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Front cover: A male Golden Birdwing (*Troides amphrysus flavicollis*). Photo: Arthur Chung.

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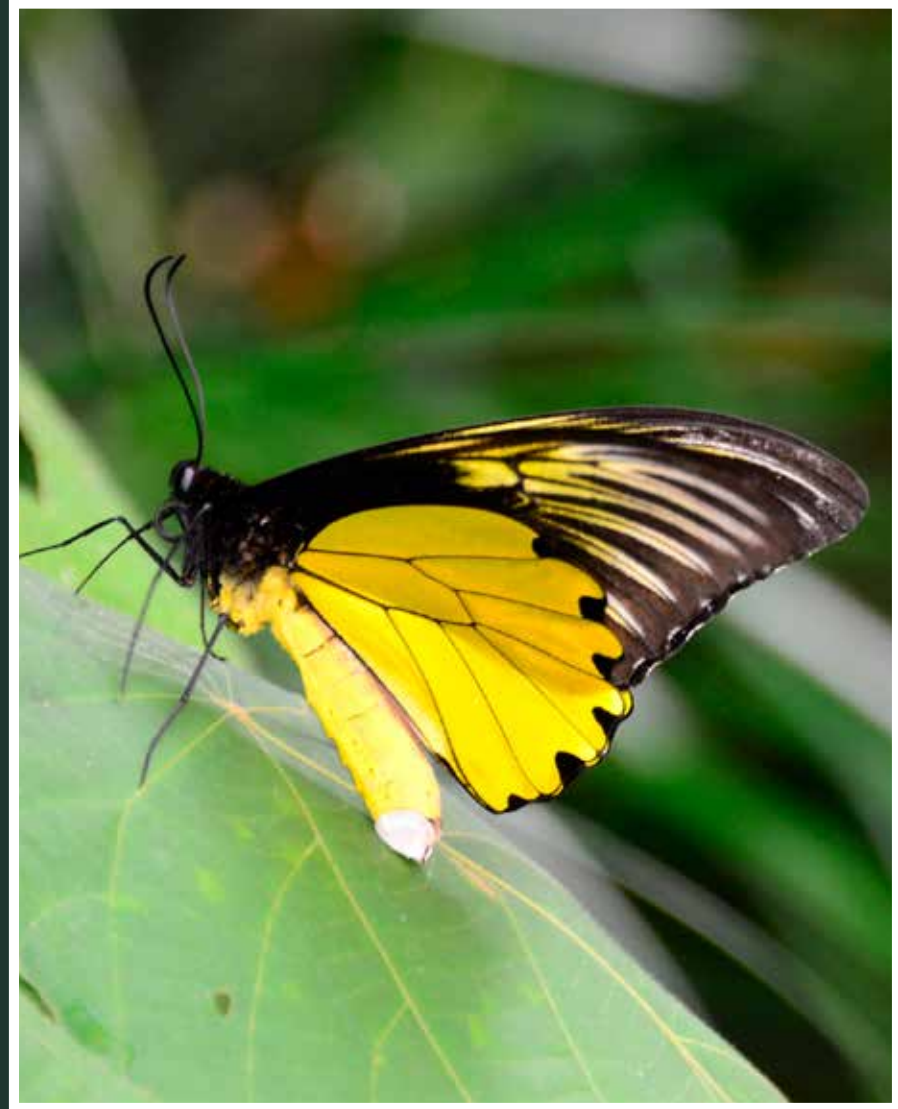

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The Sabah Society is a non-governmental organisation founded in 1960 by a group of enthusiasts anxious to record and preserve interesting and important aspects of the history, culture and natural history which might be lost in the increasing surge forward towards modernisation and independence. The objectives they set out remain the same today and are:

i. To stimulate a wider interest in, and knowledge of, the history, natural history and geography of Sabah and the cultures and customs of its people, and
ii. To encourage and assist the recording of knowledge of the history, natural history and geography of Sabah and the preservation of examples of the cultures and customs of its people.

These objectives give the Society a wide base which can accommodate the specific interest of anyone who wishes to share or improve their knowledge of Sabah.

To fulfil our objectives, the Society uses four main activities:

1. Meetings are held at which experts, both local and visiting, are invited to speak on topics relevant to Sabah, or the study of disciplines applicable in Sabah and surrounding areas.
2. Expeditions are organised to places of historical, cultural or of natural history interest, usually over weekends.
3. A journal is published, usually once a year, containing articles written on topics relevant to the objectives.
4. Monographs and books are published as suitable materials and funds become available.

All paying members get a free copy of the Journal as its annual publication depends in part on members' subscriptions. Anyone may submit articles for publication in the Journal, as long as they are relevant to the objectives of The Sabah Society.

SABAH SOCIETY JOURNAL VOL. 35 (2018): 1–16

A Note on Insect Diversity of Northern Gunung Rara Forest in Sabah, with Special Reference to some Bornean Endemic and Iconic Species

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ABSTRACT

An insect diversity survey was carried out from 9–14 March 2015 in the Northern Gunung Rara-Sustainable Forest Management (NGR-SFM) project area in south central Sabah. As there was no insect survey in the past in the NGR-SFM project area, these pioneer data will serve as baseline information for other research work in future. Insect data recorded during the survey provide salient information to enhance the biodiversity conservation and for formulation of the forest management plan of this area. At least 12 Bornean endemic species were recorded from NGR during this survey. The endemics include beetle, moth, cicada, dragonfly and damselfly species. This information provides input towards recommendations on High Conservation Value Forest (HCVF) of the area. A few iconic and rare species were also recorded. The nocturnal insect species richness and abundance were moderate. This is not surprising because NGR was logged in the past and some of the surveyed sites were degraded. On average, 58 species and 70 individuals were recorded within a one-square-metre. The mean Shannon Index was 3.94 while Simpson Index was 128.81 and Fisher Alpha Index was 191.70. Monitoring, as well as enforcement, according to the management plan in this area on a regular basis is important in ensuring that this project area is protected and conserved accordingly.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY AREA

The Northern Gunung Rara-Sustainable Forest Management (NGR-SFM) project area is managed by the District Forestry Officer of Kalabakan, Sabah Forestry Department. This area comprises (i) Mount Magdalena FR – Class I (55,555 ha), (ii) part of Gunung Rara FR – Class II (5,387 ha) and (iii) two VJRs – Class VI, namely Batu Timbang VJR (261 ha) and Imbok VJR (127 ha). The project area (61,330 ha) is located in the south-eastern part of Sabah (Fig. 1) and falls within Forest Management Units (FMU) No. 23 and No. 24.

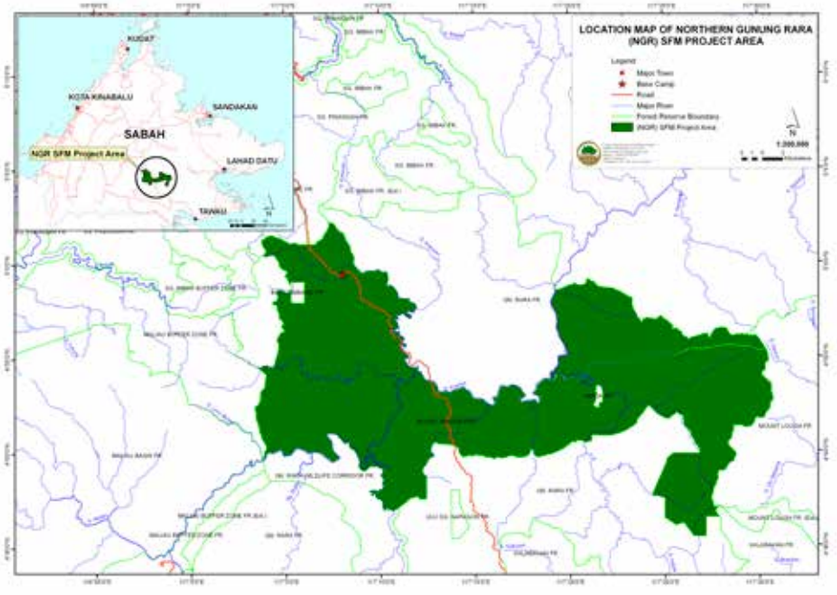

Fig. 1. Location of Northern Gunung Rara (NGR) SFM project area.

The project area consists of primarily mixed dipterocarp forests that have been heavily influenced by human activities in the past.

The project area is important for the following reasons:

i. Valuable treasure of genes, species and representative ecosystem.
ii. Key habitat and connectivity for endangered Orang-utan, Bornean Clouded Leopard, Sumatran Rhinoceros and Pygmy Elephant.
iii. An ecological and crucial wildlife corridor of global significance linking the world renowned Danum Valley FR, Imbak Canyon FR and the Maliau Basin FR which are important conservation areas.
iv. Watershed for the Kuamut River.
v. Source of scientific information.

vi. Ecosystems well adapted to natural impacts.
vii. Natural reference to managed forests.
viii. Critical to local communities' traditional cultural identity.

This study was conducted from 9–14 March 2015. The expedition camp was based at the Batu Timbang Field Outpost (N 04° 59' 27.0" E 117° 08' 04.4" at 219 m a.s.l.), adjacent to Sg. Lanap, beside the Imbak–Luasong gravelled road.

The objective of this study was to provide up-to-date data on the insect fauna of Northern Gunung Rara SFM area. This information will be incorporated for the preparation of the High Conservation Value (HCV) Report for NGR. Due to the very limited time to prepare this insect report, it is not the intention of this survey to prepare an exhaustive list of insects found within this area but rather to focus on selected insect groups, focusing on the interesting, iconic and endemic species.

MATERIALS & METHODS

Light trap was used to sample nocturnal insects while sweep nets and forceps were used to sample diurnal insects.

Light trap

The trap consists of a vertical white sheet (2 × 2 m) illuminated by a 250W mercury-lithium bulb. It was powered by a 12V 100 AH battery. The trap was set up at different locations facing the forested area, from 7:00 to 8:30 p.m. A GPS (Model: Garmin GPSMAP 60CSx) was used to determine the coordinates of each sampling site. Temperature and humidity were taken with a digital hygrometer from Extech Instruments (model no. 445702).

To evaluate diversity of the sampling area, insect species and individuals (≥ 5 mm) within the 1 × 1 m square of the white cloth were enumerated from 8:00 to 8:30 p.m. This is a rapid biodiversity assessment method because by the end of the sampling time, species and individual numbers can be obtained, and the data

Table 1. Light-trapping at different locations within the NGR-SFM project area.

Sampling site	Coordinates	Elevation (m)	Temp. (°C)	Humidity (%)	Sampling date	Remarks
A	N04°59'26.4" E117°08'35.5"	254	23.0	80	10 March	Clear sky with stars but no moon light.
B	N04°58'25.9" E117°08'57.9"	197	23.0	83	11 March	Clear sky with stars but no moon light.
C	N04°59'36.6" E117°08'52.2"	204	22.0	80	12 March	Clear sky with stars but no moon light.

can be used to calculate diversity indices. This method is simple, fast and can be carried out by non-insect specialists. To avoid compounding human error, the same staff was assigned to count the species and individual numbers throughout the sampling period, and also for other sampling sites. Light-trapping sites are shown in Table 1.

Sweep net and manual collection

Sweep nets were used to collect flying insects while other insects were sampled using fine forceps. Butterflies were put in triangle papers while other specimens were put in vials with 75% ethanol solution. Sampling was conducted by trekking along the forested trails, riverine areas and along the road. Details of the daytime sampling sites are listed in Table 2.

Table 2. Daytime sampling sites in NGR-SFM project area.

Sampling site	Starting point coordinates	Elevation (m)
1 (Sg. Imbok of Imbok Forest Reserve)	N04°50'58.3" E117°22'19.8"	168-184 m
2 (Sg. Katak in PSP1)	N04°58'20.7" E117°08'56.2"	200-253 m
3 (Trail to Bt. Timbang Forest Reserve)	N04°59'07.7" E117°06'52.6"	231-254 m
4 (Sg. Lanap)	N04°59'38.4" E117°08'08.1"	216-234 m

Insect specimens and identification

In this survey, focus was given to certain insect groups, i.e., butterflies, moths, beetles, dragonflies and damselflies. Only interesting, iconic and endemic insect species were sampled, so as to minimize the workload at the laboratory in preparing the specimens for identification. Photographs were taken with DSLR Nikon D800E and Coolpix S8100 cameras to facilitate identification. Common insects were not sampled but photographs were taken for record purposes.

Specimens were identified based on the FRC Entomology Collection and various reference materials, e.g. Otsuka (1988 & 2001) for butterflies; Holloway (1983, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1993, 1996, 1997, 1998a & b, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2009 & 2011), Robinson *et al.* (1994) and Sutton *et al*. (2015) for moths; Fujita (2010), Makihara (1999) and Tung (1983) for beetles; Orr (2003) and Tang *et al*. (2010) for dragonflies and damselflies. Some other insects were identified based on Hill and Abang (2005). Dr Steven Bosuang assisted in the identification of a few beetle species while Datuk C.L. Chan identified the stick insect and Dr Rory Dow identified a dragonfly species.

Data analysis

Nocturnal insect diversity was measured using various indices, including Shannon-Wiener, Simpson and Fisher Alpha. Shannon is among the most widely used diversity index in ecological studies and it often increases as both richness and evenness of the community increases. Simpson is more sensitive towards dominant species within the community while Fisher Alpha is commonly used for moth diversity. All data were analysed using Species Diversity & Richness (SDR) version 4.1.2 software developed by Seaby and Henderson (2007).

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Overall insect diversity

The nocturnal insect species richness and abundance were moderate, as shown in Table 3. On average, only 58 species and 70 individuals were recorded within a one-square-metre. The mean Shannon Index was 3.94 while Simpson Index was 128.81 and Fisher Alpha Index was 191.70. During light-trapping, the temperature was between 22ºC and 23ºC with humidity between 80 and 83% (Table 1). The distribution of insect species from the light-trapping sites is reflected in the species-rank abundance curves in Figure 2. Overall, the distribution of species was quite even throughout the sampling although the number of species was moderate. This is reflected in the Shannon Index, with value more than 3.0 in all sampling sites. The highest number of individuals in a species was 9 at site A and 6 at site B. Chung *et al*. (2015) provided the list of insects sampled from NGR-SFM project area during the survey.

Table 3. Insect diversity within a one-square-metre, as sampled through light-trapping in the NGR-SFM project area.

No.	Sampling site	Species	Ind.	Shannon	Simpson	Fisher Alpha
1.	A	53	67	3.79	52.64	117.3
2.	B	59	75	3.97	106.7	127.7
3.	C	61	67	4.05	221.1	330.1
	Mean	58±4	70±5	3.94±0.13	128.81±86	191.70±120

Bornean endemic species

Some Bornean endemic species were recorded from NGR during this brief survey, as listed in Table 4. The endemics include beetle, moth, cicada, dragonfly and damselfly species. This information provides input towards recommendations on High Conservation Value Forest (HCVF) of the area, namely HCV 1.3 (WWF-Malaysia 2009). A few iconic and rare species are also listed in Table 4.

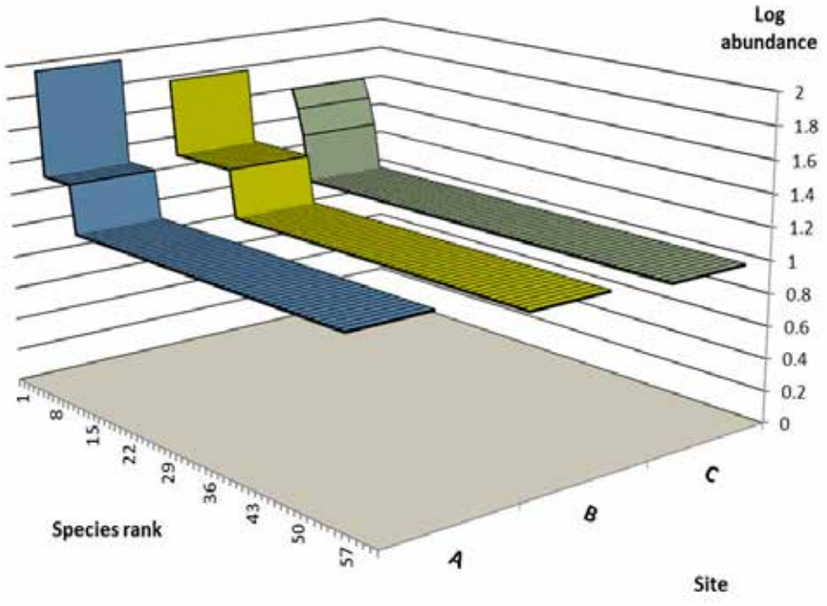

Fig. 2. Species-rank abundance curves of the light-trapping sites in the NGR-SFM project area.

Table 4. Bornean endemic, iconic and rare insect species from the NGR-SFM project area during the survey.

No.	Species	Author	Order	Family	Status
1	*Calomera crespignyi*	Bates	Coleoptera	Cicindelidae	Endemic
2	*Chalcosoma moellenkampi*	Kolbe	Coleoptera	Dynastinae	Endemic
3	*Megapomponia merula*	Distant	Hemiptera	Cicadidae	Endemic
4	*Amata macroflavifer*	Holloway	Lepidoptera	Erebidae	Endemic
5	*Spilosoma griseabrunnea*	Holloway	Lepidoptera	Erebidae	Endemic
6	*Lygniodes schoenbergi*	Pagenstecher	Lepidoptera	Erebidae	Endemic
7	*Trogonoptera brookiana*	Wallace	Lepidoptera	Papilionidae	Iconic
8	*Troides amphrysus flavicollis*	Druce	Lepidoptera	Papilionidae	Iconic
9	*Glyphodes militaris*	Munroe	Lepidoptera	Crambidae	Endemic
10	*Heliocypha biseriata*	Selys	Odonata	Chlorocyphidae	Endemic
11	*Rhinocypha aurofulgens*	Laidlaw	Odonata	Chlorocyphidae	Endemic
12	*Rhinocypha cucullata*	Selys	Odonata	Chlorocyphidae	Endemic
13	*Rhinagrion elopurae*	McLachlan	Odonata	Megapodagrionidae	Endemic
14	*Macromia corycia*	Laidlaw	Odonata	Corduliidae	Endemic
15	*Aretaon asperrimus*	Redtenbacher	Phasmida	Bacillidae	Rare

Butterflies (Lepidoptera)

Only seven butterfly species were recorded during the survey. However, this does not mean that the species richness of butterflies (and other insect groups) in this area is low. There was no concerted effort to record all butterfly species sighted as the focus of this survey was mainly to record the interesting, iconic and endemic species to be incorporated in the HCV Report. Two iconic butterfly species were sighted during the survey, namely the Rajah Brooke's Birdwing (*Trogonoptera brookiana*) and the Golden Birdwing (*Troides amphrysus flavicollis*). The former species is the national butterfly of Malaysia. Both species are protected under Schedule 2 of the Wildlife Conservation Enactment in Sabah.

