



# BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN

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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

In The Dialectics of Social Life, Robert Murphy makes the observation that the social sciences have developed through field experiences, their interpretation, and the continuous dialectic inherent in these processes. Thus, an inference we may draw is that the "doing" of social science research is never completed.

From the late 1940s until about the beginning of this decade, a vast amount of data was collected in the several states of Borneo by a relatively large number of fieldworkers. Current conditions are not as conducive to fieldwork yet, despite--or, perhaps, because of this fact--a continuation of analysis of data can yield new insights and raise fresh questions, hopefully to be answered in the future.

"Research Notes" contain two articles which illustrate the dialectic process. The first is a reflection on problems of gathering "meaningful" data, the second a conceptual framework bringing together materials from several disciplines in the interest of "writing Sarawak and Sabah history."

The Editor encourages contributions of these kind, together with material from scholars currently working in Borneo, and especially of indigenous fieldworkers. The Borneo Research Bulletin will remain the important publication it has become only through such scholarly support.

Again, we call particular attention to two notices which appear in this issue. First, A Checklist of the Works  
(continued p. 119)

R E S E A R C H N O T E S

POINTS ON THE COLLECTION OF GENERAL ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA AMONG TRIBAL PEOPLES IN BORNEO

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Introduction

Soon after beginning field-work in Kalimantan, I realized that my greatest task was not merely to gather data--I was inundated with data--but to gather meaningful data, "meaningful" especially in the sense of being sufficiently complete to enable me to isolate determinate variables from non-determinate ones. In attempting to gather this kind of data, I worked out the system of recording and organizing data that is described below, using cards from my data-files by way of example.

Recording the Data: Notebook and Notecard

All data I gathered initially were hand-written, in an abbreviated style, into 3" x 5" lined, spiral-bound notebooks. I dated each page as I wrote it. At the end of every day, I read through the day's notes, correcting illegible writing and adding in details while my memory was still fresh.

Within two to four weeks, I typed up these notes, clarifying and elaborating as needed the abbreviated account. (The presence of an informant while doing this, to assist in resolving difficulties in the account, was exceedingly desirable.) By not typing up my notes immediately, I had time to ponder them, and I was better able to critically appraise them while typing and to make notes on further lines of investigation. By not waiting more than four weeks to type the notes, I was always able to dredge up additional details from memory as I typed. (I found that after more than four weeks, these details would fade from memory.)

I typed all of my notes, with the exception of lexical data, onto 5" x 8" cards, specially cut from ledger-type paper for durability. I made one carbon for each card typed, as insurance against loss, mailing the carbons back home at intervals.

I organized my data-cards into seven different files; fresh data were typed into one of these files. The seven files were: (1) General (2) Swidden, (3) Photos, (4) Lexical, (5) Notes, (6) Queries and (7) Daily Journal. An eighth file was organized for assistants' daily journals.

General File (see Figure 1, p. 58): The notes in Figure 1 show that the data in this file are organized chronologically by date of typing; i.e., typing from the notebook. This is, perhaps, the simplest method possible. A sequential number was typed onto each card to facilitate the later construction of a topical index to the files.

Swidden File: (see Figure 2, p. 59): I largely resisted the temptation to organize my general data cards into many separate topical files, as opposed to a single chronological file, out of the belief that the proliferation of separate files would cause my overall organization of data to suffer. I made a single exception by creating a separate file for the swiddens that were farmed while I was at my field-site. I created a separate file for these data because they consisted largely of a great number of succinct bits of information, all of which would have posed indexing problems had they been strewn through my General File. At the end of my field-work, I added the Swidden File cards into the sequential numbering system of my General File, so that certain of the data on the cards could be entered into (and, thus, retrieved by means of) my single topical index.

Photo File (see Figure 3, p. 60): I always tried to take notes for this file after exposing each frame, or at least at the end of each day. If I had waited to examine my developed film--a wait of 6 to 18 months in my case--before cataloging it, I would by then have been unable to remember the date, subject and location of each frame.

Lexical File (see Figure 4, p. 61).

Notes and Queries Files (see Figures 5 and 6, pp. 62-3): At the same time I typed up data from notebooks onto notecards, I made entries into a "Notes File" and a "Queries File." I put into these two files not data but analyses of data (to guide post-field writing) and queries of data (to guide further investigations while still in the field), respectively. Because of my central interest in swiddens, I found it useful to organize each of these files into two sections: "Swiddens" and "General."

Daily Journal (see Figure 7, p. 64): At the end of each day I typed onto 5" x 7" cards an entry into a journal. While still in the field this journal served to mark the progression of time, and also constituted an outlet for analysis of the experience of field-work. After leaving the field, this journal has proven of value in supplementing other records with regard to where a given bit of data was obtained when and from whom. At the end of my field-work, I added the journal cards into the sequential numbering system of my General and Swidden files, for the same reasons of indexing and retrieval that were mentioned for the Swidden File.

Daily Journals of Assistants (see Figure 8, p. 65): I arranged for each of the Kantu' assistants to keep a daily journal for me, written in the Kantu' language using an orthography that we worked out together. Consonant with my interests they focused their journals upon daily production and consumption within their own households. Every nine months I typed up their hand-written journals onto 5" x 7" cards, and then added the cards into the sequential numbering system of my General File, again, for ease of indexing and retrieval. These journals proved to be rich sources of data, some of which was anticipated, other unanticipated.

Topical Index (see Figure 9, p. 66): After returning from the field I completed the sequential numbering of all the cards in my General File, Daily Journal, and Daily Journals of Assistants. I then went through all the cards, divided the data on each card into minimal

bits, ascertained the topical category into which each bit would fall and entered a succinct description of each data-bit--preceded by the sequential number of its card--onto a separate 3" x 5" indexing card reserved for each topical category. I did only minimal cross-indexing. The entries on the index cards are listed in numerical order according to the number of the file card on which they are found. The index cards themselves are filed alphabetically by topic. I used approximately 90 distinct topical categories. Some such index seems to be necessary to speed up the retrieval of data.

Interview Schedules (see Figure 10. p. 67): I constructed interview schedules for those topics regarding which I required numerous, succinct bits of data from every household in the longhouse. There were at least two benefits to the use of such schedules. First, the use of interview schedules minimized omission and tardiness in the collection of the data; by glancing at a schedule I could easily and frequently remind myself of what data I already had as well as what data I had yet to obtain. This continual reminder was critical to the timely collection of such data for current activities were likely to fade quickly from the memories of my informants. Second, the use of interview schedules minimized time spent in collecting large amounts of succinct bits of data: for example, when meeting someone on the trail, a glance at an interview schedule and a minute or two of conversation would enable me to up-date that schedule for that person's household. (Note: The interview schedule in Figure 10 has been typed onto a 5" x 8" for filing purposes. In the field I printed most schedules onto 3" x 5" cards which fit easily into a shirt-pocket.)

