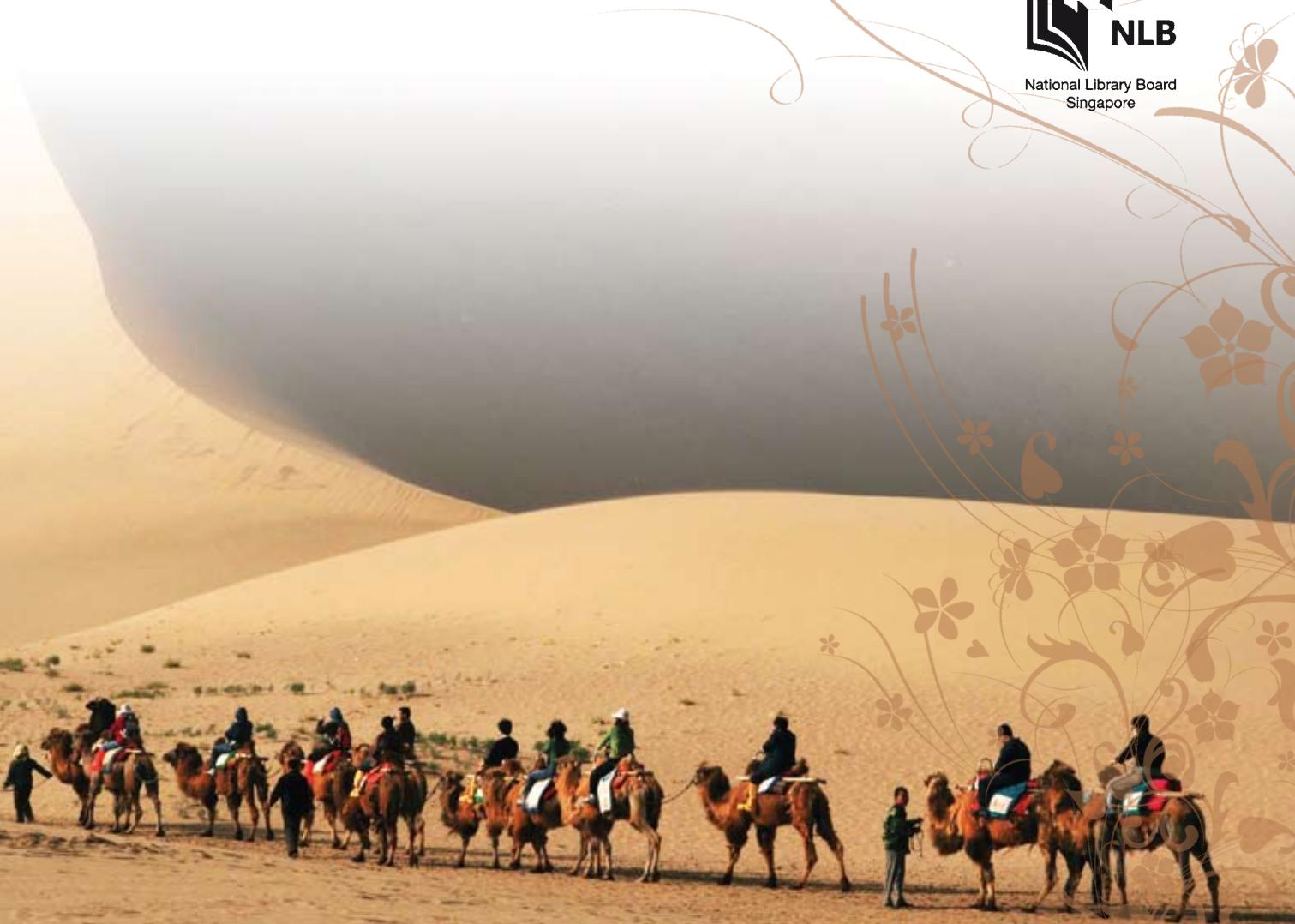


# biblioasia

ISSN: 0219-8126



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Cover: Dunhuang, China

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ISSN: 0219-8126

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# director's column

The National Library Board launched a National Essay Competition and the "Singapore: The First Ten Years of Independence" guide on 29 March 2008. The essay competition and guide aim to help younger Singaporeans understand and learn about the challenges and contributions of the first Cabinet of the Republic of Singapore formed in 1965. The essay competition is targeted at secondary school students and will be held from 29 March to 20 June 2008. If you wish to participate, please log on to <http://firstcabinet.nl.sg> for more details.

In this issue, Bouchaib Silm, one of the National Library's researchers has written an article titled "Reviving the Silk Road and the Role of Singapore". It looks into how Singapore can take advantage of its global reputation in the region to bridge Asia and the Middle East. This role can become significant as the latter has the great potential to rise as a new global economic power.

Also in this issue, we feature a second article by Clement Liew, a PhD candidate at the National Institute of Education. In the article, he provided a detailed account of how indigenous ethnic Chinese and dialectal groups founded their own Catholic parish from 1888 to 1935.

In another feature, "Eyes on Nature: The Glorious Periods of Picturing Natural History", we bring you on a journey to rediscover the beautiful world of plants, animals and nature created as images for documentation and study. It is refreshing to see how the scientific study of nature resulted in the creation of a rich collection of pictures in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century when advanced printing methods were first introduced.

One of our Lee Kong Chian Research Fellows, Leander Seah, has written an extract of his paper that he had presented upon completion of his Fellowship with the National Library. Entitled "Conceptualizing the Chinese World: Jinan University, Lee Kong Chian and the Nanyang Connection 1900 - 1942", Leander shares with us his understanding of the Chinese world by taking the unconventional approach of examining the history of Jinan University and the experiences of a few of its outstanding students such as the late philanthropist, Dr Lee Kong Chian. If you wish to find out details on joining the Lee Kong Chian Research Fellowship, the brochure and application form are available for download at <http://www.nlb.gov.sg>.

Following our introduction of *Hikayat Abdullah*, the autobiography of Munshi Abdullah Abdul Kadir, in the previous issue, we are pleased to present you with interesting stories recorded in *Hikayat Abdullah*, translated from Jawi. This issue highlights the landing of Colonel Farquhar in Singapore. Another article in this issue of BiblioAsia highlights the musical contributions of Edwin Arthur Brown to Singapore in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

After the KaalaChakra ('Wheel of Time') exhibition on the early Indian Influences in Southeast Asia, the National Library will be staging another epic exhibition on the legacy of Tan Kah Kee and Lee Kong Chian and their contributions to Singapore and Malaysia. It will be held at Level 10 of the National Library from 18 July 2008. In this issue, our two research trips to Lee Kong Chian's enterprises in Johore, Malaysia, in preparation for the exhibition, are described in a news article.

We are also pleased to announce the launch of the "French Corner" located on Level 7 of the National Library on 28 March 2008. The collection, which is financially contributed by the French Government, includes titles on classical French literary works, philosophy, humanities and the social sciences.

The National Library Board subscribes to more than 140 electronic databases and you can access a large number of them at the privacy of your home or from your office. In this second instalment, we feature electronic databases beginning with the letters 'B' and 'C'. Do look out for the other electronic resources in subsequent issues.

In the meantime, please keep your comments and feedback coming. We look forward to seeing you at the National Library.



**Ms Ngian Lek Choh**  
Director  
National Library

# *Reviving the Silk Road and the Role of Singapore*

by BOUCHAIB SILM  
Researcher, National Library

**AS THE MIDDLE EAST** and Asia realise the benefits to be gained from collaboration, the prospects of reviving ties between the two regions have grown more than ever before. The possibility of the Middle East emerging as a new economic giant in this new century has given rise to romantic notions of a "New Silk Road" that would link Asia and the Middle East in a revival of the old trans-regional arc of mutual prosperity. While China's capital Chang'an had served as the point of departure for travellers using the Silk Road, today, Singapore could perhaps be the modern-day Chang'an and build the bridge between Asia and the Middle East as both Arabs and Asians rediscover each other.

#### **Singapore and the Middle East: Increasing Mutual Cooperation**

For Singapore, serious engagement with the Middle East began in 2004 when Singapore's Senior Minister Goh Chok Tong made a series of high-level official visits to Middle East.<sup>1</sup>

In June 2005, Singapore also hosted the inaugural Asia-Middle East Dialogue (AMED), providing an unprecedented platform for countries from the two regions to come together to discuss issues and areas of mutual concern.<sup>2</sup> AMED enabled policy makers, intellectuals and businessmen to discover the huge opportunities for cooperation and led to several bilateral agreements between countries in the two regions. As a follow up, the Singapore Business Federation launched the Middle East Business Group in March 2007. It set out two objectives: to foster strong ties between business chambers and companies from both sides and to provide consultations for local companies with business interests in the Middle East.<sup>3</sup>

#### **New Markets and Businesses**

Many Middle Eastern economies, especially the Gulf Cooperation Council states (GCC) - comprising Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain



**Table 2: Arab and World Oil Reserves, 2001–2005**

	(Billion barrels at year end)					% Change 2005/2004
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005*	
Algeria	11.31	11.31	11.80	11.35	11.35	0.0
Bahrain	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.12	(7.7)
Egypt	3.70	3.70	3.70	3.70	3.70	0.0
Iraq	115.00	115.00	115.00	115.00	115.00	0.0
Kuwait(a)	96.50	96.50	99.00	101.50	101.50	0.0
Libya	36.00	36.00	39.13	39.13	39.13	0.0
Qatar	15.21	15.21	15.21	15.21	15.21	0.0
Saudi Arabia(a)	262.70	262.79	262.73	264.31	264.31	0.0
Syria	3.15	3.15	3.15	3.15	3.15	0.0
Tunisia	0.31	0.31	0.31	0.31	0.31	0.0
UAE	97.80	97.80	97.80	97.80	97.80	0.0
<b>Total OAPEC</b>	<b>641.81</b>	<b>641.90</b>	<b>647.96</b>	<b>651.59</b>	<b>651.58</b>	<b>0.0</b>
Oman	5.90	5.71	5.57	5.57	5.51	(1.1)
Sudan	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81	6.32	680.2
Yemen	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	0.0
<b>Total Arab Countries</b>	<b>652.52</b>	<b>652.42</b>	<b>658.34</b>	<b>661.97</b>	<b>667.41</b>	<b>0.8</b>
<b>Total OPEC</b>	<b>847.91</b>	<b>881.68</b>	<b>890.73</b>	<b>896.67</b>	<b>896.67</b>	<b>0.0</b>
<b>World Total</b>	<b>1,081.65</b>	<b>1,113.48</b>	<b>1,126.60</b>	<b>1,129.39</b>	<b>1,131.64</b>	<b>0.4</b>
OAPEC/World (%)	59.3	57.6	57.5	57.7	57.6	
Arab Countries/World (%)	60.3	58.6	58.4	58.6	59.0	
OPEC/World (%)	78.4	79.2	79.1	79.4	79.2	

a) Includes half of the reserves of the Divided Zone.

\* Preliminary estimates.

#### Arab and World Oil Reserves, 2001 - 2005

Source: *Arab Oil and Gas Directory*. (2007). Paris: Arab Petroleum Research Center

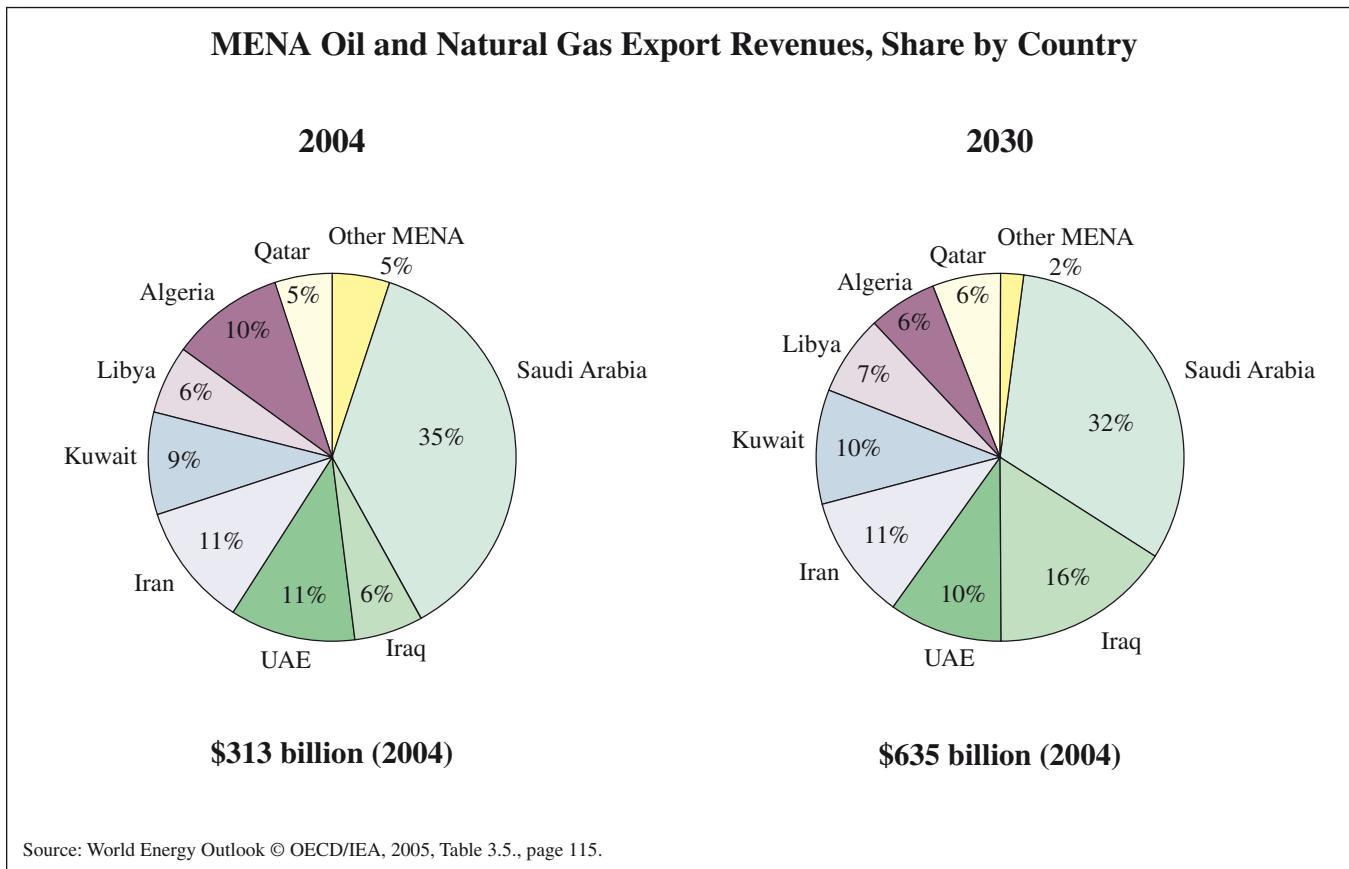
and Oman - are witnessing an unprecedented increase in revenues because of sustained oil prices over the last few years. Together with Iran, the Gulf States account for 84% of the world's known recoverable oil reserves.<sup>4</sup> In 2006, world oil demand also grew by 0.9%, hence benefiting the oil producers.<sup>5</sup> In a recent study done by financial investment company Arcapital, it was reported that for the past five years, the GCC's collective annual current-account surplus had risen from US\$25bn to over US\$200bn.<sup>6</sup> The study revealed that official reserves had doubled from US\$51bn in 2002 to US\$98bn in 2007, and were expected to reach US\$100bn by 2008.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, while this has positive implications on the local economy and social life of the people, it has the potential to bring about more conflicts and instability to the region. Indeed, in the last 25 years, many wars in the regions were fought over oil<sup>8</sup>. Cases in point would be the Iraq-Iran war from 1980 to 1988, the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq in 1990 and the war in Iraq to liberate Kuwait in 1991. Even the invasion of Iraq in 2003 could possibly be construed as being motivated by the desire to secure oil resources in Iraq.

Besides the cash surplus generated from the energy industry, one should take note of the rise of a new business elite in the Gulf States. Members of this group have studied in well-known Western Universities and have good business

knowledge. This new elite comprises youths who are equipped with capital, knowledge and ambition and are eager to move away from the energy business. Although it is too early to speculate that more of these elite's investments would find its way to Asian markets, especially China, Singapore, India and Malaysia, it would certainly be interesting to watch an important group of these investors daring to take risks in their homeland by investing in new economic sectors such as tourism, bio-industry and real estate. It is possible that these young businessmen possess more decisiveness in taking charge of their wealth and the capacity for growth. Current geopolitical developments are also in favour of such a shift. The Middle Eastern governments are also seeing the need to support and establish the policy framework for these elite to embark on new businesses.

#### What Makes Singapore the Ideal Partner?

With just a surface area of 692.7km, Singapore sets an exceptional success story. On the world map Singapore is but a tiny red dot. Nevertheless, despite having no natural resources such as oil and gas, the island is today one of the world's most developed nations. Good governance, good planning and strong adherence to the rule of law are just some of the contributing factors to the success story.



#### MENA Oil and Natural Gas Export Revenues, Share by Country

Source: *Arab Oil and Gas Directory*. (2007). Paris: Arab Petroleum Research Center

Today the name Singapore is synonymous with sophisticated infrastructures, cleanliness, efficiency, good governance and many other factors that have contributed to the success of the country. Such factors have enabled the country to attract more business from all over the world. To cite one example, the World Bank report has ranked Singapore as the world's easiest place to do business. As Table 1 shows<sup>9</sup>, Singapore is ranked first, ahead of several countries with long business traditions and capabilities such as the United States and Hong Kong.

Singapore has been strong in industries such as oil refining, ship repairing and electronic. Recently the country is also moving towards non-electronic industries such as the bio-chemicals and finance.<sup>10</sup> A good indication of the country's economic power is the consistent surplus of exports over imports as indicated in Table 2.<sup>11</sup>

One may contend that a rich country is not necessarily a developed one. However, Singapore is different: the country does not have any natural resources. Indeed, the country's exports comprised mainly electronic products, scientific instruments, crude material, chemical products and technology.<sup>12</sup> Singapore companies are involved in big projects in many countries in Asia or Middle East.<sup>13</sup>

#### The New Silk Road

The Silk Road or the Silk Route is the most well known trading route of ancient Chinese civilisation. It was discovered more

TABLE 1: WORLD'S EASIEST PLACE TO DO BUSINESS

RANK	COUNTRY
1	Singapore
2	New Zealand
3	United States
4	Canada
5	Hong Kong
6	United Kingdom
7	Denmark
8	Australia
9	Norway
10	Ireland

Source: World Bank report: Doing Business 2007: How to Reform  
Retrieved from [http://www.edb.gov.sg/edb/sg/en\\_uk/index/why\\_singapore/singapore\\_rankings.html](http://www.edb.gov.sg/edb/sg/en_uk/index/why_singapore/singapore_rankings.html)

TABLE 2: SINGAPORE'S TRADE FIGURES, 2001 - 2006

YEAR	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Total Import	207,692	208,312	237,316	293,337	333,191	378,924
Total Export	218,026	223,901	278,615	335,615	382,532	431,559

Source: *Yearbook of Statistics Singapore*. (2007). Singapore: Department of Statistics, Ministry of Trade and Industry

than 2,000 years ago by Chang Chi'in, a Chinese traveller who had crossed China on a secret military mission that would later help China discover Europe and the origins of the Silk Road.<sup>14</sup> Travelling more than 7,000 kilometres, horse caravans crossed China, Central Asia, and the Middle East, carrying cosmetics, rare plants, medicines, aromatic items, spices woods, books and others.<sup>15</sup> However, silk was the most important product because the Romans and Arabs appreciated it. The Romans desired it to the extent that during the times when demand for silk increased

substantially, Rome had to pay for it with vast amounts of gold.<sup>16</sup> Both the Silk Road and China achieved its greatest glory during the Tang Dynasty (618-907), which is generally regarded as China's "golden age."<sup>17</sup> Its capital Chang'an, "the Rome of Asia", which served as the point of departure for travellers using the Silk Road, was one of the most cosmopolitan cities then.<sup>18</sup>

Singapore would perhaps perform the task of Chang'an in this modern era. Singapore enjoys a good reputation among its neighbours and the international community.

### Merchandise Exports

Region/ Country	Total merchandise exports			Oil exports		Nonoil exports			Ores and metals exports		Agricultural exports	
	Billion US\$ 1998– 2000	US\$ per capita 1998– 2000	% to GDP 1998– 2000	Billion US\$ 1998– 2000 <sup>a</sup>	% to GDP 1998– 2000	Billion US\$ 1998– 2000 <sup>a</sup>	US\$ per capita 1998– 2000	% to GDP 1998– 2000	Billion US\$ 1998– 2000	% to GDP 1998– 2000	Billion US\$ 1998– 2000 <sup>a</sup>	% to GDP 1998– 2000
<b>MENA</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>704</b>	<b>28.7</b>	<b>130.8</b>	<b>23.0</b>	<b>55.2</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>9.7</b>	<b>114.3</b>	<b>19.6</b>	<b>5.9</b>	<b>1.0</b>
<b>Non-GCC</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>17.8</b>	<b>38.8</b>	<b>11.9</b>	<b>22.6</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>6.9</b>	<b>40.5</b>	<b>11.8</b>	<b>5.0</b>	<b>1.4</b>
Algeria	15	494	29.9	14.3	28.9	0.5	17	1.0	14.4	29.1	0.0	0.1
Djibouti	0	34	3.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Egypt, Arab Rep. of	4	60	4.2	1.3	1.4	2.5	40	2.8	1.5	1.6	0.5	0.6
Iran, Islamic Rep. of	21	332	20.6	17.6	17.4	3.2	52	3.2	17.8	17.6	1.0	0.9
Jordan	2	389	22.5	0.0	0.0	1.8	389	22.5	0.4	5.1	0.2	2.6
Lebanon	1	160	4.2	—	—	0.7	—	4.2	0.04	0.2	0.1	0.9
Morocco	7	259	21.0	0.2	0.5	7.1	252	20.5	0.9	2.5	1.7	4.9
Syrian Arab Republic	4	232	22.6	2.5	15.2	1.2	76	7.4	2.5	15.5	0.7	4.3
Tunisia	6	616	29.0	0.5	2.5	5.3	563	26.5	0.6	2.9	0.6	3.0
Yemen, Rep. of	3	157	34.6	2.5	32.2	0.2	11	2.4	2.5	32.3	0.1	1.0
<b>GCC</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>4,366</b>	<b>41.1</b>	<b>92.0</b>	<b>38.3</b>	<b>32.6</b>	<b>472</b>	<b>13.6</b>	<b>73.8</b>	<b>30.7</b>	<b>0.9</b>	<b>0.4</b>
Bahrain	4	6,554	63.1	2.9	42.0	1.5	—	21.1	—	—	0.0	0.2
Kuwait	14	7,156	44.4	10.9	35.1	2.9	1,506	9.4	10.9	35.2	0.0	0.1
Oman	8	3,349	43.8	6.0	33.2	1.9	808	10.6	6.1	33.7	0.3	1.9
Qatar	8	14,055	64.6	7.2	58.2	0.8	1,387	6.4	7.2	58.3	0.0	0.0
Saudi Arabia	56	2,758	31.2	49.5	27.7	6.3	309	3.5	49.6	27.8	0.5	0.3
United Arab Emirates	35	12,386	62.5	15.6	27.9	19.3	—	34.6	—	—	—	—

### Merchandise Exports

Source: *Trade, Investments in the Middle East and North Africa, Engaging with the World*. (2003). Washington D.C.: World Bank

## Merchandise Imports

Region/ country	Total imports			Manufacturing imports			Agricultural imports		
	Billion US\$ 1998– 2000	US\$ per capita 1998– 2000	% to GDP 1998– 2000	Billion US\$ 1998– 2000	US\$ per capita 1998– 2000	% to GDP 1998– 2000	Billion US\$ 1998– 2000	US\$ per capita 1998– 2000	% to GDP 1998– 2000
<b>MENA</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>588</b>	<b>24.0</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>324</b>	<b>14.4</b>	<b>24.3</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>4.1</b>
<b>Non-GCC</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>21.5</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>210</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>4.9</b>
Algeria	9	308	18.7	6	204	12.4	2.9	96	5.8
Djibouti	0	314	36.4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Egypt, Arab Rep. of	15	245	17.1	9	145	10.1	4.2	68	4.7
Iran, Islamic Rep. of	14	219	13.6	10	163	10.1	2.8	45	2.8
Jordan	4	850	49.2	3	540	31.3	0.9	194	11.3
Lebanon	7	1,523	39.6	4	921	23.9	1.3	315	8.2
Morocco	11	375	30.4	7	252	20.5	1.9	66	5.4
Syrian Arab Republic	4	244	23.8	2	152	14.8	0.8	54	5.2
Tunisia	8	895	42.1	7	700	32.9	1.0	106	5.0
Yemen, Rep. of	2	127	28.1	1	70	15.5	0.8	46	10.2
<b>GCC</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>2,845</b>	<b>26.8</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>1,403</b>	<b>14.6</b>	<b>7.6</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>3.1</b>
Bahrain	4	5,937	57.2	—	—	—	0.2	244	2.3
Kuwait	8	4,052	25.2	6	3,240	20.1	0.9	470	2.9
Oman	5	2,185	28.6	4	1,587	20.8	1.1	455	5.9
Qatar	3	5,630	25.9	3	4,501	20.7	0.3	455	2.1
Saudi Arabia	29	1,457	16.5	23	1,120	12.7	5.2	257	2.9
United Arab Emirates	32	11,236	56.7	—	—	—	—	—	—

## Merchandise Imports

Source: *Trade, Investments in the Middle East and North Africa, Engaging with the World.* (2003). Washington D.C.: World Bank

Its sophisticated infrastructures, strategic location and favourable business environment are but some of the several factors that would enable Singapore to take the lead in reconnecting Asia and the Middle East. Indeed, all the developments- (including political, economic and social) forecast a revival of the Silk Road. History has always played a role in linking disparate regions, as seen from the trading links between Middle East via Arab traders in Singapore.<sup>19</sup> It is these established networks that enable Singapore and the Middle East to enhance their cooperation and exchanges towards a more vital and dynamic relationship.