Fig. 3. A male Golden Birdwing (*Troides amphrysus flavicollis*) sighted beside Sg. Lanap, feeding on the nectar of *Saraca declinata* flowers.

Moths (Lepidoptera)

Some 18 selected moth species were recorded from this study. At least four endemic species were documented from this survey, namely *Amata macroflavifer, Spilosoma griseabrunnea, Lygniodes schoenbergi* (all Erebidae) and *Glyphodes militaris* (Crambidae).

Bornean endemic moths recorded from the NGR-SFM project area during the survey. **Fig. 4** (above). *Amata macroflavifer*. **Fig. 5** (below). *Glyphodes militaris.*

Bornean endemic moths recorded from the NGR-SFM project area during the survey. **Fig. 6** (above). *Spilosoma griseabrunnea*. **Fig. 7** (below). *Lygniodes schoenbergi.*

Beetles (Coleoptera)

Some seven species of macro-beetles (selected) were recorded. *Calomera crespignyi* and *Chalcosoma moellenkampi* are the endemic beetles documented in this brief survey. *C. crespignyi* was sighted along Sg. Imbok and Sg. Lanap while *C. moellenkampi* was attracted to the light trap.

Bornean endemic beetles recorded from the NGR-SFM project area during the survey. **Fig. 8** (above). *Chalcosoma moellenkampi*, male. **Fig. 9** (below). *Calomera crespignyi.*

Dragonflies & Damselflies (Odonata)

At least 20 Odonata species were recorded during the survey. Four damselfly and one dragonfly species are endemic to Borneo. There could be more because some of the damselflies were only identified up to the genus level, e.g. *Vestalis*. Most of the Odonata species were sampled along Sg. Imbok, Sg. Lanap, Sg. Katak in PSP1 and a river adjacent to the Batu Timbang F.R.

Endemic damselflies recorded during the survey. **Fig. 10** (above left). *Rhinocypha cucullata*. **Fig. 11** (above right). *Heliocypha biseriata*. **Fig. 12** (below left). *Rhinagrion elopurae*. **Fig. 13** (below right). *Rhinocypha aurofulgens*.

Fig. 14. *Macromia corycia*, an endemic dragonfly recorded from the NGR-SFM project area during the survey.

Other insects

Among the interesting insects are the Mantis Fly, *Tuberonotha* sp. of the family Mantispidae and a Stick Insect, *Aretaon asperrimus*, which is only found in Luzon of the Philippines and in Borneo. The Giant Cicada, *Megapomponia merula*, that is confined to Borneo, was also recorded during the survey.

Fig. 15 (above). The Mantis Fly, *Tuberonotha* sp. **Fig. 16** (below). The Stick Insect, *Aretaon asperrimus* (female).

CONCLUSION

As there was no insect survey in the past in the NGR-SFM project area, these pioneer data serve as baseline information for other research work in future. Insect data recorded during the survey provide salient information to enhance the biodiversity conservation of this area. The data will be incorporated in the High Conservation Value (HCV) Report of this project, and also the Forest Management Plan. It is important that the NGR-SFM project area continues to be managed according to the forest management plan. Regular monitoring and enforcement should be carried out to prevent encroachment in this protected area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Malaysian Viagra

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Almost everyone knows the reputation of '*tongkat ali*' (*Eurycoma longifolia*) as an aphrodisiac but did you also know that it was first valued as a medicine against malaria?

ANTI-MALARIAL

Growing wild in the ever-wet rainforests of Malaysia and Indonesia including Borneo, '*tongkat ali*' was first prized for its bitter medicinal root which was used for treating fevers, especially malaria. It has numerous local names, several of which include the word '*pahit*', meaning 'bitter', referring to the intensely bitter taste of the roots and the bark.

'*Tongkat ali*', (which literally translates as 'Ali's walking-stick'), is a small, slender, inconspicuous tree, often with a rather scruffy appearance, that is commonly found in secondary forest, on poor, well-drained soils, in old abandoned rubber plantations, or in sandy open coastal forests. It has been recorded from Vietnam, Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos and Thailand as well as Borneo, but becomes rarer as one moves further north into the more seasonal forests of northern Peninsular Malaysia and beyond.

A BROAD 'MANE'

The tree grows to about a maximum of 10 m in height, and is usually unbranched, but bears numerous, long, spirally arranged, divided leaves at the top of the

Fig. 1. A '*tongkat ali*' (*Eurycoma longifolia*) tree full of bright red fruits, in the '*tongkat ali*' trial at the Tenom Agricultural Research Station. Photo: A. Phillipps.

Fig. 2. Another '*tongkat ali*' tree in full flower. Note that the small tree is unbranched and the long divided leaves are all bunched up at the top of the trunk. Photo: A. Phillipps.

Fig. 3 (left). Close-up of the small red fruits. Although the root is the most important part that is used for traditional medicine, the leaves, fruits and bark are also used. **Fig. 4** (right). Close of the tiny scurfy, red-brown flowers. Photos: A. Phillipps.

slender trunk — this is what gives it the scientific name of '*Eurycoma*', meaning a 'broad mane', the leaves having the rather fanciful appearance of a huge mane or head of hair. The long inflorescences of small, reddish-brown flowers are also carried near the top, and develop into small red fruits.

TEA MADE FROM ROOTS

Traditionally, the long thick roots were boiled in water to make a sort of tea. Although the primary use of this tea was for the relief of fevers, especially malarial ones, it was also drunk to improve blood circulation and to treat intestinal worms and jaundice. It was also taken for dysentery as were the fruits. In the Malay Peninsula, a paste of the root was sometimes applied to relieve headaches and stomach-aches, while decoctions of the leaves were used for washing itches, and decoctions of the bark were used to treat intestinal worms, diarrhoea and fever.

It is interesting to note that Isaac Henry Burkill, a Director of the Botanic Gardens in Singapore, between 1912 and 1925, who compiled the very comprehensive *Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula* (first published in 1935), never mentions its use as an aphrodisiac, though he does say that the bitter bark was valued for treating fevers. He adds that it was traded from Borneo to Singapore for this purpose, even though plenty was available in the Malay Peninsula.

BITTER QUASSINOIDS

The whole plant, but particularly the root and the root bark, is rich in various bio-active compounds, the majority of which are in the group known as *quassinoids* — bitter compounds that have been found to have anti-malarial, insecticidal, anti-inflammatory and anti-cancer properties.

Fig. 5. Part of the '*tongkat ali*' trial at the Tenom Agricultural Research Station with healthy well-grown trees. Photo: A. Phillipps.

Today, extracts of the main root are still used in traditional medicine for treating malaria as well as high blood pressure, cancer, diabetes, anxiety, ulcers, inflammation and stress and scientific studies are beginning to provide evidence that bolster these claims, as well as those for aphrodisiac properties.

MANY MEDICINAL USES

Laboratory studies on rats have shown that some compounds can enhance male fertility and increase testosterone production. This, in turn, can lead to increased lean muscle mass, strength and stamina, and protect against some forms of male osteoporosis. Other compounds have been shown to kill malarial parasites, act against several strains of infectious bacteria, increase insulin sensitivity and decrease blood glucose levels. Certain compounds have also been shown to be effective against several lines of human lung, breast and cervical cancer.

'*Tongkat ali*' extract is frequently taken as a general heath tonic, and in Malaysia and Indonesia, the bitter brew is commonly added to coffee and energy drinks. Last year over 200 brands of '*tongkat ali*' products were registered with the National Pharmaceutical Control Bureau of Malaysia. A water extract has even been co-patented by the government of Malaysia and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for treating sexual dysfunction and male infertility.

BEWARE FAKE '*TONGKAT ALI*'!

It is its reputatation as an aphrodisiac which has led to an increasing demand for 'tongkat ali' products from Malaysia, Indonesia and Vietnam to China, Japan and the US. More recently India, the Middle East and North Africa are all becoming important markets. This has driven the development of many supplements sold as energy, stamina and testosterone boosters, so much so, that there are probably as many fake products promising 'male enhancement', as there are genuine 'tongkat ali' products available on the market.

Many of these fakes use the drug *sildenafil,* better known as Viagra, and similar drugs, instead of real 'tongkat ali'. The FDA in the US has banned numerous imported 'tongkat ali' products that do not contain any 'tongkat ali' at all, or only very minimal amounts, but a lot of these products subsequently enter the market again under a different name, so it is wise to check them out on the internet and be very sure of what you are buying! Furthermore, some traditional medicines, even though they may be genuine, can sometimes be contaminated with mercury, lead or arsenic, and may be genuinely poisonous.

Fig. 6. '*Tongkat ali*' is often added to energy drinks and coffee as seen here. Photo: A. Phillipps.

THE GROWING DEMAND

Can Malaysia keep up with the growing demand? As the whole tree has to be killed to obtain the root, when 'tongkat ali' is harvested, the trees are becoming increasingly scarce and supplies from wild plants are starting to dwindle. However, as one of the five top herbs that Malaysia is developing on larger scale, it is now being cultivated in Peninsular Malaysia on a much larger scale, and also in Sabah, where trials are currently being carried out at the Agricultural Research Station in Tenom.

With almost no toxic side-effects, (though increased anxiety, aggression and insomnia have been rarely reported), '*tongkat ali*' is well on the way to becoming one of Malaysia's most important medicinal plants.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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A Hybrid Community in East Malaysia: The Sino-Kadazan of Sabah and their Search for Identity *

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In 1962, an organization called the United National Kadazan Organisation (UNKO) submitted a memorandum to the Cobbold Commission[1] outlining the Kadazan community of North Borneo's (present-day Sabah) position vis-à-vis the idea for the formation of the new Federation of Malaysia. According to the memorandum, "Those who say that the country should first get self-government before thinking about Malaysia are people who belong to the immigrant races; people who have only been in the country for a few years or in the case of a few those who are at the most second generation North Borneans." The memorandum went on to state that:

> "If North Borneo gets self-government and independence within the foreseeable future by itself, the heirs when the British leave will be the Chinese. Today they already hold most of the jobs in Government Service and Commerce. Because they always lived in the towns and because of their economic superiority, they had been able to send more of their children to better schools and most if not all the university or college trained men in the country today are Chinese. This will reach the stage where the natives will realize that all hope of their ever reaching parity with the Chinese are gone and there would be only one

1. The Cobbold Commission, or the Malaysian Commission of Enquiry, was appointed by the British and Malayan governments to ascertain the views of the people of North Borneo (Sabah) and Sarawak on the proposed inclusion of these two territories in the newly proposed Federation of Malaysia. The Commission was named after its chairman, Lord Cobbold, and consisted of two other British members and two Malayan members. The commission had 50 meetings in Sabah and Sarawak where the members met 4,000 individuals and 690 groups. See *The Encyclopedia of Malaysia, Volume 11: Government and Politics, 1940-2006*, Kuala Lumpur: Archipelago Press, 2006, pp. 42-43.

* Reprinted with permission by Association Archipel. Originally published in ARCHIPEL 84 (2012): 107–127.

> resort to undo what they would consider a completely unfair balance – violence. […] We are also convinced that it is Malaysia which is the best possible security the Chinese themselves can have, if they are genuinely patriotic to the countries of their adoption in this part of the world. […] The UNKO has been accused of starting a racial organization. But the Kadazans are among the more backward people of the country and without a national organization capable of speaking for them they would have been swallowed up by Chinese-dominated parties and organizations where their rights and their future would be completely forgotten, where they would merely be the tools with which to fashion a so called independent country where the Chinese will be the master and the indigenous their slaves forever". [2]

Like all memorandums submitted to the Cobbold Commission, UNKO's five-page memorandum laid out the views of the organization on the formation of Malaysia while, at the same time, expressing its concerns about the future. The extract from UNKO's memorandum above clearly echoes the Kadazans' deep resentment towards the Chinese. There was a strong feeling of apprehension that the Kadazans (and other indigenous people) would be dominated by the Chinese should their memorandum be ignored by the Commission. Who were the Kadazans and what was UNKO?

UNKO was formed in 1961 as an immediate response to the suggestion put forward by Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Prime Minister of Malaya, in May of that year, calling for the formation of a new Federation of Malaysia that would include Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo (Sabah). In many ways, the new organization was an expanded version of the Society of Kadazan that had been formed in 1952. The Society of Kadazan was founded by a group of Dusun people from Penampang and Papar who had decided that there was a need to reinvent their community and to enhance the community's position in the social, economic and political spheres. The leading issue at that time was the adoption of the name 'Kadazan' to replace the generic term 'Dusun' which the society claimed to be a derogatory term meaning 'people of the orchard' (akin to a country bum). At the time of UNKO's formation, the Dusuns were the largest ethnic group in Sabah.

There have been several attempts in trying to explain the term 'Kadazan'. For the proponents of the term, it signifies modernism – as some have explained the term as originated from the word 'Kekadai' (to the shops) as opposed to the meaning of 'Dusun' or 'Orchard'. Among the chief proponent of such explanation was Donald Stephens as he tried to popularise the adoption of the term in place of 'Dusun'. A check with the baptismal record of the Holy Rosary Church in Limbahau, Papar, shows that the earliest entries in the baptismal for 1889 actually used the term 'Kadazan' to denote the nationality or race of the candidate. This goes to show that the term is a

2. Memorandum submitted by the United National Kadazan Organisation (UNKO) to the Cobbold Commission, 22 February 1962, CO947/17.

very old term used by the Dusuns in Papar. However, by 1905, the same baptismal used the new term of 'Dusun' to replace 'Kadazan'. [3] Owen Rutter writes in 1929 that the Dusuns in Papar and Kimanis were also known as 'Kadazans'. [4]

Interestingly, despite calling themselves Kadazan (and Dusun in earlier times), many of the society's leaders were men of Sino-Dusun origin, many of whom still carried the surnames of their Chinese ancestors. When UNKO was formed in 1961, the Society of Kadazan and its leaders became the backbone of the new party. Hence, when UNKO submitted their memorandum to the Cobbold Commission, with its harsh tone towards the Chinese, it also to a great extent represented the voices of a group of indigenous people with Chinese blood who seem to have embraced their new indigenous identity and rejected their Chineseness and claim to Chinese identity.

This paper is an investigation of the evolution of the identity of one of the leading lights of the Society of Kadazan whose ancestor was a Chinese by the name of Wong, but who by the third generation, used the new family name of Manjaji (after Lothar Manjaji), abandoned the Chinese surname of 'Wong', and fully subscribed to the ideas put forward by the memorandum, including those strong phrases against the Chinese. I will trace the development of this Sino-Kadazan community in Sabah with the aim of answering questions relating to the choice of their cultural practices. This paper will attempt to answer how the emergence of this new group of people being perceived by the Chinese and to gauge the level of acceptance by the Chinese through an incident that took place in Penampang in 1937 where the differences between the Sino-Dusuns and the Chinese was brought out into the open. I will also look at the early career of Joseph Manjaji, the son of Lothar Manjaji, who became a youth leader in the Society of Kadazan in 1953, and who later served in UNKO (and UPKO) as a Member of Parliament, and to contrast his later acknowledgement of his Chinese origins during the twilights of his life, something which was strongly denied during the 1950s and 1960s, especially at the height of Kadazanism. Among the questions that this paper hopes to answer are: How did the Manjaji's identity change over the years? What prompted the Manjaji to adopt their indigenous identity over their Chinese identity? How was this new identity nurtured over the years. The last part of the paper will take a look at what is considered as a likely re-sinicization of these people in the more recent years.

3. Baptismal of the Church of Holy Rosary, Limbahau, Papar.

4. Owen Rutter, *The Pagans of North Borneo*, London: Hutchinson & Sons, 1929, p. 39.

Fig. 1. Lothar Wong Manjaji (Photographs courtesy of the late Datuk Joseph Manjaji, son of Lothar, and Jane Manjaji).

Fig. 2. A younger Lothar Wong Manjaji with Monseignor Wachter. (Photographs courtesy of the late Datuk Joseph Manjaji, son of Lothar, and Jane Manjaji).

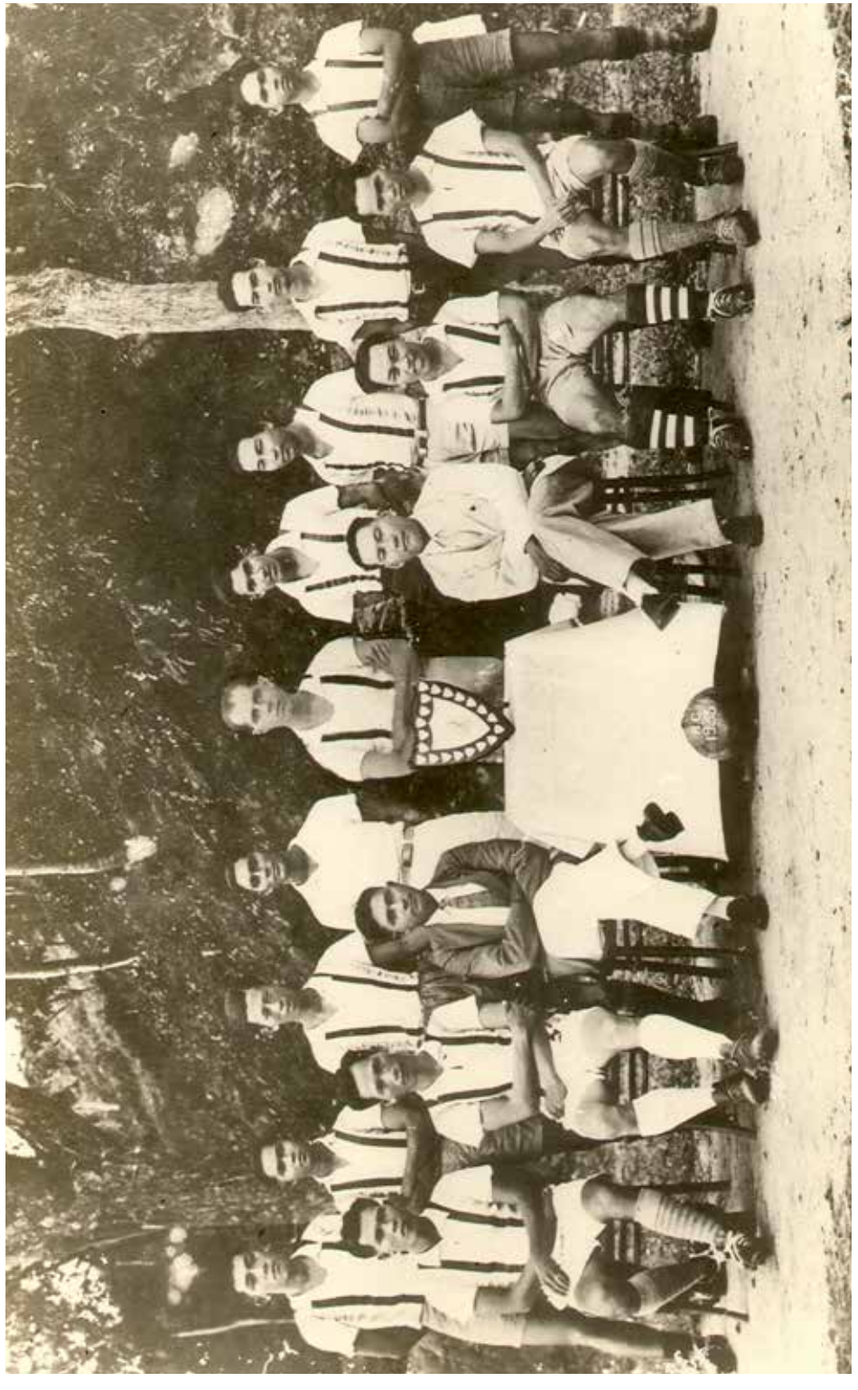


Fig. 3. Lothar Wong Manjaji and a football team organised by him, with possibly the Jesselton League Plaque. (Photographs courtesy of the late Datuk Joseph Manjaji, son of Lothar, and Jane Manjaji)

Literature

In the 1951 census, the Colonial Government of North Borneo introduced a new category of people – Sino-Native. In the census, a total of 6,468 persons were classified under that category. The same category was maintained in future censuses, except for 1981. These figures, though marginal compared to the more established categories such as Kadazan, Dusun, Bajau, Murut and Chinese, are crucial in trying to understand the interrelations between hybridity and ethnic identity in Sabah. Of late, the question of hybrid community has come in play with the question of native rights, especially in matters pertaining to inheritance of landholdings that are classified under Native Title. These land titles, issued by the Lands Office since the introduction of the Land Ordinance of 1903, were aimed at alienating lands and preserve them solely for the usage of natives. Foreigners, including non-native (or indigenous) local population such as Chinese, were prohibited from purchasing such land. However, the law also provided that offspring of a mixed marriage between a native and a non-native, including a Chinese, would be automatically accepted as native – hence the categorization of Sino-Native. As Native Land titles could only be transacted between natives, they were not valued at open market price and therefore were considered much cheaper – hence the attraction of wanting to be categorized as a native in order to qualify for such perks. However, by the 1980s, many who were categorized under this group faced problems in having their Native Title properties being transferred to their subsequent generation. Especially affected were some offspring of a Chinese ancestor and a native female (in many cases, retaining Chinese surnames), whose native status being questioned and challenged, were not considered as natives by the state administration, and therefore not eligible to inherit properties reserved under Native Title. Under such conditions, it is obvious that the Sino-Native identity was being challenged, if not threatened, thus becoming a contested issue.

