

MOVING MOUNTAINS

移山

圖鑑

上 冊

雪隆華族歷史圖片集



移山圖鑒

雪隆華族歷史圖片集

MOVING MOUNTAINS

A Pictorial History of the Chinese in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur

上册

Volume I

編委會 / Editorial Committee

徐威雄 / Ser Wue Hiong

張集強 / Teoh Chee Keong

陳亞才 / Tang Ah Chai



Centre For Malaysian Chinese Studies

華社研究中心

Kuala Lumpur 吉隆坡

《移山图鉴：雪隆华族历史图片集》上册

Moving Mountains

A Pictorial History of The Chinese in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. Volume 1

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I 致謝詞

董事主席周素英

图像可以说明许多故事，西方谚语“一图胜千言”，很可以说明照片与影像的作用，实不亚於文献材料。

影像或图像应该包括图画、照片和录像。图画的可信度容易令人怀疑。录像的年代是二十世纪才开始的，刚满百年；照片摄像的历史则少说有一百七十多年了，大致涵盖世界近代史的时间范围。因此，照片是研究近现代史最重要的影像资料。

基於影像与图像在历史研究中的重要性，在华社研究中心成立之初，当时的研究员暨现任荣誉研究员李业霖先生曾经收集一些照片，准备出版雪隆华人历史的图册，但因各种因素，未能竟功付梓。为保留原出版计划的构想，我们将当时准备出书的两篇序文，即李业霖先生所做的导论和当时华研主席暨本中心永久名誉主席已故丹斯里颜清文先生的序文附刊於此，以纪念丹斯里对华研的贡献。

2010年6月迄今，华研董事会在学术董事暨博特拉大学外文系中文组高级讲师徐威雄先生的主持下，聘请了全职助理研究员黄露仪小姐为专案执行员，承担起这项旷日持久的图片集编辑工作，才使本图册得以纳入年度的出版计划之一。

华研很荣幸的邀请到隆雪中华大会堂执行长陈亚才先生和思特雅大学学院建筑系讲师暨建筑史学者张集强先生组成编委会，努力采集了数千张珍贵的雪隆华人史的照片与图像资料。在编辑过程中，我们也邀请到蓝氏君女士负责美术编辑与排版工作，陈耀宗先生担任全书的英文翻译，林武

聪先生翻译导论并对全书的英文进行审校，使中断了近二十年的《移山图鉴：雪隆华族历史图片集》上册，得以如实的呈现在读者眼前。

图片集徵用来自雪隆各地华团及个人的珍藏，他们都慷慨无私的捐献给华研，在本书附录已详列各捐赠图片的单位和个人一览表，以为铭谢。

《移山图鉴》的编制与构思，原来是一整套的，内容涵盖拓荒与建制、经济与民生、教育与文化、社会生活、宗教与习俗、政治活动六个篇章。由於每一篇章都斟选超过百幅以上的照片或图片，篇幅过于庞大，所以分为上下两册出版，各有三章。本集为上册三章，分别是拓荒与建制、经济与民生、教育与文化。

除了绪论以外，各章都冠以导言。每张图片采用中、英两种语文说明，方便阅读。全书以图叙事，夹叙夹议，章节有体。

这次出版《移山图鉴》，首章由张集强先生负责，第二及第三章是由图片集主编徐威雄先生负责。他们分别采集大量的图片，再经过编委会会议筛选，并由各章负责人分别执笔撰写每一张图片的历史背景与故事，方才编制成此书，足证学术工作个中的艰辛，诚不足为外人道。

本出版计划是由吉隆坡广东义山专项赞助，使本书得以成功印行，我要代表董事会向广东义山再三致意。早在九十年代，华研即开始收集部分照片，当时也得到吉隆坡中华独中校友会的赞助，也在此一并致谢。

I A Note of Appreciation

Chew Saw Eng

Chairperson, Centre for Malaysian Chinese Studies

“A picture tells a thousand words,” as the saying goes. Pictures or visuals are indeed no less effective than written materials in telling stories.

Pictures or visuals include drawings, photographs and videos. However, the credibility of drawings has always been questioned whereas the age of videos had started only in the 20th century and is just barely a hundred years old by now. Photographs, on the other hand, have a history of at least 170 years, covering roughly the whole period of modern world history. Therefore, photographs are the most important visual information in the study of modern history.

Recognizing the importance of photographs in historical studies, Mr. Lee Yip Lim, a research assistant of the Centre for Malaysian Chinese Studies (CMCS) when it was newly set up and currently an honorary research fellow of CMCS, had collected a number of old photographs with the intention of publishing a pictorial history of the Chinese in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor. However, due to various factors, the publication did not materialize. In order to preserve the original idea of such a publication project, we have included in the present book the introduction written at that time by Mr. Lee and also the foreword by the late Tan Sri Ngan Ching Wen, then Chairman and later Permanent Honorary Chairman of CMCS. This book is also a commemoration of Tan Sri Ngan’s contributions to CMCS.

In June 2010, CMCS revived the publication project for this book with the editorial committee headed by Mr. Ser Wue Hiong, academic director of CMCS and senior lecturer at the Chinese Division of the Department of Foreign

Languages of Universiti Putra Malaysia. Miss Eng Luh Yee was employed since then as a full-time assistant research fellow to coordinate the long-delayed editorial work for this book. It was only through this arrangement that we were able to include this book as one of the publication projects of CMCS for this year.

