

# BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN

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# *BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN*

Vol. 28

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## NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

As in previous years, the current issue of the *Borneo Research Bulletin* reflects the wide-ranging interests of our members and contributors, including, as it does, research notes, brief communications, and news items in archaeology, history, anthropology, music, the arts, linguistics, and the life sciences. Included in this volume is also a special report on our Fourth Biennial Conference, which was held last year at the Universiti Brunei Darussalam.

Since the appearance of the last volume of the *BRB*, a number of events have occurred that deserve noting. After 23 years of service, Dr. Peter Kedit retired as Director of the Sarawak Museum and on behalf of the Council, we wish Peter well and take this occasion to thank him for his many contributions to the Borneo Research Council. In May of this year (1997), Sanib Said was appointed as the new Museum Director. A gifted historian, the new director has taught at the University of Malaya, the Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, and the Universiti Brunei Darussalam, and he comes to the Sarawak Museum from the Social Development Council, where he served as executive secretary. He is well known to many of our readers for his challenging book, based on his University of Malaya MA thesis, *Malay Politics in Sarawak, 1946-1966*, published in 1985 by Oxford University Press. The new director is also a trained archivist, having earned a post-graduate Diploma in Information Management/Archives Administration from the University of New South Wales. After receiving his diploma, he worked for three years in the Malaysian National Archives in Kuala Lumpur. This experience, together with his background of having used the Sarawak Museum's archives as a historian, eminently qualifies him to undertake the vital task, which he and his staff have now begun, of reorganizing the museum's resources, its collections, and archives. Historically, the Sarawak Museum has stood out, in terms of research and the advancement of knowledge, as the premier institution of its kind in Borneo, and the Council offers its congratulations and wishes Director Sanib Said every success in furthering this distinguished tradition.

Within the Borneo region, the Council is also pleased to observe the continued rapid growth of institutions of higher education. This is a highly positive development, offering the peoples of the island increased opportunity for study and local scholars enhanced facilities for research and publication, and is reflected in the BRC's own biennial meetings, the last two of which have been held on university campuses, at the Universitas Tanjungpura in Pontianak and the Universiti Brunei Darussalam in Bandar Seri Begawan. This growth bodes well for the future of Borneo studies, and in this light, we are happy to note, too, the establishment of a new research center on the campus of the Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS), the Institute of East Asian Studies, intended to promote research in Borneo and the surrounding Asian region (see Regional News).

## The Fifth Biennial BRC Conference

The Fifth Biennial Conference of the Borneo Research Council will be held, as announced last year, in Palangka Raya, Kalimantan Tengah, Indonesia, July 13-17, 1998 (see the announcement below). Further information, as it is received by the editor, will be mailed to BRC members or posted on the BRC website (see below). Our Indonesian hosts have established a conference committee and those wishing to present papers, organize conference sessions, or desiring information on travel and accommodation arrangements are encouraged to write directly to the Committee Secretariat, Fifth Biennial Conference of the Borneo Research Council, Jalan Damang Salilah C-I-1, Palangka Raya 73112, Kalimantan Tengah, Indonesia (fax: 0536-23322).

FIFTH BIENNIAL CONFERENCE  
OF THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

Current Status of Social, Medical, and Biological Research:

Future Needs and Policy Implications

July 13-17, 1998

Palangka Raya, Kalimantan Tengah, Indonesia

Presidential Symposium: Sustainability, Post-Modernization  
and Globalization of Culture

Committee Secretariat:  
Fifth Biennial Conference  
Borneo Research Council  
Jln. Damang Salilah C-I-1  
Palangka Raya 73112  
Kalimantan Tengah  
INDONESIA  
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The timing of the Fifth Biennial Conference allows those who wish to attend the Third International Conference on Great Apes of the World, to be held July 3-6, 1998, in Kuching, Sarawak (see *Borneo News*), to take part in both conferences. The Orangutan Foundation International (OFI) and the Sarawak Development Institute (SDI), the principal organizers of the Great Apes conference, have arranged with local tour operators for a series of pre- and post-conference tours, including a tour of orangutan rehabilitation stations in Tanjung Puting National Park, Kalimantan Tengah, which BRC members may wish to join before the start of the Palangka Raya conference. Those wishing further

information regarding the Great Apes conference and tours should contact Dr. Gary Shapiro. OFI, 822 S. Wellesley Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90049, email: <redape@ns.net>

A large number of people assisted me in putting this volume together. Again, I thank Dr. Rick Fidler (Rhode Island College) for his invaluable editorial help. Sander Adelaar, Dee Baer, Don Brown, James Chin, Jayl Langub, Bob Reece, Vinson Sutlive, and John Walker all provided valuable review support, advice, and critical comments during the year. Dr. George Appell, President of the BRC, has undertaken the daunting task of keeping our membership list current, and anyone with a change of address to report should write directly to Dr. Appell, at P.O. Box A, Phillips, ME 04966, USA, as indicated at the back of this issue. Finally, Dr. Phillip Thomas (National Library of Medicine), once again, ably carried out the computer work necessary for processing the textual materials and photographs.

#### The BRB On-Line

The Borneo Research Council has now entered the electronic age. During this last year, Dr. James Chin at Middlesex University, London, established a Council website. On this site can now be found general information regarding the objectives of the BRC. The site also reproduces the table of contents of the current *Borneo Research Bulletin* and posts announcements of various Council-related events and activities. The website, originally established by Dr. Chin at Middlesex University, has now been moved to a permanent Sarawak location. The website address is <http://ftp.sarawak.com.my/org/brc/>. Those with news items they would like to post are invited to contact either Dr. Chin at <james.chin@mailcity.com> or myself at <clifford.sather@directory.reed.edu>. The site has proved popular and James tells me that, so far this year, our pages have received over 6,000 "hits" or visitors. The site was also recently noted by Gerry van Klinken in a brief article, "Indonesia on the Net" in *Inside Indonesia* (April-June 1997).

The Borneo Research Council Electronic Mailing List was also created last year at the initiative of Pamela Szeto Lindell, at the University of Nevada, Reno, as a means of further fostering communication between individuals with scholarly interest in Borneo. The list now contains approximately 150 subscribers from sixteen countries. Using the list, messages can be instantly posted regarding conferences, new publications, calls for papers, topical discussions, inquiries, or anything else relevant to the interests of members. Official membership in the BRC is not necessary to become a list member. In order to subscribe, those interested need simply send a request, including their name and email address, to <lindell@scs.unr.edu>. Through both the website and the mailing list, as well as by direct correspondence, the Council, as noted in my last "Notes from the Editor," continues to work on producing a directory of interested Borneo scholars and research institutions. Drs. James Chin and Rita Armstrong are in charge of

this project and anyone who wishes to assist them should contact either James Chin <james.chin@mailcity.com> or Rita Armstrong <bungan@ozemail.com.au>. On behalf of the Council, I wish to thank James and Pamela for making these valuable computer services available to us.

#### Member Support

Over the last year, our annual fund campaign was a success. Here we wish to acknowledge the following persons for their gifts in support of the work of the Council: Jennifer Alexander, Matthew Amster, G. N. Appell, Laura P. Appell-Warren, Ralph Arbus, Adele Baer, Martin Baier, Donald E. Brown, Chew Lun Chan, R. G. P. Claydon, Jay Crain, Otto Doering III, Amity Doolittle, Michael R. Dove, Dr. and Mrs. Allen Drake, Richard Fidler, Judith Heimann, Virginia Matheson Hooker, Victor T. King, Craig Lockard, Alan MacLachlan, Wolfgang Marschall, Clive Marsh, Peter Martin, James McLellan, Peter Metcalf, Awang Hasmadi Awang Mois, Alastair R. J. Morrison, Rodney Needham, Carsten Niemitz, Harry Arlo Nimmo, Kazunori Oshima, John Pearson, Robert Pringle, Ronald Provencher, Robert Reece, Rolf Schlomer, Bernard Sellato, P.G. Sercombe, Andrew Smith, Antonia Soriente, Otto Steinmayer, Jack Stuster, Anna Tsing, Reed L. Wadley, Peter Weldon, Jim Welsh, W. D. Wilder, Robert Winzeler, and Leigh Wright. If I have left any contributor's name off this list, please let me know.

## MEMORIALS

## ROBERT NICHOLL

1910-1996

The death of Father Robert Nicholl in March 1996, a week or two shy of the eighty-sixth anniversary of his birth, marks the end of a Bornean connection encompassing half a century, including more than forty years (1946-87) of residence in the island itself, first in Sarawak and then in Brunei.

Robert Nicholl made at least two major contributions to Bornean life. First, as an Education Officer in Sarawak from 1946 to 1969 he spared no effort towards the advancement of his students, many of whom went on to enjoy distinguished careers and to retain a strong sense of gratitude for the assistance afforded them by their former headmaster. "He was one of the first outside officers to come to Sarawak after the Japanese occupation," Tom Harrison related in 1957. "Without fuss or circumstance he has devoted nearly all of his generous mind and energetic heart to furthering the enlightenment, by education and his own wit, of the people - especially the upriver people - ever since."

Secondly, whilst working as a teacher and historian in Brunei (1970-87), during most of which time he gave unstinting service as an honorary curator at the national museum, he shed a flood of new light on the pre-Islamic history of the country. His best work appeared in the *Brunei Museum Journal* (1972-1991) and the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (1983, 1989). There were also two important monographs: *European Sources for the History of the Sultanate of Brunei in the Sixteenth Century* (Brunei Museum, 1975) and *Raja Bongsu of Sulu: A Brunei Hero in his Times* (MBRAS Monograph No. 19, Kuala Lumpur, 1991). His conclusions have not yet won universal acceptance; but whether he is eventually proved right or wrong, his intellectual honesty and the brilliance of the detective work may not be denied.

Distinguished as his many publications are, his *chef d'oeuvre* actually remains unpublished. This is his two-volume *Sources for the History of Brunei* (1983, 1987), held at the Brynmor Jones Library, University of Hull. A monumental work of mature scholarship, it is imperative that this study should appear in print at the earliest opportunity.

Thomas Brian Nicholl was born in Dublin, of a wealthy Methodist family, on Easter Sunday 1910. His childhood appears to have been unhappy, notably because of a strained relationship with his father. Following a peripatetic education in England and, briefly, in Paris, he enrolled at Trinity College, Dublin, where he became deeply involved in social work and converted to Roman Catholicism. Leaving before taking his degree, he joined the Benedictine community at Buckfast Abbey, Devon, in 1929. Ordination followed in 1936 and Dom Robert (as he had been christened by his order) then continued his education at St. Benet's Hall in Oxford (1936-9). This time he successfully completed a degree in history, later advancing to Master of Arts. Appointed a chaplain to British forces in 1939, he experienced a loss of faith and resigned his commission in 1944. After a time as a staff captain attached to British Army Intelligence in India and Singapore, he at length reached the scene of his life's work (Borneo) in 1946. During the academic year

1948-9 he studied at the Institute of Education, University of London, which awarded him a Diploma of Education.

During his years of retirement in England after 1987, Robert Nicholl returned to his first love, mediaeval monasticism. The quality of his research in this field won the plaudits even of acknowledged experts. From late 1992, however, his activities were severely curtailed as a result of a stroke. A reconciliation with the Roman Catholic Church followed, including the resumption of his priesthood in 1994. In London in October 1995 Father Nicholl was presented by Professor Victor T. King of the University of Hull with a hefty, 600-page *Festschrift* entitled *From Buckfast to Borneo*, comprising some fifty contributions from scholars all around the world, from Auckland to Santa Barbara, from Bandar Seri Begawan to Albstadt-Truchelfingen (see BRB, vol. 27). Father Nicholl could have been left in no doubt of the high esteem in which he was held.

Besides his work as a historian, Robert Nicholl's literary output included a host of short stories and other essays, some written for the *Sarawak Gazette* under the pseudonym "H Pomfret St. Auben." He also took a keen interest in equestrianism, languages (especially French), travel, and jazz. His knowledge of ecclesiastical architecture was breathtaking; and, indeed, at Buckfast in the 1930s he became involved in the making of stained-glass windows. His reliability as a correspondent was legendary, a reply by return post being guaranteed. He could be a generous book-reviewer but was unsparing of the meretricious. He was scathing about the time-server, the yes-man, those he labelled "ciphers." His asceticism, courtesy and integrity all attracted favourable comment.

Father Nicholl's final months were spent at a priory in Sussex. It is believed that an autobiography, *Monk Out of Water*, was in preparation. Should this, along with the *Sources for the History of Brunei*, see the light of day, then the final word from Father Robert Nicholl is far from having been heard. Meanwhile, all readers of this *Bulletin* will wish to join with me in sending condolences to surviving members of his family, including his sister (Mrs. Sheila Campbell Knott) and nephew (Mr. John Knott), the last-named having played a major role behind the scenes in the production of the *Festschrift*. (A. V. M. Horton, Department of Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Hull, Hull HU6 7RX, England)

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Southeast Asian Librarian  
University of Hull

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[Editor's note: The Festschrift volume, *From Buckfast to Borneo*, presented to Father Nicholl in 1995 has been republished in Sarawak and is now available from The Sarawak Literary Society.]

## TUSAU PADAN

1933-1996

Tusau Padan, an artist, painter, craftsman, musician, and dancer passed away on Thursday, August 29, 1996 at the Kuching General Hospital. He was laid to rest at the Catholic Cemetery in his adopted village, Kampung Seratau, Kuching, ironically on August 31, 1996, the very day that for decades he had given cultural performances to celebrate Malaysia Day.

Tusau's death is keenly felt by Sarawakians in general and the Orang Ulu community in particular, for it was he, more than any other, who kept alive and promoted the rich culture and tradition of the Orang Ulu.

Tusau was born in 1933 to a Kenyah family of noble lineage at Long Nawang, Apo Kayan, Kalimantan, Indonesia. He was the second of four children, two boys and two girls. As a young boy he developed an interest in the art work of Aban Pangin, Baya' Laing and Tama' Gun Along, the leading artists in the Apo Kayan at that time. It was from them that he learnt and developed his skill and style as an artist.

Tusau first came to Sarawak in 1959 with a group of about 60 Kenyah from Long Nawang. From that time until his death, he never returned to Long Nawang and adopted Sarawak as his home. After crossing the Sarawak-Kalimantan border into Belaga District, the group split into two at Kapit. One part comprising the older people went to Kuching to meet Tom Harrission, the Curator of the Sarawak Museum, who invited them to talk about Kenyah culture. The other part comprising the younger people remained in Kapit working in rubber gardens as laborers or splitting firewood to earn money. Tusau was with this latter group. When those who went to Kuching returned to Kapit, Tusau's group had barely earned enough money to buy essential items to take home. Whatever money they earned was used to buy things for those wishing to return to take home with them to Long Nawang. The rest of the group decided to remain behind to earn more money. This comprised the younger people, and Tusau was again with this group. From then on for Tusau it was a life of wandering in different parts of Sarawak, Brunei and Peninsula Malaysia until he decided in the 1970's to stay permanently in Kuching.

From Kapit, Tusau's group moved to Sibul to work at the Lee Hua Sawmill. In 1961 they moved to Miri to work at a timber mill at Kerukop. When the Brunei Rebellion broke out in December 1962, the group moved to Loagan Jarum, below Marudi Town, to work in a sawmill there. With the impending Indonesian policy of Confrontation, Tusau thought that his group was not safe at Loagan Jarum. They decided that they would be safer if they stayed among their own people, the upriver Kenyah. They met Penghulu Gau, a Kenyah from Long Ikang who not only invited them to stay at Long Ikang but provided them with work at a timber camp.

All this while during his spare time Tusau was doing carving and painting in between work, or at night. His reputation as an artist and carver slowly spread to different parts of Sarawak.

Sometime in January 1963, Baram was hit by the worst flood in memory. A lot of manpower was needed to help in evacuation. Tusau and his group were recruited to help the District Officer. Due to his friendly nature, Tusau became a good friend of the District Officer, Datuk Wan Hashim. This friendship was important because it was

through Datuk Wan Hashim that Tusau's talent as an artist became known to the Sarawak Museum.



Tusau Padan (Photo by Jayl Langub)

After the flood Tusau and his group worked in a quarry at Batu Gading, below the small town of Long Lama. It was while working at Batu Gading that Tusau was invited by Tom Harrison to do art work and carving for the Sarawak Museum. After working in the Sarawak Museum, Harrison took Tusau to Brunei to do more art work and carving for the Brunei Museum. Tusau was with the Brunei Museum for about a year. Tusau was called back to the Baram by Datuk Wan Hashim at the request of Temanggong Oyong Lawai Jau and Bishop A. D. Galvin who wanted to commission Tusau to do some carving and painting for the Catholic Church at Long San. Tusau spent six months painting the altar wall of the Church, carving the crucifix and the altar in Kenyah design. While at Long San, he painted a mural on the longhouse apartment wall of Temanggong Oyong Lawai Jau.

By this time Tusau's reputation as an artist had become widely known. On completion of his work at Long San, Tusau was invited by Penghulu Balan Lejau to paint a mural on his longhouse apartment wall at Long Sobeng, Tinjar. While staying with Penghulu Balan Lejau, Temanggong Oyong Lawai Jau was hospitalized at Miri and Tusau was asked to visit him in the hospital. The year was 1968, and the Temanggong informed Tusau that Datuk Lucas Chin of the Sarawak Museum wanted him to do some more work for the museum. Tusau worked at the museum until 1972 when Tan Sri Datuk Ong Kee Hui commissioned him to do some painting and carving at Tan Sri's residence in Kuala Lumpur. In 1973 he went back to Baram only to be invited to Brunei to work on a huge coffin for the Brunei Museum.

In 1974 Tusau was back in Baram. His intention was to live there permanently to farm as he had married a Kenyah woman from Long Selatong and had children. But this

was not to be, for in the same year, Datuk Nyipa Bato', then a State Minister for Welfare, while visiting some Penan in Long San area, met Tusau and conveyed to him the Sarawak Museum's invitation to work with the museum. His attachment with the museum looked more permanent. He was well liked by the museum staff, especially by Datuk Lucas Chin who had succeeded Benedict Sandin as the Museum Director. However, a friend of some standing in the Orang Ulu community persuaded Tusau to leave the museum and establish a business with him. With great reluctance Tusau left to join the business which later failed.

Tusau was unemployed for quite some time. With the help of Datuk Lucas Chin, Datuk Nyipa Bato' and Datuk Hapsah Harun, then a State Minister for Culture and Youth, Tusau was employed as a musician, dancer, and craftsman with the Ministry of Culture and Youth, which later became the Ministry of Social Development. It was at the Ministry of Social Development that Tusau's other talents as a musician and dancer became known world wide. When the State Government was promoting Sarawak as a tourist destination, the services of Tusau as a musician and dancer were greatly in demand. His music and dance took him around the world, to the United States, England, Germany, Australia, Japan and South Korea. An accomplished *sape'* player, Tusau charmed millions around the world with his music and dance.

Among Tusau's most treasured memories was his performance before Queen Elizabeth II on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of her reign, at Lancaster House, London in 1992. Tusau had earlier performed before the Queen in Kuching when she was on an official visit to Sarawak in 1972. Despite his contact and exposure to the modern world, Tusau remained traditional. He wore his hair in the traditional fringe and practiced what "the old people taught him"—their art, craft, music, and dance. He was the standard bearer of Orang Ulu culture and tradition. His works of art and craft now adorn public and private buildings, hotels, and private homes, not only in Sarawak but overseas. He was doing all that "the old people taught him," not to seek fame but to preserve a beautiful tradition.

Tusau was ordinary, yet special. It was not his talent as a traditional artist, musician, or dancer that made him special, for there were traditional artists, musicians, and dancers who were as talented as he. What made him special was a combination of talent and personality, charm and zest for life. Tusau was at ease in any company, whether in the longhouse with longhouse folks, in the city with dignitaries at official functions, or with foreigners in foreign lands. He was a delightful person who easily smiled. He easily responded to requests for his carvings and paintings and was not bothered by how much he was paid for a piece of work. He needed no persuasion to perform the music and dance of his people to any audience. For Tusau, carving and painting, or performing the music or dance of his people, was a way to promote their culture to the world. Unlike other traditional artists, musicians and dancers, Tusau was able to blend traditional art, music and dance with the rapid change of modern Sarawak. He was what the Penan call a *kelunan mekawi'*, a person who knew how to live life to the fullest. It was his love for life that made Tusau special.

Brought up in a society where sharing was a norm, Tusau kept that value throughout his life. When Tusau first came to Sarawak in 1959, he and members of his group contributed their wages to buy items for the others to take home to Long Nawang. Another occasion was when Tusau and his group helped the District Officer evacuate

victims during the 1963 floods. Each worker was given a sack of rice and tinned food in appreciation for his help. As each of the Indonesian Kenyah was a single person, the food given was too much for one person to eat. Rather than sell these food items to local people, Tusau and his group divided the extra food among the local people, irrespective of their ethnic background. They gave some of these items to their Chinese, Malay and Orang Ulu friends. This was much appreciated by the local people, especially those with big families.

As an Orang Ulu, and despite his meagre income in an urban setting, Tusau never failed to share whatever he had, such as food or drink, with his visitors. Tusau was not only generous with whatever material wealth he had, he was also generous in sharing his knowledge and talent. Unfortunately he was not able to find anyone, especially Orang Ulu, who wanted to learn what he was willing to teach. If there is any consolation to such a talented person who wanted to share with others "what the old people taught him" it is in the fact that he left his work in various museums, public and private buildings, and in private homes not only in Malaysia but overseas, for people to appreciate and to learn from. (Jayl Langub, Majlis Adat Istiadat, Level 4, Wisma Satok, 93400 Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia)

**[Editor's note:** As reported in the Sarawak News section, a retrospective exhibition, *The Art of Tusau Padan* was held in the Dewan Tun Razak, Kuching, in July 1997. The proceeds from this exhibition and the sale of an illustrated exhibition catalogue were contributed to a fund set up by the Society Atelier Sarawak to benefit Tusau's surviving family.]

## BONIFACE JARRAW ANAK SERIT

1941-1996

On Friday, the 21st of June, 1996, Boniface Jarraw anak Serit passed away at Sarawak General Hospital, Kuching. He was buried on the morning of the 24th of June, 1996, in the Roman Catholic Cemetery, 7th Mile Kuching/Penrissen Road, in services witnessed by over a hundred people, including community leaders and local dignitaries.

Boniface Jarraw's death is keenly felt, not only by his family and friends, but also by the Majlis Adat Istiadat, the agency at which he served for 15 years, just short by two months of his full term of service with the government. He died at the age of 54.

The late Boniface Jarraw was born on 3 September, 1941, at Ranau, Kanowit. He attended school at St. Xavier RC School in Kanowit and later Kanowit Secondary School where he completed his Sarawak Junior School Certificate. He was among the few young Iban in the Kanowit District at the time to obtain secondary education. His ambition to continue schooling was thwarted by a lack of financial means. Therefore, after completing his Sarawak Junior School Certificate, he left school in 1960, and first worked as a temporary teacher at Nanga Kamalih Primary School. In July 1961, Boniface joined the Iban Service of Radio Sarawak as a Programme Assistant. His job made him popular with Iban listeners throughout Sarawak. The programmes he compiled and produced included *Cherita Kelulu*, *Jerita Tuai*, and *Entelah* to name a few. His clear, strong voice made him one of the best newscasters in the Iban Service. He was also a good orator.

Boniface Jarraw was an industrious and dedicated officer both in the office and the field. He travelled widely in the State, collecting materials for Iban programs, and in the course of his travels meeting many artists and tribal leaders. In September 1964, he was sent by the State Government, under a Colombo Plan Scholarship, to attend a course on the techniques of sound broadcasting at the British Broadcasting Corporation in London. He returned to Sarawak in January 1965 and later married Magdalene Nunjan. Their marriage was blessed by three children, two girls and one boy. Boniface left Radio Sarawak in 1969.

In August 1969, Jarraw joined the Bible Society of Singapore, Malaysia, and Brunei. At first he was appointed as a translator and later became a co-ordinator of the Inter-Church Bible Translation Programme. While with the Bible Society, he was sent for training to the Translator Institute in Banglamung in Thailand. He had also attended several seminars on Bible translation in Singapore. His job as translator was perhaps his biggest contribution to the Iban community in Sarawak. He and Professor Vinson Sutlive translated the whole Bible (the Old Testament and the New Testament) into Iban.

In 1977, Boniface Jarraw was sent to Kuala Lumpur to work as a co-ordinator for Iban Programmes at RTM, Angkasapuri. At the end of 1978, he returned to Sarawak to work as *Penyelias Kemas* in Kanowit. Besides his official duties, he was also active in community projects. He worked as *Penyelias Kemas* for two years.

On 15th April 1981, he assumed duty as a Research Assistant with Majlis Adat Istiadat Sarawak. He worked with the Majlis for 15 years until his untimely death on the 21st of June 1996. At the Majlis Adat Istiadat he was the principal compiler of material for the *Adat Iban*. He contributed greatly in putting this material together in the

codification of *Adat Iban* which was gazetted by the State Government in 1993. Without his dedicated effort, it would have been impossible to compile this material into a code.

While with Majlis, Boniface took charge of the Iban Research Section. He collected and transcribed a wide range of Iban oral tradition such as *jerita tuai*, *pengap*, *pelian*, *pengawa manang*, *tusut*, *entelah*, and *sampi*. He not only collected these materials for preservation but was an earnest student, one of the few Iban of his generation to understand Iban oral tradition and its role in society. Through his years with the Majlis, Boniface interviewed and tape-recorded material from many informants, experts in adat and different forms of Iban oral tradition. Boniface was well versed himself in Iban adat. As the principal officer in the Iban Section, the Majlis relied on him when it came to interpreting Iban adat. He also gave many lectures, talks, and courses on Iban adat to Tuai Rumah, Ketua Masyarakat and the public at large in seminars organized by the Office of the Chief Registrar of Native Courts and the State Secretary's Office.

Despite his vast experience in the civil service, he constantly worked hard to improve himself. He saw himself as a life-long learner. He also attended many seminars, courses, and workshops organized by various government agencies and volunteer organizations. Boniface Jarraw also aided many local and foreign researchers. His unselfish attitude to those who needed his help in understanding Iban oral tradition and customary law will long be remembered. He was respected by the Iban community as a translator and for his knowledge of adat and oral tradition. His untimely demise is a great loss to the Majlis and Iban community. (Nicholas Bawin, Majlis Adat Istiadat, Level 4, Wisma Satok, 93400 Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia.)

## RESEARCH NOTES

### SARAWAK CERAMICS PROJECT, 1997

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[**Editor's note:** In 1989 Peter Bellwood and Ipoi Datan reported the presence of rice husks used as temper in pottery sherds from Gua Sireh cave in Sarawak. When dated, this material yielded what is arguably the earliest, but whatever the case, certainly the most securely dated evidence, as yet, for the presence of rice anywhere in Insular Southeast Asia. In the previous volume of the *BRB*, Beavitt et al (1996) reported confirmational evidence further supporting the early presence of rice in Sarawak as indicated by an analysis of both cave sediments and additional pottery studies. As reported at the time by Paul Beavitt and his colleagues (1996:33), the British Academy Committee for South East Asian Studies, which funded this research, agreed to support further work in 1997 examining additional evidence for rice in early Sarawak ceramics. Here, the authors report briefly on the results of this important work. Following this report, Wilhelm G. Solheim II, Emeritus Professor of Archaeology, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, offers some comments, and, broadening the discussion, speculates on the possible nature of early rice varieties, both in Borneo and elsewhere in Asia.]

The aim of our 1997 fieldwork was to identify the presence of rice inclusions in pottery from a series of key sites across Sarawak. It was hoped that these findings could contribute directly to the study of the pattern of early rice cultivation across this region. The fieldwork involved the examination of excavated sherds and the collection of clay samples in order to verify that the pottery is of local origin and that it has not been traded in from elsewhere.

#### 1. Findings of the 1997 fieldwork

Following the examination of a total of 10,315 sherds, nine new sites were identified which had rice inclusions in pottery:

Niah, West Mouth. Neolithic cemetery.

Niah, Kain Hitam.

Niah, Lobang Tulang.  
 Niah, Lobang Angus.  
 Gedong.  
 Bongkissam.  
 Tanjung Kubor.  
 Sungai Buah  
 Tebing Tinggi, Kabong

Evidence for rice was found in 375 sherds representing a find rate of 36 sherds per 1000 examined. These sites cover the period from 4000-3000 BP to 400 BP.

Analysis of the forms, fabrics (fired clay and inclusion, body and paste) and surface decorations suggest that these are all local wares. During this study it became apparent that rice was present in pottery at two densities, i.e., in relatively large amounts, in which case it could function as temper, and in minor amounts, which could indicate that its inclusion was for cultural reasons or was accidental. At Niah the occurrence of rice in pottery was observed to be different at the different sites within the cave complex, e.g. West Mouth (rare inclusions) and Kain Hitam (present as temper). Different clays appear to have been employed here and local clay samples were taken in order to determine which raw materials had been used.

In addition to rice-tempered ware, a range of other, distinctive ceramics are seen to be present at these sites and may be worthy of further investigation, e.g. double-spouted vessels, three-colour ware, and brittle wares.

## 2. Findings of laboratory analysis of sherds

A large number of these rice-tempered sherds were taken to the Research Laboratory for Archaeology at Oxford, in order to verify the field observations. The following points arise.

- 1) All but three of the rice identifications made in the field were verified by subsequent examination using a higher resolution microscope. The three sherds rejected were found to contain moulds or carbonised remains of plant material other than rice.
- 2) As a result of the detailed re-examination of these 375 sherds it became apparent that the scarcity of rice in some of these fabrics is largely due to a lower preservation potential of organic material in some of these fired clays. Certain fabrics, therefore, will not readily preserve carbonised rice grains or readily take impressions of the rice husk. In these cases, rice will be difficult to locate and, where present, its apparently low density would suggest that it was not intended to act as a functional temper.

A good example of this is seen at Niah. Many of the sherds at Lubang Tulang and Kain Hitam have abundant rice husks preserved largely as carbonised remains. Here the clays contained little in the way of coarser particles or voids resulting in a relatively impermeable body, a condition which favours the preservation of organic material in these low fired ceramics. As rice is observed in abundance, it is possible to suggest that rice here was being added as a functional tempering material.

In contrast, the majority of those West Mouth sherds which do show evidence of rice inclusions (and the frequency of such sherds here is relatively low) suggest that only small amounts of rice were originally present. Carbonised grains are rare and observations are usually restricted to fine impressions of the rice husks against the enclosing clay. The initial interpretation here is that rice was present in insufficient quantities to act as a temper but was either added for cultural reasons or was included accidentally.

However, these same fabrics are observed to be very permeable due to the occurrence of large elongate voids formed as the clay shrank on drying and/or firing. Compared to the Kain Hitam and Lubang Tulang fabrics, any carbonised organic matter in these sherds would be readily burnt out as the higher permeability would lead to efficient gaseous exchange (i.e. combustion) during firing. Moreover, the presence of coarse inclusions in these West Mouth sherds means that they are less able to record the characteristic but delicate impressions made by the outer surface of the rice husks. The combination of high permeability and coarse inclusions therefore results in a relatively low preservation potential for any included rice (or other organic) grains in these fabrics.

Clearly this makes it difficult to establish whether rice was originally present in sufficient quantities to act as a functional temper. However, of more concern is the fact that the evidence for rice grains, at any density, in sherds is being missed in some of these more problematic fabrics.

The aim of the 1997 fieldwork was to screen as large a number of sherds from as wide a range of suitable sites as possible. Accordingly, a rapid system of processing was devised in which a low-power microscope examination was made on a single (usually) freshly made random fracture. The 10,000 plus sherds examined were done so at the average rate of 2 per minute.

However, although this approach was clearly successful in identifying rice in sherds from several new sites, the nature of this rapid screening meant that (1) the number of positive observations must be considered as an absolute minimum, and (2) evidence for the presence of rice is probably being missed in some of the sherds with the coarser and more permeable fabrics.

The latter point was made clear when some West Mouth sherds from the 1996 season, which had been screened at Oxford, were re-examined in more detail (i.e. by examining a series of closely spaced fractures thereby increasing the surface area available for observation). All previous conclusions were verified except for the case of two very permeable and coarse fabrics, originally thought to be barren. This more exhaustive examination now shows that these do have evidence of rice grains. In both cases this evidence is limited to a single, but definite, observation of a weak impression made in the clay by a rice husk. Of great significance in this case is that both of these new (i.e. revised) occurrences were in pottery associated with burials (i.e. burials 190 and 57) and one of these has a 14C date (i.e. burial 57, dated at 2520 B.P.)

## 3. Suggestions for further work

From a consideration of the above findings there would seem to be two main possibilities for further work on the rice-tempered ceramics:

- a) To re-examine a selected series of the Sarawak material viewed during the 1997 fieldwork. Recognition of a lower preservation potential in some key fabrics means that these can be targeted for more detailed examination. Of particular interest here are the

sites of the Niah complex where pottery is associated with dated or datable burials, and the upland Kelabit sites.

Niah is clearly a key site as existing <sup>14</sup>C dates of Neolithic burials can be used to date associated pottery. Screening of sherds found with these burials initially proved negative but re-examination in the laboratory of a limited set of these coarse fabrics is now finding positive results. Further, analysis of clay samples collected during 1997 is currently being undertaken to determine the source of the clays used at the Niah sites in order to demonstrate that the rice-tempered ware is local (or otherwise). Data from this study, combined with re-examination of selected material, may allow the original abundance of rice to be more accurately assessed in the low preservation fabrics. This will contribute to the understanding of whether rice husks were being used as a functional temper, were being added for cultural reasons, or was included accidentally.

Rice was looked for but not found in a small number of sherds from Kelabit sites. The negative result was initially surprising given that wet rice cultivation is long established in Kelabit areas. However the fabrics observed were also permeable and coarse, and rice grains would therefore probably have a low preservation potential. Ideally this material should be re-examined more closely. Since rice cultivation is being practised by the Kelabit people, proof (or otherwise) of the occurrence of rice which is considered to have been included accidentally (e.g. as indicated by the observation of both a low frequency of grains and the tendency for these to be found mainly at the surfaces of the sherd), may act as a control to indicate the sensitivity of pottery of this type to record background levels of rice 'impurities'.

b) The second obvious possibility for further work is to extend the search for rice temper across more sites (preferably dated) in Sarawak or Northern Borneo in general. Experience gained from the 1997 screening will mean that subsequent programs of microscope analysis can be fine-tuned to accommodate any problematic or particularly interesting fabrics, thereby hopefully avoiding the problems of variable preservation from the outset.

#### Other Sarawak Ceramics

During the 1997 fieldwork several other interesting ceramics other than rice tempered wares were examined. Mainly these are from the Niah sites and pose a number of interesting questions which could be worth further study as subsidiary projects. Briefly these are as follows.

a) Three-color wares—characterization of the pigments and slip materials used, which may be both mineral (e.g. ochre) or organic (e.g. vegetable extract/resin etc.). Interestingly, rice has not been found in three-color ware. The clay used to make these large vessels does not therefore appear to need tempering. This is interesting because many of the more permeable and coarser fabrics of the West Mouth are identical to these three-colour ware fabrics. This would suggest that where rice is present in non-three-color ware, it would not have been needed to temper this clay.

b) Double-spouted vessels - these clearly specialist vessels are present at Niah West Mouth and Niah Kain Hitam, as well as at non-Niah sites such as Lubang Angin, Mulu. It has been suggested that they were produced locally, as unbaked pieces are also present (e.g. at Kain Hitam) and this idea could be readily tested by petrographic analysis. Also, the Lubang Angin pieces have been shown to contain the mineral mullite which indicates a relatively high firing temperature (>1050 degrees Centigrade). This is unusually high

for the type of firing used, although the Sarawak clays are capable of withstanding these temperatures without failure of the ceramic. Whilst this observation of mullite might be a one-off, if it can be found in other double-spouted vessels, it may point to a more specialised firing method for these (ritualistic?) vessels.

c) Hard West Mouth fabrics—a small number of ceramics from the West Mouth were observed to be mechanically very hard. This suggests a much higher degree of vitrification, in which a significant amount of glass has been produced in the body. If this high temperature has been achieved, then these pieces, like the double-spouted examples, may also contain mullite. However, in this case it may be possible that the abundant phosphate (as guano) at the West Mouth is acting as a flux, thereby lowering the temperature at which vitrification becomes significant. Guano would probably be a natural contaminant of the clay in this cave environment, but from a technical point of view it would be of interest to see (by sampling, analysis and test-firing) whether its presence can account for the advanced vitrification seen in some of these West Mouth sherds.

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## COMMENT ON EARLY RICE IN BORNEO

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I was pleased to see the note on the confirmation of the early date for rice at Gua Sireh in Sarawak (Beavitt, Kurui and Thompson: 1996). This rice is probably closely related to the early, but undated, rice of Bali, mountain rice in Luzon and Taiwan, the Ryukyus, and Japan. It would appear that it did not come south through the Philippines, as Bellwood (1984-85:115) earlier on proposed, but rather came from India and moved north into the Philippines, continuing on into Japan. This early rice was very likely *Oriza sativa javanica*.

Chang Te-tzu, an expert on the origins and spread of rice, has stated (1984-85: 71):

The *javanica* race [of rice] is of special interest to this region. It was the predominant rice on the island of Bali and (to a lesser extent) on Java and Sulawesi until a decade ago... The second largest concentration of the *javanica* race is found in northern Luzon, especially the central Cordillera region. The aboriginal tribes in the mountainous areas of Taiwan also grew *javanica* rice until two decades ago... The *javanica* rices could also have been introduced into Japan, but no mention of typical *javanica* rice has been found in the Japanese literature.

Chang has indicated that the only early races of rice in Island Southeast Asia are *indica* and *javanica* with no *sinica* or *japonica* present until later. He has further stated that rice cultivation in Indonesia (mainly Borneo and Sumatra) was probably earlier than in Malaysia and the Philippines. His map (Fig. 1) of the early spread of rice indicates that an *indica* variety came to Luzon directly from Viet Nam (1984-85: 72).

An article by Sasaki, a Japanese rice specialist, states in translation (1992: 40,41):

The Houma Shrine, located in Kikinaga (southern Tanega Island [Japan]) is well known for a type of red rice known as *akanokome* which has been planted in its fields and used ceremonially since ancient times. Watanabe Tadayo extensively researched this rice and claims that it is a variety from the south... It can be grown in wet-paddies or in dry fields. Among Asian varieties, the *akanokome* is closest to a *Javanica* type of rice found in Indonesia and known there as *bulu*.

Research shows that even in Okinawa there were many pre-1900 rice varieties which were similar to *bulu*. Until recently, one variety was found even on Yaeyama Island. Furthermore, rice related to *bulu* occurs in a wide expanse stretching from Taiwan's mountainous region and Mindanao Island in the Philippines to the eastern part of the Indonesian Islands.

Moreover, research in the new field of genetics has also revealed traces of the spread of rice northward from the south. According to studies of genetic characteristics in rice by men like Satoh Youichi of the National Genetics Research Institute, there are two differing families of rice in Japan. One type is the Temperate Zone Japanese variety which has the Hwc-2 gene. It accounts for 93% of all rice in Japan. The other is the Tropical Japanese variety which has the hwc-2 gene. It accounts for the remaining 7 % of Japanese rice.

Sasaki thus suggests a movement of rice from the south northward through the Ryukyus to Japan. While the temperate zone variety of Japanese rice spread from the Yangtze River region of China to the Korean peninsula and northern Kyushu, this Tropical Zone variety spread from the south, entering southern Kyushu from the tropical islands of Southeast Asia. Thus, genetic research indicates a southern influence on Japanese rice cultivation, even though this is not its main source.

Tropical yam (*Dioscoreae alata* and *Dioscorea esculenta*) and taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) show a similar distribution indicating that they moved northward through Island Southeast Asia. The farming methods for rice and these root crops are Southeast Asian as well (Sasaki 1992).

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## HAVING YOUR MEDICINE AND EATING IT TOO: A PRELIMINARY LOOK AT MEDICINE AND MEALS IN KAYAN-MENTARANG, KALIMANTAN, INDONESIA

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**Abstract:** In Indonesia distinctions between medicines, foods and cosmetics become blurred as all three contain many of the same ingredients, employ the same flavor and aroma combinations, and are guided by the same organizing principles (for example, Doctrine of Signatures, hot-cold properties). This conceptual and biological overlap is particularly interesting for students of ethnopharmacology as repeated exposure to plant constituents in both diet and healing therapies may reveal possible synergistic or antagonistic effects of pharmacological significance. This paper draws on data collected during field study conducted in Java (1991) on Javanese *jamu* (traditional plant therapies) and in East Kalimantan (1994) to discuss preliminary research on the traditional pharmacopoeia and foodways of the Kenyah Dayak of Kayan Mentarang, East Kalimantan. The plant medicines of East Kalimantan have yet to be explored by scholars and suggest rich potential for further investigation.

### INTRODUCTION

It is estimated that 70-80% of all Indonesians take some form of *jamu*, or traditional therapies, daily (Afdhal and Welsch 1991; Soedibyo 1990). In Java about 150 indigenous plants are grown or gathered to make *jamu* tonics, pills, and topical applications for the prevention or treatment of disease, as well as for general health and beauty maintenance. Despite the immense popularity and commerciality of Javanese *jamu*, relatively little research has been done on the use of these botanical medicines. Moreover, there has been minimal examination of the obvious overlap between plant species featured in both the traditional pharmacopoeia and in diet or other contexts. In common with many other traditional therapeutic systems worldwide, knowledge of Indonesian foodways is essential to understanding emic (local) classifications of plant medicines, as both share underlying conceptual models. The same sensory cues, such as flavor and aroma, and organizing principles (for example, hot-cold properties, the Doctrine of Signatures) guide people in the selection of plants as useful for medicines, foods, and even cosmetics. Repeated exposure to plant constituents in both diet and healing therapies may reveal possible synergistic or antagonistic effects of pharmacological significance.

Beyond Java, less still is known about Indonesian regional therapeutic systems and foodways. This paper draws on a small body of available literature (see Leaman et al. 1991, 1995; Sangant- Roemantyo 1994; Setyowati 1994; Susiarti 1994) in addition to data collected during field research in Kalimantan to discuss preliminary findings on medicinal and edible plant species used by the Kenyah Dayak people.

This discussion is theoretically informed by Etkin and Ross' (1991) model for the study of diet and ethnopharmacology. Etkin and Ross' approach recognizes the

categorical overlap of medicinal and dietary plants, the variety of ways plants are prepared, combined and consumed, and the potential physiological significance of this 'double dosing.' Future research on the Kenyah (to be conducted from April 1997 to April 1998) will build on the data presented in this paper by exploring further the relationship between chemosensory properties of botanicals, local etiologies, and expectations and outcome of medicinal and dietary plant use.

### METHODS: Study Site

The Kayan-Mentarang Nature Reserve is located in the far northern interior of East Kalimantan, Indonesia. With an area of 1.6 million hectares, the reserve is the largest protected block of rain forest in Southeast Asia (Jessup et al., 1992). Geologically and biologically diverse, more than half the known species of dipterocarps are found in the lowland forests below 1,000 meters, while oak-laurel montane forests, ranging up to more than 2,500 meters, are believed to contain a high proportion of endemic species.

Stone burial jars and burial chambers found in caves on the upper Bahau and upper Pujungan Rivers provide evidence of early human habitation in Kayan Mentarang. Some of these archaeological remains date from 400-500 years ago (Jessup et al., 1992). Further study of archaeological sites may reveal much earlier dates for human activity in the region.

About 10,000 indigenous Dayak people now live in or near the reserve. The human population density is very low, with less than one person per square kilometer throughout most of the region. There are at least twelve distinct ethnolinguistic subgroups of Dayak represented in the region in addition to the Penan, an indigenous group of nomadic and semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers. Most of the peoples of interior Borneo (with the exception of many of the Penan) are Christian. Christianity was established inland by European missionaries, who began converting Dayaks beginning in the mid-19th century. The Christian influence on indigenous beliefs varies considerably from village to village.

Research was conducted primarily in Long Alango and Apau Ping, settlements on the Upper Bahau River. These villages are situated approximately 310 to 400 meters, respectively, above sea level. Long Alango has a population of 418 people and Apau Ping a population of 300. This study focused on two ethnolinguistic subgroups of Kenyah Dayak, the Kenyah Lepo' Ke and the Kenyah Lepo' Maut. Inhabitants of Long Alango, Apau Ping, and neighboring communities engage in a wide variety of subsistence strategies, including the cultivation of tuber gardens, mixed crop swiddens, irrigated rice fields, and small plantations of cash crops such as coffee, cinnamon, and black pepper. Coffee, tobacco, betel, medicinal plants, and comestibles such as corn and peanuts are grown in home gardens. Staple foods vary seasonally and include rice, sweet potatoes, sago, cassava tubers, or taro. Subsistence fishing and hunting, as well as domesticated pigs, chickens and occasionally cattle, provide animal protein. An enormous number of noncultigens is gathered from the forest: poisonous plants for fishing and hunting, medicinal plants, and a variety of higher plants and fungi for food. Forest products, such as rattan (climbing palm) and *gahuru* (the resinous wood of *Aquilaria*) are collected for commercial trade.

### Research Methods

Research was conducted by the author as a member of a cross-cultural and multidisciplinary team funded by Shaman Pharmaceuticals, Inc. Shaman Pharmaceuticals



is a U.S. based international firm that discovers and develops commercial therapeutic agents by collaborating with traditional healers in tropical countries. The author functioned as project research, development and field consultant. The team was comprised of a physician/botanist, Thomas Carlson, M.D. (Shaman Pharmaceuticals); a forest ecologist, Herwasono Soedjito, Ph.D., (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia [L.I.P.I.] / Indonesian Institute of the Sciences); an ethnobotanist, Siti Susiarti, M.S. (L.I.P.I.); and the author (graduate student in medical anthropology, University of Hawaii). Shaman's program in Indonesia was coordinated by Steven R. King, Ph.D. Because of limited time in the field (4 weeks in July and August, 1994), rapid assessment techniques were employed for the collection of data on botanical treatments. Structured interviews were conducted in Indonesian and in local languages with focus groups of healers (ranging from 2 to 15 participants) or with other individuals knowledgeable about plant medicines (for example, midwives, hunters). During structured interviews collaborators were presented with hypothetical patient cases of diseases such as hepatitis, shingles, diabetes, measles, ringworm, etc.. These presentations focused on describing the natural history, signs and symptoms, rather than utilizing biomedical disease terminology. Pictures of the disease symptoms were often used for further clarification. If plant specialists recognized the case presented, they were then asked to describe indigenous disease classification (if applicable) and botanical treatments. This system is particularly useful when collaborators are interviewed in the absence of a sick person. It also ensures that the diseases will not be misidentified or remain vague as is sometimes the case in medical ethnobotany inquiries.

A broader understanding of local healing paradigms and medicinal plants was gained through unstructured interviews and informal exchanges during plant collection excursions with herbalists, home visits, and patient consultations. The terms "herb" and "herbal" are used throughout this article to denote both woody and herbaceous plants as well as a variety of plant parts including, fruits, flowers, leaves, roots, etc.; the term "herbalist" refers to healers who utilize plant-based therapies. It was commonly acknowledged that women have greater knowledge of healing plants than do men. Leaman et al. (1991) report that among the Kenyah Dayak of the Apo Kayan plateau, men are more familiar with plants used to treat serious wounds, in rituals, and as fish poisons, and with primary forest species. Women are more familiar with treatments for common ailments such as stomachache and fevers, and have a broader knowledge of the secondary forest and cultivated species (Leaman et al. 1991). Division of labor seems to account for this difference, with men more frequently venturing into the primary forest to hunt and women staying closer to the village to tend the *ladang* (fields). It is also worth noting that in some areas of Kayan-Mentarang Kenyah women make regular trips into the primary forest to gather plants such as rattan and to hunt (though their hunting strategies may be different from those of the men) (Rajindra Puri, personal communication). However, only men participated in focus group interviews. Home visits made up for certain imbalances in data collection. Plant collection in the company of healers also provided an informal venue for further discussion of a plant's non-medicinal uses, spiritual attributes, and sensory qualities. Villagers consulted the Shaman team physician who worked in tandem with a local healer when advising a patient on his or her medical

complaint.<sup>1</sup> Patients were asked if they had tried any local remedies for their condition. These consultations helped to expand our knowledge of the public health concerns as well as the botanical preventives and curatives that lie outside of the disease groups targeted by the study team.

Voucher specimens of all medicinal plants collected for analysis by Shaman Pharmaceuticals were identified at the Botanical Gardens of the University of Leiden. Vouchers were deposited at the Kayan-Mentarang field station (World Wide Fund for Nature), the Bogor Herbarium, and Shaman Pharmaceuticals. Duplicate bulk collections are at the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (Indonesian Institute of the Sciences) and Shaman Pharmaceuticals laboratories, where they are currently being analyzed for possible drug development. Because some of the plants identified in this paper have commercial potential, Latin names will not always be mentioned in full.

#### Results: Kenyah Folk Taxonomy

As is common across cultures, the Kenyah systematically classify biota. Folk taxonomies of the Kenyah may describe a plant by a singular name, but more often than not employ a system of binomials long recognized as useful by indigenous peoples and followers of Linnaean nomenclature alike (compare Berlin 1971, 1992). Typically, a generic and a specific name are coupled together (see Table I). For instance, *lia* generically refers to plants in the ginger and pepper families, while *mit* means "yellow." The lexical coupling *lia mit* describes turmeric (*Curcuma domestica*). Binomials can be instructive, as in the case of the lexical coupling, *udu pelian*, which connotes an "herb" or "weed"—*udu*—that can be used to treat the early childhood ailment *pelian* (possibly measles, or chicken pox). Of particular interest to this inquiry is the secondary lexeme *pa'it*, meaning "bitter," since bitter principles are therapeutically valuable (see Johns 1990; 1994). Indeed, many Kenyah plants with the descriptor *pa'it* are used medicinally, such as *uwe pa'it* ("bitter vine"), and *paku pa'it* ("bitter fern").

TABLE I: KENYAH LEPO' MAUT PLANT BINOMIALS

#### (PRIMARY/SECONDARY LEXEME)

<i>udu pelian</i>	pox weed/herbaceous plant
<i>udu bulu pak ngiau</i>	Mr. cat's whiskers "herbaceous"
<i>lia mit</i>	yellow Zingiberaceae/Piperaceae
<i>aka mit</i>	yellow root/rhizome
<i>uwe pa'it</i>	bitter vine/liana
<i>paku pa'it</i>	bitter fern

#### TABAN KENYAH: THE KENYAH MATERIA MEDICA

The Kenyah Dayak draw from an extensive pharmacopoeia derived from a variety of animals (for example, sunbear gallbladder) including insects (such as, cossid moth), minerals (for example, "young rock," possibly tuffaceous shales), vascular plants, and, to

<sup>1</sup>When authorized by host governments and local communities, the Shaman team physician serves as a resource for villagers who experience diseases that have not been cured by local treatments.

a lesser extent, fungi. At least 200 species of plants and 6 species of animals are recognized and used for medicines and poisons among the Kenyah Dayak of the Apo Kayan plateau (Leaman et al. 1991). One hundred and fifty-two medicinal species have been inventoried for two ethnolinguistic subgroups of Kenyah Dayak living on the Upper Bahau (Susiarti 1994).

*Taban Kenyah* (Kenyah medicines) are prepared with a single ingredient or as a compound medicine from dried or fresh plants. Botanical treatments may be ingested as an infusion or decoction or used in a variety of other ways: administered topically, or inhaled as part of a botanical steam bath. For instance, the roots of *jelemutin* (Melastomaceae family), *ulem* (Solanaceae), and *mata atok* (Verbenaceae) are boiled together to make a decoction which is drunk for the treatment of "yellow sickness" (*sakit hila*: jaundice or hepatitis). Water that collects in the internodes of certain bamboos, such as *hulo apei*, is used as an eye bath to remedy conjunctivitis. The leaves of *aka bakung* (*Rhaphidophora* sp.) are applied topically in combination with a black cloth (to "concentrate heat") and a hot rock to draw out caterpillar hairs that cause itchiness and infection.

Many of the medicinal plants inventoried for the Kenyah Dayak are utilized across cultures. Primary examples include many kinds of gingers (Zingiberaceae), a family well-recognized for therapeutic properties the world over, and *Cassia alata*, commonly known as the "ringworm cassia" (Perry and Hay 1982). Botanical investigations in Kayan-Mentarang have yielded novel usages for plants, as well as species new to the ethnobotanical record for the region, (for example, *Drimys piperita* and *Aquilaria heccariana*) (Leaman et al. 1991).