Figure 1: General File

Date of typing (on card)	Name of Informant	Date of Writing (in notebook)	Sequential Number of This Card
4/18/76	(Fishing adat - tubai) being thrown into the water as untung kitai d'ai? This is done awak kitai nade belaiya?	1373	
	Bejalai ka menoa urang; when Bugin & Suring were discussing Bilal's chances for surviving on his own d'ai? nyin, Bungin noted that asa neuri or ngacau bini urang, pandak umr di menoa urang.		
	Kebun getah - Suat: Lumpu says that he nanam the kebun in front of ruma that now mpu sida? Suat.		
	Beburung - Goulungan at UM; (4/8/76) (1) he matah ke rangkang (kaiyu mati) for pangal. (2) then pangal ditingang with kaiyu idup. (3) then he mantun sapi? raraih (3 kaiyu kanan). (4) then nyilup ke duku? kalam rauh. (5) mantun sapi? seria? sambil nebah. (3 kaiyu kanan). (6) ngke-rong serekait. Goulungan notes that in this he follows example of Mara? beburung. He warns me not to nusoi k'urang, saying that he only tells me about it because he knows I want to study this adat.		
	Bumai history - Goulungan; balang - Once when bumai mb at Senkadai, ninga bacar. Udah bisi? 3 ari nebah. Heard ketupung as		

Topical Headings

	Position of Household in Longhouse	Year in which Swidden Harvested	Type of Swidden	Location of Swidden	Sequential Number of This Card
Name of Eldest Male in Household	#7 Tikin	1976	Umai Paiya'	(Lubuk Munserai)	1803
Dates of Writing (in notebook)	7/9/75		Umpai mesti jadi		
	7/20/75		Beburung: umpai		
	7/24/75		Beburung: udah demia? Tebaih: mulai today		
	8/5/75		Tebaih: udah Tebang: mulai 8/2. Beburung: Tikin here. Paiya?: maiyou here, darat ncipit Kaiyu pemesai pala? bisi?, tawaih nebah.		
	8/7/75		Tebaih-tebang udah yest. Lumpu, Tikin, Dyuri turun yest. Bini Dyuri nade kalaa? ngau nebah/nebang: anak nade tau? dudi. Bini Tikin ngau nebah 5 ari. Dyuri & Tikin nebah kadiri? 4 ari bedurok nebah 2 ari, bedurok nebang 2 ari. Dibai? sekali?: some. Redak: some		
	8/25/75		Dibai? sekali?: yes, though bisi? nebang ngau beliyong.		

Figure 2: Swidden File

-59-

	Title of File	Sequential Number of This Card
Subject of Photo	Photographic Record	24
	Roll 16 (B&W)	
Sequential Number of This Roll	32. 4/6/75	langkau mudai Suat: men pose at start berangkat.
	33. 4/6/75	jalai Kenua?: Pengabang, Berenai & Demok await men at alai mentu
Location of Photo	34. 4/6/75	jalai Kenua?: Lumpu & Juri carrying lanyi?.
	Roll 17 (Color)	
Date of Photo	1. 4/6/75	tepian: perau used to ferry lanyi? padi from tanah sepiak during ngangkut.
Frames	2. 4/6/75	at foot geretak: Suat ngitau (?) assembled padi with jani?, men and girls pose alongside for camera.
	3. 4.6.75	at foot geretak: close-up of Suat killing jani? with sangkoh at tanga? geretak.

Figure 3: Photo File

-60-

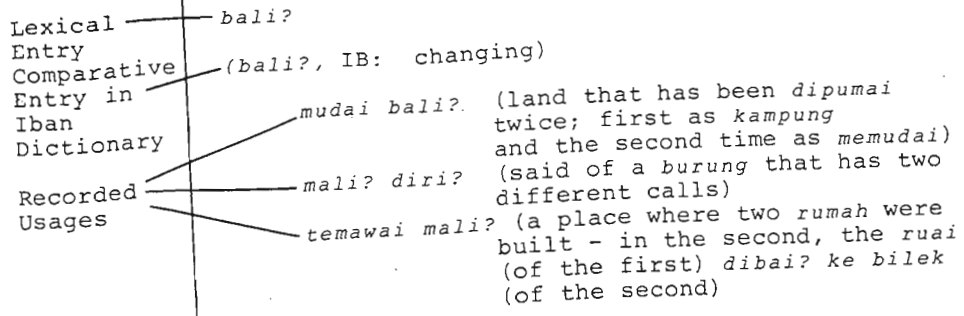


Figure 4: Lexical File

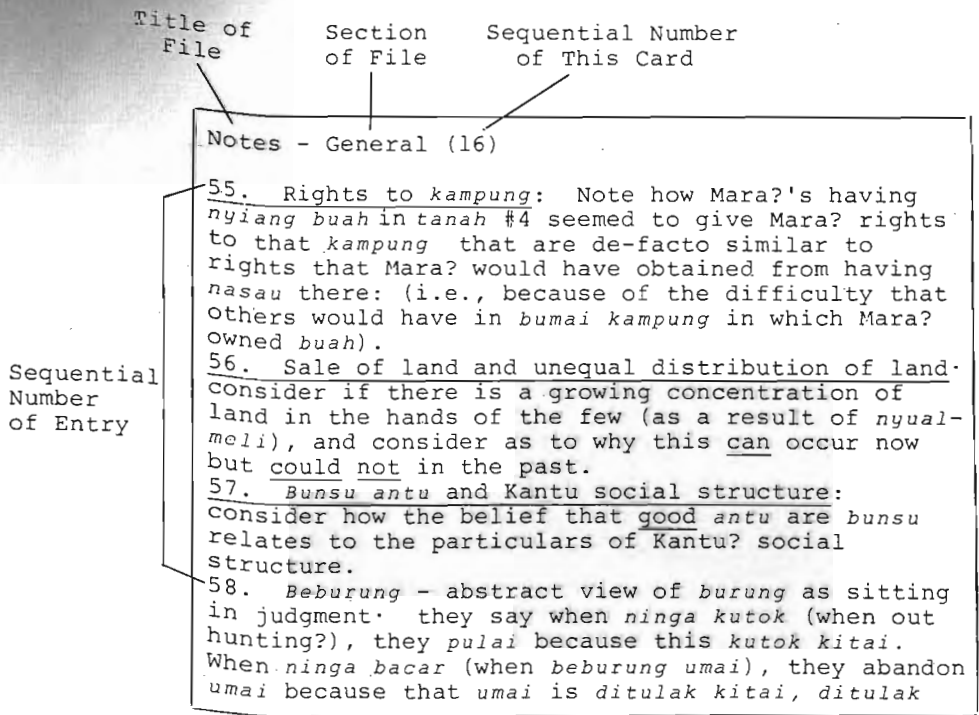


Figure 5: Notes File

Sequential  
Number  
of Entry

Queries - Umai (6)

61. *Umai* size: measure area felled; burned-planted, reaped (at least for assistants' *pintu*)
63. *Umai* with mixed *kampung* & *memudai*: note percentage of mixture.
64. Planting: get data on *supih*, *suluti?*/*sulat*
67. *Dampa?*: what were reasons for TB I making their last *dampa?* in Kenua? ?
68. *Nyingkelan umai*: why *nutup lubang tugal w. tepung?*
69. What *padi /puloi/paiya?* varieties thrive best in *memudai* vs. *kampung*, or *lempa?* vs. *mungou?*
70. Does participation in *bumai* of *kampung* confer different rights upon male participants than upon female (i.e., regarding sale of such *kampung?*
71. *Padi pun*: why *padi-pun Tigang campur?*
72. Why *mali nunu* twice? So what if *kaiyu? bari?* after first burn?
73. *Duku? penebah/paiya?*: measure.
74. *Pengarouh padi*: examine.

