sineuous rivers, only a small area is under settled cultivation. Much of the country is no less intrinsically suitable for rubber cultivation than the Malay peninsula. On the other hand, the region certainly suffers from the absence of good harbours and from the fact that the coast is disrupted by rough seas

during the North-east monsoon. Owing to the lack of valuable minerals inland, no significant extension of economic activity has followed into the interior in the three territories. Most of the development has taken place along strips accessible to rivers, or in small patches around the largest coastal populated zone.² (Fig. 4.3 & 4.4)

Distribution of the Chinese in Malaya

In Malaya, the spread of Chinese settlement follows closely the development of the country which has been most advanced in the western side, i.e. from southern Kedah in the north to Singapore in the south. In subsequent years this overall pattern of Chinese population distribution did not change very much and the tendency was for it to become even more accentuated. (Fig. 4.5 - 4.10) But, within this western belt of high Chinese densities, the pattern of Chinese distribution was gone through three different processes of change, namely, the period of concentration, the period of dispersion and the period of relocation and regroupment.

1. Period of Concentration

The reason for Chinese immigration to Malaya was the desire to better their economic status. Thus from the start, they have not concerned themselves with subsistence agriculture, which was the basis of their livelihood in China, but

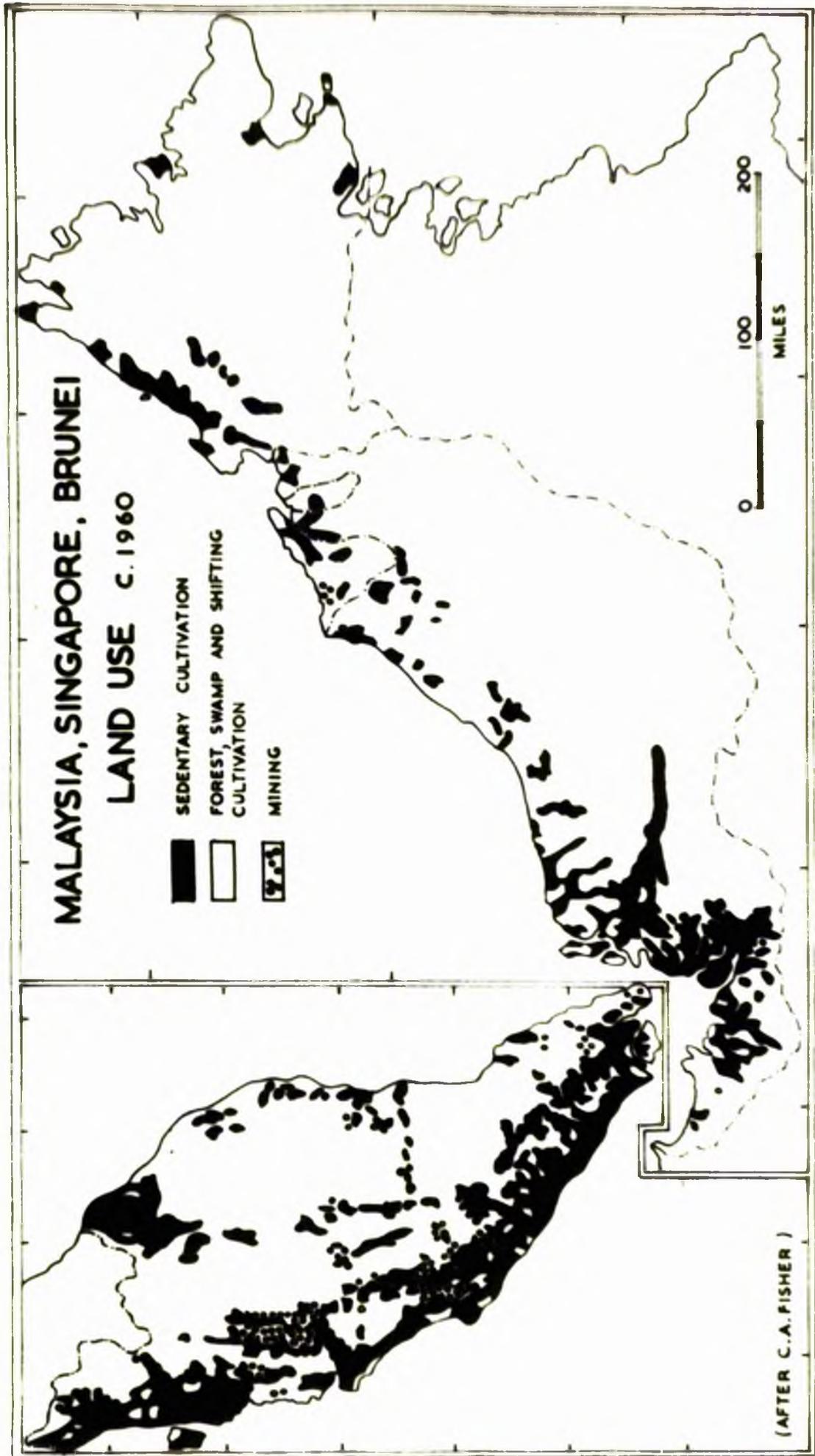


FIG. 4.3

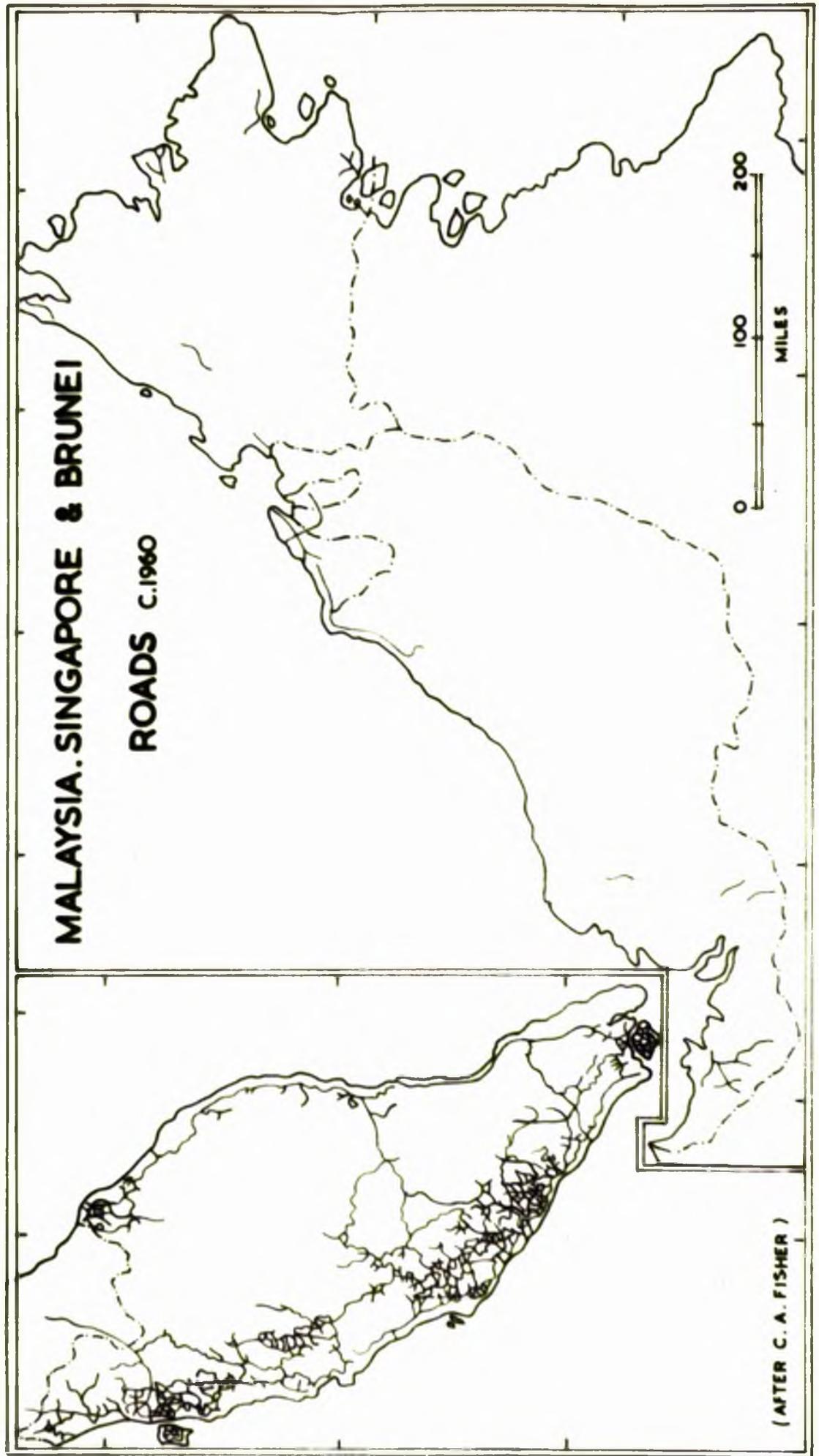


FIG. 4.4

MALAYA DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE 1921

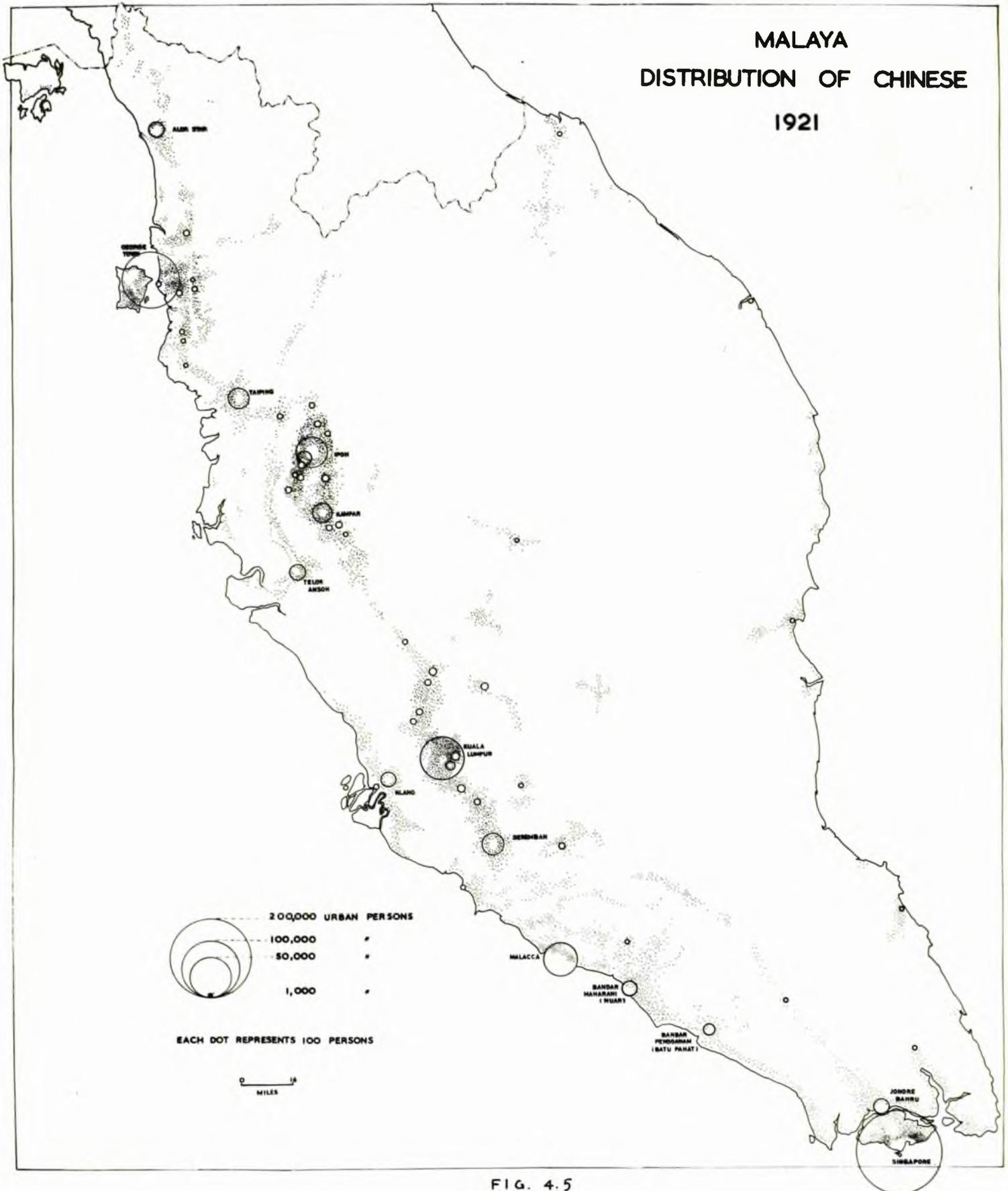


FIG. 4.5

MALAYA DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE 1947

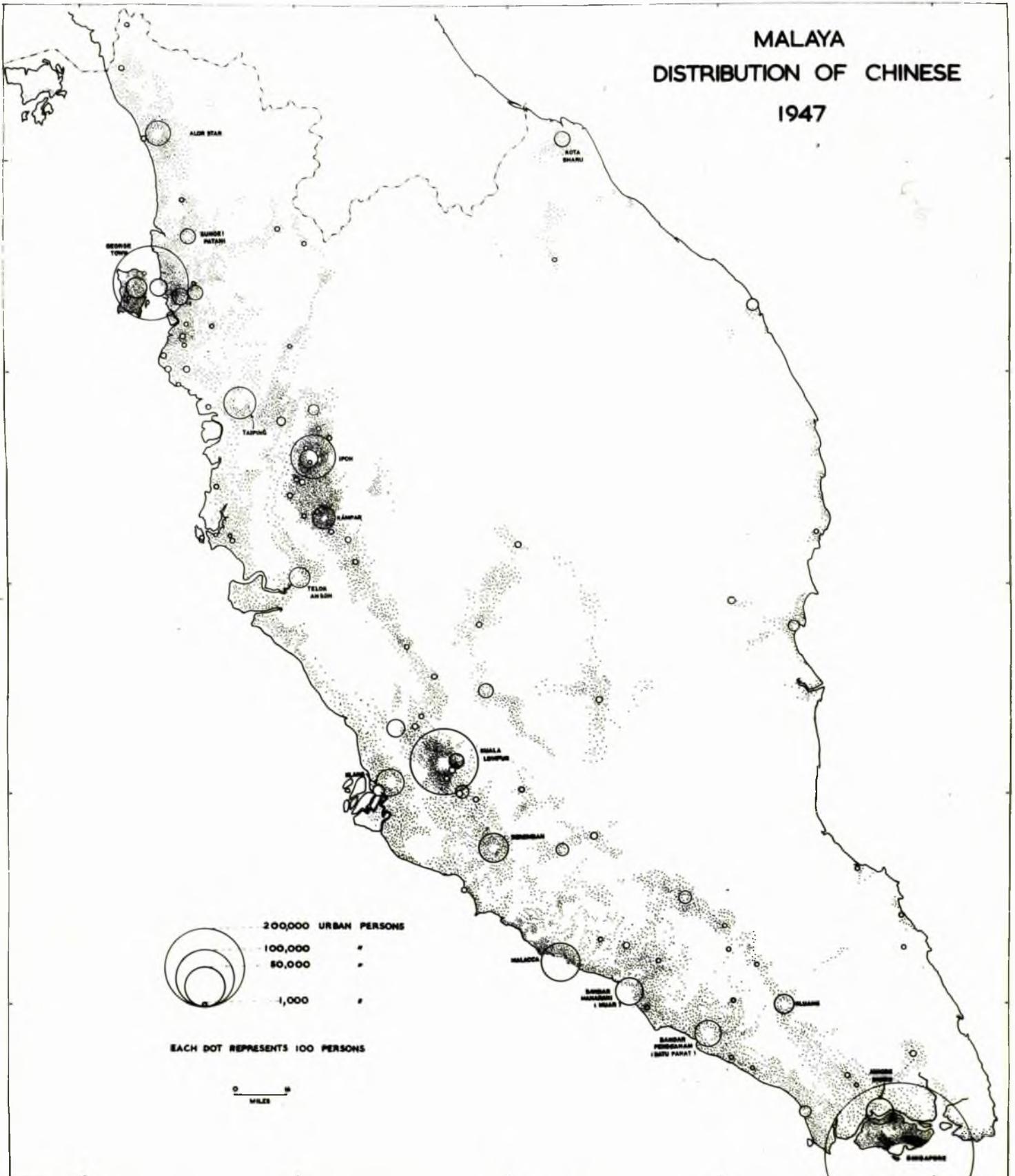


FIG. 4-6

MALAYA DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE 1957

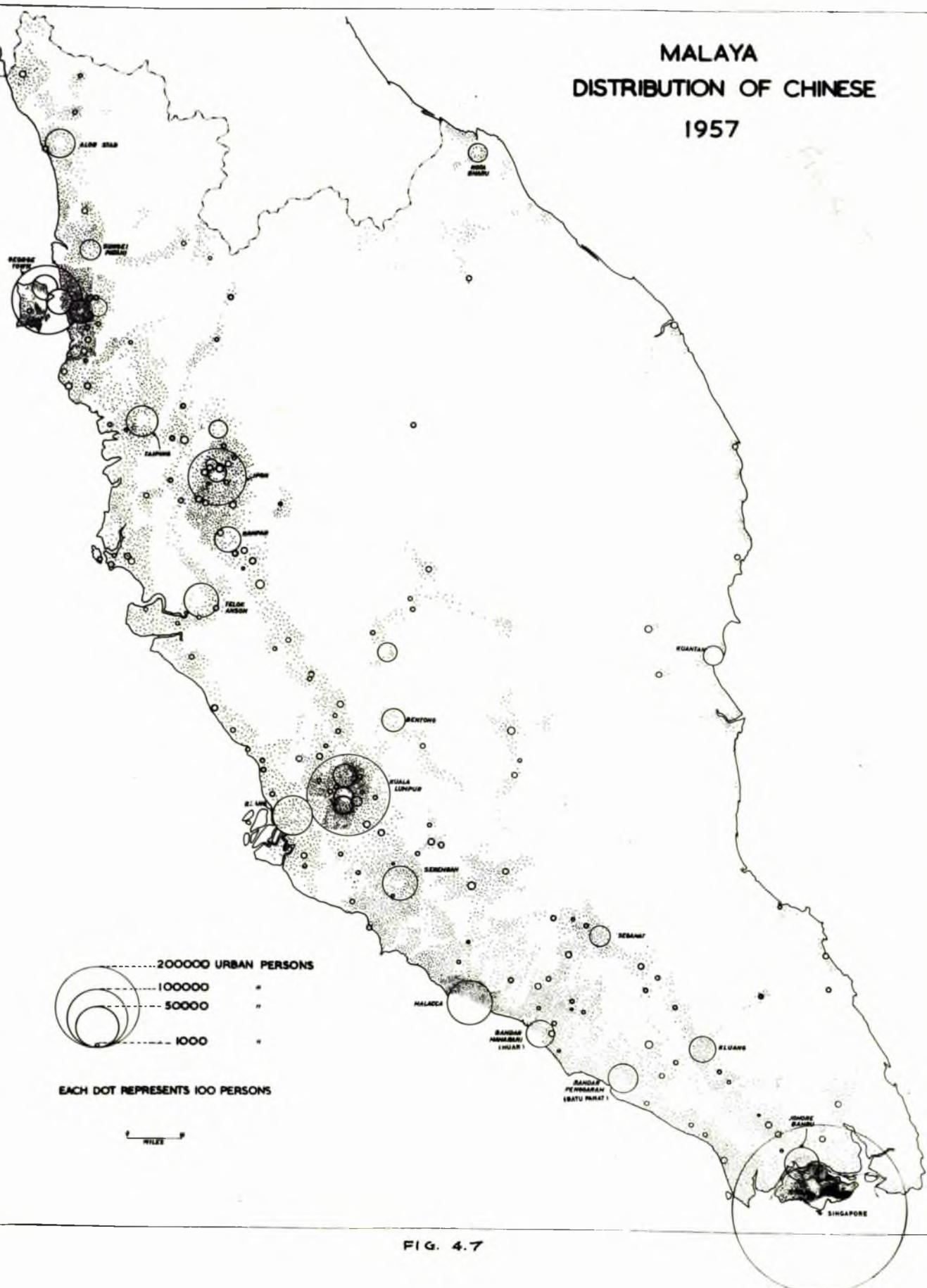


FIG. 4.7

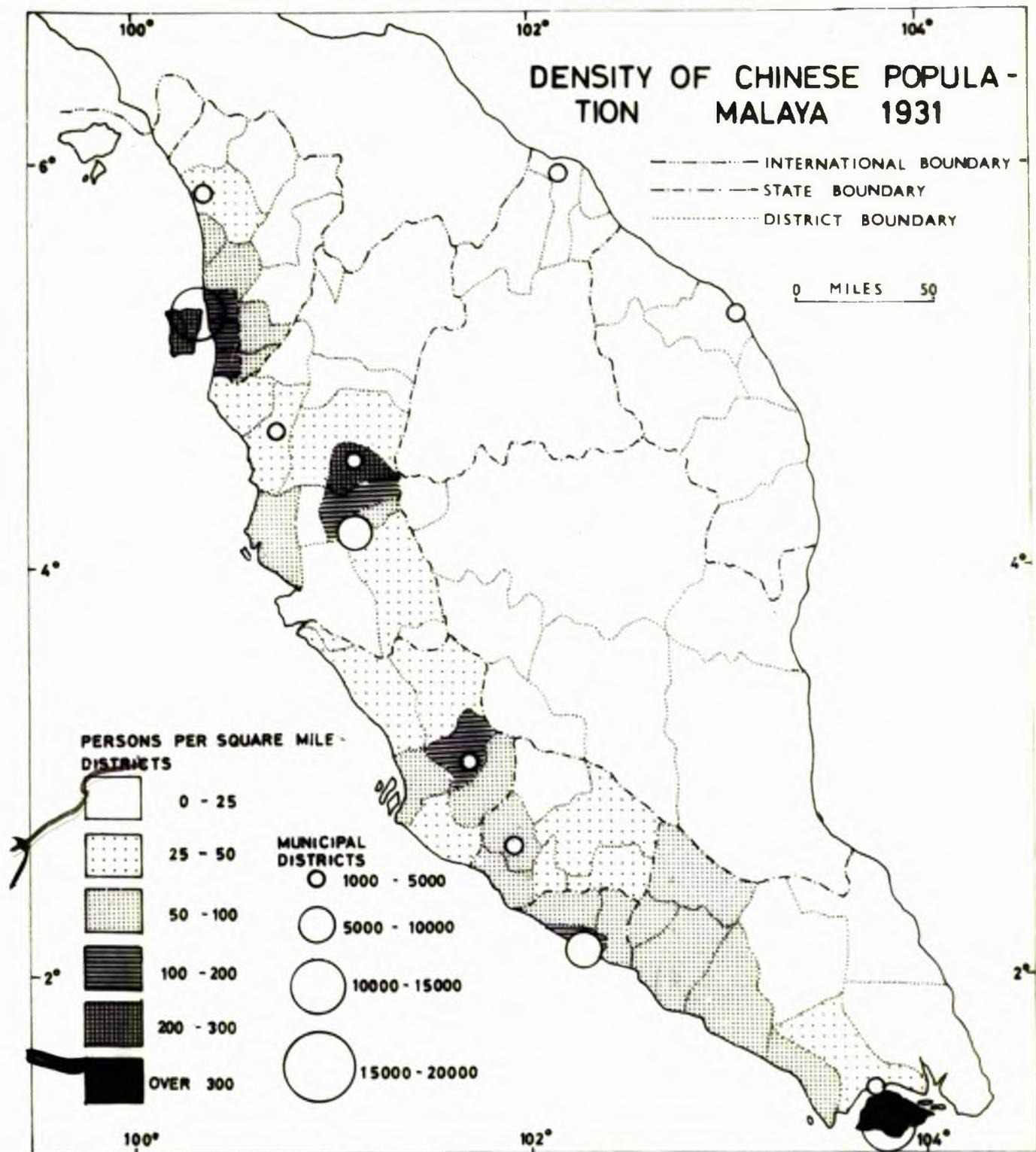


FIG. 4.8

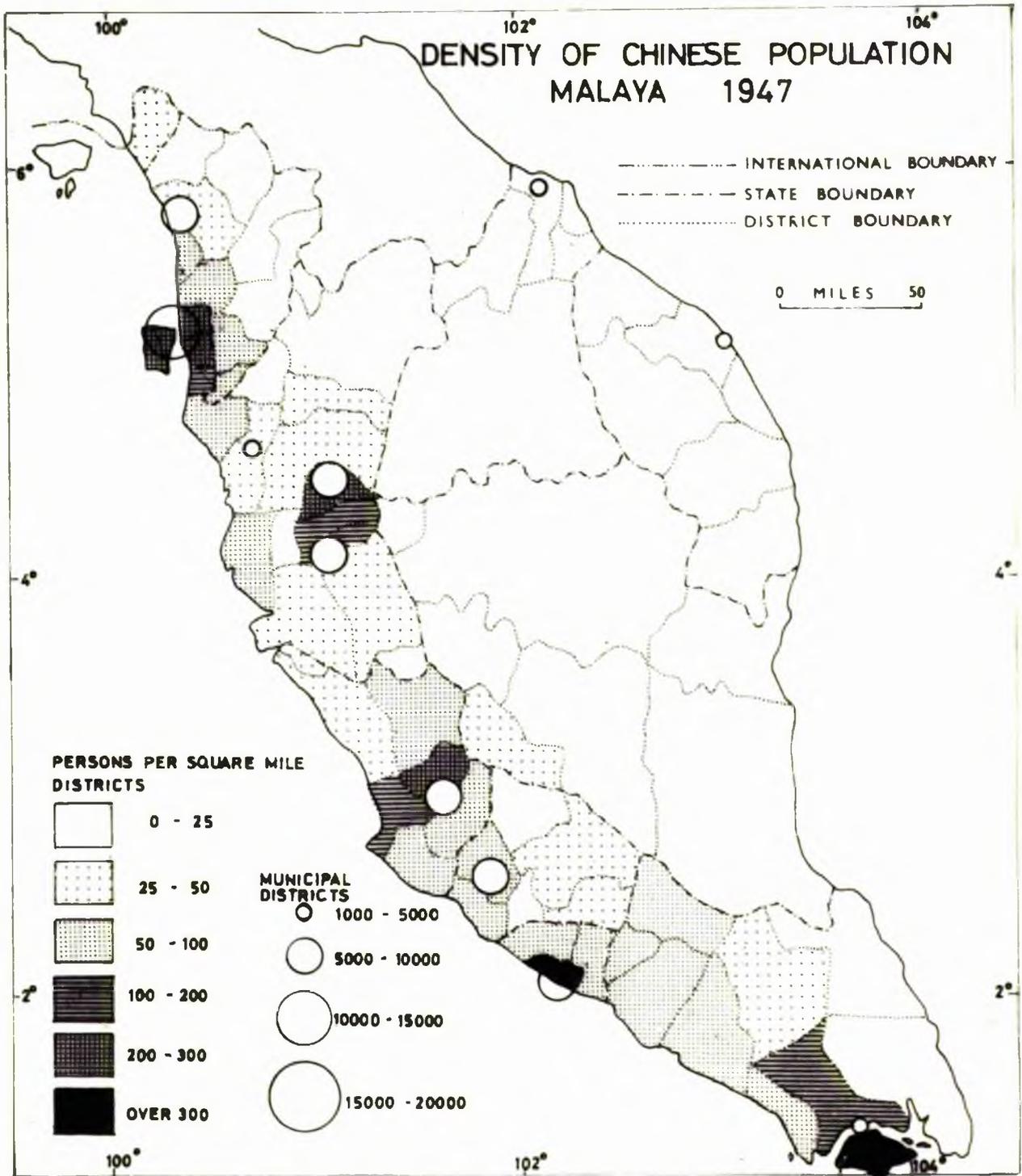


FIG. 4.9

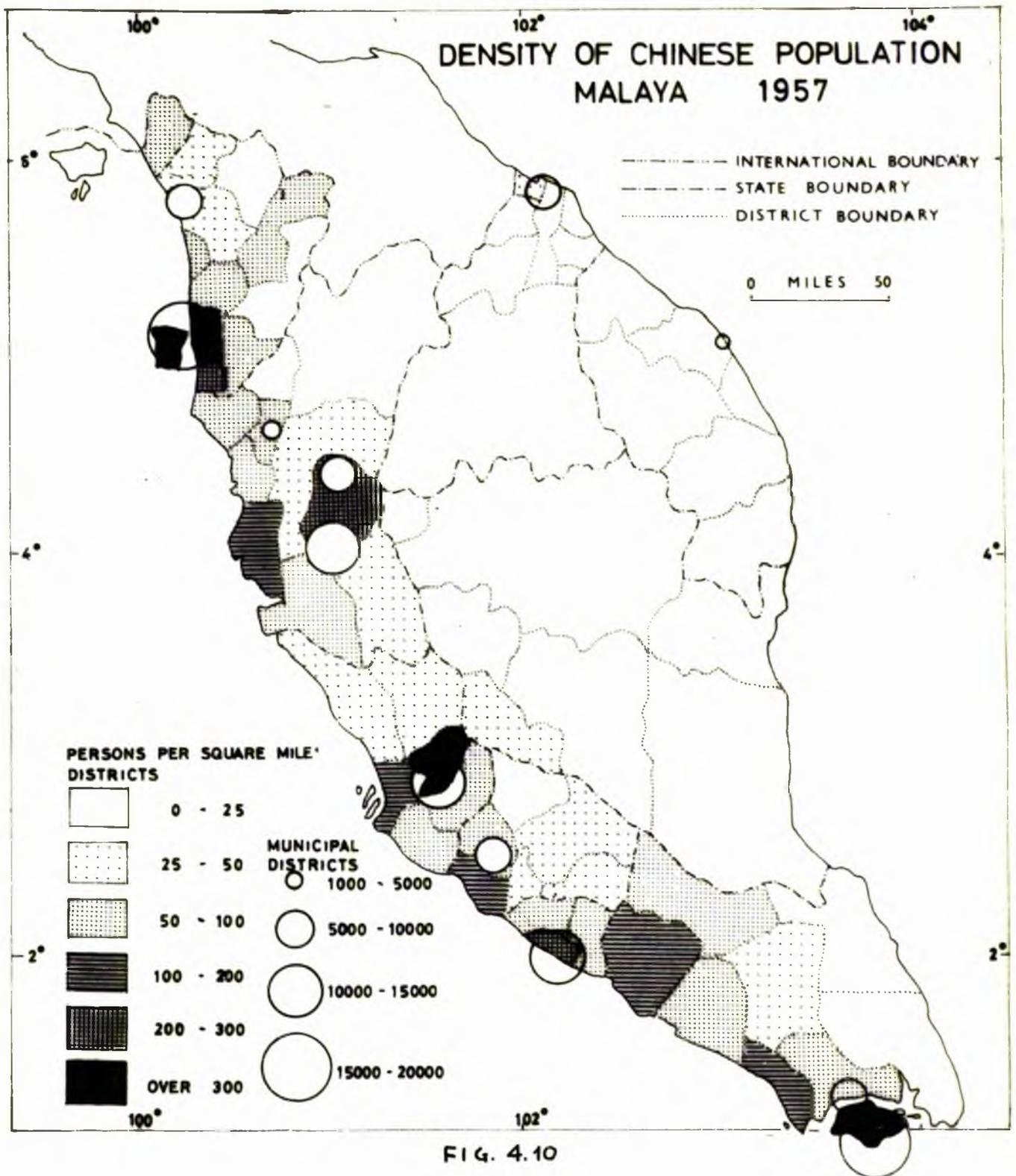


FIG. 4.10

have been involved in such occupations as would bring in rapid monetary rewards - initially with trade and commerce, tin-mining and later with cash crop agriculture³ and with occupation in the secondary and tertiary industries.

Before the early 19th century, Chinese contacts with Malaya were for the most part limited to the Straits Settlements and these places quite naturally had the highest concentration of Chinese population. Only after the middle of the 19th century when the Chinese were attracted by the rich tin deposits of the western foothill zone did they begin to move in substantial numbers into the Malay States. Their spread was rapid and by 1914, British rule had extended over all of Malaya and the basic pattern of Chinese settlement had already been established there. Although immigration continued until much later, the regional distribution has not greatly changed since the beginning of the present century and in 1947 almost 95 per cent of the Chinese population was in western Malaya.

Since 1914, there have been localities of greater concentrations of Chinese people along the west side of Malaya. These groupings are associated with more intensive agricultural uses of the land, mining activities and urban functions. There are five such Chinese concentrated area. The first of these comprises the entire State of Penang and Province Wellesley which from the late 18th century have been a focal area for Chinese settlement. There also is located

the third largest town in Malaya, the city of Georgetown which had 171,200 Chinese in 1957 representing 73 per cent of the total population in the city.

The second area of Chinese concentration is the Kinta valley which since the 1880s has been associated with intensive mining activities. Today it is still the primary tin-mining region of Malaya, but over the years most of the richest deposits have been worked out. Cash crop cultivation has also become important in the valley. Most of the Chinese in this area are engaged directly or indirectly in tin-mining and to a lesser extent, rubber cultivation. Ipoh town, with 84,300 Chinese population or 67 per cent of the urban population in 1957, has remained the fourth largest town in Malaya since 1921.

The third area is the district of Kuala Lumpur, which forms part of the Klang valley. This valley is a region of important agricultural and mining activities, trade and urban functions. The modern development of the Klang valley was first associated with the discovery of rich tin deposits. When rubber was introduced into Malaya, some of the pioneer plantations were established here also. From these varied beginnings the economic base has expanded rapidly with the development of the tin and rubber industries. Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia and the second largest city in Malaya, remains predominantly a Chinese centre where the 195,800 Chinese made up 62 per cent of the total population in 1957.

The fourth densely Chinese populated area is the district of Malacca Central, including the town of Malacca. This is an old Chinese settled region with a long history of trade and agricultural development. The economic functions of the area now rests mainly on cash-cropping, based on the cultivation of rubber in small holdings as well as estates and fruit and coconut in small holdings. Malacca's 53,100 Chinese inhabitants made up 73 per cent of its total population in 1957.

The fifth area of exceptionally high Chinese population concentration is the State of Singapore. The economic base of the island rests on its activities as an entrepot port and now increasingly as an industrial and manufacturing centre. The Chinese numbered 1,231,000 in 1960 making up 76 per cent of the total population.

2. Period of Dispersion

During the Great Depression many of the unemployed Chinese had already turned to growing food, cultivating their plots on the fringes of estates, mining areas, on government and State land, on Malay Reservations and Forest Reserves. Few if any of them had a title to the land they occupied. There was a return flow of these squatters to the towns when trade revived. But a further and greater exodus from the towns, mines, estates and other places of employment took place during the Japanese occupation of 1942-45, when thousands of Chinese returned to the land, to

grow their own food, or to escape from Japanese surveillance, or both. Many of these remained on the farms even after the war was over.⁴ During this period, a dispersed Chinese rural population pattern became established.

3. Period of Relocation and Regroupment.

The dispersed pattern of the rural Chinese was altered during the inter-censal period (1947-1957) as a result of the resettlement campaign, when some 780,000 Chinese squatters and mine and estate labourers were relocated and regrouped in about 574 New Villages (480 relocated areas and 94 regroupment areas), distributed largely along the western belt.⁵ (Fig. 4.11)

The work of relocation began in June 1950 and was almost completed by the end of 1952. Altogether 480 New Villages were established during the emergency. Eighty per cent were in Western Malaya, nearly half of them in Perak and Johore. A total of 573,000 persons were transferred to these New Villages during the Emergency. Of the total population of the New Villages, 86 per cent were Chinese, 9 per cent Malays, 4 per cent Indian and 1 per cent "others". (Table 4.1) Three hundred thousand of the total population in New Villages were former squatters and the Chinese formed the vast majority. The remaining 273,000 legitimate land occupiers were also largely Chinese. Few villages were multi-racial; most of them were wholly Chinese.

DISTRIBUTION OF NEW VILLAGES c.1954

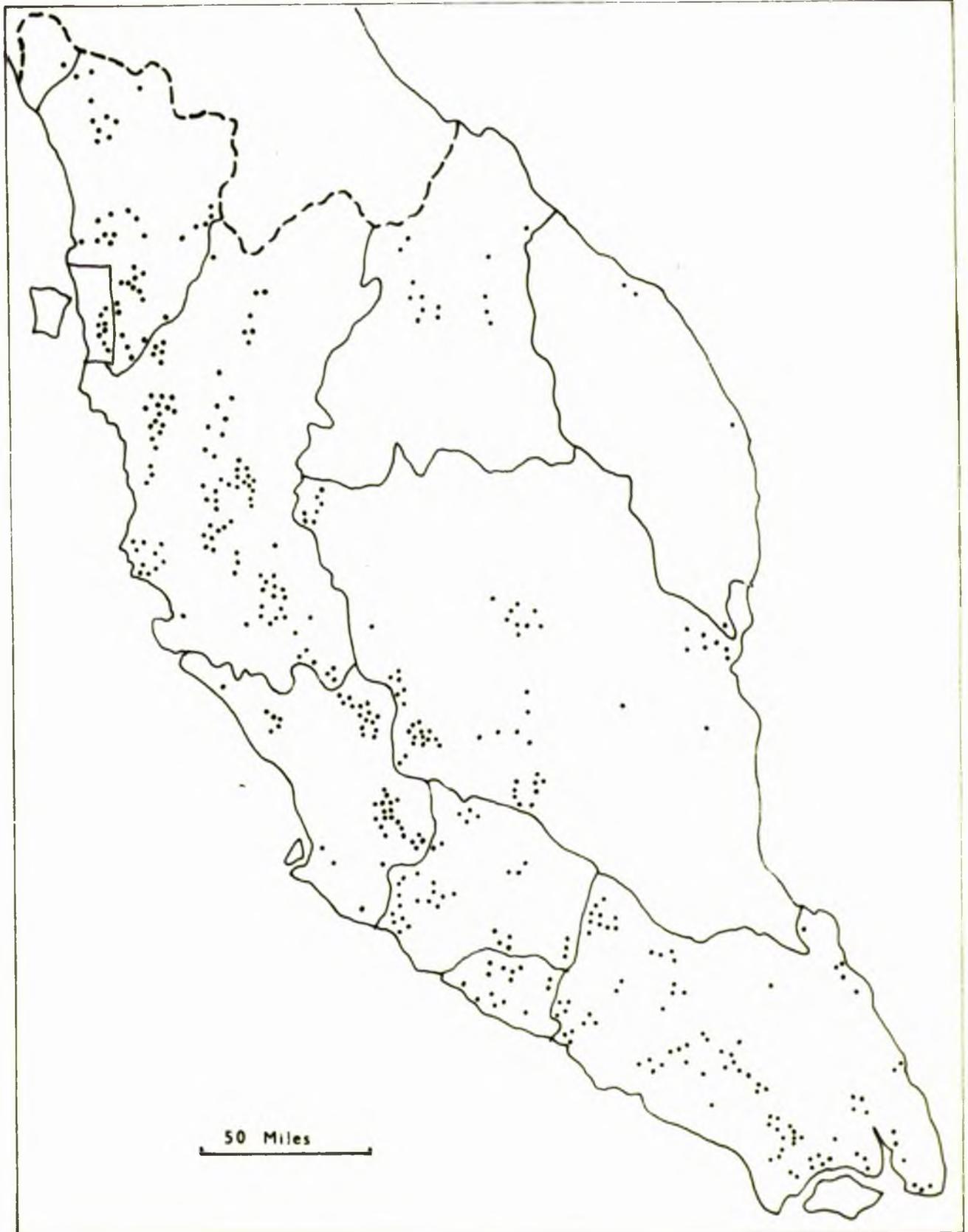


FIG. 4.11

The scale of regroupment is not readily apparent because, since it was carried out by private concerns, the relevant statistics are not included in those issued by the government, and can only be obtained by direct reference to the undertaking which executed the work. It may be estimated to have involved about 650,000 persons, of whom 71.5 per cent were on estates, 21.5 per cent on mines, and the remainder in factories, sawmills and timber companies. The Chinese only formed 29 per cent of the population affected by estate regroupment, but they were the dominant group in the mining regroupment areas. (Table 4.2)

The resettlement programme, by creating more than 500 compact "new" settlements, has permanently altered the rural Chinese settlement pattern of the country as a whole. The once dispersed Chinese rural population has now been withdrawn into these planned villages, most of which still remain today. The result of resettlement has been to produce a nucleated Chinese rural settlement pattern instead of the previously dispersed one. Furthermore, these so called "New Villages" have increased Malaya's already high proportion of urbanization. The programme added 216 urban centres of more than 1,000 inhabitants. These, together with the normal growth of population raised the number of urban centres with 1,000 or more persons between 1947 and 1957 from 163 to 400.⁶ More significant, the increase in the number of urban Chinese was largely the result of resettlement. They

increased by 110 per cent between 1947 and 1957 compared to a 62 per cent increase during the 1931-1947 period.⁷

4. Chinese Urbanization in Malaya⁸

By South-east Asian standards Malaya has been a highly urbanized country for the last fifty years. The urban component of the population increased from 23 per cent in 1911 to 30 per cent in 1931 and 48 per cent in 1957.⁹ By comparison, about 35 per cent of the total population in the Philippines was estimated to be urban in 1956, while only 15 per cent of Indonesia's population was classified as urban in 1960.¹⁰

Following the declaration of the Emergency in 1948, the existing pattern of urban concentration in the rubber and tin-belt of western Malaya was further accentuated. (Fig. 4.12, 4.13 & 4.14) These areas already had most of the towns and more than 90 per cent of urban population of Malaya in 1947.¹¹

The towns of Malaya originated as commercial, trading, and distributing centres whose growth has been largely influenced by the success of the tin and rubber industries. The establishment of this important export economy meant that an increasing number of people was needed to handle the transport, financing and distribution of the export products as well as the essential imports. The overwhelming majority of such people were Chinese. The Malaysians, on the other

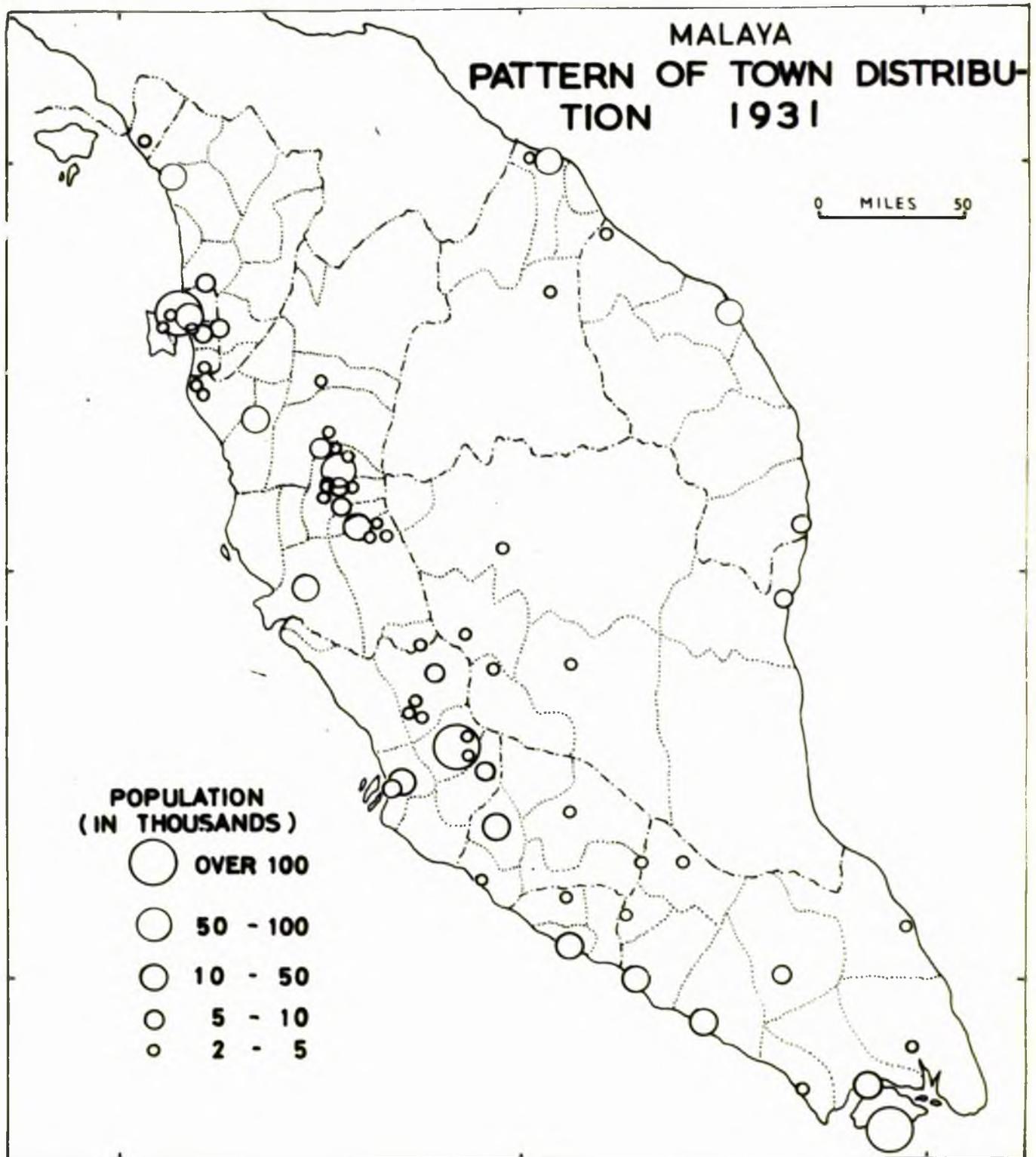


FIG. 4.12

MALAYA
PATTERN OF TOWN DISTRIBUTION
1947

0 MILES 50

POPULATION
(IN THOUSANDS)

- OVER 100
- 50 - 100
- 10 - 50
- 5 - 10
- 2 - 5

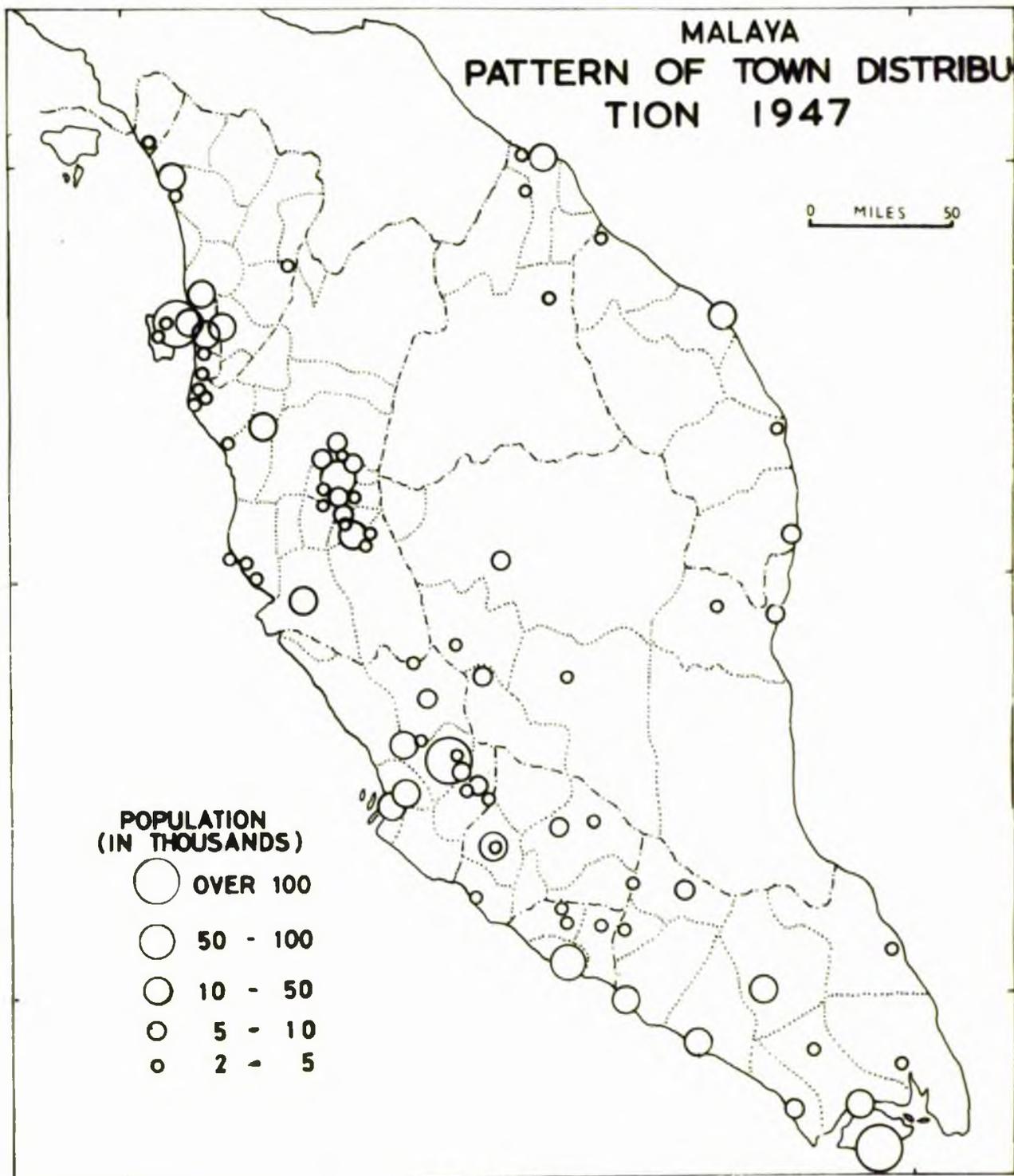


FIG. 4.13

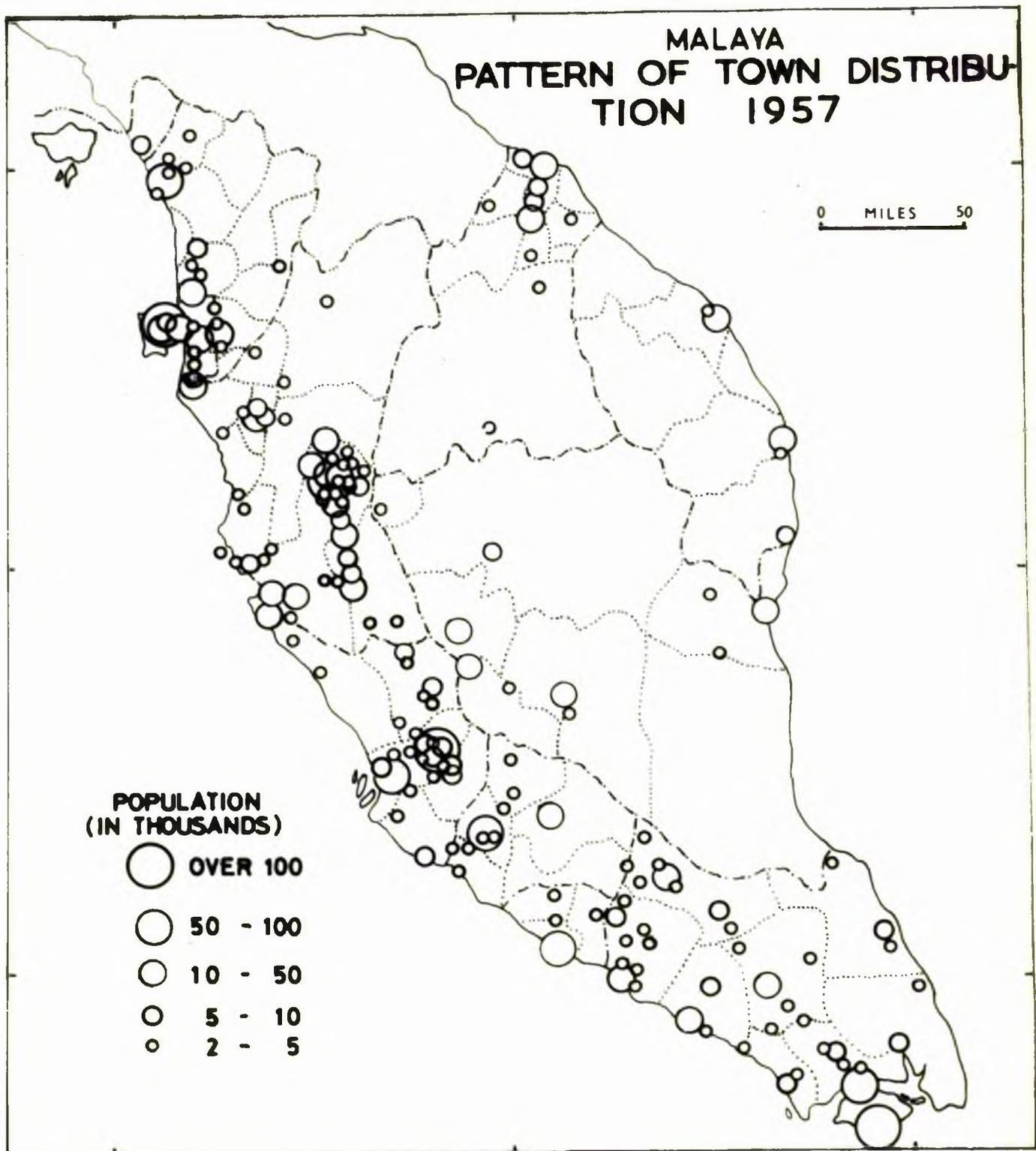


FIG. 4.14

TABLE 4.1

MALAYA: RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF NEW VILLAGES,
1954

State	No. of New Villages	Total pop.	Chinese	Malay	Indian	Others
Johore	94	130,613	86	11	3	-
Malacca	17	9,555	91	7	1	1
Negri Sembilan	39	30,294	81	15	2	2
Selangor	49	97,346	93	4	2	1
Perak	129	206,900	89	4	5	2
Kedah	44	22,522	65	5	5	25
Penang	8	10,717	96	-	4	-
Perlis	1	682	89	9	2	-
Pahang	77	50,233	83	13	3	1
Trengganu	18	1,495	86	13	1	-
Kelantan	4	12,560	8	92	-	-
TOTAL	480	572,917	86	9	4	1

SOURCES: Corry, W.C.S., A General Survey of the New Villages, 12th October 1954 (Singapore 1954). Appendix A; Kernial Singh Sandhu, "Emergency Resettlement in Malaya", J.T.G. Vol. 18, August 1964.

