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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

We are pleased to announce in this issue the "discovery" of several fellow Borneanists who only recently have learned about the Council and immediately made themselves known. We are pleased to include reports they have submitted on their recent and continuing research. We also welcome them and the variety of projects they represent in all of the political divisions of the island.

There is the high probability that there are other researchers working in different parts of Borneo who do not know of the BRC, and I encourage you to identify and invite any you know to participate in our activities. We remain the only organization with a pan-Bornean focus.

Initial response to the Third Bi-Ennial International Conference to be held in Pontianak in July is encouraging. We have sent First Notices to all Fellows and Members of the Council, together with Fellows and Members of the American Anthropological Association, altogether a mailing to about 13,500 persons. Even at this late date, if you know of anyone who would be interested in attending or participating, please urge them to write to us. We certainly will accept on-site registrations.

We expect to hold the Fourth Bi-Ennial Conference in Brunei in July 1996, so please plan to participate.

Your response to the first Annual Fund Campaign also is gratifying. With your gifts, we are able to continue the publication of the Monograph Series and selected papers from the conferences. *Change and Development*, containing papers from the 1990 Kuching conference, is available, and *Tourism in Borneo* and *Shifting Patterns of Language Use* will be published by the time you receive this volume. Other sets of papers from the second conference in Kota Kinabalu will be produced later in the year.

We are grateful to the following persons who have contributed to the work of the Council during the past year: George and Laura Appell, Martin Baier, Donald E. Brown, Julian Caldecott, P. K. Cassels, Jay B. Crain, C. N. Crisswell, Allen and Doris Drake, Brian Durrans, Mrs. S. H. Holton, A. V. M. Horton, Victor T. King, Peter Martin, Allen Maxwell, Rodney Needham, Robert H.W. Reece, Graham Saunders, William and Mary Jo Schneider, P. G. Sercombe, Sir Alexander Waddell, Laura P. Appell Warren, and T.W.W. Woods. If we have omitted anyone's name, we apologize and ask that you inform us so we may include you in the next listing.

MEMORIALS

HAROLD STEPHEN MORRIS
1913-1993

Stephen Morris was born in Weymouth, England, on 22 March, 1913. His father, a civil engineer in the colonial service, had worked in Rhodesia since the 1890s when Cecil Rhodes began opening up that country. His mother was an independently minded New Zealander who had taken up nursing in South Africa. Stephen spent his childhood in Rhodesia, but travelled with his mother. He could recall visiting Germany during the time of rampant inflation in 1923.

After four years at Prince Edward School in Rhodesia, he was destined for Marlborough College in England, but, according to Stephen, the Great Strike of 1926 intervened and he went instead to Weymouth College, "in order to become an Englishman." He said of this time in his life that it was "an uncomfortable experience", which he did not enjoy. He lived in Weymouth with his aunt and great-aunt, and later often spoke of the insights into a nineteenth century life-style which he had gained through long conversations with them.

In 1931, he went to Edinburgh University (his mother did not approve of Oxford or Cambridge) to study forestry, and graduated with a B.Sc. degree on 28 June 1934. At that time Britain was still suffering the effects of the depression. According to Stephen, there were only two jobs in forestry available to him: one was in Cyprus, the other in Nigeria. He wanted Cyprus but was offered Nigeria, which he turned down because he had reservations about the treatment of native workers there. Instead, he spent some time planting trees in Scotland. Not surprisingly, this proved an unsatisfying experience, besides which he had injured his foot rather badly, so he decided to take up law. He became an articled clerk in a London law firm and went to law school.

In 1937, while practising as a solicitor, he joined the Peace Pledge Union and became involved helping refugees from Spain and Germany. When war was declared in 1939, he registered as a conscientious objector and was drafted into the National Fire Service. Stephen talked little of this period of his life; it held painful memories for him. In addition to his work as a fireman, he was involved in social service work such as health education, care of bombed-out families, and even the preparation of emergency plans to accommodate up to half of London should the bombing intensify.

All these experiences increased his interest in people, and in 1945-7 he took the postgraduate diploma course in anthropology at the London School of

Economics and Political Science (LSE). Another student taking the course was Barbara Ward, who in 1953 became his wife. He always said laughingly that it was because of Barbara that he became an anthropologist working in Southeast Asia, because she refused to marry a lawyer (Her father was one), and her field of research was Hong Kong. Stephen's own interest lay in central Asia, but after the war that region was closed to all outside contact. Indeed, it was not until 1987 that he achieved his ambition to visit the area, when, in the company of his son, he followed the Silk Road over the Karakoram Mountains and across the Gobi Desert.

In 1948, Stephen was recruited by the Colonial Social Service Research Council (CSSRC) to undertake sociological research in Sarawak following the lines laid down in Professor Edmund R. Leach's report of 1948 (published in 1950), *Report on the Possibilities of A Social Economic Survey of Sarawak*. Various practical sociological projects were commissioned and, aside from Stephen's work, community studies among other ethnic groups elsewhere in Sarawak were undertaken by J. Derek Freeman, W. R. (Bill) Geddes, and T'ien Ju-K'ang. Stephen's brief was to examine the sago industry and the Melanau community which produced it. He spent almost two years among the Melanau (Morris 1992), and produced a masterly report (Morris 1953) which showed the thoroughness that was the hallmark of all his work. He presented a detailed ethnography of the cottage-based sago industry and the main features of Melanau social organization. Formerly pagan, many Melanau had been drawn into the Brunei-dominated Muslim Malay socio-political organization, while some were relatively recent converts to Roman Catholicism. Stephen's interests in processes of change led him to investigate the pagan traditions of the Melanau; he therefore lived in the Oya area, where the population had kept to many of their traditional beliefs and practices.

On his return to London in 1950, he became a Lecturer in Anthropology at LSE. From October, 1952, to February, 1955, he held a Senior Research Fellowship at the East African Institute of Social Research at Makerere College, Kampala, Uganda. While there, he investigated the immigrant Indian community. This research was the basis of his doctoral thesis, *Immigrant Indian Communities in East Africa*, submitted to the University of London in 1963. In 1956, he was reappointed as a Lecturer in Anthropology at the LSE, becoming Senior Lecturer in 1965. From May to September, 1968, he taught at the Colegio de Mejico, Mexico City, and in September-October of the same year, he was at Cornell University. In 1970-1, he taught at Ohio State University. He retired in September, 1980.

His interest in plural societies and the effects of change on communities drew him back to the Melanau. In 1963, after some 13 years, he returned to Sarawak, making several trips there during the next two decades (1963-4, 1966, 1967, 1970-1, and 1981). He set out to investigate in particular pagan beliefs and practices, and recorded a number of chants. In 1971, he was accompanied by his elder son, George, who was largely responsible for organizing a unique collection of Melanau sickness figurines or *bilum*.

Stephen also was involved as consultant sociologist along with Drs. Clifford Sather and Hatta Solhee on the Miri-Bintulu Planning Study from October, 1972, to July, 1973.

Recognition that his work on the Melanau constituted a major contribution to the ethnology of Sarawak came in 1988 when he was invited as a special guest to the Sarawak Cultural Heritage Symposium held in Kuching, and again in 1990 for the first international meeting of the Borneo Research Council. In June, 1993, he was selected as the second recipient of the Borneo Research Council Medal.

Following his retirement in 1980, he planned to join Barbara who was Visiting Reader in Sociology at the Chinese University in Hong Kong (1978-81). The intention was to set up a foundation relating to Barbara's work among the Chinese boat people. But Barbara's sudden death in 1983, from which Stephen never really recovered, prevented the realization of this project.

He served on the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute from 1986 to 1989, and as Honorary Secretary to the Trustees of the Emslie Horniman Fund from 1985 to 1990.

Stephen was always self-effacing about his own abilities, from ethnography to cooking, while towards academia, he had a detached, humorous attitude. At the LSE he was a popular lecturer, but he hated sloppy work, as some students discovered to their cost. He was impatient too with bureaucracy and red tape, such as the recent "poll tax" legislation as it was applied to him. Then, drawing on his legal background, he could write the most vindictive letters. As a friend, he was caring and generous, and his advice was sought on all subjects. He was a good conversationalist (thanks to the aunts), with a wonderful store of anecdotes. Among the Melanau, he was remembered, certainly into the 1970s, as the ethnographer who had sampled the local delicacy, sago palm grubs, without first dealing with the powerful jaws! It was typical of him, that when in Sarawak, he preferred to spend his time with his Melanau friends, rather than linger in Kuching.

In his last years, although he suffered considerable ill health, Stephen's overriding concern was to write up his investigations among the Melanau. His book, *The Oya Melanau*, was completed and published in 1991, and just days before his death, he had completed the draft of another book, *The World of the Oya Melanau: Ritual and Belief*. Recently, he took steps to ensure the safekeeping of his field notebooks and papers on the Melanau.

Few people knew that Stephen also was a writer of fiction and a poet. In the 1930s, he wrote several novels, although he would never reveal his pseudonym, not even to his sons. He loved poetry, hence his particular interest in Melanau chants and poetry. Two poems which he wrote recently have been accepted posthumously for publication in *Poetry Now*.

In June of this year, Stephen underwent massive heart surgery, and to the joy of his many friends, made a remarkable recovery. His loss was therefore more keenly felt when he died suddenly on 26 September, 1993. Old friends of his will be pleased to know that Father Henry Vollenberg, a Mill Hill priest, once stationed at Mukah and a close friend of Stephen's over many years, was with him at the end.

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(Beatrice Clayre, with some additional information from an obituary by Victor T. King, to appear in *Anthropology Today*)

ROBERT HARRISON

1933(?) - 1986

"Studies... done without compassion are worthless"*

Robert Harrison died unexpectedly in the spring of 1986. By his death anthropology, and the ethnography of Sabah societies, lost an outstanding and perceptive scholar. His experience in Borneo studies, his sensitivity to others, and his friendship have been sadly missed.

I first met Bob in 1961 at a luncheon in the faculty club of Columbia University. Professor Harold C. Conklin, his graduate studies supervisor, had arranged for our meeting so that I could introduce Bob to field research in what was then the Colony of North Borneo. At that time I was on leave from the School of Pacific Studies, the Australian National University, after my first period of field work among the Rungus and writing up my preliminary analysis of Rungus social organization.

Bob was enthusiastically looking forward to his field work, and talked about an idea to determine the date that irrigated agriculture was introduced to various societies. As he never carried this out in the field, and, as far as I know, no one else has attempted this, it is important that this idea of Bob's not languish. He argued that samples of soil from below the irrigation terrace walls might contain decayed vegetative materials which could be assayed for their age by carbon-14 techniques to determine when the padi fields were first built.

After meeting Bob at Columbia University I then corresponded with him at some length before he left for what was then Jesselton. He had received a fellowship from the Ford Foundation Foreign Area Training Program. He, as have other Columbia graduate students in anthropology, talked about North Borneo and the Dusunic languages with Joe Munang, a Penampang Dusun who had arrived in New York about 20 years previously and who worked as a barber. He was the first of his group to climb Mt. Kinabalu. His brother, Leo Munang, worked as a dresser in Jesselton, and he entertained the Harrisons when they arrived there.

Bob and his family arrived in North Borneo on April 4, 1962, and by the end of the month had moved to the Ranau District where Bob was to do his field work. Shortly thereafter, in the company of a government land surveyor, he and another anthropologist visited us -- myself, my wife Laura, and our daughter Laura Parker -- for a day at our field site in Matunggon.

Bob was interested in studying the variation in social organization found in wet rice agriculture and dry rice agriculture. In particular, he was interested in what modifications to the social system might have occurred when these two agricultural technologies were practiced together within one village. He found such a village in Kampong Matan, in the Ranau District, and there he resided for 19 months of research along with his wife Diane and his young son, Bobby.

On his return from the field Bob took up teaching positions at the University of Connecticut and subsequently at the University of Hawaii. He also worked in the Model Cities Program, Honolulu, in 1969, and in 1970 as an anthropologist at the Population Institute of the East-West Center. His last teaching position was at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee. At that time he listed his areas of expertise as social organization and ecology, demography, urban studies, Southeast Asia, Oceania.

Bob served in the U.S. Armed Forces from April 1952 to January, 1954, and he wrote that his interest in Southeast Asia arose as a result of his experiences in the service. He received his Ph.D. in anthropology from Columbia University in 1971.

Because so much nonsense had thus far been written on the Dusunic-speaking peoples of Sabah, including George P. Murdock's summary of "Dusun" culture in his ethnographic atlas, I enlisted Bob's help in preparing an ethnographic summary of the Dusunic speaking peoples, following the cultural trait categories used in Murdock's ethnographic atlas, in order to correct the ethnographic record (Appell and Harrison 1969; also see Appell 1968).

I had met several students of Bob's after he had left the University of Connecticut and learned from them that he was an unusually exciting and stimulating teacher, who was concerned for the interests of the students. He enjoyed the discussion of ideas and was a rigorous theoretical thinker. In one of his letters to me he complained of the state of anthropology at Hawaii until Gregory Bateson arrived. Bob wrote, "For all the difference between us as regards our discipline, Bateson certainly is quite open and very very helpful. Never realized how much I'd missed intelligent conversation until I began to converse with him" (personal communication October 1, 1968). Bob was scrupulously honest in his theoretical thinking, and abhorred intellectual and theoretical flim-flam.

Bob was a very sensitive, kind individual with great insight on the behavior of people. He was keenly attuned to any forms of injustice and was concerned that anthropology was not dealing with some of the critical issues of our own society, such as racism. He wrote me in April 27, 1968:

There is, in response to how do you make students see what's happening, only one answer, that is compassion, love, and a refusal to cast your discipline in other than relevant terms. In anthropology that means constantly attempting to deal with what we mean by "man" not culture... Also you [have] got to listen to every question and deal fairly with every confusion. Nobody can do it--but then only can attempt--that is what ideals are for anyway--not accomplishment--but direction.

In response to a long hiatus in our correspondence and to rumors of his death, I enquired in 1990 of Donald V. Kurtz, Chair of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, as to Bob's whereabouts. It is from Dr. Kurtz I learned of his death. He also wrote that Bob was well liked and those who knew him were terribly saddened by his untimely death.

I then attempted to learn whether any of his important field notes and irreplaceable photographs survived to be put into an archives, and also to gather more information about Bob's earlier life for this obituary. I was unsuccessful in both. It is indeed unfortunate for all of us that Bob's anthropological work remains unfinished.**

Bob is survived by his son, Robert Harrison of Honolulu, and his former wife, Diane Kahakelii, of Hilo, Hawaii.

Acknowledgements

I want to thank Peter R. Goethals and Allan R. Maxwell, Jr. for their help in preparing this biographical note.

Notes

* Robert Harrison's letter of April 27, 1968, to G. N. Appell.

** I would welcome comments about Bob's work and life from anyone who knew him. I would also welcome receiving copies of any further bibliographic items or references to these. I am missing in my files his Ford Report No. 2.

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G. N. Appell, Ph.D.

SVEN FOGH, M.D.

Former Medical Officer, Kudat District, Sabah

Dr. Sven Fogh, of Fredensborg, Denmark, died on September 1, 1993, a day after his 66th birthday. He served from 1962 to 1965 as District Medical Officer of the Kudat District. Previous to that he had served in the British Colonial Service in Nigeria. He had a diploma in tropical medicine from the University of Liverpool.

Dr. Fogh was born in Malaya, where his father was a planter. He had been sent home to Denmark at the age of five to attend boarding school. He never saw his father again as he was beheaded by the Japanese.

We first met Dr. Fogh while my wife and I temporarily resided in the District Officer's house, on the invitation of Colin Wood and his wife Kathleen, to recuperate from an exquisite case of amoebic dysentery and food poisoning. We had come up from Matunggong to Kudat both for reasons of health and also because I was to serve as an interpreter to the Cobbold Commission. Dr. Fogh in his "whites" and beard, strode into the living room where our three year old daughter was playing. Having lived most of her life among the Rungus, she was unfamiliar with beards, and she had absorbed the Rungus abhorrence of bearded people who represent certain malicious spirits. On seeing Sven, she turned, screaming, and tried either to run through the wall of the living room or climb it. I was never sure.

After that first experience we all became fast friends with the Foghs and visited them both in Kudat and, many years later, in Denmark.

Colin Wood, the District Officer of Kudat at that time replied to my letter informing him of Sven's death, with the following remembrances of him:

He [Fogh] was a rarity in the British Colonial Service by being a foreigner ... serving in both West Africa as well as in South-East Asia ... his service in Sabah was marked by his popularity among the people of Kudat and his superlative interest in their welfare and the development of new medical services. ...from a personal point of view, he was a cooperative and friendly colleague in the District's administration. He was a great member of 'the team'. Lastly I was forever surprised at both his own sense of

humour and his remarkable ability to understand, and in turn reflect the English sense of humour in his own correspondence.

Sven did indeed have a marvelous sense of humor, and kept us continually laughing at our irresolvable predicaments.

He instituted a medical clinic in Matunggong shortly after we left the field. He discovered the presence of filariasis on the Kudat Peninsula, and in 1979 he was a senior author of an article on the first proven case of chloroquine resistant *P. falciparum* malaria from Kenya.

From my point of view, one of his most interesting activities was his assembling of a collection of Rungus material culture. We helped him with the organization of this, and his efforts continued, with the help of one of our former assistants, well after we had left the field. Sven made this collection for a school friend, Klaus Ferdinand, who was head of the Ethnographic Department, Institute for Prehistoric Archaeology and Ethnography, Aarhus University, Aarhus, Denmark.

This had interesting consequences. In 1971 I was invited to go to Aarhus University as Visiting Professor for a year to lecture on social anthropology and work on this collection, most of the work on this actually being done by my wife, Laura.

On leaving Sabah in 1965 he served for one year as head of the Swedish Clinic in Yemen, a project run by the Swedish Save the Children's Fund. On returning to Denmark, he opened up his own clinic and was one of the first Danish doctors to be registered as a specialist in tropical medicine. He soon became well known for his knowledge and treatment of tropical diseases. He served with distinction in various countries as tropical medical consultant and representative of international medical bodies.

Sven was an ardent fisherman, visiting England several times to fish and visit his old friends Colin and Kathleen Wood. He also visited us in Maine, fishing our streams for Brook trout. He left behind hanging on the wall of our guest house a decorated fish carrying implement carved from a forked stick.

He is survived by his wife Elisabeth, whom we all know affectionately as Lis. (G. N. Appell, Ph.D.)

RESEARCH NOTES

A. W. NIEUWENHUIS ACROSS BORNEO (1894-1994)

BERNARD SELLATO

FOREWORD

The few pages below are an English version of the introduction I wrote to an abridged edition in Indonesian of Nieuwenhuis' classic work in Dutch, *In Centraal Borneo* (1900), to be published by Gramedia in Jakarta and released in July 1994, on the occasion of the Third Biennial International Conference of the Borneo Research Council in Pontianak, West Kalimantan. References appended include Nieuwenhuis' publications on Borneo and Indonesia, other works concerning his three expeditions and their output, and some works of related interest concerning the regions and peoples he visited.

Colonial Exploration in Borneo

In the 19th century a new phase in colonial history unfolded that was rooted in developments dating to the mid-18th century when, by force or intimidation, the British and the Dutch were gaining a foothold in Borneo. A few adventurers - Alexander Hare in Banjarmasin (1812), James Erskine Murray in Kutai (1844), James Brooke (1842) and Robert Burns (1848) in Sarawak -- tried to carve a kingdom for themselves, some with more luck than others. Others, like Müller (1825) and Dalton (1828), explored Borneo in their country's name.

Whereas the Dutch had hitherto neglected Borneo for other, more profitable islands, James Brooke's success in Sarawak triggered a renewed interest. In the south, during the 1840s, the Dutch forced trade contracts on the coastal sultans, later making them recognize the Dutch government's tutelage. The first explorations in the interior were then able to start in earnest: Schwaner on the Barito, van Lijnden, Veth, and von Kessel on the Kapuas, Weddik on the Mahakam.

By the mid-19th century the Dutch controlled the coasts and the trade at the mouths of all the larger rivers. Their military had to intervene against rebellious sultans, for example in the Banjarmasin War (1859-1863) and the subsequent Wangkang War (after 1870), and against bellicose upriver tribes, like the Ot Danum and the Tebidah (in the 1890s).

Meanwhile, the Brookes' raj was spreading at the sultan of Brunei's expense and conquering its own hinterland, fighting wars against the powerful Kayan (Great Kayan Expedition of 1863) and various Iban tribes (between 1868 and 1919). In Sabah, the British settled in Labuan in 1846. In the 1860s, Spencer St. John explored the Limbang and climbed Mt. Kinabalu, the highest peak between the Himalayas and New Guinea. The British North Borneo Chartered Company, taking over in Sabah in 1881, were challenged by local rebels -- including the famous Mat Salleh. The discovery, in the 1880s, of petroleum and coal in Borneo prompted its integration into the wider world.

The colonial powers then found that controlling trade was no longer enough and that they needed real territorial control, requiring the establishment of administrative and military structures. It was in this new context, in the last quarter of the 19th century, that the great expeditions took place, in hitherto unexplored regions: the upper Rejang (Hugh Low, in the 1880s), the upper Baram (Charles Hose, between 1884 and 1907), the Mahakam (Tromp, in the 1880s), and the upper Kapuas (Nieuwenhuis, from 1893 onwards).

The last decade of the 19th century also marked, for the colonial governments, the close of all major armed conflicts. It should be recalled that 1894 was the year of the great peace-making that brought together about thirty Dayak groups to Tumbang Anoi in the upper Kahayan River (May through July 1894). More exploration was to follow in the new century's first years -- by Knappert in the Mahakam basin, Enthoven in the upper Kapuas basin, Stolk on the Busang River, van Walchren in Apokayan -- and more again until, in the 1930s, the whole of Borneo's interior had come under the actual control of the colonial powers, with the exception of a much reduced sultanate of Brunei.

The region of the watershed between the Kapuas and Mahakam Rivers is one of the most remote areas of Borneo. In the upper Mahakam, a region isolated by very dangerous rapids, the Kayan-Mahakam, the Busang (Uma' Suling and others), and the Long-Gelat (a Modang subgroup) occupied the fertile plains, while the Aoheng inhabited the western foothills. In the upper Kapuas, the small trade town of Putussibau was surrounded by Senganan (Moslems), Taman, and Kayan villages with, farther upstream, a couple of Aoheng and Semukung hamlets. In-between, a large mountain range reaching almost 2000 m was inhabited by nomadic Bukat and Kereho (Punan Keriau) and semi-nomadic Hovongan (Punan Bungan). The first foreigner to reach and cross this mountain range, Major Müller, did not live to retell his travels.

Major Müller's Ill-fated 1825 Expedition

Georg Müller, an engineering officer in the army of Napoléon I, went after Waterloo into the civil service of the Dutch Indies. Representing the colonial government, he made official contact with the sultans of Borneo's east coast. In 1825, in spite of the sultan of Kutai's reluctance to let the Dutch penetrate through and beyond his territories, Müller went up the Mahakam with a dozen Javanese soldiers. Only one of these soldiers made it alive to the west coast.

News of Müller's death fed a controversy that lasted well into the 1850s (van Kessel 1849-55, van Lijnden & Groll 1851, Veth 1854-56, Hageman 1855), to be episodically revived each time "new" information was made available (Molengraaff 1895b, Nieuwenhuis 1898 and 1900, Enthoven 1903). As late as in the 1950s, visitors to the area continued to inquire after its circumstances (Helbig 1941, Ivanoff 1955).

To this day these circumstances have not been quite clarified. Indeed, the region remained terra incognita until 1894. It appears, however, that Müller did cross the watershed into the Kapuas basin and was killed around mid-November 1825. The murder occurred, it is said, on the Bungan River, possibly at the Bakang rapids, where he would have had to build boats to paddle down to the Kapuas. He would then have been only a few days from safety. It seems likely that the murder was ordered by the sultan of Kutai -- the order being relayed from one tribe to the next up the Mahakam -- and finally carried out by members of some local group, perhaps the Pnihing, as Nieuwenhuis himself believes. As it occurred in the Kapuas drainage, the sultan could not of course bear the blame for it.

In any case, when the Nieuwenhuis expedition first crossed the watershed almost 70 years later -- on the French national day of 1894 -- this mountain range was given the name of Müller Mountains. Let us now talk of Nieuwenhuis.

A. W. Nieuwenhuis

Anton Willem Nieuwenhuis was born on 22 May 1864 in Papendrecht, The Netherlands. He studied medicine at the State University in Leiden from 1883 to 1889. In 1890, he took his doctoral degree in medicine at the Albert-Ludwigs University in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Germany, with a thesis entitled "Ueber (On) haematoma scroti" -- undoubtedly a fascinating medical question.

He joined the Armed Forces in 1890 and was, in 1892, stationed at Sambas, West Borneo, as a medical officer in the service of the Dutch East Indies Army. The Resident (an administrative officer under the Ministry of the Interior) of West

Borneo (the administrative region of Westerafdeeling van Borneo), S.W. Tromp, took the initiative for scientific exploration of Borneo. Tromp was an old Borneo hand, having traveled in East Borneo earlier.

After lengthy considerations by its scientific commission (the Indisch Comité, acting as an advisory body), the Maatschappij ter bevordering van het natuurkundig onderzoek der Nederlandsche Kolonien (Society for the Promotion of Natural History Exploration in the Dutch Colonies) in Amsterdam decided to organize a first expedition, whose main objective was the scientific exploration of central Borneo, especially the region of the upper Kapuas and its main tributaries.

The First Expedition (1893-94)

This first, multidisciplinary, expedition (1893-94) included Johann Büttikofer, curator at the National Museum for Natural History in Leiden, for zoology; H. Hallier, assistant at the Herbarium of the Botanical Gardens in Buitenzorg (Bogor), for botany; G.A.F. Molengraaff, for geology; Nieuwenhuis, for physical anthropology and ethnography, and as medical doctor.

The expedition got underway in November 1893 and from its headquarters at Semitau, where all members finally gathered on 26 February 1894, it left for the Mandai River. Nieuwenhuis and Büttikofer stayed from March through May 1894 on the upper Mandai, in the village of Nanga Raun (later famous as the longest longhouse in West Kalimantan), among the Ulu Air Dayak (a branch of the Ot Danum who call themselves Orung Da'an). Meanwhile, Molengraaff made a geologic survey. Then Nieuwenhuis and Molengraaff went back to Putussibau to prepare for the journey towards the Mahakam.

Controleur van Velthuysen, the district officer of the Upper Kapuas, was appointed leader of the expedition, which included, besides Nieuwenhuis and Molengraaff, 19 *prajurit* (East Indies soldiers), 5 Malay coolies, 8 Batang-Lupar (Iban) Dayak in the special service of the controleur, and 85 Kayan Dayak from the Mendalam River as boatmen and porters. They departed Putussibau with 24 canoes on 15 June 1894.

They crossed over into the Mahakam basin on 14 July -- the first time a European had done so since 1825. But the regional political situation had not changed much since Müller's times. Preparations were being made for a hostile reception by the tribes ahead -- so went the rumour brought by a Dayak messenger returning from the Mahakam -- and the controleur decided to turn back on 15 July. The expedition was back in Putussibau by 22 July.

Molengraaff and Nieuwenhuis then parted ways. Molengraaff went south, crossed over to the Samba River, and went down the Katingan River (now part of Central Kalimantan), making geologic and ethnographic observations and reaching Banjarmasin in October 1894. Meanwhile, Nieuwenhuis settled among the Kayan at Tanjung Karang on the Mendalam for two months (August-September 1894). Seeing the Kayan as the key to the upper Mahakam, since they were on friendly terms with other Kayan groups there, he made them promise to take him across the watershed. They acquiesced on the condition that he would not take an armed escort.

The Second Expedition (1896-97)

In 1894, the Lombok war erupted and Nieuwenhuis was posted there as an army doctor. He returned to Batavia in 1895 and sailed for Pontianak in February 1896. A second expedition was organized, with the same objectives.

This second expedition (1896-97) had Nieuwenhuis as its leader and the participation of F. von Berchtold, for the zoological collections, and Jan Demmeni, the expedition photographer. Other members were two Sundanese from Buitenzorg, Jaheri and Lahudin, in charge of botanical specimens and collections, and Midan, Nieuwenhuis' personal aid and cook. Nieuwenhuis stayed in Tanjung Karang again from 7 April to 15 June to gain a better command of the Kayan language and learn the Busang lingua franca of the upper Mahakam. Demmeni, arriving in May, immediately started taking photographs (reproduced in *In Centraal Borneo*).

The expedition started on 3 July 1896 from Putussibau with twelve canoes and fifty Kayan boatmen. Following the southern footpath, it went up the Bungan and the Bulit Rivers, stayed put for a while to ascertain that no major problem was to be expected ahead, and then went down the Penane and Kaso Rivers on the other side. The party stayed first with the Pnihing -- who really call themselves Aoheng -- then with the Kayan-Mahakam, and spent in all some eight months on the upper Mahakam.

The Kayan from the Mendalam and their chief Akam Igau played a very important role in the favorable course of events. It is clear that, without Akam's help, Nieuwenhuis would never have succeeded. On the other side of the watershed, the part played by the Kayan chief of the Mahakam, Kwing (or Koeng) Irang, should certainly not be underestimated either.

In fact Nieuwenhuis had just landed in the midst of a complex political, as well as economic, situation in which the principal local actors promptly realized how they could use him as a new political tool available to them. The independent upper Mahakam tribes were caught between the sultanate of Kutai and the Iban of Sarawak. The sultan of Kutai was trying to bring them to acknowledge his authority and to force them to trade with him; and the Iban, especially after their 1885 massive attack on the Mahakam that destroyed all Aoheng villages and the large Kayan settlement of Koeng Irang, remained a constant impending threat. Koeng Irang, the most influential chieftain on the upper Mahakam, was striving to keep his region independent from Kutai, whose interference had done much harm among the tribes of the middle Mahakam area. Competing for prominence, Belare', one of the major Aoheng chiefs, had allied himself with the sultan of Kutai, who wanted to break Koeng's resistance, while another important Aoheng chief, Paron, had pledged allegiance to the sultan of Banjarmasin.

Belare', playing Kutai's game, was very probably behind the unrest that prevented the first expedition from entering the Mahakam drainage in 1894. It was Koeng Irang who made the second expedition's success possible, as he soon became aware that the Dutch were powerful and could be his trump card in the local politics. He asked Nieuwenhuis, "on behalf of all the Mahakam groups," to petition the Dutch authorities to take direct control of the area. Nieuwenhuis could not have been happier.

The journey down the Mahakam ended on 5 June 1897, when the six members left Samarinda for Surabaya and Batavia. On his return to Batavia, Nieuwenhuis held talks with Government officials and convinced them to finance a third expedition, in order to explore ways and means of extending Dutch rule to the upper Mahakam and the upper Kayan regions to establish peace and security.

The Third Expedition (1898-1900)

This third expedition (1898-1900), thus, had mainly political aims. In addition, the same ethno-sociological and medical goals were maintained. Again, it was led by Nieuwenhuis and included Jan Demmeni; J.P.J. Barth, a first-class controleur who had studied the Busang language; H.W. Bier, a topographer; Midan, Nieuwenhuis' cook; Sekarang and Hamza, two Javanese employees of the Botanical Gardens of Buitenzorg, for botanical collections; and Doris, a Javanese taxidermist, for zoological collections.

This time Nieuwenhuis took an armed escort of five East Indies troops to deal with possible roving bands of Iban. He had made a special trip to Singapore to

buy glass beads and ivory bangles, unobtainable in Java. He decided to go, again, from West to East, because he knew the sultan of Kutai, who himself wanted to extend his influence into the interior, would obstruct him if he attempted to start from the East.

The expedition left Pontianak on 24 May 1898, for Putussibau, which it reached in June. But, because the Kayan of the Mendalam were busy with their agricultural chores, they were only able to leave Putussibau on 18 August, with 25 canoes and accompanied by Akam Igau and 110 men, mainly Kayan and some Bukat, Beketan, and Punan. On 15 September, this large party reached Pangkalan Howong (or Huvung), the starting point of the northern footpath, from a branch of the upper Bungan called the Mecai to the Huvung River of the Mahakam. There they ran short of food: the famous "rice equation" went wrong and they had to rely on sago. To make things worse, Demmeni came down with malaria. After some quick topographic work on the watershed, the party made for the first Aoheng settlement, which it reached on 24 September 1898.

Nieuwenhuis and his group spent eight months in the upper Mahakam area, studying the people, their customs and languages, the animals and plants, and climbing peaks for survey. Among other things, they produced a map of the region -- still the best available in 1993 -- and Barth composed a Busang-Dutch dictionary. Collections of material culture were also gathered, now to be found at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden. (It may be worth mentioning also Lumholtz's collections from the same region, now in Oslo).

What Nieuwenhuis did not know at the time was that the Aoheng chief Belare' had decided -- and indeed, twice attempted -- to kill him, probably on the sultan of Kutai's orders, as Lumholtz, visiting in 1916, later reported. Fortunately Koeng Irang, eager to secure Dutch assistance against Kutai and its allies, was able to prevent Belare' from succeeding. It was a close call, though, and Nieuwenhuis could have ended like Georg Müller.

The expedition finally went down the Mahakam and reached Samarinda on 9 June 1899. Barth and the escort, plus the two plant collectors, were sent ahead to Java. The plant samples were shipped to Buitenzorg and the animal collections to the Museum in Leiden. Nieuwenhuis set off again very soon, on 17 June, for Koeng Irang's village of Long Blu'u, accompanied by Bier, Demmeni, Doris, Midan, five young Malay soldiers, and four Malay aids. From there he organized a survey trip to the sources of the Mahakam and to Lasan Tuyan (the pass at the border with Sarawak), starting on 30 September. On the way back, one of the boats capsized, fortunately with only material losses.

Nieuwenhuis' trip to Apokayan, scheduled for 1900, proved a difficult and lengthy endeavor. As the representative of the Dutch colonial government, he paid a formal visit to the sultan of Kutai, who objected to this second part of the expedition. From October 1899 till April 1900, Nieuwenhuis waited for ongoing talks with Kutai to reach a favorable conclusion, but the sultan meant to use every means to hinder the extension of Dutch rule to central Borneo. Besides, since the peoples of the upper Mahakam and the Kenyah were enemies, it proved difficult to find guides to go up the Boh River and across to Apokayan. In May 1900, Nieuwenhuis positioned his party in an advanced camp at Long Boh, where Bier and Demmeni later joined. After a dispute, Bier was ordered back. Still, Nieuwenhuis had to wait another three months.

Finally, in June, a telegram arrived: The upper Mahakam region had been formally placed under direct Dutch rule, and Barth was to be installed at Long Iram as its controleur. On 6 August the expedition finally set off from Long Boh with Koeng Irang, only to face another rice shortage en route -- leaving one to wonder at Smythies' praise of Nieuwenhuis as an "efficient and successful traveler," as a rice shortage is one sure and unforgiving way for an expedition to head straight for disaster.

The expedition remained two months in the Apokayan region. Much data was collected on the Kenyah people and their history. Often harassed by Iban raids from Sarawak, the Kenyah were quite responsive to Nieuwenhuis's offer of Dutch protection but worried that they might thus anger the Rajah Brooke, and they asked Nieuwenhuis to write to him. The Rajah replied that, since Nieuwenhuis was already there, Apokayan was no longer a concern of his.

The expedition, starting back down the Boh on 4 November 1900, reached Long Iram on 3 December, and Batavia on 31 December 1900. Nieuwenhuis was subsequently appointed the government's counsellor for Borneo affairs.

A few years later (in 1903), another controleur, E.W.F. van Walchren, went up the Berau River to Apokayan -- where he stayed six months -- and he went again in 1906 to settle a internecine feud among the Kenyah. In 1906, there were talks that Nieuwenhuis would return to Apokayan, but instead Captain L.S. Fischer went (June to October 1907), probably to prepare for a Government military outpost to be established in Long Nawang.

The Doctor's Later Years

In the meantime, Nieuwenhuis, who had managed to keep remarkably healthy throughout his travels, was in 1904 appointed professor of geography and

ethnology (Land- en Volkenkunde) of the Netherlands Indies at the Royal University (Rijksuniversiteit) of Leiden, Faculty of Letters and Philosophy (Letter en Wetenschappen). His inaugural lecture, on 4 May 1904, was titled "Living conditions of peoples on a high and on a low level of civilization". He also became an editor of the important scientific journal published in Leiden, *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*. Eventually, the mountain range between the Baleh River of Sarawak and the upper Kapuas was given the name of Nieuwenhuis Mts.

After a long academic career as an expert on Indonesia, Nieuwenhuis decided to retire in May 1934. He was succeeded in his position in 1935 by J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong. Nieuwenhuis died in Leiden on 21 September 1953, leaving a large number of scientific works. Writing his obituary, Bertling acknowledged his important pioneer role in Indonesian anthropology, and Smythies did not hesitate to call him "a Borneo Livingstone".

The Expeditions' Significance

Nieuwenhuis' expeditions fulfilled their political goals by leading, in due time, to the establishment of the *pax neerlandica* in these regions plagued by wars and headhunting. Furthermore the controleurs, as soon as they were appointed on upper river basins, started supervising trade activities and ensuring that the Dayak groups were not systematically cheated in their barter deals with Malay and Chinese merchants. The Dutch, in that respect, very much followed the example offered by the Brooke administration in Sarawak.

These expeditions produced accurate maps of regions hitherto untraveled (including the first topographic link between West and East Borneo and a survey of the Mahakam: the "blank on the map" was finally filled); linguistic studies (Barth's Busang dictionary); and a wealth of ethnographic and historic information on the local Dayak groups.

They also gathered important zoological and botanical collections: 1,500 skins of 209 species of birds and 659 specimens of fish (including 51 new species) were sent to the Museum in Leiden; some 2,000 plant specimens were sent to the Herbarium in Buitenzorg; a number of rock samples ended at the University of Utrecht. A rare species of bulbul, captured in Apokayan in 1900, was named after Nieuwenhuis. A large number of scientific publications were based on the expeditions' observations and collections.

Nieuwenhuis' medical observations, reported in several scientific articles, showed that smallpox and cholera epidemics, diffusing from the coasts, were fairly common, often destroying one-fourth to one-third of the population of an infected village. Chronic malaria and syphilis were very common in the Kapuas, Mahakam, and Apokayan regions. These observations caught the attention of the government, who soon established medical stations with traveling doctors in those regions.

Nieuwenhuis' Ethnography

Through his writings, Nieuwenhuis strongly contributed to dispelling the common notion that the Dayak were nothing but cruel headhunters, repeatedly stressing that those "bloodthirsty, wild, headhunting Dayaks are fundamentally the most gentle, peaceful and anxious inhabitants of this earth." However, it is clear that the "something worse than paganism" from which he had set himself to free the tribes of Dutch Borneo, as Smythies noted, was not so much slavery - although slaves did exist and were occasionally sacrificed -- than the chronic intertribal headhunting forays. Nieuwenhuis, among the first ever, made the Dayak popular amongst the international scientific community.

Nieuwenhuis proposed a classification of the ethnic groups of central Borneo which, according to Smythies, can hardly be accepted now. Smythies' statement, however, certainly reflects a Sarawakian bias common to several other -- and more recent -- attempts at classifying Borneo's ethnic groups. Recent research with a wider scope may well show that Nieuwenhuis' views on the question were not that remote from reality.

Ding Ngo, himself a Kayan and quite well versed in tradition, challenged a number of Nieuwenhuis' statements on Kayan social organization, customs, religion, material culture, and history. Indeed, Nieuwenhuis may, through sheer language limitations or otherwise, have misunderstood (or been misled by) his informants; or, on the contrary, he may have been able, during his 1894 and subsequent sojourns with the Kayan, to obtain from these elderly informants some critical data that might not have been passed down to Ding's generation. This is, of course, not for me to decide.

As far as the Aoheng are concerned, one should note that a number of place and persons' names are mistranscribed (with a clear tendency to leave out glottal stops). Nieuwenhuis' linguistic abilities, one might surmise, were not as good as Barth's -- and Barth's were not outstanding. Nieuwenhuis could indeed speak some Busang -- here the Uma' Suling dialect, the lingua franca of the upper Mahakam -- which he used in dealing with the Aoheng, therefore picking up (or

making up) Kayanized versions of Aoheng names. In addition, his Aoheng data displays a few minor errors. For example, the Aoheng of the Kapuas really came from the Mahakam, and not the other way around.

Nevertheless, Nieuwenhuis' contribution can be deemed extraordinary. His data is among the most valuable ever collected in the interior of Borneo by an explorer, and remains a major and quite reliable source of ethnographic and historical information on the ethnic groups of the regions he visited. His theoretical approach, unfortunately, definitely belonged to the early decades of anthropology, when the scientific environment was still dominated by evolutionism. "Animisme" was seen as a primitive stage along a civilization scale assumed to have a universal value. Neither the approach promoted by Durkheim's sociological school nor that of the subsequent functionalist school were really taken into account in Nieuwenhuis' work (e.g., 1911 and 1917).

Two Books: *In Centraal Borneo* and *Quer durch Borneo*

In Centraal Borneo (1900; henceforth ICB), written in Dutch, and *Quer durch Borneo* (1904-07; henceforth QDB), in German, are two major outputs of Nieuwenhuis' Borneo expeditions. In several respects, they are different books, although they concern the same peoples and subjects. ICB describes Nieuwenhuis' stay on the Mendalam (August-September 1894) and upper Mahakam (August 1896 to March 1897), whereas QDB reports on all three expeditions.

ICB consists of two volumes totalling some 700 pages, whereas QDB, also in two volumes, reaches over 1,000 pages. QDB also includes 170 beautiful black-and-white photographic plates, plus 18 color hand-painted photo plates of ethnographic artefacts. ICB is a "popular" book, meant for the general public, whereas QDB, due to the hand of Dr. M. Nieuwenhuis-von Üxküll-Güldenbandt, the explorer's wife, is more "scientific", with an extensive ethnographic account of the customs and material culture of the groups of central Borneo. QDB is, in Smythies' words, "a truly monumental work". It proved too monumental, unfortunately, for our Indonesian translation, and we chose to use the shorter and more accessible Dutch-language ICB. Furthermore, we decided to abridge the text into a still shorter and easy-to-read version.

However, the photographs accompanying this text were selected from the vast stock of the Nieuwenhuis expeditions' photo archives at the Ethnographic Museum of Leiden. Most of them are by Jan Demmeni -- including some never before published -- and a few others, it seems, by Nieuwenhuis himself. Jan Demmeni's photographs are among the very best of his time. His skills and art

have been recently recognized and praised in a book devoted to his work (*Indonesia. Glimpses of the Past*, 1990). His equipment, described at length in Nieuwenhuis' writings, featured a Zeiss lens mounted on a 13 x 18 cm wooden box, and his high-speed (for the time) films were among the first such films available on the market and later replaced photo plates.

The 100-year-old photographs presented here constitute an invaluable visual testimony, as an homage paid to the grandeur and beauty of the free Dayak tribes of old and of their culture.

Note: I would to extend here my sincere thanks to Mr. Jan Avé, Mr. Marek Avé, and Ms. Wanda Avé for the information they gathered for me on A. W. N.'s life and travels.

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BRUNEI: THE REDEMPTION OF MONOPOLIES AND
THE HATTON HALL CASE 1903-1907

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ABSTRACT

On the eve of the Residential Era, most of Brunei's trade and revenues were in the hands of monopolists, who had usually made lump sum cash payments to the monarch in exchange for sole authority subsequently to import certain commodities or to collect particular taxes. From January 1906 an incoming administration expropriated these rights. The procedure adopted was to offer concessionaires their original purchase money, less an amount proportionate to the number of years the lease had been held already. A British merchant, James Hatton Hall, objected to the terms on which his license was terminated. He sought compensation instead for future profits foregone. Failing to gain satisfaction either from the Resident or from the High Commissioner, he took his case to Whitehall. It emerged that he had been 'clearly engaged in something little short of swindling'. He exaggerated the profitability of his enterprise. He sold mouldy, third-grade tobacco at the price of the best type. Finally, he imported his tobacco in 'cakes' instead of in 'twists' as he was supposed to do, this in an attempt to pay less customs duty. (It was even argued that, by abandoning the 'twist' form, Mr. Hall had begun to import an article for which

he had no concession). As a result his complaint was dismissed and Hall himself declined to pursue the matter further. Thereafter, monopolies were replaced by customs duties, which remained the sultanate's principal source of income until oil began to flow in the 1930s. The new system of taxation caused a reduction of retail prices in the sultanate after January 1906.

Lists of monopolists are provided in Appendices 1 and 2. A time chart of main events is also supplied, along with biographical data on the principal actors in the drama.

Unless otherwise stated, all monetary units in this paper refer to Straits' dollars. In 1903 the exchange rate was 1s 9d to the dollar, in 1904 1s 10 1/2d, and in 1905 2s (£0.10). From 1906 until 1967 £1.00 was worth \$8.5714 Straits (conversely, one dollar = 2s 4d).

A complete plan of the study is as follows:

1. Introduction
2. The Tobacco Monopoly
3. The Cancellation of the Monopoly (April 1906)
4. Mr. Hall's Petition to the High Commissioner (August 1906)
5. Mr. Hall's Appeal to the Secretary of State (July-October 1907)
6. Epilogue

Appendices

Appendix 1	Monopolies in Brunei (1904)
Appendix 2	Extract from the Belfield Report (1905)
Appendix 3	Dramatis Personae
Appendix 4	Timechart of Main Events

Abbreviations

Bibliography and Further Reading

Acknowledgements

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the Residential Era in 1906 most of Brunei's revenues were in the hands of tax farmers.¹ In order to relieve his poverty, Sultan Hashim (r 1885-1906) raided money for his immediate needs by granting concessions,

usually for very inadequate considerations.² In some cases the monopoly of trading in certain articles had been granted; in others the right of charging duties on imports or exports had been sold outright, no limit being fixed for the rates to be charged by the monopolist. The only article not thus exploited was rice (BAR 1906:8) - though even that would have been had Hall had his own way in 1904 (see below). On occasion the ruler sold the same concession to several different people and left them to settle it among themselves.

The more valuable monopolies were leased to just two traders, Messrs Chua Cheng Hee and Cheok Yu, who enjoyed the additional advantage of being able to import their own merchandise free of tax.³ The case of 'sundry goods' might serve as an illustration. At the end of 1904 it was reported that Chua Cheng Hee had acquired permission to levy 5% duty on such imports from 1901 until 1929 (for which he had paid \$15,000), plus the right to collect an additional 2% rate during the years 1904-1910 (for \$8,800). On top of these 7% duties, his rival, Cheok Yu, had purchased, for \$7,500 in cash, the right to impose 5% taxes on the same articles from 1905 to 1910 (adding up to a total tariff of 12%). The lieutenant British consul, MSH ('Stewart') McArthur, writing in 1904, noted that the last-mentioned lease (to Cheok Yu) was already chopped and dated '1905'.⁴ But these 12% duties were only a beginning for, as the diplomat explained, it was in the interests of the original concessionaire to sub-let the monopoly and so receive a fixed income from other traders rather than go to the trouble and expense of maintaining a preventive staff of his own. The profits of successive middlemen pushed up retail prices to such an extent that many goods sold in the capital (which depended upon imports for almost all necessities) were of low quality but nevertheless highly expensive.⁵ In the capital for this reason 'the inhabitants were undoubtedly poor, their houses were often in disrepair and their surroundings squalid'.

In 1906 the Federated Malay States advanced a loan of \$200,000 (Straits) to the new regime in Brunei. During the years 1906 to 1908, \$72,009 of this money was spent in the compulsory redemption of over thirty monopolies.⁶ The procedure adopted was to offer traders their original purchase money, less an amount proportionate to the number of years the license had been held already (Stubbs 1968:109). Although only modest compensation was paid, the reform was accomplished largely without untoward incident.

There were two exceptions to this general pattern. First, the British Rajah of Sarawak, Sir Charles Brooke, was permitted to retain his fiscal rights in Muara Damit, a coastal area near the capital.⁷ (The preferential treatment given to the Rajah became, indeed, a source of some embarrassment to the British officers responsible for the administration of Brunei. See CO 144/80, item 35281). The second anomaly was James Hatton Hall, who held the sole right to import a

certain kind of tobacco into the Abode of Peace, and who did protest - vehemently so - after he had been expropriated. This paper deals with his case.

Little enough is known about Mr. Hall. He described himself as "a pioneer in Brunei and North Borneo" involved in the running of "a general merchant business" under the style of 'James Hatton Hall and Company' (CO 144/80:40567 and CO 852/75: File 6). It is certain that his connection with Borneo lasted during the period 1903-1937 at the very least. In 1904 he held two concessions in Lawas district, the one giving him the sole right to export birds' nests and guano, the other being for timber (CO 144/79:8583 and 9789).⁸ One of Hall's more successful ventures appears to have been the Kumbang Pasang rubber estate in the vicinity of Bandar Brunei, which he founded in 1910. The limited liability company established some time later to run the property (Brunei United Plantations Limited) survived until 1953.¹⁰ He owned further estates in North Borneo; and in 1912 he was involved in projects to build a power station and ice plant in Jesselton (CO 144/80:5578; and CO 874/134). He announced plans in November 1914 to establish a general shophouse at Miri (CO 604/4 *Sarawak Gazette*, 16 November 1914:255). Finally, in 1910-1921 and again in 1937 he attempted unsuccessfully to purchase Brooketon colliery.

Hall had connections with members of the British establishment, such as Sir William Holland (created first Baron Rotherham in July 1910) and Harry Sowler, who had married Holland's daughter.¹¹ It remains to be seen how far such influential friends were able to help him in his dispute with Whitehall.

