

CHINESE LEADERSHIP IN EARLY BRITISH SINGAPORE

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EARLY IN 1819 SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES COMPLETED negotiations with the local Malay authority and secured the island of Singapore as a base for the East India Company. The union jack was then raised over the tiny settlement to symbolize the new sovereignty. For years, however, the British could not be regarded as exercising more than shadowy administrative control over Singapore as it grew from hamlet to town to city. Like their own modern constitutional monarchs, the British in Singapore reigned rather than ruled. *De facto* governing power in those distant decades lay in the hands of Asian leaders known and respected by their peoples. The situation was in part inevitable and in much smaller part due to the necessary adoption of indirect rule announced by Raffles in the following instructions to the first Resident of Singapore:

The Chinese, Bugguese and other foreign settlers are to be placed under the immediate superintendence of chiefs of their own tribes, to be appointed by you, and those chiefs will be responsible to you for the police within their respective jurisdictions.¹

As will be shown later, not all the "chiefs" were to be men chosen by and obedient to the Resident. Fearing competition in the contest for prestige and authority, the British soon sought to manipulate and indeed discredit the Malay notables on the island. When, after 1827, the Chinese had won the demographic dominance which soon would make Singapore an essentially Chinese city, the British were confronted with a continuing problem of dealing with a population both exotic and difficult. The Malay elite was neutralized by British pressure and pensions and by the weight of Chinese numbers; the leadership of the Chinese was to challenge British ascendancy until well past the middle of the century. The precise date of the British winning of full political mastery in Singapore, if in fact such a triumph ever came, can of course not be fixed. Most students of the problem have selected the 1877 establishment of the Chinese Protectorate, headed by the first Chinese-speaking colonial officer, as the turning point. If that date can serve as an historical bench mark,

¹ Raffles to the Resident, Singapore, 25 June 1819, in "Notices of Singapore," *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, Vol. VII (1853), p. 333.

it is to be concluded that the first 58 years of modern Singapore were years of relative political impotence for the British. Symptomatic of this enfeebled condition is the unreliable story that a Chinese, not a Briton, brought the flag of empire to Singapore. Though the tale is fiction, its telling suggests a shrewd assessment of past political realities and expresses a proud folk memory.

It was said that a certain Chow Ah Chee followed Raffles southward from Penang to Singapore. When the boat came near to Singapore, Ah Chee ventured to land with the British flag while Raffles and his company waited for Ah Chee to give the signal for safe landing. Ah Chee was said to be the person who planted the British flag on Singapore soil. And for this action, Raffles later granted him two pieces of land for his community.²

Imagination was required of those who could see a great emporium emerging from the swamps and jungle of Singapore island. Raffles, of course, had such a vision but thousands of Chinese, mostly nameless, were similarly inspired. It is the purpose of this short study to discuss the internal political organization and the leadership of the Chinese pioneers. Before moving on to that task, some description of the origins and labors of these men must be offered as background.

Needless to say, the majority of the Chinese immigrants originated in China. All the ports of the China coast from Hainan island to the Yangtze river, cleared junks carrying men to Singapore, but most of the migrants sailed from the traditional seafaring centers of Kwangtung and Fukien. In the 1830's and 1840's, the fare for the trip, under US \$15, was normally advanced by the immigrant's employer or hiring agent at Singapore. At that time, between six and eight thousand men arrived annually aboard as many as 100 junks which ran south before the north-east monsoon between December and April.³ Though the voyage ordinarily took only ten to twenty days, it could be a horror for frightened and forlorn passengers. All the evidence suggests that few Chinese ever left home in high spirits. Little that was reassuring transpired on the voyage or during the process upon disembarking of being "bought" at perhaps US \$20 for a craftsman down to a fifth of that sum for an invalid.⁴ The sturdier immigrants survived the shock of being transplanted

² Kwok Swee Soo, *An Account of the Sources of Benevolent Assistance which Are Asian in Origin and Organization*, (unpublished research paper for the diploma in social studies, University of Malaya, Singapore, 1954), p. 35.

³ Siah U Chin, "The Chinese in Singapore," *JIAEA*, Vol. II (1848), p. 286; Davidson, G. E., "Plan Proposed for Importing Chinese Mechanics and Laborers from Singapore to New South Wales," *Chinese Repository*, Vol. VI, no. 6 (October, 1837), pp. 299-300.