A study of the hybrid community has never been undertaken as a unitary study. More often than not, the community was mentioned in larger discussions on a larger community such as part of a native community or the Chinese community. The same could be said of the Sino-Kadazans or Sino-Dusuns in Penampang. The earliest mention of the Sino-Natives was Spenser St. John's 1862 account of the Chinese in Labuan who had left the island for the opposite coast of Bundu and the Klias Peninsula and married into native families.[5] St. John was, at that time, British Consul to Brunei. According to

5. Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East, Vol. II*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1862 [reprinted by Oxford University Press, 1974], p. 315.

St. John, he met many natives who professed to be the sons or grandsons of Chinese, and who could still speak a smattering of Chinese, predominantly the Hokkien dialect. In his *Pagans of North Borneo*, Owen Rutter also mentioned the Bundu Dusuns whom he described as "A group inhabiting the rich sago-growing districts north of the Klias River. These people show more definite traces of Chinese influence than any other Dusuns in North Borneo."[6] Monica Glyn-Jones, a Cambridge-trained anthropologist who was commissioned by the Colonial Social Science Research Council to conduct a study on the Dusuns between 1949 and 1951, carried out a study on the Dusun community of Penampang, specifically on the village of Inobong.[7] In her report, Glyn-Jones also devoted a chapter to the Sino-Natives and referred to the Dusuns' relationship with the Chinese where she talks about the question of mutual acceptance. Father A.G. Lampe of the Roman Catholic Church wrote a small piece on the subject of Kadazan in the *Borneo Society Journal*.[8] The article also mentions the existence of the Sino-Kadazans.

The Sino-Kadazans of Penampang

The Dusuns of Penampang are currently known as Kadazans or Kadazandusuns. They belong to the larger Dusun community who lived in the region that stretches from Putatan to Penampang, roughly corresponding to the areas reached by the Moyog River as it flows into the Putatan River before pouring into the sea. In terms of present-day place names, this region would cover the areas of Nosob to Lunghab and Limbahak, and extend to Kepayan-Ganang and Putatan areas. However, it must be mentioned that prior to its coming into its own, Penampang was considered part of the Putatan sub-district. Owen Rutter describes the Dusuns of Penampang as the "near neighbours of the Papar group, though not so nearly akin to them as the Membakut Dusuns are. In this group may be included the Dusuns of Inanam and Menggatal on the north side of Jesselton. Just as the Keningau folks are the most prosperous and advanced of the Muruts, so is this group the most prosperous and advanced of the Dusuns, and owns most of the finest wet rice land in the country."[9] They were the main cultivators of paddy on lands traditionally owned by them. This made them some of the wealthiest Dusuns in Sabah.

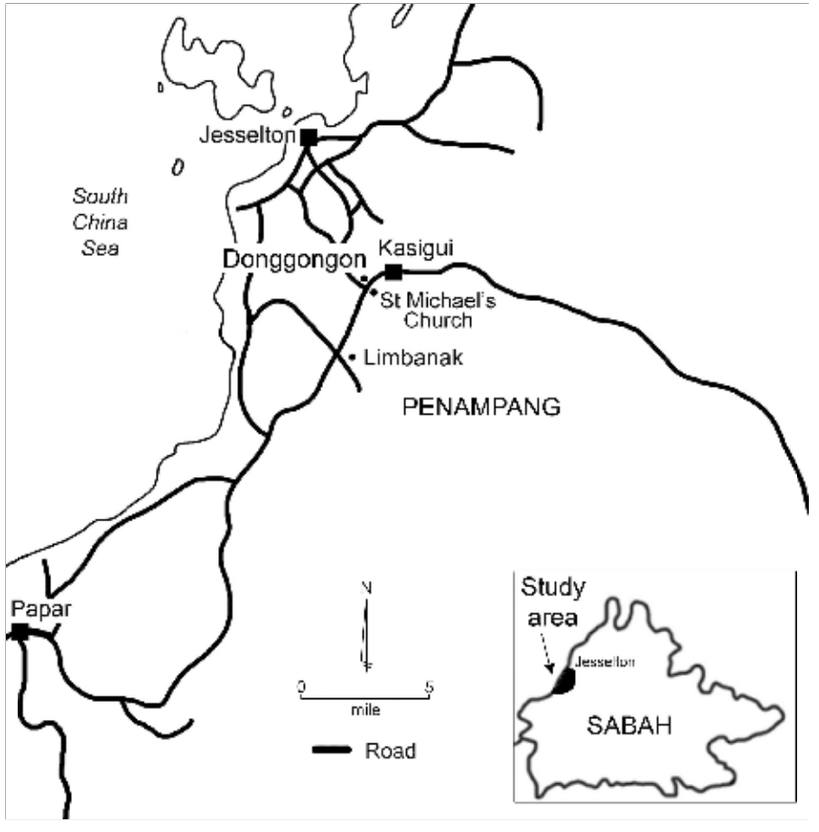
The Putatan River and its adjoining areas came under the administration of the North Borneo (Chartered) Company on 1 May 1884. The Company,

6. Owen Rutter, 1929, p. 39.

7. Monica Glyn-Jones, *The Dusun of the Penampang Plains in North Borneo*, London: Colonial Social Science Research Council, 1953.

8. A.G. Lampe, "The Kadazan", *Borneo Society Journal*, Vol. 3, 1962, pp. 5–8.

9. Owen Rutter, 1929, p. 39.



Sketch Map of Penampang District

essentially a commercial company, was formed in 1877 after obtaining much of the territorial concessions of the lands that make up present day Sabah from the Sultanates of Brunei and Sulu. In 1881, it was granted a royal charter by the British Crown to administer the territory. In 1888, North Borneo became a British Protectorate. Subsequently, the Company began to acquire the remaining strips of territories which included the Putatan River. After its acquisition, the Putatan River was initially designated as a sub-district under Province Keppel. The first European officer was S.E. Dalrymple, who was appointed Assistant Resident in charge of Province Keppel. In a report concerning the sub-district dated 31 December 1884, Dalrymple noted that prior to the Chartered Company rule, the sub-district was without a *tamu* (periodic market). By the end of 1884, a *tamu* was established at the Dusun village of Pagansakan, situated a few miles up the Putatan River (in present-day Penampang). The *tamu* was held every tenth day. Goods traded were tobacco, dried fish (*ikan bilis*), iron bars and salt. Tobacco was brought in from Inanam (another Dusun-dominated area) as well as from the foot of Mount Kinabalu.[10]

From a list of 47 villages compiled by Dalrymple as under the jurisdiction of Putatan sub-district, it covered the region along the River Putatan all the way up to the village of Babagon on the upper Putatan River (a branch of the Moyog River). The northern part covered the village of Molintod (near Bukit Padang). The southern reach of the sub-district was up to the point of Lok Kawi. Forty of these 47 villages were Dusun, while the other seven were populated mainly by Bajaus.[11] Occasionally, the Company's authority also extended into the hilly areas as far as villages such as Mantisan, situated between the upper region of the Moyog and Papar rivers. However, the people in these hilly regions were considered as Tagas of the upper Papar and Putatan rivers, different from the Dusuns of Putatan (and Penampang). Tagas is a term commonly used by the Dusuns in Putatan and Penampang when referring to Dusuns from the highlands.

Dalrymple speaks highly of the Dusuns of Putatan (and Penampang):

> "The Dusuns form the mass of the population of Putatan. They cultivate the plain country and are a fine well developed race of a genial disposition and characterized by habits of thrift and industry, having a strongly marked idiosyncrasy and being most conservative in their ideas and tenacious of their national customs. Their physical appearance and the exact similarity, in dress, burial customs, & etc. point to their having a strong infusion of the Chinese element."[12]

10. S.E. Dalrymple, *Report On the Putatan Sub District for the Eight Months ended 31 December 1884*, Sandakan: Government Printing Office, 1885, p. 1. Stair Elphinstone Dalrymple died of typhoid fever at Labuan on 18 June 1886.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

The existence of this Chinese element would have had a lasting impact on the Dusuns of Penampang. It is clear that since the late 19th century, the Dusuns of Putatan, along with the Dusuns of Penampang and Papar, were the most exposed Dusun tribes in Sabah. They were among the first to come into contact with outsiders. Prior to the coming of Europeans to the region, the Dusuns of Putatan were already exposed to outside interference in the form of Brunei rule.[13] In the long term, this began to affect the lifestyle of these Dusuns, as is apparent from the many changes that confronted the coastal Dusuns in their efforts to maintain their customs and traditions.

One important agent of change was the significant inroads in the sub-district made by the Roman Catholic Church, which had started a station at Inobong as early as 1887. Two years later, St. Michael's Church was founded at what is considered now as Penampang 'proper'. The Roman Catholic Church not only provided spiritual life to the Dusuns but also played an important role in providing the tool for modernization – Western education.[14] This helped transform the community into the most modern Dusun community in the state. By the late 1920s, many Dusuns of Putatan and Penampang were being employed in non-agricultural activities, including as government servants and teachers. It was mainly through the active role played by the Roman Catholic Church in the area and the receptiveness of the people to education that the Dusuns of Penampang became one of the most highly educated Dusun communities.

Another agent of change was the influx of a large number of Chinese into the Putatan-Penampang area from the 1880s. According to S.E. Dalrymple:

> The Chinese elements amounts to between fifty and sixty men, chiefly engaged in distilling of rice arrack and not holding land. They have largely inter-married with the Dusuns and can in many cases hardly be distinguished from the latter, the 'tausang' (pigtail) being the sole index of their belonging to the former.[15]

In another report published in 1885, Dalrymple also mentioned the existence of around 80 families of Sino-Native marriages along Putatan River (which leads up to Penampang proper). The influx of Chinese into the Putatan-Penampang area came mainly through the business links maintained by the Chinese in Labuan and the natives of the west coast. Many of the Chinese were also ex-miners from the coal mines of Labuan.

The Chinese who had married into the Dusun community in Putatan-Penampang area began to make their presence felt. First, there were

13. See Ranjit Singh, *The Making of Modern Sabah*, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 2003.

14. John Rooney, *Khabar Gembira: A History of the Catholic Church in East Malaysia and Brunei, 1880–1976*, London-Kota Kinabalu: Burns & Oates Ltd & Mill Hill Missionaries, 1981.

15. Dalrymple, p. 6.

offspring of the unions between these Chinese and the Dusun women. Many of these children actually followed the culture of their mothers. This was understandable as there were very few Chinese-based institutions – including Chinese schools and temples – in the area. Writing in 1953 about the ties between the Dusuns and the Chinese in Penampang, Monica Glyn-Jones mentioned that many mixed marriages continued to take place even in the 1950s. However, she observed that while many of the offspring of these marriages followed their mother's culture, some were more Chinese-inclined. The latter were mostly children of Chinese of slightly better standing with Dusun women.[16] Glyn-Jones also found that the grandchildren of Sino-Dusun marriages would usually called themselves Dusun, though if asked they would say they had a Chinese grandfather, but in subsequent generations the Chinese ancestor is often forgotten and many today who think of themselves as pure Dusuns probably have several Chinese ancestors.[17]

Another district in North Borneo (Sabah) also reported the emergence of a similar Sino-Native community. During his visits to the southwest coast of North Borneo in the 1850s, Spenser St. John met with natives who were descendants from Chinese. Most of those encountered by St. John were probably offspring of Chinese petty traders who came over from Labuan (the island was taken over as a Crown Colony in 1846) and their native wives. Today they form a community of Sino-Dusuns called the Tatanas. Father Lampe mentioned the Sino-Kadazans in Klias and Kuala Penyu (the same area where St. John met his Sino-Natives) in passing: "The Tatana, moreover, have Chinese blood in them and many of their customs are of Chinese origin."[18]

Generally, these Chinese were accepted as part of the Dusun community despite their Chineseness. However, the same could not be said of the reverse. According to Herman Luping, who grew up in Penampang proper in the late 1940s and early 1950s, it was very difficult for many offspring of Sino-Dusun marriages to be accepted into the Chinese community.[19] The

16. Monica Glyn-Jones, 1953, p. 105.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Lampe, "The Kadazan", p. 5.

19. Interview with Herman Luping, 7 March 2008. Herman Luping was born in a Roman Catholic family (his mother was Sino-Dusun). He was educated at St. Michael's school before completing his tertiary education in New Zealand. He was a young member of the Society of Kadazan and became active in the United National Kadazan Organisation (UNKO). He later became a member of the Supreme Council of the United Pasok Kadazan Organization (the renamed UNKO). After the party was dissolved in 1967 following its defeat in the State Elections that year, Herman Luping joined the rival United Sabah National Organisation (USNO) and went on to become a cabinet minister before assuming the position

sense of cultural superiority of the Chinese-educated Chinese inevitably resulted in the latter looking down on these children of mixed parentage, in spite of the fact that many had proper Chinese names. Some of the leading lights of the Society of Kadazan, for instance, were men with full Chinese names such as Fong Peng Loi, Richard Yapp, V.J. Lim, and Fred Jenu Tan. Yet, because they were not educated in Chinese schools they ended up adopting Dusun (or Kadazan) culture, and spoke Dusun fluently.

The other impact of the Chinese presence in the Penampang area was all the negative attributes allegedly associated with the Chinese. Two such activities stand out: gambling and the distilling of *arrack* (rice wine). This was one of the main reasons that eventually prompted the Government to issue an eviction notice in 1937. The making of *arrack* or *tapai* (*montakuk*) was considered a normal activity for many of the natives of North Borneo, including the Dusuns. However, while the native method of making *tapai* involved the fermentation of rice, the Chinese method involved actual distilling, resulting in a drink with more 'lethal' taste. As for gambling, the Chinese were accused of having introduced the vices to the Dusuns.

It is in this light that we come to consider the case of the Manjaji family, Sino-Natives who were a product of this Chinese infusion in the local Dusun community, which resulted in the emergence of a hybrid family. The descendants of the Manjaji became staunch proponents of Kadazanism and, in the process, rejected their Chineseness.

The Provenance of L.W. Manjaji

The Manjaji family of Penampang descended from Lothar Wong Manjaji (1898–1945) who, in turn, was descended from Wong Pungun, who was the son of Wong Loong. In the souvenir magazine entitled *The Descendants of Wong Loong* published by a committee consisting of families who claimed to have descended from a Chinese named Wong Loong and his two Dusun wives, the Chinese origin of the family was clearly acknowledged, if not amplified. The main families who have claimed Wong Loong as their ancestor numbered no fewer than eight, with the Manjaji as one of the primary branch. The others include Ligunjang, Toisim, and Leiking (directly linked to Wong Loong and Manjaji) as well as Funk, which are families related to the descendants of Wong Loong (and Manjaji) through marriage. The committee was first started by the late Joe (Joseph) Manjaji, the great-grandson of Wong Loong, who felt that it was important for the family to

of Deputy Chief Minister. After USNO was defeated in the 1976 elections, he returned to practice law and went on to serve as the State Attorney General before retiring from active service and politics. Since then, he was referred to as the main proponent on Kadazanism.

acknowledge their Chinese heritage.[20] Yet it was the same Joe Manjaji who, during the 1950s and 1960s, championed hard for the promotion of the Kadazan identity. First, as Secretary to the Society of Kadazan and, later, as an active central committee member of the United National Kadazan Organisation. As Secretary in the 1950s of the Society of Kadazan, one of the chief custodians of Kadazanism, Joe Manjaji completely shunned – if not obliterated – the family's Chinese origins, at least in the public sphere. Yet the emergence of this new identity (Kadazan) and its embrace by the family was a recent event that can be traced to the person of Lothar Wong Manjaji, the father of Joe Manjaji.

Lothar Wong Manjaji was born in 1898 in Limbanak, Penampang, the second son and third child of Antonius Pungun Wong and Siaham, who had six children. The family traced its Sabah ancestry to Wong Ah Lung (also known as Wong Loong), supposedly a Hakka Chinese who came from the province of Guangdong in southern China.[21] The family's account says that Wong Ah Lung (Wong Loong) was born in 1835 and died on Gaya Island in 1895. According to the family, Wong Loong first came to Labuan and worked as a blacksmith at the coal mines. Later, he was believed to have crossed over to the mainland and made his way up the Papar River and ventured inland through Koiduan and Timpangoh before arriving in Penampang. Not much else is known of Wong Loong except that he had married two Dusun women – Siapa and Muata. With Siapa, there were two children, Wong Pungun and Lin Oi, while Muata bore him three, whose names were Umbikan, Musayam and Tombii Jomina Wong (d. 1971).[22] Lothar Manjaji's father, Wong Pungun, converted to the Roman Catholic religion in 1930, and was christened Antonius.