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# Conceiving Ethnic-dialectal Church Communities: A Mission Growth Strategy from 1888-1935

by CLEMENT LIEW

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**THE FRENCH ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION (MEP)** in Singapore found that Church growth along ethnic lines was an effective strategy for indigenising and Asianising the local Catholic community in the pre-war years. It was towards the turn of the century that the various dialectal communities within the Chinese Catholic Mission became sufficiently large enough to form separate parishes of their own. The emergence of these ethnic-dialectal communities not only reflected the more settled nature of a Church that was composed of families who were beginning to root themselves to the land, but also constituted a growth strategy that led to the creation of a localised and “Asianised” Church.

#### **Conceiving Ethnic-dialectal Communities**

To foster an indigenised Chinese Catholic community, the missionaries had to foster amongst the Chinese Christians, a notion that as a whole, they constituted a distinct community, and as a community, they had a sufficient stake in Singapore to choose settlement over continual migration. To achieve this, the Church had to organise its various communities along the lines of language and ethnicity, and give them a place of their own to congregate and erect their communal social institutions. Hence, towards the turn of the century, while there was only one Chinese Catholic community, the need to further develop and root the Chinese Catholic community necessitated the Mission to form enclaves along dialectal lines. Although the pioneering Chinese parishes at Bukit Timah, Serangoon and in town were partly constituted by Chinese Christians from various dialect groups, they were nevertheless

designated Teochew parishes, as the main body of the Chinese Christians were Teochews<sup>1</sup>.

In Serangoon, the Teochew Catholic community enjoyed rapid growth from the 1880s. From just 328 parishioners in 1883, this isolated Catholic community had grown to 700 by 1903, and this excluded the 350 at the Johor Bahru mission station, which was considered as part of the Serangoon parish. By 1916, the parish numbered 1,200, and was overseeing three schools, two for boys and one for girls, with 70 boys and 40 girls respectively<sup>2</sup>. One reason for the Serangoon church's impressive growth was that its progress had followed closely the economic progress of the district. The islands that faced the Serangoon and Punggol coastline had formed a natural estuary that favoured the development of a fishing industry and coconut cultivation<sup>3</sup>. By the 1890s, most of the Chinese Christians at Serangoon were either coconut planters or fishermen<sup>4</sup>, and their economic situation was invariably tied to the presence of the Church there. By this time, the Church had more than 50 acres of land in the district of which a large part was rented to parishioners for homes and farms<sup>5</sup>.

The plantations reared chickens and ducks in the natural ponds that were found all over the district in order that the droppings from the poultry might be used as manure.<sup>6</sup> Many hired labourers from these plantations were eventually converted to Catholicism. At the sea front, a thriving fishing industry had also developed by 1900. Many young Chinese men who had come together to fish, lived in groups of eight or nine, in huts raised above the water, which they called "Yu Liao".<sup>7</sup> By 1910, there were several dozens of such "Yu Liaos" all across the Serangoon-Punggol coastline, and many young men from these huts were also converted to Christianity.

In 1906, when 100 parishioners of this mission station migrated closer to the Punggol coastline, Fr Saleilles, the parish priest of the station, erected a two-level house near them, where the ground floor was used as a chapel as well as a school for the Chinese of the district. Over time, this little Teochew Catholic enclave converted a number of Chinese residing there.<sup>8</sup> By the 1920s, a large and visible Teochew Catholic enclave had emerged at the end of Serangoon Road, and such was the success of this enclave that the Bishop called it a "Catholic oasis"<sup>9</sup>. In 1921, as an indication of the importance of this parish, the Serangoon church's presbytery was chosen as a temporary site when the Mission wanted a local minor seminary to prepare young candidates for priesthood before sending them off to the major seminary at Penang. A proper seminary, christened St Francis Xavier Minor Seminary was finally erected next to the church in 1925.<sup>10</sup>

In town, there existed only two parishes till the 1870s: the European and Eurasian Catholics were considered "parishioners" of the Church of the Good Shepherd (made Cathedral in 1888) while the Mission's Asiatic Christians were all housed under one roof within the Chinese Mission Church of Sts Peter and Paul, making the development of a distinct communal identity for the Chinese Mission in town much more difficult. It was especially so for the Indian Christians who had been placed within the Chinese Mission since the 1860s. By the 1880s, as the number of Indian Christians had grown sufficiently large enough to have their own church, steps were taken to separate the Indian Catholic Mission from the Chinese. Though many of the Indian Christians were still sojourners at this time, an increasing number had begun to form families in Singapore.<sup>11</sup>

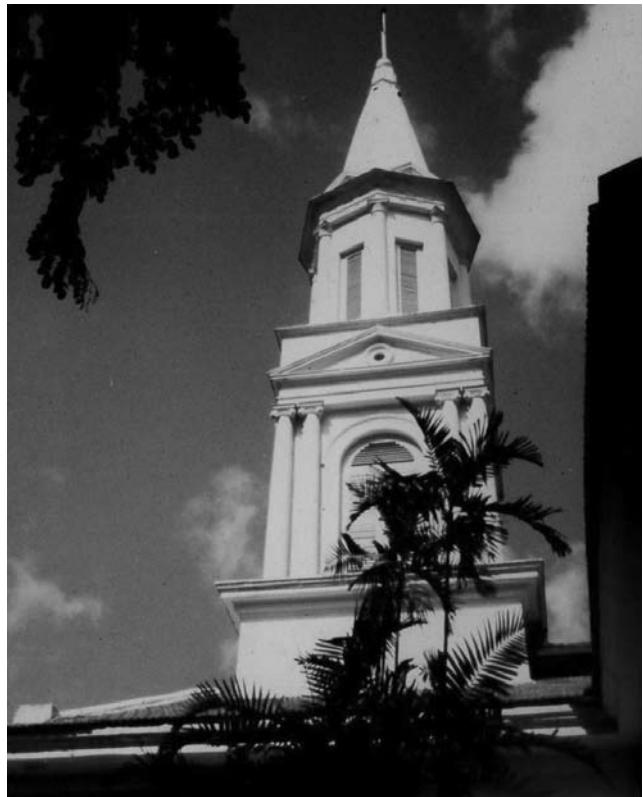
By the mid-1880s, when there were 400 Indian Catholics at Sts Peter and Paul, the want of a parish of their own was never more felt. They found it increasingly more difficult to share the same premises with the Chinese Catholics.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, following the death of Fr Paris in 1883, there was no missionary who knew both languages, and hence, the Chinese and Indian Christians were assigned separate missionaries. In 1885, the missionary of the Indian Mission, Fr Meneuvrier, found a piece of ground along Ophir Road to build the Indian Christians their first church. It was completed in early 1888 and dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes.<sup>13</sup>

The departure of the Indian Christians from the Chinese Catholic Mission did not leave Sts Peter and Paul a homogeneous parish. There remained a Chinese Catholic community divided by a multiplicity of Chinese dialects. In 1883, the Church of Sts Peter and Paul had only 795 Chinese Christians in its fold, but by 1900, there were 2,200.<sup>14</sup> As early as 1889, the Bishop noticed that there was a great proliferation of Chinese families among the various Chinese Catholic dialect groupings in the Straits.<sup>15</sup> In fact, by the early 1900s, the Bishop became concerned that the fast growing Chinese Mission and its increasing diversity would prove problematic to the Church, as he noted in his annual report to Rome:

"Without counting the multiplicity of Chinese dialects, one can count seven in the parish of Fr Gazeau (Sts Peter and Paul). A big [sic] difficulty is felt more and more. In fact, there are three distinct classes of Chinese in Singapore: Those who were born in China; those who are born in Singapore and converse in Chinese; and the Straits-born Chinese (Peranakans). Several in this last group have already cut off the tresses of their hair".<sup>16</sup>

By the last decade of the century, the Cantonese and Hakka Christians at Sts Peter and Paul had grown so numerous that they began clamouring for a church of their own. In 1895, after a short visit by a Cantonese priest from China, the Cantonese Christians of Sts Peter and Paul called for the creation of a parish of their own. They were granted their request, and a separate Cantonese Mission was created in 1895 with its own services, although they remained under the same roof with the others at Sts Peter and Paul.<sup>17</sup> Yet, the desire for separate premises was still very much hoped for.<sup>18</sup> Hence, a piece of land at Wayang Street was purchased in 1897 to build the new church. Three prominent members of Sts Peter and Paul: Chan Teck Hee, Low Kiok Chiang and Chong Quee Thiam, each paid a third of the total cost of the land which amounted to \$16,000.<sup>19</sup>

The Mission decided to place the Hakka Christians with the Cantonese in this new church dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.<sup>20</sup> However, due to some complications, the property was sold and the present one at Tank Road was purchased in 1903. Although a public subscription was started for the building of the main church, the Mission still had to depend on the generosity of Chan Teck Hee



**The steeple of the Cathedral of the Good Shepherd, 1995**



**Cathedral of the Good Shepherd, 1910s**

to erect the church's presbytery cum orphanage in 1906.<sup>21</sup> The foundation stone of the church was laid on 14 June 1908, and by 11 September 1910 Sacred Heart Church was completed, blessed and opened.

With the separation of the Chinese Mission a *fait accompli*, the further development of the Cantonese-Hakka Catholic community thus commenced. Aside from having their own place to congregate, their own schoolhouse cum orphanage, sermons were also given in their own Cantonese-Hakka vernacular. The creation of a collective identity for their community was thus made possible, and this certainly had the effect of rooting down more Chinese Christians to Singapore. By the mid-1920s, the Cantonese-Hakka church had grown to 1,300 adherents.<sup>22</sup> The departure of the non-Teochew Christians from Sts Peter and Paul left the seat of the Singapore Chinese Catholic Mission even more Teochew in character.

The Hokkien Christians were the last of the Sts Peter and Paul community to establish their own community. There were only several hundred of them in Singapore in the early 1920s, and conversions among them were very rare.<sup>23</sup> Evangelical work with the Hokkien Christians began as early as 1902, when the Mission acquired a property six miles east of town where Fr R Cardon gathered his small Hokkien Catholic community.<sup>24</sup> In 1912, when a wave of Chinese nationalism swept through Singapore following

the 1911 Republican Revolution in China, anti-foreign sentiments once again flared-up among some Chinese in Singapore. The Catholic Church once again came under the harassment of Chinese secret societies as they considered the Church a Western institution. The Hokkien Catholics were subjected to daily taunting, and their mission outpost was vandalised. A well-to-do Hokkien Catholic was also set upon and nearly killed.<sup>25</sup> By that time, the French Mission was convinced that the Hokkien Catholics needed a church and enclave of their own, or no Hokkien Catholic community would ever be rooted. However, no concrete step towards this goal was taken till after World War I.

The land to build a church for the Hokkien Christians was finally acquired by Fr EJ Mariette on 21 November 1925. Located at Bukit Purmei, just west of town, it cost the Mission \$26,000.<sup>26</sup> Fr Mariette, with the assistance of Fr Stephen Lee, then rallied of the congregation of Sts Peter and Paul to contribute all they could for this new endeavour.<sup>27</sup> And just as it was with the Church of the Sacred Heart, it was the prominent Catholics of Sts Peter and Paul who once again came to the aid of their Hokkien brethren. A church building committee was convened at Sts Peter and Paul on 15 December 1925 where eleven of

the wealthiest Chinese Catholics of the island were roped in to lead the subscription efforts. The contract cost of this new church was estimated to be \$211,000.<sup>28</sup> As the amount was staggering, the Bishop withheld his approval for the contract till the priests of the Chinese Mission could assure him that the sum could actually be obtained. At this juncture, it was Chan Teck Hee who came to the rescue once more, offering to stand as guarantor for the unpaid pledges of the subscription.<sup>29</sup>

It was Fr Lee who finally completed the new parish, dedicated to St Teresa, in 1929, as Fr Mariette had died a year earlier in a fatal accident at the construction site.<sup>30</sup> Following the completion of the main church, a doctrine house was erected on 6 October 1929 at a cost of \$5,000 which was entirely paid for by Wee Cheng Soon, another prominent personality from Sts Peter and Paul. The doctrine house, aside from functioning as a presbytery, was also the church's "Memorial Hall" and residence of the parish's Hock-Chia catechist. Fr Lee also made it the Mission's Catholic "Hokkien Hui-Kuan".<sup>31</sup> However, this new edifice remained dormant for several years before the Bishop could spare a priest to be its resident vicar. Besides, many of the Hokkien Catholics were still congregating in the east of the



View of the steeple of the Church of Sts Peter and Paul from inside St Joseph's Institution



**St Teresa's Church, 1995**

island, near the original Hokkien mission station.<sup>32</sup> Hence, masses at St Teresa were celebrated only on Sundays and on feast days, and seldom with the church filled. There was no “parish” assigned to this new church till April 1935, when Fr Lee himself was posted there as parish priest.<sup>33</sup> The missionaries’ solution to the slow growth of the Hokkien Mission was to build around St Teresa’s, a new Catholic enclave.

In 1934, the Chinese Mission acquired approximately seven acres of land on Bukit Purmei hill to build a Catholic village that was eventually named Bukit Teresa.<sup>34</sup> The village began with just six bungalows and ten barrack houses, which the Church had built and sold to parishioners. In the midst of these houses, the Mission added a Convent that was given to the Carmelite nuns from Bangkok. Similar to the Chinese Catholic communities of Malacca and Pontian, at Bukit Teresa, Catholic families were relocated from town to settle in this new Catholic colony, thereby entrenching a rooted Catholic community around the church. By 1935, when St Teresa was officially designated a parish, Fr Lee had 450 parishioners coming for masses, a significant number considering that there were only a couple of hundred Hokkien Catholics in the mid-1920s.<sup>35</sup> Clearly, in the case of St Teresa’s, to root a Catholic community, it was not enough to separate dialectal communities and give them their own places of worship. It was also necessary to gather these communities within enclaves where social-communal institutions could be established to foster a sense of belonging to the community.

Following the success of the Chinese Catholic enclaves, the Eurasian Catholics had also established their own church in suburban Singapore after the turn of the century.

Since the 1830s, the Eurasian Catholics have shared the Cathedral of the Good Shepherd with all other ethnic groups.<sup>36</sup> Though the Asiatic Christians were eventually separated from the parish of the Good Shepherd after the completion of Sts Peter and Paul, the Cathedral continued to house a cosmopolitan mix of Catholics from all over Europe. There were even scores of Japanese converts baptised at the Cathedral till the 1930s, and this figure does not include the Catholic arrivals from Japan.<sup>37</sup> The Eurasians thus, till then, had no parish of their own. By the mid-1890s, the Cathedral had 2,000 parishioners, including several hundred Eurasian families with hundreds of children in the town schools.<sup>38</sup>

From 1902, when the completion of Tanjong Katong Road made access from town to the East Coast district easier, a large number of the town Eurasians settled themselves in this suburb, six to seven kilometres from town, turning it into a Eurasian enclave.<sup>39</sup> However, it was only in 1923 that the MEP was able to erect a chapel for the Eurasians at Katong.<sup>40</sup> In time, just as with the other Catholic enclaves in Singapore, social-educational institutions were also developed around the Katong parish. By 1935, there were 1,500 parishioners at the Katong church, and they had more than 600 children enrolled in the Katong Brothers’ and Convent school.<sup>41</sup>

Another sign that a more indigenised Catholic community had already been rooted in Singapore prior to World War II was the emergence of ethnic-based fraternities and welfare organisations within the Church.<sup>42</sup> In 1917, Chinese and Indian Christians of the Mission came together to found the Catholic Union, a pan-ethnic social action organisation that brought the Mission’s Asiatic Christians together.<sup>43</sup> By 1922, the Catholic Union was entirely constituted by the Chinese Christians while the Indian Christians went on to form their own Catholic Young Men’s Association in 1928.<sup>44</sup> At the Serangoon parish, the St Joseph’s Dying Aid Association was established in 1926 to aid parishioners in times of bereavement.<sup>45</sup> The Indian Christians too had their very own funeral association, the Indian Catholic Benevolent Society, which they founded in 1914.<sup>46</sup>

Although this trend towards communal self-help was typical of ethnic-oriented trend of development within the Church in the pre-war years, communal separation did not amount to discriminatory segregation. Perhaps, what is pertinent here is that the communal Church had begun sharing the traditional social-welfare functions of the French clergy, the same functions that had indigenised the institutional Church. Hence, it can be seen that among the ethnic Christian communities, a sense of communal “ownership” of the Church had already arisen in the pre-war years. When Fr Stephen Lee was entrusted with the

stewardship of the whole Chinese Catholic Mission in 1929, following the death of Fr Mariette, an indigenous clergyman was placed solely in-charge of the Chinese Catholic community for the first time.<sup>47</sup>

### In Retrospect

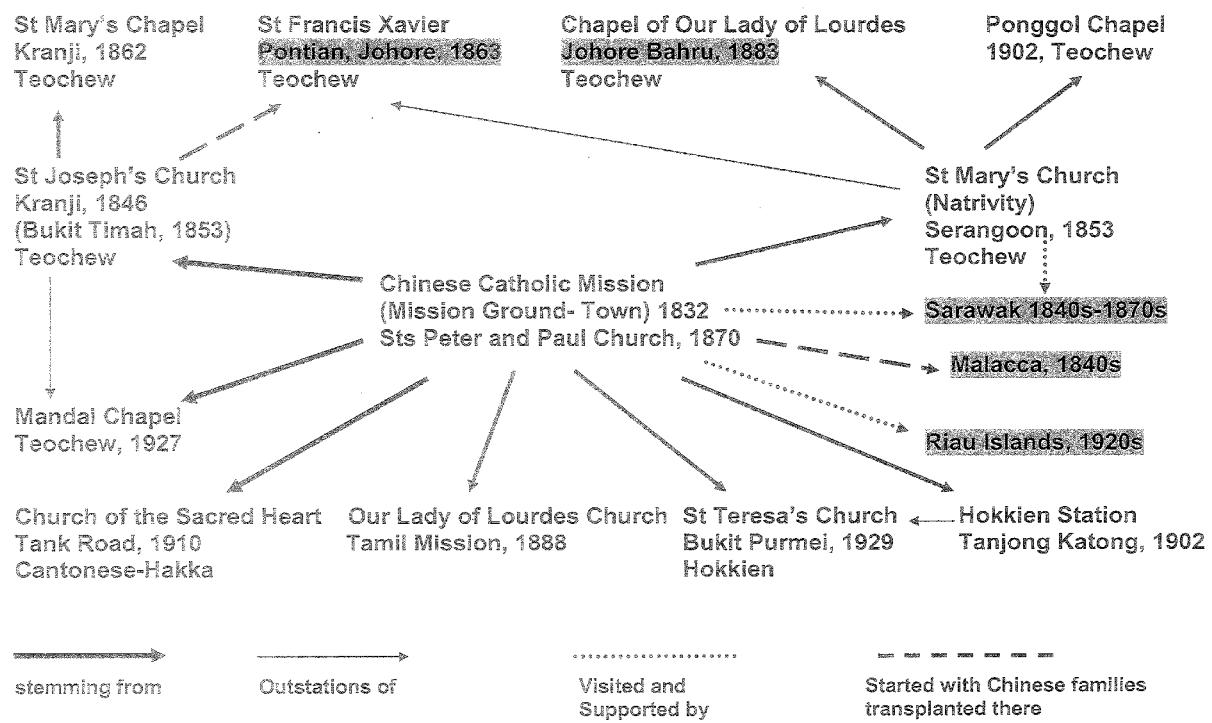
Though throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Church in Singapore was fundamentally multi-ethnic, Church growth was mainly dependent on the addition of Chinese Christians to the Mission. It was in no small part due to the Mission's concerted effort in fostering the creation of families among the Chinese Christians, and the subsequent emergence of Catholic communal enclaves across the island, that it was possible for the Church to reach a certain level of maturity. By the turn of the century, the Chinese Catholic community had grown so large and dialectally diverse that it became necessary to allow for divergence in the hitherto singular Chinese Mission.

Hence, the Church began its next phase of development by forming parishes along ethnic-dialectal lines, a strategy

that was greatly aided by the Mission's founding of communal enclaves around each established parish. In essence, the desire for communal division by the dialectal subgroups within the Chinese Catholic community was also in reality their expression of communal self-identity vis-à-vis others in the Church. Clearly, a more indigenised Chinese Catholic community had taken root in Singapore at the turn of the century. In retrospect, the emergence of this community in Singapore in the pre-war years was the outcome of social evolution as well as the fruit of institutional action.

A more localised Catholic community had emerged in Singapore by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, decades before the notion of nationhood was conceived on the island. In its transition to find a niche in a society that was in transition itself, the Singapore Catholic Church had become more than just a component within the wider pre-war colonial order. The emergent Church was more than just a religious community. It had become a visible and self-generating social community.

## Singapore Chinese Catholic Community, 1832-1935 Genesis and Extension



## ENDNOTES

1. At Bukit Timah, the land exhaustion of the 1850s led most of the district's Teochew Catholic agriculturists to re-migrated elsewhere. Yet, a small community of several hundred always remained at the Bukit Timah parish, partly due to the fact that they resided on parish land and that the parish still had 40,000 rubber trees that kept them employed. See Annales des Missions Etrangères, Malaisie (An ME), Archives de la Societe des Missions Etrangères de Paris, 1907-1911, p.305.
2. Archives de la Missions Etrangères (AME 905/342), 1883-1884; 906/111, 1903-1904; 906/180, 1916.
3. Phang Lee Kiong. "The Development of the Teochew Community in Kangkar, Upper Serangoon Road - Migrants Adjustability and Social Change". Academic Exercise (Chinese), Department of History, Nanyang University, 1971, p.34.
4. Compte Reudu (CR), Malaisie, 1892, pp.203-210.
5. Straits Settlements Government Gazette, Jun 1910, pp.1305-1306.
6. Phang, Teochew Community, p.34.
7. Ibid.
8. An ME, 1906, pp.237-39.
9. CR 1922, pp.123-28.
10. CR 1921, pp.105-110; CR 1925, pp.113-18.
11. Straits Settlements Annual Reprot, Education Reports and Appendices, 1860-1870. From an annual average of 25 Indian Christian boys enrolled at the school in the 1860s, the number rose to 36 in the 1870s.
12. AME 905/373, 1886; CR 1885, pp.108-112.
13. CR 1886, pp.112-16; AME 905/365, 5 Jun 1885; 905/379, 7 Feb 1887 and 905/410, 10 May 1888. The presbytery was erected in 1887, with the ground floor occupied by the new Anglo-Tamil Mission School. Sir Frederic Weld, Singapore's first Catholic governor, helped to secure the land. Our Lady of Lourdes was not unlike the Chinese Catholic enclaves in the interior of Singapore where the creation of close-knit communities had become catalytic to Church growth. By 1892, there were 750 Indian Catholics on the island. See AME 906/50, 1893.
14. AME 905/342, 1884; 906/99, 1901.
15. CR 1889, pp.189-91.
16. CR 1904, pp.215-22.
17. "Benediction", speech written by Fr Gazeau in September 1910 on the occasion of the blessing and opening of the Church of Sacred Heart- found written in the last pages of the parish's first Confirmation Register.
18. CR 1897, pp.206-220.
19. Gazeau, "Benediction", 1910.
20. CR 1898, pp.198-211.
21. Gazeau, "Benediction"; Church of the Sacred Heart 75th Anniversary Souvenir (Singapore: Church of the Sacred Heart, 1985), p.14. Chan Teck Hee had also provided the building material of the church.
22. CR 1927, pp.124 -30.
23. CR 1924, pp.103-107.
24. CR 1902, pp.212-24.
25. CR 1912, pp.239-49.
26. St Teresa Souvenir (STS)(Singapore: Catholic Young Men Association, St Teresa's Church,1947), p.19.
27. CR 1926, pp.128-34.
28. STS, 1947, pp.21-22.
29. "The Church of St Teresa", Fr Stephen Lee's manuscript journal, 6 December 1926.
30. Ibid., 13 Mar 1928. Fr Lee was made head of the Chinese Mission upon Fr Mariette's death.
31. Ibid., 1929.
32. Baptism Registers, St Teresa's Church, 1929-1934.
33. Lee, "St Teresa's", 6 Apr 1935.
34. STS, 1948, p.53.
35. Lee, "St Teresa's", 6 Apr 1935.
36. When Rome restored the Diocese of Malacca in 1888, the Vicar Apostolic of Malaya was then conferred the title of Titular Bishop. The Church of the Good Shepherd was then officially renamed a Cathedral.
37. Baptism Registers, Cathedral, 1906-1930s. There were no Japanese names on the baptismal registers of any other parishes before the war except at the Cathedral. The Japanese Christians, though Asians, were unlikely to have been welcomed at the Chinese parishes during this period of Chinese anti-Japanese sentiments.
38. CR 1896, pp.256-60; SSAR 1893, pp.323-30.
39. MB Blake and AE Oehlers (eds.), Singapore Eurasians, Memories and Hopes (Singapore: Times Editions, 1992), p.61.
40. Ibid. This chapel was demolished in 1932, and the present one erected.
41. Straits Settlements Blue Books (SSBB), 1935, pp.638 and 648. In 1930, the town Convent founded a branch of their school at Katong, and the Brothers followed suit by converting their bungalow there into St Patrick's School in 1933.
42. A discussion on how fraternities were aspects of a mature community can be found in Phelan, The Hispanization of the Philippines, p.74. There were several social welfare associations formed within the Church before 1900, the St Vincent de Paul Society and the Singapore Catholic Funeral (Benevolent) Association. Though a third of the SCBA membership was non-Eurasian, it was a Eurasian-dominated organization. See The Singapore and Malayan Directory (SMD) (Singapore: Fraser and Neave, 1922), p.97; Singapore Catholic Benevolent Association, Management Committee's Report and Accounts For 1922 (Singapore: CA Ribeiro, 1923), pp.7-11.
43. The Singapore and Straits Directory (SSD) (Singapore: Fraser and Neave, 1919), p.107; SMD, 1927, "Clubs, Societies and Associations".
44. SMD 1922, p.96; 1940, p.1023.
45. SSBB, 1926, Friendly Societies, Section 30.
46. Straits Settlements Executive Council Minutes, 24 Jul 1913, p.525.
47. It has been observed that in a Mission, indigenous Christians, who were ordained ministers, were still regarded as assistants to the foreign missionaries. See Neill, Christian Missions, p.515. Fr Lee was assisting anyone in 1929.



A pregnant mare from Lascaux. Picture taken from Ford, Brian J. (1992). *Images of science: A history of scientific illustration*. London: British Library.

