

No. 73

The Locality and Non-locality
Organizing Principles: A
Technical Report on the Taxonomy
of Chinese Voluntary Associations
in the 19th-Century Straits
Settlements

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THE LOCALITY AND NON-LOCALITY ORGANIZING PRINCIPLES: A Technical report on the taxonomy of Chinese Voluntary Associations in the 19th-Century Straits Settlements

Introduction

One of the more intriguing research topics on the Chinese communities overseas in general, and in the 19th-century Straits Settlements in particular, has been the organizing principles of the many Chinese voluntary associations. While Gamba (1966: 133) and Carsten (1975: 24-28) have each offered a taxonomy of Chinese voluntary associations based primarily upon their manifest functions, neither of them however sees the limiting effects of the organizing principles as problematic. Even less of a concern to them, like most other students, are the interactive patterns of territorial groups vis-a-vis the non-territorial groups in terms of the limiting effects of the two kinds of organizing principle.

Crissman's (1967) segmentary structure addresses in part to the first problem in question. This structure is essentially static, for it takes into consideration mainly the effects of the locality organizing principle. Non-locality groups are conceived to have organized along the same principle.

Hsieh (1978) sees some dynamicism in group alignment in that the Chinese would align themselves according to origin of speech alongside locality. For example, the Hakkas from various localities in both the Guangdong and Fujian and even other provinces, used to group themselves together formally. On the other hand, it has also been observed that there used to be more than one distinct dialect

group residing within a single district within either Guangdong or Fujian province.

Discussions on the interplay of the limiting effects of two and more organizing principles are found only lately. Yao (1984) proposes that in reality, some voluntary associations are an embodiment of territorial affiliation, blood ties and occupational bonds. An example cited by him is the Singapore Swatow (Santou) Hakka Pawnbrokers Association. Other combinations are also found.

Mak (1980;, 1985: 1-3, 181ff.) feels that the structural positions of some locality groups can be relocated, as these groups' limiting effects are neutralizable, especially by the non-locality bodies such as localized surname groups. The membership of these surname groups is restricted firstly, by locality and secondly, by the surname commonly shared among the residents living in the same vicinity. A localized surname group in this sense is not a fulfilled locality group and should be relegated to a position lower than that of a regular locality group.

Let us now examine in greater detail Crissman's (1967) segmentary structure of overseas urban Chinese voluntary associations. This structure consists of a vertical organizational hierarchy, implied in it is the degree of rigidity of group system. At the one end, there are associations formed on the basis of having lived together in the same area in China prior to migration. At the other, there are the associations which are open to all residents of any localities within the same province. The Hainanese's Chongya xagang dongxianghui and Fujian huiguan are respectively examples of the former and the latter extremes.

The vertical structure of Chinese voluntary associations refers essentially to the organizing principle that revolves around huiguan, or some of the related bodies such as public cemetery associations and temples. The limiting effects of this territorial principle are taken to be an overarching delimiter, to which all other voluntary associations are succumbed. This assumption does not seem to be valid; apparently there were in operation also other kinds of organizing principle for bodies such as ritualistic groups and secret societies. To what extent these other organizing principles have been subject to the limiting effects of the locality principle is thus one of the key concerns of the present inquiry. The other major concern is the kind of organizing principle that has surpassed the limiting effects of the locality principle. It is therefore also our interest to locate voluntary associations which are organized around such a principle. We shall term all such other associations 'integrative organizations'.

The concept of 'integrative organization' is a relative one. Conceptually most locality groups that are organized beyond the smallest theoretical territorial units, i.e., communes, would have been taken to be integrative, for they organize people from various smaller locality units into a larger one. In this vein, the association having the highest degree of integrative power would be any that is at the provincial level. In the present inquiry, however, an integrative association is defined as one that adopts a non-locality principle, one that defies the rigidity of the system boundaries of all locality groups. Speaking in operational terms,

such an organization is open to people from all localities in all provinces.

The integrative alignment system, or the non-locality organizing principle takes on many forms. The more salient and prevalent ones in the 19th-century were temple, secret brotherhood, clan/surname group, school, public cemetery, guild, etc. While locality groups are by definition not integrative, not all non-locality groups are truly integrative. Some are only pseudo. These are the organizations which to varying extents succumb to the limiting effects of the locality organizing principle. They are analytically part of the segmentary or vertical structure based upon the locality principle. Put it differently, the pseudo- or seemingly integrative associations are groups overpowered by the overarching limiting effects imposed on them by the locality principle.