Figure 6: Queries File

Sequential Number  
of This Card

Dates of  
Journal  
Entries

2192

3/11/75 and some *padi*, and then measure the *beras* that I measured today, but after it has been *ditutok* in Aiyung's *langkau*.  
3/12/75 Followed Aiyung to Kenua? and met Lempiau on the trail - persuaded the latter to accompany me to one *umai* to measure it. Left the graduated cylinder with Aiyung to measure yesterday's *padi* after it has been *tutok* and *tampih*. We measured KK's *umai* - very, very large, and under a hot sun too. Also very mountainous. Got back and recovered until mid-afternoon. Went into *ruai* and queried Tikin on all relevant aspects of his *umai*. Gave short English lesson upon request to assembled kids. Quarter of them kept running out onto the *tanyou?* to laugh at how funny the words sounded, quarter were skirmishing with each other, quarter kept yelling at the others to be quiet and pay strict attention to me, quarter actually did pay strict attention and did very well. The kids were having a rather festive afternoon, heating down by the river, to make *gita* that they would

Figure 7: Daily Journal

Figure 8:  
Daily Journals of Assistants

Date of Typing	Title of File	Name of Assistant	Sequential Number of This Card
	2/5/76 (Buku Tulis Angkol - 10/16/75)		942
Date of Journal Entry	<p>Bini 20. UN bini nuluhng bini Sait nutuk padi kami dapi ruai Tegang. UN inai nampi? beras kisar. Mit ngisar padi kami dapi kk. malam an, pem ngisi kebang sengan. Apai an ngami ubi kemudai Kenua, 10 igi. Pulau dimudai, datai dirumah, apai lalu betelas tongui gerenih. Tonngu ui nya nyau udah. Bubu kami 2 igi dapi s. Kenua dibantai, nadai bisi bulih. Pukat dibantai, bulih ikan te yepit 3. Bubu sigi dapi bat. Emp dibantai, nadai bisi bulih. Pemakai manok 4 lemukut 3 mok, ukoi 1 nasi 2 pingai Beras 18 mok (3 kali). Angkaiyu: terung 10, uni 2, tubu? 20, kantung ubi ngisi binsin, rangki 4. Inai malam nya marut ubi, pem udah diparut 2 pingai. 10/17/75: Angkol nyau bini ngau apai ngau inai k'umai Kenua. Bayah mantun pagi sadja, kami nadai nyadi ninga kijang. Udah mentu makai tengah ari, inai ngali ubi pem ngisi takin sengan. Bini ngega? kantung ubi, pem ngisi takin sengan, kejung mantap tebu 6. UN inai ngau apai mantun paiya unsai. Bini ngempat urat paiya, kejung daun. Angkol namak kepaiya. Bini udah ngempat paung paiya, lalu ngau Angkol betamak. Inai ngau apai</p>		

Figure 9: Topical Index

Index-Topic	Description of Data-Bit
Beburung: ujan ribut), 874 (in mulai ke burung, pulau to last alai bemalam where angkat when ninga) 877 (Kantu? as lban re: beburung), 878 (ngelaba "try something new"), 879 (ketupung as "urang") 881 (if bejalai ulun PG), 879 (ketupung as "urang") 881 (if bejalai ke menna/memudai urang not have pulau ke burung) 900 (finish felling tree when ninga utai 1/2 way through) 942 (not nyadi mantun when ninga kijang), 942 (they betamak after pulau mantun ke kijang), 976 (ketupung for pemunyi badaih they pulau once, for pemunyi jai? pulau many times because ketupung is nyengkalan), 977 (beragai, kutok, pangkaih, nade banga jai? - ketupung sigi?, bacar, burung ngelayang are jai?), 977 (papau nade banga jai?, so not bekalih on jalai; but if ka? bemalam lama? or bejalai jauh, would have sent utai back) 986 (only ketupung tau ngau pegela? sama PB), 986 (make pangal - details), 986 (if mantap tanah w. duko? this is beburung besi), 986 (good burung is actively sought out), 986 (two	



Figure 10 Interview Schedules

Type of Interview Schedule	Position of Household in Longhouse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Sequential Number of This Card
Umai Checklist 1976		kmp	kmp	kmp	kmp	kmp	kmp	kmp	kmp	1
Berangkut: tanggal		---	xxx	x	xx	x	---	xx	---	2
pegela? munuh utai		---	x-x	x	xx	x	---	xx	---	3
tolong, bed., upah		---	-x	x	xx	x	---	xx	---	4
why not berangkut		xx	---	---	---	---	x	---	---	5
how much padi-		---	x--	x	x-	x-	---	x-	---	6
puloi sadau		---	x--	x-	x-	x-	---	x-	---	7
padi sadau from		---	x--	x-	x-	x-	---	x-	---	8
what year		---	x--	x-	x-	x-	---	x-	---	9
when padi '74-'75		x--	x--	x	---	x-	x--	x-	---	10
amih		---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	11
Bantai: size pasah		---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	12
no. lanyai? benih		xxx	xx	---	---	---	---	---	---	13
no. lanyai? dangkut		xxx	xxx	x	xx	x-	x-x	xx	---	14
no. lanyai? puloi		xxx	xxx	x	xx	x-	x-	xx	---	15
arak, ai? utai		---	x-x	x	xx	---	---	x-	---	16
Dibanaiah (udah nunu)		nny	---	n	nn	yy	nn	---	---	17
Gawa? batu: pegela?		n--	y--	y	y-	y-	y--	y-	---	18
jani, manok, arak		x--	x--	x	---	x-	---	---	---	19
tuak		---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	20

Data Sought

"x" means data already obtained  
 "-" means category not applicable

A FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY AND WRITING OF SARAWAK AND SABAH HISTORY

Craig A. Lockard  
 University of Malaya  
 and

University of Wisconsin-Green Bay

The following are the syllabi for two courses on the history of Sabah and Sarawak which I taught at the University of Malaya during the 1977-78 academic year as a Fulbright-Hays Visiting Lecturer. The first course--History of Sabah and Sarawak Before 1945--was offered to 16 second year undergraduate students. The second course--History of Sabah and Sarawak--attracted an enrollment of 29 third year students. Approximately four students in each class came from Sarawak and Sabah. I also helped supervise one graduate student and one final year student (both Sarawakians) preparing theses on Sarawak history.

Because few if any similar courses are taught outside Malaysia (I certainly never taught them previously and had to compile these syllabi hurriedly and totally from scratch) and only one to my knowledge in other Malaysian post-secondary institutions, I believe that the course syllabi which I prepared might be of interest to readers of the Bulletin concerned with the social, cultural, political, or economic history of Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei; they might also interest history teachers in East (and West) Malaysia. As the reader will note, the course outlines and bibliographies are somewhat more ambitious than merely assisting students (and instructor) in organizing their work and thoughts. I have consciously attempted to present a framework, in outline form, for the study, writing, and teaching of Sabah and Sarawak history.

There has been a great need for a work of synthesis and reflection on the historical development from earliest times to the present which would accord as much (or more) attention to social, cultural, and economic as to political and diplomatic history, and would devote as much

emphasis as possible to the pre-modern period. Such a work should make use of the available archaeological, anthropological, geographical and economic literature as well as the standard historical and political sources for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I am currently engaged at an early stage in researching such a history (based in part on these two courses); the reading lists, admittedly incomplete, for the two courses suggest many of the available secondary source materials. Anyone who would like to suggest additional sources, or discuss problems interpretations, or other matters related to the project (ADC: 1979) is welcome to correspond with me c/o Department of History, University of Malaya, Pantai Valley, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (until May 1, 1978) or (after May 1, 1978), c/o Social Change and Development Concentration, University of Wisconsin - Green Bay, Green Bay, Wisconsin, 54302. U.S.A.

Sarawak and Sabah to 1945

Introduction

This course covers the history of Sarawak and Sabah from earliest times until the end of the Japanese Occupation in 1945. Because of the nature of available source materials, much of our emphasis will be placed on the period after European penetration in the 1840s: we will, however, also accord as much attention as possible to the poorly-documented pre-modern period. Due to the instructor's expertise and the better documentary record we will also devote more time to Sarawak than to Sabah. Modern Brunei will receive only limited coverage. The available texts and other reading materials tend to stress political and diplomatic history and we will discuss the Brooke Raj and the Chartered Company. But we will only be tangentially concerned with such topics as the lore of the Brooke family, relations between the Brookes and Britain, or British imperial rivalries with various other powers. As much as possible, this course will lay emphasis on the social cultural, and economic history of the northern Bornean peoples - Ibans, Malays, Kadazans, Chinese, Kayans, Bajaus, etc. The assigned and recommended readings have been carefully selected to

emphasize social and cultural history as much as possible; they illustrate that considerable material does exist to allow us to stress non-political and non-diplomatic developments.