# Eyes on Nature

by SARA PEK

Senior Librarian,  
Lee Kong Chian Reference Library,  
National Library

## The Glorious Periods of Picturing Natural History

"The most important discovery throughout our journey was made at this place; this was a gigantic flower, of which I can hardly attempt to give any thing like a just description. It is perhaps the largest and most magnificent flower in the world, and is so distinct from every other flower, that I know not to what I can compare it – its dimensions will astonish you – it measured across from the extremity of the petals rather more than a yard.... If I am successful in obtaining a draftsman, your Grace shall have a perfect representation of it. I have made a very rough sketch of it myself..."

— Stamford Raffles writing from Southern Sumatra to the Duchess of Somerset in July 1818. Quote extracted from Archer, M. (1962). *Natural history drawings in the India Office Library*. London, Published for the Commonwealth Relations Office by H.M. Stationery Off.

**TO THE EARLY NATURALISTS**, the mere mention of Malay Archipelago conjures up images of amazing rare things and nature's paradise. Interest in natural history in this region corresponded with the energetic intellectual climate in early modern Europe. During the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the term *natural history illustration* came into use as artists created images of plants and animals for documentation and study. Many European ships set sail for journeys of discovery during that period. The travelling naturalists responded to the flora and fauna and to the landscapes, in which they worked.

Rendering the nature's elegance and beauty has a long history. Dating as early as 30,000 years ago, the oldest

"scientific" records can be seen from the French caves. Pictures of ancient Egyptians sacrifice and Leonardo da Vinci's sketches of human bodies are notable forms of early scientific drawing. There are also vivid descriptions of exotic flowers in the South East Asia including the *Rafflesia arnoldi*, the world's largest flower and the Orchideous plant, discovered by Sir Stamford Raffles.

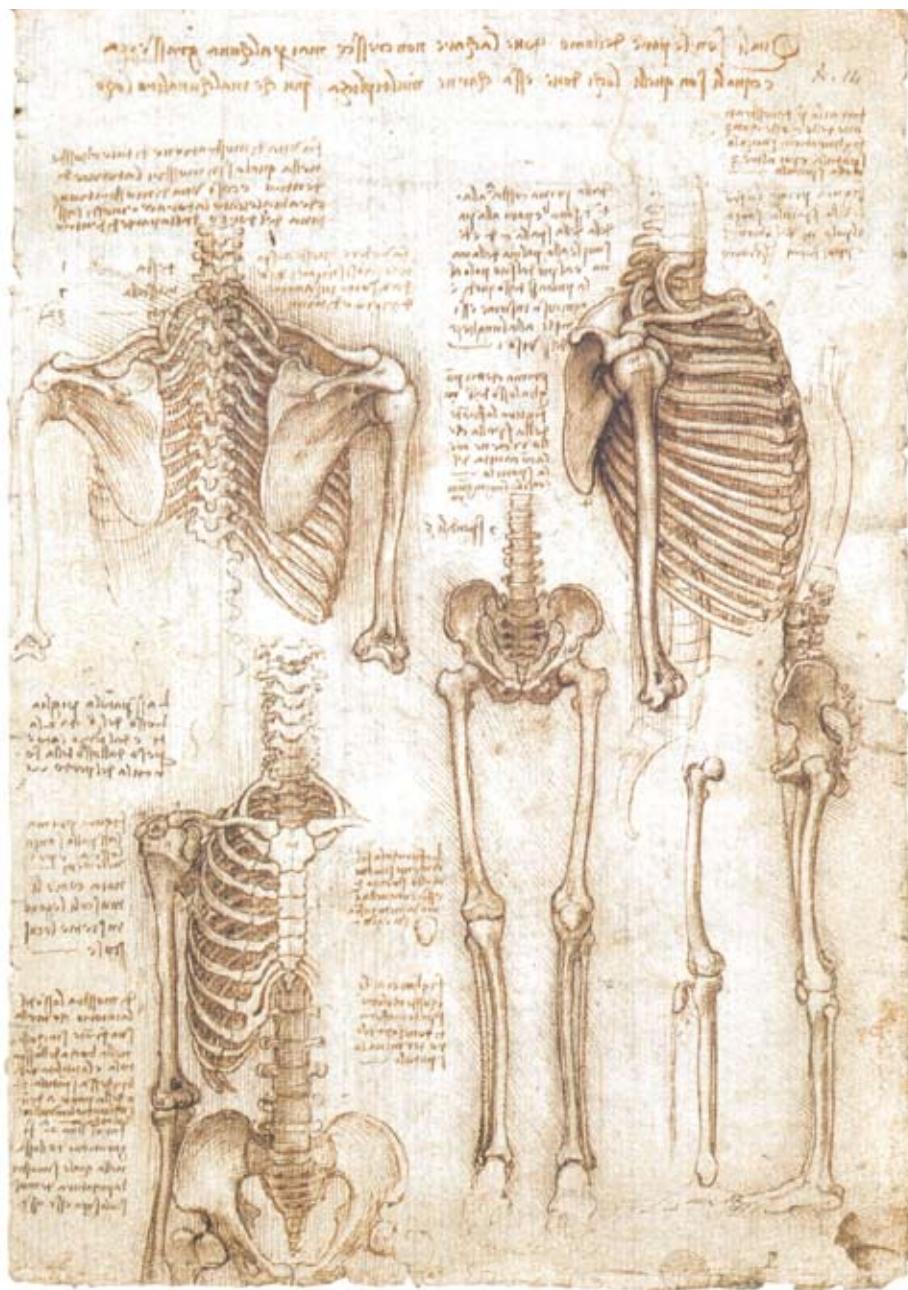
*"The most important discovery throughout our journey was made at this place; this was a gigantic flower, of which I can hardly attempt to give any thing like a just description. It is perhaps the largest and most magnificent flower in the world, and is so distinct from every other flower, that I know not to what I can compare it – its dimensions will astonish*

*you – it measured across from the extremity of the petals rather more than a yard.... If I am successful in obtaining a draftsman, your Grace shall have a perfect representation of it. I have made a very rough sketch of it myself..."*

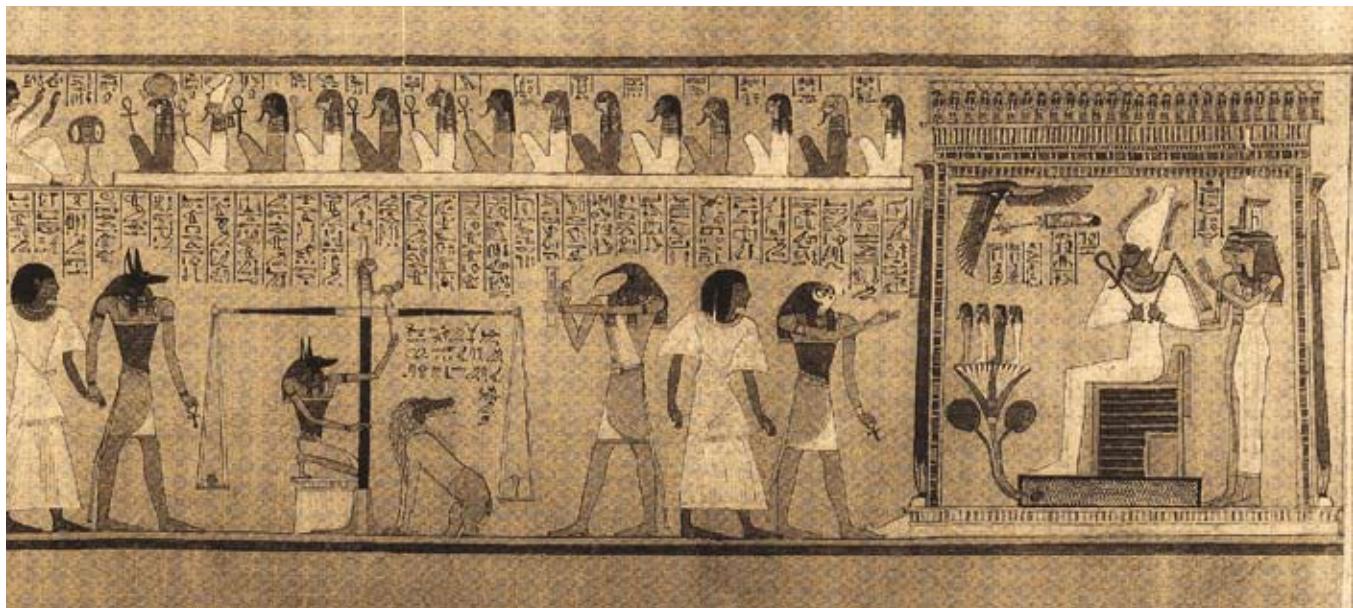
— Stamford Raffles writing from Southern Sumatra to the Duchess of Somerset in July 1818. Quote extracted from Archer, M. (1962). Natural history drawings in the India Office Library. London, Published for the Commonwealth Relations Office by H.M. Stationery Off.

### Painting on Cave Walls

Primitive men are credited with painting on cave walls at Lascaux in France, long before civilisation. Animal figures such as the horses, bison, rhinoceroses, lions, buffalo and mammoth have been seen. These amazingly accurate drawings seem to indicate that the observers had studied the subject intensely and reproduced the images from memory in dimly lit caves. The meaning and purpose of cave paintings are complicated and varied. Some images record mythological stories, sorcery, fertility and rituals, while others depict hunting scenes. It was believed that drawing a particular animal would invoke the species to propagate and the ritual act of painting or touching these depictions would release sacred energy or power. Visual aids such as arrows have also been seen



Leonardo probes the nature of mankind. Picture taken from Ford, B. J. (1992). *Images of science: A history of scientific illustration*. London: British Library.



**A balance from ancient Egypt.** Picture taken from Ford, Brian J. (1992). *Images of science: A history of scientific illustration*. London: British Library.

next to some drawings and could have been used to train the young cave dwellers.

Animals played a big part in the lives of the early cultures. They are among the first drawings that humans depicted. Various art forms have shown animals in their symbolising power and influences. There are certain degrees of similarity among these animal portrayals. Most animals are shown in broadside view to provide the most information. Birds, quadrupeds and fishes show their most salient characteristics from the side whereas insects and arthropods reveal most of theirs when seen from above.

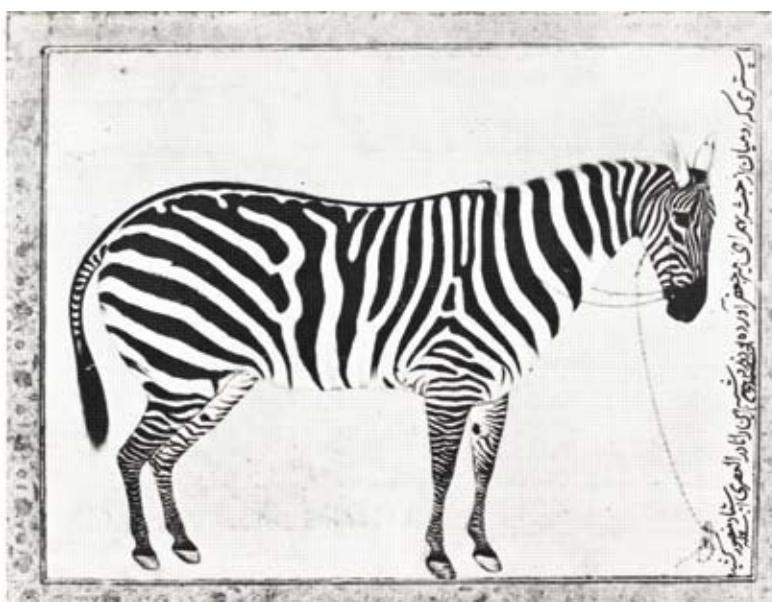
### Tomb Murals and Greek Pottery

The ancient Egyptians (5000 - 300 BC) lived on high ground along the banks of the Nile River and were cattle-raisers or farmers. Drawings on buildings, sculptures, papyri, coffins and burial tombs revealed the rich tapestry of Egyptians' relationship with nature and their beliefs, such as "life after death". One famous depiction showing a person's judgment of the after-life is the *Weighing of*

*the Heart*, where the jackal-headed god Anubis is weighing the heart of a priestess. The scale illustrates one example of "ancient technology".

Ancient Greek (1500 – 31 BC) was particularly famous for their vases, sculptures and architecture. Early portrayal of "scientific apparatus" of the era has shown transport, hunting tools and techniques of weaving cloths. This period also marked the beginning of humans and monumental stone sculptures. Human statutes are heroically proportioned due to Greek humanistic belief in the nobility of man. By the time Alexander the Great died at 323 BC, the Greek sculptors had mastered carving marbles and were

technically perfect. They sculpted heroic human figures that still remain popular today.



**Mughal miniature painting of a zebra by Mansur, Jahangir period, c 1621.** Picture taken from Dance, S. P. (1978). *The art of natural history: Animal illustrators and their work*. Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press.

### Chinese Animal Motif and the Mughal Painting

Chinese arts are greatly influenced by nature. Painting of birds, flowers, and landscapes from the countryside were popular. The earliest images of animals are produced during the Shang Dynasty (1523 – 1028 BC). Animal motifs such as cicada, owl, bear, rabbit, deer,

even tapir and Indian rhinoceros are carved in jade or cast in bronze. Two and more animals are often combined in a single artwork, representing the "metamorphosis of one animal into another". Animals are not the subjects of interest as living creatures but are for aesthetic and decorative purposes. The Chinese also like to depict animals with symbolic meaning. For example, fantasy animals such as dragon and phoenix with flames (symbolising power) streaming from their bodies and cranes and zodiac animals (symbolising long life).

Graphic art started after paper was invented in AD 105. Although no painting on paper survived from the early Han period (206 BC – 220 AD), stylised animal pictures preserved on damask and other textiles are found. Chinese ceramics such as those in Tang Dynasty (AD 600-900) achieved its finest artistic standard; for example, the standing figures of spirited horses.

Hunting scenes, common in many prehistoric illustrations are also found in India. Religious life of the Hindus (namely Buddhism and Hinduism) greatly influences the Indian arts. Human figures are glorified and most animal representations (elephants and cattle are fairly common) are sculpted in stones.

Realistic and detailed paintings came about from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Monarchs at the time, such as Akbar the Great and his son, Jahangir were very passionate about painting and the natural world. The Mughal School of painting came into being. One famous artist, Mansur was known as the "painter of flora and fauna". He travelled with the emperor

and created famous images of zebra, *neelgai* (a kind of deer) and a variety of birds.

### Artists as Scientists from Early Modern Europe

Around 1400, artists in Europe began to produce more "realistic" or "naturalistic" style of drawing. During this period, scholars were increasingly interested to study, collect and classify living things. Many captivating drawings are produced and used as identification aids, religious symbols and philosophical ideas or purely for art appreciation. Over the next two centuries, this new approach to nature came to be known as "scientific illustration".

A man of "both worlds", Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) was an artist, scientist, engineer and inventor. He would dissect corpses and record everything he found in his journals. His images of animals, plants and human bodies are results of careful observation of natural structures, forms and compositions.

One of the greatest painter-naturalists of her time was Maria Sibylla Merian (1647-1717). She created beautiful visual images of flowers and insects and her observations revolutionised the science of animals and plants. Her works are rich with tropical flowers and fruit, insects of all kinds, especially exotic butterflies, moths and caterpillars.

Another well-known water-colourist, naturalist and adventurer whose name is synonymous with bird and nature lover and environmentalist was John James Audubon (1785 – 1851). His passion for birds resulted in a seven-volume edition of *The Birds of America* describing the anatomy,



Owl, Marble; (45.1cm). Tomb 1001, Houjiazhuang cemetery site, Anyang, Henan, China, Shang Dynasty. Academia Sinica, Taipei. Picture taken from Lee, S. E. (1997). *A history of Far Eastern art*. London: Thames and Hudson.



Maria Sibylla Merian Studies of the metamorphosis of the giant silk moth. Picture taken from Attenborough, D. (2007). *Amazing rare things: The art of natural history in the age of discovery*. London: Royal Collection.

habits and localities of the birds with 500 hand-coloured lithographs.

For centuries, artists have worked closely with the "natural scientists". Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564) worked with artist, Jan van Calcar in the seven-volume, revolutionary human anatomy textbook, *De humani corporis fabrica*. Woodcut designer, Hans Weiditz and botanist, Otto Brunfels (1488-1534) produced stunning plant studies in *Herbarium vivae eicones*. A team of craftsmen and Leonhard Fuchs (1501-1566) who was a physician and botanist, created the early printed herbals, *De historia stipium*.

Voyages and journeys of exploration became common in early modern Europe. These ships travelled around the world in search of scientific discovery. Skilled artists usually went along and produced amazingly illustrated botanical and natural history books. English painter, Augustus Earle (1793–1838) embarked with Charles Darwin (1809-1882) in one of the world most famous expedition, HMS *Beagle*. Darwin had no artistic flair and depended on Earle to illustrate the materials that he collected both at sea and ashore.

### Fusion of Western and Eastern Natural History Painting

Shortly before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the British East India Company began to explore Asia. Great numbers of its staff moved from England in search of new trading ports.

In India, these newcomers who have arrived on the exotic land were fascinated by what they saw. They purchased paintings that depicted daily life, important monuments and local flora and fauna. Indian artists were quick to offer what these new patrons wanted. They modified traditional techniques to suit Western tastes. The resulting hybrid of Indian and European styles and painting techniques came to be known as the "Company Painting".

Calcutta (Kolkata) was the oldest trade houses of the East India Company. It was also an early production centre for natural history paintings. The city's enthusiastic patrons include Marquis Wellesley, governor-general from 1798 to 1805 and Major-General Thomas Hardwicke of the Bengal Artillery (1755-1835). Both men collected large menageries and hired artists to paint the



The American flamingo. Picture taken from Attenborough, D. (2007). *Amazing rare things: The art of natural history in the age of discovery*. London: Royal Collection.

birds and animals and other specimens they acquired. A Company-established botanical garden in Calcutta also undertook similar project for the plant samples it had collected.

Another influential painting centre was in Madras where Lord Clive, eldest son of Robert Clive was stationed. While in the army, Lord Clive, a naturalist devoted his time to

pursue his interest and produced several volumes of natural history paintings from South India.

European traders have also enjoyed access to China in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Like the Indian counterparts, Chinese artists who worked at the foreign settlement at Canton (Guangzhou), were quick to adapt their talent to produce detailed botanical paintings that suited the Western clients.

China has a well-established system of modular painting techniques. The *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* (Chieh Tzu Yuan Hua Chuan) is one of the greatest manuals on painting. It gives hundreds of examples of the brushstroke forms, ranging from single stroke of a blade of grass or flower petal to the composition of a tree, village and mountain. These superior examples explain the principles and standards of painting. An artist could creatively combine each module in different ways with almost limitless variation in his work. This also explains why the Chinese artists could adapt their skills easily to create botanical drawings to meet the export markets.

### **Early Naturalists in the Malay Peninsula**

The East India Company has one of the largest natural history drawings. They realised the economic and scientific value of plant and animal products. Thus, overseas officials were encouraged to pursue their interests in natural history.

After the British conquest of Java in 1811, Stamford Raffles (1781-1826) was promoted to become the lieutenant governor. In 1819, he founded Singapore by purchasing the land for the British East India Company. Raffles was an enthusiastic natural historian. While travelling on his

assignments, he encountered the unusual natural and stunning landscapes. Raffles hastened to collect and record the images of the objects he found with proper scientific data. This resulted in a plethora of dried plants and insects, skins of birds and animals, shells and minerals and a series of their paintings by Chinese painters.

Raffles would carefully organise and dispatch crates of specimens back to England. However, few of these collections have survived and these are now preserved at the British Museum. A fire broke out and destroyed everything that he had collected on his boat when he left Sumatra for home in 1824.

A friend of Raffles, William Marsden (1754-1836) who was stationed in Bencoolen in Sumatra has a broad interest in the local history, cultures and language. He was also keen in natural history and frequently wrote to British scientists. Marsden was a source for many of our most precious botanical and zoological drawings from his time.

William Farquhar (1770 – 1839) has long been associated with Stamford Raffles. He was the first British Resident and Commandant of Singapore in 1819. He was also a naturalist and passionate investigator. While in Melaka (Malacca) from 1795 to 1818, Farquhar employed the locals to collect and preserve the specimens and commissioned Chinese artists to paint them. The paintings show a charming combination of traditional Chinese painting aesthetics and a high standard of scientific detail. He would send the drawings, detailed descriptions, bones, preserved specimen, particularly unknown foreign species to the attention of museums, botanic gardens and naturalists. He made many important



**Examples of flowers growing on stems with leaves on which the veins are indicated.**  
Picture taken from *The William Farquhar collection of natural history drawings*. Singapore: Goh Geok Khim. v. 2.



**Landak Raya / Common Malayan Porcupine) / *Hystrix brachyuran*.** Picture taken from *The William Farquhar collection of natural history drawings*. Singapore: Goh Geok Khim. v. 2.



**Teratai, Seroja, Telepok / Sacred Lotus / *Nelumbo nucifera*.** Picture taken from *The William Farquhar collection of natural history drawings*. Singapore: Goh Geok Khim. v. 2.

zoological discoveries, among them the Malayan tapir, binturong, banded linsang, bamboo rat and moonrat.

Farquhar brought his collection of drawings with him to Singapore and from there to London. He presented the collection to the Royal Asiatic Society (RAS) in 1827. Mr Goh Geok Khim, a stockbroker by profession and a nature lover, acquired the entire collection of watercolour painting in an auction in 1993. He officially donated it to the Singapore History Museum in 1996.

The person, who shared Darwin's discovery of evolution was Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913). Wallace made extensive trips to the Amazon River basin and then the Malay Archipelago. He arrived in the East in 1854 as an experienced collector and never lost his excitement at seeing new things and making new discoveries. More than 125,000 specimens (including 80,000 beetles alone) were collected in the Malay Peninsula. During the field trips he observed the differences between animals in Asia and those in Australia. Delicate pencil sketches and drawings of those newly discovered species were among Wallace's collection.

### Uses of Art in the Service of Science

Prehistoric men communicated their religion, law and history through painting and carving long before written language was developed. Various art forms, including song, dance and storytelling were not merely used for ceremonial performance or enjoyment but as a mean of recording ideas and values.

From the Lascaux cave art of France, through Merian's secrets of insect metamorphosis to Leonardo's anatomical studies, pictures and diagrams have made learning science more interesting and meaningful than text alone can provide. Natural history drawings also reveal the natural

environment of our rich past and present in a creative way.

Drawing and painting plants are among the earliest uses of art for scientific purposes. The Greek physician, Pedanius Dioscorides who was born in the first century AD, compiled *De materia medica*. He showed vividly how drugs were prepared from plants and their chemical properties. It became the most central pharmacological work in Europe and the Middle East.

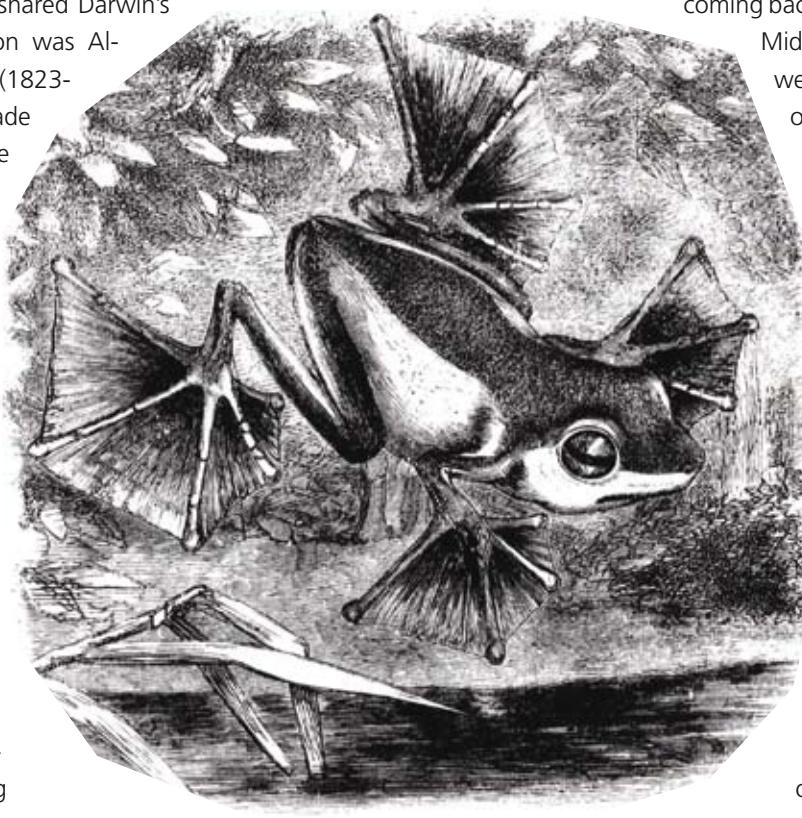
Exotic objects were collected from the Western ships coming back from the New World—Asia, Middle East and Africa. These were kept in "cabinets of curiosities" and became the forerunners of modern museums.

Famous collectors include the "greatest naturalist of his times", Conrad Gessner (1516-1565) and Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605) who organised numerous excursions to Italian mountains, countryside, islands and coasts in order to collect and catalogue plants.

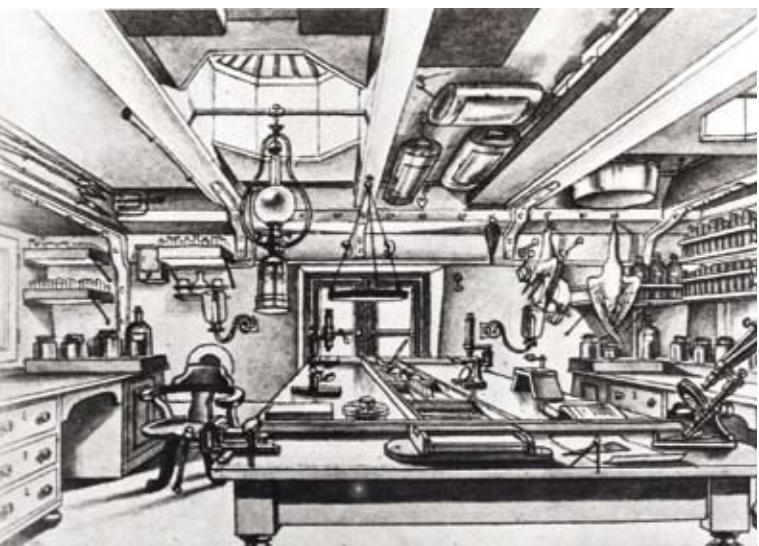
The 18<sup>th</sup> century witnessed infectious interest in the study of natural history among the amateurs and scientists. It became part of liberal education among men and women. It was also the golden age of Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778). He was curious about the natural world and wanted

to "bring order to nature". He went on to name, rank, and classify the living things using his naming convention known as the "binary nomenclature", which is still widely used today. Natural history drawing has been important in showing the general characteristics of the species such as shapes and colours and is essential for systematic classification.