CMCS is honoured to have Mr. Tang Ah Chai, chief executive officer of the Kuala Lumpur and Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall, and Mr. Teoh Chee Keong, a researcher on architectural history and lecturer at the Architecture Department of University College Sedaya International, to join our editorial committee. Through their efforts, thousands of precious photographs and visuals relating to the history of the Chinese in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor had been collected. In the editorial process, Miss Lam Tsu Jiun was engaged to provide the layout design, Mr. Tan Yau Chong took up the task of English translation, and Mr. Ling Boo Chong translated the introduction and edited all the translated manuscripts. Through their combined efforts, *Moving Mountains: A Pictorial History of the Chinese in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, Volume One* has finally seen the light of day after a long delay of almost two decades.

The photographs collected in this publication were generously contributed to CMCS by various Chinese associations and individuals in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor. All the contributors are duly acknowledged in the appendix.

The publication of *Moving Mountains* has been conceived with a comprehensive structure for its contents comprising six chapters covering various aspects of the Chinese community, namely “Pioneering and Institution Building”, “Economy and Livelihood”, “Education and Culture”, “Social Life”,

“Religions and Customs”, and “Political Activities”. For each chapter, more than a hundred photographs or visuals are featured. In view of the voluminous materials involved, we have decided to publish this book in two volumes, each containing three chapters. This is the first volume that covers the first three chapters: “Pioneering and Institution Building”, “Economy and Livelihood” as well as “Education and Culture”.

Apart from an introduction for the overall contents of the book, there is also a brief introduction provided for every chapter in each volume. The caption for each photograph or visual featured in the book is presented in both Chinese and English. As a whole, the book seeks to tell the stories through photographs and visuals in a well-structured manner with appropriate narrations and comments.

For the publication of *Moving Mountains*, Mr. Teoh Chee Keong took charge of Chapter One while chief editor Mr. Ser Wue Hiong worked on Chapter Two and Chapter Three. They had collected a large number of photographs and visuals which were then carefully selected by the editorial committee before the historical backgrounds and stories were written for every photograph or visual. Suffice to say, the compilation of this book has evidently entailed academic works that were indeed laborious and meticulous.

This publication would not have been possible without the special sponsorship of the Association of Kwong Tung Cemetery Management Kuala Lumpur. On behalf of CMCS Board of Directors, I hereby extend our deepest gratitude to the association. We also wish to convey our appreciation to the Alumni of Chong Hwa High School Kuala Lumpur for sponsoring CMCS in the collection of old photographs when we first started the project in the 1990s.

序

马来西亚从一片蛮荒之地，到今日工商发达的国家，百年来的开发建设，沾满华族先辈的辛劳汗水，国内各地至今尚留存大量文物遗迹，可雄辩地说明华族对这个国家无可置疑的贡献。

可惜的是，许许多多珍贵的文物遗迹，逐渐烟灭在滚滚的发展洪流中。

《移山图鉴：雪隆华族历史图片集》是华社研究中心为整理我国华族史料，推广马来西亚华族历史的学习和研究而编写的历史图片集。为了普及，本书着重以图文，加中、英文说明来再现雪、隆历史的点点滴滴。图片虽然不及文字的详尽，但胜在直接和形象化，阅读时比较不会感觉枯燥乏味，同时能增强读者历史知识的直观感受。为了补充图片的不足，本书附有一篇导论，让读者能掌握雪隆历史的基本轮廓。

吉隆坡开发初期，经历雪兰莪内战，华族先辈死伤不少，是华族开发马来西亚历史中可歌可泣的一章。在《移山图鉴》里，早期华族先辈垦荒的

已故丹斯里颜清文

艰辛历程，历史人物的音容笑貌、器物服饰、文物书画，还有雪隆早期社会面貌、经济活动情况等等，一页一页地重现读者眼前。

李业霖先生花了很多时间，到博物馆、国家图书馆、国家档案局、报馆等机构查阅资料，从大量的旧明信片、旧报章、各种中、英、巫文书籍中收集历史图片，还特地到雪州各城镇拍摄珍贵的文物照片，并做了大量的考证工作。

保存和整理我国华族珍贵史料，乃是急不容缓的工作。然而，目前除了这本《移山图鉴》，和八十年代由槟州华人大会堂出版的《槟城华族历史图片集》，九十年代初由砂劳越华族文化协会出版的《诗巫华族史料集》算比较系统的收集和整理华族史料外，其他州属和城镇的历史资料，尚待收集和整理。希望各州各地华族历史研究者及华团能在这方面做出努力，华社研究中心非常乐意参与有关工作。

1998年4月24日

I Foreword

Tan Sri Ngan Ching Wen

Malaysia has emerged from a desolated land of wilderness to become a nation with well-developed commerce and industry today. The tremendous efforts in developing and building the nation in the past hundred years have been imbued with blood, toil, tears and sweat of the early Chinese settlers. In various parts of the country today, there still remain voluminous artifacts and relics that can speak eloquently of the unquestionable contributions of the Chinese community to this nation.

But alas, many of these valuable artifacts and relics have gradually vanished due to the onslaught of the torrents of development.