According to Lothar's son, Joe Manjaji, Lothar Wong Manjaji was born Wong Kah Kee (Huang Jiaqi) but after a while, probably influenced by the local setting, especially the influence of his mother, the name Wong Kah Kee was localised to become Manjaji.[23] It is interesting to see how all of his siblings have different names. The eldest daughter was named Tiandim Pungun (after the given name of her father, Wong Pungun, but minus the

20. Joseph David Manjaji, "Foreword", in *Wong Loong Family Tree 2004*, Kota Kinabalu: 2004.

21. This fact was never fully established though Joe Manjaji also spoke some Hakka, the most widely spoken Chinese dialect in Sabah, especially on the west coast. Interview with Joseph Manjaji 20 April 2007.

22. *Wong Loong Family Tree.*

23. In the case of the Sino-Kadazans of Penampang, localization of Chinese names such as that of Manjaji was not the norm. Rather, it is more common to find that children of Sino-Kadazan parentage adopted names from the villages or the names of a more senior member of the family. Interview with Joseph Manjaji, 20 April 2007.

surname of Wong) followed by Emmanuel Ligunjang, Lothar Wong Manjaji, Leopald Toisim and Oswin Wong Leiking. Of the six siblings, only Lothar and Oswin are known to have maintained the name Wong up to a certain point in their lives. In the case of Lothar, the rightful family name of Wong was later conveniently put down as the initial 'W'; later, the 'W' was dropped altogether. The indigenizing of their names, however, may not have been as straightforward as Joe Manjaji related as only Manjaji and Leiking used Wong. It is known that many other Sino-Dusuns also adopted the names of their Dusun maternal grandparents as family names. In the case of Manjaji, however, it is more likely that the name was Chinese.

The first official record on Lothar Wong Manjaji is found in the baptismal records of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Michael's at Penampang. Entry No. 333 of the Baptismal dated 24 December 1912 shows that Lothar Manjaji was baptised with the name 'Lothar Manjajy'(sic).[24] His age is given as 16. This is a curious point as the family have listed 1900 as Lothar Manjaji's year of birth. Working backward, Lothar Manjaji was actually born in 1898. His father's name was given as Bungon (Pungon) and his mother's Siaham, and the family address was at Kitavuo (in Penampang). The priest who baptised him was Father Wachter, a Tyrol priest from the St. Joseph (Mill Hill) order. Wachter was to play a very important role in shaping up Lothar Manjaji's personality and character. Lothar's nationality (ethnicity) was given as 'Dusun'. This is an interesting classification as prior to this some people of mixed parentage had been classified as 'Chinese Dusun'. For example, the case of Clara Kisoen, whose name was also listed in the baptismal, whose parents' names were merely given as gentiles (not church members). Clara was baptised in 1902 at the age of 21. This also brings into question the notion of identity (at least officially) being determined by the priests. In Lothar Manjaji's case, Father Wachter had decided that (or helped to decide that) Lothar Manjaji, in spite of his clear Chinese origins (Sino-Dusun), was given the identity of 'Dusun'.

From the records, it is obvious that Lothar was the first member of his family to be baptised into the Catholic Church. The next of his siblings to be baptised were his elder brother, Emmanual Ligunjang and two younger brothers, Leopald Toisim and Osim Leiking. All were baptised on 23 December 1917, five years after Lothar's baptism. With regard to his three brothers, there are some differences between the church records (entries 548, 549 and 550) and the family records. Emmanuel Ligunjang's name was

24. Entry No. 333 in the baptismal records of St. Michael's Church, Penampang. I am grateful to the Church of St. Michael's, Penampang, for having allowed me to consult the baptismal of the Church.

listed as Emile Ellagunsang (aged 22), and Leopald's name was given as Leopald Teising (born 1903).[25]

Most important of all, there was no mention of Lothar's Chinese family name of 'Wong' in either his or his father's name. It is evident that Lothar Manjaji's dropping of his Chinese name was not the first in his family. This had begun one generation earlier, during his father's time. It is clear that his father, Wong Pungun, who was the son of Wong Ah Lung, a Chinese, was more inclined to his mother's Dusun culture and was beginning to lose his 'Chineseness' with the dropping of his Chinese name.

It is interesting at this point to consider the reason behind Lothar and his siblings having gone through the ritual of baptism when their father Pungun was himself not baptised. The decision can clearly be attributed to the influence of the Church on the siblings through their education at St. Michael's School. Entry 70 of the Inobong Church's marriage records shows that Lothar Manjaji married Thresa Loggism on 17 June 1918. His father's name was listed as Pungun and the mother was Siaham. So, for Pungun, the family name of Wong had probably been given up or not used by this time. The address was Limbanak and the entry for *nationality* (ethnicity) was Dusun. Thresa's parents were Jonel and Lasim, and they too were listed by Reverend Wachter as Dusuns. At that time, Lothar was working as a clerk at the Accounts Office of the Railway Department. Interestingly, both the sponsors to Manjaji's marriage were also people with hybrid backgrounds. The first was Aloysius Gonzaga and the second Bruno Sin Sang, whose parents were given as Ah Long and Putaram. Bruno, who was classified as Chinese Dusun, was a teacher at St. Michael's.

The *North Borneo Establishment List* provides an annual personnel account of the civil servants of the North Borneo Company administration from top officials such as Governor to the lowest including cooks and water boy. In the 1922 Establishment List, Lothar Manjaji's name was listed as Lothar Wong, a Clerk Grade II in the Accountant's Office, Railway Department. Thus it is evident that the name Manjaji was not used officially until a few year later. By 1928, however, Manjaji's name was listed as L.W. Manjaji, still a Clerk Grade II, but in the Traffic Department, drawing a salary of $660 (non-pensionable).[26] After 1928, Lothar's name was no longer found in the Establishment List, signifying that he had left the government service. However, it is clear that by the end of the 1920s, the family name of 'Wong' was no longer a significant part of Lothar's name.

25. Entry No. 548, 549 & 550 in baptismal records of St. Michael's Church Penampang.

26. In 1927, he drew $720 and was in a service scheme that was pensionable. See *North Borneo Establishment List*, 1922, 1927 and 1928.

Instead, the name Manjaji was used more frequently and soon became the new family name of Lothar's family.

This is evident in Lothar's efforts in the naming of his children. He named the eldest of his sons Joseph Manjaji. The Chinese family name of 'Wong' was not used in his case, or for the other children. However when his eldest daughter, Kate Manjaji, married in 1952, her name was given as Kate Wong Manjaji.[27]

It is clear that Lothar Manjaji's origins were Sino-Native, yet by the time he was baptised and later married, both church records provided no clue to his Chinese origins. It was in his official position as a clerk in the Government service that his Chinese name was used; even then, the name was gradually changed to be merely Manjaji. All of his children, except his eldest daughter, Kate, grew up with no attachment to their Chinese identity, including their original Chinese surname of 'Wong'. Everyone adopted the name of 'Manjaji'.

The question would be 'why?' Why abandon Chineseness and embrace native identity? Perhaps part of the answer to this enquiry can be found through the question of acceptance of Chineseness in Penampang during the 1930s. The next section will investigate the position of Sino-Natives in the Penampang area during the height of Colonial rule in the 1930s by looking into a case that took place in Penampang, the heartland of the Kadazans in the late 1930s, when the Chartered Company administration took steps to evict Chinese who lived in the area. It is hoped that through this case it will be possible to detect some sense of demarcation between those deemed to be Sino-Natives and those who were regarded as Chinese. Perhaps by doing so it may be possible to provide some answers to the question of Lothar Manjaji's choice of ethnic identity.

The Anti-Chinese Campaign in 1937 Penampang

On 17 May 1937, Governor Jardine's office received a petition signed by the Chinese living in Kadazandusun villages in Penampang area, and forwarded by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce of West Coast and Interior.[28] The petition was a reaction from the 123 Chinese living in the Kadazandusun villages against the notice issued on 14 April 1937 by the

27. Kate Manjaji, interview on 23 July 2010.

28. The Chinese Chamber of Commerce of West Coast was first established in 1911 as an organization that represented Chinese business interests on the West Coast of North Borneo. Based in Jesselton, the organization later also included Chinese businesses in the Interior Residency. Throughout its administration, the North Borneo Company Government looked upon the Chamber as the legitimate representative of the Chinese community as well. See Danny Wong Tze Ken, *The Transformation of an Immigrant Society: A History of the Chinese of Sabah*, London: Asean Academic Press, 1998, pp. 65-70.

Jesselton District Officer, J. E. Longfield – Penampang and Putatan were administered as part of Jesselton District. The notice contained five main items concerning the presence of the Chinese in Penampang area:[29]

1. No hawker's licence will be issued to Chinese living in Dusun villages or on land without a title, after the end of April 1937.
2. All Chinese living in Dusun villages must move elsewhere by the end of May.
3. All Chinese living on Government land without a title will be prosecuted unless they move by the end of May.
4. All Chinese living on Dusun land without permission will be prosecuted as well as owners of land unless they have moved by the end of May.
5. No Chinese may open shops in any place unless authorised.

The notice caused great concern among the Chinese living in the area. Many were obviously distressed by the prospect of being forced to abandon their family and a lifestyle where they were accepted as members of the Dusun community of Penampang. The five items listed in the notice basically constituted an eviction notice which would effectively remove the Chinese from the Penampang area. The notice in question was the brainchild of Richard F. Evans,[30] the Resident for West Coast (1937-1942). According to Evans, during the course of prosecuting several cases for distilling *arrack* he had noticed that many Chinese were living in Dusun villages at Penampang without the permission of the Native Chief or headman, or the approval of the District Officer. He added that many had no work and were living on the Dusuns. Others were hawkers or owners of small shops without authority.

Hence the question of whom the eviction notice was to be applied to. This was among the issues contested by the Chinese.[31] The Petition pointed out that "the Notice under question is concerning two classes of Chinese. (1) Those living on Government land without a title. (2) Those living on Dusun land, Dusun wife's land inclusive".[32] In arguing for the latter class, the petition also pointed that by evicting those Chinese with Dusun wives would lead to "divorce and the break-up of their homes which are composed of children and grandchildren". The petition went on to argue that the notice was "quite against reason, civilization, and enlightenment, because three-fifths of the population of Penampang/Putatan are Chinese descendants from

29. "Notice of Eviction issued by District Officer", 14 April 1937, North Borneo Secretariat File, No. 1395.

30. Richard Evans was the last Resident of West Coast under the Chartered Company administration.

31. "Petition submitted by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, West Coast and Interior to Governor Secretary", 9 May 1937, North Borneo Secretariat File, No. 1395.

32. *Ibid.*

Chin Swee, Li Yung, Lee Tsiu, Li Tshiung, Li Yu and many others who arrived from Labuan and settled there before the building of Jesselton town. […] Even Orang Tua Michi of Lunghap and Orang Kaya-Kaya Lajungah are Chinese issues. They may not realise it but history can prove it." The information clearly supports what Dalrymple had reported in 1884 on the number of Chinese who had married Dusun wives.

However, the irony was that, despite the petition's claim that Orang Kaya-Kaya Lajungah was of Chinese issue, it was Lajungah who was not happy with the Chinese presence. According to Resident Richard Evans, Orang Kaya-Kaya Lajungah was not in favour of Chinese living in Dusun villages as he thought the Chinese would interfere in their customs and had taught the Dusun to distil *arrack*. The notice was issued based on the provisions of the Village Administration Ordinance and the Land Ordinance. The ordinance, which was first introduced as a proclamation in 1891 by the North Borneo Company Government through its official gazette, provided for the recognition and preservation of native customs. The proclamation made legal the position of the Village Headmen, and it was through these Headmen that judicial matters relating to customs were administered. Thus when Orang Kaya-Kaya Lajungah made clear his views with regard to the Chinese residents in his district, the Resident would have to take note of his sentiment.

Lajungah's anti-Chinese sentiment was perhaps the first official manifestation of a Sino-Dusun against the Chinese. In many ways this sentiment was also a denial of his own alleged Chinese origins despite common knowledge of them. This denial was similar to Lothar Wong Manjaji's decision not to have his surname 'Wong' listed as his name.

After further investigations, Evans' views remained strong, and the Governor decided not to interfere with the Resident and the District Officer's recommendation. Nonetheless, the petition did result in obtaining an assurance from the Governor that no eviction of Chinese would be carried out without careful and sympathetic investigation in each case. The Governor also assured the petitioners that those who were married to Dusun women would not be affected. However, the decision to prevent further influx of Chinese into the Dusun villages was upheld.

Although many lessons could be learned from this incident, it is apparent that in terms of ethnicity, the case proved to be a watershed in distinguishing between those who were Chinese and those who were Sino-Dusun, but had increasingly been adopting the identity of a native. In many ways, it also showed that despite having Chinese origins, many of the Sino-Dusuns (including those with Chinese surnames) found themselves inclined more towards being a native than being identified as Chinese. As many had married Dusun wives, and had children and even grandchildren from such

unions, it is apparent that the 1937 case also marked the beginning of the consciousness of these Sino-Dusuns as a distinctive community of their own – which could have served as the impetus towards the formation of the Society of Kadazan in 1953, hence completely assuming the identity of a native. The latter development also erased the community's Chinese links.

One minor point observed from the case was the nature of the petition. Interestingly, despite having intermarried with Kadazandusun women, and possibly adopted certain aspects of Kadazandusun culture, including speaking the language, these Chinese petitioners still turned to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce for help. The Chamber took on the case as the appeal for help had come from the Chinese who had lived with their Dusun spouses for many years amongst the Dusun community in Penampang. This tendency, however, was to change over the years when their offspring further assimilated into the Kadazandusun culture, and were no longer willing to be identified as Chinese. In the same token, the Chamber would probably no longer recognise these offspring of the Sino-Dusun marriages as Chinese, especially when they had abandoned Chinese culture.

It must be pointed out that even though Lothar Manjaji's name was not mentioned at all throughout the event, the existence of the group alleged by the Chinese petitioners to be of Sino-Dusun mixed parentage was sufficient to show that by then the line had already been drawn by those regarded as Sino-Natives, distinguishing them from those who remained Chinese, or who were regarded to be less Chinese. Even the latter group regarded themselves more as natives than Chinese. Certainly, by the next generation, their children would be regarded as Sino-Natives (or even Dusuns), and the question of them being evicted for not being native would not have arisen at all.

Joseph Manjaji and His Sino-Kadazan Identity

While written evidence were scarce to show Manjaji's wealth, it was likely that he was rather well-to-do. Prior to the outbreak of the War, Manjaji purchased a plot of land in Karamunsing and had a very large house built for his family. The house, known to many as the 'Big House', also had some sections being rented out to tenants as a means of obtaining income. This sound financial position had probably allowed Manjaji to indulge in the sporting activities which made him famous and remembered among people of his community, as well as to be able to live quite comfortably. More importantly, this sound financial standing could also provide Manjaji with the confidence that was lacking in many of the Dusuns and Sino-Dusuns of his time, and accorded him the strength to play the pivotal role within his community.

During the Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945, Lothar Manjaji was made a native magistrate by the Japanese Military Administration. One of

his duties was to supervise the collection of paddy and other foodstuff from the Dusun cultivators in the district. At that time the people were starving and it was impossible to collect all the foodstuff that the Japanese demanded. However, beyond this appointment, not much else was known about Manjaji's life under the Japanese. Towards the end of the war in 1945, Lothar Manjaji was involved in actively instructing the local people to attack the Japanese communication from the rear in the event of an Allied landing. He was working closely with V.J. Lim, another Sino-Dusun from Penampang on this.[33] In any event, the anticipated Allied landing did not take place. The Japanese authority arrested both of them, suspected of making *parangs* and spears in preparation for an uprising, and also of engaging in activities to prevent the Japanese from hiring coolies.[34] Both Manjaji and Lim were executed by the Japanese.

Joseph Manjaji, the eldest son of Lothar Manjaji, was 20 at that time. He was a teacher residing at the Big House at Karamunsing. While giving testimony to the war crime trials of the Japanese officer who was responsible in issuing the order to execute his father and V.J. Lim, Joseph Manjaji gave his ethnicity as Dusun. Following a brief stint as teacher after the war, Joseph Manjaji joined the North Borneo Armed Constabulary (police) as an Inspector. Like his father, Joseph was also active in sports, with boxing being his favourite. Joseph's career in the police was cut short when he resigned to join the press as a sub-editor for the *Kinabalu News and Sabah Times*,[35] owned at that time by Donald Stephens. Donald Stephens was an Eurasian with some Dusun blood. Born and breed in North Borneo, he became a protégé of the British administration and was groomed to be one of the post-independent leaders for Sabah. He was a journalist by training. Stephens was making use of his position as the owner and editor to promote the idea of native emancipation, and later, as a political base. As a way to encourage greater awareness of Kadazanism, the new identity conjured by the Sino-Dusuns in the Society of Kadazan, the paper also had a Kadazan section – transforming the hitherto spoken language with hardly any written texts into a proper written language. The editor for the Kadazan section was Joseph Manjaji, himself a faithful member of the Society of Kadazan.

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33. Not much is known of V.J. Lim apart from the fact that he was a Sino-Dusun from Penampang like Manjaji.

34. "Statements of 2nd Lieutenant Kiyoji Shimizu at the War Crime Trials of Captain Kensei Harada", 8-11 July 1946, *WO235/884*.

35. The *North Borneo News* and *Sabah Times* began as two separate newspapers. The *North Borneo News* was started in Sandakan in the late 1940s, whereas the *Sabah Times* was started in Jesselton in 1953. Both merged in 1954 to become *North Borneo News and Sabah Times*, the most influential newspaper in North Borneo (Sabah) at that time. The chief editor was Donald Stephens. In 1963, following independence, the newspaper was renamed *Sabah Times*.

Joe (Joseph) Manjaji continued to work for Donald Stephens, who was regarded as the paramount chief (Huguon Siou) of the Kadazan people. Apart from being the editor of the Kadazan Section of Donald Stephens' newspaper, Joe Manjaji was also actively championing the cause of the Society of Kadazan, being its organising secretary for Kudat area and later Sandakan and its surrounding areas. When the United National Kadazan Organisation (UNKO) was formed by Donald Stephens in 1962, Joe Manjaji was considered part of the younger leaders of the party.

When the *Sandakan Daily News* published the *Sandakan Sunday News* in English, Malay and Kadazan,[36] its editor was Joe Manjaji and its tone was critical of the government. The paper was an attempt by Donald Stephens to expand his influence over to Sandakan – Joe, always a champion of Kadazanism and Donald Stephens' steward in the Society of Kadazan and the *North Borneo News and Sabah Times*, was sent to Sandakan to spearhead UNKO in that town.[37] It is difficult to determine of Joe Manjaji's position after his Sandakan stint. A report from the Government associated him with radical elements, "[…] Joe Manjaji, a Kadazan malcontent ever apt to crop up when mischief is afoot, who has recently visited Kuching where he is understood to have had discussions with Mr. Ong Kee Hui, the leader of the SUPP (Sarawak United People's Party), the party from Sarawak that was initially opposed to the idea of Malaysia. Manjaji was reported to be actively canvassing for support for a new party to be known as the Workers' party and has been seen with wharf stevedores and Indonesian Association leaders".[38] When UNKO and another Dusun(Kadazan)-based party, Pasok Momogun, merged in 1964, Joseph Manjaji was named as one of the delegates from UNKO to hold discussion with the Pasok group for merger to form the United Pasok Kadazan Organisation (UPKO).[39]

When Sabah achieved independence through joining Malaysia on 16 September 1963, Joseph Manjaji's reward came in the form of an appointment to the first Parliament as an appointed Member of Parliament. At that time, he was the political secretary for Donald Stephens.[40]

36. The *Sandakan Daily News* or *Sandakan Jih Poh* was established in 1960 in Sandakan. In September 1962, the paper also published the *Sandakan Sunday News*, a weekly paper in English, Malay and Kadazan.

