

University of Alberta

Cultural Identity and Transnational Networks in a Chinese Diaspora Society in
Sibu, Sarawak, Malaysia

by

Hsu, Yu-tsuen

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Anthropology

©Hsu, Yu-tsuen

Fall 2012

Edmonton, Alberta

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Libraries to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only. Where the thesis is converted to, or otherwise made available in digital form, the University of Alberta will advise potential users of the thesis of these terms.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis and, except as herein before provided, neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatsoever without the author's prior written permission.

Abstract

This research investigates transnational networking and cultural identity in a Chinese diaspora community in Sibü, Sarawak. In particular, I focus on the surge in public expressions of cultural identity among Chinese sub-ethnic groups in this bazaar town since the late 1970s. The activism of Chinese culture is a consequence of the rise of ethnic nationalism against the pro-Malay policy by the Malaysian Government. However, the economic growth and rapid urbanization from the early 1970s has also played an important role.

In Part I of the dissertation, I analyze the historical and ethnographic background of the Sibü Chinese. The migration of Chinese people to Sibü resulted from the expansion of the capitalist world economy. The first Chinese pioneers came to Sibü and established their traditions in the 1850s. The most populous sub-ethnic group, the Foochow, arrived in Sibü in 1901; this group had a special rural and Christian background. They have taken the dominant economic and political positions in the Sibü bazaar since the 1960s. A common Chinese culture takes shape under the influence of common cultural centers and the acculturation between sub-ethnic groups.

In Part II, I explore three major representations of Chinese cultural identity in Sibü. First of all, Sibü Chinese have engaged in the organization of the sub-ethnic groups since

the 1930s. They are the base for the federations of Chinese associations at the local, state and national levels. They also make efforts to expand the transnational networks of their sub-ethnic groups. The Sibü Foochow take the lead in the transnational network among their counterparts all over the world.

Second, the Foochow showed how they cherish their pioneers through the construction of memorial parks and a cultural hall in 2001. However, other non-Foochow regional-language-based communities and sub-groups of Foochow soon constructed their memorial parks to express their own historical interpretations.

Thirdly, the surname associations have become newly emergent associations in Sibü since the late 1970s. These associations build connection among their surname-sakes in Sibü and eventually expanded their connections around the world spatially and to the apical ancestors in China historically.

Acknowledgments

This dissertation is made possible by the wholehearted support from the University of Alberta, the host country of my fieldwork, and many others.

My study in Edmonton was enjoyable. I especially appreciate my supervisor Dr Jean DeBernardi for her careful and timely instruction on the dissertation. Committee members Dr Gregory Forth, Dr Kathleen Lowrey and Dr Helen Vallianatos in the Department of Anthropology, Dr Ryan Dunch in the Department of East Asian Studies, as well as Dr Sharon Carstens in the Department of Anthropology at Portland State University give me critical opinions on my dissertation.

I would like to thank the following institutions and persons for their funding on my Ph.D. program, including the Ministry of Education of the Republic of China (the Taiwan Government) with a three-year full funding grant (2006-2009), the Edward Chang Memorial Scholarship (2008), the Professional Development and Travel Grant from the Graduate Students' Association at the University of Alberta (2009), and the Dissertation Fellowship for the Republic of China Student Abroad offered by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for Scholarly Exchange (2010-2011).

The host country, Malaysia, provided me the research permit and a one-year visa for the research. I would like to thank the State Planning Unit, Chief Minister's Department,

Sarawak. The Faculty of Social Science at the Universiti Malaysia Sarawak gave me generous local academic support. I appreciate the assistance from Dr Ling Haw Kee, Dr Daniel Chew and Dr Elena Gregoria Chai.

The Sibü Chinese community gave my friendly rapport. I would especially like to thank Chua Cheen Chong, Penghulu Chua Hiong Kee, Shirley Kueh, Huang Fu Chiu, Ho Ming Seng, Jamie Hiing, Kapitan Hong Wing Huong, Kong Sien Han, Lau Ping, Ling Swee Hing, Penghulu Soon Choon Hoo, Teo Joo Hung, John Ting, Tiong Yiong Ching, Wong Chung Tiew, Wong Meng Chuo, and Wong Meng Lei for their granting me access to literary and statistical materials. I have benefited from the knowledge and advice of so many friends and specialists in Sibü. I cannot list all their names in this acknowledgement, but I hope that they accept my thanks.

The writing-up of this dissertation was done in Hong Kong, Edmonton and Taiwan, from January 2010 to February 2012. The International Center at the University of Alberta offered me a Study Abroad Tuition Waiver Award for the exchange program with the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) from January to June 2010. I appreciate the guidance of my local advisor Dr Tan Chee Beng, in the Department of Anthropology at the CUHK. I also benefited from the Overseas Chinese Collection in the Library of CUHK.

I finished the first draft of the dissertation while on a return trip to Edmonton from September 2010 to May 2011. The offices in the Department of Anthropology were under renovation at this time, but my supervisor Dr Jean DeBernardi kindly found an office in the Department of East Asian Studies for me. I would like to thank Dr Mikael Adolphson for the arrangement. I built friendships with contract instructors Neill Walker, Isaka Yukiko, Lee Insuk and Dr Darryl Sterk in the Department of East Asian Studies. They provided me strong support during the most difficult time.

I appreciate the editors of the dissertation, Dr Darryl Sterk and Chris Brainerd, for their carefully proofreading on the drafts.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for their support of my grand adventure of knowledge.

Contents

Abstract

Acknowledgement

List of Tables

List of Figures

Introduction.....	1
One Festival, Multiple Identities.....	1
The Torch from Bukit Cina.....	5
Beyond the Torch: Unity and Diversity.....	9
Political Identity.....	9
Cultural Identity.....	14
Geographical Position of Sibiu.....	18
Research Questions.....	19
Research Methodology.....	20
Overview.....	24
Chapter 1. The Establishment of Chinese Culture in Sibiu.....	27
A Brief History of Chinese in Sarawak.....	28
Gold Rush in West Borneo.....	30
Rajah Brooke.....	30
The Rise of Singapore.....	34
After the War.....	35
Chinese Population in Sarawak and Sibiu.....	36
Chinese Sub-ethnic Groups in Sarawak and Sibiu.....	39
Fujian Province.....	40
Guangdong Province.....	45
Hainan Province.....	48
Population by Sub-ethnic Groups in Sarawak and Sibiu.....	49
Chinese Pioneers and Their Traditions.....	52
Cantonese and Hokkien Graveyard Pavilion.....	54
The Forever Peaceful Pavilion.....	58

Supra-factional Organization and Eng Ann Teng.....	62
Concluding Remarks.....	64
Chapter 2. The Foochow in Sibü: Settlements, Religions and Developments.....	66
Christianity and the Foochow Migration to Sibü.....	67
Methodist in China and Foochow.....	69
Wong Nai Siong, Chinese Revolutionary and the Immigration Project.....	70
Incorporation into the Methodist Network in Singapore.....	73
Economic Strategy of Rajah Brookes and the Foochow's Prewar Expansion.....	74
Exemption of Loan.....	75
Expansion of the Foochow before WWII.....	76
Diversified Religious Affiliations of the Foochow.....	78
Christian Foochow.....	78
Chinese Traditional Religion.....	82
The Economic Expansion of the Foochow after WWII.....	84
Partnership and the Foochow in Sibü Bazaar.....	85
Managing Economic and Social Capital.....	88
Bank of the Foochow Chinese.....	88
Timber Industry.....	90
Pursuing Political Power.....	91
Recent Expansion of the Foochow.....	92
Concluding Remarks.....	94
Chapter 3. A Localized Sibü Chinese Culture.....	96
The Interaction with Chinese Cultural Centers.....	97
Singapore.....	99
Hong Kong.....	100
Taiwan.....	101
China after 1974.....	103
Ongoing Connection with Cultural Centers.....	106
The Social Function of the Regional-language-based Associations.....	107
Political Function.....	109
Economic Function.....	111
Cultural Function.....	112

Division and Expansion of the Regional-language-based Associations.....	112
The Localized Chinese Culture in Sibü.....	115
Traditional Chinese Religions and Festivals.....	115
Creolization of Languages.....	118
Chinese Newspapers and Rapport Ads.....	122
Food and Ethnic Identity.....	124
Coffee Shops as Public Living Rooms.....	125
Round Tables and Social Hierarchy.....	126
Acculturation and the Open House.....	128
Concluding Remarks.....	129
Chapter 4. Establishment of the Regional-language-based Associations and Their Globalization.....	132
Organizational Transition of the Regional-language-based Associations.....	134
Formalization.....	135
Urbanization and Power Shifting.....	138
Seeking In-group Solidarity.....	140
Resuming the Relationship with Ancestral Homelands.....	145
The Establishment of Global Networks.....	147
Formal Registered Organization.....	150
Confluence of Old and New Associations.....	152
Cultural efforts by the WFFAL.....	155
Concluding Remarks.....	158
Chapter 5. Historical Interpretation and Landscape Shaping.....	160
Local Historical Writing and Identity-Shaping.....	163
Public Private Partnership Parks.....	166
Wong Nai Siong Memorial Garden.....	169
Heng Hua Settlement Plaza.....	174
Vuining Park.....	176
Kutien Memorial Park.....	180
Chiang Chuan Garden.....	186
Reverend Hoover Memorial Garden.....	189
Discussion: The Multivocal History of Chinese Settlement.....	193

Reinforcing Cultural Identity and Transnational Connection.....	195
Negotiation with Multi-Cultural Society.....	196
Concluding Remarks.....	197
Chapter 6. Genealogical Knowledge, History and Sacred Site Creation.....	199
The Rise of Surname Associations.....	201
Entering the Field.....	203
History of the Lau Clan in Sibui.....	205
Rise of Lau Kah Choo.....	206
Genealogy Compilation.....	209
Content Analysis to the Genealogy.....	210
Evolution of Genealogy and Organizational Change.....	213
Transnational Networking.....	216
Transnational Organizations.....	217
Root-Seeking.....	219
Validating Genealogical Knowledge.....	222
Returning to Fuzhou and Minqing.....	225
Seeking Peng Cheng.....	229
Gushi Xian.....	231
Pingdingshan.....	232
Transmitting of Clan Knowledge.....	235
Concluding Remark.....	237
Conclusion.....	239
Glossary.....	245
Bibliography.....	248

List of Tables

1-1.	Total Population by Ethnic Group and Administrative District - Sarawak 1960-2010.....	38
1-2.	Total Population by Ethnic Group and Administrative District - Sarawak 2010.....	38
1-3.	Total Population by Detailed Ethnic Group - Sarawak 2000.....	50
1-4.	The Sub-ethnic Composition of the SCCCI in 1969 and 2009.....	51
4-1.	The Establishment of Sub-ethnic Associations in Sibul.....	137
4-2.	The Host City and of the Convention of World Federation of Fuzhou Associations.....	150
5-1	Six Memorial Parks in Sibul Associated with the Pioneers of the Settlements.....	170
6-1	The Household Numbers and Subethnic Composition of the Lau Clan in Each Edition of Genealogy, Divided with the Counties of Origin.....	212
6-2.	The Host City/ Province/ Country of the World Liu Clan Convention.....	218

List of Figures

1. The torch relay for the 26 th Malaysian Chinese Cultural Festival.....	1
2. Lau Lee Min giving the speech, elaborating on the meaning of the torch.....	3
3. A one-thousand-person torch relay.....	4
4. The food stand of the Sarawak Kutien Association.....	10
5. Map of Malaysia (with enlarged name of Sibü)......	18
6. Map of Sarawak.....	19
1-1. Sarawak and its territory expansions during Rajah Brooke Dynasty (1841-1946).....	32
1-2. Treaty Ports and Hong Kong.....	35
1-3. Location of Fujian, Guangdong and Hainan.....	41
1-4. Fujian Province.....	42
1-5. Location of Foochow Ten Counties.....	42
1-6. Guangdong Province with reference to the Ancestral Homelands of Sibü Chinese.....	46
1-7. Three Streets of the Sibü Old Bazaar, Jalan Channel (Channel Road), Jalan Market (Market Road) and Jalan Lama (Old Street).....	53
1-8. The Sibü Teochew Association was preparing its communal worship for Qingming Festival at the Cantonese and Hokkien Graveyard Pavilion.....	57
1-9. Eng Ann Teng.....	59
1-10. The pavilion for Heavenly Emperor and the main hall of Hock Leong Teng, Kapit.....	62
2-1. Early Settlements of Sibü in the early 20 th Century.....	68
2-2. The Masland Church.....	75
2-3. The Christmas Mass in the Sacred Heart Cathedral, Sibü.....	80
2-4. Singing hymns in the United Carol (Sibü, 20 December 2008).....	81
3-1. The Sarawak Taiwan Alumni Association donated 63,000 Ringgit (CAD 20,400) for a Taiwan flood relief fund.....	104
3-2. The imported lanterns for Chinese New Year.....	106
3-3. Tong Lok Sie Tan Hua Foo and its Daoist Priest Ho Tzu Yun in the Chinese New Year Ceremony.....	116

4-1.	Centennial Building for Sibü Foochow Settlement and the World Fuzhou Heritage Gallery.....	156
5-1.	The Location of Memorial Parks and Significant Organizations in Sibü.....	171
5-2.	Wong Nai Siong Memorial Garden.....	172
5-3.	Hinghua Settlement Memorial Plaza.....	174
5-4.	Historical Narrative in the plaque of the Hinghua Settlement Memorial Plaza.....	175
5-5.	Vuining Park. Each post represents a village in the Cantonese settlement...	179
5-6.	Then Kung Suk signed the contract with the Rajah.....	179
5-7.	The monumental archway of Kutien Memorial Park and its quatrain.....	183
5-8.	The Jixiang Pagoda in the Kutien Memorial Park.....	184
5-9.	Cui Ping Hu (Green Shelter Lake) in Sibü.....	185
5-10.	Chiang Chuan Garden.....	187
5-11.	Playing Iban Gongs.....	189
5-12.	Reverend Hoover Memorial Garden.....	192
5-13.	Widow's Oil.....	194
6-1.	The Xu Clan World Convention Garden in Sibü.....	203
6-2.	Vow of the Youth Chapter of the Lau Clan Association.....	204
6-3.	Lau Kah Choo's mansion (1927).....	207
6-4.	Map of Henan Province with location of Xuzhou, Pingdingshan and Gushi Xian.....	230
6-5.	The Memorial Stone of the Ancestral Land of Lau Clan Moved Southward to Malaysia, Gushi Xian, Henan Province, China.....	233

Introduction: One Festival, Multiple Identities

Some forty Chinese youth were running and approaching Sibu, a bazaar city of Sarawak, with a torch at around five pm on the fifth of July, 2009 (Figure 1).

The day was the opening of the 26th Malaysian Chinese Cultural Festival and Sibu was the host city. In the lead, two men and a woman carried flags representing the Federation of Chinese Associations Sibu, the Federation of Chinese Associations Sarawak and the Federation of Chinese Association Malaysia. The torch carrier ran behind them, flanked by a team carrying decorative flags. As a part of the 26th Malaysian Chinese Cultural Festival, the ‘Pan-Sarawak Torch Relay’ (全砂火炬



Figure 1 The torch relay for the 26th Malaysian Chinese Cultural Festival
(Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 5 July 2009)

行) had toured the state of Sarawak for two months before it arrived in Sibü. The event began at Bukit Cina (China Hill, also as Mandarin-spelling *Sanbaosan* 三保山) at Malacca in April 2009. The relay team stopped at the Sibü Gateway, a modernized public gathering place at the entrance to Sibü's downtown core. Over a thousand local torch bearers were waiting there for a ceremony that would start the final leg of the relay. Most of them were high school students and members of the Chinese Study Societies of their schools.

The torch relay leader was Hii Yik Ping (許益品, *Xu Yipin*). He was the president of the Youth Section of the Federation of Chinese Associations Sibü (FCAS). He handed the torch to the Honorary President of FCAS, Lau Lee Min (劉利民, *Liu Limin*). Then President Lau gave a speech about the cultural integrity of the Chinese community in Malaysia (Figure 2), in which he also addressed the issue of interethnic relations: "While preserving and passing on their culture, the Chinese need to understand and help preserve the cultures of other communities as well.... Don't let others look at us as extremists; only through good will and harmony can Malaysians express the colors of their culture" (*Borneo Post*, 6 July 2009, p.5).



Figure 2 Lau Lee Min giving the speech, elaborating on the meaning of the torch. (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 5 July 2009)

After he finished the speech, the relay participants took Lau's torch, and transferred the flame to the torches held by the members of the audience. They formed a one- thousand- person strong torch relay, each of them carrying a torch and, thus, they made a magnificent team. Hii Yik Ping led the relay to march for the Sibu Town Square, the central site of the Malaysian Chinese Cultural Festival. The torch relay went by Jalan Kampung Nyabor, Jalan Central and Jalan Ramin (Figure 3).



Figure 3 A one-thousand-person torch relay (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 5 July 2009)

At the square, thirteen cauldrons were in place. They represented the thirteen states of Malaysia. Torch bearers circled the cauldrons. Hii Yik Ping brought his torch to the stadium where guests of honor were standing according to a prearranged sequence. The president of the FCAS (as well as that of the FCA Sarawak) Datuk Lau Jing Kiong (拿督劉增強, *Liu Zengqiang*) received the torch and handed it to the president of the Malaysian Federation of Chinese Associations (MFCA, 馬來西亞華人大會堂總會) Dan Sri Lim Yuk Tong (丹斯

里林玉堂, *Lin Yutang*), then to the Chief Minister of Sarawak, Pehin Sri Abdul Taib Mahmud, and finally to the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak. Under the guidance of FCA Sibu fellows, Najib lit a flying lantern (孔明燈, *Kongmingdeng*) with the torch and released it. At the same time, the torch bearers lit the cauldrons.

The Torch from Bukit Cina

The event began at Bukit Cina at Malacca in April 2009. Bukit Cina is a complex of the Earth God Temple (the Blue Clouds Pavilion, 青雲亭, *Qingyunting*), a grave hill and legendary wells. Bukit Cina has been a burial ground for the Chinese community since the seventeenth century. The Chinese community buried their leaders, the so-called Kapitan, there. In 1983, the Malacca state government approved a plan to level the hill and begin development project for mix-used commercial and residential properties, and a Chinese cultural theme park. The Chinese-based political parties the Democratic Action Party (民主行動黨, DAP) and the Malaysia Chinese Association (馬華公會, MCA) initiated an anti-development movement.

The movement redefined the place identity of Malacca. People cited a story

of a diplomatic marriage between the Melaka sultan and a daughter of the Chinese emperor in the first indigenous Malay text, the *Sejarah Melayu (The Malay Annals)*. Malaysian Chinese intellectuals initiated a nation-wide grassroots movement. They emphasized the fact that the site was a reminder of “the bond of friendship between the Malay and Chinese communities that already existed in the early days of the Melaka Sultanate “. Therefore, Bukit Cina is not only a symbol of continuing cultural significance for the Chinese community, but also a symbol as a single site embodying the history of Malaysia (Cartier 2003: 89-91).

The event in Bukit Cina was one of numerous conflicts between the Malaysian Chinese community and the government. We can date these conflicts to the riot on 13 May 1969 and the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1970. The NEP was an affirmative action that favored the Malays over the Chinese educationally, economically, and politically. The government-enforced political superiority of the Malays over other racial or ethnic groups by the Rukunegara (the Basic Principles of the Nation) was announced in 1970 and included related constitutional amendments. As Jean DeBernardi (2004: 114-116) asserts, the Basic Principles express Malaysian ethnic and territorial nationalism. Ethnic nationalism is an imagining of the nation as a community of culture and history,

with an almost familiar bond. However, the Rukunegara is based in the Malay language, culture and religion rather than a shared civil religion. Moreover, territorial nationalism confirming the equality of all citizens on the same territory was ignored.

The Malaysian Chinese community had an unprecedented sense of crisis. They have engaged in various reactions by forming new associations based on old traditions ever since. This process began in the mid-1970s. For example, Penang Chinese leaders sought grassroots solidarity in 1974 when they formed the “Penang ‘Central Primordial’ Festival Celebration Representative Committee.” The Committee forges the forces of various religious organizations for a communal ceremony held during the traditional Hungry Ghost Festival (DeBernardi 2004: 167).

Chinese communities in every city and state organized the Federation of Chinese Association in the late 1970s. For example, the Sibu Chinese community organized their Federation of Chinese Association Sibu in 1976 (See Chapter 4).

Fifteen major Chinese organizations within Malaysia assembled a “Cultural Meeting” at the Penang Chinese Town Hall on 27 March 1983. They issued a “Joint Memorandum” to urge a national cultural policy in favor of “the

multi-racial nature” of the country to “resist the racial extremists” (Major Chinese Organizations in Malaysia 1983: 96). They also came to an agreement to organize the first Malaysia Chinese Cultural Festival in 1984. The so-called national culture debate urged the Malaysian Chinese to think about their cultural continuity. They also redefined the Chinese culture as a part of the national culture (Carstens 2005: 213). We have seen the redefining of Bukit Cina under the new framework.

The Chinese community consolidated the status of Bukit Cina as a symbolic site at the sixth Malaysian Chinese Cultural Festival held in Malacca in 1989. The MFCA decided to establish a ceremony of “lighting cultural torch” at Bukit Cina as a tradition for the Festival every year (Malaysia Federation of Chinese Associations 2001: 85).

Every year, a host city, representing one of the thirteen states of Malaysia, organizes a torch relay. The relay always begins at Bukit Cina and travels around the host state. Chinese associations en route are obliged to participate in the relay (SFCA 2001: 51).

The torch symbolizes the temporal and spatial connections between every Chinese community in Malaysia. Temporally, it acknowledges Bukit Cina as the earliest historical connection of the Chinese people to Malaysia. Spatially, the

torch reinforces connections between the states and the Federation, both in the national politics and in the Chinese community.

Beyond the Torch: Unity and Diversity

Back to the Chinese Cultural Festival in Sibü: the torch and the ceremony is arguably a fulfillment of the Chinese aspiration for ‘Chinese great unity’ (華人大團結, *Huaren datuanjie*). However, the other side of the Sibü Town Square was a different story. There were food stands for the festival, but they were managed by seven different sub-ethnic groups with each group preparing its signature cuisine. Their aims were both commercial and social. Each group wanted to ‘break bread’ with ‘its own compatriots’ (自己人, *zijiren*). The people of Kutien (古田人, *Gutienren*), a subgroup with ancestry from the greater Foochow (福州人, *Fuzhouren*), set up a food stand for the first time (Figure 4). These groups were eager to demonstrate signature traditional cuisines and the freshly introduced ones from the ancestral homeland. Within unity, diversity exists.

Political Identity

For the Malaysian Chinese people, being Chinese is not only a racial



Figure 4 The food stand of the Sarawak Kutien Association (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 5 July 2009)

fact but also an official status. In other words, the Malaysian government has institutionalized the political identity of the localized Chinese through the *jus soli* principle. However, the Malay people remain suspicious of the political identity of Chinese. In this section, I will review the transformation of Malaysian Chinese political identity before turning, in the next section, to cultural identity.

Anthony Reid asserts that the label of ‘Chinese’, based on a concept of racial distinctiveness, was largely used by the Dutch and British colonizers to

indicate subjects from the Middle Kingdom (Reid 2010: 56). The term was an exonym. No common consciousness existed among Chinese subjects until the late 1890s. Instead, these peoples had a strong commitment to their sub-ethnic groups. People based their identities on ancestral place of origin and dialect. For example, those from Guangdong province called themselves Cantonese and were conscious of the fact that they spoke Cantonese.

In the early twentieth century, Chinese nationalists Kang Youwei and Sun Yat-sen promoted their ideas in Southeast Asia, while they were both living in exile from China. Sun Yat-sen was the more important figure. He was also a political radical because he aimed to overthrow the Qing and to found a republic. He promoted the new national language, Mandarin, for use in schools in Malaysia as a replacement for regional language instruction. Kang Youwei promoted Confucianism as a common value for Chinese communities, as the core of 'Chineseness' (DeBernardi 2004: 24-25). 'Chinese' (中國人, *Zhongguoren*) became a term for calling themselves at this time.

The reformist and radical calls for the establishment of a Chinese nationality did influence the Qing Government. The government implemented the Chinese National Law in 1909; it applied the *jus sanguinis* principle of nationality

to Chinese overseas. This principle was elaborated under the Republic of China (ROC), founded in 1912 (Reid 2006: 195; 2010:64). The ROC saw the overseas Chinese as compatriots and it exported teachers and textbooks to Southeast Asia. The ROC lost control over mainland China in the late 1940s and was exiled to Taiwan in 1949. Nevertheless, from Taiwan, it maintained a connection to the Malaysian Chinese. The ROC government offered subsidized postsecondary education to overseas Chinese students. Even though the British authority established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1950, it tolerated these efforts on the part of the ROC. In 1974, Malaysia established diplomatic relations with the PRC. Since then, Malaysian Chinese relations with mainland China have become stronger and stronger, and the influence of the ROC has waned.

The Chinese Communist Party came to power in mainland China in 1949. It soon adjusted its nationality policy to exclude the so-called 'overseas compatriots.' At the Bandung Conference in 1955, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai announced the abolishment of the *jus sanguinis* principle. Zhou denied the possibility of holding dual citizenship for Chinese overseas. He expected them to naturalize in their host countries (Suryadinata 1985: 84-85).

In the era of founding new nation-states, the identity of diaspora Chinese transformed, from sojourners to settlers or citizens of the host countries (Wang 2003, Huang 1999a). Even though Malaysia and China did not sign a joint communiqué until they established diplomatic relationships in 1974, the Federation of Malaya adopted a similar citizenship policy when it attained independence in 1957. Local Chinese may register as Malayan citizens while abandoning their Chinese nationalities. The communiqué reconfirmed the principle of non-recognition of dual citizenship, regarding “anyone of Chinese origin who has taken up of his own will or acquired Malaysian nationality as automatically forfeiting Chinese nationality” (Leo Suryadinata 1985: 185).

For the Chinese subjects in Malaysia, political identity is no doubt Malaysian, not Chinese. They hold Malaysian citizenship and are treated as foreigners when visiting China. The endonym ‘Chinese’ has various translations in Mandarin. ‘*Hua ren*’ (華人, people with ancestry from China) is a well-accepted term in Malaysia, and thus it has a different meaning from *Zhong guo ren* (中國人, the citizens of the PRC). Therefore, a better term for the local Chinese subjects is Malaysian *hua ren* (馬來西亞華人) or a (as Hokkienese-spelling) *den rang* (唐人, the descendents of the subjects of the Tang Dynasty, in

Hokkienese). Now we may say that they maintain a Chinese *cultural* identity, to varying degrees (Tan 2004; Carstens 2005: 71). To avoid the ‘sensitive issue’ of national loyalty, Chinese community leaders and scholars justify their promotion of Chinese culture as an elaboration of cultural identity.

Cultural Identity

Based on debates in Southeast Asia in the 1950s and 1960s, historian Wang Gungwu (1991: 203) adopted a multi-cultural perspective on Chinese cultural identities. He asserts that the cultures in a nation-state can enrich the national culture when they are encouraged to coexist within the national framework. According to Wang, cultural identity is a matter of free will. Individuals can accept Chinese cultural elements or non-Chinese cultural elements. Tan Chee-Beng illustrates the variety of cultural identities in the Malaysian Chinese community in terms of their command of both the local languages and Mandarin. He classifies four types of Malaysian Chinese in terms of their language of intimacy, language of literacy and intra-group language. For example, Baba and so-called “English-educated” Chinese have little command of Mandarin (2004: 129-134). Wang and Tan imply that the cultural identity of overseas Chinese is not

merely toward Chinese elements (or Chineseness), but also toward the cultural elements of their host country, for example, English in British Colonial time and Malay in Malaysian time.

In an article in 2004, Wang Gungwu shifts his focus of cultural identity from the localized individuals in local society to their transnational connections. He asserts that cultural identity of overseas Chinese is always the consequence of transnational interplay between the local community, cultural centers in China, and the host country's government. Wang suggests that the globalization of the Chinese community has lasted for at least 150 years. In different periods, Shanghai, Hong Kong and Taiwan respectively played the role of cultural center for the Chinese overseas. They can look to these cultural centers for guidance about their Chinese heritage. For example, Shanghai was a cultural center from the 1910s to 1930s. Chinese nationalism spread to Southeast Asia through the textbooks published in Shanghai (Wang 2004: 31). Wang Gungwu extends the definition of transnationalism to the nineteenth century. But transnationalism always means a time/space compression (Hall 1992) in recent decades. Nevertheless, his concept of cultural centers is insightful. We can survey the significance of cultural centers in a specific city, for example Sibiu, to understand

the formation of cultural identity.

Wang Gungwu and Tan Chee-Beng introduce a multicultural perspective on the study of cultural identity of the Southeast Asia Chinese. They value the variations in individual practices. Cultural identity is not merely the way of being Chinese, but also the subjective choice to be Chinese. It also involves participation in national culture. They try to pigeonhole the Chinese identities through the language competency of individuals. Their analysis ignores the dynamic of cultural identities within the Chinese community in the recent decades.

Sharon Carstens asserts that “[C]ultural identities arise from the totality of experiences gained in interactions with both insiders and outsiders and include all of the different self-definitions within a group.” She recognizes the situational management of group members; they can either emphasize or de-emphasize aspects of their identities (Carstens 2005: 66). Identity is not only an individual matter, but also a communal and collective one. In the words of Anthony Smith, a festival or a function shows that ‘the community will be enduring as community of will and emotion’ (Smith 2003: 22).

I suggest that the Sibuhayuan Chinese display their cultural identity in three scales.

The first scale is the network of the Federation of Malaysian Chinese Associations and Malaysian Chinese Cultural Festival. The second scale is the local network established by the Federation of Chinese Associations SibU. The third scale is local sub-ethnic groups and clan associations. They not only consolidate a sense of collective belonging among Chinese communities, but also intensify tensions between them. Cooperation and competition coexist.

The Chinese community has encountered not merely Malay nationalism, but also dramatic economic growth, urbanization and globalization since 1970.

Diplomatic and economic relations between Malaysia and China saw improvements in this era as well.

The growth of transnational business also has its cultural effects. Cultural constraints on ethnic minorities like the Chinese were also loosened. The government now lists Chinese New Year as a public holiday. The Chinese can officially express their cultural identities. With increased economic and social relations with China, SibU Chinese have enhanced access to cultural elements from the ancestral homeland.

Geographical Position of Sibü

The fieldwork site Sibü (Figure 5 and 6), situated at 2°19' N and 111°19' E, is now the third largest city in Sarawak, the major business city along the Rejang, and the capital of the Sibü Division (Wong Meng Lei 2007: 5, 8). Sibü is located about 100 km upriver from the mouth of the Rejang. The Rejang is easily navigable, and Sibü is a transport centre and business hub for upriver bazaar towns such as Kanowit, Song and Kapit. Chinese bazaar shopkeepers and hawkers have been active in Sibü since the late 1850s.



Figure 5. Map of Malaysia (with enlarged name of Sibü)

Source: Malaysia: Administrative Division 1998. Central Intelligence Agency, the United States. (<http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/malaysia.html> Retrieved 10 December 2011) Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.



Figure 6 Map of Sarawak. Source: mypgbook.blogspot.com.

Research Questions

In this dissertation, I will explore the revitalization of Chinese cultural identity over the past four decades, beginning at a time of rising Malay nationalism and ending with the past decade, in which Malay nationalism became more accommodating. The Sibu Chinese have energetically defended the continuity of their cultural traditions. They have actively participated in national activities while sustaining their local cultural autonomy.

My primary research questions are: What is the relationship between economic development, transnational networking and cultural identity in Sibu

Sarawak in the Chinese overseas community over the past four decades? In the Malaysian political and cultural context, how do the Sibuan Chinese manage and negotiate their cultural identity? How do the Chinese sub-ethnic groups cooperate or compete with each other in the expression of cultural identity? Above all, what are the major ways in which the Sibuan Chinese have demonstrated their cultural identities? And what is the role of transnationalism in the reproduction of cultural identity?

Research Methodology

The research is based on in-depth-interviews, participant observation and short visits to relevant cities and townships. I conducted a ten-day pilot survey in Sibuan and Kuching in August 2007. The major fieldwork was done in Sibuan Bazaar from December 2008 to January 2010. I visited relevant cities in China, including Fuzhou, Xiamen and Guangzhou, in March and May 2010.

In the course of the fieldwork, I established rapport through frequent meetings with Chinese community gatekeepers. Soon they invited me to important functions and rituals, including the activities of

regional-language-based communities, surname associations and religious associations. As I continued the fieldwork, I identified key informants and conducted in-depth interviews with them. Local people gradually got used to the presence of a Taiwanese PhD student. Local Chinese reporters scheduled several interviews with me and local bloggers frequently invited me to their gatherings.

I observed Chinese traditional religion through constant contact with the Board of Trustees of Eng Ann Teng Tua Peh Kong Temple (永安亭大伯公廟, *Yonganting Dabogongmiao*) and the Board of Trustees of the Drama Marshall Tiandu's Palace (同樂社探花府, Tung Lok Sie Tan Hua Foo, *Tanhuafu*). I attended festivals and ceremonies at these two temples as well as affiliated temples and religious organizations. I participated in the founding of the Federation of Sarawak Tua Peh Kong Temples¹ in 2009. I also visited Jakarta and Singapore, as well as cities and towns in Sabah, Peninsular Malaysia, Kalimantan²,

¹ The Federation of Sarawak Tua Peh Kong Temples has more than 60 temple members from all over the Sarawak state. The Sibi Eng Ann Teng Tua Peh Kong Temple initiated the organizing of the Federation from 2008. Its committee members visited almost all the temples in Sarawak. Later, Sibu Tua Peh Kong Temple assembled a preparation meeting to approve the rules and regulations of the Federation and to elect the first committee members on 24 April 2009. The first chairman of the federation was the chairman of the Sibu Tua Peh Kong Temple, Penghulu Soon Choon Hoo.

² A three-day trip from 4 to 8 October 2009 brought me to the Chinese temples in the major cities and towns in the west coast and interior of Sabah, including Kota Kinabalu, Kota Marudu, Kudat, Kundasang, Ranau, Tambunan, Keningau, Tenom, Sipitang, Masapol, Western, Beaufort, Papar, and Penampang. The trip was under the arrangement of the Committee for the Birthday Celebration of Futezhenshen and Guangzhezunwang. The Sibu Eng Ann Teng Tua Peh Kong Temple arranged two trips for establishing networks in West Kalimantan and Peninsula Malaysia. I joined the trip to West Kalimantan from 22 to 26 August 2009 and then to the Peninsular Malaysia from 11 to 17 December 2009.

to understand the interconnections between Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore.

I collected souvenir magazines and locally-published materials from associations and local libraries, including the Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association, the Chinese Library of the Sibü Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the Library of the World Fuzhou Heritage Gallery. Furthermore, I maintained the habit of reading local Chinese and English newspapers on a daily basis. I also scanned the local news that would enhance my understanding of the local communities.

From January to June 2010, I joined the exchange program provided by the International Study Abroad Program at the University of Alberta. I was an exchange student in the International Asian Studies Programme at the Chinese University of Hong Kong and took advantage of its special overseas Chinese collection.

During my stay in Hong Kong, I visited several cities in China, including Fuzhou, Xiamen and Guangzhou, with which the Sibü Chinese maintain transnational connections. The fellows of the World Foochow Gallery arranged the trip to Fuzhou and invited me to participate. We visited the major four ancestral counties where the Sibü Foochow came from during a five-day trip. The

World Foochow Association arranged the schedule and contacted the United Front Office, the External and Compatriot Affairs Office, and the Returned Compatriots Committee in every county. They treated us with banquet meals and we held meetings with local experts on folklore and cuisine.

I entered the fieldwork site as a Canadian Ph D student and a Taiwanese. Most of the Sibiu Chinese has good command in spoken Mandarin; therefore, my interviews are conducted in Mandarin. Although Hokkienese (Minnan) is my mother tongue and an old lingua franca in Sibiu bazaar, I seldom use it. Whenever I tried to communicate in Hokkienese, people tended to reply me in Mandarin. The reason is that Sibiu Hokkienese has mixed with native words and may not be properly understood by a Taiwanese.

My identity as a Taiwanese gives me an advantage. Since I am not a member of the seven sub-ethnic groups, I am free to participate in and observe a variety of functions hosted by different groups. The secretary or chairman of an association is always a gatekeeper. I have to contact he/she first to arrange the interview with chairmen or other important figures. Therefore, whom I was allowed to contact is mostly the leaders or so-called “boss” of these groups. Patriarchic structure of the associations and my gender identity as a male hinder me to gain the viewpoints of

women.

Overview

The dissertation has two parts. In Part 1, I analyze the history of the Sibu Chinese and an overview of their community life. In Part 2, I focus on three representations of Chinese cultural identity since the late 1970s.

Part 1 includes three chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the history of the Sibu Chinese communities in Sarawak and Sibu. I review the location of the ancestral homelands of major sub-ethnic groups in Sibu. In the latter part of the chapter, I focus on the cultural tradition of pioneer groups.

Chapter 2 “The Emerging Foochow in Sibu: Settlements, Religions and Developments” looks into the establishment of the Foochow in Sibu. I review the relationship between the transnational network of Methodist Christianity and the Sibu Foochow. But the Foochow are a diversified group in terms of religion affiliations, including denominations of Christianity and Chinese traditional religion. The third part of the chapter focuses on the economic developments and symbolic capital management of the Foochow.

Chapter 3 discusses a localized Chinese culture in Sibu. The Sibu Chinese constantly receive the influence of the cultural centers, including the speaking of

Mandarin, nationalist thoughts, and modern elements. The regional-language-based associations share similar social functions. They represent the power structure among the Chinese community in Sibü. In everyday life, people practice localized cultures such as traditional Chinese religion and festivals, Creolized languages, newspapers and food.

Part 2 is an investigation of three dimensions of cultural identity construction in Sibü: the regional-language-based associations and their transnational networks, the modern landscape shaping and its connection to multiple historical interpretations, as well as the recent revalued and expanded ancestral identities through surname associations.

Chapter 4, “Establishment of the Regional-language-based Associations and Their Globalization,” describes the transnational cultural identity of sub-ethnic groups. This identity has emerged with the expansion of international business and cultural networking since the 1980s. The transnational identity is established on the old basis of pan-Malaysian and Singaporean Chinese associations of each sub-ethnic group. Since the late 1980s, political and business tycoons in the Sibü Foochow community have claimed leading positions in the transnational Foochow network.

Chapter 5, “Historical Interpretation, Landscape Shaping and Transnational Networks,” complicates the model of Chinese identity construction. A long-term competition on historical interpretation is between sub-ethnic groups, especially in the late 1980s. The Sibü Foochow community has established its cultural claims by constructing memorial halls, parks and galleries in the 2000s. The gesture was soon followed by other groups. I analyze six memorial parks in Sibü to see how the sub-ethnic groups express their cultural identity.

Chapter 6, “Genealogical Knowledge, History and Sacred Site Creation,” discusses an emerging ancestral identity. It represents an ongoing effort in seeking historical roots. I explore how the Lau clan in Sibü seeks solidarity by compiling genealogies and forming associations, how it supports the reconstruction of clan temples in China, and how it expresses and reinforces its cultural identity through root-seeking activities.

