KUALA LUMPUR
1880-1895

sebelum 100 tahun

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KUALA LUMPUR 1880-1895

A city in the making

J. M. Gullick

The Heritage of Malaysia Trust

Pelanduk Publications

This Edition published in 1988 by

Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn Bhd
23M Jalan SS2/67
47300 Petaling Jaya
Selangor Darul Ehsan
Malaysia

for

The Heritage of Malaysia Trust
Badan Warisan Malaysia

Frontispiece: A view of Kuala Lumpur in 1882.

ISBN No. 967-978-233-6 (board)

Printed by Eagle Trading Sdn Bhd
81 Jalan SS25/32, Taman Mayang, Selangor

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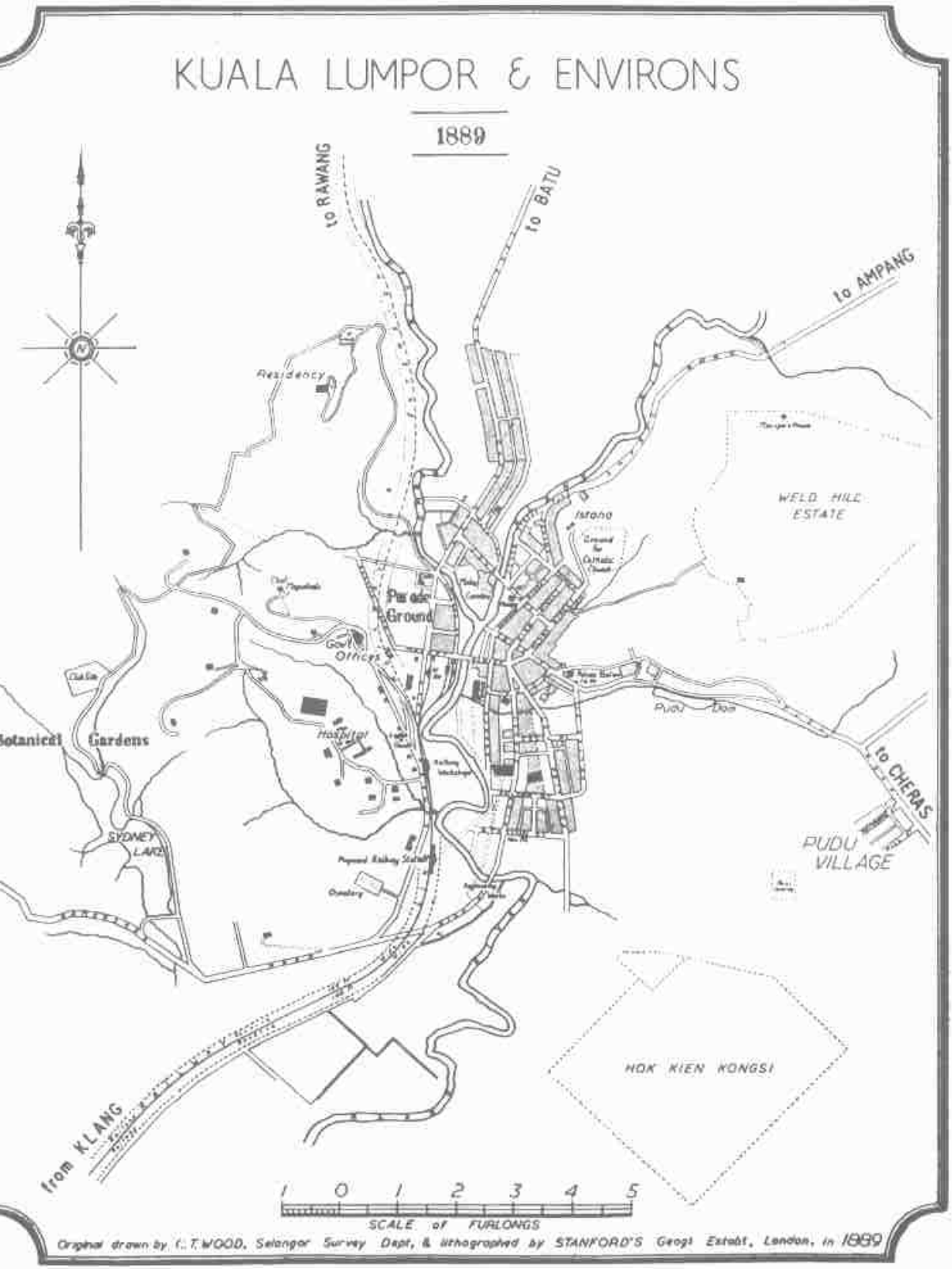
KUALA LUMPOR & ENVIRONS
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to RAWANG
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to AMPANG
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SCALE of FURLONGS
Original drawn by C.T. WOOD, Selangor Survey Dept, & lithographed by STANFORD'S Geogl Estabt, London, in 1889

Introduction to the Present Edition

Urban Development is in progress in every large city: it is one of the Facts of Life. But when this modern Juggernaut threatens our own territory it may arouse alarm and despondency.

The little town of Kuala Lumpur began to take shape around 1875 about twenty miles up the Klang river on its East bank. The administrative headquarters of the State of Selangor was moved there from Klang in 1880. Expansion was rapid, and in 1895 the town was officially designated the capital of the Federated Malay States.

The first settlement grew up along the bank of the Klang river on low lying ground. A Market was its focal point. Small houses and shops built of planks with attap thatched roofs bordered the market on two sides to form lanes, which were known as 'Ampang Road' and 'Market Road'. A third road named 'Pudu Road' grew up at the same time. Pudu and Ampang were mining areas and the lanes led in those directions, but only extended to the edge of the surrounding jungle.

The settlement was often flooded and it also suffered from disastrous fires on three occasions before the start of the Civil War (1869–1873). It was destroyed by fire during the last months of the Civil War and might never have been restored if it had not been for the courageous determination of Yap Ah Loy. He caused houses and shops of plank and thatch to be rebuilt in what later became the pre-war pattern, with the Market in the centre, and his own plank house facing the market.

The population began to grow and soon expansion was necessary. But swamps bordered the settlement on

the West and South and the river flowed along its East boundary. Expansion was only possible to the North.

The land on that side rose gently but had been left unoccupied. Yap Ah Loy, the pioneer, took the lead and erected a 'Sick House' for miners suffering from Malaria and other tropical diseases on this higher ground. Not long afterwards he built the first Chinese School on the rising ground and followed this with a Theatre. Attracted by Ah Loy's initiative, several other leading pioneers, headed by Yap Kwan Seng, (the Third Capitan China) built large houses on the high ground, though Ah Loy continued to live beside the Market. These houses were built before 1890.

When Swettenham was appointed Resident of Selangor in 1882, he tried to reduce the fire hazard by issuing directions that all old houses should be rebuilt using bricks and should have tiled roofs. But the brick kilns which had been built in an area known as 'Brickfields', could not supply the needs of even half the town. Rebuilding was therefore carried out by phases. The first two roads to be rebuilt were Market Road and Ampang Road. Priority was then given to the road which had grown up along the higher ground. It had been named 'High Street', not because it was then a main thoroughfare, but because it was higher than the rest of the town.

High Street was surveyed and lots on each side of the street were sold for $400/- each. One of the new tenants was a Chinese bakery.

Two Temples were built there, the first by Yap Ah Loy, who sited it at the junction of High Street and Pudu Road. He named it after his Patron deity, Sen Ta. It is still standing. A Hindu Temple named 'Mariammah Temple' was built by the head of the Indian Community, Thambusamy Pillai, soon afterwards.

High Street became increasingly popular and before 1890 it was extended Southwards until it reached the river bank, so that travellers who wished to go to Klang could follow High Street. About the same time a small Central Police Station was built near the Southern end of the road.

This development took place while the town was the State capital and before it was promoted to be the capital of the Federated Malay States. When the new Government Offices on the opposite side of the river were opened by the Governor in 1896, High Street was the longest and most handsome street in Kuala Lumpur.

This Street (now called Jalan Bandar) and its elderly neighbours, form an oasis in a modern city which has spread in every direction, no longer handicapped by swamps or floods.

Kuala Lumpur has been widely publicised in the capitals of the World as a Tourist attraction. But will the Tourists who come here pause to admire the monolithic structures, which may resemble high-rise buildings in their own countries, or will they not prefer to walk between rows of low, brick shop houses, a novelty which they can photograph and show to their relatives and friends when they return home? Will they admire the towering Police Headquarters across the river or will they prefer to visit the simple, historic Police Station at one end of Jalan Bandar, where it has stood for nearly a century?

Few people in the City today know how their town grew and developed. Fortunately, Mr. J.M. Gullick, a former member of the Malayan Civil Service, has assembled in this little book, a detailed account of Kuala Lumpur between 1880 and 1895. It includes a vivid account of how the town grew, the development of tin mining, which brought the town into existence,

the trade which provided good business for the shop-keepers, the administration, the schools, and the railway which carried passengers and freight to and from the town.

High Street (or Jalan Bandar as it is now known) played a vital part in this story. The Heritage of Malaysia Trust — "Badan Warisan Malaysia", strongly supports the action which is being taken by the Mayor of Kuala Lumpur to preserve the Old Town, and in particular the Shop Houses in Jalan Bandar and the old Police Station which helped to maintain Law and Order in those early days.

As a contribution to the efforts by City Hall to preserve this historic Street and its neighbouring buildings, the Council of the Badan Warisan Malaysia has arranged for public a new edition of 'Kuala Lumpur 1880–1895' with the cordial consent of Mr. Gullick and the generous cooperation of the Managing Director of Pelanduk Publications.

We also hope that this well-researched book will be widely read, not only by residents of Kuala Lumpur, but also by visitors from overseas, who share with us a keen appreciation of the importance of preserving the visible evidence of local history.

Tan Sri Dato' Dr. Mubin Sheppard

20 March, 1988.

Author's Preface

The pioneer in the field of Kuala Lumpur's history was the late S. M. Middlebrook whose biography of Yap Ah Loy (*JMBRAS*, **24,** (2), 1951) has already become a classic. My debt to Middlebrook for the material used in the introductory section of this paper is obvious enough. The idea of writing this paper was first suggested to me by Dr Gibson-Hill when Middlebrook's manuscript was being completed for publication.

The biography of Yap Ah Loy is the story of the achievement of a remarkable individual seen against the background of the history of the community whose acknowledged leader he was. This paper is not, except in a chronological sense, offerred as a sequel to the story of Yap Ah Loy. It is the story of the activities of many men, the heirs of Yap Ah Loy, engaged in converting his dirty, rumbustious, immensely vital mining camp into the brisk, slightly genteel State capital of 1895.

The reader might suppose that a contributor to this Journal sends in a paper of this nature, and then sits back to wait for the gratifying moment when it appears in print. But this is not so. After acceptance of the text begins a sort of historical paper-chase led by Dr Gibson-Hill in search of maps, photographs, portraits and contemporary notices to be used as illustrations. Most of the material with which this paper is illustrated owes its provenance to the ideas and suggestions of the Editor. For this, and all his other help, I am most grateful.

G. F. Gripper, Chief Inspector of Mines, drew my attention to the passage in Anderson on mining villages in the Klang valley in the early part of the nineteenth century and allowed me to quote his theory about Sungei Lumpur. He is not responsible for any errors which may appear in passages on mining. P. Morrah enabled me to correct an error in a reference to H. C. Syers.

For various illustrations I am indebted to the Director of the Raffles Museum, G. de G. Sieveking, (Curator of the Perak Museum), J. S. Henry (of the High School, Klang) and M. J. Hayward (British Adviser, Pahang). Raja Ayoub bin Raja Haji Bot found for us a portrait of his father; and D. M. Fenney (of the *Malay Mail*) and G. W. Webb (Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Selangor) told us where other portraits were located. The President and members of the Yap Clan Association allowed me to have copies made of their portraits of the three Yap Capitan China. Messrs Allen and Unwin kindly provided us with the blocks for two illustrations appearing in Sir Frank Swettenham's "British Malaya" (1906; revised edition, 1948).

The origin of the maps is explained in more detail in Appendix C (pp. 170-72). Here I would record that C. Noble (Surveyor-General), J. Moir (Chief Cartographer) and T.A.L. Concannon (Federal Town Planner), together with the Curator of the Raffles Museum, Singapore, and the Honorary Secretary, MBRAS, have provided various maps and allowed them to be copied or reproduced direct for this paper.

Several passages in the main text and the whole of Appendices **B** & **C** have been contributed by Dr. C. A. Gibson-Hill.

I should like to record my grateful thanks for all this most welcome assistance.

Kuala Lumpur J. M. GULLICK.
June, 1955

This book is a Reprint of a Journal published in August 1955 by the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The author, J.M. Gullick, served in the Malayan Civil Service from 1945 until 1957 and has since contributed many well researched articles to the MBRAS Journals about the history of Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Kedah.

The subject of Mr. Gullick's paper — 'Kuala Lumpur 1880-1895' — has recently become of topical interest in view of proposals to apply Urban Development to the earliest part of Kuala Lumpur.

Although the reproduction of some of the early maps leaves a good deal to be desired, they have been included to support the text and the Council of the Heritage of Malaysia Trust — Badan Warisan Malaysia — is glad to republish the book, with the cordial consent of Mr. Gullick and of the Council of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which was the original publisher.

Kuala Lumpur, 1880-1895

by J. M. Gullick, M.A.

Early in 1888 Frank Swettenham returned to Kuala Lumpur after a period of absence from his post of British Resident, Selangor. Soon after his return A. R. Venning proposed to him that a botanic garden should be laid out in the valley of the Sungei Bras Bras. Venning was the State Treasurer, Selangor, but before coming to Malaya he had been a planter in Ceylon. This fact may explain his interest in horticulture. Swettenham was a thorough administrator. Before he would give the scheme his support, he and Venning spent several early mornings scrambling up and down the sides of a "valley which consisted of several acres of swamp, in which briars and lallang, forest trees, screw pines and tree ferns were interspersed in picturesque confusion." At length Swettenham was satisfied and agreed to authorise a small grant from State funds for the new garden.

Venning then began what his colleagues recognised as a "labour of love". Over a period of nearly ten years he gradually cleared and laid out a garden or park of 173 acres. Scrub and rank grass were cut down; common trees were replaced by ornamental and flowering trees and shrubs; "an experimental economic garden" was laid out (not for nothing had Venning been a planter). The project attracted public interest and support from the start. Towkay Chow Ah Yeok, leading figure of the Cantonese community, contributed one hundred white chĕmpaka and orange trees to Venning's initial planting programme of 1888. A European construction contractor called Gordon undertook to dam up the Sungei Bras Bras so as to make an ornamental lake. Later on there were band concerts in the gardens and the general management of the place was entrusted to a representative committee over which Venning presided.

Even in his first year Venning achieved a great deal. When, therefore, the Governor of the Straits Settlements, Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, came on a visit to Kuala Lumpur in May 1889, Swettenham asked him to recognise Venning's work by formally opening the new gardens. A heavy downpour of rain on the afternoon of the 13th May did not entirely mar the occasion. In the presence of a large gathering Clementi Smith declared the gardens open and gave the name "Sydney Lake" to the "fine sheet of water" dammed up by Mr Gordon. It was so called after Mrs Swettenham's Christian name.

Thus Kuala Lumpur got its Lake Gardens. The episode is typical of a process at work throughout the fifteen year period with which this paper is concerned. In 1880, when the State capital was moved from Klang to Kuala Lumpur, the town was a thriving but raw and rumbustious Chinese mining centre. The first European administrator to be permanently stationed in Kuala Lumpur arrived only in the autumn of 1879. Until then Kuala Lumpur had been administered by its Capitan China, Yap Ah Loy. Ah Loy's achievement in this respect deserves high praise. But his government was limited to maintaining law and order and promoting economic development in the form of tin-mining. He hardly tackled the problems of health, fire prevention and municipal administration generally. Kuala Lumpur in 1880 was a crowded and appallingly dirty village, swept by fire and epidemic disease in almost every year.

By contrast Kuala Lumpur in 1895 had for some years been "the neatest and prettiest Chinese and Malay town" in Malaya (this was the opinion of a visiting Governor). The deficiencies of Ah Loy's administration had been remedied. There had also been a subtler change in the minds of men. In 1880 Kuala Lumpur had been a place to which men came to work for a few years and to make money. In 1895 it had become a settled community or group of communities with their own institutions and social organisation. Thus its inhabitants had founded the need which did not exist in the mining camps of 1880. Thus Victoria Institution for the education of their children — a social Venning's ornamental trees in the Lake Gardens were both an acknowledgement of a need for amenity and recre tion, and a declaration of intention to remain and enjoy such things.

The subject of this paper is a study of the making of this urban community.

Kuala Lumpur up to 1880.

Kuala Lumpur in 1880 was Yap Ah Loy's Kuala Lumpur. For nearly twenty years this dynamic and masterful Chinese miner had defended, reconstructed and developed Kuala Lumpur. This story has been well told by S. M. Middlebrook in his biography of Yap Ah Loy (*JMBRAS*, **24** (2) 1951), but a summary of it is a necessary introduction here.

Tin had been mined in the Klang valley for centuries and it is reasonable to suppose that the deposits around Kuala Lumpur had been worked from time to time. But tin-mining until the nineteenth century was generally a very small-scale and

spasmodic affair. The opening of a mine did not entail any permanent settlement on or near the site. By 1824 it was possible however to list the known mining centres, whether permanent or not, as "villages" in the Klang valley. These were:—

Penaga
Petaling
Serdang
Junjong (Jinjang ?)
Pantei Rusa (not now identifiable)
Kuala Kubu (ditto)
Goa Batu (Batu Caves)
Sungei Lumpur

Was "Sungei Lumpur" near or on the site of the modern Kuala Lumpur ? It is an intriguing possibility but there are difficulties.[1]

The miners who penetrated to the interior used the rivers as the only practicable means of communication. There were a few tracks through the jungle but they were not much used. Swettenham once described travel overland thus:—

> Over the roots, through the thorns, wading and swimming rivers and streams, ploughing through miles of bog and mud in the heat and the rain, stung by everything that stings (their name is legion) and usually spending two or three nights in the jungle with any kind of shelter that a chopper and the forest could supply.

Miners came up the rivers as far as their boats could go and then struck overland for the last few miles to the chosen mining site. Produce from the interior came down the rivers by boat. Klang, at the river mouth, was thus the point of entry and exit, and hence also the point of control, for the whole valley of the Klang river. A river valley was the natural unit of political administration. The Malay chief of Klang was the nominal ruler of the whole basin of the Klang river, including the upstream area around what is now Kuala Lumpur. His revenues depended on the amount of trading and mining which went on upstream of his riverside fort at Klang town.

Raja Sulaiman, chief of Klang up to his death about 1853, was never able to promote successful mining up the Klang River. At the death of Raja Sulaiman, the Sultan of Selangor passed

1 This list is given by John Anderson in his "Political and Commercial Considerations relative to the Malayan Peninsula etc" (Penang 1824. page 196). The writer of this paper is much indebted to Mr. G. F. Gripper, Chief Inspector of Mines, for inviting his attention to this passage. Mr. Gripper's interpretation of Anderson's list is quoted and considered later in this paper.

over his son, Raja Mahdi, who had a normal right to inherit his father's district, and assigned Klang to Raja Abdullah. Abdullah was a member of the Rhio branch of the Selangor aristocracy and, as such, an outsider compared with Raja Mahdi. But Abdullah was also the brother of Raja Juma'at, the phenomenally successful chief of Lukut, then the main mining centre of Selangor. The Sultan may have hoped that Raja Abdullah, aided by his wealthy and influential brother, would be able to find the capital and the "know-how" with which to develope the Klang valley. There would then be an increase in revenue to the common benefit of the Sultan and Raja Abdullah.

Chinese mining in inland Selangor had begun at Kanching in the late 1840's. Kanching is only some ten miles north of Kuala Lumpur but it is a part of the upper Selangor River basin, not of the Klang valley. Miners, following the rivers to their source, came up the Selangor river and its tributaries to reach Kanching. They left their boats at a place called "Bandar" (the port — still so called) and then travelled overland the short distance to the mines at Kanching. The moderate success of Kanching demonstrated that there might be tin deposits along the upper reaches of the Klang River.

At some time, perhaps before 1860, Sumatran Malays began to wash for tin at Ulu Klang. But this was a very minor effort. In 1857 Raja Abdullah of Klang and Raja Juma'at of Lukut persuaded two Chinese merchants of Malacca to provide supplies on credit to the amount of $30,000. They then sent 87 Chinese miners from Lukut up the Klang River to prospect for tin. It is probable that the party travelled by boat as far as the confluence of the Gombak and Klang Rivers (the site of the modern Kuala Lumpur) and that they then walked overland to Ampang where they began to mine for tin. The newly cleared land of the mine proved exceptionally malarious, as so often happens when jungle is felled. It is related that within a month of their arrival only eighteen of the party of eighty-seven miners survived. But Raja Abdullah obtained an additional 150 miners from Lukut and the work went on. The first tin was exported in 1859.

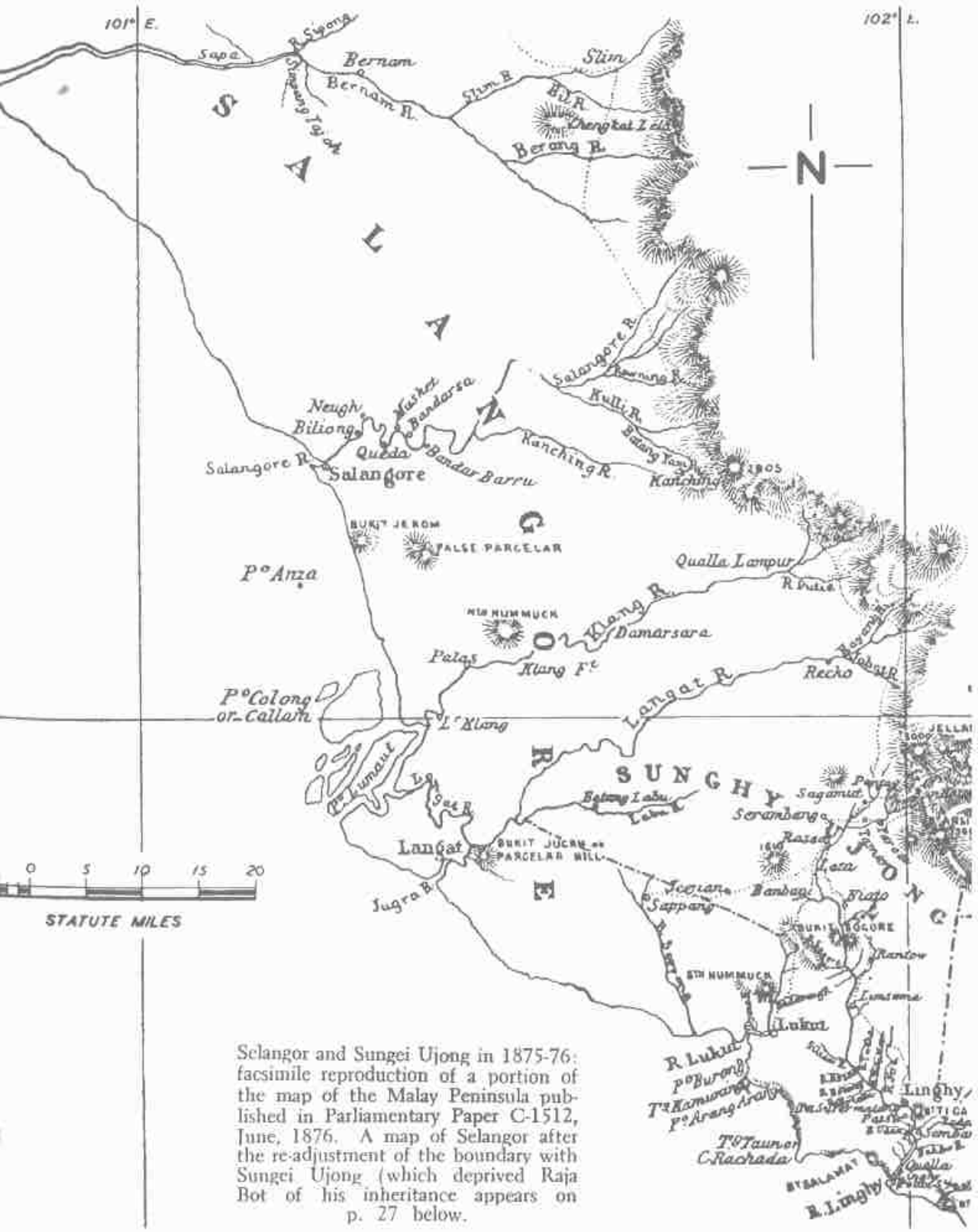
The success of the mines at Ampang led to the establishment of a trading settlement at the site of Kuala Lumpur, which was apparently the highest point on the Klang River to which supplies could conveniently be brought by boat. Middlebrook relates how two Chinese, Hiu Siew and Ah Sze Kĕledek, opened a shop at this spot in association with a Mandiling (Sumatran) trader called Sutan Puasa. The latter may well have had connections with the Sumatran miners at Ulu Klang.

It is impossible to say now why this trading settlement was called "Kuala Lumpur". It was indeed a junction of two streams (Kuala). But the point at which a smaller stream runs into a large one is usually called the "kuala" of the smaller stream. Kuala Lumpur should thus have been called "Kuala Gombak". Yet it was not so called. Middlebrook, following J. C. Pasqual, states that there was a Lumpur River joining the Klang River a mile upstream from the Gombak junction. But, since the first settlement was undoubtedly at the Gombak junction, why should it take its name from another junction (not now identifiable) a mile away? Another suggestion is that the place was originally called "Pengkalen Lumpur" — the muddy jetty or landing-place. Klang was also known as "Pengkalan Batu" the stone jetty, and it is argued that the upstream terminus of the river traffic might well have been called "Pengkalan Lumpur", the mud jetty, by way of contrast. This explanation goes on to assume that the Chinese then shortened and corrupted "Pengkalan Lumpur" into "Kalen Lumpur" and then into "Kuala Lumpur". In default of any evidence that this corruption of the original name did take place, the writer doubts whether this explanation can be accepted. The basic assumption however that "Kuala Lumpur" is an awkward phrase in Malay seems reasonable. It may well be that "Kuala Lumpur" is a corruption of some earlier but unidentifiable name now forgotten.

Mr. Gripper advances an explanation based on the list of villages given by Anderson (*v.s.* p. 5). Anderson says that "At all these places tin is obtained but most at Lumpur beyond which there are no houses. Pahang is one day's journey from Lumpur." Anderson's Sungei Lumpur must — to judge from its position in the list — have been north of Batu Caves in the Sungei Tua area, where there is now no trace of it. Mr Gripper conjectures that the name "Sungei Lumpur" persisted down the length of the stream to its confluence with the Klang River. The Gombak river was in fact the "Sungei Lumpur" and Kuala Lumpur is properly named as the junction of the Lumpur/Gombak river with the larger Klang River. It is more difficult to accept Mr Gripper's further hypothesis that since Serdang, which is not on the Klang River at all, appears in Anderson's list of Klang river villages between Petaling and Jinjang, the name "Serdang" may in 1820 have been given to what we now know as Kuala Lumpur. Let it suffice that the place where the modern Cross Street comes down to the Klang River at the Patterson Simons building became known as "Kuala Lumpur".

Hiu Siew was the first Capitan China of Kuala Lumpur. This title of "Capitan China", which has a long history stretching back to Malacca under the Portuguese, was the usual nineteenth century title of the headman of a large Chinese village in the Malay States. Hiu Siew had come originally from Lukut. He died a year after his arrival in Kuala Lumpur and was succeeded as Capitan China by his assistant, Liu Ngim Kong. In 1862 Liu Ngim Kong brought to Kuala Lumpur a young Chinese, Yap Ah Loy, whom he had previously known at Lukut and Sungei Ujong (Seremban). Yap Ah Loy managed Liu Ngim Kong's mines and acted as his assistant. In 1868 Liu Ngim Kong died and was succeeded as Capitan China of Kuala Lumpur by Yap Ah Loy.

Yap Ah Loy was to continue as Capitan China of Kuala Lumpur until his death in 1885. Here it is necessary only to summarise briefly Middlebrook's long account of the war and intrigue of the period up to 1873. It is possible to distinguish three periods. From 1862 to 1867 was a period of steady expansion and prosperity at Kuala Lumpur, marred only by a bitter feud with the miners of Kanching. This feud reflected the enmity between the "secret societies" controlled by the financiers of the Straits Settlements. Every Chinese immigrant who arrived in the Straits Settlements from China was admitted to a society. These societies to some extent were based on common local origin in China. The two society groups best known in the Malay States at that time were the Ghi Hin and the Hai San (there are many other names for these groups in the records). The Ghi Hin were mainly Cantonese and the Hai San were mainly Hakka. The capitalists of the Straits Settlements were the headmen of the various societies; having inducted the newly arrived immigrant into the appropriate society (i.e. the one which the capitalist controlled) they sent him to join the labour force on a mine which they had financed. The headman of this mine, and the supervising headman of mines in an area such as Kuala Lumpur, were also members of the hierarchy of the same society. Hence the economic basis of tin-mining and the political system of Chinese mining communities were identified with the structure of the secret societies. The capital for opening new mines was advanced down the chain of society leaders, from the wealthy potentate in the Straits Settlement to the Capitan China of the mining area, and then on to the headman of the individual mine. The mine labourer received his food from the mine headman, took his orders from him, looked to him to organise his protection, and turned out to fight in the common cause when required. Fights between members of rival societies were common. The immediate occasion of these fights was often trivial; the underlying cause was generally a struggle for the exclu-



Selangor and Sungei Ujong in 1875-76: facsimile reproduction of a portion of the map of the Malay Peninsula published in Parliamentary Paper C-1512, June, 1876. A map of Selangor after the re-adjustment of the boundary with Sungei Ujong (which deprived Raja Bot of his inheritance appears on p. 27 below.

sive control of a rich mine-field. This at least is the explanation of the famous civil war among the miners of Larut in Perak. Competition for the tin deposits of inland Selangor may have been the underlying cause of the fighting between the Ghi Hin miners of Kanching and the Hai San miners of Kuala Lumpur. The Kuala Lumpur miners were eventually victorious and Kanching lapsed into obscurity in the 1870's.

The second period ran from 1867 to 1870. Civil war broke out among the Selangor aristocracy. The real bone of contention was the right to be chief, i.e. to collect export duty on tin, at Klang and Kuala Selangor. The revenues of the the inland Selangor tin mines (which exported their tin down the river valleys to Klang and Kuala Selangor) were thus in dispute. But for three years the fighting was chiefly for control of the forts at the river estuaries. There was however a minor engagement at Ampang on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur in 1870. During this period the Kuala Lumpur miners diverted their tin down whichever river route was open to them.

It was perhaps this possibility of the tin evading control at the river estuaries by taking another route which induced the Malay protagonists in the civil war to shift their operations to inland Selangor in order to gain direct control of the tin mines. During this third period (1870-73) Kuala Lumpur was threatened, either closely or at a distance, by forces attacking from their base in the upper Selangor River valley to the north. There was also a less powerful enveloping move from the upper Langat valley in the south. In this fighting Yap Ah Loy and the miners of Kuala Lumpur were allied with Tunku Kudin, the "Viceroy" of Selangor, and the sons of the late Raja Abdullah of Klang against Raja Mahdi, whose claims to Klang had been passed over in favour of Raja Abdullah. Raja Mahdi was aided by most of the Selangor Malay chiefs and by the remnants of the Ghi Hin miners of Kanching.

In 1872 Yap Ah Loy's enemies, led by the resourceful and determined Arab-Malay half-caste Syed Mashhor, closed in on Kuala Lumpur. Tunku Kudin had sent a small party of mercenaries to help Ah Loy hold the settlement. This force was led by two Europeans, Van Hagen and Cavalieri. As the position became desperate these two men decided to try to break out to rejoin Tunku Kudin at Klang. They were led astray on the path, captured and massacred. Soon afterwards, in August 1872, Kuala Lumpur itself fell and its flimsy houses were burnt to the ground by Syed Mashhor's forces. Yap Ah Loy escaped with a few followers to Klang.

Then suddenly the tide turned. Tunku Kudin had enlisted the help of Malay forces from Pahang. The Malays came over the passes from Raub and Bentong and soon gained command of the central Selangor area. Yap Ah Loy meanwhile had come back to join in these operations. There was a final battle at Kuala Lumpur in March 1873 as a result of which Yap Ah Loy regained possession of what little remained of the town and its adjacent mines.

The civil war might well have gone desultorily on for a great deal longer. The opponents of Tunku Kudin were by no means reconciled to defeat. But it so happened that Selangor came under British protection in February 1874 and the British gave Kudin their recognition and support as Viceroy of Selangor. For the next six years, however, the British based themselves on Klang and confined their active control of Selangor to the coast region. Yap Ah Loy was left, as the Resident remarked, "almost supreme in the interior."

Ah Loy's problems during this last period of independent control of Kuala Lumpur were economic and administrative rather than military. In the autumn of 1875 there was indeed a brief attempt by the defeated party in the civil war to resume the fight. But this effort was soon crushed. Thereafter there was no military threat to Kuala Lumpur.

Ah Loy's first post-war problem was the economic reconstruction of Kuala Lumpur and its mines. Chinese mining technique consisted of digging down through the over-burden until the tin-bearing stratum was reached. These open-cast workings (*lombong*) soon became flooded and silted over if maintenance work was abandoned. During the fighting around Kuala Lumpur the mines had degenerated into muddy pools. The water-wheels, chain-pumps, smelting furnaces and other apparatus of the mines had been destroyed. The large kongsi houses in which the miners lived had been used as military strong-points and naturally the victors burnt them down when captured. Most serious of all, the working population of the mines had been killed or scattered in the fighting. The material apparatus of mining could be restored quickly enough if only the men could be found to do the work.

Miners had to be fed while they were restoring the mines and producing tin. The reconstruction of the mines was therefore a financial problem of obtaining supplies and men, to be paid for when the mines were again in production. There were several links in the financial chain of Chinese mining operations.

As has been stated in referring to secret societies, the ultimate source of supplies and imported labour were the capitalists of the Straits Settlements. Their capital expenditure consisted of the cost of bringing labourers down from south China and the provision of food, opium and other supplies on credit. They entrusted the labour and other supplies to agents or partners at the main mining centres. These local managers organised their labour forces into gangs each under an overseer on its own mine. As the tin was produced it was smelted at intervals and sent back along the chain to the financiers in Singapore, Malacca or Penang. The miners worked either for wages or for a share in the profits. In either case their food and other supplies were provided by their employers and debited to them at much higher prices than those prevailing in the open market.

Yap Ah Loy's problem was to persuade the capitalists in Malacca and Singapore to finance the reconstruction of the Kuala Lumpur mines: (he had no connections with Penang). The capitalists were reluctant to put up the money. The price of tin had dropped owing to increasing production in Australia. Mining was always a risky business and Kuala Lumpur had a recent record of misfortune which discouraged people who believed that success in mining depended on your luck.

By late 1875 Yap Ah Loy had rebuilt his labour force to about 6,000 miners (compared with some 10,000 in 1870). Between 1875 and 1878 he had a grim struggle to maintain and expand the Kuala Lumpur mines. In 1878 he was said to be "on the verge of bankruptcy". The mining population in 1878 is reported by one source as 7,000 and by another as 20,000. The lower figure is the more likely. Kuala Lumpur town had not increased in size between 1875 and 1878; its population was about 2,000.

Then in 1879 the price of tin rose sharply and a boom began at Kuala Lumpur which increased its population by 30% in twelve months. This rapid development proved too much for Yap Ah Loy's elementary methods of municipal administration. It also convinced the British authorities in Klang that the time had come to move their headquarters from Klang, which was now in a state of decline, to Kuala Lumpur.

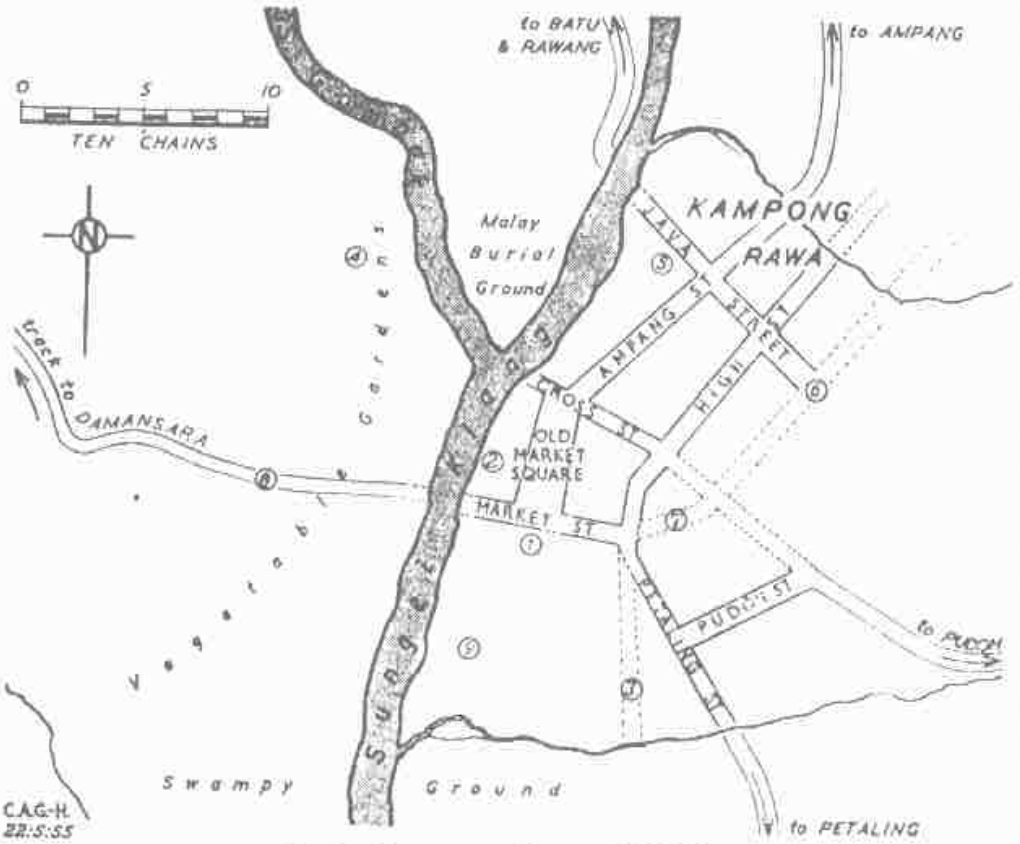
Kuala Lumpur in 1880.

Before coming to the transfer of control from Yap Ah Loy to the British regime we should describe Kuala Lumpur as it was in the last days of Ah Loy's administration.

The original point of settlement at Kuala Lumpur had been the landing stage and trading post on the east bank of the Klang River at its confluence with the Gombak River. The trading post developed into a market on the site of what is now Old Market Square. East and west of this market were Hokkien Street and Macao Street (possibly not so called until the mid 1880's). The south side of the market place was bounded by Market Street. Yap Ah Loy's house stood on the south side of Market Street looking on to the market place which was the usual scene of public gatherings and ceremonies. His house was a plank structure of some size, described as the best house of any Chinese in the Malay States at that time. It was in front of his house that Ah Loy paid out silver dollars for the heads of his enemies during the civil war. There was a gambling booth on the river bank side of the market place, on what is now the Embankment.

Apart from the market place and its environs there were two main streets. Java Street (now Mountbatten Road) marked the division between the Malay and Chinese areas. The Malay traders lived north of Java Street in an area then called Kampong Rawa on the site of Malacca Street and Ampang Street. There was a second road which the writer cannot identify with certainty. It was probably that section of what is now High Street which runs from Mountbatten Road to its junction with Market Street. Outside the town Ah Loy had built tracks or paths to the mining areas at Ampang, Pudu, Petaling, Ulu Klang and Batu. These communications were used to send up supplies to the mines and to bring back tin. Petaling, being on the river lower down, presumably drew its supplies direct from Klang to some extent.

Swettenham, who visited Kuala Lumpur in 1870, 1875 and 1878 said that the town of 1875, as rebuilt after the civil war, was a great improvement compared with 1870. In 1878 it was "much the same in appearance" as in 1875. The ordinary houses had mud walls and a palm thatch roof. The most notable building in the town was Ah Loy's house, described by another visitor as "a good loose-board house." Here Ah Loy, "the most hospitable of men", entertained his guests in lavish fashion. On the occasion of the visit of Swettenham and Davidson in 1876 Ah Loy had silver dollars melted down to make spoons and forks for his guests. But another visitor found himself unable to do justice to the food because of the appalling and ubiquitous stench of Kuala Lumpur at that time.



Kuala Lumpur, about 1875-78

A reconstruction, based in part on W.T. Wood's map of 1889, showing the probable arrangement of the settlement and its environs shortly before 1880. At this period the future town was restricted to a stretch of the east bank of the Sungei Klang, between the present Market Street and the former Java Street (now Mountbatten Road). It was bounded on the north-east and south by swampy ground in the vicinity of the two streams. It centred round Ah Loy's large market, which then occupied the area (now called Old Market Square) between the present Hokkien and Macao Streets. Yap Ah Loy's house was on the south side of Market Street, facing the market (**1**). The gambling shed that he controlled was situated on the river bank to the west of the market (**2**). The land south of Market Street seems to have been Ah Loy's private domain, and it is probable that the southern section of the present High Street (**3**) was a private road at this time. Along it were his smelting shed, the repair work-shops for his mines, his cattle-shed and his slaughter-houses. His pig-styes were west of these, on the ground near the river to which the market was moved in the 1880's (**9**).

The Sumatran quarter of the town (Kg Rawa) occupied the area north of Java Street, with its mosque (**5**) on the south side of the road. The swamps east of the present Klyne Street (**6**) were not reclaimed until the last years of Ah Loy's life. Klyne Street itself was laid out about 1883-84; Yap Ah Loy Street (**7**) probably dates from the same period.

The west bank of the river was used only for vegetable cultivation, the area of the gardens being bounded on the north and south by swampy ground, and on the west by the Bluff. Across it ran the track which rose up along (or close to) Bluff Road and thence passed westwards to Damansara. (**4**) marks the site of the present Federal Government Offices: (**8**) the point where Gombak Road now crosses the end of Market Street.

It was indeed a filthy town. Some of the streets were only twelve feet wide and they were always crowded and dirty — "The refuse of the drains is simply removed therefrom and laid on the side of the road". Smallpox, cholera and other epidemics swept through Kuala Lumpur time and again. A fire once started was likely to spread across the narrow streets. There were no fire precautions other than a rule requiring all householders to keep a barrel full of water at all times.

European observers, however, paid high tribute to Ah Loy's maintenance of law and order. After 1875 the British authorities at Klang insisted on stationing half a dozen police at Kuala Lumpur under Yap Ah Loy's control. But it is evident that he used other means, probably the secret society hierarchy, to prevent major disturbances. Ill-disposed persons sometimes tried to get their revenge by setting fire to the houses of their enemies. Yap Ah Loy himself suffered such an attack in 1877 and thereafter refused to be away from Kuala Lumpur during dry periods. Inevitably there was a certain amount of crime by night and the police maintained a regular patrol after dark.

The gambling booth was always a possible centre of disturbance. In 1882 it was described as:—

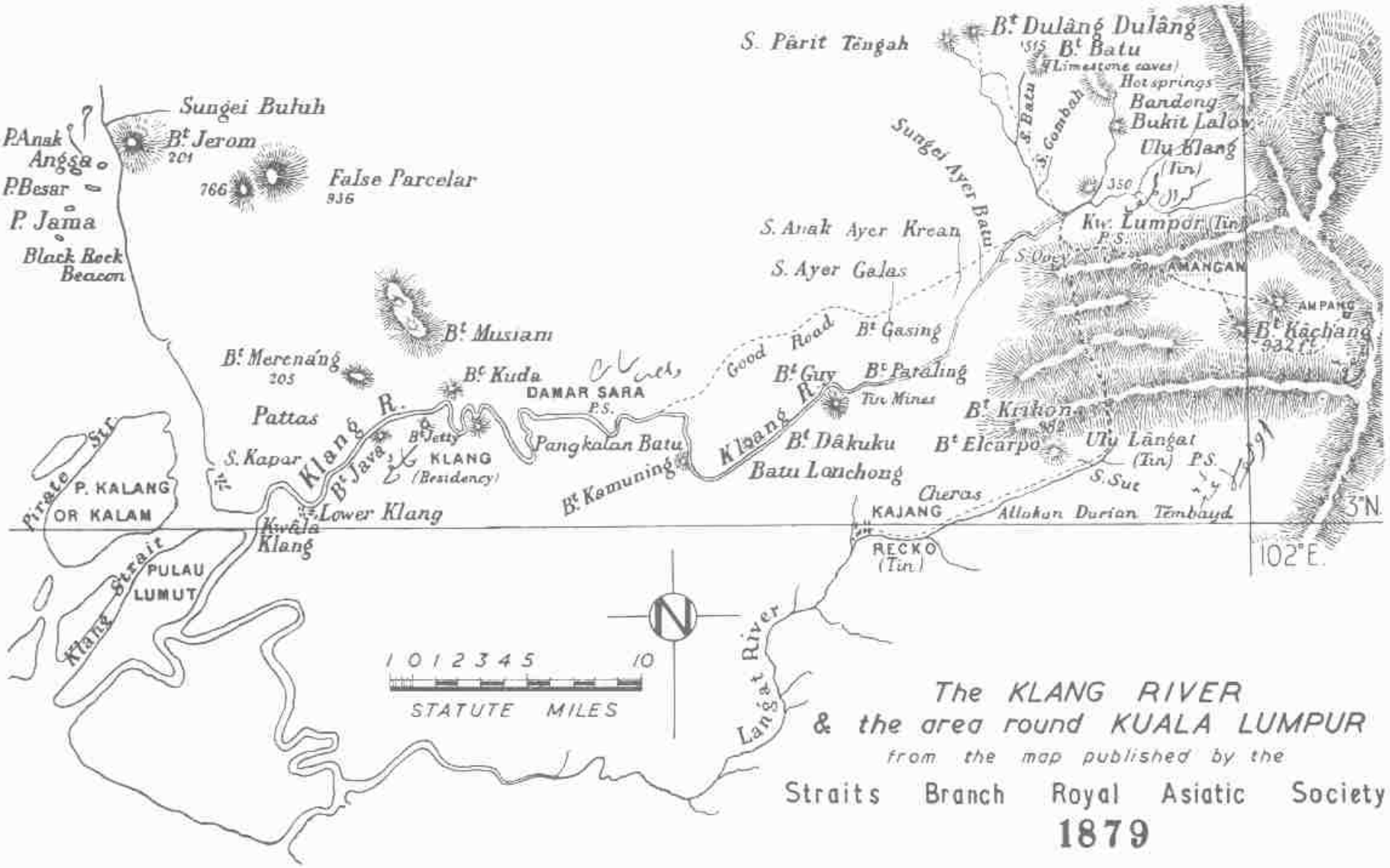
> a huge gambling booth of jungle rollers roofed with attaps, in which literally all day and all night long, gambling is pursued by a crowd of often excited Chinese and Malays.

In a town where men greatly outnumbered women there was inevitably a brothel quarter in which the women plied their trade in conditions of squalor to be described hereafter.

There is little recorded of the economic life of Kuala Lumpur at this period. Swettenham, during his visit of 1875, noted "a number of good shops, both Chinese and Malay, and quantities of boats." The town was essentially a trade centre and a link between the mines and the port of Klang. Ah Loy, as the acknowledged head of the community, and its principal capitalist, provided all the public services. He built and received the profits of the market, the gambling booth and the brothels. He owned some 64 houses in 1880, a considerable proportion of the whole town. Some of these houses were made over to his dependents. Others were let at a rent. His shops brought him in $5 & $10 per month each in rent.

The British Administration in Selangor up to 1880

During the period 1874-79 there had been steadily increasing contact between Yap Ah Loy and the British authorities at Klang. The treaty by which the Sultan of Selangor agreed to accept a British Resident as adviser had been signed at Kuala



The KLANG RIVER & the area round KUALA LUMPUR

from the map published by the

Straits Branch Royal Asiatic Society

1879

Langat in February 1874. Sultan Abdul Samad was notoriously an easy-going monarch and much in the hands of his immediate entourage. Pending the appointment of a British Resident, for which approval had to be obtained from London, young Frank Swettenham was sent to Kuala Langat as the Sultan's personal adviser. Swettenham travelled widely in Selangor during the period 1874-75, and visited Kuala Lumpur again in the latter year.

J. G. Davidson, his companion on his first visit, was in due course appointed British Resident, Selangor, late in 1874. Davidson, one of the leading members of the Singapore Bar, had been a personal adviser and financial backer of Tunku Kudin, the Viceroy of Selangor, during the civil war. He was a quiet, patient man who handled Malay affairs with tact and understanding and financial affairs with sound judgement — these were his main problems. Davidson set up his headquarters at Klang in order to be with Kudin who was the executive head of the State Government.

Tunku Kudin's rather anomalous position as Viceroy (*Wakil Yam Tuan*) had been one of the causes of the civil war. Kudin, a brother of the Sultan of Kedah, had married a daughter of the Sultan of Selangor. When the quarrel broke out (v.s. p.12) between Raja Mahdi and Raja Abdullah over Klang, the Sultan of Selangor appointed Kudin to be "Viceroy" in order that an an impartial outsider might relieve the Sultan of the worry of settling the quarrel. But the Selangor aristocracy who sympathised with Raja Mahdi were not disposed to accept arbitration from an outsider like Kudin. Thus Kudin became a protagonist in the civil war and incidentally included Yap Ah Loy of Kuala Lumpur in his confederacy.

After the war Tunku Kudin was still Viceroy and enjoyed British recognition as the executive head of the Malay government of Selangor. For a year Davidson and Kudin worked in amicable co-operation to resettle the scattered population of war-devastated Selangor and to lay the foundations of stable government. Davidson concentrated his activities in the coastal area, which was the main centre of settlement. But in 1875 he travelled as far as Kuala Lumpur and noted that Yap Ah Loy and his fellow miners were "very much depressed" with their economic problems.

In November 1875 Davidson had other reasons to be concerned about Kuala Lumpur. Raja Mahdi, in exile in Johore, and some of his supporters then in Perak were concerting plans with the Sumatran Malays around Cheras and Kajang in Ulu Langat for a renewal of the fight against Tunku Kudin. Davidson set out for Kuala Lumpur, taking with him his only police

officer, H. C. Syers. Syers, who will be mentioned many times in this paper, deserves a word of introduction. In 1875 he was released by the British 10th Regiment of Foot, then at Malacca, to become Inspector of Police in Selangor. Syers was a private soldier of 23 but evidently a man of exceptional education and ability. He took over and reformed a detachment of Malay and Indian mercenaries who had fought under Tunku Kudin in the war. This body became the nucleus of the Selangor "military police force."

Thus in November 1875 there were 75 police as well as 100 other Malays with Syers and Davidson when they reached Kuala Lumpur. Yap Ah Loy for his part mustered 200 Chinese. The combined force took Cheras and moved on to Kajang where they found stockades prepared and "brass guns loaded to the muzzle with old nails and other rubbish." But no resistance was offered and the incipient revolt was crushed without fighting.

To prevent any recurrence of this trouble Syers stationed police detachments at Kajang and Cheras and also to the north of Kuala Lumpur at Bandar, Kanching and Kuala Kubu. It was at this time too that Yap Ah Loy very reluctantly agreed to have police stationed in Kuala Lumpur itself. They were placed under his control but their presence marked the first step in the slow process of British assumption of control in Kuala Lumpur.

Over the years 1875-78 British officials began to visit Kuala Lumpur regularly. It was a wearisome journey. If the whole trip was made by poling a boat up the Klang River to Kuala Lumpur, as Swettenham travelled on his first visit to Kuala Lumpur, the journey took three days. But from 1875 onwards British officials went up the river by steam-launch as far as Damansara, which took one and a half hours, and then rode the remaining fifteen and a half miles, which took another seven and a half hours. It is hardly surprising that until 1878, when regular monthly visits began, Yap Ah Loy was not often troubled by inspection from Klang. The problem of communications between Kuala Lumpur and the coast will be mentioned again later.

Davidson had been British Resident of Selangor for less than a year (1874-5) when arrangements were made to move him to Perak. In view of current conditions in Selangor at the end of 1875, however, Davidson remained there for a time, but Swettenham, then nominally his assistant at Langat, was transferred officially to Perak, where he was already working under Birch. In December, 1875, Swettenham's place at Langat was taken by Bloomfield Douglas, a man some fifty years of

age who had joined the Straits Settlements Government Service the previous year. Douglas began his career in the Navy, but resigned after a few years with the rank of lieutenant. Thereafter he was with Rajah Brooke, in Sarawak, in the early 1840's, and for a short time commanded Brooke's yacht, the *Royalist*: his experiences in Borneo were probably partly responsible for the excessive defensive measures which he later adopted at his residence at Klang — and endeavoured to repeat when he subsequently moved to Kuala Lumpur. Later Douglas worked for a number of years in the South Australian Government Service. Then in 1874 he "wandered over from Australia to seek a living" in the Straits Settlements, and was given an appointment as acting second magistrate at Singapore. His wife and family joined him in April of the following year. Subsequently, he volunteered for service in the Malay States: he had two sons and three unmarried daughters (one of whom was an invalid), and it is likely that he needed the higher salary.

When in April, 1876, Davidson finally moved to Perak as acting Resident, Douglas replaced him as acting Resident of Selangor. Presumably Davidson approved of his successor at Klang: he must have been asked for a confidential report on him, and Jervois had a high opinion of Davidson's judgement. Douglas served as Resident of Selangor for six years (1876-82), before he eventually left in disgrace. At the end the Governor (then Sir Frederick Weld) said of him that he "was a man of warm heart and strong impulse." Tunku Kudin described him as "hot-tempered and a little uncivil." The majority of his colleagues apparently found him a rude and overbearing autocrat. At least two of his district officers resigned rather than go on serving under him. As an administrator Douglas worked hard, at least during his first years in Selangor, but he showed only moderate ability, especially in the field of finance.

Isabella Bird (Mrs Bishop), who visited the western Malay States in the early part of 1879, clearly formed an unfavourable opinion of Douglas and his work at Selangor, in comparison with that of Captain Murray at Sungei Ujong, and the "very capable administration" of Hugh (later Sir Hugh) Low, who had replaced Davidson as Resident of Perak. Writing immediately on her arrival at the Residency at Klang, she says,

> Mr. Bloomfield Douglas, the Resident, a tall, vigorous, elderly man, with white hair, a florid complexion, and a strong voice heard everywhere in authoritative tones, met me with a four-oared boat, and a buggy with a good Australian horse brought me here. From this house there is a large but not a beautiful view of river windings, rolling jungle, and blue hills. The lower part of the house, which is supported on pillars, is mainly open, and is used for billiard-room, church, lounging-room, afternoon tea-room and audience-room; but I see nothing

> of the friendly, easy going to and from of the Chinese and Malays, which was a pleasant feature of the Residency in Sungei Ujong. In fact there is here much of the appearance of an armed post amidst a hostile population. In front of the Residency there is a six-pounder flanked by two piles of shot. Behind it there is a guard-room, with racks of rifles and bayonets for the Resident's body-guard of twelve men, and quarters for the married soldiers, for soldiers they are, though they are called policemen. A gong hangs in front of the porch on which to sound the alarm, and a hundred men fully armed can turn out at five minutes' notice.