Basic Readings (Texts)

1. Steven Runciman, The White Rajahs: A History of Sarawak from 1841 to 1941 (all)
2. K. G. Tregonning, History of Modern Sabah, 1881-1963 (Chapters 1-12)
3. Robert Pringle, Rajahs and Rebels: The Ibans of Sarawak under Brooke Rule, 1841-1941 (all)
4. Craig A. Lockard, From Kampong to City: A Social History of Kuching, Malaysia, 1820-1970 (Chapters 1-6)
5. Cheng Te-Kun, Archaeology in Sarawak.

Course Outline

The following is a tentative schedule for the weekly lectures during this academic year. It also constitutes an attempt to present in outline form a framework for the study and writing of Sarawak and Sabah history from earliest times until 1945, with an emphasis on social, cultural and economic history. The major themes selected for analysis, as well as the amount of time allotted to different periods and developments, hopefully reflect a good balance between the availability of sources (especially strong on Brooke, Sarawak; much weaker on modern Sabah; very limited for the premodern period generally, economic history, and twentieth century Brunei) and the needs of a comprehensive and fair historical treatment. The assigned and recommended reading assignments for each week are listed with the weekly topic; required readings are marked with an asterisk. The full citation for each book or article listed can be obtained by locating the reading in the attached basic bibliography by the number which accompanies the reading assignment.

Week	Topic
1	Introductory Remarks
A.	Physical and Human Configurations
2	Geography <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Climate</li> <li>b. Topography</li> <li>c. Major Towns and Districts</li> <li>d. Resource Base</li> </ul> Reading <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*D97 Runciman, 3-16</li> <li>*D91 Pringle, 1-17</li> <li>*D61 Lockard, 1-4</li> <li>C5 Ginsburg, Chapter 3</li> <li>D47 Jackson, 15-37</li> </ul>
3	Peoples and Cultures of Northern Borneo <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Dayaks</li> <li>b. Kadazans-Muruts</li> <li>c. Malayo-Muslims</li> <li>d. Chinese</li> <li>e. Others</li> </ul> Reading <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*C33 Roff, 19-31</li> <li>*D110 Sarawak Gazette, all</li> <li>D33 Harrisson, all</li> <li>*D91 Pringle, 17-37</li> <li>D34 Harrisson, 154-59</li> <li>C5 Ginsburg, Chapter 4</li> </ul>
B.	Evolution of Human Settlement to Ca. 1500
4	Prehistory <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. The Niah Record</li> <li>b. Problems of Niah Excavations</li> <li>c. Other Sarawak Sites</li> <li>d. Sabahan Development</li> <li>e. Brunei Neolithic</li> </ul> Reading <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*D40 Harrisson, all</li> <li>*D10 Cheng, 6-11</li> <li>*E25 Harrisson and Harrisson, 1-22</li> <li>C36 Solheim, all</li> <li>C12 Harrisson, all</li> </ul>

Week	Topic
5	Iron-Age Transformation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Santubong</li> <li>b. Some possible Sarawak and Sabah Changes</li> <li>c. Pre-Islamic Brunei</li> <li>d. Islamization of Brunei</li> <li>e. Islam in North and West Borneo</li> </ul> Reading <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*D10 Cheng, 1-5, 12-22</li> <li>*E25 Harrisson and Harrisson, 22-32</li> <li>D34 Harrisson, 117-35; 648-51</li> <li>C6 Harrisson, all</li> <li>*C30 Ongkili, 1-9</li> <li>*F1 Brown, 130-40</li> <li>C9 Harrisson, all</li> <li>D32 Harrisson, 104-116-120</li> </ul>
C.	Maturation of Bornean Society and Culture, ca. 1500-ca. 1840
6	The Kapuas Connection <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Malayo-Muslim coastal society</li> <li>b. Iban migrations to Sarawak</li> <li>c. Marauding and Headhunting</li> <li>d. Chinese in West Borneo</li> </ul> Reading <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*D91 Pringle, 38-65</li> <li>*D61 Lockard, 4-13</li> <li>*D74 Morgan, all</li> <li>D100 Sandin, all</li> <li>D125 Vayda, all</li> <li>D97 Richards, all</li> <li>C23 Jackson, 14-28</li> <li>D53 Kalom and Hudson, all</li> </ul>
7	The Brunei Connection <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Brunei society and politics</li> <li>b. Brunei and Sarawak</li> <li>c. Sarawak coastal society</li> <li>d. Brunei and Sabah</li> </ul>

- Week      Topic
- 7 (cont'd)
- Reading
- \*C30 Ongkili, 9-16
- \*F1 Brown, Chapters 7-10, 12
- \*D3 Babcock, all
- D24 Edwards, 50-55
- D83 Osman, all
- 8      The Sulu Connection
- a. Origins of Sulu Influence in Sabah
- b. Nature of Sulu Influence in Sabah
- c. Sabah Society
- Reading
- \*E40 Reynolds, 39-113
- \*E10 Black, all
- E61 Warren, 1-31
- E25 Harrisson and Harrisson, Part D
- E59 Warren, all
- E34 Majul, all
- D. Western Impact and Control, ca. 1840-ca. 1880
- 9      Early Brooke Raj
- a. Sarawak in the early Nineteenth Century
- b. Sarawak civil war
- c. Brooke intervention
- d. The new regime
- Reading
- \*D97 Runciman, 17-91
- \*D61 Lockard, 13-20
- C38 Tarling, 34-161
- \*F1 Brown, 148-155
- 10     Resistance and Conflict in Sarawak, 1842-1860
- a. The "piracy" question
- b. Brooke expansion and "pacification"
- c. Brooke-Iban conflict
- d. Brooke-Malay conflict
- e. The Chinese "rebellion"
- Reading
- \*D91 Pringle 66-134
- \*D97 Runciman, 92-133
- \*D61 Lockard, 49-54
- D25 Enggu, all
- \*D117 Stevens, 5-9

- Week      Topic
- 11      Sarawak Society under James Brooke, 1842-ca.1870
- a. Development of Kuching Society
- b. Growth of a plural society
- c. Rural trends
- Reading
- \*D61 Lockard, 25-49
- \*D112 Seymour, 116-118
- D123 Varney, all
- 12      Early European Activities in Sabah and Brunei
- a. Eighteenth Century British Activities
- b. Sabah Society
- c. British colonization of Labuan
- d. British and American initiatives to 1881
- e. The Sulu claim to Sabah
- f. The Brunei Protectorate
- g. Brunei under British influence to 1941
- Reading
- \*E48 Tregonning Chapters 1-2
- \*F1 Brown, Chapter 11 (155-159)
- C38 Tarling, 162-256
- E60 Warren, all
- \*E66 Wright, all
- F6 Crisswell, all
- \*E47 Tarling, all
- F18 Tregonning, all
- F. Sarawak under a Strengthened Raj, 1870-1941
- 13      The Charles Brooke and Vyner Brooke Regimes
- a. The rise of Charles Brooke
- b. Administration and Policy under Rajah Charles
- c. The occupation of the Fourth and Fifth Divisions
- d. Vyner Brooke's regime
- Reading
- \*D99 Runciman, 134-252
- \*D91 Pringle, 135-209, 320-49
- \*D117 Stevens, 33-34
- \*D24 Edwards, I:55-57; II:78-80
- D20 Doering, all
- \*D88 Pringle, all
- D92 Reinhardt, all
- C38 Tarling, 257-552
- C4 Crisswell all