The Conclusion is a review of the dissertation. I give a summary of the research finding in the project and a reflection. I review the effectiveness of the concept of cultural identity and transnationalism in the research of the Sibü Chinese.

Chapter 1. The Establishment of Chinese Culture in Sibü

Sibü Chinese are always aware of their history or histories. In October 2009, two film teams came to Sibü, from the Fujian Media Group and a Hong Kong-based company the Television Broadcasts Limited, respectively. Their common theme is the history of Chinese migration. Today the Foochow make up the majority of the Sibü Chinese community and they hold focal positions of the Federation of Chinese Associations Sibü (FCAS). Newspapers reported the interviews on the history of Sibü Foochow narrated by the Foochow leaders.

Several days later, a leader of a non-Foochow sub-ethnic group told me, “The Foochow fellows talked and talked on the history of Foochow. We have our own history.” A friend from Taiwan shrugged his shoulders and said, “The filming teams have studied materials of Sibü before they came. Unfortunately, what they collected is mostly on the story of the Foochow and the leader of Foochow migrants Wong Nai Siong.”

This event is just one episode in a series of historical debates in the tiny city. We need a comprehensive understanding of the Sibü Chinese community before we proceed to the following discussions. In this chapter, I investigate historical,

demographical and geographical aspects of Sibu Chinese community, with a special focus on the traditions of pioneer sub-ethnic groups.

First of all, I review the history of the Chinese community in Sarawak and Sibu, including the early history of trade and settlement from the early nineteenth century.

Secondly, I introduce population statistics on the composition of Chinese among ethnic groups in Sarawak and Sibu.

Thirdly, I examine the Chinese sub-ethnic groups in Sarawak and Sibu, that is, the so-called “seven ancestral homeland affiliations”. I introduce the ancestral homelands of sub-ethnic groups and their brief history of migrating to Sibu.

In the final part of the chapter, I provide an overview of the traditions of Chinese pioneer sub-ethnic groups who arrived at Sibu before 1901. These traditions include the communal worship in an old graveyard, a Chinese temple for a deity from Amoy, and the early trans-factional organizations.

A Brief History of Chinese in Sarawak

Archaeological excavations and historical materials show a part of early Chinese business activities in Sarawak. Archaeologists excavated artifacts in

Santubong (山都望), a seashore trade port situated north of Kuching. They dated the artifacts to the Tang and Song Dynasties (618-1271 A.D) (Cheng 1982).

The imperial history record of the two dynasties also confirms tributes from a political entity calling itself *P'olo* (婆羅) or *P'oni* (渤泥) on Borneo Island (Li Chang Fu 1987 [1928]: 60). However, trade suddenly terminated during the Yuan Dynasty (1280-1367 AD). The Ming Emperors (1368- 1643 AD) continued their connection to Southeast Asia. In 1405, Cheng Ho undertook his seven expeditions. He allegedly passed *P'oni* twice but his true landing places in Borneo are unknown (Hipkins 1971: 112).

Nowadays, many Sarawak native peoples keep large Chinese jars and ceramics of various ages. Some of these artifacts date to the Tang Dynasty. They are evidence of long-term trade between China and Sarawak. However, little evidence exists for early Chinese settlements in Sarawak before the nineteenth century.

Recent Chinese settlements in Sarawak began with a gold rush in West Borneo, now West Kalimantan of Indonesia, in the eighteenth century. In the early nineteenth century, some of the Chinese migrants moved northward to Sarawak. However, the most critical factors for the establishment of Chinese community in

Sarawak are the ruling of Rajah Brooke and the commercial expansion of Singapore, which, during the nineteenth century, developed into a major port city for the region. I also review the Chinese history after World War II.

Gold Rush in West Borneo

Chinese settlers came to West Borneo for a gold rush and established pepper plantations in the second half of the eighteenth century. After the opening of the land to settlement by the Sultan of Sambas at Larak in 1750, Cantonese Hakka sojourners flocked to the area. Population estimates range from 31,000 to 150,000. They established the semi-autonomous organizations, Kongsis (公司, *Gongsi*) to secure their benefits and to compete with each other. The Dutch initiated war against the Kongsis in the early nineteenth century. Some Hakka refugees moved to Upper Sarawak, where the ruling Brunei Sultan granted mining rights of antimony in 1826 (Chin 1981).

Rajah Brooke

Sarawak was a small region surrounding the Sarawak River and a satellite state of the Sultan of Brunei (Talib 1999:3). In November 1840, an India-born

English adventurer James Brooke suppressed a rebellion by Sarawak Malays against Sultan Muda Hussim. Ten months later, the Sultan awarded Brooke the governorship of Sarawak, making him the Rajah (Talib 1999:4).

James Brooke built his capital in Kuching by the Sarawak River in 1841. Approximately 3,000 Chinese people lived in Upper Sarawak. The political stability of the Rajah Government attracted more refugees from Kongsis in West Borneo. Members from former rival Kongsis eventually merged into a new Kongsis in Upper Sarawak. These people formed a core of the Hakka community around Bau (Heidhues 2003: 89, Chin 1981: 26-29).

Rajah Brooke planned to implement an opium monopoly. The disgruntled gold miners in Upper Sarawak staged a rebellion in 1857 to resist the policy. The Rajah escaped and fought back with the support of Malay, Iban and Chinese merchants in Kuching. Eventually, a massacre in Bau claimed thousands of lives of the rebels. Thousands of refugees fled across the border to Dutch territory, while in a counterflow, a few hundred West Borneo Chinese left to work in the mines in Sarawak (Heidues 2003: 102-103).

The rule of Rajah Brooke stabilized after the rebellion. The weakening Brunei Sultan asked the Rajah to help him pacify the rebellious natives.

Consequently, the Sultan yielded his territory to Rajah Brooke. In the hands of James and Charles Brooke, Sarawak underwent six large-scale territory expansions from 1853 to 1904 (Figure 1-1). In the 1861 expansion, James annexed the Rejang, the largest drainage in Borneo, to control the growing sago business there (Morris 1978: 39-40). The Rajah devised a “fort-bazaar pattern” to rule the vast sparsely populated territory. When Rajah Brooke claimed a new territory, he established forts in major ports to signify his sovereignty. These forts soon became ideal places for the Chinese merchants because they enjoyed police

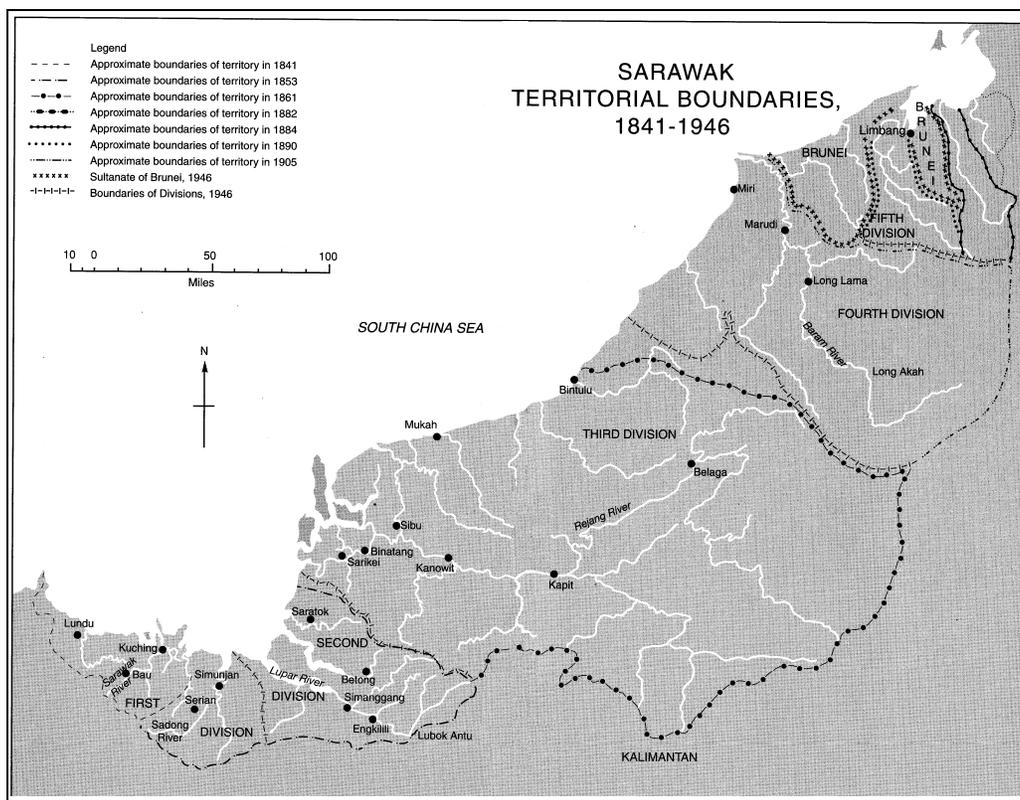


Figure 1-1. Sarawak and its territory expansions during Rajah Brooke Dynasty (1841-1946). The territory has not significantly changed since 1905. Source: Daniel Chew 2004.

protection (Chua Cheen Chong 2001:10). Sibü emerged under the fort-bazaar pattern. When Rajah Brooke established this area as the Third Division of his kingdom, he built “Fort Brooke” in Sibü and made it his administrative center in 1863 (Chin 1981: 49). Some of the Chinese businessmen moved to Sibü to enjoy law and order.

The economy of Sarawak saw great progress in the 1870s and the labor shortage became the major concern for Rajah Brooke. Dissatisfied with the agency in Singapore, he planned to directly recruit laborers from China through Chinese merchants in Sarawak. Large numbers of free immigrants entered Sarawak, either in response to calls made for laborers or to join their relatives and friends (Chin 1981: 55).

Rajah James Brooke respected native customs and modifications were encouraged if they ran contrary to the British sense of justice (Talib 1999: 8). This policy became the backbone of a ‘divide and rule’ strategy for ethnic matters. Chinese people elected their own leaders and maintained their customary laws in Chinese courts (Chew 2004: 204). In Sibü, every Chinese sub-ethnic group takes charge of its specific customs, including weddings, baby showers, birthday celebrations and funerals, etc.

The Rise of Singapore

The British East India Company established Singapore in 1819. Singapore soon became the most successful entrepôt among the three ports of the Straits Settlements (the other two are Penang and Malacca). It became a hub for Chinese migrants in Southeast Asia. Singapore maintains its place as a focal commercial and cultural center for the people in Malaysia and Indonesia (Freedman 1979: 61; DeBernardi 2004: 19). The Treaty of Nanjing signed in 1842 and subsequent treaties legalized foreign trade and proselytization in the five treaty ports in China, including Shanghai, Ningpo (寧波, *Ningbo*), Foochow (福州, *Fuzhou*), Amoy (廈門, *Xiamen*) and Canton (廣州, *Guangzhou*) (Figure 1-2). The Qing government also ceded Hong Kong to the British Crown ‘in perpetuity’.

The connection of Singapore, Hong Kong and the treaty ports facilitated the migration of Chinese people to Southeast Asia. The emerging trade in Singapore reinforced the expansion of Chinese business networks into the river areas of Sarawak. Bazaar-dwelling businessmen were mostly Hokkien and Teochew with connections to Singapore. Chinese soon replaced the Malays in barter trade and sago palm refinery. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, the *Ulu* (native) trade, i.e., the business of exotic and jungle products from the indigenous peoples



Figure 1-2 Treaty Ports and Hong Kong Source: Drawn by the author.

in Sarawak was established. The *Ulu* trade had a three-tier business structure comprised of boat hawkers, bazaar shopkeepers in towns, as well as wholesale merchants in Singapore (T'ien 1997[1953]: 84-88, Chew 2004[1990]: 100-107).

After the War

The Rajah government ruled Sarawak until the Japanese invasion in December 1942. When the war ended in August 1945, the Rajah acknowledged the difficulty of recovery and sought for the British Crown to take over on 1 July 1946 (Talib 1999: 108). The Sarawak Chinese were involved in anti-colonialist, nationalist and communist movements during the British rule. The government issued the Act of Emergency and many other acts to limit freedom of speech. The

British government also banned leftist-oriented newspapers and books and exiled 31 activists to China from 1952 to 1953 (Lau Tzy Cheng 1992).

In 1963, Sarawak, along with Singapore and Sabah, joined the newly independent Federation of Malaysia. After a riot on 13 May 1969, Malaysian government instituted affirmative action: “The New Economy Policy” (NEP), which had the purpose of promoting the economic status of the Malays and purposeful identification with Islam (Hussein 2002: 83-84). The revitalization movements by peninsular Malaysian Chinese since 1970 can be seen as a reactionary nationalism to the NEP. However, it has roots in several overlapping and discrete circumstances, including the conversion of the major language in the public schools from English to Malay, which increased the ratio of Chinese pupils attending Chinese-tutored private primary schools, and the growing contacts with other middle-class Chinese populations through overseas studies and transnational media (Carstens 2005:160).

Chinese Population in Sarawak and Sib

Only two official demographic statistics of the Chinese in Sarawak are available from before World War II. The first statistic is from 1871: the *Sarawak*

Gazette reported that the number of Chinese was 4,947, or approximately 3.49 percent of the total population of 141,546. Among them, 415 Chinese lived along the drainage basin of the Rejang River. In 1939, the first government census counted a Chinese population of 145,158, approximately 26.59 percent of the total population of 546,000 (Chin 1981:68-69; Chua Chung Toi 1987: 199).

From 1960, first the British and then the Malaysian government conducted a census in Sarawak every ten years. Table 1-1 shows the population and ratio by ethnic group in Sarawak, including Iban, Chinese and Malay. In 2010, the population of Sarawak is: 28.8 percent Iban, 24.6 percent Chinese and 22.6 percent Malay. Chinese make up the second-largest ethnic group in Sarawak; however, their population ratio shrank from 30.8 percent in 1960 to 24.6 percent in 2010, while that of the Malays grew 5.2 percent in the same period. The trend of a reduction of the Chinese population is a result of outgoing migration either to other countries or to Peninsula of Malaysia and a reduced birth rate of the Chinese.

Among Malaysian Chinese communities, the Sibuan Chinese communities are prominent in terms of population ratios and their energetic participation in cultural activities. First, according to the population estimate in 2010 (Table 1-2),

the Chinese population of Sibü is 147,000 or 57.1 percent of the total population.

The ratio of Chinese population in Sibü is exceptionally high in comparison to the state of Sarawak (24.6%) and to the two other major cities, Kuching (37.8%) and Miri (28.1%). Therefore, Sibü has the highest Chinese concentration of any community in Sarawak.

Table 1-1 Total Population by Ethnic Group and Administrative District - Sarawak 1960-2010 (# = 1,000s)

Year	Total		Malay		Iban		Chinese	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1960	745	100.0	129	17.4	238	31.9	229	30.8
1970	976	100.0	181	18.6	303	31.1	294	30.1
1980	1,308	100.0	258	19.7	396	30.3	385	29.5
1990	1,670	100.0	348	20.8	493	29.5	483	28.9
2000	2,070	100.0	456	22.7	587	29.2	512	25.4
2010	2,505	100.0	567	22.6	721	28.8	615	24.6

Source: *Monthly Statistical Bulletin Sarawak* (January, 1992) Table 2.2, P.6; *Monthly Statistical Bulletin Sarawak* (October, 2009) Table 2.2, P.6; *Monthly Statistical Bulletin Sarawak* (April, 2011) Table 2.7, P.24-25.

Table 1-2. Total Population by Ethnic Group and Administrative District - Sarawak 2010 (# = 1,000s)

District	Total		Malay		Iban		Chinese	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Sarawak	2,505	100.0	567	22.6	721	28.8	615	24.6
Sibü	258	100.0	23	8.9	58	22.5	147	57.1
Kuching	600	100.0	220	36.7	57	9.5	227	37.8
Miri	281	100.0	51	18.1	79	28.1	79	28.1

Source: *Monthly Statistical Bulletin Sarawak* (April 2011) Table 2.7, P.24-25.

Second, the Sibuan Chinese have earned a reputation among the Malaysian Chinese community for their active participation in local, national and trans-national cultural activities. Sibuan Chinese people have benefited from forestry, oil palm farming and relatively autonomous local politics. They have been involved in cultural revitalization since the late 1970s. Nowadays, the Sibuan Chinese community calls the city their 'Cultural Fort in Sarawak'. Sibuan is a contrast to Kuching, the political capital of Sarawak. For example, Sibuan took on the task of the sponsorship of the Malaysian Chinese Cultural Festival in 2001 and 2009. Even though the Kuching Chinese community is more populous and enjoys more political and economic advantages, it has never hosted the festival.

Chinese Sub-ethnic Groups in Sarawak and Sibuan

Chinese communities in Southeast Asia have multiple identities on the basis of ancestral homelands and sub-ethnic affiliations. As we have seen in the Introduction, the Chinese in Sarawak share diversified sub-ethnic identities with their counterparts in Southeast Asia. When anthropologist T'ien Ruk'ang conducted his research in 1949, he identified ten sub-ethnic groups from Southeast China living in Sarawak. They are Foochow, Hinghua, Hokkien and

Chao'an from Fujian Province; Teochew, Canton, Luizhou, Hainan and Hakka from Guangdong Province; as well as Guangxi (T'ien 1997[1953]: 18-24).

The Chinese people in Sibü use the so-called “seven ancestral homeland affiliation” (七鄉屬, *qixiangshu*) to name their sub-ethnic groups. They are Foochow, Hinghua, Hokkien (Chiang Chuan), Hakka, Teochew, Cantonese (Kwong Wai Siew) and Hainan.¹ These sub-ethnic groups are basic units of local politics and transnational networking of the Sibü Chinese community. Here I introduce the locations of their ancestral homelands and their brief history in Sibü.

In the following introduction, the English spelling of these sub-ethnic groups follows the local usage. It may differ from the spelling following the *pinyin* system of the Chinese government. The geographical name of their ancestral homelands may have totally changed as well. Therefore, I juxtapose the local usage and the pinyin (in italic) when both of them are available. I introduce them with a sequence by provinces, Fujian, Guangdong and Hainan (Figure 1-3).

Fujian Province

(1) Foochow (福州, *Fuzhou*)

¹ The other three categories Chao'an, Kwangsi and Luizhou are not significant groups in Sibü.



Figure 1-3 Location of Fujian, Guangdong and Hainan.

Source: http://images.nationmaster.com/images/motw/middle_east_and_asia/china_admin_91.jpg (Retrieved 9 February 2012).

The Foochow trace their ancestry to *Fuzhou*, the capital city of Fujian Province (Figure 1-4). Foochow people claim that they are from ten counties governed by the Foochow Prefecture in the Qing Dynasty, namely *Minhou* (閩侯), *Changle* (長樂), *Lianjiang* (連江), *Luoyuan* (羅源), *Minkiang* (閩清, *Minqing*), *Yongtai* (永泰), *Fuqing* (福清), *Pingtán* (平潭), *Kutien* (古田, *Gutien*) and *Pingnan* (屏南). They call the geographical sphere the Foochow Ten Counties (福州十邑, *Fuzhou Shiyi*) (Figure 1-5) (Singapore Foochow Association 1990: 169).²

² The concept of *Fuzhou Shiyi* is not consistent with current Fuzhou municipal administration.



Figure 1-4 Fujian Province Source: Asia Times Online
 (<http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Others/fujian.html>)

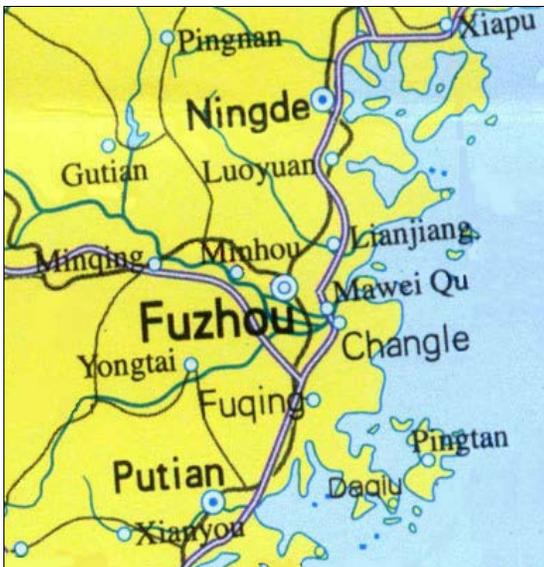


Figure 1-5 Location of Foochow Ten Counties
 Source: <http://www.chinamaps.org/china/provincemaps/fujian.html>

Gutien and Pingnan are now part of Ningde Shi (寧德市).

The Foochow is now the dominant Chinese sub-ethnic group in Sibü. The people from Minchiang and Kutien are the majority.

Kutien County and Pingnan County are no longer a part of Fuzhou City. Their administrative affiliations have been under *Ningde* (寧德) City from 1970. However, the Kutien and the Pingnan in Sibü still recognize themselves as a sub-ethnic group of the Foochow.

Methodist Wong Nai-siong led the first group of Foochow migrants to Sibü in 1901. They have a unique Christianity background, rural and family orientation. I have a detailed introduction in Chapter 2.

(2) Hinghua (興化, *Xinghua*)

Hinghua was a prefecture during the Qing Dynasty. But the name has ceased to exist in China now. We can find *Putien* (莆田) and *Senyo* (仙遊, *Xianyou*) in the original Hinghua area (See Figure 1-4, 1-5). The Sibü Hinghua may call themselves the Sibü Hinghua Pusen.

The first Hinghua migrant arrived in Sibü in 1911. They shared the Methodist relationship with Foochow. When Reverend William Brewster (蒲魯士) lived in Hinghua in 1909, he became aware of the success of the Foochow colony

and decided to help his parishioners emigrate. He and Revered Lee Chang Hsui (李長水) signed a contract with the Rajah Charles Brooke in 1911, and moved 141 Hinghua migrants to Sibiu in 1912 and 1913 (SCGCG 1979: 434-435). Still, the Hinghua in Sibiu has a second source from Singapore, from whence individuals moved to Sibiu. Throughout Southeast Asia, the Hinghua were strong in vehicle transportation. They were strong in Sibiu, too.

(3) Hokkien (福建, *Fujian*) (Chiang Chuan)

Hokkien is an umbrella name for the people from the counties in *Quanzhou* (泉州), *Zhangzhou* (漳州) and *Xiamen* (廈門). The language they use is Hokkienese or Minnan (福建話, *Fujianhua*). The Hokkien have a long history of migration to Southeast Asia. Hokkien merchants took root in the Philippines in the seventeenth century. They also established themselves at Penang and Singapore in the early nineteenth century. The pioneer Hokkien moved to Sibiu bazaar in the late 1850s.

Hokkien also means Fujian Province (福建省); however, the word does not indicate all the people from the province. In the early twentieth century, the Foochow and the Hinghua moved to Sibiu. They also came from Fujian Province,

but they used languages other than Hokkienese and the old umbrella name Hokkien became confusing. Therefore, the Hokkien in Sibü adopted a new term ‘Chiang Chuan’ (漳泉, *Zhangquan*), a shortened form of Chiang Chiu (漳州, *Zhangzhou*) and Chuan Chiu (泉州, *Quanzhou*) of Fujian Province, to call themselves. The term Chiang Chuan first appeared on the Chiang Chuan Gathering Hall (漳泉別墅, *Zhang Chuan Bei Su*) in Sibü in 1937 (Sibü Chiang Chuan Association 1988: 182-4).

The Chiang Chuan people maintained a leading role in Sibü bazaar until the 1950s. A local officer of the Rajah government recommended the leader of Chiang Chuan, Teo Yen Do (張煙都, *Zhang Yendu*) to be the first Kapitan China (the community leader) of the Sibü bazaar in 1906. The Chiang Chuan leaders held the seat until 1963 (Chua Chung Toi 1996: 5-20).

Guangdong Province

(1) Hakka (客家, *Kejia*)

Hakka people live in the hilly area around the border between Fujian, Jiangxi and Guangdong. They also dispersed in these provinces. Most of the Hakka in Sarawak trace their ancestry to Guangdong. Three major categories are Hepo (河

婆), Taipu (大埔) and Jiaying (嘉應). Now their corresponding ancestral homelands are *Jiexi* (揭西), *Dabu* (大埔) and *Meizhou* (梅州) in the eastern part of Guangdong (See Figure 1-6).

In Sibiu, the Hakka is an umbrella name for four Hakka-speaking peoples, including Taipu, Jiaying, Vuining (會寧, *Huining*) and all the others (其他). Vuining is a short form of Sivui (四會, *Sihui*) and Kwongning (廣寧, *Guangning*) northwest of Guangzhou (Figure 1-6).

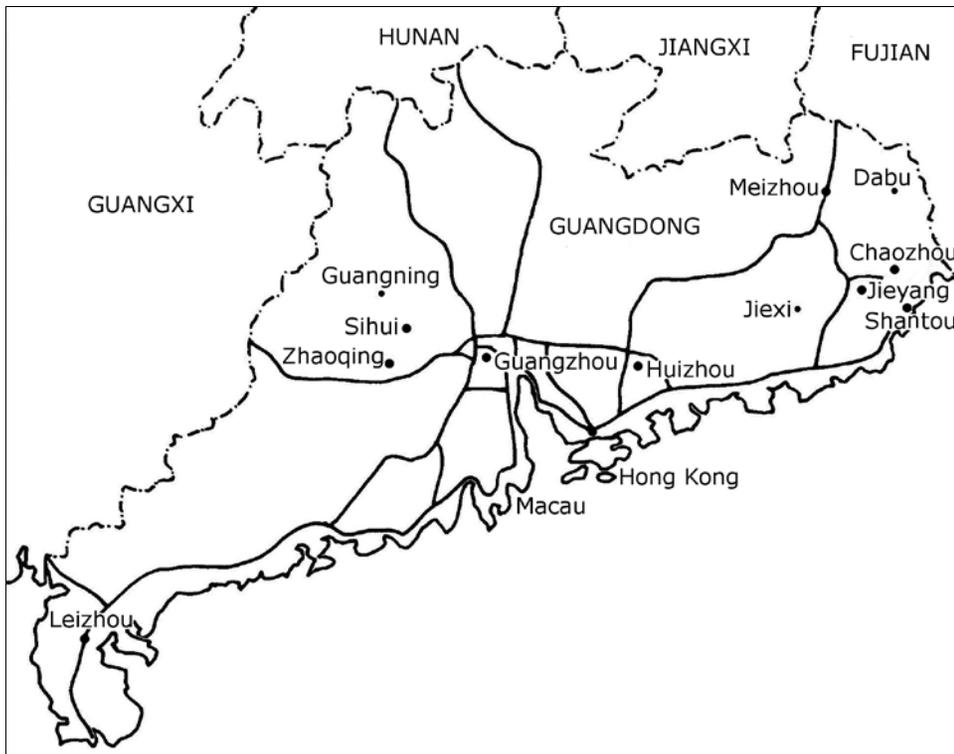


Figure 1-6. Guangdong Province with reference to the Ancestral Homelands of Sibiu Chinese. Source: ChinaMaps.org (<http://www.chinamaps.org/china/provincemaps/guangdong-map.html>). Modified by the author.

The Hakka people cannot offer the exact time they settled in Sibü, but they believe their pioneers arrived in the nineteenth century. The Vuining people came to Sibü in 1902 under a contract between Rajah Brooke and a contractor Then Kung Suk (鄧公菽, *Deng Gongsu*). Then Kung Suk recruited Sivui and Guangning people to establish the Cantonese Settlement in Sibü in 1902. (See Chapter 5).

(2) Teochew (潮州, *Chaozhou*)

Teochew is an umbrella name for the people from Teochew (潮州, *Chaozhou*), *Jieyang* (揭陽) and *Shantou* (汕頭) (Figure 1-6). *Chaozhou* and *Shantou* are two major cultural centers in the eastern Guangdong. The so-called *Chaoshan* culture exerts major influence on the neighboring Hakka, especially Hepo (*Jiexi*) Hakka.

The Teochew are descendents of famous grocery wholesalers in Southeast Asia. The Teochew have had strong economic shares in Sarawak cities, such as Kuching, Sri Aman and Bintulu since the 1840s. However, they are one of the small sub-ethnic groups in Sibü.

(3) Cantonese (廣東, *Guangdong*) (Kwong Wai Siew, 廣惠肇, *Guang Hui Shao*)

The word Cantonese indicates the people and languages originating from the Pearl River Delta. Canton was the old name for *Guangzhou* (廣州) in Qing Dynasty. Again, the term is as confusing as Hokkien is. In the nineteenth century, the term Cantonese might also encompass the Teochew and the Hakka. Nowadays, people employ an alternative name Kwong Wai Siew (廣惠肇, *Guang Hui Zhao*), that is a shortened form of three cities: Kwongzau (廣州, *Guangzhou*), Waizau (惠州, *Huizhou*) and Siewhing (肇慶, *Zhaoqing*) (See Figure 1-6).

Most of the Kwong Wai Siew in Sibul are urban. They also include a branch of Cantonese-speaking Sivui (四會, *Sihui*) that participated in the establishment of the Cantonese Settlement in 1902. When the colony went bankrupt in 1911, most of the Sivui people chose to move to Sarikei. Owing to its better soil, they succeeded in pepper and rubber plantations (Sarikei Kwong Wai Siew Association 2007). Some of the Kwong Wai Siew moved to Sibul for better business opportunities in the 1960s.

Hainan Province (海南, *Hainan*)

The name 'Hainan' is for the people from Hainan Island in the south tip of

China (Figure 1-3). Even though Hainan people maintain detailed ancestry from specific counties, they only use the umbrella name Hainan. Part of the reason is their relatively small population in Sibü.

Hainan people settled in Sibü in the 1900s, several years after the Foochow people. According to their oral tradition, the first Hainanese, Wang Da Chuan (王大川), moved from Singapore to Kuching. He abandoned his career as a chef of a steamboat and ran the first café in Sibü. The Hainan people in Sibü maintain a reputation of serving the best coffee (Sibü Hainan Huiguan 1995).

Population by Sub-ethnic-group in Sarawak and Sibü

The Sarawak Government records sub-ethnic categories in its census. Table 1-3 shows the number and the percentage by Chinese sub-ethnic categories of Sarawak in the 2000 Malaysia Census³. We may find Foochow and Hakka make two-thirds of the Chinese population in Sarawak. However, the percentage of sub-ethnic groups may differ in the specific bazaar town or settlement. Local people always have a rough picture that Foochow is the dominant population in Sibü, or Hakka is dominant in rural Kuching area, or Hokkien and Teochew are

³ The statistics of total population by detailed ethnic group in the Census 2010 is not listed in the recent *Monthly Statistical Bulletin Sarawak* (April, 2011).

Table 1-3. Total Population by Detailed Ethnic Group - Sarawak 2000

Ethnic and Subethnic Categories ⁴	Total	Percentage	Rank
Chinese	512,426	100.00%	
Foochow (Foochew)	178,261	34.79%	1
Hakka	161,552	31.53%	2
Hokkien (Chiang Chuan)	68,935	13.45%	3
Teochew	38,120	7.44%	4
Cantonese (Kwong Wai Siew)	29,434	5.74%	5
Hinghua	15,159	2.96%	6
Hainan	7,675	1.50%	7
Hokchia	840	0.16%	8
Kwangsi	382	0.07%	9
Cina Lain (other)	12,068	2.36%	

Source: *Monthly Statistical Bulletin Sarawak* (April, 2011), Table 2.5, P. 20-21up

dominant in Kuching bazaar area.

The Statistics Bureau of Sarawak could not provide detailed statistics for Chinese sub-ethnic groups in Sibü. Therefore, I cite the data from the Sibü Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SCCCI, 詩巫中華工商總會) for an estimate (Table 1-4). The SCCCI records its members according to the seven ancestral homeland affiliations.

⁴ In the sub-ethnic categories of census, two minor groups Hokchia and Kwangsi are not significant groups in Sibü. Therefore, I omit these two in the previous introduction. For your interest, the pinyin spelling of Hokchia is *Fuqing*. The location is a part of Foochow Ten Counties. However, the reason why the category is not included in Foochow is unknown. Kwangsi is now *Guangxi*.

Table 1-4. The Sub-ethnic Composition of the SCCCI in 1969 and 2009

Year Sub-ethnic Group	1969		2009	
	#	%	#	%
Foochow (福州)	301	62.1%	812	70.7%
Chiang Chuan (漳泉)	49	10.1%	57	5.0%
Hinghua Pusen (興化莆仙)	35	7.2%	103	9.0%
Hakka (客屬)	35	7.2%	47	4.1%
Teochew (潮州)	23	4.7%	39	3.4%
Kwong Wai Siew (廣惠肇)	20	4.1%	33	2.9%
Hainan (海南)	15	3.1%	15	1.3%
Others	7	1.4%	42	3.7%
SUM	485		1148	

Source: SCGCC 1979: 423. Statistics offered by SCCCI, 23 December 2010.

Table 1-4 shows the dominance of Foochow in Sibiu business over the last four decades. When the forebearer of the SCCCI, the Sibiu Chinese General Chamber of Commerce (SCGCC, 詩巫中華總商會), was established in 1969, Foochow people were approximately 62%. The ratio grew to 70.7% in 2009.

The Sibiu Chinese population is unique for its Foochow majority, whereas in Malaysia generally, the Hokkien (Chiang Chuan) or the Hakka people

predominate. Foochow people account for only five percent of the Malaysian Chinese population, but seventy percent of the Chinese in Sibul are ancestrally from Foochow.

Chinese Pioneers and Their Traditions

As we have seen in the beginning of the chapter, non-Foochow leaders try to express their dissent regarding the pro-Foochow historical narratives. To be fair to these non-Foochow peoples, I take the year the Foochow landed on Sibul, 1901, as a watershed. Before that, several pioneer groups had taken root in Sibul. I focus on the traditions established by the pioneer groups in the remainder of the chapter. I proceed to discuss the Foochow in Chapter II.

Sibul has a relatively short history of Chinese settlement in comparison to elsewhere in Malaysia. Sibul emerged as one of Chinese pioneer bazaars along the Rejang in the late 1850s, but another upstream town, Kanowit, assumed a leading position. The earliest Chinese settlers in Sibul were the Chiang Chuan, who arrived in 1858. However, Sibul replaced Kanowit within three decades. In 1861, representatives of the Brunei Sultan ceded the land in the Rejang, Oya, Mukah, Tatau and Bintulu River basins to Rajah Brooke.

Sibu was a fishing hamlet before the 1860s and was made up of Malay and Melanau people. The first Sibu Chinese sub-ethnic groups in the nineteenth century were bazaar-dwelling businessmen. They were Hokkien (福建人, Chiang Chuan) and Cantonese (廣東人, including Teochew, Kwong Wai Siew and Hakka). Based on the evidence of the oral tradition, ancestral tablets and tombstones, Sibu Chiang Chuan people trace their first ancestor in Sibu to 1858 (Chua Chung Toi 1987: 200).

With the establishment of Sibu as the political center in the Rejang in 1873, the major bazaar in the Rejang shifted from Kanowit to Sibu in the late 1880s (Chew 2004[1990], Wong Meng Lei 2007: 5, 8).

The Sibu bazaar was on an island surrounded by the Rejang and the Lingbangan, a branch of the Rejang. The major early bazaar shops were established along Channel Street (海唇街) (Figure 1-7). It paralleled the

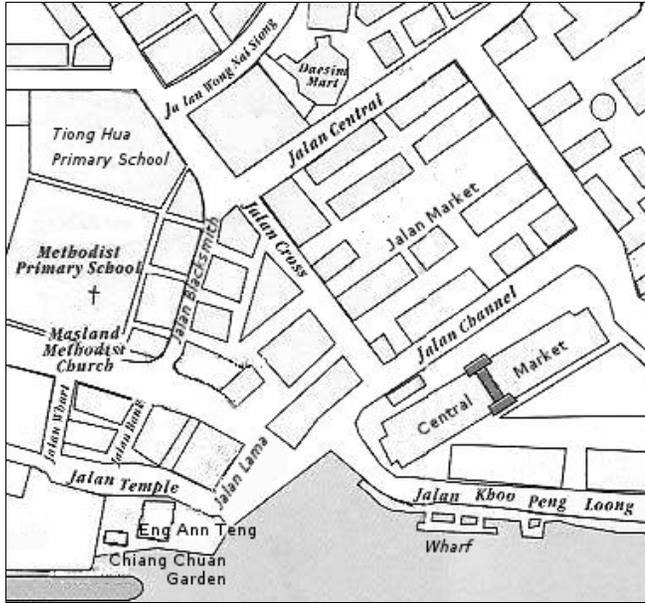


Figure 1-7. Three Streets of the Sibuluan Old Bazaar, Jalan Channel (Channel Road), Jalan Market (Market Road) and Jalan Lama (Old Street). Source: Sibuluan Municipal Council ND.

Lingbangan and was close to the wharfs⁵. Sibuluan people have a saying: ‘We have only three streets in the bazaar’. The other two streets were Old Street and Market Road. Old Street is a short street by the Tua Peh Kong Temple. Market Road is an extension of Channel Street. The Sibuluan bazaar maintained this scale until the 1910s (Chua Chung Toi 1987: 200).

The umbrella terms Hokkien and Cantonese are visible at two cultural sites.

One is a communal graveyard, the Cantonese and Hokkien Graveyard Pavilion

(廣福山亭, Konghok shanting)⁶, established in 1867. Another is a stele

⁵ Now the section of the Lingbangan parallel to Channel Street is covered by the Central Market.

⁶ In the umbrella term “Konghok”, “Kong” is for the Cantonese (Guangdong people) and “Hok” is for the Hokkien (Fujian) according to the umbrella usage in the 19th Century. Penang Chinese used the same term to name a Taoist temple Kong Hok Keong (Guangfu Gong) built in 1800. The temple’s board of trustees is composed of Hokkien and Cantonese (DeBernardi 2004: 27-28).

commemorating the renovation of the Sibua Tua Peh Kong Temple in 1896. It records donations from Hokkien and Cantonese bazaar shops (Fang 1993).

The Cantonese and Hokkien Graveyard Pavilion

The old communal graveyard located in a village called Pulau Kerto (Kerto Island, 哥羅多島) (See Figure 2-1, p.67), on the opposite bank to Sibua, is where most of the Sibua Chinese pioneers stayed from the 1850s to 1880s. The commercial center gradually moved to Sibua after Fort Brooke was built. However, Pulau Kerto maintained its ritual position as the bazaar dwellers continued to bury their deceased in the old graveyard until the 1930s. Today, the Cantonese and Hokkien Graveyard Pavilion houses a communal gravestone and an earth god. The tombstone reads, “The communal gravestone of Cantonese and Hokkien Free Graveyard” (廣東福建義山之公塚), with a date of 1867 and a reign title of Emperor Tongzhi Qing Dynasty (清同治丁卯年). A community association of the Cantonese and Hokkien (廣福公司, Konghok Kongsi) erected the stone.

Chiang Chuan, Teochew, Kwong Wai Siew and Hakka people claim their ancestors as pioneers in Sibua in the nineteenth century. They recognized their connection to the pioneers buried in the graveyard and express a localized identity

to Sibü. They go there on the Qingming Festival every April 4. However, these groups never organized a united, intercommunal Qingming ritual. They visit the pavilion separately, according to a stipulated schedule from April 1 to April 4. The ceremony is a form of communal worship (公祭, *gongji*).