⁴ "Notes on the Chinese in the Straits," *JIAEA*, Vol. IX (1855), pp. 115-116; "Notes on the Chinese of Pinang," *ibid.*, Vol. VIII (1854), pp. 2-3.

to a raw country and a demanding climate; but the process left them, according to both fact and legend, inclined toward avarice and recalcitrance.

Considerably more fortunate were those Chinese settlers in Singapore who came, not from China, but from Southeast Asian homes. The ancient city of Malacca, where Chinese had sojourned even before the 1511 Portuguese conquest, furnished a major share of those early Singapore Chinese who enjoyed acclimatization by birth. Such men did not feel uprooted. They knew Malay and even commanded some English vocabulary; they were familiar with European methods in business and government; and, most important, they reached Singapore with resources in capital and skills. The fact that the British had briefly restored Malacca to Dutch rule just before Singapore's founding clearly stimulated the flow of migrants from the old town to the new. The conditions of trade in the British free port were magnetic. When modern Singapore was not a month old, the Resident could report: "Inhabitants are flocking in from every quarter notwithstanding the very active and I may add oppressive measures which have been adopted by the Dutch Government of Malacca to put an entire stop to all intercourse with Singapore."⁵

The Malacca Chinese were impressively successful and for a time dominated Singapore. Relatively soon, however, immigrants from China rose to the top. Malacca with under 5000 Chinese in 1829 simply was not large enough to compete with China as a source of settlers.⁶ Yet, for a time, Malacca men were supreme.

The Chinese natives of [Malacca] who resort to Singapore in search of fortune . . . as merchants, shopkeepers and brokers are the life of that commercial town . . .⁷

The Malacca-born Chinese have a virtual monopoly at Singapore, which has itself not yet been long enough established to have produced a generation of adult Chinese.⁸

The far more numerous immigrants from China normally began their Singapore lives in occupations more humble than those of the Malacca migrants. In 1827, for example, 6088 Chinese were reported in Singapore. Of these, parenthetically, only 341 were women and the sex ratio was

⁵ Resident, Singapore to Government, Fort William, 1 March 1819, in Cowan, C. D., "Early Penang and the Rise of Singapore, 1805-1832," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII Pt. 2 (March, 1950), p. 91.

⁶ Chang Li-ch'ien, *Ma-liu-chia shih* (A history of Malacca), (Skingspore; Shang-Wu yin-shu-kuan, 1941), pp. 326-327.

⁷ Balestier, J., "A View of the State of Agriculture in the British Possessions in the Straits of Malacca," *JIAEA*, Vol. 2 (1848), p. 144.

⁸ "Notes on the Chinese in the Straits," *loc. cit.*, p. 115.

to remain of this order of disequilibrium for many decades. 5743 Chinese males were gainfully employed, while only 24 seem to have been without jobs. Of those working, 1222 were in agriculture, 2742 worked in commerce, 1349 were artisans, 427 were "servants and coolies," and 3 were boatmen and fishermen.⁹ Ten years later, close to forty percent of the Singapore Chinese were established in rural areas as agricultural workers. At that time, odd though it might seem to the highly urbanized Singaporeans of today, the island was regarded as promising for the development of pepper and gambier plantations. Rural laborers worked like beasts of burden, lived under primitive conditions in areas unknown to British surveyors and officials, earned only three or four dollars each month, and faced the grisly hazard of having "a man a day taken by tigers." It is not at all surprising to learn that the rural districts of Singapore became infamous for lawlessness.¹⁰ Official alarm over the situation was first expressed in a communication of 1830.