Later, while she was there, a practice alarm was sounded one evening, to impress her with the efficiency of the arrangements for the protection of the Residency. But during her stay in Selangor she was impressed favourably only by the character and capabilities of H. C. Syers, the "quiet, capable, admirable, unobtrusive" superintendent of police, "a thoroughly efficient man as sensible in his views of what would conduce to the advancement of the State as he is conscientious and careful in all matters of detail which concern his rather complicated position.....", and by the stories that she was told of the energy and enterprise of Yap Ah Loy, "the leading man.....in Sĕlangor." Unfortunately Mrs Bishop was not able to visit Kuala Lumpur, but she did reach all the major settlements along the coast: on leaving the Bernam River (then part of Selangor), she wrote,

> We re-embarked late in the afternoon, and with the flood-tide in our favour have left Selangor behind. It has impressed me unfavourably as compared with Sungei Ujong. Of Kwalor Lumpor I cannot give any opinion, but I have seen no signs of progress or life anywhere else. The people of the State are harassed by vexatious imposts which yield very little, cost a great deal to collect, repress industry, and drive away population. Among such are taxes on individuals moving about the country, up or down the rivers, cutting wood or in boats, oppressively heavy export duties on certain kinds of produce, and *ad valorem* duties on all articles of import and export not otherwise specially taxed. The costs of litigation are enormous, and the legal expenses to litigants are as great as in settlements where with the same money every advantage can be obtained. The stamps on all legal documents are also oppressive. The various departments are said to be in a state of "hugger-mugger".....There must surely be a want of the right kind of vigour in the administration, and a *laiser aller* on the part of some of the minor officials, the result of which is that the great capabili'ies of the State are not developed, and its resources seem very little known.....

In addition to the three unmarried daughters, Douglas had a married daughter and son-in-law, Dominic D. Daly. Daly, who was born in 1844, was then employed in Australia as a mining surveyor. When Sir Andrew Clarke was making preparations to come out as Governor of the Straits Settlements in 1873, he had been astonished to discover how little was known about the peninsula itself in London at this period. On his arrival in Singapore he was confronted with an almost equal ignorance of all but a few limited areas, and after dealing with

more urgent matters he set about engaging a surveyor to undertake a preliminary exploration of the country. In the latter part of 1874 his choice fell on Daly. The latter was still in Australia at this point, and Clarke must, therefore, have been influenced by recommendations emanating from Douglas.

Daly reached Singapore in April, 1875, accompanied by Mrs. Douglas and her family, and his wife and two young children. In May Clarke sent him to make a rough topographical survey of Selangor. This was followed by similar undertakings in Muar and Sungei Ujong. Then on 28 March, 1876, the *Straits Observer* recorded a rumour that Daly's appointment was to be changed to that of surveyor a Klang. Presumably Douglas was attempting to arrange this also, but the exact date of Daly's move to Klang is not clear: subsequently, during the investigations in 1882, it was contended that the record of his appointment to Selangor had been falsified. We do know, however, that he spent part of 1876 in Perak, that from May to July, 1877, he was surveying the boundary separating Perak from Kedah and Patani, and that by February, 1879, he was certainly installed at Klang in charge of the combined public works and survey departments.[2] Thereafter Douglas, who had

2. For a summary of Daly's surveying expenditions in the Malay States, see "Surveys & Explorations in the Native States of the Malay Peninsula, 1875-82", by D. D. Daly, *Proc. Royal Geographical Soc.*, 1882, pp. 393-412. In this paper Daly says that he was appointed by Sir Andrew Clarke, a point which the latter confirmed in the discussion following, adding that "The record to which they had just listened of Mr Daly's labours for eight years showed that those who advised him (Sir Andrew Clarke) in the appointment of Mr Daly had acted wisely and well". Daly read his paper to the Society on 8 May, 1882, and so if "eight years" is correct he must have been appointed Surveyor for the Native States (his initial post) in 1874. He himself, however, clearly dates his labours from 1875, and the first of the journeys that he describes begins, ". . . .in May 1875, I was deputed to commence a rough topographical survey of the State of Sĕlāngor. . . ." His first visit to Selangor lasted less than two months. In July, 1875, he was sent to explore the Muar River: on this occasion he crossed over the watershed to the upper reaches of the Triang, and thence travelled via Tasek Bĕrah to the Pahang River, and so by way of Pĕkan back to Singapore, where he arrived on 9 September. At the end of the year he was sent to work in Sungei Ujong, and then sometime in 1876 was "deputed by Sir W. F. D. Jervois to fill in the large blank which represented Pĕrak on the map." Subsequently, in May, 1877 he was sent "to determine the boundaries that separate Pĕrak from the countries of Kĕdah and Patani . . . .": this mission, which terminated about July of that year, completes his paper, and in spite of its title he makes no reference to surveys undertaken after 1877. Isabella Bird (Mrs Bishop) records Daly and the comely Mrs. Daly as permanent residents at Klang in February, 1879 ("The Golden Chersonese and the way thither", London, 1883, pp. 215-48, *passim*). Weld (in a letter to the S.S. for Colonies, 3 May, 1882) says that Daly was transferred to Selangor "in 1878."

few friends, seems to have relied a great deal on Daly. Ultimately the combination proved most unsatisfactory, though in fairness to Daly it must be remembered that he managed his affairs much better later, when in North Borneo, away from his father-in-law.

Douglas maintained that as Klang was still the sea-port for Kuala Lumpur it was the natural point of control and the best site for the State capital. But, as Kuala Lumpur developed in the late 1870's, traders began to move upstream and settle in Kuala Lumpur. Klang became a scene of "deserted houses, overgrown roads and fields." It is not known whether Douglas himself changed his mind and recommended a move to Kuala Lumpur or whether the change was imposed on him. But the Governor of the Strait Settlements, Sir Frederick Weld, came to Kuala Lumpur soon after the capital had been moved there; this fact suggests that he had a personal interest in the matter and it may have been his decision.

The move may be said to have begun late in 1879. It was then decided to station an officer permanently in Kuala Lumpur for the first time. Douglas selected Daly for this post. Then about March 1880 Douglas himself and other officers of the State Government moved up to Kuala Lumpur. There was no longer a Malay head of the government. Tunku Kudin, growing weary of Douglas's manners and of his habit of by-passing him and going direct to the Sultan, had resigned his post of Viceroy and no successor had been appointed. The Sultan remained, as ever, at Kuala Langat. The new regime in Kuala Lumpur was thus a British administration imposed on Yap Ah Loy's mining town. There was indeed a substantial Malay element among the population of the town. But these were traders, not aristocrats, and were of no particular political consequence.

Kuala Lumpur under Douglas and Daly (1880-1882).

On his arrival Douglas's first concern was to establish office and domestic accommodation. He feared that sooner or later the Chinese on the east bank of the river would rise in revolt. It may be explained that during his years at Klang Douglas had fought a desultory "war" with Yap Ah Loy whom he distrusted and wished to see removed from the post of Capitan China. The disputes between them were about Yap Ah Loy's practice of collecting "voluntary contributions" and other taxes in Kuala Lumpur without, in Douglas's view, having authority to do so. At all events Douglas felt that he would be more secure in Kuala Lumpur if he established the new European quarter on the west bank of the Klang River in order to have a river barrier between

himself and the Chinese town. The site of the Residency was selected as being high ground with the advantage, among others, that from there guns could command the town across the river. Douglas wished to build a "redoubt" here as a military strong-point. But he was not allowed to do this and had to be content with dismantling the Residency built at Klang in 1878 and then moving it in pieces for re-assembly in Kuala Lumpur. A new Residency was built only in 1888.

Selangor, after the re-adjustment of the boundary with Sungei Ujong. See also the map on page 13, above, which shows the two states in 1875-76, before the boundary was modified.

The houses of the other British officials were apparently built along the rising ground south of the Residency. When the Police headquarters was established in Kuala Lumpur (a little later than the rest) Syers selected the Bluff Road area. The police headquarters was known in those days as "the Fort". The police barracks was built somewhere near the site of the modern Chartered Bank building. Barrack Road (now generally treated as part of Jalan Raja) took its name from this fact. The flat ground between the Residency Hill and the Police Barracks was

cleared of its vegetable gardens etc and used for Police parades. For many years it was always called "the Parade Ground"; only more recently has it become "the Club Padang".

While the Resident and his officicals visited Kuala Lumpur only to try cases and for other similar business, a small court house which had cost $600, was sufficient for all requirements. It cannot have been a substantial building, and we have no record of its exact position: it may have been on the east side of the river. When the Resident moved his headquarters to Kuala Lumpur in 1880, government offices and a larger court house were needed. Initially space was found for them in the new police headquarters, overlooking the Parade Ground. Two years later, Douglas's arrangement was condemned as "makeshift," and a separate building was constructed for the court house and government offices on Bluff Road. It was probably at this time that the southern continuation of Gombak Road was cut, together with the beginning stretch of Damansara Road. Initially the road from Damansara approached over the hills, and dropped down to the valley along the line of Bluff Road, James Innes's "red earth scaur"; or, as Hornaday described it, in his account of a visit to Kuala Lumpur in 1878, "After passing two or three clearings, we reached the top of a long, steep hill, and, at its foot, Kuala Lumpur lay before us, on the opposite bank of the river Klang....." (See Appendix B, pp. 139 & 141).

What did Yap Ah Loy and his Chinese feel as they looked across the river at these new developments? The change was almost certainly unwelcome. As has been explained, Yap Ah Loy had been at loggerheads with Douglas for years over various financial matters. But the underlying cause of the friction was Douglas's autocratic inability to work tactfully and harmoniously with Malay chiefs and Chinese leaders. Yap Ah Loy, however, was too adroit not to make a show of welcoming the British move into his territory. When the Governor, Sir Fredrick Weld, visited Kuala Lumpur in August 1880 Yap Ah Loy entertained him to a public dinner "in an open hall erected by him for my reception". Weld goes on to relate:—

> At Kuala Lumpur, besides the reception and a dinner at the Capitan China's, a Chinese theatrical performance was given, representing a Sultan and great Rajas quarrelling, but laying aside their quarrels on the appearance of a "Governor" who pacifies the country.... The dresses were all real hand-worked gold and silver embroidery on thick silks of the richest colours. The Princes were attended by their warriors, some of whose helmets and arms were magnificent, with banners and feather standards, and coats of arms or their equivalents borne aloft by heralds; ladies also appeared, one a prima donna; other actresses rode hobby-horses, only the head of the woman and hobby-horse being visible in the clouds of silver and gold. Jesters jested, and tumblers in blue loose tunics and wide scarlet trowsers shot across the stage when there

> was any room in front of the crowd of actors, with the rapidity of meteors — these latter, I was informed, were women. . . . The dresses were sent to me the next morning to show that they were real hand-worked silk, gold and silver, only the jewels on them were not real.

Meanwhile the new regime was making poor progress in its task of bringing good government to Kuala Lumpur. No doubt the inherent difficulties of the task were formidable. Yap Ah Loy, to judge from his known behaviour in 1882, was probably politely obstructive to reform in 1880. But the main reason for the initial failure of the British regime was that Douglas entrusted almost all the tasks of local administration in Kuala Lumpur to his son-in-law, Daly.

Daly appears to have been lazy and incompetent, and to have lacked both the desire and the ability to carry out the duties entrusted to him. Of his work in the Public Work Department, his ultimate successor commented that "there was no system, nor to all appearances, any attempt at organising a system." The survey work, for which Daly was qualified, was equally left in a state of muddle and neglect.

One of the priority tasks assigned to Daly was to set up an effective mines administration. With the rapid development of mining around Kuala Lumpur from 1879 onwards it became urgently necessary to have machinery for settling questions of title, water-rights etc. Many of the miners were Chinese from the Straits Settlements or were backed by such; claiming to be British subjects these men on principle denied the traditional authority of the Capitan China. In any case the task was becoming too much for Ah Loy's resources. The solution proposed by Douglas and Daly was the establishment of a "Mining Board" in which the principal mining headmen would advise a British official (Daly) on Chinese mining law. The records of the proceedings of this Board make interesting reading for those concerned with Malayan Chinese custom. But the Board was no answer to the problem of administration. It could not do the work of survey and registration which was the basic requirement.

Daly's handling of land matters was equally ineffectual. The Governor was asked to approve Land Regulations based on the system worked out in Perak in 1878 by Low and Maxwell. The Regulations required an elementary record to be kept of occupied land. It took abler men than Daly many years to sort out the vague and sweeping claims of Yap Ah Loy and other Chinese leaders who occupied town land on the east bank. Daly, despite much talk about laying out the town afresh, apparently achieved nothing. The Land Regulations remained a dead letter.

The urgent problem of town cleansing and public health was simply not tackled at all. Medical matters were in the hands of "Surgeon Jansz" who is reported to have been drunk on one occasion for eight days on end. In 1882 the condition of the Pauper Hospital, originally established by Yap Ah Loy for sick miners, was "simply disgusting."

It is an interesting question as to why Douglas, who had been regarded as a moderately competent Resident up to 1878-80, allowed these things to go on. It may be that the sheer difficulty and complexity of the task overwhelmed him. Some men, confronted with problems of this kind, rise to the occasion and excell themselves as Swettenham did when he took over in 1882. Others, and Douglas apparently was one, subside in despair.

Apart from the bad influence of Daly, there were other factors to sap Douglas's will. Klang had been comparatively healthy. Kuala Lumpur, with its mining pools and new clearings, proved to be very malarial. Syers mentions that whereas only one of his police died of malaria during five years at Klang, no less than twelve died in the single year 1881 at Kuala Lumpur. Both Syers and Douglas were ill with malaria in 1881, and one of Douglas's daughters died of fever for lack of medical treatment (presumably the egregious Surgeon Jansz had not then arrived). Douglas's domestic life cannot have been very cheerful: his wife was somewhat feeble-minded and another of his daughters could not talk properly. To judge from his remarks about the salary of his post he was hard pressed financially.

At all events Douglas went to seed. He and other officials appeared in their offices only at 11 a.m. The clerks, following suit, arrived at 10.30 a.m. The Governor began to realise that all was not well but he had no idea how bad the situation really was. During this period his principal adviser on administration in the Malay States was Frank Swettenham who held the post of Assistant Colonial Secretary (Native States) in the Singapore Secretariat from 1878 to 1882. Swettenham had his own Malay friends in Selangor but they knew little of what went on in the government offices. Two or three times Swettenham came up to Selangor, nominally to audit the accounts of the State Government, but in fact to view the situation himself. Finally in April, 1882, Capt McCallum was sent officially to report on Daly's departments: his comments (P.W.D., 22 April, 1882) were extremely unfavourable.

Earlier in 1882 the Governor had received information of what he considered a serious misdemeanour by Douglas. As part of the new system of land administration certain vacant lots had been put up for auction in Kuala Lumpur. Daly himself acted as auctioneer. Douglas appeared at the sale and bid for various lots. This conduct was less serious then than it now

appears. Government officials were not yet forbidden to own land and property in Malaya. Cecil Clementi Smith, when Colonial Secretary in Singapore, thought it proper to buy shares in the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company, and when Governor could see nothing wrong in having done so. Swettenham, when Resident of Selangor, bought and sold two lots of land in Kuala Lumpur. It was argued that government officers took a more active interest in the economic progress of their territory if they had a share in it. On the other hand there was a growing realisation of the risks of the situation. The conduct of Douglas in bidding at an auction was an extreme case. If he, the local head of the government, thus indicated his wish to acquire certain lots of land, it was unlikely that there would be genuine competition by private citizens to bid against him. The Governor cancelled the entire proceedings of the auction and expressed his displeasure at Douglas's conduct. But Douglas had not broken any government rule and he could not be dismissed for what he had done.

Then, in May 1882, another misdemeanour of Douglas came to light. He had quarrelled with one James Innes, who had been Collector (District Officer) at Kuala Langat, where the Sultan lived, from 1876 to 1880 and again in 1881. Innes resigned early in 1882 and on his return to London reported to the Colonial Office that various officials, including Douglas, had been selling articles or performing services for the Sultan, and had recovered previously asked that Daly, who was then on leave in England, allowance paid to the Sultan from Government funds. This was a breach of the government rule that salaries and allowances must be paid in full without deductions in favour of the creditors of the payee. Douglas was named as the principal offender, but Daly was also implicated. In any case, however, Douglas was responsible for allowing it to happen.

In August Douglas, who had been summoned to Singapore, was given the choice of facing a court of enquiry into his conduct as Resident, or of resigning. He elected to resign. Weld had previously asked that Daly, who was then on leave in England, should not be allowed to return to Malaya, and he had already joined the North Borneo Company's Service.[3] Daly

3. Straits Directories. See also, "Explorations in British North Borneo, 1883-87", by D. D. Daly, Assistant-Resident in charge of Province Dent, *Proc. Royal Geographical Soc.*, January 1888, pp. 1-24. The paper, which deals with ascents of the Kinabatangan and Padas Rivers, was apparently well received at the meeting at which it was read. Among those present were "Mr Treacher (Governor of British North Borneo) . . . [who said that it] conveyed a faithful impression of the simple, amusing, though occasionally truculent, interior tribes, and the difficulties to be faced in reaching them. . . . . "

remained with the Company until his death from fever at Mempakul, on 15 July, 1889: by this time he had risen to the position of acting Resident, West Coast. Douglas went to England, and disappears from the local scene after 1882. His eldest son, W. Willes Douglas, was Superintendent of Police, Sungei Ujong, from 1881-91; and subsequently District Officer, Port Dickson. In 1895 he was transferred to Selangor, as District Officer at Klang. In 1897 he became Deputy Commissioner of Police, F. M. S., and ultimately retired as Commissioner in 1916. He was known chiefly for his enthusiasm for racing and field sports, and like his predecessor in office, H. C. Syers, is said to have kept a pack of dogs which he hunted until the day that he retired. The younger son, John Bloomfield Douglas, joined the Sarawak Government Service as a cadet in 1884, and from 1892-96 was Assistant Resident at Lundu.

The Governor appointed Swettenhan to act as Resident of Selangor in place of Douglas. The Colonial Office, with some misgiving — for Swettenham was only 32 — eventually confirmed him this appointment which he held until he became Resident of Perak in 1889 though he was absent from Selangor for about half the period 1882-89.

The Leaders of Kuala Lumpur after 1882.

From the arrival of Swettenham in Kuala Lumpur in September 1882 until the end (in 1895) of the period covered by this paper it becomes possible to describe the various trends of change without a break. After the false start of the Douglas/Daly period the process of development from autonomous mining village to colonial capital goes steadily on. But it is difficult to know how best to present the story of this change. A purely chronological account year by year would make it impossible to bring out the continuous trends over a decade of their growth. To deal with one theme at a time entails some anticipation and repetition since so many changes were the causes or results of changes in other fields.

On the whole it seems best to take a topic at a time. The arrangement of these topics in sequence is unavoidably arbitrary. The problems and changes which were particularly important in the years after 1882 come first, the major changes of the later years up to 1895 thereafter, and finally some account will be given of the process of change in the interests and living conditions of the people of Kuala Lumpur.

First it is necessary to introduce the leaders of the various communities who were to some extent the makers of the changes to be described. Yap Ah Loy has already been mentioned many

times. He had arrived in Malaya from China in 1854 at the age of 17, a penniless Fei Chew Hakka immigrant. After early vicissitudes in Malacca, Sungei Ujong and Lukut he came to Kuala Lumpur in 1862. From then until 1880 his story was Kuala Lumpur's story. He impressed his contemporaries, especially the Europeans, by his dynamic energy, his generous hospitality and his restless itch to stake all the money he had or could borrow on some venture or other. Douglas, no admirer, said of him that "he is one of those men who must work." Swettenham paid tribute to Ah Loy's achievement at Kuala Lumpur in several official reports; typical is the comment that "his energy and enterprise are extraordinary." There are epsisodes in Yap Ah Loy's career which show that when hard-pressed he could be treacherous, bloodthirsty and dishonest and that he had no scruples about making money by promoting gambling and prostitution. On the other hand it is to be remembered that he founded a hospital of sorts, took the lead in establishing a school and made grants to disabled fighting men and the dependents of those who had been killed. These measures were much in advance of the ideas of his time. His work in administering Kuala Lumpur and in promoting its economic development received high praise from Swettenham and others. If Ah Loy's failings may be judged by the standards of his world not ours, he has still a strong claim to be considered as the ablest leader who has yet emerged from the Malayan Chinese community.

In the years after the British took over in Kuala Lumpur in 1880 up to his death in 1885 Ah Loy was still an influential figure in the political hierarchy — Capitan China, member of the State Council, magistrate and assessor, adviser and helper of British officials in many informal ways. But after 1880 his main interest lay in the management of his mines and other properties. He owned about half the Chinese mines of Selangor and also some two-thirds of the Chinese quarter of Kuala Lumpur. He held important tax farms and was thus a large investor in economic development generally. His minor interests included a tapioca estate, a brick-field and kiln, a lime-kiln, a smelting shed, pig-styes, a quarry, the town market of Kuala Lumpur, its gaming booth and a fair proportion of its brothels. We do not know whether he was literate; he certainly had no telephones, motor cars or other means of rapid communication. In these circumstances to manage and impart impetus to the whole of his large economic interests, as he certainly did, was no mean achievement.

Ah Loy opposed some of the reforms which Swettenham wished to introduce. But generally he lived on the most amicable terms with Swettenham and the other British officials with whom

he came in contact. They enjoyed his hospitality, respected his advice and invited his help. He and Syers vied in laying out gardens and plantations of fruit trees. When Ah Loy died in 1885 the whole town of Kuala Lumpur turned out for his funeral and the Resident headed the mourners. The (acting) Resident was then Rodger, who reported to Singapore that "by his [Yap Ah Loy's] death the Government has lost one of its most able and faithful officers; personally I have lost a friend for whom I had the most sincere liking and esteem."

Yap Ah Loy's successor as Captain China and acknowledged head of the Chinese community in Kuala Lumpur was his kinsman, political associate and business partner, Yap Ah Shak. Ah Loy first became associated with Ah Shak at Sungei Ujong in 1860. Ah Shak was then already a man of some wealth and influence. Ah Loy was still a small trader and strong-arm man. But, by the influence of Ah Shak, Ah Loy was appointed headman of the Chinese in Sungei Ujong, a post which Ah Shak did not wish to hold himself. The episode is typical of Ah Shak's character. He was essentially a man of business who shunned the political limelight if he could. Ah Loy came to Kuala Lumpur in 1862 but Ah Shak did not arrive until 1870. Thereafter Ah Shak and Ah Yeok (to be mentioned later) were "the most intimate and trusted friends" of Ah Loy. Ah Shak indeed was said to be the titular head of the Hai San societies in Kuala Lumpur. But, if this was so, he preferred to leave the formal dignity of Captain China to Ah Loy. By 1880 Ah Shak owned 43 mines around Kuala Lumpur and his mining interests were second only to those of Yap Ah Loy. Ah Shak's particular domain was Petaling where he owned most of the mines. He and Ah Loy were partners in many enterprises, notably in the development of the new mines at Kepong. Ah Shak, like Ah Loy, was a magistrate and a High Court assessor under the British regime.

At Yap Ah Loy's death the administrators of his estate were Ah Shak and Chow Ah Yeok. We have already mentioned Ah Yeok as the donor of ornamental trees for Venning's Lake Gardens. He was the third of the triumvirate of Chinese leaders in Kuala Lumpur in the 1880's. Ah Yeok was a Cantonese who came to Selangor in 1860 at the age of 17 to join his brother at the mines at Sungei Siputeh. In the civil war he supported Ah Loy and, so we are told, proved himself "an intrepid Panglima, or commander, and a good marksman." After the war his wealth and ability brought him to the fore. But since the Cantonese were a minority community among the Chinese of Kuala Lumpur it was felt that he could not be

appointed Captain China in succession to Ah Shak who died in 1889. Ah Yeok was, however, appointed a member of the State Council in addition to the new Capitan China. This was the first time there had been two Chinese members of the Council. Ah Yeok was a man who enjoyed the minor pleasures of life. He had a fine house on Ampang Road which he lent for official banquets. He was an enthusiastic gardener and became a member of the Lake Gardens committee. He was also the first Chinese member of the Gymkhana Club founded in 1890.

The Capitan China who succeeded Ah Shak in 1889 was Yap Kwan Seng of whom much will be said in this paper. He was a rather younger man (said to have born in 1846) who first established himself as a junior partner of Ah Shak. He was the last holder of the title of Capitan China. He died in 1901.

Loke Yew, one of the most famous names in Kuala Lumpur history, came to Kuala Lumpur only in the late 1880's when the adventurous period of his life was over. He had first come to Singapore about 1860 as a penniless immigrant of 13. At the end of four years as a shop assistant he had saved ninety-nine dollars. With this capital he set up in business as Chop Heng Loong — later a very famous name in Malayan Chinese commerce. He first became a miner at Larut about 1870.He was food contractor to the British forces engaged in the Perak War of 1875. After various successes and reverses he established himself as a leading figure in the immense development of mining at Kinta in the 1880's. Only after this achievement did he move to Kuala Lumpur. He succeeded to Ah Yeok's place on the State Council in 1892 and was thereafter a prominent and prodigiously wealthy member of the mining and business community of Kuala Lumpur. He was the first Chinese owner to race horses at meetings held by the Selangor Turf Club.

When Cheow Ah Yeok died in 1892 his death marked the end of the first generation of Chinese leaders who had been in Kuala Lumpur since before the civil war of 1866-73. The only known survivor of the men who had helped Ah Loy at that time was a relatively minor figure, Voong Chu Siew, who (if correctly identified) had been Ah Loy's secretary and political adviser during the war (*JMBRAS*, **24,** (2): 51-2). There is a brief reference to him in 1893 as vice-president of the Chinese Athletic Club. He had indeed lived on into a new age.

Among the European official community Swettenham was outstanding. His major contribution was to establish a sound government administration after the chaos of the latter days

of Douglas and to persuade the authorities in Singapore and London that Selangor should be allowed to borrow money with which to build a railway between Kuala Lumpur and Klang.

When Swettenham came to Kuala Lumpur in 1882 he brought with him J. P. Rodger, then newly appointed to the government service. Rodger was a barrister and a man of means, once described as "rather amateurish as an administrator". But another Governor regarded him as second only to Swettenham in ability. Rodger came to Selangor as Chief Magistrate and Commissioner of Lands. In effect he functioned as District Officer, Kuala Lumpur, and as deputy Resident. He acted as Resident no less than four times between 1882 and 1895 (when he became substantive Resident of Selangor at last). He was responsible for many of the changes to be described hereafter. He became first Resident of Pahang in 1888 and Governor of the Gold Coast in 1905. Someone who knew him has given a picture of him in Kuala Lumpur:— "He was often seen riding at a walking pace with a syce running after him when inspecting the town. When he wished to enter any building he dismounted and the syce attended to the horse." As Commismissioner of Lands he rode all over Selangor, evidently a firm believer in seeing things for himself. Rodger subscribed liberally to all charities and entertained well. He was a good all round sportman, and excelled at tennis and billiards. He was normally a kind and sympathetic man, but being able to do most things well himself, he expected the same competence of others. At one time the following dialogue was attributed to him and a young recruit to government service, who had been invited to dinner at the Residency for the first time: the men had adjourned to the billard and card rooms, and Rodger asked the young man if he played bridge; "No, Sir", was the reply; "Billiards?"; "No, Sir", was again the reply; "Have you got a rickshaw waiting?; "Yes, Sir"; "Ah, well then, good night".

The senior officials in Kuala Lumpur in the mid-1880's were Swettenham (Resident), Rodger (Lands and Courts) Syers (Police) and Hawley (Treasury)[4]. Hawley died in 1886 and was succeeded by Venning. W. E. Maxwell became Resident

4. Hawley's first appointment, in 1878, was as Collector at Sabak, on the Bernam River. Isabella Bird (Mrs Bishop) was on the launch that took him there, and she noted the event rather characteristically — "Before nine we anchored at this place, whose wretchedness makes a great impression on me, because we are to deposit Mr Hawley here as revenue collector. I have seen him every day for a week; he is amiable and courteous, as well as intelligent and energetic, and it is shocking to leave him alone in a malarious swamp....." ("The Golden Chersonese", London, 1883, p. 245). However, it was Kuala Lumpur, not the malarious swamp, that killed him.

in 1889. After an interim period when E. W. Birch was acting Resident, Treacher became the next Resident. Finally Rodger came back to the post from Pahang in 1895.

The European unofficial community was very small until after 1890. There was a short-lived and disastrous European incursion into tin-mining in the 1880's. In their due place we shall mention Hill, first of the planters, Huttenbach, who saved the Selangor Club from an early demise, Father Letessier, the Roman Catholic priest, and Gideon Sabatier, Franch cook, hair-dresser and purveyor of Gallic refinements.

Between 1880 and 1895 there was a notable change in Malay leadership in Kuala Lumpur. In the early days the outstanding figures were Sumatran traders, especially To' Dagang and Sutan Puasa, who had played a part in the civil war. But by 1890 one or two Malay notables of the Bugis aristocracy of Selangor had moved up to Kuala Lumpur. The acknowledged Malay leader in Kuala Lumpur was then Raja Laut, son of a former Sultan; it was said that "he appears to be absorbed in the contemplation of his own noble rank and the inferiority of those about him." A more effective leader of the Kuala Lumpur Malay community was Raja Bot, who had been dispossessed of his district of Lukut when it was ceded to Sungei Ujong in 1880.

The Indian and Ceylonese communities were still very small in 1895. Their leading figure was Tambusamy Pill i, who came to Selangor from Singapore with J. G. Davidson, the first Resident, as one of his clerks. Later he was transferred to the Treasury, where he eventually became Chief Clerk, and for a short time acted as State Treasurer. He resigned from government service in 1889, and went into partnership with Loke Yew in the Rawang Mining Concession, from which he amassed a considerable fortune. Thereafter he appears as a moneylender, proprietor of a brick-kiln, market contractor, visiting justice to the prison, member of the Sanitary Board and of many other public bodies, and as one of the founders of the Victoria Institution. He was a member of the Selangor Club, and a strong supporter of the Turf Club: he died in 1902, in Singapore, where he had gone to attend a race meeting.

Another prominent Indian was R. Dorasamy Pillai, who arrived in Kuala Lumpur in the early 1880's, also from Singapore. He started in Selangor as a contractor for road making, and later became owner of several tin mines in the neighbourhood of Kuala Lumpur. Subsequently he took over all the mining lands belonging to the Sultan of Selangor in Ulu Selangor. He was one of

the leaders of the Tamil community, and a member of the Sanitary Board. In his later days he interested himself in the Methodist Boys School in Kuala Lumpur, where his sons were educated, and contributed liberally to the building funds.

There do not appear to have been any prominent members of the Eurasian community in Kuala Lumpur at this period, though as the town grew there was a steady flow of the descendants of the Portuguese from Malacca, who came in search of clerkships in the government departments and with the mercantile houses. The pioneers among them are said to have been G. A. Santa Maria, F. L. Rozario and R. Goonting, all of whom rose to senior clerkships in government service.

The Rebuilding of Kuala Lumpur.

Certain obvious and pressing tasks confronted Swettenham and Rodger on their arrival in September 1882. The Government was in chaos. Kuala Lumpur was an unhealthy and dangerous place to live in.

The reform of the government machine was mainly a matter of recruiting competent officials to create or take charge of the various necessary departments. Thus Selangor acquired a Commissioner of Lands (Rodger followed by Ebden), a Superintendent of Public Works (Bellamy then Spooner), a Residency Surgeon (Sinclair), an Inspector of Mines (Hill), a State Treasurer (Hawley then Venning), a Secretary to Government (Welman), a Postmaster (Baxendale), and an Inspector of Schools (Haines). By the late 1880's an administration of the conventional type had been established and, except for the long continued difficulties of land administration, was functioning fairly well.

The task of making Kuala Lumpur a healthy and safe place to live in was more pressing and dramatic. The basic difficulty was that the town needed laying out anew. But such a radical change meant pulling down the extensive properties of Yap Ah Loy and other influential Chinese in order to make broader streets across land which they claimed by right of occupation. It was never possible to make sweeping changes in a short time. Improvements were made as opportunity offered. That is the reason why modern Kuala Lumpur between Mountbatten Road and Market Street still follows the pattern of Yap Ah Loy's Kuala Lumpur.

The first and immediate task was to clean up the appalling filth of the town. Sir Frederick Weld, visiting Kuala Lumpur in October 1882, just after Swettenham had taken over, said that

the worst streets were "pestilential" even though men had been at work in scavenging gangs for some days. Thereafter the town was kept clean. The refinements of municipal administration came later and we shall describe them in a subsequent section.

The next task was to get the town rebuilt. Apart from the difficulty of keeping its narrow streets clean, the town was subject to periodic damage by fire. Mention has been made of Yap Ah Loy's fear of arson and of his rule that every householder must keep a barrel full of water. But more effective measures than these were required to prevent a fire from spreading from one atap roof to another across the narrow streets. A particularly bad fire occurred in January 1881. It began with the over-turning of a lamp in an opium shop and spread until it destroyed a large part of the town. Three people, including a nephew of Yap Ah Loy, were killed in the fire. Five hundred people were rendered homeless. Yap Ah Loy, the chief property owner, suffered losses estimated at $100,000. When the town was rebuilt the streets were made a trifle wider but the roofs were still of palm thatch. Then in December 1881 a severe flooding of the Klang River laid the town in ruins again. In the flood Yap Ah Loy's house fell down "burying much property and valuables."

It appears that the first plan of Swettenham's administration was to oblige all property owners to rebuild their houses with roofs of corrugated iron. It may be that this method was then found to be unduly expensive. At all events it was never introduced. Instead a rule was made in September 1884 requiring property owners to rebuild in brick or wattle with tiled roofs. This rule was brought into force for a street at a time — first Market Street, then Ampang Street, then High Street and then Pudu Street.

This gradual introduction of the new building rules suggests that the prescribed materials were in short supply. There is other evidence to show that an entire brick and tile industry had to be created to make the change possible. Yap Ah Loy had indeed established a brick and tile kiln before 1878, but with the intention of exporting its products to Singapore where he reckoned he could compete with bricks then imported to Singapore from Hongkong at $100 per lakh. Yap Ah Loy's kiln was evidently inadequate for the requirements of rebuilding Kuala Lumpur. Weld, on a visit in 1883, noted that "a brick-making establishment is about to be formed which will enable the present rows of inflammable dwellings to be replaced by good buildings." This may have been the kiln erected by the contractors, Hill and Rath-

borne, on the Damansara Road; the kiln, with a sawmill, cost $38.000. Kilns were erected elsewhere on the outskirts of the town. By 1886 there were 15 brick kilns and 6 lime kilns around Kuala Lumpur.

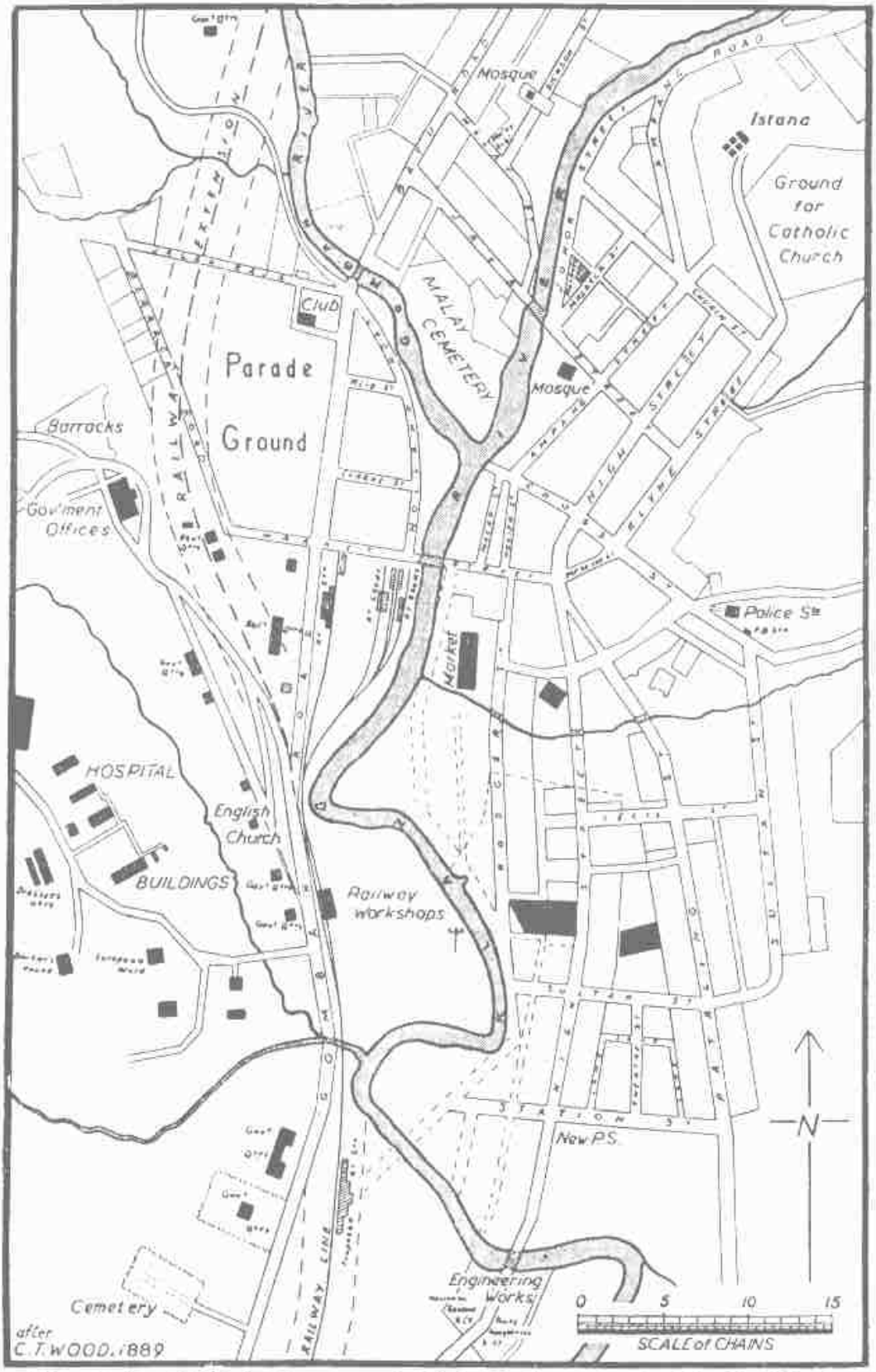
With the materials beginning to be available considerable progress was made in rebuilding. At the end of 1884, when the new building rules were made, there were only four houses in Kuala Lumpur with tiled roofs, although more than 200 houses had been built in that same year (1884). In 1885, 218 houses with tiled roofs were built at a cost exceeding $200,000. Property owners were no doubt persuaded to accept the new regulations by the occurrence of another fire in June, 1885, which destroyed 31 houses. As a further inducement the Government offered loans with interest at 5% p.a. (then an extremely modest rate) to householders who wished to rebuild. Progress continued in 1886. By 1889 it was practicable to order that the few remaining atap roofed buildings in the town must be destroyed. The result of the campaign begun in 1885 was that by 1887 there were 518 brick houses in Kuala Lumpur. Of this number only one was more than five years old. The population of Kuala Lumpur was estimated at 4,054 in 1884 after a rough census.

The new town was not only healthier and safer but also more attractive than the old. Weld noted in March 1886 that "the town has quite changed its character" and in October the same year he reported

> It is fast becoming the neatest and prettiest Chinese and Malay town in the Colony or the States, as within my remembrance it was the dirtiest and most disreputable looking. The streets have been widened, metalled and drained, and rows of sufficiently regular, yet picturesque houses and shops brightly painted and often ornamented with carving and gilding form the streets.

But the expansion of the mid-1880's was inevitably followed by a period of stagnation. By 1890 the price of bricks had dropped by one quarter; seven out of seventeen brickfields had closed down. The Sanitary Board was glumly discussing the "total absence of building operations" and the Capitan China was blaming the government for its many building rules.

The rebuilding of Kuala Lumpur inevitably affected Yap Ah Loy as the principal property owner in the town. To the general building regulations he apparently submitted with good grace. In any case he died within a few months of the beginning of the house-building campaign. But government measures to improve the market area in the centre of the town came first; these he resisted. It will be remembered that he had built and managed as



The centre of Kuala Lumpur; detail from the map by W. T. Wood, published in 1889. A reduced copy of the complete map is reproduced on page 4, above. W. T. Wood was a surveyor, and later chief draftsman, in the Land Office, at Kuala Lumpur, from 1885-92; he subsequently became chief draftsman in the (Revenue) Survey Depot, retiring about 1908.

his own property a market (on the site of Old Market Square) and a gambling booth (on the Embankment site). Swettenham described the market as "a very insecure shed" and wished to have it rebuilt. He also noted that "the filth of the market is indescribable". Swettenham claimed that the market site was State land. Yap Ah Loy eventually undertook to rebuild the market with brick pillars and a galvanised iron roof. This new structure was complete in 1883. There was a compromise as regards ownership of the market site. It was agreed that Ah Loy should be the owner of the site during the remainder of his lifetime. At his death in 1885 there was a long wrangle between Ah Loy's heirs and the administration about the compensation for the market building payable to Ah Loy's estate when the site reverted to public ownership. Ah Loy's representatives put in a claim for $9,586.85; the Government offered $2,500.

It appears that the market yielded to Ah Loy a revenue of $250-300 a month in dues from stallholders. When the Government took over the market in 1885 there were some further structural improvements. But it was soon decided that the site was too small. A new market was built (perhaps on or near the present-day site). The new market was 250 feet long and 90 feet wide with a floor of tiles on a concrete base, wooden walls and a corrugated iron roof. It also had "ornamental cast-iron railings and gates". This handsome structure yielded a revenue of $780 p.m. in 1886. When the market was moved the old site became an open space known as Old Market Square.

Ah Loy was induced to give up his gambling booth site on the river bank adjoining the market and to build a new booth somewhere in the area of Cross Street and Pudu Road. By the removal of the market and the gambling booth the worst of the congestion in the centre of Kuala Lumpur was relieved.

The Fire Brigade.

In spite of the rebuilding of Kuala Lumpur the risk of fire remained. There were fires large enough to be mentioned in administrative reports in 1884, 1885, 1888 and 1892. The new building rules diminished some risks. New risks, such as the bulk storage of kerosine and other inflammable materials, took their place. The fire risk was met by that combination of government initiative and public co-operation which served Kuala Lumpur well during this period. In 1884 H. F. Bellamy of the Public Works Department offered to form a volunteer fire brigade. Let the government provide the equipment and he would recruit the men. The Volunteer Fire Brigade began with 15 members in 1884 and

soon proved its usefulness. It was originally equipped with "manual engines" (hand pumps on wheels) pulled by the brigade. In 1888 the Government added a "steam fire engine of the latest type". The fire brigade could now pour 350 gallons of water a minute on the conflagration. In 1893 a fine pair of shire horses were imported to pull the engine — it must have been extremely heavy. In the same year a new fire station (? the present building) was built with a stall on either side of the central bay in which the engine was kept. The horses were stabled in these side stalls and were taught to walk out to their places in front

We are sorry to hear that Mr. H. F. Bellamy's health is not so good as his friends could wish; on those grounds his leave has been extended until December next. A Belgian paper, *Le Petit Bleu*, of 14th June, 1894, gives a portrait of him as he appeared to the Belgians at their International Fire Brigade Fête at Brussels. We reproduce a fac-simile for the benefit of our readers, and have been favoured with a cutting from the paper, together with the following translation:—"Enfin, admirez la physionomie de celui des pompiers étrangers qui ait parcouru la plus grande distance pour venir assister au Congrès d'Anvers et aux fêtes de Bruxelles. C'est le capitaine Bellamy, commandant la *fire brigade* de Kuala Lumpur, des les *Straits Settlements*. Il nous arrive tout droit d'Asie.—[Lastly, admire the physiognomy of that particular foreign fireman who has come the greatest distance of all, that he might assist at the Antwerp Congress and the Brussels Fête, Captain Bellamy, Commander of the Kuala Lumpur Fire Brigade in the Straits Settlements, who has come to us all the way from distant Asia.]"

H. F. Bellamy as Commander of the Kuala Lumpur Fire Brigade — from the *Selangor Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 384 (10 August, 1894).

of the engine as soon as the alarm bell sounded. The general fire alarm in the town was given by firing the signal gun at the Fort in Bluff Road. The 28 members of the fire brigade in 1893 were all Europeans and Eurasians. It was expected of junior officers in the government service that they should go to church on Sundays and that they should volunteer for service in "Bellamy's brigade". Bellamy himself mounted the box and drove the huge horses, which were the amazement of the local popu-

lation. On his leave he used to attend training courses in England and he seems to have won a good deal of professional approval there for what was known of his brigade. The annual demonstrations and competitions of the fire brigade were an event in the Kuala Lumpur social calendar — they were followed by a dance in the evening. A room in the fire-station was set aside as a club-room for members of the brigade.

The Railway.

Swettenham's major interest as an administrator was economic development. The economic progress of the central Selangor tinfield around Kuala Lumpur was held back by the inadequacy of its communications. Yap Ah Loy had indeed done much good work by linking the mining areas with Kuala Lumpur town by roads. But from Kuala Lumpur to the port of Klang the original route was by boat along the Klang River. It took three days to pole a boat up the river to Kuala Lumpur. Launches could ascend the river as far as Damansara, fifteen miles below Kuala Lumpur. From Damansara a road was later made running north to the point on the modern road from Kuala Lumpur to Klang known as Batu Tiga (because it was the third mile on the old Damansara Road). The old road then went east and somewhat north through Penchala and finally entered Kuala Lumpur along the present Bluff Road. The line of the road was dictated by the necessity of avoiding the low, swampy ground along the middle reaches of the Klang River.

Apparently it was Yap Ah Loy who planned the original Damansara Road. Swettenham, reporting on his visit to Kuala Lumpur in 1875, mentions that Ah Loy had then cut a trace for this road through the jungle and had begun the construction of the first three miles. Thereafter the project hung fire until 1877 perhaps because neither Yap Ah Loy nor the British in Klang had the money to spare for it. In March 1877 the State Government invited tenders for the construction of the road. But Yap Ah Loy was allowed to build the Kuala Lumpur end as a means of working off his debts to the State Government. For the 3½ miles which he built he was credited with $10,500 in reduction of his debts. By one means or another 13 out of the required 15 miles of road had been completed by August 1878.

When Swettenham took over in 1882 he found that the road had been very badly made. To remedy its defects would cost $120,000. He decided to give up the road as a main communication link and he instructed that the uncompleted sections should be built with a width of 20 feet instead of the 32 feet width originally planned. Swettenham's alternative plan was to build a railway between Klang and Kuala Lumpur, the preliminary surveys for which were undertaken early in 1883.

This was a bold decision. Except for a mile or two near Taiping there was no railway anywhere in Malaya. On the other hand the construction of the Klang line, except for the bridging of the river at the Klang end, was likely to be fairly straightforward — "the preliminary railway survey reveals an almost straight and level line with no engineering difficulties, as yet, appearing." Construction was estimated to cost $650,000 plus $60,000 for the bridge over the Klang River. But, to begin with, the railway was to be on an austerity basis without station buildings and with its terminal on the north bank almost opposite Klang to avoid the expense of building a bridge. But even with these economies the cost of the railway was likely to be twice the annual revenue of the State of Selangor ($300,423 in 1882). Swettenham suggested that the Straits Settlements Government should lend $330,000 and that the Selangor Government should find the balance from its annual revenues as the work proceeded. Governor Weld backed the plan and its was approved in London. It was a bold gamble on the future of Kuala Lumpur.

Spence Moss, a member of the Ceylon Public Work Department, was appointed engineer in charge of railway construction. Spence Moss had been a railway engineer in England before going to Ceylon but he was not highly qualified. He had his faults, as will be related later, but as a railway construction engineer he did first rate work in Selangor.

The sleepers were provided by Hill and Rathborne, a firm of contractors who turned their hands to many ventures in Selangor at this period. Yap Ah Loy contracted to provide the unskilled labour. For the skilled work of plate-laying Bengalis were imported from India. The work went steadily on from late 1883 to 1886. At length in October 1886 the line was ready for use. A temporary station of wood with a roof of corrugated iron had been built at the Kuala Lumpur end. There were also halts at Petaling, Batu Tiga and Bukit Kuda (for Klang). The first locomotive was bought from the Maharajah of Johore, who had named it the *Lady Clarke* (after the wife of Sir Andrew Clarke, Governor of the Straits Settlements, 1873-75).[5]

5. The Maharajah of Johore had bought the locomotive with the idea of laying a railway with wooden lines from Tanjong Putĕri (Johore Bahru) to Gunong Pulai, but the project proved too costly, and when only part of the track had been laid he abandonned it. The lines were slowly eaten by white ants, and after the apparent disappearance of the engine, the story grew up in Johore Bahru that it also had been consumed by the termites. The Lady Clarke was badly damaged in a collision outside Klang in 1893, by which time she was nearly twenty years old.

Sir Frederick Weld came up from Singapore for the opening of the railway. At Klang he met Sultan Abdul Samad of Selangor who had left his retreat at Kuala Langat for the first time in six years. They were to inaugurate the railway by travelling together to Kuala Lumpur, where among other festivities Weld was to decorate the Sultan with the insignia of the K.C.M.G. Weld relates

> The train went smoothly and all went well. His Highness the Sultan was very much pleased and remarked that it was the best bullock cart he had ever travelled in. Nonetheless the carriages are not at all suitable for the climate. They are small and without sufficient ventilation.

There was in fact much anxiety that all should go well and "no small care" was taken on that inaugural journey. But as the train neared the end of its run the engine driver became elated with the spirit of the occasion and raced towards Kuala Lumpur at a headlong 30 miles an hour.

No Sultan of Selangor had ever been to Kuala Lumpur before and Sultan Abdul Samad was so much of a recluse that few of his subjects had ever seen him. Weld noted:—

> Great preparations had been made at Kuala Lumpur and the whole place was en fete. Malays and Chinese and Tamils had travelled long distances down the country to be present on the occasion. The scene was an exceedingly gay one, bright with costumes and coloured hangings, and banners, and palm and fern leaves.

In the afternoon there was a "great banquet" in the hall of the government buildings. The investiture was likewise a brilliant occasion — "His Highness the Sultan was richly dressed in Malay fashion, in a most picturesque costume, wearing some diamonds, in excellent taste."

The people of Kuala Lumpur were genuinely pleased at the visit of the Sultan who had been a remote figure for so many years. In Weld's observation the Sultan "was indeed beloved and respected by all classes and all races." To leave a memento of his visit the Sultan planted a tree in Old Market Square. It may be the one which still grows there.

The various communities presented loyal addresses to the Governor. Raja Laut "and all the Malay merchants and traders residing in Kuala Lumpur" presented an address which deserves quotation —

> Previous to the British Government affording us its advice and placing a Resident here to look after the welfare of Selangor, we felt like one wandering in the jungle, our way beset by thickets and thorns. If we were not careful how we guided our footsteps we should inevitably have stepped on the thorns and wounded our feet. Therefore, since the arrival of the British Resident in this country, we have felt as one lifted up and placed between earth and sky, so great has been the change from our previous to our present condition.

It was in keeping with this spirit of flowery compliment that the Sultan expressed to the Governor his hope that the Governor would remain in office for the rest of his life. Weld, whose tour as Governor had already run for seven years, did not forget to record this suggestion for the consideration of the Colonial Office.

There were three weeks of junketting while the Governor and the Sultan remained in Kuala Lumpur. There were athletic sports and races, a fireworks' display and entertainments of all sorts. Eventually, however, the very important personages departed and the Selangor Government was left to the hum-drum task of running the new railway and making it pay. There were some teething difficulties, including the problem of devising freight arrangements compatible with Chinese business requirements. Years later the Governor referring to another railway project remarked incidentally —

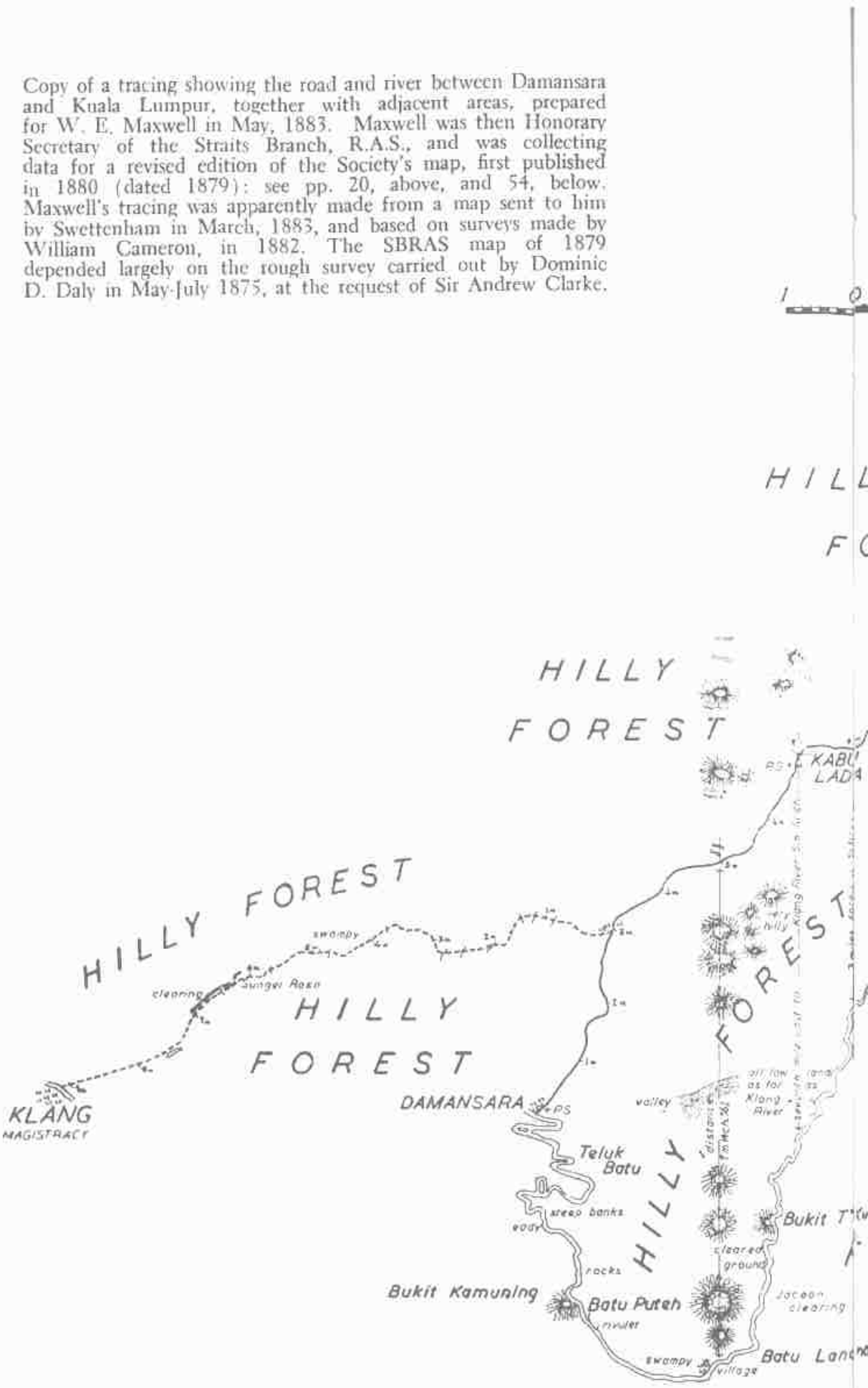
> There will be the same difficulties as were experienced in Selangor until the traffic was temporarily leased out to certain Chinese who got it into excellent working order, since which time it has again been taken over by the State.

This brief reference is all that we have on what must have been an interesting episode. By 1889 the railway had become a money spinner; in that year it yielded an annual profit of 28% on the capital invested in it. Moreover very little of this capital was borrowed money. As we have explained, Swettenham originally estimated that he would have to borrow $330,000, about half the cost of construction. In fact, during the years of construction the Selangor Government had been able to find all the money, except $100,000, from its own revenues. The final cost was $750,000.