These sub-ethnic groups perform the ceremony in their own languages.

According to a shared legend, their forebears used to visit the pavilion on the day of the Qingming festival. The principal was: whoever arrives first, worships first. Some latecomers waited for hours. One year, a quarrel started regarding who got there first. The Rajah Government intervened and imposed a sequence: the Hakka on April 2, the Kwong Wai Siew and Teochew on April 3, and the Chiang Chuan on April 4 (Figure 1-8).

I participated in three communal ceremonies hosted by three groups, that is, the Chaing Chuan, the Teochew and the Hakka, in 2009. They all held ceremonies in the morning. They prepared chants to the ancestors and the Earth God. All three groups offer similar sacrifices: an entire uncooked pig, an entire uncooked goat, roasted chickens and ducks, reams of silver and gold spirit money. These practices came from China. Local additions are: packages of tobacco, betel nut and beer. These are indigenous customs adopted by the pioneers. Informants reported that

opium was a common offering in the past: “We used to prepare opium for the ancestors. However, the accessibility of opium was more and more difficult after the prohibition by the government. We always secretly managed to get a little bit. Around ten years ago, the ceremony host (爐主, *luzhu*, the keeper of the incense urn) could not get any opium. We had no choice. We went to the pavilion without opium. At the end of ceremony, we use divining blocks to ask our ancestors if they feel satisfied with the offering. We can always get a positive response within several trials. But at that time, we made every effort but failed. We eventually





Figure 1-8. The Sibü Teochew Association was preparing its communal worship for Qingming Festival at the Cantonese and Hokkien Graveyard Pavilion. (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 3 April 2009)

attributed the failure to the lack of opium. We pleaded with ancestors to quit using opium. They finally felt satisfied with the offering.”

The Forever Peaceful Pavilion

The Forever Peaceful Pavilion (永安亭, Eng Ann Teng), is a Chinese temple for Tua Peh Kong (大伯公, *Dabogon*). Tua Peh Kong is a common Chinese deity in Southeast Asia, but people have various opinions on its identity.⁷ In Sibü,

⁷ For example, Penang Chinese often identify Tua Peh Kong at the Sea Pearl Island (海珠嶼) as the spirit of a Hakka Chinese pioneer, Chang Li (張理), the first known Chinese settler to Penang

Hokkien and Cantonese entrepreneurs established the Tua Peh Kong temple. They are willing to equate their Tua Peh Kong to the God of prosperity, virtue and morality (福德正神, *Futezhensheng*). The inscription on the façade of its archway is Eng Ann Teng, while the title of the Temple for the God of Prosperity, Virtue and Morality (福德祠, *Futehci*) is on the back. Sibuan people call the temple Sibuan Eng Ann Teng Tua Peh Kong Temple (詩巫永安亭大伯公廟) formally or Lodge for Tua Peh Kong (大伯公庵, *Dabogongan*) informally (Figure 1-9).

before the British occupation. DeBernardi asserts that the grave and the temple for Chang Li in Penang is a new archetype for the fusion of Malaysian Chinese identity with the new land. The worship of Tua Peh Kong also resembles the Malays worship to Datuk Keramat, an animistic worship at sacred sites. Tua Peh Kong in Penang is a syncretism of the Chinese God of the Earth with a local Malay spirit. The worship is in recognition of and respect to the original spiritual protector of a land by the immigrant Chinese merchants (DeBernardi 2004: 150-2). Still, Tua Peh Kong has connection with Chinese factions in Penang, Tua Peh Kong became patron deity of a secret society, the Kian Tek Tng the “Establishing Virtue Hall”, in Penang in 1844. The Europeans always call them the Tua Peh Kong Society. The society engaged in conflict regulation among diverse Chinese communities in Penang (DeBernardi 2004: 82-84).



Figure 1-9 Eng Ann Teng. (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 28 July 2007).

Tan Chee-Beng asserts that the term Tua Peh Kong originates from the usage of Hakka and Teochew. The worship of Tua Peh Kong is an outcome of interaction between Hokkien, Teochew and Hakka in Malay Peninsula (Tan Chee-Beng 2000: 66-67). That is true in Sibuloo too. The statue of Sibuloo Tua Peh Kong came from Amoy (*Xiamen*), where the pioneers of Hokkien departed for Southeast Asia. Its birthday celebration is on the twenty-ninth of the third lunar month; the date has strong connection to the Teochew. The Teochew maintain the custom, either in their ancestral homeland in China (Zhou Daming 2006: 201) or

in their overseas settlements. A majority of the Hakka in Sarawak have ancestry from Hepo, with strong connection to Teochew. Therefore, more than seventy percent of the Tua Peh Kong Temples in Sarawak celebrate the birthday of Tua Peh Kong on that day.

The actual founding date of Eng Ann Teng Tua Beh Kong Temple is unknown. In 1871, a brief record on Sibubazaar in the Sarawak Gazette read ‘...and the Chinese have lately opened a Joss House near their bazaar’. The temple is arguably the forebear of Eng Ann Teng. The first recorded renovations of Eng Ann Teng were initiated around 1885 and completed in 1897. A stele commemorating the renovation and a statue of Tua Peh Kong survived the bombardment of the Allies in 1945 (Eng Ann Teng 2010).

The stele records the sources of donations for the renovation in 1897. The donation, 9,105 silver dollars is not merely from Sibubazaar, but also from the other Chinese communities along the Rejang and Kuching. The donation from the shops in Sibubazaar came from the Hokkien and the Cantonese. The former takes the lead in population and amount of money donated.⁸ Fang Nien Sheng infers the

⁸ The Hokkien offered 4,387 silver dollars and their umbrella organization Hokkien Kongsi donated 2,000 silver dollars alone. The Cantonese offered 151 dollars from 13 shops (Fang Nien Sheng 1993: 44-49). The amount of donations suggests the economic power of the Hokkien in Sibubazaar at the turn of the twentieth century, especially their control over the affairs of Eng Ann Teng.

rear hall of the temple 'must be' the gathering hall of Hokkien Kongsì and the Sibu Chinese community (Fang Nien Sheng 1993: 16).

The first renovation of Eng Ann Teng highlights a prosperous business of Hokkien in Sibu. They accumulated a large fortune and were willing to build an authentic Chinese temple. The materials, carpenters and the statutes came from Amoy. Now we can hardly find photos of the 1897 Eng Ann Teng. Fortunately, Kapit, another town in the Rejang, built its Tua Peh Kong temple Fortune and Prosperous Pavilion (福隆亭, Hock Leong Teng) in 1898. The temple maintains the original wooden structure. A Chinese leader in Kapit asserts the same carpenters built Hock Leong Teng after they completed Eng Ann Teng. Therefore, the Hock Leong Teng is a reflection of Eng Ann Teng in the past. The temple is composed of an archway, the pavilion for Heavenly Emperor and the main hall, as shown on Figure 1-10.



Figure 1-10 The pavilion for Heavenly Emperor and the main hall of Hock Leong Teng, Kapit. (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 27 September 2009)

Supra-factional Organization and Eng Ann Teng

The Chinese people organized a supra-factional (超幫, *chaobang*) organization in every town in Southeast Asia to defend their common interests and settle disputes. The first supra-factional association in Sibuluan is arguably Konghok Kongsu (廣福公司) in 1867, as shown in the Konghok Shanting. Unfortunately, we have few pieces of literature on the association.

The second supra-factional association is Eng Ann Teng Tua Peh Kong

Temple. Founded around the 1870s, the Hokkien Fellow (福建幫, *Fujian bang*) and the Cantonese Fellow (廣東幫, *Guangdong bang*) established the temple. Later, in the 1920s, the Tua Peh Kong Temple incorporated non-Christian Foochow settlers as committee members. Now the committee is a charity trust under state supervision, composed of representatives from seven sub-ethnic groups. Some of them are honorary chairmen in their regional-language-based associations.

The third supra-factional organization was the Sibü Chinese Chamber of Commerce (詩巫中華商會, SCCC). The chairman of the Chinese Sojourner Club (詩巫華僑俱樂部), a Teochew landowner and a member of the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT), Chen Chong Chi (陳仲箎), proposed the organization in 1931. The organization followed the model of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce, the SCCC was composed of seventeen representatives from all the sub-ethnic groups by population ratio. They were five members from the Foochow, five from the Hokkien, six from the Cantonese, and one from the Hinghua. The urban Hokkien maintained the chairmanship of the SCCC until 1957 (SCGCC 1979: 271-273). The taking over by the Foochow reflect their growing economic and political dominance. I discuss the role of the SCCC in detail in Chapter 4.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter provided an overview on the history, population ratio and geography of Chinese community in Sarawak and Sibü. Historically speaking, the early trade from the Tang Dynasty left the remains in archaeological sites and in the treasury ceramic kept by the tribal persons. However, the establishment of Chinese settlers occurred under the relatively stable rule of Rajah Brooke and the rise of Singapore in the nineteenth century. Chinese population gradually rose and reached a stable 20 to 30 percent of the total population from the early twentieth century.

The composition of Chinese sub-ethnic groups in Sibü is as complex as the counterparts in the other cities in Malaysia. But the percentage of Foochow people is extraordinarily high in Sibü. This has led to a Foochow-dominant situation in the recent five decades. People may easily ignore the other sub-ethnic groups in Sibü.

The Chinese pioneers established the Sibü bazaar in the 1850s. Their descendents maintain the Qingming communal ceremony and the Eng Ann Teng Tua Peh Kong Temple. Along with the early transactional organizations, they

symbolize a connection to the nineteenth century pioneers.

Nevertheless, the situation has changed dramatically since the Foochow and other agricultural migrants arrived in 1901. I turn to the Foochow in Chapter II.

Chapter 2. The Foochow in Sibü: Settlements, Religions and Developments

In Chapter 1, I introduced the Chinese pioneers who settled in Sibü bazaar since the 1850s. Their descendents maintain the traditional Chinese calendar, Qing-ming Communal Worship and the Tua Peh Kong temple.

The newcomers in the beginning of the twentieth century have another story. Methodist Wong Nai Siong (黃乃裳, *Huang Naishang*) led some 1,118 Foochow migrants to Sibü in 1901. Wong was seeking to save the Foochow migrants from impoverishment through the settlement project. Decades later, a seminal local historian Lau Tzy Chen (劉子政, *Liu Zizheng*) published a book, *Wong Nai Siong and New Foochow* (黃乃裳與新福州) (Lau Tzy Chen 1978). Lau reviewed the historical materials and reappraised the status of Wong Nai Siong. Singapore-based Nanyang Academy published the first edition of the book; therefore, the book received more academic attention than any other local publications. Scholars continue to build on Lau's work. They explore the historical status of Wong Nai Siong in Foochow, Sibü and Singapore (Yeap 1995, 2001; Huang Jian Chun 2009; Lin Jihping 1994; Leung 2002; Pang 2008). These writers underscore the connection between the Foochow and the Methodists. However, the viewpoint may overlook diversified religious affiliations among the

Foochow. We also need to take a close look at the latter development of the Foochow.

To gain a comprehensive understanding of the Foochow in Sibü, I review the settlement, religious diversity and development of the Foochow in Sibü in this chapter. In the first part of the chapter, I introduce the settlement policy of the Rajah Government, the establishment of Methodist Church in Foochow and the connection with the Singapore Christianity network. In the second part, I discuss the diversified Foochow religious affiliations. Finally, I review the recent politico-economic developments of the Foochow.

Christianity and the Foochow Migration to Sibü

Rajah Brooke assumed that the Rejang alluvial plain could attract Chinese farmers. These farmers could then supply food to other immigrants. He issued the “Notification of the Rejang Settlement” on 11 November 1880. The Rajah offered free land, temporary housing, free staples for a year, and police protection as incentives (Sarawak Gazette, 29 November 1880. cf. Kiu 1998: 186). However, only twenty years later did a large number of Chinese agricultural migrants settle in Sibü, including Foochow, Hinghua and Vuining people. They arrived at Sibü to

establish rural settlements from 1901 to 1912. The largest influx was 1,118

Foochow people in 1901 under the arrangement of a Methodist preacher Wong

Nai Siong. The Vuining and the Hinghua went to Sibiu in 1902 and 1912.

These newcomers built agricultural settlements along the Rejang; therefore, they did not compete with the bazaar-dwelling Chiang Chuan, Teochew, Hakka and Kwong Wai Siew. The Rajah offered the land downstream from the Sibiu bazaar to the Foochow, and the land upstream to the Vuining. The Hinghua shared their Methodist backgrounds with the Foochow. The Hinghua settled in the first Foochow settlement Sungai Merah and spread to neighboring settlements (Figure 2-1).

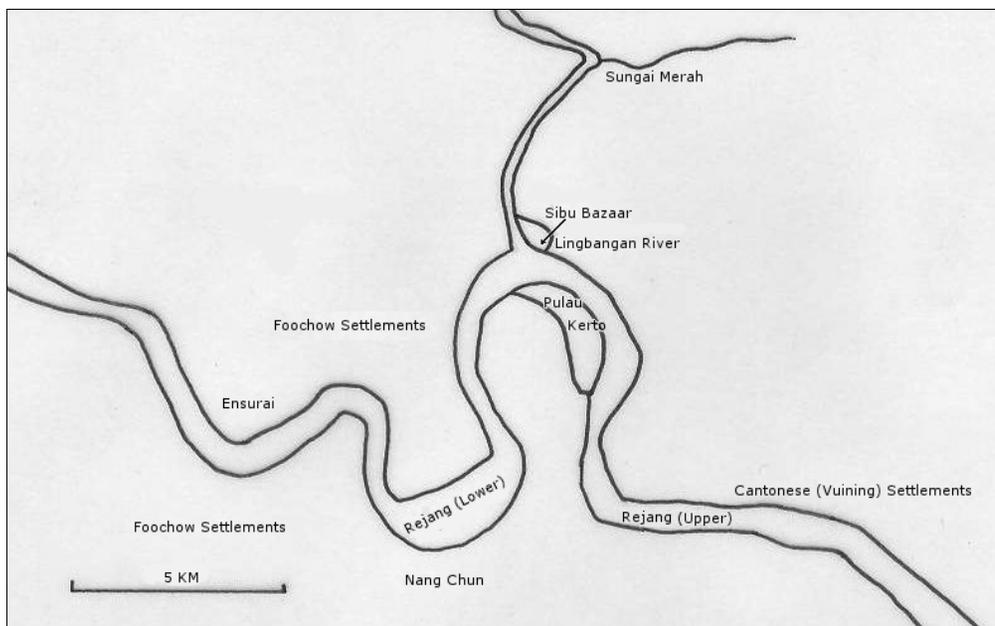


Figure 2-1 Early Settlements of Sibiu in the early 20th Century.

Source: Drawn by Hsu Yu-tsun

Methodists in China and Foochow

Foochow was among the five Treaty Ports where British subjects could reside for mercantile and missionary purposes from 1842. The first Methodist missionaries arrived at Foochow on 6 September 1847 (Carlson 1974: 5).

Foochow was the first place in China where American Methodists went as missionaries. Foochow Prefecture became the largest outpost of the Methodists in China. Meanwhile, the Methodists managed to become the largest Protestant Christian denomination in Foochow (Dunch 2001: 17-23).

Missionaries undertook the translation of the Bible into Chinese and local vernaculars as the most important work in the beginning of preaching. The work can be dated back to the efforts by Robert Morrison, the first missionary of the London Missionary Society to China. He translated the New Testament into Chinese from 1807 to 1819, but the translation was not satisfactory. The opening of treaty ports in 1842 was a stimulus for the missionaries to revise and retranslate the Bible in Chinese. The London Missionary Society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and other parishes organized a joint committee of revision in Shanghai. They completed the translation of the New Testament in 1850 (Wu 2006: 22-26). Missionary groups in Foochow gathered at

least once a week to study the new translation and they worked on the Foochow colloquial translation. The “first uniform” or “standard” edition of the New Testament in Foochow colloquial Chinese was published in 1866 (Carlson 1974: 58-59, 61).

The Methodist Church baptized its first Foochow convert in June 1857. By 1860, it had fifty-four members in two churches (Carlson 1974: 67). Its growth in native helpers was evident: it had seven helpers in 1862, and 13 full-time helpers and 36 student helpers in 1869 (Carlson 1974: 79). The Methodist mission tried to set foot in satellite counties of Foochow Prefecture. It opened outposts in Kutien (古田, *Gutien*), Hokchia (福清, *Fuqing*), and Minkiang (閩清, *Minqing*) in 1864. The Methodist mission’s work expanded southward into Hinghua Prefecture (興化, *Xinghua*) in 1867. The number of stations grew quickly, and the Methodist Mission had 77 halls or other places of worship in Foochow and Hinghua in 1880 (*ibid*: 95).

Wong Nai Siong, Chinese Revolutionary and the Immigration Project

Wong Nai Siong (黃乃裳, *Huang Naishang*) (1849-1924) was born in Minkiang. He was baptized into the Methodist church and joined the Foochow

Annual Conference in 1866. Wong started his preaching the next year. When he was undergoing his training, people despised the church for its lack of literati members. Therefore, he sat in on the provincial examination and earned the *ju-ren* degree, i.e., First-degree scholar, in 1894 at age 40. He became acquainted with revolutionary Kang Youwei and other literati when he attended the national examination in the late 1890s (Yeap 2001: 1-5). Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao led the short-lived 'Hundred Day's Reform' in 1898, in which Wong Nai Siong participated. Wong fled from Beijing to Foochow. He soon led his family to Singapore.

Wong sought for virgin land where his people could rid themselves of impoverishment. He regarded the alluvial plain of the Rejang as a promised land. Besides, the Rajah encouraged group migration. He went to Kuching and drafted a contract with the Rajah with the assistance of local Kapitan China, Ong Tiang Swee (王長水, *Wang Changshui*), the leader of the Chinese community in Kuching. The contract was signed on 27 July, 1900. Wong promised to recruit one thousand male and female farmers and three hundred children by 30 June, 1902 (Lau Tzy Cheng 1998: 5-11). Wong returned to Foochow to recruit farmers, mainly from interior counties such as Minkiang, Kutien and others, with the

assistance of the Methodist church and local elites (Leung 2006: 146). For example, he invited Kutien-based Reverend Ting Tiong Hie (陳常惠, *Chen Changhui*) to participate in the business of immigration. The first group of immigrants left Foochow on 23 December, 1900 and arrived at Sibu on 20 Feb, 1901 (Ting 1952: 49-50).

Wong recruited three groups of migrants totaling 1,118 persons by the end of the allotted time. The Foochow pioneers were unique for their agricultural subsistence, family mode of migration and Christian backgrounds. These characteristics formed a sharp contrast to other Chinese overseas pioneers in Southeast Asia. The latter went into business and mining, practiced bachelor migration and professed traditional Chinese religions.

Wong Nai Siong organized a “New Foochow Agricultural Company” (新福州墾場公司, *Xin Fuzhou Kenchang Kongsu*) to manage the settlement. However, migrants and the Rajah discredited Wong for his awkward management and meager agricultural knowledge. Wong was not able to repay the loan to the Rajah. In 1904, the Rajah ordered Wong to leave (Leung 2006: 163-164). An American missionary from Singapore Rev James Hoover (1872-1935) replaced Wong and became the leader of the Foochow Settlement.

Incorporation into the Methodist Network in Singapore

Robert Morrison, the first missionary of the London Missionary Society (LMS) to China, also laid the foundation of Christianity in Singapore. While Morrison was famous for his missionary work in China from 1807 to 1834, he also surveyed the possible mission opportunities in Malacca and Singapore. Morrison sent William Milne to Malacca in 1815 and then asked him to transfer the base to Singapore. Thereafter, a number of missionaries arrived in Singapore to serve their European congregations and to vie for local converts. The first Methodist missionaries, the Oldhams from India, arrived in Singapore in 1885. They established the first Methodist church and Anglo-Chinese schools in Singapore (Goh 2003: 97-101).

The Foochow Methodist migrants immediately built connections with Singapore. They transferred their affiliation to the Borneo Chinese Work under the Singapore Parish¹. The Foochow built their first chapel soon after the landing of the second group on 16 March, 1901. The Singapore Parish supported the building of five chapels and a school in Sibu by 1903. In the same year, it appointed Rev

¹ The Methodist Church of Malaya (its sphere included Malaya, Singapore, Borneo and Indonesia) was established in 1889. The Malaysia Mission Conference was established and subdivided into Singapore Parish and Melaka Parish in 1893. Its organization further expanded after the Malaysia Annual Conference in 1902 (Wong Meng Lei 2007: 57-59).

James Hoover to Sibü (Wong Meng Lei 2007: 57-59).

The appointment of Reverend Hoover as “the leader of the Foochow settlement” in 1904 greatly enforced the connection of Foochow Methodists with Singapore. Reverend Hoover single-handedly managed the Chinese Methodist Church in Sarawak from 1903 to 1935. The number of Methodist churches in Sarawak grew from 3 to 43 in this time period. He established the Masland Church (Figure 2-2) in Sibü bazaar as the head office in 1905. Reverend Hoover frequently visited Kuching and Singapore to reinforce the relationship between the Rajah and the Church.

Economic Strategy of Rajah Brookes and the Foochow’s Prewar Expansion

The Rajah Government objected to the development of a large-scale cash crop economy and discouraged the presence of major foreign companies in Sarawak. He allowed rubber, coffee and pepper plantations to be owned as small-holdings (Talib 1999:49). This policy greatly enhanced the colonization of Chinese agriculturists. They could maintain customary domestic modes of production. When Wong Nai Siong signed the contract in 1900, the Rajah promised to waive the land tax for twenty years, and every acre would be taxed



Figure 2-2 The Masland Church (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 3 August 2007).

ten cents per year after the twenty-first year. The Rajah also provided a loan for living and traveling costs (Lau Tzy Cheng 1998: 25).

Exemption of Loan

The Foochow migrants soon found that the Rejang was not an ideal place for rice cultivation due to its poor soil. Almost half of them fled or returned to China

in the first three years of the New Foochow settlement. Some six hundred people stayed because they were unable to clear their loans. In 1906, when Bishop William Oldham visited Sibul, the representatives from the Christian settlements requested the loans be waived. When the Rajah visited Sibul on 15 July 1909, the representatives told him of the hardships of the settlement and he promised to waive the loans. In August 1909, he agreed to set aside twelve square miles of the river bank on both sides of the Rejang as a concession to the Foochow. No local Iban were allowed on the reserve. The concession also granted the land titles, i.e., the ownership of land, to Chinese farmers. It was an incentive to attract more immigrants (Chew 2004: 153; Lau Tzy Cheng 1998: 25-26). The land rights were transferred from the New Foochow Agricultural Company to the small-landholders (Choo 1998: 98). The Rajah granted the reserve to encourage the Foochow to cultivate rubber and to prevent ethnic conflict (Chew 2004:153).

Expansion of the Foochow before WWII

The policy favoring small holdings maintained the rubber plantation management in Sarawak in the hands of small-landholders, i.e., family farms. Churches served as the basic socializing channels for the agriculturists in

Foochow settlements. Churches were also the prime movers of the rural economy. They introduced rubber plantations and provided economic mutual aids and education.

The success of the introduction of rubber in the late 1900s turned the lives of the Foochow around. The Foochow newcomers and land titles began to increase in 1910. The rising price of natural rubber from 1909 to 1911 attracted some two thousand Foochow newcomers. The population increased dramatically during the years 1924 to 1929. The official statistics indicated that 2,190 Foochow newcomers arrived in 1925 alone (Chew 2004: 171). Due to a shortage of cultivated land around Sibuluan, newcomers applied for land titles throughout the Rejang, including the downriver towns of Sirikei and Binatang and upriver towns of Kanowit and Kapit. The Foochow opened 18 new settlements by 1925. They also established settlements in other divisions, including Simanggang in the Second Division, Bintulu and Dalat in the Third Division, Marudi in the Fourth Division, as well as Limbang and Lawas in the Fifth Division (Kiu 1997, Chan 1999: 27). However, as the rubber prices dropped off and Sarawak became a signatory of the international rubber restriction scheme, immigrant restrictions were enforced after 1934 (Chew 2004: 173).

Having accumulated capital from plantation farming, the Foochow ran businesses in the Sibü bazaar. They now competed with the bazaar-dwelling people. They also took seats in the Sibü Chinese Chamber of Commerce when it was founded in 1930.

Diversified Religious Affiliations of the Foochow

Religion affiliations of the Sibü Foochow are diverse. When the Foochow established rural settlements, a combination of church, school and households took root in every village. However, Christianity is not the sole religion of the Sibü Foochow. Non-Christian Foochow also joined the migration. Some Christians converted to Chinese traditional religions. Foochow people maintained Taoist altars and temples in villages and bazaar areas. I will review their religious affiliations from both the Christian side and non-Christian side.

Christian Foochow

The Foochow consider a majority of their numbers to be Christians. They always attributed this phenomenon to the fact that Wong Nai Siong, a Methodist preacher, organized the first group of Foochow migrants. Naturally he recruited

more Christians than non-Christians.

However, Wong Nai Siong was not the sole factor. Another factor is the competition between Christian denominations. The Methodists are not the only Christian denomination in Sibul. The Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches were established in Sibul before the Methodists came to the area. Even though the Anglican Church in Sibul is limited to native government officers, the Roman Catholic has been a powerful rival to the Methodists.

Father Cornelius Keet established the first Roman Catholic Church in Sibul at the Mill Hill in 1899. The Roman Catholic Church began to preach to the Christian Foochow in 1902. The Church successfully established two cathedrals in Sibul bazaar (Figure 2-3) and a satellite town Sungai Merah. It also built 13 churches and schools in rural areas (Wong Meng Lei 2007: 35).

When the Foochow flocked into urban and suburban area, the organization of churches expanded as a result. The Masland Church, the only Methodist church in the Sibul bazaar, was full during the accelerated urbanization in the 1970s. People had to walk a long distance from their houses for services. The Methodist established new churches in new suburban neighborhoods from the late 1960s to the 1980s, to alleviate the burden of the Masland Church.



Figure 2-3 The Christmas Mass in the Sacred Heart Cathedral, Sibuan
 (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 24 December 2008)

Meanwhile, evangelical denominations, for example, the Borneo Evangelical Church (*Sidang Injil Borneo*, SIB), began to preach in Sibuan. All the denominations of Christianity in Sibuan organized an annual united carol service in the 1980s. Congregations from every denomination gather in the Sibuan Town Square on a Saturday night one week before Christmas Eve. These gatherings

always involve more than two thousand participants. At the United Carol Service of 2009, representatives from four major denominations, Roman Catholics, the Methodists, the SIBs and the Anglicans, they respectively pray in English, Mandarin, Iban and Malay.

After the prayers, the congregation parades around downtown Sibuhay. The parade comprises choirs, floats, brass bands and followers. People cheerfully express their love for Jesus and the love of Jesus. The activity has spread to neighboring townships of Sarikei, Bindangor and Kapit.



Figure 2-4 Singing hymns in the United Carol Service (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 20 December 2008)

People used to consider Christianity to be a Foochow religion. Now it attracts many non-Foochow people. The Methodist church tries to diminish the stereotype too. The language for services was the Foochow vernacular, but now the services are conducted in Mandarin or English.

Traditional religion believers are aware of the competition from Christianity. Some trustee members of the Sibu Tua Peh Kong Temple realize that they are the only traditional religion followers in their families. They attribute the growth of Christianity to theological education and peer pressure in the church-sponsored kindergartens and schools.

Chinese Traditional Religions

Let me turn to the non-Christian side. Foochow believers in the Chinese traditional religion, most of them wharf workers, founded a Chinese drama-club-and-temple complex in 1938. They named it the Communal Entertainment Club and the Palace for the Marshal of Celestial Capital (同樂社探花府, Tung Lok Sie Tan Hua Foo). The Communal Entertainment Club (Tung Lok Sie) means the association for performing opera as an entertainment. It is also named the Amateur Opera Troupe (工餘歌劇團) (Tung Lok Sie Tan Hua Fu 1992:

86). The second part of its name, Tan Hua Foo, means the Palace for the Marshal of Celestial Capital (田都元帥, *Tien Du Yuan Shuai*). The Marshall was a local god who mastered curing illness, expelling epidemics, playing music and songs, and performing martial arts. He became the guardian god of theatrical companies (Hsu Ya Shiang 2011).

The Communal Entertainment Club performed Foochow operas and Peking operas at the birthday ceremony of the Marshal of Celestial Capital on the twenty-third day of the eighth Chinese lunar month. The temple has maintained traditional Foochow customs of tiger dancing, dragon dancing, and walking-on-stilts since the 1930s. It has also housed a Taoist altar named the Salvation Altar (濟生壇, *Ji Sheng Tan*). The altar originates from the Lushan Faction (閩山派), a Foochow Taoist tradition from the Min River (閩江, the river that flows through Foochow) area (Tung Lok Sie Tan Hua Foo 1992: 86)².

Nowadays, Tung Lok Sie Tan Hua Foo is still a Foochow temple. Its spirit mediums and Taoist priest perform their jobs in Foochow vernacular. Most of its committee members are Foochow. Furthermore, the Tung Lok Sie Tan Hua Foo is the pilgrimage destination for the Foochow altars and temples in the Rejang. They

² Late master Lau Ban Sen (劉邦銑) of the Salvation Altar and his successor Ho Tzu Yun (何子雲) have performed Taoist rituals for more than six decades (Tan Hua Foo 1992: 86).

attend the birthday celebration of Marshal of Celestial Capital. Most of them share the name Tan Hua Foo.

Economic Expansion of the Foochow after the WWII

The 1950s was a watershed of the demographic component of Sibuan bazaar. Before then, we can demarcate the Sibuan Chinese into the bazaar-dwelling and the rural-dwelling communities. After the 1950s, the Foochow Chinese had mostly moved to the Sibuan bazaar, where they assumed a dominating status. The transformation was gradual from the late 1940s to 1970, but it suddenly accelerated after 1970.

A demographic statistic shows the gradual urbanization of the Foochow population from 1947 to 1970. The urban-dwelling Foochow numbered only 3,068, or 13.4 percent of the total population of the Foochow in greater Sibuan (22,971). The number grew to 23,214 or 54.3 percent of the total population of the Foochow (42,997) in 1970 (Lin Yi Hui 1999: 94-95). The demand for rubber rose due to the Korean War and the growth of the world economy and its price rose as a result. The Foochow benefited and invested in commerce and industry. The Foochow spread into almost all the cities and towns in Sarawak, but the Rejang

was still the base where they maintained a farming livelihood by 1970.

During the late 1960s and the early 1970s, the Northern Kalimantan (Sarawak) Communist guerillas gave a final blow to the agricultural livelihood. Their activities posed a threat to the security of Sibuh and the Rejang. Government implemented martial law in rural areas for 74 days, starting on 21 August 1970. Local farmers abandoned rubber tapping, which was always done in the early morning. Rural-dwelling peoples largely moved to the urban and suburban areas (Wong Jao Fa 2002: 53). The peace agreement between the guerillas and the government in 1974 ended the disturbance. The Foochow experienced dramatic economic changes. Many rural residents moved into Sibuh and became businessmen, professionals or wage laborers. Another agricultural migration wave occurred during this period with some people moving to the emerging cities of Bintulu and Miri (Chan Eng Seng 1999: 29).

Partnership and the Foochow in Sibuh Bazaar

Sibuh Foochow people always attribute their business success to a traditional partnership (合股, *hegu*). A historian on Chinese Christianity, Zhu Feng discusses the tradition under the supervision of the Church. The Methodist Church always

sought Foochow partners for new enterprises, for example, the first electronic power company in Sibiu. The supervision by the Church was the secret of success. Thus, the Foochow established capitalism in the Protestant spirit (Zhu Feng 2009: 117).

In the post-war years, partnership was prevalent in all kinds of economic organization run by the Foochow, including commercial companies, bazaar shops, village-based cooperatives and rubber wholesalers. Foochow individuals might not have adequate capital to compete with the well-established Hokkien bazaar dwellers in the 1950s. The only way to manage a shop was to pool capital from relatives and friends.

Foochow shops had potential rural supporters. They soon established connections with cooperatives in every village. These cooperatives took orders from villagers and Foochow shops filled the orders. They dealt a blow to the old Hokkien bazaar businessmen. The rural Foochow people used to visit bazaars to buy their necessities with a one-to-two-hour boat trip, but now they could easily get them within walking distance. Some Hokkien shop owners chose to sell their shops on Channel Street to the Foochow. Eventually the Foochow took a leading role in local business.

An informant describes the transition by a contrast between the Hokkien and the Foochow: “The Hokkien were dominant. They owned most of the shops on Channel Street. They did business with natives and Chinese for decades. They accumulated credit with the customers and managed a stable business. Their descendants became ‘*A Sia*’, persons born in wealthy families. They had lavish lifestyles. *A Sia* were not aware that they had to work hard to maintain the ancestral property. All they did was indulge in cockfighting and gambling. They were proud of their fighting cocks. They refused to bargain with their customers. They only replied: ‘You may bargain at the other shops, not at mine’. However, when the Foochow began to manage their shops, they soon realized the importance of lowering the price to attract new customers.”

He continued, “Another factor in the success of the Foochow in business is land. Some customers bought too much on credit. They could not repay their debts. They would take their land grants to the shops for clearance. The Hokkien had long lived in the bazaar, so they naturally thought the land far away was penniless. The Foochow had rural experience, so they had a better understanding of the potential value of land. Once the road construction advanced, these lands became ideal site for residential and industrial development. However, now the

Foochow are rich. Some have become *A Sia*.”

The transformation is not reversible, though. Even though some of the Foochow have become *A Sia*, most of them are hard working. The Foochow take all kind of jobs. Hokkien and other sub-groups see no chance to turn the tables and improve their standing. For example, a coffee shop in Old Street is reminiscent of a glory tradition of Hainan. But the Foochow run more than three hundred coffee shops in Sibubazaar and its satellite towns.

Managing Economic and Symbolic Capital

The Foochow not only broke the vocational specialization in Sibubazaar, but also gained dominance in economic capital through banking and the timber industry. In a latter development, Foochow tycoons transferred the accumulated economic capital into symbolic capital. They pursued the political positions and vied for chairmanship in voluntary associations.

Bank of the Foochow Chinese

The Bank of the Foochow Chinese (福華銀行, Hock Hua Bank) is truly a bank of the Sibubazaar Foochow. The Foochow leaders organized it in 1951. Its first

outlet was on the ground floor of the Sibü Foochow Association. It had established outlets in cities and towns in Malaysia (Chan 1999:34-5).

The bank successfully accumulated the surplus of agriculture for business and industrial investment. The rural Foochow people profited from the rising rubber prices in the 1950s, but they had relatively few commercial and industrial investments in Sibü bazaar.

John Ting (陳錫監, *Chen Xijian*) was the former CEO of the Hock Hua Bank. He was the son of the founder of the Hock Hua Bank, Ting Lik Hung (陳立訓, *Chen Lixun*). John Ting recollected the bank's history, saying that capital was hard to raise in the early 1950s. His father and many other businessmen went to the villages. Villagers felt surprised by the visits of prominent Foochow community leaders. They were willing to turn their savings into shares. Nevertheless, the bank could only raise half of the minimum required capital for official registration in the first year. Later, the bank invited the Sibü Kutien (*Gutien*) Association and the Sibü Minkiang (*Minqing*) Association to invest. Both associations were for the fundraising for schools in China. However, they could not remit the donations to China in the 1950s. Their accumulated capital became an investment in the Hock Hua Bank.

The bank was hugely profitable and became a ready channel for the Foochow entrepreneurs. One informant described its *guanxi* (relationship-oriented) management with the following case: ‘The Foochow Chinese Bank helped Foochow compatriots. If a Foochow businessman wanted to grant a loan from the bank, then he would visit the manager and describe the business opportunity. The general manager would write a memo to the clerks. The businessman could get an immediate loan’. In several cases, the Foochow successfully bid for timber contracts with the instant support from the Hock Hua Bank.

Timber industry

The Timber industry has surpassed rubber and become the major industry in Sibul since the 1960s. The huge profits from the timber industry made the Foochow ever richer. In Sarawak, the timber industry has become the major export next to the state-controlled petroleum industry since then. Even though the profits from petroleum are now higher, the Sarawak State Government only receives a 5% share of the tax. However, the state government is the sole tax collector of the timber trade with a rate of 20 percent (Chan 1999: 32).

The timber industry is especially important for the Sibul Foochow in terms of

the location and manpower. First of all, Sibul is the business hub of the Rejang. The huge reserve of the timber in the 700-hundred-kilometer long river and the smooth sailing channel makes Sibul the best location for timber industry. Secondly, the Sibul Foochow consider themselves to have good manpower for the timber industry. Their rural background helps them to overcome the harsh life in the remote rainforest. Chiang Chuan people admit they are basically urbanites. Living in the jungle is unimaginable for them.

Several prominent Sibul-based transnational enterprises share backgrounds in the timber industry. They all trace their history to the 1950s and 1960s; these enterprises include the WTK Organization (1950), the Der Da Company (1962), the Sarawak Joint Timber Company (1954), and the KTS Company (1962) (Sibul Foochow Association 1971: 169-175). The world famous company *Rimbunan Hijau* (Ever Green) was founded in 1975.

Pursuing Political Power

Foochow merchants and professionals participated in the national and regional elections. They earned honored titles offered by the State Governor or the Supreme Head of State (Malay: *Yang di-Pertuan Agong*). They also competed for

the chairmanships in associations.

Some people attribute the increasing number of Chinese associations to the competition in certain associations. The losers of an association election may choose to organize a new association if he sees little chance in the foreseeable future.

Those who win the major positions try to create reputations for themselves. They are eager to rebuild their halls of associations, churches and schools. They donate to schools and ancestral halls in their ancestral homelands. The competitions have become more and more intense in the cultural revitalization and the reestablishment of transnational networks since the 1980s.

Recent Expansion of the Foochow

Chua Chen Choon analyzes the internal migration of the Foochow in Sarawak (Chua 2004). An uneasy relationship resulting from the latest Foochow migration is a hot topic in the main cities and towns in Sarawak.

The rural- and agricultural-oriented Foochow moved into cities and towns across Sarawak, and they became urbanized and business-oriented. It has been especially obvious in the cities of the gas industry since the 1980s, such as Bintulu

and Miri. Chua also observed that the Foochow moved into Kuching with unanticipated speed in the 1990s (Chua Cheen Chong 2004: 90). A manager of a hostel told me that more than sixty thousand Foochow have moved from Sibü into Kuching in the last decade.

According to Chua Cheen Chong, the influx of the Foochow into business posed a threat to other sub-ethnic groups which had managed to do business with wholesalers in Singapore and the local natives for centuries. The Foochow have based their capital on the rubber and timber industries since the 1960s. Local people elaborate a so-called “spirit of Methodists in Sarawak”, as the Protestant spirit in Europe and the United States, to explain the success of Foochow in plantation and business. The Church also provides a vehicle for exchanging business information and providing mutual assistance (Chua Cheen Chong 2004: 97).