TABLE 4.2MALAYA: RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE REGROUPMENT AREAS, 1952

	Estimated total population	Percentage			
		Chinese	Malays	Indians	Others
Estate Regroupment areas	510,000	29.0	16.0	50.0	5.0
Mining Regroupment areas	80,000	68.7	17.6	13.6	0.1
Other Regroupment areas	60,000	71.8	14.0	14.0	0.2
TOTAL	650,000	45.0	32.0	18.0	5.0

SOURCES: Corry, W.C.S., A General Survey of the New Villages, 1954. Appendix A; Federation of Malaya, Annual Report of the Labour Department, 1948 (Kuala Lumpur, 1949) p.55. Perry Robinson, J.B., Transformation in Malaya, (London 1956), p.112. Kernial Singh Sandhu, op.cit., J.T.G., Vol. 18, 1964

hand, preferred to occupy subsistence farms and sometimes small rubber plantations, especially in the States of Trengganu, Kelantan, Kedah, Perlis and Pahang. These states remain as they have been from the beginning of the British penetration, economically the least developed parts of the country. The fact that the spread of a system whereby the non-Malaysians (largely Chinese) were legally prevented from acquiring more land for cultivation forced the growth of urban areas faster than would have otherwise been the case and made them largely Chinese preserves, while the Malaysians remain in the rural areas.¹²

The minor role of the Malaysians in the country's urbanization can be seen from the fact that the Chinese and Indians together constitute three-fourths of the urban population of West Malaysia and four-fifths of the urban population of Malaya (i.e. West Malaysia and Singapore) as a whole. The bulk of the urban population is Chinese, who form about 64 per cent (1957) of the population of the towns in West Malaysia and 77 per cent in Singapore. The urban Malaysian constituted 22 and 13 per cent respectively. (Table 4.3)

The pattern of Chinese urbanization is extremely uneven, some states being markedly more urban Chinese than others. (Table 4.4) The rank order of the States has remained more or less the same since 1931, with the former Straits Settlements and Perak, Johore, and Selanger having the most urban Chinese population and Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu the least urban.

TABLE 4.3

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE URBAN POPULATION OF MALAYA,
1931 - 1957.

	Malaysians			Chinese		
	'31	'47	'57	'31	'47	'57
West Malaysia	19	21	22	59	62	64
Singapore	9.8	11.1	13	76.4	78.7	77
Malaya	15.9	17.4	19.4	65.4	68.3	68.0

	Indians			Others		
	'31	'47	'57	'31	'47	'57
West Malaysia	18	14	11	3	3	3
Singapore	9.3	7.2	8	4.5	3	2
Malaya	14.8	11.4	10.2	3.9	2.9	2.4

SOURCES: Based on Malaya Population Census Report, 1931-1957.

The largest cities and many of the smaller ones have large Chinese populations. (Fig. 4.15, 4.16, 4.17) Chinese formed half or more of the population of seventy of the eighty-four towns with population over 5,000 in 1957. Of the twenty-one major towns with a population of over 20,000 in West Malaysia, nineteen have a Chinese majority. (Table 4.5) There are only two cities in all Malaya with population of more than 20,000 which have Malaysian majorities, Kota Bharu and Kuala Trengganu in the north-east. The concentration of the Chinese in the three main towns of West Malaysia is very striking. Kuala Lumpur, Georgetown and Ipoh together contain 54 per cent of the urban Chinese and 29 per cent of all the Chinese in West Malaysia. Furthermore, the Chinese form 75 per cent of the urban population of Greater Ipoh.¹³

The importance of Singapore in accounting for the high rate of Chinese urbanization must not be under-emphasized. Nearly 77 per cent of Singapore Chinese inhabitants in 1957 were urban.¹⁴ More than 95 per cent of these were within the Singapore city area. The remainder were scattered in minor urban centres situated mainly near the city boundaries on the eastern side of the island along the trunk road to West Malaysia and western portions of the island. (Fig.4.18)

The highest existing densities of Chinese within the city are located in an area roughly coincident with Raffles' original Chinese Kampong. Chinatown is virtually exclusively

MALAYA PROPORTIONS OF CHINESE IN TOWNS 1931

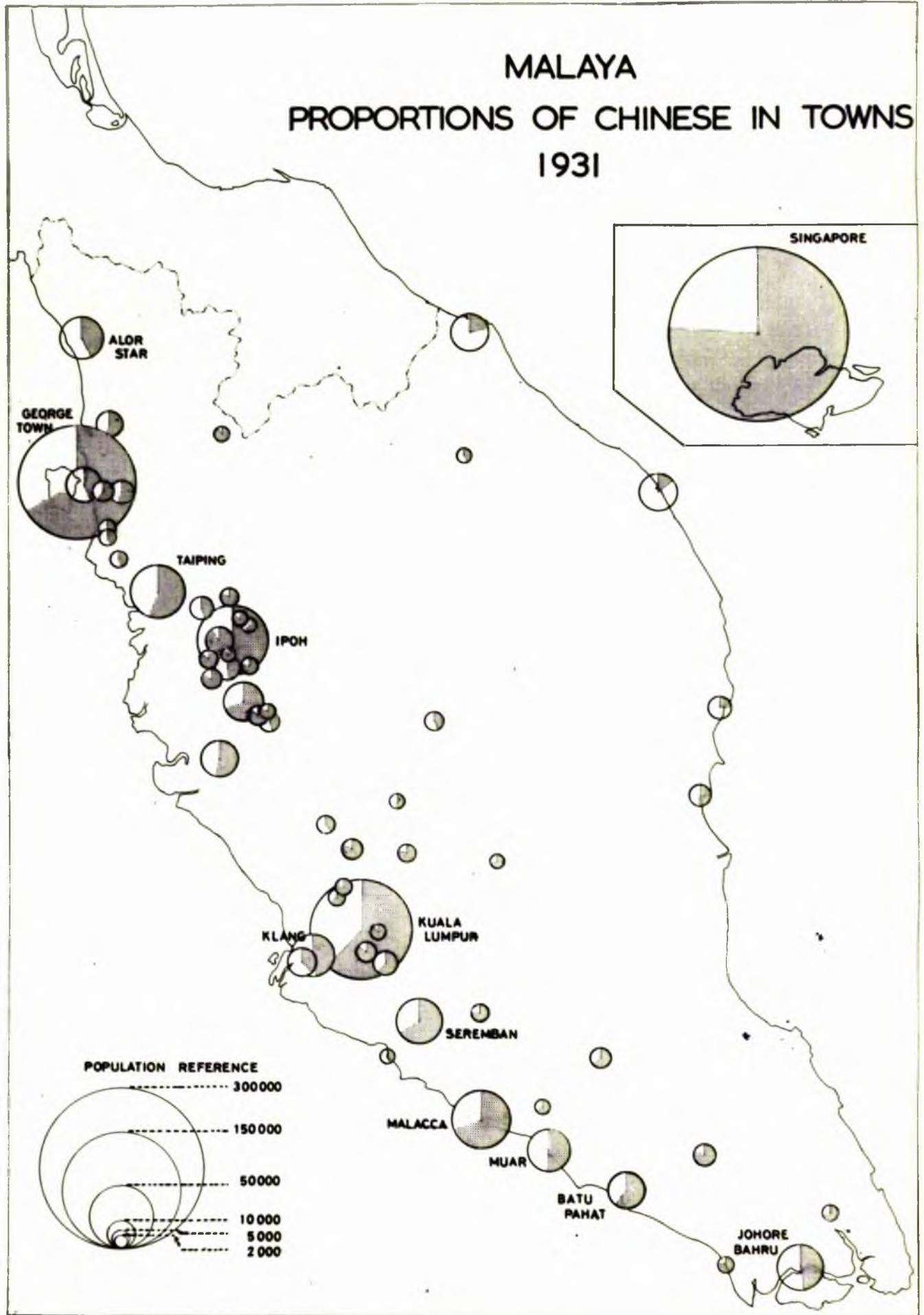


FIG. 4.15

MALAYA PROPORTIONS OF CHINESE IN TOWNS 1947

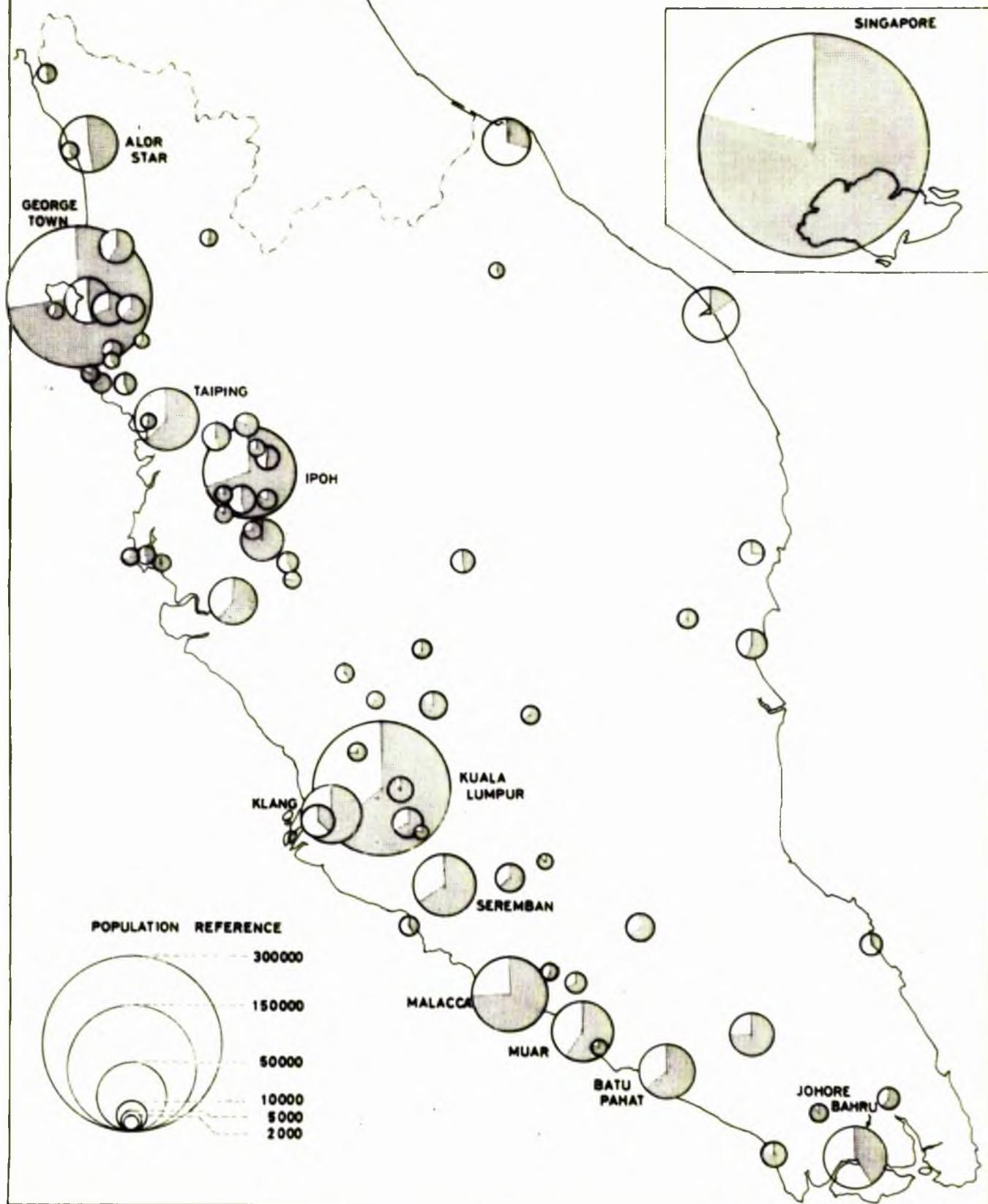


FIG. 4.16

MALAYA PROPORTIONS OF CHINESE IN TOWNS 1957

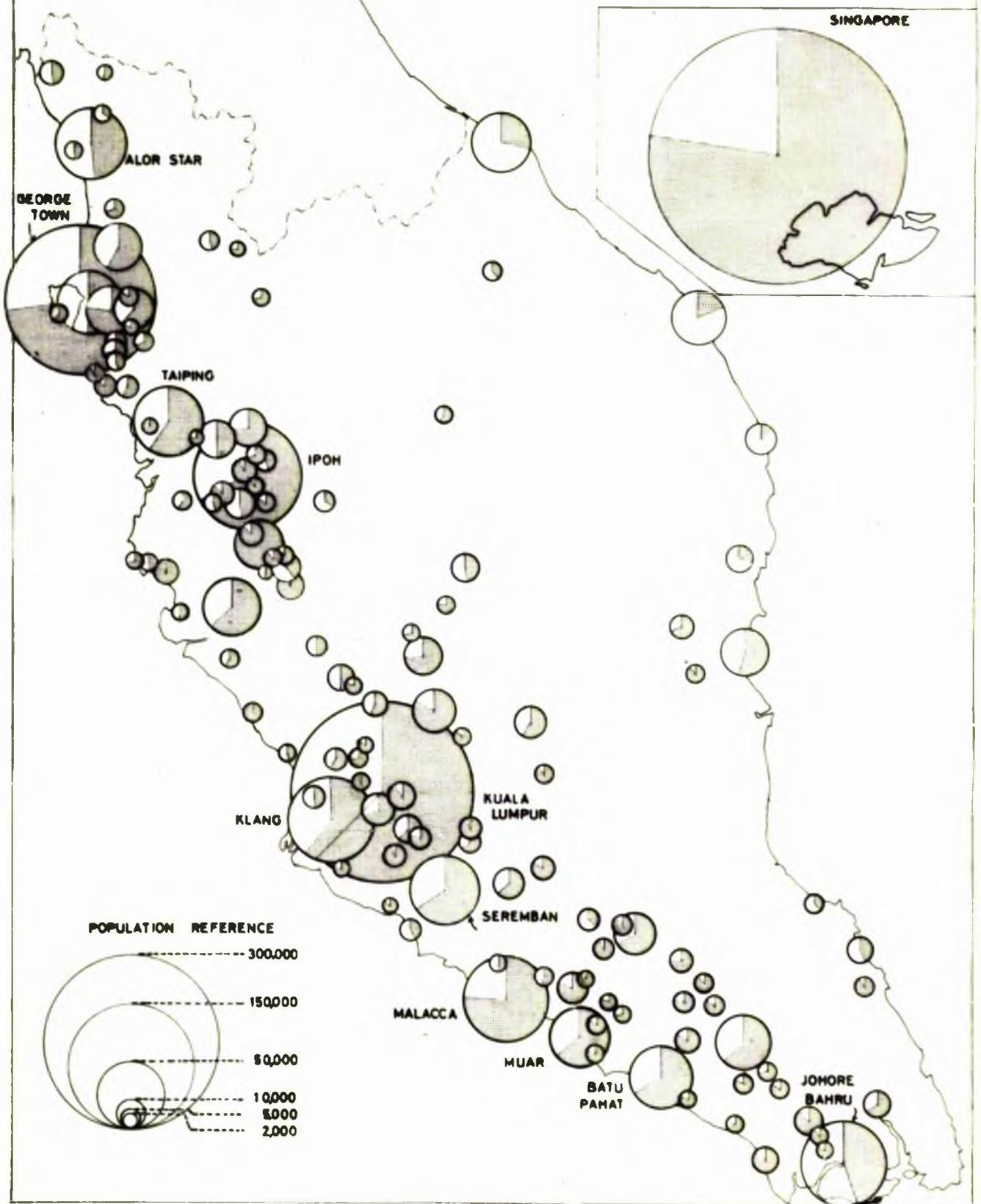


FIG. 4.17

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CHINESE IN SINGAPORE, 1957

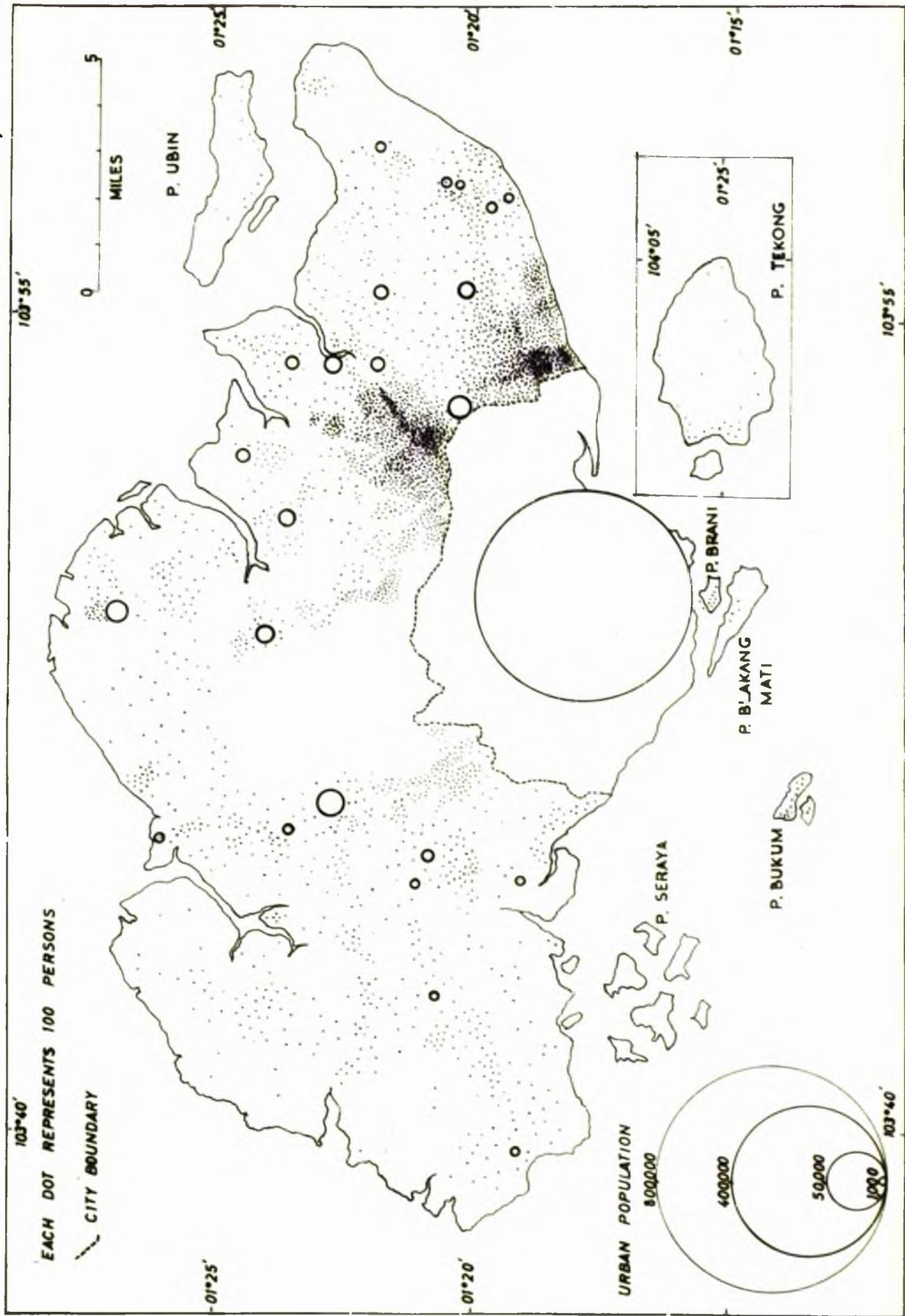


FIG. 4.18

TABLE 4.4

MALAYA: PERCENTAGE ANALYSIS OF THE CHINESE URBAN POPULATION
OF EACH STATE, 1931 - 1957.

	1957	1947	1931
Singapore	77.0	78.7	76.4
Malacca	74.7	72.9	67.3
Perak	71.5	67.4	65.6
Penang	70.6	69.9	64.0
Johore	67.4	61.4	56.7
Selangor	67.1	64.8	61.3
Negri Sembilan	64.8	63.1	62.7
Pahang	64.8	61.1	52.2
Kedah	54.7	52.6	48.3
Perlis	46.5	56.5	45.2
Kelantan	16.8	27.5	22.8
Trengganu	16.2	15.5	15.5
Malaya	68.0	68.3	65.4

SOURCE: Fell, H., 1957 Population Census of the Federation of Malaya, Report No.14 p.10.

TABLE 4.5

THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE MAJOR TOWNS OF MALAYA, 1957.

Towns	Total population (in thousands)	Chinese Population	Percentage			
			Chinese	Malaysians	Indians	Others
Kuala Lumpur	316.2	195.8	62	15	17	6
Georgetown	234.9	171.2	73	11	13	9
Ipoh	125.8	84.3	67	16	13	4
Klang	75.6	46.0	61	16	19	4
Johore Bahru	75.1	33.3	44	38	9	9
Malacca	69.9	53.1	73	13	7	7
Alor Star	52.9	25.6	48	38	11	3
Seremban	52.0	34.3	66	12	15	7
Taiping	48.2	28.4	59	19	18	4
Butterworth	42.5	21.7	51	24	22	3
Bandar Penggaram (Batu Pahat)	40.0	26.4	66	23	5	6
Bandar Maharani (Muar)	39.1	24.9	64	29	5	2
Kota Bharu	38.1	11.0	29	67	3	1
Telok Anson	37.0	23.3	63	19	16	2
Kluang	31.2	19.6	65	23	8	4
Kuala Trengganu	29.4	5.6	19	77	3	1
Bukit Mertajam	24.7	19.0	77	10	12	1
Kampar	24.6	20.6	84	6	9	1

Towns	Total population (in thousands)	Chinese Population	Percentage			
			Chinese	Malaysians	Indians	Others
Kuantan	23.1	12.7	55	35	7	3
Sungei Patani	22.9	13.2	58	27	15	0
Ayer Itam	22.4	18.5	82	8	9	1

SOURCE: Based on Malaya 1957 Population Census, Report No.1

Chinese with a similar area north of the government area (in Rochore) in the northern portion of the original European town which became available as Europeans moved into the hilly suburbs during the later decades of the 19th century. The Chinatown concentration is a perpetuation of the original plan of Raffles, but the second area is an expression of the enormous actual and relative increase of the Chinese population in Singapore coupled with the suburban movement of the European.¹⁵ Of each ethnic group in Singapore, in absolute terms the Chinese were highly centralized with nearly 50 per cent of the population within a three-mile radius of the city centre.

Certain parts of the island were virtually wholly Chinese, (Fig. 4.19) forming the 90 - 100 per cent category. These areas belong to two categories: the most densely populated city centre, such as Chinatown, Havelock Road locality and Rochore; and the most sparsely settled areas, for example parts of Jurong, Sembawang and Ulu Belok. Chinese comprised half or more of Census district populations over most of the island, and despite relative concentrations of other ethnic groups in a few areas, no Census district has less than 9 per cent Chinese in 1957.

Distribution of the Chinese in Northern Borneo

In Northern Borneo, the Chinese are equally unevenly distributed. (Fig. 4.20) With the schemes for Chinese

CHINESE AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION
BY CENSUS DISTRICTS 1957

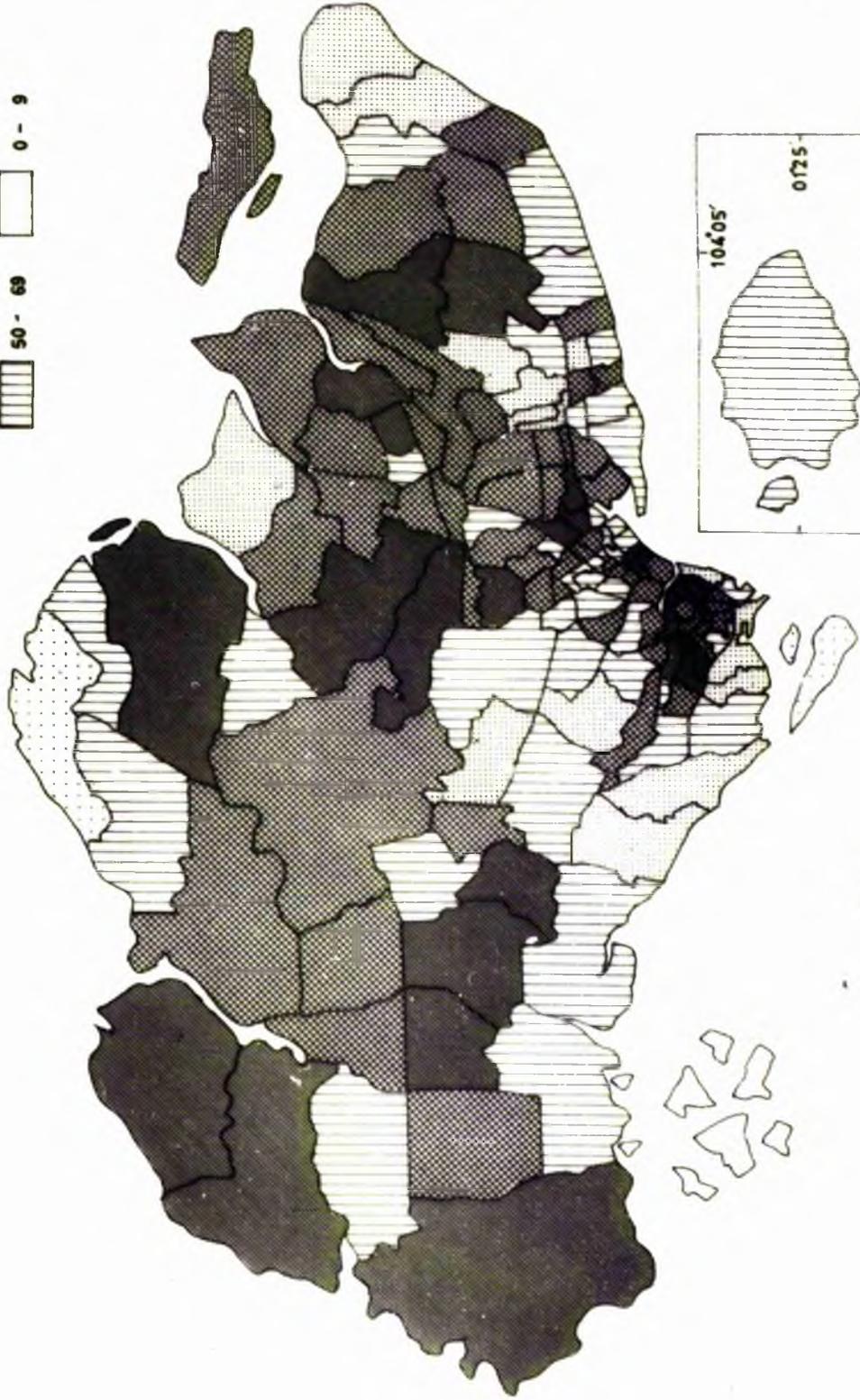
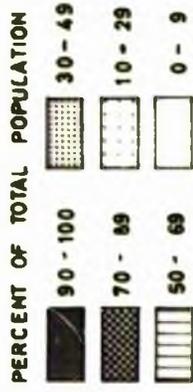


FIG. 4.19

immigration so intimately connected with the general development of each country, it is to be expected that their distribution follows closely the more developed and more populated areas. In Sarawak in 1960 more than 75 per cent of the Chinese are concentrated mainly in three areas: Kuching in the 1st Division; Sibul-Sarikei - Binatang in the lower Rajang region of the 3rd Division and Miri in the 4th Division. (Fig. 4.20 & 4.21) The concentration of nearly a third of the Chinese in the Kuching areas is in part due to the fact that it was the first area that came under Brooke's administration. The discovery of gold in the Bau district and the migration of Chinese from there into the Kuching area after the Second World War have also contributed their share in increasing the population. The first Chinese, mainly agricultural peasants direct from China, moved into the Sibul areas only in the 1900's. The planting of rubber and pepper around Sibul, Binatang and Sarikei is mainly by the Chinese, and most of the settled areas are within reach of the Rajang River, the great highway of Sarawak. Miri and its environs are far away from the centre of administration and focus of economic development in the south. The population there has largely been maintained by the oil industry, plus pepper and rubber plantations.

The distribution of the Chinese in Sarawak shows their predilection for concentration in the towns. (Fig. 4.22) About 67 per cent of the urban residents were Chinese in

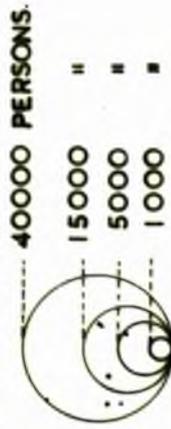
SARAWAK, SABAH & BRUNEI

DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE

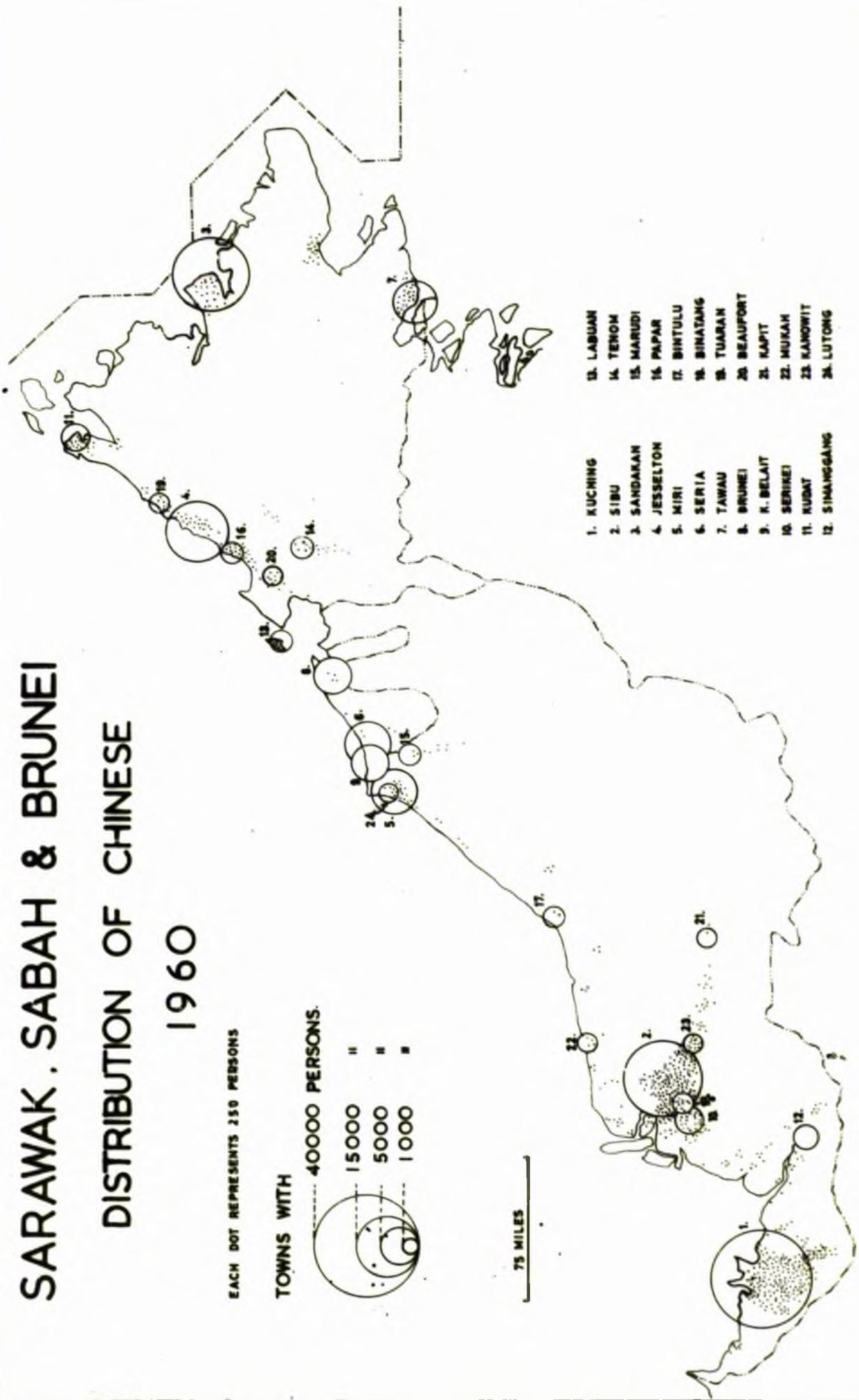
1960

EACH DOT REPRESENTS 250 PERSONS

TOWNS WITH



75 MILES



- 1. KUCHING
- 2. SIBU
- 3. SANDAKAN
- 4. JESSELTON
- 5. MIRI
- 6. SERIA
- 7. TAWAU
- 8. BRUNEI
- 9. K. BELAIT
- 10. SERIKEI
- 11. KUDAT
- 12. SIMANGGANG
- 13. LABUAN
- 14. TENOM
- 15. MARUDI
- 16. PAPAR
- 17. BINTULU
- 18. BINATANG
- 19. TUARAN
- 20. BEAUFORT
- 21. KAPIT
- 22. MUKAH
- 23. KANOWIT
- 24. LUTONG

FIG. 4. 20

SARAWAK 1960

DENSITY OF CHINESE POPULATION

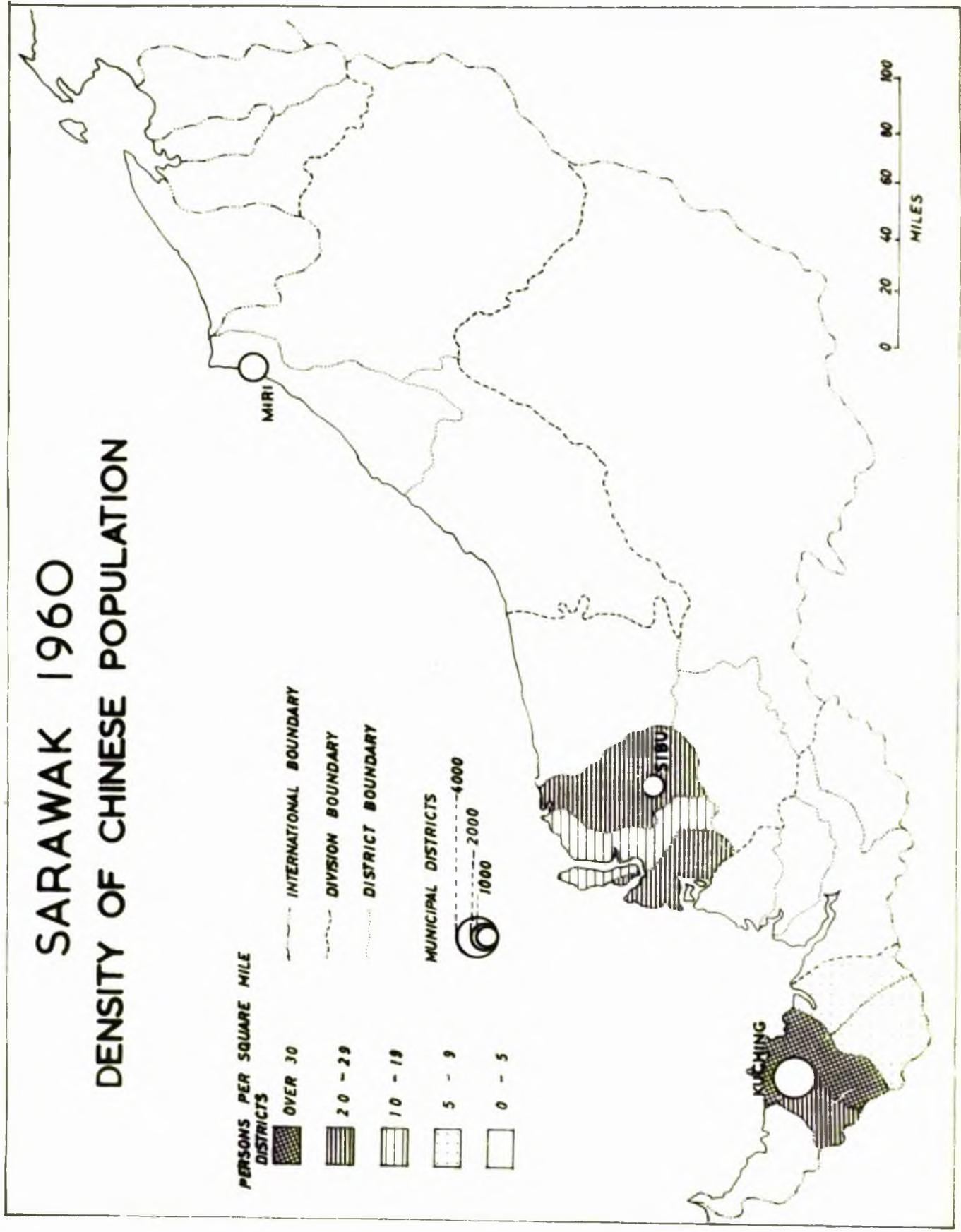


FIG. 4.21

SARAWAK SABAH & BRUNEI PROPORTIONS OF CHINESE IN TOWNS 1960

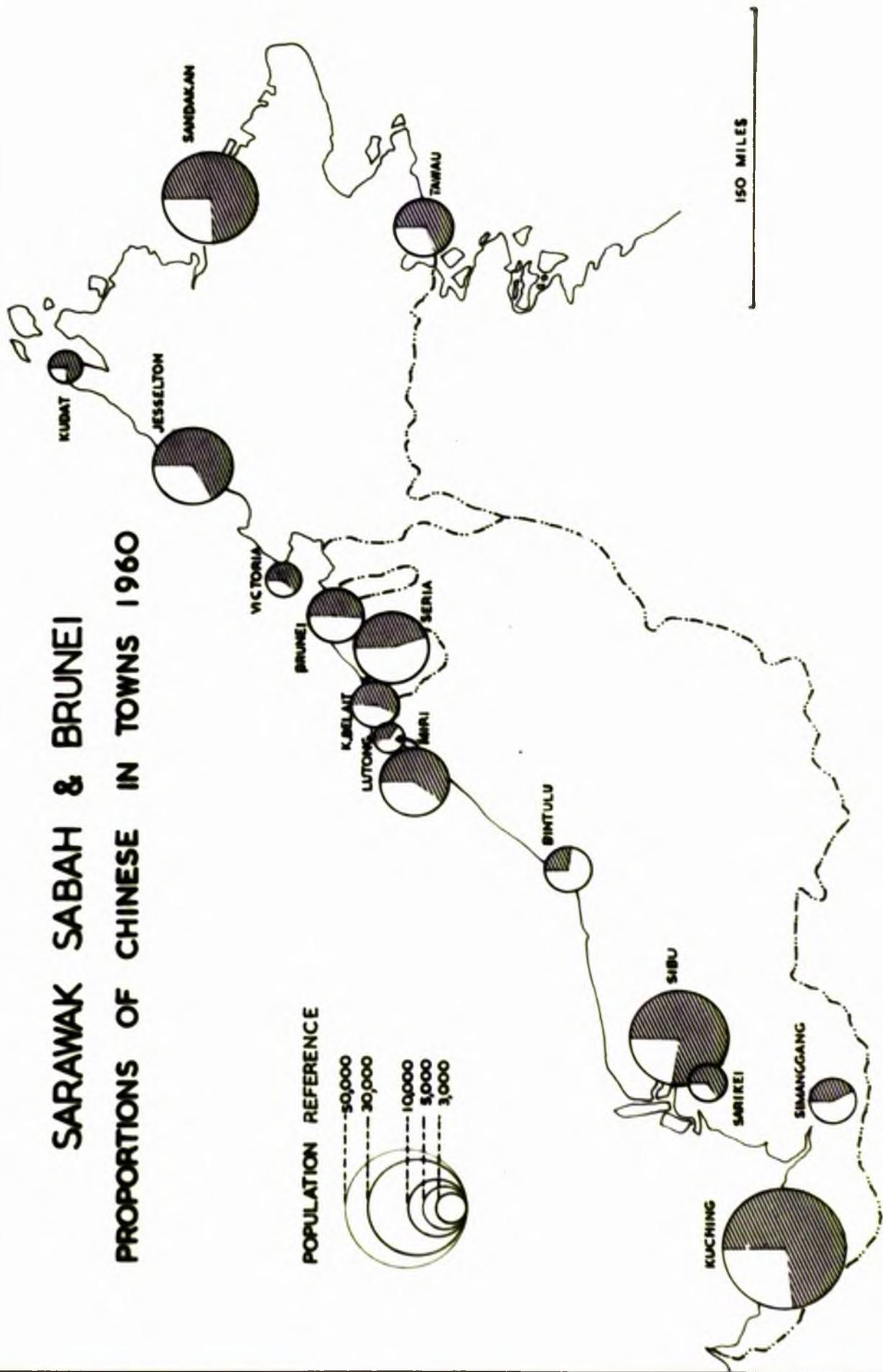


FIG. 4.22

1960. (Table 4.6) Among the urban Chinese themselves, about 75 per cent live in the three large towns of Kuching, Sibul and Miri. Kuching, the capital and chief port of the country, is still by far the largest town with 73 per cent urban Chinese and has had a large Chinese population since the 1880s. Sibul, however, has the largest percentage of Chinese in proportion to the total town population. (77 per cent)

But this urban preference of the Chinese in Sarawak must not be exaggerated. Using a statistical criterion of 3,000 persons to define a town, the percentage of Chinese living in such urban areas was only 32.7 per cent in 1960.¹⁶ Large numbers of the Chinese in Sarawak are still engaged in agriculture; many of these live near the towns and own rubber and pepper small-holdings or are engaged in homestead farming.

In Sabah, the Chinese are mainly distributed in the more populated areas of Sandakan and the narrow west coast region, while the rest are largely distributed in pockets around the small interior towns in the High Plains and the ports of the east coast. This means that large areas of the interior and the east coast are sparsely inhabited or uninhabited by Chinese. (Fig. 4.20, 4.23)

On the east coast, Sandakan district records the highest number of Chinese in the country (26,642 persons) though this figure is due to the large number of Chinese living in

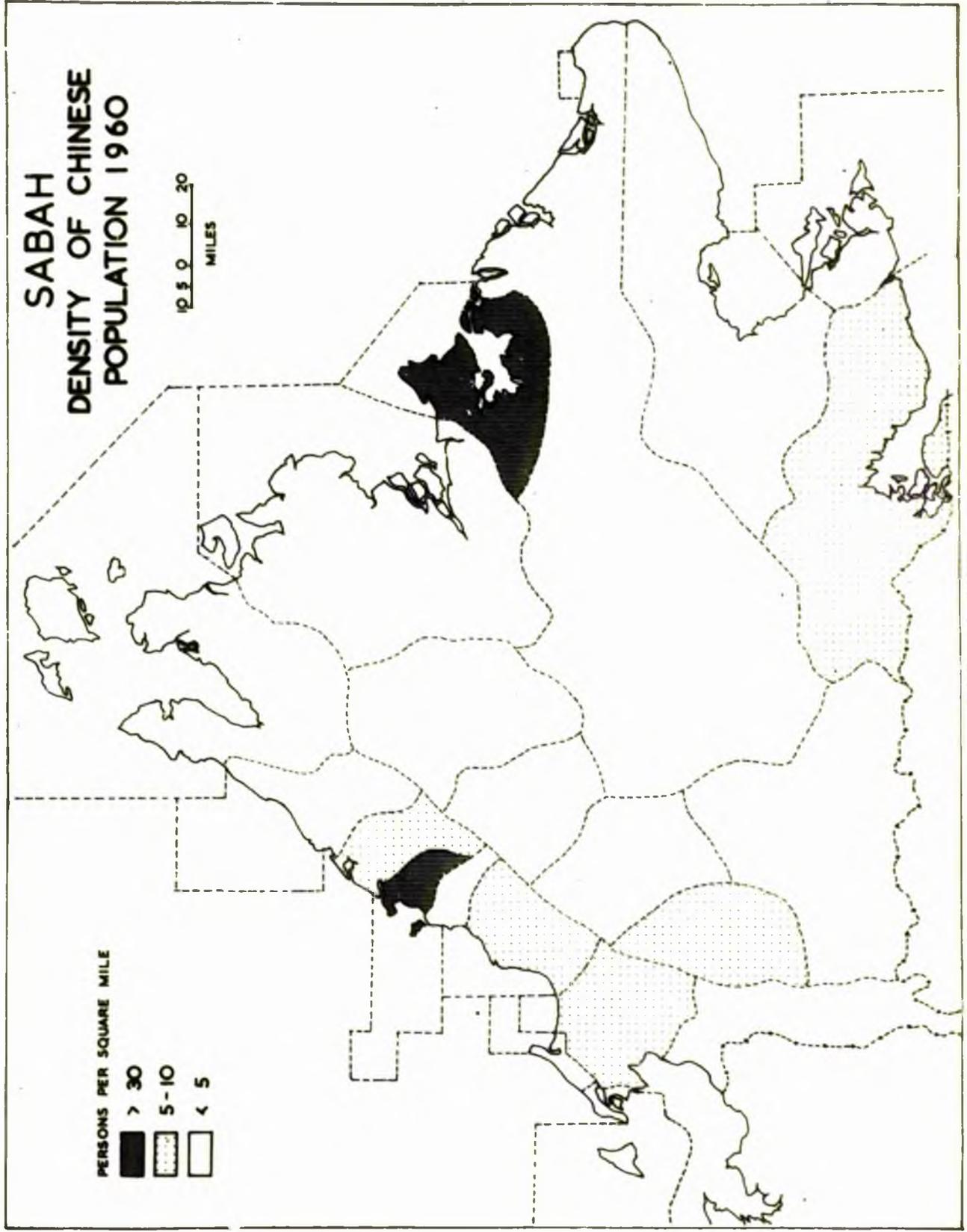


FIG. 4.23

TABLE 4.6SARAWAK: ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE URBAN POPULATION, 1960

Chinese		Indigenous		Others		Total Urban Population	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
74,915	67	33,740	30	3,102	3	111,757	100

SOURCE: Calculated from Jones, L.W., Report on the Census of Population, 1960, Table 3, p.127, and additional tables, tables 35a - 35w.

Sandakan town (21,315). Tawau district is another area which has larger Chinese settlement (14,881). The east coast comprising more than half of the total area of the country has large parts covered with tropical forest, which together with poor land communications, has hindered settlement in the interior. The Chinese population has concentrated in the ports situated along the long coastline and along the middle course of the rivers which have considerable plantation development to account for the Chinese settlement. The east coast areas have a wider variety of commercial enterprise - timber, coconut, catch, tobacco, hemp, rubber and fishing industries - than the other two areas, which attract and give immigrants a wider choice of jobs. Moreover, the population is stable, being less affected by the fluctuating prosperity of one particular industry or another.

The west coast belt, owing to its natural fertility and favourable surface configuration, supports a moderate population, and here more of the Chinese are settled, mainly in the districts of Jesselton, Kudat, Tenom, Papar and Beaufort. Jesselton district records the second highest number of Chinese (19,700) and as in Sandakan district most of them live in the main town, i.e. Jesselton (now called Kota Kinabalu) (14,529). Next in importance is the Kudat district (8,570), where the earliest attempts to settle Chinese were made. The higher concentration of the Chinese in these areas can be correlated with their more advanced general development. Here in the west is the centre not only of agriculture but also of a large part of the rubber

industry, which has spread along the railway line and the roads.

With the exception of Tenom district (6,131 Chinese in 1960), in which the Tenom town is the terminus of the west coast railway, the interior areas of Ranau, Tambunan, Keningau and Pensiangan districts have little attraction for Chinese.