THE TOBACCO MONOPOLY

The story begins, not in Brunei, but in neighbouring North Borneo. At the beginning of this century there was a certain Dusun tobacco known as *sigep bilai* ('tobacco in twists'), so-called because that was the form in which it was sold.¹² Governor Ernest Birch (1901-1904) explained that he had sought to encourage the cultivation of this crop in order to give the hill tribes more occupation and thereby to reduce potential disquiet. Hitherto the Dusuns had brought the tobacco down to the coastal fairs, walking for distances which took them several days to cover, and were compelled either to part with their produce to Brunei traders at the prices the latter offered or to carry their heavy loads back to the mountains.¹³ Mr. Birch pointed out to the chiefs the advantages of 'extended and more intelligent cultivation'; of 'more perfect' curing; and of building up outside markets. The Governor advised the Dusuns to get rid of makeweight and to sell their tobacco according to its real mass.¹⁴ By agreement with the chiefs and producers, minimum prices were fixed for the three grades of this tobacco at

which traders had to buy from the producers. It was also agreed that traders should not sell at more than twice the amount they paid. These arrangements were then embodied in a special law and the duty on imported Dutch tobacco raised in order to protect the local industry in North Borneo.¹⁵

Hall established himself in business at Jesselton in January 1903. At this time he obtained from the North Borneo Government the sole right to purchase and export *sigep bilai*. This monopoly was cancelled, however, by the BNBC's court of directors. Birch riposted by publishing a notification forbidding the sale of the tobacco to anyone not having a license to purchase it; and the only such license was issued to Hall.¹⁶

The latter then attempted to 'corner' the market by obtaining the monopoly of import into Brunei, where most of the tobacco was sold. By a concession dated 4 April 1903 Sultan Hashim assigned to Hall, for a period of five years, the exclusive right to import into Brunei and sell *sigep bilai*, subject to the payment of twelve dollars' import duty on every *pikul*.¹⁷ In August 1904 this concession was extended for a further ten years, i.e. until 1 May 1918.¹⁸

Hall had paid nothing for his concession. The 'consideration' was his guarantee that import duty would be paid. (Hitherto the ruler had been unable to collect the tax because of smuggling). His Highness received a sum of about \$3,000 - paid partly at the time of the original grant and partly at the time of its extension - as an advance on account of the money which would become due in the future.¹⁹ Edward Stubbs, at the Colonial Office - a man with a "lack of illusions, caustic tongue and disinclination to suffer fools gladly"²⁰ - challenged Hall's explanation on the ground that

the monopoly was already farmed out before Mr. Hall came on the scene and the monopolist would, of course, in his own interests, do his best to prevent smuggling. Being a Chinese, he would be better able to do so than a stranger like Mr. Hall, and indeed it appears that there was a great deal more smuggling in Mr. Hall's time than before.²¹

The effects of Hall's dual monopoly appears first to have come to the attention of the British Government in January 1904 when Consul Hewett informed London that complaints had lately been made to him in Trusan, Limbang, and Brunei concerning the high price of Javanese and Sumatran tobaccos imported into Labuan, which was proving "a considerable hardship to the poorer classes ... who are unable to afford the better kinds of tobacco".²² Hall explained to the consul that the higher import duties imposed in December 1903

was intended to promote his company's interest and protect their monopoly. As regarded the notification of higher import duties, Mr. Hewett could see

No objection to its application as far as British North Borneo is concerned but its publication in Labuan has proved an undoubted hardship in that colony, and in the Brunei and Sarawak rivers as well, and it appears to me that the policy of taxing a Crown Colony and imposing a hardship upon the poorer classes in the two neighbouring States in order to promote the interest of a single firm in British North Borneo is open to objection.²³

Upon being asked for an explanation by the British government, Birch stated that he had raised the duty to protect an indigenous industry in North Borneo and the fact of the monopoly of import into Brunei was also 'unobjectionable' because "it secures the Sultan his import duty, prevents smuggling of which the Sultan bitterly complained to me in writing, and cannot raise prices [because] Brunei is Mr. Hankey's chief market and as a man of business he is unlikely to spoil it".²⁴

Stubbs commented that the Colonial Office "may safely take up the position that the matter is not of sufficient importance for us to worry the [British North Borneo] Company about it";²⁵ and there the matter rested until 1906.

THE CANCELLATION OF THE MONOPOLY (APRIL 1906)

From January 1906 all monopolies in Brunei were gradually revoked by the incoming Resident. Monopolists were refunded their original purchase money less an amount proportionate to the number of years their monopoly had been held already. On this basis Hall was not entitled to any compensation whatsoever because had he paid nothing for his concession in the first place.

On 1 March 1906 the Resident officially informed Hall that his license would be cancelled with effect from 10 April forthcoming.²⁶ McArthur hoped that "the finances of Brunei will admit of reasonable compensation being paid for such cancellation".²⁷ Apparently as yet unaware that Hall had paid nothing for his concessions, McArthur made several attempts to elicit from him how much consideration had originally been given for the monopoly.

On 2 April Hall was repaid the money which he had lent to the Sultan, less an amount due on account of the tobacco already imported. This totalled \$1,301.64.²⁸ Hall at one stage also claimed interest on the money advanced, but he agreed to waive this demand.²⁹

It was alleged that even here Hall had been cheating the Sultan, because he [Hall] altered the form in which the tobacco was imported so that he paid only about one third of the usual duty. The rate was twelve dollars for each *pikul*, but the tobacco was not actually weighed. A certain number of the 'twists' (*bilai*) in which it was made up was regarded as making a *pikul* and tax was assessed accordingly though, as a matter of act, these *bilai* did not weigh so much. Hall abandoned the *bilai* form in favour of flat cakes and paid excise only on the real weight. Stubbs claimed that this was not only 'sharp practice' but had the effect of nullifying Hall's subsequent claim for compensation:

The concession [Stubbs maintained] was for ... 'tobacco in twists'. Therefore when he abandoned the twist form, Mr. Hall was importing an article for which he had no concession. He ceased to exercise the right to import *sigep bilai* and therefore there is the less reason for compensating him for being deprived of it.³⁰

MR. HALL'S PETITION TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER (AUGUST 1906)³¹

Having failed to obtain satisfaction from the British Resident in Brunei, Hall submitted a petition (drawn up by Messrs Drew and Napier, solicitors, of Singapore) to the High Commissioner in August 1906.³² Hall claimed compensation, not upon the basis of the original purchase money, but upon that of anticipated profits during the twelve years his lease had yet to run when it was cancelled. He said that, until the end of 1905, he had imported into Brunei and sold 138 *pikuls* of *sigep bilai* at prices ranging from \$160 to \$190 per *pikul*, the maximum price fixed by the concession being \$200.³³ He claimed an average gross profit per *pikul* of \$125, equivalent to \$520 a month. His expenses in connection with trading (including import duty), were, he said \$100 per month. His net profits therefore were claimed to be just over \$420 monthly. On the basis of a monthly profit of \$400, Hall anticipated that in the twelve years his concession would have to run, he might expect total profits of at least \$57,600 (144 x \$400). This figure (which represented more than the entire annual government revenue of Brunei in 1906, 1907 and 1908)³⁴ was likely to be an underestimate, moreover, because the cost price of tobacco was falling and the reformer administration would put an end to smuggling, which was rife, thereby massively increasing Hall's proper share of the market. Hall did not wish to be greedy, however, and was prepared to accept compensation on the basis of \$400 a month.³⁵

The petitioner reckoned without the first Resident. As far as Brunei was concerned, little escaped the eagle eye of McArthur. As a result, he knew that

Hall was grossly exaggerating his profits. It was conceded that the quantity of tobacco sold was substantially as claimed.³⁶ But investigation revealed that after obtaining the monopoly Hall had engaged an agent (Mr. WW Boyd) in Labuan and a salesman (*Inche* Muhammad Yusuf) in Brunei. Yusuf was paid \$65 a month, Boyd an unknown amount. Hall also remunerated two revenue watchers in Brunei at the rate of \$48 per month. These expenses alone amounted to more than the \$100 monthly claimed by the petitioner. But the Resident reported, further, that on 30 March 1905 Hall had entered into an agreement with a trader, Mr. Ong Jee Seng, who became his local agent until 15 December 1905, when Yusuf was re-appointed. Hall claimed that he had cancelled the agreement because he found that Ong Jee Seng was conniving at the smuggling. Ong, on the other hand, stated that he himself cancelled it because the tobacco with which he had been supplied was mouldy and absolutely unsalable.

The Resident also produced a document purporting to show that Hall sold his stock to Ong at the rate of only \$110 per *pikul*, less 5% commission. Hall, therefore, was incorrect in saying that he sold his tobacco during this period at prices ranging from \$160 to \$190 and his estimate of profits was, accordingly, also unreliable.³⁸

What were his profits? The three grades of Dusun tobacco cost respectively, sixty, forty and twenty-five dollars per *pikul*. Hall never claimed to sell the first grade, though he endeavoured unsuccessfully until March 1905 to sell the lower grade at the price of the highest. Supposing Hall bought grade two at \$40 per *pikul*, he would incur also export duty of \$5 from North Borneo, freight \$5, and import duty into Brunei of \$12, making a cost price of \$62. By the arrangement with Ong the maximum profit Hall could have made per *pikul* was \$48: i.e. less than half the amount the petitioner was claiming.³⁹

But even this lower profit Hall found impossible. Ong reported within three months that his stores were musty and unsalable. Ong told the Resident that his arrangement with Hall was modified as to price and that by mutual arrangement Ong paid from 15 June to 15 December 1905 \$100 per month to Hall as a fixed charge for the agency and bought tobacco wholesale from him at prices ranging from \$60 to \$80 per *pikul*.⁴⁰ McArthur concluded:

The making of these arrangements, my knowledge of which is not suspected by Mr. Hall, shows, I think, conclusively that Mr. Hall has given an exaggerated statement of his monthly profits prior to 1 January 1906.⁴¹

As further evidence of the mouldiness of Hall's tobacco, there was not only the word of the Sultan and the Resident, but that of Hall's own agent, who, in a case in court, adduced as convincing proof that certain tobacco was smuggled and not, as the defendant said, bought from Hall, the fact that it was not mouldy.

McArthur pointed out, further, that Hall was wrong to assume that the Government of Brunei would have taken steps to prevent smuggling had the concession remained in force. In letting out the monopoly, the Sultan freed the Government from any such responsibility.⁴²

Hall drew the attention of the High Commissioner to an offer which he, Hall, had received of \$300 per month for a lease of the rights granted by the concession. This offer was contained in a letter dated 14 February 1906 from Mr. Swee Cheng of Labuan to Hall. The latter submitted that this offer showed the monthly value of the rights to be not less than that placed there by the petitioner as a basis of compensation since an adequate margin had to be allowed for the lessee's profit.⁴³ The Resident replied that Swee Cheng - the Labuan and Brunei opium farmer - made his offer probably because he expected the change in administration to result in greater prosperity. Further, Hall had failed to annex to his petition a copy of correspondence with McArthur, which showed that Hall was already aware of the proposed cancellation of his monopoly, the only question at issue being the amount of compensation due. Hall had had an interview with McArthur on the subject as early as 28 December 1905. As soon as the Resident heard of Swee Cheng's offer, he issued a notice cancelling Hall's lease.⁴⁴

Hall pointed out, finally, that he had suffered further loss because of the stock left on his hands following the cancellation of his concession. He would not be able to sell the stock at greater than half the price paid and submitted that he should be reimbursed the other half (\$1,846.50). Thus Hall sought (a) \$57,600 for the loss of future profits; and (b) \$1,846.50 for loss on stock in hand at the date of cancellation.

With regard to the second part of this claim, an incredulous Resident failed to see why the petitioner should receive anything of the kind. Hall, he pointed out, was at liberty like anyone else to sell *sigep bilai* in Brunei subject to the payment of import duty; all he had lost was the sole right to do so. If his tobacco was of good quality he would be able to stand competition; if, on the other hand, it was mouldy and unsalable, this would simply confirm all the complaints levelled against him. Indeed, Hall subsequently dropped this second part of his claim.

With regard to the principal demands, i.e. compensation for loss of potential profits, the Resident urged that Hall should not be paid on this basis. McArthur claimed that registration of concessions in the Labuan consulate prior to 1906 had not implied Foreign Office recognition of such privileges.⁴⁵ There was no difference between Hall and other speculators whose monopolies had been abrogated on grounds of public policy:

If compensation is paid to Mr. Hatton Hall on the basis of prospective profits, all the Chinese monopolists who have received payment in accordance with the instructions given me on assuming my duties in Brunei will consider themselves aggrieved, while those whose monopolies have not yet been paid for, will claim on the same basis as Mr. Hatton Hall.⁴⁶

Sir John Anderson, the High Commissioner, upheld the Resident and rejected Hall's petition. When the documents were forwarded to Whitehall (enclosed in a despatch dated 10 October 1906), Stubbs had no doubt that the supplicant had been correctly treated and the Colonial Office could wait until he protested.⁴⁷ Mr. GV Fiddes, a more senior official, agreed, but warned that it could be "the beginning of a cup of troubles. ... It seems to me to be arguable that the concession was given for valuable consideration - the regular receipt of import duty - and that Hall has a claim to compensation".⁴⁸ The point was developed by Mr. HB Cox, Legal Under-Secretary, who believed that *prima facie* Hall "has a claim to compensation and that compensation should be settled, not by the Sultan's advisers, but by some impartial tribunal".⁴⁹ Mr. CP Lucas, the Assistant Under-Secretary, understood that concessions given by Malay rulers were by no means continued by their successors and that the concessionaires knew the risk they were running. (This principle was not applied to the Rajah's fiscal rights in Muara Damit, however, nor to the local Chinese). Lucas added:

I do not want to admit any claim to compensation on the part of this man or to interfere in any way unless we are driven to it. He was clearly engaged in something little short of swindling. I would therefore say nothing as to a tribunal at present.⁵⁰

Sir Francis Hopwood, the Permanent Under-Secretary, was not impressed by the Resident's handling of the case:

My fear is that Mr. McArthur has not managed the correspondence very well. He refers to compensation for the thing, and I should have thought that the act of cancellation should have been that of the Sultan.⁵¹

MR. HALL'S APPEAL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE (JULY-OCTOBER 1907)

Meanwhile, Harry Sowler submitted a petition to Whitehall towards the end of July 1907 on behalf of Hall. Mr. Sowler was an ex-Harroviaan, currently a director of the *Manchester Courier*. He argued that there was legal consideration for the monopoly since an undertaking had been given to pay the regular import duty - in other words, minuted Stubbs, the concessionaire 'undertook to do in return for the concession what he was bound to do without it':

This may be good English law, Stubbs continued, but I submit that it is not good sense, and if we are to act on law, divorced from sense, I submit that the law should not be English law, which has no place in Brunei, but Malay law, under which Mr. Hall's claim is worthless, because a Sultan cannot be sued and also because ... no Sultan is bound by concessions granted by his predecessor.⁵²

Even if it was admitted that Hall had claims on this ground "he would still deserve no consideration" because he used his concession "to the detriment of the public, trying to force upon them mouldy tobacco of a low grade at the price of the best".⁵³ In short, Hall had "not the shred of a moral claim". Stubbs hoped, further that the suggestion of a tribunal would not be entertained seriously, because the effect on Brunei would have been deplorable:

There were an enormous number of concessions. ... The concessionaires have quietly taken what was offered them. If a tribunal were set up they would all clamour for the re-opening of their case in hopes of getting more. Whether they got more or not, the enquiries would cost a great deal of money which Brunei has not got and has little chance of getting. Moreover the prestige of the Resident would be destroyed and he wants all the prestige possible; he has a hard enough time as it is owing to Sir Charles Brooke's intrigues. Further such a tribunal could only be composed of men familiar with Malay custom. These men are only to be found in the FMS and Sir John Anderson has, of course, acted already on the advice of those FMS officers best qualified to deal with such cases".⁵⁴

Fiddes pointed out that the appellant might be ruined by the cancellation and Cox reiterated his opinion that there should be a tribunal.⁵⁵ Lucas considered, on the contrary, that it would be

disastrous if we begin giving compensation or setting up a court to consider compensation claims. I think ... we had better have Mr. Sowler

.. and Mr. McArthur here, and hear Mr. McArthur about Mr. Sowler's claims. ... I want to give the appearance of enquiry and to avoid giving compensation if possible.⁵⁶

This decision was taken before the end of July 1907. On 1 August the matter was brought up separately with Mr. WS Churchill, then Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office, by Sir William Holland MP⁵⁷ but this did not alter the plan. On 28 August 1907 Sowler came to the Colonial Office with his father-in-law (Holland), and discussed the question with Lucas, McArthur (home on leave from the Abode of Peace) and Stubbs. It became clear that no agreement could be reached so it was arranged that McArthur would write his comments on Sowler's memorandum, that Sowler should rejoin, and that the matter should then be put before the Secretary of State, Lord Elgin, for final decision.

At the interview, McArthur advanced the view that the concession was not valid because it bore only the chop of the sultan, whereas to be valid it required in addition those of the *wazir*. Sowler argued that Hall could not be expected to know that anything more was needed than the chop of the Sultan, whereupon Stubbs countered that if Hall accepted a concession without full enquiry as to the formalities needed, he did so at his own risk.⁵⁸

In his second memorandum, dated 2 October 1907, Sowler conceded the point. He contended instead that the requirements of the constitution were ignored and that concessions with only the Sultan's chop were the rule. He adduced as evidence the case of a grant of sovereign rights in the Lawas district to the BNBC, under the impression that this transferred the territory in full sovereignty:

When Lawas was transferred [by the BNBC] to the Government of Sarawak, the Rajah was requested by the British Government to compensate a Mr. Brooke Johnson in the sum of £2,000 for certain revenue farm privilege which he had obtained, not from the ruling Sultan but from a chief who did not possess sovereign rights over the district. Mr. Johnson's rights may have differed in nature from that obtained by Mr. Hall from the ruling sovereign, but the principle of compensation for cancellation on change of Government stands'.⁵⁹

Sowler next invited attention to the "extremely remarkable fact" that only in September 1907, when the question of compensation had been brought to the attention of the Colonial Office, was the power of the Sultan to grant the concession to Hall brought up.⁶⁰

In a semi-official letter to Stubbs dated 7 October 1907 McArthur contended that the Lawas analogy was mis-stated: Brooke Johnson was not compensated for trading rights: he was serving the *tulin* government of Lawas, not of Brunei, under an agreement which provided that he was to get 10% of all revenue collected. The fact that the Rajah had to compensate him "showed that the agreement was between the *tulin* chiefs and not what is meant by the technical English phrase 'sovereign rights'".⁶¹ With regard to Sowler's second point, the Resident reiterated that registration by the consul before 1906 did not imply recognition. Indeed, the invalidity of all concessions of monopolies was the basis upon which it was decided to resume them.⁶²

Sowler also accused McArthur of personal animosity towards Hall. This was denied.

Stubbs concluded that Hall has been justly treated:

He joined the crowd of concession hunters who were trading on the indigence of an aged and unfortunate Sultan and if in this not very reputable pursuit he has not gained quite so much as he expected, I do not think that there is any need to compensate him.⁶³

Cox still feared that McArthur's letter of 16 February 1906 (in which, then unaware that Hall had paid nothing for the monopoly, he promised compensation to the merchant) hampered the Colonial Office and that the case might be taken up by Parliament. But he agreed that after a tribunal had been set up, compensation should be minimal.

It is objected that if we pay Mr. Hall, we shall have to pay others more deserving. This is unfortunate, but does not seem to me to be a valid argument - still less one which we could use in Parliament.⁶⁴

Lord Elgin, however, saw little danger on this score: Stubbs had shown that the concession was not technically valid (as it had not the chops of the *wazir* as well as that of the Sultan) and "if we add that no real consideration was given, that the concession is clearly not in the public interest, and that the concessionaire has already made a profit out of selling mouldy tobacco, I think we need scarcely fear the House of Commons taking up so bad a case".⁶⁵

Sowler, accordingly, was informed of this decision by a letter from Cox dated 25 October 1907, and there the matter rested.

EPILOGUE

By accepting this decision, and not taking the case to court, Hall tacitly conceded the Colonial Office's verdict that he had been engaged in "something little short of swindling" and had no claim to compensation for the loss of his tobacco monopoly.

Apart from anything else, *l'affaire* Hatton Hall underlines the favourable treatment accorded to Sir Charles Brooke. For, if, as claimed by Lucas, concessions given by Malay rulers were by no means continued by their successors and that concessionaires knew the risk they were running, why was this principle not extended to the rights held by the Rajah in Muara Damit?⁶⁶ Why did it not extend also to commercial rights (such as the Rajah's coal monopoly or the Island Trading Syndicate's cutch concession), or to cessions of territory, or even to the UK-Brunei treaties? If Hall had been less obviously a rogue, his case might have raised some rather awkward questions for the Brunei Government.

Be that as it may, after monopolies affecting the import trade of the capital had been eliminated, customs regulations were introduced (April 1906) substituting a "fixed an moderate" scale of import duties for the restrictions which had been enforced previously. The "tentative and temporary" initial customs regulations were repealed towards the end of the year (29 November 1906) when a Customs Enactment was approved by His Highness in Council and made applicable to the entire State.

The new import duties did not cover many articles previously taxed and in many cases imposed a duty of 5% instead of 10%. Retail prices had already gone down and the purpose of the new law was to reduce them further. Nevertheless, the Resident (McArthur), was still not entirely satisfied with the situation. He explained that though the new rates were, in the main, lower than those in force in British North Borneo, some of the duties were higher than they should, theoretically, have been in a State under British protection. It had to be remembered, however, that the former monopolies of imports and exports had had to be redeemed by cash payments (*vide supra*, footnote 6) and that it was necessary for the Government to make some effort to recover the sums so expended.⁶⁷

Towards the end of 1908 the original Malayan loan to Brunei of \$200,000 was already virtually exhausted. Ordinary government revenue in the Abode of Peace amounted to only \$43,539 for the year 1908. A second loan had become imperative and there appeared to be "no other course but to apply again to the

FMS for what is necessary".⁶⁸ Indeed, by April 1914 a total of \$439,750 (Straits) had been borrowed. The interest payable was 4% per annum. Unlike the BNBC, which had the flexibility to adjust its dividends to shareholders according to whether the year had been a comparatively prosperous or a poor one,⁶⁹ Brunei had to pay 4% irrespective of the financial position. The sultanate at one state was borrowing money simply to repay the interest.⁷⁰

TABLE I
Brunei: Finance 1907-1940 (S Straits)

Year	Income	Expenditure	Repayment of National Debt During Year	National Debt (total at year's end)
1907	51,777	93,334	nil	200,000
1908	43,539	75,738	nil	220,000
1909	54,562	76,948	nil	300,000
1910	77,051	73,513	nil	300,000
1920	206,253	223,690	9,750	430,000
1925	345,573	245,286	5,500	430,000
1930	333,069	373,604	6,000	401,000
1935	813,532	786,201	245,000	133,000
1940	1,556,354	1,462,174	nil	nil

Source: *Brunei Annual Reports*; CO 531/3 (22583) and CO 531/6 (28412).

- Notes:
1. A further \$20,000 was borrowed in 1922, but from the Straits Settlements rather than from the FMS.
 2. Interest paid on the National Debt totalled nil in 1910, \$17,590 annually in 1915 and 1920, slightly less in 1925, \$16,321 in 1930, and \$15,132 in 1935.

Customs duties, which replaced monopolies, remained the most significant source of ordinary government income until the early 1930s when oil royalties took over. These developments are highlighted in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2
Brunei: Customs Revenue as a Percentage of Total Revenue 1907-1941

Year	Customs Revenue (a)	Total Revenue (b)	(a) as % of (b)
1907	13,587	51,777	26
1910	39,627	77,051	51
1915	42,584	129,529	33
1920	69,872	206,253	34
1925	132,682	345,573	38
1930	130,881	333,069	39
1935	229,129	813,532	28
1941	335,963	1,325,913	25

Source: *Brunei Annual Reports*

Table 3
Selected Sources of Revenue as a
Percentage of Total State Income
1907-1941

Year	Customs	Licenses	Govt. Monopolies	Cession Money	Poll Tax	Lands and Mines
1907	26	31	-	n.a.	1	6
1910	51	4	-	n.a.	6 ⁷¹	8
1915	33	4 ⁷²	n.a.	17	4	11
1920	34	10	17	10	2	12
1925	38	4	19	4	1	12
1930	39	5	16	5	0.6	22
1935	28	4	6	2	0.1	52 ⁷³
1941	25	4	6	1	0	46

Source: Compiled by the author from data in the *Brunei Annual Reports*.

The pre-war peak of customs duties - \$57,816 - was achieved in 1913, but further growth was halted because of circumstances arising out of the First World War. Only \$38,823 was collected from this source in 1918. Potential receipts were further reduced because geographical and political factors made Brunei ideal smuggling country. The immediate aftermath of war was a time of extreme hardship; but the rapid increase in the yield from customs duties during the 1920s

was due principally to the rubber export boom and the importation of machinery by the British Malayan Petroleum Company.

The Seria oilfield was discovered in April 1929. Brunei had repaid its debt to the Federated Malay States by 1936 and quickly became a very wealthy country. After the Second World War the comparative importance of customs duties shrank to insignificance.

Appendix 1

Monopolies in Brunei (1904)

MONOPOLY	DESCRIPTION	FURTHER REMARKS
Sundries	Collection of 5 per cent import duties, 1901-1905, sold to Chua Cheng Hee for 6,000 dollars cash, and again for the years 1905-29 for 9,000 dollars cash.	Collection of additional 5 percent duties, 1805-10, sold to Cheok Yu for 7,500 dollars cash. (Document chopped, and dated 1905!). Collection of additional 2 percent duties, 1904-10, sold to Chua Cheng Hee for 8,800 dollars cash.
Opium	Monopoly of import, 1901-15, sold to Chua Cheng Hee for 14,040 dollars cash.	This represents 1,080 dollars per annum. At Brooketon, where there is a smaller Chinese population, the farm fetches 5,760 dollars per annum. In Limbang the farm fetches 4,800 dollars per annum.
Gambier	Monopoly of import for twenty years, 1901-22, sold to Cheok Yu on condition that Sultan's and Bendahara's household receive a fixed amount monthly free of charge.	
Cocoa-nut Oil	Monopoly of import granted to Cheok Yu for twenty years, 1901-22, on condition that Sultan's and Bendahara's households receive a fixed amount monthly free of charge.	

MONOPOLY	DESCRIPTION	FURTHER REMARKS
Kerosene	Monopoly of import for twenty years, 1902-22, granted to Cheok Yu on condition that Sultan's and Bendahara's households receive a fixed amount monthly free of charge.	Monopoly of import, 1899-1909, sold to Chua Cheng Hee for 80 dollars cash. Sole right to collect import duties, 1901-1907, sold to Cheok Yu for 2,500 dollars cash. No rate fixed. (He charges 60 cents a case).
Salt	Monopoly of import, 1900-10, sold to Chua Cheng Hee for 2,000 dollars cash.	Import duty, 1 dollar a-bag for 1903, 2 dollars a-bag for 1904 - granted to Cheok Yu until Sultan has paid off a debt of 400 dollars.
Javanese Tobacco and Spices	Monopoly of import 1902-17, sold to Chua Cheng Hee for 9,600 dollars cash.	
Borneo Tobacco	Monopoly of import, 1903-1908, leased to Hatton Hall and Co., on payment of import duty, 12 dollars a <i>-pikul</i> .	Import duty, 12 dollars a <i>-pikul</i> , sold to Cheok Yu for 1,000 dollars. No period fixed.
Sugar	Monopoly of import, 1902-1907, sold to Chua Cheng Hee for 960 dollars.	Collection of import duties (no rate fixed), 1904-1906, sold to Cheok Yu for 300 dollars. Collection of import duties (no rate fixed), 1906-1909, sold to Cheok Yu for 950 dollars. (This document is chopped, and dated 1906).
Fruit, Vegetables and Dried Fish	Import duty, 5 percent, 1901-1905, sold to Chua Cheng Hee for 4,000 dollars cash.	
Brassware	Import duty, 5 percent, 1902-1912, sold to Cheok Yu for 600 dollars.	
Cutch	Export duty, 1906-11, sold to Cheok Yu for 1,100 dollars.	

MONOPOLY	DESCRIPTION	FURTHER REMARKS
Getah	Monopoly of export, 1903-1908, granted by Pengiran Bendahara to Chua Cheng Hee. No consideration fixed.	
Market	Leased to Chua Cheng Hee, 1900-20. No consideration stated.	This gives him the right to collect a fee from every boat trading in the <i>padian</i> - a market held daily in some one of the channels running through the town.
Gambling	Monopoly of farm, 1901-10, sold to Chua Cheng Hee for 130 dollars cash.	

Source: FO 572/39, MSH McArthur, *Report on Brunei in 1904*, Appendix III, p. 46. The acting consul included only those monopolies of which documentary evidence had been produced.

Appendix 2

Extract from the Belfield Report (1905)

Revenue "34. The short duration of my visit to the State, and successive interviews with the Sultan and his Ministers, left me but little opportunity for making enquiry into the present condition of the trade and revenue of the country, but such information as I have been able to obtain points to the fact that both the members of the population and the amounts of trade are declining. I have not, however, been able to get figures of sufficient accuracy to warrant my expressing more than a general opinion to the above effect.

The Chinese traders have supplied me with the following particulars of Brunei revenue mortgaged to their firms. The figures appear to be confirmatory of the information contained in Appendix III of McArthur's report:⁷⁴

Name of Trader	Monopoly	Annual Payment	Number of Years
Chan Bun Siok (Chop Chun Guan)	Piece goods, provisions, etc.	\$500	10
Teo Yu (Chop Ee Yu)	Brassware, coconut oil, flour and kerosine oil	678	7
Chua Cheng Hu (Chop Chiat Seng)	Salt	400	12
	Sundry goods	2,300	7
	Opium	1,080	9
	Java tobacco and spice	600	16
	Kerosine oil	80	16
	Matches	150	16
	Sugar	300	3
	Gutta	120	7
	Gambling	60	7
	Hawkers and Pedlars' Licenses	100	18

Export Trade

35. With the exception of the catch shipped by the Island Trading Company, there is now little or no export of produce from Brunei. The loss of the Limbang has killed the sago trade and reduced the export of jungle to a negligible quantity. The resuscitation of an export trade could under the most favourable circumstances only be accomplished by judicious encouragement and careful management, and it is questionable whether it could ever reach important dimensions so long as the Limbang trade goes elsewhere.

Source: FO 12/128 (pp. 446-450), H. Conway Belfield, *Summary of Observations During Visits to Labuan and Brunei*, 5 June 1905, paragraphs 34-35.

Appendix 3

Dramatis Personae

Anderson, Sir John (1858-1918)

Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner for Brunei (1904-1911). Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office (1911-1916). Governor of Ceylon (1916-1918). GCMG (1909); KCB (1913). "In many respects he is the opposite pole to Sir Frank Swettenham" (*Penang Gazette*, 15 April 1904). See also, Butcher 1979: Plate No. 2.

Belfield, [Sir] Henry Conway (1855-1923)

British Resident, Negri Sembilan (1901). British Resident, Selangor (1902-1912). Special mission to Borneo (1905). Governor and Commander-in-Chief, East Africa Protectorate (1912-1918).

Birch, [Sir] Ernest Woodford (1857-1929)

British Resident, Negri Sembilan (1897-1900). Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Labuan and North Borneo (1901-1904). British Resident, Perak (1904-1910).

Brooke, Rajah Sir Charles (1829-1917)

Son of Reverend Charles Johnson and Emma Brooke, sister of Sir James Brooke. Educated at Crewkerne Grammar School. Entered the Royal Navy (1842). Entered the Sarawak Service (1852). Tuan Muda of Sarawak (1852-1863). Rajah Muda of Sarawak (1863-1868). Rajah of Sarawak (1868-1917). GCMG (1888).

Brooke Johnson, HC 1873-1950)

Member of the Sarawak Civil Service (1894-1902). He subsequently took up residence in Lawas in order to trade. He was given permission by the local pengiran, Abu Bakar, to administer his *tulin* rights for him in return for 10% of the revenue. When Rajah Charles took over the district in 1905 he had to compensate Brooke Johnson (Crisswell 1978:192-199).

Cheok Yu

One of the main traders in Brunei in 1904. Sultan Hashim had pawned to him, *inter alia*, the right to impose 10 percent taxes (twelve dollars per picul) on Mr. Hatton Hall's imports of Dusun tobacco into Brunei. The first nine months this monopoly ran (April - December 1903) produced imports of \$11,520 (duty \$1,152). McArthur, *Report*, Appendix IV, p. 47.

Chua Cheng Hee

The principal trader in Brunei on the eve of the Residential Era (McArthur, *Report*, Appendix IV, p. 47). His main rival was Cheok Yu.

Churchill, [Sir] Winston (1874-1965)

Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (1905-1908). Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (1940-1945, 1951-1955). See also, Vines 1992.

Cox, Hugh Bertram (1861-1930)

Assistant Legal Under-Secretary, CO (1897-1911). CB (1902).

Messrs Drew and Napier

Solicitors of Singapore.

Elgin and Kincardine, ninth Earl of (1849-1917)

Secretary of State for the Colonies (1905-1908). Previously Viceroy of India (1894-1899).

Fiddes, [Sir] George Vandaleur (1858-1936)

Joined the Colonial Office in 1881. Secretary successively to Lord Miner, Lord Roberts and the Transvaal Administration (1897-1902). Returned to the Colonial Office as Principal Clerk. 1907: Accounting Officer (1902). Assistant Under-Secretary of State, CO (1909). Permanent Under-Secretary of State, CO (1916-1921). GCMG (1917). Died 22 December 1936.

Hashim, HH Sultan (d 1906 at an advanced age)

Reigned 1885-1906, son of HH Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin II (d 1852). Formerly held the office of *Pengiran Temenggong* (1855-1885).

Hewett, Godfrey (1859-1932)

A member of the BNBC Service in the 1880s and 1890s. British Consul for the Borneo Territories (1900-1904). Consular Service successively at Rio Grande (1904-1908), Pernambuco (1908-1909), Antofagusta (1909-1911) and Paramaribo (1911-1914). Retired 1914.

Holland, Sir William Henry, Kt. Bart. MP JP, first Baron Rotherham (1849-1927)

A cotton and worsted spinner at Manchester. President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce (1896-1898). Liberal MP (1892-1895, 1899-1910). Member of the House of Lords (1910-1927).

Hopwood, Sir Francis John Stephens, KCMG KCB (1860-)

Permanent Under-Secretary of State, CO (January 1907-).

Keyser, Arthur Louis (1856-1924)

Officer in Charge, Negri Sembilan (1897). Acting Consul, Brunei (1898-1899). Consul, Brunei (1899-1900). Thereafter he remained in the consular service, principally in Spain, until 1920.

"Arthur Keyser had mixed in high society in England and squandered a large sum of money before heading East in search of employment" (Butcher 1979:41).

Lansdowne, Marquess of (1845-1927)

Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom (1900-1905). Previously Viceroy of India (1888-1894).

Lucas, Sir Charles Prestwood (1853-1931)

First in the Civil Service List (1877). He was appointed to the Colonial Office and eventually became an Assistant Under-Secretary of State in 1897. First Head of the Dominions Department (appointed 1907). Prolific author. KCB (1912), KCMG (1907). Called to the Bar (1885).

McArthur, Malcolm Stewart Hannibal (1872-1934)

Various posts in Penang, Selangor and Singapore (1896-1904). Acting British Consul in Brunei (April-November 1904 and October-December 1905). British Resident, Labuan and Brunei (1906-1908). Acting Federal Secretary, FMS (April 1909). Acting Secretary to British Resident, Selangor (January 1909). Acting Assistant Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements (October 1909). Acting Under-Secretary, FMS (April 1915). Under Secretary, FMS (February 1916). Acting British Adviser, Kedah (July 1919-October 1922).

Mitchell, Sir Charles (d 1899)

Governor of the Straits Settlements (1893-1899). Previously Governor successively of Fiji and Natal.

Ong Jee Seng

A Brunei trader who had business links with Hall.

Rotherham, first Baron (1849-1927)

See Sir Henry Holland (*supra*).

Sowler, [Colonel] Harry (d. 1962)

Married Hon. Eirene Holland (d. 1947), eldest daughter of first Baron Rotherham. Journalist. Managing Director of the *Manchester Courier* (1900-1905). Director of the *Manchester Courier* under Lord Northcliffe (1905-1914). Commander. 52nd Field Regiment Royal Artillery (the Manchester Artillery); served throughout the 1914-1918 War in Egypt, Palestine and France. Director of the Beaufort Borneo Rubber Company, which owned 2,750 acres of cultivated rubber in North Borneo in 1930 and paid good dividends (SEOI 1930:1762). Died on 15 January 1962.

Stubbs, [Sir] (Reginald) Edward (1876-1947)

Son of the Right Reverend William Stubbs (1825-1901), a famous constitutional historian. Entered Colonial Office in 1900. Colonial Secretary, Ceylon (appointed in 1913). Governor successively of Hong Kong (1919-1925), Jamaica (1926-1932), Cyprus (1932-1933) and Ceylon (1933-1937). KCMG (1919); GCMG (1928); recipient of the Japanese Order of the Rising Sun. Fellow of the Zoological Society. Died on 7 December 1947.

Swee Cheng

The Labuan and Brunei opium farmer (February 1906).

Swettenham, Sir Alexander (1846-1933)

Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements (appointed in 1895). Officer Administering the Government, Straits Settlements (1898, 1900). Governor-in-Chief of British Guiana (1901-1904). Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Jamaica (1904-1907). KCMG (1898).

Swettenham, Sir Frank (1850-1946)

British Resident, Selangor (1882-1889). British Resident Perak (1889-1896). Resident-General, FMS (1896-1901). Governor of the Straits Settlements (1901-1903/4). GCMG (1909).

Treacher, Sir William (1849-1917)

Chairman, in the 1910s, of rubber and petroleum companies with interests in Brunei. Previously Governor of British North Borneo (1881-1887) and Resident-General of the Federated Malay States (1901-1905).

Appendix 4

Timechart of Main Events

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 1885-1906 | Reign of Sultan Hashim |
| 1888 | Brunei became a British Protectorate |
| 1901-1903 | Birch was Governor of British North Borneo |
| 1903 | (January). Hall established himself in business at Jesselton in January 1903. At this time he obtained from the North Borneo Government the sole right to purchase and export <i>sigep bilai</i> . |
| 1903 | (4 April). Sultan Hashim assigned to Hall, for a period of five years, the exclusive right to import into Brunei and sell <i>sigep bilai</i> , subject to the payment of twelve dollars' import duty on every <i>pikul</i> . |
| 1904 | (January). Hewett reported to Whitehall that complaints had lately been made to him in Trusan, Limbang, and Brunei concerning the high price of Javanese and Sumatran tobaccos imported into Labuan. |
| 1904 | (21 March). Stubbs commented that the Colonial Office "may safely take up the position that the matter is not of sufficient importance for us to worry the [British North Borneo] Company about it"; and there the matter rested until 1906. |
| 1904 | (August). Hall's Brunei concession was extended for a further ten years, i.e. until 1 May 1918. |
| 1904 | Hall attempted unsuccessfully to secure from Sultan Hashim the monopoly of rice import into Brunei. |
| 1905 | (30 March). Hall entered into an agreement (according to McArthur), with Ong Jee Seng, who became his local agent until 15 December 1905, when Yusuf was reappointed. |
| 1905 | (15 June - 15 December). Ong told the Resident that his arrangement with Hall was modified as to price and that by mutual arrangement Ong paid from 15 June to 15 December 1905 |

- \$100 per month to Hall as a fixed charge for the agency and bought tobacco wholesale from him at prices ranging from \$60 to \$80 per *pikul*.
- 1905 (15 December). Yusuf was re-appointed local agent of Hall.
- 1905 (28 December 1905). Hall was already aware of the proposed cancellation of his monopoly, the only question at issue being the amount of compensation due. Hall had had an interview with McArthur on the subject as early as 28 December 1905.
- Pre-1906 On the eve of the Residential Era, most of Brunei's revenues were in the hands of monopolists, who had obtained the right to collect them by payment of cash in advance to the monarch.
- 1906-1959 British Residential Era in the Abode of Peace.
- 1906-1914 Brunei borrowed \$439,750 (Straits) from the Federated Malay States. The sultanate remained indebted until 1936.
- 1906 (January). From the beginning of 1906 all monopolies in Brunei were gradually cancelled by the incoming Resident.
- 1906 The Rajah of Sarawak was permitted to retain intact his fiscal privileges in Muara Damit District.
- 1906 (15 February). Swee Cheng of Labuan offered \$300 per month to Hall for a lease of the rights granted by the *sigep bilai* concession.
- 1906 (1 March). The Resident officially informed Hall that his concession would be cancelled with effect from 10 April forthcoming.
- 1906 (2 April). Hall was repaid the money which he had lent to the Sultan, less an amount due on account of the tobacco already imported. This totalled \$1,301.64.
- 1906 (10 May). Death of Sultan Hashim.
- 1906 (August). Having failed to obtain satisfaction from the British Resident in Brunei, Hall submitted a petition (drawn up by Drew and Napier, solicitors, of Singapore) to the High Commissioner.

- 1906 (10 October). Despatch from the High Commissioner to the Colonial Office rejecting Hall's petition.
- 1906 (29 November). Brunei Customs Enactment.
- 1907 (July). Sowler of the *Manchester Courier* submitted a memorandum on behalf of Hall to the Colonial Office.
- 1907 (1 August). On 1 August the matter was brought up separately with Churchill, then Parliamentary Under-Secretary, by Sir William Holland MP.
- 1907 (28 August). Sowler came to the Colonial Office with his father-in-law (Holland) to discuss the question with Lucas, McArthur, and Stubbs.
- 1907 (2 October). Second memorandum from Sowler.
- 1907 (7 October). A semi-official letter from McArthur to Stubbs.
- 1907 (19 October). Lord Elgin rejected the claims advanced on behalf of Hall.
- 1910 Customs duties accounted for half of Brunei's total revenue.
- 1929 Discovery of the Seria oilfield. The exporting of crude petroleum began three years later.
- 1936 National Debt liquidated.
- 1941 Customs duties still accounted for a quarter of Brunei's total revenue, but oil royalties had for several years been the most important source of government income.
- 1959 End of the British Residential Era.
- 1984 Brunei *merdeka*.

NOTES

1. A detailed study of Brunei's finances before the Residential Era is urgently required.
2. See Appendix 1 (below). Note, for example, the opium monopoly.

"The Sultanate is not hereditary", the British Resident, Stewart McArthur, noted in 1907. "Each Sultan is in turn nominated and elected, for life, by the Council, subject to the consent of the headmen of the various communities [cf. Brown 1970:102]. The Sultan has no right to all the revenues of State, but during his tenure of the throne he receives those of specific districts only. Even these are not his private property because, on his death, they go to his elected successor; but during his lifetime, he, naturally exploits them as he pleases.

"During the reign of the late Sultan [Hashim] the state, owing to causes which it is unnecessary to state here, became so poor that the Sultan was frequently without any means of buying even the necessities of life [McArthur continued]. As a result the paid officials of the state, who should have collected the revenues and been responsible for administration, were gradually dispensed with and the Sultan began to get ready money as he required it by selling trade monopolies for cash payments. In many cases such monopolies were granted as payment for private debts which the Sultan was unable to meet in any other way. At first these monopolies appear to have been for the Sultan's own districts only and for short terms, but as time went on the periods and scope of such monopolies were increased, while a system gradually grew up by which the Sultan received from local usurers, generally Chinese, cash payments for monopoly rights for sometimes more than twenty years in advance. The state was thus practically made bankrupt, all possible sources of revenue having been forestalled and the proceeds of various transactions having been spent as fast as they were received by the Sultan on his own personal account without reference to the present or future claims of the government" (CO 144/80, item 32279; memorandum by McArthur, enclosed in McArthur to Lucas, 9 September 1907).

For further information about the nineteenth century constitution of Brunei, see Brown 1970:79-118.

3. For a list of monopolies, see Appendices 1 and 2 (*infra*).

4. See Appendix 1. The example given was the most extreme; but it provides a glimpse both of the financial plight of Brunei's rulers and of the task facing the new administration at the beginning of 1906.

McArthur noted that another lease had already been chopped and dated '1906'.

5. Other factors contributing to this poverty included large families, a preference for independence in earning a livelihood, and the loss of Limbang (which 'pressed severely on those who depended on fishing and petty trading'. FO 572/39, MSH McArthur, *Report on Brunei in 1904* (dated Singapore, 5 December 1904), paragraph 34.

In 1900 Consul AL Keyser alleged that the collection of these taxes was a source of "much persecution and injustice". Poverty, and how to relieve it, was 'the keystone of all that was said and done in Brunei'.

He cited the case of *Inche* Mohsin, the tobacco farmer, who deliberately kept the article in short supply, so that he might fine the people who attempted to purchase it from a 'smuggler'. In this way, Keyser claimed, the tax farmer reaped a rich harvest from fines for breaches of his monopoly; but many inhabitants were driven out of the capital (FO 12/111:58ff, Keyser to FO, No. 23, 30 April 1900; also in CO 144/74:17694).

If Mohsin's methods caused a decline in the level of smoking, then, in the light of modern medical knowledge, he was probably doing less harm than good.

6. Redemption of Monopolies (in \$ Straits)

Year	Monopolies Redeemed		Revenue Derived Therefrom
	Number	Cost	
1906	27	61,105	19,850
1907	4	9,360	30,155
1907	n.a.	1,544	28,897

Source: CO 824/1 BAR 1906-1908.

Of the 17 monopolies redeemed in 1906, the most important were as follows:

Rank	Compensation	Description
1.	11,699.54	Sundry goods (10% import duty).
2.	9,952.50	Opium.
3.	9,000.00	General import and export (Tutong).
4.	9,000.00	Spices and Javanese tobacco.
5.	3,750.00	3% import and export duties.
6.	2,848.47	'Belait import and export and opium etc'.

Source: CO 824/1 BAR 1906:7.

Less valuable monopolies were market boat tax, kerosene, import and export (Temburong), cattle export, sugar, 3% import duties.

7. In Muara Damit the Rajah held the import monopoly and revenue farms for such items as spirits, opium, curry stuff, tobacco, tea and gambling. He had authority, in addition, to collect land rents.

The Brunei Government, for its part, was entitled only to a nominal poll tax in the district. It also reserved the right to levy a duty on coal exported from the Brooketon colliery there, although this was not actually imposed until 1 January 1921.

8. Immediately upon taking over this 'river' in 1905, the Rajah was threatening summarily to abolish Hall's rights there (CO 144/78, item 8583; Brooke to FO, 9 March 1905).
9. It was estimated that the value of rice imported into Brunei in 1903 was at least \$77,000 (McArthur, *Report*, Appendix IV, page 47).
10. There is a snippet of information in CO 531/3 (10403), thus: "The Manchester North Borneo Company ... has also an interest in Brunei - I believe in a concession owned by Mr. Hatton Hall" (memorandum by a Mr. Bell, enclosed in Sir William Treacher to Mr. RE Stubbs, 4 April 1911).
11. *Vide infra*, Appendix 3.
12. Tobacco was the most important crop grown by the Dusuns. It was cultivated particularly at Kiau, on the slopes of Mount Kinabalu, and at villages farther inland (Evans 1923:131).

13. See also, Evans 1923:129-133 and Evans 1990:236-237.

"The *Tamu*, or market", Evans reported, "is a regular institution in some parts of British North Borneo, and of such markets two kinds can be distinguished. One is the small local market, as which only the inhabitants of a few neighbouring villages are present, which chiefly serves as an excuse for cock-fighting, toddy-drinking, and gossiping, the amount of trading done being almost negligible. ... The other variety of *tamu* is devoted to serious trading, and to such a market natives come many days' march from the interior, carrying on their backs heavy baskets of damar gum (*salong*), native grown tobacco, beeswax and other products of the country. These they trade with the Chinese shopkeepers of the district, who have stalls at most of the more important markets, and ride up regularly from the shops near the government post" (Evans 1923:129).

14. See also, Evans 1923:132.
15. CO 144/78 (9953), memorandum by Birch, March 1904, paragraphs 1-18; also in FO 12/127:133ff.
16. FO 12/127, page 15; Mr. Godfrey Hewett to FO, 10 January 1904.
17. CO 144/80 (40567), petition from Hall to the High Commissioner, 21 August 1906, paragraph 3.
18. *Ibid.*, paragraph 4. Copies of these concessions appear in CO 144/80 (40567).
- McArthur reported that "in 1904 while I was in Brunei ... (the Sultan) frequently stated that he only let the monopoly because of Mr. Hall's importunity" (CO 144/80:40567). Stubbs, at the Colonial Office agreed that this was more than likely, because the late monarch had been living on sago refuse at the time (CO 531/8:30581).
19. CO 144/80 (40567), McArthur to Hall, No. 92, 2 April 1906, paragraph 4.
20. *DNB 1941-1950:852-853*.
21. CO 531/1 (35081), minute by Stubs, 15 October 1907.
22. FO 12/127, p. 15: Hewett to FO, 10 January 1904, paragraph 1.

23. *Ibid.*, paragraph 7.
24. CO 144/78 (9983), memorandum by Birch, paragraphs 18-20; also in FO 12/127. Hankey was a business manager of some sort employed by Hall.
25. CO 144/78 (9953), minute by Stubbs, 21 March 1904.
26. CO 144/80 (40567), McArthur to Hall, 1 March 1906.
27. *Ibid.*, McArthur to Hall, No. 16, 16 February 1906, paragraph 2. For more information on 'the finances of Brunei', *vide infra*, section 6.
28. *Ibid.*, McArthur to Hall, No. 92, 2 April 1906, paragraph 9.
29. *Ibid.*, Hall to McArthur, 10 April 1906.
30. CO 531/1 (3508), minute by Stubbs, 15 October 1907.
31. It should be explained that the British Resident in the Abode of Peace was answerable to the Governor of the Straits Settlements in the latter's capacity, *ex-officio*, as High Commissioner for Brunei.
32. CO 144/80 (40567), petition, 21 August 1906.
33. It might be pointed out that in Birch's day (*vide supra*, section 2) it had been agreed that the buyer of *sigep bilai* should not sell it at more than twice cost price. Since the cost price of the best quality tobacco was only sixty dollars per *pikul*, Hall should not have sold it for more than \$120 per *pikul* (compared with the \$160-190 at which he claimed to have sold his stock).
34. See below, section 6, table 1.
35. CO 144/80 (40567), petition, paragraphs 5-7.
36. *Ibid.*, memorandum by McArthur, paragraph 4.
37. Boyd, the Harbour Master in Labuan, was dismissed in 1904 for embezzlement. Yusuf was subsequently employed on Hall's rubber estate in Berakas, where he (Yusuf) rifled the safe. Later he was involved in an attempt to defraud the BNBC.

38. CO 144/80 (40567), memorandum by McArthur, paragraphs 5-6.
39. But what about Ong's 5% commission? Given that 5% of \$110 is \$5.5, Halls' maximum profit per *pikul* was \$42.50, i.e. \$48 less \$5.5. Presumably, too, Hankey would have been paid a salary.
40. But why did Ong not cancel his arrangements altogether with Mr. Hall? Further, was it not in Ong's own interests to claim that the *sigep bilai* was unsalable in an attempt to increase his own profits at the expense of Hall?
41. *Ibid.*, paragraph 8.
42. *Ibid.*, paragraph 14.
43. *Ibid.*, Hall's petition, paragraph 7.
44. *Ibid.*, McArthur's memorandum, paragraph 15.
It appears that the BNBC had revoked Hall's monopoly of tobacco export from their territory certainly not later than August-September 1906 (CO 144/80: 40567).
45. Concerning the registration of concessions:
(a) In early 1897 the Foreign Office took the view that the British consul to Brunei would not be justified in refusing to register concessions unless they contained an abandonment of the Sultan's rights which would amount to cession or alienation of territory (CO 144/71, item 1016; FO to CO, 13 January 1897).
In other words, at that time registration appeared to imply recognition by London of the validity of a deed.
- (b) Under pressure from the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office then instructed Sir Charles Mitchell (Governor of the Straits Settlements) to suggest to the Sultan that he should consult the High Commissioner before granting any leases (see Tarling 1971:431-432).
- (c) In 1900 a new consul was instructed simply to supply the High Commissioner with copies in Malay, along with English translations, of all concessions granted in the abode of Peace (CO 144/76, item 20448; Sir Alexander Swettenham to Hewett, 25

August 1900, cited in Hewett to Sir Frank Swettenham, No. 1, 11 January 1902, paragraph 6).

