Reproduced from Penang Chinese Commerce in the 19th Century: The Rise and Fall of the Big Five (Singapore: ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2015). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of ISEAS– Yusof Ishak Institute. Individual articles are available at http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg

> Penang Chinese Commerce in the 19th Century

ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute (formerly Institute of Southeast Asian Studies) was established as an autonomous organization in 1968. It is a regional centre dedicated to the study of socio-political, security and economic trends and developments in Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic and economic environment. The Institute's research programmes are the Regional Economic Studies (RES, including ASEAN and APEC), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS).

ISEAS Publishing, an established academic press, has issued more than 2,000 books and journals. It is the largest scholarly publisher of research about Southeast Asia from within the region. ISEAS Publishing works with many other academic and trade publishers and distributors to disseminate important research and analyses from and about Southeast Asia to the rest of the world.

Penang Chinese Commerce in the 19th Century

The Rise and Fall of the Big Five

WONG YEE TUAN



First published in Singapore in 2015 by ISEAS Publishing 30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace Singapore 119614

E-mail: publish@iseas.edu.sg • Website: bookshop.iseas.edu.sg

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute.

© 2015 ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore

The responsibility for facts and opinions in this publication rests exclusively with the author and his interpretation do not necessarily reflect the views or the policy of the publisher or its supporters.

ISEAS Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Wong, Yee Tuan.

Penang Chinese Commerce in the 19th Century: The Rise and Fall of the Big Five. (Local history ; 24)

- 1. Family-owned business enterprises-Malaysia-Pulau Pinang.
- 2. Business networks-Malaysia-Pulau Pinang.
- 3. Pulau Pinang (State)—Economic conditions—19th century.
- 4. Pulau Pinang (State)—History—19th century.
- I. Title.

II. Series: Local history and memoirs (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies) ; 24. DS501 I595L no. 24 (2015) 2015

ISBN 978-981-4515-02-3 (soft cover) ISBN 978-981-4515-03-0 (E-book PDF)

Typeset by International Typesetters Pte Ltd Printed in Singapore by Mainland Press Pte Ltd For Si Shuk 四叔 (my late father) in memory of his love, sacrifice, and foresight

CONTENTS

Lisi	t of Tables, Diagrams and Maps	xi
Ack	enowledgements	XV
Glo	issary	xvii
Abl	breviations and Acronyms	xix
No	tes on Spelling and Names	xxi
No	tes on Currencies	xxi
1.	Introduction	1
	Why the Big Five Hokkien Families?	3
	Methodology and Sources	10
	Outline of the Book	11
2.	Penang and the Big Five in Regional Context	14
	The Continuing Prosperity of Penang	14
	Hokkien Merchants in Penang	20
	Shipping and the Big Five	21
	Entrepot Trade and the Big Five	25
	Tin and the Big Five	26
	Rice from Southern Burma and the Big Five	29
	Coconut and Sugar and the Big Five	30
	Pepper and the Big Five	33
	Opium and the Big Five	35
	Coolie Trade: Another Arm of the Big Five	39
	Conclusion	41

3.	Kith and Kin: The Big Five Familial Web	47
	Agnatic Kinship of the Big Five Families	48
	Affinal Kinship of the Big Five	51
	Intermarriages among the Big Five	51
	Intermarriages between the Big Five and Other Families	53
	Conclusion	58
4.	Opium Farm Rivalry	62
	Sworn Brotherhood Hui: The Ghee Hin and Kian Teik Tong	62
	The 1867 Penang Riot	69
	The Krabi Riot of 1878	74
	The 1879 Coolie Riot of Taiping	76
	The 1884 Plantation Coolies Revolt of Deli	78
	The Dominance of the Big Five and the Decline of the Ghee Hin	79
	Conclusion	81
5.	The Contest for 'White Gold'	86
	Larut and the Big Five's Tin Mining Interests	87
	The Outbreak of Larut Wars: Tussles over Tin Mines	88
	The Involvement of Tan Kim Ching	89
	The Resurgence of the Big Five's Interests in Larut	93
	Another Front of the 'White Gold': Phuket and the Big Five	93
	'White Gold' from Southern Burma: The Big Five and the Ghee Hin	96
	Conclusion	98
6.	Western Mercantile Elite and Their Challenge to the	102
	Penang Chinese	102
	From Liberalism to Management	102
	Western Merchants Prior to 1880s	103
	Straits Steamship Company and Straits Trading Company	106
	Royal Dutch Packet Company or Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM)	113
	The Response of the Big Five to the Western Shipping and	117
	Trading Challenge: The Eastern Shipping Company	
	Insurance Business: The Big Five versus the Westerners	122
	Implications of the Western Competition for the Big Five	129
	Conclusion	133