As in Malaya and Sarawak, another outstanding fact about the distribution of the Chinese in Sabah is their preference for the towns and their environs. They control many of the small-scale commercial enterprises and also provide many of the artisans. In 1960, 70 per cent of the urban population were Chinese. (Table 4.7, Fig. 4.22)

About 65 per cent of the total Chinese population is concentrated in and around the four main ports and urban centres of the country. Sandakan, Jesselton, Tawau and Kudat.¹⁷ Sandakan is the largest town in Sabah and also chief point of contact with Hong Kong. The Chinese concentration here is the highest in Sabah, a feature partly explained by the fact that Sandakan was the port of entry of the early Chinese immigrants.

But it must be remembered that, in Sabah, as in Sarawak, large numbers of the Chinese are engaged in agriculture, many of these living near and around the towns. The agricultural Hakkas, unlike other south-east Asian Chinese populations, predominate in the country. Sabah has only 45 per cent

TABLE 4.7SABAH: ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE URBAN POPULATION, 1960

	Numbers	% Urban Population
Chinese	47,682	70
Indigenous	11,715	17
others	8,277	13
Total	67,674	100

SOURCE: Calculated from Jones, L.W. Report on the Census of Population, 1960. Table 3, p. 132 and additional tables, tables 35a - 35k.

of its total Chinese community living in towns. The Chinese community is thus, not as highly urbanized as it seems to be from casual observation.

In Brunei, the Chinese are not evenly distributed. Fig. 4.20, which illustrates the distribution of the Chinese clearly reveals their localization along the coastal belt and the fact that they are mainly concentrated in towns (81 per cent of the urban population are Chinese). (Fig. 4.22) Three main areas of Chinese concentration are (1) Seria, an oil town, which lies on the coast, 60 miles from the capital, with the Chinese numbering 7,929 in 1960; (2) Kuala Belait town, 10 miles away from Seria, sited at the mouth of the Belait River, with a Chinese population of about 4,880 in 1960; (3) Brunei town, the capital which lies approximately 9 miles from the mouth of the Brunei river and had nearly 4,949 Chinese in 1960. The overwhelmingly urban character of Chinese in Brunei is the consequence of the presence of an oil industry concentrated in a small area around the first and second areas. These are the areas where employment is available and where a public can be found which needs to trade or to buy produce. Other areas which have significant numbers of Chinese are Sungei Liang; Lumut in Belait District; Tutong town in Tutong District; Kampong Ayer in Brunei District, and Bangar in Temburong District.

Distribution of Chinese Dialect Groups

1. Growth and Composition of Chinese Dialect Groups

As in common with Chinese settlers in most south-east Asian countries, their most significant diversifying factor is the number of dialect or linguistic groups. In South-east Asia as a whole, nearly all the Chinese came from the provinces of Kwangtung, Fukien and Kwangsi. For example, the Hokkiens from Fukien province, the Cantonese from central and southern Kwangtung, the Hakkas from north-western Kwangtung, the Tiechius from the north-coastal portion of Kwangtung around the port of Swatow and the Hainanese from the island of Hainan, were all well represented in the region a hundred years ago.

The earliest immigrants in Malaya were probably from Amoy. In the initial stages, these male immigrants (who were probably all or nearly all Hokkien) married Malay women, giving rise to a mixed Sino-Malaysian community popularly referred to as Babas.¹⁸ (Also known as Straits-born Chinese in the censuses between 1881 and 1901 in Malaya). They were not a dialect group in any literal sense, but they formed a distinct element in the Chinese population both in respect of their cultural differentiation from the mass of the Chinese and in respect of their economic and social position. Many of these Malacca Babas moved into Singapore and Penang when these became British Settlements, and there, no doubt joined by recruits from the general Chinese population, they

continued their distinctive way of life.

By 1881, 25,268 Straits-born Chinese in a total Chinese population of 86,766 in the former Straits Settlements, accounted for 15 per cent of the Chinese population. At this approximate percentage they remained until 1901 which was the last year in which the category Straits-born was employed in the census taking. The corresponding figure for the Federated Malay States was only 3 per cent in 1901. (Table 4.8 & 4.9) Later, marriage between Babas and Malays became practically unknown largely because of religious differences and the Babas married exclusively among their own people.

The Hokkien, the largest group in the Straits Settlements, on the other hand, had shown an increasing proportion from 26.7 per cent in 1881 to 33.3 per cent in 1901. Tiechius showed a drop in percentage from 24.2 in 1881 to 15.7 in 1901; the percentage of Cantonese increased from 16.3 per cent in 1881 to 18.4 in 1891 and dropped slightly to 18.0 in 1901. In the Federated Malay States in 1901, the most numerous group was Cantonese (36.6 per cent) followed by Hakkas (28 per cent) with the Hokkiens in the third place (21.8 per cent).

Table 4.10 shows the percentages by which the five principal dialect groups have increased during the last three intercensal periods. It seems likely that the particularly large apparent increase in Tiechiu and the small rate of

increase of the Cantonese between 1921-1931 is probably due to the inclusion in 1921 of the bulk of the Kwongsai and a number of the Tiechius as Cantonese. The increase of the Cantonese during 1931-1947 is probably due to their highest sex-ratio among the Chinese, amounting to 960 females per 1,000 males in 1947, the result presumably of the retention in Malaya of a larger-than-average share of the great numbers of Cantonese females who arrived between 1934 and 1938. The Hainanese element has also increased at a rate above the average, the result partly of immigration and partly of the enormous improvement in the sex-ratio which has followed upon the raising in the 1920s, of the customary ban on the emigration of Hainanese women. The increase of the Hokkien and Tiechiu from 1931-1947 was very rapid and was due mainly to immigration. The relatively small increase in the case of the Hakkas may be due to faulty enumeration at one or all of the past three censuses. The fact that the Hakkas do not come from one particular area of China is apt to result in a Hakka being assigned by a Malayan enumerator to the group associated with the location from which he happens to come.¹⁹ In the period 1947-1957, the percentage rate of increase of the Chinese population in fact slackened because of the almost complete cessation of Chinese immigration.

The rates of increase are closely associated with the sex-ratios. Table 4.11 shows the sex-ratios of the five

TABLE 4.8THE CHINESE OF THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS BY DIALECT GROUPS.1881 - 1901

	Number			Percentage of total Chinese		
	1881	1891	1901	1881	1891	1901
Cantonese	28,231	42,008	50,591	16.3	18.4	18.0
Hokkiens	46,476	74,759	98,850	26.7	32.8	33.3
Tiechius	42,132	43,791	44,230	24.2	19.2	15.7
Hakkas	15,891	16,736	18,446	9.1	7.3	6.5
Hainanese	15,591	15,938	16,788	9.0	7.0	6.0
Straits-born	25,268	34,757	44,022	14.5	15.3	15.6
Hokchias	-	-	13,725	-	-	4.8
Not Stated	272	-	281	0.2	-	0.1
Total	173,861	227,989	281,933	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCES: Census of the Straits Settlements 1881 & Straits Settlements Blue Book 1908.

TABLE 4.9THE CHINESE OF THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES BY DIALECT GROUPS.

1901

	Number	Percentage of total Chinese
Cantonese	109,585	36.6
Hokkiens	65,405	21.8
Tiechius	19,173	6.4
Hakkas	83,864	28.0
Hainanese	12,609	4.2
Straits-born	6,065	3.0
Kwongsais	2,231	0.7
Others	816	0.3
Total	299,739	100.0

SOURCE: Manual of Statistics Relating to the Federated Malay States, 1904

TABLE 4.10

CHINESE DIALECT GROUPS IN MALAYA. PERCENTAGE RATE OF
INCREASE. 1921-1957

	1921 - 1931	1931 - 1947	1947 - 1957
Hokkien	42.1	53.6	43.0
Cantonese	25.9	53.7	26.3
Hakka	46.1	37.4	35.3
Tiechiu	60.5	74.5	45.0
Hainanese	30.1	61.6	27.6
All Chinese	45.5	53.4	30.9

SOURCE: Based on Malaya Population Census Reports
 1921 - 1957.

main dialect groups for the years 1921, 1931, 1947 and 1957 in Malaya as a whole.

Sex ratios were very uneven in 1921-1931. At one end the Hokkiens and Cantonese possessed the distinction of the least abnormal sex ratio, while at the other end of the scale stood the Hainanese who showed a remarkable lack of balance in 1921 and 1931 where there were only 39 and 151 females at 1,000 males. The omission of the Straits-born Chinese as a separate group in the 1931 Census contributed largely to the favourable sex balance of the Hokkiens because the Babas had a normal sex ratio. Up to the time of the 1921 census, there was a customary idea preventing Hailam men from bringing their womenfolk to Malaya. This was due to certain obligations in the Chinese cult of ancestor worship and social organization, especially the concept of filial piety and care of the family, which made it difficult for women to emigrate. This was particularly so for Hainan women in homes where their husband was away, in which circumstances the wife had to take over all the social obligations of the husband. Furthermore, the social status of Hainan women in the traditional Chinese society was one of inferiority: their place was considered to be in the home and their prime duty the bearing of children who should be reared in China. These ideas have since been changed with the gratifying result that although there had been only 39 females to every thousand males in 1921, the ratio had

TABLE 4.11SEX RATIO OF THE FIVE MAIN DIALECT GROUPS OF CHINESEPOPULATION IN MALAYA, 1921 - 1957.

(Females per 1,000 Males)

	1921	1931	1947	1957
Hokkien	455	620	864	935
Cantonese	460	581	960	1070
Hakka	386	526	831	950
Tiechiu	272	472	797	905
Hainanese	39	151	554	755

SOURCES: Based on Malaya 1921 - 1957 Census Report.

risen by 1957 to 755 females to every 1,000 males. The Hokkiens who formerly had the highest sex-ratio, have in 1947 and 1957 given way to the Cantonese who now show the unprecedented number of 1070 females for every 1,000 males. The number of Cantonese Amahs (female servants) in European and Chinese households was remarkably large for the last two or three decades. This may also be due to the large number of Cantonese females who arrived in Malaya to seek for jobs after the early 1930s.

Extra-dialect marriages were quite popular in Malaya, due largely to the different sex ratios of the different dialect groups. Some of my Hainanese friends had to marry Cantonese or Hakkas wives, not because they preferred to but because there were very few hainanese girls available. It should also be noted that, in the past, the strength of the preference for spouses of the same dialect groups was strong.²⁰ Since the war, however, young Chinese of marriageable age tend to disregard their dialect origin as they commonly speak either Mandarin or English or both, and extra dialect marriage has become very common, not because of uneven sex distribution between them as it was twenty or thirty years ago, but because of the change of traditional attitudes regarding their choice of a mate.²¹

The five main Chinese dialect groups enumerated in the past four censuses in Malaya were made up as shown in diagram 4.24. (also see Appendix 3) Their position in the

MALAYA GROWTH OF CHINESE DIALECT GROUPS

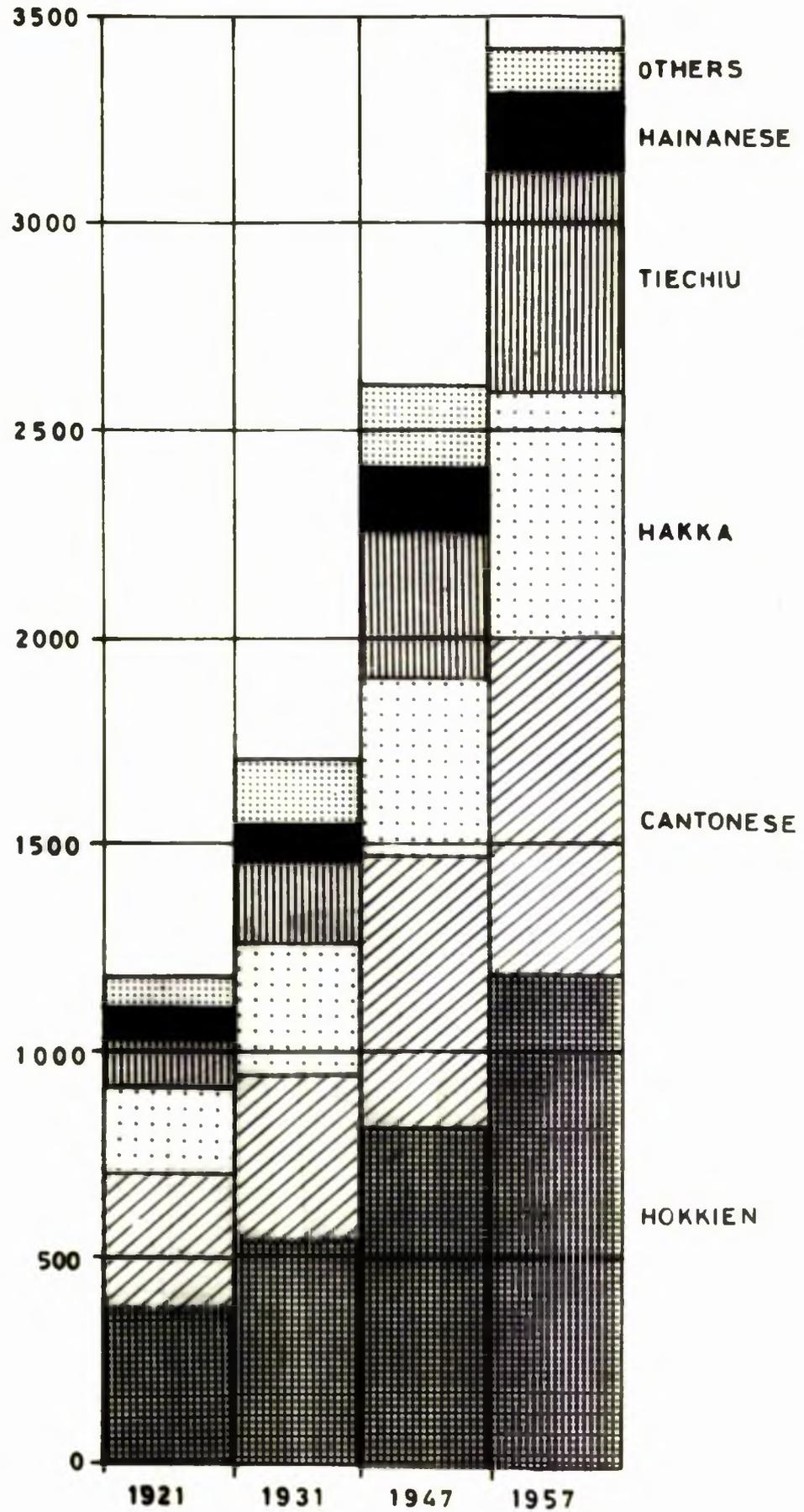


FIG. 4.24

diagram, based on the total number of each, has remained unaltered since 1921. These five chief dialect groups, as in the past, still constitute the bulk of the Chinese population, and in 1957 they jointly represented 95 per cent of the total Chinese population.

As in Malaya, almost all the Chinese in Northern Borneo were southerners. (Table 4.12) Among them the Hakkas were the largest group, who constituted 37.5 per cent of the Chinese population. The Foochow were the second biggest group in Sarawak but did not exist in Sabah and there were only a few in Brunei (the figure for Brunei was not shown in the 1960 classification). Hokkien and Cantonese were next in importance in Sabah and Brunei but came after Foochow in Sarawak. Other dialect groups for instance, Tiechiu, Hainanese and Henghua were present in smaller number, as well as a handful of northerners, near Jesselton, Sabah. In Northern Borneo, Hakka, Hokkien, Cantonese, Tiechiu and Hainanese form only 71.7 per cent of the Chinese, but if the Foochows are added, the figure rises to 91.4 per cent.

2. Regional Distribution and Occupational Specialisation of Chinese Dialect groups.

In the Malayo-Borneo region as a whole, the Hokkiens were the largest group, who constituted 32.3 per cent of the Chinese population in 1957-1960. (Table 4.13) Cantonese and Hakkas were next in importance and constituted 19.8 per cent and 18.9 per cent respectively. Tiechiu were the

TABLE 4.12NORTHERN BORNEO, DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE DIALECT GROUP,1960

Dialect	Sarawak	Sabah	Brunei	Northern Borneo	Percentage of Total Chinese
1. Hakka	70,221	57,338	5,744	133,303	37.5
2. Foochow	70,125	-	n.a.	70,125	19.7
3. Hokkien	28,304	11,924	4,879	45,107	12.6
4. Cantonese	17,432	15,251	4,820	37,503	10.5
5. Tiechiu	21,952	5,991	n.a.	27,943	7.9
6. Hainanese	5,717	5,270	n.a.	10,987	3.2
7. Others	15,403	8,768	6,352	30,523	8.6
Total	229,154	104,542	21,795	355,491	100.0

SOURCE: Jones L.W., (a) Sarawak: A Report on the Census of Population, 1960, Table 4., p.128
 (b) North Borneo: A Report on the Census of Population 1960, Table 4, p.134 (c) Brunei: A Report on the Census of Population 1960, Table 4, p.84

TABLE 4.13

THE CHINESE IN MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE AND BRUNEI, BY DIALECT
GROUPS, 1957 - 1960.

	Number	Percentage of Total Chinese
Hokkien	1,228,420	32.3
Cantonese	748,500	19.8
Hakka	715,145	18.9
Tiechiu	556,209	14.7
Hainanese	212,027	5.6
Hokchin (Foochow)	133,047	3.6
Kwongsai	69,414	1.9
Henghua	28,940	0.8
Hokchia	17,369	0.5
Shanghainese	11,034	0.3
Others	57,803	1.6
Total	3,779,843	100.0

SOURCES: Federation of Malaya, 1957 Population Census Report No.14, Table 3, pp.56-57.
Singapore Report on the Census of Population, 1957, Table 33, p.146.
Also see Table 4.12

fourth largest group (14.7 per cent) and Hainanese the fifth (5.6 per cent). These five major groups formed about 92 per cent of the Chinese in the region. Other southern groups, for instance, Kwangsai, Henghua and Hokchia were present in small numbers.

It was well known that in the early stage of Chinese migration into the region, they tended to remain within their own dialect groups. This led to regional and occupational concentrations of various dialect groups. Thus, the Hokkien, the largest dialect group in the region, while extensively engaged in agricultural pursuits, form the bulk of the trading and shopkeeping classes, and this with their old association with the colony of the Straits Settlements accounts for their predominance in Singapore (40.6 per cent of the total Chinese), Penang (43.5 per cent) and Malacca (39.9 per cent). (Fig. 4.25) They are also strongly represented in Selangor, Johore and Pahang. In the States of Perak, Pahang, Negri Sembilan, where they are surpassed in number both by the Cantonese and the Hakkas, (Fig. 4.27) they are most numerous in the districts of Larut and Matang. This was mainly owing to the influence of the towns of Taiping. In Kelantan, where the Chinese population is only 28,861 out of a total population of 505,522, over 16,955 or 58.7 per cent is composed of Hokkien. As in the other States, they are town-dwellers in Kelantan. They form the backbone of the Commercial population in the State, especially in Kota Bharu town where they constituted about 50 per cent

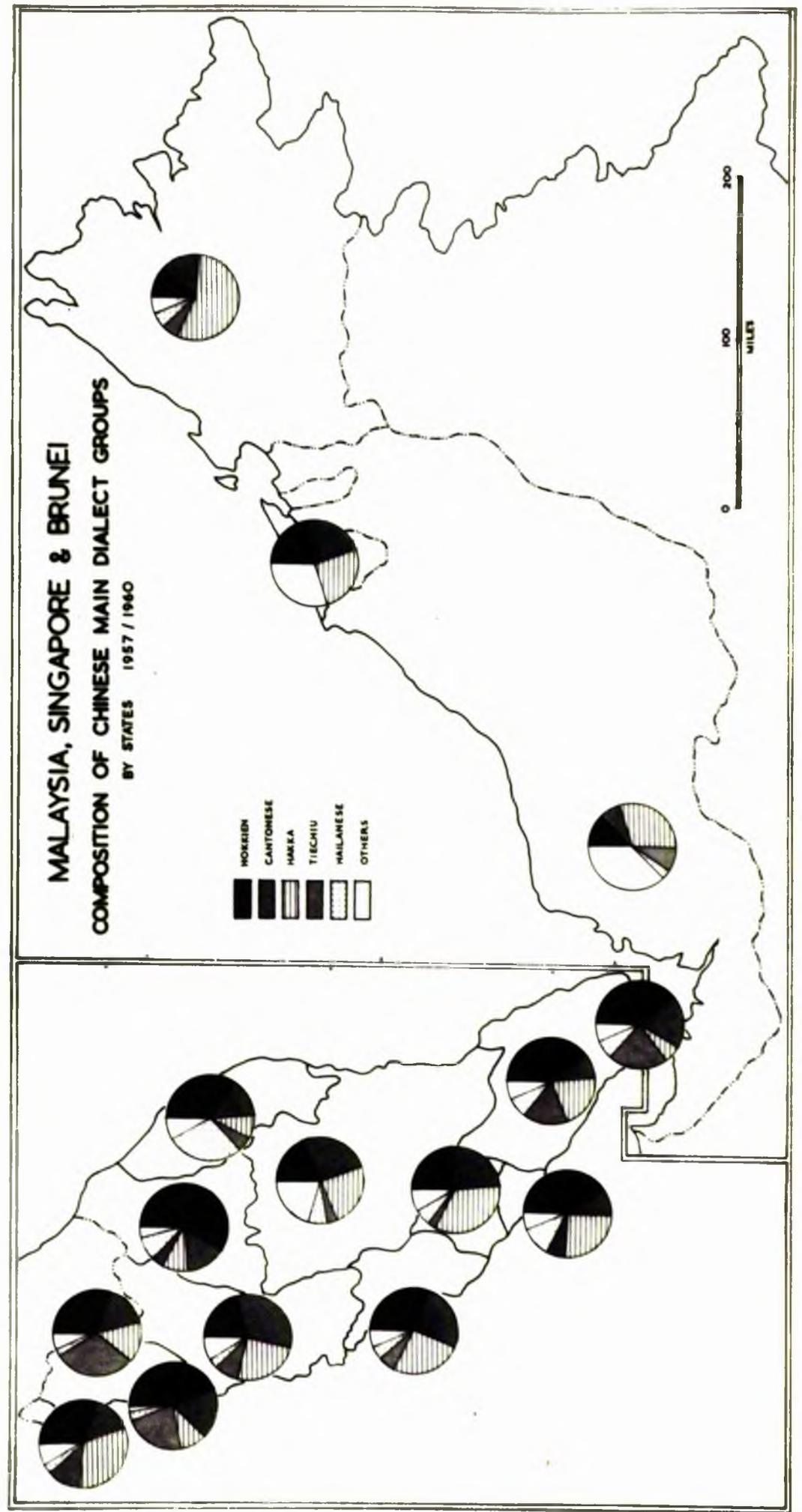


FIG. 4. 25

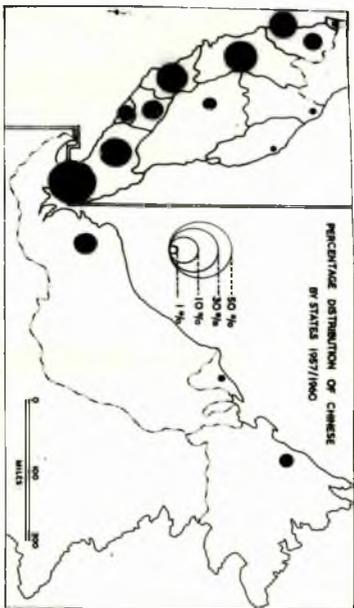


Fig. 4.26

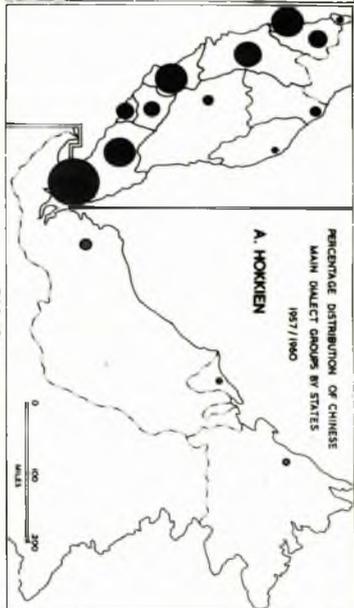


Fig. 4.27

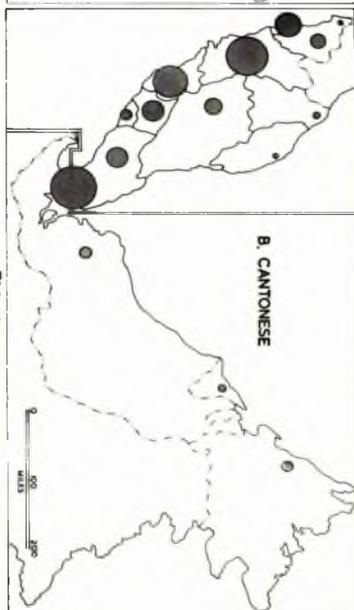


Fig. 4.28

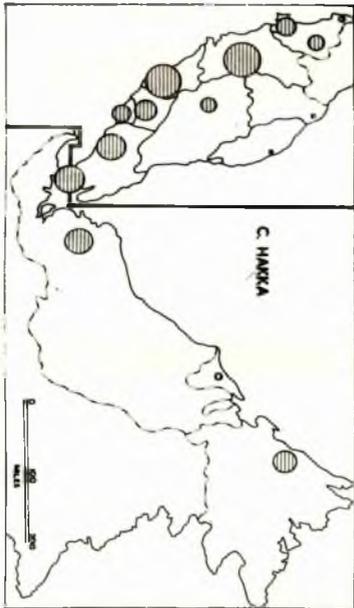


Fig. 4.29

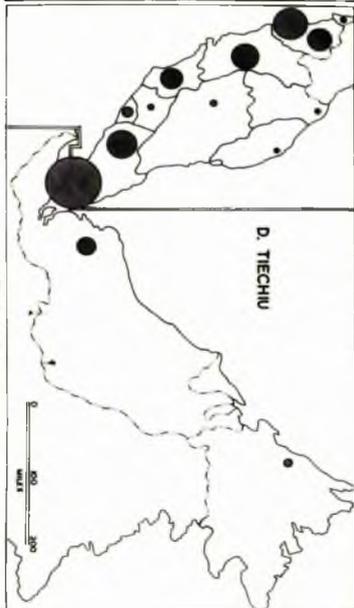


Fig. 4.30

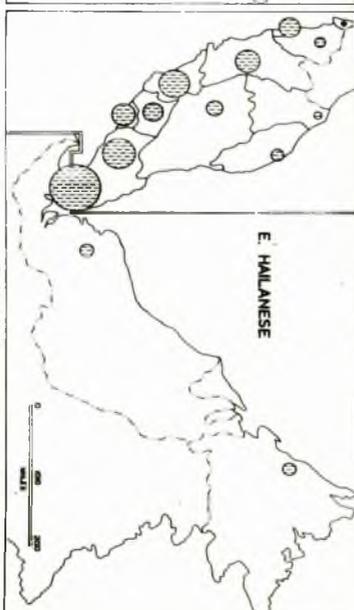


Fig. 4.31

of the Chinese population.²²

The Cantonese are numerically the strongest Chinese dialect group in Perak (30.8 per cent), second largest is Negri Sembilan and third largest is Selanger. (Fig. 4.25) While strongly represented in the large towns, they form a high proportion of the mining population, and are extensively engaged in planting. They are the largest dialect group in the town of Ipoh, while they constituted 49 per cent of the total town Chinese population.²³ They also form a high proportion in the Kinta valley where most of them are engaged in tin-mining. The Cantonese are rather more versatile, predominantly an urban population in Singapore, Penang and Malacca and strongly represented in rural areas as well. (Fig. 4.28) For example, in the vegetable gardening area of the Cameron highlands in Pahang, the Cantonese form 40 per cent of the Chinese population and constituted the largest proportion of the vegetable gardeners in the Highlands.²⁴

The distribution pattern for the most rurally inclined Hakka in the region is somewhat different. The striking feature as shown in Fig. 4.25 is the overwhelming majority of them in the States of Sarawak and Sabah. They moved into Sarawak early from Dutch Borneo to work in the gold mines and as farmers, and are considered to be the earliest and the most numerous immigrants that moved into this country. They form large communities in the rural areas of the First and Second Division. In 1947, 77 per cent of the Hakka people

lived in the First Division. This predominance was due to their early migration from Dutch Borneo into the Kuching-Bau mining area of the First Division.

The predominance of Hakkas in Sabah is explained by the fact that the country is largely agricultural and that the rurally-inclined Hakkas were the only Chinese who took kindly to the country in the early days. Their arrival in Sabah was not determined by any process of selection but rather by the accident of which recruiting agents - the Basel mission - happened to be available to the governments of the country. The mission drew on people it knew best, i.e. the Hakkas of Canton province. Eventually, the Hakkas in Sabah have not only become the largest dialect group but also show a higher percentage (54.8 per cent) than anywhere else in the region.

In urban areas like Singapore and Penang, Hakkas are less numerous and represent only 6.7 and 9.5 per cent of the total Chinese in each State respectively. This unusually low percentage of Hakkas in these two states can be explained by the fact that the economies of these states are not predominantly agrarian. Unlike the other states, Singapore and Penang have a relatively higher proportion of the Chinese labour force engaged in the tertiary sector. (see Chapter 5) The islands' entrepot economy provided jobs mainly for the urban-inclined Hokkiens and Tiechiu groups.

Hakkas are found associated with the Cantonese in the States of Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan, where they

supply the bulk of the mining labour and are also extensively employed on estates. (Fig. 4.29) Almost all the early Chinese miners in these states were Hakkas and Cantonese. It is true to say that it was these people, especially Hakkas, who pioneered the rapid expansion of the tin-mining industry in these States. The predominance of Hakka Chinese in Selangor, especially in Kuala Lumpur district, is also at least partly attributable to the influence of Yap Ah Loy, the capitan China of Kuala Lumpur from 1868 until 1885. At that time he held a very large area of mining land in Selangor, in addition to owning approximately two-thirds of the land in Kuala Lumpur town east of the Klang river.²⁵ As the mines had expanded, he arranged for labour to be imported direct from China, and as Yap himself was a Hakka from Kwangtung Province, it was natural that the majority of the labour he imported into the areas under his control were Hakkas. The Hakkas are also strongly represented in the districts of Seremban and Kuala Pilah in Negri Sembilan, where they are largely engaged in rubber plantation.

The Tiechius are the fourth of the Chinese dialect groups in numerical order. In South-east Asia from Thailand southwards, Tiechiu-speaking people dominate the grocery trade, selling such provisions as rice, salted fish, vegetables, fruit and condiments of all kinds. In Malaya and Northern Borneo, there is no exception to this identification of Tiechiu with the grocery business. Most of the Tiechius are urban dwellers,

concentrated mainly in Singapore, Penang and Johore. There are also many Tiechiu farmers in Penang and Kedah. (Fig. 4.25, 4.30) The growing of sugar-cane and other agricultural products is said to have begun in Province Wellesley before the colonization of Penang, and was cultivated mainly by Tiechiu.²⁶ The growing of vegetables in Province Wellesley and Kedah is entirely in the hands of the Tiechiu dialect group. In Penang and Kedah, the early association makes the Tiechiu the second-largest group there.²⁷ They are most numerous in the districts of Kuala Muda, Kulim and Bandar Bharu in Kedah, and the districts of Bukit Mertajam and Nibong Jermal in Penang.²⁸ In Sarawak, the Tiechiu mainly concentrated in Kuching and Simanggang as business-men and shop-keepers. In places like Debak Betong and Bintulu there are also a good many Tiechiu farmers.

Fifth in order of numbers are the Hainanese, who form 5.8 per cent of the total Chinese population in the region. Their strongholds are Singapore, Johore, Selangor and Perak. (Fig. 4.25, 4.31) In towns Hainanese are outstandingly associated with the coffee shop business and also with the occupations of cooks and sailors in European and Chinese employment. They are also widely distributed in the rural districts. Malacca and Johore are the centres in which most of the agricultural Hainanese are found. Large numbers of Hainanese were engaged in rubber cultivation, particularly in Johore. They formed the second largest group in Trengganu,

in which they are most numerous in the districts of Dungan and Kemamen chiefly engaged in rubber cultivation; and in Kuala Trengganu district, engaged in shop-keeping in the town of Kuala Tregganu, the capital of the State.

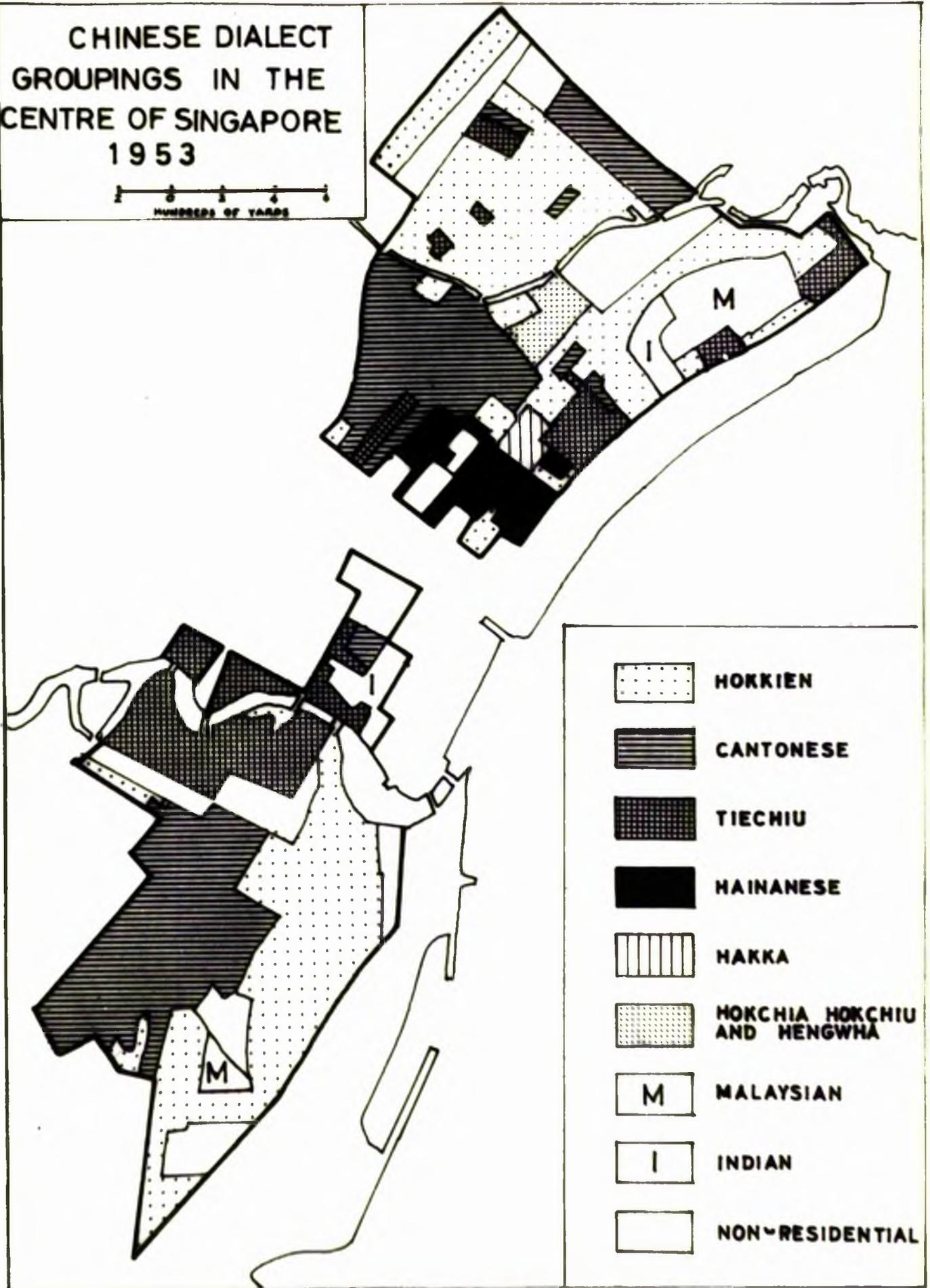
Another minority group which should be mentioned here is the Foochow who form the second most numerous Chinese dialect group in Sarawak. They are concentrated mainly in the Third Division (which contains 90 per cent of the Foochow in the country), especially in the lower Rejang and Sibü district, where they first entered Sarawak. (See Chapter 2). Indeed, Sibü town is known both in Sarawak and in China as "New Foochow". In Sibü, Foochows are found in every occupation though like the Hakka they are also largely farmers. There are also small communities of Foochows in other parts of Sarawak, such as Bintulu and Baram in the Fourth Division.

The general diversity of occupation and distribution of various dialect groups is high-lighted by the pattern exhibited in Singapore.

In 1953, Hodder observed that the Hokkien community was located in the older parts of Chinatown in a zone close to the river and the coast and near the business area,²⁹ a location which reflects the dominance of Hokkien immigrants in early Singapore and amongst Chinese merchants. (Fig.4.32) The Tiechiu community settled mainly on the south bank of the Singapore River in a very compact area. Occupational specialization has been a factor, as many Tiechiu were employed in the transfer of goods between riverside warehouses and tongkangs (small boats) and lighters crowding the river.

CHINESE DIALECT GROUPINGS IN THE CENTRE OF SINGAPORE 1953

HUNDREDS OF YARDS



(AFTER B.W. HODDER)

FIG. 4.32

Tiechiu have also dominated in some sections of inter-island boat trade dealing especially with West Borneo and Thailand where there are substantial Tiechiu trading communities. The Cantonese have been artisans of all types, and have had no great need of a location suitable for commercial activities. They have been concentrated in a substantial area away from the river to the south.

The relatively simple grouping south of the river, where many blocks contained Chinese population which was over 90 per cent of one specific dialect group were not repeated north of the river where the pattern was more complicated. Hokkien, Tiechiu and Cantonese showed scattered groupings, which were less homogenous than those to the south. Inland from Beach Road, just north of the government area, there was found a distinct grouping of Hainanese who specialized in the bars restaurants, confectionary and small goods shops common in these localities.

Other small groupings of minor dialect groups also occurred in the northern concentration of Chinese, including Hakka, who showed no significant occupational specialization, and Hokchia and Hokchin who were commonly employed in the nearby bus depot as drivers and conductors, and predominated in numerous bicycle repair shops and as trishaw riders.

There are strong and persistent reasons for this homogeneity amongst dialect groups: dialect difference preclude mutual intelligibility, although many in the smaller groups

know an additional dialect; and widespread illiteracy restricts the practical usefulness of calligraphy which transcends dialect differences. Important differences in taste and method of preparing cooked foods are of considerable significance in these congested areas often without internal domestic cooking facilities and therefore demanding outside communal eating places. Again, the Chinese tend to perpetuate in Singapore local family ties and village communities from China.³⁰

The tendency is undoubtedly towards a weakening of exclusiveness in the residential localization and occupational specialization of specific communities, but these well-developed patterns are likely to persist until the high densities and strong reluctance voluntarily to move out of the central core are compulsorily ended by large-scale urban redevelopment planned for the area.

The distribution of the Chinese dialect groups throughout Singapore at the time of the 1957 Census was much less clear-cut than the pattern in the central area of the city. As early as 1952 Hodder had already observed that the separation of Asians from their traditional social organization and the integration of the various cultures into a new "Malaysian Society" has progressed mostly in the outer quarters of the town, but only in the residential areas of the well-to-do families and not in the Malay Kampongs. Today, the Cantonese have the most distinctive distribution pattern with a high

degree of centralization and negligible proportions in the less built-up and less-developed districts. (Fig. 4.33) A relative concentration of Hokkien occurs in Serangoon, Katong and Jurong, and Tiechiu are disproportionately represented in Serangoon. The Hainanese are also found in the more-developed districts, with notable concentrations outside the central area in the Thomson Road, Bukit Timah Road, Tanglin, Upper Serangoon, Payer Lebar, Changi and Seletan localities; whereas the Hakka have significant proportions in all districts including the Southern Islands.

The dialect group composition of each administrative area, which indicates the relative importance of the communities within a given area is mainly determined by the gross numerical size of each dialect group. Among the Chinese, Hokkien are predominant in all areas. (Fig. 4.34) In the city, Cantonese have displaced Tiechiu as the second most numerous group, but in outlying areas, Cantonese are of minor importance, whereas Hainanese are an important element in Katong and the Southern Islands, and Hakkas in Jurong and Bukit Panjang.

Conclusion

To sum up, until the 19th century, the Chinese in Malaya were located mainly at certain points along the western coast, especially in the Straits Settlements of Singapore, Penang and Malacca. But with the development of tin and

AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE DIALECT GROUPS BY ADMINISTRATIVE AREA 1957

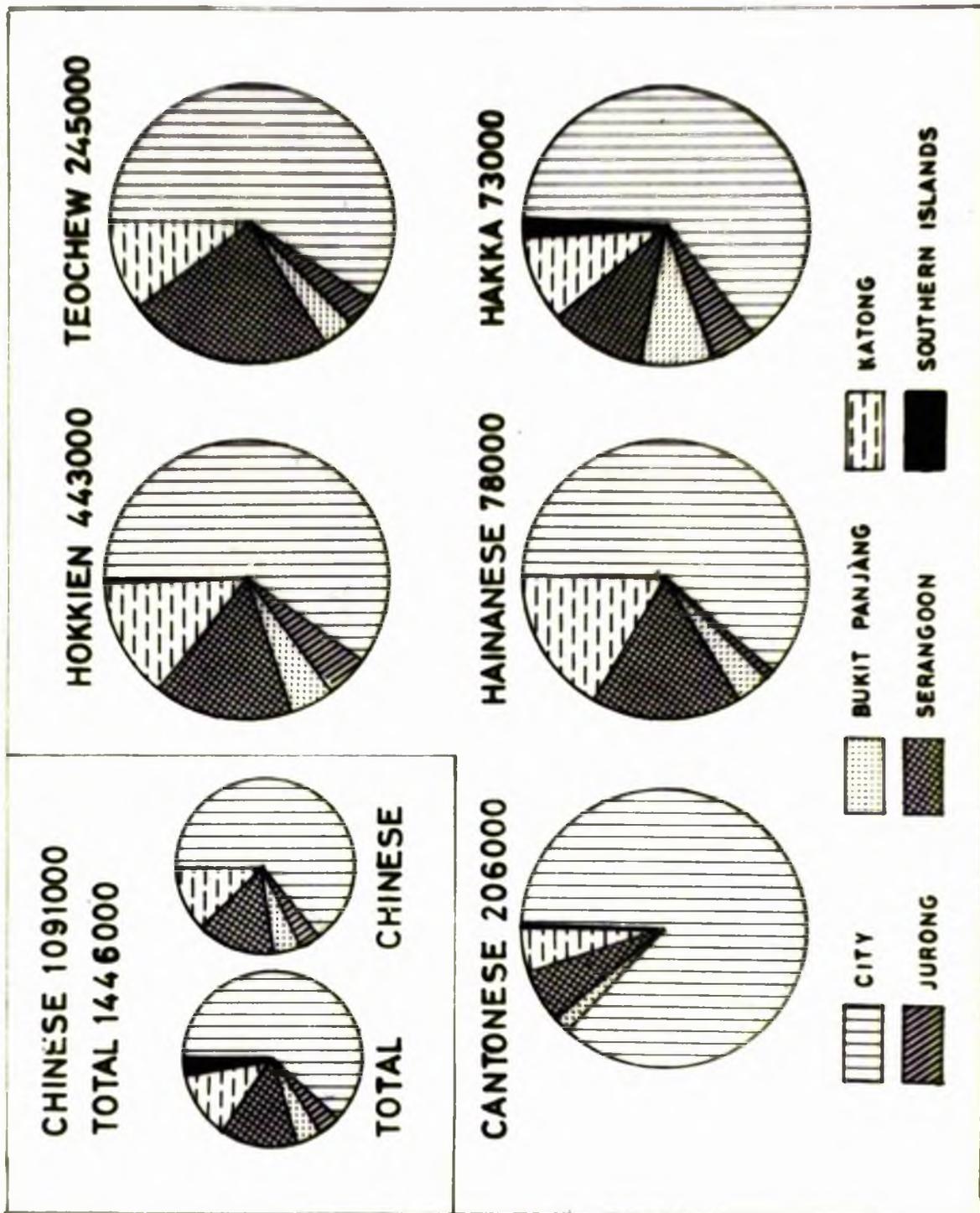


FIG. 4.33

COMPOSITION OF CHINESE DIALECT GROUPS BY ADMINISTRATIVE AREA 1957

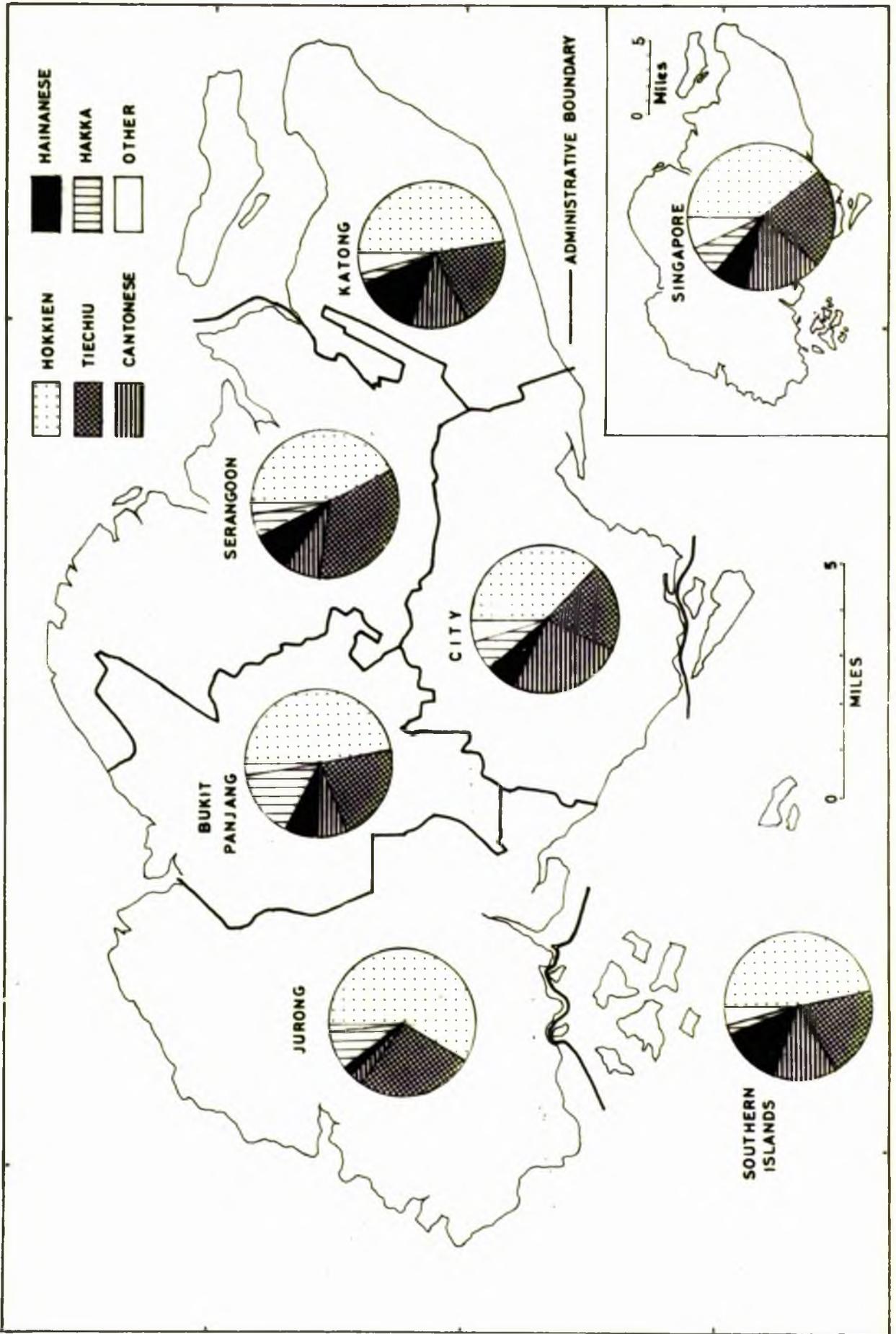


FIG. 4.34

rubber production in Malaya, the Chinese consequently moved inland from the coast mainly to the tin and rubber belt in the foothills of Western Malaya, and except for slight modifications, have remained there ever since. In Northern Borneo, the pattern is somewhat different. Few areas in Borneo, except for the oilfields in Miri, Seria, and Belait, were as economically advanced as eastern, let alone western Malaya, and to this day the distribution pattern of Chinese in coastal Borneo is very much like that of eastern Malaya, being concentrated in a few small pockets.

In the past, urbanization was largely due to the immigration of Chinese and Indians, following the consolidation of British interests in the country. The present phase is characterized by an ever increasing proportion of urban dwellers as a result of rural-urban migration, and the resettlement of Chinese in what in effect were small towns especially created for the purpose during the Emergency. Today, the urban population in Malaya as well as in Northern Borneo is mainly Chinese, with all but a minor fraction of the rest consisting of Malaysian, Indian and Indigenous people. If nothing intervenes to change the present trend, the Chinese will probably remain the majority group in the towns of Malaya and Northern Borneo.

Almost all the Chinese in the region are southerners. It was a characteristic of early Chinese migration that people from a particular district in China tended to congregate

together in a particular district or place overseas. Although Chinese traditional culture is a highly unified one, giving the whole country a common body of customs, values and beliefs, the South China coastal provinces still form an area of great linguistic diversity. The early immigrants preserved their local dialects, and these continued to determine the major groupings within the Chinese population in the region. Although these dialect groupings are no longer so important in terms of dividing the community they are important influences on the demographic and occupational patterns of the Chinese in various areas. It should also be noted that the process of fusion among them has taken place at an increasing rate in recent years, especially in the large urban centres. The occupational distinctions between these various dialect groups have been considerably modified with the passage of time and are becoming less and less discernible.

Footnotes:

1. Another factor that limited the expansion of rubber growing into the eastern Malaya was the government's policy. As Prof. Fisher states that "Since by the nineteen-twenties other countries were competing so strongly with Malaya that restriction rather expansion became the order of the day. No sufficient economic incentive existed to extend systematic development east of the Main Range. See Fisher C.A., "The Geographical Setting of the Proposed Malaysian Federation, Some Preliminary Considerations". J.T.G. Vol. 17, 1963. p.107.
2. For a description of the physical setting of Malaya and Northern Borneo, see Fisher, C.A., South-east Asia, A Social Economic and Political Geography, London, 1966, Chapter 17 and 20.
3. There was some early cultivation of cash crops near towns, e.g. in Johore and Singapore Island. See chapter 5.
4. It is estimated that in 1940 there were about 150,000 Chinese squatters in the country; in 1945 there were 400,000. See Perry Robinson, Transformation in Malaya. London, 1956, p.76 Three years after the Second World War, in 1948 there were still more than 300,000 squatters. Federal Legislative Council Minutes and Council Papers, Kuala Lumpur, 1950/51, p.b.102.
5. See Sandhu, Kernial Singh, "Emergency Resettlement in Malaya" J.T.G. Vo.18, August 1964. pp.157-183. These total figure of re-located and re-groupment areas have been checked by Sandhu in the field where possible. They do not accord in all instances with those gathered by other writers. For instance, in the Federation Annual Report, 1952, p.14, a total of 509 New Villages with a population of 461,822 is recorded. Robinson, Perry gives a figure of 500 with a population of 600,000 in his Tranformation in Malaya. (London 1956). The I.B.R.D. Report on the Economic Development of Malaya (Sin apore, 1955) records that there were 550 New Villages with a population of 570,000. Statistical Information concerning New Villages in the Federation of Malaya, (Kuala Lumpur, 1952) and Corry, W.C.S., A General Survey of the New Villages, (Singapore, 1954) list 446 and 439 New Villages with population of 458,000 and 532,000 respectively. Stead R., "The New Villages in Malaya", Geographical Magazine, Vol.27, 1954/55 p.642 has a figure of 550 New Villages with a population of 600,000. Hamzah Sendut, "The Resettlement Villages in Malaya", Geography Vol. XLVII, Jan. 1962, pp.41-6, lists 440 New Villages and 541,458 population. Lastly, the Federation of Malaya, Report of the Land Administration Commission, Kuala Lumpur, 1958,

p.40 puts the number of New Villages at 600, including the regroupment areas.