- (d) In 1902 the Foreign Office advised Sir Frank Swettenham (the High Commissioner from 1901 until 1903/4) that "... there appears to be no objection to the registration of concessions at HM Consulate if the concessionaires desire it, as a means of placing on record that concessions have been granted. Consul Hewett should, however, make it quite clear to all the parties concerned at the time of registration that the validity of the concessions is not thereby affected.

Or, to put it differently, by 1902 registration no longer implied recognition.

- (e) In the Inche Taha case of 1904 (the details of which are not important here) the acting British consul in Bandar Brunei was ordered by the Foreign Office to inform Sultan Hashim that London "would view with displeasure" any grant of an oil concession. Those seeking such a license were to be advised that "they act on their own risk" and that "it is impossible that they can get good title and certainly not one which HM Government can support" (FO 12/126, Anderson to Lansdowne, No. 4, political, 8 June 1904, paragraph 2).

This represented a much more interventionist policy on the part of the British Government.

46. CO 144/80 (40567), memorandum by McArthur, paragraph 18.
 47. *Ibid.*, minute by Stubbs, 6 November 1906.
 48. *Ibid.*, minute by Fiddes, 7 November 1906.
 49. *Ibid.*, minute by Cox, 7 November 1906.
 50. *Ibid.*, minute by Lucas, 10 November 1906.
 51. CO 531/1 (26519), minute by Hopwood, 1 August 1907.
 52. *Ibid.* minute by Stubbs, 27 July 1907.

What would the reaction have been, one wonders, if Brunei rulers applied this maxim to its treaties with the United Kingdom, such as those of 1847, 1888 and 1905-1906?

In any case English law did come to have a place in Brunei during the Residential Era. Where no provision was made by the enacted or adopted law of Brunei, the Common Law of England had the force of law in the sultanate, although apparently it was not until after the Second World War that an 'Application of Laws Enactment' was passed formally to justify the practice.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.* For more information about the 'intrigues' of the Rajah, see Stubbs 1968:108, 110-116. The original appears in CO 531/3(9856), registered on 25 March 1911. In a covering minute Stubbs commented: "For many years past there have been only two constant factors in Brunei politics: (a) absolute poverty - at one time the Sultan and his court were living on sago refuse and (b) the determination of Sir Charles Brooke to get whatever he can and to keep whatever he has got".

55. CO 531/1 (26519), minutes by Fiddes and Cox, 29 July 1907.

56. *Ibid.*, minute by Lucas, 30 July 1907.

57. CO 531/31 (27413), Holland to Churchill, 31 July 1907. Holland urged Churchill to see "that justice is done to a British subject":

"Hall contends that his concession was binding on the Sultan, and if the latter had attempted to repudiate it the Colonial Office would have vindicated his rights through thick and thin. And he maintains that if the British Government in taking over Brunei seeks to repudiate the Sultan's public obligations it will destroy the faith of the natives in the integrity of British rule, and *pro tanto* diminish our prestige, which stands none too high in Brunei to begin with.

Hall further insists that if he had been a German instead of a British subject, his claims should have been acknowledged without question by the British Government on their taking over Brunei; and he thinks it very hard that he should be penalized by his own people for being a Britisher".

58. CO 531/1 (35081), minute by Stubbs, 15 October 1907.

59. *Ibid.*, Sowler to Lucas, 2 October 1907, paragraph B.

For more on the Lawas district, see McArthur, *Report*, paragraphs 84-86 and Crisswell 1978:192-199.

60. CO 531/1 (35081), Sowler to Lucas, 2 October 1907, paragraph B.
61. *Ibid.*, McArthur to Stubbs, 7 October 1907.
On *tulin* property (private hereditary domains), see Brown 1970:79-85.
62. CO 531/1 (35081), marginal note by McArthur on Sowler to Lucas, 2 October 1907.
See also, FO 572/39 McArthur, *Report*, paragraph 42; and footnote 2 (*supra*).
63. CO 531/1 (35081), minute by Stubbs, 15 October 1907.
64. *Ibid.*, minute by Cox, 16 October 1907.
65. *Ibid.*, minute by Elgin, 19 October 1907.
The set of papers relating to this case was one of the few to be minuted personally by the Secretary of State during the Residential Era.
66. McArthur was anxious to take over the Rajah's fiscal rights in Muara Damit and at one stage floated the idea that compensation might be paid, the amount possibly to be determined by arbitration (CO 144/80, item 35281). No such thought ever crossed his mind when dealing with the Chinese monopolists. Nor did McArthur ever suggest that the Rajah's concession might be 'invalid' (cf. *supra*).
See also, footnote 7 (above).
67. CO 531/1 (7040), Anderson to CO, Brunei (confidential), 31 January 1907.
The Colonial Office, for its part, had some reservations concerning the policy of imposing export duties and requested the Resident to watch their effect on the trade of the State.
68. CO 531/2 (7111), Anderson to CO, Brunei (confidential), 3 February 1909, paragraph 6.
69. Professor Tregonning (1965:51-52, 67-69, 71-72) points out that the BNBC was "a purely administrative company" and that "dividends were very infrequent for twenty years or more, and never high. There is very little money in administration".
Nothing at all appears to have been paid out in the 1880s and 1890s, apart from "a minute 2 1/2% in 1890 (the profits from tobacco

- land sales)" and a further 2% in 1899. This was maintained each year until 1905, when it became 3%. The level in 1907 was 4%, rising to 5% between 1909 and 1914. It fell during the early years of the war, but 4% was paid by 1917, and 5% by 1919. By this time dividends were being financed out of capital so that the Company was heavily in debt (£1,649,800 by 1924). It was rescued just in time.
No dividend was forthcoming between 1928 (1.25%) and 1937 (2%) and £0.7m of the debt had been redeemed by 1941.
Note, however, that for much of its history the BNBC paid dividends (interest to shareholders) at a lower rate than Brunei had to pay interest to the FMS.
See also, Table 1, *infra*.
70. Co 531/3 (22583), Brockman to Harcourt, 12 June 1911, paragraph 4.
The Brunei government, for its part, granted His Highness the Sultan of Brunei a loan of \$41,000 in c.1911, repayable over 17 years at ten percent interest (*ibid.*, paragraph 2a).
71. The poll tax figures for 1910 and 1915 include 'market boat tax' and 'launch freight tax'.
72. The figure for 1915 probably includes 'Government Monopolies' (created 1913). In this context, there was only one 'monopoly', *viz.* opium.
73. Includes oil royalty; likewise the 1941 figure.
74. On the contrary, it is possible to detect a number of discrepancies between the two sources. In addition, Belfield does not state the terminating date of each monopoly. Hence it is not entirely clear whether the figures in column four refer to the total number of years the monopoly is to be held or only the number of years still left to run.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- BAR Brunei Annual Report (1906-)
- Bart. Baronet
- BMJ Brunei Museum Journal
- BNBC British North Borneo (Chartered) Company
- CO Colonial Office Series of Documents (PRO)
- CSEAS Centre for South-East Asian Studies
- CUP Cambridge University Press
- DNB Dictionary of National Biography
- FMS Federated Malay States
- FO Foreign Office Series of Documents (PRO)
- ITC Island Trading Company
- ITS Island Trading Syndicate

JABM	[Malaya:] Journal of the Association of British Malaya (1952-; previously MABM; subsequently JBAM)
JBAN	[Malaya:] Journal of the British Association of Malaya (formerly MABM and JABAM)
JMBRAS	Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JP	Justice of the Peace
JSEAS	Journal of South-East Asian Studies
KL	Kuala Lumpur
MABM	[British Malaya:] Magazine of the Association of British Malaya (1926-; later JABM)
MP	Member of Parliament
n.a.	not available
NY	New York
OUP	Oxford University Press
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew
r	reigned
SEOE	Stock Exchange Official Intelligence (annually until 1933)
SG	Sarawak Gazette
SMJ	Sarawak Museum Journal
SS	Straits Settlements
SSJ	Sabah Society Journal

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- (a) FO 572/39, MSH McArthur, Report on Brunei 1904, Appendix III, page 47.
- (b) H. C. Belfield, Summary of Observations During Visits to Labuan and Brunei, 5 June 1905, paragraphs 34-35 (FO 12/128).

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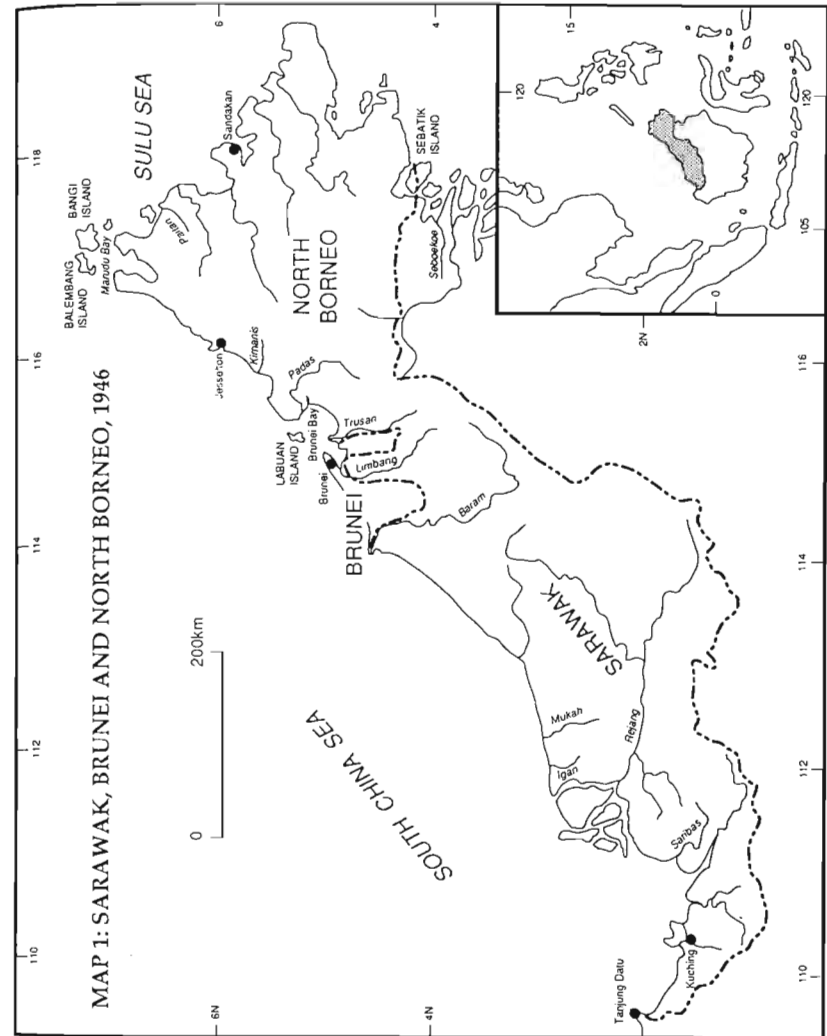
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Provision of transport and communication facilities figured prominently in colonial development policies in most Southeast Asian colonies. For example, land transport (especially the railroad) was crucial in the opening up of the local economy to trade and in facilitating its integration into international trading networks. In this respect, Sarawak under the Brookes offers a curious contrast. Although generally depicted as benevolent, paternalistic rulers, the Brookes are to be remembered more for what was left undone than for what was achieved. After a hundred years of Brooke rule, Sarawak's economy was characterised by a small, largely rural population engaged in low-productivity, semi-subsistence agriculture, a dependence upon the export of a few primary commodities and the relative absence of modern transportation linkages. It was only after 1946 when Sarawak became a crown colony that a policy for transport development was instituted that was to form the basis for national government transport policy after independence in 1963.

This paper* traces transport development in Sarawak from 1841 to 1983 and examines its impact on the local economy and society. The paper also focuses on attitudes to economic change in relation to transport development policies.

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INTRODUCTION

Sarawak is situated on the north-western part of the island of Borneo and originally fell within the domain of the Sultan of Brunei. In the first half of the nineteenth century, this territory was of interest to the British government and the English East India Company because of its location along the China trade routes and the fact that it was not recognised as lying within the Dutch sphere of influence (see Map 1). Apart from its attraction as a harbourage on the 'beaten track', it was reputed to have substantial coal deposits just when the demand for coal was growing with the increasing use of steamships.¹ The discovery of antimony ore in the early nineteenth century and its importance in the international economy aroused Brunei's interest and Pengiran Makhota, a Brunei prince and noble, took up residence in the Sarawak River basin in the second decade. He coerced the Land Dayaks² to mine the ore, paying them in beads and brass. The ore was sold to merchants in Singapore and the profits shared between Pengiran Makhota and the Brunei Sultan. The exactions and taxation demands provoked resistance from the local Malays and the Land Dayaks and disrupted trade. Subsequently, Pengiran Makhota was replaced by the Brunei Sultan's uncle and Prime Minister, Pengiran Muda Hashim. The fighting continued until the arrival of James Brooke, an English adventurer, in 1839. Brooke, who was influenced by the Rafflesian idea of a strong British presence in the Indonesian archipelago, had sailed to Sarawak after having learned that the Brunei prince was favourably disposed to the British and that the district had valuable antimony ore. He helped Hashim suppress the uprising and in return for this assistance, and a modest annual payment, was bestowed the title Rajah of Sarawak in 1841. He established his capital at Kuching in the Sarawak River basin. After a consolidation of his authority, he rapidly moved to extend the territory under his control, going still further to areas nominally under the authority of Brunei. He tried to establish a British colonial presence in the region but was unsuccessful. Nonetheless, he survived the initial military campaigns against him and the political intrigues principally because of British naval support, his co-option of the local Malay elite and his use of voluntary Iban (Sea Dayak) warriors to quieten opposition. In the 1850s and 1860s the weak Brunei sultanate accepted, in return for further annual payments, major Brooke annexations into the principal Iban-occupied districts.

James Brooke died in 1868, leaving an expanded state to his nephew Charles. Charles continued the expansion of Sarawak territory and by 1890 Sarawak occupied the largest area in north-west Borneo. In the meantime, in 1888 Sarawak had acquired protectorate status from the British government whereby it remained an independent state with absolute rights of self-government but would conduct foreign relations only through the British government. Charles was succeeded by his son Vyner Brooke in 1917. Vyner continued his father's policies

until 1941 when Sarawak surrendered to the Japanese. After the Pacific War, political and economic changes in the region resulted in the cession of Sarawak to Britain. It was ruled as a crown colony until 1963 when it became part of the Malaysian Federation.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK

Sarawak comprises three broad relief zones, namely an alluvial coastal plain, which is succeeded inland by a belt of undulating country, and finally a sharply rising mountainous interior. The mountains vary from 2,500 (762 m) to 4,000 feet (1219 m) in height. Peat and mangrove swamps cover the coastal plain and river valleys which reach out to the sea. The long coastline is washed by the South China Sea, and suffers from exposure to the northeast monsoon. The physical environment has played a very important role in Sarawak's historical development. The heavy and uniform rainfall gave rise to a multiplicity of rivers which in turn set the original pattern of settlement in the territory. Two main groups of rivers drain the country: firstly, the larger rivers which flow from the mountain ranges of the Sarawak-Kalimantan border and secondly, the short but mature coastal rivers with less defined divides in the mid-Sarawak lowlands. Settlement, trade and economic development traditionally found their way inland along the river valleys. For many groups, riverine localities were the favoured settlement sites, taking advantage of the fishing and trading opportunities the waters provided and the commercial possibilities of the surrounding forest. Patterns of longhouse settlement were also strongly influenced by the river network. Drainage basins defined and demarcated tribal areas, determined spheres of political and social influence and channelled patterns of population migration and trade. Consequently, the inhabitants of Sarawak identified themselves as people of a certain river and when the Brookes obtained concessions from the Brunei sultanate, these concessions were cessions of rivers, for example, the Batang Lupar and Saribas cessions.

The inhabitants adapted their economies and societies to meet a variety of different conditions. Along the swampy coasts, societies like the Melanau developed a way of life based mainly on fishing and the collection of swamp sago. In the interior the dominant form of land use was swidden agriculture, originally of root crops supplemented by forest sago and later the adoption of hill padi. The steep upland forests with their poor soils made permanent cultivation unsustainable and the inhabitants developed a way of life based on shifting agriculture complemented by hunting and gathering. In areas where the soil and the aspect provided better conditions for permanent agriculture, wet rice cultivation on well constructed fields also developed. The Malays, who were later arrivals, settled on the coastal areas and took over parts of the immediate

hinterland to develop wet rice cultivation along the banks of the lower reaches of some of the major rivers. Yet in other areas, people like the Penan eschewed agriculture altogether, adopting instead a mobile existence based exclusively on hunting and gathering. For the most part, these groups were independent and self-sufficient. However, they were neither isolated from one another nor from the outside world. Trade, war, and occasional inter-marriage linked the various tribes throughout the territory and head hunting was common. In summary therefore, the three zones; the coastal and estuarine belt, the river valley and the interior, not only underpinned the human ecology of Sarawak but also formed the dividing line between the different groups, based on habitat, language and belief system.

Politically, Sarawak fell under the nominal authority of Brunei. The Malays on the coast also evolved their own aristocracy which derived its power in large part from its control of the commerce with Chinese traders. Nonetheless, the Malays' coastal influence was limited to a stranglehold on maritime commerce and occasional forays to the interior to capture slaves and exact tribute.

By the 1840s, Sarawak's importance as a source of antimony ore and a "trader's paradise" grew and attracted the attentions of both Brunei and British leaders. The history of how James Brooke took over Sarawak has been well recounted elsewhere³ and need not detain us here. Brooke quickly established his military supremacy and a tenuous political control. This he expanded by introducing his own laws and a code of justice. He secured the assistance of the Royal Navy by opening Kuching as a free port, keeping only for himself a monopoly in the trade of antimony ore. He made the coast safe through bloody expeditions against the inhabitants, his forces comprising Royal navy sailors, reinforced by Malay and Dayak subjects who took advantage of these punitive expeditions to loot and collect heads.⁴

In the extension of Sarawak's territory James and Charles established small forts in tribal territory, from which the rule of force was gradually replaced by the rule of law. These forts were permanent structures built at the river mouths and helped keep the peace so that the Brookes could establish a virtual trading monopoly over their realm. They permitted the stationing of European officers safely to dangerous outlying districts; enabled the control of war fleets by means of a few cannon; facilitated the collection of duties on riverine trade and of taxes on the local populace; and at the same time ensured the geographic segregation of Sarawak's inhabitants.

For administrative purposes, Sarawak was divided initially into three Divisions - the First Division, to extend from Tanjung Datu to the Sadong River; the Second Division, from the Sadong River to the Rejang River; and the Third Division from

the Rejang River to Tanjung Kendurong. The Fourth and Fifth Divisions were created in 1885 and 1912 respectively from later cessions.⁵ From the time of James Brooke, senior administrators were recruited from Britain. Where the indigenous people were concerned, the Brookes either adopted and reinforced existing chieftancies (as in the case of the Malays) or created new political authorities as in the case of the Dayaks. There thus arose two parallel systems of administration both obedient to the Rajah's authority. On the one hand, of a hierarchical ranking of government-appointed indigenous chieftains whose duties were to administer traditional law and levy tax for the Rajah, and on the other hand, of a system of 'district officers', regional residents and so on, recruited in Britain, whose duty was to administer the introduced western systems of justice, land ownership and labour and to intervene in native affairs when it was considered necessary.

TRANSPORT DEVELOPMENT IN SARAWAK

Broadly, three phases may be distinguished in transport development and these correspond approximately to the three stages of political control. During the first period (1841-1941) rivers served as the principal means of communication and the main flows of trade between ports and their hinterlands was by river. The localised nature of economic penetration was congruent with the piecemeal development of the country and the role played by the largest monopoly concern - the Borneo Company - in Sarawak's economic affairs. The Brookes undertook few developmental initiatives and expected the Borneo Company and other foreign concessionaires to provide the rudiments of road systems in their respective concessions. These early roads were not intended to replace river transport but were designed to complement river services. The second period of transport development (1946-1963) was marked by huge capital outlays on road construction. This process of road construction had its political counterpart in the consolidation of British rule in North Borneo and Malaya. The colonial government gave high priority to road construction - to open up the territory to the wider capitalist economy, provide access and opportunity to the peasantry and for administrative convenience. Although rivers continued to play a major role in the economy, road transport had come on its own. The long term geographical effect of road transport during this period was the reorientation of internal transport lines, for in general the new roads ran transverse to the old river routeways. Transport development in the final stage (1964-1983) was consistent with the growing needs of the international and local economy as Sarawak became more fully integrated into the Malaysian and world economic systems. Politically, the period marked Sarawak's merger with the Malaysian Federation and the increased trade links with Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Brunei. The transverse road links, commenced during the colonial era, were

completed by 1983. It was now possible to travel overland from Sematan in the south, to the Brunei border, thus enabling transport and trade flows from one end of Sarawak to the other.

The First Phase 1841-1941: The Brooke Period

As noted by a geographer, Sarawak is a region where "the land divides but the sea unites". The largest rivers - the Rejang, Sarawak, Batang Lupar, Baram and Limbang - commence from the highest mountain range which forms the spine of Borneo and is regarded as the boundary between Sarawak and Dutch Borneo. These rivers are unconnected (apart from the delta area of the large Rejang River) and travellers visiting settlement after settlement along the coast had to cross and recross bars at every river mouth.⁶ (See Map 2) The three broad zones - the coastal and estuarine belt, the inland rivers and the interior - have been shaped by water. Consequently, control of the waterways was of paramount importance both politically and economically.

The vast majority of the population in the mid-nineteenth century lived along the banks of rivers which provided the chief means of internal communications and were the links by which the export and distribution feeder services operated. There were no roads in the interior and to reach it the traveller had to proceed upriver by launch, outboard, paddling and poling in that order. Sometimes there were jungle paths connecting the rivers, providing short-cuts but generally the only means of progress was by water. Sarawak's trade links and patterns were influenced by geographical and political factors so that trade flowed in two directions - one towards Kuching and the coast (the seat of administration) and the other towards Sambas in Dutch Borneo. Chinese goldminers who had been mining gold near Pangkalan Tebang and later Bau, conducted trade with Sambas in Dutch Borneo, not Kuching. Their autonomous existence was ultimately challenged by James Brooke and after the Chinese uprising of 1857 the Borneo Company took over mineral exploitation in the territory.⁷ The trade with Sambas was disrupted and henceforth trading links were with Kuching and the lesser ports that emerged during the period.

Chinese traders had also been participating in Sarawak's trade for centuries and several archaeological finds have been made at the Niah Caves in North Sarawak and at Santubong on the Sarawak River.⁸ The Chinese brought ceramics, beads, gold, silver and silk and exchanged these for products like camphor, rattan, resin and birds' nests. When the Brooke state was established in 1841 these earlier links were strengthened and the Chinese traders, alongside the European merchants, facilitated the integration of Sarawak's economy into the international economy.

Apart from the Chinese traders, there were Malay traders who inhabited the coastal areas of strategic river mouths and the confluences of major rivers and their tributaries. The Malays evolved a special relationship with the upriver indigenous people through political control of river traffic and the imposition of taxes, tolls and tribute payments. Trading and raiding were intertwined, with the Malays relying on the Sea Dayaks to raid neighbouring communities. Through the activity of these Malay traders, who dominated inter-island and archipelago trade, the up-river communities were integrated into the regional economy.⁹

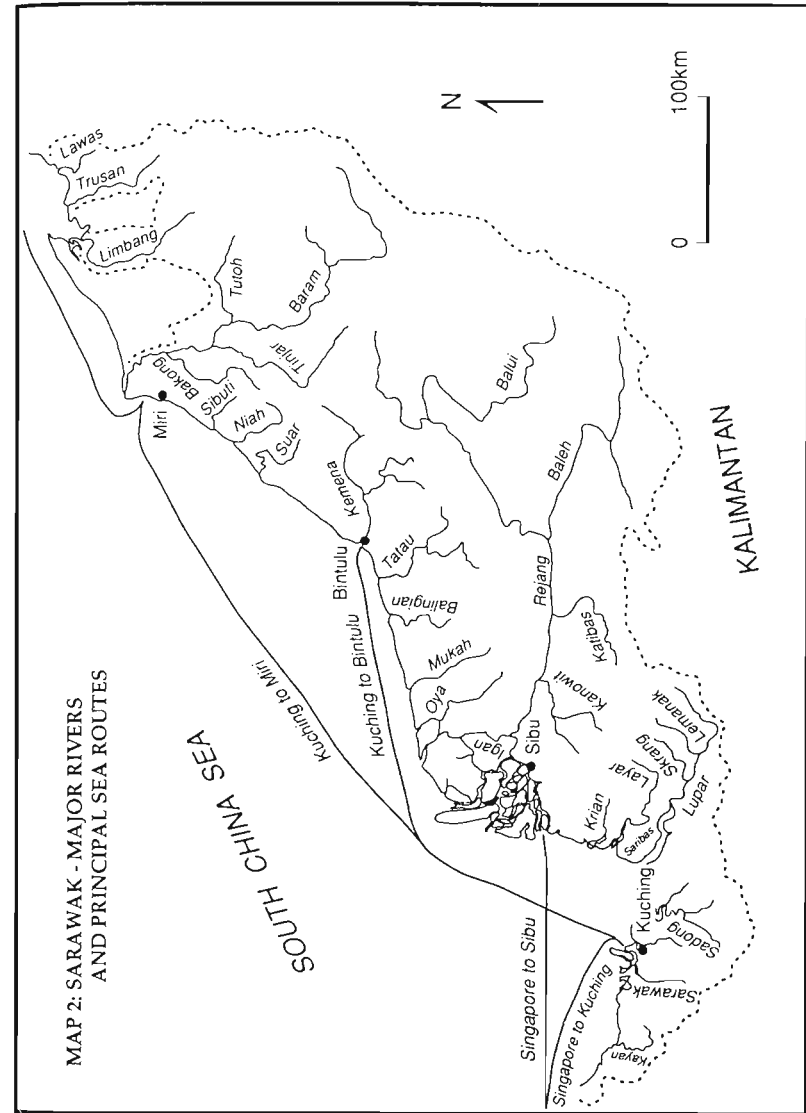
With the establishment of the Brooke state, Chinese traders virtually took over as the trading partners of the Dayaks through the system of bazaars set up by the administration at the fort stations. As noted previously, the Brookes administered Sarawak on the basis of the river systems and forts were built at the mouths of the important rivers. These forts, which symbolised Brooke authority, enabled the officials to control river traffic, whether of commerce or of people. They became the nucleus of settlements or towns and the internal configuration of such settlements reflected the Brooke policy of administrative convenience. Near the fort and usually parallel to the all important river was a row of Chinese shophouses which constituted the bazaar. At either end of the fort-bazaar nucleus were the Malay *kampung* areas. Every waterside village had boat-building facilities for its own requirements. There were no Dayak longhouses in the town area and Dayak officials appointed by the administration ensured that the Dayaks stayed in their designated areas. Apart from the itinerant boat hawkers who peddled their wares from upriver community to community, the Chinese were not allowed to reside at upriver settlements. Chinese shopkeepers therefore had to accommodate Dayak customers who came downriver to trade. The typical bazaar shop was a two-storey building, divided into five or six combination merchantile and living establishments with adjoining kitchens at the back. Family quarters were upstairs and there was invariably a sleeping loft for Dayak customers who wanted to spend the night in town. The Chinese shops traded in salt fish, kerosene oil, rice, flashlight batteries, cloth and silver belts. These were bartered for rubber, rice, sago, *gutta percha*, rattan, *damar* and *jelutong*.¹⁰ Thus Brooke policies and the security created by the presence of the forts resulted in confining Chinese traders to the bazaars and by making the Dayaks come down to them, integrated the Dayaks more fully into the regional economy.

The type of boats which plied the main rivers were determined by the breadth and depth of the rivers and the presence of bars and rapids. The ordinary boats of the Dayaks, the *bangkung*, were long, narrow canoes, hollowed out of the trunk of a tree. The sides were raised by planks fastened with rattan and no nails were used. These boats were adapted for passing the rapids and the planks could

easily be dismantled and carried away to the other sides of the rivers. Their war boats were larger, capable of holding seventy or eighty men and consisted of planks ingeniously lashed together by rattan. They often had awnings (*kajang*) made from the nipah palm. The Dayak *bangkung* differed from the Malay *prahu* or long boats which were smaller. The Dayaks used no oars, only paddles, unlike the Malays and Chinese.¹¹ Chinese launches plied the rivers, and rough seas often disrupted travel so that there were often food shortages in the bazaar.¹²

As noted previously, the rivers were unconnected except for the Rejang River system, which comprises the Rejang itself and nine shorter waterways which branch from it between the mouth and Sibu port. One of the Rejang waterways, the Igan, was joined to the Oya River, by means of a small channel (known as the Kut waterway/channel) and it enabled the Oya to be reached from the Rejang entirely by inland waterways. It was used mainly by native dugouts. Otherwise, travellers had to go down to river mouths to then ascend neighbouring rivers. Internal travel was not only arduous and time-consuming but also expensive!

River transport was complementary to sea carriage. Coastal ships carried much of the merchandise that moved from one river system or fort to another. Sea communications were thus crucial to Sarawak's trade with Singapore and from the outset, James Brooke ran his own ship, *Royalist*, on the Kuching-Singapore run together with another ship, *Swift*. The early cargoes were antimony ore, gold and jungle produce. The Borneo Company, the principal concessionaire in Sarawak, brought in another steamer, *Sir James Brooke*, to handle the trade in the government-controlled monopolies of antimony, coal and sago. By the early 1870s, two developments made improvements in transport even more imperative. One was the increased trade (by 1870, Sarawak's export trade alone was valued at \$1,494,241)¹³ and the other was the realisation that the government steamer had become the only link with Singapore for most of Sarawak's inhabitants. Charles Brooke thus encouraged the newly established Sarawak Chamber of Commerce (which had been set up to advise the government on commercial matters) and which repeatedly complained about the lack of shipping services, to form its own shipping line. He even offered to sell his *Royalist* to it. Charles' offer was accepted and in August 1875 the Singapore and Sarawak Steamship Company was inaugurated. Apart from the involvement of the leading Chinese sago-flour exporters, the principal shareholder was the Borneo Company, which also acted as managers. The new Company purchased *Royalist* and also had another steamer, *Rajah Brooke*, built. The Company's main trade was with Singapore though it occasionally engaged in trade as far north as Labuan.



Despite the fact that the Company made a profit from its monopoly of the sago carrying trade and the transportation of labour from Singapore to Kuching, it maintained irregular schedules and the *Sarawak Gazette* in the 1890s is studded with complaints of poor and irregular service. In 1896, *Rajah Brooke* ran aground and was a write-off. This naturally disrupted trade, and the Company was accused, amongst other things, of having a monopoly of trade and transit. Attempts by individuals to offer alternative services was a failure, as was Charles Brooke's efforts to persuade the Company to provide more regular services. Subsequently, in 1908, Charles transferred two small government steamers, *Adeh* and *Kaka* to the Company in return for an assurance of better services. In addition to the services with Singapore, the Company had to run a service that "turned right" on leaving Kuching and trade with the Rejang, Labang and Baram Rivers which were then being opened up. This arrangement continued until 1919. In that year Chinese interests in Sarawak bought out the Borneo Company's interests, liquidated the old Company, purchased its four steamers and established the Sarawak Steamship Company. Apart from the very valuable links with Singapore, the new Company also inaugurated a direct service between Sibu (the site of a new Chinese settlement) and Singapore. This run was unprofitable and was discontinued. Instead, a branch office was established at Sibu and the new Company instituted a policy of local trade links all along the Rejang and other rivers. Communication links with Singapore were also improved. The Company was managed by Edward Parnell, a senior Brooke official (on loan to the Company) and a personal friend of Vyner Brooke. The Borneo Company managed the wharves, acted as Lloyds' Agent in Sarawak, and maintained an active interest in shipping, insurance and general trading activities. The Company's trade was heavily dependent on the export market and the trade depression in the 1920s hurt its finances. In 1931, the Company was taken over by the Straits Steamship Company, a Singapore-based concern, which was expanding its activities in the region.¹⁴ This resulted in more regular and frequent services with Singapore. The Straits Steamship Company established branches at Sibu and Bintulu and installed agents at all small river and coastal ports. The services of the former company were scheduled to fit in with the regular runs to Singapore and other parts of Southeast Asia. Thus after a period of ninety years, regular and frequent links were established between Sarawak, Singapore and other parts of South East Asia. The new services, which linked all the important producing centres meant that Sarawak's exports - rubber, rattan, pepper and other jungle products - had easy access to the Singapore network. Most of the local markets, especially in rubber, lasted only for the few days that the steamer was in port and provided an opportunity for the indigenous people to participate in the wider trading community.¹⁵ With economic integration came political integration as well and the shipping services provided a dual role. There was a contraction in economic distance between the hitherto fairly remote areas

of Sarawak which, in turn, led to a closer integration of Sarawak as a territorial unit. Water services therefore united the diverse territories of the Brookes.¹⁶

Land transport was little developed for a number of reasons. A consistently wet swampy environment downstream inhibited movement by land, while the dense forest was difficult to penetrate. The main arteries of transport and economic activity were coastal, as was the chief town, Kuching. Settlement inland was scattered, although the proximity of river transport was a significant locational factor. For movement in the interior the Dayaks built *batang* (literally tree stem/log paths) which were raised footpaths consisting of logs laid from end to end, sometimes stretching for a short distance. They were precarious and required adept footwork. A little slip, as many a Brooke official found to his chagrin, meant an unexpected "mud bath" and an "undignified appearance". These paths, which ran into the forest from villages located along river banks were intended to facilitate the collection of forest products and were not really designed for communication. The Dayaks also slung rope bridges across the rivers to facilitate movement in the interior.

The Brookes were reluctant to undertake costly developmental initiatives and believed that road construction was an unnecessary expenditure since most settlements and crops (for example, sago and rice), were located near rivers. Monopoly concerns like the Borneo Company and Sarawak oilfields built their own roads to serve their concessions, but these were short local roads. Consequently, the only roads that were constructed during the first seventy years of Brooke rule were bridle paths, which were nothing more than grass tracks four to five feet wide, and short, poorly surfaced or unsurfaced earth roads. The bridle paths were suitable only for ponies, or in places bullock carts, and connected administrative posts with the outlying districts. The roads were restricted to the immediate vicinity of the towns and the main distinguishing feature was that they were not connected to each other! For its labour requirements, the Brookes initially relied on *corvée* and prisoners to carry out various government projects, including road construction. After repeated requests for a regular labour force the administration began to import Indian labour for various projects.¹⁷

There was a change in policy on road and bridle path construction under the Third Rajah. Henceforth, roads were to be built to connect with navigable rivers and thus improve access in the country. This policy was of course largely influenced by Dayak 'unrest' between 1931 and 1934 and government realisation that the old system of administering the Dayaks by means of regular visits to the *ulu* (interior) from stations on the coast or at mouths of rivers was no longer effective. It now became imperative to set up government stations in the interior

and this entailed the construction of bridle paths and roads to provide access there. Another reason was, of course, to facilitate the implementation of the International Rubber Regulation Agreement. A third motive was to open up more land for Chinese agriculturalists and promote colonisation along the roads. Funding was of course, a key determinant to the success of this policy and Vyner Brooke's reluctance to expend funds in this direction meant that no blueprint for road development materialised. As a matter of fact the only road that resulted from this policy was the Kuching to Serian road, which by 1940 totalled forty miles.¹⁸

Thus where road construction was concerned, the Brooke record was dismal, as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1
Road Mileage in Sarawak 1939

	Divisions					Total
	*1	2	3	4	5	
Unimproved earth and non-surfaced	-	34	**	62 1/3	-	136.5
Improved earth, sand, clay or gravel	-	39.5	**	66 1/4	22	176 1/4
Waterbound macadam	-	-	-	-	-	46
Not specified	-	30	-	-	-	32 3/4
Bridle paths	-	32 3/4	36	44.5	40.5	217.5
Macadam surface and penetration	-	-	-	38	-	68
Concrete surface	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total miles	-	136 1/4	92	211 1/12	62.5	678

Notes: *No information available

**Total of 56 miles in these two categories

In the Kuching Municipal Area (First Division) there were 29.22 miles of road, of which 15.9 miles were surfaced. Outside Kuching there were 84.5 miles of road of which 13 miles were surfaced.

Source: Public Works Department, Sarawak, Annual Report 1939, Census of Road Mileage, p. 1.

As noted previously, most of these roads were in the immediate vicinity of the larger towns. The main exceptions were the Miri to Lutong road built by Sarawak Oilfields (to connect its petroleum operations at Miri with its refinery at Lutong) and the Kuching to Serian road. Writing about the latter road in 1951, an observer commented that the journey between Kuching and Serian took less than 90 minutes by road while a similar journey by water took 8 hours by launch to Simunjan (on the Sadong River) and thence 4 hours by outboard to Serian

(making a total of 12 hours travelling time). Additionally road travel could be undertaken at any time while water travel was dependent on the vagaries of the weather.¹⁹

The introduction of roads led to changes in the modes of transport. Bullock carts were introduced in the mid-nineteenth century and together with porters and handcarts served as the main modes of transport. The rickshaw was introduced in the last decade of the nineteenth century and became very popular in the towns. Rickshaw stands were set up at various points and in 1896, legislation was introduced to regulate rickshaw traffic. In the early twentieth century bicycles appeared on the scene and in 1912 the first public motor service for the conveyance of goods and passengers between Kuching and the Seventh Mile Rock Road was started. Private taxis also made their appearance in the twentieth century.²⁰ Nonetheless, boats remained the main mode of transport in a country where waterways were the principal means of communication.

The only railroad in the country was built during Charles Brooke's time to open up the hinterland near Kuching. Although by 1917, a survey had been completed to the twenty-seventh milestone, the Sarawak government railway only ever ran as far as the tenth mile. Track-laying commenced in 1911 and the railway was opened officially to traffic during 1915. Mainly Indian and Chinese labour was employed on the construction of the line and the fare charged was two cents to the mile. The building of a road parallel to the railway sounded its death knell. Furthermore, the railway had relied on coal from the Sadong colliery (one of the two coal mines in Sarawak) and the closure of this colliery in 1931 also affected its future. The line was officially closed to regular traffic in January 1931 and total losses on the railroad totalled \$1,063,760. Subsequently, it was used to transport stone from the quarries at the seventh mile to Kuching.²¹

In summary therefore, after a hundred years of Brooke rule, inland waterways still retained much of their significance as the traditional highways of Sarawak and the main areas of development and population concentration remained closely linked to the coast and the major rivers. Coastal trade and communication depended upon small vessels plying regularly between Kuching and the main coastal and river ports. Most of these local coasters acted as feeders to ocean-going vessels calling at Kuching and Sibiu. Thus a pattern of internal water transport had developed which involved expensive transshipment and extra handling of cargo, often more than once, before the destination was reached. Furthermore, the coastal vessels were generally of a local design "which [did] not lend itself to economical running or fast cargo handling".²²

Compared to the British in Malaya or the British North Borneo Chartered Company in Sabah, the Brooke Administration did not see its role as a provider

of land transport links in order to attract capital to the territory.²³ It is not surprising therefore that the type of capitalist enterprises that dominated the economy were monopoly concerns. Apart from the Borneo Company (which monopolised mineral exploitation, long distance trade, estate rubber production, shipping, insurance and the bulk of timber production) and Sarawak Oilfields (which monopolised petroleum exploitation and had a share of the timber trade), there were other smaller firms which monopolised *jelutong*, *cutch* and *gutta percha*. Thus transport (or rather the lack of it), fostered the growth of a particular type of enterprise in Sarawak - the monopoly concern. Although the conventional view is that the Brookes were wary of foreign capital, records indicate that in fact the Brooke Administration offered incentives such as free passages for labour and had liberal land and taxation arrangements.²⁴ Despite these inducements, there were few takers and this in part accounts for the dominance of smallholder cultivation of rubber in Sarawak.

Economic development under the Brookes also served to reinforce a pre-existing pattern of specialisation in primary products, as shown in Table 2 below, and this development was confined mainly to the west coast.

The impact of poor land and sea communications was disproportionately felt in Sarawak by the lower classes. Because of the actual time-lapse caused, there was an increase in the number of times goods and services had to be handled between producer and consumer, each single step being paid for at a comparatively high rate. Additionally, the actual number of people engaged in the provision of these services comprised a disproportionately high percentage of the "labour factor". The overheads resulting from poor communications were thus enormous, especially for the rural population. Finally, the facilities that were provided served the export industries and stimulated the growth of export commodities. Transport links which served to integrate the domestic/native economy were generally assigned a lower order of priority or simply ignored.

Transport in Sarawak during the Colonial Period

When Sarawak became a Crown Colony in 1946, this lack of an adequate land transport system acted as a major brake on the social and economic progress of the territory. Accordingly, the colonial government commissioned a social and economic survey of the territory to ascertain the needs of the country prior to applying for assistance under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act.²⁵ One of the major recommendations proposed was an improvement in communications in the country to open up new territory for agricultural purposes, and to enable peasants to transport their surplus produce at reasonable cost to ports and centres

of consumption. This was tied in with the general development of the country which hinged on an increase in mineral, agricultural and timber production, a redistribution of population away from crowded areas and a reduction in the costs of providing and maintaining administrative and social services.²⁶

Road development and improvement was therefore a basic feature of all development planning between 1947 (when postwar development planning began) and 1963 (when Sarawak joined Malaysia). The colonial period is therefore characterised by planned development and essentially, a foundation for transport development was laid which formed the basis for subsequent road and air links in the country.

The keynote of colonial rule was to bring about economic change through the exploitation of the natural resources of the country. This was to be achieved through various development schemes and three Development Plans were implemented to carry out accelerated development in the state. The first, largely financed from Colonial Development and Welfare funds, was designed to cover the period 1947/48 - 1955/56, and was revised to take account of increased costs and resources and to meet the implications of the Colombo Plan. In the revised plan, M\$12.9 million was allocated to transport and communications.²⁷ This plan was subsequently reviewed and a more comprehensive and better documented plan was drawn up for the 1955-60 period. In this plan, of a total expenditure of M\$99,400,000, M\$54,200,000 or fifty-four percent was allocated to transport and communications.²⁸

Four areas were designated as priority areas: export diversification, increased rice production, improvement in transport and communications and the provision of social services, including medical and educational facilities. Of these, transport and communications received the greatest funding. Unlike the Brooke administration, the Colonial Government was anxious to attract capital to the territory and saw the provision of transport facilities as a major inducement to this end. Additionally, Sarawak's development was to be financed both from the allocation of colonial development and welfare funds and through exploitation of its natural resources by the private sector. A Natural Resources Board, comprising the key departments of Agriculture, Forestry, Geology and Land, was established in 1949, to investigate and promote Sarawak's natural resources. Apart from minerals, the forest was looked upon as the principal economic asset of the country.

Table 2
Sarawak Exports: 1879 and 1940

Main Exports	Value (in Straits dollars)	
	1879	1940
Betelnuts		
Beeswax	13,931	
Birdsnets edible	40,498	
Canes	599	
Copra		
Cutch		
Damar	1,832	
Fish, dried and salted	16,054	
Gutta Jangkar		1,141
Gutta Jelutong, raw		716
Gutta Jelutong, refined		19,209
Gutta Jelutong, pressed		18
Gutta Percha	826,903	70,629
Nipah sugar		474,778
Oil - Vegetable		88,680
Oil-Crude Petroleum		79,551
Oil - Refined Petroleum		113,476
Pepper	1,681	54,086
Prawns, dried		700,340
Rattans	151	20,783
Rubber, Plantation		32,342
Sago	144,950	16
Timber	153	473
Treasure	236,395	-
Tabacco, India Rubber,	48,924	11,472,193
Vegetable Tallow,		362,569
Gambier, Camphor,		669
Indigo, Coconuts and Oil,		12,237
Mangrove Bark		26,167,140
Antimony ore, Quicksilver,	99,489	2,184,997
Cinnabar,		89,840
Gold Diamonds,		
Pearls		
Opium, Salt, Cloth,	62,681	
Sugar, Crockeryware,		
Iron, Brassware, Rice		
and Paddy, Bezoar		
stones, Sundries		
Total Value of all Exports	\$1,494,241	\$45,770,407

Source: Sarawak Annual Report 1951, p. 5.

Transport policy took into account overall coordination of road, inland water, coastal and air transport. Rivers were to remain important highways, especially the Rejang River in central Sarawak; a trunk road was to be built to run parallel to the coast; and internal air services were to be introduced to provide a link between isolated communities of the mountainous interior of northern Sarawak and the outside world.

Where water transport was concerned, measures were taken to improve rivers by removing obstructions, blasting rocks in the more dangerous rapids, clearing channels through the bars at river mouths and checking erosion on the banks of certain rivers. Port facilities were also upgraded. In 1955, Tanjung Mani was opened as a lighterage port and new facilities were completed at Sibu to enable two ships on the Singapore-Sibu and Hongkong-Sibu routes to be introduced simultaneously.²⁹ The Rejang River became the centre of the timber trade and fostered the growth of Tanjung Mani, Sarikei, Binatang and Sibu during the colonial period.

In the area of land transport, until the 1950s, efforts were directed towards reconstruction of existing roads. Subsequently, a Road Construction Programme was implemented to run from 1958-1963. The programme provided for the construction of a total of 504 miles of roads. These included the construction of an 81-mile trunk road from Serian to Simanggang (which was completed in 1962); 232 miles of secondary and 190 miles of feeder roads. The principal objective was to provide a main line of road communication between Sematan in the First Division with Durin on the Rejang River. The road passed through the most densely settled rural areas and permitted their development through the construction of subsidiary networks. It also enabled the opening up of new land for agricultural development and the exploitation of nearby mineral resources. Lastly it had the effect of reducing travelling-time and making marketing of produce easier.³⁰ The completion of this programme resulted in a few changes in Sarawak. Among these were changes in the pattern of distribution of population and the location of towns, villages and communities. The road network was complementary to the river systems and provided the basis for subsequent economic change in the country.

Road construction costs were prohibitive and on average, the 438 miles of road completed under the Programme cost M\$123,000 per mile and the average cost per mile for the Serian-Simanggang trunk road was \$228,000.³¹ Plans to connect Kuching to Miri were shelved because it was estimated that about \$200 million was required to meet the capital cost of linking Kuching and Miri with a trunk road.³² The building of trunk roads was a particularly costly undertaking, not only because of the difficult terrain but also the sharp constraints in the pattern

of population distribution and the low average density of population meant that roads had to pass for long stretches through uninhabited country.

The third area of transport was civil aviation - airfields were built at Kuching in 1950, Sibuluan in 1952 and by 1961, 22 airfields of varying sizes and standards were in use in Sarawak. The extension of these internal air services resulted in the integration of the remote communities in Sarawak's mountainous interior with Kuching. Air services also had important economic effects on these remote communities. For example, when the service to Long Akah was extended to Bario in 1961, it enabled the formation of a co-operative society among the Kelabits to handle and distribute freight and this formerly isolated community was able to import consumer goods and export its products by air.³³

Colonial rule resulted in major changes in Sarawak. Where transport was concerned, the long term geographical effect of road transport was the reorientation of internal transport lines, for in general the new roads ran transverse to the old river routeways. The rapid growth of the road network also produced a transport revolution in Sarawak. Prior to the completion of the Kuching-Simanggang road, there had been no main arteries connecting the major centres of population and consequently there had been no necessity for local transport services outside of the main towns. With the completion of this road and the Serian to Simanggang trunk road, motor transport services for passengers and freight grew rapidly.³⁴ Consequently, road transport brought greater personal mobility and a greater degree of national cohesion. It also facilitated the movement of goods and the provision of social services among the people of Sarawak.

Transport policy also facilitated and strengthened the previous pattern of an export-oriented economy and the trade and commerce of Sarawak still centred on the collection of primary products for export and the local distribution of imported consumer and capital goods. By 1963, over four-fifths of Sarawak's total export earnings, including re-exports of petroleum, came from timber, rubber and pepper. This trend in the direction of a narrowly-based economy is reflected in Table 3 below and the important position of timber in the Sarawak economy is shown in Table 4 below.

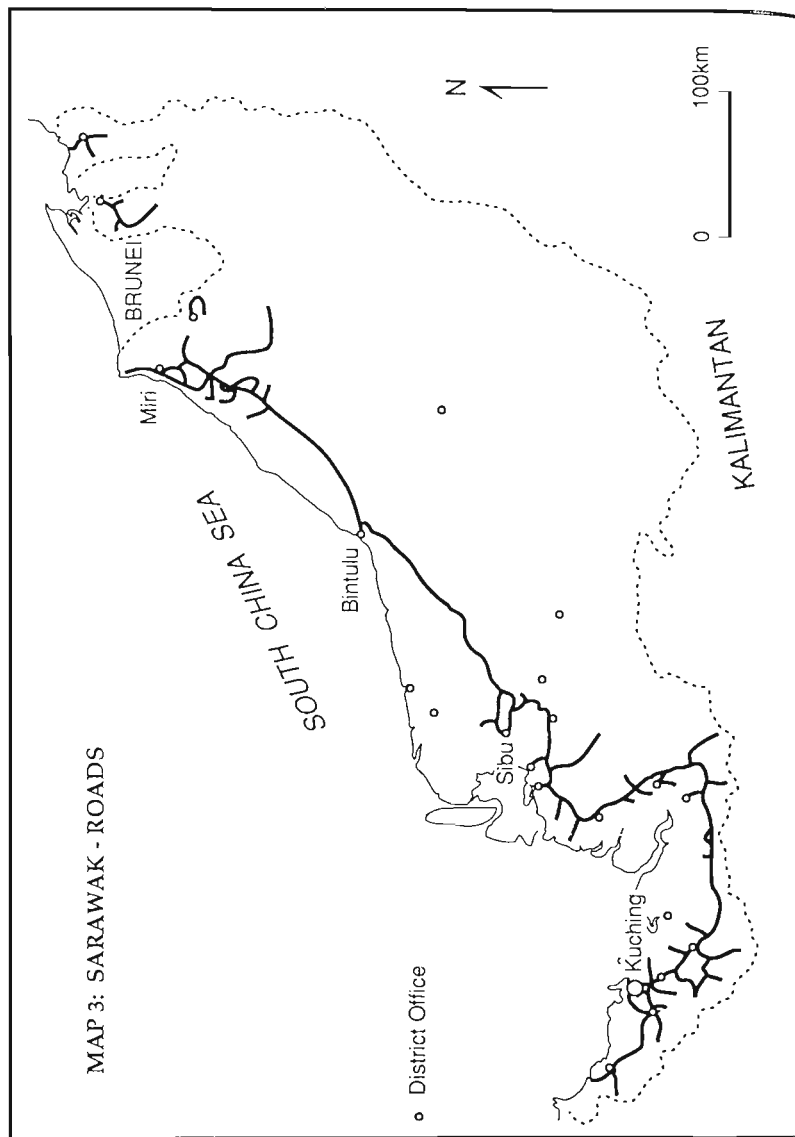
The increased importance of timber in the economy also resulted in the commencement of direct shipping services to and from ports other than Singapore and Bangkok, which were traditionally Sarawak's main sources of imported goods and rice respectively. In 1954, direct services were started with Hong Kong, followed by services to East Australian ports and North Borneo (1958), main Australian ports and Malayan ports (1961) and direct services to the United Kingdom, continental ports and Japan in 1962.³⁵ These direct services were a

consequence of specialist commodity exports to these countries and meant a reduction in transshipment and handling costs. Finally, they led to the greater integration of Sarawak into the international economy. Thus the colonial government, by implementing planned development programmes, completed the process of Sarawak's integration into the regional and international economic systems.