When the railway was first opened there were four trains a day between Kuala Lumpur and Klang. Railway travel at this period was something of an adventure. Sparks from the engine twice set fire to the upholstery of the carriage seats. On the 11th August 1893 two trains collided and thirteen people were injured, one of whom died later: the two engines involved, the pioneer *Lady Clarke* and the *Lady Clementi*, were "badly damaged." But this was the only serious accident in the first ten years of the railway's existence. It was certainly a great improvement on the old route to Klang. By train the journey took 43 minutes compared with a day's travelling by launch and by road.

The large profits of the original line from Bukit Kuda to Kuala Lumpur enabled the Selangor Government to undertake various extensions and improvements. In 1889 contruction was begun on a bridge to span the Klang River so that the

Copy of a tracing showing the road and river between Damansara and Kuala Lumpur, together with adjacent areas, prepared for W. E. Maxwell in May, 1883. Maxwell was then Honorary Secretary of the Straits Branch, R.A.S., and was collecting data for a revised edition of the Society's map, first published in 1880 (dated 1879): see pp. 20, above, and 54, below. Maxwell's tracing was apparently made from a map sent to him by Swettenham in March, 1883, and based on surveys made by William Cameron, in 1882. The SBRAS map of 1879 depended largely on the rough survey carried out by Dominic D. Daly in May-July 1875, at the request of Sir Andrew Clarke.



Traced for the Straits Branch,
Royal Asiatic Society, May, 1883

Hon. Sec'y.

line might reach Klang town on the south bank. In March 1890 the Sultan went to Singapore to meet the Duke and Duchess of Connaught. The Sultan (no doubt prompted to do so) obtained the Duke's consent to naming the new railway bridge "Connaught Bridge."

The temporary railway station at Kuala Lumpur was replaced in 1892 by a new one described as "a handsome, commodious and well situated building". In November 1892 the Governor, Clementi Smith, visited Kuala Lumpur to open the new station. An observer noted that —

> The Old Passenger Station was very gay, not the least noticeable item was the effort of a local artist, depicting an exceedingly fat cherub, with quite a new departure in the way of a moustache, pillowed on some billowy clouds, with a legend underneath welcoming H.E. the Governor and Lady Smith.

A second purpose of Clementi Smith's visit in 1892 was to inaugurate a new railway line running north from Kuala Lumpur. This brings us to the topic of the other lines built after the Klang line and before 1895.

The Klang line was a successful link between the commercial centre of the inland mining area and the sea. But the need was soon felt for better communications between Kuala Lumpur and the main mining areas. The 1880's saw considerable development of new mining areas at some distance from Kuala Lumpur — at Kepong, Rawang, Serendah and Kuala Kubu. These areas, except perhaps Kepong, had their traditional outlet down the Selangor River to the sea. Ah Loy in his time had improved the facilities for loading boats at Bandar, the river port for Kanching, and had made a road from Kanching to Bandar. But river communications were as slow and expensive for the Ulu Selangor mines as they had been for the Kuala Lumpur mines. With the completion of the railway line in 1886 from Klang to Kuala Lumpur trade with Ulu Selangor began to move cross-country to the railhead at Kuala Lumpur instead of down its own river line to Kuala Selangor. During a period of observation in 1888 it was found that 200 - 300 bullock carts and 1,500 - 2,000 people travelled northwards from Kuala Lumpur every day. The route was 4½ miles of made road as far as Batu built in 1883, and from there on no more than a rough track. The forty mile journey from Kuala Lumpur to Kuala Kubu took at least two days.

In 1888 Swettenham proposed that a railway line should be built from Kuala Lumpur to the mines at Kepong, Rawang, Serendah and Kuala Kubu. It was estimated that it would take three years to build and cost $1½ million. The line in fact

SELANGOR GOVERNMENT RAILWAY.

Passenger Train Service.

DOWN.

STATIONS.		WEEK DAYS.			SUNDAYS.		
		A.M.	P.M.	P.M.	A.M.	NOON.	P.M.
SERENDAH ...	Dep.	...	...	12.55	10.50	...	...
RAWANG ...	,,	...	...	1.35	11.20	...	...
KUANG ...	,,	...	...	1.50	11.45	...	...
KEPONG ...	,,	...	...	2.25	12.20	...	...
K. LUMPUR ...	Arr.	...	...	2.45	12.40	...	...
	Dep.	7.00	12.00	3.15	7.00	12.00	2.00
PETALING ...	,,	7.18	12.18	3.39	7.18	12.17	...
BATU TIGA ...	,,	7.30	12.48	3.51	7.48	12.47	...
KLANG ...	Arr.	8.00	1.10	4.15	8.15	1.15	2.50

UP.

		A.M.	P.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.*	P.M.*
KLANG ...	Dep.	9.00	2.20	5.00	9.20	3.30	4.25
BATU TIGA ...	,,	9.28	2.55	5.26	9.55	...	5.00
PETALING ...	,,	9.51	3.31	5.47	10.27	...	5.32
K. LUMPUR ...	Arr.	10.05	3.48	6.09	10.45	4.20	5.50
	Dep.	10.30	...	...	7.30	...	...
KEPONG ...	,,	10.58	...	...	7.58	...	...
KUANG ...	,,	11.35	...	...	8.35	...	...
RAWANG ...	,,	12.05	...	...	9.05	...	...
SERENDAH ...	Arr.	12.35	...	...	9.25	...	...

* The first up Sunday train will convey 1st and 2nd and a limited number of 3rd, class passengers, and will leave Klang 15 minutes after the arrival there of the s.s. *Sappho*; the second train will follow after an interval of 35 minutes.

On Good Friday and Christmas Day trains run as on Sunday.

Passenger Fares.

Distance.	STATIONS.	1st Single.	2nd Single.	3rd Single.	1st Return.	2nd Return.	3rd Return.
Mls.		$	$	c.	$	$	$
9	Klang and Batu Tiga ...	0.45	0.32	18	0.68	0.48	0.27
17	Do. Petaling ...	0.85	0.60	34	1.28	0.90	0.51
22	Do. K. Lumpur ...	1.10	0.77	44	1.65	1.16	0.66
22½	Do. Sultan Street ...	1.15	0.80	45	1.73	1.20	0.68
23½	Do. Pudoh ...	1.28	0.86	48	1.92	1.29	0.72
29	Do. Kepong ...	1.45	1.02	58	2.18	1.53	0.83
37	Do. Kuang ...	1.85	1.30	67	2.78	1.95	1.01
42	Do. Rawang ...	2.10	1.47	74	3.15	2.21	1.11
47	Do. Serendah ...	2.35	1.65	82	3.53	2.48	1.23
13	K. Lumpur & Batu Tiga ...	0.65	0.46	26	0.98	0.69	0.39
5	Do. Petaling ...	0.25	0.18	10	0.38	0.27	0.15
½	Do. Sultan Street ...	0.05	0.03	1	0.08	0.05	0.02
1½	Do. Pudoh ...	0.18	0.09	4	0.27	0.14	0.06
7	Do. Kepong ...	0.55	0.25	11	0.53	0.38	0.17
15	Do. Kuang ...	0.75	0.53	23	1.13	0.80	0.33
20	Do. Rawang ...	1.00	0.70	30	1.50	1.05	0.45
25	Do. Serendah ...	1.25	0.88	38	1.88	1.32	0.57
14	Sultan Street and Pudoh ...	0.13	0.06	3	0.20	0.09	0.05

Rates for Traffic by Goods Train.

Distance.	STATIONS.	1st Class Goods: Per Pikul.	2nd Class Goods: Per Pikul.	3rd Class Goods: Per Pikul.	Mineral Class: per pikul.*
Miles.		c.	c.	c.	c.
9	Klang and Batu Tiga	23	17	12	07
17	Do. Petaling ...	80	38	19	11
22	Do. K. Lumpur	46	35	24	13
23½	Do. Pudoh ...	50	38	26	14
29	Do. Kepong ...	57	42	28	16
37	Do. Kuang ...	69	50	33	19
42	Do. Rawang ...	76	55	36	21
47	Do. Serendah ...	84	60	39	23
13	K. L'pr. & Batu Tiga ...	28	22	15	09
5	Do. Petaling ...	22	17	12	07
1½	Do. Pudoh ...	12	10	07	05
7	Do. Kepong ...	17	12	08	06
15	Do. Kuang ...	25	17	11	08
20	Do. Rawang ...	32	22	14	10
25	Do. Serendah ...	40	27	17	12

Rates for Parcels, etc., by Passenger Train.

One rate for all Stations.

- Not exceeding 5 catties in weight, 15 cents.
- Over 5 catties but not over 10 catties, 20 cents.
- Over 10 catties, 20 cents, for the first 10 catties and 1 cent for every two catties in excess thereof.
- Passengers' Excess Luggage, ½ cent per catty.
- Dogs, 20 cents each.
- Bicycles and Tricycles, 50 cents each.
- Jinrikishas, $1 each.
- Horses and Ponies, including syce with each animal, 12½ cents each per mile: minimum charge per truck $3.
- Carriages and Traps, 15 cents each per mile: minimum charge per truck $4.

Special Rates for Traffic by Goods Train.

Distance.	STATIONS.	PER PIKUL. Cement.	Charcoal.*	Empties (Returns).	Firewood & Timber.†	Fresh Fish and Cocoanuts.	Poultry.	Eggs.	Tin (Slab or Ore).
Mls.		c.	c.	c.	c.	c.	$	c.	c.
9	Klang and Batu Tiga	08	06	07	05	08	0.28	10	...
17	Do. Petaling ...	12	09	11	06	12	0.40	16	...
22	Do. K. Lumpur	16	11	13	08	13	0.60	20	18
23½	Do. Pudoh ...	16	12	14	08	16	0.64	21	...
29	Do. Kepong ...	19	14	17	09	19	0.77	24	...
37	Do. Kuang ...	23	17	21	11	24	0.94	29	...
42	Do. Rawang ...	25	19	23	13	27	1.11	32	...
47	Do. Serendah ...	28	21	26	14	30	1.24	35	...
13	K. L'pr. & Batu Tiga	10	07	09	05	10	0.36	12	11
5	Do. Petaling ...	08	06	07	05	08	0.28	10	09
1½	Do. Pudoh ...	05	04	05	04	05	0.15	06	06
7	Do. Kepong ...	07	06	07	05	08	0.25	08	07
15	Do. Kuang ...	10	08	10	06	11	0.41	11	10
20	Do. Rawang ...	12	10	12	07	14	0.58	14	12
25	Do. Serendah ...	15	12	15	09	17	0.67	17	15

* In lots of 50 pikuls or over. † Sawn or rough.

Bullocks or Asses, 7½ cents each per mile: minimum charge per truck $2.50.

Carriages, 12½ cents each per mile: minimum charge per truck $4.

Carts, 10 cents each per mile: minimum charge per truck $3.

Horses and Ponies, including Syce with each Animal, 10 cents each per mile: minimum charge per truck $3.

Calves, Pigs, Sheep and Goats 40 cents each any distance.

Classification of Goods for Traffic by Goods Train.

1ST CLASS GOODS.—Arrack, Beer, Wine, Spirits, etc., in cask or bottle, Crockery, Glassware, Manufactured Tobacco, Manchester Goods and all goods of a similar nature not otherwise provided for.

2ND CLASS GOODS.—Flour, Oil (except Kerosine), Salt, Vegetables, Sugar, unmanufactured Tobacco and similar goods not otherwise provided for.

3RD CLASS GOODS.—Charcoal, Firewood, Timber and Mineral Class goods in lots of less than 50 pikuls, Fish (dried or salted), Game, Fresh Meat, Salt Provisions (wet), Ice, Kerosine Oil, Girders, Engines, Nails, Safes, and native agricultural produce generally.

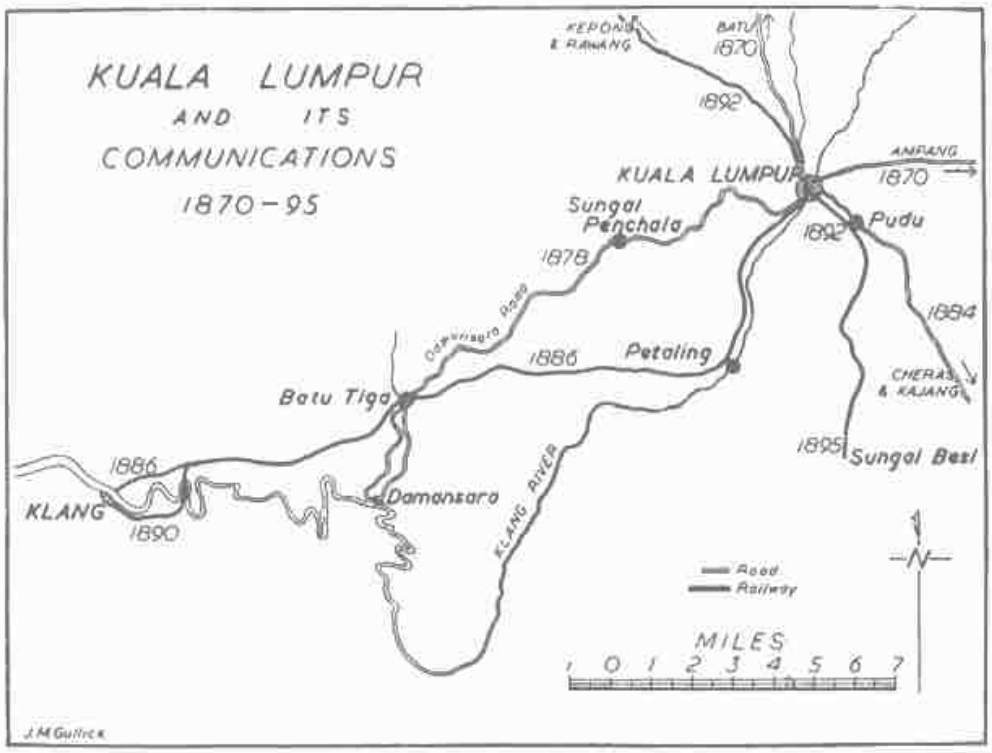
MINERAL CLASS GOODS in lots of 50 pikuls or over.—Pig Iron, Common Bricks, Stones (in the rough), Ballast, Coal, Coke, Ashes, Lime, Tiles (not ornamental), and goods of a similar nature not otherwise provided for.

RATES between intermediate Stations and for bulky and unspecified goods can be ascertained on application to the Traffic Superintendent or Station Masters.

Selangor Government Railway, timetable, fares and traffic rates, August 1893 to February 1894: from an announcement in the *Selangor Journal*, **1**, (24)

reached Rawang in 1892 and Kuala Kubu in 1894. This northern line out of Kuala Lumpur ran across the site of the modern Federal House and behind the Selangor Club to Club Road where there was a level crossing and a private railway station at the foot of Residency Hill for the Resident.

In 1892 an extension southwards was begun. This was a line to Pudu, extended in 1895 to the mines at Sungei Besi. The Pudu line crossed the Klang River immediately behind the railway station and then ran through the town, crossing Rodger Street and High Street by overhead bridges and thence up what is now Foch Avenue. The exceptional width of Foch Avenue must be due to the fact that when it was first laid out there was a railway line down the middle of it.



Sketch map showing the development of road and rail communications round Kuala Lumpur in the period 1870-95.

Spence Moss was responsible for the planning and the first construction stage of the new lines north and south from Kuala Lumpur. As will appear later his ability to site the Pudu railway line near to certain lots of land in Kuala Lumpur town proved a temptation which was part of his undoing. Another railway project which involved Spence Moss in trouble later on was the proposed extension to Pahang. W. E. Maxwell, who succeeded Swettenham as Resident in 1889, very much wished to see a line built into western Pahang via the Sĕmangko Pass (the Gap).

Spence Moss argued that the main range between Kuala Lumpur and Pahang was a formidable barrier and that the cost of building and operating a railway across it would be prohibitive. Maxwell was an autocrat who liked to have his own way and he bore Spence Moss a grudge over this matter, so at least Spence Moss maintained. Maxwell was at this time engaged in overhauling the land records. Thus Spence Moss's indiscretions came to notice at an awkward time for him.

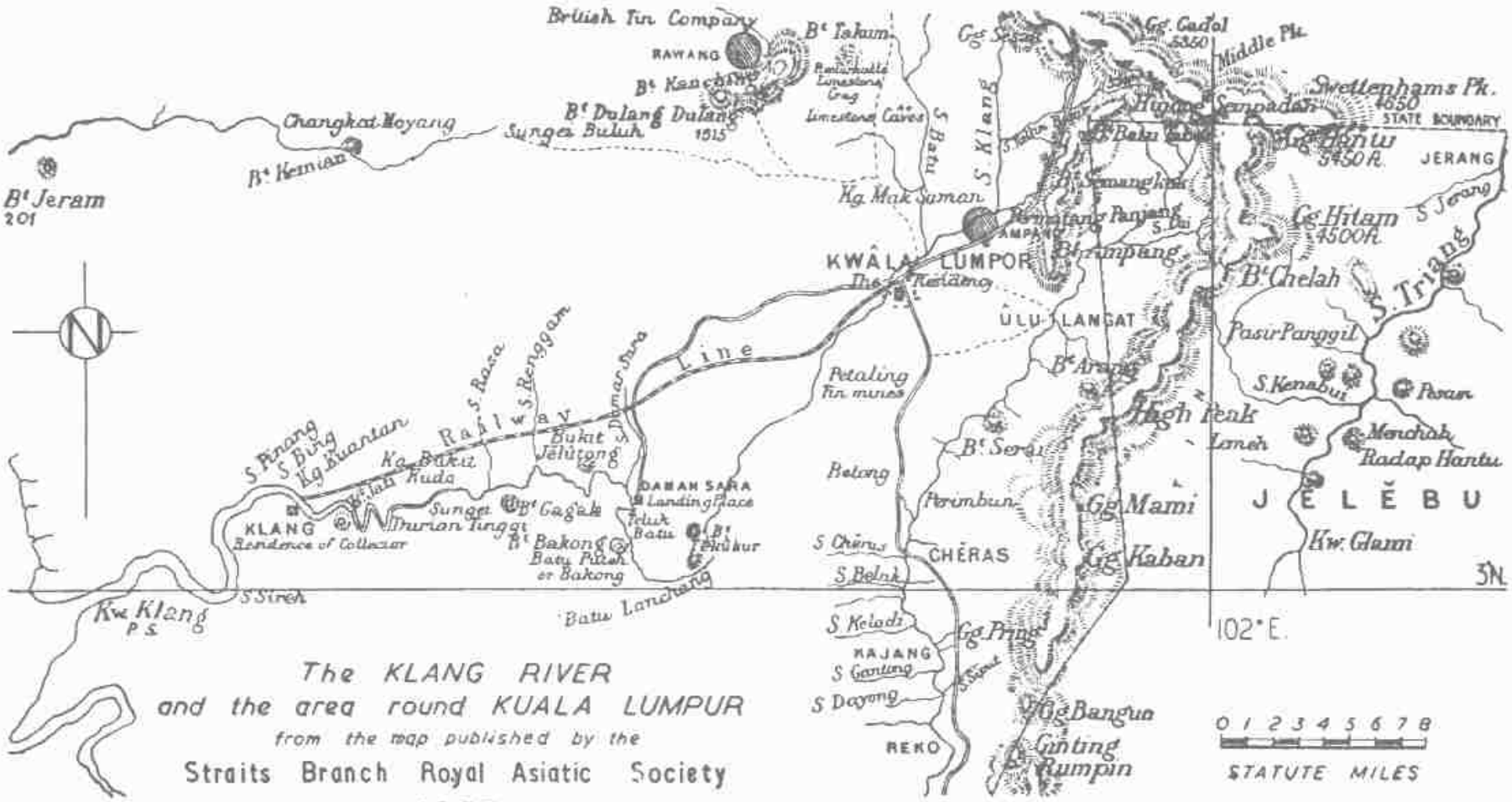
Up to the beginning of 1895 $3,845,000 had been spent on railway construction in Selangor. In that year there was 70 miles of track and the profit for the year on the capital invested was 11%.

The Development of Tin Mining.

At this point it is convenient to describe the growth of tin-mining in Selangor between 1880 and 1895. Tin-mining was both the reason for railway construction and thereafter the mainstay of railway revenues. Moreover the existence of good communications originally built to serve the mines was undoubtedly an important factor in attracting investment in plantation development. The industrial requirements of the mines and the varied consumption needs of the miners created trade and industry at Kuala Lumpur. Thus Yap Ah Loy's fight to keep the mines in production during the lean years of the 1870's and Swettenham's vision in risking large sums on railway development in the 1880's laid the foundations of the whole inter-related complex of economic development during this period.

The technique of Chinese tin-mining in 1880 had not apparently developed very much in the generation since 1850 when large-scale Chinese immigration into the Malay States began. The basis of the technique was still to excavate an open-cast working (*lombong*) and to dig out the tin-bearing stratum. The main technical problem was to keep these workings from becoming flooded. Baling out was part of the daily routine of mining. With great ingenuity the chain-pump, operated by a waterwheel, was also used to pump out the mines. But apart from the imperfections of the chain-pump it could not be used if there was insufficient *running* water at surface level to drive the waterwheel.

About 1879 Hugh Low, Resident of Perak, brought out a steam engine and centrifugal pump at government expense to demonstrate to the sceptical miners of Perak that this new-fangled apparatus was far better than any other available to them. Low's initiative was an immediate success.



The KLANG RIVER
and the area round KUALA LUMPUR
from the map published by the
Straits Branch Royal Asiatic Society
1887

Yap Ah Loy may have seen Low's steam engine or heard of it. Ah Loy himself had considered bringing in an 8 h.p. engine in 1878 for his tapioca mill at Kuala Lumpur. At all events in 1881 Ah Loy imported a steam engine for use on his largest mine at Ampang. A special boat had to be built to bring the heavy engine up the river to Kuala Lumpur. It arrived and was successfully installed. So far as the writer knows this was the first steam engine used on a tin-mine in Selangor.

The mechanisation of tin-mining owed a great deal to European ventures in mining in Selangor between 1882 and 1884. The success of Chinese mining during the period of high prices from 1879 onwards naturally tempted European investors to see if they could do better. European interest in mining in Selangor went back to at least 1873 when the pressure of certain concession holders played its part in bringing about the famous decision of British policy to intervene in the Malay States.

Between 1882 and 1884 3,800 acres of land in Selangor were given out under mining lease to European mining companies. European interests also negotiated for the purchase of Chinese mines. In one case a company promoted by Paterson Simons of Singapore purchased Yap Ah Loy's Ampang mine for $170,000, of which however Ah Loy took $30,000 in shares. The purchase was completed early in 1884. The mine had yielded 350 tons of tin in 1883.

Another enterprise, the Selangor Tin Mining Company, was established in association with the contractors, Mill and Rathborne. This company set up a smelting works on the Damansara Road and built bunglows for its staff in the same area. Among other interests for a short time they held an area of 210 acres at Ampang, known as the Constance mine: some $70,000 was invested, but they lost heavily on the venture. A third European company took upland at Rawang: they began operations on a more modest scale than the others but were ultimately forced to sell out in 1889, after being much publicized as a "model" company and proof that European management could succeed.

By the end of 1884 the European mining boom had collapsed. The Resident of Selangor (Rodger) attributed their failure to three causes. First, they had undertaken extensive excavation without any adequate trial boring to find out whether there was an even thickness of tin-bearing stratum below the surface. In this respect the Chinese were wiser. They used Malay diviners (*pawang*) to select likely areas but they then began to mine on a very small scale until the extent of the deposits was well-established. Secondly, the European miners had relied blindly on the supposed economies of widespread mecha-

nisation. Their machinery included winding apparatus as well as steam engines and pumps. It is significant that the Rawang company, which used traditional Chinese methods, was able to linger on until 1889, five years longer than any of the others. The third reason for the failure of European mining was the excessive overhead costs of their large managerial staffs.

The collapse of the European companies was a wonderful opportunity for the Chinese miners. Yap Ah Loy bought back his Ampang mine for a song. The Selangor Tin Mining Company too were glad to wind up their "disastrous" venture by selling their mine to Yap Ah Loy. The steam engines and other expensive apparatus passed to Chinese miners at bargain prices. The number of steam engines on Chinese mines went up from two in 1884, the last year of the European boom, to fifteen in 1885, the year of the crash. By 1888 the total had risen to ninety-nine. These engines were mainly 8-12 h.p. and portable. Thus equipped the Chinese miners could work to a much greater depth than before without danger of flooding. Previously 40 feet had been their maximum depth and most mines were much shallower than this — some only went down six feet.

The 1880's saw a steady expansion of the mining areas in inland Selangor. Swettenham, visiting Kuala Lumpur in 1875, stated that the mines were at Sungei Puteh, Ulu Ampang, Ulu Klang, Petaling and Kanching. An official report of 1887 gives the number of large mines as

Kuala Lumpur area	46
Petaling	23
Kanching	9
Ulu Selangor	8
Kajang and Rekoh	6
Ulu Langat	11
	103

It will be seen that mining had already spread to Ulu Selangor and Ulu Langat. On these "large" mines, which were 200-250 feet square, there were about 5,000 miners. In addition there were some 3,000 miners working on small mines, some of of them no more than 20 feet by 15 in area.

In 1882 Yap Ah Loy and Yap Ah Shak were opening new mines at Kepong. Mining was also beginning at Gonggang and Pudu. There is mention of mining at Serendah in 1885. Tangga China, (near Ampang), Panggor (near Serendah) and Sungei Belak (near Cheras) are mentioned in 1886.

There is some conflict as to the size of the mining population. A figure of 8,000 (5,000 plus 3,000) in 1887 has been mentioned above. But, although the source does not make it plain, this total must be incomplete. There is another statement that in 1884 there were a thousand mines, large and small in Selangor, and some 20,000 miners. Elsewhere again it is stated that there were 24,000 miners in Selangor in 1884. The gradual spread from the Kuala Lumpur area to remoter places appears in their distribution. In 1884 3,000 out of the total of 24,000 miners were further afield than the mines near Kuala Lumpur. By 1886 about 5,000 out of the total of 26,500 miners in Selangor were in Ulu Langat and Ulu Selangor.

Some rather fragmentary data about tin-mining in Selangor is assembled below: —

Year	Price ($ per picul) $	Export Duty ($ per picul) $	Output (piculs)	Steam Engines (on Chinese mines)
1878	c. 20	2.40	42,293	
1879			42,615	
1880			50,514	
1881			50,532	
1882		3.00	56,970	
1883	33		71,814	
1884	23		76,629	2
1885			82,901	15
1886	23	3.00	99,073	28
1887	c. 30		131,392	58
1888			135,735	99
1889			182,236	
1890	c. 24		174,538	
1891			208,164	

The price of tin had been about $20 per picul in the lean years of the mid 1870's. In 1882 it had reached $33 but by 1884 it had fallen to $23. This change goes to explain the boom and slump of the European mining industry in the period 1882-84. There was a period of high prosperity between 1887 and 1889 followed by what would now be called a "recession" in the early 1890's.

It was necessary to exercise some measure of supervision over the miners to keep the peace and to protect property rights. The Mining Board of 1880-82 has been mentioned. An Inspector of Mines was appointed for the first time in 1881 and this marks the beginning of the Selangor Mines Department.

Another administrative measure made necessary by the fluctuating growth of Chinese mining was the registration of labourers. In 1890 a Chinese Immigration Depot was established in Petaling Street with accommodation for 1,200 men. The

employers contributed the $5,000 required to erect the building. It was a kind of residential employment exchange. Brokers who imported labourers to Kuala Lumpur had to put them into the depot (paying 50 cents per head per day for their keep) until they had arranged with employers to take them over. A labourer who had served out his first year's "indenture period" could, while unemployed, live at the depot for 25 cents per day. When a labourer from the depot was signed on by an employer, this fact was entered in the depot register. When a labourer was discharged by an employer, he was given a discharge ticket to take back to the depot. All employers undertook to recruit labourers only through the depot. The depot itself was managed on a non-profit making basis by a Chinese committee in which the five principal Chinese local groups in Kuala Lumpur were represented. The Capitan China was chairman of the committee.

By 1893 50,000 labourers a year passed through the depot which served to protect both parties. The labourers, especially the newly arrived "*sinkheh*", were protected against the oppression of brokers. The employers were protected against absconding labourers and against labour crimping by their rivals.

The marketing of tin was strictly controlled to prevent the working miners from selling tin without the knowledge of the financiers who had made advances to open up the mine. At first there was a rule that tin might be smelted only on the mine where it had been produced. This rule was however relaxed in the 1880's. Tin might be sold only to a recognised dealer or in the presence of the Capitan China.

Agriculture.

Early experiments in plantation agriculture were not a great success. Apart from technical and economic factors there was difficulty over titles. Swettenham (British Malaya, p. 237) tells how Ceylon planting interests wished to take up land in Perak but abandoned the idea when the Straits Settlements Government refused to sanction the issue of leases for more than 99 years. The same policy must have been applied, with the same result, in Selangor.

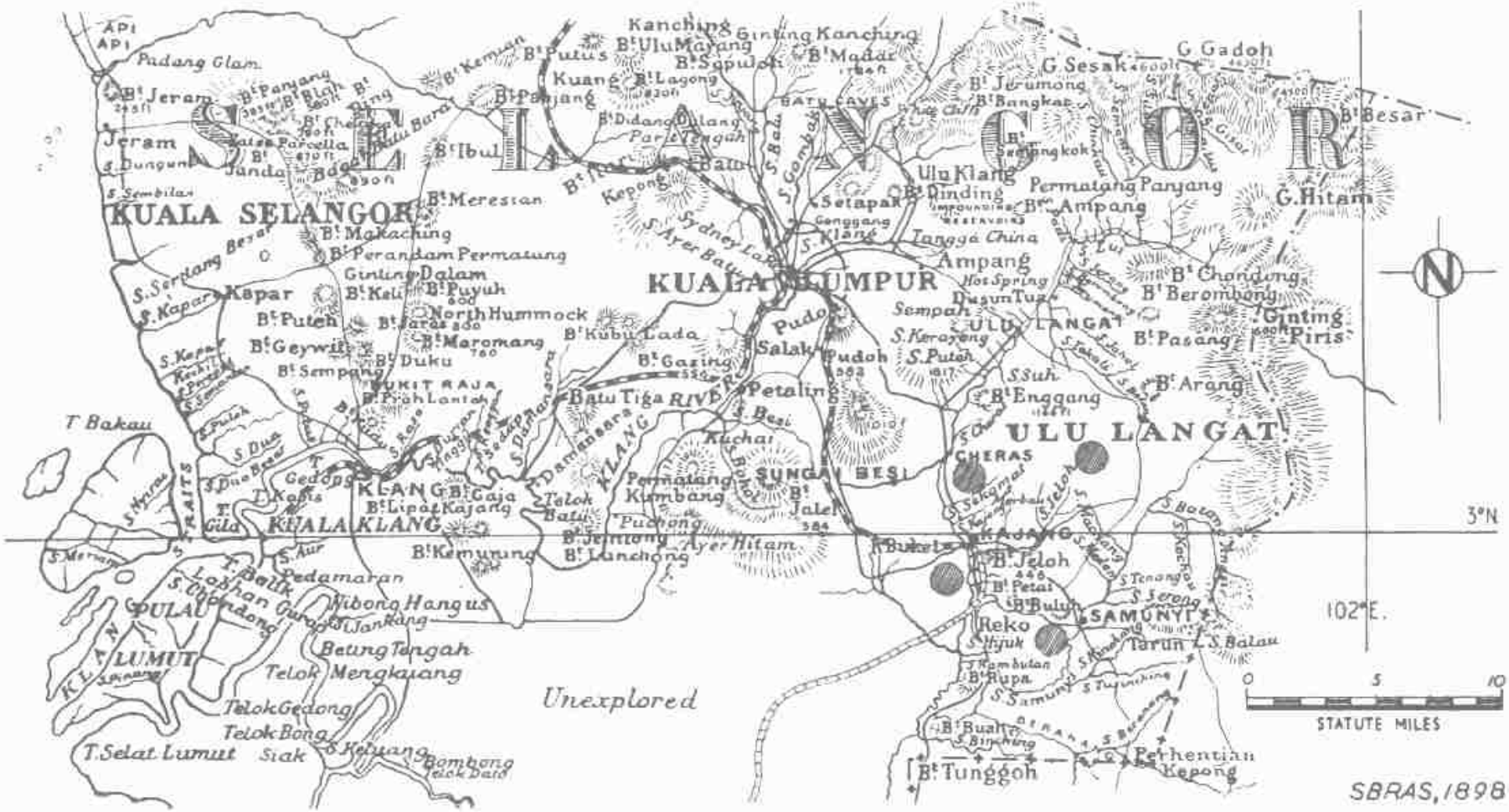
In any case it took some years of experiment before a successful crop was found in the form of coffee. In the early 1870's Yap Ah Loy planted tapioca around Kuala Lumpur. But by 1885 this venture had been abandoned as prices were too low to make it remunerative. In 1878 Yap Ah Loy laid out $2,000 in planting sago. For this work he employed Malay labourers at $7 p.m. Ah Loy's planting experiments were on

the 12,000 acres of jungle land which he held between Mile 10 and Mile 15 on the road from Kuala Lumpur to Damansara. In 1884 there is mention of a scheme of Yap Ah Loy and some Chinese associates for planting gambier as an alternative to tapioca, but it appears that Ah Loy at least never went ahead with this scheme.

Malay agriculture had made an earlier start in central Selangor. But even so it was of comparatively recent origin. In 1860, when Kuala Lumpur was beginning, there was no considerable agricultural settlement in the inland areas at all. The Sumatrans who came up the Klang River were miners and traders, not agriculturalists. But the hard times of the 1870's perhaps encouraged the Sumatrans to grow their own food. Certainly Yap Ah Loy tried to increase the cultivation of padi around Kuala Lumpur at this time. With a locally produced food supply he would be less dependent on the rapacious financiers of the Straits Settlements who sold him imported supplies at very high prices. To put the matter another way, cheaper local rice (and vegetables, fruit etc.) lowered the miners' cost of living and hence the cost of producing tin. Thus in 1878 it was reported that the whole Ampang valley above Kuala Lumpur was under padi. In 1885 there is mention of padi areas at Batu and Setapak on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur. In addition to padi cultivation there were orchards of fruit trees and market gardens along Ampang Road and Batu Road. Syers, the head of the Police force, took the lead in planting various kinds of tree crops, including cocoa. His orchard at Mile 2 on the Ampang Road was described as "one of the best specimens of cultivation in the District" in 1885. As we have seen, Venning experimented with new economic crops in the Lake Gardens. By 1884 also there was a ring of Chinese market gardens within a three mile radius around Kuala Lumpur. But much of the produce then sold in the Kuala Lumpur market came from Malay gardens.

One of the largest areas of Malay settlement in inland Selangor in the 1880's was Ulu Langat. It will be remembered that as early as 1875 the Sumatran strongholds at Cheras and Kajang were the centre of the revolt which Davidson, Syers and Ah Loy nipped in the bud. There was, of course, mining as well as agriculture in Ulu Langat. The Governor, Sir Frederick Weld, visiting Kajang in 1883, found it all very attractive:—

> At night, sitting among palm and banana and other rich tropical foliage intermingled with scarves and flags and quaint devices, on the banks of a mountain river lit by a full moon in a cloudless sky, we witnessed a series of dances and performances and listened to the chants of the wild


SELANGOR
KUALA SELANGOR
KUALA LUMPUR
KLANG
KUALA KLANG
ULU LANGAT
SUNGAI BESI
CHERAS
SAMUNYI
PULAU LUMUT
Unexplored
3°N
102°E.
0 5 10
STATUTE MILES
SBRAS, 1898

> Sakeis, the Malays, the Menangkabau men and the Chinese — We had scarf dances and shawl dances and saucer dances and besides singing, Malay and Chinese instrumental accompaniments, all the performers being men.

Malay production of foodstuffs surplus to the cultivators' own requirements was essentially complementary to the growth of urban and mining communities, which were not self-sufficient, in and around Kuala Lumpur. But Malay peasants soon began to grow crops for export as well as for local consumption. The Resident, in his report for 1885, noted that

> Malays and Javanese have commenced opening small plantations of coffee, and, in a few cases, also of tobacco, pepper and gambier, in addition to their usual gardens of bananas, rice, maize, and sugar cane. . . . many of the cultivators being engaged in cutting timber for building purposes and railway sleepers, and firewood for the numerous brick-kilns and mining engines.

By 1895 another administrator was observing that "almost every Malay in Rawang and Serendah, who is old enough to have the sense, and the little capital necessary, is going in most enthusiastically for planting coffee." As in the case of European estates, the rush to plant coffee was soon to be followed by a changeover to rubber.

The following figures give some indication of the development of agricultural areas in the early days of 1884.

District	Cultivated Acreage	Population	Mileage of navigable Rivers by boats	Mileage of Roads
Kuala Lumpur	4,492	28,823	30	99½
Klang	3,290	3,456	26	12½
Kuala Langat	1,585	3,198	36	4½
Ulu Langat	1,500	3,695	100	78
Kuala Selangor	2,000	3,572	47	—
Ulu Selangor	837	3,824	54	57½
Total	13,704	46,568	293	252

The concentration of mining and settlement in the Klang valley (Kuala Lumpur and Klang Districts) appears clearly from these figures. Even in 1890 half the population of Selangor lived in the Kuala Lumpur administrative district.

Down in the coastal stretch between Klang and Kuala Langat there was also much Malay agricultural development, fostered and financed by Sultan Abdul Samad, Raja Muda Musa and later his son, the future Sultan Sulaiman. But this activity was remote from Kuala Lumpur and cannot be related here.

The Planting Industry

European planting began in 1881. In 1869 a pa hogenic fungus, *Hemileia vastatrix*, appeared on some of the coffee plants in Ceylon. At that time coffee was grown on almost every small-holding on the island, in addition to the large estates. It was impossible to devise methods for controlling the spread of the disease, and it swept steadily across the island. In the late 1870's some eight to ten years after the start of the trouble, a few of the European planters considered the possibility of leaving Ceylon for Malaya. Several of them prospected in Perak in 1878 (*JSBRAS*, **4,** 1880, pp. 23-45, passim), and were much impressed by the possibilities of the ground in and round the Kinta valley, but ultimately, as we have noted, they were deterred by the land regulations. The following year T. Heslop Hill began planting on Pulau Ubin, in the Johore Strait: and the same year (1879) the fungus appeared in Singapore, where it caused considerable damage among local small-holdings of Arabian coffee. In the meantime Hill had obtained a concession in Sungei Ujong, and in 1880, in conjunction with the Hon'ble Martin Lister and C. E. Kay, he opened Antoine Estate, near Bukit Linggi, with a planting of cinchcona and *Coffea arabica*. The following year the Hon'ble R. B. Downall obtained two concessions, totalling 194 acres, on a small hill on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur. He named the property the Weld Hill Estate (after Sir Frederick Weld, then Governor of the Straits Settlements), and planted experimental strips of Liberian coffee, tea and pepper.

Weld Hill was the first Eropean estate to be opened up in Selangor, but Arabian coffee was already being grown on Malay small-holdings round Klang, and at Bukit Nanas. During the ensuing decade the former were extended considerably under the direction of the Dato' Dagang (Haji Mohammed Tahir of of Klang). In 1882-83 Downall obtained additional concessions in Selangor, including a large area near Batu Caves, and began to plant them with Liberian coffee. Hill and his partners were meanwhile extending their holdings in Sungei Ujong.

Heslop Hill, as we shall see, was by no means wedded to a single crop. Clearly at this date he also had doubts about the future of planting in the Malay states. In 1883 he entered into a ten-year partnership with a mining engineer, Ambrose Rathborne, who seemingly had capital at his disposal. The partners styled themselves "Planters, Agents & Con ractors". They took over Downall's concession, and established their head-quarters in Selangor, but their business was extensive, and they operated as contractors and agents in Perak, Selangor, Sungei

Ujong and Malacca Territory. In 1884 during the boom, they tried their hand at mining and nearly came to grief, losing $70,000 on a concession at Ampang in less than twelve months. Thereafter they restricted themselves to the firm's nominated activities, Heslop Hill covering their plantations in Selangor and Sungei Ujong, and Rathborne working the other side of the business. By 1886 they had three plantations in the neighbourhood of Kuala Lumpur, on which Hill was growing cinchona, Liberian coffee, cocoa, tea and pepper: in addition they had opened up a large area in the hills at Genting Bidei, which they planted with Arabian coffee and tea; they also had an option on 2,000 acres of uncleared land near Petaling. In 1889 Hill opened two estates in Perak which were planted with Liberian coffee, tobacco and pepper: one of these, the Kamuning Estate, had a potential area of 10,000 acres.

In 1883-84 Walter Stephenson began to open the first of four estates in the vicinity of Klang: initially he planted pepper, but his later clearings were set with Liberian coffee. The latter was selected by the European planters in Selangor in preference to Arabian coffee on the grounds that it was better suited to the lowlands of Malaya, and that it would prove more resistant to the fungus: against this the berries are larger, rather variable in appearance, less fragrant, and command a lower price in the market. Ultimately the last point contributed to the failure of the industry.

No other European estates were opened in Selangor between 1884 and 1888, though several leases were taken out. The first wave of prospectors from Ceylon had, for the most part, preferred to return to battle with the fungus at home, or turn to tea, rather than work land on what they considered to be unfavourable terms. Only Heslop Hill, Walter Stephenson and the men employed with them remained here: and the crops planted were varied, though they were slowly turning to increased acreages of Liberian coffee. Meanwhile the market price of coffee was rising steadily, as the output from Ceylon continued its inevitable decline. Towards the end of 1888 a group of four men led by William Dougal, manager of the Singapore branch of the Chartered Bank, obtained a grant of 1,500 acres, in three equal lots, in the Setapak Valley, north of Kuala Lumpur. Others followed them, but initially the movement was slow, and four years later there were still less than a dozen European owned estates in Selangor: those in the vicinity of Kuala Lumpur represented an area of some 7,000 acres, of which a little over 1,500 acres were planted, mostly with Liberian coffee.

The real boom started in 1893. By this time coffee production in Ceylon for export had almost ceased, and an increasing number of planters were coming over to Selangor. With the price of coffee still rising, they all settled on coffee as their staple crop. They were, in addition, largely men with a strong preference for coffee-growing: Ceylon was at this time experiencing its first tea boom, and those most ready to experiment with a new crop had already taken up the cultivation of tea. By the end of 1893 there were 16 European owned estates in Selangor, our of 30 registered estates of all categories: the totals rose to 22 and 43 in 1894, 41 and 61 in 1894, and 60 and 73 in 1896, over half of which were in producion, and by this period nearly all of them were concentrating on coffee[6].

It is not clear when *Hemileia vastatrix* first appeared in Selangor. The fungus was certainly there in 1894, and it may have arrived several years earlier. Liberian coffee did not prove immune to its attacks (though it was said to be uneffected in Liberia), but, being a tree and not a bush, it was certainly more resistant than *Coffea arabica*. The planters also had other pests to trouble them, including boring flies and beetles: they had labour troubles: and some did not find the soil as satisfactory as it appeared to be on the surface. But on the whole they were not doing too badly in the middle 1890's, and the industry expanded rapidly. It is scarcely surprising that it should have done so: it was estimated that on current market prices an estate of reasonable size should repay the cost of setting it up in four to five years. This, it should be noted, was after the fungus had reached Selangor: it was, in fact, neither the fungus nor any local factor that ultimately killed the industry. Coffee planting in Selangor failed because of political events in Europe and South America in the previous decade.

There had long been extensive areas planted with Arabian coffee in Brazil, but the estates were managed inefficiently, and worked with discontented slave labour. In 1888 a government decree completed the liberation of the slaves, freeing some

6. Totals of registered estates from the Singapore & Straits Settlements Directories. Figures for the European owned estates in Selangor, as recorded in the annual notices of the Selangor Planters' Association, are as follows.

Year	Number of Estates	Acreage Cultivated	Labour employed		
			Tamil	Chinese	Malay
1893	16	1;089	465	48	88
1894	22	2,802	938	181	254
1895	41	6,348	1,406	290	917
1896	60	10,835	2,462	533	969

700,000 able-bodied adults, without compensation to their owners. The liberated slaves were even less inclined to work efficiently on the plantations, and the estate owners were left with their capital seriously depleted. The Brazilian coffee industry might well have faded out of the picture at this point. It was, however, set more firmly on its feet than ever before by a second wholly unconnected political movement. Over the period of unrest in Brazil, when the government was trying to gain support by freeing the slaves, conditions in Italy resulted in numbers of peasant families migrating to Brazil. They were industrious, and they were determined to build a settled future for themselves. Many of them took over the ill-run and undermanned coffee estates, and working them as free men rapidly reached an output well in excess of anything that had been achieved previously. The result was that in the late 1890's the market price of coffee began to fall, and buyers were in a position to purchase adequate quantities of Arabian coffee, which they much preferred.

The slump in Liberian coffee from Malaya came after the close of the period with which we are concerned here. Strictly speaking our story ends with coffee production still increasing, and the more enterprising planters arranging to sell their estates to limited liability companies established in London or Ceylon for the purpose of administering them. A good example was Heslop Hill, well to the front again, who in 1896 sold a block of six estates in Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan; the company set up to buy them had a capital of £100,000, the greater part of which passed to him as purchase money: in addition he received shares in the company, and was retained as general manager, on a salary plus bonuses: it was estimated that the yield for the following year, 1897, would amount to 5,000 pikuls of coffee, in addition to small amounts of other crops. Coffee was, however, the lure, and it was on the promise of profits from coffee that the shares sold rapidly.

The failure of the coffee industry would inevitably have dealt a serious blow to the growing prosperity of Selangor (and with it the development of Kuala Lumpur as the Federal capital), if it had not been for other events which had their beginnings in our period. At the time when the world price of coffee was still rising, there was also a rapidly increasing demand for rubber for industrial purposes. One of the principal sources of supply at this period and earlier was the India-rubber Fig, *Ficus elastica*. The tree was already being grown in plantations in north-eastern India and Java, and in 1879 Murton showed that native rubber was being obtained from it in Malaya (*JSBRAS*, **1**, p. 107). In

1897 2,000 trees were planted out at Bukit Lintang, near Malacca. Soon afterwards it was tried in the Muar valley, and in 1900, when interest in it reached its peak, 52,000 trees were planted in Selangor in the one year.

Interest in the India-rubber Fig was short-lived, and by 1906 planting had ceased. Its place was, of course, taken by the Para-rubber Tree, *Hevea brasiliensis*, cultivation of which was being developed at the same time. Malaya received its first plants of *Heavea* in 1876, followed by a second, more successful consignment in 1877. Plantation methods had still to be developed, and for a number of years its future here was uncertain. Tapping was started under Sir Hugh Low's direction at Kuala Kangsar about 1886-87, but the results were not satisfactory: the first really successful tapping was begun in 1889, by H. N. Ridley, working in the Botanic Gardens at Singapore. Some at least of the planters were interested in these experiments, and as early as 1893 Heslop Hill announced that he had seeds for sale from one of his estates. By the end of 1897 small stands of *Hevea* had been planted on eight different estates in Selangor, though it was not until 1899 that the first consignment of Para rubber reached London from Malaya for sale: it came from Sir Hugh Low's old experimental garden at Kuala Kangsar. Widespread interest in rubber did not begin until two or three years later, and extensive planting in Selangor dates from 1904-5. Its interest here lies in the fact that though the ultimate failure of the current crop was already inevitable, the pattern of large estates that was being built up round Kuala Lumpur in the 1890's was to last for a long time. Our period saw the introduction of the European planter into the life and structure of local society, and his rise to a position of importance in the economy of the state. And although by 1895-6 increased production of coffee in Brazil was visible, if not discernible, as a small dark cloud on the skyline the seeds were already sown from which he and the state were to find an era of prosperity beyond all conjecture, in growing Brazilian rubber. One of the early coffee planters, who retired in 1897, invested £4,000 in an estate in Selangor which was then turning over to rubber: ten years later the value of his holding was assessed at £250,000.

As we have seen, the doyen of the Selangor planters in the 1890's was T. Heslop Hill. In 1892-93 he attempted to form a Malay States Planters' Association, on the lines of similar associations in Ceylon and southern India. The main purpose was to provide a body through which the planters could negotiate with government on labour questions, and on matters of land tenure. But by the time that the association was formed it

had dwindled to a Selangor Planters' Association, which he felt was too narrow in scope. Further at this period he had managers on his estates in Selangor, and was himself superintending his property in Sungei Ujong. Accordingly he did not join the body when it was actually formed, in December, 1892. The association held its first full meeting on 24 June, 1893: ten members were present, and E. V. Carey was elected the first president. Hill continued to press for a united association, covering all the Malay States. Finally, on 8 June, 1896, a meeting was held to establish the "Central Planters' Association of the Federated Malay States", "to advance and protect the interests of the planting community": Heslop Hill, representing Sungei Ujong, became the first president, and Tom Gibson of Selangor the first secretary.

A notable member of the early Selangor planting community was the Hon'ble Martin Lister, who began as Heslop Hill's manager on Weld's Hill Estate. A close personal friend of Swettenham, Martin Lister forsook planting and entered the government service. After a spell in the Resident's Office at Kuala Kangsar in Perak, where his fellow learner was the young Hugh Clifford, Martin Lister became Collector (District Officer), in Ulu Selangor in 1884 and did notably good work. At the end of 1886 he was transfered to Negri Sembilan and was a great success as Resident of that State. He continued to own a coffee estate in Selangor. His early death in 1896 cut short a brilliant career.

Typical of the rolling stone element among the early planters was one F. A. Toynbee. Born in 1861 he began his working life as a telegraph operator at a Mediterranean cable station. In 1881 he went to Sumatra as a planter. Then in 1884 he came across to Selangor in the employment of Hill & Rathborne to supervise road construction. He stayed on in Selangor as manager of the firm's sawmill at Klang, as a contractor for the supply of railway sleepers and then as an estate manager. Between 1888 and 1893 he was drawn into the coffee boom. Among other estates which Toynbee opened up and planted were Amherst and Hawthornden.

Industry and Trade.

The development of agriculture around Kuala Lumpur was one example of a general process in which an expansion of a basic industry, tin-mining, and its ancillary communication system, led to growth in other sections of the economy. We have mentioned too how the growing population of Kuala Lumpur had to be decently housed and how this need gave rise to rapid growth in the brick and tile kilns, lime kilns and other

industries producing building materials. The extraction and sawing of timber for house-building and for railway sleepers also enjoyed a boom in the 1880's. There has been mention already of Hill and Rathborne's sawmill which, with a brick kiln, cost $38,000. This sawmill was apparently the first venture in mechanised sawing in substitution for the traditional method of hand-sawing. Next in 1884 Doraisamy Pillai set up a sawmill. The first Chinese steam sawmill was established in 1888.

The Government building programe was seriously embarassed by the shortage and high prices of timber and other materials. So much so that for some years the timber used in government buildings was either unshaped round timber or axe-squared beams. It was only in 1892 that the Public Works Department began to use properly squared timber in all its construction. work. About this time the Department established its own timber depot, brickfield, factory and store, under the direction of C. E. Spooner, later first general manager of the FMS Railways.

By the early 1890's all the more accessible timber around Kuala Lumpur had been felled. By 1893 timber was so scarce that it had to be brought from places 12 to 20 miles away. In 1894 there is mention of sawn timber being imported from Singapore and logs from Ulu Langat. There was also a local shortage of wood for the manufacture of charcoal. In 1894 miners at Sungei Besi were bringing charcoal from Klang.

The growth of industry and the associated growth of population led to the development of shops and businesses catering for the many wants of Kuala Lumpur. At the first rough census in 1884 the population of the town of Kuala Lumpur was reported to be 4,054. In 1895 it was estimated at 25,000. In those days there was no Kuala Lumpur newspaper (the *Malay Mail* made its appearance in 1896). The shopkeepers and other business men inserted their advertisements in the official *Selangor Gazette*, which began publication in 1890. These advertisements were designed to attract European rather than Asian custom, but they give a picture of European needs, at least, of that period. The modern reader, accustomed to a world of motor cars, notes the many advertisements for fodder, harness and other requisites for maintaining horse-drawn vehicles. The pony-trap was the gentleman's town conveyance of this period. The Chinese, as much as the Europeans, took pride in a smart turn-out. In 1889 we hear of a son of the late Capitan China driving a "four-in-hand drag". Petaling Street at Chinese New Year 1895 is described thus:—

> Lined on each side by stalls; crowded in every conceivable crook and crannie by Chinese; two continuous lines of carriages, gharries and rikishas — one young Chinese "blood" had a carriage and six with

> outriders — going in either direction; Chinese "bands" playing in the first floor of seemingly every house; a glaring sun, a blinding dust, and a strong odour of cooking etc floating around.

A public which as yet had no radiograms was invited to buy musical boxes. The advertisements are of course in the Victorian style, e.g.,

> Schultz's Patent Watchman's clocks, being of utmost importance where watchmen require to be punctual at their posts.

The advertisements for "flower oilcloth", "velvet table covers" and "fourpost iron bedsteads" are also in keeping with the period. But here and there is a touch of the idiom of a later age, e.g. "What goes with Brandy? Scott's Ginger Ale."

There were advertisements for oil lamps and water filters and these bring us to the question of light and water in Kuala Lumpur. Until about 1885 coconut oil was still generally used as fuel for lamps. In that year the Government put up iron lamp-posts with kerosine oil lamps to light the streets of Kuala Lumpur. This new equipment replaced wooden lamp-posts and coconut oil lamps in the town. The use of kerosine for lamps and presumably for cooking and other purposes must have made for easier living. But it also created a major fire risk. Shops began to stock kerosine in substantial quantities. In 1893 the Sanitary Board was considering various proposals for regulating the storage of kerosine. It had evidently become a major problem.

But a few years after kerosine had come into general use discussion began of the possibility of lighting the streets of Kuala Lumpur by the new invention, electricity. Despite kerosine lamps on iron lamp-posts, street lighting was most unsatisfactory. In 1889 Syers, the Superintendent of Police, was pressing for improved street lighting. In 1892 we hear of much dissatisfaction with the contractors who were responsible for maintaining the street lights. The labourers whose task it was to go round each day to trim and clean the lamps were slack in their duties. But the idea of electricity in the streets was too much for the Resident. In 1894 the minutes of the Sanitary Board record:—

> Read a minute from the British Resident regretting that he cannot advise or see the utility of Mr. G. E. V. Thomas's experimental scheme for lighting the town of Kuala Lumpur with electric light.

But the Chairman of the Sanitary Board (Venning) and other enthusiasts continued to press for a change-over to electricity. As regards the town the change had not been made by 1895. But in that year Kuala Lumpur railway station was illuminated by electricity, and the delighted guests at the opening ceremony staged an impromptu dance on the platform (see pp. 167-68).

Until the 1890's the population of Kuala Lumpur drew its water from wells. Each house had its own well. The health risks of this arrangement need no explanation. But so long as the water came from wells even the wealthier households had to filter and boil their drinking water. In 1888 a survey began for the construction of a water reservoir. The supply was planned for a population of 95,000, four times the actual population of that period. The supply of piped water began at some time between 1890 and 1894. In 1892 the Sanitary Board approved plans for the erection of a public bath-house between Petaling Street and Sultan Street with sections for both sexes. This decision seems to presuppose the provision of an ample water supply. Up to that time the poorer Chinese had paid a cent a head "to bathe at filthy wells in the same locality."

To return to the shops, minor industries and "personal service" businesses of Kuala Lumpur. A factory for the manufacture of ice and aerated waters was built in 1888: the factory was owned by "The Selangor Apothecaries Company", presumably pharmaceutical chemists. By 1893 there was at least one other chemist's shop in Kuala Lumpur owned by Maynard & Co., and later acquired by D. Maccreath. There was also a "Selangor Hairdressing Saloon" run by a French hairdresser, Monsieur Gideon Sabatier.