Resettlement of Chinese rural population was the result of British policy to deal with the Emergency. It was effected by the two processes of relocation and regroupment. Relocation means the transfer of dispersed rural settlers whether squatters or legitimate settlers into fortified compact villages, that were created for them. Regroupment entailed the transfer of the home and families of dispersed mine and estate labourers already living on land and in buildings provided by mines or plantations where they were employed. It involved legally settled people who were shifted from dispersed dwellings to the protection of a defended point within the premises of the mines and plantations. Thus, whereas relocation involved self-employed agricultural people, regroupment was concerned mainly with wage-earners.

6. See Sandhu, Kernial Singh, "The Population of Malaya, Some Changes in the Pattern of Distribution between 1947 and 1957". J.T.G. Vol. 15, June, 1961, p.91, Table 5.
7. See Vlieland, C.A., British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census London, 1932, pp.42-8. Del Tufo, M.V., Malaya, Report on the 1947 Census of Population, London, 1949, pp.44-8. Federation of Malaya, 1957 Population Census Report No.1 Table 3, and Report No. 14, pp.1-11.
8. There is as yet no satisfactory definition of the terms "urban" and "rural" which could be uniformly applied in any part of the world. In Malaya, for census purposes urban areas are taken to be towns or large villages which have 1,000 or more inhabitants in the 1911-1947 censuses and 2,000 or more in that of 1957. For the sake of convenience, the classification of 1,000 or more is retained for the purposes of this study.
9. See Ginsburg, N., Malaya, 1958. p.54.
10. See United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1962
11. Del Tufo, M.V., op.cit., Table 7, pp.161-171.
12. See Jacoby E.H., Agrarian Unrest in Southeast Asia, 1961 pp. 109-147.
13. Ipoh and its outlying settlements, mostly within a radius of four miles, form one organic urban area known as Greater Ipoh, which includes Gunong Rapat, Ampang Baham, Tambun, Kampong Simee, Bercham, Kampong Tawas, Jelapang, Bukit Merah and Pasir Pinji. The Chinese population forms

identify most of these settlements. By 1957 Greater Ipoh contained 172,327 persons (or 7.6 per cent of the urban population of Malaya) in which 128,225 were Chinese. (See Table)

14. The proportion of the urban dwellers in the total population decreased from 80 per cent in 1947 to 70 per cent in 1957. This was due primarily to the development of suburban housing and industrial estates which were settled by people from the congested city area. The movement away from the city, and the development of other urban centres on the island, is likely to be accelerated with the full implementation of the Government's Master Plan, which is designed to relieve congestion within the city and to develop the rural areas.
15. See Hodder, B.W., "Racial Groupings in Singapore" M.J.T.G. Vol. 1, Oct. 1953, pp.25-36.
16. The urban population of 111,757 in 1960 made up only 15 per cent of the total population. In 1947, 67,544 were classified as urban population, making up 12 per cent of the total population. Also in 1947, 28 per cent of the Chinese population but only 6 per cent of the indigenous people lived in urban areas. The figures for them in 1960 were 32.7 and 7 per cent respectively.
17. If we use 3,000 or more people as an "urban criterion, there are as many as five urban units in Sabah. There are only three towns with over 10,000 persons; none between 5 - 10,000 and the rest below 5,000. The five urban units give an urban population of 67,674 or 14.8 per cent of the total population. The proportions of Chinese in these five towns with 5,000 population or more is shown in the following table:

	Total Urban Pop.	Urban Chinese	% of total Urban population
Sandakan	28,806	21,315	74
Jesselton	21,719	14,529	67
Tawau	10,276	7,102	69
Kudat	3,660	2,712	74
Victoria	3,213	2,024	63
Total	67,674	47,682	70

SOURCE: Jones, L.W., North Borneo, Report on the Census of Population, 1960. Table 3, p.133

GREATER IPOH

	Total population	Chinese Pop.	% of Chinese to total pop.
Gunong Rapat	5,045	4,423	88
Ampang Baharu	2,352	2,312	98
Tambun	1,010	745	73
Kampung Simee	5,966	4,904	82
Kampung Bercham	4,347	4,214	97
Kanpong Tawas	2,628	2,562	98
Jelapang	5,168	4,843	93
Bukit Merah	6,085	6,037	99
Pasir Pinji	13,950	13,820	99
Ipoh town	125,776	84,365	67
Total	172,327	128,225	75

SOURCE: Based on Malaya 1957 Population Census Report.
No.1

18. The name Baba is Malay, a description name applied specifically to Male Straits-born Chinese. The companion term for female Straits-born Chinese is nyonya, again a word of non-Chinese origin. They appear to be principally of Hokkien descent and their "Baba-Malay" language, a mixture of Chinese and Malay with the latter predominating, has a great deal of Hokkien in it. For a brief description of Baba's cultural differentiation and their economic and social position see Freedman, M., "Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in Nineteenth-Century Singapore", C.S.S.H. Vol.111, 1960-1961. pp.27-29, Freedman M., "The Chinese in Southeast Asia: A Longer View" The China Society, London 1965. pp.10-13, and Freedman M., "Chinese Kinship and Marriage in Early Singapore", J.S.E.A.H., Vol.3, No.2, Sept. 1962. pp.65-73.
19. Del Tufo, M.V., op.cit., p.75
20. See Freedman, M., Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore, London 1957. pp.106-111.
21. Personal communication from the Register of Marriages, Singapore. There is no Statutory requirement for a Chinese to further classify himself or herself in which dialect group he or she belongs in the Registry of Marriage. Therefore statistical data in respect of intra- and extra- dialect marriages are not available.
22. Federation of Malaya, 1957 Population Census Report, No.10, p.9.
23. Ibid, Report No.8, p.14.
24. For a discussion of the Chinese vegetable gardening in the Cameron Highlands, see Clarkson J.D., The Cultural Ecology of a Chinese Village: Cameron Highlands, Malaysia. Chicago, 1968.
25. See Middlebrook, S.M., "Yap Ah Loy 1837-1885", J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol.24, part 2, 1951, pp.97-8. See also Jackson J.C., "Population Changes in Selangor State, 1850-1891", J.T.G., Vol.19, Dec. 1964. pp.50-54.
26. See Blythe, W.L., "A Historical Sketch of Chinese Labour in Malaya", J.M.B.R.A.S., 1947, Vol.XX, pt.1, p.67
27. For a discussion of the social and religious customs of the Tiechiu in Northern Malaya, see Newell, W.H., Treach-erous River, A Study of Rural Chinese in North Malaya. Kuala Lumpur, 1962.
28. Federation of Malaya, 1957 Population Census Report, No.4. pp.12-13, No.3. p.9.

29. See Hodder, B.W., op.cit., pp.33-36.

30. Ibid., p.36

CHAPTER 5THE ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHINESE COMMUNITIESIntroduction

Before the British acquisition of Penang in 1786, the Malay peninsula was sparsely populated, politically disunited and economically under-developed. Even the islands of Penang and Singapore were as yet covered with jungle and had few inhabitants. They were of no greater significance than the many other forest-covered islands off the coast. The peninsula produced only small quantities of tin, gold and jungle produce.

The 19th century witnessed sweeping changes in this pattern. After the establishment of British Straits Settlements in 1826, the economic development of the peninsula proceeded rapidly, particularly in the second half of the 19th century, as pioneers carved land from the jungle for agricultural or mining purposes in order to export the produce. To a very great extent this pioneering was undertaken by immigrant Chinese.

The Chinese came to Malaya mainly for economic reasons. They were not drawn by the prospects of permanent settlement but by the hope of making a "fortune" and then return to their homeland. Consequently, they took to such

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Introduction

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The 19th century witnessed sweeping changes in this pattern. After the establishment of British Straits Settlements in 1824, the economic development of the peninsula proceeded rapidly, particularly in the second half of the 19th century, as forests cleared land from the jungle for agricultural or mining purposes in order to export the produce. A very great extent of this plantation was undertaken by immigrant Chinese.

The Chinese came to Malaya mainly for economic reasons. They were not drawn by the prospect of permanent settlement but by the hope of making a "fortune" and then return to their homeland. Consequently, they looked to their

economic activities that could give a quick return on a small capital investment. Thus, the Chinese cultivated a small group of exportable crops, namely tapioca, gambier, pepper, spices and sugar in 19th century Malaya. Although some of these experiments proved to be futile and many others had little significance, the cultivation of pepper, gambier and tapioca under Chinese management achieved a greater degree of success and embraced a larger area in Malaya than any other form of export-orientated agriculture prior to the advent of rubber. The first section of this chapter thus considers in some detail the various features of this important process of Chinese agricultural pioneering, which had marked effects on the agricultural economy of Malaya.

Today, the economic development of Malaya is concentrated to a large extent on the production of rubber and tin for export, on the output of a variety of foodstuffs and secondary manufactures mainly for domestic consumption. Financial and commercial services, for domestic markets and for the large entrepôt trade with most of Southeast Asia were also important. The role of Chinese labour, capital and enterprise has been of special significance in the economic development of Malaya. A description of their share in rubber cultivation, tin-mining and commercial activities will be given in this chapter.

While Malaya made a great advance in economic

developments, due largely to the Chinese effort in tin-mining and other agricultural activities in the late 19th and 20th centuries, the three Borneo territories remained poor and backward throughout that period. Production of pepper, sage, rice, antimony and gold in Borneo was on a small scale. Moreover, owing largely to the different patterns of government in the two countries, production in Sarawak and Sabah was organized on entirely different lines. In the decades preceding the rubber era, which started about 1910, the former country came to depend largely on pepper, gutta-percha and sage and the latter on tobacco. Sarawak's crops resulted not from organized enterprise but from family and individual effort. Indeed, only pepper was deliberately planted by Chinese, the other two being culled by indigenous people from the appropriate jungle and swamp trees. In Sabah, the Chartered Company strained every nerve to encourage large-scale production, and to bring in settlers and contract labourers from Hong Kong and China. Besides tobacco, other products of value in Sabah were timber, catch and coal. It was not until the 1920s that the rubber crop was of vital importance to the economics of these two territories.

Brunei's main products in the early 1920s were catch, coal and rubber. Coal quickly disappeared from the list of exports, and the importance of the other two products dwindled as oil was worked in the 1930s and became of such

value that by 1959 the revenue of this minute State equalled that of Sarawak and Sabah together.

Today, Northern Borneo is largely undeveloped. Forests still cover a large part of the country and with few roads or railroads, communications are mainly restricted to waterways. Economic exploitation and development have so far taken place only in the coastal regions while the interior portions are largely uninhabited forests. The total population is small and capital for the development in the few coastal areas has mainly come from abroad as has some of the labour force.

As in most other South-east Asian countries, primary production underlies the entire Bornean economy. Most of the people are engaged in subsistence cultivation while another segment produces agricultural and forest products for export. The acreage actually devoted to agriculture in this forest-clad land is small (about 6 per cent of the total area of 79,000 sq. miles), yet it is of primary importance in the country. Even in Brunei where oil production predominates, 34 per cent of the population is still engaged in agriculture; Sarawak and Sabah each have more than 80 per cent of their people in agriculture. The value of agricultural exports also indicates their importance in the economy. The principal industries are extractive with petroleum production being the most important. The economy of Northern Borneo taken

as a whole may be portrayed as mainly agricultural with an oil industry wedged into it.

At present, the principal agricultural products for export are rubber, pepper, copra and sago. Rice is the main staple food, but Northern Borneo produces only about half its own needs. Timber has now become the chief forest product, but the products of gathering activities are still significant. Petroleum however, is currently the most valuable product of the area as a whole, and is the most thoroughly developed resource.

Although the numbers of Chinese entering Northern Borneo have not been as large as those entering Malaya, they have made a similar contribution in building up the economy in Northern Borneo; especially in agricultural and commercial activities.

Today, there still exists a sharp contrast in economic development between Malaya and Northern Borneo. Except for the oil-fields, first in Sarawak and now in Brunei, few parts in Northern Borneo have ever been as economically advanced as Malaya. This situation is a characteristic reflection of the time-lag between Malaya and Borneo which, as Prof. C.A. Fisher points out, results from the greater remoteness of the latter and expresses itself in many different ways. Another aspect of this is evident in the different pattern of Chinese economic activity between these

two areas, which will be discussed in Section Two of this chapter.

The Development of the Economic Structure of
the Chinese Communities

(1) Chinese Agricultural Enterprise in Malaya, 1786-1957.

a. Early Agricultural Plantations in Malaya:

There is a close relationship between the establishment of the British Straits Settlements of Penang, Singapore and Malacca and the beginnings of large-scale Chinese immigration to Malaya. Throughout the 19th century these settlements not only served as the centres of economic activities for the Chinese agricultural pioneers, but retained their positions as starting and controlling points for Chinese penetration into the relatively undeveloped Malay States.

The founding of Penang by Francis Light in 1786, was the first great event in the development of modern Malaya. At first, Light was eager to attract residents of all nationalities to grow spices for shipment to Europe, and allowed newcomers to occupy whatever land they could clear (almost all of it being covered by dense jungle). To attract traders, he had been instructed to make the port free to all nations, and to refrain from levying any kind of duties or tax on goods or vessels. His policy achieved its object. There was a heavy influx of settlers and large

areas of land were cleared in various parts of the island, mainly by Chinese and Malays.

In 1790, Light had introduced pepper plants from Sumatra and the cultivation of pepper became the chief planting interest. This was the first type of export-orientated agriculture to develop in a British Settlement in the Malay Peninsular. Pepper vines were introduced by the Capitan China of Penang, Che Kay, with financial aid from Light. Planting probably began in the Sungei Kluang area and was known to be first undertaken by Chinese.¹ During the early 1790s, the Chinese occupied and planted comparatively small holdings in many parts of the island while many of the European residents planted pepper in their newly-acquired estates. By 1798 a total of 533,230 vines had been planted in Penang, probably occupying between 700 and 900 acres.²

Pepper planting in Penang from the very beginning was a joint European-Chinese enterprise. In the early 19th century a European planter proposing to open a new plantation first employed a group of Malays to clear the jungle and all subsequent work was undertaken by Chinese labour invariably employed on a contract system.³ The Chinese were, in fact, always the chief cultivators of pepper in Penang whether as labourers for the contractors or as small-scale planters on their own behalf. The small-holdings planted with pepper

were probably opened up by Chinese sin-kheh labourers who had completed the period necessary for the repayment of their passage money.

Between 1798 and 1801, a further three-quarters of a million vines were planted, bringing the total number in cultivation to over one and a quarter million, and the planted area to between 1700 and 2,200 acres.⁴ In 1802 Penang produced 16-20 thousand pikuls (1 pikuls = 133.3 lbs), and pepper was already "the most important article of produce" on the island.⁵ The annual yield of the Penang pepper plantations is believed to have risen to as much as 30,000 pikuls by 1806.⁶ But, as demand on the London market declined from 1807 onward the prices fell drastically. The effects of this depression were clearly visible on the island. In many areas plantations were neglected or abandoned, and by 1810 "a large proportion of the island formerly in high cultivation had again reverted to its original state of jungle."⁷ Production had declined to about 20,000 pikuls in 1810 and to 12-14 thousand pikuls in 1815.⁸

Interest in pepper planting in Penang revived after the fall of Napoleon as European markets were reopened to British trade and pepper prices rose. Neglected plantations were improved and between 1816 and 1818 over 300,000 vines were planted. Production increased accordingly but this

revival was short-lived, for prices on the London market fell markedly after 1817.⁹ Thereafter pepper suffered the depredation of insects on the plantations and the Penang planters began to abandon pepper in the mid-1820s; by 1825 output was estimated to total only about 8,000 pikuls. Pepper prices continued to fall in the late 1820s and the increasing interest in nutmegs and cloves resulting from the first successes of the pioneer planters hastened the decline of the pepper plantations. By the mid-1830s production was less than 2,000 pikuls and "the jungle (had) usurped the extensive tracts formerly under pepper."¹⁰

The introduction of clove and nutmeg cultivation was part of the plans of the founders of Penang. A total of 71,266 nutmeg and 55,264 clove plants were imported from the Moluccas to Penang between 1798 and 1802. They were planted in a 130-acre Government botanical garden at Ayer Itam and on several European-owned plantations; some were also planted on Chinese-owned holdings!

By 1838 nutmeg cultivation was extending rapidly in all parts of the island as new plantations, varying in size from less than an acre to several hundred acres, were established. The expansion of nutmeg planting in the 1830s and 1840s was largely European-sponsored, but at the same time however, a considerable number of very small plantations were opened by Chinese squatters.¹² Individual Chinese

squatters, financed in the traditional way by members of their own community, cleared and planted a multitude of small plantations; usually these were less than two acres in size and were worked by a single labourer. The cultivation of nutmegs, even on the European-owned plantations, was mainly in Chinese hands. By 1853 the area devoted to spices in Penang had increased to an estimated 9,430 acres and in Province Wellesley to 488 acres.¹³ However, by the 1850s prospects were no longer so encouraging and by the end of the decade the nutmeg had completely lost favour in Penang. After spice planting had been abandoned completely by the European residents at Penang, it was eventually revived on a smaller scale over a decade later by Chinese planters, chiefly Hakkas, and has continued to be of minor importance in the agricultural economy of this area to the present day.¹⁴

As early as 1800, before Province Wellesley was ceded to the British, Chinese were said to have begun to grow sugar-cane on Batu Kawan Island.¹⁵ Clearly the Chinese initiated the sugar industry in this area, as Thomson noted in 1875 that the Chinese were "the first who reared the cane and refined the sugar in quantities sufficient to make it a leading article of export."¹⁶ The American Consul in Singapore, writing after a visit to the Province Wellesley estates in 1896, maintained that the cultivation of sugar "as a product of export was first commenced by some Chinese

from Swafow, who ... settled in the central and southern portion of the Province of Wellesley."¹⁷

As in Thailand, estate sugar cultivation was probably introduced by Tiechius. There was, in fact, a traditional Tiechiu specialization in plantation agriculture and in the early 19th century members of this group were the agriculturists and plantation workers par excellence throughout South-east Asia. Moreover, during the 19th century the Tiechiu region of south China was known for its production of sugar for export so that this dialect group had acquired the skills necessary for sugar-cane cultivation and processing.¹⁸

Most of the pioneer Chinese sugar estates in Province Wellesley were opened between 1810 and 1820 and probably in the later years of that decade.¹⁹ The first estates were established on flat, very low-lying mangrove-covered land in the northern part of Batu Kawan Island and immediately to the north of nearby Bukit Tambun. The Chinese were attracted by the richness of the soil, the facility of water communications and cheapness of fire wood. Low noted in 1836 that:

"There are about 2,000 Chinese collected, as cultivators or otherwise, on these plantations. At present they may be considered as the sole sugar-makers at this settlement...." 20

With the advent of European planters during the 1840s further expansion of the Chinese-owned sugar estates

was restricted. In 1858 they still comprised about 1,000 acres, yielding approximately one tone of sugar per acre.²¹ On the other hand, 11 large European-owned sugar estates existed in Province Wellesley in 1858. They occupied a total of 10,720 acres, of which 4,500 acres were planted with cane, and produced annually about 4,000 tons of sugar and 200,000 gallons of rum.²² By this date the sugar planting industry had become a European-controlled enterprise. Most of the planted area and that held in reserve lay on European-owned estates, and the largest Chinese-owned estate in 1860 had about 500 acres under the cane.²³

Sugar planting declined very rapidly after about 1905. In the Province the area devoted to sugar cane fell from 14,700 acres in 1904 to a mere 31 acres in 1913 in which year the last sugar factory was closed.²⁴ Afterwards sugar cane was mainly serving as a catch-crop for the more remunerated crops like rubber and coconuts throughout Province Wellesley. Many of the former sugar estates passed into the hands of newly-formed rubber planting companies.

The island of Singapore was not completely uninhabited and uncultivated when it was formed in 1819. There was already a small population of Malays and Chinese, some of whom were engaged in agricultural activities, and by 1819 Chinese gambier plantations had been established on the hills on the northern, western and south-western periphery of the

new town.²⁵ In 1822 Colonel W. Farquhar indicated that some 20 gambier plantations belonging to both Malays and Chinese, existed on Singapore when the British arrived.²⁶

The date of opening of these first plantations and the place of origin of the Chinese settlers who worked them are unknown. Purcell suggested that the first Chinese to settle in Singapore on the establishment of the British Settlement came from Malacca and Riau.²⁷ There were Chinese gambier planters in Riau in the late 18th century, and it is possible that some of these moved to Singapore in the 1790s or early 1800s to avoid the disturbances of that period.²⁸ It is highly likely that the system of cultivation and financing associated with these pioneer plantations in Singapore came with these settlers from Riau.

Pepper and gambier were often grown together, with the waste from gambier used as fertiliser for the pepper vine. In the three decades after the founding of Singapore, Chinese gambier and pepper planting expanded rapidly, particularly under the stimulus of high prices in the British market in the mid-1830s. By 1839 these plantations formed "the only cultivation on the island which has yet assumed any degree of commercial importance."²⁹ However, the total area devoted to these crops increased from 2,350 acres in 1836 to between four and five thousand acres in 1840.³⁰ By this date the planters had begun to push much further into

the interior of the island, and some ten years later there were estimated to be 24,220 acres under gambier and 2,614 acres under pepper.³¹ As a result, the total quantity of gambier produced in Singapore increased markedly. In 1836 production was estimated to total 22,000 pikuls. This rose to about 48,000 pikuls in 1839 and to 80,000 pikuls in 1848.³² In the latter year the Singapore plantations also produced 30,923 pikuls of pepper. These two crops together occupied over three-quarters of the total estimated cultivated area and accounted for nearly three-fifths of the total value of agricultural produce on the island. The importance of these two crops can be seen from Table 5.1 which refers to the year 1849.

An estimate of the Chinese population of Singapore in 1848 by a contemporary Chinese, himself involved in this agricultural enterprise, shows clearly that this form of cultivation was dominated by Tiechius; indeed over 90 per cent of the Chinese gambier and pepper planters on the island at that date were members of this dialect group.³³

The estimate of the population of 39,700 is considerably too high, the nearest census taken, that of December 1849, showing a total population of Chinese amounting to only 27,988.³⁴ But we need not concern ourselves greatly with the accuracy of Siah's figures; and we can, at least, gain a fair picture from them of the kinds of economic

TABLE 5.1THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF SINGAPORE, 1849

Product	Acreage	Gross Revenue
Nutmegs	1,190	₹ 29,679
Cloves	28	-
Coconuts	2,658	10,800
Betel-nut	445	1,030
Fruit	1,037	9,568
Gambier	24,220	80,000
Pepper	2,614	108,230
Vegetables	879	34,675
Sugar-cane	400	32,386
Pineapples, etc.	1,562	
Pasture	402	2,000
Total	35,435	₹ 308,368

SOURCE: Makepeace, W., et. al. ed.,
One Hundred Years of Singapore,
 London 1921. Vol. II p.71.

activity in which Chinese engaged at this period and there can be little doubt that they correctly indicate the relative dominance of the Tiechiu dialect group in gambier and pepper cultivation.

The large number of Chinese engaged in gambier and pepper plantation at this period indicates their ability to seize on the profitable possibilities of a location, for this cultivation was initiated in response to efforts on the part of the administrators of the island to encourage agriculture. In a short time, much of the land had been cleared by the Chinese who planted gambier and pepper.³⁵

However, gambier and pepper planting in Singapore suffered a relatively lean period in the later 1850s and 60s.³⁶ Expansion was discouraged by reduced prices and by the fact that in the mid-1850s all "squatters" on the island were called upon to take out titles to their land and pay rents for it.³⁷ By the very nature of their system of cultivation most planters were unwilling to do this. Although there was very little virgin jungle left in Singapore in 1859,³⁸ there was only some six to seven thousand acres planted with gambier and pepper on the island by 1860-61 yielding approximately 20,000 pikuls of gambier and 10,000 pikuls of pepper.³⁹

By the late 1860s the situation had improved "because more labour was imported and the demand from Europe became stronger."⁴⁰ In 1870 Singapore exported approximately

580,600 pikuls of gambier, about half of which had been grown on the island.⁴¹ As a result of rising prices in the 1870s the amount exported had steadily increased. By the mid-1880s gambier and pepper plantations were widespread in the northern and western parts on the island.

In 1890 there was still about 11,000 acres devoted to these crops in Singapore.⁴² However, the following year this declined to 6,100 acres, and between 1891 and 1907 the acreage planted with gambier and pepper on the island tended to fluctuate around a total of 6,000 acres. After about 1905 gambier and pepper quickly lost favour amongst the Chinese planters whose interests were turning to pineapple growing and rubber cultivation. The total acreage under gambier and pepper fell to 600 acres in 1912 and to 75 acres the following year.

Gambier cultivation exhausts the soil rapidly and no doubt that was the principal reason why it was given up. Furthermore, in order to boil the gambier leaves, the planters required large reserves of firewoods; indeed it is estimated that an area of forest roughly equal in area to the cultivated holding was cleared to provide the necessary fuel.⁴³ Already by 1836 complaints were being made:

.... about the jungle being all out down for firewood, and about plantations being deserted and allowed to run to lalang grass, while a fresh plantation was made in the nearest favourable site, and further devastation commenced. 44

Since the pepper was planted in conjunction with gambier, and naturally it died out with it.

The development of nutmeg planting in the first half of the 19th century was not restricted to the northern Settlement. Nutmeg plants and seeds were sent to Singapore in 1819 and were planted on the slope of Fort Canning Hill by the European residents.⁴⁵ It was not until the end of the 1840s that the Chinese began to take an interest in the enterprise. The crop was planted by Chinese at various places on the island, and by 1848 there were fifty-eight nutmeg plantations of varying sizes in Singapore owned mainly by Europeans and Chinese.⁴⁶

European planting activities had reached their peak by the end of the 1840s. The Chinese, having entered the field later, continued to plant nutmegs during the early 1850s in the various parts of the island in which they were also cultivating gambier and pepper. By 1855 over 36,500 nutmeg trees, of which 2,600 were in bearing, had been planted on Chinese holdings in Singapore.⁴⁷ By this time, however, several adverse factors like the dearth of suitably skilled labour, scarcity of suitable types of manure, suffering from the ravages of disease and the like, had served to dampen the early enthusiasm for nutmeg planting. By the early 1860s many of the plantations had been abandoned or replanted with other crops, including coconuts and fruit

trees.

When, later, Singapore Chinese population increased by leaps and bounds and pepper and gambier growing ceased to play an important part in the Singapore economy, the role of the agriculturist in Singapore Chinese society declined. In the later part of the 19th century and in the present century Chinese worked as fishermen and planted vegetables, pineapples, coconuts and some rubber; but the rural Chinese engaged in these pursuits were always in a minority and formed a relatively unimportant and uninfluential part of Chinese society.

Until the mid-19th century the interests of the Chinese in Malacca centred on trade and commerce in the town itself and on tin-mining in the Durian Tunggal, Ayer Panas and Kesang areas. By mid-century, however, Malacca had been eclipsed as a trading centre by the more recent settlements of Penang and Singapore. Moreover, the rich stanniferous areas of the Malay States were proving more attractive to mining capital and labour and tin-mining based on meagre deposits was a short-lived enterprise in Malacca. In their search for a profitable alternative the Chinese of Malacca turned to the cultivation of export crops, and tapioca was the first to attract their attention in the early 1850s.⁴⁸

Tapioca was used for the manufacture of sage and as a pig fodder. In 1860 there was estimated to be about

1,000 acres under tapioca in Malacca, producing some 2,000 pikuls and located within a ten-mile radius of the town. Two years later the crop was extensively planted and by the late 1860s occupied about 10,000 acres.⁴⁹ The industry expanded rapidly, and by 1871 there were 33 estates, totalling 19,900 acres, and producing 138,950 pikuls of tapioca, valued at £110,000.⁵⁰ By 1881, there was a record of 72,036 acres under this crop, while the number of tapioca factories increased to 47.⁵¹

The tapioca planters watched the state of the market very closely and responded quickly to price changes.⁵² This initial era of prosperity and rapid expansion came to an abrupt end in the early 1880s when the price fell disastrously. By 1884 one-third of the tapioca plantations had been abandoned and another third had stopped manufacturing.⁵³ A concurrent change in government policy towards the tapioca industry tended to exacerbate the effects of this drastic fall in prices. In 1886, the government decided not to grant any more land for tapioca planting on the ground that it had caused the devastation of large tracts of valuable forest. The combined effects of the fall in prices and the change in government policy were immediately apparent. The area held by tapioca planters declined from 92,900 acres in 1882 to 13,200 acres in 1886, and total exports of tapioca from Malacca decreased from 241,755

pikuls in 1882 to 178,820 pikuls in 1886.⁵⁴

However, in view of the belief that plantations would produce a large revenue for the government from premiums and rents, the official attitude towards the industry began to relax and new land was granted for tapioca planting in the later years of the decade. Prices had again risen and by 1887 tapioca was again yielding large profits. This resurgence of the industry was short-lived and towards the end of 1889 prices began to decline.⁵⁵ By 1896 the situation was such that at current prices it did not pay to sell, and nearly every Chinese planter had thousands of bags stored up waiting for the price to rise.⁵⁶

As always, the change in market conditions was reflected immediately in a declining crop area. This time, however, there was the beginning of a change in policy on the part of the planters. Having lost much of their confidence in tapioca many began to turn their attention to other crops.

Commercial production of gambier, in association with pepper cultivation, was first begun by Chinese planters in Malacca in the mid-19th century, following favourable prices and constantly high demands from local tanners and dyers, and from Singapore merchants who wished to export it to Europe.⁵⁷ Planting expanded rapidly during the 1870s. Between 1871 and 1879 exports of gambier from Malacca almost

trebled and those of pepper more than trebled. In 1877 there were 21 gambier factories in Malacca, and by 1882 this number had increased to 171.⁵⁸ In the next ten years, following the influx of more Chinese, the number of gambier factories increased to 202, and the area under gambier and pepper amounted to 7,800 acres.⁵⁹ The peak of gambier and pepper production was reached in 1911, when 11,920 acres were devoted to these two crops.⁶⁰ With the development of the rubber industry and a fall in demand for gambier in Europe, following the availability of cheaper alternative sources of tanning and dyeing materials, gambier and pepper growing gradually had declined as a commercial enterprise amongst the Chinese by the beginning of the First World War.⁶¹

Mills maintained that the history of spice cultivation at Malacca "can be dismissed in a few words: there was none."⁶² But Malacca was not entirely passed over by the developments occurring in the other settlements. Nutmegs and cloves were grown on a small scale in the second and third decades of the 19th century, although admittedly with little success.

By 1827, spice trees had been planted by some of the Chinese planters but were restricted to a few small plantations.⁶³ Some nutmegs and cloves were produced during the 1840s but the enterprise achieved little success and by the end of the decade was hardly worthy of note.

This absence of spice plantations at Malacca to rival those that developed at Penang and Singapore cannot be explained in terms of the greater suitability of the soil and climate of these last two Settlements. The fundamental inhibiting factor in the case of Malacca was the intractable land question. When the British took possession of Malacca in 1825 very large parts of the territory were held by a small number of "Dutch Proprietors", who for various reasons, had done relatively little to develop their holdings agriculturally. In 1828 the government decided to take over the land and compensate the proprietors financially. Land laws were introduced in 1830. These laws, however, represented an attempted compromise between the English and Malay tenure systems and merely served to cause increased confusion during the 1830s and 40s.⁶⁴ These circumstances gave little encouragement to planters to indulge in the heavy, long-term investment required to establish spice plantations.

Sugar planting was first introduced on a large scale into Malacca in 1846-7. At this time, there were a few Chinese planting sugar on a small scale in the Settlement and in March 1846 an advertisement was inserted in the Singapore Free Press by Chinese offering to contract to supply canes if a European would establish a factory in Malacca.⁶⁵ Soon afterwards, applications were made by some wealthy Malacca Chinese and by several Europeans from

Singapore for about 20,000 acres of land for the purpose of sugar planting. Two large companies were proposed in addition to several private undertakings. At this time, the local government had long been plagued by land problems and was not prepared to entertain "such extensive applications on the instant", so the matter was referred to the authorities in Bengal.⁶⁶ Grants on favourable terms were directed to be issued by the Bengal government. But the land was never taken up because by the time that the reply was received from Bengal a fall in prices consequent upon "the later mercantile distress in England" had altered the plans of the applicants.⁶⁷ Henceforth, the interests of the sugar planters centred on the northernmost settlement, and later the adjacent parts of Perak.

At the beginning of the 19th century, Johore was sparsely populated, Apart from small fishing villages along the coast, the interior of the country was undeveloped and largely unexplored. As early as 1657 a group of Chinese merchants had established themselves there to avoid interference from the Dutch⁶⁷ but it was not until the 1830s that Chinese settlers began to come in any numbers. There was little of the mineral wealth that attracted pioneers to other parts of the Malay peninsula, but Chinese farmers were encouraged by accounts of the richness of the soil in the river valleys. As the agricultural areas on Singapore island

became exhausted many settlers began to cross the Johore Strait, going with confidence since at first they relied on the Temenggong to grant them the same measure of protection that he himself enjoyed from the government of the Straits Settlement as a resident of Singapore.⁶⁸

The Temenggong found it most profitable to induce Chinese to open up the river valleys and he issued to the leaders of these pioneer groups "surat sungei" or river documents. These grants gave to the headman, known as Kangchu ("lord of the river"), right to cultivate areas of land in certain valleys and to hold the monopoly of the opium, gambling, pawnbroking, alcohol and pork farms among the communities. In return the Kangchu was responsible for the payment to the State of rent and dues, and of licence fees for opium shops, gambling dens, theatres and other ventures.⁶⁹

Once started the movement into Johore rapidly gained momentum and by the 1840s and 50s numerous Chinese planters were pioneering on the mainland. In 1845 it was reported that within the previous six months 52 new plantations had been established by Chinese from Singapore. There were about 500 people in all engaged in these plantations, and it was thought that "the immigration will increase as the gambier and pepper plantations on this island (i.e. Singapore) wear out, which, from their age, many of them are fast doing."⁷⁰

The movement of Chinese across the Johore Strait during the 1840s and 50s may have been augmented by a migration from the exhausted plantations of Riau. By the early 1860s there were about 1200 gambier and pepper plantations in Johore, employing a labour force of some 15,000. Although the majority were still concentrated on the rivers flowing into the Johore Strait, some had appeared "further north on the rivers flowing into the open sea."⁷¹

As on Singapore Island the financing of the gambier and pepper plantations in Johore was controlled by residents of Singapore town. The farmers invariably had to borrow capital from Chinese merchants in Singapore in order to develop their plantations, and in return for these advances the Kangchus were bound to sell their gambier and pepper crops to their creditors in Singapore at a fixed price which allowed for a generous margin of profit to the investor. They also had to purchase provisions and supplies for the settlements from these same merchants. In 1864 the Chinese merchants of Singapore claimed that they had advanced over one million dollars to develop these plantations, although in fact, most of this money had been borrowed originally by them from European merchants. At this date there were 100 gambier shops and over 200 provision stores in Singapore which relied almost entirely on the Johore trade.⁷²

By the early 1870s, there were 29 Johore rivers

with Chinese plantations on their banks; ten years later double that number of rivers had been opened.⁷³ The 1880s and 90s were, in fact, a period of rapidly increasing demand for gambier in the British and North American markets, the main destinations of the Singapore exports. The prices of gambier and pepper had risen and as a result production in Johore increased markedly. In 1880 the State exported to Singapore 316,063 pikuls of gambier and 56,203 pikuls of pepper. Three years later there was estimated to be some four thousand gambier factories in Johore, and by 1889 output had risen to 400,544 pikuls of gambier and 117,024 pikuls of pepper. In 1894 Dato Abdul Rahman, Secretary to the Sultan of Johore, was moved to say "seven or eight years ago we produced most of the gambier used all over the world."⁷⁴

By the 1890s the opening up of gambier and pepper plantations in other parts of Malaya had tended to reduce the relative importance of Johore as a producing state. Exports of gambier fell by over 40 per cent between 1890 and 1910. Between 1912 and 1917 much gambier had been interplanted with rubber and much had been eradicated to make room for rubber; exports of both gambier and pepper declined by 60 per cent, each year showing a substantial fall. The death knell of gambier and pepper planting was sounded in 1917 with the abolition of the Kangchu system.

As early as the 1850s, Chinese were planting

gambier and pepper in what later became the Coast District of Negri Sembilan. Nevertheless, large-scale expansion of Chinese gambier and pepper planting in the State of Negri Sembilan and Selangor did not occur until after British intervention. In September 1876, the Sultan of Selangor on the advice of the British Resident, granted a twenty-year concession for gambier and pepper planting to Toh Eng Sien for an area of land not exceeding 20,000 acres at Sengkang in the Sungei Raya District. The land was to be held rent-free and no duty was to be levied on the gambier and pepper exports.⁷⁵ By 1886, there were 7,000 acres under these crops on Toh's concession and in addition there were about 2,000 acres of cultivated land in the nearby Lukut district, principally planted with gambier and pepper.⁷⁶

A marked expansion of gambier and pepper planting occurred in the late 1880s as a result of the simultaneous introduction in 1884 of special regulations designed to encourage this form of agriculture in Sungei Ujong, Selangor and Perak. The response in Selangor was immediate and a block of over 10,000 acres was taken up by Chinese at Sepang in Kuala Langat District, while smaller plantations were begun in the Districts of Kuala Lumpur and Ulu Langat.⁷⁷

In Sungei Ujong, during 1885 alone, applications were submitted for 1,800 acres in the Pasir Panjang area and 6,000 acres at Lukut, and by 1887 gambier and pepper planting

was beginning to supersede tapioca planting as the chief form of agricultural enterprise. Up to that date 1466 acres had been taken up for gambier and pepper in the State, and there were almost 1,500 Chinese in the coastal district of Sungei Ujong, 1,000 of whom were employed on the Sengkang concession and another 300 in the Pasir Panjang area.⁷⁸

In the late 1880s several large blocks of land were granted to Chinese gambier and pepper planters on leases. In particular, a 5,000 acre concession was granted to a Chinese in Lukut in 1887, and in July 1888, 6,145 acres at Tanah Merah, adjacent to the Sepang concession in Selangor, were leased for 36 years to Loh Chong Keng and Lo Tee Seng. In January 1889 a further 9,371 acres in this area were leased to the same people for a 36-year period, and hereafter this block of over 15,000 acres is referred to as the Tanah Merah Concession.⁷⁹ In addition, several other small blocks were leased to Chinese gambier and pepper planters in old Sungei Ujong and the states of the old Negri Sembilan.

Development proceeded rapidly on the Tanah Merah concession and by 1890 it gave employment to upwards of 1,000 coolies. In 1891 this concession exported about 6,000 pikuls of gambier, and from that date onwards was the leading producer in Sungei Ujong.⁸⁰ In addition, operations on a large scale were being carried on the Chinese plantations at Sepang in Selangor in the early 1890s. In 1890 this

concession employed about 1,000 Chinese and produced 11,740 pikuls of gambier, more than either the Tanah Merah or Seng Kang concessions in the adjacent state, and greater in value than any other export from Selangor with the exception of tin.⁸¹

By 1901 almost 30,000 acres were in the hands of gambier and pepper planters in the Coast District of Negri Sembilan, representing roughly half the total area alienated for agricultural purposes. The most important concentration, as it had been for the previous decade, was the Tanah Merah region. At the same date the Sepang concession in Selangor comprised a total of 13,500 acres and it is possible that some gambier and pepper had been planted on Loke Yew's huge agricultural concession in Ulu Selangor.⁸² At the turn of the century Chinese gambier and pepper planters held between forty and fifty thousand acres of land in Negri Sembilan and Selangor.

The Chinese gambier and pepper planters in Negri Sembilan, Selangor and in Malacca had close ties with Singapore. Throughout the period under review most of the gambier and pepper produced in these states was shipped to Singapore and some, at least, of the provisions required on the plantations came from this southern Settlement. In these states connexions between the plantations and Chinese merchants in Singapore must have resembled those already

described in the case of Johore. Fundamentally Chinese gambier and pepper planting in Negri Sembilan, Selangor and Malacca merely represented a late 19th century extension of operations already in progress in Singapore island and Johore.

A policy of only granting land to Chinese who agreed to combine the planting of gambier and pepper with some "permanent" crop such as rubber or coconuts was introduced by the Negri Sembilan government in 1900.⁸³ A similar attitude was also current in Selangor. Fundamentally, the new policy was designed to make gambier and pepper little more than a catch-crop which would disappear when the 'permanent' crop approached maturity. The introduction of this policy coupled with the growing profitability of rubber cultivation made the decline of gambier and pepper planting in these west coast states inevitable. By the beginning of the First World War Chinese gambier and pepper planting had ceased to be the most important form of export-orientated agriculture in southern Selangor and coastal Negri Sembilan. The pioneer Chinese plantations had given way to rubber estates; within a short time the landscape was transformed and new agricultural patterns emerged which contained very few features to indicate the nature of their predecessors.

The Chinese tapioca planters of Malacca began to extend their operations into the adjacent parts of Negri

Sembilan,⁸⁴ during the period of high prices in the later 1870s. The first plantations were opened in south-eastern Sungei Ujong soon after British intervention when several short-term leases were granted by the new government.⁸⁵

By the early 1880s the crop was largely cultivated on the lower ground of Sungei Ujong and in 1881 a total of 14,370 pikuls of tapioca was exported, almost entirely from Linggi.⁸⁶

In the late 1870s, the planters from Malacca moved across the boundary into the adjacent states of Rambau and Tampin in the old Negri Sembilan. In 1879 a twenty-five year lease for 5,000 acres was granted by the Malay authorities to Baba E See Kiat and others at Tiang Merbau, Batang Malaka. The planters quickly extended their operations into Gemenchih and also acquired large blocks of land along the Tampin-Kuala Pilah road. By 1887 it was estimated that a total of 85,000 acres had been taken up in Rambau, Tampin Gemenchih and Johol for tapioca.⁸⁷ By the turn of the century, tapioca planters held over 100,000 acres of land in Negri Sembilan, half lay in Tampin District (the former states of Tampin and Gemenchih), a quarter in Kuala Pilah District, and about a fifth in the coast District.⁸⁸

Chinese tapioca planting was heavily concentrated in Malacca and the adjacent parts of Negri Sembilan and Johore. Elsewhere the industry developed intermittently and on a rather small scale, as it did for instance in

Kedah, Perak and Selangor. In Selangor the industry had appeared in the neighbourhood of the Kuala Lumpur mines before the British intervened in 1874. The Captain China, Yap Ah Loy, certainly owned a tapioca plantation in the late 1870s. This plantation formed part of the 12,000 acres of jungle land that he held on the old Damansara-Kuala Lumpur road, but when tapioca prices fell in the early 1880s it was completely abandoned.⁸⁹

Chinese tapioca planting also became temporarily significant in Perak in the first decade of the 20th century as a form of catch-cropping. By 1904 tapioca had been widely planted on the Chinese sugar estates in Krian and several tapioca factories were opened in the district.⁹⁰ This was, however, merely a temporary phase, intended to tide the planters over the maturation period of their permanent crops.

Tapioca was probably the first crop to be grown on a plantation basis in Kedah. Planting was begun by Chinese in the 1890s in the mining districts of the southern half of the state. The crop was frequently used as a catch-crop for rubber. The planted area increased steadily from 10,000 acres in 1911 to almost 30,000 acres in 1915. Tapioca and rubber were usually interplanted, but as the rubber matured, interplanting ceased. By 1919 there were 18,000 acres under tapioca, and thereafter the decline continued, not only in Kedah but in Negri Sembilan and other parts of

Western Malaya as well.

During the 19th century, Malacca town was the commercial centre and the focal point for the tapioca industry of western Malaya. A small group of Chinese, with their headquarters in this town, controlled the tapioca industry and its ancillary activities and were its chief beneficiaries. Thus, as with most Chinese enterprises in 19th century Malaya, the lion's share of the profits derived from this industry went to make the fortunes of a small group of urban-based financiers in the Straits Settlements, in this case in Malacca town.

The tapioca planters relied on both Malay and Chinese labourers. Malays were employed in smaller numbers and probably were engaged mainly in clearing jungle and in felling and collecting firewood; on the other hand, the cultivation and processing of tapioca was carried out almost entirely by Chinese labour. Most of the labour consisted of newly arrived youths who lived and worked under trying conditions. As usual they had to work for a year for very low wages, to repay their passages from China, and most of the wages that they did receive were swallowed up by the inflated prices of provisions, including opium, charged on the plantations.

The suitability of the adjacent parts of Krian

District in Perak for sugar-planting was recognized at least as early as the 1860s, but the continuous disturbances that plagued Perak until after British intervention in 1874 prevented any extension in this direction. The movement of sugar planters into Krian was begun by the Chinese in 1877. They were encouraged by the policies of the third British Resident of Perak, Hugh Low, who took up his appointment in 1877, for among other attractions the pioneer sugar planters arriving in the District between 1877 and 1881 were granted land rent-free.⁹²

The first sugar estate in Krian was opened by Goh Eng Chow in 1877, and in the following year two more estates were established, one by Koh Su Toh and the other by Tan Weng Cheang and Wong Ah Meng. By 1881, there were already 12 Chinese-owned sugar estates in Krian, occupying in total over 10,000 acres.⁹³ Until 1883 the sugar industry in Krian was entirely in Chinese hands and that year witnessed the first export of sugar. In 1888, there were 21 Chinese estates in the District occupying a total of 16,400 acres, of which about 6,200 acres were actually planted. Altogether there were 35 sugar mills on the estates in 1888. With the exception of one estate which employed 71 Tamils, these estates were dependent entirely on Chinese labour and gave employment to 2,990 Chinese. As a result of the expansion of sugar planting in Krian during the 1880s, the total

number of Chinese in the District rose from 3,339 in 1879 to 5,749 in 1889.⁹⁴

As the area available for further extension in Krian diminished and total supplies of firewood decreased as the mangrove was cleared, the Chinese began to take an interest in the adjacent and equally suitable areas in Matang District. The first application by a Chinese for sugar land in this district was made by Teoh Ah Nghoh in 1893 who was granted 1,000 acres at Kalumpang. By 1899 there were another two Chinese sugar estates in Mukim Selinsing totalling 1,660 acres and in Temerloh totalling 1,000 acres. In 1900 Tan Ho Heong applied for 5,500 acres for sugar in Mukim Selinsing and this extension of Chinese sugar planting into Matang continued until 1901.⁹⁵

By the beginning of the 20th century, the sugar industry in Perak began to decline. In the Krian District the total area planted with this crop declined from 7,100 acres in 1909 to 2,100 acres in 1911, and much of this was interplanted with rubber and other crops.⁹⁶ By 1914 exports of sugar from Perak had virtually ceased. This rapid decline was the result of a complex set of factors associated with changing circumstances at both the local and world levels. In all cases, however, the coup de grace was the growing profitability of rubber planting.

With few exceptions, the sugar estates in Perak

and Province Wellesley relied entirely upon Chinese labour. The usual system of employment on these estates, whether European or Chinese owned was the "rumah ketchil" system. Under this system, the cultivated area of an estate was divided into sections; each of which was in charge of a Chinese contractor who was obliged to sell the resulting crop at a fixed price to the estate owner. The owner arranged for the purchase of coolies and then handed them over to the contractors, debiting their expenses to the contractors' account. The contractors took complete charge of the coolies, provided a hut (the rumah ketchil) and made all arrangements for wages, food etc. The coolies were not allowed to leave the hut except when at work on the estate under supervision, and there was widespread ill-treatment. A stream of complaints had been raised about conditions on the Chinese estate in Krian in the 1890s, but the contractors, necessarily wishing to keep costs as low as possible, had no desire to incur the additional expense required to improve conditions.

The last major revenue crop to be grown in Malaya before the introduction of rubber was coffee. This crop was a European introduction and the development of coffee estates in late 19th century Malaya was based almost entirely on the efforts of European planters. Coffea arabica was first planted on a small scale in many parts of the peninsula, but

it was not until the 1870s that it became a plantation crop, cultivated chiefly in Perak. In 1879 a fungus disease, which had decimated the coffee plantations of Ceylon, attacked the Malayan holdings and destroyed all hopes of establishing Arabian coffee as a major crop. A different species, Cofea liberica was then tried in the hope that it would not succumb to the fungus. Planting on a fairly wide scale took place in the 1880s in Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Johore by European planters, and a few Chinese also planted small areas with the crops in southern Johore and Negri Sembilan. At the end of 1896 there were 72 European-owned coffee estates in Selangor alone, occupying a total area of some 47,000 acres; half of these estates were located in the Klang District and quarter in the Kuala Lumpur District.⁹⁷ After an initial period of success, the price became unremunerative as Brazilian coffee beans flooded world markets, and by 1901 all the European-owned estates of Liberian coffee had been inter-planted with the new crop - rubber. Although prices improved after 1912, coffee never regained its status as a major export crop.⁹⁸

b. Chinese Participation in Rubber Cultivation.

i. Rubber Planting in Malaya: It has been seen that with the exception of spices, which ceased to be of importance by the 1860s, the production of the typical 19th

century export crops came to an end with the rapid expansion of rubber planting in the first decade and a half of the present century. This expansion confirmed the shift from Chinese to European dominance of commercial agricultural enterprise in Malaya. It also paved the way for plantation agriculture to become increasingly mono-cultural.