Charles Darwin kept many specimens during his amazing journey aboard the *Beagle* where he made observations that led to his revolutionary theory of natural selection. His book, *On the Origin of Species* became a pivotal work in the scientific literature. Another famous expedition, the *Challenger* of 1874 witnessed the birth of oceanography, as it is known today. Among the new discoveries made, the expedition catalogued 4,000 previously unknown species



**Flying frog.** Picture taken from Wallace, A. R. (1986). *The Malay Archipelago: The land of the orang-utan, and the bird of paradise*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.



**The Challenger's laboratory.** Picture taken from Rice, T. (2000). *Voyages of discovery: Three centuries of natural history exploration*. London: Natural History Museum / Scriptum Editions.

of animals. These specimens were examined, identified and drawn. The expedition also reflected a deep collaboration among natural historians, ocean specialists and artists.

### Conclusion

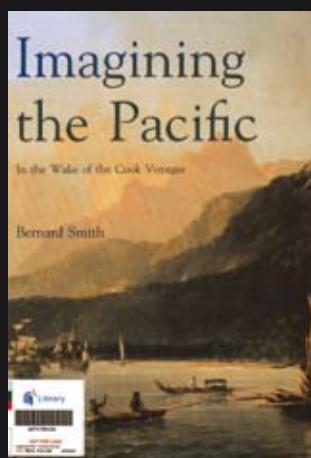
The wonder and beauty of nature has been richly documented for thousands of years. Delineation of the living world reaches its heightened accuracy in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century when advanced printing methods such as stipple engraving and lithography were used. The creators of natural history drawings often find the field an ideal fusion

of interests in art and science. As Wilfrid Blunt expounded, "The greatest flower painters are those who have understood plants scientifically, but have yet seen and described them with the eyes and the hand of the artist." Blunt (1994).

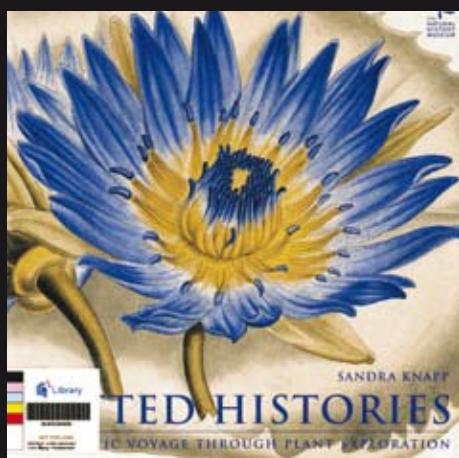
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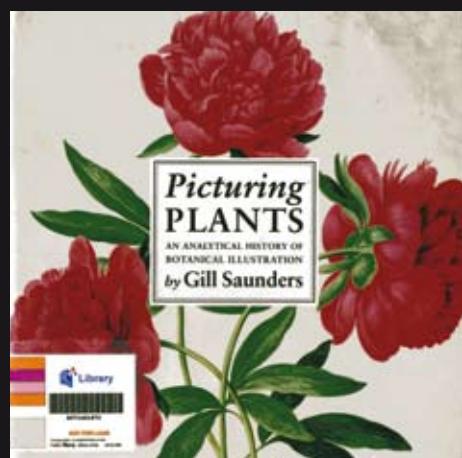
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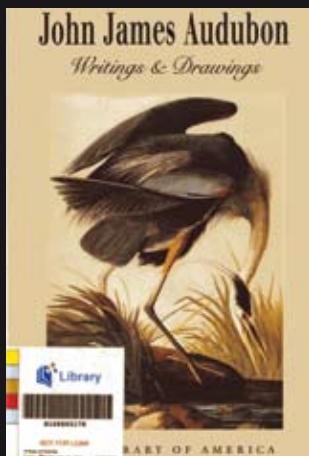


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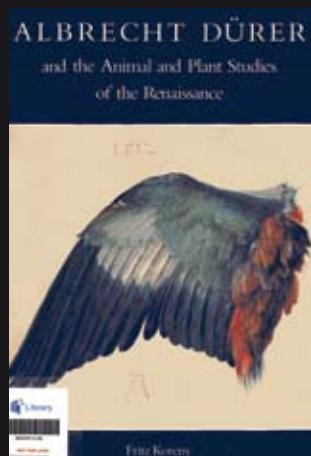
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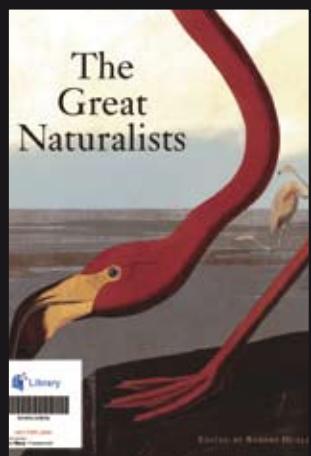
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Conceptualizing  
the Chinese World

# Jinan University, Lee Kong Chian, and the Nanyang Connection

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by LEANDER SEAH  
Lee Kong Chian Research Fellow,  
National Library

HISTORIANS OF MODERN CHINA and Chinese migration have inadequately conceptualized the Chinese world. In particular, historically significant maritime activity has been confined to the periphery of studies on modern China, and scholars of Chinese migration have adopted the contradictory approach of using a China-centric “Chinese diaspora” theory to examine migrant communities in other countries. This paper uses the under-explored area of education to address such issues and provide a more satisfactory understanding of the Chinese world. I have based my case study on Jinan University 暨南大學 (Jinan Daxue) because of its importance as the first school in China (founded during 1906 in Nanjing 南京) dedicated to the education of Nanyang 南洋 (Southern Ocean or South Seas) Chinese migrants and their offspring.<sup>1</sup> As the Nanyang (now Southeast Asia) was the main destination for Chinese migration, Jinan served as the cornerstone of governmental efforts to reach out to such migrants. These policies on migration have been largely neglected in the field of modern Chinese history. Furthermore, my selection of an educational institution rectifies the overemphasis on business activities in Chinese migration studies. Lee Kong Chian 李光前 (Li Guangqian), the famous rubber magnate, and his fellow students and intellectuals at Jinan feature

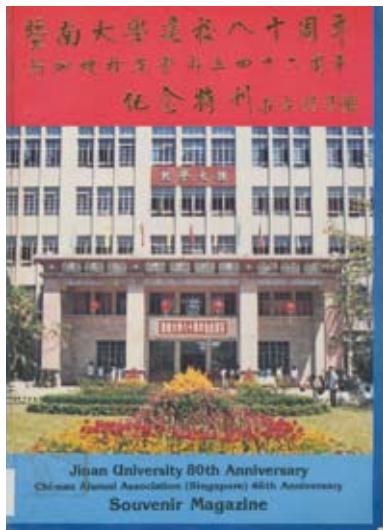


prominently in my article because they traversed the two regions of China and the Nanyang in a trans-regional manner while being influenced by non-Chinese ideas and people. My trans-regional emphasis offers balance which has hitherto been absent from the historiographies of modern China and Chinese migration. Ultimately, my paper provides a new, holistic conceptualization of the Chinese world.

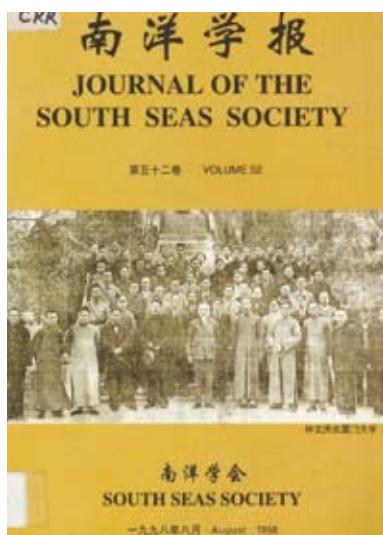
### Trans-Regionalism and education in the Chinese world

Few scholars of modern China have published analytical works on education.<sup>2</sup> Studies on modern Chinese education have tended to contextualize educational developments against the limited backdrop of modernization during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The pre-occupation with the late Qing 清 period (c. 1839-1911) has meant that there have been few monographs on education in Republican China (1912-1949) with scopes beyond individual institutional histories.<sup>3</sup> My research instead focuses on an educational case study which straddles both the late Qing and Republican eras. Furthermore, the fact that Jinan featured prominently in efforts by successive Chinese governments to reach out to migrants indicates that the study of education in modern Chinese history can be used to provide insight into state policies on migration and not just modernization.

At the same time, this paper addresses the inaccurate conceptualization of the Chinese world in the historiography on modern China. Historians have tended to examine continental events rather than the maritime sphere and migration. The post-1970s dominance of the approach favouring discussions of 18<sup>th</sup> century China has only exacerbated this imbalance. Such works have privileged internal developments instead of the previous emphasis on external influences exerted during the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Western powers.<sup>4</sup> Established historians of maritime China and Chinese migration like Wang Gungwu have been content to remain on the historiographical periphery even as they have argued for the need to study maritime activity.<sup>5</sup> Since the maritime arena was hardly inconsequential in modern Chinese history, we need to re-evaluate the status



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of the scholarship on the coastal regions and migration.

Despite the peripheral status of maritime China in the historiography on modern China, works on Chinese migration have tended to subscribe to a Sino-centric concept called "Chinese diaspora." The diasporic framework implicitly places primacy on the point of departure or homeland, China, and this has led to social scientists like Ien Ang criticizing the notion of the "Chinese diaspora" for being imbalanced.<sup>6</sup> Even so, historians have not addressed such criticism. Adam McKeown, for example, has posited the existence of "diasporic networks," thereby overemphasizing the role of the mainland at the expense of migrants' historical agency.<sup>7</sup> Such continued emphasis on "diasporic networks" is inappropriate because these migrants were real people who had dreams, goals, and plans. Their actions were therefore neither controlled by the government in China nor entirely determined by developments on the mainland. Other conceptualizations also remain unsatisfactory. Wang Gungwu has advocated the use of the phrase, "Chinese overseas" 海外華人 (*haiwai huaren*), while expressing reservations about "diaspora,"<sup>8</sup> but this contextualizes people of Chinese ethnicity as being "overseas" relative to the mainland. Wang's conceptualization of Chinese migration has been appropriated by the Encyclopedia of the Chinese Overseas. The book scrupulously avoids

any mention of "diaspora" yet portrays migration in terms of a concentric diagram with China constituting the core.<sup>9</sup>

Most of these works on Chinese migration have discussed business networks among migrant communities in destination countries. This emphasis has resulted in two problems. Firstly, there has been tension between the Sino-centric character of the popular "Chinese diaspora" theory and the localized nature of such case studies.<sup>10</sup> Secondly, their focus on the economic dimension has indirectly perpetuated a form of Sino-centrism due to the pre-occupation with the presence of seemingly quintessential Chinese cultural values within business practices.<sup>11</sup> My research instead reflects a more balanced approach towards understanding the Chinese world by examining linkages between the mainland and Nanyang migrant communities

without overemphasizing either connection. I have chosen to examine the history of a school in order to diverge from the conventional focus on Chinese business networks.

In contrast to the historical scholarship on modern China and Chinese migration, my paper calls for a holistic conceptualization of the Chinese world. I argue that a trans-regional framework is useful in this respect because it allows me to analyze the interaction between China and the Nanyang against the backdrop of Western and Japanese influences. My trans-regional perspective has been inspired by debates on trans-nationalism, which have explored the fluid movement of people and organizations across geopolitical boundaries in the more recent global age. However, the term “trans-regional,” rather than “trans-national,” is more suitable in this paper because my chronological focus is the period 1900–1942 and not the “global age.” Indeed, China was not a nation-state before 1911, and there were hardly any nations in the Nanyang before post-Second World War decolonization. Hence, both China and the Nanyang should instead be considered as “regions.”

The trans-regional approach is most evident from my emphasis on the lives of Jinan students and intellectuals, who moved freely between China and the Nanyang while interacting with non-Chinese people and influences. It is indeed tempting to make much of Jinan’s location in China and its existence during the pre-Second World War era, when links between the Nanyang Chinese and the mainland were at their strongest. Instead, I examine the experiences of researchers who worked at Jinan, where they founded the field of “Nanyang studies” 南洋研究 (Nanyang Yanjiu). These intellectuals subsequently migrated to the Nanyang, which became their new base of operations. I also analyze the profiles of several of the school’s students because they contributed greatly to the historical fabric of both China and the Nanyang despite their relatively small numbers.<sup>12</sup>

The Nanyang included the Dutch East Indies, Malaya, and Singapore.<sup>13</sup> But in this article, I focus on personalities from the latter due to space constraints. Singapore is certainly a suitable choice to reflect the Nanyang connection in Jinan’s

history and in the larger backdrop of the Chinese world. The island was historically part of the Singapore-Malaya 新馬 (Xinma) entity that constituted the “heart of the Nanyang.”<sup>14</sup> The statistics further support my choice: in his study of global Chinese migration over a century from 1840 to 1940, Adam McKeown has estimated that out of the 19–22 million Chinese who migrated to destinations around the world, almost one-third migrated to the Straits Settlements (of which Singapore was a part) and Malaya.<sup>15</sup> This paper’s coverage ends in early 1942, when Singapore was conquered by the Japanese during the Pacific War.

My analysis of the Nanyang connection diverges from the official Jinan narrative, which has prioritized developments in China. This mainland-centric version of the school’s history has been unchallenged because there are no

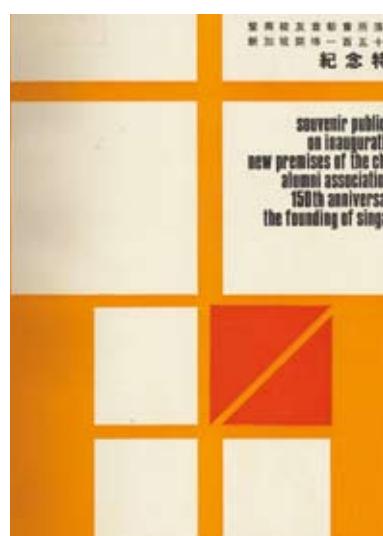
English monographs and articles on the school, and because Chinese works have been limited to official or semi-official accounts published by Jinan University Press. In focusing on the administration’s perspective, the official narrative has deprived the Nanyang students of their historical agency since their experiences have been marginalized even though they were real people with dreams, goals, and plans. The narrative also does not examine the activities of the Nanyang studies researchers after they moved to Singapore. It is no wonder that the official Jinan story has highlighted the origins of the school’s name, which can be traced back to the phrase “shuonanji” 朔南暨 (from north to south). This phrase was extracted from an ancient Chinese text, the *Shujing* 書經 (*Book of Documents* or *Classic of Documents*),<sup>16</sup> thus falsely implying that Jinan was founded mainly to spread Chinese culture southward to the Nanyang.

#### **Lee Kong Chian, pioneer students, and the early years, 1900–1911**

Jinan’s official narrative has accorded much credit for the school’s establishment to its founder, Duanfang 端方. He was a high-ranking Qing official who was one of the most prominent reformists in China during the final decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, Jinan’s founding needs to be contextualized against the backdrop of



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Western and Japanese-inspired reforms, which were implemented to address the vulnerability of imperial rule. The official narrative has also insufficiently examined the role of the Nanyang. The school was in fact established by the Qing court to harness the financial resources of the Nanyang Chinese and to cultivate political allegiance among younger generations of migrants in order to prop up its precarious rule.<sup>18</sup> More tellingly, it was not Duanfang, but a low-ranking Qing official named Qian Xun 錢恂, who actually initiated the Jinan project. Qian did so during a visit to the Nanyang in 1906 as part of a Qing Ministry of Education fact-finding mission.<sup>19</sup> It is likely that he perceived the urgent need to seize the initiative and beat the competition by establishing Jinan in China, given the rising number of new schools in the Nanyang for Chinese migrants by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>20</sup>

Among the Jinan students who came from Singapore, Lee Kong Chian was an important figure. This man has been better known for his business acumen, his rags-to-riches story, and his philanthropy. He contributed immensely to the historical fabric of Singapore and the Nanyang. In 1916, he joined Tan Kah Kee's 陳嘉庚 (Chen Jiageng) rubber company, and 11 years later, at the age of 34, he started his own business. By 1942, Lee held leadership roles in organizations such as the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Rubber Trade Association of Singapore, and the Overseas-Chinese Banking Corporation.<sup>21</sup>

Scholars have paid less attention to Lee's activities before his entry into the business world. For example, he had an eclectic background, travelled between China and the Nanyang in his youth, and was the epitome of the successful Jinan student. Born on 18 October 1893 in Nan'an 南安, Fujian Province 福建, Lee migrated from China to Singapore in 1903. On the island, he enrolled in the Anglo-Tamil (or Anglo-Indian) School, and attended Chinese classes at Yeung Ching 養正 (Yangzheng) School on weekends. During 1907, he enrolled in Tao Nan 道南 (Toh Lam or Dao Nan) School, where he won a scholarship in 1908 to study at Jinan Academy (Jinan Xuetang), the earliest incarnation of Jinan University.<sup>22</sup> In early 1909, he arrived in Nanjing, where Jinan was based. He was part of



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the first group of students from Singapore to study at the Academy. These students had been selected by the General Chinese Trade Affairs Association in Singapore 中華商會 (Zhonghua Shanghui), the predecessor of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Jinan administrators had given responsibility for the selection of suitable students to the various academic societies and Chinese Chambers of Commerce in the Nanyang,<sup>23</sup> and this reflected an acknowledgement of the importance of the Nanyang connection. At the school, Lee excelled academically. He was placed in the better of the two middle-school classes, and performed well in Physics, Chemistry, and Mathematics. One of his Chinese essays was even used as a model essay. Lee graduated as the top student in his cohort in 1911.<sup>24</sup>

Upon graduating from middle school, Lee was one of only ten students from Jinan to be admitted to Qinghua High School 清華高等學堂 (Qinghua Xuetang) in China. Yet he rejected the admission offer, having reached a consensus with the other nine that none of them would enrol at Qinghua. This was because Jinan administrators had previously promised to send successful students to Western countries for further studies. The promise was not honoured, possibly due to financial constraints since the Qing dynasty was on the verge of collapse. Lee therefore attended the Tangshan Railway and Mining College 唐山路礦專

學堂 (Tangshan Lukuang Zhuan Xuetang), where he was taught by Englishmen and Scotsmen. At Tangshan, Lee joined the Tongmenghui 同盟會 (Revolutionary Alliance), the predecessor of the Kuomintang 國民黨 (Guomindang), since Tangshan was a hotbed of revolutionary sentiment. He arrived back in Singapore during 1912, after having left China due to the turmoil of the 1911 Revolution. Lee spent several years working, first at the Survey Department as a surveyor, and then as a translator for a Chinese newspaper and as a teacher at Tao Nan and Yeung Ching 養正 Schools. In 1915, he joined the business world and subsequently cemented his place in history.<sup>25</sup>

Lee was not, however, the only prominent Jinan student from Singapore who travelled between China and the Nanyang. Others among the first batch of students from

TABLE A: UPPER ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL SYLLABUS AT JINAN ACADEMY

SUBJECTS	NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK			
	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year
Self-cultivation	2	2	2	2
The Classics	8	8	8	8
Chinese Literature	5	5	5	5
English Language (reading, vocabulary, translation)	4	4	4	4
Chinese History	4	4	4	4
Geography	2	2 (switch from China to foreign case studies)	2 (foreign)	2 (foreign)
Mathematics	4	4	4	4
Science	2	2	2	2
Drawing	1	1	1	1
Music	1 (Singing only)	1	1	1
Physical Exercise	3	3	3	3

Source: *Jinan Xuetang xianxing zhangcheng* 暨南學堂現行章程 (Nanjing: Jinan Xuetang, c. 1911), 33-37.

the island included Lim Pang Gan 林邦彥 (Lin Bangyan) and Ho Pao Jen 何葆仁 (He Baoren or Ho Pao Jin). These two students were so close that they became sworn brothers at Jinan. They were both born in Fujian Province, Lim in Yongchun 永春 during 1894 and Ho in Xiamen 廈門 during 1895. They arrived in Singapore during 1905. Both men enrolled at Tao Nan School in Singapore, and were subsequently selected to join Lee Kong Chian at Jinan. There was indeed a strong Tao Nan connection in the initial batch of Singapore students at Jinan: out of an intake of 38 from the island, 18 came from Tao Nan.<sup>26</sup> At Jinan, Lim and Ho did not join Lee in the best middle-school class, but were instead placed in the second-ranked middle-school class. The sworn brothers' paths split amidst the upheaval of the 1911 Revolution. Lim returned to Singapore, where he worked as a clerk by day and as a Chinese tuition teacher at night. He also worked as a bill collector, and in the tobacco business. Meanwhile, Ho pursued further studies at Fudan University 復旦大學 (Fudan Daxue) in Shanghai 上海, representing Fudan in a patriotic movement of student organizations during the 1919 May Fourth Movement. Ho subsequently headed to the United States in 1920 to study commerce at the University of Washington. He then enrolled in the University of Illinois to pursue Masters and Ph.D. studies on Governance and Economics, after which he returned to Fudan in 1924 as a professor of Political Science.

Lim and Ho continued to keep in touch. It was Ho who recommended Lim for a book-keeping job at a provision shop. Both of them were prominent members of the Chinese community in Singapore. Lim held various appointments on the boards of organizations and schools, including those of Chung Hwa 中華 Girls' School (which he assisted in establishing), Chung Cheng 中正 High School,

the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce, and various clan associations. Ho moved to Singapore in 1925, where he was appointed principal of the Chinese High School 華僑中學 (Huaqiao Zhongxue). He stayed at the school for three years before becoming a banker in 1928. Ho then fled to Chongqing 重慶 in 1941 because of the Japanese onslaught, and returned to Singapore in 1949 to pursue careers in business and banking.<sup>27</sup>

A second group of students from Singapore arrived at Jinan Academy in 1910. Two notable personalities were Tan Ee Leong 陳維龍 (Chen Weilong) and Hu Tsai Kuen 胡載坤 (Hu Zaikun). Tan was born on 28 November 1897 in Yongchun, Fujian Province. He left China for the Nanyang in 1904 with his mother to join his father in Medan, Sumatra. There, he studied Chinese, but transferred to Jinan in 1910. At the Academy, Tan frequently consulted his senior, Lee Kong Chian, on mathematical problems. During the 1911 Revolution, Tan moved to Penang, where he studied English at the Anglo-Chinese School and took supplementary lessons in Chinese. In 1914, he followed his father to Singapore, where he enrolled at the Anglo-Chinese School there for his middle school education. Upon graduating in 1918, he worked in various banks and businesses. From May 1939 to February 1941, Tan served as the secretary of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce at Lee Kong Chian's behest, as Lee was then the head of the Chamber.<sup>28</sup> Tan reprised this appointment from 1960 to 1964. He retired from banking and business in 1964.<sup>29</sup> As for Hu Tsai Kuen, while better known as the father of Richard Hu, the former Finance Minister of Singapore, he was a prominent personality in his own right. Born in Singapore during 1895, Hu Tsai Kuen was a Hakka. He studied in Anglo-Chinese School during the day and took Chinese lessons at Eng

TABLE B: MAIN MIDDLE-SCHOOL SYLLABUS AT JINAN ACADEMY

SUBJECTS	NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK				
	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	5th Year
Self-cultivation	1	1	1	1	1
The Classics	7	7	7	6	6
Chinese Literature	4	4	4	4	4
Foreign Language (reading, translation, conversational skills, writing)	7	7	8	8	8
History	3	3	3	3	3 (switch from China to foreign case studies)
Geography	2	2	2	2 (switch from China to foreign case studies)	2 (foreign)
Mathematics	4	4	4	4	4
Natural Sciences	2	2	1	2	1
Physics & Chemistry	1	1	2	2	3
Drawing	1	1	1	1	1
Law	1	1	1	1	1
Music	1	1	0	0	0
Physical Exercise	2	2	2	2	2

Source: *Jinan Xuetang xianxing zhangcheng* 暨南學堂現行章程 (Nanjing: Jinan Xuetang, c. 1911), 17-22.

TABLE C: MIDDLE-SCHOOL SYLLABUS WITH HUMANITIES EMPHASIS AT JINAN ACADEMY

SUBJECTS	NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK				
	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	5th Year
Self-cultivation	1	1	1	1	1
The Classics	10	10	10	10	10
Chinese Literature	7	7	6	6	6
Foreign Language (reading, essay-writing, vocabulary)	6	6	6 (addition of translation of essays)	6 (same as 3rd year)	6 (same as 3rd year)
History	3 (Chinese history)	3 (Chinese history)	3 (addition of histories of Asian countries)	3 (exclusively histories of foreign countries)	3 (foreign)
Geography	3	3	2 (switch from China to foreign case studies)	2 (foreign)	2 (foreign)
Mathematics	3	3	3	3	3
Natural Sciences	1	1	0	0	0
Physics & Chemistry	0	0	2	2	2
Law	0	0	1	1 (addition of financial management)	1 (exclusively financial management)
Physical Exercise	2	2	2	2	2

Source: *Jinan Xuetang xianxing zhangcheng* 暨南學堂現行章程 (Nanjing: Jinan Xuetang, c. 1911), 22-27

Sing 应新 School at night. Hu then transferred to Tao Nan because he wanted to attend Jinan, and he arrived at the Academy in 1910. He subsequently studied medicine at the University of Hong Kong from 1915 to 1921, after which he returned to Singapore in 1922. He set up the Nanyang Clinic on the island, where he practised Western medicine. Hu became well-known for his participation in the activities of the Overseas Chinese Association, which was established

in 1942 during the Japanese Occupation with the backing of Shinozaki Mamoru. The Association's initial intention was to save Chinese lives, but it was forced to spearhead the campaign that raised the notorious \$50 million "donation" demanded by the Japanese military authorities. Hu then took part in the Endau scheme to transfer Chinese from Singapore to Johor in 1943, and was in charge of medical and health issues. He was an active member of the Hakka

community in Singapore, and was also a patron of the arts during the 1950s.<sup>30</sup>

These students benefited from a modern education at Jinan. The Academy was modelled on the Japanese educational system, which featured nine years of elementary-standard schooling (divided into lower and upper levels) and five years of middle-school education.<sup>31</sup> As such, there were two middle-school classes and four upper-elementary classes at Jinan. The medium of instruction was not standardized Mandarin, but instead depended on the respective languages of teachers. More significantly, the syllabi were hardly China-centric. Jinan's administrators placed heavy emphasis on foreign languages, which encompassed not only reading but also translation work, conversational skills, and writing. Students similarly benefited from History and Geography lessons which featured case studies based on places beyond China's shores (refer to the sample syllabi in tables A-C).<sup>32</sup>

Jinan Academy was closed amidst the turmoil of the 1911 Revolution which saw the end of Qing rule. The underlying cause was that the students cut their queues as early as fall 1910 after being exposed to revolutionary sentiment. The queue was a symbol of one's loyalty to the Qing imperial court. As such, during the fighting in 1911, the provincial governor gave the order that those without queues were to be treated as revolutionaries. Fearing for their lives, most of the students returned to the Nanyang, with a small group fleeing to Shanghai. Others made their way to Wuchang 武昌, where the Revolution had first broken out, to participate in the fighting on the revolutionary side.<sup>33</sup> Scholars have previously highlighted the financial contributions of Chinese migrant communities towards political movements in China.<sup>34</sup> Yet migrants actually sacrificed limb and life for the revolutionary cause.