Moving Mountains: A Pictorial History of the Chinese in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur has been compiled by the Centre for Malaysian Chinese Studies (CMCS) in efforts to collate historical records of the Chinese community in our country as well as to promote the learning and study of Malaysian Chinese history. In order to have a wider readership, this book focuses on using photographs and visuals plus brief narratives in Chinese and English to represent historical events and incidents of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. Photographs and visuals may not be as detailed as words but they have the advantage of giving direct impact and vivid images, thus making the reading of this book more interesting and exciting while at the same time enhancing the readers' historical knowledge and intuitive perception. To make up for the inadequacies that may be associated with the focus on photographs and visuals, this book provides an overview at the outset so that readers can have a good grasp of the basic outline of the history of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

In the early years of its development, Kuala Lumpur went through the Selangor Civil War during which the Chinese community suffered considerable casualties and injuries,

marking a heroic and tragic chapter in the history of the Chinese pioneers in Malaysia. Through the pages in this book, readers will be able to catch glimpses of the great hardships experienced by the early Chinese settlers, stories of historical personalities and relevant artifacts, clothing and art works as well as the social scenarios and economic activities in early Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

Mr. Lee Yip Lim, who initiated the publication of this book in the 1990s, had spent much time and energy visiting many organizations such as museums, National Library, National Archives and newspaper offices in search of relevant information. He collected historical photographs and visuals by going through voluminous old postcards, old newspapers as well as books in the Chinese, English and Malay languages. He even travelled to various towns in Selangor to take photographs of valuable artifacts and had also carried out much verification work.

It is imperative to preserve and collate the valuable historical materials about the Chinese community in Malaysia. However, apart from this book, there are presently only two other publications with more systematic collections of historical information about the Malaysian Chinese, i.e. *The Chinese in Penang: A Pictorial Documentation* published by Penang Chinese Town Hall in the 1980s and *Historical Materials on the Chinese in Sibu* published by Sarawak Chinese Culture Association in the early 1990s. For other states and towns, the relevant historical records have yet to be collected and preserved. We hope that researchers of Malaysian Chinese history and Chinese organizations in various states and places in the country will conduct more works on this aspect and CMCS is more than willing to be involved in such endeavours.

24 April 1998

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智以藏往 神以知來

李业霖

马来半岛在亚洲大陆东南部突出的南端，像一片橄榄型的叶子，镶嵌在南中国海和东印度洋之间的碧波绿水之上。雪兰莪州位于马来半岛的西海岸中部，面积三千两百五十六平方哩，北邻霹雳，东毗彭亨，东南和森美兰接壤，西濒马六甲海峡，与印尼的苏门答腊仅一水盈盈之隔。在这块土地上，有肥田沃土，农产丰饶，河海盛产鱼类，供人民以衣食之源；有陂陀起伏、大大小小的山脉纵列，长满了榛榛莽莽的热带森林，蕴藏着丰富的矿产，尤以锡藏最富饶；有曲折漫长的海岸线，舟楫浮泛，给人民以沟通海外的方便。在《郑和航海图》中已记录了“吉令港”（巴生港）的地名，可见在马六甲王朝建立初期，雪兰莪的巴生港已是个重要的商港。

雪兰莪命名的由来

雪兰莪有五条主要河流，即安南河（Sungai Bernam）、芦骨河（Sungai Lukut）、雪兰莪河（Sungai Selangor）、巴生河（Sungai Klang）和冷岳河（Sungai Langat）。这五条河流发源于中央山脉和雪兰莪、霹雳和森美兰的交界处，经过峻岭斜谷，蜿蜒地注入马六甲海峡。马来人除稀疏地散居在沿海一带外，多在每条河流的两岸聚居，进行生产活动。而每条河的河口，便自然地成为土酋辖地的行政中心。雪兰莪便是这五条河流域地区所组成的。1820年，全雪兰莪地区，仅有五千马来居民。¹

西里伯斯（Celebes）的武吉斯（Bugis）人，是一善于航海、擅长经商，又勇于战斗的民族。他们大约在1603年改宗伊斯兰教，这使他们后来易于与马来半岛的马来人融合相混。²他们在十八世纪初，乘着双桅小舟，沿着爪哇、苏门答腊、廖内、柔佛辗转而来，拓殖马来亚，在巴生港口、雪兰莪河口和冷岳下流建立聚落。在强悍领袖的率领下，他们南征北讨，叱咤风云，征服过很多地方。副王邓哲拉（Daeng Chelak）有两个儿子，一叫拉惹哈芝（Raja Haji），所向无敌，是个战略

家；另一叫拉惹路穆（Raja Lumu）有政治远见，是鼎鼎之才，为了巩固对雪兰莪的控制权，实行实际统治，1724年宣布登基践祚。他以苏丹沙列胡丁沙（Salehuddin Shah）这个头衔，成为雪兰莪第一任苏丹、雪兰莪王朝的创始人、不祧之祖。他把首都设在瓜拉雪兰莪（Kuala Selangor），因此就把这个新兴之邦称为雪兰莪（Selangor）。这是雪兰莪之所以命名为雪兰莪的来由。³

数世纪以来，雪兰莪以产锡著名，它的财富建筑在锡米出口的基础上。马来人采锡的方法比较原始，故尔产量并不丰富，直到十九世纪中叶后，华籍矿工逐渐涌入雪兰莪，他们带来了较先进的采锡技术，锡产量才有显著的提高，每月出产三千皮各（pikul）⁴。马来土酋们为争夺锡米过境的抽税权而祸起萧墙，华籍矿工为争取矿地的开采权而争执不休，而马来统治阶层因王位之争而内讧，最终导致1866年至1873年的内战。战争是由马来人内斗作为开端，嗣后战火蔓延到巴生河流域和雪兰莪河流域等地，兵连祸结，戎马仓皇，追奔逐北，暴骨原野。两派华人的秘密组织海山党和义兴党都牵涉在内，华人领袖叶亚来和张昌也参与其事。内战后期，叶亚来崛起成为举足轻重的人物。他整军经武，指挥若定，决胜沙场，充分发挥他的干城之才。内战结束后，叶亚来等人以艰苦卓绝的精神，把吉隆坡从废墟中重建起来，为日后吉隆坡的发展和繁荣，奠定了基础。