- Week*      *Topic*
- 14      Iban Migrations and Brooke Response  
 a. Iban society under the Brookes  
 b. Brooke policies toward the Ibans  
 c. Rebellion and "pacification"  
Reading  
 \*D91 Pringle, 210-82  
 D89 Pringle, all  
 \*D117 Stevens, II:34-41; III:53-57  
 D26 Freeman, 130-51  
 D101 Sandin, all
- 15      Chinese Immigration and Economic Development  
 a. Chinese immigration  
 b. Spread of Chinese  
 c. Chinese society  
 d. Development of Sarawak economy  
 e. Impact of rubber  
Reading  
 \*D66 Lockard, all  
 \*D77 Moy-Thomas, all  
 \*D28 Goldman, all  
 D57 Lee, all  
 D111 Satem, all  
 D65 Lockard, 195-210  
 \*D24 Edwards, I:57-59; II:83-84  
 \*D117 Stevens, 51-52  
 D47 Jackson, 89-91  
 \*C24 Jones, 146-51
- 16      Development of Towns  
 a. Growth of Kuching  
 b. Chinese society in Kuching  
 c. Malay society in Kuching  
 d. Growth of Sibuan and Miri  
 e. Other towns in Sarawak  
Reading  
 \*D61 Lockard, 58-88, 93-137, 143-180, 185-246  
 \*D112 Seymour, I:114-16; III:156-59  
 C32 Osman, all  
 D117 Stevens, III:52-53  
 D67 Lockard, Chapter 3  
 D47 Jackson, 63-72

- Week*      *Topic*
- 17      Rural Life and Culture Change  
 a. Changes in Dayak society  
 b. Spread of education  
 c. Spread of Christianity and Islam  
 d. Population growth  
 e. Impact of Chinese  
Reading  
 \*D91 Pringle, 283-319  
 \*D19 Deegan, all  
 \*D112 Seymour, II:139-44  
 \*D24 Edwards, II:80-82  
 D80 Noakes, all  
 C24 Jones, 31-61
- G. Western Impact and Control in Sabah, 1880-1941
- 18      Chartered Company Rule  
 a. Origins of Company control  
 b. Structure of Sabah administration  
 c. Policies of Chartered Company  
Reading  
 \*E48 Tregonning, Chapters 2-4  
 \*E8 Black, all  
 E7 Black, 1-182
- 19      Rebellion, Resistance and Response  
 a. The Mat Salleh "Rebellion"  
 b. Other resistance  
 c. Murut responses  
 d. Company "pacification" policies  
Reading  
 \*E9 Black all  
 \*E65 Wookey, all  
 \*E48 Tregonning, Chapter 11  
 E7 Black, Chapters 4-7  
 E16 Crisswell, all
- 20      Immigration and Economic Development  
 a. Chinese immigration  
 b. Chinese society  
 c. Indonesian immigration  
 d. Economic development  
 e. Growth of estates

Week      Topic

20 (cont'd)

    Reading

    \*E48 Tregonning, Chapters 5, 7

    \*E38 Ongkili. all

    \*E31 Lee, all

    \*E27 John, all

    E12 Burrough, all

    E24 Han, 42-52, 58-72, 258-64

21      Social, Cultural and Political Change

    a. Socio-Cultural Change

    b. Growth of Towns

    c. Spread of Christianity

    d. Political Developments

    Reading

    \*E11 Black, all

    \*E48 Tregonning, Chapters 6, 8-10

    E61 Warren, 31-109

E. War and Occupation, 1941-1945

22      Sarawak and Sabah in World War II

    a. Japanese Occupation

    b. Sabah and Sarawak resistance

    c. Impact of occupation

    Reading

    \*D99 Runciman, 253-67

    \*E48 Tregonning Chapter 12

    \*D61 Lockard. 253-58

    \*D117 Stevens, IV:75-77

    \*D24 Edwards, II:84-88

    E23 Hall. all

    C13 Harrisson, all

F. Conclusions

23      Retrospects and Conclusions

    a. The Study of Sarawak and Sabah History

    b. An overview of course

    c. Some comparisons between Sarawak and Sabah

    Reading

    \*C27 Lockard, all

    \*D80 Ongkili, all

A Selected Bibliography

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- A2 Brunei Museum Journal (BMJ)
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- A5 Sarawak Gazette (SG)
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*(The second course will appear in the April issue of the Bulletin.)*

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Notice: The Editor announces the publication of A Checklist of the Works of Tom Harrisson (1911-1976), compiled by David Alan Miller of the Ohio University Library.

The Checklist--fifty pages in typed form-- may be ordered from the Editor at \$2.50 per copy.

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B R I E F C O M M U N I C A T I O N S

Bajoe: A Sama Community at Watampone, Sulawesi

H. Arlo Nimmo  
California State University, Hayward

During the past decade, considerable progress has been made by various researchers in mapping the distribution of Samalan-speaking peoples in insular Southeast Asia. At this time, it appears that these peoples are concentrated in the Sulu Islands of the southern Philippines with scattered communities in Mindanao, eastern Borneo, and various Indonesian coasts, especially Sulawesi.

In July, 1977, I visited a community of former boat-dwelling Samalan-speakers who live in a community of pile dwellings built over the sea at Watampone in the Bone District of southern Sulawesi. I was in the community for only three hours, but with to record the information I gleaned in the event that other researchers may wish to visit the community for research purposes. My escort was Mr. Herman Soesangobeng, an Indonesian student at Universitas Hasamuddin, Ujung Pandang, where he was participating in a special program in social science research techniques. He was conducting an anthropological survey of the community as part of his program.

The community is called "Bajoe" by the neighboring Buginese, who dominate the area, and the inhabitants are called "Orang Bajoe" although they refer to themselves as "Orang Sama." It is located in the shallow waters directly to the south of the long wharf that serves Watampone. To the north of the wharf is a community of Mandar people, while the remainder of the population in the area is predominantly Buginese. The Sama village consists of some 100 pile houses, inhabited by approximately 700 people, according to the census data of Mr. Soesangobeng. Mr. Soesangobeng's impression is that extended family households are the norm, although he had not yet analyzed his data to discover whether any particular form predominates. Some of the houses are

substantial and well-constructed, while others are poorly constructed, temporary structures. There is no mosque in the community, although some of the people frequent the mosque of the neighboring Buginese, and one Sama has made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

According to Mr. Soesangobeng, two other Sama villages are located nearby. They are considerably smaller and have frequent social interaction, including marriage, with Bajoe. He did not know of Samalan-speaking communities in the area beyond these.

I tried to speak to the Bajoe people in the Samalan I learned among the boat-dwelling Sama of Tawi-Tawi, and although some communication was possible, the two languages do not appear to be mutually intelligible. Unfortunately, I was unprepared to collect any word lists which shed light on the relationship of the language to that of Sulu. Certainly, there were many cognates and structural similarities between the two. Mr. Soesangobeng felt that the language was heavily influenced by Buginese, and my impression was the same.

The people I talked to had not heard of the familiar Sulu Islands, for example, Jolo, Siasi, Tawi-Tawi, or Sitangkai, and the most distant travels to the north related to me were by a man of about 50 who in his youth visited Sandakan, to the south of which he said was then located a Samalan-speaking community called Tanjung Arus.

According to the above man, his people lived exclusively in houseboats until about 20 years ago when they began to build houses at the present site. This was substantiated by a Buginese headman who said that he remembered the same period when the Sama lived only in small houseboats. According to Mr. Soesangobeng, only one boat in the community is used as a houseboat now, that belonging to a very old man who lives alone. The most common boat-type is called *lepa* and is similar, although lacking the ornate carvings, to a boat-type called by the same name in southern Sulu.

The relationship between the Buginese and Sama appears to be largely economic, with the Sama providing fish in

exchange for land products. The Sama are obviously in a subordinate position, and I was somewhat reminded of Tausug-Sama relations in Jolo as described by Kiefer (1972).

Of special interest to me were two origin stories, one told by the Sama themselves and the other told by a Buginese man from Watampone. Both are variants of stories told in Sulu regarding the origins of the boat-dwelling Sama there.

The Sama story claims that long ago a young man of royal lineage fell in love with a beautiful young woman who was strangely silent. He married her and her silence continued into their marriage. Eventually, they had a son who was as silent as his mother. The mother loved the child and attended him constantly. One day the child began to cry and the mother announced to her husband that she was leaving with the infant, never to return. The husband accepted her decision, but said that they must decide upon some sign for their respective descendants to bear so that they would recognize one another as kinsmen. They decided that the males should make fishnets, and the females should make mats. The couple separated and their descendants are the Sama of today who make fishnets and mats.