On the other hand, a group that worships a universal deity rather than Chinese local legends such as baoxiang dadi, is deemed to possess immeasurable neutralization power; it is capable of extending its system boundaries beyond the segmentary limit fortified by locality organizing principle. For the purpose of refining the concept of 'integrative organization', we shall examine both kinds of organizing principle in a juxtaposition. It is hoped that such an exercise would help formulate a comprehensive analytic framework for mapping out all overseas Chinese voluntary organizations, especially those in the early Straits Settlements. The analytic framework would posit the segmentary structure along the vertical Y-axis, with the integrative alignment system along the horizontal X-axis.

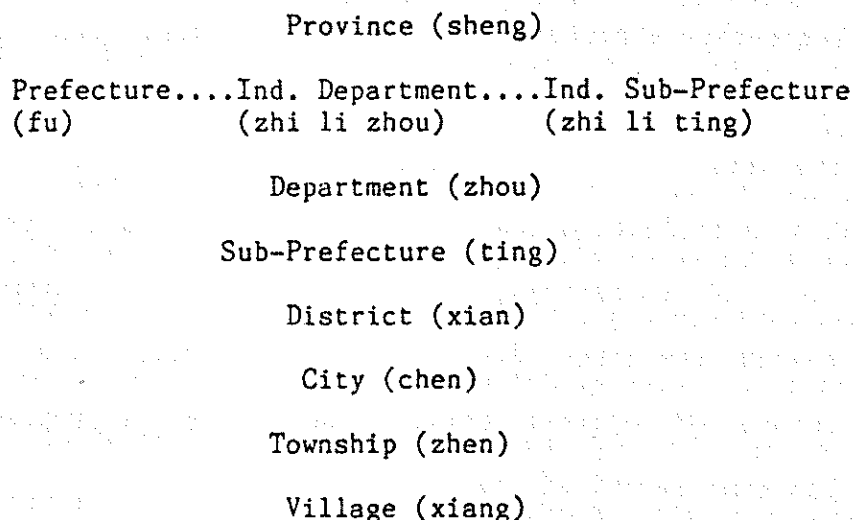
The Locality Principle

The locality organizing principle is not directly derived from the Chinese local government administrative system. There did not seem to be any close correspondence between the local government system and the segmentary structure. Nevertheless, population size would be one of the major commonalities found between the two. This is to mean that the size of the inhabitants of a province is certainly bigger than that of a prefecture and so on. For this reason, it is thus heuristic for us to contrast the Chinese local government administrative system practised during the Qing period with the segmentary structure of voluntary associations founded by overseas Chinese during the same period of time.

The Qing Government inherited from the previous Ming Dynasty the local government administrative system which divides each province into a number of Prefectures (fu), Independent Departments (zhi li zhou), and Independent Sub-Prefectures (zhi li ting). Below these three parallel-levelled administrative units there used to be three subdivisions, namely, Departments (zhou), Sub-prefectures (ting) and Districts (xian). Between 1909 and 1913/4, the Qing Empire introduced and implemented the Local Self-Government System with the aim of establishing local self-governing bodies for prefectures, departments, sub-prefectures and districts. The administrative centres of these higher-level local governments were located in the cities (chen). The same self-government system created not only cities, but also smaller territorial units known as town (zhen) having a population of more than 50,000 inhabitants, and village (xiang) with less than 50,000 population (Brunnert and Hagelstrom,

1911: 174-84, 425-426; Zhang, 1981: 221-6). The chart below indicates to some extent the authority structure of these administrative units.

Chart 1. Local government administrative system during the late Qing period



Note: Straight lines signify hierachical status;
dotted lines parallel status.

The authority structure of the local government units included in the above chart is generally believed to have no definite influence on the system rigidity of the locality principle practised by the overseas Chinese. Besides, the new territorial units of city, town and village came into being only in the 20th century, before which numerous Chinese locality voluntary associations had already been founded in the Straits Settlements.

In contrast with this local government system, the hierachical structure of the locality bound associations is much simpler towards the upper end, but more elaborate towards the lower end of the structure. Chart 2 below presents the hierarchy of locality associations' rigidity of system boundaries constructed from various sources, both empirical and implied (Chen and Tan, 1972; Wu,

1975, 1977; Chen and Franke, 1982, 1985; Zhangzhoufu zi; Haicengxian zi; Lungxixian zi). For example, the lowest level of the earlier local government system was District, this was later extended to include Village after the Reformation era (906-1913/4). However, the locality organizing principle could be applied right down to the commune. At the upper end, the idea of 'Independent' administrative units never seemed to have been internalized by overseas Chinese; particularly those living in the 19th-century Straits Settlements.

According to the locality principle indicated in Chart 2, a person can cite any of the territorial units as his or his father's place of residence/birth. He could claim to be a Fujian man (Fujianese) in general, or a Haizhen man in a specific sense, or even as a folk of Xinjiang shé (commune) in the most specific sense, if he was born in that particular commune. This person is therefore an eligible member of all voluntary associations organized around one of those localities between the commune level and provincial level.