#### **Revival and expansion, 1918-1936**

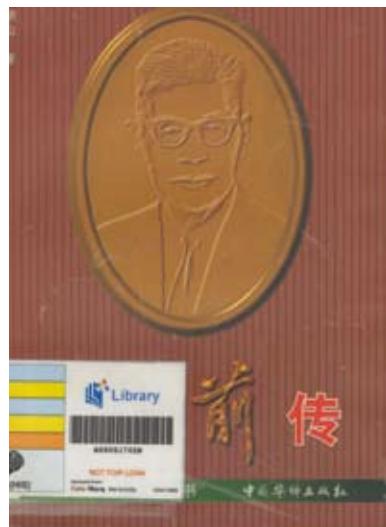
Classes at Jinan began again on 1 March 1918 after the renowned educator, Huang Yanpei 黃炎培, pushed for the institution's revival. He did so upon returning to China from a fact-finding mission in the Nanyang. He was convinced that Chinese migrants and their descendants should be

encouraged to study on the mainland. Nanjing was once more the location for the institution, which was named "Jinan School" 暨南學校 (Jinan Xuexiao).<sup>35</sup>

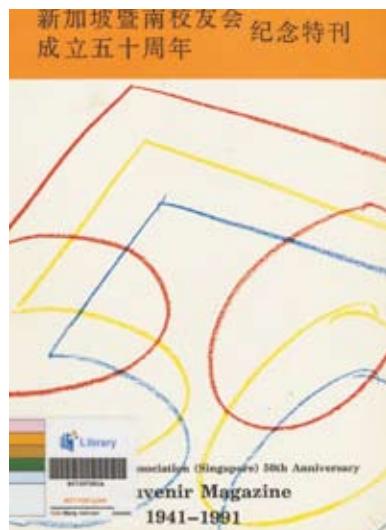
This period featured a prominent Nanyang connection in Jinan's history. For example, the school established a research institute to study the Nanyang. By 1927, Jinan was based in Shanghai after moving there during 1923 and 1924. Zheng Hongnian 鄭洪年, who had been the first principal of Jinan Academy (1906-1909), returned to head Jinan in 1927 and made the decision on 13 June that year to expand the school's activities. He added a research dimension to Jinan by founding the Nanyang Cultural and Educational Affairs Bureau 南洋文化教育事業部. This was officially inaugurated in September 1927, the same month

that the school was upgraded to the status of a national university. Zheng appointed himself as the Bureau's first head, an indication that this research institute was a top priority.<sup>36</sup> The establishment of the Bureau also constituted the institutional beginning of the Chinese-language track of Southeast Asian studies. The significance of this move was two-fold. Firstly, there had been no prior systematic attempt by scholars in China to conduct research on the Nanyang. Secondly, this move took place several decades before the North American contribution towards research on Southeast Asia.<sup>37</sup>

The formation of the Bureau represented the culmination of Chinese intellectual interest in the Nanyang, which had been partly influenced by Japanese research on the "Nanyo," the Japanese equivalent of the Chinese "Nanyang." Liu Hong has suggested that the advent of Nanyang studies at Jinan could therefore be traced back to the "South Seas Fever" in Japan as early as the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>38</sup> My research has convinced me otherwise. The pre-First World War notion of the "Nanyo" in fact referred to Micronesia in the South Pacific, the islands seized by the Japanese from the Germans in 1914. The term did not at first refer to Southeast Asia. It was only after World War I that the concept of the "Nanyo" came to resemble more closely that of the "Nanyang." Shimizu Hajime has suggested that this was due to Japanese economic penetration into Southeast Asia during



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(Biography of Lee Kong Chian)



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(Jinan Alumni Association, Singapore, 50th Anniversary Souvenir Magazine)

the First World War.<sup>39</sup> The Nanyo Kyokai 南洋協會 (South Seas Association), founded during the war years, played a significant role in equating the Nanyo with Southeast Asia. Its activities encompassed the systematic training of experts and accumulation of information. It was supported by eminent Japanese, including nobility and businessmen, with governmental backing.<sup>40</sup> Mark Peattie has also observed that during the 1920s, there emerged a division between the "Inner South Seas" (Uchi Nanyo), Micronesia, and the "Outer South Seas" (Soto Nanyo), Southeast Asia. He has further noted that the Japanese interest in the Nanyo gradually declined during the 1920s, when Nanyang studies began to emerge in China at Jinan. It was only during the 1930s that Japan began to rekindle its interest in the region due to the revival of Japanese commerce and the rise of imperialist ambitions.<sup>41</sup>

The Nanyang connection was also evident from the visit of the Jinan football (soccer) team to the region in 1928. The team famously won the Kiangnan Inter-collegiate Athletic Association League nine times between 1927 and 1937. In spring 1928, Zheng Hongnian decided to send the Jinan football players to the Nanyang for a series of friendly matches. The objective of the trip was to raise the school's profile in the Nanyang in light of recent developments such as the achievement of university status and the founding of Nanyang studies at Jinan. Singapore was a key destination during the tour, which took place from March to June 1928. Other destinations included Saigon (Vietnam), Bangkok (Siam/Thailand), and several locations on the Malay Peninsula (Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh, Penang, Kelantan, and Trengganu).<sup>42</sup> The official Jinan narrative does not, however, mention that this tour provided the impetus for the beginnings of an alumni association based in Singapore. While the organization was subsequently registered only in 1941, the informal gathering of Jinan alumni on the island could be traced back to 1928.<sup>43</sup> The Jinan football team's visit rekindled interest in maintaining links with the school among former students like Lee Kong Chian.

There continued to be students from Singapore at Jinan throughout the 1920s and early 1930s. These students travelled between China and the Nanyang. Many of them were born on the mainland, first migrating to the Nanyang before returning to China to study at Jinan. Upon graduating from the school, they headed to Singapore and played important roles in the Chinese community on the island. Two examples were Sheng Peck Choo 盛碧珠 and Liu Kang 劉抗. Both of them were born in Fujian Province in China, Sheng in Quanzhou 泉州 (1912) and Liu in Yongchun (1911). Sheng attended elementary and middle-school in China. This included a stay at Jimei 集美 School, which had been established by the famous Singapore

philanthropist, Tan Kah Kee, to train teachers. Sheng then worked as a teacher before pursuing a university education with Jinan's Education Department from 1932 to 1935. Upon graduation, she taught at a village school in China before leaving for Singapore in 1937 to join her husband and to work as a teacher there. She joined Chung Hwa Girls' School in 1939, and subsequently rose to become its principal in 1955. She headed the school till her retirement in 1977.<sup>44</sup> As for Liu Kang, he spent a substantial portion of his childhood (1917-1926) in Malaya because his father was a rubber merchant there. He then pursued a middle-school education at Jinan for a year (1926-1927) before switching to art classes at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts 上海美專. He furthered his studies in Paris from 1929 to 1933, after which he worked as a professor at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts from 1933 to 1937. Liu subsequently moved to Singapore and taught art at several schools. He went into hiding in Muar (Malaya) when the Japanese conquered the island. Thereafter, Liu became a famous painter in Singapore and was one of the pioneers of the Nanyang style of painting. This was a blend of both Western and Chinese methods, and it featured Nanyang subjects.<sup>45</sup>

### War and the move south, 1937-1942

After the Japanese invasion of Shanghai in August 1937, Jinan was forced to move its campus to the International Settlement, where the school stayed until 1941. The official Jinan narrative describes these years as the "Isolated Region" 孤島 (*gudao*) period of the institution's history because the school was isolated from the rest of "Free China."<sup>46</sup> But this narrative neglects to mention that Jinan was also cut off from the Nanyang after the invasion of Shanghai. The centre of gravity in the Nanyang connection therefore shifted to the region itself. Singapore constituted the heart of the Nanyang connection until the fall of the island to the Japanese in February 1942. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, Singapore became the main base for the field of Nanyang studies with the founding of the South Seas Society 南洋學會 (Nanyang Xuehui) in 1940. Secondly, a Jinan alumni association was officially registered in Singapore in 1941.

Wang Gungwu has rightly stated that the South Seas Society's founders "wrote very much in the shadow of the Nanyang Research Institute of Chi-nan [Jinan] University in Shanghai."<sup>47</sup> Indeed, the full Chinese version of the Society's name was "Zhongguo Nanyang Xuehui" 中國南洋學會 (China South Seas Society).<sup>48</sup> However, while the intellectual lineage of the South Seas Society could be traced back to China, the "cradle for its initial development" was located in Singapore.<sup>49</sup> Editors of the Sin Chew Jit Poh 星洲日報, a Chinese newspaper on the island, played a

particularly important role in the birth of the Society. The organization was founded by eight scholars on 17 March 1940 at the Southern Hotel 南天酒樓 in Eu Tong Sen Street, Singapore. Five of the six who were actually present at this first meeting were linked to the Sin Chew Jit Poh. These five were also the majority in the seven-member inaugural council. They were: Guan Chupu 關楚璞 (Kwan Chu Poh), Yu Dafu 郁達夫 (Yue Daff), Yao Nan 姚楠 (T.L. Yao/Yao Tse-liang/Yao Tsu Liang), Xu Yunqiao 許雲樵 (Hsu Yun Tsiao/Hsu Yun-Tsiao/Hsu Yun-ts'iao), and Zhang Liqian 張禮千 (Chang Lee Chien/Chang Li-chien).<sup>50</sup>

Two co-founders who did not attend the inaugural meeting were Liu Shimu 劉士木 (Lou Shih Mo/Liu Shih-Moh) and Li Changfu 李長傅 (Lee Chan Foo/Lee Chang-foo). Liu resided in Penang, and had left China for the Nanyang in 1938 due to the upheaval caused by the Sino-Japanese War. Li was absent because he was in Shanghai at the time. The backgrounds of these two men shared a common denominator with Yao Nan's profile: they all worked for the Nanyang Cultural and Educational Affairs Bureau at Jinan before establishing the South Seas Society.<sup>51</sup> This reflected the Society's connection to the China-based field of Nanyang studies. The backgrounds of Liu and Li further indicated a Japanese component. Liu was born during 1889 in Xingning 興寧, Guangdong 廣東 province, while Li was born during 1899 in Jiangsu 江蘇 province. Liu was partly educated in Japan because of the availability of Economics courses in Japan on the Nanyang. These courses reflected a Nanyang-Nanyang link. Liu then joined the Nanyang Cultural and Educational Affairs Bureau in February 1928 as head of the cultural affairs section. He subsequently headed the Bureau from June 1928 to 1933. Similarly, Li joined the Bureau in 1927 as an editor before leaving for Japan in 1929, where he stayed for two years. In Japan, Li learnt Japanese and English, after which he returned to work at the Jinan Bureau.<sup>52</sup>

As for Yao Nan, he was born in Shanghai during 1912, and developed an interest in the Nanyang during his youth. He felt that Chinese scholars needed to pay more attention to the region because the Chinese scholarly contribution had been lagging behind that of European writers. He enrolled in the Nanyang Middle School 南洋中學 at the age of 15. Yao then pursued his interest in Nanyang studies by working as an English translator with the Nanyang Cultural and Educational Affairs Bureau at Jinan from August 1929. Yao later became the first head of the South Seas Society by virtue of his appointment as the Honorary Secretary, which was the highest-ranking position at the time. Amidst the Japanese onslaught on Malaya and Singapore, however, he fled to the Chinese war-time capital of Chongqing in 1941 and did not re-settle in Singapore after the end of the Second World War.<sup>53</sup>

The activities of the South Seas Society were halted by the Japanese invasion of Singapore. Despite its short war-time existence, the Society nevertheless played an instrumental role in the development of Nanyang studies. It was the first Nanyang-based organization specializing in research on the region. This represented a new approach of understanding the Nanyang from the region's perspective, without repudiating the debt owed to the China-based intellectual tradition. The Society's flagship periodical, the *Journal of the South Seas Society* 南洋學報 (*Nanyang xuebao*), broke new ground by being the first scholarly journal in the Nanyang to study the region. It was possibly also the oldest Chinese-language academic journal in the area.<sup>54</sup> The publication of the Journal and other Society activities resumed during the post-Second World War period.<sup>55</sup>

There was, additionally, overlapping membership between the South Seas Society and another organization with links to Jinan. This was the Singapore Jinan Alumni Association. Lee Kong Chian, for example, was a member of both organizations and a key sponsor of their activities.<sup>56</sup> Although the move to found the Singapore Jinan Alumni Association began in 1940 with the submission of its registration application, the organization officially came into being only on 23 April 1941, when it was registered. It was initially known as the "Chi-Nan Alumni Association (Singapore)."<sup>57</sup> There were about 10 founding members, one of whom was Lee Kong Chian. Hu Tsai Kuen was the founding Chairman and Lim Pang Gan was the inaugural Treasurer. The Association initially rented the third floor of 72 Robinson Road to serve as its headquarters.<sup>58</sup>

The choice of the Association's original Chinese name, "Luxing Jinan Xiaoyouhui" 旅星暨南校友會, was significant because it was trans-regional, linking China and the Nanyang.<sup>59</sup> The first character, "lu" 旅, implied that the organization's location in Singapore was temporary and that there was thus no repudiation of the linkage with China. Yet the second character, "xing" 星, was an abbreviation for Singapore and an implicit acknowledgement of the Nanyang connection. The organization was also known as the "Jinan Xiaoyouhui," and not "Jinan Daxue Xiaoyouhui" 暨南大學校友會 (Jinan University Alumni Association), because its membership comprised graduates of earlier non-university incarnations of Jinan like Jinan Academy (1906-1911).<sup>60</sup> The Association's activities came to a standstill with the fall of Singapore in February 1942. When it was revived in 1947 by Lim Pang Gan, it became known as the "Singapore Jinan Alumni Association" 新加坡暨南校友會 (Xinjiapo Jinan Xiaoyouhui).<sup>61</sup>

While the inaugural version of the Singapore Jinan Alumni Association survived for only a short time before the Japanese conquest of Singapore in 1942, its existence

was significant. The organization was one of the earliest Jinan alumni associations worldwide, and was possibly the oldest in the Nanyang.<sup>62</sup> The official coordinating body at Jinan University was not established until 25 December 1992. Furthermore, the founding of the Singapore-based organization represented the culmination of close links between the alumni on the island. Informal gatherings of these Jinan graduates had indeed begun as early as 1928, being prompted by the Jinan football team's tour of the Nanyang. The reason for the delay in registering the Association has not been explained in the organization's publications.<sup>63</sup> It could have been because there had been insufficient alumni in Singapore or inadequate financial resources to support an alumni association until the 1940s.<sup>64</sup> Another plausible theory is that the Singapore alumni had not seen the need to formally establish such a body until the isolation of Jinan following the Japanese invasion of Shanghai in 1937. The siege of the school meant that there was now a need to keep the memory of their alma mater alive south of China, in the heart of the Nanyang.

### Concluding remarks

In recent decades, approaches to the issues of Chinese identity and the global role of China have tended to emphasize either economic or cultural linkages between China and Chinese communities in other countries.<sup>65</sup> Yet such notions as "Greater China" and "Cultural China" have presented an imbalanced interpretation of the Chinese world because they have overemphasized the mainland's importance. My article has furnished a new perspective through an analysis of the trans-regional experiences of Jinan intellectuals and students like Lee Kong Chian. I have thus offered a more holistic conceptualization of the Chinese world, one which has hitherto been absent from the historiographies of modern China and Chinese migration.

### ENDNOTES

1. This paper is a fragment of a Ph.D. dissertation in progress with the Department of History at the University of Pennsylvania: "Conceptualizing the Chinese World: Jinan University, Nanyang Migrants, and Trans-Regionalism, 1900-1942."
2. I have excluded Chinese works on education from this overview of the historiography on modern China because they lack analysis: Marianne Bastid, *Educational Reform in Early Twentieth-Century China*, translated by Paul J. Bailey (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1988), xvi.
3. Three notable exceptions have been: Wen-hsin Yeh, *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919-1937* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Harvard University Asia Center, 1990); Ruth Hayhoe, *China's Universities, 1895-1995: A Century of Cultural Conflict* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1996; reprint ed., Hong Kong: The Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong, 1999); and Thomas D. Curran, *Educational Reform in Republican China: The Failure of Educators to Create a Modern Nation* (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2005).
4. For further analysis of post-1970s scholarship on modern China, refer to: Hans van de Ven, "Recent Studies of Modern Chinese History," *Modern Asian Studies* 30, no. 2 (May 1996), 226.
5. Wang Gungwu, "Maritime China in Transition," in *Maritime China in Transition 1750-1850*, eds. Wang Gungwu and Ng Chin-keong (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), 4.
6. Ien Ang, *On Not Speaking Chinese: Living between Asia and the West* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001). For a discussion of the theoretical implications of the term, "diaspora," see Kim D. Butler, "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 10, no. 2 (Fall 2001), 189-219.
7. Adam McKeown, *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago, Hawaii, 1900-1936* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 84-85.
8. Wang Gungwu, *China and the Chinese Overseas* (Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1991; reprint ed., Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1997); and Wang Gungwu, "A Single Chinese Diaspora?," in *Diasporic Chinese Ventures: The Life and Work of Wang Gungwu*, eds. Gregor Benton and Hong Liu (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 157.
9. Lynn Pan, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Chinese Overseas* (Singapore: Published for the Chinese Heritage Centre by Archipelago Press and Landmark Books, 1998; reprint ed., Singapore: Published for the Chinese Heritage Centre by Archipelago Press and Landmark Books, 2000), 14-15.
10. Zhu Guohong has rightly highlighted the localized focus of the extant scholarship, but his solution is still Sino-centric since it is based on understanding migrant activity as emigration from China. Refer to Zhu Guohong 朱國宏, *Zhongguo de haiwai yimin: yixiang guoji qianyi de lishi yanjiu* 中國的海外移民: 一項國際遷移的歷史研究 (Chinese Emigration: A Historical Study of the International Migration) (Shanghai: Fudan Daxue Chubanshe, 1994), 5.
11. Wang Gungwu, *Don't Leave Home: Migration and the Chinese* (Singapore: Times Academic Press, 2001; reprint ed., Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 2003), 291 and 293.
12. For example, enrolment at Jinan Academy 暨南學堂 (Jinan Xuetang), the school's earliest incarnation, peaked at 240 in 1911: *Jinan Daxue Xiaoshi Bianxiezu* 暨南大學校史編寫組, *Jinan xiaoshi 1906-1996 暨南校史 1906-1996* (Guangzhou: Jinan Daxue Chubanshe, 1996), 5-7.
13. I have previously examined the origins of the name, "Nanyang," and the region's geographical boundaries: Leander Seah, "Historicizing Hybridity and Globalization: The South Seas Society in Singapore, 1940-2000," M.A. dissertation, Department of History, National University of Singapore, 2005. Refer also to Leander Seah, "Hybridity, Globalization, and the Creation of a Nanyang Identity: The South Seas Society in Singapore, 1940-1958," *Journal of the South Seas Society 南洋學報* (Nanyang xuebao) 61 (December 2007), 134-151.
14. Wang Gungwu, *Community and Nation: China, Southeast Asia and Australia* (St Leonards: Asian Studies Association of Australia in association with Allen & Unwin, 1992), 29.
15. See Table 3 in Adam McKeown, "Global Chinese Migration, 1840-1940," paper delivered at ISSCO V: the 5th Conference for the International Society for the Study of the Chinese Overseas, Elsinore (Helsingør), Denmark, 10-14 May 2004, 5.
16. *Jinan Daxue Xiaoshi Bianxiezu*, *Jinan xiaoshi 1906-1996*, 4; and "Muxiao xiaoshi" 母校校史, in *Jinan xiaoshi, 1906-1949: Ziliao xuanji* 暨南校史, 1906-1949: 資料選輯 (Selected Source Material on History of Jinan University, 1906-1949), vol. 1, ed. Jinan