The second story is of interest because it mentions a Johore homeland a theme that appears in various Sama origin stories, and led Sopher (1964) to suggest an origin near present day Johore for these people. According to this story, told by a Buginese man, many years ago there lived at Johore a handsome young man of royal birth who deeply loved a young woman of equally high rank. One evening when they were talking on the beach, a great wave appeared and swept the young woman to sea. The young man was distraught at the loss of his loved one, and ordered all his people to board their boats, search the sea for his beloved and not return until they found her. They never found the young woman, but feared to return without her, so they continued to wander the sea in boats. Their descendants are the present Sama of Bajoe.

Mr. Soesangobeng's research will be concluded in late 1977. He has no plans to publish his final report, but hopefully it will somehow become available to students of Southeast Asia to help provide further understanding of the scattered Sama cultures.

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NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Borneo Research Council Meeting

The Borneo Research Council will hold a business meeting on December 1, 1977, in the Galaxy Room in the Sheraton Houston Hotel. The meeting will be held from 5 to 7 p.m. during the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. In addition to considering business, the Council also invites presentations of field reports and volunteered papers by students of Borneo. For more information, please write the Editor.

Center for Natural Resource Management and Environmental Studies, Bogor Agricultural University

Development in Indonesia depends very heavily on the utilization of the country's natural resources. Two-thirds of the 135 million people rely on the agricultural sector as their major source of livelihood. While this fraction may decrease in the coming decades, the absolute number will certainly increase as Indonesia moves towards a population of more than 200 million within a generation. Hence development activities--to increase food production, living standards, employment and national income--demand improved techniques for higher, yet sustainable levels of

resource production. These techniques must be defined for specific resource types but in general the water, land and biological resources available in any area have multiple uses. Furthermore exploitation of one resource affects the potential uses of others. Thus optimal resource management practices require an area development focus with integrated management strategies that take into account all major resources and relationships between ecosystem components.

This idealistic goal can never be fully met. Yet even the best agricultural systems in Indonesia function far below possible production capacity and the coordinated use of resources is generally lacking. The many regional development projects, agricultural intensification and extensification efforts, and land rehabilitation activities now being undertaken in Indonesia represent important experiments to raise production and to develop resource management strategies. Some offer excellent opportunities to test alternative patterns of resource use and to create comprehensive, ecologically based area management.

At present a major constraint on the capacity to evolve good natural resource management strategies in development is the scarcity of trained manpower, and the absence of effective multidisciplinary staff groupings for project formulation, analysis and implementation. This shortage is most critically felt in local government agencies and at the field level of central government projects, for example, in land settlement programs.

To meet these training needs and to provide innovative approaches to land and water resource development, a Center for Natural Resource Management and Environmental Studies has been established at the Bogor Agricultural University (Institut Pertanian Bogor - IPB). The functions of the Center are to:

- (1) Train scientists and resource managers in basic approaches and techniques of research for integrated resource management studies.
- (2) Sponsor and undertake research to determine alternative management strategies for land and water resources in broad ecological zones such as coastal

- swamplands and critically damaged uplands.
- (3) Conduct long-term studies for agencies involved in the management of Indonesia's land and water resources.

The work program will give special attention to areas now considered marginal in terms of special measures of agricultural production. These include eroded upland areas on Java, transmigration sites in Sumatra, and areas threatened by potential loss of important resource components (e.g., forests, fisheries, fertile topsoils). In general, ecosystems where major additional resource uses could be introduced will be included. Studies will focus on high priority government project activities to provide broader perspectives on area resource development than is possible from existing task-specific agencies. Training will be oriented towards graduate degree programs and to special short-term training courses for staff in government.

The Center became operational in January 1977 with a full-time staff closely linked to major IPB land and water resource programs.

Persons interested in information about the Center are invited to contact the Director, Dr. Soerarno Partoatmodjo.

#### IUCN Plan for South-East Asia

Arguably South-east Asia is the most endangered major region in the world today, if accelerating destruction of natural resources is taken as the key factor. IUCN has done well, therefore, to make a survey of the resource-conservation needs a top priority, and has published in its January *Bulletin*, an outline action programme for the region that stretches from Burma in the north-west to Papua-NewGuinea in the south-east, and takes in the whole of Thailand, Malaysia, Indochina, Indonesia and the Philippines. Logging in the tropical rain forests is the major threat, for the lowland forests of the region are almost all at least committed to logging, and the mere handful of forests supposedly

protected in reserves and national parks are in practice far from secure. More than 25,000 species of flowering plant are in danger, and a high proportion of all the animals of the region are at risk. Orang-utan, tiger, clouded leopard, kouprey and monkey-eating eagle are among those for which special projects are recommended by the two IUCN consultants, FPS Vice-President Ian Grimwood, and Dr. Tim Whitmore of the British Museum (Natural History). Attention is also paid to such major reserves as Ujung Kulon in Java and Gunung Leuser in Sumatra, homes of the rare Javan and Sumatran rhinos respectively, and to the need for surveys to determine the basic minimum of habitat that must be saved from the logger and developer. IUCN is certainly to be congratulated for this important initiative, but financing it is clearly beyond the resources of WWF and IUCN, and calls for massive funds from UN agencies such as UNEP, FAO and UNESCO, and from the aid programmes of the developed nations. (Reprinted by kind permission of *Oryx*, *Journal of the Fauna Preservation Society*, July, 1977.)

#### Malaysia/Singapore/Brunei Studies Group Organized

At its second annual meeting in the Belmont Hotel, New York, March 26, the Malaysia/Singapore/Brunei Studies Group elected John A. Lent (Temple University) for a second term as Chairman for 1977-78. Others who volunteered to make up the Executive Committee are: K. Mulliner (Ohio University), Joseph Weinstock (Cornell University), Thomas Willer (Southwestern Michigan College) and Marvin Rogers (University of Missouri). Craig Lockard (University of Wisconsin-Green Bay) volunteered to be liaison person while in Malaysia on a Fulbright-Hays grant.

#### Cambridge Museum Reorganizes

The University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, has begun an extensive program of reorganization, lasting until 1984, its centennial year. Collections will become inaccessible from time to time,

although the Museum will not be completely closed. Work on the African collections is well advanced, but some are still unavailable. The Asian collections will be dealt with later in 1977 and in 1978. The archaeological displays are now considerably reduced; these and all archaeological collections, except those from Oceania and America, will be closed completely from 1 June to 3 October, 1977. After this date only limited teaching displays will be on view until the new archaeological exhibitions are completed.

The Museum Committee regrets any inconvenience caused to visitors, but hopes it will be appreciated that this reorganization is for the long-term benefit of all who use the Museum. Announcements on progress will be made from time to time. Further information may be obtained from the Curator.

#### Conference on Southeast Asian Studies

The University of Malaya is sponsoring a Conference on Southeast Asian Studies on November 22-26, 1977, in Kota Kinabalu. The theme is interdisciplinary studies at the undergraduate level. There also will be panels for presentation of individual research papers. Every effort is being made to accommodate the interests of all those who have offered papers for the Conference. Consequently, at the time of publication of the Borneo Research Bulletin, the final program had not been set.

#### B O R N E O       N E W S

##### Regional News

RICHARD FIDLER has been chosen to participate in a special research institute on cross-cultural/multi-cultural research in the behavioral and social sciences at the East-West Center in Honolulu, 4 January to 30 April, 1978. After the institute, Dr. Fidler will conduct field research on the Big Island from May to July. ERIC CASIÑO will be a member of the staff for

the institute. Dr. Casiño's research among the Jama Mapun is well known to students of Southeast Asian societies.

LEIGH WRIGHT conducted a study group from the Royal Asiatic Society in February to meet the staffs and observe the work of the three museums of Brunei, Sabah, and Sarawak. The group also had two joint meetings with the Sabah Society through the kindness of the former secretary, David W. McCredie. Dr. Wright will give an interim report on his long-term "piracy" project at the Conference on Southeast Asian Studies.