Transport 1964-1983

The third phase of transport development was one of completion of previous projects (see Map 3). Again, there was considerable public investment in road development and the Malaysian government also emphasised the overall coordination of road, inland water, coastal and air transport. Funds allocated to road development varied from 38 per cent (1964-68) to 27.9 per cent (1981-1983)³⁶ by which time the major links had been completed. The main achievement of the national government was the completion of a trunk road from Sematan at the southern tip of Sarawak to Miri in the north and beyond to the Brunei border in 1983. Thus for the first time, it was possible to drive overland from one corner of the state to the other. Therefore the Malaysian government completed what the British had started in the provision of through land communication among the various divisions.

Overall, Sarawak's economy has not undergone radical changes since independence in 1963. The primary sector is still the mainstay of the economy with agriculture, forestry and mining the leading contributors to Gross Domestic Product. In agriculture, the principal crops cultivated are rubber, pepper, coconut, oil palm and cocoa. The last two became important in the 1970s. The demand for Sarawak's tropical hardwoods led to forestry attaining a leading role in 1979. Mining has become a dynamic sector with the discovery of offshore petroleum in 1968 and gas fields in the early 1970s in the Bintulu area (Baram Delta). Thus growth has been based on few export commodities, principally with regard to which political factions control access to logging concessions rather than in terms of conflicting resource-use priorities. Consequently, despite rapid strides in transport development, the pattern of trade did not change, nor did the orientation of the economy. Administrations were changed but policies remained rooted in the past.



NOTES

1. For a detailed account of these considerations see John Ingleson, *Expanding the Empire: James Brooke and the Sarawak Lobby, 1839-1868*, Research Paper No. 2 (University of Western Australia: Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies, 1979), Ch. 1.
2. The term 'Dayak' is used to identify the original inhabitants of Borneo. It seems from the Kenyah word *daya* which means 'upriver' or 'interior'. Broadly, the Dayak peoples of Sarawak include the Bidayuh (Land Dayak), Iban (Sea Dayak), Kenyah, Kayan, Kedayan, Murut, Penan, Bisayah, Kelabit and other groups. The Dayak peoples are largely shifting cultivators of hill padi, they live in longhouses usually along the rivers and tributaries in the interior and they observe native customary law or *adat*. The indigenous peoples of Sarawak can therefore be classified into two groups: those who live on the coastal areas - the Malay and the Melanau, and the interior peoples or Dayak.
3. There is a wide range of books and unpublished works that deal with the Brookes. Among them are S. Baring-Gould and C. A. Bampfylde, *A History of Sarawak Under Its Two White Rajahs, 1839-1908* (London: Sotheran, 1909; reprinted Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1989); S. Runciman, *The White Rajahs: A History of Sarawak from 1841 to 1946* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960); R. Payne, *The White Rajahs of Sarawak* (London: Robert Hale, 1960; reprinted Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1987) and N. Tarling, *Britain, the Brookes and Brunei* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1971).
4. Early Brooke Administration was characterised by wars to put down 'rebellions' in the interior. This practice of quelling Iban unrest with punitive expeditions, manned by down-river Iban warriors (which was continued as late as 1935) stimulated and prolonged inter-Iban warfare, headhunting and the related migration syndrome. See Robert Pringle, *Rajahs and Rebels* (London: Macmillan, 1970).
5. The term 'Division' has been used infrequently with the practice in the written sources. In 1973, two additional Divisions were created out of the Third Division - the Sixth Division to cover the Sarikei area, and the Seventh Division to include the Kapit district. All the Divisions were again renamed in 1987 as the Kuching, Samarahan, Sri Aman, Sarikei, Sibul, Kapit, Bintulu, Miri and Limbang Divisions.

6. C. A. Fisher, *South-East Asia: A Social, Economic and Political Geography* (London: Methuen and Co., 1964), pp. 622-23. For detailed descriptions of the rivers, see *ISI Report on North Borneo (Sarawak, Brunei, Labuan, British North Borneo)* (Great Britain: Interservice Topographical Department, December 1944). [Arkib Sabah]
7. See Amarjit Kaur, "The Babbling Brookes: Economic Change in Sarawak 1841-1941", *Modern Asian Studies* (in press).
8. See, for example, Lucas Chin, "Archaeological Work in Sarawak," *Sarawak Museum Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 44 (1975): 1-7; Tom Harrison, "Gold and Hindu Influences in West Borneo", *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (1944): 33-110.
9. See, for example, William Hornaday, *Two Years in the Jungle* (London: K. Paul, Trench, 1885), pp. 342-43; R. Mundy, *Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes, Down to the Occupation of Labuan: From the Journals of James Brookes, Esq.*, Vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1848), pp. 263-64; Hugh Low, *Sarawak: Its Inhabitants and Productions: Being Notes During a Residence in that Country with H. H. The Rajah Brooke* (London: Bentley, 1848; reprinted Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 135-36).
10. See, for example, Daniel Chew, *Chinese Pioneers on the Sarawak Frontier 1841-1941* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1990), Chs. 4-6; Hedda Morrison, "Jungle Journeys in Sarawak", *National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. CIX, 5 (1956): 719-21; A. B. War, *Rajah's Servant*, Cornell University Southeast Asia Program Data Paper No. 62 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966), p. 27.
11. See Eda Green, *Borneo: The Land of River and Palm* (London: Borneo Mission Association, 1911), pp. 50-51; Reverend A. Honsburgh, *Sketches in Borneo* (London: Anstruther, L. Russel, 1858), pp. 36-37; Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak* (London: Tinsley, 1866), pp. 243-44.
12. *Sarawak gazette*, 1 April 1932.
13. *Annual Report Sarawak 1951*, p. 5.
14. For a history of the Straits Steamship Company Limited, see K. G. Tregonning, *Hone Port Singapore: A History of the Straits Steamship Company Limited* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1967).

15. See, for example, *Department of Trade and Customs, Sarawak, Annual Report, 1926*, p. 3.
16. See K. Tregonning, "A History of the Straits Steamship Company - Sarawak", *Sarawak Gazette*, 28 February 1965; K. Tregonning, *A History of the Straits Steamship Company*, pp. 122-35; see also *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 February 1897, 1 September 1899.
17. *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 February 1898, 1 May 1902.
18. See *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 July 1922, 12 April 1951; *Sarawak Administration Report, 1935*, p. 30; see also E. H. Digby, *Lawyer in the Wilderness*, Data paper no. 114 Southeast Asia Program (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1980), p. 13.
19. *Sarawak Gazette*, 12 April 1951.
20. *Sarawak Gazette*, 16 April 1912.
21. See A. Moy Thomas, "The Sarawak Government Railway", *Sarawak Gazette*, 31 October 1959 and letter to the Editor dated 14 October 1960 in *Sarawak Gazette*, 31 October 1960; see also *Sarawak Gazette*, 17 May 1915.
22. *Sarawak Annual Report 1960*, p. 154.
23. See for example, Amarjit Kaur, *Bridge and Barrier: Transport and Communications in Colonial Malaya 1874-1957* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988) and Amarjit Kaur, *Hantu and Highway: Transport in Sabah*", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 1993.
24. See Amarjit Kaur, "The Babbling Brookes: Economic Change in Sarawak".
25. For details of this survey see McFadzean's "Report on Sarawak: Details of Economy Welfare, and Development", encl. in C.O. 938/1/6, File #167817, dated 15/11/1946.
26. See Memorandum on Communications in Sarawak, encl. in C.O. 938/6/6, File #58534/8/1951.
27. The allocations were as follows:
M\$6,000,000 on agriculture
M\$12,900,000 on transport and communications

M\$1,700,000 on fuel and power

M\$18,000,000 on social services

Sarawak - the Political and Economic Background (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, 1955), p. 19.

28. Fourteen percent was allocated to agriculture, forestry, fuel and power and geological survey and 25 percent to social services, including education, health and housing schemes, *Ibid.*
29. *Sarawak - the Political and Economic Background*, p. 20.
30. *Sarawak Annual Report 1962*, pp. 251-54; *Sarawak Gazette*, 31 May 1962, 31 October 1962.
31. *Sarawak Development Plan 1964-68* (Kuching: Government Printer, 1963).
32. Sarawak Information Bureau, *Information on Sarawak* (Kuching: Borneo Literature Bureau, 1960, p. 64.
33. *Sarawak Annual Report 1961*, p. 148.
34. A large fleet of small ten-seater buses providing public passenger services (known as mosquito buses expanded rapidly between 1946-52 and in the Kuching area alone increased from 57 to 257 during this period. *Sarawak Annual Report, 1962*, p. 254.
35. *Sarawak Annual Report, 1962*, pp. 249-50. In 1948, 17 vessels called at Tanjung Mani alone to load timber. By 1962, the number had risen to 334 vessels. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
36. *Sarawak 20 Tahun 1963-1983/Sarawak Report* (Kuching: Government Printer, 1984), p. 45.

A NATURALISTIC INQUIRY INTO PARTICIPATION OF THE
IBAN PEASANTS IN THE LAND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT IN THE
KALAKA AND SARIBAS DISTRICTS, SARAWAK, MALAYSIA

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INTRODUCTION

Participation is now regarded by development practitioners as the most widely accepted strategy and a key element in the design and implementation of rural development programs. The old dominant development paradigm that emphasized economic growth and industrialization, centralized planning, and control over the distribution of resources has often treated the rural population as mere objects in furthering the process of development. That paradigm was widely accepted during the early period of Malaysia's (then Malaya) independence, as reflected in the strong emphasis the government of the time placed on economic development and in the use of GNP per capita to measure success. Eventually the government realized that development in this form did not greatly improve quality of life of people in the rural areas. It modified its definition of development under the First Malaysia Plan (successor of Malaya Plan) covering the period 1966 to 1970 to include all the important dimensions of the concept -- economic, political, and social. One element that was considered particularly important for the success was the involvement of the people. By making this change, the government signified a transition from the traditional intervention approach to a more collaborative approach. Development was regarded as a reflection of the effort of the people to work for the betterment of their standard of living in consonance with their own expectations. Involving the people in making the decisions that affect their lives would enable them to express their views and make suggestions and requests that could be integrated into the development programs. Furthermore, it is hoped that their involvement will enhance their commitment to carry out the programs they have identified. Development practitioners in Malaysia are beginning to appreciate and accept participation as a means for widening and redistributing opportunities to enable the rural people to take part in decision making that affects their lives. Rural populations who are beneficiaries of rural development programs are no longer regarded as traditional, even primitive, or, in a paternalistic way need to be educated out of their ignorance.

In Sarawak, despite the importance placed upon participation as a requisite for development programs to succeed, however, many organizations find that there is poor participation of the clients in their programs. The findings of a study by Songan, Sanggin, Shah, and Wok (1985) revealed that only about 25 percent of the peasants in the extension villages of the University of Agriculture, Malaysia, Branch Campus in Sarawak participated in the planning and implementation of the extension programs intended to improve their living conditions. Sagan (1987) reported that the Agricultural Model Village Program of the Department of Agriculture in one village in Sarawak was not successful because the farmers did not participate. The government's concern and dissatisfaction with the intensity and quality of people's participation has been noted. The Sarawak minister of land development in his interview with *Jernal Azam* (1987) mentioned that the landowners who owned native customary land have resisted land development efforts in the state. Lang (1987), the general manager of Sarawak Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority (SALCRA), admitted that the agency had encountered resistance and poor participation from its intended beneficiaries in its land development project in Lubok Antu. The Chief Minister of Sarawak commented in *Jernal Azam* (1991) that there had been persistent land development problems in the Kalaka and Saribas districts. He suggested that a scientific investigation should be undertaken to find out why the people were unwilling to participate in land development programs in these districts. Dandot (1991), the former project director of the Kalaka-Saribas Integrated Agriculture Development Project (IADP), mentioned that there was a delay in implementation of the project as a result of the peasant's poor response and lack of participation. Why has participation not been fully achieved in these cases? Why are some people participating and some not? What are the incentives and obstacles to participation?

This study focuses primarily on the perceptions about participation of the Iban peasants in the land development project of the Sarawak Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority (SALCRA) in the Kalaka and Saribas districts, located in the Sri Aman Division, Sarawak. Specifically it determines the deterrents to their participation, motivations for participation, how some of them have overcome these deterrents and have decided to participate, and their overall opinions about the land development project.

Background of the Land Development Project

The government of Sarawak, in its vigorous and dynamic effort to promote development in the rural areas established SALCRA in 1976. Its primary objective is to develop land *in situ*, particularly Native Customary Land on behalf

of poor rural peasants, especially shifting cultivators, rather than undertaking massive land resettlement schemes. SALCRA, as one of the major implementing agencies of the Kalaka-Saribas IADP, is given the task to develop *in situ* idle and fragmented Native Customary Land in the Kalaka and Saribas districts with oil palm and cocoa. Essentially, this means the consolidation of pieces of Native Customary Land that are owned individually by the peasants into large economic farm units that will be developed and managed commercially. The authority hopes that the permanent cultivation of cash crops and a sedentary form of agriculture will improve the socioeconomic lives of the peasants. Under the arrangement, peasants who would like to participate in the land development project would entrust their land to SALCRA for twenty-five years, the time needed for the oil palm trees to mature and reap profits. SALCRA will develop the land on behalf of the peasants who wish to participate in the land development arrangement. The peasants who decide to participate need not entrust all their lands and can retain some of its for other purposes. Although the lands are entrusted to SALCRA for twenty-five years, the peasants still own their lands. During that period, SALCRA hopes to recover all the costs of development, in part selling fresh fruits bunches of the oil palm. Apart from earning wages as manual workers in the oils palm schemes, the peasants can benefit from the payment of dividends from the sale of fresh fruit bunches. Their dividends depend on the amount of their shares, which according to the agreement is one hectare per share. Other benefits for the peasants are the roads built and a survey of their land and issuance of titles. Presently, SALCRA has opened up five land development schemes in the Kalaka and Saribas districts. These are Roban North Oil Palm Scheme, Roban South Oil Palm Scheme, Saratok Oil Palm Scheme, Rimbas Oil Palm Scheme and Kabong-Nyabor Drainage Scheme.

Design of the Study

This study incorporates a naturalistic inquiry that uses open-ended interviews with selected respondents or key informants to gather data about their perceptions of participation in the SALCRA's land development project of the Kalaka-Saribas IADP. The naturalistic approach was employed based on the argument that the reality of the social and institutional situations and the behavior and perception of individuals can best be understood through a qualitative or naturalistic approach (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). A naturalistic inquiry enables the researcher to make an in-depth exploration of the reality of the perceptions and meanings attached to participation of peasants in the land development project.

Population and Sample. The sample of respondents for the study was purposively selected from the population of Iban peasants residing in the area designated under the Kalaka-Saribas IADP. Peasants were grouped under three categories: those who had participated since the inception of the project, those who had recently begun to participate, and those who had never participated. They were first identified with the help of two community development assistants (CDAs) of the SALCRA land development project within the Kalaka-Saribas IADP. These CDAs are employed by SALCRA as a liaison between the management and the peasants on any matters pertaining to the project. They come from the project area, work closely with the peasants there, and are very familiar with the peasants. They know the locations of the longhouses from which the peasants come and which ones have participated from the start, begun to participate later, and have not participated. These CDAs assisted the researcher in identifying and locating the respondents, informing them about the nature and purpose of the research, and introducing the researcher and his assistants to them. Thirty peasants and four officers of the project were selected as respondents for this component of the study. The officers were interviewed to gather data about the initiation of the project, the peasants' response to the project, structural constraints, and other relevant information. Patton (1990) indicated that there are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry. Valuable information can be obtained in an in-depth interview even from a small number of people, especially if the cases are diverse and rich in information

Instrumentation. The data were collected using open-ended interviews because respondents could respond in their own language. The central technique in open-ended interviews is probing because it gives the respondent encouragement and time to think about answers to questions. Probing also allows the interviewer to vary the questions to uncover the respondent's definition of relevance. Open-ended interviews often produce vignettes of considerable richness and quotable materials that will enliven the research report.

Data Collection. Four interviewers were employed and trained. They were chosen based on their ability to speak the language of the respondents, familiarity with the local conditions, customs and traditions, interpersonal communication skills, and past experiences. They were of the same race as the respondents. Two of them were recent graduates with Diplomas of Agriculture from the University of Agriculture, Malaysia, while the other two were graduates of upper secondary school. Two of the interviewers who were graduates with Diplomas of Agriculture had had previous experience in assisting their lecturers in conducting field studies. Before they were sent out to interview the respondents, a training session was conducted on the techniques of establishing rapport with the respondents, asking questions politely, probing, and exploring in depth on certain

issues related to the subject being studied. Tape recorders were supplied to the interviewers. Use of tape recorders can increase the accuracy of data collection and also permit the interviewers to be more attentive to the respondents (Patton, 1990). The interviewers were asked to explain to the respondents that tape recorders were being used so that they would catch everything the respondents said, and if at any time during the interview the respondents did not want their opinions to be recorded, they could ask the interviewers to turn off the tape recorders. The interviews were scheduled at the convenience of the respondents. The respondents were first notified of the date and time the interviewers would come with the help of the community development assistants. The nature and purpose of the interviews were also explained by the community development assistants so that respondents were prepared, and to remove their fear and suspicion of strangers. Most of the interviews were held in the evening in the longhouses, and some were held in the daytime in the schemes. The interviewers were divided into two groups of two persons each so that they could assist each other in asking varied questions and probing. Eleven interview sessions were held during a period of approximately two weeks. Each interview session lasted approximately one hour. Nine of these interviews were conducted in a group and two were conducted individually. Nineteen of the 30 peasants who were interviewed had participated from the beginning of the project, six had just begun to participate, and five had never participated. The peasants in the sample came from eleven longhouses in the project area.

The officers were interviewed by the researcher. The project director and one community development assistant were interviewed in their offices; the scheme manager and the other community development assistant were interviewed in their homes.

Data Analysis. The data obtained from the interviews were analyzed by an inductive content method to identify the categories that emerged. A series of tactics for content analysis recommended by Miles and Huberman (1984) was used to analyze the interview data. The interview transcripts on twelve 60-minute cassette tapes were listened to and initial impressions and themes recorded in a log to provide an informed item pool that was context-related and was expressed in the daily language of the respondents. The process was repeated with all the interviews examined together as a data set. The data were coded according to broad categories to provide a meaningful classification. The interviews provided some broadly defined preestablished categories and also additional unanticipated categories from emergent themes. Because there were too many categories, they were reduced through a process of sorting and grouping. The common theme clusters that emerged from the sorted and reduced data formed the basis of the findings and discussions. The trustworthiness of the

data was determined by cross-checking them with the information obtained from the officers in charge of the project such as the project director, scheme managers, and CDAs.

Findings and Discussions

The findings and discussions are based on common theme clusters that emerged from the inductive content analysis of the data. Five major theme clusters were selected from the analysis of the interviews data. These theme clusters were (1) perceived deterrents that discouraged the peasants from participating in the land development project, (2) perceptions of what deterred the other peasants from participating in the land development project, (3) perceived reasons for participating in the land development project, (4) perceived reasons for overcoming the deterrents to participation, and (5) perceptions of the peasants about the land development project.

The findings and discussions, mostly in the form of a narrative, will be followed and supported by transcriptions from the interviews with the respondents. These interviews were originally conducted in the Iban language and were carefully transcribed and translated into English in the respondents' own words as closely as possible.

Deterrents to Participation. For some of the respondents, dispositional constraints were among some of the major deterrents to participation. The greatest dispositional deterrents were their skepticism and worries about the success of the project. They did not trust what government officials told them because they were worried that the project would not succeed. They had seen similar projects implemented by the government in the past fail. A glaring example of such a failure was the first land development project of Sarawak Development Finance Corporation (SDFC), which was later taken over by Sarawak Land Development Board (SLDB), called the Rubber Planting Scheme B, implemented in 1964 in the same division where the Kalaka-Saribas IADP was currently being implemented.

There are officials from SALCRA, like its general manager, Mr. Denys Lang, who come to our place to explain the concept of the project and its benefits to us. But even then, we are still very skeptical. Even though the explanation is very clear, we, especially the elders are still very worried. We are not very sure whether the project will work the way that it is explained to us. Throughout our lives, we have seen many cases where there are failures in other projects that have been

implemented by the government, although the people who carry them out are educated. That is why people like us do not want to participate yet, because it takes time for us to make our decisions.

Some of the respondents were worried that through the project the government would take away their right to their land. The Ibans place great spiritual and social value on their land. They believe that when they die they and the ghosts and memories of their departed ancestors reside on their land (Hong, 1987). Also, land is a source of livelihood that provides food and other needed materials and serves as a security against future risk. Most of the land the peasants owned was classified as Native Customary Lands and had no official title. These lands were mostly acquired through the felling of virgin jungle for farming activities and were generally in the form of shifting cultivation. The Land Code of the State of Sarawak states that such lands will continue to belong to the state and any native lawfully occupying the land holds it by license from the state until such a time when titles are issued (Foo 1987). Therefore, the peasants did not have any official and recognized right to these lands. They thought that the government was using the schemes as a pretense to take their lands away from them.

We are still not clear about the purpose and intentions of the project ... we are worried that the government will take away our land ... Some of us think that the project will not succeed ... and we are still very skeptical.

The fear of being denied access to their lands and the right to develop them as they like prevented some of the peasants from participating. Under the agreement of the project, the peasants would entrust their land to SALCRA for 25 years, the period needed for oil palm to mature, produce, and yield profit. The peasants were afraid that if they surrendered their lands to be developed under the project, the lands would be tied up for too long and they would not have land to develop themselves and for their coming generations. They were afraid that they would not have any land at all or would be left with a limited land base that would restrict them from pursuing farming and other economic activities.

If we surrender our land to be developed under the project, it will be tied up for so long with the project, that is, for 25 years. We will not have land to cultivate ourselves and for our coming generation during this period. We even will not have a place anymore to obtain materials to repair our longhouse and for us to collect firewood to cook our food.

A feeling of doubt that the project would be successful because there would not be enough human power and facilities to sustain it was also mentioned by some of the respondents who were not participating in the project. They felt that a mammoth project such as the SALCRA land development schemes should be managed and administered by a large enough number of well-trained personnel and have well-equipped facilities.

There is not enough manpower and equipment to keep the project going. We are doubtful that the project will succeed. Look at those personnel of this project ... very few of them have experience in managing a large project like this ... Sometimes we heard that those people working in the schemes complained that they had to wake up very early in the morning and they waited for hours for the truck to come and pick them up. There were also cases when the truck did not turn up at all and they had to walk for long distances to their work sites in the schemes.

Another dispositional constraint was the failure fully to understand the concept and objectives of the project. Because these were not clearly explained to them, they did not trust the project and questioned the government's motives in bringing it to their area.

We are not sure of the real concept and objectives of the project. There were officers who came to talk to us about the project, but they only told us that the project would bring development to this area, bring employment and that our land would be developed. But we do not know the real motive of the project. Suppose if the project fails, what will happen next to our land.

Some respondents did not want to participate in the project because they took a "wait and see" attitude. They wanted to see how it worked out before making a decision. Also, they were influenced by their leaders who were skeptical about the success of the project and were not participating in it.

Now, we just want to see what is going on first ... whether there are real benefits to be obtained from the project. ... The head of our longhouse was brought on a tour to Kuala Lumpur last time, but as of now he has not made up his mind to participate in the project. He still wants to observe what is going on and also would like to ask the opinions of his children first [some were educated]. He still wants to discuss it with his children who are not here because they are working somewhere else.

We all agree to think first about the development project carefully, because this form of development is new to us. We will agree to participate in the project only if it is good for us. Some of us participated right from the beginning, but there were some of us who participated as the project progressed. We human beings are different.

A similar response was given by one respondent who was not participating in the project. A group of people in the longhouse were not participating because they were following their leader. This respondent seemed to imply that nonparticipation was an act of resistance. The benefits to be achieved from the project were clear (he mentioned that some of the women in the longhouse were employed in the schemes). Their failure to participate appeared to support the reproduction and resistance theory of Quigley (1990) which postulates that a person intentionally resists participation in educational activities on the grounds of his or her ideology and after having critiqued and rejected the dominant culture. The land development project may be a form of an activity of a dominant culture to them.

Our longhouse head is not here to talk about the project with you. We could not simply talk without him. We normally follow what he says. If he says that we should participate in the project, then we will follow what he says. We are like one family, if he says, for example that we should be in the opposition party, we will follow him. Although we are not participating in the project now, many of the ladies from this longhouse work in the SALCRA schemes.

Some of the peasants did not want to participate in the project because they were comfortable with what they already had and were happy with their present way of life. They felt that the cash obtained through the subsidy schemes given by the Department of Agriculture were sufficient for them to live comfortably. They were unwilling to participate in the SALCRA land development project because it did not offer subsidy. Moreover, they still preferred to practice shifting cultivation. They feared that if they participated in the project, they would not have time to plant padi under shifting cultivation.

Not many of us here are interested in the major project [SALCRA's schemes]... . We were already given a pepper subsidy scheme. From the scheme we were given 200 vines per household and cash subsidy of M\$290 per household per year. There is a lot of aid given to us, for two years, a cash subsidy of M\$500 plus. If you think about it, especially from the monetary stand point, I feel it helps us a lot... . Not many of our days are really spent on pepper, because we are still planting hill paid. We get somewhat sufficient income from planting

pepper, but not really much to live comfortably. We still have to plant padi because we have been planting it ever since.

Some respondents were not willing to participate in the project because they perceived that it had brought problems instead of improving their lives. They resented the project.

One major problem is with our water that has been polluted because of the project. We cannot drink water from the streams anymore because they are polluted with mud, pesticides, and fertilizers from the schemes. Now we have to use tap water. But sometimes when the weather is dry we have very little water, or our water is cut off. We talked about this problem many times with the SALCRA manager, but nothing has been done so far.

Some respondents perceived that the project was planned by the government without involving them in the decision-making process. During the interview, they complained that they were cajoled to participate in the project by the government officials and politicians. Because the project had been centrally planned without their involvement, they perceived that it ignored their feelings and desires and did not serve their needs and interest. Their noninvolvement in planning the project could have contributed to their lack of enthusiasm and made them suspicious about the government's motives.

There were many people who talked to us about joining the project, such as officials from SALCRA who told us the benefits to be obtained from joining it, and also ministers and other government officials who came here to campaign for the project. There were people such as Datuk Peter Tinggom [member of parliament for the area] and Edwin Lau [former group manager of SALCRA schemes in the Kalaka-Saribas IADP] who came and campaigned for the people to participate in the project.

Some officers from SALCRA came to talk with us about the project. They asked us to participate in the project. They went from longhouse to longhouse and told the people to join the project.

The officers from SALCRA went from longhouse to longhouse to campaign about the project and influenced the people to accept the project. That was how we came to know about it.

Some of the peasants were not about to participate in the project because of situational constraints. These people did not own any land, or their land was

deep in the interior and could not be reached by the project, or their landholdings were too small and were planted with other crops. Others owned land that was by the roadside. They did not want to surrender it to the project because roadside land is valuable and they wanted to keep it as a prized asset.

It is not that we do not like the project, but because some of us do not own any land. Sometimes the land is too small and is planted with other crops. Some of the lands that you see around here are planted with rubber trees. These rubber trees are being tapped. Some of us own land deep in the interior and could not be reached by the project.

We could not participate in the project because we do not have any land, ... but there are also some of us who have lands by the roadside who do not want to surrender them to SALCRA.

Some of the respondents mentioned that they were deterred from participating in the project because of political influence. The opposition political party did not want the people to support the project because if it failed the people would blame the government and would not vote for its candidates in the next state election.

Before the split of our longhouse, the longhouse was very long and there were many people. Some of the people in our longhouse who were members of the opposition political party did not agree with the project, and they influenced us not to participate in the project. They influenced us not to go on tour. The officers from SALCRA were also afraid to come to our old longhouse to discuss with us about the project. Sometimes we felt ashamed to hear the language they used to speak with these officers who try to come and discuss with us about the project.

As shown by these words from the interview respondents, there were many deterrents that were responsible for their non-participation in the Kalaka-Saribas IADP. These deterrents were both internal and external and could be categorized as dispositional, situational, and operational in nature. This finding is consistent with the study of Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) that the reasons for nonparticipating are usually multiple and interrelated in complex ways.

Perceptions of What Deterred Others from Participating. In interviews the respondents were asked why some peasants were not participating in the project. Few respondents were willing to give their opinions because they thought it was not appropriate to comment about others' behavior or to talk on their behalf. But

some respondents were willing to tell why they believed others were not participating. They thought that some peasants were not willing to participate because their lands were far in the interior and had not been reached by the project. Also, some of them were landless.

There were those who own lands in the interior and at that time were not able to have them developed. ... It was only in 1988 that SALCRA began to acquire those lands in the interior and that these people were able to join in the project. That meant the project had not reached their lands before 1988 ... and only since 1988 could they have participated.

There were some of them who did not participate because they did not have land, but for those who have land, all of them participated, even though their lands are small.

Some of the peasants did not participate because they were perceived to be deterred by some dispositional constraints, that is, worried that the government would take away their land through this project or that the government might deceive them by giving them false land titles.

The people in this area can be divided into three groups, two-thirds are already participating and one-third are not. Those that did not participate thought that the government would take away their land. They also thought that the land titles issued by the government to the people who had participated in the project were not genuine and were xeroxed titles.

We do not have the same thinking ... people who participated in the project thought that it was good for them, and those who did not participate thought otherwise. They thought otherwise because they said that the government would take away their land. For those of us who have participated, we have seen with our own eyes because we had received our land titles already. For them, they said that the titles were false and they were xeroxed titles. That is why they did not want to participate now ... they still want to wait and see what is really happening first.

Other perceived dispositional constraints were that they were not fully knowledgeable about the concept and objectives of the project. They had difficulty understanding the explanations given by the officers who came to talk with them about the project. Because they could not understand the objectives, they were suspicious of the project and thought it would do them no good.

For those who did not want to participate, I think the objectives of the project were not clear. They did not fully understand the concept of the project. They thought that the project was not good for them and that it should not be implemented in this area.

Some peasants did not want to participate in the project because they were influenced by some better-off, educated people, mostly government servants and personnel from private firms who supported the opposition political party or who had their own motives and self-interest.

Some better-off educated people in this area who were mostly government servants and those who worked with private firms, such as Shell Company influenced the people not to surrender their land to be developed under the project. They did it because they had some motives. Some of them are members of the opposition political party, and they do not want the people to support the government's projects in this area. Some of them did not want the peasants to give their land to SALCRA, because when the peasants are in financial difficulty, especially during rainy seasons, they will be approached and swayed to sell their lands to these people at a cheap price.

The peasants were also perceived to be deterred from participating in the project because politicians from the opposition political party gave them a negative attitude of the project. These people spread propaganda that the project was a "government's ploy to take their land," which caused apprehension among the peasants. These politicians used scare tactics to make people fear the project.

Actually the person who was responsible to influence the federal government to bring the project to this area was the present member of parliament for this area ... when his party was still in the government ... he was the deputy minister of agriculture in the federal cabinet. Now that they were in the opposition, they campaigned for the people not to support the project. They used scare tactics ... such as telling the people that the government will take away their lands if they surrender them to the project, and that those who participate in the project will be arrested and put in jail.

Another reason for not participating was skepticism about the project's chances for success. This was reflected in the response of one respondent.

It is better for SALCRA to build the factory here in order to convince the people in this area that they are serious about the success of the project. As of now, many of them are still skeptical about the project.

Now, they are still sending the oil palm to a factory at Merindum using a ten-ton truck.

Motivational Reasons for Participation. The motivational reasons that were given by the respondents for participating in the project were mostly their positive attitudes toward the project and modernization. The project was perceived to bring progress and development to them. They showed a desire to improve the productivity of land use and to move away from traditional farming. In addition, they perceived the project as bringing many other benefits, such as enabling them to obtain employment and to earn income. The peasants in the Kalaka and Saribas districts owned plenty of undeveloped land. By surrendering their land to the project, they were able to have it become developed and productive. At the same time they were able to get employment in the schemes and earn some income from their daily wages and dividends. The dividends depended on their "shares," which were determined by the total area of land (one hectare per share) that they surrendered to be developed under the project. Apparently, these perceived benefits had inspired much enthusiasm and motivated them to become receptive and hence participate in the project.

I like the project that is planned by the government for us in this area because there is development ... progress ... because the land that was not planted with anything can be developed under the project, and the longhouse folks can get jobs easily in the schemes.

I really agreed with the government's decision to bring the project to this area because there is plenty of land that is undeveloped. The land must be developed for the good of the people who own it.

We are not forced to participate in this project. We do it from our own heart or on our own accord. We have plenty of undeveloped land here, and also land that is planted with old rubber trees which we can surrender to be developed under the project ... SALCRA does not want to "kill" what we already have, but instead wants to "add to" what we already have.

We own many pieces of undeveloped land scattered everywhere. By surrendering them to the project, we do not have to worry about cultivating them ourselves. Other people will be helping us to cultivate our land. ... We are paid RM\$8.00 per day, and if we work more than 20 days in a month, we will be given an extra bonus of RM\$1.50 each day after the 20th day. That means, we will get RM\$9.50 from the 21st

day onward. If we work on Sunday, we will be paid RM\$12.00 for overtime.

We do not have to travel very far anymore to look for jobs. We can come down together to work in the scheme, earn money together and spend and eat together ... by the end of July this year [1991] we will harvest the yield of the oil palm that we have worked hard for with our own hands.

There are many benefits we obtain from participating in the project. First, we can work every day in the schemes. Second, once the oil palm produce fruits, they are sold and we can get our dividend and bonus. The dividend and bonuses are given based on the amount of shares, that is, if you have big land under the project, you will receive more, and if you have small land, you will receive less.

The project really brings progress to us. Before there were no permanent jobs in this area. Now we can hear people talking about receiving their wages by working in the schemes.

Other perceived benefits that have motivated the peasants to participate in the project have been the assistance in constructing their longhouses that they have obtained through the project and the improved infrastructure brought about by the project. Improved infrastructure such as good roads has made the longhouse accessible to motor vehicles for ease of transportation. The roads that were built to facilitate work in the schemes under the project connected one longhouse to another and then to the truck roads.

SALCRA helped us construct our longhouse by bulldozing and flattening the land, gave materials and also helped to construct roads to our longhouses.

Their positive attitudes toward the ruling government also created an enthusiasm for participating in the project. This was evidenced by the responses given by participants. Their perception that the government was sincere in its efforts to help the people, especially in the rural areas to improve their standard of living, further enhanced their participation in the project.

The government is very sincere and has spent so much money to help us. They will not take our land as claimed by someone else. We all agree with the government's decision to establish the project here because it brings a lot of benefits to us.

The government really likes to help the people in the rural areas through this project. ... There was no condition imposed on us. Whoever is willing to work is free to do so. Even those who do not have land developed under the project or who do not want to surrender their land to the project can work in the schemes.

Land titles that were granted to the peasants through their participation in the project were another perceived motivation for participating. Land title is a certificate of a formally registered and individually held lease from the state that guarantees long-term ownership of the land (usually 99 years), and it will increase its value. Land that has a title can also be used as collateral to secure credit from any commercial financial institution. Peasants who have participated in the project by surrendering their lands to be developed under the project have had their lands surveyed and have been issued titles.

Most of our lands here have no title. By surrendering them to be developed under the project, they will be surveyed and issued with titles. SALCRA will develop our land with oil palm for 25 years under a sharing basis. After 25 years when all the cost of development borne by SALCRA has been paid, the lands will be given back to us and we can do whatever we want with them. ... We obtain our dividend each year from SALCRA from the sale of the yield of the oil palm.

The number one benefit that we get from participating in the project is that our lands are surveyed and issued with titles.

We know through this project that the government will issue us land titles. That is why we want to participate in the project ... because we have plenty of land.

Most of the lands here have no title, but if we surrender them to the project to be developed, they will be surveyed and issued with titles.

Their frequent interaction with the extension agents who came to visit them may also be a source of motivation for some of the peasants to participate in the project. During the process of disseminating information about modern farming practices, these extension agents may have influenced the peasants to become receptive to modernization. Many of the respondents who participated in the project have had favorable impressions of the extension agents by mentioning that they came to visit them more often.

The extension agents from the Department of Agriculture always come and visit us, sometimes once a month. They come and visit us on our farm and show us how to plant and apply fertilizers.

The extension agents always come to visit us. They follow their own program based on the area that they are in charge of.

The extension agents from the Department of Agriculture always come and inspect our pepper and cocoa farms under the subsidy schemes. Sometimes, they come once a month or once in two months depending on how busy they are.

The respondents gave many reasons for participating in the project, one of which was their positive attitudes toward progress and modernization. By participating, they anticipated that their land would be developed and become productive. Furthermore, they would gain employment and earn income. Another reason for their participation was their positive attitude toward the project and the ruling government. Additionally, the land titles that would be granted to them further motivated them to participate. Therefore, from this finding, it can be seen that the perceived motivational reasons for participation were considered as dispositional and situational in nature, indicating that there have been mixed motives for participation.

Overcoming Deterrents to Participation. Some of the peasants who had not participated at the inception of the project had overcome their deterrents and were beginning to participate. They were able to overcome their reluctance because they had seen the benefits to be derived through participation in the project. In the beginning they were very skeptical and worried about the success of the project. They were waiting to see what would develop next. They seemed to be "fence-sitters" who could be swayed in either direction. Eventually some became convinced that the project was a success. They became aware of the benefits they could obtain from participating, and hence began to trust and accept the project.

We only participate recently, because we Iban always have to discuss and decide first ... because some of us say that the project is bad for us and some say that it is good for us. For us who have just participated, we have to observe and listen to what people say first before we make our decisions. Now that the benefits to be derived from the project are very clear to us, we are convinced and that is why we decided to participate.

Now that we have seen the benefits that the project has brought, many of us are asking SALCRA to develop our lands.

Now that we have seen with our own eyes that the project is bringing good things to the people here, we have started to participate. Before, we just wanted to observe.

Before we did not really know the benefits from the project, but now we really praise SALCRA because we know ... we have children and grandchildren who are not well educated and could not get jobs with the government and in big companies. Now they can work in SALCRA schemes, even if the wage is not that high, but they can get income every month. This, I think is very good. If we do not work in the schemes, I do not think that we could earn as much money as this. Now, at least we can save a bit, and I think this is one benefit we get from the project. We cannot say the project is bad anymore. It is good. Without the project, I do not think the people in the rural areas can progress. I praise SALCRA for helping the people in the rural areas.

Before we thought that the project was not good and should not be implemented here. As the project progresses, we have begun to see with our own eyes the benefits from the project. We have begun to discuss it with our friends. After that, we began to surrender our lands to SALCRA to be developed.

It was very clear from the interview respondents that before participating in the project, they were faced with mostly dispositional constraints. In the beginning, they were worried and skeptical about the success of the project. They wanted to wait and see and also to discuss with their friends and relatives before making their decisions. Apparently the success of the project and the benefits it generated provided the motivation for them to overcome these dispositional constraints and influenced their decision to participate in the project.

Opinions about the Project. The respondents were asked to give their opinions about the project. Most of those who were willing to give their opinions were participating in the project. That is why the opinions given seem to be one-sided and are mostly favorable. The respondents who were not participating in the project were not willing to express their opinions because they said that they had already said all they wanted to say. Most of the opinions expressed by the interview respondents who were participating in the project were very commendable because they felt that the project had brought them progress and had improved their standard of living. The project had provided them with

plenty of work that had led some of them to abandon shifting cultivation. Furthermore, as a result of the project, they were able to be employed and have earned steady incomes.

Because of the project, we have a better life now ... that is why we do not have to practice shifting cultivation anymore. We have not been practicing shifting cultivation since two years ago. With our pepper and cocoa farms, and in addition, the SALCRA schemes, we have plenty of work to do that we have to divide our time now. We do not have to tap rubber anymore. Some of the lands were rubber gardens before. We gave them to SALCRA to be developed for oil palm. But, we did not give away our pepper garden because the land is too small. People kill their rubber trees because there is nobody to tap them and it is better to give the land to SALCRA.

Now, the schemes have produced yield, and we get our share. Also, we get our wages from working in the schemes and it helps to improve our living. Now we do not have to plant hill padi anymore because almost all of us are working in the schemes.

I feel that the project brings progress to the people in this area. If the families have two or three members who can work in the schemes, they are able to earn substantial income. Now they do not feel poor anymore, especially when the prices of agriculture produce are very low. At least they have a way of earning some money now.

I feel that the project has brought a lot of progress to us in this area. It benefited especially the women who could not travel far to look for jobs compared to us men, who could travel far to look for jobs. Now, they can work in the scheme and earn income. Through the project, our lands are surveyed and issued with titles. There are jobs for our children and they will not be unemployed. After the oil palm have produced and its fruits sold, we will receive bonuses based on the size of the land that we surrendered to the project.

Talking about my own longhouse, yet, with the project here, we are quite well-off now. Now we have a way, for example we can give money to our kids who go to school now. Also, the ladies can work and earn some income. Some people now can afford to cook with gas stoves instead of using firewood like before.

There is a bit of progress that the project had brought to use. Now, we can work in the schemes, and after we came back at 3:00 p.m., we can

still work on our own farm. If we work in other places, we cannot work on our own farms anymore.

If we do not work in the schemes, I do not think we can earn money like this. Now, at least we can save a bit. We cannot say that the project is bad. It is good. Without this kind of project, I do not think the people in the rural areas can progress. I praise SALCRA for helping the people in the rural areas.

Based on my own feelings, after the project was established here, we feel better because we can earn money.

The project has brought some benefits to us here ... brought employment to the people here, undeveloped land can now be productive.

The opinions expressed by the respondents seemed to reinforce their motives for participating in the project. Based on these opinions, the project was deemed successful in bringing progress to the people in the area and in improving the lives of the people.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As revealed by the findings of the naturalistic inquiry the deterrents and motivations to participation were mostly dispositional, situational, and operational in nature. Some of the major dispositional constraints that were voiced by the peasants were their skepticism and worries about the success of the project. They were also worried that through the project the government would confiscate their lands. Dispositional motivations were their positive attitudes toward modernization and also toward the project and the ruling government. Situational constraints that were revealed by the findings of this naturalistic inquiry were lack of subsidy, political influence and lack of land. Land title and improved infrastructures brought about by the project were the situational motivations. The two major operational constraints that were revealed by the findings were inadequate delivery mechanism and centralized planning. Peasants who were not participating before were able to overcome their barriers to participation because of the visible incentives, such as the employment opportunities generated by the project and the wages they could obtain by working in the schemes.

The study reveals that the cultural, economic, social, and political environment in which people live strongly influences their participation decisions

and that their motivations and deterrents to participation are based on their distinctive perceptions and characteristics. Situational, dispositional, and operational factors are the motivational and deterrent constructs that are responsible in influencing an individual's participatory behavior. Therefore, the motivational and deterrent constructs to participation are multidimensional. An individual's decision to participate or not to participate in program development activities is not determined by isolated motivations or deterrents, but rather by the synergistic action of multiple motivations and deterrents.

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REMARKS ON RESETTLEMENT IN THE BELAYAN AREA

CHRIS OBIDZINSKI

My recent trip on the upper Belayan, during which I had an opportunity to visit the main resettlement site in Kecamatan Tabang at Sungai Lunuk and a number of abandoned Punan villages in the hinterland, brought me into close contact with the mechanism which in the past decade figured as a priority in the Indonesian plans for social and political life in Kalimantan Timur -- RESPEN (Resetelmen Penduduk/Resettlement of Citizens). As it usually happens with any grandiose

government-supported projects, the program and its principles has its critics and proponents. Here, I would like to consider briefly major aims of the resettlement policy, official reasons for its implementation, and how all that related to the situation of the Punan Lisum at Muara Blinau/Belinau.

Jan B. Avé and Victor King in their recent book on social economic changes in Borneo define very concisely what it is that resettlement planners are concerned about:

As in Malaysian Borneo, one of the main goals of government is to overcome certain problems (as perceived by the government) which are posed by native peoples who do not cultivate permanent fields (i.e. the Dayak ladang cultivators), and those who have 'no fixed residence' (e.i. the forest hunters and gatherers like the Punan). Some of the reasons for resettlement are ostensibly humanitarian, others are purely to do with administrative convenience and prejudice. What are these reasons? These inland groups

- destroy valuable forests and wildlife by their methods of shifting cultivation and their wandering lifestyle.
- live spread out in distant placed which are difficult of access and far from the main centers of population; they remain outside government administration and control.
- must be brought into contact with civilization; this includes education, medical care, a religion, learning to wear (more) clothes, and to farm permanent fields, preferably *sawahs*. (J. B. Avé and V. King 1986:98)

I would like to emphasize the notion 'as perceived by the government' in the quotation above since it is my belief that, aside from the fact that the images of the indigenous life are skewed, there is a considerable discrepancy between the resettlement principles and their interpretation by the local administration. While in Muara Blinau, I found myself wondering why would someone label its former Lisum inhabitants "nomadic wanders". Houses erected high on piles are sturdy, spacious, and do not resemble anything that could be easily dismantled and carried to some other location. One of these houses was particularly large, sheltering probably a number of families, and its extreme length gave it an appearance of a miniature longhouse. Roofing made of wooden

shingles is very much like the one on Kenyah dwellings in Kampong Bengen near Tabang. With regard and recognition for the families which have moved down to Sungai Lunuk resettlement area and established themselves there, I venture to say that houses at Muara Blinau compare quite favorably to those at Sungai Lunuk and, regarding durability and ventilation, the former are probably superior.

An activity which immediately reveals itself to a visitor to Muara Blinau is rice cultivation. I have found pestles used for rice pounding lying in the grass in a few places. However, one does not need to search for details of that sort. On the right high bank of the Blinau river, opposite the village, there is a large overgrown paddy with somewhat dilapidated shelter or piles nearby. In addition, fruit trees are found around the houses (lemons, bananas, durian and pineapples among others) and some vegetables as well. It seems quite obvious that Punan Lisum of Muara Blinau were a fully sedentary community prior to the resettlement process.

If the Punan of Muara Blinau were not nomadic and pursued cultivation (certainly hunting and gathering was still an activity frequently engaged in), why was it necessary for them to move downstream to the allotted area in Sungai Lunuk? It is a sensitive issue to discuss with the resettled population and the reasons for having abandoned the old village one is most likely to hear are: a need for education, health care, and modern goods. Undoubtedly, they play a significant role in encouraging the Punan to move into more accessible areas, but there is another factor at work as well. Laura P. Appel-Warren described it as follows:

East Kalimantan is currently being exploited for timber and minerals. As there are plans to expand these operations in the future, the semi-official policy for development, mentioned by local officials, is to free the land for the use of the timber and mineral companies. Thus the resettlement of the indigenous peoples appears to be partially motivated by the promise of economic gain. (Appel-Warren, Laura P. 1985:14)

It seems strange that the resettlement of the Lisum and Beketan groups to Sungai Lunuk coincided with the intensification of logging operations in the upper Belayan area. I was told that Muara Len used to be a Punan village in the past, but now it is a major camp of the WRK timber company. A logging road has been constructed there and presently it curves for about 20 kilometers mostly in the northerly direction where it ends near the mountain called Gunung Babi. While on the way to Muara Kabaq on the upper Len river, I had a closer look at Muara Len camp. It is involved exclusively in the exploitation of the montane

forest which is evidenced by a network of steel ropes stretched over the river and steep slope, upon which the settlement is located, which are used to transport the logs. Ironically, at the time I was there, the water level dropped dramatically immobilizing most of the logs and large *kapal* boats used for hauling. Thus all activities were halted and virtually the entire crew departed in shallow canoes/*ketinting* for Tabang where they intended to wait for the rain.

Besides Muara Len, there is a number of other timber camps in the area:

- Bengen Timber near the MAF airstrip in Kampong Bengen (PT. Jatrin)
- another camp operated by Bengen Timber is located about 10-15 minutes upstream from Sungai Lunuk near Palau Beras
- a timber camp near the confluence of the Pedohon river and the Belayan.

Evidently, increased forest exploitation has become a major concern of the resettled Punan. They disapprove it, they almost never work for any timber company, and express indignation at the sight of the forest scarred by logging. One day, a man from the resettled Muara Toboq told me how previously he had believed that trees would be saved by a multitude of rapids which are scattered throughout the upper Belayan and impede log transportation. Today, however, logging roads and sophisticated equipment for montane logging operations have changed all that.

Is there any alternative to resettlement? I find myself in thorough agreement with what Jan B. Avé and Victor King:

Resettlement is not the only option, indeed from the government's point of view as well it is not always the cheapest or more practicable option; by attempting to cater for the needs of the Dayak and the Punan in their own homelands, one might succeed in demonstrating to them that they, like others in Indonesia, are full and equal members of the Indonesian nation with equivalent rights. But one has still to ask whether these alternatives are viable if large-scale forest destruction by timber companies is allowed to continue in its present form and at its present pace. (J. A. Avé and V. King 1986:101)

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UPPER BELAYAN - FURTHER NOTES

CHRIS OBIDZINSKI

In a short account of my journey on the upper Belayan which was published in the previous issue of the *Bulletin* (Obidzinski 1992) I referred to a number of villages which I had briefly visited. In the following article I would like to elaborate on three of these settlements: Kampong Bengen, Sungai Lunuk, and Sungai Durian, all of which are located within Kecamatan Tabang, Kabupaten Kutai, Kalimantan Timur. It was of particular interest to me to establish the magnitude of modernization and get some inkling of concomitant social changes that have affected the Kenyah and Punan groups (Lisum and Beketan) in this region due to the RESPEN (Resetelmen Penduduk/Resettlement of Citizens) projects which have been in effect here since the late 1970s.

KAMPONG BENGEN

Kampong Bengen is one of the remotest Dayak Kenyah villages on the Belayan, though it is only about ten minutes ride by *ketinting* or motorized canoe from Tabang--the administrative center of the subdistrict. Located just above the confluence of the Bengen river and the Belayan, the settlement is populated almost exclusively by the Uma Timai group whose origins can be traced back to the Apo Kayan Plateau.