#### Disease Etiology and Healing Practices

There is little current information on the underlying spiritual and religious structures that inform Kenyah disease explanations and curing beliefs. The Christianized Kenyah often hesitate to discuss traditions from the period known (at least in Apo Kayan) as the "sinful times" (*waktu kafir*) (Leaman et al. 1991). From preliminary data on the Kenyah, a few core ethnomedical concepts of human biology and disease emerge. Kenyah ideas of disease pathogenesis and nosology have a few parallels in other healing traditions elsewhere in Indonesia. For instance, the Indonesian term *masuk angin*, or "entering of wind," is used to describe an indigenous concept well-documented in the ethnographic literature on Malaya. Wind is considered to be a causal agent in many illnesses. Too much time spent on or in the river, in rain, or in drafts can lead to excessive wind in the body, the signs of which may include cold, fever, gas, stomach disorders, backache, rheumatism and certain forms of spirit possession, to name a few. In Java, standing too long in a doorway, bathing, or taking a walk at dusk—the transition time meant for Muslim prayer (*magrib*)—also makes one vulnerable to "entering of wind." Similarly, the Indonesian term, *panas dalam*, or "internal heat" is used by the Kenyah in reference to an excess of heat in the body. Rash-producing viruses such as *kenakep* (possibly shingles) and *puu* (possibly chicken pox) are a result of this build-up of heat. The classification of foods, medicines, emotional states, or physiological experiences on a continuum of hot-cold properties is a feature of Kenyah traditions as well. For instance, the Kenyah regard pig meat as "hot," and the heart of the sago palm as "cold."

Disease egress, that is, evidence that a disorder has exited the body, is a common feature of Kenyah therapeutics. This also has a parallel in other traditional medical

systems. Hausa of Nigeria understand the causation of some diseases to include accumulation of normal body fluids (blood, phlegm), physical effects (heat, cold, moisture), malevolent spirits, or objects introduced into the body by witches. Therapies for these disorders are directed in part to expelling the agent or object in order to evince physical evidence of disease egress (for example, flatulence, effluvium, rashes, itching) (Etkin 1993). Similarly, in Ceram, Maluku, *biji poro* (a stomach stone), which is part of the malaria symptom complex, can be treated by rubbing the leaves of a particular liana on the stomach and then squeezing the red juice from the leaves into a bowl. After a few hours, when the liquid turns thick, the *biji poro* will exit the body and the person will return to health (Etkin et al. 1997).

In Kayan-Mentarang, treatment of certain conditions calls for "drawing out" the agent of disease via orifices or the skin, and may involve purgatives, botanical sweat baths, or the draining of "dirty blood." A purgative made from *kelepeso'* (Euphorbiaceae) leaves is used to treat *sakit batek* a stomach disorder that is characterized by a distended belly and may be the result of poisoning or sorcery. A patient will heal once everything is evacuated or "cleaned" from the body. Before a wound that has formed a scab can be dressed, the scab must be removed and the "dirty blood" drained from it with a bamboo tube. Therapies for viral exanthemas (eruptive diseases) such as *puu*, *pelian*, and *ambun* are sometimes directed toward hastening the external, or dermatological, phase of an illness. The leaves and soft stems of *udu pelian* (Asteraceae) or banana leaves are applied to the skin of a child with the systemic ailment *pelian* (possibly measles or chicken pox). Disease egress is evident when the characteristic pustular or blistery bumps of *pelian* turn into a rosy red rash—a sign that heat has exited and the body is on the mend.<sup>2</sup> Table II lists a sample of indigenous disease terms and their possible biomedical correlates.

TABLE II: KENYAH DISEASE CATEGORIES

(KENYAH LEPO' KE AND KENYAH LEPO' MAUT)  
KENYAH CLASSIFICATION—POSSIBLE BIOMEDICAL CORRELATE

<i>ambun</i>	chicken pox or measles
<i>kenakep</i>	shingles
<i>kip lasan*</i>	ringworm
<i>kip*</i>	ringworm

<sup>2</sup>Ethnobotanists interested in drug discovery and reliant on local healers to identify plants that are likely to contain potent bioactive chemicals should keep in mind the intended outcome of local therapies. In contrast to biomedicine, which is focused on the removal of disease agents and accompanying symptoms to effect a cure, traditional modalities view healing, not as an event, but as a process. "...the ultimate objective is preceded by a number of proximate goals—diagnosing etiology, transforming the body or its parts to prepare for healing, seeking evidence of disease egress, and the like" (Etkin 1996). The notion of disease egress in Kalimantan underscores the complexities of native healing systems. An *in situ* awareness of native healing goals may give "genetic prospectors" a jump on what therapeutic mechanisms of action are actually at work for *in vitro* and *in vivo* screening.

<i>mayung</i>	fever
<i>orah lusan*</i>	ringworm
<i>orab*</i>	ringworm
<i>panu*</i>	ringworm
<i>pelian</i>	chicken pox or measles
<i>puu</i>	chicken pox
<i>sakit bila</i>	hepatitis, jaundice
<i>sakit dok</i> "pig-tailed macaque disease"	mumps
<i>sakit gipen</i>	toothache
<i>tebaken</i>	candidal oral thrush

\*Different classifications of ringworm are based on color, texture, whether concentric rings are present, degree of skin irritation and discomfort, and locus of infection on body.

#### Selection of Plants for Medicines: Sensory Cues, Symbology, and Their Pharmacological Implications

The popular notion that people choose plants by means of random experimentation has been challenged (see Brett n.d.; Johns 1986, 1994; Moerman 1979, 1989, 1994). Species favored for indigenous medicines do not necessarily reflect the predominant plants of the local flora. In the case of the Kenyah Dayak of the Apo Kayan plateau the ten largest families that make up the local pharmacopoeia are, in descending order of use, Zingiberaceae, Rubiaceae, Fabaceae, Poaceae, Euphorbiaceae, Asteraceae, Araceae, Lamiaceae, Verbenaceae, Arecaceae (Leaman et al. 1991), while the ten largest families in the Malaysian flora are Orchidaceae, Poaceae, Rubiaceae, Fabaceae, Euphorbiaceae, Asteraceae, Arecaceae, Asclepiadaceae, Annonaceae, Apocynaceae (van Steenis in Leaman et al. 1991). This discrepancy demonstrates that herbalists are not merely using plants at random from the local flora, but are selecting particular taxa for medicinal use (Leaman et al. 1991). What are the chemosensory and symbolic attributes that guide the forest-dwelling peoples of Kayan Mentarang in identifying plants for avoidance and use?

The Kenyah *materia medica* demonstrate that people select for bitter, astringent, pungent, sour, and aromatic elements, qualities that indicate plants rich in the allelochemicals known to be of pharmacological value (Johns 1990, 1994). According to Susiarti (1994), members of the Poaceae family lead the list of therapeutic plants used on the upper Bahau. Leaman et al.'s (1991) inventory also includes a number of grasses. This is interesting as grasses show little biological activity (being generally low in secondary metabolites) and are rarely used as medicines (Moerman 1989). Common Poaceae (e.g., rice and corn) are, most likely, vehicles for other bioactive substances, or, as in the case of sugar or lemon grass, may be a part of a complex of flavor principles important to the design of remedies and recipes (see following section). Water that collects in the internodes of certain bamboos and grasses may be used as eye wash. More unusual usages suggest areas for future study (e.g., the leaves of *Paspalum conjugatum*, commonly known as "sour paspalum" are used to treat bloody wounds, malaria, fevers, beri-beri, and tuberculosis, and as an aid in childbirth). The bitter roots of *lembang* (Simarubaceae), and the astringent bark of *langsai* (Meliaceae) are used to treat malaria and other febrile illnesses. Both plants possess antipyretic properties (Perry and Metzger 1980). The aromatic fruit and bark of *belengla* (Lauraceae), high in citronella and other

fragrant essential oils, are used alone or in concert with other ingredients to treat fever, colds, respiratory congestion, systemic childhood ailments, and stomach disorders. *Belengla* is also employed in healing rituals, as a veterinary medicine, and as a food additive. Tests have shown that the bark, leaves and fruits are slightly toxic, containing alkaloids as well as glycosides (Perry and Metzger 1980), constituents known to contribute to many therapeutic classes.

Besides gustatory and olfactory qualities, many other factors distinguish particular plants. The Kenyah pharmacopoeia is replete with plants that cause contact dermatitis, have milky latex, red sap, or mucilage, or serve as a medicine for some animal species. Accounts of drug discovery sometimes involve animal imitation. In the village of Pa upan on the Kerayan River, an antidote for poisoning was discovered by watching macaques medicate themselves. Bearded pigs led the people of Long Alango and Apau Ping to a few curatives. In a different vein, observations of the erect penis of the Borneo rhinoceros may have provided the inspiration for the *palang*—a pin made from hardwood, bamboo, or bone which is inserted just beneath the glans of a man's penis in order to enhance the sexual pleasure of a woman (Harrison 1956). Indeed, *tahan Kenyah* plants are both chemically and symbolically rich. The Doctrine of Signatures dictates that plants are marked by some natural sign or symbol that indicates its medicinal efficacy. For example, the vibrant mustard yellow pith and cortex of the liana *aka mit* (Menispermaceae: "yellow vine") is taken orally as a decoction for "yellow sickness" (jaundice or hepatitis). The crushed leaves and stem of *semangkak* (Balsaminaceae), a plant that yields a bright red juice, are applied as a poultice to clean new wounds. Beyond possessing a signum (red juice) to indicate its use as a wound-healer, *semangkak* shows marked antibiotic activity (Perry and Metzger 1980).

While little phytochemical analysis has been done on Kenyah botanicals, the system of Javanese *jamu* possesses numerous documented examples of plants that are both symbolically meaningful and pharmacologically active. *Temu lawak*, the yellow rhizome of *Curcuma xanthorrhiza*, is used to treat jaundice (related to liver disorders) and in fact acts as a choleric (promoting bile formation) and cholekinetic (promoting bile flow) (Dharma 1987). Charcoaled mouse nests and powdered egg shells from newly hatched chickens are added to medicines for pregnant women. Practitioners explain that by consuming mouse nests the birth of the baby will be as easy as that of a mouse. The egg shells represent the hope that the baby will be as healthy as a newly-hatched chicken (Soeparto 1980). Pharmacologically, the mother is receiving carbon and calcium. Carbon, as an adsorbent, reduces toxins circulating in the body and is beneficial to both mother and fetus (Soeparto 1980). Signatures may in fact function as mnemonic devices for flagging plants with observed physiological effects (Etkin 1990).

#### Meals That Heal

In Indonesia distinctions between medicines, foods and cosmetics become blurred, as all three substances contain many of the same ingredients, employ the same flavor and aroma combinations, and are guided by the same organizing principles (that is, Doctrine of Signatures, hot-cold properties). Humoral assignments of culinary ingredients or plant medicines vary according to how a therapy is administered. For instance, in Java, an infertile woman may treat her "cold" condition by drinking a decoction based on the turmeric rhizome which is considered "hot" when taken internally. Conversely, turmeric is "cooling" when used topically as a poultice to bring down fever or cosmetically to

relieve itching or other common skin complaints (Gollin 1993: 11). The Javanese health restorative *cabe puyang*, taken to relieve fatigue and muscle pain, contains Java pepper, ginger (*Zingiber aromaticum* and *officinale*), turmeric, greater galangal, cardamom, clove, cinnamon, tamarind, and sugar made from the sap of sugar palm flowers (Tilaar et al 1991). This mixture represents the same sweep of taste sensations—contrasting sweet, bitter, sour, salty, spicy, and astringent flavors—and contents typical of Javanese curries. Face packs and plasters also contain many of these same ingredients. Irritants, such as ginger, garlic, red onions, tamarind, turmeric, and chili are the "flavor markers" (Rozin 1982) that underlie the structure of Indonesian cuisine (Van Esterik 1988). As noted above, "irritant" plants contain pharmacologically active substances. Indeed, many spices (for example, Laos and Java pepper) are described in Javanese cookbooks as having "medicinal" flavor (Van Esterik 1988) and special recipes for "health and healing" draw heavily on pungent elements. Researchers are increasingly paying attention to the physiological import of this simultaneous culinary, cosmetic, as well as medicinal dosing (see Etkin and Ross 1982, 1991; and Etkin 1994). Repeated exposure to plant constituents in both diet and healing therapies may reveal possible synergistic or antagonistic effects of pharmacological significance.

This categorical overlap, and the resultant repeated exposure to chemical constituents, also exists in Kayan-Mentarang. As do the Javanese, the peoples of East Kalimantan also apply face and body plasters to their skin for cosmetic and curative purposes. Topical applications are made from many of the same plants used for foods and medicines (compare Sangat-Roemantyo 1994). Of the medicinal species recorded by Shaman Pharmaceuticals in Long Alango and Apau Ping, more than a third were also featured in the diet. The same is true of the 152 plants surveyed by Susiarti (1994). If the 83 fully identified Long Alango food plant species (Setyowati 1994) are cross-referenced with the inventories compiled by Susiarti (1994) and Shaman Pharmaceuticals, close to half are also medicinal.

Kenyah meals provide stronger evidence of the prevalence of therapeutic plants in the daily diet. Consider the following meal consumed in Long Alango. Rice was accompanied by fiddleheads from the fern *paku bai*, bitter manioc leaves, the soft stems of the grass *ubut senggga*, and fried fish. To provide a therapeutic gloss on this menu, the Kenyah boil the aerial parts of the fern *paku bai* to make a decoction for the childhood ailment *ambun*. The shoot of *ubut senggga*, a sweet-tasting grass, is used to treat oral thrush in children. Manioc sap is applied topically to treat venom infected wounds, while the leaves are used for a hot poultice to aid expulsion of the placenta after childbirth.

Other nonmeat side dishes regularly featured in Kayan-Mentarang cuisines are boiled water spinach leaves (*Ipomoea aquatica*), fried unripe papaya fruit, and boiled blossom of the torch ginger plant. Water spinach, though not a documented Dayak medicament, is used to treat food poisoning, bladder problems, snake bite, and a host of other health complaints in other regions of Indonesia (Wijayakusuma et al. 1992). In Kayan-Mentarang it is reputed to be a soporific. Latex from the immature fruit of the papaya is mixed with a little sugar to make a decoction for stomach upset (Susiarti 1994) and to purge worms (Leaman et al. 1991). In the Upper Bahau, decoctions made from the pounded seeds of nyandung or torch ginger is used to treat cough. In Apo Kayan, nyandung fruit pulp is used to treat dog mange, wounds, and stings, and as an aromatic toe nail cleanser and shampoo (Leaman et al. 1991). One should also note that in many

cases the same plant part, such as unripe papaya fruit, is used both as food and as medicine.

Though Kenyah cuisine is not as piquant or elaborate as other cuisines of Indonesia, it is marked by many of the same "irritant" flavor agents (i.e., garlic, ginger, turmeric, onion, pepper). The aromatic fruit of *belengla*, mentioned earlier as a Kenyah cure-all, is crushed, soaked in water, and added in small amounts to food as seasoning. A single meal may subtly contrast the lightly sweet flavor of fried unripe papaya with the bitterness of manioc leaves, the soapy, astringent, and vaguely perfumed flavor of boiled torch ginger blossom, and the saltiness of bearded pig meat.

Kenyah medicines and meals are packed with well-known constituents of therapeutic value. For example, papain, an enzyme found in the latex of unripe papaya, is known to aid in the digestion of protein. Curcumin, which is present in turmeric, possesses antibiotic properties. But little is known about the phytochemicals present in the majority of edible and medicinal species utilized in Kayan-Mentarang.

## CONCLUSION

The data collected to date in this region suggest considerable overlap in the categories of food and medicine, a seldom investigated—but significant—aspect of ethnomedicine and ethnopharmacology. A logical topic for further research would be how the Kenyah classify foods and medicines according to sensory cues, the curative effects attributed to certain properties of a plant, and the dietary prescriptions and proscriptions used in the treatment of disease with regard to these chemosensory qualities. For instance, for the Javanese, bitter-tasting plants have a purifying effect, "strengthening and refreshing" the body (Van Esterik 1988). In Siberut, medicinal plants are classified according to four kinds of smells and five flavors. "Mamiang," for example, refers to plants with a fishlike smell that are sometimes water plants (for example, *Monochoria vaginalis*) (Ave and Sunito 1990). They are considered cooling, and are used to treat influenza, cough and headaches (Ave and Sunito 1990). The Malays of Brunei identify three food classifications important in medicine: "harmful," "itchy," and "cold" (Kimball 1979). For instance, the classification "itchy" encompasses foods such as shrimp paste, prawns and mangoes, and is often a factor in dietary restrictions (Kimball 1979). Finally, more extensive investigation of the pharmacological properties of plants and the significance of repeated exposure to constituents found in foods and medicines will contribute to a greater understanding of the impact of botanicals on human health.

As inhabitants of one of the largest remaining preserves of rain forest world wide, the Kenyah draw from a diverse flora unmatched by many natural areas at the close of the 20th century. On a smaller scale, we might ask: How will Kenyah Dayak medicines and food compare to the larger culture of Indonesia? Cosmopolitan, pan-Indonesian medicinal practices, exemplified by the popularity of Javanese *jamu*, have their roots in traditional, rural medicine; yet these traditional practices have not been fully documented, particularly among the Kenyah. Preliminary research has yielded valuable baseline data on this unique ecological and cultural area. This article is an initial attempt to describe Kenyah classification of plants and diseases, botanical treatments and the chemosensory and symbolic characteristics of plants selected for medicinal and dietary utilization.

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## A CONFUSION OF CROOKSHANKS (SIC): PERSONALITIES AND POWER IN THE LIVES OF THE EARLY BROOKES

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Editors do not like confusion. Their classificatory urge insists on the clarification of ambiguities and the resolution of inconsistencies. Thus I am tasked by our editor with disentangling the confusion of Crookshanks in nineteenth century Sarawak.

First, the spelling. There are two. Both are correct. Arthur and Bertha were Crookshanks, unlike James Brooke and both Johns, who were Cruikshanks. Whereas James Brooke Cruikshank was not related to James Brooke, Arthur was his sister's nephew. And Fitz was James Brooke, perhaps because Sarawak was only big enough for one. Is that clear? Then let us take them one at a time.

### Cruikshanks ...

James Brooke first met the Scottish doctor, John Cruikshank, in 1830, when he embarked on the *Castle Huntley* to return to India after a long convalescence in England. Cruikshank was the ship's surgeon. He and James Brooke forged an intense relationship which deserves close consideration because their correspondence suggests, more clearly than scholars have allowed, the Rajah of Sarawak's homosexuality.<sup>1</sup> James was required by the rules of the East India Company to rejoin his regiment by 20th July 1830. He arrived in Madras on 18th July and, giving out that he would not be able to resume duty in time, resigned his commission, proceeding instead on the *Castle Huntley* to China.<sup>2</sup>

Gertrude Jacob, who had access to letters since lost, noticed the strength of James's feeling for Cruikshank, claiming that James "kept his heart of hearts" for him.<sup>3</sup> Although details of the development of their affection have not survived, Cruikshank's feelings for

<sup>1</sup>I shall explore James's sexuality in detail in my article, "This Peculiar Acuteness of Feeling: The Ephebophilia of Rajah Brooke", which will be published in the next volume of the *Borneo Research Bulletin*. For the theoretical and empirical challenges inherent in attempting to locate and explicate sexual desire in history see Carole S. Vance, "Social Construction Theory: Problems in the History of Sexuality", in *Homosexuality, Which Homosexuality? Essays from the international scientific conference on lesbian and gay studies*. London: GMP Publishers, 1989. pp. 13-34; and Robert K. Martin, "Knights-Errant and Gothic Seducers: The Representation of Male Friendship in Mid-Nineteenth Century America", in Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus and George Chauncey, Jr. (eds), *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*. London: Penguin, 1991 (1989). pp. 169-182.

<sup>2</sup>Spenser St. John, *The Life of Sir James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak*. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1879. p. 6.

<sup>3</sup>Gertrude L. Jacob, *The Raja of Sarawak: An Account of Sir James Brooke, KCB, LLD, Given Chiefly Through Letters and Journals*. London: Macmillan, 1876. I, p. 42.

James were well established by the time the *Castle Huntley* reached China. When James fell ill, Jacob observed that "Mr Cruikshank cared for him with a special care".<sup>4</sup>

One particular letter from James to Cruikshank, written on 4 December 1831, after James had returned from staying with Cruikshank in Scotland, is worthy of scrutiny. In it, James is clearly concerned with more than friendship, however intense. James specifically addressed the possibility of a relationship with Cruikshank which transgressed, or had transgressed, the platonic. "I never could be otherwise than your friend," he wrote. "and what service I could do you, you should be as welcome to as a glass of water: but beyond my esteem and goodwill I have nothing to offer, and so you must accept these for want of better, and give me yours in return".<sup>5</sup>

Although this could be read as declining intimate overtures from Cruikshank, thus supporting Nicholas Tarling's view that James should be regarded as a latent homosexual,<sup>6</sup> it seems to me, rather, to mark the termination of an affair. This latter reading is supported by two factors. When Cruikshank seemed offended or hurt by James's letter, falling silent, James was reduced to importuning letters from him: "I will not allow your nonsensical plea of having nothing to say: you think and you feel, and that is good enough for a thousand letters".<sup>7</sup> James's effort to retain Cruikshank's friendship, including the gentleness with which he treats his friend, is not consistent with his just declining unwelcome overtures.

Secondly, James's reverie, when, a year later, Cruikshank sailed again for the east, invoked the intimacy they shared. James again expressed his regret at the inadequacy of his own feelings and reminded Cruikshank of their time together.

I shall think of you very often sailing away in the dear old *Huntley*, and revisiting so many of those lovely scenes which we greatly enjoyed together. Mind you go to the waterfall at Penang, and the clear pool just below it, where we bathed, and where I left my shirt hanging like a banner on the prostrate tree which lay across the stream. You will take a ride, perhaps, to the Devil's pool, and through the glades and glens where we went shooting, and a row among the islands at Singapore, and other scenes, all which are indelibly impressed on my memory ... If I do not positively regret your going, I shall greatly rejoice at your coming back. I feel proud of your good opinion, and should be more proud still if I deserved it better, but such as I am and such as are my

<sup>4</sup>ibid., p. 27.

<sup>5</sup>J. Brooke to Cruikshank. 4 December 1831. quoted ibid., p. 35.

<sup>6</sup>Nicholas Tarling, *The Burthen, the Risk, and the Glory: A Biography of Sir James Brooke*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982. p. 7. Tarling's view is supported, though not without equivocation, by R. H. W. Reece, "European-Indigenous Miscegenation and Social Status in Nineteenth Century Borneo", in Vinson H. Sutlive. (ed.), *Female and Male in Borneo: Contributions and Challenges to Gender Studies*. Williamsburg, VA: Borneo Research Council Monograph Series, Vol. 1, pp. 455-488 at p. 457.

<sup>7</sup>J. Brooke to Cruikshank. 1832. quoted by Gertrude L. Jacob, op. cit., I, p. 39.

poor regards you may ever rest assured they will remain the same as at present.<sup>8</sup>

While Cruikshank married, James continued to be infatuated with youths, relating his uncertainties about them to his old friend. James had become fond of a boy called Stonhouse, whom he had met also during the *Castle Huntley's* voyage. Although it was probably Stonhouse who had displaced Cruikshank in James's affections, James confided his feelings to the doctor.

I cannot help having some hope that Stonhouse may value my acquaintance a little more than I give him credit for; but the real truth is, I have ever been too complying with his slightest wish, and have shown him too many weaknesses in my character for him to respect me much. Now, you will say, I write as if I were sore, and it is true; but the same feelings that make me so would also make me very ready to acquit S. of all intention to hurt me, for you know how well I liked the boy. I expect nothing from men, however; but if they will give me their affection or shew me kindness I am doubly pleased.<sup>9</sup>

When Stonhouse came to stay at the end of the year, James explained to Cruikshank that the boy's failure to answer letters was "the habit of the creature, rather than forgetfulness of old or past times".<sup>10</sup>

Although their friendship lost its romance, it remained strong. James's adventures in Sarawak seemed to have excited Cruikshank's imagination, encouraging him to seek to join his fortunes to those of his old friend. In 1843, James wrote to Cruikshank to persuade him against coming out to Sarawak. "Had you been unmarried and poor, and without any prospects", James wrote, "I would have received you with open arms, on the principle that you might be better off and could not be worse; but as it is, you must not think, you must not even dream, of giving up a sufficient and respectable income for the search of an El Dorado"<sup>11</sup>.

#### ... And Crookshanks ...

Arthur Chichester Crookshank was the son of Colonel Chichester Crookshank and Charlotte Johnson, whose brother, Charles, had married James Brooke's sister, Enuna. In 1843, Arthur resigned from the East India Company's Navy to join his Aunt Emma's brother in Sarawak as Secretary to the Government and Police Magistrate.<sup>12</sup> Arthur Crookshank has been ill-served by the writings of both James and Charles Brooke.

<sup>8</sup>J. Brooke to Cruikshank, early 1833, quoted *ibid.*, I, pp. 44-45.

<sup>9</sup>J. Brooke to Cruikshank, 16 June 1831, quoted *ibid.*, I, p. 33.

<sup>10</sup>Quoted *ibid.*, I, p. 35. His tolerance of Stonhouse's neglect probably indicated his own declining interest, since they are not recorded as meeting again.

<sup>11</sup>Quoted *ibid.*, I, pp. 235-236.

<sup>12</sup>S. Baring-Gould and C. A. Bampfylde, *A History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajahs, 1839-1908*. London: Henry Sotheran, 1909, p. 129 *fn.* See also "Roll Book No 1. European Officers on Permanent Service". C/E/d4, 2.

neither of whom described adequately his contribution to the development of Brooke power in Borneo. Crookshank, himself, published neither diaries nor memoirs which would have attested to his role.

A talented administrator, Crookshank was, until the arrival of Emma Brooke's son, Brooke Johnson Brooke, in 1848, the senior European in James Brooke's government. Like his cousin, Brooke, but unlike most of the European officers who joined James Brooke in Sarawak, Arthur Crookshank was never posted to other rivers, spending his entire career based in Kuching. As Police Magistrate, he was responsible for the administration of justice in the Sarawak River basin, a complex task which required him constantly to judge the Government's capacity successfully to confront and punish proscribed behaviour.

Crookshank was no less 'adventurous' than other members of the Brooke regime, being dispatched to hostile or contested areas on several occasions to expand the Rajah's power. In 1845, the Rajah sent Crookshank, together with the interpreter, Williamson, to build support among the Malays and Dyaks of the Sadong and Samarahan Rivers.<sup>13</sup> Crookshank joined both the attack on Saribas in March 1849,<sup>14</sup> and the expedition in July of the same year which culminated in the battle at Beting Maru.<sup>15</sup> In the months that followed that second engagement he was dispatched alone to Skrang to supervise the construction of the fort there by the Rajah's Skrang supporters. In 1854, he participated in the attack which drove Rentap from Sungei Lang to Sadok.<sup>16</sup>

That the Rajah retained Crookshank in Kuching throughout his rule is testimony to his reliance on his administrative skills. So too was the faith with which he left Crookshank in charge of the country whilst he returned to England in 1847,<sup>17</sup> and again in 1856, when he seems to have even preferred him over his younger nephew, Charles Johnson, who remained at Skrang.<sup>18</sup>

Rajah James's confidence in Crookshank's abilities was well placed. Crookshank's political sensitivity alerted him to the mobilisation of the Bau Chinese for war in 1856. Acting with decision, Crookshank summoned Charles Johnson to bring a *bala* from Skrang to reinforce Kuching's defences, posted a gun boat on the river above the town and advised the Governor of Singapore of the presumed threat to British lives and property.<sup>19</sup> Crookshank's preemptive deployments thwarted the Bau *kongsi's* initial plans

<sup>13</sup>J. Brooke to H. Wise, 4 December 1845, FO12/4/1.

<sup>14</sup>See his account, A. C. [Arthur Crookshank], "Sir James Brooke's Expedition Against the Sarebas Pirates". *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, 3(5), May 1849, pp. 276-277.

<sup>15</sup>Spenser St. John, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>16</sup>S. Baring-Gould and C. A. Bampfylde, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 and 169.

<sup>17</sup>Spenser St. John, *Rajah Brooke: The Englishman as Ruler of an Eastern State*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1897, p. 83.

<sup>18</sup>S. Baring-Gould and C. A. Bampfylde, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>19</sup>F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 12 December 1856, USPG Archives, Book 1, 1850-1859, f. 99 (typescript); Mrs McDougall's Diary, USPG, X, 1086; Orfeur Cavenagh, *Reminiscences of an Indian Official*. London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1884, p. 259.



to attack Kuching during Chinese New Year in 1856. Only Rajah James's foolish dismantling of his precautions provided the *kongsi* with the opportunity to attack for which they had been waiting.<sup>20</sup> Crookshank had returned to Sarawak from England earlier in 1856 with a sixteen year old wife, Bertha.<sup>21</sup> She paid a heavy price for James's rashness.

As the Police Magistrate, Crookshank was a focus of Bau Chinese hostility when their plans to attack Kuching were realised in February 1857. The Crookshanks' house was subjected to particularly heavy attack. Although Crookshank escaped, he left Bertha for dead. Crookshank had recently sentenced a member of the *kongsi* to be flogged for assaulting a boatman who had assisted the *kongsi* man's wife to leave him. The Chinese who attacked Bertha Crookshank were calling the Bau woman's name, and Chinese oral tradition later ascribed the attack on Kuching to Bau outrage over Crookshank's action.<sup>22</sup>

Although Bertha had been horribly wounded by a *parang* blow, her thickly coiled plait saved her life.<sup>23</sup> When the day rose, she was found alive by Owen, a Kuching Chinese schoolmaster. When Owen tried to move her to safety, he was stopped by a crowd of *kongsi* Chinese. As word of Bertha's plight spread, a group of Kuching Chinese gathered around her and prevented the *kongsi* Chinese from killing her. They stayed with Bertha, shading her from the sun and protecting her from further harm, until the *kongsi* leaders agreed to her removal to the Mission House, where Bishop McDougall's ministrations probably saved her life.<sup>24</sup> Meanwhile, a Chinese woman from Kuching risked herself to take Arthur the news that Bertha was alive.<sup>25</sup> Although, following Bertha's ordeal, Crookshank resigned from the Service, he rejoined in 1860,<sup>26</sup> in time to play a key role in the dispute between the Rajah and Brooke Brooke over power and the succession.

Arthur Crookshank was close to his cousin, Brooke Brooke, who was the Rajah's heir presumptive. He supported him as his relationship with the Rajah became increasingly uneasy from the late 1850s until Brooke's exile and disinheritance in 1863.

<sup>20</sup>Spenser St. John, *The Life of Sir James Brooke*, p. 289.

<sup>21</sup>Emily Hahn, *James Brooke of Sarawak: A Biography of Sir James Brooke*. London: Arthur Barker, 1953, p. 207.

<sup>22</sup>Daniel Chew, *Chinese Pioneers on the Sarawak Frontier: 1841-1941*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1990, p. 35, fn 60. As Lockard has demonstrated, however, the Bau-Kuching conflict had deeper structural causes than these personalised accounts suggest. Craig A. Lockard, "The 1857 Chinese Rebellion in Sarawak: A Reappraisal". *JSEAS*, IX (1), 1978, pp. 85-98.

<sup>23</sup>Unbound, her hair fell almost to her feet. Rancee Margaret of Sarawak, *Good Morning and Good Night*. London: Century Books, 1984 (1934), p. 44.

<sup>24</sup>For contemporary accounts of Bertha's ordeal see Mrs McDougall's Diary, USPG, X, 1086; and [Paul Tidman] "A Journal kept in Sarawak from February 19th to March 28th, 1857", in Ludvig Verner Helms, *Pioneering in the Far East ...*. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1882.

<sup>25</sup>Harriette McDougall, *Sketches of our life at Sarawak*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, nd, p. 135.

<sup>26</sup>"Roll Book No 1, European Officers on Permanent Service". C/E/d4, 2.

He had joined Brooke, Charles Grant and Charles Johnson in protesting the Rajah's plans to send his natural son, Reuben Walker (or George Brooke, as the Rajah preferred him to be called), to Sarawak in 1858.<sup>27</sup> When, at the end of 1862, Brooke claimed to have taken over the Government from the first Rajah, Crookshank again supported him. Crookshank assured Brooke that, at Brooke's installation as Rajah Muda in 1861, "the Natives (and I) consider that the Govt was regularly made over *for good* into your hands, and that you are now looked on as *the Rajah*—(for Sir J. B. is now called the Rajah Tuah)". This, he continued "is the Eastern mode of abdication. The natives now doubtless look on you as their Rajah & Ruler".<sup>28</sup> When Brooke asked him how he thought the country would respond were people to learn of Rajah James's attempts to cede Sarawak to a European power, Crookshank reinforced his cousin's own perception. "Disaffection", he replied, "amongst the whole Malay, Millano & Sea Dyak population—probably *revolt*".<sup>29</sup>

Thus Crookshank's surviving correspondence implicates him in Brooke Brooke's attempt to take over the country. Even after Brooke was sent into exile, Crookshank continued to write to him, telling him of political events and expressing his support.<sup>30</sup> Bertha was equally encouraging of Brooke, writing to him that she hoped he would soon be back in his proper place. "Trusting", as she put it, "you may soon enjoy your own again".<sup>31</sup>

With Brooke Brooke disinherited by the Rajah for his presumption, Crookshank was adamant that he would not serve under Charles Johnson who, in preparation for replacing his brother, had assumed the Brooke name.

I know not what part your brother is going to play over here, whether he returns to his *own* place Sakarran, or whether he remains here, certain if he is required here *I am not*... The Rajah and yourself I acknowledge as Rulers of the country, but not your brother.

Crookshank reminded Brooke Brooke that he had run the country several times when both Brooke and his uncle had been absent. To have Charles now placed above him

<sup>27</sup>B. Brooke to F. C. and E. Johnson, 20 March 1858, Basil Brooke Papers, MSS Pac s. 90, vol. 6, f. 34. Their stance was confirmed by McDougall. See F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 20 March 1858, McDougall Papers, MSS Pac. s. 104 (1), f. 89 (typescript). Acceptance of James's claims that Reuben was his son would require that the story that James had been emasculated by a musket ball be rejected. Argument in support of doing so is presented in the article referred to in footnote 1, "This Peculiar Acuteness of Feeling".

<sup>28</sup>A. Crookshank to B. Brooke [26 February 1863], Basil Brooke Papers, MSS Pac s. 90, vol. 9, ff. 268-270 (original emphasis).

<sup>29</sup>A. Crookshank to B. Brooke, Basil Brooke Papers, MSS Pac s. 90, vol. 7, f. 184 (original emphasis).

<sup>30</sup>A. Crookshank to B. Brooke, 9 March 1863, Basil Brooke Papers, MSS Pac s. 90, vol. 9, f. 274.

<sup>31</sup>B. Crookshank to B. Brooke, 6 March 1863, Basil Brooke Papers, MSS Pac s. 90, vol. 9, ff. 272-273.

would be "a hard morsel to swallow". But Crookshank might already have been looking to his own future, since he continued, "jointly with him I would willingly work—but to be under him—we should clash in a week".<sup>32</sup>

Crookshank's interests were not identical to Brooke Brooke's. His willingness to work with Charles Brooke if his own authority and his equality with Charles were clearly acknowledged provided the basis for his repudiation of one of his cousins. At the end of March he reported to Brooke that the "Rajah says I am to be nominated 'Resident of Sarawak'".<sup>33</sup> In May Crookshank outlined to Brooke how his loyalty and friendship had been subverted.

Some few changes have taken place here. The Raja has made me resident of Sarawak—and has desired me to shift over to the new Fort. the earth works are finished, and turfed over, but the house has been heightened in the upper storey, and a verandah added back and front and a Portico running out from front verandah so that it makes a decent house.<sup>34</sup>

Crookshank's concern not to be under Charles Brooke's command shaped the governance of Sarawak for the remainder of the first Rajah's rule. As Resident, Crookshank was "to have charge of Sarawak", which, as Charles Brooke, putting the best gloss on the arrangement that he could, noted "will leave me free to work along the Coast".<sup>35</sup> When the Rajah decided that, to preclude Brooke Brooke's return following his own departure for England, Charles ought to remain in Kuching for a time, the Crookshanks decided to travel to China for the winter.<sup>36</sup> When they returned to Kuching, Charles Brooke resumed his residence at Skrang.

Increases to Crookshank's salary record the high price he demanded for supporting the Rajah's resumption of power. From his arrival in Sarawak in 1843 until 1862 Crookshank's salary had risen in modest increments. In May 1863 his salary was suddenly increased from \$150 to \$200 per month. It continued to increase by large amounts until, by 1870, he was receiving \$430 a month in salary and allowances, nearly three times the amount of his salary only seven years earlier (see Table A). Nicholas Tarling is typically generous in noting that Crookshank's conduct "is open to two interpretations".<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup>A. Crookshank to B. Brooke, 9 March 1863. Basil Brooke Papers, MSS Pac s. 90, vol. 9, f. 276.

<sup>33</sup>A. Crookshank to B. Brooke, 28 March 1863. Basil Brooke Papers, MSS Pac s. 90, vol. 9, f. 277+.

<sup>34</sup>A. Crookshank to B. Brooke, 28 May 1863. Basil Brooke Papers, MSS Pac s. 90, vol. 9, f. 291. Work in 1863 to convert the fort into a residence cost more than \$2700. "Cash Book, 1854-1864", L1. ff. 204-216.

<sup>35</sup>C. Brooke to C. Grant, 27 April 1863. Basil Brooke Papers, MSS Pac s. 90, vol. 8, f. 49.

<sup>36</sup>F. T. McDougall to B. Brooke, 22 September 1863. Basil Brooke Papers, MSS Pac s. 90, vol. 14, f. 103.

<sup>37</sup>Nicholas Tarling, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

TABLE A: ARTHUR CROOKSHANK'S SALARY AND ALLOWANCES<sup>38</sup>

Year(s)	Annual salary increment per month	Additional allowance per month	Total salary and allowance per month
1843-1862	\$20	nil	
1.1.1863	\$10	nil	\$150
1.5.1863	\$50	nil	\$200
1.2.1865	\$50	nil	\$250
January 1866	\$20	\$30	\$300
December 1868	\$20	\$50	\$320
December 1869	nil	\$40	\$330
May 1870	\$50	\$90	\$430

Bishop McDougall believed that, during the crisis in 1863, the Rajah, with the co-operation of the Postmaster in Kuching, Oliver St. John, monitored private mail in Sarawak.<sup>39</sup> If this were true, the Rajah would have been well placed to discover the private loyalties of his officers and enforce their repudiation of Brooke's cause. The threat of surveillance made it impossible for Crookshank to maintain both contact with his cousin and his new arrangement with the Rajah. Crookshank wrote to Brooke that he had handed Brooke's letters to him to Charles,

as in my present position it would be quiet impossible to conceal what you have written to me. I, with others, have received strict orders from the Raja (on pain of forfeiture of our positions here, and immediate dismissal if disobeyed) to treat every communication from you as *official*, and not *private*. I must therefore beg of you, dear Brooke, in future not to write to me confidentially, as I cannot in honour or obedience to the Rajah withhold your letters from him.<sup>40</sup>

Crookshank seems to have revenged himself on Oliver St. John, however. In 1872, St. John was promoted by the second Rajah, Charles Brooke, to the position of Treasurer. St. John believed that Crookshank had opposed his appointment and that he subsequently plotted against him with Raneé Margaret. For reasons that remain obscure, St. John was disgraced and demoted. Posted to live in humiliating obscurity in the upper Sarawak

<sup>38</sup>Compiled from information in "Roll Book No 1, European Officers on Permanent Service". C/E/d4, 2.

<sup>39</sup>F. T. McDougall to USPG, 16 May 1863. USPG Archives, Book II (1860-1867), MSS. Pac. s. 104 (4) f. 76.

<sup>40</sup>A. Crookshank to B. Brooke [nd]. Brooke Family Papers, MSS Pac s. 83, vol. 2, f. 45 (original emphasis).

... Crookshank for his misfortune, convinced that he was trying

... ent of Sarawak for the remainder of his career. Between  
... only to Rajah James in England for his administration  
... an and Sadong Rivers. Following Charles Brooke's  
... Crookshank accepted his authority, surrendering his own  
... still larger subventions from the Sarawak Treasury.  
... n England in 1869, he left Crookshank in charge of the

... deferring to Charles Brooke were compounded by the  
... h Rajah Charles's new wife, Margaret, who arrived in  
... Margaret Brooke's mother was a first cousin to both  
... garet's account of her early years in Kuching convey  
... d Bertha Crookshank's clash over the precedence, rank  
... nger Mrs Brooke.

... arrival, Mrs Crookshank had been the first lady  
... surprised, therefore, if at the back of her gentle  
... thirty-three, should feel just a tiny bit annoyed  
... 'just out of the school-room' as she rather  
... should take the place she had come to regard as

... Crookshank is as kind as it is candid. Whilst scheming,  
... addressed as Raneé, she presents Mrs Crookshank as  
... n asserting her right to precedence over the wife of the  
... close society of Kuching were strained by the Raneé's  
... er older kinswoman. No doubt Bertha had occasion to  
... or her life in a Kuching street Margaret was still in the  
... ur-Orge.

... from the Sarawak Service in 1873 and he and Bertha left  
... ear. His departure after so many years at the centre of  
... nd unease since, as a "valuable advisor and coadjutor in  
... rs his wisdom and experience have been often proved".  
... e also to "his thorough insight into the details of Malay  
... and of the language, and his wide and accurate personal  
... had given substance to his administration. The Malays,

it was said at the time, fell "as if they were about to lose an elder brother".<sup>44</sup> Brooke  
Brooke was long since dead.

### ... And Cruikshanks

John Cruikshank (the Scottish doctor) and his wife had called one of their sons  
James Brooke after the man who stood as his godfather. Following John Cruikshank's  
premature death, James Brooke, or Fitz, as Rajah James called him, entered the Sarawak  
Service in February 1856, aged just 15.<sup>45</sup> By 1 March he had been appointed to be  
Assistant Resident of the Sadong at \$20 a month. When Charles Johnson attacked Si Aji  
on the Saribas in 1858, Fitz brought reinforcements from Kuching. Johnson had spent his  
time waiting for the Kuching detachment in building a fort on the Saribas. Johnson had  
"great confidence in Fitz's management" and left him in charge of it. In May 1858, at  
just 17, Fitz was transferred formally to Saribas, to be Assistant Resident under the  
supervision of Johnson, who was at Skrang.<sup>46</sup> In October 1860, he was again transferred,  
still with the title, Assistant Resident, to the fort at Kanowit, where Steele and Fox had  
been killed, and where he was supposed to counter the influence of Sherif Masahor.<sup>47</sup>

Unlike Arthur Crookshank, Fitz Cruikshank's entire career in Sarawak was spent  
pushing forward the boundaries of Brooke power, rather than consolidating it. In Saribas  
and later in the Rajang his authority was disputed; he depended on his own skills and  
capacity to mobilise support. Thus he shared the frontier experiences which had won  
Charles Johnson to Sarawak. That common experience, and the two men's delight in  
travel and fighting, provided a solid basis for their *camaraderie*. Of all the first Rajah's  
officers, Fitz Cruikshank was a friend to Johnson, who expressed his affection by calling  
him Fitz.

Fitz participated in Johnson's various campaigns against the Iban, including the  
successful attack on Rentap at Sadok in 1861. The path down from Sadok was slippery  
"and my friend Fitz had terrible falls behind me, which seemed to shake the mountain;  
however, on his muscular and tough Scotch frame few things could make an impression."  
That night Charles's quick thinking saved Fitz from snake-bite.

After satisfying hunger, for I will not call our meal dinner, while  
smoking our cigars and chatting, Fitz cried out "Ular!" "Ular!" (snake!  
snake!) and on turning I saw at a distance of about three feet, a savage  
little wretch standing on its tail, staring Fitz in the face, with its body in  
sundry twists and twirls, ready to make a spring. Fitz was in a fix, and  
could not escape; in an instant more I believe this little creature would  
have jumped at him. Fortunately he lifted his plaid in front of his face,

<sup>44</sup>Sarawak Gazette, No. 54, 16 May 1873.

while I seized a Dyak's drawn sword lying at my hand, which I dropped on the snake, cutting it in two.<sup>48</sup>

Fitz was also Charles's companion on a gruelling journey in December 1861, when the two men, accompanied by Charles's younger brother, Stuart, and 30 armed followers, ascended the Skrang river, and trekked overland to descend the Rajang. "No European, or even Malay, has ever used this path, and our going over it may be the means of opening a large track of primitive land through which communication may afterwards be kept, and an increase in trade be promoted in the interior". Charles wrote. Although Charles intended the expedition to prove that no part of Sarawak was beyond his reach, he and Fitz were also keen just "to see the country".<sup>49</sup> The trek lasted two and half weeks and saw the three Europeans emerge at Kanowit emaciated and exhausted. Stuart Johnson was delicious, suffering from excruciating headaches, whilst Charles was "only a little better".<sup>50</sup>

Fitz's brother, John, was a doctor like their father. In 1860 he arrived in Kuching to be appointed Government Medical Officer.<sup>51</sup> He is little mentioned in contemporary records. It is not even clear whether he was addicted to alcohol before his arrival in Sarawak, or whether life in Kuching drove him into dipsomania. By 1863, however, Bishop McDougall could report matter of factly that the Doctor was "hors de combat with drink".<sup>52</sup>

When Brooke Brooke was preparing to overthrow the Rajah's power, he sought Fitz's support for his claims. Like Crookshank, Fitz encouraged Brooke. He, too, considered that, in installing Brooke as Rajah Muda, James had presented Brooke to the people "as Rajah of Sarawak". Although Fitz acknowledged that James had forecast his return to Sarawak, "the impression of everyone present was that in giving you his sword he had tendered his formal abdication of the Government of Sarawak".<sup>53</sup>

On his arrival in Kuching to prepare for the Rajah's resumption of the government, Charles Brooke was surprised and confronted by the extent of Brooke's support. He wrote to Charles Grant that it was "the universal opinion here—that the country has arrived at its quiet & prosperous state thro Brooke's sole wisdom & work". Charles observed that Brooke retained "the sympathy of most of the Sarawak people—both European & native".<sup>54</sup> Neither Charles's arrival, nor that of the Rajah, initially affected the opinions of Crookshank and the other senior officers. Robert Hay and Walter Watson, who had converged on Kuching, Watson reported to Brooke that the three talked the situation over

<sup>48</sup>Charles Brooke, op. cit., II, pp. 151-152.

<sup>49</sup>ibid., II, pp. 158-159.

<sup>50</sup>ibid., II, p. 199.

<sup>51</sup>"Roll Book No 1, European Officers on Permanent Service". C/E/d4, 2.

<sup>52</sup>F. T. McDougall to Bullock, 21 July 1863, USPG Archives, Book II (1860-1867). MSS. Pac. s. 104 (4). f. 82.

<sup>53</sup>J. B. Cruikshank to B. Brooke, 21 February 1863. Basil Brooke Papers, MSS Pac s. 90, vol. 13. f. 134.

<sup>54</sup>C. Brooke to C. Grant, 7 March 1863. Basil Brooke Papers, MSS Pac s. 90, vol. 8. f. 42.

often, and agreed he was in the right.<sup>55</sup> Their chilly reception of Charles increased his eagerness to see Fitz. "who I hope will not be quite so cool as everyone else to me..."<sup>56</sup>

Fitz and his brother were more susceptible to the Rajah's inducements than Robert Hay, who eventually resigned from Sarawak rather than accept Brooke's displacement.<sup>57</sup> Like the Crookshanks, the Cruikshanks cut a deal. Bishop McDougall reported that Dr Cruikshank had told him that he considered himself obliged to James Brooke for making Fitz Resident of the Rajang and increasing his salary to \$100 per month.<sup>58</sup> The Role Book in the Sarawak Archives confirms the price of Fitz's political friendship. In April 1863 he was promoted, as McDougall had forecast, to be Resident of the Rajang, his salary increased by \$30 to \$110 per month, an increment of more than 30 per cent. As Rajah James boasted to his friends, he "increased some salaries, bestowed rewards".<sup>59</sup> Although, as Sarawak's only two Residents, Fitz and Arthur shared a nominal rank, Fitz never really shared Crookshank's financial bonanza. At \$110 per month in 1863, increased to \$135 in 1865, Fitz's salary was little more than half Crookshank's.

After Crookshank's departure in 1873, Fitz was the most experienced of Rajah Charles's officers. He remained Resident of the Rajang until his own retirement in 1875, on a pension of 140 pounds.<sup>60</sup> When the death of Claude de Crespigny in 1884 left the Rajah short of experienced men, he invited his old friend, Cruikshank, to take charge of that new frontier, the Baram. Although Fitz returned in January 1885, his health collapsed and he left again in April. He died in Scotland in 1894, three years after Arthur.<sup>61</sup>

When, in 1863, John and Fitz Cruikshank persuaded Rajah James that they were "heartily ashamed of having given countenance to Mr Brooke's pretensions", they only secured Fitz's elevation. Nobody needed the Doctor, so he left Sarawak. The Rajah explained that it was "on account of his health".<sup>62</sup>

<sup>55</sup>W. Watson to B. Brooke, 29 March 1863. Basil Brooke Papers, MSS Pac s. 90, vol. 15 [-16?], f. 94.

<sup>56</sup>C. Brooke to C. Grant, 7 March 1863. Basil Brooke Papers, MSS Pac s. 90, vol. 8, f. 47+.

<sup>57</sup>J. Brooke to A. Burdett Coutts and H. Brown, 7 August 1863. Owen Rutter (ed.), *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts: Consisting of the Letters from Sir James Brooke, first White Rajah of Sarawak, to Miss Angela (afterwards Baroness) Burdett Coutts*. London: Hutchinson, 1935. p. 208. (The Rajah has misdated the letter July.)

<sup>58</sup>F. T. McDougall to B. Brooke, 8 March 1863. Basil Brooke Papers, MSS Pac s. 90, vol. 14. f. 97.

<sup>59</sup>J. Brooke to A. Burdett Coutts and H. Brown, 19 April 1863. Owen Rutter (ed.), op. cit., p. 183.

<sup>60</sup>"Roll Book No 1, European Officers on Permanent Service". C/E/d4, 2.

<sup>61</sup>*Sarawak Gazette*, No. 346, 1 November 1894; S. Baring-Gould and C. A. Bampfyld, op. cit., p. 129.

<sup>62</sup>J. Brooke to A. Burdett Coutts, 22 August 1863. Baroness Burdett-Coutts Papers, vol. V, Add 45278, f. 33.

### Accounting for Crookshanks (sic)

Accounting for the Crookshanks and the Cruikshanks focuses attention on some key features of the European elite in nineteenth century Sarawak. As other writers have recognised, James Brooke's attraction to youths and young men was an essential dynamic in the formation of his administrative service.<sup>63</sup> Where James's love for Charles Grant demonstrates the importance of his desire in the recruitment of officers, the case of the Cruikshanks suggests how the consequences of James's sexuality were sometimes realised through more complex historical processes. Unlike Grant, neither of the younger Cruikshanks was ever a favourite of the first Rajah. Although James took both Fitz and the Doctor into his service because of his relationship with their father, Fitz's own capacity ensured that he became a key figure in Sarawak. Fitz's contribution to the development of Brooke power in the Rajang was inestimable. His support assisted James and Charles to overcome Brooke, and his ability was a mainstay of the first seven years of Charles's own reign. These were unforeseen benefits of James's friendship with the older Cruikshank more than thirty years earlier.

Arthur and Bertha exemplify the other main feature in the formation of the European community—kinship. Needing men to help him, Rajah James turned to his relatives. Amongst his recruits were his sister's nephew, Arthur, her sons, Brooke, Charles and Stuart, her son-in-law's brother, Harry Nicholetts, and a distant cousin, Willie Brereton. These connections were elaborated by further linkages, as Brooke married Charles Grant's sister, Charles Grant married his distant cousin, Matilda, and Matilda's brother joined the Rajah's service. Later still, Charles Brooke married his cousin, Ghita de Windt.

One effect of such cross-cutting kin and marriage ties should have been to increase the integration and unity of the European community. This clearly was not the case. Brooke would betray his uncle, Charles would betray Brooke, Arthur would not serve under Charles, except at a price, and Fitz was not to be outranked by Arthur. Though Bertha might precede the Bishop's wife, she would be forced to defer to Margaret. The Europeans in Sarawak competed for position, authority, titles and resources, their conflicts intensified by the ties that bound.

<sup>63</sup>For example see Nicholas Tarling, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

### THE LOVES OF HUGH LOW

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After the publication of my essay on Hugh Low in Oxford University Press's 1988 re-print of his *Sarawak* (1848) (see *BRB*, 1991, vol. 23:41-53), I discovered a little more information about him of a personal kind which will be of interest to those who share my affection for this remarkable but under-appreciated man. At the same time, it does something to illuminate the highly personal politics of the little expatriate European community of Sarawak and Labuan in the 1850's and 1860's.

The new source is a collection of notes and papers relating to the Irish M.P. and colonial governor, Sir John Pope-Hennessy, assembled by his grandson, the late James Pope-Hennessy, in the course of his research for his book *Verandah*, which covers Sir John's official career. After James' death, this material was deposited in Rhodes House Library, Oxford, where most of the Brooke family records can also be found.

First of all, the identity of the mysterious 'A.D.' of Low's 1844-46 journal is solved: the initials stood for Ann Douglas, daughter of General Sir Robert Douglas, fourth Baronet of Monkseaton, Northumberland. Although his references to her are brief and oblique, it is clear that Low was in love when he left England on his first botanical collecting expedition to Sarawak in mid-1844. In Singapore on 28 December he wrote that he had "been very melancholy these last few days, from what reason I cannot tell but think the disappointment experienced by having received no letters is the principal cause." It seems likely that it was Ann who had disappointed him most. "Have been thinking lately a good deal of A.D.," he added, "and I wish very much to hear from her."