Assuming that the Xinjiang she man is a member of one association at each level, he would probably realize that membership of an association at the communal level is certainly more restrictive and exclusive than that at the village level. This degree of restriction and exclusivity of membership will decrease progressively as the level of organization moves upward. In other words, voluntary associations at the provincial level would probably have the largest pool of potential members compared to those at the prefectural level and lower.

The Analytic Framework

We are now in a better position to posit the voluntary associations along the Y-axis. Chart 2 below indicates that

Chart 2 Level of locality bound associations on the Y-axis

```
1
1 n: provincial(sheng) *****
1
1 n-1: prefecture(fu) *****
1
1 n-2: department(zhou) *****
1
1 n-3: sub-prefecture(ting) *****
1
1 n-4: district(xian) *****
1
1 n-5: borough(du & to/fang) *****
1
1 n-6: county(xiang/bao) *****
1
1 n-7: village(cun/jia) *****
1
1 n-(n-1): commune(she) *****
1
```

all provincial associations are positioned near the top of the Y-axis and are each assigned with a value of n . (the subscript n along the Y-axis is to mean that it is the highest value). Similarly, associations that are at the prefectural level are given a value of Y_{n-1} . The lowest value is denoted by $Y_{n-(n-1)}$ and it is assigned to associations that are organized at the communal level. When $n=10$, $n-1$ would be equal to $10-1=9$. At the other extreme, $n-(n-1)$ would be equal to $10-(10-1)=10-9=1$.

Supposing that we have only nine levels, the following numeric series will sufficiently cover all levels of the voluntary

associations:

Y9, Y8, Y7, Y6, Y5, Y4, Y3, Y2, and Y1

In this context, a provincial voluntary association may be denoted by Y9, a prefectural by Y8 and a communal by Y1.

This is only an objectively constructed taxonomy of voluntary associations. It may not necessarily be shared, observed or internalized subjectively by and among the overseas Chinese. The consequential empirical types would help to substantiate the pure type constructed. In this connection, Hsieh (1978) has suggested that the overseas Chinese' perceived levels of such associations are five, namely, provincial, prefectural, district, borough and town/village. Wu (1975:23-4) also has offered five levels of such organizations based on his very detailed survey on the Chinese voluntary associations in province, prefecture, district, county and village.

The embracing framework of the present study has taken into consideration not only the explicitly labelled organizations, but also the implicitly referred system boundaries of some organization. For example, while there has not been found any voluntary association bearing explicitly the name of any commune, there were a few surname groups in 19th-century Penang which admitted as members only people residing in a particular commune, apart from having the same surname (Yen, 1981; Chen and Franke, 1982: 29ff.) Chart 3 below supplies examples for each level of founded or theoretical possible organizations on the Y-axis given in Chart 2 above.

Chart 3 Existent and implied associations for each level on the Y-axis*

Level	Example
(Extra-provincial	Sanjiang gonghui)*
Province (sheng)	Guangdong huiguan
Prefecture (fu)	Caozhou bayi huiguan
Department (zhou)	Jiaying dongxianghui/Yongchun huiguan
Sub-prefecture (provincial ting)	+Guangdong shen zhixi ting
Sub-prefecture (departmental ting)	+Zhangzhou fu yunxiao ting
District (xian)	Jinjiang huiguan
County (du & to/ fang/lin & li)	+Zhangzhou fu haiceng xian san (third) du
Borough (bao/xiang)	Chongqing dongxianghui (Hainanese)/ +Zhangzhoufu haicengxian sandu xinan bao
Village (jia/cun)	Chongya xagang dongxianghui
Commune (she)	+Zhangzhoufu haicengxian sandu xinanbao xinjiang she

*The English translations of the territorial units are only an approximation; even some translated terms are only one of the few versions.

It is an Yn+1 Yn organization, not one on the Y-axis.
+ Implied only.

We have learned that not all non-locality bound associations are integrative bodies, as many of them are not free free from the limiting effects of the locality principle. Besides temples or worship groups cited above, surname or clan groups are also good examples. Most surname groups appear to cut across the boundaries of all locality groups, whereas in reality few of them are organized around just the commonly ascribed surname. At least one other organizing principle has been adopted, which is not uncommon, and it

is locality. The four most notable and influential surname groups (Qiu, Xie, Lin and Yang) in 19th-century Penang were organized around these dual principles, with the locality principle reduced to the communal level which had remained dominant (Chen and Franke, 1985: 856; Chen and Tan, 1972: 16; Imahori, 1974: 56-64; Yen, 1981). These are localized clans. They are not even pseudo-integrative. They are analytically locality bodies and should be denoted by the symbol $Y_n - (n-1) X_n - (n-1)$ which is to say this x-type association is organized within the limits of a locality bound group. For the purpose of clarity, the pseudo- and truly integrative associations shall be denoted by any of the following serialized signs, with 'x' heading the combination:

$X_n Y_{n-1}, X_{n-1} Y_{n-2}, X_{n-2} Y_{n-3}, \dots$

or alternatively:

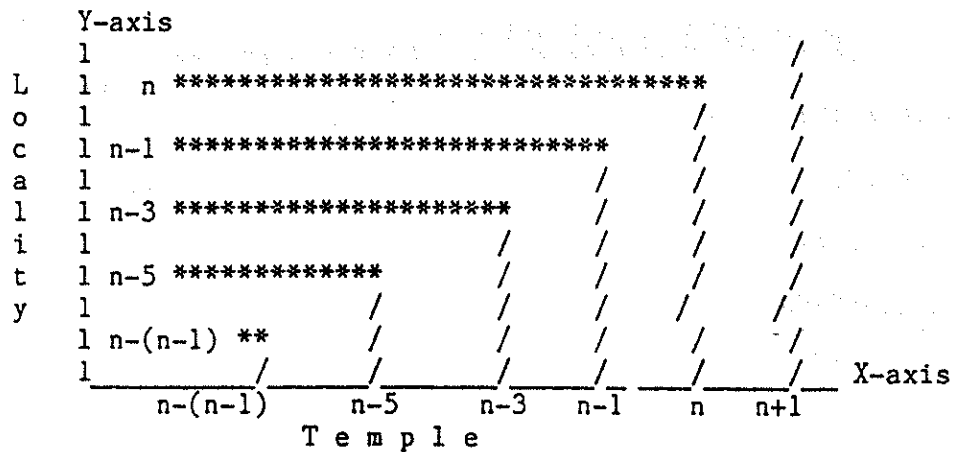
$X(12)Y(11), X(11)Y(10), \dots X(2)Y(1)$

The distinction between a false, a pseudo and a truly integrative body may be made by examining the degree of integrative power each of them possesses.

The concept of integration is an ordinal one; it assumes some kind of degree rather than the dichotomous 'yes' and 'no'. Theoretically speaking, except for those organized at the lowest level along the Y-axis, any other x-type association that is above that lowest level may be considered an integrative body, either pseudo or true. The integrative power of the x-type associations hinges much upon the number of levels along the Y-axis that the x-type associations have passed through. An integrative association that relaxes its system boundaries to include all residents within a

province is certainly very much higher on the score of integrative power, compared to one that is willing to take in only people from a particular county of the province. To illustrate those points discussed above, the following chart will be instructive.

Chart 4. The x-, y- and XnY-type associations



According to the chart, values along the Y-axis represent the degree of system rigidity of locality groups, while those along the X-axis, that of the temple which is only one of many non-locality bodies. In this case, only the $X_{n+1} Y_n$ temples would be considered to be truly integrative bodies. And only these temples, or similarly any other x-type associations which have surpassed the Y_n level can be said to have possessed the real integrative power. Among the pseudo-integrative associations, those at the second highest level may be called provincial integrative associations or $X_n Y_n$. Moving down the scale further, the $X_{n-3} Y_{n-5}$ types of organizations are comparatively higher than the $X_{n-5} Y_{n-5}$ types on the score of integrative power. However, both bodies and the like are termed here

pseudo-integrative organizations, to be distinguished from the truly integrative and the false ones which are essentially locality associations, i.e., the basic $X_{n-(n-1)} Y_{n-(n-1)}$ type. In the latter case, it will be more appropriate to exchange the location of the signs into $Y_{n-(n-1)} X_{n-(n-1)}$.

A note of caution should be sounded here. In statistical terms, intervals along either the Y- or X- axis should be equal. Obviously our classification given so far has not satisfied this requirement, and this problem could render any x and y combination mathematically improper. As a consequence, a taxonomy of voluntary associations can only be considered to be heuristic rather than final. However, the proposed analytic framework has led us to understand better the concept of integrative association which is defined as a non-locality association that has surpassed the rigidity of system boundaries regulated by any locality organizing principle. Besides, the framework has the potential to enable us to code any combination of integrative associations.

The taxonomy scheme discussed above is primarily a theoretical construct. To ascertain and substantiate especially the degree of system rigidity of the integrative associations, true and pseudo alike, the concept of system rigidity must be operationalized.

Rigidity of system boundary has been conceived of as having four analytic components along an unidimensional scale (Mak, 1980): corporate membership, individual membership, corporate donation, and individual donation. The system boundary of an association will then be considered to be most flexible (least rigid), if the organization concerned accepts other organizations of a different nature as its constituent members. An unidimensional scale works in the manner that

if, at the corporate level, the association in question is willing to relax its system boundary, it will certainly accept also donations from any other organizations, accept individuals of any other organizations as members, as donors.