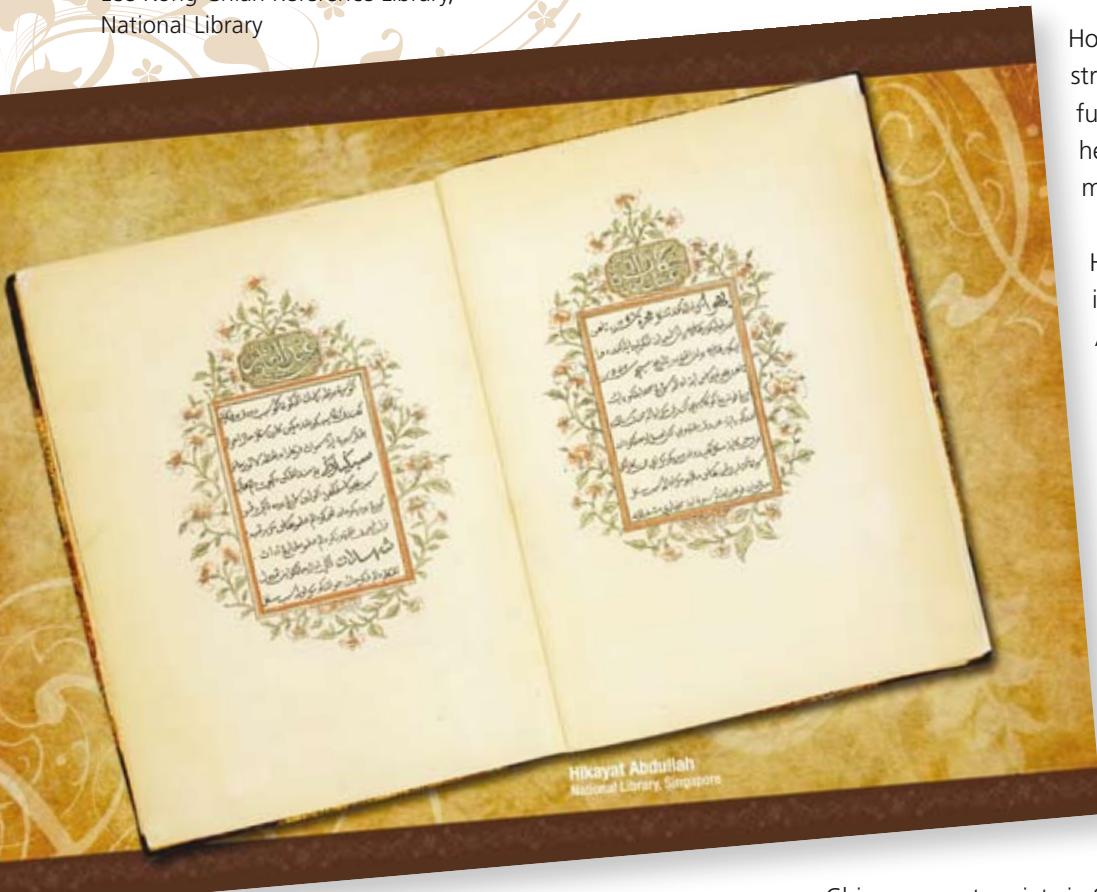
- Daxue Huaqiao Yanjiusuo 暨南大學華僑研究所 (Institute of Overseas Chinese Studies, Jinan University) (Guangzhou: Jinan Daxue Huaqiao Yanjiusuo, 1983), 3.
17. Bastid, Educational Reform in Early Twentieth-Century China, 241. See also Hiromu Momose's biography in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1944), 781; and Wu Zixiu 吳子修, *Xinhai xunnanji 辛亥殉難記* (N.p., 1916; reprint ed., Taipei: Taiwan Datong Shuju, 1968), 514-516.
  18. The economic dimension has been thoroughly analyzed in Yen Ching-hwang's book, *Coolies and Mandarins: China's Protection of Overseas Chinese during the Late Ch'ing Period (1851-1911)* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1985).
  19. Zhou Xiaozhong 周孝中, *Jinan yishi 暨南逸史* (Guangzhou: Jinan Daxue Chubanshe, 1996), 2. Zhou's book is possibly the only work published by Jinan University Press that has not downplayed this important fact.
  20. For instance, Wee Tong Bao has examined the case of Singapore in her dissertation: "The Development of Modern Chinese Vernacular Education in Singapore – Society, Politics & Policies, 1905-1941," M.A. dissertation, Department of History, National University of Singapore, 2001, 1 and 14.
  21. Note that I have spelt "Oversea" according to the official name. For references, see, for example, "Reliving Lee Kong Chian," AlumNUS 17 (March 1994), extracted from National University of Singapore Central Library Reference Office Personality Files Collection. Known as the "rubber king" during the 1950s, Lee was so respected that he even lectured on Southeast Asia at the Naval School of Military Government and Administration (based at Columbia University in New York City) at the invitation of law professor Philip C. Jessup. Lee had been stranded there while attending a rubber conference during the Pacific War: Interview with Tan Kok Kheng by the Oral History Centre, National Archives of Singapore, Accession 000232 Reel 54; Schuyler C. Wallace, "The Naval School of Military Government and Administration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 231 (January 1944), 29-33; and Chia Poteik, "Page 10 Profile Measures One Man and His Millions – Lee Kong Chian: Pay-off for Perseverance," *Straits Times*, 12 June 1962, extracted from National University of Singapore Central Library Reference Office Personality Files Collection.
  22. Lee had fond memories of his brief stay at Tao Nan. Indeed, his wedding ceremony was held there.
  23. Jinan Xuetang xianxing zhangcheng 暨南學堂現行章程 (Nanjing: Jinan Xuetang, c. 1911), 13.
  24. Selected sources on Lee Kong Chian: Zhou Xiaozhong, *Jinan yishi*, 11-12; Interview with Tan Ee Leong by the Oral History Centre, National Archives of Singapore, Accession 000003 Reel 14; Chia Poteik, "Page 10 Profile Measures One Man and His Millions – Lee Kong Chian: Pay-off for Perseverance"; Anonymous, "Li Guangqian boshi" 李光前博士, in *Xingma renwuzhi 星馬人物誌 (Who's Who in South East Asia)*, vol. 1, ed. Song Zhemei 宋哲美 (Sung Chek Mei) (Hong Kong: Dongnanya Yanjiusuo, 1969), 23-50; Zheng Bingshan 鄭炳山, Li Guangqian zhuan 李光前傳 (Beijing: Zhongguo Huaqiao Chubanshe, 1996), 17-20, 223-224; Quek Soo Ngoh, "Lee Kong Chian: Contributions to Education in Singapore 1945-1965," unpublished B.A. Hons. thesis, Department of History, National University of Singapore, 1986/87, 15-17; and Chen Weilong 陳維龍, "Laotongxue jianjie" 老同學簡介, in *Jinan Xiaoyouhui xinhuisuo luocheng ji Xinjiapo kaibu yibai wushi zhounian jinian tekan*, 暨南校友會新會所落成暨新加坡開埠一百五十週年紀念特刊 (Souvenir Publication on Inauguration of New Premises of the Chi-nan Alumni Association and 150th Anniversary of the Founding of Singapore) (Singapore: Jinan Xiaoyouhui, 1970), 37. Some of these sources furnish incorrect details. For example, Lee studied and taught at Yeung Ching School, and not "Yeung Chia," "Chung Cheng" 中正, or "Chongzheng" 崇正 Schools.
  25. Refer to the sources in the previous endnote.
  26. The first intake from Singapore was part of the fifth overall cohort (54 students) from the Nanyang. Refer to: Interview with Lim Pang Gan by the Oral History Centre, National Archives of Singapore, Accession 000036 Reel 2; and "Jinan biannian dashiji" 暨南編年大事記, *Jinan jiaoyu 暨南教育* 5 (December 1987), 82.
  27. Zhou Xiaozhong, *Jinan yishi*, 15-17; Interviews with Lim Pang Gan by the Oral History Centre, National Archives of Singapore, Accession 000036 Reels 2-3, Accession 000227 Reels 1-2; Xing Zhizhong 邢致中, "'Gancao laoren' lao shezhang Lin Bangyan xiansheng" [甘草老人]老社長林邦彥先生, in *Tongde Shubaoshe jiushi zhounian jinian tekan* 同德書報社九十週年紀念特刊, ed. Tongde Shubaoshe Jiushi Zhounian Jinian Takan Weiyuanhui 同德書報社九十週年紀念特刊委員會 (Singapore: Tongde Shubaoshe, 2000), 60-62; and Anonymous, "He Baoren boshi" 何葆仁博士, in *Xingma renwuzhi*, vol. 2 (Hong Kong: Dongnanya Yanjiusuo, 1972), 113-114.
  28. Tan was on very good terms with Lee Kong Chian, serving as the best man at Lee's wedding in 1928.
  29. Interviews with Tan Ee Leong by the Oral History Centre, National Archives of Singapore, Accession 000003 Reels 1-2/7-8/10/14; Anonymous, "Chen Weilong xiansheng" 陳維龍先生, in *Xingma renwuzhi*, vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Dongnanya Yanjiusuo, 1969), 179-191; and Chen Weilong 陳維龍, *Dongnanya huayi wenren zhuanlue 東南亞華裔聞人傳略* (Singapore: South Seas Society, 1977), vi. None of these sources, however, provide the correct dates for Tan's second stint as the Secretary of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, using the years "1958-1964" instead of "1960-1964." I have therefore referred to the Chamber's official record: Fangyan sihai: Xinjiapo Zhonghua Zongshanghui jiushi zhounian jinian tekan 放眼四海:新加坡中華總商會九十週年紀念特刊 (Singapore: Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce & Industry, 1996), 99.
  30. Chen Weilong 陳維龍, "Qingmo Jinan huiyi zhier" 清末暨南回憶之二, in *Jinan xiaoshi*, 1906-1949: Ziliao xuanji, vol. 1, 98; Interview with Lim Pang Gan by the Oral History Centre, National Archives of Singapore, Accession 000036 Reel 2; Interview with Koh Soh Goh by the Oral History Centre, National Archives of Singapore, Accession 000495 Reel 2; "The Doctor who had a Shot at Art," *Straits Times*, 30 October 1984; "Hakka Leader Dies after Illness," *Straits Times*, 25 October 1984; and Mamoru Shinozaki, "My Wartime Experiences in Singapore," in Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Oral History Programme: Japanese Occupation Project (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1973), 32-33, 79-80.
  31. Chen Weilong, "Qingmo Jinan huiyi zhier," 99.
  32. Jinan Xuetang xianxing zhangcheng.
  33. Chen Weilong, "Qingmo Jinan huiyi zhier," 97 and 102-103; Zheng Hongnian 鄭洪年, "Guoli Jinan Daxue zhi baogao" 國立暨南大學之報告, in *Huaqiao jiaoyu huiyi baogaoshu* 華僑教育會議報告書 (N.p., May 1930), 19; Jinan Gaojiaoshi Ziliaozi 暨南高教室資料組, "Jinan biannian dashiji" 暨南編年大事記, *Jinan jiaoyu* 暨南教育 5 (December 1987), 81-82; and "[Jinan dili, Jinling] Yuan Shikai danu: 'Jinan doushi xie gemingdang" [暨南地理、金陵]袁世凱大怒: 暨南都是些革命黨, <<http://www.jnu100.edu.cn/jd100/sjcx/200611150034.htm>> (accessed May 30, 2007).
  34. See, for example, Yen Ching-hwang, *The Overseas Chinese and the 1911 Revolution: With Special Reference to Singapore and Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1976), xviii-xix, 90-91, and 309.
  35. "Jinan biannian dashiji," 82.
  36. Jinan nianjian 1929 暨南年鑒 1929 (*Chinan Annual 1929*) (Shanghai: Guoli Jinan Daxue, 1929), n.p.

37. The Bureau was active, publishing various periodicals like *Nanyang yanjiu 南洋研究* and a monograph series. It also spearheaded the organization of academic conferences. One example was the large-scale 1929 Nanyang Huaqiao Jiaoyu Huiyi 南洋華僑教育會議 at Jinan, which featured 78 participants, of which 49 were from the Nanyang: "Jinan biannian dashiji," 86.
38. Liu Hong, "Southeast Asian Studies in Greater China," *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia* 3 (March 2003), <[http://kyotoreview.cseas.kyoto-u.ac.jp/issue/issue2/article\\_232\\_p.html](http://kyotoreview.cseas.kyoto-u.ac.jp/issue/issue2/article_232_p.html)> (accessed September 13, 2005).
39. Shimizu Hajime, "Southeast Asia as a Regional Concept in Modern Japan," in *Locating Southeast Asia: Geographies of Knowledge and Politics of Space*, eds. Paul H. Kratoska, Remco Raben, and Henk Schulte Nordholt (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2005), 87-88.
40. Mark R. Peattie, "Nanshin: The 'Southward Advance,' 1931-1941, as a Prelude to the Japanese Occupation of Southeast Asia," in *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945*, eds. Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), 198-199; Hueying Kuo, "Nationalism against its People? Chinese Business and Nationalist Activities in Inter-war Singapore, 1919-1941," *Southeast Asia Research Centre* (City University of Hong Kong) working paper no. 48 (July 2003), <[http://www.cityu.edu.hk/searc/WP48\\_03\\_Kuo.pdf](http://www.cityu.edu.hk/searc/WP48_03_Kuo.pdf)>; and J. Charles Schencking, "The Imperial Japanese Navy and the Constructed Consciousness of a South Seas Destiny, 1872-1921," *Modern Asian Studies* 33, no. 4 (October 1999), 792. Peattie indicates that the Nanyo Kyokai was founded in 1914, but Schencking states that this took place in January 1915. The actual date of establishment will be determined after further research and will be provided in my Ph.D. dissertation, "Conceptualizing the Chinese World."
41. Peattie, "Nanshin," 190, 195-196, 212-213.
42. Jinan nianjian 1929, n.p.; and Ma Xingzhong 馬興中, "Jinan Daxue yu Xinjiapo" 暨南大學與新加坡, in *Jinan Daxue bainian huadan, Xinjiapo Xiaoyouhui liushiwu zhounian 暨南大學百年華誕,新加坡校友會六十五週年紀念特刊* (Singapore: Xinjiapo Jinan Xiaoyouhui Chuban Weiyuanhui, 2006), 30.
43. Xing Jizhong 邢濟眾, "Fengxian manhuai aixin gongchuang meihao weilai" 奉獻滿懷愛心共創美好未來, in *Jinan Daxue bainian huadan, Xinjiapo Xiaoyouhui liushiwu zhounian*, 1.
44. While Sheng has stated that she retired in 1978, the school's records indicate instead that this took place in 1977: Interviews with Sheng Peck Choo by the Oral History Centre, National Archives of Singapore, Accession 001608 Reels 1-4; and Zhonghua Zhongxue chuangxiao bashi zhounian jinian tekan 中華中學創校八十週年紀念特刊 (Zhonghua Secondary School 80th Anniversary Souvenir Magazine) (Singapore: Zhonghua Zhongxue, 1991), 41. For additional biodata, see: *Jinan Xiaoyouhui xinhuisuo luocheng ji Xinjiapo kaibu yibai wushi zhounian jinian tekan*, 147.
45. For a discussion of Liu's Nanyang style, refer for example to Alicia Yeo, "Singapore Art, Nanyang Style," *BiblioAsia* 2, no. 1 (April 2006), 4-11. I have also referred to numerous sources, including: Interviews with Liu Kang by the Oral History Centre, National Archives of Singapore, Accession 000171 Reels 1/5-6/37; "Liu Kang: A Biodata," *Straits Times*, 3 February 1993; and "Portrait of the Artist as an Old Man," *Straits Times*, 31 March 2000. Many sources provide incorrect dates for Liu Kang's stay at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts because they do not take into account his studies at Jinan. The dates for his enrolment at Jinan can be found in: *Jinan Xiaoyouhui xinhuisuo luocheng ji Xinjiapo kaibu yibai wushi zhounian jinian tekan*, 149.
46. Zhang Xiaohui 張曉輝, ed., *Bainian Jinan shi 1906-2006 百年暨南史 1906-2006* (Guangzhou: Jinan Daxue Chubanshe, 2006), 91.
47. Wang Gungwu, *China and the Chinese Overseas* (Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1991; reprint ed., Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1997), 34.
48. See the inaugural annual report 會務報告, *Journal of the South Seas Society 南洋學報* (JSSS) 1, no. 1 (June 1940), 95 of the Chinese section.
49. Gwee Yee Hean, "South Seas Society: Past, Present and Future," *JSSS* 33 (1978), 32.
50. For further details, refer to Seah, "Hybridity, Globalization, and the Creation of a Nanyang Identity: The South Seas Society in Singapore, 1940-1958."
51. Jinan xiaoshi 1906-1996, 38 and Table 7 on 325.
52. For Liu's biographical details, see *JSSS* 8, no. 2 (December 1952), especially 1-13 of the Chinese section; and Yao Nan 姚楠, *Nantian yumo 南天余墨* (Shenyang: Liaoning Daxue Chubanshe, 1995), 39. Concerning Li's hometown, sources differ: it was either Dantu 丹徒 or Zhenjiang 鎮江 – see "Bianji suoyu" 編輯瑣譜, *JSSS* 1, no. 2 (December 1940), 3 of the Chinese section; Yao Nan, *Nantian yumo*, 39; and Chen Daiguang 陳代光, "Li Changfu xiansheng zhuanlue" 李長傅先生傳略, in *Li Changfu 李長傅, Nanyang shidi yu huaqiao huaren yanjiu 南洋史地與華僑華人研究* (Guangzhou: Jinan Daxue Chubanshe, 2001), 1-2.
53. "Yidai caizi Nantian Jiulou qi 'hui': Nanyang Xuehui 54 nian" 一代才子南天酒樓起‘會’：南洋學會54年, *Lianhe zaobao 聯合早報*, 10 April 1994; Yao Nan, *Nantian yumo*, 39-40; and Yao Nan 姚楠, *Xingyunyeyuju 星雲椰雨集* (Singapore: Singapore News & Publications Ltd. [Book Publications Dept.], 1984), 2.
54. 1940 annual report, *JSSS* 1, no. 1 (June 1940), 95 of the Chinese section; and the "Fakan zhiqu" 發刊旨趣 (Foreword) in the same *JSSS* issue, 1-2 of the Chinese section.
55. For post-war activities, refer to Seah, "Historicizing Hybridity and Globalization."
56. Lee was a South Seas Society member from 1946 till his death in 1967, and was also a founding member of the Singapore Jinan Alumni Association.
57. Straits Settlements Government Gazette 76, no. 55 (2 May 1941), 933.
58. He Baoren 何葆仁, and Lin Bangyan 林邦彥, "Jinan Xiaoyouhui chuangli shimoji" 暨南校友會創立始末記, in *Jinan Xiaoyouhui xinhuisuo luocheng ji Xinjiapo kaibu yibai wushi zhounian jinian tekan*, 89; Xing Jizhong, "Fengxian manhuai aixin gongchuang meihao weilai," 1; and Ma Xingzhong, "Jinan Daxue yu Xinjiapo," 30-32.
59. Straits Settlements Government Gazette 76, no. 55 (2 May 1941), 933.
60. Interviews conducted in Mandarin with Xing Jizhong 邢濟眾 on 25 June 2007 and 16 August 2007. Also known by his pen-name, "Xing Zhizhong" 邢致中, Xing is a famous writer in Singapore who was born in China and who studied at Jinan University from 1943 to 1947. At the time of my interviews with him, he had just relinquished his position as the head of the Singapore Jinan Alumni Association after five years of leadership. He joined the organization in 1982 as its Assistant Secretary, was the Secretary from 1984 to 2002, and became the head in 2002. He is possibly the Association's most senior surviving member.
61. Refer to the sources in endnote 58.
62. See endnote 60.
63. The founding members have also passed away and are therefore not available for interviews. Oral interviews which were recorded before their demise do not contain information on this issue.
64. See endnote 60.
65. Wang Gungwu, *Don't Leave Home: Migration and the Chinese*, 91; and Tu Wei-ming, "Cultural China: The Periphery as the Center," in *The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today*, ed. Tu Wei-ming (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 1-34.

# EXCERPTS FROM *Hikayat Abdullah*

by MAZELAN ANUAR

Librarian,  
Lee Kong Chian Reference Library,  
National Library



Frontispiece of the Hikayat Abdullah  
Ilustrasi depan Hikayat Abdullah

**THIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF** Munshi Abdullah Abdul Kadir was written in Jawi between 1840 and 1843, and published in 1849. The author was the interpreter and scribe to the founder of modern Singapore, Sir Stamford Raffles. This work is an important record of Singapore's early history and the most accurate account of Raffles' arrival.

In the opening notes of Hikayat Abdullah (The Story of Abdullah), Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir or better known as Munsyi Abdullah explained that he undertook the project of writing his autobiography at the request and insistence of an English friend. He expressed his reluctance as he humbly considered himself to be ignorant, inexperienced and lacking in knowledge to carry out such a heavy task.

However, seeking guidance and strength from Allah, he decided to fulfil his friend's wish even though he foresaw that he would make many mistakes in his writing.

There are 27 chapters in Hikayat Abdullah with many interesting stories recorded as Abdullah recounted the events of his life in a roughly chronological sequence. The opening and closing sections are not marked and have sometimes been treated as the first and last chapters of Hikayat Abdullah in translated and transliterated works.

Among the interesting stories recorded in Hikayat Abdullah are Colonel Farquhar's landing in Singapore, the system practised by T'ien Ti Hui (a Chinese secret society in Singapore), the Singapore Stone, the English Church in Singapore and the Institution initiated by Raffles.

In this issue, we highlight the landing of Farquhar in Singapore as narrated by Abdullah in the chapter titled *Darihal Negeri Singapura* (About the State of Singapore). An account of Abdullah's exclusion of the presence of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles vary with other versions that claimed Raffles was together with Farquhar to negotiate with the Temenggong.

Seemingly, Abdullah implied that Singapore was given away to the British because Tengku Long was indebted to Farquhar:

*Maka adapun sebab disuruhnya tuju Singapura itu oleh kerana Tuan Farquhar itu lama sudah bersahabat dengan Tengku Long, putera Sultan Mahmud. Tatkala masa ia di Melaka juga, maka khabarnya kudengar adalah Tengku Long itu telah sudah mengambil beberapa wang daripada*

*Kernel Farquhar. Maka bahawa sesungguhnya pada masa itu juga ia telah berjanji hendak memberikan Pulau Singapura itu kepada Inggeris.<sup>1</sup>*

The reason he set a course for Singapore was that he had known Tengku Long, the son of Sultan Mahmud, since the days when he lived in Malacca, and I have heard it said that in the past Tengku Long had received a great deal of money from Colonel Farquhar. Evidently even as long ago as that Tengku Long had promised to give the Island of Singapore to the English.<sup>2</sup>

Abdullah also portrayed Farquhar as very astute in convincing the Temenggong to agree in allowing the East India Company to set up its station in Singapore:

*Setelah sampailah, maka bercakaplah Raja Farquhar darihal kedadangannya itu serta dikharkannya akan perihal ehwal asalnya ia telah dikirim surat oleh Tuan Raffles dari Bangkahulu menyuruh cari suatu tempat yang baik hendak dibuat negeri, karena Melaka itu telah diserahkan oleh Seri Maharaja Inggeris kepada Maharaja Holanda. Dan lagi, katanya, jikalau kiranya di sini jadi diperbuat Inggeris akan negeri, maka terlalu senang kepada segala orang Melayu-Melayu hendak bermiaga. Dan lagi, nanti datang ke mari segala saudagar-saudagar orang putih boleh bermiaga. Dan lagi, beberapa perkataan yang manis-manis dan nasihat ia bercakap itu supaya melembutkan hati Temenggung: Dikulumnya gula batu dalam mulutnya.<sup>3</sup>*

There, Colonel Farquhar spoke of his object in coming, telling all about how originally he had receive a letter from Mr. Raffles at Bencoolen authorising him to find a good place for a settlement, for his Majesty's Government had handed over Malacca to the Dutch Government. Colonel Farquhar added "If perchance the English were to found a settlement here it would be a great help to all the Malay people in their trade. Besides, in time a great many white merchants would come here to trade." Colonel Farquhar counselled the Temenggong in the most honeyed phrases to soften his heart, as one who offers lumps of sugar to chew.<sup>4</sup>

The passage below is a further example of Farquhar's persuasion powers, offering remuneration to Tengku Long and the Temenggong to surrender Singapore to the British:

*Setelah itu, maka kata Raja Farquhar, "Tengku, adapun kedatangan sahaya ini setelah bermuafakat dengan Tuan Raffles beserta pula dengan kesukaan dan keredhaan Tengku Long, putera Sultan Mahmud yang di Riau dan Lingga, akan menyerahkan Pulau Singapura ini kepada Kompeni Inggeris, akan diperbuatnya negeri, iaitu akan menimbulkan nama sultan-sultan yang dahulu kala dan supaya nyatalah tanda[h] tulus ikhlas Tengku Long dan Tengku kepada Kompeni Inggeris. Maka dalam hal yang*

*demikian itu sampai datang Tuan Raffles ke mari bolehlah kita keduanya muafakatkan yang bagaimana patut pada pendapatan Tengku Long dan Tengku. Dan lagi, supaya boleh kita membuat perjanjian antara kita kedua pihak, iaitu Kompeni Inggeris dan Tengku Long dan Temenggung. Bagaimakah pada fikiran Tengku akan bicara itu?" Maka apabila didengar oleh Temenggung akan perkataan itu, terdiamlah ia sejurus panjang, tiada berkata-kata. Maka kemudian katanya, "Tuan, sahaya ini dibawah perintah Tengku Long. Maka jikalau pekerjaan ini dengan keredaan Tengku sungguh demikian, maka sahaya pun sukalah." Maka jawab Raja Farquhar, "Jikalau kiranya ada dengan keredhaan Tengku sungguh demikian, baiklah kita buat satu surat perjanjian."<sup>5</sup>*

Then Colonel Farquhar said, "My purpose in coming here, Tengku, after consulting Mr. Raffles and subject to the will and pleasure of Tengku Long, the son of Sultan Mahmud of Riau and Lingga, is to secure the handing over of the Island of Singapore to the East India Company for a station, which shall be a means of resurrecting the line of the ancient kings and a clear proof of the goodwill of Tengku Long, and yourself towards the East India Company. Meanwhile, until Mr Raffles arrives here, let us both discuss what would be suitable remuneration for Tengku Long and yourself, so that we can draw up an agreement between the two parties concerned; that is, the East India Company, and Tengku Long and yourself. What do you think of my proposal?" When the Temenggong heard this he remained quiet for a while, not uttering a word. Then he said, "Sir, I am a vassal of Tengku Long. If this matter has his consent then I am agreeable." Colonel Farquhar replied "If then you would indeed be willing, as you say, let us draw a written agreement."<sup>6</sup>

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Call no.: RSING 959.51032 ABD

# Edwin Arthur Brown's Musical Contributions to Singapore

by KARTINI SAPARUDIN

Associate Librarian,

Lee Kong Chian Reference Library,

National Library

**SEVERAL MONTHS AGO**, an overseas patron emailed Reference Point (RP), the National Library's enquiry service, to inquire about her grandfather, Edwin Arthur Brown. Brown was a British entrepreneur, an influential member of the Singapore Volunteer Corps, and a vital musical activist who arrived in Singapore at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Coincidentally, the National Archives of Singapore (NAS) had used RP to post the same enquiry. We found out later, through our research, that he was a Municipal Commissioner for Singapore for more than ten years since 1924. He was not only in a position to improve the civic affairs of Singaporeans at that time; he took advantage of his position to accelerate the musical development in Singapore. This he did with gusto. With the provision of some dates and facts from the patron, a search was conducted to shed more light on Brown's significant contributions to amateur theatricals and musical scenes in Singapore in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## Sources

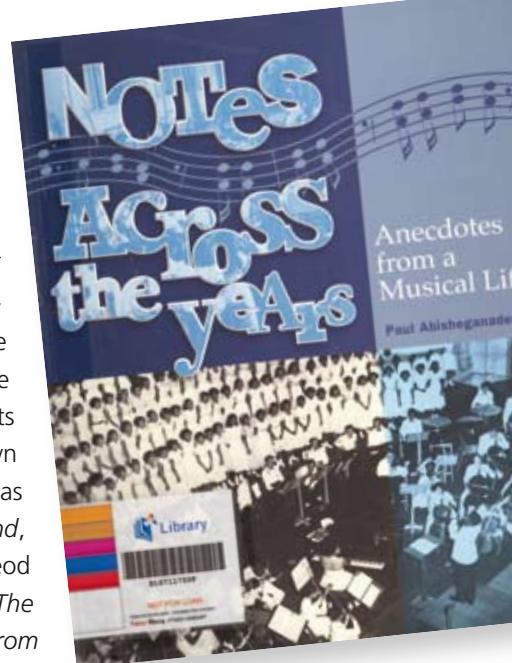
Unlike the National Library, the NAS has birth and death records and other national records. However, Lee Kong Chian Reference Library (LKCR) has its own treasure trove in Singapore's rare collection. This complements the collection that the NAS has. A preliminary search was conducted before looking through microfilm reels of *The Straits Times*. This preliminary search constituted browsing through government and trade directories in the early



**Edwin Arthur Brown**  
Courtesy of Margaret Caldicott

20<sup>th</sup> century as well as biographies of Brown's contemporaries to garner more information about him. Autobiographical accounts from contemporaries are useful as they confirmed that events took place and the given person was a participant in the event. Depending on the scope of an enquiry, the verification of dates and data is a necessary move before scanning through newspapers in the microfilm collection. This would take several hours of investigation.

Directories formed the backbone of the search and are thus indispensable to queries dating in the early period. One such directory is the *Malayan Directory of Commerce, Retailers & Residents* (1936). Some of the more informative and revealing accounts regarding E.A. Brown are biographies such as *I Will Sing To The End*, written by Ian Macleod and *Notes Across The Years: Anecdotes from a musical life* by Paul



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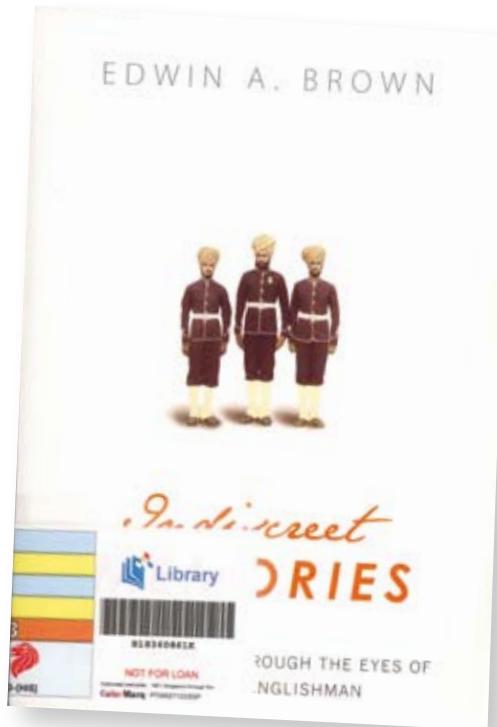
## collection highlights

Abisheganaden. Ian's father, Major Donald G Macleod was E.A Brown's business partner during the rubber boom of 1918 onwards. They were also committed to Singapore's defence as volunteers for the Singapore Volunteer Corps and were actively involved in the St Andrew's Cathedral musical activities. Paul Abisheganaden, on the other hand, is Singapore's musical brilliance, and was a student of E.A Brown in the earlier period of his life. He remembers Brown's significant contributions to choral music in the society.