37. North Borneo Local Intelligence Committee Report, September 1962, in A1838 (A1838/280) (3028/2/1PART 1). Australian National Archives.

38. North Borneo Local Intelligence Committee Report, July 1963, in A1838 (A1838/280) (3028/2/1PART 1). Australian National Archives. The initiative however, did not materialize.

39. *Daily Express*, April 14 1964. Pasok Momogun was set up by a group of indigenous leaders who were mainly from the interior of North Borneo. The party had initially refused to subscribe to the idea of the use of 'Kadazan' as the name to replace that of 'Dusun'. The party was also initially opposed to the idea of the formation of Malaysia.

40. Interview with Herman Luping, 7 March 2008.

Joe Manjaji's involvement with Kadazanism seemed to have faded some time after the United Pasok Kadazan Organisation (UPKO) was disbanded in 1967. Nonetheless, Joe Manjaji soldiered on in defending the Kadazan rights until around 1970. Thereafter, his days as a political activist seemed to have numbered. He faded from public life and contended with living in his family home along the Penampang-Papar Road. It was while living the life of a country squire that Joe Manjaji began his research on his family.

In 1999, Joe Manjaji published his book, *Wong Loong and His Descendants*, where he traced his family history to a man called Wong Loong. This openly acknowledgement of his Chinese origins was a contrast to his long denial of his Chinese origin and his Chineseness. This new beginning actually opened the doors to more of the family members to come forward and to be counted as descendants of Wong Loong, and thus, acknowledging their Chinese origins. Joe Manjaji was not alone in this endeavour. Other Sino-Kadazan families also came out to acknowledge their Chinese origin, some even went to China in search of their roots. Herman Luping, the veteran Kadazan cultural expert and political elder, described his recent visit to China as "returned to Fujian, China" to visit his maternal ancestral home. Such admission would have been disastrous for his political career in 1960s to 1980s. At that time, both Joseph Manjaji and Herman Luping, and other Sino-Kadazans, were fighting for their new identity as Kadazan through their idea of Kadazanism and political parties. This struggle was to transform the new identity of Kadazan that was proposed in 1952 with the Society of Kadazan to be an integral part of the indigenous peoples of East Malaysia (Sabah and Sarawak) ethnic categorization of the new nation-state of Malaysia. This categorization was incorporated into Article 153 of the amended Federal Constitution of Malaysia in 1963, which "safeguards the special position of the Malays and natives of any of the States of Sabah and Sarawak and the legitimate interests of other communities […]"[41] This struggle would help to ensure that under this categorization, the Kadazan people's interests and welfare would be secured and that the Kadazan people would be able to enjoy the special privileges that come with this ethnic categorization. Identification with the Chinese would not have allowed them to enjoy such privileges.

After thirty to forty years of struggle, the position of this new people – the Kadazans – is already politically and economically secured. Their ethnic identity has been recognised by the state. Under such condition, both Herman Luping and Joseph Manjaji as well as their Kadazan brethren need not worry about acknowledging their Chinese origin for their Chineseness is

41. See *Federal Constitution of Malaysia (As at 1st August 2005)*, Kuala Lumpur: International Law books Services, 2005.

no longer a problem. This transformation of identity comes with the assurance from the Government in providing preferential treatment to the indigenous people or Bumiputera.

This resinicization could also be attributed to the rising importance of China since the 1990s. The business opportunity afforded by the vast Chinese market could also be an attraction for the Sino-Kadazans who would like to capitalise on their claim to Chinese ancestry to facilitate their business ventures in China if any.

Conclusion

This paper sets out to investigate the evolution of the Sino-Kadazan community in Penampang, Sabah, East Malaysia, by looking into the evolution of identity amongst these people. It also focuses on the history of a family by tracing its origins to the arrival of a Chinese ancestor, Wong Loong, in the 1880s. Wong Loong found his way from Guangdong to Labuan before settling down in Penampang. Wong Loong married two Dusun women who provided him with offspring who eventually became part of the local community. The family's transformation from being Chinese becoming indigenous was a natural process that saw the offspring from the initial mixed marriage giving priority to the indigenous dimension of the family life in subsequent marriages. This was coupled with the push factor from the Chinese community which rejected them as part of the Chinese community. This in itself had contributed to the increasingly clearer demarcation between the Sino-Natives and the Chinese. Subsequent events, including the 1937 attempt to evict the Chinese from Penampang and the setting up of the Society of Kadazan in 1953, helped to reinforce such divides and at the same time pushed Sino-Natives like the Manjaji to choose to be identified as natives, and called themselves Kadazans.

As Sabah moved towards independence through the creation of the Federation of Malaysia in 1963, the Kadazans created their own political party and championed for the rights of the Kadazans and other natives. In the process, they began to alienate the Chinese and reinforced their newly created identity. This paper also shows that the trend was reversed in the 1990s when more and more of the Kadazans began to acknowledge their Chinese origins.

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Postal History of North Borneo
The Pre-Stamp Era

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF EARLY NORTH BORNEO

North Borneo, as its name implied, sits on the northern part of the great island of Borneo. Including the small island of Labuan, it has an area of 29,837 square miles with a coastline of about 900 miles. In the nineteenth century, the area was a wilderness and was never heavily populated largely due to the depredations of pirates, based locally and from the southern Philippines and Celebes. The only area where law and order prevailed was in Sarawak, where James Brooke was ruling, and in Labuan, which was ceded to Britain in 1846. After an unsuccessful attempt by an American Trading Company to set up a colony called Ellena at the mouth of the Kimanis River with half a dozen Americans and sixty Chinese labourers in 1865, a mixed group of Hong Kong businessmen led by Sir Alfred Dent successfully negotiated with the Sultans of Brunei and Sulu to acquire the northern quarter of the island of Borneo. The company they formed was known as the British North Borneo Company and they succeeded in convincing the British Government to grant official recognition of the cession when a Royal Charter, the last of its kind, was granted to the Company on 1 November 1881. Although the Union Jack flew over Sandakan in 1878, and a Charter was granted to the Company three years later, it was not until 1888 that Britain recognised the State of North Borneo as an independent country entitled to British protection and guidance. In 1890 the island of Labuan was placed under the administration of the Company although it remained a Crown Colony. By then, the country was no longer the wild and largely unknown land it was when the Company was formed.

NORTH BORNEO AND ITS POSTAL HISTORY

For those who are not familiar with the term Postal History, it may be defined as the study of postal systems and how they operate and/or the study of the use of postage stamps and covers by their rates, routes and markings. The first stamp of North Borneo was officially issued in 1883 so the postal history of North Borneo may broadly be seperated into three timelines:—

1. the era before stamps were issued (early to 1882),
2. the pre-Universal Postal Union era (1883 to 1890) and
3. the period after the country joined the Postal Union (1891 to 1963).

In this short article, we shall be dealing with the first period only.

THE PRE-STAMP ERA

In the early days, the population in Borneo was largely illiterate and the need for written communication was practically zero. There were no post offices until the British came, so there were no postmarks to distinguish any letters or covers which might have originated from places in North Borneo, not forgetting that the country was only 'born' in 1881. Is there any possibility of finding any surviving mail from that period? We know early mail was carried by the masters of passing ships but they can only be identified by a superscription, or a mention of the writer's location in the contents. Hundreds of ships must have traversed and landed in this area. Think of the year 1300 when a Chinese expedition sailed through the Sulu Sea to the great river of Sabah, the Kinabatangan, or the year 1763 when the Bristish flag was first hoisted over Balambangan Island. Those who arrived must have written home somehow. Joseph. W. Torrey and the half a dozen Americans stayed for some months at the settlement at Ellena; they might have written letters. At least one or two of the sixty Chinese who came with them must have been able to write letters. However, their letters would have been sent through Hong Kong, Labuan or Singapore, so it would be impossible to tell whether a cover had originated from here, as the only cancellation on the cover would be the normal Hong Kong, Labuan or Singapore cancellations.

It is logical to assume that Baron Overbeck, the Company representative, William B. Pryer, William Pretyman and H.L. Leicester, the Resident of Sandakan, Tempasuk and Papar respectively who arrived in 1878, wrote letters or sent reports to the Dent Brothers in Hong Kong and London. At the same time, there were many other early British employees of the Company and traders who were here and must surely have written letters to their loved ones back home. However, for decades, nothing could be found, as it was akin to searching for needles in a haystack. L.H. Shipman, author of *The Stamps and Postal History of North Borneo*, wrote in 1976, "It seems certain, therefore, that no cover prior to 1883 can be identified."

THE ONE AND ONLY KNOWN PRE-STAMP ENTIRE

It was not until 1987 that one was reported by Edward B. Proud, and it happens to be one of utmost historical importance. As shown below, it is an entire letter written by Captain E.G. Fanshawe, Commander of H.M.S. *Cruizer*, to his father dated 3 October 1845 describing the Battle of Marudu Bay, against the pirate stronghold of Serip Osman (Shariff Osman) on 19 August 1845, in which he had just taken part. A major event that is recorded in the annals of North Borneo. Edward Gennys Fanshawe (1814–1906)*, the eldest son of General Sir Edward Fanshawe, was born at Stoke, Devonport, on 27 November 1814. He entered the navy in 1828, and was promoted to lieutenant in 1835. On 28 August 1841 he was promoted to the rank of commander, and in September 1844 went out to the East Indies in command of the *Cruizer*. His conduct in command of the boats at the pirate stronghold in Borneo won for him his promotion to captain

Sir Edward G. Fanshawe in 1871.

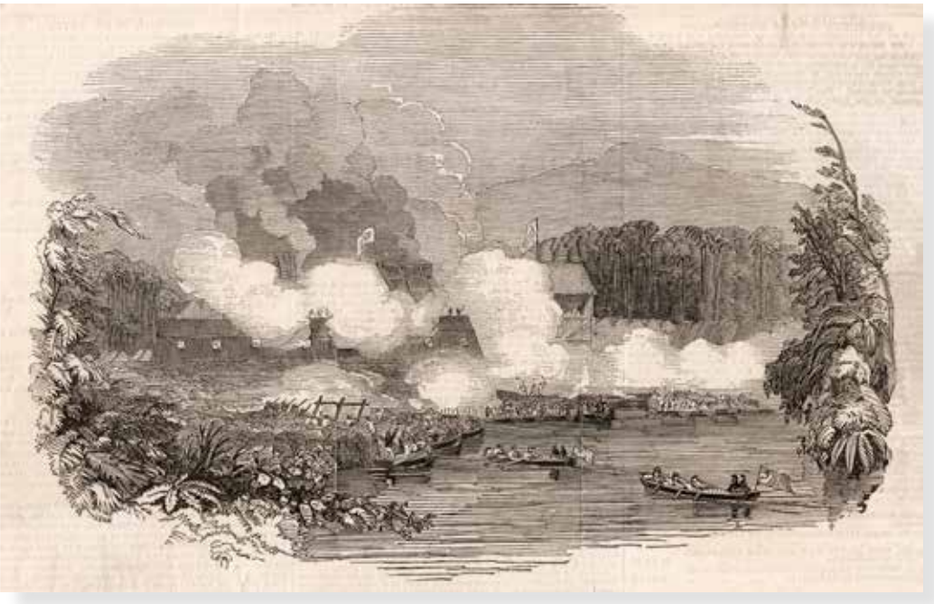
* Royal Naval List; O'Byrne's Naval Biographical Dict.; Burke's Landed Gentry; The Times, 23 Oct. 1906; Clowes, Royal Navy, vi and vii. 1901–3; information from Sir Arthur Fanshawe.

on 7 September 1845. In November 1863 he was promoted to Rear-Admiral, while in 1865 was nominated a lord of the admiralty. From 1870 to 1873 he was commander-in-chief on the North American station and on 27 November 1879, his sixty-fifth birthday, was placed on the retired list. In 1881 he was nominated a K.C.B. (Knight Commander), which carries the title Sir and at Queen Victoria's jubilee in 1887 was advanced to G.C.B. (Knight Grand Cross).

The one and only known pre-stamp entire.

The entire was inscribed "Via Marseilles" with the "2/3" (2 Shilling/3 Pence) rate, bears a boxed Singapore transit datestamp of 6 October 1845 and two London 22 November 1845 receivers. The letter contains a small drawing of the scene of the attack and the position of the defensive boom across the river, up which the ship's boats were advancing. This boom, composed of enormous logs laid over and attached to a chain cable, taken from an English merchantman captured by the pirates, was being opened when the first of the casualties, the Master of H.M.S. *Wolverine* who was leading this phase of the attack was shot and killed. As soon as the boom was forced, the fort, on a branch of river a short way above it, was attacked and captured after a brief engagement.

In his letter, Fanshawe also wrote "The operation of the squadron have struck a heavy blow against these miscreant & will if well followed up, lead to the susppression of piracy on a large scale — and open to us the beautiful island of Borneo — as yet quite unknown and unexplored." The contents of the entire letter may be found in Appendix 1. This event was duly reported in *The London Illustrated* on 29 November, 1845 with an illustration as shown below.



The British admiral's attack on the pirates of Borneo.

To date, this remains the one and only known stampless entire that originated from a location in North Borneo although there are a few which emanated from neighbouring Labuan. Not surprising, since there were British officers living on the island since its cession to the British Crown in 1846, long before the birth of British North Borneo.

THE 'POLLOCK' CORRESPONDENCE

No new discoveries have been found since 1987 but in 2017, five envelopes dated between April 1881 and May 1882 bearing Labuan adhesives and cancellations were offered for auction at Spink by a non-collector. All in the same writing and to the same address in London but more importantly, had originated from Sandakan, well before North Borneo's first stamps were issued. Three of them contain letters written by a Barclay Pollock who was the Assistant Resident at Sandakan Residency, under W.B. Pryer. He was the son of Sir George Pollock,

Surgeon-in-General to the Prince of Wales and born in March 1851. He was a student at Eton and graduated from Cambridge University with an M.A. in 1876. It is sad to note that he died in Singapore on 18 November 1882, some six months after the last of those letters.

Personal chop of the sender found in one of the letters.

Shown below are two examples:—

The first is a double rate blue cover franked with a pair of the Labuan 10c brown stamps issued in late 1880. Note that Labuan joined the Postal Union in 1877, and issued its first stamps two years later whereas North Borneo issued its first stamp in 1883, but only joined the Postal Union in 1891. This 1881 cover actually first appeared at Spink in 2003. It is a very desirable and important item because it is the earliest known Labuan cover bearing Labuan adhesives, but back then no body knew of its Sandakan origin, at least not until the others appeared.

Labuan AP 24 1881. The earliest cover bearing Labuan stamps.

The second cover was franked 10c, which was the prevailing ½ ounce letter rate to United Kingdom, and postmarked 25 May 1882. To everyone's amazement, it contains an interesting letter headed Sandakan April 16th 1882, written by Mr. Barclay to his sister, Cicely. Without it, one would not have known that the cover was actually sent from Sandakan.

Labuan MY 25 1882 Labuan stamps.

The cover was carried by the man-of war (battleship) *Mosquito* (according to the letter) from Sandakan to Labuan where the Labuan stamp was cancelled by the Labuan Oval of 9-bars and postmarked before leaving on its journey for London. Without paquebot marking on any of the five covers, it thus appears that Labuan stamps were available in Sandakan, presumably at the Office of the Harbour Master or the District Office since there was no record of a post office being opened in the country before 1883. There was no cancellation device or date stamp at that stage because stamps had not yet been issued and they were not required nor supposed to cancel stamps of another country, a practice seen on combination covers of the period after stamps were issued, where stamps of Straits Settlements affixed on covers were cancelled in Singapore and not at the local post offices. This was the normal practice until North Borneo joined the Universal Postal Union on 1 Jan 1891.

Part of the fun of collecting postal history is that you sometimes get to read other people's mail without guilt or embarrassment. In this letter, it gives a hint of the old way of life in the in Sandakan, as he wrote about the frequency of ships and mail, cows living under his house, furniture, flowers, hats and the arrival of brass buttons, presumably for their uniform, with the lion insignia. Enjoy the four-page letter below. All rather nostalgic.