Another critical factor for the success of the Foochow is education. Early chapels were simultaneously schools and worship places. The educational system from kindergarten to high school in Sibü had been well-established in 1949 by the Methodists (Wong Meng Lei 2007: 68) who provided Anglo-Chinese educations. Partly due to their capital accumulation, they could afford overseas education for

their children in the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Australia, Singapore and Taiwan. However, most of those who studied abroad before the 1990s chose not to return. After the 1990s, the government loosened the ethnic discrimination policy and living conditions in Sarawak have improved. Some professionals returned but they could not find proper jobs in Sibü; therefore, the more prosperous and cosmopolitan capital cities Kuching, Kuala Lumpur or Kota Kinabalu became reasonable alternatives. Some retirees moved to Kuching to join their children. When students graduated and took root in advanced countries, their parents also led transnational lives.

Concluding Remark

In this chapter, I have investigated the settlements, religious affiliation and recent developments of the Foochow in Sibü. Wong Nai Siong led the Foochow to establish their largest overseas settlement under the context of an agricultural settlement project by Rajah Brooke. The Methodist background of Wong made the majority of the migrants Christian. Revered Hoover utilized his relationship with the Rajah and Singapore to help the Foochow take root in Sibü and other cities and towns in Sarawak.

However, the Foochow are a diversified group in terms of their religious affiliations. Some of them are Christians of several denominations; some of them are traditional Chinese religion believers. A Foochow style drama-and-temple complex took root in Sibü and surrounding towns.

The Foochow changed their rural living orientation in the 1950s. They utilized the accumulated capital from rubber plantations to invest in industry and business. The Foochow benefited from their church organizations and the partnerships. The timber industry boom from the 1960s to 1990s brought an economic peak. The disturbance of Communist guerrillas brought a final blow to the rural lifestyle. The Foochow have also enjoyed politico-economic power in Sibü since the 1960s.

The Foochow soon turned their local businesses into international ones. They enhanced their economic and symbolic capitals simultaneously. I turn to the transnational network of Sibü Chinese in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3. A Localized Chinese Culture

In 1955, PRC Premier Zhou Enlai announced at the Asian-African Conference at Bandung Indonesia that the Chinese overseas should seek to take root in their host countries and become citizens. Following the announcement, scholars agree that the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia had transformed their identities from sojourners to settlers as a result. Their endonyms have changed from *Huaqiao* (華僑, Chinese sojourners) to *Huaren* (華人, Chinese people), *Huazu* (華族, Chinese ethnic group) or *Huayi* (華裔, Chinese descendants) (Chua Chung Toi 1992: 199-201, see also Wang 2003, Huang 1999).

As shown in the previous chapters, however, the Sibu Chinese community maintains a segment of society composed of discrete sub-ethnic groups. Even though they are willing to call themselves *Huaren*, to what extent can we call these communities a society? In other words, can we find shared cultural elements among these sub-ethnic groups? What is the internal relationship of the so-called Chinese society? What is its ethnic relationship with other ethnic groups?

I assert that a shared Chinese culture comes from the contact with the cultural centers and the similar functions and structures of the associations. The Chinese communities also share the traditional religions and festivals, creolization

of language, and newspapers as a common socializing platform.

Food is also a vehicle for socializing in Chinese communities. Coffee shop gatherings and formal functions are two specific settings Chinese use to share food and reproduce their internal hierarchy. Food serves as a vehicle for maintaining and crossing the ethnic boundaries between Chinese and the natives.

The Interaction with Chinese Cultural Centers

Cultural identity of Chinese overseas is always the consequence of interplay between the local community, cultural centers in China, and the host country's government. As I discuss in the Introduction, Wang Gungwu has suggested that the globalization of Chinese society and culture has been going on for at least 150 years. Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan, respectively, have played the role of cultural centers in different periods, where the Chinese overseas could look for guidance about Chinese heritage (Wang 2004: 31).

In the relationship between the Sibu Chinese and the cultural centers, two turning points are notable. The first one was the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. The migration of the Chinese people between Sibu and China was interrupted. The second one was the end of the Cold War and

the acceleration of globalization in the late 1980s. Transnational trade alliances emerged and replaced the confrontation of ideologies.

The British government established diplomatic relations with the PRC in January 1950, soon after the Chinese Communist Party announced the founding of the PRC in October 1949. The gesture greatly inspired the Chinese leftists in Sarawak. They organized celebration parades in Kuching and Sibu in January and February, 1950. However, the British government suppressed the Sarawak leftists through the Emergency Act and many other Acts from 1952 to 1962. The government arrested and exiled activists to the PRC. It also banned left-leaning newspapers and books (Lau Tzy Cheng 1992).

From the 1950s to the late 1970s, the British government and the Malaysian government prohibited Sarawak citizens from visiting the PRC. They also forbade those who returned to the PRC to enter Sarawak again.

I investigate the interaction between the Sibu Chinese with the cultural centers. I review the cultural resources offered from Singapore, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan during the interruption with China. Secondly, I look into the role of China and other cultural centers after 1974.

Singapore

Singapore is a hub of Chinese in Southeast Asia. As we have seen in previous chapters, the city has had strong connections with Sibu in business and religion since the mid-nineteenth century. In the post-war time, the relationship became stronger. Two notable events were the founding of Nanyang University in the 1950s and the reestablishment of the transnational networks in the 1980s.

The Chinese society in Singapore organized Nanyang University in 1956. The purpose of the university was to tackle the shortage of Chinese teachers in Southeast Asia. The Chinese-mediated primary and high schools in Southeast Asia used to recruit teachers from China, but the Cold War interrupted this channel.

The founding of Nanyang University was a realization of a complete Chinese education stream from primary school through university. However, the dream collapsed soon. Nanyang University underwent a major transformation under the pro-English policy of Singapore since 1975. The government changed its medium of instruction from Mandarin to English, except for the classes in the Department of Chinese and Department of Chinese History. In 1980, Nanyang University merged with the Singapore University to become the National University of Singapore (Malaya Alumni Association of the Nanyang University 2002).

Nanyang University was a channel to continue Chinese-mediated education for the Sibu Chinese people. The alumni of the university were active from the 1970s. They were, however, unable to sustain their influence after the merger.

Singapore joined the Federation of Malaysia in 1963 but chose to become independent in 1965. The New Economic Policy of Malaysia in 1970 forced the Malaysian Chinese to seek regional alliances on the basis of sub-ethnic groups. Singapore Chinese supported Malaysian Chinese in managing transnational networks when the work was sensitive to the Malaysian Government in the 1980s. For example, the Singapore Foochow Association led the founding of the World Foochow Convention (see Chapter 4).

Hong Kong

Hong Kong and Macau have been the bridge for Sarawak Chinese to maintain contact with their ancestral homeland since the nineteenth century. They became the major suppliers of Chinese merchandise when the government suspended the direct trading between Sarawak and the PRC from 1949 to 1978. The Sarawak Chinese also transmitted gifts to their relatives in the ancestral

homeland through these intermediaries¹.

The significance of these two ports for the Sibu Chinese has increased since the Open Door Policy of 1978. Under the similar British way of doing things, Hong Kong is a safe gateway for Malaysian Chinese to travel to China and manage business. The regional-language-based associations in Hong Kong treat the Malaysian counterparts with welcome meetings and feasts before they proceed for ice-breaking trips to China.

Taiwan

The Japanese government handed Taiwan over to the Republic of China (ROC) government in 1945. Soon, the ROC government lost its territory in China and moved to Taiwan in 1949. In order to maintain its anti-Communist policy and compatriot policy, the ROC government has encouraged overseas Chinese students to study in Taiwan since the late 1950s². It established one of the channels of higher education which the high school graduates of Sibu may follow.

The ROC government also indoctrinated students with Chinese chauvinism and

¹ Two news stories published in the *Sarawak Gazette* (SG) in 1961 reported on food gifts to China: 1. SG 31 June 1961: 100,000 food parcels are sent to China annually; 2. SG 30 June 1961: In Sarikei about 800 parcels of food, clothes, and watches are sent to China in a month.

² The first student from Sarawak to Taiwan was Lee Dun Qiao (李敦橋). He enrolled in 1957 (Huang Wei Wen 2002: 143).

its dream of the recovery of sovereignty over mainland China in the compatriot education.

Even though the ROC government abolished its anti-Communist policy in 1991, the educational supports to the compatriot students have continued.³ The alumni of Taiwan universities have made contributions to medicine, business, Chinese education, mass media and management of associations in Sarawak. More than one thousand Sibuan high school graduates have gone to Taiwan for higher education.

To some extent, Taiwan was a substitute for the ancestral homeland in the eyes of the Sibuan Chinese from the 1950s to the 1980s. Alongside the university education, Sibuan people always seek traditional Chinese cultural elements from Taiwan. For example, Sibuan Chinese embraced Chinese Buddhist denominations in the 1980s. Most of these came from Taiwan.

Even though the Malaysian and the PRC governments established diplomatic relations in 1974, the interaction of culture and education between Sarawak and Taiwan was still smooth until 2000. However, the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT), the long-standing ruling party in Taiwan, lost the 2000 presidential

³ The number of Malaysian compatriot students in Taiwan universities is 3,818 in 2010, or 28.4% of all the 13,438 compatriot students (Ministry of Education, the ROC Government 2010).

election and the Democratic Progressive Party (DDP) took over. The DDP government put priority on Taiwan's sovereignty and asserted an independent position from China. It changed the focus of the compatriot policy from so-called 'Chinese compatriots' to 'Taiwanese compatriots'. The policy change greatly hurt the long-term relations between the Sarawak Chinese and the ROC government. In 2008, the KMT won the presidency back. The ROC government reestablished the connections with overseas Chinese. The Minister of the Overseas Compatriot Affairs Commission (OCAC) of the ROC government visited Sibu to attend the Forty-fifth Anniversary of the Sarawak Taiwan Alumni Association in November 2009 (Figure 3-1).

China after 1974

Malaysia and China established diplomatic relations and signed a joint communiqué in 1974. However, the Malaysian government remained suspicious towards China and maintained visa limitation until 1989. From 1974 to 1989, a person from Malaysia could only go to China to see seriously ill relatives or attend funerals. Businessmen could also attend the biannual Canton Fair held in Guangzhou. The delegation of businessmen must clear immigration together. An



Figure 3-1. The Sarawak Taiwan Alumni Association donated 63,000 Ringgit (CAD 20,400) for a Taiwan flood relief fund. The Minister of the OCAC Wu Ying-yih (centered) received the donation. (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 21 September 2009, Sibü)

officer from the Ministry of Politics of the Malaysian government had to accompany and supervise the delegation. However, some businessmen still took advantage of this opportunity to visit their ancestral homelands.

Once the ban was fully lifted, every sub-ethnic group in Malaysia reestablished face-to-face relationships with their ancestral homeland. They wish to take a share of the economic growth of China, especially through the special

conditions offered to the compatriots. Businessmen donated to local education and infrastructure in order to earn social capital.

The interaction between the Sarawak Chinese people and the PRC has intensified since 1990. Members of the regional-language-based associations are keen on reestablishing connections with their fellows in their ancestral homelands. They also actively participate in transnational networking. For example, the Foochow organized the World Foochow Convention in Singapore in 1990. Sibuan Foochow leaders are proud of the Fifth World Foochow Convention being held in Beijing in 1998. More than three thousand delegates flocked to the Great Hall of the People (人民大會堂). The convention showed the strong connection between the leaders of the World Foochow Convention and the PRC government. I will discuss the issue in Chapter 4.

The PRC government established a Consulate-General in Kuching, the capital of Sarawak, in 1994. The institution greatly facilitates the communication between Sarawak and China. The General Consul and Business Consul are frequent guests in the activities of Chinese associations and schools in Sibuan.

Chinese merchandise is freely imported into Sarawak. Local Chinese people use the items of Chinese cultural significance to decorate their houses, for

example, Chinese-styled ceramics, lanterns and New-Year decorations (Figure 3-2).



Figure 3-2 The imported lanterns for Chinese New Year displayed by the retailer (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 23 January 2009).

Ongoing Connection with Cultural Centers

The Sibü Chinese people have relatively free accessibility to satellite TV programs. They can watch television programs from all over the world, especially ones from China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. Local newspapers and radios provide real-time news from these areas. Some Sibü Chinese people are keen on following

political news from China and Taiwan. They can catch up with the newest developments through the live forum programs by CCTV, the Phoenix TV and the TVBS. These TV stations are respectively based in Beijing, Hong Kong and Taipei. A variety of TV programs about culture, geography, entertainment, and fashion are welcomed by different age groups.

The internet is a way of Malaysian Chinese to voice for themselves and connect with their friends worldwide. Several Sibuan friends are keen on maintaining blogs and Facebook connection. When I joined a trip to Fuzhou with two Sibuan bloggers, they were eager to post their updates during the visit to the ancestral homeland.

I receive the updates of Sibuan and leave my messages on blogs or Facebook all the time. Sibuan friends frequently express their political concerns on Facebook by duplicating and pasting news issued by independent online forums *Malaysiakini* (Today's Malaysia) or *Merdeka Review* (Independent Review)⁴.

The Social Function of the Regional-language-based Associations

The regional-language-based associations are always considered to be

⁴ The website of Malaysiakini in Mandarin is <http://www.malaysiakini.com/cn/>. The website of Merdeka Review is http://www.merdeka.com/index_v2.php.

ancestral homeland-based expressions of identity. However, they were localized organizations under the Society Ordinance by the Rajah Brooke government in 1910 and the Societies Act 1962 by the Malaysian government. The Societies Act stated that an organization with no less than seven people must submit to the Registrar of Society for registration. When approved, they shall call regular meetings. At annual general meetings, they are obliged to confirm the last meeting's minutes, present working reports and financial reports, and elect officers (Sibu Hakka Association 2009, Bintulu Foochow Association 2009).

Regional-language-based overseas Chinese communities are called *bang* (幫, faction or gang) in the early literature. The term, however, has a negative connotation. Now the Sibu people have replaced the term with a euphemism, ancestral-homeland affiliation (鄉屬, *xiangsu*). When T'ien Ju-K'ang conducted his research in Kuching, he recognized that the Kuching Chinese have the most diverse sub-ethnic group composition, while two-thirds of the Sibu Chinese are Foochow (T'ien 1952: 2). T'ien is right about the population ratio in Sibu; however, the Sibu Chinese are still composed of seven ancestral homeland affiliations. Furthermore, the Foochow Chinese community is itself diverse.

Regional-language-based associations fulfill various social functions. They

maintain job monopolies, conduct annual ceremonies and celebrations, organize linguistic and cultural education, handle marriage registration, and operate cemeteries (Li 1970: 91-103; T'ien Ju-k'ang 1997 [1953]: 16-24; Huang Jian Chun 1999: 301-344). Some of the traditional functions have become attenuated. Job monopolies in specific fields were maintained by specific sub-ethnic groups in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century in Sarawak (Chan Eng Seng 1999). But the phenomenon is less prevalent today as a result of higher education and job diversification after the war.

Nevertheless, these associations still serve certain functions. According to my observation in Sibü, the regional-language-based associations fulfill political, economic, and cultural functions.

Political Function

In the political sphere, regional-language-based associations serve as a basic social category of the Chinese community. They perform political functions at the intra-group, intergroup and government levels.

At the intra-group level, local people value the positions, such as chairman and secretary, in these associations. They respect officer bearers and honorary

titles. People introduce themselves using these titles. Chairmen can demonstrate their ideas to compatriots or to a larger local audience by giving public lectures. Sometimes chairmen and their agents get involved in a historical or political debate in the newspaper.

At the intergroup level, the association can secure the seat of chairman or vice chairman in larger local associations, such as the Federation of Chinese Associations Sibü (詩巫省華人社團聯合會) and the Sibü Chamber of Chinese Commerce and Industry (詩巫中華工商總會) or in a federation of regional-language-based associations.

At the governmental level, the Sarawak government offers salaried positions of community leaders in every division. These positions are *Temonggong* (community leader of a division), *Penmancha* (township), *Penghulu* (region) to *Kapitan* (village or neighborhood). Politicians in every township distribute these positions proportionally to sub-ethnic groups, at least at the *Penghulu* and *Kapitan* levels. In the Sibü Chinese community, the representatives from the Foochow have taken the position of *Temonggong* and *Penmancha* of Sibü Division for more than three decades. Now the position of *Temonggong* is filled by the honorary chairman of FCAS, Vincent Lau.

In 2010, Sibuluan Municipal Council increased the number of *Penghulu*, so every sub-ethnic group in Sibuluan can fill a quota. Now local politicians consult the regional-language-based associations before the nominations of *Penghulu* and *Kapitan*. *Kapitans* always take charge of marriage registration of their specific sub-ethnic groups.

Economic Function

In the economic sphere, most of the regional-language-based associations provide social welfare to their members. Members can receive assistance from the association for fellowships or funeral subsidies.

These associations are always owners of real estate. They build association halls for management purposes and annual functions. Alumni may donate their shops or land to the associations. A long-abandoned piece of land may become an emergent district due to new patterns of urbanization and industrialization.

Meanwhile, halls purchased decades ago are now located downtown. Associations tend to lease the first floors of their halls to coffee shops or grocery stores. Thus they secure an income for regular expenditure.

Cultural Function

In the cultural sphere, sub-ethnic groups increasingly emphasize their cultural elements. They import cultural resources from ancestral homelands in China to recharge their cultural identity. For example, the Hakka Associations display videotapes of Hakka traditional songs or fan dances at their functions and cultural festivals. The competition seems to be endless. In this way they maintain boundaries with other sub-ethnic groups.

Division and Expansion of the regional-language-based associations

Two important organizational changes of the regional-language-based associations are division and expansion. Certain sub-ethnic groups may have various ancestral homelands and thus have marked differences in accents and daily life practices. When they arrive at Sibul, they might gather together in the same village. Later they dispersed to different villages. Subgroups may gather in the same villages. For example, the Foochow stayed in temporary houses in the village of Sungai Merah when they arrived at Sibul in 1901. The subgroups of Foochow, for instance, the Minchiang, the Kutien and the Pingnan, settled in different villages.

If one of the subgroups in a regional-language-based association deems it necessary to look after its own affairs, the subgroup may submit an application to the Society Registrar for a new association. For example, the Sibü Foochow organized their first organization, the Hall of Foochow (福州會館), in 1902. Foochow subgroups organized their own associations later. They were the Pingnan Dong Xiang Association (屏南董鄉公會, founded in 1917), the Sarawak Kutien Association (砂拉越古田公會, 1928), the Sibü Chang Le Association (詩巫長樂同鄉會, 1946), the Sibü Min Qing Association (詩巫閩清同鄉會, 1958), and the Sarawak Min Hou Association (砂拉越閩侯同鄉會, 1994) (Sarawak Federation of Foochow Associations 2008). The Sibü Hakka also experienced a similar process. Their three subgroups organized their own associations.

For the last three decades, the organizational structure of the associations has expanded into the so-called three pillars. The first pillar is the committee comprised of the chairman, deputy chairman and officers. The second and third pillars are a youth chapter and a women's division. They were founded respectively in the 1970s and the 1980s. People always refer to them as the auxiliaries of the committee.

Among the regional-language-based associations in Sibü, the first youth

chapter was operated under the Sibü Foochow Association in 1977. Other associations followed and organized their youth chapters from 1978 to 1988. The FACS organized its youth chapter in 1988. It has become the umbrella organization for the major youth chapters in Chinese associations in Sibü (Federation of Youth Chapters in Sibü Division 1996). The Sibü Foochow Association organized its women's division in 1985 (Sarawak Federation of Foochow Associations 2008: 80), and the FCAS founded its women's division in 1990 (Chen Tsung Yuan 2005: 186). Many associations have formed veteran groups (樂齡組) or veteran clubs for retired senior members.

One informant, a former chairman of a youth chapter, told me that his motivation of organizing the youth chapter. It came from dissent due to the stagnated power transition in the associations. In the past, chairmen of associations held the post for decades. If the youth saw limited prospect in promotions in their association, they either chose to wait or to organize a new association. Those who chose to wait eventually pushed for the organization of a youth chapter. Nowadays, the chairmanship is under a fixed term. The youth chapters are always future successors of the committees.

The women's division secures the participation of women in associations;

however, the institution hinders women's participation in the committee and the youth chapter. Only one or two female members fill the nominal positions. The division for women actually maintained the patriarchic power structure of the association. One executive secretary of an association refused to organize a women division in her association for "it is discrimination to women."

Now the three pillars in each association have their division of labor. The committee is the decision maker. The youth chapter and the women's division are the major organizers of functions.

The Localized Chinese Culture in Sibü

Among countless Chinese cultural elements, I examine four topics to exemplify the localized process. They are traditional religion and festivals, creolization of language, newspapers, and food.

Traditional Chinese Religions and Festivals

The most eye-catching traditional Chinese culture is the temple celebration. Temples hold ceremonies according to the Chinese lunar calendar. Two major Chinese temples in Sibü bazaar, the Forever Peaceful Pavilion (永安亭大伯公廟,

Eng Ann Teng Tua Peh Kong Temple) and the Communal Entertainment Club and the Palace for the Marshal of Celestial Capital (同樂社探花府, Tung Lok Sie Tan Hua Foo) maintain traditional celebrations. Each of them sponsors a parade on the birthday of Tua Peh Kong (the twenty-ninth day of the third lunar month) or that of Master Drama (the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month) every two or three years. Almost one hundred teams of altars and temples from Sibü division and neighboring towns join the parade. They also bring their lion dancing groups, dragon dancing groups and many other performances.



Figure 3-3 Tong Lok Sie Tan Hua Foo and its Daoist Priest Ho Tzu Yun in the Chinese New Year Ceremony (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 11 February 2009).

In a yearly routine, the temples perform a series of festivities, such as the Chinese New Year, the Birthday of Heavenly Lord (天公誕, Tiangong Tan), the Fifteenth Night of Chinese New Year (元宵節), the Dragon Boat Festival (端午, the fifth of the fifth lunar month), Buddhist Ullambana (中元盂蘭勝會, the fourteenth of the seventh lunar month), Mid Autumn Festival (中秋, the fifteenth of the eighth lunar month) and birthday celebrations of other gods. Sibuan people always visit the Eng Ann Teng and pray to the gods on the first and fifteenth of each lunar month. They keep a temporal order on the Chinese lunar calendar.

An important festival shared by most of the Sibuan Chinese is the Pure Brightness Festival (清明, *Qing Ming*) on every April Fourth. As we have seen in Chapter 1, the communal worship in Pulau Kerto is a symbol for the descendants of pioneer sub-ethnic groups in Sibuan. But all the Chinese families perform the festival, irrespective of their religious beliefs. They go to clean the graves of deceased family members and they may offer sacrifice, bouquets or burning incenses and paper money, depending on the religious and sub-ethnic affiliation.

People always describe Qing Ming as the most terrible day of the year. Outgoing migrants come back on the very day and bring unbearable traffic jams

and smoky air. Nevertheless, Qing Ming is the best time to see all the families and friends since they are all back home. Families, associations and old classmates hold annual feasts. Nowadays, the regional-language-based associations in Sibiu observe three annual celebrations: New Year's, Qing Ming and Mid Autumn.

In recent years, some Catholic and Methodist bodies have become tolerant of some of the Chinese cultural elements in families and churches, including celebration of Chinese New Year, Qing Ming, and the Mid Autumn Festival. As long as people do not worship pagan gods and ghosts, the church does not care. The high schools with Christian backgrounds, for example, the Catholic High School and the Sacred Heart High School, organize their own lion dancing troupes. The lion dancing is associated with an animistic worship of the lion. The Christianity-minded managements allow their students to perform lion dancing in campus and elsewhere, as long as the lion models are not conferred with magical powers. Some churches and Christian families decorate their homes with lanterns and couplets to create a festive mood.

Creolization of Languages

The Sibiu Chinese people are multi-lingual. They can speak Mandarin,

Bahasa Malaysia, English and the major topolects, such as Hokkien or Foochow topolects. However, the significance of each language is changing over time. I observe the two sets of contrasts, that is, the one between English and Mandarin, and another between Hokkienese and Foochow topolects. Besides, the Chinese community also faces topolect loss.

1. English vs. Mandarin

The Sibu Chinese people organized modern schools in 1902. In the beginning, the local topolects and English were the mediums of instruction. English was the official language in the Rajah and the Crown periods. An advisor of Chinese government visited Sibu in 1928. He persuaded all the Chinese primary schools to change the medium of instruction from topolects to Mandarin. Nevertheless, English was always a common subject in Chinese schools.

Actually, English had been the medium of instruction in the national secondary schools of Sarawak until 1980. Even though Bahasa Malaysia became the medium of instruction, English is still a subject in national schools.

English-educated persons had high social status, job opportunities in government and British companies, and the chance to study abroad. They

depreciated their Chinese-educated counterparts, including the independent Chinese high school graduates and the students who study abroad in Taiwan.

The situation changed after 1980s when the Federation of Chinese Association Malaysia launched “the Speak Mandarin Campaign”. English-educated persons felt the social pressure of learning Mandarin. For example, most of the Chinese members of the SMC are English-educated persons. Today they can speak Mandarin and defend their policy in debates with the opposition party. Sibuan Chinese always converse in *rojak* Mandarin, a Creole language originating from the interaction between the Chinese, the Malays and the Iban. At official functions and in television broadcasting, people tend to speak in standard Mandarin.

2. Hokkienese vs. Foochow topolects

Hokkienese was *lingua franca* in Sibuan bazaar. The language was so influential that some local Malays and urban Foochow used it at home. Some of the Foochow were wage laborers. They lived in the suburban area near Chiang Chuan workers for decades before the urbanization in the 1970s. They had a better command of Hokkienese than their rural counterparts.

Foochow people used their topolects in their rural settlement. Wong Meng Lei told me a story that revealed the linguistic domination of the Hokkienese in the past: “Rural Foochow people had few job opportunities in the bazaar in the past. One time, a lady from my village went to the bazaar as a clerk. Several months later, she returned and proudly said Hokkienese sentences to us. She said: “You cannot understand what I said, right? It is the bazaar language.” We were jealous. “If I have the chance to live in the bazaar, I will learn to the bazaar language.”

However, Foochow topolects became more and more important in Sibuzhuan bazaar when Foochow people flocked in the area in the 1960s. When Wong Meng Lei moved to the Sibuzhuan bazaar in 1980s, he could understand Hokkienese spoken on a few street corners. But whenever he goes to a shop, people always speak Foochow to him first.

3. Topolect loss

The Sibuzhuan Chinese is now facing topolect loss for two reasons. First, Mandarin is spoken much more widely than the topolects. Mandarin is the

medium of instruction in the Chinese primary schools and the Chinese independent high schools. The national secondary schools also offer Chinese programs and Chinese Language Societies. Besides, students must spend lots of time learning three languages: Bahasa Malaysia, Mandarin and English. They have limited time and energy to learn topolects.

Secondly, inter-marriage between Chinese sub-ethnic groups has become more common since the 1970s. Probably Foochow language can enjoy an advantage in the bazaar, but people tend to use Mandarin or English at home. Children seldom speak topolects to their parents.

Now Mandarin has become the *lingua franca* of all the Chinese sub-ethnic groups after decades of Chinese education and the Speaking Mandarin campaign. All association activities are conducted in Mandarin, though some minority groups may assert their identity by singing and lecturing in topolects in their own functions.

Chinese Newspapers and Personal Notices

Today, the most widely-read Chinese newspapers in Sibu are the Sin Chew Daily, the See Hua Daily and the United Daily. Each Chinese newspaper has a

Sibu edition. These local newspapers help facilitate the development of collective consciousness in Chinese community. Readers can know about events in every city in Sarawak. They also learn about the news of other ethnic groups. Chinese newspapers have extensive coverage of international news, especially the news from China, Taiwan and Hong Kong.

The ‘announcements’ section of the newspaper promotes sociality in the Sibu Chinese community. Chinese newspapers in Sibu feature “personal notices” (人情廣告, *renqing guanggao*). People may insert messages in the name of couples, individuals or associations, so as to congratulate relatives or friends on marriage, conferment of an honorable title or election to political office. People may also offer condolences to relatives or friends.

In Sibu, since the 1970s, a prominent person successfully persuades people to stop giving wedding gifts. Instead, friends and relatives insert a message in the newspaper to offer congratulations. This is a major source of income for newspaper publishers. In other words, the personal notices reinforce family values and social networks.

Food and Ethnic Identity

Food is a source of ethnic identity. Claude Fischler asserts that food and cuisine are central components in the sense of collective belonging. It is not only that the eater incorporates the properties of food, but also that the absorption of food incorporates the eater into a culinary system (Fischler 1988: 280-1). As Tan Chee Beng observes, the Chinese food in Malaysia and Singapore exemplifies cultural continuity and local transformation (2001: 154). Several localized Chinese foods become both an identity of the Chinese and that of the locality. For example, a Cantonese-based Ipoh noodle becomes a popular food in the Ipoh district (in Peninsula Malaysia) and an expression of identity toward the locality.

In Malaysia, food and eating styles are signs of ethnic segregation between the Chinese and Muslim Malay. Chinese eat their food with chopsticks, Malay use their fingers. Chinese prefer hot food, but Malay prefer cold food. Chinese use pork and lard in their food but, to the Malays these are taboo (Tan Chee Beng 2001: 140, 147-148). In the case of Sabu, the space segregation between Malay food and Chinese food is not as rigid as that in the Peninsula Malaysia.

Chinese food may incorporate food elements from other cultures, such as Penang *laksa* (noodles with shrimps and herbs) which is a food innovation based

on the Southern Fukkienese tradition, yet with the influence of the Malay, and especially of the Thai (Tan Chee Beng 2001: 132-133; Chua and Rajah 2001: 172).

The Sibü Chinese use food as an icon of ethnic identity and a source of appreciating the multiple cultures. Food not only demarcates the ethnic boundaries, but also provides a channel for enhancing ethnic relationships.

1. Coffee Shops (*Kopitiam*) as public living rooms

The Sarawak Chinese enjoy multicultural foods. People always invited me to have a cup of tea at a coffee shop (*kopitiam* in Hokkinese vernacular). But kopitiams offer much more than coffee or tea. A typical kopitiam always includes several eating stalls with various foods. Chinese food is always labeled with a specific sub-ethnic identity, such as Foochow stirred noodles or Hainan chicken rice.

Sibü people debate the genuineness of such sub-ethnic foods. For example, they eventually found that Foochow stirred noodles is a local invention in Sibü. The Foochow tried to find the cuisine in their ancestral homeland but their efforts were in vain. They also care about the correspondence of the so-called sub-ethnic cuisine with the identity of the chef. One time, when I mentioned a delicious

Teochew cuisine at a kopitiam to my friends, they responded, “But the chef is a Hinghua”. In another case, a Hinghua boss drove me to enjoy a genuine Hinghua shrimp noodle.

Sibu people call the kopitiam a public living room. People treat their friends and relatives in kopitiam. Politicians are frequenters too. I ran into the congressman of a Sibu constituency at a kopitiam several times. Kopitiam is arguably an informal political forum for Sibu Chinese. People criticize the ruling and opposition parties in the public living room.

Kopitiam can also serve as a press room. For example, the chairman of a certain association may invite reporters to have a cup of tea in a kopitiam. He will then a formal announcement on the recent activity of his association.

2. Round Tables and Social Hierarchy

Chinese feasts are always enjoyed on round tables. An ordinary table can seat ten persons. The space management of tables is hierarchical. We can find three levels of guests in a function; for example, a New Year celebration and annual general meeting of an association.

The highest level of the tables is for the honored guest. The table is in front

of the stage and its size is larger than ordinary tables. The honored guest is always a congressman, a member of the Sarawak State Legislative Assembly, a member of the Sibü Municipal Council or an honorable person of the association. The honored guest gives a speech to the participants of the function. He/she always reminds the audience of the history and the spirit of the association.

The organizers of the function always arrange for twelve to twenty guests to accompany the honored guest in the table. These accompanying guests always include the chairmen of the FCAS or the Sibü Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry (詩巫中華工商總會, SCCCI); they represent the paramount associations in Sibü.

The second level of the tables is that of VIPs. The organizers always invite dozens of VIPs to participate in a large function. The VIP tables are parallel to the honored guest table. The chairmen of the seven regional-language-based associations are frequenters of the VIP tables in various functions.

The third level of the tables is for ordinary people. Members of the association sponsor these functions by “buying seats or table”. Each table costs from 250 to 500 Malaysian Ringgit (83 to 160 Canadian dollars). Each table-buyer can invite ten relatives or friends to join the function. Guests from

other associations and sub-ethnic groups are welcomed to sit at these tables.

3. Acculturation and the Open House

Chinese families enjoy a variety of ethnic food. They eat curry, *satay* and *kuah lapis*, in their daily lives and at festivals. Malay-style curry fish is now a famous dish in Chinese restaurants. You can have a dish of *rojak* at a kopitiam. *Rojak* was originally a Malay-style fruit salad. Now it has become an excellent example of acculturation. We may find *rojak tambi* (Indian rojak) and *rojak cina* (Chinese rojak).

The ethnic food segregation in Sibu is less rigid than that in the Peninsula Malaysia. Sibu people can enjoy Chinese food and *halal* food in the same kopitiam. Chinese and Muslims can dine together. Sibu Chinese consider themselves to be supporters of Malay food stands. A boss said, "The Malays need Chinese customers. If they run food stands at a place where the Chinese are reluctant to go, they could not sustain the business."

If the hosts invite Muslim relatives and co-workers to a function, they serve *halal* food to them. When Chinese people hold "open houses" during the Chinese New Year, their friends are welcome. They will prepare *halal* food for their Muslim friends. The Chinese also go to "open houses" of their Malay and Iban

friends in the *Hari Raya Aidilfitri* and *Hari Gawai*. The former is the end of the Islamic holy month of fasting; the latter is the harvest festival of the Iban. The Sibuan Chinese people say that they have four new-year celebrations every year. The Christmas and New Year are celebrations shared by all the Sibuan people.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have analyzed the shared elements of Sibuan Chinese culture. The Sibuan Chinese maintain cultural and economic ties to the cultural centers. They have imported cultural elements from Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan and China to sustain reproduction of Chinese culture. In the post-Cold War period, they strengthened transnational networks with these cultural centers, especially the relationships between the Sibuan Chinese and their ancestral homeland. People freely import Chinese cultural elements and watch TV programs at these cultural centers. Blogs and Facebook facilitate their communication with people worldwide.

Regional-language-based associations are the backbone of the Chinese society. They follow the Society Act to fulfill their politic, economical, and cultural functions. These associations are expanding and/or dividing to meet the

growing complexity. For example, subgroups of the Foochow seek to attain independent positions by organizing new associations. The old and new associations all organize youth chapters and women's divisions as the auxiliaries of the existing committees.

I have illustrated the localized Sibü Chinese culture through the traditional Chinese temples and festivals, their Creolized language, and newspapers. Temples and festivals reproduce Chinese traditional space and time. Sibü Chinese all share the Pure Brightness Festival as their common symbol of Chinese ancestry. The Chinese Christians also take a flexible attitude toward Chinese customs.

The creolized or *rojak* language is a local accommodation between the Chinese, the British and the natives. But we can observe the shift of power between English and Chinese and between Hokkienese and Foochow vernaculars. Now people value standard Mandarin as the language at local functions. People also express concern over the potential loss of their regional languages and topolects.

Both Chinese and English newspapers are channels to access the local and international news. In Sibü, people use newspapers to promote sociality by 'personal notices' for congratulations and condolences.

Food is an icon of ethnic identity. In Sibiu, Chinese people dine casually in coffee shops or formally at feasts. They enhance their social networks and reproduce the social hierarchy of Chinese society through these food-sharing experiences. Food is also a vehicle to enhance ethnic relationships. To accomplish this, the Sibiu Chinese hold 'open houses' for their friends of diverse ethnic backgrounds.

Chapter 4. Establishment of the Regional-language-based Associations and Their Globalization

The voluntary associations (社團, *shetuan*) in Chinese overseas communities have dramatically increased their transnational connections since the 1990s. Liu Hung asserts that they have become transnational by forming world confederations based on specific regional-language-based or region-based associations. Overseas Chinese communities and their counterparts in China can enhance their business and socio-cultural links by forming such organizations. The face-to-face contact with compatriots at conventions builds trust (*xinyong*) in business. Such socio-cultural links have ‘transformed an imagined cultural homeland into a reality.’ Liu Hung provides an overall picture of the phenomenon; however, as he suggests, systematic studies are necessary. We need to study the way overseas Chinese communities have been revitalized and reconstructed as institutionalized foundations of transnational networks (Liu Hung 2006 [1998]).

Overseas Chinese communities used to base their identities on ancestral ties, including secret societies, clans, religions and localities (T’ien 1954, Freedman 1979, Mak 1995). However, other forms of organization emerge when the

immigrants take root. Bernard Wong asserts that traditional organizations in San Francisco continue to provide services to Chinese immigrants, but also that Chinese people have increasingly organized local alumni associations or churches since the 1960s (Bernard Wong 1997). Parallel developments happened in Sibuluan. The number of Chinese associations under the Federation of Chinese Associations Sibuluan grew from 60 in 1978 to 103 in 2009. However, the regional-language-based associations still play an important role in local society, especially in traditional ceremonies and cultural festivals.

Jean DeBernardi (2004) and Sharon Carstens (2005) assert that the Malaysian Chinese held a resistant form of nationalism to resist state-supported Malay nationalism in the 1970s. The Malaysian Chinese greatly promoted their cultural identity through the activities of the federations of Chinese associations at the national, state and city levels.

Meanwhile, a parallel development is the emerging federations of regional-language-based associations, both pan-Malaysian and global. Each sub-ethnic group reasserts its sub-ethnic identity or 'dialectism'. In the recent development, this sort of association is the major agent in transnational networking. Part of the reason for this is that they have a specific focus on locality and dialect. Therefore,

they can forge connections with their counterparts in the world.

This chapter focuses on the organizational transition and transnational networking of the Chinese regional-language-based associations in Sibü. First of all, I review the transition of regional-language-based associations in Sibü. Second, I take the Foochow as an example to investigate their participation in the pan-Malaysian and global associations.

Organization Transition of the Regional-language-based Groups

Organizational transition of the Sibü Chinese regional-language-based associations features four periods.

1. Formalization-Most of the regional-language-based associations in Sibü dated back to the 1920s and the 1930s. It related to the growing complexity of the Chinese community from the 1910s to the 1930s. The Japanese encroachment to China after 1931 is an implicit factor.

2. Urbanization and power shift-The Foochow underwent a process of urbanization from the 1950s to the 1970s. They soon dominated in terms of population and assumed politico-economic power.

3. Seeking Chinese solidarity-Confrontation between Malay and Chinese in

the 1970s and the 1980s urged the Chinese to seek in-group solidarity. It featured the rise of pan-Malaysia federations of Chinese associations and that of regional-language-based associations.

4. Resuming the connection with ancestral homelands- The Chinese government initiated the Open Door Policy in 1978. The regional-language-based associations began to engage in reconnecting with their ancestral homelands.

I proceed to elaborate these four periods in this section.

Formalization

The Rajah government issued the Society Ordinance in 1914. The new law stimulated the emergence of formal voluntary associations in the 1920s and 1930s (Chen Tsung Yuan 2005: 116). Craig Lockard (2009: 108-110) asserts that the emerging regional-language-based associations may have resulted from a rising dialect particularism since the 1910s. These associations may be a reaction to the growing complexity of Sarawak Chinese society. Daniel Chew (1990: 176-177) attributes the growth of the Chinese associations in Sibu in the 1920s to a nascent urbanization and growing social complexity. Two other reasons are the fundraising for schools and the second Sino-Japanese War.