##### Sabah News

DAVID W. MCCREDIE, B.Sc. (Honors), F.R.G.S., is at the present time Curator-Designate of the Sabah Museum. He will take up his appointment on return from overseas leave on 2 November, 1977. During September and October he travelled through the United States with a partial travel grant from the John D. Rockefeller III Fund. Mr. McCredie is particularly interested in learning current design and presentation techniques to be incorporated in the new Sabah Museum which is under construction and at completion will cost about US\$1 million. Mr. McCredie visited GEORGE APPELL and VINSON SUTLIVE during his tour of the States. He has lived in Sabah for 13 years and travelled widely, often in remote and previously unexplored regions as a soil surveyor and in agricultural development. After editing The Prehistory of Sabah by Tom and Barbara HARRISSON, he discovered an open site of stone tools near the Madai Caves in the Kunak Sub-District of the Tawau Residency. Mr. McCredie is eager for Borneo scholars to contact him at this time when the museum "is taking on a new lease on life under the new governmental administration." His address is c/o The Sabah Museum, P.O. Box 1239, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia.

##### Sarawak News

BARBARA HARRISSON has completed her work at the Western Australian Institute of Technology and has taken up her appointment as Director of the Princershof Museum of Ceramics, Leeuwarden, Freisland, North Holland. The

Borneo Research Council congratulates her on this prestigious appointment.

INGE NIEMITZ obtained her Ph.D. in June at Justus-Liebig-University of Giessen, West Germany. Her dissertation is entitled, "Programmed Learning in Home-economical Education." CARSTEN NIEMITZ passed his examinations to be a Medical Bachelor in August, 1976. He took part in the Burg Wartenstein Symposium for Anthropological Research in Lower Austria. Part of the results of this symposium will be published in book form dealing with the relationship between anatomy, ecology and behavior in 1978. He has completed his investigations on the functional anatomy of dermatoglyphics in the Bornean tarsier.

BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS AND  
BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOK REVIEWS

Edwin Lee: The Towkays of Sabah: Chinese Leadership and Indigenous Challenge in the Last Phase of British Rule, Singapore University Press, 1976. Pp. 271.

The unspecific title of Lee's book leaves one wondering what to expect. Is this a biographical collection? An essay on entrepreneurship and business organization? A sociological analysis in a Chinese community? In fact, it is none of these and an appropriate title might have been something like, The Towkays in Sabah Politics, 1961-1967. As a contribution to the literatures of both Sabah politics and Overseas Chinese studies this book can be reviewed from either of those perspectives. Since my interests and knowledge lie in the latter field I shall say nothing about the treatment of Sabah's politics and simply make some observations about the relevance of this study to work on the Overseas Chinese.

My first observation relates to the organization of towkay politics. Two comments can be made. First, in some Overseas Chinese communities unity for external political action is achieved by formally organizing various associations into a representative hierarchy with one or more umbrella organizations (Chamber of Commerce, Benevolent Association, and the like) at the top. In other communities unified and disciplined action is achieved through the existence of personal networks of patronage and loyalty, expressed in the form of headship of key associations, which interlock in ways that concentrate power in the hands of a very few economic cum political leaders (towkays). Sabah, on Lee's evidence, seems to have had both of these forms. A formal pyramid of locally-based speech group associations (*hui kuan*) culminated in local Chambers of Commerce which were, in turn, united at the all-Sabah level in a federation. Simultaneously, towkays maintained personal networks through these and other associations and through their business operations.

Second, the importance of the *hui kuan* at such a late date as the 1960s seems to substantiate a theory about organizational development in Overseas Chinese communities. Some years ago Maurice Freedman argued that the larger the Overseas Chinese community the more numerous, diverse and complex would be its associational inventory. Without knowing from Lee's book how numerous or diverse associations were in the Sabah of the 1960s, it is of interest that the *hui kuan*, an elementary dialect-based association of the kind that emerges very early in an Overseas Chinese community, was not only thriving past the date when such organizations had lost much of their importance elsewhere but was actually enjoying a revival. This phenomenon seems to bear out Willmott's modification of Freedman: an argument that government policy is a critical variable in determining organizational development. In Cambodia Willmott found that *hui kuan* persisted quite late and enjoyed almost a political monopoly because the French colonial government recognized them and assigned them a monopoly of certain political powers. In Sabah, the sudden development of political parties in response to governmental change and the colonial government's recognition of

*hui kuan* as units that could nominate candidates for elections apparently had somewhat the same effect.

My second observation concerns the theme of personal loyalty as a basis for political action. After 1955 several Sabah towkays rose to economic importance and political opportunity in connection with their possession of government timber contracts. As Sabah headed towards Malaysia they attempted to protect their opportunities to participate and to discharge their communal responsibility of preserving Chinese culture in Sabah. The political parties they formed did not, in the end, enter a full alliance with indigenous bodies; instead, the towkay leaders of those parties sought and achieved the personal protection of a key indigenous leader. Lee explains this as a reflection of towkay personal style and preference. Towkays were unaccustomed to and uncomfortable with political parties in which their position was based upon popular election. They preferred nomination or recognition by their peers and the addition of one more superordinate loyalty to the structure that already existed. I would not disagree with this interpretation but only add to it. In pre-1949 China, a merchant protected himself and his network of clients by associating himself with an official, or a soon-to-be official, as patron. Moreover, the Sabah towkay was, in some respects, in a vulnerable position. His communal obligation to preserve Chinese culture in Sabah and his obvious vested economic interests made him suspect in the eyes of many non-Chinese voters. Small wonder if he preferred a protected rather than an exposed position.

Third, I miss in Lee's book a full discussion of towkay language capacity in relation to the politics of individuals and groups. Lee notes in passing that certain groups were unable to speak English, while others were fluent in it. The political results of that fundamental difference are rarely spelled out in detail. For instance, I would expect a towkay fluent in English to be able to function as a government-community intermediary or broker in a personal way, precisely because of his language skill. A towkay who spoke only Chinese,

however, would be less able to do so, having to rely upon the linguistic and cultural skills of an English secretary in his Chamber of Commerce. One would also expect persons not fluent in English to take an integrationist position in discussions of the Chinese community's future--to organize and support communal parties in order to preserve Chinese culture, while those of English education might be more likely to form or join multi-racial parties and thereby more easily become associated with assimilationists. There is also the related question of outside support. We are told of the Kuomintang activities in the Democratic Party of North Borneo, a body formed by Chinese-educated towkays. We are not told whether Taiwan assisted in these Kuomintang activities. It seems to me reasonable to suppose that a group of non-English speakers would feel itself more in need of aid from Chinese sources from outside than would an English-speaking party.

Fourth, it would have been useful to have a discussion of how Sabah-oriented towkay politics were influenced by other systems of politics within the Chinese community. Wang Gungwu has pointed out that in Malaya, political actors in the Chinese community may be oriented in any of three ways: towards the politics of their host society, towards the politics of their own Chinese community, and towards the politics of China. Surely, there must have been several towkays in Sabah who were concerned primarily with community politics or China politics, yet we never get a sense, from Lee's book, or how their political activities may have intersected with or shaped those of the towkays who devoted themselves to Sabah politics. Granting the difficulty of such an analysis, one may still regret it is not a part of the story presented here.

Finally, a general observation about the political implications of personal backgrounds. Lee has suggested at least four aspects of personal backgrounds as based for political groupings and rivalries: occupation, regional base in Sabah (Jesselton, Sandakan, Tawau, etc.) speech group affiliation (Hokkien, Teochiu, Hakka), and language capacity (English/Chinese). There may be other variables besides these: age and generational status,



for instance, or orientation, along the lines suggested by Wang Gungwu. How do these variables interact? If, to revert to my example above, certain English-educated leaders form communal rather than multi-racial parties it is clear that some other variable than that of educational background or language capacity is at work. What variable or combination of variables would apply? How do we account for the rise of the "independents" who make their appearance in the mid-1960s? Craig Lockard, looking at a similar group in Sarawak, sees age or generational status as a major factor. Is this the case for Sabah?