十九世纪七十年代起，世界资本主义国家由自由竞争向垄断阶段过渡，欧洲各资本主义国家加速步伐掠夺殖民地。此时，英国开始改变对马来半岛的政策，由不干涉政策改变为干涉政策，用蚕食鲸吞的方法侵占马来亚。海峡殖民地总督克拉克爵士（Sir Andrew Clarke）签订了邦咯条约（Pangkor Treaty）后，便把目标转移到雪兰莪。⁵1874年2月，一桩海盗杀掠事件给了英国人一个伸展势力的机会。英国人接管雪兰莪的政权后，殖民部大臣卡纳冯伯爵（Earl of Carnarvon）委任大卫逊（J. A. Davidson）和瑞天咸（Frank

1 S. M. Middlebrook著 *Yap Ah Loy*, JMBRAS第5页, 1951。

2 D. P. Dartford, *A Short History of Malaya*, 第74页, 1958, 伦敦。

3 雪兰莪在中国古籍中叫“沙喇我”。谢清高（1765-1821）《海录》沙喇我条：“沙喇我国，在麻六甲西北，由麻六甲海道，顺东南风二三日，经红毛浅。下有浮沙，其水不深，故曰浅，谓之红毛，则不知其何取也。此国在红毛浅东北岸，疆域数百里。民颇稠密，性情凶犷。后山与丁加罗、咭兰丹相连。山中土著名獠，裸体跣足，鹄形鹄面，自为一类。亦服国王管辖，但与无由来不相为婚。尝取蜜蜡、沙藤、沉香、速香、降香、犀角、山马、鹿脯、虎皮等物，出与国人交易。闽粤人亦有到此者。其产锡、冰片、椰子、沙藤。”本条描绘十八世纪雪兰莪的方位、海程、物产、风土人情、土著民族，并记述闽粤人也来此做买卖。

4 1 pikul合一百斤，133.3磅。

5 J. Kennedy, *History of Malaya*, 第116页，1993年第三版。

Swettenham)为正副驻雪兰莪驻扎官,分别驻在巴生和冷岳。英国人在雪兰莪推行参政司制度,从此马来传统的政制开始逐渐蜕变。在英国殖民政权的统治下,在“人人平等”的法治精神的保护下,在英国人开发本邦资源、推动工商业发展的形势下,华人在各生产领域的生活,都更富有挑战性,同时有更大的拓展机会和空间。换句话说,有一个比较安全的居留地,能使华人走上追求富裕的长征之道,从此他们的生活才开始有了新的意义。

1820年,海峡殖民地只有一万两千名华人,而马来各土邦寥寥不足一千。但海峡殖民地的华人人口到了1860年增加到十万人,而马来各土邦也有好几千人了。⁶华人人口的急剧增长,主要有三个原因:一、英国殖民政府精心策划并推动海峡殖民地发展,加强其在交通和贸易的重要性,获得了特殊成功。每年在海峡殖民地的交易价值,有极大的激增,使得新加坡和檳榔嶼崛起成为繁荣的贸易中心。二、在马来半岛的西海岸,多处新矿地被发掘,且贮藏丰富。锡矿贸易带来了巨额财富,吸引了大批的华工涌来。英国与满清政府于1860年签订“中英北京续增条约”,清廷准许华工出口合法化,大量“猪仔”⁷被掠贩到马来亚来。

帮权社会的形成

早期的雪兰莪华人社会,是以地缘和血缘为纽带构成传统势力的社会,另一个社会基础是商业资本的势力,包括行业工会和商业组织。总的说来,华人社会是个帮权社会。本地华人帮权的形成,主要是由于早期华人移民群体中说不同的方言所造成的隔阂,以及华人移民从中国带来了小农经济思想和行业意识的结果。

十九世纪的雪兰莪华人社会,以说客家语系方言的人群为最大的社群,其次是广府人、福建人、潮州人、海南人等。早期的吉隆坡移民,有来自

南部的马六甲、芦骨和双溪乌绒;也有来自北部的檳榔嶼、甘文丁和拉律等地。讲客话的群体,又因经济利益矛盾和领导权的争夺,惠州人和嘉应州人分立形成两个集团。惠州人在吉隆坡的势力较占优势,嘉应州人则在征间一带有特殊势力。吉隆坡由惠州人邱秀、刘壬光和叶亚来相继担任甲必丹,在征间则由嘉应人陈敬简任为甲必丹,⁸似乎在分庭抗礼,楚河汉界。

雪兰莪第四任华人甲必丹叶致英(亚石)于1889年逝世,使甲必丹的职衔出现空缺。当时甲必丹候选人有三位:第一位是广帮炙手可热的领袖兼大矿家赵煜;第二位是后起之秀叶韩进(叶亚来长子);第三位是客帮的佼佼者兼大商家叶观盛。如果论才具、经验和名望,赵煜最有条件入选。但是当时的参政司马克斯韦尔(W.E.Maxwell)考虑到华人畛域观念根深蒂固,尤其当时吉隆坡华人又以客家帮为最大,就选择了讲客语的叶观盛为甲必丹。英殖民政府充分了解到帮会在华人社会结构的特色,虽然它有小群的排他意识,帮与帮之间有矛盾、有对立,可是却又能互相协调和渗透,并产生了封建性的帮权威望,发挥帮权作用,以控制社会大大小小的帮会组织。⁹