The son of an enterprising and well-to-do nurseryman of humble origins, Low was probably a little too ambitious in setting his hat on the daughter of a member of the lesser aristocracy with whom he would not normally have mixed. However, he may have met her through his father's business which supplied exotic plants to the greenhouses of the wealthy.

It may have been Ann's failure to write to him that explains why he does not seem to have pursued the relationship when he went back to England in 1847. On the return voyage to Labuan in the following year he met and fell in love with the seventeen year old Catherine Napier, the daughter of William Napier and a Eurasian woman from Malacca. After Catherine died of fever at Labuan in 1851, leaving him a son (Hugh Brooke) and a daughter (Kitty), Low had a relationship with a Malay woman and had a daughter by her. Known in Labuan as Nona Dayang Loya (her real name is not recorded), she also had a sister who was the *nona* or common law wife of James Brooke's private secretary, Spenser St. John, later H.M. Consul at Brunei. More about Nona Dayang Loya later ...

Low had not been long in Sarawak before he began to appreciate the local women, although, as his journal indicates, the process of aesthetic (and perhaps emotional) adaptation was not without some conflict:

When I first came here I used to look upon the native women with disgust; now I can easily discriminate the degrees of beauty as one resident in a European country would there. Instead of saying degrees of beauty I ought perhaps to have said plainness or rather ugliness for certainly they are not a comely race, but as I said before my ideas from constantly seeing them have become so vitiated that what we call pretty woman [here] we look upon with as much pleasure or nearly so as we used to look at the divine forms at home.

We know nothing further about 'A.D.' until her marriage to Low in 1885. This was just five years before he gave up his position as Resident of Perak, a time which is justly celebrated in the pro-consular history of early British Malaya. Was Ann Douglas married and then widowed during the years between 1845 and 1885, or did she remain single in the hope that one day they would meet again? A romantic story if only there was more to tell!

There is a barely legible letter in Rhodes House from Ann to Una Pope-Hennessy dated 27 May, 1905 which gives a poignant description of Low's death at Alassio in Italy:

*Una Dear,*

I got your little p[ost] c[ard] just after he left me. I asked James Campbell—is it not wonderful that he [illegible] 'chance' to be with me who can help as no one else could have done? I asked James Campbell to write to Prince Kropotkin your wish. Then if you write to Prince K. he will know and understand.

I loved to get your letter just now. Some words [illegible] thoughts to me and him. He was always so fond of you—you were always so sweet to him.

I had been very ill. We had come here to get Hugh to go home. Then quite suddenly he left me. A glorious last day we had among the flowers he loved—a [illegible] that [illegible] he had been [illegible] before and had pulled through. I thought he would [illegible] leave me. Half an hour or less bad suffering borne as HE would bear it. Then he thought I had relieved him but it was a gentle death. He slept away holding my hand. His Lucy and I did everything for him and he looked so unspeakably beautiful and dignified. The Italian Dr who came to verify the death exclaimed at his Beauty. I was proud and pleased. I always *loved* to have him admired.

We walked after him, James and his Lucy and I up a steep little path, next day, to a quiet little corner among the roses. The gardeners and the gardens he loved carried him along and Lucy. bless

her! threw one of our Malay sarongs over my old Chief. His Malays will like to hear that he went so to his rest ...

Among other things, the account provides us with an interesting example of how the Victorians dealt with death. To take Low's body back to his beloved gardens the day after his death may seem bizarre to us now, but it would not have been considered at all unusual at the time.

Una Pope-Hennessy was the sister of Sir John Pope-Hennessy, Governor of Labuan, who married Low's stunningly beautiful daughter, Kitty, and then proceeded to make life hell for his father-in-law. This all took place in the fever-ridden little Bornean backwater where quarrelling seems to have been the principal occupation of the tiny European population. Despite his dislike for his odious son-in-law, Low managed to remain on friendly terms with Pope-Hennessy's two sisters.

Ann wrote again to Una a few weeks later saying that she wished to give pounds 150 or pounds 200 to "[some] scientific object in his [Low's] name, something connected with Botany or Natural History, his only passion besides me who loved them only for his sake (and was half jealous of them sometimes). . . ."

The first letter helps to solve another mystery—the identity of the daughter Low had by Nona Dayang Loya in Labuan. Ann's references to 'his Lucy' who was apparently living with them makes it clear that this was the same girl whose existence had been one of the issues in Pope-Hennessy's campaign against Low in 1867. On one celebrated occasion, Low had ridden out to Nona Dayang Loya's house with Kitty when he heard that Lucy was ill. A European passer-by saw Kitty with her illegitimate half-sister in the compound with Low and reported this gross misdemeanour to Pope-Hennessy. The fact that the Governor himself had two illegitimate daughters in England did not deter him from representing Low's action to the Colonial Office as scandalous.

Also in the Pope-Hennessy papers at Rhodes House are the notes made by James Pope-Hennessy about his grandfather's time as Governor of Labuan and his energetic efforts to have Low dismissed from his official positions there as Colonial Secretary, Police Magistrate, etc. His principal source was the report made to the Colonial Office by the next governor of Labuan, Henry Bulwer, on the charges made by his grandfather against Low. It is clear that personal animosity was behind these.

Responding to Pope-Hennessy's charge that Dayang Kamariah, who was then living with her sister at the Sagumau house after St. John's departure, was a common prostitute, Bulwer described her as a good and virtuous woman. He also went to some trouble to explain to the Colonial Office that *nona* was not a derogatory expression:

The term 'Nona' it is said by Mr. Low is offensively translated into English as 'concubine'; and I am assured by those conversant with the Malay language that the term has been abused in the translation. If it were intended to translate the word 'concubine' into Malay the term would have been 'purumpuan' or 'gundik'; whereas the term 'Nona' while it signifies an unmarried woman is applied by the Malays as a term of title (and not disrespect) to women kept as mistresses by Europeans.

Nor did Bulwer believe that Low's relationship with Nona Dayang Loya had prejudiced his official responsibilities in any way:

while his connection with the woman Dayang Loya was well known throughout the Island, for in this small community it is impossible that such a connection, with whatever secrecy and precaution it be maintained, could be otherwise than well known. I cannot learn that he ever obtruded it upon the public observation or allowed it any time to interfere with the proper discharge of his magisterial duties.

Bulwer exonerated Low on all of the charges, evidently accepting that the Pope-Hennessy's intention had also been to implicate him with the allegedly illegal actions of Nona Dayang Loya's family who lived with her in the house that he obtained for her at Sagumau. The petty details of all this are not worth repeating but they reveal something of how relationships between European men and local women were conducted at the time.

Nona Dayang Loya was almost certainly from Sarawak and her title suggests that her family was of Brunei origin. We know that she was a singer of pantuns and that pantun-singing and story telling were traditional pastimes of the upper-class Malay women in Kuching where Low probably met her some time in 1845 or 1846. She may have been descended from one of James Brooke's pet pengirans murdered in Brunei in 1845 and whose families were brought back to Kuching by him after the tragedy. As already indicated, she was the sister of Dayang Kamariah, the woman with whom Spenser St. John had a long relationship and at least three children. Indeed, it seems likely that Low met Nona Dayang Loya through St. John.

After St. John left Brunei in 1863 for his new post as British charge d'affaires in Haiti, he continued to support Dayang Kamariah and their surviving son Sulong (two other children had died during a fever epidemic in Labuan), whom he sent to Britain for training as a civil engineer in 1866 and then helped obtain a job somewhere in the Malay States. Kamariah herself went to Singapore and lived with another European man there before dying in Labuan in about 1872. Spenser St. John's brother James, who was a surveyor in Labuan, also had a family by a Malay woman there and one of his direct descendants revealed her origins to me at Murdoch University not long after I arrived there in 1978.

St John never revealed how it was that James Brooke had "forced" him out of Sarawak in 1855 but it probably had something to do with his open relationship with Dayang Kamariah and the fierce hostility this aroused from the first Bishop of Labuan and Borneo, F.T. McDougall, and his wife Harriette.

There had already been an embarrassing family connection with the Borneo Church Mission. McDougall unwisely attempted to convert Kamariah's younger brother 'John' to Christianity and actually dispatched him to London with his assistant, Walter Chambers, in 1858 to get him away from the influence of his Muslim relatives. In the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in Rhodes House there is a letter from McDougall to Ernest Hawkins informing him of Chambers' imminent arrival in London with the boy:

I have sent him with one of our boys, John, a Malay pengiran to prevent him being taken away by his friends and made a Mahometan of. May I ask your interest on his behalf—Mr Chambers will explain my views with regard to him.

P.S. The week after Mr Chambers sailed a letter came for John from his Malay relatives which I have not opened but have every reason to believe is a command for him to go there [Labuan].

Not surprisingly, the experiment was a failure and 'John' was sent back from London to Labuan where Low found a position for him as turnkey of the colony's gaol. When McDougall learnt of this on a subsequent visit to Labuan, he prevailed on Governor Callaghan (Bulwer's successor) to dismiss him. St. John and others who were critical of McDougall for other reasons no doubt also cited John's case as evidence of McDougall's political naivete in attempting to convert Muslims to Christianity. John's appointment as turnkey had presented Pope-Hennessy with further ammunition to discredit Low.

Low had been on good terms with Pope-Hennessy's predecessor, Governor Edwardes. Indeed, he was his staunchest supporter when he prevented the Rajah's elder nephew, John Brooke Brooke from seizing the sago-producing area of Mukah in 1860. This had infuriated the Rajah and his two nephews. On 17 March 1857, Spenser St. John (who claimed to be Low's friend) had written spitefully to Brooke Brooke from Brunei:

Low is a Governor's man, hoping by his influence to become the next one. he pays his little bills for him, and would do any other little act to show him how completely subservient he is.

St. John, who seems to have been quite content for Brunei's interests to be sold out to the territory-grabbing Brookes, found it difficult to hide his own over-arching ambitions. He was indiscreet enough to tell Brooke Brooke in the same letter of his own interest in becoming Governor of Sarawak if neither Brooke nor the Rajah wanted that appointment in the event of Sarawak becoming a British colony.

Some years later when Low declined to contribute a special appendix for St. John's biography of James Brooke, St. John wrote to their mutual friend, Charles Grant, describing him as being too fond of the brandy bottle. With friends and in-laws like these, it is no wonder that by the time Low became Resident of Perak, he preferred the company of his flowers and his pet *wah-wah* (gibbon) to humans.

What happened to Ann and Lucy after Low's death is not known. They probably went back to live at Ann's last address, Cranborne Grange, Micheldever, Hampshire, but no information is available. What became of Nona Dayang Loya after Low left Labuan is also unknown. Nor is there any indication of the fate of Low's detailed journals, including his account of his ascent of Mt. Kinabalu, which had been the basis of much of St. John's *Life in the Forests of the Far East* of 1861. Only one of these (1844-46) has survived in the form of a typescript made by James Pope-Hennessy but much of it was used in Low's *Sarawak* in 1848.

Who knows but one day somebody will turn up some more information about a private life which had such complicated public repercussions?

## INTRODUCTION: SPENSER ST. JOHN'S THE LIFE OF SIR JAMES BROOKE, RAJAH OF SARAWAK<sup>1</sup>

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In early 1878, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General and Resident Minister in Peru, Spenser St. John, was completing the biography of his former employer, patron and mentor, Sir James Brooke. Situated 8,000 feet above sea level, Lima was a cold and wind-swept place and a far cry from the tropical climate of Sarawak and Brunei where St. John had spent almost two decades. It was also a difficult place from which to communicate with possible publishers. Consequently he was obliged to enlist the assistance of an old Sarawak Service contemporary, Charles Grant, then living in retirement at St. Andrew's in Scotland.

In their correspondence about the biography over the ensuing eighteen months, the two men relived much of the drama they had participated in during those earlier years, notably the first Rajah's disinheritance in February 1863 of his elder nephew, Captain John Brooke Johnson (better known as Brooke Brooke) who was also Charles Grant's brother-in-law. St. John had been a staunch supporter of the Rajah, while "Charlie" Grant remained loyal to his late sister's husband. Twenty years on, St. John was anxious not to open up old wounds. By asking Grant to be the *de facto* editor of his manuscript he was employing the diplomatic skill which had already taken him a long way in the foreign service.

The correspondence is significant for the light it throws on the process of editing and on the evolving relationship between author and editor. In his letters, St. John said things which he could not say in his book. He also recorded his response to its reviews and his ultimate disappointment with its reception. For his part, Grant demonstrated his good sense and fair-mindedness.

The third son of James Augustus St. John, a London journalist, Spenser Buckingham was born (appropriately enough) at St. John's Wood on 22 December 1825. He received a good private school education and his social connections were later to secure him an appointment as James Brooke's private secretary and subsequently a career in the diplomatic service. James St. John wrote articles about Borneo for the *Morning Chronicle* and various journals in 1846 and became friendly with Brooke's commercial agent, Henry Wise. Subsequently he had a number of interviews with Lord Palmerston on a commercial concession for Wise and on the colonisation of Labuan, which seems to have been his pet project. He also wrote the text to accompany a series of drawings by Captain Drinkwater Bethune, R.N., and others, published in 1847 as *Views in the Indian*

<sup>1</sup>Republished by permission of the publisher, from the Oxford University Press reprint of *The Introduction to Spenser St. John's The Life of Sir James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1994 [1879]).

*Archipelago*. Another of his sons, Horace, produced a history of the Indian Archipelago in 1853 which was unflattering to Brooke and may have reflected Wise's bitter antagonism towards him after 1848.

Even before he met James Brooke, Spenser read Captain Henry Keppel's 1846 edition of his journals and wrote "innumerable articles" about Borneo, one of them a fictionalised account of some of Keppel's adventures. Wise had persuaded him to try for an appointment in Borneo, rather than Persia which had been his earlier interest. Indeed, he was already studying the Malay language. Introduced to the Rajah by his father at Mivart's Hotel in late 1847, he was "struck with that winning manner which in those days made every one who approached him his friend." Thirty years later, St. John paid tribute to the extraordinary personal charm and charisma which accounted for the Rajah's success in inspiring both loyalty and affection: "He was so handsome, elegant in look as well as in manner, fond of the lighter accomplishments of music and poetry, so winning in ways as to be beloved by all those he met, and full of ability, and with his friends brilliant in talk. Yet in general society he was reserved and rarely gave sign of the power which was in him."

It was agreed by the Colonial Office that St. John would serve as private secretary to the Rajah in his newly appointed capacity as Governor of Labuan, a salary of £200 a year being allowed "in a roundabout way" by Lord Palmerston. Accompanying the Rajah to Sarawak on H.M.S. *Maeander* (Captain Keppel) in February 1848, St. John found himself closeted with a boisterous party of young men including James' other nephew, Charles Brooke Johnson, Charles Grant and Hugh Low. A botanist who had gone out to Sarawak in 1845 to collect exotic plants for his father's London nursery, Low had stayed on as James' interpreter and general factotum and was now going out as Colonial Secretary to the government of newly acquired Labuan. He and St. John were to become good friends.

During the following ten years, St. John served as the Rajah's amanuensis, confidant and adviser. He also became close friends with Brooke Brooke who had come to Sarawak in September 1848 to be trained as the Rajah's successor, progressively assuming responsibility for the government during his uncle's many absences. They explored the hinterland of the Sarawak River together.

Possibly at the Rajah's instigation, St. John in 1849 began to contribute a series of articles on the history of piracy in the region to the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, published by the Singapore lawyer, newspaper owner and antiquarian, J.R. Logan. During the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry into Brooke's activities held in Singapore in 1854, St. John was also one of the principal witnesses providing support for the Rajah's policy towards piracy. Significantly, he observed that it was the early parliamentary attack on him by Joseph Hume in 1850 which was the turning point in the Rajah's life: "Sir James Brooke was of a very excitable and nervous temperament. The savage attacks to which he was subjected roused his anger, and did him permanent injury. He never was again that even-tempered gay companion of former days. He thought too much of these attacks, and longed to answer every petty insult and calumnious insinuation." Other observers, notably Bishop McDougall and Brooke's old friend John Templer, believed that it was the smallpox he contracted in 1853 which brought about a mental imbalance bordering on insanity.



Urbane and articulate. St. John's unorthodox views on religion and other subjects entertained the Rajah and the bevy of young men with whom he surrounded himself but alarmed the head of the Anglican mission, the Revd (and later Bishop of Labuan and Borneo) F.T. McDougall. Harriette McDougall, being more intellectually sophisticated, appreciated St. John's conversational skills and his apparently sympathetic support for their work. However, she was also to be alienated by his actions.

From his arrival in Kuching in 1848, McDougall fought a losing battle against the prevailing custom for young European officers to take native "keeps" or mistresses. St. John himself established a relationship with a certain Dayang Kamariah, a Malay woman of aristocratic ancestry, and had three children by her. She may well have been introduced to him by Hugh Low who knew her sister. Apparently encouraging his companions to follow his example, St. John was subsequently accused by the Bishop of "corrupting" Charles Fox, a catechist who had been sent over from the Anglican theological college in Calcutta, and two government officers, Harry Nicholets and Henry Steele. Letters detailing St. John's "immorality" were sent to St. John's women friends in London by one of the Bishop's women teachers, Elizabeth Woolley (later Mrs Chambers), and when relations between St. John and the Bishop eventually broke down in 1862, the accusations were made public in the Anglican newspaper, the *Guardian*. Spenser's younger brother, James, who was employed as Surveyor-General at Labuan, also had a Malay *nonya* and numerous children but had been persuaded by the colonial chaplain to marry her.

In 1855, St. John was appointed as British Consul-General to the native states of Borneo, a position which Brooke himself had resigned in 1853. Establishing himself at Brunei, he left Dayang Kamariah and their two children at Labuan under the watchful eye of his friend Hugh Low, who had by then installed Dayang Kamariah's sister as his *nonya*. He quickly attuned himself to life in the tiny, run-down sultanate which James Brooke had once pledged himself to restore to its former glory. As there was little official business to negotiate, St. John had plenty of time to visit Labuan and to make extensive explorations of the hinterland of Brunei. Apart from early expeditions up the Brunei, Limbang and Baram rivers, he also accompanied Hugh Low on the latter's second ascent of Mount Kinabalu in April 1858. Possibly out of deference to James Brooke, he failed to acknowledge the first exploration of the Kayan country in 1847 by Robert Burns, a Singapore-based trader whom the Rajah ruthlessly excluded from any commercial involvement in north-west Borneo. In his biography of the Rajah, he was content to dismiss Burns as "a disreputable Scottish adventurer."

It was on a visit to Kuching with Dayang Kamariah and their youngest child in late 1858 (the two older children had died of fever at Labuan while he was away with Low) that St. John alienated Harriette McDougall. By presenting his *nonya* to the missionary's wife, he was in her view publicly flaunting a relationship which she regarded as shameful and wicked. Conveying the shock of this unexpected and insulting confrontation, she told their mutual friend Brooke Brooke that she felt "nothing but disgust for him ... he had not a particle of shame."

Another allegation of St. John's "immorality" was made in the following year by Sir Robert MacClure, a naval officer who had visited Brunei in H.M.S. *Esk*. He apparently reported to Brooke Brooke that Her Majesty's Consul-General not only went about

openly with native women but *dressed in native costume*. Responding in a way that reflected his extreme sensitivity to accusations of this kind, St. John told Brooke Brooke:

Sir Robert sent over to say he was not coming to Brunei, so I started off on a fishing excursion. When I was starving in the jungle, during my last expedition, my men began making vows, and I joining in the affair said, that if we all got safely home, I promise to give you a feast and you may invite your families. Well on the day appointed they assembled and about twenty pulled away in a big prahu and I followed by myself in my own boat. I met Sir Robert as I shoved off, and I was properly dressed for a boat: clean white silk pyjamas, clean shirt, and clean white silk jacket. I know I had that dress because it was a Sunday when I received no native visitors. I was about to go down to Muara with a bull for the feast and plenty of fishing tackle. Now Sir Robert never saw any native women but I told him of the promise I had made. We might as well have been accused of going away tubaiga [using poison to catch fish] as pulling about with native women.

Returning to England with the Rajah in late 1860, St. John completed and published at his own expense the two-volume *Life in the Forests of the Far East...* Drawing on his time in Sarawak, Brunei and Sulu, St. John also had access to his friend Hugh Low's journals of their 1858 expedition to Mount Kinabalu, which is one of the features of the book. Although it was not a great commercial success, *Life in the Forests* received more than thirty reviews, most of them very favourable, and went into a second enlarged edition in 1863. No doubt it enhanced St. John's reputation, helping him to obtain his next posting as British *charge d'affaires* for the new black republic of Haiti in January 1863, where he was later promoted to resident minister.

St. John used the book to exact revenge on McDougall and some of the other missionaries. His final chapter on the Borneo Mission was highly critical of the Bishop and his methods, accusing him of high-handed treatment of his subordinates and maladministration. He was also critical of the Bishop's actions during the rebellion by the Chinese goldminers of Bau in February 1857, although the Rajah's desperate escape at that time had left the resourceful and courageous McDougall as the hero of the hour. When the official Anglican newspaper, the *Guardian*, published a letter from McDougall's principal assistant, Walter Chambers accusing St. John of keeping a native woman, the Rajah himself wrote a savage attack on McDougall. This was published as a pamphlet, *The Bishop of Borneo*, under St. John's name.

Writing to James Brooke's brother-in-law, the Revd Edmund Evelyn, in March 1863 after the publication of the pamphlet, McDougall described what he regarded as St. John's malign influence:

The attack upon me in St. John's book was as unexpected as it was foul and false.... That man has had a sad and baleful influence in this place not only by prejudicing the Rajah's mind against Brooke [Brooke] and myself which I am sure he has done (I had words with him about Brooke as I had also with the Rajah when I was in England) but by a positive active infidel propagandism he was ever carrying [on]

amongst younger men whom he thought he could influence.... Poor Fox told me last time I saw him (he always came to me as his old friend when he was here) that not only had St. John excited his doubts about H. [oly] S. [cripture] and our Lord's Divinity, which made him leave the Mission, but that he afterwards never let him alone with his taunts and sneers, until he followed his bad example and kept a native woman....

St. John told Brooke Brooke that "Fox left because the Bishop called him a fool and a presumptuous schoolboy etc." McDougall's forthright and tactless manner certainly antagonised people but his absolute honesty and trustworthiness could always be relied upon—which is more than could be said for St. John and the Rajah. Putting it another way, they were politicians and the Bishop was not.

Harriette McDougall was extremely bitter about what she regarded as St. John's betrayal of the trust which she and the Bishop had placed in him during the early days of the Mission when there were so many problems—not the least being the unsuitable people sent out to assist. In May 1862 she told Brooke Brooke:

At the time Mr St. John came in and out of this house like a familiar spirit, used to hear all the troubles and difficulties as they arose, and no doubt Frank often spoke to him as if he had been speaking aloud of their foibles in his disappointment. I don't say Frank was worldlywise in doing this but you must remember how very intimate St. John was with us, and his peculiar way of seeking confidences. How ungenerous is the advantage he has taken of it I can better feel than say.

Chambers' response was more pointed. "The Arab abstains from the salt of the man he would strike" he told McDougall. "He ate your salt that his stab might go deeper. He warmed himself with your confidence [in order] to betray it."

Although he did not come out in public support of St. John, Charles Brooke's sympathies were naturally with him in his quarrel with the Bishop. In November 1862 he wrote to Brooke Brooke:

The mildest part of the business is that he [St. John] *only kept one* [mistress]—he [Chambers] may bring to light some of my little affairs some of these days—but he [St. John] made [an] allowance [to his family] for many years and I believe that was the right thing to do in a legitimate monogamy. These are the weak points a parson snatches at. It can't be helped—for society will excuse such natural indulgences. After all a Harem will be the proper thing to keep when one gets richer.

At some point before his death in England in 1868, possibly when they were together there in 1861, James Brooke entrusted his personal papers to St. John on the understanding that he would act as his literary executor and official biographer. It was these documents which St. John subsequently carried with him in tin trunks to Haiti and Peru, although they proved to be of limited value to his enterprise. As he told Charles Grant, most of the Rajah's most interesting papers had been burnt during the Chinese Rebellion of 1857 and those that survived "principally refer to those interminable and

unfortunate negotiations with foreign powers which so hurt and wearied his friends...." That St. John had assisted the Rajah in these negotiations, even to the point of being described as his "alter ego," was something he preferred to forget.

In March 1871 St. John made overtures to the Rajah's brother-in-law, the Revd Edmund Evelyn, for access to the papers of his nephew, Brooke Brooke, who had died not long after the Rajah. "My object in writing the Raja's life," he told Evelyn, "is to present him as I believe he deserved to be presented to the public, not a panegyric, but a true account." He was also at pains to emphasise that he would not give a partisan version of the disastrous quarrel between the Rajah and his elder nephew which led to the latter's disinheritance and public humiliation:

...it is not my intention to touch in any way on family matters, to avoid every subject of controversy which would tend to bring in the name of anyone of his family now passed away. With regard to Captain Brooke himself, you might rely on my treating his memory tenderly, as he was once my most intimate and dearest friend ... you may trust to my fairness and my feelings not to make any use of [Captain Brooke's papers], that could in any way annoy those who hold his name in respect. I would be silent on the whole subject rather than to do so....

For some reason, St. John did not seek access to the hundreds of letters James Brooke had written to Baroness Angela Burdett-Coutts, which were located by Owen Rutter and published by him in 1935. Nor did he make any mention of the Rajah's eccentric millionaire patron in the biography beyond a passing reference to "a generous friend." This was remarkable because her financial support had been crucial to the Rajah's survival and at one point he named her as his heir. Sir Steven Runciman has suggested it was typical of the desire for anonymity by "A Lady Unknown," but there is surely more to be said about such an extraordinary omission. Perhaps St. John was miffed that Baroness Coutts had not supported his grand scheme of establishing a new chartered company for the whole of northern Borneo, with himself as the managing director.

More importantly, the Baroness played a key part in ensuring that the Rajah did not transfer entire authority over Sarawak to Brooke Brooke before the disinheritance crisis of 1863. Reflecting on this after the event, the Rajah wrote to her:

I tried about May or June 1860, to release myself and impose the responsibility of Government upon Mr. Brooke, but in vain as the Missus always was always opposed to it, and thus saved Sarawak from falling into the hands of man who has proved himself to be half rogue, half fool.

"The Missus," as the Rajah playfully called Britain's most powerful woman after Queen Victoria, had also intervened to prevent a reconciliation between uncle and nephew. As St. John wrote in his biography, "had mutual friends both in England and Sarawak been more conciliatory, the estrangement between uncle and nephew would never have gone as far as it did." St. John, too, was one of those mutual friends.

Hearing of St. John's enterprise, Charles Brooke, who was proclaimed Rajah shortly after his uncle's death in June 1868, had given a collection of his papers to Miss Gertrude

Jacob with the view of producing a rival biography. No doubt he feared that St. John's book would be less than flattering of the Rajah and himself. These papers included James' original journals and his letters to his old friend John Templer, most of which had already been published by Keppel, Captain Rodney Mundy and by Templer. The latter had refused to co-operate with St. John, probably because he hoped to write a book about the Rajah himself.

Gertrude Jacob was the niece of Major-General Sir George Le Grand Jacob who visited Sarawak at the Rajah's invitation in 1853 and formed a highly favourable impression of his achievements: During my stay in Borneo [he wrote later] I observed that the Raja was regarded by [the Dayaks] as almost a superhuman being sent for their deliverance from the oppression of their fellow-men, while the Malays looked up to him as to a great chief fit to rule and guide them.

It seems that Sir George persuaded his niece to commemorate the Rajah in a publication of some kind and that her efforts attracted the attention of Templer, who had been unable to fulfil his own ambition of writing the Rajah's life. He was able to revise the last chapters of her manuscript before his death, after which his widow gave her access to his papers.

St. John first became aware of this rival enterprise when Miss Jacob's work was published as a series of articles in the *Monthly Packet* in 1873-74 under the title "The English Raja." Unperturbed by this "very slight compilation," he told Grant in December 1874 that he was not impressed by Miss Jacob's literary skills. When her book was advertised in 1876 he wrote: "I am glad it is coming out, as it may give me some information about the early life [of the Rajah]. I have no fear of its interfering in any way with my book, as mine will be a real life of the Rajah in Borneo and not a series of extracts connected by intervening paragraphs...." As it happened, the book revealed very little of Brooke's early life and this remained a problem for St. John. On the positive side, Miss Jacob's extensive use of quotations from Brooke's writings persuaded him that this was something he should avoid. Her book was "too long and wordy and too full of extracts to be readable."

In May 1877 an event occurred which tested St. John's loyalty to the Rajah. In a speech in the House of Commons about the atrocities recently committed in Bulgaria, William Gladstone compared them with the "battle" of Beting Marau at the mouth of the Saribas River in July 1849. On that occasion more than five hundred lightly-armed Dayaks were killed by a combined Sarawak and Royal Navy force led by Admiral Arthur Farquhar and a staggering £20,700 in pirate "head money" was subsequently paid out to the sailors by the Admiralty Court in Singapore. Writing to Charles Grant after reading a report of Gladstone's speech, Bishop McDougall complained of St. John's failure to speak up publicly for his former patron: "I have been expecting you to open fire.... You know more about the thrice confuted lies against the old Rajah than any man, except St. John perhaps, though one can expect no good from him, and I s[hould] not wonder if Gladstone got hold of him. Though he owed every thing to the Rajah he had not the pluck or the honesty to come forward like a man and vindicate his old patron's memory which he c[ould] do so well if he chose." St. John had been present at this overwhelmingly one-sided "battle" and had given evidence about it to the Singapore Commission.

In July, McDougall wrote again to Grant after Gladstone had elaborated on his charges in the columns of the *Contemporary Review*: "It seems that St. John has been in communication with Gladstone. Why does he not stick up for his old Master who *made him & spoilt him?* ... I cannot help feeling savage with a varmint who first calumniated a man and then makes money out of his lies by defending them in a review which pays him well." Ironically, it was the Bishop himself who came to the Rajah's defence in a letter to *The Times*, thus earning Charles Brooke's gratitude. If St. John preferred to communicate with Gladstone privately, as he had done during the Commission crisis in 1854, there is no evidence for it.

By May 1878, St. John had completed his manuscript. Writing to Charles Grant, he asked him to arrange for its publication by William Blackwood and Sons. The advantage of using the Edinburgh publishers was that they "would not mind any attack on Gladstone" and were associated with the Conservatives whose foreign policy St. John strongly supported at that point. Leaving it to Grant to negotiate the terms of publishing the manuscript, he told him: "I am not satisfied with it, but it is the best I can manage under the circumstances." "Blind worshippers of the Rajah" would not be satisfied, of course, but he had tried to "present him as he appeared to me." He would have preferred a re-write, but "another ten years might pass without it being completed."

On the two main areas of sensitivity—the disinheritance of Brooke Brooke and the controversy over the Borneo Mission—he felt that he had written "in a Christian spirit," although even here his reference to McDougall was hardly in that vein: "I have treated the Brooke incident in as delicate a manner as I could and I do not think that any one will be pleased or displeased with it. I could not avoid touching on it, after Miss Jacob's reference to it: in fact complete silence would have done more harm than good. You will not like my reference to the Bishop—but then I must have a hit at one of my enemies and he is the fattest and being alive he can defend himself."

While seeking Grant's assistance with its publication, the only changes he authorised him to make to the manuscript at this point were the re-arrangement of chapters and the correction of proper names. "I don't want any statements of mine altered," he told Grant, "because I am responsible for them." He hoped that Grant would be able to arrange for the publication of British Consul-General H.T. Usher's official report on Sarawak as an appendix. Some time earlier he had written to their old contemporary, Hugh Low, now Resident of Perak in Malaya, asking him to contribute a background chapter but had received no reply. Also to be appended was "Hints to Young Out-station Officers from the Rajah," a brief set of notes by James Brooke which provide some useful insights into his philosophy of native government. Finally, St. John asked Grant to locate the portrait of the Rajah as a young man which had previously been in the possession of his sister, Mrs Savage, and arrange for "an exact reproduction" to be made as an illustration.

The frontispiece of the book was to be a reproduction of the original portrait by Grant's uncle, Sir Francis Grant, R.A., which was purchased by St. John in July 1877 and subsequently donated by him to the National Portrait Gallery. "If I can bring my book out," St. John told Grant, "your uncle's picture would add to its chance of success." Painted in late 1847 when Brooke made his triumphant visit to London, it contributed greatly to his popular image as a dashing adventurer and patriot in the maritime tradition of Raleigh and Drake. An engraving based on the portrait was published in the *Illustrated*

*London News* and was displayed in shop windows as pop star photographs are today. Indeed, it remains one of the icons of British imperialism in its romantic mid-nineteenth century phase.

That Sir Francis Grant exercised his artistic licence to a considerable extent can be gathered from the remarks of one disinterested contemporary. J.H. Williamson, who met him at Mivart's Hotel in January 1848. On the fly leaf of his copy of Mundy's book (which also used the engraving), he wrote: "The portrait in this book is not at all like him. He appeared about Fifty Years of Age, rather sligh[t] figure with most intelligent expression of countenance." Strangely, Brooke never acknowledged his debt to Grant, the leading portrait artist of his day, who had made him a present of the painting.

Charles Grant duly wrote to William Blackwood submitting the manuscript and telling him that there were some passages "which would require to be modified. I mean some which are rather too penned [i.e., barbed]." Writing to St. John to request his permission to make the necessary changes, he told him: "I think (with the reservations which follow) the biography is excellent, at any rate it interested me as a witness of the Rajah's work from 1845 till his death. I cannot judge so well whether it will interest the general public, though I *think* it will. But notwithstanding the omission of several paragraphs at the suggestion of a judicious friend, there are still several [references to] personalities which would require to be deleted or modified before I could undertake what you require. These might not *harm* the persons reflected upon, but they would give needless offence and assuredly mar an otherwise good biography."

John Templer ought not to be referred to as a "clever, fussy little man," nor the first managing director of the Borneo Company Ltd. as an "irredeemable blockhead"; the Revd Chambers' wife ought not to be ridiculed. However, "the one almost insurmountable difficulty" for Grant in preparing the manuscript for publication was its treatment of Bishop McDougall who had sided with Brooke Brooke during his dispute with the Rajah: "It is in fact not part of the Biography [he told St. John] but rather a defence of the chapter on missions in your former work and as it stands is an illustration of the truth that those who cast the first stone are the most aggrieved when paid back in their own coin."

St. John agreed to most of Grant's suggestions with good grace but there were problems in accepting those relating to McDougall: "If you read over your observations calmly. I think you will acknowledge that you have treated me with scant courtesy. I do not particularly care to revive old scores, but I have reasons for being dissatisfied with the Bishop of which you know nothing."

There was also the problem of Mrs Chambers: "If you saw [James] Brooke's letters about Mrs. Chambers you will find he calls her the impersonation of 'envy, hatred and malice and all uncharitableness' and she did nothing but mischief." Nevertheless, he gave Grant permission to make the suggested changes: "I always looked upon you as a man of the strictest honour, and I could not give a greater proof than trusting you with the revision of *my* view of the Rajah's life. In striking out anything you may think offensive to your friends, be careful not to weaken the impression I wish to convey—that the Rajah was one of the noblest Englishmen that ever lived."

St. John also indicated that "one judicious friend had advised me to say nothing disagreeable about Templer and the young Rajah. I would carry out that wish as far as possible." Templer, who sailed with Brooke to China in 1830, and been his closest friend

and confidant and the enigmatic reference may suggest that their relationship was at least latently homosexual. Although James proposed marriage to a young woman at Bath and subsequently claimed an illegitimate son, his real affinity was for the young men with whom he surrounded himself in Sarawak. This is not a subject which a nineteenth century writer could have been expected to broach, but it is curious that James Brooke's most recent biographer, Professor Nicholas Tarling, has not seriously addressed it. What he describes as the "strangeness" of the Rajah's relationship with Baroness Coutts (we have already noticed that he liked to call her "Missus") has been attributed by a more sceptical historian to their shared interest in young men. It seems more plausible, however, that she was both a wife and a mother figure for him.

In mid-March 1879, Grant told St. John that after a delay of almost a year Blackwood's had agreed to publish the revised manuscript and that he would now have to consult their correspondence and his critical notes "as I feel in having undertaken the revision a sense of considerable responsibility and difficulty. Anyhow you must not hold me responsible or ever name me, for if I use the pruning hook in the manner you have authorized, I shall be careful not to introduce anything. All that will be necessary in this respect I fancy will be some slight alterations where connecting links are necessary between expunged passages and modifications here and there." Grant went about his work in a careful and judicious way, sending St. John many pages of detailed notes on the latter's responses to his original comments and on the way he had dealt with these in his editing.

An example of how Grant toned down St. John's treatment of McDougall can be seen in a comparison of the two following passages:

The poor Bishop who though a splendid surgeon and physician had little useful knowledge of anything else, thought himself in another world and was speedily lost when he attempted to give us, for example, a popular idea of free will and predestination and tried to reconcile the two. Finding that we were not silenced by his authority he *growled*, so that we had to suspend our talks when he was there.

Bishop McD (of whom I have already spoken) when he joined in the discussions did not by his arguments or his tone give encouragement to the enquirers.

Grant and St. John also had some correspondence about references to the second Rajah, Charles Brooke, with whom St. John had once been on friendly terms. Describing him as "but a poor stick, and incapable of developing anything," St. John had earlier written that due to Charles' "insufferable conduct and stupidity," he himself would not mind taking over the government of Sarawak. He was also critical of Charles' shabby treatment of Brooke Brooke's only surviving child, Hope Brooke, whom he had refused to support. In response to Grant's urgings, he allowed him to modify his remarks about the second Rajah, while continuing to damn him with faint praise: "K[nox] very justly remarked in a note he wrote to me—that the Rajah would not have been pleased at my running down the present Rajah in any way, and as it would do no good, and might do harm, I wish you would take the sting out of any thrust at that gentleman. There can be no doubt, but that Sarawak is a success, and that it owes something to him."

When he subsequently wrote, "As we are all in a Christian frame of mind, soften anything disagreeable in my references to the present Rajah, or omit it as it would render future negotiations more difficult," Grant noted that it was "about the most difficult job that a man in South America could give to another at the antipodes." Grant had himself cut off all communication with Charles Brooke in 1869 over the latter's refusal to support Hope Brooke.

One of Grant's excisions had more to do with the proprieties governing relationships between men during the late Victorian era than other sensitivities. In his description of his parting with the Rajah at Torquay in April 1867, St. John had written: "...as I bent over and kissed him I felt that it was for the last time. As I reached the door he called me back, kissed me again and I saw the tears falling, and I could see that he also felt that it was our last adieu."

This might have been acceptable behaviour in the early Victorian era but an increasingly censorious attitude to men's expression of emotions meant that by the late 1870's it was *infra dig*. "I fear your critics will show it to be contrary to British taste," he told St. John. Scoring out the references to kissing as "too sensational Nelsonic," and "best left out," Grant was referring to an incident (familiar to every English school child) when the mortally-wounded hero of Trafalgar called on the captain of the *Victory* to "kiss me, Hardy." He was also removing evidence of a genuine affection between St. John and the Rajah which was surely significant.

By 29 March 1878 Grant had completed his task. Writing to St. John with details of his final revisions he concluded:

Now I have done. Without having conceded your views regarding your many enemies, I have endeavoured to modify them that you may be saved the irritation of reviewers who would be quick enough to detect personal animosity—to the prejudice of biography and Author—and you must not abuse me if in doing my best, I have either failed in the task I undertook, or have used too plain language in expressing. I am in some hope however that my efforts will merit your approval. In the sheets I have sent you the alterations may at first sight appear considerable, but in reality compared with the size of the task they are not so ...I have just read all your letters over again and see that no one man could have given another greater *carte blanche* than you have done—to alter, amend or omit—and I only hope I have not abused the confidence.

The one tinge of regret that Grant felt was about his treatment of St. John's references to Charles Brooke. He had since learnt that the Rajah, who had been staying for some time with his wife and two sons at his newly acquired property in Wiltshire, had seen "little or nothing" of his relatives. "Had I known sooner I might have been induced to 'soften' less," Grant confessed. "But no harm is ever done in that direction."

When the first proofs of the book became available in early July, Grant sent copies to St. John but there was insufficient time for the latter to make corrections. One amusing mistake consequent on this was the typesetter's mis-reading of "Mrs" as "Mr" so that St. John's warm description of Harriette McDougall was lavished instead on the Bishop: "Mr McDougall exercised more influence over the European Inhabitants than any one before

or since, it was a happy party until many years later when the demon of discord entered there." To do him justice, St. John saw the humour of this. He was also properly appreciative of Grant's editorial efforts. After receiving the last proofs, he wrote to him: "I cannot help repeating how obliged I am at the great trouble you have taken with the book—it must have been a labour of love. Your alterations have been very judicious, and no one will I think be offended, at least not much offended."

Writing to Grant from Perak in November 1879 when the book had already appeared, Hugh Low complained that "nearly all thoughts about Borneo [have been] driven out of my head by the very hard work and responsibilities and [illeg.] which have fallen upon me." Consequently he had been unable to contribute the background chapter St. John had requested, a response which hardly warranted the latter's sharp comment on the forwarded letter that it was "what might be expected from so selfish a man."

In January 1880 William Blackwood reported to Grant that the book was selling "steadily but not in large numbers." He thought that there was a possibility of a second edition and St. John subsequently welcomed this as an opportunity to show off his knighthood with a new title page. He had also prepared a preface some time earlier against such a contingency. However, the second edition never eventuated.

Predictably enough, the book was the subject of a long and generally favourable review article by Alexander Knox in *Blackwood's Magazine*. A former leader writer on *The Times*, Knox had been an intimate friend and supporter of James Brooke, attending his funeral at Sheepstor in Devon in June 1868. Needless to say, he took a highly personal interest in the way the Rajah's life was portrayed. He observed that while St. John possibly knew him better than anyone else, this had resulted in a somewhat over-critical assessment of his achievement:

He was deeply attached to the Rajah—nobody was better acquainted with his history, public and private—and no doubt it would have been impossible to find amongst his followers a more qualified man. We notice, as a characteristic of the book, and as showing how honestly Mr St. John has endeavoured to perform his task, that whilst full and ample justice is done to his noble qualities, the smallest foible of the Rajah is duly registered. The poor man was not clever at keeping accounts and double entry—he is not excused an error in vulgar fractions. He was over-indulgent to the middies and youngsters about him: one would almost imagine at times in these pages that we were reading the life of the great Mr Midshipman Easy.

When the chief and the secretary differ on more important matters, the chief is in the wrong. After laying the book down we are really not sure which could give the other checkmate at chess. In a word, the Rajah was the Rajah, but Mr St. John was the "guide, philosopher and friend." We are glad to notice these little points, for they afford a fair presumption that Mr St. John has honestly endeavoured to give us a true picture of the man—weaknesses, errors and all. He has, in a word, painted the Rajah as Oliver Cromwell wished to be painted, but he has paid great attention to the wart.

According to Knox, the least reliable section of the book dealt with Brooke's time in Sarawak before 1848, notably his role in the Sarawak Malays' rebellion against Brunei and his operations against piracy. Dismissing St. John's account of the rebellion as reading "like the story of a Christmas pantomime," Knox also rejected his criticism that the Rajah should have supported the rebels against Brunei rather than assisting Brunei against them. Glossing over the disputes with Brooke Brooke and Bishop McDougall and dismissing Joseph Hume, Richard Cobden and other parliamentary critics as "two or three of the most persevering bawlers in the country," Knox was yet another victim of the Rajah's powerful charm: "There was in the man to the last a something so gracious and 'winning,' that, in the old Roman phrase, he seemed to 'play around your heart.' You could have no harsh or unkindly thoughts in the presence of one who appeared not to know the meaning of the word."

Although he was in a much better position to be aware of them, St. John failed to acknowledge the guileful and manipulative qualities of the Rajah and his capacity for cold vindictiveness. John Grant, laird of Kilgraston and Brooke Brooke's father-in-law, was understandably loyal to Brooke Brooke but his description of the Rajah as "an unscrupulous liar" was not without some foundation.

The *Saturday Review* liked the book, observing that St. John had only attempted to "give a general idea of Brooke's life ... a task rendered sufficiently arduous by many of the topics with which he had to deal." Altogether, he had "related with admirable simplicity, clearness, and vigour, the story of a life on which Englishmen of future generations will dwell with unalloyed satisfaction and justifiable pride." Predictably, however, the topic which dominated the review was Brooke's acquisition of power and his campaign against the Borneo pirates. It was this that he was remembered for. The rest of his career, after all, was of progressively diminishing interest after this early heroic phase. As a freelance imperialist, his exploits had given rise to the use of the term "Sarawhacking" to describe similarly unorthodox acquisition of territory by Europeans in Asia, Africa and the Pacific. They inspired Rudyard Kipling's parable of imperialism in his story "The Man Who Would Be King" and later novels by Owen Rutter, Nicholas Monsarrat and George MacDonald Fraser in his Flashman series.

St. John discounted the suggestion by his old enemy the *Guardian* that Gladstone might be upset by his criticisms:

The *Guardian* is angry at my attacking Gladstone, but he is not angry, as he has written to me by this packet about the book. He remarks that 'I have myself written words about Sir James Brooke which may serve to show that the difference between us is not so wide as might be supposed, and I freely admit that what I have questioned in his acts has been accepted by his legitimate superiors—the Government and the Parliament'. He promises to examine the work with care; if he does so, I fancy that he will not be over pleased with some of the remarks.

He was also dismissive of the personal reactions reported to him by Grant, including those of the second Rajah who was said to have observed that "it was written for the glorification of Mr St. John and made the hero of the Memoir contemptible." "As I did not write my book to please Charles Brooke, I do not care for his opinion. You knew that he refused me all help, and pushed Miss Jacob to bring out her book before mine."

He was more sensitive to criticism of his ability as a writer, telling Grant in January 1880 that the notice in the *Saturday Review* "would comfort me under twenty such notices as that in the *Scotsman*." The *Scotsman* thought that the book was

...undoubtedly the most complete and authoritative record of the Rajah's public career that has yet been given to the world.... From actual personal experience and observation, and from documentary evidence, he has been able to compile a narrative of the Rajah's public career which may be accepted as accurate. It deserves, also, to be called impartial, for though Mr St. John is a warm admirer of Brooke's character and work, and though he enters into an elaborate vindication of those phases of his policy which aroused hostile criticism in this country, he never attempts to distort or colour facts, and, moreover, he never pretends that the Rajah was faultless.

The sting in the review was its reference to his lack of literary artistry:

It might have been thought a difficult feat to make the story of Rajah Brooke—a story as full of strange adventure, sudden turns of fortune, and thrilling incidents as any ever conceived by the most imaginative of fictionists—dry, prosaic, and uninteresting in the telling; but this feat Mr St. John has successfully accomplished. The art of word painting is not his. His book reads like a long Foreign Office despatch. He seldom attempts description, and when he does, though the reader may be sure that there is accuracy of detail, there is nothing more. Consequently it is not at all likely that this will be a popular or widely-read book, but people who are wishful to be thoroughly informed respecting the early history and present circumstances of Sarawak will hold it in deserved respect.

*The Times*, too, was less than enthusiastic:

We can hardly say that Mr Spencer [sic] St. John has made the most of a romance of modern adventure, but unquestionably, from the ample materials at his disposal, he has written an interesting life of a most remarkable man; and though he was the protege and intimate friend of the Rajah, he has written it with very creditable impartiality.

Both newspapers took the opportunity to reflect on the bitter debate of the early 1850's about Brooke's policies and to conclude that right had generally been on his side. For *The Times*, he was a Robert Clive born after his time.

A little surprisingly, the book was ignored by other leading journals, such as the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review*, which might have been expected to take an interest, and St. John must have been privately disappointed. In his letter to Grant of January 1880 he rejected the suggestion made in two or three reviews that the book had been designed for his own self-enhancement: "The reviewers are no

doubt right when they say that the style is cold, but that I ever intended to place myself on a higher pedestal than the Rajah is absurd. I look upon him as the bravest, best and most noble man I have ever known familiarly, and certainly I do not place myself above the first footstep around his pedestal."

Perhaps the relative dearth of reviews reflected the disappointment of an expectation that St. John ought to have glorified the Rajah. However, he thought it was more a matter of Sarawak having dropped out of the news: "It must be confessed that my book was rather a failure. In fact after the death of the Rajah all interest in Sarawak ceased, as Charles Johnson is not a man to excite any sympathy. However, it was a duty done."

As the *Saturday Review* pointed out, St. John's *Life of Sir James Brooke* is uniquely authoritative because it is the only biography written by someone who knew him and shared in his work. For the most part it is a judicious and dispassionate account of his official career and achievements. As a protege and friend, however, St. John drew a veil over the least creditable parts of the story—the Rajah's actions during the Chinese Rebellion of 1857, his disinheritance of Brooke Brooke and his negotiations with a number of European governments for the sale of Sarawak. There are times, too, when St. John is at least disingenuous about his own crucial role, as in his reference to the memorandum he wrote to the Governor of Singapore, Colonel Oliver Cavenagh, about the Rajah's efforts to sell Sarawak. This was shown to Brooke Brooke by Cavenagh and precipitated his break with the Rajah. When St. John subsequently accused Cavenagh of "treachery," he was only attempting to obscure his own duplicity.

No other reason is given by St. John to explain the failed relationship between uncle and nephew, although he and Grant were both aware of events as early as 1858 which led Brooke Brooke to distrust the Rajah. While giving Brooke's father-in-law, John Grant, a written assurance that Brooke was his heir, he at the same time employed Brooke to trace the man he claimed to be his illegitimate son and subsequently spoke of taking him out to Sarawak. Charles Grant himself put this down to the mental imbalance which the Rajah had first demonstrated during the Chinese Rebellion. Another example of St. John's economy with the truth is his account of the Mukah affair of July 1860 when Governor G.W. Edwardes of Labuan failed to prevent the Brookes from seizing the prosperous sago-producing area from Brunei.

One of the people best qualified to criticise the book was Paul F. Tidman, a Borneo Company employee who had served in Sarawak from early 1857. Together with his superior, Ludwig Helms, he was one of the few independently employed and minded Europeans in Sarawak who could write about the Rajah "without fear or favour." In a letter to Charles Grant in February 1883, he described St. John's book as "untruthful as regards the [Chinese] Insurrection and the quarrel with Brooke [Brooke]." However, in spite of encouragement to do so, he could not see the point of "disposing of these falsehoods" in any easily-forgotten journal article. He hoped to write his own book about Sarawak "from the abdication of James Brooke," but nothing more appeared in print than his account of the Chinese Rebellion in Helms' *Pioneering in the Far East* published in the previous year.

Although *The Life of Sir James Brooke* was not a commercial success, it no doubt added a certain gloss to St. John's successful diplomatic career. In March 1881 he was knighted for his intervention in the war between Peru and Chile and in May 1883 the Foreign Office sent him to Mexico to negotiate the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Britain. In the following year he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico, serving there until 1893 and subsequently in Stockholm until his retirement to Camberley, Surrey, in 1896. In 1894 he had been made G.C.M.G. Little is known about the last fourteen years of his life but it seems likely that poor health prevented him from travelling. He did not, for example, become an active member of the Royal Geographical Society which he had first joined in 1862. Instead, he occupied himself in editing some essays on Shakespeare produced by a relative and in writing two books of loosely fictionalised Borneo adventures under the *nom de plume* of Captain Charles Hunter, R.N. He never could get Sarawak out of his blood.

In April 1899 St. John married Mary, the daughter of an Indian army officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Macnaghten Armstrong, C.B., who survived him when he died on 2 January 1910. There were only brief obituaries in *The Times* and the *Morning Post* and even the *Sarawak Gazette*, which should have made an effort, was content to reprint the latter of these. Not even the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society noted his passing. Altogether, for reasons which may by now be apparent, St. John seems to have had very few friends,

Like Hugh Low, however, whose personal life paralleled his own in many ways, he maintained links with his earlier family. After returning to England in late 1860 he apparently sent money to Labuan for their support. Dayang Kamariah subsequently went to Singapore to live with another European but returned to Labuan where she was the victim of a disgraceful persecution by the odious Governor John Pope-Hennessy in his vendetta against Hugh Low. According to Pope-Hennessy's successor, Governor Henry Bulwer, Kamariah "was not a virtuous woman, but certainly not a bad woman." Possibly as a result of Pope-Hennessy's efforts, she went back to Singapore and died there not long afterwards. Their one surviving child, Sulong, was born in Kuching during the Chinese Rebellion and attended the missionary W.D. Gomes' school at Lundu. In 1866 St. John arranged for him to go to England for training as a civil engineer and then persuaded Hugh Low to find him a government job in Perak. What happened to him subsequently is not known.

St. John was an intelligent and determined man whose powerful ambition was tempered by an awareness of what he himself called his "deficiencies in education and manner." Keeping his emotions under tight rein for the most part, his odd demeanour led many people to regard him as a "cold fish," although this would have been a much more accurate description of his former friend Charles Brooke. Censorious and humourless to a fault, St. John could never suffer fools gladly. Charles Grant, with typical generosity, told his sister Lucy in December 1860 before the disinheritance crisis that St. John had "a very bad manner and is not what we may call 'one of our set' but he is a true colleague of mine, a true friend with a good heart, kind in sickness and ready in need...." Nothing demonstrated this better than St. John's devoted nursing of the Rajah and other colleagues in 1848 during a fever epidemic and again in 1853 when the Rajah almost died of smallpox. On the other hand, Grant described St. John as having a "meagre knowledge of

what is what in good society—i.e., he expects to be run after when he has taken the trouble to pay his respects.”