The history of rubber in Malaya had its beginnings in the later part of the 19th century. In 1876 Sir Henry Wickham brought to England from Brazil some 70,000 seeds of Hevea brasiliensis. These seeds were first planted in Kew gardens. Malaya received its first consignment of seedlings from Kew in the same year, but these soon died. Another consignment of 22 seedlings was received in 1877, and the plants were successfully raised in the Botanical Gardens of Singapore.⁹⁹

Until the end of the 19th century Hevea was planted only on an experimental basis, and in conjunction with similar experiments using other rubber-yielding plants such as Geta rambong (Ficus elastica), ceara rubber (Manihot glazionii) and the Malayan species of Willughbeia, to determine which of the several varieties was best suited to plantation agriculture. By about 1895, the superiority of Hevea was established beyond doubt when it was found that it was easier to grow, and that it yielded a greater quantity and a better quality of latex than the other varieties. The

year 1895 coincided with the advent of the first pneumatic automobile tyres. The rapid development of the motor car industry greatly increased the demand for rubber, causing prices to rise to levels which made rubber cultivation a highly profitable venture.¹⁰⁰

Rubber was first planted on a commercial basis in Malaya in the mid-1890s on estates previously established for other crops. The first planting was made by a Chinese, Tan Chay Yan, who established an estate in north-eastern Malacca in 1895.¹⁰¹ About the same time the Kindersley brothers started a rubber estate in Selangor. Their example was soon followed by other planters, mainly European, who started a number of small estates in several localities in western Malaya. From this tentative beginning rubber soon became firmly established as the major revenue crop of the country.

The last three years of the 19th century witnessed a noticeable growth in the desire to plant rubber, particularly in Selangor and Perak, although only a relatively small area was actually planted. Rubber planting was pursued most vigorously in the area between Klang and Kuala Lumpur, where a number of coffee estates supplied land suitable for rapid planting. Later, the decline of coffee and the high prices for rubber acted in conjunction to stimulate rubber cultivation on an ever increasing scale. The rubber areas increased from a meagre 345 acres in 1897 to about 50,000

acres in 1905.¹⁰²

Planting was further stimulated when the demand for rubber forced prices to rise above \$2.50 per lb. in 1906 and to a record of nearly \$5.50 per lb. in 1910, after which boom prices prevailed until 1912. The rubber acreage in Malaya leaped from 50,000 acres in 1905 to over 292,000 in 1909.¹⁰³ Although prices dropped steadily after 1912 to an average of 80 cents per lb. in 1920, the rubber acreage and production continued to expand in 1919, the net exports of rubber from Malaya reached nearly 200,000 tons, exactly half the total world exports of rubber. The pioneers in rubber cultivation were Europeans and Chinese but from 1910 onwards there was a rush by Malay small-holders to grow rubber.¹⁰⁴

The first setback to the industry came in the years 1920 to 1922, when prices dropped to depression levels, averaging 33 cents in 1921 and 1922. The slump was due to over-production aggravated by the post-war depression and by extravagant methods of cultivation. In 1930, the market for rubber collapsed again, due to the world economic crisis, and prices slumped to the lowest so far recorded. Average price fell further from 19 cents per lb. in 1930 to 7 cents in 1932. The effects of the slump in Malaya were serious. A very large percentage of the rubber small-holders discontinued tapping and turned to growing food crops. Some of the estates also stopped production and there was large-scale

unemployment. In Malaya thousands of workers returned voluntarily or at Government expense to China and India.¹⁰⁵

It became clear to all the rubber producers that some form of restriction had to be imposed on production if the industry was to survive. From 1934 until the outbreak of the Second World War production in South-east Asia, India and Ceylon was controlled by the International Rubber Regulation Committee.¹⁰⁶ A definite quota was assigned to each producing country for each year, and with the curtailment of exports the price of rubber began to improve. In Malaya the rubber acreage increased from 2,971,000 acres in 1929 to 3,464,000 acres in 1940, of which 2,113,000 acres were in estates and 1,351,000 acres in small-holdings, that is holdings of less than 100 acres.¹⁰⁷

The rubber industry, in common with the other industries in Malaya, suffered a reversal during the Japanese occupation, when planting and production came to a standstill. Between 1941 and 1946 the total area under rubber in Malaya did not increase to any great extent. From 1946 to 1957 the total area increased by about 200,000 acres, mainly due to new planting by estates rather than by small-holdings. The planted area in 1957 was approximately 3,730,000 acres, of which 2,020,000 acres were in estates and about 1,710,000 acres in small-holdings.¹⁰⁸ These made up almost two-thirds of the cultivated area of 5.5 million acres in Malaya,

contributed 59 per cent of the total exports, and employed about a quarter of the economically active population of the country - a clear indication of the role of rubber and its importance in the everyday lives of the people and the national well-being of the country.

ii. Ethnic Ownership: The ethnic ownership of rubber estates statistical series was first begun in the 1933 issue of the annual Malaya -- Rubber Statistics Handbooks, for the year 1932. With some modifications from time to time, the series has been continued yearly, except for the Japanese Occupation period, up to this day. Throughout, the distinction has been made between European and Asian rubber estates, but only the 1933 issue gave a breakdown of the Asian sector into Chinese, Indian, Malay, Japanese and "Other Asian" ownership. In later years up to 1953 the Malay and Japanese components were lumped together with "Others". In the 1954 issue, only European and Asian ownership were separately shown, with no breakdown for the Asian sector. Available figures on the subject of ethnic ownership of estates for a number of selected years between 1932 and 1957 are adapted and shown in Table 5.2.

European interests strongly dominate the estate industries, but over the past decade their share, in one sense, has declined. In 1932, 74 per cent of the rubber

TABLE 5.2

MALAYAN OWNERSHIP OF RUBBER ESTATES, RACE AND SIZE

1932 - 1957, SELECTED YEARS

Race	Number of Estates					Total Planted Acreage (1000 acres)				
	1932	1940	1947	1952	1957	1932	1940	1947	1952	1957
European	977	984	908	735	597	1398	1572	1451	1416	1299
Asian	1324	1526	1408	1684	1876	480	541	495	593	721
Chinese	977	1044	952	1174	1876	348	351	334	440	721
Indian	242	396	393	455		58	94	96	111	
Malay	59	86	63	55		13	96	65	42	
Japanese	36					58				
Others	10					3				
All Races	2301	2510	2316	2419		2473	1878	2113	1946	

Race	Average Size (1000 acres)				
	1932	1940	1947	1952	1957
European	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.9	2.2
Asian	0.36	0.35	0.38	0.35	0.38
Chinese	0.36	0.34	0.35	0.37	0.38
Indian	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.24	
Malay	0.22	1.11	1.03	0.76	
Japanese	1.61				
Others	0.30				
All Races	0.82	0.84	0.84	0.83	

SOURCES: 1932 - Malaya, Rubber Statistical Handbook, 1933, p.15;
1940-Ibid., 1941 p.18; 1947-Ibid., 1947, p.11
1952-Ibid., 1952 p.19; 1957-Ibid., 1957, p.10.

estate area was under European ownership but by 1957 this proportion had fallen to some 64 per cent. The decline in post-war European rubber acreage is due probably to three factors: the cutting down of thousands of acres of European rubber trees during the occupation period; the sub-division of European rubber estates into small holdings during and after the war; and the shift of some European estates to oil palm cultivation. Nevertheless, the European share of production has been maintained at about 70 per cent of the estate total and it is clear that this reflects the policy of the European companies in endeavouring to produce more from a diminishing acreage, which they have been able to do through re-planting with very high yielding material. Although figures of a breakdown of the Asian-owned rubber estate area are no longer available, it is known that in 1952 some 22 per cent of the total estate acreage under rubber was owned by Chinese and 7.5 per cent by Indians and others. It will also be seen that the Indian acreage has continued to increase since 1932, probably due to the bankruptcy of some Chinese estates, particularly during the Depression years, and the consequent transfer of ownership to the Chettiers to whom the owners were indebted.¹⁰⁹ The decline in the European acreage after 1947 might have contributed to the increase in the post-war Chinese and Indian estate acreages.

Turning now to the average size of the estates in

relation to ethnic ownership, the European estates, as might be expected, have throughout been much bigger than the Asian ones. It is also noteworthy that the average size of European estates has increased steadily since 1932, whereas the growth in average size of the Asian estates seems to have occurred only more recently, since 1952. (Table 5.2). By 1957, the average size of European estates was 2,200 acres, whereas in 1932 it was only 1,400 acres, compared with the corresponding Asian 380 acres and 360 acres respectively. Of interest, too, is the fact that the Chinese estates seem to be somewhat bigger than the average Indian estate, probably because only the smaller Chinese estates became bankrupt during Depression years and were transferred to Indian (Chettier) ownership.

As for rubber small-holdings, the first time that statistics on the ethnic ownership of such holdings were published was in the 1951 issue of the Handbook, and the series continued up to 1953 only. The 1953 official data, shown in great detail, have been adapted for study in Table 5.3.

In 1953, 44 per cent of the total rubber acreage in Malaya lay in small-holdings, which produced 41 per cent of the total output of rubber. A rubber small-holding can vary from less than 1 acre to 99 acres in size, and each of the ethnic groups found in Malaya is represented amongst

TABLE 5.3
MALAYAN OWNERSHIP OF RUBBER SMALL-HOLDINGS,
RACE and SIZE, 1953.

Peasant Holdings under 25 acres				
	Total acreage (1000 acres)	Total No. of holdings (1,000)	Average size of holding	Acreage %
Malay	635.9	199.3	3.2	55.9
Chinese	401.7	78.4	5.1	35.3
Indian	78.4	18.7	4.2	6.9
Others	22.1	3.5	6.3	1.9
Total	1138.1	299.9	3.8	100.0
Medium Holdings 25 acres to less than 100				
Malay	11.9	0.3	39.7	5.1
Chinese	147.1	3.6	40.9	63.5
Indian	40.7	0.9	45.2	17.6
Others	32.0	0.6	53.3	13.8
Total	231.7	5.4	42.9	100.0
Total small-holdings				
Malay	647.8	199.6	3.3	47.3
Chinese	548.8	82.0	6.7	40.1
Indian	119.1	19.6	6.1	8.7
Others	54.1	4.1	13.2	5.0
Total	1369.8	305.3	4.5	100.0

SOURCE: Malaya-Rubber Statistics Handbook, 1953, p.85.

Note: All acreages refer to planted acreages.

small-holders. Thus although the average size of a rubber small-holding in 1953 was 4.5 acres, the patterns of size and ownership were extremely complex. About 83 per cent of the total small-holdings acreage, consisted of holdings of less than 25 acres of rubber; of these most were less than 4 acres in size, the average size of holdings in this group for the whole country in 1953 being 3.8 acres. This category of rubber small-holding has been appropriately termed "peasant holding".¹¹⁰ In contrast are the much larger holdings of between 25 acres and 100 acres in size. These holdings have been rightly called "medium" holdings, in official publications; the average size of medium holdings for the whole country in 1953 was 42.9 acres.

Table 5.3 reveals that 55.9 per cent of the rubber acreage on peasant holdings was Malay-owned, and that these holdings had the smallest average size (3.2 acres) of any group of small-holdings in Malaya. A further 35.3 per cent was Chinese-owned, the average size being 5.1 acres. The remainder was owned by Indians (6.9 per cent) whose average holding was 4.2 acres in size, and by "others" (1.9 per cent). Thus, in 1953 peasant holdings were typically Malay-owned, and averaged little over 3 acres of rubber. Holdings in the same category owned by Chinese and Indian tended on average to be larger in size and fewer in number.

The ownership patterns of medium holdings were very

different. Almost 64 per cent of the rubber acreage located on medium holdings was Chinese-owned, and approximately 27 per cent of the total Chinese-owned small-holdings acreage was of this size category. Malays owned the smallest proportion of the planted acreage located on medium holdings (a mere 5.1 per cent), for 17.6 per cent was owned by Indians, and 13.8 per cent by "others".

It is economically significant that the average size of the Chinese and Indian small-holdings is almost twice the average Malay small-holdings, 6.1-6.7 acres, as compared with 3.3 acres. As many as 98.2 per cent of all the Malay small-holdings were less than 25 acres, whereas the corresponding percentage for the Chinese was 73.2 and the Indian 65.8. The reason why the Malay small-holdings are smaller and why the Malays have not entered the estate or the medium small-holding sector as others have done, can probably be found in the early history of the rubber industry (when the present average size of rubber small-holdings had been already largely determined), and in the psychological, social and economic environment of the Malays, their attitude towards material benefits, and the labour and capital resources at their command around that time, relative to those of their Chinese counterparts in Malaya.

Before they took up rubber, the Chinese had established gambier, pepper, spices, tapioca, sugar-cane and

coffee estates in the western States of Malaya, and with the coming of the rubber age, many of these estates changed to rubber cultivation. Moreover the Chinese were tin miners before the rubber era, and some of the capital accumulation of the wealth derived from tin was invested in the rubber industry. Even before the tin revolution there was an important number of Chinese capitalists in the Straits Settlements, and with the emergence of the tin economy, this class was enlarged and some of them later diverted their activities to rubber growing. Of great importance too is the fact that the Chinese, whether in tin, rubber or other fields, had at their command a cheap labour supply, without which their economic activities could not have been carried out, or the economic fortunes of many of the successful Chinese entrepreneurs built up.

By contrast the Malays, prior to rubber, were engaged almost entirely in subsistence rice agriculture, fishing and fruit growing, with little or no capital accumulation. When the rubber era came, they could only depend on their own labour to open up rubber small-holdings or to devote part of their rice fields and fruit trees to rubber trees. Many of the small-holdings, particularly in Johore and Selangor, were in fact created by Sumatran and Javanese immigrants from Indonesia. Added to the scarcity of capital was the difference in attitude towards wealth and

capital accumulation between the Malays on the one hand and the Chinese, Indians and Europeans on the other. Generally speaking, what would satisfy a Malay entrepreneur in material pursuit would not satisfy a Chinese, Indian or European in the same venture. Further, unlike a Chinese capitalist, the Malay entrepreneurs did not have at their command a reservoir of available cheap labour. Since the great majority of the Malays had their own land, supplemented by fishing in the rivers, in the rice fields or in the sea, it is not surprising that there were not enough Malays willing to engage in wage employment where conditions of work were much harder and real earnings probably much lower. Only the starving or half-starving immigrant workers from China and India were willing to work, and many of them to suffer, on the estates, in the tin mines and on medium rubber holdings, and it was the important contribution of such cheap and servile labour that enabled the Chinese and also the European capitalists to build up their rubber holdings.¹¹¹

The reason why the Chinese plantations in their turn are smaller than the European lies in the difference in capital supply and economic organization of the two communities. The Europeans with their agency houses, secretarial firms, and joint-stock companies, could mobilize much more capital and know-how both from Malaya and, particularly in the early days, from abroad, especially from

London, for the building up and maintenance of large-scale rubber holdings in Malaya. The Chinese with their proprietary concerns and the remittance of a large part of their capital accululation to support their poverty-stricken relatives in China could only create and operate smaller scale holdings.

The most obvious characteristic of Chinese rubber land-ownership is the very great fragmentation of the land owned. Peasant-owners are by far the most important group of planters, not only in numbers but also in terms of the area owned. The area under estates is usually owned by individuals or by partnerships. There are very few public limited companies owning rubber that have been floated by Chinese. But Chinese are significant share-holders in rubber companies floated on the local market by Europeans. There are, however, four large concentrations of Chinese ownership, two in Johore, one in Penang and one in Malacca. One of the former, is Ko Plantations Ltd., with 22,000 acres, and the other is Lee Rubber Estates Ltd., with 18,500 acres. The one in Penang is Heah Joo Seang Rubber Estates Ltd., with 15,000 acres. All three companies are owned by private milling and dealing companies, the first two located in Singapore and the other in Penang. Ko Ltd. is owned by the Kah Hin Rubber Co., Lee Estates is part of the Lee Kong Chian complex, whose ramifications extend into many branches of the Malayan economy, and Heah Rubber Estates by the Hock

Lye Co. of Penang. In Malacca, with its long tradition of Chinese agricultural enterprise, Unital Ltd., a Chinese agency house, manages nearly 11,000 acres of rubber land.

The first three large concentrations of rubber land owned by Chinese indicate an interesting trend. All the three firms are owned by rubber dealers who, with increasing prosperity, became important exporters of rubber. During the Korean boom they made very large profits. With these profits they have moved back into the production of the commodity they exported. But they have not broken loose from the restrictions placed on capital supply by the Private Limited Company organization. The reasons may be less economic than sociological. This is interesting because these Chinese capitalists are not among those who follow traditional Chinese trading patterns. They are important stockholders in some of the public limited companies floated by Europeans; and one is the dominating shareholder in the few Chinese public limited companies.

The ownership of both rubber estates and small-holdings combined, by ethnic group for 1953, is given in Table 5.4. Unfortunately more up-to-date or suitable earlier data are not available for comparison. Taking the rubber industry as a whole, the Europeans owned about 42 per cent; the Chinese 30 per cent; the Malays 19 per cent of the planted acreage, while the Indians owned the bulk of the

TABLE 5.4

MALAYA: ETHNIC OWNERSHIP OF RUBBER ESTATES AND
SMALL-HOLDINGS, 1953. (percentage distribution)

Race	Estate	Small+ holding	Estate and Small-holding	
			All Races	Asian Only
European	69.6	-	41.6	-
Chinese	22.8	40.1	29.7	50.9
Malay	0.6	47.3	19.4	33.3
Indian	5.6	8.7	6.8	11.7
Others	1.4	5.0 ^(a)	2.4	4.1
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total (1,000 acres)	2,029.7	1,369.8	3,399.5	1,987.1

SOURCE: Malaya- Rubber Statistics Handbook, 1953.
pp. 19 and 85.

(a) Includes some medium small-holdings owned
by Europeans.

remainder. Taking the Asian ownership only, the Chinese owned about one half, the Malays approximately one-third and Indians (mostly Chettiers) most of the remainder.

Unlike the Malays and the Indians, the Europeans and the Chinese have interests in rubber packing, grading, milling, transport, storage, insurance and sale, that are all part of the necessary process for the eventual sale of rubber to overseas buyers. The Chinese have also overwhelming interests in the rubber entrepot trade of Singapore and Penang.

iii . Labour Supply: As regards labour supply on rubber plantations, it was only in 1933 that the Malaya Rubber Statistic Handbook began its series on estate labour statistics, showing, inter alia, the ethnic composition of the labour force, but the drawback to their adoption as a starting point is that their coverage was incomplete, leaving out Johore and Kedah, two of the most important rubber producing states. The 1934 statistics covering all the Pan-Malayan states appear more suitable as a basis for comparing changes with later years. Statistics on the ethnic composition of the estate labour force for a selected number of years since 1934 are given in Table 5.5.

It is notable that whereas before the war, between 1934 and 1937, there was a considerable increase in the

TABLE 5.5

LABOUR FORCE EMPLOYED ON MALAYAN RUBBER ESTATESBY ETHNIC GROUPS, 1934-57, Selected Years.

Ethnic Group	1,000 Workers				Per cent of Total			
	1934	1937	1947	1957	1934	1937	1947	1957
Indian	178.8	237.3	150.9	142.6	67.7	67.7	52.5	51.5
Chinese	92.7	76.9	78.6	80.3	19.9	21.9	27.1	29.0
Malay	37.1	35.2	59.0	52.5	12.0	10.0	20.3	19.0
Total - three main groups	308.6	349.4	288.5	275.4	99.6	99.6	99.9	99.5
Total - All groups	309.9	350.5	290.2	276.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCES: 1934 - Compiled from Malaya-Rubber Statistics Handbook, 1935, p.34 & 124.

1937 - Ibid., 1938, p.33 and 137

1947 - Ibid., 1947, p.20.

1957 - Ibid., 1957, p.57.

number of Indian rubber estate workers, there was a notable decline after the war. Conversely before the war, there was a notable decrease in the Chinese and Malay labour force, followed by a comparable increase after the war. Throughout, however, the Indians have been by far the largest group of workers on rubber estates, constituting about 68 per cent of the total estate labour force in 1937, though only 52 per cent in 1957, by which time the Chinese constituted about one-third.

It is generally true that workers on Chinese estates are either Chinese or Malay and that on European estates resident workers are mainly Indian. But about one-fifth of the total labour force employed in rubber estates consists of contract workers, of whom more than 70 per cent are Chinese. Many European estates in fact employ considerable numbers of contract Chinese workers. In old established mining areas and in the vicinity of urban centres -- the districts where such labour is likely to be available -- Chinese contract workers may amount to one half or more of the total labour force on European estates, and occasionally may comprise the entire tapping force.

2. Chinese Immigrants and Tin-mining in Malaya.

The early development of Malaya was due almost entirely to the development of its tin mining industry. It

was Malaya's wealth in tin which first attracted the Chinese and then the European before the turn of this century, and in later years produced the funds for the country's rapid economic progress. Until the turn of the century, tin mining in Malaya was entirely in the hands of the Chinese. Their share in this field will be examined briefly.

Up to the end of the 18th century, the amount the tin produced, although small by modern standards, was of considerable importance in Malaya. The largest mines were in the Kinta district of Perak, but there was also mining in Pahang and Negri Sembilan. The mining was at that time carried on mainly by Malays. Moreover, the Malays were agriculturists and they mined the tin only as an occasional means to supplement their income. Their method of mining and smelting was crude and their management of the mines was clumsy and uneconomical. They had neither the commercial shrewdness nor the aptitude for hard and sustained work so essential for the success of any business undertaking.¹¹² In the tin states, there was, therefore, a scarcity of labour, capital and entrepreneurial ability. It was inevitable that when the Malay chiefs wanted to improve their revenues by exploiting their tin resources, they had to import both labour and capital from the flourishing Straits Settlements. In the event it was the Chinese who were willing to risk their lives and capital in the Malay States, and they also

possessed the requisite skill. In the early part of the 18th century the ruler of Palembang had already shown the way when he developed the tin mines in Bangka (off southern Sumatra) with imported skilled labour from China.¹¹³

The beginning of sustained Chinese tin-mining in the Malay States of the peninsula dates from about 1824. Apart from some 400 Chinese said to be working in Perak as miners and traders, the first important Chinese mining was at Lukut and Sungei Ujong. In 1824 there were 200 Chinese miners at Lukut and in 1828 almost a thousand in Sungei Ujong. (See Chapter 3, pp. 145-146). Tin mining also began about this time in the greater security of British-administered Malacca territory. By 1848 there were 2,200 Chinese miners in Mukim Kesang alone, with a further 1,200 in the Durian Tunggal, Naning and Ayer Panns areas.¹¹⁴

A rough idea of the size and importance of each of the three centres of mining -- Lukut, Sungei Ujong and Malacca can be gauged from the following account, dated 1847:-

"the quantity of tin exported from Malacca yearly is 16,277 piculs, of which 4,277 piculs is from Malacca territory, 7,000 from Sungei Ujong, and 5,000 from Lukut. There are about 4,600 miners at Lukut and Sungei Ujong and 3,400 in the Malacca territory." 115

Seeing the success of Lukut, other Malay chiefs in Selangor decided to follow suit and to import Chinese tin

miners. Shortly after 1844, some small mines were begun in the Kanching foothills, the Chinese population increased, and Kanching (on a tributary of the Selangor River) became a thriving town. Then in 1857 two Malay chiefs financed two Malacca Chinese to begin mining at Ampang (on a tributary of the Klang River). Tin was soon being exported from the area. When it was clear that this venture was success, some traders moved up from Lukut to deal in supplies - rice, opium, arrack, fowls, pigs and dry goods - in exchange for tin. The first few traders set up shop near the junction of two rivers and this was the beginning of the town of Kuala Lumpur. Population grew, and by 1860 both Kanching and Ampang/Kuala Lumpur were thriving centres.

A third and larger spurt of mining activity occurred in Perak, north of Taiping and Kamunting. By 1862, the number of Chinese miners in those two areas of Larut was 20-25,000. (See Chapter 3. p.146).

By early 1870s, the Chinese completely dominated the mining industry and with the establishment of British rule in the States of Perak, Selangor and Sungei Ujong in the course of 1874 the conditions for the rapid expansion of tin-mining were brought into being. In the past, the absence of political stability and modern administrative machinery had retarded the expansion of tin mining. Now, these desiderata were supplied under British rule and there

followed a great influx of Chinese labourers to work in tin-mining. In Larut, for example, the Chinese population rose to 27,000 by the end of 1874, four-fifths of them being miners and the remainder tradesmen. By 1883, Malaya had become the world's largest tin-producing country. The conspicuous feature of the Malayan industry at this time was that it was almost wholly a Chinese enterprise.

In the 1880s and 90s there was an increasing influx of Chinese labour, enterprise and capital into Perak and Selangor, the chief tin mining states of Malaya. (By that time the earlier tin mining areas of Malacca, Lukut and Sungei Ujong had ceased to be of importance). Just as the original influx into Selangor in the 1840s had led to the discovery of more mining land so now the new influx led to further discoveries of still more mining land, which in turn stimulated further immigration.

The number of tin mines in Larut, the chief mining centre of Perak, increased from 27 in 1862 to 80 in 1878 and 273 in 1888. When diminishing returns set in owing to the exhaustion of tin deposits, many miners moved south to Kinta, another district in Perak. By 1888, there were 478 mines in Kinta, producing as much tin as Larut. In the following year Kinta tin production far exceeded that of Larut, and ever since then Kinta has been the most important tin producing district in Malaya. In Selangor, by 1887, there were 103

large tin mines and innumerable small ones, whereas in 1844 there were only a few small mines.¹¹⁶

The Chinese tin-mine workers in these two States increased rapidly also. In Larut they increased from 27,000 in 1874 to 47,000 in 1889, and in Kinta, the corresponding increase was from 900 to 45,000. In Selangor, the Chinese population increased from 28,000 in 1884 to 51,000 in 1891, and since most Chinese in Selangor at this time were directly or indirectly connected with mining activities, these figures could also be used as an indication of the rapid growth of the tin-mining industry in that State.

Tin production continued to expand. The output of Malaya in 1889 was about 27,000 tons, but after a sharp rise in price led to a new mining boom in 1898 production rose to 43,000 tons (54 per cent of the world output) in 1900 and to 51,000 tons in 1905.¹¹⁷

The boom caused a sharp rise in wages, which in turn stimulated the immigration of Chinese labourers, and it is estimated that 100,000 Chinese entered the Malay States in 1899-1900.¹¹⁸ This labour came mainly from two sources, (1) from the settled Chinese population in the better developed Straits Settlements of Penang and Malacca and (2) direct from China via Penang, Malacca and later also via Klang and Telok Anson. In the year 1903, it was reckoned that there were 223,600 Chinese engaged in the tin-mining

industry in the Federated Malay States.¹¹⁹ This figure included labourers employed in cutting timber and firewood, crushing stone, washing tin, smelting and various other trades connected with the industry. Those who actually worked in the mines number 186,337 divided as follows:-

Open-cast mines	143,028
Underground mines	20,918
Hydraulic mines and "lampan" mines	22,391

The first three decades of the present century witnessed a major change in the Malayan tin industry as a result of the introduction and rapid growth of gravel-pump mining and bucket-dredge mining, the two most important methods used in Malaya today. Prior to the introduction of these methods, tin mining in Malaya was highly labour intensive and the mines were generally of the open-cast type.

The Europeans, mainly British, were the first to employ gravel-pump mining in Malaya. In this method, mechanical power was used to replace a labour power in all the major process of tin-mining. The Chinese miners were very quick to adopt this Western method of mining tin, and in 1909 the amount of equipment in use in the mines totalled 13,843 horse-power, which was reckoned to be the equivalent of 110,744 labourers. Thus, although the actual labour force in that year was 183,119, the total of labour force plus labour-saving equivalent could be calculated as equal

to a labour force of 293,863.¹²⁰

But the most important technological change was the introduction of the bucket-dredge, which made its first appearance in Malaya in 1912. This was a European capitalized venture, not adopted by the Chinese, and eventually it came to account for the larger part of the tin production of the country. A main characteristic feature of this mining method was that it was highly capital intensive, and employed relatively few workers. A dredge costing millions of dollars, could normally be afforded only by big organizations such as limited companies, and not by individual or partnership business units. Thus while the European companies showed their preference for bucket-dredge mining, Chinese, because of their lack of large sums of capital, were forced to retain their relatively primitive methods, and had to be content with gravel-pump mining only.¹²¹

The technological changes in mining methods had an important impact on the total number of workers employed in the Malayan tin mining industry. In 1910, there were about 170,000 mine workers; in 1929, the number was reduced to 104,000. In the open-cast sector, in 1910, there were 123,000 workers; in 1929, only 13,000.¹²² In other words, two distinct but related processes were taking place concurrently. One was the substitution of dredging and gravel-pumping for open-cast mining, and the other the substitution

of mechanical power for labour power.

Serious reduction in the quantity of labour employed was only one important consequence of the technological changes. Another related impact was the relative and absolute decline of the Chinese sector of the mining industries. In the last three decades of the 19th century, Chinese miners in Malaya mined nearly all the tin produced in the country, and by 1910 they still produced 78 per cent of the total output; but by 1920 the figure had declined to 64 per cent and by 1929 to only 49 per cent. (Table 5.6).

An indication of the absolute decline of the Chinese tin-mining sector can be seen from Table 5.7. It should be stated that whereas the decline of the employment level in the tin industry, whether European or Chinese, was due primarily to the adoption of gravel-pumping and dredge-mining, the output decline of the Chinese sector was due not to the adoption of gravel-pumping but to the expansion of the dredging sector, to the competition for mining land by European mining entrepreneurs and - last but not least - to the exhaustion of known mining land suitable for non-dredge mining.

Since 1931, the European share of Malayan tin production continued to rise. In 1931, this share was 56 per cent, ten years later in 1941, their share was 62 per cent. After the Second World War, it had reached 65 per

TABLE 5.6

MALAYA: PERCENTAGE TIN PRODUCTION - BY CHINESE AND
EUROPEAN MINES, 1910-1961 (Selected Years)

Year	Per cent		Year	Per cent	
	Chinese Sector	European Sector		Chinese Sector	European Sector
1910	78	22	1930	48	52
11	77	23	31	44	56
12	80	20	32	42	58
13	74	26	34	41	59
14	76	24	36	41	59
15	72	28	38	41	59
16	68	32	39	39	61
17	71	29	40	37	63
18	68	32	41	38	62
19	68	32			
			47	40	60
1920	64	36	48	42	58
21	61	39	49	40	60
22	62	38	56	40	60
23	56	44	57	43	57
24	55	45	58	39	61
25	56	44	59	40	60
26	56	44	60	36	64
27	59	41	61	35	65
28	51	49			
29	49	51			

SOURCES: 1910-1949 Calculated from Federation of Malaya, Department of Mines, Main Mining Bulletin, p.5
 1956-61, computed from Federation of Malaya, Monthly Statistical Bulletin, August, 1962.p.53

TABLE 5.7

MALAYA: TIN PRODUCTION BY CHINESE AND EUROPEAN MINES,
1910, 1920 and 1930

Year	1,000 Tons	
	Chinese Sector	European Sector
1910	36	10
1920	24	13
1930	31	36

SOURCE: See Table 5.6.

cent in 1960. Chinese capital in tin-mining, therefore, has lost greatly to European competition.

There is very little information about the structure of ownership of Chinese-owned mines. Like Chinese-owned plantations, only very few are public limited companies. The most common forms of ownership are individual, family, and partnership or "Kongsi". There are, of course, Chinese tin "tycoons" who own or have interests in a number of small mines. Some of the wealthiest Chinese in Malaya have built their fortunes from tin. But fortune-making in tin was commoner in the days when simpler forms of mining dominated the industry.

In contrast to Chinese, European mines are very highly integrated. There were about 108 European mines in 1954, which produced about 834,000 pikuls and were operated by 76 companies. The average output for 1954 was in the region of 11,000 pikuls. On the other hand, there were more than 600 Chinese-owned mines in 1954 which produced 520,000 pikuls, or an average of 900 pikuls. This was about 40 per cent of Malaya's output. In Malaya, the most important controlling groups are the Anglo-Oriental, Neill & Bell and a Cornish company, Osborne and Chappel, which together either owned or controlled 74 out of the 108 dredges in 1954, and these three groups are closely linked up by common directorship. These three large groups produced more than 600,000

pikuls of tin-in-concentrate, representing 73 per cent of all European-owned output, or 45 per cent of Malaya's output.¹²³

3. Chinese Participation in Commercial Activities

Although Chinese capital is represented in almost every sphere of the economy in Malaya, its major and most widespread form is commercial enterprise. Unfortunately there are no statistical data that would make it possible to determine in absolute figures the volume of Malayan Chinese capital functioning in various branches of trade and production both in Malaya and also in other countries of South-east Asia. The available fragmentary data can provide only a very general picture of the importance and role of Malayan Chinese commercial capital.

In Malaya, most of the economic activity is the production of exports and the distribution of imports. Most of the agricultural and almost all the mining products have to find foreign markets. Malaya produces so little of what the people consume that the country depends very heavily on imports for everyday needs. Thus export-import trade forms a vital component in the economy.

There are two basic patterns in the organization of trade. The first pattern is that of the trade directly between the producers and exporters on the one hand, and importers and consumers on the other. The units involved

in this are mainly the large-scale producers and consumers. Much of this trade is between estates and agency houses that manage them. In other cases the units involved are large enough to make intermediaries unnecessary and are of sufficient standing for the quality of goods to be accepted on good faith. About 60 per cent of the export trade is of this kind.

The second pattern is the trade that involves the small producers and consumers. The very large number of persons and their dispersal over the whole country make it necessary for trade to be conducted through different levels of intermediaries. The amount of total trade that is done through intermediaries is probably much larger than that conducted directly. It involved about 40 per cent of the export trade and most of the imports.

Almost all the intermediaries between the producer and exporter, and between the importer and consumer, are Chinese. In the retail trade of imports there is significant Indian participation. The role of the Chinese traders in the economy was described by T. Braddell about a century ago. Writing in Logan's Journal, Vol. IX, 1863, he said:

"The details of the great European trade of these settlements are managed almost exclusively by Chinese. The character and general habits of the European gentleman quite preclude him from dealing directly with the native traders, who visit our ports and bring the produce of their

several countries to exchange with articles of different climates found collected there. These traders -- Malays, Bugis, Chinese, Siamese, Cochin-Chinese, Burmese -- have their own mode of conducting business, founded on a status of civilisation very far below European models and which Europeans cannot condescend to adopt. Here the Chinese step in as a middle class and conduct business, apparently on their own account but really as a mere go-between." 124

In the hundred years that have passed since that was written the basic position of the Chinese in trade has not changed. But instead of waiting at ports for other traders to bring the goods, Chinese traders now go to the villages. They collect the produce and give in exchange the "articles of different climates" brought to this country by European importers. This role of the go-between, who apparently conducts business on his own account, is still the main role of the Chinese in trade. It is true that some of them have become both importers and exporters of some significance in recent years. But the amount of export-import trade controlled by Chinese merchants is not very large, as will be seen later.

It is important to discuss the way this trade is financed. It is through the financing of the export-import trade that European firms have gained control and retain much of that control, in spite of the various changes that have taken place. European firms in financing trade have created "monopoly through credit channels". This is only

one means of control, but it is a very important one.

"This kind of monopoly is organised in a number of chains, each with several links connecting the credit resources of the City of London, through local banks and trading companies, Chinese wholesalers and Chinese retailers to the small producers of rubber, pepper, sago, coconuts or rice... Generally what happens is that banks give credit to the agency house, the agency house gives credit to a Chinese wholesaler, the wholesaler gives credit to a retailer, and the retailer gives credit to the farmer." 125

The length of credit received by agency houses in most cases is long enough to cover the import of goods up to the time of sale to the ultimate buyer. Links of credit knit the large number of units in the various pyramids into a cohesive organisation. The ties of credit between various units and, ultimately, with export-import firms emphasise the fact that, though the various units conduct business apparently of their own account, they are in fact "mere go-betweens" who are directly or indirectly financed by the export-import firms.

Malaya's export produce consists mainly of rubber, palm oil, coconut products, tin and iron ore. These items made up more than 90 per cent of the total value of the exports of domestic produce in 1953. A rough estimate of the share of this export domestic produce is given in Table 5.8.

The production of palm oil and iron ore and the

TABLE 5.8MALAYA: EXPORT OF DOMESTIC PRODUCE, 1953.

(In \$ Million)

	Total value	Estimated Value exported by E'pean Cos.
Rubber	898	
European-owned estates		370
Others		150
Tin	351	351
Coconut products	58	29
Palm oil and Kernel	37	37
Iron ore	21	21
Others	121	-
Total	1,486	958

SOURCE: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Economic Development of Malaya, (Singapore 1955), p.499.

smelting of tin ore are entirely in the hands of European companies, so the export of these products can be assumed to be controlled by them. The total value of export trade controlled by European companies was estimated at about 65 per cent in the table, but this total may be too low because the export of locally manufactured goods like soap and beer, and the exports of Singapore produce have not been included. Thus, the total value of export trade controlled by European companies may be in the region of 75 per cent of the value of the domestic produce exported, instead of the 65 per cent shown in the estimate.

Most of the export trade that is not controlled by European firms is handled by Chinese merchants. Some of these merchants control a very considerable volume of the export, particularly that of rubber. The most important of these are Lee Rubber Ltd., (南益樹膠有限公司), Aik Hoe Ltd., (益和有限公司), and Kah Hin Rubber Ltd., (嘉興樹膠有限公司). There are also a few Indian exporters but none of them is very large nor is the Indian share of the export trade significant.

The problem of estimating the distribution of import trade among the different groups of traders is far more difficult. It is impossible to arrive at any kind of an estimate in money terms. So in the discussion that follows we can attempt to approach the problem in two ways: first,

by examining the total value of imports in terms of the country of origin of these imports; and second, by examining the distribution of agencies for some of the imports. At best the discussion can only hope to give a very vague indication of the division of import trade between the various groups.

Malaya's imports from European countries amounted to \$1376 million in 1955. To this a sum of \$43 million should be added as the value of petroleum products imported by European firms from Arabia, Bahrein and Iran. The approximate value of imports by European firms would have been in the region of \$1420 million out of a total import of \$2,500 million or about 60 per cent.¹²⁶ Import trade has never been completely in the hands of Europeans, because Chinese and Indian traders have always had a sizeable share of the trade with surrounding countries, and almost all the trade with China and India. Thus, they have a bigger share of imports than of exports.

As regards control of agencies, it can be seen from Table 5.9 that European importers predominate. Of the 3,541 manufacturers' agencies listed, more than 2,500 or nearly 75 per cent have European firms as local agents. In these firms local (Asian) capital participation is negligible or non-existent. It is fairly safe to assume that the more popular lines of imports have European agents. Europeans

TABLE 5.9

MALAYA: DISTRIBUTION OF IMPORT AGENCIES, 1953.

	No. of Agencies					
	E'peans	Mixed	Chinese	Indian	Others	Total
Foodstuffs	417	92	28	2	8	547
Metal products & machinery	1,231	187	207	14	11	1,650
Textile	135	29	13	11	4	192
Bldg. materials	159	14	26	-	-	199
Chemicals & Drugs	301	19	17	35	1	373
Others	399	66	67	19	29	580
Total	2,642	407	358	81	53	3,541
% of Total	74.6	11.5	10.1	2.3	1.5	

<u>Agencies</u>	<u>No. of Firms</u>					
Less than 10	40	4	44	14	9	111
10 - 19	24	5	11	3	1	44
20 - 29	15	4	1	-	-	20
30 - 49	16	1	-	-	-	17
50 - 79	11	1	-	-	-	12
80 & over	6	1	-	-	-	7
Total	112	16	56	17	10	211

SOURCE: Straits Times, Directory of Singapore and Malaya, 1953.

have been longer in the trade, have had greater opportunity to acquire valuable agencies, and they have had longer to capture the market. Only very recently have Asian merchants gained agencies for Western manufacturers.

One thing which emerges from examining the agencies of Chinese firms is that there appears to be greater specialisation than in the case of the agencies of European firms. This may be because there are many agencies which are monopolised by the Europeans. Chinese importers are largely concentrated in the "metal products and machinery" trade. About 60 per cent of their agencies were for these goods and 27, or nearly half the Chinese firms, imported only these goods. These firms hold 175 of the 207 agencies for metal products and machinery imported by Chinese firms. Six of the 27 firms hold more than 10 agencies each and a further 6 hold more than 5 agencies each. The biggest 5 Chinese firms, in terms of the number of agencies held, were also in this group. A very large proportion of the Chinese-held agencies were for German and American manufactures.

In case of the European firms, of the 112 listed only 40 were specialised agencies -- they dealt only with one class of goods. Of these, 34 firms specialised in the import of "metal products and machinery" and were agents for nearly 600 manufacturers. These specialised firms tend to be much larger than non-European firms. Two of the biggest

are United Engineers, who are agents for 70 manufacturers, and Lindetenes, who are agents for 60 manufacturers.

This difference in size is not only true of firms that specialise but is generally true of the organisation of import trade as a whole. About 80 per cent of Chinese and Indian importers hold less than 10 agencies each, as against only 35 per cent of the European firms. Further, no Chinese or Indian importer holds more than 30 agencies while 30 per cent of European firms do.

From the above study, the estimates show that European-owned firms controlled 65-75 per cent of the export trade and 60 per cent of the import trade in 1953. European-owned firms hold about 75 per cent of the import agencies against some 10 per cent held by Chinese firms. So, the widely held view that the Chinese control commerce in Malaya, is false.

This popular misconception that commerce is controlled by the Chinese is due to the ubiquitous activity of the Chinese middleman. Certainly a very large number of Chinese traders are engaged in buying and selling. But it is quite wrong to think that in their buying and selling these traders in any way control trade. In fact as Puthuchery says the misconception is an "optical illusion" due to the very large numbers of traders. The control of commerce is in fact in the hands of the exporter-importer; and the

import and the export firm are very largely European.

4. Chinese Economic Activities in Northern Borneo

a. Chinese Participation in Rubber and Pepper Cultivation: In Sarawak, rubber is the most widely grown permanent crop in terms of acreage (60 per cent of the total cultivated land) and is still the most important agricultural export of the country. Possibly as much as 95 per cent of the estimated 365,000 acres planted with rubber in Sarawak in 1962 was located on small-holdings, and only 13,500 acres were under estate management. (five estates and 8,350 acres planted).¹²⁹ Rubber cultivation in Sarawak is therefore essentially a small-holding industry, still mainly Chinese-dominated, in which the typical holdings are of the peasant category, most being less than 5 acres in size.

In the early 1950s standards of production in small-holdings remained low partly because of the absence of an efficient estate industry. Much of the smallholder's crop was poorly planted, often on low-lying peat soils unsuited to rubber. There was little maintenance of the trees and, with poor tapping and processing, it was not surprising that the quality of the end product was very low. Only about 20 per cent of the planted area was under high yielding rubber but little of this had come into production. The other 80 per cent consisted of old unselected seedling trees rapidly

nearing the end of their economic life. It was therefore desirable that the proportion of the total small-holding rubber acreage which was both immature and planted with high yielding material should be increased. As a result, the Sarawak Rubber Planting Scheme came into existence in 1956, with the basic aim of establishing the greatest acreage of high-yielding rubber in the shortest possible time.¹³⁰

From the start the scheme proved to be extremely successful, and the original target of 10,000 acres to be planted in five years "was well encompassed in less than half that time".¹³¹ In 1957 the planting target was increased to 40,000 acres and in 1958 to 60,000 acres. By the end of 1962 about 62,907 acres of rubber had been planted, most of which was new planting. However, with the difficulty of travel in Sarawak and with only a small trained staff available, the Rubber Planting Scheme had to be confined to comparatively accessible areas to allow frequent and regular advisory visits being made to farmers participating in the Scheme.

In the initial stages of the Rubber Planting Scheme most enthusiasm for both re-planting and new planting was evinced by Chinese small-holders, who by the end of 1956 had planted a little over nine-tenths of the total acreage affected at that date. However, in recent years, because land has been unavailable around Chinese centres, the acreage planted has dropped drastically. On the other hand, the

indigenous peoples were less enthusiastic at the beginning but are participating more actively today and because of their access to land under native customary rights are now planting more rubber than the Chinese. Of a total of 60,588 acres planted by small-holders between 1956-1962, 14 per cent was planted by Chinese and 65 per cent by the indigenous peoples. Re-planting of existing rubber has proved far less popular amongst small-holders in Sarawak than new planting. Of the total area planted with high yielding rubber by the end of 1962 only 6 per cent represented replanting. Most of the replanting so far achieved has been concentrated in the 1st Division, and 80 per cent of the total replanted acreage is the result of Chinese efforts.

Apart from planting by individuals, the Scheme also encourages communals, mixed-racial and block plantings. Several noteworthy block planting projects are at present in progress. At a Foochow Chinese settlement near Bintulu (4th. Division) almost 4,000 acres had been planted by 168 families by 1959; 97 acres have been planted at the Malay settlement of Engkilili (Second Division); a considerable number of Dayak block plantings have been undertaken, particularly in the 1st. and 3rd. Divisions.¹³²

In Sabah, about 173,460 acres were planted with rubber at the end of 1960, with 75-80 per cent of the total acreage concentrated on the west coast and interior Residencies,

particularly in the districts of Papar and Beaufort respectively.¹³³ Between 50 to 60 per cent of the total rubber acreage is located on small-holdings, and in 1960 small-holdings produced almost 57 per cent of the total rubber output. Most smallholdings are of the peasant type, and probably more than two-thirds of the total smallholder rubber acreage is Chinese-owned; the average size of a peasant holding on which rubber is the main crop is 7.3 acres.¹³⁴

As early as 1950, a Rubber Fund Board was established in Sabah mainly to supply improved planting material and fertiliser free to rubber growers -- particularly smallholders -- and thereby improve the future prospects of the industry. As in Sarawak most of the high yielding rubber is being planted on new land. In response to the Board's encouragement, the total area planted with rubber in Sabah increased by 35 per cent between 1956-60, mainly as a result of new planting by small-holders, and the proportion of the total acreage planted with high yielding material has increased from approximately 15 per cent in 1956 to almost 40 per cent in 1960.

Pepper has long been one of the mainstays of Northern Borneo, and during the early days its importance was immense, not only in relation to the economy but also in terms of its effect on political and emographic changes

of the country. It is reported that the flourishing condition of Brunei in 1521 was largely due to the presence of Chinese who were the sole pepper planters and carriers of this pepper trade.¹³⁵ And even as late as 1774, there was an annual production of about 240 tons. However, the appearance of the East India Company and other European powers in Borneo waters ended the Chinese junk trade and forced the abandonment of pepper gardens. By 1809, the trade was totally at an end and most of the Chinese had left.

It was not until 1878-79 that pepper cultivation began in earnest again. By this time, Brooke had managed to establish some form of peace and order and to set up a scheme to attract Chinese pepper planters into the country. This proved very successful and "the improvement in the financial position was undoubtedly chiefly due to the influx of Chinese, especially of pepper planters, who were attracted by liberal concessions of land and monetary assistance in the first instance of the government".¹³⁶

The first pepper areas were in the "Upper Sarawak" area (upper reaches of the Sarawak River) but by 1929, Engkilili and Sarikei had also become important centres of pepper growing. From then onwards, the pepper industry continued to expand and became an important item of the country's export economy until the outbreak of the Second World War. During the Japanese Occupation all the pepper

gardens were neglected and the industry was not revived until after the war when boom prices led to the replanting of pepper. The boom was such that for a short time in the early 1950s pepper became Sarawak's leading crop, so that in 1953 and 1954 the value of pepper exported exceeded that of rubber. With the collapse of the world pepper prices after 1954, the industry fell back to a relatively minor position in Sarawak's economy and the production and export of pepper now ranks after those of rubber and timber.

Pepper, which remaining second only to rubber in importance as an export crop in Sarawak. Pepper is of no consequence in Sabah and Brunei and is grown almost entirely by Chinese small-holders, averaging three-quarters of an acre. At present only about 8,000 acres are cultivated, and 55 per cent of the total pepper acreage is in the Kuching-Serian-Bau and the Sarikei-Binatang districts.

6. Chinese Land Problems in Sarawak: Over half of the Chinese in Sarawak are engaged in agriculture. They cultivate the more remunerative cash crops such as rubber and pepper or are engaged in homestead farming. Recently, the pressure for land is greater near the main Chinese agricultural settlement because of the large population increases, and the lack of training and opportunities for young men in avenues other than agriculture. In spite of the Government

efforts in establishing many settlement schemes for the Chinese, there has been an increasing demand for land by the Chinese. This demand has come not only from peasant farmers, but also from those who wish to invest in agriculture, from those who wish to take advantage of the subsidised rubber and coconut planting schemes, from many who have old rubber on swamp land which is unsuitable for replanting, and from others who as a result of the increasing population need land to establish themselves as small-holders. The demand is particularly keen in the First and Third Divisions. For example, the opening of 10,000 acres near Sibu for purchase by Chinese resulted in 6,000 applications, all vetted by the Chinese area headmen, but on the basis of granting twenty acre blocks to individuals only 8 per cent of the applicants could be satisfied.¹³⁷ The Government recognized the necessity for making more land available to the Chinese and although attempts have been made to anticipate where possible the demand for land for permanent agricultural development, progress has not been rapid because of the land tenure problems.

In Sarawak land is classified as Mixed Zone, Native Area, Native Customary, Reserved and Interior Area. Non-natives may not acquire or use (legally) any but that in Mixed Zones. (4,600 square miles). Native Area land (2,600 sq. miles) may be held only by a native of Sarawak.

All land under title falls into one of these categories.

Native Customary Land comprises all land held under Native Customary tenure (over 10,000 square miles) but it ceases to be so classified when title is issued. Forest reserves, land used by the government for public buildings, roads and agricultural stations, are classified as Reserved Land. The balance of the land is classified as Interior Area land and comprises mainly land under primary forest and other unoccupied land over which no customary rights exist.¹³⁸

The Chinese who form about a third of the total population farm well, but by existing laws are only allowed to acquire land which has been classified as Mixed Zone Land. The area of such land is quite inadequate for their needs, and moreover not all of Mixed Zone Land is available to Chinese. Little more than 1,000 out of the 4,600 square miles of suitable land is owned exclusively by the Chinese. More than three-quarters of Mixed Zone Land is either held by indigenous under customary tenure or is unsuitable for agriculture. Chinese have been restricted in their access to native land because it has long been the policy of the government that the indigenes must be prevented from "impoverishing themselves by disposing lightly of their rights to others, whether alien or native".¹³⁹

The government is aware that unless measures are

taken to satisfy the Chinese demand, land would become a major political issue, for few situations are potentially more explosive than unused (or badly used) land kept out of reach of land-hungry people. The basic problem is therefore to satisfy this Chinese demand for land and at the same time give the indigenes the protection hitherto conferred by customary law, and which they will continue to require until such time as education and experience have enabled them to appreciate the value of their land more fully.

Recently the government held an inquiry into native customary law codes with the subsequent formation of a "Land Committee" and published its recommendations. These envisage recognition of existing customary rights as ownership and the abolition of land classification. Zoning will be replaced by the safeguard that a native may not dispose of his land without the Resident's consent. The envisaged changes are of immediate benefit to the Chinese but may exacerbate the position of the natives. For them the change to intensive agriculture is made imperative. Economic farming on a planned-use basis must replace semi-nomadic, subsistence practices. The changes, concentrated in selected development areas, could lead to the release of more than enough surplus land to satisfy Chinese needs whilst at the same time effecting a significant improvement in Iban productivity. Sarawak suffers not from any overall shortage of land, but

rather from native agricultural backwardness and lack of accessibility to unencumbered fertile areas.