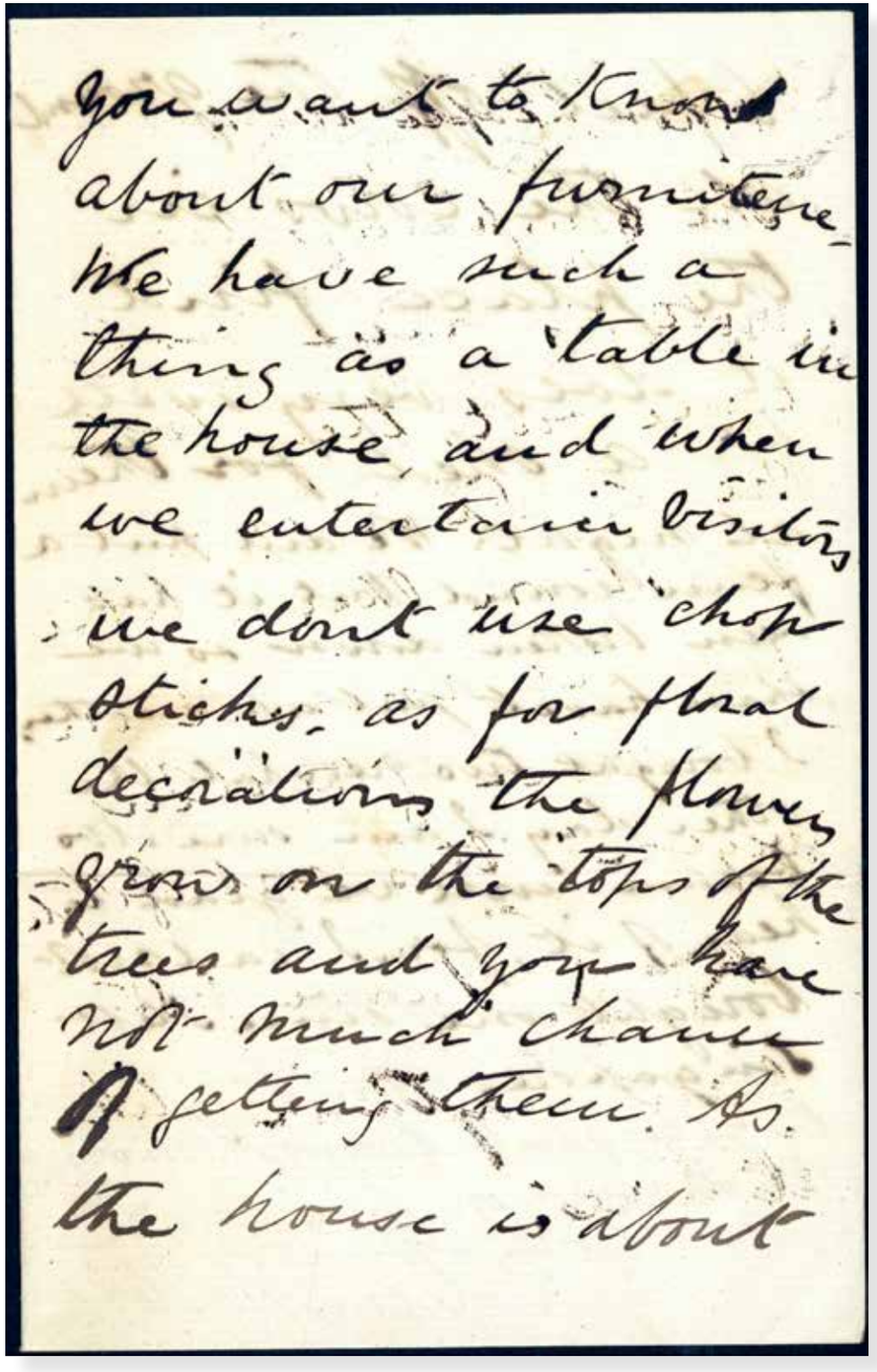
Sandakan
April 16th 1882

My dear Cis

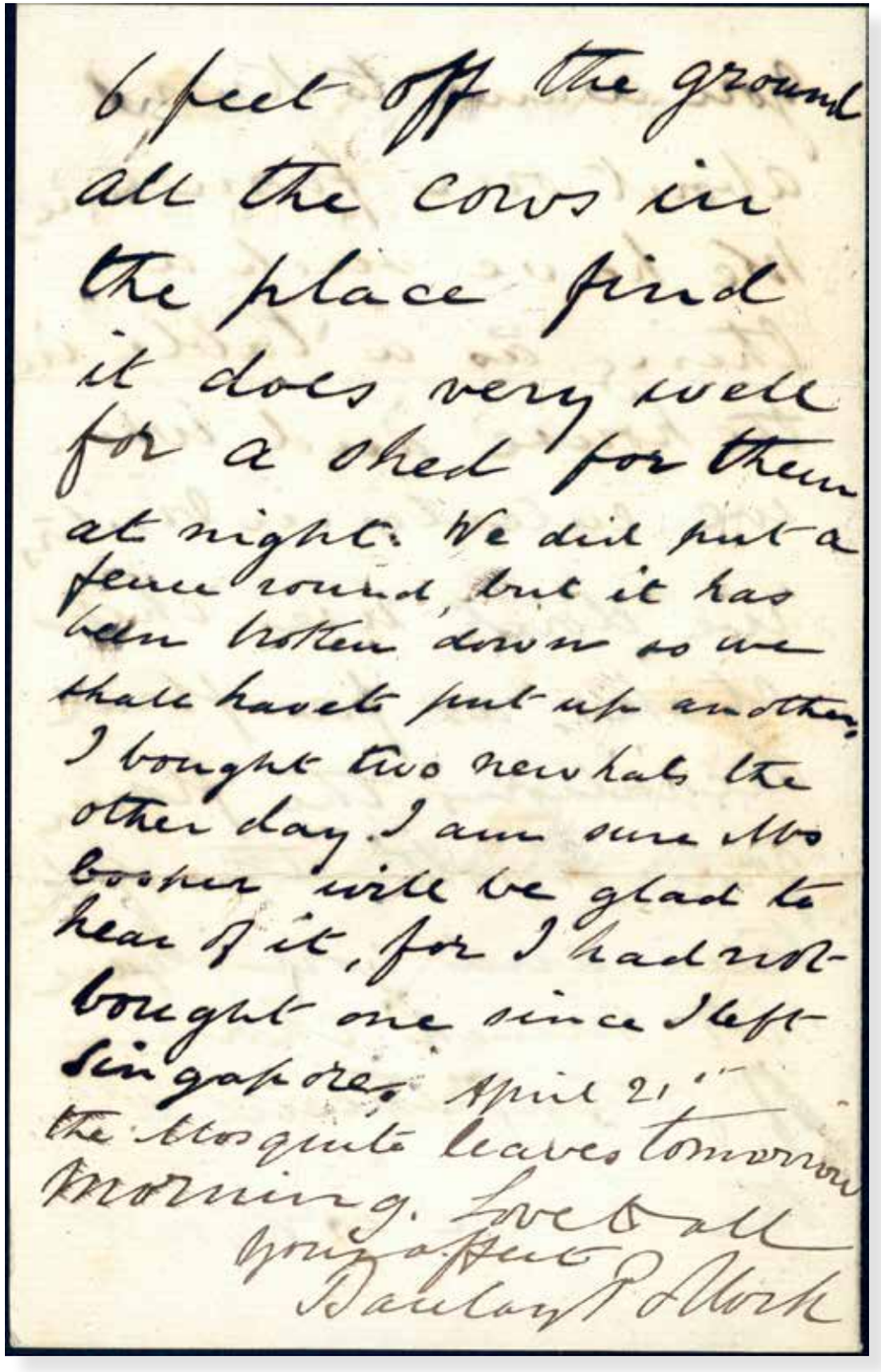
As the Mosquito may be in this afternoon, I must get my letters written at once, though there is not much to tell you. No ships in, and it will be another week before we get a mail. Then we shall have the Governor here for a time I expect; and two or three

other people with him. The Company's brass buttons have just come out, they look neat. There is a beast on them like the gilt animal on the cover of the "New Leyton". this sort of style

I have not seen anything like it here.



you want to know about our furniture. We have such a thing as a table in the house and when we entertain visitors we dont use chop sticks. as for floral decorations the flowers grow on the tops of the trees and you have not much chance of getting them. As the house is about



6 feet off the ground all the cows in the place find it does very well for a shed for them at night. We did put a fence round, but it has been broken down so we shall have to put up another. I bought two new hats the other day. I am sure Mrs Cooper will be glad to hear of it, for I had not bought one since I left Singapore. April 21st the Mosquito leaves tomorrow morning. Love to all

Your affect
Daulay P Clark

Sandakan,
April 16th, 1882.

My dear Sis

As the Mosquito may be in this afternoon, I must get my letters written at once, though there is not much to tell you. No ships in and it will be another week before we get a mail. Then we shall have the Governor here for a time I expect, and two or three other people with him. The Company's brass buttons have just come out, they look neat. There is a beast on them like the gilt animal on the cover of the "New Ceylon", this sort of style ..... I have not seen anything like it here.

You want to know about our furniture. We have such a thing as a table in the house and when we entertain visitors we don't use chop sticks, as for floral decorations the flowers grow on tops of the trees and you have not much chance of getting them. As the house is about 6 feet off the ground, all the cows in the place find it does very well for a shed for them at night. We did put a fence round but it has been rotten down so we shall have to put up another. I bought two new hats the other day. I am sure Mrs Cooper will be glad to hear of it, for I had not bought one since I left Singapore.

April 21st
the Mosquito leaves tomorrow morning.
Love & all
Your affect

Barclay Pollock

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APPENDIX 1

TEXT OF PRE-STAMP ENTIRE LETTER

Cruizer – Singapore – Oct. 3rd, 1845

My Dear Father

It is long since I have written, but we have had a campaign in Borneo which taken me out of the way for the last 2 or 3 months. You will see the outlines of our progress in the papers and I hope to send you a copy of a memo by Mr. Brooke on the piracies in the Archipelago which gives a good idea of the state of the island — at least that large portion of them engaged in piracy. The operation of the squadron have struck a heavy blow against these miscreant & will if well followed up, lead to the susppression of piracy on a large scale — and open to us the beautiful island of Borneo — as yet quite unknown and unexplored. Our boat expedition at Malludu was a brick affair. We [the Squadron] entered Malludu Bay in a tremendous squall from the N.W., and anchored near the middle of the bay, but toward the west shore in the afternoon. The larger ships remain. The Cruizer, Wolverine and Vixen close together in order that the latter with flags might tow the 2 former up as far as possible with the Nemesis & Pluto [E.I. Steamship Co.]. A memo of the plan of attack was given to us in the afternoon, comprising a joint land and boat attack, but given up next day when we approached the mouth of the river. It was then found that we could not get the small steamer into the river, and that even the boats must pick their way. Under these circumstances, a simple boat was sent. We left the Vixen about 3 p.m. in 2 lines & pulled up to the mouth of the river…, occasionally taking the ground; by 7 o'clock….at 10.30 got over the bar and anchored in the river at midnight. At 7 next morning have cleaned and breakfasted, we started with the first of the flood. The expedition consisted in all of 25 boats — 20 in 2 lines — 4 gigs of Capt Talbot, Lyster, Commanders Fanshawe & Clifford — and a cutter with pilots and interpreters. These five were generally ahead but I occasionally in all parts of the lines as the immediate superintendance of the boats had been given to me. Capt. Talbot commanded. I judged the distance up the river to be about 9 or 10 miles, as it took us about two hours to go up with flood. When we got half up, Capt. T. left me in command and took the other light boats to reconnoitre. He joined us when we were the scene of action. On his joining us we advanced and turning a corner came at once in sight of the place, tho' the principal battery, which was low, which was hidden by some low brushwood. A Boom was laid across the river and a high battery with their large guns was very conspicuous overlooking it at a distance of about 220 yards. They sent a flag twice but as we insisted upon Scherif Oosman, his chief, surrendering himself, it was of no avail, and immediately it returned from its second visit, they opened fire. As their guns had all been laid carefully at the Boom, their shot in the first few minutes caused the greater part of the Casualties you will see reported. Gibbard, the Mate of the Wolverine was almost immediately shot thru' the body.

His was one of the boats appointed to try & cut away the Boom & he was working away at the end of it at the time. It was 55 minutes before we could get thru' and then only one cutter at a time, the larger boat afterwards. They had abandoned the forts when we got up to them. The pilots told us over & over again that there was a branch of river between the boom and the large fort on our left — and from our rocket station a sheet of water was seen answering this description this prevented Capt. Taylor from landing a force which I believe he would otherwise have done — and as ground was easy & the water proved to be only ankle deep, we should have made much shorter work of it.

The Boom was particularly well made. A chain cable [taken from an English Merchantman] was stretched across & secured to a large tree of hardwood on each side. Large trunks of tree were laid over the chain, which was bolted up to it, so that we could not get at the fastening and the whole was at intervals moored to the bottom. The forts were stockades very strongly put together. We burnt & destroyed the village & forts as much as time allows, but were ordered to embark about noon & reached our ship by 5.

Capt Talbot was desired to write a despatch which may perhaps lead to some promotion tho' I heard that he did not mention anyone in it except Lyster, his second in command. I am recommended however to push thru' my friend if any opening occurs, as I was the senior Commander present. Lyster had been appointed shortly after acting Captain of the Agincourt therefore, tho' junior to me as a commander, was of course there as a Captain. It is not however impossible that, supposing promotion to be given, he may receive his confirmation as the share assigned to the Commanders of the expedition. If the system of the promotion be to make the seniors, which will be seen by lieutenants and mates, I being the senior have a claim as having been senior Commander, quite distinct, and not affected by his being confirmed because, even had I been junior to him, I was still senior to him, he been there as a post Captain. I write these particulars as there may possibly be a hitch about Lyster. I believe it will possibly do good to jog the Admiralty on the subject of promoting [at least so it is thought here] as their ears are more open generally on these occasions of service than on others. Indeed, I think they generally disposed to be liberal in cases of fighting. I have just posted a letter from Clifford to Sir Augustus in which I have no doubt he is enjoined no doubt to be on the lookout. This may, if Sir A. has influence, be of use to me as they cannot reach Clifford except thro' me.

The day after the fight I was sent over the East side of the Bay to explore a river named Bankoka. There is a reef outside with a heavy sea & surf breaking on it when the sea breeze sets in strong during the S.W. monsoon. This was the case on the day in question and whilst running in in the gig under a close reefed sail, whist a small sea had lifted the gig's stern and rudder out of the water, so that she was at the moment unmanageable, a tremendous fellow[?] broke right into the sail & quite overwhelmed her turning her bottom up, tearing away mast etc.

Tho' I had not swum for years, I found myself quite at home in the water & pulling my jacket off & going to the rescue of one of the crew who was swamped. Fortunately the Cutter was in sight & came to our assistance and picked us all up without exception. But it was a narrow escape for some. The Admiral told me before I started that he was arranging the disposition of the squadron and that one of the brigs was to go to India, and that I, being senior, he had great pleasure giving me my choice. The alternative was to lie in one of the China ports. I chose India without hesitation as I know of nothing likely to place in China that may cause regret, and none here, en route. We sail for Trincomalee the instant English mail, which is due today, arrives & I wait for this to see if I have any letters directed to this place. We have been very unlucky about the letters. I have had the latest — the 17th February.! They are all in China. I read Sir John White's death in the papers. Poor Charlotte, what a sad blow it must have been for her.

I brought Captain Bethune and Mr. Brooke from Balembangan when we joined the Admiral after Bangkoka to Brunei or Borneo proper and Sarawak, Mr. Brooke province. We spent 5 days at Brunei and were great people there. And at Sarawak made a most interesting tour with Brooke amongst the Dyaks, the original inhabitants. I have not the time to write an account of our progress, but I mean to make Captain Bethune call upon you, both because I think, as he will be the Borneo Lion of the day and has all the information there is about that magnificent island, he will interest you, and also if Jane happens to be with you, he will able her that he has just parted from her husband in good health & condition. I wish I could somebody to mak somebody to make a similar report of her and you all, for it is a long time to be without any tidings. Should there be promotion including me, jog them, if convenient and necessary [which I suppose it will not be] about packing off a successor. I am sure E. Caldwell will do what he finds he can with propriety to assist in urging for the step, tho' I suppose his situation is one in which delicacy is felt about asking for things. Pray mention to him anything you think he can do and he will certainly say frankly and without reserve whether he is in position to do it. Dear Mary occupies no small part of the anxiety entailed by missing all my letters. I sincerely hope she is restored to health. My kindest love to her, my Mother, Susan & all.

Oct. 6th. I wanted to write to my Uncle Arthur by this post but have not time. You will wonder what I am about, but I have been copying some papers on Borneo pirates which with visits and dinners has occupied all my time here. I don't know to what part of India station we shall go, and I think that Madras is. Will you ask Uncle Arthur to pay Mr. Marshall, the silversmith, 30 shillings for me — it is for a patent machine for corning beef which was sent off, as I understand, for me to look at and be tempted, but I never saw it till we were at sea & have never used it, but my steward has just disposed of it to furnisher of ship's supplies here, and if you kindly pay my uncle, I will ask Jane to pay you.

We hear that Capt. Jervis of the Pilot has applied to be superceded from ill health. Should there be no Malludu promotion, it will suit my book extremely well to

be appointed there, as she has 9 months only to complete her 3 years. She is much finer command which may be the pretext for asking her, as well as a real improvement. If you think it can be done with propriety, by all means I would ask for your assistance to get it all done. In fact, if the appointment has not been made, I think it will afford an excellent opportunity of shortening my extra forwarding Jervis's application, but should I be shy of making any official application unless with good advice. Indeed as the vacancy will be probably filled in England, I had better leave it in your hand to do what you judge best with a view to my getting home as soon as it can properly be done.

I have not had time to copy the paper on Borneo piracy as it is much longer than I had anticipated, but I think you will certainly see Bethune and he will give you all Borneo information.

My love to all and do not think me too troublesome about promotion & exchange, but I think you will consider it fit that I should get home as early as I can without injury to my professional prospects.

Ever your affect. Son
E.G. Fanshawe

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The Early Kapitan Cina of British North Borneo: A New Insight

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INTRODUCTION

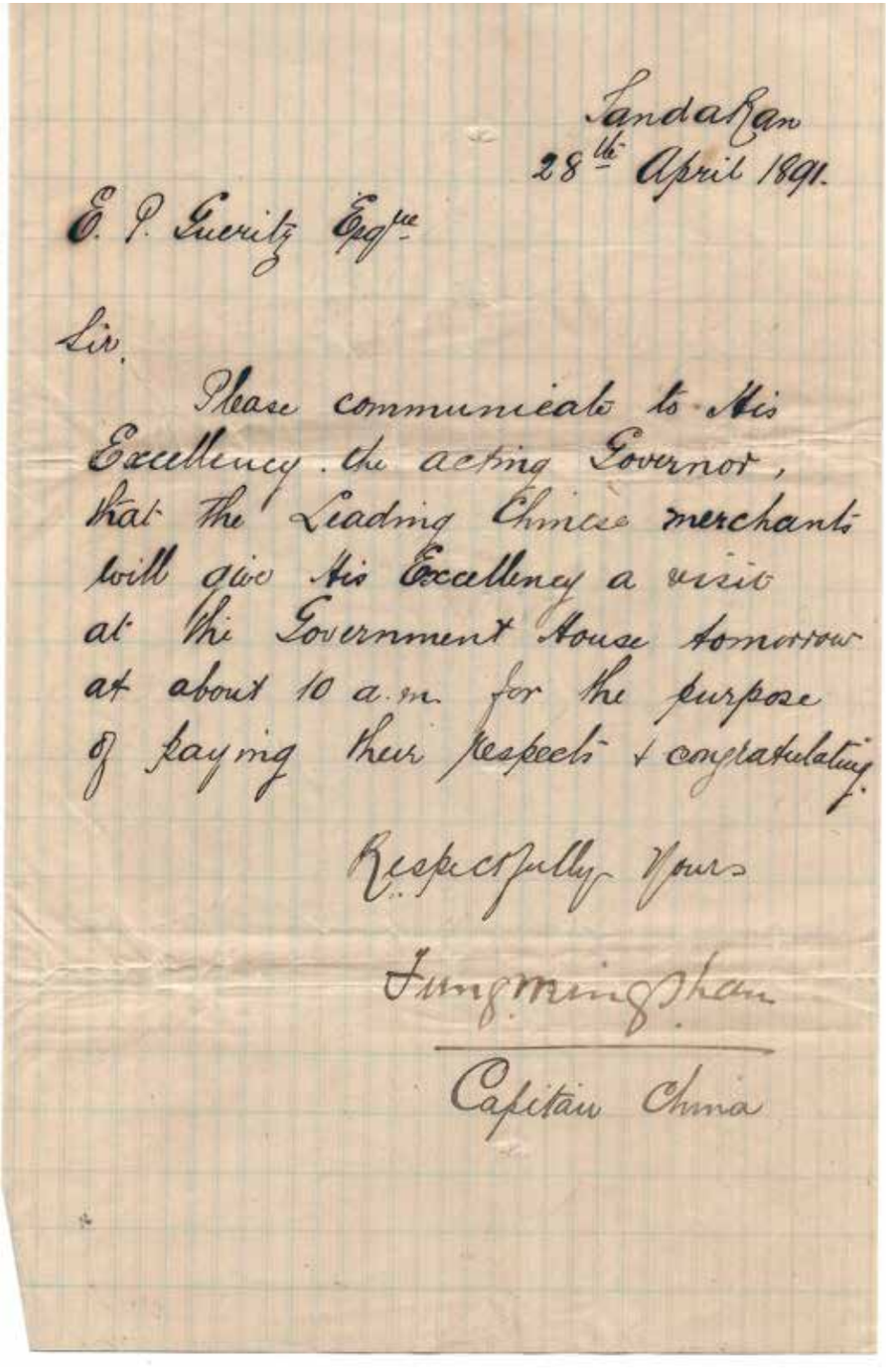
There is a dearth of information on the early Kapitan Cina of British North Borneo. Most of the published material comes from a single authorship. There is unlikely to be much in the way of primary sources. This article relates to the first two holders of the post in Sandakan more than a century ago, when the administration of British North Borneo was in its infancy. They certainly rubbed shoulders with the who's who of the Chartered Company, who were instrumental in setting up the early colony. They were both prominent merchant traders or towkays as known locally. Being chairman or a member of the Chinese Advisory Board brought a certain prestige. They participated in official functions like the Charter Day celebrations and also served in various committees. Fung Ming Shan was involved in the British North Borneo Council in 1887, later to become the Legislative Council, albeit in an observer role with no voting rights. Nonetheless, it was a rare accolade for an ethnic Chinese.