It was probably St. John's reserved style which endeared him to the Malays, although his fluency in the Malay language must have helped a great deal. He was candid enough to say later that “the good treatment I received in most parts of Borneo arose from the Rajah having called me his adopted son, and not because I was Consul-General.” From all accounts he was highly regarded in Brunei, where he was on close terms with both the Temenggong (later Sultan Hashim) and James Brooke's old adversary, Indera Mahkota Shahbandar Mohammed Salleh ibn Pengiran Sharnayuda (“the Mahkota”), whom he described as “the most talented man I met in Borneo.” Nevertheless, in his book he cast Mahkota as arch-villain in the drama which resulted in Brooke becoming Rajah in 1841.

St. John had a profound admiration for James Brooke, who seems to have been the one person ever to inspire his loyalty and love. He also acknowledged the Rajah's enormous influence over him when he admitted in 1863: “I am very determined and confirmed in my opinions when alone, but when the Rajah is present I have little will of my own.” Despite all this, he wrote his biography in the measured style of a diplomatic acquaintance rather than a personal friend. St. John was aware of this coolness, telling Charles Grant in January 1880 that his official work had left its mark on him: “The habit of despatch writing is not conducive to ornamental literary work, as we are expected to explain a subject in the fewest words possible. I wrote last year between 300 and 400 despatches, besides keeping up a correspondence with neighbouring Legations and my nine Vice Consuls. No wonder my hand refuses to write more.”

From his letters, however, it is clear that St. John was capable of expressing himself with some warmth when powerful negative emotions were dominant, as with his vindictive references to the Bishop and Mrs Chambers. He also wrote waspishly of the Brooke family who probably resented his intimacy with James: “The Rajah has an unfair share of great and good qualities, as he appears to have deprived all his family of their portions, and left them ill-mannered, ignorant, selfish, grasping and ungrateful.”

From the viewpoint of patriotic and politically conservative contemporaries, St. John was not well cast in the role of biographer to the romantic hero of early Victorian Britain. Something more Carlylean purple was wanted. For later generations, his careful and measured opinions have proved more useful than the hagiography some of his critics would no doubt have preferred. It was in response to this expectation that he produced an abbreviated version of the book for Fisher and Unwin's “Builders of Greater Britain” series in 1899. Nevertheless, his *Life of James Brooke* must itself be recognised as belonging to the genre of “court history,” enhancing as it does the historical reputation of the first White Rajah.

Whether it is possible to write a biography of James Brooke which is anything other than an account of his official career seems doubtful. St. John knew him better than anyone else and yet was unable to penetrate his deeper personal motives. And even after his own prodigious work on the original sources over many years, Professor Tarling felt obliged to admit that “hundreds, perhaps thousands of letters later, I find Sir James still elusive, still baffling, and there are many parts of his life which remain obscure.”

Regardless of historians' efforts, the popular legend of James Brooke which St. John helped to foster lives on, notably in Sarawak where this poem was recently penned:

James Brooke arrived in '39  
 Chaos and bloodshed all around  
*Pangeran's* misrule in country and town  
 In Brooke a saviour was found  
 With diplomacy and skillful tact  
 Restored order with peace intact  
 Brooke made an impressive impact  
 Sultan made him Sarawak's Prefect  
 Brooke faced troubled times ahead  
 Piracy and rebellion besieged his state  
 Took initiative 'fore it was too late  
 On his side stood God and Fate  
*Lanun* roamed the Bornean seas  
 Plundering, raping and killing persist  
 Disrupting trade and many lives amiss  
 Shaking the young state with such 'disease'  
 The Royal Navy assisted in the fight  
 Piratical activities were soon put to flight  
 But back in Parliament trouble was in sight  
 Brooke was accused of using enormous might  
 Chinese rebels from Bau added to trouble  
 Kuching town was sacked and reduced to rubble  
 Brooke's Sarawak staggered and nearly crumbled  
 Timely rescue by brave Iban and Charles the able  
 A Malay plot threatened to overthrow the Raj  
 Lack of popular support did not achieve such  
 In spite of coup trusted Malay just as much  
 Through Malay counsel Rajah and the people in close touch  
 Solvency problems beset Brooke throughout his reign  
 Assistance from home came in trickles with appeals in vain  
 True friend in the Baroness alleviated this recurring 'pain'  
 Sheltered the young Sarawak from the financial 'rain'  
 Shattered spirit, tired and old  
 Health and age increasingly took their toll  
 The Rajah left for England bade farewell to all  
 Sadness befell Sarawak when the Rajah breathed no more

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[**Editor's Note:** The two papers that follow form a unit. The first by George Appell represents a relatively brief distillation of arguments that the author has developed over a number of years and which he intends to bring together in the near future in a full-length monograph. The purpose of its publication here is to invite debate and a further marshalling of evidence, pro and con, historical and contemporary, bearing on the issues of land-tenure variability in Borneo. The second paper by Reed Wadley is meant to initiate this debate.]

## THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON TRADITIONAL LAND TENURE AND TREE OWNERSHIP IN BORNEO\*

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### Preface

I am going to review the history of land tenure research in Borneo as best I know it. This is part of a monograph I have been working on for a number of years. If I omit any information or data, if I misstate anything, I would take it as a particular favor, if those of you who know would inform me.

### Introduction

Research on land tenure in Borneo began with the Dutch in the early decades of this century. In the Netherlands and the Netherlands East Indies there developed a field of inquiry on adat law that included the study of village land rights and individual tenure.

While this field of inquiry arose in response to the needs of the colonial administration, it nevertheless spawned a very active scholarly discipline dealing with adat law worldwide that has made major contributions to our understanding of jurisprudence. But the results of this school were largely unknown to the rest of the academic world until the publication in 1947 of the translation of Ter Haar's summary of the extensive inquiries of many scholars on adat law in Indonesia.

### Rungus Land Tenure

I took this summary to the field in 1959 when I began my study of Rungus social structure and economic organization. It gave me a list of possible cultural traits that I might find, and I used it as a basis for questioning headmen on the Rungus adat.

The important aspect of the work of the Dutch adat law scholars is that it clearly outlined the fact that villages in Borneo were jural entities and that their jural personalities varied in interesting ways.

After intensive questioning and study, I found that the Rungus had a system of land tenure previously unreported for Borneo. Each village held rights as a corporate entity, as a jural person, over its territory, as might have been expected from the Dutch work. The Rungus village had clear boundaries and only members of it could cut their swiddens in

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this territory each year. In these fields were planted maize, rice, vegetables, and manioc or cassava. Once the last of these crops were removed, the field area reverted back to the control of the village and could be used again by anyone in the village.

I eventually termed this system of land tenure "circulating usufruct" (Appell 1983a).

I also discovered that the village was a ritual entity in that it could corporately establish a state of goodwill between itself and various gods. And this state of goodwill was backed up by jural sanctions so that violators of it were sued for restitution (Appell 1976).

Another important result of this research was the finding that, as should be expected, the jural personality of the village had developed over time as land had become scarcer (see Appell 1971a). This eventually led to the development of my theoretical position that I have termed "emergent structuralism", which corrects the theoretical errors of the post-structuralists on the origin of social forms (Appell 1974, 1980, 1981, 1984b, 1988).<sup>1</sup> In this I argue that the intersections of behavior in the social structure, the opportunity structure, and the antistructure lead to the emergence of new forms.

### The Village Reserve and the Residual Rights of the Village

The Dutch adat law scholars referred to the village land as the "area of disposal". This suggests that the village has an active hand in the allocation of land for swiddens. In some cases this is more true than in others, but certainly among the Rungus, Iban, and Bidayuh Land Dayak the village is relatively silent on this unless there is a dispute or there are intrusions from nonmembers of the village. Consequently, I suggested that the territory of the village be termed the "village reserve".

There has also been some discussion over the terminology of these village rights (see Ter Haar 1962:81-82; Holleman 1981:XXXIV, 278). Van Vollenhoven refers to the rights over the village reserve as *beschikkingsrecht*, which literally translates as the "right of disposal". Holleman (1981), following recent developments in adat law studies now translates this as "right of avail". In my opinion this leads into the intellectual cul de sac of concepts from western jurisprudence. Consequently, I have preferred to use the term, following Goodenough (1951:34) "residual rights", to refer to these village rights.

### The Nature of Jural Entities

The work of the Dutch adat law scholars never fully addressed the problem of the criteria by which jural entities can be distinguished. There has been some discussion over possible terminologies (see Holleman 1981:XLII, 43). However, as a result of trying to understand the nature of tree ownership among the Rungus I was forced to develop what I hope are more precise concepts for delineating the nature of jural entities and their social counterparts, which are critical for understanding the locus of land rights (see

<sup>1</sup>The post-structuralists argue that social forms are generated by the sum total of decisions and transactions. But these do not generate forms in the social structure, that is the jural order. They only generate forms in the opportunity structure. To bring new social forms from the opportunity structure into the realm of the social structure requires a second level order of event, a reflexive event by the members of the society scanning their own opportunity structure and deciding that social structural change is in order. These new forms are then encoded into the social structure by a legitimizing act or relegated to the antistructure as deviance by a representative body of members.

Appell 1971a, 1983b, 1984a). In other words it is important to distinguish whether rights lie with a corporation, or with a corporate group, or with individuals, who may in some cases be able to join together to take jural action as a jural collectivity. This is rather complex, and perhaps outside the scope of this paper, so I will not discuss this matter further.

#### Research on the Land Tenure of the Iban and the Bidayuh Land Dayak

In the late 1960s I began a comparative study of land tenure and tree ownership among Borneo societies. At that time the only available data from in-depth studies of specific groups came from the work of Derek Freeman (1955a; 1970, orig. 1955) in his study of Iban swidden agriculture and Iban social organization and the research of Bill Geddes (1954a, 1954b) on Bidayuh Land Dayak social organization, in which he included important information on land tenure. These systems differed markedly from the Rungus.

This research resulted in a manuscript entitled *Observational Procedures for Land Tenure and Kin Groupings in the Cognatic Societies of Borneo* that I finished in 1971 and then circulated over the succeeding years to anyone who was planning on doing research in Borneo and who might be interested in this subject.

In this I reanalyzed the very detailed research of Geddes and Freeman and reached some conclusions on the basis of their data that enlarged on their analysis. Consequently, I sent my analysis to them for a critical review. They did not disagree with my conclusions.

#### The Iban and Bidayuh Village as Jural Entities

Neither Freeman nor Geddes explicitly dealt with the jural personality of the village. They were also in ignorance of the concept of the village "right of disposal", which had intrigued the Dutch scholars in their study of Indonesian land tenure since the early 1900s. But being extremely thorough field workers, they did provide the data whereby we can look at this aspect of the Iban and the Bidayuh village and reach some useful conclusions on their traditional land tenure systems.

The interesting point, however, is that while both Freeman and Geddes provided empirical data on the function of the village in the property systems of the Iban and Land Dayak, they also at the analytical level seem to have denied the village's place in the property system in unusual terms. Thus, Freeman writes (1970:104, orig. 1955):

To what extent then is the long-house community as a whole, a corporate group? This is a difficult question to answer in general terms, but it may be observed, from the outset, that the degree of corporateness is low, and that inasmuch as it does exist it stems from ritual concepts, rather than from collective ownership of land or property.

And also (Freeman 1955a:9):

It is important to realize ... a longhouse community holds virtually no property in communal ownership, nor is there collective ownership of farm land.

Geddes (1954a:59) in a similar vein also wrote with regard to the Land Dayak:

Although much of the land belonging to Dayak villages in the Sadong has many people sharing in its ownership, the system of land tenure is in no sense a communal one, for each of these persons has his or her particular rights defined in such a way that there should be no conflict with the rights of the others.

A decade later when I began my field work in Sabah I was surprised by the concern expressed by some government officers over the idea of "communalism". Among the British at that time there was a belief that this was pernicious and even might be on the edge of communism. To resolve this apparent anomaly between their data and their conclusions I suggested in the manuscript I circulated to Geddes and Freeman (Appell 1971a) that the stress put on the lack of communally-owned property in both their reports to the Sarawak government was in fact a reaction to concerns prevalent in government circles over the mistaken belief in the "communal" nature of nonliterate societies. For it is entirely clear that the village in both the Iban and the Bidayuh cases did have residual rights over its land, that it could and did control access to its village reserve in various matters.<sup>2</sup>

#### Jural Personality of the Village

It is interesting that the jural personality of the Borneo village has been largely overlooked by scholars following World War II, with the notable exception of Morris (1976), who had legal training, in his study of Melanau land tenure.<sup>3</sup> Rousseau (1977, 1978, 1987) has also added to our understanding of the jural personality among the Kayan. But Ter Haar's summary of the studies of adat law makes it amply clear that villages do have jural personalities. At a minimum they hold rights over access to their land, access to their forest reserves, and who may or may not become a member of the village. And Ter Haar's work provides a fine detailed *Notes and Queries* for the study of jural entities and their property rights.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Sather (1980, 1990, personal communication) states that among the Saribas Iban the longhouse village *aum* ("moot") managed rights over land distribution and disputes and could establish reserves for joint use. He also writes that oral narratives suggest that *aum* initiated by regional leaders could also at times project these rights to a wider intra-river area, particularly in situations of migration and inter-longhouse conflict.

<sup>3</sup>Jessup and Peluso (1986:517) are misinformed when they state that Weinstock (1979) found village territoriality to be a common feature of Bornean systems. The scholars of the Dutch *adatrecht* school pointed that out early in the 20th century. I brought this aspect of the jural system of Bornean societies and its entailments for development to the attention of the current generation of scholars in a series of articles based on my own research (see Appell 1971a, 1971b, 1983b, 1986) and in discussion with Weinstock. Unfortunately Weinstock does not quote the source of this information or how he reached this conclusion, although he uses my terminology.

<sup>4</sup>Jessup and Peluso's (1986:518) generalization that in Borneo property rights are forfeited by a person who permanently leaves the village needs elaboration as to what is meant by "permanently". The degree to which leaving a village involves loss of rights depends on the ethnic group involved, their jural organization, the type of property, and

He distinguishes villages whose membership is based on kinship ties from those in which membership is not dependant on establishing a kinship link. The Rungus village is of this latter type. To become accepted into a village all the applicant has to do is get the headman's approval, and this is based largely on past behavior and character. Critical to delineating this jural aspect of the Borneo village is the distinction between *de jure* and *de facto* kinship units. For example, in some villages the membership may form an overlapping kin network. But it is not necessary to establish a kinship connection to achieve membership. However, among the Bidayuh Land Dayak, the village is neither *de jure* nor *de facto* a kinship unit (see Appell 1971a). The extent to which this holds for other groups in Borneo is not clear.<sup>5</sup>

#### Devolvable Usufruct: Partitionable and Devisable

While the village is a jural entity in Rungus, Iban, and Bidayuh society, with somewhat different personalities in each, the traditional system of land tenure within the village is markedly different. The Rungus have circulating usufruct. Both the Iban and the Bidayuh can establish permanent use rights over an areas by cutting primary forest. And these rights are devolvable.<sup>6</sup> That is, they may be passed on to a successor jural entity.

There are two major types of devolvable usufruct. Among the Iban, if a *bilek* family subdivides, there is a partition of property, including land rights. Therefore, I have termed this particular form, "partitionable usufruct". Rights are held by the *bilek* family as a corporate entity.<sup>7</sup>

the type of rights. For example, among the Bulusu' of East Kalimantan and the Rungus of Sabah, Malaysia, rights to enjoy the profits from fruit trees is not forfeited on leaving a village. With regard to rights to cultivate, Whittier writes that among the Kenyah: "Children moving to other villages, retain a tertiary right to the land, but with land pressure in the area today, it is unlikely that such rights can be activated" (1973:62). Among the Bidayuh Land Dayak, rights to cultivate ancestral lands are not forfeited on leaving a village but only the right to activate those rights without permission of the village headman or without returning to the village to reside (see Appell 1971a).

<sup>5</sup>Jessup and Peluso (1986:518) in their discussion of Borneo village structure mistakenly claim that the Borneo village is a kinship unit. But they do not distinguish whether it is a *de jure* kinship unit or only a *de facto* one. (For a discussion of this issue in another context see Appell 1973.)

<sup>6</sup>In Appell (1983a) I referred to land tenure systems with devolvable use rights as "contingent land tenure systems". This proved awkward, which led to the new terminology in Appell (1986).

<sup>7</sup>Cramb (1989) reports that in one relatively new village the Iban have chosen to institute a system of land tenure which might be termed limited circulating usufruct. He reports that when the community comes back to the same farming area in a later year each household will farm in roughly the same place as before. In a sample from the Rungus in 1961 only 9% did (Appell 1965). Cramb unfortunately omits a discussion of the sociological organization of this new community. For example, it would be interesting to know if this community had a denser network of kin ties than other Iban communities. It appears that this is a new variation arising from the impact of social

However, among the Bidayuh, rights to land are obtained through devisal to all the bilateral descendants from the original cultivator of that forest. Hence, I have termed this "devisable usufruct". Unlike the traditional Iban system where a person marrying out of the *bilek* loses his rights to land, among the Bidayuh all descendants get rights to land wherever they reside. Thus, rights do not appear to be owned corporately by a domestic family.

In systems of devolvable usufruct, the right to use these so-called permanent use rights over a tract of land are contingent on a number of factors, such as residence in the village, least use, etc. And these contingencies vary with the particular society. As these contingencies are complicated and vary widely, I shall not go into them here.

The term "permanent use rights" is hardly satisfactory particularly since Drake has pointed out that among the Mualang Dayak these permanent rights only exist until the land has had four consecutive uses by the holders of these rights. The land then reverts to the village reserve (Drake 1982:101-102). Therefore, it would be more appropriate to refer to these rights that may be created in devolvable systems as "durable use rights". The village as a jural entity thus holds what might be called "reversionary rights".

#### The Kenyah System

The Kenyah of Sarawak and Kalimantan have an interesting variation of devolvable usufruct, according to Whittier (1973). Traditionally rights over secondary forest were of three types: primary, secondary, and tertiary. Whittier (1973:62) writes:

The man who first cuts primary jungle gains rights to that parcel of land. Children remaining in the household inherit primary rights to the land. Those who move to other households in the village retain secondary rights, i.e., they may use the land if no primary right holder wants it. Children moving to other villages, retain a tertiary right to the land, but with land pressure in the area today, it is unlikely that such rights can be activated.

It would thus appear that the primary rights are partitionable usufruct and the secondary and tertiary rights are devisable.<sup>8</sup> However, these conclusions of Whittier may be revised as the result of the detailed research by Dr. Francis J. Lian into Kenyah land tenure.

#### The Kayan System

There has been some dispute over the system of Kayan land tenure. Rousseau (1977) claimed that the Kayan had the same type of land tenure system as the Rungus. However, in 1980 when we were traveling in Sarawak and doing research in East Kalimantan, whenever I ran into a Kayan I would enquire about their system of land tenure, and both in Sarawak and in Kalimantan I was told that they did have a system that was essentially devolvable usufruct. Rather than roil the waters, I did not publish on this

change of the colonial and post-colonial period. It is too bad that he did not recognize I was talking about traditional patterns of land tenure before these societies were closely articulated with the world system.

<sup>8</sup>Hudson (1967, 1972) reports a somewhat similar system among the Ma'anyan (see also King 1975).

until I was in Sarawak again in 1986 and learned that a research proposal included the claim that the Kayan had circulating usufruct. I therefore thought it was important to present my evidence (see Appell 1986).

Rousseau (1987) replied to this article. He maintained that in his study of actual usage of land for swiddens in the village of Uma Bawang in the middle Baluy he had found that they indeed had circulating usufruct. But then he went on to say that the situation was different among the Kayan of the Mahakam River in Kalimantan. They did have devolvable usufruct. He added he finds it perfectly reasonable that in the Baram with higher densities of population the Kayan would also have devolvable usufruct, as is also the case in the lower Baluy. But then he states that one of his informants maintained that the clearing of a tract of land produces rights over it in the future.<sup>9</sup>

But Rousseau is contradictory on this matter within his own writings. While he excoiates me for assuming that the Kayan had a single form of land tenure, in 1978 he wrote that "This study is based on fieldwork undertaken in the Baluy area. ... and particularly the village of Uma Bawang ... However, despite regional variations, most of the following description applies to other Kayan groups" (1978:78). He continues, "among the Kayan there is no individual ownership of arable land ... they establish the limits of their own farms without regard to the identity of the previous occupant ..." (1978:83).

Rousseau's conclusions are, furthermore, disputed by Chan (1991), by Mering Ngo (1991), by Antonio Guerreiro (personal communication) and by Makoto Tsugami (personal communication).

But there is some discussion as to whether they have devisable usufruct (Ngo 1991) or devolvable (Chan 1991). It might be that they could have aspects of both systems, as have the Kenyah. Thus, Chan (1991) argues that land rights are forfeited when a individual marries into another household and becomes affiliated with that household. He does not state, however, how this affiliation is decided and then jurally recognized. This is particularly interesting since there is a long period of postnuptial residence of five years in the bride's household. As a household grows from the birth of grandchildren, it may partition. And land rights at that time are divided between the primary household and the partitioning household, with the latter getting less rights to land. At a later date, according to Chan, when the head of the household nears death or dies, land rights are again divided among those who have remained affiliated with the household, with the larger amount going to that child who has cared for the aging parent.

However, if Rousseau is right this variation deserves some form of explanation and raises interesting questions for further research.

<sup>9</sup>It is interesting that Rousseau (1977) also states that for the village in which he worked, an individual has clear rights to cultivate any first and second year growth of his swidden. Thus, the model of devolvable rights lies there, which may provide one answer to Jessup's (1992) question of on what basis are property rights over forest recreated in a situation where there was once low population densities but they are now feeling land pressures. Histories and the logic of thinking about property have to be investigated to discern the mental models on which new decisions may be based.

### Variation in Land Tenure Rules Over Time and Space: Emergent Structuralism and Problems of Intracultural Variation

In (1965, 1971a) I showed how the jural personality of the Rungus village with regard to its rights over land enlarged as a result of growing scarcity. I have attempted to develop a theoretical framework that deals with social processes such as these, which I have called emergent structuralism (Appell 1988). In this, social forms or changes in social forms come into being as a result of intersecting behaviors in three domains: the jural order, or social structure of a society, the opportunity structure, and in the antistructure, the realm of antisocial activity. Dove's (1985) very detailed work on the changes in Kantu' Dayak land tenure provides a nice case of emergent structuralism in which the rules were revised as changes in the opportunity structure occurred as a result of the prohibition of warfare and the increased scarcity of land. The Kantu' land tenure system evolved from (1) circulating usufruct to durable tenure by households, without partition or limitation of time; then (2) to durable tenure mixed with areas reserved for circulating usufruct; and (3) finally to a growing shift to partitionable usufruct.

This evolution of change in land tenure requires a revision of my original classification of types of land tenure found in Borneo. See Table One.

TABLE ONE  
TYPES OF LAND TENURE SYSTEMS FOUND IN BORNEO

- 1.0 Circulating usufruct.
- 2.0 Devolvable usufruct.
  - 2.1 Partitionable rights to usufruct.
  - 2.2 Devisable rights to usufruct.

But to what degree do land tenure rules and property rights vary between sections of an ethnic unit? Rousseau (1987), Cramb (1989), and Jessup (1992) have all raised this issue. This is an interesting point, but certainly an unexceptional one. For we all know cultures vary, and some domains vary more than others. For example, clothing style and hair style are perhaps more variable than others under certain conditions. And it is the job of anthropological inquiry to specify these variations and the conditions that lead to them. Here I think the theoretical framework of emergent structuralism will be of use. Certainly, we would expect land tenure, being more fundamental to the economy of a society, to be less variable, or at least variable within limited parameters. As long as an ethnic group shares the same language, certainly they must share the same terms for and concepts about property. And if not, then that is interesting!

Jessup (1992) argues that an assumption of a uniform land tenure system within one ethnic group living in scattered conditions is dubious. This is of course an empirical issue. The boundaries of cultural contours must always be drawn. To illustrate his point Jessup describes the problem of land tenure briefly in a pioneering Kenyah village in which rights to secondary forest are not recognized because there is an abundance of land. There is nothing exceptional in this since property rights are one indication of scarcity and value. And he raises the interesting question of how does a new community establish rules or make modification to rules under new circumstances. Again this is an empirical question, but we know from anthropological research that tradition has the capacity to reassert itself even after years of abeyance. Would we expect the Kenyah in

with growing scarcity to develop a completely new land usufruct like the Rungus? Or would they be more likely to maintain adat, devolvable usufruct? This is again an empirical question to which the new structure emerges are of great scientific

view of Jessup, Rousseau, and Cramb is that they make the distinction of rules, that is the social structure, with how these are related to the ecological structure. Furthermore, it is one thing to proclaim and expect this. But it is another thing to establish this with empirical evidence and material from case studies. And neither Jessup, nor Cramb situate their study villages along an ecological gradient. In other words, the degree to which social change has taken place

### Factors Might Have Led to the Development of These Two

two different systems, circulating and devolvable usufruct? What are the differences? In Appell (1971b) I put forth the tentative hypothesis that these factors might play a part. At that point, all we knew was that in areas of high rainfall and circulating usufruct occurred in Sarawak. I hypothesized that the increased rainfall in Sarawak in combination with fertile soils tended to encourage the regeneration of tree cover and the growth of weeds in comparison to the Rungus area. Thus, in Sarawak, weeds are invading the swidden after the first year's harvest, and there is a greater chance for a more complete burn in wet areas than in the Rungus. The economic value in secondary forest which results in the development of durable usufruct rights.

As discussed in the *Borneo Research Bulletin*, that argued this back to the 1970s, reviewed skillfully by Henry Chan (1991).<sup>10</sup>

my work. It is amusingly dehumanizing to be treated as a point, what has happened to scholarship? Cramb (1989) is an environmental determinist just because I raised the "tentative hypothesis" that "the differences in these systems [of land tenure] are due in part by differences in ecological factors." Cramb ignores the empirical research referred to above. Cramb in his critique also moves away from my environmental determinism to an ecological determinism, with land tenure viewed as given for the Rungus (1989:fn.2). I was unaware that I thought environments were deterministic; that ethnographic research on a system of land

Dove (1985), in the most recent analysis of this hypothesis, concludes on the basis of his analysis of detailed data on the Kantu' Dayak that this hypothesis is valid, but that it is also modifiable by historical and socioeconomic factors.

In 1980-81 we worked among the Bulusu' in East Kalimantan (Appell 1985a). The Bulusu' live in one of the highest rainfall areas of Borneo, yet they have a system of land tenure remarkably similar to that of the Rungus. The only difference is that the jural personality of the village is less well developed than that of the Rungus. Thus, contrary to the hypothesis I had advanced (Appell 1971b), the Bulusu' had circulating usufruct.

The Bulusu' have consequently cast into doubt the strength of ecological factors in the development of land tenure systems. It is thus still unclear as to how to explain the origins of these two different land tenure systems. But it would seem to indicate that if there are ecological constraints operating there are also historical factors and as yet undetermined socioeconomic factors that appear to be more potent. Finally, post-marital residence may be a factor inhibiting the development of durable rights. Among the Rungus residence traditionally was uxorilocal, so that a man if he married into another village would have no rights to land if they had followed the practice of recognizing durable rights. With the development of titles to land under the government system of tenure, residence has changed to virilocal residence.

### Research That Needs to Be Done

We have no data on the traditional system of land tenure among wet rice agriculturalists. This is a major lacuna in our knowledge, for in Borneo there are vast areas of wet rice cultivation. This question has been posed about wet rice societies all over the world. But Borneo seems to be among the missing in terms of scholarly inquiry on this subject. However, this is a fascinating subject. Who owns head dams? Who owns rights downstream? How is joint work on the system managed? How are water rights apportioned? How are intervillage disputes over water resolved?

### Conclusion: Possible Applicability of This Research

Under situations of social change and the growth of wealth in cities, there is an erosion of the village land base as the cash-rich city dwellers buy land from the cash-poor farmers. This results in the creation of a landless peasantry, and the flood to the cities of those without the skills, training, or education to move into regular urban employment. And this creates social problems.

Does the traditional system of land tenure in Borneo suggest to planners an alternative approach, a means whereby these social dislocations can be minimized and social stability achieved in the rural areas? Can a system be devised whereby the strengths of a stable rural population can be maintained?

## APPENDIX I

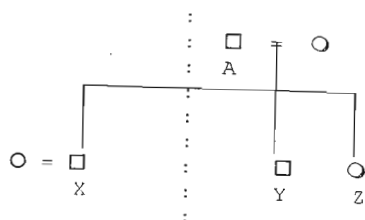
OBSERVATIONAL PROCEDURES FOR DISTINGUISHING  
PARTITIONABLE USUFRUCT FROM DEVISABLE USUFRUCT\*

There are several crucial tests to be applied to distinguish partitionable from devisable usufruct, and corporately held devisable usufruct from individually held devisable usufruct. These tests have to do with the structure of the domestic family at the time of cutting primary forest (see Figure One).

In the case of 1.0, if rights to secondary forest felled by A are devised on his death to the whole set of children, X, Y, and Z, irrespective of the family structure when the rights were created, it is then individually held devisable usufruct. The rights originally created by felling the primary forest were held by A until his death, or until he gave them to his children, and not by the domestic family as a corporate unit.

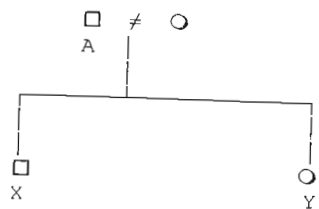
FIGURE ONE: DOMESTIC FAMILY STRUCTURE

1.0



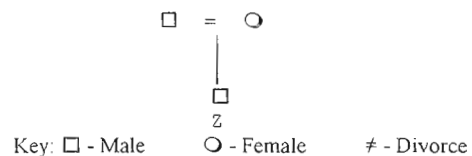
2.0

2.1



\*This is a revised version of Appell (1987), eliminating, I hope, some errors of reasoning found in the original.

2.2



In the case of 1.0, if X relinquishes rights to secondary forest of his natal household on marrying out, it can be either a case of partitionable usufruct or corporate devisable usufruct depending both on the jural locus of the rights created and whether or not the domestic family unit is a perpetual corporate unit or only one of limited life.

It is partitionable usufruct, if X has no rights in primary forest cut by A before (or after) X has married out. X on marrying out gets rights from his wife's domestic family. The domestic family units exist in perpetuity with the locus of the rights lying with them as corporate entities. Then, when Y eventually leaves his natal domestic family with his wife and children to establish his own, as part of the partitioning of his natal domestic family, rights to secondary forest created by his natal domestic family are devolved on Y's new household.

Corporate devisable usufruct is found in instances where the domestic family as a jurally corporate entity holds the rights to the secondary forest, but it has limited life. Therefore, its rights have to be devised at some point. In such an instance the feller cuts the forest as a representative of his domestic family. In the situation of domestic family structure illustrated in 1.0, X would receive on the dissolution of the domestic family only those rights created before he married. Rights created after his marriage while Y and Z were still working in the household would be devised only on them with the dissolution of the domestic family.

Another test for this is in the situation of domestic family structure illustrated in 2.0. Rights to secondary forest felled by A before his divorce (2.1) are not devised on Z and rights to forest felled by A in his second marriage (2.2) are not devised on his death to X and Y.

A further test for this can be used when A dies and X and Y, still not married, are maintaining the economy of their natal domestic family. If X cuts primary forest, then marries, do the rights to the secondary forest still remain with the natal domestic family and are not devised to both X and Y until that natal family is dissolved?

A more complex situation of devisable usufruct rights arises when X and Y are considered to have created preferential rights because they helped their father clear the forest. Referring back to 1.0, Y and Z, as opposed to X, may have a preferential claim to the rights on the basis that they were helping their father during the agricultural years that the primary forest was cut. An example of this type of preferential claim occurs among the Rungus with regard to moveable property purchased while a child was actively farming with his parents (see Appell 1974). In this case the domestic family has only limited life as a corporate unit. Rights lie with the domestic family as a corporate entity of limited life, but those who helped create these rights have a preferential right to receive these once the original domestic family dissolves.



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## VARIATION AND CHANGING TRADITION IN IBAN LAND TENURE

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### Introduction

A number of scholars have written about Iban land tenure (e.g. Cramb 1986, 1989; Freeman 1970; McKeown 1983; Padoch 1982; Sather 1980; Sutlive 1978), focusing on many of the same issues and revealing both commonality and variation. In addition, George Appell has for quite some time studied land tenure in Borneo (e.g. 1971a, 1971b, 1986, 1988) in part using Iban materials. Most recently (1992), he has outlined the historical development of his and other approaches to the study of land tenure.

I take up here some of the issues that Appell and others have touched on, with the material I present showing further similarity and further variation. I address Iban land tenure with regard to the important social units that hold rights in land, land tenure rules and principles, the application of the rules under certain conditions, and finally the notion of what is traditional. My primary focus is on what Appell (1988:44-45) has called the "opportunity structure" (i.e. the realm of individual choices, decisions, and transactions) and to a certain extent the "contrastructure," the domain of rule-breaking and manipulations. This emphasis, of course, does not deny the social structure; that is, the jural order which has been Appell's particular focus in land tenure issues (e.g. 1971a).

### Study Site

The observations I report here come largely from my fieldwork<sup>1</sup> in West Kalimantan, primarily at the Iban longhouse of Wong Garai<sup>2</sup> in Kecamatan Batang Lupar,<sup>3</sup> Kabupaten Kapuas Hulu. Wong Garai is one of 29 Iban longhouses in the district

<sup>1</sup>Field research was conducted between February 1992 and June 1994 and was supported by grants from the National Science Foundation (No. BSN-9114652), Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Sigma Xi, and Arizona State University. It was sponsored in Indonesia by Bapak Drs. Musni Umbaran, M.S. Ed. of the Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Pontianak and by the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia. Thanks to Oona Paredes for her comments on this paper.

<sup>2</sup>Wong Garai is a pseudonym, as are the names of individuals used as examples.

<sup>3</sup>This should not be confused with the Batang Lupar, a principal river in Sarawak. During the Dutch colonial period in West Kalimantan, the border area was referred to as Batang Loepar Landen, and the Iban living there were called Batang Loepar because of their recent origins in Sarawak. The name has been retained by the present Indonesian government. (Some Iban from the area have even commented to me that they should properly be called Batang Lupar Dayaks instead of Iban.)

and is located about six kilometers from Lanjak, the district administrative center and market town.<sup>4</sup>

Wong Garai is composed of 14 households (*bilik*) and had about 98 residents during fieldwork. Within the past 20 years, the longhouse has grown from seven *bilik* to its current number of 14. Four of the new *bilik* were created through partition from old *bilik*, and five *bilik* moved from other longhouses. In 1994 one old *bilik* moved to another longhouse, and one of the in-migrating *bilik* moved back to its natal longhouse.

The longhouse founders originally settled the area in the 1850-60s, having migrated over the preceding years from the upper Batang Lupar (Ulu Ai') in Sarawak. They acquired their present territory of about 24 square km. from the Leboyan Maloh (autonymically Banuaka' Labian) who claimed the old growth forests there. These Iban had requested and were given the land after making formal peace with the Maloh. Over the century and a half of its occupation by Iban, the area claimed by Wong Garai has been traversed, settled, and farmed by a number of other longhouses that have eventually moved on to other places. Even the founding *bilik* of Wong Garai were absent for about ten years at the turn of the century to open up lands in the lower Leboyan.

### Social Units

As has been recognized by scholars of Iban society, there are two principle social units that are important with regard to land tenure concerns, namely the household or *bilik* and the longhouse (*rumah panjai*). The *bilik* is a largely autonomous unit of production and consumption. In many activities, however, it is integrated into the longhouse and becomes dependent on other *bilik* (e.g. Sutlive 1978:39). In observance of the *nengkane' batu* ritual (feeding the whetstones), for instance, the autonomy of the *bilik* is expressed by each preparing its own offering materials and using its own whetstones and other items. The *bilik* are brought together through the common offering that is made in a trough (*dulang*) with each *bilik's* whetstones and other items collected together for the offering period of three days. Economically this integration and mutual dependence is seen, for example, during the planting of hill rice, when members from every *bilik* participate together to plant each *bilik's* rice.

The longhouse is itself a corporate unit (or "jural isolate" in Appell's terminology) in some respects, as Appell (1971:25, 1992:4-5) points out and which Freeman (e.g. 1970:104) downplays. In particular, the longhouse controls access to its territory (*menoa*) by outsiders (cf. Haar 1948:81-94). This is best symbolized by the omen sticks (*kayo' burong*), bundles of which are held by each *bilik* for itself and by the headman's *bilik* for the entire longhouse as its ritual center (*pun rumah*). It was expressed to me this way, "Ke *empu kayo' burong, empu menoa*" (whoever holds the omen sticks holds the territory). The "whoever" here refers to the longhouse.

An example will help illustrate this corporate nature: During the 1993-94 farming year at Wong Garai, a woman (Lidong) from another longhouse requested and received permission to farm on swamp land owned by an old *bilik* (her natal household) in the

<sup>4</sup>Iban make up 65% of the kecamatan population of about 5,000. There is, however, an unfortunate lack of reliable information concerning the number of Iban living in West Kalimantan. King (1985:55) gives a figure of 7,000, while McKeown (1984:63) puts it at 10,000-15,000. This latter estimate agrees with my own recent experience, and I doubt the population is much larger than that.

longhouse. Lidong had married out of Wong Garai, and given the close relationship, it was not likely that her request to borrow land could have been refused. After farming was begun by the entire longhouse, the elders realized that the outsider household had not given them *penti pemali*, a ritual payment said to guard or enclose the soul (*kurung semengat*) after a breach of taboo. A *penti pemali* was required because the outsiders did not (and indeed could not) share Wong Garai's ritual omen sticks and were therefore intruding on the ritual space of the longhouse. If a death occurred among the longhouse members before the payment (of one bushknife, one chicken, one plate, and about 500 rupiah), the outsiders could be fined for the death (*pati nyawa*). Upon being notified, Lidong promptly paid the *penti pemali*.

### Land Tenure Principles

As I have come to understand it from my fieldwork, rights to land among the Iban might be divided into two principle types: (A) rights of control and (B) rights of use. Rights of control involve the right to control access to land and the right to dispose of land. Rights of use involve primary, secondary, and tertiary rights (cf. Appell 1971a:10-39).

The longhouse holds the right to control the access of outsiders to land within its territory. It does not, however, hold the right to control the disposal of all land within the territory. That right is held by the individual *bilik* within the longhouse in land over which each claims the right of control. Unfarmed land (old growth forest, for instance) that is not claimed by any *bilik* may be disposed of (such as sold or given to outsiders) by the longhouse (through consensus of the *bilik* heads). For example, in the 1910-20s Iban living in the upper Leboyan were moved by the Dutch colonial authorities to locations lower on the watershed to keep them under closer watch (see e.g. King 1976:105). One set of these people were relocated from Nanga Galau in the Leboyan headwaters to the territory of Wong Garai, where they were given their own land by Wong Garai and remained as they still do a separate and independent community. (Access to forests within longhouse territories for commercial logging may not apply here because in those cases logging companies make use of contradictory land laws to claim unfarmed lands are technically state lands [see Colfer 1993:75-80]; agreement from the longhouses affected is often nominal.)

*Bilik* hold both rights of use and the right of control. Land in which a *bilik* holds the right of control are also those lands in which it holds primary right of use. Some of these are lands acquired by the *bilik* from farming old growth forest or through partition with natal *bilik*. Other lands might have been given to it by other *bilik*. A *bilik* holding primary right of use in land controls the use of that land by other *bilik*. It also holds the right of disposal in such land which includes the power to transfer both primary right of use and the right of control to another *bilik* within the longhouse or to outsiders. A *bilik* can sell its land to other households (no cases of this occurring) or to outsiders (which has occurred at other longhouses in the area closer to the growing town of Lanjak). Additionally, *bilik* have secondary rights to request the use of land from *bilik* to whom they are related within the longhouse. Tertiary rights of use are those that a *bilik* possesses in land controlled by related *bilik* in other longhouses. (It is often sufficient that one member of a *bilik* be related to a member of another *bilik* for such rights to exist. I am not simply talking here of *bilik* that are related through partition.)

The primary right of use and rights of control over new lands may be acquired by a *bilik* in several ways: As in the past when pioneering cultivation was more prevalent, the plots farmed from previously uncut forest are held by the *bilik* that first cut the forest. Those rights pass on to the inheritors of the *bilik*. Secondary rights of use are retained by related and descendant but separate *bilik* within the longhouse, and tertiary rights are retained by related *bilik* or individuals that move away from the longhouse. Land may also be acquired from another, generally related *bilik* from the same longhouse in the form of a gift: that is, a transfer of the primary right of use and rights of control. A third way to acquire land is through moving to a new longhouse in which the *bilik* has tertiary rights of use through descent: that is, an in-migrating *bilik* may claim rights in land originally claimed by an ancestor of a *bilik* member. It was through this principle that a man named Meringai, after moving to Wong Garai in 1982, claimed primary right of use over land he said was originally farmed by his father's father, Ake' Ilong. The land in question had not been under recent cultivation, and given plentiful forest land elsewhere, no one challenged his claim.

Another important principle of Iban land tenure is that primary and secondary rights of use and rights of control may be lost upon moving away from a longhouse. *Bilik* that move away, however, do retain tertiary rights of use, and their claims to both primary and secondary rights and rights of control may be reactivated upon moving back to the original longhouse. The "abandoned" land has two fates depending on the circumstances. First, a closely related *bilik* may claim primary rights of use and rights of control in the land; it is generally recognized that such *bilik* have first claim to such land (see Padoch 1982:49). Second, if it is land farmed by people in another longhouse that moved away historically, the land is retained by the longhouse in an open pool. McKeown (1983:250) calls this pool *damun lama'*, but in the Wong Garai area this simply refers to any old fallow regardless of ownership. Abandoned land is open to any *bilik* in the resident longhouse to farm and lay claim to in the same way rights in land are acquired in pioneering. At Wong Garai, there has been a sizeable proportion of such land given that several other longhouses have shared its territory over the 150 years of occupation but which have since moved away.

Data on the land use patterns over 15 years at Wong Garai reveal distinctions in the farming of plots that are owned by the *bilik* in question, borrowed from another *bilik*, given by another *bilik*, and claimed through farming of abandoned land. The contrast is readily apparent between the two primary types of land—hill (*bukit*) and swamp (*paya'*) (see Table 1). (The highly fertile but limited high floodplain land [*tanah emperan*] is not considered here.) Farming land owned by one's own *bilik* is more prevalent for swamp land, while being given or claiming abandoned hill land is more frequent than for swamp land. The reasons for this may be that swamp land is limited and thus less likely to change hands. Additionally, *bilik* tend to have access to their own swamp land and are able to farm it at a shorter fallow cycle (2-5 years instead of 10 or more years for hill land), meaning less land is needed to sustain an adequate fallow. Borrowing is equally important and is done in some cases to avoid farming young fallow of one's own land or in order to farm closer to others. This is important for ease of labor exchange and for the reduction in pest pressures. Farming abandoned land (i.e. land in the open pool) is frequent for hill swiddens because it is one important way for new *bilik* to acquire rights to their own land. It is not as important for swamp land largely, I believe, because in the

past abandoned swamp land was quickly claimed by resident *bilik*. Indeed, the incidence of farming one's own land is increased over time for both categories as land that had been given by other *bilik* or claimed from abandoned fields in one year begins to show up in subsequent years as land that is owned.

Table 1. Use Patterns of Swidden Land, Wong Garai, 1979-93

Type of Ownership	Number of Hill Swiddens	Number of Swamp Swiddens
Owned by <i>bilik</i>	74 (46.2%)	127 (76.5%)
Borrowed from other <i>bilik</i>	23 (14.4%)	26 (15.7%)
Given by other <i>bilik</i>	24 (15%)	10 (6%)
Claimed from abandoned land	39 (24.4%)	3 (1.8%)
Total	160 (100%)	166 (100%)

Note:  $\chi^2 = 50.7$ ;  $df = 3$ ,  $p < 0.005$

### Applying the Rules

While the principles of land tenure are rather neat and orderly in the abstract, they are much less so in practice, where rules and precedence are negotiated over time. As people's interest and concerns vary, they use and manipulate the principles set by precedence, create new precedence, and change and add to the rules.

### New *bilik*

*Bilik* that are newly moved into a longhouse have a disadvantage in not having any established primary rights of use or rights of control over land. Meringai, for example, laid claim to some fallowed hill land that he said had been originally farmed by his grandfather, thus converting his secondary right of use into primary right of use and right of control. He could make the claim despite the farming history of the land prior to his move, and given the fairly abundant land in the Wong Garai territory, there were no objections to his claim. In contrast, a *bilik* that moved to Wong Garai some years later had no such ties to claim those same rights in hill land and was left to farming borrowed land or claiming abandoned land. However, the *bilik* head claimed to own (*empu*) land she had borrowed from a now absent *bilik*. The reasoning given was that she had farmed it twice, thus demonstrating a continuing interest in the plot (see Sather 1980:xviii). Her claims were further strengthened because the lending *bilik* had moved away. However, given the outsider status of her *bilik*, claims to land newly relinquished by other *bilik* were tenuous; claims were more secure to long abandoned land where the original owners were highly unlikely to return.

### Categories of land

The Iban in this area distinguish three different categories of farm land—hill (*bukit*), swamp (*paya*), and high floodplain (*emperan*).<sup>5</sup> As the following example shows, different notions of tenure are applied to each type of land.

In 1994 a woman named Empayong moved away from Wong Garai to a nearby longhouse with whom the people of Wong Garai had increasingly tense relations. There was much hushed discussion in the longhouse over what was to become of her land, divided into hill, swamp, and *emperan*. It was generally agreed that her claims to hill land would be relinquished upon her move, but that she would retain control over her swamp land. Some suggested that upon Empayong's move, her son (living in a different and more distant longhouse) would have reduced rights to farm her Wong Garai hill land.

After she had moved to her new longhouse under a cloud, it was agreed by the parties involved (i.e. the elders of both longhouses, Empayong, and the head of her new *bilik*) that her claims to hill land were lost, her claims to her swamp land would be retained, and her *emperan* land would be taken care of (*di-ibun*) by a man at Wong Garai who had been helpful to her in the past. Upon her death, it was assumed that her swamp land would be divided by her son and the *bilik* which had taken her in. The son said later in private that he would fight to gain control of all her swamp land.

This would seem to have settled matters, but Empayong's new *bilik* wanted to farm some fallowed hill land that she had once claimed in the Wong Garai territory. The Wong Garai elders were adamantly opposed to it, saying that her move had resulted in her claims to hill land being lost. She, of course, still retained the tertiary right to farm her old land or anyone else's upon request and agreement, but given the hard feelings that held between the two longhouses, and particularly between Wong Garai and her new *bilik*, such a request was resisted. Had the move been made under more amicable circumstances, her request would most likely have been met with no opposition, as in the previous case of Lidong.

Additionally, there was some disagreement within Wong Garai over the disposal of her *emperan* land. A man from a *bilik* closely related through descent to Empayong's old *bilik* argued that his, as the closest related *bilik*, should retain control over the land. Rights to land were held by *bilik*, he argued, not individuals (referring to the man who had been designated caretaker). An elder later told me that Empayong's *emperan* land had originally been farmed by an ancestor of a *bilik* which had long made its residence in Kelawe', a related longhouse. Even though Empayong had consistently farmed that land, her *bilik* had no rights of control over it, and thus its control could not revert to other *bilik*. Thus a caretaker was selected. This is a twist to rights in abandoned land with

<sup>5</sup> Although the cultivation of hill rice has been "the distinctive feature" of Iban culture (Sutlive 1978:62), swamp rice has also been long cultivated. Wong Garai is a typical case. There the farming of swamp land is not accompanied by any of the rituals that are practiced for hill swiddens. In fact, no rituals at all are done for swamp swiddens, but they have been farming on swamp land for at least 100 years. In contrast, Iban living along the lower Leboyan River have no hill land. Instead the people of Lubok Bandung farm both *emperan* and swamp land with the former being the site of their farming rites and sacred rice (*padi pun*). Further down the river at Meliau, people have no access to even *emperan* land, and make do ritually on swamp land.

absent *bilik* retaining at least nominal control over *emperan* land, in contrast to what is practiced for hill land.

In June 1996, I was able to return to Wong Garai<sup>6</sup> and make further inquiries into this case. Empayong was still living at the neighboring longhouse and farming the swamp land, but the elders of Wong Garai clarified for me that technically the land should be controlled by Wong Garai, but out of pity (*pengasih*) they have let her farm it without opposition. Upon her death, however, that land would revert to Wong Garai control. I suspect that the *bilik* into which she had moved will make a case at that time that since they had taken care of her during later years, they should retain rights in the land. The status of her *emperan* land is not settled either. The Wong Garai headman was unsure what they would decide to do as they had not talked about the issue. This case reveals the continuing negotiations that can occur over years before any sort of settlement is reached.

### Conflict over Principles

Late in my fieldwork, a conflict arose between two sets of people from different longhouses stemming in part from the application of two different land tenure principles: that of claiming forest land adjacent to one's own farm land and that of a longhouse controlling outsiders' access to land within its territory.

In the mid- to late 1970s, Wong Garai (then numbering only eight *bilik*) were selected by a West German mission group for the development of a small-scale irrigated rice project (*sawah*) using some of their swamp swidden land. Because they needed more participants to sustain the project, several related *bilik* from the longhouses of Kelawe' and Engkadan were asked to join. These outsider *bilik* were given land to farm within the Wong Garai territory. They held the primary right of use and some rights of control over the land given to them. There was an express agreement made that the land could not be sold (although this is currently being challenged by a *bilik* from Kelawe'). If a *bilik* went extinct (*punas*) as happened to one from Engkadan in 1993, its *sawah* land would revert to Wong Garai control although relatives of the extinct *bilik* could farm the land upon request to the longhouse.

The *sawah* project lasted a number of years until funding for seed and fertilizer from the mission ran out. The people retained the irrigation ditches and dikes, but took to farming the land as they did other swamp swiddens with a short fallow, local varieties of swamp rice, and no commercial fertilizer. The *bilik* from Kelawe' and Engkadan retained control of their *sawah* land as well. In April 1994, a Wong Garai woman (whose *bilik* had moved from Kelawe' in the early 1980s after the irrigation project ended) reported to the longhouse that several *bilik* from Kelawe' had performed *manggul* rites in the lowland old growth forest (*kerapa'*) abutting their swamp swidden land within Wong Garai territory. These rites are performed before work is begun on new swiddens each year (see e.g. Sather 1992), and the implication here was that those people from Kelawe' were intending to farm into the old forest next to their swamp swiddens.

The elders of Wong Garai were alarmed at this, because according to the agreement for the irrigation project, the plots of swamp land given to outsider *bilik* could be retained, but additional land could not be opened up. One leader said the people of

<sup>6</sup> This work was done while on a project with the Center for International Forest Research in cooperation with Wetlands International and the Indonesian Directorate for Forest Protection and Nature Conservation (PHPA).

Kelawe' (who had no good swamp land within their own territory and whose good hill swidden land was now several hours travel from the longhouse) had realized that Wong Garai swamp land was highly productive and they were rushing to get more (*sida' baru nemu tanah nya' ka' tumbuh padi, ngerebut ka iya*).

A meeting at Wong Garai was called after some time and was attended only by representatives of those *bilik* from Kelawe' that had not performed *manggul* rites. (This was not a formal *adat* hearing [*pekara* or *kara*] as the objective was to avoid a major dispute rather than air one.) Although the meeting was a bit tense, confrontation was avoided as is typical under such circumstances. The people from Kelawe' were not forbidden from farming into the swamp forests (which was what the Wong Garai elders had said was the purpose of the meeting beforehand). Instead they were told not to get into a hurry to open up new land and that it was best if they did it together with people from Wong Garai. Some days later the *manggul* offerings were withdrawn from the forest. It is unlikely, however, to be the end to these problems given the stakes on both sides.

### The "Traditional"

This leads us to consider the question of what is traditional and how tradition is defined. While Appell's model of emergent structuralism does address the important issue of change (1988:45-46, 1992:8-9), there is also a strong focus on what is traditional (1992:10) and a concern with the extent to which systems have become "closely articulated with the world system" (1992:18) or have otherwise experienced acculturation, thus changing traditional *adat* (1992:10). But the problem is how one defines traditional, or indeed who defines it. It is imperative to place behavior within a historical framework, "an acculturative time line" (Appell 1992:10), to the extent it is known. It is also important to realize, however, that the people involved may not have the same perspective and regard as long-standing tradition what we see as change. As has been shown elsewhere, tradition is created, reinterpreted, and added to over time (e.g. Larcom 1982; Hanson 1989). The distinction of what is or is not traditional therefore is not, or should not be, made necessarily on people's articulation with the world economic system or degree of acculturation, but rather on what they generally agree to be traditional, no matter how "new" it is temporally, no matter the source. There is a need for some caution against relying too heavily on a Western ideal of what defines tradition. This parallels Appell's concern for the cultural contamination of data (see e.g. 1988:47-48).

### Migration and Changes in the Rules

In this last section, I cite some examples of tradition being created or changed; the first two concern land tenure directly, the last the notion of tradition generally.