It is known that in the late 1800s the Kenyah went beyond the initial skirmishes and head-hunting raids against the Modang who, until then, controlled the middle Mahakam and its northern tributaries and began migrating into the Belayan drainage, gradually taking it over. The ancestors of the present Kampong Bengon population had settled in the vicinity of Ritan during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Numerous myths and legends describe this crucial period. The one that I have heard tells about a large group of people being led by a noble Kenyah chief across the mountains separating the Boh river from the Belayan. He had a ravishing daughter and already planned for a proper marriage. However, one morning, just a few days away from the Belayan where boats were already prepared to take the migrants downstream, the chief's daughter and her clandestine lover (who was a commoner) were apprehended during an illicit sexual act. Such a defiance of the Kenyah social hierarchy, a concept of extreme importance in traditional Kenyah adat, apparently spurred a divine intervention. Both culprits were transformed into huge basalt boulders which constitute the peak of the mountain called Gunung Batukenyeh. The mountain is located about two days north of Muara Len near the route leading to Sungai Durian and farther north to Punan Aput villages on the upper Kayan lut. Anyone passing through the vicinity is required to make a small offering (a little rice or tobacco) to ensure safe passage and ascertain successful journey.

It seems, however, that upper Belayan was still far from being fully controlled by the Kenyah since only a few years later they were forced to abandon Ritan and fled into the upper reaches of the Ritan river due to numerous attacks launched by the Modang of Long Bleh.

After a few years in the Ritan valley, Uma Timai crossed the watershed north into the Bengen drainage and established themselves there for a certain time. As the Kenyah population along the Belayan increased and the threat of the Modang attacks gradually dissipated, the Uma Timai moved downstream a little and constructed a village called Uma' Bekuay. From there they moved to their present location. Even though Kampong Bengen is the official name of the settlement, the old name Uma' Bekuay is still very much in use and it seems that both are interchangeable.¹

Kampong Bengen is an example of a modern Kenyah village as far as architecture is concerned. Houses vary in size as some of them shelter single and extended families (these are clearly preponderant), while a few are multi-family dwellings. However, their construction is quite similar: all houses are raised on stilts, their basic structure (floor and walls), made of ironwood, is topped with roofs fashioned with wooden shingles. All windows are equipped with metal roofs, though.

Houses run in rows parallel to the river. The area between them is utilized for the cultivation of small amounts of vegetables and fruits. It is also there that most of the village's chickens and pigs are kept. Each household possesses a field which supplies the staple of the villagers' diet--rice. Most of the Kampong Bengen residents have their *landings* or forest clearings along the Bengen river; some are located quite far upstream. Only a few cultivate rice on the banks of the Belayan itself. The latter belong to a small group of Punan Lisum who apparently were one of the first to move out of the Len and Toboq basins and decided to settle among the Uma Timai of Kampong Bengen.

A number of conspicuously non-indigenous elements have entered the traditional appearance of the village during the last decade or so, changing its climate and character irreversibly. One of them is a small Catholic church located on the eastern extremity of the village near the path leading across several garden plots and forest patches to the air strip operated by MAF (Missionary Aviation Fellowship). Next to the church, there is a small village school bordering with a large flat area utilized as a soccer field as well as a playground for children in general.

Nothing has had a stronger impact on social functioning of the village than the recent installation of the satellite antenna for the village's only T.V. set. Until now television was available only in Tabang. Recognizing its importance for education and national integration, the local administration has supplied this high-tech device and placed it in the village's "meeting hall" where previously only a radio receiver was operating. Every night now, at 7 or 8 p.m., the entire youth and vast majority of adults congregate there (once the building is filled, people stand outside peering through the windows) to listen to the news and watch movies. Once the programming is over, people usually sit in front of their houses in the light of kerosene lamps discussing a variety of familial or communal affairs.

SUNGAI LUNUK

This settlement is located approximately 30 minutes upstream from Tabang and it has been designed by the RESPEN planners specifically for the remote Punan Lisum and Beketan residing on the Len and Toboq rivers. The objective behind this undertaking was to bring the Punan communities into permanent contact with the Indonesian nation, to facilitate education and health care services, and to exercise more effective administrative control over these peoples.

Until the late 1970s, there were approximately four Punan villages on the upper Belayan: Muara Kabaq (Kaba')--Punan Lisum, Muara Toboq (Tubo')--Punan Beketan, Muara Blinau (Belinau)--preponderance of the Lisum and some Beketans, and Muara Tiq-- combined population of the Lisum and Beketan groups.² By the late 1980s all of these villages moved down to Sungai Lunuk resettlement area, Muara Toboq and Muara Blinau being the last to do so. However, small groups of people from both villages had a different plan and jointly decided to establish a new small settlement at the point where the Durian river debouched into Belayan--they named it Sungai Durian.

Sungai Lunuk is generally conceived of as a uniform village with all segments of its diverse resettled population coalesced into a single unit, but I am not quite sure if this is the case. The village's residential area is comprised of four sectors, each being occupied by a different Punan community and separated from others by a short walk. Each unit has retained its original name from the pre-relocation period and so at least some degree of former differentiation seems to perpetuate. All segments are located along the river, thereby forming an amalgam of relatively limited width, but of considerable length.

As in the case of Kampong Bengen, houses run parallel to the river, but there is a marked difference in their shape and size. They are much smaller and their stilts seem to be shorter. Some of these structures are entirely at the ground-level. It is only headmen and a few Banjar and Bugese shopkeepers/merchants who possess Kenyah-style houses. I have encountered only one small shop owned by a Punan family. A senior male in that family was in frequent contact with the birds' nests gatherers from Sungai Durian and actively participated in trade; occasionally, he joined a group of nest hunters on a trip to the caves. I have no information whether he acted as a middleman between the Sungai Durian Punan and nest dealers from Tabang or as an independent trader. He did seem to prosper quite well, though.

All Punan families residing at Sungai Lunuk have their paddies along the upper Belayan, some as far as Muara Len. As one travels upstream, there are numerous cultivated fields to be seen on both banks of the river, each with a small padi house raised on piles. Gradually, as the banks grow steeper, fields occur less frequently and soon disappear altogether. Even though the preparation of paddies constitutes the most important preoccupation of Sungai Lunuk villagers from the economic standpoint, small groups of people still manage to go back to the forest and gather its various products. It is not so much hunting that lures the Punan out of Sungai Lunuk to the *hutan* or jungle for several days or weeks; apparently, hunting and fishing is done whenever one feels like it, and there is not a strict time table for it. I was repeatedly told that it was *gaharu*

woods and birds' nests that people coveted most. Other highly relished items include various resins (*damar*) and bezoar stones, although these are seen very rarely. They usually revisit their old abandoned villages (primarily in July and August) to harvest whatever ripens on overgrown and untended plots and then they launch forays into the jungle.

Adjacent to Sungai Lunuk, there is a small landing site for helicopters which are frequently used to assist people from the northern village of Sungai Durian in case of an emergency. Most often, however, flights are undertaken for trade purposes which will be discussed below.

SUNGAI DURIAN

It takes a few minutes by helicopter (there is no passenger service, though; anyone planning a trip to the village should rely on ground transportation) or a day by *ketinting* and further two days of walking to reach Sungai Durian from Sungai Lunuk. As I have already mentioned, the village is an amalgam of families originating from at least two different Punan communities: Muara and Blinau. The latter is the main contributor of the population. Since the majority of the former inhabitants of these villages presently reside at Sungai Lunuk, one may wonder why the local authorities would approve the establishment of a new settlement in still a remoter area and even support it with aerial transportation. The reason is of purely economic character—a large supply of birds' nests in the vicinity of Sarang Burung mountain north of the village.

An informant from Sungai Lunuk estimated the population of Sungai Durian at approximately 90-100 souls and that is the figure I have given in the account of my trip published in the previous issue of the *Bulletin*. However, it seems to me that this number is too high for two reasons. First, the village is composed of only nine houses on stilts out of which seven are single family dwellings very much like those in Sungai Lunuk. Only two houses are significantly larger sheltering more numerous groups (two or three families). Secondly, if we assume that a family is comprised of an average of four or five individuals³, the population total turns out to be well below the proposed 90-100 range (65 would be the maximum and 44 the minimum). Considering this, I suspect that Sungai Durian numbers within the range of 50-55 with only slight temporal variations at some occasions, when someone from outside comes to visit or join the birds' nests gatherers.

About three days walk to the north-west of Sungai Durian, there is a Punan Aput village of Long Suleh.⁴ In spite of this relative proximity, there is

very little contact between both communities which is somewhat surprising in the light of the fact that various Punan and Penan groups in not so distant Sarawak remain close ties despite rugged terrain and close distances (Nicolaisen 1976:41). Without the knowledge of distances involved, one might think that Sungai Lunuk is actually closer to Sungai Durian since both villages are in frequent interaction.

Surprising as it may seem, Sungai Durian Punan tend to emphasize cultural as well as physical differences separating them from Punan Aput. They describe the latter as bigger, sturdier, and having slightly darker skin. The fact that some of the Punan Aput apparently still wear loincloths has also been mentioned as an important distinction; everybody at Sungai Durian uses modern clothing. As I said, this emphasis of the alleged differences is rather surprising since the Punan Lisum, Beketan, as well as the Aput share the same homeland--Sarawak and seem to have quite a few historical features in common (Hoffman 1986:15 cited in Rousseau 1990; Kaboy 1974).

Besides the population aspect, there are two other inaccuracies which have crept into my previous account and which require correction. First, I have noted that nest gathering constitutes the salient element of the village's economy and that agriculture is not pursued. I still adhere to the former, but the latter needs some clarification. Inasmuch as nest gathering supplies the Punan of Sungai Durian with a bulk of resources to purchase goods shipped from Sungai Lunuk by helicopter, a forest clearing for rice was being prepared during my visit on the opposite side of the river with a shelter on piles already in place. I have no information whether it was owned by a single family or shared by the whole village. Second, I have failed to mention weaving as an important occupation of women. In the absence of rice fields, I have seen women spend considerable time on preparing the ratan stems and weaving baskets and mats. Some of these items find their way, along with the nests, to Sungai Lunuk and farther down to Tabang where the locals and an occasional tourist purchase them.

NOTES

1. The police in Tabang often use the old name even in official papers such as reports on visiting foreigners.
2. I have also heard about two other settlements: *Muara Salung* and *Batu Besar* which were located on the lower Len River presumable until 1970 or so. Although I was unable to establish what their ultimate fate was, I suspect that they might be the old locations of Muara Blinau, Muara Toboq, or Muara Tiq.

3. While inquiring about the population of various Punan villages, I was told that, generally, Punan families have either two or three children.
4. Presently, there are three Punan villages on the upper Kayan Lut within close proximity to each other. Population figures, obtained from an informer from Sungai Lunuk are in surprising congruity with Whittier's report on these villages from the early 1970s (Whittier 1974), particularly in the case of Long Metun. The estimate he cites, 170 individuals, comes close to the figure below (30 families, approximately five persons per family). However, one would expect significant population changes over the last 20 years, particularly with the RESPEN policy in effect. Therefore, population figures given here should be viewed with caution. They are as follows:

Long Suleh--approximately 80 families
 Long Pipa--approximately 30 families
 Long Metun--approximately 30 families

In spite of limited reliability of the data above, it is certain that Long Suleh is by far the largest and most populous settlement.

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ARE FIG-WASPS HITCH-HIKERS ?

from

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A female chalcid wasp was found during routine ectoparasite examination in the fur of an adult male *Rattus hoffmanni* trapped in 1976 at Tomado, Lake Lindu, Central Sulawesi (elevation 1000m). A second wasp was taken from a juvenile *Rattus exulans* trapped in 1985 near Dumoga, North Sulawesi (elevation 240m). The wasp from North Sulawesi was deeply hidden in the rat's fur but became active when removed from the rat. The other specimen was probably similarly located since had it been in the superficial fur it would have been lost during handling of the captured animal. Initially, both wasps were thought to be *Ixodiphagus* parasitoids of ticks (Davis 1986) but were in fact the fig-wasp *Deilagaon chrysolepidis* Wiebes 1977 (Chalcidoidea : Agaonidae). This species is widely distributed in Indo-Australia and is a specific pollinator of *Ficus chrysolepis*.

We believe that the presence of fig-wasps in fur might indicate a phoretic association between the wasps and frugivorous mammals and hope that this communication will encourage those examining mammals for ectoparasites to look for, and report, wasps found in the fur of mammals.

Maintenance of the intricate symbiosis between fig-wasps (Chalcidoidea: Agaonidae) and the figs (*Ficus* spp., Moraceae) they pollinate (Wiebes, 1986) requires that, after leaving its natal tree, the fig-wasp is able to locate and reach trees of the same species carrying suitable fig-fruits (syconia). There is, as yet, no convincing efficient mechanism for this process among fig-wasps in forest habitats. Wind transport (Janzen, 1979; Ramierez, 1970) and chemical attraction (Galil, 1977) have been suggested but specific dispersal mechanisms have not been observed. Transport by mammals that range widely through the forest would greatly increase the area that could be searched by fig-wasps and the mechanism would be particularly efficient if the mammals were fruit-eating. One of the rats, *R. hoffmanni*, yielding a *D. chrysolepidis* is frugivorous and endemic to Sulawesi. The other, *R. exulans*, is an omnivorous commensal rat widespread in the Indo-Pacific Region (Musser, 1987).

We suspect that the *D. chrysolepidis* found in rat fur were probably released from syconia opened by the feeding rats or emerged from syconia close by. They then either became entangled in, or climbed onto, the rats' fur. Accidental entanglement seems unlikely even though, when fig-wasps are emerging, many thousands may be present in a tree. Fig-wasps usually emerge before the fruit ripens and falls to the ground. Frugivorous animals usually eat fully ripe figs, after the wasps have left the syconium (Ramirez, 1974), and rats tend to eat fruit on the ground. The wasps are also winged and active and could be expected to avoid entanglement by flying away.

Phoretic associations are frequent among insects (Clausen, 1976) including chalcid species. The phenomenon is seen particularly in species that rely on a resource that is rare or available only for a short time. Fig syconia suitable for wasp oviposition are an especially rare and ephemeral resource (Janzen, 1979). Most fig-wasp species, like *D. chrysolepidis*, are specific to a single fig species (Wiebes, 1979, 1982). Furthermore, populations of most fig species are widely dispersed. Individual trees fruit at different times and the fruit is suitable only for a short time. In a habitat with an unusually high density of fig trees a female wasp would find suitable syconia of the right species within about 700m (Janzen, 1979). In most habitats fig trees are at low densities and suitable fruits are even further away. Fig-wasps may be transported long distances by wind currents since they are found on islands (Ishii, 1934; Wolcott, 1951). However, such passive transport is undirected and may not lead a wasp to the correct host fig. Attraction of the wasp by a specific airborne chemical released by the host fig is assumed (Galil, 1977) by analogy with other Hymenoptera (Vinson, 1985). However, most fig species occur in humid forests with dense vegetation where advection is rare (Read, 1977) so that conditions are not conducive to the establishment of horizontal plumes of airborne odour which the insect could track over the distances required. Phoresy on active animals like rats would allow fig-wasps to cover large distances so increasing their probability of encountering figs bearing suitable fruit.

Interestingly, these records are not the only ones of fig-wasps in mammal fur. Grandi (1964) described the males of the fig-wasp *Ceratosolen aelleni* May from the fur of a fig-feeding African fruit bat.

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WARTIME INTELLIGENCE REPORTS ON BORNEO

SIMON FRANCIS

The mechanisms and organizations necessary for waging total war have become ever more gigantic and complex over the centuries. War has grown from local conflicts to national, regional, continental and world engagements. The needs of operations may suddenly require fighting to take place far away from the original source of the hostilities.

In order to be able to wage war effectively planners have always needed information about the enemy and its strengths and, best of all, its weaknesses. War conducted far from the home of the forces has given rise to an increasing awareness among military planners of the importance of accurate and comprehensive intelligence about the places in which the conflict is to, or might, take place.

This note considers some of the variety of reports produced prior to the invasions of the island of Borneo in mid-1945 by Allied forces. In particular it deals with the reports now to be traced in the Public Record Office in Kew, London. PRO file numbers are given in ().

Prior to the Japanese invasions of later 1941 Borneo had been divided between Dutch, British (Labuan), British protected (Brunei), and the quaintly anachronistic Sarawak and British North Borneo. In 1930-1931 the Royal Air Force, with the assistance of the Royal Navy, had conducted survey flights by 205 Squadron using Southampton flying boats which had investigated potential land and water landing sites from Kuching to the edge of the Philippine Islands. A detailed, illustrated report was prepared.

Borneo Survey Cruise 1930 Part 1 Landing ground sites with photographs (AIR 5/826)

and

[ditto] Part 2 Seaplane sites with photographs (AIR 5/1221).

Perhaps prompted by the loss of the Netherlands to Germany in 1940 the Naval Intelligence Division of the Admiralty had prepared an intelligence report on Netherlands Possessions in its CB (Confidential Books) series.

CB 1819(X) (3/41) March 1941, has not been traced in the PRO but a later edition

CB 1819A(X/2) (1/45) *Netherlands (possessions) Intelligence Report: Java & Madoera, Lesser Soenda Islands, Dutch Timor, Borneo, Celebes, Boeroe Island, Amboina Island, Ceram Island.* January 1945. 201 pp. and CB 1819A (plans), containing 49 plans has PRO reference (WO 208/1693).

The introduction states that it supersedes, in part, the March 1941 version. It also states that it consists of Part V (coast, ports & inland towns) and VI (coast & port defences) which provide data excluded from BR (Books of Reference) otherwise known as Geographical Handbook Series.

No. 518 Netherlands East Indies. 2 volumes, April 1944. Vol. 1, 525 pp., and Vol. 2, 514 pp. (ADM 234/105) and (ADM 234/106).

The CB and BR series reports are general in scope and appear not to have been compiled in relation to specific target objectives. It is possible to deduce that some months after the preparation of these reports more precise targets had been, at least, tentatively identified. In June 1944 the Inter-Service Topographical Department which was operated by the Admiralty on behalf of all service departments, compiled reports on the areas of Borneo which were to be the scenes of the landings a year later.

ISTD/F/441 Special Report on Northern Borneo: Labuan, Sandakan and Tarkan areas. June 1944, 68 pp. + Appendix of illustrations (WO 252/514)

ISTD F/444 [ditto]: Graphic Report, and

ISTD/F/458 Borneo: Miri - Seria area and Balikpapan. June 1944, 40 pp., illustrations.

The two latter reports have not been traced in the PRO but their existence is confirmed from a consolidated list of ISTD reports. From the single report traced in the PRO it can be seen that the emphasis is very much on the coastal areas in relation to feature such as roads, communications, etc. which would directly influence a possible invasion. Only six months later the northern Borneo elements of the reports were superseded by a multi-volume report in the Inter-Service Information series from the same Department

BR877T Report on British Borneo, Sarawak, Brunei, Labuan, British North Borneo was issued in December 1944 in 9 volumes of text and two of plans: (1) *History, Medical, Geological.* (WO 252/548), (2) *Topography, Climate,* (ADM 234/633), (3) *Resources,* (WO 252-549), (4) *Railways,* (ADM 234/634), (5) *Roads.* (WO 252/550), (6) *Waterways.* (WO 252/551), (7) *Signal Communications.* (ADM 234/635), (8) *Coast.* (ADM 234/636), (9) *Ports, Towns.* (WO 252/552), *Plans 1-29.* (WO 252/553), and *Plans 32-63.* (WO 252/554).

No reports in the same series have been traced for the Tarakan and Balikpapan areas covered in the June set but others were prepared for Sumatra and Java.

Up to this point all the reports identified had been prepared in the UK. However the main efforts at detailed planning for the invasion of Borneo were now carried out in Australia at the Headquarters of the Allied Forces South West Pacific Area. Three months after the date of the initial ISTD study the Allied Geographical Section, SW Pacific Area issued the first of several Borneo volumes in the Terrain Study Series.

No. 89 Sarawak and Brunei, September 1944, Vol. 1, 248 pp. + Appendix: Labuan. (WO 208/96) with another copy at (WO 252/738), and

Vol. 2, 155 illustrations. (WO 208/97) and (WO 252/739) specifically states that it incorporated data from the June ISTD report. The Sarawak, Brunei, and Labuan report was followed two months later by

No. 90 British North Borneo, Nov. 1944, 214 pp., illustrations, maps. (WO 208/98) with some of the maps at (WO 208/95).

No. 109 South-East Borneo, Jan. 1945, 125 pp., illustrations, maps. (WO 208/99) and another copy at (WO 252/1245)

covers the coast from Tawau to Balikpapan. It contains a key to other volumes in the series in which a volume, possibly

No. 110 South-West Borneo, is shown. This volume, if prepared, has not been traced in the PRO. While it would complete the coverage of the entire coastal areas of Borneo the South-West was not a focus of invasion forces.

Terrain Studies, of which at least 136 were issued covering many areas, contain the basic topographic, economic and social information required for invasion planning: what is the coastal geography, beaches, etc., what economic resources are available or will be required, roads, food, water, etc., and local labor that may be available to assist with repairs etc.?

The Terrain Studies series for Borneo was followed in March 1945 by volumes in the Terrain Handbook series, also from the Allied Geographical Section.

No. 58 Kudat-Jessleton, March 1945, 99 pp. (WO 208/1695), *No. 59 Brunei Bay*, March 1945, 90 pp. (WO 208/100), *No. 60 Sandakan*, March 1945, 78 pp. (WO 208/1694) and another copy at (WO 252/1242).

No. 61 Tarakan does not appear to have reached Britain for it has not been traced either in the PRO or the British Library Reference Division which have a number of the other volumes.

No. 62 Balikpapan, March 1945, 91 pp. (WO 208/10), another copy at (WO 252/1243),

and

No. 63 Bandjarmasin, March 1945, 71 pp. (WO 208/102), cover all the major invasion areas. Terrain Handbooks are pocket-sized and each has a number of maps and illustrations. Most of the illustrations are from recent aerial reconnaissance flights and are overprinted with information about Japanese defences, possible routes inland from marked beaches, etc.

The Allied Geographical Section also issued a Special Report series of which:

No. 79 S. W. Borneo, was issued in July 1945, 119 pp. (WO 252/1247). The PRO copy is lacking the illustrations. Much of the type of information in the Special Report is the same as is included in the Terrain Studies series in which the S. W. Borneo area volume does not appear to have been issued. *No. 79* indicated that *No. 69* dealt with Bandjarmasin. This volume cannot be traced in the PRO and would appear to duplicate *Terrain Handbook No. 69* with the same title. Perhaps the original intention to produce a Terrain Handbook was altered in favor of a Special Report.

A further publication can be noted which carried forward the progression from general background information to specific target data. Individual servicemen taking part in the invasions were issued with a small pamphlet of useful information about Borneo:

Australian Military Forces. The Borneo Book for Servicemen undated, 50 pp. has not been traced in the PRO. Written in straightforward language, with illustrations and cartoons it "endeavours to give plain answers to the questions a soldier would naturally ask when operating in a strange land" and can be seen as the final link in the sequence that began with the Naval Intelligence Division report of March 1941.

What must be one of the last publications issued by the Allied Geographical Section was:

Sailing Directions: Netherlands Borneo, October 1945, 170 pp. (WO 252/849).

It may have been intended to supplement the volume of the pre-war *Eastern Archipelago Pilot* covering the area. Responsibility for operations in Borneo was transferred from Allied Forces SW Pacific to Allied Land Forces South East Asia under Mountbatten on 10th January 1946. ALFSEA had recaptured Burma and the Malay Peninsula from the Japanese and in each place had been confronted with political problems as well as military ones as local nationalists sought to prevent a reversion to the pre-war order. It is tempting to conclude that the production of a Foreign Office Research Department paper:

RR VIIIb/40/i British Borneo, July 1945, 13 pp. (FO 371/46385)

which set out background data was a small reminder of the pre-War British influence in the region.

ALFSEA Weekly Intelligence Review No. 52 for 28th September (WO 203/1114) contained on pages 14-24 another background paper: *British Territories in North Borneo* dealing mainly with the population, and government structures, of the territories for which responsibility was shortly to be assumed.

By this date British Military Government was being established throughout the British Borneo territories and the concerns of the planners and administrators were for rehabilitation and reconstruction. The reports produced during that period are outside the scope of this note.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS¹

L'Architecture du Rêve: Du Cerveau à la Culture, by Olga Quadens, in collaboration with Pat West. Louvain: Editions Peeters, 1990.²

(This review and the exchanges which follow are included in the *Bulletin* to inform readers of the research Olga Quadens conducted among Iban.)

This enjoyable popularization of Quadens' work is in a language accessible to anyone with a couple of years of high-school French. Because there is quite a bit of repetition of major points, even a casual reader is unlikely to miss anything significant. Quadens, a medical doctor, is a well-respected student of dream physiology, as measured by REM and EEG. She recognizes, unlike some other students of dreams, that the events she studies are not "dream" in the usual sense--not the "dreams dreamed" (*rêve rêvé*) or narrated. She addresses "dream content" rarely, and only in general terms. Most of the book summarizes the author's own studies or reading. It is jammed with insights--mixing, in standard French scholarly style, rigorous observation with playful (and sometimes zany) speculation.

The chapters of most interest to readers of this *Newsletter* (Editor's Note: *Orang Asli Studies Newsletter*) concern Quadens' work in Malaysia with the Temiar and the Iban. Unfortunately, here assistant, Pat West, vitiates the section by a slap-dash and misleading survey of the relevant ethnographic literature, focusing on the rather fictionalized publications of Kilton Stewart and excluding the work of Alberto Gomes, Hood Salleh, Signe Howell, and Marina Roseman, among others. The omission of Marie-Andrée Couillard's French-language publications is particularly puzzling. On the other hand, it isn't much better to be included: West interprets the work of Robarchek and Dentan as saying almost exactly the opposite of what those authors intended. Readers should simply skim any reference to the literature, except where it becomes part of (and, by its inadequacy, often undercuts) Quadens' own interpretations. The fact that the *Orang Asli Studies Newsletter* received a copy of the book for review indicates that someone

¹This review and the exchange with Pat West are reprinted here from *Orang Asli Studies Newsletter*, July 1991, and Number 10, September 1992, by kind permission of the Editor, Kirk Endicott.

²Published by kind permission of the review and the Editor of *Orang Asli Studies Newsletter*, July 1991.

involved in the book's production had access to the bibliographies that appear here regularly.

The first chapter focuses on Quadens' studies of neonates, menstruating, pregnant women, and victims of Down's syndrome. She interprets the sleep physiology she observes as a manifestation of the cognitive activity that organizes and integrates information. That activity presumably includes "dreams dreamed." Her evidence is extensive, although indirect. The immobility which marks the onset of REM sleep she likens to paying attention, like the immobility of a cat that has caught sight of a mouse. The subsequent EEG spindles mark the replay of information to be assimilated, and the REM which follows is a sort of scanning that integrates the information into the brain.

Quadens follows the ontogeny of spindles and REM from birth through retirement age; indeed, she points out the correlation between fetal movement and mother's REM, an ontogeny whose details suggest, by her interpretation, an increasing ability to integrate information. Finally, she points out that this ontogeny is aborted among people whose intellect is impaired--e.g., those with Down's syndrome. Then, in one of those wonderful French flights of fancy, she suggests that, while ontogeny does not strictly recapitulate phylogeny, one can see the evolution of human intelligence in the development of this immobility-(spindle-) organized REM complex. In fact, she sees it in the evolution of the universe--ontogeny recapitulates cosmology.

The next four chapters are largely ethnographic. Some may find her romanticism a bit off-putting: "Had I there, in Nanga Beretik (an Iban settlement), the privilege of being present at a moment of humanity a-borning, scarcely emerged from the immemorial chaos in which the world was born?" (p. 57). Anyone who has spent more time with indigenous people would be tempted to answer "No," but the gushing reflects a generous spirit which compensates for her naïveté.

Quadens starts off by outlining her reasons for taking her studies in to the field. This takes the form of a set of questions about shamanism:

Apparently the brain does not function the same way everywhere. Are the differences connected with the natural endowments of individuals or with the structure of the information that they receive? In other words, is the physiological expression of dreams the same in societies whose repetitive dynamics make them static as it is in societies open to rapid transformations? Can we discover elements of cerebral physiology which let us understand why some people have not evolved, or, not adapting

to the modern world, smash up against it? The question concerns not only aborigines but also millions of maladapted Westerners. (p. 51)

It's easy for ethnographers to bridle at passages like this. But Quadens' intellectual background in anthropology comes from the work of our predecessors, whose prejudices and wrong-headedness we now recognize and reject, just as our successors will recognize and reject our own. It is hard to imagine societies more subject to the vicissitudes of history than the Temiar and Iban, who have been transforming their lives in the century or so that Westerners have known them and who, by all indications, have undergone similar radical changes in the past, but British structural-functionalism in the 1940s and 1950s painted such societies as isolated and static. Quadens' Iban "clans" (p. 56) probably arise from the idea that such supposed "primitive isolates" are kin-based and that clans are the "archaic" form of kinship. The Temiar "tribal chief" and "council of elders" (p. 82) have a similar Western origin. The debatable notion that the two peoples have a "shamanic universe in common" because Iban and Temiar healers go into trance comes from the popular Western religious fabulist, Mircea Eliade. West seems not to have deployed her expertise in anthropology to dispel Quadens' folk anthropological biases.

Other problems stem from the fact that neither Quadens nor West is familiar with Malaysian ethnography. For instance, Quadens translates that Iban phrase *manang bali* as "shaman transformed," although *bali* more properly means "inverted", a precise specification of transvestism rather than a covert reference to Quadens' beloved mythical original chaos or to the Temiar notion that great shamans can turn into tigers. Similarly, she remarks on how Iban gongs resemble Siberian tambours, apparently without knowing that they are cognate.

Although she stayed less than a month with each of the two peoples and could speak only through a Malay interpreter, Quadens did she some of her preconceptions: "I began to perceive that, despite its allure, this [Iban] society was fragile. I had come in search of evidence for a freedom I thought lost, and there found, in different forms, the same constraints as in the West." Moreover, once on her own ground and free of West's assistance, Quadens has some interesting insights. She notes the similarity of shamanic narratives with those of hypnogogic and out-of-body experiences, concluding that the latter two represent the sort of "undifferentiated" sleep whose physiology she has described for sleeping neonates. The "other world" that shamans experience is the world as infants apprehend it, and perhaps, given Quadens notion of ontogeny, as most early hominids did.

In Chapter 3, before actually presenting her Malaysian material, West argues that Temiar peaceability is a myth, but their focus on dreaming, as presented by Stewart, is a reality. Most students of Orang Asli suspect that "Senoi dream theory" owes more to Stewart's Mormonism and Rankianism than to Temiar praxis, but they do concur that a number of Aslian peoples are remarkably non-violent, at least as compared with Malays, Ibans, or Anglo-Saxons. This finding has been widely disseminated, in English and other Western European languages, but West misses it all.

Quadens spent three weeks with the Temiar at Lambok in the Ulu Bertam hills and noticed, like others before her, that some people were awake at every hour of the day and night. On the premise that being deprived of sleep and thus of dreams might account for Temiar shamanic experiences, she recruited a couple of "subjects" so that she could observe their sleeping patterns. (The fact that the subjects were teenagers probably reflects the Temiar feeling that teenagers can always be "bumped into" in someone else's house--Semai teenagers often wound up in our house, although not as "subjects".)

Quadens found that the sleep disturbances were exiguous; in her house, the teenagers slept uninterruptedly for about six hours a night. She then took the two to a sleep lab in Kuala Lumpur, where she found that their REM matched European REM in all ways. There were, however, puzzling (and unspecified) differences in the other measures of sleep physiology. These differences, Quadens conjectured, could have been due to uprooting her "subjects," but her interest in the relationship between dreams and intellectual ability made her aware that "social Darwinists" could attribute them to intellectual differences.

Indeed, she notes, mental retardation is widespread in Malaysia. Among the causes she cites for its incidence among the Temiar are malnutrition due to their being regrouped for development schemes and a sort of infantile encephalitis, exacerbated by malnutrition and also found among Indians and Malays. There are no references to earlier work on either malnutrition or mental retardation among Orang Asli or other Malaysians. It would have been interesting to have Quadens' opinion of Lady Thompson's study of Malay child nutrition, of Dentan's work on Aslian nutrition and intellectual impairment, or of Dr. Mahathir's belief, expressed in *The Malay Dilemma*, that in-breeding plays a role in Malay mental retardation, as does the practice of marrying widows to mentally retarded men.

The chapter concludes with one of Quadens' few forays into "dream content," which she conflates with culture-pattern dreams and mythology: "I am not sure that tigers and nagas have anything to do with the brain, but they recur

often in Temiar dreams and narratives." She then asks whether the supposed transformation of Temiar shamans into tigers, like the transformation of male Iban shamans into women, could be a representation for the Temiar of "a powerful original chaos gravid with an order to come. And do the endless squabbles of the characters in their fables . . . represent the fluctuating equilibrium between order and chaos?"

The next chapter benefits from West's failure to read *The Mystique of Dreams*, the most popular debunking of Stewart's work. G. William Domhoff, the author of that book, deliberately suppresses all evidence of Stewart's racist views of intelligence, perhaps out of deference to Calvin Hall, Domhoff's mentor and a fan of Stewart. Quadens' interest in dreams as a measure of intellectual activity, however, led her to the work of Porteus, which incorporates Stewart's racist interpretations of Temiar and Semnam-Sabum scores on Porteus' maze tests. Confronting Stewart's racism rather than concealing it, Quadens "decided to compare the results of Stewart's intelligence tests with those afforded by physiology. If Stewart was right, there should be a difference between Temiar and Negritoes in the patterns of eye movement during REM sleep."

Accompanied by TV crews, she took her machines to an Iban longhouse, Nanga Beretik in Lubok Antu District near the Indonesian border, and measured the sleep physiology of three Iban teenagers there. She then took a couple of the teenagers back to her lab in Kuala Lumpur. There they initially showed the same physiological patterns as the Temiar, but after several nights they fall back into their normal pattern. She concludes:

The total number of eye movements diminished after the move from the jungle to the city. But this diminution applied only to movements in bursts. The isolated movements--[which express, in Quadens' interpretation] randomness or 'noise'--were similar in number in jungle and city, similar also to those of Temiar recorded the previous year and of Westerners at home. By contrast, their redundancy--[which expresses, in her interpretation] order or structure--had diminished among the Ibans since their arrival in the capital. The unfamiliar city environment had disoriented them, and the stress showed up during sleep as a reduction of cerebral redundancy. . . . The change in sleep was temporary: eye movements reorganized themselves into bursts after several nights. . . . In the jungle, the structure of Iban sleep and dreams resembled that of my students in Europe. (p. 106)

There follows a chapter on the physiology of astronauts, which, during weightlessness, was almost a mirror image of Ibans who had been moved out of the rain forests.

The final chapter, "Toward a Synthesis," allows Quadens' imagination free rein:

Dreamlike states in general and out-of-body 'travels' in particular result from particular combinations of physiological parameters which, in more classic combination, characterize everyone's dreams. These voyages could be called dreams without sleep. They were part of a dream program which, at a certain epoch in the evolution of the species, was entered into and expressed by living material.

Shamanic voyages thus represent the early consciousness of the individual and the species--our memories of a physiological phase that occurred before we perceived space and time.

The book concludes with an appendix on abnormal hemoglobins based on published work, a bibliography of Quadens' publications, and another bibliography of works read by West. Ethnographically, the book is a disappointment, largely because of West's flawed review of the literature. As a record of an imaginative and original attempt to understand shamanism physiologically, however, the book is fascinating. As the display of an imaginative intelligence at work in an unfamiliar world, it is delightful. Quadens proves by her example what she says about science as an enterprise: "People who regret the loss of shamanic poetry fail to understand just how poetic real science is today" (p. 126). It's a fun read. (Robert Knox Dentan, State University of New York ____???)

REJOINER TO DENTAN'S REVIEW OF L'ARCHITECTURE DU REVE

Pat West
Research and Writing Service
3635 Hillcrest Drive, Belmont CA 94002 USA

You've got it right, Robert Dentan. *L'architecture du rêve* lacks . . .

L'architecture du rêve lacks the experiential expertise of Marina Roseman. Roseman knows how to translate her Temiar experiences into meaningful prose that respectfully portrays Temiar thoughts and beliefs.

L'architecture du rêve lacks the professional balance of G. William Domhoff. In his 1985 *The Mystique of Dreams*, Domhoff lays open the sham of wishful thinking where he finds it in the world of dreams, and that includes sleep laboratories, with their "hard-nosed physiologists" and their "Kilton Stewarts."

Domhoff is not the only one who urges both dream and sleep researchers to constantly and consistently assess their work and that of their peers so that these works can contribute to increased knowledge about dreams. You too point out this need:

Professional students of dreams need to show that we can keep our own house in order. . . . Some ethnographic accounts of dreams have been marred. . . . That makes our colleagues wary.¹

When *L'architecture du rêve* was being put together, both Olga Quadens and I did read G. William Domhoff's 1985 book. The fact that our publication is silent on his work is unfortunate and should be criticized.

L'architecture du rêve claims to bridge in a scientific manner the facts of physiology with those of anthropology. Is it not the critic's duty to inform the readers if this promise is fulfilled or not? If our book pretended to be no more than an "essay," I might understand why you dismissed that book as "zany" without assessing the claim of bridge-building. Still another claim is made in our book that "a coherent model" of the cerebral functioning of dreams has been presented. Since you have already praised Domhoff's dismissal of "the strict REM-dream correlation,"² wouldn't you also be anxious to assess a coherency of model claim?

In your review of *L'architecture du rêve*, you inform the readers that there are serious flaws in our book, but you relieve Dr. Quadens of any authorial responsibility by such statements as "the gushing reflects a generous spirit which compensates for her naïveté." Yet, at the same time, you charge me with sole responsibility "to dispel Quadens' folk anthropological biases." As junior author, I suggest to you that these "folk anthropological biases" should not be excused, nor should I be held responsible for them. Once I realized that I could not effectuate the removal of all these biases, I should have seen to it that my name was removed. I did not, and I must bear that responsibility.

In your review of our book, you place none of the responsibility for the shortcomings of the book on the senior author; on the contrary, you even claim that it is I who "undercuts Quadens' own interpretations." How likely is it that a junior author like myself could lead astray an otherwise competent Dr. Quadens? The facts of our collaboration provide an entirely different scenario than the one you depict, and it is the facts which need public airing so that my reputation does not continue to suffer the damage that has accrued from your misallocation of responsibility.

I would agree with you that I have failed to hold my own in this collaboration with Dr. Quadens, and I would agree that *L'architecture du rêve* should have been a better book. I would suggest, however, that you be more "hard-nosed" in future assessments and allocations.

NOTES

1. Robert K. Dentan, "Lucidity, Sex, and Horror in Senoi Dreamwork." In J. Gackenbach and S. LaBerge, eds., *Conscious Mind, Sleeping Brain*, p. 39. New York: Plenum Press, 1988.
2. G. William Domhoff, *The Mystique of Dreams: A Search for Utopia through Senoi Dream Therapy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, p. 99. Robert K. Dentan, Review of G. William Domhoff, *The Mystique of Dreams: A Search for Utopia through Senoi Dream Theory*. *Lucidity Letter* 4(2), p. 108.

REPLY TO PAT WEST

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Let me perform the duty Pat West assigns me. *L'architecture du rêve* does not bridge in a scientific manner the facts of physiology with those of anthropology. A bridge needs to be anchored at both ends to some solid shore. The ethnographic shore in this case is quicksand. The bridge has nowhere to go.

West properly takes me to task for having assumed that, since Quadens was the neurophysiologist and West the ethnographic specialist, the former was responsible for the neurophysiological parts of the book and the latter for the ethnographic ones. Their collaboration, according to an 81-page open letter from West to Quadens which West has shared with me, was more complex than that. Apparently on some occasions Quadens ignored or overruled West and therefore deserves some of the blame for the ethnographic errors of the book. A bad collaboration is like a failed marriage: outsiders should not venture to allocate blame.

I profoundly regret any undeserved damage to West's reputation.

A NOTE ON BORNEAN STUDIES IN JAPAN

Antonio J. Guerreiro
(IRSEA-CNRS)

In contrast to other areas within Southeast Asia such as Taiwan, the Malay Peninsula, the region of Indo-China (Laos, Viet Nam, Cambodia), Thailand, or Indonesia (Java-Bali, NTB/NTT, Sulawesi), field research by Japanese anthropologists in Borneo has started rather recently. In fact, the works of these scholars concerning Borneo are little known outside Japan itself. Generally, one would be right in stating that the publications by Japanese anthropologists have enjoyed only limited circulation because most are published in Japanese, although English abstracts usually are provided.¹

In this short notice, I will give some basic information about recent research carried out in Borneo, as well as mentioning individuals who have a specialization in Borneo studies.²

The emergence of researchers from the social sciences with an interest in Borneo occurred only in the mid-seventies.³ Up to the present, research has been directed towards the East Malaysian states of Sarawak and Sabah, rather than Brunei or Kalimantan. This is in marked contrast with the natural sciences, especially forestry, tropical agriculture, and botany, fields from which numerous researchers have been involved in projects in the four provinces of Kalimantan and in Brunei.

Since 1991, a collective research program, "Anthropological Study of Legal Cultures in Insular Southeast Asia," has been carried out from the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka (*Minpaku*), focusing on the study of *adat* law. This program is directed by Professor Miyamoto, a Philippine specialist, who has turned to Sabah for a comparative approach. Several Borneanists are participating in this project, together with other Southeast Asian scholars. It also should be noted that in 1992, members of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies of Kyôto University started a team project on the changing socio-economic and ecological conditions in each of the Kalimantan provinces. The team includes Professors T. Kâto, who is heading the project, T. Tanaka and I. Yamada.⁴

The major themes of the socio-anthropological studies are (1) the analysis of social structure, (2) kinship and ritual, (3) shamanism and possession, (4) death rites, and (5) subsistence systems. Research reports and papers usually are presented at the occasion of the Joint Annual Meeting of the Japanese Society of Ethnology (*Nihon minzoku gakkai*) and the Japanese Society of Anthropology (*Nihon Jinrui gakkai*).

I hope this information will encourage exchanges between American, European, and Japanese Borneanists. I plan to compile a bibliography of recent Japanese sources, in Japanese and English, about Borneo.

The list given below presents information on seven individuals who have engaged in anthropological research in Borneo during the past two decades. I have arranged the information on each person topically: Name; field; current affiliation; regional specialization; research theme(s); and project(s).

Noboru ISHIKAWA; ethnology; Ph.D. candidate, with M.A., New York City University College; Sarawak; -; research on the Kenyah (Baram?)

Katsumi OKUNO; ethnology, social anthropology; Ph.D. candidate, Hitotsubashi University, Kunitachi, Tôkyô; West Kalimantan, the Maloh complex, especially the Kalis Division; folk beliefs and shamanism, recent history; fieldwork in the Upper Kapuas (Kabupaten Kapuas Hulu) from 1994 onward.

Kazunori OSHIMA; social anthropology; Professor, Doshisha University, Kyôto Prefecture; Sarawak, Iban of the Baleh; main fieldwork between 1988 and 1990; kinship and social organization, household structure; -.

Masaru MIYAMOTO; ethnology, social anthropology; Associate Professor, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka; Sabah, the Rungus Dusun of Kudat

District; field research from 1988 onward; anthropology of law and social relations, world-view; -.

Makoto TSUGAMI; ethnology, social anthropology; Associate Professor of Cultural Anthropology, Department of Culture Studies, Women's College of Koriyama City, Fukushima Prefecture; Sarawak, Kayan of the Baluy; main fieldwork from 1985-87; socio-political organization of the village, agricultural system and labor groups, kinship and affinal relations; Ph.D. on Kayan society.

Motomitsu UCHIBORI; social anthropology; Professor of Social Anthropology, Hitotsubashi University, Kunitachi, Tôkyô; Sarawak, Second Division, Skrang and Saribas (or Layan)-Krian Iban; main fieldwork from 1975-77; Kalimantan Selatan (Banjarasin), Brunei, various ethnic groups; mortuary rites and eschatology of the Iban, interethnic relations, Bornean social systems; -.

Tomiyuki UESUGI; ethnology, social anthropology; Research Fellow, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka; Sabah, Tagal Murut people of Pensiangan District; main fieldwork from 1988-90; social structure, marriage and ritual exchanges, customary law (*adat*), comparative study of social structure in Borneo; Ph.D. thesis on the Tagal Murut.

NOTES

1. Except in the case of articles in a collection, books, or Ph.D. dissertations published abroad in English or in other languages. On the other hand, some Japanese journals have only limited circulation outside Japan.
2. The data presented here were collected in 1992-93 during a stay in Japan in the Department of Cultural Anthropology of the University of Tôkyô. I welcome additional information and reports from readers of the *Bulletin*, to be addressed to me at:

IRSEA-CNRS, 389, Avenue du Club Hippique (Bât. A),
13084- Aix-en-Provence Cedex 2 - FRANCE, or by Fax:
(33) 42 20 82 10.
3. The early fieldwork was often in the form of surveys, for example, the team research carried out in Sarawak in 1973-74 by a group of researchers. The report to the Sarawak Museum includes a study of Professor Keiji Iwata, a comparison of agricultural rites among Iban, Kayan, and Kenyah peoples, and a general introduction to the different ethnic groups along the Rejang River, from Sibü to Belaga District, from a socio-

along the Rejang River, from Sibü to Belaga District, from a socio-anthropological perspective. A copy of the report in English is in the Sarawak Museum Library, Kuching.

4. Some of these studies were done by members of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at Kyôto University, and appeared in the Center's journal *Tônan Ajia kenkyû* (Southeast Asian Studies), together with research carried out by other scholars.

TEMENGGONG KOH: REMINISCENCES¹

In the beginning, I was in Indonesia, Dutch country. There I was born. When I was two years old, I was brought over here to the country of the Rejangs and Tanjongs. My grandfather bought land with two slaves, one named Atok, slaves of mine and my grandfather's.

He got this country by taking the Rejangs and Tanjongs as his brethren and so made it a place for the Ibans to move to and settle in. He came down to the mouth of the Katibas at that time and built a house in the Song, gathering together the Rejangs, Tanjongs and Kayans. There he handed over the two slaves, he made those people his brethren and asked for land; that is how I came to this land and settled down here from the age of two.

A long time later, when I was grown big enough to run about, the fort was built at Nanga Baleh. Then, scorning the fort, we moved to the Mujong.

When Merum was out killing and fighting against the Rajah, we were hauled down and made to live in the Kapit. Then the fort at Baleh was taken down because the Rajah's boat was upset at Nanga Tulek. At that time I was beginning to wear a loincloth and I saw men levelling the ground here for this fort. It was then an old fruit grove, old durians belonging to the Rejangs. It was in the Kapit area that I grew up to be a young man, and there we lived for a long while because the land upriver was withheld from us, and we could not move into as formerly.

Then it was ordered that anyone who wanted to move must pay treble tax. Whoever would pay treble tax could move into the Baleh and up the Rejang. I did not want to live down river and so followed up the Batang Rejang. After

the move we all paid tax three times. I stayed there for a long time. I was full grown, married, and had a child.

In those days there was always killing. Many of us were killed by Kayans and we killed Kayans. Many lost their lives at the hands of Ukits, Punans and Ibans. I was then in my prime and was always off to war taking revenge. I did not just kill, but I took revenge. Vengeance was taken for anyone killed.

Now an uncle of mine, Muling, had married and lived amongst the Badangs with his wife. He was killed by the Badangs and I was angry when I heard of it. Muling was my mother's brother and I was angry enough to go as far as the Pelieran for revenge.

So I set off, with my companions, a force of 70. There were eight houses of them, and I was enraged in my heart so as not to think, and they were all burnt by us. I myself got heads, seven of them, and my men got two or three each. I did not get much, but I did get heads and captives, for I would not be defeated and took on anyone. Being the leader of the expedition, I would have been ashamed if our victory had not been complete.

When I got back I was sentenced by the Rajah because I had not told him. I was only taking revenge, but had not told him beforehand. So I was fetched by the Rajah and taken down to him in Sarawak. When I got there I waited for him and he asked me if I had been waiting long. I replied that I waited for him six weeks. He said, "Is it true that you go killing against my wishes, as people say?" I said, "Not so, Rajah." He said, "If it is true what they say, that you have got heads by killing people, you will surely be killed, you will be put in prison." "I will not," I said. "If I had thought you would kill me, why should I run away? But I heard the good words of people sent to me and came down to Kuching. Yes, I have been waiting for a long time here, Rajah."

After the Rajah had come, he called me to the Astana to speak with him. I was not then a Penghulu, but he mentioned my name because I was accustomed to being with him, and so he called me to him. "You," he said, "have really killed people?" "Quite right," I said. "Yes," he said, "it is said that you have killed altogether too many." "Yes, Rajah, a great many I fought and killed some of those who fought against me, because otherwise they would have killed me, and so I got many heads, Rajah, for that is the way of war." "Very well, if you have killed only the men you would not have done wrong. But you have taken the heads of others. Children are wiped out by you, and women, too, and houses are all burnt. Yes, you have done some wrong in this and you are fined one and a half pikuls." "It cannot be helped," now I said. Then after two or three days the Rajah

sent and called for me. "We are going to Sibü," the Rajah said, "and I am taking you and others back to Sibü. Bantin is coming down the Kanowit, gathering together all the people of the Kanowit to take them to move to the Batang Ai and to the Empuan. He is defying Government by killing, so tomorrow we return there to Sibü."

And so we returned to Sibü, and on arrival, there the story was found true that Bantin had come down the Kanowit with thousands and thousands of followers. We set off up river, the Rajah with us. He remained at Kanowit while Mr. Deshon went on with us, and the Rajah gave orders to me personally saying, "You must be bow man because you are bold. You will be bow man for the Resident." "Yes, I am bold and will not run," so was my answer, and we went up river.

We went up river to a beach (*kerangan*), the one called Teredok. The enemy were massed at Kerangan Geronggang, and while we drew near. But before we met them, we sent out to spy on them. Many were sent to spy. Ajut, brother of Merum, was one, and there were many more, but they did not come close enough before they returned. They came back without even seeing the enemy.

Then Mr. Deshon told me to go and see, so I went, but I would not take a boat. I went by land for the water was watched by them. I crept up to see them by night, in the dark of the night and got in among them. When I got there they raised the alarm and tried to stop my getting away. They were all alarmed and cut and slashed at each other in error. The same night, I returned and came to our own camp again at dawn, where we had fortified ourselves at Kerangan Teredok, and where Mr. Deshon was waited.

That morning, we set off again. I was told by Mr. Deshon to see that everything possible was left behind to lighten the boats. I told them all to go slowly and take it easy. The enemy were in great numbers, and not far off, for I had just seen them the previous night.

We crept slowly, slowly onwards, with some men out on the hills on each side to get an early sight of the enemy. Gani and his people walked above, while we kept to the water. When we came to Adai Rocks, one of the men from the hill came and told us the enemy were just beyond there, and we paused a while.

Mr. Deshon gave each of us a tot of gin to make us bold, and we each drank a half glass there on the *kerangan*. On we went, slowly paddling, carefully,

until we were above Adai Rocks, when suddenly a cannon went off at us and hit us. I was in the bow of the Resident's boat and two cannon shots hit the bow.