THE FIRST TWO KAPITAN CINA OF SANDAKAN

Fung Ming Shan was a Cantonese from China who probably arrived in 1882 under the Sir Walter Medhurst initiative. On 27 April 1883, he staged a highly successful welcome by the Chinese for Mr Alfred Dent, Chairman of the Chartered Company, the Governor and Mrs W.H. Treacher upon their arrival at Sandakan wharf. Fung Ming Shan & Co. was advertised as general merchants and commission agents which included agencies of estates and opened for business at No. 2, The Praya,

Sandakan. His business interests included the opium, pawnbroking and spirit licence revenue farms which were highly lucrative. He applied for timber concessions as well but was never as established in the logging industry as his compatriot Koh Kim Hin. He also ventured into gold prospecting in the Segama area from 1886 and was on the influential Gold Committee. He lobbied the Government to defer the 3 dollars registration fee for potential miners and worked hard to attract Hong Kong and foreign prospectors in asking for better sea and land communications, including a supplies store and Government station. He was also involved in fund raising such as for the Queen Victoria Jubilee Committee in 1887. Fung Ming Shan was appointed the first Kapitan Cina by the Governor first in 1887 and also as a formality in 1890 on a 1-year basis as announced by William Pryer, who was then the acting Government Secretary. Fung Ming Shan and Co. was incorporated into Hup Watt & Co. in July 1891 in consideration for shares but the liaison lasted only until March 1892. That company had its business at 16, Market Street and advertised its agency in aerated waters from Singapore. A Chinese Advisory Board was set up at the request of the leading Chinese traders of the Cantonese, Hokkien, Hakka and Teochew dialect groups. It held its first meeting on 1 October 1890 when Fung Ming Shan was elected President and the Government was represented by Captain R.D. Beeston, who was the magistrate. Wong Sum Seng, who was better known as Sun Kwong Lung, covered for the President when he was away. Fung Ming Shan was also a director of the Sandakan Hotel Co. Ltd. in 1891. His tenure as Kapitan Cina was unfortunately punctuated by numerous business trips back to Hong Kong and China. He was deputized during his leave of absence and finally left for good in 1895. He contributed to the social development of Sandakan and was a donor to the San Sheng Kung temple in cash and kind. A bronze bell is attributed to him to this day. Fung Ming Shan was a land owner and also had a block of shop houses to his name near the wharf. He is said to have passed away in China in 1898, not long after he returned there.

Fig. 1. Signed ideograph of Fung Ming Shan on Chinese red paper. Size 15 x 10 cm.


Sandakan
28th April 1891.

E. P. Gueritz Esqre

Sir.

Please communicate to His Excellency the acting Governor, that the Leading Chinese merchants will give His Excellency a visit at the Government House tomorrow at about 10 a.m. for the purpose of paying their respects & congratulating.

Respectfully Yours

Fung Ming Shan

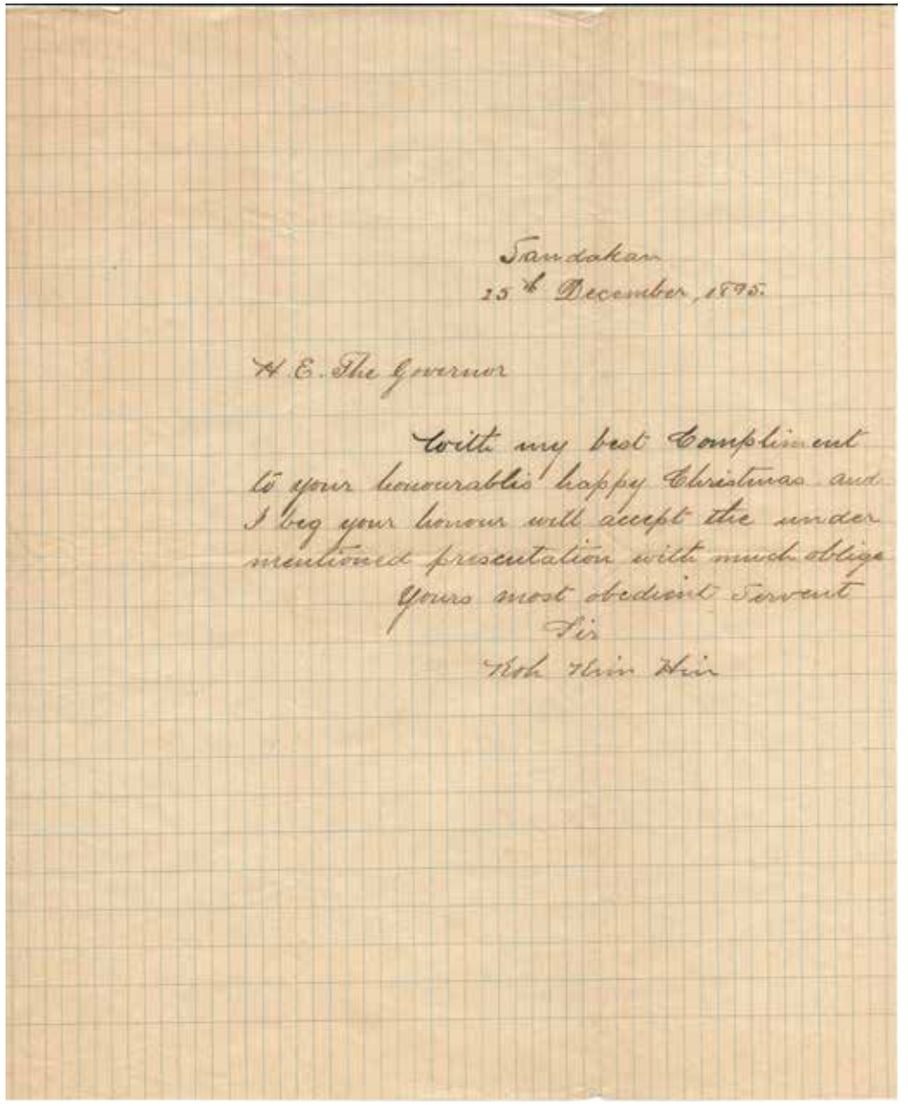
Capitan China

Fig. 2. A letter dated 1891 addressed to E.P. Gueritz, secretary to the Governor, from Fung Ming Shan on the Chinese merchants' impending visit. Size 21 x 13.5 cm.

Fig. 3. A rare, early photograph of Market Street, Sandakan in the 1900s. Hup Watt & Co. which took over Fung Ming Shan & Co. had its premises in this street in the 1890s. Photographer unknown, albumen print, size 15 x 10 cm.

Koh Kim Hin, or Koh Heen as popularly known, was of Hokkien descent. He was a much earlier settler, even before Chartered Company days and could have been trading on Pulau Timbang, the forerunner of Elopura and later Sandakan. He appeared to have two holding companies: Messrs Koh Heen dealing with timber exports to Hong Kong, China and Chop Kim Eng Watt which ventured into light ship building. He was appointed Kapitan Cina in 1895 and on 9 November 1896, he was part of a leading Chinese presence at the joint Charter day, Prince of Wales birthday celebratory dinner and dance held at Government House, which was hosted by the Governor and Mrs Beaufort. In June 1887, he provided five hardwood samples from North Borneo for the Adelaide Jubilee Exhibition held in Australia. He held valuable concessions in opium, gambling, pawnbroking farms and also marketing rights to the birds' nests at Gomantong. Koh Kim Hin was well known in the agriculture sector, especially in gambier and pepper production from the Kebun Cina or Chinese Garden. He was also said to have business ties to the Sulu Archipelago in the Philippines. He performed jury duty and acted as an estate administrator as appointed by the court. Koh Kim Hin was also involved with the Segama gold fields and was in the Committee together with Fung Ming Shan. He passed away intestate at his residence, No. 9, The Praya on 8 April 1910 after a protracted illness at 62 years, probably appropriate for his day and age. The funeral was attended by officials from the Government, representatives of European firms and prominent Chinese in Sandakan, indicating that he was held in the highest esteem by all concerned.

Fig. 4. Signed ideograph of Koh Kim Hin on Chinese red paper for Mrs L.P. Beaufort. Size 23.5 x 11 cm.


Sandakan
25th December, 1895.

H.E. The Governor

With my best Compliment
& your honourable happy Christmas and
I beg your honour will accept the under
mentioned presentation with much oblige
Yours most obedient Servant
Sir
Koh Kim Hin

Fig. 5. A letter dated Christmas day 1895 addressed to the Governor from Koh Kim Hin. Size 26 x 21 cm.

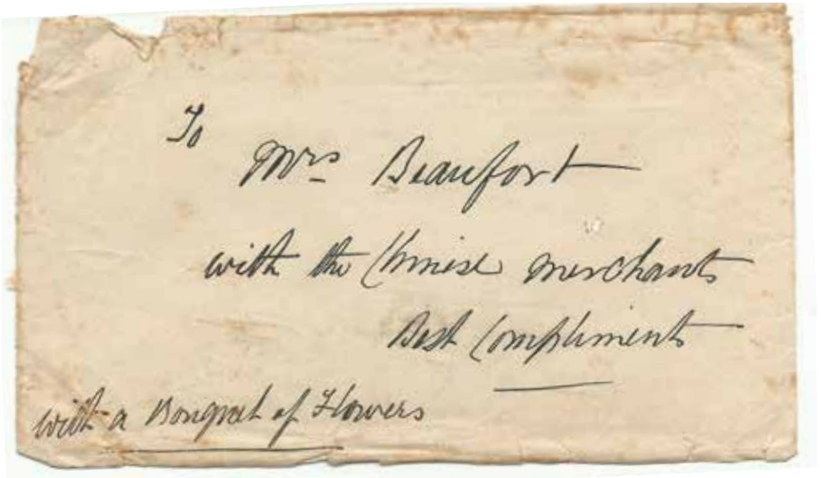


Fig. 6. An envelope addressed to Mrs L.P. Beaufort relating to a bouquet of flowers with the Chinese merchants' best compliments. Size 15.5 x 9 cm.

COMMENTARY

The office of the Kapitan Cina was certainly a prestigious one. The holders were the de-facto leaders of the Chinese community in more ways than one. They were able to channel communication right to the very top of the establishment, whether in an official or personal capacity. As can be seen, these two leaders were successful businessmen in their own right and held lucrative concessions. They controlled their own companies with considerable assets. There is little doubt that there were conflicts of interest in the business sense but they were quietly tolerated. They held important positions in the various bodies or committees, but it remains to be seen whether they did influence major decision making in those days with the expatriate management of the Chartered Company which often held sway. The Chinese merchants did contribute significantly to the fund raising committees, so it was not just simply window dressing. The officials of the administration were highly respected, as can be seen from the ephemera published here. It is remarkable that these have survived the rigours of time, being flimsy, and would never have rivalled the allure of postal history as being collectible. Whilst not of much historical significance, they are of cultural importance as they represented the institution of the Kapitan Cina and in a way indicated the organization of the Chinese community as a potent economic grouping. It could also be assumed that the Kapitan Cina had the clout to look after the interests of the Chinese, offer advice and deal with minor disputes in the community before they even came to the fore.

The Chinese are past masters at stoking reputations. Gifts were the order of the day, including a charm offensive for the Governor's wife. As tradition would

dictate, the red paper ideographs generally accompanied the gifts and were a personal endorsement by the sender written in Chinese and attached with the hope of good tidings. The letters in English indicated either a translated version or a certain fluency in the language. The Kapitan Cina also signed their names in romanized form. Knowledge of English then would have made them a natural choice for leadership, not only among their own dialect groups but within the Chinese bloc under Chartered Company rule.

By all accounts, they were immensely wealthy. Despite this, Fung Ming Shan still left North Borneo and it is reasonable to think that he could have been a

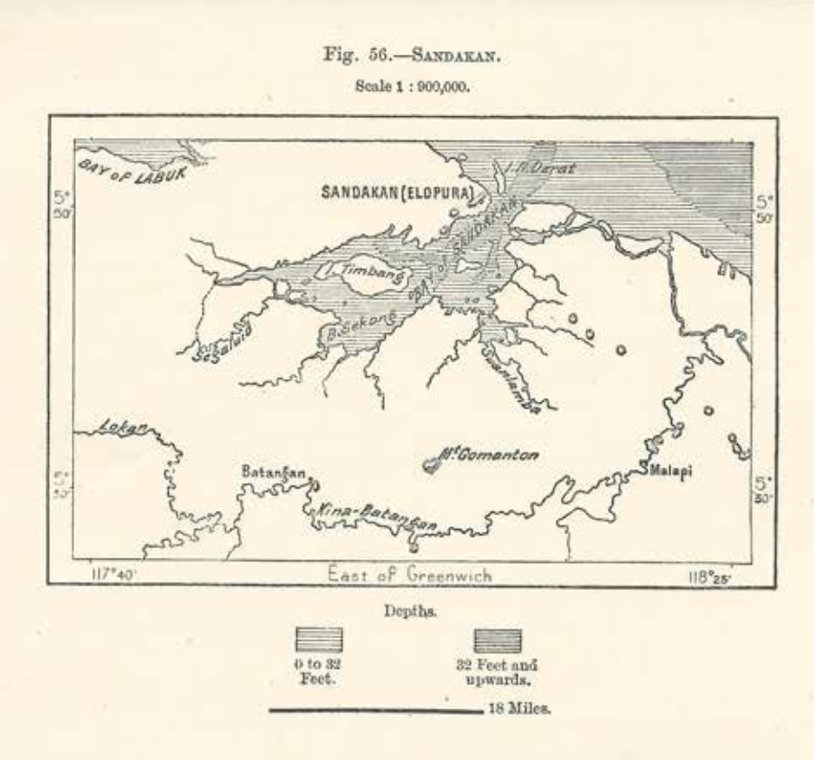


Fig. 7. Map of Sandakan c 1889. English version. Size 10.5 x 7 cm.
An early depiction of Sandakan bay of the period with the initial settlement at Pulau Timbang, where one of the Kapitan Cina, Koh Kim Hin, would have been one of the earliest traders in North Borneo. He was also involved in the birds' nests concession at Gomantong. The island in the bay was in a sheltered position from any attacks. However the town was later to move to Elopura after a fire. Mount Gomanton would be where the famous birds' nests caves are located. Not in the picture is the Segama River basin, south of the Kinabatangan, where gold was discovered but it was never to realise its full potential and quickly panned out.

foreign business agent or compradore. There was also the odd name change of Fung Ming Shan & Co. to Hup Watt & Co. for a share consideration. The latter's name literally means, *Together We Flourish*. It appeared to be a smaller company and the transaction is reminiscent of a modern-day reverse takeover. Anyway, for whatever reasons, the abortive merger lasted a mere 9 months. Being away from Sandakan for long periods would have made Fung Ming Shan less effective as Kapitan Cina despite his 8 years on the job. When he left, Koh Kim Hin had the stature and was the obvious candidate to take over the post. In its heyday, his flagship company, Kim Eng Watt, gave Man Woo Loong & Co., the foremost business conglomerate in Sandakan at the time, a good run for its money. Both the early Kapitan Cina were remarkably similar in their enterprising business activities and standing in Sandakan society. On reflection, Koh Kim Hin's tenure was probably the more successful of the two and he held on to the post for 15 years until his untimely death. Admittedly, he had to play second fiddle to Fung Ming Shan for most of the time, given the latter's imposing nature. It is difficult to understand why he did not leave a will. After all, he had been a court-appointed administrator before. Perhaps he was all too consumed by the Chinese taboo of preparing for one's own demise. That he had attained 60 years of age would not have been lost on his family, as he had lived through the 12 animal zodiac signs under the 5 elements.

In conclusion, these two remarkable men embodied a so-called business-leaders complex even from those early, heady days and which the modern era has all too often been unable to shake off. They were the consummate politicians in their time.

NOTES

Sir Leicester Paul Beaufort (1853–1926) was an Oxford-educated barrister who was Governor of British North Borneo and Labuan from 1895–1899. In 1889 he was Government secretary with a rank of Judicial Commissioner. He became the acting Governor from 25 April 1891–10 September 1892 when Governor C.V. Creagh went on leave. The letter of 28 April 1891 was addressed to E.P. Gueritz by Fung Ming Shan on behalf of the leading Chinese merchants. They intended to pay a visit to Government House at 10.00 am on 29 April 1891 in order to pay their respects and offer congratulations on His Excellency's recent appointment. Koh Kim Hin's letter of 25 December 1895 to the Governor served to offer Christmas greetings and a gift including perhaps a bouquet of flowers for Lady Beaufort. Obviously, no expense was spared to ensure that the Chinese were in the good books of the Head of State. Sir L.P. Beaufort resigned in 1899, in part due to the Mat Salleh rebellion and he was himself often at fault for being critical of the Chartered Company's policies, which did not endear him to the powers that be. He became the Chief Justice of Northern Rhodesia, in present-

day Zimbabwe, before finally retiring in 1918 when he was knighted KCMG. He stayed on in South Africa at Cape Colony and passed away aged 73 years. He was married to Lady Edith M. Griffith. Beaufort Town in Sabah was named in his honour by W.C. Cowie who was then managing director of the Chartered Company. The present ephemeral collection is believed to be part of Governor Beaufort's personal papers as they were sourced from South Africa. The fact that the Governor kept all his correspondence, and they survived to this day, is a testimony to the Western perception of the importance of all archival material which should be retained. The same cannot be said for the Chinese merchants who, being practical people, have at times been guilty of throwing those things away which they deemed to have no value. With the recent hype in the press of starting a Chinese Museum in Sabah, the present collection could have immense potential as a showpiece exhibit.