At the other extreme, nevertheless, the system boundary of an organization will be regarded as most rigid in its system boundary, if it refuses to accept even donations from others at the individual level. Or for the same matter, disallows its own members to contribute to other organizations in their individual capacity. Chart 5 below shows how the operationalized components of the concept of rigidity of system boundary are arranged. The least rigid or the most flexible system boundary, for instance, is one that is marked with the combination of A(1), while the most rigid one is expressed by E(4).

Chart 5 Degree of rigidity of system boundary in an unidimensional scale

	Membership		Donation	
	Corporate (1)	Individual (2)	Corporate (3)	Individual (4)
A. Most flexible	+	+	+	+
B. Less flexible		+	+	+
C. Moderately flexible			+	+
D. Less rigid				+
E. Most rigid				-

The statement that one organization accepts another presumes that the two are not exactly the same. A pertinent question to ask here is what that differentiates the two concerns us. It is the dialect characteristic of the organizations. This query begets two other

questions. Why is it that speech and not locality is used to define the system boundary, or eligibility of membership? Secondly, how can one tell whether a certain organization is composed of only a particular dialect group?

From Locality to Speech

The effects of locality were so overwhelming that origin of birth/residence has been taken as an independent, ideal and convenient classificatory tool of overseas Chinese voluntary associations, as against other kinds of organizing principle. However, locality is conceptually only a manifestation of the social reality of the feeling of togetherness. By itself it is quantitative measure of system rigidity begging for theoretical explanations. What, in this respect, has really given meaning to this manifestation, is the commonly shared living experience of the residents within the confines of a locality. Such an experience remains personal and not shared until it is exchanged verbally, which is a very vital means to forge neighbourliness. This is especially so among people who are illiterate, like the early Chinese immigrants. Unexpressed locality feeling does not constitute a social fact as much as the expressed does. The appropriate label for the expressed locality feeling is speech affinity which is the qualitative aspect of social alignment among overseas Chinese.

It is almost common sense knowledge that due to geographical isolation in many parts of old-time China, the Chinese people living within a specific confines used to speak the same kind of vernacular, or dialect. Where verbal communication is required for

neighbours in their everyday life, it can be expected that only people who could speak the lingua franca or its variants were likely to live closer together. Thus, speech affinity would be a theoretically richer and more meaningful social indicator than locality in the social alignment among the overseas Chinese.

There are also methodological grounds to justify the use of speech affinity rather than locality as a mechanism in group taxonomy. The locality principle in this regards is less exhaustive. While each basic locality unit was associated with a specific type of dialect, or else more than one, the notation of speech sometimes involves more basic locality units. The significance of this aspect of exhaustiveness can be exemplified by the group of people who speak the Hakka dialect. It is a well-known fact that the Hakka people were more preoccupied by speech affinity than by locality criterion in their social alignment, although the two criteria overlapped to a considerable extent. To them, place of birth was only a reinforcer, but speech affinity an enforcer. As such, the Hakka people's voluntary associations would not be appropriately placed if only the locality principle is strictly employed for categorization purposes.

Yet another aspect of methodological consideration is that speech affinity as an analytic concept is closer to the notion of unitary as distinguished from global. A unitary concept is one that is most fundamental and hence irreducible. It is particularly heuristic in analyzing unofficial social alignment among the Chinese. Speech affinity sometimes differentiates people from the same locality into more basic social groups. A good example may be drawn from the identified groups involved in the famous Larut wars in Perak (Wong,

1962: 101-6, Appendix H, J). The two rival Chinese groups involved in the ten-year-long fights over the mining rights in Larut were supposedly the Hai San Kongsí and the Ghee Hin Kongsí. The former group was composed of members from Guangdong's four localities, namely, xinning district, xinhui district, zhaoqin prefecture and huizhou prefecture. The latter, the Ghee Hin group, comprised people from another four localities of the same province and they are zhengchen, panyu, xunde and dongquan districts. Judging by the names of the localities, all these people should have been Cantonese. This is however not the case, for the Hai San people were in fact Hakka people living in those Cantonese dominated localities. For discriminating the unofficially organized groups, speech affinity is thus a more meaningful indicator than locality.

Speech affinity is also a more useful concept for grouping overseas Chinese in areas where two or more dialect groups were living in close proximity. To be employed to work together with other folks, where in China one was born was of less significance than what dialect one could speak. In the Straits Settlements' labour intensive economy where team or group work was required, birthplace would have no obvious and direct bearings on occupational opportunity as speech affinity would.

On technical grounds too, speech affinity is preferred. Either for the reasons cited above, or as a matter of convenience in conceptualization, speech affinity instead of locality criterion was employed to discriminate the Chinese immigrants in the Straits Settlements' population censuses. This finding is apparently an added advantage to the use of speech criterion in replacement of the locality principle.