随着岁月的推移、社会的变迁,今天华人社会的结构与形态也起了变化。华人以六缘文化,即血缘(同一家族或宗亲会)、地缘(同乡会、同一方言群)、业缘(职业、商业团体)、学缘(同学关系、校友会)、政缘(参加同一政党或共同相信一政治制度)和神缘(宗教团体或共同膜拜同一神灵)为纽带,发挥凝聚力、发展经济和起网络作用。

英殖民政府的建制

英殖民政府为了开发资源、统一行政制度、集中权力,于1896年把雪兰莪、霹雳、森美兰和彭亨四邦联合起来,组成马来联邦(Federated Malay

6 见S. M. Middlebrook前揭书,第7页。

7 外国档案和文籍把十九世纪出国的华工成为苦力(Coolie),但中国文献则称为“猪仔”。1839年7月14日林则徐向总理衙门奏称:“十余年前,连值荒年,出洋者数以千计。当其在船上时,皆以木盆盛饭,呼此等搭船者一同就食。其呼声与内地呼猪相似,故人目此船为卖猪仔。”这大概是“猪仔”一词的来由。另一种说法是,人口贩子将大群华工拐欺强虏过来后,塞进拥挤不堪的底舱(每人占地十二方尺,长六尺宽二尺),如同运载生猪一样,故尔称他们为“猪仔”。可参考《东南亚历史词典》“猪仔”条。

8 甲必丹(Capitan或Captien)原意为首领、队长、船长。“华人甲必丹”这一头衔,起源于葡萄牙人统治马六甲时代。葡萄牙人一直沿用甲必丹制度,每一个在马六甲做生意的各族商人,如阿拉伯人、华人、印度人、爪哇人等都需挑选出自己的领导人,再由统治者核准、肯定其地位,并授以委任状。这位领导人(即甲必丹)负责维持地方上的治安、管理民事,有时执行刑法,必要时也收缴税金。随着许多外族人的移入,各马来土邦普遍地设立这种制度。雪兰莪华人甲必丹制度延到1902年才取消。荷兰人在印度尼西亚、西班牙人在菲律宾都设有甲必丹制度。

9 见陈荆和、陈育崧合编的《新加坡华人碑铭集录》序第15至20页,香港中文大学出版社,1972年。

States)。联邦的首都设在吉隆坡，各行政机构都集中在此地，为吉隆坡发展成为马来半岛的政治和行政中心、全国的交通枢纽提供优越条件。当时的雪兰莪仍是一片人烟稀少的绿色荒原有待开发，庞大数目的华人移民给它带来充足的人力资源，以从事垦殖开辟工作。

马来联邦总参政司瑞天咸是个马来通，也是个有远见、能干的封疆大使。他认为商业是马来联邦的命脉，故尔他积极开发境内的资源，拓展有利可图的商业机会。锡矿业的蓬勃发展和稍后橡胶业的欣欣向荣，吸引了英国企业家和其他欧洲商人前来投资。二十世纪伊始，马来亚的橡胶就上市了，正好为早期的汽车提供轮胎。罐头工业的兴起，使得锡的需求量激增。瑞天咸有计划地把境内的公路和铁路连贯起来，改善运输系统，促进交通事业的发展。他对巴生港建设计划的落实，作出了不懈的努力和积极的贡献。1896年杪，吉隆坡获得了自来水的供应，数年后又获得电流的供应，社会服务也开展了，人民生活有了改善。在这样有利于经济发展的大好形势下，陆佑应运而起，脱颖而出，接过了叶亚来、叶致英、叶观盛和赵煜传下来的棒子，登上了历史的舞台。

陆佑的历史贡献

陆佑大约在1884年来到吉隆坡，得到赵煜的赏识和提携，经过几年奋斗，奠定了事业的基础。他除了经营锡矿业和承办饷码外，尚从事橡胶种植业，开设工厂和经营运输业，并投资金融业和地产等。全马第一间华资银行——广益银行创于1913年，陆佑是创办人之一。在业务鼎盛时期，他的店号“东兴隆”所发的银票流通各地，信誉卓著，其效用与殖民地政府所发出的钞票相侔。

陆佑广纳人才，且不囿于一族的亲朋戚友。在陆佑手下做事的人，不少是一时俊秀，这些人后来都能独当一面，成为华社栋梁，领导群伦，

如陈秀莲、陆秋杰、秋泰昆仲、辛炳、辛亚荣、朱嘉炳、张郁才、董贤、李广霖、朱晴溪、陈永等（在吉隆坡八打灵山麓的国家皇宫Istana Negara原是陈永的故居）¹⁰，尚有两位英国人罗逊（J.M.Robson）和克兰（A.D.Crane），可谓群星璀璨，蔚为大观。罗逊曾任马来邮报（Malay Mail）的总编辑，1917年出版《头家陆佑》（Towky Loke Yew）一书，是有关陆佑的传记。

陆佑是吉隆坡尊孔和坤成两校的创办人，也是雪兰莪中华商会、雪兰莪中华大会堂等机构的创建者。严格地说，吉隆坡和雪兰莪华人社会的教育、商会和社团组织，是从陆佑时代开始的。三十年代伊始，华人社会流行一句话：“叶亚来打州府，陆佑建设吉隆坡”。这是人民对这两位开拓雪隆的先驱者和建设者的评语，颂扬这两位历史人物不可磨灭的功勋。