Sabatier had originally come to Malaya as a steward on a French mail steamer. During his time in Kuala Lumpur he turned his hand to several ventures. In addition to his business as coiffeur he tried to raise the level of catering in Kuala Lumpur to French standards. Since 1884 there had been a Government resthouse on or near the modern resthouse site behind the Selangor Club. In 1892 a letter to the *Selangor Journal* complained of the "gloomy appearance" of the resthouse dining room, described the bedrooms as "objects of horror" and the bathrooms as "slimy and smelling most objectionable". Moreover as Kuala Lumpur grew the resthouse proved too small and there were complaints that its rooms were always booked up. There were many demands for the establishment of a hotel but there was no first classs hotel up to 1895. In 1892, however, Monsieur Sabatier took over the resthouse dining room and provided a menu "à la carte" which was a great improvement on the meals previously served there.

Sabatier was not the first in the catering field. In 1890 a Mr J. M. Kenneally advertised the opening of a "Tiffin and Dining Room" in Java Street and solicited the "patronage of the

The Dispensary, 1895: D. Macreath took over the Kuala Lumpur business of Maynard & Co., Ltd, on 16 April, 1894: *Selangor Journal*, **3**, (24).

THE WONDER OF THE 19TH CENTURY.

PROFESSOR HAHHN & CO.'S

NON-EXPLOSIVE

KEROSENE OIL RECTIFIER.

In use for the last Four Years in
THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE AND GERMANY.

HIGHLY RECOMMENDED
to anyone using Kerosene, as an Invaluable Preparation for

MINIMISING THE RISK OF EXPLOSIONS,

REDUCING THE HEATING QUALITY,
so that the Bursting of Chimneys is Avoided.

No house should be without the Kerosene Oil Rectifier.

Half a bottle in a lamp will last for six months
if care is taken to prevent the reservoir of the lamp running dry.
AN ENORMOUS SAVING ON LAMP GLASSES.

NO DANGER FROM FIRE THROUGH OVERTURNED LAMPS,
if the Rectifier has been mixed with the Kerosine.

SAFETY FOR CHILDREN;
a guard against careless servants.

ONE OF THE GREATEST INVENTIONS OF THE AGE.

Thousands being sold daily in Singapore and Penang.

PRICE ONE DOLLAR PER BOTTLE.

A. C. HARPER & Co., Sole Agents for Selangor.

A possible method of dealing with the fire danger from kerosine: see text, p. 69, above: an advertisement from the *Selangor Journal*, **4**, (5).

European community." Kenneally's establishment was still going in 1895. In 1892 a Chinese grocer opened a "Refreshment Room" with "cold drink" in Hokkien Street (Old Market Square). The main centre of Chinese eating houses was Petaling Street.

The appearance of purveyors of cooked or manufactured food raised the problem of cleanliness in its preparation. No complaints are extant about the restaurants. But the bakeries of Kuala Lumpur were at one time a scandal. In a report of 1890 Syers relates that there were then three bakers in Kuala Lumpur — Ah Jin of Cross Street, Syed Mohamed (a Bengali) of Java Street and Ah Sing of High Street. Syers visited the last of these establishments:—

> Here I found bread being kneaded in a trough which apparently had not been cleaned since it was made. The table and other utensils in use were also extremely dirty, and the whole place ressembled a pig-stye rather than a bakery. The drainage is bad, and no attempt appears to have been made to keep the building clear of rubbish.

The water used in this bakery came from a well which was *believed* to be "untainted by the surrounding filth"; the clothing of the workers was "extremely dirty". Not long afterwards a Cinghalese established the "Selangor Bakery" in Java Street with staff imported from Ceylon. In his advertisements he claimed that his bread was "made according to the European system."

In 1891 the European community complained to the Governor that food in Kuala Lumpur was unduly expensive. Clementi Smith looked into this complaint and concluded that it was justified. Small fowls were said to cost 70 cents each, but another source gives the price of a fowl in 1891 as 30 cents. Other prices mentioned are fish at 20 cents a kati, mutton at $2 to $2.50 per pound and whisky at $1 per bottle. The Government had done its best to bring prices down. Railway freight rates for imported foodstuffs had been reduced to nominal amounts. The system of giving a monopoly (called a "farm") of the right to sell certain types of food in the market had been abandoned, but, as so often happens with Government measures designed to regulate local commerce, the results were unexpected. When the beef "farm" was abandoned, the price of beef rose from 11 to 18 cents per pound.

The main shopping centres of this period included Java Street (Mountbatten Road), Old Market Square, the southern part of Batu Road and Clarke Street which was the main centre of Chinese grocers and haberdashers who specialised in the European trade.

There was also a growing business community. In 1890 there was at least one representative in Kuala Lumpur of a British insurance company. There was a branch of the Straits Trading Company and several firms of contractors. In 1894 Kuala Lumpur was briefly visited by "M. A. Van Biema, a most eloquent gentleman, representing the New York Life Insurance Company." Archie Harper & Co advertised themselves as auctioneers, and Lim Kee Lee as agent for the Straits Steamship Company.

Banking.

Most important of all these new arrivals was the Chartered Bank of India Australia and China, a branch of which was established in Kuala Lumpur in 1888 after long negotiations between the bank and the authorities. In the early 1880's the notes of the "Oriental Bank" (not the modern bank of that name)[7] circulated in Selangor though the bank itself had no branch there. In 1884 the Oriental Bank failed and the Selangor Government redeemed the outstanding notes of the bank to avoid a crisis. This episode brought home the need of a satisfactory banking system in the State.

As we have explained, the traditional Chinese method of providing capital for development was through the channels of tin production and marketing. Financiers in Singapore and Malacca supplied food etc on credit to miners in Selangor and obtained repayment in tin. An associated method of capital development was the "farming" of taxes. The same financial interests entered into a contract with the State Government whereby they collected and retained all the proceeds of certain taxes, such as the duty on opium, which were closely related to the size of the mining population. In return the tax farmers paid the Government an agreed monthly sum, which did not vary if the taxes collected fell short of that sum or exceeded it. The tax farmers then had an inducement to expand mining production, and with it the tax revenues which they collected. They thus made a profit on their tax contract to add to the straightforward profits from mining. Moreover they could open mines on a profit-sharing basis with the working miners, run the mines at an apparent loss, and obtain some profit from the augmentation of their tax revenues.

By the mid-1880's these traditional methods of attracting capital began to prove inadequate to meet the needs of the

7. The old Oriental Bank was established at Bombay in 1841. The Singapore branch was opened in 1846, and issued its first local bank-notes (for $5 & $100) in May 1849. The Mercantile Bank opened up in Singapore in September, 1855, and the Chartered Bank followed in February, 1859.

rapidly expanding Selangor economy. They were closely linked with production of tin and could not attract money from lenders outside the tin indusry. Moreover borrowers in Selangor had no acceptable security to offer except the tin which they hoped to produce. In 1885 the Resident reported:—

> The want of banking facilities is severely felt by all classes of the community. Native traders and miners find it most difficult to obtain cash advances in the Colony, however valuable may be the houses and other property in Selangor which they can offer as security and they are consequently unable to purchase their goods in the best markets and at the cheapest rates, but are practically in the hands of a few Chinese and Malay traders in Singapore and Malacca, who supply them with provisions in exchange for consignments of tin.

The State Government did what it could to relieve the shortage of capital. In so far as it had surplus funds it made loans. But, until the railway had been completed in 1886, the Government had no large resources available. In any case business loans were not entirely a suitable use of public money. When the Kuala Lumpur tax "farms" came up for triennial re-letting in 1884 the Selangor Government deliberately assigned them to a Penang group of capitalists. It was hoped in this way to introduce capital from Penang, with which Selangor had previously had no connections. This introduction of Penang Hokkien tax farmers into Selangor "met with determined opposition from the previous holders of the farms and their adherents." These "previous holders" were Yap Ah Loy and his backers in Singapore who had come to regard the Selangor farms as automatically their perquisite. They were given the farms of the newly opened areas of Ulu Selangor and Ulu Langat as a consolation and in the hope that they would be active in opening mines in those areas. But they were not content. When the new farmers from Penang set about collecting taxes in the Kuala Lumpur District, the Government had to suppress "an organised attempt to interfere." Eventually however the incoming and outgoing tax farmers settled their differences by the admission of the latter to a share of the new contract. As a manoeuvre to bring in capital from Penang the arrangement was a success. The Resident reported "a considerable influx of Hokkien Chinese into the State, assisted by Penang capitalists, and attracted by the presence of Hokkien farmers at Kuala Lumpur." So far as the writer knows, this episode marks the first arrival of Hokkien Chinese in any numbers in Selangor.[8]

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8. "Hokkien Street," flanking the east side of Old Market Square, is shown on W. T. Wood's map of 1889. The name suggests the existence of a Hokkien quarter by this date at least, but though the street itself dates from before 1884, it might have been renamed between 1884 and 1889. By the latter year there was also a large area on the outskirts of the town set aside as a Hokkien cemetery (see p. 4, above).

The problem of inducing a reliable bank to open a branch in Kuala Lumpur remained. In 1888 negotiations with the Chartered Bank were well advanced. The bank asked for the following inducements — (1) Government balances to be deposited with the bank interest-free, (2) a site for a bank building to be granted without payment of premium, (3) the bank to share in the profits of the issue of copper coin, (4) the bank to take over "the existing advance business of the Government", and (5) general Government support for the bank. The Government refused proposal (3) and conceded the rest. On these terms a branch of the Charactered Bank was established at Kuala Lumpur in 1888. The bank was granted the site on which its present buildings stand because it was near the Police headquarters in Bluff Road and was thus easily protected. Until a building had been erected on this site (about 1891) the Bank was temporarily accommodated in a shophouse. According to contemporary evidence in the *Selangor Gazette* this shophouse was in Clarke Street. It has also been stated that it was in Market Street. It is possible the building occupied an entire lot running between Clarke Street at one end and Market Street at the other.

Over the fifteen years 1880-1895 the growing prosperity of Selangor had its ups and downs. A fall in the price of tin in 1884 produced a set-back. There was a recovery in the later 1880's and then another recession in 1890. It appears that in 1890 the Malayan banks restricted advances to their clients owing to the difficult financial situation in Europe. This change in bank policy combined with the general economic recession occassioned some difficulty in Selangor and Perak. The tax farmers had bid for the triennial farms in 1888 (for the period 1889-91) on optimistic assumptions about the continuation of the favourable trends of that year. When money became "tight" in 1890 the Governor noted that "the capitalists then found that they had so over-invested that they had not sufficient money even for the ordinary requirements of their trade or business." It proved, however, to be a temporary difficulty from which the Kuala Lumpur community soon recovered.

Another Kuala Lumpur banking enterprise deserves mention. In 1893 Venning, the State Treasurer, established a "Government Savings Bank" (following the example of Perak). This bank was to be a means of encouraging small savings; its surplus funds were deposited with the Chartered Bank. In the first year 188 accounts were opened and 29 closed. The deposits at the end of the year totalled $8,707. By 1895 deposits had risen to $24,160. Of 358 depositors 51 were Europeans, 67 Eurasians and 209 were Indians and Ceylonese. Evidently the savings bank

made no appeal to the Chinese at that time. Even at that early stage the bank had a scheme for $1 savings cards for children to complete with ten-cent stamps.

Land Administration.

The steadily growing population and prosperity of Kuala Lumpur made it essential that there should be a satisfactory system of land administration, for the town area at least. In Yap Ah Loy's time up to 1880 vaguely defined rights of occupation had served for title. This situation had not been greatly affected by the ineffectual essays in land administration of Douglas and Daly in the years 1880-1882. It is now time to review the gradual development of a satisfactory land system in Kuala Lumpur.

In Selangor, as in other Malay States in this early period of the "Residential system", land administration was a tentative and experimental affair. The reason for this fact was partly that in the Straits Settlements themselves the land system was in the process of reform. The was thus no established model ready to be transplanted to the Malay States by administrators trained in the Straits Settlements. The land problem in the Straits Settlements came to a head about 1880. An administrator, W. E. (later Sir William) Maxwell, was selected to become the expert on land reform. He was sent off to South Australia to study the "Torrens System" in the territory where it had been so successfully applied.

Maxwell was to succeed Swettenham as Resident of Selangor in 1889 and he deserves a word of introduction here. He was the son of Sir Peter Benson Maxwell, first Chief Justice of the Straits Settlements, and began his working career as a clerk in his father's chambers in Singapore. In 1869 he was appointed to the newly formed Straits Settlements Civil Service. After some service in Province Wellesley he took part in the campaign known as the "Perak War" in 1875-6 and not long after became Assistant Resident of Perak. Maxwell and the Resident of Perak, Hugh Low, devised Land Regulations for Perak in 1879. The basis of these regulations was title by government registration of occupation of land and the issue by government of a document of title. But there was no survey plan endorsed on the title since the resources for surveying holdings did not then exist. The Perak Land Regulations of 1879 were the model of the Selangor Land Regulations of the Douglas/Daly period. Between 1882 and 1889 these simple provisions were the land law of Selangor.

Maxwell, on his return from South Australia, became Commissioner of Lands in the Straits Settlements and set about introducing the Torrens system. This change took place about 1882-5. It appears that Maxwell's scheme differed little in essentials from the system which now exists in most parts of Malaya. Apart from many changes of detail the practical improvements were, (1) the linking of the registered title to a proper system of survey (as fast as this could be provided), (2) the registration of title by categories (urban, agricultural land, etc.) and by localities. Previously, at any rate in Selangor up to 1889, titles were issued in one continuous series for all types of land in all parts of the State. There were no registers for mukims and sub-districts.

During the period 1882 to 1889, when Rodger was Commissioner of Lands in Selangor, the Land Regulations of 1882 were administered but without very much attention to the imperfections of the system. We have little to go on beyond Maxwell's characteristically acid comments on the situation which he found in 1889. Rodger at least brought order into the Land Office after the chaos of the Daly period. He travelled extensively up and down Selangor on horseback and on foot to find out for himself which areas were occupied. Incidentally Rodger made himself an expert on Chinese mining questions, on which he wrote some excellent reports. It may be doubted whether, in the very early stages of government survey in the mid-1880's Rodger could have introduced Maxwell's improvements, even if he had known of them. Rodger, of course, combined the duties of Chief Magistrate of Selangor with those of Commissioner of Lands. Later in the 1880's these functions were divided. Another barrister, Conway Belfield, succeeded Rodger as Chief Magistrate. L. P. Ebden succeeded him in the Land Office.

Land tenure in Kuala Lumpur town could not be put on a satisfactory basis until two preliminary matters had been settled. First, it was necessary to have adequate survey plans. Survey work, begun in Daly's time, continued for years up to the late 1880's before the arrears were overtaken. Secondly some settlement had to be reached on the claims made by Yap Ah Loy and other Chinese leaders to the ownership of a great part of the centre of Kuala Lumpur. Mention has been made of Yap Ah Loy's claim to ownership of Old Market Square and how that was settled by recognition of his title for life only. But many other unsettled matters remained at Yap Ah Loy's death in 1885 concerning the sites of his many houses and shops. In 1880 it had been reported that he owned 64 houses out of the total of 200 in Kuala Lumpur at that time. When Daly began to lay out Kuala Lumpur anew, Ah Loy was given 108 lots of land as

his property by right of existing occupation. This was two-thirds of the building land then in occupation in Kuala Lumpur. Ah Loy paid no premia for these lots but he was required to pay quit rent to the Government. It was not until 1892, seven years after Ah Loy's death, that the Resident could record the final settlement of the "long-standing question of Yap Ah Loy's town property."

A quickening in the tempo of land administration came in 1889 when Maxwell himself arrived as Resident in succession to Swettenham and set about introducing the Torrens system of land title. Apart from the special problem of Yap Ah Loy's town land, the general situation was unsatisfactory. Even as late as 1892 there is a reference to "the chaos which existed as to the position on the ground of valuable town leases." This was a legacy from the period when titles had been issued before the land had been surveyed. Even where there were plans of the land endorsed on the title, these were sometimes wildly inaccurate. Ebden, in one of his reports, mentions two titles issued in respect of land in Ampang Street and endorsed with plans of land in Batu Road. He adds grimly "similar cases are numerous." The ownership of land was equally confused. In one case the same lot in Batu Road had been included in two different titles but both registered owners of the titles disclaimed ownership of the lot. Ownership was claimed by a man whose title to it had been cancelled a year before for failure to pay rent. Eventually order was achieved in the Land Office, but it must be admitted that land administration in Kusla Lumpur was one of the failures of the Swettenham regime. The root of the trouble was the over-rapid alienation (or registration of existing ownership) of land. This rush in turn was due to the fact that for most of the period from 1882 to 1889 Kuala Lumpur was growing fast and enjoying a boom. Meticulous land administration, with the resources then available, would have held up economic progress.

During this time land values were rising and speculation was rife. The rise in land values was partly the result of economic development in Kuala Lumpur and partly of government road construction and public works, which enhanced the value of adjoining land. Thus in 1883, Swettenham's first year in Kuala Lumpur, the State Government spent $100,000 on urban improvements. From this time onwards land for building was usually alienated in lots of about 2,400 square feet. The value of these

lots naturally varied a great deal according to their situation. But, with this reservation, it is interesting to quote land values mentioned incidentally in the records:-

Year	Amount paid for a building lot in central Kuala Lumpur
1884	$266
1888	462
1890	270
1892	125
1894	365 - 400
1895	250 - 320

It may be correct to read into these figures three influences. First, the late 1880's were a period of boom, followed by a slump in 1890, and a revival about 1894. Secondly, about 1890 Government began to impose building conditions to damp down speculation. The purchaser of a lot was required within a year to erect a building worth at least $800 on his land. This rule discouraged the bidding of fancy prices. Thirdly, the most valuable land in the very centre of the town had been sold by 1890. The figures after 1890 are of Government sales of new land at some small distance from the main commercial centre.

The story has been told how Douglas and Daly were tempted to buy land as a speculation. Unfortunately the Government issued no adequate instructions prohibiting the repetition of such conduct. Swettenham himself when Resident bought and sold two lots in Kuala Lumpur. The instructions issued, with Colonial Office approval, merely prohibited "wholesale jobbing in lands" by Government officials; "it was not read as prohibiting *bona fide* investment within limits". With this half-hearted ambiguity it is not surprising that government officials went on buying and selling land.

The Resident of Selangor in 1891 gave this account of what the land records showed:—

> It would not be right to leave this subject without a few remarks on the manner in which the transfer register has been kept. It contains a column showing the consideration money in the case of each sale, but that column has been very imperfectly kept, and it is a remarkable fact that in almost all cases where transactions between private individuals have taken place the amount of the consideration money is shown, while in the majority of cases where Government Officials have been parties to transactions the amount of the sale or purchase is not recorded....
>
> The result of my investigations was to show that Government Officials of all classes have trafficked largely in land in the State of Selangor and....in many cases the names of officers' wives, children and other relations crop up on the records.... It is a reasonable deduction that there are still certain Officials who are infringing the recognised rules as to holding land and sometimes under the shelter of the names of others.

In view of this evidence of general land speculation among officials, Spence Moss, the railway construction engineer, was perhaps unfortunate to be made the scapegoat or example of them all. But in his case, unlike the others, the full facts were elicited by an official enquiry.

As railway construction engineer Spence Moss had advance knowledge of the land required for railway extensions and he could use his position as technical adviser to influence the choice between one site and another. In these circumstances it was indiscreet of him, if not dishonest, to buy land adjacent to railway schemes. Yet it was established that he had purchased 17 lots of land at Klang in the name of his brother-in-law and that this land was likely to be needed for the construction of a railway wharf when the railway line was carried across the Klang River to Klang town on the south bank. There was also a less clear-cut case of a purchase by Spence Moss of five lots of land in Kuala Lumpur, and more later, knowing that one of the possible routes of the railway extension to Pudu must pass over or near this land. He admitted that his advice on the siting of this extension had been influenced by ownership of this land.

The Spence Moss enquiry was an unpleasant business. Maxwell was no longer in Selangor but Spence Moss felt that Maxwell before his transfer had instituted a special enquiry into his case because of their quarrel over the scheme for an extension of the railway to Pahang (see pp. 52-53). But Spence Moss's case was probably the worst of them all (at least let us hope so). With regret, for Spence Moss had "done excellent work", the Selangor Government dispensed with his services. In 1896 a rule was made that government officials might not own land except houses for their own occupation and land acquired by inheritance.

There was a good deal of drainage and reclamation work to be done in Kuala Lumpur in the 1880's. The major problem was the winding course of the Klang River below the centre of Kuala Lumpur (v. maps of 1889 and 1895)[9]. As a result of these many twists and turns flood water coming down from upstream of Kuala Lumpur piled up in the town. In 1884 the river was widened and its course altered near the Gombak/Klang river junction. In 1888 the course of the river between Market Street and McArthur Street was straightened and the old river bed filled in. But below this point the river crossed under High Street just below the Police Station and meandered on in many curves. Severe flooding continued until well into the twentieth

9. On pp. 41 and 83.

century. A prominent member of the Kuala Lumpur bar who first came to the town in 1913 claimed to have swum from the Selangor Club to the Secretariat without touching ground.

The land on the river banks was also improved. In 1887 Swettenham in his annual report mentions that "the unsightly wooden premises at the backs of the houses abutting on the river have been removed, and the muddy bank where they used to stand has been turfed."

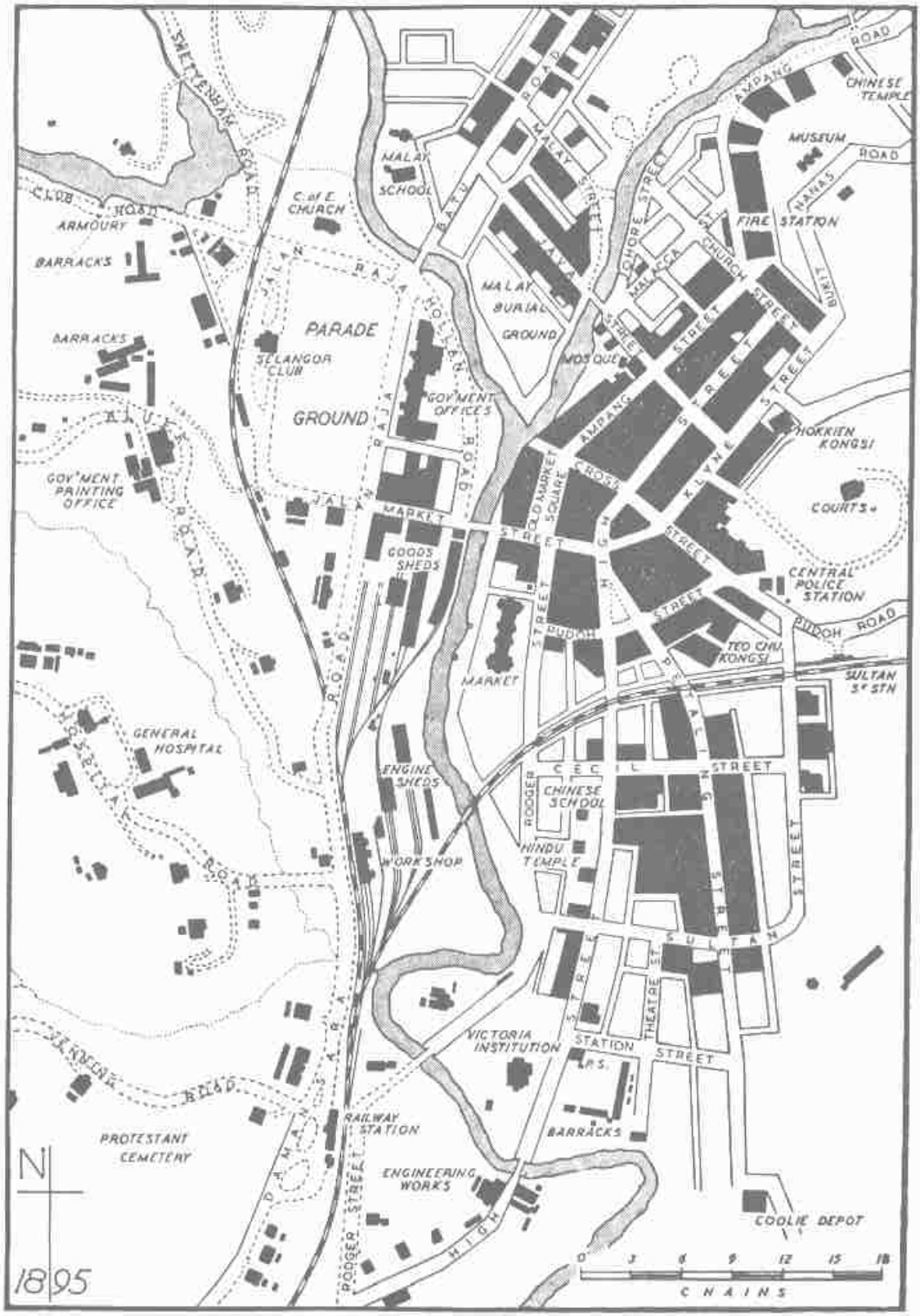
The original landing place for boats arriving at Kuala Lumpur was the point at which Paterson Simons's building now stands, where Cross Street runs down to the river. This landing place had been improved in 1881. A new landing place below Market Street was built in 1885.

It is related that in 1880 the only bridge across the Klang River was a felled tree trunk. Very little of the town then lay on the west bank. There is a tradition that the Malay quarter north of Java Street on the east bank extended to the Malay Street area on the opposite west bank. There was a Malay cemetery where the main mosque of Kuala Lumpur now stands at the junction of the two rivers. There were some Chinese houses and gardens in the area of what is now the Padang and it is said that Ah Loy had his prison on the west bank near the Chartered Bank site. But this amount of settlement would not have made it inconvenient to be without a bridge. In any case the technical resources to build such a bridge did not exist before 1880.

The Market Street bridge seems to have been the first to be built under the British regime. In 1883 there is mention of a "new bridge opposite to the Capitan China's house" (on the Mercantile Bank site). It was a 150-foot timber bridge, replaced in 1888 by a 90-foot lattice girder bridge.

The next link between the two banks was upstream of the junction of the two rivers and therefore crossed them both. These two bridges were on the same sites as their modern counterparts (the Whiteaway Laidlaw Corner bridge and the bridge over the Gombak river in front of the Supreme Court). They were built in timber in 1884 and replaced (at a cost of $54,000) by wider iron bridges in 1890.

In 1883 a bridge was built to carry the High Street over the Klang River on its old course. This crossing was just below where the High Street Police Station now stands. The High Street then continued straight on (there being no railway station on the present site until 1892) to join up with Brickfields Road. The High Street bridge was rebuilt in 1888 and again in 1893.



Kuala Lumpur in 1895. Redrawn by K. M. Foong from a map prepared by the the Federal Town Planning Department (1950). See also the map of Kuala Lumpur in 1889, reproduced on p. 41, above.

In order to make room for the growing town it was necessary to reclaim the swamps which surrounded it. In Yap Ah Loy's time there was a swamp to the north of the town (where the Fire Station now stands), a swamp to the east of it (the Pudu Bus station area) and a swamp to the south of it (the southern end of the modern High Street). A certain amount of reclamation had been done in these areas by 1885. But what is now the Selangor Chinese Recreation Club ground was still a lake fed by the Pudu River. Reclamation work went on as opportunity offered. In 1893 it was noted that the smell from rubbish dumped and burnt to fill in swampy areas was so bad that some other method would have to be found.

In 1880 the present "Padang" was not the level and even sward which Kuala Lumpur now knows so well. It was then a clearing used for vegetable cultivation and fruit trees. It sloped away into swampy ground at the Chartered Bank end and at the northern end also. Syers, the Superintendent of Police, used to shoot snipe at the northern end of the Padang in the early morning. The Police used the centre part of this area as a parade ground. So it became known as "the Parade Ground" ("Club Padang" is of later origin that 1895). Up to 1890 comparatively little was done to level and improve the Parade Ground. During the building boom of the 1880's a brick-kiln was built on or near it. A row of Chinese houses faced on to it from the site where the Government Offices now stand until these were demolished in 1894 as a preliminary to building the offices.

The Parade Ground was, however, the centre of the European quarter of Kuala Lumpur. In 1884 the Selangor Club was founded as a social and cricket club and to provide a central reading room. The name "Spotted Dog" is of very early origin. It is related that Mrs Syers had two Dalmatian hounds which ran behind her carriage and that these "Plum-pudding dogs" suggested the name for the Club. Another explanation is that the first emblem of the Club was a badly drawn spotted leopard. At all events the first Selangor Club building was put up soon after 1884 at the north end of the Padang. It consisted of a clubhouse and a pavilion. The stables, a necessary adjunct of the club at that time, stood where St Mary's Church now stands. Cricket received an immense fillip with the arrival in Kuala Lumpur of E.W. (later Sir Ernest) Birch, who came to act as Resident after the departure of Maxwell in 1892. Ernest Birch, son of the J. W. W. Birch who was murdered as Resident of Perak in 1875, had come to the Straits Settlements about 1880. His prowess in Singapore as a cricketing cadet received passing mention in the official records. It was perhaps no accident

that during his time in Kuala Lumpur "the raising and turfing of a portion of the Parade Ground was completed, the cricket pitch was formed and put in good order, and the swamp at the lower end of the ground near the Chartered Bank was partially filled."

The upkeep and improvement of the Padang was a responsibility of the Sanitary Board from 1890 onwards. The levelling of the entire Padang was completed by about 1895. It was then beginning to wear its modern aspect. The second Selangor Club building had been put up about 1890 on the centre of the site on which the modern Tudor-style building now stands. This second Selangor Club was a two-storey building, the upper room being used for dances and concerts:—

> On the flat, alongside the railway line, is the Selangor Club ("The Spotted Dog"), an isolated building with a square tower at one corner, the latter features being suggestive of an impersonated cantle or a discoloured ruin which has strayed against the Club and has decided to remain there.

The Chartered Bank had occupied its present site since 1890 and St Mary's Church since 1894. The present government offices "in the Moorish style of architecture" were rising in 1895 under the superintendence of the architect, Mr Norman of the Public Works Department[10].

The Padang had already become the centre of all games. In addition to the cricket "square" in the centre, there were two tennis courts near the Club and football pitches at the north and south ends. A request had been made for the laying of a cinder track for running. There was a bandstand on the Padang and a fountain. Asian as well as European teams were using the football pitches, and their allocation between so many demands was becoming a problem.

One other change in land use remains to be mentioned. As has been stated, the triangular piece of land between the Klang and Gombak Rivers was originally used as a Malay cemetery. This cemetery was closed for burials in 1892.

Law and Order.

After the brief Sumatran revolt of 1875 there was never the danger of a serious disturbance in or near Kuala Lumpur. The Pahang revoult of 1891-92 caused some excitement in Selangor.

10. He was not directly responsible for the "Moorish style". He had drawn plans for a classical building in the rennaissance style. C. E. Spooner, then Director of Public Works, accepted his general lay-out of the building, but made him change the form of decoration, believing an oriental style to be more in keeping with a tropical environment. Spooner had previously served in Ceylon, not in Egypt, as is sometimes suggested.

Syers and a party of Selangor Police went off to help in operations against the rebel leader, the Orang Kaya Semantan. The British Resident of Selangor took temporary charge of the Bentong area to relieve the Resident of Pahang (Rodger) of routine responsibilities. But the Pahang trouble was soon over.

There was, of course, always the continuing problem of maintaining law and order and suppressing ordinary crime and minor disorder. Up to 1880 Yap Ah Loy had solved this problem by exercising authority through the "secret societies" of which he and his associates were the leaders in Selangor. This secret society system could itself beget disorder if two rival groups of societies were represented in the same area. In Kuala Lumpur the Hai San group of societies were predominant and their opponents were not strong enough to make a fight of it. Nonetheless in October 1879 when riots broke out at Taiping (in Perak) between Hai San and Ghi Hin factions there were fears of repercussions in Kuala Lumpur. The Police detachment in the town was strengthened. But this alarm passed off with no more than a minor fracas in Ulu Langat.

There is no record of how Yap Ah Loy worked his secret society system in Selangor (as will be related, it is in dispute whether the system existed). But the Malacca riots of December 1875 provide a good illustration of the workings and limitations of the secret society conciliation system. The trouble in Malacca began when members of rival societies quarrelled and fought at a Malay "joget". The only man who had been injured reported the assault to the headman of his society, as was customary. But before the headmen could settle the matter, some friends of the injured man attacked the original aggressor and then two of his friends. Tension was becoming acute. The situation was too difficult for settlement between minor headmen. A financial potentate, the manager of the opium farm, was invited to arbitrate — he was "a very influential man in settling all such quarrels." But he gave up the attempt and the situation degenerated into a major riot which was eventually quelled only by large-scale police action.

When the British took over in Kuala Lumpur in 1880 they failed to recognise the essential facts of the situation (none of them could speak Chinese). Yap Ah Loy and the other secret society headmen in Selangor admitted that they themselves and every Chinese in Selangor had been admitted to a society on first arrival in the Straits Settlements from China. But they denied that there was any secret society *organisation* (in the form of local "lodges") in Selangor. In fact there were lodges which met secretly.

Syers and Rodger (who was acting Resident when the question was considered) were too easily led to accept the story told them by Yap Ah Loy and other Chinese leaders. The experts in the Chinese Protectorate in Singapore knew what the true facts of the Selangor situation were but the authorities in Selangor would not accept the Protectorate view of the matter. The correspondence is of some interest and is reproduced at Appendix A. Selangor did not have a Protector of Chinese of its own until about 1890.

The British authorities in Selangor were the more easily led to accept Yap Ah Loy's account of the situation because Yap Ah Loy and his friends gave them help in supressing secret societies. They missed the point that Ah Loy's co-operation was directed to suppressing new societies which were intruding on his territory.

The secret society problem became more acute about 1890. In Selangor it had always been the policy to declare all secret societies unlawful. But in the Straits Settlements for twenty years up to 1889 the authorities were content with registration of societies. When the law was changed in the Straits Settlements and measures taken for suppressing secret societies there, the organisers moved into the Malay States. They arrived at a propitious moment. In 1890 Selangor, like the rest of Malaya, was entering a slump period. An observer noted that Kuala Lumpur at this time was "full of Chinese who had no employment. These people loaf about the Gambling Farm and obtain a precarious livelihood by begging and stealing as opportunity offers." The fight against secret societies in Selangor went on with fair success until 1895.

The evidence is scanty but there are signs that the nature and function of secret societies was changing. Up to the early 1880's the societies had been the main Chinese organisation for political control of their own community, the provision of capital for mining, the relief of poverty and sickness and the maintenance of law and order. But, from 1890 onwards the societies appear more in their modern guise of criminal bodies extorting "protection money" by threat of violence. In view of their formal "illegality" it is difficult to know now whether the wealthy Chinese continued to play a leading part in the societies. But one has the impression that the wealthy "towkays" dropped out — in fact if not in form — and that a more criminal type of leader took over.

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11. See Purcell "The Chinese in Malaya", 1948, p. 116.

The criminal aspect of the societies had, perhaps, always been latent in the older system but it is scarcely likely that in the 1870's men like Yap Ah Loy used the societies to extort money from the wealthy class, that is from themselves.

Although the British authorities in Selangor failed to recognise the true position of the Chinese notables as secret society headmen, they did appreciate and make use of their influence in keeping the peace among the Chinese. In particular they found that fighting among the miners on the mines around Kuala Lumpur was more quickly settled by inviting the Capitan China to intervene than by sending out a police detachment.

The incidence of general crime in Kuala Lumpur depended partly on the number of criminals who had moved in on the town from elsewhere. In 1892 Syers wrote,

> There does not appear to be any habitual criminal class in Kuala Lumpur but we are constantly invaded by criminals from the Straits [Settlements] and other places. In addition to these many of the miners are quite willing to turn their hands to thieving when their legitimate employment is unremunerative.

1894 was a particularly bad year beacuse one Li Choi and his gang moved in on Kuala Lumpur. Syers reported that

> robberies from European houses, Government offices and other places were almost of nightly occurrence, and the whole neighbourhood was simply in the hands of a well-organised gang who carried on their depradations with impunity.

But Syers was an efficient police officer. He drove the gang out of Kuala Lumpur and later in 1895 arrested Li Choi and other ringleaders. Li Choi, who was believed to have committed nine murders, was sentenced to death. At his trial he admitted that his spoils had included no less than three Government safes.

1892 was also a bad year by comparison with any except 1894-95, the year of Li Choi. In 1892 there had been a wave of burglaries in Kuala Lumpur. A gang of Singapore counterfeiters moved in and "reaped a good harvest" before they were caught. There were eight murders and nine gang-robberies in this year. Syers commented "Kuala Lumpur is overstocked with rascals."

Before leaving police problems, a last word on Syers. He was a brilliant police officer. Even the sour Douglas in 1878 paid tribute to "the great ability, intelligence and tact displayed by Mr Syers who has been able to transform the undisciplined rabble he took command of in 1875 into a Military Police Force quite equal to the performance of any duties ordinarily required

of them." Swettenham also thought highly of Syers and noted that "he commanded the confidence of the Chinese." Rodger's opinion of him appears from the fact that he made him acting collector (District Officer) of Ulu Langat in 1884 and later borrowed him to organise the Police force of Pahang (Rodger had just then become the first British Resident of Pahang). In 1896 Syers became the first Commissioner of the newly established Malay States Police Force. In July 1897, while shooting Pahang, he followed a wounded *sĕladang* into a thicket and was gored to death. Syers must rank with Swettenham and Rodger as one of the ablest British officers of the first generation in Selangor and also as a leading figure in the public life of Kuala Lumpur. He should also be considered the father of the F.M.S. Police Force.

Judicial machinery in Selangor up to 1895 was notable for its simplicity. Each Collector was Magistrate for his District. Up to 1882 the Resident presided over a superior court for the trial of serious offences thoughout the State. After 1882 Rodger, as "Chief Magistrate", became the principal judical officer. In 1885 he was succeeded by Conway Belfield as Chief Magistrate.

On the civil side the Chief Magistrate was assisted by three Malay and Chinese assessors "in cases involving the examination of complicated partnerships and trading accounts." By 1892 the number of Asian assessors had risen to five. The Capitan China and Towkay Ah Yeok were assessors for "cases regulated by Chinese custom"; Raja Laut and Raja Bot assisted in Muslim matrimonial and other cases; Tambusamy Pillai was assessor for Indian cases, especially the examination of accounts kept in Tamil. Chinese wills gave rise to some knotty problems. The Selangor Government obtained advice from the British Consul General in Canton and published in the Gazette his note on "The Use of Wills among the Chinese" in 1892.

The State Council enacted such legislation as was required. Rodger and Belfield, the successive Chief Magistrates, were both barristers. But up to 1895 no lawyers were allowed to practise before the courts of Selangor. In these circumstances "petition writers" thrived as unqualified legal advisers. In 1892 regulations were made requiring petition writers to register themselves. Of the five names of petition writers which the writer has traced, two were apparently European or Eurasian (John E. Baker and M. R. Travers Oldfield); the others were Indian.

The Medical Problem.

We have mentioned the appalling hospital conditions which Swettenham found when he took over in the autumn of 1882. Ah Loy had built a "hospital" in which the sick could lie while their disease ran its natural course. The patients were given rice to eat but there was little or no medical attention. The size of Ah Loy's hospital in the High Sreet is indicated by the fact that at one time in 1880 there were 28 patients in it. The cost of maintaining this hospital was met by levying a tax of $1 on every pig slaughtered on the mines around Kuala Lumpur. Douglas had plans for building a new hospital and solicited subscriptions from the mine headmen.

During the years 1882 to 1895 hospital arrangements were greatly improved but they remained pitifully inadequate. In 1883 a "General Hospital" and a "Pauper Hospital" were built, adjacent to each other, each with 40 beds. They are said to have been "near the old Gaol", which was somewhere in the Bluff Road area. It is probable that both were on the modern Tanglin Hospital site in Young Road. In the period 1889-90 two new hospitals were built to replace those of 1883. The new "General Hospital" was what is now called the Tanglin Hospital. The new Pauper Hospital seems to have been on or near the modern General Hospital site on the Pahang Road.

The "Pauper Hospital" of this period was for the treatment of destitute tin miners and others labourers, usually chronic or incurable cases. Some distinction had to be made however between the incurable cases and the others in order to prevent the Pauper Hospital becoming fully and permanently occupied by incurable cases only. In 1894 a special Taiwah Ward for incurables was built at the Pauper Hospital. It was to be managed by a committee of Chinese over which a government chairman presided. The building cost $7,000. Medical treatment was provided as part of the ordinary public medical service. But the cost of upkeep of the patients was met by making over to the management committee all government revenues from the registration of brothels and their inmates and from the weighing of tin. It was originally intended that the inmates of the Taiwah should be shipped back to China when they were fit enough to travel. But this part of the plan was abandoned owing to difficulties of repatriation.

These arrangements are an interesting example (and there are others) of the fusion of Chinese tradition and European welfare systems. As we have seen the Chinese miners had made

some sort of provision for the sick long before the British took over. In later years we have committees and other European machinery grafted on to the Chinese system.

In the Pauper Hospital treatment and accommodation were free. In the General Hospital there were three classes of wards with daily charges of $3, $1.50 and 20 cents.

The General and Pauper Hospitals were run on European lines and they provided European medical treatment. But the Chinese preference for their own medicine was strong. Yap Ah Loy himself was sick for months before his death but refused the attentions of the government doctor, preferring to treat himself with the Chinese medicines which he had retailed as a shopkeeper in his early days in Kuala Lumpur. As the Europeans developed their medical services (available to patients of all races) the Chinese felt the need to set up a hospital of their own. In 1892 the Capitan China, Yap Kwan Seng, at his own expense established a Chinese hospital known as the "P'ui Shin T'ong". It had two Chinese doctors on its staff and cost $4-5,000 p.a. to run. In 1895 this hospital was expanded and its upkeep taken over by the whole Chinese community by means of voluntary contributions. It then cost $8-9,000 p.a. The hospital consisted of two wards housing 200 beds and it was situated on the Pudu Road. An official report describes it as a hospital and dispensary for the practice of "native pathological principles entirely under the supervision of their own doctors." The head of the government medical services praised its cleanliness and its administrative arrangements.

Despite the establishment of this stronghold of Chinese medicine, European medicine was gaining ground. The medical report for 1893 says that, except among newly arrived immigrants, there was greater willingness to use European medicines

> Several protests have reached me from local chemists, that their trade has considerably fallen off among the lower class of natives in consequence of the free distribution of medicines by the State dispensaries.

Two other aspects of the medical services deserve brief mention. There was a mental ward in which most of the patients were Chinese "suffering from melancholia in its various stages." There were also four ambulance carts drawn by bullocks to bring in miners who were seriously ill. Illness among miners was far more severe than among other sections of the population. Thus in 1894, 21.8% of all miners admitted to hospital eventually died there; the death rate for patients drawn from all other occupations was only 5.8%.

It is now time to pass from medical services to the diseases which they had to fight. It is a grim story. The hospitals were never large enough to meet the demand. References to overcrowding recur throughout the medical reports of these years. The rate at which the demand for hospital accommodation increased appears from the following figures of patients treated at hospitals in Kuala Lumpur:—

Year	Chinese	Malays
1886	2,523	219
1887	6,025	227
1888	6,195	214
1889	5,379	327
1890	5,026	343
1891	5,019	275
1892	8,009	457

The main epidemic diseases were beri-beri, dysentry, malaria, cholera and smallpox. The hospital death-rate among in-patients in 1888 was 19.9%. This was the price of rapid economic development. Swettenham, writing his annual report for 1888, described the situation as follows:—

> Hospitals terribly overcrowded; 40,000 Chinese immigrants introduced to a most trying climate and hard work where only the fittest survive; hospital buildings and staff unable to meet the demand on their resources; the Government labouring to improve sanitation in the dwellings of an apathetic people who do not yet understand the value of the simplest precautions, and regard death and disease with the views of fatalists, making for the hospitals only when they are beyond the reach of medical skill.

This last theme of "too late, too late" alternates with the lament about overcrowding in the dead march of official reports on hospital conditions at this time. A medical report on the Pauper Hospital in 1891 records that out of 3,200 patients admitted to the hospital during the year, 19 died in the admission room and 54 more within 24 hours of admission. But the average duration of a patient's illness *before* admission to the hospital was 73 days. Swettenham, reporting in 1887, explains that:—

> the death returns of the hospitals are swelled by a large proportion of patients who die within 24 hours of admission, crawling or being carried to the hospitals when literally in extremis.

In 1892 some two dozen "hospital visitors", mostly Chinese notables, were appointed. This move undoubtedly helped to diminish the reluctance of their own community to use the hospitals in good time.

The most severe of the epdemics was beri-beri, the causes of which were then unknown. The number of cases and the death-rate speak for themselves:—

Year	No of cases treated in hospital in Selangor	Hospital Date-rate
1883	191	51%
1884	308	22%
1885	658	12%
1886	866	17%
1887	1,572	15%
1888	2,079	21%
1889	1,522	22%
1890	1,600	18%

By 1894 the number of cases had risen to 2,817 and the hospital death rate was 24%. Puzzled doctors noted that there was little or no beri-beri among the inmates of the gaols (where presumably the diet scale by some fortunate chance was well-balanced). But beri-beri remained a scourge and a mystery until well after 1895.

Immigrants from south China brought cholera with them during the boom of the late 1880's. At about the same time a severe outbreak of smallpox was sweeping across Malaya. It was no respecter of persons — Yam Tuan Antah of Negri Sembilan died of it in 1888. But in the case of smallpox a means of prevention was known. The difficulty here was to induce the population to submit to vaccination. A few years before, Raja Mahmud, a close friend of Swettenham and a leading member of the Selangor aristocracy, had resigned his government post rather than organise a compulsory vaccination campaign among his people. But there were more progressive leaders at Kuala Lumpur. Raja Bot for one trained as a vaccinator in order to help in the campaign of 1890. The Capitan China rounded up his community for a weekly vaccination session at his house. But even in 1892 the Tamil population of Kuala Lumpur was still so averse to vaccination that their leader, Tambusamy Pillai, advised house to house visiting by vaccinators backed by police. Nonetheless vaccination was sufficiently widespread to prevent any serious outbreak of smallpox in Kuala Lumpur. The vaccination campaign provides an interesting example of prominent public figures emerging in a new role as health reformers. It is difficult to visualise Yap Ah Loy having done so much even ten years before.

Syphilis was another scourge of Kuala Lumpur at this time. As other diseases, such as beri-beri, brought more patients to the hospitals, syphilis was found to be a "complication" in many

cases. A medical report on the Kuala Lumpur General Hospital in 1893 stated:

> A large number of the women admitted to this ward suffered from venereal disease. Those from the Chinese brothels were generally in a very advanced stage of the disease, owing to absolute neglect.

A report of 1892 mentions finding three cases of secondary syphilis in one brothel. Men who contracted the disease usually went to Chinese doctors in the first instance and were perhaps able to obtain relief, though not a cure, in the less severe cases; thereafter, for a time, they were themselves a source of further infection, while in addition no action was taken again the primary focus.

Syphilis, like so much of the illness in Kuala Lumpur in this period, must be regarded as a problem of social administration as much as of medical science. We have told how the campaign against smallpox nearly foundered on ignorance. Beriberi was the result of an unbalanced diet in the mining camps. Syphilis could hardly fail to exist as an epidemic disease so long as a large proportion of the male population resorted to prostitutes for lack of wives. Here too economic development had run ahead so fast that it had created a situation in which all else was out of balance.

It would be wrong to blame Yap Ah Loy and the British administrators who succeeded him for tolerating brothels and thus perhaps facilitating the spread of syphilis. If they had outlawed brothels at that stage in the social development of Kuala Lumpur they would merely have driven the traffic underground, and thus lost the opportunity of medical inspection and other supervision which they introduced. Given the huge preponderance of males in the Chinese population there was bound to be prostitution on a large scale. The administrators chose to accept that fact and to attempt to control it. The mid-twentieth century will condemn them on moral if not on health grounds. But their world of the late nineteenth century did not.

Yap Ah Loy in the days of his rule in Kuala Lumpur had provided all public services as a personal enterprise — police, prisons, hospital, market, gambling booth and brothels. In 1884 he was reported to have some 300 Chinese women in the brothel quarter between Pudu Road and Petaling Street. They earned about $2 per month each. During Yap Ah Loy's lifetime the British administrators, with some qualms, turned a blind

eye on this particular business venture of the Capitan China. In 1885, after his death, they began to investigate Yap Ah Loy's brothels and were appalled. A medical officer stated:—

> the houses are so soddened with dirt and filth that they are past cleaning. . . . the rooms in which the poor women live are much worse than pig-styes and so dark that lamps are in use all day.

Syers also looked into the brothels from the Police point of view and reported:—

> At present there are over a 100 prostitutes in the Capitan's buildings; the room for each is so small that it is only five feet by five feet and all the women are cramped up without ventilation.

These building were closed and the women were moved to more desirable properties belonging to the late Capitan China in High Street. Medical inspection and registration with the police were instituted. Business as usual went briskly on.

In 1890 there were 39 registered brothels in Kuala Lumpur containing 533 Chinese, 24 Japanese and 4 Tamil women. 1890 however was a slump year and the number of brothels was ten less than in the year before. Syers reported "very few complaints against the Brothel Keepers, all the women appear to be well-treated." The women now reported monthly to the police who had photographs of them for identification. In 1892 the number of registered brothels had risen again to 45 with 26 Japanese, 798 Chinese, 3 Malay and 2 Tamil women — an increase of 268 on the previous year. During 1892, 23 women left the brothels to get married. There had been no complaints to the Police but, ominously, four women had committed suicide. In 1893 the number of brothels rose to 50. In the same year a "Women and Girls Protection Regulation" had been made to bring about various improvements in brothel conditions, especially in the standards of accommodation. But it was reckoned that it would be a work of years to make the ordinance fully effective.

So long as the women stayed in the brothels without complaint the Government did not interfere. But from time to time women ran away. It then became necessary to give them refuge from their former employers. It was apparently this problem which led to the development of a social conscience about the prostitution question as a whole. In 1895 a room was rented at 115 High Street, near the brothel quarter, as a refuge. But asylum so near the brothels proved ineffective. The Government then put up a bungalow as a home for the women in the grounds of the Roman Catholic Mission at Bukit Nanas. 86 women and children were rescued in 1895 and three Chinese women

were prosecuted for detaining prostitutes against their will. In 1896 the Government converted the former museum building into a larger home. The moving spirit in the whole campaign was Reverend Father Letessier, head of the Roman Catholic Mission in Kuala Lumpur.

A purely medical problem was the world epidemic of influenza which reached Kuala Lumpur in 1890. The Resident noted an odd fact:—

> Almost all those who suffered from influenza in Kuala Lumpur lived either in the town or on the flat, while those who occupied houses on the surrounding hills were unaffected by the complaint, almost without exception.

The various measures described in the field of health and welfare were the result and, by example, perhaps the cause also of the growth of a "civic consciousness", at any rate among the more prosperous classes in Kuala Lumpur. But until 1890 any alliance between official initiative and public support had to be worked out *ad hoc* and usually on an informal basis. But situations of this kind tend in time to create for themselves an institutional framework of formal organisation.

The decision to establish a Sanitary Board in Kuala Lumpur in 1890 may have been inspired in part at least by a wish to encourage unofficial co-operation in the task of municipal administration and improvement. The Sanitary Board was, of course, the precursor of the Municipal Commission established in recent years. The first Chairman of the Sanitary Board in 1890 was A. R. Venning, founder of the Lake Gardens and promoter of many public good causes. The other members of the first Board were Bellamy (Public Works), Sinclair (Medical), Murray Campbell, West, Raja Laut, Raja Bot, Yap Kwan Seng (Capitan China) and Chow Ah Yeok. The general composition of the Board, as distinct from its individual membership, altered little up to 1895. Venning remained chairman throughout; Syers (Police) and Ebden (Lands) were added on the official side. Tambusamy Pillai became the first Tamil member in 1894.

The tasks assigned to the Board in 1890 were cleaning and lighting the streets, administration of markets, "compulsory cleansing and whitewashing of houses, the upkeep of roads and streets and the destruction of jungle etc", the metalling of streets, construction of brick drains, widening of roads and erection of signposts.

Public interest was recognised and encouraged by the publication in the Gazette of the minutes of the meetings of the Board. The only full-time officer of the Board was its Secretary

who received $100 p.m., the salary of a very junior executive official. H. F. McEwen was appointed the first Secretary in 1890. Venning continued to double the offices of Chairman of the Board and State Treasurer. The offices of the Board were in the old "Raja Resthouse" (see p. 102) in Gombak Lane.

It is unnecessary to follow the Board through the details of its many activities. The first act of the Board was to call for a plan of the area within a two mile radius of the Market Street Bridge so that it might make recommendations as to the boundaries of the area it was to administer.

The Board's new arrangements for conservancy were said to have "made a transformation in the appearance" of Kuala Lumpur. Yet they consisted only of requiring each householder to make his own arrangements with a Chinese market-gardener for the emptying of buckets. There were the usual complaints of irregular service and of smell. Street cleansing and scavenging arrangements had been in operation since 1882 and apparently continued after 1890 with little change. In 1895 the Board was thinking of experimenting with domestic dust-bins for each house. Much of the Board's business consisted of approving or rejecting building plans.

In 1894 the Board is found making regulations to prohibit the leading of buffaloes through the streets of Kuala Lumpur unless the tips of both horns had been covered by a bar of of wood. In the same year it regulated hackney carriage rates to $2 per day or 15 cents per mile. The familiar covered arcade street frontage (the "five foot way") dates from this period in Kuala Lumpur. In 1892 the Board, having made regulations for such arcades, was able to note with satisfaction that:—

> The roadways are no longer congested with foot-traffic, and the untidy verandah stalls, projecting over the drains, are replaced by a constant stream of foot-passengers, who are glad to take advantage of the shelter from the weather and protection from injury by vehicles.

In the proceedings of the Board Venning was probably a fairly dominating personality. He evidently liked to have things his own way. His particular delight was to administer snubs to Baxendale, the head of the Posts and Telegraphs Department. Thus in July 1891 the Sanitary Board minutes recorded:—

> The Board desires that the Chairman enquire of the Sub-Postmaster why he has placed signboards on the Government Post Office without the sanction of the Board.

On other occasion Baxendale had proposed that a branch of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals should be established in Selangor. He made this proposal with reference to

alleged maltreatment of the ponies which drew the hackney carriages. This was an indirect hit at the Sanitary Board which licensed and supervised hackney carriages. The minutes of the Board record that "the Board deprecates the institution of an irresponsible society." Yet there was much need of a branch of the S.P.C.A. Leaving aside the disputed case of the ghari ponies, there was much other cruelty to animals. In 1895 the Resident's report alludes to a legal doubt about

> the validity of a conviction for cruelty to a rat by pouring kerosine oil over it and then setting fire to the oil — a not uncommon Chinese method of killing vermin caught in traps.

Venning and the Sanitary Board were in most other respect prepared to entertain new ideas on their merits. Mention has been made of their support for the scheme to light the streets by electricity. In 1895 the Board was also "considering the purchase of a typewriting machine."

Posts and Telegraphs.

Since Baxendale has been mentioned incidentally a word may be said here of him and of his department. Baxendale, like Venning, was a man with public interests outside his work. Among other activities he founded a Selangor Scientific Society and read to its meetings long papers which appear to have been of rather doubtful scientific value.

The first stamps for use in Selangor appeared in 1879. They were the current Straits Settlements 2cts brown stamps, surcharged with the star and crescent and the letter "S" in an oval. Thereafter there were successive issues of Straits Settlements 2cts stamps, with varying surcharges, until 1891, when they were replaced by the first of the series specially printed for Selangor (the 2cts rose with the picture of a leaping tiger). This was followed by a 1ct green and a 5cts blue, with the same design. Postage remained at two cents per half ounce until 1894, when it was increased to 3 cents. The Malay States were not admitted to the Postal Union until 1897. Until this happened Selangor stamps were only valid for letters directed to places within the Malay States and the Straits Settlements. Mail going further afield had to bear Straits Settlements stamps: as these were sold to the Selangor Post Office at face value, the postal department derived no revenue from letters sent overseas.