It must be iterated that, however, with perhaps very few exception, dialect affinity is not yet another organizing principle apart from the locality principle. Dialect affinity is taken here to be a theoretically and technically viable substitute of the less inclusive locality principle. Implied in any locality criterion there is always the element of speech affinity.

As has been demonstrated above, speech affinity instead of locality principle shall be employed in the present inquiry to classify the Chinese voluntary associations found in the early Straits Settlements.

A Taxonomy of Voluntary Associations

The other question which hitherto remains unanswered is how do we discriminate Chinese voluntary associations from one another through the application of the speech affinity criterion. Four approaches are to be used for categorizing most of the Chinese voluntary associations in the 19th-century Straits Settlements and they are to be discussed shortly.

Associations for the specific time period will be studied through inscribed data about them, which have been searched, collated, compiled and eventually published in three separate collections by Chen and Tan (1972), Wu (1975, 1977) and Chen and Franke (1982, 1985). A brief account on the format of these inscriptions is necessary.

A typical piece of inscription normally consists of three main parts which are of significant concern to us. The first part is almost invariably the heading or title of the inscription. The title

usually gives the name of the association. The nature of the association is also specified, whether it is a temple or a huiguan.

The second part of a typical inscription is the text, which could be regarded as a statement on the purpose of erecting the tablet/stone. More often than not, the speech origin of the group or, of the principal participants is revealed. The last part, that is of interest to us, contains the names of the founders/committee members/donors, and also the foundation date of the building or the association.

Three of the four proposed methods to trace the speech origin of voluntary organizations examine closely the structural parts of the inscriptions. Primarily, what is stated in the proclamation, the title or the text, about the speech identity of the founders/members of the organization would be taken as conclusive. In quite a number of such inscriptions, the title of the inscription already tells the speech identity of the group. For example, 'Yongchun huiguan', a typical title, is to mean that this association is for the people from the Yongchun department. This is termed method A. Nevertheless, this method alone is generally not only insufficient, but also misleading. Take, for example, the case of 'Quang Fu qong', which may be too readily taken to mean a temple catered to the needs of the people from both the Quang-dong and Fu-jian provinces. In fact, according to the descriptive text which constitutes another method for tracing speech origin of an association, the actual meaning of 'quang fu' is 'to spread the fortune or to germanite the gospel for the members.'

In other cases, the speech identity of the organization can be read from the birthplace of the founders. Not quite uncommonly, it

can be deciphered from statements like the one given here: "We, the people from Huizhou, Guangzhou and Zhaoqing had come and settled on this land...."(Chen and Tan, 1972: 85); or as in this statement of purpose: "It is time now for us to renovate the premises so as to cope with the demand on the facilities by the increasing number of our people from the Fujian Province...." (Chen and Franke, 1985: 713).

This is method B.

There is yet another method, or method C, for establishing the speech identity of an organization. The method requires us to check the speech identity of the principal donors and/or the directors of the association. This is expectedly a very tedious and laborious approach in that biographic data or sketches on those persons will have to be scrutinized and investigated. Should this and the previous two methods fail, the fourth method ought to be resorted to.

The fourth or D method to determine the speech origin of an organization is through inference, based primarily upon findings on the affinity between speech origin and occupation. Certain dialect groups have been found to be more affinal to particular types of occupations in the early Straits Settlements (Mak, 1981: 41-4). For example, Carpentry jobs were monopolized by the Cantonese, while ship-builders were mostly Hokkiens.

Inference may also be based on the rather established fact of differential worshipping of legends, e.g., people from jinjiang in Fujian traditionally honoured quang ze zun wang. By virtue of this information, temples that honour such a deity would be classified into the Fujian group. Chen and Franke (1982: 43-48) have produced

a list of the protector gods for some of the subethnic or dialect groups, by which the relationship between the deities and the dialect groups can be established. For example, quang ze zun wang, qing shui zu shi, bao sheng da di, shen nung sheng di, kai zhang sheng wang are generally protector gods for the Fujian people; Tien hou and bei di are honoured by the Hainanese; San shan quo wang and lupan xian shi are associated with the Hakka and Cantonese people respectively.

According to the manifest functions of the voluntary associations, the majority of them have been categorized into huiguan, public burial ground, temple, school, shrine and others. It must be pointed out that this categorization is justified if the researcher concerned is well aware of the fact that the functions of huiguan, public burial ground and temple were in the olden days discharged under the same roof with one name to it. In a number of cases, either the three were one or the public cemetery was the originator of the other two.

Listed below are Chinese voluntary organizations founded in the 19th-century Straits Settlements. Each of the bodies has been given a speech identity. For the classification we employ the four aforementioned approaches, namely, by the title of the inscription piece, by the statement of founding objective, by the speech origin of the principal donors/directors, and lastly by inference. In that order these method will be labelled as method A,B,C and D.