Another important source is E.A Brown's own memoir of his early days in Singapore from 1901-1904. *Indiscreet Memories* was published in 1935 but was recently reprinted by Monsoon Books in 2007. Another invaluable source is A History of the Singapore Volunteer Corps 1854-1937 by T.M. Winsley which imparts a historical outline of volunteering in Malaya. In addition, Walter Makepeace, Gilbert E. Brooke and Roland St. J. Braddell's edition of *One Hundred Years of Singapore* has a chapter in its second volume entitled "Amateur Theatricals and Music" devoted to explain the growth and development of theatre and music in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This chapter is made more poignant by an article written by E.A Brown himself on the music component. His self-effacing write-up provides the backdrop to the organised musical efforts in Singapore. His article attributes Singapore's early musical scene to Edward Salzmann's efforts. Notwithstanding recognition of his contributions in these sources, coverage of Brown's voluntary genius to early Singapore's political and musical developments in *The Straits Times* figured more prominently as he was a favourite with the press.

### The Man and His Contributions

When E.A Brown arrived in Singapore in January 1901 from Manchester, he was only 23 years old. He was employed by a German firm called Brinksman, a subsidiary of Hiltermann Brothers of Manchester. It was not until 1918 that he left Brinksman to become a Senior Partner in the E. A. Brown Co., Exchange and Brokers with Donald G. Macleod and another partner. The firm was located at D'Almeida Street. E.A Brown was an entrepreneurial man and was first and foremost committed to his enterprise despite his



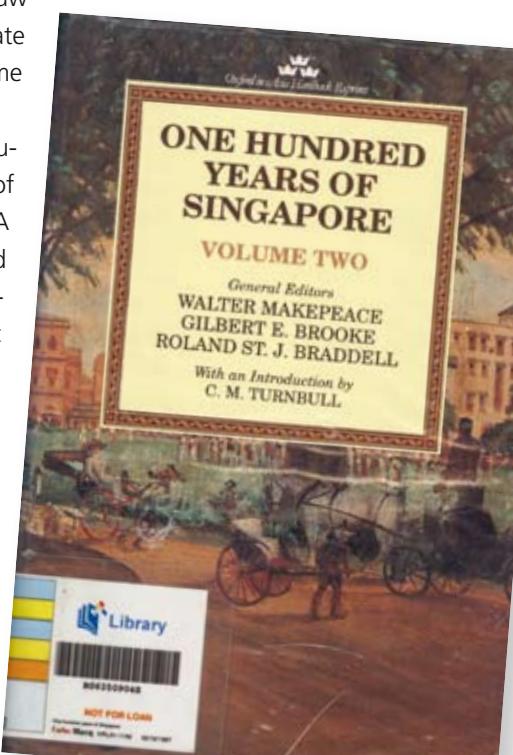
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contributions to the political and social spheres of early Singapore's development. Once, he had to excuse himself from a Municipal meeting because he had to attend an urgent matter at work. This was reported in *The Straits Times* in their regular coverage of the meetings.

In *Indiscreet Memories* Brown sounded determined and resolute that he would make the most out of his stay in Singapore. This he did. In the same year that he arrived in Singapore, he joined the Singapore Volunteer Rifles. He was promoted Captain in 1913. During the Singapore Mutiny of 1915 he was called to action as part of the 5th Light Infantry to put out the mutiny. Colonel Brownlow, R.A, mentioned him specifically in his report of the affair. (A copy of Brown's

handwritten manuscript of his involvement in the Singapore Mutiny is with the Imperial War Museum in London. The original is with his granddaughter, Cecilia.) As acting Commandant, he handed over the Old Corps to the New Corps. Subsequently, he received a Long Service Medal in 1920 for his 20 years of service to the force. In January 1922, he was commissioned as Second Lieutenant and retired as Major in 1923. He was subsequently decorated with the Colonial Officers' Long Service Decoration. On the night of Thursday, 22 September 1933, Sir Cecil Clementi, the Governor, presented an insignia of "Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (Civil Division)" to Major Brown. Aw Boon Haw was given a Certificate of Honour at the same investiture.

Like his contributions to the defence of early Singapore, E.A Brown participated musically in the Singapore Philharmonic Society in 1901. As a bachelor, he was immediately inducted to the early life in Sin-



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gapore as he was introduced to early well-known British personalities such as Charles Buckley, Walter Makepeace etc. in their homes and in church, in addition to several homes of Tuan Besars. He was an active worshipper at St Andrew's Cathedral. On 26 November 1901 Brown made his singing debut and, more than half a year later, his first Sullivan Opera on 20 June 1902. His debut at Sullivan Memorial Concert was to commemorate the late Sir Arthur Sullivan who had died on 22 November 1900. The press reported, "Mr Brown followed with 'Thou'rt Passing Hence', which was sung in Mr Brown's best style and was very warmly received". Brown described himself somewhat self-effacingly in Makepeace's 100 years of Singapore, "Mr Brown's arrival in 1901 gave the Colony a baritone to fill the vacancy caused by Robert Dunman's retirement".

Brown's musical involvement was considered inevitable as he used to sing on a semi-professional basis in Manchester, two years before he left for Singapore. He also came from a musically talented family. It helped that the British community



**Edwin Arthur Brown,  
President of the Boys  
Scout Association  
(1924 - 1932)**  
*Courtesy of Margaret  
Caldicott*

*Courtesy of Margaret  
Caldicott*

in Singapore was also musically inclined, leading to the development of the musical and theatrical scene in Singapore. His involvement in the Singapore Philharmonic Society since 1901 led to other things.

*Mr Brown made his debut in the part of Arthur, and received a cordial welcome from the Press; since then Singapore theatricals have owed an immense debt of gratitude to him as actor, singer, stage-manager, and above all, a voice trainer in musical productions.*

Soon after, the Singapore Amateur Dramatic Committee was formed in March 1906. Brown played a pivotal role with other original members such as Mr E.F.H Edlin of Drew and Napier and F.A Langley of Guthrie and Co. He was a producer and stage manager for most of the productions that the committee produced. During this time, his stage management skills were recognised due to the triumphant production of

## collection highlights

*The Pirates of Penzance* in February 1909. The official opening of the new theatre marked this event. As for performance, Mr. Brown was at his best performing the role of Hayden Coffin and Lieutenant Reginald Fairfax in *The Geisha* in October and November 1912. He acted opposite his female co-stars such as Ida Van Cuylenburg as O Mimosa San and Mrs Roland Braddell as Molly Seamore. This proved to be the finest and most finished production ever done by amateurs in Singapore. Brown was instantly remembered for singing "Star of my Soul". This was incidentally the play that he stage-managed and produced. Brown made rave reviews for the singing of "They'd Never Believe Me" in December 1915 for a revue called *My Word!*, written by Mrs Roland Braddell and Francis Graham. In December 1917, Brown stage-managed the Pinero's Dandy Dick. It was seen as another success on Brown's part as it was the best production of a non-musical play that the Committee ever did.

In the meantime, the Singapore Philharmonic Society became defunct in 1930 when Major St. Clair passed away. Children's concerts were inaugurated by the late Major and were carried on by Mr H.C.W Allen for some years after the late Major's passing. But as there was a lack of musical talent, an absence of an appropriate hall to hold concerts and rehearsals and an organ, the society ceased to exist. Brown came to the rescue. Brown had been a municipal commissioner in Singapore since 1924. He fought for the construction of a public concert hall in the face of bitter opposition. The Victoria Memorial Hall was built on a government-sponsored site in Penang Lane, and Brown was largely credited for the subscriptions for the building. He was also mostly responsible for persuading the rest of his fellow Municipal Commissioners to install an organ in the Hall. It was named the "St. Clair" organ. When His Excellency, the Governor of the Straits Settlements, Sir Cecil Clementi opened this organ on 17 September 1931, a three-day musical festival was held. The first item on the programme was Sullivan's "In Memoriam" Overture as everyone stood silent to remember the late Major St. Clair. There were other items such as Parry's "Blest Pair of Sirens" and "Banner St. George", in which 40 orchestra and 150 choir members were present.

Due to such immense success, the Singapore Musical Society in 1931 took over the work and assets of the old Philharmonic Society. In this new Singapore Musical Society, Brown was the choral conductor whereas J. Tryner was the orchestral conductor. Several choral and orchestral concerts were performed in the 1930s onwards. For its first concert in January 1932, it decided to give 20% of its proceeds to



**Major and Mrs Edwin Arthur Brown in a photograph taken in Singapore in 1938**  
Courtesy of Margaret Caldicott

the unemployed despite the society's young and financially unstable position.

Children's concerts were becoming more regular with much variety in their programmes. Brown's endeavours were fruitful in many respects as the organ came in handy. He became known for being the organiser and trainer for public community singing for more than 20 years. It was also only fitting that Brown was to be one of the main geniuses for children's concerts. For the arrival of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales to Singapore on 31 March 1922, E.A Brown was appointed as the organising talent of the Children's Corner. This was a welcome presentation to the Prince by children of all nationalities of the Colony. It was estimated that approximately 10,000 children were present together with several teachers and 12 troops of Boy Scouts counting to 700. The children were brought in from all parts of the city and suburbs, and no less than 27 trams and 130 motor lorries were used to ferry them to the area from where they marched to the Corner. Such an assemblage of children was never witnessed before in the history of Singapore. After the Prince inspected the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, the children, accompanied by the band, sang the first verse of "God Bless the Prince of Wales". The Press reported,

*As already stated, praise must in the first instance be accorded to Mr E.A Brown who not only organised the great show but so ably conducted the concerted singing from the Rostrum in the centre of the Corner.*

This is in addition to his other musical commitment such as being the honorary Choirmaster in St Andrew's Cathedral for 32 years. He also established the Children's Orchestra in 1923, perhaps due to the success of the occasion of the arrival of the Prince of Wales. Brown continued to direct the musical activities of the Musical Society until he retired from his activities as a stockbroker.

### Conclusion

In 1941, when World War II broke out, people were evacuating to leave Singapore. E.A Brown refused to leave Singapore with his wife, Mary and daughter, Shelagh. He was subsequently interned in Changi Prison. When he was released, he found out that Mary had died in 1945. He left for the United Kingdom and died there in 1955. Until his death, he continued to be involved with music, setting up a very successful choir in Strabane, Co Tyrone, which survived for decades after his death.

In early April, his granddaughter Margaret Caldicott was at the National Library to give a talk on E.A Brown at a more

## collection highlights

personal level. The Local History Service under the Singapore Information Services (SIRS) provided Ms Caldicott with the research service.

For reference enquires, please contact Reference Point:

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Tel: 6332 3255

Fax: 6332 3248

SMS: 9178 7792

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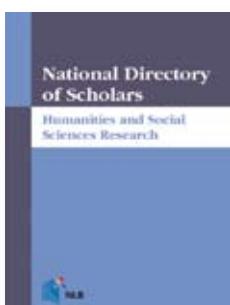
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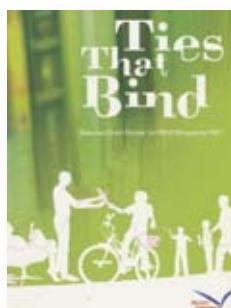


This collaboration of NLB and the Arts, Humanities and Social Science faculties of universities and academic and research institutions in Singapore lists over 2,350 titles of research publications and papers by about 320 researchers. By aggregating a list of researchers in the humanities and social science disciplines in Singapore, the directory will help create awareness of the

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## TIES THAT BIND: SELECTED SHORT STORIES FOR READ! SINGAPORE 2007

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READ!Singapore is an annual nation-wide initiative to promote a culture of reading in Singapore. It aims to create a common topic of discussion and conversation amongst the people of Singapore by providing an opportunity to rediscover the joy of reading, sharing it and, in the process, weave our social fabric through shared cultural experiences. The theme for 2007 was "Ties that Bind", chosen to cultivate community bonding. The eight short stories that were selected are featured in this book. Each short story was translated into the other three languages to encourage reading across communities. The eight authors whose works were selected include Claire Tham, Ho Minfong, Huang Chun Ming, Soon Ai Ling, Kamariah Amat, A. Wahab Hj Hamzah, Rama Kannabiran and Ma Ilangkannan.

## GIVING BACK: WINNING STORIES AND POEMS FROM BEHIND BARS

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Have you ever wondered how other Singaporeans live, think and feel? Some have grown up in broken homes, others have drifted into addictions and became trapped, still others made foolish choices and are still paying for their mistakes. "Giving Back" is dedicated to the family members of inmates and ex-offenders and to everyone who has presented a second chance to ex-offenders in one way or another.

## NEW PERSPECTIVES AND SOURCES ON THE HISTORY OF SINGAPORE: A MULTI-DISCIPLINARY APPROACH

Editor: Derek Heng Thiam Soon  
Publisher: Singapore: National Library Board, 2006  
ISBN: 981-05-5980-1  
Price: S\$33.60 (including 7% GST)



This publication is the culmination of a workshop held on the 16 August 2005, entitled New Insights into Singapore History: Perspectives of Emerging Scholars, organised by the Department of History, NUS and hosted by the National Library Board, Singapore. The workshop brought together 10 scholars from a variety of academic disciplines, including sociology, history, political science, education studies and archaeology, to address two issues - new approaches to understanding Singapore's past; and the untapped sources of information for the writing of Singapore's history. Going beyond the established storylines and heroes,

several papers delve into the culture and contributions of groups that played a key role in parts of Singapore's growth, from churches and Malay organisations to films. This publication provides a glimpse into the future possibilities of the historiography of Singapore.

### **AN INGENIOUS REVERIE: THE PHOTOGRAPHY OF YIP CHEONG FUN**

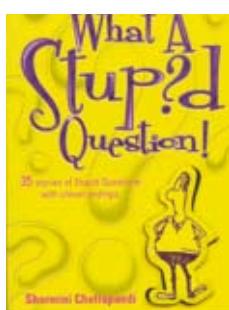
Editor: Bridget Tracy Tan  
Publisher: Singapore: National Library Board, 2006  
ISBN: 981-05-5737-X  
Price: S\$32.10 (including 7% GST)



The Photography of Yip Cheong Fun was an exhibition jointly organised by the Singapore Heritage Society and the National Library Board, Singapore, held at the National Library from 15 March to 15 May 2006. This publication was produced as a companion catalogue to the exhibition. It captures Singapore's changing landscape and people through the eyes of award-winning photographer Mr Yip Cheong Fun.

### **WHAT A STUPID QUESTION? 35 STORIES OF STUPID QUESTIONS WITH CLEVER ENDINGS**

Author: Sharmini Chellapandi  
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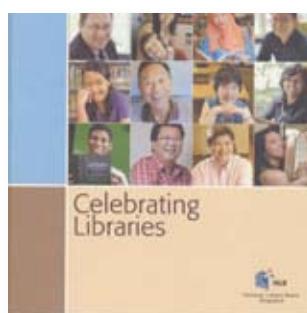


History is full of startling discoveries and exciting innovations. This book is a compilation of questions from diverse

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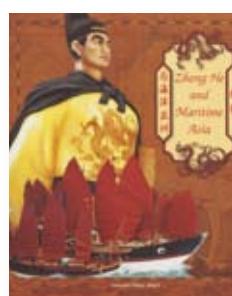
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Just how has the library transformed your life? In January 2006, the National Library Board posed this simple question to Singaporeans round the island. It received a flood of responses, as thousands of Singaporeans from all walks of life testified to how this singular institution had helped them learn, dream, explore and grow. Celebrating Libraries is a collection of these inspiring testimonials. From touching stories by well-known personalities to humorous tales by the man on the street, the short stories form a testament to the nation's love of reading and the transformative power of libraries in Singapore.

### **ZHENG HE AND MARITIME ASIA**

Publisher: Singapore: National Library Board, 2005  
ISBN: 978-981-05-3904-7  
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Price: S\$33.00 (including 7% GST)

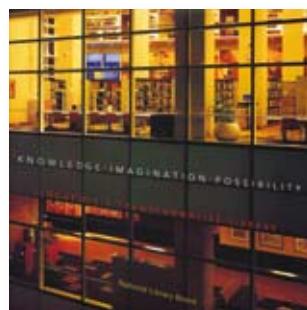


Published as a companion to the Zheng He and Maritime Asia Exhibition, Zheng

He and Maritime Asia chronicles the development of China's maritime history before the Ming dynasty, with its beginning in the Tang dynasty, through the Song and Yuan dynasties. Filled with colourful photographs and illustrations, the thread-bound book takes readers through the establishment of the Ming dynasty and Emperor Yongle's ascendancy to the throne, as well as the birth of famed Chinese explorer Zheng He and his rise to Grand Eunuch. Accompanied by interesting details and little-known facts about the maritime trade, Zheng He and Maritime Asia offers a captivating insight into the building of the treasure fleet and ancient Chinese shipbuilding and navigation techniques, including the use of navigation chart and water compass.

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Publisher: Singapore: National Library Board, 2005  
ISBN: 981-248-107-9  
Price: S\$42.80 (including 7% GST)



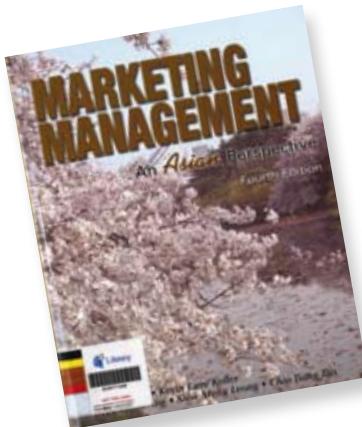
Written by academic Dr KK Seet, Singapore's Transformative Library traces the history of Singapore's public library, from its early history in the 1800s to the opening of the new National Library at Victoria Street. Covering the library's transformation, its rich and long history and its use of technology, the coffee-table book also highlights the National Library's new home at Victoria Street and features anecdotes from prominent individuals including Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong and Dr Lee Seng Gee, son of the late Dr Lee Kong Chian and Chairman of the Lee Foundation.

**For orders, please contact:**  
**National Library Board**  
**Publishing and Research Services**  
**Tel: 6333 7977**  
**Fax: 6333 7990**  
**Email: cis@nlb.gov.sg**

# bookreviews

## Marketing Management: An Asian Perspective

Publisher: Singapore: New York: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2006  
Call no.: RSING 658.802 MAR



With the rise of China and India, the Asian economy has once again gained prominence. Companies are flocking to Asia to seize a share of the market and gain a foothold. To succeed, not only are products and services tailored to different cultures, but also business management and practices.

*Marketing management: An Asian Perspective* focuses on major decisions faced by marketing managers and top management by presenting a framework for analysing recurrent marketing management problems. It draws from various disciplines and provides Asian insights and trends (China's WTO entry) and practices such as *guanxi*, *mianzi*, *fengshui* etc.

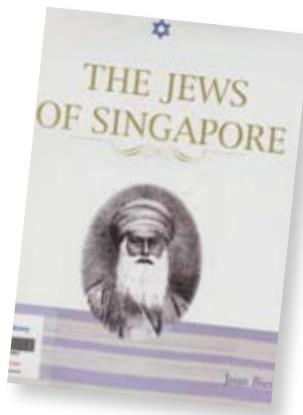
A new theme in this edition is the concept of holistic marketing. This is the development, design and implementation of marketing programs, processes and activities that recognises the interdependencies that exists in today's business environment.

This book is a collaborative effort by marketing guru, Philip Kotler, Kevin Lane Keller and three local professors: Ang Swee Hoon, Leong Siew Meng and Tan Chin Tiong.

Contributed by Foo Miin Huey, Associate Librarian, Lee Kong Chian Reference Library, National Library

## The Jews of Singapore

Author: Joan Bieder  
Publisher: Singapore: Suntree Media, 2007  
Call no.: RSING 959.57004924 BIE



A month before receiving his Nobel prize, Albert Einstein visited Singapore and posed for a picture with local Jewish community leaders. That 1922 photo has inspired Joan Bieder's riveting account of the lives and business accomplishments of "The Jews in Singapore" since the country's early days.

Singapore has been home to a prosperous Jewish community for nearly 170 years and yet other ethnic groups know little about them. They include the late Abraham Solomon, of which Solomon Street got its name; the late Sir Manasseh Meyer, a real estate developer; the late David Marshall; and the Benjamins of FJ Benjamin Holdings, Ltd., franchise owners of a number of high-end fashion brands in Singapore.

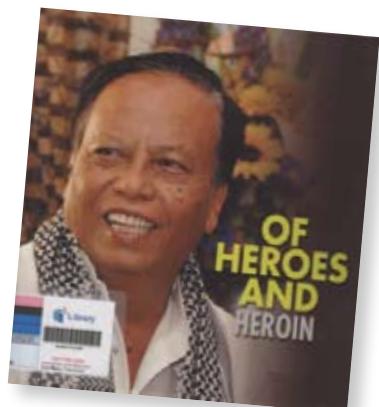
An entire chapter is devoted to the women in the Jewish community. The chapter pays tribute to the contributions of the Jewish women and captures their evolving role in Singapore.

Filled with illustrations, photographs from family albums, and a rich content, the book offers useful background information to anyone who wishes to do further research on the subject.

Contributed by Angelina Phoon, Assistant Manager, Publishing and Research Services, National Library

## Of Heroes and Heroin: How the Singapore Malay-Muslim Community Waged War Against Drug Abuse

Publisher: Singapore: Harun Ghani Education Fund, 2007  
Call no.: RSING 362.293095957 OF



The book is dedicated to the late Cikgu Harun Ghani, a respected community leader, who spent his lifetime helping the Malay-Muslim community in Singapore to deal with drug abuse. It records his struggles, contributions and achievements through photographs, anecdotes, interviews and written tributes. The book captures his journey from his developing years, his career as a teacher and as the Secretary-General of the Malay Teachers' Union to his role as Member of Parliament. During his leadership he was instrumental in getting the Malay community together to fight drug abuse and bring drug addicts back to society. The formation of the Harun Ghani Education Fund ensures continuity of his work, especially through its help towards the education of children of former drug offenders.

Contributed by Ramlah Hashim, Head Library Officer, Lee Kong Chian Reference Library, National Library

## 伟大的博弈： 华尔街金融帝国的崛起， 1653-2000

Author: 约翰•S•戈登著

Publisher: 北京: 中信出版社, 2005

Call no.: RBUS Chinese 332.64273 GOR



尽管有数不清的海难，人类依然扬帆出海；尽管有无数次股灾，人们依然进入这个市场，辛勤地买低卖高，怀着对美好未来的憧憬，将手里的资金投入到股市，去参与这场伟大的博弈。任何一个从事金融行业的人，无不为美国华尔街的金融传奇而向往。约翰•S•戈登的著作《伟大的博弈》，以写实的角度，讲述从1653到2004，华尔街最老和最新的故事。这是一部资本市场发展过程的活教材，是一本关于华尔街历史的书，也是一本关于美国金融史和经济史的书。在过去的200多年中，美国作为一个新兴国家，成功地超越了欧洲列强。在美国经济发展的每一个阶段中，以华尔街为代表的美国资本市场都扮演着重要的角色。华尔街为美国经济的发展提供源

源不断的资金，也伴随着美国经济的发展而成长为全球金融体系的中心。美国经济的成功是资本市场和实体经济之间协同发展很好的例证。从本书中，读者将会读到华尔街充满魅力和睿智的历史故事。它提醒今天的资本市场的建设者他们所必然要面临的现实和困境，也能为今天的投资者们提供一些有益的参考和警示。对于那些希望从华尔街的历史中获得借鉴的读者来说，本书是一本有重要参考价值的书。

Contributed by Vicky Gao, Senior Librarian,  
Lee Kong Chian Reference Library,  
National Library

## Motif Alam dalam Batik dan Songket Melayu

Author: Haziyah Hussin

Publisher: Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa  
dan Pustaka, 2006

Call no.: RART 746.662041 HAZ



Sebuah buku kajian tentang tekstil di Malaysia. Seramai 30 orang yang

## நினைவுகளின் கோலங்கள், அலைகள்: இரு நாவல்கள்

Author: மா. இளங்கண்ணன்

Publisher: சிங்கப்பூர்: மா. இளங்கண்ணன், 2006.

Call no.: RSING 894.811372 ILA

சிங்கப்பூர் தமிழ்ச் சமூகத்தின் உணர்வுகள், மனப்போக்கு, கால மாற்றங்கள், சிந்தனை மாற்றங்கள் போன்றவற்றைப் பிரதிபலிக்கும் இளங்கண்ணன் கதைகள் சிங்கப்பூர் தமிழ்ப் படைப்பிலக்கிய வரலாற்றில் முக்கிய இடத்தைப் பெற்றிருக்கின்றன

நினைவுகளின் கோலங்கள், அலைகள் என்ற இரு நாவல்கள் இந்நாலில் இடம் பெறுகின்றன. “நினைவுகளின் கோலங்கள்” நாவலில் சுமார் மூப்பு நாற்புது வருடங்களுக்கு முந்திய காலக்கட்டத்தில் வாழும் இரு தமிழ்க் குடும்பங்களைப் பற்றிச் சித்தரிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. ஒரு குடும்பம் சிங்கப்பூரிலும், மற்றொன்று தமிழ் நாட்டில் உள்ள ஒரு சிறு கிராமத்திலும் வாழ்கின்றனர். மாடு வளர்த்துப் பால் வியாபாரம் செய்யும் இவ்விரு குடும்பங்களும் சுந்திக்கும் பிரச்சனைகள், அனுபவங்கள், அதிர்ச்சிகள் போன்றவையே நாவலின் பின்னணியாகக் கொள்ளப்பட்டுள்ளது.

சீனப் பூர்வைகள் வேலை குவாவுக்கும் தமிழ்ப் பெண் மதியரசுக்கும் ஏற்படும் காதலைச் சித்தரிக்கும் கதை “அலைகள்”. பெற்றோர்களின் சம்மதில்லாமல் நடக்கும் இவர்களின் திருமண வாழ்க்கையில், ஏற்படும் ஆபத்துக்கள், பிரச்சனைகள், சந்தேகங்கள் மற்றும் மரணங்கள் என விறுவிறுப்பாகக் கதை செல்கிறது. இறுதியில் பிரந்த இரு குடும்பங்களும் எவ்வாறு ஒன்று சேருகின்றன என்பது தான் கதை.