我们过去忽略了一个事实，就是陆佑对民族发展的贡献。从十九世纪八十年代后期到第一次世界大战结束的三十年间，陆佑为了经营发展各种事业，极需劳动力，他先后从中国招募的华工多达四、五万人。他们在吉隆坡、万绕、古毛、双文丹、文东、巴生甚至霹雳和柔佛等地披荆斩棘，从事开矿、筑路、开芭种植和建筑等工作。他们以自己的生命、鲜血、汗水在我国的编年史上谱写了可歌可泣的篇章。他们时代相传，瓜瓞绵绵，散居各地。一个族群在一个地方，生于斯、长于斯、劳动于斯，月迈年逾，人口不断繁殖。在经济基础日趋巩固下，传统风俗习惯得以保留，固有文化得以传播，以致能创学校兴教育，培植出绚丽的民族之花，这叫做民族发展。在这个意义上，陆佑对民族发展是有贡献的。

由侨民蜕变为公民

锡矿是马来亚重要资源，而雪兰莪自古以产锡著名。在二十世纪以前，锡矿业几乎完全是华人经营的工业。十九世纪末，全雪兰莪有一百零三座

10 见Chan King Nui, *A Short Biographical Record of Chan Wing, an early pioneer of Malaya*, JMBRAS, vol. 69, part 1, 第116页, 1996年。

矿场，华人矿工两万六千人，产锡量占世界生产总额的三分之一。1900年全马产锡量中，华人占百分之九十五，欧洲人占百分之五。1920年，全马华人拥有百分之六十四的矿场，欧洲人则是百分之三十六。随后，欧洲人力争上游，在欧洲征集巨额资金，使得他们的锡矿公司资本雄厚。他们采用先进设备和最新工艺技艺，加上政治力量的支持，最终锡产量大增。1938年，欧洲人拥有百分之六十七的矿场，华人只有百分之三十三。¹¹ 欧洲人取代了华人锡矿业的优越地位。

吉隆坡城市策划局（The Town Planning Board）于1912年成立。1933年该局完成一个计划——把吉隆坡划分成几个不同的地区。除了设计第一、第二和第三等级的住宅区外，该局将工厂集中在城市的东南部，即在新街场（Sungai Besi Road）与蕉赖路（Cheras Road）之间。华人的工业多集中在这个地区。二十世纪二十年代初期开始，华人在吉隆坡便从事制造业，他们拥有橡胶工厂、制鞋厂、轮胎厂、铁厂、锯木厂、油较、饼干厂和酱油厂等等。此外，华人也承包许多土木建筑工程，建筑政府建筑物，修建公路、河道、桥梁等。早期吉隆坡著名承包商洪成（Ang Seng）曾承包建筑苏丹阿都沙末大厦（Sultan Abdul Samad Building）、马来铁道局行政楼、吉隆坡火车站部分建筑、雪兰莪苏丹皇宫和查打银行大厦。在吉隆坡孟沙路附近有一条叫洪成路（Jalan Ang Seng）的路名，便是以他的姓名命名的。

早期华人先辈离别乡井，飘洋过海，拓殖马来亚，已有数百年的历史了。他们在这鸿蒙未辟之地，筚路蓝缕，披荆斩棘，把榛莽丛林辟为繁

荣富庶之区，将鹤汀凫渚建成良港市镇。他们既无政治势力作其后盾，更乏经济支援为其财源，一无凭藉，但却能竖起脊梁，以勤奋、勇敢和刻苦耐劳的精神，冒险犯难，历尽艰辛，奠定事业基础。自二战结束后，随着战后殖民主义体系的衰微、民族主义浪潮的高涨，我们联合友族，同心同德，共同奋斗，赢得了国家的自由独立。从此，我国历史进入一个新的时代，国家的面貌发生了深刻的变化，我们华社也发生了本质的变化。在这些变化中，最浹骨沦髓的，就是我們由侨民蜕变成公民，由“落叶归根”的思想演变为“落地生根”的观念。建国四十一年，尽管前进的道路尚容有崎岖曲折，但民族团结，一心一德，排除万难，力争上游，取得了一个又一个很可喜的成就，这是有目共睹的事实。

在这新旧世纪交替的时刻，人们会更深切地回顾过去，思考现在，展望未来。《易经》上说“智以藏往，神以知来”，了解过去，是为了预测将来，推动将来发展。因此，我们编印这部《移山图鉴：雪隆华族历史图片集》，提供一般读者参考。它的主要内容，是将吉隆坡华族先辈历史人物的音容笑貌、器物服饰、山川史迹，各种社会、经济、文化、政治、宗教活动以及各种古老建筑物的图片汇集起来，加以分类，生动地说明一百多年来的雪隆华人历史的演进和社会的变革，希望能增强人们对历史知识的直观感受，丰富华社的阅读生活。这是一个大胆的尝试，诚恳地请求批评和指教。

1998年2月20日大热天

11 Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Modern Malaya*, 第23页, Donald Moore, Singapore, 1956年。

Wisdom for Recording the Past, Insights for Knowing the Future

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The Malay Peninsula, located in the southern end of a long and narrow projection in the southeastern part of the Asian continent, looks like an olive leaf mounted between the South China Sea and the East Indian Ocean. The state of Selangor sits on the central west of the Malay Peninsula and has a land area of 3,256 square miles. It is linked to Perak in the north, Pahang in the east and Negeri Sembilan in the southeast. On its west lies the Straits of Malacca with Sumatra of Indonesia across the waters. In this land, the fertile soil produces bountiful agricultural products while the rivers and the sea have abundant seafood resources, thus providing the people with ample supplies of food and other necessities. It also has many undulating mountain ranges with thick tropical forests and rich mineral deposits, particularly tin. Its long indented coastline has also facilitated sea transport. In The Charts of Cheng Ho's Naval Expeditions, a place called "Ji Ling Gang" (Port Klang) had been recorded, indicating that in the early years of the Malacca Sultanate, Port Klang in Selangor was already an important trading port.