Edward Peregrine Gueritz (1855–1938) was an administrator who was first appointed as acting Resident of Kudat Town from 1882–1884, just after the inception of Chartered Company rule. He subsequently re-joined the service in 1890 after restructuring of the Chartered Company. He was a member of the Chinese Advisory Board representing the Government from 1 February 1891, hence the earlier letter by Fung Ming Shan to the acting Governor which went through him. E.P. Gueritz served in many acting positions including Magistrate, Sessions Court judge, District Officer, Resident, Secretary to the Governor and even Governor. He was Postmaster General of North Borneo and Labuan in 1894, a member of the State Legislative Council and editor of the *British North Borneo Herald* in 1895. In 1896, he was Superintendent of the Public Works Department. He became Government Secretary in 1898, Judicial Commissioner in 1901 and finally made it to Governor of British North Borneo and Labuan in 1904. He retired in 1911 after overseeing the success of the rubber industry and is remembered as an able administrator, who excelled in a myriad of positions. He passed away aged 83 years in England. His two residences there had been named Sabah and Labuan respectively, reflecting on his fondness for North Borneo.

Where possible, modern or currently accepted versions of local or vernacular terms are used. This is merely for the sake of consistency in order to avoid confusion.

The ephemera published here for the first time are from the author's personal collection.

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The Megapodes of Mantanani Besar Island, Sabah, Malaysia

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A first report of The Sabah Society community project for the conservation of the Philippine Megapode, *Megapodius cumingii* on Mantanani Besar Island, Sabah, Malaysia, appeared in *WPA News* 102 (2017), with a follow-up appraisal in *WPA News* 103 (2017). Locally known as 'tambun', this is the only species of megapode occurring in Malaysia. As well as Mantanani Besar and Mantanani Kecil, it has been recorded on other islands of Sabah (Malawali, Banggi, Balambangan, Selingan, Poffan, Gaya, Sapi, Manukan, Tiga, and Kuruman), on Labuan, and the Sabah mainland near Kuala Abai, Kota Belud and elsewhere on the Kudat peninsula, near Sandakan on the east coast of Sabah, and on North and East Kalimantan islands south to Maratua (Jones *et al.*, 1995; Phillipps & Phillipps, 2014).

Fig. 1. Tambun or Philippine megapode (*Megapodius cumingii*).

In the preliminary studies reported below, data have been gathered by The Sabah Society (TSS) Tambun Project team of volunteers, with paid assistance by the author in 2016–2017, and local helpers engaged part-time. The aim of the study is to evaluate the current condition of tambun on the island, the threats faced by these birds and practical conservation measures needed to protect a sustainable population. Short-term visits were made between 2015 and early 2016 by TSS volunteers (Cranbrook, 2017) and from mid-2016 to 2017 by the author assisted by volunteers and local helpers.

Fig. 2 (above & below). Tambun egg mounds.

METHODOLOGY

Mantanani Besar (6°42' N, 116°21' E) (Fig. 3) is one of the three islands of the group that also includes Mantanani Kecil and Linggisan, with an aggregate area of approximately 17.6 km^2. The island is located about 35 km from the nearest port at Kuala Abai, Kota Belud District and has an area of 1.88 km^2. It is the only island that supports a population of approximately 1000 inhabitants, occupying two villages, Kampung Siring Bukit and Kampung Padang, and scattered beach resorts. Traditional residents were Ubian people, who formerly lived mainly by small-scale fishing (Sabah Tourism Board, 2010). In recent times, with the development of the island as a tourist destination, many islanders (supplemented by an increasing population on the island due to an influx of tourism workers from the mainland and neighbouring islands) find employment with an expanding tourist industry (Tangit *et al.*, 2016). In 2018, there are 13 operating resorts offering day trip or over-night packages to an average of 417 tourists daily in the calm season (July–December) (BIMP-EAGA, 2017).

The island is relatively low-lying and flat. The highest point is located at the northwest end, where the flat land gradually ascends to 25–30 m a.s.l. as a steep

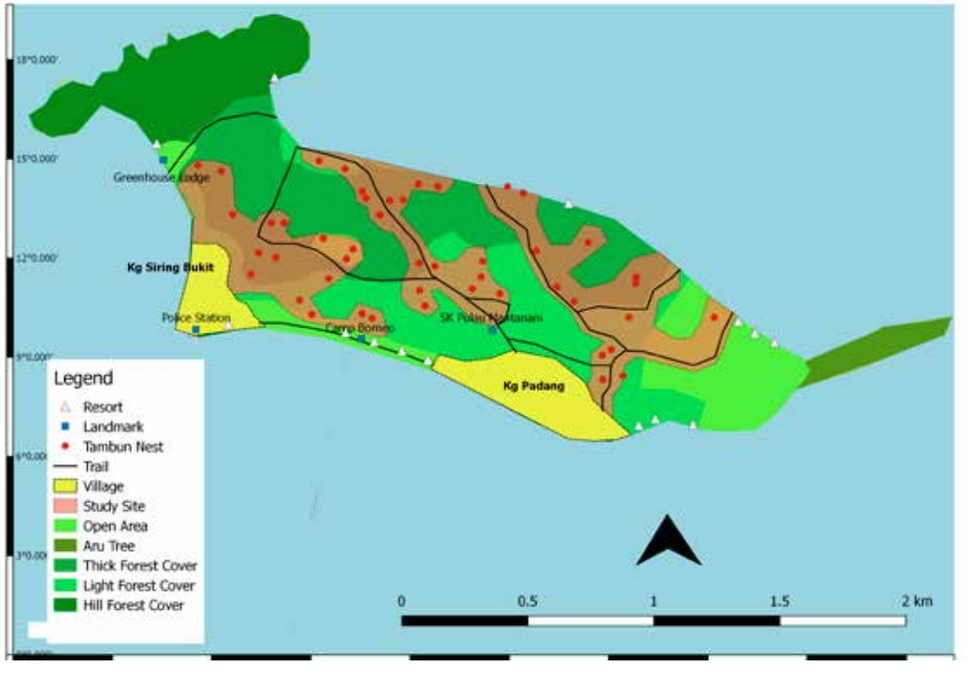

Fig. 3. Map of of Mantanani Islands.

limestone ridge, dropping in an irregular cliff to a rocky shore. Apart from this northwestern part, the island is surrounded by white sandy beaches fringed by Aru trees (*Casuarina equisetifolia*), pandans (*Pandanus* sp.), and other vegetation typical of the shoreline. The interior vegetation of the island is mostly secondary forest and scrub. Much has been planted with coconuts, but the western inland part of the island is now covered with a mixed forest. The eastern part of the island is an open area with few tall trees, mainly of Aru trees.

The fauna lacks monkeys and wild pigs — traditional mammal predators of tambun — and the largely Muslim population does not keep dogs. The birds include several resident species characteristic of Borneo islands, and the island is also important for passage or wintering migrants (Phillipps & Phillipps, 2014). The reptile fauna includes monitor lizards (*Varanus salvator*), and a python, both potential predators of tambun.

Nest mounds were located by walking the lowland areas with guidance from local villagers. Fig. 3 shows the study sites where nests were visited and monitored regularly in mid-2016 to 2017. These sites follow the trails and tractor roads. A hand-held GPS was used to record the waypoint location of each nest discovered. The recorded waypoints were keyed into an Excel spreadsheet. The condition of each nest mound was recorded according to visible evidence (Table 1).

Table 1. Nest mound condition types.

Condition	Description
Active	There is recent activity in the nest identified by loose soil, presence of footprints and tambun individual(s).
Inactive	No recent activity. Soil is compacted and lacks footprints or tambun individual(s).
Raided	Nest was dug by humans or monitor lizard, as identified by their marking or footprints.

Records from 2015 to early 2016 included description and notes on activity at the nest. Unfortunately, because of lack of continuity of observer and inconsistency of recording standards by volunteers, some nest condition data have been excluded from the analysis. In this article, only weekly observations on nest condition from mid-2016 until 2017 by the author and the helpers have been used. Observation were made on all used nests, active or inactive, throughout the study period.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Mapping of the nesting sites

Fig. 4 shows the evolution of the nest-mound distribution recorded by TSS volunteers and the author through the 2015–2017 survey period. There were 50 nest sites plotted in 2015 (red) and 35 in 2016 (blue). Eighteen of these sites overlap, indicating an additional discovery of 17 nests in 2016. Cumulatively, therefore, in 2015–2016, there were 67 nests discovered throughout the island. Unfortunately, not all 67 nests were active (as defined in Table 1). In 2017, 40 selected nests (yellow) were visited regularly for monitoring of activity. Despite no organised search, 14 additional nests were discovered in 2017, resulting in a total count of 81 nests in the island located during 2015–2017.

Most nests are concentrated in the interior of the island vegetated by scrubby Aru (*Casuarina*) and secondary forest. This is an ideal habitat for nest mounds, providing enough materials in the forest floor to construct and maintain the nest mound. The distribution of nest mounds differs from the finds on Pulau Tiga, where all tambun nests were discoverd within 10–15 metre from the shore. This choice is influenced by the substrate found on Pulau Tiga, being sandy near the shore, and clayey in the forested interior, thereby unsuitable for mound building (Stuebing & Johan,1986). In the flat area of Mantanani Besar, the soil is coral sand, with varying amounts of humus, apart from the rising land over limestone towards the northwest end of the island (where no mounds have been found; Fig. 4).

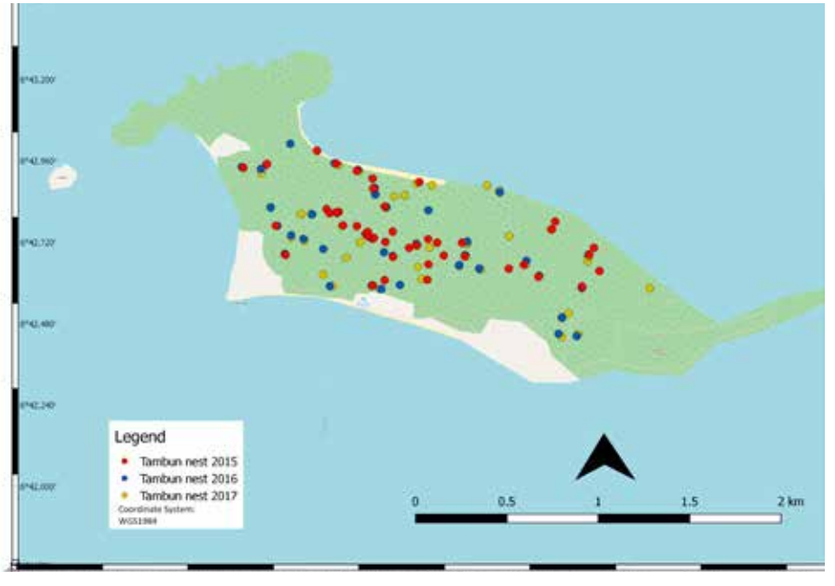

Fig. 4. Tambun nest-mound distribution, as discovered during 2015–2017.

There may be undiscovered nests in certain parts of the island. For instance, there has been a lack of exploration in the western part of the island near the boundary of lowland and hill area. Other potential nesting sites may be around the margin of the central swampy area.

The eastern side of the island has few nests. This area is very open with few trees, especially during the study period when tractor roads and more deforestation were obvious. The land is apparently too dry and too hard for tambun to build nest mounds, or even dig burrows directly into the soil. The lack of nests on the southern part of the island also reflects the higher density of human settlement and activity, in villages or tourist resorts.

Future activities will extend investigation of nest site selection, especially in comparison with the study by Sinclair *et al.* (2002) who found that tambun select nest sites beside dead trees under high canopy. During this study, in Mantanani, a large number of nests were observed not sited under a dead tree, but are in the open. Further detailed studies are needed to investigate site selection of the tambun nests to propose a conservation strategy to protect the most suitable habitats.

Nest Monitoring

Fig. 5 shows the number of nests monitored throughout the study period. The differences of this number were made due to the accessibility of the nest. In

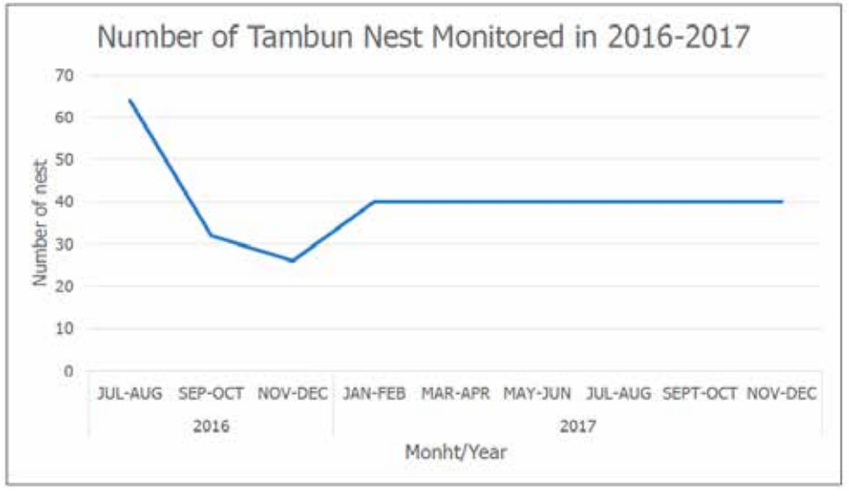

Fig. 5. Number of nests monitored in 2016–2017.

2016, there were 64 nests monitored in July–August, 32 nests in September–October and 26 nests in November–December. In 2017, the monitoring was made consistent to 40 nests. These nests are in the periphery of the tractor roads or trails of the study sites making access to the nest is relatively easy, more systematic and efficient for the observer.

Activity Pattern of Tambun

Fig. 6 shows the pattern of nesting activity of tambun obtained from monitoring from 2016 to 2017. The activity showed a gradual increase from first monitoring to the highest activity in January to February. The activity slightly fluctuates through March to June 2017 before it rose in July to August 2017 and drop dramatically in September to December 2017 which is the lowest activity throughout the monitoring period.

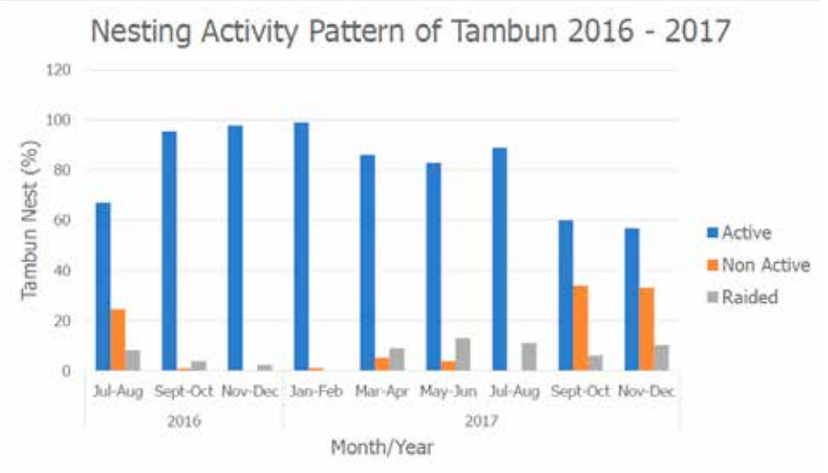

Fig. 6. Graph of monthly activity of the nest 2016–2017.

The pattern of nest activity may have been affected by weather. A series of tropical storms hit southern China in late July to early August 2017. Although not directly impacted, Mantanani Islands, being open in the South China Sea, were caught in a storm strong enough to cause several man-made structures to collapse and the beach to be severely eroded. Similarly, in late 2017, north Sabah, including the Mantanani Islands, was affected by Typhoon Lan that severely damaged the Philippines and Japan.

An increase in inactive nests towards the end of the year (monsoon season) could be explained by the lack of sunlight to provide heat to the nests, which are

expected to have an internal temperature of 32–34°C (Dekker & Brom, 1992). The complex heat regulation of the nest may not be working on certain nests due to size or locality, causing them to be left untended during a cool, humid period. The increase in number of raided nests is also obvious during those time, reflecting the inability of the villagers to go to the sea to fish, to cross to the mainland to buy food, or even for recreation, resulting in a period of enforced idleness. Events may have caused them to turn to the forest and to the traditional custom of raiding tambun nests to fulfil their needs for food and/or leisure activity.

These conjectures require better support. Future activity will concentrate on a statistically acceptable sample size and systematic and consistent sampling effort. Supporting information, such as meteorological data, will be collected to clarify effects of weather on the activity of tambun at the nest mound.

CONSERVATION

The expedition is the first of its kind to be conducted around Mantanani Island. This effort was preliminary to a greater effort in the years to come. Through this information, there is a spark of confidence that the future of the bird will be well conserved. Generous and continuous support by Lord Cranbrook, World Pheasant Association and the Paul and Louise Cooke Charitable Trust has enabled this project to carry on through 2017.

There are matters that required attention following visits from Lord Cranbrook and Wildlife Conservation Society Indonesia Conservation Officer, Mr Alfons Patandung, who has been working on conservation on another megapode species, the Maleo (*Macrocephalon maleo*), in North Sulawesi, Indonesia. Alfons (2017) recommended that monitoring of the tambun nest should be done regularly, with additional components to observe including; rainfall, ground temperature, air temperature and land cover. Detailed behavioural information of the tambun should be collected as well. Such information is vital to create awareness and raise concerns among local people on Mantanani Island. And, finally, Alfons recommended the construction of semi-natural hatchery of the tambun. These are within future research plans for Project Tambun.

Not only do these initiatives contribute to the scientific knowledge of the bird, they also contribute to the awareness and job opportunities for the community on Mantanani. A few residents of the island were involved in monitoring tambun nests with Tambun Project (Cranbrook, 2017) as a part-time job. However, by the end of 2017, they became less involved as they found permanent jobs at tourist resorts. In 2018, local teachers from Sekolah Kebangsaan Mantanani, endorsed

by the Headmaster, have committed to be TSS local helpers together with the school children. The teachers have shown commitment to the programme with weekly monitoring.

A community programme will be a medium to deliver the findings to the local people on the island. To have more impact, engaging them to experience first-hand conservation work would also help to raise awareness and appreciation of the tambun. School programmes have been organised in 2015 to 2017 through the School's Nature Club. This included the public presentation by Mr Alfons and the author (Cranbrook, 2017). More regular meeting and interesting activities should be planned in the future to ensure that the knowledge exchange of the tambun to the community will be continuous.

In September 2017, the author enrolled in a Master's Degree programme at University of Malaya (UM), under the supervision of Associate Prof. Dr Rosli Ramli. The research aims to collect basic information of the tambun ojn Mantanani Besar Island. This information includes the annual pattern of the tambun nesting activity in relation to environmental parameters as recommended by Mr. Alfons, the behaviour of tambun using camera traps, the incubation period and success of the eggs and the selection site of the tambun nests. Hopefully, through this enrolment, information required to further the conservation effort will be a reality. The author expects to complete his studies by 2020.

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