Then a shouting arose, and the two sides went for each other, paddling and shooting, shooting and paddling again. But we were the victors and were left in possession of the field. There we found we had gained three boats, big ones like ships, run ashore, and we got in and used them. I got in and threw out the bodies that were in them, but I did not take the heads, because they were Ibans, not Kayans.

When the bodies were thrown out, the boats were taken by the Resident. "That is enough," was the shout. "Don't go after them, they are beaten." And we went to live in their huts and houses, and there we rested and smoked the heads we had gotten.

Afterwards, the force returned and went home, because there were a great many scattered enemy left in the Ulu Kanowit, and the men were afraid to go on. The force drifted away homewards, until none was left.

We were the last to leave with the Resident, not wishing to go on and perhaps suffer a defeat. We returned to Kanowit, to the fort there, and met the Rajah. "Are all their huts finished?" he asked. "No," I replied, "there are many left in the *ulu*. We got only as far as Nanga Bilat, and the test of the Kanowit is untouched. But down the river, everything is over, and the enemy have surrendered. Only those far upriver remain."

Then we went upriver with the Rajah. I went up to Kapit myself. The Rajah said, "I will call out all Ibans from the *ulu*," and he did. He called a force together of thousands, two or three, or perhaps even five thousand, to fill the Kanowit River, and we went up the Kanowit and finished it off, even to the watershed. It was covered and smashed altogether by the Ulu Ibans.

On my return from the expedition, I went back to my country, having wiped out all my misdeeds. I had a very hard time of it, with many troubles. If we went up a river that was held by enemies, I went first. I would not budge, I would not retreat, I would not give way. So the enemy were defeated, twice defeated by us. I was with them defeating people--I did not run. I would kill myself first. If I was to die there, then I would die. I would not run. So we returned to Jimbau. Jimban or Jimbau? I forget.

At Sibü, I was I was going home upriver with the Rajah's permission. He returned to Sarawak. So I came to the Ulu Sut for my country was in the Ulu Sut in those days.

Then there was a killing by so-and-so. Yes, Gerinang killed the Lisom people. He would not come down for fetching, even when the Abang and the Tuan went to him. But I got him down in company with others to Kapit, and from there he was taken down to prison. Yes, Gerinang, Penghulu Gerinang, got a jail sentence.

After that, there was another man who killed the Punan Lubang in the Baram and ran away. He was not out against Government but he ran and hid for fear in the forests in the Ulu Gaat. I searched and searched, and finally found him deep in the forest. I spent two or three nights talking him round. At first, he would not come in and would not surrender. At last, he did, and I brought him and his people down to the fort and so to Sibü. There I went before the Resident and said this is the man, but if he is put to death by you, if he is persecuted, I also will die because I have promised him so, and if he dies, I die, for he is afraid to die. And without (my) promise I would not have gotten him. I told him that if he dies, I would too. This man was not fighting the Government, but he killed his enemy in revenge, an enemy who killed many Ibans, and in the end, he was put in prison, only in prison.

Then, there was Melina and--eh!--Ngumbang, who had been out against the Punans at the same time, and these and their relatives were fetched by us to come to Sibü. When we had fetched them and gently, too, they went to kill us. One of my brothers was killed; my cousins, too. We were defeated by them, but we got four heads of theirs and of them I got one. We were not at war, but trying to bring them in.

At last I went home, but then I went to Kuching again. When I got there, the country was still disturbed. I had stopped raiding, but was always out to get the rebels in. When I got to Kuching, the old Rajah said to me, "Is it not right that you people are like birds, always killing and forever flitting from place to place? You try, and I order you to try and see if perhaps the Ibans will attend to my words and think for the future. You lead them in making plantations, if you will not settle and plant, it is certain you will forever have troubles. There is nothing better than plantations." "Oh, but there is no seed, no seedlings, Rajah," (I said). "Not so," (he replied), for I will give them to you. I will help. How many thousands would you like?" "Where will I plant them?" "Oh, downriver, down below the fort. Don't go above, because the country is still unsettled and you might not be able to keep control if people remain as they are and if you plant above Kapit."

I listened to the Rajah's words and decided to plant whether anything came of it or not. I planted to moved to Nanga Dia downriver there. I fetched seed from Sibu, as many as I liked and could plant, and my plantation was there and did fairly well.

Then there was more trouble and upsets after I had moved downriver. Penghulu Merum went against the Government and killed. All the Gaat joined in with him, all the Ibans.

Now I was at Nanga Dia and there was no Penghulu. The Penghulus had gone on the war-path, killing, and there was no one to keep order. It fell to me to keep order, and I was always on the move, visiting and settling disputes, so I went to Sarawak again and asked that Lidom should be sent to help me. This was approved and he became a Penghulu in addition to myself, with the Rajah's permission.

There were still killings and wars and more killings. I would not allow it, and was always going up the Balleh, up the Gaat, up the Mujong to get people in to surrender. I did my best, but they did not listen to me, and reckoned themselves brave against the Government.

The Rajah said to me, "As for Merum, if you can fetch him, do so, and let his people fight together. If I go against Merum, then you and Merum can collect them together."

I went to Merum with these words, but he would not come. He was fixed for more killings. That was how it was in those days, hard work all the time, and the killing went on. If a force went up, the Rajah came here and stayed on his ship and I met him. When I went up the Mujong, the Rajah had to wait a very long time there. I was told by him to gather those who had run away, those whose houses had been burnt. I went up to call people to surrender, and the Rajah gave me a golden sword², telling me to say that if they came in he would not cheat, he would not lie, there would be none put to death, and each house of those that came in was given fifty dollars by the Rajah.

So I went up to the Mujong, I went up the Gat, and fought there at the Rajah's orders, the Rajah Muda going to, with me to look after him. We defeated everyone throughout the Gat, and I was with the party as far as the source (of the river). We suffered no defeats but we drove all before us and all surrendered, Gat surrendered, and Mujong, and moved down below Kapit. Down there, the country was full of people in the Dia or the Song, where they were hauled down.

The Rajah came up and gave me . . . He, himself, yes, the Rajah himself, made me a Penghulu and he said, "There is no Penghulu here, and you have not stunted yourself. You will be Penghulu, and you cannot refuse."

"But," I replied, "I do not want to, for I do not know the law or how to handle disputes. In the end, people will not hear me and I shall be shamed. I shall do things wrong and be imprisoned and so I shall be dismissed." So I spoke to the Rajah for I really did not wish to be a Penghulu.

Then I followed the Rajah to Sarawak and there I was made to speak with the Rajah Muda, the last Rajah who was Rajah Muda then. I told him of my unwillingness to be a Penghulu because I was not yet fit and nobody would listen to me. "Oh, don't talk so much; you have said your say, and that is enough," said the Rajah Muda. So, I said no more, being told to hold my peace, and went back home, to be a Penghulu and hold the country. There were then not many to go around the country, and the work was never so unremitting. There were not as many Penghulus as there are now. All these men were not yet Penghulus and were still young. The old Penghulus had all been out on the warpath or like Mata Hari, were too old to be any good, and were pensioned. Melintang, Jugah's grandfather, was dead, and there was nobody left. All this time, the land was still unsettled.

Then came a tuan who said what was his name? Oh, yes, Rennie. Now, Mr. Rennie said when he came to stay in my house, "This is the reason there is always trouble, the *antu pala'*, and I want you to get rid of them all. It is for them that you are always killing and going to war. In the future, your grandchildren will see the heads if they are still there, and they will follow the ways of their ancestors and take heads in their turn. Now, throw away your *antu pala'*." "I won't," I said. "How can I, when they are heirlooms?" "You won't?" (Rennie said). "Then I will do it myself later on in the night," said he, and he slept in my house. "Throw them out if you like," I said, "and tomorrow I will go to the fort and throw away your books."

In the morning, I saw that the heads were still there and we talked together again. He asked why I would not get rid of the heads and I said, "We don't wish to throw away our most valuable property. If we did, we would become mad and idiots. We would die if we threw them out; they are sacred." "Whatever reasons you give," said he, "for keeping them, sure it is that your when your grandchildren look up and see them, they will get more like them and kill people."

"Yes, that is what you think," I replied. "But what I think is this, and you listen to me." If we threw away these heads, ten times over, whenever anyone of us was killed by someone else, though we did not take heads, we would take our spears and swords and we would go into their house and chop up everyone of them, two or three hundred, maybe; men would be killed, whether heads were taken or not. When we are stabbed by Ukits, speared by Kayans, we take revenge. Even if we did not take their heads, we would kill people. Always, they die when we die. But you listen to me again. If you want to settle the land and have it peaceful and populous with no killing, let us go up to the Kayans and to the Batang Kayan, and to the Mekam and get them to sacrifice a pig there in their own country, and so we shall have an end of killing."

Afterwards we had a meeting at Kapit with Mr. MacBryan. As a result of this, Mr. MacBryan went with us up the Batang Rejang to the Batang Kayan. On our arrival, we were welcomed by everybody, and they all, with their Chiefs, were pleased to see us because we came speaking of peace and to arrange the sacrifice of pigs.

There we and the Chief of the Kayans, Oyang Ujau, killed pigs in the presence of a great multitude of people that filled the house.

After that ceremony, we brought all the Kayan Chiefs to Kapit, right to this place, some 800 of them, all Chiefs. The Rajah came to Kapit, too, as did the Kayans and the Ibans from as far as Sibu, yes, all the Penghulus. And the Rajah provided all the rice and tobacco and salt fish. All the visitors made huts upriver of the fort, end-to-end, as a place to live, and meetings were held to arrange the sacrifice. But there was no final decision. The Kayans wanted to kill one pig and the Ibans, the other. At last it was fixed for the morrow. But the Resident said all was not ready in the fort. "Not yet," he said, "we are not ready." "What is not ready?" "Not yet," he said, "not tomorrow, but the next day." "How is it not ready then?" "The Rajah said tomorrow, didn't he?" "What are you afraid of? Your tuans?" "We Ibans and even we Penghulus are a little nervous too."

"You go and tell the Rajah, he won't be annoyed with you." So I went to ask the Rajah in the Gun Fort, and said it would be better the second day, because the preparations were not complete. "All right, if you say so," said the Rajah. Then I went back to the Resident. "What did he say?" he asked. "Whatever we think best." "If it is not ready, he will wait." If was good when we had meetings here formerly. The bazaar could not contain the great crowds of Ibans. Many made roofs over their boats, they were so numerous.

The day for the sacrifice came. Melintang, Jugah's grandfather, led the men who were to kill the pig. He held a leopard's tooth to make his oath and

a blade of bamboo, the *buloh bala* made very sharp. He wore a war coat and had his sword girded on. He had his war cap. Having put on his cap, he stood in the open and prayed there, calling upon the spirits. "Whoever of you, whether he be Kayan or Iban, first seeks vengeance or breaks this peace, whoever first kills a man, may he be wiped out, may he disappear. This leopard shall eat him, bit him, and chew him; this bamboo shall cut his throat, dig out his eyes. This for anyone who kills again." So went his prayer, the prayer of Melintang the Iban. Then the Kayans also said their prayers, but I do not know what they said. Each spoke his own language. Then the pigs were speared and killed, and the Rajah told us to take each other as brothers.

At the Rajah's order, I took Taman Kilah as my brother—a Chief from the Batang Kayan, a very great Chief. Other Penghulus took other Kayan Chiefs for theirs, and then there was embracing and bringing away to the bazaar, and eating and drinking together. So we were brothers.

In the evening, we held a meeting in the big house that had been put up there, and agreed that Ibans could visit the Batang Kayan and the Mekam, and men from there could come here freely since the lands were adjoining and the rivers, close together. We could all tap the wild rubber that was there, and we could all equally eat the pigs and fish that were to be had. The Rajah said that if there was any killing in the future, if a Kayan killed an Iban, he would side with the Iban; if an Iban killed a Kayan, he would side with the Kayan. "Kill your friends and neighbours nor more," he said. "Put an end to it, and do not behave as in the past."

Afterwards, when all the work was finished, I was taken by the Resident to Indonesia to the Dutch country, to let them know we had made peace by killing pigs. We went all the way to Pontianak, "the strand of the child," by ship. It is a fine country there, and I did not return home before going. After that visit, I went home. No, I am wrong, there is something I have forgotten that is what was said at Kapit. Now, what have I forgotten? Oh, there are many things and many words I do not remember; if there are things I forget, come upriver again. Again, I went upriver. This time, I went with Mr. . . . the one just now, Mr. Rennie. We went up and up, and got to Long Nawang for another meeting. We made agreement much as before, and also agreed that we could move to their country and they to ours. We could all hunt, and seek jungle produce in common. We could marry in each other's country. That was the agreement in the great book there at Nanga - er! in the fort. That done, we returned here with Mr. Rennie.

So, we can move there and they here, but there must be no fetching. If anyone does move, they will be received; that was our agreement. And so there is peace to build houses. The country is quiet, and there is no more killing. The Ibans can go to Mekam, Kapuas, Kayan; everywhere the Iban can go; Kayans, Ukits, and Punans can come here. Now in those days, there were very few Penghulus, and people were moving upriver all the time. I did not want to leave my plantations at Nanga Dia, but the Rajah told me that I must move upriver to lead the people; otherwise, there would certainly be trouble again.

I did not want to leave my rubber, but in the end I went and found the three dollar tax was still in force. I said I would not move if I had to pay. The Resident was suggesting remitting two dollars, but I still would not (go). How much then? With tax at one dollar, I would go. A letter was sent to the Rajah as there was no wireless then. The Rajah agreed to one dollar, and so I left and moved upriver. But there was no other Penghulu, and Gerinang was made Penghulu to help me. He was still in my house, then; my nephew, Ugak, was made Penghulu in the Mujong, yes one of my people, Ugak, in the Mujong, and Gerinang divided the work with me, but it had never been heard of that two Penghulus should be in the same house. So Gerinang was given the Gaat, while I held the Balleh. Melintang was asked to the Entuloh, Entuloh of Merirai, but he would not. It came to a case because he was very keen to stay in the Balleh. He was not yet Penghulu, but only a helper. The hearing was here, before the Resident, and he was asked why he would not move to the Entuloh. He said he did not want to leave his fruit and his *engkabang* in the Balleh. The Resident told him that if he moved to Entuloh he would be a Penghulu, and then he agreed to move. So, he was persuaded to move, by being made a Penghulu.

But he never moved. He was living down below Batu Tunggal, and he got as far as that when he died; so he never got to the Merirai. This was only a year after the peace making (in Kapit). Then, I arranged for his grandson, Jugah, to take his place, and all the Penghulus I have arranged. When there were several Penghulus, life was much easier. I had less travelling to do, because of my helpers and the country was quiet and peaceful. People went about with the Ukits, Punans, and Lisoms, without trouble, and there has been peace up to the present.

Not so long ago, the Japanese came, making a raid of a different sort. The Japanese felt no opposition because the Tuans did not tell me anything. They did not say they were going to run away. If they had taken counsel with me, I think, they would have lived and not all died at Long Nawang. Had they asked me, I could have put them in the Ulu Melatai or Ulu Putai where there are many hills. But they said nothing, and ran off upriver, and so they were wiped out at

Long Nawang. At that time, we suffered much hardship under the Japanese. There was no price for anything and nothing to eat, not even salt.

When the Japanese felt their defeat, they took me to Song and my grandchildren were taken by the Japanese to Belaga. After a long time, the Tuans came in from Baram, from above there, and sent out letters to all the Penghulus, telling us to kill the Japanese. If that is right, let us kill them, it was said, and so my grandson, Penghulu Sibat, first killed Japanese at Pasir Nai, and they Kayans, upriver. Penghulu Puso's brother, Tuai Rumah Lassa, killed them on the *kerangan* in the Ulu Balui. We down here came in later, because we were not sure, and we did not know that Tuans had come down from the sky.

Then we fought the Japanese, and an aeroplane came from over there, and took me up. The forces moved to Pantu, and I got in the aeroplane to see the bombing of Song with five aeroplanes. I told them where to bomb, in case they should kill Malays or Chinese by mistake, and I saved many lives. All the Song Chinese would have died, but for me.

There were two Sepoys who came here, survivors who ran across the river. They met me in the Ulu, and I took charge of them. People wanted to kill them, but I would not have it. You know the fellows with long beards. And I looked after them so that my name would be good among them. They said how good I was to them, and they would tell their people in Sibiu and Sarawak.

So, for a long time, we looked after our own country, and there was no Tuan in Kapit; all had run away, and the Japanese remained. The Japanese in their turn ran away, and only then the Tuans came back. It was all the Ibans who defeated the Japanese here, and killed so many of them. The Tuans were here only for show during the fighting.

Later, I was called by the Rajah to Kuching because he was coming. I waited there about a month, and then he came by plane. "Did you arrive a long time ago?" he said. "A long time ago," I replied. "Over a month I have waited for you." "Well, it is good you have come here, because I have something to say to you. There is a man here who heard what the King said to me. He is one of the King's men, and a relative of his, and he wants to hear what you have to say. Now I have said that this country will be given to the King. Not long ago, you were suffering very badly under the Japanese, as I know, and you said all would be well if the Rajah came back." "Yes, very true, Rajah," (I said). "That is how the Ibans thought and spoke. They were very hard times under the Japanese."

(The Rajah continued.) "Yes, now the Americans have this country, and I think it will be too much to get it back again. I don't think I can do it. I could not pay more than half, perhaps, while I was in debt to America, and you would be in difficulty, for taxes would be high and duties also. But I cannot wait, either, and want this thing settled quickly, besides having sympathy for you. So, I want to have over to the King. I want the King to have it. You will be easier, then, for he is rich and a Rajah. It will be good if he rules you."

"Yes," (I answered), "Rajah, if that is the way of it, let it be, if it will be good. If it is like your rule, it will be pleasant enough, yes, pleasant."

(The Rajah then said:) "But this must be settled now. Which do you want, me of the King?" "We would like the King, and we would like you, Rajah. We know no other Rajah but yourself. You are the Rajah of Sarawak. The King is a greater Rajah, we would like either." So I spoke and went on. "But, if the King takes your place and the laws and customs are turned upside down, if he lies to us and gives us trouble, I do not hide the fact that we shall fight against him. I will fight back, if there are great changes and everything is upset and troubled."

"Oh, no," said the Rajah. "If he takes over, the old customs will prevail, and there will be no upset."

Then an interpreter told the others and the King's representative what I had said, and such was the talk in Sarawak.

Why not be ruled by the King? He is a Rajah, and so the country is ruled by him. But he is dead, and we now are ruled by his daughter. Oh, this will be for long, and we are pleased, all of us, yes.

(Editor's note: Temenggong Koh died on November 4, 1956.)

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Sutlive, Vinson H., Jr. *Tun Jugah of Sarawak: Colonialism and Iban Response*. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Fajar Bakti, 1992.

NOTES

1. This text is a translation of a tape recording taken directly from the reminiscences of Temenggong Koh in 1955, about one year before his death. Two copies were provided to the Editor, the first by Lucas Chin

and the second by V. T. King, who received a copy from Ken Teague (Horniman Museum, London) who had received the copy from Gerry Stewart.

2. The "golden sword" was not a sword made of gold, but a sword connoting the Rajah's authority (cf. Sutlive 1992:88).

M E M O I R

Tan Sri Gerunsin Lemat

Tan Sri Gerunsin Lemat is currently the President of the Majlis Adat Istiadat (Department of Customary Law), and the senior Iban civil servant in the Government of Sarawak. As well as senior in years of service, he also is regarded as the elder statesman among Iban.



Tan Sri--a federally conferred title--Gerunsin was born in July, 1924, to Lemat anak Gon and his wife, Jelendang. He grew up in the Second Division, and entered St. Peter' School, Sarawak, in January, 1934. He transferred to St. Augustine's School, Betong, in September 1936, and passed Standard VI in August, 1939.

Because St. Augustine's School was short of teachers, during his last year in school he taught during the daytime and studied at night. Four young teachers were recruited during that year at a salary of \$15 per month. His

favourite subjects in school were arithmetic and religious studies, the latter including the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the Christian Way of Life. Though poor at sports, prize-giving day was *his* day. He won the Scripture Prize, which comprised the subjects of arithmetic, Old and New Testaments, and the Good Conduct Prize every year. He split on the Form prize, winning three and losing three during his six years in school. His teaching career lasted three years until the Japanese Occupation in December, 1941.

During the Japanese Occupation, from 1942 - 1945, he went back to the longhouse rejoined his community. During the off-season, that is when not working at the farm, his main preoccupation, with other young men of his time, was tracing Iban genealogies, and discussing customs and traditions.

Following the Occupation, in 1946 he joined the Census Department as an Enumerator of the Awik Block. On December 26th, 1947, he joined the Teachers' Training School, Springfield and Madarasah Melayu, Kuching, before the Centre at Batu Lintang was ready.

On September 4th, 1948, he sailed on the maiden voyage of the *Rajah Brooke* to Singapore en route to the United Kingdom to take up a job as an Assistant Research worker in the Iban language at the School of Oriental and African Studies, of the University of London. He took the matriculation examination after one year but was unsuccessful in his effort. He was not allowed to make up the grade, even though N.C. Scott, with whom he worked, was a member of the Examination Board and asked that Gerunsin be allowed to do his first year degree course as well as resit for his Latin subject. The appeal was rejected, and the Education Department, Sarawak, through the Colonial Office, London, offered him a one-year course to study English at the Regent Polytechnique, London.

At the end of the year's study, he returned to Sarawak in September, 1952, on M.V. P&O to Singapore, and M.V. Bidor to Kuching. In October of that year, he joined the one-year Sarawak Junior Administrative Officers' Training Course. At the conclusion of the course, in August 1953, he was attached to the Information Department as editor of an Iban monthly publication, *Pemberita*. In addition to editing the magazine, in December 1953, he was asked by the Sarawak Government to run a radio program of 15 minutes weekly for the Sarawak Rangers serving in the Malayan jungle. That month, he went on the payroll of the Radio Sarawak Broadcasting Service. The station actually was not ready to open until the middle of 1954, when Gerunsin became one of the pioneer members of the staff, with the title of Program Assistant. In January, 1955, he was promoted to the post of Head of Dayak Service.

In February, 1956, he was promoted to Superscale A, Division II, a position equivalent to that of junior expatriate officers. With this promotion, he was appointed Assistant Principal of the Rural Improvement School, Kanowit, and asked to close down the school to make way for the establishment of a Government Secondary School on the same site.

In April, 1957, he returned to broadcasting and was made a feature writer/producer for the Iban service. His script was made a central script for other language programs. His work in broadcasting took him to Australia from February to June, 1963 for a course with the Australian Broadcasting Commission, and with the B.B.C., London, from September, 1963 to January, 1964. In May, 1964, he was promoted to the post of Deputy Director of Broadcasting, Sarawak.

In August, 1957, he represented Sarawak at the World Assembly of Youth in Beirut, Lebanon. In 1960, he was a member of the Sarawak official delegation to the Colombo Plan Conference held at Kuala Lumpur. In 1962, he was attached to the Solidarity Consultative Committee, and to the Sarawak Delegation to the Inter-Governmental Committee. As such, he was both observer to and participant in the negotiations by which Sarawak was brought into the Federation of Malaysia. In August, with Michael Buma and Taib Mahmud, he attended the Quakers' Conference for Young Asian Leaders in Singapore.

On May 15, 1965, he was promoted to the post of Deputy State Secretary, and in August 1966, became Acting State Secretary when the substantive holder went on leave prior to retirement. He became State Secretary the following month.

Following Confrontation, he attended the Signing Ceremony of the Border Agreement at Jakarta as a member of the Malaysian Delegation. With the late Tun Jugah and the Federal Secretary, he was one of the joint organizers of the Peace-Making Ceremony held at Long Jawe. He was offered an Eisenhower Fellowship in 1968, but declined because of the unstable political condition in the state.

In 1964 he was awarded the *Pegawai Bintang Sarawak* (PBS) by the State Government, in recognition of his distinguished service to the state and its people. In 1970, he was awarded the *Panglima Negara Bintang Sarawak* (PNBS), with the title 'Datuk' by the State Government, and in 1972, the title *Panglima Setia Mahkota* (PSM) with the title 'Tan Sri' by the Federal Government.

He retired from active Government Service in 1979, and took up the position of President of the Majlis Adat Istiadat in August, 1987.

Tan Sri Gerunsin Lemat was married to Racha anak Edwin from Bangkit, Paku, Spaoh, on August 29th, 1955. They have two children, a daughter, Umang, born on October 8th, 1964, and a son, Mujah, who was born on September 22nd, 1965.

REVIEW ARTICLE

THE SURVIVAL OF CULTURE AND THE CULTURE OF SURVIVAL:

A REVIEW ARTICLE

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I. THE NATURE OF CULTURE

A. Definition of Culture

The public representation of Dayak "culture" in the past has tended to be limited to the performance of native dance in the provincial capital for the benefit of visiting dignitaries. The recent publication of *Kebudayaan Dayak: Transformasi dan Aktualisasi* (Dayak Culture: Transformation and Actualization), helps to make clear that Dayak culture has more to offer the nation than such spectacles, and that the Dayak expect more in return than tolerant spectatorship. Most of the contributors to the volume, edited by P. Florus, P., S. Djuweng, and J. Bamba, and published in Jakarta by Gramedia for LP3S/IDRD in Pontianak, talk about a Dayak culture that is *not* limited to the performing arts, material culture, or historical romanticism. In contrast, they speak of a Dayak culture which has more to do with things of day-to-day importance such as agriculture, subsistence economics, and land tenure. The culture that is written about here is no mere aesthetic matter, rather it is a primary determinant of both way of life and quality of life. A dramatic illustration of these linkages between culture and the very foundations of socio-economic life is given by Masri Singarimbun in his chapter on "Hak Ulayat Masyarakat Dayak" (Communal Tenure of the Dayak). He cites the case of a government official in Kalimantan who denies the existence of

Dayak *hak ulayat* "communal tenure" on the grounds that the Dayak no longer constitute a *masyarakat hukum adat* "people [governed by] traditional law". Singarimbun goes on to convincingly reject the claim that the Dayak are not a *masyarakat hukum adat*; but what is important here is that even in the eyes of a government officer, even in a debate over something as important as land tenure, the character of Dayak society - in effect its culture - is viewed as a critical explanatory variable. That is to say, the debate over land tenure is in part a debate over culture.

B. Culture and History

The analyses in this volume demonstrate that the current debate about Dayak culture, like most development debates, is a contest less over facts than over definitions. For example, the government official critiqued by Singarimbun, in claiming that the contemporary Dayak are not a *masyarakat hukum adat*, was attempting to define contemporary Dayak culture as, in effect, a non-culture. His (erroneous) implication was that the Dayak once had a culture, but no longer do. The association of culture with the past is a common theme among critics of contemporary Dayak culture. Thus, some critics admonish supporters of Dayak culture that they should reject any temptation to "return to the past". There are two things wrong with this criticism. First, this criticism confuses a real debate between rival self-interested parties - local Dayak communities on the one hand, and external, elite political-economic interests on the other - with a false debate over whether the Dayak truly constitute local communities and thus have a right to a vested interest at all.

Second, the criticism of a purported Dayak desire to return to the past assumes an overly static character of culture; it assumes that culture does not change, and that any desire to maintain culture in the face of change is therefore a desire to maintain the past in the face of the future. In fact, the contemporary changes that are taking place in Kalimantan are nothing new, they are not historically unique, they do not represent a break with the past. Human culture has always had to cope with, and to undergo, change - not just today but also in the past. This is illustrated by the archaeological research currently being carried out on the neolithic "Ngorak" culture of Kalimantan, which shows that not too many centuries ago, Dayak culture was very different - in geography, technology, and subsistence - than it is today, even in so-called "traditional" areas (Sellato 1992).¹

The fact that Dayak culture was formerly different than it is today (even in its most traditional forms) means that contemporary Dayak culture is not just

a historic "survival". The fact that Dayak culture has changed historically means that it can change today, adapting to changing circumstances just as has always done. The inherent capacity for change in Dayak culture means that it is not a *de facto* obstacle to contemporary change, and it means that the Dayak desire to honor their culture is not a *de facto* desire to avoid change and retreat to the past. Thus, the call by some critics of Dayak culture to "abandon the past" is *not* really about the past, but rather about something else. It appears, as suggested earlier, to be a call to abandon Dayak self-interest.

C. Culture and Development

Traditional culture has long been the "whipping boy" of development. One of the most common - and understandable but not excusable - weaknesses among development planners is blaming project failures not on their own designs, but on the subjects of their experiments, in particular their "culture" (Dove 1988a). These critiques of culture are always normative in character, however; they are never supported by empirical evidence. The available evidence almost always confirms that culture performs a vital function in socio-economic development.

1. Function of Culture:

Much of my own research among the Dayak has been devoted to empirical demonstrations of the fact that their culture is not a liability in development but an asset. Past critiques of Dayak culture have focused on such things as the practice of bird augury, the staging of religious events such as *gawai*, and the multi-"door" longhouse. My analyses have demonstrated that each of these aspects of traditional culture is, in fact, a vital component in the adaptation of the community to a natural environment that is very complex and highly unpredictable.

The first challenge of adaptation in Kalimantan is to try to dampen the fluctuations in subsistence returns that are occasioned by faulty subsistence strategies, which sometimes succeed completely but other times fail completely. Such strategies are a product of overly-deterministic planning, which is ill-suited to an environment about which we know little and can predict less. I have argued that such strategies are avoided, in part, through the practice of bird augury, which serves to randomize agricultural strategies and thereby maximize the chances of receiving *some* return in any given year (Dove 1993). Agricultural planning by government agencies in Kalimantan is, in contrast, vigorously deterministic in tone, and it has suffered grievously as a result.²

The next challenge of adaptation in Kalimantan is to maximize the extent of the "social net" that can be utilized when the occasional but inevitable subsistence failure occurs. This net is maximized through mechanisms that operate at both the longhouse and inter-longhouse levels. At the inter-longhouse level, the mechanism is the annual (or bi- or tri-annual) cycle of inter-longhouse ceremonies. I have argued that this cycle establishes and maintains a broad network of social relations, which is drawn on to exchange rice from regions where it is in surplus in a given year, to regions where it is in deficit (Dove 1988b). The national government may someday have the ability to provide rice to communities deep in the interior of Kalimantan suffering from rice shortages, but it does not have this ability today.

The social net is maximized at the longhouse level by the mechanism of the longhouse itself. I have argued that social and economic institutions within the longhouse promote the inter-household (and intra-longhouse) exchange of labor and grain, in such a way as to minimize the negative impact and long-term ill-effects of poor harvests on the households concerned, while maximizing the positive impact and long-term beneficial effects of good harvests by other households (Dove 1982). These institutions promote, thus, the optimal use, for both the individual household and the community, of production inputs and outputs - and this minimizes the downside risk for both. There is, again, as yet no external institution available that can assume this function.

While each of the above-mentioned cultural institutions has attracted a fair amount of debate, the longhouse has been particularly marked in this regard - see the spirited discussions by Herculanus Aten and Frans L. and Concordius Kanyan, in particular, in this volume. This is probably due to the fact that the longhouse is such a salient, physical symbol of a distinctive Dayak culture, and also to the fact that government policy regarding it has always been so problematic. Thus, while the government has roundly condemned the longhouse on the one hand, and done everything that it could to promote the transfer of its inhabitants to separate, single-family dwellings; on the other hand, it has and continues to have an equally strong commitment to the development of community-based *kelompok* "group" as the social guarantors of development, and it continues to insist on their presence in virtually all rural development projects.

The apparent contradiction between campaigns to break down versus build up community organizations obviously needs to be resolved, and one way to do it would be to turn the government campaign against longhouses into a campaign *for* them. I welcome the recommendation in the chapter by Herculanus Aten to *pelihara rumah panjang yang masih ada* "preserve the longhouses still in existence", but I would go beyond it and recommend that the government

support longhouse construction in communities where they have already disappeared. The tide in official circles may in fact be turning in this direction (if not yet for all of the right reasons). During a recent visit to the *kabupaten* "district" of Singkawang in West Kalimantan, I saw a traditional longhouse displayed on a map in the offices of the local *Bappeda* "Regional Development Planning Body", not as a primitive "throwback" that needed elimination, but as an example of indigenous culture that could be an attraction for tourists! The analyses in this volume should do much to strengthen the call for reappraisal of the true "worth" of not just the longhouse, but of all aspects of Dayak culture.

2. Poverty of Culture and Culture of Poverty

Many of the contributors to this volume raise the issue of poverty in their discussions of Dayak culture. The persistence of poverty in Indonesia, and the need to develop new approaches to alleviate it, has recently assumed a central position in the development arena. The development of a new nation-wide effort to alleviate poverty is particularly relevant to a discussion of Dayak culture, because Kalimantan contains a disproportionately large share of the country's poor. The percentage of villages officially classified as *miskin* "poor" or *tertinggal* "left behind" in Kalimantan's four provinces averages 42 percent, which compares to an average figure of 32 percent for Indonesia's other 23 provinces.

The national government has in the past regarded traditional culture, not just in Kalimantan, but throughout Indonesia, to be an obstacle to development in general and poverty-alleviation in particular. This view has been accompanied by some ambivalence, however, as exemplified by the continued, strong government emphasis (as noted earlier) on the use and support of community organizations to implement development programs. Government ambivalence on this point also can be seen in the number of culture-related criteria that are incorporated into the *Potensi Desa* "Village Potential" censuses, which provide the data for the all-important classification of villages on the scale of development and self-sufficiency (viz., ranging from *swadaya* at the low end, to *swakarya*, and then *swasembada* at the top end).

These tentative steps by government toward recognizing the importance of culture in development appear to be strengthened in some of the new thinking about poverty alleviation in Indonesia. In some of the official discussions of poverty alleviation, cultural problems are represented not as an obstacle to development, but as an effect of under-development; and strong cultural institutions are seen not as a threat to development but as a prerequisite to it. The publication of this volume should contribute to this re-evaluation of the

relationship between cultural integrity and economic well-being, a re-evaluation that will be essential to the success of poverty-alleviation efforts in Indonesia.

II. NATURE AND CULTURE

There are many linkages between culture and development versus under-development, but one of the most important involves natural resources and the environment. There is an important relationship between cultural viability and environmental viability, between the health of a culture and the health of an environment. This association is reflected in the Dayak observation, cited in the chapter by Syarif Ibrahim Alqadrie, to the effect that *Hancurnya hutan alam akan menghancurkan kita*, "The destruction of the forest will destroy us [too]". This observation, which seems to be directly supported by the past twenty-five years of development in Kalimantan, suggests that the presence or absence of equity and sustainability in culture is directly reflected in the presence or absence of equity and sustainability in nature. It suggests, that is, that there is both a common and intertwined fate for people and their environment.

A. Swidden Agriculture

Dayak culture in Kalimantan affords one of the best examples in the world of a relationship between culture and nature that is apparently sustainable for both sides. I am referring specifically to their system of swidden agriculture. Despite a century of efforts by modern, western science - most recently, in the case of Kalimantan, involving massive government investment in ultimately unsuccessful food cropping systems in transmigration projects - *no system of cultivation has yet been discovered that is as successful as swidden agriculture in both feeding people and preserving their tropical forest environment*. Despite this fact, swidden agriculture has been completely neglected by government development planners (as the transmigration projects - with their neglect of indigenous systems of agriculture in favor of untried, alien systems - amply demonstrate). One contributor to this volume (and one of its editors), Paulus Florus, quite properly asks, *Tidak bisakah diakui sebagai suatu sistem pertanian yang pantas dibina juga?*, "Can't it [swidden agriculture] be recognized as a system of agriculture that is suitable for development too?" Another contributor, A.Dj. Nihin, similarly writes, *Membina peladang harus dipandang sebagai bagian dari pelaksanaan pembangunan*, "Developing swidden agriculturalists has to be seen as a part of carrying out development".

Every scholar who has ever studied swidden agriculture in depth would answer "Yes" to the question, "Is this system of agriculture suitable for development?". Government development planners are alone in saying "No". Government planners in the past dismissed any attempt to develop swidden agriculture as a waste of effort on a hopeless system. In light of the current, positive re-evaluation of swidden agriculture, it is increasingly evident that this dismissal actually represents a lack of desire to share development resources with the Dayak.

Increasingly, it is not the prospects for swidden agriculture that are dismissed by informed observers in Kalimantan, but rather the prospects for its officially approved replacement, wet rice agriculture. Recognition that irrigated rice agriculture is ill-suited to environmental conditions in Kalimantan has now reached many (but not all) government offices in Kalimantan. Some particularly astute observers, as in this volume, have pointed out that wet rice agriculture also does not suit the generally egalitarian socio-economic conditions of Kalimantan. Thus, Paulus Florus points out in his chapter that irrigated rice agriculture (which tends to be associated with the development of hierarchical political-economic organization) has turned many farmers in Java into landless laborers (*kuli*), which is an outcome of agricultural development that the Dayak do not want.

A.Y. Aris, in his chapter, properly asks for *Pemahaman pihak luar terhadap sistem perladangan*, "Understanding by outsiders of the swidden system", which we can contrast to the past demand for *Pemahaman para peladang terhadap sistem persawahan*, "Understanding by swidden cultivators of the wet rice system". Aris properly notes that the development challenge is not to Dayak who do not understand the environment and agriculture of Java's rice bowl (e.g.), rather the challenge is to outsiders who understand neither the tropical forest environment of Kalimantan nor the indigenous system of adaptation to it. The current debate about poverty-alleviation in Indonesia has focused attention on the need to redress past development biases in favor of studying and developing the subsistence systems of Indonesia's "center", at the expense of the systems of its "periphery". We will know that these biases have indeed been redressed when the next *hari agraria* "agricultural day" in Kalimantan is devoted not to teaching Dayak how to make wet rice fields, but to teaching agricultural development officers (who either grew up in wet rice regions or who were educated in the intensive paradigm of wet rice agriculture) how to make swiddens! (Then, the Dayak and the agricultural officers could work together not to replace but to improve swidden agriculture.)

B. HPH/Perkebunan

While swidden agriculture is the Dayak practice that attracts the most criticism from development planners, it is the *Hak Perusahaan Hutan (HPH)*, "timber concessions" (and to a lesser extent, *Proyek Perkebunan*, "Plantation projects") on the planners' side that attracts the most criticism from the Dayak. The debate over HPH has for a long time (perhaps too long) been based not on past experience, but on normative projections into the future. There is now a 25-year history of HPH and plantation operations in Kalimantan, and all further debate should be based on this. This history is not reassuring for anyone concerned with the development of Kalimantan and the Dayak.

Some of the contributors to this volume, notably Syarif Ibrahim Alqadrie, have studied the **actual** impact of HPH on the local environment (measured by declines in forest cover), social fabric (measured by increasing incidence of *pelanggaran hukum* "illegal acts"), and economy (measured by no positive changes in income and a pattern of extra-local versus local hiring by the HPH) - and it is overwhelmingly negative. It is no longer sufficient to talk about what HPH **will** or even **should** do for local communities, therefore, instead we must talk about what HPH **are** doing; and what they are doing is injurious to the local culture, economy, and ecology. The studies by Alqadrie and others make clear that while continued support for the HPH (by the HPH owners themselves and a few government officials) is normative in nature, the opposition to them is empirical. As Alqadrie points out, that is, the Dayak opposition to the HPH (and plantations) is based on their proven negative impact; it is not based on the *nilai budaya*, "cultural values," or *sikap mental*, "mental character," of the Dayak, but rather on a correct assessment that the costs of the HPH (at least for the Dayak) exceed the benefits. This raises the question: if Dayak opposition to HPH is based on an empirical assessment of their negative impact, then what is continued government support for the HPH based on?

C. Land Tenure

One of the purported reasons why (some) government planners do not join in this critique of the HPH (and plantations) is because they do not accept the argument by Dayak (and most other observers) that the HPH (and also plantations) are infringing on local land tenure. This infringement is now the subject of a major public debate, involving not only the Dayak and the HPH and plantations, but also local and central government, NGOs, and international scholars and activists. In the past, discussion of this subject was dominated by the "voice" (the rhetoric) of the HPH holders and their supporters in government.

This is no longer true. In this volume, the contesting voice of the Dayak is clearly raised. By simply presenting detailed descriptions of diverse Dayak land tenure systems, as a number of the contributors do, the reality of these systems is affirmed in a way that formerly was not true, and the dimensions of the debate over HPH infringement on these systems are as a result fundamentally changed.

The description and study of land tenure systems is, indeed, a prerequisite to their recognition and validation. It is not surprising, therefore, to see that the so-called *inventarisasi kebudayaan*, "cultural inventory", as described by Herculanus Aten, e.g.), do not include traditional land tenure regulations and institutions. But they should: all government-supported inventories of cultural beliefs and practices should include land tenure in their scope. It will require something of a "sea-change" on the part of some government officers to see this, but the existence of strong, functioning systems of local land tenure must be accepted not as a problem for government but as an asset. Such systems make an important contribution to community organization and self-reliance. Indeed, the existence of a strong local tenure system should be taken as one of the criteria for ranking a given community higher up the developmental scale of *swadaya/swakarya/swasembada*.

The linkage between a system of land tenure and the developmental health of a local community reflects something that is largely forgotten, by both sides, in the debate over Dayak land tenure: the functional character of tenure. Land tenure is a social institution, whose function and purpose is to regulate relations between people and land.³ Its existence can therefore be determined, empirically, by whether this regulation is taking place or not. If we take regulation as an indicator of a functioning tenurial system, and if we then compare the conservation of land and forests under Dayak tenure and under national law, we see that the former may in fact have more right to be called tenure than the latter. Whereas government critics of the existence of Dayak land tenure have focused on the question whether national law or Dayak law has precedence, therefore, the real question may be which of the two is functioning better. This is the sort of reversal and freshening of perspective to which the contributions to this volume will contribute.

III. SURVIVAL OF CULTURE AND CULTURE OF SURVIVAL

This discussion of traditional land tenure and swidden agriculture (among other aspects of culture) suggests that the challenge facing Dayak culture today is not development but rather preservation.

A. Preservation of Knowledge

Whereas we often hear that what is needed is *pengembangan kebudayaan*, "development of culture", the contributions to this volume suggest that what is really needed is *pengakuan*, "recognition", and *perlindungan*, "protection," of traditional culture, or - as Sandra Moniaga says in her chapter with specific reference to oral history and knowledge - its *penyelamatan*, "saving".⁴ The concept of needing to "develop" culture implies that culture is un-developed and that this is part of the problem. In contrast, the concept of needing to "recognize, protect and save" culture implies that it is under attack, and that this attack is part of the problem. A further implication of the latter concept is that culture needs to be preserved because it is part of the solution.

An example of how culture constitutes part of the solution involves the linkage between culture and biodiversity. The global movement to protect the earth's biodiversity is now explicitly focusing on the role that traditional healers or shamans play in developing and maintaining our understanding of this diversity. International corporations searching for new medical cures (e.g.) are establishing projects specifically designed to tap the knowledge of local shamans in remaining centers of biodiversity. The more equitable of these corporations are pledging themselves to share profits with the shamans and local communities.⁵

Unfortunately, this awakening valuation of shamanistic knowledge at the global level is out-of-synch with the course of development at the local level, within Indonesia, where shamans and their knowledge systems are falling victim to the drive for "modernization". There is some indication in Kalimantan that too few members of the younger generation are becoming shamans to ensure the survival of the shamanistic knowledge systems. If the national government is sincere in its wish to understand, preserve, and ultimately benefit from the country's rich biodiversity heritage, it could do much to remedy this situation. It could, for example, give accreditation as folk healers or apothecaries to existing shamans, and establish a program of apprenticeship in the schools for young people who wish to enter the profession.

Too often, however, development planning does not support but rather undermines - albeit often unintentionally - traditional cultural institutions. An example is the development "safari", which consists of bringing massive government personnel, resources, and planning to bear on a purportedly "under-developed" (and often isolated) community. A standard component of such "safaris", which is characteristically carried out in the space of a few days, is the staging of a "rock concert" by members of the safari team. This act, harmless and well-intentioned in itself, in the broader development context is "anti-culture" in

tone. The implication is that the alien culture symbolized by rock music is associated with development and progress, while the indigenous culture is associated with the community's under-development. The implication, that is, is that the alien culture is "good" and the indigenous culture is "bad". This message does not reinforce, but rather undermines, the government's effort to develop the community's own resources, strengths, and independence. It is the *wrong* message to send. The right message might be to have both the visitors and the local community stage concerts, with each drawing on their respective cultural traditions, and with the emphasis thus being on an exchange between two equal partners in development. Of course, it is not government support for rock music versus Dayak music that is important; it is government support for *symbols* of alien versus indigenous culture that is of importance.

B. Indigenous "Voice"

The problem with "development rock concerts", therefore, is not just that they emphasize the wrong culture, but that they place the indigenous community in the role of listeners and outsiders in the role of "speakers". They emphasize the "hearing" of the indigenous community, whereas what needs to be emphasized is its "voice". (This is related to the issue, as raised by R. Hardaputranta in his preface to this volume, as to whether the Dayak are development objects or actors.) The development of the post-modern critique in anthropology and other fields has drawn attention to the need to distinguish this indigenous voice from the voice of outside observers, planners, and officials (Marcus and Fischer 1986); it also has drawn attention to the fact that the preservation of this voice is synonymous with the preservation of the community.

This volume is an excellent example of the indigenous, Dayak voice. It represents a critique of the development process as seen through Dayak eyes. This view, this critique, is itself a part of Dayak culture. It is, moreover, a far more important manifestation or "actualization" of Dayak culture than any *seni budaya* "artistic" performance. When I first visited Kalimantan and started to study Dayak culture twenty years ago, a work like this volume was inconceivable. The increase in the ability of Dayak culture to speak for itself since then is truly inspiring.

The efflorescence of Dayak culture - or, more accurately, the efflorescence in the self-awareness and explication of Dayak culture - that has occurred in the past generation is in synch with current development trends in Indonesia. Provincial officials (not just in Kalimantan, but throughout Indonesia) all now recognize that some decentralization of political and economic authority is

necessary for further development. One of the bases for this recognition is the belief that the provinces know better what they need than the center. In short, one of the bases for the drive toward decentralization is recognition of the value of paying greater heed to "local voice"; and in Kalimantan this means, in particular, the voice of the Dayak.

CONCLUSION

A. Y. Aris asks, in the last chapter of this volume: "*Pertanyaan adalah: inilah pembangunan yang kita impikan?*" (The question is: is this the development that we wished for?). All observers would probably agree that the answer to this question, at least insofar as the Dayak of Kalimantan are concerned, is "No". There is less agreement as to why this is the case. Many development planners have laid the fault at the door of native culture, which they have characterized as an "obstacle" to development. Now, with the publication of this volume (and others like it), we can see the other side to the story; we can see that the attack on native culture is not part of the solution but part of the problem. We can see that Dayak culture is indeed an obstacle, not to development however, but to the thoughtless degradation of society and environment. Thank heaven that "obstacles" like this exist!

AUTHOR'S NOTE

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NOTES

1. One other implication of this difference is that the past has much to tell the present about the limits of adaptation to the environment of Kalimantan, and for this reason government support and funding for archaeological research - currently negligible - should be greatly increased.

2. There is a salutary comparison between the metaphorical "rolling of dice" in augury, to the benefit of the community, and the literal role of the dice in the gambling that is proliferating in Dayak communities, with the implicit or even explicit support of local authorities, to the great detriment of the community.
3. This functional nature also is reflected in the fact that the social construction of land tenure often is linked to land-use, as Mudiyono notes in his contribution to this volume. A pan-Bornean aspect of land tenure consists of awarding tenure to whoever first clears the forest at a site.
4. Note that whereas we frequently hear development planners speak of the need for *pengembangan kebudayaan* "development of culture", we never hear of them speak of the need for *pengembangan sistem adat tentang pemilikan tanah* "development of the traditional system for land tenure". The culture whose development is being recommended here is conceived in a particular narrow and non-threatening way.
5. An example of such a corporation, which is starting to work in Kalimantan, calls itself "Shaman Pharmaceutical".

BORNEO NEWS

REGIONAL NEWS

H. S. MORRIS AWARDED BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL MEDAL

The second award of the Borneo Research Council Medal was made to the late Professor Stephen Morris for his research among the Oya Melanau and his encouragement of research in Borneo. Professor Morris (see "Obituary") did thorough field research among and produced reports of the highest quality on the Melanau. He was friend and advisor to two generations of anthropologists, and the officers of the Council were unanimous in their selection of him as the second recipient of the medal.

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON BAJAU COMMUNITIES

The Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI) sponsored the International Seminar on Bajau Communities in Jakarta, November 22-25, 1993, and will publish the papers. In addition, participants decided to form a Bajau network with one annual newsletter. Dr. A.B. Lapien (Centre for Social and Cultural Studies, LIPI, Jalan Gatot Subroto, Jakarta, Indonesia) is editor, and information and queries should be addressed to him.

The Seminar began with an opening ceremony for a Bajau exhibition in the National Museum. The following morning, there was an address by the Chairman of LIPI and the Head of Research and Development Agency, Department of Home Affairs.

The Seminar was organized into eight sessions, with two papers presented by Professor Zainal Kling and Dr. Clifford Sather on the Bajau of Sabah. The lack of ethnographic research among the Bajau communities of Kalimantan was noted.

Zainal Kling, Chair of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Universiti of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, presented a paper entitled, "The Bajau of Sabah, Malaysia: *Adat* as Indicator of Social Structure." The Bajau populate two major regions of Sabah: the west and east coasts. The west coast Bajau are land-based while the east coast Bajau are largely coastal-based fishermen. This paper treats the Bajau of the west coast. Traditionally, the Bajau seem to have been more or less egalitarian with no clear-cut class structure. However, their close connection with the ruling class of Brunei and Sulu produced families of *datu*, some with controlling power over certain areas. In the Kota Belud area, descendants of *datu* make up what are known as *orang limabelas*, *orang sepuluh*, and *orang tujuh*, while commoners are *orang lima*, and slaves were *orang dua*. The names refer to *adat* payments in marriage relations between different status groups. Today, these distinctions are fading.

Clifford Sather, Southeast Asian Studies Program, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, USA, and a Fulbright Scholar at the Universiti of Malaya, presented a paper entitled, "Ethnicity and Political History: The Bajau Laut Community of Southeastern Sabah (Malaysia). Because of their dispersal and the varied relationships they maintain with surrounding land-based people, communities of maritime Bajau (*Sama*) need to be understood in terms of the wider context of trade, politics and history in which each community is situated. In the Semporna District of Sabah, the once-nomadic Bajau Laut occupy a distinct niche in a poly-ethnic coastal society. The paper traces briefly the political history

of a single Bajau Laut community, from the late 19th century to the present, showing how ethnic identity and changing relations with neighboring groups were, and continue to be, shaped by wider economic ties, religion, the state, and local politics.