7.	New Regional Order and the Decline of the Big Five	137
	The Tin Industry	138
	The Rubber Industry	144
	The End of the Big Five Revenue Farms and the Rise of Government Monopolies	152
	Centralized Land Policy	156
	The Collapse of the Khaw Group and the Demise of the	157
	Big Business Empire	
	Family Feuds	159
	Conclusion	163
8.	Conclusion	170
App	pendices	
1	Appendice 1	179
1	Appendice 2	186
1	Appendice 3	196
Bil	bliography	205
Ina	lex	219
Abo	out the Author	228

LIST OF TABLES, DIAGRAMS AND MAPS

Tables

Table 2.1	Penang's Import and Export of Straits Produce and Chinaware from and to the surrounding states, 1819–24 and 1835–40	18
Table 2.2	Ten Major Hokkien-owned Shipping and Trading Companies in Penang, 1860s–90s.	24
Table 2.3	Percentage Distribution of trade in Tin between Singapore and Penang, 1870–1910	26
Table 2.4	Coconut Estates of the Big Five and their Associates	31
Table 2.5	Import of Pepper from Sumatra (Aceh & Deli) and Export of Pepper from Penang (in piculs)	33
Table 2.6	The Annual Rental Rates of Penang Opium Farm 1860–1909	36
Table 2.7	Penang's Opium Revenue Farm Annual Rent as a Percentage of Total Revenue of Penang, 1876–1900	37
Table 4.1	Dialect Factions and Leaders of the Ghee Hin, 1860s–90s	64
Table 4.2	Business Involvement of the Ghee Hin Leaders, 1860s–90s	65

Table 4.3	Ghee Hin's Branches and Leaders in the Region, 1870s–90s	66
Table 4.4	The Leaders of the Kian Teik Tong or Toa Peh Kong, 1850s–60s	68
Table 4.5	Penang Opium Farm Annual Rent, 1855–70	74
Table 4.6	Perak's Major Revenue Farms and Farmers, 1880–82	80
Table 5.1	Leaders of Phuket's Kian Teik Tong	94
Table 5.2	List of Tin Mines controlled by Sit San's family in Lenya Township	96
Table 6.1	The Business Backgrounds and Family Relationship of the Singapore Hokkien Merchants	107
Table 6.2	The Shipping Agents of the Straits Steamship Company in Southeast Asia in 1920s	111
Table 6.3	The KPM's Four Shipping Lines to Sumatra	113
Table 6.4	The Family and Business Backgrounds of the Directors of Eastern Shipping Company	118
Table 6.5	The Board of Directors of the Penang Khean Guan Insurance Comoany, 1886	125
Table 6.6	The Financial Accounts of the Penang Khean Guan Insurance Co., 1886, 1891–1900, and 1905–6	127
Table 6.7	The Board of Directors of the Penang Khean Guan Insurance Company, 1897	128
Table 6.8	The Overseas Agents of the Penang Khean Guan Insurance Company	130
Table 7.1	Share of Malaysian and Siamese Tin Output held by Western and Chinese, 1906–1940 (in percentage)	143
Table 7.2	Number of Chinese, Javanese and Indian Workers in East Sumatra, 1883–1930	148

Table 7.3	Freight Capacity and Cost of Rail/Land/Water in Malaya	151
Table 7.4	Straits Settlements Government's Expenditure, 1900-5	155
Diagrams		
Diagram 2	.1 Brig Emma's Shipping Voyages and Cargoes	23
Diagram 3	.1 The Intermarriages of the Five Families and Others Families in Penang	52

Maps

Map i	Penang and Its Surrounding States in the Nineteenth Century	xxii
Map 4.1	Areas in George Town (Penang) affected by the 1867 Riots	72
Map 7.1	Railway Network and the Distribution of Rubber in Malaya, 1924	150

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Some content of this book have appeared as articles in *Asian Culture* and *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies*. I would like to record my thanks to these journals for allowing me to reproduce them here.

This work succeeded to materialize with the advice, help and support given unreservedly by many people. Their contributions have added to its strengths in different ways while in no way absolving me from the responsibility for its weakness. First and foremost, I would like to express my wholehearted gratitude to my supervisory panel — Dr Li Tana, Dr Nola Cooke, Emeritus Professor David Marr, and Professor Carl A. Trocki. As a supervisor, Dr Li provided valuable guidance during the course of my academic pursuit. She not only gave lots of her time and comments which influenced my writing but also showed me how to strive for a good presentation. Her unique viewpoints always pushed me to improve my arguments. Her enthusiasm and tight supervision also facilitated the pace of my research. For all this, I am immensely indebted to her. Despite her role as a co-supervisor, Dr Cooke showed a strong interest in my work throughout the period. She generously and patiently commented all the draft chapters. Her insightful feedback and meticulous editing greatly helped to improve my writing. Without her assistance, I would not have been able to produce a readable scholastic work. All of them have had a great influence on the development, execution and writing up of this study, their intuition and knowledge have been invaluable, and I feel very fortunate and grateful to have them as my guiding light.