Massive Foochow immigration began in Sibü in 1901. The rubber plantations made the Foochow affluent; therefore, they had the ability to support education in their ancestral homeland. Some of the regional-language-based associations were originally fundraising organizations for high schools. The principal of the Minqing Wen Quan High School (閩清文泉中學) visited Sibü in 1921 and he raised much more money than he anticipated. The excess donations were kept in Sibü as seed money for a rubber plantation. The school named a local leader, Lau Kah Choo (劉家洙, *Liu Jiazhu*), the first chairman of its Sibü Board of Directors (文泉中學詩巫董事會). Lau took charge of the plantation and the subsequent remittances to the school (Minqing Gazette Compilation Committee 1993: 677). The Board is the ancestor of the Sibü Minchiang Association, founded in 1957.

The Japanese military invaded northeast China in the early 1930s. A sense of crisis had emerged in the Sibü Chinese community at this time. The Sibü Chinese organized 'The Sibü China Relief Fund' (詩巫籌賑會) and called for donations from all sub-ethnic groups. Several sub-ethnic groups banded together and elected a leader to speak on their behalf and foster in-group solidarity, at both the local and national levels (SCGCC 1979: 424-436). As Table 4-1 shows, Hakka, Chiang

Chuan, Hinghua and Teochew people all organized their first formal regional-language-based associations from 1935 to 1937.

Table 4-1. The Establishment of Sub-ethnic Associations in Sibiu

Names of Sub-ethnic Group	Year	Name of Formal Organization
Foochow	1902	Foochow Huiguan (福州會館)
	1945	Foochow Association (福州公會)
Hakka	1945	Kheh Association (客屬公會)
Chiang Chuan	1937	Chiang Chuan Beisu (漳泉別墅)
	1952	Chiang Chuan Association (漳泉公會)
Hainan	1935	Kheng Sojourners' Club (瓊僑俱樂部)
	1952	Kheng Chiew Association (瓊州公會)
Hinghua	1937	Heng Hua Association (興化公會)
	1958	Heng Hua Pu Sien Association (興化莆仙公會)
Teochew	1937	Teochew Sojourners' Club (潮僑俱樂部)
	1945	Teochew Association (潮州公會)
Kwong Wai Siew	1956	Kwong Wai Siew Association (廣惠肇公會)

Source: SCGCC 1979: 424-436.

The Japanese invaded Sarawak in 1941. Thus began a period of stagnation for the Chinese associations. The Japanese government forbade all association activities and organized the Chinese Compatriot Association as an umbrella organization. Associations resumed their activities soon after the Allies liberated Sarawak in 1945. They also changed the names of their organizations from 'club', the term with a connotation of leisure, to a formal 'association'. When the Kwong Wai Siew people formed an association in 1956, the current framework of seven ancestral homeland affiliations in Sibu was in place. The framework replaced the former three part classification of the Hokkienese, Foochowese and Cantonese in the SCCC.

Urbanization and Power Shifting

A coalition of Chiang Chuan, Cantonese, Foochow and Hinghua founded the Sibu Chinese Chamber of Commerce (SCCC, 詩巫中華商會) in 1930. A Chiang Chuan man, Teo Chong Lo (張宗羅, *Zhang Zongluo*) was its first chairman and the Kapitan China in Sibu bazaar. Chiou Gok Lin (周玉麟, *Zhou Yulin*) took both positions after World War II. Chiou was also a Chiang Chuan person. After Chiou's death in 1957, the next chairman was a Foochow man named Tai Sing

Chi (戴承聚, *Dai Chengju*).

Tai Sing Chi organized the Sibü Chinese General Chamber of Commerce (SCGCC, 詩巫中華總商會) in 1969. This new organization merged the SCCC and Chinese members in the Sibü Chamber of Commerce (詩巫總商會). The SCGCC represented not only the increasing specialization of commerce, but also the emerging power of the Foochow in Sibü. It implemented a voting system to replace the old system of permanent positions. Article 47 of the Regulations and Rules of the SCGCC reads:

Each of the main sub-ethnic groups (Foochow, Chiang Chuong [Chiang Chuan], Hinghua Pusen, Kwong Huey Shiaw [Kwong Wai Siew], Kheh [Hakka], Tiew Chew [Teochew], Kheng Chew [Hainan] and others), provided each such group has a minimum membership of 12, shall have at least 2 elected members (individual members) to represent it in the Executive Committee (SCGCC 1979: 418). (Some of the English translation to these names of sub-ethnic group are in Foochow vernacular. The words in the square brackets are the popular usages, added by the author.)

Since the inception of the SCGCC in 1969, Foochow people have been the largest

group. They were approximately 62% in 1969 and this ratio had grown to 70.7% in 2009. The SCGCC holds elections every two years. The Foochow maintains a majority in the Executive Committee; however, the non-Foochow groups keep reserved seats under Article 47. In the last four decades, ten prominent Sibuan figures have served as chairman of the SCGCC; nine of them were Foochow. The only non-Foochow chairman was a Hinghua. All four vice chairmen are from non-Foochow sub-ethnic groups. Thus the institution maintains a nominal representation of all the ancestral affiliations¹. The SCGCC renamed itself the Sibuan Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry (詩巫中華工商總會, SCCCCI) in 1999 (SCCCCI 2008).

The Foochow have occupied focal political positions in the Sibuan Chinese community, including as congressmen of two Sibuan constituencies, members of state legislative assembly, members of Sibuan Municipal Council, as well as the paramount local community leaders *Temonggong* and *Penmancha*. Their

¹ The Foochow people enjoy a population majority as well as political and economic influence. They have more representatives in the Sibuan Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SCCCCI) than other sub-ethnic groups. There were twenty-four Foochow representatives among the thirty-five committee members of the SCCCCI in 2009. The chairman and deputy chairman are always Foochow. Non-Foochow representatives take the position of vice chairmen.

economic and political advantages laid the foundation for their transnational economic and cultural goals since the late 1970s.

Seeking In-group Solidarity

The May 13 riot in 1969 was a political watershed for the Malaysian Chinese. A pro-Malay affirmation action replaced loosely multicultural tolerance. The Malays claimed that a social contract was formed between the Malay and the non-Malay when the Federation of Malaya was founded. Non-Malays, notably Chinese and Indian, recognized the Malay supremacy in exchange for their citizenship. The contract has been elaborated and politicized in the New Economy Policy (NEP) and constitutional amendments since 1970.

The Malaysian Chinese reacted to the NEP, seeking increased solidarity. Almost all kinds of Chinese associations went national in the early 1970s. A slogan, 'From the Small Solidarity to the Larger Solidarity' (從小團結到大團結), became popular. Various associations cite the slogan as a justification for their efforts in national or transnational networking. For example, the Malaysia General Hengan (Putien Hinghua) Association (馬來西亞興安會館總會) was organized in 1970. It interpreted the slogan as meaning, 'We will ensure Putien Hinghua

solidarity all over Malaysia. Then we may work towards the solidarity of Chinese Malaysians. Finally, we can attain a national solidarity of three races on an equal footing.’ (1984: 84).

In Sibü, the Chinese community sought solidarity by organizing a paramount Chinese association, the Federation of Chinese Associations Sibü (詩巫省華人社團聯合會, FCAS) in 1976. Members of the FCAS include five categories of organizations: charitable associations, regional-language-based associations (locality-tied), surname associations (blood-tied), amusement associations and vocational organizations. In Sibü, each association holds its annual general meeting to elect representatives for its executive committee, youth chapter, women’s division and veteran’s section. Thereafter, they send representatives to the FCAS.

The FCAS is the paramount Chinese association in Sibü. It originated in the Thirtieth Annual General Meeting of the Union of Malaysian Chinese Industry and Commerce (馬來西亞華人工商聯合會第三十屆年會) held in Sibü on 26 June 1976. The conference approved a motion to urge the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in every state to take responsibility for uniting all the Chinese associations. This motion was aimed at safeguarding the rights of Chinese and at

promoting ethnic solidarity (FCAS 1997: 31). It appealed to reinforce the Chinese community to counter any possible threat from pro-Malay state nationalism.

Leaders of the Sibü Chinese community soon organized a meeting on 28 November 1976 in the name of three local major institutions: the Chinese Chamber of Commerce Sibü (詩巫中華總商會), the Sarawak Taiwan Graduates' Association (詩巫留台同學會) and the Alumni Association of Nanyang University (詩巫南大校友會). They invited all the Sibü Chinese associations to organize a paramount Chinese association. The Society Registrar approved the application for the FCAS in 1977 (FCAS 1997:31).

The FCAS incorporated all the Chinese associations in Sibü. Its leadership is composed of the leaders of sub-ethnic groups in Sibü. They fill the positions of president, deputy president, vice president and other office bearers. However, the Foochow have more control over the FCAS. Prominent Foochow fellows always take the chairmanship and deputy chairmanship of the FCAS. The FCAS can help facilitate consensus on cultural or social affairs in a diverse Chinese community.

The affiliate associations of the FCAS numbered 53 in 1977 when it was organized; the number grew to 107 in 2010. The increasing number of associations shows the diversification and specialization of the Sibü Chinese

community. Almost half of the new associations are surname associations. The numbers of surname associations grew from two in 1977 to 28 in 2010 (see Chapter 7). Other new associations are vocational associations and subdivisions of regional-language-based associations.

The FCAS joined the national association, the Federation of Chinese Associations Malaysia (馬來西亞中華大會堂總會), in 1991. The Federation oversees the Malaysia National Chinese Cultural Festival (馬來西亞全國文化節). Theoretically, Malaysia's thirteen states host the festival in rotation; however, the FCAS was the host in 2001 and 2009. The shortened interval indicates Sibu are among the major cities with stronger energy in Chinese cultural matters in Malaysia.

In 1990, the Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association (SCCA) was founded under the sponsorship of the Sarawak Federation of Chinese Associations. The SCCA concentrates on the collection of archives and publications of local scholars. Furthermore, the SCCA has hosted the Sarawak Chinese Cultural Seminar (SCCS) in Sibu every four years, under the sponsorship of the Sarawak government since 1993. The SCCS facilitates the research of Chinese culture and history by local and foreign scholars. The SCCA and the SCCS consolidate the status of Sibu as

the cultural capital of Sarawak.

The growth of pan-Malaysia federations laid the foundation for the development of globalized associations in the late 1980s. Singapore played a crucial role in the transition. The pan-Malaysia associations always have a coalition relationship with their sister associations in Singapore. The sister associations are keen to initiate the global association. For example, the Singapore Foochow Association has played an active role in forming and maintaining the World Foochow Convention since 1988.

Resuming the Relationship with Ancestral Homelands

The Open Door Policy implemented by China in 1978 soon attracted Malaysian Chinese businessmen who were fed up with the NEP. We can get a snapshot of the contact by a reading of the gazettes in China. In the 1990s, almost all the counties in China compiled gazettes for the first time in many years. The ones published by the counties of Fujian and Guangdong provinces always included a chapter for compatriots (華僑志). The chapters provide an overall account of the history of overseas migration. They also cover the relationship between the PRC and returning overseas Chinese.

During the political struggles and the Cultural Revolution in China from the 1950s to the 1970s, many returning compatriots from Sarawak turned out to be landlords or rich farmers under the unified definition of the land reform by the Chinese government. Their remittances made their family at ancestral homeland landowners. They were leftists in Sarawak, but suddenly they became rightists in China. They lost their estates, jobs and reputations. Once the Open Door Policy was implemented in 1978, the Chinese government reached out to overseas compatriots for the first time in many years. An Office of Compatriot Affairs was created in every county. The Chinese government worked to eliminate mistreatment of compatriots and their relatives. Their property was returned. They got their jobs back. Their reputations were restored. Some people were compensated (Minqing Gazette Compilation Committee 1993:687-688).

The Sibü Foochow conspicuously support education. According to the *Minqing Gazette*, they paid for at least forty-four school renovations from 1976 to 1987. The Sibü Foochow figures also supported cultural institutions. For example, they donated RMB \$205,000 for the construction of the Wong Nai Siong Memorial Hall (黃乃裳紀念館) right beside the grave of Wong in Minqing County in 1979 (Minqing Gazette Compilation Committee 1993: 678-680). They

also paid for the restoration of ancestral halls and temples in the early 1990s. I proceed to discuss the activities in detail in Chapter 6.

Wong Nai Siong has become a focus of connection between Sibu Foochow and their ancestral homeland. Scholars in Foochow organized the Society for Wong Nai Siong (黃乃裳研究會). They reconfirmed the contributions of Wong Nai Siong in the establishment of Sibu Foochow Settlement.

The first official delegation of Sarawak businessmen went to China in 1986. Its members were from the Sarawak Federation of Chinese Chambers of Commerce Sarawak, the Bureau of Economic Development of the Sarawak State Government, and the Sarawak Bumiputera Chamber of Commerce. They met the Vice Minister of International Commerce and Trade of the PRC. They signed memoranda with the Chinese Association for the Promotion of Commerce. Over two weeks, they travelled to Beijing, Tienjin, Shanghai and Guangzhou to visit governmental institutions and semi-governmental associations. They focused on balancing trade in timber, handicrafts and food staples (MFCIC 1986).

The Establishment of Global Networks

The emergence of global Foochow networks is the result of the Open Door

Policy the Chinese government implemented in 1978. Hong Kong and Singapore soon resumed their positions as hubs of people movements between China and Southeast Asian overseas Chinese society. In particular, the Foochow associations in Hong Kong and Singapore played an active role in transnational networking from the late 1970s to the 1990s.

The Hong Kong Foochow Association was established in 1937. The association benefited from Hong Kong's strategic location. The Open Door Policy gave the association a shot of adrenaline. It entertained delegations from overseas Chinese communities, as well as from China; for example, the Malaysian Selangor Foochow Association visited in 1979 and the Fujian Economic Delegation visited in October 1980. And that was just the beginning (Hong Kong Foochow Association 2007: 98); the Chinese government recognized the Hong Kong Foochow Association as a bridge between Chinese overseas and the ancestral nation. Its chairman, Lai Qing Hui (賴慶輝), was a representative in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (中國人民政治協商會議委員) in 1993. When the Hong Kong Foochow Association hosted the third World Foochow Convention in 1994, it chose to hold the function in Fuzhou City. The overseas Foochow returned 'home', visited relatives, and learned about economic

opportunities (ibid: 101-102).

The Singapore Foochow Association has been involved in forming the World Foochow Association since 1988. Its chairman, Ling Lee Hua (林理化, *Ling Lihwa*), proposed a world convention of Foochow associations; he received many interested replies. The Singapore Foochow Association held a meeting on 16 September 1989. 900 Foochow Chinese gathered from Malaysia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Indonesia, Japan and China to attend the First World Foochow Convention (世界福州十邑同鄉懇親大會) on 17 May 1990 in Singapore (Sarawak Kuching Foochow Association 2004: 53-54). The convention was the precursor of the World Foochow Association. Ling Lee Hua elaborated four major aims of the convention as: 1. friendship, 2. interchanging industrial and commercial management experience, 3. communicating cultural and technological knowledge, 4. carrying on the tradition of Foochow Ten Counties. He also proposed the formation of a permanent world Foochow association (Singapore Foochow Association 1990: 3). Dan Sri Datuk Tiong Hiew King (丹斯里拿督張曉卿, *Zhang Xiaoqing*), a Sibiu Foochow tycoon and a Malaysian Senator, was elected the first general chairman.

The conventions took place every two years from 1990 to 2004 and have

taken place every three years thereafter. Table 4-2 lists the host cities and general chairmen of the convention from 1990 to 2010. The Sibü Foochow sponsored the second convention in 1992. They highlighted their position as the largest overseas Foochow settlement. Almost all the general chairmen have strong connections to Sibü. The only exception is Dan Sri Ngan Chin Wen from Selangor, a state in Peninsular Malaysia. The founding president Dan Sri Dato Tiong Hiew King was

Table 4-2. The Host City and of the Convention of World Federation of Fuzhou Associations

Year	Host City	General Chairman
1990	Singapore	Dan Sri Datuk Tiong Hiew King (丹斯里拿督張曉卿)
1992	Sibü, Sarawak, Malaysia	Dan Sri Datuk Tiong Hiew King
1994	Foochow, China	Dan Sri Datuk Tiong Hiew King
1996	Bangkok, Thailand	Dan Sri Datuk Tiong Hiew King
1998	Beijing, China	Dan Sri Ngan Ching Wen (丹斯里顏清文)
2000	Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia	Dato' Sero Burhan Uray (拿督斯里黃雙安)
2002	Jakarta, Indonesia	Dato' Sero Burhan Uray
2004	Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia	Datuk Tiong Su Kouk (拿督張仕國)
2007	Foochow, China	Datuk Tiong Su Kouk
2010	Miri, Sarawak, Malaysia	Dan Sri Datuk Lau Hieng Wui (丹斯里拿)

		督劉賢威)
--	--	-------

Source: WFFAL 2007.

reelected to four terms. Dato' Sero Burhan Uray is an Indonesian tycoon, but he was the son of Foochow farmers in Bindangor, a Foochow settlement near Sibul.

Datuk Tiong Su Kouk was born in Sibul; he is in the aquaculture and food processing industries. Dan Sri Datuk Lau Hien Wei was born in Sibul; he is in the timber business in Miri.

Formal Registered Organization

Ten years after the first convention, the Foochow people proposed the establishment of a formal organization in 2000. The majority of its members were in Malaysia. However, the Society Registrar of Malaysia prohibited the registration of international organizations in the country. Therefore, the convention is registered in Hong Kong as a non-profit organization. The Registrar of Society at Hong Kong approved the World Federation of Fuzhou Associations Limited (WFFAL, 世界福州十邑同鄉總會有限公司) on 30 March 2001. Its organic articles define the following terms:

“Fuzhou Shi Yi” means the ten counties subordinate to the Fuzhou Yamen under the Imperial System, i.e. Minhou, Fuqing, Changle, Lianjiang, Luoyuan, Minqing, Yongtai, Gutian, Pingnan and Pingtan.

“Compatriot” means a Fuzhou compatriot descended from the above origins.

“Compatriot Society” means a legally constituted society established out of any home village (i.e. the territory governed by the Imperial Fuzhou Yamen) by Fuzhou compatriots originated from any jurisdiction under the Imperial Fuzhou Yamen. (Yayasan Bukit Mulia Indah 2002: MAA 12).

These terms define the membership of the association based on the geography of Foochow in the Qing Dynasty. Therefore, the organization maintains a cultural identity based on traditional Foochow culture. By doing so, it distances itself from the Chinese government. The status of Sibu in the WFFAL was further consolidated when the Centennial Building for the Sibu Foochow Settlement was finished in 2004. The WFFAL housed its permanent office in the building.

Confluence of Old and New Associations

According to the most recent printed material, the WFFAL had forty-eight

member organizations in 2007 (WFFAL 2007). I classify them into three categories by specific geography and history. The first category is 'Malay Archipelago compatriots'. Twenty-three associations in Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore and Indonesia belong in this category. Among them, eleven members are from Sarawak. The number of members of this category is still growing as the Foochow leaders encourage their fellows to form local associations. For example, three new Foochow associations, located in small bazaar towns in Sarawak, were established in March 2009. The number of the members in the Federation of Foochow Associations of Sarawak has increased to thirty-two as a result (*Sin Hua Daily*, 17 March 2009, p.1).

The second category is 'old compatriots'. Associations in Greater China, East Asia and the United States founded before 1980 belong in this category. This category includes pre-Open Door Policy immigrants.

The third category is 'new immigrants'. These associations are based in New Zealand, Australia, the United States, Canada and Europe. Most of them have been organized by new wave of Fuzhou migrants from China since the late 1970s, following the Open Door Policy.

I interviewed the general chairman of the WFFAL, Dan Sri Datuk Lau Heing

Wui (丹斯里拿督劉賢威, *Liu Xianwei*), on 3 December 2009. He elaborates the spirit of Foochow people, “Foochow is the most adventurous group in the eyes of other groups. Alongside the adventurous spirit, we must equip ourselves with knowledge, reasoning and sharp eyes to avoid blind following. Successful Foochow entrepreneurs are keen at donating to education and welfare. They are highly appraised by the society. We Foochow value and participate in education. We have countless cases of the Foochow participating in education all over the world. “The leaders of the WFFAL are actively participating in Chinese education. Lau values the significance of Chinese education in that it can promote substantial development of Chinese culture, advancement of the young, and knowledge of history and heritage of the ancestral homeland. Lau asserts that the adventurous spirit and the generous contribution of Foochow are a reflection of social progress.

Lau considered his major tasks to be recruiting new members and assisting the Foochow people in organizing new associations. He visited the affiliated associations in Peninsula Malaysia and Taiwan. He organized delegations to South Africa, Argentina and Myanmar. The Foochow in these regions are now organizing their own Chinese-tutored primary schools.

The WFFAL maintains intensive connections with the official or semi-official institutions of China, especially the Chinese Overseas Friendship Association (中華海外聯誼會, *Zhonghua haiwai lienyihui*) and the United Front Work Department (統一戰線工作部, *Tong'i zhanxian gongzoubu*). The WFFAL always organizes its meetings of the standing committee in Foochow. The committee members can renew their connections in Foochow. The organizer of the China Import and Export Fair (中國進出口商品交易會)² regularly sends invitations to the WFFAL.

Chairman Lau also felt proud of being invited to the Celebration for the Sixtieth Anniversary of the PRC in October 2009. Lau said, “The rise of China as a pride for overseas Chinese. China gains the status of an economic superpower after the Open Door policy. The world cast their eyes to China.”

Cultural Efforts by the WFFAL

The WFFAL values cultural activities. It has hosted the Bing Xin Prize of Literature (冰心文學獎, *Bingxin wenxuejiang*) since 1996. Bing Xin was a famous Foochow writer and she became a modern cultural icon in Foochow and

² Based in Guangzhou (Canton), the biannual China Import and Export Fair is always called the Canton Fair (廣州交易會).

China. In 2001, the Foochow people celebrated the centenary of Sibü settlement.

Four years later, a magnificent “Centennial Building for Sibü Foochow

Settlement” (詩巫福州墾場百週年紀念樓) was completed. (Figure 4-1) This

building houses the head offices of the Sibü Foochow Association, the Sarawak

Federation of Foochow Associations and the World Foochow Association. It also

houses the World Fuzhou Heritage Gallery (世界福州十邑文物館). The

memorial hall represents the economic and political power of the Foochow people

in Sibü. It shows a crystallization of their localized and transnationalized

Foochow identity.

The gallery is the first museum of Foochow culture in overseas Chinese

society. It focuses on the migration history of the Foochow to Sibü and the



Figure 4-1 Centennial Building for Sibuan Fuzhou Settlement and the World Fuzhou Heritage Gallery. (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsun, 5 May 2009).

traditional Sibü Foochow lifestyle. The exhibition includes the images of honored pioneers, the events of Sibü, as well as farming, logging, carpentry, rubber tapping and cooking artifacts. The gallery also maintains a special collection of Foochow literature as a research resource. The gallery published a book called *Tastes and Flavours of Foochow* (福州鄉味探源) in November 2010. The book is based on a field survey of the ancestral homeland in March 2010. Its contents encompass the traditional and modernized Foochow cuisines in the ancestral homeland and Sibü. Readers can attain better understanding of the so-called genuine Foochow cuisines and the lately invented ones in Sibü (World Fuzhou Heritage Gallery 2010).

This field trip was made possible with the funding and assistance from the WFFAL. The United Fronts and the Unions of Compatriots in four county governments in the greater Fuzhou, including Fuzhou City, Minqing County, Gutien County and Pingnan County, generously treated the delegate from Sibü with signature cuisines. The Foochow office of the WFFAL invited local scholars to introduce genuine Foochow traditional culture and cuisine.

The WFFAL makes cultural and educational efforts in the ancestral homeland of Foochow, China. It promotes performances by Min drama (閩劇) masters. It hosts singing contests and song writing contests (福州歌曲創作比賽).

It organizes the Foochow Cuisine Festival (福州美食節). It donates books to primary and elementary schools (捐書助學獻愛心).

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have discussed the organizational transition of the regional-language-based associations and the transnational network of the Foochow.

The emergence of regional-language-based associations in Sibü was a response to the growing complexity of the Chinese community in the 1930s. It also met the need for negotiation between sub-ethnic groups to manage fundraising to support China against Japan in the 1930s.

In the postwar time, the Foochow gradually gained economic and political leadership in the Sibü bazaar from the 1950s to 1960s. They took over the chairmanships of the Sibü Chinese Chamber of Commerce and other focal leadership roles.

The May 13 Riot and the New Economic Policy brought a sense of crisis for the Malaysian Chinese. They organized various pan-Malaysia federations of associations under the slogan of 'From the Small Solidarity to the Larger

Solidarity'. Federations of Chinese associations and federations of regional-language-based associations emerged during the 1970s and 1980s. These pan-Malaysian associations laid a foundation for transnational development.

The PRC government adopted the Open Door Policy in 1978. It made efforts to eliminate wrongdoing toward the overseas compatriots from the 1950s to 1970s. Hong Kong and Singapore took the lead in exploring the possibilities in transnational networking with the ancestral homeland. However, Malaysian Chinese eventually played an active role in the 1990s. The Sibü Foochow were rich because of rubber and timber. They also enjoyed a population advantage in Foochow overseas communities. The general chairmen of the WFFAL are always Sibü-based or Sibü-related tycoons. The WFFAL housed its head office in the Centenary Memorial Hall of the Sibü Foochow Settlement.

The worldwide association plays its role in connecting the compatriots. Foochow people show and strengthen their cultural identity by visiting, publishing and installing galleries. They also make efforts to enhance the cultural development in their ancestral homeland.

Chapter 5. Historical Interpretation, Landscape Shaping and

Transnational network

The story of Wong Nai Siong has always been a topic of debate in Sibuan Chinese society. The debate reached its height in a modern landscape-shaping project in Sibuan started in 2001.

Modern nation-states take landscape-making and memory of an ancestral land as major means of shaping and consolidating national identity (Alonso 1994, Anderson 1993[1983], Smith 1996). Recent research indicates that ethnic groups and sub-ethnic groups also assert their own historical interpretations in a multicultural setting. David Jacobson asserts that there has been a transition of landscape-shaping from nationalism to multiculturalism in the United States. Since the notion of the nation-state emerged in the seventeenth century, people tended to conceptualize the nation and state, the people and the land into an integral unity. Yet the juxtaposition of community, territory and polity is a relatively new phenomenon in history (Jacobson 2001: 4).

Promoting ethnic nationalism is a sensitive issue for the Chinese in Malaysia. The Malaysia government has promoted the economic and political status of the

Malays through the New Economic Policy (NEP) since 1970. The NEP offered the Malays favored investment, employment and education opportunities, while the Chinese had restricted opportunities. The Islamic fundamentalist movement in the 1980s urged the government to make the country more Islamic. The government provided full support to the building of Islamic mosques (Carstens 2005: 158-9).

The Malaysian Chinese soon reacted in a joint memorandum in 1983. Fifteen major Malaysia Chinese organizations asserted that ‘the national culture and value system must be to mobilize the fine elements in the culture of all ethnic groups to resist the racial extremists...’ (The Major Chinese Organizations in Malaysia 1983: 96). The appeal for cultural rights eventually earned a response from the Malaysian government. In the late 1990s, the government listed Chinese New Year in the list of public holidays and allowed Chinese to perform lion dancing in festivals and celebrations. This awareness has stimulated the Sibu Chinese sub-ethnic groups to develop their own historical narratives since the 1980s.

However, a modernization project for purpose of promoting the status of the Malays is still going. Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammad, who led Malaysia from 1980 to 2003, promoted a modernist discourse at the Malay: “the rationale

for rapid industrialization and scientific advancement lies in their congruence with Islam”. Several new skyscrapers featuring Islamic architecture motifs in Kuala Lumpur are the symbols of the new Malay-constituted nation (Willford 2004: 100). Malaysian Chinese do not engage in similar modern landscape-shaping in Kuala Lumpur to demonstrate their identity. However, the modernization project has significant development in the Chinese community of the marginal city Sibü.

In 2001, the Sibü Municipal Council (SMC) initiated a landscape-shaping project, the public private partnership park (官民合作公園). Yet the project soon became an arena for sub-ethnic groups in Sibü. They were keen to build memorial parks to commemorate their specific pioneer figures. These sub-ethnic groups used to show their historical narratives in their souvenir magazines. Now the landscape-shaping project made the debates more visible in open space.

In this chapter, my research questions are: What is the relationship between historical interpretation and landscape-shaping in Sibü? How do these sub-ethnic groups demonstrate their transnational network in the context of memorial parks? How the Chinese negotiate their identity in a multi-cultural society?

The first topic is the historical narratives of the Chinese in the 1980s and their connection to memorial parks in the 2000s. Secondly, I introduce and

analyze six memorial parks in Sibü that have strong connections with the history of various settlements in Sibü. Thirdly, I discuss the meaning conveyed by the landscape-shaping, especially that of transnational networks with ancestral homelands.

Local Historical Writing and Identity-Shaping

The Sibü Chinese are keen on historical writing. The major channels to publish are newspapers, souvenir magazines and gallery exhibitions. These local historical writings may represent either the people's identity as Chinese or as a member of sub-ethnic groups.

First of all, Chinese newspapers provide a vehicle for local writers to publish their articles on local history, customs and literature. Some of the writers can compile anthologies of their works in newspaper. The most seminal and famous local historian Lau Tzy Chen (劉子政, *Liu Zizheng*) published more than twenty books. In his most widely read book, *Wong Nai Siong and New Foochow* (黃乃裳與新福州) (Lau 1998[1978]), he reappraises Wong Nai Siong as the Kangchu (港主, chartered contractor of a colony) of the Sibü Foochow settlement. Scholars continue to build on Lau's work.

Lau Tzy Chen and later scholars (Yeap 1995; Huang Jian Chun 2000, 2009; Leung 2006; Pang 2008) possibly overemphasize the role of Wong Nai Siong in establishing modern Sibiu. Some give the impression that Wong discovered Sibiu or the Foochow are the only important Chinese group in Sibiu. This viewpoint upsets both the non-Foochow Chinese and subgroups in the Foochow. They have tried to write alternative histories in the souvenir magazines of their own associations, churches and temples.

Secondly, the publication of souvenir magazines is a tradition in Chinese communities of Malaysia and Singapore. They also invited compatriots in Sibiu to provide an article for these magazines. For example, the Singapore-based Nanyang Khok (Hakka) Community Guild invited Sibiu Hakka to provide an article for its souvenir magazine (Wan Dao Qui 1965: A143).

Sibiu Chinese began to compile such magazines in the 1950s. The first souvenir magazine was published to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Sibiu Foochow Settlement by the Sibiu Foochow Association (1952). The number of souvenir magazines published in Sibiu dramatically increased after the 1980s. This paralleled the development of the local economy and the rise of cultural awareness.

These magazines showed diversified historical viewpoints to the same place. For example, the Sibuan Chiang Chuan Association published its souvenir magazine for its fiftieth anniversary in 1987 (Sibuan Chiang Chuan Association 1987). The former chairman of the association, Chiou Peng Ching (周平清, *Zhou Pingqing*), said his aim of publishing the souvenir magazine was to counter the historical interpretation by the Foochow. Its contents included the history of pioneer, Chiang Chuan, the former Kapitan China in Sibuan and the anti-colonialist activities in the 1950s. However, the circulation of souvenir magazine is limited. Only the members of the association or the visitors can get a copy.

Thirdly, the gallery exhibition became an alternative method of historical interpretation in the 1980s. The Sibuan Civic Center organized a permanent installation for the Chinese people in Sarawak in 1989. Local historians Chua Chung Toi and Choo Mun Hua – Chua is Hokkien and Choo is Cantonese – drafted the exhibition text. The curators addressed the following topics: Chinese culture, Mandarin schools and the history of each Chinese sub-ethnic group. They wish to demonstrate the multivocal histories of every sub-ethnic group.

Public Private Partnership Parks

The late Congressman Datuk Lau Hoi Chew (拿督劉會洲, *Liu Huizhou*) promoted the public private partnership park (官民合作公園) project while he was the chairman of the Sibul Municipal Council (SMC) from 2001 to 2004. This project addressed a shortfall in the SMC public park budget. The SMC encouraged associations to offer half of the construction fee of a new park. The SMC then pays the balance. Once the construction is finished, the SMC is responsible for maintenance.

In every new developmental project, the SMC reserved five percent for public spaces. Any association interested in the park project may select a piece of the reserved land. The association, the SMC and designers work together on the design and construction of the park.

The required facilities in a public private partnership park depend on its scale. In a site of more than two acres, the SMC requires that the park grounds include a sheltered basketball court, two gazebos, jogging paths and playgrounds, in order to address the need of diverse users. The rest of the land is planted with grass.

Alongside the basic design of a park, the SMC allows the fund provider, either an association or an individual, to erect plaques and artistic designs

commemorating specific historical figures or events. The fund providers can show their specific history. The history is no longer limited to the few who can access souvenir magazines. Now everyone who visits the park can access the history.

The major designers of the project are Sibuan-born and Manchester-educated Tiong Chee Zen (張濟仁, *Chang Jiren*) and his wife Lau Lee Sen (劉利仙, *Liu Lixian*). Both went to the University of Manchester together. Tiong earned a master's degree in architecture and Lau earned a master's degree in landscape architecture. Tiong recalled that landscape architecture was a new program in Manchester when they arrived in England. After graduating in the 1980s, they returned to Sarawak and organized two companies based in Kuching. Tiong Chee Zen focuses on architecture, Lau Li Sen focuses on landscape; they have always worked together this way.

In the late 1990s, the Sibuan Municipal Council invited Lau Li Sen to participate in the park construction project in Sibuan. Since then, Lau and Tiong have worked on many large parks that the SMC has funded, including the Bukit Aup (Mount Stone) Jubilee Park, the Sibuan Town Square, the Sibuan Gateway and Walk, the Riverside Park, and the Sibuan Central Market.

The landscaping project has introduced modern elements into the Sibü bazaar.

The Sibü bazaar is on an island in the Limbangan River. Now the landscaping project covers most of the river. The Sibü Central Market is on a covered section.

Later, Lau Li Sen and Tiong Chee Zen worked on the smaller public private partnership parks. Thus, the latter is a continuation of the former greater projects.

The current chairman of the SMC, Datuk Tiong Tai King (張泰卿, *Zhang Taiqing*), told me the function of these public private partnership parks. They make up for the lack of cultural heritage sites and natural wonders in Sibü. The Deputy Chairman of the SMC, Daniel Ngieng King Ann (嚴建安, *Yen Jianan*), describes the public private partnership parks as a “smart partnership” between the SMC and NGOs. The SMC is one of twenty-five local councils in Sarawak and has limited revenue. The public private partnership park project can help to reduce the expenditures of the construction of open space.

In comparison to other ethnic groups in Sibü, the Chinese community has more resources to participate in the public private partnership park projects.

Moreover, Chinese regional-language-based associations have turned the project into a competition. The participation of native groups in this project is relatively small. Daniel Ngieng mentioned that the native people in Sibü are a minority.

They also express their concern about the over-representation of the Chinese community. To address these concerns, the SMC reserves several projects for the natives and provided full funding; for example, the Malanau Park and Taman Harmony (the Harmony Garden). The Malanau are the indigenous people in Sibuhazuar. Taman Harmony is a night market designated for Malay entrepreneurs to manage their food stands.

As part of the project, Sibuhazuar associations have established more than ten public private partnership parks from 2002 to 2007. I will focus on six parks which have connections with the pioneers of the Chinese settlements (Table 5-1, Figure 5-1).

Wong Nai Siong Memorial Garden

The Sibuhazuar Foochow celebrated the Centenary of the Foochow Settlement on 16 March 2001. On the very day, they celebrated the grand opening of the Wong Nai Siong Memorial Garden (Figure 5-2). The garden is a part of the Sungai Seduan River Walk Project along Sungai Merah (紅水河, Red Water River) in Seduan (新珠山 or 西端). Seduan is a bazaar town five kilometers away from Sibuhazuar's downtown. The Sibuhazuar Foochow Association participated in the construction

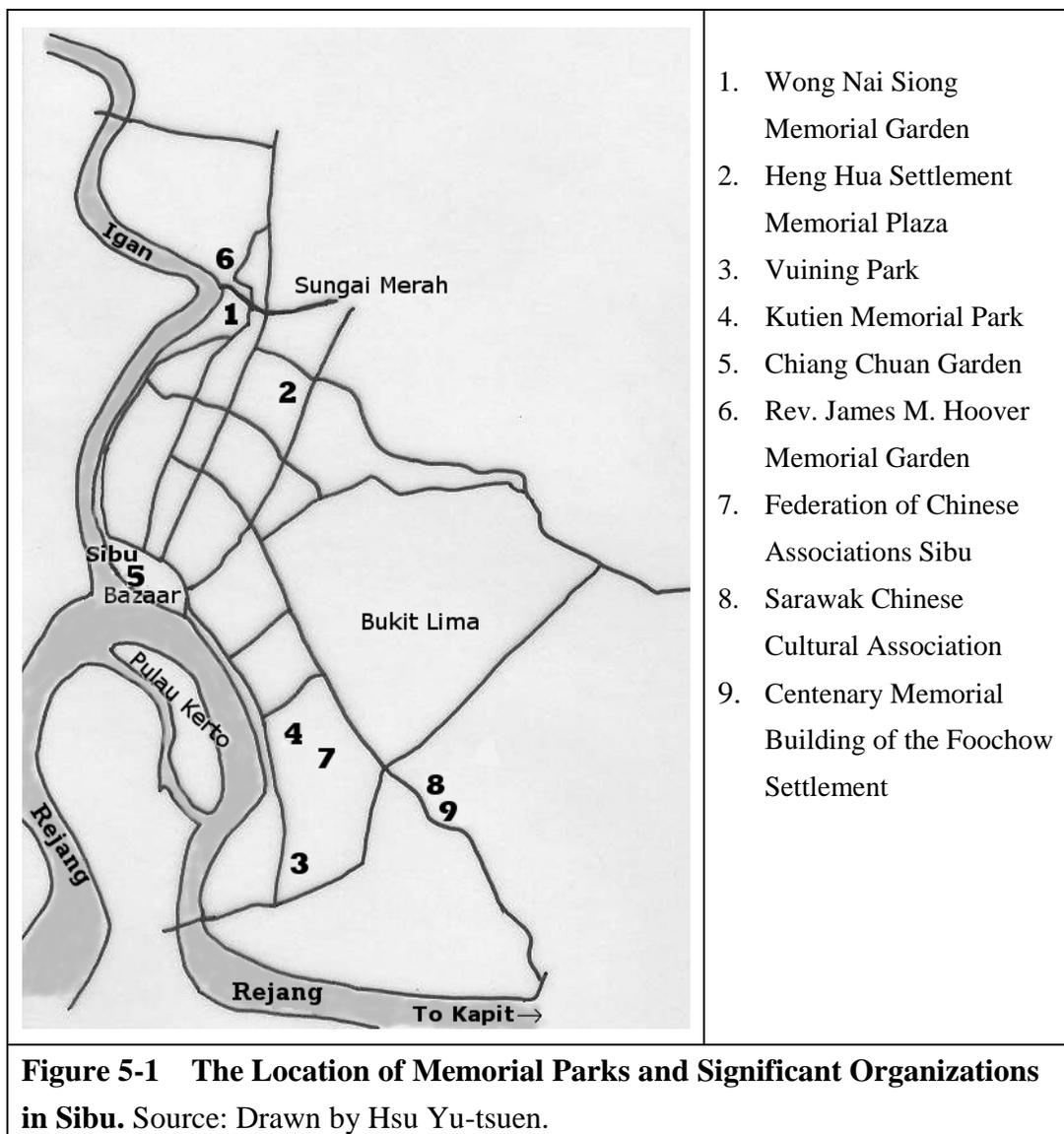
Table 5-1 Six Memorial Parks in Sibü Associated with the Pioneers of the Settlements

	Name of Park	Date of Officiating	Organizer
1	Wong Nai Siong Mem. Garden (乃裳公園)	March 16, 2001	Sibu Foochow Association (詩巫福州公會)
2	Heng Hua Settlement Memorial Plaza (興化墾場紀念廣場)	May 19, 2002	Sibu Heng Hua Pusen Association (詩巫興化莆仙公會)
3	Vuining Park (會寧公園)	June 21, 2002	Sarawak Vuining Committee for the Centenary of the Cantonese Settlement in Sibü (砂拉越會寧同鄉慶祝廣東墾場 100 週年紀念籌委會)
4	Kutien Memorial Park (古田紀念公園)	July 8, 2004	Sarawak Kutien Association (砂拉越古田公會)
5	Chiang Chuan Garden (漳泉園)	September 24, 2005	Sibu Chiang Chuan Association (詩巫漳泉公會)
6	Rev. James M. Hoover Memorial Garden (富雅各紀念公園)	July 27, 2007	Sarawak Chinese Annual Conference, The Methodist Church of Malaysia (馬來西亞基督教衛理公會砂拉越華人年議會)

Source: Wong Meng Lei 2002, Sibü Chiang Chuan Association 2005, and field data.

of this garden. It chose the site for two reasons.