A century ago, Brooke Low (cited in Roth 1968 [1896]:420) reported that land tenure among Sarawak Iban

has been modified within late years in view of the increasing demand for accommodation, and it is now generally understood that when the proprietor chooses to leave the district and remove into a distant country he forfeits, by so doing, all title to the ground and can no longer exact rent.

This was a change in response to migrated Iban not allowing other people to farm their abandoned land (see Roth 1968 [1896]:420). The Sarawak government made it a formal order in 1899 (Porter 1967:12-13, cited in Cramb 1986:18; see Padoch 1982:49 who also makes note of this important change), and it was reaffirmed in 1981 during an *adat* conference in Kapit (Sutlive 1992:302). The Iban of Wong Garai, then already settled in the Lanjak area and not under the Sarawak crown, incorporated this principle into their own *adat*. To scholars it is a historical alteration made under certain social and economic conditions and might be considered traditional now because of the long time that has elapsed since then. But to Iban it has existed since the vaguely-defined ancestral era (*kelia'*).

#### Labian Floodplains and Erosion

The second example involves the Banuaka' Labian, rather than the Iban, but it presents an interesting case of rule change and a feature of land tenure I hope will be explored elsewhere: along the middle course of the meandering Leboyan river, Labian have been farming the rich floodplains for centuries, but there is one problematic feature of the geography regarding long term land tenure—the continual erosion of river banks. This should present a problem for people who have inhabited the area for as long as the Labian. What do you do when one piece of land on the outer bend of the river is eroded away, and another piece of land on the opposite bank increases in size? The answer was given to me in the form of a story explaining the origin of a rule to deal with the problem.

Sometime in the past, people who owned and had been farming land along the outer bends of the river began complaining that they were losing their land to the people on the opposite banks. (The man who related this story pointed out that the land really did not move across the river but rather came from upriver.) The people who owned land on the opposite bank claimed that the land they were gaining yearly was their own. The dispute was settled in that classic ordeal, the dive, whereby champions from each side tried to stay under water longer than the other. Here the "land-losing" side won, and since then owners who lose land to the river may claim it over time across the river. This case shows the use of a history to explain the origin of a rule and the ready incorporation of change into the structure of tradition.

#### New Rituals

The final example further reflects a readiness to incorporate innovation into long standing structures without threatening the integrity of the old forms or the perceived immutability of tradition (cf. Tonkinson 1991:133-138): During major rituals (*gawai' amat* or *gawai' besai*) such as *gawai' kelingkang benih*, a solemn procession is performed at a particular point in the ritual. It is called *niti daun* (literally, traverse the leaf), and according to Richards (1988:236), it was created by Temenggong Koh in obedience to a dream at his *gawai' ijan pumpong* in 1947 and later used in 1952 at his *gawai' kenyalang*. Whenever I asked elders about its origin, they would simply reply that it was instituted by the ancestors of time gone by (*ari ake'-ine' kelial'*). By Western standards, this ritual procession was invented and instituted very recently, but of equal significance is that it is considered traditional and part of the *adat* of major rituals by the people who practice it. We should not be surprised to find a similar ease of incorporating change into land tenure *adat* when it is done appropriately as the first two examples show.

#### Conclusion

I have dealt with a set of interrelated issues concerning Iban land tenure—the social units that hold rights in land, the rules and principles and their application under different conditions and circumstances, and the notion of tradition and its interpretation. These things reveal the strong threads that bind the widespread Iban population and the sources, both social and ecological, that produce the variation we should not be surprised to find.

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## ARCHIVAL SOURCES FOR THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF KALIMANTAN IN JAKARTA

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Very few people have done archival research in Indonesia on the colonial history of Kalimantan. Probably the most important reason for this lack of scholarly interest is the language in which most of the documents are written, namely Dutch. At the same time, few people seem aware of the wealth of data on Kalimantan that can be found in the Indonesian State Archive, an ignorance which in itself does not stimulate researchers to master Dutch reading skills. My aim here is to provide a basic overview of the primary source material on Kalimantan available at the National Archive of Indonesia in Jakarta. In view of the fact that the documents contain a wealth of important data, they definitely deserve more attention from researchers than they have so far received. The Residency Archives on Kalimantan in particular contain very detailed and complete nineteenth-century historical information at a local level, much better than can be found in the State Archives in The Hague where most historians tend to go.

### The Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI)

Working in the Arsip Nasional is not as difficult or frustrating as some tend to assume. Once access to the archive for research has been obtained (see below), the archive offers a pleasant place to work. There is a small, but never crowded, air-conditioned reading room with a friendly staff which is very helpful in tracing documents; (some command of the Indonesian language is preferable). Good inventories of most archives are available, usually written in Indonesian.

The quality of the historical material itself varies greatly: some documents are in perfect condition, while others literally crumble under one's fingers while turning the pages. Centuries of neglect and poor storage under humid conditions have left their traces on the paper and the handwriting in ink. Clearly there is an urgent need for conservation of the remaining material to keep the documents accessible for future generation of researchers. Although one archivist once remarked that "the only way to keep this archive from falling apart completely is to keep it closed" (in Blussé et al. 1979:40), I would insist on using the documents for serious research purposes only and handling them with extreme care. Note that the archive staff will not permit at all the reading of those papers in extremely bad condition.

Archives have been kept in Batavia at least since the early seventeenth century, and in Kalimantan at least since the eighteenth century. Before the nineteenth century, however, much of this material was poorly conserved and considered to be of little value for use in the future. Hence, when storage capacity was found too limited in the small Batavia [Jakarta] Castle (*Kasteel Batavia*) or when the Dutch settlements in Banjarmasin, Pontianak, Sukadana, or Sambas were (temporarily) abandoned, documents used to be shipped to The Hague, or were simply destroyed. After the British Interregnum in



Indonesia (1811-16) more attention was paid to the storage of putatively superfluous documents in Batavia, though the most important material on local matters was still kept in Kalimantan itself. Only by 1892, was the National Archive of Indonesia established as an institution and more attention was paid to the conservation and cataloguing of the remaining documents. Under its first archivist, and sometime during the final decade of the nineteenth century, local administrators in Borneo were instructed to transfer all documents older than 50 years to the central archive in Batavia. This annual flow of 50-year old paper towards Batavia ended in 1942 after the Japanese invasion of Indonesia, which explains why the principal nineteenth-century collections on Kalimantan abruptly end in 1892. Although the possibility cannot be ruled out entirely, it seems very unlikely that any archival material from the pre-war period still remains in Kalimantan itself. Either the local archives in the various capitals in the island were ruined during (or shortly after) the Japanese invasion, or they were lost during the restive 1960s. Despite the tragic fate of much of Indonesia's written past, various experts estimate that the Jakarta archive today still houses somewhere between 15 and 25 kilometres of shelved documents, of which the majority is of the VOC and Dutch colonial period. Only after 1970 was this tremendous amount of paper gradually opened for historical research. Apart from historians studying Java, the ANRI collections are still little used for research on the other Indonesian islands (Coolhaas 1949; Blussé et al. 1979; Henley 1996).

I spent a period of six months in the ANRI studying the ecological history of Kalimantan from nineteenth-century sources. Most of this time I worked through the Residency Archives (see below), although I briefly consulted several other collections housed in the ANRI. Since I do not have personal experience of all other existing colonial collections, I have added some information from secondary sources.<sup>1</sup> The ANRI also stocks three to four kilometres of post-war archives of Indonesian government institutions, including the politically difficult period of 1945-1965. Even these can be consulted for research, but because I am not familiar with this archival material, I will leave them outside this overview.

The ANRI also has a small library, including some general works of the colonial period. In the reading room, a complete set of the *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* (1816-1948, containing all official government decisions on Indonesia) is available. While in Jakarta, a better bet for the study of the history of Kalimantan from published sources is the Indonesian National Library (*Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia*). The latter has inherited the whole library of the former *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (now the National Museum), including many rare historical works on Kalimantan and published archival works, such as the annual Colonial Reports (*Koloniaal Verslag*).<sup>2</sup>

#### The Residency Archives (Arsip Borneo)

The Residency Archives constitute only a minor part of the entire ANRI stocks, but certainly are the most valuable and accessible source for regional histories at a

Residency<sup>3</sup> level. They contain a large array of papers, on very diverse matters. Most of the documents were written during the nineteenth century by the Resident and his staff. Unfortunately, as explained before, the collections end in 1892.

Given the large size of the island, the two Residency Archives on Kalimantan are not particularly extensive, though in shelf length comparable to most other Residencies of Indonesia. The Residency Archive on the Western Division of Borneo (*Westerafdeeling van Borneo*) occupies 7 metres of shelf space (402 volumes), while that on the Southern and Eastern Division (*Zuider- en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo*) extends over approximately 23 metres (622 volumes). From my own experience I estimate that it would take at least several years to study these 30 metres of paper alone. Both archives contain more or less the same kind of documents, of which I will give a brief summary below. A systematic Indonesian-language inventory of both archives has been published in a single volume by the ANRI (Sunarti et al. 1986) and is still for sale in the reading room.<sup>4</sup>

Documents of an unequivocally political character have probably been the most studied so far and have received much attention particularly from Indonesian scholars. A copy of almost all agreements, treaties, and contracts signed between the Dutch and the sultans between 1609 and 1862 can be found in the ANRI. These have now probably all been published, for instance in the ANRI publication "Surat-surat perdjandjian" (1965, still for sale in the reading room). Well known are the *Memories van Overgave* (final memoranda of the outgoing Resident written to inform his successor), of which several can be found in the Residency Archives.<sup>5</sup> The latter series is far from complete and can better be consulted in other collections (see below). Those studying Bornean political history may also want to consult the large number of voluminous bundles containing the decisions, decrees, and proclamations (*Handelingen en Besluiten*) issued by government officials in Borneo.

The Reports (*Verlagen*) are without doubt the most accessible part of the Residency Archives. They are unique since they form an almost unbroken source of data, written down according to a more or less fixed pattern dictated by the government in Batavia. They are ideally suited to nineteenth-century longitudinal research on economic,

<sup>3</sup>The Dutch colonial administration divided Indonesia into Residencies (*Residenties*, the largest regional political entity), governed by a Resident, which were in turn divided into Divisions (*Afdeelingen*) under the aegis of an Assistant-Resident.

<sup>4</sup>In the past, for Southern and Eastern Borneo, a typescript inventory was used, compiled by Tjurma Tobing (undated) and titled *Daftar Arsip Borneo Zuid en Oostkust*. Since the previous inventory numbers used by Tjurma Tobing are still needed by the archive staff to retrieve the documents, I found it useful to order a photocopy of the old inventory (available in the reading room) and use it together with the one by Sunarti et al. Tjurma Tobing also lists a few documents not cited in the new inventory, and vice versa.

<sup>5</sup>The following Memories van Overgave can be found in the Residency Archive on the Western Division of Borneo: Assistant Resident T.A.C. van Kervel on the Division Sambas (1 March 1850); Resident W.E. Kroesen (7-1-1858); acting Resident G.F. Nauta (1 March 1860); acting Resident L. Rijsendaal (1863). On the Residency *Zuid- en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo* can be found: acting Resident J.G.A. Gallois (21 April 1851); Resident A. van der Ven (29-11-1855) and Colonel E.C.F. Happé (28 April 1866).

<sup>1</sup>See: International Council (1989); Henley and Colombijn (1995); Henley (1996).

<sup>2</sup>The ANRI also houses a complete set of the published Colonial Reports on microfilm.

political, or ecological matters. Unfortunately, the reports are not very enlightening or explicit on social topics. As a rule, the annual Administrative or General Reports (*Administratief Verslag, Algemeen Verslag*, 1825-1890) include, among other matters, a section on local administration, recent political developments, population figures, import and export statistics, agriculture, local industries, religious developments and health and medical services (including climatic fluctuations). In the early General Reports a special section is devoted to the tours of inspection made through his territory by the Resident. These brief travel accounts usually concentrate on political matters (e.g. appointments of new Dayak representatives), but they also contain many valuable ethnographic remarks, for instance on local trade, agriculture, and slavery.

After 1854, the Residents had to write a separate report on the political situation within their Residency, forming the lengthy annual *Political Reports* (1854-1873). By 1863 reports on local and plantation agriculture were also split off from the general reports, appearing as the *Culture Reports* (1863-1869). Irregularly, various other yearly reports can be found, for instance on local financial administration, coal extraction, salt distribution, and smallpox vaccination. In addition, there are the *Monthly Reports* (1853-1882) which were also drawn up according to a fixed scheme. These are a valuable tool for studying monthly developments in, for example, prices of food, labour or export products, or the occurrence of droughts and epidemics. They also allow a detailed insight into local political developments.

A valuable, but time-consuming, source in the Residency Archives, are the letter books. Until the mid-nineteenth century much of the in-coming and out-going correspondence of a Resident, either with his principals in Java, his subordinates within the Residency, or with local rulers was kept, and later stored in large bundles. Many of these documents have probably never been touched for research purposes at all, though they are a particularly interesting source for detailed study of local politics or important local events. I went, for instance, through the letters by the Resident of Banjarmasin for the period 1820-1830. This gave me a clear insight into the Bekumpai War which was fought in southern Borneo in 1824-25, on which, surprisingly, nothing has so far been written by any historian. It also transpired that it was possible to follow in great detail the arrival and spread of cholera, after the first pandemic hit southern Borneo on the 28th July 1821.

The most exciting documents are the travel accounts and personal collections of early explorers, such as Schwaner, Von Dewall, Gallois, Weddik, Tobias, and Croockwitz which are kept by the ANRI. Some of these notes have (partly) been published in books or as articles in Dutch colonial journals, either by the authors themselves or posthumously by others. Schwaner's notes (1842-1851) are particularly extensive, packed with detailed daily notes (in German) of his travels through most of southern Borneo. Only a selection of these is published in his famous book, *Borneo: Beschrijving van het stroomgebied van den Barito* (Schwaner 1853-54). His travel notes available at the ANRI are bound in ten bulky volumes, which would make a perfect study in itself.

Most other documents in the Residency Archive are of a miscellaneous character. For those who want to study pre-nineteenth-century Kalimantan there are some left-over documents of the VOC period, mainly from the second half of the eighteenth century. There is no doubt that the *Algemeen Rijksarchief* in The Hague contains much richer

material on this period. Of more interest to some historians may be the correspondence between the Resident of Banjarmasin and Batavia for the period 1792-1809, i.e. after the dissolution of the VOC and before the Dutch abandonment of Banjarmasin under Daendels (Cf. Leirissa 1973). The *Algemeen Rijksarchief* in The Hague is not very rich and accessible for this transitional period.

For those who are interested in the Chinese and their *kongsi* in the western part of the island, there is a wealth of material to be found in the Residency Archive of Western Borneo. Only a few documents concern the British possessions in the island, usually in relation to border issues. On the political relations between Kalimantan and Sarawak/Brunei more can be found in the yearly General and Political Reports.

#### Other Archives

Several other archives contain material on Kalimantan. Since hardly anyone has ever used them seriously for research, their relevance to the history of the island is still undetermined. Of particular importance, certainly, are the archive of the *Algemeene Secretarie* (Archive of the General Secretariat) and the archive of the *Binnenlandsch Bestuur* (Archive of the Department of Home Affairs). Both cover the already-mentioned document-scarce period of 1892-1942. In the archive of the *Algemeene Secretarie* material of a very wide scope was collected to assist the work of the Governor-General and his staff in Batavia. These 3.2 kilometres of paper more or less served as an encyclopaedic reference work on the entire Archipelago. Unfortunately it is extremely inaccessible and only if one wants to study particular events in particular years is an exploration in this archive worth a try. Since the indexing of the archive is complex and the collection itself is stocked 40 kilometres away in a sub-depot in Bogor, it takes two weeks or more for the ordered document to arrive in the reading room in Jakarta, if it arrives at all.

The Archive of the Colonial Civil Service (*Binnenlandsch Bestuur*) is less extensive (1.7 kilometres) but much more accessible because it is well indexed and stored in Jakarta itself instead of Bogor. The collection mainly covers the period 1910-1942, although it also contains some older documents. A lot of the material deals with administrative and personnel affairs, but the archive also includes subjects such as land-use and land reform, taxes, forced labourers, education, public credit, and police matters. One part of the archive specifically deals with the administration of the Outer Islands (*Buitengewesten*, all Indonesian islands outside Java) and contains numerous reports on agricultural and developmental issues (such as agrarian law, colonization, rubber cultivation, fisheries, forest exploitation, non-timber forest products, mining, roads and bridges, etc.).

There are at least a dozen other collections which contain material relevant to Kalimantan. Earlier I have mentioned the *Memories van Overgave* which, as many researchers have already found out, are extremely helpful to obtain a quick overview of the situation of the Residency or Sub-Residency, in particular on the implementation of colonial policy at a regional level. The ANRI now houses an almost complete collection

of the *Memories* on microfilm so there is little reason to travel to The Hague for this purpose.<sup>6</sup>

Most of the other archives are still unexplored. The archive of the Department of Finance (*Departement van Financiën*) certainly deserves more attention from researchers. For those interested in economic history, it contains, for instance, important statistical data on trade from and to the major harbours of Kalimantan. To my disappointment, the archives on commercial agriculture (*Archief Cultures*) and forestry (*Archief Boschwezen*) hold very little information on Kalimantan, whereas both collections focus mainly on Java.

The ANRI also houses a small nineteenth-century cartographic collection on Borneo (31 items). These maps are part of the collection compiled by F. de Haan (therefore simply called Collection *De Haan*). They mainly cover the period 1820-1860 and, as a corollary, most of them show very limited geographical detail as far as the more interior regions are concerned. About half of the maps concentrate on the Sambas/Landak/Sarawak region, reflecting an interest in, and concern about the border between Dutch and British (Brooke's) territory.

#### Practical Information (May 1996)

##### Address:

Jalan Ampera Raya  
Cilandak Timur  
Jakarta Selatan 12560  
Tel 021-7805851-3  
Fax 021-7805812

The archive building can easily be reached by taxi, or bus 19 or 605A leaving from "Blok M" in Southern Jakarta. There are several restaurants and food stalls within walking distance of the archive building. Since the archive is not centrally located, few hotels can be found in the vicinity of the ANRI.

##### Opening Hours

Monday to Thursday: 8.00-15.00  
Friday: 8-11.30 and 13.00-15.00  
Saturday: 8.00-13.30

##### Reproduction of Documents

Photocopies are expensive. Academics and PhD students pay 1,500 Rp for a F4 copy (about US\$0.60), but there are lower rates for other (local) students (350-750 Rp per page). Photocopying is carried out by the reading room staff. It should be noted that only 10% of any given document bundle can be copied and that nineteenth-century material is often too fragile to be copied at all. Microfilm and microfiche sources (e.g. the *Memories van Overgave*) can be printed on paper by a commercial copy service outside the ANRI premises. Similarly, these copies cost 1500 Rp per page, but in this case a substantial

<sup>6</sup>*Memories van Overgave* were also written during VOC times (for South and East Borneo the oldest one known was written in 1752). These reports can only be found in the Algemeen Rijksarchief in The Hague (VOC collection).

number (at least 150 pages) should be ordered at a time. Making your own camera photos of documents or maps is prohibited, but the ANRI has its own photographer (prices are again substantial).

Because of these limitations, most researchers will have to revert to pen and paper for most of their notes. Many will find it more convenient to use a portable computer, for which there are several plug sockets (220 V) available in the reading room.

#### Research Permission

In order to work in the Arsip Nasional, researchers who are Indonesian citizens are required only to show a letter of recommendation from the head of the educational or scientific institution with which they are connected. Foreigners, on the other hand, require an official *surat izin penelitian* (letter of authorization to conduct research) from LIPI (*Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia*, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences). This authorization is normally issued only in conjunction with a research visa. The procedure for obtaining it and the visa is laid out in the brochure *Research Procedures for Foreign Researchers in Indonesia*, available from LIPI (Bureau of S&T Co-operation, Sasana Widya Sarwono Building, Jl. Gatot Subroto 10, Jakarta 12710. Tel. 021-5225711, Fax 021-5207226). Foreign researchers should be advised that although research visa requests have seldom been turned down in the last few years, they almost always take at least six months to process. If one only wants to see the inventories of the collections that are available in the reading room, no research permit is required.

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## CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN SOME FREQUENTLY-USED BRUNEI MALAY POLITENESS FORMS

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**Explicatio**

One of the defining characteristics of Brunei Malay culture is a carefully nuanced pattern of social interactions. The linguistic component of these interactions is a complex set of speech patterns, showing levels of politeness or its lack, used throughout all social interactions. The present study began with the intention of examining continuity and change in some frequently-used Brunei Malay politeness forms. However, it soon became apparent that no such study could be effective until a major conceptual issue had been addressed; namely, how to set forth the complexities of Brunei Malay politeness usage in a coherent, systematic paradigm. Fortunately, a useful solution presented itself: the four types of politeness behavior, five politeness levels and seven usage-determining factors which Mizutani and Mizutani (1987:passim) have laid out as the framework for teaching English-speakers to understand Japanese politeness usages. Modified slightly, this framework works well for Brunei Malay and should be applicable to other Bornean and Southeast Asian languages.<sup>1</sup>

**Introduction**

One of the most important aspects of any language is the spectrum of its politeness usages. How these are formed and used in actual speech in a given language depends upon the complex interaction of many linguistic and socio-cultural factors. Politeness usages are a key component of human social interaction, and thus a central feature of language: they involve an intersection of linguistic structures with socio-cultural structures, and need to be studied in a systematic manner which can be applied across languages and cultures. What follows is one step toward such a cross-linguistic study. It examines *ishin-deshin*, the five politeness levels of Japanese and Brunei Malay, the four types of politeness, some key linguistic aspects of politeness formation in Japanese, politeness formation in Brunei Malay, and the seven factors that determine the level of politeness used at a given time. The set of linguistic data used for exemplification throughout the present paper is that of the Brunei Malay inhabitants of a Temburong village.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The author wishes to thank her Brunei Malay family for many years of patient language tutelage, and her American family for making it all possible. Thanks also to Dr. Peter Martin, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, and Professor James T. Collins, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, for organizing the conference at which the present paper was presented. Also, I wish to thank Sharon Ashley for her editorial services.

### *Ishin-deshin* in Politeness

The fundamental operative factor underlying the use of levels of politeness in Japanese is *ishin-deshin*, which is a semi-verbal mode of communication through "...verbal fuzziness, contextual clarity, and implication." (Rutherford 1995:8). Although specific cultural details differ, *ishin-deshin* also underlies politeness usages in Brunei Malay.

Both Brunei Malay and Japanese societies are "high context" ones, where it is expected that people will share the same views and patterns of behavior, and will not overtly express feelings or opinions which differ from the expected cultural norms (Dyer 1996). The United States, by contrast, is a low context society (Dyer 1996; Wanning 1991:46); and, though *ishin-deshin* sometimes operates weakly within a close-knit family or between very close friends, it is usually absent.

### Politeness Levels

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (vol. XI 1989:31) defines linguistic-cultural politeness as

Of refined manners; *esp.* showing courteous consideration for others; courteous, mannerly, urbane. (The chief current use.)

In Japanese, courteous usages are *keigo* (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:1); but the full spectrum of politeness usages includes both polite and non-polite elements (Seward 1990/1968:120).

Socio-linguistic studies have elucidated five levels of politeness in Japanese, often abbreviated as PL1-PL5 (Mangajin 1985:passim), a usage which will be followed here. PL1-2 are non-polite, PL3-5 are *keigo*, "polite forms" (Seward 1990/1968:120; Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:passim.). Each of the five politeness levels is distinct.

1. (PL1) "Abrupt—used when speaking 'down' to children, animals, or other social inferiors" (Lampkin 1995:7). This level is also used in "rough" talk, e.g. between men. Other names for it are plain/rough (Mizutani and Mizutani), impolite/abrupt (Seward), very familiar (McClain 1981), and familiar (abrupt) (Inamoto 1972).

2. (PL2) "Informal—used when speaking with close friends, family members, or peers in a casual situation" (Lampkin 1995:7). This level frequently appears in Japanese comic books (*Mangajin* 1995). Other names for it are familiar (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987; Seward 1990/1968), or informal (McClain 1981; Inamoto 1972).

3. (PL3) "Normal-polite—(also called *Desu-masu Form*) used when speaking with strangers, business associates, and others when courtesy is called for" (Lampkin 1995:7). This level is often taught to beginning language students because it "...is polite enough to be acceptable in most social situations" (Inamoto 1972:12). It is also known as polite (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987; McClain 1981; Seward 1990/1968) and ordinary/polite (Inamoto 1972).

4. (PL4) "Honorific—used in very formal situations or when speaking to superiors, clients, etc." (Lampkin 1995:7) This is the highest politeness level in common use today. It is also known as very polite (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987), extremely polite (Seward 1990/1968), formal (McClain 1981), and super-polite (honorific) (Inamoto 1972).

5. (PL5) Very high-level extremely polite—"... including but by no means limited to the words once used only to or about the imperial family..." (Seward 1990/1968:120). Since World War II this level has largely ceased to be used, except in certain ceremonial

and ritual contexts; but it is still read in Japanese classical literature, and in works written before World War II. Today PL4 wordings are commonly used when referring to the imperial family (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:1). There are special variants and gradients of high, mid, and low within each politeness level; and the boundaries of usage are sometimes gradational rather than sharp, or a usage may straddle two levels (Mangajin 1995:81).

### Politeness Levels—Brunei Malay

The Brunei Malay language has five politeness levels which correspond rather closely to those in Japanese, and there are Brunei Malay phrases which are sometimes used to describe them. The following list sets out the five levels of politeness usage in Brunei Malay, ranging from the lowest to the highest. Each level is identified by English name and Brunei Malay descriptive expression, and its nature and usage is specified.

1. (PL1) Abrupt/rough/very familiar—*chakap kasar*<sup>2</sup>, "rough/coarse talk" [this phrase also has a 2P second meaning, "foul language"].

This level is rude, bossy, or expletive. It is used: for rough talk among men; when gruffly ordering servants or laborers about, though more so by men than by women; or when anger erupts *en famille* (within the immediate family and no one but that immediate family is present). It is normally avoided when outsiders are present.

Loading and distribution activities at the commercial fish-dock sometimes provide rather choice examples of *chakap kasar* in both of its aspects; the rudeness and the occurrence of strong imprecations.

2. (PL2) Informal/familiar—*chakap biasa* "ordinary speech."

This level is very casual and familiar. It is often used: for easy casual conversation *en famille* or with close acquaintances or co-task-doers, but only if outsiders are not present; to servants and laborers; to animals; and to little children.

This politeness level occurs in contexts where all parties involved are enmeshed in the same *ishin-deshin*, and do not need to consciously concern themselves about it. One is within the comfort realm of "safe."

3. (PL3) Normal-polite—*bahasa biasa* "ordinary language."

This level is perhaps the most commonly used. It is polite enough to be "safe" even when talking to, or in the presence of, most outsiders, and will not cause any anger to arise in the hearers.

4. (PL4) Very polite—*bahasa (h)alus* "refined language."

This level is used: when speaking to someone of superior status, such as a boss or official; when making a request that might cause anger; or on special occasions, such as weddings or funerary ceremonies, which are liminal events where great care must be taken in order to keep intact the delicate fabric of socio-cosmic harmonies.

This level of politeness is used in circumstances where *ishin-deshin* is weakly operative or even absent. The prevailing factor is a perception of potential imminent risk. For example, a boss may fire one from a job, an official might become angry and thwart one's endeavors or inflict positive harm. Although a wedding is a time of feasting and happy interaction, mis-speech or other perceived not-properly-polite behavior might

<sup>2</sup>The digraphs *ch* and *sh* are used for clarity. All words are written as spoken, not in standard orthography.

angry and then or later cause trouble, so there is a risk that the member of the two large families might descend into harmful feasts sadness at the loss and the powerful sense of how they make all aware of the huge cosmic vastness within which one's tiny mote of being, and any shortcoming in politeness might be noted.

Especially polite—*bahasa raja-raja*, "royal language," *bahasa keraton*, "court language."

When speaking to/about/in the presence of a royal personage or deity, and at highly liminal moments in certain ceremonies when the past and future, or between this world and other worlds, is of the highest level of politeness is used in situations where even the slightest breach has dire consequences. It is also used in acknowledgement of the high level of royalty.

They learned this extraordinarily polite level from traditional Brunei, how to learn it from radio, television, and *Pelita Brunei*; but they are encouraged to use it.

A politeness-behavioral complex that involves both verbal and non-verbal behaviors which are culture-specific. One way to analyze this intricate complex in terms of the four main types of behavior which constitute politeness (as defined on Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:14-15, but broadened and modified for applicability). These four types of behavior are as follows:

1. Natural politeness norms:

This involves observing a degree of "standoffishness" which respects a person's independence and individualism, while at the same time showing an overt affability which shows that one is not an enemy.

2. This involves avoiding rudeness, and apologizing for any rudeness that might have been perceived. "To be fully polite [in Japanese] one is sensitive to one's actions and ask oneself if one has not been rude to others" (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:14). If one fears that one might have been inconvenienced, the expression *sumimasen*, or some other expression of apology for inconvenience, is used in apology (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:15).

3. One seeks to avoid showing any rudeness, or causing any embarrassment which might lead another person to become angry at one. The goal is to avoid the arousal of any anger. Thus, the expression, *jangan marah* ("please")<sup>3</sup> accompanies any statement that might upset the

listener with "Hi!" and a brief smile showing the appropriate degree of affability. Talk may then proceed to the neutral, and acceptable, discussion of the weather.

In Japan a brief greeting and bow may initiate an interaction. The conversational opening should show "...polite hesitancy and fear of being rude" (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:15). This hesitancy is crucial.

Expressing one's reserve by sounding hesitant is essential to being polite, perhaps even more so than using polite expressions. Sounding hesitant means that the speaker proceeds with his or her speech while waiting for the listener's reactions rather than going on without paying any heed to the listener's feelings. This hesitant tone is very important in polite communication; it is used when addressing others, making requests, giving one's own opinion, or making a negative response or evaluation. Namely, it is used when one should show consideration for the listener's feelings. (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:30)

In Brunei Malay a conversation between family and acquaintances who meet often commonly begins with an, "*apa kabar?*"<sup>4</sup> "How goes it?" (literally, "What news?"), to which the response is, "*kabar baik, apa kabar?*" "Just fine, how goes it?" (literally, "good news, what's the news?"), the conversation initiator replies "*kabar baik*" "Just fine," and then launches into conversation. Quite commonly, a discussion of the weather ensues; the weather is a safe neutral topic, of immediate concern to all, and gives time for people to settle in to appropriate conversational roles and to "tune in" to the appropriate *ishin-deshin*.

A basic principle of traditional Brunei Malay verbal interaction is that one engages in much social-connecting conversation, and only later turns to the real purpose of one's visit. The impossibility of following this principle in many bureaucratic and commercial settings produces a certain sense of unease and alienation. In a village emergency, one may have to state the matter immediately, a PL2 acceptable because of circumstances.

3. Using the proper verbal modalities:

These are highly language-specific. They also vary with time and circumstance. For example, a Temburong villager may shout out in PL2 to a close relative who is fishing on the river, and ask him or her how the fishing is going; but this would not be appropriate if it were a non-relative who was out in the boat.

4. Using the appropriate kinesics and body language:

Japanese speakers use specific bowing patterns for different politeness levels, ranging from scarcely any bow at all to one so low that the bower is nearly doubled over (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:53-57; Seward 1990/1968:57-58). Speakers of American English use handshakes and hand-waves. Brunei Malay speakers use various head-nods for PL1-3, and fuller body-bending or inclining for PL4-5. In all three cultures subtle nuances of facial expression and body carriage are also important.

### Linguistic Aspects of Politeness Forms in Japanese

Japanese is generally considered to be an Altaic language (Watanabi, Masai, and The Editors 1992:266). Verb morphology is a main structural component of all politeness levels. For the *keigo*, PL3-PL5, some of the main linguistic factors

"...are to be found in personal pronouns, verbs and assorted verbal constructions, honorific prefixes, and certain words for relatives, home, employer, and so forth." (Seward 1990/1968:120)

Two of these, verb endings and lexicon, are wide-ranging features.

Japanese verbs consist of a stem, base, and ending. The stem of a verb "gives the general action or meaning" (Lampkin 1995:12); this is followed by a base which has no "intrinsic meaning" but functions as a link between the stem and the ending (Lampkin 1995:12); and the final portion of the construction is the verb ending which "gives the specific function of the verb" (Lampkin 1995:13). The Masu Form verb endings, so-called from the "non-past" ending, occur frequently in normal-polite speech (Lampkin 1995:15). For example, the non-past normal-polite form of the verb *kaku*, "to write," is *kakimasu*; *ka* is the stem, *ki* is the base, and *masu* is the normal polite non-past ending (Lampkin 1995:14-15). The normal-polite forms of *kaku*, "to write," are as follows.

*kakimasu* (write/writes/will/write)—present or future tense ("non-past")

*kakimashita* (wrote)—past tense

*kakimasen* (does not write/will not write)—negative present or future

*kakimasen deshita* (did not write)—negative past

*kakimasho* (Let's write)—inclusive command: Let's... (Lampkin 1995:15)

Normal-politeness endings in Japanese are sometimes referred to as Masu-desu Forms. The auxiliary verb of designation, *desu*, is a frequently occurring normal-polite form. It makes "...the substantive to which is attached the predicate of the sentence" (Inomoto 1972:28). Because Japanese is a SOV language the Masu-desu forms constitute a readily distinguishable acoustic pattern which occurs at the end of normal-polite utterances.

Another major format of Japanese politeness is special lexical items. For example, in speaking to a superior, one may use a humble form of a verb, such as the humble *moosu*<sup>5</sup> instead of the non-humble *yuu* for "to say" (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:102). One thus humbles oneself in the presence of the superior.

In speaking of another person's family one may use *otoosan*, or the even more polite, *otoosama*, instead of the non-polite, *otou*, "father" (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:92). One would use the non-polite form in referring to one's own father.

Other linguistic features of politeness in Japanese include certain grammatical particles, the use of passives, particular lexical and syntactic constructions, and larger

<sup>5</sup>Several different systems for Romanizing Japanese are in use. Some authors indicate long vowels by a macron over the top, others double the vowel, oo, to indicate length; vowel doubling will be used here. Vowel length is phonemic in Japanese.

aspects of discourse. Non-verbal politeness includes detailed bowing behavior and facial expressions.

One significant difference between Japanese politeness usage and that of Brunei Malay is *aizuchi*. Japanese constantly make use of *aizuchi*, which are reply words

...given as a sign to show that the listener is listening attentively and has understood so far, and to encourage the speaker to go on. (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:18)

From the Brunei Malay perspective this would be considered *kasar*, "coarse/rude, rough/impolite," an interruption of the speaker's due verbalizing time. The functional equivalent of *aizuchi* in Brunei Malay is maintaining a facial expression of interest and a body position oriented toward the speaker. On the telephone an occasional softly-murmured, "mmm," (with slightly rising intonation) performs the conversation-continuing function which is done by *aizuchi* in Japanese.

The cultural metaphor which underlies *aizuchi* is that of two swordsmiths who must forge in a cooperative manner if the blade is to be completed successfully (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:18).

By contrast, Brunei Malay has the cultural metaphor of two people pounding rice in turn, without their pestles clashing, and American English has the metaphor of two people pulling alternately on a cross-cut saw in order to saw a log in two. Both Brunei Malay and American speakers let each other take uninterrupted turns, and consider it rude to interrupt. But from the Japanese perspective, such unhelpfulness toward the speaker, such failure to do *aizuchi*, is very rude (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:14-19).

Both Japanese and Brunei Malay have different dialects. Two major dialects in Japan are the standard Japanese of Toyko, and Kansai-*ben*. The Kansai-*ben* is spoken in Kinki Chiho, the region of southern Honshu whose main cities are Osaka, Kyoto, Kobe, and Nara; and it has some politeness forms which differ significantly from those of the Tokyo dialect (Palter and Horiuchi 1995:14-15). Interestingly, the Kansai region is closer to Tokyo, as the crow flies, than is Kuala Belait to Bandar Seri Begawan (*Times International Atlas*).

### Linguistic Aspects of Politeness Forms in Brunei Malay

Brunei Malay is a member of the western branch of the Austronesian language family (Pawley 1994:738). It is a weakly-agglutinative somewhat isolating language by type, and has SVO word order.

One major socio-linguistic difference between the Japanese and Brunei Malay languages is that of religion: the religious milieu of Japanese is predominantly Shinto (indigenous Japanese religion) and Buddhist, the religious milieu of Brunei Malay is Islam, a fact which is reflected in parts of the politeness lexicon. In Brunei Malay, as in Japanese, maintaining ongoing harmonious interpersonal relations is of paramount importance.

The main formants of Brunei Malay politeness usages are both verbal and non-verbal. The main verbal formants are certain morphological constructions, phrasemes, and complex syntax.

On transitive verbs the suffix, *-kan*, (focus, it indicates the presence of a stated or unstated direct object) is used more frequently in polite speech (PL3-5) than in non-polite (PL1-2) speech. The circumfix morpheme *ma-kan*, which emphasizes the fact of an

action being done, also occurs more frequently in PL3 declarative sentences than in non-polite speech, which uses more unmarked forms of the transitive verb. In imperative sentences, the opposite pattern occurs. Here, (trans V)+*kan*, "(trans V)+focus (neutral)," is the politest plain imperative possible. *ma*+(trans v), "active+(trans V) (bossy)" is less polite, and is PL1-2. The most marked plain imperative, *ma*+(trans V)+*kan*, "active+(trans V)+focus (rough)" is a PL1 imperative. Thus, "*Ambilkan baldi*," is more polite than the "*mengambil baldi*," "*mengambilkan baldi*," is a rough command, all of which mean, "fetch the bucket." By contrast, polite, PL3 and 4 imperatives are not plain imperatives formed by morphological construction alone; rather, they are formed by phrasemes.

The most important linguistic formant of polite speech in Brunei Malay is the phraseme. Phrasemes are units analogous to morphemes. A morpheme is a [one unit of sound = 1 integral unit of meaning] linkage: each morpheme has its own inherent meaning, and if two separate meanings are inextricably linked in a single morpheme, it is a portmanteau morpheme. For example, "book" and "herald," are each a single plain morpheme; "him" is a single morpheme in which are bound up inextricably the meanings of male person/animal, singular number, and direct object/indirect object/prepositional case; "him" is thus a portmanteau morpheme. A phraseme is a larger unit of sound, which may be decomposable into several morphemes, that has its own inherent meaning; it is a linkage of [one complex unit of sound = 1 integral unit of meaning]; most phrasemes have two or more separate meanings which are linked together inextricably, and thus are portmanteau structures. For example the literal translation of the phraseme, *sadang tah* (V), is, "enough (emphatic)(V)!", but its actual full meaning is, "stop (V) right now! (and this is not an issue open for discussion or negotiation!);" depending upon tonality and context, the phraseme is PL1 or PL2. For examples if guests are already arriving for a wedding, and children are still bathing like little walruses, a sharp, *sadang tah mandi*, "enough bathing (stop it this very minute and get out of there, right now!)" will be heard from an adult caregiver.<sup>6</sup>

Some phrasemes have a politeness level indication as part of their inherent meaning. This can be seen from the following command/request patterns.

PL1 (trans V)+*gah* "(trans V)+coarse-emphatic (rough)"

PL2 *tolong* (trans V)+*kan*—"help (trans V)+focus (informal level)"

PL3 *minta tolong* (trans V)+*kan* "request help (trans V) +focus (normal polite)"

PL4 *boleh kah minta tolong* (trans V)+*kan* "may (query) request help (trans V)+focus (very polite)"

Generally speaking, in Brunei Malay the higher the level of politeness, the longer the formants or phrasemes. This parallels the situation in Japanese, where "Verb endings usually grow in length with the degree of politeness." (Takada and Kato 1994:11).

In Brunei Malay verbal constructions the use of the suffix *-kan* in statements and of phrasemes in requests are central features of polite PL3 and PL4 usages, just as the Masu-desu forms are central features of PL3 Japanese. Special lexical items are a feature of

<sup>6</sup>The (V) indicates a verb.

PL5 in Brunei Malay. For example, rajas *santap*, other people *makan*, "eat," and royal personages *berangkat tiba*, others *datang*, "arrive."

Brunei Malay does not have a pattern of special honorific lexical terms such as those Japanese uses in referring to the family, possessions, and activities of others, contrasting with humble lexical items for oneself. Brunei Malay speakers produce a similar effect phonologically by using a slightly deprecating tonality when referring to oneself, one's own possessions and activities, and an animated admiring tonality when referring to others, their family, possessions, and activities. The Brunei Malay pattern is complexly nuanced, and forms which are neutral in tone often occur.

As in Japanese, the Brunei Malay pattern of pronominal usage is complex. A characteristic feature of Brunei Malay speech is the avoidance of "you" and "I." One addresses another person by title or kinship term, e.g. *chegu*, "teacher," *adek*, "younger sibling," and refers to oneself by name or kinship relationship, thus, *babu minah*, "aunt Minah," *ramlan*, "Ramlan."

Various discourse constructions are also used in politeness. One such is the frequent occurrence of the passive voice in speaking. Both the agentive passive, such as *pintu di tutupkan* "the door was closed (because someone or something did it)" and the happenstance passive, such as *pintu kana tutup* (because that's just the way it happened) or *pasu kana gugur* "the vase got knocked off/over (because it did)" are used.

Another discourse pattern in Brunei Malay is the construction of syntactically complex sentences. Also, there is an effort to avoid sharp or harsh-sounding words, and to use lexemes and phonological patternings that are pleasing to the ear. In PL4 and 5, specific situations dictate particular stereotypical speech patterns to be used, as well as the informational content and its mode of presentation. These constraints are severe in politeness level 5, extraordinarily exalted speech.

Non-verbal politeness usages in Brunei Malay focus on avoiding arousing anger in another. In PL3 and 4 body movements should be smooth and graceful, not quick or abrupt. To be polite, one hands or gives, and receives, something with both hands simultaneously, or proffers or receives the object in the right hand while the first and second joints of the index, middle, ring, and little fingers of the left hand rest with their palmar side touching the medial half of the inside of the right elbow fold, the grace, delicacy, and slowness of this gesture indicate its degree of politeness.

Seated posture can range anywhere on the politeness spectrum. A man acting in a very rough, low PL1 manner, might sit with his feet propped up with their soles pointing at someone, which is greatly insulting. A woman who is sitting very politely will have her feet tucked neatly to one side, and will take care to keep them covered with her skirt. PL5 non-verbal behaviors are highly stereotyped, and very context-prescribed. For example, people who are sitting in chairs in the royal audience hall are wearing precisely prescribed attire and are instructed to sit upright and never cross their legs or ankles.

Speakers of Brunei Malay, like speakers of Japanese, are dealing with five levels of politeness; in some instances the borders of those politeness levels are crystal clear, but at other times two adjacent levels may intergrade into one another. The question is always how does a speaker determine which politeness level to use in any given situation. Mizutani and Mizutani (1987) have identified seven main factors which affect the selection of politeness usages in Japanese. These same seven factors are also used by speakers of Brunei Malay, and each of them will now be considered briefly.



### The Seven Factors Determining the Level of Politeness Used

1. The first factor determining level of politeness in Japanese is familiarity. Thus, one uses a polite form when being introduced to another person (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:3). The same holds true for Brunei Malay. Often one does not actively speak, but makes a polite nod of greeting. When first speaking to a mature or elderly Moslem one makes the assumption that he is a haji (hajji) or she is a hajjah (hajjah) who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

The importance of familiarity in determining politeness levels manifests itself clearly in telephone answering behavior, when it is not possible to know immediately to whom one is talking (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:3), and thus there is a careful use of politeness until the relative status positions have been ascertained.

The same holds true in Brunei. One uses a safe polite form when answering the telephone. Two common exchanges are:

- a) "Alo! Alo!" "Hello! Hello!"
- b) "Salam alaikum." "Peace be with you."
- "Wa alaikum salam." "And peace be with you."

The two parties will then proceed to identify one another, and use the politeness level appropriate to their degree of familiarity and relative status.

It is recognized that *ishin-deshin* is difficult or impossible in telephone conversations. The linguistic concomitant of this is that normal politeness phrasemes are streamlined, but ones used when anger might arise are made more elaborate. Also, a repetition of information, which would be considered impolite if done in face-to-face consideration, occurs in order to ensure full comprehension; very commonly, syntactic structures of a politeness level one step below that which would ordinarily be used are employed, and accepted as a necessity of the telephone. Many villagers state that for common, ordinary interactions the telephone is very useful, but that if any important matter is to be discussed one must meet face-to-face.

2. The second factor in determining choice of politeness level is the relative ages of the speaker and hearer.

As a rule, older people talk in a familiar way toward younger people and younger people talk politely to older people. Among people of the same age familiar conversation is common. (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:4)

The situation is similar in Brunei Malay. However, there is a crucial difference in that one is reserved and polite with equals who are not close associates because one fears *kana mrahi*, "being the recipient of anger" or of being somehow harmed by that other party then or in the future.

A major age distinction made in Japanese is that between *senpai*, those senior to one in school or at work, and *koohai*, those junior to one in school or at work, and these distinctions are life-long (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:5). Only those who are in one's own grade, or who were hired in the same intake at work, are one's in-group of co-equals (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:5).

A similar distinction exists in Brunei Malay. It is indicated by tonality and subtle body language and endures only so long as one is in school or in a particular work situation. The complexities of shifting social status often override seniority/juniority, though large differences in relative chronological age are also important. For example if two classmates, who once were close friends, later in life attain very different statuses, one being in an ordinary job while the other attains a very high position, the pattern is complex. The primary social status relation will be that of the job status, but there will be a latent undercurrent of the old friendship.

3. The third factor affecting politeness level is professional relations.

...such relationships as those between employers and employees, customers and salesmen, and teachers and students. They might also be called "professional relations."

Generally speaking, those who are of higher status, such as employers, customers, and teachers, will use either the plain form or the polite form, while those of lower status use the polite form..[plain form = PL2] (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:6-7)

In broad outline, a similar pattern holds true for Brunei Malay. However, PL3 verbal forms are used in most cases, because they are a safe, non-anger-causing form. The professional relations distances are manifested in discourse content and in subtle tonalities and body-language indications.

4. The fourth factor determining politeness usage is relative social status. This is extremely important in Japanese (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:8). The major function of *meishi*, the business-cards ubiquitously used in Japan, is to provide a way for strangers to assess their relative status vis-a-vis one another (Seward 1990/1968:59).

Relative social status is also important in Brunei Malay. But even bustling Bandar Seri Begawan is a small-scale society by comparison with urban Japan. Business people have *meishi*, but they are not automatically preferred as in Japan. Rather, when two people are introduced the introducer provides enough cues so that the two people can assess their relative social standing. If two strangers converse they use PL3 speech and are safe in doing so: if their interaction will be more than brief, they provide key social assessment cues, often by means of oblique references and indirect statements.

Within Temburong, people from the same village know each other, and one has some knowledge of many other Temburongites. If one meets, or is about to meet, a stranger, someone will quietly make the relevant social status information known. Rather like the Kansai-*ben* in Japan, who are less formal than Tokyoites, Temburongites have a reputation for being less formal than people in Bandar Seri Begawan.

Older traditional villagers say that one must speak and act very carefully in the presence of important people. In the past, villagers learned PL4 and PL5 terms from hearing them in literature: the folktales, sha'er epics, and hikayat prose tales (often as long as novels). Older children were told, "smile, so important people will like you".<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Smiling is culturally dictated. The smile meant in this admonition is a smile of sweet acquiescence, not of mirth, happiness, or humor. In Japanese, a smile may indicate happiness, pleasure, or amusement. But it may also be used when a person is

But the most general advice given was that, because there is no way to predict what will make important people angry, it is best to avoid interacting with them; and if one could not avoid an interaction, it was best to use an intermediary to make the actual contact. Here the effect of social status on speech was the creation of silence and avoidance.

The importance of relative social status motivates and underlies the entirety of *bahasa dalam* (literally "inner language") "palace language," "It has served for centuries as the special register of the sultan's inner court..." (Fatimah 1996:89). "The government is now teaching *bahasa dalam* in civics classes, to civil servants; and the students going for overseas studies..." "...as a means of instilling pride and respect for the nation's heritage." (Fatimah 1996:90). This formal inculcation of *bahasa dalam*, in which inferiors use PL4 or PL5 to superiors, but superiors may use PL4-2 to inferiors. "...is expected to strengthen the concept of Bruneian cultural identity, and to hinder liberal influences" (Fatimah 1996-90). Also, "By means of Bahasa Dalam, the social status among royalty, nobles, and commoners is carefully defined" (Fatimah 1996:90).

5. The fifth factor determining politeness is gender. In Japanese one uses more familiar language with members of one's own sex (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:9), and men may even use quite rough language at times (Mangajin 1995:81, 83). Traditionally Japanese women used politer language than men, including special verb forms (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:70-72).

The situation in Brunei Malay is similar. Men speaking among themselves may use rather rough language, at times well-laden with coarse expletives. Occasionally all-female speech is far from refined. But polite forms are used in speech between men and women, except for situations of strident domestic discord. During conversations between men and women, women often use a somewhat higher politeness level than do the men.

6. The sixth factor determining politeness is group membership. This is a very important distinction in Japanese, where a fundamental structural factor of life is group membership (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:10). One has very marked obligations and interconnected behaviors and interactions with members of one's in-group; one has no connection with, and no obligations toward, members of the out-group.

The average Japanese wants to conserve his fund of courtesy (as if he doubts that he has enough to go around) for those who deserve it, according to his scheme of things. To those on his "deserving list," he will be extremely polite. To those not on this list, he will give as much attention as he would give a clod of earth. (Seward 1990/1968:130)

The situation in Brunei Malay is different. The fundamental perception of the social world is the knowledge that *katani semua hamba Allah*, "we are all the slaves of Allah," and therefore ought to act with decency toward one another. Cross-cutting this, however, is the traditional perception that the more remote another person is from one's own active daily social circle, the greater the potential danger which that other person poses.

In the Temburong village of the 1970's, those with whom one interacted frequently included family members, other Malays, the two Chinese shopkeepers and their families,

embarrassed, sad, perplexed, or angry. "It is difficult for an American to smile when he is really angry or sad... It seems to be natural, however, for the Japanese." (Seward 1990/1968:132)

village Muruts, and known, frequently-visiting Pakistani peddlers. By 1995 the Muruts had moved out of that village, the one remaining Chinese shopkeeper was less patronized, and a combination of demographic shifts and factional divisions meant that there were separate clusters of local family interaction. These family clusters are the main "in-groups," though there is a sense of the village as an entity compared with the outside world.

Because strangers imply potential danger, one makes polite small-talk to those with whom one must interact in daily life. This changes the mutual interaction category from that of "strangers" to that of "non-strangers."

The Brunei Malay in-group spectrum can be summarized in terms of six units which are subsumed in three main categories:

### I. In-group

A. Close in-group (PL1-PL3)—Close family, and perhaps a few often-interacted-with neighbors. This is the only "safe" range.

B. Non-close in-group (PL2-PL3)—More distant family with whom one does not often associate, fellow villagers or frequent visitors with whom one frequently interacts. This is a "probably safe" category.

### II. Out-group

C. Close out-group (PL3)—Good friends and comrades, close co-workers. The boundary between this group and the non-close in-group is often fuzzy. This group is "possibly safe, possibly dangerous."

D. Non-close out-group (PL3-PL4)—Co-workers not frequently interacted with, merchants, officials, and many other people with whom one comes into infrequent contact. "Be careful, danger is likely."

### III. Remote

E. Remote out-group (PL2-PL4)—People with whom one does not interact. They are referred to as, *urang*, "people," meaning that, yes they are humans, but they lie beyond one's social sphere. "Dangerous."

F. Beyond ken (no direct interaction occurs)—People in other lands, beyond one's ken. It is a given that they are dangerous.

7. The seventh factor determining politeness usage is the situation.

People...change levels of speech depending on the situation, even when talking with the same person. (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:14)

The same holds true in Brunei. The situation includes who is actually involved in the conversation, who else is present or not present, the social setting and the physico-geographic-kinesic circumstances.

In Japanese, "...changing to a more polite language shows that the speaker no longer has close relations with the listener" (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:14). This sometimes holds true in Brunei Malay, but a shift to a higher politeness level may also be an attempt to lessen the danger of the anger of another; or it may be a way to quarrel without totally rupturing the relationship. Avoiding such a rupture is important, because

in Brunei if two people have a massive falling-out this will inevitably involve all the others who will be part of the social group reshuffling that follows.

#### Change and Continuity

In the absence of detailed diachronic descriptions of the Temburong village reaching back for half a century or more, discussion of change and continuity is of necessity rather limited. Some village elders say that people were generally more polite in the past, others say that people are still just as polite, and that the perceived change has to do with fallings-out and estrangements in the village.

In traditional times, children spent their days playing games, many of which prepared them for adult activities; and they heard traditional literature which used all the great wealth of Brunei Malay. Now they spend their days in school and learn the expressions and usages of Standard Malay, which has significant lexical and grammatical differences from Brunei Malay.

In traditional times elders surrounded children with a constant barrage of language. Sometimes they addressed the children directly, often the language was the interactive speaking which occurred when many people lived and worked close together. In 1995 village residence was less extended family and more nuclear family, and there were many fewer large inter-cooperating work group events than in the past. Television, including Power Rangers, Japanese cartoons, and Malay dramas, constituted a major linguistic milieu.