A telegraph line from Kuala Lumpur to Malacca was constructed in 1886: (from Malacca there were links with Singapore and abroad). There had probably been some sort of postal

POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

THE POST OFFICE, KUALA LUMPUR, will be open for General Business and Sale of Stamps:—Week days—8 A.M. to 6.30 P.M.; Sundays and Holidays—10 A.M. to 2 P.M. and 5 to 6.30 P.M. On Sundays, when there is no outward mail, the office will not be opened before 5 P.M.

Registration: Week days—8 A.M. to 2 P.M. and 3 to 4 P.M.; Holidays—11 A.M. to 2 P.M.

Money Orders: Week days—11 A.M. to 3 P.M.

Stamps: "Selangor" Stamps must be used for all letters to places within the Straits Settlements and Native States; "Straits Settlements" Stamps to places outside the above limits.

Telegraphs: The Telegraph Office will be open on Week days—8 A.M. to 6 P.M.; Sundays and Holidays—8 to 10 A.M. and 4 to 5 P.M. Rates: From any office to any other office within the State, 10 cents for the first five words and two cents for every additional word. Name and address of receiver transmitted free.

Per word from any office in Selangor (addresses charged for—

Vid Penang to—		*Vid* Malacca to—	
Aden	$1.69	Aden	1.94
Burmah	0.59	Burmah	1.19
Ceylon	0.94	Ceylon	1.19
Egypt	1.99	Egypt	2.19
Europe	1.89	Europe	2.14
India	0.89	India	1.14
Hongkong	1.39	Hongkong	1.24
Japan	2.89	Japan	2.74
Java	0.59	Java	0.64
New York	2.29	New York	2.49
New Zealand	1.79	New Zealand	1.79
Queensland	2.14	Queensland	2.14
South and West Australia	1.64	South and West Australia	1.64
Zanzibar	3.19	Zanzibar	3.44
New South Wales, Victoria	1.69	New South Wales, Victoria	1.69
North Africa	1.89	North Africa	2.14
Tasmania	1.59	Tasmania	1.19
Penang	0.04	Penang	0.24
Perak	0.02	Perak	0.26
Sumatra	0.99	Sumatra	0.84
Singapore	0.19 | Malacca	0.04 | Jelebu	0.02

Telegraph Stations in Selangor: Batu Tiga, Jugra, Kajang, Klang, Kuala Kubu, Kuala Lumpur, Kuala Selangor, Petaling, Rawang and Serendah.

Telegraph Stations in Pahang: Raub and Kuala Lipis.

Porterage Charges:

Telegraph Station.		Place in Vicinity.	Charge.
Kajang to		Semenyih	$ 0.50
Do.		Cheras	0.35
Do.		Bernanang	1.00
Kuala Lumpur		Pudoh	0.15
Do.		Batu	0.35
Do.		Batu Caves	0.50
Do.		Hawthornden	0.40
Raub		Tras	0.75
Kuala Lipis		Punjom	0.75

All Porterage charges must be prepaid by senders of telegrams. For places not mentioned in the above list the rate at which porterage is calculated is seven cents a mile.

Runner—Kuala Selangor and Klang: Leaves Klang at 11 A.M. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. Arrives at Kuala Selangor at 9 A.M. on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. Leaves Kuala Selangor same days and hours and arrives at Klang same days and hours.

Steamer—Kuala Selangor and Klang: S.S. *Billiton* leaves Klang at 8 A.M. Wednesdays, and arrives at Kuala Selangor 12 noon. Leaves Kuala Selangor at 3 P.M., arrives at Klang 7 P.M., same day. S.S. *Amherst* leaves Klang 5 P.M. Wednesdays, and arrives at Kuala Selangor 9 P.M. Leaves Kuala Selangor uncertain and arrives at Klang uncertain.

Runner—Kuala Langat and Klang: Leaves Klang at 9 A.M. on Mondays and Fridays, and arrives at Jugra 4 P.M. on same days. Leaves Jugra at 9 A.M. on Wednesdays and Sundays, and arrives at Klang 4 P.M. on same days.

Coach—Serendah and Kuala Kubu: Leaves Serendah 1 P.M., and arrives at Kuala Kubu 6 P.M. daily. Leaves Kuala Kubu 6 A.M., and arrives at Serendah 1 P.M. daily.

Runner—Kuala Kubu and Raub: Leaves Kuala Kubu 6 A.M. every Wednesday and arrives at Raub uncertain. Leaves Raub 8 A.M. every Saturday and arrives at Kuala Kubu uncertain.

Runner—Raub and Kuala Lipis: Leaves Raub afternoon Thursdays and arrives at Lipis uncertain. Leaves Lipis afternoon Wednesdays and arrives at Raub uncertain.

Mails are despatched from Kuala Lumpur by Train, Bullock Coach and Runners to the following places:—

Name of Place.	Mails close at Kuala Lumpur.	Arrive Destination.	Leave for Kuala Lumpur.	Arrive Kuala Lumpur.
Klang	11.30 and 2 P.M. week days	1.30 and 4.15 P.M. week days	9 A.M. 2.20 and 5 P.M. week days	10.30 A.M. 4 and 6 P.M. week days.
,,	Sundays 11 A.M. if any outward going steamer	1 P.M.	3.30 P.M.	4.30 P.M.
Kuala Langat	2 P.M. Thursdays and Saturdays	Fridays and Mondays	Sundays and Wednesdays	Mondays and Thursdays.
Kuala Selangor	2 P.M. Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays	9 A.M. Thursdays, Saturdays and Tuesdays	11 A.M. Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays	Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.
Kajang	11 A.M. week days	5 P.M. week days	11 A.M. week days	5 P.M. week days.
Rawang	10 A.M. week days, and 4 P.M. Saturdays, per Sunday train	12 noon week days	12.30 P.M. ,, 10-45 A.M. Sundays	3 P.M. ,, 12-45 P.M. Sundays
Serendah	,,	12.12 P.M. week days	12 noon week days	3 P.M. week days.
Kuala Kubu	,,	6 P.M.	10 A.M. Sundays	12-45 P.M. Sundays
Ulu Pahang	10 A.M. Tuesdays	Uncertain ,, ,,	6 P.M. week days	3 P.M. week days
			8 A.M. Saturdays	Mondays.

COAST MAIL SERVICE

The following dates are fixed for the departure of the O.S.N. *Esmeralda* and O.S.N. *Abdul Samad* to the Kuala Selangor and Kuala Langat Districts, respectively. These dates will be observed so far as is possible, and unless either of the vessels is required by Government for special service. The hour of departure will be 8.30 A.M.

FROM KLANG.

KUALA SELANGOR: By *Esmeralda*.

Departure.		Arrival.
Feb. 12	...	Feb. 16
,, 26	....	Mar. 2
Mar. 12	...	,, 16
,, 26	...	,, 30

KUALA LANGAT: By *Abdul Samad*.

Departure.		Arrival.
Feb. 16	...	Feb. 20
Mar. 1	...	Mar. 5
,, 16	...	,, 20

Post and telegraph services, February-March, 1894: from the *Selangor Journal*, **2**, (12).

KUALA LUMPUR-SUNGEI UJONG OVERLAND MAIL SERVICE.

Time Table.

Leave K. Lumpur	at	7.00 a.m.	...	...	Arrive Kajang	at	9.45 a.m.
„ Kajang	„	10.00 a.m.	...	...	„ Semenyih	„	11.30 a.m.
„ Semenyih	„	11.30 a.m.	...	...	„ Beranang	„	1.00 p.m.
„ Beranang	„	1.00 p.m.	...	...	„ Setul	„	2.00 p.m.
„ Setul	„	2.00 p.m.	...	...	„ Seremban	„	4.00 p.m.
Leave Seremban	at	7.00 a.m.	...	...	Arrive Setul	at	9.00 a.m.
„ Setul	„	9.00 a.m.	...	...	„ Beranang	„	10.00 a.m.
„ Beranang	„	10.00 a.m.	...	...	„ Semenyih	„	11.30 a.m.
„ Semenyih	„	12.00 noon	...	...	„ Kajang	„	1.00 p.m.
„ Kajang	„	1.15 p.m.	...	...	„ K. Lumpur	„	4.00 p.m.

Table of Fares.

One passenger with 10 lbs baggage	K. Lumpur to Kajang	...	$0.50	For every 10 lbs. extra baggage	$0.12
	„ Semenyih	...	0.75	„ „ „	0.18
	„ Beranang	...	1.25	„ „ „	0.30
	„ Setul	...	1.75	„ „ „	0.42
	„ Seremban	...	2.20	„ „ „	0.50

C. R. CORMAC.
Atg. Supt., Posts and Telegraphs.

Post Office,
Kuala Lumpur, *21st June, 1894.*

COAST MAIL SERVICE

By S.T. *ENID* and S.T. *ABDUL SAMAD.*

The following dates are fixed for the departure of the S.T. *Enid* and S.T. *Abdul Samad* to the Kuala Selangor, Kuala Langat and Sungei Ujong Coast Districts, respectively. The hour of departure from Klang will be 8.30 A.M. When the dates or hours of sailing are altered, a notice to that effect will be posted at the entrance to the Government Offices in Kuala Lumpur as long beforehand as possible.

Kuala Selangor, S.T. *ENID.*		Kuala-Langat and Sungei Ujong, S.T. *ABDUL SAMAD.*			
Depart fo.	Arrive from.	Depart Klang.	Arrive Port Dickson.	Depart P. Dickson.	Arrive Klang.
Mon. May 14 D.E.	Friday, May 18	Monday, May 21	Friday, May 25	Monday, May 28	Wed. May 30
Wed. „ 30 D.O.	Sunday, June 3	Wednes. June 6	Sunday, June 10	Tuesday, June 12	Thurs. June 14
Tues. June 12 D.E.	Sat'day, „ 16	„ „ 20	„ „ 24	„ „ 26	„ „ 28
Thurs. „ 28 D.O.	Monday, July 2	„ July 4	„ July 8	„ July 10	„ July 12
Mon. July 16 D.E.	Sat'day, „ 21	„ „ 18	„ „ 22	„ „ 24	„ „ 26
„ „ 30 D.O.	Friday, Aug. 3	„ Aug. 1	„ Aug. 5	„ Aug. 7	„ Aug. 9

On alternate trips these launches will be at the disposal of the District Engineer, and on other trips at the disposal of the District Officer.

By Order, J. H. M. ROBSON,
Atg. District Officer, Klang.

Klang, *9th May, 1894.*

Overland and coastal mail services, May-August, 1894: from the *Selangor Journal*, **2**, (22). Until June, 1894, all mail in and out of Selangor (except for letters to Raub and Kuala Lipis, in Pahang) went via Klang.

service to and from Kuala Lumpur since British administrators first arrived there in 1880. The procedure in later years was that as soon as the mail steamer was sighted at Klang, the news was telegraphed to Kuala Lumpur and the Post Office hoisted its flag to inform the world that mail would arrive shortly. The flag came down as a signal that the mail had arrived at the Post Office. Mails came from Europe direct to Penang by weekly service of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company. There was another weekly P & O service transhipped at Rangoon to Penang — and thence in both cases to Klang for Kuala Lumpur. The French Messageries Maritimes line also brought Selangor mail to Singapore. Kuala Lumpur got its first three pillar-boxes in 1892.

In the same year, 1892, the Police headquarters was equipped with a switchboard for six telephone lines. The Post Office also had a switchboard for four lines to government offices. By 1895 there were 21 telephones in Kuala Lumpur.

The Schools

The need for schools was felt as the population of Kuala Lumpur changed towards a normal family composition (in contrast to the mining camp population of the period of the 1870's). The first school opened in Kuala Lumpur was for the Chinese. It was built in the High Street in 1884 at a cost of $550 and began its first session in January 1885 with eleven pupils. It was apparently another of the fruitful partnerships of this period between Government and private enterprise. The Government built the school but Yap Ah Loy provided a schoolmaster at his own expense until the Government could recruit one. Other leading towkays supported the school and visited it to test the pupils in reading and writing. The attendance had risen to thirty by 1886.

Nonetheless the school was the subject of much controversy within the Chinese community. Among the Hokkien and Macao traders there was said to be "determined opposition" which centred round the choice of the schoolmaster. It seems that the real issue, which underlay the dispute about the teacher, was the choice of the language in which instruction was to be given. There were Chinese of several local dialect groups in Kuala Lumpur and the teaching must be in only one dialect at a time (if indeed a teacher could be found who could teach in more than one dialect). Yap Ah Loy's offer to provide his own teacher was probably a manoeuvre in this dispute. Perhaps because of these sectional differences the school did not

prosper and expand as much as might have been expected. The problem of dialects was still causing difficulty in 1886. By 1890 the attendance had fallen to 18. In 1892 it was reported to have declined still more. There were, of course, other factors besides the language question in this comparative failure. The schoolmaster was elderly and not very effectual. It is impossible to know whether the curriculum satisfied the parents. In 1885 it was described as Chinese reading, writing and accounts. But as the years went by it became dominated by the Chinese literary tradition. Thus in 1895 all the ten text-books in use at the school were Chinese classics.

Meanwhile, about 1890, a "Government English School" was established at which the medium of instruction was English. This school seems to have been organised by Reverend Frederick Haines, vicar of the Church of England church in Kuala Lumpur. Haines came to Kuala Lumpur not later than 1890. He soon combined his chaplaincy with the government post of Inspector of Schools (i. e. head of the Education Department) and this arrangement lasted until after 1895.

In 1892 the Government English School had 40 pupils of whom 25 were Chinese, 3 were Tamil, 2 Malay, 2 Singhalese and 6 were Eurasian. The headmaster was G. W. Hepponstall (of whom nothing more is recorded).

Separate arrangements had been made for the education of the children of the Malay aristocracy by the formation of a "Raja School", which had eleven pupils in 1892. The building in which the pupils lived and were taught was situated somewhere near the junction of Gombak Lane and what is now called Jalan Raja. It may be that Jalan Raja takes its name from the school. Haines himself was English tutor to the Raja School. The Raja Muda (the future Sultan Sulaiman) set an example by coming to Kuala Lumpur to attend the school. The other pupils in 1892 were eight sons of Rajas and two sons of Sheikhs. Almost all the pupils came from a distance, usually from Kuala Langat which remained the seat of the Sultan and the centre of the Selangor Malay aristocracy. It was thus necessary to provide accommodation as well as a school building. Later on, when no longer required for its original purpose, the "Raja Resthouse" became the first offices of the Sanitary Board.

It was realised that it was a waste of the limited staff available to have two separate schools. There was a growing popular demand for the establishment of something larger and better equipped and staffed than the Government English School. The

moving spirits in the public demand for better education were the Capitan China (Yap Kwan Sen), and his fellow State Councillor, Loke Yew, and the Ceylonese leader, Tambusamy Pillai. Matters came to a head in 1893 when Treacher had just been appointed to succeed Maxwell as Resident (after the interregnum in which Ernest Birch acted as Resident). Treacher was very sympathetic to the project. On his advice a public meeting was held and a scheme launched.

As always the crux of the matter was the need to raise the necessary money. Here Treacher was able to help. He found that a sum of $3,188 collected in 1887 on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee remained unspent in 1893. Treacher proposed that this money should become the nucleus of the fund; he also promised $5,000 from government funds. The Sultan gave $1,100 and each of three Asian sponsors contributed an equal amount. With other subscriptions a total of $21,641 was raised. This sum more than sufficed to cover the capital cost ($16,550) of the new school buildings, of which the foundation stone was laid by Mrs. Treacher on 14th August 1893. It was decided that pending completion of these buildings the new school (an amalgamation of the Government English School and the Raja School) should be opened in 1894 in the Government English School buildings.

It was also necessary to provide for the management, maintenance and staffing of the school. A board of trustees was set up over whom the Resident presided. An education rate of 1% per annum was imposed to yield an estimated annual revenue of $2250. The State Government contributed a further $3000 p.a. for running expenses. The pupils themselves paid a fee of $1 p.m. each.

Two assistant masters, Mr Buxton and Mr Arudpragasim, were selected by competitive examination. The first headmaster was B. E. Shaw[12] who came from the High School, Bishop's Stortford; he arrived in June 1894. The new buildings, described as "picturesque, substantial and suitable" were ready by 30th July 1894. They were on the banks of the Klang River and the masters used to amuse themselves by shooting crocodiles from the playground. Perhaps because of its connection with the Jubilee Fund the school was called the "Victoria Institution." In 1894, its first year, the 201 pupils of the Victoria Institution comprised 104 Chinese, 60 Indians, 24 Eurasians and 10 Malays.

12. Always referred to as "Bennett Shaw."

Treacher spent only a short time in Selangor before being promoted to be Resident of Perak. His encouragement of the scheme for the Victoria Institution was the most memorable part of his tenure of office. Treacher had begun his administrative career in North Borneo in 1871. He came to Malaya as Secretary to the Government of Perak in 1888. Although he left Selangor in 1894 he was to return a few years later when he succeeded Swettenham as Resident General of the Federated Malay States. Treacher's successor as Resident of Selangor in 1894 was Rodger, on transfer from Pahang. Rodger thus became substantive Resident of Selangor for which he had done so much as acting Resident in the 1880's. Rodger himself was destined to go on to be Resident of Perak — and eventually Governor of the Gold Coast.

Religion.

The remainder of this paper deals with the more intangible aspects of life in Kuala Lumpur — the beliefs, recreations and what little is known of the ordinary life of its population. Far more is known in this respect of the European community than of the others because the Europeans have left written records. But the change in the life of the Asian, especially of the Chinese, community, is of far greater interest as a matter of social history. Unfortunately there are only snippets of information on Chinese affairs.

Owing to the article written by Father Letessier (in the *Selangor Journal*, **1**, p. 177) something is known of the Chinese cults of this period. The Chinese of Yap Ah Loy's day had been a tough crowd. From Yap Ah Loy downwards most of them had lived a hard and dangerous life in the primitive conditions of the mining camps since they first came to Malaya. They had fought in merciless civil wars; they had seen their comrades die off like flies from disease; they had sweated to make money from the uncertainties of tin-mining; they had spent their money in the gambling booths, the brothels and the opium shops of Kuala Lumpur. It was a hard life. Above all it was an uncertain life in which luck or divine favour seemed to decide whether a man's skill and effort should succeed or fail. They needed to be reassured that luck and the gods were on their side.

During the crises of the civil war Yap Ah Loy had consulted the god Sen Ta (or Sz Yeh) as an oracle for guidance. The worship of this god became the major public cult of the Kuala Lumpur Chinese. The deity of the cult was apparently a personification of the spirit of the Chinese pioneer combined with

divine attributes of protection and success (Middlebrook, *JMBRAS*, 1951, **24,** (2), 22). Yap Ah Loy built a temple of Sen Ta in Kuala Lumpur. The main rites of the cult were the consultation of the oracle and the annual procession of the god through the streets of Kuala Lumpur.

In the temple were two "life-like carvings in wood, representing venerable men known after death as Si Sz Ya and Sz Ya." Letessier (*Selangor Journal*, 16th June, 1893) gives the following account of the consultation of the oracle:—

> Sick people who follow his prescriptions are almost always cured, traders who invoke him make their fortune, gamblers will not risk the fruit of their toil without having invoked him, and even abandoned women come to ask good luck from this great spirit. . . .

It appears that there was also consultation on behalf of the community as a whole; there is mention elsewhere of "the Headmen worshipping *on behalf of their tribes* at the temple of Sz Ya." Letessier continues:—

> In order to consult him recourse must be had to Thung Cen. This Thung Cen is the medium through which the spirit has chosen to be manifested under the appearance of "temporary possession". This possession is shown by the insensibility of Thung Cen to pain. For example, sticks of incense are applied to his ears without his evincing any signs of suffering. When he is to enter into this state of possession (*Kong Thung*), which he will do for the small sum of 50 cents from any private individual who invites him, he has himself mesmerised before the altar of the spirit by two familiars, who pass in front of him gold and silver papers lit from the wax tapers, whilst he rests his head between his two hands, and presses it vigourously with two pieces of paper in the vicinity of the temples.
>
> He is thus bent a little forward, and in this attitude he awaits the entrance of the spirit. All at once he gives a sharp cry like the cry of an owl and withdraws his hands from his forehead while he works his head to and fro with groans, and his face becomes distorted like that of some madman or congenital idiot. His voice, articulating unintelligible sounds, recalls the noise made by certain big jungle birds. His assistants alone are able to interpret this singular language, which they note in writing when it relates to a medical prescription.

There was a procession through the streets in every year. But at intervals of several years the procession was organised with exceptional lavishness and expense. The years of the elaborate processions were 1887, when it was estimated that 40,000 Chinese participated in or watched the procession, 1893 to which the description to be quoted below relates, and 1902 when it was reported some $100,000 was spent on the procession.

The central figure of these processions was the medium of the cult and effigies of the gods. The start of the medium's procession from the temple is thus described by Letessier (*op. cit*):

> The Thung Cen, covered with an untidy red garment was seated, as is customary, in front of the altar surrounded by his assistants. All at once he took his hands away from his head, and began to throw himself about in his chair, uttering owl-like cries. "Sen Ta! Sen Ta!" exclaim the spectors, whose eyes are fixed on the Thung Cen and his cortege of six Towkays clad in their long ceremonial robes.
>
> The inspired fanatic bids them hasten to prostrate themselves before the god, and they do so with an air of pious eagerness. He then receives a vase filled with a liquid of which he drinks, and which he rubs on his cheeks both inside and out; then with the spasmodic groans of a dying man with the death rattle in his throat, he seizes a spindle of gold or copper, which is about four or five inches long, broadened out and artistically wrought at one end, and inserts it obliquely in his right cheek; then, bounding from his chair, he rushes towards the door, leaping like a maniac. Outside the pagoda is a sedan-chair, the seat of which bristles with spikes, and upon this he takes his seat resting his bare feet upon a small board covered likewise with spikes of a good size and fairly close together. In this position he is carried during the two or three hours that the procession lasts.

The incidentals of the procession made a great impression on European observers. Each Chinese local community had a procession of its own on a previous day. All joined forces for the grand procession of the final day:

> At intervals were the headmen of the various clans, and men clad in long silk surtouts of the most beautiful and delicate tints were cheek by jowl with coolies dressed lightly and anything but cleanly; the mixture had a most ludicrous effect. The embroidery on many of the banners and emblems was artistic specimens of needlework.

There were "tablets with Chinese figures and scenery in relievo", a dragon 100 feet long which had cost $1,200, and cars of filigree work and glass. "A band of Klings, playing tom-toms and dancing, accompanied the procession." There were also some Japanese.

In the magnificence of the processions of 1893 and 1902 the primary function of the rite no doubt persisted, i.e. to assure to the Chinese the aid and protection of the gods. But it is clear that the ceremony had also acquired a secondary function, i.e. to afford an opportunity to individuals and groups of displaying their wealth. This is a point to be touched on again later.

There were many Chinese temples in Kuala Lumpur besides the temple of Sen Ta. Temples were the first buildings on which the Chinese lavished their new-found wealth. When Kuala Lumpur was being rebuilt in brick and tile in the mid 1880's, the temples likewise were rebuilt in these new materials. The first temple of brick and tile was built in 1884. In 1889 the Governor, on a visit to Kuala Lumpur, mentions a new temple just built at a cost of $30,000, the whole sum contributed by one Chinese.

The list of societies exempt from registration under the law gives some names and addresses — no more — of temples. The list for 1894 contains the following:—

Kwan Yim Thong, 2nd Mile Ampang Road

Ni Tin Keng, Birch Road

Lim Thien Tsu Mien, 3rd Mile Pudu Road

Vong Lau Sien Sz Mien, 2nd Mile Sungei Besi Road.

In addition to temples there were also "kongsi houses" in the construction of which the different Chinese groups competed in munificence. Swettenham, reporting in 1888, mentions that "a very handsome kongsi house was built by the Cantonese, another by the Hokkiens, and yet another for the Khehs was almost completed."

Other communities too built places of worship of their faith. The Buddhists, apparently Cinghalese rather than Chinese, in September 1890 laid the foundation stone of the first Buddhist temple in the Malay Peninsula. The leader of this enterprise was a Mr Gunesekera.

The Europeans likewise built their churches. The first Church of England church was in Bluff Road. It was a timber structure which could hold 95 people. The Selangor Government contributed $500 towards the total cost of $1,363. The first churchwardens were those old rivals, Venning and Baxendale. It was apparently not until 1890 that there was a resident chaplain. In that year the Resident and the Bishop of Singapore launched an appeal for funds with which to pay a stipend of $150 p.m. plus a house allowance of $30 p.m. This appeal recruited 41 regular subscribers. In 1893 it was decided to build a new and larger church. An appeal produced $5,168 and the State Government added dollar for dollar to this fund up to $5,000. An advertisement was published inviting architects to submit plans. The new church was to be built in "Early English Gothic" style. A new site was found at the northern end of the Padang. It was levelled, turfed and planted with trees and flowers. Meanwhile the new church was being built. In February 1895 the new St Mary's Church was consecrated. The vicar since 1890 had been Reverend Frederick Haines, already mentioned as the Inspector of Schools. Haines was a keen actor and a leading light in amateur dramatic performances. A Church Work Association was established in 1893.

The assistance given by the Government to the Anglican Church indicates that it was regarded in fact if not in form as the established church. The English, like other communi-

ties, found in their worship an opportunity of expressing their identity as a group. The Sunday morning service at 11 a.m. was in the nature of a parade. The men came in top hats and long black coats. The women were in long silk or muslin dresses, with hats or bonnets, gloves and even veils. It was an occasion too in which the sense of official hierarchy found expression. The Resident was the senior member of the congregation, with a watchful eye to see whether the rank and file of the bureaucracy were all present and correct. Any junior official who absented himself for two Sundays running was likely to receive an official reproof.

The foundation stone of the first Roman Catholic Church in Kuala Lumpur was laid by the Bishop of Eucarpia in December 1886. The Roman Catholic Church and Mission were situated on the slopes of Bukit Nanas (once the site of a Malay stockade).

In 1895 a Mr Baird (denomination unknown) was proposing to erect a "Mission Hall" on or near the site of the first Church of England church in Bluff Road. Mr Baird also wished to build a "Chinese gospel house" on Petaling Hill. The first Protestant cemetery was in Venning Road. There was also a Roman Catholic cemetery.

There were at least two Malay mosques. One was in Java Street on the site now occupied by Messrs Gian Singh. The other was north west of Malay Street. The first Malay cemetery, which was closed in 1892, was on a tongue of land between the Klang and Gombak Rivers where the principal mosque of Kuala Lumpur now stands.

The Chinese Style of Living.

There was a notable change between 1880 and 1890 in the style of living of the Chinese citizens of Kuala Lumpur. Passing reference has been made already to their smart carriages and to the lavish expense of their religious processions and to their keen competition in the building of splendid temples and kongsi houses.

In 1886 the Resident noted that "some of the wealthier traders" had begun to build what he called "villa residences" for themselves on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur away from the bustle and smell of the centre of the town. This was a departure from the tradition of Yap Ah Loy's generation who had lived in the middle of Kuala Lumpur. Not all well-to-do Chinese of

course chose to move away. It appears that Yap Kwan Seng, as Capitan China, continued to live in the High Street in a house on the site of the modern Lee Rubber Building, with an official hall of audience attached to it. But the general tendency was to move out of the town. The Governor visiting Kuala Lumpur in 1889, mentions the "excellent and artistic workmanship" of two Chinese houses and comments on the Chinese tendency to build "country houses, prettily situated in the outskirts of the town." This new habit was not, of course, confined to the Chinese. European business men were doing the same and the European official residential quarter had always been away from the centre of the town. So far as can now be traced the new Chinese suburbs were in the area of Ampang Road; the new European houses were along the Damansara Road.

Some idea of the style of living, part new and part traditional, of the Chinese can be gained from the description of the lying in state of Towkay Ah Yeok, the State Councillor and leader of the Cantonese, who died in December, 1892.

> A magnificient pall of blue silk richly embroidered in gold covers the coffin; and at the foot is placed a table on which are laid out various kinds of food..... Upon another table are placed the clothes of the departed, and a basin with water, and a looking glass, in case he should revisit his former dwelling and wish to perform his toilet.
>
> The air is heavy with the smell of incense and Chinese food, and at intervals mourners clothed in white set up such dismal and heart-rending wails that one's nerves are affected.

Pomp and Circumstance among the Europeans.

The European community, being predominantly civil servants, were as individuals less wealthy than some Chinese and as a group more inclined to emphasise their status by public ceremonial rather than by display of wealth. In previous sections of this paper something has been said incidentally of the various celebrations occasioned by visits of the Governor or the Sultan to Kuala Lumpur. There was also a grand occasion in May 1890, when the King of Siam, accompanied by the Sultan of Kedah, spent three weeks in Kuala Lumpur. The Chinese community played a large part in the reception arrangements on these occasions. The King of Siam and the Sultan of Kedah were accommodated during their stay at the houses of the Capitan China and of Towkay Ah Yeok. The Sultan of Selangor during his visits also stayed in a house placed at his disposal by one of the leaders of the Chinese community until an *istana* was built for him in 1893.

It appears that of all the Residents of Selangor of this period W. E. Maxwell (1889-91) had the most marked inclination for pomp and circumstance. When Maxwell eventually left Kuala Lumpur (on promotion to Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements) he was treated on a portentous send-off. An archway had been erected in the Residency grounds. As Maxwell's cortege reached this point, Raja Laut and other Malay leaders in Kuala Lumpur read him an address. When he reached the Selangor Club the European community likewise presented an address. At the Railway Station it was the turn of the Chinese leaders. Their address was in verse; the following is an extract:—

> So do we, men of Kwangtung and Fukien, remote from our homesteads
> Join in spirit in longing for our dear fatherland
> Still resting here, united and happy, in the State of Selangor
> We feel joy in the land of our adoption, the mother of our trade.

And so on for nine verses. There is no record that any other Resident was ever sent off in this style. One suspects that Maxwell was so treated because he individually liked it (though it was, and still is, a general characteristic of colonial administrators to assert their status in this fashion). But, as regards Maxwell, it is rather significant that the *Selangor Journal* went out of its way to pay tribute to the "tact, amiable sympathies and pleasant hospitalities" of Mrs Maxwell. Perhaps she needed these qualities rather a lot.

Apart from public occasions there was also much formality in European social life. Thus at balls at the Residency the partners for distinguished guests were "officially arranged". The Resident's lady was "At Home" on two afternoons in the month. In all this activity official rank was all-important. In 1894 an embittered observer remarked that Kuala Lumpur was "divided into classes which are as distinctly distinguished from each other as a first and second class Mandarin." Another writer warned newcomers that officials in Kuala Lumpur had "a doosid lot of side". These distinctions found expression in the membership of clubs. At this period the Lake Club was the preserve of senior officials only. Huttenbach, a business man who did much for the Selangor Club, remarked that "there is no club, association or meeting in Selangor but where the influence of officialdom can be detected."

The Clubs.

Since the two European social clubs have thus been mentioned it is appropriate to say something at this point of their history. The Selangor Club was founded in 1884 — "a plank

building with an atap roof" built at the northern end of the Padang with its stables where St Mary's Church now stands. It was to be a social and cricket club. Rodger, then acting Resident, was the first President, and Venning the first Secretary. The members of the new club felt much indebted to Rodger who had encouraged the formation of it. Rodger was only acting Resident; his substantive post was Commissioner of Lands. It was therefore provided in the constitution of the Selangor Club that the Commissioner of Lands should be Vice-President ex-officio so that Rodger should remain when Swettenham returned as Resident.

In 1885 the Government lent the Selangor Club $900 to enlarge its buildings. New buildings (on the present-day site) were erected in 1889 (see pp. 84-85). In the same year Count Bernstorff became the first salaried secretary of the Club. His stewardship was unsuccessful; he eventually departed leaving $1,100 of club funds unaccounted for. It was at this time, when the Selangor Club was being badly run, that some senior officials among its members went off and founded the Lake Club. But H. Huttenbach succeeded Count Bernstorff as secretary and he was able to pull the Selangor Club's affairs together. By 1892 its financial position was restored to solvency and its membership had risen to 140. This was the beginning of the period when the planting of coffee on estates in Selangor expanded rapidly. As a natural consequence the number of planters among the members of the Club increased and its tradition as a "planters' club" dates from this period.

"H. H." himself was one of a group of brothers whose name was to be associated with the development of electricity supply in Malaya. This Huttenbach had come out to Sumatra as a planter in 1876. He came on to Selangor to plant coffee in 1889, and initially as agent for Katz Bros, of Singapore.

The Lake Club was founded in 1890. As has been related it was of the nature of a secession from the Selangor Club. One of the annual reports of the Resident of Selangor says that the Lake Club was "supported by the principal residents." Justly or not, it was certainly regarded as a stronghold of the "Tuan Bĕsar"

The Selangor Club and the Lake Club were exclusively European in membership. By 1892 there was also a Chinese Club, which appears to have been mainly concerned with athletics. Its site is not recorded. The Chinese Club had its own small grounds in which an athletic sports meeting was held in 1893 but, it was reported, "the grounds are rather too small and

MARKET PRICES, KUALA LUMPUR, DECEMBER, 1895.

Alum, per catty	$ .15
Arrack	.20
Atap, Langat, per 1,000	13.00 to 14.00
" Klang "	—
Bacon, per lb.	.40
Bang-Quan	.03
Batu Damar, per pikul	—
" Kawee, yellow, per pikul	10.00
" merah, per catty	.10
Betel-nut, fresh, per 100	.8 to .10
" dried, per catty	.06
Beef, per catty	.25
" Buffalo, per catty	.14
Bullock Brain each	.08 to .12
" Feet "	.08 to .10
" Kidneys "	.10
" Marrowbones "	.08
" Shoulder, p. lb.	12 to .15
" Suet "	.12
" Hump, each	.18 to .20
" Liver, per catty	.20
" Heart, "	.25
" Tongue, each	.40
" Tail "	.20 to .25
" Tripe, per catty	.08
Biji Pala, per hundred	.60
" Sawi, per catty	.09
Blachan "	.14
Blankets, large, each	2.80 to 3.00
" small "	1.50 to 2.50
Brandy, per bottle (Hennessy's) ***	2.30
" " " **	2.10
" " " *	1.80
Bread, per 4 lb. loaf	.03
" 1 lb. "	.01
Bricks, small, bought from kiln, per laksa (10,000)	45.00
" large "	70.00
Brooms, coconut-leaf, each	.02 to .03
Buah Olba, per catty	.09
" Kadata Puli, "	.60
" Lerak, "	.15
Butter, per lb. tin—	
Australian	.85
Danish	.95
Margarine	.03
Candles, Chinese, per catty	.28 to .30
Capons, each	—
Chalk per catty	.10
Chandu, 1st quality, per tahil	1.10
" 2nd " "	1.00
" Lamps, each	.30 to .45
Changkols	.30 to .50
Changkol handles "	.10
Charcoal, 1st quality, per pikul	.90
Chatties, large, each	.10 to .12
" small "	.08
Cheese, Gouda, per lb.	.60
" Cream "	.65
Chickens, each	.25 to .30
Chillies, fresh, per catty	.08
" dried "	.12
Chopsticks, per bundle (black)	.15
Chunam, per catty	.03
Chutney, Calcutta, per bottle	.70
Cigarette-papers, per book	.01 to .02
Cinnamon, per catty	.30
Cloves "	.40
Coconuts, fresh, each	.05 to .06
" dried "	.04 to .05
" scrapers, each	.12 to .15
Coffee, per catty	.45
Cotton "	.18
Crab "	.10 to .12
Crackers, per bundle	.03
Curry-stuff—	
Buah Hamen, per catty	.25
" Kras, per hundred	.10
Gadons, dried, per catty	.15
Kulit Manis "	.25
Lengkuas, dried, per catty	.20
Pachok "	.8 .40
Ducks, alive, each	.40 to .50
Eggs, Fowls' fresh, each	.02
" Ducks "	.02
" " salted "	.02
Firewood, per cart	1.50 to 2.00
Fish, fresh, per catty	.16 to .22
" Roe, each	—
Fish, Salt—Cooroh, per catty	.16
Ikan Chencharu "	.08
" Kembong "	—
" Pari "	.07 to .08
" Selar "	—
" Sembilang "	.07 to .08
" Segat "	.15 to .16
" Sjam "	.15
" Tamban "	—
" Tenggiri "	.16
Flour, Wheaten, 1st quality, p. bag	1.85
" 2nd " "	1.65
" 3rd " "	1.40
Flower Pots, Chinese, per pair	—
Fowls, each	.35 to .50
Gambier, (Siak) per catty	.22
" (Papan) "	.10 to .12
Ganti, per catty	.30
Garlic "	.06 to .07
Geese, each	1.50 to 2.00
Ghee, per catty	.35 to .40
Ginger, fresh, per catty	.04 to .05
Gragau, dried "	—
Gram, Calcutta, per pikul	4.25
" Rangoon "	—
Gunny Bags, 1st quality, each	.07 to .08
" 2nd " "	.04
" 3rd " "	.02
Ham, Chinese, per catty	.30
" York, per lb.	.50
Ice, per lb.	.04
Incense, No. 1 per catty	.30
" No. 2 "	.25
Indian Corn, per cob	.00
Iron Hoops, per catty	.08
Jintan Hitam "	.35
Jadam "	.18
Jemuju "	.24
Joss-sticks, per bundle,	.16
" small "	.12
Catumbar, per catty	.07
Kayu Chandana, per catty	.25
" Sepang "	—
Kubi Tengah "	—
Lada Hitam "	.20
" Putch "	.30
" Pedas "	.20
Ladles, each	.02 to .03
Lard, per catty	.20
Lemons, per 3 or 4	.02
Macassar, red fish, per bottle	.50
Mangoes, dried, per catty	—
Matches, per packet	.03
Milk, per tin	.22
" fresh, one pau (½ pint)	.05
Mustard, per bottle, large	.45
" " small	.25
Mutton, per catty	.40
Nails, French, per catty	.07 to .08
Oil, Castor, per tin	3.50
" Coconut, per catty	.16 to .17
" Kachang "	.13
" Kerosine, Devoes, per case	3.85
" " Langkat "	2.75
Onions, per catty	.06 to .07
Opium, per ball	27.70
Padi, per gantang	.10
Peas, per chupah	.07
" black, per gantang	.28
" green "	.24
Pickles, C. & B., per bottle, large	.50
Pigeons per pair	.60
Pinapples, each	.03
Plantain leaves, 4 bundles	$ .01
Plantains—	
Abu, 4	.01
Kelat, 5 to 6	.01
Masak Hijau, 3 to 4	.01
Raja, 2	.01
Pork, per catty	.32 to .38
Potatoes "	.05 to .06
" sweet, per catty	.01
Prawns, fresh "	.15 to .24
" dried "	.25
Rattans, split, per bundle	.30 to .40
Rice, per bag	—
" Rangoon, per chupah	.05
" " per gantang	.20
" " per pikul	3.40
" Siam "	3.60 to 3.70
Roco, per 10 bundles, small	.20
Rope, coconut fibre, per catty	—
" fine, "	.10
Saffron, fresh "	—
" dried "	.09 to .10
Sago "	.08
Salt Beef, Calcutta, per lb.	.40
Salt, fine "	.02½
" coarse, per chupah	.03
Sandals, per pair	.05 to .08
Sauce, L. and P., per bottle, large	1.00
" " small	.55
" Harvey's, flat "	.55
" Anchovy "	.55
Sausages, Chinese, per catty	.50
Saws, large; hand, each	2.25 to 3.00
" small "	1.80 to 2.00
Sirih, per bundle	.01
Soap, Bengal, per catty	—
Spices "	—
Sugar, Candy "	.11 to .12
" Brown "	.08
" White "	.09½
" " 2nd quality	.07
Tamarind, per catty	.05
Tea, Ceylon, per lb.	.70
" Assam "	.55
" Perak "	.45
" Chinese, per packet	.05 to .07
" Johore, per tin	.55
Teapots, Chinese, each, large	.50 to .80
" small	.20 to .45
Tiles, bought from kiln, per laksa	32.00
Tobacco—	
Three Castles	.50
Bird's-eye, per tin	.35
Chinese, per bundle	.17
" " 2nd quality	.12
Java, per catty	.50 to .58
" " 2nd quality	.45
Tudong Saji, each	.16 to .25
Vegetables—	
Brinjal, per catty	.02½
Cucumber "	.02
French Beans "	.06
Ladies' Fingers, or "Kachang Bendie," per catty	.02 to .02½
Long Beans "	.03
Pumpkin, white, per catty	.02
" red "	.02½
Radish "	.02½
" salted "	.08
Salad "	.08
Sayor, Chekoʻ Manis, 2 bundles	.01
" Kangkong, per bundle	.01
" Patola, per catty	.02
" Perin "	.06 to .08
" Saldrac "	.15
Vermicelli "	.13½ to .14
Vinegar, European, per bottle, large	.25
" " small	.16
Whisky, per bottle	1.10

HACKNEY CARRIAGE FARES.

Hire for a day of eight hours	$2 00
Within Town Limits, per mile or part of a mile	15
Beyond Town Limits, per mile	20
For every hour's detention	10
For every day of detention (24 hours)	1 50

When a carriage is taken to and from any place over ten miles distant, no extra charge shall be made for detention, provided the return journey is made on the same day as the journey out, or on the following day.

SELANGOR GOVERNMENT RAILWAY.

Passenger Train Service.

DOWN.

STATIONS.		WEEK DAYS AND SUNDAYS.					
		A.M.	A.M.	A.M.	NOON	A.M.	P.M.
KUALA KUBU	Dep.	...	...	9.13	...	11.55	...
RASA ...	,,	...	...	9.30	...	12.12	...
S. TAMPEIAN	,,	...	...	10.05	...	12.46	...
SERENDAH ...	,,	...	...	10.20	...	1.01	4.20
RAWANG ...	,,	...	...	10.43	...	1.27	4.45
KUANG ...	,,	...	...	11.05	...	1.50	5.08
KEPONG ...	,,	...	...	11.30	...	2.25	5.43
K. LUMPUR ...	Arr.	...	...	11.55	...	2.45	6.03
	Dep.	5.00	6.40	...	12.00	3.15	...
PETALING ...	,,	5.17	6.57	...	12.18	3.30	...
BATU TIGA ...	,,	5.43	7.23	...	12.48	3.51	...
KLANG	Arr.	6.13	7.57	...	1.16	4.15	...

UP.

		A.M.	A.M.	A.M.	P.M.	P.M.	P.M
KLANG ...	Dep.	...	7.00	9.00	...	2.20	5.10
BATU TIGA ...	,,	...	7.28	9.32	...	2.55	5.36
PETALING ...	,,	...	7.51	10.04	...	3.31	5.57
K. LUMPUR ...	Arr.	...	8.05	10.20	...	3.48	6.10
	Dep.	5.30	8.30	...	1.55	...	...
KEPONG ...	,,	5.58	8.58	...	2.26	...	...
KUANG ...	,,	6.32	9.33	...	3.01	...	...
RAWANG ...	,,	6.59	9.59	...	3.27	...	...
SERENDAH ...	,,	7.25	10.25	...	3.47	...	...
S. TAMPEIAN ...	,,	7.36	10.36	...	...	...	...
RASA	,,	8.11	11.11	...	...	...	...
KUALA KUBU	Arr.	8.25	11.25	...	...	...	...

SUNGEI BESI BRANCH.

DOWN.

STATIONS.		WEEK DAYS AND SUNDAYS.						
		A.M.	A.M.	A.M.	A.M.	P.M.	P.M.	P.M
K. LUMPUR ...	Dep.	5.30		9.13	10.45	...	3.30	...
SULTAN STREET	,,	5.35	7.00	9.20	10.50	1.03	3.35	4.53
PUDOH ...	,,	5.43	7.08	9.28	10.58	1.11	3.43	5.01
SALAK ...	,,	5.54	7.19	9.39	11.09	1.22	3.54	5.12
SUNGEI BESI	Arr.	6.06	7.31	9.51	11.21	1.34	4.06	5.24

UP.

		A.M.	A.M.	A.M.	NOON	P.M.	P.M.	P.M
SUNGEI BESI	Dep.	6.20	7.45	10.00	12.00	2.15	4.16	5.30
SALAK ...	,,	6.34	7.59	10.14	12.14	2.29	4.30	5.44
PUDOH ...	,,	6.40	8.11	10.26	12.26	2.40	4.41	5.55
SULTAN ST.	Arr.	6.51	8.16	10.31	12.31	2.45	4.46	6.00
	Dep.	...	8.19	10.34	...	2.48	...	6.02
K. LUMPUR ...	Arr.	...	8.22	10.36	...	2.50	...	6.06

Passenger Fares.

STATIONS.			Single.			Return.		
			1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
			$	$	$	$	$	$
Klang and	Batu Tiga	... ...	.45	.32	.18	.68	.48	.27
Do.	Petaling	... ...	.85	.60	.34	1.28	.90	.51
Do.	Kuala Lumpur	...	1.10	.77	.44	1.63	1.16	.66
Do.	Sultan Street	...	1.15	.80	.45	1.73	1.20	.68
Do.	Pudoh ...	... ...	1.28	.86	.48	1.92	1.29	.72
Do.	Salak ...	... ...	1.30	.91	.50	1.95	1.37	.75
Do.	Sungei Besi	...	1.55	1.09	.58	2.33	1.64	.87
Do.	Kepong ...	...	1.45	1.02	.55	2.18	1.53	.83
Do.	Kuang ...	... ...	1.85	1.30	.67	2.78	1.95	1.01
Do.	Rawang ...	...	2.10	1.47	.74	3.15	2.21	1.11
Do.	Serendah ...	...	2.35	1.65	.92	3.53	2.48	1.23
Do.	Sungei Tampeian		2.60	1.75	.86	3.75	2.63	1.29
Do.	Rasa ...	...	2.85	2.00	.97	4.28	3.00	1.46
Do.	Kuala Kubu	...	3.05	2.14	1.03	4.58	3.21	1.55
K. Lumpur and	Batu Tiga	...	.65	.46	.26	.98	.69	.39
Do.	Petaling	... ...	.25	.18	.10	.38	.27	.15
Do.	Sultan Street	...	.05	.03	.01	.08	.05	.02
Do.	Pudoh ...	... ...	.18	.09	.04	.27	.14	.06
Do.	Salak ...	... ...	.20	.14	.06	.30	.21	.09
Do.	Sungei Besi	...	.45	.32	.14	.68	.48	.21
Do.	Kepong ...	... ...	.35	.25	.11	.53	.38	.17
Do.	Kuang ...	... ...	.75	.53	.23	1.13	.80	.35
Do.	Rawang ...	... ...	1.00	.70	.30	1.50	1.05	.45
Do.	Serendah ...	...	1.25	.88	.38	1.88	1.32	.57
Do.	Sungei Tampeian		1.40	.98	.42	2.10	1.47	.63
Do.	Rasa ...	...	1.75	1.23	.53	2.63	1.85	.80
Do.	Kuala Kubu ...	...	1.95	1.37	.59	2.93	2.06	.89

POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

THE POST OFFICE, KUALA LUMPUR, will be open for General Business and Sale of Stamps:—Week days—8 A.M. to 6.30 P.M.; Sundays and Holidays—10 A.M. to 2 P.M. and 5 to 6.30 P.M. On Sundays, when there is no outward mail, the office will not be opened before 5 P.M.

Registration: Week days—8 A.M. to 2 P.M. and 3 to 4 P.M.; Holidays—11 A.M. to 2 P.M. (Sundays excepted).

Money Orders are issued at Kuala Lumpur on India and Ceylon, 11 A.M. to 2 P.M. Mondays to Fridays and 11 A.M. to 11.30 A.M. on Saturdays. Straits Settlements, Native States and Johor, 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Mondays to Fridays and 11 A.M. to 1 P.M. Saturdays (holidays excepted).

Stamps: "Selangor" Stamps must be used for all letters to places within the Straits Settlements and Native States; "Straits Settlements" Stamps to places outside the above limits.

Telegraphs: The Telegraph Office will be open on Week days—8 A.M. to 6 P.M.; Sundays and Holidays—8 to 10 A.M. and 4 to 5 P.M. Rates: From any office to any other office within the State, 10 cents for the first five words and two cents for every additional word. Name and address of receiver transmitted free

Per word from any office in Selangor (addresses charged for)—

Vid Penang to—		*Vid* Malacca to—	
Aden	$2.24	Aden	2.54
Burmah	1.29	Burmah	1.59
Ceylon	1.24	Ceylon	1.54
Egypt	2.64	Egypt	2.94
Europe	2.54	Europe	2.84
India	1.19	India	1.49
Hongkong	1.84	Hongkong	1.64
Japan	3.84	Japan	0.64
Java	1.01	Java	3.84
New York	3.04	New York	3.29
New Zealand	2.39	New Zealand	2.39
Queensland	2.84	Queensland	2.54
South and West Australia	2.19	South and West Australia	2.19
Zanzibar	4.24	Zanzibar	4.54
New South Wales, Victoria	2.24	New South Wales, Victoria	2.24
North Africa	2.54	North Africa	2.84
Tasmania	2.49	Tasmania	2.49
Penang	0.04	Penang	0.24
Perak	0.02	Perak	0.26
Sumatra	1.29	Sumatra	1.09

Direct to Singapore, 0.24; Malacca, 0.04; Jelebu, 0.02.

Telegraph Stations in Selangor: Batu Tiga, Jugra, Kajang, Klang, Kuala Kubu, Kuala Lumpur, Kuala Selangor, Sepang, Petaling, Rawang and Serendah.

Telegraph Stations in Pahang: Raub and Kuala Lipis.

Porterage Charges:

Telegraph Station.	Place in Vicinity.	Charge.
Kajang to	Semenyih	$ 0.50
Do.	Cheras	0.35
Do.	Beranang	1.00
Kuala Lumpur	Pudoh	0.15
Do.	Batu	0.30
Do.	Batu Caves	0.50
Do.	Hawthornden	0.45
Raub	Tras	0.75
Kuala Lipis	Punjom	0.75

All Porterage charges must be prepaid by senders of telegrams. For places not mentioned in the above list the rate at which porterage is calculated is seven cents a mile.

Steamer—Kuala Selangor and Klang: Leaves Klang at 11 A.M. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. Arrives at Kuala Selangor at 9 A.M. on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. Leaves Kuala Selangor same days and hours and arrives at Klang same days and hours.

Steamer—Kuala Selangor and Klang: s.s. *Boon Sim II*, leaves Klang at 9 A.M. Thursdays, and arrives at Kuala Selangor at 1 P.M. Leaves Kuala Selangor at 10 A.M. Fridays, and arrives at Klang at 2 P.M. same day.

Runner—Kuala Langat and Klang: Leaves Klang at 9 A.M. on Mondays and Fridays, and arrives at Jugra 4 P.M. on same days. Leaves Jugra at 9 A.M. on Wednesdays and Sundays, and arrives at Klang at 4 P.M. same days.

Runner—Kuala Kubu and Raub: Leaves Kuala Kubu 6 A.M. every Wednesday and arrives at Raub uncertain. Leaves Raub 8 A.M. every Saturday and arrives at Kuala Kubu uncertain.

Runner—Raub and Kuala Lipis: Leaves Raub afternoon Thursdays and arrives at Lipis uncertain. Leaves Lipis afternoon Wednesdays and arrives at Raub uncertain.

from the Selangor Journal, no. 8 of volume IV, December 27, 1895.

only allowed of a circular course of 100 yards." The president of the club was Khoo Mah Leck and the vice-president was Vong Chu Siew (possibly the man who was Yap Ah Loy's political secretary during the civil war period). In 1895 the Sanitary Board was discussing a proposal to found an Asian Recreation Club alongside the Padang.

Sports.

This brief account of the early clubs will show that clubs and sports were inseparable. The European community had introduced a variety of sports and games to Kuala Lumpur. The Selangor Club, as has been said, was founded originally partly as a cricket club. Cricket has probably been played on the Padang since 1884. But the preparation of a proper "square" for pitches and other improvements date from the acting Residentship of E. W. Birch in 1892 — he was a keen cricketer (see p. 84). Generally cricket was played with due seriousness but in 1893 there is record of a more light-hearted match on the Padang between a team of ladies and a team of gentlemen. To obtain equality of the sexes the Gentlemen were to bowl and field with the left hand only and to bat with broomsticks. The Resident's wife opened the Ladies' innings but was soon out for a duck. The other Ladies did little better. The match ended in a victory for the Gentlemen. The reporter offerred "one concluding word of advice to the ladies; the grand rule of whist, silence, should also be observed while fielding."

At this period association football was more generally played at British public schools than is now the case. Accordingly "soccer" was the first football code introduced into Selangor. Up to 1895 only the Malays had followed the European example in playing soccer. Here Rodger, the Resident, had helped to make a start by presenting a silver challenge cup to be competed for by Malay teams. Naturally enough Malay soccer did not immediately reach the high standards of modern times. The following is an account of a Malay soccer match on the Padang in the 1890's:—

> The natural gravity and dignity of the Malays is easily noticeable. No preliminary horseplay or turning of somesaults as amongst English schoolboys can be seen. After a lot of talking, which is shared equally by all the players, the ball is started. The game reminds one of the descriptions one reads of ladies' football matches in England. The players make apologetic charges and stand around in picturesque attitudes. The full-back may be seen stretched at full length smoking a cigarette

> whilst a mildly fierce battle is being waged near his opponent's goal. Should the ball happen to trickle his way he will come to life and spread himself around gracefully until the tide of conflict has once more rolled backwards. The costumes worn by the players are very "chic".

Particulars are not given of the "chic" football kit. But elsewhere an account is given of Malay costume at Hari Raya which makes it plain that at this time there was a general tendency among the Malays to adopt European dress. Malays at Hari Raya were said to wear stiff shirt collars, polished black shoes, trousers tucked inside their socks. The general effect was embellished by "gorgeously embroided smoking caps" and "blue-tinted goggles."

Rugby football was introduced to Selangor in 1894. In May of that year there was "a match under Rugby rules, between a team of Planters, captained by E. V. Carey, and 'The World', captained by W. D. Scott." Many of the players who took part in this match had never played rugger before. The *Selangor Journal* published a summary of the rules of the game for the information of those who wished to take it up.

Horse-racing came to Selangor (from the Straits Settlements) a little before the arrival of rugger. In February 1890 a Gymkhana Club was formed. It included some Chinese members and Towkay Ah Yeok was a member of the first committee of the club. Towkay Loke Yew appears among the lists of owners. The Gymkhana Club asked the Selangor Government for a five-year lease of land (in the Circular Road area) for a course. The Government granted the lease and also a subsidy of $2,000 to be added to the $1,500 contributed by members towards the cost of laying out the course. The first race meeting was held at Chinese New Year in February 1891 on the occasion of a visit of the Governor.

There were one or two meetings a year thereafter. In 1892 a new brick grandstand was built to seat 250 people. But Kuala Lumpur race meetings failed to attract entries from outside Selangor. This fact was attributed to a clause in the lease of 1890 which prohibited the Gymkhana Club from allowing professional jockeys to ride at its meetings. In 1895 the lease expired and a re-organisation was undertaken. In September of that year the Gymkhana Club was wound up and reformed as the Selangor Turf Club. Negotiations were begun with the Selangor Government for a lease of a new course without any restriction on the admission of professional jockeys.

Much of the fun of race meetings as always lay in backing your fancy. This presented some nice problems to a late Victorian community which had no bookmakers among its numbers

and which did not feel quite easy about its women betting (smoking, riding bicycles etc). The Chartered Bank solved the first of these problems by making a practice of closing on race days and bringing its cashiers out to the course to constitute the "Old Firm". One of the stewards was deputed to collect the ladies' bets and place them; thus the proprieties were saved. There was something in the nature of a dress parade after the last race in the enclosure.