First of all, this place is near the original place of the Foochow settlement in Sibü. On 16 March 1901, when Wong Nai Siong led the second batch of Foochow migrants to Sibü, they landed at the Sibü bazaar and marched to Seduan. The



Rajah Government prepared several rooftop houses there. These migrants stayed there and moved to the rural area later. Secondly, the Foochow Methodists built their first church in Sibiu. This church, the Sin Ang Tong Church (新安堂, *Xin An Tang*), was built right beside the river.



Figure 5-2 Wong Nai Siong Memorial Garden. The overall design represents a steamer driving through the sea. (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 19 May 2009).

Before the celebration in Sibiu, the Foochow people organized a Thanksgiving roots-seeking odyssey. A delegation returned to visit ten counties in

Foochow from 6 December 2000 to 12 December 2000, to celebrate the centenary of the Sibü Foochow Settlement (詩巫福州墾場百週年紀念巡拜十邑感恩之旅訪問團). They hosted the raising of memorial stones (立碑儀式) in ten counties as well as a service at the Mausoleum of Wong Nai Siong in Minqing County.

The renewal of the mausoleum and the building of the Memorial Hall for Wong Nai Siong cost RMB 1.2 million yuan (approximately 221 thousand Canadian dollars in December 2000)¹, all donated by Sibü compatriots (Organizing Committee for Commemorating the Centenary of the Sibü Foochow Settlement 2001: 231-237).

The Wong Nai Siong Memorial Garden is tiny, but it set an example for other sub-ethnic groups to follow. The Vuining and the Hinghua soon submitted their projects to the SMC and they elaborated in greater detail the story of their migration (see below).

Four years later, the Foochow made an effort to compensate for the limited information of the Wong Nai Sing Memorial Garden. When the Centenary Memorial Building of the Foochow Settlement was finished on 1 July 2005, the

¹ According to rate of currency exchange on 12 December 2000, one Chinese Renminbi is for 0.1845 Canadian Dollar. (http://www.xe.com/ict/?basecur=CAD&historical=true&month=12&day=12&year=2000&sort_by=name&image.x=32&image.y=14) Retrieved on 5 December 2011.

building housed an extensive historical and cultural representation of the overseas Foochow culture in the World Foochow Heritage Gallery (世界福州十邑文物館). It also installed a series of plaques in the Hall of the Hundred Year History of the Sibü Foochow Settlement (詩巫福州墾場一百週年歷史走廊).

Hinghua Settlement Memorial Plaza

The Hinghua Settlement Memorial Plaza is located in a suburban neighborhood called Houyang (后洋) around Seduan (西端); it is an early settlement of the Hinghua. This piece of land was transformed from a rubber farm into a residential area in the 1980s.

When the Sibü Hinghua Association organized the ninetieth anniversary of



the Hinghua Settlement on 19 May 2002, it decided to build the plaza as a part of the celebration (Figure 5-3). A memorial plaque contained an inscription of the

Figure 5-3. Hinghua Settlement Memorial Plaza.

(Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 9 March 2009).

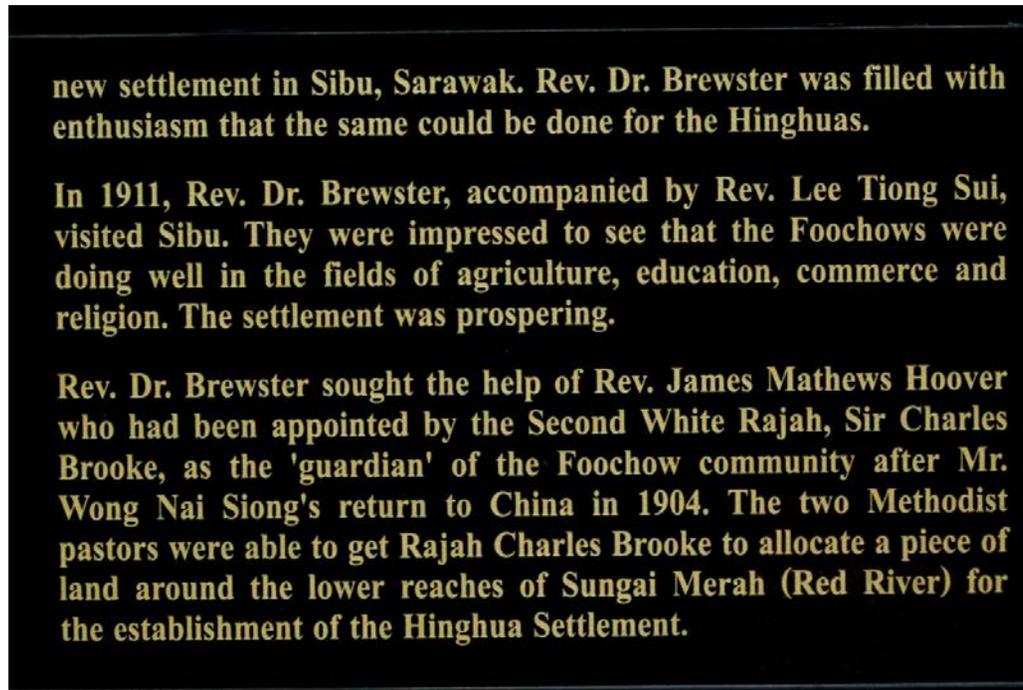


Figure 5-4 Historical Narrative in the plaque of the Hinghua Settlement Memorial Plaza. (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 9 March 2009).

migrants history of the Hinghua Settlement and the names of its first two groups.

The inscription acknowledged the merit of the Methodist Church (Figure 5-4).

Rev Dr Brewster and Rev Lee Tiong Sui received assistance from Rev Hoover,

leading 101 Hinghua migrants to Sibü in 1912.

Being in the core of a residential area, the plaza consists of a covered court, two pavilions, and a surrounding running path. It fulfills the recreational needs for the neighborhood (Sarawak Sibü Hinghua Pusen Association 2002: 50). Sibü

people always consider the Hinghua as an ally of the Foochow. Through the establishment of the plaza, they reasserted their independent existence.

Vuining Park

The Vuining (會寧人, *Huining ren*) used to live in the upriver area from Sibui. Their ancestors came from Sivui (四會, *Sihui*) and Kwongning (廣寧, *Guangning*) of Guangdong Province. “Vuining” is a short form for Sivui and Kwongning.

When the Vuining community leaders learned about the project of the Wong Nai Siong Memorial Garden in 2001, they went to Datuk Lau Hoi Chew’s office. Soon after that, the SMC approved the project of the Vuining Park. The park commemorates the Cantonese Kangchu (the chartered leader of a settlement): Then Kung Suk (鄧公菽, *Deng Gongsu*), Kong Yit Khim (江嶧琴, *Jiang Yiqin*) and other pioneers. When the second group of Foochow migrants arrived in Kuching in 1901, Kung Suk and two other fellows accompanied them to Sibui on the same day. On a three-day trip, they surveyed upstream Sibui for a possible site for a new settlement. They felt satisfied and Then Kung Suk went to Kuching and signed the contract with the Rajah on 5 March 1901.

The first group of Vuining arrived at the Lanang Settlement, seven kilometers east of the Sibu bazaar on 22 April 1902. Unfortunately, the management of the settlement was not smooth and it went bankrupt in 1911. Then Kong Suk and his fellows from Sansui and other counties left, but Kong Yit Khim led the Vuining to stay. They gradually expanded the settlement from 1911 to 1917 to include several villages (Sarawak Vuining Committee for Celebration 2002: 92-94).

For the construction of the Vuining Park, the Vuining organized the Sarawak Vuining Committee for the Centenary of the Cantonese Settlement in Sibu in 2001. Its chairman was Kong Sien Han (江先漢, *Jiang Xianhan*), the former chairman of the SMC from 1991 to 2001. According to an interview with Kong on 25 April 2009, he interpreted the park as a reconfirmation of the Vuining people's merit. The construction is also a representation of connections with the ancestral homeland. With comparison to the former two memorial gardens, the Vuining Park is a more elaborate expression of the relationship between the settlers and their ancestral homeland. The Vuining Park was the first park to include a message from the mainland Chinese. The People's Government of

Zhaoqing City Guangdong Province (中國廣東省肇慶市人民政府) provided a celebratory stele.

Kong Sien Han recalled the first delegation of the Vuining people to China in 1991, “I organized a ‘Delegation to China’ (中國訪問團) in the name of the Sarawak Vuining Association. We had only one hundred or so members, but the local government summoned more than ten thousand people to greet us. They performed a dragon dance, a lion dance, gongs and bells. They felt impressed by my speech in Guangning Hakka. They could not believe that a fellow from Sarawak could speak Guangning Hakka”.

Kong Sien Han established relationships with the Guangning County government. The Association for Returning Compatriots of Guangning County awarded him a position as honorary chairman.

The Vuining Park installed the first plaque describing the history of a specific settlement in Sibü (Figure 5-6). Its contents include the impoverished situation in the ancestral homeland in Qing Dynasty, the scene of the contract signing with the Rajah and the lives of early migrants. The subsequent memorial parks follow a similar format of historical narrative.



Figure 5-5 Vuining Park Each post represents a village in the Cantonese settlement. (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 15 January 2009)

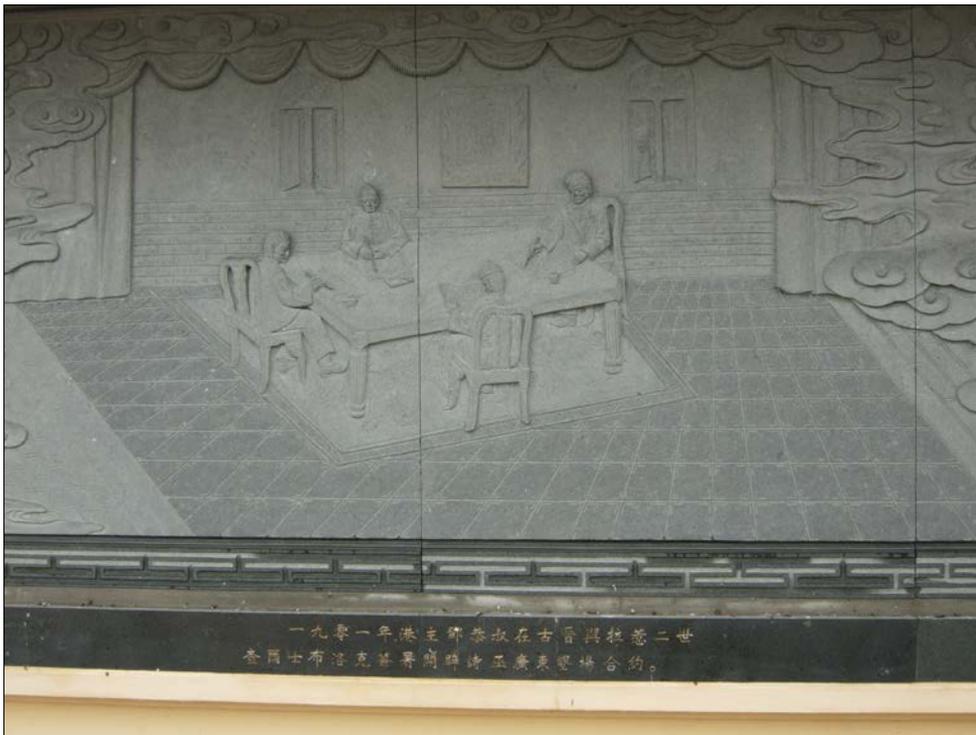


Figure 5-6 A Plaque: Then Kung Suk signed the contract with the Rajah. (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 15 January 2009)

Kutien Memorial Park

The Kutien came from one of the Foochow-speaking counties, now Gutian in Fujian Province, China. They organized the Sibü Kutien Association (詩巫古田公會) in 1928 to support a high school in Kutien, but this project was interrupted in 1949 after the establishment of the People's Republic of China. The association became more localized and focused on the welfare of the Kutien fellows. The association was renamed the Sarawak Kutien Association (砂拉越古田公會) in 1985 to acknowledge the fact that Kutien people have spread widely in Sarawak. The association organized its first tour to Kutien in 2000, the 'Millennium Year Roots Seeking Tour to China' (千禧年中國尋根訪祖之旅). A student exchange program between Sibü and Kutien started at that time (Sarawak Kutien Association 2000, 2008).

The first Kutien people arrived in Sibü in 1901 under an arrangement by Wong Nai Siong. The Kutien people went to their first settlement at Ensurai (王士來). An informant said, "Wong Nai Siong is a Minchiang, the Kutien considered Wong favored his Minchiang fellow in the management of settlement. In 1904, Wong planned to tax the Foochow fellows for the purpose of returning the loan from Rajah Brooke. Quarrels burst out as a result, especially in the Kutien

settlements. Finally, the Rajah ordered Wong Nai Siong to leave. The Minchiang and the Kutien maintained an uneasy relationship in Sibü.” The Kutien considered the merit of Wong Nai Siong as overemphasized. They have their own historical interpretations.

Ensurai is the original location of the Kutien settlement; however, most of residents have moved to the Sibü bazaar and suburban areas. Ensurai is now a downsized settlement and is distant from the urban area. Therefore, the Sarawak Kutien Association did not select Ensurai as the site of a memorial park. Instead, they chose a site at Bukit Lima (Five Hills), near the plaza of the FCAS (Federation of Chinese Associations Sibü) and the Wong Nai Siong High School.

Leaders of the Kutien Association did not accept the original design provided by the SMC. They felt the design incorporated too many native elements, and it did not properly show Chinese elements. In the revised version, Chinese elements became bolder. Yet, it not only represents the connection to the ancestral homeland, but also that to the new homeland of Sibü. The design includes a monumental archway, a Chinese-style pavilion, a pond, a pagoda, two memorial stones and a giant stone.

The monumental archway is located at the formal entrance to the park, a stone structure composed of four pillars and a decorative roof. ‘Kutien Memorial Park’ is inscribed on its façade. A quatrain is inscribed on its four pillars. Sibuborn Wong Chung Tiew (王春斗. *Wang Chundou*), now the chairman of the Sibuborn Kutien Association, wrote the quatrain:

“The ancient Jixiang Pagoda is erected by the Rejang River”.

(古塔吉祥鵝渚聳).

“Farmers fulfill their wishes and the Foochow gain prosperity in Sibuborn”.

(田家如意福州榮).

“Everybody cherishes the beauty of mountains in the southern nation”.

(公賞麗山南國秀).

“The park locates at an auspicious spot, the Bukit Lima (Five Hills)

bright”. (園基福地五山清).

This quatrain represents the migration history of the Kutien and their incorporation into Malaysia. In the first sentence, the Jixiang Pagoda and the Rejang River symbolized the connection between the ancestral homeland and Sibuborn. The second sentence indicates the rural-dwelling and agricultural background of the Foochow. In the third and fourth sentences, the writer



Figure 5-7 The monumental archway of Kutien Memorial Park and its quatrain. (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 3 March 2009)

demonstrates his identity as the Kutien people and Malaysian citizens.

The Chinese-styled pavilion is the Pavilion for Commemorating Our Origins (思源亭, *Si Yuan Ting*), and housed several plaques, including a detailed map of Kutien and an introduction to Kutien County. A supersized calligraphy – ‘Loyalty, filial piety, probity, virtue’ (忠孝廉節, *Zhongxiao lianjie*) features the handwriting of a Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130-1200) from the Song Dynasty. The Kutien value Zhu Xi for his merit in helping to organize academies

in Kutien in the twelfth century. The time that Zhu Xi stayed in Kutien was arguably a golden age of the remote country.

The Sibü Kutien turned a bog located at the site into a lotus pond. They decided to call it the Green Shelter Lake (翠屏湖, *Cui Ping Hu*); it is a lake formed by a dam project in the 1960s in their ancestral homeland. The old Gutian county seat and the ancient Good and Peace Pagoda (吉祥塔, *Jixiang Pagoda*) were below the waterline and had to be moved. In the memorial park, a new but smaller Jixiang Pagoda was established beside the new Cui Ping Hu. Kutien people inscribed their historical narrative of migration to Sibü on the plaques



Figure 5-8 The Jixiang Pagoda in the Kutien Memorial Park (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 17 April 2009).



Figure 5-9 Cui Ping Hu (Green Shelter Lake) in Sibei (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsun, 17 April 2009).

attached to the Jixiang Pagoda.

The park commemorated both the named and unnamed pioneers. The unnamed ones are those who died early in the settlement and had no descendants. The Kutien people also erected a stone for an anti-Japanese Kutien martyr who was executed by the Japanese military during World War II. Japanese buried him carelessly on a hill near the park. A genuine artifact from Gutian China in this park is a stone three meters in height. A piece of calligraphy written by the Mayor

of Gutian County, “the Pride of Kutien” (古田之光, *Gutien Zhiguang*), is on the stone.

Chiang Chuan Garden

The Sibuan Chiang Chuan Association proposed the construction project of the Chiang Chuan Garden in 2004. Before that, the Foochow, Hinghua, Vuining and Kutien people had all established their own memorial parks. The Chiang Chuan people wanted to do the same. From the viewpoint of the Chiang Chuan people, the Foochow seemed to overemphasize the status of Wong Nai Siong. In contrast, people overlooked the Chiang Chuan as the first Chinese pioneer in Sibuan bazaar.

Partly due to their connections to Penang and Singapore, the Chiang Chuan are a more localized sub-ethnic group in Sibuan. The Chiang Chuan lack the strong kinship connections with China that the Foochow enjoy. However, the Sibuan Chiang Chuan Association still organized their first root-seeking delegation in 2003. They made connections with the people’s governments and compatriot associations in Amoy (廈門市, *Xiamen Shi*), Chiang Chiu (漳州市, *Zhangzhou Shi*) and Chuan Chiu (泉州市, *Quanzhou Shi*).

The Chiang Chuan Garden is located right beside the Sibü Eng Ann Teng Tua Peh Kong Temple. It was also the first landing spot for the Chiang Chuan people in Sibü in the 1850s. The wharf was the Tua Peh Kong Wharf (大伯公碼頭) in the nineteenth century.



Figure 5-10 Chiang Chuan Garden (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 30 July 2007).

The construction of the Chiang Chuan Garden is a reconfirmation of the central status of Sibü Chiang Chuan in the Rejang. The Sibü Chiang Chuan Association organized a fundraising tour for bazaar towns along the Rejang,

including Sarikei, Bindangor, Kanowit, Song and Kapit. Chiang Chuan people in the drainage basin wholeheartedly supported the project.

The historical narrative of the Chiang Chuan Garden emphasizes the status of their ancestors as the pioneers of the Sibuan bazaar. The themes also include the first three Kapitan Chinas in Sibuan, the establishment of business foundations in Sibuan, conflict regulations, and the founding of Ming Der Primary School in 1918 (Sibuan Chiang Chuan Association 2005).

The Chiang Chuan Garden incorporated the cultural elements of three major ethnic groups in its plaques. Chinese themes still predominate, including stories of famous Chinese historical figures, zodiac animal symbols and traditional flowers and bird paintings. Local artists depicted Iban and Malay customs, such as weaving, music, hunting and longhouses (Figure 5-11).

Three ancestral homelands of the Chiang Chuan in China, Xiamen, Zhangzhou and Quanzhou, sponsored three plaques to introduce their tourist destinations and major developments after the Open Door Policy. They also emphasize the connection between the compatriots and the ancestral homeland.



Figure 5-11 Playing Iban Gongs. (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 14 June 2009)

Reverend Hoover Memorial Garden

The Wong Nai Siong Memorial Garden also inspired the Methodist Church. They reevaluated the contribution of Reverend James M. Hoover and the Methodist church in the socio-economical development of Sibü. This reevaluation led to academic discussion. It also led to the establishment of the Reverend James Hoover Memorial Garden.

The Conference for the Centenary of the Chinese Methodist Church in Sarawak (砂華衛理公會設教百週年研討會) took place on 17 November 2001.

It discussed Methodist missionaries, especially Revered James M. Hoover. Wong Meng Chuo asserted that the church played an important role in inspiring confidence in the Foochow pioneers. Later, Revered James Hoover promoted modernization (Wong Meng Chuo 2002: 10-11).

Choo Mun Hua compared the contributions of Wong Nai Siong and James Hoover. Wong led the Foochow pioneers to Sibü in 1901, but he left in 1904 due to financial problems. In contrast, Rajah Brooke conferred to Hoover the title of the “Head of Sarawak Foochow” in 1904. He held this title until his death in 1935. The church and education system dramatically expanded in the hands of Hoover. When Wong Nai Siong left Sibü in 1904, there was only one Methodist church and school (Sin Ann Church in Seduan). The number expanded to forty-three by the time of Hoover’s death in 1935. Hoover helped manage Foochow settlements. He introduced rubber plantations, pleaded with the Rajah to waive debts, and acquired virgin lands for the expanding Foochow settlements in Sarawak (Choo 2002: 34-6).

In an article on the three memorial gardens for the Sibü settlements, Wong Meng Lei (2002: 71-72) reappraises Reverend Hoover. His missionary work was not limited to the Foochow and the Hinghua. He was also an intermediary

between the Foochow and the Vuining Hakka. Wong Meng Lei mentions the economic development of these three settlements and the efforts of the Methodist church in the schools in the Cantonese settlement.

The Reverend Hoover Memorial Garden was initiated in 2003 and finished in 2007. On 28 March 2003, the Methodist Church hosted the Ceremony for Commemorating the Centenary of Reverend Hoover's Arrival in Sarawak (富雅各教士抵砂百週年紀念). The ceremony inaugurated the construction of the garden on the bank of Seduan River (Sungai Seduan or Sungai Merah) (Sarawak Methodist Annual Assembly 2003). The site is within a ten-minute walk of the Wong Nai Siong Memorial Park.

At the inauguration, the historical status of Reverend Hoover was commemorated by a duplicate of the plaque in the Masland Church in Sibuan bazaar. It is inscribed with the words of Rajah Sir Charles Vyner Brooke in 1935 at a memorial for Reverend Hoover:

“In Memory of James Matthew Hoover, First Missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church who served in Sarawak 1903-1935”.

“The Rev. J. M. Hoover arrived at Sibuan in March, 1903, and was responsible for setting the first Foochow colony in the Rajang River. His

Highness Sir Charles Anthony Brooke G. C. M. G., second Rajah of Sarawak, officially appointed him the head of all Sarawak Foochows, entrusted him with their welfare and made him their official representative in all their dealings with the Government. From then until the day of his death on 11th February 1935. Mr. Hoover loyally fulfilled this trust”.



Figure 5-12 Reverend Hoover Memorial Garden (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 19 May 2009)

The recent connection between the Methodists in Sibu and China is not in the content of the garden. The host did not invite any guests from China to related ceremonies. Church fellows explained that they did not want to arouse suspicion

in the Malaysian and PRC governments. The Christian connection between Sibuan and China resumed in 1999, when the Sibuan Foochow figures Lau Swee Nguong (劉瑞源, *Liu Ruiyuan*) and Lau Hoi Kang (劉會幹, *Liu Huigan*) initiated the renovation project of the Fortune Source Church (福源堂, *Fuyuan Tang*), the first Methodist church in Minchiang Foochow (Wong Meng Lei 2005: 38). Recently, the Sibuan Methodist church expanded its missionary work to the minority Miao area in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. But the Sibuan Methodist church acknowledges the missionary work to Foochow or other Han majority area is politically sensitive in the eyes of the PRC government.

The design of the Hoover Memorial Garden is remarkable for its trilingual text. All the introductory texts are in Chinese, English, and Bahasa Malaysian. The content of the garden also incorporates Christian stories and teachings. The designer tells a biblical story 'The Widow's Oil' (寡婦的油) in the garden (Figure 5-13).²

Discussion: The Multivocal History of Chinese Settlement

These memorial parks all assert that Sibuan is the locality where the pioneers of

² The King James Version of the Bible, "The barrel of meal shall not waste, neither shall the cruse of oil fail, until the day that the LORD sendeth rain upon the earth." (Kings 17:14).



Figure 5- 13 Widow's Oil. (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 10 June 2009).

Chinese sub-ethnic groups settled in Sarawak or in the Rejang. Different groups collected and crystallized their histories in the plaques of the parks. Therefore, this landscape project became an arena for these sub-ethnic groups.

Foochow people are now the predominant group in the Sibubazaar. They have maintained a local historical tradition, including the story of Wong Nai Siong and the development of churches. However, they overlook the complex composition of Sibub Chinese society. The Hinghua, Vuining and Chiang Chuan reasserted the roles of their ancestors in the development of Sibub. They establish

multiple historical narratives. The Chiang Chuan emphasize that their pioneers are the founders of the Sibü bazaar. The Chiang Chuan leaders filled the post of Kapitan China, the Chinese leader of the Sibü bazaar from 1906 to 1957. In other words, the Sibü bazaar and rural settlements (Foochow, Vuining and Hinghua) were under their own community leaders before World War II.

Furthermore, the Foochow themselves have diverse historical viewpoints. Both the Methodists and the Kutien people show their alternative historical views. They highlight a variety of pioneers and figures, such as Reverend Hoover, the named and unnamed pioneers, and an anti-Japanese martyr. Wong Nai Siong was the founder of the Sibü Foochow settlement. However, the alternative history readdresses the contributions of Reverend Hoover, the Methodist church, as well as named and unnamed people.

Reinforcing Cultural Identity and Transnational Connection

The memorial gardens of the Kutien, Vuining and Chiang Chuan all demonstrate the efforts of people to define their cultural identities. The organizers network with groups in the Chinese ancestral homeland. They all managed trips to their ancestral homeland in China and established relationships with the people's

governments and compatriot associations. Their efforts bear fruit in the memorial parks, which contain data from the ancestral homeland. They also designed plaques in cooperation with stonemasons in Xiamen.

The Kutien Memorial Park takes advantage of a larger space. The designer transformed a bog into a scene reminiscent of a Chinese cultural ideal. The detailed introduction and map of contemporary Kutien provides a guide for the younger generations to seek roots. It not only incorporates more cultural elements from China, but also properly demonstrates localized identities.

Negotiation with a Multi-Cultural Society

National identity is a sensitive topic in Malaysia. Sibü is the capital of the Sibü Division in the Sarawak State in the Federation of Malaysia. Nevertheless, Sibü plays a marginal role in national politics and thus enjoys an autonomous status to some degree. Its memorial parks are unlikely to become national issues. The organizers and designers of these memorial parks are cautious and try not to irritate other ethnic groups.

Even though these memorial parks focused on Chinese community, almost all the texts of these memorial parks are bilingual (Chinese and English) or

trilingual (plus Bahasa Malaysia). This gesture can facilitate understanding between ethnic groups. Non-Chinese people can walk in and learn more about the Chinese community. Furthermore, the organizers also incorporate some cultural elements of the natives into their gardens. For example, the Chiang Chuan Garden includes the themes of other ethnic groups in the plaques.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter discusses the relationship between historical narratives, landscape-shaping and transnational networks in the Chinese society of Sibiu. The Public Private Partnership Park Project since 2001 has involved the historical interpretations regarding the pioneers of the settlements. This project has suddenly become an arena for sub-ethnic groups. The landscape-shaping is helpful for the Sibiu Chinese in showing multivocal interpretations.

In the process of landscape-shaping, people also elaborate upon the transnational connections between the sub-ethnic groups and their ancestral homelands. The mutual visits and the gift exchanges reinforce the cultural identity of the Sibiu Chinese.

Nevertheless, the memorial parks are still in the context of Malaysia society.

The organizers and designers of these projects carefully maintain their identity as local people and Malaysian citizens. They also emphasize harmonious ethnic relationships in Sarawak.

Chapter 6. Genealogical Knowledge, History and Sacred Site Creation

Transnationalism, as Tan Chee-Beng has defined it, is ‘the maintenance of international links between regions that today are parts of different countries’. He indicates that research on transnational networks between overseas Chinese communities and their respective *qiaoxiang* (僑鄉, sojourners’ homelands) always focuses on global capitalism and transnationalism. Socio-cultural dimensions, including the phenomenon of multiple identities, are also important in transnational networking (Tan 2007: 1-2).

One of the ways in which Chinese have expressed their cultural identities since the 1970s is by organizing surname associations. Their numbers have increased from 3 in 1978 to 28 in 2010. These associations connect clan fellows in Sibü and reinforce their Chinese ancestral cultural identities and transnational network. I take the Sarawak Pan Chen Lau Clan Association (砂羅越彭城劉氏公會)¹ organized in 1978 as an example. Its original objective was compiling a genealogy. It soon diversified as it began organizing transnational networks,

¹ Chinese translation to Sarawak is now standardized as 砂拉越, while people used to translate it by their dialectic pronunciation as 砂撈越 or 砂羅越 and some organizations maintain these usages, such as the case in the Sarawak Pan Chen Lau Clan Association.

consolidating clan affiliations in Sarawak, in China and in many other countries.

This chapter will focus on the transnational networks and cultural identities of the Sarawak Pan Chen Lau Clan Association. The following questions will guide the discussion: What are the major processes behind the emergence of the surname association in the last three decades? And why has the association been so successful? How has the association participated in constructing the sacred sites associated with apical ancestors, and how does this participation relate to the construction of multiple identities? How has this reframing of transnational networks and cultural identities been transmitted to the younger generation?

In answering these questions, this chapter adopts the following structure:

First, I introduce the fieldwork site in terms of its politico-economic development.

Second, I elaborate on the organizational evolution of the Sarawak Lau Clan Association and its relationship with genealogy editions.

Third, I discuss the transnational network of the Sibu Lau Clan.

Fourth, I explore the significance of *xun gen wen zu* (尋根問祖, root seeking) as the process of reshaping of cultural identities.

Fifth, I review the educational efforts made by the association.

The Rise of Surname Associations

The basic bazaar-rural division of Sibuan peoples lasted until the 1950s. Since the 1950s, the rural-dwelling Foochow, Hinghua and Vuining peoples have gradually moved to the urban and suburban areas. This trend accelerated in the early 1970s and greatly changed the population ratio in the bazaar areas. The Chiang Chuan (from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou) gradually yielded their business advantages to the Foochow. Meanwhile, full-fledged secondary education in Sibuan gave the younger generation the opportunity for higher education in universities. They managed secondary migration to other cities in Sarawak, Peninsula Malaysia, Taiwan, Commonwealth countries and the United States.

An impressive economic boom occurred in the 1980s, when forestry and timber manufacturing reached their peaks in Sarawak. Sibuan especially benefitted from the solid accumulated capital of rubber businesses over seven decades, well-educated manpower, and the ease of transportation on the Rejang River. Several transnational timber enterprises emerged in Sibuan, such as Rimbunan Hijau Group (常青集團, RH Group) founded by Sir Tan Sri Datuk Tiong Hiew King (丹斯里拿督張曉卿爵士, *Zhang Xiaoqing*) in 1975; and the KTS Trading Private Company Limited (啟德行) founded by Dato Sri Lau Hoi Kang (拿督斯里劉會

幹, *Liu Huigan*) in 1962. These two businesses had been transnational and multidimensional for decades, and had been investing in China for all that time. They compete intensely, not only in business, but also in the management of their surname associations, namely, the Zhang Clan Association and Lau Clan Association. I focus on the Lau Clan Association.

Sarawak Pan Chen Lau Clan Association established in 1978. Before that, there were only three surname associations in Sibu: the Lung Feng Wong Clan Association (龍峰黃氏家族會, founded in 1939), the Jiang Xia Wong Clan Association (江夏黃氏公會, founded in 1960), and the Xu Clan Association (徐氏公會, founded in 1977). The Lau Clan Association soon became influential in terms of number of members and economic background. It also inspired the other surnames to organize their own associations.

Surname associations in Sibu are keen to demonstrate their transnational influence by hosting world conventions; for example, Xu clan (許), Zhang clan (張) and Yu clan (俞) organized their world conventions in Sibu in 2002, 2005 and 2009 respectively. The Pan Chen Lau Clan Association hosted the World Liu Convention in Sibu in October 2010.



Figure 6-1 The Xu Clan World Convention Garden in Sibuan. (Established 2002)(Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen, 21 December 2008)

Entering the Field

On the afternoon of the fourth day of the Chinese New Year in Sibuan in 2009, I interviewed Lau Sia Nang (劉世南, *Liu Shinan*) on the topic of the Sarawak Taiwan Graduates' Association in Sibuan (詩巫省留台同學會). After a pleasant interview, he invited me to the New Year Feast of the Lau Clan Association. The feast was in the auditorium of the Sibuan Civic Centre, where the association prepared more than one hundred Chinese-styled feast tables. The installation of

the newly-elected committee, youth chapter and women division took place in this event. All the new youth wing members dressed in *patik*, a Malaysian-style long-sleeve shirt. They swore and signed on the vow books conforming to the society regulations within the British colonial tradition. The Sibu-elected congressman Deputy Minister of Transport Datuk Robert Lau Hoi Chew (拿督劉會洲) was the guest of honor and he oversaw the vow (Figure 6-2).

At this function, I learned that Lau Sia Nang was a former Secretary General of the Lau Clan Association and had served for more than two decades. But he



Figure 6-2 Vow of the Youth Chapter of the Lau Clan Association. (Photo: Hsu Yu-tsuen , 30 January 2009).

went to Hong Kong for business soon after the feast. Five months later, he returned and stayed in Sibü for one month. I conducted follow-up interviews with him and he introduced me to the executive secretary Lau Ping (劉斌, *Liu Bin*) of the association. Also, through their assistance, I collected souvenir magazines, genealogies, and unpublished archives of the association.

History of the Lau Clan in Sibü

The Lau Clan Association in Sibü claims its membership encompassed several subethnic groups, including Foochow, Hinghua, Chiang Chuan and Guangning. However, the majority of its members trace their ancestries to a Foochow county, Minchiang (閩清縣, *Mingqing xian*). As previously mentioned, Wong Nai Siong (黃乃裳, *Huang Naishang*, 1849-1924) recruited the first three groups of 1,118 Foochow migrants to settle in Sibü in 1901. Nowadays, overseas Foochow use the umbrella term Foochow Shi Yi (福州十邑, *Fuzhou shiyi*, Ten Counties of Fuzhou) to denote their geographical sphere. In the early settlements in Sibü, most Foochow people came from Minchiang and Kutien (古田縣, *Gutien xian*). Wong Nai Siong dispatched them to different settlements; Minchiang people mainly lived in Nang Chun (南村), and Kutien people lived in Ensürai (黃土來).

Rise of Lau Kah Choo

When Wong Nai Siong failed to return the loan to the Rajah, the Rajah ordered him to leave the Foochow Settlement in 1904. Wong entrusted Lau Kah Choo (劉家洙, *Liu Jiazhu*, 1878-1954) and Wong Kim Ho (黃景和, *Huang Jinghe*) as the leaders of the Minchiang fellows. Lau Kah Choo maintained his position as a Foochow leader for five decades until his death in 1954(Lin 1994: 167-169).

Lau Kah Choo went to Sibu in 1901. He went to Nang Chun where he cultivated vegetables and did business downriver with native people. He soon accumulated a wealth of ten thousand dollars from 1901 to 1904. In 1904, Revered Hoover introduced rubber seeds to the region, sending some to Foochow leaders, including Lau Kah Choo. Lau assisted his Minchiang fellows in opening rubber plantations. He himself successfully invested in a rubber plantation of more than 400 acres in Ensurai in 1914. He actively participated in the organization of the Foochow Association, a revolutionary base Kwong Yuan She (光遠社, Glory and Far-reaching Association). In 1925, the Rajah Government appointed him a district officer in the Third Division.

Lau Kah Choo built a magnificent two-story house by a wharf by the Rejang

in 1927. Newcomers from Minchiang landed on the wharf and passed immigration clearance with his guarantee. They stayed in the house for several days until they obtained land or jobs. Therefore, newcomers did not have to worry about living in the settlement. The reliability encouraged more Minchiang people to move to rural Sibiu; those with kinship or land ties with Lau Kah Choo were especially eager to move. According to the estimation of Lau Sia Nang, approximately one-half of the villagers in Lau Kah Choo's ancestral homeland moved to Sibiu before World War II.



Figure 6-3 Lau Kah Choo's mansion (1927). The house was abandoned and washed away in the 1980s. (Retrieved from *Souvenir Magazine for Compatriot Leader Lau Kah Choo* 1987:78).

Lau Kah Choo initiated donations to ancestral temples and school buildings in 1926. First of all, he donated 1200 silver dollars for the construction of the Lau Branch Temple (劉氏支祠) at Xiang Wei, Hu Tou, Liu Du, Minchiang (閩清縣六都湖頭巷尾) in 1926. In the same year, the principal of the Wenquan High School (文泉中學) at Minchiang Xian, Xu Gang (許剛) visited Sibü for fundraising purposes. The donation offered by Lau Kah Choo and other Sibü Minchiang fellows exceeded the immediate needs of the school; therefore, they decided to organize a rubber plantation of 137 acres under its name. Lau Kah Choo served as the first chairman of its Sibü Board of Directors (文泉中學詩巫董事會) for managing the plantation and subsequent remittances (Minqing Dier Zhungxue 1993: 5-6). The government halted remittances during the Japanese occupation from 1941 to 1945 as well as after the founding of People's Republic of China in 1949.