In regard to my field research, I would like to extend sincere thanks to a long list of people and institutes. Without them, my collection of data and information would have never been easy and smooth. In Hong Kong, thanks go to the University of Hong Kong for allowing me to use its libraries, with its excellent collections and facilities. The friendly service of the librarians made my research work enjoyable. To Ip Kwok Kwan, I owe a real obligation for his friendship and help that made my stay in Hong Kong memorable. In Singapore, I thank the National University of Singapore and National Library of Singapore for the permissions to access their collection of materials. I am particularly grateful to Liu Yan, who helped me during my research at the National University of Singapore. I am sincerely thankful to Professor Ng Chin Keong and Dr Twang Peck Yang for being so generous with their time and dialogue. In Malaysia, my thanks go to the National Archive of Malaysia, University of Malaya, Centre for Malaysian Chinese Studies in Kuala Lumpur as well as the Penang State Public Library in Penang. Of course, I cannot forget those individuals who had assisted my research. They are too many to name here but a number of acknowledgements must be made. Danny Wong Tze-Ken, a close friend of mine since 1998, deserves a word of appreciation. He never turned me away when I dropped by his office. In our conversations, he very generously shared with me his ideas, views and knowledge, which brought constant intellectual stimulation. I owe a debt of gratitude to Khoo Boon Dar and Lim Seng Haw, who helped me to obtain some very useful materials.

Special appreciation also goes to all the friends and informants in Penang. Among them, I am particularly grateful to Tan Yeow Wooi, who not only showed me around in George Town, but also brought me into contact with the Big Five clan *kongsis*. Without his help, I could have wasted a lot of time to obtain the needed information. Most of all, he selflessly devoted his time and personal collection to my research. His friendship has played a unique role in my academic pursuit, for our shared interest in the history of Penang and the Big Five. Heartfelt thanks are due to my friends in Canberra — Hoang Dat, Huang Zhi, Ng Kee Siong, Michael Churchman, and Lynnette Ng who rendered many needful helps to me and my family.

Last, but by no means least, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my parents for their unstinting support and continuous encouragement. I am sure that they are delighted to see my work has eventually taken shape. I have accrued unrepayable debts for their total and unqualified love and support. For my wife, Phooi Yoke, I am forever indebted. I earnestly thank her for the encouragement, patience, understanding, and moral support and most of all for giving me the strength to believe in myself throughout the entire duration of this endeavour. My two beloved daughters, Ngi Chin and Ngi Xian, have been my great company during the revision of the manuscript.

Needless to say, I alone am responsible for all the errors and shortcomings in this book.

Yee Tuan Penang 9 March 2015

GLOSSARY

Attap or Atap	Leaves of palms used for thatching.	
Baba	A male descendant of the Chinese in the Straits Settlements who married the indigenous women. It also refers to creolized Chinese man.	
Chandu	Opium prepared for smoking.	
Chop	A trade name or trademark used by the Chinese businesses, it served as the name of the firm.	
Coyan	A weight equivalent to approximately 1,334.7 kilograms.	
Hui	A Chinese society or triad.	
Kapitan	The head of the Chinese community, usually appointed by the government.	
Kati	A weight equivalent to 0.60477 kilograms.	
Kongsi	A partnership, company, secret society, or other shareholding socioeconomic grouping.	
Orlong	An area equivalent to 1.333 acres.	
Parang	A broad heavy knife used for slashing and chopping.	
Picul or Pikul	A weight equivalent to approximately 60.48 kilograms.	

Rupee	The basic Indian unit of currency; worth about one-half of a Spanish or Mexican silver dollar.
Seh	A Chinese family name or surname organization.
Singkeh	Literally "new guest" refers to a newly arrived Chinese immigrant from China.
Tahil	A weight equivalent to about 38 grams.
Towkay	A business owner or boss; used to refer to a merchant.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

A.V.R.O.S.	Algemeene Vereeniging van Rubber Planters tier Osstkust van Sumatra (General Association of Rubber Planters of the East Coast of Sumatra)
СО	Colonial Office
КРМ	Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (Royal Dutch Packet Company)
p., pp.	Page or pages in an article or book
PGSC	Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle
PAMA	The Penang Argus and Mercantile Advertiser
Rs	Rupee
Sp	Spanish Dollar
vol.	Volume

NOTES ON SPELLING AND NAMES

Throughout this book, the names for Chinese individuals, associations, and companies are mostly in the spelling used in the sources — Hokkien, Hakka, Teochew, or Cantonese. Where I was unable to discover the Chinese characters, I use only the transcripts. Except for the names of the places in China which are in *Hanyu Pinyin*.