Golf reached Kuala Lumpur at about the same time as racing, namely about 1890. The Glassford brothers are said to have been the moving spirits in laying out the first course. This was in 1893 when a Golf Club was formed. The course was on Petaling Hill (more or less on the site now occupied by the Victoria Institution), and the first "pavilion" was at the foot of the hill. The pavilion was moved in 1895 to make way for an incinerator but the course remained.

The 8-hole course at Petaling Hill was too remote for the ladies who lived around the Lake Gardens. A 5-hole course was laid out in the Lake Gardens about 1895. Feminine influence too may have instituted the putting matches by moonlight.

There were several other sporting clubs. In December, 1891, Syers initiated the formation of a "Rifle Association", which had a long and successful career. In the early 1890's he also kept "a wild and for the most part hairless pack of dogs", with which he hunted pig and deer (both *Rusa* and *Kijang*). Early in 1895, while he was on leave, W. A. Leach, who also kept a small pack, established a "Hunt Club", of which Syers and Dr Travers (an enthusiastic sportsman in several fields, and and a good shot) subsequently became the most enthusiastic members. The Club met on 52 occasions in 1895, with a total bag of 44 head of game, 19 being deer and 25 pig. When H.M.S. *Mercury* visited Klang in June of that year, a meet was arranged for the benefit of any officers who might be interested.

> .....the notice said "Corner of Maxwell Road, 6 a.m." Sharp at that hour a strong party mustered with guns and were soon posted by the Master, who proceeded to draw the jungle near Mr Paxon's garden for pig — unfortunately they were not at home. A move was then made towards the Selangor Coffee Estate.....and here the dogs put out two *kijang* which were bowled over in grand style, right and left, by Mr W. D. Scott, the shootist being pardonably proud of his excellent marksmanship. No time was lost in getting the dogs to work again, and very soon they were in full cry after pig, one attempted to cross the Railway but was brought down by a clinking shot from Mr Youel, R.N., another was fired at and missed. There was any quantity of pig on foot, but owing to the very dry weather the dogs had great difficulty in following up their game. An unfortunate accident hap-

> pened to one of the best dogs, his foot being terribly bitten by an enormous iguana; this brute was shot by the dog-boy and measured over five feet. By 11 a.m. our visitors were about tired of the sun, and a move was made to the "Spotted Dog" for refreshments.....

Four days later two members of the Club, out for elephants, without the dogs, came on a herd of four at Batu Tiga, of which they collected one. The same day others of the Hunt, working the pack, shot two pig and wounded a Rusa on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur. The vicinity of the town was clearly very much richer in game at this period than any remotely accesible area of Selangor is at the present time. Dr Travers is said to have shot a tiger in Young Road in the centre of Kuala Lumpur.

We have mentioned the Chinese Athletic Club and the proposal for a cinder track round the Padang. The first bicycle in Kuala Lumpur is said to have been a "penny farthing" owned by the eldest son of Yap Ah Loy — but he left it to his servant to experiment with riding it. In March, 1984, a party of Kuala Lumpur cyclists made an expedition to Malacca and back over the Chinese New Year[13]. Road communications between Kuala Lumpur and Malacca had not been long-established at that time.

One of the major sporting events of 1894 was a visit to Kuala Lumpur of Mr Hancock, who described himself as a "champion walkist". He offered to race over a distance of four miles round the Padang against any eight walkers whom Kuala Lumpur could put up to compete as a relay team, each man doing half a mile. Kuala Lumpur accepted the challenge and put up a team of six Sikhs and two Europeans. Hancock however beat them all. He claimed to be able to walk a distance of eight miles in seventeen seconds under one hour.

In 1894 a proposal was made to form a Volunteer Corps, and Captain Lyons, second-in-command of the Police, offerred to take command of it. It is not recorded whether this proposal

13. See *Selangor Journal*, **2**, 1894, pp. 219-224. The journey took two days, the actual cycling time being just under eleven hours. The first overland mail service between Kuala Lumpur and Seremban was established four months later (see p. 100, above; cf. also Rathborne's account of his journey from Sungei Ujong to K. L. in 1883, pp. 151-60, below). The achievement of the men of Chinese New Year, 1894, was eclipsed eighteen months later. In September, 1895, a party cycled from Malacca up to Province Wellesley, expecting to be reduced to sixty miles of elephant track in northern Selangor, and agreeably surprised to find it replaced by "a passable if undulating road" (*Singapore Free Press*, 8 October, 1895). Then at the end of November the Rev. A. F. Sharp, Asst Chaplain of St Andrew's Cathedral, Singapore, cycled from Tanjong Kling (Malacca) to Kuala Lumpur, accompanied by "Mrs Sharp riding a tricycle". The lady regarded her ride as a little matter, but the Asst Chaplain unfortunately contracted a chill on the trip and on his arrival was laid up with dysentery (*Selangor Journal*, **4**, 1895, p. 108).

was adopted or not. In September 1893 Venning succeeded in forming a Selangor Agri-horticultural Show Committee, and the first show was held in June 1894. A Masonic Lodge was established in October, 1889, in temporary premises in Clarke Street. In 1893 the foundation stone was laid of a new Masonic Lodge in Damansara Road, which was occupied in 1894.

Entertainments.

There were many forms of recreation and amusement. As has been related, Yap Ah Loy entertained Governor Weld to a theatrical performance as early as 1880[14]. In 1888 a new Chinese theatre was built in Kuala Lumpur in permanent materials with accommodation for 3,000 spectators. The influence of the Chinese theatre may be judged from the fact that in 1881 when it was proposed to build a theatre at Taiping in Perak, the mine headmen opposed the scheme saying that "the coolies may desert their work to attend the theatre."

There was at least one theatre in Java Street (Mountbatten Road) until 1892 for it is known that in that year Tambusamy Pillai bought it for conversion into dwelling houses. "Drury Lane", off Petaling Street, was so named because it ran alongside a Chinese theatre in Petaling Street. There was also a theatre on the site now occupied by the Rex Cinema. It appears that at one of these theatres at least the actors were a resident company who played throughout the year in a repertoire of Cantonese Wayang.

The European theatre was entirely an occasional amateur affair — owing much to Padre Haines. On the occasion of the visit of the Governor in February, 1891, there was a concert and "A New and Original Comedietta" entitled "A Crown Colony" given by the Selangor Amateurs at the Government Offices (which apparently had the only hall of any size). For this performance reserved seats cost $2 each and unreserved seats $1.

In the European community music rather than drama was the main artistic recreation. The Police band, whose musicians were Philippinos, gave concerts on the Padang (where there was a bandstand) twice a week. They also played in the Lake Gardens and at the Lake Club once a week each. The programmes and other arrangements were supervised by a "Band Committee" consisting of three European ladies, Syers and Baxendale.

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14. See also pp. 148-151, below.

There were also European musical concerts. The reporting of these occasions evoked the usual careful praise required of a reporter who must go on mixing socially in a small community with the performers.

> Mrs. Haines delighted all who heard her with her rendering of "A Summer Night". Mr Dunman's sweet tenor was heard to advantage in "How shall I woo her?" and later on in "Sally in our Alley", which good old song met with an enthusiastic reception.....

And so on. But convention permitted a few restrained digs, more especially at the gentlemen.

> Messrs Alexander and Dougal sang "The Larboard Watch" — they finished together.

and

> The accompaniment to both songs and dances was not altogether happy; however much at home with his instrument the pianist may have been, he was certainly not in touch with the performers.

It was, of course, an accepted social convention of the time that everyone would sing or play something if invited to do so. Thus the Selangor Club held periodic smoking concerts at which there were no set programmes; members got up and performed as inclination and popular demand prompted them.

St Andrew's Night was first celebrated by a dinner in 1894. The Chinese staff were somewhat perplexed. One of them committed the enormity of cutting up the haggis for sandwiches.

There were also more serious recreations. In addition to Baxendale's Scientific Society there was a rather unsatisfactory lending library housed in the Government Offices. A museum was established in the late 1880's, beginning in 1887 with a collection of natural history specimens kept at the house of J. H. Klyne, who had served for some time in the department of Public Works, first as Deputy Superintendent, under Daly, and later as surveyor, under Bellamy. In June, 1888, the exhibits were moved to a building in Batu Road, and placed in charge of a Mr Samuels, a trained taxidermist sent up from the Raffles Museum, Singapore. Shortly afterwards the collections were taken to the Government Offices for a few months, and finally they were transferred to Sutan Puasa's former *istana* on Bukit Nanas. In 1893 there was talk of asking government for "a suitable structure, [to be] erected on the Plain" to house the museum and library, together with a hall for public lectures. W. W. Skeat suggested the inclusion in the scheme of "some carefully considered system of technical education," but in the end nothing came of the idea, and the museum remained at Bukit Nanas until 1906. In

that year was moved to a new building, "of the Flemish order," specially constructed for it near the Damansara Road entrance to the Botanic Gardens. Here, we may add, it remained and flourished until the building was destroyed by an American bomb in 1945. H. C. Syers was prominent among the earlier donors to collections, and by 1895 they apparently included a fairly extensive range of birds and mammals and some good ethnographic material obtained by Skeat. At that period about 1,400 people were visiting the Museum each month. The first trained curator was H. C. Robinson, formerly of the Liverpool Museum: he was not appointed until 1902, although the Committee began asking for a Curator as early as 1893.

Kuala Lumpur had no newspaper until the appearance of the *Malay Mail* in 1896. But in 1892 the *Selangor Journal*, published fortnightly, began to appear. It was a kind of magazine including historical articles as well as notes on current topics of Kuala Lumpur's social life. E. W. Birch, when acting Resident, was responsible for the foundation of the *Selangor Journal*. The managing editor was John Russell, Superintendent of the Government Printing Department. It is a most valuable source of material on all the subjects on which it touches. It is only from the *Selangor Journal* (much quoted already in this paper) that one can see the "small things of life", at all events of European life, in Kuala Lumpur in the mid 1890's. It is difficult to think oneself back

15. The first issue of the *Malay Mail* was published on 14 December, 1896, with an edition of 200 copies turned out on a hand press in a shophouse in Market Street, on the site now occupied by the General Post Office. J. H. M. Robson, the founder and first editor, began his career in the east as an assistant planter in Ceylon. He reached Kuala Lumpur in 1889, and for seven years worked in the Selangor Government Service, starting as a clerk and draftsman in the Railway Dept, and rising by way of acting District Officer Ulu Langat, and later Klang, to the position of acting Collector of Land Revenue and Registrar of Titles at Kuala Lumpur. The capital for the establishment of the *Malay Mail* was provided by loans from Loke Yew and W. W. Skeat: Skeat, who was then District Officer at Kuala Langat, was apparently firmly determined not to take advantage of his position as a government officer, and is said to have been "so conscientious that he never supplied an item of news or offered an opinion." There was talk in Kuala Lumpur in February, 1897, of preparations being made for another paper, to be called the *Malay Observer*, but nothing materialised, and after the *Selangor Journal* had ceased publication later that year the *Malay Mail* was left without local competitors. From 1902 Robson employed an editor, and himself occupied the position of Manager (the style changing to General Manager and Managing Director, as the paper grew). He married, late in life, the widow of H. C. Syers, some twenty years after the latter's death. In 1926 Robson decided to retire, but after a few months in Europe he returned to Kuala Lumpur: he died in the Sime Road Internment Camp, at Singapore, early in 1945.

BOON EAN & CO.,

COMMISSION AGENTS, GENERAL STOREKEEPERS AND CONTRACTORS,

No. 10, Market Street, Kuala Lumpur,

HAVE ALWAYS IN STOCK

EUROPEAN GOODS AND TINNED PROVISIONS, ETC.

Fresh Andrew Lusk's Hams and Bacons.
Gouda, Edam and Stilton Cheese.
Huntley and Palmer's Biscuits.
Australian Butter (Wood & Rosebud Brand).
Danish and Bretel Frères' Butter.
Assam and Souchong Tea.
Ceylon Tea (Galllebodde).

CIGARS, (Londres, Regalia Chica, Princessas, High Life in the East, and Rangoon Cigars of the best quality).

Galvanized Buckets, Glass and China Crockery Ware.

STATIONERY, PERFUMERY AND PATENT MEDICINES.

Three Castle Tobacco and Cigarettes.
Richmond and Capstan Tobacco.
Cavendish Tobacco (Golden Leaf).

WINES AND SPIRITS, ETC.

Buchanan's and Usher's Whisky, Claret, Hock, Hennessey's *** and Exshaw's Brandy (No. 1 wired), Lime Juice Cordial, Sherry (White Seal), Bass's Light Oriental Ale (Green Diamond), Tivoli Beer, Bull Dog and Burke's Stout, Cockburn and Campbell's Port, Green and Yellow Chartreuse, Benedictine (D. O. M.), Chablis, Cherry Brandy and Curaçoa.

PADI, GRAM AND CRUSHED FOOD (Hart Brothers'), each bag containing 150 lbs.

PERAK AND PENANG AERATED WATERS.

Sole Agents for Mrs. A. Jansen's Pickles (Romanin, Mangoes and Limes of the best quality).

TAN CHENG WHATT, *Manager.*

CHOW KIT & Co.,

GENERAL STOREKEEPERS, MERCHANTS AND COMMISSION AGENTS,

Corner Houses of Market Street and Gombak Road.

HAVE ALWAYS IN STOCK

EUROPEAN GOODS, TINNED PROVISIONS, WINES, SPIRITS, ETC.

ALL OF THE BEST QUALITY.

Fresh York and other Hams and fresh Bacons
Cheddar, Dutch, Edam and Gouda Cheese
China Sweet Preserved Ginger and Chow-Chow, in pots
Preserved Californian and other Fruits, in tins and in bottles
Pickles
Huntley and Palmer's Biscuits
Australian Butter, Basck's and Heyman's Danish Butter and Butter of other brands
Stationery, Perfumery, Haberdashery, Fancy Goods and Patent Medicines

Assam, Ceylon, Johore and China Teas
Glass and Crockery Wares
Cigars (Londres, Regalia Chica, Princessas, High Life in the East, Damas, Nuevo Habano, Senoritas, Windsors, 2a Habano Colon, Dalagos Meliannos & Rangoon)
Felt, Tweed, Terai and Straw Hats and Bonnets and Caps of many kinds
Europe-made Shoes, (patent leather, brown leather & tennis). Singlets, Socks and Stockings and Belts (Cyclist and other kinds)

Patent Harness, Carriage rugs etc.
Tobacco and Cigarettes of various kinds, of approved quality
Electro-plated Wares
Strong Fire-proof Iron Safes
Carriage & Rickisha Lamps, and Lamps of various other kinds, and Cutlery
Rattan and Bamboo Basket-work of various kinds, Office Paper Baskets, Tiffin Baskets, Waste paper Baskets, Clothes Baskets, Bottle Baskets, Hand Baskets,
Commodes, Office Chairs and Footstools

HORSE FOOD, GRAM, OATS, PADI, ETC., ETC.

BRANCH FIRM: CHEONG LEE & Co., 14, Hokien Street, Kuala Lumpur.

ORDERS AND COMPLAINTS PROMPTLY ATTENDED TO!

LOW CHENG KOON, *Managing Partner.*

The leading general storekeepers in 1895: advertisements from the *Selangor Journal*, **4**, (5), 15 November, 1895

Sole Agent—

CHONG LEE & Co.,

Kuala Lumpur.

PENANG AND PERAK ÆRATED WATER FACTORY.

TESTIMONIALS.

FROM SIR HUGH LOW, G.C.M.G.,
LATE BRITISH RESIDENT OF PERAK.

I consider that the Soda Water manufactured by A. MOUNGYEE of Taiping is superior to any other Soda Water manufactured in the Straits Settlements and I use no other.

TAIPING, 13th April, 1889. (Sd.) HUGH LOW, *Resident, Perak.*

FROM W. H. TREACHER, ESQ., C.M.G.,
LATE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT OF PERAK.

A. MOUNGYEE's Perak Aerated Water Co.'s Soda Water is equal to any I have used during the last seventeen years in the East.

(Sd.) W. H. TREACHER,
31st July, 1890. Secy. to Govt., Perak.

FROM DR. H. H. SHEPPARD,
STATE SURGEON, PERAK.

MR. A. MOUNGYEE has been a Manufacturer of Soda Water in Taiping for the last two years during which time I have on several occasions tested it and have found it pure and free from adulteration, being made from the best water derived from hills several thousand feet in height.

TAIPING, PERAK, 31st July, 1890. (Sd.) H. H. SHEPPARD, *State Surgeon, Perak.*

FROM MESSRS. BARNETT AND FOSTER,

Judges of Aerated Waters at London Exhibitions. Mineral Water and Ice Machinists, Manufacturing Chemists and General Providers for the Aerated Water, Wine, Beer, and Cyder Traders.

NIAGARA WORKS, EAGLE WHARF ROAD, LONDON, N.,
10th February, 1891.

We hereby certify that we have supplied MR. A. MOUNGYEE of Taiping, Perak, with Soda Water Machinery, etc., the same having all the latest improvements and being in every respect similar to that which gained the highest awards at the great International Health Exhibition, London, 1884, namely, seven Prize Medals.

Under our tuition MR. A. MOUNGYEE has also made the various Aerated Drinks, and thoroughly understands his business. We have tested samples of his make of Drinks, and have no hesitation in pronouncing them to be equal and in many respects superior to those of English made.

(Sd.) BARNETT & FOSTER.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, Singapore, *8th May, 1893.*

I have much pleasure in certifying to the excellent manner in which A. MOUNGYEE has carried out the arrangements in connection with my last visit to Penang Hill.

The Aerated Waters which he supplied from his own Factory gave me entire satisfaction.

(Sd.) CECIL C. SMITH,
Governor.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, Singapore, *29th May, 1893.*

MR. A. MOUNGYEE,
AERATED WATER MANUFACTURER, PENANG.

SIR,—I am directed to inform you that you have given entire satisfaction while catering for H.E. the Governor, Sir Cecil C. Smith, during his late visit to Penang Hill. Your Aerated Waters have been invariably of excellent quality, and I am further to inform you that, as requested, you have the permission of H.E. Sir Cecil C. Smith, G.C.M.G., to consider your Manufactory as being under his patronage.

(Sd.) H. L. TALBOT, CAPT.,
A.D.C. TO H.E. SIR CECIL C. SMITH, G.C.M.G.

HEAD QUARTERS HOUSE,
Singapore, *5th August, 1893.*

I am well satisfied with the Soda Water supplied me by A. MOUNGYEE from his Factory during my stay in Penang and consider it of very good quality.

(Sd.) CHARLES WARREN.

A. Moungyee's Perak Aerated Waters, May-June, 1894: an advertisement from the *Selangor Journal*, **2**, (20)

to the differences of daily routine between their lives and ours. In a world which had no wireless time signals, how did they keep their clocks right? The answer is that everyone, including the Railway, took their time from the signal gun. The headquarters of the Selangor Government, of its Police and of several other departments beside were in Bluff Road (where the present Police headquarters stands) until the Secretariat building was completed in 1896. At the Police "Fort" in Bluff Road a gun was fired at 5 a.m., midday and 9 p.m. (curfew). There are complaints in the *Selangor Journal* that the gun made carriage ponies bolt. When the Secretariat was built it was feared that the concussion of the signal gun would be too much for the clock tower and thereafter the gun was fired only at midday.

Where did they go for their local leave? This was a matter of some importance in those days when an expatriate official was required to serve a tour of six years at a time. They sometimes went to Malacca, Singapore or Penang, or even as far afield as Hongkong in the winter season. The local leave station was Bukit Kutu (Treacher's Hill) near Kuala Kubu reached after a seven mile ascent. The preparations for a climb to Bukit Kutu were formidable. A lady describes how her party set off with two sheep driven up on the hoof, crates of live ducks and fowls, much tinned food, personal baggage — in all loads for 20 coolies and in addition carrying chairs on poles for those who could not complete the climb unaided. For picnics there were the Batu Caves[16] which they explored by the dim light of candles; the open water of the reservoir; and the Hot Springs at Dusun Tua.

The shops of Kuala Lumpur in those days were rather limited in their stock-in-trade. But there was the Chow Kit emporium (later housed in the building which still stands as No 1 Clarke Street) and Archie Harper's general store. It was no pleasure to go walking in the streets of Kuala Lumpur, paved with dusty

16. Batu Caves were "discovered" by Wm T. Hornaday (senior taxidermist at the U.S. National Museum) and H. C. Syers (Superintendent Selangor Police) at the end of June, 1878, while hunting in the vicinity. "Discovered" requires a little qualification, as the two men were actually shown the caves, in response to queries, by a group of aborigines who were apparently living on the bats roosting in them. A few weeks after his first visit, Syers made a second trip to the caves, accompanied by a small party including Bloomfield Douglas and D.D. Daly. Daly wrote a short, rather trival account of he second visit (see *Journ. Straits Br. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, **3**, 1879), on the strength of which he has been regarded as the first European to explore the caves, but it is clear from Hornaday's book ("Two Years in the Jungle, London, 1885; see chap. 27) that he and Syers went into several of them, and Hornaday's account is a little fuller than Daly's. Hornaday's description is reprinted here in Appendix B2, below, see pp. 140-47.

gravel and lit after dark only by flickering kerosine lamps. Convention obliged the European women to wear an amount of clothes which would kill their grand-daughters now — skirts trailing to the ground, gloves, veils. The men in close-buttoned coats up to the neck (the "*tutup*" jacket) and pith helmets can hardly have been comfortable either.

What did they talk about? Some of the small talk has a still familiar ring, even if the details belong to a past era. At the Lake Club,

> The ladies, sitting in a ring in the verandah were wont to discuss the well-worn subjects of the price of ducks and the delinquencies of the "Boy" ..... Such fragments of conversation as "Oh, I always insist on his sweeping with tea leaves", or "I am giving her equal quantities of Mellin's Food and barley water".

We hear of amahs refusing to take the baby out unless provided with a boy to push the perambulator. We hear of what they wore at the party —

> Miss Salzmann wore a simple, girlish toilette of white striped gauze.

whereas the matrons were resplendent in brocaded satin, blue chiffon and *eau de nil* velvet.

It was a busy world — a visitor remarked "It struck me that Kuala Lumpur was always at high pressure." It was a world in which electric light, typewriters and the other apparatus of the twentieth century were just on the horizon. Kuala Lumpur's most uproarious foretaste of the wonders of the modern age was the visit in 1894 of Professor Lawrence — "Practical Aeronaut and Aerial Engineer". The Professor announced his intention of making an ascent in a balloon inflated with hot air from a fire laced with paraffin. But on the great day the subscriptions received were insufficient and the mortified aviator declined to go up. Then a Chinese spectator guaranteed the necessary minimum sum. Here let us hand over to the editor of the *Selangor Journal* —

> Everything being declared in readiness, the "Practical Aeronaut and Aerial Engineer" again addressed the throng, informing them that, although enough money had not been subscribed to cover expenses (to say nothing of the damage to the Club grounds; a point, however, which he did not mention), he was about to risk his life, and that he hoped that if he was successful something handsome would be done for him. He then moved off to the parachute, while a local sportsman dashed through the crowd with a bottle of beer wherewith to refresh him, took leave of his colleague, bade farewell to his wife, ordered the stays to be cast loose, and, amidst enthusiastic clapping and cheering, the balloon slowly soared aloft to a height of 20 feet.

Conclusion.

The choice of 1895 as the closing date for the period of Kuala Lumpur's history covered by this paper is to some extent arbitrary. The choice has been dictated partly by the fact that in 1895 the town became the capital of the newly founded Federated Malay States. This change increased the status of Kuala Lumpur and gave it a much more elaborate apparatus of government. In a more general sense the approximate mid-point of the decade of the 1890's marks the end of an era and the beginning of a new one. By 1895 the rapid administrative and economic changes of the 1880's had been consolidated. Planting (of coffee) had begun in Selangor and the way was thus prepared for the coming boom in rubber. Chinese tin-mining had reached a high point of development though it was soon to be overshadowed by the second and more successful European invasion of the industry.

The main theme of this paper has been the process of change. It has told how human needs arose and how they were met. To the writer at least the main interest of the subject lies in the interaction of the changing social needs of the Kuala Lumpur community and the composition and structure of its leadership. This leadership was both the means of making changes and also the necessary response to earlier changes.

In 1880 Kuala Lumpur still bore the impress of the needs of the past generation. These needs were for defence against attack and for economic resources with which to carry on tin-mining, the sole *raison d'être* of Kuala Lumpur at that time. The leadership therefore was provided by men who were of proven capacity in war and in the promotion of mining. Comparatively few of them were sufficiently versatile to excell in both fields. There were the fighting men who acted as body-guards to the headmen and who led the levies in the field. Middlebrook's biography of Yap Ah Loy (*JMBRAS*, 1951, **24,** (2)) contains many references to *panglima* such as Chung Piang and Hiu Fatt who did the fighting. These men were specialists and there was some difficulty in fitting them into the circumstances of a peacetime economy. This fact is illustrated by material in the present writer's biography of Captain Speedy of Larut. Speedy had considerable trouble with the *panglima* of the two sides in the Larut civil war when the war was over. They wanted to be absorbed as leaders in the financial nexus of tin-mining but for various reasons they were not really suitable for this function (*JMBRAS*, 1953, **26,** (3): 41). On the other hand the financiers equally were specialists and did not lead the armies which they paid for. Yap

Ah Shak is a good example of this type. Ah Shak was content to get on with his tin-mining and to leave the political and military direction of affairs to someone else.

A third and rather unusual type of leadership begins to appear in Yap Ah Loy's secretary, Voon Siew. Voon Siew helped Ah Loy in the diplomatic and administrative work which inevitably arose from Ah Loy's position as the governor of a territory and a member of a coalition. Voon Siew, although a trusted adviser, was clearly not an equal in status and influence to Ah Shak nor, in all probablity, to the panglimas. But here, in the form of one man, is the beginning of a civil service. It is interesting to speculate whether, if the Chinese of Kuala Lumpur had been left to their own devices after 1880, the embryo civil service would have increased in numbers and risen in status. But, granted the values and needs of the Chinese miners, it seems unlikely that this trend would have done more than provide the mining financiers with a slightly larger secretarial staff.

The leaders of Yap Ah Loy's period worked through the institutional structure of the Chinese secret societies. Something has been said of the multi-purpose functions of these societies in the mining communities of the period. It need not be repeated here. Law and order, defence, economic development, the provision of supplies, taxation and such labour welfare as there was — all these things were administered through the societies.

In the period between 1880 and 1895 the nature of the leadership changes. If Kuala Lumpur was to grow beyond the limits of its size and wealth in the 1870's it had to have more elaborate public services than Yap Ah Loy's system could have provided (at any rate in the short run). These new services could not be staffed by Asians and thus an alien bureaucracy was introduced. The question can be raised whether Yap Ah Loy and his Chinese would not rather have been left alone to work out their own salvation or whether a more determined effort should not have been made at the start to build up public services staffed by Asians. But these are matters to be explained in terms of British colonial policy at that time, a factor external to the Kuala Lumpur situation.

The immediate and obvious results of the British regime have been described. In some ways the more interesting results were its secondary consequences. The tradition of civic initiative in fields outside the role in which one earns one's living was neither entirely a British importation nor entirely an existing Chinese phenomenon. Yap Ah Loy had done as much as he

felt was necessary for the general welfare because as the leader of the community he had to retain all the initiative in his hands. The British also brought their own tradition of public philanthropy. Out of this blending of two elements grew a new type of Asian leadership. This was the "public figure", the inevitable member of committees. The most striking example of this role was Yap Kwan Seng, third member of the Yap clan to become Capitan China of Kuala Lumpur (and incidentally the last of any family to hold the office). He was a member of the State Council and of the Sanitary Board, member or more usually chairman of every committee dealing with the affairs of the Chinese community, a High Court assessor and also a magistrate and adviser to the Government on every Chinese question. Why did he attain to this role and what function did he perform in it? Like his predecessors he had wealth and the prestige of the Yap clan. But he did not need, and apparently did not possess, the outstanding ability and dominating personality of Yap Ah Loy (the short tenure of office of Yap Ah Shak, from 1885-89, was a transitional period). If he had lived in Yap Ah Loy's generation, he could never have filled the role of Capitan China for long. Herein lies the essential point. In the new situation of the 1890's the function of Chinese leadership had changed. Except in the economic field (a very important exception) it was no longer necessary to organise, lead, decide as Ah Loy had done in every field of activity. Yap Kwan Seng, and others like him, existed to interpret the two dissimilar elements in the new composite leadership of the community. On the innumerable boards and committees on which he served Yap Kwan Seng interpreted the Chinese point of view to the British administrators and, in so far as he had absorbed the British viewpoint — as over vaccination — he interpreted that point of view to his own community. In a "colonial situation", at any rate in its early stages, this role of bridge or interpreter is most necessary in order to preserve tolerable harmony. It is a role which was not confined to Asians. In the problem of Anglo-Malay adjustment, which lies largely outside this paper, British administrators such as Hugh Low in Perak and Swettenham succeeded because, to all appearances, they achieved a fair understanding of the Malay point of view, and could take this factor into account in framing their policy. The most striking illustration of this proposition was Hugh Low's flat refusal, although it was likely to cost him his job, to abolish "debt-slavery" in Perak until he had obtained the general acceptance of the Malay aristocracy to such a change.

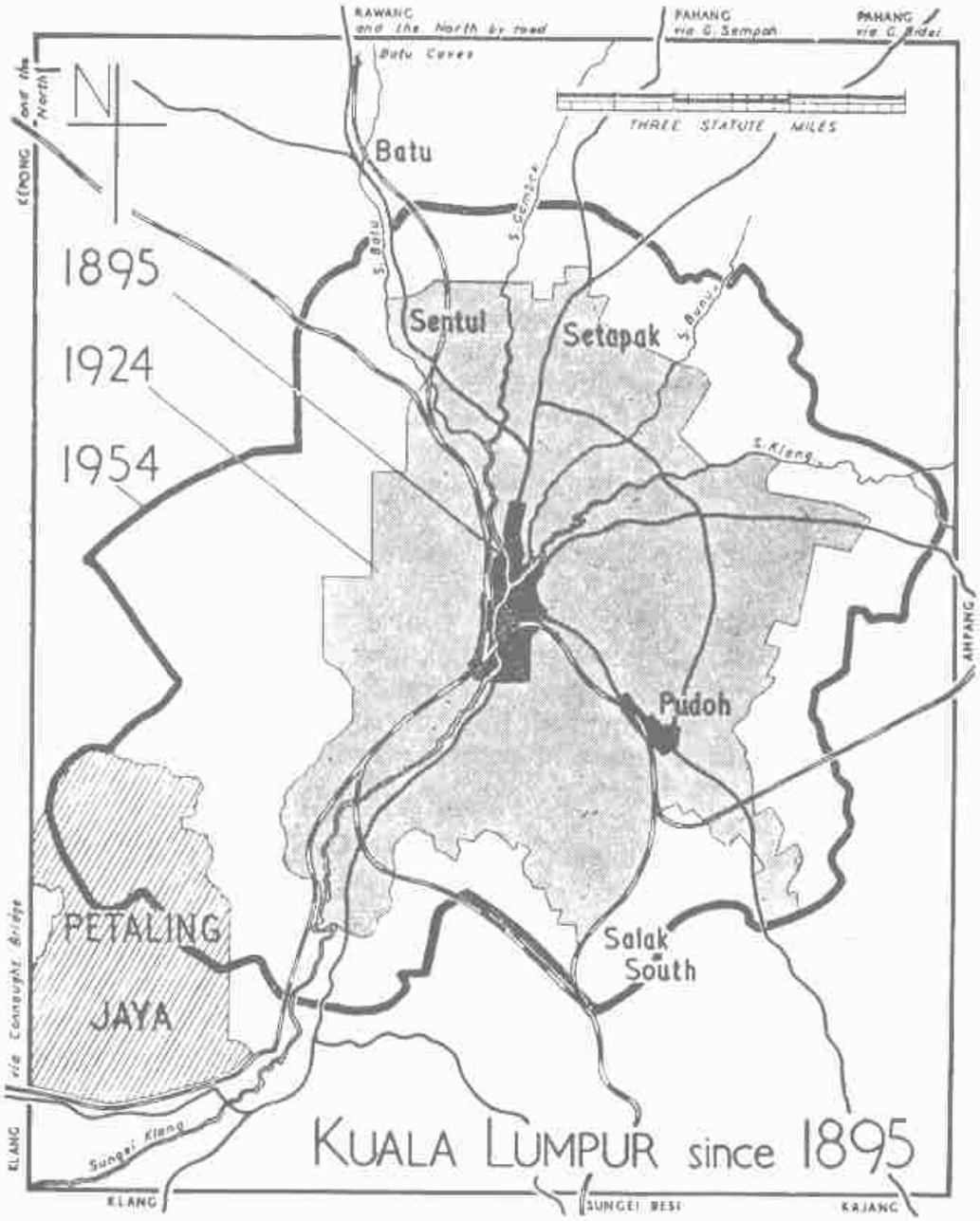
To the modern observer there is one element missing from the set-up of 1890 which plays a large part in our own times. The men of words, the lawyers and the journalists, had not

penetrated to Kuala Lumpur. Lawyers were not allowed to practise before the Courts until 1895. There was no newspaper until 1896. In the context of this discussion the absence of lawyers is significant only in that lawyers tend to play a considerable part in political affairs. In common with journalists they are specialists in formulating and expressing a point of view. In their absence the importance of men like Yap Kwan Seng was all the greater.

Another change in the nature of leadership in Kuala Lumpur after 1880 was its dispersion. In the days when Yap Ah Loy was in control, Kuala Lumpur had been Yap Ah Loy's Kuala Lumpur. This is not to argue that Yap Ah Loy worked alone and unaided. But he was at the centre of every aspect of social affairs. In economics, politics, administration Yap Ah Loy took all the important decisions. There were men to help him. But so much depended on his personal contribution. Swettenham considered that it was Yap Ah Loy's personal determination which prevented the Chinese from abandoning the mines around Kuala Lumpur in 1875. If this had happened, the capital of Selangor would now be somewhere else and the capital of the Federation might not be in Selangor at all. At that stage so much could turn on the resolution of one invidual.

After 1880 not even Swettenham ever attained to the personal pre-eminence of Yap Ah Loy. It is interesting to speculate what would have happened if Swettenham had not become Resident of Selangor in 1882. It was by no means certain that he would obtain the post. He was at the time only 32 years old and he was the most junior of the various candidates eligible for it. For this reason, and because he was considered "aggressive" (i.e. likely to take bold decisions on his own responsibility), the Colonial Office did not want him to have the post — but were eventually persuaded by Weld. Swettenham's decisive contribution was the plan to build the railway. Here there was a personal element; Swettenham knew enough of surveying to offer this subject at his civil service examination in 1869. It is tempting to suppose that this knowledge of the elements of surveying enabled him to see that a railway could be built from Klang to Kuala Lumpur over terrain which offerred no serious obstacle. Another man might have missed this fact; as we have seen, Maxwell failed to see how serious an obstacle the main range presents to a plan for a railway into Pahang. But, apart from this very questionable hypothesis about Swettenham's surveying and the railway, it is difficult to see what Swettenham did which a colleague of rather less ability might not have achieved less surely and more slowly. This is not to depreciate Swettenham's brilliant gifts, but to record that his contribution was the exer-

cise (admittedly with exceptional skill) of certain administrative techniques which were the common possession of the civil service to which he belonged. We have passed from the leadership of Yap Ah Loy, founded on the exercise of inborn ability of an exceptional kind, to the leadership of Swettenham, founded on the exercise of an acquired technique (even though it happened in this case to be supplemented by exceptional ability). Leadership, in the administrative field, had become a matter of professional skill.



Kuala Lumpur, the approximate boundaries of the municapal area as they were in 1895, 1924 and 1954.

Moreover, as has been said, Swettenham never held all the reins in his hands alone. He led and dominated a team. But his assistants — Syers, Rodger, Venning and the others — enjoyed a greater degree of independent authority than the coadjutors of Yap Ah Loy. This dispersal of the power of decision was an inevitable consequence of the fact that leadership had become a matter, in the field of government at least, of professional skill. No one man could have mastered all the techniques used even in the elementary British administration of the 1880's. By contrast, Yap Ah Loy had filled almost all the lesser leadership roles in his community — he had in his earlier years been a fighting man, a trader, a miner and much else besides.

The British largely imposed their institutions of government. The departments were organised on the lines with which they had been familiar elsewhere. As a matter of organisation this fact was scarcely of significance to the Chinese who played little part in it. More interesting is the manner in which the principle of drawing together British and Asian viewpoints found expression in the many committees and boards set up under the new regime. The local notables were thus instructed in the technique of carrying on consultations *in that* way (consultation itself was of course no novelty). The next stage is the transplanting of the committee method into purely Chinese organisations. Thus (see pp. 57-8) the Immigration Depot, itself a European innovation, was managed by a purely Chinese committee.

These changes were not of course all in one direction. Although it was little acknowledged, the British adapted their administrative methods to absorb some existing arrangements. The best known example of this process was the use of the Captain China as a means of restoring order on the mines (see p. 80).

Apart from the general question of leadership with which this section of the paper is most concerned there were many other fields in which there were interesting changes as a result of the contact of two communities. Something has been said of the spread of European sports, clubs, carriages, houses etc to the Asian, especially the Chinese, communities. Here again the changes were not all on one side. It is too often forgotten in these situations that the European community is able to live a life quite unlike its normal existence in its native country. The pomp and circumstance, and the snobbery of the European community can be viewed as a reaction (rather than a cultural borrowing) to their privileged position in the leadership of the community among which they worked and lived.

At all events here is the story of how men of diverse races, brought together by the accidents of a historical situation, tackled their problems and by their achievement laid the foundations of the modern Kuala Lumpur. On balance the present-day citizen of the town has reason to be grateful to them for the material things, and also for the embryonic civic tradition, which they have bequeathed to him.

Sources

In the introductory sections of this paper much use has been made of Middlebrook's biography of Yap Ah Loy (*JMBRAS*, **24,** (2) 1951). The material used in the central section of the paper comes almost entirely from the records of the Government of Selangor, especially from the reports of the Resident and the various heads of departments (which from 1890 onwards are conveniently available in printed form in the *Selangor Gazette*). Owing to lack of time the writer has not been able to use this source as fully as he would have wished. The Selangor records, preserved from their start in 1875, are a mine of information. In the final sections on life and recreation the main source is the *Selangor Journal* from 1892 to 1896. Use has also been made of modern reminiscences published by Mrs Stratton Brown in the *Malay Mail* "50 Years of Progress" supplement of July 1954 and by Mr Ng Seo Buck in the *Malayan Historical Journal* (**1,** (1): May, 1954). To these authors and to the (generally anonymous) contributors to the *Selangor Journal* the present writer makes most grateful acknowledgement.

Appendix A

The Controversy about Chinese Secret Societies in Selangor

In 1884 a difference of opinion developed between Powell, who was acting Protector of Chinese in Singapore in the absence of Pickering, and Rodger, then acting Resident of Selangor, backed by Syers, Superintendent of Police in Selangor. Powell in the course of a minute referred to the existence of Chinese secret societies in Selangor. Rodger and Syers denied that there were any such societies.

These papers are by no means unknown (see note 54 to Yap Ah Loy by S.M. Middlebrook in *JMBRAS*, **24,** (2), and p.116 of Dr. Purcell's "The Chinese in Malaya"). But they are of some interest and, so far as the writer knows, have not previously been published in full. The following text is taken from Selangor Secretariat file *Sel Sec. K. L. 1335/84* and comprises (1) a minute by Powell, (2) the memorandum by Chong Bun Sin, (3) a report by Syers, and (4) an extract from a letter from Rodger to the Colonial Secretary.

(1) A minute by the acting Protector of Chinese, Straits Settlements

Hon'ble Colonial Secretary.

1. When writing the paragraph which has called for animadversion what was chiefly in my mind, was a Chinese document sent down by the Resident of Sungei Ujong in August last (v. 7765-83): Mr Paul wrote to say that he suspected a "Secret" Society was being formed there at that time and asked for a translation of the document to see whether it could throw any light on the subject. The document was the appointment by the "Sungai Ujong Gi Hin" Society of a headman in 1877.

2. With regard to Perak and Selangor I am not, I regret to say, able to speak from personal experience. I have always understood from Chinese that Societies were existent there as in other places and the statement seemed to me worthy of belief.

3. On receipt of the above minute accompanied by Mr Rodger's strong disclaimers as regards Selangor — Mr Swettenham and Captain Schultz[1] are, I observe, more guarded — I sent for Chong Bun Sin, the Second Interpreter in the Supreme Court, whom I knew had an intimate knowledge of all the States and asked him whether he could give me any information as regards Societies there — He immediately confirmed my opinion and offered to give me a list of the Societies as well as the names of such headmen as he knew. This list I enclose with a translation.

4. Bun Sin I may state is a Malacca-born Chinese of Kheh descent with considerable natural ability, and he has had special opportunities of obtaining a knowledge on the subject having been employed in the Government service in all three States.

In Perak he was much used and appreciated by Sir Hugh Low in connection with the Chinese, and had to do much travelling and jungle work: in consequence of that he got disgusted and preferred to take an appointment in Singapore on less salary. His statement is I believe worthy of credence.

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1. Swettenham was at this time acting as Resident of Perak in place of Hugh Low who was absent on leave. Captain Schultz was Protector of Chinese in Perak.

5. The result of enquiries would show that the following societies at least are represented in **Perak**

Hai-San
Gi-Hin

(These are not distinct Societies but part and parcel of the Penang societies of the same name, under recognised headmen in Perak).

Selangor
Gi-Hin
Hai-San
Song-Pak-Kun (a branch of the Gi-Hin)

(The first two are Malacca Societies and the third a Singapore one. The Hok-Beng, another Malacca society, appears also to have extended to Selangor, but my informant is unable to give me the names of the headmen).

Sungei Ujong
Gi-Hin
Hai-San

(Both these are probably connected with Malacca but the first is sufficiently independent to have a recognised kongsi-house of its own at a place called Tanjong. It is probably from this that the document above referred to was issued).

6. The headmen in Larut and Selangor are appointed by the Societies in Penang, Malacca or Singapore, and are something after the fashion of District Headmen in the Straits, only that they have greater powers in respect of having a more independent command, and being the recipients of initiation fees and subscriptions. This money, a percentage to the collector and working expenses being deducted, is forwarded to headquarters.

7. In face of the Government prohibition, there are of course no recognised kongsi-houses either in Perak or Selangor but, if a meeting is required, the house of one or other headman or a member is made use of. Sinkhehs[2] coming into the Country have often their entrance fees paid for them by the Towkay, the amount being debited to the sinkheh in his account.

8. Mr Karl will, no doubt, be able to give some further information as regards Societies in Perak.

sgd F. Powell
ag Protector of Chinese

Note. The next enclosure in the file is merely headed "Translation" and is unsigned. It is copied on to the same kind of paper as the copy of Powell's minute and is in the same handwriting. It seems safe to presume from these facts and the content of the "Translation" that it is a copy of the translation of the memorandum by Bun Sin which Powell attached to his minute.

(2) Document presumed to be a translation of Bun Sin's memorandum

Sungei Ujong

The Gi-Hin Kongsi in the town of Sungei Ujong was in existence as long ago as the year Pian Chu (1876). The Kongsi-house was at Tanjong and had a gilt chop above the door. Afterwards in the year Bo Iu (1878) because the Hai-San had no Kongsi-house, their members became angry and went to

2. Newly arrived immigrants from China.

the Gi-Hin Kongsi-house and pulled down the gilt-chop. From that time to the present they have not put up the gilt chop again, but they have a red paper chop above the door on which is inscribed "This is the Gi-Hin Kongs". This is still at Tanjong. The following are the headmen of the Gi-Hin Kongsi.

Chong Ng Chai (Kheh)
Chong Fong Chiong (ditto)
Ng Chhin Np (Hokkien)
Lim Lam (Kheh)

The Hai-San Kongsi has been in Sungei Ujong for 20 or 30 years. They have members but no Kongsi-house. The following are the headmen of the Hai-San Kongsi in Sungei Ujong.

Wong Ying (Captain Macao)
Hin Sam (Captain Kheh)
Lam Sam (Kheh)
Lam Be (Hai-lok-hong)

Selangor

The Gi-Hin Kongsi has existed in the town of Klang[3] from the year Jini Ngo, corresponding to the English year 1862, when Hin Sui was Captain. The Gi-Hin Kongsi house was at Ampang. The men who established the Gi-Hin were

Kuan Kui
Lim Hiong Hak
and Lim Jit Seng

together with a Malay named Unku Kit[4]. This Malay was A.D.C. to the Yam Tuan and was called the Penglima Prang. Afterwards in the year Kah Chu (1864) Lam Yim Kong was Captain and he was a Hai San.[5] He went and petitioned the Yam Tuan and Ungku Samat that they should not allow the establishment of the two kongsis, Hai-San and Gi-Hin, in Klang, as it would lead to fighting and disturbances. Therefore from that time to the present there have been no regular Kongsi-houses but there are, without doubt, private places of meeting.

The following are the headmen of the Gi-Hin Kongsi in Klang

Chhin Hui (Macao)
Chhin Yok (ditto)
Ze Hong Pin (ditto)
Lim Jit Seng (Baba)

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3. Either Bun Sin or the translator of the memorandum made a mistake here. If the Kongsi-house was at Ampang on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur, the Kongsi itself was assuredly at Kuala Lumpur. Before Kuala Lumpur was well known the neighbourhood was vaguely called Klang from the river valley.

4. This was Raja Saman, usually called Raja Berkat, who was brother in-law to Sultan Abdul Samad.

5. At p. 20 of Middlebrook's "Yap Ah Loy" (*JMBRAS*, 24 (2)) this Hai San headman is called Liu Ngim Kong. The traditions cited by Middlebrook report that there was some dispute about the succession of Liu Ngim Kong but attribute it to a quarrel about property not to a struggle between Hai-San and Ghi-Hin. Middlebrook, however, goes on to relate that refugees from the 1862 civil war in Larut reached Kuala Lumpur in large numbers; their bitterness exacerbated relations between Hai-San and Ghi-Hin in Selangor. This fact probably explains Ngim Kong's petition to the Sultan that the rival groups should be prohibited from *overt* activity through the existence of recognised Kongsi-houses. A few years later Ngim Kong died and was succeeded as Capitan China by Yap Ah Loy. The bitterness between the two Kongsis then broke out into open fighting. (v. Middlebrook *op. cit.* pp. 30-35).

The headmen of the Hai-San Kongsi in Klang are
Yap Shak (Kheh)
Yap Tek Loy[6] (Captain Kheh)
China Fat (Macao)
Chiong Si (Kheh)

In Kanchin in Selangor the Gi-Hin Kongsi is chiefly composed of Kah-Eng-Chin men. These belong to the Singapore Song-Pak-Kun Society (a branch of the Gi-Hin) and are in considerable numbers. The headman of the Gi-Hin here is Chin Chon Shew (Kheh). There is no Kongsi-house.

There are also many Hai-San at Kanchin. The headman of the Hai-San Kongsi here is Yap Ng (Kheh). There is no Kongsi-house. At Samantan in Selangor there are a great many Hai-Sans. The headman is Chu Sam Hin (Kheh). There is no Kongsi-house. There are also Gi-Hin members at this place taken from the mining class.

Perak

The Hai-San first came to Perak and Larut, and afterwards the Gi-Hins — Che Long[7] who was then the Ruler entered the Hai-San Kongsi at Penang. At the present time there are a great many Gi-Hins and Hai-Sans in Larut. There are no Kongsi-houses but there are without doubt private meeting places.

The following are the headmen of the Gi-Hin Kongsi in Larut
Chan A Yam (Captain Macao)
Lo Phang (Kheh)
Lok Yau (Macao)

The headmen of the Hai-San Kongsi at Larut are
Cheng Kin (Captain
Cheng Kin Sui
Fong Mun Po

The headman of the Hai-San Kongsi at Gopeng in Upper Perak is Chin Thong (Kheh). There is no Kongsi-house. Chu Ng (Kheh) is the headman of the Gi-Hin Kongsi at Papan in Upper Perak. There is no Kongsi-house.

(3) Report by the Superintendent of Police, Selangor

Police Office
Kuala Lumpur
July 11 1884

The Acting British Resident of Selangor
Kuala Lumpur

Sir,

I have made careful enquiries with a view to finding out whether Chinese Secret Societies exist in this State and have the honour to inform you that there are not any recognised Kongsi houses although nearly all the Chinese in Selangor belong to Societies in the Straits Settlements.

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6. This is a variant from of Yap Ah Loy's name which was commonly used; he even used it himself on some of his letters to the Selangor Government. But tradition, rightly or wrongly, prefers Yap Ah Loy.

Bun Sin's knowledge of the Selangor situation evidently related to the early 1870's. As will be seen, Syers makes some play with the fact that in *1884* Kanching was not populous.

7. Presumably this is a reference to Long Ja'afar, the first Malay chief of Larut, and father of the more famous Mentri of Larut. There was a contemporary tradition in the 1870's that the Mentri at least had joined the Hai-San; see *JMBRAS* 26, (3), p. 26 on this and other aspects of the Larut situation.

These men join the Societies before coming to Selangor and do not contribute anything towards their upkeep while residing in this Country.

2. With reference to the statements made by Mr Powell's informant I have the honour to inform you that there are several men of the Ghi-Hin Society residing in Selangor but they have no recognised headmen or Kongsi house in the State; these men joined the Society at Malacca and comprise all sorts of Chinese, but the most influential members are Macaos. It is quite possible those parties mentioned by Mr Powell's informant were leaders in the Straits but they have little or no authority here and I have good reason to believe meetings do not take place either publicly or privately.

3. Hoi San. There are several members of this Society living in Selangor principally Klie.

They join at Malacca and are not under the control of any local headmen in this State, although they look upon Towkay Ah Shak as being one of their principal members and appeal to him when any difficulty arises. It is alleged that the Capitan China belongs to this Society but I have reason to believe this allegation is without foundation.

4. Hoh Beng. There are a great many members of this Society in Selangor who join at Malacca and an attempt was made in May this year to extend and increase its influence, one of the headmen from Malaca visiting this State for the purpose of appointing local headmen and enrolling new members; fortunately this attempt was discovered and the would-be promoters arrested but not before about 2,000 men had entered their names and paid an entrance fee.

5. The books seized showed fictitious names for the Society—they were supposed to represent "Chin Poo Tong" but there can be little doubt this was done simply to mislead the authorities and disguise the real object, viz that of establishing the Hoh Beng Society on a firm basis in Selangor.

6. There are several other Societies of the Straits Settlements whose members reside in Selangor but none of them appear to hold meetings or have any communication with the Societies either by sending subscriptions or appealing to them for assistance when in trouble. The Police often find Certificates from the different Societies in the Straits Settlements when searching for stolen property etc.

7. With regard to the existence of Societies' headmen at Simantan and Kanching I am in a position to state this information is entirely without foundation. There are only a few men in either place and those well known to the police. No meeting however privately conducted could possibly take place without our becoming immediately aware of the fact.

8. In conclusion I think the Government may be assured that Societies do not exist in this State on any organised principle similar to those of the Straits Settlements but that a large number of Chinese in Selangor are members of some Society in the Straits and that Kongsis forming local branches of those Societies would be at once established if they were not prohibited by law.

9. The general feeling throughout Selangor is so strong against the establishment of Secret Societies that I believe any departure from the present policy of total prohibition would be fatal to the progress of this State and lead to serious disturbances among what is at the present time a well behaved and law abiding community.

I have etc
sgd H. C. Syers
Superintendent of Police

Comment. This report is not very convincing. Syers makes a number of sweeping assertions — "I have good reason to believe.....", "I am in a position to state that this information is entirely without foundation.....", "the Government may be assured" etc etc. — but he gives only the most scattered hints of what evidence he had for these assertions. It seems to amount to three points.

(1) When the Selangor Police searched for stolen property they often found certificates issued by societies in the Straits Settlements but (it is implied though not stated) they did not find certificates issued by societies in Selangor. This is a weak argument. Syers admitted that all members of secret societies joined them on first arrival in the Straits Settlements. The fact that they carried the certificates with them to Selangor and did not hold certificates from the Selangor lodges of those societies does not prove that the Selangor lodges did not exist. It proves merely that the Selangor lodges, if they existed, did not issue certificates. The officials of the Selangor lodges may have thought it unnecessary to issue certificates to members who held certificates from the parent body in the Straits Settlements. There is also a second point to be considered. In the Straits Settlements a society, provided it was registered, was (until the law was changed in 1889) a legal body. There was no risk in carrying about a certificate issued by a society registered in the Straits Settlements; it was no offence in Selangor because the Selangor ban on societies applied to societies within the limits of the State. But to hold a certificate issued by a Selangor society was to risk trouble for the whole society when, as must happen, the Selangor Police found such certificates.

(2) The population of Semantan and Kanching was so small and well known to the Police that no secret society could exist without the knowledge of the Police. For the sake of argument assume that this assertion was true for 1884 when Syers wrote his report. It does not disprove the accuracy of Bun Sin's information, which from internal evidence, can be seen to refer to a situation of ten years or more before 1884. On the contrary, there is much other evidence in Middlebrook's "Yap Ah Loy" to establish that in the 1860's Kanching at least was an important mining centre and a stronghold of the Ghi Hin society. Bun Sin, it is true, refers to Kanching as a Hai San centre. It may have been so after the original inhabitants were massacred by the Kuala Lumpur miners in 1870 (Middlebrook, *op. cit.*, pp 49-50). It is known that Yap Ah Loy rehabilitated Kanching (see p. 56 of this paper) and presumably he settled his own Hai San people there. But the tin deposits of Kanching had been largely worked out and the majority of the miners had moved on long before 1884.

(3) The Police had no information of the existence of secret societies in Selangor. Any argument based on a negative assertion of this kind must be suspect—all the more so when it comes from a Police officer who admits, in the same report, that a new society, confronted by all the hostility of established societies, could enroll 2,000 members under the noses of the Police before its existence became known to them.

(4) Extract from the covering letter with which the acting Resident sent document (3) to Singapore

"The distinction maintained by Mr Syers between the presence of members of Secret Societies in the S.S. residing in Selangor and the existence of any local Society or organised branch of one of the Straits Societies is, I think, a sound one and I agree with Mr Syers in his opinion that were the Government prohibition removed Kongsis would at once be formed in Selangor, and that their establishment would be most detrimental to the safety and well-being of the State."

Appendix B

The following extracts, from scarce or little-known sources have been collected and reprinted here with two objects in view, to preserve the data contained in them in an accessible form, and for the additional light that they throw on changing conditions in Selangor in the period 1875-95. They illustrate, it is hoped, the meagre system of communications, and the sparse, scattered population, in the inland districts at the close of the 1870's, and the mood and atmosphere in which the administrators responsible for the state's rapid development were working during the succeeding fifteen years. The greater part of Selangor to-day is well populated, and it is easy to assume that this has always been so. But an article prepared about 1824, and reprinted by J. H. Moor,[1] describes it as "the least considerable of the Malayan states in resources and population." Newbold,[2] writing ten years later, says "the population is scanty, and supposed not to exceed 12,000 souls." The first census, taken in February, 1877, put it at "about 20,849 persons": six years later, Swettenham estimated that there had been 12,000 more immigrants than emigrants during the preceding twelve months[4], and by 1884 the population was said to number 46,568 persons[5]. The rapid influx continued, giving a population of 81,592 in 1891[6], and 168,789 in 1901[7]. In 1875 the state debt, arising from the civil war of 1868-73, was said to amount to about $400,000[8]; twenty years later, the year's revenue exceeded expenditure by over $700,000[9]. This was the background to the development chronicled in the preceding pages.