The Minchiang people proposed the organization of a formal organization to manage the property of Wenquan High School under the pressure from the British government in 1957. As a result, the Minchiang organized the Sibü Min Chiang Association as a trustee and registered it in 1958 (Lau Sia Nang 1994: 20-21). The association held stock in the Foochow-owned Hock Hua Bank (福華銀行, *Fuhua*

Yinhang). As the bank grew rapidly, this investment laid a sound financial base for the association.

Genealogy Compilation

Lau Kah Choo also initiated the tradition of editing genealogy (族譜) in the Sibü Lau Clan. He returned to his ancestral hometown in 1918 and subsidized the publishing of *The Genealogy of Huguang Branch of the Lau Clan* (湖光劉氏支譜) (*Souvenir Magazine for Compatriot Leader Lau Kah Choo* 1987: 287).

The establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 was inspiring news for the Sibü Chinese. However, the ruling British government soon adopted an anti-Communist policy and conceived the connection with China as a threat.

The government interrupted the movement of people between Sarawak and China in the mid-1950s. Nevertheless, the Lau Clan in Sibü initiated its first compilation right after the interruption and Lau Kah Choo's death in 1954. They edited two sequels after a twenty-year interval. These three editions are as follows:

- A. *Genealogy of Pan Chen Lau Clan Migrants in Sibü* (彭城劉氏遷殖詩巫族譜), compiled from 1955 to 1957 and printed in 1958.
- B. *Genealogy of the Lau Clan in Sarawak* (砂羅越劉氏族譜), compiled from

1978 to 1982 and printed in 1982.

C. *Genealogy of Pan Chen Lau Clan in Sarawak* (砂羅越彭城劉氏族譜),

compiled from 2002 to 2007 and printed in 2007.

Content Analysis of the Genealogies

The content of these editions reveals the sub-ethnic community composition of the Lau Clan, population growth and spread of the Lau Clan in Sarawak, and the organizational transition of the Lau Clan Association. The first edition has established the basic structure of entries in the Lau Clan Genealogy. The unit of entries is the household consisting of a male family head, his wife and offspring.

In every entry, the basic data includes:

A. The Family Head's name (正名)

B. Original Ancestral Place (原籍)

C. Generation Sequence from Feng Gang (鳳崗世次) This item is for the offspring from Feng Gang Branch in Foochow. Almost 94% of the participants can fill in this item.

D. Parents (父母)

E. The Date of Arriving at Sibü (來巫年月)

- F. The Generation Sequence of Settling in Sibü (僑巫第 世)
- G. Vocation (職業)
- H. Address (現僑址)
- I. Age (現年齡)
- J. Wife (妻氏)
- K. Sons and Daughters (子女) Including their spouses.

Every household was free to determine whether to submit their data for the compilation or not, but almost all the Lau households joined the project. Therefore, the number of households can serve as a population census of the Lau Clan.

According to my calculations using these editions (Table 6-1), the numbers of Lau Clan households are 789 in 1958; 2651 in 1982; and 3281 in 2007.

The calculations also reveal the sub-ethnic composition of the Lau Clan in Sibü. The ones originating from Minchiang are in the overwhelming majority, they occupy 94 percent, 94.6 percent and 88 percent in the 1958, 1982 and 2007 editions. The percentages of other sub-ethnic groups, including other areas of the Ten Counties of Foochow, the Hinghua, the Minnan (Chiang Chuan) and the Guang Ning (Vuining), are meager. The composition of sub-ethnic groups changed only slightly over the subsequent five decades.

Table 6-1. The Household Numbers and Subethnic Composition of the Lau Clan in Each Edition of Genealogy, Divided with the Counties of Origin

Editions	First (1958)		Second (1982)		Third (2007)	
Minchiang Area (福州閩清地區)						
Branch Name	#	%	#	%	#	%
Feng Yang (鳳洋系)	122	15.5	446	16.8	544	16.6
Yu Ban (玉坂系)	331	42.0	1063	40.1	1070	32.6
Tai Feng (台峰系)	200	25.3	795	30.0	1044	31.8
Chiao To Lin (橋頭林系)	31	3.9	NA	NA	49	1.5
Tang Bian (塘邊系)	8	1.0	NA	NA	NA	NA
Minchiang Convergent(閩清匯合系)	18	2.3	NA	NA	NA	NA
Convergent (匯合系)	4	0.5	88	3.3	31	0.9
Ann Zen Xi (安仁溪系)	28	3.5	116	4.4	178	5.4
Sum	742	94.0	2508	94.6	2916	88.8
Other Areas of Foochow Ten Counties (福州十邑其他地區)						
Branch Name	#	%	#	%	#	%
Feng Gang Directly Moved To Sibü (鳳岡遷巫系)	9	1.1	NA	NA	31	0.9
Kutien (古田系)	3	0.4	27	1.0	27	0.8
Minhou(閩侯系)	NA	NA	NA	NA	57	1.7
Yongtai(永泰系)	NA	NA	NA	NA	13	0.4

Taoyuan (桃源系)	NA	NA	NA	NA	29	0.9
Chang'le (長樂系)	NA	NA	NA	NA	8	0.2
Sum	12	1.5	27	1.0	165	4.9
Other Areas of Fujian and Guangdong (福建廣東其他地區)						
Branch Name	#	%	#	%	#	%
Hing Hua (興化系)	8	1.0	28	1.1	59	1.8
Guang Ning (廣寧系)	27	3.4	84	3.2	137	4.2
Minnan (閩南系)	NA	NA	4	0.2	4	0.1
Sum	35	4.4	116	4.5	200	6.1
Total	789	100.0	2651	100.0	3281	100.0

Source: *Genealogy of Pan Chen Lau Clan Migrants in Sibul* (彭城劉氏遷殖詩巫族譜) (1958); *Genealogy of the Lau Clan in Sarawak* (砂羅越劉氏族譜) (1982); *Genealogy of Pan Chen Lau Clan in Sarawak* (砂羅越彭城劉氏族譜) (2007).

Evolution of the Genealogy and Organizational Change

The title of the first edition, published in 1958, *The Genealogy of Pan Chen Lau Clan Migrants in Sibul*, revealed a fact that the Lau Clan mainly dwelt in Sibul and the neighboring area. The editing board rented a temporary office in the Sibul Foochow Association (詩巫福州公會). The Compilation Board of Genealogy hired fieldworkers to collect data from townships in the Rejang, including Bindangor, Sarikei and Kanowit (*Genealogy of Pan Chen Lau Clan Migrants in*

Sibu, Compilation Board 1957 [chapter 14]: 1).

The Lau Clan began to forge a sense of community, and for the first time it recognized a picture of the Lau Clan around Sibu. However, its members did not propose to form an association.

In the second edition, published in 1982, the title of the genealogy changed to *The Genealogy of the Lau Clan in Sarawak* and its content reflected three migration trends of rural Sibu Lau Clan members, including the movement to urban or suburban Sibu, to the other emerging townships of Sarawak, and to foreign countries.

Lau Sia Nang recollected the relationships between the compilation of genealogy and the founding of the Lau Clan Association. On 23 April 1978, Lau Clan leaders organized a meeting on the second edition of *The Genealogy*, as well as the possibility of forming an association dedicated for the Lau Clan in Sarawak. They concluded that: "We Lau Clan settled in Sarawak State for decades. Numerous offspring were raised, but most of them have spread to different places and run their own business. We feel upset that we seldom talk about the topic of clan affiliation, so that the clan fellows might treat each other as aliens. Therefore, we felt the necessity of forming a clan association." (Lau Sia Nang 1998: 13).

They decided to organize the association first and then edit the genealogy. The Society Registrar approved the permit to the Sarawak Pan Chen Lau Clan Association (砂羅越彭城劉氏公會) in November 1978. Although Minchiang people were in the overwhelming majority, they invited Lau leaders of other sub-ethnic groups to join in the preparation and installation of the association. The association, based in Sibü, is the first Lau surname association in Sarawak (Lau Sia Nang, interview with the author, Sibü, 2009).

The third edition published, in 2007, *The Genealogy of the Pan Chen Lau Clan in Sarawak*, reflects the full-fledged development of Pan Chen Lau Clan Associations organization in Sarawak. Sarawak (Sibü) Pan Chen Lau Clan Association and six later organized Lau Clan Associations in Sarawak, including those of Sarikei, Miri, Maladuan (Bindangor), Kuching Division, Bintulu and Limbang, organized the Confederation of Pan Chen Lau Clan Association Sarawak (砂羅越彭城劉氏公會聯合總會) on 8 March 2000 (Confederation of Pan-chen Lau Association 2009:1). The Confederation also based itself in Sibü, with the same office and staff of the Sarawak (Sibü) Pan Chen Lau Clan Association. Its annual meetings and committee meetings take place in rotation among these affiliated associations. Soon after the organization of the

Confederation, they initiated compilation of the third edition of the Lau Clan Genealogy from 2002.

In short, the genealogy editions corresponded to the need for solidarity in the Lau Clan and thus marked different developmental stages of the Lau Clan in Sibiu. In the first edition, published in 1958, the Sibiu Lau Clan compiled and circulated localized genealogical knowledge for the first time. Before the publication of the second edition in 1982, the association had organized to serve more functions. The third edition, published in 2007, denoted the establishment of a state level organization of the Lau Clan.

Transnational Networking

The connection between overseas Chinese and the ancestral homeland in China has been continuing since their migration. Most of the Sibiu Foochow who settled in the early 1900s to late 1940s could maintain direct kinship relationships in ancestral homelands, such as parents, siblings or cousins. The British and Malaysian governments prohibited citizen visits to China from the 1950s to the 1980s, allowing only limited contact with relatives in China via letters and

telegrams.

Full-fledged connection only gradually resumed after the establishment of a diplomatic relationship between Malaysia and the People's Republic of China in 1974. The Malaysian government allowed senior citizens and their accompanying family members to see their relatives in China, providing they received five letters from China every year and a clinic's letter providing proof that their relatives were seriously sick or dying. Traders could organize a delegation to attend the Canton Fair under the surveillance of Malaysian officers in the Department of Politics. Only in 1989 did the Malaysian government totally lift the ban on visiting China. After this important policy change, Sibuan Chinese immediately took steps to build relationships with their ancestral homelands in China. For members of the Lau Clan Association, this change means a chance to trace, visualize and validate their ancestry.

Transnational Organizations

The Lau Clan initiated its transnational connection since 1986, i.e., the Carnival of the Lau Clan Associations in Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei (砂沙汶三邦劉氏公會嘉年華會) during the school holidays every December. Its activities

include singing, fine arts, storytelling and speech, calligraphy, Chinese chess, table tennis, badminton, three-person basketball, golf, and amusement contests. The association encourages children to join the carnival; they can demonstrate their talents and become acquainted with the clan fellows and elders. In 1997, the Confederation of World Liu Clan Association (世界劉氏聯誼總會) was established in Johor Bahru, Malaysia. Since then, the association holds its convention every two years. The host countries are taking turns, one overseas, one in a province of China (Table 6-2). At the fifth Convention in Singapore, the confederation decided to seek formal registration in Hong Kong. In August 2007, the society registrar of the Hong Kong Government approved the Union of World Liu Association Limited (世界劉氏聯誼總會有限公司) (*Han Hun* 2008: 3).

Table 6-2 The Host City/ Province/ Country of the World Liu Clan Convention

No.	Host City/ Country	Date	Participants	Note
1	Johor Bahru, Malaysia	8 December 1997	800	
2	Xuzhou, Jiangsu, China	27 October 1999	1000	
3	Bangkok, Thailand	2 November 2001	1500	
4	Ping Ding Shan, Henan, China	26 May 2004	2000	
5	Singapore	2006	1500	
6	Xian, China	20 September 2008	NA	
7	Sibu, Sarawak, Malaysia	October 2010	NA	

Source: Introduction to the Confederation of World Liu Clan Association (世界劉

氏聯誼總會簡介), in *Han Hun: Souvenir Magazine for the Sixth World*

Convention of the Liu clan 2008 (漢魂 : 2008 世界劉氏第六屆聯誼大會紀念特刊), p. 112, 2008.

The Confederation of the Lau Clan Associations Malaysia (馬來西亞劉氏總會) established in 2008 for the purpose of organizing a single delegation of all the Lau Clan fellows in Malaysia. Almost all the Southeast Asia countries send a single national-level delegation, but nine Lau Clan Associations in Malaysia used to organize their own delegations. The host of the convention always had difficulty arranging seats for these nine delegations, especially since the arrangement always involves a hierarchical ranking. To tackle the problem, the Confederation of Pan Chen Lau Clan Association Sarawak proposed organizing a national level association in 2003. The government approved the application in 2008 and its first chairman was Lau Lee Ming (劉利民, *Liu Limin*). He is also the chairman of the Confederation of Pan Chen Lau Clan Association Sarawak and that of the Sarawak Pan Chen Lau Clan Association. Now the Sarawak (Sibu) Pan Chen Lau Clan Association Hall also houses the organizations of the state and national levels, that is, the Confederation of Pan Chen Lau Clan Association

Sarawak and the Confederation of the Lau Clan Associations Malaysia.

Root-Seeking

The Sarawak (Sibu) Pan Chen Lau Clan Association keeps a detailed record of its visits to China in its genealogies, souvenir magazines and memoirs. Before the first root-seeking delegation to Fujian Province in 1994, there were two significant return visits by Lau Clan and other Minchiang fellows.

In 1988, the late Lau Kah Choo's sons Lau Pang Kwong (劉邦光, *Liu Bangguang*), Lau Pang Sii (劉邦仕, *Liu Bangshi*), Lau Pang Ding (劉邦定, *Liu Bangding*), Lau Pang Hung (劉邦訓, *Liu Bangxun*) visited Minchiang (Minqing Xian) and helped with the renovation of ancestral graves (*Souvenir Magazine of Compatriot Leader Lau Kah Choo* 1987:119). Lau Kah Choo was the legendary leader of the Sibu Lau Clan in the first half of the twentieth century and he died in 1954. The return visit of his sons denoted the end of a 38-year divide between the Sibu Lau Clan and their ancestral homeland from the 1950s.

The Sibu Minchiang Association was a trustee for the donations to the Wenquan High School. These donations resumed in 1989. Sibu compatriots Wong Tuan Kuan (黃傳寬, *Huang Chuankuan*), Dato Sri Dr Lau Hoi Kang (拿督斯里

劉會幹博士, *Liu Huigan*), *Chu Xiang Ken* (朱祥庚), Wong Sho Kwong (黃守光, *Huang Shuoguang*) and Lau Swee Nguong (劉瑞源, *Liu Ruiyuan*) established the Wenquan High School Educational Fund (文泉高中教育基金) in that year, and the fund amounted to 250 thousand Chinese Renminbi (approximately 40 thousand Canadian Dollars)² (Minqing Di Er Zhong Xue 1993: 20). The Sibü Min Chiang Association donated 400 thousand Chinese Renminbi (approximately 65 thousand Canadian Dollars)³ to Wenquan High School in 1993 (Lau Sia Nang 1994: 21). The renovation of ancestral graves and the donation toward education were helpful in establishing relationships between Sibü Chinese and their compatriots in China. The Lau Clan now knew that the renovation of clan halls and other memorials were not offensive to the atheistic Chinese Communist Party.

The Lau Clan Association used the Chinese term *xun gen wen zu* (尋根問祖), root-seeking and ancestry enquiry, to demonstrate its efforts since 1994. Lau Ping interpreted the term as an active and rational investigation of ancestry, especially into the root and migration route of the Lau Clan in China and Malaysia. In 1994, the association organized its first *xun gen wen zu* delegation to China and it

² According to the rate of currency exchange on 16 November 1995, one Chinese Renminbi is equal to 0.1631 Canadian Dollars. The XE website does not provide data before the date. (http://www.xe.com/ict/?basecur=CAD&historical=true&month=1&day=1&year=1995&sort_by=name&image.x=51&image.y=10) Retrieved on 6 December 2011.

³ See the above note.

became an annual tradition. The only two exceptions were in 1998 and 2004, when economic turmoil and SARS respectively hit Asian countries (Lau Ping, conversation with the author, Sibü, 11 December 2009).

The major tasks of *xun gen wen zu* delegations are locating the genuine resting places of their significant ancestors. The activity is a joint effort by the overseas compatriots, local people and governments. Overseas compatriots are enthusiastic in supporting the projects of the ancestral graves renovation and new memorial halls construction. Local people always cooperate with the government to validate the ancestral sites for their pride. They also anticipate economic profit brought by clan fellows from the rest of China and overseas.

Lau Ping reminded me, “In fact, *xun gen wen zu* is only one element in a travel package. The other two elements are traveling and *tan qin* (探親, seeing relatives). *Tan qin* merely means seeing the relatives, it should be differentiated from *xun gen wen zu*.” (Lau Ping, conversation with the author, Sibü, 11 December 2009)

Validating Genealogical Knowledge

For Lau Clan members, the backbone of *xun gen wen zu* is a well established

genealogical knowledge. The destinations are all in the *Lau Clan Genealogy* published in 1958, but almost all the Lau Clan members felt no familiarity with these geographical names and place in the 1990s. Only a few of them had visited one or two places before the 1950s. The *Genealogy* encompassed a 4600-year history of the Lau Clan and served as a guide for their root-seeking efforts. Major transitions of the Lau Clan in their origin and migration are following:

A. The Liu Clan is the offspring of the ancient Tao Tang Clan (陶唐氏). Its apical ancestor is Yuanming (源明)(2397 B.C.- 2259 B.C.), a son of King Yao (帝堯). The King conferred Yuanming a territory named Liu (留), a homophone of the surname Liu (劉).

B. Liu Lei (劉累) was the eighteenth generation descendent of the apical ancestor. He was an officer in the court of King Kong Jia (孔甲帝, 1879 B.C.-1838 B.C.) of Xia Dynasty (夏朝). He is especially noted for being the first person to use the surname Liu (劉). Liu Lei moved to Lushan Xian, Luzhou, Henan (河南汝州魯山縣) in his later life.

C. Liu Bang (劉邦, 256 B.C.- 195 B.C.), the founder Emperor of Han Dynasty (漢朝).

D. From 617 to 875 A.D., the Liu Clan lived in Gushi Xian, Guangzhou, Henan

(河南光州固始縣). However, the Huang Chao Uprising (黃巢之亂) from 875 to 884 severely deteriorated the living standards of the Yellow River alluvial plain.

The uprising forced the ancestors of Pan Chen 17th generation Liu Cun (劉存) to escape to Fujian for shelter in 881. Liu Cun eventually stayed in Feng Gang,

Nantai, Fuzhou (福州南台鳳崗) in 940 and became the founding ancestor of the Feng Gang Ancestral Temple (鳳崗祖祠, *Fenggang zhuchi*).

E. Several branches of the Liu Clan moved from Feng Gang to several villages in Minqing since the 12th Century.

- a. Xiangwei, Liudu⁴ (六都巷尾) in 1196.
- b. Fotangqian, Liudu (六都佛堂前) in 1350.
- c. Yuban, Liudu (六都玉坂) in 1360.
- d. Qiaotoulin, Shidu (十都橋頭林) in Qing Dynasty.

F. The Liu Clan moved to Sibü in 1901. (*The Genealogy of Pan Chen Lau Clan*

Migrants to Sibü 1958 [Chapter 2]:1-10)

⁴*Du* (都) is an administrative subdivision stipulated in the Yuan Dynasty, which is under the bureaucratic levels of *xian* (縣 county), *xiang* (鄉 country), *li* (里 basic unit). Minqing Xian was subdivided into 24 *du*. Each *du* was named by a sequential number. Liudu (六都) meant the sixth *du*; Shidu (十都) meant the tenth *du*. Each *du* was composed of several *zi ran cun* (自然村, settlements). This administrative system was adapted from the 11th century to 17th century (Sibü Min Chiang Association 1994: 222-232). Though the administrative system had changed several times since 1660, the naming was still maintained as a folk category in genealogy and grave inscription of the Sibü Lau Clan.

The genealogy summarizes the origin and migration of the Pan Chen Lau Clan.

But a member expressed his doubts in a talk: “How could the previous writers collect all the genealogical connections? We always doubt how can we connect to so many somebody in history, for example, the founder Emperor of Han Dynasty Liu Bang?” The doubt is always a prime mover for the members to trace their ancestry.

Huang Chao Uprising (875 to 884) during the Tang Dynasty was a turning point of the history of Fujian (Min). General Wang Shenzi (王審知) led his Gushi Xian fellows, including Liu Cun, to move to Foochow. Wang founded the Min Kingdom (909-945). The Foochow worshipped him as “The Sacred King of Opening Min Area” (開閩聖王, *Kaimin shenwang*) to memorialize his merit for civilizing the Min area. In other words, the Han Chinese took root in the Min area from the tenth century. The Lau Clan was one of the pioneer clans in Fujian.

Few records of the intermarriage between Chinese and natives are available in the genealogy. Probably the ones who practiced intermarriage were reluctant to provide their data. Another possible cause is that the Foochow managed a family style of migration. They had gender balance; they did not have to marry the natives.

Returning to Fuzhou and Minging

Dato Sri Dr Lau Hoi Kang (拿督斯里劉會幹博士) led the first *xun gen wen zu* delegation for visiting clan temples in Fuzhou Shi, Fujian Province from 22 to 26 October 1994. Their first stop was the Feng Gang Ancestral Temple (鳳崗祖祠), where the first Pan Chen Lau Clan branch settled in Fujian. Before their arrival, the management finished the renovation of these ancestral temples under the funding from Sibü. The delegation was the guest of honor for the grand openings.

Lau Ping provides a detail description on *xun gen wen zu* in his book (Lau Ping 2000). I cite his description and the verbatim narratives by the leaders in his record. Here is his description of the first moment of the delegation arrival on 22 October 1994:

“We, a sixty-person *xun gen wen zu* delegation of the Sarawak Pan Chen Lau Clan Association, returned to the ancestral homeland in 1994”. ...“Our head, clan elder Lau Hoi Kang had contacted the management of the clan temple in advance. On the day, all associated government units of Fujian Province, Fuzhou City, counties, and townships appointed their representatives to

participate in the grand ceremony. ...leading by a police vehicle, we arrived at Feng Gang Ancestral Temple in Jianxin Township (建新鎮)” (Lau Ping 2000:16).

The welcoming committee displayed enormous red banners, and teams of dragon and lion dancers greeted the visitors as they approached their old ancestral hall.

The welcoming committee also prepared a “civilized ceremony for cherishing ancestors” (文明拜祖儀式) for the Sibü Lau Clan’s Christian members. In the previous communication, the welcoming committee learned that most of the Sibü clan fellows were Christians. The management bought flowers for them to pay gratitude to the ancestors. Sibü clan fellows chose to bow to the tablets rather than to kowtow; therefore, they could compromise with the Christian doctrine of not worshipping ancestors (Lau Ping, conversation with the author, Sibü, 11 December 2009).

Singers presented an Appraisal Song for Our Compatriot Relatives (一曲頌歌獻僑親, *Yiqu songge xian chiaogin*) to praise the delegation, composed of 7-character sentences by the format of traditional Fuzhou Rowing Boat Song (趕船歌, *Gan chuan ge*). The song mentioned all the names of Sibü Lau Clan figures and their merits to the homeland (Lau Ping 2000:13-15).

The delegation proceeded to visit two major branches derived from Feng Gang: the Yuban Ancestral Temple (玉坂祖祠) and the Taifeng Ancestral Temple (台峰祖祠), respectively on 24 and 25 October 1994. The management invited Dato Sri Dr Lau Hoi Kang as the guest of honor for the opening ceremony of the Memorial Hall for the Founder of Yuban Branch Wei Ji Gong (玉坂維濟公紀念堂). They also visited the Memorial Hall for Lau Kah Choo (劉家洙紀念館) in Bandong Township (坂東鎮) (Lau Ping 2000: 16-17).

On 25 October 1994, the delegation moved to Taifeng for the opening ceremony of the Memorial Hall for the Founder of Taifeng Branch of the Liu Clan, Ji Gong (台峰系劉氏智公紀念堂). The general sponsor of the memorial hall, Lau Cheng King (劉增欽, *Liu Zengqin*) gave a speech for the opening: “In 1901, our ancestors and forerunners moved from here to the remote Southern Sea...Sibu Sarawak. Ninety years passed by, our pioneers all passed away. The second and third generations experienced changes, developments and harsh struggles. Now our Sibu clan fellows are very staunch and strong”....”Because of the establishment of diplomatic relationship between Malaysia and China, people of two countries may have friendly interchanges. Adding the rapid advancement of communication and transportation, even though we are divided by a thousand

ranges of mountains and oceans, now we are as near as within feet”....”Last year, our clan fellows of homeland and overseas jointly proposed the renovation of the clan hall in China. Our aims are to reciprocate the merit of ancestor and to settle their spirits. Through the paramount goal of repairing clan temple, we also inspired connection between the relatives in homeland and the clan fellows overseas”.(Lau Ping 2000: 19).

After visits to clan temples, the delegation went to the Taishan Park (台山公園) in the capital of Minqing Xian for a series of ceremonies, including the opening ceremony of the statue of Wong Nai Siong (黃乃裳石像揭幕儀式), the foundation-laying ceremony for the Memorial Hall of Wong Nai Siong (黃乃裳紀念館奠基儀式), and the Memorial Convention for the 145th Birthday of Wong Nai Siong (黃乃裳誕生 145 週年紀念大會). On the morning of 26 October 1994, the delegation attended a meeting for recruiting overseas investment hosted by the Minqing County Government. And the members went to see their relatives on their own that afternoon. The delegation went to Fuzhou on 27 October 1994 to attend the World Convention of Foochow Associations. They went to one of the most famous tea-producing and scenery destinations in Fujian Province, Wuyi Mountain (武夷山), before they returned to Sibiu (Lau Ping 2000: 19-21).

Seeking Peng Cheng

In Foochow vernacular, the geographical name Peng Cheng (彭城) is pronounced as Pan Chen. Sibü Lau Clan recognizes that Peng Cheng is their common clan name, but they wondered where it originated. Peng Cheng is the ancient name for Xuzhou in Jiangsu Province (江蘇省徐州) (Figure 6-4). Sibü Lau Clan organized the second *xun gen wen zu* delegation in October 1995, participating in the Xuzhou 95 Peng Cheng Cultural Festival (徐州 95 彭城文化節) (Lau Ping 2000: 33-34). The local government organized the festival with an eye toward promoting tourism and investment.

The Ceremony for Peng Cheng (彭城祭) highlighted the merit of a local figure who aged some eight hundred years, Peng Zu (彭祖, circa 11th to 19th Century BC, the apical ancestor of surname Peng) as well as the founding emperor of Han Dynasty Liu Bang (劉邦, 256-195 BC). Liu Bang initiated an



Figure 6-4 Map of Henan Province with location of Xuzhou, Pingdingshan and Gushi Xian. Source: <http://www.china-tour.cn/Henan/Henan-Maps.htm>
Modified by Hsu Yu-tsuen.

uprising against the tyrannical Chin Dynasty and established the Han Dynasty which lasted for 500 years. He thus made ancient Peng Cheng as a Hometown of Emperors.

Xuzhou is adjunct to the other two counties related to the Liu Clan, Pei Xian (沛縣) and Fon Xian (丰縣). Fon Xian is the birthplace of Liu Bang; Pei Xian is where Liu Bang grew up.

Since the Peng Cheng Festival, the Han culture (漢文化) and the pride that

Han emperors are of the Liu Clan become a recurring motif in the publications and conventions of the Liu Clan. The 6th Convention of World Liu Clan took place in Xian in 2008, since Xian was the capital of the West Han Dynasty. The host published *A Series of Han Culture* (漢文化叢書) to elaborate the Han culture and promote the preservation and renovation of Han heritage.

Gushi Xian

On 28 October 1999, the Sibiu Lau Clan went to another destination of *xun gen wen zu*, Gushi Xian (固始縣) of Henan Province (Figure 6-4). The county is the original place of the Feng Gang Branch. The chairman of the Sarawak Lau Clan Association, Lau Kieng Chai (劉虔才, *Liu Qiancai*) gave a speech to the welcome meeting: “.....Gushi Xian is our ancestry land. In 881, Liu Cun (劉存) led his sons and nephews moved southward from here. The clan has been thriving in several localities of Fujian Province. We also established Feng Gang Ancestral Temple....In 1901, we began to move to Malaya, Sarawak and Singapore....One thousand and one hundred years later, we travelled for thousands of miles to here..... Now we are the first group returning to ancestral land” (Lau Ping 2000: 104-105).

Gushi Xian Government arranged a trip for the delegation to three villages in which some Liu Clan members dwelt. They went to a relic of the First Emperor of the Han Dynasty (漢高祖廟, *Hangaozu miao*) at Gao Huang Cun, Hong Bu Xiang (洪埠鄉高皇村). It was thousands of years old, but the Red Guards removed every brick for their families' use during the Cultural Revolution. When they visited Guang Dian Cun, Cao Miao Xiang (草廟鄉廣店村), the village with Liu Clan members, the village head sent them the Liu Genealogy of Gushi Xian. The Sarawak Lau Clan delegation reciprocated with its own genealogy and souvenirs (Lau Ping 2000: 107-109).

On a return trip on 18 September 2008, the Sibu Lau Clan erected a stone in Gushi Xian. The inscription read "The Memorial Stone of the Ancestral Land of Lau Clan Moved Southward to Malaysia." (南遷馬來西亞劉氏祖地紀念碑)(Figure 6-5).

Pingdingshan

Clan head Lau Ping had never heard of Pingdingshan City (平頂山市), but in 2001, this city's representatives joined in the Third World Convention of the Liu Clan in Bangkok and vied for the sponsorship of next convention. Along with



Figure 6-5 The Memorial Stone of the Ancestral Land of Lau Clan Moved Southward to Malaysia, Gushi Xian, Henan Province, China. 19 September 2008. Source: Sarawak Pan Chen Lau Clan Association 2010: 154.

their guarantee of sufficient transportation and quality accommodation in this little known city, they released news for Liu clan fellows all over the world. The grave of the apical ancestor of world Liu Clan, Liu Lei, is in Pingdingshan. Lau Ping said, “We were very pleased to hear the news. However, we chose Pingdingshan not only because of the grave, but also because of their proposal being fully supported by the local government. That is the crucial factor. In China, every large-scale activity needs the support.” (Lau Ping, conversation with the author, Sibiu, 11 December 2009).

The support from government and compatriots made the convention in 2004 a big success. The time span of *xun gen wen zu* extended to 4600 years ago. Located in Zaoping Hu, Lushan xian, Pingdingshan Shi (平頂山市魯山縣昭平湖), Liu Lei Grave is well-renovated as the Lei Gong Mausoleum (累公陵園), composed of a plaza, an avenue, a pavilion, and the Apical Ancestor Palace (始祖殿) in 2004. Liu clan leaders also scheduled 19 April as the Day of Annual Ceremony for Apical Ancestor Liu Lei by World Liu Clan Fellows (世界劉氏統一祭拜始祖累公之祭日) (Confederation of Pan Chen Lau Clan Sarawak 2007: 18-19).

By these efforts, the Sibü Lau Clan extended its ancestral identity historically to apical ancestors and spatially to all clan fellows in the world. The donation to the ancestral homeland is not limited to Fuzhou, but also expanded to the area Liu fellows who live in Henan. The chairman of Sarawak Pan Chen Lau Clan Association in 2003 to 2008, Lau Cheng King, attended the ceremony three times (2005, 2006, 2008). He donated 3.45 Million Chinese Renminbi (51.7 thousand Canadian Dollars)⁵ for the Ye Xian of Pingdingshan Shi for renovating a primary

⁵ According to rate of currency exchange on 1 July 2005, one Chinese Renminbi is for 0.1499 Canadian Dollar. (http://www.xe.com/ict/?basecur=CAD&historical=true&month=7&day=1&year=2005&sort_by=name&image.x=50&image.y=11) Retrieved on 6 December 2011.

school and a high school in 2005. These schools named were after his wife Tiong Lok Hee (張樂熙, *Zhang Lexi*) as Lexi Xiaoxue (樂熙小學) and Lexi Zhongxue (樂熙中學) (Liu Zengji 2009: 65-66).

Transmission of Clan Knowledge

The Sibü Lau Clan holds *xun gen wen zu* every April to meet the birthday celebrations of Liu Lei. It always arranges a ten-day package of *xun gen wen zu*, *tan qin* and traveling. However, students cannot participate in these activities for they are in school. The association manages solutions for students to actively learn the knowledge of their ancestors and the association.

A common knowledge contest (常識比賽) is a newly emergent activity in Chinese associations in Sibü since the 1990s. In 2003, to meet the need of overseas Chinese for acquiring sufficient Chinese common knowledge, the Overseas Chinese Affair Office of the State Council (國務院僑務辦公室) and the Chinese Overseas Exchanges Association (中國海外交流學會) commissioned Nanjing Normal University (南京師範大學), Anhui Normal University (安徽師範大學) and Beijing Chinese Language College (北京漢語學院) to respectively write three Chinese language teaching materials, including *Common Knowledge*

about Chinese History (中國歷史常識), *Common Knowledge about Chinese Geography* (中國地理常識), and *Common Knowledge about Chinese Culture* (中國文化常識) in 2001. Hong Kong China Tourism Press published the three common knowledge books (2001a, 2001b, 2001c) (香港中國旅遊出版社) in both simplified Chinese and English. The Federation of Chinese Association Sibu has held common knowledge contests every year since 2002. *A New China Dictionary* (新華字典)(The Commercial Press 2004[1953]) is complimentary sent to the participants along with the common knowledge books.

The Confederation of Pan Chen Lau Clan Association Sarawak has held its “Annual Common Knowledge Contest for the Clan fellows” (年度砂羅越彭城劉氏宗親常識比賽) since 2003. The participants encompass members in society, high school students, and primary school students. The contest includes the above-mentioned books, the knowledge of international news, and the knowledge of the Lau Clan Associations and history of the Lau Clan in Sarawak and China. The questions regarding the Lau Clan amount to one-third of the contest. For example, in the contest for the primary school students in 2006, the following questions about the Lau Clan are:

- .What is the host country of the fifth Convention of World Liu Clan?
- .Who is the chairman of the Confederation of Pan Chen Lau Clan Association Sarawak?
- .Who is the founder chairman of the Confederation of Pan Chen Lau Clan Association Sarawak?
- .Which item was used by Liu Xiang (劉翔, a famous athlete in China) to break the world record?
- .Who is the founding ancestor of the Lau Clan in Fujian?

In addition, Lau Clan Association encourages their teenaged fellows to join a winter camp hosted by the Sibü Foochow Association or the Federation of Chinese Associations Sibü. They may visit their ancestral land to visualize their geographical and historical knowledge.

Concluding Remarks

The emergence of surname associations in Sibü Sarawak since the 1970s is a result of economic transformation and spread of the Foochow in Sarawak. Lau Clan members have benefitted from generations of entrepreneurs in Sibü who

organized strong clan associations and formed transnational ties. Their transnational activities were not just economic, but also included consolidating affiliations and the search for ancestry.

With *xun gen wen zu* ancestral efforts, the Lau Clan extended its identity from Sibu Sarawak, where they live, and where the graves of immediate ancestors are located, to Minqing, Peng Cheng, Gushi Xian, and Pingdingshan. The time span included in the ancestry lengthens, as visual imagery complements genealogy. Through travel to destinations in China and cultural performances, they witness the geographical diversity and historical abundance. Thus they enrich a cultural identity with the Chinese as a whole.

On the other hand, the transnational network reconfirms the status of the Lau Clan members in Sarawak as Malaysian citizens. They have networked with Lau Clan members all over Malaysia and organized a national association as a platform for future transnational activities.

Conclusion

This dissertation has discussed cultural identity and transnational networking of the Sibuan Chinese community in the local national and transnational context. As with the Chinese in other cities of Southeast Asia, the Sibuan Chinese strive to forge a united Chinese consciousness. Their efforts have been successful to some extent, while Chinese sub-ethnic groups also elaborated their cultural identity simultaneously.

In Part I, I provide a description of the Chinese society and culture in Sibuan. In Chapter 1, I review the historical background and transformation of the Sibuan Chinese community. The relatively large Chinese population in Sibuan is the guarantee of their success in reasserting cultural identity. The population of Chinese is as heterogeneous as any other cities in Malaysia. Even though the Foochow occupied 70 percent of the population of Sibuan Chinese community and Foochow vernacular has been the lingua franca, these sub-ethnic groups carefully maintain their boundaries with each other in lifestyles, rituals and historical disputes. Cultural heritages, including Gonghok Shanting and Eng Ann Teng, are the major traditions maintained by the descendents of the non-Foochow pioneer groups.

In Chapter II, I reviewed the history of the Foochow and their politico-economic transition in Sibü. The Foochow people came to Sibü under a project proposed by a Methodist Wong Nai Siong in 1901. They were characterized as Christian and family-oriented, while some of the migrants followed the Chinese traditional religions. The rural-oriented Foochow did not compete with the urban pioneers in business before World War II. The Foochow's success in rubber and timber laid the foundation for their politico-economic dominance in the Sibü bazaar since the 1960s. The communist activities in rural areas in the 1970s pushed more rural Foochow to move to suburban Sibü. Coupled with the overall economic transformation in Sarawak, their urbanization accelerated and they migrated to other cities in Sarawak. Now the Foochow have become the most populous Chinese sub-ethnic group in Sarawak. They also energetically engage in transnational networking.

Chapter 3 discussed the localized Sibü Chinese cultures. The Sibü Chinese maintain their communication with cultural centers, that is, China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. These cultural centers respectively empowered the Chinese cultural elements in Sibü at different times. The global connections have increased in the last three decades, especially through the Open Door Policy of China and

through global business. In everyday life, Sibuan Chinese share the Chinese festivals, creolized language, and Chinese newspapers. Food is a vehicle for local people to demonstrate their specific identities to their sub-ethnic groups. But food also serves the purpose of acculturation between the Chinese and the natives. The Sibuan Chinese enjoy various local food of diverse ethnic backgrounds.

Part 2 investigated dimensions of Chinese cultural identity in Sibuan: localized identities, transnational identities and ancestral identities. Chapter 5 explores the transformation of regional-language-based associations in the Sibuan Chinese community and their global connections. Sibuan Chinese has a long history in maintaining a seven-ancestral homeland category since the 1930s. These regional-language-based groups have organized their local associations and joined their specific state, national and international federations. Locally, the Sibuan Chinese still follow the category of regional-language-based groups in the pan-Chinese organizations; for example, the Federation of Chinese Associations Sibuan (FCAS) and the Sibuan Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SCCCI). The Foochow people enjoy a population advantage in Sibuan; they occupy the chairmanship positions in the FCAS and the SCCCI. Non-Foochow groups can secure seats of the vice-presidents; therefore, they can still join the

decision-making of these pan-Chinese organizations. The economic and political advantage also establishes the Foochow with an unparalleled position among their counterparts in global networking. The overseas Foochow founded the Convention of World Federation of Fuzhou in 1990. Sibü-related Foochow tycoons always take the positions of general chairmen. Eventually, the World Federation of Fuzhou Associations Limited housed its permanent office in Sibü in 2005. The federation as well as its affiliated gallery demonstrates the status of the Sibü Foochow.