The foregoing suggestions and questions are not meant as criticism of Lee for not writing the book I would have preferred. His concern has been to present a chronological analysis of the personalities and political maneuvers of Sabah towkay politics in relation to Malaysia. Readers like me with an interest in the insitutional meaning of those politics will have to pick out the needed information as they go along. On my reading, Lee has given us a useful book on the towkays' role in Sabah politics. In the comments above I merely wish to express my hope that having given us this valuable chronological analysis he will now stand back from his data and recast parts of it into an integrated analysis of the structure and operation of towkay politics in the 1960s. (Edgar Wickberg)

#### ABSTRACTS

Gawai Burong: The Chants and Celebrations of the Iban Bird Festival.

Benedict Sandin, with Introduction by Clifford Sather, Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang.

This is the first full-length study of a major Iban ritual celebration to contain complete texts and translations of the ritual chants and invocational songs in their entirety.

In varied forms, the *Gawai Burong* or "Bird Festival" is the most complex and important of all traditional Iban religious festivals. It celebrates Singalang Burong, the Iban god of war, spiritual leader of the omen birds and steward of prophetic communication between the gods and mankind. During the "Bird Festival," Singalang Burong and his followers are invoked and are believed to descend from their spiritual home in the heavens to the earthly celebration. By their unseen presence and symbolic identification with the principal celebrants, the festival served in the past, when the Iban were still an actively warring people, to affirm war honors and leadership status among those who took part in its celebration. It represented the culminating rite in a traditional cult of ritual head-taking, and by its performance hosts and guests gained renown and their prowess on the battlefield was vouched for and thought to be further enhanced by the attending gods.

The present study records an actual performance of the *Gawai Burong* celebrated in the Saribas District of Sarawak in 1937 and was collected by the author from the principal mastersingers who conducted its performance. The opening sections of the study outline the main features of the celebration, describe the art of the bards or mastersingers, and summarize the allegorical narrative of the chants. The main body of the study consists of the full Iban texts and translations of the ritual songs and invocations themselves. These cover two consecutive nights in performance. The complex poetic form of the Iban texts distinguish this cycle of songs as authentic masterpieces of Malaysian oral literature and their contents provide a rich source on Iban religion, traditional rites of warfare and male leadership.

(Editor's Note: Copies of this book are obtainable from *Kedai Buku Koperatif Bhd., Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia.*)

Mammals of Borneo: Field Keys and an Annotated Checklist.

Lord Medway, Monographs of the Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, No. 7, 1977.

This work is a new, completely revised and updated edition of the authoritative text first published by MBRAS in 1965. It treats the mammals of the entire island of Borneo, together with adjacent small islands. A twelve-page introduction provides an outline history of the study of Bornean mammals, and a discussion of the diversity and distribution of this group of animals in Borneo. Practical keys are given for field identification. Each of the 196 wild mammal species known from the region is separately listed with a brief citation of synonymies and a full account of its known distribution in Borneo, indicating museum collections in which specimens have been seen and/or the principal published sources. Thirty-one species are illustrated in black and white photographic plates; there are also nine line drawings. A selective bibliography lists all sources cited, with the addition of other useful references. There is an index to English and systematic names.

The Adat Law of Penance of the Ngaju Dayak: Translation and Interpretation of the Code of Adat Law of Penance by Johannes Salilah.

Martin Baier, Tübingen, West Germany, 1977.

This two-volume work contains 497 paragraphs of the Adat law of penance in Ngaju together with a German translation. Johannes Salilah, an Indonesian adat judge and a former *balian* priest, was the compiler and already had collated material on myths for Dr. Scharer. Baier keeps close to native categories; borrowing Salilah's original system and dividing the lesser crime and penance groups into two categories which are differentiated according to the evaluation of the crime. He thus gives the system a local-related and a primarily personal-related

dimension. Using three different codes from various decades and regions, Baier provides an historical as well as a valuable spatial treatment to this part of Ngaju culture. The two volumes contain almost 500 pages with a detailed index and glossary.

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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR  
(continued from p. 53)

of Tom Harrisson, prepared by David Alan Miller, may be ordered from the Editor (see notice on page 101). This compilation by Mr. Miller is being produced as a special publication of the Council. Second, the Borneo Research Council will meet on December 1 in the Galaxy Room of the Sheraton Houston Hotel during the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting in Houston, Texas. Persons interested in presenting field reports or papers are invited to contact the Editor.

We are grateful to the following persons who have made financial contributions towards meeting the costs of publishing the Bulletin: Helen Appell, J. Andrew Fowler, Birute M.F. Galdikas, Erik Jensen, C. H. Southwell, Leigh Wright, and Inger Wulff.

THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Borneo Research Council was founded in 1968 and its membership consists of Fellows, an international group of scholars who are professionally engaged in research in Borneo. The goals of the Council are (1) to promote scientific research in the social, biological, and medical sciences in Borneo; (2) to permit the research community, interested Borneo government departments and others to keep abreast of ongoing research and its results; (3) to serve as a vehicle for drawing attention to urgent research problems; (4) to coordinate the flow of information on Borneo research arising from many diverse sources; (5) to disseminate rapidly the initial results of research activity; and (6) to facilitate research by reporting on current conditions. The functions of the Council also include providing counsel and assistance to research conservation activities, and the practical application of research results. Support for the activities of the Council comes from subscriptions to the Borneo Research Bulletin, Fellowship fees, and contributions. Contributions have

played a significant part in the support of the Council, and they are always welcomed.

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The Fellows of the Council serve as a pool of knowledge and expertise on Borneo matters which may be drawn upon to deal with specific problems both in the field of research and in the practical application of scientific knowledge.

Fellowship in the Council is by invitation, and enquiries are welcomed in this regard.

INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

Research Notes: These should be concerned with a summary of research on a particular subject or geographical area; the results of recent research; a review of the literature; analyses of state of research; and so forth. Research Notes differ from other contributions in that the material covered should be based on original research or the use of judgment, experience, and personal knowledge on the part of the author in the preparation of the material so that an original conclusion is reached.

Brief Communications: These differ from the foregoing in that no original conclusions are drawn nor any data included based on original research. They also differ in consisting primarily of a statement of research intentions or a summary of news, either derived from private sources or summarized from items appearing in

other places that may not be readily accessible to the readers of the Bulletin but which have an interest and relevance for them. They will be included with the contributor's name in parentheses following the item to indicate the source. Summaries of news longer than one or two paragraphs will appear with the contributor's name under the title and prefaced by "From."

Bibliographic Section: A bibliography of recent publications will appear in each issue of the Bulletin, and, consequently, reprints or other notices of recent publications would be gratefully received by the Editor.

Other Items: Personal news, brief summaries of research activities, recent publications, and other brief items will appear without the source specifically indicated. The Editor urges those contributing such news items to send them in the form and style in which the contributor wishes them to appear rather than leaving this to the discretion of the Editor.

All contributions should be sent to the Editor, Borneo Research Bulletin, c/o Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, 23185, U.S.A.

#### STYLE FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Please submit all contributions double-spaced. Research Notes and Brief Communications should be limited to approximately eight double-spaced pages. Footnotes are to be avoided wherever possible. Bibliographies should be listed alphabetically by author at the end of contributions; author should appear on a separate line, then date, title of article, journal, volume, number, and pages. For books include place of publication and finally publisher. References in the body of contributions should be cited by author's last name, date, and page numbers as follows: (Smith, 1950:36-41). For punctuation and capitalization, refer to Bibliographic Section. Names mentioned in the News Section and other uncredited contributions will be capitalized underlined.