Origin of the name Selangor

Selangor has five major rivers, namely Sungai Bernam, Sungai Lukut, Sungai Selangor, Sungai Klang and Sungai Langat. These rivers have their sources at the Central Mountain Range and the common borders of Selangor, Perak and Negeri Sembilan. They flow down the steep mountain slopes and cut through the deep valleys before entering the Straits of Malacca. The Malays, apart from some who were found scattered along the coast, had mostly lived on both banks of the rivers where they undertook productive activities. The river estuaries had thus emerged naturally as the administrative centres for the native chiefs to control their lands. Selangor is in fact made up of these five river basins. By 1820, the entire area of Selangor had only 5,000 Malays.¹

The Bugis from Celebes have been well-known as skillful seamen, enterprising traders and brave warriors. They began to embrace Islam in about 1603 and this had enabled them to be assimilated easily with the Malays in the Malay Peninsula.² In the early 18th century, the Bugis sailed in small brigs along Java, Sumatra, Riau and Johore to reach

Selangor and set up settlements in Port Klang, the estuary of Sungai Selangor and the downstream of Sungai Langat. Under their strong leaders, they travelled to the north and south to fight battles and conquered many areas. Bugis crown prince Daeng Chelak had two sons: Raja Haji was a warfare strategist who won many battles while Raja Lumu was a capable leader with political foresights. In order to consolidate the control over Selangor and to exercise real ruling power, Raja Lumu proclaimed himself to be the supreme ruler in 1724 and adopted the name of Sultan Salehuddin Shah. He was thus the first Sultan of Selangor and the founder of the Sultanate of Selangor. He established his capital in Kuala Selangor and called this new territory that he had founded as Selangor. This was how Selangor got its name.³

For centuries, Selangor has been renowned for its tin production and its wealth was built upon its tin export. The Malays were using tin mining methods that were more primitive and thus the production was not high. It was not until the middle of the 19th century that tin production in Selangor could increase significantly due to the influx of Chinese tin miners who brought in more advanced methods of tin mining. The monthly production of tin then reached 3,000 pikul.⁴ Subsequently, the Malay native chiefs were in conflicts over the power to collect taxes on tin ore transported through their territories and the Chinese miners were squabbling for the rights to work the tin mines. At the same time, there were infightings among the Malay rulers for the throne. These factors finally led to a civil war that lasted from 1866 to 1873. The civil war broke out with confrontations between rival Malay groups and it then spread to other areas including the Klang Valley and the Selangor Valley. Many battles were fought, resulting in wide spread unrest and heavy casualties. The two Chinese secret societies, the Hai San Gang and the Ghee Hin Gang, were also involved in the civil war and so were the Chinese community leaders Yap Ah Loy and Chong Chong. During the later part of the civil war, Yap Ah Loy emerged as a significant leader. He organized his troops well, fought with effective strategies and was able to win many battles. In the process, his capabilities as an excellent leader were fully unleashed. After the end of the civil war, Yap Ah Loy and his men rebuilt Kuala Lumpur from ruins through strong determination and sheer perseverance, thus laying a solid

1 S. M. Middlebrook, *Yap Ah Loy*, JMBRAS, 1951, p.5.

2 D. P. Dartford, *A Short History of Malaya*, London, 1958, p.74.

3 Selangor was known as "Sha La Wo" in the Chinese ancient books. Xie Qinggao (1765-1821) in his book *Hai Lu* (Sea Records) says this about Sha La-Wo: "The country of Sha La Wo lies on the northwest of Malacca. From the Straits of Malacca, it takes two to three days to reach with the southeast wind, after passing Hong Mao Qian. This place was named 'qian' because it has sand dunes and the water is shallow; but it is not known why it was called 'Hong Mao' (red hair). The country is on the northeast bank of Hong Mao Qian, stretching for several hundred miles. There is quite a dense population and the people are fierce and rough. Its back mountains are linked to Terengganu and Kelantan. The native people in the hilly area are called 'Quan Li' and are seen naked and bare-footed, with thin body and skinny face, and are a unique race. They accept the rule of the King but do not have marriage link with the Malays. They have taken out products such as honey, rattan, eaglewood, agarwood, rosewood, rhinoceros horn, sambar deer, venison, tiger skin etc to trade with others. People from Fujian and Guangdong have come here. Its products include tin, borneol, coconut, rattan." This record describes the position, sea journey, products, customs and norms, native people etc and mentions that people from Fujian and Guangdong had come here for trade.

4 1 pikul is equivalent to 100 kati or 133.3 pounds.

foundation for the later development and prosperity of Kuala Lumpur.

Since the 1870s, free competition among capitalist countries in the world entered a transition period and began moving towards monopoly, with the various capitalist nations in Europe stepping up the pace of exploiting their colonies. By then, the British had started to change their non-intervention policy on the Malay Peninsula to one that stressed on active intervention, adopting more aggressive and ruthless approaches to derive benefits from Malaya. After the signing of the Pangkor Treaty, Governor of the Straits Settlements Sir Andrew Clarke shifted his target to Selangor.⁵ In February 1874, there occurred an attack by a group of pirates and the British seized this opportunity to extend their power and took over the administration of Selangor. Soon after that, the Earl of Carnarvon of the British colonial government appointed J. A. Davidson and Frank Swettenham as Resident and Deputy Resident stationed at Klang and Langat respectively. The British implemented the Residential System in Selangor and since then the traditional Malay political system began to change gradually. Under the rule of the British colonial government, there was protection in accordance with the spirit of rule of law with emphasis on 'fairness for all'. The British also began to develop the resources and promote commerce and industry in Malaya. Under such circumstances, the lives of the Chinese in various production sectors had become more challenging with more opportunities and possibilities for them to venture further. In other words, a more secured environment for settlement had enabled the Chinese to seek long-term pursuits of wealth so that their lives could take on new meanings.