Chapter 5 focused on the multiple historical interpretations and landscape-shaping of Chinese sub-ethnic groups. These groups engaged in historical debates from the 1980s, with an implicit dissent over the over-emphasized history of Wong Nai Siong and the establishment of Sibü Chinese society. The issue suddenly culminated in the public private partnership parks project in 2001. Sub-ethnic groups make efforts to visualize their histories on the plaques of these parks. In a later development, organizers of these parks incorporated Chinese cultural elements to demonstrate their cultural identity. The Sibü Chinese, to some extent, take advantage of their relatively marginal political position. Their efforts in demonstrating Chinese cultural identity through the

memorial parks did not become a sensitive issue in national politics.

In the last chapter, I investigated the emerging surname associations in Sibü. The Sarawak Pan Chen Lau Clan Association exemplifies the process of root-seeking and the establishment of clan knowledge. I assert the association is originated from an ongoing effort to maintain the ancestral identity from the establishment of Sibü settlement. One of the prominent leaders, Lau Kah Choo, revisited his ancestral homeland and helped the genealogy compilation there from the 1920s to the 1950s. Visits to China were suspended in the early 1950s; however Lau clan fellows engaged in a localized genealogy compilation in 1958 and thus formed a nascent consciousness of the Lau Clan in Sibü. The subsequent compilations in 1982 and 2007 were major ways of attaining solidarity among their ever-expanding clan. The contents of these genealogies reflect the migration of the Lau Clan from Foochow to Sibü, to Sarawak, and to the rest of the world. Now the Sibü Lau Clan plays an important role in the World Liu Clan Convention. The members not only actively participate in giving donations for schools and ancestral halls, but also in the seeking of roots to the apical ancestors.

In short, this dissertation investigates the dynamics of socio-economic change, cultural identity and transnational networks of the Sibü Chinese

community. The Foochow are now the dominant group and they manage to maintain their Chinese cultural identity in a multicultural country. However, non-Foochow sub-ethnic groups also manage to maintain their boundaries against the Foochow. They also regain energy and participate in regional and transnational organizations. We can say the pan-Chinese identity and sub-ethnic solidarity grows simultaneously in the specific social, economic and political context in Malaysia and the world.

I tried to capture an overall picture of the Chinese community. This goal is not easy to attain. Although I sought to provide a balanced account, I could not avoid writing more on the Foochow, who are the major sub-ethnic people in Sibuluan. But I have tried to keep a balanced viewpoint to all the sub-ethnic groups.

Glossary

Geographic, Person Names

<u>English</u>	<u>Pin-yin</u>	<u>Chinese</u> <u>character</u>	<u>Note</u>
Amoy	<i>Xiamen</i>	廈門	
Bukit Cina (China Hill)	<i>Sanbaosan</i>	三保山	
Burhan Uray	<i>Huang Shuangan</i>	黃雙安	
Canton	<i>Guangzhou</i>	廣州	
Chiang Chiu	<i>Zhangzhou</i>	漳州	
Chiang Chuan	<i>Zhangquan</i>	漳泉	
Chiou Gok Lin	<i>Zhou Yulin</i>	周玉麟	
Chiou Beng Ching	<i>Zhou Pingqing</i>	周平清	
Choo Mun Hua	<i>Zhu Minhua</i>	朱敏華	
Chua Cheen Chong	<i>Cai Zengcong</i>	蔡增聰	
Chua Chung Toi	<i>Cai Cundui</i>	蔡存堆	
Chuan Chiu	<i>Quanzhou</i>	泉州	
Foochow	<i>Fuzhou</i>	福州	
Hainan	<i>Hainan</i>	海南	
Hakka	<i>Kejia</i>	客家	

Hii Yik Ping	<i>Xu Yipin</i>	許益品	
Hinghua	<i>Xinghua</i>	興化	
Hokkien	<i>Fujian, Fujianren</i>	福建, 福建人	
Hokkienese	<i>Fujianhua</i>	福建話	
Kong Sien Han	<i>Jiang Xianhan</i>	江先漢	
Kong Yit Khim	<i>Jiang Yiqin</i>	江嶧琴	
Kuching	<i>Gujin</i>	古晉	
Kutien	<i>Gutien</i>	古田	
Kwongning	<i>Guangning</i>	廣寧	
Kwong Wai Siew	<i>Guanghuizhao</i>	廣惠肇	
Kwongzau	<i>Guangzhou</i>	廣州	
Lau Cheng King	<i>Liu Zengqin</i>	劉增欽	
Lau Heing Wui	<i>Liu Xianwei</i>	劉賢威	
Lau Hoi Chew	<i>Liu Huizhou</i>	劉會洲	
Lau Hoi Kang	<i>Liu Huigan</i>	劉會幹	
<u>English</u>	<u>Pin-yin</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Note</u>
		<u>character</u>	
Lau Jing Kiong	<i>Liu Zengqiang</i>	劉增強	
Lau Kah Choo	<i>Liu Jiazhu</i>	劉家洙	
Lau Kieng Chai	<i>Liu Qiancai</i>	劉虔才	

Lau Lee Min	<i>Liu Limin</i>	劉利民
Lau Lee Sen	<i>Liu Lixian</i>	劉利仙
Lau Ping	<i>Liu Bin</i>	劉斌
Lau Sia Nang	<i>Liu Shinan</i>	劉世南
Lau Swee Nguong	<i>Liu Ruiyuan</i>	劉瑞源
Lau Tzy Chen	<i>Liu Zizheng</i>	劉子政
Lim Yuk Tong	<i>Lin Yutang</i>	林玉堂
Ling Lee Hua	<i>Lin Lihua</i>	林理化
Minchiang	<i>Minqing</i>	閩清
Miri	<i>Meili</i>	美里
Ngieng King Ann	<i>Yen Jianan</i>	嚴建安
Ong Tiang Swee	<i>Wang Changshui</i>	王長水
Sibu	<i>Shiwu</i>	詩巫
Siewhing	<i>Zhaoqing</i>	肇慶
Sivui	<i>Sihui</i>	四會
T'ien Ju-K'ang	<i>Tien Rukang</i>	田汝康
Tai Sing Chi	<i>Dai Chengju</i>	戴承聚
Taipu	<i>Dabu</i>	大埔
Teo Chong Lo	<i>Zhang Zongluo</i>	張宗羅

Teochew	<i>Chaozhou</i>	潮州	
Then Kung Suk	<i>Deng Gongsu</i>	鄧公菽	
Ting, John	<i>Chen Xijian</i>	陳錫監	
Ting Lik Hung	<i>Chen Lixun</i>	陳立訓	
Ting Tiong Hie	<i>Chen Changhui</i>	陳常惠	
Tiong Chee Zen	<i>Zhang Jiren</i>	張濟仁	
Tiong Hiew King	<i>Zhang Xiaoqing</i>	張曉卿	
Tiong Lok Hee	<i>Zhang Lexi</i>	張樂熙	
Tiong Su Kouk	<i>Zhang Shiguo</i>	張仕國	
Tiong Tai King	<i>Zhang Taiqing</i>	張泰卿	
Tua Peh Kong	<i>Dabogon</i>	大伯公	
Vuining	<i>Huining</i>	會寧	
Wai Zau	<i>Huizhou</i>	惠州	
Wong Chung Tiew	<i>Wang Chundou</i>	王春斗	
<u>English</u>	<u>Pin-yin</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Note</u>
		<u>character</u>	
Wong Kim Ho	<i>Huang Jinghe</i>	黃景和	
Wong Meng Lei	<i>Huang Mengli</i>	黃孟禮	
Wong Nai Siong	<i>Huang Naishang</i>	黃乃裳	
Wong Sho Kwong	<i>Huang Shuoguang</i>	黃守光	

Organization Names and their Abbreviations

<u>Names</u>	<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Chinese character</u>
Democratic Action Party	DAP	民主行動黨
Federation of Chinese Associations Sibu	FCAS	詩巫省華人社團聯合會
Malaysia Chinese Association	MCA	馬華公會
Malaysia Federation of Chinese Associations	MFCA	馬來西亞中華大會堂總 會
Sarawak Federation of Chinese Associations	SFCA	砂拉越華人社團聯合會
Sarawak Pan Chen Lau Clan Association	SPCLCA	砂羅越彭城劉氏公會
Sarawak Taiwan Graduates' Association	STGA	砂拉越留台同學會
Sibu Chinese Chamber of Commerce	SCCC	詩巫中華商會
Sibu Chinese General Chamber of Commerce	SCGCC	詩巫中華總商會
Sibu Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry	SCCCI	詩巫中華工商總會
Sibu Eng Ann Teng Tua Peh Kong Temple		詩巫永安亭大伯公廟
Sibu Municipal Council	SMC	詩巫市議會
Tung Lok Sie Tan Hua Foo		同樂社探花府

Bibliography

Alonso, Ana Mariá

- 1994 The Politics of Space, Time and Substance: State Formation, Nationalism, and Ethnicity. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23: 379-405.

Anderson, Benedict

- 1993[1983] *Imagined communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Bintulu Foochow Association (民都魯福州公會)

- 2009 *The Handbook for the 108th Anniversary Celebration of Sibü Foochow Settlement*. (詩巫福州壘場 108 周年紀念慶典手冊). (in Chinese).

Carlson, Ellsworth

- 1974 *The Foochow Missionaries, 1847-1880*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Carstens, Sharon

- 2005 *Histories, Cultures, Identities: Studies in Malaysian Worlds*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.

Cartier, Carolyn

- 2003 Diaspora and Social Restructuring in Postcolonial Malaysia. in Laurence J. C. Ma and Carolyn Cartier eds., *Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility and Identity*. Pp. 71-96. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publisher.

Chan, Eng Seng (田英成, *Tian Yingcheng*)

1999 *Changes of the Sarawak Chinese Society*. Sibü: The Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association. (砂拉越華人社會的變遷。詩巫：砂拉越華族文化協會) (in Chinese)

Chen, Tsung Yuan (陳琮淵, *Chen Chongyuan*)

2005 *Study of the United Chinese Association, Sibü Division, Sarawak*. (砂拉越詩巫華人社團聯合會研究). Sibü: Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association. (in Chinese).

2006 Preliminary Discussion on the Development of Chinese Capital in Sarawak: Case Study on Foochow and Hakka Ethnic Group. (砂拉越華人資本發展探析——以福州與客家兩個族群為中心). *Tankang Journal of History* (淡江史學) 17: 295-320. (in Chinese).

Cheng, Te-K'un

1982 "Archaeology in Sarawak." in *Studies in Chinese Archaeology*, pp. 35-54. Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press.

Chew, Daniel

2004[1990] *Chinese Pioneers on the Sarawak Frontier 1841-1941*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Chin, John

1981 *The Sarawak Chinese*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Choo Mun Hua (朱敏華, *Zhu Minhua*)

- 1998 *History of the Sibu Cantonese Settlement* (詩巫廣東墾場史). Sibu, Sarawak, Malaysia: Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association. (in Chinese).
- 2002 Reverend Hoover and the Development of Rejang Basin. (富雅各與拉讓江盆地的發展). In *Encounter and Getting Along: the Proceedings of Seminar for the Centenary of Chinese Methodist Church in Sarawak* (相遇相處：砂華衛理公會設教百週年研討會). Pp. 33-37. Sibu: Board of Christian Literature, Sarawak Chinese Annual Conference, the Methodist Church in Malaysia. (in Chinese).

Chua Beng Huat and Ananda Rajah

- 2001 Hybridity, Ethnicity and Food in Singapore. In David Y H Wu and Tan Chee Beng eds., *Changing Chinese Foodways in Asia*. Pp. 161-197. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press.

Chua Cheen Choon (蔡增聰, *Cai Zengcong*)

- 2001 *Frontier Stations, Fire Smoke and Business: a Research on the Castle of Sarawak in 19th Century* (邊站、硝煙、貿易：十九世紀砂拉越堡的研究), Sibu, Sarawak, Malaysia: Sibu Branch, the Sarawak Taiwan Graduates' Association. (in Chinese)
- 2004 *The Meditation on the History of Chinese in Sarawak*. Sibu: The Sarawak Association of Taiwanese University Alumni. (歷史的思索：砂拉越華人史論集) Sibu, Sarawak, Malaysia: Sibu Branch, the Sarawak Taiwan Graduates' Association. (in Chinese).

Chua, Chung Toi (蔡存堆, *Cai Cundui*)

- 1987 The Activities of Early Sibuan Southern Min People (詩巫閩南人早期的活動). In *Memorial Magazine for the 50th Anniversary of the Sibuan Chiang Chuan Association* (詩巫漳泉公會金禧紀念特刊). Pp. 199-213. Sibuan: Sibuan Chiang Chuan Association. (in Chinese).
- 1992 The Transformation of the Political Thoughts of Sarawak Chinese. (砂勞越華族政治思想的演變) In Lau Sang Dong and Tian Ying Cheng ed., *The Anthology of Sarawak Chinese Research*, pp. 193-209. Sibuan: Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association. (in Chinese).
- 1996 *Brief Biographies of Chiang Chuan People* (漳泉人物小傳). Sibuan: Sibuan Chiang Chuan Association. (in Chinese).

Commercial Press (Beijing) (商務印書館[北京])

2004[1953] *New China Dictionary* (新華字典). (in Chinese)

Confederation of Pan Chen Lau Clan Sarawak (砂羅越彭城劉氏總會)

- 2007 *The Genealogy of Pan Chen Lau Clan in Sarawak*. (砂羅越彭城劉氏族譜). Sibuan: Confederation of Pan Chen Lau Clan Sarawak. (in Chinese)
- 2008 *Anthology of Questions of Common Knowledge Contest for the Clan Fellows of Sarawak Pan Chen Lau Clan Association, 2003-2008*. (2003-2008年砂羅越彭城劉氏宗親常識比賽 歷屆常識比賽題目). Sibuan: Youth Wing and Women Division, Confederation of Pan Chen Lau Clan Sarawak (in Chinese).

- 2009 *Handbook of the Delegation of Xun Gen Wen Zu*, (砂羅越彭城劉氏總會尋根問祖懇親團代表團名冊). (in Chinese).

DeBernardi, Jean

- 2004 *Rites of Belonging: Memory, Modernity, and Identity in a Malaysian Chinese Community*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Department of Statistics Malaysia, Sarawak

- 1992 *Monthly Statistic Bulletin Sarawak January 1992*.
2009 *Monthly Statistic Bulletin Sarawak October 2009*.
2011 *Monthly Statistic Bulletin Sarawak April 2011*.

Dunch, Ryan

- 2001 *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857-1927*. New Heaven: Yale University Press.

Fang, Niensheng (房年勝)

- 1993 *The History of Sibü Tua Peh Kong Temple*. (從永安亭碑記追溯詩巫大伯公廟歷史)Sibü: The Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association. (in Chinese).

FCAS (Federation of Chinese Associations Sibü, 詩巫省華人社團聯合會)

- 1997 *Souvenir Magazine of the 20th Anniversary of FCAS* (華團二十年：廿週年紀念特刊). Sibü: Federation of Chinese Associations Sibü. (in Chinese)

Federation of Youth Chapters in Sibü Division (詩巫省華青團)

1996 *Souvenir Magazine for the Age of Growth*.(成長的歲月紀念特刊)

Sibu: Federation of Chinese Associations Sibu. (in Chinese).

Fischer, Claude

1988 "Food, Self, and Identity." *Social Science Information* 27(2): 275-92.

Freedman, Maurice

1979 *The Study of Chinese Society: Essays by Maurice Freedman*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Goh, Robbie B. H.

2003 *Sparks of Grace: the Story of Methodism in Asia*. Singapore: The Methodist Church in Singapore.

Gutien Gazette Compilation Committee (古田縣地方志編纂委員會)

1997 *Compatriot Gazette, Gutien County Gazette*. (古田縣志華僑志)

Beijing: Zong Hua Book Company. (in Chinese).

Han Hun, Board of Editing

2008 *Han Hun: Souvenir Magazine for the Sixth Convention of World Liu Clan* (漢魂：2008 世界劉氏第六屆聯誼大會紀念特刊). (in Chinese).

Heidhues, Mary Somers

2003 *Goldiggers, Farmers, and Traders in the "Chinese Districts" of West Kalimantan, Indonesia*. Ithaca, New York: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University.

Hipkins, James R.

1971 The History of the Chinese in Borneo. *Sarawak Museum Journal* XIX (38-39): 109-153.

Hong Kong Foochow Association Limited (香港福州十邑同鄉會)

- 2007 *Souvenir Magazine of the 70th Anniversary of Hong Kong Fuzhou Associations*. (香港福州十邑同鄉會成立七十周年紀念特刊) (in Chinese).

Hong Kong China Tourism Press

- 2001a *Common Knowledge about Chinese History* (中國歷史常識).
- 2001b *Common Knowledge about Chinese Geography* (中國地理常識).
- 2001c *Common Knowledge about Chinese Culture* (中國文化常識).

Hsu, Ya Shiang (徐亞湘, *Xu Yaxiang*)

- 2010 The Marshal of Celestial Capital (田都元帥). In *Encyclopedia of Taiwan* (On-line version). Website: <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/web/content?ID=4433>. Taipei: Council for Cultural Affairs, Taiwan Government. Retrieved on 26 November 2011. (in Chinese).

Huang, Jianchun (黃建淳)

- 1999 *The Study of Sarawak Chinese History* (砂拉越華人史研究). Taipei: Dongda Publisher. (in Chinese).
- 2009 The Historical Relationship between Wong Nai Siong and Singapore and Sarawak (1899-1904) (黃乃裳與新加坡和砂拉越的歷史關係 [1899-1904]). *Tangang Journal of History* 11: 203-216. (in Chinese).

Huang Wei Wen (黃偉雯)

- 2002 A Study on Sarawak Taiwan Graduates' Association (砂拉越留台同

學會之研究). Sibü: Sarawak Taiwan Graduates' Association. (in Chinese).

Hussein Syed Ahmad

- 2002 "Muslim politics and the Discourse on Democracy." In Lok, Francis Koh Wah and Khoo Boo Teik eds., *Democracy in Malaysia: Discourses and Practices*. Pp. 74-107. Richmond: Curzon Press.

Jacobson, David

- 2001 *Place and Belonging in America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kiu, Mee Kuok

- 1997 *The Diffusion of Foochow Settlement in Sibü Area, Central Sarawak, 1901- 1970*. Sibü: The Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association.

Kuhn, Philip

- 2008 *Chinese among Others: Emigration in Modern Times*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press.

Lam Chee-Kheung (林煜堂, *Lin Yutang*)

- 1999 The Inherent Population Crisis of the Sarawak Chinese. (砂拉越華族人口的隱憂) In *The Anthology of Articles by Lam Chee-Kheung*, p. 97-111. Kuching: Kuching Branch, Taiwan Alumni Association of Sarawak. (in Chinese).

Lau Ping (劉斌, *Liu Bin*)

- 2000 *You You Sui Yue Zhong* (悠悠歲月中) [Remote from Years and Months Pass By]. Sibü: Chiong How Kiing. (in Chinese).

Lau Sia Nang (劉世南, *Liu Shi Nan*)

- 1994 A Brief History of Sibü Min Chiang Association (詩巫閩清同鄉會簡史). In *Souvenir Magazine for the 35th Anniversary of Sibü Min Chiang Association* (詩巫閩清同鄉會成立卅五週年紀念特刊), P.21-22. Sibü: Sibü Min Chiang Association. (in Chinese).
- 1998 A Brief History of Our Association (本會簡史). In *Sarawak Pan Chen Lau Clan Association Souvenir Magazine for the 20th Anniversary and the Opening of the Association's New Building* (砂羅越彭城劉氏公會成立廿週年暨新會所落成紀念特刊) Pp. 13-14. Sibü: Sarawak Pan Chen Lau Clan Association. (in Chinese).

Lau, Tzy Cheng (劉子政, *Liu Zizheng*)

- 1992 *Sarawak under the British Colonial Rule*. (英國殖民地時期的砂拉越). Sibü: The Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association. (in Chinese).
- 1998[1978] *Wong Nai Siong and the New Foochow* (黃乃裳與新福州). Sibü: The Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association. (in Chinese).

Leung, Phillip Yuen-sang

- 2002 The Moses of China: Huang Naishang and the Chinese Christian Commune in Sibü. In Leo Suryadinata ed., *Ethnic Chinese in Singapore and Malaysia*. Pp. 337-352. Singapore: Times Academic Press.
- 2006 *Christianity and China* (基督教與中國) Taipei: Jidu jiao yu zhou guang quan ren guan huai ji gou. (in Chinese).

Leo Suryadinata

1985 *China and the ASEAN States: the Ethnic Chinese Dimension*.
Singapore: Singapore University Press.

Li, Changfu (李長傳)

1987[1928] *History of Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia*. (南洋華僑史)
In Lou Tsu-k'uang ed. *Asian Folklore and Social Life*
Monographs(亞洲民俗社會生活叢刊), Vol. 194. Taipei: The
Orient Cultural Service. (in Chinese).

Li, Yih-yuan (李亦園, *Li Yiyuan*)

1970 *An Immigrant Town: Life in an Overseas Chinese Community in*
Southern Malaya (一個移殖的市鎮: 馬來亞華人市鎮生活的調查研
究). Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica. (in Chinese).

Lin, Jihping (林治平, *Lin Zhiping*)

1994 The Influence of the Settlement Development and Cultural
Educational Work by the Foochow Methodist Migrants in Sarawak
toward the Modernization of East Malaysia (福州衛理公會移民群體
在砂勞越從事墾拓開發及文化教育工作對東馬現代化的影響). In
Souvenir Magazine for the 35th Anniversary of Sibu Min Chiang
Association, P.157-182. Sibu: Sibu Min Chiang Association (in
Chinese).

Lin, Yi Hui (林宜慧)

- 1999 The Leadership of the Foochow in Sibu Sarawak (砂拉越詩巫福州人領導層之研究). Sibu, Sarawak, Malaysia: Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association. (in Chinese).

Liu, Hung

- 2006 [1998] Old Linkages, New Networks: The Globalization of Overseas Chinese Voluntary Associations and its Implication. In Liu Hung ed., *The Chinese Overseas* (Volume II), p. 152-182. London: Routledge.

Liu, Zengji (劉增基)

- 2009 The Entrepreneur Cherishing Culture and Education: Lau Cheng King (崇文重教的企業家劉增欽, *Chongwen zhongjiao de qiyejia Liu Zengqin*). In *People of the Liu clan in Minqing* (閩清劉氏名人), pp. 60-68. Meicheng, Minqing: Minqing Xian Pengcheng Liushi Lienyihui (in Chinese).

Lockard, Craig A.

- 2009 *Chinese Society and Politics in Sarawak: Historical Essays*. Sibu, Sarawak, Malaysia: Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association.

Major Chinese Organizations in Malaysia

- 1983 *Joint Memorandum Submitted by the Major Chinese Organizations in Malaysia* (國家文化備忘錄). Kuala Lumpur: the Major Chinese Organizations in Malaysia. (in Chinese, English and Bahasa Malaysia).

Malaysia Federation of Chinese Associations

- 2001 *Material of the Malaysia Chinese Cultural Festivals* (馬來西亞華人

文化節資料集). Kuala Lumpur: Cultural Counseling Committee,
Malaysia Federation of Chinese Associations. (in Chinese).

MFCIC (Malaysia Federation of Chinese Chambers of Industry and Commerce,
馬來西亞中華工商聯合會)

1986 *Souvenir Magazine for the 40th Annual General Meeting of the
Malaysia Federation of Chinese Chambers of Industry and
Commerce*(馬來西亞中華工商聯合會第四十屆代表大會紀念特刊).
(in Chinese)

Malaysia General Association of Hinghua Associations (馬來西亞興安會館總會)

1984 *The Souvenir Magazine for the Fifteenth Anniversary of the
Malaysia General Association of Hinghua Associations* (馬來西亞
興安會館總會十五週年紀念特刊). Kuala Lumpur: Malaysia
General Association of Hinghua Associations. (in Chinese).

Ministry of Education, the ROC Government

2010 *Statistic of the Compatriot Students, 2010*. (僑生人數概況統計, 99
學年度). ([http://www.edu.tw/statistics/publication.aspx?publication
_sn=1657&pages=0](http://www.edu.tw/statistics/publication.aspx?publication_sn=1657&pages=0)). Retrieved on 3 December 2011. (in Chinese).

Minqing Di Er Zhong Xue (福建省閩清第二中學[文泉中學])

1993 *The History of Wen Chuan High School* (文泉中學校史). Minqing,
Fujian: Minqing Di Er Zhong Xue. (in Chinese).

Minqing Gazette Compilation Committee (閩清縣地方志編纂委員會)

1993 *Compatriot Gazette, Minqing County Gazette.* (閩清縣志華僑志)

Beijing: Qun Zong Chubanshe. (in Chinese).

Morris, H. Stephen

1977 The Coastal Melanau. In Victor King ed., *Essays in Borneo Societies*. Pp. 37-58. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nanyang University Alumni Association of Malaya (馬來亞南洋大學校友會)

2002 *Selected Historical Sources of Nanyang University (1953-1980)* (南

洋大學走過的歷史道路：南大從創辦到被關閉重要文獻選編). (in Chinese).

Organizing Committee for Commemorating the Centenary of the Sibü Foochow Settlement (詩巫福州墾場一百週年紀念慶典籌備委員會)

2001 *Souvenir Magazine for Commemorating the Centenary of the Sibü Foochow Settlement, Sarawak, Malaysia* (馬來西亞砂拉越福州墾場一百週年紀念特刊). (in Chinese).

Genealogy of Pan Chen Lau Clan Migrants in Sibü, Compil. Board (編修劉氏僑巫族譜委員會)

1957 The Genealogy of Pan Chen Lau Clan Migrants in Sibü (彭城劉氏遷殖詩巫族譜) (in Chinese).

Pang, Anne Pi-Yau

2007 *Huang Naishang: A Chinese Christian Reformer in Late Qing and Early Republican China*. Ph D dissertation. School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics, Monash University.

Pingnan Gazette Compilation Committee (屏南縣地方志編纂委員會)

1999 *Compatriot Gazette, Pingnan County Gazette*. (屏南縣志華僑志)

Beijing: Fang Jih Chubanshe (方志出版社). (in Chinese).

Reid, Anthony

2010 *Imperial Alchemy: Nationalism and Political Identity in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sarawak Chinese Methodist Annual Assembly (衛理公會砂拉越華人年議會)

2003 *The Memorial Service for Commemorating the Centenary of the Arrival of Reverend Hoover in Sarawak* (富雅各教士抵砂百週年感恩紀念). (Pamphlet). (in Chinese).

Sarawak Federation of Foochow Associations (砂拉越福州社團聯合總會)

2008 *The Souvenir Magazine for 25th Anniversary of the Sarawak Federation of Foochow Associations* (砂拉越福州社團聯合總會二十五週年紀念特刊). (in Chinese).

Sarawak Kuching Foochow Association (古晉福州公會)

2004 *Souvenir Magazine of the 8th Convention of World Federation of Fuzhou Associations*. (第八屆世福州十邑同鄉懇親大會紀念特刊).

(in Chinese).

Sarawak Kutien Association (砂拉越古田公會)

- 2000 *The 2000 Millennium Tour for Seeking Root and Visiting Ancestral Places in China* (砂拉越古田公會千禧年中國尋根訪祖之旅). (Pamphlet). (in Chinese).
- 2004 *The Celebration for the 75th Anniversary of the Sarawak Kutien Association, the Installation of Kutien Memorial Park and the Meeting of the Kutein All over the World* (馬來西亞砂羅越古田公會創會 75 周年、古田紀念公園落成暨世界古田同鄉懇親會慶典). (Pamphlet). (in Chinese).
- 2008 *The 2008 Tour for Sightseeing, Winter Camp, Seeking Root and Visiting Ancestral Places in China* (砂拉越古田公會 2008 年中國旅遊福建冬令營古田尋根訪祖團). (Pamphlet). (in Chinese).

Sarawak Pan Chen Laus' Clan Association (砂羅越彭城劉氏公會)

- 2010 *The Souvenir Magazine for 30th Anniversary of the Sarawak Pan Chen Laus' Clan Association* (砂羅越彭城劉氏公會卅周年紀念特刊). (in Chinese).

Sarawak Sibuhinghua Pusen Association (砂拉越詩巫興化莆仙公會)

- 2002 *Souvenir Magazine for 90th Anniversary of the Hinghua Settlement (1912-2002)*. (砂拉越詩巫興化莆仙公會慶祝墾場九十週年紀念特刊). (in Chinese).

Sarawak Vuining Committee for Centenary of the Cantonese Settlement in Sibü
(砂拉越會寧同鄉慶祝廣東墾場 100 週年紀念籌委會)

2002 *Memorial Magazine for the Centenary of the Sibü Cantonese
Settlement* (砂拉越會寧同鄉慶祝廣東墾場 100 週年紀念特刊).
(in Chinese).

Sarikei Kwong Wai Siew Association (泗里街廣惠肇公會)

2007 *Souvenir Magazine for Commemorating the Centenary of Sarikei
Kwong Wai Siew Association* (泗里街廣惠肇公會百週年紀念特刊).
Sarikei, Sarawak, Malaysia: Sarikei Kwong Wai Siew Association.
(in Chinese).

Sibü Chinese General Chamber of Commerce (詩巫中華總商會 SCGCC)

1979 *10th Anniversary and Opening of New Building of Sibü Chinese
General Chamber of Commerce Souvenir Magazine* (詩巫中華總商
會成立十週年暨新大廈落成開幕紀念特刊). (in Chinese).

Sarawak Federation of Chinese Associations (砂拉越華人社團聯合會 SFCA)

2001 *Souvenir Magazine for the 18th Malaysia Chinese Cultural Festival*.
(Di shibaji chuanguo hauren wenhuajie jinian tekan, 第十八屆全國
華人文化節紀念特刊). (in Chinese).

Sibü Chiang Chuan Association (詩巫漳泉公會)

1988 *Souvenir Magazine for the Fiftieth Anniversary of Sibuan Chiang Chuan Association* (詩巫漳泉公會五十週年紀念特刊). (in Chinese)

2005 *Souvenir Magazine for the Installation of Chiang Chuan Garden and the 150th Anniversary of the Chiang Chuan Pioneers' Exploration to the Rejang* (漳泉園落成暨漳泉先賢開拓拉讓江流域 150 年雙慶紀念特刊).(in Chinese).

2007 *Souvenir Magazine for the Seventieth Anniversary of Sibuan Chiang Chuan Association* (詩巫漳泉公會七十週年紀念特刊). (in Chinese)

Sibu Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry (詩巫中華工商總會 SCCCI)

2008 *Souvenir Magazine for the 40th Anniversary of Sibu Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry* (詩巫中華工商總會創會四十週年紀念特刊). (in Chinese).

Sibu Eng Ann Teng

2010 *A Compilation of Tua Peh Kong Temples in Sarawak* (砂拉越大伯公廟資料彙編). Sibu, Sarawak, Malaysia: Sibu Eng Ann Teng Tua Peh Kong Temple Charitable Trust. (in Chinese).

Sibu Foochow Association (詩巫福州公會)

1952 *Souvenir Magazine for the Fiftieth Anniversary of Sibu Foochow Settlement* (詩巫福州墾場五十週年紀念刊). Sibu: Sibu Foochow Association. (in Chinese).

1971 *The 70th Anniversary of Our Settlement* (墾荒七十年). Sibu: Sibu Foochow Association. (in Chinese).

Sibu Hainan Huiguan (詩巫海南會館)

- 1995 *Souvenir Magazine for the 60th Anniversary of Sibu Hainan Huiguan*
(詩巫海南會館六十週年紀念刊). (in Chinese).

Sibu Hakka Association (詩巫客家公會)

- 2009 *Report for the AGM of Sibu Hakka Association 2009*. (2009 年客家公會會員大會報告書) (in Chinese).

Sibu Min Chiang Association (詩巫閩清同鄉會)

- 1994 *Sibu Min Chiang Association Souvenir Magazine for the 35th Anniversary* (詩巫閩清同鄉會成立卅五週年紀念特刊). Sibu Min Chiang Association. (in Chinese).

Singapore Foochow Association (新加坡福州會館)

- 1990 *Souvenir Magazine for the First International Foochow Conference— Republic of Singapore & Singapore Foochow Association 80th Anniversary* (第一屆國際福州十邑同鄉大會暨新加坡福州會館八十週年紀念特刊). Singapore: Singapore Foochow Association. (in Chinese).

Smith, Anthony

- 1995 The Resurgence of Nationalism? Myth and Memory in the renewal of Nations. *British Journal of sociology* 47(4): 575-598.
2003 *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Souvenir Magazine of Compatriot Leader Lau Kah Choo, Editing Board of

- 1987 *Souvenir Magazine of Compatriot Leader Lau Kah Choo* (僑長劉家
洙紀念集). Sibü: The Editing Board. (in Chinese).

T'ien, Ju-K'ang

- 1997[1953] *The Chinese of Sarawak*. Kuching: Research & Resource Centre
Committee, SUPP Headquarters.

Talib, Naimah S.

- 1999 *Administrators and Their Service: The Sarawak Administrative
Service under the Brooke Rajahs and British Colonial Rule*. New
York: Oxford University Press.

Tan, Chee-Beng

- 2000 "Food and Ethnicity with Reference to the Chinese in Malaysia." In
David Y. H. Wu and Tan Chee-Beng eds., *Changing Chinese
Foodways in Asia*. Pp. 125-160. Hong Kong: The Chinese
University Press.
- 2004 *Chinese Overseas: Comparative Cultural Issues*. Hong Kong: Hong
Kong University Press.
- 2007 Introduction, in Tan Chee Beng ed., *Chinese Transnational Networks*.
Pp. 1-19. London: Routledge.

Ting Kwang Dou (陳觀斗, *Chen Guandou*)

- 1952 "A History of the Fuzhou Pioneer in Sibü, Sarawak." In *The Souvenir
Magazine for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Sibü Fuzhou Colony*. Pp.
49-52. (沙羅越詩巫榕僑開荒史, 刊於《詩巫福州墾場五十周年紀
念刊 1901-1950》) Sibü: Sibü Foochow Association. (in Chinese).

Tung Lok Sie Tan Hua Foo (同樂社探花府)

- 1992 *Souvenir Magazine for the Fiftieth Anniversary of Tung Lok Sie Tan Hua Foo.* (第三省同樂社探花府五十週年紀念特刊). Sibü: Tung Lok Sie Tan Hua Foo. (in Chinese).

Wan Dao Qui (萬道奎)

- 1965 An Overview on the Living of Hakka at Kuching and Sibü, Sarawak (砂勞越古晉詩巫客屬人士生活概況) in *the Souvenir Magazine of the 35th and 36th Anniversary of Nanyang Khek Community Guild* (南洋客屬總會第三十五、六週年紀念刊), pp.A170-2. Singapore: Nanyang Khek Community Guild. (in Chinese).

Wang, Gungwu

- 1991 *China and the Chinese Overseas: Selected Essays.* Singapore: Times Academic Press.
- 2003 *Don't Leave Home: Migration and the Chinese.* Singapore: Times Academic Press.
- 2004 Cultural Centres for the Chinese Overseas. In Wong Siu-lun ed., *Chinese and Indian Diasporas: Comparative Perspectives.* Pp. 27-50. Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong.

WFFAL (World Federation of Fuzhou Association Limited, 世界福州十邑同鄉總會)

- 2007 *Souvenir Magazine of the 9th Convention of World Federation of Fuzhou Associations.* (世界福州十邑同鄉總會第九屆懇親大會特刊). (in Chinese).

Willford, Andrew

- 2004 Possession and Displacement in Kuala Lumpur's Ethnic Landscape. *International Social Science Journal* 55(175): 99-109.

World Fuzhou Heritage Gallery

- 2010 *Taste and Flavour of Foochow* (福州鄉味探源). Sibü, Sarawak, Malaysia: World Fuzhou Heritage Gallery. (in Chinese and English).

Wong, Bernard

- 1998 *Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship: The New Chinese Immigrants in the San Francisco Bay Area*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Wong Jao Fa (黃昭發, *Huang Zaofa*)

- 2002 *The Souvenir Magazine for The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Sibü Kwang-ming High School and the Opening of Tiong Bun King Hall* (砂羅越詩巫光民中學創校 50 週年暨張文卿大禮堂落成雙慶大典紀念刊)(1952-2002). (in Chinese).

Wong Meng Chuo (黃孟祚, *Huang Mengzo*)

- 2002 The Influence of the Methodist Church to the Social, Economic, and Political Development of Sarawak (衛理宗對砂拉越社會、經濟與政治發展的影響). In *Encounter and Getting Along: the Proceedings of Seminar for the Centenary of Chinese Methodist Church in Sarawak* (相遇相處：砂華衛理公會設教百週年研討會). Pp. 5-23. Sibü: Board of Christian Literature, Sarawak Chinese Annual Conference, the Methodist Church in Malaysia. (in Chinese).

Wong Meng Lei (黃孟禮, *Huang Mengli*)

- 2002 Settling a Stone as a Mark: the Pattern of Reviewing the History by the Three Settlements in Sibü (立石為記：詩巫三大墾場回顧歷史的模式). *Wenhai* 4: 67-72. (in Chinese).
- 2005 *Pioneer Trail of Foochow* (福州人、拓荒路). Sibü: Sibü Foochow Association. (in Chinese).
- 2007 *Sibü View*. (詩巫掠影：天鵝之美以美遨遊) Sibü: Board of Christian Literature, Sarawak Chinese Annual Conference, The Methodist Church in Malaysia. (in Chinese).

Woodfield, Charmian C.

- 2006 Lobang Kudih: The Excavation of a Ming Period Burial Cave, near Beluru, Miri Division, within the Baram Basin. *Sarawak Museum Journal* Vol. LXI (82): 31-186.

Wu, Yi-xiong (吳義雄)

- 2006 *Inception and Progress: On History of Modern Christianity in the Southern China* (開端與進展：華南近代基督教史論集). Taipei: Jidujiao yu zhou guang quan ren guan huai ji gou. (in Chinese).

Yayasan Bukit Mulia Indah (印尼雅加達吉祥山基金會)

- 2002 *Souvenir Magazine of the 7th Convention of World Federation of Fuzhou Associations*. (世界福州十邑同鄉總會第七屆懇親大會特刊). Jakarta: Bukit Mulia Indah. (in Chinese).

Yeap, Chong Leng (葉鐘鈴, *Ye Zhongling*)

- 1995 *Wong Nai Siong and the Nanyang Chinese: An Anthology*. (黃乃裳與南洋華人). Singapore: Singapore Society of Asian Studies. (in Chinese).
- 2001 *Wong Nai Siong and the Nanyang Chinese: An Anthology*. Singapore: Singapore Society of Asian Studies.

Zhou, Daming (周大鳴)

- 2006 *Change of the Phoenix Village: A Restudy of the Peasant Life in Southern China* (鳳凰村的變遷：《華南的鄉村生活》追蹤研究). Beijing: Social Science Literature Publisher. (in Chinese).

Zhu Feng (朱峰)

- 2009 *Christianity and the Cultural Adaptation of Overseas Chinese: Case Studies on the Modern Chinese Settlements in Southeast Asia* (基督教與海外華人的文化適應：近代東南亞華人移民社區的個案研究). Beijing: Zhonghua Xuju. (in Chinese).