(1) Kuala Lumpur, about 1877[10]

It must have been in 1874 or 1875 I received my appointment as Collector and Magistrate at Langat from H. E. Sir William Jervois, my recommendation for the post being five years' experience (principally as Treasurer) in the Sarawak Government Service[11]. On my arrival at

1. In Moor, J. H., Notices of the Indian Archipelago. Singapore, 1837, p. 243. The source and author are not acknowledged by Moor, but on internal evidence the article must have been written about 1824, and by John Crawfurd; persumably it is one of the many that Moor copied from early issues of the *Singapore Chronicle*.

2. Newbold, Lt T. J., British Possessions in the Straits of Malacca, London, 1839, 2, pp. 28-29.

3. *Singapore Directory for the Straits Settlements*, etc., for 1879: see p. 161, which also provides a brief but interesting account of Selangor at that period, listing *Pancalan Batu* (Klang), *Kwala Selangore*, *Langat* and *Birnam* as the "chief towns", in that order.

4. Swettenham, Annual Financial Report on the State of Selangor for 1882 (No. 173 in *S. S. Govt. Gazette* for 1883).

5. *Singapore & Straits Settlements Directory* for 1886, p. 200.

6. *Ibid* for 1893, p. 244.

7. *Ibid* for 1902, p. 266.

8. Middlebrook, S. M., "Yap Ah Loy", *JMBRAS* 24, (2), 1951, p. 84.

9. In 1895: see *Singapore & S. S. Directory* for 1897, p. 226.

10. An extract from "Selangor—Past and present", by James Innes, *Selangor Journal*, 3, (1), September 1894, pp. 5-12: see pp. 6-7.

11. "It was in May, 1876, that Sir William Jervois, then Governor of the Straits Settlements, offered the post of collector and magistrate at Langat.. to Mr James Innes, ex-treasurer of Sarawak" (Emily Innes, "The Chersonese the gilding off", Bentley & Son London, 1885, 2 vols; see vol. 1, p. 1).

Klang, I found Mr. Davidson in the position of H.B.M. Resident. Just before my arrival Captain Douglas had been appointed to relieve him as Resident, *pro. tem.*, and to await confirmation of his appointment.

Captain Douglas had made up his mind that Kang was the natural capital of Selangor because it was the seaport, and he was not in favour of making progress at Kuala Lumpur. This policy delayed the development of Kuala Lumpur for about five years. In consequence, for some years the government of the large Chinese mining community of Kuala Lumpur and neighbouring districts was administered by the Captain China, a very intelligent man, named Yap Ah Loy.

It was during this time that I made my only visit to what was then, as now, known as Kuala Lumpur, in company with Mr. Syers and a newspaper correspondent, Mr. Scott. We went up the river in the steam launch which preceded the *Abdul Samad* to the landing-place built for the convenience of the only public work then in hand—namely, the "Damansara Road"[12] We rode some distance on ponies sent ahead by a barge the night before, and then walked by a jungle path, sometimes along slippery batangs, sometimes across them and generally in swampy black soil. The country was quite covered with heavy jungle till we reached a red earth scaur, and got a view of the village of Kuala Lumpur[13]. Kuala Lumpur consisted of a fairly good loose board house occupied by the Captain China, the most hospitable of men, and his house was surrounded by atap houses occupied by his coolies. On my late visit to Kuala Lumpur I tried to locate the house, and think it was situate where the two rivers, the Gombak and the Klang, unite. Next morning we rode on ponies supplied by our host the Captain China to the range dividing Ulu Klang from Ulu Langat, a steep but not very lofty hill, which we climbed hand over hand, and let ourselves down on the other side of this range into Ulu Langat. The ridge was so precipitous that one could sit on the top with one leg in Klang and the other in Langat. We then walked down the River Langat looking at and admiring Reko on the way (Reko then belonged to Sungei Ujong)[14], until we met the Government boat sent from Bandar Langat to meet us.

In those days, the little clearing there was about Kuala Lumpur, save tin mining, was in tapioca, and a railway from Klang to Kuala Lumpur was spoken of as a desirable but almost impossible thing. There was no money to make it with, and the natural difficulties were considered insurmountable. They were, in truth, small; but a swamp and a bridge across the River Klang were considered to render it impossible. The slowly-made and long-delayed Damansara Road was thought all-sufficient with the aid of bullock-carts to convey the trade to and fro—that is, the tin to Klang and the opium, arrack and rice from Klang. Another idea was that if the railway could be made it never could pay.

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12. This puts the time of his visit to Kuala Lumpur at about 1877: we know from Hornaday (see p. 140, below) that some twelve miles of the "slowly-made and long-delayed" road had been completed by July 1878, and in February, 1879, Isabella Bird (Mrs Bishop) travelled on the *Abdul-Samad*, and was much impressed by her.

13. cf. the account by Hornaday (p. 141, below)—"we reached the top of a long, steep hill, and, at its foot, Kwala Lumpor lay before us, on the opposite bank of the river Klang....." Yap Ah Loy's original track to Damansara must have gone almost straight across the "plain", at this period occupied by vegetable gardens, and thence climbed up to the present Bluff Road.

14. See the maps on p. 13 (Selangor, about 1875), and p 20 (the Klang valley from the SBRAS map of 1879).

(2) A Naturalist in Selangor, 1878[15]

On reaching Klang I found there Captain Douglas, the British Resident, who, much to my advantage, was kind enough to interest himself in the object of my visit. Through his co-operation Mr. Syers obtained fourteen days' leave of absence for the trip we had planned to take into the interior, and, on the evening of June 27th[16], we started up the river in Mr. Syers' boat. Four Malays pulled the boat, while we lay down and slept comfortably until we reached Damansara, eighteen miles up, where we tied up till morning. From the Police Station at that point a good carriage road leads east seventeen miles to Kwala Lumpur, the largest town in the territory, in the centre of the mining district.

After our cup of coffee at the police station, I hastily skinned a *Macacus nemestrinus* (broque monkey)[17], which I bought alive of one of the policemen, and then we started for the other end of the road. Mr. Syers had his two ponies in readiness, and we rode them, leaving our luggage to follow on a cart.

The road lay through very dense, high forest, composed of large and very lofty trees (among which the camphor was often noticed), growing very thickly together, while the ground underneath was choked with an undergrowth of thorny palms, rattans and brush so thick it seemed that nothing larger than a cat could get through it. Nowhere was there the smallest opening in this dark and damp mass of vegetation, and it made me shudder to think of attempting to go through it. Surely, I thought, we will not attempt to hunt in such forest as that.

Six miles from the river, we came to another police station, Kooboo Ladah, where we halted to wait for the baggage to come up. Two miles farther on we reached the end of the road, where we found a gang of government coolies waiting to carry our luggage the remainder of the distance. Without these men, whose services were thoughtfully supplied by Captain Douglas, we should have been obliged to pay a ruinously exorbitant price for coolie hire, almost as much as our baggage was worth[18].

For the remainder of the way, we had only a very rough bridle path through hilly jungle and across many muddy little streams. At the twelfth mile we passed the Sungei Batu police station, very prettily situated in a highly romantic spot.

After passing two or three clearings, we reached the top of a long, steep hill, and, at its foot, Kwala Lumpor lay before us, on the opposite bank of the river Klang, here reduced in size to a narrow but deep creek.

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15. Extracts from "Two years in the jungle", by Wm T. Hornaday (Kegan Paul, Trench & Trubner, London, 1885), chapter 27, pp. 314-328; *passim*. Hornaday was chief taxidermist at the U. S. National Museum. He visited Singapore and Selangor in June-July, 1878. A shorter account of his stay in Selangor was read by proxy at a meeting of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society's at Singapore on 7 April, 1879, and subsequently published in the Society's journal (*JSBRAS*, 3, July 1879, pp. 124-32: reprinted *Selangor Journal*, 2, (1), 1893, pp. 11-16). The latter makes no reference to his exploration of Batu Caves in company with H. C. Syers, and in the *JSBRAS* it is followed by a paper by D.D. Daly, describing a visit to the Caves made in company with Syers and Douglas a few weeks after the events described here. Daly's account admits that the spot had been "discovered" by Hornaday and Syers; but it does not disclose that the two men had actually entered the caves, and hence leaves the erroneous impression that Daly was the first person, other than the Jakuns, to do so. Actually Hornaday's description of them is more detailed than Daly's.

16. There is a discrepancy of one day here: in the *JSBRAS* account Hornaday says they left for Kuala Lumpor on June 26. They were away from Klang for about a week.

17. The *Berok* or Pig-tailed Macaque, *Macaca n. nemestrina* (Linn.)

18. The "ruinously exorbitant price" was 15-20 cents a *kati*.

A sampan came across to ferry us over, while our ponies swam beside it, and at 5 p.m. we were at our resting place for the night.

All along the river bank, the houses of the Malays stand in a solid row on piles ten feet high, directly over the swift and muddy current. The houses elsewhere throughout the town are walled with mud, and very steeply roofed with attaps (shingles made of nipa-palm leaves), so that a view of the town from any side discloses very little except high, brown roofs slanting steeply up. In the centre of the town is a large market where fruits, vegetables, meats and various abominations of Chinese cookery are sold. The vegetables are sweet potatoes, yams of various kinds, beans, melons, cucumbers, radishes, Chinese cabbage, onions, egg-plant and lady's fingers. The fruits were the durian, mangosteen, pineapple, banana, and plantain, oranges (of foreign growth), limes, papayah, and other small kinds not known by English names.

In the centre of the market-place are a lot of gambling-tables, which, a little later in the evening, were crowded with Chinamen earnestly engaged in the noble pastime of "fighting the tiger". The principal street are lined with Chinese shops, and are uniformly clean and tidily kept.

We went straight to the house of the Captain China (pronounced Cheena), the man of importance in the district, who is governor of the Chinese in every sense of the word. His title is Sri Indra Purkasah Wi Jayah Bucktie ("Fair-fighting Chief and Hero")[19], and his name, Yap Ah Loy, commonly called by Europeans the Captain China. In return for his services to the district in opening new roads and preserving good order, with his own police force, the government allows him a royalty of $1 on every bhara (which equals three piculs, or four hundred pounds) of tin exported, and from this source, and also from his eleven tin mines, he is said to be the wealthiest man in the territory. He has in his employ sixteen hundred and twenty-seven men, and entertains at his house, in true European style, every white man who visits Kwala Lumpor. Unfortunately he was absent at that time, but his people received us quite as if he had been there, and made us comfortable with a fine dinner, an abundance of excellent champagne and good beds.

The next morning, while in the largest Chinese store in the place, buying provisions for our stay in the jungle, we struck a bonanza. We found Mumm's champagne for sale at sixty cents a quart, and India pale ale at fifteen cents per pint! How they ever managed to sell either at such ridiculously low prices we could not understand, and, to ease our consciences before victimizing the dealer, we told him he must have made a mistake in marking his goods. No, that was the price, and we could have all we wanted. It would have been flying in the face of a kind Providence to have neglected such an opportunity as comes but once in a lifetime.

Engaging the strongest coolie we could find we loaded him with champagne (at sixty cents per quart!), and marched him ahead of us into the jungle. It was the proudest moment of my life. I may never strike oil, or gold-bearing quartz, or draw a prize in the Louisiana lottery; but I have

19. This should read, *Seri Indra Perkasa Wijaya Bakti*. Yap Ah Loy used a seal bearing the inscription in Jawi, *Yap Ah Loy Sultan Indra Perkasa Wijaya Bakti Kapitan China Kuala Lumpur Klang* — Yap Ah Loy [acknowledged by the] Sultan Gallant Victorious Loyal Chief [of the] Chinese [of] Kuala Lumpur [and] Klang. He received the title before September, 1870, probably in June 1869, when Raja Mahdi formally installed him as Capitan China: see Middlebrook, *JMBRAS*, 24, (2), 1951, pp. 39-40. Hornaday's visit was before the boom of 1878-9, and the town must have been smaller, and may well have been cleaner, than when Swettenham arrived in 1882. Also Hornaday was very impressed by the Chinese, and he probably remembered Kuala Lumpur favourably in contrast to towns in Borneo and the Philippines.

struck Jules Mumm's best at sixty cents a quart. My only regret is that I did not fill a tub and take a bath in it, for champagne is the only artificial drink I really like.

Having slept and breakfasted at Kwala Lumpor, we saddled our ponies, and prepared to move on six miles farther to Batu. Not having enough government coolies, we had to hire two Chinamen, who charged us $2.00 for carrying a sixty-pound box six miles. .....

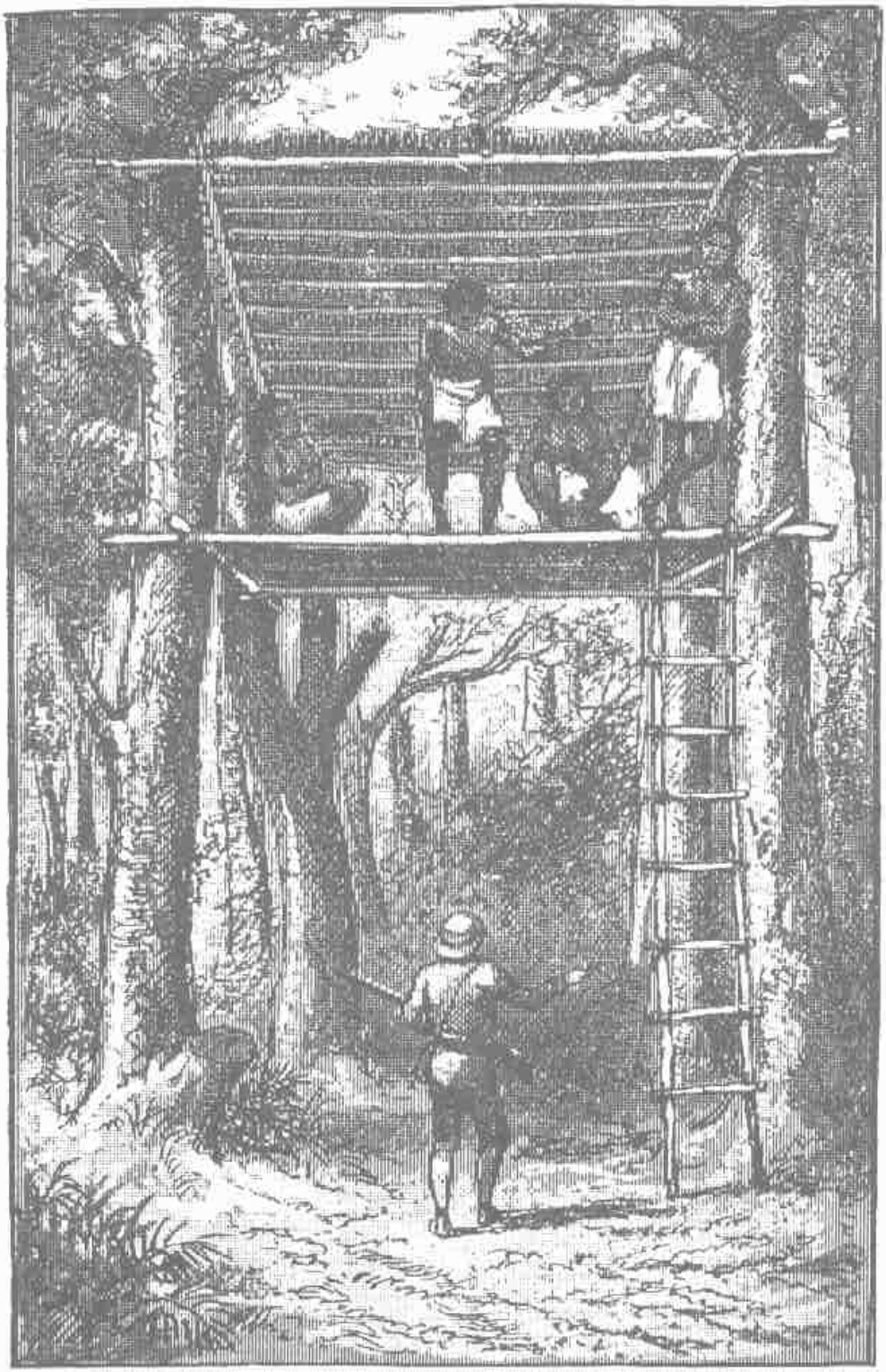
The jungle all round Batu, although swampy in places, was so open that one could go through it on foot with tolerable ease. Here and there were patches of low and thin forest, broken occasionally with fine grassy glades, such as large animals love to visit for a sight of the sun and sky. But we soon found that beyond this fine ground lay a wide tract of swampy forest, very difficult to traverse, and very bad ground on which to attack dangerous game.

While hunting through the forest in search of wild cattle or rhinoceros spoor we came upon the strangest human habitation I ever beheld. It was a Jacoon house, if we may dignify such a structure by that name, and the family was at home[20]. The site had been selected with reference to four small trees, which grew so as to form the four corners of a square about nine feet each way. Twelve feet from the ground four stout saplings had been lashed to the trees to form the foundation of the house, and upon them was lashed the flooring of small green poles. Six feet above it was a roof of green thatch, sloping shed-like from front to back. There were no walls whatever to this remarkable dwelling, which was reached by means of a rude ladder. Upon this platform we found three men, two women, a nursing baby, a miserable little dog, two or three old parongs, some sumpitans and poisoned arrows, and a fire smouldering on a bed of earth at one corner. There were no mats of any kind, and the people slept on the bare poles. The men were naked, with the exception of a dirty loin-cloth, but the women were satisfactorily covered with mantles of dingy cotton cloth.

In physique, physiognomy and habits the Jacoons so closely resemble the forest people (Dyaks) of Borneo as to lead one to believe they have descended, and that, too, by no very long line of ancestry, from some of the numerous sub-tribes now flourishing in that great island. Judging from Mr. Bock's admirable portraits and description of the Poonans, the Jacoons are as much like them as it is possible for two separated tribes to be like each other. The Poonans, like all the Dyaks, have progressed through Borneo from south to north, and it is more likely that the Jacoons are accidental, perhaps involuntary, emigrants from Borneo than that the reverse has been the case.

The Jacoons are a very peaceable, almost timid, people, very ignorant, and wholly averse to living in villages, however small. They are nowhere numerous, the total number in Selangore being estimated at only seventy. They subsist wholly upon the fruit and vegetable products of the jungle, and the game they kill with their sumpitans, or blow-guns and poisoned arrows. Some of them are said to be very expert in the use of this singular weapon. The present Rajah Brooke states that he once saw a Jacoon drive an arrow into a single crow-quill at a distance of fifteen yards! We learned accidentlly, a few days later, that the Jacoons are very fond of bats, and were stopping at that place in order to capture them in some large caves near by.

20. See the sketch on p. 143, reproduced from Hornaday, plate opp. p. 319.



"A Jacoon House" near Batu Caves, from an original drawing by Wm. T. Hornaday, reproduced in "Two years in the jungle" (London, 1885).

They were very accommodating people, and our party held quite an animated conversation with them upon the subject of wild game, as they sat perched aloft and looking down upon us. Fortunately they knew the value of money, and we engaged two of the men to act as our guides when we went in quest of wild cattle, rhinoceros, and other animals. One of them came down forthwith and led us a long tramp through the silent and gloomy forest for the remainder of the day, but we saw nothing worth shooting. Much to our disappointment, the Jacoons said there were, at that time, no rhinocerous in that region, but plenty of elephants.....[24]

On the way home on a subsequent occasion we made a very interesting discovery, quite by accident. We fell in with an old Malay and some Jacoons, who walked along with us for some distance. As we were going through the forest, a short distance from the foot of a gray limestone cliff about two hundred feet high, covered on the top with forest, we noticed in the air a very curious, pungent odor, like guano, the cause of which we could not divine. Mr. Syers turned to the old Malay, who was familiar with the neighborhood, and inquired:

"What is it that stinks so?"

"Bats' dung! Where is it?"

"In the cave yonder in the rocks, sir."

"Why did you not tell us of it the other time we were here, old simpleton?"

"I didn't know you wanted to know about it, sir," said the old fellow, innocently.

We turned about directly and made for the cliff, under the old man's guidance. The cave was soon reached. We climbed up forty feet or so over a huge pile of angular rocks that had fallen from the face of the cliff, and on going down a sharp incline found ourselves underneath a huge mass of bare limestone rock, leaning at an angle of forty-five degrees against the side of the cliff, forming a cavernous arch, open at both ends and a hundred feet high. It was hung with smooth, dull-gray stalactites, which, when broken off, showed such a clean white limestone formation that it might almost be called marble.

From near the bottom of this curiously formed arch a wide opening led into the cave proper. We procured a torch of dry bamboo and entered forthwith. This cave, which it seems is called Gua Belah, or the Double Cave, is about sixty feet wide, a hundred and fifty feet long, to where it terminates in a narrow cleft in the rock, and about forty feet high at the highest point. The ground plan of the cavern is therefore an isosceles triangle. The walls were smooth, of a light-gray color, and without stalactites. The floor was covered to an unknown depth with a layer of loose and dry bat guano, which gave off the odor we had noticed half a mile away.

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21. The passage omitted here describes the successful tracking, killing and skinning of a male elephant, not quite full-grown, the following day: the event is summarised in Hornaday's paper in *JSBRAS*. 3. Syers saw, but failed to obtain, a *Seladang, Bos gaurus,* a specimen of which was also required by the U. S. National Museum. It is not clear which of the two species of rhinoceros they had hoped to obtain probably the smaller, *R. sumatrensis,* but, as noted, apparently neither was in the vicinity of Batu time. According to Isabella Bird (Mrs Bishop) one species was close to Kuala Selangor circa 1879.

The cave was full of bats (*Eonycteris spilla*)[22] which left their resting places on the walls as we entered, and flew round and round above us in a roaring swarm, at times coming within a foot of our faces. Our footsteps fell noiselessly on the soft and spongy bed of guano, and had we been provided with sticks we could easily have knocked many bats from the walls. There must have been two thousand of them there. In the outer cavern we easily shot a number of specimens as they clung to the rocks high above us.

Not far from that cave was another in the same mountain, which we visited on the following day. The mouth was simply a hole in the base of the rocky wall, leading straight into a low, but very extensive, cavern, which must have been an acre and a half in extent. The low roof reminded me of a mine, and numerous galleries and narrow passages leading off on either side rather heightened the resemblance. In the light of our torches the roof was yellowish-white and very clean looking, generally smooth, and without stalactites. The floor also was bare rock.

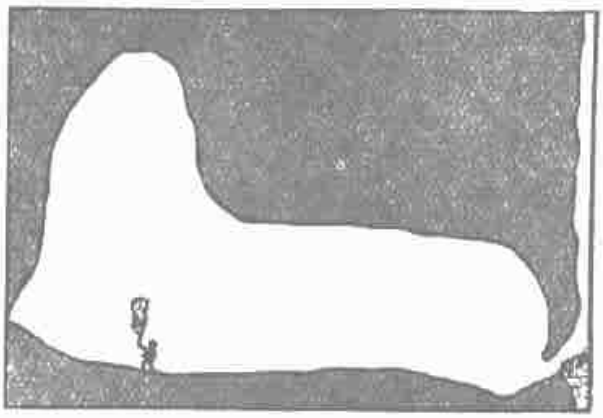
We found the mouth of the cave entirely stopped with branches—excepting one opening about a foot square—and were informed that, after thus blocking the mouth, the Jacoons send two or three men inside to scare the bats out so they can be knocked down by the sticks of those who stand outside at the opening. We tried the same dodge in order to get a few more perfect specimens, and easily secured five by this knock-down process. The scheme is so easy to work, however, and so successful that the Jacoons have almost entirely depopulated the cave of its winged inhabitants.

After leaving this cave, which is called "Gua Lada," or Chilli Cave, we were conducted through a mile of very wet jungle to a third cave, called "Gua Lambong," which is really a very fine cavern. At the mouth there is a perfect little vestibule scooped out of the solid rock by the hand of nature for the express accommodation of the party who will keep a stand there for the sale of refreshments, photographs, and torches to the tourists who will visit the cave during the next century.

On entering the cave at the yawning black hole, we found ourselves in a grand cathedral, whose floor, walls, and roof were of smooth white limestone rock. Descending for a few yards from the mouth we came to a clear stream of water rippling across the rocky floor and seeking an exit near the mouth. Crossing this, we walked forward along a grand gallery, with clean and level floor, perpendicular walls and gothic roof, like the nave of a cathedral, fifty feet wide and sixty feet high. At the farther end of the gallery—which was by our estimate about three hundred feet in length—the roof suddenly rose in a great round dome ninety or a hundred feet in height, completing so perfectly the resemblance of St. Peter's, at Rome, that had I the privilege of naming the cavern I could call it nothing else

22. This should read *Eonycteris spelaea* (Dobson), the Cave Fruit Bat. There are also large colonies of one of the leaf-nose bats, *Megaderma spasma*, in some of the smaller caves. The first attempt to study the fauna of the caves was apparently made by H. N. Ridley prior to 1898 in which year he read a paper "Report on Caves in the Malay Peninsula" at the Bristol Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (see Report Brit. Assoc. Advancement of Science, 1898, pp. 572-82), but his findings were general rather than detailed, and of limited value. Subsequently, in 1926, Cedric Dover (at that period attached to the Selangor Museum) assisted by his wife, began a systematic study of the fauna of the caves. This was not completed, but sufficient material was obtained to result in a long series of papers in the *Journ. Fed. Malay States Mus.*, 14, (3 & 4), 1929, pp. 325-87; a short additional paper by F. F. Laidlaw; on the land molluscs, was published later in *Bull. Raffles Mus.*, 7, 1932, pp. 35-51. Dover also published a preliminary note on his investigations in the *Malayan Naturalist* 2, (1), 1928, pp. 35-38. Interest in exploration of the caves was revived shortly before the recent war, but apparently nothing was written on the renewed activity beyond an article in the *Straits Times Annual* for 1941.

than Cathedral Cave. The accompanying diagram represents a vertical section, as nearly as could be obtained without measurements.



We stood for some time gazing in silence about us, quite awed by the grandeur of the natural rock-temple we had discovered.

Remembering the Baptistry at Pisa, and, recalling its beautiful echo, I sang out clear and strong,

The echo of the three notes mingled directly in a beautiful chord, wonderfully prolonged, like the sound of three voices winging their way upward until they were lost in the distance. The illusion was perfect and the effect of the echo highly weird and impressive. It seemed fully a quarter of a minute that the echo reverberated in the top of that rocky dome. As a further experiment, Mr. Syers discharged his rifle, and the report sounded like a deep boom of thunder, prolonged and rolling, echoing in the dome and at the farther end of the long gallery with a long-continued roar.

Under the dome the floor began to rise as we progressed, and sloped up all the rest of the way to where the cavern terminated in a narrow cleft. This portion of the floor was covered with a thick deposit of bat guano, loose and dry, but there were very few bats in the cave.

All these caves are about three miles east of Batu, and nine from Kwala Lumpor, in a northerly direction. The whole hill is a solid mass of white crystalline limestone, and its greatest height is about three hundred feet. Besides catching bats in the caves, the Jacoons say that they often retreat to them for safety at certain seasons when the woods are overrun by wild elephants and other dangerous animals.

We made several other hunting excursions in different directions from Batu, always under good guidance, but, although we often saw the tracks of wild cattle, we were never fortunate enough to fall in with the animals themselves. The inevitable krah monkey (*Macacus cynomolgus*)[23] was often seen and sometimes shot.

Squirrels were plentiful, and besides two other species (*Sciurus ephippium* and *bicolor*)[24] we shot several specimens of the beautiful black and white *Sciurus Rafflesi*.

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23. The *Kera* or Longtailed Macaque, *Macaca irus* F. Cuvier.

24. The Cream-coloured Giant Squirrel, *Ratufa affinis interposita* Kloss (*R. a. ephippium* of S. Muller is the Borneo race), and the Black Giant Squirrel, *R. bicolor peninsulae* (Miller).

Name.			Collected or Observed.	Remarks
Hylobates lar		(*Wah-wah*)	Collected	Rare
Semnopithecus cristatus	Geoff.		,,	Common in captivity
,, femoralis			,,	
Macacus nemestrinus		(*Bro*)	,,	
,, cynomolgus	Desm.	(*Kra*)	,,	Very common everywhere
Nycticebus (Stenops) tardigradus	Geoff.	(*Slow-paced Lemur*)	,,	Rare
Pteropus edulis?		(*Flying Fox*)	,,	One very large specimen
Taphozous	Blyth	(*Saccolaimus*)	,,	Very plentiful in caves
Felis Tigris	Linn.	(*Tiger*)	Observed	A pest. Government reward $50 each
,, Leopardus	Hodgson	(*Leopard*)	,,	Very rare
,, perniger	,,	(*Black Leopard*)	,,	,,
,, marmorata	Blyth	(*Marble Tiger Cat*)	Collected	Uncommon
,, bengalensis	Desm.	(*Leopard Cat*)	,,	Common
Viverra malaccensis	Emilin	(*Lesser Civet Cat*)	,,	,,
,, zibetha	Linn.	(*Large Civet Cat*)	,,	Rare
Paradoxunis musanga	Marsden	(*Tree Cat*)	,,	,,
Arctictis binturong	Blyth	(*Black Bear Cat*)	,,	Very rare. One fine specimen
Canis (Cuon) sumatrensis		(*Jackal*)	Observed	One specimen in Singapore Museum, presented by Captain Douglas
Lutra (Leptonyx?)		(*Otter*)	Collected	Common near sea-coast
Rhinoceros sumatrensis (Ceratorhinus nigra? Gray)	Sch.	(*Rhinoceros*)	Observed	One caught alive
Tragulus napu		(*Mouse Deer*)	Collected	Very plentiful everywhere
,, kanchil			,,	Common
Rusa Aristotelis	Cuv.	(*Sambur Stag*)	Observed	Common in certain localities
Bos Sondaicus		(*Wild Cattle*)	,,	,, ,, ,,
Elephas indicus		(*Elephant*)	Collected	Very common. A nuisance
Sciurus ephippium			,,	
,, bicolor			,,	
,, Rafflesii			,,	Rare
,, Sp.			,,	Common
Pteromys nitidus	Geoff.	(*Flying Squirrel*)	,,	Rare
Manis javanica	Desm.	(*Scaly Ant-eater*)	,,	Common

Mammals collected or observed in Selangor by Wm T. Hornaday, reproduced photographically from the *Selangor Journal*, Vol. 2, 1893, p.16: see footnote 13, p. 139, above. *Taphozous* must be a misidentification: presumably for *Eonycteris spelaea* (Dobson).

The Malays and Jacoons brought us many specimens of the pretty little mouse-deer (*Tragulus napu* and *kanchil*)[25], several small Felinae (*Felis marmorata* and *Bengalensis*)[26] and two species of civet cat (Viverra), all of which they caught in traps for our especial benefit. We collected a few bright birds also, and one rhinoceros hornbill.[27]

Having spent a week at Batu with both pleasure and profit, we sent our elephant bones, rock specimens from the caves and other dead weight down to Klang by the river, while we packed up and returned to Kwala Lumpor. On the ride back Mr. Syers' pony went down when at full gallop and gave him a terrible fall, which, but for the protection of his thick pith helmet, might have resulted very seriously. It would have sent almost any other man to bed for a week, but my plucky friend insisted on his ability to carry out the programme, and would scarcely let me rub him with my favorite remedy.

25. There are two species here, correctly *Tragulus n. napu* (F. Cuvier) and the slightly smaller *T. javanicus fulviventer* J. E. Gray.

26. *Felis m. marmorata* Martin, which is not common, and *F. bengalensis tingia* Lyon, which is plentiful and widely distributed in Malaya.

27. *Buceros rhinoceros* Linn.: occurs mostly in dense lowland jungle, but it may be found in hill country as high as 3,000\14,000 ft; at the present time it is common round the Gap and at Fraser's Hill.

(3) Sir Frederick Weld's first visit to Selangor, July, 1880[28]

July 9th. When I last wrote we were in the straits of Klang; we steamed up the river between green wooded banks till we reached the town, where we were received with a salute from an old fort erected on a hill commanding the river. This fort was formerly held by our friend the old Rajah Mahdi, and is supposed to be the scene of many wild exploits in the old piratical days. The jetty was decorated with every kind of gay hangings, and I drove up from there to the Residency, where I was received by Mrs. Douglas and her daughters, and I afterwards made a circuit of the town with Captain Douglas. It is a pretty town, but is being deserted for Kuala Lumpur, which is farther inland.

July 10th. We left early, and were towed by a steam-launch up the river. We saw a kingfisher with a brilliant orange head and red and blue wings, some pigeons, but no alligators; the banks were thickly wooded, and the river got very muddy and narrow as we advanced, till, reaching Demarsarah[29], we left the boats and took to the saddle. From thence we rode to Kuala Lumpur, where a grand reception awaited us. Some thousands of people turned out, and the streets were decorated with strips of coloured cloth and bunting and triumphal arches.

This morning (11th) we up early, and Mr. Swettenham, Captain Douglas, Daly, and I went out shooting—after deer—but, alas, we saw none. I missed a little pig and got three jungle fowl. The latter are said to be the ancestors of our barn-door fowls, and certainly resemble them very much, but they fly like pheasants. We saw lots of tracks of elephants, mostly about ten days old. The jungle is extraordinarily interesting—such a variety of bird- and insect-life. I saw a man who had been attacked by a tiger on the road, and been badly clawed by him, and would undoubtedly have been killed had not his little boy (of six or seven years of age) thrown his basket at the tiger, whereupon the tiger retreated! The man's wounds are now healed, but he was ill for a long time from the shock. Tigers seldom attack men, never a man on horseback; they have, however, a special fancy for Chinamen.

July 12th. We were in the saddle yesterday at 5.30, on our way to Batu. The country we passed through was thinly populated, undulating with occasional views of distant hills, the foreground mostly jungle. We stopped for a short time at Batu, where a Malay chief, a native of Pahang, had made great preparations for our arrival, decorated the village (the people of which are mostly Sakais), and got a chair of state ready for me in his house, which was also prettily decorated. After leaving Batu we got into thick jungle with fine forest trees, a path had been cut for us through it, so it was rideable. There was an endless variety of beautiful flowers—I longed for you to see them. After proceeding for some miles, we suddenly came on to a huge rock, about four or five hundred feet high, absolutely perpendicular and rising like a great fort or castle out of the forest, with trees and twisted roots growing out of it and clasping and crowning it. I have never seen anything resembling it. It seemed like

28. From a journal kept by Sir Frederick Weld during his first visit to the western Malay states, June-August, 1880: printed in "The life of Sir Frederick Weld", by Lady Alice Lovat (Jn Murray, London, 1914), the passage reproduced here appearing on pp. 286-91.

29. Damansara: it was frequently written *Damasara* at this period. Weld himself apparently uses *Damansara* later, in his account of the journey back to Klang. It is interesting to note that Weld found Klang "a pretty little town": sixteen months earlier Isabella Bird had thought it "a most misthriven, decayed, dejected, miserable looking place", ("The Golden Chersonese.....", 1883, p. 215).

an island in the vast forest, and its upheaval was probably due to volcanic action. There is another rock very similar to this one in Perak, they tell me, called Gunong Pondok. A river was running at its feet and partly surrounded it. We had now come to our hunting ground; so we separated, Mr. Douglas, Swettenham and I forming party, under the guidance of the village chief and two Sakais. We tracked a herd of buffalo (*Bos sondaiacus*)[30] for fully an hour, but never saw them. They had been on the ground that morning, as the blades of grass they had bitten and trodden down had not yet withered. We saw nothing to shoot except a bird about as big as a guinea-fowl, and very like one in shape, but of a most gorgeous colour, peacock green, gold, and orange; it ran along the ground close to me. The hen-bird seemed dark; if I had my shot-gun with me I could have killed them both. After walking for three hours in the forest, we returned to the big rock where we had left Dr. Mackinnon and Miss Douglas. The other party, consisting of Captain Rhodes, Dr. Barrington of the Buffs, and Mr. Taylor, an officer of the Ordnance Department, had not been more successful than we were. We then climbed up a steep path, and at the height of about a hundred feet above the level ground we found ourselves at the mouth of a huge cave, in which luncheon had been got ready.

I must describe it: picture to yourself a huge banqueting-hall, with a dome-shaped roof about 300 feet high, and at least 150 feet long, with great apertures in the roof through which the light streamed, softened into green and gold by the overhanging trees. The Malays have a legend that a fairy princess lives in the summit of this great crag—into which no human foot has penetrated—and that when she shows herself to a man she brings him good fortune. I can imagine no more appropriate spot for a fairy dwelling-place. Standing within the cave, and looking out of its dark framework of stalactite pillars and buttresses into the sunlight, and wealth of tropical vegetation stretching away for miles below me, I really felt that it was worth while making the tour of the globe if only to see that sight.

Having got very wet and hot in our tramp in the forest, I was very glad to be able to change my wet clothes in a recess of the cave. I was attended by two Malays, who watched the operation with much earnestness and reverence, as if they were witnessing a religious ceremonial; probably they thought it was one! Luncheon followed, which was a most picturesque affair, groups of Malays and Sakais in every kind of dress, and undress, in marvellous variety of colour, some armed with parangs, and other curiously shaped weapons, stood or squatted around us. It was like a scene in a play—stage brigands and all complete. After luncheon we explored the caves by torchlight[31]; thousands of bats, disturbed by the light, flew over our heads. I shot one or two for Dr. Barrington, and the noise of the reverberations through the caves was very grand. When we came to the last one they gave three cheers for 'the Governor'—the first one who had ever penetrated into these wilds. We afterwards went down to the river, and I tried to catch a fish, with both fly and minnow. It was no good; so the Malays (who are not particular how they get their fish) threw the root of a plant called 'tuba' into the water, which has the effect of stupefying them, and before long they come to the top. Such a

30. The *Seladang*, *Bos gaurus*. This was the locality to which Syers had taken Hornaday five years earlier, in search of elephant, seladang and rhinoceros.

31. The Batu Caves were a famous show place in the 1880's and Kuala Lumpur was very proud of them. Their existance was first recorded by H. C. Syers and Wm. T. Hornaday, who came on them early in July, 1878, while on a hunting trip (see p. 144, above). "A few days" later Syers revisited the three most accessible caves accompanied by a party consisting of Broomfield Douglas, Lt R. Lindsell of the 28th Regt, D. D. Daly, "some *Orang Saket* and some police": an account of this latter visit, written by D. D. Daly, appears in *JSBRAS*, 3, July 1879, pp. 116-19.

scene followed; the Malays shouted and yelled, throwing themselves into the water and hitting the fish with sticks, and laughing just like a heap of schoolboys[32]. They killed about a hundred or two small fish, like our roach. There was one rather larger, of about 4 or 5 lb. weight, and a few that looked like barbel, of from 1 to 3 lb. weight. Though it was poaching, it was great fun, and reminded me of fishing the brooks at Stonyhurst on 'good days.' We got home in time for me to have a short nap after my bath before dinner. We dined at the Capitan China's, and it was a great function. The reception-hall I described in my last letter was, I find, built expressly for this occasion. As I entered, with Mrs. Daly, the military police, who numbered about forty, presented arms, and the bugles sounded. This was the signal for the explosion of Chinese crackers—a performance which lasted fully a quarter of an hour. The Capitan's expenditure in crackers must have been portentous. The dinner began with birds' nest soup, the rest of the dinner was European. When it was over the Capitan proposed the health of the Queen Empress, then mine: after which I proposed that of the Sultan of Selangor, and Douglas the Capitan's; all short speeches.

After this I should not have been sorry to have been allowed to go to bed, but the Chinese had got up an entertainment in my honour at their theatre, so I had to go. It was allegorical, and represented all the rival Rajahs, headed by the Sultan, giving up their quarrels and putting themselves under the Governor's protection, and doing him homage. The absurd part of it was that in spite of there being an actor on the stage who represented the Governor they, perpetually, one after the other, bowed down before me. Afterwards they sang an ode of welcome in which they wished me every kind of prosperity, a long reign as Governor, and so forth. I can't describe the gorgeousness of the principal personages, Rajahs, Sultan, Governor, etc., with their banners and dresses of the most brilliant colours, and rich materials, stiff with embroideries in gold and silver. Also women who were supposed to be riding on hobby-horses of which the heads only were visible, the rest being hidden by masses of rich drapery. Then there were tumblers executing wonderful antics in scarlet trousers and blue jackets. One was constantly reminded of the medieval pageants which one reads of in history[33]. I was glad to leave as soon as

32. cf. Swettenham's essay, "A Fishing Picnic" ("Malay Sketches", London, 1895, pp. 19-24) which, seemingly, also describes fishing with *tuba* root in the stream near Batu Caves.

33. Isabella Bird gives a rather fuller and more polished account of this performance ("The Golden Chersonese and the way thither," Jn Murray, London, 1883, pp. 231).

"Three months after my visit, Yap Ah Loi received the Sultan of Selangor for several days with great magnificence, and in July 1880 he entertained the Governor of the Straits Settlements and his suite with yet greater splendour, erecting for the occasion a fine banqueting-hall with open sides.

Sir F. A. Weld writes of this visit—'At Kwala Lumpor, besides the reception and a dinner at the Capitan China's, a Chinese theatrical performance was given representing a sultan and great rajahs giving up their quarrels on the appearance of a "governor," who pacifies the country. Addresses and odes were also sung and recited to me from the stage, and the performers representing the great personages prostrated themselves and made obeisances. The dresses were all real hand-worked gold and silver embroidery on thick silks of the richest colours. The princes were attended by their warriors, some of whose helmets and arms were magnificent, with banners and feather standards, and coats of arms, or their equivalents, borne aloft by heralds; ladies also appeared, one a prima-donna. Other actresses rode hobby-horses, only the head of the woman and hobby-horse being visible in the clouds of silk and gold. Jesters jested; and tumblers, in blue, loose tunics and wide scarlet trousers, shot across the stage when there was any room in front of the crowd of actors with the rapidity of meteors. The pace was too great to be even sure that they were human beings. I have seen Kean's Shakespearian revival pageants formerly in London, but I never realised what a mediaeval court pageant might have been till in the heart of the Malay Peninsula I saw the most gorgeous combination of colour and picturesque effect that I have ever set eyes upon.' "

the part addressed to me was over, and got to bed about 12 p.m. after a very hard day's work.

July 13th. In the morning I went over a tapioca factory. I also received a Malay deputation and inspected the government offices. The Malay spokesman was eloquent about the good my coming would do in this country, and said that it was clear that I took an interest in the people and wished them well, and that they all hoped I should long be Governor, and should return shortly to see them again; and after I had replied, and said that the Queen took much interest in the welfare of all the countries under her protection, they answered that they knew she must be good, and anxious to help them, for, whereas formerly they had suffered much from wars and rapine and oppression, now they lived in happiness and security. I also received a Chinese deputation about mining and other business.

July 14th. On board s.s. Pluto at anchor, mouth of Klang River. We started this morning on horseback at 5.30. As we rode through the town [Kuala Lumpur], we stopped to visit the gaol—a temporary one—and found the sentry, musket in hand, fast asleep in an easy-chair! I had to settle the site of a new fort and Residency there; after this was done we rode on to Damansara through the usual forest scenes, hearing but not seeing a number of hornbills who made a great noise in the trees over our heads. We got on board the steam-launch at Damansara, and on to the *Pluto* at Klang, but did not land to take leave of Mrs. Douglas as I had a slight touch of gout. The Rance Mahdi came off to see me, with presents for you and Minnie and a petition for me. The old man is very ill[34]. We have dropped down the river, and shall lie at the mouth of the straits to-night, as we expect a steamer with Singapore letters.

(4) Travel in Selangor in 1883[35]

Adjoining Sungie Ujong to the north lies the state of Selangor, and in 1883 the only means of communication between the two places was by a jungle track, which some distance from Seremban lost itself in a muddy stream until the foot of the S'tul range of hills was reached. After surmounting these and descending on the other side, the valley of S'tul was passed, and amongst the few houses dotted round the paddy fields were some inhabited by men from Karinchi in Sumatra, who have the reputation of being able to transform themselves at will into tigers, a superstition firmly believed in by their neighbours, who hold them in some dread and awe.

34. Raja Mahdi, one of the leaders on the opposition side during the Selangor Civil War of 1868-73, died in Singapore of tuberculosis on 10 January, 1882 (Middlebrook, *JMBRAS*, 24, (2), 1951, p. 88).

35. From "Camping and Tramping in Malaya", by Ambrose B. Rathborne (Swan Sonnenschein, London, 1898), pp. 105-71, with omissions. The extracts selected here refer to a journey across Selangor from south to north, made in 1883. Rathborne was an Australian mining engineer. He came to Malaya about 1882, and in 1883 entered into partnership with T. Heslop Hill, one of the pioneer planters in the Malay states (see pp. 62-7, above). The partners described themselves as "Planters, contractors and agents", but in 1884 they also tackled tin mining, and purchased one of the mines at Ampang. The previous year Yap Ah Loy had obtained 350 tons of tin from his 411-acre mine at Ampang, and later sold the mine for $170,000 to a company floated by Paterson, Simons & Co of Singapore. But in 1884 the price of tin dropped, and all but one of the European mining companies went out of business. Hill & Rathborne, lost $70,000 on their little venture at Ampang, and the astute Yap Ah Loy purchased their property at the bottom of the slump (see Middlebrook, *JMBRAS*, 24, (2), 1951: 97).

The next inhabited place reached was the isolated village of Brennang, consisting of two or three wayside houses of the usual flimsy kind, easily built, and as lightly abandoned should the dwellers care to leave them and move elsewhere. Each house had a rough shelter for passers-by, in which hung sundry bunches of shrivelled plantains for sale, and which were generally occupied by half-naked children, who made these sheds their play-ground. Here the traveller rested awhile before attempting to cross the swamp, full of rank grasses and rushes, and waist-deep in mud, that stretched across his path.

Just as night was falling the river of Samunieh was reached, and in the village beyond the way-farer felt thankful that half the journey had been achieved, and that the next day would bring him to Kwala Lumpor. Not, however, that the second day's journey was any better than the first; more tedious, if anything, was the narrow jungle path, full of holes and roots; the paddy fields of Cadjan and the river at Cheras had all to be crossed as well as innumerable streams and spurs and swampy gullies, before the mining camp of Pudu was reached, an outskirt of Kwala Lumpor, and a settlement of Chinese miners, who were all busily employed "winning" the tin with which the valley abounded.

Kwala Lumpor is the chief town of Selangor, and the principal Government offices are located here. It is situated at the mouth of the Gomba river, a tributary of the Klang, the latter being the chief river of this part of the country. The houses of the Government officers were pleasantly situated on the adjoining hills overlooking the town, roads were in course of being laid out, order was kept by a small body of Malay police, and Mr. (now Sir) Frank A. Swettenham had lately been appointed the British Resident of the state[36]; and its rapid development was in large measure due to the policy adopted of improving the means of communication to enable the Chinese miners to transport their supplies at a reasonable cost, and also to the encouragements to settle that were extended to the Malay immigrants from foreign states, who readily availed themselves of the advantages given.

The immediate neighbourhood consists of a fine fertile basin of flat country forming an amphi-theatre, surrounded on the east by the mountains of the main range, and on the other sides by subsidiary spurs. The hills here are bolder and the valleys more extensive than further south, and these characteristics become even more marked in the state of Perak, further to the northward.

The town itself already presented all the appearances of a prosperous mining centre; the streets were littered with bricks and timber, for substantial structures were fast taking the place of the flimsy wooden houses so liable to catch fire and be destroyed. It was no unusual occurrence for a whole village, which had quickly sprung into existence owing to some great influx of Chinese miners to the neighbourhood, to be entirely devastated

36. Bloomfield Douglas left Selangor in July, 1882, and Swettenham arrived to replace him about September: he was gazetted provisionally as acting Resident on 25 September, and confirmed as acting Resident on 2 October (*S. S. Govt Gazette*, 1882). This agrees with Rathborne's own dates (p. 151, above, and p. 152, below), where in both cases he implies that his first visit to Kuala Lumpur was made in 1883. As the firm of Hill & Rathborne was formed that year, this is probably correct. His reference below to the replacement of the plank and atap houses in the centre of the town by ones of brick and tile must actually derive from a later visit, as the edict in question was not issued until the latter part of 1884 (see text, p. 39 above)

and laid waste by fire, a layer of ashes and a few badly-charred post here and there being all that was left of what had been but a few hours before a flourishing little centre of trade. In the towns, of course, the destruction was on a bigger scale, and the opportunity was taken advantage of by all the bad characters to lay hands on and steal what they could; rioting and fighting also created a new danger, and made the confusion worse. The better houses were formerly built with mud walls, and over the ceiling there was a layer of earth. On the first alarm of fire, a hurried rush would be made by the inhabitants to close the doors of their shops in order to prevent their contents from being looted. The owners of the wooden houses nearest the conflagration were busily employed in carrying what they could of their goods to some place of safety. Those in the mud houses simply sat inside and patiently awaited events, in comparative safety if the conflagration was not too fierce; for although the light roofs overhead were burnt and destroyed, the contents of the shop were but slightly damaged unless the fire gained an entrance through the wooden doors or windows, in which case the building would be entirely gutted. On no consideration would those inhabitants who were somewhat more remote from the fire help to extinguish the flames or open their doors, and the only way to gain an entrance was by bursting them in. As an instance of this, I have seen the roof of a shop catch fire from some spark that had blown on to the thatch unknown to the inmates within, who obstinately refused admittance to those outside endeavouring to enter, so that they might get on to the roof and put out the flames. Shouting and hammering were of no avail, and there was nothing to be done but to break in the door with an axe, when the Chinese occupants were disclosed crouching down and awaiting events in dumb stupidity, seemingly paralyzed by the dread of being robbed should they open their doors and by the fear that the fire after all might reach them. Then in turn house after house had to be broken into, and the inmates compelled to fetch water to throw over their roofs in order to prevent stray sparks from igniting the palm leaves with which they were thatched.

It was to prevent the destruction of property and its concomitant evils, directly a village became prosperous and of sufficient importance, orders were given that within a defined area all the shops were to be built of brick before a certain date. This decree had been issued at Kwala Lumpor just before my visit, and accounted for the roads in the parts affected by the order being littered with building material.....[37]

In 1883 the only other egress from the State of Selangor besides the river routes was by a primitive and roughly constructed earth road between Kwala Lumpor and Bukit Kuda, which was very steep in places, with so many ups and downs as to appear somewhat like journeying over a tempestuous sea. On both sides of the road was dense jungle, the large trees of which nearly met overhead, consequently there was no varied scenery along the route, nothing except an unending vista of forest, beautiful in its way, yet somewhat monotonous. Tall, giant trees towered overhead, amongst the forks of whose heavy and wide-spreading branches grew enormous stag ferns, very striking when seen nestling so high up, with their long green fronds hanging down, overlapping the withered brown leaves underneath. Some of these forest trees had stems upon which the dark brown bark grew rough and crinkled, whilst on others it was of a greyish hue, smooth and glossy-looking, and here and there might be described a trunk

37. The decree in question was issued in September, 1884, and came into effect on 1 January, 1885. But 1883 was a boom year in Kuala Lumpur, and no doubt there was much building in progress. Rathborne, writing Fifteen years later, has probably confused the activity that he saw on two different occasions.

spreading out with several wing like projections as it neared the ground; and beneath the mighty monsters grew other trees of smaller girth, and beneath these again still smaller ones, and saplings of various sizes, down to the newly sprouted seed sending up its tiny shoot, trying to force its way in life, and either strangled at the outset—killed by the dense shade and tangled growth amidst which fate had placed it—or perhaps, more fortunate in its surroundings, able to struggle upwards with thin attenuated stem and scanty top, its efforts seemingly bent upon endeavouring to rear its head high enough to obtain its share of the glimmering sunlight which, although blazing bright and strong above, only penetrates the dense mass of foliage with uncertain, feeble, and flickering rays. Amidst this tangle of boughs and branches, the home of orchids and lichen, huge ropes hang down, sometimes dangling overhead, at others rooted in the ground, and growing up. There are quantities of these parasites, varying in thickness from a pieces of string to a chain-cable, and of many varieties, from a species that when cut exudes an excellent rubber[38], to another from which water trickles to slake the thirst of the traveller, who holds the dangling end over his open mouth, into which the water drops[39]. Flowering plants are conspicuous by their absence, although now and again the solitary bloom of a ground orchid or other shade-loving plant may be described, as well as the grape-like clusters of the fruit of the attap palms, and various fruits and berries.

The vegetation of the swamps differs considerably, being dependent upon the depth of water, mud, and other influences. The trees are smaller, and grow from a tangled pyramid of roots; their timber is always soft and of little value. A dense mass of impenetrable thorns takes the place of undergrowth, and it is in places such as these that the rattans are collected, and cut out of the thorny shell-like covering which is peeled off, as only the inside is of any use. These rattans grow in thick profusion, twining and and twisting amongst the thorns and bushes, many yards in length, with nearly a uniform thickness throughout, raising their heads and growing upwards until, overcome by their own weight, they fall down and entangle themselves in still more inextricable confusion.

There were about sixteen miles of uncomfortable travelling along this road, so bad as to be impassable for carts in wet weather, and only practicable in the dry months for those lightly loaded. The journey was very hard on the poor little ponies, who often were forced to make great efforts to drag the conveyance to the top of the hill, and were then compelled to exert all their strength to prevent the vehicle from running upon them as they descended the other side. As it was, they were only able to accomplish quite short distances, and it was necessary to change them several times during the journey. Here and there a freshly broken cart by the side of the road bore witness to the struggles that had taken place when it stuck fast in some deep rut, and it is upon such occasions that the training of the bullocks is put to a severe test, for they are coupled by a yoke

38. The India-rubber Tree, *Ficus elastica*: before the introduction of the Para-rubber Tree, *Hevea brasiliensis*, this strangling fig was one of the main sources of rubber in the East, but it is not certain that it is indigenous in Malaya. Corner apparently considers that it may have been introduced from India: certainly from the way in which seedlings develop on roadside trees in the vicinity of Raub and Tras it can easily escape from cultivation and become wild. However, if Rathborne found it plentiful in the Selangor jungle as early as 1883, it may well be indigenous: cf. also H J. Murton in *JSBRAS*, 1, 1878, pp. 106-07. Extensive planting in Malaya apparently began in the 1890's and reached its peak in 1900, when 52,000 trees were planted out in Selangor alone. Planting ceased in 1906, in favour of *Hevea*. The chief reason why *F. elastica* lost its place is that the latex contains 4-20%, of a resin which hardens in the course of time, and annuls its elasticity (see Burkill, Dictionary Economic Products, 1935, 1, pp. 1007-09).

39. The Banyan, *Ficus retusa*, but the trickle is in truth reluctant, and the sap has an acrid taste

or cross-piece connected to the pole of the cart by means of an iron pin, which, passing through both pieces of wood, is kept in place by nut at the bottom, thus allowing he yoke to move freely backwards and forwards. The oxen are fastened and kept in their places by two woden pins, which, hang down on each side of the bullock's neck, and in order to prevent the cart from tipping up, or the bullocks from tipping up, or the bullocks from slipping out their heads, a piece of string is passed round their throats, and its ends secured to the yoke. The load also has to be carefully balanced, so that there shall be just sufficient weight on the bullocks' necks to enable them to utilize their full strength, and to prevent the cart from tilting backwards; for should the burden on their necks be too oppressive the soon tire, and lowering their heads allow the yoke to slip over their horns, and are only prevented from enirely ridding themselves of it by cord encircling their throats, which often becomes so taut as to nearly choke them. It is always difficult to get the best of cart bullocks to work in unison, after they have failed once or twice to move the load to which they are attached, and the driver has a hard task, twisting their tails, prodding them with a sharp stick, shouting and abusing them; for immediately they find the cart cannot be moved, one of them is sure to give way and back, which allows the other one to go forward, the cart turns to one side, and the bullocks place themselves in such a position that the driver has much difficulty in getting them right again before making another endeavour. During these struggles the cart works backwards and forwards from side to side in the soft mud, sinking deeper at each unavailing effort, necessitating some of its load being removed unless there is plenty of assistance at hand to help in pushing the wheels round. Some drivers have a cruel and odious practice of making a raw place on the bullock's back, and with a pointed strick prodding this open sore—a barbarous method; usually, however, the animals are well cared for, as if not they are unable to work, and especially is this the case with the fine white species imported from India; whilst those from Siam cost less, do less work, and require but little attention. The terminus of the road from Kwala Lumpor to Klang was the small village of Bukit Kuda, a most uninteresting place, where every house was a resting and refreshment place for travellers, and did quite a lucrative business. Hot and dusty way-farers were lounging about on the seats outside the shops, resting in the shade of the verandahs, eating or chewing betel, or smoking. Coloured syrup in glasses, sugar canes, plantains, sweetmeats, and other eatables were displayed upon the small counters, which were drawn up at night, and served as shutters to the windows within which the shopmen sat and gossiped with their customers outside. A few weary-looking bullocks lay in the road, and a pony was being led about to get dry in the sun, having been bathed in the Klang river, which at this point is tidal. A small steamer (when not broken down and useless) plied between this village and the port called Klang, some distance further down the river, and up to which place trading steamers from Singapore and Penang were able to come to discharge their cargoes.