Presenters and paper titles by session included:

Session I

1. Tomoya Akimichi (National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan): "Coral Reef Foragers in Transition: Nomadism, Sedentarism, and Ethno-Networks"
2. Rili Hawari Djohani, Ramli Malik, and Muslimin (World Wide Fund for Nature, Indonesia Program, Jakarta): "The Bajau People and Their Maritime Environment in Sulawesi and Sumbawa"
3. Kurt Tauchmann (Institut für Volkerkunde, Universität Köln, Germany): "Ecological Adaptation and Economic Oscillation: Niches of Maritime Nomads in Southeast Asia"

Session II

1. Paul Clark (Marine Archaeology and History, Northern Territory Museum of Arts and Sciences, Darwin, Australia): "Small Boat Building at Tungalang: A Bajau Settlement in The Southern Sulu Sea, Philippines"
2. Hendro Sangkoyo (Indonesian Institute of Technology, Serpong, Indonesia): "Between Moving Ashore and Living Dangerously: Towards A Sound Habitat for the Southeast Asian Sea-Tribes"
3. W. J. Waworoentoe (Sam Ratulangi University, Manado, Indonesia): "Growth and Change of Coastal and Island Communities and Settlements in Eastern Indonesia"

Session III

1. Bruno Bottignolo (MGT, Zamboanga City, Philippines): "Why They Call Themselves *umboh*"
2. Zainal Kling (see above)
3. Clifford Sather (see above)

Session IV

1. Lioba Lenhart (Department for Cultural Anthropology, University of Cologne, Koln, Germany): "Orang Suku Laut: Concepts of the Ethnic Self - The Construction of Basic and Situational Identities"
2. Judistira Garna (Department of Anthropology, Padjajaran University, Bandung, Indonesia): "The Orang Laut of Natuna Islands"
3. Christian Pelras (Laboratoire Asie du Sud-Est et Monde Austronesien, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, France): "A Few Complementary Notes on Aquatic Populations in South Sulawesi and South Malaya"

Session V

1. Esther Velthoen (Asian Studies, Murdoch University, Murdoch, Australia) and Gregory Acciaioli (Department of Anthropology, University of Western Australia, Nedlands, Australia): "Fluctuating States, Mobile Populations: Shifting Relations of Bajo to Local Rulers and Bugis Traders in Colonial Eastern Sulawesi"
2. Peter G. Spillet (Northern Territory Museum of Arts and Sciences, Darwin, Australia): "A Race Apart: Notes on the Sama Bajau People of Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara Timur and Northern Australia"
3. John Darling (School of Humanities, Murdoch University, Murdoch, Australia): "East Monsoon": A work in progress, video screening of a film about the Sama Bajau, prepared for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation

Session VI

1. Ali M.A. Rachman (Faculty of Agriculture, Bogor Agricultural University, Bogor, Indonesia): "Tribal Information Capture and Environmental Knowledge"
2. Sukotjo Adisukresno (Directorate General of Fishery, Department of Agriculture, Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia): "Bajau Fishermen, Scattered All Over Indonesia"
3. Takefumi Terada (Institute of Asian Cultures, Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan): "The Bajaus in Sulu: The Problem of National Integration" (slide presentation)

Session VII

1. Edy Mantjoro (Faculty of Fishery, Sam Ratulangi University, Manado, Indonesia): "Socio-Economic Life of Bajau Communities in North Sulawesi, Indonesia"
2. Fadjar Ibnu Thufail and Ary Wahyono (Center for Social and Cultural Studies, Indonesian Institute of Sciences, Jakarta, Indonesia): "The Bajau of Southeast Sulawesi"
3. Ahmad Mattulada (Hasanuddin University, Ujung Pandang, Indonesia): "The Bajau of Southeast Sulawesi"

Session VIII

1. James J. Fox (Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia): "Bajau Voyages to the Timor Area, the Ashmore Reef, and Australia"
2. Bu V.E. Wilson (School of Environmental Science, Murdoch University, Murdoch, Australia): "Mare nullius in Australia and Customary Marine Tenure in South-east Sulawesi: A Work in Progress"

The closing business meeting was chaired by Dr. A. B. Lopian. (Information provided by Clifford Sather)

MALAYSIA TREE, NOW LOST, SLOWED HIV

WASHINGTON - Starting with twigs from a Malaysian gum tree, researchers isolated a compound in 1991 that blocked the spread of the HIV-1 virus in human immune cells, according to a paper made public yesterday by Rep. Gerry Studds of Cohasset.

The team sent biologists back to Malaysia for more samples from the tree. But when they got to the swamp, the tree was gone. And no tree found since has produced the same compound, according to the paper.

"We have very good data. It's very promising," said Dr. John Cardelina 2nd, the co-author of the paper. "To say it's definitely going to be a cure is jumping way ahead of the game." But Cardelina said testing indicated that the

compound could more than control the disease. "The emphasis is on eradicating the virus in the patient," he said.

The tree was a member of the guttiferæ family of gum-producing trees. The type, known as *(C)alophyllum lanigerum*, was found in a swamp in the Malaysian island (sic) of Sarawak.

Researchers collected a little more than two pounds of twigs, bark and fruit from the tree.

At the National Cancer Institute's center in Maryland, they reduced saplike material in the tree to a compound, "calanolide A." They tested it against the HIV-1 virus - the most common virus form in known AIDS cases.

Human cells in a test container would normally be killed by the virus within days, Cardellina said. The team found the new compound was "100 percent effective" in blocking that process.

Results of the study were published last year after peer review by the *Journal of Medicinal Chemistry*. (*The Boston Globe*, Friday, May 7, 1993, from the Associated Press)

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ASIAN STUDIES OPENED

On October 13, 1993, the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) was officially opened by Dr. P.A.J. Tindemans, Director of Research and Science Policy of The Netherlands Ministry of Education and Sciences, in Leiden, the Netherlands.

IIAS has been set up to encourage Asian studies in the humanities and social sciences and to promote national and international scientific cooperation in these fields. Senior (PhD) research fellows will be temporarily employed by the institute, either within the framework of a collaborative scientific program, or on an individual basis. The institute will, among other things, organize seminars, workshops and conferences, publish a newsletter and establish a data base which will ultimately contain up-to-date information about researchers and current research in the field of Asian studies. IIAS is located in Leiden. Its Board and Academic Committee consist of representatives of various Dutch universities and scientific institutes.

SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AUSTRONESIAN LINGUISTICS

The Department of Languages and Cultures of South-East Asia and Oceania at Leiden University is the organizer of the Seventh International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (ICAL), which will be held from Monday 22 August to Saturday 27 August 1994. The general emphasis of the conference will be on the presentation of primary language data. Descriptive, historical, sociolinguistic and creolistic papers dealing with Austronesian languages, especially when they are based on primary language data, are welcomed. Persons interested should contact: The Organizing Committee ICAL, Projects Division, Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania, Rapenburg 35, 2311 GG Leiden, The Netherlands (Telephone 71-27 24 16/27 24 19; Fax 71 - 27 36 32)

INDONESIAN ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY NEWSLETTER LAUNCHED

The first issue of Indonesian Environmental History Newsletter was published in June, 1993. "The purpose of this new *I E H Newsletter* is to provide a communication network linking all those interested in the history of relations between man and environment in Indonesia. Appearing twice a year, the newsletter is aimed at a broad readership ranging from historians to ecologists, economists and development specialists. Each issue will contain news on current research in Indonesian environmental history by institutions, groups and individuals, together with a bibliography of recent publications and reviews of some of the most significant among them. . .

"All contributions are extremely welcome - please send them to the *Indonesian Environmental History Newsletter*, KITLV, PO Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands." (pp. 1-2) (Telephone 71 27 22 95; Fax 71 27 26 38; E-mail Nagtegaal@RULLET.LeidenUniv.NL)

THIRD INTERNATIONAL FLORA MALESIANA SYMPOSIUM

Following the successful Flora Malesiana Symposium in Leiden and Yogyakarta the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew is pleased to announce on behalf of the Board of the Flora Malesiana Foundation that it will host the Third International Flora Malesiana Symposium, 10th-14th July, 1995, in the week before the Eric Holttum Memorial Pteridophyte Symposium, also to be held at the Kew. The Symposium will include general sessions of invited and contributed papers

on the flora and vegetation of Malesia. There will also be poster sessions. The results will be published in a Symposium volume. In addition the symposium will provide a forum for special interest working groups to meet to discuss the completion of outstanding plant families for Flora Malesiana by bringing together potential contributors.

Flora Malesiana is an international project which aims to describe, classify and publish the flora of Malesia in a series of family treatments summarizing existing and new information about the plants of the region. The publication of Flora Malesiana will provide the basic printed and computerized resource for evaluating the ecological, conservation and economic potential of the vegetation of Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, and Singapore.

To receive further information, please write to Robert Johns, The Herbarium, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, Richmond, Surrey TW9 3AE UK (Fax 81 332 5278).

GEO VISTAS EDUCATION SERVICES

IAN ELGIE is Manager of GeoVistas Education Services (30 Cranedown, Lewes, BN7 3NA, United Kingdom), and leads two tours each year to Sabah, Sarawak, and Brunei. The first tour at Easter is only for teachers, with a program designed to appear particularly to geographers. The second tour during the summer is open to anyone.

KALIMANTAN NEWS

BIRUTE GALDIKAS RECEIVES SIERRA CLUB AWARD

DR. BIRUTE GALDIKAS received the Sierra Club's 1993 Chico Mendes Award on January 26, 1993, in the Mansfield Room of the U.S. Capitol Building. The award is named after the later rubber tapper, union leaders and environmentalist, Francisco "Chico" Mendes Filho of Brazil, who was assassinated in 1988. It is presented to "individuals or non-governmental organizations, outside of the United States, who have exhibited extraordinary courage and leadership, at the grassroots level, in the universal struggle to protect the environment."

Working closely with Indonesian authorities, and building both grassroots and international support, Dr. Galdikas has fought to uphold and strengthen Indonesian environmental laws. At the same time, she has conducted extensive research on orang utan biology and behavior. In the process, she has resolutely faced the threats of poachers, illegal loggers and other powerful interests. She has endured physical assaults and persistent harassment.

THE 1992 NATIONAL SEMINAR ON DAYAK CULTURE AND DAYAK CULTURAL EXHIBITION¹

Background

The idea of holding a seminar came from a group of Dayak intellectuals from all four provinces who, meeting at the Institute of Dayakology Research and Development (IDRD) office in Pontianak on August 7, 1991, were discussing Dr. Fridolin Ukur's paper, that had just been presented on the same day at the National Seminar on the Economy of the Kalimantan People and had proved so interesting that participants kept the discussion alive for two hours instead of 30 minutes. These Dayak intellectuals decided that a national seminar should be held to raise such important issues as relate to the current changes experienced by the Dayak cultures. This decision was based on the considerations that 1) there had never been such a national seminar held in Kalimantan; 2) Dayak culture is currently challenged by, and forced to adapt to, processes of rapid induced by national development; 3) Dayak culture constitutes a "hidden treasure" that must be expressed and transformed to better respond to the situation. The IDRD was chosen to become the organizing committee of the seminar.

Goals and Theme

The 1992 National Seminar on Dayak Culture and associated Dayak Cultural Exhibition 1992 focused on the following goals: 1) To update the socio-cultural circumstances of the Dayak and increase official awareness of these circumstances, so that the development programs imposed on Dayak societies are consistent with them; 2) to find alternative methods of documenting, researching,

¹Report of LP32-Institute of Dayakology Research and Development, Jln. Selat Sumba 3, PO Box 6199, Siantan, Pontianak 78061, Indonesia (Phone 62-561-35274/Fax 62-561-33749). Edited by Dr. Bernard Sellato, January, 1994.

and promoting Dayak culture, in correlation with government tourism programs; 3) to act as a springboard to develop a cultural communication forum between the Dayak of all four Kalimantan provinces; 4) to promote tourism in Kalimantan.

The overall seminar theme was titled: "The Expression and Transformation of Dayak Cultural Values in the Framework of Indonesia's Second Long-Term Development Plan". Three sub-themes were selected: The Expression of Dayak Culture Forms, Functions, and Values; The Transformation of those Forms, Functions, and Values in the Present Context of Development; and Dayak Culture and National Development. A call for papers was sent out in June, 1992. Prior to September, 1992, the Steering Committee received the applications in the form of abstracts. From those received, 21 topics were selected.

Committees

The Organizing Committee, constitute in mid-1992, included the following persons: Chairman, T. Arsen Rickson, SH; Co-Chairman, Drs. A. R. Mecer; Co-Chairman, Drs. Albert Rufinus, MA; Secretary, Drs. Stepanus Djuweng; Assistant Secretary, John Bamba; Treasurer, Drs. F. Y. Khosmas; Assistant Treasurer, Dra. Sylvia Sayu

The Steering Committee included Dr. Fridolin Ukur, Chairman; R. H. Hardaputranta, SJ, Co-Chairman; Dr. Syarif Ibrahim Alqadrie, Secretary; Dr. Leo Sutrisno, Assistant Secretary; and Drs. Paulus Florus, Drs. Paulus Yusnono, and Tadeus Yus, SH, MPA, members.

The IDRDR, acting as the Organizing Committee, soon set out to find donors. The first to respond were the Provincial Government, P. T. Kompas Gramedia (a large publishing and press group) the LPPS-KWI (Jakarta), and the Ford Foundation (Jakarta).

In June, 1992, a call for papers was sent out and, by September, a number of abstracts of papers had been received, among which the Steering Committee selected 21 communications. Invitations were sent to Dayak intellectuals and anthropologists from Kalimantan, Sabah, and Sarawak, and to researchers on Borneo worldwide (the United States, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, and Japan). Meanwhile, the seminar and exhibition were widely publicized on radio and television, and through press conferences.

The LP3S, the national board of IDRDR in Jakarta, had to obtain a letter of recommendation from the Head of Police, appointing the LPPS-KWI as the body responsible at the national level for the seminar and exhibition. The letter

was issued on September, and LPPS-KWI thus became the co-organizer with LP3S-IDRDR. One month before the seminar, the Committee met to check on final details. A group of 55 volunteers assisted in carrying out both the seminar and the exhibition.

The Seminar (26-28 November, 1992)

The seminar was held at the Hotel Kapuas Palace, and not, as was initially scheduled, in the conference hall of the Wisma Merdeka, which was being renovated.

There were 361 participants, most of whom came from various regions of West Kalimantan: Sanggau (23), Ketapang (27), Pontianak region (22), Sambas (24), Kapuas Hulu (12), Sintang (33), Pontianak City (178). Some also came from South Kalimantan (3), East Kalimantan (6), Central Kalimantan (8), from Jakarta and other regions of Indonesia (16), and even from Sarawak (3) and Sabah (12). However, only four of the observers invited attended: two from France and two from Japan.

The participants were from a variety of backgrounds: adat chiefs of many Dayak subgroups, government officers, state and private universities and colleges, non-governmental organizations, business associations, Dayak intellectuals, and foreign guests.

The agenda was as follows.

Wednesday, November 25, 1992

Introductory Session

Thursday, November 26, 1992

Speakers and Topics:

Dr. Fridolin Ukur: The Religious Meaning of the Natural Environment in the Culture of the Dayak

C. Kanyan, SH, and S. Jacobus E. Frans, L, SH: Longhouses as the Cultural Institution among the Iban and Banuaka' Dayak of Kapuas Hulu Regency

Dr. Mudiyono: The Consequences of Changing Dayak Residence Patterns: From The Longhouses to The Singlehouse

Sandra Moniaga: Dayak Indigenous Knowledge as an Alternative Way to Handle the Degradation of Natural Resources

Yan Sukanda: Dayak Traditional Music

Dr. Syamsuni Arman: A Cultural Analysis of the Dayaks

Rachmad Sahudin, BSc: The Rights and Duties of the Adat Council in Pontianak Regency

Drs. Paulus Yusnono: The Strategic Role of Adat Council

Friday, November 27, 1992

Patingi Aris (Simpang Dayak Council): The Impact of Logging on Natural Resources and Socio-Cultural Setting in Simpang District, Ketapang Regency

Dr. Syarief Ibrahim Alqadrie: The Impact of Forest Concessions and Plantation Estates on the Dayak Social Life

Dr. Masri Singarimbun: About Dayak Traditional Rights

Prof. Hj. Irene Muslim, SH, and S. Jacobus S. Frans, SH: Patterns of Land Tenure Systems in Kalimantan

Prof. Sutandyo Wignjosoebroto, MPA: Nationalism, Development and Local Culture

Drs. H. A. Dj. Nihin: A Model of Development to fit the Dayak People's Aspirations

Drs. Herculanus Aten: The State's Program to turn West Kalimantan into A Center of Dayak Culture, and its Achievements to date

Saturday, November 28, 1992

Drs. Paulus Florus: Socio-Economic Aspects in the Transformation of Dayak Culture

Dr. Wariso R.A.M.: The Role of Cultural Research and Development in the Decision-Making Process of Economic Development

Prof. Hj. Irene Muslim, SH: The Symbols of the Power of Adat among the Dayak

Prof. Mahmud Akil, SH: Ethnicity in West Kalimantan

Dr. Syarif Ibrahim Alqadrie: Messianism in Dayak Society and Its Expression Today

Recommendations and Conclusions

On the last day, a series of recommendations for further action was issued by the Working Group, specially constituted and consisting of representatives of the participants.

1. A communication network of the Dayak NGOs should be established to disseminate information to all parts of Kalimantan and bridge gaps separating the regions.
2. A Dayak Cultural Conservation and Publication Center and a Kalimantan Center should be created, and housed in a Dayak-designed building to

be constructed in Pontianak, meant to become the Dayak people's symbol in Dayakland, and which should be able to house also an organic-food and handicrafts shop, a Dayak restaurant, a guesthouse combined with an alternative tourism board, a convention hall, a library, a clearing house, and office space for NGOs involved in the promotion of the Dayak people's socio-economic and cultural development.

3. A Dayak National Congress should be established to discuss various all issues relevant to the development of the Dayak people in the context of Indonesia's national development, and to strengthen the sense of solidarity among the Dayak of Kalimantan.
4. The recognition by the government of the validity of traditional Dayak land tenure systems, as stated in the Agrarian Law (UUPA), should be implemented properly.
5. Continuous efforts should be made to promote both basic and applied research with emphasis on Dayak indigenous science and technologies, and on the comparative impact of Dayak farming methods and logging activities on deforestation and environmental degradation.
6. An agreement should be reached among the Dayak groups in spelling their ethnic identification: Dayak, Daya', or Daya.

Conclusions

It may be stated that 90 percent of the goals of the National Seminar on Dayak Culture and the Dayak Cultural Exhibition have been achieved. This is especially obvious, considering the very enthusiastic response of the Dayak community at the seminar and the big crowds who attended the exhibition.

The Exhibition

The Dayak Cultural Exhibition was held concurrently with the seminar, in the Auditorium of Tanjungpura University, a more suitable place, about one kilometer from the site of the seminar.

Participants

Participants included 12 exhibitors: LP3S-IDRD; RRI-Seksi Siaran Bahasa Kanayatn; Galerina Arts; Sanggar Flamboyan; Eduardo Delasor Menyuke; Thambun Bungai Sintang; Sanggar Andesta-Pontianak; Museum Negeri Pontianak; Kayan Mendalam-Kapuas Hulu; Mualang-Sekadau; PT. Kalimantan Indah Keramik-Pontianak; Yohanes Palaunsoeka (Lukisan) -Pontianak. There

were ten participants in a fashion show: Sanggar Sukalanda (Dayak Taman-Kalis); Sanggar Hengkung-Kayaan (Dayak Kayaan); Sanggar Sari Budaya (Dayak Taman-Kapuas); Sanggar Kenyalang Gayu (Dayak Iban); Sanggar Bakermas (Dayak Embaloh); Sanggar Terabai (Dayak Taman-Kantuk); Sanggar Temonggong Bontor (Dayak Ketapang); Sanggar Bengkawan (Dayak Sanggau); Sanggar Tambun Bungai (Dayak Sintang); Sanggar Pelakak Bulou (Dayak Sintang). Fifteen dance troupes performed. These were: Sanggar AMBOYO BUKIT TELAGA; Sanggar UYAN; Sanggar TAMBUN BUNGAI; Sanggar PELAKAK BULO; Sanggar MAYANG; Sanggar SARI BUDAYA; Sanggar AMBOYO; Sanggar HENGKUNG KAYAAN; Sanggar KENYALANG GAYU; Sanggar BAKERMAS; Sanggar TERABAI; Sanggar TEMONGGONG BONTOR; Sanggar ANDESTA; Sanggar BENGKAWAN; and Tim Kesenian SABAH

Copies of the papers can be obtained by writing the Institute of Dayakology Research and Development (for address see footnote above)

BOTANICAL PROGRESS IN THE TROPENBOS KALIMANTAN PROJECT

P.J.A. Kessler and P. Baas²

During the last three years the Rijksherbarium/Hortus Botanicus (L) has been involved in the Tropenbos Kalimantan Programme, a co-operative programme between AFRD (Agency for Forest Research and Development, Indonesian Ministry of Forestry) and the 'Tropenbos' Foundation. The implementation of this programme is executed by AFRD and its institutes on the Indonesian side and the IBG-DLO (Instituut voor Bosbouw en Groenbeheer - Dienst Landbouwkundig Onderzoek), Wageningen, and L on the Dutch side. UNESCO-MAB has funded research in soil science. The programme is supported by the forestry state enterprises Inhutani I and II, and other concessionaires. A close co-operation exists with the Faculty of Forestry of the Mulawarman University, Samarinda.

The research of the 'Botanical Research Group' focused on the following main points:

1. Preparation of a manual of forest trees in the Wanariset research forest and surroundings;

2. A study of non-wood forest products and their socio-economic relevance;
3. Establishment and management of a computerized database;
4. Comparative wood quality studies of plantation-grown Shorea;
5. Botanical training and training in forest tree recognition;
6. Establishment and management of the 'Wanariset Herbarium'.

Tree Manual - The manuscript of 'Trees of the Balikpapan-Samarinda area, East Kalimantan - A Manual of Selected Species' - (P.J.A. Kessler and Kade Sidiyasa, in press 1993/94) has been finished. It will contain a synoptical and a bracketed key to the families and genera, and descriptions of c. 270 species including notes on uses and distribution. At least one species of each genus is depicted and within the economically important *Dipterocarps* every species is illustrated. As a precursor to this manual a checklist of over 1200 woody species from the same area was published in 1992 (P.J.A. Kessler, Kade Sidiyasa, Ambriansyah and Arifin Zainal, Checklist for the tree flora of the Balikpapan-Samarinda area, East Kalimantan, Indonesia, Technical Series Tropenbos 8, 79 pp., to be ordered from Tropenbos, P.O. Box 232, 6700 AE Wageningen, The Netherlands).

The tree manual is intended to be a first guide to the (primary) lowland of East Kalimantan and the authors are fully aware of its shortcomings because a selection had to be made of 270 of the most important tree species. Foresters, timber licensees, and their forestry personnel often find it difficult to identify tree species by their bark, slash, and leaf-characters alone. We hope that this book facilitates a quick identification of the tree in question or provides at least a hint as to which family or genus the specimen belongs.

One of our students, Mr. R. DE KOK, returned from Wanariset in April, 1993, after a stay of 5 months. He made a study of the variability of the bark and slash characters of some *Dipterocarpaceae* and *Bombacaceae* and was able to describe more than 250 individual trees (in 20 species) in different plots at the Wanariset Forest Research area. For his study he collected more than 500 (slash and leaf) samples and made more than 1000 slides. It seems that most of the bark and slash characters are relatively stable within one species and provide good vegetative characters which can be used in identification keys.

Wanariset Herbarium - The Wanariset Herbarium, situated c. 35 km north of Balikpapan, is housed in an air-conditioned building where collections can be kept under optimal conditions. During the last three years, c. 3500 accessions (fertile material only) were collected (mainly by AMBRI and ARIFIN, KADE SIDIYASA, VAN BALGOOY, KESSLER, and VAN VALKENBURG) dried,

²Reprinted from Flora Malesiana Bulletin 11(2):143-144.

mounted, and filed. All duplicates were sent to BO and L and were (pre-)identified by Dr. VAN BALGOOY, Dr. KESSLER, Ir. KADE SIDIYASA, and the staff of the tropical group of L.

Non-Timber Forest Products - Ir. J. VAN VALKENBURG embarked two years ago on a Ph.D. study of the non-timber forest products and their (socio-)economical potential in East Kalimantan. His research plots are in the Apo Kayan, in the ITCT (International Timber Corporation Indonesia) concession, and in the Wanariset forest. The influx and prices of various non-timber products is closely monitored at the markets in Samarinda. Preliminary results confirm the great economic potential of non-timber forest products, especially of rattan as a sustainable alternative to large-scale timber extraction.

Wood quality of plantation grown Meranti - Dr. M. T. M. BOSMAN and Ms. M. K. VAN HEUVEN carried out a pilot study on wood density and a number of wood anatomical parameters (fibre wall percentage, tissue proportions, etc.) in (nearly mature) plantation-grown trees and primary forest trees of *Shorea leprosula* and *S. parvifolia*. No significant differences were found between the two types of provenances. These results are slightly at variance with earlier results obtained by Dr. A. MARTAWIJAJA from the FPDI (Forest Products and Development Institute), Bogor, who found a decrease in density and durability of fast-growing trees in plantations of various *Dipterocarpaceae*. The issue warrants further study, because with the vastly increased possibilities of using indigenous *Dipterocarpaceae* in plantation and enrichment forestry, the question of sustained wood quality should be addressed before selecting planting material. The project will be continued in close cooperation with FPDI in Bogor.

FOR PEAT'S SAKE

Between July and September, 1993, DRs. JACK RIELEY, University of Nottingham and SUSAN PAGE, University of Leicester, led four teams of Earthwatch volunteers in the collection of peat samples in Central Kalimantan. The crews collected samples to measure the depth, hydrology and chemistry of the peat, collected plant species, survey animals, and evaluated the forest's potential for conservation and sustainable development, and its role during global climate change.

Lowland peat swamp forests maintain water quality and provide food, shelter, and medicines for local communities. When logging or farming remove the trees, the acidic, toxic, nutrient-deficient peat shrinks and becomes water-

logged, driving would-be-farmers into crowded cities. This field research attempts to answer a number of questions: What is best for immigrant farmers, local people, and the native forests? What is the most effective method of reclaiming degraded peat soils?

RILUS A. KINSENG, a Paju Epat Ma'anyan Dayak of Central Kalimantan, is a lecturer in the Department of Socio-Economics, Faculty of Fisheries, Bogor Agricultural University. He currently is in the M.A. program in Sociology with a specialization in Rural Development in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Guelph. He did research on four villages in Central Kalimantan between May 26 and August 31, 1993. His thesis will examine the conditions of the Paju Epat Ma'anyan in the face of modernization in Indonesia. He presented a paper, "The Disappearance of a Traditional Religion: A Case Study of the Paju Epat Ma'anyan Dayak in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia," during the 21st Annual Conference of the Canadian Council for Southeast Asian Studies which was held at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada, October 15-17, 1993.

KATSUMI OKUNO will conduct research, sponsored by Tanjungpura University and LIPI, among the Kalis Dayak of West Kalimantan, commencing in January 1994. Mr. Okuno will study the belief systems and social history of the Kalis (see "Research Notes").

KENNETH SILLANDER and ISABEL HERRMANS studied ethnicity and religion among the Bentian in the border area of East and Central Kalimantan from June to December, 1993. Sillander is at the Swedish School of Social Science, University of Helsinki.

FIELD EXPEDITIONS, TANJONG PUTING

Opportunities are available for both 15- and 11-day in-field expeditions to assist Dr. Biruté Galdikas and her Orangutan Research and Conservation Program. These are part of a limited set of volunteer teams sponsored by the Orangutan Foundation International.

The research tour season will commence June 6, 1994, and end August 29, 1994. There will be only five teams, each limited to 15 persons on a first-come, first-served basis. Dates for the teams at the staging area (Pangkalan Bun) are June 6-20 (15 day), June 27-July 7 (11 day), July 11-25 (15 day), August 1-11 (11 day), and August 15-29 (15 day). Costs vary according to length but will be comparable to other similar programs.

In country coordination: While Dr. Galdikas plans to be in the field at the time, Mrs. Charlotte Grimm will be the ground staff co-ordinator for the 1994 field season. She has been assisting Dr. Galdikas for many years and will be providing the orientation and many of the lectures.

Research and Education Objectives: Team members will assist Dr. Galdikas and her staff in the collection of data on the long-term studies of wild and rehabilitant orangutans. These studies are now in the 22nd year. Team members will work in pairs and be assisted by an experienced Dayak guide. Orangutans will be located by the guide and the team together. Once located, the orangutan will be followed for several days while data are collected on their behavior and ecology. We are attempting to secure continuing education credits for the expedition as it has a strong educational component.

Other Objectives: Team members will get several opportunities to meet with some of the ex-captive orangutans in both the Camp Leakey and Tanjung Harapan rehabilitation population. There will also be the opportunity to visit some of the environmentally impacted areas near the national park.

Expect to meet people from around the world. Each of our international chapters will help in locating interested individuals to be part of an experience which can be found nowhere else on earth. For those who have been out to Tanjung Puting before, please remember that we cannot be responsible for your desire to return to Kalimantan. It may be the sense of awe and beauty of the rain forest, the lingering effects of Dayak magic, or the haunting memory of looking face-to-face into the eyes of an orangutan.

For more information on expedition availability, itinerary and pricing, write or call the Orangutan Foundation International office: 822 S. Wellesley Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90040 USA, telephone number 310-207-1655; fax number 310-207-1556.

MR. KADE SIDIYASA (BZF) visited Leiden between 7 January and 7 March, 1993, for the preparation of the 'Trees of the Balikpapan-Samarinda area, East Kalimantan, Indonesia-A manual of Selected Species,' together with DR. P. J. A. KESSLER.

HIDEYUKI SASAKI is a doctoral candidate at the University of California at Los Angeles, and recently completed two years of fieldwork in the Middle Mahakam. His major is regional economy and ecology. His mailing address is: 1-3-3 Toyogaoka #205, Tama-shi, Tokyo 206, Japan.

SABAH NEWS

Carbon Dioxide Offsets As Potential Funding for Improved Tropical Forest Management¹

A key constraint in attempts to achieve more sustainable management of timber production from tropical forests has been the shortage of suitable incentives. The threat of timber boycotts is resented by major producer countries, such as Malaysia and Indonesia, as being unfair and hypocritical, granted the long history of deforestation by western countries and their role as the world's largest polluters and consumers of natural resources. A more positive approach may be to treat reforestation or changes in harvesting practice that reduce incidental damage to forests as potential offsets for the carbon dioxide produced by fossil-fuel power plants. Two recent initiatives involving a Malaysian timber company, Innoprise Corporation, may demonstrate the potential.

The first project is the enrichment planting, with native dipterocarps, of logged-over forest in eastern Sabah. This is being funded by the Face (Forest Absorbing Carbon Dioxide Emissions) Foundation of the Netherlands, which was established in 1991 by the Dutch Electricity Generating Board with the aim of absorbing the equivalent of carbon dioxide emissions from one large power station over its 25-year life-span. The contract (with Innoprise Corporation) is the first of several planned world-wide. In a pilot phase 2000 ha will be planted over a 3-year period (1992-1994) as a demonstration unit for sustainable management of native forest at a cost of \$US1.3 million. The contract also includes a substantial research and training component to be undertaken at the nearby Danum Valley Field Centre, where The Royal Society has a long-term collaborative research programme with four Malaysian partner institutions. If the pilot project is successful, Face's intention is to rehabilitate 30,000 ha over 25 years at this site.

A second contact having similar aims was concluded in August 1992 with the New England Power Company (NEP). Mindful of possible carbon taxes in Massachusetts and with ambitious corporate targets to meet for reducing pollution in the 1990s, NEP has agreed to fund a 1400-ha pilot programme of 'Reduced Impact Logging'. The idea is to save vegetation, and thus sequestered carbon, from incidental damage during logging; when destroyed vegetation rots it releases carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. The 3-year contract, worth \$US452,000, will cover all the additional cost of training and consultancy required

¹Reprinted from *Oryx*, Vol. 27, 1 January 1993, pp. 2-3.

for harvesting to the highest environmental standards, including pre-felling climber cutting, skid-trail planning, directional felling, minimal use of bulldozers, etc. Compliance with the contract will be monitored by an external environmental audit team.

The NEP contract is also funding a short study of the net carbon dioxide savings from reduced impact logging. Such quantification of the carbon savings by different schemes is vital to any expansion of the offset idea. Preliminary estimates suggest that there may be potential savings of around 100 tons of carbon (or 367 tons of carbon dioxide) per ha at a cost of less than \$US2 per ton of carbon dioxide. In detail, however, the quantification issue is complex and little researched to date. Carbon dioxide may not be the only greenhouse gas at issue. Most dead wood in the tropics decays partly through the activity of termites, which release methane - a greenhouse gas 25 times more powerful than carbon dioxide.

If the greenhouse gas offset concept works it could have wide implications. The scale of potential funding from the US alone offers enormous benign leverage towards reforming the methods of the tropical timber industry. More exotic methods, like the expanded use of elephants or the development of airships for logging, might merit a second look, because they may no longer be ruled out by their higher capital and operating costs compared with bulldozers. Reduced damage to the environment could have an immediate economic value as well as intrinsic, long-term benefits.

The offset idea might even be extended to support the establishment of new protected areas, if a country or company could demonstrate that 'but for' offset funding a particular area would be logged or cleared. A promising candidate in Sabah, for example, is the Maliau Basin, a spectacular mountain wilderness with outstanding botanical riches, which happens to overlay a large coal deposit. Rights to the area are currently being sought by a large international mining company, which would expect to pay royalties on its coal sales. Is it too far-fetched to suggest that a syndicate of power companies might offer alternative carbon dioxide offset payments to keep the coal in the ground and the forest intact?

Proposals of this kind may look suspiciously like conservation blackmail, but is this really so? As Malaysia's Prime Minister, Dr Mahathir Mohammad, argued with a BBC reporter at the Rio Summit: 'Rainforest is not a common inheritance unless you are willing to pay for it. You don't pay, you expect us to pay for it. No go!' The logic is hard to dispute but in recessionary times it tends to get lost in the politics of foreign aid. A big attraction of the offset idea is that it treats spending on conservation and forest management not as charity but as

commercial environmental services. Carbon sequestration, of course, is only one service provided by tropical forests - and a relatively unspecialized one - but for the moment it may be more readily translated into monetary terms than, say, most biodiversity values. Before slapping blanket taxes on carbon dioxide emissions politicians might consider whether encouraging carbon dioxide offsets could help reduce not just one but two of the big environmental problems of our time. (Clive Marsh, Principal Forest Officer [Conservation], Innoprise Corporation Sdn Bhd, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia)

Danum Valley Rain Forest Research and Training Programme. 1991 Annual Report.

This report describes work carried out during 1991 at the Danum Valley Field Centre (DVFC) near Lahad Datu, Sabah, Malaysia, adjacent to the 438 sq km Danum Valley Conservation Area (DVCA). In 1984, a Danum Valley Rain Forest Research and Training Programme (the Programme) was established through a five-year Memorandum of Understanding between Yayasan Sabah, the Sabah Forestry Department, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, and a Supplementary Agreement between these agencies and The Royal Society, UK. Both agreements were renewed in November 1990 with the addition of the Sabah Ministry of Tourism and Environmental Development. These agencies are the principal members of the Danum Valley Management Committee (DVMC) which oversees the Programme. Additional agencies represented on the DVMC are the Sabah Parks, Sabah Wildlife Department, Sabah Museum, the Forestry Institute of Malaysia, the Sarawak Forestry Department, and Universiti Pertanian Malaysia. Danum Valley Field Centre was opened in 1986 and is run on behalf of the DVMC by Rakyat Berjaya Sdn Bhd (RBJ) in the Forestry Division of Innoprise Corporation Sdn Bhd (ICSB). ICSB is the commercial arm of Yayasan Sabah. (from the Preface to the Annual Report)

SARAWAK NEWS

ITTO Report Available

The International Tropical Timber Organisation (ITTO) to Sarawak on the Promotion of Sustainable Forest Management was conducted in 1989/90. The Report was presented in May 1990 to the plenary meeting of the International Timber Council in Indonesia, and was subsequently declared to be a public document. The ITTO Report was reviewed by Richard B. Primack (1991. Logging, Conservation and Native Rights in Sarawak Forests from Different Viewpoints. *Borneo Research Bulletin* 23:3-13).

Facilities for the secretariat of the Mission were kindly provided by the Royal Geographical Society where a considerable archive built up. This archive has not been deposited for safekeeping in the library of the Oxford Forestry Institute, together with 150 copies of the report itself, the reprinting of which was made possible by a donation from the Mitsubishi Corporation Fund for Europe and Africa. These copies are available for distribution to bona fide enquirers, who should write to: Mr. Roger Mills, Head of Library Services, Oxford Forestry Institute, Department of Plant Sciences, University of Oxford, South Parks Road, Oxford OX1 3RD, England.

Forest Reserve Established

The first large-scale forest dynamics plot in the Malesian region was completed in 1989 at Pasoh Forest Reserve, Peninsular Malaysia. It was chosen because it well represents the lowland dipterocarp forests of Malaysia and western Indonesia, because extensive forest ecological, including wildlife and soils, research has been carried out there since the seventies, and because it is a good example of an isolated forest in the agricultural landscape of a middle-income country of low population density undergoing rapid urbanization and industrialization.

A second plot was begun in 1990 at Lambir National Park, Miri District, Sarawak, not far from the Brunei border. It is now a small, isolated forest in a sea of plantations and shifting agriculture, distinguished by its poor, unstable soils prone to erosion and landslips which are typical of other regions in Borneo, and by its biodiversity containing perhaps more tree species for its area than any other surviving forest in the Old World. Current research is concentrated on understanding how tree biodiversity is maintained in the heterogeneous, unstable landscapes, ecophysiological research on tree seedlings, and study of canopy insects. The first five hectares yielded 900 tree species. One paper has been submitted.

It is sponsored by the Sarawak Forest Department as a joint venture with a Japanese team led by T. YAMAKURA, Osaka City University, and T. INQUE, University of Tokyo, and funded by the U.S. National Science Foundation, Rockefeller and Alton Jones Foundations, the John Merck Fund, and the Japanese Ministry of Education (Monbusho). Vegetation and entomological research started in 1991.

Collaborating scientists are Messrs. E. CHAI (silviculture), S. DAVIES (*Macaranga* ecophysiology), J. GROGAN (CTFS field representative, forest

ecology), T. INQUE (entomology), J. V. LAFRANKIE, H. S. LEE (Malaysian co-principal, silviculture), P. PALMIOTTO (seedling establishment in relation to soils), I. YAMADA (forest botany), and T. YAMAKURA (Japanese co-principal, forest ecology).

An herbarium has been assembled at Lambir that now consists of roughly 6000 sterile specimens representing over 1000 species of trees and shrubs. Additionally, another 1000 fertile specimens were collected during the general flowering of 1992. These are cited as Perumal & LaFrankie 1-900 and LaFrankie 7000-7200 deposited in KUCH with duplicates in A and K.

Authors of family treatments for the newly initiated Tree Flora of Sarawak and Sabah (see Bibliography) are encouraged to make use of the materials assembled at Lambir.

A third plot has been established at the Huai Kha Khaeng Wildlife Sanctuary, Thailand, and startups were expected at sites in Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and peninsula India. (P. S. Ashton and J. V. LaFrankie, *Flora Malesiana Bulletin* 11(2)1993:118-119).

BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOK REVIEWS

Cleary, Mark, and Peter Eaton. *Borneo: Change and Development*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

In recent years, the pace of environmental, economic, and social change in Borneo has stimulated interest amongst both researchers and the general public in issues such as logging, the future of once-isolated ethnic groups, shifting agriculture, and balanced economic growth. *Borneo: Change and Development* seeks to provide the necessary context-historical, economic, environmental, and social-within which to evaluate such issues. It is also the first book to examine change and development for the island as a whole. Fragmented largely through the impact of colonialism, its political divisions into Sabah, Sarawak, Brunei Darussalam, and Kalimantan have tended to obscure the strong similarities in development patterns throughout the island.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I, "The Legacy of the Past", examines aspects of the economic and social history of the island: archaeological work, the rise of Islamic city-states, the colonial imprint, and post-independence change. Part II, "Contemporary Patterns and Processes", considers the nature of rural and urban change on Borneo, the character of shifting agriculture (the mainstay of the island people), and the management of natural resources. In Part III, "Issues in Development", topical questions such as logging and Penans, environmental conservation, and the oil sector are considered.

The book, whilst drawing on a wide range of academic, governmental, and newspaper sources, has been written in a style accessible to both those with an academic concern for Borneo and for the general reader interested in one of the most rapidly changing parts of the world today. Its central aim, to stimulate informed discussion and debate on matters relating to the island, is one which the authors hope will ultimately benefit the diverse peoples of Borneo.

Mark Cleary is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Geography, University of Waikato, New Zealand. Peter Eaton is Associate Professor in the Department of Public Policy and Administration, Universiti Brunei Darussalam. (from the dust jacket)

Dransfield, S. *The Bamboos of Sabah*. Sabah For. Rec. 14. Pp. xi, 94, illus. Forestry Department, POB 311, 90-007 Sandakan, Sabah, Malaysia. 1992 (ISBN 983-9554-03-4, ISSN 0128-6471. M\$40.00.)

Bamboos have a great importance in many aspects of tropical life: they provide building material for houses, bridges, boats; pipes and flutes, cooking vessels, bottles, and cups; the young shoots are often regarded as a delicacy, the blades are used for basket-making, wrapping material, medicine, and some species are used for hedges or serve as desirable ornaments.

Possibly because the use is mainly local and have little importance as timber, while they are best known as secondary growths, Forestry Departments have neglected collections and so opportunities for study, which is further hampered by the fact that bamboos are considered to be 'difficult'. This is partly due to undercollecting, and so on in the vicious cycle, partly because collecting from these tall plants is often discouraged by the very hard culms, spines, and itching hairs, or impossible because of the long periods between flowering. Also, because they are grasses, people are daunted by the spikelets, which are essential for identification of genus and species.

Dr. Dransfield's beautifully executed manual in which 10 genera and 35 species are treated should be a good incentive for a better knowledge of the species in Sabah and adjoining areas. She offers the present state of knowledge, not hesitating to include the presence of undescribed species and even a genus. How often does it happen that authors refrain from publishing until these too are finally collected again so that others cannot snatch away this loot and thus delay

the dissemination of knowledge? To me it seems better to do it Ms. Dransfield's way. Because there is apparently a lot of endemism in some genera, the Manual will make it possible to distinguish between the common and the rare. The first are often widely spread and once known, the rare and local ones are more easily detected now making them more apparent for a better-orientated collecting and subsequent study. The treatment, therefore, has a much wider application than for Sabah alone. With time, the information thus obtained can be bundled in a second edition in which, no doubt, new problems can be pointed out and addressed.

There is a brief introduction on the general morphology. It would have been nice if directions had been summarized on what parts to collect and/or note on field labels. It is pointed out that sterile shoots with which herbaria are encumbered do not yield good characters for identification.

The keys appear clear and 'easy', the descriptions are brief and to the point, although in some cases they might have been made more complimentary, e.g., for *Bambusa tuloides* no information is given on the inflorescences and spikelets. The species are well-illustrated by Mr. M. Molubin, Ms. M. Watt, and the author herself. (J. F. Veldkamp, *Flora Malesiana Bulletin*. 1993. 11(2):145)

Fox, James J., ed. *Inside Austronesian House: Perspectives on Domestic Designs for Living*. Canberra: Department of Anthropology. 1993. Pp. 273; photos., illus., refs. (A\$25.00 [surface mail], A\$30.00 [air mail]).

The eight papers in this volume examine the spatial organization of a variety of Austronesian houses and relate the domestic design of these houses to the social and ritual practices of the specific groups who reside within them. The houses considered in this volume range from longhouses in Borneo to the meeting-houses of the Maori of New Zealand and from the magnificent houses of the Minangkabau of Sumatra to the simpler dwellings of the population of Goodenough Island in Papua New Guinea. The papers on Bornean societies analyze the Dayak longhouse (Christine Helliwell) and the residences of the Lahanan (Jennifer Alexander) and Iban (Clifford Sather). Together these papers indicate common features of domestic design from island South-East Asia to Melanesia and the Pacific.

Hose, Charles, and William McDougall. *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo* (in 2 vols.), with an Introduction by Brian Durrans. Singapore: Oxford University Press, Oxford in Asia Hardback Reprints, 1993.

As Brian Durrans proposes, in his excellent and lengthy Introduction to the Oxford University Press reprint of *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, the book is "unrivalled in Bornean studies" (p. vii). With the developing scholarly knowledge

of Borneo peoples and cultures, and an increasing interest in these non-Western traditions among European and North American audiences from the second half of the nineteenth century, a synthesis of material on the "pagan" or "tribal" populations of the island was urgently needed. Hose and McDougall provided us with the first text which attempted something of an ethnographic overview. Indeed, in collaboration with his nominal co-author William McDougall, the Oxford don and "founder of social psychology" (p. vii), Charles Hose was precisely the kind of person to write a general ethnography.

Hose had lived and worked for many years in northwest Borneo in his capacity as a senior outstation administrator in Charles Brooke's Sarawak; he had acquired an intimate knowledge of various aspects of the life and customs of the subject populations, and, more importantly, a passion for ethnography. He also was anxious to establish and promote his academic credentials and to secure a reputation for himself among the scholarly community. As Durrans notes, Hose went about this exercise in a quite deliberate way (p. xi, xii, xii-xv), assisting William Furness of the University of Pennsylvania in his expedition to Sarawak and his collecting, in 1896 and 1897, and more importantly arranging and hosting the visit to Sarawak in 1898-99 of the second Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Straits. He thereby established contact with the distinguished Cambridge anthropologist Alfred Haddon, who later was to write an Appendix to *Pagan Tribes* and read the proofs of the book, as well as McDougall, who later co-authored with Hose. Others on the Expedition comprised Seligman, Myers and Ray.

Despite his amateur status and lack of anthropological training, Hose had important materials and views to communicate on Borneo, and his academic collaborators provided a channel for these as well as putting a scholarly stamp of approval on at least some of them. The influence on Hose's work of these professional social scientists is also clear, and, as Durrans reveals, *Pagan Tribes* serves as "a barometer for the anthropology of its times" (p. vii).

Up until the publication of *Pagan Tribes* there was little that the interested reader could find which placed ethnographic details on Borneo into some sort of order and framework. The only other book prior to *Pagan Tribes*, which had attempted to provide a compendium of Borneo cultures, was H. Ling Roth's *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo* (1896). Although the title suggests a rather limited geographical scope, Ling Roth's book did include information from the southern Dutch-administered parts of the island. Nevertheless, the book was very much a miscellany of other writers' materials culled from a wide array of sources of different scholarly status and placed under various heads. As a reference work, Ling Roth is most valuable, but it was not informed by anthropological perspectives, nor was it based on first-hand observation. There was also very little competition from Dutch scholarship at the time, and Dr. A. W. Nieuwenhuis' major writings in Dutch and German, which appeared in the

first decade of the twentieth century, were very limited in anthropological terms, although wide in ethnographic scope. *In Centraal Borneo* (1900) and *Quer durch Borneo* (1904-7) provided a wealth of ethnographic data on the populations of the interior of Borneo, but the materials were primarily located in the context of Nieuwenhuis' expeditions and travels. Again, the ethnography lacks conceptual coherence. Of course, even at the time of the publication of Hose's and McDougall's *magnum opus*, various parts of the hinterland of Dutch Borneo had only been recently opened up to exploration and administration, and little was known ethnographically. Therefore, an authoritative general book would have been difficult to write.

The very partial nature of the ethnographic knowledge of the time is also clearly reflected in *Pagan Tribes*. Durrans discusses the misleading title of the book. Much of Hose's attention, as the main author of the text, was devoted to those groups which he knew best, especially the Kayans and to a lesser extent the Kenyahs of the Baram river basin. He was also familiar with the Ibans or Sea Dayaks of the then Third Division of Sarawak, having spent the latter part of his administrative career at Sibul. In the course of his work he would also have come into contact with Punan hunter-gatherers, and some representatives of the groups which he labels "Muruts" and "Klemantan".

The book also is informed by Hose's wider knowledge of South-East Asia in that he had travelled to the Sulu Islands, North Borneo, Dutch Borneo, the Malayan Peninsula, Sulawesi and eastern Indonesia. However, it is precisely in setting Borneo in a wider ethnographic and "historical" context that we are treated to some of Hose's more bizarre speculations on the origins and migrations of populations.

Two major elements in *Pagan Tribes* need emphasizing, and for me these ensure the continuing importance of the book for anthropology in general, and for Bornean ethnographic studies in particular. First, we are presented with a mine of information collected at first-hand by a perceptive and interested observer on the cultural traditions and to a lesser extent the social organization of various of the non-Muslim (Dayak) groups of Borneo at a time when these traditions were still active and vibrant. Hose, of course, was both a sympathetic recorder of this pagan cultural life as well as an instrument in its gradual disappearance. What is more, and as Durrans remarks, the book is easy to read, unlike some modern ethnographies; "in simple, accessible prose" (p. viii), it is also lavishly illustrated, communicating through a range of images, and particularly photographs, something of the spirit and quality of pagan life. Hose is always a joy to read, and despite all the anecdotes about his physical size, which Durrans gives us aplenty (pp. x-xi), Hose sits lightly on his readers.

Secondly, *Pagan Tribes* demonstrates the shifts in anthropological perspectives which already were underway in the early part of the twentieth century. No doubt partly as a result of his scholarly collaboration with major

contributors to British social science of the day, including, of course, McDougall, Hose makes use of his ethnographic materials to comment on important theoretical issues. *Pagan Tribes* is first and foremost an ethnographic exercise and conforms to Adam Kuper's characterization of "the mood of British anthropology in the first decades of this century" as one which demonstrated "an overriding concern with the accumulation of data" (*Anthropology and Anthropologists*, 1983:5). Nevertheless, Hose did organize his data and address various conceptual issues; he moved some way towards an anthropological interpretation of totemism (ii, pp. 109-13), and in his concern to understand "the workings of the native mind" in the context of the practical task of administration, he dismissed the "fanciful delusions" of those who propose "the mental life of savage peoples as profoundly different from our own" (p. 221). In contrast to the armchair theorists, Hose's first-hand experience leads him to conclude that the "primary impulses and emotions" of the pagans of Borneo "seem to be in all respects like our own" (ii, p. 222).

Durrans also points to "tentative yet unmistakable signs of functionalism" (p. vii) in *Pagan Tribes*. Presumably in having to order the material in some way - material based on experience and observation and expressing a social and cultural logic of its own - Hose began to set down some of the interrelations and patterns in "primitive" life. Of course, he does not take this approach very far, but we have some sense of social units and a social order. There is a notion of what defines groups - "tribes", social classes, the family - and of the role of institutions. The genealogical method of Rivers is also used to record the "kinship system" of a Baram Kenyah community (i, pp. 85-96).