Most of the voluntary associations in the 19th-century Straits Settlements could be grouped according to speech origin through applying the four methods given above. There are a few difficult cases, among which one is to be singled out for illustration purpose. This is the case of a speech group which revolved around the

Chart 7 List of associations according to speech origin
Penang, 19th century.

Name of organization [Code]	Type	Year	Method
The Cantonese Associations(YnXn)			
Lupan go miao [H1.9]	OC	1865	D
Ningyang huiguan [H1.33]	DA	1860	A
Nanghai huiguan (Nanyih gongshi) [H1.35]	DA	1904	A
Zhongsan huiguan (xiangyih guan) [H1.36]	DA	1907	A
Huqin go miao [H1.7]	OC	1871	D
Wu shi jia miao [H1.51]	C	1896	B
Mei shi zongchi [H1.52]	C		
The Cantonese & Hakka Associations(XnYn)			
Quangdong & Dingzhou yishan [H1.23]	PC	1795	B
Haizhoyu Dabogong miao [H1.3.2]	T	1865	C
Wu Fu suyuan (Wu Fu Tang/qian yi yinhui) [H1.34]	S	1898	C
The Hakka Associations(YnXn)			
Jiaying huiguan (Ren Ho guan) [H1.29]	DA	1803	A
Sheng Zhi xue shu [H1.53]	S	1886	C
Dabogong [H1.3.3]	T	1868	C
The Hokkien Associations(YnXn)			
Feng Shan zhi [H1.5]	T	1862	D
Qing Yun yan (Fu Xin gong/Qing lung miao/She miao) [H1.8]	T	1873	D
Fu Sou gong [H1.11.1]	T	1877	B
Chenhuang miao [H1.12.1]	T	1879	BC
Qing Lung gong [1.16]	T	1888	D
Bao Zhu she [H1.18]	T	1902	B
Fujian yisan [1.24]	PC	1805	AB
Pulau Tikus gong chong [H1.24.16]	PC	1856	AB
Batu Gantong gong chong [H1.24.9]	PC	1886	AB
Qiu shi Lung Shan tang (Wen Shan tang/ Yi Gu tang) [H1.46]	C	1851	B
Xie shi zonchi [H1.47]	C	1858	B
Lin shi zonchi (Jiu Lung tang) [H1.48]	C	1872	B
Shui Mei gong (Xin, Ke & Cai zongchi)[H1.4.1]	C	1862	B
Chen shi zongchi (Kai Zhang sheng wang bei/ Yin Chuan tang) [H1.50]	C	1878	B
Yang shi jia chi (Yin Yuan gong etc.) [H1.54]	C	1900	B

The Hainanese Associations(YnXn)

Chongzhou gongguan (Tien Hou gong) [H1.31] DA 1870 A

The Teochiu Associations(YnXn)

Caozhou huiguan (Hanjiang jia miao)
[H1.30.1] DA 1870 A

Amalgamated/Integrative Associations(Xn+1 Yn)

Guang Fu gong [H1.2.1]	T 1800	B
Kai San Wang miao [H1.6]	T 1866	B
Da Sheng fu tang [H1.10]	T 1875	B
Da Yuan fu tang [H1.15]	T 1883	B
Chi le zhi (gong de bei) [H1.17]	T 1892	BC
Wang shi chonhvhi (Tai Yuan tang) [H1.55]	C 1895	BC
Pin Zhang huiguang (gongguan) [H1.32]	CC 1886	B

The Undetermined Associations

Liu, Quan & Zhang miao [H1.13]*	T 1880
Qing Guan zhi (Cao Yuan maio) [H1.14]	T 1881

Notes: OC=Occupational guild; T=Temple; S=School;
DA=Dialect Association; C=Clan association;
PC=Public cemetery;
CC=Chamber of Commerce/United association.

All codes but one for the Malacca and Penang inscriptions are given by Chen & Franke (1983, 1985).

*Yen (1981: n.38) attributes a similar association in Singapore to the Cantonese group, based on the speech of a list of members since 1949.

Chart 8 List of associations according to speech origin,
Singapore, 19th century.