The Pattern of Economic Activity of the Modern Chinese Communities

We have so far examined the Chinese share and participation in various aspects of economic life in the region from the late 18th century. This section will go on to analyse quantitatively the present-day pattern of the Chinese economic activity by examining in detail the numbers employed, their occupational structure and by comparing between the Chinese pattern with those of the other main ethnic groups in the region.

1. West Malaysia.

The total Chinese population enumerated in the 1957 Federation Census amounts to 2,333,756. Of these 1,580,850 (or 67 per cent) were 10 years of age or over. Their distribution by economic activity status is shown in Table 5.10. Nearly half (49 per cent) of the persons 10 years old or over were economically active,¹⁴⁰ and of these over 98 per cent were returned as working, leaving 1.6 per cent not working but looking for work. The economically inactive comprised 53.7 per cent home house-workers, 37.1 per cent full-time students, and 9.2 per cent in the category "remainder"

TABLE 5.10

WEST MALAYSIA: DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE 10 YEARS OF
AGE AND OVER BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY STATUS AND SEX, 1957

Economic activity status	Persons			Percent distribution		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Population 10 years of age & over						
Economically active	771,963	582,919	189,044	48.8	70.9	24.9
Economically inactive	808,887	239,312	569,575	51.2	29.1	75.1
Total	1,580,850	822,231	758,619	100.0	100.0	100.0
Economically active population						
Persons working	759,046	572,914	186,132	98.4	98.3	98.5
Persons not working, but looking for work.	12,917	10,005	2,912	1.6	1.7	1.5
Total	771,963	582,919	189,044	100.0	100.0	100.0
Economically inactive population						
Home house-worker	433,564	11,853	421,711	53.7	5.0	74.0
Full time student	302,205	185,319	116,886	37.1	77.4	20.5
Inmates of Institutions	11,028	8,022	3,006	1.3	3.3	0.6
Pensions and Persons with Private means	14,132	9,564	4,568	2.0	4.1	0.8
Others	47,958	24,554	23,404	5.9	10.2	4.1
Total	808,887	239,312	569,575	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Calculated from 1957 Census Reports, No. 2 to 12.

made up largely of pensioners and other persons with private means (2.0 per cent), inmates of institutions (1.3 per cent), unpaid social workers and persons who were unable to work because of age or physical disabilities (5.9 per cent).

There were three times as many men as women in the economically active category. As compared with the Singapore Chinese population, the Federation males had a smaller proportion economically active while the Federation females had a larger proportion economically active. Among the economically active, Federation Chinese showed a much smaller per cent of persons not working but looking for work, especially the female Chinese, all but 1.5 per cent of whom were enumerated as employed. The large number of women helping on the farms and, owing to the vagueness of definitions, having themselves reported ^{as} working probably irrespective of the amount of work done, may be a contributing factor towards this result.

Among the economically inactive,¹⁴¹ home houseworkers formed 74 per cent of the female and only 5 per cent male population. In the students' category, about 77 per cent of the economically inactive males and only 20 per cent of the females were full-time students. The reasons for this sex differential are probably the same as in Singapore, namely the early age at which girls marry, and economic considerations, particularly in large families.

Within the Federation itself, however, it is useful to analyse the economic structure of the Chinese population in some detail, to study the variation among the different states. Table 5.11 shows a detailed analysis of this nature relating to economic activity status. Among the states there was some variation in the proportions of Chinese males who are economically active. In the relatively rural and underdeveloped states, such as Perlis, Kelantan, Kedah and Trengganu, there was a somewhat larger proportion of economically active as compared to the more developed states such as Penang, Selangor, Perak and Malacca on the west coast. Penang had the smallest proportion, namely 68 per cent, while Perlis had the largest proportion of 76 per cent.

The pattern of economic activities among females was of course entirely different from that among males, the proportion of economically active among the females being as a rule smaller than that of economically inactive. The overall proportion of economically active among the Chinese females in the Federation was about 25 per cent.

Inter-state comparison in respect of the Chinese females was not as clear-cut as with males. The proportion of Chinese economically active females was lowest in Penang, with about 12 per cent, followed by Kedah, Perlis, Malacca and Trengganu with percentages between 15 and 20, further followed by Kelantan, Selangor, Perak and Johore with

TABLE 5.11

WEST MALAYSIA, 1957 - ANALYSIS OF CHINESE
POPULATION AGED 10 AND OVER BY ECONOMICALLY
ACTIVE AND ECONOMICALLY INACTIVE, FOR EACH
STATE AND EACH SEX.

	Persons aged 10 & over	MALES			
		Economically Active		Economically Inactive	
		Number	% of Persons aged 10 & over	Number	% of Persons aged 10 & over
Selangor	170,282	119,778	70.3	50,504	29.7
Penang	112,250	76,507	68.2	35,743	31.8
Perak	187,292	129,592	69.2	57,700	30.8
N.Sembilan	54,063	39,881	73.8	14,182	26.2
Johore	138,316	99,708	72.1	38,608	27.9
Malacca	41,967	29,835	71.1	12,132	28.9
Pahang	41,739	31,571	75.6	10,168	24.4
Trengganu	7,476	5,694	76.2	1,782	23.8
Kelantan	10,820	7,838	72.4	2,982	27.6
Kedah	52,267	38,114	72.9	14,153	27.1
Perlis	5,759	4,401	76.4	1,358	23.6
All Chinese	822,231	582,919	70.9	239,312	29.1

TABLE 5.11 (Contd.)

	Persons Aged 10 & over	FEMALES			
		Economically Active		Economically Inactive	
		Number	% of Persons aged 10 & over	Number	% of Persons aged 10 & over
Selangor	162,947	42,634	26.2	120,313	73.8
Penang	113,093	13,676	12.1	99,417	87.9
Perak	179,599	48,651	27.1	130,948	72.9
N. Sembilan	47,231	18,688	39.6	28,543	60.4
Johore	119,990	33,317	27.8	86,673	72.2
Malacca	38,863	7,122	18.3	31,741	81.7
Pahang	32,796	13,698	41.8	19,098	58.2
Trengganu	5,420	1,080	19.9	4,340	80.1
Kelantan	9,011	2,284	25.3	6,727	74.7
Kedah	44,934	7,077	15.7	37,857	84.3
Perlis	4,735	817	17.3	3,918	82.7
All Chinese	758,619	189,044	24.9	569,575	75.1

SOURCE: See Table 5.10

percentages between 25 and 30, and topped by Negri Sembilan and Pahang with percentages around 40.

The detailed analysis of the economically active Chinese, comparing the proportion of those working with the proportion of those not working but looking for work, is set out in Table 5.12. The overall proportion for the employed Chinese was around 1.6 per cent, which represented a much smaller percentage than in Singapore. Within West Malaysia, there was a general tendency for the relatively developed states to show a larger proportion of unemployed compared to the less developed states. Among the former, however, Johore seemed to be an exception in that its proportion was relatively low for each sex, while among the latter Kedah and Perlis provided exceptions in having rather high proportions of unemployed Chinese males.

Table 5.13 provides an analysis of the economically inactive by three broad categories for Chinese in each state. For the Federation as a whole, among the economically inactive males those doing unpaid house-work formed a small proportion, namely 5 per cent. The students formed about 77 per cent and the remainder group made up about 17 per cent.

Among the economically inactive females the majority naturally comprised housewives and unpaid house workers, who together made up 74 per cent. The proportion of students, namely 20 per cent was smaller than among the

TABLE 5.12

WEST MALAYSIA, 1957 - PER CENT ANALYSIS OF ECONOMICALLY
ACTIVE FOR CHINESE POPULATION FOR EACH STATE AND EACH
SEX.

	MALES		
	Per cent economically active who are:		
	Working	Not working but looking for work	Total
Selangor	98.5	1.5	100.0
Penang	97.1	2.9	100.0
Perak	98.0	2.0	100.0
N.Sembilan	98.7	1.3	100.0
Johore	98.9	1.1	100.0
Malacca	97.8	2.2	100.0
Pahang	98.8	1.2	100.0
Trengganu	98.9	1.1	100.0
Kelantan	99.1	0.9	100.0
Kedah	98.5	1.5	100.0
Perlis	98.5	1.5	100.0
All Chinese	98.3	1.7	100.0

TABLE 5.12 (Contd.)

	FEMALES		
	Per cent economically active who are:		
	Working	Not working but looking for work	Total
Selangor	98.3	1.7	100.0
Penang	96.2	3.8	100.0
Perak	98.4	1.6	100.0
N.Sembilan	99.0	1.0	100.0
Johore	99.2	0.8	100.0
Malacca	98.3	1.7	100.0
Pahang	99.0	1.0	100.0
Trengganu	98.3	1.7	100.0
Kelantan	99.4	0.6	100.0
Kedah	98.5	1.7	100.0
Perlis	99.4	0.6	100.0
			T
All Chinese	98.5	1.5	100.0

SOURCE: See Table 5.10.

TABLE 5.13

WEST MALAYSIA, 1957 - PER CENT ANALYSIS OF ECONOMICALLY
INACTIVE OF CHINESE POPULATION FOR EACH STATE AND EACH SEX.

	MALES			
	Percent economically inactive who are			
	Housewives & other un- paid home houseworkers	Students	Remainder	Total
Selangor	4.2	76.5	19.4	100.0
Penang	3.0	79.2	17.7	100.0
Perak	5.8	76.2	18.0	100.0
N.Sembilan	7.1	78.0	14.9	100.0
Johore	5.2	77.4	17.4	100.0
Malacca	4.3	78.0	17.7	100.0
Pahang	4.4	80.9	14.7	100.0
Trengganu	4.8	77.3	17.9	100.0
Kelantan	8.4	77.6	14.1	100.0
Kedah	6.7	77.5	15.8	100.0
Perlis	12.2	75.0	12.8	100.0
All Chinese	5.0	77.4	17.6	100.0

TABLE 5.13 (Contd.)

	FEMALES			
	Percent economically inactive who are			
	Housewives & other un- paid home houseworkers	Students	Remainder	Total
Selangor	71.7	21.2	7.1	100.0
Penang	77.7	18.0	4.3	100.0
Perak	73.7	20.3	6.0	100.0
N.Sembilan	69.6	25.4	4.9	100.0
Johore	74.0	21.2	4.8	100.0
Malacca	76.3	19.2	4.5	100.0
Pahang	66.8	27.5	5.7	100.0
Trengganu	73.1	21.8	5.1	100.0
Kelantan	72.8	21.4	5.8	100.0
Kedah	77.9	18.5	3.7	100.0
Perlis	79.3	15.6	5.1	100.0
All Chinese	74.0	20.5	5.4	100.0

SOURCE: See Table 5.10

males and the remainder group was small, amounting to only around 5 per cent.

By states, the male unpaid house-workers made up a smaller proportion of the economically inactive males in the relatively developed states as compared with the less developed states. In the case of the male students, the proportion was fairly constant throughout all the states. The remainder group formed a slightly larger proportion in the developed states than in the others.

The pattern of the housewives and unpaid female house-workers in each state followed more or less their pattern of economically active females: those states with a small proportion of economically active tended to have a large proportion of housewives among their economically inactive, and vice versa. In case of the female students, the relatively more developed states had a larger proportion of students than the less developed states. Finally, in respect of the small number belonging to the remainder category, there did not appear to be any clear-cut pattern among the Chinese females in each state.

The analysis by industry follows the lines adopted in respect of Singapore, with the industrial sector divided into three broad industrial groups, namely, primary, secondary and tertiary industries.¹⁴² Table 5.14 shows that in West Malaysia in 1957, 62 per cent of the economically active were

TABLE 5.14WEST MALAYSIA - PER CENT ANALYSIS BY MAIN INDUSTRIAL
GROUPS, 1921-1957.

Industrial Group	1921	1931	1947	1957
Primary Industries	73.3	72.0	67.6	61.8
Secondary Industries	6.3	6.2	7.8	9.7
Tertiary Industries	20.4	21.0	24.6	28.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Persons (1,000)	1613.8	1710.0	1897.8	2108.0

SOURCES: Based on 1921, 1931, 1947 and 1957 Censuses.

engaged in primary industries only 10 per cent in secondary industries, and 28 per cent in tertiary industries. It can be seen that a swing away from the primary sector had occurred gradually but steadily over the past four decades or so. The proportion for the primary sector fell from 73.3 per cent in 1921 to 61.8 per cent in 1957. Accompanying this swing was the increase in the relative importance of the secondary sector as well as the tertiary sector. In the main this change in the industrial structure of the labour force took place during the post-war period, when the growing concern over the overdependence on rubber and tin focussed a great deal of attention on industrialization as a means of diversifying the economy and on providing jobs for the rapidly increasing labour force.

A detailed analysis of the industrial distribution by ethnic group is given in Table 5.15. Among ethnic groups, the Chinese comprised the largest group in both the secondary and tertiary sectors, while the Malaysians were concentrated in the primary sector.

About 350,400 or 46.7 per cent of the economically active Chinese population were engaged in primary industries. They comprised only 27 per cent of all workers, and formed a far smaller total than the Malaysians (nearly 60 per cent). Agriculture, especially rubber production, was the most important primary occupation of the Chinese population.

TABLE 5.15

WEST MALAYSIA 1957 - DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNIC GROUPS AND
MAIN INDUSTRIAL GROUPS

Ethnic Group	Persons ('000)			
	Total	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Malaysians	998.4	759.6	48.4	190.4
Chinese	749.7	350.4	130.1	269.2
Indian	304.8	181.3	22.4	101.1
Total	2052.9	1291.3	200.9	560.7

Per cent distribution by Ethnic Group

Malaysians	48.6	58.8	24.1	34.0
Chinese	36.5	27.1	64.8	48.0
Indian	14.8	14.0	11.1	18.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Per cent distribution by Main Industrial Gp.

Malaysians	100.0	76.1	4.8	19.1
Chinese	100.0	46.7	17.4	35.9
Indian	100.0	59.5	7.3	33.2
Total	100.0	62.9	9.8	27.3

SOURCE: See Table 5.10

It can be seen from Table 5.16 that 57 per cent of the Chinese were employed in the rubber industry, 16 per cent in mixed agriculture, mainly cash crop vegetable farming and only 10 per cent in tin. 50 per cent of the Malaysians were rice farmers and only 34 per cent were engaged in the rubber industries, while 83 per cent of the Indians were concentrated on rubber plantations. These marked preferences were reflected in the composition of the labour force in the individual industries. Thus 68 per cent of the persons engaged in mixed agriculture and 73 per cent in tin were Chinese, while 97 per cent of the persons engaged in rice growing, 68 per cent in fishing and 66 per cent in coconut and copra production were Malaysians. (Table 5.17).

The preference of the Chinese to be wage earners accounts for their concentration in the rubber-growing states (Selangor, Johore, Negri Sembilan, Malacca and Perak) and tin-mining states (Perak and Selangor); on the other hand, the Malaysian population in the rice-growing states of Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan, Pahang, Trengganu was a very large majority and confirmed the Malay preference for subsistence farming. (Table 5.18).

In respect of the secondary industries, (Table 5.16), about 130,100 Chinese or only 17.4 of the economically active were engaged in this sector, which comprised manufacture and building.

TABLE 5.16

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION OF WEST MALAYSIA - PER CENT
DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS BY INDUSTRY 1957.

	Total		Chinese		Malaysians		Indians	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
PRIMARY INDUSTRIES								
Agriculture, forestry								
Hunting & fishing,								
Rice	391584	30.2	9483	2.7	381593	50.1	508	0.3
Mixed Agriculture	79671	6.2	54620	15.6	23941	3.2	1110	0.6
Fishing	61257	4.8	19408	5.5	41411	5.5	438	0.2
Others	32750	2.5	17418	5.0	12897	1.7	2435	1.3
Agricultural products requiring substantial processing								
Rubber	611840	47.4	200531	57.2	260654	34.3	150655	83.1
Coconut & Copra	39573	3.1	4308	1.2	26054	3.4	9211	5.1
Others	17583	1.4	4654	1.3	2769	0.4	10160	5.6
Mining & Quarrying								
Tin	49583	3.8	36423	10.4	7889	1.0	5271	2.9
Others	7493	0.6	3532	1.0	2423	0.3	1538	0.8
	1291334	62.9	350377	46.7	759631	76.1	181326	59.5
SECONDARY INDUSTRIES								
Manufacturing								
Food & fodder	17409	8.7	12185	9.4	3121	6.4	2103	9.4
Wood	19938	9.9	16449	12.6	3141	6.5	348	1.6
Footwear, wearing apparel, Textiles	22641	11.3	18301	14.1	3019	6.2	1321	5.9
General engineering	23277	11.6	19150	14.7	2171	4.5	1956	8.7
Others	50911	25.3	31417	24.2	15136	31.3	4358	19.5
Bldg. & Construction	66721	33.2	32589	25.0	21830	45.1	12302	54.9
	200947	9.8	130116	17.4	48433	4.8	22398	7.3

TABLE 5.16 (Contd.)

	Total		Chinese		Malaysians		Indians	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
TERTIARY INDUSTRIES								
Electricity, Gas & water	11011	2.0	2985	1.1	3850	2.0	4176	4.1
<u>Commerce</u>								
Retail Trade	167710	30.0	110924	41.2	28696	15.1	28090	27.8
Others	24187	4.3	16172	6.0	3324	1.7	4691	4.6
Transport Storage, Com.	72096	12.8	29162	10.8	26870	14.1	16064	15.9
<u>Services</u>								
Government Services	105316	18.8	13118	4.9	77393	40.7	14805	14.6
Community Services	71792	12.7	27686	10.3	31665	16.6	12441	12.3
Personal Services	94777	16.9	61100	22.7	15061	7.9	18616	18.4
Others	13818	2.5	8045	3.0	3522	1.9	2251	2.2
	560707	27.3	269192	35.9	190381	19.1	101134	33.2
All Industries	2052988	100.0	749685	100.0	998445	100.0	304858	100.0

SOURCE: Based on 1957 Census Report

TABLE 5.17

WEST MALAYSIA: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, BY PRIMARY
INDUSTRIES AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN ETHNIC
GROUPS, 1957

	Total		Chinese		Malaysians		Indians	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Agriculture, forestry, hunting & fishing.								
Rice	391584	100.0	9483	2.0	381593	97.0	508	1.0
Mixed Agriculture	79671	100.0	54620	69.0	23941	30.0	1110	1.0
Fishing	61257	100.0	19408	31.8	41411	67.5	438	0.7
Others	32750	100.0	17418	53.3	12897	39.3	2435	7.4
Agri.products requiring substantial processing								
Rubber	611840	100.0	200531	32.7	260654	42.7	150655	24.6
Coconut- copra	39573	100.0	4308	10.8	26054	66.0	9211	23.2
Others	17583	100.0	4654	26.5	2769	15.8	10160	57.7
Mining and Quarrying								
Tin	49583	100.0	36423	73.5	7889	15.9	5271	10.6
Others	7493	100.0	3532	47.2	2423	32.4	1538	20.4
Total Primary Industries	1291334	100.0	350377	27.1	759631	58.8	181326	14.0

SOURCE: Based on 1957 Census Report.

TABLE 5.18

WEST MALAYSIA: PER CENT ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE
WITHIN CHINESE POPULATION IN THE PRIMARY INDUSTRIES SECTOR
BY INDUSTRIES IN EACH STATE. 1957.

	No. of Persons	Per cent of persons employed in								
		Agriculture, forestry hunting & fishing				Agri. products requiring substantial processing			Mining & Quarrying	
		Rice	Mixed Agri.	Fish- ing	Oth- ers	Rub- ber	Coco- nut Copra	Oth- ers	Tin	Oth- ers
Selangor	58727	2.1	10.6	7.5	4.9	53.6	1.9	1.3	16.7	1.4
Penang	18370	4.5	30.7	15.2	11.9	29.2	4.7	0.2	0.4	3.2
Perak	88297	1.7	19.6	7.8	5.1	39.3	0.8	0.4	24.6	0.6
N. Sembilan	36219	0.1	8.6	0.4	3.0	85.6	-	0.1	1.9	0.3
Johore	77993	0.1	12.4	4.6	3.8	72.4	1.7	3.5	0.9	0.7
Malacca	14633	2.2	19.7	4.8	2.1	68.7	0.8	-	0.5	1.1
Pahang	29645	0.2	12.5	0.5	6.1	71.0	-	2.5	6.1	1.1
Trengganu	2433	1.7	12.2	2.1	14.1	49.1	0.5	-	9.7	10.6
Kelantan	3863	33.6	30.4	0.5	6.0	26.3	1.8	0.4	0.3	0.8
Kedah	17503	18.4	21.2	3.4	6.2	45.8	0.2	0.1	3.9	0.8
Perlis	2694	31.8	34.0	2.8	1.0	5.8	-	-	23.9	0.6
All Chinese	350377	2.7	15.6	5.5	5.0	57.2	1.2	1.3	10.4	1.0
All Malaysians	759631	50.1	3.2	5.5	1.7	34.3	3.4	0.4	1.0	0.3
All Indians	181326	0.3	0.6	0.2	1.3	83.1	5.1	5.6	2.9	0.8

SOURCE: See Table 5.10

The counterpart to the high participation in primary industry of Malaysians was the low percentage in secondary industries, which were, therefore, dominated by the Chinese who formed about 65 per cent of those employed. (Table 5.19). In the manufacturing industries there were nearly 100,000 Chinese workers in contrast to only 27,000 Malaysians and 10,000 Indians. The employment pattern in these industries was largely determined by the Chinese, who were mainly employed in motor garages and repair shops, foundries, welding work-shops, sawmills, and joinery works, and in the manufacture and repair of footwear, tailoring, dressmaking and furniture.

The more industrialized states were also those which had a large urban population. The numbers of Chinese employed in the secondary industries sector in the four states, Selangor, Perak, Penang and Johore was about 99,400. This was about 76 per cent of the total Chinese employment in this sector in the whole country. The employment pattern among Chinese in this sector was similar in all states. (Table 5.20).

Employment in the heterogeneous tertiary industries accounted for 269,200 Chinese or 36 per cent of the economically active. The employment of the Chinese in the sector was concentrated in a few industries (Table 5.16 & 5.21). About 85 per cent of them were engaged in four industries,

TABLE 5.19

WEST MALAYSIA: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, BY SECONDARY
INDUSTRIES AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN ETHNIC
GROUPS, 1957.

	Total		Chinese		Malaysians		Indians	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<u>MANUFACTURING</u>								
Food & fodder	17,409	100.0	12,185	70.0	3,121	17.9	2,103	12.1
Wood	19,938	100.0	16,449	82.5	3,141	15.8	348	1.7
Footwear, Wearing apparel & Textile	22,641	100.0	18,301	80.8	3,019	13.4	1,321	5.8
General Engineering	23,277	100.0	19,150	82.3	2,171	9.3	1,956	8.4
Others	50,911	100.0	31,417	62.0	15,136	29.7	4,358	8.3
Building & Construction	66,721	100.0	32,589	48.8	21,830	32.8	12,302	18.4
Total Secondary Industries:	200,947	100.0	130,116	64.8	48,433	24.1	22,398	11.1

SOURCE: See Table 5.10

TABLE 5.20

WEST MALAYSIA: PER CENT ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE
WITHIN CHINESE POPULATION IN THE SECONDARY INDUSTRIES SECTOR
BY INDUSTRIES IN EACH STATE.

	No. of Per- sons	Per Cent of persons employed in						Building & Const- ruction
		MANUFACTURING						
		Food & fod- der	Wood	Foot- wear Wear- ing apparel & Tex- tile	General engin- eering	Oth- ers	Total	
Selangor	36161	6.8	9.9	15.1	15.9	22.6	70.3	29.6
Penang	19616	10.0	9.0	12.7	13.4	32.7	77.8	22.3
Perak	27907	8.9	12.2	13.2	17.6	22.8	74.7	25.4
N.Sem- bilan	6932	5.2	20.1	11.6	16.3	17.1	70.3	29.6
Johore	15723	14.3	15.2	16.2	12.5	22.2	80.4	19.6
Malacca	6469	7.2	11.1	16.3	13.2	29.4	77.2	22.7
Pahang	4701	5.2	27.3	12.4	9.2	16.2	70.3	29.8
Treng- ganu	1537	16.0	18.9	14.6	8.3	21.3	79.1	20.9
Kelantan	1952	9.3	15.2	17.0	15.1	31.5	88.1	11.9
Kedah	8498	16.5	14.8	12.0	11.5	24.7	79.5	20.5
Perlis	620	18.9	12.4	18.9	11.6	18.7	80.5	19.5
All Chinese	130116	9.4	12.6	14.1	14.7	24.2	75.0	25.0
All Mal- aysian	48433	6.4	6.5	6.2	4.5	31.3	54.9	45.1
All Indians	22398	9.4	1.6	5.9	8.7	19.5	45.1	54.9

SOURCE: See Table 5.10

TABLE 5.21

WEST MALAYSIA: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, BY TERTIARY
INDUSTRIES AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN ETHNIC
GROUPS, 1957

	Total		Chinese		Malaysians		Indians	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Electricity, Gas & Water	11011	100.0	2985	27.1	3850	35.0	4176	37.9
<u>Commerces</u>								
Retail trade	167710	100.0	110924	66.1	28696	17.1	28090	16.8
Other	24187	100.0	16172	66.9	3324	13.7	4691	19.4
Transport Storage, Communication	72096	100.0	29162	40.4	26870	37.3	16064	22.3
<u>Services</u>								
Government Services	105316	100.0	13118	12.5	77393	73.5	14805	14.0
Community Services	71792	100.0	27686	38.7	31665	44.1	12441	17.2
Personal Services	94777	100.0	61100	64.5	15061	15.9	18616	19.6
Others	13818	100.0	8045	58.1	3522	25.5	2251	16.4
All Tertiary Industries	560707	100.0	269192	48.0	190381	34.0	101134	18.0

SOURCE: See Table 5.10

retail trade, personal services mainly of a domestic nature, transport, and education and health services. Unlike the Malaysians, with their concentration in the police and armed forces, the Chinese displayed a marked preference for trade and a traditional dislike for the armed forces.

As in the secondary industrial sector, the important states in this sector are again those in which there is a substantial Chinese urban population. In terms of members employed, these are Selangor, Perak, Penang, and Johore, which together accounted for 75 per cent of all tertiary employment. As a whole, the rubber-growing states had supported a greater degree of development in the tertiary sector than the rice-growing states. (Table 5.22).

If the economic characteristics of the Chinese population are analysed on the basis of occupation¹⁴³ the following pattern can be discerned. (Table 5.23). In West Malaysia as a whole, agriculture was the most important occupation (56.4 per cent) followed by the group comprising Craftsmen, production process workers and general workers (15.5 per cent), and sales workers (8.6 per cent). The Chinese population more or less resembled this pattern, with 38.3 per cent of the Chinese as agricultural workers, followed by 24.1 per cent craftsmen / production process workers / general labourers, and 15.9 per cent clerical workers.

TABLE 5.22

WEST MALAYSIA: PER CENT ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE
WITHIN THE CHINESE POPULATION IN THE TERTIARY INDUSTRIES
SECTOR BY INDUSTRIES IN EACH STATE

	No. of Persons	Per Cent of Persons employed in							
		Elect- ricity, Gas & Water	Commerce		Trans- port stor- age, Comm- unica- tion	Services			
			Retail Trade	Oth- ers		Govern- ment Ser- vices	Comm- unity Ser- vices	Per- sonal Ser- vices	Oth- ers
Selangor	62079	1.2	35.6	7.1	11.7	5.9	9.5	25.5	3.5
Penang	47204	0.8	36.4	8.1	14.8	3.6	10.4	21.9	3.9
Perak	56781	1.4	42.3	5.4	9.1	5.2	10.7	23.1	2.8
N. Sem- bilan	14462	0.9	41.8	5.1	9.5	4.8	11.3	24.1	2.6
Johore	37037	1.1	45.6	4.2	10.4	4.9	11.4	20.0	2.4
Malacca	14718	1.3	39.9	6.9	10.2	6.6	11.5	20.8	2.6
Pahang	10224	1.4	41.4	4.6	9.8	5.8	11.1	23.4	2.6
Treng- ganu	2696	1.7	44.4	4.5	10.3	4.0	8.5	24.7	2.1
Kelantan	4169	0.6	46.8	9.0	5.0	3.5	8.4	23.5	3.2
Kedah	17976	0.8	56.9	3.4	7.7	2.5	7.8	19.2	1.7
Perlis	1811	0.4	65.2	1.3	5.4	1.6	6.6	18.7	0.8
All Chinese	269192	1.1	41.2	6.0	10.8	4.9	10.3	22.7	3.0
All Malay- sians	190381	2.0	15.1	1.7	14.1	40.7	16.6	7.9	1.9
All Indians	101134	4.1	27.8	4.6	15.9	14.6	12.3	18.4	2.2

SOURCE: See Table 5.10

TABLE 5.23

WEST MALAYSIA: 1957 - PER CENT ANALYSIS OF ECONOMICALLY
ACTIVE BY OCCUPATION FOR EACH ETHNIC GROUP

Occupation	Total	Male	Female	Malay- sians	Chinese	Indians
1. Professional, technical & related workers	3.1	2.9	3.5	2.7	3.3	2.4
2. Administrative-executive & managerial workers.	1.2	1.5	0.1	0.4	2.0	1.0
3. Clerical workers	2.9	3.6	0.9	1.7	3.7	4.0
4. Sales workers	8.6	10.3	3.4	2.9	15.9	10.0
5. Agricultural & forestry workers fishermen, hunters & trappers.	56.4	50.1	75.8	74.2	38.3	50.2
6. Miners, quarrymen & related workers	0.3	0.1	0.7	0.0	0.6	0.1
7. Workers in transport and communication	3.1	4.1	0.2	2.8	3.5	3.5
8. Craftsmen, production process workers & labourers not elsewhere classified	15.5	18.0	7.6	7.7	24.1	21.1
9. Service, sport & entertainment workers	4.2	3.3	6.9	1.6	7.3	5.7
10. Firemen, policemen & members of the armed forces	4.4	5.7	0.4	5.7	0.8	1.9
11. Not classified	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Persons ('000)	2126.2	1602.8	523.4	1004.3	771.4	307.2

SOURCE: See Table 5.10

Within each ethnic group, the Chinese and Indian occupational patterns were very similar and both differed markedly from the Malaysian pattern. 74.2 per cent of the economically active Malaysians were engaged in agriculture and they were also numerous in the police and armed forces. The Chinese, on the other hand, predominated in retail distribution and domestic service, and as craftsmen and labourers.

A more detailed analysis of the occupational distribution within the Chinese in each state is given in Table 5.24. Although there was no clear-cut distribution pattern within each category, there was a tendency for a smaller proportion of the economically active to engage in agricultural occupations in the relatively more advanced and industrialised states of Selangor, Penang, Perak and Malacca. On the other hand, these relatively more advanced states had created more opportunities for employment in the professional, administrative and clerical occupations as well as the service industries.

2. Singapore

Of the total Chinese population of 1,090,596 enumerated in the 1957 census, about 66 per cent or 722,664 persons were 10 years of age or over. Table 5.25 shows the distribution of the latter by economic activity status.

TABLE 5.24

WEST MALAYSIA, 1957 - PER CENT ANALYSIS OF ECONOMICALLY
ACTIVE FOR CHINESE POPULATION IN EACH STATE BY OCCUPATION

	No. of Persons ('000)	Profes- sional	Admin- istrat- ive	Cler- ical	Sales	Agricult- ural
Selangor	162.4	3.4	2.0	5.2	15.4	27.4
Penang	90.1	5.0	2.5	7.3	20.8	17.9
Perak	178.2	3.0	2.1	3.1	14.4	35.2
N.Sembilan	58.5	2.3	1.8	1.9	10.9	56.9
Johore	133.0	2.7	1.6	1.9	13.5	53.5
Malacca	36.9	3.6	2.0	4.0	17.7	35.6
Pahang	45.2	2.3	1.9	1.5	10.2	58.6
Trengganu	6.7	3.3	2.2	3.9	19.0	27.6
Kelantan	10.1	4.2	3.0	4.3	20.5	35.6
Kedah	45.1	2.9	1.8	2.6	23.8	34.6
Perlis	5.2	2.1	1.3	1.5	24.1	38.6
Total ('000 persons)	771.4	24.9	15.2	28.4	120.3	291.0
	100.0	3.3	2.0	3.7	15.9	38.3

SOURCE: See Table 5.10

TABLE 5.24 (CONTD.)

	Miners	Transport	Craftsmen & Labourers	Service & sport	Firemen police-men & armed forces	Not classified
Selangor	0.4	3.5	30.8	8.2	1.6	0.5
Penang	-	5.9	25.9	8.6	0.9	0.7
Perak	2.2	3.1	26.8	6.7	1.2	0.4
N.Sembilan	0.2	2.4	16.5	5.4	0.6	0.2
Johore	0.2	3.4	16.1	4.8	0.8	0.3
Malacca	-	3.8	21.8	7.2	1.9	0.4
Pahang	0.2	2.5	16.2	4.3	1.0	0.2
Trengganu	-	3.3	30.6	8.8	0.7	0.7
Kelantan	-	1.5	21.2	7.6	0.8	0.3
Kedah	-	3.4	22.5	5.8	0.7	0.5
Perlis	0.7	2.1	23.7	5.0	0.2	0.3
Total ('000 persons)	5.0	26.9	182.9	52.5	8.5	3.2
	0.6	3.5	24.1	7.3	0.8	0.4

Source: See Table 5.10

TABLE 5.25

SINGAPORE: DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE 10 YEARS OF AGE AND
OVER BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY STATUS AND SEX, 1957.

Economic activity status	Persons			Percent distribution		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Population 10 years of age and over.						
Economically Active	346164	268061	78103	47.9	73.5	21.8
Economically inactive	376500	96646	279854	52.1	26.5	78.2
Total	722664	364707	357957	100.0	100.0	100.0
Economically active population.						
Persons working	328898	255182	73716	94.8	95.1	94.3
Persons not working but looking for work	17266	12879	4387	5.2	4.9	5.7
Total	346164	268061	78103	100.0	100.0	100.0
Economically inactive population.						
Home house-worker	204089	1685	202404	54.2	1.7	72.1
Full-time student	123,966	74689	49277	32.9	77.2	17.7
Inmates of institutions	3852	2490	1362	1.0	2.5	0.6
Pensioners and persons with private means	1376	963	413	0.5	1.3	0.2
Others	43217	16819	26398	11.4	17.3	9.4
Total	376500	96646	279854	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Calculated from 1957 Census Report, Table 58. p.176; Table 70. p.188.

Broadly, nearly one-half, or 346,164, of the Chinese were economically active, and of these, 5.2 per cent were unemployed.

Of the 376,500 economically inactive population, 54.2 or more than half were home house-workers, and 32.9 full-time students. Thus these two groups accounted for nearly 90 per cent of all economically inactive persons. The remaining one-tenth comprised largely unpaid social workers, and persons who were unable to obtain employment because of their physical disabilities, age or lack of skill. Further, inmates in institutions accounted for 1 per cent and pensioners and persons with private means for 0.5 per cent.

The data in Table 5.25 also revealed some important differences in employment between the sexes among the Chinese population. There were three and a half times as many men as women in the economically active category. It must also be noted, however, that home house-workers formed nearly a half of the women who had not been classified as economically active. But there is a further explanation in that employers' attitudes to employment; opportunities for females have always been restricted. On the other hand, a higher proportion of females were looking for work for the first time.

A further marked difference was discernible in the students' category. About 77 per cent of the economically inactive males were full time students. While the corres-

ponding ratio for the females was only 17 per cent. This low figure for females as compared with the males' was in large part due to a shortage of school-building facilities. But sex discrimination in education among Chinese can also be traced to social attitudes, the early age at which girls marry, and economic considerations, particularly in large families.

Table 5.26 shows for each principal ethnic group and sex the proportion of economically active population to working age population, that is, persons 10 years of age and over. The Chinese and Malaysians had a near normal age-sex structure and had a relatively small economically active population. The Indians by comparison had an extremely high proportion of economically active population resulting partly from the abnormal sex ratio in the working age group. This and the relatively large working age population, were a reflection of their immigrant nature.

The Chinese male population was largely a settled one and had the most normal age structure and also the lowest economically active ratio, while the female sector presented a contrasting picture. The Chinese females had the highest economically active ratio, three times that for each of the other two ethnic groups. Since the female age structures did not differ significantly, we may conclude that these differences between the principal ethnic groups were primarily

TABLE 5.26

SINGAPORE: - PER CENT OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
TO WORKING AGE POPULATION (10 YEARS AND OVER) FOR EACH
ETHNIC GROUP AND SEX, 1957.

Ethnic Group	Total	Male	Female
Chinese	47.9	73.5	21.8
Malaysians	45.9	80.0	6.3
Indians	69.4	88.9	7.1
Others	55.6	81.2	27.2
Total	49.9	76.6	19.3

SOURCE: 1957 Census Report, Summary
Table 15-1 p.80

determined by dissimilar traditional attitudes towards female employment.

If we analyse the economically active population by ethnic group, it is evident that the Chinese were numerically the largest ethnic group and formed about three-quarters of the working age population. They also comprised 72 per cent of the economically active population, as can be seen in Table 5.27. Differences in economically active ratio between the ethnic groups appeared negligible when viewed beside the numerical superiority of the economically active Chinese. The female pattern was somewhat different, with the Chinese forming 40 per cent of the economically active, and the Indians under 2 per cent.

The importance of the entrepot function to the economy of Singapore is reflected in the large proportion of persons earning a living in tertiary industry. (Table 5.28). Over 70 per cent were engaged in the tertiary industries in all four census years, particularly in trade, commerce and allied servicing industries. As a result of growing industrialisation, there has been an increase in the proportion engaged in secondary industries with a corresponding decrease in primary industries.

Within the Chinese population, only 11.1 per cent of the labour force fell in the primary industry category. Chinese predominated in secondary industry and 22.2 per cent

TABLE 5.27ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION OF SINGAPORE1957 - DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNIC GROUP

Ethnic Group	Persons			Per Cent Distribution		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Chinese	346,164	268,061	78,103	72.1	68.1	90.3
Malaysians	57,267	53,638	3,629	11.9	13.6	4.3
Indians	63,008	61,466	1,542	13.1	15.6	1.8
Others	13,828	10,632	3,196	2.9	2.7	3.7
Total	480,267	393,797	86,470	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: 1957 Census Report, Tables 58, 59, 60 & 61
pp.176-179.

TABLE 5.28

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION OF SINGAPORE - PERCENTAGE
DISTRIBUTION BY MAIN INDUSTRIAL GROUP. 1921-1957

Industrial Group	Per cent distribution			
	1921	1931	1947	1957
Primary	14.2	11.9	9.9	8.9
Secondary	15.6	15.8	17.6	19.5
Tertiary	70.2	72.2	72.5	71.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Persons ('000)	238.6	274.3	357.5	469.8

SOURCES: Based on Population Census Report,
1921-1957.

of economically active Chinese were in this category in 1957. 67 per cent of the Chinese active population was engaged in tertiary industry, where they were chiefly active in commerce and services. (Table 5.29).

The variation in the industrial structure between each ethnic group is also significant. (Table 5.30). In the primary industries, more than 90 per cent of the economically active persons were Chinese as compared with 7 per cent Malaysians and 2 per cent Indians. The Chinese were mainly engaged in agriculture (cash crop mixed-vegetable farming), and only a small proportion were engaged in fishing. On the other hand, the Malaysians were evenly distributed between agriculture and fishing, in both cases mainly on a subsistence basis.

In the secondary industries, 86.3 per cent of the Chinese were engaged in manufacturing in 1957, the remainder being Malaysian, 5.7 per cent and Indians 6.7 per cent. The Chinese **were** mainly employed in the manufacture of footwear, weaving apparel and made-up textile goods, the manufacture of furniture, fixtures and all ~~types~~ of wood products, and in general engineering. The Malaysians, on the contrary, **were** mainly employed in the chemical and metallurgical industries, and the food, beverage and tobacco industries.

It is important to note that, in tertiary industry, about 78 per cent of the Chinese were engaged in commerce,

TABLE 5.29

SINGAPORE: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, BY INDUSTRY
AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION WITHIN CHINESE POPULATION

1957

Industry	Total		Chinese	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agriculture, forestry, Hunting, fishing	40,151	8.5	36,389	10.7
Mining and Quarrying	1,601	0.3	1,434	0.4
Manufacturing	66,754	14.1	57,611	16.9
Building & Construction	24,628	5.2	17,901	5.3
Electricity, gas, water and sanitary services	5,624	1.2	1,432	0.4
Commerce	121,533	25.8	94,987	27.9
Transport, Storage and Communication Services	50,347	10.7	33,577	9.8
Services	161,280	34.2	97,341	28.6
Total all Industries	471,918	100.0	340,672	100.0

SOURCE: 1957 Census Report Table 84, pp.202-215.

TABLE 5.30

SINGAPORE: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, BY INDUSTRY AND
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS, 1957

Industry	Total		Chinese		Malaysian		Indian		Others	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Agriculture, forestry, hunting & fishing.	40151	100	36389	90.6	2747	6.9	925	2.3	90	0.2
Mining & Quarrying	1601	100	1434	89.6	31	1.9	108	6.8	28	1.7
Manufacturing	66754	100	57611	86.3	3779	5.7	4474	6.7	890	1.3
Building & Construction	24628	100	17901	72.7	1784	7.2	4495	18.3	448	1.8
Electricity, gas, water & sanitary services.	5624	100	1432	25.5	1298	23.1	2672	47.5	222	3.9
Commerce	121533	100	94987	78.2	6541	5.4	16829	13.8	3176	2.6
Transport, storage & Communication	50347	100	33577	66.7	7551	15.0	7190	14.3	2029	4.0
Services	161280	100	97341	60.3	31601	19.6	25566	15.9	6712	4.2
Total All Industries	471918	100	340672	72.2	55392	11.7	62259	13.2	13595	2.9

SOURCE: 1957 Census Report, Table 84.
 pp.202-215.

finance and allied activities, as compared with 13.8 per cent of the Indians and only 5.4 per cent of the Malaysians. This reflects the significant role of the Chinese in the entrepot trade and the national economy. A relatively large number of the Indians and Malaysians **were** in the defence services, mainly civilians and labourers employed in the armed forces; furthermore, the police force **was** mainly composed of Malaysians. This accounted in large part for the high proportion of these two groups in tertiary employment.

The economic characteristics of the population can also be presented on the basis of occupation, in contrast to classification on the basis of industry in which the occupation is pursued. (Table 5.31). On this basis, draftsmen-production process workers--general labourers (31.3 per cent) comprised the main occupational category in Singapore followed by salesworkers (18.3 per cent), service-sport-entertainment-recreation workers (17.1 per cent) and clerical workers (10.4 per cent). The Chinese population more or less resembled this pattern, with 32.5 per cent Chinese as Craftsmen-production process workers-general labourers, followed by 20.9 per cent sales workers, 15.6 per cent service-sport-entertainment-recreation workers and 9.3 per cent clerical workers.

Each category had a large majority of Chinese and this dominant group, comprising 72.2 per cent of the labour

TABLE 5.31

SINGAPORE: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, BY PRINCIPAL
OCCUPATION AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION WITHIN CHINESE
POPULATION, 1957.

Principal Occupation	Total		Chinese	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Professional, technical and related workers.	22,689	4.8	14,940	4.4
2. Administrative, executive and managerial workers	8,891	1.9	5,269	1.5
3. Clerical workers	49,181	10.4	31,766	9.3
4. Sales workers.	86,320	18.3	71,053	20.9
5. Agricultural & forestry workers, fishermen, hunters and trappers.	37,113	7.9	29,763	8.7
6. Miners, quarrymen & related workers	66	0.0	64	0.0
7. Workers in transport & Communication.	38,988	8.3	24,213	7.1
8. Craftsmen, production process workers & labourers not elsewhere classified	147,758	31.3	110,638	32.5
9. Service, Sport, entertainment & recreation workers	80,912	17.1	52,966	15.6
10 Total all Occupations	471,918	100.0	340,672	100.0

SOURCE: 1957 Census Report, Table 87, pp.220-233

force, exceeded that proportion amongst sales workers (82.3 per cent), agricultural workers (80.2 per cent), quarrymen (97 per cent) and craftsmen-process production workers-labourers (74.9 per cent). (Table 5.32).

Within each ethnic group, the variation in the occupation structure is also significant: Nearly one-third of the Chinese labour force fell within the category of craftsmen-production process workers-labourers, and significant proportions of Chinese were classified in production processing (packing, grading and the like); as carpenter-cabinet makers, and tailors-dressmakers.

In the service category, the Chinese were mainly workers in domestic service--hospital-hotels-clubs-restaurants, especially (female) amahs and cooks-waiters, hairdressers and launderers-dry cleaners.

In agriculture and fishing, Chinese were chiefly workers on small-holdings (including livestock) and market gardeners (80 per cent); 10 per cent were fishermen and 5 per cent rubber tappers.

Occupational specialization related to the varied economic and social practices and prejudices not only by ethnic group but also amongst specific communities; for example, Hokkiens comprised the major element of Chinese merchants, many Cantonese were artisans of all kinds and Hainanese specialized in domestic service and as cooks and

TABLE 5.32

SINGAPORE: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, BY PRINCIPAL
OCCUPATION AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN ETHNIC
GROUPS, 1957.

Princi- pal Occu- pation	Total		Chinese		Malaysian		Indian- Pakistani		Other	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1.	22,689	100.0	14,940	65.8	1,603	7.1	2,303	10.2	3,843	16.9
2.	8,891	100.0	5,269	59.3	279	3.1	1,114	12.5	2,229	25.1
3.	49,181	100.0	31,766	64.6	6,719	13.7	7,392	15.0	3,304	6.7
4.	86,320	100.0	71,053	82.3	1,796	2.1	12,599	14.6	872	1.0
5.	37,113	100.0	29,763	80.2	5,496	14.8	1,809	4.9	45	0.1
6.	66	100.0	64	97.0	1	1.5	1	1.5	0	0.0
7.	38,988	100.0	24,213	62.1	10,214	26.2	3,557	9.1	1,004	2.6
8.	147,758	100.0	110,638	74.9	13,067	8.8	23,138	15.7	915	0.6
9.	80,912	100.0	52,966	65.5	16,217	20.0	10,346	12.8	1,383	1.7
10.	471,918	100.0	340,672	72.2	55,392	11.7	62,259	13.2	13,595	2.9

SOURCE: 1957 Census Report. Table 87. pp.220-233.

waiters.

3. Sarawak.

According to the 1960 Census, 67,171 out of a total of 113,961 Chinese persons over 15 years of age were economically active. Their distribution by economic activity status is shown in Table 5.33. About 60 per cent of the Chinese were economically active. Of the 46,790 economically inactive population, 65.4 per cent were home house-workers, and 18.1 per cent full-time students. Thus these two groups accounted for 84 per cent of all economically inactive persons. The remaining 16 per cent comprised retired persons, those with no occupation and those looking for work and a small number of persons whose economic activity status was not stated.

In the analysis by sex, as in Malaya, there were more males than females in the economically active category. Among the economically inactive, nearly 82 per cent of the females were home house-workers, about 52 per cent of the males but only 9.1 per cent of the females were students.

Table 5.34 shows for each main ethnic group and sex the proportion of economically active population to working age population, that is, persons 15 years of age and over. Of the economically active population of both sexes in Sarawak indigenous peoples formed a notably larger

TABLE 5.33

SARAWAK: DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE 15 YEARS OF AGE AND
OVER BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY STATUS AND SEX, 1960

Economic Activity Status	Persons			Percentage		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Economically active	67,171	50,135	17,036	58.9	83.1	31.7
Economically inactive	46,790	10,164	36,626	41.1	16.9	68.3
Total	113,961	60,299	53,662	100.0	100.0	100.0
Economically inactive Pop.						
Home house-workers	30,608	484	30,124	65.4	4.9	82.2
Student	8,598	5,275	3,323	18.3	51.9	9.1
Retired	3,141	1,736	1,405	7.0	17.0	3.9
Others	4,443	2,669	1,774	9.3	26.2	4.8
Total	46,790	10,164	36,626	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report, Table 19-g. p.254

TABLE 5.34

SARAWAK: PER CENT OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
TO WORKING AGE POPULATION (15 YEARS AND OVER) FOR
EACH MAIN ETHNIC GROUP AND SEX, 1960.

Ethnic Group	Total	Male	Female
Chinese	58.9	83.1	31.7
Sea Dayak	85.6	93.3	78.5
Land Dayak	76.5	93.1	60.7
Malay	59.8	89.2	31.7
Melanau	66.9	91.2	44.6
Other Indigenous	76.3	90.7	60.4
Others	66.8	89.4	31.9
Total	71.2	89.3	53.1

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report, p.108.

proportion than did the Chinese. There are two significant factors which have been responsible for the low proportion of economically active Chinese: (1) the larger numbers of Chinese over 15 who are attending school where they stay longer and therefore begin work later; (2) the tendency of Chinese to cease work earlier or at least to report ceasing work earlier. The latter is a matter not of laziness or lack of staying power, but of the type of work done and of tradition. Subsistence farmers like many of the indigenous people, usually help in the family garden as long as their strength allows them to do so, and so do not know the concept of retiring. Many Chinese, however, are not subsistence farmers but paid employees, and a number of these are retired by their employers, notably the government, at 55 years whether they like it or not. The idea of retirement is known, and many people look forward to it. Among the Chinese, also, old age is traditionally respected, and rest from work is regarded as one of its rewards. The differing indigenous and Chinese patterns of participation in work thus reflect both everyday practicalities and long-ingrained cultural concepts.

The industrial distribution of the economically active Chinese population is shown in Table 5.35. Although there were large numbers of Chinese in the secondary (13.4 per cent) and tertiary (34.5 per cent) industries, a large

TABLE 5.35

SARAWAK: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS BY INDUSTRY AND
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION WITHIN CHINESE POPULATION, 1960.

Industry	Total		Chinese	
	Number	%	Number	%
Agriculture, forestry hunting & fishing	239,613	81.4	34,349	51.1
Mining & Quarrying	2,392	0.8	727	1.1
Manufacturing	11,524	3.9	6,630	9.9
Building & Construction	4,589	1.6	2,262	3.4
Electricity & Water Supply.	540	0.2	171	0.3
Commerce	13,821	4.7	11,572	17.2
Transport & Communication	5,554	1.9	3,258	4.8
Services	16,252	5.5	8,202	12.2
Total All Industries	294,285	100.0	67,171	100.0

SOURCE: Calculated from 1960 Census Report,
Table 25, 25g, pp.291 & 298.

proportion was still in the primary industry, (52.2 per cent).

In terms of employment primary industries formed by far the most important sector, in which nearly 239,600 or 82^o/o of the economically active were engaged. Agriculture, including rubber production, was the most important occupation of all the ethnic groups. Almost all the Sea Dayaks, Land Dayaks and Other indigenous groups were engaged in agriculture, but only two-thirds of the Malays and about half of the Chinese. The 52.2 per cent Chinese engaged in primary production differed from that of the indigenous peoples. Whereas 73 per cent of the indigenous peoples engaged in these industries were padi-growers, only 2.0 per cent of the Chinese in this sector cultivate padi. The Chinese engaged rather in growing rubber, coconuts and market produce and in logging. For example, 55 per cent of the Chinese in this sector were engaged in rubber cultivation and another 32 per cent grew cash crops in small-holdings.