The most important subject of a local nature which I have to submit to the attention of the Honourable Board is the unsettled state of the Population in the Interior; large and formidable gangs of Chinese of the most daring and atrocious character are there assembled, who make irruptions into the Town at night; and in fact subsist by plunder, and set the Police at defiance. This evil is rapidly increasing from the annual influx of additional numbers in the junks, while the means of subsistence do not advance in the same proportion. If the Island were well intersected by Roads, and under efficient Police control, this state of things would be of less consequence . . .¹¹

Singapore's great population of recent settlers needed to improvise arrangements to provide for their religious, social and communal needs. The same was true to a degree for the thousands of transients passing through the city to other Southeast Asian destinations. Understandably, the first religious efforts of these men sought to secure the benevolence of deities in control of the sea and its terrifying forces. Two pioneers from Swatow are supposed by some to have founded a seaside temple in Singapore even before the arrival of Raffles. Subsequently, all Swatow junks passing through the straits reportedly called at the island to permit their complements to propitiate the maritime gods.¹²

⁹ Inspector General to Secretary to the Government, Singapore, 1 June 1827, *Straits Settlements Record*, "Singapore Diary," Vol. CLIV, p. 255.

¹⁰ Newbold, T. J., *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* (London: John Murray, 1839), Vol. I, pp. 286-287; Siah, *loc. cit.*, pp. 286-289; Balestier, *loc. cit.*, p. 145.

¹¹ Minute by the Resident Councillor, Singapore, 2 March 1830, *Straits Settlements Records*, "Singapore Diary," Vol. 162.

¹² P'an Hsing-nung, *Ma-lai-ya Ch'ao-ch'iao t'ung-chien* (History of the Swatow People in Malaya), (Singapore: Nan-tao ch'u pan-she, 1950), p. 29; Goh Peng We, *A Study of the Kinship Relations of Some Teochew Nuclear Families*

Immigrants from the eight districts around Canton and Hakka settlers worshipped at a venerable shrine dating from 1821 also dedicated to the gods of the sea. Their temple, strangely enough, commemorated the drowning in the straits of a learned immigrant. Some seafarers believed that sacrifices to the spirit of the lost scholar insured divine protection. Respect for both the sea and scholarship was thus rendered.¹³

More elaborate religious activities came only when the Chinese population of Singapore could support an ambitious Buddhist temple. In 1837, the Fukienese in the new city established a temple known locally as *Thian Hok Keng* where, among others, the spirit of the Ming dynasty admiral Cheng Ho, virtually canonized as the patron of immigrants, was worshipped. The estimated cost of the completed temple ran close to US \$40,000, a vast sum for a community by no means universally affluent. Such generosity is to be explained by the fact that the worshippers regarded the investment as necessary in the appeasement of the controlling forces of the sea. We are told that when steamship travel made passages to and from China safe and swift, attendance at *Thian Hok Keng* fell perceptibly.¹⁴

In a community of rootless men, many of them impoverished, and all but a few without families, there was also need for institutions to supply physical relief. The well-known secret societies, of course, extended protection to their members.¹⁵ Less sinister bodies served a similar purpose; of particular importance were various voluntary and charitable associations.

The two chief types of mutual support societies formed by the Chinese of Singapore and other overseas locations were those based on common place of origin in China, city, county, province and so on, and on real or supposed kinship evidenced by shared surnames. Typically, these

in Singapore (unpublished research paper for the diploma in social studies University of Malaya in Singapore, 1960), p. 20.

¹³ Yip Peng-Low, *The Taai Paak Kung Chinese Temple, Singapore* (unpublished research paper for the diploma in social studies, University of Malaya, Singapore, 1958), pp. 10-13.

¹⁴ *Hsing-chou shih-nien* (Ten years of Singapore), (Singapore: Hsing-chou jih-pao-she, 1940), pp. 922-923, 1109-1110; Gibson-Hill, C. A., "Six Wooden Images in the Cheng Hoon Teng, Malacca," *JMBRAS*, Vol. XXVIII, pt. 1 (March, 1955), p. 176 citing Major James Lowe, "Extracts from an Unpublished Journal of a Residence at Singapore," *Singapore Free Press*, 16 December 1841.