The strength of the tides is considerable, and there must always be a dangerous undercurrent as well, for anyone falling overboard from the deck of a steamer is usually sucked under and drowned, and his body is not recovered. During spring tides the water rushes up or down between the somewhat narrow banks, fringed on each side with mangrove trees, and the traveller, if he is proceeding by a rowing boat, has to wait until the current flows in the desired direction, as it is useless trying to stem the stream in a boat of this description. Klang itself consisted merely of a few houses and Government offices built on a swampy flat surrounded by hills, one of

which reached down to the water's edge, and upon it a fort had been constructed and armed with guns to command the river. It was an uninteresting place, the abode of many sandflies, most annoying and maddening tormentors, only kept out by the finest mosquito nets.....

During the early years of the decade, 1880 to 1890, the country between Kwala Lumpor in Selangor, and Kwala Kangsar in Perak, the headquarters of the Resident of that state, was entirely unopened up, there were no roads to speak of, and the journey consisted of a difficult and tedious tramp through the jungle. Leaving Kwala Lumpor and travelling to the northward for a few miles towards the hills that encirle this portion of the country, the village of Batu was reached—a few scattered houses alongside a fordable river, across which on the other side could be seen rising from the forest-covered plain, and standing isolated by itself, a picturesque white limestone hill. This hill is famous for its fine cave whose narrow entrance is situated a little way up the hillside, and almost immediately opens out out into a broad, high-vaulted space, at the apex of which there is a small aperture admitting just sufficient daylight to change the darkness into a sombre gloominess, through which comes the rustle of many wings as colonies of disturbed bats fling themselves into space, and flit hither and thither with sudden dashes, seeking safety in flight; so that by the time the intruder's eyes have become somewhat accustomed to the semi-darkness, he thinks himself alone, and feels but a pigmy as he looks up at the roof above and shouts, only to hear his own voice reverberating with a hollow, deadening sound and echoing back to him, having frightened a solitary and belated bat that has been hanging in some darker and more obscure corner than its companions, and quickly disappearing, it leaves nothing but insects of various kinds behind, which placidly continue their pursuits undisturbed and unalarmed by the unusual sound of a human voice. The floor beneath is largely composed of guano, but not in sufficient quantities to be of any commercial value; and exploring still further, a smaller cavern is discovered, from which narrow, damp, and clammy tunnels lead on into the hill, and whose roofs are composed of thick greyish masses of pendant stalactites.

Around these limestone hills the soil is especially good, and vegetation is luxuriant on either side of the cool bright stream that meanders through the forest, full of little minnows, which dart hither and thither; along its banks the tracks of many animals show that this is one of their favourite localities, and the especial haunt of the seladang, the bison of the Malay Peninsula, a magnificent species of wild cattle, known to have measured as much as seventeen hands, or five feet eight inches at the shoulder, and possessing wide-spreading and very sharp horns. They are exceedingly fierce and dangerous when wounded, charging without hesitation at the intruder of their haunts, and most difficult to approach in the thick jungle, through which it is no easy matter for the tracker to move silently without treading upon some of the many dead twigs that bestrew the ground or shaking some small sapling as he creeps along. Being extremely wary, these animals move off at the slightest noise, and when once disturbed and thoroughly aroused the sportsman had better give up the chase for that day.....

Crossing this fine alluvial flat, the track emerged into an open space and lost itself in the tangled growth of the coarse and many-jointed buffalo grass, which creeps and spreads, covering the ground wherever it obtains sufficient light to enable it to grow. Across this open space was an abandoned house — our resting place for the night — and alongside of it were the ruins of another one, which had been demolished and levelled to the ground by an elephant which had taken up his abode in the vicinity, and had scared away the occupants who had made it their temporary home.....

After the morning meal, which only differed from that of the preceding evening in so far as then I ate half of one of the small fowls of the country hot, whereas now I ate the other portion cold, a plate of rice and a small piece of dried fish as a relish, followed by a cup of cocoa or coffee, I was ready to creep into the still wringing wet clothes of the day before, which there had been no means of drying. It was useless to think of putting on a dry change of raiment, for in a short while it would again have been wet through, soaked with perspiration, and consequently I should only have had two wet suits instead of one. The early dawn always felt more or less chilly, and dressing in sodden clothes was usually accompanied by unpleasant fits of shivering.

Soon we were wending our way along the spur of the hills we had to ascend, past the dangerous place frequented by the rogue elephant. The path became more overgrown, and the track rougher; large fallen trees blocked the way, retarding progress, as they had to be crossed, for the ground was too steep to admit of laden men going up or down in order to get round the obstacle, so with as little delay as possible a foothold was cut in the log, and sticks placed on either side to enable the men to climb over it.

The path as it approached the pass became almost precipitous, and so slippery in wet weather as to be very difficult of ascent. The loaded coolies clambered up this portion laboriously, careful of their foothold at each step they took, and using their toes to clutheh the ground. The descent for short distances was equally bad, and had to be negotiated even more cautiously, but it is amazing how a barefooted man will manage to walk in perfect safety where a booted one has to use a stick with which to steady himself. Habit and use make their feet become almost like additional hands; they are able to pick up money or sticks from the ground, they seize and hold any object they may require to keep steady whilst they are working at it, and in climbing ropes they grasp it between the first and second toe, instead of swarming up as we do. They take the greatest care not to tread on thorns, for not withstanding that the soles of their feet have a thick and hardened skin, thorns readily penetrate, and have to be pulled out; or if they break off, as they often do, leaving their sharp points in the flesh, they require to be extracted, and it is a very usual sight to see the carriers after a rough day's journey performing this operation, and cutting the thorns out of one another's feet.

After some hours of descent the valley of Ulu Yam is reached, a fine stretch of paddy fields, and a village inhabited by immigrant Malays from Sumatra..... The house of the Orang-tua, or recognized head of the cluster of dwellings, was situated close to the path, and was our halting place for the night. We were made welcome, mats were spread, and bits of news interchanged. At the back of the house was a nice clear flowing stream with gravelly bottom, nearly three feet deep. As I walked into the water I saw a long, thin, attenuated water snake, that had been disturbed by my intrusion, swiftly wriggling itself across to the other side. There was no fear of my bath being disturbed by leeches here, for they only swarm in muddy places; nothing more disquieting than the nibbling round my legs of a number of little minnows, which, attracted by my white skin, came to examine and try whether it may not be something edible, and amused me by the persistency of their efforts.

On my return to the house after bathing, it was with feelings of contentment that I ascended the ladder on to the verandah, for the accommodation was comfortable and luxurious when compared with the

night before; and sitting down on the doorstep the look-out was bright and cheerful, for the setting sun, throwing a last beam of light across the brown, watery paddy fields, that had been so lately planted, lighted them up with just one warm parting flash of radiance before its golden orb disappeared below the horizon, leaving an afterglow of colours in the heavens to tinge the wavy clouds with brilliant sheens of splendour, gradually deepening in tint to a glorious crimson, which was slowly lost in darkness. One of my bearers had found he possessed mutual friends and relations with my host, and they sat up late together discussing them and chatting.

The next morning saw us all once more on the move; skirting alongside the paddy fields we commenced a hot and dreary journey to Ulu Selangor through grass and scrub, for all the intervening country had been cleared of its forest growth and abandoned, after a crop or two had been taken from the land. Crossing a river about mid-day we travelled on, reaching in the afternoon the low ridge of hills on the far side of which lay the village where we intended to camp for the night.

This ridge was covered by a dense growth of bamboos, and was interesting from the fact that it contained signs of a former Siamese occupation, the record of which would have been lost had it not been for the numerous round shafts which had fallen in and were nearly filled with earth, and amongst these the track wound in and out, threading its way between them as it traversed this honeycombed hill. The mining method adopted by these Siamese adventurers, in probably the eighteenth century, required the assistance of two men, one of whom was employed in excavating a curvular hole of sufficient dimensions to enable him to work within it. As he dug out the soil under his feet he put it in a basket attached to a cord, which his comrade drew up, and throwing its contents to one side returned it to him. When the ore-strata was reached he not only sent up to the surface what there was in the shaft itself, but undermining as far as he could all round he scooped up everything that was within his reach, and this all had to be carried some little distance to a neighbouring stream in order to separate the tin ore from its surroundings. Alternate notches were cut in opposite sides of the shaft, into which the miner, by sticking his toes, was able with the help of a bamboo pole, or by pressing his elbows against the walls, either to gain the surface or to lower himself without much difficulty, for these holes were seldom much over twenty feet in depth.

Being unable to cope with the water in the flats, these Siamese immigants confined their attention to higher places, where, by sinking shafts at regular intervals, they systematically extracted and scooped out all the ore-bearing strata of the ground in which they worked, but they must have been satisfied with results which would be totally insufficient nowadays to have made their method worthwhile in the poor land in which they worked.

The original village of Ulu Selangor was built on a low bank by the side of the Selangor river, at the highest point where it was navigable for the small boats conveying the imports and exports of the district. At the back of it stretched away a long valley, in the upper portion of which a high bund had been constructed, confining many acres of considerable depth, which was utilized by the miners in the neighbourhood[40].

This dam had been in existence for very nearly a hundred years, and the villagers had ceased to realize the dangerous situation they had selected for their houses, until one wet, dark night, succeeding an unusually rainy

40. This paragraph is the opening section of Chapter IX, beginning on p. 137, in Rathborne's book.

day, the cry was raised that the tank was bursting. Some hurriedly ran to higher ground, but many, hardly crediting the intelligence, remained in their dwellings rather than face the storm outside, whilst others lingered to collect as much of their goods as they could carry away before abandoning their homes. Fatal delay, for the bund had broken, and the opening, small at at first, soon widened, letting loose an avalanche of water that romped and tore down the valley, levelling everything that opposed its passage across the intervening space, and rushing on the village, swept it and all its inhabitants out into the river; then, dashing against the opposite bank where the ground was steep and high, the waters recoiled and eddied, tossing shattered houses, animals, and human beings about in tumultuous confusion, whilst the current pressed and carried them on its downward course.

A few houses that stood on a slight eminence were all that escaped being destroyed, and the valley above bore witness for many months to the torrential flood that had passed over it. The bushes and tall grass were still lying flattened to the ground, and where the bund should have been a wide rent gave entrance to what had once been a lake, but was now a stretch of quickly drying mud, where a few fish lingered and hid in the slimy bottom. The village was rebuilt on higher ground, and being connected with Kwala Lumpor by railway, it has become a flourishing little centre of trade, and substantially built brick houses have taken the place of more temporary structures[41].

Its inhabitants do a considerable business with the neighbouring state of Pahang, as it is from here that the road starts that leads over the mountains to the mining district of Tras and to the gold mines of Raub; and it was the base where supplies were collected for one of the forces that were sent to put down the disturbances that broke out shortly after a British Resident had been imposed upon the Sultan of that state.

The sole mark left to remind the traveller of the disaster that once overwhelmed the place in its early days is a grassy mound, the grave of the District Officer[42], the only Englishman who was in the village at the time of its destruction, and whose body was recovered some distance down the river.

The Malays in this neighbourhood had been almost exterminated during the many internecine fights, for they had commenced by helping the Siamese to conquer Perak, and before the effects of that expedition had disappeared they began fighting among themselves, which was more destructive still. Those lower down passing up or down, and took to piracy directly the Dutch, in accordance with the Treaty of Holland, 1824, withdrew from the fort they had constructed at the river's mouth. The most terrible anarchy prevailed, and traditions of murders and horrible cruelties were still current among the poverty-stricken remmant left in the interior.

The scenery in the neighbourhood of the Selangor river is uninteresting, the whole country round being broken up with numerous little hills and valleys, and these had to be crossed on the journey towards Bernam, the first part of which was dull and uninteresting until Kalampong was reached, where there had formerly been quite a considerable mining settlement; but

41. Kuala Kubu Bahru. The railway extension to Kuala Kubu was opened to traffic in October 1894. Subsequently the line was continued northwards to cross the Bernam River and link up with the Perak State Railway. The through service from Kuala Kangsar to Kuala Lumpur was established in 1903: the first train carried the Sultan of Perak and his party to the durbar at Kuala Lumpur in July of that year, but the line was not opened for regular traffic until several months later.

42. We have not been able to ascertain his name.

the houses were already falling into decay, the population having mostly left owing to the rich discovery of tin which had once attracted them having become nearly exhausted. The last portion of the journey notwithstanding the flatness of the country traversed, was a tedious and trying walk, along a path much cut by the buffaloes which were employed to drag provisions for the miners over this narrow way, rendering it muddy and slippery in wet weather, and rough and uneven to walk upon when dry. The village of Ulu Bernam is situated in a beautiful and broad valley through which the Bernam river flows, the boundary between the states of Selangor and Perak, and its inhabitants were foreign Malays, who appeared prosperous and well-to-do; their houses were nicely built, and the turf between them was kept closely cropped by the many goats and buffaloes that roamed at large, whilst here and there a clump of bamboos broke the uniformity of the level sward.

Tied to the river bank were a few small boats, whose owners were lazily lolling under the shade of the removable roofs—made from leaves of the nipa palm sewn together—they had erected, and resting after their two weeks of hard poling up the river. The children were disporting themselves in the river itself, laughing and shouting at one another with gladsome exuberance of spirits; higher up a group of women were vanishing behind the bank round a bend in the stream, in order to seek a more secluded bathing-place; and across the water the curious bleat of the cow buffalo could be heard as it called to its calf, and emerging from a path leading to the woods came several buffaloes, which having done their day's work were being brought by small boys perched on their backs down to the river, into which they were driven, almost disappearing as they lowered their bodies until nothing but their heads were visible above the water. In the far distance the dark bold outline of the Slim mountain range, six to seven thousand feet in height, formed a fitting and picturesque frame to this pleasant landscape, where the air was pure and balmy, and where only happiness seemed to reign, and contentment appeared the lot of all.

(5) The Opening of the Railway between Klang and Kuala Lumpur.

15 September, 1886.[43]

The railway station at Bukit Kudah[44] with its engine and train of carriages, the guard hurrying up and down the platform, and the groups of passengers waiting for the departure of the train, contrasted very strangely on the morning of Wednesday, September 15th [1886], with the surrounding Malayan scenery and the silent but eager and expectant onlookers. A saloon car was in readiness for His Excellency the Governor and Lady Weld, His Highness the Sultan of Selangor, the British Resident and others of the principal visitors and officials. The first class carriages were occupied by guests who had been invited for the occasion, and the compartments of the second and third classes were filled with Malays, nearly all of them being the Sultan's attendants. There were about one hundred and thirty passengers altogether by the first train ever run on the selangor Government Railway; it started at twenty minutes to ten, and at a quarter past

43. From "Fifty years of Railway in Malaya", F. M. S. Railways, 1935, pp. 9-12. The account is described as "extracted (with some omissions) from the Strait Times dated Wednesday, 22nd September, 1886". Unfortunately copies of the *Strait Times* for this period are no longer available. The Selangor Government line from Klang to Kuala Lumpur was the second public railway to be set up in the Malay Peninsula: the first was the line from Port Weld to Taiping, opened to traffic in June, 1885.

44. Initially the line stopped at Kg Kuantan, on the north side of the Klang River: see the map on p. 52, above. It was not until four years later that a bridge was built over the river, and the terminus moved to Klang.

eleven the train steamed into Kuala Lumpur station, the run of about twenty miles having been done in ninety five minutes. The speed of the train varied greatly, as the lower end of the line is not yet ballasted and over this particular section it travelled at a very moderate rate, and evidently no small care was exercised in the handling of the train in which Sir Frederick Weld and the Sultan of Selangor were seated, but as we neared Kuala Lumpur the speed was greatly accelerated and we were then going at about 30 miles an hour. It was a most comfortable journey throughout; there was not the least stoppage, hitch, or drawback of any kind at any time; the motion was very pleasant, the only movement worth noticing being a slight occasional oscillation, not at all unusual on any line, and everything worked so smoothly that there was nothing to suggest that we were travelling with new rolling stock over a new railway.

As a detailed and accurate description of the railway itself will form the subject matter of a subsequent letter it will be sufficient for the present to say that the entire line has a good, solid and workmanlike appearance; the bridges especially are examples of fine work successfully carried out in the face of great difficulties. The iron bridge over the Damansara river, the great cutting at Batu Tiga through a troublesome shale formation too tough for the spade and too soft to blasted, the places on the line at which subsidences have taken place, all have their history of obstacles overcome, and which could hardly be realized by those who found themselves seated in comfortable carriages rolling smoothly over the railway.

After a short and pleasant run the train arrived at the terminal station at Kuala Lumpur, where some of the principal residents were waiting to receive the Governor and the Sultan, and a guard of honour commanded by Mr H. C. Syers, the Superintendent of the Selangor Police Force, was in attendance. On the platform of the station Mr Rodger, the Resident of the State of Selangor, addressed His Excellency the Governor in a speech full of interest which was delivered with remarkable clearness, precision, and fluency. Mr Rodger's speech ran as follows:—

> Your Excellency, Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen — In kindly consenting to open this railway, Your Excellency is putting the finishing touch to work commenced under your auspices three years ago. There is one person who was present when the first sod was turned, whose absence I greatly regret today. I mean Mr Swettenham who first permanently brought under Your Excellency's notice the desirability of constructing a line of railway between Klang and Kuala Lumpur, and subsequently, in a series of admirably lucid reports, he so thoroughly elaborated the whole scheme, that his *locum tenens* had merely to continue working on the lines which Mr Swettenham had so clearly laid down. Apart from the initiation of the scheme, the credit of practically carrying it out belongs to Mr Spence Moss, the Government Railway Engineer who, from the first, has had the entire charge of this work, who surveyed and laid out the line, and has carried it forward to completion with very marked energy and ability.
>
> Of the contractors employed in constructing the line, the earthworks and masonry have been carried out by the firm of Messrs Gordon & Co., of whom two of the partners, Mr Gordon and Mr Bailey, have had charge of the upper and lower sections respectively. Mr. Gordon deserves great credit for the manner in which at the commencement he succes fully organized a large force of Chinese and Malay labourers, at a time when he was totally unacquainted with the local customs and languages, and on behalf of a work which, to most of the people, must then have appeared purely mythical.
>
> Mr Bailey has had to contend with even greater difficulties on the lower section, owing to the distance from Kuala Lumpur, and to the fact that the chief engineering difficulties, in the shape of bridges, cuttings, and embankments, occur on the lower section of the line. In this connection I would specially mention the valuable assistance rendered to the Government by two of the principal members of our Chinese community, the Captain China, and Towkay Ah Yok[45], who, on recently

45. Chow Ah Yeok, a prominent mine-owner, and the second Chinese magistrate in Kuala Lumpur. See pp. 34-35, above.

hearing that there was great difficulty in obtaining a sufficient labour force, came forward in the public spirited manner and supplied the Government with 300 mining coolies, at a time when such assistance was of the utmost value in accelerating the progress of the works, and although the removal of so large a body of men from their mines must have caused them serious inconvenience, more especially having regard to the present high price of tin. Your Excellency has doubtless taken part, in the Australian colonies[46], in the opening of railways of far greater magnitude than this, but perhaps never of one which was more urgently required, nor of which the opening more distinctly formed an epoch in the history of the State.

As much of the construction of this railway was carried out during Your Excellency's absence in Europe, I would ask to be allowed briefly to refer to some of the more salient points in connection with the history of the line. The first sod was turned by Your Excellency, at Kuala Lumpur, in July 1883, but for several months after that date it was uncertain whether the line would be for a railway, or whether it would merely be utilized as a substitute for the famous, or infamous, Damansara Road. The contract for the earthworks and masonry was signed in May, 1884, but definite sanction for the railway was not obtained until the month of September in the year. The next question that arose was the financial one, but this difficulty was overcome by the generous assistance of the Colonial Government who lent to Selangor a sum of $300,000, of which two thirds have since been taken over by the neighbouring State of Perak. It is now possible to estimate, with approximate accuracy, the exact cost of this railway, and I may say that the total inclusive cost (including earthworks, buildings, rolling stock, ballasting, etc., etc.) will be within £6,000 sterling per mile; for the whole line £120,000, or, translated into local currency, less than $750,000. With the exception of the Railway Loan of $300,000, to which I have already referred, this cost has been and will be met from the current revenue of the State.

As soon as it was decided to construct the railway, it became necessary to engage the services of Assistant Engineers to take charge of the various sections of the line, but considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining these officers, and they did not arrive from England until the month of April 1885. A further delay arose in connection with the rolling stock. It was thought in Selangor that it would be advisable to use the Indian types on account of the exceptionally long experience in India of meter gauge lines, similar to this, and working under somewhat analogous climatic conditions.

Complete indents were accordingly prepared for rolling-stock of these types, to be procured direct from India, but the Selangor view was not adopted by the authorities consulted in England, and it was evidently decided to use the English Colonial types, which Your Excellency has seen today.

His Excellency the Governor replied to this address in a short speech expressing his concurrence in all that had been said by Mr Rodger. His Excellency alluded to the labours of Mr Swettenham while British Resident at Selangor, a post which had since been so ably filled by Mr Rodger, and after some other general remarks concluded by declaring the railway formally open.

An address in Malay was then presented by Rajah Laut at Kuala Lumpur, of which the following is a translation:

To His Excellency Sir Frederick Aloysius Weld, *G.C.M.G.*, Governor of the Straits Settlements. From the fulness of our hearts we bid you welcome to this our country, and make known to Your Excellency that it affords us great pleasure, as also all the merchants and Malay inhabitants of the State, to observe the light of your countenance by day and by night in this unenlightened place, having been enlightened now thereby, we are now enabled to bask in the sunshine of your presence, therefore we the merchants, traders and general inhabitants feel very much elated at the arrival of Your Excellency on this great occasion. This is an event which we shall all along remember. Previous to the British government affording us its advice in placing a Resident here to look after the welfare of Selangor, we felt like one wandering in the jungle, our way beset by thorns and thickets. If we were not careful how we guided our footsteps we should inevitably have stepped on the thorns and wounded our feet. Therefore since the arrival of the British Resident in the country, we have felt as one elevated up and placed

46. Sir Frederick Weld was Governor of Western Australia, 1869-74, and Governor of Tasmania, 1874-80.

between Earth and Sky. So great has been the change from our previous to our present condition. The first and most important change is that now peace and prosperity reign throughout and confusion is unknown, so that all can dwell in peace and safety. The second is that foreigners and strangers now come in crowds, much to the profit of the country. Thirdly — all the laws are just, therefore everyone is settled in peace. Fourthly — the country has been opened up and improved by means of roads so that all can easily come and go. Fifthly — this our railway is now made in order to further facilitate our means of transport and to assist in the development of this State, in order that the traders and others may work with profit to themselves and to the Government. Places that were far away have now been brought near, and goods that were dear have now become cheap.

This was followed by another address in Chinese presented by the Captain China[47]:

To His Excellency Sir Frederick Aloysius Weld, *G.C.M.G.*

All the Chinese Towkays and Traders in Kuala Lumpur join in this address to Your Excellency. Most of us can remember the time not long ago when Kuala Lumpur was but a jungle village hidden away amidst the dense forest. In those times our only means of communication between different points was by means of narrow jungle tracks, and the difficulties which stood in the way of trade, immigration and emigration were great in proportion. But now thanks to the great interest which Your Excellency takes in the progress of this State, we receive the boon of this new railway and vast is the change which is made thereby — the old tracks have given way to a level road, the swamp and streams are bridged over, and through its instrumentality our former difficulties are annihilated, trade increases, and the incoming and out-going of our population and property is reduced to the greatest possible certainly and celerity. In conjunction with the railway we have now also the benefit of the telegraph along which our messages fly like a strong wind. We would now acknowledge in the presence of Your Excellency our deep gratitude to you for these benefits. It is through the kind supervision and assistance which you have ever rendered to this our State that we now derive the advantages above recorded and we pray that the railway now opened by you may long prosper, and remain a memorial of Your Excellency's kindness to the people.

It is a great boon to us all to live under the protection of the English Government under which no wrong-doer may flourish or exist but must fly to other regions. The good and upright people alone may congregate under Your Excellency's protection. We are all your Excellency's children.

(6) The Official Opening of Connaught Bridge 17 April, 1890.[49]

The Colonial steamer *Sea Belle* with Sir Frederick and Lady Dickson and party on board, arrived at Klang on Monday morning 14th, rather earlier than had been expected, having done the journey from Singapore in something under 20 hours. A salute was fired from the Fort as she came to anchor alongside and some little time later the Resident, Mr. W. E. Maxwell, C.M.G., accompanied by the Raja Muda of Selangor and the Government officers stationed at Klang came on board to welcome the Acting Governor, who entertained them at tiffin on the after deck which was gaily decorated with bunting. The *Sea Belle* then proceeded to Bukit Kuda, the old terminus of the railway, which is now distinguished by possessing the finest bridge in the Malay Peninsula, of which more anon.

His Excellency and party then landed and proceeded to the railway station which was tastefully and appropriately decorated, and travelled to Kwala Lumpor, where they arrived amid a salute of fog signals at about 5 p.m.

They were received at the prettily decorated Station by the principal inhabitants, Malay, Chinese and European, and a detachment of Sikhs of the Selangor Military Police formed a guard of honour, looking extremely

47. Yap Ah Shak: he succeeded as Captain China at Kuala Lumpur following Yap Ah Loy's death on 15 April, 1885. See p. 34, above.

48. From the *Singapore Free Press*, Weekly Edition, 22 April, 1890, p. 482.

49. She named it "Lady Dickson." There was already a "Lady Clarke" (purchased from the Sultan of Johore in 1886) and a "Lady Clementi".

smart in their handsome full-dress uniform, and their turbans of red and yellow, the Selangor colours. The band, which is a new acquisition, was also present and took the usual share in welcoming His Excellency.

Unfortunately, owing to the heavy rains in the hill country, the road near the station was deeply flooded with muddy water but advantage was taken of the new road to the Residency by which the worst parts of the road were avoided. The guests as might be expected expressed great admiration for the new Residency, which is indeed a very handsome building and has a beautiful situation overlooking the plain on which the town of Kwala Lumpor stands, and affording a splendid view of the amphitheatre of hills beyond.

On Tuesday 15th, Sir J. F. Dickson and the Resident visited the the gardens and the new lake, Lake Sidney, of which Kuala Lumpor is justly proud and inspected the hospitals and the goal. H. E. observed that since his visit, which took place three years ago, there had been a remarkable improvement in the former and that the Pauper Hospital promised to be a model to the other Native States.

In the afternoon H. H. the Sultan, accompanied by the Raja Muda and a few of the principal rajas, called on Sir Frederick Dickson at the Residency and had an interview with His Excellency. Later on Lady Dickson held a garden reception which was numerously attended but was somewhat curtailed by a sudden storm of rain, which effectually stopped tennis, and drove the visitors into the Residency for shelter. In the evening, after dinner, the Residency party visited the fine new Chinese theatre, and were much struck by the gorgeous costumes of the actors.

Wednesday morning was spent by His Excellency the Acting Governor in visiting the new Court-house, which is in course of erection, and promises to be a very fine building, and the market (recently opened), which is clean, well-ventilated, and has a good supply of water. In the afternoon Sir Frederick Dickson, accompanied by the Resident and Capt. Massey, A.D.C., paid a return visit to the Sultan, and afterwards witnessed a parade of the Sikhs of the Selangor Military Police, which was carried out in a manner highly creditable to all concerned, the men executing the various movements with great steadiness and precision. His Excellency expressed his approval of the way in which they went thriugh the manual firing and bayonet exercises, and his regret that owing to the absence of Mr. Syers in Singapore, he was unable to congratulate him personally on the smartness of the corps under his command. In the evening there was a dance at the Residency, which was thoroughly enjoyed, and kept up to an early hour the next morning.

The great day, however, to which all these festivities were the prelude was Thursday, 17th, on which the new Klang bridge was to be opened. Two special trains conveyed all Kwala Lumpor down to Bukit Kuda, where the formal ceremony of declaring the bridge open was to take place about nine a.m. On arriving at Bukit Kuda the train slowly steamed across the bridge, cutting on its way red and yellow ribbons and came to a standstill at a tastefully constructed *pandal* that had been erected on the south side of the river for the reception of visitors. After Sir Frederick Dickson had personally inspected the bridge, which is about 150 yards long [and] stands on 5 piers 80ft high from their foundations, H. E. was requested by Mr. Maxwell, speaking on behalf of H. H. the Sultan, who was himself present attended by Major Hudson and suite, to inaugurate the opening of the bridge, and by special request of His Highness who in his recent visit to Singapore had himself obtained the Duke of Connaught's permission, to declare that it should be known hereafter as the Connaught bridge and be a memorial of H. R. H's visit to the Straits.

His Excellency in reply said that he had much pleasure in acceding to the Sultan's request as conveyed by the Resident, and heartily congratulated H. H. on the completion of a work the greatest of its kind hitherto carried out in the Malay Peninsula. Sir Frederick Dickson pointed out that Selangor, under the present form of administration with which His Excellency had always so loyally co-operated, was showing the way to other States, and that the example was now being followed, among others, by Sungei Ujong, and that orders had now been received to push a line of railway into the heart of Pahang. This new line would connect the Great Eastern State with the Straits of Malacca by a line nearly 120 miles long. His Excellency, after entering into some of the leading engineering features of the new bridge, congratulated the contractors, Mr. Spence Moss, the Government Railway Engineer, and all who had had a hand in the work, and thanked the Sultan for the hearty welcome he had received in His Excellency's country. The company then adjourned to a champagne and sandwich breakfast given by Mr. Macbean, the representative of the contractors (Messrs. Howarth, Erskine, and Co., of Singapore,) and the success of the bridge was drunk with due honours. A photograph of the party was then taken by Mr. Watkins, and an engine was christened by Lady Dickson[49]. His Excellency and party then proceeded by the new extension line to Klang, where the new station—though as yet unfinished — was prettily decorated, as indeed was the rest of the town, and after inspecting the Fort, His Excellency entertained a number if his friends on board the *Sea Belle* at lunch. About 1.30, after the guests had said their farewells, the anchor was weighed, and the *Sea Belle* slowly steamed down the river, on its way to Penang, after four very pleasant days spent in Selangor.

(7) The New Government Offices, Selangor. Laying the Foundation Stone, 6 October, 1894.[50]

On arriving at Kuala Lumpur[51], but little time was available either for getting rid of the "blacks" with which a traveller on our railway is always so plentifully besprinkled or for getting a cup of tea, before it was time to assemble at the site of the New Government Offices to witness the laying of the foundation-stone. Had we only known, there would have been no necessity to scurry about for the cup that cheers, for Mr. Norman had made all the necessary preparations for protection against sun or rain and had provided refreshments. Decorations were the order of the day, and an arch at the entrance to the ground, festoons of flags, and plan-adorned walls gave as gay an aspect as possible to what is never a very cheerful sight —the beginning of a large building. His Excellency, accompanied by the Resident and Mr. Severn, soon arrived on the ground, and shortly afterwards Mrs. Treacher drove up. Mr. Treacher lost no time, but addressing the Governor said he once more tendered the thanks of the community to His Excellency for coming all the way from Singapore to assist at these public functions; he (Mr. Treacher) assured him that these visits were highly appreciated and all were indebted to him for them, as well as for the practical manner in which His Excellency took up every subject brought before him. The building of which the foundation-stone was now to be laid was estimated to cost $152,000, with a trifle added for the cost of resumption of houses and land. It might be said that this was a large sum for a small Malay State

50. From the *Selangor Journal*, 3, (3), 19 October, 1894, pp. 40-42.

51. The Governor (Sir Charles Mitchell) and the majority of the principal residents of Kuala Lumpur had gone by train to Kuala Kubu Railway Station earlier that afternoon, to attend the formal opening of the extension of the State Railway to Ulu Selangor. It may be noted that at this period there was talk of carrying the line on from Kuala Kubu over the Semangko Pass to Raub, in Pahang, rather than northwards across the Bernam River into Perak. In the end a road was taken over the pass to Kuala Lipis in 1896-97.

to spend on Government Offices; but it must be remembered that from its position Kuala Lumpur would always be the centre of administration for Selangor, even though the tin of the district were worked out. Moreover, the plans provided offices for every department, including what in Singapore would be termed Municipal Offices, Post and Telegraphs Offices—in fact, for all except Courts and Police. It was presumed that the Colony cannot go wrong, and Selangor could not go wrong in following the Colony. Penang had a revenue of $1,300,000, Selangor a revenue of over $3,000,000—only some $800,000 short of the revenue of the whole of the Straits Settlements: had been permitted to spend $231,000 on their Government Offices, not including Post Office, and Selangor therefore could not be wrong in spending $152,000 on their little offices. The Resident concluded by asking His Excellency to lay the stone.

The Governor replied:

> Mr. Treacher, ladies and gentlemen, So far from deserving any thanks for my visits to Kuala Lumpur, I may say with all sincerity that they have been very pleasant holidays[52]. Not only do I like the climate very much, but I think your charming town, and if I may be permitted to say so, your charming little society quite make up for any inconvenience in coming this distance. You have been good enough to ask me to lay the foundation-stone of your new Public Offices, and I accept the office with a great deal of pleasure. Not that I am ready to endorse all that Mr. Treacher has said. I am nothing if I am not economical, and I believe that States, like individuals, when they are flourishing most should husband their resources. Your tin won't last for ever — at least, I find my tin won't last — and although I think you are going on the right lines in developing your agricultural resources you should keep any surplus for spending on cutting roads, opening means of communication and in actual utilitarian works. Not that these offices are not, to a certain extent useful, but I think you might have waited a little while. Still, I do not wish to say here any word to damp your pleasure. One point I would make: it is a grand thing to build fine public offices worthy of the Service; but the services should then be worthy of the home given them. I have been excessively pleased with what I have seen of the public offices in the Native States. I believe them to be filled by energetic, earnest men, who desire not their own advancement merely, but the well-being of the State they serve. And I should like to see maintained a high tone of public conduct, morality, and good feeling amongst the public servants of the State. I should like to see you pull together as you have hitherto done, energetic and desirous of doing all in your power to advance the interests of the State you serve. Thus will you be truly emblematised by the grand new offices you are about to erect. Mr. Treacher compared the cost of offices in the Colony with the estimated cost of these. If Mr. Treacher can build for the sum he says the fine offices these bid fair to be, all I can say is that you have the most economical engineer I am acquainted with. It gives me a great deal of pleasure to come to your public functions. Perhaps, if you could have kept them a little more separate—if the pleasure had been spread over a larger space, we should have had more of it. However, as Mr. Treacher leaves to-morrow, that would not have been possible.

Mr. A. C. Norman, the State Architect, then presented His Excellency with a very handsome silver trowel, with ivory handle and gold bands, on which was engraved:—

GOVERNMENT OFFICES, SELANGOR.
PRESENTED TO H.E. SIR C. B. H. MITCHELL.,
Governor of the Straits Settlements,
For laying the Foundation Stone.
October 6th, 1894.

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52. Earlier, at Kuala Kubu, the Governor said that "in Singapore they looked upon Selangor as a sort of playground, where they were always sure of having a happy time." The extract which follows this one certainly suggests that there was a certain spontaneous gaiety about some of the leading residents at this period which must have made it an attractive as well as a progressive community.

In a cavity below the stone the Governor placed a yen, some Straits coins, a piece of Selangor tin from the Straits Trading Co., and a copy of the current number of the *Selangor Journal*, which, he remarked, would no doubt enlighten those who might pull down the building as to the condition of affairs in the State now.

Assisted by Mr. Norman, Mr. Bidwell and Mr. Groves, the Governor then lowered and levelled the stone, and declared it "well and truly laid in the name of the Great Architect of the Universe."

Before concluding the ceremony the Governor desired to express his deep regret that the man responsible for that building, who had taken so much pains with it, was not among them. He trusted the visit of Mr. Spooner[53] to India would restore him to health and to Selangor.

The stone is a mass of concrete weighing about half a ton, with a marble face bearing the inscription—

H. H. Sir Abdul Samat, K.C.M.G.,
Sultan.
H. E. Sir Charles B. H. Mitchell, K.C.M.G.,
Governor of the Straits Settlements.
W. H. Treacher, C.M.G.,
British Resident.

This stone was laid by H. E. the Governor on the 6th day of October, 1894.
A. C. Norman, *Architect*. C. E. Spooner, *State Engineer*.

and is at the base of what will be a handsome clock tower 140 ft. high, in the Arabesque style, which is to form the main feature of the front; two other towers, containing circular staircases, forming handsome additions to either facade. The building is to be of two stories, with a 12ft.-wide verandah all round, of red brick with imitation stone dressings, with a tiled roof. The photograph of a sketch in perspective, on the invitations issued, gives a good idea of the handsome pile which will adorn the Gombak Road.

Accommodation will be provided on the ground floor for the P.W.D. and District Officers, Mines Department, Lands, Audit, and Treasury, each office with its own strong room. The Post Office and the Sanitary Board will also find a habitation in the wing nearest the Town. On the first floor, in addition, there is a fine State Council Room, offices of the Secretariat, a Sanitary Board Hall, rooms for the Resident and other officials, and the Chinese Secretariat.

(8) The Installation of Electric Light at K.L. Railway Station Official Opening, May, 1895.[54]

The card of invitation to witness the opening of the above at the Passenger Station, Kuala Lumpur, gave no idea of the varied manner in which visitors were to be entertained: in fact, it is just a question, if the Acting Resident Engineer wasn't more surprised than his guests to find the

53. C. E. Spooner, the State Engineer, had previously served in Ceylon (1876-91). Referring to the present building at its official opening, in April, 1897, he said, "Mr. Norman then drew out a ground plan and Mr Bidwell an elevation in Classical Renaissance.... Though I did not like the design, I adopted the arrangement of the offices and the general lines. I then decided on the Mohametan style, and in due course sent it in with an estimate for $152,000." (*Selangor Journal*, 5, (15), 1897:238). In 1893, Sir Clement Smith, then Governor, had said that $60,000 could be spent on the State Offices, and $20,000 on the Post Office, making a total of $80,000 for the whole building, but the increased estimate was passed by Sir William Maxwell.

54. From the *Selangor Journal*, 3, (19), 31 May, 1895, pp. 303-04. In 1912 Howarth Erskine, Ltd, amalgamated with Riley, Hargreaves & Co., Ltd. to form the firm of United Engineers, Ltd.

platform of his chief station the scene of a dance and a concert. But, however great Mr. Highet's astonishment may have been, he is to be complimented on the admirable way in which he concealed it as well as upon the zest with which he entered into the fun.

Upon the arrival of the visitors at 9 p.m. the station was in comparative darkness, in order both to be able to note the full effect of the difference in the light, and that the Acting Resident should perform the initial "switch on." As it happened, the opportunity for the former occurred more than once, and a gentleman remarked that it shewed great foresight on the part of the Manila bandsmen to have brought their own lights with them. This "jumping," however, is, we hear, an incident of all new installations, and will very seldom be observed in the future.

Mr. Rodger arrived soon after 9 o'clock, and at once switched on the light; he then, attended by Mr. Highet, inspected the disposition of the various lamps about the station, and shortly afterwards returned to the Residency. Simultaneously with the illumination, a very far-off sound of the Band was heard, too far off, indeed, to be appreciated; so they were brought down from their lofty elevation on the top of the portico and stationed at the Workshop end of the High Street platform. Every arrangement had been made for the comfort of the guests; refreshments were provided in a room at the end of the platform, and seats placed outside the station as well as inside. However, the advent of the Band within the building, and the strains of a charming waltz, soon gave the gathering—which had first, some say, seemed rather slow—quite a different complexion, and several ladies and gentlemen were soon whirling round. This was followed by Lancers, in which the observant spectator might have noticed some quite new combinations in one or two of the figures. Then some part singing, then the Barndoor, then a young member of the Railway Department, presumably, gave a solo—in fact, there were one or two—then more waltzes, more Lancers, and so on. All very enjoyable—but, alas! Indian patent stone does not make the best of floors on which to sport "the light fantastic toe." Then the ladies left; afterwards some more songs, a little speechifying, a great deal of cheering, and finally "Auld Lang Syne." As we said above, all this came as a surprise; but all the more enjoyable on that account; in fact, the company were as bright as the newly installed electric light, which is saying a good deal.

The dynamo is of the Brush Victoria type, of 12,500 watts, driven at 1,240 revolutions per minute. This high speed is obtained by belting running on pulleys of different dimensions, the engine making 67 revolutions to accomplish the 1,240 of the dynamo. The power is obtained from the Railway Workshop engine, and a system of fast and loose pulleys enables the dynamo to be started or stopped without interfering with this engine.

The lights are five arc lamps, each of 2,000-candle power; one 50-candle power, six 32-candle power, 54 16-candle power and four 8-candle power incandescent lamps. They are distributed as follows: over each plat-

form, supported from the roof, and 20 ft. high, is an arc light, and another is placed outside the entrance to the station, 20 ft. above the portico; in the Goods Yard, at two different points are two more arc lights, suspended from iron lattice poles, at a height of 50 ft. from the ground. The incandescent lamps are fixed in the station and its offices, as well as in the Workshop and Engine Shed. All the lights at the station are controlled from a switch board in the Booking Office, the others from the main switch board in the Engine Room. For the several lamps in the Workshop independent switches are furnished, so that they may be turned on or off without interfering with each other.

Howarth Erskine, Ltd., who have carried out the installation, have already done work of a similar nature in Saigon, Bangkok and Singapore, and are at present engaged in lighting the Smelting Works of the Straits Trading Company at Pulau Brani.

In conclusion, while bearing testimony to the great improvement effected by the electric lighting of the Station and Goods Yard, and to its undoubted utility, we trust it will not be very long before we are able to chronicle in our pages the commencement of the work for lighting by electricity the town of Kuala Lumpur.

Appendix C.

Notes on the principal Maps illustrating this Paper or consulted in preparing it

1. Kuala Lumpur, town & environs.

C.A.G.-H. 1955 for 1875-78. A reconstruction of the settlement of Kuala Lumpur and immediate environs, about 1875-78, prepared for publication here: see p. 18, above. It is based partly on W. T. Wood's map of 1889, which has been amended to interpret conditions in the settlement prior to 1880. The future town was clearly laid out less formally at this period, with numerous irregular passages between the houses. The only roads shown and named on the present map are those which were apparently already defined as major passageways. Their lines have been taken from the only possible source, the map of 1889, but some were clearly tortuous and narrower before the reorganization of the area in the early 1880's. The same point applies to the streams lying north and south of Ah Loy's township. They have been given appriximate courses based on W. T. Wood's map, but by the late 1880's they had been confined to ordered channels, and as the ground round them was described as swampy prior to about 1883-84, they presumably wandered more playfully than they do here.

Road shown by dotted lines are thise in the vicinity of the original settlement which it is thought were not established as full-scale public roads until after 1880. Certainly we know that Klyne Street (named after John H. Klyne, at one time a member of the Public Works Department) was not laid down until 1883-84, when the ground to the east of it was drained (6). It seems likely that Yap Ah Loy Street (7) dates from the same period. The High Street was continued beyond the lower stream in the latter year. Originally the whole area between Petaling Road and the river was Yap Ah Loy's private domain, and there is no evidence that any public road ran through it before 1880-81. Finally it seems unlikely that Pudoh Street would have been so named by 1889 unless it had originally been the first section of Pudoh Road, subsequently raised to the dignity of a Street when Pudoh Road itself was linked with the east end of Cross Street.

There was no bridge over the Sungei Klang prior to the arrival of the British Adminsitration. From the reported distribution of the two rivers at this period, it seems likely that the track to Batu and Rawang started from a point opposite Kg Rawa, and did not cross the Sungei Gombak. In the same way, the Damansara Road (the Kuala Lumpur end of which was said to have been only a broad path until some time after 1880) presumably ran almost due west from the Market Street ferry to reach rising ground close to the foot of the Bluff, and thence up to the line of the present Bluff Road. Both James Innes and Hornaday, who visited Kuala Lumpur in 1876 and 1878 respectively, say that their first view of the settlement was across the river, from high ground on the track from Damansara.

Wood, W.T. 1889. "Plan of Kuala Lumpor (sic) and environs, State of Selangor, 1889", lithographed at Stanford's Geographical Establishment, London, from a drawing prepared locally: area of print approximately 28" by 37": scale, 1" to 6 chains. The map is signed by W. E. Maxwell in the bottom right-hand corner, over the title

British Resident, Selangor; Maxwell was not officially appointed B. R. Selangor until 1 June, 1889. As the map is dated 1889, it seems likely that it was completed in the latter part of the year, and probably not published until 1890. Only one extant example is known to us, a slightly damaged copy in the Survey Dept, Selangor. The first initial of the draftsman's name is partially obliterated on this copy, and he is shown as C. T. Wood on the two tracings prepared for publication here. He must certainly, however, have been the W. T. Wood who was a surveyor and later draftsman with the Kuala Lumpur Land Office from 1887-92, and subsequently chief draftsman in the Survey Dept, until his retirement about 1910. A tracing of the complete map, reduced to 1" to 30 chains, is reproduced on p. 4, above; and copy of the centre of the town, reduced to 1" to 12 chains, on p. 41.

FTPD. 1950 for 1895. "Town of Kuala Lumpur, 1895", a reconstruction prepared by the Federal Town Planning Department from material supplied by the Chief Surveyor, Selangor (Ref. 5049 & 5050): area of drawing approximately 25" by 30"; scale 1" to 12 chains. The centre of the town only is reproduced here from a tracing by K. M. Foong (Raffles Museum): see p. 55, above: it covers approximately the same area as the detail from the map of 1889, printed on p. 41, above.

F.M.S. Survey Dept. 1916. "Directory map of Kuala Lumpur", prepared and printed at the Central Survey Office, Kuala Lumpur, and published under the direction of the Surveyor-General, F.M.S. (Reg. No. 133' 16): scale 3" to 1 mile.

F.M.S. Survey Dept. 1919. "Kuala Lumpur & Environs," lithographed at the Central Survey Office, Kuala Lumpur (Reg. No. 112' 19 = scale 2" to 1 mile.

F.M.S. Survey Dept. 1936. "Kuala Lumpur business and residential area 1936", F.M.S. Surveys Reg. No. 14' 1936: scale 8" to 1 mile.

2. State of Selangor.

The earliest extant map of Selangor known to the present writer is the F.M.S. Surveys Dept Map 97 of 1926. It is clear, however, that at least one, and possibly two, maps of the state were published prior to this date. The *Selangor Journal* for 11 December, 1896, (**5**, (7): 106) contains the following notice,

> **The New Map of Selangor, which is advertised for sale in the *Government Gazette* at $2.50 (four sheets, unmounted), furnishes the correct position of every town in the State, and each is shown in pink colour; and as far as possible, the Survey Department have shown all alienated lands by different colours, blue denoting mining lands and green agricultural lands. On the eastern side of the State nearly all roads, railways and hills are fixed by actual survey, as are the coast roads from Klang to Kuala Selangor and Jugra, respectively. The One Fathom Bank, Pulau Angsa and the rocks near Jeram are also all accurately fixed. The map shows the new survey of the Bernam River, supplied for the purpose by the Perak Government. The scale of the map is two miles to an inch. Much new and valuable information is given and the work reflects very great credit on the Selangor Survey Department.**

It seems likely that this map was the work of W. T. Wood (see note above). Earlier, in June, 1894, the *Selangor Journal* (**2**, (20): 316) carried an announcement of the publication of a Selangor Directory, which included a map of the state[1]. In the absence of these maps, use has been made here of the appropriate sections of the major maps of the Malay Peninsula published between 1875 and 1900. They have been included to show the considerable advances in communications, and the knowledge and development of the country, round Kuala Lumpur and the Klang Valley during this period. A close examination of the three maps publish-

1. "Statistical and other Information regarding the districts of the State of Selangor", 60 pp., 1 map, Govt. Printing Offices Kuala Lumpur.

ed under the auspices of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society even suggests that Kuala Lumpur moved nearer to the coast literally as well figuratively.

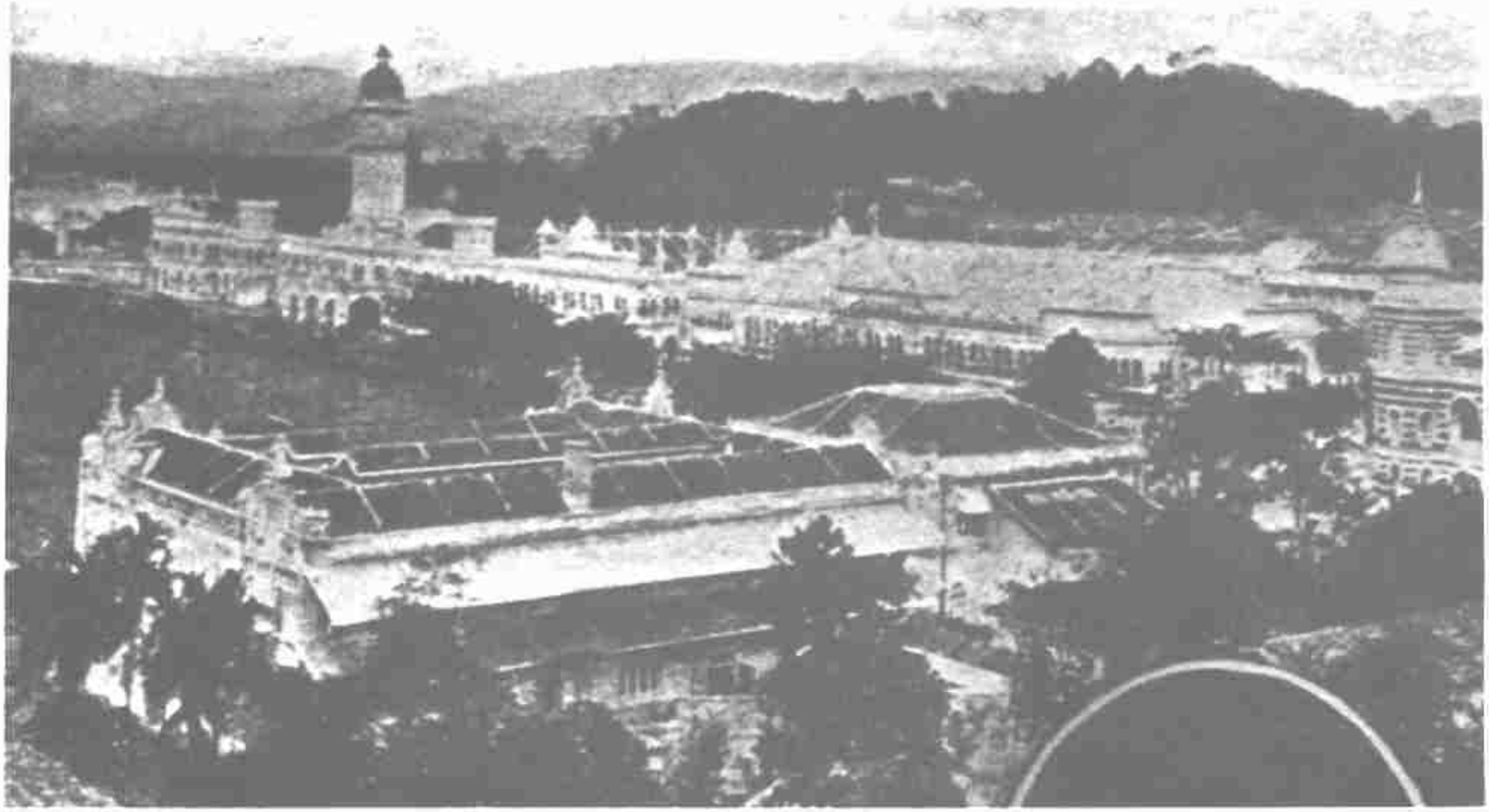
Home, Lt Col. R., C.B., R.E. **1876.** A map of the Malay Peninsula prepared from data by Capt Innes, R.E., J.W.W. Birch, D. Daly and Admiralty charts, under the direction of Lt Col. R. Home, C.B., R.E.;lithographed at the Quarter-Master General's Dept, for publication in the second volume of papers relating to the disturbances in the Malay States (C-1512: Further Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Certain Native States in the Malay Peninsula, in the neighbourhood of the Straits Settlements; H. M. Stationary Office, London, June 1876). A facsimile reproduction of the section covering Selangor and Sungei Ujong appears here on p. 13, above; scale 1" to 15 miles. This map shows Selangor before the settlement of the boundary dispute with Sungei Ujong, in 1877: for the subsequent alignment of the bounday, see the map on p. 27, (after J. M. Gullick, scale 1" to 24 miles).

SBRAS. 1879. A map of the Malay Peninsula, drawn and printed at Stanford's Geographical Establishment, London, from data supplied by the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and published under the auspices of the Society. The map is dated 1879, the year in which the material was sent to London; but the proofs were not passed until early the following year, and copies were not available until the end of 1880. A facsimile reproduction of the section covering the Klang valley and the environs of Kuala Lumpur appears here on p. 20, above: 11" to 8 statute miles.

The SBRAS map of 1879 represents a very considerable advance on the earlier maps of the Malay Peninsula. Nonetheless, as the officers of the Society knew, it is far from perfect: it contains several serious errors, and parts of the area are covered very inadequately. Accordingly the Hon. Secretary, W. E. Maxwell, started to gather material for the preparation of a new and improved edition as early as 1881. For this purpose he collected tracings of any maps based on subseq ent surveys. A copy of one of these tracings is reproduced here on pp. 48 & 49, above: the tracing is signed by Maxwell, on behalf of the Society, and dated May, 1883. It shows part of the Klang valley, and the communications round Kuala Lumpur. It will be noted that the course of the Sungei Klang is omitted below Damansara, presumably because the lower reaches were well-known before 1880, and were not surveyed again on this occasion. The name of the surveyor is not known, but he may have been William Cameron.

SBRAS. 1887. The second map of the Malay Peninsula, drawn etc. as above. The revised map is dated 1887, but copies were not available until 1888. It is a marked improvement on the earlier map, and as exploration had slowed down by this time it was reprinted, with change of title only, in 1893. A facsimile reproduction of the section covering the Klang valley and the environs of Kuala Lumpur appears here on p. 54, above: scale 1" to 8 statute miles.

SBRAS. 1898. The third edition of the Society's map, again incorporating extensive revisions, and with a considerable increase in the number of places marked on it. In this and the subsequent edition the hills are printed in brown, and a full-tone facsimile reproduction in monochrome is accordingly not possible. A copy of the section covering the Klang valley and the environs of Kuala Lumpur, based on retouched photographs, appears here on p. 60, above: scale 1" to 8 statute miles. (The fourth and last edition of the Society's map was prepared in 1910: it was not possible to complete the printing in that year, and it was published in 1911, with the date amended accordingly).



Gombak Road (now called Jalan Raja) and part of the *padang* about 1902.