About 82 per cent of Sarawak's workers were engaged in agriculture. Manufacturing accounted for 4 per cent and Building for less than 2 per cent of the workers. Over half of the people engaged in manufacturing were Chinese (Table 5.36) and about one-quarter Malays. The Chinese who worked in this sector were mainly concerned with wood production, very few being involved in the manufacture of food or small-scale engineering.

TABLE 5.36

SARAWAK - ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, BY INDUSTRY
AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS,

1960

	Number	%	Chin- ese	Sea Dayak	Malay	Land Dayak	Mel- anau	Oth- er Ind- igen- ous	Oth- ers
Agriculture, forestry, hunting & fishing	239,613	100	14.3	50.0	12.7	9.3	6.4	6.7	0.6
Mining & Quarrying	2,392	100	30.4	13.0	37.0	2.7	5.8	3.5	7.6
Manufacturing	11,524	100	57.5	3.2	25.5	0.5	9.9	2.7	0.7
Bldg. & Construction	4,589	100	49.3	3.9	33.7	2.5	3.6	1.6	5.4
Electricity & Water supply	540	100	31.7	3.1	52.2	0.9	6.7	0.6	4.8
Commerce	13,821	100	83.7	2.6	8.3	0.8	2.0	0.4	2.2
Transport, Communications	5,554	100	58.7	1.0	30.5	0.7	3.9	3.1	2.1
Services	16,252	100	50.5	9.8	25.1	4.5	3.0	2.0	5.1
All industrial Groups	294,285	100	22.8	41.7	14.6	8.0	6.0	5.8	1.1

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report, Table 25, 25a-h
 pp. 291-299.

Employment in the heterogeneous tertiary industries accounted for 12 per cent of the economically active persons. Over 30 per cent of the Chinese economically active were in tertiary employment compared with 16 per cent for Malaysians and less than 2 per cent for Sea Dayaks. Nearly 83.7 per cent who worked in commerce were Chinese, almost all of them in retail and wholesale trade. They were also concentrated in transport and personal services (including domestic service, hairdressing and the like).

Turning to the question of occupation, we find that agricultural workers (50.6 per cent) were the main occupational category for Chinese, followed by craftsmen-production process workers (15.7 per cent) and sales workers (15.2 per cent) (Table 5.37).

In agriculture, the Chinese were mainly rubber tappers (50 per cent of the Chinese having agricultural occupations) and workers on small-holdings and market gardens (45 per cent). In the craftsmen-production process category, the Chinese appeared chiefly as carpenters-joiners-cabinet-makers, as tool-makers-machinists-plumbers-welders, and as bricklayers-plasterers, building and construction workers. In the sales category, they were mainly engaged as salesmen and shop assistants, as working proprietors and managers wholesale and retail trade and as hawkers and street vendors.

With the exception of agriculture, each category

TABLE 5.37

SARAWAK: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, BY PRINCIPAL
OCCUPATION AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION WITHIN
CHINESE POPULATION, 1960.

Principal Occupation	Total		Chinese	
	Number	%	Number	%
1. Professional, Technical & related workers.	6,220	2.0	3,194	4.8
2. Administrative, Executive and managerial workers.	1,010	3.3	536	0.8
3. Clerical workers	4,386	1.4	2,794	4.2
4. Sales workers	11,848	4.0	10,212	15.2
5. Agricultural workers, factory workers, Fishermen Hunters & Trappers	239,828	81.5	33,954	50.6
6. Miners, Quarrymen & related workers.	179	-	74	0.1
7. Workers in Transport & Communication.	4,255	1.1	1,990	2.9
8. Craftsmen, production process workers and labourers not elsewhere classified	19,928	6.6	10,580	15.7
9. Service, Sport, Entertainment & related workers	6,631	2.2	3,837	5.7
10. Total All Occupations	294,285	100.0	67,171	100.0

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report, Table 23 - 23g.
pp. 273 & 280.

had a large majority of Chinese (Table 5.38). The occupational distribution of members of the different communities of the country is generally very much the same as that by industrial category, since in both cases, the pattern is dominated by agriculture.

4. Sabah

The total Chinese population enumerated in the 1960 Census amounted to 104,542. Of these 55,558 (or 53 per cent) were 15 years of age or over. Their distribution by economic activity status is shown in Table 5.39. About 58.6 per cent of the Chinese 15 years old or over were economically active. The economically inactive comprised 62.4 per cent home house-workers, 23.8 per cent students; 4.4 per cent retired persons and 9.4 per cent in the category "others".

In the analysis by sex, the same pattern appeared as in Sarawak. In the economically active category, the proportion in respect of the females was smaller than the male proportion. Among the male economically inactive, those doing unpaid housework formed a small proportion of 3.5 per cent, while students, forming about 65.2 per cent, were much the largest group in this category. Among the female economically inactive, the majority naturally comprised housewives and un-paid house-workers. (80.6 per cent) with only 11 per cent listed as students.

TABLE 5.38

SARAWAK: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, BY PRINCIPAL
OCCUPATION AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN
SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS, 1960.

Prin- cipal Occu- pation	Total		Chinese		Sea Dayak		Malaysian	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1.	6,220	100.0	3,194	51.5	721	11.6	1,017	16.4
2.	1,010	100.0	536	53.1	98	9.7	153	15.1
3.	4,386	100.0	2,794	63.6	182	4.1	1,065	24.3
4.	11,848	100.0	10,212	86.1	340	2.8	712	6.0
5.	239,828	100.0	33,954	14.3	119,824	50.0	31,343	12.7
6.	179	100.0	74	41.4	2	-	80	4.4
7.	4,255	100.0	1,990	46.8	88	2.0	1,681	39.5
8.	19,928	100.0	10,580	53.0	857	4.3	5,482	27.6
9.	6,631	100.0	3,837	57.9	589	8.8	1,442	21.8
10.	294,285	100.0	67,171	22.8	122,701	41.7	42,975	14.6

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report, Table 23, 23b, 23d, 23g.
pp. 273, 275, 277, 280.

TABLE 5.39

SABAH: DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE 15 YEARS OF AGE AND
OVER BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY STATUS AND SEX, 1960.

Economic Activity Status	Persons			Percentage		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Economically Active	32,563	25,085	7,478	58.6	82.3	29.8
Economically inactive	22,995	5,393	17,602	41.4	17.7	70.2
Total	55,558	30,478	25,080	100.0	100.0	100.0
Economically inactive Pop.						
Home house-workers	14,359	177	14,182	62.4	3.5	80.6
Student	5,466	3,519	1,947	23.8	65.2	11.0
Retired	998	552	446	4.4	10.2	2.6
Others	2,172	1,145	1,027	9.4	21.1	5.8
Total	22,995	5,393	17,602	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report, Table 19-f, p.252

Details of the economically active for each main ethnic group are shown in Table 5.40. The proportion of the economically active in the whole population was high, namely 69 per cent, reflecting the small numbers of old persons, and of students over 15 years, as well as the large number of working women. Between the communities, the rate varied a good deal, as in Sarawak, the proportion of economically active among the Chinese being relatively low when compared to the average for all the communities or the average for any of the indigenous peoples. In the indigenous communities the male rate varied from 92 to 94 per cent but among the Chinese it dropped to 82. The low rate for Chinese males is due in part to the fact that they tend to take paid jobs from which they retire, and in part to the larger proportion of old people in the Chinese community. Among the women, the rates were higher among Dusun and Murut and lower among Chinese, Malay and Bajau. It is interesting to note that religion is also an important factor in women's participation in work. Since Islam discourages this, only 23.1 per cent of Malay women and 31.4 per cent of Bajau women (both Muslim) were economically active in 1960, as compared with ^{69.4 per cent of} Murut women and 66.6 per cent of Dusun women (both pagan). A similar difference, based largely in religious tradition is found between the pagan and Muslim people in Sarawak.

TABLE 5.40

SABAH: PER CENT OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION TO
WORKING AGE POPULATION (15 YEARS AND OVER) FOR EACH
MAIN ETHNIC GROUP AND SEX.

Ethnic Group	Total	Male	Female
Chinese	58.6	82.3	29.8
Dusun	79.7	94.0	66.6
Murut	81.4	94.2	69.4
Bajau	62.0	94.0	31.4
Other indigenous	57.5	91.5	23.1
Others	75.3	96.1	20.5
Total	68.8	91.3	43.9

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report, p.110.

Sabah is an agricultural country, and over 80 per cent of its working population were engaged in the primary industries particularly in rice and rubber cultivation in 1960. Only 6 per cent of the total population were engaged in the secondary industries and 13 per cent in tertiary industries. (Table 5.41).

Within the Chinese population, the pattern was somewhat different, only 39.8 per cent of their labour force falling in the primary industries category, 18.7 per cent in secondary industries and 41.5 per cent in tertiary industries.

The indigenous people comprised nearly 80 per cent of all workers in the primary sector (Table 5.42), they predominating in the rubber industry, rice growing and fishing. As in Sarawak, less than 2 per cent of the economically active Chinese grew rice in 1960, and 99 per cent of Sabah's rice cultivators were indigenous people, the Chinese being concerned mostly with rubber, coconuts, market gardening and logging.

In the secondary industry, 11.5 per cent of the Chinese economically active were engaged in manufacturing and 7.2 per cent in building and construction industries (Table 5.41). Within the manufacturing industries, the Chinese were mainly employed in the manufacture of wood and cork products, in general engineering and in the manufacture of footwear, wearing apparel and made-up textile goods.

TABLE 5.41

SABAH: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS BY INDUSTRY
AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION WITHIN CHINESE
POPULATION, 1960.

Industry	Total		Chinese	
	Number	%	Number	%
Agriculture, forestry hunting, fishing	142,113	80.5	12,875	39.5
Mining & Quarrying	535	0.3	100	0.3
Manufacturing	6,737	3.8	3,754	11.5
Building & Construction	4,488	2.5	2,345	7.2
Electricity, gas, water & sanitary services.	285	0.2	143	0.4
Commerce	7,734	4.4	6,308	19.4
Transport, storage & Communication	4,657	2.6	1,943	6.0
Services.	10,077	5.7	5,095	15.7
Total All Industries	176,626	100.0	32,563	100.0

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report, Table 25 & 25b,
pp. 275 & 277.

About 55 per cent of those employed in this sector were Chinese, 30 per cent indigenous and 15 per cent Others. The indigenous peoples were mainly employed in the manufacture of rattan, bamboo, coir and attap products.

Over 40 per cent of the Chinese were in tertiary employment, concentrated in two main categories: commerce (19.4 per cent) and services (15.7 per cent). In commerce, retail trade was their most important activity, while in services, they were mainly engaged in personal and community services, including medical work and teaching.

Within each ethnic group, it is important to note that, 82 per cent of the Chinese were engaged in commerce compared with only 11 per cent of the indigenous. (Table 5.42). The Chinese also had a bigger proportion in transport and services category. While the Chinese were mainly in personal and community services, a relatively large number of the indigenous were in the police.

On the basis of occupation, agriculture, forestry workers and fishermen (77.3 per cent) formed the main category in Sabah followed by craftsmen production process workers (9.7 per cent) and sales workers (3.4 per cent) (Table 5.43). While among the Chinese population, these three groups appeared in the same order, the proportion differed considerably, with 34.9 per cent Chinese employed as agricultural workers, followed by 23.4 Craftsmen-production

TABLE 5.42

SABAH - ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, BY INDUSTRY AND
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS, 1960.

	Total		Percentage		
	Number	%	Chinese	Indigenous	Others
Agriculture, forestry, hunting fishing.	142,113	100	9.0	79.3	11.7
Manufacturing	6,737	100	55.7	33.5	10.8
Building & Construction	4,488	100	52.3	29.3	18.4
Commerce	7,734	100	81.6	10.9	7.5
Transport, Communication	4,657	100	41.7	37.5	20.8
Services	10,077	100	50.6	32.8	16.6
Other Industries	820	100	29.6	39.5	30.9
All Industrial Groups	176,626	100	18.5	69.3	12.2

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report. Table 25, 25a-c, pp. 275-278.

Note: Further detail about the individual indigenous communities not being available in 1960 Census Report.

TABLE 5.43

SABAH - ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, BY PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION
AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION WITHIN CHINESE POPULATION, 1960

Principal Occupation	Total		Chinese	
	Number	%	Number	%
1. Professional, Technical & related workers.	3,176	1.8	1,586	4.9
2. Administrative, Executive and Managerial workers.	696	0.4	335	1.0
3. Clerical workers	3,522	2.0	2,234	6.8
4. Sales workers	5,915	3.4	4,975	15.3
5. Agricultural, forestry workers, fishermen, hunters & Trappers.	136,567	77.3	11,316	34.9
6. Miners, Quarrymen & related workers	68	-	14	-
7. Workers in Transport & Communications	3,936	2.2	1,391	4.3
8. Craftsmen, production process workers	17,130	9.7	7,638	23.4
9. Service, Sport, entertainment workers	5,616	3.2	3,074	9.4
10. Total all occupations	176,026	100.0	32,563	100.0

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report, Table 23 & 23b.
 pp. 267 & 269.

process workers and 15.3 per cent sales workers.

Of the Chinese in agriculture 56 per cent were workers on small-holdings, market gardens and 26 per cent worked as rubber tappers. Significant proportions of Chinese craftsmen—proportions process workers were classified as carpenters—joiners—cabinet makers, toolmakers—machinists—plumbers and building and construction workers. In the sales category, the Chinese appeared mainly as salesmen and shop assistants, and as working proprietors and managers in wholesale and retail trade.

Although the total Chinese population was much smaller than the indigenous population, each category except agriculture, mines and transport and communication had a large majority of Chinese. (Table 5.44). The Chinese occupations were well diversified and this community had a big share in all occupations other than agriculture.

5. Brunei

In Brunei, about 6,976 or 58.3 per cent of the Chinese were economically active in 1960. Of the 4,983 economically inactive population, 62.8 per cent were home ~~house~~workers, and 27 per cent students. Thus these two groups accounted for nearly 90 per cent of all economically inactive persons. (Table 5.45).

As in Malaya and the other two neighbouring

TABLE 5.44

SABAH - ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, BY PRINCIPAL
OCCUPATIONS AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN
ETHNIC GROUPS, 1960.

Prin- cipal Occu- pation	Total		Chinese		Indigenous		Others	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1.	3,176	100	1,586	50.0	851	26.8	739	23.2
2.	696	100	335	48.0	152	22.0	209	30.0
3.	3,522	100	2,234	63.4	612	17.4	676	19.2
4.	5,915	100	4,975	84.1	617	10.4	323	5.5
5.	136,567	100	11,316	8.3	111,568	81.6	13,683	10.1
6.	68	100	14	20.6	39	57.4	15	22.0
7.	3,936	100	1,391	35.3	1,600	40.7	945	24.0
8.	17,130	100	7,638	44.6	5,329	31.1	4,163	24.3
9.	5,616	100	3,074	54.6	1,681	30.0	861	15.4
10.	176,626	100	32,563	18.4	122,449	69.4	21,614	12.2

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report, Table 23, 23a-c;
pp. 267-270.

TABLE 5.45

BRUNEI - DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE 15 YEARS OF AGE AND
OVER BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY STATUS AND SEX, 1960

Economic Activity Status	Persons			Percentage		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Economically Active	6,976	5,720	1,256	58.3	83.3	24.7
Economically inactive	4,983	1,150	3,833	41.7	16.7	75.3
Total	11,959	6,870	5,089	100.0	100.0	100.0
Economically inactive Pop.						
Home Houseworker	3,132	16	3,116	62.8	1.4	81.2
Student	1,346	817	529	27.0	71.0	13.9
Retired	260	187	73	5.3	16.3	1.9
Others	245	130	115	4.9	11.2	3.0
Total	4,983	1,150	3,833	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report, Table 19-c. p.133

countries, there were more males than females in the economically active category. It is clear that home house-workers formed over half of the women who had not been classified as economically active. A further marked differences was in the students' category. About 71 per cent of the economically inactive males were students, the corresponding ratio for the females being only 14 per cent.

Table 5.46 shows the economically active population by community. It can be seen at a glance that most of the difference is accounted for by the share in work taken by women. Thus among the women they vary from 11 per cent of Malays women worked, as against 43 per cent of the Other Indigenous, while the Chinese women occupied a median position with 25 per cent working. Among men also the Chinese and Malay had a lower percentage of economic activity than the other indigenous, one reason being probably that many Malays and Chinese have or have had, regular paid jobs, from which they retire while the indigenous farmer hardly retires at all but continues to contribute to the work of the family farm so long as he has the strength to do so.

Table 5.47 shows that 26.8 per cent of the economically active Chinese were engaged in the primary industries, 24.6 per cent in secondary industries and 48.6 per cent in tertiary industries.

In Sarawak and Sabah, 80 per cent of the total

TABLE 5.46

BRUNEI - PER CENT OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION TO
WORKING AGE POPULATION (15 YEARS AND OVER) FOR EACH
MAIN ETHNIC GROUP AND SEX, 1960

	Total	Male	Female
Chinese	58.3	83.3	24.7
Malay	48.0	84.6	10.8
Other Indigenous	70.2	92.6	42.7
Others	67.6	94.4	23.7
Total	55.5	86.1	20.1

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report. p.66

TABLE 5.47

BRUNEI - ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS BY INDUSTRY AND
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION WITHIN CHINESE POPULATION,

1960

Industry	Total		Chinese	
	Number	%	Number	%
Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting & Fishing	8,317	33.5	756	10.8
Mining & Quarrying	3,752	15.1	1,120	16.0
Manufacturing	1,419	5.7	801	11.6
Building & Construction	3,388	13.6	910	13.0
Electricity & Water Supply	267	1.1	86	1.2
Commerce	1,941	7.8	1,290	18.7
Transport & Communication	982	4.0	353	5.0
Services	4,764	19.2	1,660	23.7
All Industries	24,830	100.0	6,976	100.0

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report, Table 25, & 25b.
p.155 & 157.

population who engaged in the primary sector were agriculture and forestry workers, but in Brunei the proportion was less than 35 per cent. For whereas Sarawak and Sabah are plainly predominantly agricultural countries, but this description is by no means true of Brunei.

Only 10 per cent of the Chinese engaged in agricultural sector. Nearly all of them work on small-holdings and market gardens. About 76 per cent working on these small-holdings and market gardens were engaged in growing crops (except rubber, rice, coconut and Palm Oil), and only 1 per cent were rice growers. By contrast 9 per cent of the indigenous agriculturalists were wholly or mainly engaged in growing rice about 29 per cent in rubber cultivation, but only 1.6 per cent were engaged in market gardening (mainly growing vegetables and fruits). The Chinese lack of interest in rubber cultivation is obvious, and is partly due to the fact that most of the Chinese came to Brunei in the earlier stage as labourers working in or near the oil field and as businessmen engaged in commercial enterprises. In addition, because the main revenue of the country derives from oil royalties, agriculture is not regarded as an essential industry as it is in Sarawak and Sabah. In 1960, 16 per cent of the Chinese worked in the oil industry as compared to 10 per cent working in agriculture.

In the secondary industries, 11.6 per cent of the

Chinese economically active were engaged in manufacturing and 13 per cent in the building and construction industries. Of the total numbers engaged in building and construction 70 per cent were indigenous and only 27 per cent Chinese. Over 56 per cent of the Chinese but only 41 per cent of the indigenous, were in manufacturing. (Table 5.48). The Chinese were mainly employed in the manufacture of footwear, **wearing** apparel, and wood products and in general engineering, while the indigenous were mainly employed in the manufacture of wood and cork products.

48.6 per cent of the Chinese economically active were in tertiary employment, in which they were concentrated in two main fields, namely commerce and services. Two-thirds of those engaged in commerce were Chinese, (Table 5.48) and retail trade represented their most important tertiary activity. Of those engaged in services, nearly 60 per cent were indigenous and only 35 per cent Chinese. The Chinese were mainly employed in community services and personal services, while the pattern for Malaysians differs widely with its concentration mainly in the police, armed forces and Government Services.

On an occupational basis, agriculture (35.1 per cent) ranked as the largest category in Brunei followed by craftsmen, production Process workers (28.3 per cent) and service-sport-entertainment-recreation workers (8.6 per cent).

TABLE 5.48

BRUNEI - ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, BY INDUSTRY
AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS,
1960.

	Total		Chinese	Indig- enous	Others
	Number	%	%	%	%
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	8,317	100	9.1	90.5	0.4
Mining, Quarrying.	3,752	100	29.9	53.9	16.2
Manufacturing	1,419	100	56.4	41.2	2.4
Building, Construction	3,388	100	26.9	70.5	2.6
Electricity & Water Supply	267	100	32.2	60.3	7.5
Commerce	1,941	100	66.4	27.9	5.7
Transport, Communication	982	100	36.0	61.5	2.5
Services	4,764	100	34.8	59.9	5.3
All Industries Groups	24,830	100	28.1	67.2	4.7

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report, Table 25, 25a-e.
pp.155-158.

Note: Further detail about the individual indigenous communities not being available in 1960 Census.

The pattern for the Chinese was somewhat different. There were 34.1 per cent as craftsmen, production process workers, followed by 16.1 per cent in service-sport-entertainment-recreation workers and 14.1 per cent sales workers, and only 11 per cent engaged in agricultural occupations. (Table 5.49).

From the above analysis we know that more than one-third of the Chinese employed were production workers of one kind or another - toolmakers, machinists, plumbers, welders, platers, carpenters, joiners, cabinet makers, bricklayers plasterers, building and construction workers, electricians as well as oil company employees. Most of the Chinese employed as sales workers were working proprietors and managers in wholesale and retail trade or working as salesmen and shop assistants. All these along with service and clerical workers are typically urban occupations. There is, in fact, a remarkable coincidence between the percentage (86 per cent) of the gainfully employed Chinese engaged in these occupations and the percentage (83 per cent) of the total Chinese population living in towns in 1960. Owing to the small number of Chinese in Brunei, only two headings have a bigger proportion of Chinese than of indigenous, i.e. the sales and Services workers. (Table 5.50).

Conclusion

In conclusion, one may say that the economic

TABLE 5.49

BRUNEI - ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, BY PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION WITHIN CHINESE POPULATION, 1960.

Principal Occupation	Total		Chinese	
	Number	%	Number	%
1. Professional, Technical & related workers	1,604	6.5	479	6.9
2. Administrative, Executive & Managerial workers	486	2.0	156	2.2
3. Clerical workers	1,643	6.6	697	10.0
4. Sales workers	1,502	6.0	984	14.1
5. Agricultural, Forestry workers, Fishermen, Hunters & trappers.	8,705	35.1	792	11.4
6. Miners, Quarrymen and related workers.	121	0.5	3	-
7. Workers in Transport & Communications.	1,591	6.4	322	4.6
8. Craftsmen, production process workers.	7,034	28.3	2,422	34.7
9. Service & Sport entertainment workers	2,144	8.6	1,121	16.1
10. Total All Occupations	24,830	100.0	6,976	100.0

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report, Tables 23 & 23b.
p. 147 & 149.

TABLE 5.50

BRUNEI: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, BY PRINCIPAL
OCCUPATION AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN
ETHNIC GROUPS, 1960

Principal Occupation	Total		Chinese		Indigenous		Others	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1.	1,604	100	479	30.0	738	46.0	387	24.0
2.	486	100	156	32.1	220	45.2	110	22.7
3.	1,643	100	697	42.3	777	47.5	169	10.2
4.	1,502	100	984	64.7	442	29.2	76	5.1
5.	8,705	100	792	9.2	7,870	90.3	43	0.5
6.	121	100	3	2.5	66	54.5	52	43.0
7.	1,591	100	322	20.3	1,232	77.3	37	2.4
8.	7,034	100	2,422	34.5	4,409	62.7	203	2.8
9.	2,144	100	1,121	52.4	925	43.2	98	4.4
10.	24,830	100	6,976	28.1	16,679	67.2	1,175	4.7

SOURCE: 1960 Census Report, Table 23, 23a-c.
pp. 147-150.

structure of the Chinese population is broadly similar over the region as a whole. Thus, in both Singapore and West Malaysia, about 48-49 per cent of the persons 10 years of age and over are economically active, and in Northern Borneo, about 58 per cent of the Chinese persons 15 years of age and over are economically active. Allowing for the different age on which the assessment was made in the two cases the basic difference between Malaya and Northern Borneo in this respect is not significant.¹⁴⁴

In the economically inactive sector, the similarities are more striking than the differences. In all the territories, over 80 per cent of the inactive are either housewives or students. About 77 per cent of the inactive males in both Singapore and West Malaysia are students, though the figures among the Northern Borneo Chinese are lower: 71 per cent in Brunei, 65 per cent in Sabah and 52 per cent in Sarawak. The corresponding but much lower ratios for female students also show a similar relationship between the territories with 18-20 per cent in Malaya and 10-13 per cent in Northern Borneo.

As has already been implied, the industrial structure shows marked differences from area to area (Table 5.51), with the economy of Malaysia orientated towards the primary and those of Singapore and Brunei towards the tertiary sector.

TABLE 5.51

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE CHINESE
POPULATION BY THREE MAIN INDUSTRIAL GROUPS FOR MALAYA
AND NORTHERN BORNEO

Country	Year	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
West Malaysia	1957	46.7	17.4	35.9
Singapore	1957	11.1	22.2	66.7
Sarawak	1960	52.2	13.4	34.4
Sabah	1960	39.8	18.7	41.5
Brunei	1960	26.8	24.6	48.6

SOURCES: Based on Census Reports
1957 & 1960.

Malaysia is essentially an agricultural country, with a large number of Chinese seeking their livelihood in the primary sector, which also includes tin-mining. The comparatively low percentage of this sector in Sabah is due to the lack of a thriving rubber plantation and virtual absence of tin-mining in the State. Singapore occupies a unique position in which about 67 per cent of the Chinese labour force are concentrated in the tertiary sector, a reflection of the dominant role played by commerce, finance and services in the island's entrepot economy. In Brunei, since the main revenue of the country derives from oil royalties, agriculture is again of lesser importance so that the total percentage for primary industry is low.

Data for finer groupings seem to reveal more similarities than differences in detail. Foremost amongst these is that in the primary sector the Chinese show a preference for mixed agriculture and cash crop vegetable farming. However in West Malaysia and Sarawak rubber production is one of the most important occupations for the Chinese, whereas in Singapore, Brunei and Sabah the Chinese concentrate mainly on small-holdings and market gardening.

In the secondary sector, there are greater resemblances among these territories. In the manufacturing industries, the Chinese are employed in general engineering and the manufacture of footwear, made-up textile goods, wood

and furniture. In none of these territories, has a spinning and weaving industry developed on any large scale which is surprising in view of its widespread development in neighbouring countries such as Hong Kong, Japan and India. The explanation lies in a conservatism in the local Chinese entrepreneur which is a limiting factor on investment outside the traditional fields of wholesale and retail distribution and the rubber and tin industries.

Similarities in Chinese occupational preferences in all the territories are also noticeable in the tertiary sector. Throughout the region, the Chinese are predominant in two activities, namely commerce and services. In Singapore, as an entrepôt port, there are relatively more Chinese engaged in commerce than the other territories.

The geographical concentration of the Chinese is closely related to the pattern of economic development in the region. The earlier plantation crops grown by Chinese pioneers on a commercial basis were pepper, gambier, tapioca and other spices, which were cultivated in Singapore, Penang and Malacca. Later, hampered by the lack of suitable land for further development in these settlements, the Chinese planters penetrated into the Malay States, to which larger numbers of Chinese went to work as tin miners. Eventually disappointed by the lack of success in sugar and coffee, these planters began, in the 1890s to grow rubber as a

plantation crop close to the original centres of Chinese tin-mining activity, in the western foothill zone. Rubber cultivation spread ribbon-like along the railway lines, confirming the existing pattern of Chinese population distribution initiated by tin-mining (See Chapter 4). This pattern was further emphasized and extended as the plantations spread along the newly constructed roads. From the mid-western foothill zone Chinese pioneers gradually pushed south into Johore as the railway lines were extended into this State. Thus, by 1957 the Chinese were heavily concentrated in the western States of Penang, Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Malacca and Johore--the region of greatest development in mining, lines of transport and plantation agriculture.

Industrialization has recently made significant advances in Malaya. Given a stable political and economic environment, the prospects for a fair measure of success of this modern development are good. Increasing industrialization is likely to be accompanied by increases in per capita income and opportunities for gainful employment, while its corollary, the development of urban communities, will bring about far-reaching changes in the economic and social structure of the Chinese. It is possible to underline some of the more significant changes. Firstly, there will be a substantial shift of emphasis from employment in agriculture to that in

the manufacturing and service industries. In Malaya in 1957 already two-thirds of wage-earners in secondary industry were Chinese, and in manufacturing the proportion was almost three-quarters. Undoubtedly, the Chinese will continue to play an important role in building up the secondary industries. Since industrialisation is heavily concentrated in the most populous and highly urbanized states of Selangor, Perak, Johore and Penang, and above all in Singapore, ^{these States} already have high proportions of Chinese in their population. The trend for a rapid increase of the Chinese in these states will, in all probability, be even more marked in the future. The proportion of Chinese living in urban areas will be increased substantially in the next few decades.

In view of the high rate of natural increase of the Chinese population, the numbers in the agricultural sector, with its labour-intensive methods of production, may be increased marginally though as a percentage they are likely to fall. In East Malaysia, the two states of Sarawak and Sabah have not so far shared in Malaya's industrialization, and it seems probable that the development programmes of these states should be concentrated on greater agricultural efficiency and improvement of the infrastructure. If so the proportion of Chinese employed in the agricultural sector in East Malaysia may remain as high as it has been hitherto.

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140. The economically active population comprises both persons who were actually working and persons who were not working but looking for work. Looking for work is defined in the census as registration at a labour exchange, answering advertisements, applying in any other way, to prospective employers for employment,

or taking steps to start one's own business. Working is defined as being directly engaged in the production of economic goods and services for sale to the public. Those who were working constitute the employed, while those who were not working but looking for work the unemployed.

141. The economically inactive population comprises all persons who are not working and not looking for work. They were mostly persons doing home housework without pay, students, unpaid voluntary social workers, inmates of penal, mental or charitable institutions retired persons, persons permanently disabled, persons deriving their income from rent, dividend, interest etc., and all other persons not engaged in economic activities.
142. Industry refers to the activity of the firm, establishment or department in which the person was employed or to the kind of business the person operated. The description of an industry usually indicates either the products handled and the process involved, such as growing, making, wholesale selling and retail selling, or the kind of services rendered by the firm, establishment, department or business concerned.
- In this study, primary industries are defined to include agriculture, (including rubber processing), mining, fishing, hunting and forestry; secondary industries include manufacture, building and construction; and tertiary industries include electricity, gas, water and sanitary services, including Government services not classified elsewhere.
143. The occupation of a person is defined as the trade or profession followed or the type of work performed.
144. In Malaya, the questions on economic characteristics covered economic activity, occupation and industry were asked of persons 10 years of age and over, but in Northern Borneo, the figures applied only to the population aged 15 and over. So exact comparisons between them are not possible.

CHAPTER SIX

SOCIO-POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE CHINESE POPULATIONIntroduction

It will be remembered that the early Chinese immigrants were composed largely of peasants with a few small business men and craftsmen from the villages in the provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien. They had a high rate of illiteracy. Organised coolie traffic led the Chinese from narrowly defined areas of the homeland to concentrate in certain parts of Malaya. Among them were found speakers of all the dialects of Kwangtung and Fukien, and on the basis of differences in their spoken language, the Chinese in the region, as elsewhere, proceeded to organise their social life.

Throughout the region the social structure of the Chinese is organised at two different levels. Laterally, the Chinese population is distributed in communities formed on the common basis of a place of origin in China, dialect, and clan membership. Vertically, it is stratified in a hierarchy of wealth, descending from the most prosperous to the poorest families. Since the several Chinese dialect communities tend to follow different but not equally rewarding economic pursuits, the Chinese population as a whole shows a vertical stratification ranging from the Hakkas who are mainly agriculturists at the bottom to the Hokkien and Tiechiu who dominate the commercial field at the top. Thus, the geographical distribution of the Chinese in the region can largely be explained by the

type of ethnic speciality in particular sectors of the economy (see Chapter 4).

In this chapter, attempts are made to describe generally some of the Chinese social organisations in the region and see how the Chinese members in the new society adapted their social organisation to the conditions of a new and basically different environment in which, while they often amassed great riches, they were not their own political masters. We shall also consider some of the educational and political factors which have modified the social geographic pattern of the different dialect groups in the region.

Voluntary Cooperative Groups

An outstanding feature of the Overseas Chinese way of life in South east Asia is their extensive development of voluntary cooperative organisations. This development resulted partly from the greater social experience and consciousness of the Chinese, partly from their diverse origins. Chinese cooperative organizations in Southeast Asia, specifically in the Malayo-Borneo region, came to represent a development scarcely known in China, though the particular form of organization developed had a Chinese origin.

The Chinese in the region have nearly 2500 such organizations. About 1650 of these are in West Malaysia, 560 in Singapore, 150 in Sarawak, 95 in Sabah and 10 in Brunei.¹ These organizations range from labour unions to religious groups. Furthermore, a person is normally a

member of more than one group; membership therefore, does not accurately reflect the members who participate in and benefit from the numerous activities sponsored by these groups.

1. Kinship-based groups

It is true that most of the Chinese in Malaysia are wage-earners having no attachment to the land such as they had in China, and being largely involved in a monetary and capitalistic economy, the Chinese no longer preserve all facets of their traditional village organizations. But the clan, or as it is commonly rendered in Chinese tsu (族), their kinship-based organization which includes all persons of a single surname who can trace their descent from a common ancestor, is still of primary importance. Emigration has, in fact served to accentuate the importance of the clan since it was common practice for members of the same clan to provide the means and even employment for their 'brothers' to go overseas. When the migrants first arrived most of them found that making a livelihood was a precarious enterprise, and assistance was sought from members of the same surname group which they considered as their birthright.

Clan relationships cut across other forms of social groups. Because clans are exogamous, members of the same clan can be members of different dialect groups. Thus, one of the largest clan association in Singapore, the Shen Association, has members from six Chinese provinces (Kansu, Chekiang, Anwei, Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Fukien) and branches in several

countries in Southeast Asia.² Thus, the clan associations, while essentially organizations for people with dialect similarities, also provide an important link between different dialect groups.

2. Non-kinship-based groups.

Most of the Chinese cooperative organizations in Malaysia are, however, nonkinship-based groups. According to a government classification, they include about ten different categories. Very often they are at the same time religious, social, recreational, benevolent, guilds and cultural and political organizations. These non-kinship-based organizations, as well as the kinship-based clan associations, perform more or less the same functions, although with some specialization and particular emphases.

Dialect associations and guilds are the principal nonkinship organization among the Chinese. Dialect associations have the greatest total membership, are found in every major dialect group and are the most inclusive. They are organized on the basis of common dialect, surname relationship, occupational similarities and place of origin. All these four forms of association are interrelated and serve to unite the members through a series of complex and often overlapping loyalties. The kinship or surname ties are particularly important, constituting the fundamental basis upon which the other ties are developed and a sense of mutual solidarity is made real. This is particularly true in rural districts.³

The dominant group in each dialect association usually consists of members of one surname group, and the institutional structure of the association and the relations maintained among the various members are controlled and manipulated by this leading group. This dominance also is associated with the economic status of the surname group's members in relation to that of other members.

Dialect associations provide security for their members but economic activities are their basic concern. Not only are most of the members of dialect associations engaged in one occupation, but the political power within a Malaysian Chinese community directly reflects the economic stratification among the dialect groups. Within the dialect group the economic ties between the various members are maintained through an elaborate credit-debit structure which affects all members. In most instances the leading surname group controls the finances and ensures its own financial position by charging high interest rates on short-term loans. Once such a relationship is established, it becomes perpetuated, and it is standard practice for debtors to pay back only a certain percent of their loan, usually for the specific purpose of obtaining an additional loan. The creditor, who is probably a kinsman and most certainly a member of the same dialect association, is compelled to increase the loan even though he knows that the original capital will not be repaid. Therefore, the interest charges are designed to compensate for this characteristic and also for the possibility that a debtor will abscond with the loan

and settle elsewhere. The legal system enables creditors to press charges through the courts, but because of the loyalties engendered by surname and dialect affinity, most prefer to settle such problems without recourse to law.

The most tangible identification of an association is usually through the place of origin claimed by most of its members. It is this geographical factor that initially brings overseas Chinese together and provides the basis for social cohesion and unity. As a result, many of the organizations are named after the hsien (縣) (an administrative unit at the county level in China) from which the majority of the group originated.

The chief function of the associations is to render economic and benevolent assistance, which may range from advancement of education and the promotion of religion to the relief of poverty and the provision of employment. Every Chinese community, whether organized or not, customarily provides funds for the education of its children. The Hokkien Association in Singapore is notable among the organized groups for its work in educational affairs, managing four schools in the city, in each of which over 1000 children are enrolled⁴ Hokkien children, who constitute only 10 per cent of the enrollment, attend free, whereas members of other dialect groups must pay a nominal fee. Additional money is obtained from public contributions and through the Chinese temples. The Hokkien Association was connected intimately with the initial steps in establishing Nanyang University in Singapore; it not

only donated large sums of money but also provided the land upon which the university was built.

Guilds are almost indistinguishable from dialect associations since most members of a particular trade in one locality are from the same province and speak the same dialect. Guilds, however, are always built around a single occupation, such as tinsmithing or watch repairing, whereas the dialect association usually includes members of more than one trade. In activities connected with prices, wages, conditions of work and apprentice training, the guilds take on many of the functions of the modern labour unions. The role of the Chinese cooperative organizations as guilds reveals the Chinese sophistication in the handling of money,⁵ and has no doubt contributed to the Chinese economic power.

Religious groups normally engage in building temples, maintaining cemeteries, sponsoring certain religious festivals and providing burial services through an insurance fund. Most of these activities also are performed by most of the other types of groups, but the temples that are erected by other groups appear to be dedicated to the worship of certain heroes specific to the interests of a group. In time, because of the unusual powers associated with the gods worshiped, many of the temples are attended and supported by all the dialect communities; Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist religious symbols may be found in the same temple.⁶ One of the dialect organizations revealed that its monthly budget was divided into three sections: 70 percent for the burial fund; 20 percent

for the general fund; and 10 percent for the charitable fund.⁷ Burial fees and other affairs connected with death probably demand a comparable proportion of the budgets of most types of associations.

The form of traditional social organization existing in Chinese mines ensures the continued active participation of the Chinese in mining. Partnerships (actually, any functional assembly of members of some surname group, guild or craft) form the financial basis of most of these mines, although more recently an increasing number have been owned by companies with the former partners as shareholders. Normally, the individuals working in such a mine are from the same linguistic group and often from the same general community in China.

3. Secret Societies.

Another form of the nonkinship-based group that existed in China for centuries is the secret society.⁸ Originally religious or benevolent self-help association, the secret societies assumed a political and anti dynastic character about the time of the Manchu conquest of China in the 17th century. Later, they degenerated into criminal organizations. Those in Malaysia stem from the Triad Society that united Heaven, Earth and Man - also known as the Tien Ti Hui (Heaven and Earth Society); the Hung League; and the Sam Hup (Three Unities League).

The Triad Society, according to Chinese annals, dates from 1674. It was active against the Manchus and, in the

18th and 19th centuries, exerted much influence during rebellions directed at the ruling Ching dynasty in order to restore the Mings. When the Chinese emigrated, they took with them their secret societies as well as their clan and dialect associations. At first the secret societies were organized for the social benefit of the community, and provided the sin-kheh (new arrivals) with something equivalent to a local community. They furnished him with assistance when he was in need, organized funerals, defended his rights, and established a focus for loyalty in a social setting far removed in its structure from the kind of society he had known at home.

Thus, at an early date, the secret societies already had great significance. They set up a clandestine 'code of law' within the Chinese community. They provided immigrants with an organised group in which they could find a place for themselves in the absence of traditional territorial and kinship systems. They distributed political power among the Chinese. Unfortunately, these various groups, were soon involved in disturbances resulting from rivalries associated with the spheres of control demarcated by each group for protection and intimidation purposes within its own community. Clashes of interest were inevitable, and the struggle, initially centered in Singapore and in Penang, degenerated into a series of gang wars between the Hokkienese and the Cantonese secret societies in the Larut mining district of Perak (1862 - 1873).

These gang wars endangered the peace and disrupted normal economic activities, and the secret societies in

general played a large part in the organized crime of Malaya. The British were soon faced with the problem of evolving a system to control the activities of the societies. One of the measures effected was the establishment of the Chinese Protectorate (later the Secretariat for Chinese Affairs) in 1877.⁹ Several early attempts to pass effective legislation were unsuccessful, but an ordinance was finally promulgated in 1890, declaring any society illegal until it was registered with the government. If a society was found to be organized along secret lines with exclusive membership, elaborate rituals and punishments, it was not approved. Membership began to decline, and the secret societies began to assume the characteristics of small-scale criminal outfits.

By the end of the 19th century secret society activity had declined considerably. In the early 1900s, however, the societies were revived by exiled politicians from China as a means of rallying overseas Chinese sympathy to the Republican cause. At the end of World War II, Triad organizations, particularly in northern Malaya, were once more involved in the internal political issues of China, this time in the struggle between Communists and the Kuomintang for control of the country.

Today, secret societies continue to exist in Malaysia, mostly as criminal gangs. Their main concerns are protection rackets, and their primary area of operation appears to be Singapore. Secret societies have never been important in Sarawak, Sabah or Brunei.

Problems in Chinese Education

The Chinese have a traditional respect of the educated and the cultured, and have always provided schools for their children in the region. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the majority of such schools have been organized in roughly three ways:

1. Those managed by properly constituted committees (These might be run by district or surname association or by the Chinese families in a certain town or district.)
2. Those organized by one or more teachers who selected their own 'committee members' which consisted of local shopkeepers or the like who helped to finance the enterprise.
3. Those by individuals (usually teachers) who run the schools which relied on school fees.¹⁰

The fact that schools were provided at all is one of the remarkable aspects of overseas Chinese social organization. The existence of these schools reflects the traditional Chinese veneration for learning, since the majority of immigrants were from the lower classes of Chinese society. In the days when the colonial government ~~was~~ owed no responsibility for the provision of schools and other necessary facilities for vernacular education, the Chinese took upon themselves to make education available to their children. Relying on their own resources and mainly through their communal effort, they established schools in almost every Chinese settlement.

A rudimentary education system which received relatively little assistance, financially or otherwise, from sources outside the Chinese community and which catered mainly for the Chinese community was created and maintained by mainly Chinese-oriented educationalists.

In the 19th century the schools taught the Confucian classics. With the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1911 the content of their education in Malaysia gradually changed. The schools with Chinese as the medium of teaching soon abandoned the pattern of classical education and adopted a system based on post-revolutionary ideas emanating from China. Perhaps the most significant development in the 20th century in Chinese education has been the spread of the national language Kuo-yu (Mandarin). At first Kuo-yu was only taught at the secondary school level, while the primary school continued to teach in the various dialects. Gradually more and more schools began to use Kuo-yu until by the late 1930s its use in Chinese schools was practically universal. As modern Chinese education advanced, as Kuo-yu became more and more popular, and as the younger generation of Chinese was brought under a common Chinese school system, where students of all dialect groups studied together, and where the only means of communication was Kuo-yu, the significance of dialect grouping decreased. The younger generation Chinese are thus less easily influenced by the traditional Chinese social organizations than their parents have been. Although Kuo-yu has far from superseded the dialects in informal social situations,

it has made possible the organization of political and other groups on non-dialect lines. Potentially, such groups also involve a far larger number of people. Thus, the trend is towards the obsolescence of the traditional Chinese organizations as a unifying factor within the various groups of Chinese.

From the very beginning, curricula in Chinese schools have been oriented toward matters of Chinese cultural interest, and in recent years political orientations also have been towards China. But the upheavals of the 1940s seriously affected the ties between the Malaysian Chinese and China. The political climate in Malaya itself also demanded a more 'Malayan' outlook on the part of the Chinese community. China-oriented school textbooks were replaced by those written and edited by local educationalists and approved by government appointed boards. The demand for a higher education also led to the founding of Nanyang University in Singapore in 1955. A complete system of formal Chinese education from kindergarten to university was thus achieved. The main purpose of establishing a Chinese medium university was considered to be for the training of highly-specialised technical and professional personnel to help meet the needs of modern society and the training of secondary school teachers to meet the acute shortage as a result of the break of ties between Malaysia and China.¹¹ The Chinese formal education system was thus to become a more 'Malayan' system, in terms of staff and orientation. But it was to remain essentially 'Chinese' in terms

of the medium of instruction and the immediate aim of the system. In this latter sense, it constituted a separated and third stream to the Malay and English streams. It did not increase cultural contact between the Chinese and the Malays, but it raised the cultural standard of the Chinese as a group.

The Chinese not only provided themselves with educational opportunities in their own language, but also took advantage of the education facilities provided by the government in the English stream to maintain and advance their position on the cultural and economic ladder. In 1957, about 11 per cent of the Chinese aged ten and over could read and write English in West Malaysia as compared with only 5 per cent of the Malays.¹² In the English schools and the institutions of higher learning where English is the medium of instruction, such as the University of Malaya, University of Singapore, the Technical College and the Agricultural College and among students who have gone overseas for various kinds of training, Chinese form the vast majority of the students. Thus, the Chinese achievement in the field of education and culture has not only been due to the fact that they have been running their own schools. Even their literacy rate in Malay is very impressive. In 1957, in West Malaysia 3 per cent of the Chinese population aged ten and over could both read and write in the Malay language.¹³ In Singapore, nearly 30 per cent of the Chinese aged ten and over could at least speak Malay.¹⁴

For Chinese communities the key issue is the decline of Chinese as a medium of instruction. In the region as a whole, official policy encourages the replacement of Chinese by Malay or English. In West Malaysia, the government has adopted a policy of 'Malaysianisation' by nationalising all schools, and making the study of the Malay language a compulsory subject with a view to eventually using it as the only medium of instruction in all schools, and giving no official status to the Chinese language in either the government or even in Chinese schools. These policies imply the forceful and complete take-over and transformation of all the Chinese schools and a deterioration of Chinese cultural standards in the country. In Singapore, although the government ranks Chinese as an official language, it is attempting to increase English instruction in Chinese school curricula. Longer hours for English studies have been introduced in the Chinese school time-table, and more English text books have been adopted. The Chinese now in positions of power are persons educated in the English schools, whose way of thinking has been orientated towards the West, despite their Chinese racial origin. They genuinely believe in the need for an English education and thus use the wide state powers to push through an education policy which in effect favours the English education at the expense of the vernacular streams.

In Sarawak and Sabah, since 1956, the governments gradually took over financial control of the majority of the Chinese schools. All expenditures had to be approved, and

teachers were granted a unified salary scale. By 1961 all government-aided, Chinese-medium secondary schools were required either to convert to English as the language of instruction or to lose the government's financial support. Most Chinese secondary schools had agreed to this scheme for conversion to English medium, with Chinese to be retained as a second language. When Sarawak and Sabah joined the Federation of Malaysia in 1963, the education laws of Malaya were extended to these states with certain special provisions. The use of English continued, and knowledge of the Malay language was not a requirement for further education, mainly because the teaching of Malay in all schools remains insufficient. Only in Brunei are the Chinese allowed to organize their own schools and entitled to receive government financial aid.

Already there are signs that Chinese schools generally are losing their appeal in the region.¹⁵ Not only are the great majority of Chinese secondary pupils already in fully-assisted, national-type schools (with Malay and English as the medium of instruction); but in recent years, there have^{also} been applications from parents all over the region for the transfer of their children from independent schools to national-type schools. Furthermore, from early 1962 until late 1963, total Chinese primary school enrolment in West Malaysia declined from 358,300 to 350,700, while enrolment in Chinese secondary schools both aided and private grew only slightly from 57,540 to 65,450.¹⁶ The total enrolments of all Chinese schools represented a decrease from 16 per cent

in 1962 to 15 per cent in 1963 of West Malaysia's Chinese population. In Singapore, after curriculum revisions in 1963, less than 20 per cent of Chinese parents have enrolled their children in Chinese language primary schools.¹⁷ In Miri, Sarawak, for example, there was only one private Chinese secondary school compared with four newly built private English schools in 1965; and the number of students in the Chinese school has declined since 1963.¹⁸ More and more parents prefer now to send their children to English schools. Throughout the region, it seems that Chinese education reached a peak between 1957 and 1962, and a slow but significant decline - both in Chinese content and the proportion of students - may now be under way.

Indeed, one of the most notable feature of post-war education in the region has been the continual increase in the demand for English education. No doubt some of the Malays have also chosen an English education in view of the slow progress being made in the extension of education in their own medium. As Murray has pointed out for the Chinese schools throughout Malaysia, English is now paramount over Malay when Chinese is replaced as the instruction medium, though Malay generally must be taught as a subject.¹⁹ A similar picture is given by the following figures for West Malaysia from Le

TABLE 6.1

Total School Population in the various
media in West Malaysia, 1947-1962

	1947	1962	Factor of increase
Malay Medium	171,000	514,000	3
Chinese Medium	189,000	397,000	2.1
English Medium	71,000	382,000	5.5
Tamil Medium	35,000	67,000	1.9

The Chinese-medium schools reached their peak in 1960, since when numbers have been declining. The rate of increase in the Malay-medium schools is now slightly less than that in the English-medium schools. Thus, although the lingua franca of Malaysia as a whole is Malay, the chosen medium of education for non-Malays, and for many Malays also is English. It has of course been government policy to encourage the teaching of English during the period up to 1967, when Malay is to become the main language. But their aim has not been to encourage the growth of English-medium education as such. The continuing high level of demand for an English education is perhaps one indication of the greater de facto use of English in all walks of life in the region. This situation is likely to continue as long as an English-medium education offers better prospects of economic advancement than Malay.

At the present moment, it seems likely that Malays and Chinese will go on being educated separately with the Chinese in Chinese and English-medium schools and the Malays in Malay medium schools or streams. The governments would run serious risks of upsetting the whole policy if they were

to try and force Chinese children out of Chinese education into Malay education in the short run. Throughout the post-war years, each move in the development of education has aroused the anger of the Chinese population. The danger is that such a policy would backfire and arouse even stronger demands for Chinese education.

The future of education in the region is still in the balance. While the future is uncertain, the demand for an education in English is likely to go on increasing especially in Singapore and East Malaysia. Unless and until the non-Malays see the advantages of learning Malay for both social and economic purposes, they would naturally prefer to be educated in their own languages and preserve their own cultural heritage with an English education as the only alternative. If the present Malaysian Government were to be replaced by one dominated by more extremist Malay opinion, the danger would exist that an attempt to be more ruthless in imposing the national language, without freedom of choice in the schools, would lead to serious racial strife.