Pagan Tribes serves as an example of the transition between speculative evolutionary-diffusionary theories, concerned with matters such as cultural origins, trait diffusion and physical migrations, and fieldwork-based functionalism. The signs of functionalism are still muted while speculations on origins are prominent. Of the various elements of the book which have come in for criticism, it is probably Hose's discussion of the origins of Borneo peoples which has suffered most. Linked to his attempt to delineate the tribal groups in Borneo in a more clear and precise way, he committed fundamental errors in this very exercise of definition. Working on the assumption that different groups have different origins, he treats us in the chapter on the "Ethnology of Borneo" to the notion that there were three major "invasions" into Borneo, of the Kayans, Ibans, and Muruts (ii, pp. 231ff.). Although the Muruts had a relatively easy time in their passage from the Philippines, and the Ibans took a relatively straightforward sea voyage from Sumatra, the Kayans had a decidedly more difficult task getting from Burma to Borneo.

In regard to his classification of tribal groups, Hose also has been severely criticized. Perhaps these criticisms should be qualified. Given his partial knowledge, and the fact that he had had first-hand experience of the relatively

homogeneous and more easily delimited Kayans and Ibans, it is not surprising that Hose drew the ethnic boundaries which he did, and assigned the "remnants" to a miscellaneous category of Klemantan. At that time even the categories "Punan" and "Murut" had some justification. Hose appears to be aware of some of the problems of ethnic classification in his discussion of the Punans, for example (ii, p. 177), but it is true, as Durrans states, that Hose constructed misleading stereotypes (p. xviii-xx). These arose, in part, from his own experiences, his role and prejudices as a European administrator, and his positivistic view of ethnic categorization. Some of his characteristics of the "peculiarities" of the different groups - their moral and intellectual capacities - now seem ludicrous, and also, of course, very "colonial". Hose's personal judgments about Bornean dispositions and worthiness intrude into his ostensibly scientific classifications. The Kayans, with their class system reminiscent of the ideals of the British social hierarchy, are blessed with "native superiority" and "a higher level of conduct"; these attributes are rivalled in most respects by the stratified Kenyahs of the Baram. However, among the Muruts "there is much drunkenness and disorder" (ii, p. 195). An Iban makes "an agreeable companion and a useful servant", but because Ibans have "little respect for their chiefs", their society is "very defective and chaotic"; "they are quarrelsome, treacherous and litigious" (i, p. 32).

Given the administrative context of his work, we should not be surprised by some of Hose's views, but again one's criticisms should be balanced by the more interesting and instructive parts of the book. Obviously Hose was fully implicated in the European subjugation of non-Western peoples, but, as an early example of applied anthropology, his discussion of the relations between administration and ethnographic investigation anticipates some of the later issues raised in anthropological debates about anthropology's usefulness or otherwise. Durrans points to Hose's self-appointed role as spokesman on behalf of the Brooke style of European government of natives, but though he certainly gave prominence to his own administrative successes, and eulogized Brooke rule, *Pagan Tribes* "contains many examples of Hose's own thoughtful administration based on his familiarity with local custom" (p. xxx).

For me, *Pagan Tribes* has always been a most valuable reference work, a book which one can dip into to extract comparative materials, and sometimes use to set one's own study in a broader Bornean context. Hose's and McDougall's divisions of pagan life into a set of categories, reminiscent of later anthropological compartmentalizations into the social (kinship), economic, religious and so on, though, of course, artificial, provide one with a useful field key for locating ethnographic examples. However, re-reading the reprint of *Pagan Tribes* from cover to cover, and with the benefit of Durrans' insightful Introduction, one realizes most directly why the book is a classic and why it deserves to be reprinted. Oxford University Press therefore continues to do us great service in

its Oxford in Asia reprints series. What is more, given a taste here of Durrans' examination of Hose's life and work, I hope that we shall also soon see in print the catalogue of the Charles Hose collection in the British Museum which Brian Durrans has promised us. (Victor T. King)

Jayum Jawan. *The Iban Factor in Sarawak Politics*. Selangor Darul Ehsan: Universiti Pertanian Malaysia Press. 1993. (ISBN 967-960-041-6)

This book is based on an in-depth study of politics and economic development of the Ibans over three decades (1963-1992). Part I of the book was earlier published by the Centre for South-East Asian Studies of the University of Hull. Part II brings into focus the continuing pattern of change in Iban politics.

In this monograph, Dr. Jayum attempts to highlight the importance of the ethnic factor in the various dimensions of development in Sarawak. He argues that the Dayak claim to the benefits of development have been vigorously pursued along ethnic lines. Their politics too must be seen, in an important respect, as an expression of ethnic identity and inter-ethnic tension or conflicts. The book contends that because of their marginal political position, Ibans (and Dayaks) have not been able to enjoy the benefits of development promised by the NEP. Consequently, they lag behind in various aspects of development, be it education or employment. The analysis of Iban progress in education, employment, and poverty eradication is one of the strong points of this book.

Scholarly writings on politics in Sarawak are still relatively few and where available, they have tended to be subsumed in wider analyses of Malaysian politics and oriented to the issues of federal-state relations and political development. The publication of this manuscript is therefore a welcome contribution to a gradually growing body of literature on Sarawak politics in general, and on Iban political institutions, processes, and activities, in particular. Indeed, this detailed analysis is the first to be undertaken by a Dayak Iban who provides a local perspective on the subject. The book is an essential reading for students and researchers interested in Iban and Sarawak politics.

King, Victor T. *The Peoples of Borneo*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers. 1993. Pp. xii, 339; maps, tab., fig., bibl., index (ISBN 0-631-17221-1)

Borneo, the third largest island in the world, is still sparsely populated, yet contains a remarkable diversity of peoples and cultures. This book describes these variations in economic life, political organization, religion, worldview and material culture, and brings to light underlying common principles of culture and social organization which can be traced back to the settlement of Borneo by Austronesian speakers some 4,500 years ago.

Using archaeological, anthropological and historical sources, Victor King examines the developments and adaptations that have taken place in relation to

the natural environment, the gradual integration of Bornean economies into Asian trading networks, the influence of India and China and the Islamic conversion of some Borneans, and finally the consequences of European imperialism and government.

Many ideas prevalent about the Bornean peoples come from the writings of Western observers - leading often to a misleading and partial view focusing on such exotica as headhunting, piracy and slave-raiding. King re-examines the nature of native social and political institutions and cultural premises, in a way which contrasts sharply with popular notions.

A pervasive element of modern Western interest is the equatorial rainforest environment. This book examines the adaptations of the Borneans to their forest, and the forest's influence on their cultures, and discusses some of the changes that have come in the space of just 25 years, with the growth in demand for tropical hardwoods and the loss of large areas of forest. In consequence, traditional ways of life and the complex ethnic mosaics which have evolved over the last four thousand years in Borneo now face their greatest challenge.

The book is part of a series, of which Peter Bellwood and Ian Glover are General Editors. *The Peoples of South-East Asia and The Pacific*. "Each book in this series (is) devoted to a people (or group of associated peoples) from the vast area of the world extending from Hawaii in the north to Tasmania in the south and from Fiji in the east to Cambodia in the west. The books, written by historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists from all over the world, will be both scholarly and accessible. In many cases the volumes will be the only available account of their subject" (from the dust jacket).

Sutlive, Vinson H., Jr. *Tun Jugah of Sarawak: Colonialism and Iban Response*. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd. for the Sarawak Literary Society, 1992. Pp. xxxiv - 357. Maps, Plates, Appendices, Bibliography, Index. ISBN 967 65 1970 7, hardcover (M\$75.00/US\$30.00), ISBN 967 65 1787 9, paperback (M\$30.00/US12.50), plus postage and handling.

While the body of literature on contemporary Sarawak is growing, studies which focus on the Iban are still rather few; and until now there has been no biographical work on Iban leaders. Sutlive's study is therefore welcome and important, not only because it helps to fill in a glaring gap but also because of the subject matter of his study. This biography traces the life, career and times of Tun Jugah (1903-1981), 'the last great [Iban] chief' (p. 290). Jugah was the second and last Paramount Chief of the Iban and the first and only Federal Minister for Sarawak Affairs. More than just a biography of Jugah, however, the study recounts the history of the remaking of Iban society, with particular reference to the disintegration of their traditional polity, as Sarawak passed from Brooke to British Crown administration and its subsequent integration into the Federation

of Malaysia. Sutlive cogently and succinctly subtitled the study *Colonialism and Iban Response*.

Apai (literally father), as Jugah was called by his contemporaries, was illiterate; he did not go to school for none existed in his area of the Rejang during his childhood. Aside from speeches in the press and taped interviews which survived destruction, Jugah did not leave any correspondence or other written document from which the researcher can reconstruct his thoughts of a particular event. Thus Sutlive was forced to rely heavily on oral history. Much of the discussion of episodes in Jugah's life has been reconstructed through interviews with people who knew Jugah well or who had worked closely with him. The lack of written documents, however, is no detraction for Sutlive has succeeded quite well in bringing out the essence of the man, Jugah, and the temper of his times.

The study begins with a discussion of traditional Iban society, their social organisation and polity, an overview of Iban migration from Kalimantan to Sarawak, and a discussion of Jugah's line of ancestors who first settled the Baleh in the Rejang. The second chapter deals with Jugah's formative years. The bulk of the book, beginning with the third chapter, deals with Jugah's career.

Jugah was principally a political personality, whose career spanned half a century. In 1928, at the age of 25, he was appointed *Penghulu* (regional headman) by the Brooke administration. The Japanese appointed him *Sanji* (Prefectural Councillor) during the Occupation but he was later vindicated for being a collaborator and in 1947 was awarded the King George V Medal for Bravery for his role in the liberation of Kapit. In 1952 he became a member of the Council Negeri (state legislature) and of the Supreme Council in 1956. In 1955 he was appointed *Temenggong* or Paramount Chief of the Iban by the British Crown Colonial administration. (Although Iban of the First and Second Division asserted that Jugah's *Temenggongship* was limited only to the Third Division Sutlive made clear that British colonial officials considered the *Temenggongship* as a state-wide position) Following the formation of Malaysia in 1963 Jugah was appointed the first and, up to now, the only Federal Minister for Sarawak Affairs. After he retired from politics in 1974, Jugah set up the *Majlis Adat Istiadat*, a council within the Chief Minister's Office, to codify native customary laws. He was also the recipient of many honorific title. The title of *Tun*, the highest honorific title in the country, was awarded posthumously shortly after his death. By any standard, and particularly in light of his illiteracy, Jugah's ascent was an outstanding personal achievement.

Jugah was indeed as ambitious as he was able. But his "success and satisfaction of his determination to distinguish himself and to achieve a position above his fellow Iban ... was more than a mere personal achievement". As Sutlive explains, "it was part of the process of the restructuring of Iban society by Brookes and British. It represented the beginning of the end of traditional Iban

polity or decision-making processes.... The creation of the positions of *Penghulu* and *Temenggong* by the Brookes effectively transformed the Iban from a society without significant status distinctions to one in which men might expect to succeed to political offices. It was the first phase in a state-initiated process of social differentiation which accelerated and increased in the succeeding decades ..." (pp. 67-8). Traditional Iban polity disintegrated even further following the formation of Malaysia as traditional leadership was increasingly drawn into and under government control. In particular, "[t]he categoral reclassification of [community leaders] as civil servants had the effect of turning the socio-political process on its head, in that community leaders were responsible to the government but not to their constituents" (p. 288-9).

Jugah was "a major figure and factor" (p. xxvii), "a principal contributor" (p. 170) in the formation of the Federation of Malaysia. He might have been used as a "pawn" but his role was "pivotal" (p. xxviii), for had he opposed the entry of Sarawak into the Federation, the formation of the country *might* not have been realised. Herein lies the most important legacy of Jugah for his people, Sarawak and the Federation.

Sutlive intimates that Jugah was initially opposed, though perhaps not strongly, to the idea of Malaysia but was soon persuaded or maybe even coerced into supporting it. "It seems likely that he was told that the Federation was going to be established [anyway], and that his political future depended upon his support of its proposal" (p. 174). Pursuant to the Malaysia proposal, in mid-February 1962, Jugah, in his capacity as *Temenggong*, convened a conference of some 51 elected *Pengarah* and *Penghulu* in Kapit. From Sutlive's account, it would appear that the purpose of the Kapit conference was not so much to discuss the merits of the Malaysia proposal but rather to endorse the scheme and, with guidance from British colonial officers, to draw up some of the terms and conditions of Sarawak's entry into the proposed federation. Tellingly, "Iban of the Second Division, many of whom opposed Malaysia, were not invited to the conference. The colonial administration was determined to secure Iban support, and excluded many of the better educated Iban who were known opponents of the proposed federation" (p. 181).

Sutlive quite rightly contends that Jugah and other traditional chiefs had implicit trust in British colonial officials, the *tuans*. Invariably this meant that they were malleable to the influence of the officials. As Sutlive writes, "it seems quite clear that the representatives who appeared before the [Cobbold] Commission did not understand the significance of the decisions they were making" (p. 181), but nevertheless complied with the British suggestion that Sarawak join the Federation, believing no doubt that the *tuans* had their best interests in mind. In any event the Kapit Conference was deliberately (mis)construed by the Cobbold Commission as an expression of native support for the Malaysia proposal. It was thus that the Commission could conclude that the majority of the people of

Sarawak supported the Malaysia Scheme: one third were in support; one third opposed while the remaining one third would support provided there were guarantees of safeguards of Sarawak's rights within the Federation. Predictably Jugah was among those appointed to represent Sarawak to the Inter-Governmental Committee to negotiate the terms and conditions of Sarawak's entry into Malaysia and later as a signatory to the London Agreement establishing the Federation of Malaysia.

Immediately after the 1963 election which shortly followed the formation of Malaysia, Jugah was embroiled in a controversy over the first Governor of Sarawak. Though there was no written agreement there was a clear understanding - a "gentleman's agreement", as Sutlive puts it - among the signatories of the London Agreement that if the Chief Minister were a Dayak (i.e. non-Muslim native), the Governor would be a Malay and vice versa. Sutlive contends that if Jugah expected to be appointed the first Governor of Sarawak, it was because "the appointment had been promised him by proponents of Malaysia, before [Stephen Kalong] Ningkan was chosen as Chief Minister" (p. 189), and with the anticipation that Abdul Rahman Yaakub, a Muslim Melanau, would be Chief Minister. That promise was retracted, however, when Yaakub lost the election and therefore could not become Chief Minister.

Sutlive further contends that "Jugah's appointment as Governor was still a possibility, even after the appointment of Stephen Kalong Ningkan as Chief Minister" (p. 191). Sutlive cites that in September 1963 the Sarawak Alliance Government approved a resolution in support of Jugah for Governor. To this reviewer, however, that resolution in retrospect appears to be a mere political ploy for, as Sutlive himself tells us, it was already Tunku Abdul Rahman's decision not to appoint Jugah as he was illiterate. In short, Jugah actually never had a shot at the governorship. However, to placate Jugah and "to appease those Iban and other natives who might not identify with the Ningkan government" (p. 193), Tunku created the post of Federal Minister for Sarawak Affairs for Jugah, a post he held until his retirement in 1974. Interestingly the post had "no job description" (p. 193), and probably was without a drawn up budget as would other regular ministries; and tellingly, the post was never revived following Jugah's retirement.

The book also discusses the relationship between, and the contrasting political styles of, Jugah and Ningkan, the two most prominent Iban leaders in the 1960's. Of interest is Sutlive's observation that "the unschooled Jugah was much more perceptive of the new loci of political power and was much less provincial and ethnocentric than his better educated Chief Minister" (p. 229). Whereas Jugah was essentially acquiescent and compliant, a practitioner *par excellence* of what Sutlive terms "the politics of accommodation", Ningkan was "a man of strong personality ... [and] of a fiercely proud independence" (p. 231). "Ningkan was an advocate of states' rights; Jugah, an ally of the dominant group

of the moment" (p. 232). Ningkan's fiery personality and his assertion of independence of federal authority eventuated his unconstitutional dismissal in 1966. Taking issue with an earlier study, Margaret Roff's *The Politics of Belonging* (1974), Sutlive vindicates Jugah of being the principal mover behind the plot to oust Ningkan. According to Sutlive, Jugah was actually presented with a *fait accompli* in the matter; the plot had been initiated and the decision made when Jugah was summoned to the federal capital and informed about it.

Sutlive also sheds new light on the circumstances affecting the merger of Parti Pesaka, Jugah's party, with Parti Bumiputera, a Malay party, to form Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu (PBB). Contrary to popular belief that the initiative came from Parti Bumiputera leaders, Sutlive tells us that the initiative in fact came from Jugah and other Parti Pesaka leaders. Evidently, following the 1970 state election in which Parti Pesaka fared badly and after two of its newly elected Council Negeri members were lured into the Yaakub Cabinet without prior consultation with the party, the party leaders assessed their situation and concluded that "there was much to be gained through a merger with Parti Bumiputera, whose members had access to the seat of power" (p. 284). If Sutlive is correct, PBB then, the dominant partner in the present ruling coalition in Sarawak, is yet another important legacy of Jugah.

The author lived in Sarawak for many years and knew Jugah personally. However, though he considers Jugah "a friend", Sutlive is no apologist for Jugah. Indeed Sutlive is critical of many of the political decisions that Jugah made and insinuates that Jugah may have generally considered his own advancement ahead of his community and people.

Tun Jugah of Sarawak is a readable book. It should be imperative reading for those interested in Sarawak political history and contemporary politics. (Richard Mason, School of Humanities, Universiti Sains Malaysia. Reprinted from *Kajian Malaysia*, Jil. XI, No. 1, Jun 1993, pp. 112-116.)

ABSTRACTS

Abdul Rashid Abdullah. *Modernization in Two Bidayuh Villages: Local Level Impetus*. Ph.D. in Sociology, University of Hull, 1993.

The thesis examines the response of two rural Bidayuh communities in the Serian region of Sarawak to processes of change in their agricultural economy. Specifically, it assesses some of the tensions which have been associated with the introduction of two *in situ* agricultural development projects under the auspices of the state rural development agency SALCRA. The comparative basis of the thesis is provided by assessing two villages which share the same ethnic and

socio-cultural features but which also exhibit some significant differences, and which are subject to two different cash-crop schemes, one based on cocoa, the other on tea. Themes examined are general processes of rural development and the transformation of the traditional subsistence sector; variations in adaptation between two villages; external linkages and the incorporation of the two villages into the wider economy and society; and local responses to the land development projects.

Bantong, Antaran. *The Brunei Dusun: An Ethnographic Study*. M. Phil. in South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, 1993.

The thesis is an ethnographic study of the traditional society and culture of the Dusun people of Brunei. It combines the scattered materials on this little-known population with the author's own knowledge of Dusun society and a field study of three settlements presenting different adjustments to modernization. The thesis concentrates on the themes of kinship, economic organisation, religion and ritual, and examines to what extent a Dusun identity is maintained in the context of processes of rapid social and economic change in Brunei.

Borneo, special issue of *Expedition*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1988, Vol. 30, No. 1, 72 pp., ill.

This special issue on Borneo contains the following articles: Introduction, by William H. Davenport; Dayaks and Forests of Interior Borneo, by Timothy T. Jessup and Andrew P. Vayda; Agriculture in Central Borneo, Shifting Cultivation and Alternatives, by Christine Padoch; Ibanic Textile Weaving, Its Enchantment in Social and Religious Practices, by Richard Allen Drake; Selections from the Exhibition "The Dayaks: Peoples of the Borneo Rainforest"; Tribe-Sultanate Relationships, by Donald E. Brown; Baby Carriers, A Link Between Social and Spiritual Values among the Kenyah Dayak of Borneo, by Herbert L. Whittier and Patricia R. Whittier; Trade Objects, Their Impact on the Cultures of the Indigenous Peoples of Sarawak, Borneo, by Lucas Chin; Borneo to Philadelphia, The Furness-Hiller-Harrison Collections, Adria H. Katz. (C. Parrel, *Excerpta Indonesia*, No. 44, December, 1991, p. 46)

Bruenig, E. F. Oligotrophic Forested Wetlands in Borneo, in A. E. Lugo, M. Brinson, and S. Brown, eds., *Ecosystems of the World*, Volume 15: Forested Wetlands. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1990, pp. 299-344

Examines in detail the ecology of peat-forming in Borneo. Includes discussions on the climate, soils and the structural variation of vegetation of mires

in Borneo. Comparison with wetlands outside of Borneo is also made. (Timothy A. Moore [TAM])

Cameron, C.C., J.S. Esterle, and C.A. Palmer. *The Geology, Botany, and Chemistry of Selected Peat-forming Environments from Temperate to Tropical Latitudes*. *International Journal of Coal Geology*, 1989, Vol. 12:105-106; bibl., ill., tab.

Compares peat-forming systems around the world. A section of the paper is devoted to the peat type distribution and morphology of the Baram River deposits in Sarawak. (TAM)

Collins, James T. Rangkaian Dialek Melayu di Pulau Borneo. *Jurnal Dewan Bahasa*. August, 1991, Vol. 35(8):687-696, bibl., fig., ill. maps.

There are nine major dialects of Malay in Borneo. These are subdivided into a number of subdialects. Almost every important river estuary in the island contained a Malay community, the branches of which often extended many hundreds of miles upriver into the interior. The total number of Malay speakers is not less than two million. All the dialects reveal a similarity in vocabulary and phonology. It is thought that originally there was one basic language from which the dialects gradually evolved. The author emphasizes that there is still a great deal of research to be carried out in this field, including efforts to clarify ideas about the form of Old Malay. ((R.L. Robson-McKillop, *Excerpta Indonesia*, No. 45, July, 1992 [January, 1993], p. 33)

Daulay, B., and A.C. Cook. *The Petrology of Some Indonesian Coals*. *Journal of Southeast Asian Earth Science*. 1988. Vol. 2(2):45-64; bibl., ill., tab.

Samples from coal seams from all the major Indonesian coal fields were examined using reflected light and reflected fluorescence mode microscopy techniques. The coals are rich in vitrinite and have variable, commonly high, contents of liptinite. Inertinite is rare to sparse, with the exception of a few coals. Overall, no major differences in coal type exist between Paleogene and Neogene coals. Most of the coals are low in rank. The Neogene coals are typically much lower in rank than the Paleogene coals, and this tendency is most clearly seen within the Kalimantan occurrences. The coals are suitable for power generation. Grindability characteristics should be generally favorable but the rank of the coals is typically sufficiently low for spontaneous combustion to be a significant problem. The coals, and to a lesser extent associated dispersed organic matter, form important source rocks for some of the major natural oil accumulations in Indonesian sedimentary basins. (TAM)

Davis, Andrew J. The Ecology and Behaviour of Rainforest Dung Beetles in Northern Borneo. A Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Leeds. 1994.

The population biology and community ecology of rainforest dung beetles were studied at the Danum Valley Field Centre and Sepilok Forest Reserve, Sabah, Malaysia, between May 1990 and May 1992.

This study concentrates on the effect of logging and conversion to plantation forest on dung beetle communities. Data are based on 68,481 identified specimens, collected by means of pitfall and flight intercept traps. Investigation of the canopy and sub-strata led to the discovery of a group of arboreal dung beetles previously unrecorded from Borneo.

The greatest faunal similarities were found between logged forest and riverine communities. Lowest species richness and abundance were recorded in cocoa plantation. Species found only in riverine-edge habitats within the primary sector were collected from logged and plantation forests, and more arboreal beetles were collected in ground traps in these areas than from within 'deep' primary forest. Increased species richness in logged forest was related to these observed distributions. It is proposed that, on this basis, logged forest be considered a 'composite biotope', whereby species distributed along environmental gradients in primary forest are found to overlap spatially in disturbed habitats. These changes were attributed to microclimatic conditions of reduced humidity and increased insolation and temperature, resulting from a reduction in canopy cover over-and-above that was caused by natural forest dynamics.

Demchuk, T. D., and T. A. Moore. Palynofloral and Organic Characteristics of A Miocene Bog-forest, Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Organic Geochemistry*. 1993. Vol. 20:119-134; bibl., ill., tab.

Uses pollen and preserved plant remains to reconstruct the palaeoecology and palaeobotany of the Miocene age "Sarongga" lignite. Vertical variation in pollen types indicates that the Miocene mire formed as a bog-forest with virtually the same floral components as the modern raised, ombrogenous mires found throughout the Indo-Malaysian region. Despite the vertical variations in vegetation within the "Sarongga" lignite, plant part analysis reveals that there is little variation in the organic characteristics. This suggests that degradation processes during peat accumulation of the lignite homogenized the organic characteristics. (TAM)

Dornseiffer, Sylvia I. W. L. Ritter, een Haarlemmer in de Oost/Sylvia I. Dornseiffer and Jan ten Kate. *Indische Letteren*, June, 1991, Vol. 6, No. 2:79-91, bibl., ill.

Wilhelm Leonard Ritter (1799-1862) was one of the most active mid-19th century writers in the Dutch East Indies, but up to now not much has been published about him. Starting with his career as a surgeon, he set off for Batavia in 1815. In 1823 he switched to a civil service career and was appointed Assistant-Resident in Landak, Borneo (1825). His career came to an end in 1834, the same year his wife Catharina Laurence De Brabant died, and he fell victim to the chaotic financial administration in West Borneo. Between 1843-1858 Tollens and he edited the *Java-Bode*. Together they set up the literary magazine *Biāng-Lala* and Ritter published in *Warnasari*. A number of his stories has been used in Java: *Toneelen uit het Leeven. Karakterschetsen en Kleederdragten van Java's Bewoners* (1855). In 1860 he returned to Holland, where he died in 1862. Although he drew from his own experiences in his work, he never mentioned the financial scandal that ruined his career, nor the tragic death of his wife. (Y.M. deJager, *Excerpta Indonesia*, No. 44, December, 1991, p. 42)

Durig, D. T., J. S. Esterle, and T. J. Dickson. An Investigation of the Chemical Variability of Woody Peat by FT-IR Spectroscopy. *Applied Spectroscopy*. 1988. Vol. 42(7):1239-1244; bibl., ill., tab.

Woody peats from Indonesia and Malaysia were examined by FT-IR spectroscopy to observe the variation in degree of humification between peat types and among botanical components and matrix material within a peat type. Results of the FT-IR analysis showed significant changes occurring in the 1600 and 1000 cm^{-1} regions which are interpreted to represent lignin and lignocellulose, respectively. In all peat types the coarse material still contained some lignocellulosic component, whereas the finer fractions contained variably less to no lignocellulose. The lignin-dominated composition of the finer matrix material suggests that these peats are derived mainly from trees and woody vines with little input from herbaceous, less decay (cellulose-dominant) plant material. (TAM)

Esterle, J. S., J. C. Ferm and Y. L. Tie. A Test for the Analogy of Tropical Domed Peat Deposits to "Dulling-up" Sequences in Coal Beds - Preliminary Results. *Organic Geochemistry*. 1989. Vol. 14:333-342; bibl., ill., tab.

Megascopic and microscopic characteristics of a domed peat deposit in Sarawak, Malaysia, were examined to test their analogy to "dulling-up" sequences in low-ash coal beds. Preliminary petrographic results show high concentrations (>95%) of vitrinite precursor material for all peat types, but that fibrous peats in the upper central portion of the deposit contain more preserved plant material than peats toward the base and margins which, although more decomposed, contain large fragments (5-150 cm) of wood. These results present contradictory

evidence in support of a dulling up model and suggest that modern peat domes are perhaps poor petrographic analogues for dulling up sequences. This deposit would produce an "all bright" coal seam with bright vitrain bands of variable thickness and amount, set in bright, high vitrinite matrix. (TAM)

Esterle, J. S., T. A. Moore, and J. C. Shearer. Comparison of Macroscopic and Microscopic Size Analyses of Organic Components in Both Coal and Peat. 26th Newcastle Symposium: Advances in the Study of the Sydney Basin. Newcastle, New South Wales, Australia. April 3-5, 1992. pp. 143-149; bibl., ill.

Compares the sizes the types of plant material found in modern peats from the Baram River of Sarawak to organic components found in coal beds elsewhere along the Pacific Rim. (TAM)

Gastaldo, R. M. Sediment Facies, Depositional Environments, and Distribution of Phytoclasts in the Recent Mahakam River Delta, Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Palaios*. 1992. Vol. 7:574-592; bibl., ill., tab.

The Mahakam River delta is a tide- and wave-dominated delta located on the edge of the Kutei Basin, eastern Kalimantan, Borneo. A vibracoring program sampled the principal fine-grained depositional environments in two transects. Canopy parts from the mixed forest community are preserved throughout the delta, whereas dicotyledonous angiosperm mangroves are restricted to the subtidal zone and delta front. *Nypa* parts are preserved in most depositional environments. Identifiable plant parts include wood and fibrous tissues, *Nypa* petioles and leaf laminae, dicotyledonous angiosperm leaves and isolated cuticles, fruits and seeds, roots and rootlets, and moss. (TAM)

Guerreiro, Antonio, and Pascal Couderc, eds., Borneo: des "chasseurs de têtes" aux écologistes/dirigé. Paris: Autrement, 1991, 222 pp., bibl., ill., maps

This collective volume contains the following articles: *Nous, Sahawongs, communément appelés Dayaks* by Kusni Sulang; *La récente expédition scientifique* by Anton Willens Nieuwenhuis; *Vous avez dit explorateurs?*, by Bernard Sellato; *Au pays des Rajahs Blancs*, by Charles Allen and Michael Mason; *Piraterie et Islam*, by Ghislaine Loyré; *Une croisière sur le Mahakam-Express*, by Willy van Rooijen; *Pièges, lances et sarbacanes*, by Pierre Pfeffer; *Migrations urbaines à Borneo*, by Vinson Sutlive; *Tourisme chez les Ibans de la rivière Skrang*, by Peter M. Kedit; *Collectionneurs et objets*, by Victor T. King; *Les ancêtres, les chefs et leurs descendants*, by Mering Ngo; *Du "Bejalai" à l'exode*, by Peter M. Kedit; *Un missionnaire en pays Dayak*, interview with H. Sombroek; *La mort à deux visages*, by Pascal Couderc; *Fils du Pléistocène*, by Peter Bellwood; *Des hommes dans la forêt*, by Bernard Sellato; *Petit*

homme, grandes conséquences, by Vinson Sutlive; *Environment et déforestation*, by Judith Mayer; *La chasse au Sarawak*, by Julian Oliver Caldecott; and *Recontres avec les habitants de Bornéo*, by Jan Avé. (C. Parrel, *Excerpta Indonesia*, No. 44, December, 1991, p. 13)

Heppell, Michael. *Masks of Kalimantan*. n.d. Bentleigh: Indonesian Arts Society, Inc. 72 pp., 29 colour, 25 black-and-white photographs, 25 line drawings, map.

This book is the first to examine Dayak masks in their cultural and environmental context. It describes the people who make and use the masks as well as the purposes for which they are used. Illustrations guide the reader through the iconography of all of the major Dayak mask makers. The book is written for a general audience, containing valuable information interspersed with entertaining anecdotes, much of it based on the personal experience of the author. Michael Heppell is a respected anthropologist who has spent significant periods of fieldwork with a number of different Dayak groups in Sarawak and West and East Kalimantan. (Available from: Indonesian Arts Society, Inc., c/o Wendy Hocking, 23 Robert Street, Bentleigh, Victoria, 3204, Australia. Retail, A\$19.50; wholesale, A\$12.00; bulk wholesale, A\$10.00, plus postage.)

Janowski, Monica Rachel Hughes. *Rice, Work and Community among the Kelabit of Sarawak, East Malaysia*. Submitted for the degree of Ph.D., London School of Economics, University of London. 1991.

This thesis is about the Kelabit, a tribal group living in the interior of the Fourth Division of Sarawak, East Malaysia. They are agriculturalists, growing rice as their symbolically focal crop, and also rely on hunting and gathering.

For the Kelabit, the strength of human life is indicated through success in the production of rice and in the reproduction of human beings. Both of these can only be achieved through being 'big people', full adults, in the basic social unit, the hearth-group. The strength of one's life is indicated through one's performance as 'big person' within the hearth group. This involves maintaining this group as a viable unit through the production of rice and the reproduction of children; the two are brought together through the successful performance of the rice meal within the hearth-group. The holding of such rice meals creates and confirms the prestige of the 'big people' who provide them. The hearth-group may be said to exist at levels above the basic one; at *irau*, feasts, the rice meal which is held, which constructs the highest level of the hearth-group by providing for the entire Kelabit population, generates differential prestige between the 'big people' of difference base-level hearth-groups.

The nature of the 'life' which is expressed through the performance of the rice meal is made explicit at it. The rice meal, although described as such, includes other foods besides rice; it cannot be a rice meal, in fact, without them. These foods are paradigmatically wild. There is a complementary opposition between rice, produced by human labour, and other foods, which reproduce without human help. Both sides of the opposition are essential, although it is the rice which is explicitly valued and which stands for the entire complementary opposition. The couple, whose achievements are celebrated at all rice meals but particularly at feasts, stands for rice itself, the key symbol of humanity, but also, through the association at one level of men with the wild, for the combination of rice with the wild which is essential to the construction of human society.

In order to discuss the above thesis, Janowski focusses on Kelabit notions of food production and consumption. She looks at rice-growing, at how it is marked as 'special' compared to other agricultural activities, and at how it is contrasted to hunting and gathering. She examines the attributes of the couple, the 'big people' of the hearth-group who are responsible for food production and consumption at the rice meal, and at how these attributes are the basis of prestige generation in Kelabit society. She looks at the structure of the rice meal and in particular at feasts, *irau*, super-rice meals, at which the complementary opposition between rice and wild foods and the nature of human life, which is associated with the nature of the couple, is most clearly stated.

Kartomi, Margaret J. *Musical Instruments of Indonesia: An Introductory Handbook*. n.d. Bentleigh: Indonesian Arts Society, Inc. 60 pp., 7 colour and 31 black-and-white photographs, 10 line drawings, map.

Although many people outside Indonesia are familiar with the Balinese or Javanese orchestra known as *Gamelan*, instruments such as the *sarune* (double-reed pipe) or *duri dana* (percussive bamboo tuning fork) may not be so well known. This book describes the various gamelan ensembles, from different areas, and explains their functions as well as another 150 instruments from all over Indonesia. Descriptions are given of the multitude of plucked, blown, beaten, bowed and shaken instruments used in Indonesia to make music.

The author, Dr. Margaret Kartomi with her husband, Hidris, have travelled to almost every part of Indonesia to investigate the musical traditions of that country. Dr. Kartomi is recognized world-wide as an ethnomusicologist, her special field being the music of Indonesia. (Order from Indonesian Arts Society, Inc. [see address, Heppell, above]. Retail, A\$10.00; wholesale, A\$6.00; bulk wholesale, A\$5.00, plus postage).

Kedit, Peter Mulok. *Iban Bejalai*. Kuching: Sarawak Literary Society, 1993.

Mobility has long been an important part of Iban society and culture. In fact, no institution has been more important to Iban expansion than *bejalai*. Long a requirement for the transition from childhood to manhood, Iban ancestors selected *bejalai* as a test of character and an education for life.

For Iban society, the institution of *bejalai* ensured not only that their men would be brave, but also that they would be knowledgeable. *Bejalai* has been transformed over the past decades, with young men working in the oil-fields of Miri and Bintulu, Shreveport and Galveston. But the main purpose and the results of the travels remain essentially the same, in the creation of a resourceful, resilient society, whose members move with relative ease into new circumstances.

It is appropriate that this volume written on the institution of *bejalai* is by Dr. Peter Mulok Kedit, the second Iban to earn a Ph.D. in anthropology. Himself a son to a father on *bejalai*, he demonstrated the same spirit of adventure in pursuing his studies in overseas universities.

Bejalai is an embodiment and enactment of the spirit of adventure by pioneers who not only accepted but energetically sought new experiences. It is this same spirit which presages the successful transition of Iban from traditional and spiritual mobility to a challenging and promising future. (Sarawak Literary Society, P.O. Box 734, 93714 Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia; M\$55 [US\$22] plus postage and handling)

King, Victor T. *Cognition and Rank in Borneo*, *In* Frans Hüsken and Jeremy Kemp, eds., *Cognition and Social Organization in Southeast Asia*. Leiden: Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde, 1991. pp. 15-31.

The aim of the author is to demonstrate that there are significant differences in kinship terms between egalitarian and hierarchical societies in Kalimantan. Differences in rank generate variations in the form and function of kinship and related institutions in Dayak societies. (R.L. Robson-McKillop, *Excerpta Indonesia*, No. 45 July, 1992 [January, 1993], p. 20).

King, Victor T. *The Best of Borneo Travel*. Kuala Lumpur, Singapore: Oxford in Asia Paperbacks. 1992. ISBN 0 19 588603 8

This anthology provides a wild and wonderful series of extracts--the *crème de la crème*--from travel writing about Borneo over four centuries. Each extract, substantial and self-contained in itself, gives a flavour and sense of *travel*, with authors ranging from Antonio Pigafetta who, writing in the sixteenth century, provided the first and best description of the Sultanate of Brunei, to Eric Hansen whose accounts of forest journeys on foot with Punans was first published in

1988. Extracts provide European perceptions of the exotic: the wonders of the equatorial rain forest; the fauna, such as the orang-utan; flora, like the pitcher plants; the rivers and rapids; the mountains, such as Kinabalu.... But just as the natural environment was seen to be untamed and exuberant, so were the inhabitants, and European travellers often focused on the practices of head-hunting and tribal warfare, as well as on piracy and coastal raiding. Cultural characteristics are emphasized, which depicted barbarism and the remarkable: animal sacrifice; funeral rites; striking bodily adornments, such as tattoos, beads, ear-plugs, and feathered head-dresses. Europeans saw natives close to nature and, in the extreme, writes like Carl Bock believed the stories and rumours of 'men with tails'. Professor King sets the scene to this representative range of writings on Borneo with an informative and entertaining Introduction and, in addition, provides background information on each of the travellers and their works.

Massing, Andreas Walter. The Central Mahakam Basin of East Kalimantan: A Socio-Economic Survey. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde*.

The Mahakam basin is one of the large lowland river basins of the tropical rain forest areas. It constitutes a unique ecological niche which is exploited by a diversity of peoples who differ in ethnic origin, culture, religion, and economic activities. Yet all of them - Punan, Dayak, Kutainese, Buginese, and others - complement each other through exchange and their specialized economic activities. (author's abstract)

Moore, T. A., and J. C. Ferm. Modification of Procedures for Petrographic Analysis of Tertiary Indonesian Coals. *Journal of Southeast Asian Earth Science*. 1988. Vol. 2(3):68-76; bibl., ill., tab.

A study undertaken to characterize the Eocene coals from southeastern Kalimantan has shown that standard preparation procedures fail to capture some basic petrographic properties of the coal. Modification of these procedures permits recognition of distinct plant parts and tissues embedded in finer grained matrix components. Plant parts and tissues can be classified on the basis of morphology and degree of degradation. The highest concentration and best preservation of plant parts and tissues occurs in banded coal and is lowest in the non-banded coal. Use of these procedures, which relates megascopic appearance to petrographic character, should allow more precise utilization of the coal. (TAM)

Moore, T. A., J. C. Ferm, and G. A. Weisenfluh. Guide to Eocene Coal Types in Kalimantan Selatan, Indonesia. Unpublished Handbook. Lexington, Kentucky, USA: University of Kentucky. 1989, 1991. 1st edition, 27 pp., 2nd edition, 38 pp.

A photographic handbook of the different coal types found in southeastern Kalimantan. Certain properties are correlated with the different types of coal. (TAM)

Moore, T. A., and J. C. Ferm. Composition and Grain-size of an Eocene Coal Bed in southeastern Kalimantan, Indonesia. *International Journal Coal Geology*. 1992. Vol. 21:1-30; bibl., ill., tab.

A study of an Eocene coal in southeastern Kalimantan, Indonesia, shows a relationship between megascopically determined coal types and microscopically determined kinds and sizes of organic components. Microscopic examination showed that the coal was composed of plant parts and tissues set in a matrix of both fine-grained particulate and amorphous material. The material identified as plant parts consists of stems and roots, leaves, and secondary xylem. The particulate matrix is composed of cell wall fragments, cell fillings, resin, spores, algae and unidentifiable fluorescing fragments. Fungal remains are also present. The amorphous matrix consists of unstructured (at $\times 400$) humic gels and bitumen. Size measurements of organic constituents show that each particulate component possesses in its own size distribution that approaches normality when transformed to a $-\log_2$ or phi (ϕ) scale. The size distribution of most plant parts is nearly symmetrical around a mean of 3-4 ϕ , whereas means of particulate matrix components are in the 8-9 ϕ range. Differences in grain-size distribution between megascopic coal types is related to ancient decompositional parameters as well as the original palaeodepositional setting. (TAM)

Moore, T. A., and R. E. Hilbert. Petrographic and Anatomical Characteristics of Plant Material from Two Peat Deposits of Holocene and Miocene Age, Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Review of Paleobotany and Palynology*. 1992. Vol. 72:199-227; bibl., ill., tab.

Compares the types and sizes of plant material occurring in a modern peat bog (in Kalimantan Barat, near Sambas) with organic components preserved within the Miocene age "Sarongga" lignite coal bed (in Kalimantan Selatan). Textural and size analysis finds that both deposits are composed of similar organic components (roots, stems, secondary xylem and fine-grained matrix material) and that the size of these components has not changed since the peat stage. This indicates that compaction of peat bogs into coal beds results almost solely from losses in pore space rather than compression of plant material. (TAM)

Moore, T. A., and J. C. Shearer. Processes and Possible Analogues in the Formation of Wyoming's Coal Deposits, *In* A. W. Snoke, J. R. Steidtmann, and S. M. Roberts, eds., *Geology of Wyoming*. Geological Survey of Wyoming Memoir 5. In press; bibl., ill., tab.

Cites peat deposits near Palangkaraya, Kalimantan Tengah, as possible modern analogues for coal beds found in Wyoming. Some of Wyoming's coal beds may have formed in a manner similar to the domed, ombrogenous mires found in the Indo-Malaysia region. Specifically, the Palangkaraya mire has compositional and floral similarities to observed organic constituents in the Anderson coal bed (Wyoming). Plant succession can be noted in both deposits, although a fundamental difference is that the Anderson coal bed was dominated by gymnosperms and the Palangkaraya mire is dominated by angiosperms. In addition, oxidized plant remains occur at the tops of both deposits and may be the result of a lower water table. A lowered water table may signify the death of the Palangkaraya mire and may also have been the mechanism responsible for the termination of the Anderson palaeo-mire. (TAM)

Naimah S. Talib. The Development of the Sarawak Administrative Service from its Inception (1840s) to 1963. Ph.D. in South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, 1993.

The thesis traces the evolution of an administrative service in Sarawak, from the time of the creation of the Brooke Raj, with its reliance on a small group of European friends and associates who assisted James Brooke, through the later period of Brooke rule and on to the post-Second World War administrative service, which, in its final years recruited an increasing number of local officers in the preparation of self-government.

Its focus is to demonstrate how the Sarawak government responded to successive problems, from the early years of pacification and stabilization, to the need to respond to an increasingly complex society and economy, and finally to the preparations for independence.

The thesis is an administrative history and a study of the evolution of policy and the way that the administrative structure responded to changing policy requirements. It provides information on the officers who implemented Brooke policy, their backgrounds, modes of recruitment, training, salary structures and conditions of service; it also examines the problems of managing the service and the human strengths and weaknesses which the officers presented to the government which employed them.

A clear change in direction is demonstrated in the introduction of post-war British colonial policy into a system which had evolved its own peculiar features under the Brooke Raj.

Reece, Robert H.W. *Datu Bandar*. Kuching: Sarawak Literary Society, 1993.

From the late 1930s until his death in January, 1964, Datu Bandar Abang Haji Mustapha was one of the best known figures in Sarawak. With an outstanding career in the Police and Native Affairs, Abang Haji Mustapha commanded genuine respect amongst Sarawak's different communities. Spanning the period of the White Rajahs, the Japanese Occupation, British colonial rule and Malaysia, his life reflected the series of dramatic changes which brought isolated and undeveloped Sarawak into the modern world. Although his social background might well have made him a conservative, his thinking was liberal and progressive. Supporting the last Rajah's cession of Sarawak to Britain, he endured bitter criticism. Similarly, his strong stand in support of Tunku Abdul Rahman's Malaysia proposal in 1961 brought accusations of "selling" Sarawak. In each case, he was taking the long view. As the founder of Party Negara Sarawak (PANAS) in 1960, he was the first leader to press for native unity and to forge links with the government of newly independent Malaya. Untiring in his effort to build his party and to promote Malaysia, he exhausted his health and his financial resources in the process. Although the vicissitudes of politics meant that he did not become Sarawak's first Chief Minister under Malaysia in 1963, his appointment as Federal Senator and Minister without portfolio shortly before his death acknowledged his notable achievements. (Sarawak Literary Society, address above [see Kedit]; hardcover, M\$50.00/US\$20; paperback M\$30.00/US\$12.50 plus US\$2.50 postage and handling)

Ruppert, L. F., and T. A. Moore. Differentiation of Volcanic Ash-Fall and Waterborne Detrital Layers in the Eocene Senakin Coal Bed, Tanjung Formation, Indonesia. *Organic Geochemistry*. 1993. Vol. 20:233-247; bibl., ill., tab.

Uses a variety of techniques, including SEM, X-ray diffraction and cathodoluminescence to establish that thin layers of inorganic sediment within the Eocene age Senakin coal bed (Kalimantan Selatan) were deposited as volcanic ash layers. Accessory minerals include Ti oxide, rare-earth element-rich Ca and Al phosphates, quartz which luminesces in the blue color range, and euhedral to subhedral pyroxene, hornblende, zircon, and sanidine. A diagnostic feature which indicates a volcanic ash fall origin is the presence of replaced glass shards. (TAM)

Schiller, Anne Louise. Shamans and Seminarists: Ngaju Dayak Ritual Specialists and Religious Change in Central Kalimantan *In* Tong Chee Kiong and Anne L. Schiller, eds., *Contributions to Southeast Asian Ethnography: Between Worlds: Studies of Sacred Elites*, 1989, No. 8:5-24, bibl., fig., map

Based on an extended period of field research in Central Kalimantan, the author examines the re-negotiation of the relationship between Ngaju Dayak ritual specialists, the *basir*, and those they serve, within the wider context of formal government recognition of the indigenous *Kaharingan* belief system as a "Hindu" sect. The author describes how demands are being made for the codification of beliefs, standardization of rituals, and vernacularization of religious esoterica, inducing changes in the traditional role of the *basir*, who is becoming more of a formal religious leader. Perhaps, as a result of the changing expectations of society, certain elements of their performance, like the ecstatic, will decline. (M. Heins, *Excerpta Indonesia*, No. 44, December, 1991, p. 10)

Staub, J. R., J. S. Esterle, and A. L. Raymond. Comparative Geomorphic Analysis of Central Appalachian Coal Beds and Malaysian Peat Deposits. *Bulletin de la Société Géologique de France*. 1991. Vol. 162(2):339-351; bibl., ill., tab.

A comparative geomorphic analysis between Carboniferous age coal beds in North America and Holocene domed deposits and associated sediments from the central Sarawak lowlands, Malaysia. These comparisons revealed several similarities between the two areas. The size of the mineable coal bodies and the areas of domed peat are similar and generally are about 50 to 75 square kilometers. The geomorphic shape of the coal bodies and the domes are also similar. Additionally, both types of deposits formed approximately 15 to 25 kilometers inland from the shoreline.

Tsing Lowenhaupt, Anna. *In the Realm of the Diamond Queen: Marginality in an Out-of-the-way Place*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 41 William Street, Princeton, NJ 08540, 1993/94. 350 pages.

In this highly original and much-anticipated ethnography, Anna Tsing challenges not only anthropologists and feminists but all those who study culture to reconsider some of their dearest assumptions. By choosing to locate her study among Meratus Dayaks, a marginal group in the deep rainforest of South Kalimantan, Indonesia, Tsing deliberately sets into motion the familiar and stubborn urban fantasies of self and other. Unusual encounters with her remarkably creative and unconventional Meratus friends and teachers, however, provide the opportunity to rethink notions of tradition, community, culture, power, and gender--and the doing of anthropology. Tsing's masterful weaving of ethnography and theory, as well as her humor and lucidity, allow for an extraordinary reading experience for students, scholars, and anyone interested in the complexities of culture.

Engaging Meratus in wider conversations involving Indonesian bureaucrats, family planners, experts in international development, Javanese

soldiers, American and French feminists, Asian-Americans, right-to-life advocates, and Western intellectuals, Tsing looks not for consensus and coherence in Meratus culture but rather allows individual Meratus men and women to return our gaze. Bearing the fruit from the lively contemporary conversations between anthropology and cultural studies, *In the Realm of the Diamond Queen* will prove to be a model for thinking and writing about gender, power, and the politics of identity.

Vermeulen, J. J. *Orchid Monographs*. Leiden: Rijksherbarium/Hortus Botanicus. 1993. Vol. 7; pp. iv, 324; figs., 116 full-page line drawings, 6 color plates (ISBN 90-71236-17-X; Dfl. 100.00)

The author, J. J. Vermeulen, has over the years made many contributions to the systematic knowledge of the genus *Bulbophyllum*. He revised the African species in *Orchid Monographs* vol 2 (1987), and 100 Bornean species in *Orchids of Borneo* vol. 2 (1991). The treatment follows the established pattern of *Orchid Monographs*, a series that aims at being a user-friendly means of identification and providing a survey of knowledge on Orchidaceae with literature reference on genus, sections, species and subspecific taxa.

Werner, Roland. *Transcultural Healing: The Whole Human: A Global Journey from Harmony to Healing and Beyond*. Kuala Lumpur: Department of Publications, University of Malaya, Lembah Pantai, 59100 Kuala Lumpur, 1993. 432 pp., 260 illustrations. Hardback (ISBN 967-9940-48-9) RM75.00, overseas, US\$40.00; paperback (ISBN 967-9940-47-0), RM50.00, overseas, \$30.00.

This highly illustrated book takes a comprehensive look at the different systems of healing worldwide. The author explores the many variations of healing systems from the European to the African, the Asian and the Latin Americans. It is designed to provide basic, practical information on the complex phenomenon of cultural healing.

The book includes step-by-step details on preparing healing procedures for men and women across the world. The author's full command of local sources ensures a thorough introduction to the subject as a whole. This book is highly commendable in terms of detail and can contribute to a fuller understanding of the socio-cultural systems of healing on a global scale.

The author presents selectively, from the perspective of the healing of the whole human being--body, mind and soul--those concepts of healing based upon faith and belief as they are manifested in various parts of the world. In doing so he examines the spheres of influence of, for example, the Abrahamic religions, Eastern religions and beliefs, paganism, new religions and mixed religious forms.

The examination of these aspects has led to the insight that the rationalistic, performance-oriented Western medicine represents only a part of the curative healing process dedicated to the whole human. The transcultural interrelationships between various traditional groups and Western scholastic medicine can work together for the benefit of the person to be healed if these systems are able to complement one another.

Only from the viewpoint of such a conceptual complex wherein the religious, the magical and the rationalistic represent inseparable parts of the whole will it be possible to help the "believer" who is in need of healing to achieve his own ethnospecific wholeness.

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