Name of Organization	Type	Year	Method
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The Cantonese Associations(YnXn)

Ningyang huiguan	DA	1828	A
Dabogong miao	T	1854	C
Panyu huiguan	DA	1879	A
Guang Fu gu miao	T	1880	C
Bisan ting	PC	1890	C

The Cantonese & Hakka Associations(XnYn)

Lu Ye ting	PC	1840	C
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The Hakka Associations(YnXn)

Ying Ho guan	DA	1823	A
Dabogong miao (Teluk Ayer)	T	1854	C
Cha Yang huiguan	DA	1858	A
Dabogong miao (Tanjung Pagar)	T	1864	C
Jiaying Lu Ye ting (Five Districts)	PC	1884	C
Jiaying shuang lung shan (Five Districts)	PC	1887	C

The Hokkien Associations(YnXn)

Heng Shan ting	PC	1830	C
Tien Fu gong	T/DA	1850	BC
Chui Ying shuyuan	S	1861	BC
Chong Wen guo	S	1867	BC
Bao Zhi gong	C	1878	BC
Jin Lan miao	T	1839	BC
Zhang Tai miao	T	1887	BC
Jin Men Fu Ji miao	T	1876	C
Zhi Yuan miao	T	1886	C
Bei Zhi gong	T	1879	C
Wu Zhao Dabogong (Rochore)	T	1847	C

For explanatory notes about the signs, see Chart 7, above.

Chart 9 List of associations according to speech origin,
Malacca, 19th century.

Name of Organization	Type	Year	Method
The Hakka Associations(YnXn)			
Ying He huiguan [El.28]	DA	1821	A
Jia Ying yi chong [El.19]	PC	1824	C
Dabogong chi [El.6]	T	52	C
San Duo miao [El.8]	T	1857	C
Tien De gong [El.9]	T	1884	C
Cha yang huiguan [El.29]	DA	1810	A
The Hokkien Associations(YnXn)			
Qing Yuan ting [El.1]	T	1673	C
Bao Shan ting [El.2]	T	1795	C
Yong Chuan dian [El.4]	T	1837	C
Bao An gong [El.3]	T	1841	C
Fujian huiguan [El.23]	DA	1843	A
Qing Hua gong [El.5]	T	1847	C
Yu Xu gong [El.7]	T	1863	C
Yong Chun huiguan [El.25]	DA	1875	A
Zhang Zhou huiguan [El.26]	DA	1894	A
Guang Fu gong (Feng San) [El.14]	T	1904	C
Ning Shan zhi [El.15]	T	1910	C
The Hainanese Associations(YnXn)			
Chongzhou huiguan [El.24]	DA	1871	A
Leizhou huiguan [El.27]	DA	1916	A
Chong Ya yi shan [El.20]	PC	1920	AC
The Teochiu Associations(YnXn)			
Hanjiang huiguan (Mak, 1985: Appendix 2)	DA	1884	A
Amalgamated/Integrative Associations(Xn+1 Yn)			
He Sheng gong [El.10]	T	1888	BC
Hu Hai dian [El.11]	T	1890	BC
Guan Yin tang [El.12]	T	1894	BC
Guang Fu zhi [El.13]	T	1902	BC

For explanatory notes on signs, see Chart 7, above.

Penang's Sheng zhi xue shu (Chart 7, above), a school by the name Sheng Zhi.

Sheng Zhi is the other, or fancy name of the very renowned and influential Zheng Jingue (Chung Keng Kwee). The school in question was founded by him. For those who are familiar with Chinese voluntary associations in 19th-century Penang and the state of Perak would surely know that Zheng had been directors and/or major donors to numerous communal associations. His dialect origin is crucial not only to this particular school, but but also to a substantial number of other associations patronized by him and those by his descendant Kapitan Zheng Daping.

Jingue is popularly known to be the leader of the Hai San Society during the Larut War and is reported to have occupied as his residence cum office the Ghee Hin Society's headquarters. Imahori (1971: 72) even brands him as a Ghee Hin headman. What actually complicates the problem of speech origin here is that Hai San was a Hakka, while Ghee Hin a Cantonese secret society. Is Jingue a Hakka or a Cantonese?

He is persistently reported to have migrated from Zhengchen district within the Quanzhou Prefecture. The district had been dominated by the Cantonese, although the Hakka people formed the biggest minority. Is he a Cantonese or a Hakka?

A number of publications have been consulted and surprisingly Jingue was not mentioned in the commemorative publications by Hakka associations in Penang (1980), Perak (1951), Singapore (1956), and for the Southeast Asian regions (Nanyang, 1967). He is also not mentioned in a commemorative publication on the Zhengchen (or

Zhenglung) people (Ipoh, 1969). He is not even included in the list of prominent overseas Hakkas, while the legendary Zhang Li and some less notable figures such as Gu Guoyao, Yao Desheng, Hu Zhichun, Dai Chunrong were given good publicity (Perak, 1951: 423-520; Nanyang, 1967: A77ff.)

In effect, Jingue's speech origin has been indicated in a remark made by Wong (1963: 79 n.58) who commented that the surname 'Chung' is the Hakka dialect of Zheng. This remark has been substantiated by a commemorative publication on the prominent members of the Penang's Pinzhang gonghui, which describes Jingue as 'Hakka speaking' (Penang, 1983: 171). Where the search for the speech origin of Zheng Jingue ends, the exercise on the alignment on the Chinese voluntary associations in the 19th-century begins.

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