NOTES ON CURRENCIES

The symbol of \$ refers to Spanish dollar which was the standard currency used in the nineteenth-century Straits Settlements. From 1903 to 1934, Straits dollar replaced Spanish dollar as a standard unit of account for trade in the Straits Settlements and Southeast Asia.

\$ 100	210.85 Sicca Rupees
100	
\$ 100	.26.50 Sterling
100	U



Source: John Crawfurd, History of the Indian Archipelago: containing an account of the manners, arts, languages, religions, institutions, and commerce of its inhabitants, vol. 1, no. 1 (Edinburgh, 1820).

MAP i Map of Penang and Its Surrounding States in the Nineteenth Century

IMAGE 1

A Tin Distribution and Smelting Agency Operated by Khoo Low Chang (standing on the left) in Penang



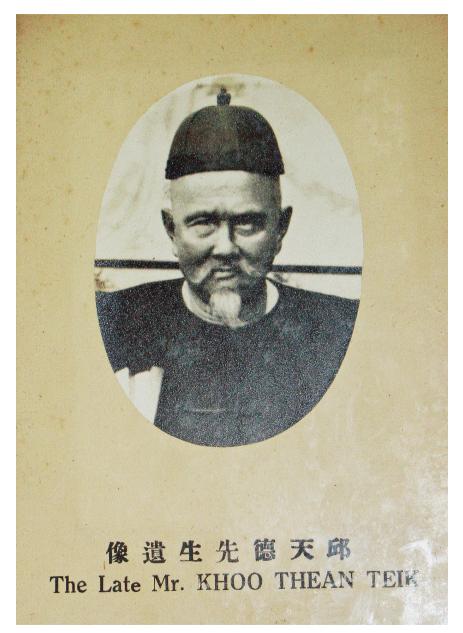
Source: Emil Helfferich, Behn, Meyer & Co. — Arnold Otto Meyer: A Company History, vol. II (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1983), p. 74. Courtesy of Khoo Salma Nasution.

IMAGE 2 Sir James Hugh Low



Source: Arkib Negara Malaysia (National Archive of Malaysia).

IMAGE 3 Khoo Thean Teik



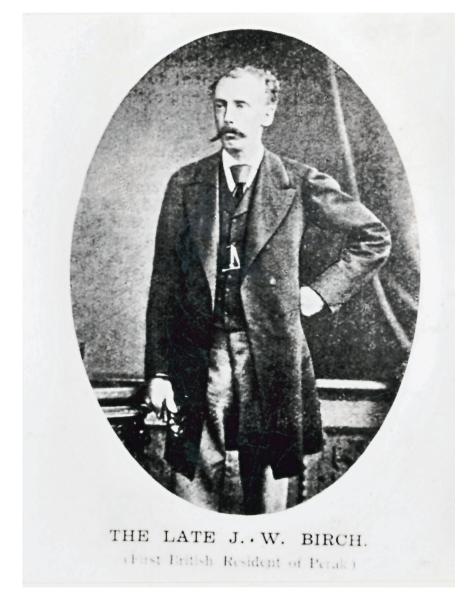
Source: Taken by the author in Penang with the permission of Boon San Tong.

IMAGE 4 Chung Keng Kwee



Source: Courtesy of Tan Yeow Wooi.

IMAGE 5 J.W.W. Birch



Source: Arkib Negara Malaysia (National Archive of Malaysia).

IMAGE 6 Loke Yew

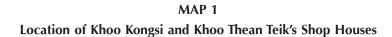


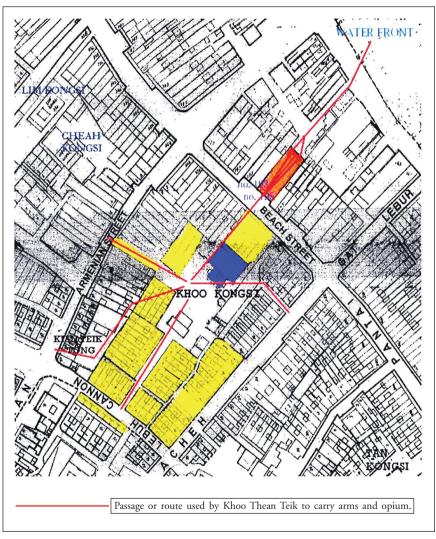
Source: Arkib Negara Malaysia (National Archive of Malaysia).

IMAGE 7 Tan Wee Ghee



Source: Courtesy of Tan Yeow Wooi.





Source: Original map provided by Tan Yeow Wooi Culture & Heritage Research Studio, Penang.