¹⁵ So much has been written on the many poorly kept secrets of the secret societies that there is no need to go into detail here. Among the best major studies of the subject are: Comber, Leon, *Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya* (Locust Valley, New York: J. J. Augustin, 1959); Schlegel, Gustav, *Thian T' Hwui* (Batavia: Lange, 1866); Ward, J. S. M., Stirling, W. G., *The Hung Society or the Society of Heaven and Earth* (London: Baskerville, 1926); Wynne, W. L., *Triad and Tabut* (unpublished, Singapore: Government Printing Office, 1941).

bodies came to support schools, tend graves, perform sacrificial rites, mediate disputes and support charitable efforts. Available information strongly indicates that the great majority of immigrants sought, through secret and public societies, to create replacements for families and communities left behind in China and a surrogate for government not provided by the remote British. Social clubs of a more frivolous sort began to appear around the middle of the nineteenth century, after Singapore had produced a sufficiently large class of prosperous merchants in search of relaxation. But as a visit to any of the social clubs will suggest today, trade was probably a prime conversational topic long after office hours.¹⁶

The most notable and honored of Chinese humanitarian enterprises was the 1844 founding (to aid the destitute) of the Tan Tock Seng Hospital, still a source of Singaporean pride. Reference to the hospital leads to a description of its founder which, in turn, brings this discussion, at last, to the subject of Chinese leadership. Tan¹⁷ was born in Malacca near the end of the eighteenth century. Coming to Singapore shortly after the British arrival, he started as a vegetable dealer and went on to become a powerful and wealthy merchant. His support of the hospital and other charitable projects brought him recognition, particularly by the British, as a community leader. A son, Tan Kim Seng, carried on his father's traditions in business and community service.¹⁸

Another Malacca-born Chinese of prominence in early Singapore was a man uniformly referred to in the literature by his given name, Chong

¹⁶ Freedman, Maurice, "Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in 19th Century Singapore," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. III (The Hague: Society for the Comparative Study of Society and History, 1961), *passim*; Kwok, *op. cit.*, *passim*; *Nan-yang nien-chien* (Southeast Asia year-book), (Singapore: Nan-yang pao-she, 1951), pp. *kuei* 90-91; *Hsing-chou shih-nien*, *op. cit.*, p. 938; *Ch'en-shih hui-kuan i-shih-erh chou-nien chi-nien t'e-k'an* (Commemorative volume on the 112th anniversary of the Ch'en family association), (Singapore: Ch'en-shih hui-kuan, 1960), p. 24; Sun Wen-ya, *Fan Ma Ch'ung-ch'iao shih-lueh* (An outline history of the Hainanese in Malaya), (Penang: Khung Wah Printers, 1960), p. 67; "Secret Societies among the Chinese in Singapore," *Chinese Repository* Vol. XV, no. 6 (June, 1846), p. 304; Hsu Wu-jung, *Ma-lai-ya Ch'ao-ch'iao yin-hsiang chi* (A record of the impressions of Swatow people on Malaya), (Singapore: Nan-yang shu-chu, 1951), p. 7.

¹⁷ Personal names in the text of this paper are given in the romanizations from the various South China languages preferred by their owners.

¹⁸ Lu Pai-yeh, *Shih-ch'eng san-chi* (Miscellaneous notes on Singapore), (Singapore: Shih-chieh shu-chu, 1953), pp. 6, 37-39; Knight, Arthur, "Tan Tock Seng's Hospital, Singapore," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 64 (June, 1913), pp. 72-73; *Hsing-chou shih-nien*, *op. cit.*, pp. 1009, 1047-1048; Vaughan, Jonas Daniel, *Manners and Customs of the Chinese of the Straits Settlements* (Singapore: Mission Press, 1879), p. 51.

For further biographical treatment of the men presented here, readers are referred to a unique and invaluable book: Song Ong Siang, *One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore* (London: John Murray, 1923).

Long. (The family name according to the Wade-Giles system was Ts'ai.⁴) As his father had been the Chinese Captain of Malacca under Dutch rule, Chong Long clearly enjoyed advantages in terms of his knowledge of Europeans and their ways. In his early thirties, Chong Long migrated to Singapore shortly after its commercial opening and rose to become the wealthiest and most respected of the first generation of merchants in the town. He was particularly attractive to the British whom he entertained generously.¹⁹

Born in Canton in 1763, emigrating to the Straits at 15, was another highly successful Singapore merchant, known by his given name, Che Sang or Che Song. (His family name, in Wade-Giles romanization, was Ch'en.²) This man built up a fortune based initially upon his construction and operation, under British license, of the town's public market. Che Sang furthermore was the recognized and self-acknowledged leader of the dominant secret society of his time. So powerful was this man that the British authorities sought his help in the pacification of the criminal bands based in the rural areas of the island. There is even one report that Che Sang was acquitted in 1829 of a charge of attempted poisoning because the magistrate feared the consequences of conviction. In any case, it is clear that Che Sang was one of the many leaders who was a buffer between the Chinese settlers and "the government of the red-haired devils."²⁰