In 1820, there were only about 12,000 Chinese in the Straits Settlements and fewer than 1,000 in other settlements in Malaya. However, by 1860, the population of Chinese had jumped to 100,000 in the Straits Settlements and several thousands in the various other settlements in Malaya.⁶ The rapid increase of Chinese population could be attributed to three main reasons. Firstly, The British colonial government had implemented careful planning to promote the development of the Straits Settlements as well as to strengthen their importance in transport and trade. Such efforts had achieved remarkable success and every year, the trade value in the Straits Settlements achieved huge increases, leading to the rise of Singapore and Penang to become prosperous trade centres. Secondly, many new mining areas with rich deposits of tin were discovered in the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. Tin trade could bring immense wealth and it had attracted the influx of Chinese tin miners. Thirdly, in 1860, Britain

and the Qing Government in China signed the Sino-British Treaty of Peking that allowed the legal export of Chinese workers and thus large numbers of coolies⁷ were abducted and sold to Malaya.

Formation of factionalized society

The early Chinese society in Selangor was one in which geographical and kinship connections could constitute powerful influence. Such a society was also underpinned by the strong impact from capitalist commercial entities including the guilds and business organizations. As a whole, it can be said that the Chinese society was then factionalized. This had come about mainly due to the barriers arising from different dialects spoken by the early Chinese immigrants as well as the conservative perspectives of small peasant economy and the occupational mindsets which the Chinese immigrants had brought from China. In the Chinese community in Selangor in the 19th century, the Hakka formed the largest dialect group, followed by the Cantonese, Hokkien, Teochew, Hainanese etc. The early immigrants in Kuala Lumpur also consisted of those who came from Malacca, Lukut and Sungai Ujong in the south as well as Penang, Kamunting and Larut in the north. Within the Hakka dialect group, the Fui Chew Hakka and the Ka Ying Hakka formed two separate sub-groups due to conflicts in economic interests and scrambles for leadership positions. The Fui Chew people had stronger influence in Kuala Lumpur while the Ka Ying people had more power in Kanching. The post of Chinese Captain in Kuala Lumpur had been held by the Fui Chew people: Hui Siew, Liu Ngim Kong and Yap Ah Loy. In Kanching, the Ka Ying leader Chen Jing Jian was made the Chinese Captain.⁸ Both these two Hakka factions were rivals and they controlled their own territories.

Selangor's fourth Chinese Captain Yap Ah Shak died in 1889 and the post of Chinese Captain fell vacant. There were then three candidates for the post. The first was the popular Cantonese leader and mining tycoon Chew Yoke. The second candidate was Yap Hon Chin (eldest son of Yap Ah Loy) who was an uprising personality. The third was Yap Kwan Seng, a Hakka leader and a rich merchant. In terms of capabilities, experience and reputation, Chew Yoke was the most qualified. However, the Resident then, W. E. Maxwell, took into consideration the deep-rooted emphasis on kinship connections among the Chinese and the fact that the Hakka were the strongest dialect group in Kuala Lumpur. He finally picked the Hakka speaking Yap Kwan Seng as the Chinese Captain. The British colonial government was fully aware of the characteristics

5 J. Kennedy, *History of Malaya*, Third Edition, 1993, p. 116.

6 S. M. Middlebrook, *op. cit.*, p.7.

7 Foreign files and documents refer to Chinese workers sent abroad from China in the 19th century as Coolie, but the Chinese documents call them 'zhu zai' (piglets). On 14 July 1839, Lin Zexu submitted a petition to the Foreign Affairs Office and mentioned: "More than ten years ago, harvests were poor for several consecutive years and thousands of people had gone abroad. When they were on the ships, rice was put in wooden basins and these passengers were called up to eat. The way of calling was similar to the way the farmers in China called the pigs during the feeding time. Thus the people said these ships were selling piglets." This could possibly be the origin of the term 'zhu zai'. Another version said that the human traffickers abducted many Chinese workers and squeezed them in congested bottom cabins (a space of 12 square feet for each person, 6 feet by 2 feet). This was like transporting live pigs and thus the workers were called 'piglets' ('zhu zai'). Reference can be made to the entry on 'zhu zai' in *Dictionary of Southeast Asian History*.

8 Capitan or Captien originally refers to leader, team head or captain. The title of 'Chinese Captain' originated from the time when Malacca came under Portuguese rule. The Portuguese had always used the Kapitan system. Each ethnic group of merchants trading in Malacca, such as the Arabs, Chinese, Indians, Javanese etc had to elect their own leaders who would be approved by the ruler so that their status could be recognized with appointment certificates issued. Each leader (Captain) was responsible for maintaining the security of the area, managing the civil affairs, carrying out legal enforcement at times and collecting taxes when required. Following the influx of different ethnic groups, the different native states in Malaya had commonly adopted such a system. The Chinese Captain system in Selangor was abolished only in 1902. The Dutch in Indonesia and the Spanish in the Philippines had also set up the Captain system.