It would be facile to say that the current "television and schoolbook diet" will greatly alter Brunei Malay politeness usage in the 21st century. But events could prove otherwise. One possibility is that a time-shifting in the learning pattern may occur. In this time-shifted learning, adults learn, as a necessary aspect of their integration into Brunei Malay socio-cultural life, the politeness forms which individuals mastered earlier in life in previous generations. Another possibility is politeness term reformulation, in which the politeness levels are maintained, but the associated terminology and the manner of its usage acquires altered linguistic form. Subcultural varieties within Brunei Malay culture also need to be considered. It may be that politeness forms are inculcated younger and used more extensively in the intense socially-interactive milieu of densely-packed extended family Kampong Ayer residences than in the less intensely interactive social environment of largely nuclear family dispersed residence in non-Kampong Ayer locales.

#### Conclusions

The study of Brunei Malay politeness usages is multi-faceted. From a purely linguistic perspective the most crucial step has been to define a technique of consistent paradigmatic description that makes possible reasonable synchronic and diachronic analysis within Brunei Malay, and also make similar consistent analyses and comparisons amongst Brunei Malay dialectical usages, and with other languages and cultures of Borneo and greater Southeast Asia. The paradigm which has been set forth is a modified form of the five politeness levels, four types of politeness behavior, and seven usage factors elucidated by Mizutani and Mizutani (1987:passim) for Japanese. From a cultural-analytic perspective, the factors of cultural setting and context, belief system, role and actor, and social interactive patterning also need to be considered.

Taken over all, it is clear that the politeness spectrum of verbal and non-verbal behavior in Brunei Malay has ramifications throughout all aspects of the culture, and

throughout all the geographic regions where Brunei Malay is spoken. Many detailed studies of the topic remain to be done.

There is also a larger perspective to be considered. For whatever reason, politeness-spectrum usages have been treated as mere side-items in linguistic studies, but study of Brunei Malay suggests that such an approach is unwise.

One might propose that some future socio-linguistic studies of Brunei Malay should take the politeness spectrum as the central core, to which all other information and relational aspects are secondary. This suggests making a fundamental shift in the theoretical perspective: placing the human-interactive component at the central core, and relegating other language usages to the non-core. If one begins from the premise that social interactions are the core component of language usage, with all others being secondary, many interesting theoretical analytical questions immediately arise. Fundamental among these is a questioning of the basic assumption underlying virtually all linguistic studies and analysis: that data-conveyal is the primary function of language.

Seen from a politeness-centric perspective, many linguistic paradigms and analyses need major rethinking. For example, typological classification of world languages in terms of PL3 might provide new insights: Japanese and English both use verb morphology, Brunei Malay uses phrasemes. Historical linguistic analyses focus on the informational aspect of language contact and lexical borrowing, but pay little attention to the social-interaction component. For example, it is a commonplace to say that the use of *punya* as a genitive marker in Bazaar Malay, as in *dia-punya prau* "his-(genitive) boat," facilitated communication with Chinese merchants and other traders; but this ignores the basic fact that the prime motivation of Bazaar Malay was facilitating human social interaction amongst people who spoke multifarious languages. Once that social interaction was in place, it then was possible to conduct trade or business relationships; human interaction was primary; only after such interaction was established could other things follow.

The study of Brunei Malay politeness usages has led to both the establishment of a formal paradigm and to the suggestion that a major paradigmatic shift is needed. It remains for future studies to broaden and deepen our understanding of the full spectrum of verbal and non-verbal politeness usages in Brunei, throughout Borneo, and elsewhere in the world.

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#### FOURTH BIENNIAL MEETINGS

#### FOURTH BIENNIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

Professor Peter Eaton, Chairman of the Conference Organising Committee  
*University Brunei Darussalam*

The Fourth Biennial International Conference of the Borneo Research Council was held on the campus of the University of Brunei Darussalam from June 10th to 15th, 1996. The theme of the conference was "Development and Diversity in Borneo: Planning and Policies for Cultural and Environmental Diversity", one of particular relevance to Borneo where both biological diversity and traditional cultures are closely linked, and are also often under threat.

There were over 250 participants at the conference who came from a total of seventeen different countries, with a majority from the Borneo states of Malaysia and Indonesia and from Brunei Darussalam. A total of 170 papers were presented in three concurrent sessions. The papers were organised under fourteen different headings: Borneo History; Language in Borneo. Diachronic and Synchronic Perspectives; Environmental Management; Indigenous and Folk Bornean Architecture; Material Culture and Creative Arts; Biodiversity; Ethnobotany and Indigenous Knowledge; Conservation and National Parks; Traditional Economy, Resources and Society; Formation of Identity among Borneo Societies; Rural Development; Borneo Epics and Oral Tradition; Transfrontier Linkages and Contemporary Issues; Collecting and Representing Borneo Cultural Diversity, the Role of Museums in Borneo and Beyond.

The conference was opened by the Vice-Chancellor of the university, Pehin Dato Haji Abu Bakar. His opening speech was followed by addresses from the President of BRC, Professor George Appell, and the Executive Director, Professor Vinson Sutlive. All stressed the importance of research, preserving traditional knowledge and oral tradition.

Many of the sessions of the conference featured visual and audio presentations. There was also a mini-film festival featuring films on Borneo that had been brought by the participants. One of the most amusing and outrageous was provided by Patricia Regis: "Borneo" by Martin and Osa Johnson, a mid-1930s travelogue featuring their jungle camp by the Kinabatangan river in Sabah. There was also an excellent cultural show depicting aspects of the cultural life of Brunei, which was organised and presented by the university students. Field excursions and tours were organised to the Brunei Museums, the Ulu Temburong national park, the Belait peat swamp forest, Bandar Seri Begawan and Jerudong Park (Brunei's version of Disneyland). Dr. Phillip Thomas from the United States Library of Congress provided computer demonstrations, and the university library presented an exhibition of Brunei books and organised a special tour of its collections.

Copies of all available conference papers could be bought by participants, and sets were sent to the University of Brunei Darussalam library and to the Kalimantan Cultural Centre in Kalimantan. It was agreed selected papers from the different sessions should be collected and edited by the chairs as BRC publications.

The conference received financial sponsorship from the University of Brunei Darussalam, Brunei Shell, Royal Brunei Airways, and the Ford Foundation. It owed much of its success to the the enthusiasm of the participants, and also to the university students and junior staff who worked so hard in helping with its organisation.

### OPENING ADDRESS

From Yang Dimuliakan Pehin Orang Kaya Putera Maharaja Dato Seri Laila Jasa  
Haji Abu Bakar Haji Apong, Vice-Chancellor,  
*Universiti Brunei Darussalam*  
Presented in the Central Lecture Theatre, June 10th, 1996

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you all here today at the start of what should prove to be an interesting, significant and productive conference. It is, I believe, one of the largest conferences that the university has hosted, with an estimated 250 participants and 170 papers. It is also very appropriate that the Borneo Research Council's Fourth Biennial Conference coincides with the tenth anniversary of the university and adds to its celebration. We are indeed pleased to be able to host this conference.

The theme of the conference is also a very relevant one. Borneo is one of the world's great centers of biological diversity. For example, over three thousand different species of trees have been discovered on the island, and such is the variety in the forest that more than four hundred types can be found in just one hectare. From our own university, scientists working at the Kuala Belalong Field Studies Centre have by their research added to our knowledge of this great diversity of both flora and fauna.

Biological diversity has been defined as the range of species, ecosystems and genetic resources. It is important as the foundation of life on earth. It is the source of the food and many of the materials that we use. It provides the environmental protection, stability and life-support systems necessary for existence and human development. Yet everywhere we find this diversity under pressure. Species are disappearing, rare forms of life are in danger of extinction, the integrity of ecosystems is threatened, and our genetic potential is being reduced. The sources of these threats vary, but one is undoubtedly over-exploitation of the natural resources, another is pollution, and the greatest of all is destruction of habitat. The American biologist, Edward Wilson, has warned us of the latter danger when he wrote:

The one process ongoing in the 1990s that will take millions of years to correct is the loss of genetic and species diversity by the destruction of natural habitats. This is the folly that our descendants are least likely to forgive us.

Given the present generation's responsibility to attempt to preserve life's richness and protect its habitat, it is appropriate that this conference's stated objective is to discuss plans and policies to support diversity. I note from the program that there will be sessions devoted to research into biodiversity, conservation, protected areas, ethnobotany and indigenous knowledge. We are slowly coming to realise the importance of indigenous knowledge, passed down by word of mouth from one generation to another. This oral

knowledge is in danger of being lost as society changes and new methods of communication are developed. It has been said that when an old person with this knowledge dies, it is as if a library had been burnt down and all the books destroyed. We must make sure that such information is not lost, but instead is retained by its recording, documentation, and dissemination.

An example of specially valuable indigenous knowledge is associated with traditional medicines. Research in Brunei Darussalam and elsewhere in Borneo has discovered and identified a wide range of plants that can be used for healing a variety of illnesses. Our forests are proving to be the best pharmacy we have. They also have great potential for developing new life-saving medicines. Recently, it has been suggested that a species of tree, a *bintangor*, growing in Sarawak and also in Brunei, might provide a cure for the disease of AIDS which is ravaging so many parts of the world. Unfortunately, I have been told that it is proving difficult to do further research as the patch of forest where it was growing has been cut down. With so many species and their uses still unknown to science, there is a great danger of being in a position of not knowing what we have until we have lost it, a strong argument for being cautious in any policy that may damage or change the natural environment.

The other major theme of this conference is cultural diversity, and indeed it is one which is closely linked to biodiversity. Regions such as Borneo which have the greatest range of biological species also have the greatest variety of cultures, and the forces threatening biodiversity are often closely associated with those that are reducing cultural diversity. Cultural diversity and the means by which groups retain their identity and lifestyle can be shown in a number of different ways. These include language, social organization, artistic expression, and material culture. Again, it is pleasing to see all these features in the topics chosen for the papers in this conference. The different peoples of Borneo have become increasingly concerned with the need to keep their cultures alive, and this is reflected in the growth of cultural institutes and local museums. These help to show that various groups throughout Borneo are not turning their backs on their history and cultural legacy, but are determined to preserve and renew their identity. At a time when global trends are bringing increased uniformity, when television is bringing mass culture to every home, and large transnational companies and their advertising are bringing us the same brands of food, beverages and clothes, the retention of the individuality, lifestyles and customs of different cultures has become increasingly important. Just as species of wildlife can become extinct and disappear, so can cultures and languages; they must also be preserved. Many of the participants in this conference are concerned with the preservation of Borneo cultures, and it is with great interest that we will hear of their different projects and research.

One of the great challenges of development today is to bring about improvements in the quality of life without damaging the environment. We now talk about sustainable development, which the World Commission on the Environment and Development has defined as that which meets "the needs of the future without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". This concept has become basic to planning in Brunei Darussalam, as it has with our ASEAN neighbors, and it is one further addressed in the conference in the sessions on rural development and environmental management. In Borneo we know that much traditional resource-use was in fact sustainable, and had no long-term destructive effects on the environment. The study of

these traditional systems can provide valuable lessons for us today, and wherever possible, efforts should be made to integrate these practices into present development and conservation programs.

In the context of Brunei Darussalam, the importance of research in development has long been realised, particularly in formulating policies. One of the main tasks of the university since its inception in 1985 has been to develop and promote research relevant to Brunei Darussalam. We are able to witness today the achievements we have made, not only in encouraging local researchers, but also in attracting researchers from overseas. As part of a national policy to promote and encourage research, especially in areas which are problem-solving and which can contribute to national development, His Majesty's Government established in 1988 the Brunei Darussalam Research Council under the ambit of the Prime Minister's Office.

The Brunei Darussalam Research Council was established with these objectives, among others:

- (a) to promote, facilitate, coordinate and regulate the conduct of research activities so as to maximize the use of research studies and funding for formulating policies for national development planning, administration, and implementation and for general reference;
- (b) to maximize benefits from research activities in the interest of the nation and researcher, in terms of quality, cost, and speed;
- (c) to provide opportunities for local researchers so as to acquire experience and increase their effectiveness as researchers;
- (d) to encourage joint research by institutions in the public and private sector, and wherever possible, between such institutions and similar bodies in foreign countries;
- (e) to cooperate and collaborate in research matters with other research bodies;
- (f) to safeguard and ensure the preservation of the nation's culture, religion and heritage.

The Brunei Darussalam Research Council is also the body responsible for processing and deciding on applications for foreign and local researchers for permission to conduct research in this country, with the university serving as its secretariat.

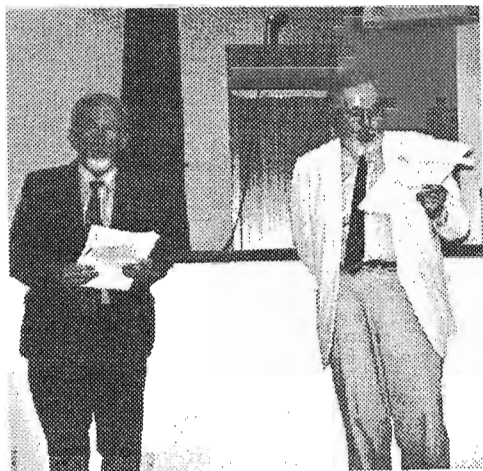
With regard to research activities at this university, I am happy to say that the university emphasizes research, especially applied research. Neither the size of the university nor its geographical location can ever become an impediment for us to develop as a research centre. In fact, it is the university's mission to excel in research, particularly applied research, in areas where it has a comparative advantage. The setting up of Kuala Belalong Field Studies Centre six years ago demonstrates our sincere endeavour. I am encouraged by the determination, hard work and initiative shown by the academic staff in undertaking research at this university. We are grateful to His Majesty's Government in granting generous support for annual funding, adequate infrastructure and facilities that provide a healthy and conducive environment for our staff to conduct research. Our access to information technology, especially through the internet, for example, provides a wider window to our staff to global information. Thus it facilitates collaboration with colleagues overseas. Our annual research fellowship awards to foreign researchers

hopefully will attract more researchers from abroad to enrich our study in specific areas. We realize the importance of collaborative research, be it between individuals or institutions. With this vision, we have developed linkages with other institutions in this region and outside the region. I hope with the present support and facilities, together with the dedication and commitment of our researchers, we will be able to develop this university as a center of excellence in research in Borneo. *Insha Allah*.

With regard to this conference, we understand that our co-host, the Borneo Research Council, was founded twenty-eight years ago with the major goal of promoting "research in the social, biological, and medical sciences in Borneo" and of disseminating the results of such research. One of the most important developments in its evolution since then has been the institution of biennial conferences, the first of which was held in Kuching, followed by Kota Kinabalu, Pontianak, and now Brunei Darussalam. The success of these conferences has been associated with the increase in institutions and individuals from Borneo itself who have become involved in research into issues affecting their own countries. It also has the advantage that these issues are discussed in Borneo, rather than in some remote academic setting in North America or Europe, or even Jakarta or Kuala Lumpur.

The biennial conferences perform a vital role in enabling us to find out what is happening across the borders in neighboring Borneo states. Conferences provide an international forum in which academics and practitioners can describe the results of their research and projects, facilitating the exchange of information, the development of networks, and international cooperation. The value of such conferences lies not only in the presentation and publication of papers, but also in the informal contacts and communications that are made. Conversations and the sharing of interests during the leisure moments of a conference have an important part to play, just as much as the formal proceedings.

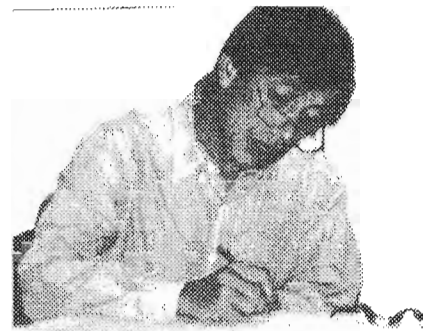
Ladies and gentlemen, I am very pleased that Universiti Brunei Darussalam has been invited to host this conference. I hope your time here will be enjoyable, and you can be assured that our staff and students will do their utmost to help in making it so, so that when you return to your homes it will be with happy memories, as well as greater knowledge and understanding. With that note, and with the *kalimat Bismillahir rahmanir rahim*, I now declare this conference open.



Peter Eaton and George Appell during the Closing Ceremonies (Conference photos by Laura Appell)



David Edwards, Department of Biology, University of Brunei Darussalam, and University Vice-Chancellor, Pehin Datu Haji Abu Bakar



Jayl Langub



David Edwards and Nicole Revel



Victor King and Ida Nicholaisen



George Appell and Vinson Sutlive



Joanna K-Kissey



## WELCOMING ADDRESS FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL,

Dr. George N. Appell, To the Participants of the Fourth Biennial Conference of the Borneo Research Council,  
Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam.,  
June 10-14, 1996

- Yang Dimuliakan Pehin Dato Orang Kaya Putera Maharaja Seri Laila Jasa Awang Haji Abu Bakar bin Haji Apong, Vice-Chancellor, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, and kind host of this Conference
- Professor Peter Eaton, Chairman of the University Organizing Committee
- Members of the University Organizing Committee
- Distinguished Members of Government
- Members of the University Community
- Honored Guests
- Fellows and Members of the Borneo Research Council
- Ladies and Gentlemen

On behalf of the Fellows and Members of the Borneo Research Council, I want to say how honored we are to be invited to hold our Fourth Biennial International Conference here in Brunei Darussalam. It is a particular honor in that it coincides with the university's tenth anniversary celebrations. It is indeed a great pleasure to be here in a country with such rich cultural and historical traditions. We are excited by the opportunity to exchange ideas and knowledge over the next five days with those from all over the world who are interested in forwarding knowledge of Borneo.

I want to especially thank the Vice Chancellor for his opening address of great vision.

We want to thank all those here in Brunei Darussalam who have brought this conference to fruition and who have given us such a warm welcome, and I would like to extend my greetings to all those participating in this exciting conference.

## THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

### PHILOSOPHY AND FUNCTIONS

As you know, the Borneo Research Council was founded in 1968 to help forward knowledge in the social, biological, and medical sciences in Borneo. I think that it is important at this point to make explicit the philosophy of the Council. First, there are two truths we hold to be self-evident.

One: To forward sound knowledge in the social, medical, and biological sciences we must consider Borneo as a whole. It is much more than the sum of its parts. This does not mean that Borneo ecologically, medically, historically, geologically and anthropologically does not have affiliations to other regions both nearby and far. But it

does mean that the contexts of knowledge of Borneo are more extensive, of greater density within the island itself, and of course Borneo has a uniqueness not found anywhere else in the world.

Two: We hinder the development of knowledge by working within the tunnel vision of a single discipline. The ecology of Borneo has been modified by man since he or she, or rather since he *and* she, first settled the island. To understand the ecology of Borneo we must understand the cultures of Borneo, and to understand the cultures of Borneo, we must understand both its history and its ecosystems. This requires the cooperation of linguists, archaeologists, ethnographers, biologists, and many others. Also, to understand the health of the populations of Borneo, we must understand their cultures and their exposures to pathogens in the various environments of Borneo.

Thus, we must hold fast to these two truths: the coherence of Borneo as a region of study and the interrelationships of the various intellectual disciplines. As a result, we as researchers must not develop a possessive view of the area in which we do research. Rather, we must relate to and be involved with researchers from all geographical areas and all disciplines. To stop the process of intercommunication will slow down the growth of knowledge and result in wasted effort of the resource of which we have far too little: scholarly research and inquiry.

Thus, one of the important goals of the Council is to serve as a link between disciplines and also to bring those working in disparate regions together to exchange ideas and knowledge such as at this conference.

But of course research findings are of themselves not yet knowledge. They only become knowledge when they are shared with and accepted by the group of scholars involved in related research. This is another function of the Borneo Research Council: to encourage those working in Borneo to share and test their findings.

Thus, the Council also wants to encourage, recognize, and help those who take the time from their other work, and using their own funds, strive to forward knowledge, whether in collecting local oral histories, doing ethnohistorical research, as Jude Kissey is doing and whose research you will hear about at this conference, or collecting data for establishing cultural centers, studying the distribution of plants, studying the genetics of populations, analyzing the distribution of disease and disability, observing changes in local ecosystems, mapping important cultural and natural sites, and so on. For there is much to do and too few to do it. Therefore, one of our important goals is to encourage such research endeavors by all and help them progress, at times indicating what questions need to be phrased and how to phrase them.

### LOSS OF BIODIVERSITY, CULTURAL DIVERSITY, KNOWLEDGE, AND AESTHETIC CREATIONS

Another one of the key reasons that the Council was formed was to try to develop a more systematic approach to scholarly questions in Borneo. For example, certain languages and cultural heritages are rapidly dying out. It is critically important to mount an effort to record these. Up until recently, what knowledge we have had has been accidental knowledge, the results of accidents of history. This has led to the greater development of knowledge in some regions more than in others.

I cannot overemphasize the importance of preserving examples of ecosystems and biodiversity, as is being done in Brunei by their five star forestry program. And I cannot

overemphasize the importance of recording disappearing languages and cultural heritages, each with its own unique collection of knowledge and wisdom. Such work not only preserves the cultural wisdom of the peoples of the earth, but it also facilitates the process of transformation into the modern state.

I have estimated that each month of the year a language and its cultural heritage, somewhere in the world, disappears without its being recorded as the world system of commerce reaches into the furthest corners of the planet.

This was brought home to me when I was talking with my daughter, Amity A. Doolittle, yesterday, about her research on resource use among a group of Dusunic speakers on the slopes of Mt. Kinabalu. She said that few individuals now know the specialized language and the distinctions that are made with regard to the spiritual, physical, and biological worlds. The old beautiful songs, chants, and epic poems of the spirit mediums and the oral history of the region are almost unknown now among the adult generation, and there is no one recording what remnants remain.

Consequently, I believe we have to organize a more systematic approach to research in Borneo, listing what critical research needs to be done before it is too late. I hope that our discussions here this week will lead to such an approach. And I would welcome any ideas that anyone might have to forward this proposal.

#### CONFERENCE THEME

This brings us to the important theme of this conference: Development and Diversity in Borneo: Planning for Cultural and Environmental Diversity.

I am reminded of one of my favorite quotes:

You must listen to the music of the past  
so that you can sing in the present  
and dance in the future.

As I have shown in my research, in periods of rapid social change, it is by honoring the past and preserving its record that people can move into the future more confidently and without hesitation.

It is clear that in times of change much knowledge is lost, which makes our work more urgent, more intense. I personally believe, and it is my hope that the Council also endorses this view, that to decry change is a false conceit. On the other hand, to accuse those who are concerned with recording the structure of ecosystems before they are gone, or recording sociocultural systems, biological information, or preserving some of the essential genotypes of this unique island, to accuse these researchers of standing in the way of progress also misinterprets our concerns. Without an understanding of our past we do not have the roots to grow. So, whether progressives or conservatives, we must all work together to do our best to preserve knowledge of the unique resources of Borneo for future generations before they disappear.

#### RECENT DEATHS OF COUNCIL MEMBERS

I must now turn to some unhappy news. Since our last conference in Pontianak, there have been several untimely deaths of friends and members of the Council. If I may:

Henry Gana Ngadi: a tragic and untimely loss to scholarship as he was in the midst of the very important work of preserving the oral traditions of the Iban.

D. J. Prentice: Jack was a linguist whose work among the Timugon Murut of Sabah broke new ground that has yet to be equalled. He unfortunately did not live to return to continue his work.

Pastor A. J. Ding Ngo: a monumental Kayan of great vision and love, who understood the importance of preserving the magnificent oral literature and adat traditions of his culture and so spent many years of his life writing them down and publishing them.

Tan Sri Datuk Gerunsin Lembat: who set in motion the ground-breaking work of codifying the customary laws of various Dayak groups, and if I may quote Jayl Langub, a man of integrity, whose wisdom and counsel are a great loss to Sarawak and Malaysia.

Father Robert Nichol: formerly honorary curator of the Brunei Museum, an eminent historian who worked so tirelessly on the history of Brunei Darussalam, mining the early European records.

A hundred years from now scholars such as these will be honored as heroes for their vision and their work that will be studied in universities around the world and bring pleasure, understanding, and an appreciation of the history and cultures of Borneo to countless generations.

May I suggest a moment of silence to honor these friends.

Thank you. If I have omitted mention of anyone, would you please let me know.

#### THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL MEDAL OF EXCELLENCE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE SOCIAL, MEDICAL, AND BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

From time to time the Council has awarded its medal for excellence to an individual who has made an extraordinary contribution to the advancement of knowledge in the social, medical and biological sciences in Borneo. This year we have awarded two medals.

A medal has been awarded to P.M. Dato Shariffuddin, former director of the Brunei Museum. The award reads: Your development of the Brunei Museum, your vision and efforts in this, are truly unique, and you have left a lasting contribution to knowledge and scholarship. Your support of scholars both inside and outside of Brunei and your welcoming of them will always be remembered.

A second medal was awarded to Anthony John Noel Richards, who unfortunately was unable to attend this conference. He has made major contributions to the study of Dayak Adat Law and Iban culture, and he has prepared the most extensive of Iban-English dictionaries.

### OTHER ACTIVITIES AND THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL

There is one further aspect of the Council's activities that I want to mention. The Council is one of the most pre-eminent volunteer organizations. We all work for the Council in our spare time, sometimes putting off demands on our time that would advance our own interests in favor of the Council. We grow old. We slow down. We need many more volunteers to help keep the BRC running smoothly. We really need volunteers who will take on tasks to forward knowledge in Borneo responsibly.

We of the Council are lucky in those who have stepped forward and volunteered, who have devoted their time, without compensation, to forward the interests of the Council as it tries to foster the advancement of knowledge in Borneo. I would like to express my gratitude to our executive director, Professor Vinson Sutlive, who has given so much of his time and resources to the Council. Vinson is now president of the UNESCO-sponsored International Union for the Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, which is another burden he has undertaken. Vinson is a man of rare qualities of character, integrity, and vision, who more frequently than not is much overworked but who always keeps the interests of the Council in the forefront. I owe a debt of undying gratitude to him for the pleasure he has brought to our working together to foster the goals of the Council. Second, to our new editor, Dr. Clifford Sather, again a man whose scholarly integrity is unparalleled, one of the best of Bornean ethnographers, whose devotion to the accumulation of knowledge of the peoples of Borneo is unsurpassed. I want to say, the pleasure of working with him has been truly something I will always be grateful for.

### MISUSE OF SCIENCE

At this point I want to mention one of my special concerns, and that is the misuse of science, particularly social science. Sometimes the product of the social sciences prepared by those not fully trained results in a form of pseudo-science. It ends up serving narrow ideological ends. The social sciences must be soundly based, for half-baked social sciences, which are too common a food, cause bad indigestion in the body politic. And it is my hope that the Council can be of help and provide advice in this matter.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is indeed a high honor for all of the Borneo Research Council to convene here in Brunei Darussalam and participate in the unique traditions of this country and the tenth anniversary celebrations of this excellent university.

We are most grateful to the Vice-Chancellor of the Universiti Brunei Darussalam for his kind invitation to hold this conference here in Brunei Darussalam. I want to express our appreciation to Professor Peter Eaton and his local committee for all the work and time they have put into making this an exciting conference. On behalf of the members of the Borneo Research Council I want to thank all those who have made this conference possible for your kindness, your welcome, your interest, and your support of our attempts to encourage the growth of knowledge.

I wish all of you who have come an exciting and productive conference, and may it provide rich opportunities to exchange ideas and the results of research. We must not lose sight of the fact that we are here not to forward ourselves in our search for knowledge but

to contribute to the betterment of all peoples. May this perspective inform all our exchanges.

### BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL, INC. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S REPORT

Professor Vinson Sutlive, Executive Director of the Borneo Research Council,  
to the Fourth Biennial International Conference  
Bandar Seri Begawan, June 10, 1996

President and Mrs. Appell, members of the Board of Directors, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. I am pleased to have this opportunity to add my welcome to the Fourth Biennial International Conference. With this conference we shall have conducted conferences in each of the major units of Borneo.

Concluding the first circuit in Brunei would seem to illustrate the statement that 'the first shall be last and the last, first'. For Brunei has for centuries been recognized as both a center of learning as well as a spiritual center. Before the discovery of the New World, before the Age of Mercantilism that reversed much in the world order, Brunei already was a thriving center extending not only political influence to the Bornean littoral, but also a vibrant center for the arts, philosophy, and science. It is an honour for us to meet here, and to enjoy the hospitality of our hosts.

We are grateful to the organizing committee, and especially to Professors Peter Eaton and Peter Martin, for the timely and efficient manner in which they have disseminated information about and have structured the program for this conference. We are grateful to the Universiti Brunei Darussalam for the hospitality of the administration, to whom, with faculty and students, we express our congratulations upon the celebration of your 10th anniversary. We are grateful to the corporate community, in particular Brunei Shell, for your support that has been important to this conference.

I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge the energy, initiative, and unstinting generosity of Professor Appell to the work of the Council. Though he is inclined to deflect and redirect any praise and tribute, his contributions have brought the Council to this time and place. His gifts have made possible the publication of both volumes of the Monograph Series. And when we have been desperately short of funds from time to time, it has been Professor Appell who has come through.

I do not know how many more of these meetings he will attend—not that I am consigning him to the other world—so I want to take this occasion to express my personal gratitude and, I am confident, the gratitude of all beneficiaries of the Council's work to say to George and Laura, 'Thank you for making it possible'.

With this tribute to Professor Appell, let me hasten to assure you that your Officers have no such interests or intentions in extending their tenure beyond our usefulness. As Professor Appell and I and others move along, we intend to pass on the privileges and responsibilities for the future of the Council to other equally and more capable persons. At this point, it seems appropriate to recall Jeremy Bentham, who is best known as a social reformer and developer of the philosophy of utilitarianism. During his later years, he became a major contributor to a London hospital. In his will, he bequeathed his estate to the hospital with the condition that his corpse be stripped of its flesh, and that his

skeleton be placed at the head of the table whenever the Board of Directors met. For decades, Bentham sat, an unseeing—but not unseen—presence, influencing the actions of the Board.

For those of you who are attending one of our conferences for the first time, let me review very briefly the mission and activities of the Council.

1. The Borneo Research Council was founded in 1968 to promote scientific research in Borneo; to serve as a forum for sharing information about current and continuing research; to identify and draw attention to urgent research problems; and to help facilitate research by reporting on current conditions which make research possible or impede it.

The statement of purpose for the Council, published in each issue of the *Bulletin*, expresses both applicability and significance. Research connotes 'looking again', and again, and again. In short, research is never done. Nor is the importance of sharing knowledge.

2. The Council is comprised of about 1125 individuals and institutions in three dozen countries on four continents. Our common interest is Borneo, its peoples and their cultures, and the worlds in which they live. Difficult as it may be for us to comprehend, our organization is unusual, if not unique.

3. The most significant accomplishment of the Council in its 28 years of existence has been to get people together who share common research interests, despite a variety of different backgrounds.

A century ago, the American author Mark Twain wrote:

Travel is fatal to prejudice, bigotry and narrow-mindedness. Broad, wholesome, charitable views cannot be acquired by vegetating in one little corner of the earth.

I shall return to this point later, for there has been no greater achievement.

4. Some of the members of the Council, by virtue of their membership, have served as consultants to both government and non-government organizations. It is to this end that we shall produce the Directory—first, conceived in Kuching, and now almost complete—and ask that if you have not completed a form with basic information for inclusion in the Directory and would like to be included, please obtain a copy and return it to one of us before the end of the conference. Please let us have your telephone, fax and email numbers, whatever you have.

5. We distinguish two categories of individuals: Fellows, who are persons having done research in Borneo, and Members, who are interested in Borneo but have not conducted research here.

6. In the United States of America, we are a legal body, incorporated in the Commonwealth of Virginia. We enjoy tax-exempt status granted to us by the Department of the Treasury of the United States Government through the Internal Revenue Service. Incorporation protects the rights and responsibilities of Fellows and Members, of Directors and Officers.

7. The Council is a non-profit organization. Through action taken by the Board of Directors in Pontianak to ensure the continued publication of the *Borneo Research Bulletin*, our financial situation has improved. The plan of action proposed and pursued has been for each geographic unit—Brunei, Kalimantan, Sabah, Sarawak, Europe-North

America—to contribute the amount of \$10,000 over a five-year period, or \$2,000 per annum, to cover costs for publishing and mailing the *Bulletin*.

Related to this has been the success of our annual fund campaigns. From a modest beginning in 1992, we have moved to a more encouraging campaign in 1995/1996. When the annual fund solicitation arrives, please do not dismiss it or think your gift insignificant. Admittedly, our success last year was due to a matching gift of \$10,000, but we did receive responses from more than 200 donors, to whom we say 'Thank you'.

I am pleased to announce on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors a campaign to raise an endowment of US\$250,000. Interest from the endowment will enable the Council to continue its activities, especially its publication program.

8. The Council is the only organization of its kind which attempts to treat all parts of Borneo in its coverage, and to relate to researchers in all parts of the island. State and Provincial museums have missions set for them by their governments. They are responsible to ministries and departments, to present programs and to arrange exhibitions, according to the interests of the government.

Among our activities are:

1. Annual meetings, usually held as part of the American Anthropological Association.

2. Biennial International Meetings, which provide an opportunity for members of the Council and persons interested in research in Borneo to convene in one of the political units of the island.

3. Publication of the *Borneo Research Bulletin*, an annual publication, in which we attempt to provide information about current and recent research. We urge you to consider submitting information about your research plans and activities. Some of our readers find information about each other the most helpful feature in the *Bulletin*.

4. Publication of the BRC Monograph Series with two publications: *Female and Male in Borneo*, and *The Seen and The Unseen*. We anticipate publication of other titles.

5. The creation and award of the Borneo Research Council Medal, the first award being to Datuk Amar Dr. Leonard Linggi Jugah. In Pontianak, Medals were presented *in absentia* to Professor Derek Freeman for his work among the Iban, and to the late Professor Stephen Morris who worked among the Melanau, and to the late Professor William Geddes, for his work among the Land Dayaks. We are delighted to acknowledge this year's recipients, Dato P. M. Sharifuddin and Anthony J. N. Richards.

6. An increase and diversification of activities. In addition to the initial task of producing the *Borneo Research Bulletin*, we now have launched the Monograph Series, are publishing selected papers in our Proceedings Series, are scheduling and organizing these biennial conferences, and are undertaking an annual fund campaign.

Several Fellows have volunteered to share in the work, e.g., editing 'Research Notes' and initial word-processing. If we are to continue all of these activities, we must have more volunteers and a greater distribution of the workload.

Professor Clifford Sather has assumed the Editorship of the *Borneo Research Bulletin*, and the interest and eagerness with which he has taken on the position augurs well for the future of the *Bulletin*. To assist him, Dr. Sather has constituted a volunteer editorial board, including among its initial members Dr. Richard Fidler, Professor Anne Schiller, Jayl Langub, Dr. James Chun, Professor K. A. Adelaar, and Patricia Regis. Dr.

Phillip Thomas has agreed to provide the technical assistance essential to publication of the *Bulletin*. We invite applications from others for membership on the editorial board, the work of which involves contributing research notes, brief communications, book reviews and bibliography, and news and announcement items.

Professor Allen Drake has agreed to become Editor of the Borneo Research Council's Monograph Series. It is our intention to bring together in one volume the edited essays of Professor Sather, and also to publish selected doctoral dissertations.

We also invite applications from persons interested in editing the papers from this conference, as well as selected papers from the Pontianak conference. If you are interested in participating in this way, please see one of the Directors or Officers during the conference, or write to us, to indicate your interest.

### DISCUSSION

In my presentation in Pontianak, I raised several questions, viz.:

Is the BRC still a useful organization? Or, has the Council outlived its time? Should we undertake a restructuring of the Council and, if so, how should we rebuild it?

To consider the last question first, let me indicate that we have commenced a restructuring of the Council, or at least a redistribution of responsibilities. We have added new members of the Board of Directors, and have replaced others, with our gratitude for their service to the Council and to research.

To consider the first question: It is my opinion that the Council has never been more needed, nor its work more important. Within the theme of this conference, 'Development and Diversity', the overriding question is: As development occurs, can we sustain diversity? Actually, diversity is bound to increase, despite the powerfully levelling and homogenizing influences of mass media and other institutions.

In a world that is becoming increasingly specialized and divided along lines of specialization, it is crucial that we be able to communicate across disciplinary and professional lines. In a world in which information is doubling every three months, it is important to maintain perspective on who we are. A month ago, a friend who formerly worked with USAID asked, 'How can we keep up with the increase in information?' To which I replied, "We cannot. We have to recognize that we cannot know everything or do everything. And we have to choose those activities to which we commit ourselves." Over 200 years ago Samuel Johnson observed, "A man may be so much of everything, that he is nothing of anything" (James Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, 1791:136).

*Community and identity* are essential to our collective well-being, and our health as individuals. *Community* is determined by the process of organizing patterns of behaviours that are predictable and acceptable, and the selection of values that justify those behaviours. We are programmed for community, and we fulfill our human potential only with others. Also, identity always is established within community.

Freeman J. Dyson, physicist, in *Infinite in All Directions*, wrote:

The world of biology is full of miracles, but nothing I have seen is as miraculous as the metamorphosis of the monarch caterpillar. Her brain is a speck of neural tissue a few millimeters long, about a million times

smaller than a human brain. With this almost microscopic clump of nerve cells she knows how to manage her new legs and wings, to talk and to fly, to find her way by some unknown means of navigation over thousands of miles from Massachusetts to Mexico.

How are her behavior patterns programmed first into the genes of the caterpillar and then translated into the neural pathways of the butterfly? These are mysteries that biologists are far from understanding. The monarch is living proof that nature's imagination is richer than our own.

In the so-called age of postmodernism, with shifting values and the fiction that 'anything goes', let me insist upon a basic fact of life, viz., we live in community, and without community—its responsibilities as well as its rights—we cannot exist.

*Emotional Intelligence* is a book of major importance published just over a year ago. Its author, Daniel Goleman, presents compelling evidence that human beings exist not only by education, but also by the development of trust. One of the principal theses of Goleman's study is that 'we are able to do far more together than we can as individuals'.

A sense of community has been one of the strengths of Bornean societies. But this sense is now under assault from a myriad of sources. We find out who we are in community—not through privacy or privatization, as popular as both are—but by interaction with other people. With the naivete that is popular today in which people want to 'find themselves', to discover who they are, the insight provided by Alan Watts is quite correct when he writes that 'trying to define yourself is like trying to bite your own teeth'. We do not define ourselves, or discover ourselves alone—we do it through interpersonal interaction.

One of the most exciting developments in the Council is the inauguration of the Library of Borneo Classics, established to publish the 'wisdom literature' of Bornean societies—chants of shamans and bards, epics, sagas, and all forms of folklore. There probably is no more important program we have undertaken than the Classics series, for it will provide a permanent record of the cultures of Borneo's diverse peoples.

Borneo Classics will be launched with the publication of an edited volume of shamanic texts or *pelian*, with interlinear translation and interpretation by Professor Sather. This volume, a joint publication of The Tun Jugah Foundation and the Council, is the first in what we anticipate to become a major collection of folklore and ritual performances, with an invitation for participation open to all.

To announce the Council's publications, and especially the Borneo Classics series, we currently are mailing brochures to approximately 15,000 scholars, libraries, and other institutions with interests in Borneo, Southeast Asia, or the subjects of our publications.

On Thursday of this week, there will be a full-day session on 'Borneo Epics and Oral Traditions', organized by Clifford Sather, of the Tun Jugah Foundation, and Jayl Langub of the Majlis Adat Istiadat, Kuching. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this program, or the materials to which its papers will refer. With the explosion of information, and its ever-increasing availability through unprecedented technological changes, oral traditions are at more risk of disappearing than ever before. The seductive nature of print, to which Neal Postman refers in *Technopoly*, treats with disdain all 'folklore' and 'prehistoric' sources.

To illustrate, I recently discussed an exhibition of Iban fabrics, among the finest in the world, with the acting director of our university's museum. With almost palpable condescension, the acting director informed me that the museum does not exhibit 'folk arts', only 'fine arts'. I proceeded to ask whether she was aware of the *classic* study, *Iban Fabrics and Their Patterns*, by Alfred Cort Haddon and Laura Start, published in 1925. Needless to say, she was not. Such uninformed snobbery is symptomatic of the source of the problem we face, and will continue to face.

There is considerable ambivalence apparent in human cultures. On the one hand, we want to distance, indeed, separate ourselves, from our pasts. Yet on the other hand, we seek to recover the past, once it is gone. Consider the elaborate rituals of separation by which we attempt to have done with our predecessors, yet we cannot, nor should we.

In *Utopia and Other Places* (Bloomsbury Press), Richard Eyre writes:

Our parents cast long shadows over our lives. When we grow up, we imagine that we can walk in the sun, free of them. We don't realize, until it's too late, that we have no choice in the matter; they're always ahead of us.

We carry them within us all our lives—in the shape of our face, the way we walk, the sound of our voice, our skin, our hair, our hands, our heart. We try all our lives to separate ourselves from them, and only when they are gone do we find we are indivisible.

So are we tied together, by common bonds of inheritance that make us uncommonly human while also commonly natural. Yet, there is considerable anxiety about who we are and why we are. We live in a world that is divided along numerous lines, most of them cultural or ideological. That is, they are not 'natural' or 'inevitable'. Rather, they occur because of human decisions, or indecision.

In *Showing My Color*, the African-American writer Clarence Page quotes several students of race and gender who suggest that lines of color will continue to divide human societies in the 21st century. Perhaps, but a new gap, the information gap, is appearing, and there seems the high probability that the world will be divided along lines of computer literacy.

### CONCLUSION

Let me conclude these remarks by referring to three statements on the importance of maintaining diversity amidst development.

- Shortly before his death, the American poet Carl Sandburg was asked what he considered the most positive and the most negative words in English. Without hesitation, he replied 'Inclusion' and 'Exclusion'.

- In a monumental 653-page volume, *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, just published by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Michael E. Brown of Harvard's Center for Science and International Affairs reports conclusions based upon research that he, 14 colleagues, and scores of researchers undertook over a three-year period. The startling evidence from 34 major interethnic conflicts since the end of the Cold War is that 23 have been

consciously and deliberately started and engineered by political leaders inside the countries involved. The single factor that applies to all the conflicts is a willful rejection of those who are 'different'.

- There is an ancient Indian myth that tells how, in the beginning, God considered how he might give human beings the most valuable gift. He didn't want to give the gift outright, but wanted humans to discover it for themselves. He thought that he would hide it on the highest mountain, but realized someone would scale it. He thought he would hide it in the deepest sea, but realized someone would dive there. In the densest forest, but someone would explore there. Finally, he concluded, 'I will hide it within each human being, and I will turn human eyes outward. So, the only way by which humans can discover the most valuable gift—and know themselves—is in other people.'

May we learn from our differences, and in processes of development which impinge upon us, resolve that we shall honour and support the diversity by which our lives are enriched.

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

## A MASTER PLAN FOR WILDLIFE IN SARAWAK

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 Malaysia

In recent years, development has been continuing apace in Sarawak. This has its advantages, but also its problems. One of these has been the rapid decline of many species of wildlife. For example, Sarawak's state bird, the rhinoceros hornbill or *kenyalang* and other hornbills have become rare throughout much of the state; the number of marine turtles nesting on the Turtle Islands has declined by more than 90% in the past 50 years; the number of proboscis monkeys has declined by more than 50% in some areas in the last ten years; and the range of orang-utan has shrunk greatly, and only one viable population still exists in the State. Even Sarawak's national parks are losing their wildlife: most species of birds and mammals are extremely rare or no longer occur in Kubah and Gunung Gading, and in Mulu within a day's walk of the park headquarters. The main reasons for such rapid declines are over-hunting, especially for the commercial wild meat market and by sports hunters, and also loss of habitat.

In recognition of this, and of the importance of wildlife to Sarawak's heritage, in 1994 the State Government requested that a "Master Plan for Wildlife in Sarawak" be written. This was prepared by the Sarawak Forest Department and the Wildlife Conservation Society (formerly known as the New York Zoological Society). Many other relevant people and agencies in the State were also consulted, on an individual basis and in a series of workshops. The plan provides a comprehensive, cross-sectorial strategy to conserve wildlife in Sarawak, and detailed recommendations on how to implement it. It covers all aspects of wildlife conservation and management in a way which is compatible with development of the State. Thus, topics covered include the importance of wildlife to Sarawak, the protected area system, wildlife conservation in production forests, hunting for subsistence and trade, conservation of species, conservation education, establishment of a professional government wildlife service, and economics of wildlife conservation.

The Master Plan was completed in December 1996 and was approved by the State Cabinet in January 1997, so is now official government policy. The process of implementation is about to start. Sarawak is the first place in the world to have a comprehensive master plan for wildlife conservation. Its vision in doing so is a model for many other developing and developed countries.

## ULAP DOYO: A STUDY OF BENUAQ DAYAK TEXTILES IN EAST KALIMANTAN

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My study comprises the 'research project' component of the University of Melbourne's Fine Arts Department Postgraduate Diploma in Arts (Art Curatorship and Museum Management) also known as the Postgraduate Diploma in Art Curatorial Studies.

Through the Fine Arts Department at the University of Melbourne, Australia, I am currently doing a research project on the fibre textiles (known locally as *ulap doyo*) made by the Dayak Benuaq in East Kalimantan. Most of the production is centred around the village of Tanjung Isuy, across Lake Jempang, south of the Mahakam River. I am also interested in the applique work done in the same area and in fact any woven Dayak textiles (apart from those of the Iban which are well documented).

The research project is to be presented in a thesis which will take the form of a catalogue for a hypothetical exhibition which I hope may eventually become a reality. In planning for this I am trying to identify excellent, rare and old examples of *ulap doyo*. I know there is one in the Australian National Gallery collection in Canberra Australia and have located examples in the USA and the Netherlands and am in the process of contacting museums which have Indonesian textile collections. Once I locate examples, I try to order copies of slides or photos to use in lectures and textile conferences for which I am preparing papers and also for the thesis itself.

The catalogue will include a description of the techniques and processes of *ulap doyo*, from preparation of the fibre extracted from the leaf of the *lamba* plant (*Curculigo latifolia*), preparation of the warp ikat motif, dyeing, through to the weaving stage. Motifs and their meanings will be described and comparisons made between traditional and contemporary motifs and textiles within the cultural context of the Benuaq. Since there is so little documentation available, research in this case has involved meeting with weavers and observing and documenting processes directly. As the art of weaving almost died out in the area and was revived with government assistance during the 1980s, I am also contacting relevant government bodies about their involvement as I am also interested in the effects and impact of tourism on the weavers.

My literature search so far has revealed very little written about the *ulap doyo* textiles or the Benuaq people. If any readers have information or know of publications which may relate to the Dayak Benuaq, I would very much appreciate hearing about them. I am aware of two anthropologists who have been doing PhD research in different Dayak Benuaq villages and am also trying to liaise with them. For the last five years I

have lived in Balikpapan, East Kalimantan, but have recently moved to Jakarta. My international mailing address is above but by far the quickest form of communication is by email.

## SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MEDIA AMONG THE IBAN OF SARAWAK

John R. Postill  
*Department of Anthropology*  
*University College London*

In the early 1990s, the editor of the *Borneo Research Bulletin* and the President of the Borneo Research Council called for the urgent investigation of social change in Borneo, including the influence of foreign media on "the attitudes and behavior of men and women in Borneo" (Sutlive and Appell 1991). We wish to heed this call, although our focus will be not so much the 'influence' as the *social significance* of media, both foreign and domestic. We are asking how important the various media (TV, radio, newspapers, magazines, ...) are in people's everyday lives. We intend to explore the relationship between four kinds of structures (economic, spatial, temporal and communicational) and people's social practices, and how imbricated, if at all, the media are in this relationship. For instance, does the TV set take pride of place in most longhouse apartments (space)? Do TV programmes structure people's evenings (time)? Do radio dramas feed people's conversations (communication)?

Unlike interpretive anthropologists such as Geertz, we shall consider interpreting as one social practice among many, using an account of knowledge derived from Bourdieu. We shall treat watching TV, listening to the radio, etc. as a set of practices linked to other sets (e.g. women's housework or children's homework) rather than as isolated texts awaiting a single reading.

We arrived in Sarawak in December 1996 and are hoping to spend 18 months in total. The first 14 months we will be working in longhouses in the Betong area. The final four months we intend to work in the Baleh in order to add a comparative edge to the study. Since the subject-matter ought to appeal to non-specialists, I will strive to produce a readable account and get it published. At present, the study forms part of my social anthropology PhD at University College London. My supervisors are Dr. Simon Strickland and Dr. Chris Tilley. Research is being funded by the Anthropology Department and the Graduate School at University College London, but I am hoping to receive further funds from other sources.

My wife, Kyoko, who has a developmental economics Msc from London SOAS, is my co-researcher. She hopes to build on this experience in a future PhD project, probably in education.

## THE SOUTH KALIMANTAN *JUKUNG*: A STUDY

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### Introduction

The vast catchment area formed by the Barito River and the Kapuas and Kahayan Rivers of South and Central Kalimantan, inhabited by a population of over 2 million persons, is served by a large fleet of various types of *jukung* or locally-built vessels.

I have begun a study of these South Kalimantan *jukung* for the following reasons:

1. For many years this fleet has played a vital part in the socio-economic life of the Barito River Basin, yet the vessels making up this fleet remain little studied and are only poorly described.

2. All of the different types of *jukung* used within the Barito River Basin, from small 5-meter long canoes (*perahu*), through 20-25-meter passenger boats (motorboats), to 14-20-meter broad-bellied freighters (*jukung tiong* and *jukung raksasa*), are built over a dugout and expanded log (instead of a keelson).

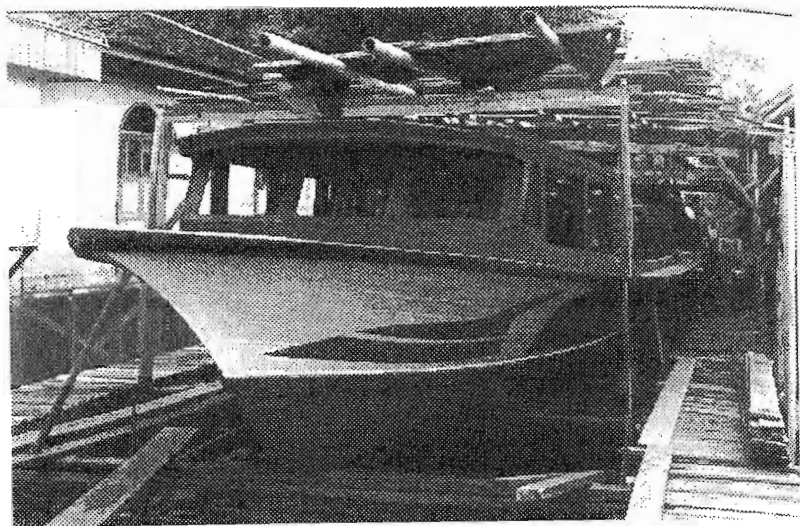
3. The last 40 years have witnessed a remarkable change in the types of *jukung* used locally. Sail-driven types have disappeared and one might have imagined that this would have resulted in a diminution of the *jukung* fleet. But instead, the *jukung* has not only survived, but a series of new motor-propelled types have been developed and are now being produced in large numbers.

4. The production method for *jukung* construction, that of expanding a dugout by burning and building up the sides with boards and frames, using wooden dowels, is very old, dating back to the stone age. This method is also known from other parts of the world, but, whereas it has decreased or disappeared nearly everywhere else, it is still alive and thriving in South and Central Kalimantan.

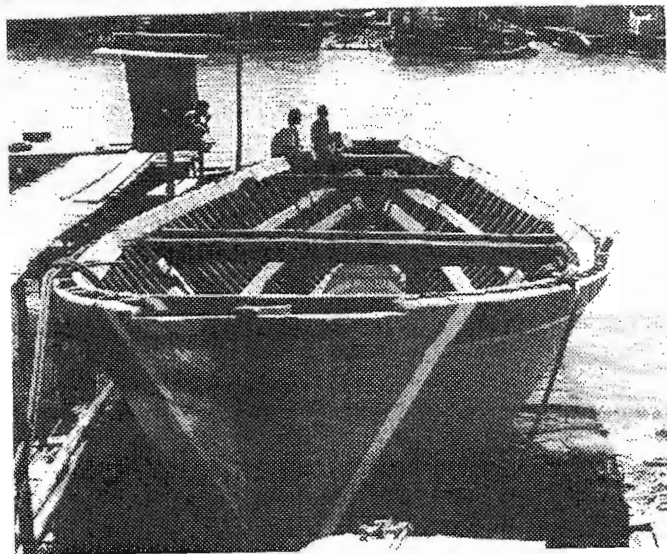
5. Also the building process is remarkable in that it consists of three phases, each performed at a different location. Phase One consists of felling trees, hollowing and forming the stern, and is carried out along rivers in undulating terrain 150-400 km upstream. Phase Two consists of further hollowing, heating and expansion and is mostly done in two villages, located 60 km from the sea. Phase Three comprises completion of the *jukung*, fixing boards, frames, extending the stern etc., and is mostly done on Alalak Island, near Banjarmasin Town, 20 km from the sea.