Coming to Singapore in 1830 at 15 to work in his father's firm was another Cantonese, universally known as Whampoa. This man won his fortune as compradore for ships of the Royal Navy and the merchant fleets calling at the port. Though he denied any secret society links, the British, on occasion, used his influence to help put down the fights between contending brotherhoods which became the drama of mid-nineteenth century Singapore.²¹ Whampoa's place in the esteem of his British contemporaries is revealed in the following typical example of many expressions of admiration:

Whampoa . . . was the centre of social life and hospitality here for so long, and . . . made Singapore a blessed spot for the Royal Navy, the mercantile marine and many travellers. His real name was Hoh Ah Kay,

¹⁹ Lu, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Makepeace, Walter, *et al.*, *One Hundred Years of Singapore* (London: John Murray, 1921), p. 500; Buckley, Charles Burton, *An Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore* (Singapore: Fraser and Neave, 1902), Vol. I, p. 216.

²⁰ Lu, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Buckley, *op. cit.*, p. 74; Minute, *op. cit.*; Comber, Leon "Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya," *JMBRAS*, Vol. XXIX, pt. 1 (May 1956), p. 150.

²¹ *Nan-yang nien-chien*, *op. cit.*, pp. kwei 97-98; "Secret Societies among the Chinese in Singapore," *loc. cit.*, p. 306.

but having been born at Whampoa, near Canton, about 1816, he got the nick-name of Whampoa, which became so settled that he actually appears under that name as member of the Legislative Council in the *Government Gazette*, with his real name in brackets. Mr. Whampoa died in 1880, the most respected and best-liked Chinaman who has ever been in Singapore . . .²²

Seah Eu Chin, also known as Siah U Chin, another early leader, won respect in a manner somewhat different than that of the men presented above. Seah migrated from Swatow to Singapore in 1823 and pioneered in pepper and gambier planting. His reputation was built upon his scholarly command of Chinese and his knowledge of English. Seah was thus something of an overseas representative of the Chinese literati. His counsel in Chinese affairs was regularly sought by the British; and, like Whampoa and others, he was often asked to urge the secret societies to halt their street warfare.²³

The men so briefly described were by no means the only influential Chinese in Singapore; they merely serve here as possibly representative of the leadership of their people and time. To define a leader in this context is a task not without difficulties. The point at which an individual is elevated from a position of obscurity to one of leadership can be rather arbitrarily designated. One measure is imposed by the written sources available. If a man was not able to have his name significantly recorded in the archives and publications of and on his period, his achievements are lost to history. In view of the paramount role of the secret societies and of course of their heads in the affairs of the overseas Chinese in the previous century, it is far from improbable that some of the most potent leaders were chiefs of the brotherhoods who wisely and successfully shunned publicity. To speak, then, of Chinese leadership is to speak only or primarily of those men whose names got into print.

Having offered this warning, it is possible to present some conclusions on the nature of Singaporean Chinese leadership, a century and more ago. The place of origin of the leaders shaped their roles in the settlement. In the early decades Swatow immigrants, known as Tio-Chiu, Te Chu or Teochew men, were the most numerous; the second largest community was made up of men from southern coastal Fukien, the so-called Hokkiens. Next in size came the relatively small Cantonese community, followed by the Hakkas, the Malacca people and, finally, a tiny number of Haina-

²² Makepeace, *op. cit.*, pp. 498-499.

²³ Buckley, *op. cit.*, p. 151; *Hsing-chou shih-nien*, *op. cit.*, pp. 999-1002; Hsu, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3; Lu, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