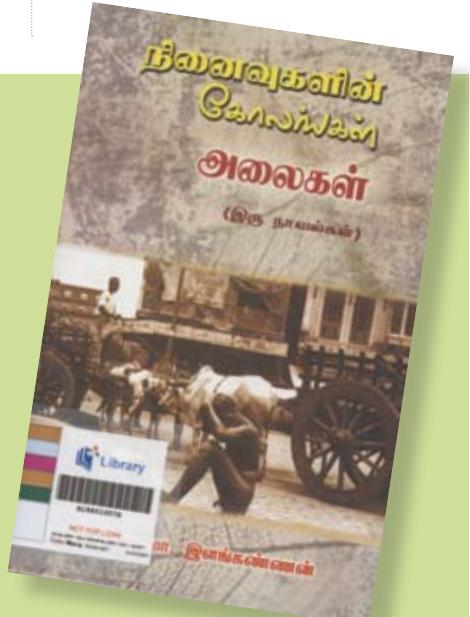
கதைகள் மிகவும் எதார்த்தமாகவும், விறுவிறுப்பாகவும், எனிய நடையில் அனைவராலும் படித்து ரசிக்கும் வகையில் எழுதியள்ளார் ஆசிரியர்.

mempunyai pelbagai peringkat kepakaran di bidang ini telah diwawancara mengenai sumber motif batik dan songket Melayu. Ia meliputi kegiatan tekstil di Semenanjung Tanah Melayu di antara tahun 1900 sehingga tahun 1999 dan menyentuh beberapa hal yang merangkumi aspek latar belakang atau asal usul orang Melayu dan sumbangan mereka kepada perkembangan budaya ini.

Penulis memulakan wacananya dengan memberikanuraian tentang bangsa, budaya, sejarah, Islam dan tamadun Melayu. Pengetahuan ini memberikan pembaca dasar untuk memahami tentang pengaruh budaya dan agama dalam seni reka bentuk tekstil di alam Melayu. Umpamanya, ialah tentang bagaimana motif seperti siku keluang, sisik ikan, lipan telah diolah dengan kreatif kerana terdapat larangan agama terhadap karya haiwan bernyawa. Namun, pada keseluruhannya, tekstil bermotifkan tumbuh-tumbuhan dan bunga-bunga merupakan sumber yang terbanyak digunakan.

Selain itu, terdapat bab yang menerangkan tentang bagaimana pengaruh perhubungan dagangan dengan negara luar memberi inspirasi penenunan dan mempengaruhi rekaan tekstil dari segi motif dan warnanya. Maklumat-maklumat ini amat berguna bagi para penyelidik, pelajar seni lukis dan pengusaha tekstil yang ingin mengetahui dan mendalamai reka corak tekstil Melayu.

Contributed by Sukinah Suradi, Head Library Officer, Lee Kong Chian Reference Library, National Library



Contributed by Yashodha Devi Nadarajan,  
Library Officer,  
Lee Kong Chian Reference Library,  
National Library

# 南益

## 所见所闻

吴华  
新马华族会馆史料研究者

2007年11月9日，我带领新加坡国家图书馆三位职员：林源福（研究员）、王连美、黄美萍参观国光一校、国光二校、明德学校、宽柔中学，写了《拿督李光前捐献新山华教》一文刊登于11月18日的《星洲日报》大柔佛版的“大家谈”。今次，该馆三位职员为了进一步了解拿督李光前在柔佛州所创立的企业，又于11月20日及28日再次前来参观士姑来南益黄梨厂，笨珍南益饼干厂，新邦令金陆洲种植公司的黄梨园和株巴辖炎洲树胶厂（陆洲及炎洲都是南益集团的公司）。

拿督李光前在柔佛州创业，最早在1927年。当年，他与一友人在麻坡合伙经营树胶烟房。这时期，他似乎还未启用“南益”作为商号，稍后才成立“南益树胶公司”，更于1931年12月9日改组成为“南益树胶有限公司”。在1941年第二次世界大战前，它在马来半岛各地大商埠，如麻坡、槟城、芙蓉、

巴生、吉隆坡、安顺、马六甲及新山等都设分行。第二次大战后，更在笨珍、居銮、新山等地创立树胶厂、火锯场、饼干厂。又在新邦令金、巴力西贡、北干那那广置树胶园址及开辟黄梨园。

目前在柔佛州内南益集团尚存有三间树胶厂，分别设立在峇株、麻坡和拉美士，一间黄梨厂（设在士姑来），及一间饼干厂（设在笨珍）。

我们一行人到上述工厂参观，作实地考察。承蒙南益黄梨厂经理李先生，财政傅文良先生，南益饼干厂经理吴松竹先生，炎洲树胶厂经理叶康盛先生以及陆洲种植有限公司经理李成锦的亲自接待，引导参观，增加见闻，获益不少。

现将所见所闻简述如下：

士姑来南益黄梨厂  
李光前于战前已投资于黄梨业。南益黄梨有限公司创立于1931年12月

9日，收购南益黄梨公司的业务及资产。南益黄梨厂原本有三处，现存的只有坐落在新山士姑来八哩半的南益黄梨厂一家。该厂有悠久的历史。11月20日上午10时半，我连同新加坡国家图书馆两位馆员林源福、黄美萍及响导张明运抵达该厂。由于事先已以电话安排时间，所以该厂财政傅先生早就在接应室迎接我们。傅先生带领一行人参观生产部门，并详细地解释生产过程。

傅先生说：由于目前黄梨的产量不多，每天只有20多辆罗厘车的黄梨运来，工厂只工作5天，产品供不应求，产品多数外销到欧美及日本各国。

他还说：黄梨运到工厂后马上送到生产部门加工生产，以保持产品的 freshness。生产过程都是使用机器，由削皮，切片，装罐，加温，冷却到包装的过程约须三、四个小时。

目前，该厂的员工有300多名。



位于士古来8哩半的南益黄梨厂。满载着黄梨的大卡车正列队进入厂房。



位于笨珍的南益饼干厂



黄梨厂内的自动化黄梨输送系统。



员工熟练地将黄梨削皮和切成方块



金黄色果肉的黄梨，不但香甜可口，而且适合制成罐头黄梨。黄梨罐头业起源于新加坡，至今已经有一百多年的历史了

据史料显示：黄梨企业初期以新加坡为最早，后以柔佛州为最广。1894年，陈杞柏在柔佛州大规模种植黄梨，为他所开设的日新黄梨厂原料的自给自足。1905年，陈嘉庚在新加坡淡水港创立新利川黄梨厂。当时，新加坡和柔佛州共有20多家黄梨厂，其中较著名的计有：日春厂（刘登鼎）、崇兴厂（张永福）、合德春厂（陈泰）、连春厂、兴春厂、大通厂（林义顺）、大新厂、大成厂、大利厂（后改名和泰厂）。在第二次大战前，新加坡的黄梨厂计有：发兴、泉成、南发、新兴四家。在柔佛州有：和泰（刘登鼎后人所办），谦兴，新德美，万利盈，裕丰，林德根创始的马来亚黄梨联合有限公司及李光前的南益。独立后，在北干那那又创立国家黄梨厂，但目前已停止生产。土古来的南益黄梨厂是现存唯一的黄梨厂。黄梨业似乎已是夕阳农业了。

#### 笨珍南益饼干厂

11月20日下午参观笨珍饼干厂。

南益饼干厂坐落在笨珍崩山路。该新厂址于2005年开始生产。早在1934年，南益饼干厂就在新加坡创立。1955年又在新山淡杯创立新厂，直到2005年才将工厂迁至笨珍。设立在笨珍的新厂址广阔，外观堂皇，是向南益公司每月以2万令吉租借的，场内设备完善，以电脑控制操作，耗电3千万令吉装配设备。据该厂经理吴松竹揭示：该厂现有员工180多名，每星期工作6天，每天16小时，两条生产线在操作，每一小时可生产1.2吨的产品。该公司的产品优良，产品多达四、五十种，运销外国及在本地销售，供不应求。

#### 陆洲种植有限公司

11月28日上午11时，我们抵达新邦令金陆洲种植有限公司的黄梨园参观，由该公司经理李成锦先生

接待。据李先生说：陆洲种植有限公司的黄梨园有两处，一处在新邦令金，另一处在 Parit Sikom (前泉成园)。前者面积有7000依吉（另2000依吉种植油棕）；后者有1631依吉。两处园地都属陆洲种植有限公司。该公司在1971年成立。在此之前，为南马种植有限公司的产业。南马种植有限公司是由南益及马来亚联合种植公司共同组成，在第二次大战后成立。

目前，新邦令金的园地，每天生产200-250吨，该园地栽种的黄梨为土种的36号及19号两种。这两种黄梨的品质适合制成罐头黄梨。由两位职员引导我们到黄梨园参观。

黄梨园是一片广阔的绿色平原。只见采黄梨的工人在忙着收割。他们背着一个大篮子在园里工作。采割黄梨速度快，一分钟可采割两三粒。他们每天清晨7时就开始工作，每个小时稍为休息片刻，一直工作到午后才收工。他们背着的篮子可



黄梨园里熟练的工人忙着采集黄梨，他们将黄梨割下后就将它投入背后的篮子，百发百中。



集烘烤与输送为一体的现代化饼干制作系统

容60公斤的黃梨，籃子裝滿了，還健步如飛，在烈日下工作，汗流浹背，好辛苦呀！一位導引員告訴我們：黃梨苗由栽下到成果需要22個月，只生產一次。黃梨收割後，隨即把整棵黃梨樹燃燒，过后清理園地，再栽種幼苗。花了一年多的時間，只能收成一次，可見經營黃梨業成本高，但每一公斤售給黃梨廠只有20仙。

馬來西亞開始種植黃梨始於16、17世紀，當時黃梨從南美洲散播東方各地，馬來亞氣候高溫多雨，土壤適合種植黃梨。馬來亞的黃梨種植主要分布在笨珍、士姑來、士乃、古來。在1950年代，柔佛五大主要黃梨廠的自營園地：南益黃梨有限公司（笨珍北干那那村外8英哩）、馬來亞黃梨聯合有限公司（柔佛新邦令金）、泉成公司黃梨廠（大笨珍水池路）、匯興黃梨有限公司（柔佛新邦令金）、南發合記黃梨有限公司（柔佛大笨珍水池路）。另有黃梨小型園分布在：笨珍路27哩

至33哩，士姑來、士乃及古來。

黃梨的品種繁多，栽種於熱帶地方的黃梨有七十種之多，如模里斯種、砂嘜越種、巴生種、皇后種、爪哇種、新加坡種、西班牙種等。

黃梨果肉黃色，酸甜味香，價格低廉，而營養成分豐富，有A, B, C, G四種維他命，尤以維他命C最豐富。主要用途為食用，生食、裝罐（可以久藏）、果汁、果醬，可制蜜饯。副產品：制罐所剩余的殘渣，可做成肥料，飼料。

#### 峇株炎洲樹膠廠

新馬的樹膠栽種於1877年。至今已130年的歷史，是我們主要的農作物。

最早的樹膠苗是從錫蘭運來，最先在新加坡植物園舊址試種，接着在吡叻州的江沙和檳城威斯利省的甲拋峇底種植。此後全馬各地都種植。當時，柔佛州政府規定，凡欲在柔佛州種植黃梨、胡椒、甘蜜、椰子等農作物時，每一園址一定要種四百棵樹膠樹，因而，柔佛州樹膠園址雄據全馬各州，列為第一位。

新馬華人先賢林文慶博士、陳齊賢、林義順、陳連苗、陳嘉庚、張永福、侯西反等是樹膠業的先驅。繼後李光前、陳六使、余東璇、林連登、陳永、李俊承、吳福發、高德根、連裕祥等為樹膠業的佼佼者。目前，南益集團的樹膠廠公司在柔佛尚存三家廠，分別設在峇株、麻坡和拉美士。

我們一行人於11月28日前往訪問峇株炎洲南益樹膠廠。該廠設在居鑾路，該公司經理葉康盛先生及財政賴先生親自接待我們及提供一些珍貴的資料。

該廠目前工人有70-80名，每星期工作6天，每天生產80噸，產品運銷外國及本地製造輪胎工廠。

由大小園址供應的樹膠原料（膠丸）由機器操作，經過搗碎後清除杂质，壓成片狀，加溫蒸熟，壓成磚狀，包裝等步驟約5小時便可出貨。

#### Summary

This is an account of the two research trips made by the author, Wu Wah, who is a researcher on Chinese clan societies in Singapore and Malaysia, and three staff from the National Library, Singapore, on 20 and 28 November 2007.

The objective of the trip is to gather relevant heritage materials and to gain some useful insights into the enterprises set up by the late Dr Lee Kong Chian in Johore for The Legacy exhibition. The four places they visited are Lee Biscuits, Lee Rubber factory, Lee Pineapple Co. and its plantation. They toured the factories and plantations. With the help and guidance from the generous staff there, they were able to have a deeper understanding of the various products and manufacturing processes, as well as the history behind each business set-up.

The exhibition entitled The Legacy will be held at the National Library on 18 July 2008.



位於巴督巴轄的南益樹膠廠



有待處理的生膠塊



自動化生膠清洗系統

# Launch of National Essay Competition on “Singapore: The First Ten Years of Independence”

by **ANGELINA PHOON**

Assistant Manager, Publishing and Research Services, National Library



**Dr N Varaprasad, Chief Executive, National Library Board**



**Dr Kho Ee Moi, President, History Association of Singapore**

The National Library Board (NLB) launched the National Essay Competition and “Singapore: The First Ten Years of Independence” guide at the National Library on 29 March 2008. The event was co-organised with the History Association of Singapore (HAS). Mr Ho Kwon Ping, Executive Chairman of Banyan Tree Holdings Limited was the Guest of Honour.

The event began with a welcome address by Dr N Varaprasad, Chief Executive, NLB and a brief introduction of the HAS by its President, Dr Kho Ee

Moi. Mr Ho Kwon Ping then shared his experience of living in Singapore during the period 1965 to 1975 and spoke on “Leadership in Singapore: Past, Present and Future”. This was followed with a lively question-and-answer session.

Both the essay competition and the guide are part of a larger project, which also includes a travelling exhibition. The project was conceptualised in response to the recent passing of a few members of the first Cabinet and the realisation that many young Singaporeans are not familiar

with the Old Guard and their contributions to Singapore. Hence, the objective of the essay competition and the guide is to raise greater knowledge and awareness among students and young Singaporeans of the contributions and challenges faced by the first Cabinet of the Republic of Singapore.

Participating students are required to write an essay on their views on the first decade of Singapore's nation building after its independence in 1965 and what the first Cabinet's leadership means to them. They are encouraged to include the experiences of their parents and grand-

parents who have lived through that period of time and witnessed how Singapore's first Cabinet Ministers overcame the challenges. Interested participants are required to submit their essays online at <http://firstcabinet.nl.sg> by 20 June 2008. More details of the competition are available on the website.

The "Singapore: The First Ten Years of Independence" guide contains short write-ups on the key challenges that confronted the early national leaders and how the issues were overcome. The guide includes rarely-seen photographs of the first Cabinet Ministers, and a resource list

of books, newspaper articles, websites, pictures and other important rare materials, which are available at the National Library and the National Archives of Singapore. Students are strongly encouraged to refer to this guide for their essays.

The launch was attended by 120 guests, including history teachers and students. Every student received a complimentary copy of the guide. Free copies of the guide have been given to all primary and secondary schools and junior colleges in Singapore. Limited copies of the guide will also be available for loan in all NLB libraries.



Guest of Honour Mr Ho Kwon Ping delivering the talk on "Leadership in Singapore: Past, Present and Future"



Unveiling the web address for the National Essay Competition



Students listening with rapt attention to Mr Ho Kwon Ping

by **SHARON TENG**  
Librarian,  
Lee Kong Chian Reference Library,  
National Library

**KATHRYN MARIAN LANE**  
Senior Librarian,  
Library and Professional Services,  
National Library Board

The "French Corner" located on Level 7 of the Lee Kong Chian Reference Library of the National Library building was launched on Friday 28 March 2008. It was jointly officiated by Mr Jean-Francois Copé, Former Minister of Budget and currently the President of the UMP Group at the National Assembly, and Dr Vivian Balakrishnan, Second Minister for Information, Communications and the Arts. Mr Copé's visit was under the auspices of the Singapore International Foundation's Distinguished Visitors Programme and one of the highlights of his visit was the "French Corner" inauguration held at the National Library.

The French Government, represented by the Embassy of France in Singapore, contributed financially towards the acquisition of books for the "French Corner" collection. The collection includes classical French literary works and also titles in philosophy, humanities and the social sciences. The National Library Board (NLB) and the Embassy of France worked closely with one another in the selection of appropriate titles through an advisory panel. The titles were chosen to reflect the wealth, quality and diversity of French philosophical thought and literature, with the aim of giving Singaporeans better insights to the history, culture and creativity of France.

Approximately 1,000 titles by French authors, translated into English, Chinese, Malay and Tamil

# Launch of "French Corner" at the National Library



Distinguished guests at the launch of the "French Corner". Seated from left: Ms Ngian Lek Choh, Deputy CE, NLB, H.E. Holger Standerskjold, Head of Delegation of the European Commission, Ms Lim Soo Hoon, Chairman, NLB, Dr Vivian Balakrishnan, Minister for MCYS and Second Minister for MICA, H.E. Pierre Buhler, Ambassador, French Embassy, Dr N Varaprasad, CE, NLB and Mr Michel Cywinski, Conseiller Commercial, Adjoint Chef de mission, French Embassy

are available at the "French Corner". The bulk of the titles are in English and include authoritative French works like *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes* by René Descartes, *Being and Nothingness* by Jean-Paul Sartre, *Les Misérables* by Victor Hugo, *Tristes Tropiques* by Claude Levi-Strauss and *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures* by Jean Baudrillard.

A bibliography listing of the titles selected for the "French Corner" has been compiled by the National Library and is available on the websites of both the Embassy of France (<http://www.ambafrance-sg.org/>) and NLB (<http://www.nlb.gov.sg/>).

The National Library will also be looking into a series of related programmes such as literary activities,

book recitals and talks that will be opened to the general public.

## Highlights of Titles

### Philosophy

1. *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes (in 3 volumes)* by René Descartes

Descartes is famously known as the "father of Modern Philosophy" and one of the most influential thinkers in history – most of subsequent western philosophy could be said to be a reaction to his writings. This 3-volume set is a new translation based on the best available Latin and French texts, and is considered an authoritative, comprehensive and readable edition of Descartes' philosophical writings in English.



An interesting French translated title that caught the attention of our guests. From left: Mr Jean-Francois Copé, Dr Vivian Balakrishnan, H.E. Pierre Buhler and Dr N Varaprasad



Mr Jean-Francois Copé and Dr Vivian Balakrishnan symbolically mounting the plaque to signify the launch of the "French Corner".

## 2. *Being and Nothingness* by Jean-Paul Sartre

Sartre was a novelist, playwright, existentialist philosopher and literary critic who was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1964, but declined the honour in protest of the values of bourgeois society.

His 'Being and Nothingness' challenges all previous assumptions about the individual's relationship with the world and concepts of human freedom, responsibility and action. It is one of the most significant books of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that had a resounding impact on culture and literature worldwide.

### Literature

#### 3. *Les Misérables* by Victor Hugo

A novelist, poet and dramatist, Vic-

tor Hugo is one of the most important French Romantic writers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. 'Les Misérables', an epic story about social injustice, is one of his most well-loved works, which displays his gift for language and for touching the human heart.

This outstanding work is rich in meticulous historical description and character portrayal, and produced an array of characters – the street urchin Gavroche, the rascal Thenardier, the criminalised Valjean, the prostitute Fantine and her daughter Cosette – which have entered the pantheon of literary dramatis personae.

### Social Thought/Anthropology

#### 4. *Tristes Tropiques* by Claude Levi-Strauss

Claude Levi-Strauss is an anthropolo-

gist who developed structuralism as a method of understanding human society and culture. 'Tristes Tropiques' was Levi-Strauss' groundbreaking study of the societies of a number of Amazonian peoples and an exploration of his own intellectual roots as a professor of philosophy.

One of his most readable works, it endures as a significant anthropological study, a vivid travelogue, a great literary work and a highly engaging memoir infused with philosophical reflections on sociology, geology, music, history and literature.

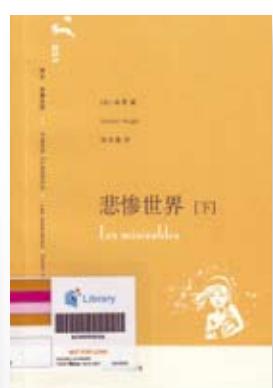
#### 5. *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures* by Jean Baudrillard

Philosopher and sociologist Baudrillard was one of the foremost intellectual figures whose work combined social theory, philosophy and an idiosyncratic cultural metaphysics. A sharp critic of contemporary society, culture and thought, Baudrillard was a prolific writer who served up extensive and exciting commentary on some of the most salient cultural and sociological phenomena of the modern era.

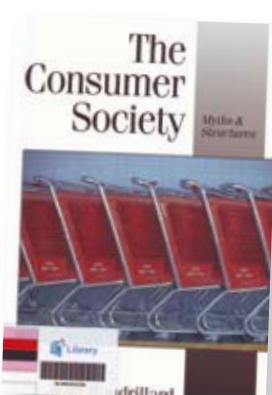
'The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures' is a classic text that showed his prescience for highlighting vital subjects long before others, being one of the first books to focus on the process and meaning of consumption in contemporary culture.



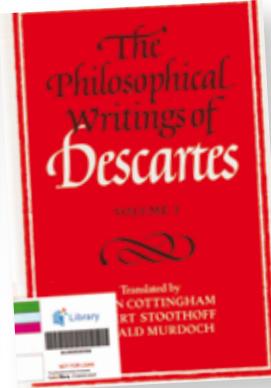
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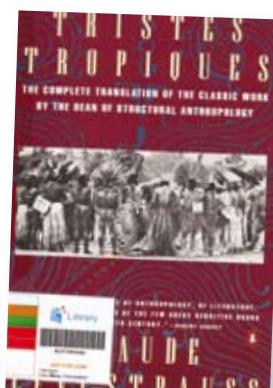
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# RESEARCH FELLOWS 2008

## Lee Kong Chian Research Fellowship Series



Lee Kong Chian Research Fellows receiving their Fellowships from Ms Ngian Lek Choh, Director of the National Library. From left: Mr Lim Peng Han, Mr Erik Holmberg, Ms Khoo Sim Lynn and Mr Tran KY-Phuong

The Lee Kong Chian Research Fellowship welcomes four new Research Fellows, Ms Khoo Sim Lynn (Singapore), Mr Erik Holmberg (USA), Mr Lim Peng Han (Singapore) and Mr Tran KY-Phuong (Vietnam). They were awarded their Fellowship by Ms Ngian Lek Choh, Director of the National Library, on 18 January 2008.

Ms Khoo Sim Lynn is an adjunct lecturer at the Centre for English Language Communication, National University of Singapore. She will be researching on "The Depiction of World War II in Singapore and Southeast Asian Children's Books".

Mr. Erik Holmberg, who has a Masters in Arts majoring in History has submitted his thesis for PhD consideration at the National University of Singapore and will be researching on "Public Celebrations in Colonial Singapore".

Mr Lim Peng Han, who holds a Masters in Communications and Masters of Science in Information Science has also submitted his thesis for PhD

consideration at the Department of Information Science, Loughborough University and will be researching on "19th Century Malay book printing and publishing in the Straits Settlements, 1819-1899".

Mr Tran KY-Phuong is a Senior Researcher with the Vietnam Association of Ethnic Minorities' Culture and Arts. He has a Bachelor of Arts from Van Hanh University, Saigon. He will be researching on "Interactions between Upland and Lowland by 'Riverine Exchange Network': A Reference to the Historical Geography in Central Vietnam".

The National Library, Singapore welcomes talented scholars and researchers to use our resources and services, and to collaborate with us on joint research projects to create new knowledge. The Lee Kong Chian Research Fellowship is open to both local and foreign applicants, who should preferably have an established record of achievement in their chosen field of research and the potential to excel further.

For information on the Lee Kong Chian Research Fellowship, please contact Dr Narinder Kaur, Assistant Director, Publishing and Research Services, National Library.

Tel: 6332 3348  
Fax: 6333 7990  
Email: LKCRF@nlb.gov.sg



by IAN BAIN

Senior Manager,  
Digital Resources and Services,  
National Library Board

Our "whistlestop tour" of the wide range of databases which NLB digital library members have access to continues with the letters **B** and **C**.

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It is the ideal platform for you to exchange tips with experienced professionals and gain insight into the specific art of writing and illustrating books for children.

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# SINGAPORE

## THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

1965 to 1975

# SINGAPORE: THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

1965 to 1975

This guide is intended for students, scholars and general readers interested in discovering more about the Republic of Singapore's first Cabinet, the major personalities and policies which helped shape a nation. It introduces the reader to the challenges faced by the Prime Minister and his Cabinet at the point of independence in 1965, the transformations that were initiated in the nation's security, economy and society over the next decade, and the individual ministers who worked together to implement the changes. The guide also includes a resource list of speeches and newspaper articles from the period as well as a selection of oral history interviews, audiovisual materials and further reading. These materials can be accessed at the National Library and National Archives of Singapore.

It is hoped that interested readers will use this guide as a starting point for their own further research into the Republic of Singapore's first Cabinet. The guide itself is divided into three main sections, exploring (in

the following order) the themes of national security, economic development and social unity. Within these sections specific chapters introduce the main policy initiatives of the first Cabinet, with key extracts taken from ministerial speeches and writings. The guide begins with an exposition of the situation in August 1965 when the Prime Minister and the Cabinet suddenly found themselves in charge of an independent nation. The guide concludes by highlighting the achievements of the Cabinet during the Republic's first decade. Additional background information is found in the Appendices, which provide biographical details of each Cabinet minister, a list of all Cabinet and political appointees during this period, and image credits. The images represented in this book capture the transformation of Singapore before and after 1965.

Published by National Library Board and National Archives of Singapore, 2007

ISBN 978-981-05-8164-0

ISBN-13: 978-981-05-8164-0 (pbk.)

Number of pages: 262

Price: S\$ 32 including GST

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