6. From the linguistics literature it is known that Malagasy, the language spoken on Madagascar, the big island off the coast of East Africa, "has a close affinity to the Ma'anyan language of Central-South Kalimantan. Thus the ancestors of the Malagasy

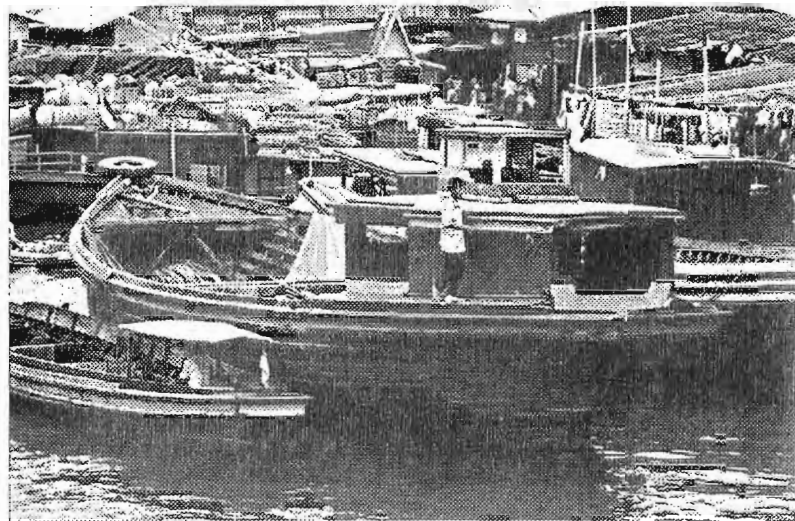




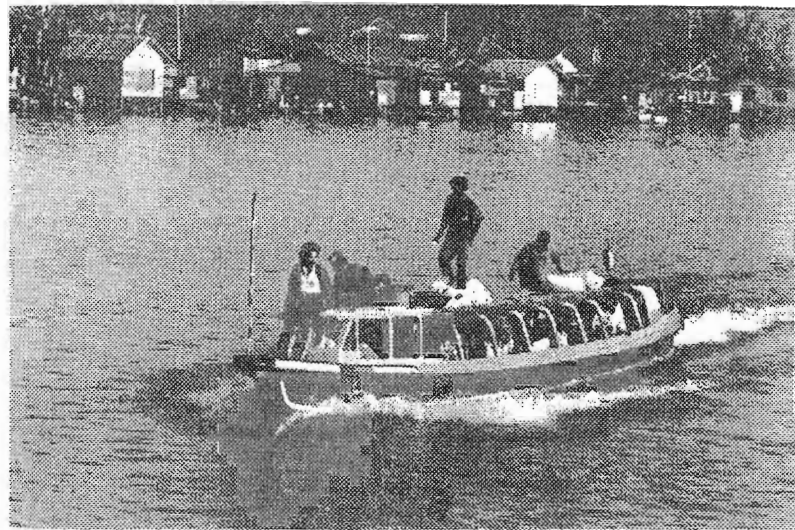
A 25-Meter Motorboat under Construction (Photos by Erik Petersen)



*Jukung Tiong* under Construction, April, 1997, at Alalak Island.



*Jukung Raksasa*, Banjarmasin.



A Motorboat Carrying Passengers.

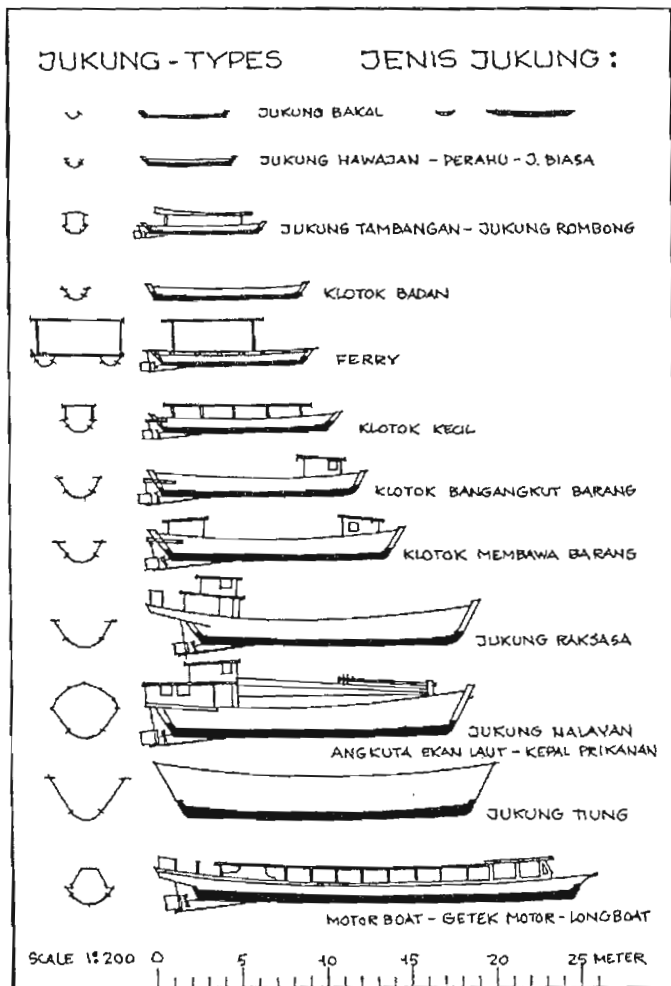


Figure 1. (Drawings enhanced by Georgeann Sather)

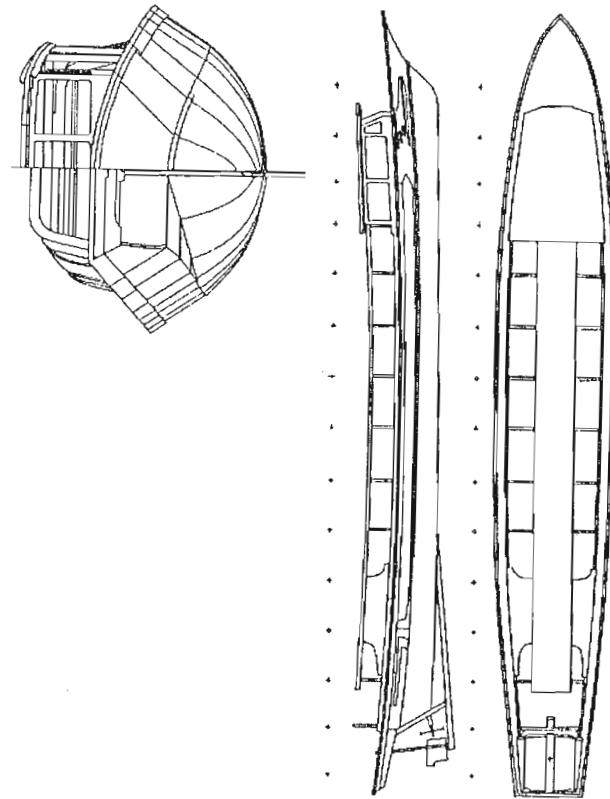


Figure 2

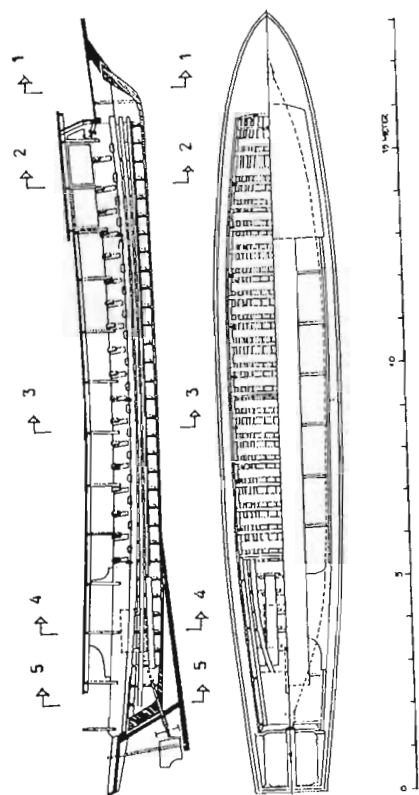


Figure 3a

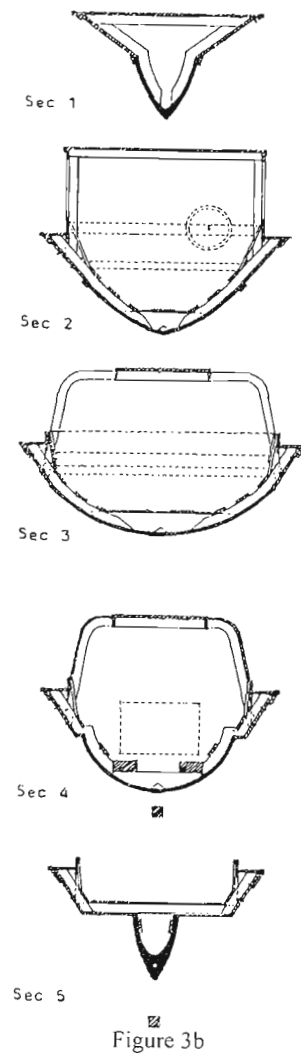


Figure 3b

must have migrated from Kalimantan to Madagascar".<sup>1</sup> Ma'anyan, one of the Dayak languages of Kalimantan, is spoken in the Barito River Basin, near the places where jukung production is still going on. Hence another purpose of this study is to seek evidence that the ancestors of the South Kalimantan jukung may have made the 6,400 km-long voyage to Madagascar, about 1,300 years ago, or around 700 AD.

### Objectives of the Study

Based upon the reasons given above, it is the objective of this study to present a systematic description of the South Kalimantan jukung, viz:

The various types, their geographical distribution, function and economic use. Their form, construction, and building materials.

The special three-phased building process, the activities involved in each, their location, and organization.

Building methods. What takes place during each phase of construction; what materials and tools are used; and the training of craftsmen.

Statements from the builders and others concerning vessel types and their origin, materials, tools, and the learning process. Views concerning the future.

In the current phase of my study, I plan to visit the village of Bata Pah, near the Kapuas River, where a group of Ma'anyan Dayaks still practice boat-building.

### Types of Boats

The drawings (Figure 1) illustrate the different types of locally constructed boats that I am studying. Also included are local names. Although I use the term *jukung* generally, for all locally-built boats constructed over an expanded dugout, not all of these vessels are referred to as *jukung* by the local people. As can be seen, for some, particularly for the newer motor-propelled types, the name *jukung* is not used.

In order to indicate how an ancient type of construction has been adapted and made to serve modern uses, in the final section I briefly describe the long passenger boat, variously called motorboat or *getek motor* and the longboat.

### THE MOTORBOAT (KEPAL MOTOR OR GETEK MOTOR)

#### General Characteristics:

With an overall length of 18-25 meters, the motorboat is the longest of the Kalimantan jukung. Its width is about 2.3-3.0 meters and fully loaded it draws about 1.2 meters. The motorboat carries some 75 to 140 passengers. It is propelled by a 6 cylinder diesel engine and makes about 12-16 knots cruising speed. The motorboat is constructed over a special *ulin* trunk, extended at both the stem and stern (see photos). When traveling longer routes, a WC is typically placed at the stern.

<sup>1</sup>Migration from Kalimantan to Madagascar. Otto Christian Dahl, Norwegian University Press 1991.

#### Function:

The motorboat, carrying 70-140 passengers, is used for longer daytrips. A number of routes start from Banjarmasin:

1. Banjarmasin-Kuala Kapuas, 40 km, about 2 hours, cost 1,750 Rp/person, with stops for passengers wishing to embark or disembark along the 28 km long channel connecting the two branches of the Barito River.
2. Banjarmasin-Belawang, 30 km, cost 1,500 Rp/person.
3. Banjarmasin-Palangka Raya, 228 km, about 12 hours, cost 10,500 Rp/person.
4. Banjarmasin-Tamban and Cator, 30 km, cost 1,500 Rp/person.

#### Other routes:

5. Palangka Raya-Kuala Kuron, 240 km, cost 15,000 Rp/person.
6. In addition a number of shorter routes run from Kuala Kapuas.

#### Economic Aspects:

The first motorboat ran in 1966, only 30 years ago. On the local rivers, the motorboat has direct competition from the longboat, a similar passenger boat constructed using plywood and propelled by one or two outboard motors. The longboat has a smaller capacity and is slightly shorter. For faster trips, with fewer passengers, the speedboat competes with both the motorboat and longboat. Speedboat tickets are much costlier. Thus on route 1, from Banjar to Kuala Kapuas, speedboat tickets cost 5,100 Rp/person, compared to 2,600 Rp/person for a longboat, and 1,750 Rp/person for a motorboat trip.

On long routes upriver, taking one or more days, on which passengers sleep aboard, large, two-deck River Bis run the routes, with some competition from the faster speedboats. For some of the routes mentioned here, a road system is now being constructed. Construction of a large road from Banjarmasin to Palangka Raya is expected to begin around the year 2000. Taxis and buses will then give the motorboat competition. In addition, in the future, uncertainty surrounds the availability of the long and strong timbers needed for boat construction.

#### Motorboat Details:

Motorboat-- measured October 12th, 1996, at Alalak (see Figures 2 and 3).

Builder: Akang, with 4 tukang, at Desa Pulau Sugara, RT4.

Building period: August-October, 1996.

This boat (photo) was being built on the order of a buyer who wants to use it for regular passenger traffic between Banjarmasin and Negara.

Length:	18.25 meters
Width:	2.69 meters
Height:	1.14 meters
Propulsion:	6 cylinder diesel truck engine
Calculated number of passengers:	85

Price:	Finished boat	8,500,000 Rp.
	Motor	6,000,000 Rp.
	Clutch	4,000,000 Rp.
	Total:	18,500,000 Rp.

The motorboat was built over a 10 *debe* (17 meter) jukung dugout and expanded from a *benuas* wood trunk. The jukung (hull, *kerongkong*) came from Munusup.

#### Construction:

Boards of ulin are fixed to the trunk with dowels of ulin wood. Next, frames and bottom ribs, also of ulin, are fixed to the hull and boards. Deck and coaming are fixed by dowels. A special foundation is made for the heavy motor, with two 10 by 20 cm ulin stocks placed on top of the bottom ribs in the stern. Longitude frames made of 14 by 2.5 cm ulin are fixed inside the frames with bolts in order to strengthen the whole construction. Also long floor boards, 20 by 2.5 cm, are fixed to the bottom ribs by bolts. A 5 meter long, 10 by 10 cm ulin beam is fixed by bolts under the rear end of the hull and is kept in place by a shorter ulin beam bolted from behind to the stern. This construction is aimed at keeping the screw and rudder in position and is meant to protect the screw from the bottom of the boat. Frames for easy roof construction are placed over the full length of the boat. Finally, inside panels and loose seat-benches and backs are fitted.

The engine is mounted in place when the motorboat is floating in the water.

### ANNOUNCEMENTS

#### VISITING RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

The Tun Jugah Foundation and the University of Hull announce: Through the generosity of the Tun Jugah Foundation in Kuching, a Visiting Research Fellowship scheme has been established at the Centre for South-East Asian Studies at the University of Hull. One Fellowship is available each year commencing in the 1998 academic year. The Research Fellow must pursue advanced research in the social sciences or humanities on a subject related to the state of Sarawak, or Sarawak in the context of the Federation of Malaysia. The Fellowship is open to scholars of all nationalities who occupy posts in higher education, research institutes, foundations and government research departments. It is especially suitable for overseas academics who wish to spend a period of study leave in the United Kingdom.

- The Fellowship covers reasonable maintenance costs and travelling expenses to and from the United Kingdom up to a maximum grant of £3000. The Research Fellow is expected to spend a minimum period of two months attached to the Centre at Hull, to present a lecture or senior seminar on his or her research and to provide a written report of the work accomplished to be submitted to the University and the Tun Jugah Foundation. The Centre would hope to be able to publish some of the results of the research in its own publication series. Library, computing and office facilities will be made available.
- There is no standard application form. Applicants are invited to write to the Director of the Centre providing a statement of the proposed research in not

more than 2000 words, with a full curriculum vitae and the names of two nominated referees.

- Any enquiries should also be addressed to the Director at the Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, Hull HU6 7RX, U.K. (tel/fax 44 1482 465758 or e-mail: S.Rhind@seas.hull.ac.uk). Applications for 1998 should reach the Director by 30 November 1997 at the latest.

#### PANEL: LOGGING THE INDONESIAN FORESTS

The Indonesian Studies Association, meeting concurrently with the Association for Asian Studies in Chicago, sponsored an interdisciplinary panel, March 15, 1997, on "Logging the Indonesian Forests: the political, social, and ecological consequences". Four papers were presented:

- (1) William Ascher, Professor of Political Science at Duke University, presented "From Oil to Timber: The Political Economy of Off-Budget Development Financing in Indonesia";
- (2) Jill Belsky, Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Montana, and Lisa Curran, Assistant Professor of Biology at the University of Michigan, presented "Logging and Livelihood: Dynamic Processes Across a Kalimantan Landscape";
- (3) Paul Gellert, Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology at Cornell University, presented "Concentrating Capital with a Spatially Diffuse Commodity: The Political Ecology and Economy of the Indonesian Timber Industry"; and
- (4) Michael Ross, Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Michigan, presented "The Politics of Timber Patronage in Indonesia, 1967-1994."

Although only the Belsky and Curran paper was exclusively concerned with Borneo, the other three papers drew extensively on the role of the timber industry in Kalimantan to analyze the political economy of the industry throughout the archipelago.

The panel was well-attended—close to forty people came—despite poor advertising and an unfortunate time slot. A lively discussion was spurred by the comments of two discussants: Nancy Peluso, Assistant Professor of Environmental Science, Policy and Management at the University of California Berkeley; and Michael Leigh, Professor of Political Science at the University of Sydney. Both Peluso and Leigh pointed out the wide gap between the ground-level analysis in the Belsky and Curran paper, and the state-level analysis offered by the other three papers. Peluso also offered ideas on how the conflicts over logging and land rights discussed by the papers could be analytically linked to the work of NGOs in Jakarta and Kalimantan, and to the recent episodes of violence in West Kalimantan. (Michael Ross, Department of Political Science, Haven Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109; USA: fax (313) 764 3522)

#### THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON GREAT APES OF THE WORLD KUCHING, SARAWAK; JULY 3-6, 1998

The Third International Conference on Great Apes of the World will be held in Kuching, Sarawak, MALAYSIA, from July 3-6, 1998. It is being organized by the

Orangutan Foundation International (OFI) and will be open to the public. The event will take place at the Riverside Majestic Hotel, overlooking the Sarawak River.

### Topics

All topics pertaining to chimpanzees, bonobo, gorilla, and orangutan will be considered; however, the following topic areas are suggested for potential presenters: Behavioral and/or ecological; rehabilitation and/or wildlife management; language and/or learning and/or cognition; captive and/or medical management; anatomy and/or physiology. A number of session topics have been suggested including: Captive Great Ape Management Issues; Recent Trends in Great Ape Research; Wildlife Management Challenges and Successful Solutions: Great Ape Rehabilitation; Ecotourism and Great Ape Conservation.

### Call for Abstracts

On May 1, 1997, OFI began accepting abstracts for conference participation. Abstracts should be no more than 300 words and describe the main points of the proposed papers, sessions, and posters. The abstracts should provide a brief description of the presentation including methodology, general results or anticipated findings, and implications of the research. Because only a limited number of papers can be presented during the conference, abstracts will be evaluated for selection by OFI's Program Committee to insure quality of the program and consistency with the conference theme. Principal author will be notified following selection. Abstracts will be accepted until April 1, 1998. Papers not selected for formal verbal presentations may be submitted for the poster session.

### Papers

Papers should be submitted after November 1, 1997 to OFI or SDI (see below). Papers should be of a manuscript not previously published and not under consideration for publication elsewhere, as submissions will be evaluated for inclusion in the conference proceedings. Papers should be written in English and follow the style and format outlined in the *International Journal of Primatology* (available upon request). Papers should be submitted no later than May 1, 1998 in both written and electronic form (disk-Word 3.0 and/or email). Slides, videotapes, overhead and other graphics need to be submitted to OFI no later than May 1, 1998 as requested by the Malaysian government. Presented papers will be limited to 20 minutes with 5 minutes for questions/answers.

### Special Sessions

Participants who would like to chair a session on a specific topic are required to propose their concept to OFI's Program Committee no later than November 1, 1997. Proposals should include topic and rationale, list of participants, session chair. Due to the limited number of concurrent tracts and available time, some session proposals may not be accepted. OFI reserves the right to insure that program appropriateness and balance are maintained.

### Poster Presentations

Participants wishing to submit their research as a poster presentation may do so after submitting an abstract to the Program Committee. Forty (40) poster presentations will be selected and judged during the conference in both student and nonstudent categories. Prizes will be given to the top presentation in each category. Posters may be

in any style but must be free standing within a 4' (wide) and 6' (tall) (1.2 meter + 2 meter) size format due to space limitations. Text of the poster should be submitted to OFI no later than May 1, 1998.

### Films and Video Presentations

Films and videos on great apes and other related topics will be considered for evening presentations during the conference. Films and videos brought to the conference need to be pre-approved by OFI and the Malaysian government well in advance. Film or video concepts must be submitted to OFI by February 1, 1998, and the actual films or videos must be submitted no later than May 1, 1998.

### Registration

The following schedule lists the various registration fees:

On-site full registration: US\$350 or RM875

Full registration (February 1 through July 5, 1998): US\$300 or RM 750

Early bird full registration (through January 31, 1998): US\$250 or RM625

On-site student registration : US\$200 or RM500

Student registration (February 1 through July 5, 1998): US\$150 or RM375

Early bird student registration (through January 31, 1998): US\$100 or RM250

Students must provide proof they are currently enrolled in an institution of higher learning. Registration should be paid separate from other fees (accommodations, pre- or post-conference tours, etc.). OFI can accept cashier's checks, money orders, personal checks (USA only), and credit cards (Visa/Mastercard). Make payment to the Orangutan Foundation International and specify that it is for the 1998 Conference.

### Pre- and Post-Conference Tours and the BRC Biennial Meetings

SDI has contracted with Borneo Adventures and other tour operators to offer conference participants a variety of tours and excursions. OFI will also offer special pre- and post-conference tours of the orangutan rehabilitation stations in Tanjung Puting National Park- 4 days/3 nights. Contact OFI or SDI for information.

The scheduling of the Third International Conference on Great Apes of the World and the Fifth Biennial Conference of the Borneo Research Council have been coordinated so that they will fall within a 2 week period, allowing participants to maximize the academic aspects of their trip to Borneo by participating in both conferences. Contact OFI or SDI if you are interested in attending both. The BRC meetings will be held in Palangka Raya, Kalimantan Tengah, July 13-17, 1998 (see the special announcement in this issue of the BRB).

### Secretariat and Addresses

Orangutan Foundation International has contracted with the Sarawak Development Institute (SDI), a professional, nonprofit research organization, to coordinate the various in-country issues. SDI will serve as the secretariat office for Southeast Asia and Australia while OFI will perform that function for the rest of the international community. OFI will be the central point for program development as well as overall organization for fund raising, logistics, and post conference matters.

OFI has received discounted hotel rates for this event and also a limited number of discounted rooms for students in attendance. Contact OFI for accommodation information. Malaysian Airlines (MAS) is the official air carrier for this conference and OFI has negotiated preferential fares with MAS for conference participants.

For further information, contact Orangutan Foundation International by fax: (301) 207-1556; email: redape@ns.net; or regular mail: 822 S. Wellesley Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90049, USA—attn.: Dr. Gary Shapiro. The Sarawak Development Institute (SDI) can be contacted by fax: 60-82-412799 or 60-82-258372; email: sdi@po.jaring.my; or regular mail: Rumah Laksamana Muda, Jalan Rodway, 93000 Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia.

#### Dates to Remember

May 1, 1997-	Abstracts can be sent to OFI
November 1, 1997-	Papers can be sent to OFI
	Special Sessions proposals due to OFI
February 1, 1998-	Film or video concepts proposals due to OFI
	Full registration rates in effect
April 1, 1998-	Last day abstracts will be accepted for consideration at OFI
May 1, 1998-	Papers due to OFI for inclusion in working paper booklet
	Visual graphics for paper due to OFI
	Text of poster presentations due to OFI
	Film or video due to OFI
July 3-6, 1998	Conference on Great Apes of the World
July 13-17, 1998	Fifth Biennial BRC Conference

#### THE INDONESIAN HERITAGE SERIES, EDITIONS DIDIER MILLET

The Indonesian Heritage series currently being produced by Editions Didier Millet in Singapore is an ambitious project that aims to publish a 15-volume encyclopedia highlighting the natural and cultural heritage of Indonesia. A first-of-its-kind, it is being written by Indonesian and international experts, and is aimed at general, secondary, and university level markets. So far, five volumes have been published (*Ancient History*, *The Human Environment*, *Early Modern History*, *Plants*, and *Wildlife*) with five more scheduled for completion this year.

For those particularly interested in Borneo, Kalimantan is well covered, and the importance of the island comes to the fore in several of the topics discussed throughout the volumes. Certainly the planners of the series cannot be accused of ignoring Kalimantan, and although the nature of the series, not to mention space, precludes the kind of detail that specialist publications can explore, the volumes nevertheless provide a broad coverage of the island.

If we begin with the two history volumes currently available, one of the first entries discusses the Kutei inscription, dated to 400 AD, which makes it the earliest evidence of writing being used in Indonesia. Mention is also made of the fact that Indic concepts of kingship were also found in the early kingdoms in Kalimantan, a fact sometimes ignored by people writing about the ancient history of Indonesia. The importance of the Dayak as suppliers of forest produce and rare trade goods to the coastal states -- and internationally

-- and the mineral wealth of the island are all discussed in the *Early Modern History* volume, as is the importance of the Chinese mining kongsis.

*The Human Environment* volume looks at how people have adapted to the different physical and geographical surroundings, and various Kalimantan societies feature prominently throughout the volume. There is one complete spread on Kalimantan, looking at the landscape, people, economy and development. Kalimantan societies also crop up in the spreads dealing with shifting cultivation, the swidden ecosystem, social aspects of swidden agriculture, hunter-gatherers, river features, and Indonesian river systems, for example. *Plants and Wildlife* also cover the flora and fauna of Kalimantan throughout their pages.

Nor will Kalimantan be neglected in the forthcoming volumes. A whole spread has been devoted to the Kenyah longhouse in the *Architecture* volume, and *Performing Arts* has devoted space to Dayak dance. In *Languages and Literature*, the chapter on oral literature discusses the song tales of Central Borneo, while the *Religion and Ritual* volume covers various issues of interest to Borneo specialists. Dayak traditions, the ritual heritage of headhunting, secondary mortuary rituals, as well as spirit possession are all covered with the Dayak in mind. Discussions on Christianity may also prove of interest. Even in the *Modern Art* volume, the work of a young Dayak artist will be featured.

Anyone interested in purchasing the volumes currently available should contact either:

Jenny Oh,  
Editions Didier Millet  
593 Havelock Road  
#02-01/02 Isetan Office Building  
Singapore 169641  
Fax: 65 735 8981  
email: edm@pacific.net.sg

or

Mr. Renato D. Yanos  
Grolier-Indonesia (PT Widyadara)  
Wisma ANAM 3rd Floor  
Jin. CikDitrio No. 12  
Jakarta 10350  
Indonesia  
Fax 62 21 314 4260

(Contributed by Dr. Sian Jay, senior editor, Edition Didier Millet, Singapore)

## BORNEO NEWS

## REGIONAL NEWS

*Tree Flora of Sabah and Sarawak.* Mr. A. BERHAMAN (SAN) has begun his research on *Nyctocalos* (Bignoniaceae) for a M.Sc. program at KLU. He spent 2 months at MJG working with Dr. S. RENNER on microtechniques and visited Leiden from 20-30 June 1995. He is also studying the Sterculiaceae. Mr. L. MADANI (SAN) is currently revising the family Dichapetalaceae. Ms. J.T. PEREIRA (SAN) has completed her revision of the family Crypteroniaceae for Vol. 2: three new species in Borneo have been recognized in this treatment. She has now begun a study of *Pavona* (Sapotaceae). Dr. J.J. PIPOLY III (BRIT) will assist Dr. A. LATIFF (UKMB) in the treatment of the Myrsinaceae. He has finished the one for the Philippines. Mr. J.B. SUGAU (SAN) has completed his revision of the family Chloranthaceae for Vol. 2. He is now revising the family Tetraeraeristaceae and has begun a study of *Adinandra* (Theaceae). Together with Dr. K.M. WONG (SAN) he has completed the revision of the family Loganiaceae with 21 new species of *Fagraea*.

**Institute of East Asian Studies, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak:** The Universiti Malaysia Sarawak [UNIMAS] has established an Institute of East Asian Studies. This new Institute stands alongside the Institute of Biodiversity and Environmental Conservation and the Institute of Health and Community Medicine, further enhancing the research and postgraduate orientation of the University. East Asia is one of the most economically dynamic regions of the globe, stretching from Indonesia in the south to China in the north, Burma in the west to Japan in the east. This new institute, strategically located, will focus its research upon socio-political, economic and cultural issues, including the study of Sarawak and Borneo, plus the nations of Southeast and Northeast Asia.

Professor MICHAEL LEIGH, from the University of Sydney, has been appointed the inaugural Director. He assumed directorship in January 1997 and can be contacted by email: <michael@ieas.unimas.my> or fax: [60-82] 671-903. Institute of East Asian Studies, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, 94300 Kota Samarahan, Sarawak Malaysia.

The Institute welcomes attachment by scholars carrying out research in the fields of ethnography, economics, culture, politics, policy studies, regional, and international relations.

## BRUNEI NEWS

Funded by a Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank Bursary made available through the University of Brunei Darussalam (UBD), Dr. B.C. TAN (GH) visited Brunei between 30 November and 29 December, 1995, to study the mosses of the lowland rain forests. With the help of the Department of Biology, UBD, and the Brunei Forestry Office at Sungai Liang, Tan traveled around the country and collected several hundred packets of mosses found in different types of forests, such as *karengas* or heath forest, peat-swamp forest, and mixed dipterocarp forest. He also visited the Kuala Belalong Forest Research Station to study the canopy and elevational moss diversity. The result of the study will be

published. Initial findings show that the moss flora of Brunei is diverse and rich in Bornean endemics, totaling more than 105 species in 55 genera. Exsiccata sets will be jointly issued in 1996 by the herbaria of UBD and GH.

**Brunei Checklist Project:** The *Brunei Checklist Project* continued, although the funding from Brunei Shell Petroleum ran out in the autumn of 1995, and thus we had to say goodbye to the two short-term staff (A.P. Davis & P.C. Bygrave). Preparations for the printed Checklist are now well advanced (late Feb. 1996) and we hope to send camera-ready copy to Brunei in a matter of weeks rather than months. Identifications were by specialists both resident and elsewhere, by Davis & Bygrave, and by L.L. Forman. The editorial team is given (in alphabetic order) as M.J.E. Coode, J. Dransfield, L.L. Forman, D.W. Kirkup, and I.M. Said. The text was generated by Kirkup from a specimen database of his own design, and needs rather less manual intervention than previous generations of botanists might have thought possible. Of course, certain characteristic features of computerese remain embedded; they will be explained in the Introduction and, as times goes on, we should be able to minimize their obtrusiveness in any subsequent editions. The total number of taxa will remain uncertain until the final stages (when unnecessary names, which were picked up and given entries from field or early determinations and subsequently changed, have been checked and deleted), but it looks as if we have c. 3500 spp. of flowering plants recorded in the specimen database. Printing will be undertaken by the Brunei Forestry Department, which has set aside funds for the purpose. (M.J.E. Coode)

## KALIMANTAN NEWS

Trips were made to G. Palung in January 1995 by Mssrs. MF. NEWMAN (E) and U. SUTISNA (BZF), and to Sg. Berau, Wanariset, in November 1995 by Mssrs. P.F. BURGESS, Newman, Sutisna, and T.C. WHITMORE. Collections and photographs of dipterocarps were made.

*Interactive key to the tree and shrub genera of the Bukit Baka - Bukit Raya National Park in Kalimantan.* Taxonomic products are necessary in the wider world. This is particularly the case for tasks such as inventory and monitoring in conservation projects. Across Malesia, various National Park and related projects need to be able to identify what they have within conserved area boundaries. It is important to be able to identify critical species under threat, and from there to take appropriate action. Having the name of a tree, bird or animal does not give a solution to any problem concerning it, but it provides the fundamental piece of information, the name, needed to seek out further information.

In the case of Borneo, the species of small groups such as the birds or mammals are known. Species limits, geographical distribution and variation, have already been elucidated. Good field guides are available in English and Indonesian. Such guides are used by non-specialists and also form a basis of popular education that encourages people to take an interest in the biota around them, much as field guides have done for western professional and amateur naturalists for generations.

The situation is markedly different for plants. Flora Malensiana, for example, is a fine repository for taxonomic information about the region's flora. Its format is less useful to non-specialists. There are no general keys yet to families and genera, and few of



the keys within the flora are made for field biologists or conservation staff who may be working with incomplete material. An attempt was made to address this gap in knowledge by developing a DELTA interactive key (Dallwitz, 1980; Dallwitz, et al., 1993) to the tree and shrub genera of the Bukit Baka - Bukit Raya National Park in Kalimantan (Jarvie, J.K. & Ermayanti, 1995). The key includes about 230 genera using 115 characters, and is available in English and Indonesian.

Key users initially had difficulty interpreting technical language. Although terms are meant to have static meaning it would appear that this is not the case. A good example "cymose inflorescence," which is variously interpreted as thyrses, panicle, and compound inflorescence. We have tried to clear up misunderstandings by avoiding technical terms where possible and breaking down definitions into their component parts. For example, the character which was "inflorescence type" is now broken down into three characters, asking if flowers are on axes or not; whether axes (if present) are branched or not; if the flowers are stalked or not. The only technical aspect remaining is whether terminal inflorescence units are heads, corymbs, or umbels.

Over the next two years the plan is to enlarge the key to include all the tree and shrub genera of Borneo. The key will be continually updated and put on the server at Harvard (<ftp://luh.harvard.edu/pub/bbbr/bbbr.exe>). Additionally, any feedback on characters or character states will be considered for inclusion.

Dallwitz, M.J. 1980. A general system for coding taxonomic information. *Taxon* 29: 41-46.

Dallwitz, M.J., T.A. Paine, and E.J. Zurcher. 1993. Users guide to the DELTA system. 4th edition. CSIRO Division of Entomology, Canberra.

Jarvie, J.K. and Ermayanti. 1995. An interactive key to the tree and shrub genera of Bukit Baka - Bukit Raya (electronic version, only).

#### SABAH NEWS

A botanical trip to Mt. Trusmadi and around the Crocker Range, Tambunan was organized by the Botany Section, Forest Research Centre, Sepilok, from 28th February to 11th March, 1995. The group was led by Dr. K.M. WONG (SAN) and joined by Prof. CHRISTIAN PUFF (University of Vienna, Austria), JOHN SUGAU (SAN), JOAN PEREIRA (SAN), LEOPOLD MADANI (SAN), JOSEPH TANGAH (Conservation Officer, Forest Research Centre, Sepilok), and REUBEN NILUS (Ecologist, Forest Research Centre, Sepilok).

Collecting work began around the Rafflesia Forest Reserve which is part of the Crocker Range, at an elevation of about 1200 m. Here, members of the family Lauraceae, Ericaceae, Moraceae and Fagaceae are significant elements of the lower montane forest. The team also collected specimens along the Sinsuran waterfalls in the Crocker Range. Collecting continued further up along the Tambunan-Penampang road subsequently proceeding up to Mt. Alab (1750 m).

During the last few days, 7th March to 11th March, the group collected along the logging trails around Mt. Trusmadi. During the trip, a total of about 350 specimens were collected, mostly Rubiaceae.

*Rainforest Interpretation Centre.* The German government has donated a building to house a Rainforest Interpretation Centre (RIC) at the Forest Research Centre's

Arboretum at Sepilok, Sandakan. This centre is a new conservation educational facility scheduled to open in 1996. It offers a wide array of information and exhibits on tropical rain forests, their distribution, importance, rate of destruction, and the effects of this destruction.

The centre aims at enhancing awareness among the public of the significance of the rain forest and the far-reaching consequences of its destruction, in terms of effect on the diversity of plant life, wildlife, changes to traditional societies, etc. Throughout the exhibition, the need for conservation is stressed and various examples of rain forest conservation that exist in Sabah are given, such as permanent forest estates, national and state parks, ex-situ conservation and the practice of sustainable forest management. The exhibition and facilities at the centre (which include a botanical nature trail) are aimed largely at an audience of school groups, undergraduates, and local nature clubs.

#### SARAWAK NEWS

In 1993 a canopy observation system was built in the lowland mixed dipterocarp forest of **Lambir Hills National Park**, Sarawak. It consists of two towers about 50 m tall and at c. 33 m has 9 aerial walkways totaling 300 m. The construction is described by Inoue et al., *Selbyana* 16 (1995) 24-35.

# TUSAU PADAN

## A Retrospective Exhibition



Retrospective Exhibition of the Art of Tusau Padan, held at the Dewan Tun Razak, Kuching, Sarawak, July 12th-27th, 1997. A retrospective exhibition of the work of the late Kenyah artist Tusau Padan [see Memorial] was organized by the Society Atelier Sarawak and the Sarawak Museum at the Dewan Tun Razak. The exhibition displayed over 50 original works, including paintings on canvas and bark cloth, wood carvings, and musical instruments. Also included were photographs of Tusau at work, playing the *sapeh*, dancing, and on performance tours in Malaysia and abroad, and of commissioned works created by Tusau for the Telang Usan, Hilton, Holiday Inn, and Riverside Majestic Hotels, the Pelagus Rapids Resort, Fabriko Gallery, Sarawak

Museum, and the Sarawak Cultural Village. An illustrated exhibition catalogue, with an appreciation of Tusau's life and work by Heidi Munan, is available for sale, at RM 20, through the Society Atelier Sarawak and can be ordered by writing to the Society: Rumah Masra, Jalan Taman Budaya, 93000 Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia. Society Atelier Sarawak has also established and is administering a Tusau Padan Fund for the benefit of the artist's surviving family and to promote Orang Ulu art. Anyone wishing to contribute may do so by writing to the Society Atelier Sarawak at the address above (Edric Ong, President, Society Atelier Sarawak, and Clifford Sather).

**Orang Ulu Music and Dance Workshop April 7-8 1997, Kuching:** Three papers were presented at a two day Orang Ulu Music and Dance Workshop organized by the Sarawak Museum and Majlis Adat Istiadat at Dewan Tun Razak, Sarawak Museum on April 7 and 8, 1997: (1) "*Sape* in the Musical Culture of the Orang Ulu" by Henry C. Belawing of Majlis Adat Istiadat, (2) "Orang Ulu Musical Twilight?: Endangered Music and Instruments" by Jayl Langub of Majlis Adat Istiadat, and (3) "The dance-songs, children's songs and basic movements of the Baram Kenyah and Kayan communities" by Chong Pek Lin, a graduate student at UNIMAS.

Paper 1 was presented with performances from various communities, illustrating both development and multiple styles of *sape* playing in Sarawak. As we are aware, the original use of *sape* was in rituals associated with healing ceremonies. The *sape* then was a two-stringed, three-fretted instrument. Taman Basah and Budau Laing of the Kayan and Kajang communities in Belaga performed *Dak Tingang* (The Hornbill) and *Dak Teguk* (Knocking). Though played on a three-stringed, multiple-fretted *sape*, these pieces were representative of this virtually extinct genre.

Participants were fortunate to see a video of what may be the only example of the original two-stringed, three-fretted *sape*, though not used for ritual purposes. It has been developed by the Penan of Baram River for recreational music to accompany dances. The video showed Tamen Abo' playing two pieces—*Tato Yap* (Hen's Waddle) and *Tawai Redu* (Missing My Girl).

A case of borrowing, the *sape simui* is a Penan adaptation of old Kayan-Kenyah *sape* pieces assimilated to the characteristics of the Penan *simui* (songs). Two pieces by Sudin Guton and Saging Kuit of Long Wat, Belaga, were presented in tapes as examples: *Menawai Tepun* (Thinking of Grandfather) and *Simui Pigan* (Plate Song).

The best known *sape* tradition in the Baram basin is widely accepted to be that of Long Mekaba and Long Moh. The participation of the group from Long Mekaba in the workshop was to demonstrate a different *sape* style. Long Mekaba is known for the use of *sape* in combination with *jatung lutang* (wood xylophone) and other instruments. The group, comprising Irang Lahang, Jalong Tanyit and Tasa Juk presented two pieces—*Datun Julut* (Longdance) and *Sak Paku* (Frying the Ferns)—accompanied two dances, a longdance by a group of young Orang Ulu girls in Kuching and a female solo dance by Umis Tujok of Belaga.

The most vibrant *sape* tradition in Belaga is probably found among the Kenyah Bading of Long Ging. Their most famous exponent, the late Balan Asang, introduced the distinctive *urau* to Long Ging—a form that has been carried through to the present. Two pieces—*Oyau Entang* (The Princess and the Pauper) and *Urau Lan* (Reminiscences)—were presented at the workshop as a sample. One of the pieces accompanied a male dance by Irang Lahang of Long Mekaba.

Paper 2 dealt with endangered music and instruments. Four examples were presented either through video or live presentation.

*Pagang* or *lutong* in Penan is the bamboo tube zither, played by women, and was a popular accompaniment for dancing. Now rarely heard, the instrument is still played by a few groups of Penan in Baram District. Two pieces—*Pegen Neh Ame'* (Sleep With Me) and *Masek Diva Temedu* (The Rhinoceros)—by Urai Lawai of Long Belok, Apoh, Baram were presented at the workshop through video.

*Oreng* or *ilut* in Penan is the Jew's or Jaw's harp which can be played by both men and women. In the past it was played at pre-dawn or late evening. It was used to banish feelings of loneliness or to communicate messages, often of love. An instrument of simple construction, it is capable of amazing range in the hands of accomplished players. Two pieces—*Bai Ulit* (Pretty Bird Downriver) and *Manu' Bakeh* (Making Friends)—by Nyunai Siang and Usat Karang of Long Wat, Belaga were presented at the workshop through video.

*Keringut* in Penan, the bamboo nose-flute, can be played by both men and women on any occasion. However, it seems to have been particularly favoured as an instrument for the expression of feelings of love or loss. As a sample, two pieces—*Tawai Patai* (In Remembrance of the Dead) by Isi Bayo of Long Urun, Belaga and *Kivu Redu* (Visiting My Girl) by Liman Avun of Long Belok, Apoh, Baram—were presented through video.

The *kelure* or *keduri'* in Penan, the bamboo mouth organ, was once an extremely popular instrument, but is seldom played today. From historical accounts, this instrument was used to accompany dances and processions to welcome the return of a successful war expedition. The workshop was happy to present two different performance styles from the Penan and Kajang communities: *Langit Bala* (Sunset) and *Ha' Belangang* (Voices of Hornbill) by Nyaling Jeluan of Batu Bungan, Mulu, Baram for the Penan community and *Diek Teguan* (Voices of Hornbill) and *Diek Belakau* (Longdance) by Budau Laing of Uma Kejaman Lasah, Long Segaham, Belaga for the Kajang community.

Paper 3 was presented with examples of different types of Kenyah and Kayan songs through video and cassette tapes. These ranged from entertainment songs such as *Along* and *Liling*, children's lullabies (*belian peluro' anak*) and children's songs (*belian anak lumit*). It is a rich source of educational material for schools in Malaysia.

Tapes of Orang Ulu music collected during field trips and those taped at the workshop are available at the Majlis Adat Istiadat. The various Kenyah and Kayan songs are available from Chong Pek Lin, Faculty of Applied and Creative Arts, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS). (Jay Langub, Majlis Adat Istiadat, Wisma Satok, 93400 Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia)



*Sape'* presentation by (from left to right) Asang Lawai of Long Ging, Taman Basah of Uma Apan, Long Mejawa, Belaga and Tegit Usat of Long Ging, Belaga. (Photos by Lim Yu Seng, Sarawak Museum)



Orang Ulu girls demonstrating the longdance.



Umis Tujuk of Belaga doing the Orang Ulu female solo dance.



Irang Lawai of Long Mekaba, Baram, doing the Orang Ulu male solo dance.



Taman Basah playing a ritual tune while Budau Laing enacts a ritual healing dance.



Irang Lahang playing the *jatung lutang* (wood xylophone).



Budau Laing of Umah Kejaman Lasah, Long Segaham, Belaga playing the *kelure* or *keledi*.



Lake' Abo' of Long Belok, Apoh, Baram, playing a two-stringed, three-fretted sarape.

Dr. PETER M. KEDIT retired as Director of the Sarawak Museum on 8 April 1996 after 23 years of dedicated service. He joined the Sarawak Museum in 1973 as an ethnologist and retired as its Director. Upon his retirement he set up the PMK Consultants Sdn Bhd. providing services in social and cultural studies, tourism, exhibition, material culture/antiquities, museology, and video documentation. From December 1996 he was a Visiting Research Scholar at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, Japan, for a period of six months. He returned to Sarawak at the end of May 1997.

IPOI DATAN, Deputy Director of the Sarawak Museum was appointed Acting Director of the Sarawak Museum. He took over from the retiring director, Peter M. Kedit. Ipoi Datan is an archaeologist whose M.A. thesis was published in the December 1993

issue of the *Sarawak Museum Journal* Volume XLV No. 66 (New Series) Special Monograph No. 6, under the title *Archaeological Excavations at Guah Sireh (Serian) and Lubang Angin (Gunung Mulu National Park), Sarawak, Malaysia*.

Dr. DANIEL CHEW returned to Sarawak in November 1996 to join the Sarawak Development Institute as a Senior Research Fellow. Before that he was with the Oral History Centre in Singapore and the Australian War Memorial in Canberra, Australia. He is author of *Chinese Pioneers on the Sarawak Frontier, 1841-1941*.

The *Daily Telegraph*, Saturday 3 May 1997 (page 23), carried an obituary of MURRAY GRAEME DICKSON (1911-1997), Director of Education in Sarawak from 1955 until 1966. CMG 1961 (AVM Horton).

JOHN R. POSTILL, a PhD candidate in the Department of Anthropology, University College, London, is currently doing research on the significance of modern media among the Iban of Sarawak and its implications for development. He started his research in December 1996 and intends to concentrate most of the 18 months of fieldwork in Betong, Lubok Antu, and Kapit Districts (see also Brief Communications).

LIM KHAY THIONG, a PhD candidate in the Faculties of Humanities, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia, is doing a 6 month archival research project at the Sarawak Museum on the topic of the ethnogenesis of the Dayak people during Brooke rule in Sarawak, 1841-1941. Lim is doing his research in Kuching from March to August 1997.

FIONA HARRIS, a PhD candidate in the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Edinburgh is currently doing research among the Bidayuh on the topic of gender and religious practices. She started her research in August 1996 and intends to concentrate most of the 18 months of fieldwork in Serian and Bau Districts.

#### SARAWAK DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

The Sarawak Development Institute (SDI) was established in 1995 in Sarawak, Malaysia as a company limited by guarantee under the Companies Act of Malaysia. SDI is an autonomous non-profit research organization concerned with developmental issues in Sarawak. It undertakes research on policy-relevant and problem-oriented projects, supported and supplemented by executive talks, conferences, seminars, and workshops. The focus of SDI's interest is urban management, land development, human resource development, and community profiles and social development.

#### Objectives:

The principle objective of SDI is to contribute to and complement the policy and decision making process in Sarawak. The Institute does this by undertaking independent and objective research, and by tapping expertise and ideas through channels from within, and through lectures, seminars, conferences, talks, the multi-media technology and other contributions. Through its research findings, ideas and analyses, SDI provides an additional channel of information and opinions for policy makers and the public. The specific objectives of SDI are to:

- undertake interdisciplinary research for policy inputs to the government and other clients;
- provide an avenue for professionals and other practitioners to discuss, exchange views and opinions facing the state and nation through conferences, seminars, workshops, dialogues and lectures;
- disseminate information, knowledge and findings to the public through both formal and informal channels;
- network with other institutions with similar interests in and outside Malaysia to facilitate the flow of information and knowledge.

#### Programmes:

The Institute's priority areas of research are:

- (1) Urban Management: town planning, redevelopment, public/private ventures, healthy city, migration, poverty, employment, housing, quality of life and transportation;
- (2) Land Development: overall land development, including the commercial development of Native Customary Land;
- (3) Human Resource Development: HRD strategies and policies to meet the needs of the State for the future;
- (4) Community Profiles & Social Development: development profiles of minority groups, and social issues and challenges.

#### Staffing

SDI has a small core staff of professional officers. It is headed by a Board of Directors. The Board formulates policies and guidelines for the Institute. There are Advisory Committees for each of the four areas of the Institute, Urban Management, Land Development, Human Resource Development, and Community Profiles and Social Development. Members of the Committees comprise experts in various fields. The Committees assist SDI by evaluating project and seminar proposals, serving as resource persons to the Institute, and taking part in seminars, conferences and forum discussions organized by the Institute.

#### Activities and Programmes

- (1) Research projects
  - a) landowners' perceptions and understanding of Native Customary Land (NCL) development in Long Teru, Baram, and in Kanowit;
  - b) attitudes and responses of landowners to NCL development in potential land development areas;
  - c) socio-economic profile studies on the Baketan in Kapit and Tagal in Lawas;
  - d) attracting foreign investments to Sarawak: a survey of investors' views on infrastructures, amenities, resources, environmental social and cultural factors;
  - e) manpower survey in the tourism industry.
- (2) Workshops
  - a) youth perceptions of social challenges facing them today, 8-9 March 1997;
  - b) working together for human resource development: political leadership and the civil service, 4-5 April 1997.

#### (3) Seminars

- a) the civil society and its challenges, 19-20 May 1997;
- b) sarawak cities of the future, 28-30 May 1997;
- c) commercial forest plantations, 9-10 September 1997;
- d) multi-national company investments, 4-5 November 1997.

#### (4) Conferences

- a) regional congress on multiculturalism and multi-ethnicity: challenges beyond 2000, 17-18 June 1997;
- b) human resources development challenges in the information age, 3-6 August 1997.

#### Publications

SDI publishes a quarterly Bulletin, a bi-annual Journal, Seminar Papers, and Proceedings, and Research Reports.

#### Membership

As a conduit in the exchange of views and information on development in Sarawak, SDI is open for membership. Non-Malaysians can become Associate Members. Those interested in becoming members have to contribute to the Institute in the following ways: write papers or articles in the SDI Bulletin or Journal, or present seminar and conference papers.

#### Inquires

For any inquires concerning membership and the Institute please contact: Secretary, Sarawak Development Institute (SDI), Rumah Laksamana Muda, Jalan Rodway, 93000 Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia. Fax: (082) 258372. E-mail: sdi@po.jaring.my

### BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

#### BOOK REVIEWS

**James Chin Ung-Ho. *Chinese Politics in Sarawak: A Study of the Sarawak United People's Party*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1996, ISBN 983 56 0007 4.**

This attractively presented volume will not only enhance anyone's book shelf or coffee table, but, more importantly, gives a fascinating insight into the inner workings of the political system of Sarawak. For the discerning reader, the art of politics, in the Aristotelian sense of controlling and reconciling the diverse interests in any state, is mapped out in this study of the Sarawak United People's Party. For the general reader, it is possibly over-burdened with the names of political personalities, both well known and obscure, and somewhat tedious analysis of voting trends and other esoteric material, but this is offset by providing general conclusions at the end of each chapter that place the material presented in perspective. Although this is an academic work, it should be read by the general voter in Sarawak so that he or she has an understanding of raw politics with its occasionally Machiavellian twists and turns as it is practised. For the general reader, this is a book to be picked up from time to time when one feels so inclined, reading perhaps a chapter at a time, savouring what may appear to be the odd 'throw away' comments which unveil the underpinning foundations of politics as generally practised, a struggle for power and prestige through the art of compromise and patronage.

Prior to September 1963, political power was vested in the British government, but with a growing degree of responsibility for the Council Negri (now the Dewan Undangan Negeri or DUN) and the Supreme Council (now called the Cabinet). After 16 September 1963, the day that Sarawak became part of the Federation of Malaysia, the State Government retained authority over agriculture, education, forestry, immigration, land, local government, Muslim and Native law, and local public works and services. State politicians also have a voice in federal matters, that include defence, external affairs, internal security, and health, their real power being in either supporting or opposing any changes to the Constitution, which require a two thirds majority in both DUN and the Federal Dewan Rakyat to be ratified.

Amongst the detail, Chin's book maps out the evolution of the SUPP, from the founder's ideal in 1956 of a socialist party to the reality of a pragmatic establishment party in the 1990s. It traces SUPP's development from a party of amateur, left wing, unpaid idealists to a party run by professionals who are supported by paid workers equipped with all the modern paraphernalia of computerised membership lists and statistical analysis. Included as well is SUPP's ideological development from its original intentions of multi-ethnic parties locked into adversarial positions through their ideological values of liberalism or socialism to a Malaysian pattern of mono-ethnic parties operating under one banner, accommodating their conflicting interests generally by private negotiation behind closed doors, not public debate. In Malaysia and Sarawak where no single ethnic group has an absolute majority, every mono-ethnic party needs the support of other mono-ethnic parties to form a viable government and retain power.