nese.²⁴ As stated earlier, the migrants from Malacca enjoyed an early advantage in Singapore and held positions of wealth and power disproportionate to their small number. One index of success in the community was marriage; the Malacca men were far more likely than others to be able to afford the rare luxury of wives. It must of course be parenthetically observed that such men had family connections in their native city which facilitated marriages with women of their own background. Among the other Chinese of Singapore, marriage was restricted all but exclusively to owners of shops and trading firms. Communities comparatively low on the economic ladder, such as that of the Cantonese, contained few women; the Hokkiens, by way of contrast, having been more successful in commerce had a higher marriage rate.²⁵ For what it may be worth, the thought can be offered in passing that the secret societies enlisted the most active support from the depressed and celibate communities. Perhaps, research will one day establish that the increased marriage rate of the late nineteenth century was the chief cause of the contemporaneous decline of the secret societies. At this point, it can be pointed out that in early British Singapore, the brotherhoods seem to have had their strongest hold on the Cantonese and Swatow communities. The Malacca men were, or claimed to be aloof; others, such as Whampoa, made similar displays of independence. It is not to be forgotten, however, that the British periodically called upon Whampoa, Seah Eu Chin, Tan Kim Seng and others to help pacify riotous bands of secret society members. The success of such efforts suggests that a tie between these most prestigious men and the brotherhoods did in fact exist. In view of the firm grip of the societies in which the city was held for so many years, it does seem improbable that any prominent Chinese could have operated in commerce and politics without tacit and covert endorsement from the clandestine organizations.²⁶

The public leadership activities of the selected men under discussion here are of course more fully recorded. Such endeavors can be divided into two interrelated categories: support for, and interaction with the British, and service to the Chinese communities. Help to the colonial authorities in checking secret society violence has already been discussed. Passing mention of the social and business contacts between Chinese leaders and the British has also been made; it is useful here, however, to

²⁴ Siah, *loc. cit.*, p. 290; Newbold, *op. cit.*, p. 283; Inspector General, *op. cit.*; Goh, *op. cit.*

²⁵ Siah, *loc. cit.*, p. 290.

²⁶ Lu, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Minute, *op. cit.*; Pickering, W. A., "Chinese Secret Societies and their Origin," *JSBRAS*, no. 1 (July 1878), p. 66; Comber, *loc. cit.*, p. 150; "Secret Societies among the Chinese in Singapore," *loc. cit.*, pp. 300-306.

offer the thought that such informal exchanges may well have been the key to the effectiveness of the Chinese leadership. The chief function of the leaders was to serve as the communications tie between the European upper stratum and the Chinese populace. Virtually everything the British learned of the Chinese community was passed on and interpreted to them by the Chinese elite. Correspondingly, the Chinese masses depended upon their leadership for information on, and explanations of the actions, motives and directions of the British merchants and administrators. The links were no doubt tenuous, but the Chinese leaders were at the apex of the communications pyramid over which information flowed. No historical source will ever reveal the volume of the communication between Chinese and Britons across the business counter or the dinner table, but what can be learned from the record leaves no doubt that the exchange was regular and substantial.

More formal arrangements in support of the role of the Chinese leaders as communications channels were maintained. A number of these men served as justices of the peace; some were appointed to the government's council. The first such official appointment came as early as 1822. During its first years, the chamber of commerce included Chinese members.²⁷ There, of course, never was one man who could be the chief representative of the Chinese in Singapore for the population was too fragmented into sub-communities to permit the recognition of a single paramount leader. This state of affairs complicated the limited efforts of the British to understand and administer the Chinese under their flag and, consequently, added to the Chinese ability to enjoy mysterious semi-autonomy.

Specialized public services of many sorts were rendered by the leaders. The Tan Tock Seng hospital is the most illustrious and enduring example of philanthropy. There were many others. Support for temples and the charitable work of various associations was given; land for roads was donated; funds for education were raised; and, even the town water supply was insured through the support of a private Chinese.²⁸ These positive services naturally enhanced the prestige of the leaders and thus added to their effectiveness. Later generations of leaders built upon these traditions of service and communication to guide the Chinese population of Singapore in responses to reform and revolution in China, Japanese attack and, most recently, independence. The membership, the methods and the actions of the elite have all changed over the years, yet the pattern of leadership was drawn in the first decades of Singapore's modern history.

²⁷ Lu; Hsu; Makepeace; Song, *passim*.

²⁸ Gibson-Hill, *loc. cit.*, pp. 178-179; Lu, *loc. cit.*, pp. 6, 37-39; "Secret Societies among the Chinese in Singapore," *loc. cit.*, p. 304; *Hsing-chou shih-nien*, *op. cit.*, pp. 938, 1109-1110.