Political Aspects

Politically, Chinese participation in the government, through the MCA in West Malaysia and SCA in Sarawak, has not led to an improvement in their position vis-a-vis the government. On the contrary, drastic encroachments upon and a serious weakening of that position have been obvious. The government 'New Village' resettlement scheme began in the late 1940s in West Malaysia and in the early 1960s in Sarawak

on the ground of fighting the communist rebellion mainly concerned the Chinese, who were summarily dislodged from their usual vocations and concentrated into actively-policed areas.²¹ In both cases the Chinese as a community have been accused of disloyalty. Moreover in West Malaysia, the 'Malaysianisation' of the education system has been aimed particularly at the position of Chinese education and language. Under the 1957 Constitution, the Malays of the Federation were given special rights. The yang di-Pertuan-Agong (Head of State) was empowered to safeguard their special position and to ensure the reservation for them of 'such proportion as he may deem reasonable' of positions in the public service, of scholarships and training facilities, and of licences to operate certain trades and business. Under this article the rule has been laid down, among others, that four-fifths of all Malayan recruits to the Malayan Civil Service must, for the time being be Malays. These provisions in effect will lead to the restriction of Chinese economic activities and more especially will limit their participation in government services.

The Chinese community is on the whole on the defensive.²² It certainly does not appear to possess the military power to overthrow the government by force, since the armed forces and the police both in West Malaysia and the Borneo territories are mainly staffed and controlled by Malays under the assistance of British expatriate officers. It also does not appear that the Chinese could prevent rapid encroachments upon their position. The Malaysian government is an essentially Malay government and the MCA and SCA have hitherto

participated only as a junior partners. The Chinese do not possess the constitutional power to increase the 'Chineseness' of the government to counter-balance the strong Malay nature already prevalent. In West Malaysia, the Chinese, only two-thirds of whose population over the age of 21 are estimated to have enrolled in the electorate in 1959, formed only a third of the electorate, while the Malays with four-fifth of their population over 21 in the electorate formed more than half of the electorate.²³ Much of the Chinese electoral strength is concentrated in the urban areas. Furthermore, the country's electoral laws provide that electoral constituencies may not have equal sizes. It is possible for rural constituencies to have as little as one half the number of electors as urban constituencies, thus enabling a rural vote to equal twice that of an urban dweller,²⁴ and in effect reducing the Chinese electoral strength possibly by half.

In Sarawak, in 1959, a system of three-tier elections based on universal suffrage was introduced.²⁵ But this did not bring any significant improvement to the political status of the Chinese. This was partly because, while all Chinese householders who paid rates were over 21 years of age and met certain residence requirements could vote, their total electoral strength was of little consequence as the three-tier system of elections helped to magnify the regional majorities of the indigenous peoples. While given the right to vote, the Chinese still lacked the rights of full citizens of Sarawak. This happened in 1960 when Fu Tze Man, a Sarawak-born Chinese citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies was

banished to China. It was known that, prior to cession the provisions of the Undesirable Persons Ordinance made no distinction between persons born in Sarawak. All were subjects of the Rajah and could not be expelled from the country. In 1950, the Ordinance was amended and the protection against banishment given by birth was confined to persons of indigenous race. Such differentiation is deeply resented by Chinese and appears as an effort to force a wedge between the Chinese and indigenous peoples.²⁶

In West Malaysia, now only those persons born in Malaya and at least one of those parents was a federal citizen in 1962 would be able to acquire citizenship right by birth.²⁷ All other persons would become federal citizens by registration or naturalisation after fulfilling certain residence and language (Malay language) requirements. The latter category of persons may be deprived of their citizenship by the government on grounds of 'disloyalty' or 'disaffection' towards the country 'without even the benefits of the judicial safeguards that customarily surround a trial for petty crime.'²⁸ Since there were considerably fewer Chinese federal citizens than Malay federal citizens in 1961, and since most of the Chinese federal citizens had acquired their citizenship by registration, the Chinese disadvantage vis-a-vis the Malays over the question of citizenship and, therefore, of electoral strength would forever be maintained. One really cannot foresee a time when the Chinese electoral strength could challenge that of the Malays.

In Singapore, because of their large number and of the more liberal citizenship regulation, in which citizenship is conferred by operation of law on anyone born in the territory, and by registration on anyone resident there for 8 years immediately preceding application, and by naturalisation on anyone resident for ten years immediately preceding application,²⁹ the Chinese have become electorally the most powerful ethnic group. It is true that the Chinese in Singapore have benefited more than their brothers in the Federation from political advance, but it does not seem that they have done so at the expense of the other racial groupings over whom they command a wide numerical, and therefore also political and economic, superiority. The Chinese clearly rejected one most obvious exponent of Chinese chauvinism, the Democratic Party, at the general elections in 1955. Not only so, but by the enthusiasm they have shown at all the major elections they have demonstrated their support for a legislature based on universal suffrage and multi-lingualism. The Chinese have also accepted the Malay language as the national language, and government emphasis was placed on education for Malays and in Malay for all communities. The first Malay-language secondary schools were established, and free education for Malays was provided at all levels of education in Singapore. Special treatment was also granted to the Malays in general and a Malay was installed as the Yang di-Pertuan Negara (Head of State) in Singapore. These facts are sufficient to indicate the willingness of the Chinese to compromise in the key

matter of education and in other fields in the interests of the cultivation of a 'Malayan' outlook.

Cleavages and Conflicts within the Chinese Community³⁰

The above discussion of Chinese social and political aspects has treated the Chinese community as if it were an indivisible whole. Yet this is by no means wholly true. If one is thinking solely in terms of a racial or cultural unit it is quite legitimate to consider 'the Chinese' as one, but as we have already mentioned the Chinese are socially divided into several major dialect groups, each group having its own occupational specialisations. Thus there is also economic separation within the Chinese society. Because of their size and their concentration in the tin and rubber industries and commerce, the Hokkien, Hakka, Cantonese and Tiechiu are the dominant groups. But there are economic and political cleavages and conflicts of interests between these four as well as between them and the other less important groups.

Even the apparent unity of economic interests which is reflected in the role of the Chinese corporate organizations as guilds and investment groups does not hide the fact that wealth in the Chinese community as a whole is very concentrated. As we have already seen, the vast majority of the Chinese in the region are wage-earners - mainly labourers or subsistence producers. Thus there is only a very small group of Chinese who are rich and own capital. These Chinese exploit a large group of Chinese and others. Of the many Chinese who are

being thus exploited, some are as badly-off as the Malay peasants and Indian labourers; and indeed some of them are even worse off than the Malays and Indians.³¹

In the rural areas where most of the Chinese peasants are Hakkas, Cantonese and in Sarawak Fuchows and where economic conditions are more similar to those of rural China where most of the non-local born Chinese have originated, the division of the Chinese along lines of dialect, clan and locality of origin in China is even more conspicuous. In the rural areas, apart from the bonds of kinship and of dialect, there exist no other sufficiently distinctive relationships which could be used for the purposes of social organization. The peasants very often have to depend on credit to tide them over certain periods of the year, and the average Chinese peasants are so poor that they have no property except their good name to offer as security for any loan they wish to make. But this personal kind of security would be accepted by no one other than their clansmen, thus creating a situation in which the rural Chinese have to depend upon clan relationships for their economic position, even for their very subsistence,³² and this inevitably hardens the divisions based on clanship. But that is not to suggest that among the rural Chinese there is no conflict of interests within each clan or dialect group or locality of origin in China. Indeed, such conflict may almost be considered as inherent, for the lack of security, which encourages bad debts, and the absence of other sources for credit, can only sharpen the borrower-debtor

relationship, despite the fact that the two parties are tied by bonds of kinship. In this connection it should perhaps be mentioned that since commerce is generally in the hands of the Hokkiens and Tiechius, the economic conflict between the import-export firms and their intermediaries on the one hand and the producers of primary products and the consumers of imported foodstuffs and other goods is reflected in the conflict between these two dialect groups and the Hakkas, Cantonese and Fuchows. And this inter-group conflict is not restricted to economic interests alone, but also extends into the realm of politics. The Hokkiens and Tiechius, by virtue of their economic power, wield greater political influence with the government and among the Chinese as a whole and the other dialect groups, despite their great number, have to surrender political leadership.

The younger generation of Chinese, who are born locally and are educated in modern schools using one single medium of instruction, either Kuo-yu or English, are no longer interested in dialect barriers and are effectively transcending old divisions. And in view of the existence of political and economic cleavages within the traditional organizations, the breakdown of social barriers between dialect groups may be expected to produce a trend towards a larger unification of the Chinese on the basis of political and economic groups. In other words, while the dialect barriers between the nine major dialect groups become less and less important, the cleavage between those possessed with political and economic power and those without it will be further highlighted.

This is especially so among the Chinese in Singapore. The cosmopolitan nature of Singapore as an international centre, the government programmes which bring Chinese of all dialect groups and in some cases people of other racial groups as well, into common housing units, and the fact that such a large proportion of Chinese are local-born, have all helped to break down the original social organizations among the Chinese. Thus the tendency is towards a twofold division into an upper and lower group in terms of political and economic power rather than a ninefold division based on clan and dialect. This enlargement and realignment of the Chinese group as a whole is evident throughout the region by the rapid increase in membership of non-dialect based 'modern' organizations such as trade unions, political parties, teachers' associations, peasant associations, oldboys' associations and art, drama and musical societies.

But, although economic and political divisions within the Chinese community are becoming increasingly dominant over the traditional clan-based divisions, they are at the same time being complicated by divisions between the Chinese-educated and the English-educated, i.e. between those oriented in the Chinese language, cultural traditions and way of life, and those who have been brought under the influence of European culture through the English schools. The cleavages between these two cultural groups have existed for very long, and cut right across the two conflicting economic and political groups. They did not become important among the lower class Chinese

when Chinese education was allowed to develop relatively free from interference. But as soon as government educational policy changed to give more emphasis to English at the expense of Chinese schools, and as soon as the number of Chinese school graduates increased and found themselves either unable to get suitable employment in the government departments because English school graduates were preferred, or placed in positions inferior to the English school graduates, the cleaves were highlighted.

These cleavages did not become important among the Chinese leaders until the Chinese were required to participate directly in government as a result of the transfer of political power from the colonial government to locally elected representatives. Under the colonial government, leadership in the Chinese society was assumed by the rich and prosperous merchant class, most of whom were China-born or Chinese-educated. The colonial officers who dealt with these leaders were more often than not Chinese-speaking, so that there was no need for the existence of an English-speaking Chinese intermediary. But the nature of leadership in the Chinese community was transformed in the post independence era, when the government demanded an enlargement of the existing leadership to include recruits from the English-educated Chinese who form the backbone of the professionals and who could establish contacts with the other races whose leaders are also English-educated. The leadership which was formerly monopolised by the Chinese-oriented merchant class, which still remains an integral part

of the Chinese community, is now being shared with an English-educated elite. While those Chinese-educated 'traditional' leaders still command the same influence within the Chinese community, they have to depend on the English-educated elite to provide the essential liaison between the Chinese community on the one hand, and the government (in which they have become more and more involved), and the other races on the other.

The English-educated Chinese have acquired a strong position in the Singapore government, and in the MCA and SCA in Malaysia. Coupled with the fact that the 'Malaysianisation' of the civil service since the transfer of political power from Britain has led to a significant increase of English-educated Chinese officers in the government administration in Malaysia, particularly in the fields of medicine and engineering, the English-educated Chinese are wielding considerable political influence in the country. In Malaysia, the English-educated Chinese have undoubtedly benefited a great deal from the transfer of power. There is no reason to doubt that they will not continue to co-operate with the Malay leadership in the UMNO, who are also English-educated, to maintain the status quo. In the light of this, the division between the Chinese-educated and the English-educated may be expected to grow at an even faster pace.

Conclusion

To sum up, the Chinese in the region during the 19th century were overwhelmingly composed of immigrants, and when

they were exposed to an unfamiliar setting where they needed to create new forms of social activity among themselves, were likely to divide into units which expressed the solidarity of homeland ties. Thus the village, the county, the prefecture, and the dialect area provided overseas Chinese with lines along which to organize themselves. They grouped themselves on the basis of secret societies and interlocking associations which gave them the means of exercising control within their own ranks and of dealing with non-Chinese authority. These organizations led to concentrations of the Chinese differentiated by common dialect, surname relationship, occupational similarities and place of origin, which together had given rise to the particular pattern of geographical distribution of the Chinese in the region. Especially in the rural areas where the social and economic relations were based mainly upon 'clanship' (that is, identify of surname), there was a tendency for people of the same surname and deriving from the same locality in China to cluster together. In these circumstances, the geographical concentration of different dialect groups in different rural areas along lines of clanship became even more conspicuous.

In the post-independence period, some fundamental changes have appeared in the ^{distribution} pattern of the dialect groups in the region. The activities of the secret societies had already been severely curtailed (at least as far as the mass of the Chinese were concerned); people originating from the same parts of southeastern China were often dispersed, especially

in the urban areas; people of the same surname or same dialect were not likely to be found living near one another; mobility in economic life had made it less usual for people to work or trade exclusively within the distinct area; the solidarities of origin and clan or surname group were not sufficiently caught up in the run of ordinary social life. From these conditions, the fusion was bound eventually to take place between the Chinese dialect groups.

Other factors are also making for rapid changes. The teaching of Kuo-yu in the schools and a growing interest in English are working against the exclusiveness of the local dialects which in the past have divided the Chinese community within itself. These changes in the medium of instruction in schools have led to an increased mobility of the Chinese and, as this non-dialect based education develops, geographical concentration of the dialect groups on the basis of common dialect, surname relationship, occupational similarities and place of origin will eventually become weaker.

One may thus observe that, in recent years, a process of fusion between the Chinese dialect groups has taken place in social and cultural habits. This process has been much facilitated by the fact that already in 1960 over 75 per cent of the Chinese population of the region (except Brunei) were locally born. Apart from this process, the governments have also tried to integrate the various ethnic groups into one people, the 'Malaysians' (or 'Singaporeans'). However, this process of mutual adjustment can succeed only if these various groups are regarded as equal politically, economically

and culturally, for discrimination tends to emphasize if not indeed to promote awareness of racial origin and thus further to complicate the pattern of distribution and redistribution of the Chinese and other ethnic groups within the region.

FOOTNOTES.

1. See Hua-Chiao-Chih-Pien-Tsuan-Hui, Hua Chiao Chih Tsung-Chih 華僑志總志 (General Records of the Overseas Chinese), Taipei, 1964, Chapter 5, pp. 382-505.
2. Tien Ju-kang, The Chinese of Sarawak, London, 1953, p.24, note 4.
3. Ibid, p. 17.
4. Ginsburg, N., Malaya, 1958, p. 279.
5. For further information on this see Freedman, M., "The Handling of Money, A Note on the Background of the Economic Sophistication of Overseas Chinese", in Silcock, T.H., (ed.) Readings in Malayan Economics, pp. 38-42. See also Suyama Taku, 'Pang Societies and the Economy of Chinese immigrants in Southeast Asia', in Tregonning, K.G., (ed) Papers on Malayan History, Singapore, 1962, pp. 193-213.
6. See Comber, L., Chinese Ancestor Worship in Malaya Singapore 1954.
7. Ginsburg, N., op. cit., p. 280.
8. Among the more recent works on this topic are Blythe, W.L., "The Interplay of Chinese Secret and Political Societies in Malaya" E.W. Vol. 4, Nos. 3-4, London, 1950, pp. 14-15, and Blythe, W.L., The Impact of Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya, A Historical Study, London, 1969. Comber L.F., Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya, New York, 1959. Freedman, M, "Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in Nineteenth Century Singapore", C.S.S.H. Vol. III, 1960-1961, pp. 25-48; Purcell, V., The Chinese in Malaya, London, 1948 Chapter 8.
9. For more information on this topic see Thio, E., "The Singapore Chinese Protectorate: Events and Conditions Leading to its Establishment 1823-1877", J.S.S.S. Vol.XVI, 1960 pt. 1 & 2 pp. 40-80; S.Y. Ng, "The Chinese Protectorate in Singapore, 1877-1900", J.S.E.A.H. Vol. 2, No. 1 March, 1961, pp. 76-97. See also Wong, C.S., "The Protector and the Triad Societies", J.S.E.A.R. Vol. 2, 1966, pp. 65-75.
10. See Purcell, V., The Chinese in Malaya, (London, 1948 p.229.
11. See Nanyang University Calendar, 1967-1968, pp. 7-13.
12. Fell, H., 1957 Population Census of the Federation of Malaya, Report No, 14, p.23.
13. Ibid., p. 22.

14. Chua, S.C. State of Singapore. Report on the Census of Population 1957, pp. 162 & 167.
15. See Dale, M., "Chinese Education in Malaya", F.E.E.R., Feb. 8, 1962 pp. 325-328.
16. See Murray, D.P., "Chinese Education in South-East Asia" C.Q. Vol. 20, 1964, p. 91.
17. The Observer (London) August 18, 1963.
18. Private communication with the principal of Pei-Min Chinese Secondary School, Miri, Sarawak.
19. Murray, D.P. op. cit., p. 89.
20. Le Page, R.B., The National Language Question, London, 1964
21. See Renick, R.D., "The Malayan Emergency, Causes and Effects", J.S.E.A.H. Vol. 6, No. 2. Sept. 1965, pp. 1-39. Vol. 6, No. 2. Sept. 1965, pp. 1-39. Sanduhu, K.S., "Emergency Resettlement in Malaya", J.T.G. Vol. 18, August 1964, pp. 157-183. For Sarawak see Justus M. van der Kroef, "Chinese Minority Aspiration and Problems in Sarawak", P.A. Vol. XXXIX, Nos. 1 & 2, 1966, pp. 64-82 and "The Sarawak - Indonesian Border Insurgency", M.A.S. Vol. 2, pt. 3, July 1968, pp. 245-266.
22. See Purcell, V., "The Chinese in Malaysia" in Wang Gungwu (ed). Malaysia, London, 1965. pp. 190-198.
23. See McGee, T.G. "The Malayan Elections of 1959", J.T.G., Vol. 16, Oct. 1962, pp. 70-79. Silcock T.H., "Communal and Party Structure" in Silcock (ed.) The Political Economy of Independent Malaya, Canberra, 1963, pp. 1-27 and Ratnam, K.J. Communalism and the Political Process in Malaya, Kuala Lumpur 1965.
24. See Groves, H.E., "Constitutional Problems" pp. 356-364 and Milne, R.S. "Politics and Government", pp. 323-335 in Wang Gungwu (ed.) Malaysia. London, 1965.
25. Sarawak has a supreme legislative body, the Council Negri, whose unofficial membership is elected by a three tier system in which District Councils and, in turn, Divisional Advisory Councils act as electoral colleges. The unofficial members represent the people and are elected indirectly. An unofficial member of Council Negri has first to be elected to his local District Council; then he has to be elected by the District Councillors to the Divisional Council; and then by the Divisional Councillors to Council Negri. For more information on Sarawak's constitutional and political developments see Liang Kim Bang, Sarawak, 1941-1957, University of Singapore, 1964, pp. 1-47 and

25. (contd.) Lee, Edwin, Sarawak in the Early Sixties, University of Singapore, 1964, pp. 48-63.
26. See Leigh, M.B., The Chinese Community of Sarawak : A Study of Communal Relations, Singapore, 1964, pp. 34-36.
27. In West Malaysia citizenship by operation of law was extended to any person born in the Federation after August 31, 1957 (Independence Day). But by the Constitution (Amendment) Act 1962 a restriction was imposed in that at least one parent must have been a citizen in the Federation at the time of the child's birth. See Milne, R.S., Government and Politics in Malaysia, U.S.A., 1967, pp. 38-39; Ratnam, K.J., op. cit., pp. 66-101 and Groves, H.E., op. cit., pp. 361-363.
28. Groves, H.E. op. cit., p. 362.
29. See Sheridan, L.A., "The Singapore Constitution" in Sheridan, L.A., ed., The Constitutions of Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo Territories, London, 1960. pp. 103-114.
30. For more information on this topic see Tan, K.C., The Federation of Malaysia, Some Aspects of Political Geography Ph.D. Thesis London, 1966, Chapter 3, pp. 215-531, Tien Ju-Kang, The Chinese of Sarawak, London, 1953, and Simoniya, N.A., Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, New York, 1961.
31. Puthucheary, J.J., Ownership and Control on the Malayan Economy, Singapore 1960, p. 175.
32. See Tien, op. cit., pp. 35-45.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

Chinese contact with South-east Asia can be traced back before the opening of the Christian era; but the Chinese did not begin to settle in significant numbers in the region until many centuries later. They initially came to the region as merchants rather than as settlers. The first historical record of the Chinese in Malaya dates from 1349 when Wang Ta-yuan wrote of Tumasik or old Singapore. His account gives the very definite impression that in old Singapore there was a large settlement of Chinese. This was the first colony of Chinese in the Malay peninsula of which we have any record, but early in the 15th century the region began to have closer contacts with China, as a result of the voyages of the Ming admiral, Cheng Ho.

Elsewhere in south-east Asia, long before the European made their appearance, the Chinese had engaged in trade and mining operations. The activities of the Chinese population were responsible for the opening of a number of enterprises and industries which played an important part in the local economies of South-east Asia. During the pre-colonial period, Malaya as well as other countries in the region was in some degree within the Chinese economic sphere of influence, in that the Chinese exchanged their manufactures, their ceramics and textiles for local Malayan products. Furthermore, by virtue of its geographical position astride the sea

routes between the Middle East and the Far East, the region had become the site of various entrepots of political and economic importance, where the Chinese could meet other merchants from the ports further west.

This traditional political and trade relations between China and the Malayo-Borneo region was suddenly brought to an end when the first Western colonial powers began to appear in the area in the 16th century. This inflicted a severe blow on the interests of the Chinese traders of the country, but it was only after the establishment of direct European contact in South-east Asia that there was substantial immigration from China to the region, as aptly stated by Fisher:

"...the flow of Chinese emigration first became important only during the period of European control. For paradoxically the coming of the Europeans which helped to undermine China's political influence in the Nan Yang, simultaneously created in the region an economic and social climate which was exceptionally favourable to Chinese settlement there."

In this period there appeared one of the most important prerequisites of the emigrant - the demand for immigrant labour to exploit the natural resources of the South-east Asian countries. With the advance of the industrial revolution the European countries attempted to extend the market for their goods further and further afield, and raw materials from the tropics also assumed a new importance. In these circumstances, the European colonizers began to develop agriculture and mining. But at the same time, Malaya and other regions was still sparsely populated and the local Malaysian

population preferred to remain on their own farms instead of working as labourers in the tin mines and on the rubber estates. Thus the British in Malaya chose to encourage the mass-importation of immigrant labour from China and India.

The early Chinese were not keen to settle permanently in the region; their aim was to amass fortunes as quickly as possible and return to their families whom they had left behind in China. These early immigrants were mostly very poor and most of them could not pay for their own passages from China. Consequently they were recruited under the credit-ticket system, under which they suffered from serious ill-treatment and exploitation. Furthermore, when the Sinkhehs arrived in the strange new land they found themselves facing strange new difficulties in the form of tropical climate and virgin jungle. In these circumstances many never realised their ambition of returning to their native land with some wealth, but instead remained permanent in their newly adopted home, marrying local women or bringing their families from China and making only periodic visits or no visits at all to their mother land.

Until well into the 19th century, the basic centres of concentration of Chinese labourers, merchants and artisans in Malaya were the Straits Settlements of Penang, Malacca and Singapore. Throughout the century, all these three British Settlements remained as starting and controlling points for Chinese penetration into the relatively undeveloped and unknown Malay States which constituted their immediate hinterlands.

The Chinese were already penetrating into the Malay peninsula, following the progress of both mining and agriculture in the early years of the 19th century, and in several places had assumed significant proportions before the British first intervened directly in the Malay States in 1874. In fact, there is little doubt that the Chinese came to regard the Malay States as the natural economic hinterland of the Straits Settlements long before the British accepted this fact either politically or economically. It was due to the presence of the relatively large numbers of Chinese miners and agriculturists in several of the mainland states, and the problems which this created, that played the decisive part in producing the change which led first to British protection and then to the formation of the Federated Malay States in 1896.

Large investments were made in tin again and rubber as the 20th century progressed. Simultaneously with this development there occurred an increase in the population of the country which was unprecedented in tempo and scale. The peculiarity of this process consisted in the fact that the increase in the population derived primarily from the influx of Chinese and India immigrants. The Chinese population of the country increased over a 30-years period (1911-1941) by almost 160 per cent, while the Malaysian grew by only 58 per cent. As a result of this rapid growth, the Chinese in Malaya (including Singapore) exceeded the Malaysian by the beginning of World War II.

In Northern Borneo, after the 19th century, the influx of the Chinese was also due to the demand for a larger and more willing labour force to meet the needs of British colonial enterprise, though it should be noted that under the patriarchal rule of the Brookes, Sarawak was not opened either to capitalist development or to large-scale immigration in the manner of Malaya. In Sabah, the importation of Chinese was largely state-assisted at the beginning, as there were neither tin nor rubber industries like those, which were so important in stimulating the influx of Chinese labour into Malaya, or gold which at Bau had been responsible for the migration of Chinese from Dutch Borneo into Sarawak in the late 1850s. And in Brunei it was only after 1929 that the demands of the oil industry attracted both skilled and unskilled Chinese labour, thus eventually doubling the population there.

Although in the course of the pre-war period as a whole immigration played a decisive role in the increase in Chinese population of Malaya, it had begun to drop sharply in volume by the 1930s. After the war when the political situation demanded a different policy towards the entry of Chinese, immigration restrictions were tightened considerably, and Chinese migration ceased to play an important part in increasing the population either there or in Northern Borneo. Through migration at first, and later through natural increase which followed the fundamental changes in the sex-age ratio and the general stabilization of the Chinese community,

the latter multiplied rapidly over the years, until today it accounts for 42 per cent of the region's population. Most of the Chinese in the region are now local born and the community is now reproducing at a faster rate, than the indigenous peoples as a whole. If the present trend continues the numbers of Chinese are expected to pass nine million by the 1980s. When the indigenous groups will still not have reached nine million. It may well be true that, by 1980, the Chinese in Malaysia may well be welded into a loyal citizenry, but their potential numerical dominance does mean that the ruling indigenous elite cannot afford to follow a policy which antagonises the Chinese so much that they cease to desire to belong to the Malaysian nation.

It is appropriate to mention briefly the prospects for internal migration here. As we have already seen, the demographic difference between Malaya and Northern Borneo is very great, and little inter-state migration occurs. In the near future, the contrast in density of settlement between these two areas will be far greater than it is now. And in the State of Singapore the unchecked control of population growth (mainly Chinese) could lead to a population of close to four million in a small island of 224 square miles by the end of this century. In these circumstances attempts may well be made to alleviate some of this population pressure by allowing movement to other territories, particularly Northern Borneo at some future time.

Such a course would inevitably bring the Malaysian

Government face to face with the conflict between logical population policies and the present political realities. Neither West nor East Malaysia are willing to allow large scale movements of the predominantly Chinese population of Singapore into their territories. West Malaysia feels that movements of Singapore Chinese into their territory may upset the political and numerical balance between Malaysians and Chinese. The Borneo territories fears are even greater, for on the one hand the indigenous people are afraid that their numerical dominance will be lost, while on the other the Borneo Chinese are worried that their commercial hegemony may be disturbed by the wealthier and better organised Chinese interests of Singapore. Thus the East Malaysian states have demanded the right to control internal movement into their territories, and these demands have been accepted by the new Federation. However, it is possible that the problem on immigration into Borneo will merely be part of the teething troubles of the region; and with the success of a policy of integrating the major ethnic communities, a population policy might eventually be devised which was not primarily determined by attempts to preserve the existing ethnic and political balance.

The Chinese have already played an important and often a major role in the economic development in the region. They were the principal labourers, miners, entrepreneurs and traders, and perhaps the most eloquent memorial to the pioneering efforts of the Chinese in Malaya is the country's

present position as one of the best developed nations in South-east Asia. Unfortunately, because the Chinese form the bulk of the urban population, do every kind of job, and are especially prominent in commerce and retail trade, the misconception has arisen that the Chinese dominate the economy of these territories. If the measure of domination of an economy is the ownership and control of the various factors of production, then the Chinese do not dominate the economy of the region. For while it is true that Chinese capital in these areas is far more important than that of Malaysians and Indians, this means only that Chinese capitalists are the most efficient resident Asian capitalists. The Chinese capitalists in the region are in the main compradores of Europeans capital, who form the organisational framework which collects produce for export, and which distributes and retails imports, but both exports and imports are mainly controlled by European firms and the part of the economy controlled by non-compradore Chinese capital is as yet small compared with that controlled by European capital.

It should be emphasised that the vast majority of the Chinese in the region are wage-earners - mainly labourers or subsistence producers. Only about 5 per cent of the Chinese working population were employers of labour. When it is said 'that the Chinese dominate the economy of the region' - implying that the Chinese as a community dominate the economy - the fact that 95 per cent of the Chinese are subsistence producers and wage-earners is simply ignored.

Further, a large number of Chinese, being labourers and subsistence producers, are little better off than many Malaysians and other indigenous people. Once the significance of actual economic roles is stressed it is immediately clear that the economic position of the Chinese in the rural areas is almost identical with that of the Malaysians and indigenous people. In this perspective the 'problem of the Chinese community' is not a separate problem at all, but a part of the general problem of the future development of the economy in the region as a whole.

As is common with Chinese settlers in most South-east Asian countries, their most significant diversifying factor is the number of dialect groups. Different waves of migration have led to regional concentrations and occupational specialisation of these various groups. Today the occupational distinction between them has been considerably modified although certain occupations have still come to be especially associated with particular dialect groups, but the general tendency is undoubtedly towards a weakening of these occupational specialisation. In some areas, the Chinese have already been expanded to a degree where it is impossible to predict from a knowledge of his dialect group what a particular individual probably does for a living.

With stabilisation, changes have also taken place in their social and cultural habits in the region. In the past, the Chinese usually grouped themselves on the basis of interlocking associations which led to concentration of the Chinese in the region differentiated by common dialect,

surname relationship and place of origin. Today, mobility in economic life had made it less usual for people of like origin to work or trade together; the solidarities of origin and clan are also not sufficiently caught up in the run of ordinary social life. A process of fusion among the various dialect groups is also taking place. This has been much facilitated by the fact that all Chinese children, if they learn any Chinese in school, are educated in Kuo-yu, which has the effect of fostering unity among the Chinese who in the past used to be deeply divided by the use of various dialects. As the percentage of locally-born Chinese rises, this process is accelerated.

In the post-war period, the 'Malaysianisation' policy in the Federation aimed at creating some form of Malaysian nationhood with a distinctly Malaysian culture, and originally in the hope of becoming part of the wider Federation a parallel policy was also adopted in Singapore. By any definition such a programme, which included the propagation of Malay as the national language, the formation of a national education system with Malay as the main medium of instruction, and the attempt to build up a culture which is largely based on elements of Malay culture, involves either the peaceful co-operation of the communities or the assimilation of one community to the other. Unfortunately, owing to differences in origin, religion, customs and culture, no strong tendency towards assimilation of the various ethnic groups is as yet discernable. On the whole, the various

ethnic groups still remain distinct and separated, and furthermore, there are many divisions and conflicts of interests between the major ethnic groups. Political conflicts of interests have arisen between the Malaysians and non-Malaysians, particularly the Chinese, and have further created bases for cultural and economic conflicts of interests between them. The most obvious illustrations of these occur when there is actual fighting between different ethnic groups, and in these circumstances, awareness of racial origin sharpens, and thus further complicates the position of the Chinese in the region.

Nevertheless the Chinese in the region have already settled down and not only in Singapore, where they occupy a dominant position, but also in both West and East Malaysia they are now tending to regard their country of domicile as their permanent home. In due course, all of them will be Malaya- or Borneo-born. How to develop and carry out policies which will secure Chinese loyalty by involving them in the responsibilities and rewards of participation in forging the nation's future is perhaps the main problem in Malaysia today. Progress in this sphere might be expected to relax the Chinese exclusiveness of the past, and together with parallel political advancement of other ethnic groups and improvement of their economic position relative to the Chinese, it could give the whole populations a sense of common purpose and shared goals.

A P P E N D I X

APPENDIX 1Sarawak : Chinese Population in Districts,1939-1960

Census District	Total Chinese Population			Increase or Decrease	
	1939	1947	1960	1939-1947	1947-1960
Kuching Rural	18,450	23,695	39,433	+5,245	+15,738
Kuching Municipal	19,109	21,699	36,721	+2,590	+15,022
Sibu Urban } Sibu Rural }	25,486	6,201	22,698	+6,280	+16,497
		25,565	29,349		+ 3,784
Sarikei } Binatang }	15,136	18,723	14,780	+ 3,587	+ 8,577
			12,520		
Miri Urban } Miri Rural }	9,846	6,879	8,012	- 381	+ 1,133
		2,586	8,420		+ 5,834
Bau	9,630	7,222	8,196	-2,408	+ 974
Serian } Sadong }	4,272	7,602	6,627	+3,330	+ 2,336
			3,311		
Kanowit	3,023	3,652	6,304	+ 629	+ 2,652
Simanggang	3,036	2,939	5,139	- 97	+ 2,200
Mukah	2,514	3,366	4,348	+ 852	+ 982
Baram	2,341	2,682	4,236	+ 341	+ 1,554
Bintulu	1,879	2,056	3,418	+ 177	+ 1,362
Lundu	1,815	1,903	3,009	+ 88	+ 1,106
Saribas	1,934	2,047	2,832	+ 113	+ 785
Kapit	1,159	1,392	2,713	+ 233	+ 1,321
Kalaka	1,188	1,725	2,234	+ 537	+ 509
Lubok Antu	1,156	1,384	1,876	+ 228	+ 492
Lawas	789	940	1,528	+ 151	+ 588
Limbang	863	900	1,450	+ 37	+ 550
SARAWAK	123,626	145,158	229,154	+21,532	+83,996

Source: JONES, L.W., Sarawak, Report on The Census of Population. 1960. p. 57

APPENDIX 2

Sabah Chinese Population in Districts 1921-1960

Census District	Number							Increase or Decrease	
	1921	1931	1951	1960	1921-31	1931-51	1951-60	1921-60	
Sandakan Town	9052	10,962	11,518	21,315	+1,910	+ 556	+9,797	+12,263	
Tawau	4,368	6,177	11,118	14,881	+1,809	+4,941	+3,763	+10,513	
Jesselton Town	2,150	2,696	7,539	14,529	+ 546	+4,843	+6,990	+12,379	
Kudat	3,980	3,992	7,265	8,570	+ 12	+3,273	+1,305	+4,590	
Tenom	1,352	1,491	4,055	6,131	+ 139	+2,564	+2,076	+4,779	
Papar	3,968	3,562	4,311	5,370	- 406	+ 749	+1,059	+ 1,402	
Sandakan Rural	1,211	3,882	6,314	5,327	+2,671	+2,432	- 987	+ 4,116	
Jesselton Rural	2,547	4,080	5,511	5,171	+1,533	+1,431	- 340	+2,624	
Lahad Datu } Semporna }	2,755	3,952	4,168	4,808 } 985 }	+1,197	+ 216	+1,625	+3,038	
Beaufort	3,476	2,945	4,011	4,618	- 531	+1,066	+ 607	+1,142	
Labuan	1,614	2,257	3,005	4,574	+ 643	+ 748	+1,569	+ 2,960	
Tuaran	494	1,050	2,651	3,774	+ 556	+1,601	+1,123	+ 3,280	
Keningan	165	481	588	1,582	+ 316	+ 107	+ 994	+ 1,417	
Sipitang	159	405	654	756	+ 246	+ 249	+ 102	+ 597	
Kota Belud	167	418	410	676	+ 251	- 8	+ 266	+ 509	
Labuk	540	332	547	643	- 208	+ 215	+ 96	+ 103	
Kinabatangan	765	704	260	380	- 61	- 444	+ 120	385	
Kuala Penyu	409	495	295	163	+ 86	- 200	- 132	- 246	
(Mempakul) Ranan } Tambunan }	72	156	28	147 } 110 }	+ 84	- 42	+ 119 } 24 }	+ 185	
Pensiangan	12	19	40	32	+ 7	+ 21	- 8	+ 20	
SABAH	39,256	50,056	74,374	104,542	+10800	+24,318	+30,168	+65,286	

Source: Jones L.W. North Borneo: Report on The Census of Population 1960. p. 52.

APPENDIX 3

Malaya : The Chinese Dialect Groups1921 - 1957

	Number				% of Total Chinese Population.			
	1921	1931	1947	1957	1921	1931	1947	1951
Hokkien	379,028	538,852	827,411	1,183,321	32.3	31.6	31.6	34.1
Cantonese	331,757	417,516	641,945	810,997	28.3	24.4	24.6	23.1
Hakka	217,697	317,506	437,407	581,842	18.5	18.6	16.7	17.0
Tiechiu	130,026	208,681	364,232	528,266	11.2	12.3	13.9	15.0
Hainanese	68,200	97,568	157,649	201,040	5.8	5.8	6.0	5.4
Kwongsai	998	46,095	71,850	69,414	0.1	2.7	2.8	2.0
Hokchin	13,821	31,908	48,094	62,922	1.2	1.9	1.8	1.3
Hokchiu	4,058	15,301	12,754	17,396	0.4	0.9	0.5	0.4
Henghwa	1,659		17,065	20,662	0.1		0.7	0.6
Other Chinese	24,496	31,025	36,260	46,584	2.1	1.8	1.4	1.1
Total	1,171,740	1,704,452	2,614,667	3,424,352	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Census Reports 1921-1957.

Appendix 4

Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei Chinese Dialect Groups
by States, 1947

	Hokkien	Tiechiu	Hakka	Cantonese	Hainanese	Hokchia
Penang	107052 (43.5)	48901 (19.8)	21867 (8.8)	55251 (22.3)	8912 (3.6)	122 (0.04)
Malacca	36588 (38.1)	7208 (7.5)	23277 (24.2)	113239 (13.8)	11758 (12.2)	233 (0.2)
Perak	80536 (18.1)	33091 (7.44)	97869 (22.0)	166531 (37.4)	12285 (27.7)	3466 (0.8)
Selangor	108473 (29.9)	21198 (5.8)	96908 (26.7)	99925 (27.5)	18153 (5.0)	380 (0.1)
N. Sembilan	21527 (18.8)	2518 (2.2)	35282 (30.7)	37052 (32.1)	7234 (6.3)	237 (0.2)
Pahang	15478 (15.9)	2770 (2.8)	21304 (21.9)	29496 (30.3)	7421 (7.64)	202 (0.2)
Johore	117304 (33.1)	54530 (15.4)	77109 (21.7)	49060 (13.9)	28327 (8.0)	1401 (0.4)
Kedah	31432 (27.2)	33319 (28.8)	16400 (14.1)	24640 (21.2)	3325 (2.9)	289 (0.2)
Kelantan	12232 (53.3)	660 (2.8)	2354 (10.3)	4009 (17.4)	1700 (7.5)	57 (0.2)
Trengganu	4342 (27.3)	800 (5.1)	960 (6.1)	2506 (15.8)	5958 (37.6)	38 (0.2)
Perlis	3126 (26.6)	1996 (16.9)	3895 (33.1)	1944 (16.5)	333 (2.8)	3 (0.0)
Singapore	289109 (39.6)	157186 (21.6)	39988 (5.5)	157598 (21.6)	52117 (7.1)	6323 (0.9)
Sarawak	20289 (13.9)	12892 (8.8)	45409 (31.2)	14622 (10.0)	3871 (2.6)	-
Sabah	7336 (9.8)	3948 (5.3)	44505 (59.9)	11833 (15.9)	3571 (4.8)	-
Brunei	1983 (23.8)	493 (5.9)	2824 (34.1)	1706 (20.5)	698 (8.4)	2 (0.)
All States	856807 (30.1)	381510 (13.4)	529951 (18.6)	669412 (23.5)	165663 (5.8)	12753 (0.4)

Appendix 4 (Contd.)Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei Chinese Dialect Groups
by States, 1947

	Hokchiu	Kwongsai	Henghwa	Other	Total
Penang	3092 (1.3)	339 (0.1)	262 (0.1)	1568 (0.6)	247366 (100.0)
Malacca	602 (0.6)	588 (0.6)	957 (1.0)	1694 (1.8)	96144 (100.0)
Perak	19013 (4.3)	23033 (5.2)	2410 (0.5)	6275 (1.4)	444509 (100.0)
Selangor	4690 (1.3)	6214 (1.7)	1845 (0.5)	4924 (1.3)	362710 (100.0)
N.Sembilan	2434 (2.1)	6020 (5.3)	899 (0.7)	1203 (1.1)	114406 (100.0)
Pahang	717 (0.7)	18266 (18.8)	585 (0.6)	1090 (1.1)	97329 (100.0)
Johore	5483 (1.5)	14197 (4.0)	1727 (0.5)	5632 (1.6)	354770 (100.0)
Kedah	2190 (1.9)	1440 (1.2)	361 (0.3)	2532 (2.2)	115928 (100.0)
Kelantan	154 (0.7)	597 (2.6)	170 (0.7)	1005 (4.3)	22938 (100.0)
Trengganu	162 (1.0)	301 (1.9)	378 (2.4)	419 (2.5)	15864 (100.0)
Perlis	76 (0.7)	102 (0.8)	117 (0.1)	296 (2.5)	11788 (100.0)
Singapore	9461 (1.3)	681 (0.1)	7445 (1.0)	9565 (1.3)	729473 (100.0)
Sarawak	41946 (28.0)	180 (0.1)	4356 (3.0)	1593 (1.0)	145158 (100.0)
Sabah	-	-	-	3181 (4.3)	74374 (100.0)
Brunei	296 (3.5)	25 (0.3)	91 (1.1)	184 (2.2)	8300 (100.0)
All States	90316 (3.1)	71983 (2.5)	21503 (0.7)	41161 (1.4)	2841057 (100.0)

Appendix 4 (Contd.)

Malaysia, Singapore and other Chinese related groups

by States, 1947

State	Chinese	Malay	Indonesian	Other
Tenaga	3002 (1.3)	339 (0.1)	282 (0.1)	1768 (100.0)
Malacca	602 (0.6)	388 (1.6)	227 (1.0)	1094 (100.0)
Tengk	19013 (1.3)	83033 (2.2)	210 (0.0)	63475 (100.0)
Belangor	499 (1.3)	214 (1.7)	187 (0.2)	4984 (100.0)
M. Sembilan	2474 (2.1)	6000 (2.3)	899 (0.7)	1203 (100.0)
Tenaga	717 (0.7)	1826 (12.8)	262 (1.1)	1250 (100.0)
Johore	2483 (1.2)	4497 (4.0)	1727 (0.2)	2633 (100.0)
Kedah	2190 (1.9)	1420 (1.2)	391 (0.3)	232 (100.0)
Perlis	124 (0.7)	297 (2.6)	170 (0.7)	1002 (100.0)
Perlis	182 (1.0)	301 (1.3)	278 (2.4)	419 (100.0)
Perlis	78 (0.7)	102 (0.6)	117 (0.1)	298 (100.0)
Singapore	2481 (1.3)	681 (0.1)	744 (1.0)	955 (100.0)
Perlis	2446 (2.0)	100 (0.1)	436 (3.0)	1293 (100.0)
Perlis	-	-	-	319 (100.0)
Perlis	298 (3.2)	22 (0.3)	21 (1.1)	184 (100.0)
All States	2016 (2.1)	4183 (2.2)	2103 (0.7)	1191 (100.0)

Appendix 5

Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei Chinese Dialect Groupsby States. 1957/1960

	Hokkien	Tiechiu	Hakka	Cantonese	Hainanese	Hokchia
Penang	142488 (43.5)	71322 (21.8)	31029 (9.5)	62736 (19.2)	11235 (3.4)	785 (0.2)
Malacca	48288 (39.9)	10007 (8.2)	30332 (25.1)	12826 (10.6)	13671 (11.3)	267 (0.2)
Perak	110247 (20.4)	50632 (9.3)	135128 (25.0)	166642 (30.8)	16344 (3.0)	4260 (0.7)
Selangor	159602 (30.6)	30967 (6.3)	126422 (25.9)	125065 (25.6)	24903 (5.1)	1409 (0.4)
N.Sembilan	34320 (22.8)	3636 (2.4)	50437 (33.6)	39575 (26.3)	8875 (5.9)	456 (0.3)
Pahang	19864 (18.3)	4061 (3.7)	25949 (24.0)	28459 (26.2)	7336 (6.7)	219 (0.2)
Johore	154333 (39.3)	64976 (16.5)	77842 (19.8)	38317 (9.7)	28791 (7.3)	1616 (0.4)
Kedah	43647 (30.3)	43401 (30.2)	22136 (15.4)	22287 (15.5)	3702 (2.5)	626 (0.4)
Kelantan	16955 (58.7)	1129 (3.9)	2634 (9.1)	4303 (14.9)	2347 (8.1)	58 (0.2)
Trengganu	6108 (33.5)	1067 (5.9)	1706 (9.4)	2730 (15.0)	5159 (28.3)	62 (0.3)
Perlis	4754 (30.2)	1878 (11.9)	5092 (32.3)	2284 (14.5)	596 (3.7)	24 (0.1)
Singapore	442707 (40.6)	245190 (22.5)	73072 (6.7)	205773 (18.9)	78081 (7.2)	7614 (0.7)
Sarawak	28304 (12.3)	21952 (9.5)	70221 (30.6)	17432 (7.6)	5717 (2.4)	-
Sabah	11924 (11.4)	5991 (5.7)	57338 (54.8)	15251 (14.5)	5270 (5.0)	-
Brunei	4879 (22.3)	-	5744 (26.3)	4820 (22.1)	-	-
All States	1228420 (32.3)	556209 (14.7)	715145 (18.9)	748500 (19.8)	212027 (5.6)	17396 (0.5)

Appendix 5 (Contd.)

Malaya, Singapore and Brunei Chinese Dialect Groupsby States. 1957/1960

	Hokchiu	Kwongsai	Henghwa	Shanghai- nese	Other	Total
Penang	3667 (1.1)	611 (0.2)	457 (0.1)	-	2840 (0.9)	327240 (100.0)
Malacca	534 (0.4)	1024 (0.8)	1661 (1.3)	-	2148 (1.7)	120759 (100.0)
Perak	24568 (4.6)	20869 (3.8)	2183 (0.4)	-	6584 (1.2)	539334 (100.0)
Selangor	4834 (1.0)	6042 (1.2)	2683 (0.5)	-	6709 (1.4)	488657 (100.0)
N.Sembilan	2748 (1.8)	5411 (3.6)	1064 (0.7)	-	3531 (2.3)	150055 (100.0)
Pahang	678 (0.6)	19165 (17.7)	616 (0.5)	-	1879 (1.7)	108226 (100.0)
Johore	6182 (1.5)	12783 (3.2)	2345 (0.5)	-	5383 (1.3)	392568 (100.0)
Kedah	2479 (1.7)	1432 (1.0)	374 (0.2)	-	3973 (2.8)	144057 (100.0)
Kelantan	218 (0.7)	552 (1.9)	148 (0.5)	-	517 (1.7)	28861 (100.0)
Trengganu	107 (0.6)	330 (1.8)	354 (2.0)	-	605 (3.3)	18228 (100.0)
Perlis	79 (0.5)	903 (5.7)	20 (0.1)	-	141 (0.9)	15771 (100.0)
Singapore	16828 (1.5)	292	8757 (0.8)	11034 (1.0)	1248 (0.1)	1090596 (100.0)
Sarawak	70125 (30.6)	-	8278 (3.6)	-	7125 (3.1)	229154 (100.0)
Sabah	-	-	-	-	8768 (8.3)	104542 (100.0)
Brunei	-	-	-	-	6352 (29.1)	21795 (100.0)
All States	133047 (3.6)	69414 (1.9)	28940 (0.8)	11034 (0.3)	57803 (1.6)	3779843 (100.0)

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A.A.	Asian Affairs
A.A.A.G.	Annals of the Association of American Geographers
A.A.P.S.S.	Annals of the American Political and Social Sciences
A.G.	Australian Geographer
A.H.	Asian Horizon
A.J.P.H.	Australian Journal of Politics and History
A.J.S.	American Journal of Sociology
A.O.	Australian Outlook
A.R.	Asian Review
A.Re.	Asiatick Researches
A.S.	Asian Survey
A.St.	Asian Studies
C.D.B.	Community Development Bulletin
C.J.	Commonwealth Journal
C.R.	China Review
C.S.S.H.	Comparative Studies in Society and History
C.Q.	China Quarterly
E.	Ekonomi
E.D.C.C.	Economic Development and Cultural Change
E.G.	Economic Geography
E.H.	Eastern Horizon
E.W.	Eastern World

F.A.	Foreign Affairs
F.E.E.R.	Far Eastern Economic Review
F.E.Q.	Far Eastern Quarterly (now Journal of Asian Studies)
F.E.S.	Far Eastern Survey
G.	Geography
G.J.	Geographical Journal
G.M.	Geographical Magazine
G.R.	Geographical Review
G.S.	Geographical Studies
I.A.	International Affairs
I.B.G.	Institute of British Geographers, Transactions and Papers
I.J.	International Journal
I.Q.	Indian Quarterly
I.S.S.J.	International Social Science Journal
J.A.A.	Journal of African Administration
J.A.S.	Journal of Asian Studies
J.G.	Journal of Geography
J.I.A.	Journal of the Indian Archipelago
J.M.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J.N.U.	Journal of Nanyang University
J.O.S.	Journal of Oriental Studies
J.R.A.I.	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
J.S.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

J.S.E.A.F.E.	Journal of South-East Asia and the Far East
J.S.E.A.H.	Journal of South-east Asian History
J.S.E.A.R.	Journal of South-east Asian Researches
J.S.S.S.	Journal of the South Seas Society
J.T.G.	Journal of Tropical Geography (Formerly Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography)
M.A.J.	Malayan Agricultural Journal
M.A.S.	Modern Asian Studies
M.E.R.	Malayan Economic Review
M.F.	Malayan Forester
M.J.T.G.	Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography (now Journal of Tropical Geography)
O.G.	Oriental Geographer
P.	Population
P.A.	Pacific Affairs
P.G.	Professional Geographer
P.R.	Pacific Review
P.Re.	Population Review
P.S.	Population Studies
P.S.S.H.R.	Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review
P.V.	Pacific Viewpoint
Q.Q.	Queen's Quarterly
R.C.A.S.J.	Royal Central Asian Society Journal
S.B.	Straits Budget

S.G.	Soviet Geography
S.G.M.	Scottish Geographical Magazine
S.M.J.	Sarawak Museum Journal
S.T.	Straits Times
T.A.	Tropical Agriculture
T.E.S.G.	Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie
T.P.	Toung Pao
T.P.R.	Town Planning Review
W.C.	World Crops
W.T.	World Today
Y.R.	Yale Review

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