It can be argued this transition is a successful outcome for, as Horowitz writes (1985, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*), "under conditions of democratic elections ... [when] politicians [are] reciprocally dependent on the votes of members of groups other than their own', moderation and accommodation of conflicting claims tend to ensue." That is, the leadership is constrained in its decision-making and has to seek inter-ethnic accommodation because of the lack of an absolute majority of any single mono-ethnic party. Although this may lead to no major ethnic group being entirely satisfied, providing any major ethnic group does not fragment its votes, it cannot be marginalised nor can its voice be unheeded. In short it can exercise its power at the state and federal levels to ensure the legitimate needs of its ethnic group are met. By the same token, smaller ethnic groups can extract a modicum of support for their legitimate claims by making that a condition of their supporting any particular mono-ethnic party. There are, of course, problems with this system. It entrenches communalism at the local community level by encouraging voting on ethnic lines for mono-ethnic parties in the ruling group of parties. This leaves no real room for Westminster-type opposition parties with their associated checks and balances and can lead to authoritarianism and abuse of power. Another negative aspect is that the smaller minority ethnic groups can be completely marginalised and their rights subsumed in the interests of the major ethnic groups or the political elite. But in the case of the SUPP, which is acknowledged as the main voice of the Chinese in Sarawak from the date of inception to the present day, their group has proved to be cohesive and thus too important a component in the power structure to be marginalised.

Chin's study is primarily to uncover the factors that enabled the SUPP to retain the support of Sarawak's Chinese community through its various stage of evolution, which he attributes to three main factors. These are briefly described as the party's ability to

harness a strong sense of Sarawak nationalism, its success as a power broker between the Malay/Melanau group and the other indigenous groups in the state, and fear of the Sarawak Chinese electorate of being forced to the political periphery similarly to the *semenanjung* MCA and Gerakan parties (page 283). There were of course other factors completely outside the control of the party, such as news filtering through from China of the disastrous Great Leap Forward with the loss of twenty million lives in floods and famine in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and the social disruption of the cultural revolution of the late 1960s, both of which must have reinforced Chou En Lai's statement in 1955 that Overseas Chinese should take up citizenship in their countries of residence (page 45). The massacre in Indonesia in 1965/6 of between 200,000 and 700,000 Communists and their supporters, the majority of whom were Chinese, must also have heightened their sense of insecurity, impinging on local Chinese consciousness. Those factors alone may well have convinced all but the dedicated and thoroughly indoctrinated Communists that their future lay in Sarawak as a united group within their own political party, the SUPP, which had proved reasonably competent in representing their interests. Also, the state of emergency in Malaya had come to an end in 1960, signifying the end of communist aspirations there, and in Sarawak communist elements in the SUPP had either been interned by the British and Federal governments in the 1960s or had crossed the border into Kalimantan in the early 1960s to take up armed struggle in pursuit of their dream of a Communist Sarawak. This effectively altered the structure of the SUPP, leaving the moderates sufficiently in control to join a coalition government in mid 1970, finally drawing a curtain over its earlier role as a front party for the Communists.

The Party's role as a power broker is well covered in this work, albeit it is politics in the raw—a scene of shifting alliances to gain, retain, and consolidate its own position in the governing power structure in Sarawak and its place in the Federal Government. However alien the alliances on occasion, they served their purpose at the time by ensuring that Sarawak's Chinese electorate would have a voice in government and a strong party representing its interests. Politics is so often a game of no-holds-barred and the end appears to justify the means if victory at the polling booth ensues, with its rewards of power and prestige. The less savoury side of politics or its soft under belly of patronage usually discussed in hushed tones in the privacy of the home or amongst one's friends in the coffee shop is brought into the open in Chin's book. Economists will no doubt argue that use of the state's resources to create a pool of rich *humiputera* (page 130) served not only to provide a source for campaign funds, but was a necessary step in the evolution of any modern liberal capitalist state. A network of patronage outlined (page 150) for political advantage may well have fostered local companies to undertake major local projects and have expedited work under the series of development plans. It is clear that timber concessions for exploiting timber resources can provide, apart from positive effects on the economy and negative effects on the environment unless properly controlled, a useful means of patronage to enlist political support (page 155) and can even serve as political weapons (page 214). And while the press is an excellent purveyor of news, when under direct or indirect political control or when adopting as editorial policy any particular political ideology, it becomes a powerful political weapon (page 213 and page 228, note 64).

Prestige raises an interesting point not covered in Chin's study, and that is the gradual transformation in the post-formation of the Malaysia era of its two main



founders, Tan Sri Datuk Ong Kee Hui and Datuk Amar Stephen Yong Kuet Tze, from leaders of an avowedly socialist party, who were perilously close to being interned at one time (page 112, note 66), to titled members of the ruling elite accepted and honoured by a succession of non-socialist governments. In 1965 Chan Siaw Hee said that 'it is difficult ... to find better *open* (the italics are mine) leaders [than] Mr Ong and Mr Yong. 'open' being a favourite Communist term for any Communist-controlled organisation operating not clandestinely but in the public arena. Evidence suggests that both were pragmatic politicians rather than rabid idealists, and that both were willing, if on occasion reluctant, to accept the reality of the situation at any particular time and manoeuvre accordingly, not only to maintain the SUPP's role as the political voice of Chinese community in Sarawak, but also to maintain their own positions as leaders of the SUPP. Both are understood to be writing their memoirs which, it is hoped, will be sufficiently revealing to shed some light both on this transformation and the inner workings of the party.

There are a few points on which one could take issue with the author. History does not record that the third Rajah, Charles Vyner Brooke 'escaped' to Australia, (page 29), but that he was on his way to Brisbane when Pearl Harbour was attacked, an event that even the Americans had not foreseen. Even though he made a determined effort to return, by the time he arrived in Surabaya on 25 December 1941, Kuching was already under Japanese occupation. The second point is Colonial Office 'suppression' of political movements in Sarawak until the late 1950s (page 46). As early as April 1952, the Chief Secretary wrote to the Colonial Office arguing that the time had come to pre-empt local pressure for constitutional reform as the state was considered to have recovered from the ravages of war and the cession controversy which had cost the life of the second governor, Duncan Stewart, on 3 December 1949. Suppression was confined to the secret sect of fourteen members held responsible for his death. It is generally conceded that efforts to found the Sarawak People's Party in 1956 collapsed because the Dayak National Union thought it was premature to form political parties in Sarawak at that time and Malay leaders did not support a multi-ethnic party concept. This differs from the author's view that the failure to establish the party in 1956 was due to the inability of the traditional Chinese elite to gain the support 'of the leftist and communist sympathisers' (page 51).

However, these minor blemishes do not detract from this study of the SUPP, which, if read carefully, pries open the Pandora's box of Sarawak politics and gives an occasional glimpse of a world far removed from party press statements, party manifestos, information released by party publicity machines, and works pursuing a party line or a party perspective. There is more possibly unsaid than said in this work and, as it is couched in academic language, the significance of the material presented is often hidden in a wealth of detail. But this may well be necessary for what may be the first example of true investigative type reporting on the political scene in Sarawak.

Chin's final conclusion, that the current phase of politics of the Chinese community in Sarawak is driven by 'fear, fear of being excluded, marginalised, forced to assimilate, and treated as second class citizens', is disturbing but understandable as these are possibly the fears of any minority ethnic group in any state. The role of the state and federal ruling coalitions and their member parties is to ensure that those fears are not realised at any time in the future for any ethnic group, however large or small. To this end, the SUPP, as a member of both the state and federal ruling coalitions, has an

important ongoing role, of which James Chin Ung-Ho's book will be a lasting reminder. (Vernon L. Porritt, Visiting Research Associate, Division of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education, Murdoch University, Perth, Western Australia 6150, Australia).

**Benedict Sandin *Sources of Iban Traditional History*, Edited with an introduction by Clifford Sather. Sarawak Museum Journal, Special Monograph number 7, Kuching: Sarawak Museum, 1994. Pp. xiv+333. Price RM15.00.**

In many ways, Benedict Sandin was to the Iban what Sir Peter Buck was to the Maori. His ethnographic authority began with his relatives in the longhouse on the Paku river where he was born in 1918. He started writing down genealogies and oral histories in the nineteen thirties, two decades before Derek Freeman's influential studies of Iban social organization, and by his death in 1982, Sandin was the internationally acknowledged expert. His knowledge was encyclopedic, but his interests were not academic. His only formal training in anthropology was a year of study with William Geddes at Auckland in 1954-5. If it were not for the efforts of Clifford Sather over many years and several publications, much of what Sandin collected might never have seen the light of day.

The present volume is divided into four sections. The first two "Myth and History: Early Migrations and the Origins of Iban Culture" and "Early Iban Migrations" supplement Sandin's best known monograph *The Sea Dayaks of Borneo before White Rajah Rule* (1967). The last two sections "The Iban under Brooke Rule" and "Adventures Overseas and the Beginning of Iban Economic Development" bring the story up to the 1940's. Each of the four main sections is further subdivided into between ten and twenty self-contained episodes. This breakdown makes it relatively easy to track down information on particular topics, a feature that would only have been undermined by any format built around theoretical abstractions. It would have been helpful, however, if Sandin had indicated the sources of his data for each episode. Some, such as the foundation myths of pervasive cultural institutions, are presumably synthesized from many tellings at different times and places. Others sound like family narratives set out at one setting, but it would be useful to know for sure. Given the rich detail of the migration stories, interesting comparisons could be made of accounts of the same events as viewed from different communities.

Sather contributes a useful introduction of eighty-odd pages, making Sandin's text more accessible to the non-specialist. He sketches the ethnographic context, and offers a spirited defense of oral history. The volume adds to what is already an impressive and diverse corpus on Iban culture, certainly the most valuable from Borneo, and among the most important from anywhere in Southeast Asia. It will provide material for interpretation and re-analysis for a long time to come. (Peter Metcalf, Department of Anthropology, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia 22903, USA, email: pam5r@virginia.edu. Reprinted with permission from *Oceania*).

**Theodore Gabriel, *Christian-Muslim Relations, a case study of Sarawak, East Malaysia*, Aldershot: Avebury, 1996 (ISBN 1 85972 325 X) 133pp**

What drew me to this book was its title. For some time, there has been great unease among the Christian population of Sarawak (and Sabah) about the increasing Islamisation of the state. Readers who expect this sensitive topic to be explored thoroughly will

however, be disappointed by this slim volume. This book simply fails to deliver and merely scratches the surface of this political problem. In the first place, the book was almost certainly not proof-read. For those who think I am uncharitable, let me give you an example. Throughout the main text, the chief minister of Sarawak is named as "Taib Muhammed". This obvious mistake should have been picked up by the author himself and the publishers since Taib Mahmud's name is clearly spelt out in "Appendix B" where the ruling Barisan Nasional manifesto of 1991 was reproduced in full.

This book tells more about Christian-Muslim relations in the Peninsula than Sarawak. Most of the examples of Christian-Muslim interactions cited by the author are related to the Peninsula and have little relevance to Sarawak. He mentions PAS frequently and readers might be forgiven for thinking that PAS is active in Sarawak. In reality, PAS's Sarawak members and sympathisers number no more than several hundred. One major shortcoming in the book is that there is not enough background on the political environment in which Islam works in Sarawak- the author has not consulted any of the standard publications on Sarawak politics like M.B. Leigh, *The Rising Moon*(1974); Peter Searle, *Politics in Sarawak, 1970-1976*(1983); R.S. Milne & K.J. Ratnam, *Malaysia - New States in a New Nation*(1974); M.C. Roff, *The Politics of Belonging*(1974). Suttlive's *Tun Jugah* (1992) also contains some observations of the conversion of Iban to Christianity.

The author does not make a distinction between the attitudes of the different non-Muslim ethnic groups towards Islamisation in Sarawak. He tends to lump the Christians into a single camp- and this simply is not the case. There are many shades in the Christian community in Sarawak. The current conversion drive to Islam is concentrated in the rural areas, and smaller Dayak groups like the Bidayuh and the Orang Ulu are especially targeted. Nothing is mentioned about the attempt by Rahman Yakub, the former chief minister and governor, to convert the Bidayuh en-masse in the early 1970s. Perhaps the ethnic group that comes under the most pressure now is the Melanau. Unverifiable figures suggest that close to 40% of the community are Roman Catholics, despite the general perception that being a Melanau is equivalent to being a Malay/Muslim in Sarawak. Strong pressure is applied on them to convert quickly for political purposes.

The Chinese Christians, the richest and the most powerful group among the Christian population in Sarawak, are in a particularly ambivalent position. On the one hand, the Chinese Christian has been spared some of the rougher edges of Islamisation by the fact that they are mostly concentrated in the urban areas. On the other hand, there is a sense of unease about their future- the number of restrictive rules have significantly increased over the past few years. Nothing is mentioned by the author about the traditional split among the Chinese Christians: English and Mandarin speaking congregations. Each approach the Islamisation issue in a different way.

The major failing of the Christian community in Sarawak (as in Peninsular Malaysia) is its inability to unite under a single body. Denominational competition is still keen. On top of this, the churches have explicitly adopted a non-political approach to the Islamisation issue, instead of acknowledging that this is essentially a political predicament. Another problem is that the government does not separately distinguish the Christian community; they regard the Christian community as part of the overall non-Muslim community, which includes Buddhists, Hindus, Sikhs, etc. as well.

The positive aspect of this volume is that it raises the issue of Christian-Muslim relations, an area long neglected by Sarawak scholars. The author is correct to assert that the long-term plan is to make Sarawak a Muslim-majority society. The massive government funding of Islamic activities suggests that this is an unstoppable project. The current drive to convert more Iban and other Dayak Bumiputera into Islam may inevitably lead to more ethnic tensions, and in the long run it may lead to a similar situation as that which has come to exist between the Kadazan and the Muslims in Sabah. Such a serious matter deserves a serious study. (James Chin, Centre for the Study of International Affairs, Middlesex University, London N17.8HR, England)

**Vernon L. Porritt: *British Colonial Rule in Sarawak 1946-1963*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, South-East Asian Historical Monograph. 1997. 424 pages**

Based on his PhD. Thesis, Vernon Porritt has produced a valuable and informative account of the processes of government and political change during the brief 17 year period during which Sarawak was governed by the British Colonial Office. Given the brevity of that rule and despite an initial period of political unrest which led to the assassination of the second British Governor, a great deal was achieved. This was particularly the case in the field of education which had been lamentably neglected during the previous Brooke regime. At the time of cession there was not a single non-Chinese Sarawakian with a university education. Even primary education was lacking for the vast majority of the non-Chinese population. By the end of the colonial period a reasonably effective and comprehensive education system had been established, and fully educated men and women were beginning to emerge on the local scene with many more in the pipeline. Educational development was coupled with considerable infrastructure development and growth of local government leading to the evolution of political parties.

The major British policy decision to withdraw from the Far East hastened the search for a long term and workable political future for Sarawak. This was eventually achieved when the territory's elected government chose to merge with Malaya, Singapore and Sabah in the new Federation of Malaysia. The Federation, despite some major problems, has developed into a stable political entity in which Sarawak is playing a valuable and trouble-free part. Britain did not just get up and go when it withdrew in 1963, but also provided powerful military support when the infant Federation was threatened by Indonesian hostility during the years of Confrontation.

Porritt provides a concise, accurate, and very thoroughly researched guide to the period of British rule, supported by a great wealth of footnotes. One could almost say that for every statement there is a footnote in support! He reminds me a little of a man I met in 1939, the very British British traveller and botanist Christopher Sandeman, the author of *A Wanderer in Inca Land*. Speaking on the essentials for a good travel book, Sandeman said "Give us facts, facts, facts-- and damn your emotions"! The volume is illustrated with some well chosen photographs, mostly the work of Raymond Allas and Ho Ah Chon. It must be admitted, however, that Porritt's work, like so many books based on academic theses, can hardly be considered a winner in the readability stakes. It does little to portray the unique social environment of Sarawak which, to their credit, had evolved under the Brookes, or the local and expatriate personalities who played important roles during the colonial period. But it is unquestionably an important contribution to British colonial and to Malaysian history. It provides an essential reference work for the

period of British Colonial Office rule. (Alastair Morrison 30/99 Groom Street, Hughes, ACT 2605, Australia)

**Anthea Phillipps and Anthony Lamb. *Pitcher-Plants of Borneo*. Kota Kinabalu: Natural History Publications (Borneo) Sdn. Bhd. 1996. RM 80.00**

*Pitcher-Plants of Borneo* is a long-overdue account of a remarkable group of plants that are much-studied, but remain largely beyond the comprehension of scientists and lay people alike. The book describes in detail various aspects of the Bornean Pitcher Plants (*Nepenthes*), including their discovery, ecology, folklore and the species and natural hybrids found on the island. In general, the text is aimed at the informed lay-person, but those readers who are not botanists would do well to keep a botanical dictionary nearby.

The opening chapter deals with the discovery and history of the pitcher plants of Borneo. This chapter represents the most exhaustive and well-written account of this topic, and the authors are to be congratulated for their efforts. The task of sifting through all of the old literature must have been an arduous one, and the result is a text which is not only clear and concise, but thoroughly readable. On the strength of this chapter alone, the book is a success. The second chapter examines the structural components of pitcher plants: how they grow, how the traps operate, how they flower and fruit. It is a brief and straightforward account, but it provides an essential background for the chapters that follow. The next subject to be considered is the ecology and natural history of pitcher plants. This chapter draws heavily on recently published information and, as such, represents a succinct summary. A considerable amount of new information is presented, giving the reader a glimpse of the ever-changing nature of our ecological perceptions of pitcher plants. However, a couple of key passages contain misinterpretations and/or errors, but these will not be obvious to the majority of readers. It is a shame that the authors have had to rely on information published by other scientists, given the unique opportunities they have had to conduct their own research.

Sandwiched between the chapters on ecology and the species and natural hybrids is a short discussion of pitcher plants in folklore. Although interesting, this chapter is so short that it might have been more prominent if it were incorporated into Chapter One. The discussion of the species and natural hybrids is both detailed and well-illustrated. Susan Phillipps [mother of Anthea, the co-author] has painted the pitcher plants of Borneo very well, and although the detail of many of her paintings is not as rigorous as that of botanical plates, that was not her aim, and they convey a visually pleasing, "near-as-dammit" catalogue of the species. The use of paintings rather than photographs sets this book apart from others in its genre, and for that reason alone it is both a noteworthy and invaluable contribution. The only problem I had with this chapter is that it seems to suffer from conflicting objectives. On one hand, it serves to present Susan Phillipps' paintings, but on the other, it appears to be a half-hearted attempt at a taxonomic review. I think that this chapter would have been better if it had concentrated on the former. Personally, I found the "common names" irritating, as they are never used, but they are a novel addition, and help to explain the meaning of the Latin names.

In conclusion, this book is a must for anyone with an interest in carnivorous plants and the natural history of Borneo. For the biologist, its shortcomings will be obvious, but it seems that it was not the authors' intention to make the text scientifically rigorous. I enjoyed the book immensely, and found it to be of a generally higher standard than any

previous books about *Nepenthes*. (Dr. Charles Clarke, James Cook University, Queensland, Australia)

**William Hornaday. *The Experiences of a Hunter and Naturalist in the Malay Peninsula and Borneo*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 199 pages.**

Oxford is really too obliging! It seems I only have to wish for a book—no matter how rare—and out they come with it a few months later. A footnote in an obscure study alerted me to Hornaday's travels. I was pleased to find a copy of the first edition in our library. Now that the public can enjoy what was once my secret treasure, I almost feel that I brought this reprint about.

The naturalist William Hornaday was born in 1854 in Iowa, which was then the real western frontier of the US. He grew up roughing it, and hunting. The term "naturalist" as used in the last century, denoted, as much as it did a scholar, a practical collector of animals, plants and natural productions. Then, at what seems now a primitive stage of study, academic biologists did most of their work with preserved specimens. There was a market for animals from far away. The skin of a gibbon, Hornaday tells us, was worth at least US\$20—that's in silver money; in modern terms RM1,000.

Hornaday apprenticed with Prof. Ward of the University of Rochester, New York. By 23 years of age, he was a seasoned naturalist and, funded by Ward, set out on a collecting trip through India, Ceylon, Malaya and Sarawak. He came to Southeast Asia through Singapore and did much hunting in Selangor. Ah, people of the peninsula, I can sense your glee at these names. Finally you get to read an old account of places you actually know! Entering Singapore by way of the New Harbour was "like getting into a house through the scullery window"—stagnant water and coal-dust. Singapore proper presented herself even then as an up-to-date and convenient city of business. From there Hornaday took a steamer to Klang, where the first promising forest appeared. The Klang River was as bilious as now, and Hornaday spent a jolly time wallowing in its mud after fish, turtles and crocodiles.

Then up to Kuala Lumpur. How things have changed! In 1878 you travelled to KL first by boat hauled from the shore of the river. You got out at Damansara and entered dense, high forest. The road through it gave out nine miles from town, so you walked the rest of the way through jungle on a rough and narrow trail. KL clustered on one bank of the Klang creek, a ramshackle, earth-walled, *atap*-roofed mining village. For all its insophistication, KL could offer surprises:

The next morning, while in the largest Chinese store in the place, buying provisions for our stay in the jungle, we struck a bonanza. We found Mumm's champagne for sale at sixty cents a quart, and India pale ale at fifteen cents per pint!... Engaging the strongest coolie we could find we loaded him with champagne (at 60 cents per quart!), and marched him ahead of us into the jungle. It was the proudest moment of my life... My only regret is that I did not fill a tub and take a bath in it, for champagne is the only artificial drink I really like.

The sights of KL were exhausted in an hour. Next day Hornaday and his friend were off farther east to Kapung Batu, consisting of exactly six houses. Here elephants were as thick as bugs. With the help of a number of the Jakun people living nearby, Hornaday

tracked and shot his quota, and collected squirrels, mousedeer and hornbills for lagniappe. Meantime he visited Batu Caves, and made a prediction of their value as a tourist attraction 30 years thence. In 1878 Batu Caves were empty of statues, stairs, shrines and hawkers. Only the local Orang Asli sheltered in them when the pachyderms became too boisterous.

No dawdling for Hornaday. He was on a business trip and when he feels he gets enough bones and skins, he moves on. After a quick dinner in KL with Yap Ah Loy, Hornaday scurried back to Singapore and boarded ship for Sarawak. Here, I'm afraid the portions of interest to those in the peninsula end. The contrast between his descriptions of KL and thoroughly *maju* Kuching is amusing, and will delight all Sarawak chauvinists.

Hornaday visited two rivers in Sarawak, the Simujan and the Sebuyau, neither of them far from Kuching. Animals of all kinds were plentiful. Brooke rule kept the peace, and Hornaday collected to his heart's content, concentrating on orangutan. Since the reader has heard so much talk of Borneo from me, I'll omit a detailed account of what Hornaday did and saw there. He brings in all the usual Borneo topics: jungle adventures, Dayaks, headhunting, etc. He visited during the season of making farms, so there are no *gawai*, *tuak*, or dancing.

None of this needs to be recommended to the Borneo enthusiast. Much of his ethnography is at second hand, and adds little to published accounts. Hornaday is at his best writing about his personal experiences: the details of his hunting, his observations of the animals, conditions on the Sebuyau and Simujan (one of the few accounts we have of these humble places), and how he watched a young Sebuyau man climb a dizzying *tapang* tree after honey.

Hornaday touches everything with a not vulgar wise-cracking humour, probably learned from his contemporary Mark Twain. While Englishmen out East adventured as robustly as he did, few of them seemed to be quite as cheerful, or as honest (unless it was Alfred Wallace). The American flavor appeals to me, and I think Hornaday, because he was American, found the Dayaks a comfortable lot to live and work with.

Like many another hunter, Hornaday loved nature, but he was less sure about human beings. He saw no virtue in hiding his feelings, and delivers a few opinions that may miff some readers. This does not mean Hornaday was a racist; indeed, he was the opposite. He shared the assumptions of his time, and thought that Civilisation and Progress were Good Things, and in this respect was no different from hundreds of living Malaysians, some of whom enjoy great prestige and high office. What we are more willing to condemn him for today is the nonchalance with which he shot everything that moved. In Sarawak he killed a total of 43 orangutan, including mothers with babies at their breasts.

Many people might say that Hornaday exhibits that spirit of scientific sacrifice practised by Dr. Mengele. But I am not so sure Hornaday really did as much damage to the wildlife as a whole. As recently as 1950, a biologist estimated that there were 10 times as many wild pigs as people in Sarawak, and this despite that no Dayak hunter will, if possible, lose a chance to kill a delicious *babi* with spear, shotgun, or—I've no doubt—bare hands if he can manage it. It was a different time. People of my father-in-law's generation knew it was development, not hunting that emptied the forests. You need not feel guilty reading Hornaday. With time he learned, founded New York's Bronx Zoo, and became a champion of conservation. Read him gladly, and expect more to come from

Oxford. (Otto Steinmayer, Kampung Stungang Dayak, P.O. Box 13, 94500 Lundu, Sarawak, Malaysia. This review originally appeared in the *New Straits Times* and is republished here with permission.)

**Harold Brookfield, Lesley Potter and Yvonne Byron, 1995. *In place of the forest: environmental and socio-economic transformation in Borneo and the eastern Malay Peninsula*. Tokyo, New York and Paris: United Nations University Press (UNU Studies on Critical Environmental Regions) xiv + 310 pages, tables, figures, index. ISBN 92-808-0893-1.**

This book is the second of a series intended to study nine regions in the world where human interference portends to threaten the sustainability of environmental and social systems. The region under discussion in this case is the "eastern Sundaland" and the authors focus primarily on Borneo, while data on the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula is used for comparison. The central theme of all studies in the series was defined as the transition from "impoverishment" through "endangerment" toward a final stage of "criticality," not only in the condition of the environment but also in the sustainability of human welfare.

Part One of the book provides the reader with an extensive geographical and historical overview of the region. Most of Borneo and the Peninsula was for a long time covered with tropical rainforest, hiding from the casual observer the highly variable biophysical, climatic, and demographic conditions existing within the region. Chapter One highlights this variation and explains the specific resilience or vulnerability to environmental stress of particular areas of Borneo and the Peninsula. Then follows a brief historical sketch of those forces that have shaped environmental change, drawing on the most important published sources. An interesting point the authors make is that "the probability seems to be that at least some parts of the interior of Borneo, only 100-300 years ago, carried significantly more people than they do today" (p. 29). This is one example of how the authors challenge the initial setup of the series. Apparently there is not always and everywhere a simple unidirectional path leading to increasing levels of environmental change and criticality. Reversal of trajectories is possible when conditions change, even up to the point where almost no traces of former human interference with the forest ecosystem can be observed.

The rapid pace of modern deforestation, largely resulting from commercial logging activities since the 1960s, is the central theme of the second and major part of the book. In seven thematic chapters this focuses on subjects connected with deforestation, including loss of biodiversity, soil erosion, the sustainability of the timber industry, transmigrants and other settlers, the role and fate of shifting cultivators, global climatic change, the impact of droughts and fires, and the creation of grasslands. The authors find that "endangerment" is probably the limit of present trends (p.245), but with a few important exceptions. Due to rapid destruction of the extremely diverse lowland tropical rainforest, for example, loss of biodiversity does present a true case of "criticality." Although the extent of actual species loss is unknown, the authors believe that rapid and concerted action is necessary to preserve a genetic pool of biodiversity in protected forest reserves. Another threatening environmental change is the creation of grassland by fire, to which the creation of litter by logging operations contributes significantly. The prospect of great tracts of the region being transformed into fire-climax grassland is

nevertheless judged "unlikely in the extreme" (p. 230), since most of the environments of Borneo and the Peninsula are relatively resilient under this kind of pressure.

The book does not attempt to treat environmental problems in isolation, but also assesses the issue of criticality in relation to the socioeconomic conditions of the (former) forest people. The much-debated conflict between shifting cultivation and logging is reviewed, and it is concluded that shifting cultivation is neither inherently good nor inherently bad. "Forest people are certainly capable of making ecologically damaging changes to their production system but, if given security and respect, they are far more likely to make sensible and more sustainable adaptations" (p. 140). If their ways of life and their rights to land and resources are guaranteed by the national governments of Indonesia and Malaysia, the forest people will adapt to new opportunities like that of conversion to sustainable agro-forestry. The critical danger to livelihoods lies not in the destructiveness of shifting cultivation and its increasing quest for land also under pressure from logging, but in the possibility that forest people will be prevented from adapting their behaviour in the necessary ways. "Ten years hence we shall either see forest people participating in the development of their own region, along with others, or else see them truly reduced to the status of an impoverished and abused minority" (p. 140). Interestingly, the authors conclude that it is not the shifting cultivators who are the most vulnerable to logging activities, but the labourers attracted to work in the logging and timber industries. These industries are clearly contracting and will continue to do so in the next decade, jettisoning their migrant employees who will then have little chance of returning to secure a livelihood in their places of origin.

The great achievement of the book is its very careful and pragmatic examination of the facts so far available in the literature, and its avoidance of simplistic or ideological conclusions. The story it tells is almost always a complex and multi-faceted one. Large areas of forests have been totally cleared and this is a tremendous loss, yet "there is nothing to be gained simply by bemoaning the past" (p. 72). Facing the present situation and making realistic predictions for the future is the only meaningful approach. Policy-makers will continue to treat the region as a resource frontier from which to feed the increasing world demand for timber, minerals, and energy. Only when a real scarcity is confronted is there a chance that the path of endangerment and criticality will bend in more sustainable directions. As comparable examples from other parts of Southeast Asia show, such changes are likely to take the form of "cusp-like reversals," swift and very hard to predict (p. 242).

From the point of view of most readers it would perhaps have been better if the authors had begun by presenting at the outset the theoretical framework which they favoured themselves, instead of trying to balance between the demands of the series and their own (changing) ideas. As it is, the theoretical discussion is relegated to an appendix and the course of the argument in the main text is sometimes confusing. Especially given that the work is intended as "a thematic book that is also a regional book," written primarily for a general rather than a regional readership (p.xi), I would have expected to see the major themes clearly worked out for this general public in the first chapter. Nevertheless, I think this well-founded and carefully edited book is still worthwhile for both groups of readers. (Han Knippen, Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands. This review originally appeared in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Folkkunde*, 1996, Vol. 152, no. 3, pp. 488-90. Here the

editor wishes to thank the editors of *Bijdragen* for their kind permission to republish it in the *BRB*.)

**Cassandra Pybus. *White Rajah: A Dynastic Intrigue*. Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1996. AS 17.95.<sup>1</sup>**

What is it about the White Rajahs of Sarawak that continues to have such a powerful romantic pull on the European reader?

Some years ago, vainly attempting to deflate the mythology which surrounds them, I suggested that the Brookes embodied the imperial daydream of enlightened white men ruling over heathen savages in a remote tropical setting. If anything, the nostalgia of Empire has given all this a new lease of life. In addition to his other attributes, James Brooke, the first Rajah, was a self-publicist of great genius. It was he (assisted by the portrait-painter Francis Grant) who defined the image of the dashing young English adventurer putting down piracy on the Borneo coast and carving out for himself the raj or kingdom of Sarawak from the old sultanate of Brunei. Cassandra Pybus is not the kind of writer you would expect to fall for this old line. Her gritty revisions of Tasmanian history, including the Orr case, have revealed her as a hard-nosed observer of humanity and an idiosyncratic feminist. Like so many other visitors, however, she succumbed in some measure to the romantic fever endemic to Sarawak.

Dynastic systems inevitably breed intrigue and the Brookes have more than their fair share of succession disputes. Uncle quarrelled with nephew and nephew with uncle over three long-lived generations. The dark horse among all the claimants to the raj was an elegant Ottawa floor-walker called Esca Daykin who happened to be the illegitimate son of the second Rajah, Charles Brooke, by one of his many *gundik* or mistresses. This was during the 1860s when he "went native" at his up-river fort at Simanggang. Totally rejecting the conventional Victorian disdain for miscegenation, Charles Brooke went about it with a will in the belief that a hybrid race of Anglo-Asiatics would survive the rigours of the tropics and emerge as a new ruling class.

Pybus does not explain why he disowned his own Eurasian son, although it is clear that his new European wife bore much of the responsibility for this. When Margaret de Windt, the beautiful and aristocratic young Englishwoman whom Charles had married for her money, came to Sarawak for the first time in 1870, she "had the nous" to see that the young Esca might be a serious threat to her own sons' inheritance. Taking him back to England with her three children (all of whom died of cholera in the Red Sea) she fostered him out to the local curate, the Rev. William Daykin, and his wife at Sheepstor in Devon. The Daykins subsequently took him to Africa and then to Canada where Esca went to school and later assisted his unpopular High Church step-father as a catechist. He never heard from his real father but received a small annuity from the Sarawak treasury. When Mr. Daykin wrote to Margaret Brooke in 1897 seeking further financial support for Esca who had recently married, she described him privately as "that brat". When he resurfaced in 1927 to assert his claim to the raj, he was "that half-caste idiot".

Persuaded by one of his wife's relatives to assert his rights, Esca produced documents to show that he had been baptised Isaka Brooke more than 50 years earlier by

<sup>1</sup> Editor note: Reprinted with permission from the *West Australian*, October 5th, 1996.

a missionary who recorded his father's name as C. Brooke and his mother as Tia. It is still not clear whether the mother was a Skrang Dayak adopted by a Malay family or whether as Dayang (roughly equivalent to "the Hon.") Mastiah she was a member of Sarawak's Brunei-descended Malay aristocracy.

Ignoring his half-brother Esca's claims, the ageing third Rajah, Charles Vyner Brooke (who was born to Charles and Margaret in London), proceeded to hand Sarawak over as a gift to the British government in May 1946 after Australia's 9th Division had liberated it from the Japanese. Thirty years after Esca died of disappointment in Toronto in 1953, two of his daughters went to Simanggang to meet their long-lost Malay cousins. It was this incident that fired Pybus' imagination as a story-teller.

Although Pybus has done a fair amount of original research, her style owes more to travel writing and detective fiction than to conventional history. The story of how she went about her work and her reflections on what she found out are intertwined in the narrative in a way that readers will find engaging. That it limps to an ending with Esca's death is perhaps inevitable. Altogether, *White Rajah* is like the proverbial curate's egg-- a little stale but with some good bits. The Canadian story is kept separate from the Sarawak story for much of the book to build up a sense of mystery and suspense, but there are some loose ends. For example, Margaret is allowed to spend some weeks at Simanggang in 1871 without discovering young Esca.

Pybus writes with energy and clarity, and for elegance and feeling it would be difficult to match the imagined passages which are written from Margaret Brooke's autobiographical perspective and presented as part of the narrative.

A more substantial and revealing story than the Esca episode is the relationship between Charles and Margaret Brooke with their poles-apart personalities. Pybus explores this to a point, but sets it aside for her Canadian detective work. The destruction of Charles' accounts in French of his intrigues with other women (including his officers' wives) and of Margaret's love letters to Edward Burne-Jones and other men during their long separation has made it difficult for the historian. At the same time, the relationship was a late Victorian classic which will one day attract a more focused study.

Despite her disapproval of the second Rajah's exploitative, unfeeling and sometimes inhuman behavior, Pybus ends up being much more sympathetic to him than to the talented but status-conscious Margaret. Charlie Brooke was a very odd fish indeed, but it didn't stop women from adoring the man whom his wife once described as "Rajah of all he surveyed". (Bob Reece, School of Social Sciences, Murdoch University, Murdoch WA 6150, Australia)

#### ABSTRACTS

Adelaar, K. Alexander. The classification of the Tamanic languages. In: *Language contact and change in the Austronesian world*, ed. by Tom Dutton and Darrell T. Tryon. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994. p. 1-42. (Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs. 77).

Tamanic consists of a number of dialects (Embaloh [or Maloh], Kalis and Taman) spoken in the northeast part of the province of West Kalimantan in the Hulu Kapuas regency near the head of the Kapuas river and its tributaries thereabout. The author intends to show that the Tamanic and South Sulawesi languages are a separate sub-group

within the West Malayo-Polynesian language group. The evidence which he presents consists of shared innovations in the phonology, in the lexicon, and in the pronominal system, and is mostly based on data on Embaloh. Furthermore, he discusses some morphological similarities between Tamanic and South Sulawesi languages, and makes a critical evaluation of Blust and Nothofer's evidence for an inclusion of Tamanic in the Malayic sub-group. Finally, he draws some conclusions concerning the classification of Tamanic and its cultural-historical consequences, and offers some criticism on the methods used in language classification. (Dr. Youetta M. de Jager)

Adelaar, K. Alexander. The history of thing, animal, person, and related concepts in Malay. In: *Austronesian terminologies*, ed. by A. K. Pawley and M.D. Ross. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, 1994. p. 1-20. ref: (Pacific Linguistics, series C: 127).

The author examines the Proto Malayic (PM) and Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) origin of the Malay words *barang* (thing), *binatang* (animal), and *orang* (human being); he proposes etymologies for a number of other historically and semantically related words: *berlupa* (how much/how many), *ayam* (chicken), and *main* (to play). His analysis of *barang* sheds new light on the history of the ligature *ng* which among other languages occurs in Philippine languages and in Old Javanese. The ligature was a link between parts of a noun phrase, between digits and higher order numerals in numerical compounds. Most West Indonesia languages still reflect the *ng* in numerical compounds, but have lost it as a ligature in noun phrases. *Ng* must still have been present in numerical compounds in Proto Malayic, but was lost in Malay. (Dr. Youetta M. de Jager)

Andaya, Leonard Y. The Bugis-Makassar diasporas. *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. vol. 68, no. 1, 1995. p. 119-138.

The attempts made by Europeans to dominate the economic life of Southeast Asia during the early modern period caused severe disruptions in the lives of the indigenous peoples of the area, especially in insular Southeast Asia. One of the most spectacular examples of this is the Bugis-Makassar diaspora from South Sulawesi. Over a period of two centuries, groups spread out over Sumbawa, Lombok, Bali, Java, Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, and southwest Borneo. The Makassarese were the most formidable, with an exodus of thousands of people led by the highest royal princes. Although initially given a warm welcome, the status of the leaders and the sheer numbers of these groups led to insurmountable problems of jurisdiction and allegiance. Their failure to settle turned these groups of Makassarese into a great threat to the VOC's hopes of stability in Indonesian waters. This is one of the reasons military expeditions were launched against Makassar in 1667. The Buginese diaspora was more successful. Their success was based on historical circumstance and unique Bugis innovations. They became well-established in the Malay world and southeast Sumatra.

Baier, Martin. Das Rätsel de Apo Kayan: megalithische Skulpturen und Sarkophage im Apo-Kayn-Gebiet: Studien einer Reise im südöstlichen Apo Kayan im Juli/Augustus 1994. *Tribus*. vol. 44, 1995. p. 100-112.

The author describes a number of ancient stone remains, statues, and sarchophagi, found in the Apo Kayan area of East Kalimantan. Apart from their existence and the fact that they cannot have been produced by the Kayan Kenyah, who only came into the area

a missionary who recorded his father's name as C. Brooke and his mother as Tia. It is still not clear whether the mother was a Skrang Dayak adopted by a Malay family or whether as Dayang (roughly equivalent to "the Hon.") Mastiah she was a member of Sarawak's Brunei-descended Malay aristocracy.

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during the eighteenth century, nothing is known about them. (Dr. Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop)

Bernstein, Jay H. *Spirits Captured in Stone: Shamanism and Traditional Medicine among the Taman of Borneo*. 1996. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. pp. 207.

This study focuses on shamanism and the healing practices of the Taman. The Taman typically associate illness with an encounter with spirits that both seduce and torment a person in dreams or waking life. Rather than use medicines to counter the effect of these discomfiting visitors, the shamans, called *halien*, use stones that are thought to have come into being by materializing wild spirits that have converged during the initiation ceremony. The author argues that shamanism continues to flourish not merely because of tradition, but because it meets real needs for therapy that are not otherwise satisfied. He stresses the exchange of objects in shamanic ceremonies and argues for the relevance of psychology and symbolic and social processes in explaining the identity of shamans. Finally, he situates Taman shamanism in the context of the pluralistic medical system of interior Borneo, which includes the traditions of the nearby Malay Muslims and Iban Dayaks.

Chazine, Jean-Michel. Nouvelles perspectives archéologiques Bornéo, Kalimantan Central. *L'anthropologie*. vol. 99, no. 4, 1995. p. 667-670.

Borneo has been isolated, literally, for 50,000 years. Thus far it has largely remained archaeological terra incognita, most work being confined to Sarawak and Sabah. Now for the first time there has been some archaeological survey work in Central Kalimantan. Among the finds are a large rock shelter, with an occupational layer containing lithic tools and potsherds. The latter are Sarawak-like incised paddle pottery from 3000 BP. The rock shelter is located at Liang Kaung in the Muller Mountains, some 10000 kilometres from the sea. (Dr. Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop)

Chin Ung Ho (James Chin). *A Study of the Sarawak United People's Party*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. 1996 (ISBN: 983 56 00074 . 352pp)

This is a pioneer study of the Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP), Sarawak's oldest political party. Founded in 1959, the party has changed from a left-wing, anti-Malaysia political entity into an establishment Barisan Nasional component party without losing the support of the Sarawak Chinese community. This contrasts to other Chinese-based BN political parties such as the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and Gerakan which have increasingly seen a deterioration in their Chinese electoral support. The study argues that SUPP's success is due to several factors. As a regional party concentrating in only one state (Sarawak), it is able to harness a strong sense of Sarawak nationalism and serve as a power-broker between the Malay and other indigenous groups in the state. The period under study covers SUPP's formative years in the late 1960s to the state election in 1991. Emphasis is put on SUPP's performance in various elections.

James Chin. Politics of Federal Intervention in Malaysia, with reference to Kelantan, Sarawak and Sabah. *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 35, No 2 (July) 1997 . pp 96-120.

Federalism, or how it is practiced in Malaysia, has always been a controversial political issue. Many have argued that Malaysia is not a true federation because the center, the federal government, holds too much power and dominates the political system

to such a degree that it can decide the survival of individual state governments. However, most of these writers come to this conclusion after examining certain aspects of federalism only such as federal grants to individual states or the rise of Kadazan nationalism in Sabah. None of the studies looked at federal-state relations in both Peninsular and East Malaysia, nor is there any discussion on an important topic-- the types of federal intervention. It is argued that intervention by Kuala Lumpur has not come suddenly, but that there are three distinct types of intervention: (1) "mild-intervention," whereby the federal authorities usually co-opt local leaders; (2) "mid-intervention," a more direct approach; and (3) "direct-intervention" or direct rule by Kuala Lumpur through a declaration of a state of emergency. The article attempts to dissect the three types involved in Kuala Lumpur's efforts to control and dominate the states. The source of confrontation, regionalism, and pre-conditions for Kuala Lumpur's intervention is also discussed. Although the center-state relationship of these states should be considered as exceptions rather than the norm, some general conclusions about the types of federal interventions can be learnt from their experiences.

Graham, Penelope. Hunting for Gender in the Forests of Borneo: Reflections on a New Monograph Series for Borneo Research. *Sajourn* Vol. 11, no. 1 (1996): 152-62.

This note draws attention to a number of significant initiatives undertaken by the Borneo Research Council, especially those aimed at broader dissemination of the results of Borneo research and greater Southeast Asian involvement in Council conferences. It goes on to discuss in some detail the initial volume, entitled *Female and Male in Boreo: Contributions and Challenges to Gender Studies*, in the Borneo Research Council's recently established monograph series. In reviewing the scope of this volume, the note considers a range of arguments put forward in some of the contributions, notably those dealing with Rungus Dusun sex roles and human sexuality, Iban head-hunting and gender differentiation, Lun Dayeh sociality, European-indigenous miscegenation, and the Borneo penis pin.

Hu, Jenny. Married to Taiwan: The Indonesian brides of Meinung. *Sinorama*, vol 20, no. 1, 1995. p. 46-55.

Rural bachelors in Taiwan are showing an increasing tendency to seek wives among the ethnic Hakka communities in Belitung, Bangka, Pontianak, and Singkawang (West Kalimantan). The women are mostly descendants of Hakka tin-miners, but are hard put to find a husband in Indonesia. In Taiwan they have a reputation for hard work, whereas Taiwanese women prefer not to labour on farms. Language is often a problem, as most of them speak no Chinese dialects. Therefore there are now language classes offered in Mandarin and Hakka. (Dr. Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop)

Hutomo, Suripan Sadi. Kedudukan "Syair Carang Kulina" dari Bajarnasin dalam cerita Panji/Suripan Sadi Hutomo. In: *Bahasawan cendekia/ suntingan Liberty P. Sihombing* [et al.] Jakarta: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia. 1994. p. 464-465.

During renovations to the Museum Kalimantan Selatan in 1976-77, a manuscript was found of the *Syair Carang Kulina* written in 1940 in Malay script. Its importance lies in the fact that it is the first Panji story known from Kalimantan Selatan and of this particular variant, it is the first known in *syair* form; all other known versions are *hikayat*. On the basis of the fifteen characteristics for the older Panji stories it seems that the *syair* version is more recent than the *hikayat*. (Dr. Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop)



Sather, Clifford. *The Bajau Laut: Adaptation, History, and Fate in a Maritime Fishing Society of South-eastern Sabah*. South-East Asian Social Science Monographs, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1997 (ISBN 983 56 0015 5). RM\$ 105

Until 1955, the Bajau Laut of the Semporna District were sea nomads living entirely in boats. Although comprising only a small minority of the total Bajau-speaking population, they formed an integral part of the coastal society of south-eastern Sabah. *The Bajau Laut* traces the history of a single community from the early nineteenth century to the present, treating in particular a fifteen-year interval of rapid transformation, during which time members of the community abandoned sea nomadism and adapted to a coastal market centre as commercial fishermen and labourers.

This extensive anthropological study looks in detail at the processes of change, at the social constitution of the community, and at the underlying cultural premises that give coherence to village life, notably to notions of fate, debt, compassion, and ancestry.

Schiller, Anne. *Small Sacrifices: Religious Change and Cultural Identity among the Ngaju of Indonesia*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

*Small sacrifices* is an ethnographic study of the Ngaju Dayaks, rain forest dwellers of the interior region of Central Kalimantan. Like many indigenous peoples throughout the world, the Ngaju have recently been affected by exposure to world religions, by improvements in transportation and communication, by new demands on family-based production, and by other factors pertaining to their growing incorporation into an expanding state system in an era of rapid political and economic change. The Ngaju response to these pressures, author Anne Schiller contends, is most clearly seen in the religious sphere. Over the past two decades, many Ngaju have taken to recasting and reinterpreting their indigenous religion, known formerly as Kaharingan and now as Hindu Kaharingan. Paradoxically, this process of religious change involves the codification of religious belief and the standardization of ritual. It also includes efforts to distinguish "religious practices" from other "customs". These developments figure importantly in the construction of modern Ngaju identity. The author focuses especially on the form and content of *tiwah*, an elaborate ritual of secondary treatment of the dead, with multiple and complex meanings for Hindu Kaharingan Ngaju, as well as for those who have converted to Christianity or Islam.

Shapiro, Gary L. Data and observation from a short-term limnological study of the Sekonyer River, a blackwater tributary in Tanjung Puting National Park, Central Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Borneo Research Bulletin*, vol. 26, 1995, p. 25-53.

This paper is a presentation of a pilot study, conducted from July up to and including November 1986, of an Indonesian river from the point of view of its being a blackwater river. Since the project, the author cautions that human activities in the watershed have intensified and that river traffic has been getting busier. The physical and chemical parameters studied included river height, water temperature, water clarity, salinity, dissolved oxygen, and tannic acid as well as rainfall, air temperature, humidity, and insolation. (Dr. Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop)

Siahaan, Harlem. Konflik dan perlawanan: kongsi Cina di Kalimantan Barat, 1770-1854. *Prisma*, vol 23, no. 12, 1994, p. 41-55.

The *Huakiau*, the overseas Chinese played a major role in the economic development of West Kalimantan. Between 1770 and 1854 many men in South China

were recruited to work in the goldmines. Although Chinese merchants had been visiting the littoral area for centuries, it was only in the 18th century that local rulers, dissatisfied with the productivity of Malay and Dayak miners, began to encourage the migration of Chinese. Panembahan Mampawah launched such a policy in the period 1740-1745, his example followed in 1760 by the sultan of Sambas. Having sketched in the historical background the author turns to a description of the social organization of the Chinese into *kongsi*, of which the most salient characteristic was that they were composed of people united by ties of kinship and from the same area. The first conflicts between the Chinese and the Dayaks arose about a quarter of a century after the Chinese arrived. As the gold began to peter out, the Chinese turned to agriculture and grew even more powerful and autonomous. Having first opposed the sultanates, later the Chinese felt that they could oppose the Dutch. Their actions hastened the establishment of direct Dutch rule in West Kalimantan. (Dr. Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop)

Smeets, Henk C.M.I. Een pater op tournee: verslag van een dienstreis naar de binnenlanden van Borneo in 1861 door J.B. Palinckx s.j. *Indische Letteren*, vol. 10, no. 4, 1995, p. 213-232.

By Government decree of 1/7/1861 Father J.B. Panlin was granted permission to accompany the military expedition being sent out to the Banjarmasin area where there was a great deal of resistance to the introduction of Dutch rule. Between 27/9/1861 and 4/11/1861 he made a report for every day of his journey. The report was addressed to Jesuit Provincial in The Hague. An undated, expurgated, printed version appeared sometime before 1900. In the author's opinion, the travel account gives a direct and realistic picture of the situation in southeast Borneo at that time. (Dr. Rosemary L. Robson-McKillop)

Tjahjani Kuhnt-Saptodewo, Sri. The Ngaju Kaharingan religion: interaction between oral and written tradition. In: *Text and tales*, ed. by Jarich Oosten. Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1994, p. 24-32. (CNWS publications, vol. 22).

The Ngaju death ritual is celebrated in two stages: the primary burial (*tantulak matei*) which usually takes place between three and seven days after death, and the secondary burial (*tiwah*) which takes place about nine months after the primary burial or later. The author studied the *tiwah* or secondary burial in the traditional village Tumbang Malahui on the Beringai, a tributary of the Rungan, where the indigenous *Kaharingan* religion is still strong (in 1990 60 percent of the 1375 inhabitants called themselves *Kaharingan*). *Basa Sangiang* is the sacred language used for ritual purposes. The codified phrases, or *tandak*, are formulae, with which names of places, objects, ritual activities, or persons are indicated during the ritual. Schärer (1966) was the first to write down a lengthy text in *Basa Sangiang* containing the *tantulak matei*, or primary burial rite. Following a description of *Basa Sangiang*, and an outline of the history of codification of Ngaju ritual, the author turns to the problems involved in the transcription of oral (ritual) texts. To obtain a picture of the religious concepts of the Ngaju the *tandak* must be recognised as standing for a sacred name, loosened from the context and transformed to the meaning as the priests understand it. She illustrates her point by her corrections of the literal translations of *tandak* by Hardeland (1848) and Schärer (1966). (Dr. Youetta M. de Jager)

Vayda, Andrew P. and Ahmad Sahur. *Bugis Settlers in East Kalimantan's Kutai National Park: Their past and present and some possibilities for their future*. 1996 Jakarta: Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR). Special Publication.

What policies should be adopted regarding enclave populations in national parks and other protected areas and how should the policies be implemented? These questions are important for protected areas throughout the world. The authors report here on socio-economic and historical research that they conducted in the rapidly developing Indonesian province of East Kalimantan to help deal with such questions. They use their findings to make practical recommendations about relocating Bugis farmers and fishers from East Kalimantan's Kutai National Park and to assess relocation as an alternative to maintaining the status quo with respect to settlements within the park's lowland rainforest. In addition, their findings are used to challenge some widely held generalizations about the impoverished condition of forest settlers, the preferability of land to only cash to those who might be resettled, and the inter-relations between urban/industrial employment and forest destruction.

Walker, J.H. 1995 *Power and Conflict in Sarawak, 1835-1868*. University of New South Wales. PhD dissertation.

The focus of this dissertation is the network of political, economic and ritual relationships that developed on the northwest coast of Borneo last century, and from which a multi-ethnic coalition led by James Brooke established the state of Sarawak. This study seeks to locate and explicate the sources and nature of James Brooke's power in Borneo. Where other scholars placed Brooke in the context of nineteenth century British imperialism, this study perceives him in the context of Bornean cultures and political economy. It analyses both James Brooke's relationships with his Bornean followers and adversaries, and the role he played in relationships among his followers. In doing so, I retrieve from the historical sources an internal view of nineteenth century Sarawak experience; the motivation of the Sarawak people involved, their aspirations and interests, their constraints and strengths and those of their social systems and economies.

The study is based on a re-view of surviving European archives: James Brooke's diaries and letters are extant, as are other records of the Brooke family, their friends and enemies; the Borneo Company; the Borneo Mission; the British Foreign Office and the Colonial Office. Such a wealth of sources has enabled me to explore mid-nineteenth century Sarawak in considerable detail. Although I have been concerned to identify and use whatever non-European perceptions of events or issues which have survived; for example, in evidence taken by the inquiry into James Brooke's activities, in the reporting of European contemporaries, or in the genealogies and oral histories published by ethnologists; my sources remain overwhelmingly European. Thus I needed to establish a methodology to interrogate archival sources in order to review and expand the historical narrative. In doing so I have used, first, anthropological concepts to explore indigenous expectations of, and responses to, the development of James Brooke's power; and secondly, paradigms derived from political science to analyse the political order that Sarawak encompassed.

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